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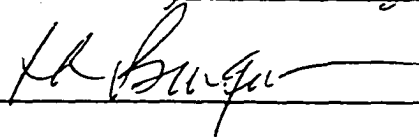
**PAGIBETE, A NORTHERN BANTU BORDERLANDS LANGUAGE:  
A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH**

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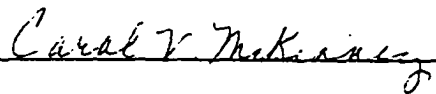
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**PAGIBETE, A NORTHERN BANTU BORDERLANDS LANGUAGE:  
A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH**

by

JEDENE REEDER

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of  
The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements  
for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN LINGUISTICS

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

May 1998

**UMI Number: 1390190**

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank my family and friends who supported me in prayer, in finances, and by correspondence both while I lived in Africa and while I have been finishing my master's degree. This thesis could not have been written without them.

I am thankful also for the assistance of my SIL colleagues both overseas and in the US for their encouragement and for their assistance in helping me to think through what is going on in the Pagibete language. In particular, I give thanks to my former co-worker among the Pagibete, Sharon (Stoothoff) Morgan, whose field notes were used to check my data.

I am appreciative also of my committee members who gave me so much guidance. I am especially grateful to my committee chair, Shin Ja Hwang, who gave so generously of her time.

Most of all, I am indebted to the Pagibete people, and especially the people of Ngakpo, who housed me and willingly taught me their language and let me share in their lives.

April 13, 1998

## ABSTRACT

PAGIBETE, A NORTHERN BANTU BORDERLANDS LANGUAGE:

A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH

Publication No. \_\_\_\_\_

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The University of Texas at Arlington, 1998

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Pagibete (Apakibeti, Pakabete) is a Bantu language of the Bua (Bwa) Bloc spoken in the northwestern Democratic Republic of the Congo. This study describes the language in order to provide a basis for establishing its classification within Bantu. It is based on data collected over a two year period while the author lived among the Pagibete.

Pagibete phonology is briefly described. The bulk of the description here, however, concerns Pagibete morphology, syntax, and discourse features. Pagibete is unusual among Bantu languages in that its noun class markers include both prefixes and suffixes. Also, it lacks verbal agreement with class of the subject noun in all verbs except for one copula and a process verbal particle. The ordering of its verbal components varies from standard Bantu



as well. This study concludes that until Guthrie's classification is extensively revised, Pagibete should be classified as a C.40 language.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to describe Pagibete, a language of the Niger-Congo family, Bantu branch. It has had very little written about it; the primary aim of this paper is to provide an accurate description of the language which will lay a foundation for further theoretical work, and help to properly classify it within the Bantu family. This paper is also intended to increase the awareness of the linguistic community, and especially of Bantuists, of some the unusual features of this language, such as its system of both prefixes and suffixes in the nouns. Finally, this study will aid in the development of a body of written literature of and for the Pagibete people.

### 1.2 Location and Classification

Speakers of Pagibete are located in what has been called the "Northern Bantu Borderland" (Van Bulck and Hackett 1956). Although Pagibete is a Bantu language, or perhaps a Sub-Bantu language, Guthrie did not include it specifically in his classification of Bantu languages. Later linguists have placed it in the Guthrie C.40 (Ngombe) group (Voegelin and Voegelin 1977; Kadima et al. 1983); however, others have noted that it and other languages of the Bua Block have significant similarities with Group D languages which are not shared with Group C (Boone and Olson 1994).

Since 1950, Pagibete has been referred to by the following names in linguistic writings: Apakibeti (Burssens 1954:23; Van Bulck and Hackett 1956:78), Apakabeti (Van Bulck and Hackett 1956:78), Apagibete, Apagibeti (Grimes 1996:448), and Pakabete (Motingea 1995). Surveys of the region prior to 1950 identify the people and language as Babati or Western Ababua (Johnston 1919:496-508 and 1922:123-124), or Dundusana (Franz in Johnston 1922). Part of the reason for the plethora of names is the choice of some authors to list as a separate language what is now considered a dialect of the language (see Grimes 1996:448-449).

The term Pagibete has been chosen mainly because that has been the majority consensus when the people were asked how they preferred to be called; the two other commonly used terms are Pakabete, which is what Lingala speakers call them and their language, and Egezo (for the language only), which is an ethnonym derived from the Ngbandi word meaning ‘spoiled greens’. Pagibete is derived from the phrase *apagibéte* ‘he thinks that’, and can be used for both the people and their language.

Speakers of Pagibete live primarily in the Businga Territory, Nord-Ubangi Sub-Province of the Equateur Province of northwestern Democratic Republic of the Congo. Approximately 25,000 speakers of Pagibete live primarily in three distinct, non-contiguous areas. The Monveda dialect, with about 12,500 speakers, is described in this paper. The speakers of this dialect live north of the Dua River in twelve villages stretched out along a sixty mile long trail passing through the forest. The Mongbapele dialect is spoken by Pagibete living along the Businga-Lisala road south of the Dua in seven villages spread out

sixty mile long trail passing through the forest. The Mongbapele dialect is spoken by Pagibete living along the Businga-Lisala road south of the Dua in seven villages spread out on an eight mile long section of the road. The Butu dialect is located well to the east of the other dialects, on the Yakoma-Bodjogi road. Current reports indicate that Pagibete is currently spoken in only two villages in that area; other formerly Pagibete villages have assimilated with the Ngbandi.

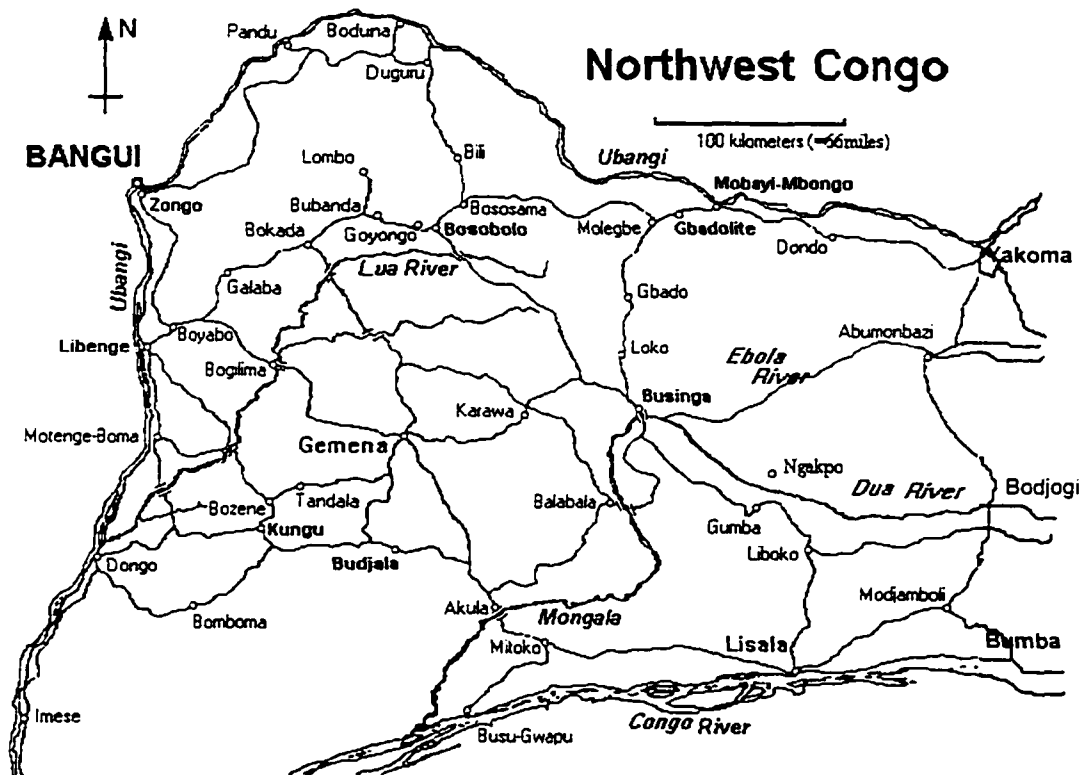


Figure 1. Map of the northwestern Democratic Republic of the Congo north of the Congo River and east and south of the Ubangi River. Adapted from Michelin 1994.

### 1.3 Method of Data Collection

Data were collected over the period from July 1994 to August 1996 by myself and, during the first year, also by my colleague Sharon (Stoothoff) Morgan, using both monolingual and bilingual approaches. When it was necessary to resort to a second language, that language usually was Lingala, the regional language of wider communication (LWC), but occasionally it was French. As my primary goal was to learn to speak the language, data were gathered through a variety of methods: texts, language learning sessions with a tutor, conversations with Pagibete friends, and lexicon-checking sessions with a committee of men.

### 1.4 Organization of this paper

In chapter 2, literature dealing with the Bua (Boa, Bwa) Bloc languages will be examined; in particular, the classification which has resulted from various linguistic surveys since 1919 will be discussed. Also examined are two of the few available published works on Pagibete: an article written by L.M. De Boeck in 1949 which compares two Apakabete [sic] dialects, and an article published in *Afrika und Übersee* (Motingea 1995), which contains several serious flaws.

The phonology of Pagibete is dealt with in chapter 3. This is a basic overview of the phonemes, tones, and phonological rules of Pagibete, written from a generative phonology perspective. A paper dealing with these issues will need to be written after more research has been done.

Chapter 4 examines the morphology of Pagibete, using a Bantu framework. Nouns and other members of the noun phrase are examined first, and then verbs and other verbal particles are discussed.

Chapter 5 describes the noun class system of Pagibete. It is compared to Proto-Bantu forms, and a hypothesis of derivation is proposed. The semantic basis of the classes is posited. Also, the constructions which result from the concord system are here described.

Chapter 6 deals with issues of Pagibete syntax. Its syntax is compared briefly with that expected of Bantu languages. Descriptions of clause and sentence level syntax are given.

Chapter 7 examines three areas of discourse. The methodology and content of this chapter is based primarily on the work of Longacre (1995a, 1995b, 1996), although Levinsohn's (1994) methods also were used. The bulk of this discussion deals with narrative discourse, but some discussion of procedural discourse is found as well. In particular, the discourse section looks at the salience schemes of two discourse types, peak-marking features, and the participant reference system.

Chapter 8 summarizes the findings on the structure of Pagibete, and synthesizes those with a discussion of Bantu classification to place Pagibete within the framework of Bantu studies.

Appendix A contains the texts of the folktales "Dog and Cat," and "Honor Your Elders," and of the first-person narrative "Nvungbo's Testimony," which are the basis for much of the discussion of discourse features. Appendix B contains a word list based on that

used by Bennett and Sterk (1977) in their search for a better classification scheme for south and central Niger-Congo languages through the use of lexicostatistics.

### 1.5 Orthography

With the exception of chapter 3 and the appendices, where modified IPA symbols (*y* for *j*, and no superscription for secondary articulations except where needed for clarity in rules) are used in describing the phonology of the language, the orthography for consonants and vowels which is used in this paper is that established in consultation with the Pagibete people (Reeder 1996b). The areas of difference with the IPA are the representation of the palatal consonant, implosives and nasals for prenasalized consonants. /*j*/ is written *y*. /*β*/ and /*d*/ are written, respectively, *b* and *d*. The nasal of all prenasalized consonants except the bilabial consonants is written with an *n*. Additionally, although the writing of tone has yet to be established in the Pagibete orthography, in this paper, high tone is marked with an *accent aigu*, while low tone is unmarked. Contour tones are shown as double vowels with one vowel marked for high tone; this is not meant to imply the existence of long vowels, but is merely following a convention used in Lingala orthography (Guthrie and Carrington 1988:9).

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

The first section of this chapter will discuss works which deal with the description and classification of the Bua (Boa) Bloc languages of northern Democratic Republic of the Congo. The second section will examine two of the few modern works which specifically describe Pagibete.

#### **2.2 Bua (Boa, Bwa) Bloc**

The term Bua Bloc comes from van Hulck in *Linguistic Survey of the Northern Bantu Borderland* (1956). The Pagibete consider themselves to be Bua as well as Pagibete; the linguistic relationship between Bua and Pagibete is also fairly well established. Many of the following surveys, in fact, consider Pagibete to be merely a dialect of Bua instead of a language in its own right.

##### **2.2.1 Johnston (1919, 1922)**

Johnston undertook a comparative study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages in the first two decades of this century. He primarily collected word lists and compared them. He referred to the Bua Bloc as the Wele-Aruwimi (Ababua) languages. Each of them is given its own name and number, as well as an areal designation such as Northern Ababua, Western



own name and number, as well as an areal designation such as Northern Ababua, Western Ababua, etc. According to his map and the description of where they live, his speakers of Ba-bati or Western Ababua (no. 152) are the Pagibete. Unfortunately, although his word list for the Central and South Central dialects is fairly complete, as is that for the southeastern dialect of 'Ababua', his word list for the 'Western Ababua' is quite sketchy. However, it appears that the percentage of words identical to or cognate with today's Pagibete words is greater with the Central dialect than with that of his Ba-bati.

To confuse the issue of identification further, he gives Mobali as another name for this dialect, which is the current name of the dialect of the Ngombe people who live along the Dua River to the immediate south of the Monveda Pagibete. The Ngombe in his classification are in group KK, whereas the Bua Bloc languages are group I I.

### 2.2.2 Guthrie (1948, 1967/71)

Guthrie's landmark Classification of the Bantu languages (1948) placed most of the Bua languages in Zone C, group 40. However, he placed Johnston's Ba-bati in Zone C, group 30 (p. 36), the Ngombe Group. He did this based on what little was known about the language at the time; in this case, only Johnston's work (p. 30).

In Comparative Bantu (1967/71) Guthrie revised his classification somewhat. In this work, Ngombe is placed in the same group as the Bua Bloc languages, group 40; this group is now referred to as the Ngombe Group. Again, Pagibete is not specifically mentioned, although Bali is listed as a dialect of Bua (vol. 2, p. 40).

Guthrie considers the Bua languages to be Sub-Bantu; that is to say, they lack the complete system of grammatical agreement which he considers necessary for a language to be classified as a complete Bantu language (1948:19, 30, 36).

### 2.2.3 Van Bulck and Hackett (1956)

Van Bulck and Hackett divided the Bua (Bwa) Bloc into six groups. The first of their groups is the Apagibete Group. Van Bulck and Hackett obtained this label from the habit of the people of this group to “begin a conversation with the formula, ‘He says that...’ ‘*apa-gi beti...*’” (p. 78). They further divide the Apagibete group into six sub-groups. The Pagibete described in this paper, as well as those of dialect 2, are in the sixth sub-group, Apakabeti. These authors identify the following as speakers of Apakabeti: Bodjame, Bodjwambe, Mongongo, Mongwapere, Monveda, and Bokonzi.

These are mostly district names, a political level larger than the local village, comprising from one to seven villages. Bozamé, Monzwambe, Bomongo, and Mongbapele are current Pagibete districts. Bokonzi is a small village, and the easternmost one of the Monveda dialect. Monveda is the name of a larger town, to or near which the Belgian colonial authorities moved the Pagibete during their administration. Today, Monveda is not a center of the Pagibete people or language, although the dialect name designation remains. The Pagibete of today also do not use the speech formula attributed to them, *apagibeti*. Instead, what is often heard is *béto*, ‘I really said’ (lit., ‘that really’). Also, while *-pag-* is

glossed as ‘to say’ in many of the Bua languages (Boone and Olson 1975:59), its gloss in Pagibete is ‘to think or opine’.

The third dialect of Pagibete seems to be what Van Bulck and Hackett refer to as “North-eastern Apagibete, called Genzon by the Angbandi” (p. 78). They say this is spoken by the Babugbuma, although not by all of them; Ngbandi-Gbeya had spread so that although “the twenty Bubuma *capitas*...say [that Apagibeti] is their original language” (p. 103), only three of the *capitas* spoke it at the time of their survey. This information concurs with that which numerous Pagibete told me during my time there.

#### 2.2.4 Cope (1971)

Cope builds on the work of Doke (1945, 1949, 1959) and Guthrie, and thus attains a “consolidated classification of the Bantu languages.” Doke originally proposed seven zones, in which system Pagibete, as a Buan language, is a member of Zone 3, the Congo Zone. Cope revises this zone with neighboring areas, creating the North-Western Area. He discusses the problem of the classification of the Bua languages, noting that the boundary between Guthrie’s zones C and D and between the Northern and North-Western areas “poses a real problem” (p. 221), because of the “conglomeration of Sub-Bantu and transitional languages” (p. 222). He proposed a classification in which the Buan languages are in the North-Western Area, Zone C, C.40, with Ngombe Group, thus agreeing with Guthrie.

### 2.2.5 Voegelin and Voegelin (1977)

In their work Classification and Index of the World's Languages (1977), Voegelin and Voegelin classify (li-) Boa = Bali = Bango = Bua = Napagibetini as a Bantu Proper = Narrow Bantu language. Following Guthrie's method of grouping languages by geographic proximity, they list Bua in the north western area, as number 16. They seem to have drawn heavily on Van Bulck and Hackett's work. However, although they have listings for two of the groups Van Bulck and Hackett listed under the Bwa [sic] Bloc, they omitted the Apagibeti Group, in which is found the language described in this paper.

### 2.2.6 Boone and Olson (1995)

Boone and Olson conducted a survey of the languages of the Bua Bloc in 1994. Collecting data in word lists, rapid appraisal recorded text tests, and sociolinguistic surveys, they concluded that the differences between the Pagibete and the other members of the Bua Bloc are great enough to justify calling Pagibete a language. Their chart showing the relationships between languages and dialects of the Bua Group based on lexical similarity is reproduced in figure 2, with the subdivision labels added.

Boone and Olson note that the similarities of the Bua Bloc with Guthrie Zone C languages are the seven-vowel systems and the noun class systems. They also note several similarities with languages of Zone D, however. These include a contrast between /k/ and /g/ and noun class suffixes (p. 22).

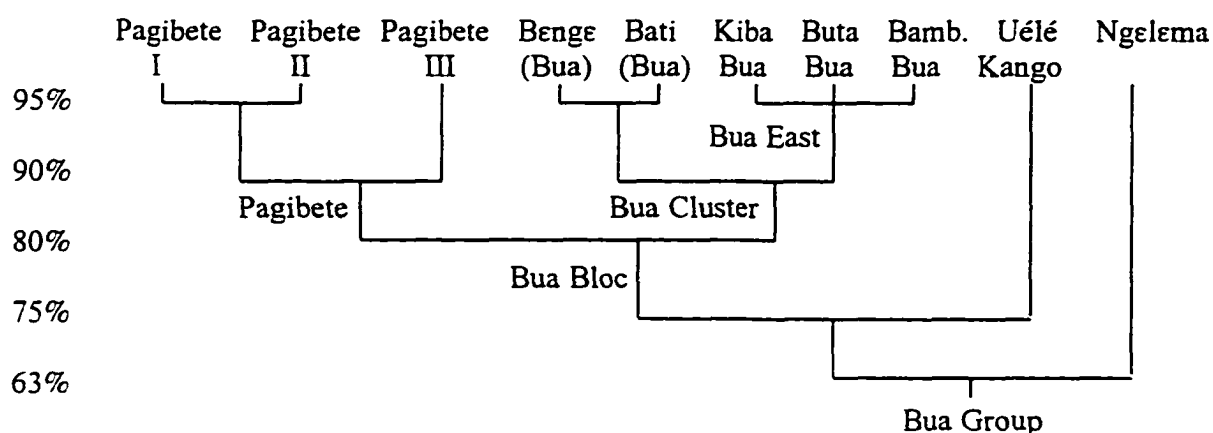


Figure 2. Relationships among the Bua Group based on lexical similarity. Adapted from Boone and Olson (1995:22).

### 2.3 Pagibete

Very few works dealing specifically with Pagibete have been published in the last fifty years. Two of them are reviewed here.

#### 2.3.1 De Boeck (1949)

De Boeck's article was written in response to a comment made in the "*Recherches linguistiques au Congo belge*" by Van Bulck that Pagibete is a dialect of Ngbandi (a neighboring, non-Bantu language group from whom the Pagibete claim descent) which has undergone changes through the influence of Ngombe (see 2.2.1). He takes the position that Pagibete is a Bantu language, and notes similarities with neighboring Bantu languages.

De Boeck compares two vocabulary lists he collected from two different groups. The first group is composed of the Mongwapere (Mongbapele), Momongo (Bomongo),

Mondzuambe (Monzwambe) and Bodzamé (Bozamé) districts, which at the time of his survey were both on the south side of the Dua River. The second group is the Bondjoke, Benzari, Bondumba and Dundusana districts, which are to the east. His lists for the first group are quite recognizable as the Pagibete described in this paper, although there appear to have been some phonological changes in the last fifty years. Be that as it may, he notes several of the processes which are described in chapter 3 of this work. His comments on tone should prove quite helpful in future analyses of tonal phenomena in Pagibete.

### 2.3.2 Motingea (1995)

Mangulu Motingea, as a University of Leiden doctoral student, wrote “*Aspects du pakabete: langue zairoise de la frontière bantoue-oubanguienne*”; it is the first attempt to describe all of the principal aspects of Pagibete. However, due to Motingea’s methods of collecting data, his analysis contains several major errors. He spent only one month with a young language consultant who was living outside the language area, and who was Pagibete only on his mother’s side. My language consultants, looking at his word lists, infer that his father was Ngombe, for vocabulary given as Pagibete which is not Lingala (22% of the nouns) or Pagibete is Ngombe (Jean Mboma Egbangabua and Tadika Faustire, personal communication, 1996).

Another weakness of his article is the lack of distinction between dialectal differences. His primary language consultant was from the Mongbapele district, which in this work is referred to as dialect 2. He also gathered information from a study done by a student in

Mbandaka who interviewed a man of Gbangu, which is in the Monveda dialect area, which is dialect 1 in this work. Although he lists only these two as his sources, he describes an indicative conjugation, *le présent continuatif*, which my language consultants tell me is used only by speakers of the Butu dialect, dialect 3.

This difference in dialects may be the reason his phonological analysis differs from mine. In particular, he claims that implosives are in complementary distribution with plosives; that there is a phonemic glottal stop; and that /nl/ is realized as [nd]. Additionally, his analysis of vowel coalescence and vowel harmony differs from mine.

His faulty data accounts for his near-complete misanalysis of the noun class system of Pagibete. In particular, he recognizes none of the suffixes possible (although he references De Boeck, who does note the presence of suffixes on p. 838 of his article). Also, his examples for gender 3/4 are all Lingala words, except for *móoye* 'head' which he has misglossed as 'sun', as are the words he gives for gender 11/10, therefore his affixes for these genders are incorrect. Although *li-* is indeed a class 5 prefix, it is a less common prefix for this class, with only four exemplars in my data (out of ninety-seven members of class 5). The usual prefix for this class, which is missing from his data, is *e-*. The majority of his examples for monogloss 6 are either Lingala or have a singular form as well; and his examples for monogloss 14 are all adjectives with the dependent prefix for classes 1, 3, and 15a. In addition, over 8 % of his examples are misglossed, and an additional 33 % have an incorrect form.

Motingea's treatment of verbs seems more accurate; however, I lacked the time to go over this section thoroughly with my language consultants. His statement that verbs with a CV radical add -Vk- in the recent past is incorrect; the -Vk- is an extension with a specific semantic meaning (see chapter 4, section 4.2.2.2). His list of extensions is correct as far as it goes, but is incomplete. The verbal system is far more complicated than he could have explored in his time with the language consultant, so while he makes several accurate analyses, they are incomplete, and in a few cases incorrect.



## CHAPTER 3

### PHONOLOGY

#### 3.1 Phoneme inventory

Pagibete has at least forty-nine phonemes. In common with many Niger-Congo languages, it has a pre-nasalized consonant series. It is unusual among Bantu languages, although not among languages of the Ubangi including other Bantu borderland languages, in having implosive consonants as well as plosive ones. In addition, Pagibete has the seven vowels common to the Bantu sub-family.

##### 3.1.1 Consonants

Table 1 presents the consonant phonemes of Pagibete. As can be seen, the entire inventory of plosives, fricatives, and glides can be prenasalized, with the possible exceptions of /f/, /ky/, and /pw/, as these have not appeared in the data collected. See section 0 for a discussion of the effect of nasal morphemes (e.g., class 1 noun prefix and the verbal object marker) on the liquid phonemes. Although prenasalized implosives appear phonetically in the data, e.g., *mbígi* ‘twin’ and *ndɔŋgé* ‘group’, these appear only across morpheme boundaries (class 1 nasal prefix and class 3 historic nasal prefix, see chapter 5, section 5.2.1), so are not considered phonemic.

Table 1. The Consonant Phonemes of Pagibete

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar
<b>Plosives</b>	p, b		t, d		k, g	kp̄, gb̄
<b>Implosives</b>	ɓ		ɗ			
<b>Fricatives</b>		f, v	s, z			
<b>Nasals</b>	m		n			
<b>Glides</b>				y		w
<b>Liquids</b>			l			
<b>Palatalized</b>					ky, gy	
<b>Labialized</b>	bw, pw					kw, gw
<b>Pre-nasalized series</b>	mp, mb		nt, nd		ŋk, ŋg	ŋkp̄, ŋgb̄
		ɱv	ns, nz	jy		ɱw
	mbw				ŋgy	ŋkw, ŋgw

Some minimal pairs and near minimal pairs to support the analysis shown in table 1 are given in (1).

(1) Consonantal minimal pairs

<u>Contrast</u>	<u>Word initial</u>		<u>Contrast</u>	<u>Word internal</u>	
	<u>Pagibete</u>	<u>Gloss</u>		<u>Pagibete</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
b-ɓ	bozó ɓozó	'basket used by men' 'body heat, sweat'	p-b	mbabáyi epapále	'baboon' 'papaya'
ɓ-gb	ɓangó gbangó	'blood' 'lizard sp.'	p-kp	mpépulúpe mpupulukpa	'butterfly' 'small ant species'
f-v	féye véye	'to foam' 'to take'	p-w	apú awú	'it.darkened' 's/he.sang'
t-d	tángá dángá	'read!' 'round house'	b-gb	edibáke edigbáke	'hide, skin' 'knee'

<u>Contrast</u>	<u>Word initial</u>		<u>Contrast</u>	<u>Word internal</u>	
	<u>Pagibete</u>	<u>Gloss</u>		<u>Pagibete</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
d-l	deséye léséye	'cause to leave' 'remind'	b-m	gubéye guméye	'to.cut (grass)' 'to.crawl'
d-z	doléye zoléye	'to kick' 'to deceive'	m-mb	yámbé nyamé	'sole (of foot)' 'animal'
s-z	súngéye zúnguséye	'to end' 'to boil'	m-n	amóó anóó	's/he.will.kill' 's/he.will.drink'
ns-nt	nsálé ntálo	'work' 'bow'	mb-mbw	nzumbúye nzumbwa	'white person' 'bushbuck'
ns-nz	nsí nzí	'fish' 'wisdom, knowledge'	d-l	mbidí mbíli	'plant species' 'sore.throat'
w-y	wáléye yaléye	'to split' 'to not meet, to miss'	s-t	pesá petá	'light (it)!' 'set (a trap)!'
y-ny	yámbé nyamé	'sole.of.foot' 'animal'	k-g	lúgá dúká	'row!' 'pour!'
ɲk-ɲkw	ɲkúwe ɲkwe	'bone' 'salt'	g-ɲg	ɲgugú ɲgungú	'waist' 'mosquito'
ɲgw -ɲgy	ɲgwaye ɲgyabé	'palm kernel oil' 'mushroom species'	gy-gw gw-kw	agya agwa akwa	's/he.will.do' 's/he.will.fall' 's/he.will.die'
kp-gb	kpongbo gpongbo	'cutting board' 'palm nut'	kp-kw	akpí akwí	's/he.plucked (one feather' 's/he.died
kp-ɲkp	kpóngbo ɲkpóngo	'hornbill' 'rut, gully'			

### 3.1.2 Vowels

Pagibete has an inventory of seven vowels. They are given in table 2.

Table 2. The Vowel Phonemes of Pagibete

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid tense	e		o
Mid lax	ɛ		ɔ
Low		a	

Minimal pairs to support the analysis in table 2 are given in (2).

#### (2) Vowel minimal pairs

Contrast	Pagibete	Gloss
ɛ - i	gbagbí gbagbé	'stinkbug' 'hammer'
ɛ - e	bandéye bandéye	'to begin' 'beard'
u - i	abukí abikí	's/he.scraped.dirt.with.hands' 's/he.came'
u - o	gbangú gbangó	'edible plant sp.' 'lizard sp.'
o - ɔ	tóóte tóóte	'clay' 'sleep'
a - ɔ	aɗakí aɗɔkí	's/he.mounted' 's/he.provoked'
a - e	paséye peséye	'to stir' 'to start, light'

Table 3 shows the posited feature values of Pagibete vowels. This chart will be used in explaining the processes for vowel harmony. The /a/ is intentionally underspecified for [low] to explain certain vowel harmony processes observed in verbs, which are not dealt with in this paper, but in one which is forthcoming.

Table 3. Phonological Features for Pagibete  
Vowels

	<b>i</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>ɛ</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>ɔ</b>	<b>o</b>	<b>u</b>
<b>high</b>	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
<b>back</b>	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
<b>low</b>	-	-	+		+	-	-
<b>round</b>	-	-	-	-	+	+	+

A discussion of restrictions on the tense and lax mid vowels within words is found in section 3.4.1.2.

### 3.2 Tone

Pagibete has two phonemic tones, low and high. Both lexical tone and grammatical tone are present. Permutations in lexical tones noted for citation forms have been observed on sentence or phrase level, but much more data and analysis are needed before a statement can be made on this feature of the language.

Contour tones appear on the surface. Further study is needed to determine if they are phonemic.

### 3.2.1 Lexical tone

Lexical tone in Pagibete carries a fairly light functional load. Of a total of 1011 nouns and verbs in the data corpus, only twenty-one are contrastive only for tone. Several minimal pairs are given in (3).

(3)

<u>Pagibete</u>	<u>English gloss</u>
makéye	'to throw'
mákéye	'to call'
díkágéye	'to rub on'
díkágéye	'to close up thoroughly'
lókéye	'to rain'
lókéye	'to vomit'
ekpokpóke	'knife sheath'
ekpokpóke	'cranium'
esaka	'basket type'
esaká	'rainwater, puddle'

### 3.2.2 Grammatical tone

Grammatical tone, in contrast to lexical tone, carries a fairly heavy functional load, as tone is used to distinguish between the tenses of Pagibete. Contrastive tones occur on both the subject agreement prefix of the verb as well as on the tense vowel of verbs with a CVC root (see chapter 4, section 4.3.1 for a more complete discussion of verb structure). Table 4 presents verb paradigms for three verbs.

Table 4. Verb Paradigms in Third Person Showing Grammatical Tone Contrast

'Tense' expressed <sup>a</sup>	genéye 'to go'	pupéye 'to go out'	wókéye 'to hear'
Present	ágena	ápupa	áwókó
Future	agena	apupa	awókó
Narrative	agená	apupá	awókó
Past	aginí <sup>b</sup>	apupí	awókí
Subjunctive	ágené	ápupí	áwóké

<sup>a</sup> Subjunctive and narrative refer to mood, not tense; but they have been labeled as 'tense' by other Bantuists as they occur in the same slot as the tense markers (Welmers, p.344), so the chart is labeled as such.

<sup>b</sup> See section 3.4.1.4 for an explanation of the vowel change.

### 3.3 Syllable structure

Pagibete manifests only open syllable structures. The maximum syllable onset allowable is C, where C may be labialized or palatalized, with or without prenasalization.

Possible syllable types in Pagibete include V, CV, and CVV. Examples are presented in(4).

- (4) a) nkwe 'salt' CV      b) máléaléa 'cicada' CV-CVV-CVV      c) edibáke 'skin' V-CV-CV-CV
- d) gwéye 'to fall' CV-CV      e) kyokyó 'spider' CV-CV      f) ngyangáye 'caterpillar sp.' CV-CV-CV

### 3.4 Rules

Some of the phonological rules for Pagibete are presented in this section. These rules are based on current generative phonology theory, and classified according to whether the

processes are lexical or post-lexical. Feature geometry is used to show the application of these rules.

### **3.4.1 Lexical rules**

The rules in this section apply in the lexical cycle of word formation. Rules in this category are sensitive to the grammatical category of the word, and/or the semantics of the morpheme. There is as yet insufficient data to determine the number of strata which might be present in Pagibete.

#### **3.4.1.1 Neutralization of contrast of prenasalized stops morpheme internally**

As noted in section 3.1.1, voiced and voiceless prenasalized stops contrast in Pagibete. However, this contrast is not as readily documented morpheme internally; out of 117 words with prenasalized stops morpheme internally, 110 are voiced and seven are voiceless.

Given this asymmetry, it would appear that the voicing distinction has been nearly neutralized in favor of the voiced series. This hypothesis gains support when the seven words with morpheme internal voiceless prenasalized stops are carefully examined. These words all appear to be at a possible historical morpheme break, or in a reduplicated syllable. This is borne out by a comparison with the Comparative Bantu series reconstructed by Malcolm Guthrie (1969/71). For example, C.S. 1109 is *-kódá*, 'snail species' (1971, vol.3:290). Pagibete has a cognate, *máŋkódo*, which maintains the lack of voicing on the *k*, although this word has changed classes since the Bantu era (from 9-10 to 1a-2).



### 3.4.1.2 Vowel harmony in nominals

Pagibete, in common with many Niger-Congo languages, exhibits vowel harmony (Welmers 1973:33). Generally this is described in terms of [+/- ATR]. However, as [ATR] is not posited as a feature of Pagibete vowels, this process must be described in other terms.

In Pagibete nominals, the process, which affects the phonetic mid vowels, can be described in terms of [low]. In this environment, it occurs only within a morpheme, not across morpheme boundaries.

- |     |                          |                        |  |
|-----|--------------------------|------------------------|--|
| (5) | a) ngbebé-me<br>lip-c.4  | b) e-bogó<br>c.5-rock  | c) e-sesé-ke<br>c.7-sifting.basket-c.7 |
|     | d) 6e-kele<br>c.10-spoon | e) o-6ókɔ<br>c.15a-arm | f) e-gbɔmé<br>c.1x-cooked.manioc.paste |

The above suggests that nominal roots are underlyingly specified for [low]. However, in nominals, vowel harmony is more of a tendency than a rule. Of the 380 multi-syllabic noun roots in the database containing mid vowels, twenty-nine mix e/o or ɔ/e and forty-four mix vowels specified [+low] with those specified [-low].

### 3.4.1.3 Vowel rounding in verb bases

The first vowel harmony process at work in verb bases (see chapter 4, section 4.1.2 for definition) is vowel rounding. This process works in a left to right direction, and is triggered by [ɔ]. As seen in (6), the expected final vowel is [a], which at an earlier stage in the lexical

cycle is specified for [+low]; however, following a radical with the vowel  $\text{ɔ}$ , the final vowel becomes  $[\text{ɔ}]$ , as seen in the final form in each column.

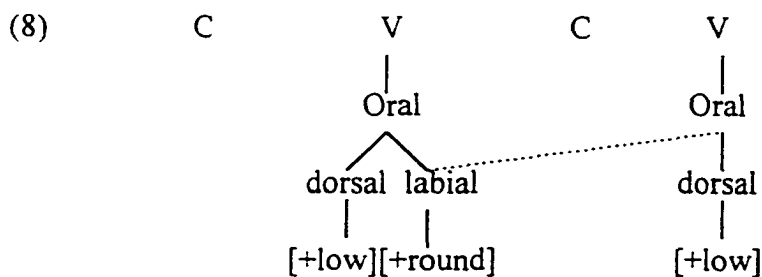
(6) Pagibete future tense verbs

aḅanda	's/he.will.begin'	alila	's/he.will.keep'
abiba	's/he.will.grow'	aloka	's/he.will.weave'
aboma	's/he.will.beat'	aŋgémána	'it.will.be.enough'
aḅúna	's/he.will.crack'	alúga	's/he.will.paddle'
aḅóto	'she.will.give.birth'	alokɔ	'it.will.rain'

This rule can be formulated as in (7).

$$(7) \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [-\text{round}] \\ [+low] \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [+round] \end{array} \quad / \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [+round] \\ [+low] \end{array} \quad \text{C} \underline{\quad}$$

In feature geometry, this can be formalized as a spreading of the labial node to the following vowel.



### 3.4.1.4 Vowel raising in verb bases

The second vowel harmony process within verb bases is vowel raising. The mid close vowels become high vowels when the immediately following syllable contains a [+high] vowel. This occurs both with the causative extension *-ís-* and the past tense final vowel *-í*.

- |     |    |         |                         |    |            |                    |
|-----|----|---------|-------------------------|----|------------|--------------------|
| (9) | a) | lék-éye | ‘to set a snare’        | b) | sos-éye    | ‘to wash’          |
|     |    | a-lék-a | ‘s/he will set a snare’ |    | a-sos-a    | ‘s/he will wash’   |
|     |    | a-lík-í | ‘s/he set a snare’      |    | a-sus-í    | ‘s/he washed’      |
|     |    |         |                         |    | n-sus-ís-é | ‘to cause to wash’ |

The habitual aspect morpheme *-pí*, however, does not trigger this rule; it is for this reason that the definition of verbal base in Pagibete (see chapter 4, section 4.1.2) requires modification of the traditional Bantu definition. The rule can be formulated then as in (10).

- (10)      V                    → V                    / \_\_\_C      V ]<sub>base</sub>  
           [-low]                    [+high]                                       [+high]

This process can be formalized in feature geometry as a rule spreading the feature [+high].

- (11)
- |   |  |        |  |   |  |         |
|---|--|--------|--|---|--|---------|
| C |  | V      |  | C |  | V       |
|   |  |        |  |   |  |         |
|   |  | Oral   |  |   |  | Oral    |
|   |  |        |  |   |  |         |
|   |  | dorsal |  |   |  | dorsal  |
|   |  |        |  |   |  |         |
|   |  | [-low] |  |   |  | [+high] |
- (A dotted line connects the vertical bar between 'dorsal' and '[-low]' on the left to the vertical bar between 'dorsal' and '[+high]' on the right.)

There are a few exceptions to this rule, however. Although the mid open front vowels normally are not raised in this environment, they are in a few commonly used verbs, e.g., *genéye* ‘to go’ (see table 4), *kengéye* ‘to try’, and *kpetéye* ‘to speak’:

- |      |    |                |              |    |                |              |
|------|----|----------------|--------------|----|----------------|--------------|
| (12) | a) | <i>nekenga</i> | ‘I.will.try’ | b) | <i>nekpeta</i> | ‘I.will.say’ |
|      |    | <i>nekingí</i> | ‘I.tried’    |    | <i>nekpítí</i> | ‘I.said’     |

This rule does not apply to nouns. Numerous examples showing the lack of vowel raising in nouns exist; three are given:

- |      |    |                   |    |             |    |              |
|------|----|-------------------|----|-------------|----|--------------|
| (13) | a) | <i>bodiya</i>     | b) | <i>eɓɓi</i> | c) | <i>mbéti</i> |
|      |    | ‘leaf of cocoyam’ |    | ‘civet cat’ |    | ‘letter’     |

#### 3.4.1.5 Meeussen’s Rule in Pagibete

Meeussen’s Rule, which is a tone rule, states that when two high tones are adjacent, one, typically the second, will change (Kenstowicz 1994:325). This is in keeping with the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP).

In Pagibete, Meeussen’s Rule applies across morpheme boundaries. It is most evident when the high toned class 17 locative prefix *kó-* is attached to a noun with an initial high tone on its stem.

- (14) a) /kó/ + /ngí/ → [kóngi] ‘to/in.the.village’
- |    |  |               |  |              |
|----|--|---------------|--|--------------|
| b) |  | <i>kó#ngí</i> |  | <i>kóngi</i> |
|    |  |               |  |              |
|    |  | H H           |  | H L          |

### 3.4.1.6 Affix and contour tone deletion with the class 17 prefix *kó-*

*Kó-* has effects which go beyond Meeussen's Rule. At this point they can be described, but not explained. The first is that morphemes which have an apparent contour tone in their non-locative form lose the high tone. Morphemes ending in *-ye* or *-te* (optionally?) lose this suffix. While plural nouns typically retain their class prefix (14d), singular nouns generally lose theirs (14a).

- |      |    |                                    |  |
|------|----|------------------------------------|--|
| (15) | a) | /kó- + e-boóna/<br>c.17 c.5-market | [kóbona]<br>c.17-market<br>'to.market'           |
|      | b) | /kó- + paáye/<br>c.17 forest       | [kópa]<br>c.17-forest<br>'to/at/in.(the).forest' |
|      | c) | /kó- + tóóte/<br>c.17 sleep        | [kótɔ]<br>c.17-sleep<br>'from.sleep'             |
|      | d) | /kó- + ðe-ɲgágá/<br>c.17 c.8-chin  | [kóðeɲgágá]<br>'on.(the).chin'                   |

### 3.4.2 Post-lexical rules

Post-lexical rules are those which apply across the board in a language, and are not sensitive to lexical information, such as grammatical categories or semantics. Three have been identified so far in Pagibete.

### 3.4.2.1 Low vowel deletion

When an /a/ precedes an /e/, which is seen at a morpheme boundaries, the /a/ is deleted.

(16) a) /na + ekyá/ [nekyá]  
asc morning 'in the morning'

(14) b) /ba + ekɔ́s/ [ɓekɔ́s]  
c.2 guenon monkey guenon monkeys

(17) V → 0 /\_\_\_# V  
[+bk] [-bk]  
[-rd] [-lo]  
[-hi]

### 3.4.2.2 Nasal place assimilation

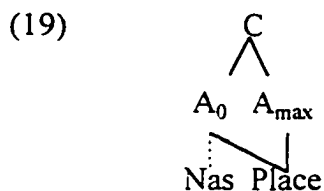
A nasal archiphoneme takes on the place of articulation of the following consonant. This is observed across morpheme boundaries, as with a class 1 noun prefix, a class 3 or 4 fossilized prefix, or an object marker on a verb.

(18) a) Class 3 prefix                      b) Object marker  
/N-tábo/                                      /a-N-ḡe-yáká N-tó/  
[ntábo]    [ambeyáká ntó]  
'branch'    's/he.chased.away (a) person'

This can be shown using Steriade's stricture model (in Kenstowicz 1994:503-504).

The archiphoneme is a floating nasal, which docks onto the A<sub>0</sub> (minimum stricture) node of

the consonant, causing a nasal onset to the segment. ( $A_0$  stands for zero aperture;  $A_{max}$  stands for maximum aperture.)



### 3.4.2.3 Effect of nasal morphemes on the liquid phoneme

As stated in section 0, nasals assimilate to the place of articulation of the following consonant. However, when this consonant is an /l/, the result is not [ʎ]. This is observed notably in the classes 1 (singular) and 2 (plural), where the class 1 marker is *N-* and the class 2 marker is *ba-*; and when a verb beginning with /l/ is preceded by the object marker, *N*.

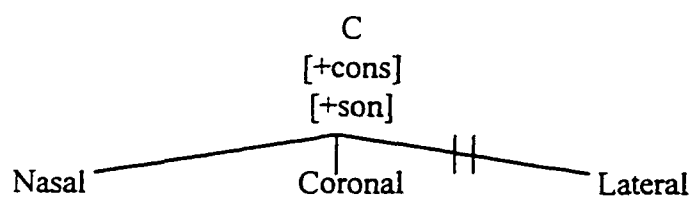
- (20)
- |    |                |           |             |
|----|----------------|-----------|-------------|
| a) | /N + lóko/     | [nóko]    | ‘male’      |
|    | /ba + lóko/    | [balóko]  | ‘males’     |
| b) | /lúmb + éye/   | [lúmbéye] | ‘to bury’   |
|    | /N + lúmb + á/ | [númbá]   | ‘bury him!’ |

The rule can be formulated as in (21).

- (21)
- |            |          |          |
|------------|----------|----------|
| C →        | C        | /C__     |
| [+lateral] | [+nasal] | [+nasal] |

In feature geometry, this is expressed as a rule delinking the lateral node when the nasal node has docked.

(22)



There is some question as to whether the /l/ assimilates completely, or retains its timing: [nóko] or [nnóko]. This needs to be explored further, if possible with a computer program which measures length through acoustic phonetics technology.



## CHAPTER 4

### MORPHOLOGY

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the word-building processes of Pagibete. It begins with a look at the typology of Pagibete processes, then discusses the various elements of nominal and verbal phrases.

##### 4.1.1 Typology

Pagibete, in common with other Bantu languages, is fairly polysynthetic. Nouns generally consist of two morphemes, as do many words which agree with nouns in class. Verbs consist of at least two morphemes, but more usually three morphemes, and may have up to six. Some adverbs and conjunctions attach to the verb; others stand in isolation. One of Guthrie's subsidiary criteria for identifying a language as Bantu is that it has "a set of invariable cores, or radicals, from which almost all words are formed by an agglutinative process" (1948:11). While Pagibete does have these radicals, they are not as productive in word building as they are in most Bantu languages (Guthrie and Carrington 1988:11). For example, in Lingala, to express the idea 'worker' one merely adds the appropriate class prefix and final vowel to the radical *-sal-* which is the verb root for 'to work'. In Pagibete to express the same idea, one must say 'a person of work'; and the noun for work, *nsále*, and

the verb for work, *-gy-*, do not share a radical. (Note, however, that *nsále* shares the *-sál-* root with Lingala.)

#### 4.1.2 Definitions

Terminology for parts of words varies tremendously among those who write on Niger-Congo linguistics. For that reason, the terminology which is used in this paper is clarified here.

**Root:** a root is defined as a single morpheme which takes one or more affixes. This corresponds to Guthrie's radical (1967:14).

**Stem:** following Guthrie, a stem is defined as "that part of a nominal which remains after the removal of any concord prefix" (1967:14).

**Concord marker:** the term concord marker (CM) refers to the concordial morpheme associated with each noun class. A concord marker marks agreement with the noun class, and is usually but not in every case based on the shape of the noun class prefix.

**Base:** a base is a verb root plus any extensions, together with a suffix. An extension is a derivational suffix which occurs immediately after the verb root or another extension. Suffixes which occur after the tense/mood suffix are not part of the verb base (see chapter 3, section 3.4.1.4 for an explanation).

## 4.2 Nominals

Nominals are those words which comprise the noun phrase. The independent nominals found in Pagibete are nouns and some pronouns. All other nominals are dependent upon the head noun for the shape of their concord marker.

### 4.2.1 Nouns

Bantu nouns commonly have the form: class prefix (sometimes known as concord prefix) + stem. The suffix of this stem is invariable across noun classes (such as the singular and plural forms of the word). Pagibete has nouns of this form as well as the following forms: class prefix + root + class suffix, and root + class suffix, where the suffix does not form a unit with the stem across noun classes. Examples of each type are listed:

#### (23) Noun morphology

##### a) class prefix + root (gender 1/2)

sing: 0-bozó                      pl: 'ba-bozó    'basket type(s) used by men'

##### b) class prefix + root + class suffix (gender 7/8)

sing: e-digbá-ke                pl: 'be-digbá    'knee(s)'

##### c) root + class suffix (gender 3/4)

sing: mbelo                      pl: mbelo-me    'law(s)'

In addition, several kinship terms take an obligatory possessive suffix, which in the plural is added after the class 2 suffix. Section 4.2.6 discusses other pronominal possession.

- (24) a) nkálá-me                'my wife'                      b) mámá-me                'my sibling/cousin'  
       'ba-kálá-'bá-ko        'your wives'                'ba-mámá-'bá-'bu        'their siblings/cousins'

### 4.2.2 Adjectives

The structure of adjectives in Pagibete varies according to the type of adjective. These two types of adjectives are distinguished by their form when in a plural noun phrase. Type one adjectives (25 and 27b) have the same stem in both singular and plural noun phrases, and may or may not be derived from verbs. Type two adjectives, which are not derived from verbs, have a change in their stem, either reduplication or a change of the second consonant (26 and 27a). For types one and two, the adjective is formed by adding the appropriate class prefix to the stem. If the adjective is derived from a verb, the stem is composed of the radical of the verb plus /é/. While most other adjectives in groups one or two also have as their final vowel /e/, seven have another final vowel.

(25) From verb

- |           |              |             |              |
|-----------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| a) 0-míkí | mó-'bu'bé    | b) e-'bembé | lé-'bu'bé    |
| c.1-child | c.1-be.clean | c.5-house   | c.5-be.clean |

(26) Not from verb

- |           |           |              |           |
|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| a) 0-míkí | mó-keḁ    | b) ma-'bembé | lé-keke   |
| c.1-child | c.1-small | c.6-house    | c.6-small |

(27) Non-final /e/

- |               |           |              |            |
|---------------|-----------|--------------|------------|
| a) nkénganó-0 | o-ku'ḁu   | b) e-'bógo   | lé-kuku    |
| walk-c.3      | c.3-short | c.5-plantain | c.5-unripe |

The construction of the third type of adjective appears to be the addition of the prefix 'bé- 'that' to a stem; however, none of these stems exists in any other form. Additionally, these adjectives often have a reduplicated syllable.

- (28) a) *bédapídapi* 'elastic, sticky'  
 b) *bédokilo* 'deep'  
 c) *bégbelɛgbele* 'patterned (primarily animal-type patterns)'

### 4.2.3 Enumeratives

The traditional Pagibete number system has numbers for one to five; after five, they used to use an addition system, except for ten, which is the word for 'hands'.

Table 5. Traditional Pagibete Counting, 1-10

1	<i>émotí</i>	'one'	6	<i>esálo esálo</i>	'three three'
2	<i>ébalé</i>	'two'	7	<i>esálo ékwangane</i>	'three four'
3	<i>esálo</i>	'three'	8	<i>ékwangane ékwangane</i>	'four four'
4	<i>ékwangane</i>	'four'	9	<i>ékwangane o'búmoti</i>	'four five'
5	<i>o'búmotí</i>	'five'	10	<i>mabókɔ</i>	'hands'

Today, while they continue to use their words for one through five, and sometimes that for ten, they commonly use the Lingala numbers for six through ten.

When used in counting, numbers one through four have the form *é+* stem. When used as adjectives, they have the form concord marker + stem (29). 'Five', *o'búmotí*, has an invariable form, which appears to be composed of the class 15 prefix *o-*, plus the 3PL affix *bú*, plus the stem for 'one', *-motí* ('they ones', referring to the five digits on a hand?).

## (29) Numbers as adjectives

- a) N-tó      ó-motí                      b) e-'bembé      lé-motí  
     c.1-person c.1-one                      c.5-house      c.5-one
- c) 'ba-tó      'bí-balé                      d) ma-'bembé      mi-sálo  
     c.2-person c.2-two                      c.6-house      c.6-three

The Lingala numbers generally remain invariable in form, as they do in the dialect of Lingala spoken in the area. For numbers larger than ten, the Pagibete typically mix the two systems. This is shown in table 6.

Table 6. Counting in Present-Day Pagibete

1	émotí	11	zomi n'émotí
2	ébalé	12	zomi n'ébalé
3	esálo	13	zomi n'esálo
4	ékwangane	etc.	
5	o'búmotí		
6	motoba	20	ntuku ébalé
7	sambo	21	ntuku ébalé n'émotí
8	mwambe	23	ntuku esálo n'esálo
9	libwá	etc.	
10	zomi (Lingala) or ma'boko (Pagibete)		

The word meaning 'how many', *enga*, like numerals, is composed of a concord marker plus a stem.

- (30) O-lik-í      na 'ba-míkí 'bé-nga?  
 2S-be-PRES asc c.2-child c.2-how.many?  
 'How many children do you have?'

#### 4.2.4 Pronouns

Pagibete independent pronouns are composed of a single morpheme.

Table 7. Independent Pronouns

<u>Person</u>	<u>Form</u>	<u>Person</u>	<u>Form</u>
1S	eme	1PL	'basu
2S	owe	2PL	'banu
3S	yí	3PL	'bú

There is a second type of pronoun, less commonly used but nonetheless important. This type of pronoun has the shape of the concord marker for the class of the thing for which it stands.

- (31) Yée wáne kó-̀bòkò go a-gen-á a-sí-a.  
 c.9pron here c.17-arm also 3S-go-NARR 3S-be finished-PRES  
 'The one here on my arm also is finished.'  
 (Yée refers to the class 9 member *kwáye* 'problem'.)

#### 4.2.5 Demonstratives

Pagibete has a series of four demonstratives. They roughly correspond in meaning to 'this', 'that', 'this which has been referred to already', and 'that which has been referred to already'.

The structure of the near demonstrative ('this') is composed of the concord marker with a falling tone.

- (32) a) móo c.1ndem b) yée c.9/10ndem

The other demonstratives consist of the concord marker minus its vowel, plus a demonstrative stem.

- (33) a) 'ba + -íyá → 'bíyá 'c.2/2x/8 fdem'  
 b) mo + -ó → móo 'c.1/1a/1x/6 rndem'  
 c) we + -óní → wóní 'c.3/15/15a rfdem'

See table 8 for a complete list of demonstratives. Note, however, the far demonstrative for classes 1/1a/1x and 3, *yáa*, which does not conform to the pattern.

Table 8. Demonstratives

Class No.	CM	Near	Far -íyá	Reference near -ó	Reference far -óní
1, 1a, 1x	mo	móo	yáa	móo	móní
2, 2x	'ba	'báa	'bíyá	'bóo	'bóní
3	we	wée	yáa	wóo	wóní
4	ma	máa	míyá	móo	móní
5	le	lée	líyá	lóo	lóní
6	ma	máa	míyá	móo	móní
7	te	tée	tíyá	tóo	tóní
8	'ba	'báa	'bíyá	'bóo	'bóní
9	ye	yée	yáa	yóo	yóní
10	ye	yée	yáa	yóo	yóní
15, 15a	we	wée	wíyá	wóo	wóní

#### 4.2.6 Possessive pronouns

The pronominal possessive morpheme is *-ngá-*. Possessive pronouns have the following form: concord marker-possessive morpheme-possessor suffix. The concord marker agrees with the thing or person “possessed.”



- (34) a) n-gbay-é      mó-ngá-su      b) nsal-áme má-ngá-ke  
       c.1-chief-c.1 c.1-POSS-1PL      work-c.4 c.4-POSS-3S  
       ‘our chief’                              ‘his works’

Table 9 gives the set of possessive morphemes with possessor suffixes.

Table 9. Possessive Pronoun Stems

1S	-ngá-me	1PL	-ngá-su
2S	-ngá-ko	2PL	-ngá-nu
3S	-ngá-ke	3PL	-ngá-bu

#### 4.2.7 Quantitatives

There is no single morphological statement that can be made for Pagibete quantitatives. Two are invariable in form; *zu*, ‘all’, and *mánkaka* ‘alone’. The former is borrowed from their non-Bantu neighbors to the north, the Ngbandi.

Other quantitatives, such as *ékina* ‘other, another’ and *ebuwé* ‘many’ have the same morphological characteristics of adjectives.

#### 4.3 Verbals

Verbal roots in Pagibete cannot stand alone. At the very least they must have a suffix; thus the minimal form is a base. This is the form of both the 2S imperative and the infinitive, as well as the identificational copula and process verbal particle. Verbal roots in Pagibete can have one of four forms; C-, CV-, CVC-, CVCV- and CVCVC-. It should be noted that this last is questionable, as the second syllable has no independent tone, but acts as exten-

sions do in taking the tone of the final syllable of the word. However, several CVCVC-verbs are irreducible to a CVC- root.

## (35) C- roots

- a) m- 'swallow'
- b) t- 'pierce'

## (36) CV- roots

- a) 'ba- 'want, like, love'
- b) kó- 'cough'

## (37) CVC- roots

- a) gám- 'cry'
- b) kis- 'lower'

## (38) CVCV- roots

- a) kpató- 'remove'
- b) sapo- 'turn away'

## (39) CVCVC- roots

- a) 'dɔngɔt- 'stretch to end of length, but still lack'
- b) ngéman- 'be enough'

### 4.3.1 Verbs

Generally in Bantu languages, such as Lingala, the infinitive affix is a prefix. In Pagibete, that is not the case. The infinitive form of the reflexive verb involves both a prefix, *o-*, and a suffix, *-ko*. Because of the syllable constraints of the language, the vowel /a/ must be inserted between a C or CVC root and the suffix *-ko*. The infinitive affix of all other verbs is a suffix, *-é(ye)*. Note that an *o* or *ɔ* preceding an *é* deletes that *é* in these examples:

## (40) C root

péye  
'to give'

## (41) CV root

móye  
'to kill'

## (42) CVC root

genéye  
'to go'

## (43) CVCV root

sapóye  
'to divert, turn away'

## (44) C reflexive

opáko  
'to give self'

## (45) CVC reflexive

ókisáko  
'to humble self'

Subject prefixes are obligatory for all except the infinitive and second person imperatives. So, with these two exceptions, the basic structure of the normal verb of

Pagibete, showing only obligatory constituents, is as follows: subject prefix + root + tense vowel.

- (46) a) *te-bís-í*                      b) *a-mák-á*  
           1PL-put-PAST                      3S-call-NARR

As Pagibete is an agglutinative language, in common with other Bantu languages, the verb can consist of quite a few more elements. Thus, a more complete picture of the Pagibete verb is this: (negative/adverb) + subject prefix + (object marker) + root + (extension<sup>1</sup>) + (extension<sup>2</sup>) + tense/mood + (aspect) + (adverb). However, no verb appears in the data corpus to date which includes all of these possibilities; six morphemes seem to be the maximum permitted, although even that is quite rare. The only morpheme on the base which is inflectional is the tense/mood. All others are derivational.

- (47) a) *'bá-'ba-n-an-ag-e-píné*                      b) *ká-n-wón-é*  
           3PL-love-ASS-REP-PRES-HAB                      NEG/3S-OM-see-SUBJ  
           'they.love.each.other'                      'he.would.not.see'

#### 4.3.1.1 Subject prefixes

The subject prefix is a verbal prefix which agrees in number and person with the subject. Unlike the majority of Bantu languages, however, it does not agree in class. There apparently is a correspondence, however, with mood or voice; more research is needed to determine the precise environments for the second set of subject prefixes.

Table 10. Subject Prefixes

Most common; indicative, some subjunctive				Less common; conditional, subjunctive, imperative			
1S	nε-	1PL	tε-	1S	na-, nó-	1PL	--
2S	o-	2PL	má-	2S	---	2PL	mó-
3S	a-	3PL	'bá-	3S	o-, e-	3PL	'bó-, 'bé-

#### 4.3.1.2 Extensions

Extensions are derivational morphemes characteristic of Bantu languages. Most lists of extensions distinguish between seven and ten extensions (Guthrie 1962, Welmers 1973: 338-339, Hyman 1993:3, Guthrie and Carrington 1988:50-55, Meussen in Hinnebusch 1989:465). Pagibete has seven which are well attested, plus a possible eighth, *mi-*. They are as given in table 11. Per usual practice among Bantuists, the posited underlying form is that which surfaces when the tense vowel is [a] (Guthrie 1962:211, Welmers 1973:337).

Table 11. Pagibete Extensions

Label	Underlying form	Example
Repetitive, animate O	-εg-	-bomeg- 'to beat' (an animate being, such as a dog)
Repetitive, inanimate O	-ag-	-bomag- 'to beat' (an inanimate object, such as a drum)
Neuter	-ek-	-walek- 'to split open' (as a fruit's skin does in hot water)
Causative	-is-	-bibis- 'to strengthen, raise'
Associative	-εn-	-kílen- 'to run together' (as rivers)
Stative	-an-	-tígan- 'to remain' (as a state of being)
Applicative	-εl-	-vel- 'to marry' (lit., to take to)
Reflexive	mi-	míp- 'to give oneself'

In addition, there appear to be two frozen extensions, *-it-* and *-em-*. These appear only in irreducible verb bases, and so their semantic component is unclear. A contrast was given by native speakers, however, between *-it-* and *-is-*. (*-bín-* must appear with one or the other of these two extensions.)

- (48) a) Abíngisagá pípa. 'She's rolling the barrel (on one edge).'  
 b) Abíngitagá pípa. 'She's rolling the barrel (on its side).'

Most extensions may co-occur with at least one other. For some, an ordering restriction applies; for others, it does not. The repetitives, whether for an animate object (REPA) or for an inanimate object (REPI), must be the final extension in the base. The stative follows all except the causative: it does not co-occur with either of the repetitives.

- (49) a) 'Ba-v-εl-εn-ε-gbá  
 3PL-take-APP-ASS-FUT-DFUT  
 'They will marry.'
- b) A-wát-εl-ég-é na kingo é-ngá-ke zu.  
 3S-twist-APP-REPA-NARR asc neck c.9-POSS-3S all  
 'He (the snake) wrapped himself completely around his (the chief's) neck.'
- c) Ma-dɔ-εg-ɔ-pí ngíme na ngíme  
 2PL-come.from-REPA-FUT-HAB villages asc villages  
 má-dás-ek-an-a?  
 2PL-gather-NEUT-STAT-PRES  
 'Do you come from many countries to join together?'

An explanation of the semantic difference between neuter and stative is in order here, first because few Bantu languages distinguish between them, and secondly because the

neuter frequently co-occurs with the stative. Mchombo defines a stative as giving “attribution of certain qualities or state, inherent or acquired, to the subject. It also has the meaning of the subject’s entering a particular state or condition but such that there is no implication of agency responsible for such a state or condition” (1993:7-8). Pagibete seems to have separated the first part of his definition from the second. The terms as used here denote that the neuter *-ek-* indicates a non-agentive process, while the stative *-an-* attributes certain qualities or states to the subject.

#### 4.3.1.3 Tense/aspect/mode morphemes

Welmers states “the forms or constructions of Niger-Congo languages do not fall into neat sets with different types of morphological structure” (1973:344). He also mentions the “unidimensional character” of the verbal systems of Bantu languages, which most assuredly fits the Pagibete case. The first slot after the extension is the one which either takes a basic time morpheme (past, present, or future), or the morpheme for the imperative, subjunctive, or narrative mode. The mode morphemes never co-occur with the basic tense morphemes.

The present and future are marked with the same vowel, /a/. The two tenses are differentiated by the tone on the subject prefix; present takes a high tone, while future uses a low tone. Past tense is marked with /i/ (note high tone), concurrent with a low tone on the subject prefix. Subjunctive is marked with a high tone on the subject prefix and an /é/ in the tense/mood slot. Narrative takes a low tone on the subject prefix, but an /á/ in the tense/mood slot. Second person imperative has no subject prefix; the vowel is an /á/. All but

the past tense have one or more phonological variant caused by vowel harmony processes (see chapter 3, section 3.4.1.3 for one source of phonological variation). This is summarized in table 12; a sample verb paradigm is found in table 4 in chapter 3.

Table 12. Tense Marking

Tense/mood	Tone on prefix	Vowel and tone in tense/mood slot	Phonological variants for the vowel
Present	high	a	ε, ɔ, e
Future	low	a	ε, ɔ, e
Narrative	low	a	ε, ɔ, e
Past	low	í	
Subjunctive	high	é	í
Imperative	n.a.	á	é, ó

The tense/aspect/mode system of Pagibete follows many other Niger-Congo languages in having distinctions for degree of distance in the past. These six auxiliary tenses occur in the same places as the more traditional aspect markers habitual, present progressive, and continual, so are discussed here with them. If any of these morphemes are in the main verbal phrase, they will occur immediately after the tense slot. These morphemes may also occur on the relative pronoun in relative clauses (see chapter 5, section 5.3.4). Co-occurrence restrictions are fairly severe, however, with only three of the nine attested with more than one tense slot morpheme. The future auxiliary tenses, for example, must co-occur with the future tense. Recent past may co-occur with either the present tense, which indicates that the

action has occurred within the last two or three hours, or with the past tense, which indicates that it happened that same day, but longer ago than if it is used with the present tense. Distant past may co-occur with either the past tense or the narrative mode marker. See (50) and table 13.

- (50) a) bá-gen-á-ndé kó-pa.  
3PL-go-NARR-DPAST c.17-forest.  
“They used to go to the forest [for hunting].”
- b) a-súng-a-ló ndéngé tina?”  
1S-end-FUT-NFUT sort how  
“How will this end?”

Table 13. Tense and Aspect Co-occurrence Restrictions

	-ndé	-yókó	-yáká	-gá	-ló	-púmá	-gbá	-pí	-píne
	Distant past	Mid past	Recent past	Progressive	Near future	Mid future	Distant future	Habitual	Continual
Past	X	X	X						
Present			X						X
Future				X	X	X	X	X	
Narrative	X							X	

Subjunctive and imperative moods do not allow the addition of aspect markers under most conditions. They do, however, allow the suffixation of adverbial morphemes, as discussed in the next section, which then permit the addition of the auxiliary tenses.



Also note that the progressive aspect co-occurs only with the future tense. In order to express the idea of past progressive, one of two other constructions is used. The first requires a past tense 'be' verb followed by a verb to which is prefixed the class 17 marker, *kó-*.

- (51) Bá-li-ag-í      kó-bá-gen-á      kó-bona      ndé bá-won-á      kpɔɔ  
 3PL-be-REPI-PAST c.17-3PL-go-NARR c.17-market then 3PL-see-NARR mushrooms

yáa.

c.1afdem.

'They were going to market when they saw those mushrooms.'

The second construction requires a past tense 'be' verb with the high tone associate marker *né* or *ná* before an infinitive verb.

- (52) 'Ba-ka-'ba      bá-li-ag-í      ná bín-éye      ntango yée      'ba-n-wún-í  
 c.2-woman-c.2 3PL-be-REPI-PAST asc dance-INF when      c.9ndem 3PL-OM-saw-PAST

nzókɔ mɔɔ.

snake c.1ndem.

'The women were dancing when they saw that snake.'

#### 4.3.1.4 Adverbs

The next major class of morphemes which attach to the verb is adverbs. There are four of these. Only one is prefixed to the verb, the negative *ká*. Importantly, this one only prefixes to the verbs with vowel onsets; namely those marked for second and third person singular subjects. Otherwise, it occurs before the verb, but phonologically remains a separate word. It must co-occur with a phrase final negative marker in either case.

- (53) Kásí míkí ómotí kámó abáke ka.  
 But child c.1-one NEG/3S-kill/PAST father-3S NEG.  
 'But one child did not kill his father.'

The other adverbs which attach to the verb are the emphatic *-se*, *-lí* 'yet', and the second person imperative plural addressee marker *-ní*. The morpheme *-lí* is actually more of a clause modification, as it must co-occur with a negative and a past tense morpheme. It may co-occur with the independent morpheme *nó* 'yet', but its presence in the verb phrase is sufficient to communicate the idea of 'not yet'.

- (54) a) Né-bal-í-lí nó eyano ká.  
 1S-find-PAST-yet yet answer NEG.  
 'I have not gotten an answer yet.'
- b) Ká-m-bót-í-lí míkí ká.  
 NEG/3S-OM-give.birth-PAST-yet child NEG.  
 'She has not had a child yet.'

The plural addressee morpheme *-ni* must, obviously, occur on an imperative verb, and does so after the mode morpheme.

- (55) Pup-á-ni!  
 go.out-IMP-PL  
 'Go out!'

The emphatic *-se* also occurs on imperative verbs, as well as on subjunctive mode verbs. Its presence immediately after the mode morpheme permits an auxiliary tense marker to be added to the verb word. It also may occur sentence final in descriptive clauses, which are verbless (see section 6.2.2.1 of chapter 6).

- (56) a) *gy-á-se-lo*  
do-IMP-EMPH-NFUT  
'Do it (soon, emphatically)!'

   
b) *O-bí-se-gbá gotó ká.*  
2S-come/SUBJ-EMPH-DFUT again NEG.  
'You should never come again.'

#### 4.3.1.5 Conjunctions

Two conjunctions may affix to a verb, *a-* and *-tó*. The first is a prefix which occurs sentence initial, and therefore only attaches to sentence initial verbs. It includes the semantic range of 'however, so, if, for a long time'. The second is a suffix which occurs word final, means 'when', and is a subordinating conjunction used in tail-head constructions. (See chapter 7, section 1 for further discussion on its use in discourse.)

(57) *a-*

*A-bó-mas-é*                    *'ba-kangba zu...*  
If-2PL/SUBJ-kill-SUBJ c.2-elders all  
'If you kill off all the elders...'

(58) *-tó*

*'Bá-pan-a-tó*                    *'bá-band-á*                    *mó-ye*                    *'ba-bá-bu*                    *zu.*  
3PL-return-FUT-when 3PL-begin-NARR kill-INF c.2-father-3PL all  
'When they returned, they began to kill all their fathers.'

#### 4.3.2 Other verbals

While regular verbs in Pagibete do not behave like other Bantu verbs in agreeing with the class of the subject noun, that is not the case with other verbal particles, of which there are two sets. The form of both is a root + CM. The first set is identificational in function.

The second set is a process indicator, which may co-occur with a verb or stand in the place of the verb. Examples of the usage of each are found in chapter 5, section 5.4.

#### 4.3.2.1 Identificational

The identificational copula root has two basic forms: *ndé*, which translates ‘this is’, and *ndí*, which translates ‘that is’. Phonological processes resulting from a CM with a vowel which is [+round] result in the *ndó* allomorph for both. Table 14 lists the particle agreements for each class which appear in my data. *Ndé* occurs without a CM when it is in a sentence which is requesting or giving a name.

Table 14. Identificational Copulas

Class	ndé ‘this is’	ndí ‘that is’	Class	ndé ‘this is’	ndí ‘that is’
1	ndóno, ndómo	ndóni	7	ndéte	--
2	ndé’ba	--	8	--	--
3	ndówe	--	9	ndéye	ndíyóni
4	ndéma	--	10	ndéye	ndíbóni
5	ndéle	ndíloní	15a	--	--
6	--	--			

### 4.3.2.2 Process particle

The second set of verbal particles is a process particle. The root of the process particle is *ndi-*. However, it has an allomorph, *ndú-*, when the CM is *-wɔ*. The particle agreements attested to for each class are given in table 15.

It should be noted, however, that there are process verbals which do not agree in class with any noun in the sentence. These have the form of *ndóo* or *ndíyo*. Further research is needed to determine in what contexts these are used instead of the form which takes agreement.

Table 15. Process Particles

Class	Process particle	Class	Process particle
1	ndíyo, ndó	7	ndító
2	ndíbo	8	ndíbo
3	ndúwɔ	9	ndíyo
4	--	10	ndíyo
5	ndílo	15a	ndúwɔ
6	ndímo		

## 4.4 Summary

Pagibete follows the usual pattern of Bantu by constructing the largest part of its vocabulary from a set of roots. These roots take various affixes in order to create nouns, verbs, adjectives, and so on. Pagibete is unusual both in that the set of noun class affixes

includes suffixes as well as the usual prefixes, and in that the subject prefixes for normal verbs do not agree in class with the subject. However, two sets of verbal particles do often agree in class with the subject.

## CHAPTER 5

### NOUN CLASS SYSTEM

#### 5.1 Introduction

As with all Bantu languages, Pagibete noun phrase constituents are closely tied together, with members of the noun phrase agreeing in class with the head noun (Guthrie 1956; Kadima 1969; Welmers 1973). Most Bantu languages also have agreement with the class of the subject marked on the verb; Pagibete has this only with two verbal particles, not with standard verbs.

Pagibete has sixteen noun classes. This discussion follows the standard Bantu noun class numbering, with odd-numbered classes generally being singular and paired with the even-numbered plural classes sequential to them.

This chapter first describes the form and semantic content of Pagibete noun classes. Then various types of noun phrases are discussed, including those containing a relative clause. Finally, the verbal particles mentioned above are described.

#### 5.2 Classes

With reference to the standard Bantu noun class numbering, Pagibete has the following classes: 1, 1a, 1x, 2, 2x, 3, 4, 5, 6, 6a, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 15a, 17. They are distinguished from each other by one or a combination of the following factors: affixal shape (see table 16), set of concordial morphemes (see table 20), and the pairing of one class with another as

16), set of concordial morphemes (see table 20), and the pairing of one class with another as singular and plural. For example, classes 2 and 8 have the same affixes and concord markers, so are distinguished solely on the basis of the class membership of the stem in its singular form.

The pairings (genders) commonly found in Pagibete are the following: 1/2, 1a/2, 1x/2x, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/10, 15a/6. In addition, 3/10, 5/10, 7/10 are well attested to; 9/6, 3/6, 5/2, and 15a/10 also are found, but with the current database of 665 nouns, they have only one or two exemplars apiece. Several of these more unusual pairings are also documented in Ngombe (Kadima 1969:89), the language spoken immediately to the south of the Pagibete.

Not all nouns are found in a gender; a number of nouns are found in only one form. These “monoclasses” are 1, 2 or 8, 3, 9 or 10, 15, and 17. Placement in classes 1, 3, and 15 is based upon the concordial morpheme (CM). Since the CM of 2 and 8 is the same, *ba*, as is that of 9 and 10, *ye*, assignment to those classes is tentative in case of only one form. In addition, class 15, the reflexive gerund class, and class 17, the general locative class, do not pair with other classes.

### 5.2.1 Noun affixes

As noted in chapter 4, section 4.1, Pagibete nouns can have not only prefixes attached to stems, but also suffixes. Table 16 lists the affixes associated with each class, and gives examples.



Table 16. Pagibete Noun Classes

Class	Noun Affix(es)	Examples, with glosses	
1a	0- 0--ye 0--é	babá gbuké mázeyáye	'father, father's brother' 'large forest rat' 'woman in post-birth confinement'
1	N- N--ye N--é	mbétu mbiké nkáye	'firefly' 'visitor, stranger' 'female person'
2	'ba-  'ba--'ba  'ba--á	'bababá 'babétu 'baká'ba 'bamázayeyá'ba 'babiká 'bagbuká	'fathers, father's brothers' 'fireflies' 'female people' 'women in post-birth confinement' 'visitors, strangers' 'large forest rats'
1x	e- e--ke	ebogó ekopíke	'wild duck' 'leopard'
2x	'be- 'be--0	'bebogó 'bekopí	'wild ducks' 'leopards'
3	-0 -ye -é	mpemú moóye niyé	'doorway' 'root' 'head'
4	-me  -áme	mpemúme moóme niyáme	'doorways' 'heads' 'roots'
5	e- le- e--le	ebogó lémbo ebále	'rock' 'song' 'liver'
6	ma-   ma--ma	mabogó mámbo makwá mabáma	'rocks' 'songs' 'death gatherings (funerals, wakes)' 'livers'
7	e--ke	ekólógbóke egbókelíke	'knee' 'handle (general term)'
8	'be--0 'be--'be	'bekólógbó 'begbókelí'be	'knees' 'handles (general term)'
9	0-	bití ekele	'night' 'spoon'
10	'ba-	'babití 'bekele <sup>a</sup>	'nights' 'spoons'
15a	o- o--ko	ogóko okwáko	'foot' 'death gathering (funeral, wake)'

Table 16 -- *Continued*

Class	Noun Affix(es)	Examples, with glosses	
15	ó--ko	ópasáko	'to improve oneself'
17	kó-	kópa	'to/in the forest'

<sup>a</sup> See chapter 3, section 3.4.2.2 for an explanation of the apparent change of affix.

### 5.2.2 Proto-Bantu and Pagibete noun affixes

Table 17 compares Proto-Bantu affixes, as reconstructed by Meeussen (in Hinnebusch 1989:466) and Cole (in Welmers 1973:165), with the Pagibete affixes. Parentheses indicate that a noun in that class may or may not have that suffix.

Some of the diachronic changes which yielded the Pagibete affixes can be postulated. The addition of the feature [+ constricted glottis] to the bilabial oral stop is one, which could have taken place at any point in the overall process of change. Other changes, few of which affected every member of the class, must be ordered. First, the reduplication of prefixes occurred in classes 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 15, and 15a, with the reduplicated prefix becoming a suffix. Then for the 'singular' classes of that group, the first consonant of the prefix was deleted. Finally, for classes having a prefix with a nasal onset, the [-low] vowel was deleted and a nasal assimilation rule was applied.

These hypotheses obviously do not account for all the differences observed between Proto-Bantu and Pagibete noun class affixes. Further research will be needed to explain how the other variations came about.

Table 17. Comparison of Proto-Bantu and Pagibete Affixes

Class #	PB <sup>a</sup>	Pag. prefix	Pag. suffix
1a	0-	0-	(-e), (-ye)
1	mo-	N-	(-é), (-ye)
1x		e-	(-ke)
2	ba-, va	'ba-	(-a), (-'ba)
2x		'be-	
3	mo-	N-	-0, -ye, é
4	me-	N-	-me, áme
5	i-, le-	e-	(-le)
6	ma-	ma-	(-ma)
7	ke-	e-	-ke
8	bi-, ui	'be-	-0, -'be
9	n-, ne-	0	
10	n-, line-	'ba-	
15a	ko-	o-	(-ko)
15	ko-	o-	-ko
17	ko-	kó-	

<sup>a</sup> Where Meeussen and Cole differ in their reconstructions, Meeussen's prefix is the first listed and Cole's is the second.

### 5.2.3 Semantic basis for classes

Bantuists have long noted that there seems to be a “residual semantic content” present in the noun class system (Welmers 1973:166). Table 18 summarizes the findings of Bantuists regarding the usual content of noun classes in Bantu languages.

Table 18. Posited Semantic Content of Bantu Sub-Family Noun Classes

Class (pairing)	Posited Semantic Content
* 1/2	names, humans, animals
* 3/4	trees, plants, natural phenomena, spirits
*5/6	paired objects, fruits, etc. / fearsome things, body parts / augmentatives
*6	mass nouns, liquids
*7/8	artifacts, characteristics, defective humans, diminutives
*9/10	animals, special kinds of humans
11	long, thin things, abstracts
12/13	diminutives
14	mass nouns, abstract nouns
*15	verb infinitive (gerund)
*15a/6	body parts (paired)
16	locative ('at')
*17	locative (general)
18	locative ('in')
19	diminutives

Note: Classes present in Pagibete are marked by \*.

(From: Fivaz 1992, Hinnebusch 1989, Welmers 1973)

Pagibete does not follow this pattern, however. Only one semantic category is clearly grouped within a class pair, animate beings. Lakoff's Idealized Cognitive Model theory

(Lakoff 1987) provides insights which have been used to discover the semantic basis for the noun classes of Pagibete.

The principles for showing the motivation for class membership which are used here include the domain-of-experience principle, the myth-and-belief principle, and the important property principle. Lakoff's principles of categorization were used in this analysis, particularly the principles of centrality, chaining, and experiential domains (Lakoff 1987: 93-96). His other principles also played a role, albeit more minor.

In comparing the semantic content of Pagibete noun classes with that of the generally accepted Bantu lists, the following general observations are made. Pagibete has only five of the standard class pairings, plus an additional seven non-standard pairings. Classes 11-14 do not exist in Pagibete, and neither do classes 16, 18, and 19. Therefore, abstract nouns, which are the usual semantic category for class 14, do not form central examples for the Pagibete. Neither does augmentation or diminution of a noun place it in another class. Long, thin things have been moved elsewhere in the Pagibete system.

Also, in Pagibete, all animals, spirits and humans, with just two exceptions, are in gender 1/2. So are many plants and trees. This leaves gender 9/10 free for other semantic content. Gender 3/4, which is where one expects to find trees, plants, and natural phenomena, has no overlap with the list posited in table 18. However, Pagibete does have three other pairings which do include trees and plants. These are genders 3/10, 5/10, and 15/10.

The findings of this study are summarized in table 19.

Table 19. Semantic Content of the Pagibete Noun Class System

Gender	Core Semantic Content
1/2	Animate beings
3/4	Long, thin things
3/10	Woody plants
5/6	Group connections
5/10	Edible plants
7/8	Wooden things
9/10	Abstracts, body parts, and plants
15	Reflexive infinitive verbs (gerunds)
15a/6	Paired body parts
15a/10	Trees
17	General locative

The collapsing of all animals into the same category as human beings is probably the main reason for the existence in Pagibete of gender 1x/2x, where the affixes are distinctly different from either genders 1/2 or 1a/2, but the concord markers are identical. The decision to label this group of affixes as a sub-group of classes 1 and 2 is in fact based as much on the semantic similarity of the members as it is on the concord markers *mo* and *ba*.

### 5.3 Noun phrases and relative clauses

As stated in the overview, one expects agreement with the head noun to spread throughout the noun phrase in Bantu languages. This holds true for all but the locative phrases in Pagibete. This section describes locative, possessive, and associative phrases, as well as relative clauses. The ordering of constituents is briefly described, as is noun phrase coordination.

Descriptive phrases, which may involve adjectives, enumeratives, and/or quantifiers are taken to be prototypical noun phrases. Examples of each of these types may be found in chapter 4, section 4.2 under the description of the morphology of each of the relevant descriptors. All concordial morphemes are then gathered in table 20 for easy comparison.

### 5.3.1 Locative phrases

Locative phrases in Pagibete may involve: 1) the class 17 (locative) prefix (59a), 2) an independent preposition (59b), or 3) a combination of the two (59c). In any case the locative(s) precedes the noun. However, agreement with the head noun is not a feature of the locative phrase.

(59)

- a) B́ágená                      kópa,...  
 3PL-go-NARR c.17-forest  
 ‘They went to the forest,’
- b) Atangató                      soponí líbá, ...  
 3S-walk-FUT-when in            water  
 ‘When he walked in the water,...’
- c) Bamíkí    b́alia                      kóguná ngwangwa.  
 c.2-child 3PL-sit-PRES c.17-on grass.  
 ‘The children sit on the grass.’

### 5.3.2 Possessive phrases

Possessive phrases have two forms, depending on whether the possessor is referred to by name, a noun, or a pronoun. When the possessor is named or referred to by a noun, the phrase consists of a concord marker-possessive morpheme *-ka* + possessor (60). Like the

pronominal possessive discussed in chapter 4, section 4.6, the CM agrees with the class of the person or thing “possessed,” i.e. the head noun.

- (60) ngúye yé-ka Nzambe  
 power c.9-POSS God  
 ‘power of God’ (‘God’s power’)

Again, in a possessive phrase involving a pronoun, the possessive word follows the possessed thing.

- (61) nzóye engáme  
 body c.9-POSS-IS  
 ‘my body’

### 5.3.3 Associative phrases

The final major type of noun phrase is the associative phrase. This makes use of the nominal associative, a marker which, like that for possessive adjectives, occurs between two nouns. It merely consists of the CM for the head noun with a high or a falling tone.

- (62)
- |                              |                                      |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| a) 'ba-gbay-á 'bá ngí        | b) e -mbá -le lé go'bé 'búna nvé     |
| c.2-elder-c.2 c.2asc village | c.5-money-c.5 c.5asc himself and dog |
| ‘Elders of (the) village’    | ‘Money of himself and Dog’           |

Associative markers also exist between verbs and nouns. However, they have a different form, *na*, which is invariable. Their function also is different, as they tend to signal accompaniment.



## (63) Associative between a verb and a noun

- a) Olikí na 'bamíkí 'bénga  
 2S-be-PRES asc c.2-child c.2-how.many?  
 'How many children do you have?'
- b) 'Bápaná na nyamé.  
 3PL-return-NARR asc animal  
 'They returned with the animal.'

The particle *na* has two further uses in associative contexts. The first, in noun phrase conjunction, is discussed in section 5.3.6. The second use, in complement clauses, is discussed in chapter 6, section 6.3.2.2.

## 5.3.4 Relative clauses

Relative clauses occur after the noun or noun phrase which they modify. They begin with a relative pronoun, which consists of the concord marker for the head noun, with a high tone. If the clause is inflected for aspect, the aspect marker will be attached to the relative pronoun, while the verb in the relative clause carries the main tense/mood inflection.

## (64) Uninflected relative

- a) Míkí mó ómotí mó ambísí abáke kópa...  
 child c.1asc c.1-one c.1rel 3S-OM-put-PAST father-3S c.17-forest  
 'The one son who had put his father in the forest...'
- b) Míkí móo awóokó nzombí wé abáke yí aṅkpítí yí.  
 Child c.1ndem 3S-hear-NARR word c.3rel father-3S 3S 3S-OM-speak-PAST 3S.  
 'The son listened to the advice (lit., word) which his father gave him.'

## (65) Inflected relative

- a) Líbá lé-píné 'básoságá na 'basáni...  
 c.5-water c.5rel-HAB 3PL-wash-REPI-NARR asc c.2-dish...  
 'The water with which they (habitually) wash dishes...'

- b) ...ékina vé-vókó aliagí kóbe asíyáka.  
 c.9-other c.9-MPAST 3S-be-PAST c.17-thigh 3S-be.finished/PAST-NPAST  
 ‘...the other (one) which was on my thigh is finished.’ (*ékina* refers to *kwáye*,  
 problem’)

### 5.3.5 Noun phrase constituent ordering

The agreement feature of the noun class system is most apparent in complex noun phrases in which the noun is modified by more than one word or phrase.

#### (66) Complex noun phrases

- a) nsaláme mángake má egbayá kóngi.  
 work-c.4 c.4-POSS-3S c.4asc c.5-chiefdom c.17-village  
 ‘works of his chieftom in the village’
- b) ezegele léngáme lée  
 c.5-illness-c.5 c5-POSS-1S c.5ndem  
 ‘this illness of mine’

In the texts obtained thus far, it appears that possessive pronouns occur in the closest proximity to the head noun, as seen in the previous examples. Relative clauses (shown in brackets in (67)) occur after any other modifications.

- (67) Míkí mó ómotí [mó ambísí abáke kópa]...  
 child c.1ndem c.1-one c.1rel 3S-OM-put-PAST father-3S c.17-forest  
 ‘This one son who had put his father in the forest...’

To date, all collected texts which contain complex noun phrases involve either a possessive or relative clause, or have merely two of the same type of word modifying the

noun (68). Therefore no further predictions about order of noun phrase constituents can be made.

- (68) embále líyá lóo  
 money c.5fdem c.5rndem  
 ‘that (emphasized) money’

### 5.3.6 Noun phrase conjunction

Noun phrases are conjoined with other noun phrases by one of two morphemes. The first is the use of *na*, the associative morpheme. In this context, *na* can be translated ‘and’ or ‘with’.

- (69) Etó léegá netó alikí léka Nvé na Búsu.  
 story c.5-PROG asc-story 2S-be-PRES c.5-POSS dog and cat  
 ‘This story is about Dog and Cat.’

The second, which is used exclusively to associate animate beings, is *búna*, which is recognizable as a compound morpheme. *bú* ‘3PL’ + *na* ‘associative’. Again, this conjunction might be translated either ‘and’ or ‘with’.

- (70) ...béte Búsu búna Mbabú bábananagepíne ká na kwáye  
 that cat and rat 3PL-love each other-REP-PRES-HAB not for problem  
 ‘bé gondé mba’bú ambangísí edaáme búna Nvé  
 that since rat 3S-be ruined-CAUS-PAST friendship and dog  
 ‘...that Cat and Mouse do not love each other for the reason because Rat  
 ruined (Cat’s) friendship with Dog.’

#### 5.4 Non NP elements which agree with the subject noun

As stated earlier, contrary to expectations of a Bantu language, Pagibete does not have a full set of agreement markers for all the verbs. It does have them, however, for the identificational copula and for the process verbal. They are suffixes rather than prefixes.

##### 5.4.1 Identificational

The identificational copula may stand alone, as it does in the phrase requesting or giving a person's name (71a); however, it generally takes a CM agreeing in class with the thing being identified (71b). See table 14 in chapter 4 for a complete list of forms with concord markers.

- (71) a) Líná léngáke ndé Babú.  
 c.5-name c.5-POSS-3S ID 'Babú'  
 'Her name was 'Babú.'
- b) Míkí móngáme ndóno.  
 child c.1-POSS-1S ID-c.1  
 'This is my child.'

##### 5.4.2 Process verbal

The process verbal may stand in place of the verb (72a), or may co-occur with a verb (72b). In either case, it agrees with the class of the subject. A complete list of forms with possible concord markers may be found in chapter 4 in table 15.

## (72) Process verbal

- a) Kógébé          epwále          ndílo          kógebe.  
 c.17-little.finger c.5-wound-c.5 PROC-c.5 c.17-little.finger  
 ‘The wound is on the little finger (with all its attendant effects).’
- b) Mbáso wéé          ndúwo          awomo.  
 tree/c.3 c.3ndem PROC-c.3 3S-dry-FUT.  
 ‘This tree is becoming dry.’

**5.5 Comparison of concordial morphemes**

Concordial morphemes can be clitics, such as those for adjectives, or independent morphemes, such as demonstratives. Nevertheless, the commonality of form across a class is clearly seen when these morphemes are placed next to each other, as in table 20.

The shift in the class 3 concordial marker for adjectives, numerals, and possessives from *we-* to *o-* seems to have occurred in this century, as De Boeck’s data (1949: 835-840) gives *we-* as the prefix used in these instances. No class 17 agreement morphemes are given because none were elicited or obviously identified as such in texts (although perhaps an associative and a demonstrative occur in NV text, sentences 5-7).

Table 20. Pagibete Noun Class Agreement Morphemes

Class no.	Demonstratives				Adj.	Ass. a	Rel. a	Num.	Possessives		Verbals	
	Near	Far	Ref. near	Ref. far					pron.	nom.	Id.	Proc.
1,1a, 1x	móo	yáa	móo	móní	mó-	mó	mó	ó-	mó-	mó-	-no, -mo	-yo
2,2x	'báa	'bíyá	'bóo	'bóní	'bá-	'bá	'bá	'bé-	'bá-	'bá-	-ba	-bo
3	wéé	yáa	wóo	wóní	ó-	wé	wé	ó-	ó-	wé-	-we	-wo
4	máa	míyá	móo	móní	má-	má	má	mí-	má-	má-	-ma	
5	léé	líyá	lóo	lóní	lé-	lé	lé	lé-	lé-	lé-	-le	-lo
6	máa	míyá	móo	móní	má-	má	má	mí-	má-	má-		-mo
7	tée	tíyá	tóo	tóní	té-	té	té	té-	té-	té-	-te	-to
8	'báa	'bíyá	'bóo	'bóní	'bá-	'bá	'bá	'bé-	'bá-	'bá-		-bo
9	yéé	yáa	yóo	yóní	é-	yé	yé	é-	é-	yé-	-ye	-yo
10	yéé	yáa	yóo	yóní	é-	yé	yé	é-	é-	yé-	-ye	-yo
15, 15a	wéé	wíyá	wóo	wóní	ó-	wé	wé	ó-	ó-	wé-		-wo

Notes: Gaps in the table represent gaps in the data gathered to date

<sup>a</sup> Due to the dynamics of sentence level tone, the vowel on associatives and relatives may become a falling tone, represented in this paper by double vowels with a high tone accent over the first vowel.

## 5.6 Summary

In this chapter, the noun class system of Pagibete has been examined. The unusual features for Bantu languages of noun suffixes and lack of standard verb prefix markers have been described. Further, Pagibete is compared with the Proto-Bantu reconstructions of class prefixes and of semantic content of noun classes. The semantic content of Pagibete noun classes is posited, with conclusions coming from the application of Idealized Cognitive Model theory.

Also, the various elements which agree with the head of a noun phrase are specified, including the identificational copula and process verbal particle. In addition, various types of phrases involving nouns are described, both those which agree with the head noun, such as relative clauses and associative phrases, and those which do not, such as locative phrases.

## CHAPTER 6

### SYNTAX

#### 6.1 Brief comparison with expected Bantu syntax.

Pagibete, like other Bantu languages (Heine 1980), is an SVO language. However, it differs from most other well-studied Bantu languages in several important aspects. Table 21 presents some basic syntax patterns of Pagibete, as well as some morphological orderings.

Table 21. Pagibete Word and Particle Orderings

	Pagibete syntax	Example
Dominant word order		see section 6.2.1.
-Intransitive	SV	
-Transitive	SVO	
-Ditransitive	SVOO	
Adpositions	Preposition-Noun	sinalí mesa 'under (the) table'
Genitives	Noun-Genitive	mbeto éngake 'bed his'
NP structure		
-demonstratives	Noun-Demonstrative	embále léé 'money this'
-adjectives	Noun-Adjective	e'boóke tekpekpe 'medicine strong'
-numerals	Noun-Numeral	mikí ómotí 'child one'
Relative clause position	Noun-Relative clause	mbásóke wé 'bámáka 'bée ngomó 'tree which they call that ngomó'
Nominal affixing	Prefix-Stem-(Suffix)	e-mbá-le 'c.5-money-c.5'
Verbal affixing	1) Sub.pfx-(Obj.pfx)- Verb root-(TAM)- (adverbs) 2) Root-CM	a-gen-a-gá 's/he.is.going' a-m-bis-a 's/he.put.her/him/it/them' ndí-lo 'PROC-c.4'

As noted in chapter 4, Bantu noun class markers are normally prefixed to the noun, yet in Pagibete suffixes are also in its repertoire. The bound object pronoun prefixed to the verb



As noted in chapter 4, Bantu noun class markers are normally prefixed to the noun, yet in Pagibete suffixes are also in its repertoire. The bound object pronoun prefixed to the verb is characteristic of Bantu languages in general; Heine lists it as a characteristic of Proto-Bantu (1980:101). However, Pagibete's entire TAM system is located after the verb root except for tonal markings on the subject marker prefix. This is not the norm among Bantu languages, where most TAM affixes are prefixed to the verb (p. 102).

## **6.2 Clause structure**

Pagibete has both verbal and verbless clause types. The verbal clauses are distinguished further by the type of verb required.

### **6.2.1 Verbal clauses**

As noted in section 6.1, verbal clauses generally have the form SVO. The syntax of specific clause types is discussed in the following sub-sections, with consideration of what is allowed in each slot.

#### **6.2.1.1 Intransitive**

The basic form of intransitive clauses is a verb word. Subtypes include locative clauses and descriptive clauses, which begin with a noun phrase and end with a locative or descriptive noun phrase, respectively. For most intransitive clauses, the verb may be an active verb or a stative verb. In the descriptive clause, however, the copular verb *liy-* 'be' is used.

## (73) Intransitive clauses

- a) Nebósélí            bósele.  
1S-forget-PAST forget-INF  
'I forgot (completely).'
- b) Ntinde soséye    nvé, nvé ábu'ba.  
after wash-INF dog, dog 3S-be.clean-PRES  
'After washing the dog, the dog is clean.'
- c) Adakí                kókingo bííí    mító babuwé  
3S-remain-PAST c.17-neck night rather c.2-many  
'It remained on the neck rather a long time.'
- d) Míkí mó alikí                    oduwe?  
child c.1 3S-liy-STAT-PRES c.1-alive  
'Is this child alive?'

## 6.2.1.2 Transitive

The basic form of a transitive clause is SVO. Three types of transitive verbs exist: the first never takes an object marker, the second takes an object marker only if the object is animate, and the third takes an object marker regardless of animacy. With the second or third type of verb, the object is not always overtly stated as a clause-level constituent. An object marker, which is a nasal morpheme, only marks existence of an object; it does not agree with the object in class.

## (74) Transitive clause with verb which never takes object marker

- Nelékagá                okpiako  
1S-set-PRES-PROG net  
'I am setting a net.'

(75) Transitive clauses with verb which takes object marker only with animate object

- a) Abíbísí                                    '̀b̀ok̀o.  
3S-raise-CAUS-PAST arm  
'He strengthened the arm.'
- b) Ambibísí                                    míkí.  
3S-OM-raise-CAUS-PAST child  
'She raised the child.'

(76) Transitive clause with object not overtly stated

Andulíyáká.  
3S-OM-hit-PAST-NPAST  
'He hit him.'

Although the object normally follows the verb, it can be fronted in order to focus attention on that object or participant.

- (77) Edáme léngabú                    bá'banánágí                                    sókε.  
friendship c.5-POSS-3S 3PL-love.each.other-REP-PAST pass.by-INF  
'(In) their friendship they loved each other very much.'

### 6.2.1.3 Ditransitive

In ditransitive clauses, two objects are allowed after the verb. The verb is one whose radical is inherently ditransitive, or one which includes the applicative extension. The primary direct object may not surface except as an object marker before the verb base.

(78) Ditransitive clauses

- a) Tenkónelegá                                    '̀bapasteur tíko.  
1PL-OM-plant-APP-FUT-PROG c.2-pastor field.  
'We are planting the pastor's family a field.'

- b) Aǵenapí ámpá nyé pá kó.  
 3S-go-PRES-HAB 3S-OM-give-NARR food only there  
 'He went regularly to give him food there.'

#### 6.2.1.4 Identificational

Identificational clauses involve the use of the copula *ndé-*, to which is suffixed a concord marker if a noun does not follow. *Ndé-* has two possible phonological variants, *ndó-* and *ndí-*. The word order is then noun phrase + verb (+ noun phrase).

(79)

- a) Nvé mǒngáme ndóno 'This is my dog.'  
 dog c.1-POSS-1S ID-c.1n
- b) Lé lékuku ndéle. 'The unripe one is this (one).'  
 c.5pron c.5-unripe ID-c.5
- c) lína léngáke ndé 'Babu 'Her name is 'Babu.'  
 c.5-name c.5-POSS-3S ID 'Babu
- d) Míkí mǒngáme ndóní 'That's my child.'  
 child c.1-POSS-1S ID-c.1f

When an independent pronoun is used as the subject, the syntax is simply pronoun + verb.

- (80) Yí ndómo.  
 3S ID-c.1n  
 'This is he.'

The identificational clause, along with the equative clause described in section 6.2.2.2, is how Pagibete expresses the ideas of both proper inclusion and equation (Payne 1997:114).

While identificational clauses tend to code equation (79a, c, and d) and equative clauses proper inclusion (82), identificational clauses may also encode proper inclusion (79b).

### 6.2.2 Non-verbal clauses

Pagibete has two types of clauses which do not require a verb or copula of any kind. These are descriptive clauses and equative clauses.

#### 6.2.2.1 Descriptive clauses

While descriptive clauses may take the form of an intransitive clause (see section 6.2.1.1), a second form is often heard. This form consists of a noun phrase and one or more descriptors. The descriptor agrees with the class of the subject noun.

(81) Descriptive clauses without a verb

- a) E'bófó kóngame kpe.  
gasp c.17-POSS-IS hard  
'My breathing (is) hard.'
- b) A'bako okyaka.  
father-2S c.1-tall  
'Your father (is) tall.'
- c) E'boóke téngame tekpekpe sòke.  
c.7-medicine-c.7 c.7-POSS-IS c.7-strong pass.by-INF  
'My medicine (is) surpassingly strong.'

### 6.2.2.2 Equative

The equative clause involves placing a noun phrase or pronoun next to a noun. As stated in section 6.2.1.4, this type of clause indicates membership of the subject in the set given in the predicate nominal.

#### (82) Equative clauses

- a) ...yí mángená...  
 3S owner  
 ‘...he (is) the owner...’
- b) ...bú zu bawanzá.  
 3PL all c.2-teenage boy  
 ‘...they (are) all teenage boys.’

## 6.3 Sentence structure

In this section, the way in which clauses are combined will be examined. Pagibete has strategies both for coordination and for subordination of clauses.

### 6.3.1 Coordination

In Pagibete, coordinate clauses are usually juxtaposed without any formal coordination marker. It is not uncommon for a sentence to contain two or three coordinate clauses; up to five is possible. With the addition of dependent clauses, up to ten clauses may be included in a single sentence.

#### (83) Coordinate sentence with five independent clauses (each clause is in brackets; the final clause is subordinate) (DC 9b)

[Sikawáne búsu adó                      sóméye embále              ló              ] [yí mángená,]..  
 now              cat    3S-leave-NARR    hide-INF    c.5-money-c.5    c.5fdem    3S owner

[búsu avá embále lóo ][agená,] [ampá  
 cat 3S-take-NARR c.5-money-c.5 c.5fdem 3S-go-NARR 3S-OM-give-NARR

mabú] [bete mabú osoméle bú embále lóo.]  
 rat that rat 3S/SUBJ-hide-APP-SUBJ them c.5-money-c.5 c.5fdem  
 ‘Now Cat left to hide that money, (of which) he was the owner, Cat took that  
 money, he went (and) gave it to Rat so that Rat would hide that money for them.’

However, independent clauses within a sentence may accept a coordinating conjunction. The possibilities for such a conjunction include *mpe* ‘and’ which is a Lingala loan; *ndésené* ‘so, then, therefore’ (contracted form *ndé*); *kási* ‘but’ which is a Lingala loan; and *yípo* ‘therefore, otherwise’, which must co-occur with a past tense time clause. Each of these may also begin a sentence, although it is rare for *mpe* to do so.

(84) Coordinate sentences using conjunctions

a) *Mpe* (DC 6)

‘Bágená kópa, mpe bágya páye éngábú, bámóo nyamé.  
 3PL-go-NARR c.17-forest and 3PL-do-NARR forest c.9-POSS-3PL 3PL-kill animal  
 ‘They went to the forest, and they went hunting and killed an animal.’

b) *Ndé* (DC11b)

...nvé bée “dámóo asengéli bée óbikí na embále  
 dog that friend 3S-be necessary-SUBJ that 2S/SUBJ-come-SUBJ asc c.5-money-c.5

lóo ndé tebísí lóo, óbikí na yí,  
 c.5rndem thus 1PL-put-PAST c.5pron 2S-SUBJ-come-PAST asc 3S

tégabene.”

1PL/SUBJ-give for keeps-ASS-SUBJ

‘...Dog said, “Friend, it is necessary that you come with that money, thus we put  
 it (aside), you come with it, we’ll (split it up for) each of us to keep.”’





### 6.3.2 Subordination

Dependent clauses in Pagibete, whether relative clauses, adverbial clauses, or complement clauses, require a subordinating conjunction. Relative clauses are discussed in chapter 5, section 5.3.4 as a constituent of the noun phrase, so are not included here. In that section, it is also noted that aspect markers may occur on the relative pronoun; this is also true for the subordinating morpheme *gondé* ‘since’ which is discussed further in section 6.3.2.1.

#### 6.3.2.1 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses in Pagibete may occur either before or after the clause which they modify. The subordinating conjunction which introduces the clause may be either a word or a clitic.

Two subordinating conjunction clitics are used in Pagibete. Like the coordinating clitic *a-*, *é-* ‘if’ also attaches to the first word in the clause, although so far only verbs have occurred in this position in the data collected on this clitic. Adverbial clauses so introduced typically function as conditional margins.

(86) *É-* (NV 06)

*Émántána*                      *wóo*              *mámáka*              *abikí*  
if-2PL-OM-meet-FUT c.3rdem 2Pl-call-FUT 3S-come-NEUT-SUBJ

*ápémé*                                      *tonga wáne.*  
3S/SUBJ-give-SUBJ-1S needle here.  
‘If you meet him, call him (and tell him) he should come give me a shot here.’

The other subordinating clitic is *-tó* ‘when’ which attaches to the end of the verb base of the dependent clause. Generally its use requires that the future tense be used on the verb, although such clauses usually refer to an action just completed. However, when it co-occurs with *yípo* (see 6.3.2) it may help express contrafactuality, as in (84c). See chapter 7, section 7.1 for a description and examples of the other functions a clause using *-tó* has in a discourse.

Other adverbial clauses may be introduced by a variety of subordinating conjunctions. Conditional margins may be introduced with *goóte* ‘if, like’ (contracted form *goó*) or *sago* ‘if, or’, as well as the *ε*-clitic. Circumstantial margins may be introduced with either *gondé* ‘since, because, thus’ which can take an aspect marker, or by *ʔéte* (contracted form *ʔée*) ‘that’. *ʔéte* also begins result margins, and may also, along with *ná* ‘for, in order to’ (see (90)), begin both cause and purpose margins (see (83)). Finally, *tii* ‘until’ introduces subsequent time margins. Several of these are illustrated in (87).

(87) Subordinating conjunction words

a) *Gondé*

Gondégá mbúwáye angbumá, alókaló.  
 since-PROG rain 3S-rumble-NARR, 3S-rain-FUT-NFUT.  
 ‘Since it’s thundering, it will rain soon.’

b) *Goóte*

Goóte akyiya kálíkí enzá ká.  
 if 3S-come.down-FUT NEG/3S-be-NEUT-SUBJ good NEG.  
 ‘If it comes down, it wouldn’t be good.’

c) *Tíí*

ʔágóngo tíí ámbilimana.  
 3PL-beat-FUT until 3S-be.wedged-FUT.  
 'They will beat it until it is wedged in tight.'

### 6.3.2.2 Complement clauses

Pagibete has at least two, and possibly three, types of complement clauses. Only one type has a complementizer, *ʔete*, frequently contracted to *ʔée*. A subjunctive verb usually follows it.

(88) *Nepágyáká* *ʔée ówe ntó* *wá* *poto*.  
 1S-think-PAST-NPAST that 2S c.1-person c.1?asc non-Africa  
 'I thought that you (are) a non-African.'

The second type of complement clause is that which consists of a fully inflected verb + (asc) + infinitive verb. The verbs which may co-occur with an infinitive are a restricted set. Two typically occur without the use of the associative, *ʔandéye* 'to begin' and *ʔééye* 'to leave' (see (83)). A second group requires the use of the associative *na*. This group is composed of *genéye* 'to go', *yíngéye* 'to enter' (89a), and *panéye* 'to return'. *Kokéye* 'to be able' occurs in texts both with (89b) and without the associative.

(89) Complement clauses using infinitives

a) ʔávíngé na boméye *koko* *na bembé* *na kpengbe zu*..  
 3PL-enter-NARR asc beat-INF log.drum asc drum asc xylophone all.  
 'They entered to beat the log drum, drum, and xylophone, all (the instruments).'

b) ...*ḥawanzá* *ḥáliá* *ḥákoké* *na káḥéye* *mayéle mó*  
 c.2-male.youth 3PL-live-NARR 3PL-be.able-SUBJ asc look.for-INF wisdom c.1

*gḥbé* *ḥú* *ḥáyíbí* *na kwáye kóka* *ḥakangba.*  
 today 3PL 3PL-know-SUBJ asc matter c.17-POSS c.2-older.person  
 ‘...the youths live, they should look to the elders for wisdom today for their problems.’

The existence of an adverbial particle *ná* in conjunction with the associative *na* opens the possibility that clauses which use *ná* are actually not complement clauses but adverbial purpose clauses. That there is a difference between these two is illustrated by these examples given by a Pagibete man (Justin Mboyayo, 1994) explaining it. Note that *sekéye* and *yáye* are both infinitive forms of the verbs.

(90) *Na* and *ná* contrasted

a) *Nebikí* *na* *sekéye* *yanu.*  
 1PL-come-STAT-PAST asc greet-INF asc-2PL  
 ‘I came (and immediately started) to greet you.’

*Nebikí* *ná* *sekéye* *yanu.*  
 1PL-come-STAT-PAST in.order.to greet-INF asc-2PL  
 ‘I came in order to greet you (but have not yet begun to).’

b) *Abiagiáká* *na* *yáye.*  
 3S-come-PAST-NPAST asc eat-INF  
 ‘She is coming and eating.’

*Abiagiáká* *ná* *yáye*  
 3S-come-PAST-NPAST in.order.to eat-INF  
 ‘She came in order to eat (but has not yet done so).’

The final type of complement clause is an apparent paratactic construction. Again, the first verbs which occur in this type of construction are a restricted set: *genéye* ‘to go’, *biyéye* ‘to come’, and *sikéye* ‘to repeat’. In this construction, two fully inflected verbs appear one

after the other without any kind of conjunction or complementizer, just as in two regularly juxtaposed clauses. Semantically, however, they are tightly bound together.

#### (91) Paratactic complement clauses

- a) ...mba'bú asiké \_\_\_\_\_ awendá      embále      lóo      go'belóo,...
- Rat    3S-repeat-NARR 3S-see-NARR c.5-money-c.5 c.5fdem that.there-c.5
- '...Rat again saw that money there,...
- b) "Enza négené \_\_\_\_\_ némpe                      nyé kópa."
- good 1S/SUBJ-go-SUBJ 1S/SUBJ-OM-give-SUBJ food c.17-forest
- “(It is) good (that) I should go give some food to him in the forest.”

### 6.4 Marked speech acts

The three prototypical speech acts are declaratives, imperatives, and interrogatives (Givón 1990:814). The declaratives, which impart information, are considered the unmarked case and so are the basis for the discussion in section 6.2. Imperatives, which request action, and interrogatives, which request information, are described in the following subsections.

#### 6.4.1 Imperative

The imperative speech act requires different forms for first and second person forms. The forms for second person differ from the declarative in two ways: 1) by not requiring an overt subject or even a person marker on the verb in the second person forms, and 2) by the presence of high tone on the final vowel, which is usually the same vowel used for the present and future tenses. The second person plural form is distinguished from the singular in requiring a plural marker *-ni*.

- (92) Gená!            'Go!' (you sing.)            Genání!            'Go!' (you pl.)

The first person plural imperative in Pagibete is expressed by the use of the subjunctive form of the declarative verb. Note that it does require a subject prefix.

- (93) Tégené                      kóngi.  
 1PL/SUBJ-go-SUBJ c.17-village  
 'Let's go to the village!'

It is also possible to use a subjunctive verb to express a command in the second person (see (86)). This is usually considered the more polite form.

#### 6.4.2 Interrogative

Pagibete has two methods of requesting information. Yes/no questions require a simple yes or no in response. Content questions require a more detailed answer from the respondent.

##### 6.4.2.1 Yes/no questions

Yes/no questions do not have a special syntax. Instead, the tonal pattern of the sentence is modified, so that the final word maintains its underlying tonal pattern instead of succumbing to the sentence final low tone.

(94) Yes/no interrogative clauses

- a) 'Bónó míkí, óbiya                      ndíyo?  
 well child, 2S-come-PRES PROC  
 'Well, child, so you've come?'
- b) O'ba                      'bée ónvé                      malasu?  
 2S-want/PRES that 2S/SUBJ-OM-take-SUBJ offspring-1PL?  
 'You want to take our child? (in context, take = marry)'

### 6.4.2.2 Content questions

In Pagibete, question words generally occur at the end of the sentence. Pagibete has two words for 'where'. When a speaker uses *nano*, he has no idea of the location of the person/thing (95b); when he uses *yáa*, he has been told, but either forgot or needs more precise information (95c).

#### (95) Content interrogatives

- a) Líná léngáko ndé kane?  
c.5-name c.5-POSS-2S ID who?  
'What is your name?' (lit. Who is your name?)
- b) Aginí nanó?  
3S-go-PAST where?  
'Where did he go?'
- c) Motúká ndó yáa?  
Car PROC where?  
'Where is the car?'
- d) Mpé asúngaló ndéngé tina?  
and 3S-end-FUT-NFUT sort which?  
'And which way will it end?'
- e) Awáne asúngaló gɔ̀bɛ́ gundiya?  
so-here 3S-end-FUT-NFUT today how  
'So how will this end today?'

However, both *gundiya* and *tiná* are more flexible in placement. *Gundiya* can occur sentence initially. *Tiná* can occur in a noun phrase immediately after the head noun and immediately preceding a relative pronoun and phrase. In this construction, the basic clause is a verbless descriptive clause, as the only verb is in a relative clause.

(96)

- a) Gundiya kóngí?  
 how c.17-village  
 'How's it going in the village?'
- b) Mábá tíná maá alikí na 'basí?  
 c.6-water which c.6rel 3S-be-NEUT-PRES asc c.2-fish  
 'Which streams have fish?' (lit. Waters which that have fish?)

### 6.5 Summary

In this chapter the syntax of Pagibete clauses and sentences has been examined. The SVO word order holds for all clauses containing verbs, except during focus constructions when the object is fronted. Clauses may be conjoined merely by juxtaposing them, as well as by using coordinating conjunctions. Three types of subordinate constructions are noted as well.



## CHAPTER 7

### DISCOURSE CONSIDERATIONS

#### 7.1 Introduction

In order to better understand how narratives are constructed and perceived as complete units, three Pagibete narratives and one procedural text are examined for what they reveal about Pagibete salience schemes, peak-marking devices, and participant reference patterns. To my knowledge, this is the first time a discourse approach has been applied to the analysis of any Pagibete texts.

The Pagibete narratives analyzed consist of two folktales, “Dog and Cat” (DC) and “Honor Your Elders” (HP), and one personal narrative, “Nvungbó’s Testimony” (NV). (These three are found in the appendix.) No two were given by the same speaker. The procedural text “Dogbell” (DB) was given by a fourth man. These texts were recorded between September 1994 and July 1995, then transcribed, interlinearized in English and Lingala, the regional language of wider communication, and translated into Lingala with the help of Tadika Faustire between January 1995 and May 1996. I then did an English free translation.

##### 7.1.1 Theoretical orientation

The concepts discussed in this chapter predominately come from Longacre (1996). Salience scheme refers to the way a language encodes the mainline of development and

### 7.1.1 Theoretical orientation

The concepts discussed in this chapter predominately come from Longacre (1996). Saliency scheme refers to the way a language encodes the mainline of development and supporting materials. The supporting materials can be further divided and ranked according to their degree of departure from the mainline. Longacre uses ideas both from Grimes (1975) and from Hopper and Thompson (1980) in synthesizing how types of information and transitivity parameters interact to reveal the apparent ranking of information. (See Longacre 1996:23-29 for further discussion of saliency scheme theory.)

'Peak' is Longacre's term for the point in a narrative at which the saliency scheme tends not to apply. It is a concept relating to the surface structure of a narrative, which tends to correspond with the climax or denouement of the story. At this point, special surface structure features may be used. Since non-conformity of structures to the saliency scheme occurs frequently here, he calls peak a 'zone of turbulence' (1996:37-38).

Ideas from both Longacre and Levinsohn are used to characterize the Pagibete participant reference system. Participant reference is a term describing the ways in which a language encodes the various characters and props used in a narrative. Longacre's (1995b) method of exploring the patterns of the participant reference system of a language examines the interaction of how a language encodes its participants with when it does so. It also examines how the importance or rank of the referent plays into that system. Levinsohn's (1994) method seeks to predict when different resources are used to encode a participant, and yields some interesting findings.

### 7.1.2 Analytical methodology

The two main procedures used to analyze these texts are charting and color-coding. Three types of charting were done in order to profit from the strengths of each. The first was the Longacre-Levinsohn-Hwang method (Hwang n.d.). In this method, large sheets of paper are divided into columns which, when filled in appropriately, allow the linguist to see at a glance what the sentence introducers and conjunctions are, whether the language predominately makes use of pre- or post-posed dependent clauses, and the order of constituents. The text is easily recoverable in this method.

The second charting method is the Thurman-Grimes method. This one is particularly useful for tracking participants, as well as for determining questions of saliency. Again, sheets of paper are divided into columns, but the sorts of information noted include tense; PLP (pesky little particles: e.g., conjunctions, complementizers, etc.); types of information seen in a discourse such as setting, background, and so on; and a special column for tracking referents. The text is a bit more difficult to recover in this method.

The final charting method used is Levinsohn charting (Levinsohn 1994). The goal of this chart is to determine the participant reference system, so it is words and particles which refer to participants which are pulled out into columns which quickly show patterns of subject and non-subject usage. Only these words and the intersentential connectors are kept in the source language; the rest of the clause is written in free translation.

Color-coding is used to highlight certain information which then allows patterns to be seen. It was used during these analyses to keep track of participants as well as to search for patterns of verb tense usage.

The first step in analyzing texts for their salience scheme is to color-code the verbs in independent and dependent clauses according to Grimes' definitions (Grimes 1975). The relative and complement clauses are coded, but should not be the main basis of decisions. Then, for each discourse, list the verb forms or other particles used for each type of information as they occurred in narration. Combining the lists yields a definite pattern, although some verb forms are found in more than one band.

To determine peak-marking features, first each text is charted according to the Longacre-Levinsohn-Hwang method. Then, each is examined to determine its macro-segments. Peak is identified in each narrative, and those features which are characteristic of that particular segment are noted for each text. Again, in comparing the lists for these texts, a definite pattern emerges, although as might be expected, different authors do have their own "style" so that no two narratives contain exactly the same mix of devices.

All three charting methods described here can be used to determine the participant reference system. Color-coding of different participants is used in conjunction with the Longacre-Hwang system to discern the different resources used to refer to each individual or prop in the text. The Thurman-Grimes chart, however, does a somewhat better job of this, as it provides a separate column for referents. The Levinsohn chart, which requires either numbering or color-coding to account for different participants, makes obvious any patterns

related to subject or non-subject position. Combining these three methods yields a list of the resources used, the discourse context in which each resource was used, and the position in which one expects to find each type of resource.

## **7.2 Salience schemes**

In Pagibete discourse, the device most commonly used to distinguish levels of information salience in a text is the tense-aspect-modality system, with particles also playing a role in distinguishing among background information types. A few other devices such as word order, repetition, and dialogue also play a role.

Salience schemes for both narrative and procedural discourses are proposed in the two following subsections. That for narrative is based on the analysis of three texts; two other narratives which have not been fully interlinearized and checked with native speakers were also perused, and appear to support the conclusions reached. The salience scheme for procedural text, however, is based solely on one text, so that the scheme proposed is regarded as tentative pending further investigation.

A narrative text is characterized as one in which the order of events is significant and usually contingent upon previous events, and in which an agent reference can be detected. A procedural text, on the other hand, while it too has contingent temporal succession, is generally lacking an agent orientation (Longacre 1996:8-9). In the Pagibete procedural text here examined, the narrator does describe the procedure as actions he is doing, so is agent oriented, although the focus is the procedure.

### 7.2.1 Narrative salience scheme

Six bands of salience can be clearly distinguished in narrative for Pagibete. They are, in order, storyline, backgrounded activity, setting, irrealis, evaluation, and cohesive.

Storyline is the most distinctive, having a special tense, narrative, which in its simple form only occurs with foregrounded events. Clauses with the simple narrative tense together summarize the main happenings of a story.

#### (97) Storyline (DC 7)

ʔapaná            na nyamé, ʔábiyá            ʔáde            kóngi,  
 3PL-return-NARR asc animal 3PL-come-NARR 3PL-arrive c.17 -village  
  
 mpe ʔágená,            ʔátêke            nyamé.  
 and 3PL-go-NARR 3PL-sell-NARR animal  
 ‘They returned with the animal to the village and sold it.’

Backgrounded activity is characterized by the use of semantically atelic verbs inflected with simple past (98a) or present, or by past or narrative verbs inflected additionally with a distant past or habitual aspect marker (98b). In addition, *liyé*, the usual ‘be’ verb, when it has the sense of ‘sitting’ or ‘continuing’ with a narrative marker also seems to be part of this band (98c).

#### (98) Backgrounded activity

##### a) (DC3)

Edáme    léngabú            ʔáʔanánágí            sóke.  
 friendship c.5-POSS-3PL 3PL-love.each.other-REP-PAST pass.by-INF  
 ‘They loved each other very much in their friendship.’

## b) (DC 4)

Ndénge yéé báliagápi na yí mpe ndénge yé énzá,  
 sort c.9ndem 3PL-be-REP-NARR-HAB asc 3S and sort c.9asc c.9-good

mpe bágenándé kópa.

and 3PL-go-NARR-DPAST c.17-forest

‘The way they were with it (their friendship) was good, and they went to the forest.’ (= went hunting)

## c) (DC 11)

‘Búsú búna nvé báliá báliá ndénge edaáme  
 cat and dog 3PL-sit-NARR 3PL-sit-NARR sort friendship

léngabú bámesení liyé na yí,...

c.5-POSS-3PL 3PL-know-ASS-PAST be-INF asc 3S,

‘The cat and the dog continued in their friendship as usual,...’

Setting is marked in one of two ways. The first is by existential clauses using the ‘be’ verb. *liyé* (99a). The second is by adverbial clauses using the verb meaning ‘arrive’ plus the particle *-tó* ‘when’ followed by *móné* ‘day’ modified by either *mámotí* ‘one’ or *mákiná* ‘another’ (99b).

## (99) Setting

## a) (NV 1)

Alíkí na mbúla yéyóko, asíyée  
 3S-be-NEUT-PAST asc year c.9rel-MPST 3S-be.finished-c.9ndem  
 ‘It was this past year...’

## b) (HP 15)

Adetó mákiná móné...  
 3S-arrive-when c.6-another day  
 ‘On another day,...’

The fourth band is irrealis. The two most common ways of marking irrealis are by the use of subjunctive (100a, b) and by the use of the negative (100c).

## (100) Irrealis

## a) (HP 18)

Aká'ba pá 'bée ánkókage.  
 3S-look-FUT only that 3S/SUBJ-OM-bite-REP-SUBJ  
 'He was searching for a place to bite him.'

## b) (HP 8)

'Bamboko 'báa wáne kóngi zu 'bákwí...  
 c.2-elderly.person c.2rel here c.17-village all 3PL-die-SUBJ  
 'All the old people who are here in the village should die...'

## c) (HP 11)

...yí 'bée yí ká ámóó móngáke abaké ká.  
 3S that 3S NEG 3S/PRES-kill-PRES c.1-POSS-3S father-3S NEG  
 '...he (said) that he did not want to kill his father.'

Band 5 is evaluation. In the texts studied, evaluation occurs with adverbs in conjunction with past tense verbs (101a), or during the moral of the folktale (101b), which is introduced with a phrase which includes the word *tine* 'significance'. The evaluation in each case reveals the values of the culture.

## (101) Evaluation

## a) Adverb with past tense verb (DC 23)

Ndésené, sikasikawáne, ngbangé agwá na 'búsu 'bée kágyí  
 then INTENSIFIER-now problem 3S-fall-NARR on cat that NEG/3S-do-PAST

enzá ká, ndéngé yé ndé aví embále lé go'bé 'búna nvé  
good not sort c.9rel then 3S-take-PAST money c.5asc himself and dog

'bée aginí, ampí na mba'bú.  
 that 3S-go-PAST 3S-OM-give-PAST asc mouse



‘So now, the judgement came down against Cat because he did not do well the way he took the money from Dog and gave it to Rat.’

b) *Tíne* as introduction to moral (HP 60)

Atíne yá alikí `bé `bɔ, kóngi, ...  
 so-significance c.9fdem 3S-be-PAST that thus c.17-village  
 ‘So the meaning of this story is that in the village, [if youth need wisdom, they should find out what the elders know about the problem. (HP 61) If you kill off all the elders, so that there are none around anymore, then you will not have the knowledge of the past found in the village.]’

The sixth and final band of the Pagibete narrative salience scheme is the cohesive band. Cohesion is obtained in several ways, seen in dependent and in relative clauses. The device most used in dependent clauses is the particle *-tó* ‘when’, which is a verb suffix occurring on a verb marked for present or future tense. It is used in tail-head linking to connect the dependent clause to the previous independent clause. All narrators used this device.

(102) Cohesive

a) (DC 7b-8a)

...bátéke nyamé. Sikawáne bátéketó nyamé,...  
 3PL-sell-NARR animal now 3PL-sell-FUT-when animal  
 ‘...they sold the animal. Now when they had sold the animal,...’

b) (HP 54-55a)

Mokonzi apupá kósenzele. Mokonzi apupató...  
 chief 3S-go out-NARR c.17-outside chief 3S-go out-FUT-when  
 ‘The chief went outside. When the chief went outside,...’

c) (NV 1b-2a)

...neginiyókó kópa. Ndé négenató kópa...  
 1S-go-PAST-MPAST c.17-forest then 1S/PRES-go-PRES-when c.17-forest  
 ‘...I went to the forest. When I went into the forest...’

The Pagibete also have a word for ‘when’, *ntango*, which occurs prior to a past tense verb. Again, a dependent clause beginning in this fashion reiterates the last part of the previous clause. Only the HP narrator used this device (103b). Finally, relative clauses often contain references to an event which already occurred (103a).

(103) More cohesive devices

a) Relative clauses (HP 29)

Míkí mó ómoti mó ambísí abáke kópa...  
 child c.1asc c.1-one c.1rel 3S-OM-put-PAST father-3S c.17-forest  
 ‘The child who had put his father in the forest...’

b) Dependent clause beginning with *ntango* (HP 2b-3a)

...bámpusá ngbayé móo ngí. Ntango yée go`bé  
 3PL-OM-bring out-NARR chief c.1asc village when c.9rel himself

bámpusí ngbayé móo ngí, ...  
 3PL-OM-bring out-PAST chief c.1asc village  
 ‘...they made him chief of the village. When they made him himself village chief,....’

A note should be added regarding this salience scheme and dialogue. In general, the features found to mark the various bands in monologue hold true for quotes and dialogue. The narrative tense continues to mark storyline, subjunctive generally marks irrealis, and so on. However, some noteworthy differences in possible forms do occur. Imperatives and the near past aspect are seen in quotes only, while the particle *-tó* and the habitual aspect only occur in monologue. Of the forty-four sentences in these three narratives which contain direct quotes, twenty-eight (63%) occur during peak, which may account for any anomalies found between the salience scheme and the forms found in quotes.

Of particular interest is the fact that flashback in these three stories was found only in dialogue. For this reason, it is not included in the general salience scheme; however, the contexts in which it is found indicate it should be grouped with background.

(104) Flashback (NV 12)

“Nzambe asungaló, ná kwáye `bete akíná yéyókó  
 God 3S-help-FUT-NFUT for problem that other c.9rel-MPST  
 aliagí kóbe asíaka.”  
 3S-be-PAST c.17-thigh 3S-be finished-NPST  
 “God will help, for the problem which I had with my thigh is finished.”

### 7.2.2 Procedural salience scheme

The salience bands discussed in section 7.2.1 refer to narrative. Given the difference in purpose and agent orientation, a separate salience scheme is needed for procedural text. Longacre (1995a) describes procedural text salience for Biblical Hebrew. Building on his work for procedural discourse, then, procedural mainline, purpose, description, and cohesive bands are identified. In addition, evaluation is proposed as an additional band present in Pagibete procedural text.

The procedural mainline, Band 1, contains the preparatory and main efficient procedures. It contains both verbs of action and of motivation, and like the storyline for narratives, characteristically uses the narrative tense.

(105) Procedural mainline (DB 5)

Netená neyédégé énzane  
 1S-cut-NARR 1S-smoothe-NARR good-EMPH  
 ‘I cut it up and smoothe it well.’

Clauses containing narrative verbs which are in a sentence beginning with a preposed dependent clause, however, are demoted to either band 2 or 3, depending on the marking of the introductory clause.

Band 2 is the purpose band, and is found in the introduction of this text. The verb in this band is in the future tense and is unmarked for aspect. Sentences introduced with a complement clause also belong in this band.

#### (106) Purpose

##### a) Simple future (DB 1)

Tegene né ká'bé ekele'báke.  
 1PL-go-FUT for look-INF wooden bell  
 'We will go to look for a wooden dog bell.'

##### b) Complement clause introduction (DB 2)

neká'bé ekele'báke netená negená na yí  
 1S/SUBJ-look.for-SUBJ wooden bell 1S-cut-NARR 1S-go-NARR asc 3S

mungá.  
 hunting.with dog  
 'Looking for a bell, I will cut (one) and go hunting with the dogs.'

The descriptive band, Band 3, is distinguished by use of present tense unmarked for aspect, and of future tense which is marked for aspect. These clauses most often occur in relative or dependent clauses. This band includes both specification of materials and procedures, and closure of procedures.

#### (107) Descriptive

##### a) Verb in independent clause + verb in dependent clause (DB 9)

[adé kósoponíyá] [ókóta ekótolóke] [bée  
 3S-arrive-NARR c.17-in 2S/PRES-scrape-PRES clapper that

okótagá] [bée kweɔREPETION]  
 2S-scrape-FUT-PROG that (ideophone)  
 '(When) it is inside, you scrape the clapper, (so) that you are scraping it (so) that  
 (= it says)...

c) Verb indicating closure (DB 11)

nevá mbobolo netógó na yí asía.  
 1S-take-NARR awl 1S-pierce-REPI-NARR asc 3S 3S-be finished-PRES.  
 I take an awl and I pierce with it (until) finished.

Band 4 is the evaluation band. Evaluation occurs in this text as the craftsman evaluates his work. Twice he uses the word *énza* 'good.' The second time he evaluates his work, he quotes himself, using the common Pagibete quote formula Pronoun + 'bée 'that.'

(108) Evaluation

a) *énza* (DB 6)

nevá ngósáye ne'baká na yí zu énza asía  
 1S-take-NARR scraper 1S-chip off-NARR asc 3S all good 3S-be finished-PRES  
 'I take the scraper, I scrape the root, all (looks) good, it's finished.'

b) Quote (DB 15)

...eme bée "í ákoka."  
 1S that yes 3S-PRES-be sufficient-PRES  
 "...I say, 'Yes, it will do.'"

The final band is the cohesive band. Three cohesive devices have been identified in this text. They are motion verbs (come, go, pass by/continue on), repetition of verb phrases, and the particle *-tó* 'when'.

## (109) Cohesive

## a) Motion verb (DB 13)

Nesókó ndé ....  
 IS-pass by-NARR so.then  
 ‘Then I continue on, ....’

## b) Repetition (DB 14a)

Nevá nígi ya nevá nekandé wáne  
 IS-take-NARR cord c.9fдем IS-take-NARR IS-tie up-NARR here  
 ‘Itake that string, Itake (it), I tie here.’

## c) Particle -tó (DB 12)

Nekengetó,....  
 IS-try-FUT-when  
 ‘When I try it.....’

In conclusion, the salience scheme for procedural text in Pagibete seems to have five bands. These are procedural mainline, purpose, descriptive, evaluation, and cohesive. This scalar model proves more useful in the analysis of this text than a binary model does, especially for the separation of cohesive devices from the rest of the background text features. More procedural texts will have to be gathered, however, to test this hypothesis.

### 7.2.3 Discussion of salience bands

Tables 22 and 23 lay out the features of each of these discourse types in Pagibete. Comparing the charts, it is noticeable that in Pagibete, the narrative tense carries the important events in these two types of discourse. Simple present presents important but non-mainline information. Finally, the particle -tó is an important device in cohesion.

Table 22. Narrative Discourse Saliency Scheme

Band 1: Storyline	Simple narrative tense Quote formula (N/Pron. + 'bée 'that')
Band 2: Backgrounded activities	Atelic verbs in any of the following verb tenses: Simple past, Simple present Inflected narrative ( + distant past, + habitual) Inflected past (+ distant past) <i>Liyé</i> 'be' with the sense of sitting or continuing
Band 3: Setting	'be' verb Adverbial phrase <i>adé tó</i> 'when arrived' + <i>máné</i> 'day'
Band 4: Irrealis	Subjunctive Future +/- near future Negative
Band 5: Evaluations	Adjectives with past tense verbs Sentences introduced by <i>tiná yá</i> , 'this meaning'
Band 6: Cohesive	Future/Present + <i>-tó</i> 'when' with action verb <i>Ntángo</i> 'when' + past Relative clauses

Table 23. Procedural Discourse Saliency Scheme

Band 1: Procedural mainline	Simple narrative tense
Band 2: Purpose	Simple future Complement clause introduction
Band 3: Descriptive	Usually in dependent clauses: Simple present Inflected future
Band 4: Evaluation	Use of <i>énza</i> 'good' Quote in present tense
Band 5: Cohesive	Motion verbs Repetition of verbs <i>-tó</i> 'when'

### 7.3 Peak-marking features

Pagibete storytellers have several devices available to them to mark peak, which Longacre defines as a 'zone of turbulence' corresponding to the climax or denouement of a story (1996:38). The most definitive Pagibete devices are rhetorical underlining and a shift from narration to dialogue. Also used is the crowded stage. In addition, while there is not an overall shift of tense or aspect, the progressive aspect only occurs at peak in the three narratives analyzed here. Interestingly, Pagibete folktales commonly have two peaks, in addition to a final moral slot filled by one or more paragraphs. The second peak is marked 'peak' (peak prime).

Rhetorical underlining, which is the use of additional words in order to slow the pace of the narrative and to give emphasis to what is happening, was used by the narrators in NV and HP. In both, the progression of the plot is slowed down as the narrator basically repeats what is happening. In NV, he uses the same phrases. In HP, he amplifies at one point in the peak, and uses parallelisms in both the first and second action peaks (peak and peak'). Translations only of each of these are given in (110).

#### (110) Rhetorical underlining

##### a) Repetition with amplification (HP 19-20)

He began to shout. He began to shout there on the path to the field.

##### b) Repetition of phrases (NV 11-16)

So then I said, "There is no problem, don't be afraid. God will help, for the problem I had with my thigh is over. The one I had with my arm also is finished. I know that by the power of God, this illness of mine will be healed today." I then sat, and we were praying. I said "Don't be afraid, don't go to call people in the village yet, by the power of God my illness will be over today." I was just sitting there, thus the power of God came then my illness left completely.



c) Repetition and *parallelism* (HP 21b-22, 35b-36)

When they looked for a place to beat the snake, they saw that if they hit the snake, they would hit the chief and he would die.

They looked for a place to cut the snake with their knives, but saw that if they cut him they would cut the chief and he would die.

“For a long time we've wanted to beat the snake to kill it there *where he is on the neck*, but we see that if we beat the snake, we beat the chief, and we kill him too.

We've wanted to chop at this snake there on the chief's neck, but we see the same problem, we'll chop the chief, too, and kill him.”

The other distinctive device used at peak is a shift from narration to direct quotes and dialogue. Dialogue is the surface form of what Longacre calls repartee. A repartee typically begins with an initiating utterance (IU). This IU may contain a question (Q), remark (Rem) or proposal (Pro). A question is not just any surface structure question, but one which underlyingly requests information. A remark is basically a way for the speaker to see if the hearer agrees with what he has said. A proposal is characterized as a “call to action.” In simple repartee, the IU is then followed by a resolving utterance (RU), which will contain an answer (A), evaluation (Ev), or response (Res). In complex repartee, the IU may be followed by a continuing utterance (CU), which may be a counterquestion, counterremark, or counterproposal. A CU may follow any other variety of itself or of an IU (1996:125-131).

Although quotations are not unique to peak, they are more common there. In NV, the narrator quotes himself extensively at peak, imploring his companions to not be afraid, for God will heal him as He has in the past. In DC, the quotations at peak and peak' are Remarks (Rem), not Proposals (Pro) as elsewhere in the story. Although two sentences

appears in form as questions, they are not truly searches for information, but exclamations of consternation, or rhetorical questions.

(111) (DC 13-15)

'Búsú 'bée "dámó ogyí                      gondé! Kóka                      nvé eme nesúngaló                      ndéngé  
cat    that friend 2S-do-PAST thusly c.17-POSS dog 1S    1S-end-FUT-NFUT sort

tina? Embále lébuwé léé                      tebalí.                      Mpé asúngaló                      ndéngé tina?"  
which money c.5-much c.5ndem 1PL-get-PAST and 3S-end-FUT-NFUT sort    what

'The cat said, "Friend, you did this!(Rem) How am I going to explain this to Dog?(Rem) All that money we had gotten!(Rem) How will this end?(Rem)'"

In HP, peak' is a dialogue between the father and son, of the form seen in (112). This, the longest stretch of dialogue in all three stories, is the only place where script-predictable repartee (the greeting sequence) gives way to a counterproposal (Přō). which is the solution to the problem the youths are having.

(112)	Sent 33	(IU, Rem)	father, direct quote: standard greeting
	Sent 34	(RU, Ev)	son, narrative: standard response
	Sent 35	(IU, Q)	father, direct quote: continuation of standard greeting
	Sent 36-40	(RU, A)	son, direct quote: statement of problem
	Sent 41	(IU, Rem)	father, direct quote: exclamation over the scope of the problem
	Sent 42	(IU, Pro)	son, narrative: statement of departure
	Sent 43-49	(CU, Přō)	father, direct quote: solution to problem
	Sent 50	(RU, Res)	son, narrative: acceptance of solution

The stage may also become crowded during peak. This device is used by all narrators, but not in every peak, and not only at peak. The HP narrator uses it during the first peak,

when the young chief, the snake, and all the youths are on stage. The only living person not present is the father hidden in the forest. This is also true for the post-peak episode, however. The DC narrator crowds the stage during the second peak, when the dog, the cat, and the judges are all together. The rat's presence is not mentioned, but may possibly be understood in the cultural context of a trial. In NV, the narrator and the men who came to help him are all together as they pray for God to come heal him. However, this is not the only point in the story when they are all present.

Finally, although a general shift in tense structure does not occur at peak, this is the only place where the progressive aspect marker *-gá* is found in all three stories. It may occur in monologue or in quoted material. In DC, it actually occurs twice in one sentence during the second peak, once preceding the process verbal, and once in the more normal position as a suffix on the verb.

(113) (DC 22)

A        embále gá        ndíla        na kwáye 'bée nvé akpetagá  
 however money PROG PROC-cl.3 asc problem that dog 3S-tell-FUT-PROG

'bée óbikí                    na embále sikawáne...?  
 that 2S/SUBJ-come-SUBJ asc money now

'However, where is this money that Dog is saying you should come with...?'

In summary, the two most common peak-marking devices in Pagibete are repetition and a shift from monologue to dialogue. However, devices such as the crowded stage and use of the present progressive marker *-ga* also may help mark peak.

## 7.4 Participant reference

Longacre (1995b) brings out the necessity for discovering in each language three variables which together guide the course of participant reference in a given language. These are: 1) the resources available for participant reference, 2) the ranking of participants within given stories, and 3) the specific discourse operations in which these former two variables are used, such as introduction and tracking of participants.

### 7.4.1 Resources and ranks

Pagibete has a rich set of resources for identifying and tracking participants in narratives. It includes, in Longacre's hierarchical order (1995b:698-699): nouns with qualifiers (including names), nouns without qualifiers (including names), surrogate nouns (especially kinship and role), pronouns, deictics, subject and object prefixes on verbs, and possessor affixes on most kinship terms. Most of these have been discussed in earlier chapters, so will receive no further discussion here.

Surrogate nouns, however, do require some discussion, as they are quite common in Pagibete folktales. Major human participants are never overtly named, but rather referred to by their role or, more commonly, their kinship relation to another participant. This is seen in "Honor Your Elders" with the child and his father, who are never named, but rather identified by their relationship. A few kinship terms (e.g., *tadi* 'younger sibling/cousin', *nena* 'father's sister') do not take, or rarely take, a possessive suffix, but the majority of kinship terms are bound roots, requiring a possessive suffix. Two terms have separate forms for

independent forms versus possessed forms: *babá* 'father', which becomes *a'bá*-possessive suffix, and *mamá* 'mother', which becomes *ma*-possessive suffix.

Pagibete tends to use the rank of the participant or prop to determine which resources are used in a given situation, as well as to place the participant in the sentence. The ranking is: 1) central character, 2) major non-central character, 3) minor character, and 4) prop. Thematic status also is a consideration.

#### 7.4.2 Operations

Longacre identifies seven main operations performed by participant referents in a narrative. These are: 1) first mention within a story, 2) integration into the story as central to the whole narrative or to some embedded narrative, 3) routine tracking, 4) reinstatement/restaging of a participant that has been offstage, 5) confrontation and/or role change, 6) marking of locally contrastive/thematic status, and 7) an intrusive narrator evaluation or comment (1995b:702). In the following sections, the interplay of status and referent resource for the operations found in the three narrative texts examined will be discussed. Integration as central character and intrusive narrator evaluation or comment are not found in these texts, so are not considered here. However, quote formulas play a significant role in Pagibete's participant reference system, so are discussed.

### 7.4.2.1 Introduction of participants

The first mention of a participant is typically with either a noun phrase (NP) or a noun/surrogate noun. Major participants may be introduced after *liyé* 'be', or may be introduced as the subject of a sentence. Major human participants, whether agent or not, are introduced with a noun phrase, but never given a name in the texts examined. Major animal participants, however, are introduced with just a noun, which is used as a name. In the three following examples, major participants are underlined.

#### (114) Introduction of major participants

##### a) Central (HP 1)

Ngbayé ómotí aliagíndé na málaké yí okpé  
 chief c.1-one 1S-be-REP-PAST-DPAST asc child-3S 3S adult

nésoyí yé egbayá....  
 asc-place c.9asc chiefdom....  
 'Once, one chief had his adult son in his chiefdom....'

##### b) Non-central (HP 11)

Míkí ómotí yí 'buna abáke, yí 'bée....  
 Child c.1-one 3S with father-3S 3S that....  
 'One child with his father, he said that....'

##### c) Central and non-central (DC 1)

Etó léegá netó alikí léka nvé na 'búsu.  
 c.5-story c.5rel-PROG asc-c.5-story 3S-be-NEUT-PRES c.5-POSS dog asc cat  
 'This story is about Dog and Cat.'

Minor participants and props also may be introduced with either a noun or a noun phrase, but humanness is not a factor. In the five narrative texts collected, only minor

participants and props are overtly named. This seems to highlight their importance in that particular episode.

(115) Introduction of minor participants and props

a) (NV 5h)

“Genáninó, mántáne infirmier Makpanda `bée yí ndo wáne  
go-IMP-PL-yet 3PL-OM-met-FUT nurse Makpanda that he PROC here

kómoóye owé Ekómbé.”

c.17-head.asc Ekómbé.

“Go, perhaps you will meet nurse Makpanda who is at the head of the Ekómbé (river).”

b) (HP 16)

Nzókó omotí, lína léngáke ndé mbalangé, ado kó,....  
Snake c.1-one, name c.5-POSS-3S ID green.mamba, 3S-come.from/NARR LOC,....  
‘One snake, his name is Green Mamba, came from there,....’

#### 7.4.2.2 Tracking of participants

Tracking of participants in the subject position is done primarily with the use of the subject prefixes on the verbs. For major and minor participants, the second most common method is the use of nouns or noun phrases, with pronouns being the third most common. Props, however, are rarely found in the subject slot; when they are present, it is because they are in focus at that point in the storyline (see section 7.3.5).

(116) Tracking in subject position

a) (HP 4) Tracking the youths with subject prefixes

Bábiá ná kwáayé `bété bágyé ekita.  
3PL-come-NARR for matter that 3PL-do-SUBJ meeting  
‘They came in order to have a meeting.’

## b) (HP 45) Tracking the snake with NP and pronouns

Mbalangé móo awɔnaló                    ʔambaʔbú, yípo akólokanaló                    ʔée yí  
 green mamba this 3S-see-FUT-NFUT c.2-rat                    then 3S-unwind-FUT-NFUT that 3S

ógboké                    ʔambaʔbú yí óme.  
 3S/SUBJ-catch-SUBJ c.2-rat                    3S 3S/SUBJ-swallow-SUBJ  
 ‘That Green Mamba will see the rats and will unwind so that he can catch and swallow them.’

Tracking of participants in non-subject position is quite different. For all participants, the most common resource used is the noun (or surrogate noun (SN) if it is being used instead of a name, e.g., *abake* ‘his father’ in “Honor Your Elders”). For major and minor participants, an object marker (OM) on the verb is the second most common; this may co-occur with an overt noun object. For major participants, a pronoun (Pron.) is the third most common, whether an independent pronoun or a pronominal suffix on a possessive. For minor participants, however, an NP is the third most common; this may consist of N + demonstrative or of Pron. + N. (See table 24 for a summary.)

## (117) Tracking in non-subject position

## a) (HP 5) Tracking the youths with a noun

...yí ampá                    mobeko kógunalí                    ʔadaáke...  
 3S 3S-OM-give-NARR law                    c.17-on top of c.2-friend-3S  
 ‘...he gave a command to his friends...’

## b) (HP 13) Tracking the father with an object marker

Agenapí                    ámpá                    nyé pá kó.  
 3S-go-PRES-HAB 3S-OM-give-PRES food only LOC  
 ‘He went regularly to give him (the father) food right there.’



Props figure more prominently in the object position than in the subject. As stated earlier, a simple noun is the most common method of tracking props. The next most common is the use of a noun phrase. The final two methods used are the object marker and the demonstrative, although this latter is only when the prop is in focus.

(118) Tracking props

a) (DC 12) Tracking 'money' with a noun

...bée agené      áve                      embále...  
 that 3S-go-SUBJ 3S/SUBJ-get-SUBJ money  
 '...that he would go find the money...'

b) (HP 31) Tracking 'food' with a NP and an OM

Abongísé                      nyé óngáké      bée ágené  
 3S-prepare-CAUS-NARR food c.3-POSS-3S that 3S/SUBJ-go-SUBJ

ámpe abáke...  
 3S/SUBJ-OM-give-SUBJ father-3S  
 'He prepared his food that he could go give it to his father...'

Table 24 compares the interplay of rank and resource in subject (S) and non-subject (non-S) positions. The encoding of participants in these two positions is discussed further in section 7.4.3. Note, however, the significant difference in the encoding of props from that of other participants.

Table 24. Commonness of Use of Resources in S and Non-S position for Each Participant Rank in Routine Tracking

Commonness of Use	Major		Minor		Props	
	S	Non-S	S	Non-S	S	Non-S
Most common	S pfx.	N or SN	S pfx.	N or SN	--	N
Second most common	N or NP	OM	N or NP	OM	--	NP
Third most common	Pron.	Pron.	Pron.	NP	--	OM or Dem.

### 7.4.2.3 Restaging

For all participants, the most common resources used for restaging are nouns and noun phrases. Here the distinction between major participants becomes apparent, however, as nouns predominate for central characters, while non-central participants tend to be marked with nouns for non-humans, but noun phrases for humans. Simple nouns and surrogate kinship nouns marked for possession are most common for minor participants, while props most frequently reappear in noun phrases.

#### (119) Restaging

##### a) Restaging of major character (HP 50)

Abía                    apélegé                    mokonzi.  
 3S-come-NARR 3S-tell-NARR chief  
 'He [the son] went and told the chief [what his father had said].'

##### b) Restaging of the son, a major non-central character (HP 29)

Míkí mó ómotí mó ambísí                    abáke kópa                    awéné                    'bée  
 child c.1asc c.1-one c.1rel 3S-OM-put-PAST father-3S c.17-forest 3S-see-NARR that

bití bwaka abáke kópa                    nzaye.  
 night many father-3S c.17-forest hunger  
 'The son who had taken his father to the forest realized that many days had passed, and his father would be hungry.'

## c) Restaging of Dog, a minor character (DC 16)

Sikawáne, 'búsu apaná kóka nvé,...  
 now cat 3S-return-NARR c.17-POSS dog  
 'Now Cat returned to Dog's (house),...'

## d) Restaging of rats, props (HP 52b)

'bée 'bégbatá 'bágená 'bágbokó 'bamba'bú 'bábuwé.  
 that 3PL/SUBJ?-scatter-NARR 3PL-go-NARR 3PL-catch-NARR c.2-rat c.2-many  
 '...that they should scatter and gather many rats.'

## 7.4.2.4 Role change/Confrontation

These operations occur only once apiece in the texts examined. Role change occurs when the central character, who is introduced as the chief's son, becomes chief himself after his father dies. He is referred to in the first clause with a SN+ Dem. + Pron. + Dem.; in the second, at the role change, he is referred to in an associative construction as well as on the verb as an OM.

## (120) Young chief's role change (HP 2)

Ndé 'bánwondá máláké mósó go'bé mósó  
 Then 3PL-OM-see-NARR offspring-3S c.1rndem himself c.1rndem

'bámpusá ngbayé mósó ngí.  
 3PL-OM-bring.out-NARR chief c.1asc village.  
 'Then they saw this son, he himself; they brought him forth as chief of the village.'

The other occurs at the point of confrontation between the cat and the rat, when Cat realizes what Rat has done. At that point, in a speech act, Cat calls Rat *damóo* 'friend.'

#### 7.4.2.5 Marking of thematic status/focus

There is a marked increase of amount of encoding for themes and participants or props in focus. In “Honor Your Elders,” the snake, whose appearance triggers the need for the wisdom which the elders had, is referred to with a demonstrative as well as both the nouns ‘snake’ (general term) and ‘green mamba’ (specific term) (see (115b)).

In “Dog and Cat”, it is *embále* ‘money’ that is the focus of attention, and which receives a far greater variety of encoding than any other prop in any of these texts. It nearly always appears with at least one demonstrative, and may also appear with a quantifier or relative clause. It also is encoded once with a pronoun (121a). Further, it is the only prop which appears in subject position, and does so twice, the second time getting further reference by agreement on the process verb (see (113)).

#### (121) Encoding of *embále* ‘money’ in DC

##### a) NP with demonstrative, demonstrative alone, pronoun (DC 11b)

...nvé `bée “dámóo asengélí                      `bée óbikí                      na embále  
 dog that friend 3S-be.necessary-SUBJ that 2S/SUBJ-come-SUBJ asc c.5-money-c.5

lǒ      ndé tebísí                      lǒ      óbikí                      na yí  
 c.5fdem thus 1PL-put-PAST c.5fdem 2S/SUBJ-come-PAST asc 3S

tégabene.”

1PL/SUBJ-give for keeps-ASS-SUBJ

Dog said, “Friend, go get that money that we put by; (when) you get here with it, we’ll divide it up.”

##### b) Quantifier, relative clause (DC 14)

“Embále      lébuwé      lée      tebalí!”  
 c.5-money-c.5 c.5-much c.5rel 1PL-get-PAST  
 ““All the money which we received!””

The theme of “Dog and Cat” is friendship, as this story deals with the friendship between Cat and Dog, and how Rat ruined it. Thus *edaáme* ‘friendship’ receives more encoding than expected of props when it appears in a sentence.

(122) DC 11a - *Edaáme* ‘friendship’ - NP with possessive pronoun, independent pronoun.

ʔúsú ʔúna nvé ʔáliá                    ʔáliá                    ndéngé edaáme                    léngaʔú  
 cat    and    dog 3PL-sit-NARR 3PL-sit-NARR sort    c.5-friendship c.5-POSS-3PL

ʔámesení                    liyé    na    yí,  
 3PL-know-ASS-PAST be-INF asc 3S  
 ‘Cat and Dog continued in their friendship as usual,’

#### 7.4.2.6 Quote formula

Quote formulas in Pagibete, which always precede the speech act, can take many forms, but are usually signaled by the use of *ʔée* ‘that’. The predominate participant resource used for the speaker is a noun preceding *ʔée*, with pronoun + *ʔée* being the second most common. The third most common type of quote formula involves a noun or 0 (e.g., marking speaker solely with the verb prefix) in conjunction with a speech verb. If the addressee appears in the quote formula, he can be referred to with either a noun or a pronoun, either immediately before or after *ʔée*.

(123) Common quote formula variations

a) Noun (speaker) + *ʔée*

nvé ʔée “...  
 dog that “...  
 ‘Dog said, “...’

b) Pronoun (speaker) + *ʔée*

ʔú ʔée “...  
 they that “...  
 ‘They said, “...’

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>c) Noun (speaker) + speech verb + <i>'bée</i></p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">nvé akpetá      'bée "...<br/> dog 3S-say-NARR that "...<br/> 'Dog said, "...'</p>                                 | <p>d) Speech verb (inflected for speaker) + <i>'bée</i></p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">apelege      'bée "...<br/> 3S-tell-NARR that "...<br/> 'He told (them), "...'</p> |
| <p>e) Noun (speaker) + speech verb + addressee + <i>'bée</i></p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Koba omawa      'bu 'bée "...<br/> Turtle 3S-ask-NARR 3PL that "...<br/> 'Turtle asked them, "...'</p> | <p>f) Noun (speaker) + <i>'bée</i> + addressee</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Mokonzi 'bée yí "...<br/> Chief that 3S "...<br/> 'The chief said to him "...'</p>          |

The rank of participants seems to have no role in determining whether a noun or a pronoun is used. Rather, the choice has more to do with whether the speech is an isolated speech act, or whether it is part of a dialogue. Pronouns are used in dialogue exchanges, where the expected 'turn-taking' is occurring; or when the speaker has been identified more explicitly in the previous clause.

Other possibilities do exist for quote formula patterns. These include the insertion of the adverb *ʔɔ* 'thusly' after *'bée*; elimination of *'bée*; clause + *'bée*; non-speech verb + *'bée*; and pronominal adjective + *'bée*.

(124)

- a) *'bée ʔɔ*
- Yí 'bée ʔɔ, "...  
'He said thusly, "...'
- b) Pronominal adjective + *'bée*
- 'Bakina 'bée, "...  
'Others said, "...'

### **7.4.3 Predicting levels of resource encoding**

According to Stephen Levinsohn (1994), by examining the subject (S) and non-subject (non-S) positions in narratives an analyst can determine what levels of encoding (from noun phrases to affixes) are default values in a given language. These levels correspond to Longacre's hierarchy of participant reference resources discussed in section 7.4.1. Having determined the default encoding levels, by further analysis the linguist can account for variations in participant reference encoding. The results of such analysis for Pagibete follow.

#### **7.4.3.1 Subject Slot**

The subject slot has the more predictable levels of encoding. The default levels are as follows. If the participant encoded as S was referred to in the previous sentence or clause as either S or non-S, that participant will be referred to only with a subject prefix on the verb. On the other hand, if the S was the addressee of a speech given in the previous sentence, the participant will be encoded with a noun.

Under certain circumstances, the default values yield to the following levels of encoding. During a dialogue, pronouns can be found in the place of nouns as discussed in section 7.3.2.6. Also, at episode boundaries and during shifts of focus, the level of encoding will increase; instead of finding subject prefixes, we see nouns and noun phrases. NP's tend to be more common when the scene has shifted; nouns are more common during restaging of characters.

### 7.4.3.2 Non-Subject Slot

The default encoding for participants in non-subject position is dependent on the rank of the participant. Major characters rarely appear in the predicate, e.g., as objects or object markers, but they are present. Minor participants and props appear frequently in this position.

Central characters rarely appear in non-subject position. Their appearance there usually is related to an emphasis on another participant or indicates a discontinuity boundary, such as introduction or change of setting. When they are found in this position, they are most often encoded with a noun and/or an object marker on the verb. Otherwise, they may be marked with a pronoun or, if they were in non-subject position in the previous sentence, with a possessive or associative construction.

#### (125) Encoding of central participants in non-S position

##### a) With OM and noun (HP 24)

Bánkpeté                      mokonzi 'bée "...  
 3PL-OM-speak-NARR chief      that  
 'They said to the chief, "...'

##### b) With pronoun (NV 5b)

...atáané                      eme...  
 3S-find-NARR 1S  
 '...he found me...'

Non-central characters appear even less frequently in non-subject position. When they do, it is as the goal of an action by the central character. When they have appeared in the same non-subject role as in the previous clause, they are marked with a noun and/or object



marker (126a). However, if they were involved in a subject non-speaker role in the previous clause, their presence is noted by a pronoun, with or without an object marker on the verb.

(126) Encoding of major, non-central participants in non-S position

a) With noun and OM (DC 12)

Sikawáne, [búsú agenató] [bée agené áve embále  
now cat 3S-go-PRES-when that 3S-go-SUBJ 3S/SUBJ-get-SUBJ money

kóndé asomí na yí kóka mbabú,] [antaáne mbabú]...  
LOC-DPAST 3S-hide-PAST asc 3S c.17-POSS rat 3S-OM-find-NARR rat  
'So when Cat went to get the money where he hid it with Rat, he found Rat...'

b) With Pronoun and OM (HP 48)

Míkí mío awóokó nzombí wé abáké yí ankpítí yí.  
child c.1ndem 3S-hear-NARR word c.3rel father-3S 3S 3S-OM-speak-PAST 3S  
'This son heard the words which his father spoke to him.'

Unlike major characters, minor characters commonly appear in non-subject position.

The presence of minor characters here is overwhelmingly marked by the placement of an object marker on the verb in conjunction with overt mentioning with a noun or SN (127a), or, less commonly, an NP (127b).

(127) Encoding of minor participants in non-S position

a) With OM and SN (HP 31)

...agená na nyé antáne abáke kópa kó.  
3S-go-NARR asc food 3S-OM-find-NARR father-3S c.17-forest LOC  
'...he went with the food, he found his father there in the forest.'

b) With NP (DC16)

Sikawáne, búsú apaná kóka nvé,...  
now cat 3S-return-NARR c.17-POSS dog  
'So now, Cat returned to Dog's,....'

Interestingly, the encoding of props varies with their importance to the storyline. Props of lesser importance to the storyline are referred to with nouns or noun phrases. Props which play a more prominent role in the narrative, such as the money of DC, as well as words dealing with themes, such as friendship (DC) or wisdom (HP), appear in NP's, typically with demonstratives (see (121) and (122)).

(128) Encoding of props in non-S position (DC 6)

...bámóó nyamé.  
 3PL-kill animal  
 '...they killed an animal.'

## 7.5 Summary

Three areas of discourse have been considered here. First, salience schemes for narrative and procedural discourse have been proposed. The importance of the narrative tense for marking the main events is noted, and that of the particle *-tó* for maintaining cohesion in a tail-head linkage has been indicated as well. Then, changes observed at peak have been described. The most notable peak-marking device is repetition. Finally, Pagibete's resources for referring to participants have been discussed, as well as the question of when to expect which resources to be used in introducing, tracking, and focusing on participants.

## CHAPTER 8

### PAGIBETE'S PLACE IN BANTU

#### 8.1 Synopsis of Pagibete structure

In this paper, Pagibete has been described as a Bantu language. The phonology and morphology are discussed. The noun class agreement system is explained. Descriptions of clause and sentence structure are given. Finally, three areas of discourse are analyzed and discussed.

Pagibete meets the criteria set by Guthrie (1948:11-12) for Bantu languages in having the characteristic noun class system, albeit with some interesting quirks discussed in chapter 5. It also has the typical agglutinative verb structure of Bantu, with pronominal prefixes, tense and aspect affixes, and verbal extensions all attaching to the root. Again, it is unusual in that its TAM system is predominately suffixing, with the tones on the pronominal prefixes being the only place before the base which tag tense/mood. Its basic clause syntax, SVO, is that typical of Bantu languages. Its vocabulary as well shares many roots with other Bantu languages, such as *ebéle* 'breast' and *péye* 'to give' which have cognates in languages from every zone (Guthrie 1967/71, vol. 3). Because it lacks the class agreement on the standard verbs, however, it is generally regarded as a Sub-Bantu language. On the other hand, only one reference work found in the preparation of this paper, Mann and Dalby (1987:124-126),

separated Sub-Bantu languages from the rest of the Narrow Bantu languages. From this I infer that this distinction is not considered to be particularly important to today's Bantu scholars.

## 8.2 Bantu classification

Any work which discusses internal classification of Bantu must take as its starting point Guthrie's classification of the Bantu languages (1948, 1967/71). His work is still used as the reference standard for classification of Bantu languages, although a number of people have attempted to come up with a more solidly linguistic base for grouping Bantu languages (see Hinnebusch 1989:454-461 for a synopsis of this work).

As noted in chapter 2, section 2.1.2, Pagibete, along with the other members of the Bua Block, is generally considered to be a Zone C, Group 40 language. Guthrie lists twenty-three characteristics of Zone C languages, dividing them into "common" and "peculiar" features. Common features are features "which are the ones not common to the whole of the Bantu field but nevertheless to be found to some extent in adjacent zones." Peculiar features "are not necessarily confined exclusively to the zone in question, but ... do not appear to occur in any of the languages immediately adjoining it" (1948:30).

Pagibete definitely shares eleven of these characteristics. The common ones are: 1) a lack of "true passive verbals," 2) the "use of single independent nominal prefixes only," 3) the absence of extra independent prefixes, 4) a seven vowel system, 5) "a single quantity only in radical vowels," and 6) "absence of any tonal distinction in dependent prefixes." The

2) “the use of a prefix, both dependent and independent, as the singular corresponding to the prefix *bi-*, which consists of a vowel only” (e.g., c.7 *e-* for c.8 *be-*), 3) “a similarity in the shape of the dependent and the independent prefixes,” 4) “the impossibility of using a nominal as a sentence,” 5) “a simple consonant system with an almost complete syllabary” (1948:38-39).

Most of the ‘common features’ listed for Pagibete are, according to Guthrie, found in Group D languages as well. Of the features listed specifically for Group D, which Guthrie admits is a problematic group, with little linguistic unity, Pagibete has the phonemic distinction between /k/ and /g/ (1948:41-42).

### 8.3 Conclusion

With so little data about Group D languages, it appears that for now Pagibete is best left in the C.40 Group with the rest of the Bua languages. Hopefully, those who work in revision of the Guthrie classification scheme will see fit to assign it its own number. In any case, it is hoped that this study will aid those who are working in comparative Bantu studies in their search for a better internal classification of the Bantu languages.

Further research into the language and culture of the Pagibete is planned. A greater number of texts will be gathered to help in the analysis of tone and other areas where insufficient information has left gaps, e.g., the ordering of noun phrase constituents in complex phrases which do not contain a demonstrative or relative clause.

**APPENDIX A**  
**THREE TEXTS**

In the following texts, the interlinearization shows the following: the top line gives the surface form, the second line shows morpheme breaks with underlying forms, the third line gives the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss for English, and the fourth line, if one exists, gives the same in Lingala (which Tadika Faustire, my language consultant, supplied). Free translations in English and Lingala are given for the folktales; I did the English one, while Tadika did the Lingala one. Any errors are mine, not his.

Double vowels only indicate that a contour tone appears, not that long vowels exist in Pagibete. Further tonal analysis is needed to determine if indeed the HL or LH tone pattern is attaching to one or two vowels.

Dates and narrators of the original recordings are as follows. "Dog and Cat" was recorded July 27, 1995 by Samazo Ngobe. "Honor Your Elders" was recorded April 11, 1995 by Nvungbo Ewukeluke. "Nvungbo's Testimony" was recorded September 20, 1994 by Nvungbo Constant.

## DOG AND CAT

Ref: dogcatr 001

*Etó léegá netóo alikí léka*  
 e -tó lé -gá na -e -tó a -liy -ek -í lé -ka  
 c.5-story c.5-PROG asc-c.5-story 2S-be -NEUT-PAST c.5-POSS  
 c.5-lisapo c.5-PROG na -c.5-lisapo a -zala-NEUT-PAST c.5-na

*mvéε na búsu.*  
 mv -é na búsu  
 c.la/dog-c.la asc c.la/cat  
 c.la/mbwa na c.la/pusu

This story is about the dog and the cat.

*Lisapo oyo nazali kosapa ezali lisapo na mbwa mpe pusu.*

Ref: dogcatr 002

*Báliagíndé edáme.*  
 bá -liy -ag -í -ndé e -daáme  
 3PL-be -REPI-PAST-DPAST c.5-friendship  
 ba -zala-REPI-PAST-DPAST c.5-bondeko

They lived in friendship.

*Bazalaka baninga.*

Ref: dogcatr 003

*Edáme léngaδú bábanánágí sókε.*  
 e -daáme lé -ngá -δú bá -banan -ag -í sók -éye  
 c.5-friendship c.5-POSS-3PL 3PL-love each other-REPI-PAST pass by-INF  
 c.5-bondeko c.5-na -na bango ba -lingana -REPI-PAST leka -INF

They loved each other very much in their friendship.

*Bolingo na bango balinganaka mingi.*

Ref: dogcatr 004

*Ndéngé yeé báliagápí na yí mpe ndéngé yé*  
 ndéngé yé bá -liy -ag -á -pí na yí mpe ndéngé yé  
 c.9/sort c.9rel 3PL-be -REP-NARR-HAB asc 3S and c.9/sort c.9asc  
 c.9/ndenge c.9rel ba -zala-REP-NARR-aka na ye mpe c.9/ndenge oyo



énzá mpe bágenándé kópa.  
 é -nza mpe bá -gen -á -ndé kó -paáye  
 c.9-good and 3PL-go -NARR-DPAST c.17-forest  
 c.9-malámu mpe ba -kende-NARR-DPAST na -zamba

They had a very good friendship, and they went hunting together.  
*Ndenge oyo bazalaka na yango, bazalaka malamú, mpe bákenda na zamba.*

Ref: dogcatr 005

ηνέ βέε "dámóo, dámó δύsu,  
 ην -έ βέε dámo dámo δύsu  
 c.la/dog-c.la that c.la/friend c.la/friend c.la/cat  
 c.la/mbwa ete c.la/moninga c.la/moninga c.la/pusu

tégené kópa.  
 té -gen -é kó -paáye  
 1PL/SUBJ-go -SUBJ c.17-forest  
 tó -kende-SUBJ na -zamba

The dog said, "Friend, Friend Cat, let's go to the forest."  
*Mbwa ete, "Moninga Pusu, tókenda na zamba."*

Ref: dogcatr 006

Βάgená kópa, mpe bágya páye éngabú.  
 bá -gen -á kó -paáye mpe bá -gy -á paáye é -ngá -bú  
 3PL-go -NARR c.17-forest and 3PL-do -NARR forest c.9-POSS-3PL  
 ba -kende-NARR na -zamba mpe ba -sala-NARR zamba c.9-na -na bango

δámóo nyamé.  
 bá -mó nyamé  
 3PL-kill c.9/animal  
 ba -boma c.9/nyama

They went to the forest, they went hunting and killed an animal.  
*Bakei na zamba, mpe basali zamba na bango, babomi nyama.*

Ref: dogcatr 007

Βapaná na nyamé, bábiyá báde kóngíí.  
 bá -pan -á na nyamé bá -biy -á bá -de kó -ngí  
 3PL-return-NARR asc c.9/animal 3PL-come-NARR 3PL-arrive c.17-village  
 ba -zóng -NARR na c.9/nyama ba -yâ -NARR ba -kóma na -mboka

*mpe bágená, bátéske nyamé.*  
 mpe bá -gen -á bá -ték -e nyamé  
 and 3PL-go -NARR 3PL-sell-NARR c.9/animal  
 mpe ba -kɛndɛ-NARR ba -téka-NARR c.9/nyama

They returned with the animal to the village and sold it.

*Bayei na nyama bakomi na yango na mboka, mpe bakei, bateki.*

Ref: dogcatr 008

*Sikawáne bátéktó nyamé ɲvé akpetá bée*  
 sikawáne bá -ték -ɛ -tó nyamé ɲv -é a -kpet-á bée  
 now 3PL-sell-PRES-when c.9/animal c.1a/dog-c.1a 3S-tell-NARR that  
 sikoyo ba -téka-PRES-ntango c.9/nyama c.1a/mbwa a -loba-NARR ete

*“búsu vá embále lée, ógené*  
 búsu v -á e -mbá -le lée ó -gen -é  
 c.1a/cat take -IMP c.5-money-c.5 c.5ndem 2S/SUBJ-go -SUBJ  
 c.1a/pusu kamata-IMP c.5-mbóngɔ oyo ó -kɛndɛ-SUBJ

*ósɔme.”*

ó -sɔm -e  
 2S/SUBJ-hide -SUBJ  
 ó -bómba-SUBJ

Now when they had sold the meat, the dog said, " Cat, take this money and go hide it."

*Sikawa, ntango bateki nyama, mbwa alobi ete: "Pusu, zwa mbongo oyo, okende, obomba."*

Ref: dogcatr 009

*Sikawáne búsu adó sɔméye embále ló yí*  
 sikawáne búsu a -ɗ -ó sɔm -éye e -mbá -le ló yí  
 now c.1a/cat 3S-leave-NARR hide -INF c.5-money-c.5 c.5rndem 2S  
 sikoyo c.1a/pusu a -tika -NARR bómba-INF c.5-mbóngɔ yango ye

*mángená, búsu avá embále ló agená,*  
 mángená búsu a -v -á e -mbá -le ló a -gen -á  
 c.1a/owner c.1a/cat 3S-take -NARR c.5-money-c.5 c.5rndem 3S-go -NARR  
 c.1a/nkolo c.1a/pusu a -kamata-NARR c.5-mbóngɔ oyo a -kɛndɛ-NARR

*ampá mbaɖú bête mbaɖú ósɔmélé bú*  
 a -N -p -á mbaɖú bête mbaɖú ó -sɔm -el -é bú  
 3S-OM-give-NARR c.1a/mouse that c.1a/mouse 3S/SUBJ-hide -APP-SUBJ 3PL  
 a -OM-pasa-NARR c.1a/mpóko oyo c.1a/mpóko á -bómba-APP-SUBJ bangó

embále lóo.  
 e -mbá -le lóo  
 c.5-money-c.5 c.5rndem  
 c.5-mbóngo oyo

So the cat went to hide their money. He took the money and went and gave it to the mouse for the mouse to hide for them.

*Sikawa, pusu atiki kobomba mosolo oyo wana ye moko; pusu azwi mosolo oyo wana, apesi na mpoko ete mpoko abombela bango mosolo oyo wana.*

Ref: dogcatr 010

*Sikawáne, mbaḅú avató embále lóo*  
 sikawáne mbaḅú a -v -a -tó e -mbá -le lóo  
 now c.1a/mouse 3S-take -FUT-when c.5-money-c.5 c.5rndem  
 sikoyo c.1a/mpóko a -kamata-FUT-ntango c.5-mbóngo oyo

*agenató ná soméye yá mbaḅú asiké*  
 a -gen -a -tó ná som -éye yá mbaḅú a -sik -é  
 3S-go -FUT-when for hide -INF c. ?fdem c.1a/mouse 3S-repeat -NARR  
 a -kendε-FUT-ntango mpo bóm̄ba-INF oyo c.1a/mpóko a -sala lisusu-NARR

*awendá embále lóo goḅelóo, aténagá, mpe*  
 a -wend-á e -mbá -le lóo goḅelóo a -tén -ag -á mpe  
 3S-see -NARR c.5-money-c.5 c.5rndem c.5dem 3S-cut -REPI-NARR and  
 a -tala-NARR c.5-mbóngo oyo wana a -kokata-REPI-NARR mpe

*abísá, adε mbeto éngaké yé bée yí*  
 a -bís -á a -dε gbogbóye é -ngá -ke yé bée yí  
 3S-put -NARR 3S-become c.9/sleeping mat c.9-POSS-3S c.9rel that 3S  
 a -tiya-NARR a -kóma c.9/litoko c.9-na -3S oyo ete ye

*áwangele.*

á -wang -εl -é  
 3S/SUBJ-sleep-APP-SUBJ  
 á -lala -APP-SUBJ

So now, when the mouse took the money, when he went to hide it, he looked at that money there again, he decided to cut it up to make a bed from it.

*Sikawa, ntango mpoko azwi mosolo oyo wana, ntango akei kobomba yango, mpoko atali lisusu mosolo yango, akatikati, atii, ekomi mbeto na ye ete alalela yango.*

Ref: dogcatr 011

<i>ʔúsú</i>	<i>ʔúna ɲvé</i>	<i>ʔáliá</i>	<i>ʔáliá</i>	<i>ndéngé</i>
ʔúsu	ʔúna ɲv -é	ʔá -liy -á	ʔá -liy -á	ndéngé
c.la/cat	and c.la/dog-c.la	3PL-sit -NARR	3PL-sit -NARR	sort
c.la/pusu	mpe c.la/mbwa	ba -fanda-NARR	ba -fanda-NARR	ndenge
<i>edaáme</i>	<i>léngabú</i>	<i>ʔámesení</i>	<i>liyé</i>	<i>na yí.</i>
e -daáme	lé -ɲgá -ʔú	ʔá -yiʔ -an -í	liy -é	na yí
c.5-friendship	c.5-POSS-3PL	3PL-know-STAT-PAST	be -INF	asc 3S
c.5-bondeko	c.5-na -na	bango ba -yeba-STAT-PAST	zala-INF	na ye
<i>adétó</i>	<i>móné</i>	<i>mámotí, ɲvé</i>	<i>ʔée</i>	<i>"dámóo</i>
a -de -tó	móné	ma -motí ɲv -é	ʔée	dámo
3S-arrive-when	c.6/day	c.6-one c.la/dog-c.la	that	c.la/friend
a -kóma	-ntango	c.6/mokolo c.6-moko	c.la/mbwa	ete moninga
<i>aseɲgélí</i>	<i>ʔée óbikí</i>	<i>na embále</i>	<i>lóo</i>	
a -wán	-í ʔée ó	-biy -í na e -mbá	-le lóo	
3S-be necessary-SUBJ	that 2S/SUBJ-come-SUBJ	asc c.5-money-c.5	c.5rndem	
a -bonga	-SUBJ ete ó	-yâ -SUBJ na	c.5-mbóngo	oyo
<i>ndé tɛbísí</i>	<i>lóo, óbikí</i>	<i>na yí,</i>		
ndé tɛ -bís -í	lóo ó	-biy -í na yí		
then 1PL-put -PAST	c.5rndem 2S/SUBJ-come-PAST	asc 3S		
nde 1PL-tiya-PAST	oyo ó	-yâ -PAST na ye		
<i>tégabene.</i>				
té -gab	-en -é			
1PL/SUBJ-give away-ASS-SUBJ				
tó -kaba	-ASS-SUBJ			

The cat and the dog continued in their friendship as usual. One day, Dog said, "Friend, go get the money that we put by, (and) when you get here with it, we'll divide it up.

*Pusu bango na mbwa bafandi, bafandi, ndenge na bolingo na bango kofanda na bango. Ekomi mokolo moko, mbwa ete: "Moninga, esengeli ete oya na mbongo oyo wana totii oyo na yango, tokabola."*

Ref: dogcatr 012

<i>Sikawáne, ʔúsú</i>	<i>agenató</i>	<i>ʔée agené</i>
sikawáne ʔúsu	a -gen -a -tó	ʔée a -gen -é
now	c.la/cat 3S-go -FUT-when	that 3S-go -SUBJ
sikoyo	c.la/pusu a -kendɛ-FUT-ntango	ete a -kendɛ-SUBJ

*áveé*                    *embále*                    *kóndé*                    *asomí*                    *na yí*                    *kóka*  
 á        -v -e        e -mbá -le        kó -ndé        a -som -í        na yí        kó -ka  
 3S/SUBJ-get-SUBJ c.5-money-c.5 LOC-DPAST 3S-hide -PAST asc 3S        c.17-POSS  
 á        -zwa-SUBJ c.5-mbóngo        na -DPAST a -bómba-PAST na yangó na -na

*mbaḅúu,*                    *antaáne*                    *mbaḅú*                    *ávaníndé*  
 mbaḅú        a -N -tán -é        mbaḅú        á        -v        -a        -ní -ndé  
 c.1a/mouse 3S-OM-find-NARR c.1a/mouse 3S/PRES-take -PRES-PERF-DPAST  
 c.1a/mpóko a -OM-kuta-NARR c.1a/mpóko a        -kamata-PRES-PERF-DPAST

*embále*                    *lóo*                    *aténagá*                    *mpé áwangele*  
 e -mbá -le        lóo        a -tén        -ag -á        mpé á        -wang -el -e  
 c.5-money-c.5 c.5rndem 3S-cut        -REPI-NARR and 3S/SUBJ-sleep-APP-SUBJ  
 c.5-mbóngo        oyo        a -kokata-REPI-NARR mpe á        -lala -APP-SUBJ

*ade*                    *mbeto*                    *éngake.*  
 a -de        gbogbóye                    é -ngá -ke  
 3S-become c.9/sleeping mat c.9-POSS-3S  
 a -kóma        c.9/litoko                    c.9-na -3S

So when Cat went to get the money where he hid it with the mouse, he found the mouse and got the shredded money Mouse had been using as his bed.

*Sikawa, pusu akei ete azwa mbongo na esika oyo abomba na yango epai na mpoko, akuti mpoko, azwa mbongo oyo wana akatikati mpe alaleli ekomi mbeto na ye.*

Ref: dogcatr 013

*Búsú*                    *bée "dámó*                    *ogyí*                    *gondé! kóka*                    *ḡvé*  
 búsu        bée dámo                    o -gy -í        gondé kó -ka        ḡv        -é  
 c.1a/cat that c.1a/friend 2S-do -PAST thusly c.17-POSS c.1a/dog-c.1a  
 c.1a/pusu ete c.1a/moninga o -sala-PAST boye na -na c.1a/mbwa

*eme nesúngaló*                    *ndéngé*                    *tina?*  
 eme ne-súng-a -ló        ndéngé        tiná  
 1S        1S-end -FUT-NFUT c.9/sort        which  
 ngái na-suka-FUT-NFUT c.9/ndenge nini

The cat said, "Friend, why did you do this? How am I going to explain this to Dog?  
*Pusu ete: "Moinga, osali boye; epai na mbwa nakosuka ndenge nini?"*

Ref: dogcatr 014

*Embále*                    *lébuwé*                    *lée*                    *tebalí.*  
 e -mbá -le        lé -buwé        lée        te -bal-í  
 c.5-money-c.5 c.5-much c.5rel 1PL-get-PAST  
 c.5-mbóngo        c.5-míngi oyo        to -zwa-PAST

All that money which we had gotten!  
*Mbongo ebele oyo tozwi!*

Ref: dogcatr 015

*Mpé asúngaló ndéngé tina?"*  
 mpé a -súng-a -ló ndéngé tina  
 and 3S-end -FUT-NFUT c.9/sort what  
 mpe a -suka-FUT-NFUT c.9/ndenge nini

How will this end?"

*Mpe ekosuka ndenge nini?"*

Ref: dogcatr 016

*Sikawáne, búsu apaná kóka ηνέ. βέε*  
 sikawáne búsu a -pan -á kó -ka ην -έ βέε  
 now c.la/cat 3S-return-NARR c.l7-POSS c.la/dog-c.la that  
 sikoyo c.la/pusu a -zóng -NARR na -na c.la/mbwa ete

*"embále kálikí ká."*  
 e -mbá -le ká -a -liy -ek -í ká  
 c.5-money-c.5 NEG-3S-be -NEUT-PAST NEG  
 mbóngo té -a -zala-NEUT-PAST té

So, Cat returned to Dog's house and told him "The money is gone."

*Sikawa, pusu azongi epai na mbwa, ete mosolo ezali te.*

Ref: dogcatr 017

*ηνέ βέ "bon, aliá go βó akokeló go ká.*  
 ην -έ βέé \*\*\* a -liy -á go βó a -kok -e -ló go ká  
 c.la/dog-c.la that well 3S-be -NARR also thus 3S-can -FUT-NFUT also NEG  
 c.la-mbwa ete \*\*\* a -zala-NARR mpe boye a -koka-FUT-NFUT mpe té

Dog said, " Well, if that's the case, it won't do."

*Mbwa ete: soki ezali boye, ekokoka te.*

Ref: dogcatr 018

*Sikawáne βάγενά βákambáná kóka βagbayá*  
 sikawáne βá -γεν -ά βá -kamb -en -ά kó -ka βa -gbay -ά  
 immediately 3PL-go -NARR 3PL-accuse-ASS-NARR c.l7-POSS c.2-chief -c.2  
 sikoyo ba -kendε-NARR ba -funda -ASS-NARR na -na c.2-mokónzi-c.2

*ḡá* *ṅgi.*  
*ḡá* *ṅgí*  
 c.2asc c.3/village  
 na c.3/mboka

So immediately they went before the village elders to have their case judged.  
*Sikawa bakei kofundana epai na bakonzi na mboka.*

Ref: dogcatr 019

*ʼBámáká* *ḡúsu,* *abiá,* *abiá* *adé* *mpé*  
*ḡá* -mák -á *ḡúsu* a -biy -á a -biy -á a -de *mpé*  
 3PL-call -NARR c.1a/cat 3S-come-NARR 3S-come-NARR 3S-arrive and  
*ba* -bianga-NARR c.1a/pusu a -yâ -NARR a -yâ -NARR a -kóma *mpe*

*ḡábandá* *sámbséye* *yáḡu.*  
*ḡá* -band -á *sámbs* -éye *yáḡú*  
 3PL-begin-NARR judge -INF 3PL  
*ba* -banda-NARR sambisa-INF *bangó*

They called Cat; he came, and when he arrived, they began to judge them.  
*Babiangi pusu, ayei, ayei, akómi, mpe babandi kosambisa bango.*

Ref: dogcatr 020

*ʼBú* *ḡé* *ḡóo* "ndéngé *tíná* *máginíndé* *kópa* *mpé*  
*ḡú* *ḡée* *ḡo* ndéngé *tíná* má -gen -í -ndé *kó* -paáye *mpé*  
 3PL that thus c.9/sort what 2PL-go -PAST-DPAST c.17-forest and  
*bangó* ete *boye* c.9/ndenge *nini* *bo* -kende-PAST-DPAST *na* -zamba *mpe*

*mábale* *táte* *mpé* *mábia* *mátéke.*  
*má* -bal-e *táte* *mpé* *má* -biy -a *má* -ték -e  
 2PL-get-PRES c.7/thing and 2PL-come-PRES 2PL-sell-PRES  
*bo* -zwa-PRES c.7/eloko *mpe* *bo* -yâ -PRES *bo* -téka-PRES

They said thus, "How you went hunting, and found things, and you came to sell it.  
*Bango ete: "Ndenge nini bokende na zamba, mpe bozwi biloko mpe boyei koteka.*

Ref: dogcatr 021

*Bon,* *aḡée* *óveé* *embále* *líyá*  
*bon* *aḡée* *ó* -v -e e -mbá -le *líyá*  
 fine because 2S/SUBJ-get -SUBJ c.5-money-c.5 c.5fдем  
*malamu* *mpe* ete *ó* -kamata-SUBJ c.5-mbóngo *yangó*

ólilí.                    na ndéngé      yé      mámesení                    na yí  
 ó      -lil      -í      na ndéngé      yé      má -mesen      -í      na yí  
 2S/SUBJ-keep   -SUBJ asc c.9/sort      c.9rel 2PL-be used to-PAST asc 3S  
 ó      -batela-SUBJ na c.9/ndenge oyo      bo -mesena      -PAST na yangó

na soponí      edaáme                    léngánu.  
 na soponiyá e   -daáme              lé -ngá -nu  
 asc in              c.5-friendship c.5-POSS-2PL  
 na na kati      c.5-bondeko      c.5-na      -2PL

(That's) fine, because you should get and keep this money in the way that you are used to in your friendship.

*Bon, mpo ete ozwa mosolo yango, obatela, na ndenge oyo bomesena na yango kati na bolingo na bino.*

Ref: dogcatr 022

A      embále              gá      ndíla      na kwáye              bée      ηνέ  
 a      e -mbá -le      gá      ndí -la      na kwáye              bée      ην      -έ  
 however c.5-money-c.5      PROG PROC-c.3 asc c.9/problem that c.1a/dog-c.1a  
 kasi      c.5-mbóngo      PROG PROC-c.3 na      c.9/likambo ete      c.1a/mbwa

akpetagá              bée      óbikí                    na embále              sikawáne  
 a -kpet-a -gá      bée      ó      -biy -í      na e -mbá -le      sikawáne  
 3S-tell-FUT-PROG that 2S/SUBJ-come-SUBJ asc c.5-money-c.5 now  
 a -loba-FUT-PROG ete      ó      -yâ -SUBJ na      c.5-mbóngo      sikoyo

mágabéné                    embále              líya      lóo.  
 má -gab                    -en -é      e -mbá -le      liyá      lóo  
 2PL-give for keeps-ASS-SUBJ c.5-money-c.5 c.5fdem c.5rndem  
 bo -kaba                    -ASS-SUBJ c.5-mbóngo      yangó      oyo

However, where is this money that Dog is saying you should come with to divide up?"

*Bongo, mosolo yango wapi mpo ete mbwa ezali koloba ete oya na mosolo sikoyo bókabola mosolo yango?"*

Ref: dogcatr 023

Ndésené,      sikasikawáne,              ngbangé              agwá              na búsu              bée  
 ndésené      REDUPL              -sikawáne      ngbangé              a -gw      -á      na búsu              bée  
 then              INTENSIFIER-now              c.9/problem      3S-fall -NARR asc c.1a/cat      that  
 bóongo      INTENSIFIER-sikoyo              c.9/likambo a -kwéya-NARR na      c.1a/pusu ete



*kágyí*                    *enzá ká, ndéngé*                    *yé ndé aví*  
 ká -a -gy -í    énta ká ndéngé                    yé ndé a -v    -í  
 NEG-3S-do -PAST good NEG c.9/sort c.9rel then 3S-take -PAST  
 té -a -sala-PAST malámu té c.9/ndenge oyo nde a -kamata-PAST

*embále*                    *lé gobé búna ḡvé*                    *mpe aginí,*  
 e -mbá -le lé    gobé búna ḡv                    -é mpe a -gen -í  
 c.5-money-c.5 c.5asc himself and c.la/dog-c.la and 3S-go -PAST  
 c.5-mbóngo na ye moko mpe c.la/mbwa mpé a -këndε-PAST

*ampí*                    *na mbaḡú.*  
 a -N -p -í    na mbaḡú  
 3S-OM-give-PAST asc c.la/mouse  
 a -OM-pasa-PAST na c.la/mpóko

So now, the judgement came down against the cat because he did not do right in how he got the money from Dog and went (and) gave it to the mouse.

*Bongo, sikawa, likambo ekweyi na pusu mpo ete asali malamumu te, ndenge oyo ye azwi na mbongo oyo bango na mbwa, akei kopesa na mpoko.*

Ref: dogcatr 024

*Gunali soyí yáyóó,*                    *ḡḡonzó átígáníndé*  
 gunali soyí yá -yóó                    ḡḡonzó á -tíg -an -í -ndé  
 on top of place c.9fdem-c.9rndem c.9/anger 3S/SUBJ-stay -STAT-PAST-DPAST  
 likoló esíka oyo -wana                    c.9/nkándá á -tikala-STAT-PAST-DPAST

*kóká búsu bée gondéndé mbaḡú ambaḡísí*  
 kó -ka búsu                    bée gondé -ndé mbaḡú a -mbaḡ -is -í  
 c.17-POSS c.la/cat that since -DPAST c.la/mouse 3S-be ruined-CAUS-PAST  
 na -na c.la/pusu ete lokola-DPAST c.la/mpóko a -beba -is -PAST

*na edaáme búna ḡvé,*                    *súka pá bête yí*  
 na e -daáme                    búna ḡv                    -é súḡḡ-εl -ε -yá pá bête yí  
 asc c.5-friendship and c.la/dog-c.la end -APP-PRES-c.?dem only that 3S  
 na c.5-bondeko mpe c.la/mbwa suka-APP-PRES-oyo bobele oyo ye

*go káḡwóné*                    *go búsu gotó ká.*  
 go ká -a -N -wén -é                    go búsu                    gotó ká  
 again NEG-3S-OM-see -SUBJ again c.la/cat again NEG  
 lisusu té -a -OM-mona-SUBJ lisusu c.la/pusu lisusu té

Because of all this, Cat is still angry at Mouse because he ruined the friendship between Cat and Dog. As a result Mouse and Cat also don't see each other any more.

*Mpo na esika yango, nkanda atikala epai na pusu mpo ete mpoko abebisi bolingo na mbwa, suka bobele ete ye mpe amona pusu lisusu te.*

Ref: dogcatr 025

*Tíne yápíne ndíyo, máwénagá bête búsu*  
 tíne yá -píné ndí -yo má -wén -a -gá bête búsu  
 c.9/meaning c.9rel-HAB PROC-c.9 2PL-see -PRES-PROG that c.1a/cat  
 c.9/tina yango -HAB PROC-c.9 bo -mona-PRES-PROG oyo pusu

*búna mbaḅú báḅananagepíné ká na kwáye bée*  
 búna mbaḅú bá -ḅanan -ag -e -píné ká na kwáye bée  
 and c.1a/mouse 3PL-love each other-REP-PRES-HAB NEG asc c.9/problem that  
 mpé c.1a/mpóko ba -lingana -REP-PRES-HAB té na c.9/likambo ete

*gondé mbaḅú ambangísí nedaáme búna*  
 gondé mbaḅú a -mbang -is -í na -e -daáme búna  
 since c.1a/mouse 3S-be ruined-CAUS-PAST asc-c.5-friendship and  
 lokola c.1a/mpóko a -beba -is -PAST na -c.5-baninga mpe

*ḡvḡ.*

*ḡv -é*  
 c.1a/dog-c.1a  
 c.1a/mbwa

The meaning of this story is to show why we see that cat and mouse are enemies: it's because Mouse ruined the friendship between Cat and Dog.

*Ntina na likambo yango, tomonaka pusu na mpoko balinganaka te, mpo ete mpoko abebisi bolingo oyo bango na mbwa.*

## HONOR YOUR ELDERS

Ref: honorpa 001

*Ngbayé*      *ómotí*      *aliagíndé*      *na*      *máláké*      *yí*  
 η -gbay -é      ó -motí a -liy -ag -í -ndé      na málá -ké yí  
 c.1-chief-c.1 c.1-one 3S-live-REPI-PAST-DPAST asc c.1a/child-3S 3S  
 c.1-mokónzi c.1-moko a -zala-REPI-PAST-DPAST na c.1a/mwana-3S ye

*okpé*      *nésoyí*      *yé*      *egbayá*      *léngaké*      *ayoyó*  
 okpé      né -soyí      yé      e -gbayá      lé -ngá -ké a -yoy      -ó  
 c.1a/adult asc-c.9/place c.9asc c.5-chiefdom c.5-POSS-3S 3S-be tired-NARR  
 c.1a/mokolo na -c.9/esíka na c.5-bokonzi c.5-na -3S a -lemba -NARR

akwáa.

a -kw -a  
 3S-die -NARR  
 a -kufa-NARR

Once there was a chief who had a grown son in his kingdom; he (the chief) grew tired and died.

*Mokonzi moko azalaka na mwana na ye, ye mokolo, kati na bokonzi na ye, alembaki, mpe akufi.*

Ref: honorpa 002

*Ndé*      *ḡánwondá*      *máláké*      *móo*      *gobé*      *móo*  
 ndé      ḡá -N -wend-á      málá      -ké móo      gobé      móo  
 then 3PL-OM-see -NARR c.1a/offspring-3S c.1rndem himself c.1rndem  
 nde      ba -OM-tala-NARR c.1a/mwana -3S wána      ye moko wána

*ḡámpusá*      *ngbayé*      *móo*      *ngí.*  
 ḡá -N -pus      -á      η -gbay -é      móo      ngí  
 3PL-OM-bring out-NARR c.1-chief-c.1 c.1asc c.3/village  
 ba -OM-bimisa -NARR c.1-mokónzi na c.3/mboka

Then they saw this son, and made him chief of the village.

*Nde batali mwana na ye oyo wana, babimisi ye mokonzi na mboka.*

Ref: honorpa 003

*Ntango yée*      *gobé*      *ḡámpusí*      *ngbayé*      *móo*  
 ntango yée      gobé      ḡá -N -pus      -í      η -gbay -é      móo  
 when c.9ndem himself 3PL-OM-bring out-PAST c.1-chief-c.1 c.1asc  
 ntango óyó      ye moko ba -OM-bimisa -PAST c.1-mokónzi na

ngí amáká bádaáké bamíkí bá gobé  
 ngí a -mák -á ba -dámo -ké ba -míkí bá gobé  
 c.3/village 3S-call -NARR c.2-friend -3S c.2-child c.2asc himself  
 c.3/mboka a -bianga-NARR c.2-moninga-3S c.2-mwana na ye moko

kóntinda bú zu bawanzá.  
 kó -ntindé bú zu ba -wanz -á  
 c.17-after 3PL all c.2-teenage boy-c.2  
 na -nsíma bangó nyóso c.2-elenge mobali

When they made him village chief, he called all his friends, all his agemates.

*Ntango oyo babimisi mokonzi na mboka, abiangi baninga na ye bana oyo nsima bango nyoso bana mibali*

Ref: honorpa 004

Bábiá ná kwáayé béte bágyé ekita.  
 bá -biy -á ná kwáye béte bá -gy -é e -kita  
 3PL-come-NARR for c.9/matter that 3PL-do -SUBJ c.5-meeting  
 ba -yâ -NARR mpo c.9/likambo oyo bá -sala-SUBJ c.5-likita

They came in order to have a meeting.

*Bayei mpo na kosala likita.*

Ref: honorpa 005

Na ntango yée gobé bágyé ekita yí ampá  
 na ntango yée gobé bá -gy -é e -kita yí a -N -p -á  
 asc when c.9ndem himself 3PL-do -SUBJ c.5-meeting 3S 3S-OM-give-NARR  
 na ntango óyó ye moko bá -sala-SUBJ c.5-likita ye a -OM-pasa-NARR

mobeko kógunalí badaáké béte "eme narwénése  
 mbelo kó -gunalí ba -dámo -ké béte eme ne-N -wén -é -se  
 c.3/law c.17-on top of c.2-friend -3S that 1S 1S-OM-see -NARR-EMPH  
 c.3/mobeko na -likoló c.2-moninga-3S oyo ngái na-OM-mona-NARR-EMPH

mboko omotí wáne kóngame nésoyí yé eme  
 mboko ó -motí wáne kó -ngá -me né -soyí yé eme  
 c.1a/elderly person c.1-one here c.17-POSS-1S asc-c.9/place c.9rel 1S  
 c.1a/páka c.1-moko awa na -na -ngai na -c.9/esika oyo ngái

nesalá na egbayá gotó ká.  
 ne-gy -á na e -gbayá gotó ká  
 1S-do -NARR asc c.5-chiefdom again NEG  
 na-sala-NARR na c.5-bokonzi lisusu té

At this time, when they finished the meeting, he gave a command to his friends that he no longer wanted to see any elderly people in his chiefdom.

*Na ntango oyo, basali likita esili, ye apesi mobeko likolo na baninga ete ye amona lisusu paka moko te na esika oyo azali kosala bokonzi na ye.*

Ref: honorpa 006

Enzá témó babasú zu.  
 énzá té -mó ba -babá -sú zu  
 good 1PL/SUBJ-kill c.2-father-1PL all  
 malámu tó -boma c.2-tatá -1PL nyóso

(It is) good (that) we should kill all of our fathers.

*Malamu tóboma batata na biso banso.*

Ref: honorpa 007

Bée móngáme go akwáníndé. akukí gobé  
 bée mó -ngá -me go a -kw -á -ní -ndé a -kuk -í gobé  
 that c.1-POSS-1S already 3S-die -NARR-PERF-DPAST 3S-can -PAST today  
 ete c.1-na -ngai mpe a -kufa-NARR-PERF-DPAST a -koka-PAST leló

bo bángánu go bákwi.  
 bo bá -ngá -nu go bá -kw -í  
 thus c.2-POSS-2PL also 3PL-die -SUBJ  
 wana c.2-na -2PL mpe bá -kufa-SUBJ

My father is already dead, and now yours need to die also.

*Oyo na ngai tata asili kokufa kala, esengi ete baoyo na bino batata bákufa mpe.*

Ref: honorpa 008

Bamboko báa wáne kóngi zu bákwi  
 ba -mboko báa wáne kó -ngí zu bá -kw -í  
 c.2-elderly person c.2ndem here c.17-village all 3PL-die -SUBJ  
 c.2-páka baoyo awa na -mboka nyóso bá -kufa-SUBJ

bátiga pá bawanzá gegelc tégyesé  
 bá -tíg -a pá ba -wanz -á gegelc té -gy -is -e  
 3PL-remain-FUT only c.2-teenage boy-c.2 just 1PL/SUBJ-do -CAUS-SUBJ  
 ba -tikala-FUT bobele c.2-elenge mobali mpamba té -sala-is -SUBJ

egbayá léngasu.  
 e -gbayá lé -ngá -su  
 c.5-chiefdom c.5-POSS-1PL  
 c.5-bokonzi c.5-na -1PL

All the elders of the village should die, so it'll be just us to be in charge.

*Bapaka baoyo na mboka nyoso, bákufa, bongo biso tosala bokonzi na biso.*

Ref: honorpa 009

*Bon, badaáké bábúká, bápanató bábandá*  
 bon ba -dámó -ké bá -búk -a bá -pan -a -tó bá -band -á  
 so c.2-friend -3S 3PL-agree-NARR 3PL-return-PRES-when 3PL-begin-NARR  
 bon c.2-moninga-3S ba -ndima-NARR ba -zóng -PRES-ntango ba -banda-NARR

*móye babaḅú na bamboko bálikí*  
 mó -éye ba -babá -ḅú na ba -mboko bá -liy -ek -í  
 kill-INF c.2-father-3PL asc c.2-elderly person 3PL-live -NEUT-PAST  
 boma-INF c.2-tatá -3PL na c.2-páka ba -fanda-NEUT-PAST

*soponí ngí zu.*  
 sponiyá ngí zu  
 in c.3/village all  
 na kati c.3/mboka nyóso

So, his friends agreed, and when they returned, they began to kill all the elderly people who lived in their village.

*Malamu, baninga na ye bandimi, ntango bazongi, babandi koboma bapaka na bango. na batata na bango banso na mboka.*

Ref: honorpa 010

*Atígá pá ḅú bawanzá gɛgɛɛ.*  
 a -tíg -á pá ḅú ba -wanz -á gɛgɛɛ  
 3S-stay -NARR only 3PL c.2-teenage boy-c.2 only  
 a -tikala-NARR bobele bangó c.2-elenge mobali mpamba

Only young people were left.

*Etikali bobele bilenge mibali mpamba na mboka*

Ref: honorpa 011

*Míkí omotí yí ḅúna abáke yí ḅée yí ká.*  
 míkí ó -motí yí ḅúna babá -ké yí ḅée yí ká  
 c.1a/child c.1-one 3S and c.1a/father-3S 3S that 3S NEG  
 c.1a/mwana c.1-moko ye mpe c.1a/tatá -3S ye ete ye té

*ámóo móngáke abaké ká.*  
 á -mó -o mó -ngá -ké babá -ké ká  
 3S/PRES-kill-PRES c.1-POSS-3S c.1a/father-3S NEG  
 a -boma-PRES c.1-na -3S c.1a/tatá -3S té

One boy did not want to kill his father.

*Mwana moko, aboyi, ete ye aboma oyo na ye tata te.*

Ref: honorpa 012

*Antóombá*                    *agená*                    *awendá*                    *kópa*                    *kóngbálé*  
 a -N -tómb -á    a -gen -á    a -wend-á    kó -paáye    kó -ngbálé  
 3S-OM-take -NARR 3S-go -NARR 3S-see -NARR c.17-forest c.17-hut  
 a -OM-kamata-NARR a -kende-NARR a -tala-NARR na -zamba na -molako

*agená*                    *ambísá*                    *kó.*  
 a -gen -á    a -N -bís -á    kó  
 3S-go -NARR 3S-OM-put -NARR LOC  
 a -kende-NARR a -OM-tiya-NARR kuna

So he took him, going to the forest, where he found a hut and put him there.  
*Akamati ye, akei, atali esika moko na zamba, abombi ye kuna.*

Ref: honorpa 013

*Agenapí*                    *ámpá*                    *nyé*                    *pá*                    *kó.*  
 a -gen -a -pí a -N -p -á    nyé                    pá                    kó  
 3S-go -PRES-HAB 3S-OM-give-PRES c.3/food only LOC  
 a -kende-PRES-aka a -OM-pasa-PRES c.3/bilei bobele kuna

He went regularly to give him food there.  
*Akendaka apesaka ye biloko bobele kuna.*

Ref: honorpa 014

*Ngbayé*                    *móo*                    *ndo*    *agyaá*                    *nsáláme*                    *mángáké*                    *má*  
 ŋ -gbay -é    móo                    ndó a -gy -á    nsálé -me    má -ngá -ké má  
 c.1-chief-c.1 c.1rndem PROC 3S-do -NARR work -c.4 c.4-POSS-3S c.4asc  
 c.1-mokónzi wána                    PROC a -sala-NARR mosálá-c.4 c.4-na -3S na

*egbayá*                    *kóngi.*  
 e -gbayá    kó -ngí  
 c.5-chiefdom c.17-village  
 c.5-bokonzi na -mboka

The chief meanwhile oversaw his chiefdom from the village.  
*Mokonzi wana atikali kosalela mosala na bokonzi na ye na mboka.*

Ref: honorpa 015

*Adetó*                    *mákiná*                    *móné*                    *ngbayé*                    *móo*  
 a -de -tó    má -kina    móné                    ŋ -gbay -é    móo  
 3S-arrive-when c.6-another c.6/day c.1-chief-c.1 c.1rndem  
 a -kóma -ntango oyo-mosusu c.6/mokolo c.1-mokónzi wána

atómbá ebándóo bée ágeεε kótíko.  
 a -tómb -á e -bándo bée á -gen -ε kó -tíko  
 3S-take -NARR c.5-knife that 3S/PRES-go -PRES c.17-field  
 a -kamata-NARR c.5-mbelí monεε ete a -kεnde-PRES na -elanga

One day, this chief took his knife so he could go to the field.

*Mokolo mosusu, mokonzi wana akamati mbeli na ye ete akende elanga.*

Ref: honorpa 016

Nzóko omotí, lína léngáke ndé mbalangé,  
 nzóko ó -motí lí -na lé -ngá -ké ndé mbalangé  
 c.1a/snake c.1-one c.5-name c.5-POSS-3S ID c.1a/green mamba  
 c.1a/nyoka c.1-moko c.5-nkombo c.5-na -3S ID c.1a/lokonga

adó kó, andúkéné kókingo.  
 a -dó kó a -N -duk -en -é kó -kingó  
 3S-come from LOC 3S-OM-spill-ASS-NARR c.17-neck  
 a -uta kuna a -OM-sopa -ASS-NARR na -kingo

A snake, one called a green mamba, came from the forest and fell on his neck from above.

*Nyoka moko, nkombo na yango lokonga, auti na zamba, akwei likolo na nzoto na ye.*

Ref: honorpa 017

Awátelégé na kingo éngáke zu.  
 a -wát -el -εg -é na kingó é -ngá -ké zu  
 3S-twist-APP-REPA-NARR asc c.9/neck c.9-POSS-3S all  
 a -poso -APP-REPA-NARR na c.9/kingo c.9-na -3S nyóso

He wrapped himself around the chief's entire neck.

*Azingizingi na nkingo na ye nyoso.*

Ref: honorpa 018

Akába pá bée áηkokage.  
 a -káβ -a pá bée á -N -kók -ag -é  
 3S-look-FUT only that 3S/SUBJ-OM-bite-REPI-SUBJ  
 a -luka-FUT bobele ete á -OM-sua -REPI-SUBJ

He (the snake) was searching for a place to bite him (the chief).

*Azali kolukaluka esika bobele ete asuasua ye.*



Ref: honorpa 019

*Abandá túlégéye balúwé.*  
 a -band -á túlég-éye balúwé  
 3S-begin-NARR shout-INF c.2/shout  
 a -banda-NARR ganga-INF c.2/konganga

He (the chief) began to shout.

*Abandi konganga esili.*

Ref: honorpa 020

*Abandá túlégéye balúwé kó na pési tíko.*  
 a -band -á túlég-éye balúwé kó na pési tíko  
 3S-begin-NARR shout-INF c.2/shouts LOC asc c.9/trail c.9/field  
 a -banda-NARR ganga-INF c.2/konganga kuna na c.9/nzela c.9/elanga

He began to shout there on the path to the field.

*Abandi koganga na nzela na elanga.*

Ref: honorpa 021

*Badaáke bátété na mábándóo na*  
 ba -dámó -ké bá -tét -é na ma -bándo na  
 c.2-friend -3S 3PL-run -NARR asc c.6-knife asc  
 c.2-moninga-3S ba -pota-NARR na c.6-mbelí monene na

*makóbó bágená bántánétó.*  
 ma -kóbó bá -gen -á bá -N -tán -ε -tó  
 c.6-piece of wood 3PL-go -NARR 3PL-OM-find-PRES-when  
 c.6-etení na nzete ba -kende-NARR ba -OM-kuta-PRES-ntango

*bántáné pá nzóko kówutélégí kókingo*  
 bá -N -tán -é pá nzóko kó -wút -εl -εg -í kó -kingó  
 3PL-OM-find-NARR only c.1a/snake c.17-follow-APP-REPA-PAST c.17-neck  
 ba -OM-kuta-NARR bobele c.1a/nyoka na -landa -APP-REPA-PAST na -kingo

*bákáβά bée bámbomé na ekóbó bú bée*  
 bá -káβ -á bée bá -N -bom -é na e -kóbó -ke bú bée  
 3PL-look-NARR that 3PL-OM-beat-SUBJ asc c.5-piece of wood-c.5 3PL that  
 ba -luka-NARR ete ba -OM-beta-SUBJ na c.5-etení na nzete bangó ete

*bámbomaló mokonzi búmó.*  
 bá -N -bom -a -ló η -gbay -é bú -bá -mó  
 3PL-OM-beat-FUT-NFUT c.1-chief-c.1 3PL -3PL-kill  
 ba -OM-beta-FUT-NFUT c.1-mokónzi bangó-ba -boma

His friends ran to him with their knives and sticks, and when they got there, they saw only the snake wrapped around the chief; when they looked for a place to beat the snake, they saw that if they hit the snake, they would hit the chief and he would die.

*Baninga na ye bapoti mbango na mbeli na biteni na banzete, ntango bakuti ye, bakuti bobele nyoka azingi kingo na mokonzi, soki baluki esika ete babeta nyoka na nzete, bakanisi soki tobeti nyoka, tokoboma mokonzi.*

Ref: honorpa 022

'Bákáǂá            ǂée ǂángoté            na ebándo            ǂú    ǂée  
ǂá -káǂ -á    ǂée ǂá -N -got -é    na e -bándo            ǂú    ǂée  
3PL-look-NARR that 3PL-OM-chop-SUBJ asc c.5-knife            3PL    that  
ba -luka-NARR ete ǂá -OM-kata-SUBJ na c.5-mbelí monɛɛ bangó ete

ǂángotaló            mokonzi            ǂúmó.  
ǂá -N -got -a -ló    ɲ -gbay -é    ǂú -ǂá -mó  
3PL-OM-chop-FUT-NFUT c.1-chief-c.1 3PL -3PL-kill  
ba -OM-kata-FUT-NFUT c.1-mokónzi    bangó-ba -boma

They looked for a place to cut the snake with their knives, but saw that if they cut him they'd cut the chief and he would die.

*Soki baluki esika ete bakata nyoka na mbeli, bakanisi ete bango bakokata mokonzi, akufa.*

Ref: honorpa 023

"Awáne            tɛgyaló            ndéngé tina?"  
a            -wáne tɛ -gy -a -ló    ndéngé tiná  
however-here 1PL-do -FUT-NFUT sort    what  
kasi    -awa to -sala-FUT-NFUT ndenge níni

"So now what will we do?"

"Bongo sikawa tokosala ndenge nini?"

Ref: honorpa 024

'Báǂkpɛté            mokonzi            ǂée "Tégené            kóngi."  
ǂá -N -kpɛt -é    ɲ -gbay -é    ǂée té            -gen -é    kó -ɲgí  
3PL-OM-speak-NARR c.1-chief-c.1 that 1PL/SUBJ-go -SUBJ c.17-village  
ba -OM-loba -NARR c.1-mokónzi ete tó            -kɛnde-SUBJ na -mboka

They said to the chief, "Let's go to the village."

*Balobi na mokonzi ete: "Tókende na mboka."*

Ref: honorpa 025

*Mokonzi*            *asókó*            *kámbo*            *na nzóko*            *kókingo*  
 η -gbay -é    a -sók            -ó    kámbolo    na nzóko            kó -kingó  
 c.1-chief-c.1 3S-pass by-NARR first    asc c.1a/snake c.17-neck  
 c.1-mokónzi    a -leka            -NARR ya liboso na c.1a/nyoka na -kingo

*bágená*            *báde*            *kóngí.*  
 bá -gen    -á    bá -de            kó -ngí  
 3PL-go    -NARR 3PL-arrive c.17-village  
 ba -kende-NARR ba -kóma    na -mboka

The chief went first with the snake around his neck, until they arrived at the village.  
*Mokonzi aleki liboso na nyoka na kingo na ye, bakei, bokomi na mboka.*

Ref: honorpa 026

*Báñkengé*            *nzóko*            *móo*            *gbagba.*  
 bá -N -keng-é    nzóko            móo            gbagbá  
 3PL-OM-try -NARR c.1a/snake c.1ndem awhile  
 ba -OM-meka-NARR c.1a/nyoka oyo            ntango molai

They tried for a long time to get this snake off.  
*Bameki koboma nyoka yango ntango molai.*

Ref: honorpa 027

*Mokonzi*            *móo*            *awangá*            *na mbalangé*            *móo*  
 η -gbay -é    móo            a -wang -á    na mbalangé            móo  
 c.1-chief-c.1 c.1rndem 3S-sleep-NARR asc c.1a/green mamba c.1rndem  
 c.1-mokónzi    wána            a -lala -NARR na c.1a/lokonga            wána

*kókingó*            *bití*            *mátó*            *ébuwé.*  
 kó -kingó bití            mátó            é -buwé  
 c.17-neck c.9/night rather c.9-many  
 na -kingo c.9/butú mwa            c.9-mingi

The chief slept with the snake around his neck for many nights.  
*Mokonzi wana aumeli na nyoka yango na kingo na ye mikolo mwa mingi.*

Ref: honorpa 028

*BákáBá*            *ebaná*            *lée*            *béte Bámó*            *na nzóko*  
 bá -káB -á    e -baná            lée            béte bá -mó    na nzóko  
 3PL-look-NARR c.5-wisdom c.5ndem that 3PL-kill asc c.1a/snake  
 ba -luka-NARR c.5-mayele oyo            oyo ba -boma na c.1a/nyoka

*Bákáǵé lée ebaná líyá gbagba.*  
 ǵá -káǵ -é lée e -baná líyá gbagǵá  
 3PL-look-SUBJ c.5ndem c.5-wisdom c.5fdem awhile  
 ǵá -luka-SUBJ oyo c.5-mayele yangó ntango molai

They looked for the wisdom to (safely) kill the snake for a long time, but couldn't find it.

*Baluki mayele na koboma nyoka, mayele yango baluki tee bazwi te.*

Ref: honorpa 029

*Míkí mó ómotí mó ambísí abáke*  
 míkí mó ó -motí mó a -N -bís -í babá -ké  
 c.1a/child c.lasc c.1-one c.lrel 3S-OM-put -PAST c.1a/father-3S  
 c.1a/mwana c.lasc c.1-moko c.lrel a -OM-tiya-PAST c.1a/tatá -3S

*kópa awéné ǵée bití bwáká abáke*  
 kó -paáye a -wén -é ǵée bití ábwa -ká babá -ké  
 c.17-forest 3S-see -NARR that c.9/night many -NEG c.1a/father-3S  
 na -zamba a -mona-NARR ete c.9/butú mingi-té c.1a/tatá -3S

*kópa nzáaye.*  
 kó -paáye nzaye  
 c.17-forest c.9/hunger  
 na -zamba c.9/nzala

The son who had taken his father to the forest realized that many days had passed, and his father would be hungry.

*Mwana moko oyo abombaki tata na ye na zamba amoni ete mikolo eleki mwa mingi, papa na ye na zamba azali kolala bobele nzala.*

Ref: honorpa 030

*"Enzá néǵéné némpe nyé kópa."*  
 éanza né -ǵen -é né -N -p -e nyé kó -paáye  
 good 1S/SUBJ-go -SUBJ 1S/SUBJ-OM-give-SUBJ c.3/food c.17-forest  
 malámu ná -kendε-SUBJ ná -OM-pasa-SUBJ c.3/bilei na -zamba

"(It is) good (that) I should go take some food to him in the forest."

*"Malamu nakenda kopesa ye bilei na zamba."*

Ref: honorpa 031

*Abongísé nyé óngaké ǵée áǵéné*  
 a -bong -is -é nyé ó -ngá -ké ǵée á -ǵen -é  
 3S-prepare-CAUS-NARR c.3/food c.3-POSS-3S that 3S/SUBJ-go -SUBJ  
 a -lengela-is -NARR c.3/bilei c.3-na -3S ete á -kendε-SUBJ

ámpe                      abáke                      agená                      na nyé  
 á            -p    -e    babá                      -ké a -gen    -á    na nyé  
 3S/SUBJ-give-SUBJ c.1a/father-3S 3S-go    -NARR asc c.3/food  
 á            -pasa-SUBJ c.1a/tatá    -3S a -këndε-NARR na c.3/bilei

antáne                      abáke                      kópa                      kó.  
 a -N -tán -é    babá                      -ké kó    -paáye kó  
 3S-OM-find-NARR c.1a/father-3S c.17-forest LOC  
 a -OM-kuta-NARR c.1a/tatá    -3S na -zamba kuna

He fixed some food to go give his father. He went with the food and met his father there in the forest.

*Abongisi biloko na ye ete akende kopesa tata na ye, akei na bilei, akuti tata na ye na zamba kuna.*

Ref: honorpa 032

Abáke                      ééé    "bónó míkí,                      óbia                      ndíyo?"  
 babá                      -ké ééé    bónó míkí                      ó                      -biy -a    ndíyo  
 c.1a/father-3S that well c.1a/child 2S/PRES-come-PRES PROC  
 c.1a/tatá    -3S ete boni c.1a/mwana 2S/PRES-yâ    -PRES PROC

His father said, "Well, son, so you've come."

*Tata na ye ete: Boni, mwana, kokoma na yo yango wana?*

Ref: honorpa 033

Míkí                      aḅúka.  
 míkí                      a -ḅúk    -a  
 c.1a/child 3S-agree-NARR  
 c.1a/mwana a -ndima-NARR

The son agreed.

*Mwana andimi.*

Ref: honorpa 034

Yí ééé ḅᵛ                      "Gundiya                      kóngi?"  
 yí ééé ḅᵛ                      gundiya                      kó -ngí  
 3S that thusly how's it going c.17-village  
 yee ete bongo boni                      na -mboka

The father asked, "What's happening in the village?"

*Ye ete: Sango nini na mboka?*

Ref: honorpa 035

*Yí bée bo "kóngi kókó ngbayé móngasú*  
*yí bée bo kó -ngí kó -kó η -gbay -é mó -ngá -su*  
 3S that thusly c.17-village c.17-LOC c.1-chief-c.1 c.1-POSS-1PL  
*yee ete bongo na -mboka na -na c.1-mokónzi c.1-na -1PL*

*nzóko mbalangé áηwútelege kókíngó*  
*nzóko mbalangé á -N -wút -el -eg -ε kó -kingó*  
 c.1a/snake c.1a/green mamba 3S/PRES-OM-follow-APP-REPA-PRES c.17-neck  
 c.1a/nyoka c.1a/lokonga á -OM-landa -APP-REPA-PRES na -kingo

*atekáá bée témbomagé*  
*a -te -káá -á bée té -N -bom -ag -é*  
 for a long time -1PL-look-NARR that 1PL/SUBJ-OM-beat-REP-SUBJ  
*eleki ntango molai-to -luka-NARR ete tó -OM-beta-REP-SUBJ*

*mbalangé témó kóngáke kókíngó téwéná*  
*mbalangé té -mó kó -ngá -ké kó -kingó té -wén -á*  
 c.1a/green mamba 1PL/SUBJ-kill c.17-POSS-3S c.17-neck 1PL/SUBJ-see -NARR  
 c.1a/lokonga 1PL/SUBJ-boma na -na -3S na -kingo tó -mona-NARR

*bée témbomagé mbalangé, témbomaga*  
*bée te -N -bom -ag -á mbalangé té -N -bom -ag -a*  
 that 1PL-OM-beat-REP-NARR c.1a/green mamba 1PL/PRES-OM-beat-REP-PRES  
*ete to -OM-beta-REP-NARR c.1a/lokonga to -OM-beta-REP-PRES*

*mokonzi, témó.*  
*η -gbay -é té -mó*  
 c.1-chief-c.1 1PL/SUBJ-kill  
 c.1-mokónzi tó -boma

The son answered, "In the village our chief has a snake wrapped around his neck: for a long time we've wanted to beat the snake to kill it there where he is on the neck, but we see that if we beat the snake, we beat the chief, and we kill the chief too.

*Ye ete: Kuna na mboka, nyoka lokongá azingizingi mokonzi na biso na kingo, soki toluki mayele ete tobetabeta nyoka, toboma yango likolo na kingo, tozali komona ete soki tobeti nyoka, tokobeta mokonzi, mpe akokufa.*

Ref: honorpa 036

*Tékááágá bée téngotagé mbalangé*  
*té -káá -ag -á bée té -N -got -ag -é mbalangé*  
 1PL/SUBJ-look-REPI-NARR that 1PL/SUBJ-OM-chop-REPI-SUBJ c.1a/green mamba  
*tó -luka-REPI-NARR ete tó -OM-kata-REPI-SUBJ c.1a/lokonga*

*móo kóngáké kókingó tówéna pá ɔ*  
*móo kó -ngá -ké kó -kingó té -wén -a pá ɔ*  
 c.1asc c.17-POSS-3S c.17-neck 1PL/PRES-see -PRES only thus  
*oyo na -na -3S na -kingo to -mona-PRES bobele wana*

*téngotaga mokonzi, témo.*  
*té -N -got -ag -a ɲ -gbay -é té -mó*  
 1PL/PRES-OM-chop-REPI-PRES c.1-chief-c.1 1PL/SUBJ-kill  
*to -OM-kata-REPI-PRES c.1-mokónzi tó -boma*

We've wanted to chop at this snake there on the chief's neck, but we have the same problem, we'll chop the chief, too, and kill him.

*Soki toluki mayele na kokatakata nyoka yango likolo na kingo na ye tomoni bobele ndenge moko, tokokata mokonzi, toboma ye.*

Ref: honorpa 037

*Tekáðeleyókó ebaná léé ɔ́é témóo na*  
*te -káð -el -e -yókó e -baná léé ɔ́é té -mó na*  
 1PL-look-APP-PRES-MPAST c.5-wisdom c.5ndem that 1PL/SUBJ-kill asc  
*to -luka-APP-PRES-MPAST c.5-mayele oyo ete tó -boma na*

*mbalangé móo gbagbá mbalangé móo pá*  
*mbalangé móo gbagbá mbalangé móo pá*  
 c.1a/green mamba c.1ndem awhile c.1a/green mamba c.1ndem only  
*c.1a/lokonga oyo ntango molai c.1a/lokonga oyo bobele*

*yí ndó adakí kókingo bití bwa yókó mokonzi*  
*yí ndó a -dak -í kó -kingó bití bwa yókó ɲ -gbay -é*  
 3S PROC 3S-remain-PAST c.17-neck c.9/night \*\*\* yesterday c.1-chief-c.1  
*yangó PROC a -umela -PAST na -kingo c.9/butú \*\*\* lobí c.1-mokónzi*

*káyáyegá ká.*  
*ká -a -yáy-e -gá ká*  
 NEG-3S-eat-PRES-PROG NEG  
*té -a -lia-PRES-PROG té*

We have been looking for a way to kill this snake for a long time; this snake has remained on his neck many nights and the chief isn't eating.

*Toluki mayele na koboma na nyoka yango té nyoka oyo aumeli bobele na kingo na mokonzi mikolo mwa mingi, bongo mokonzi azali kolia te.*

Ref: honorpa 038

Abáké            bée    "i, ékíná            ṅgbangé            gágo            ndíyo?"  
 babá            -ké bée    i    é    -kina            ṅgbangé            gágo            ndí-yo  
 c.1a/father-3S    that    oh    c.9-another    c.9/problem    besides    PROC-c.9  
 c.1a/tatá    -3S    ete    i    c.9-mosusu    c.9/likambo    yango    wana    PROC-c.9

His father said: "Oh, we have another problem besides?"

*Tata na ye ete: "i, mosusu likambo yango wana?"*

Ref: honorpa 039

Yí bée    yí    ɓɔ    abáke            ɓɔ    yí    ápana            ndé.  
 yí bée    yí    ɓɔ    babá            -ké    ɓɔ    yí    á            -pan    -a    ndé  
 3S    that    3S    thus    c.1a/father-3S    thus    3S    3S-PRES-return-PRES    then  
 ye    ete    ye    wana    c.1a/tatá    -3S    wana    ye    a    -PRES-zóng    -PRES    nde

The son told his father that he (the son) was returning.

*Ye alobi na tata na ye, "Kozonga na ngai yango oyo."*

Ref: honorpa 040

Yí bée    "Ká, míkíi,            bée    mokonzi            móngánu            áwókée,  
 yí bée    ká    míkí            bée    ṅ    -gbay    -é    mó    -ṅá    -nu    á            -wók    -é  
 3S    that    NEG    c.1a/child    that    c.1-chief-c.1    c.1-POSS-2PL    3S/SUBJ-live-SUBJ  
 ye    ete    té    c.1a/mwana    ete    c.1-mokónzi    c.1-na    -2PL    á            -bika-SUBJ

paná,            ógenε            ópélégé            badaáko  
 pan    -á    ó            -gen    -é    ó            -péleg    -é    ɓa    -dámó    -ko  
 return-IMP    2S/SUBJ-go    -SUBJ    2S/SUBJ-tell    -SUBJ    c.2-friend    -2S  
 zóng    -IMP    ó            -kendε-SUBJ    ó            -yebisa-SUBJ    c.2-moninga-2S

ɓawanzá            ɓáa            ɓálikí            kóngí            goḁé,  
 ɓa    -wanz            -á    ɓáa            ɓá    -liy    -í            kó    -ṅí            goḁé  
 c.2-teenage boy-c.2    c.2ndem    3PL-be    -PAST    c.17-village    today  
 c.2-elenge    mobali    baoyo    ba    -zala-PAST    na    -mboka    leló

égbatání            mokáḁé            ɓambaḁú.  
 é            -gbat    -á    -ní    mó            -káḁ    -é            ɓa    -mbaḁú  
 3PL/IMP-scatter-IMP-PL    2PL/SUBJ?-look-SUBJ    c.2-rat  
 bá            -panza    -IMP-PL    bó            -luka-SUBJ    c.2-mpóko

He said, "No, son, for your chief to be rescued you need to go back and tell your friends those who are in the village today, you should scatter and look for rats.

*Ye ete: te, mwana, ete mokonzi na bino abika, zonga, ókende koyebisa na baninga na yo mibale baoyo bazali na mboka lelo, bokota bino nyoso boluka bapóko.*



Ref: honorpa 041

*Mokáǎé*                      *ǂambaǂú*    *moǂukí*                      *soponí*    *bambú.*  
 mó            -káǂ -é    ǂa -mbaǂú mó            -ǂuk -í    soponiyá bambú  
 2PL/SUBJ?-look-SUBJ c.2-rat    2PL/SUBJ?-spill-SUBJ in            c.1a/bamboo  
 bó            -luka-SUBJ c.2-mpóko bó            -sopa -SUBJ na kati    c.1a/bambu

You should look for rats, and put them inside some bamboo.  
*Bóluka bapoko, bótiya yango kati na bambu.*

Ref: honorpa 042

*Máǂkpǂé*                      *ǂǂgbayée*                      *móǂganú*                      *áǂupí*  
 má -N -kpǂ -é    ǂ -ǂbay -é    mó -ǂǂá -nu á            -ǂup -í  
 2PL-OM-speak-SUBJ c.1-chief-c.1 c.1-POSS-2PL 3S/SUBJ-go out-SUBJ  
 bó -OM-loba -SUBJ c.1-mokónzi    c.1-na -2PL á            -bimá -SUBJ

*kóǂǂǂe*                      *kóǂǂǂǂǂ.*  
 kó -éǂǂǂé kó -esǂǂǂǂǂ  
 c.17-open    c.17-outside  
 na -polele na -libanda

You should tell your chief he should go outside into the open.  
*Bóloba na mokonzi na bino, ábima na polele, na libanda.*

Ref: honorpa 043

*ǂupá*                      *kóǂǂǂǂǂ*                      *máǂǂǂé.*                      *máǂǂǂǂé*                      *ǂambaǂú*  
 a -ǂup -a kó -esǂǂǂǂǂ má -ǂǂǂ -é    má -ǂǂǂǂé    ǂa -mbaǂú  
 3S-go out-FUT c.17-outside    2PL-go -SUBJ 2PL-see -SUBJ c.2-rat  
 a -bima -FUT na -libanda    bó -ǂǂǂǂǂ-SUBJ bó -tala-SUBJ c.2-mpóko

*ǂǂǂ*                      *ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ*                      *ǂǂǂǂǂǂ*                      *káambo*                      *máǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ*                      *kó.*  
 ǂǂǂ                      ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ                      é -ǂǂǂ -ǂé kámbolo    má -N -ǂǂǂ -ǂǂ -é kó  
 c.2rndem that way    c.9-POSS-3S first            2PL-OM-scatter-APP-SUBJ LOC  
 wana                      yango wana c.9-na    -3S ya liboso bó -OM-panza -APP-SUBJ kuna

*ǂyí*                      *ǂǂǂǂǂ*                      *ǂǂǂǂǂ.*                      *ǂambaǂú*                      *ǂǂǂ*    *ǂǂǂǂǂ*  
 a -yí                      ǂǂǂǂǂ                      a -ǂǂǂ -a    ǂa -mbaǂú    ǂǂǂ    ǂǂǂǂǂ  
 so -3S                      c.1a/snake 3S-see -FUT c.2-rat    that c.1a/snake  
 bongo-yangó c.1a/nyoka a -mona-FUT c.2-mpóko ete    c.1a/nyoka

*ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ*                      *ǂǂ*    *ǂǂǂǂǂǂ.*  
 á                      -ǂǂǂ -a    -yáǂǂǂ    ǂǂǂ    ǂǂǂǂǂ  
 3S/PRES-sleep-PRES-NPST also c.9/hunger  
 a                      -lala -PRES-NPST mpe    c.9/nzala

He should go outside, then you go and see that these mice are scattered before him, so that the snake, who is also hungry, will see them.

*Abima na libanda, hókende, bótala bampoko yango bópanza yango liboso na ye, bongo, ntango nyoka akomona bapoko, mpo ete ye alali nzala.*

Ref: honorpa 044

*Mokonzi áwanga go nzaáye.*  
 η -gbay -é á -wang -a go nzaye  
 c.1-chief-c.1 3S/PRES-sleep-PRES also c.9/hunger  
 c.1-mokónzi a -lala -PRES mpe c.9/nzala

The chief also is hungry.

*Mokonzi alali mpe nzala.*

Ref: honorpa 045

(*Anzóko awéená) mbalangé móo awónaló*  
 a -nzóko a -wén -á mbalangé móo a -wón -a -ló  
 so -c.1a/snake 3S-see -NARR c.1a/green mamba c.1ndem 3S-see -FUT-NFUT  
 bongo-c.1a/nyoka a -mona-NARR c.1a/lokonga oyo a -mona-FUT-NFUT

*ðambaðú, yípo akólokanaló ðée yí ómbéé ðambaðú*  
 ða -mbaðú yípo a -kólokan -a -ló ðée yí ó -N -ðe ða -mbaðú  
 c.2-rat then 3S-unwind -FUT-NFUT that 3S 3S/SUBJ-OM-chase c.2-rat  
 c.2-mpóko mbele a -fungwana-FUT-NFUT ete yangó á -OM-benga c.2-mpóko

*yí ógboké yí óme.*  
 yí ó -gbok -é yí ó -m -é  
 3S 3S/SUBJ-catch-SUBJ 3S 3S/SUBJ-swallow-SUBJ  
 yangó á -kanga-SUBJ yangó á -mela -SUBJ

That snake will see the rats and will unwind so that he can catch and swallow them.

*Konga oyo wana, akomona bapoko mbele akofungwana ete ye ákanga bapoko ete ye ámela bango.*

Ref: honorpa 046

*Ntango yí akólokana na yí, ðanu mágena na*  
 ntango yí a -kólokan -a na yí ðanu má -gen -a na  
 when 3S 3S-unwind -FUT asc 3S 2PL 2PL-go -FUT asc  
 ntango yangó a -fungwana-FUT na yangó bínó bo -kende-FUT na

*makóbo mámbomaga na nzóko, akwa.*  
 ma -ekóðóke má -N -bom -ag -a na nzóko a -kw -a  
 c.6-piece of wood 2PL-OM-beat-REPI-FUT asc c.1a/snake 3S-die -FUT  
 c.6-etení na nzete bo -OM-beta-REPI-FUT na c.1a/nyoka a -kufa-FUT

When he unwinds from the chief, you all go and beat him with sticks until he dies.  
*Ntango ye akofungwana na yango, bino bokenda na banzete, bóbetebete na nyoka, akufi.*

Ref: honorpa 047

*Anḡbayé*                      *go*    *awóka.*"  
 a    -ḡ    -gbay -é    go    a -wók -a  
 so    -c.l-chief-c.l    also    3S-live-FUT  
 bongo-c.l-mokónzi    mpe    a -bika-FUT

Then the chief will live."

*Ntango oyo, mokonzi akobika mpe.*"

Ref: honorpa 048

*Míkí*                      *móo*                      *awókó*                      *nzombí*                      *wé*                      *abáké*                      *yí*  
 míkí                      móo                      a -wók -ó                      nzombí                      wé                      babá                      -ké yí  
 c.la/child c.lndem 3S-hear-NARR c.3/word    c.3rel c.la/father-3S 3S  
 c.la/mwana oyo                      a -yóka-NARR c.3/liloba oyo                      c.la/tatá -3S ye

*aḡkpití*                      *yí.*  
 a -N -kpet -i                      yí  
 3S-OM-speak-PAST 3S  
 a -OM-loba -PAST ye

The son listened to the advice his father gave.

*Mwana oyo ayoki maloba na tata na ye alobi.*

Ref: honorpa 049

*Awáamá*                      *apaná*                      *adc*                      *kóngi.*  
 a -wám -á                      a -pan                      -á                      a -dc                      kó -ḡgí  
 3S-halt-NARR 3S-return-NARR 3S-arrive c.l7-village  
 a -tema-NARR a -zóng -NARR a -kóma                      na -mboka

He stood and returned to the village.

*Atemi, azongi, akomi na mboka.*

Ref: honorpa 050

*Abiá*                      *apélgé*                      *mokonzi.*  
 a -biy -á                      a -pélgé -é                      ḡ -gbay -é  
 3S-come-NARR 3S-tell -NARR c.l-chief-c.l  
 a -yâ -NARR a -yébisa-NARR c.l-mokónzi

He went and told the chief what his father had said.

*Ayei, ayebisi mokonzi.*

Ref: honorpa 051

*Mokonzi*        *ḡée yí "gená*        *na péye*        *mobeko.*  
 η -gbay -é    ḡée yí    γεν -ά    na p    -éye mbelo  
 c.1-chief-c.1 that 3S go -IMP asc give-INF c.3/law  
 c.1-mokónzi ete ye kende-IMP na pasa-INF c.3/mobeko

The chief told him, "Go and give an order.

*Mokonzi ayebisi na ye ete: Kende kopesa mobeko.*

Ref: honorpa 052

*Mímóo*                    *agená*                    *na mpéye*                    *mobeko*                    *kóngi.*  
 míki                    -móo                    a -γεν -ά                    na N -p                    -éye mbelo                    kó -ngí  
 c.1a/child-c.1rndem 3S-go -NARR asc OM-give-INF c.3/law                    c.17-village  
 c.1a/mwana-wana                    a -kende-NARR na OM-pasa-INF c.3/mobeko na -mboka

*ḡató*                    *ḡée ḡégbatá*                    *ḡágená*                    *ḡágbókó*  
 ḡa -tó                    ḡée ḡé                    -gbat -ά                    ḡá -γεν -ά                    ḡá -gbók -ó  
 c.2-person that 3PL/SUBJ-scatter-NARR 3PL-go -NARR 3PL-catch-NARR  
 c.2-moto ete bá                    -panza -NARR ba -kende-NARR ba -kanga-NARR

*ḡambaḡú ḡábuwé.*  
 ḡa -mbaḡú ḡá -ébuwé  
 c.2-rat                    c.2-many  
 c.2-mpóko c.2-míngi

The son went and gave the order to the village that people should scatter and gather many rats.

*Mwana oyo akei kopesa mobeko na mboka ete, bato bápanzana koluka bapoko mingi.*

Ref: honorpa 053

*ḡáwendá*                    *soponí bambú,*                    *báḡuka.*  
 ḡá -wend-á                    soponiyá bambú                    ḡá -ḡuk -a  
 3PL-see -NARR in                    c.1a/bamboo 3PL-spill-NARR  
 ba -tala-NARR na kati                    c.1a/bambu ba -sopa -NARR

They got some bamboo and put (the rats) in the poles.

*Batali kati na bambu, batii bapoko.*

Ref: honorpa 054

*Mokonzi apupá kósenzele.*  
 η -gbay -é a -pup -á kó -esénzélé  
 c.1-chief-c.1 3S-go out-NARR c.17-outside  
 c.1-mokónzi a -bima -NARR na -libanda

The chief went outside.

*Mokonzi abimi na libanda.*

Ref: honorpa 055

*Mokonzi apupató kósenzele báwendá bambaḃú*  
 η -gbay -é a -pup -a -tó kó -esénzélé bá -wend-á ba -mbaḃú  
 c.1-chief-c.1 3S-go out-PRES-when c.17-outside 3PL-see -NARR c.2-rat  
 c.1-mokónzi a -bima -PRES-ntango na -libanda ba -tala-NARR c.2-mpóko

*báḡgbatélé mokonzi kó.*  
 bá -N -gbat -el -é η -gbay -é kó  
 3PL-OM-scatter-APP-NARR c.1-chief-c.1 LOC  
 ba -OM-panza -APP-NARR c.1-mokónzi kuna

When the chief went outside, they saw to it that the rats were scattered before him.

*Ntango mokonzi abimi na libanda, batali bapoko, bapanzeli mokonzi kuna.*

Ref: honorpa 056

*Alikí na yí kó na nzóko kókingo.*  
 a -liy -ek -í na yí kó na nzóko kó -kingó  
 3S-sit -NEUT-PAST asc 3S LOC asc c.1a/snake c.17-neck  
 a -fanda-NEUT-PAST na ye kuna na c.1a/nyoka na -kingo

He sat there with the snake around his neck.

*Afandi na yango na nyoka na kingo.*

Ref: honorpa 057

*Nzóko awénató bambaḃú, nzóko mbalangé*  
 nzóko a -wén -a -tó ba -mbaḃú nzóko mbalangé  
 c.1a/snake 3S-see -FUT-when c.2-mouse c.1a/snake c.1a/green mamba  
 c.1a/nyoka a -mona-FUT-ntango c.2-mpóko c.1a/nyoka c.1a/lokonga

*móo akyyiá béte ágené ámḃe*  
 móo a -kyyi -á béte á -gen -é á -N -ḃe  
 c.1ndem 3S-come down-NARR that 3S/SUBJ-go -SUBJ 3S/SUBJ-OM-chase away  
 oyo a -kita -NARR oyo á -kendε-SUBJ á -OM-bengana

*bambaḃú ágbòke, ámeé, bágená*  
 ba -mbaḃú á -gbòk -é á -m -ε bá -gen -á  
 c.2-rat 3S/SUBJ-catch-SUBJ 3S/PRES-swallow-PRES 3PL-go -NARR  
 c.2-mpòko á -kanga-SUBJ a -mela -PRES ba -kendε-NARR

*báḃwondá nzóko kó goḃé kó na makóḃó na*  
 bá -N -wond-á nzóko kó goḃé kó na ma -kóḃó na  
 3PL-OM-see -NARR c.1a/snake LOC today LOC asc c.6-piece of wood asc  
 ba -OM-tala-NARR c.1a/nyoka kuna leló kuna na c.6-eteni na nzete na

*mabándóo, bámbomágá, bámo.*  
 ma -bándo bá -N -bom -ag -á bá -mó  
 c.6-knife 3PL-OM-beat-REPI-NARR 3PL-kill  
 c.6-mbelí monεε ba -OM-beta-REPI-NARR ba -boma

When the snake saw the rats, he came down so he could go chase and catch the rats: he swallowed some, and the villagers came running with sticks and knives to beat and kill him.

*Ntango nyoka amoni bapoko, nyoka kongá oyo akiti ete akende, abengana bapoko, akanga bango, amele, bakei kotala nyoka na esika oyo ekangami na kingo na mokonzi, bazwi biteni na hanzete, mpe mbeli, babeti mpe bakatikati na nyoka, bayei koboma nyoka.*

Ref: honorpa 058

*Mokonzi go atéyá, apupá kówéngé, sikawáne*  
 η -gbay -é go a -téy -á a -pup -á kó -éwenge sikawáne  
 c.1-chief-c.1 also 3S-escape-NARR 3S-go out-NARR c.17-clear now  
 c.1-mokónzi lisusu a -kima -NARR a -bima -NARR na -polele sikoyo

*nzóko atúsúkáná engake kókingo.*  
 nzóko a -tús -ek -an -á é -ngá -ké kó -kingó  
 c.1a/snake 3S-take away-NEUT-STAT-NARR c.9-POSS-3S c.17-neck  
 c.1a/nyoka a -longola -NEUT-STAT-NARR c.9-na -3S na -kingo

The chief ran into a clear place, and now the snake unwound himself from the chief's neck.

*Mokonzi akimi lisusu, abimi na esika ya polele, sikoyo nyoka amilongwi likolo na kingo na mokonzi.*

Ref: honorpa 059

*Ndé etó agená asía ndíyo.*  
 ndé e-tó a -gen -á a -sí -a ndíyo  
 so c.5-story 3S-go -NARR 3S-be finished-FUT PROC  
 nde c.5-lisapo a -kendε-NARR a -sila -FUT PROC

So our story is coming to an end.

*Bongo, lisapo akei kosila wana.*

Ref: honorpa 060

Atíne yá alikí bé bo, kóngi.  
 a -tíne yá a -liy -ek -í bée bo kó -ngí  
 when -significance c.9ndem 3S-be -NEUT-PAST that thus c.17-village  
 ntango-tina oyo a -zala-NEUT-PAST ete wana na -mboka

ḡawanzá ḡáliá ḡákoké na káḡéye mayéle mó  
 ḡa -ḡwanzé ḡá -liy -á ḡá -kok -é na káḡ -éye ndáté mó  
 c.2-teenage boy 3PL-be -NARR 3PL-can -SUBJ asc look-INF wisdom c.1asc  
 c.2-elenge mobali ba -zala-NARR ba -koka-SUBJ na luka-INF mayéle na

ḡoḡé ḡú ḡáyíbí na kwáye kóka ḡakangba.  
 ḡoḡé ḡú ḡá -yíb -í na kwáye kó -ka ḡa -kangba  
 today 3PL 3PL-know-SUBJ asc c.9/problem c.17-POSS c.2-older person  
 leló bangó ba -yaba-SUBJ na c.9/likambo na -na c.2-mokólo

The meaning of this story is that in the village, if youth need wisdom, they should find out what the elders know about the problem.

*Ntina yango ezali boye; kati na mboka, soki bilenge mibale bazali, bákoka kóluka mayele epai na bakolo mpo na kobongisa na mboka.*

Ref: honorpa 061

Abómasé ḡakangba zu béte ḡakangba  
 a -bó -mas -é ḡa -kangba zu béte ḡa -kangba  
 when -3PL/SUBJ-finish-SUBJ c.2-older person all that c.2-older person  
 ntango-bó -silisa-SUBJ c.2-mokólo nyóso oyo c.2-mokólo

ḡásí kóngi ká, na kwáye béte  
 ḡá -sí -í kó -ngí ká na kwáye béte  
 3PL-be finished-PAST c.17-village NEG asc c.1a/matter that  
 ba -sila -PAST na -mboka té na c.1a/likambo oyo

ḡáyíbiló kwáye yé éndéle yé ḡoḡé  
 ḡá -yíb -i -ló kwáye yé é -ndéle yé ḡoḡé  
 3PL-know-\*\*\*-NFUT c.9/matter c.9asc c.9-old c.9asc today  
 ba -yéba-\*\*\*-NFUT c.9/likambo na c.9-ya kala oyo leló

asókó kósoponí ḡgí ká.  
 a -sók -ó kó -soponiyá ḡgí ká  
 3S-pass by-NARR c.17-in village NEG  
 a -leka -NARR na -na kati mboka té

If you kill off all the elders, so that there are none around anymore, then you will not have the knowledge of the past found in the village.

*Soki bilenge basilisi bakolo nyoso kati na mboka bakoyeba makambo na mayele nyoso oyo eleki kalakala kati na mboka te.*

Ref: honorpa 062

*Etó*            *asía*                            *ndíyo.*  
 e -tó        a -sí                            -a ndíyo  
 c.5-story 3S -be finished-FUT PROC  
 c.5-lisapo a -sila                        -FUT PROC

The story is finished.

*Lisapo esuki wana.*



## NVUNGBO'S TESTIMONY

Ref: nvungbo.txt 001

*Alikí na mbúla yéyóko, asíyée*  
 a -liy-ek -í na c.9/mbúla yé -yókó a -sí -yée  
 3S-be -NEUT-PAST asc c.9/year c.9rel-MPST 3S-be finished-c.9ndem

*neginíyókó kópa.*  
 nε-gen-í -yókó kó -paáye  
 1S-go -PAST-MPAST c.17-forest

It was last year that I went to the forest.

Ref: nvungbo.txt 002

*Ndé négenató kópa bée némpeté*  
 ndé né -gen-a -tó kó -paáye bée né -N -pet -é  
 then 1S/PRES-go -PRES-when c.17-forest that 1S/SUBJ-OM-set a trap-SUBJ

*siŋga sikawáne nεgwá nezegéle*  
 néko sikawáne nε-gw -á na -e -zegé -le  
 c.3/snare now 1S-fall-NARR asc-c.4-illness-c.4

When I went into the forest to set snares, then I fell sick.

Ref: nvungbo.txt 003

*Ezegéle líá alikí makópo, matogo*  
 e -zegé -le líá a -liy-ek -í ma -kópo ma -tógo  
 c.4-illness-c.4 c.4fdem 3S-be -NEUT-PAST c.6-abcess c.6-abcess

*ava nzóye engame mobimba, mwaye bée*  
 a -v -a nzóye é -ngá -me zu mwaye bée  
 3S-take-NARR c.9/body c.9-POSS-1S all means that

*nélikí éntza káliagi ká.*  
 né -liy-ek -í éntza ká -a -liy-ag -í ká  
 1S/SUBJ-sit-NEUT-SUBJ good NEG-3S-be -REPI-PAST NEG

This pain was abscesses found on my entire body, so that I couldn't even sit down.

Ref: nvungbo.txt 004

*Ezegé nzóye éngáme na bití nalálí tóóte*  
 ε -zeg -é nzóye é -ngá -me na bití nε-wang -í tóóte  
 3S -be sick-NARR c.9/body c.9-POSS-1S asc c.9/night 1S-sleep-PAST sleep

ká.  
ká  
NEG

I was sick all night and couldn't sleep.

Ref: nvungbo.txt 005

Wógá nébomsgetó                      bon predicateur mókíná              abíá  
wógá né              -bom-εg              -e              -tó              bon predicateur mó -kina              a -biy -á  
thus 1S/PRES-beat-REPA-PRES-when good preacher              c.1-another 3S-come-NARR

atáné              εμε wóo              yí              βέ              alia              βóo              βékumbí                                      εμε  
a -tán -ε              εμε wóo              yí              βέe              a -liy-a              βo              βé              -kumb -SUBJ εμε  
3S-find-NARR 1S              c.?dem 3S              that 3S-be -FUT              thus 3PL/SUBJ-carry-SUBJ 1S

βápasa              εμε kóngi                                      na              ηkáβέ                                      infirmier, μεέka  
βá -pas              -a              εμε kó -ngí                                      na              N -káβ -éye infirmier              εμε-βέe -ká  
3PL-return-FUT 1S              c.17-village asc              OM-look-INF nurse                                      1S -that-NEG

γενάνινό              μántáne                                      infirmier Makpanda βέ              yí ndo wáne  
γεν-ά -ni-nó              má -N -tán -ε                                      infirmier Makpanda βέe              yí ndó wáne  
go -IMP-PL-yet 2PL-OM-find-PRES nurse                                      Makpanda that 3S PROC here

kómoóye              owé              Ekómbé.  
kó -moóye owé              Ekómbé  
c.17-head              c.?dem Ekómbé

At that time, while I was feeling(?) beaten, another preacher came and met me there; he said that if I was like this, they would carry me and return me to the village to look for a nurse, but I said no, go so perhaps you'll meet the nurse Makpanda for he is there at the head of the *Ekómbé* River.

Ref: nvungbo.txt 006

émámtána                                      wóo              mámáka                                      abikí                                      apeme  
é -má -N -tán -é              wóo              má -mák -a              a -biy -í              e -p              -é -εμε  
if-2PL-OM-find-SUBJ c.?dem 2PL-call-FUT 3S-come-SUBJ 3S-give-IMP-1S

toŋga wáne.  
toŋga wáne  
needle here

If you meet him, tell him he should come here and give me a shot.

Ref: nvungbo.txt 007

*Awáne bée mágené, bágenató wóo, bágená*  
 a -wáne bée má -gen-é bá -gen-a -tó wóo bá -gen-á  
 so-here that 2PL-go -SUBJ 3PL-go -PRES-when c.?dem 3PL-go -NARR

*bányalé.*  
 bá -N -yal -é  
 3PL-OM-do not meet-NARR

So they went, but when they got there, they didn't find him.

Ref: nvungbo.txt 008

*bé aginí nanó?*  
 bée a -gen-í nanó  
 that 3S-go -PAST where

Where did he go?

Ref: nvungbo.txt 009

*ágenání go kóngi.*  
 á -gen-á -ni go kó -ngí  
 3S/SUBJ-go -NARR-PERF already c.17-village

He went already again to the village.

Ref: nvungbo.txt 010

*Ndé eme bé "í awáne asúngaló wáne gundiya?"*  
 ndé eme bée í a -wáne a -súng-a -ló wáne gundiya  
 so I that \*\*\* so-here 3S-end -FUT-NFUT here how

So then I said "Oh no, how will this end here?"

Ref: nvungbo.txt 011

*Ndé eme bé "kálíkí na kwáye ká dóni bángéye."*  
 ndé eme bée ká -a -liy-í na kwáye ká d -ó -ni báng -éye  
 then I that NEG-3S-be -PAST asc c.9/problem NEG leave-IMP-PL fear -INF

So I said, "No problem, you shouldn't be afraid."

Ref: nvungbo.txt 012

*Nzambe asungaló, ná kwáye béte akíná yéyókó*  
 Nyombo a -sung -a -ló ná kwáye béte é -kina yé -yókó  
 God 3S-help -FUT-NFUT for c.9/problem that c.9-other c.9rel-MPST

*aliagí kóbe asiáka.*  
 a -liy-í kó -beé a -sí -í -yáká  
 3S-be -PAST c.17-thigh 3S-be finished-PAST-NPST

God will help, for the problem which I had with my thigh is over.

Ref: nvungbo.txt 013

*Yée wáne kóðoko go agená asía.*  
 yée wáne kó -ðóko go a -gen-á a -sí -a  
 c.9ndem here c.17-arm also 3S-go -NARR 3S-be finished-PRES

The one I had with my arm also is finished.

Ref: nvungbo.txt 014

*Eme náyíba béé ná kwáye yeé ngúye yeka*  
 eme né -yíb -a béé ná kwáye yée nguúye yé -ka  
 I 1S/PRES-know-PRES that for c.9/problem c.9asc c.9/power c.9-POSS

*Nzambe, ezegale léngáme léé asía goðé.*  
 Nyombo e -zegé -le lé -ngá -me léé a -sí -a goðé  
 God c.5-illness-c.5 c.5-POSS-1S c.5ndem 3S-be finished-FUT today

I know that by the power of God, this illness of mine will be healed today."

Ref: nvungbo.txt 015

*Eme pá ko nɛlikí téé mábóndelagató eme béé*  
 eme pá ko nɛ-liy-ek -í téé má -bondel-a -gá -tó eme béé  
 1S only LOC 1S-sit-NEUT-PAST until 2PL-pray -PRES-PROG-really 1S that

*“dóni bángɛ máginíni nó kóngi ká ná mákéye*  
 d -ó -ni báng-éye má -gen-í -ni nó kó -ngí ká ná mák -éye  
 leave-IMP-PL fear-INF 2PL-go -PAST-PL yet c.17-village NEG for call-INF

*bató, na ngúye yéka Nzambe maláli mangáme*  
 ba -tó na nguúye yé -ka Nyombo ma -láli má -ngá -me  
 c.2-person asc c.9/power c.9-POSS God c.6-illness c.6-POSS-1S

*asía* *gɔðé.*”  
 a -sí -a gɔðé  
 3S-be finished-FUT today

I then sat, and we were praying; I said, “Don't be afraid, don't go to call people in the village yet, by the power of God my illness will be over today.”

Ref: nvungbo.txt 016

*εμε pá ko nɛlikí* *gondébo na nguúyé yeka Nzámbe ndé*  
 εμε pá ko nɛ-liy-ek -í gondébo na nguúye yé -ka Nyombo ndé  
 1S only LOC 1S-sit-NEUT-PAST thus asc c.9/power c.9-POSS God then

*ezegele* *ɛngáme* *agenató* *así* *wóo.*  
 e -zegé -le lé -ngá -me a -gen-a -tó a -sí -í wóo  
 c.5-illness-c.5 c.5-POSS-1S 3S-go -FUT-when 3S-be finished-PAST c.?dem

As I sat there, thus the power of God came and the illness left, and was over.

Ref: nvungbo.txt 017

*Nda bakína bató* *bakakátaná* *meéka* *Nzámbe*  
 ndé ba -kina ba -tó bá -kakatan -á εμε-óée -ká Nyombo  
 then c.2-other c.2-person 3PL-be puzzled-NARR 1S -that-NEG God

*alíkí* *na nguúye* *wondó* *nzóye* *éngáme*  
 a -liy-ek -í na nguúye wond-ó nzóye é -ngá -me  
 3S-be -NEUT-PRES asc c.9/power see -IMP c.9/body c.9-POSS-1S

*ágena* *awóka* *pá* *awóka.*  
 á -gen-a á -wók -a pá a -wók -a  
 3S/PRES-go -PRES 3S/PRES-heal-PRES only 3S-heal-FUT

Then others came and were puzzled. I said, God is powerful, see my body, the pain is gone, and my body is completely healed.

Ref: nvungbo.txt 018

*Mbúla yée* *así* *ndéngé* *nɛliagí* *kópa*  
 mbúla yée a -sí ndéngé nɛ-liy -í kó -paáye  
 c.9/year c.9ndem 3S-be finished c.9/sort 1S-live-PAST c.17-forest

*nɛyíbí* *óé* *Nzámbe ndo* *awúkísí* *εμε.*  
 nɛ-yíb -í óée Nyombo ndó a -wúkís-í εμε  
 1S-know-PAST that God PROC 3S-heal -PAST 1S

So last year, as I was in the forest, I knew that God healed me.

Ref: nvungbo.txt 019

*Yípo nádendé kóngi ká.*  
*yípo ne -de -ndé kó -ngí ká*  
 thus 1S/SUBJ-arrive/PAST-DPAST c.17-village NEG

Thus, I did not arrive at the village.

Ref: nvungbo.txt 020

*Ná soyí yée ndé eme nesúngí na yí ndíyo.*  
*na soyí yée ndé eme ne-súng-í na yí ndíyo*  
 asc c.9/place c.9ndem then 1S 1S-end -PAST asc 3S PROC

So in this place then I finish it.

**APPENDIX B**

**A WORD LIST BASED ON BENNETT AND STERK (1977)**

## Word list - Glosses used by Bennett and Sterk (1977:266)

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Pagibete</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Pagibete</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Pagibete</u>
animal	<i>nyamé</i>	die	<i>kw-</i>	hand/arm	<i>ngbásé/obókò</i>
arrow	<i>esókáke</i>	dog	<i>nvé</i>	head	<i>moóye</i>
back	<i>ngongó</i>	dream	<i>xxx</i>	hear	<i>wók-</i>
belly- stomach	<i>ekundú</i>	drink	<i>n-</i>	heart/liver	<i>néme/ebále</i>
abdomen	<i>scpó</i>				
bird	<i>mbúye</i>	ear	<i>otéwúko</i>	honey/bee	<i>nzóki/nzoóye</i>
black	<i>épuwé</i>	earth/dirt	<i>doóte</i>	house	<i>e'bembé</i>
blood	<i>'bángó</i>	eat	<i>yáy-</i>	hunger	<i>nzaye</i>
body	<i>nzóye</i>	egg	<i>eleké</i>	husband	<i>mboyá-(poss)</i>
bone	<i>nkúwe</i>	eye	<i>liso</i>	iron	<i>xxx</i>
bow	<i>ntálo</i>	father	<i>babá</i>	kill	<i>mó-</i>
buy	<i>-tek-<sup>a</sup></i>	fire	<i>'begú</i>	king/chief	<i>ngbayé</i>
chicken	<i>kókó</i>	fish	<i>nsí</i>	leaf	<i>kase</i>
child	<i>míkí</i>	five	<i>o'búmoti</i>	leg/foot	<i>ogóko</i>
chin	<i>engágáke</i>	four	<i>ékwangane</i>	man	<i>nókó</i>
come	<i>-biy-</i>	go	<i>gen-</i>	moon	<i>tembé</i>
crocodile (small variety)	<i>ekolo</i>	goat	<i>mémé</i>	mother	<i>mamá</i>
dance	<i>xxx</i>	guest	<i>mbiké</i>	mountain	<i>nwambé</i>
day	<i>móné</i>	hair	<i>túwáte</i>	mouth	<i>ncókó</i>



name	<i>lína</i>	see	<i>wend-/wond- wen-/won-</i>	tooth	<i>okúnúko<sup>b</sup></i>
neck	<i>kíngo</i>	shoulder	<i>embegáke</i>	tree	<i>mbásóke</i>
night	<i>bití</i>	six	<i>ésálo ésálo</i>	two	<i>é' bale</i>
nose	<i>sóngó</i>	skin	<i>edibáke</i>	urine	<i>menye</i>
oil/fat	<i>nsúkú/noní</i>	slave	<i>mangé</i>	war	xxx
one	<i>émotí</i>	snake	<i>nzóko</i>	water	<i>lí' bá</i>
person	<i>ntó</i>	stone	<i>ebogó</i>	white	<i>é' bu' bé</i>
rain	<i>mbúwáye</i>	sun	<i>móné</i>	wife	<i>nkala-(poss)</i>
red	<i>égbámáge</i>	ten	<i>ma' b' óko</i>	woman	<i>nkáye</i>
river	<i>duwa ?</i>	three	<i>ésálo</i>	yam	<i>ekwáke</i>
saliva	xxx	tongue	<i>edá' dáke</i>	year	<i>mbúla<sup>a</sup></i>

Notes: xxx denotes this word was not elicited during my time in the language area.

<sup>a</sup> This is a recent Lingala borrowing; no one could remember the old Pagibete word.

<sup>b</sup> Archaic word.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	Answer
ADJ	Adjective
APP	Applicative extension
asc	Associative marker
ASS	Associative extension
bk	Back
c.(#)	Class
CAUS	Causative extension
conj	Conjunction
CU	Continuing utterance
DFUT	Distant future
DPAST	Distant past
Ev	Evaluation
fdem	Far demonstrative
FUT	Future
HAB	Habitual
hi	High
ID	Identification copula
IU	Initial utterance
lo	Low
LOC	Locative
MFUT	Mid future
MPAST	Mid past
NARR	Narrative
ndem	Near demonstrative
NEG	Negative
NEUT	Neuter extension
NFUT	Near future
non-S	Non-subject
NPAST	Near past
OM	Object marker
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural
PLP	Pesky little particle
POSS	Possessive
PRES	Present

Pro	Proposal
Přō	Counterproposal
PROG	Progressive
PRON	Pronoun
Q	Question
rel	Relative pronoun
REPA	Repetitive extension, animate object
REPI	Repetitive extension, inanimate object
Rem	Remark
Res	Response
rfdem	Reference far demonstrative
rndem	Reference near demonstrative
RU	Resolving utterance
S	Singular
SN	Surrogate noun
sp.	Species
STAT	Stative extension
SUBJ	Subjunctive
SVO	Subject, verb, object
TAM	Tense/aspect/mode system

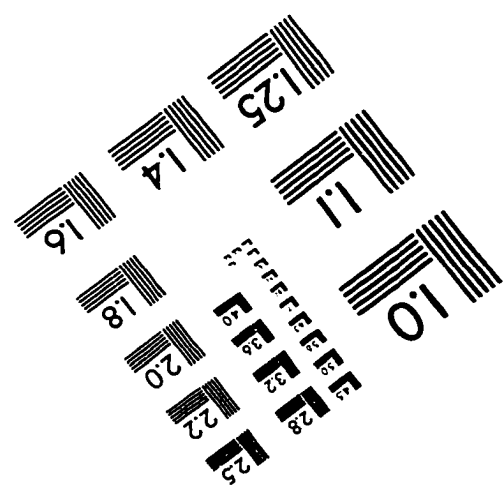
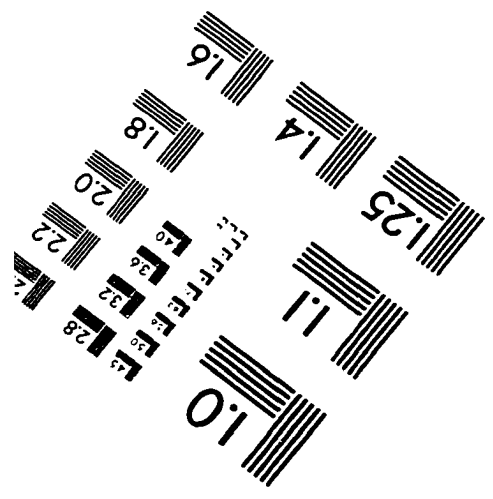
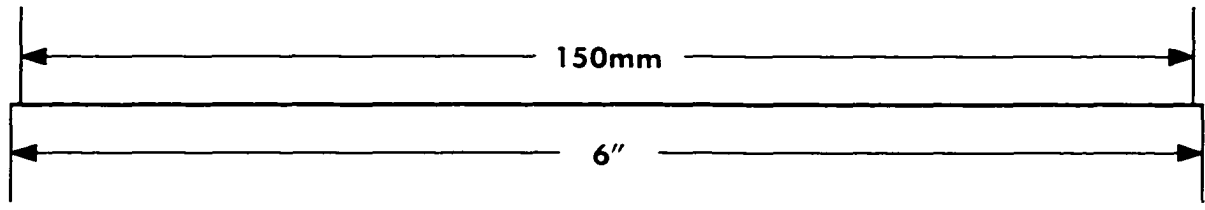
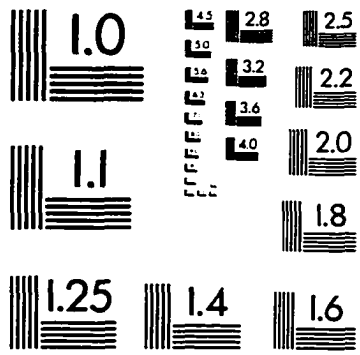
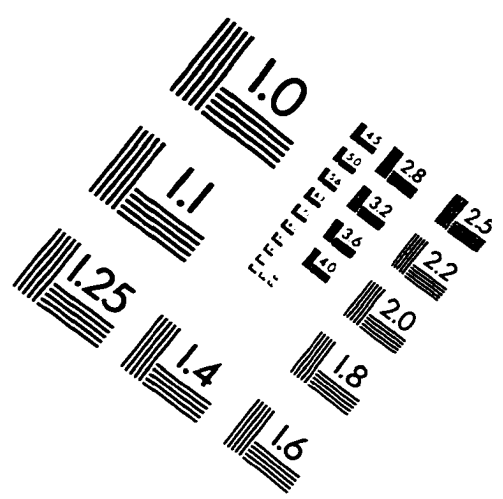
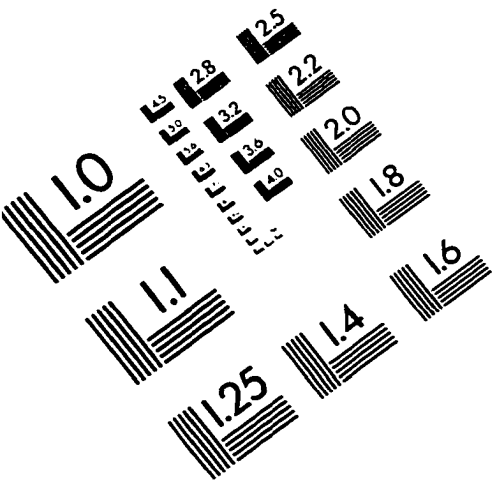
## **BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION**

JeDene Reeder (1961- ) obtained her B.A. in elementary education from Oral Roberts University in 1983. After teaching for several years, she studied linguistics with the Summer Institute of Linguistics and went to Africa as a literacy specialist. She lived in the then-Zaire from 1993-1996, working among the Pagibete people from 1994-1996. She then returned to the U.S. to finish her M.A. in linguistics at The University of Texas at Arlington. She intends to continue work in the Democratic Republic of the Congo upon a suitable degree of stability returning to the region after the 1996-97 civil war.





# IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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