

THE GBEYA LANGUAGE
GRAMMAR, TEXTS, AND VOCABULARIES

BY
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INTRODUCTION

I

The Gbéyá,¹ whose language is described in this grammar, are a people who mainly live in the District of Bossangoa of the Region of the Ouahm, in the northwestern part of the Central African Republic (formerly the territory of Ubangi-Shari of French Equatorial Africa).

They live almost entirely along the automobile roads, in villages consisting of from three to as many as 100 houses. Their livelihood depends on the food they grow (basically grain sorghum and manioc and such vegetables as peanuts, beans, okra, corn, etc.), gather (mushrooms, fruits, roots, leaves), raise (goats and chickens), and hunt (during the dry-season fires). Cash is obtained primarily through the annual sale of cotton and, to a lesser degree, peanuts. Only a very few have salaried occupations, and these live almost exclusively in the town of Bossangoa, the district and regional seat recently renamed sous-préfecture and préfecture respectively.²

The people call themselves as well as their language /gbéyá/ (henceforth written Gbéya).³ This word is probably nothing more than an alternant of the form /gbáyá/, because of the common substitution of /a/ for /ɛ/, and vice versa, in free morpheme alternants within the Gbéya language and between various Gbéya dialects (for which see 133.2). The name Gbéya is, in fact, the one usually used for the people and their language by the farther removed population of the country. To distinguish them from the other Gbéya, the name Bossangoa is added in attribution: Gbéya-Bossangoa, which distinguishes them from Gbéya-Carnot, Gbéya-Boda, etc. Where the people are generally known by some other name, even though speaking a related dialect or language, the word Gbéya is not generally used of them: Bofi [ʔbofi], Ali [ari], and Gbanu.

I have been using the word Gbéya as if it identified either a well-recognized ethnic or linguistic community. This is not so. There is in fact only a large area where the inhabitants speak related dialects, some of which are called Gbéya, others Manza, others Gbanu, etc. Regardless of what may be the origin of these names, in my opinion they do not represent (except for the government which has always required the registration of a person's "race," as the word is used in French) either differentiated ethnic communities or dialects, a matter that has been discussed elsewhere.⁴ Linguistically, we are dealing with a more or less homogeneous unit, on the one hand drastically differentiated at the extremes, where dialects are mutually unintelli-

¹For notes to Introduction, see p. 6.

gible, but, on the other hand, only slightly, and sometimes erratically, differentiated at contiguous geographical points. If, for example, we were to start from Bossangoa, we should find that the Gbaya dialects spoken at such distant towns as Batangafo, Bouca, and Bozoum were mutually intelligible with that of Bossangoa.⁵ The name of the supposed tribe or language is not indicative of this relationship, for I found at Bouca a man who considered himself a Manza but whose speech resembled that of Bossangoa more than that of Damara.

In the District of Bossangoa (henceforth referred to as the District), the government has differentiated between the Gbéya and the "Souma" (/súma/) "races." The people, being required to register some "race" and having only two alternatives from which to choose, have made a rough division of the district along these lines. The border between the two is naturally poorly distinguished, although some individuals name such and such a village as the beginning of the Gbéya or Suma area. In most cases, however, I found that it was always a distant village which was so identified, never a nearby one. For the sake of convenience, we might consider the villages of Bomatana (/ʔbo máátáná/) and Boguila (/ʔbo girá/) as being in the heart of the Suma area, for there is no doubt about them; all the people from around Bossangoa consider these two as Suma villages. On the other hand, the people of Boguila call those of Bangayanga (/gbaŋayaŋa/), whose idiom is very much like that of Bossangoa, gba súma 'the real Suma.'

For their possible ethnolinguistic value, I here give several other names: When at Bouca, I learned that the Gbaya of Bossangoa were called gbáyá kárá, but some of these in turn said that the kárá were at Bouar, others that the people of Lere (/ʔdéré/), 22 miles north, were kárá because "they talk fast." A Gbaya-speaking person at Batangafo called the Gbaya of Bossangoa gbáyá go go supposedly because of their very extensive use of the connective go 'and.' Most of the villages north of Bazian (/gba ziya/) are called ʔdoo 'under' because they lie in the direction of the flow of the Ouahm (/wáam/) River. On the other hand, Bozoum would consider Bossangoa ʔdoo. Those in Bozoum in turn are called Mbay. People in and around Bossangoa call the idiom of Bozanou gba m̄ri and of Bolio sore, because the latter say mbí instead of mí 'I' and Ifilo instead of rífto 'two.'

All of the idioms of the District are mutually intelligible.⁶ In my own experience, I found that although I was understood by the people around Boguila, whom I shall henceforth call Suma for the sake of brevity, I sometimes had difficulty in understanding them unless they had lived out of their locale for several years. One possible explanation for this fact is speech accommodation. Suma speech was not studied and carefully compared with the one described here. It is different, however, in having words which bear no resemblance to the Gbéya ones and in having other words which have different phonemic shapes (of which again many are patterned). The data that I did collect revealed the existence of three distinct levels of tone, on a phonetic level at least, and these were very often comparable to the three tones found in other Gbaya languages.

If we accept as a fact that the Suma who leave their villages tend to adopt the Bossangoa idiom and not vice versa, and if we take the fact, as was reported to me, that the younger people no longer use the Suma romi but Gbeya ?bú 'ten' as being indicative of a trend, we can assume that the Bossangoa idiom is the dominant one in the District.⁷

The Gbeya language, like the other indigenous languages around it, is still very much alive, being the first-learned and native language of practically all of the Gbeya children. Even at Bossangoa, where many Gbeya are employed, the language continues to be used because of the preponderance of the Gbeya. Although many of the people, and perhaps all males from adolescence to senility, are bilingual in Sango, the lingua franca, this language is used for purposes of communication only with non-Gbeya-speaking individuals. French, on the other hand, is used only by a very small percentage of the population and only with Europeans and African évolués at Bossangoa. With only a relatively small percentage of the children now enrolled in schools taught in French, it is unlikely that the situation will change rapidly.⁸ Two other languages are known to a significant but undetermined proportion of the population. In the northwest portion of the District, between Sido and Markounda, many of the Suma people, even women, know Kaba (a Central Sudanic language); in the northeast, east of Bolio, many men know Dagba (another Central Sudanic language, closely related to Ngambay); and east and south of Bossangoa many men know Banda. These are languages spoken at the limits of the Gbeya area.

The Gbaya and related Manza dialects are, according to Greenberg, members of the Adamawa-Eastern branch of the Niger-Congo family of languages.⁹ Previously, in his *Studies in African Linguistic Classification* (1955), he had assigned them to the Eastern branch which was coordinate with Adamawa. Other writers before him had used the term "Sudanic" of these languages.

II

I began the study of the Gbeya language in February, 1954, and continued it in the field until February, 1960, except for the year from August, 1955 to August, 1956, which was spent in graduate study in linguistics at the University of California, Berkeley. My introduction to Gbeya was first made through the Sango language, which I had learned upon arriving in the country in 1952, but as soon as I was able to carry on conversation in Gbeya, I avoided the use of Sango (that is, among the Gbeya themselves) and never had to use it in the study of Gbeya. The data upon which this grammar is based were collected during the five years I lived at the mission station at Bellevue, a little more than 21 miles from Bossangoa and worked in the District as a missionary. These data consist of (1) utterances extracted from spontaneous speech during hours with the informant (discussed in the following paragraph) and among the people, (2) an extensive lexical file in which most words are illustrated by use in sentences, (3) a collection of proverbs, riddles, personal names, dog names, and (4) texts recorded on tape by various individuals and

transcribed with the help of my informant. The texts constitute about 1,100 lines of typewritten material, or about 16,800 words.

Much of the analysis incorporated in this grammar was begun while I was still in the field, but the full description was not realized until I was in residence at the University of California, Berkeley, where I was completing my doctoral work in 1960-1962. At that time I had all of my field notes, files, and tape-recorded material, but did not have the assistance of a Gbeya-speaking informant.

The principal informant used in the field was Gounté (gun-te 'base of tree') whose Christian name is Gédéon (that is, Gideon, but usually pronounced zede yɔ in Gbeya.) He is also affectionately known by a nickname which is a play on his Christian name, namely, Juge 'judge' (usually pronounced zúze). In recent years he has been assuming the name wí-ré bó zum ná 'there's no one on my head,' a lament on the absence of a large family.

The informant is now a resident of the village of Bazian, which is on the Bossangoa-Bozoum road, about 22 miles from Bossangoa. He was born in Bazian in 1926 to a Gbeya father and a Banda mother. Living in a Gbeya village, his first language was Gbeya. It was not until about 1941 or 1942, when first his mother and then his father died, that he learned Banda at his mother's village, Ouga, which is located on the Bossangoa-Bossebele road, about 12 miles from Bossangoa. Prior to this time he had begun to learn French at the mission school at Bellevue (within walking distance of his home), which he began to attend at the age of eight. Because of the many non-Gbeya people living near the mission station at that time, it is likely that he also began to learn Sango at the same time. He is therefore a polylingual, speaking Gbeya, which he considers to be his native language, Sango, and Banda; he appears never to have learned to speak French. Around 1940, during a meningitis epidemic, Gounté contracted the disease, which resulted in his becoming blind. Unlike several other blind men whom I personally know, Gounté never became a social liability. Because of his valiant spirit and his intelligence, he has continued to be a leader in the community. Not the least of his accomplishments was the ability to read Sango in Braille, a skill that was taught to him by Miss Clara Schwartz.

The present grammar is a description of the Gbeya dialect spoken in and around the town of Bossangoa which is often identified by the people of the District as nú-ʔbo oro 'language of the ʔbo oro settlement' (written Boro in the official papers). This does not mean, however, that we are dealing with a very neatly defined dialect. My description is not restricted to Bossangoa alone, for I am certain that the structure here described is that of the dialects of a large area surrounding the town of Bossangoa. Even the shapes of the morphemes are characteristic, I think, of many of the nearby dialects. This is to say that this description characterizes in most points a single language spoken in an extensive area, only minimally distinguished into dialects.

On the other hand, I have no idea at what points and where geographically this description begins to fail. To acquire this information one would need to make an intensive comparison of the dialects, which I was never able to do. But having traveled in the area and having spoken to hundreds of people from

different parts of the region, I have obtained some scattered data on dialect differences. Wherever pertinent, I have noted them.

Almost every bit of linguistic data I collected was checked with the informant. This means that when at Kouki I noted a word which was new to me, it was not entered in the lexical file without first being checked with the informant. Since most of the entries were made in a hurry, interrupting a conversation, I could not be certain of their accuracy. If, therefore, the informant gave a different pronunciation, I had to assume, in the absence of a speaker from Kouki, that my original notation was faulty. In those instances where I was certain of the entries, however, I could record the form with the note on its use.

In one respect, therefore, this is a description of an idiolect, the speech of my informant. But since it is so characteristic of the speech in a large area surrounding the town of Bossangoa, it is also a description of a language. This is the realistic approach, I think. A language is spoken by people, not by one individual. This individual, here my informant, shares in a mutual process of communication in which his speech is influencing and being influenced by another's speech. This is why my informant can use the Suma word *tori* instead of *toy* 'baggage,' and then, when it was pointed out to him, could say, "Why not? We can use it too." Other speakers of theoretically the same dialect might not use this word, for they may never have been to Boguila. On the other hand, they may have picked up the habit of using [š] and [ž], at least in some words, from another area. The result is that I point out, in the latter case, that the language has two allophones of the phoneme /s/ whereas my informant, as far as I know, uses only the allophone [s].

III

In this grammar the sections are numbered on the basis of a decimal system, the extreme limit of which is 999.999. Each chapter is arbitrarily given one of the highest possible figures: Chapter one is therefore 100.000. Successive subdivisions within each chapter are numbered within this limit, the limit being five. For the sake of convenience, however, numbers to the right of the decimal point are not added until needed. Thus 152 is read as though it were 152.000, and 152.31 as though it were 152.310, etc.

The format of this grammar is determined in part by the requirements of the printing process being used. For this reason, for example, underlining is avoided as a substitute for italics. It disfigures the cedilla used to indicate nasalization and otherwise makes a page unsightly. Cross-references between the Gbeya examples and their translations is meant as a partial substitute for more or less literal translations. The literal translation can be arrived at without too much difficulty, in any case, with the aid of the word-lists. These examples, incidentally, are not ad hoc. With only a few exceptions they are drawn from the tape-recorded texts. If there is some inconsistency in the phonemic shape of some morphemes it is because there is some variation in the texts themselves. For example, both *kóm* and *kóm* 'of me' and *bó ré* and *bé ré* 'when we' occur. These examples lead to the final comment

about the appearance of the grammar: Some might find the notation extremely disjunctive, feeling, for example, that bé ré should be written béré. The justification for the notation used in this grammar is that it is based on phonological criteria, not grammatical. Concerning this matter more is said in the proper place.

IV

Acknowledgements are due several people, and it is with pleasure that I take this opportunity to mention their names. First of all is my friend and helper Gédéon Gounté who aided me in learning his language. What I gave him in remuneration for his assistance was far too little to fully compensate him for his faithful cooperation in the task of analyzing Gbeya. The Foreign Missionary Society of the Brethren Church, under whom I served as a missionary in the Central African Republic, also receives my thanks and gratitude for making it possible for me to undertake my doctoral studies which led to the writing of this grammar. There are several people too who read the manuscript at one stage or another: J. Edward Gates, Pierre Alexandre of the École Nationale des Langues Orientales et Vivantes (Paris), and the members of my dissertation committee, Drs. Murray B. Emeneau, C. Douglas Chrétien, and David L. Olmsted. Other people did not directly influence me in the writing of this grammar, but because they contributed to my early formation as a linguist, I should like to express my indebtedness to Drs. Mary Haas, Eugene A. Nida, and Kenneth L. Pike. More recently, Dr. Henry Allan Gleason, Jr. engaged me in stimulating conversation concerning several points in this work. Finally, one nonlinguist had much to do with this grammar, my wife. In no way is the final analysis the result of her influence, but its very existence is due in a large measure to her sympathetic and loyal support.

Notes to Introduction

¹ Their name has also been spelled Bea, Gbea, Gbeya, and it would not be surprising to find spellings with 'i' instead of 'e.'

² Originally, we are told, the name was ?bo zaŋ wa, but now, because of the official spelling, it is pronounced ?bosangowa, ?bosan wa, or even with a simple /b/. One person was heard to say ?besangowa, and she was a Gbeya. This is the name spelled by Van Bulck as Bosengwa in the Linguistic Survey of the Northern Bantu Borderline (p. 106). The population of Bossangoa in July 1962, according to a responsible person in the local school system, was about 18,000. The same individual gave 107,386 as the figure for the total population of the Sous-Préfecture of Bossangoa. This figure was broken down into the following categories: hommes 25,647; femmes 30,538; garçons 26,202; filles 24,999. (Works cited with incomplete documentation are more fully documented in the selected bibliography.)

³ Unless otherwise specified, all citations here and in the chapter on phonology are in morphophonemic writing: solidi (/ /) represent phonemic and brackets ([]) phonetic transcription.

⁴See Samarin, 1958.

⁵When I speak of "Gbaya dialects" or "Gbaya languages" in this way, I am perhaps being as parochial as Van Bulck was when he called the speech of the districts of Buka (ordinarily written Bouca), Batangafo, and Bossangoa a Manza dialect (L.S.N.B.B., p. 106). It is actually no more accurate to say that the Manza speak a Gbaya dialect than it is to say that the Gbeya speak a Manza dialect. But for the sake of convenience one term must be adopted, and since the name Gbaya is the most widespread, this is perhaps the best one.

⁶The term "idiom" is used to refer to a speech type not yet classified as to dialect or language. See Werner Winter, "Yuman Languages I: First Impressions," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. 23 (1957), p. 18, footnote 4.

⁷It is my impression that, except for the local village "chiefs," the administrative personnel (when it was recruited from the District) usually was Gbeya-speaking. This would be easily explained: Until recently there were no schools among the Suma, whereas, at Bossangoa, children found it easier to go to school and find employment with the Europeans. All of the literature published by the Mission Evangélique, it should be added, is in the Gbeya idiom with no attempt at accommodation to the Suma idiom.

⁸Figures on the percentage do not seem to be available according to George H. T. Kimble in his *Tropical Africa* (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1960). If my unofficial source is correct in giving the figure of 23 percent for the adjoining administrative region, the seat of which is Bozoum, it might be as high for the Ouahm Préfecture. It seems, however, rather high.

⁹Greenberg, *The Languages of Africa*. The total number of Gbaya speaking people can only be estimated. It would include those who live in the Congo and the Cameroun as well as the Central African Republic. Van Bulck (L.S.N.B.B.) gives a figure of 500,000, but it is unclear whether these live only in the C.A.R. or whether some other areas are included. The number 600,000 for the entire area would not seem to be an exaggerated one.

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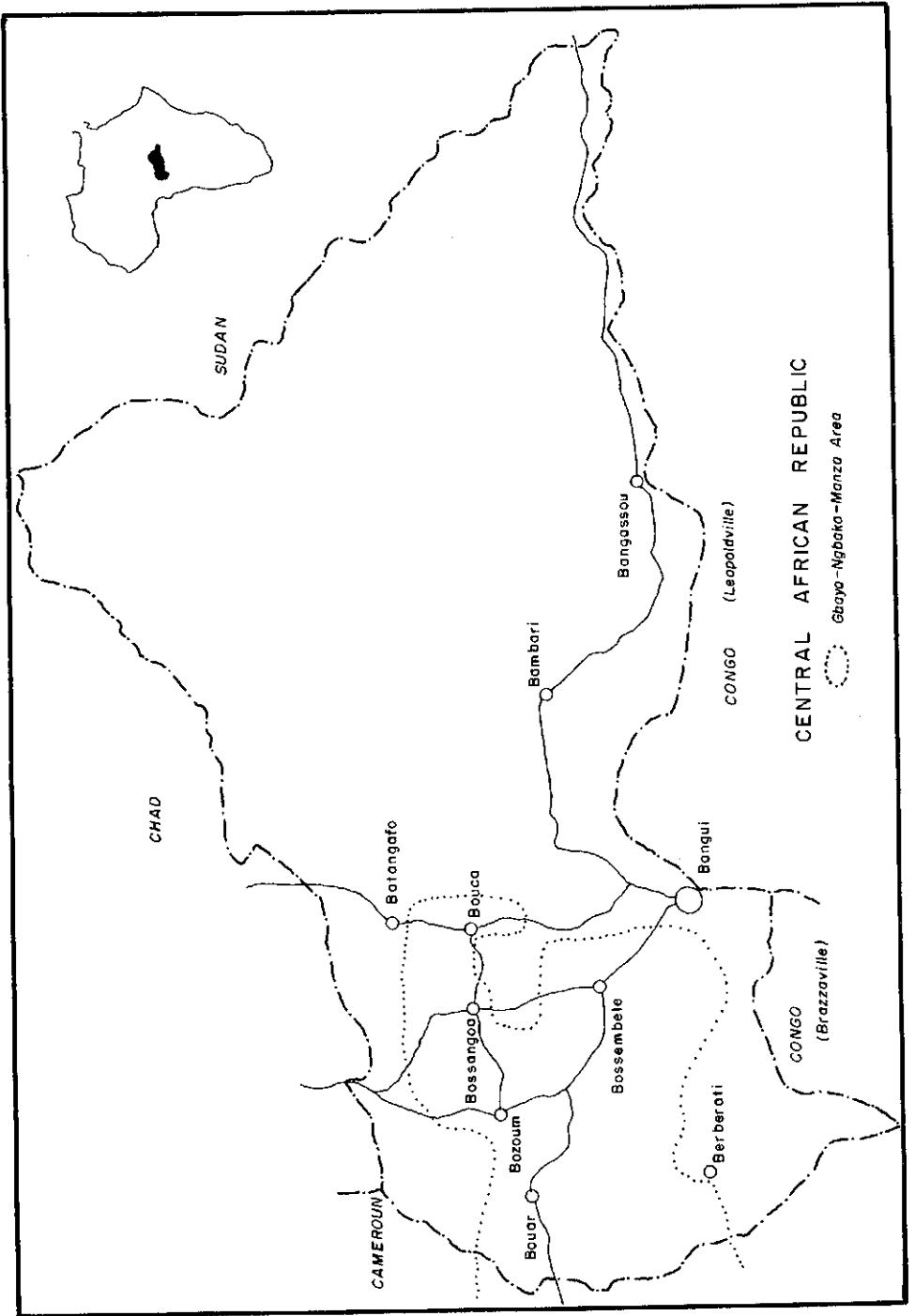
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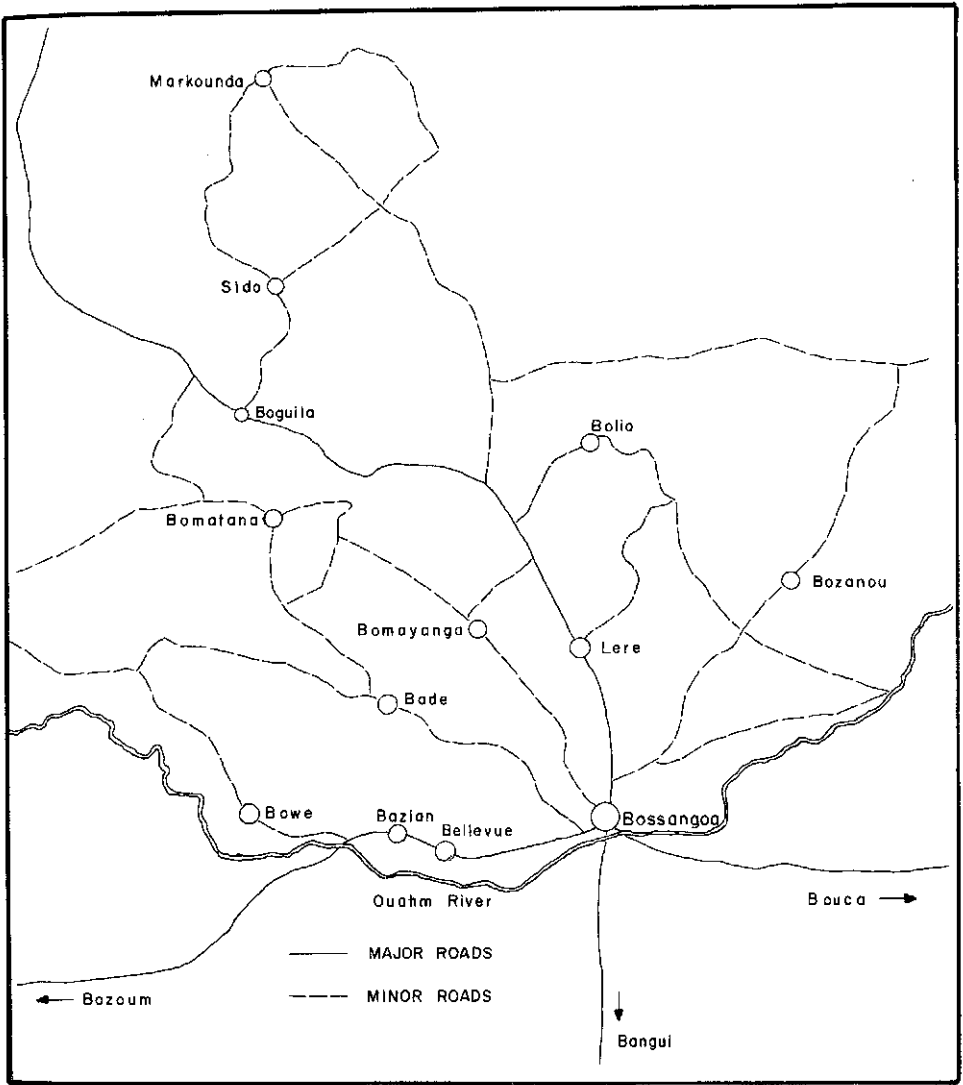
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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Explanations of abbreviations and symbols are given at their first appearance in the grammar. The use of some is restricted to a few pages; others are more widely used. The following is only a partial list:

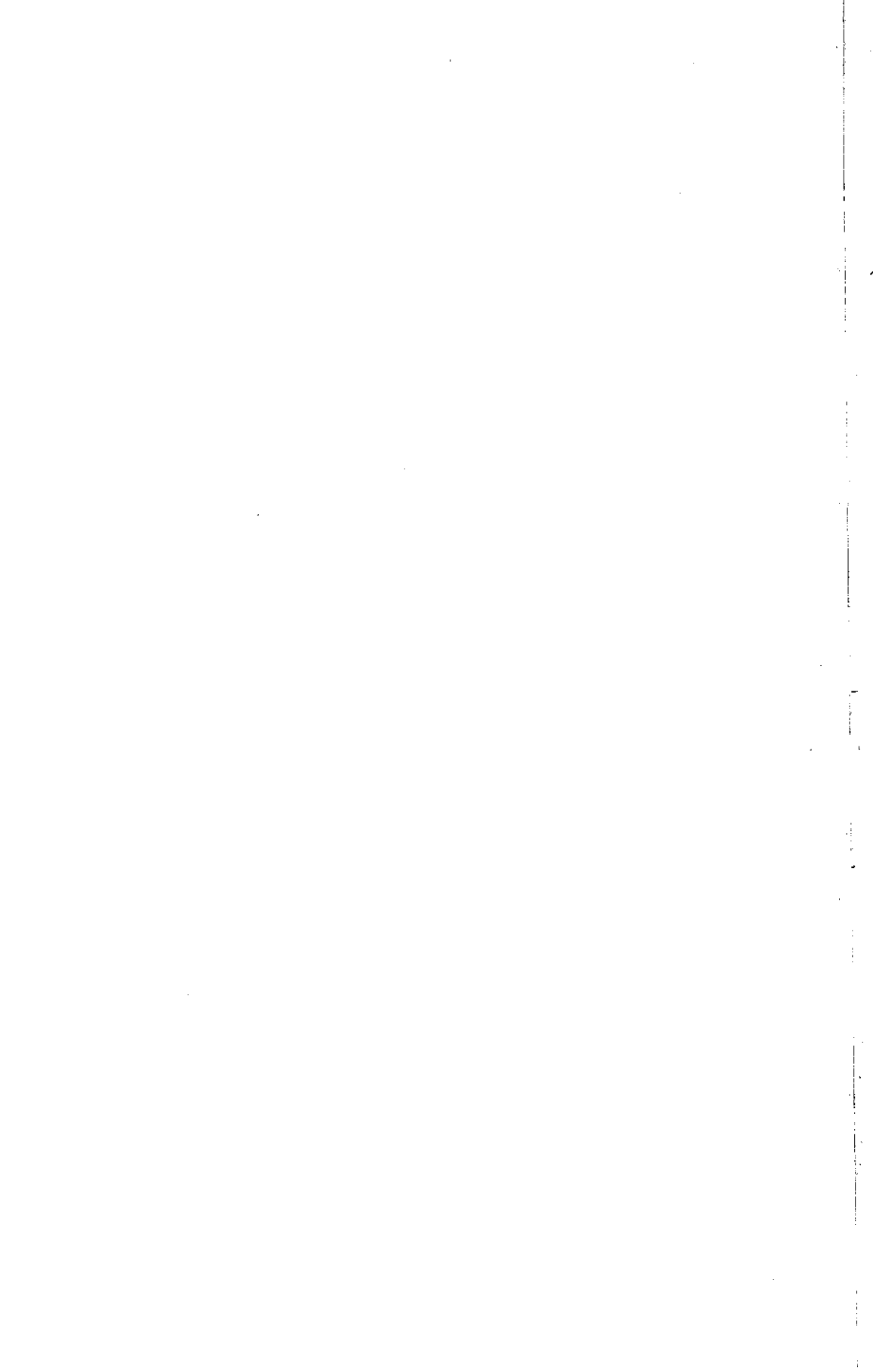
adj.	adjective	NP	noun phrase
adv.	adverb	obj.	object
aux.	auxiliary	P, pl.	plural
AV	auxiliary verb	pc.	postclitic
C	consonant	perf.	perfective
conn.	connective	prep.	preposition
cop.	copula	pron.	pronoun
ctn.	certain	QV	quotative verb
DA	descriptive adverb	S, sg.	singular
dem.	demonstrative	subj.	subject
dep.	dependent	suf.	suffix
desc.	descriptive	trans.	transitive
det.	determinant	V, v.	verb, vowel
fn.	footnote	VP	verb phrase
f.p.	final particle	~	alternates with
imperf.	imperfective	=	equals, literally
inter.	interrogative		translated as
N, n.	noun	1S, 1P	first person singular,
neg.	negative		first person plural





THE DISTRICT OF BOSSANGOA

GRAMMAR



CHAPTER ONE

PHONOLOGY

In this section are treated the phonemes, both primary (110) and secondary (120), morphophonemics (130), the extra-phonemic characteristics of the language (140), and assimilation of loan-words (150).

For the sake of reference the phonemes are here summarized:¹

Consonant phonemes: /p t k kp ʔ b d g gb mb nd ŋg ŋmgb ʔb ʔd ʔm ʔn
m n ŋ ŋm w y ʋ r l f s h v z/.

Vowel phonemes: /i e ε a u o ɔ/.

Tones: high (/´/) and low (unmarked).

Nasalization: /, /.

Juncture: word division.

Pause: /, /.

Terminal contours: /, /, /ʔ/, /!/, and /! !/.

110. The primary phonemes of Gbeya are consonantal (111), vocalic (112), and tonal (113). The sections on consonants and vowels each have a section treating their distribution as well as one treating their production.

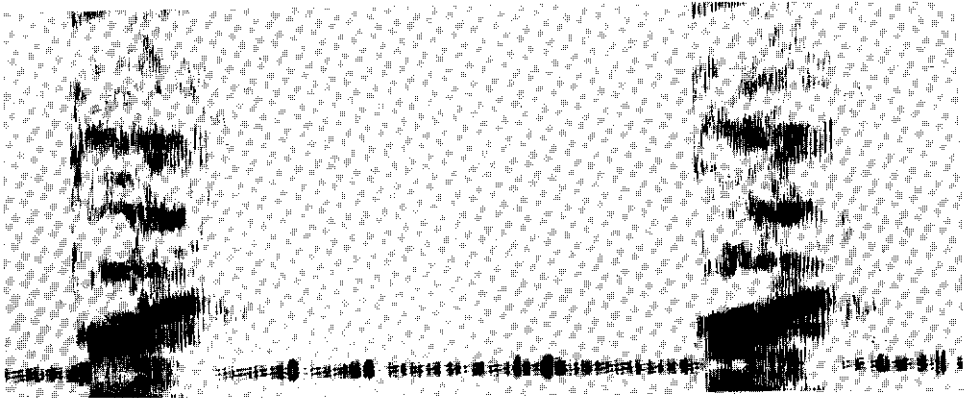
111. Consonant phonemes.

Chart of Consonants²

STOPS	Egressive	p	t	k	kp	ʔ
		b	d	g	gb	
	Prenasalized	mb	nd	ŋg	ŋmgb	
	Ingressive	ʔb	ʔd	"glottalized"		
NASALS	Preglottalized	ʔm	ʔn			
	Plain	m	n	ŋ	ŋm	
FLAPS	Semivowels	w	y			
	Flaps	ʋ	r			
	Continuant	l				
SPIRANTS		f	s	h		
		v	z			

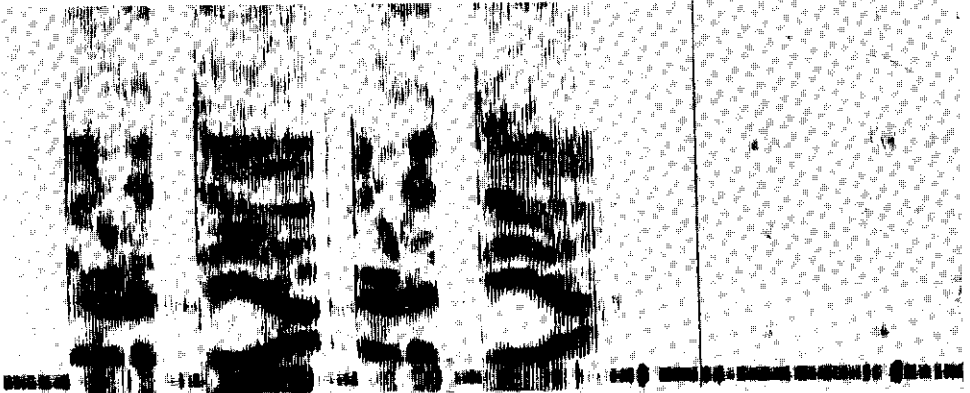
111.1. Description of consonants. The consonant system is characterized by the following points of articulation: bilabial, labiodental, postdental, alveolar, palatal, velar, and glottal. There are in addition the following types of contrast: voicing vs. unvoicing, oral rarification vs. absence of rarification (in injective vs. egressive), single vs. doubled stops, stops vs. spirants vs.

¹For notes to Chapter One, see p. 41.



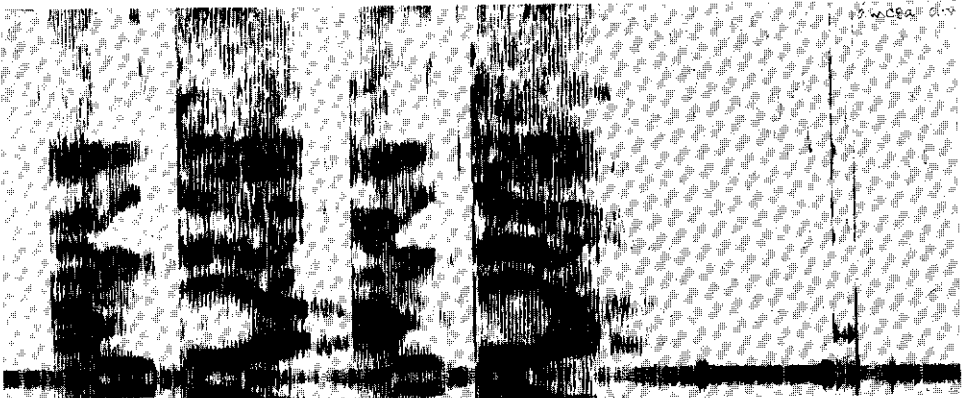
a. /kʰa/
'the hole'

/gʰa/
'the leopard'



b. /é ré tɛ́/
'we came'

/é ré dɛ́/
'we did'



c. /ám dɛ́/
'I did'

/ám tɛ́/
'I came'

Fig. 1. Broad band sonograms of three paired utterances

nasals, and continuant vs. flap. In the following paragraphs, the order of presentation is different from that in the chart. For example, glottal stop is discussed after the prenasalized stops.

The egressive stops are of two series, voiceless and voiced, and are either single or doubled. The single stops occur at bilabial, apico-postdental, and dorsovelar positions: /p t k b d g/. The double stops consist of an articulation at both the lips and the velum simultaneously, producing /kp gb/. The voiceless stops are usually slightly aspirated, more so than the double stops. The voiced stops, on the other hand, were often heard (outside of citation forms) as voiceless stops, but never aspirated (see accompanying figure).³ The contrast between the voiced and voiceless series of plain stops is attested by the following examples:⁴

gan 'to surpass'	kan 'to swear'
gɔ 'to hang (something)'	kɔ 'to agree'
day 'to raise (animals)'	tay 'to wash (parts of body)'
dɛ 'to make, do'	tɛ 'to come'
dɔ 'to roast'	tɔ 'to be sharp'
dam 'to be sufficient'	tam 'to feel by touching'
gba 'to split'	kpa 'to find'
gbo 'to arrive'	kpo 'to tie on'
gba 'to appear'	kpay 'to cross (sticks)'
gay 'to scare'	kay 'to take (pl.)'

The voiced injective (implosive) stops /ʔb/ and /ʔd/ are articulated at the same points as their egressive counterparts. Their production (by the rarification of the oral cavity) is similar enough to injectives of other African languages so that no further description is needed here.⁵ The contrast between egressive and injective voiced stops is attested by the following examples:

ba 'to take'	ʔba 'to disavow'
bɛr- 'to pound'	ʔbɛr- 'to prevent'
bi 'to extinguish'	ʔbi 'to pick (fruit)'
dik 'to thunder'	ʔdik 'to sift'
dɔk 'to be much'	ʔdɔk 'to be weak'
du 'to make (fire)'	ʔdu 'to draw (water)'
gede 'certain tree'	geʔde 'buttock'

The prenasalized stops /mb nd ŋg ŋmgb/ are phonetically complex segments consisting of voiced stops of the same point of articulation as the plain egressives preceded by very briefly articulated homorganic nasals. They contrast with plain nasals and with stops in the following words:

ba 'to take'	mba 'to greet'
dak 'to extract'	ndak 'to chase'
guri 'to smoke (meat)'	ŋguti 'to become burnt'
mar- 'to tie on waist'	mbar- 'to be tight'
nɔ 'to drink'	ndɔ 'to have sexual intercourse'
ŋmɔy 'to split'	ŋmgban 'to uproot'

A word concerning the phonemicization of the prenasalized stops (as well as the preglottalized nasals) is appropriate here. The principal reason

for considering them unit phonemes is one of "pattern pressure": since the language is generally characterized by unit phonemes in initial position, it is justifiable to consider these such. We are, of course, not forced into this position, for we must expect and can allow for asymmetry. We could therefore say that no consonant clusters except these occur in initial position. Adopting this alternative, we would have six less phonemes than we now have, but we would have introduced the necessity of making other statements. For example, /m n ŋ/ would not only occur in initial and final positions defined in footnote 16, but they would also precede /b d g/. Moreover, the description of the canonical forms would be made somewhat more complex by having to state that, in addition to the forms CV and CVCV, there can be CCV and CCVCV or CCVCCV but only when a nasal is followed by a homorganic stop or preceded by a glottal stop. And, in the description of the distribution of glottal stop, we would have to say that it occurs intervocally and before /m/ and /n/, but only when these are not followed by a stop. All of these statements are, of course, possible. Perhaps it is only a matter of esthetics whether we choose to have six additional phonemes and fewer statements or fewer phonemes and more statements. I feel that my analysis is certainly more convenient, and the least that can be said of it is that it does no injustice to the data.

The orthographic representation of these pronasalized stops is obviously conventional. They could have been represented as \bar{b} or $^n b$ or in some similar fashion. A more significant feature of these stops is their distribution with respect to nasalized vowels: These stops never precede or follow vocalic nasalization. An attempt was made to incorporate vocalic nasalization and preconsonantal nasalization in an analysis that might eliminate the prenasalized stop series, but it was given up for the one adopted here. For those who might want to compare Gbeya phonology with that of other languages, it should be said here that nowhere are there syllabic nasals in Gbeya except in the speech of the people north of Sido which is clearly influenced by Kaba, where syllabic nasals are frequent. There is therefore no contrast between [mba] and [m-ba].

The glottal stop has allophones [ʔ] and [zero] which alternate freely between vowels in close juncture and before vowels following pause or open juncture. In this latter, called initial, position [ʔ] occurs when something is being emphasized, but since there are so few words with initial [ʔV], this is not common. In medial position [ʔ] occurs in only the following words: yaʔa 'grandmother,' naʔa 'mother,' and bɔʔɔ used to intensify possession.⁶ Except for a few interjections in which [ʔ] always seems to occur (náʔá 'surprise,' ɪʔf 'no!'), the orthographic convention is adopted that /ʔ/ shall not be written.

The spirants consist of labiodental voiceless and voiced /f/ and /v/, apico-alveolar /s/ and /z/, and voiceless /h/. Of these, only /s/ and /z/ have acoustically detectable allophones. Both of them have laminoalveolar grooved allophones [š] and [ž] as well as nongrooved ones. These grooved allophones are very much like the English phones in articulation. The grooved and nongrooved allophones freely vary in all positions where the phonemes can occur,

but the occurrence of the grooved allophones is dialectally determined.⁷ This is to say that more grooved allophones occur in the speech of people in the area between Bossangoa and Lere (?dʔɛ) than in other areas. They are, however, not absent in some other areas although I never recorded any for the speech of my informant. The spirants are illustrated by the following words:

soy 'to sit down'	zoy 'to bathe'
sok 'to become mature'	zok 'to see'
son 'to be finished'	zon 'to admire'
fara 'place'	vará 'iron money'
fey 'death'	fɔɔ 'elephant'
fére 'crocodile'	vúla 'pimple'
vúmó 'hair'	vuy 'to mix'
ha 'to give'	hɛ 'to buy'

The sonorants consist of nasals and liquids.

The nasals consist of simple, double, and preglottalized phonemes. The simple nasal phonemes are /m n ŋ/ and are articulated at bilabial, post-dental, and velar positions respectively. The double—or coarticulated—nasal /ŋm/ parallels the double stops in that it consists of [ŋ] and [m] produced simultaneously. The preglottalized nasals /ʔm ʔn/ differ from /m n/ only by the glottal closure which immediately precedes the articulation of the nasal continuant. There is no perceptible transition following the opening of the glottis.⁸

The simple and double nasal phonemes contrast in the following words:

kam 'food'	kan 'torch'
dam 'to be adequate'	daŋ 'to climb'
m̩a 'to appear (out of ground or water)'	ŋma 'to press down'

Preglottalized nasals contrast with plain nasals in the following examples:

m̩a 'to plant (cuttings)'	ʔma 'to open (fist)'
mar- 'to tie on waist'	ʔmar- 'to squeeze, wring'
mam 'to laugh'	ʔmam 'to get hold of'
naŋ 'to be inadequate'	ʔnaŋ 'to ruin'
nɔm 'to soak'	ʔnɔŋ 'to push'
nun 'to smell'	ʔnum 'to enter (water)'

Other examples of the preglottalized nasals: ʔm̩a 'rainy season,' ʔmɛ 'to render judgment,' ʔmɛn 'to clean out, shell (peas, beans),' ʔmɛr- 'to prevent,' ʔmɔn 'to remain,' ʔmɔk 'to become rotten (of tree),' ʔmɔr- 'to clench (fist),' ʔnɛŋ 'to chop off (branches).'⁹

The liquids consist of continuants /w l y/ and flaps /ɾ r/.

The voiced lateral apico-postdental continuant /l/ alternates in some words with /r/, for which see below, but it is phonemically distinct:¹⁰

délé 'chaff'	bere 'breast'
ala 'grief'	baraka 'matchete'
ʔbɛla 'trouble'	béra 'gourd'
bolo 'certain tree'	boro 'iron'
dolo 'rat snare'	dóro 'certain fish'

dila 'lion'

biro 'strife'

The semivowels /y w/ differ from their vocalic counterparts /i u/ by being nonsyllabic, less tensely articulated, and of briefer duration. Both semivowels have oral and nasalized allophones, the former occurring contiguous to oral vowels and the latter to nasalized vowels. The allophone [ȳ] moreover sometimes sounds very much like a lamino-alveolar nasal [ñ] except that [ȳ] is not produced by any noticeable contact at the palate.

The phonemicization of the phonetic segments [i], [y], [u], and [w] posed the greatest problem in the analysis of this part of the language. Because the discussion sheds much information about the phonological structure of Gbeya, the following somewhat lengthy sections are justified. The phones [u] and [w] are included because of their near-identical distribution with [i] and [y].

The analysis of these phonemes involved two problems: (a) identification of the phonetic segments, and (b) identification of the phonemes. These are discussed in the following paragraphs:

(a) Identification of the segments. The segments [y] and [w] occur initially and medially, and only [y] occurs finally. In initial position there is no problem in perceiving the nonsyllabicity of either one of them. In final position, I sometimes had difficulty in distinguishing between [i] and [y]. In intervocalic position, the problem was even greater; it is dealt with below. In initial position [y] occurs before any vowel, and [w] before any but [i ɛ ɥ]. For example:

[yíí] 'certain reed'	[wí] '2P pron.'
[yéíé] 'certain basket'	[we] 'to measure out'
[yek] 'to shake'	[weí-] 'to lean (something)'
[yu] 'to flee'	[wuki] 'certain wild vine'
[yo] 'skin, hide'	[woíó] 'hole'
[yɔ] 'to get lost'	[wɔ] 'hunger'
[ya] 'to be (pl.)'	[wa] '3P pron.'
[ȳíííí] 'thin'	---
[ȳɛí-] 'to be far'	---
[ȳútutɥ] 'many (such as, chicks)'	---
[ȳɔȳ] 'to stretch out'	[wɔɔɔ] 'many (people)'
[ȳɛ] 'sibling'	[wɛ] 'leaf'

In final position [y], never [w], occurs after most of the vowels, but never after [i]. The following examples show the contrast between [i] and [y] in this position:

[íííí] 'your (pl.) face'	---
[léféí] 'your tongue'	[wey] 'fire'
[gɛ́léí] 'your neck'	---
[kúí] 'your leg'	[nduy] 'certain mouse'
[goíóí] 'your knee'	[kóy] 'squirrel'
[kóí] 'of you'	[mbɔy] 'money'
[tai] 'the stone'	[tay] 'to wash'

In medial position, that is, intervocalically, however, the occurrence of [y] or [w] is somewhat correlated with certain combinations of either front

or back vowels or both. For example, only [y] occurs between front or between back vowels¹¹ such as, [íye] 'where?' [wɛyɛ] 'certain necklace,' [buyuu] 'descriptive of many people talking at once,' [vúyó] 'deception,' [foyo] 'shame,' [zókoyó] 'certain soft stone.'

Other combinations can not be stated so simply. Mixed clusters of back and front vowels occur with both [y] and [w]. For example, there are [ɔye] and [ɔwe] as well as [ɛyɔ] and [ɛwɔ]. This means that the occurrence of these nonsyllabic segments is not predictable: between the vocoids in [ɔ...ɛ] and [ɛ...ɔ] occur both [u]-like and [i]-like glides. These phonetic considerations are raised, for one must decide whether or not there are indeed segments requiring identification with the semivowel phonemes.

The problem would be somewhat simplified if we could clearly distinguish, say, between intervocalic glides with the same articulation (of tenseness and roundness) of initial [y] and [w], intervocalic glides of less tenseness and roundness, and an absence of any glide.

My field notes do not indicate such neat distinctions, yet we can proceed with certain assumptions to test their value in the phonemic analysis. Let us suppose that in many cases what I wrote as a glide was not a phonetic segment roughly equivalent in length with [i] or [u], or [l] or [k] for that matter, but a transition from one vocoid to another. We could say then that [fiyo] 'fctish' and [tuwa] 'house' were really [fio] and [tua]. The limitation of this maneuver is that we can make only one relatively insignificant general statement as to when [y] and [w] should be eliminated: A predictable non-phonemic glide occurs between unlike front vowels. But, as a matter of fact, only [íye] 'where?' and possibly [íye] 'there' are involved. All other combinations of unlike front as well as back vocoids (where [w] is involved) either do not occur or else are not possible in terms of the structural patterns (for which see 112.2). The remaining combinations consist of front, back, and central vowels. For these, no possible noncontradictable statement is possible. In other words, any statement would be entirely arbitrary. Since, for example, both [y] and [w] occur between combinations of front and back as well as back and front vocoids (cited above), we could only arbitrarily decide to eliminate one of them. Such a measure might be practically desirable but not scientifically justifiable.¹²

I am thus tempted to go back to correct the transcriptions. Two other facts prevent my doing so. In the first place, there is the contrast between [hɛyɔɔ] '(of working) without enthusiasm' and [hɛwɔɔ] '(of bird gliding down for landing) slowly.' Although one might assume, on the basis of the nature of the vocoids involved and of the other patterned correlations, that both a [y] and [w] glide were possible here, there is a meaning difference that must be correlated with either [y] or [w] since the forms are otherwise identical. (This difference is substantiated by the fact that my informant reported that the form [hɛlɔɔ] was the "same" in meaning as [hɛwɔɔ], but no such identification was made with [hɛyɔɔ].)

In the second place, there are words containing a disputed [y] which are matched by free morpheme alternates containing undisputed [y]. Rather than arbitrarily eliminating the glide in one, it seems preferable to maintain the

similarity between both words. It can be argued that if [y] occurs in one word, it probably (but not necessarily) would occur in the other. For example,

[gbéyá] ~ [gbáyá]

Here follow examples of sequences of vowels which occur in monomorphemic words only with intervening [y], only with [w], or with either [y] or [w].

Vowel-clusters with intervening [y]:

- [i...e] [íye] 'where?' [tiyé] 'entirety'
- [i...e] [gɛ́iyɛŋ] 'wide'
- [i...o] [fiyo] 'fetish'
- [i...ɔ] [giyɔɔ] 'leaning because of drowsiness'
- [i...a] [ʔbiya] 'comrade'
- [ɛ...a] [gbéyá] 'Gbeya'

Vowel-clusters with intervening [w]:

- [e...o] [féwóó] 'quiet'
- [u...e] [zuwé] 'certain aquatic reptile'
- [o...e] [kowó] 'whooping cough'
- [a...ɔ] [káwɔ] 'cow bird (egret)'

Vowel-clusters with intervening [y] or [w]:

- [i...u] [hiyuu] '(floating) swiftly'
- [i...u] [híyúú] ~ [híwúú] 'quiet'
- [ɛ...ɔ] [heyɔɔ] 'without enthusiasm,'
- [ɛ...ɔ] [kewɔ kewɔ] (same as [kɛr kɛr]) 'quickly'
- [u...ɛ] [kuyɛɛ] 'white (of hair),'
- [u...ɛ] [ndúwéé] 'just visible (sprouts)'
- [u...a] [guya] 'certain ant,' [duwa] 'goat'
- [ɔ...ɛ] [lóyéé] 'short (pejorative)'
- [ɔ...ɛ] [tɔwɛ] 'kidding remark'
- [ɔ...a] [ɔya] 'certain fish,' [kowa] 'baby-carrying sling'
- [ɔ...a] [ŋgoyá] 'bush pig,' [ŋgowa] 'adze'
- [a...u] [kayum] 'descriptive of noise made by something being put in hot oil,'
- [a...u] [vawuu] ~ [viyuu] 'many (pieces of paper)'
- [a...o] [kayó] 'certain tree,' [lawo] 'wart-hog tusk,' [pawo] 'knife'
- [a...a] [kaya] 'roan antelope,' [zawa] 'peanut'
- [a...i] [ŋgawíya] 'certain bird' (so named because of the cry it makes)
- [a...ɛ] [aáyɛ] 'this one' (unless [-yɛ] is analyzed as a morpheme)

The following are examples of sequences of vowels where there is an intervening [y] followed by [i]:

- [ɛ...i] [weyi] 'the fire'
- [u...i] [nduyi] 'the mouse'
- [o...i] [kóyi] 'the squirrel'
- [ɔ...i] [mbɔyi] 'the wealth'
- [a...i] [tayi] 'the washing'

(b) Identification of the phonemes. The preceding data are now summarized and the choice of the phonemicization explained.

The segments [i] and [u] are in complementary distribution with [y] and [w] in initial position and intervocally, but in final position they contrast. The distributions are stated formulaically with # representing pause or juncture. For example:

[i] and [u] occur in #...C, C...C, and V...#. For example:

[fni] 'urine,' [hufúú] 'steam'

[biíi] 'baboon,' [pím] 'tsetse fly,' [buŋo] 'certain small antelope,' [dum] 'to spear'

[kói] 'the woman,' [kúí] 'your (pl.) legs'

[y] and [w] occur in #...V, V...V (in which, however, [iyi] and [uwu] do not occur), and V...# (in which [y] never follows [i] and [w] does not occur at all). For example:

[yo] 'to get lost'

[wɔ] 'hunger'

[kaya] 'roan antelope'

[zawa] 'pcanut'

[kóy] 'squirrel'

[toy] 'burden'

Certain linguistic canons require the interpretation of these distributional features that unite [u] and [w] because they are in complementary distribution and separate [i] and [y] phonemically because they contrast in at least one position. For the latter, a minimal pair can be cited: [ném ba koy] 'I'm going to get a ([koy]) handle' [ném ba koi] 'I'm going to get ([ko] + [i]) the palm-nut.'

As a criticism of this analysis it can be said that it concerns itself with the distribution of only some of the phonetic segments of the language; and, in addition, only certain points of distribution are made operational. In the first place, tone is ignored: The concern is with linear segments, but it is doubtful that the distribution of tone can be adequately described without a clear distinction between vowels and consonants. The contrast between /i/ and /y/ on the basis of distributional criteria is reinforced by phonetic features where tone is concerned: /i/ can occur with the tonemes but /y/ never can. The same can be said of [u] and [w], which I analyze as /u/ and /w/. One has only bypassed the problem by writing [zàwà] and [wùt] as */zàwà/ and */utt/, for if */u/ is a vowel, it must occur with tone, and not writing a tone on it is simply another way of indicating its non-syllabicity.

In the second place, it should be observed that a concern with canonical forms in a language is a concern with certain distributional features in the language. Whereas /CVV/ would be typical of the language, */VVV/ would be aberrant in initial position.

In this grammar I shall write /u/ and /w/ as well as /i/ and /y/. Sufficient data have been presented so that alternate phonemicizations can be worked out.¹³

The phoneme /r/ has been called a flap continuant to distinguish it from the other continuants, but in fact it has allophones [ĩ] [ĩ̃] [ř] [ř̃]. The apico-alveolar flap and trill ([ř] and [ř̃]) occur only before juncture or pause and although usually voiced do sometimes occur voiceless. The variation between these allophones is free although there is some evidence that [ř̃] is used, sometimes quite prolonged, for certain stylistic reasons. There are not too many examples of these allophones because Gbeya seems to be going

through a stage where the sequence /V¹rV¹/ (where /r/ is [ĩ]) is being reduced to /V¹V¹/. This is clearly seen in the following three dialect forms (in the first two of which 'r' represents [ř]): wárá (Gbanu), wár (Gbaya south of Bossentele), wáá (Gbeya, under certain morphological conditions wár-) 'way.' For further discussion of this matter see 132.1 and 133.3. Only a few nouns, no verbs, and a handful of descriptive adverbs have final /r/, that is [ř]. For example: á ñó bór 'he knows a little bit'; á á te₁ nu₂ gbór gére 'he placed the wood₁ on the ground₂ untied'; ám mbird₁ kɔ^z tuwa₂, go ó háar 'I swept₁ the inside of the house₂, so it's clean'; zora yú hór 'the mouse runs fast'; zór ~ zóó 'chisel.'

The allophones [ĩ] and [ĩ̃] are voiced lateral flaps, oral and nasalized respectively, the second of which occurs contiguous with nasalized vowels and the first of which occurs contiguous with oral vowels.¹⁴ Because of phonetic similarity, the nasalized allophone is included as an allophone of /r/, all of whose allophones have in common the feature of flapping. However, since the lateral continuant [l] occurs only contiguous with oral vowels and the flap [ĩ̃] only with nasalized vowels, it would be possible on distributional grounds to consider them allophones of a single phoneme. My analysis results in four allophones with a common phonetic feature and leaves /l/ with a distribution limited with respect to nasalized vowels. The phonemic status of /r/ has already been demonstrated; it remains here to cite examples in which the allophones [ĩ] and [ĩ̃] occur. They are quite common:

ri 'to eat something liquid'	rĩ 'to be dark'
rɔk 'to be smooth'	rɔk 'to be good'
ráká 'rasp'	riɔk 'to hit'
ré 'village'	ziɾ- 'to descend'
rɛm 'be able'	yɛɾ- 'to be long'
ri 'water'	rɛti 'to plug up (holes)'
rɛp 'eye, face'	rɛk 'to be narrow'
rɔfɛ 'trash, flotsam'	rɔfi 'to gain in weight'

The voiced labiodental flap /ɹ/ is produced by drawing the lower lip behind the upper teeth and then rapidly flapping it outward.¹⁵ In my data it occurred only in the following words: guṽṽuɔŋ 'a very deep place in a river,' hɔṽɔk 'descriptive of passing on or falling out of sight,' hɔṽɔṽɔ 'exclamation of victory (at winning at a throw of dice),' ṽɔŋ 'descriptive of hitting something' as in ám roá₁ te nɔci₂ ṽɔŋ 'I hit₁ this tree₂ so it rang.' In addition, the word gáṽa is used at Bowe for the more common Gbeya word refa 'fish-trapping ramp.'

111.2. Distribution of consonants.

All consonants occur initially,¹⁶ for example: ba 'to grab,' dik 'to thunder,' gan 'to surpass,' gba 'to break,' pi 'to throw (single object),' te 'to come,' kin 'to roll,' kpa 'to find,' ʔba 'to disavow,' ʔdik 'to sift,' ʔmar- 'to wring out,' ʔnaŋ 'to ruin,' ma 'to plant (shoots),' naŋ 'to be inadequate,' ŋma 'to press down on,' mba 'to greet,' ndak 'to chase,' ŋgay 'to be strong,' ŋmghan 'to uproot,' lar- 'to lick,' ra 'to congeal,' ṽɔŋ 'of hitting something,' fan 'to weave,' sa 'to call,' ha 'to give,' vuy 'to stir,' zam 'to rescue,' ya 'to sit (of plural subject),' wa 'to hoe.' The phoneme /ŋ/ occurs initially in only three

words, all descriptive adverbs: *ɲɛɲɛ ɲɛɲɛ* 'descriptive of the motion of peddling a bicycle,' *ɲiɾɔŋ* 'covered (with water),' *ɲuyuy* 'descriptive of certain linear design.'

All consonants except /h/ occur medially, for example: *huubá* 'a certain caterpillar,' *gida* 'enemy,' *gaga* 'a certain small fish,' *kógba* 'crow,' *bipi* 'wasp,' *rííto* 'two,' *ndóke* 'wager,' *sukpa* 'manioc leaves,' *saʔba* 'blacksmith's tongs,' *saʔde* 'animal,' *naʔa* 'mother,' *zɔʔmi* 'to nibble,' *dɔʔniŋ* 'cool,' *gima* 'song,' *saná* 'sifter,' *daŋi* 'eleventh lunar month,' *kerɛŋmɛŋ* 'halfheartedly,' *saambɛɛ* 'certain chicken-hawk,' *ɲgíndó* 'stump,' *báŋgá* 'rubber,' *ʔdájŋgbá* 'testicle,' *ala* 'gricf,' *séɛ* 'spear,' *hɔʔɔk* 'passing out of sight,' *ndɔfá* 'certain small wild duck,' *bisa* 'adolescent boy,' *kavata kavata* '(walking) back and forth,' *gaza* 'circumcision,' *kaya* 'roan antelope,' *zawa* 'peanut.'

Only the following consonants occur finally: /p t k m n ɲ l r y/ and /g/ only under certain sandhi conditions. For example: *sáp* 'saliva,' *lát* 'completely,' *dak* 'gourd for drinking,' *dam* 'granary,' *wan* 'owner,' *gón* 'ladle,' *dal* 'certain upright drum,' *zór* 'chisel,' *toy* 'baggage, burden.' The voiced stop /g/ occasionally replaces /k/ before voiced nonnasal consonants in rapid speech where two adjacent words are closely linked in the same syntactic construction. For further discussion see 131.1. Since the most frequent examples of this assimilation are of verbs followed by nouns, and since verbs do not have final /p/ and /t/, examples of final /b/ and /d/ do not occur. Thus: [*dág wa*] *dák wa* 'chase them away.'

112. Vowel phonemes.

112.1. Description of vowels. The vowels of Gbeya are seven in number. The front unrounded vowels are higher high /i/, higher mid /e/, and lower mid /ɛ/.¹⁷ The central vowel /a/ is lower low. The back rounded vowels /u o ɔ/ are articulated at the same heights as the front vowels. Only the phonemes /e/ and /o/ have allophones which need to be noted. Although the usual articulation is at higher mid, vocoids slightly higher, approaching lower high, seem to vary freely with the higher mid varieties. The phoneme /ɛ/, on the other hand, when nasalized, tends to approach higher low. The phonemes /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ seem to be more lax than their nearest equivalents in English or French.

Contrasts between oral vowels are shown in the following pairs of words:

<i>giʔda</i> 'husks'	<i>geʔda</i> 'manioc'
<i>te</i> 'tree'	<i>tɛ</i> 'body'
<i>ze</i> 'month'	<i>zɛ</i> 'night'
<i>re</i> 'to enter'	<i>rɛ</i> 'to poke'
<i>o</i> 'to break'	<i>ɔ</i> 'to be'
<i>dok</i> 'to rub'	<i>dɔk</i> 'to be big'
<i>ʔbo</i> 'to mould'	<i>ʔbɔ</i> 'to bud'
<i>dɔm</i> 'to spear'	<i>dɔm</i> 'to blow (horn)'
<i>du</i> 'to make (fire with grass)'	<i>do</i> 'to flower'
<i>ru</i> 'to stir'	<i>ro</i> 'to stone'
<i>kpa</i> 'to find'	<i>kpo</i> 'to tie on'

ɲmgbá 'to interfere'

ɲmgbɔ 'to touch'

gbur- 'to drag'

gur- 'to swallow'

Long vowels are equal in length to a cluster of two vowels and are phonemicized as such. No contrast exists between [V̄] and [VV], either in their length or in the types of tones with which they occur. Thus, the tonal sequence low-high occurs in forms whose shape is CVCV, CV¹V¹, or CV¹V². For example, toró 'dog,' dɔ́s 'beer,' feá 'died.' And the form sii 'the returning' < si 'to return' + -i is as long as bii (~ bir-) 'to twist' or tji (~ tjr-) 'tail.' The contrast between long and short vowels is attested by the following examples:¹⁸

bi 'to fight'

bii 'to twist'

gi 'to cook'

gii 'to follow'

ʔba 'to disavow'

ʔbaa 'to shed'

ʔbo 'to mould'

ʔboo 'to butcher'

do 'to flower'

doo 'to prevent'

d̩a 'to curse'

d̩aa 'to limp'

f̩u 'to explode'

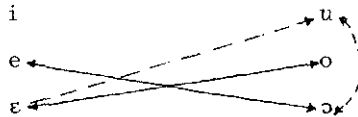
f̩uu 'to sew'

gbɛ̩ 'to be ripe'

gbɛ̩ɛ 'to scrape'

112.2. Distribution of vowels. Two significant limitations characterize the distribution of vowels: the limitation on the kinds of vowels which occur within any minimal form and the limitation on the occurrence of oral and nasalized vowels within a certain defined stretch, for which see 121. This stretch is bounded by juncture and for the sake of convenience can be called a phonologic word.

The first limitation is best stated negatively: Any combination of vowels except those listed below can occur in a word. This then is a type of vowel harmony. The nonpermitted patterns can be stated as follows: No combination of mid vowels (front or back) nor combination of higher mid front with lower mid back or lower mid front with high mid back is permitted. The nonpermitted combinations of oral vowels are reviewed in the following chart. The arrows indicate both the combinations and the order of vowels. Broken lines indicate problems, which are discussed below.



The broken-lined arrow going in one direction between /ε/ and /u/ indicates that whereas the combination /u...ε/ occurs, /ε...u/ does not occur in the data. Likewise, since /i...ε/ and /ε...i/ occur, it is possible that /u...ɔ/ and /ɔ...u/ occur.

This chart does not mean to suggest that vowel combinations come in pairs, but that only certain vowels can occur in any given word. Thus: kóro 'rain,' béra 'gourd,' fiyo 'fetish,' mbóra 'law,' gprɔ 'bee,' zjɔ 'dig stick, reverse end of spear.'

This harmony obtains with the nasalized vowels as well, except that there are no nasalized front or back higher mid vowels, /e/ and /o/. Moreover,

in the data no instances of /ɛ...ɥ/, /ɔ...ɥ/ or /a...ɥ/ occur, but because of the symmetry which is often revealed in phonologic systems, I should expect to find these combinations. For example, I should expect to find /a...ɥ/ because of the already existing /a...u/. Perhaps /ɛ...ɥ/ and /ɔ...ɥ/ are less likely because of the absence of /ɛ...u/ and /ɔ...u/.

113. Tonal phonemes. The tonal phonemes are two contrasting levels of pitch, one high (indicated by /' / and the other low (indicated by the absence of any mark). Only the low tone has significant allophones. In addition to the level-low allophone there is a rapidly falling one that varies with it on the first vowel of an utterance following voiceless phones. This glide does not begin as high as a high tone, and it falls much more rapidly than the glide in a sequence of high-low. Since, however, its use seems to be accompanied by the meaning of emphasis, I suspect that it can occur in any minimal free form within an utterance. The contrast between low and high tones is attested by the following words:¹⁹

nú 'mouth'	nu 'ground, earth'
fúk 'meadow'	fuk 'flour'
máná 'bell'	mana 'certain fetish'
wár- 'way, path'	war- 'bean'
kóo 'woman'	koo 'grandfather'
kóy 'squirrel'	koy 'handle'
góro 'snail'	goro (zu-goro 'knee')
gárá 'bundle'	gara 'yard, space in front of house'
zéré 'sickness'	zere '(fall) in mourning'
kím 'oar'	kiím 'my mother' (Boguila)
gúru 'in one place'	gurú 'certain large turtle'
bóro 'lower spine'	bóro 'hole in tree'
kútu 'hut'	boro 'iron'
kutú 'fog'	kútú 'certain tree'

120. The secondary phonemes of Gbeya consist of nasalization (121), open juncture (122), pause (123), and terminal contours (124).

121. Nasalization. The phoneme of nasalization is considered a supra-segmental which occurs simultaneously with vowels. It is represented thus: /,/. Two features characterize its distribution: (1) There is complete nasalization of vowels in any stretch of speech between junctures; oral and nasalized vowels never occur together in this environment. (2) Nasalized vowels follow any consonant but /ʔb ʔd ʔl/ and the prenasalized stops, and they never precede these nor /h/ and the simple plosives /b d g gb/. The mutual exclusiveness of oral and nasalized vowels is attested by two pairs of words: [baŋaǎǎ] ~ [baŋgará] 'certain fish,' [duǎǎ] ~ [dulé] (the first variant of this second example being used at Boguila) 'tadpole.' It is also significant that whereas under certain circumstances final [m] is replaced by [mb] before a vowel, this never occurs when [m] is preceded by a nasalized vowel. (See 131.1.) The convention is adopted that only the first vowel in any word is marked for nasalization: [dɔǎ] is written /dɔǎ/ 'beer.'

An alternative analysis would set up two sets of vowel phonemes, one oral and one nasalized, and then describe the mutual exclusiveness of these two sets in terms of a kind of vowel harmony. Since these two analyses are mutually convertible without any difficulty whatsoever, no case is made for my own.

Oral and nasalized vowels contrast in the following words:

kɔ 'to apply, smear'	kɔ 'to agree'
ir- 'to push'	ir- 'to roll up'
kpay 'to cross,' trans.	kpay 'to be sour'
bɛɛ 'dry season'	bɛɛ 'certain ant'
biri 'baboon'	biri 'certain fruit'
fuli 'to whisper'	furi 'to spit'
gbur- 'to drag'	gur- 'to swallow'

122. Juncture is posited to account for the distribution of three different phonological phenomena: i.e., the allophones of /r/, vowel nasalization (see 121), and vowel harmony (see 112.2). The phonological word bounded by juncture, and represented by word division, is therefore the domain in which these distributions pertain. Juncture is marked not only where the distributional restrictions occur but where they can occur: between só and ké in the stretch só ké ré 'so we ...' as well as between só and kó in só kó ró 'so we (explicit) ...'

123. Pause /,/ is characterized by the following features:²⁰ (1) it is marked by a momentary break in the flow of speech; (2) it coincides with hesitation or interruption in the utterance (which are often accompanied by either the lengthening of the preceding vowel or consonant and a slight glottal constriction or both; (3) it coincides with the terminal contours (see section 124); and (4) it coincides with tone changes on final low tones (especially when these are immediately preceded by a high tone), the nature of which is that there is either a slight rising glide from this low tone or else that this low tone is replaced by a tone which is higher than low but not as high as high. The features characterizing all but (3), where morphemic contrasts are operative, are facultative: every occurrence of /,/ is not necessarily accompanied by one of these features, but the minimal realization of /,/ is a pause. The marking of pause is hence not consistent. Although it very often occurs following clauses with the auxiliaries, before verbal predicates after long subjectival constructions, preceding conjunctions, etc., I mark it only where it actually occurs and not where one might expect it to occur. The following paragraphs illustrate the occurrence of the features of /,/. The symbols enclosed in square brackets indicate the phonetic features: [,] simple pause, [:] length, ['] glottal catch, [↑] rising glide, and [ˆ] raised pitch.

123.1. Following hesitation:

ó nam₁ kó₂ ['], yám kó kóoi₃ , bó₄ zee₅ g̃y 'the members of the family,
of a (no, that is)₂ when₄ the father of the girl₃ hears₅ thus'
gan a₁ ['] ó₂ ne dé?dé₃ kóo₄ ná₅ 'she₁ is₂ not₃ a good₅ woman₄'
d̃ỹ wa [:], ɛɛ, gɔɔɔ d̃ỹ zá?dí yui 'running they, er, Gɔɔɔ was
running'

nzapà neá ['], rɛmà₁ ìn rɛ́₂ 'God went, (no that is) is sufficient₁ for us₂'

123.2 At syntactic boundaries:

mɔ́-màri₁ kó wa₂ [↑] ɔ́á₃ nɛ [:] íyó-té₄ 'their₂ clothing₁ was₃ tree-bark₄'
 wa₁ nde wa [,] ñmgbán ñmgbáni₂ [↑], a wa yó₃ kó wa mɔ́₃ rɔy rɔy₄
 'they₁ who have stripped (their clothes off)₂ eat things₃ as they please₄'
 bó yó₃ sa?de₁ rɔy rɔy₂ [↑], nɛ ñmgbéré₃ né de₄ a₅ 'if (he) should eat meat₁ indiscriminately₂, leprosy₃ will afflict₄ him₅'
 ga a káy₁ dal₂ rííto₃ [˘], na a mýó ó nam₄ ká a₅ 'and he takes₁ two₃ dal drums₂, and he gathers the members₄ of his₅ family₄'

124. The terminal contours are those pitch features which occur with sentences and which are manifested by their effect on the tones of the sentence either in its entirety or—more commonly—at the end.²¹ They serve to mark some attitude of the speaker to the sentence or to the situation. For lack of better names, they are designated by the punctuation marks, namely, period contour /./, question contour /?/, exclamation contour /!/, and double exclamation contour /!/. They contrast in the following sentences:

ɛɛ né. 'Let's go.' (= 'we go')
 ɛɛ né? 'Shall we go?'
 ɛɛ né! 'Let's go!'
 ɛɛ né!! 'I said, let's go!'

124.1. Period contour /./ indicates the absence of real emotional involvement. Its occurrence excludes the meanings characteristic of the other three kinds of contours. It is characterized by a drifting down of tones toward the end of the sentence so that a final low or high tone is lower than the low and high of the following sentence. The effects on high tones are especially noticeable, and the down drift may occur on even two or three high tones before the end, for example:

a bá₁ na a yó₂. 'He takes₁ and eats (it)₂.'
 gan₆ a₁ kpá₂ rí₃ mǎ₄ á nǎ₅ ná₆. 'He₁ doesn't₆ find₂ water₃ to₄ drink₅.'

124.2. Question contour /?/ indicates a question for confirmation or clarification. In a sentence having an interrogative particle ndé or wéndé, it indicates that the question is being repeated; otherwise, it marks a request for more information. It is characterized by a slightly rising glide on the final vowel, either from phonemic low or high, to a level slightly higher than is normal, which may be cut off by a light glottal constriction.

mɔ mí? 'Do you mean me?' (= 'thing I')
 mé ye ge? 'What is that you're saying?'
 mé nɛà wéndé? 'Did you go? I repeat.'

124.3. Exclamation contour /!/ indicates emphasis, emotional involvement, or a state of excitement. It is characterized either by the absence of the features of period contour or by an actual raising of the pitch level, especially of the highs, above the normal level.

ám₁ ndɔ̀rà₂ kpém₃ ! 'I₁ killed₂ (just) one₃!'

dila₁ tɛ₂ mǎ₃ ǎ gbɛ rɛ́₄! 'The lion₁ was coming₂ to₃ kill us₄!'

ɛɛ₁ kúú₂ zu'ature₃ dǎyɛ nɔ̀ɔ₄ ?néŋ₅! 'We₁ departed₂ from here₄ very early₅ in the morning₃!'

wa₁ dé₂ mɔ̀₃ zaa₄! 'They₁ do₂ things₃ without profit₄!'

124.4. Double-exclamation contour /!!/ indicates insistence or impatience and most often occurs with directives. It is characterized by a final falling pitch, from high to low and from low to lower. (The texts, being anecdotal or narrative in nature, reveal only a few examples.)

ɛɛ né!! 'Let's go!'

wa sí ?doŋ sé!! '(He said), "go on back!"'

gɛ rɛ péé!! 'So we returned!'

130. Morphophonemics. In this section are discussed three types of alternations which distinguish the phonemic shapes of morphemes: automatic, morphological, and irregular. Certain of these, because they occur only facultatively in rapid speech or under certain very limited conditions, will be written morphophonemically; unless otherwise stated, the transcription is that of the morpheme in its free form.

131. Automatic alternations. The three kinds of primary phonemes involved are consonants, vowels, and tones.

131.1. Consonants.

(a) A word-final voiceless stop phoneme preceded by an oral vowel often becomes voiced before another voiced consonant except the nasals (and presumably the injectives). Most examples are of /k/ > /g/. There are no examples of /t/ > /d/, for example: zɔg rɔ́k ?dé (< zɔk rɔ́k) '(if they should) see very well,' tég záan (< ték záan) 'fall outside,' búg yú (< búk yú) 'wind blows,' dag za (< dak za) 'certain edible frog,' sog lolo (< sok lolo) '(sit) squatting,' rǐb wa (< rǐp wa) 'their face.'

(b) A word-final voiceless stop phoneme often becomes a nasal of the same point of articulation before another nasal.²² Most examples are of /k/ > /ŋ/. There are none of /t/ > /n/, for example: bóm zɔŋ, nɛ míse dɔŋ tɛ (< . . . zɔk, nɛ . . .) 'when I looked, Monsieur was coming,' nda?daŋ nda?dak (< nda?dak nda?dak) 'sticky (as raw egg),' tón núa (< tók núa) 'pierce the edge of it.' That this very common process does not always occur is attested by examples, such as: ?búk ndee 'shoulder a bow,' kóoi bó zɔk, ndɛ wa deá bisa 'if the girl should see that they got dressed up.'

(c) A word-final voiceless stop phoneme preceded by a nasalized vowel becomes a nasal of the same point of articulation before a voiced consonant. There are examples only of /p/ > /m/ since such sequences of phonemes are rare: zɔp-ɛ́ [zɔp ɛ́] 'his own nose,' zɔm'wa [zɔ́m wa] (< zɔp) 'their noses,' zɔm-ré [zɔm ré] 'our noses.' (The hyphen here represents the relational morpheme discussed in 212.2.)

(d) Plain nasal consonants of many words often alternate with prenasalized stops before close, and open, juncture under various circumstances. Some words have two freely alternating forms,²³ one with a plain nasal and

one with a prenasalized stop. Other words occur with prenasalized stop only when they occur in certain morphological or syntactic environments; they are said to be "determined."

Free alternation occurs in the following words:

- daná ~ dandá 'sack'
 ndɔ̀nɔ̀kɔ̀ ~ ndɔ̀ndɔ̀kɔ̀ 'jigger'
 má̀ŋgo ~ mbá̀ŋgo 'mango fruit'
 wéné ~ wéndé 'or'
 munzú ~ mbunzú 'White Person'

Determined alternation occurs either when words with final nasal (except /ŋm/, which never occurs in final position) occur with certain vowel suffixes (or in even more restricted circumstances when the following morpheme has initial vowel) or when certain short words with initial nasal (here always /n/) occur in certain syntactic positions.

Prenasalized stops can occur in verbs preceding the 3S pronominal suffix, before the perfective suffix, and before emphatic -i. For example:

- tom 'to send' tómbaa 'send him'
 bom 'to be blind' bombá 'became blind'
 ŋmgbandà ŋmgbándi 'ripped
 it off'

Prenasalized stops can occur in nouns preceding the determinant suffix:

- kam 'food' kambáa 'the food'
 kpém 'one' kpémbaa 'the first'
 ʔdɔŋ 'back' ʔdɔŋgáa 'the back'

A prenasalized stop almost always occurs in the words *nɛ* 'to go,' *nɛ* 'and,' *nɛ* preposition, and *nú* 'mouth' when they precede 1P and 3P pronouns. This is true of the verb *nɛ* both when it occurs as a simple predicate and when it occurs as an auxiliary. In one instance *nɛ* 'and' occurs with prenasalized stop even before 3P pronoun:

- ndé ré₁ sió₂ 'we're going₁ to return₂'
 ndé wá₁ gbo₂ sɔ́ɔ₃ 'they're going₁ to arrive₂ today₃'
 ndé₁ wa₂ né₃ go₄ ndé₅ wa₆ ŋmgbó₇ ŋgómbi 'and₁ they₂ went₃ and₄ they
 went₅ (and) they₆ pounded₇ the ŋgombi bark'
 wí₁ nɔ́ ndéi ndɔ̀à₂ kó kóm₃ 'you₁ who outraged₂ my wife₃'
 gam guram₁ nɛà ndé₂ wa₃ 'the whirlwind₁ took₂ them₃'
 wí-ré₁ nɛ bó zee₂ oro-ndú-ré₃ ná₄ 'anyone₁ who doesn't₄ obey₂ our
 commandments₃'

A prenasalized stop occasionally occurs as an alternant of a plain nasal before open juncture and followed by a vowel:

- ín₁ (~ [índ]) ó wí-ré₂ 'with₁ people₂'
 há₁ ŋmaa₂ há_m₃ (~ [hamb]) oó₄ 'give₁ some₂ to me₃ please₄'

(e) A word-initial /w/ may be replaced by /b/ following /m/, such as:

- am₁ tóm₂ ba₃ ~ am tóm wa 'I₁ send₂ them₃' (cf. am tómbaa 'I send
 him')
 mɛ₁ ʔróm₂ béndé (~ wéndé) 'Are you₁ deceiving me₂?'
 gba fiyo₁ sáá mɔ́ kóróm₃ ba (or wa) 'the Great Fetish₁ is calling₂
 after me₃.'

131.2. Tones. Final high tone which is preceded by a low tone is often replaced by low tone when followed by an initial high tone of another word. It is significant that all instances recorded are restricted to substantives, verbs, and the preposition *né*. It should be noted that this alternation is completely independent of the phonemic changes involved with the occurrence of the relational morpheme (212.2.) which it does not affect in any way.

Examples of change:

gu[?]dò óm tɛ-ɛ₁ yóó₂ (< Gu[?]dó, < ɛ) 'Gu[?]dó stopped₁ (and) stood₂'

wesè kó mɛrkrɛdĩ (< wesé) 'Wednesday (= day of Wednesday)'

bó ré ro ŋmaà ín mise (< ŋmaá) 'when Monsieur and I departed'

kɔ̀r̀à₁ ríftò₂ (< kɔ̀r̀á) 'two₂ chickens₁'

ɛɛ é s tɛ-rè sɛ (< rɛ) 'let's rest first'

wɛn[?]-pɛɛ₁ nɛ₂ há₃ m (< né) 'to return₁ with it₂ to mc₃'

rém c rà ná (< rá) 'can't give it up'

ŋma mɔ̀ gan s ŋgay gán nzapà ná (< nzapá) 'nothing is too hard for God'

tɛ-rè yúm béndé (< ró) '(said that) we should be angry (= our bodies hurt)?'

ám₁ dakà tɛ₂ (< daká) 'I₁ led the way₂'

nɛm₁ yarà₂ tɛ-kaka[?]da mɛ₃ 'and I₁ was strolling₂ there₃ at Kaka[?]da'

mɛ₁ tɔ̀à₂ há raŋmgbà wéndé (< tɔ̀á, < raŋmgbá) 'did you₁ tell₂ Raŋmgbá?'

dɔ̀ŋb̀ bá nɛ yɔ̀ŋ (< dɔ̀ŋs) 'kept on taking and eating (= sat, takes and eats)'

nɛ₁ nɛà rɛ₂ tɔ̀₃ wɛn (< nɛá) 'and₁ we would have₂ talked₃'

Examples without change:

hɛé kɔ̀wá₁ dóska₂ 'cry₁ a lot₂' compare gan tɛ wá hee kɔ̀wà ná wéndé 'or won't they cry?'

á mɛ yɔ̀ŋ ŋgɔ̀yá ná 'don't eat forest-pig' compare á mɛ yɔ̀ŋ ŋgu[?]bù ná (< ŋgu[?]bú) 'don't eat hippopotamus'

toró kɔ̀m 'my dog' compare torò kɛ́ ɛ́ 'his own dog'

gó₁ hoá₂ zu[?]-turee₃ 'and₁ came out₂ early this morning₃'

gbai₁ tɔ̀á₂ há ganá-zuf 'even if you should₁ tell₂ Ganá-zuf'

nɛ nzapá deá ín wa 'what God did for them'

132. Morphological alternations.

132.1. Consonant changes. Sets of free and bound noun and verb allomorphs are distinguished by two patterns of consonantal alternations: /r/ ~ zero, and /f/ ~ /p/.

(a) r-pattern. Many nouns and verbs have free allomorphs of the form CVV, and bound allomorphs of the form CVr- occurring with suffixes. (Such words are generally cited in their bound forms. In the dictionary, for example, waa 'bean' is found under war-.)

The bound noun allomorphs occur with the pronominal suffixes (where they indicate possession), with the determinant, and—in a few cases—with -i and -ɛ (see 213.2.). A few of these nouns are the following: gér- 'neck,' ér- 'hand,' war- 'bean,' wár- 'path,' kor- 'grandparent,' tɛr- 'tail.' Note

that the free form also occurs with the explicit pronouns. For example:

gérém 'my neck'	éraa 'his hand'
tji-ǰ 'his tail'	wáraa 'the path'
bé-koróm 'my grandchild'	wári 'that side'
wáree 'this side'	

The bound verb allomorphs occur with the perfective suffix, the pronominal suffixes, and with the emphatic *-i*. They are much more numerous than are the noun forms. A few are the following: lər- 'to handle carefully,' ndor- 'to shoot,' ɸr- 'to deceive,' per- 'to return,' pər- 'to froth up,' sar- 'to go right through (and come out on other side),' ser- 'to simmer,' zer- 'to listen.' For example:

hǰé hǰri 'tie it up'
ǰ hǰrà 'bée 'he's tied it up already'
peri kóm ǰi 'this is my returning'
ge a me ǰróm wen-ǰe ndó 'why do you deceive me?'
go yáram kíí sa?de 'so I was looking for animals (= and stroll I seek animal)'

(b) *f*-pattern. A few nouns and verbs have free allomorphs of the form CVp and bound allomorphs of the form CVf- whose distributions are the same as those described in (a) above. I do not know whether all nouns with final /p/ have bound allomorphs with /f/, so that in the lexicon I enter with /f/ only those of which I am certain. They are the following: léf- 'tongue,' ǰaf- 'pattern, design,' ríf- 'eye, face,' zɸf- 'nose' and probably kíí- 'paddle.' Only one verb characterized by this pattern occurs in the data, viz. kifí 'to turn, paddle,' which alternates freely with kip in the imperfective, but occurs only as kif- with the other vowel suffixes. For example:

rífím 'my face'	lép-ǰ 'his tongue'
zɸfáa 'the nose'	kíífaa 'turn him over'
ǰ kifó dila 'he turned into a lion'	

132.2. Vowel changes. The vowels of certain short words are customarily assimilated to the vowels of certain pronouns, and in one case to the plural adjective ó, which immediately follow these words. Junctural phenomena and assimilation of nasalization are discussed below. These words are the connectives mó, go, só kó (but not its alternant free form sóó), tɛ, há, nɛ, and kó (in: wen kó); the prepositions ?bó, há, and kó; and the auxiliaries tɛ, nɛ, and bo.²⁴ Except for the preposition kó, these are given in the form which occurs with 2S mé 'you'; before nouns this preposition is usually kó but before the pronouns, except 1P explicit pronoun ró, it is kó. This regressive assimilation is complete before 3S ǰ, 1P rɛ, sg. explicit ǰ, and pl. explicit ró in their nonsubjectival (here cited) or subjectival forms. In addition, before 3P wa 'they,' the connective nɛ and the auxiliary nɛ can become no, and the connective há and the preposition há can become hó. (The alternations involving the nasal consonants of these words have already been discussed in 131.1.)

The regressive assimilation of nasalization of the pronouns 3S ǰ and sg. explicit ǰ (which differs from the function of nasalization already described

in 121) is to be described on the basis of fast informal speech. For example, in the speech of my informant (a tape-recorded text) *kó ɛ 'of himself' occurs as [kɛʔɛ], [kɛ. ɛ] (with two pulses but no glottal stop), and [kɛɛ] (as one long vowel of two-mora length):

- go bé ré₁ ne₂ go₃ bó ré gboá₄ 'and when we₁ went₂ and₃ arrived₄'
 bɛ́ ɛ́ gon₁ wa₂ né gaza 'after he circumcised₁ them₂'
 gɛ́ ɛ́ sók 'and he matures'
 só ká ɛ́ tɔ́ 'then he talks'
 óró₁ koà₂ bém kó ró₃ mbó₄ ró yɔŋ móa '(they said) we₁ bore₂ our child,
 so as to₄ profit from it (= eat the thing)'
 gá ye ge₁, mbá₂ ɛ́, ʔbɛ́ ɛ́₄ '(he) said₁ "Greet₂ her₃ for me₄" (the
 speaker)'
 há ó ngaragé 'to the ngaragé members,' hó ó koy-wí-ré 'to the re-
 maining people'
 to₁ ro₂ nó₃ '(they said) "so₁ we₂ could drink₃"'

132.3. Tone and other changes. These are miscellaneous alternations affecting only a few words, not already discussed.

(a) The form wenáa (< wen 'word' plus determinant suffix) 'the word' occurs as wenáá before the interrogative pronoun ge, such as, wenáá ge ndé 'why? (= what is the affair?).' Although it seems semantically possible for other nouns to occur with the determinant in this environment, I do not know whether they would in fact occur. They simply do not occur in my data.

(b) The low tone of several nouns having a final sequence of high-low tones very often becomes high before another high tone when these nouns occur in a noun phrase. For example:

- wééy ká ɛ́ (< wéey) 'her husband,' wééy tóko 'man's mat (for sleeping),'
 wééy nóɔ 'this man'
 kóó nóɔ (< kóo) 'this woman'
 sáá nóɔ (< sáa) 'today'
 gáá nóɔ (< gáa) 'like this'
 gééré wí-ré (< gére) 'ordinary person, stranger'
 ó sákáí ké ré ~ ó sákáí ké ré 'our elders'

(c) The nouns kóo 'woman' and bém 'child' have allomorphs kó, and bém or bé. In attribution with another noun or verb, in a noun phrase with the preposition kó 'of,' and with the determinant suffix, the allomorph kó occurs. The allomorph bé occurs in the same environments, except that bém occurs with the preposition kó. For example:

- kó-toró 'female dog,' bé-toró 'pup'
 kóa 'the woman, the female,' béa 'the child'
 kó kóm 'my wife,' bém kóm 'my child'
 kó-zee te ná 'disobedient woman (= woman hear body not),' bé-zee te
 'obedient child'

(d) Low tones of final open syllables of nouns are replaced by high tones with the suffixation of the determinant {-a}. For example:

- te 'tree' > téa 'the tree'
 ngana 'animosity' > nganáa 'the animosity'

133. Irregular alternations. These alternations are not necessarily characteristic of the speech of my informant but are characteristic of the Gbeya language in general, for they occurred in data gathered either from the speech of others who spoke a dialect identical with that of my informant or from other very closely related dialects. Whenever I could, I have listed the name of the village where a form was heard.

133.1. Consonant alternations:

- /s/ ~ /t/: mbósóró ~ mbótóró 'young (referring to infant whose umbilical cord has not yet fallen off),' kpsa ~kpata 'real,' gbarasa ~ gbarata 'whip'
- /r/ ~ /y/: rífto ~ yífto (Boay) 'two,' lórélé ~ lóyéé 'short,' rófe ~ yose 'rubbish'
- /r/ ~ /t/: kúku tí ~ kúku rí (Boguila) 'first'
- /r/ ~ /w/: kër kër ~ kəwə kəwə 'quickly'
- /r/ ~ /s/: ŋgara ʔbara ~ ŋgasa ʔbara 'hard'
- /r/ ~ /n/: éré ~ éné (Gbabana dialect) 'we,' rífi ~ nífi 'to make (cord by rubbing on thigh)'
- /r/ ~ /l/: rífto ~ lífto (Concon /kʔkə/) 'two'
- /l/ ~ /y/: ləʔdi ~ yəʔdi 'to swallow,' lara ~ yara 'sleep'
- /l/ ~ /n/: bələ ~ bənə 'back'
- /l/ ~ /w/: hələ ~ həwə 'descriptive of waving in breeze'
- /w/ ~ /y/: həwé ~ həy 'in torrents,' wawu ~ viyuu 'many'
- /p/ ~ /f/: sɔ pən ~ sɔ fən 'earthworm'
- /y/ ~ /n/: yǝrélé ~ nǝrélé (Boguila) 'conversation'
- /s/ ~ /f/: róse ~ rófe 'rubbish'
- /ʔm/ ~ /ʔb/: ʔmǝsǝsǝ ~ ʔbǝsǝsǝ '(entering) quietly'

133.2. Vowel alternations:

- /i/ ~ /u/: gima ~ guma 'song,' bisa ~ busa 'adolescent boy,' biro ~ buro 'oribi (antelope)'
- /i/ ~ /e/: kik siʔdi ~ kek seʔde 'strong (in health)'
- /i/ ~ /ɛ/: bǝʔdǝʔdǝ ~ béʔdéʔdé 'descriptive of cutting chicken's neck,' írírí ~ érééré 'sweet'
- /c/ ~ /o/: wəsé ~ wosé 'sun,' wey ~ woy 'fire' (o-forms are from Boguila)
- /e/ ~ /u/: huʔde huʔde ~ huʔdu huʔdu 'descriptive of skin drying and peeling off'
- /ɛ/ ~ /ɔ/: fɛrə ~ fɔrə 'elephant'
- /ɛ/ ~ /a/: fɛrɛ (Gbadee) ~ fara 'place'
- /ɔ/ ~ /a/: wəʔdi ~ waʔdi 'to push'
- /ɔ/ ~ /u/: kən ~ kun (in a Gbeya proverb) 'navel'

133.3. Many Gbeya words have alternate forms that are distinguished by the occurrence or absence of the consonants /r/ and /y/. In this respect Gbeya is typical of the Gbaya-Manza languages where this phenomenon is rather common. By describing it as it occurs in the language family as a whole, I can simplify its description in Gbeya. If we take a bisyllabic form

with intervocalic /r/ as basic, we find that several alternants are possible: The /r/ is either kept, lost, or replaced by /y/ or /w/; if /r/ is kept, then the vowels may be retained or the one preceding or following is lost, or the one preceding is lengthened. (Perhaps these vowel changes occur only if they are identical, for I do not recall any which were unlike.) Taking boro 'iron' as an example, we have the following theoretical possibilities: bro, bor, boor, boo, boyo, booy, and boy. Not all of these would occur in any one dialect, nor is any one dialect characterized by the use of only one of these possible forms. Rather, a dialect is characterized by the fact that certain percentages of the words occur in one form, and others in other forms. In one respect Gbeya is a boo-dialect, because many nouns have an allomorph of this shape whereas other dialects do not. On the other hand, it never has the form bro whereas it is common at Boguila (such as, tró 'dog,' ndrǎ 'buffalo,' where /r/ stands for [ř]).

This discussion is germane to the topic of free morpheme alternants because when we find two freely alternating forms, we do not always know if both of them are "typically" Gbeya or if one of them has been introduced from another dialect in which it is more typical. With the following examples I illustrate several of the possible patterns, giving the name of the village where I believe a particular pattern is most typical. We continue to use boro as a formula:

boro ~ boo:

gb̄ara ~ gb̄aa 'bone'

kp̄irí ~ kp̄if 'axe' (The forms kp̄if 'axe' and t̄ǎf 'laziness' were obtained only in elicitation.)

m̄uru ~ m̄uu 'boneless meat, flesh'

suri ~ suu (both in the imperfective) 'to swell' (In the perfective, the allomorph sur- occurs.)

boro ~ boy:

ari (Bowe) ~ ay 'to fall (leaves)'

dari (Bowe) ~ day 'to raise (animals)'

d̄ari (Bowe) ~ d̄ay 'to have strong flavor'

d̄ari (Bowe) ~ d̄ay 'wound'

?dori (Bowe) ~ ?doy 'slave'

f̄uri ~ f̄uy (Boay) 'to spit'

ḡari (Bozoum) ~ ḡay 'to hang (something) up'

geri (Bowe) ~ gey 'clay'

kori (Bowe) ~ koy 'remainder'

mb̄ori (Bowe) ~ mb̄oy 'bride price'

nḡari (Bowe) ~ nḡay 'strength'

t̄srí ~ t̄sIf (Bowe) ~ t̄sy 'certain bird'

weri (Bowe) ~ wey 'lime'

boro ~ booy:

gb̄éri (Bowe) ~ gb̄éey 'blossom'

k̄éri (Bowe) ~ k̄éey 'fear'

k̄ǣri (Bowe) ~ k̄ǣy 'charcoal'

s̄ǣri (Bowe) ~ s̄ǣy 'glue'

- wóri (Bowe) ~ wéey 'man'
 bor ~ boo:
 nór ~ nòò 'certain tree'
 zór ~ zóó 'chisel'
 boy ~ boo:
 ʔbay ~ ʔbaa 'only'
 boro ~ boyo ~ boo (/r/ and /y/ occur in Gbeya only in perfective verbs, with -á; but in imperfective verbs they appear with -i at Bowe, such as, beri. See 132.1.):
 berá ~ bec 'to burn'
 gberá ~ gbee 'to miss, to be absent'
 herá ~ hee 'to cry'
 perá ~ pee 'to return'
 wcrá ~ wee 'to make a noise, to sound'
 boro ~ boy ~ boo (where /y/ occurs in both perfective and imperfective):
 gari ~ gaa (Bozoum) ~ gay 'to bail out (water)'
 kpará ~ kpay ~ kpaá 'to cross (sticks)'
 lará ~ lay ~ laa 'to lick'

140. Extra-phonemic characteristics of the language.

The most characteristic feature of the Gbeya language is its nasality. If one can rely on one's impressions, I should say that it is more nasal than even some other Gbeya idioms that have nasalized vowel phonemes. This is perhaps due to the strong nasalization of the allophones [ȳ] and [ĩ]. But it is certainly also due to the partial nasalization of vowels contiguous to the frequently occurring nasal consonants.

A second feature of the language is the occurrence of a kind of falsetto. It may be described as a tensing of articulation, accompanied by a certain huskiness or scratchiness of voice and rise in pitch, although more significant features than these may have escaped me. Another way of describing it is to compare it to the "change of voice" of an adolescent boy. That this is a learnable, nonphysically determined characteristic of the language is attested by the fact that the wife of one of my employees, a native speaker of Karɣ, not only learned Gbeya well, but also learned to use the falsetto in a way which seemed to me altogether normal.

It is my impression that the speech of women is more characterized by this falsetto than is that of the men. Some women I knew seemed to speak in this manner always. Among the men, certainly, and perhaps among the women too, the falsetto was used when they were pleading for something or contradicting what another person had just said. Perhaps it indicates embarrassment. It should not, however, be equated with a somewhat similar whimper in English, where it is very artificial and distasteful. I was never able to notice any kind of reaction or response from others to this falsetto. I have described one incident of the use of falsetto in my notes: While having dinner with us one day, one of our guests, after having eaten part of his portion of cake, said—in falsetto—that he was going to keep the rest and eat it later on. After a short pause, he was asked a question on a totally different

subject, which he answered, beginning in falsetto, and then continuing in normal voice.

150. Assimilation of loan-words. In a country where French is the standard language, the language of prestige, one would expect a certain amount of borrowing from French. Gbeya gets French loan-words in two ways, directly from French and through Sango, the creolized lingua franca of the country.²⁵ The medium of direct transfer of French is through those speakers of Gbeya who have somehow acquired a knowledge of French, albeit only a smattering, either in attending school or in working for a French-speaking European. This does not mean that they are necessarily bilingual. I am convinced that most of the words that settle down to the level of the monolinguals are introduced by young people "showing off" their French by introducing odd bits of French they have somehow acquired.

Sango becomes a medium of transfer when Gbeya people work with others whose native language is different and with whom communication is in Sango. This language, because of its long use by French-speaking multilinguals, has already assimilated many French words. These then would be learned by a Sango-speaking Gbeya.

It would now be very difficult indeed to show what words were directly or indirectly borrowed. Since all Sango phonemes but /nz/ can be equated with some of those in Gbeya, we have no way of reconstructing a process of assimilation. The attempt is made all the more difficult by the fact that, because of repeated contact with the donor language, Sango tolerates words which are only partially remade phonologically.

Thus, from Sango and from French, Gbeya acquires words that do not fit the phonological pattern natural to Gbeya. For example, the Sango words *makunzi* '(village) chief,' *nzapá* 'God,' and *nginza* 'money' occur in those forms, or with /nd/ replacing /nz/.²⁶ French loans which occur in my texts are the following:

- abɛ* ~ *abɛ* < *eh bien*, a connector
- báak*, *báki* < *bac* 'ferry'
- bɔ* < *bon*, interj.
- díʒɛɛr* < *dix heures* 'ten o'clock'
- djɛmísi* < *dimanche* 'Sunday, week'
- dɔktɛɛr* (*dɔkɔtɛɛr*) < *docteur* 'doctor'
- fatigé* < *fatigué* 'to be tired'
- fɛlɛɛr* < *fleur* 'flower'
- fotó* < *photo* 'camera, picture'
- kalimɛ* < *reclamé* 'find fault with, to denounce'
- kamɛɛm* < *quand même* 'even if'
- kanivó* < *caniveau* 'ditch by side of road'
- kátrɛyɛɛr* < *quatre heures* 'four o'clock'
- kóntúwí* < *continué* 'to continue'
- kúmásé* ~ *kúmázé* < *commencé* 'to begin'
- kuziniyé* < *cuisinier* 'cook'
- léɛr* < *l'heure* 'hour, time'
- lɛkɔl* < *l'école* 'school'

lopitáal < l'hôpital 'hospital'
 madáam < madame
 madimazéel < mademoiselle 'unmarried (usually European) woman'
 mandávere < manoeuvre 'workman'
 mɛ < mais 'but, and, etc.'
 méem < même 'in fact'
 mɛrkɾɛdʒi < mercredi 'Wednesday'
 mɛrsʒi < merci 'thanks'
 mɛsi < monsieur
 midʒi < midi 'noon'
 pasitéer < pasteur 'pastor'
 pɛ (in: pɛ nɛ yʒi) < payé 'to pay'
 sáki < sac 'thousand (francs)'
 saséer < chasseur 'hunter: someone who makes living from hunting
 animals and selling meat'
 sééz < chaise 'chair'
 t̄t̄i < tente 'tarpaulin'
 t̄ɾsɛ < torche 'flashlight'
 túu < tout 'all'
 vɾdradʒi < vendredi 'Friday'
 velóo < vélo 'bicycle'
 vitéɛs < vitesse 'rapidity'
 wotóo < auto 'auto, truck'
 zúska < jusqu'à 'for a long time'

Notes to Chapter One

¹All diagraphs and /ɲmgb/ represent unit phonemes. Implosive stops and preglottalized nasals are both represented by the use of the glottal stop /ʔ/ because (1) the phonation of both is in some particulars similar and (2) their distributions are parallel. (These implosives would in the European literature probably be represented by hooked b and d. Had these symbols been available, I would have used them for the phones.) The linguistic methodological canons of some might require the segments here represented as /mb nd ɲg ɲmgb ʔb ʔd ʔm ʔn/ to be interpreted as clusters of consonants. Doing so would not otherwise change the present phonemic analysis of the language. I prefer to draw attention to the fact that apart from these segments there are no consonant clusters in the language. Accepting these as unit phonemes permits me to describe the sequential pattern of words by the formula ([C]V[V])ⁿ(C), where every vowel occurs with a tone and may or may not occur with nasalization. In phonetic transcription nasalization is indicated either by a cedilla ([ã ɲ̃]) or by a tilde ([w̃ ỹ]).

²Although the terms "egressive" and "ingressive" are properly used to designate types of productive mechanisms, they are here used to distinguish two types of stops. The ingressive stops are more commonly known as injective or implosive stops. The term "glottalized" is used primarily to group two sets of phonemes which pattern similarly.

³Spectrograms were made on a Kay Electric Company Type B Sonagram at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology with the assistance of Mr. Simon-Pierre Nambozouina, a native speaker of Gbeya, and Mr. Terry Langendoen. Words with contrasting /k g/, /t d/, and /s z/ were uttered directly into the microphone by the informant. Dr. Peter Ladefoged of the University of California (Los Angeles), who was kind enough to study the spectrograms for me, expresses the opinion that "there seems to be very little consistent difference between the items." He adds that if the apparently lowered pitch of the "voiced" ones is real, which a narrow band study would show up more clearly, this might be evidence for a decrease in air pressure. The contrast would therefore be, not between voiceless and voiced, but between fortis and lenis, with voicing an accompanying but not distinctive feature.

⁴All citations of isolated words are in their dictionary forms; the verbs always have low tone(s).

⁵A good description of the production of the injective stops can be found in D. Westermann and I. C. Ward (Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages. Oxford University Press, 1949, p. 92). For greater detail see Kenneth L. Pike, Phonetics: A Critical Analysis of Phonetic Theory and a Technic for the Practical Description of Sounds. University of Michigan Press, 1943.

⁶A fourth word is a borderline case. The name of the fish u²úu seems to be derived from some interjection or onomatopoeic form. I see in it a form *u²u plus stress for emphasis, which produces the sequence [úu].

⁷The freedom of this variation is of course relative. I do not in fact know whether for any particular word [s] or [š] is more frequent. An interesting comparison is American English, where the alveolar flap [ɾ] does not freely vary with [t] according to Zellig S. Harris (Methods in Structural Linguistics, University of Chicago Press, 1951, p. 39), but does occur in some forms more frequently than not.

⁸There is still another reason for considering the glottal series of nasals as unit phonemes. In the dialects of the Gbaya-Manza language family, words with injective stops are correlated with Gbeya words with preglottalized nasals. Thus, Manza ²dɔɔ 'excrement' is cognate with Gbeya ²nɔɔ 'excrement.' The argument, and a weak one perhaps, is that a unit phoneme in one dialect is replaced by a unit phoneme in another. But even if this is not true synchronically, it would be practical to consider it so in comparing the dialects of a diasystem or in comparing dialects diachronically. (For diasystem, see G. R. Cochrane, "The Australian English Vowels as a Diasystem," Word 15: 69-88 (1959).) The fact that injective stops are somehow paired with preglottalized nasals within a single system is attested also by the situation in other languages. In English, I have observed that many speakers who occasionally use [β] and [d̥] for [b] and [d] at the onset of strongly stressed syllables also use [ʔm] for [m].

⁹The preponderance of verbs in these examples is not intentional; the preglottalized nasals occur most frequently in verbs and adverbs, rarely in substantives, and never in words of other classes.

¹⁰Some words with /r/ are written in Protestant literature with "l." The Gbeya react to these as being 'childish.' On one occasion, however, I witnessed a lapse substitution of /l/ for /r/ in the word gbalé 'partridge' which was immediately corrected.

¹¹Not affecting the phonemic analysis, but of some interest, is the fact that the sequence [yi] occurs only where [i] is the postclitic. See 220.

¹²It should be noted that /t w l/ as well as /r/ can be substituted morphophonemically within the language (a characteristic of some of the other Gbaya languages too), in which case the difference in form is sometimes correlated with meaning difference.

¹³For a different solution of a similar problem, see David L. Olmsted, "The Phonemes of Yoruba," Word 7:245-249 (1951).

¹⁴The articulation of the lateral flap is described and illustrated in a diagram in Westermann and Ward, op. cit., pp. 74-76. The symbol 'r' is chosen to represent this phoneme so as to avoid having to use a diacritic with 'l.' Besides, in other languages where the lateral flap occurs, the symbol 'r' has already been used.

¹⁵The occurrence of this sound in Kreish (Gbaya) and Shona has already been noted (Westermann and Ward, op. cit., pp. 76-77). Eugene Nida informed me, in conversation, of its occurrence in Ngbaka (the Congo) and I have heard it in some of the Banda dialects as well as in Kɛre (related to Mbum).

¹⁶The terms initial, medial, and final (and their corresponding adverbs) in this grammar are defined respectively as follows: preceded by pause or open juncture and preceding another segment, between segments, and following another segment but preceding pause or open juncture.

¹⁷The terminology is that of Charles F. Hockett, *A Manual of Phonology*, Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics, Mem. 11, 1955.

¹⁸These vowels are called "short" only because they are in contrast with those called "long." I depart here from the practice of giving examples in their dictionary forms in order to make the contrast between short and long vowels more graphic. The long-vowel verb forms here listed actually are allomorphs which are paired with allomorphs having /Vr/. See 132.1.

¹⁹Phonemic though they may be, tones contrast in only a relatively small number of minimal pairs. Fewer yet are the "morphologically" contrasted pairs. One example is the following: *nɛ́á rɛ́ ɔ́ ʔdɔɔ-zɔ́* 'we went and slept out (= went we sleep under bush),' *nɛ̀á rɛ̀ ɔ̀ ʔdɔɔ-zɔ̀* 'we would have slept out (= went we sleep under bush).' It is this latter kind of contrast which has been called "grammatical" or "syntactic" tone (Westermann and Ward, op. cit., p. 134).

²⁰Apart from the obvious differences in pause lengths in the speech of different individuals, a difference characteristic of their styles, there are also in the connected discourse of any single speaker differences in pause-lengths which may be structured; some pauses seem to be longer than others. However, without the aid of mechanical devices, I was unable to measure these pauses with any precision.

²¹Silence on other vocal features does not imply their absence. Normal Gbeya speech exhibits several features which, if not linguistically structured, are beyond the scope of this grammatical outline. Those which have been observed are the following: changes in tempo, volume, and pitch; modification of the articulation of the segmental phonemes (excessive rounding of the lips); lengthening of vowels or consonants; stress. These are described as stylistically utilized vocal modifiers.

²²This process accounts for many variant forms in the Gbeya dialects. For example, Bozoum *lak* or *laŋ*, Gbeya *langi* 'to pass on.'

²³They are "freely alternating" as far as I could tell, and as far as the language in general is concerned. It is very likely, if not certain, that some individuals would always use one form, and other individuals the other form. This may account for the two forms of the personal name *ngana-sɛ́rɛ* and *ngana-sɛ̀rɛ* 'animosity because of the spear.' I doubt, however, that dialects can be distinguished on the basis of this one feature alone, even though Boguila uses *ʔdɔŋgáá* whereas Gbeya uses *ʔdɔŋ-wáá* 'path, road,' which is undoubtedly the original form.

²⁴One man, whom I knew, somehow acquired a few forms more characteristic of the Boguila dialect although he was born within a few miles of Bossangoa on the Bozoum road and lived near there all his life. When he used the 1P pronoun *ɔ*, he would have such forms as *ndɔɔ* (instead of *ndɛ́ rɛ́*) 'and we,' *tɔɔ* (instead of *tɛ́ rɛ́*) 'that we should,' and *ndɔ́ɔ* (instead of *ndɛ́ rɛ́*) 'we shall.'

²⁵For Sango, see William J. Samarin, "Sango, an African Lingua Franca," *Word* 11:254-267 (1955); "The Phonology of Pidgin Sango," *Word* 14:62-70 (1958); "The Vocabulary of Sango," *Word* 17:16-22 (1961); *A Grammar of Sango*, Hartford Seminary Foundation (in pursuance to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare), 1963, pp. xv, 311. For a detailed study of French words in Sango, see the M.A. thesis of Charles R. Taber at the Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1964.

²⁶I recall having made a note of the name of a stream (which flows into the Ouahm near the ferry-crossing on the Bozoum-Bossangoa road) which had the sequence [nz]. If it was a Gbeya word, the case is strange indeed. But, because a few Manza and Banda people lived in that area, it is possible that it was the name they gave to it. This is likely but somewhat difficult to explain, since the stream must have been there for a long time and these immigrants into Gbeya territory are rather recent.

CHAPTER TWO

BOUND MORPHEMES

The bound morphemes are classified according to whether they occur in construction with only one other morpheme (210) or with a whole construction (220). The latter is represented only by the postclitic.

Summary Chart of Bound Morphemes

		Section
{-i ₁ }	Imperfective	211.1
{-á}	Perfective	211.2
-i ₂	Emphatic	211.3
{-i ₃ }	Nominalizing	211.4
-V	"Demonstrative"	212.1
{-}	Relational	212.2
{-a}	Determinant	213.1
-i ₄	Locative	213.21
{-ε}	Demonstrative	213.22
∠V	Designative	213.3
{-i ₅ }	Postclitic	220

210. The affixes that occur in construction with only one other morpheme are classified according to whether they occur with verbs only (211), with nouns only (212), or with several different classes of morphemes (213).

211. The affixes that occur only with verbs are the imperfective suffix {-i₁}, which indicates any action that is not completed (211.1), the perfective suffix {-á}, which indicates any action that is completed (211.2), the emphatic suffix -i₂ (211.3), and the nominalizing suffix {-i₃} (211.4).¹

211.1. Imperfective suffix {-i₁}.² It has allomorphs zero, -i, and -V, the tones of which are always those of the base (see 390). The allomorph zero occurs with some consonant-final and with all vowel-final bases, including those verb-base allomorphs that have /r/ in the perfective (for which see 391); the allomorph -i occurs with consonant-final bases; the allomorph -V (which is a vowel identical to the base vowels preceding it) occurs with only four consonant-final bases.³

¹For notes to Chapter Two, see p. 54.

Examples of -i. The following is only a sampling, for the list is extensive. In the vocabularies all such verbs are given in their low-tone imperfective form. Included in the following are the few verbs that take either -i or the zero allomorph:

ʔbati 'to deny'	kuki 'to rub on'
kiʔdi 'to look for'	kasi 'to seize'
guri 'to smoke (meat)'	riŋi 'to roll (leaves)'
goʔdi 'to peek'	dali 'to reveal'
kifi ~ kip 'to turn	
kəʔni ~ keŋ (tɛ) 'to shun' ⁴	
yakaʔni ~ yaŋi ~ yaŋ (tɛ) 'to strive'	

Examples of zero:

riŋk 'to strike'	tek 'to fall'
toy 'to carry (on head)'	fok 'to flow'
rɛm 'to be able'	daŋ 'to climb'
gan 'to surpass'	per- 'to return'
gbɛ 'to kill'	ɔ 'to be'
ko 'to give birth'	ndɔr- 'to shoot'

Examples of -V:

sɛmbɛɛ 'to pack to brim (by filling in corners)'
sɛŋgɛɛ (wɛn) 'to disagree'
lɔkɔʔdɔ (tɛ) 'to obey'
ɔŋgɔɔ 'to herd into a small group'

211.2. Perfective suffix {-á}. This has allomorphs -ó, -ú, -ɔ, and -á:⁵ -ɔ occurs when the base vowel is either /i/ or /u/ (and is of course phonemically /ɔ̄/ according to the morphophonemic rule of 132.2); -ó occurs when the base vowel is either /i/ or /u/ (that is, when nasalization does not occur); when the base ends in an open syllable, the allomorph -ú may occur instead; -á occurs in all other environments. Examples of verbs that take these various allomorphs follow:

Verbs that take -ó:

dik 'to thunder'	ŋguti 'to char (in cooking)'
ndin 'to chase away'	zuʔdi 'to pluck out'
zik 'to encircle'	yur- 'to put in, poke'
usi 'to show'	ufi 'to blow with mouth'

Verbs that take -ó or -ú:

zu 'to steal'	yu 'to flee'
bi 'to extinguish'	gi 'to cook'

Verbs that take -ɔ:

diti 'to be heavy'	gbin 'to break'
tun 'to awaken'	iŋ 'to know'
fɔ 'to pop, explode'	gur- 'to swallow'

Verbs that take -ɔ or -ú:

kɔ 'to cross (stream)'	zɔ 'to stand (something) upright'
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Verbs that take -á:

ndak 'to chase'	goy 'to like'
ŋge?di 'to wait'	ŋgem 'to hold'
kɔ 'to agree'	sak 'to be clean'
zam 'to save'	kpe 'to shut'

211.3. The emphatic suffix {-i₂} is thus named to distinguish it from the other homophonous suffixes and because it occurs with a repeated verb identical with the predicate, the use of which indicates emphasis or intensity (for which see 414.32). It occurs with low tone following a verb base that always occurs with high tone. This means that it occurs with the bound allomorphs of the verbs, such as those ending with /r/. Some speakers use forms in which the tones are reversed: low tone on the verb and high on the suffix. There are some indications that the latter is especially characteristic of the Suma dialect. For example:

óró₁ rɛ́₂ yóŋ₃ wáráá₄ yóŋi gá₁ 'as if₁ we₂ ate₃ the fruit₄'
 ó ŋmaa₁ a fɔ́₂ gaza₃-bɔ kó ró₄ fóri 'as for some₁, (they) purify
 themselves (= wash₂ their₄ circumcision₃ of the circumcision rite)'

211.4. Nominalizing suffix {-i₃}. It occurs with low-tone verb bases to form nouns. In addition to the allomorph -i, there is the allomorph zero which occurs following the phoneme /y/⁶ and the allomorph -í which occurs only in the word yarí 'walking around, trip, hike' < yar- 'to walk around.' Nouns thus formed can in some cases function as the heads of constructions (last four examples), but the most common function (first eight examples) is that of an attribute to a preceding noun in a construction usually having the meaning '... for the purpose of ...' or '... resulting in ...' Although it is a very productive morpheme, there appears to be some limitation, probably semantic, on its use. Thus, while there are mɔ́-dyŋi 'chair, stool (= thing to sit on)' and mɔ́-ɔi 'mat, bed (= thing to sleep on),'⁷ *mɔ́-yɛŋgi and *wí-hɛi do not occur, but the following, where the verbs have objects, do occur: mɔ́-yɛŋgi mɔ́ 'sifter (= thing sift thing),' wí-hɛ mɔ́ 'buyer (= person buy thing).' For example:

mɔ́-ɔi 'thing to sleep on'
 mɔ́-mbɛri 'thing to beat on, drum'
 mɔ́-day 'thing to raise, pet, domestic animal'
 fara-ɔi 'place to sleep'
 mɔ́-fei 'thing which results in death, anything lethal'
 mɔ́-gbɛi 'thing for killing, weapon' (as in proverb: gíró-te há béem
 háf kó, nɛ gíró-te há mɔ́-gbɛi háf gbé ná 'the shade of a
 tree gives you children to bear and it does not give you
 weapons with which to kill')
 zéɛ₁ wɛsɛ́₂ dɔám₃ fara₄-nɛi₅ nɛ₆ fara-pérá₇, wɛsɛ́ dóm ná 'yesterday₁
 (the) sun₂ beat down on me₃ as I went (= place₄ of going₅), but₆ as I
 returned₇, the sun did not beat down on me'
 mɔ́-dei kó fiyo 'thing to do for a fetish'
 mam mami 'to smile'
 yu yui 'to run'

né mé kpa riki 'you're going to receive a whipping'

nei kó mé ǵi wéndé 'is this your departure?' (= 'going of you stative plus postclitic question-marker')

212. The affixes which occur with nouns are -V and {´}.

212.1. The suffix -V consists of the lengthening of the final vowel of a noun. Since all available examples are of words with low tone, nothing can be said of the tone of this morpheme. Its meaning is very much like that of {-ε} 'this' (for which see 213.22), but since some words with this latter suffix can also occur with -V, it must be distinguished from it. Excluded here are also zεε 'yesterday' < (?) zε 'night,' and pεε 'this year' < pε 'year' (see 213.3). Most of the words with which it occurs have to do with either time or place. The following is a complete list of words with which -V occurs: berε 'dry season,' mbóro 'evening,' ture 'morning,' zε 'night,' nu 'ground,' kńε 'now,' wáre 'this side.'⁸ For example:

gó₁ hǵá₂ zu-turcc₃ nǵo₄ ?néη₅ 'and₁ came out₂ very early₃ this₄ morning₅'

ám₁ hufó₂ zεε₃, fara ?báá 'I₁ had diarrhea₂ during the night₃ until morning (= place shed)'

mε té₁ mbóroo₂ sé 'come₁ this evening₂'

kńεε₁ wi zók₂ 'now₁ look₂'

ze₁ ne né₂ hǵ₃ zεε₄ '(the) moon₁ which will₂ appear₃ tonight₄'

212.2. The affix {´} occurs with nouns (and rarely with descriptive adverbs) when they are followed by other nouns, verbs, the personal pronouns, and the interrogative pronoun ge 'what?' Its function might be said to mark a genitive relationship, for almost all constructions can be translated literally, but pedantically, with the use of the preposition 'of.' More specifically, it indicates possession, characteristic, and purpose. With intimate nouns (381.11 and 344), it is the principal means of indicating possession. In general terms it may be described as a sandhi phenomenon consisting of the raising of a final low tone to high when followed by a word with initial low tone. There are, however, the following allomorphs: /´/ (high tone) which occurs when a syllable is (1) either unchecked, or checked only by one of the stops (</p t k/) and (2) is basically low in tone;⁹ /ǵ/ (high tone and vowel identical with the preceding one) which occurs when a syllable is checked by one of the other consonants (the sonorants); and zero (no change), which occurs when the tone of the basic form is already high, or when a low tone is followed by a high tone. For the sake of convenience, the convention is adopted that the occurrence of the morpheme is marked by a hyphen /-/ and an acute accent written over it, thus /´/, only when there is a tonemic change in the construction. The purpose of this convention is to permit easy identification of the word in the construction. For example, as a result of the occurrence of this morpheme, the word 'flour' becomes homophonous with the word 'meadow,' [fúk] (see second set of examples below). Another purpose of the convention is to make the occurrence of the morpheme explicit in the Gbeya transcription. Otherwise, its presence could only be guessed at by the translation. But this advantage is somewhat offset by the necessity of having

to consistently mark the relationship that any two juxtaposed nouns may have to each other. Since the absence of a tone change is correlated with the phonemic shape of the noun, one can not always be sure that the morpheme does in fact occur. Thus, error may be introduced into the transcription, either by omitting the sign or by introducing it where the language does not have it. In all cases, the affix occurs on the head noun or descriptive adverb which precedes the attribute, such as,

- te-fʔtʔ [te fʔtʔ] 'mint bush (= tree sweatfly),' te-geʔda [té geʔda]
 'manioc stem'
 fuk-fón [fuk fón] 'sorghum flour (= flour sorghum),' fuk-geʔda [fúk
 geʔda] 'manioc flour'
 wen-sére [wen sére] 'affair of the spear,' wen-kofɛ [weén kofɛ]
 'affair of the in-laws'
 ŋgana-sére [ŋgana sére] 'hostility because of prowess (= hostility
 spear),' ŋgana-nam [ŋganá nam] 'hostility of the family'
 dʔʔ-fón [dʔʔ fón] 'sorghum beer (= beer sorghum),' dʔʔ-kofɛ [dʔʔ
 kofɛ] 'beer for the in-laws'
 saʔde-ge 'what animal?'
 kpána-ru kamáa 'pot for mixing the food'
 wen-kii saʔde 'to look for animals (= affair look for animal)'
 dawa-ne ŋgón 'green monkey which climbs above (= green monkey
 climb above)'
 goŋ goŋ-tuwa 'square house'

213. The suffixes which occur with several different classes of morphemes are the determinant suffix {-a} (213.1), the locative and demonstrative suffixes -i₄ and {-ɛ} (213.2), and the suffix -V (213.3).

213.1. The determinant suffix {-a} occurs with common nouns, numerals, adjectives, and high-tone perfective verbs when the latter function substantively. In some respects it might be compared to a "definite article" like the English "the." Whereas the postclitic (for which see 220) is anaphoric in function, this suffix is basically deictic. They can and do occur concurrently.

The allomorphs of {-a} are the following: -aa, which occurs following a consonant and high tone; -áa, which occurs following a consonant and low tone, and -a (alternating with the following allomorphs in the described environments), which occurs following a vowel. The allomorphs -ra and -ára occur with nouns, adjectives, and verbs: -ra occurs following the sequence /aa/, and -ára following /a/, regardless of tone.¹⁰ Moreover, a few examples of -V, which is a vowel identical with the preceding one, occur with verbs in the data. The following examples illustrate the allomorphs:

- fúkaa 'the meadow'
 fukáa 'the flour'
 téa (< te) 'the tree'
 waráa (< wara) 'the hoe'
 béráa (< béra) 'the gourd'
 zóŋáa (< zóŋá) 'the adolescent girl'
 dʔʔa (< dʔʔ) 'the beer'

tj́ráa (< tj́r-) 'the tail'

g'éraa (< g'ér-) 'the neck'

káára (< ká) 'the side'

áára (< á) 'the old one'

ném kpáára (< kpáá) 'I'll find (it)' (= 'go I the finding')

gan₁ wa₂ ñ₃ mo₄ wen₅-gúnó₆ ná₁ 'they₂ do not₁ know₃ what₄ to₅ plant₆'

Further examples follow.

Adjective:

wen₁-ba₂ mbéa₃ (< mbé) ?ba₄ 'to₁ take₂ another one₃ also₄'

ó búá₁ (< bú) am₂ ká ?donáa₃ '(it's) the white ones₁ I₂ want₃'

Numeral:

bá₁ á₂ si ?don₃ ríftóá₄ (< rífto) 'when₁ he₂ went back₃ the second time₄'
(= 'the two')

taráa₁ (< tar-) ríkó₂ nu₃ 'the third one₁ hit₂ (the) ground₃'

Nouns:

téa₁ ó₂ né zóóro, go, bó₄ wá₅ ?ba₆ iyóá₇ (< iyo) 'the tree₁ is₂ a zóóro,
and₃ when₄ they₅ have peeled off₆ the bark₇'

wa₁ ?dáfi₂ káára 'they₁ fix₂ the edges₃'

kpána₁-ru₂ kamáa₃ (< kam) ó₄ kpém₅ '(there) is₄ one₅ pot₁ for mixing₂
the food₃'

ne₁ ék₂ sen-te-ñma bé₃-kuri ne yóó₄ sen-te-káai₅ 'and₁ (he) leaned₂
(it) against a young₃ kuri (tree) and stood₄ beside it₅'

Verbs:

mbóráa₁ (< mbor-) gan₂ ríñ₃ ná₂ 'the rotten₁ (meat) is₃ not₂ good₃'

?don-wáá₁ kó₂ kpáyáa₃ (< kpáy) 'the manner₁ of₂ preparation₃'

há₁ zera₂-zéráa₃ (< zer-) hé ré₄ 'give₁ us₄ ears₂ which hear₃'

ne₁ fara-péráa₂ (< per-), wes₃ dóm₄ (< dó+m) ná₅ 'and₁ in returning₂,
(the) sun₃ did not₅ burn me₄'

gan₁ wa₂ kpá₃ ñma mbé wen wen-tóáa₄ (< tó) kpém₅ ná₁ 'they₂ did not₁
find₃ one₅ thing to talk about₄'

213.2. Locative and demonstrative suffixes. These are -i₄ 'there' and {-ε}, which has allomorphs -ε and -ye, 'here.' They are relatively unproductive suffixes, occurring with only a few bound-form substantives and verbs. The latter occur with these suffixes only as high-tone imperfective predicates. Although they are possibly derived from the demonstrative substitutes (for which see 382.2), in meaning and function they are now slightly different: mo-ξé 'this thing,' moye 'this what's-its-name.' The deictic reference of {-ε} seems to be somewhat vague, but both {-ε} and -i₄, when used locatively, are more explicit. Further data might very well lead to a more precise description of these suffixes.¹¹

213.21. Locative suffix -i₄. It occurs with only two verbs (yor- 'to stand,' wer- 'to sound'), one noun (wár- 'way, direction'), and one bound pronoun (dǐ = 'place' [?]). Its meaning is always something like 'there.' For example: ñmaa a yóri 'there's one standing there (= some and is-standing-there)'

nem₁ ?moná₂ gom yóri₃ 'and I₁ continued₂ to stand there₃'

a₁ dóm₂ fɛra₃, go₄ wéri₅ 'he₁ blows₂ a whistle₃, and₄ there (it) goes₅'
 wa₁ gbé₂ sa?de₃ tɛ-wári₄ 'they₁ kill₂ animals₃ in that direction₄'
 sóó₁ rɛ₂ s₃ dji₄ 'so₁ we₂ slept₃ there₄'

213.22. Demonstrative suffix {-ε}. Its allomorphs are -ε (sometimes -εε), which occurs following consonants, and -ye, which occurs following vowels. Its meaning is something like 'here' or 'this.' The words with which the allomorphs occur are the following: yor- 'to stand,' wár- 'way,' ?doŋ 'back,' kín 'now,' mɔ 'thing,' ?maa 'rainy season,' dɛ- 'place.' Added to the list are aáyε 'this person unnamed,' fyε 'there, that place,' and tɛye 'day before yesterday,' which contain the phonemes /yε/ whose morphemic status is doubtful; /aá/ and /I/ never occur in free form, and tɛ occurs only with the meaning 'ahead, before.'¹² For example:

a a yóre 'there he stands nearby (= he conn. stands)'
 wan to bó₁ pi₂ mbéa₃ nu₄ ?doŋε₅ 'when₁ Wan-to threw₂ some more₃ (on the) ground₄ later₅'
 só kó₁ wá₂ péé ?doŋ₃ nɛ wáre₄ 'and then₁ they₂ returned₃ by this way₄'
 me₁ tɛ₂ kɛne₃ sɛ. 'You₁ come₂ right now₃!'
 ɛɛ₁ kúú₂ zu-ture₃ dɛye nó₄ ?néŋ₅ 'we₁ left₂ here₄ very carly₅ (in the) morning₃'
 zóná₁ kó aáyε₂ nó₃ dé zóná₃ ?dɛ₄ 'what's-his-name's₂ adolescent daughter₁ is₃ really₄ dressed up₃'
 wan to bá₁ moyε₂ ké ɛ₃, bá bé-duk ké ɛ 'Wan-to takes₁ his₃ what's-its name₂, takes his pestle'

213.3. The affix ɛV consists of a sequence of high and low tones on identical vowels.¹³ It will henceforth be called for the sake of convenience "the designative affix," for the common meaning of its several functions is the particularizing of the referent. It accomplishes this function by deriving nouns and by particularizing substantives and verbs. It is not a very productive suffix, and the examples given in this section are probably exhaustive for the data.

213.31. The affix ɛV derives nouns from verbs, adjectives, and verb phrases.¹⁴ For example:

dɛŋ záan₁ mám₂ kým₃ ná₄ '(he who) lives a long time₁ does not₄ laugh₂ at the cripple₃' (proverb) (< kým 'to cripple')
 wí-bóom 'blind person' (< bom 'to blind')
 tuwa-séen 'house of hatred' (< sɛn 'to hate'), a personal name, compare tuwa-ɛŋgana 'house of jealousy'
 ŋgórá sɛɛn 'certain fish' (so called because although it looks very much like the other ŋgórá fish, it differs from them slightly and is therefore said to dislike them; the syntactic form would be something like ŋgórá nɛ sɛn koy-ŋgórá 'the ŋgórá which hates the rest of the ŋgórá')
 s nɛ gbɛε 'it's red' (< gbɛ 'to be red'); likewise for tɛ 'to be black'
 yóŋ gáan 'certain animal' (= 'eat in vain,' < gán 'in vain')
 sɛn dée 'hate the good thing' (< dé 'good'), personal name

213.32. The affix -V particularizes substantives and verbs. The translations of the forms with this affix reveal only a slight degree of similarity. These are taken up in the following paragraphs.

213.321. With kinship terms it has a meaning of possession. It occurred only with *yá* 'sibling,' *yám* 'father,' *sórám* 'paternal uncle,' and *bé yám* 'cousin.' Thus: *ndɛ rɛ yá kɔ́-tuwai ɪn yáam* 'and Father and I were in the house' (= 'and we were in house with Father'). These nouns of course can be possessed in the more usual fashion: *yá kóm* 'my sibling,' *yámám* 'my father.'

213.322. With substantives of time it narrows the reference: *péɛ* 'this year' (< *pɛ* 'year'), *zɛɛ* 'last night' (< *zɛ* 'night'). Although similar to the morpheme -V (discussed above in 212.1), it is distinguished from it by the contrast between *zɛɛ* 'last night' and *zɛɛ* 'this night.'

213.323. With the noun *rɛ* 'village,' it has a meaning similar to if not identical with the postclitic {-i₅} and in fact seems to vary with the form *rɛi* 'the village':

bóí₁ yaa₂ rɛɛ₃ 'if you₁ should run around₂ (in) the village₃'
mó₁ dɔŋui₂ yaa rɛɛ 'so₁ you can continue₂ to run around in the village'
á₁ ɔ́₂ rɛɛ₃ 'he₁ is₂ (in) the village₃'

213.324. With the pronoun *á*, it means 'here you are' or 'it is' (like the French '... voici'):

gende gá ye₁, wí₂ nɔ́ nɛi ndɔ́₃, kó₄ kóm₅ só kó₆ bém kóm₇ feá₈ á₉, wá
 '(he said)₁, "you₂ who outraged₃, my₅ wife₄ so that₆ my child₇ died₈,
 here you are₉!"'

mé₁ nɛ mɛ bɛ́á₂ tom₃ zaŋ-rɛ mɛ₄ ʔdɛɛ₅ á₆ 'here you are₆, you₁ who
 refused₂ work₃ in the village there₄ so frequently₅'

213.325. With the verb *ɔ* 'to be,' it has the meaning 'that's how it is':
dila₁ kayá₂ wa₃ wéndé₄ a₅ ɔ́ 'perhaps₄ a lion₁ got₂ them₃ and₅ that's
 how it is'

wéey₁ boó kó mé₂ ganá₃ zuúm₄ a₅ ɔ́i 'your₂ manliness₁ surpassed,
 mine (= my head₄), and₅ that's it'

mbí₁ ye₂, tɛm kɔ́, nɛ nɛ́ á₄ tɛ₅ á tɛ á bám₆ a ɔ́ ná 'I₁ said₂, if I should
 yell back₃, won't he₄ (that is, the lion) come₅ (and) get me₆ like
 that?'

mɛ gbéé₁ wen-rɪŋ₂ mbéti₃ a ɔ́ wéndé 'do you ever leave off₁ writing₂
 letters₃?'

213.326. With a verb phrase other than those already mentioned, it seems to have the same meaning as the postclitic {-i₅}. There is only one example:
mé nɛ mɛ bɛ́á tom zaŋ-rɛ mɛ ʔdɛɛ á 'here you are, you who refused to
 work in the village' (= 'you and you refused work belly village there much').

220. The affix which occurs in construction with a whole construction is the postclitic {-i₅}. The following paragraphs describe its function (221), its allomorphs (222), and its distribution (223).

221. Function. The function of the postclitic is that of reference or anaphora. As such it might be translated as 'that to which reference has already been made or the existence (or nature, etc.) of which is implied by what has been said,' but its most convenient translation is a simple 'the.' It is, however, to be distinguished from the determinant which is also translated 'the' (for which see 213.2). The contrast may be stated as one between the singling out of an item from the real world (which is the function of the determinant) and the singling out of an item (or even concept) from the linguistic environment. The contrast is reinforced by differences in morphological environment (about which more is said below). Whereas the postclitic is very common in the texts, the determinant is less so. The following utterance might serve to illustrate the difference between these two morphemes:

wa₁ yóy₂ zaŋ-duwai₃, ín₄ seráa₅ 'they₁ pull out₂ the intestines of the goat₃, (which has been mentioned) as well as₄ the liver₅.'

222. Allomorphs. The postclitic is phonologically bound to any morpheme which precedes it.¹⁵ Its allomorphs are -í, which occurs following low tone, and -i, which occurs following high tone. (These environments are described for isolable words and are stated for pre-pausal position, that is, where tonal sandhi does not function, for which see immediately below.) Thus: mémi 'the dew,' fúki 'the plain,' sórái 'the star,' gólí 'the war-club,' fukí 'the flour,' séréf 'the spear,' borof 'the iron.' Very often, however, -i instead of -í occurs when the word following it has initial high tone or when the word to which it is bound is immediately followed by /./ In these environments, both the data and the assurances of the informant prove that the variation is "free," although it is certainly to be suspected that style is involved in many cases. Thus: sólí tei (~ teí) péé na 'push the board toward me' (= 'push stick return here'), tэм yúm tэ́wesé nэ́ mэ́ nэ́а tэ́galá mэй (or méí) 'I was sick on the day you went to the city there' (= 'body-my hurts on day and you went to market there').

223. Distribution. The occurrence of the postclitic is describable, not in terms of classes of morphemes, but of kinds of constructions, although in fact there is some correlation between the two, since the structure of the language imposes certain limitations on the distribution of morphemes (for example, a preposition is generally in construction with a substantival or verbal complement). It occurs with substantive and verb expressions.

223.1. Postclitic with substantive expressions. The postclitic occurs with substantive expressions in every normal construction. (This means that the postclitic does not generally occur in an isolated construction. Only one such construction occurs in the data: wen kó gbuleéf, which was the informant's response to a question and which in the context meant 'do you mean the word "gbuleé" which was just used?') Therefore no good purpose is served by classifying these expressions here, for this is done in 411 and 412. Of some interest nonetheless is the fact that a few words which frequently occur in introductory constructions are followed by the postclitic:

mof 'that's the reason' (= 'the thing'), kóraaf 'later' (< kór- 'back'), kuu oróaf 'later.' Thus: kóro té dóka, gó mof a hái 'it's raining a lot, and that's why (the river) is high,' kóraaf ne me rém kpay há wí-ré 'later you can prepare it for people.' In an expanded noun phrase, the postclitic can occur twice: once with the noun (or noun phrase) head, and then at the end of the verb expression. This latter is the most frequent use of the postclitic in verb expressions, and they are generally longer, that is, contain more words, than the verb expressions discussed below. Examples of the postclitic with various types of noun phrases follow:

káy kamí 'take the food'

foro, ó₂ sen-te₃ ɔdambai 'elephants₁ are₂ at₃ the (village of) Damba'

wa₁ gbɪn₂ sen-te-ká-te-réi 'they₁ broke out₂ beside us'

wá kpaá₁ nma wí-ré₂ zaŋ-réi₃ roy₄ 'they found₁ someone₂ in the village₃ by chance₄'

wa káy₁ ó mo₂ kó kp-tuwai₃ són₄ 'they take₁ all₄ the things₂ from inside the house₃'

ó éraai 'it's in his hand'

ndé ré₁ kpa₂ nán-sa^ɔdc₃ dji nóoi₄ ná₅ 'if we should₁ not₅ find₂ animal tracks₃ there₄'

ne wan₁ fiyoí₂ usó₃ há a₄ 'which the owner₁ of the fetish₂ showed₃ him₄'
bém₁ kó rói₂, bá á₃ bɛ́₄ á₅ 'he said) "my₂ child₁, if she should₃ reject₄ him₅"'

ó toró₁ ká a₂ ne yá₃ ká-te-ai₄ bá₅ firei₆ 'his₂ dogs₁ which were₃ beside him₄ grabbed₅ the paste₆'

zók fara-mof ne téi ná '(he) didn't see the place from which it was falling' (= 'sees place of the thing and comes not')

kóoi₁ na a₂ kpaái₃ rɔk₄ ɔdé wéndé 'is the girl₁ whom he₂ found₃ good₄?'

wa káy₁ ó béem₂ ne ɔmoná₃ zaŋ-ré na₄ go yá₅ fíí fíí₆ gó ne gaza nái₇
'they take₁ the children₂ who remained₃ here in the village₄ and who were₅ small₆ and who were not circumcised₇'

ó₁ ne wí-ré nso₂ ne gbèa₃ ó wí-ré kó mé₄ ɔbéé tí₅, gó gan gon kó^ɔdáa nái₆ '(it) is₁ someone₂ who killed₃ your folk₄ a long time ago₅ and hadn't paid the ransom₆'

223.2. Postclitic with verb expressions. The most easily¹⁶ classified expressions are those that are connected to an introductory nominative expression (meaning subject, object, reason, time, etc.) by the connective á (331.1). Another, but much smaller, group is tentatively described as questions concerning the result of some action (the following examples are exhaustive). All others are described as residue. The examples follow the order of this presentation:

gó₁ mof₂ á saakara₃ ó₄ saja₅-wáam wenáai₂ 'so₁ that's why₂ (there) are₄ islands₃ in the middle of₅ the Wáam (river)'

wesé₁-ne₂-kay₃ toyí₄ a náni₅ wéndé₆ 'did it₆ break₅ (on the) day₁ of going₂ to get₃ the baggage₄?'

ɔbay₁ wení₂ ai₃ tói₄ '(that's) just₁ what₂ you₃ say₄'

ɔbay wen₁ kóm₂ á sónái₃ 'that's my₂ word₁ and it's done₃'

mí am tǝi 'here I come' (= 'me I come')

o₁ á pi₂ boro₃ só kó₄ ban gomáí₅ o₁ ndé . 'Who₁ cast₂ (the) weapon₃ and₄ made the ban antelope jump out₅?' (proverb)

ge wen-ge₁ ám₂ tǝà₃ ínaa₄ só₅ kǝ-sɛra-ǝ yúmi₆ ge ndé . 'What₁ did I₂ say₃ to him₄ that₅ he is angry₆?'

só kóí₁ tǝ₂ gǝy₃ ǝbi₄ ndé 'so you₁ talk₂ again₄ like this₃?'

ǝ₁ sió₂ gbó₃ ré₄ sóóm₅ tǝi₆ 'he₁ returned₂ (and) arrived₃ (at) home₄ then I₅ came₆'

bó₁ wá₂ zokóm₃ nem tǝi₄ 'when₁ they₂ saw me₃ coming₄' (= 'and I come')

ǝma₁ kóo₂ á yǝǝà₃ kó-ǝbiya-ǝ₄ gbǝi₅ 'some₁ woman₂ ate₃ (by witchcraft) her friend₄ (and) killed₅ (her)'

Notes to Chapter Two

¹The use of traces serves to represent those morphemes of which there are more than one allomorph. Once the morpheme is identified, braces are sometimes omitted. Each one of the five bound morphemes represented either by -i or {-i} is numbered to permit easy reference and to avoid confusion when two or more are discussed at once. Where there is no possibility of ambiguity, the subscript is omitted. See also 213.21 and 220.

²Cognate verbs in some other Gbaya dialects sometimes do not have -i. Thus: Gbanu raka, Bozoum lak or laŋ, Gbeya laŋgi 'to go on.' On the pattern of these -i verbs at least one borrowing is remade. Thus, Sango kǝngǝ 'to shut' > Gbeya kǝngi.

³There are a number of -i verbs whose bases have as final consonants /s/, /r/, or /t/ and which otherwise closely resemble other verbs without these consonants. Between these pairs of verbs there is enough meaning difference that I suspect a morphemic status for these consonants. As a matter of fact, in the Gbaya idiom called Boli by some, "transitivity is associated with the suffixing of -si, -ri, -iri, or -iti to an intransitive verb" (Richardson, L.S.N.B.B., Vol. 2, p. 86). In the dialect of Carnot, moreover, -si (or perhaps simply -s) is associated with the meaning of causation. In Gbeya, however, the lack of consistent contrast and uniformity does not justify a description of a set of derivational suffixes comparable to those in other dialects.

There are not more than 40 verbs with /s/. Those which show more or less semantic similarity with other verbs are the following:

hysi 'to hide'	hɛr 'to spread abroad, cover (as water covers rock)'
ǝsi 'to push in or down'	ǝr- 'to be caved in (as bottom of basket)'
kǝsi 'to seize' (Bozoum kam)	kay (Bozoum kari) 'to take (several objects)'
	ka 'to win (at dice)'
kǝsi 'to escape with one's life'	kpan 'to walk fast'
mbasi 'to choke up (as with tears)'	mbar- 'to fit tightly'
mbǝsi (Carnot mgbo) 'to gather (objects)'	mǝy 'to gather (people),' but Bowe mbo
ǝmgbasi 'to stop (as rain)'	ǝmgban 'to rip off'
nǝsi 'submerge'	nǝm 'soak,' nǝ 'to drink'
ǝgasi 'to regain one's strength (as after illness)'	Carnot ǝgaysi 'endurcir'
	ǝgay (Bowe ǝgari) 'to be hard'
	ǝgǝ ge?da 'hard manioc (also of green or hard fruit)'

susi 'to be meaty, chunky'	Carnot sulsi 'augmenter' suri 'to swell up (as corpse)' sur- (Carnot sul) 'to be filled (after eating)' Carnot tumsi 'to wake (someone)'
tusi 'to stir up (fire that is dying out)'	tun 'to wake, awaken (but Carnot intransitive)' way 'to come up (as bamboo or banana shoots)'
wasi 'to bear (fruit)'	

The verbs with /r/ (and /l/ and /ʔd/ which happen to alternate with it on a dialectal level, compare saʔde and Carnot sari 'animal') do not exceed 20. Those that show similarity with other verbs are the following:

ndakaʔdi (tɛ) 'to follow after, imitate (?)'	ndak 'to chase after'
ʔnɛŋeri 'to shed thorns (as kapok tree)'	ʔnɛŋ 'to trim'
sɔmari 'to grab a handful'	sɔm 'to break off (a piece of dough)'
sɛmberɛ 'to pack to brim by tucking into corners'	sɛm 'to tuck (leaves under waist-string)'

Other verbs in this class are:

ʔbaŋgari 'to unravel (rope)'
ndikiri 'to honor'
dikili 'to tickle'
nɔkuri 'to bear down on (a person in wrestling)'
sɛŋgeɛ (wen) 'to disagree'
kaŋgali 'to trip'
kandali 'to shrivel up'
yaŋgari 'to become untied'
sɔŋiri (né ŋmaá) 'to ask (?)'
wukuri (wen) 'to speak falsely'

No verb with final /l/ is known to contrast with a verb without it. There are a few rare examples where verbs with /r/ show some similarity with verbs one of whose allomorphs has none. Thus, there are dur- 'to be long, tall' and duri 'to fly low and long.' But there appears to be no regular meaningful contrast between such pairs of words. My hypothesis is that the equivalent forms of two different dialects have been incorporated in this one dialect but with a difference in meaning.

Only a very few verbs with /t/ show any similarity with other verbs. It should be noted that in any case /t/ and /r/ and /l/ alternate on a dialectal level. Thus: kali but Bozoum kati (with /t/) 'to beckon (with one's hand).' Examples are:

kppti 'to skin oneself (in a fall)'	kppy (Bozoum kppri) 'to take off (one's clothes)'
dɔti 'to be heavy (but for certain objects which are not covered by dɔr-)'	dɔr- (Bowe dɔri) 'to be heavy'
ŋgati 'to harden (as one's heart); but in Carnot 'se lever après une maladie'	ŋgay 'to be hard'
suti 'to pull out (as from one's pocket),' but Carnot 'germer'	suri 'to swell up'

The French glosses are Hilberth's.

⁴Where Gbeya words are contained within parentheses, here and in footnote 3, the English gloss is that of the whole phrase.

⁵The occurrence of /e/ in kóré wá 'dried leaves' (where kóré is occasionally used instead of kórá < kor 'to dry up') is described as a lexical borrowing from another dialect, probably Bozoum.

⁶This suffix is therefore distinguished from the emphatic -i₂ which does follow /y/:

ɔ dáy₁ bɛ-gp₂ dáyi 'he's actually raising₁ the leopard cub₂'

Likewise, it is possible that the enclitic can follow this suffix although my data do not provide any examples.

⁷The resultant noun behaves morphophonemically like any other noun with the suffix {-a} (for which see 132.3d and 213.1): *mɔ́-damfa* 'thing necessary to perform a task' < *dam* 'to be sufficient,' *hɔ́rfa* 'fame, report' < *hɔ́r* - 'to spread.' There are, however, insufficient data to demonstrate what happens with words of other phonemic shapes.

⁸Perhaps *ɛma* 'some, a certain' (the adjective) and *ɛmaa* 'some' (the substantive) might be included here. For example:

am₁ zɔ́ɛ₂ ɛma₃ saʔde₄ 'I see₂ some₃ animals₄,' *am zɔ́ɛ ɛmaa* 'I see some.'

⁹By the basic form of the noun is meant that one that occurs independent of any morphological constructions.

¹⁰I introduce the allomorph -ára next to -ra with reluctance. The only reason for doing so is to account for apparently freely alternating but certainly noncontrastive forms such as *kpááa* and *kpáára* both of which consist of the base *kpá* 'find' + the perfective suffix -á + a morphemic segment. There were so few such cases in my corpus, however, that I may be have erred in making a distinction where there was none. The alternative to this analysis would be to complicate the allomorphy of nouns and adjectives further by having to set up pairs like *ká* : *káá* - 'side.' There is, nonetheless, a unique form *dáára* 'the stench.' The usual form is, of course, like *táa* (< *ta*) 'the rock.' Another possible analysis of this morpheme is to consider the allomorphs as -áa and -a, the first of which occurs following consonant-final stems and the second of which occurs following vowel-final stems (such as *fúk* and *te*), adding that whenever the high tone follows high tone it is assimilated.

¹¹For another deictic suffix see 213.1.

¹²Excluded from the list is *binéé* 'tomorrow' (compare *bin* 'tomorrow') which is described as having a unique occurrence of the determinant suffix {-a}. This is, in fact, the form in the idiom of Bowa; that is, *bináa*. By complicating the description of the environments of {-ε}, -éε could, however, have been included here.

¹³Only when pairs of words systematically differ in form and meaning can the presence of this affix be determined. This is to say that not all words with the sequence /VV/ demonstrate the occurrence of this morpheme: thus, *kóo* 'woman,' *záan* 'outside.'

¹⁴The description becomes more complicated if the following two words are accepted as containing the affix; the authenticity of the second is doubtful: *dóka* 'much, many' (< *dɔk* 'to be much, many' probably by way of *dóká* as in *nɛ dóká* 'in a large quantity'), *ɛnɛ ɛné* 'bicycle' (to be compared with *ɛnɛ ɛnɛ* 'descriptive of the way wheels go round and round').

¹⁵When the distribution of the enclitic was being tested in different phonological environments, there was some variation following /r/: in rapid speech, when the informant was not consciously working on the suffix, the allophone [ɹ] occurred, which is to be expected. But in slower speech, and when he was deliberately adding the postclitic to various words, I seemed to detect some different phonological features: the phone could have been something like [ɹ̃] or again like [ɹ̄] followed by some kind of juncture. If the lateral flap [ɹ̃] did indeed occur, one would have to posit a phonemic juncture or else restate the distribution of the allophones. Since words with final /r/ are uncommon, it is to be suspected that an element of artificiality was introduced by the deliberate elicitation of forms. At this stage of analysis it is probably preferable to accept the phonological forms of rapid speech.

¹⁶Since the postclitic can occur twice in an expanded noun phrase, it is not surprising that it occurs with repeated predicates: *wa yú wey na néi néi néi néi* 'they run after the fire, they go go go go'; *ʔmoná ge rɛ yá yá yá* 'we kept on sitting sitting sitting.'

It is noteworthy that either because of structural limitations or because of accidental omissions in the data, there are no instances of the postclitic with low tone imperfective verbs following the auxiliaries or with repeated verbs with the emphatic suffix (211.3).

CHAPTER THREE

DISTRIBUTION CLASSES

The free morphemes of Gbeya are classified (a) according to their distribution within a sentence (a normal utterance preceded and followed by stop or pause) and (b) according to freedom of occurrence with respect to other free or bound morphemes.¹ The delimiting characteristics of each class are given as each is taken up. A member of any class is referred to by the class name. The distribution (or function) classes are presented in a quasi-hierarchical order, from morphemes whose position in a sentence is very restricted to those whose position is relatively free. They are the following: Interjections (310), Final particles (320), Connectives (330), Prepositions (340), Unique morphemes (350), Adjectives (360), Adverbs (370), Substantives (380), and Verbs (390).² The outline is, of course, arbitrary and is partly determined by the decimal system. For one thing, connectives and prepositions might be looked upon as belonging to a single class of linking particles. Also, the unique morphemes comprise a few anomalous morphemes which could be included in no other class.

310. Interjections. The interjections are characterized by the following facts: (1) They are short in form. (2) They consist of only certain kinds of phonemes (namely, vowels, nasal consonants, /h/ and /ʔ/,³ tones, and nasalization) or nonphonemic segments (such as alveolar click). (3) Some have a considerable variation in phonemic form (resulting in the equivalent of free morpheme alternants). (4) The distribution of their phonemes is frequently not paralleled by that in the rest of the morphemes of the language. (5) Some have meanings which are difficult to state with precision except by describing the context in which they are used. The following are only a few of the many which occurred in the texts:

- | | |
|-----|--|
| aaʔ | 'plea for consideration:' aaʔ yá ₁ kóm ₂ , á ₃ ñᵛ ₄ kíñɛɛ nɔɔ ₅
'Oh, my ₂ brother ₁ , I ₃ know ₄ that now ₅ . . .' |
| ááʔ | 'protest for confirmation:' ááʔ ɛɛ ₁ dé saa ₂ dóka ₃ 'indeed,
we ₁ are very ₃ happy ₂ ' |
| ééʔ | 'wonder:' ééʔ wéé ₁ nɔɔ ₂ dᵛᵛ ₃ dé ᵛgay ₃ 'My! this ₂ man ₁ is
putting up quite a fuss ₃ ' |
| éɛʔ | 'reproval:' éɛʔ wen kó ge ₁ á mé ₂ gbé ₃ toró ₄ kóm ₅ wen-ge ndé ₁
'Hey! why ₁ are you ₂ killing ₃ my ₅ dog ₄ !' |

¹For notes to Chapter Three, see p. 115.

ǵhé?	'agreement (perhaps to what was already known):' ǵhé? ɛɛ ₁ tɔ ₂ gɔy ₃ ?bo ₄ 'yes, we ₁ also ₁ say ₂ that ₃ '
hii	'general assent'
hí?	'wonder with approval:' hí? kpa ₁ mɔ wéey ₂ ɛi ₃ 'Wow! this is ₃ a real ₁ he-man accomplishment ₂ '
hó?	'difficulty of achieving goal:' hó? wí-ré ₁ aá ₂ fɔ ₃ són ₁ 'Hey! (but) everyone ₁ has gone to ₂ the gardens ₃ '
ǵǵí	'disagreement, no'
ǵǵí?	'calling attention to something amazing:' ǵǵí? mise ₁ gbéá ₂ dila ₃ 'Hey! Monsieur ₁ has killed ₂ a lion ₃ '
mńń	'unenthusiastic approval:' mńń rajmgbá a té ₁ ínaa ₂ 'All right, Rajmgbá goes ₁ with him ₂ '
oo	'petition, despair, disappointment:' oo yáam 'Oh Father'
ó?	'surprise, fear:' ó? mǎ ₁ zók ₂ sa?de ₃ 'Oh, you ₁ see ₂ (the) animal ₃ '
wóo	'response to call of one's name'

320. Final particles. Final particles are those words which occur before but never after pause, that is, they never occur in isolation but are constituents of principal or nonprincipal sentence types.

321. báa calls in question the execution of the preceding clause. The recorded examples are so few that more precision in defining its meaning is not now possible.

bá₁ á₂ sa₃ ré₄ ná, nɛ ndé ré₅ nɛ né ngay-tɛ-ré báa₇ 'If he₂ didn't call,
us₄ (to eat), would we₅ go₆ on our own volition₇?' (= 'we shall go
with our strength')

322. ndé is not easily given a gloss which can cover all of its uses; perhaps it is some kind of exclamatory marker. Its two most common occurrences are (a) following interrogative substitutes and (b) following substantive expressions emphasized or used vocatively and quoted in narrations (and therefore deserving the term "narrated vocative"). The meaning of one occurrence of ndé, the last one under (a) below, does not, however, seem to fit this pattern.

(a) Following interrogative substitutes:

mǎ₁ tɔ₂ ye ge ndé₃. 'What₃ are₂ you₁ saying₂?'

ndɛ₁ rɛ₂ zók₃, ge ndé₄, nɛ mise₅ dɔn té₆ 'and₁ we₂ look₃, what₄?
Monsieur₅ was coming₆'

?món₁ nɛ₂ ge ndé₃, ndɛ₄ wa₅ gbó₆ tɛ-zan-ré₇ 'just then₁, and₂ what₃?
and₄ they₅ arrive₆ in the village₇'

mbí₁ ye₂, ge ndé₃ 'I₁ said₂, "What₃?"'

wen-ge₁ a té₂ wa₃ gbé₄ mbá₅ ró₆ é₇ zúa₈ ?bo gáá₉ ge ndé₁ '(they said),
"Why₁ do they₃ come₂ (and) kill₄ another₅ one of us₆ (and) add₇ to the
first₈ like this₉?"'

mǎ₁ né₂ iye ndé₃. 'Where₃ are₂ you₁ going₂?'

o₁ a né₂ dɔn₃ ká-for₄ o₁ ndé. 'Who₁ will₂ stay₃ by the elephant₄?'

só kó₁ tɔ₂ gɔy₃ ?bo₄ ndé. 'So you₁ talk₂ again₃ like this₄?'

ó wara₁, ó kura₂, ó ge ndé 'hoes₁ arrows₂, whatever other things'
(= 'plural adjective what ndé')

(b) Following narrated vocatives:

mé₁ ndé₂, ne me zók₃ fara₄ 'hey₂ you₁, look at₃ (the) place₄'

yám₁ kǝ́ ǝ́₂ ndé ne ǝ́₃ kpaà₄ kóo₅ sóo₆ '(says), "My₂ Father₁, I₃ found₄
a wife₅ today₆"'

foo₁ kǝ́ ǝ́₂ ná ndé, á baá zan₃ '(he says), "My₂ mother-in-law₁, she
has become pregnant₃"'

323. nde resembles ndé but is different enough that it must be separated from it. There are, however, not enough recorded examples to permit a precise definition.

mé₁ zerá₂ nde. 'Did₂ you₁ understand₂?' (a question with an added meaning of compulsion, compare simple question mé zerá wéndé. 'Did you understand?')

me zée nde. 'Listen here!'

hii nde 'Yes indeed' (somehow contrastive with hii wa 'Yes indeed')

324. oó indicates politeness or petition (and contrasts with wa in the same utterances). It occurs most frequently in some utterance directed to another person (such as a directive, request, greeting, call, etc.). For example:

me té oó. 'Come!'

am mbá mé oó. 'I greet you.'

yám oó. 'Say, Father.'

bá ɲmaa ʔbóm oó. 'Get some for me please.'

325. wa indicates repetition or impatience.⁴ Like oó, it occurs in directives, greetings, and calls, such as:

me té wa. '(I said), come.'

am mbá mé wa. 'Hey, I greet you.'

yám wa. 'Hey, Father!'

yú te-mé wa. 'Get out of here!'

326. wá indicates that the preceding stretch (usually preceded by the quotative particle, see 353) is a quotation or something which has already been discussed. In a long quotation it may occur once or several times before the conclusion. It is, however, optional at all times. For example:

εε₁ tǝ́₂ ye ge . . . go₃ me₄ péé₅ te-tfi₆, ne₇ ndé ré₈ pec₉ ʔdoní₁₀ wá
'we₁ said₂ . . . so₃ you₄ go₅ first₆ and₇ we'll₈ come₉ later₁₀'

gá ye ge₁, mise₂ á neá₃ ndóó₄ ndarà₅ wá, ε₆ ndóó₇ dila₈ wá '(he) said₁,
"Monsieur₂ went₃ (and) shot₄ a buffalo₅, ε₆, shot₇ a lion₈"'

kó-fey₁ ye₂, wen₃ nde wa₄ tǝ́₅ gende gá ye₆, ndé wá₇ gbε₈ ró₉ wáí

'Ko-fey₁ said₂, "The thing₃ you₄ said₅, saying that₆ you'd₇ kill₈ us₉"'
ɲma bém₁ kǝ́ ǝ́₂ bó₃ gon gaza₄, nǝ́ ǝ́₅ á₆ yín₇ há ǝ́₈ ye ge ba né wan₉ wáí
'when₃ one of his₂ sons₁ is circumcised₄, he₅ gives₆ him₈ the name₇
Ba-né-wan₉'

bó₁ zok₂ gǝ́y, gende gá ye₃ déʔdé₄ zóná₅ kó aáye nóo₆ wá 'when₁ (they)
look₂ (they) say₃, "(Look at) what's-his-name's₆ pretty₄ daughter₅"'

327. wéey indicates emphasis or calls attention to oneself or to what has been said. It is almost certainly the same word as wéey 'man.' For example:

mí₁ s₂ na₃ go₄ mē tē₅ wéey. 'Here₃ I₁ am₂, so₄ come₅ on!'

yám-wara wéey. 'Hey Yám-wara!'

yám-wara oó. yám-wara wéey. yám-wara wa. 'Say there, Yám-wara. Hey, Yám-wara! I said, Yám-wara!'

328. wéndé indicates a question either in direct or indirect discourse, and occurs only when no other interrogative word occurs in the sentence. It is therefore mutually exclusive with ndé. For example:

dilai₁ né₂ gbé₃ wa₄ bó ná₂ wéndé. 'Won't₂ the lion₁ kill₃ them₄?'

ge₁ a mē₂ né₃ kó mé wēná. kéey dé mé wéndé. 'Why₁ are₃ you₂ going₃? Are you afraid?'

ge²déa₁ a wa₂ ²dú₃ go₄ wa bá₅ hē₆ ē₇ wéndé '(he said), "Is it the drugs₁ that they₂ dish up₃ and₄ give₅ to₆ me₇?"'

gom₁ ṭp̣ mbí ye₂, ²moná goi dé ḷḳḳol wéndé 'and I₁ said₂, "perhaps you were still at school"'

gba₁ koo₂ óró₃ ndòà₄ wéndé '(they said), "Even if₁ we₃ had violated₄ a woman₂"'

g̣ỵ wéndé 'like this?'

330. Connectives. Connectives are those words which normally occur following but not preceding pause, and which serve to join clauses or other constructions. There are three types of connectives: those which join only clauses (331), those which join clauses and other constructions (332), and those which join verb expressions or dependent clauses to verb phrases (333). See also footnote 16, 393.23(b), and 411.

Summary Chart of Connectives

The connectives followed by an asterisk can occur with the pronominal suffixes. The vowels of these words are also assimilated to the vowel of the following pronoun.

á	331.1	óró . . . gá	332.5
wen kó*	331.2	sé tē*	332.6
{a}	332.1	só kó*	332.7
{go}*	332.2	tē*	332.8
há*	332.3	{wéndé gan}	332.9
nē*	332.4	mó*	333

331. Connectives which join only clauses are á (331.1) and wen kó (mō nē) (331.2).

331.1. á is a connective introducing commands. This connective joins an affirmative command to a preceding command. For example, in the first example below the command ngémbém 'wait for me' is joined to ṃỵ 'gather' by áí 'and you.' In negative commands, á precedes a pronominal subject or follows a nominal subject (where it is translated as a hortative) without a preceding clause. The absence of a preceding clause and the fact that either

the connective *nɛ* or the connective *go* can precede *á* makes one doubt that this really is the same connective used in the affirmative commands or that it is indeed a connective at all. If it is not, it must be described as being the sole member of another form class, for its function is not paralleled by that of any other morpheme.⁵

(a) Affirmative commands:⁶

fara₁ nɛ₂ ʔbará₃, nei mɔ̃y₄ zɛp áí₅ ŋgɛmbém₆ há₇ nɛm₈ kpáí₉ 'when₂
day₁ breaks₃, gather together₄ and₅ wait for me₆ that₇ I might go₈
(and) meet you₉'

á mé yɔ̃ŋ₁ mɔ̃ tɛ-ríp₂-wí-ré₃ ná, á₄ mé yɔ̃ŋ₅ mɔ̃ tɛ-₆ tuwa₇ 'don't eat₁
in front of₂ people₃, but₄ eat₅ in₆ (the) house₇'

mɛ dán₁ á₂ mé búú₃ 'climb₁ and₂ untie₃ (it)'

mɛ bá₁ saʔde₂ kóm₃ nɔ̃ɔi₄, á₅ mé gón₆ géraa₇ 'take₁ this₄ animal₂ of
minc₃ and₅ cut₆ its neck₇'

(b) Negative commands:

á₁ mé nɛ₂ mɛ yoo₃ zúa ná₁ 'don't₁ go₂ (and) stand₃ over them'

áf₁ de₂ nú₃ ná₁ 'don't₁ make₂ noise₃'

tɛ-mé á bi ná 'don't forget' (= 'your body efface not')

331.2. *wen kó* (= 'word of'), *wen kó mɔ̃ nɛ* (= 'word of thing and'), and *wen-mɔ̃ nɛ* function as connectives which join clauses with the meaning 'because.'⁷ For the various alternant forms of *nɛ* see 332.4.)

gan né₁ yum₂ ké ɛ ré₃ ná, wen kó mɔ̃ nde₄ rɛ₅ feà₆ ké ré sí ʔday₇
'(it) won't₁ hurt₂ us₃, because₄ we₅ (will) have died₆ off₇'

ó né₁ foyo₂ kóm₃, wen kó mɔ̃ nɔ̃ nɔ̃ nɔ̃ ɔ̃₄ ɔ̃₅ kuró₆ 'it's₁ my₃ disgrace₂,
because₄ he₅ has fled₆'

há₁ mersi₂ há₃ nzapá₄ wen kó mɔ̃ nɛ₅ nzapá₆ ŋgembá₇ wa₈ 'give₁
thanks₂ to₃ God₄, because₅ God₆ kept₇ them₈'

mɛrsée₁ há₂ nzapá₃ wen kó mɔ̃ nde₄ rɛ₅ zókóí₆ sɔ̃ɔ₇ 'thanks₁ to₂ God₃,
because₄ we₅ see you₆ today₇'

gan₁ am₂ ɛ̃ŋ₃ ná₁, wen kó₄ wá₅ hɔ̃sɔ̃₆ wená₇ nɛm₈ 'I₂ didn't₁ know₃,
because₄ they₅ hid₆ the matter₇ from me₈'

332. Connectives which join clauses and other constructions are {a}

(332.1), {go} (332.2), há (332.3), nɛ (332.4), óró . . . gá (332.5), sé tɛ (332.6), só kó (332.7), tɛ (332.8), and {wéndé gan} (332.9).⁸

332.1. {a}⁹

332.11. Allomorphs. The morphologically defined allomorphs of {a} are a, á, há, and zero. Because there is no neat pattern of mutual exclusiveness in all of the environments, I simply list the distribution of the allomorphs. The analysis is made difficult by the apparent free variation of certain allomorphs in given environments.

a occurs:

(1) when {a} joins a subjunctival or objectival substantive phrase with a clause whose verb is imperfective: ʔbay₁ wení₂ ai₃ tɔ̃i₄ 'just₁ the word₂
you₃ speak₄'

(2) when {a} joins such constructions but is immediately followed by the negative marker gan (but compare with (2) below): ξ_1 a gan₂ ξ_3 zéé t ξ - ξ_4 ná₂ '(she said, they said) "Me₁, I₃ didn't₂ obey₄."''

(3) when {a} joins principal clauses in which the second clause is imperfective: mē zók₁ wa₂, a wa₃ yóó₄ mē góoi₅ 'look at₁ them₂, they₃ are standing₄ over there₅.'

á occurs:

(1) when {a} joins a subjunctival or objectival substantive phrase with a clause whose verb is perfective: wan to₁ á t ϕ ₂ mbé wen₃ 'Wan-to₁ has related₂ (some) news₃,' wen₁ á mē₂ t ϕ ái₃ 'you₂ said₃ it₁.'

(2) when {a} joins constructions described in (1) above, even though the verb is imperfective (the examples are rare): wan₁-gbíyaí á bá₂ geze₃-sunu₄ 'the owner₁ of the gbíya takes₂ a basket₃ of sesame₄ (grain),' en-t ϵ ₁-á₂ wen₃ són á yá₄ kó ró₅ t ϕ ₆ '(they said), "It is just₁ old₂ stories₃ which our₅ brothers₄ tell₆."''

(3) when {a} precedes the negative marker gan, except for those instances listed under (2) of a above: á₁ gan₂ k ϕ ₃ ?doŋáá 'so₁ (he) didn't₂ want₃ (to),' kúrói á gan₁ rém₂ sen ϵ ₃ ná₁ '(the word) kúró can₂ not₁ go₂ there₃.'

(4) when {a} joins principal clauses in which the second clause is perfective: mē₁ sokà₂ són á₃ mē₄ dzá bisa₅ góó₆ 'you₁ have grown up₂ so₃ now₆ you₄ are an adolescent (boy)₅.'

(5) when {a} joins principal clauses in which the second clause is imperfective and where a usually occurs: í η ₁ ná₂ gan₃ kó₄ kó₅ bécemi₆ á₇ fó₈ wéndé₃ '(I) don't₂ know₁ whether₃ the woman₄ bore₅ the child₆ and then₇ (herself) died₈.' This is the only example.

(6) when {a} joins secondary clauses: mō g ϕ y₁ á ye ge₂ 'so₁ (he) said₂,' fo₁ k ϕ ξ ₂ ná ndé aa₃, á ye gc₄ '(he said), "My₂ in-laws₁, ah₃, (they) said₄," wééy₁ boo ká₂ a₃ nō₄ á ŋmáŋ ŋmáŋ₅ nā a₆ kpá₇ wéey₈ 'this₄ husband₁ of₂ hers₃, all the time₅, she₆ is finding₇ a husband₈.'

(7) when {a} in a few instances joins secondary and principal clauses: wen kó ge₁ á mē₂ mbunzú₃ ne mē né₄ góó₅ gbé₆ toró₇ kóm₈ wen-ge ndé₁ 'why is it₁, you₂ white man₃ (who) goes₄ there₅, (that you) kill₆ my₈ dog₇?' mō g ϕ y₁ á₂ t ϵ -wa gá₃ wenáa 'so₁ as a result₂, they've cooled off₃,' mō g ϕ y₁ á ŋma₂ bém₃ ká₄ a₄ bó₅ gōn gaza₆ 'so₁ when₅ one₂ of his₄ children₃ is circumcised₆.'

(8) when {a} joins principal and secondary clauses: wí₁ zamà₂ ré₃, á mō g ϕ y₄, εre₅ sái₆ yáam₇ 'you₁ saved₂ us₃, so₄ we₅ call you₆ Father₇,' íí₁ ne yám₂ ká₃ a₃ bó t ϕ mbora₄ h ϕ a . . . , á íí nōoi₅ a yám kó wa₆ t ϕ wen₇ ín₈ wa₉ 'the one who₁ is instructed₄ by his₃ father₂, they (are) the ones₅ whose fathers₆ talk₇ to₈ them₉.'

há alternates occasionally with á and especially when {a} joins a principal clause and a substantive expression of time. My informant did not seem to use this allomorph but agreed that it was possible in the following examples:

wen kó mō nōoi₁, há₂ wá₃ aà₄ yín₅ h ϕ a₆ '(it was) because of this₁ that₂ they₃ gave₄ him₆ the name₅.'

o₁ há usò₂ nú-gbéyá₃ há mé₄ o ndé₁ 'who₁ taught₂ you₄ the Gbeya language₃?'
 wen kó mɔ ne₁ wééy₂ nɔɔ₃ ɔ ne₄ gbé₅ wí-ré₆, há mɔ gýy, a wa₇ á₈ yínaa₉,

'(it is) because₁ this₃ man₂ was₄ a brown (skinned)₅ person₆ that they₇ gave₈ (him) the name₉.'

sí ?don₁ há₂ mbóro₃ sé tei té₄ 'go back₁, then₂ come back₄ (in the) evening₃.'

Zero occurs whenever a and á precede 1S and 1P pronouns am and ɛɛ (with high or low tones):

mí₁ ám₁ gbéá₂ ɔ₃ '(it is) I₁ (who) killed₂ it₃.'

éré₁, ɛɛ₁ té₂ góɔ₃ 'here₃ we₁ come₂.'

332.12. Function. {a} joins either a substantive phrase (in a complex sentence) or a clause to a clause. Since these substantive phrases (subject expansions, verb phrase expansions, and introductory constructions) are fully described in 522, the following examples illustrate only the second function, where the connective serves to mark sequence or result:

mɛ zók₁ wa₂, a wa₃ yóó₄ mɛ góɔ₅ 'look at₁ them₂, they₃ are standing₄ over there₅.'

ɔ₁ ró₂ né₃ teí₄ ɔnɔ₅, a mbán₇ 'he₁ hits₂ (it) against₃ the tree₄ wham₅, and₆ (it) splits₇.'

kuu₁ há bangí₂ mɛ zé₃, ai₄ péé₅ '(you) left₁ Bangui₂ yesterday₃, and you₄ return₅.'

mé₁ sokà₂ sɔn á₃ mé₄ deá₅ bisa₆ góɔ₇ 'you₁ have grown up₂, so₃ now₇ you₄ have become₅ an adolescent₆ here₇.'

332.2. {go} is a connective with the basic meaning of sequence or consequence and is most often translated by 'and,' 'so,' 'then,' or by some combination of these. It therefore contrasts primarily with ne, só kó, sé te, and te. The tonally distinguished allomorphs and function of {go} are discussed below. The vocally distinguished allomorphs (gɔ, gɛ, gɛ) occur according to the description in 132.2.

332.21. Allomorphs. Two allomorphs are distinguished by tones, one having high tone and the other low tone. The general rule is given below in (a) and the exceptions in (b).

(a) Allomorph with high tone usually occurs when the following word has an initial low tone, and low tone when the following word has an initial high tone.

High tone:

gó ye ge 'so (he) said'

gó dɔn₁ dɔ₂ ɔ₃ 'and continued₁ (to) burn₂ it₃.'

gó gbɔn₁ gé₂-é₃ 'and broke₁ its₃ neck₂.'

gó tɔk-te-wa₁ bó₂ ɔmá₃ 'and when₂ their blood₁ stopped₃ (flowing)'

gó gan₁ wa₂ há₃ go me nɔ₄ ná₁ 'and they₂ don't₁ give₃ (you some to) drink₄.'

Low tone:

go bó₁ wá₂ rɔk₃ í₄ 'and when₁ they₂ hit₃ that one₄.'

go sí₁ go wa₂ góm₃ te₄ 'and (they) return₁ and they₂ chop₃ wood₄'
 go né₁ 'doŋ-wáá₂ nǒ₃ 'so in₁ this₃ way₂'

(b) Before a pronominal subject with low tone, {go} usually occurs with low tone, and before a pronominal subject with high tone, it usually occurs with high tone. In addition, the low tone allomorph often occurs where the high tone is expected, for example:

mē₁ kpá₂ ā₃ gǎ₄ ā₅ nē₆ ré-naa₇ kǎ₈ ā₉ 'you₁ find₂ him₃ and₄ he₅ had
 gonc₆ (to) his₈ mother's village₇'
 gǎ₁ ā₂ baá₃ '(said) "and I₁ took₂"'
 gā₁ ā₂ tǔ₃ wen₂ rǒy rǒy₃ 'and he₁ talks₂ unwisely₃'
 go ri₁ fók₂ 'so (the) water₁ flowed₂'
 go gba₁ ā₂ rǔká₃ 'and even if₁ she's₂ good₃'

332.22. Function. {go} joins either a substantive phrase (in a complex sentence) or a clause to a clause. Only one occurrence of the first use occurs in the data (see the first example below). Clauses joined by {go} are either principal + principal or secondary + principal. For example:

yó₁ go rē₂ péé né₃ gǒ₄ '(it is) the hide₁ which we₂ are bringing back₃ here₄'

oo yáam₁, goi tǔ₂ bǒ₃ gáa₄ 'oh, Father₁, here you talk₂ foolishness₃ like this₄'

oróai₁ go bǎ₂ ā₃ gǎa₄ 'later₁, after₂ it₃ cooled off₄'

bǔ₁ go₂ ŋgozǒŋ né₃ 'bǒ₄ 'well₁, and₂ Ngozǒŋ went₃ also₄'

gǔy₁ gó₂ fǎ₃ né₄ géré₅ fara₆ 'all right₁, so₂ this one₃ went₄ (to) a different₅ place₆'

kátréyér₁ kúmázé₂ rǎ₃ . . . , gó₄ mǒ gǔy₅, bé₆ rǎ₇ hǒ₈ 'four o'clock₁ began₂ (to come on) us₃, and₄ well₅, when₆ we₇ went₈'

só₁ rǎ₂ sǔ dǔi₄, go₅ zǔ-ture₆, nde rǎ₇ kúú₈ 'so₁ we₂ slept₃ there₄, and₅ in the morning₆ we₇ arose₈'

gan₁ ā₂ dé₃ mǒ₄ ŋmǎŋ ŋmǎŋ₅ ná₁, gó₆ ŋma wesé₇, só kǎ ā₈ dé₉, mǒ₁₀
 'he₂ doesn't₁ always₅ do₃ things₄, but₆ sometimes₇ he₈ does₉, things₁₀'

go bǔ₁ mbí yǒ 'and so I said'

ā₁ hé mǒ₂ wáá₃ taa₄, a bǔ₅ go nááraa₆ nēm₇ zéé₈ pǔ₉ gǔrú₉, 'he₁ whistled₂ three₄ times₃, well₅ the fourth₆ (time), I₇ heard₈ the whistle₉'

gom₁ né₂ gom₃ yáá₄ 'and I₁ went₂ and I₃ walked around₄'

mǒ₁ nē mise₂ déá₃, gom₄ zók₅ '(the) thing₁ which Monsieur₂ did₃ and I₄ saw₅'

ǎ₁ gbǔ₂ dǎ₂ sǒn₃ go₄ wa₅ sí₆ né ā₇ sé 'he₁ is all₃ tired out₂ so₄ they₅ (should) take₆ him₇ back₈'

332.3. há₁ connects clauses and has the meaning of purpose, the translation of which is approximated by English '(so) that' and French "que" plus the subjunctive.¹⁰ Frequent uses of this connective are: (1) when it is preceded by the verb e 'to put, leave' with the meaning 'permit . . . to . . .' and (2) when it is followed by cá nē followed by a clause with the meaning (roughly glossed) 'that the following should happen' (sometimes substitutable by sé tǎ cá nē . . .). For example:

gan₁ wa₂ kǔ 'doŋáa₃ há wá gám tǎ-wa₄ lám₅ ná₁ 'they₂ didn't₁ want₃ to turn around₄ right away₅'

- me t₁ hám₂ zéé₃ 'say₁ (it) that I may₂ hear₃ (it)'
 né₁ si₂ né₃ g₄y₄, há₅ madám₆ né zóká₇ 'I shall₁ return₂ with₃ (it)
 like this₄, that₅ Madame₆ may see₇ (it)'
 zókóm₁ há₂ ala₃ bá₄ mé₅ 'look upon me₁ until₂ compassion₃ seizes₄
 you₅'
 ?méé₁ tí-ri₂ há₃ fón₄ ná '(Gbagbas?) stopped₁ (the) water₂ from₃
 flowing₄'
 é₁ wey₂ há₃ n₄y₄ 'put₁ (it on the) fire₂ to₃ boil₄'
 é há₁ wí-ré₂ t₃é₃ sé₄ 'let₁ (some) people₂ come₃ first₄'

332.4. *ne* 'and' joins substantives and clauses in several combinations. It has allomorphs whose distributions are described elsewhere: for /nd/ in *nde* and *ndo* see 131.1, and for the vowel change in *na*, *nɛ*, and *ndo* see 132.2.

332.41. *ne* joins two substantive expressions:¹¹

- ?doŋ riíto₁ nɛ₂ sanjá₃ 'seven₁ and₂ a half₃'
 me té né₁ ŋginza sáki₂ ta₃, nɛ₄ kprá₅ ríftó₆ nɛ₇ bé₈-zoro₉ 'bring₁
 three₂ thousand₃ francs and₄ two₅ chickens₆ and₇ (some) small₈
 fish₉'
 káy₁ zom₂-paa₃ ín₄ ó boro₅-biri₆ nɛ₇ za₈ 'take₁ (a) big₂ knife₃ along
 with₄ iron weapons₅ and₆ (a) throwing knife₇'

332.42. *ne* joins a dependent clause attribute to a noun head which may be the subject (or expansion of the subject) of the verb or an expansion of the verb phrase. In the latter case, the noun is either the object of the verb or a noun of place or time. Although similar to the expansions of complex sentences (422), these constructions differ in being endocentric noun phrases only. Such constructions are equivalent to English relative clauses, especially such (attested) substandard ones as 'the guy that I cut his hair' (= 'the guy whose hair I cut').

332.421. Subject:

- ó sókái, nɛ yá₂ mɛi₃ 'the elders₁ who live₂ there₃'
 wa₁ ndɛ wa yá₂ kó wa né ?doo-búki₃ 'they₁ who were₂ down-wind₃'
 zón₁ ŋma₂ bɛ-kóo₃ nɛ r₄k₄ ?dé 'sees₁ a₂ girl₃ who is good₄'
 wa₁ káy₂ ó béem₃ nɛ ?moná₄ zan-ré₅ na₆ go₇ yá₈ fíí fíí₉ gó₁₀ nɛ gaza₁₁
 náí₁₂ 'they₁ take₂ the children₃ who had remained₄ in the village₅
 here₆ and₇ were₈ small₉ and₁₀ had not₁₂ been circumcised₁₁'

332.422. Object:

- dila₁ na a₂ ndora₃, góo₄ '(the) lion₁ which he₂ shot₃ here₄'
 ó mo₁ hárá són₂ na a₃ t₄á₄ néi₅ 'all₂ the things₁ of which₅ he₃ spoke₄'
 zók₁ fara-mo₂ nɛ wí-ré₃ dé₄, sé tɛ mɛ₅ t₆ 'see₁ what₂ a person₃ does₄
 before you₅ speak₆'

332.423. Place:

- fara₁ díye nóo₂ nɛ ga₃ rɛ₄ kpá₅ wa ná, góo₇ 'this₂ place₁ where we₄
 do not₃ find₅ them₆ here₇'
 tɛ-fara₁ ndɛ wa₂ óá₃ sɛné g₄y₄ 'the place₁ where they₂ were₃ in this
 manner₄'

332.424. Time:

wesé₁ ne ηma wí-ré₂ bó₃ ne₄ '(the) day₁ when₃ someone₂ should go₄'
 tem yúm₁ te-wesé₂ ne me₃ neà₄ te-galá₅ mei 'I was sick₁ on the day₂
 you₃ went₄ to the market₅'

332.43. ne joins a substantive expression to a clause in a complex sentence in which it is a temporal expansion, a modal construction, or an explanatory construction, for examples of which see 522.

332.44. ne joins secondary clauses (SC) and principal clauses (PC) in the combinations SC + PC, PC + SC, and PC + PC.

(a) SC + PC:

oo? ne gan₁ neá₂ ha₃ déá saa₄ hé ré₅ ná₁ 'oh, (it) would₂ not₁ have₂
 given₃ us₅ joy₄'
 mé₁ wí-ré ne bó₂ mé₃ kɔ̃ ʔdon₄-kiʔdi₅ mo₆ 'you₁ (for example), when₂
 you₃ want to₄ hunt₅ (some-) thing₆'
 oróaf₁ ne kpána₂-ru₃ kambáa₄ ó₅ kpém₆ ʔmón₇ 'after that₁, the pot₂
 for making₃ the dough₄ was₅ just₇ one₆'
 mo gɔ̃y₁ nem bá₂ vclóo kóm₃ 'like this₁, I take₂ my bicycle₃'

(b) PC + SC:

ʔmón gɔ̃y, ne gende gá 'just like that, and in other words'
 bó₁ zoká₂ ne óóʔ, ne wan to ʔburó₃ rii₄ á₅ zɔ̃₆ 'when₁ (he) looked₂,
 oh, Wan-to had busted₃ the water (pot)₄ (and) thrown₅ (it in the)
 bush₆'
ne gbɛrɛ en-tɛ-ɛ 'and Lizard all by himself'

(c) PC + PC:

ɔ̃₁ sí ʔdon ʔbo₂, nem₃ neem₄ bá₅ ɔ̃₆ ʔbo₇, 'he₁ went back₂ and I₃ went₄
 (and) got₅ him₆ again₇'
 háy₁ nem₂ né₃ '(I) crawl₁ and I₂ go₃'
 káy₁ sére₂, ne₃ káy kura₄, ne káy ηgéré₅, ne káy₆ zom-ɔ̃-paa₇ '(they)
 take₁ spears₂, and₃ (they) take arrows₄, and (they) take shields₅,
 and (they) take large₆ knives₇'
 gom₁ gón₂ zɔ̃fáa₃, nem₄ gón tɔ̃rása₅ 'so I₁ cut₂ the (elephant's) trunk₃,
 and I₄ cut the tail₅'
 gom₁ té₂, ne₃ teá₄ gom₅ é₆ vclóo₇ 'so I₁ came₂, and₃ (I) came₄ and I₅
 placed₆ (the) bicycle₇ . . .'
 bóm₁ zɔ̃₂ ne mise₃ dɔ̃n té₄ 'when I₁ looked₂, Monsieur₃ was coming₄'

332.45. ne joins an anacoluthic substantival or prepositional phrase to a clause. These constitute appended comments or "after-thoughts." For example:

ηma wí-ré kpém₁ kuró₂ go₃ kúú₄ go₅ bá₆ ɔ̃₇ ne₈ ηma béem₉ inaa₁₀
 'someone₁ arose₂ and₃ arose₄ and₅ took₆ him₇ and₈ (there was a
 child₉ with him₁₀ (that is, with the subject of the verb)'
 te₁ yá₂ ká-te-ηmaà₃ gáá nó₄ rííto₅, ne taráa₆ 'two₅ trees₁ stood₂
 next to each other₃ like this₄, (in fact) three₆'
 bé₁ ré₂ dan₃ zu₄-kara₅, ne te-zu-kara me₆, ne ranmgbá tɔ̃₇ 'when₁ we₂
 climbed₃ (the) top₄ of (the) hill₅, the top of the hill there₆, Ranmgbá
 said₇'

332.5. *óró . . . gá* is a discontinuous connective of comparison with the meaning 'like, as.' It combines clauses and phrases as described in the following paragraphs. The first form has an alternant *óó* with which it freely varies. Although both *óró* and *gá* are usually used, either one or the other may be omitted; this more often happens to *gá* following a long involved sentence with many dependent clauses.

332.51. *óró . . . gá* connects clauses with clauses, such as:

bó₁ nēm₂ ɔ́ óró₃ nēm aa hur₄ móm₅ pee ʔdon₆ gá₃ 'when₁ I went₂ as if₃ to turn suddenly₄ to₅ come back₆'

zera₁ ʔa₂ dé₃ gaʔda óró₄ nǵ₅ á₆ kúr₇ gá₄ 'his₂ cars₁ flapped₃ as if₄ he₆ were going to₅ get up₇'

ndē₁ rē₂ zók₃ ké ré réi₄, óró₅ rē₆ yǵ₇ wáráa₈ yǵ₉ni₇ gá₅ 'and₁ we₂ look upon₃ the village₄ as if₅ we₆ were eating₇ fruit₈' (that is, 'for us children strolling in the village is all the food we need!')

332.52. It connects substantive phrases with verb expressions:¹²

gan₁ am₂ kǵ ʔdon₃ ʔde₄ ʔnán₅ mɔ₃ óró₆ ʔr₇ gá₆ ná₁ 'I₂ don't₁ want₃ to commit₄ evil₅ like₆ him₇'

ǵ₁ dé mɔ₂ óró₃ ge wí-gc₄ gá₃ ge ndé₄ 'he₁ works₂ like₃ whom₄?'

pe₁ kǵ ʔa₂ ɔ́ óró₄ kó mē₃ gá₄ 'his₂ age₁ is₃ the same as₄ yours₅'

ngém₁ óró₂ mɔ ne mise tǵi₃ gá₂ 'wait₁ just as₂ Monsieur says₃'

332.53. *óró . . . gá* connects substantive phrases with other substantive phrases:

ɲma mɔ₁ óró₂ ʔε ne kó-duwa₃ gá₂ . . . gan né bo ná₄ '(there) won't be₄ anything₁ like₂ a bewitched woman₃'

gan₁ wa₂ ɲ₃ ʔdon-wáá₄ wen-maa₅ déʔdó₆ mɔ-mari₇ óró₈ ʔε ne kó₁₀ kǵne₁₁ gá₈ ná₁ 'they₂ didn't₁ know₃ how₄ to put on₅ good₆ clothes₇ like₈ these₉ of₁₀ today₁₁'

wa₁ zéé₂ wcn₃ ké ré₄ óró₅ mɔ gérc₆ gá₅ 'they₁ listen to₂ our₄ words₃ as if₅ (they were) nothing₆'

332.6. *sé tɛ* is a connective of sequence which marks an incompleted action (but does not preclude a linguistic form with the perfective suffix in either the preceding or following clauses) and so contrasts with *só kó*. It joins either a substantive phrase (in a complex sentence) or a clause to a clause. For the allomorphs with *tǵ*, *to*, and *tǵ* resulting from vowel changes see 132.2.

In the form *sé* (which can be taken as ellipsis of *sé tɛ*) this connective is the only one of all the connectives which can occur at the end of a sentence. Such a sentence implies another predication, and is frequently translated 'first' or 'then.' Unlike the final particles, whose position and function it somewhat parallels, it can be followed by other words, including the negative marker *ná*. For example:

ndóraa₁ né₂ ɲgombe₃ sé tǵ₄ ǵ₅ kúú₆ ʔbɔ₇ ná₈ 'shoot it₁ with₂ (a) gun₃ so that₄ it₅ (will) not₆ get up₇ again₈'

ndóraa né ɲgombe sé 'shoot (it) with a gun by preference'

ɲgombe sé '(do it with) a gun by preference (that is, not with a spear)'

ngombe sé wa 'by means of a gun, I said!'

ndóraa né ngombe sé ná wéndé 'wouldn't it be preferable to shoot it with a gun?'

ngombe sé ná wéndé '(is) not a gun preferable?'

So close are the distributions and meanings of *te* (332.8) and *sé te* that one is inclined to identify them as being the same. Their distinctive characteristics and the reasons for separating them are given below.

(a) Whereas *sé te* joins a substantive expression to a clause, *te* never does.

(b) Whereas both *sé te* and *te* occur in negated clauses with imperfective verbs, *sé te* is correlated only with unrealized action in the future and *te* with unrealized action both in the future and past, for example, δ_1 né $m\alpha_2$ wen- $d\epsilon_3$ sé te_4 zéré ϵ_5 té ϵ_6 ná ϵ_7 'it's ϵ_1 something ϵ_2 to do ϵ_3 that ϵ_4 sickness ϵ_5 may not ϵ_7 come ϵ_3 ;' gan ϵ_1 wa ϵ_2 úsí ϵ_3 há ϵ_4 tэм ϵ_5 zéé ϵ_6 tí ϵ_7 ná ϵ_1 'they ϵ_2 didn't ϵ_1 tell ϵ_3 me ϵ_4 (about it) that I ϵ_5 should have heard ϵ_6 (about it) before ϵ_7 .'

(c) Only *te* seems to join a principal clause with another one containing the auxiliary *bo* whether the action has been realized or not. In narratives, where the imperfective verb is very commonly used instead of the perfective, the connective *te* is used in this manner, equivalent in meaning with the connective *go*, such as: gbèà ϵ_1 ká ϵ_2 í ϵ_3 taa ϵ_4 , te_5 bá ϵ_6 á ϵ_7 zik te_8 zik te_9 'he himself ϵ_2 killed ϵ_1 three ϵ_4 over there ϵ_3 , and ϵ_5 when ϵ_6 he ϵ_7 turned around ϵ_8 . . . ;' ϵ_1 dóm ϵ_2 fɛra ϵ_3 , te_4 bóm ϵ_5 zee ϵ_6 'he ϵ_1 was blowing ϵ_2 a whistle ϵ_3 , and ϵ_4 as I ϵ_5 listened ϵ_6 . . . ;' gá ϵ_1 á ϵ_2 yú ϵ_3 né ϵ_4 , te_5 bó ϵ_6 mé ϵ_7 tɔ ϵ_8 nma wen ϵ_9 ínaa ϵ_{10} 'and ϵ_1 he ϵ_2 runs away ϵ_3 with ϵ_4 (it), and ϵ_5 should ϵ_6 you ϵ_7 say ϵ_8 something ϵ_9 to him ϵ_{10} . . .'

(d) Only *te* connects a series of clauses with *bó*: raŋmgbá bó ϵ_1 tɔ ϵ_2 gɔy ϵ_3 , te_4 bé ré ϵ_5 dan ϵ_6 zu-karai ϵ_7 'when ϵ_1 Raŋmgbá had spoken ϵ_2 in this manner ϵ_3 and ϵ_4 we ϵ_4 had climbed ϵ_6 to the top of the hill ϵ_7 . . . ;' mise ϵ_1 bó ϵ_2 aa ϵ_3 ké ϵ_4 . . . , te_4 bó ϵ_5 nem aa kóm ϵ_6 . . . te_7 ó ngɔzɔŋ bó aa ϵ_8 . . . te_9 bó ϵ_{10} nem kip ϵ_{11} 'when ϵ_2 Monsieur ϵ_1 turned off to the side ϵ_3 , and ϵ_4 when ϵ_5 I turned off to the side ϵ_6 and ϵ_7 Ngɔzɔŋ turned off to the side ϵ_8 , and ϵ_9 when ϵ_{10} I went (and) turned around ϵ_{11} . . .'

(e) Whereas in some instances *só kó* may replace *sé te* (with a corresponding change in meaning), it never replaces *te*. For example: ák ϵ_1 nmaá só kó (or *sé te*) pí ϵ_2 tan ϵ_3 -zora ϵ_4 zɔ́ (proverb) 'ask ϵ_1 (before) throwing away ϵ_2 the rat's ϵ_4 head ϵ_3 .'

332.61. *sé te* joins a substantive expression to a clause in a complex sentence in which it is a temporal or subject expansion; there is only one example of the latter, the last of the following:

mbé ze ɔdonɛ ϵ_1 sé te_2 gbó ϵ_3 'next month ϵ_1 then ϵ_2 (they'll) arrive ϵ_3 ,'

bere ϵ_1 sé te_2 wa ϵ_3 há ϵ_4 nginza ϵ_4 'they ϵ_2 give ϵ_3 money ϵ_4 (in the) dry season ϵ_1 ,'

nma wesé ϵ_1 sé te_2 há ϵ_3 nma nginza ϵ_4 há mé ϵ_5 'some day ϵ_1 (in the future) then I'll ϵ_2 give ϵ_3 you ϵ_4 some money ϵ_4 .'

nma mɔ ϵ_1 óró ϵ_2 ɛɛ nɛ kó-duwa ϵ_3 wéndé gan ϵ_4 wí-fiyó ϵ_5 , sé te_6 gbé ϵ_6 kpassi ϵ_7 kó mé ϵ_8 mbéa ɔbo kpém ϵ_9 gan né bo ná ϵ_{10} 'there won't be ϵ_{10} anything ϵ_1 at all ϵ_2 like ϵ_2 a bewitched woman ϵ_3 or ϵ_4 a fetishist ϵ_5 to destroy ϵ_6 your ϵ_8 life ϵ_7 .'

332.62. *sé te* joins two clauses, usually principal clauses. For example: wa ϵ_1 rí ϵ_2 sé te_3 wa ϵ_4 né né ϵ_5 'they ϵ_1 eat ϵ_2 (it) and then ϵ_3 they ϵ_4 take (them)'

- ndo ro₁ sí ne₂ kó₃ ká₄ ɛ́₅ hɛ́₆ sɛ́ tɛ́₇ ɛ́₈ ɔ́₉ ínaa₁₀ '(they said) "We'll₁ return₂ his₄ wife₃ to₅ him₆ and then₇ he'll₈ sleep₉ with her₁₀"'
- o₁ a tɛ́₂ tɛ́₃ ŋma mbé wen₄ sɛ́ tɛ́ ro₅ nɔ́₆ dɔ́₇ ɔ́₈ ndé₁ '(they said) "Who's₁ going to come₂ relate₃ something new₄ so we (can)₅ drink₆ the beer₇?"'
- ɔ́₁ né ndará₂ sɛ́ tɛ́ neám₃ ndɔ́₄ 'if it were₁ a buffalo₂, I would have₃ shot₄ (it)'
- ném₁ tɛ́ wen₂ ín wa₄ sɛ́ tɛ́ ndé wá₆ sa₇ ɛ́₈ 'I'm going₁ to talk₂ with₃ them₄, and then₅ they'll₆ call₇ him₈'
- kpém₁ sɛ́ tɛ́ bá bá₃ '(if there were) one₁ then₂ (you would) grab it₃, (using the word bá)'
- mbóro₁ ŋa ɛ́ tɛ́ wen₂ kay₃ mbé₄ sɛ́ tɛ́ bin₆ ŋa ɛ́ né₇ né 'he's coming₂ (in the) evening₁ to get₃ (the) mail₄, and then₅ tomorrow₆ he'll take (it)'₇
- bó₁ wá₂ tɛ́ sɔ́₄ ná₅, sɛ́ tɛ́ biné₇ nɛm káy₈ né né₉ 'if₁ they₂ don't₅ come₃ today₄, then₆ tomorrow₇ I'll take₈ (it and) go₉'

332.7. só kó (and its free-form alternant sóó) is a connective with the basic meaning of 'action realized' or 'result effected' illustrated in the English glosses by 'after which the following happens' or 'has happened,' or 'which results (or resulted) in the following.'¹³ It therefore very clearly contrasts with sɛ́ tɛ́. (Although the learner of the language must know the permitted and nonpermitted, "idiomatic," uses of this and the other connectives, it is beyond the scope of this grammar to describe these.) For the allomorphs with kó, ké, kɛ́, and ká resulting from vowel changes see 132.2. Before the general function of só kó is outlined, the contrast with sɛ́ tɛ́ is illustrated by the following examples:

- ŋma wesé₁ só ká ɛ́₂ tɛ́₃ 'he₂ used to come₃ occasionally₁,' ŋma wesé₁ sɛ́ tɛ́ ɛ́₂ tɛ́₃ 'he'll₂ come₃ some day₁,' ŋma wesé₁ ŋa ɛ́ tɛ́ 'he comes occasionally'
- mɛ₁ lánɣí₂ tuwa₃ mɔ́₄ sɛ́ tɛ́ mɛ₆ gbó₇ 'you₁ pass₂ five₄ houses₃, and then₅ you'll₆ arrive₇,' ám₁ lanɣá₂ tuwa₃ mɔ́₄ só kóm₅ gbóá₆ 'I₁ passed₂ five₄ houses₃, and then I₅ arrived₆'
- bá₁ ɛ́₂ de₃ pɛ₄ kpém₅ sóóm₆ kú náná₇-usi₈ há ɛ́₉ 'when₁ she₂ was₃ one₅ year₄ (old), I₆ began₇ to teach₈ her₉,' bá ɛ́ de pɛ rííto, sɛ́ tɛm úsí mbé₁ há ɛ́ 'when₁ she's two years old, I'll teach her to read'
- ák ŋmaá só kó (or sɛ́ tɛ) pí tan-zora zɔ́ 'ask someone before throwing the rat's head away' (proverb)

332.71. só kó joins a substantive expression to a clause in a complex sentence in which it is a temporal, object, or modal expansion. For example:

- sɛ́₁ tɛ́ ndɛ wa₂ gbɛá₃ nɛ bém₄ kó wa₅ só kɛ́ ɛ́₆ baá₇ '(he said) "I₆ took₇ the spear₁ with which they₂ killed₃ their₅ child₄"'
- nú-wen nɔ́ só kó mé₁ tɛ́₂ ye ge 'what was it you₁ said₂?'
- bɛ₁ só kó ré₂ gbé₃ sa₄ 'we₂ (used to) kill₃ animals₄ (in the) dry season₁'
- gó mɔ́ gɔ́y₁, só ká₂ ɛ́₃ tɛ́₄ ye ge 'so₁ then₂ he₃ said₄'

332.72. só kó joins two clauses. For example:

gɛ₁ rɛ₂ bá₃ ɔ́₄ né tɪ₅ só ké₆ rɛ́₇ né₈ 'then₁ we₂ took₃ him₄ on (the) canoe₅
after which₆ we₇ went on₈'
mbóro₁ deá₂, só₃ rɛ́₄ ɔ́₅ dɪ₆ 'it became₂ evening₁, so₃ we₄ slept₅ there₆'
nú₁-ɔ́rɛ₂ ?máá₃ só kó₄ ri₅ á₆ sɛné (proverb) '(the) oyster's₂ mouth₁
opens₃ and₄ water₅ goes₆ in₇'
bé₁ rɛ́₂ gam tɛ-rɛ́₃ wɛn kó₄ péráá₅, só ké rɛ́₆ kpá₇ ɲa₈ mbɛɛ₉ 'after₁ we₂
had turned around₃ to₄ come back₅, we₆ found₇ some₈ reed-buck₉'
wá₁ deá fiyo₂ só₃ wá₄ koà₅ né ɔ́₆ 'they₁ gave offerings to a fetish₂ after
which₃ they₄ bore₅ (a child) by means of it₆'
ó wí-rɛ́₁ nɔ́₂ doká₃ né saa ná₄ só kó₅ wá₆ feà₇ sɔ́n₈ 'these₂ people₁ were
very₄ numerous₃ but then₅ they₆ all₈ died off₇'
gɛ₁ rɛ́₂ péé né₃, só₄ mo gpy₅ a há₆ deá saa₇ hé rɛ́₈ 'so₁ we₂ brought (it)
back₃, and so₄ (it) gave₅ us₇ joy₆'

332.8. tɛ is a connective of sequence (usually of future time) and purpose. As a sequence marker, it has practically the same meaning as {go} (332.2); as a purpose marker, it has practically the same meaning as sé tɛ (332.6). It joins modal constructions to clauses in complex sentences and clauses to clauses. The former use is attested by only one example (522.31). For the allomorphs to, tɔ́, and tɔ́ resulting from vowel changes see 132.2. The examples are grouped according to whether the meaning is assumed to be sequential or purposive.

332.81. Sequence:

gɛ₁ rɛ́₂ péé₃ . . . , tɛ₄ bé₅ rɛ́₆ ?mɔn₇ mɛ₈ 'so₁ we₂ returned₃ . . . , and₄
while₅ we₆ were still₇ there₈ . . .'
bé₁ rɛ́₂ nɛ₃ tɛ₄ bé₅ rɛ́₆ gbóá₇ 'when₁ we₂ went₃ and₄ when₅ we₆ arrived₇'
mɛ tɛ₁ tɛ₂ mɛ zók₃ fara₄-sérɛ₅ kóm₆ 'come₁ and₂ look at₃ (the) place₄
of my₅ spear₆'

332.82. Purpose. In addition to the typical connecting function of tɛ illustrated below, there is the minor clause tɛ óá nɛ 'and was and' which itself serves to connect two principal clauses with the meaning of purpose and has the same function as tɛ by itself:

oro há₂ mɔ₃ há ɔ́₄ tɔ́ ɔ́₅ de₆ to ro₆ yɔ́ɲ₇ '(they said) "We₁ give₂ her₄
things₃ for her to make₅ for us₆ to eat₇"'
nɛ₁ há₂ ɔ́₃ há₄ wéey₅ tɔ́₆ ɔ́₇ kó₈ béem₉ 'and₁ (they) give₂ her₃ to₄ (the)
man₅ so that₆ she₇ will bear₈ children₉'
wɛn₁-tɛ₂ wɛn₃-zók₃ ó béem₄ kó wa₅ . . . , tɛ₆ ó naa₇ kó wa₈ zók₉ wa₁₀
'to₁ come₂ to see₃ their₅ children₄ . . . , that₆ their₈ mothers₇ might
see₉ them₁₀'
tɛ óá ndɛ wa kpá₁ mɔ₂ sɛné₃ tɛ₄ wa₅ yɔ́ɲ₆ 'to find₁ something₂ there,
that₄ they₅ might eat₆'
go₁ wesé nɛ bó₂ wá₃ kɪ ná₄ tɛ wa yáá yari₅, nɛ ɲma wí-rɛ́₆ bá₇ gbíya
'so₁ when₂ they₃ begin₄ to hunt₅, someone₆ appropriates₇ (the) gbíya'
há₁ oro-nú₂ hó₃ wa₄ wɛn kó₅ sa₆?de₆ tɛ óá ndɛ wa gúrí₇ '(we) gave₁ in-
structions₂ to₃ them₄ about₅ (the) meat₆ for them to smoke₇ (it)'

wa₁ há₂ kprá₃ tɛ ɔ́á nɛ gbé₄ 'they₁ give₂ a chicken₃ to have killed₄'
 gan₁ ɛ₂ kpá₃ déá saa₄ tɛ ɔ́á nɛ ɛ́ dún₅ ín₆ wéé₇ kɛ́ ɛ́₈ . . . ná₁ '(she said)
 "I₂ don't₁ find₃ any pleasure₄ in remaining₅ with₆ my₈ husband₇"
 ɔ́₁ nɛ kó mé₂ ʔmón₃ tɛ ɔ́á nɛ mɛ wéé₄ 'it's₁ just₃ yours₂ to worship₄'

332.9. {wéndé gan} is a cover symbol for a group of connectives with similar meanings and distributions.¹⁴ They include the morphemes wéndé and gan in various combinations. The morpheme gan occurs with high and low tones, the first before words with an initial low tone and the second before words with an initial high tone. They do not lend themselves to easy description probably because the patterns have not yet become formalized. The various combinations are grouped according to whether they join only alternative elements with the meaning 'or' (332.91) or whether they join alternative elements or nonalternative elements (332.92). In the following, X represents any syntactic element and (. . .) represents any intervening stretch of speech.

332.91. wéndé gan occurs in the following combinations: (a) X wéndé gan X wéndé, (b) X wéndé gan X, and (c) wéndé gan X wéndé gan X. These combinations all serve to join substantives and all but (c) serve to join clauses with the meaning 'or.'

(a) X wéndé gan X wéndé:

rém wɛn kó₁ ðimísi₂ rííto₃ wéndé, gán ze₄ kpém₅ wéndé 'for about₁ two₃ weeks₂ or one₅ month₄'

bó₁ wá₂ ɔ́₃ kɔ́₄-kútú-gaza₅ wɛn₆ ze₇ kpém₈ wéndé gán ze rííto₉ wéndé 'after₁ they₂ have slept₃ in₄ (the) circumcision hut₅ for₆ one₈ or two₉ months₇'

hayá₁ gó₂ nɛá₃ go₄ wa gú₅ ʔdɔɔ₆-waka₇ wéndé, ndɛ wa₈ gbé₉ wa₁₀, gán wa₁₁ ʔmóná gó wá reá₁₂ ʔdɔɔ₁₃-poo₁₃ wéndé, go wa gbé wa '(whether the animals) have crawled₁ and₂ gone₃ and₄ hidden₅ in₆ (the) dry grass₇, they₈ kill₉ them₁₀, or whether they₁₁ have entered₁₂ the gallery-forest₁₃, they kill them'

(b) X wéndé gan X:

bó ðɛ ze₁ kpém₂ wéndé gán₃ ze₁ rííto₄ 'when (they have done this) for one₂ or₃ two₄ months₁'

naa₁ ká₂ ɛ₂ wéndé gan₃ yám₄ ká₅ ɛ₅ gí₅ dɔ́₆ 'his₂ mother₁ or₃ his father₄ makes₅ beer₆'

tá₁ ɛ₂ kpá₃ ó nma mɔ₄-yɔɔ₄ wéndé gan₅ ó ngingza₆ 'that₁ he₂ might get₃ things to eat₄ or₅ money₆'

wa₁ gbé₂ wí-ré₃ taa₄ wéndé gan nɛá₅ wéndé gán mɔɔ₆ 'they₁ kill₂ three₄ or four₅ or five₆ people₃'

wa₁ yɔ́₂ ó kondi₃ kóm₄ wéndé gan dún₅ wa yɔ́₇ say₈ kóm₈ 'they₁ eat₂ my₄ corn₃ or they₅ keep on₅ eating₇ my₉ pumpkins₈'

wa₁ nɛ gaza₂ wɛn-sókáa₃ tɛ₄ wa₅ háá tá₆ wɛn₆ wéndé gán, tɛ ɔ́á ndɛ wa í₇ mɔ₈ 'they₁ go to be circumcised₂ for maturity₃, that₄ they₅ might think (rightly)₆, or that they might know₇ things₈'

yám₁ ká₂ ɛ₂ kúú₃ go₄ nɛ₅, wéndé gán naa₆ ká₇ ɛ₇ nɛ₈ 'his₂ father₁ arises₃ and₄ goes₅ or his₇ mother₆ goes₈'

(c) wéndé gan X wéndé gan X connects substantives and occurs in only one example:

wa₁ gbé₂ a₃, wéndé gan ríftó₄ wéndé gán taa₅ 'they₁ kill₂ him₃, or (maybe) two₄ or three₅ (of them)'

332.92. gan and gan wéndé occur in the following combinations (where comma indicates pause between constructions): (a) gan X wéndé, gan X wéndé, (b) gan X wéndé, and (c) gan. The meaning is 'if' or 'whether,' and where there are two alternative elements there is an added meaning of 'or.' All join clauses (the first of which usually contains a verb of cognition), but only (a) joins substantives:

(a) gan X wéndé, gan X wéndé:

gan₁ am₂ ñ₃ kóm ná₄ gán mise₄ wéndé gán ngəzəŋ₅ wéndé, ne₆ tɔ́₇ gende gá ye 'I₂ don't₁ know₃ whether (it was) Monsieur₄ or Ngəzəŋ₅ but₆ (someone) said₇. . . '

ñ₁ ná₂ gán wa₃ péé₄ zεε₅ wéndé gán bin₆ sé wéndé '(I) don't₂ know₁ whether they₃ are coming₄ tonight₅ or tomorrow₆'

gá ye₁, há ró₂ dák₃ kéey₄ há zaŋ₅-wa₆ gan té ne wa gon wa né gaza₇ ne ndé wá₈ hec kɔwá₉ wéndé, gan té wá hec kɔwá ná₁₀ wéndé '(they) said₁ "Let's₂ take₃ (the) fear₄ out of₅ them₆, (to find out) whether, when they go and get circumcised₇, they will₈ cry₉ or whether they will not₁₀ cry"'

wen₁-zək ó béem₂ kó wa₃ ne cá₅ ?dɔɔ-zɔ́₆ kóó yé₇, gan ó béemi₈ ñmgbəŋgà, wéndé gán wa ñmgbán ná wéndé ' . . . to₁ see₂ their₄ children₃ who were₅ in the bush₆ a long time₇, (to see) whether or not the children₈ had gotten fat₉'

(b) gan X wéndé:

ye ge₁, gan₂ ɛ₃ ñ₄ ?doŋ-wáraa kpém₅ ná₂ gan ɛε nó₆ ɔ́, ne mbé₈ wen₉ a ndé wá tɔ́₁₀ wéndé, ne ɛ ñ ná '(he) said₁, "I₃ don't₂ know₄ at all₅ whether (or not) this₆ is₇, a new₈ story₉ for them to tell₁₀, I just don't know"'

ñ₁ ná₂ gan kóoi₃ kó₄ béemi₅ á₆ fé₇ wéndé '(I) don't₂ know₁ whether (or not) the woman₃ bore₄ the child₅ and then₆ (herself) died₇'

(c) gan:

ném₁ aŋ₂ mé₃, gán₄ me₅ kɔ́ ?doŋáa₆ há₇ káy₈ mɔ₉ kó mé₁₀ há₁₁ mé₁₂ 'I'm going₁ to ask₂ you₃ if₄ you₅ want₆ me₇, to collect₈ your₁₀ things₉ for₁₁ you₁₂'

333. The one connective which joins (a) a verb expression or (b) a dependent clause to a verb expression is mó (occurring with 1P and 3P with initial mb) whose meaning is purpose or reason.¹⁵ When a noun is the subject of the verb in the dependent clause, mó precedes both the noun and the verb; see the last example under (b). In the first five examples under (b) the subjects of the two clauses are the same; in the next six they are different.

(a) with verb expressions:

wan to kpá₁ ri₂ mó₃ nɔ₄ ñn bém₅ ké₆ ɛ₆ ná₇ 'Wan-to did₁ not₇ find₁ water₂ (for him and) his₆ child₅ to₃ drink₄'

rífí₁ né ay₂ oro-ré₃, mó yimú₄ 'your eyes₁ will seek₂ after us₃ to (the point of) hurting you₄'

wí-ré₁ bó₂ nε₃ mós ba₄ mós c₅ zu'-fey₆ 'when₂ a person₁ goes₃ (and) takes₄ (it) and puts₅ (it) on (the) grave₆'

ó wí-ró₁ gan₂ kpá₃ rí₄ mós nśá₅ ná₂ 'people₁ didn't₂ find₃ water₄ to drink₅'

gan ó mós te dīye ná '(the rain) is not coming here'

(b) with dependent clauses:

wa₁ ndfn₂ kó-fey mbó wá rík₃ kó-fey 'they₁ chased₂ Kó-fey to hit₃ Kó-fey'

gan am₁ rém₂ móm si₃ ná 'I₁ am not able₂ to return₃'

bó₁ nεm₂ kip₃ móm₄ nε₅ bolśa₆ 'when₁ I went₂ (and) turned₃ to₄ go₅ after him₆'

né mé₁ kpa₂ sa?de₃ mós mé₄ si₅ mós mé yǫ́ǫ́á₆ 'you'll₁ find₂ (an) animal₃ for you₄ to return₅ and eat₆'

ǫ́₁ bá₂ ǫ́ǫ́ nśo₃ mbé ré₄ pee₅ nǫ́₆ 'he₁ took₂ this₃ for us₄ to return₅ with₆ (it)'

há₁ oro-nú₂ wen'-ne₃ mbó wá₄ wa₅ '(they) gave₁ instructions₂ (for them) to go₃ to₄ hoe₅ . . . '

gan ó móm de₁ gǫ́y₂ ná 'I shouldn't do₁ (it) like that₂'

ó rǫ́k ?dé móm de gc ndé 'what should I do?'

340. Prepositions.

Prepositions are those words which join (a) substantives or verb expressions to substantives and (b) substantives to verb expressions in endocentric constructions.¹⁶ In substantive phrases, {in} 'with' and kó 'of' occur. In verb phrases, ?bó 'for,' há 'for,' and né 'with' occur. Except for certain restricted uses of kó and né discussed below, the prepositions do not occur following or preceding a pause. All of them except {in} and né have allomorphs with the vowels /o ε ǫ ǫ́/, and kó occurs also with /ɔ/, the conditions for which see 132.2. né infrequently occurs with /nd/, for which see 131.1.

341. ?bó is similar to há in meaning benefaction, but it has the added meaning 'also.' For example:

ám₁ eá₂ ηmaa₃ ?bó₄ mé₅ 'I₁ left₂ some₃ for₄ you₅ also'

binε₁ ne me dé gεε₂ ?bóm₃ 'tomorrow₁ treat₂ me₃ as a guest₂ (that is, make some food for me)'

mbá₁ ǫ́₂ ?bé₃ ré₄ 'greet₁ him₂ for₃ us₄'

342. há₂ (with allomorphs há, hǫ́, hé, hǫ́, hó) has the following meanings: benefaction (translated 'for, to, among, in behalf of,' etc.), origin (translated 'from, out of'), and relation (translated 'before'). Use with the last meaning is not common, and only one example occurred in the corpus.

wa₁ dé bisa₂ hó wa₃ 'they₁ dress₂ them₃ up₂'

ndó ró₁ te koféa₂ há₃ bisa₄ kó ró₅ '(they said that) they would₁ come (working) for the bride₂ for the sake of₃ their₅ boy₄'

há₁ ηmaa₂ hé₃ ré₄ 'give₁ some₂ to₃ us₄'

me tǫ́₁ hǫ́ ǫ́₂ 'tell₁ him₂'

wa₁ kǫ́₂ há₃ bém₄ kó wa₅ 'they₁ divide₂ (it) among₃ their₅ children₄'

há ró₁ dák₂ kóey₃ há₄ zan'-wa₅ 'let's₁ take₂ (the) fear₃ out of₄ them₅'

á₁ zoká₂ sa?de₃ tĩ há₄ toró₅ 'he₁ saw₂ (the) animal₃ before₄ (the) dog₅ (did)'

343. {ín} has the meanings instrument or accompaniment (translated 'with, along with, in addition to, and, as well as, accompanied by, by means of') and direction (translated 'for, to, against, in relation to'). It has the following allomorphs: íni- which occurs with the 1S, 3S, and 2P pronominal suffixes, and ín which occurs in all other environments:

á₁ ríñ₂ nu₃ ínaa₄ 'he₁ fell₂ down₃ with it₄'

wa₁ yóñ₂ zan₃-duwai₄ ín seráa₅ 'they₁ eat₂ the stomach₃ of the goat₄ as well as the liver₅'

ó gbęré₁ ín dila₂, a wa yáá₃ '(the) Lizard (sp. of Varanus)₁ and (the) Lion₂ were walking around₃'

koyo ín ó mboró₁ ín ó dawa₂ té 'koyo (birds) and red monkeys₁ and green monkeys₂ come'

bó₁ wá₂ koy₃ mo₄ ín₅ mé₆ 'when₁ they₂ ask₃ something₄ of₅ you₆'

ám₁ he?dá₂ ín₃ do?díá₄ 'I₁ came near₂ to₃ the end₄'

npy₁-ne₂ ngón₃, tanáa₄ ñmá₅ ín₆ kíí ta₇ 'the head₄ of a bird₁ which flies₂ above₃ comes off₅ by means of₆ a pebble₇' (a proverb)

wan to kpá₁ ri₂ ru₃ n₄ ín₅ bém₆ kę₇ ná₈ 'Wan-to did not₈ find₁ any water₂ to₃ drink₄ along with₅ his₇ child₆'

ere₁ ngáy₂ ndú₃-ré₄ ín₅ mé₆ 'we₁ harden₂ our₄ mouths₃ against₅ you₆'

á₁ ó₂ ne wí-gida₃ íniím 'he₁ is₂ my enemy₃'

wa káy ñmaá ín dila 'he and the Lion got together' (= 'they take each-other with lion')

ré kę₃ ó kpém íniím 'his village is the same as mine' (= 'village of him is one with-me')

344. kó has the meaning possession or appurtenance; it sometimes also signals relationship or characteristic. This preposition only rarely follows intimate nouns, the possession of which is generally symbolized by the morpheme {~} (see 381.11). Two other uses of the preposition are common: (1) A construction consisting of the noun wen 'affair, word' and a prepositional phrase very often has the meaning 'for, to, in behalf of;' (2) A prepositional phrase consisting of kó and a personal pronoun frequently occurs either immediately following a verbal predicate or at the beginning of a sentence to emphasize the subject, for the purpose of contrasting it with another subject. It might be translated 'as for . . .' For example:

ó yá₁ kólí₂ són₃ bó₄ wá₅ ho₆ lekóol₇ 'all₃ your₂ buddies₁, when₄ they₅ get out of₆ school₇'

wen₁ kóm₂ sonà₃ sóo₄ 'my₂ story₁ is finished₃ today₄'

gbéá₁ sa?de?te₂ kó₃ wí-ré₄ 'killed₁ (the) bodies₂ of₃ people₄'

ere kángí kę?-sera kę ré 'let's be courageous' (= 'we shut inside liver of us')

gan₁ re₂ té₃ wen kó₄ si₅ ná₁ 'we₂ didn't₁ come₃ to₄ go on₅ (home)'

ná á₁ zam₂ wa₃ óró₄ kę ré₅ gá₄ 'he'll₁ save₂ them₃ like₄ us₅'

ne₁ kó₂ túrú₃, ó₄ kę₅ ne mo₅-nu₆ 'and₁ as for₂ clothes₃, (they) are₄ things of (this) world₆'

nde₁ re₂ zók₃ kę ré réi₄ 'and₁ we₂ saw₃ the village₄'

345. *né* has two allomorphs: *ne* which occurs preceding a word with initial high tone and (2) *né* which occurs elsewhere. It has the following meanings: (a) accompaniment (translated 'accompanied by, with,' etc.), (b) instrument (translated 'by means of, out of, with,' etc.), (c) object (translated 'into, resulting in, against, about, concerning,' etc.), and (d) location (both of time and place, translated 'at, on,' etc.). Although it occurs in construction only with substantives, it can, unlike other prepositions, occur without a substantive (even at the end of a sentence before pause) in what is taken to be an ellipsis.¹⁷ An attempt is here made to group the examples according to these headings, but in several instances two interpretations are possible. For example, *ɔ péé né velóo* could mean either 'he is returning with (the) bicycle' or 'he is returning on the bicycle.'

(a) Accompaniment:

gam guram neà né wa '(the) whirlwind took them off' (= 'went with them')

sí né ŋma kam hó wa 'take some food to them' (= 'return with some food')

ɔ₁ péé₂ né₃ né ʔdoŋ-wáá₄ 'he₁ was returning₂ with₃ (it) on (the) path₄'

sí ʔdoŋ né wen há m 'answer me' (= 'come back with a word to me')

(b) Instrument:

ge₁ re₂ péé₃ né₄ tji₅ 'and₁ we₂ returned₃ on₄ a canoe₅'

ɔ₁ kpó₂ né ŋmaá₃ 'he₁ tied₂ (them) together₃'

ék₁ te-mé né₂ te₃ 'lean₁ against₂ a tree₃'

am₁ kíʔdí₂ ŋma mɔ₃ sé te₄ me₅ dŋŋ₆ né₇ 'I'm₁ looking for₂ something₃, so that₄ you₅ (can) sit₆ on₇ (it)'

(c) Object:

ɔ₁ hé₂ géʔda₃ wen₄-de₅ né₆ kam₇ 'she₁ buys₂ manioc₃ to₄ make₅ (it) into₆ food₇'

ɔ₁ deá₂ kam₃ né₄ geʔda₅ 'she₁ made₂ (the) food₃ out of₄ manioc₅'

wesé₁ am tɔ₂ né₃ '(it's the) sun₁ I'm talking₂ about₃'

fara sɔ₁ né wesè kó vɔdradfi 'the day dawned into Friday'

ji₁ deá₂ te-é₃ ne₄ wéey₅ 'that one₁ made₂ himself₃ into₄ a man₅ (that is, acted as a man)'

ɔ₁ ró₂ né₃ ŋma gá₄sá₄ te₅ 'he₁ threw₂ (it) against₃ a large₄ tree₅'

(d) Location:

sáá mɔ₁ yóó₂ ké é ne₃ ká-te₄ 'Sáá-mɔ₁ stood₂ to₃ (the) side₄'

wa₁ yá₂ né ʔdɔɔ-búki₃ 'they₁ were₂ downwind₃'

go₁ sí ʔdoŋ né geʔde-ró 'and (he) backed up'

wa₁ bá₂ dɔ₃ né zu₄-mé₅ 'they₁ take₂ beer and pass you up' (= 'take beer₃ on your₅ head₄')

350. Unique morphemes. Only for the sake of convenience are the unique morphemes included under one heading, for they do not comprise a class in themselves. There are four unique morphemes, or classes of morphemes, since one class consists of several morphs. These are the following: the stative *ɔ* (351), the copula *né* (352), the quotative verb (353), and *ʔbo* (354).

351. Stative. The stative consists of one morpheme, ɔ (infrequently varying with ɛ). In form it is identical with the 3S low-tone pronoun, but because the function and distributions of the pronouns are so much different from that of the stative, I choose to separate them. Because of the existence of the alternant form ɛ , one might be able to make a case for its derivation from the substitute $\text{ɛ}\acute{\text{e}}$. The meaning of the stative is roughly 'to have existence, to be,' and therefore resembles that of French "voici" and "voilà." The stative never occurs alone; it always occurs in construction either with a substantive expression or with a clause in a unique type of equational sentence.

The stative only rarely occurs in the simple form ɔ . It occurs, in fact, only once in the corpus: $\text{m}\acute{\text{i}}\ \text{ɔ}$. 'Here I am.' A little more frequent is the form $\text{ɔ}\acute{\text{a}}$:

- $\text{m}\text{ɔ}\ \text{ɔ}\acute{\text{a}}$ 'Here's the thing'
 $\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\ \text{n}\acute{\text{e}}\ \text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\ \text{b}\acute{\text{ɛ}}\acute{\text{a}}_1\ \text{t}\text{om}_2\ \text{z}\text{a}\eta\text{-r}\acute{\text{e}}_3\ \text{ʔd}\acute{\text{h}}\acute{\text{e}}\acute{\text{e}}_4\ \text{ɔ}\acute{\text{a}}$ 'There you are who refused₁
to work₂ in the village₃ so much₄'
 $\text{w}\acute{\text{i}}\ \text{n}\text{ɔ}_1\ \text{n}\text{d}\acute{\text{e}}_2\ \text{n}\text{d}\text{ɔ}_3\ \text{k}\acute{\text{o}}\ \text{k}\text{om}_4\ \text{s}\acute{\text{o}}\ \text{k}\text{ɔ}_5\ \text{b}\acute{\text{e}}\text{m}\ \text{k}\text{om}_6\ \text{f}\acute{\text{e}}\acute{\text{a}}_7\ \text{ɔ}\acute{\text{a}}\ \text{w}\acute{\text{a}}$ 'you₁ who₂
violated₃ my wife₄ so that₅ my child₆ died₇, there you are!'

The vast majority of the occurrences of the stative is characterized by the presence of the postclitic {-i}, which, however, occurs with ɔ only with low tone. (For discussion of the postclitic, see 220.) The use of the stative is so frequent in the language, and, from our western, non-African point of view, so unpredictable in many cases, that a large number of examples is justified:

- $\text{m}\text{ɔ}\acute{\text{i}}\ \text{ɔ}\acute{\text{i}}$. 'That's right.'
 $\text{m}\text{ɔ}\ \text{k}\text{om}\ \text{ɔ}\acute{\text{i}}$. 'It's my thing.'
 $\text{g}\text{ɔ}\text{ʔd}\text{h}\acute{\text{o}}\text{-w}\text{en}_1\text{-b}\text{a}_2\ \eta\text{m}\text{a}\acute{\text{a}}_3\ \text{k}\acute{\text{o}}_4\ \text{w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{y}_5\ \acute{\text{i}}\text{n}\ \text{k}\acute{\text{o}}_6\ \text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{-w}\text{e}\text{s}\acute{\text{e}}_7\ \text{k}\text{ɔ}_8\ \acute{\text{o}}\ \text{s}\acute{\text{o}}\text{k}\acute{\text{a}}\acute{\text{i}}_9\ \text{k}\acute{\text{e}}\ \text{r}\acute{\text{e}}_{10}$
 $\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{-t}\acute{\text{f}}\acute{\text{i}}\ \text{ɔ}\acute{\text{i}}_{11}$ 'That's₁₁ (the) full account₁ of taking₂ each other₃ (in
marriage) of₄ men₅ and women₆ in the days₇ of₈ our₁₀ elders₉.'
 $\text{ʔb}\text{ay}_1\ \text{m}\text{ɔ}\text{-k}\text{of}\acute{\text{e}}_2\ \text{k}\acute{\text{o}}_3\ \acute{\text{o}}\ \text{t}\acute{\text{f}}\ \text{w}\acute{\text{i}}\text{-r}\acute{\text{e}}_4\ \text{n}\acute{\text{e}}\ \text{d}\acute{\text{e}}_5\ \text{ɔ}\acute{\text{i}}_6$. 'These are₆ (the) only₁
in-law obligations₂ of₃ (the) black people₄ (that is, Africans) which
they perform₅.'
 $\text{g}\acute{\text{o}}_1\ \text{m}\text{ɔ}_2\ \text{n}\acute{\text{e}}\ \acute{\text{o}}\ \text{w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{y}_3\ \text{n}\acute{\text{e}}_4\ \text{g}\text{a}\text{z}\text{a}_5\ \text{w}\text{en}\acute{\text{a}}\text{a}_2\ \text{ɔ}\acute{\text{i}}_6$. 'So₁ that's₆ (the) reason₂
why men₃ went₄ to be circumcised₅.'
 $\text{k}\text{p}\acute{\text{a}}\text{s}\acute{\text{a}}_1\ \text{m}\text{ɔ}_2\text{-w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{y}_3\ \text{ɛ}_4\ \text{w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{y}_5\ \acute{\text{ɔ}}_6\text{!}$ 'That's₄ a real₁ manly₃ thing₂, that's₆
a man₅!'
 $\text{w}\acute{\text{a}}_1\ \text{g}\acute{\text{o}}\text{m}_2\ \text{s}\text{a}\text{ʔd}\acute{\text{e}}_3\ \text{-b}\text{ɔ}\ \text{k}\acute{\text{o}}\ \text{d}\text{il}\text{a}_4\ \text{h}\acute{\text{a}}\ \text{ɔ}_5\ \text{ɛ}_6\ \acute{\text{i}}$. 'They₁ cut₂ (the) lion's₄ meat₃
for him₅.'
 $\text{m}\text{b}\acute{\text{i}}\ \text{y}\text{e}_1\ \text{d}\text{il}\text{a}_2\ \text{b}\text{a}\acute{\text{a}}_3\ \text{ɔ}_4\ \acute{\text{a}}_5$. 'I said₁, "(the) lion₂ got₃ him₄."
 $\text{r}\acute{\text{o}}\text{k}\ \text{ʔd}\acute{\text{e}}\ \text{ɔ}\acute{\text{i}}_1\ \text{g}\acute{\text{e}}_2\ \text{r}\acute{\text{e}}\ \text{s}\acute{\text{i}}\ \text{k}\acute{\text{e}}\ \text{r}\acute{\text{e}}_3$. 'It's all right₁, so₂ let's go₃.'
 $\text{n}\text{d}\acute{\text{e}}_1\ \text{r}\acute{\text{e}}_2\ \text{k}\acute{\text{u}}_3\ \text{h}\acute{\text{a}}_4\ \text{s}\text{en}\text{-f}\text{ar}\text{a}_5\ \text{-s}\text{a}\text{ʔd}\acute{\text{e}}_6\ \text{m}\acute{\text{e}}_7\ \text{ɔ}\acute{\text{i}}$. 'And₁ we₂ arose₃ from₄
(the) place₅ of (the) animal₆ there₇.'
 $\text{g}\text{ɔ}\ \text{s}\acute{\text{a}}\ \text{y}\text{e}\ \text{g}\text{e},\ \text{g}\text{b}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\text{e}\text{k}\ \text{ɔ}\acute{\text{i}}$. 'So (they) call (it) a gbɛlɛk.'
 $\text{r}\text{em}\acute{\text{a}}_1\ \text{m}\acute{\text{ɛ}}\ \acute{\text{ɔ}}\ \text{p}\acute{\text{i}}_2\ \text{g}\text{am}\ \text{g}\text{ur}\text{am}_3\ \text{ɔ}\acute{\text{i}}$. 'It was all right (that is, it was time)₁
for him to cast in₂ (the) whirlwind₃.'

352. Copula. The word $\text{n}\acute{\text{e}}$ is the only member of this class.¹⁸ Although it resembles the preposition $\text{n}\acute{\text{e}}$ in several respects, it is to be distinguished

from it for the following reasons: (1) When it is followed by pronouns, these occur in their basic form, and only the tone of *né* undergoes a regular morphophonemic change of high to low when followed by a high tone.¹⁹ (2) It has no overt lexical meaning but signals identification of or equation with the subject. (3) It is followed only and always by a substantive with which it is in construction. (4) It may be preceded by a pause that marks the beginning of an utterance. In other words, it may occur in a construction that constitutes a secondary clause. The copula seems to occur exclusively with the verbs *o* and *ya*, the singular and plural verbs 'to be.'²⁰ When the morpheme *né* follows other verbs, it seems possible to identify it with the preposition, but there remain certain doubtful cases. For example:

*wa*₁ *yá*₂ *ne* *ngáa*₃ 'they₁ eat₂ (it) hard₃'

*ǵ*₁ *yá*₂ *né* *biri*₃ 'he₁ eats₂ like a baboon₃'

*ǵ*₁ *koà*₂ *béem*₃ *ne* *bé*₄ *wéey*₅ 'she₁ bore₂ a male-child₃' (= 'child₃ ne child₄ man₅')

*hoá*₁ *ne* *búu*₂ '(it) came out₁ white₂'

Other examples follow:

*wa*₁ *yá*₂ *ne* *wéey*₃ 'they₁ are₂ men₃'

*ǵ*₁ *né* *ngma*₂ *bé-te*₃ 'it's₁ a certain₂ small tree₃'

*téa*₁ *ǵ*₂ *ne* *búu*₃ 'the tree₁ is₂ white₃'

*ǵ*₁ *né* *wen*₂-*te*₃ *sen-te*-*ré*₄ *kó* *ró*₅ *na*₆ '(she said it) was₁ necessary₂ to come₃ here₄ to her₅ house₆'

*boá*₁ *ne* *ó* *mboró*₂ 'if (they) were₁ red monkeys₂'

wa *deá* *bisa*₁ *né* *gba* *túru-gaza*₂ *kó* *wa*₃ *né* *saa* *ná* 'they got all dressed up₁ in their₃ circumcision clothes₂' (where *né saa ná* 'it's no joke,' a common expression, is used as an intensifier)

*ture*₁ *né* *zara* *ám*₂ *doà*₃ *hó*₄ *wa*₅ '(this) morning₁ (it was) zara (a ctn. tuberous root) which I₂ roasted₃ for₄ them₅'

*bó*₁ *o* *zanáa*₂ *ne* *mbéte*₃ 'if (he) was₁ inside₂ indeed₃'

*ne*₁ *ʔbay*₂ *mó*₃ *kpém*₄ *né* *nzapá*₅ 'and₁ just₂ one₄ thing₃—it's God₅'

mí *né* *ho* *tía* 'I'm the first-born'

353. Quotative verb (QV) *gende gá ye ge*. The QV is so called because it shares with verbs the privilege of occurring after substantive expressions in a subject-predicate construction as well as that of occurring after connectives where clauses are expected. It is called "quotative" because it often functions as a verb of saying. What follows need not be a direct quotation. In any case, the distinction between direct reference, by the use of the explicit pronouns (382.12), and indirect reference is not carefully maintained. The QV shall be referred to in the singular for the sake of convenience, for although in its longest form it functions as a polymorphemic word, it actually occurs in several forms, not all of which have the same privileges of occurrence.²¹ It is because of this syntactic segmentation that I consider the QV to be composed of several morphemes although I cannot attribute lexical meanings to them individually. There is some indication that different "words" are involved, but, because of the lack of control of the semantic distinctions, rigid differentiations seem hazardous at this point. The full list is given below, it being understood that wherever *ye* is not followed by *ge*, it can alternate in

rapid speech with the suffixal form -y, which is bound to any word preceding it:²²

gencé gá ye ge
gencé gá ye
 ye ge
 ye
gencé gá
 gá

353.1. gencé gá ye ge introduces phrases or clauses with the meaning of communicated information; this information may be explicit in a verb used in the preceding linguistic context (such as, tɔ 'to say,' ak 'ask,' sa 'to call,' usi 'to show,' sar- sék 'to think,' etc.) or implicit in the context. It occurs in long and short forms, the distributions of which are described in the following paragraphs. They occur between clauses or are preceded by a substantive expression which functions as the subject, the whole of which means 'so and so says.' Where the subject is not explicitly stated, it is usually the one previously identified, but it may be another one in the general context.

353.11. Long forms. These are gencé gá ye ge, gencé gá ye, and gencé gáy, all of which are mutually substitutable. The long form has the following characteristics: (1) it is used following verbs whose meaning might be described as 'explicit communication' (already listed above, and contrasted with those for the short form below); (2) it never follows either another connective or a pronoun; (3) it never precedes the final interrogative particle ndé. For example:

a₁ tɔ₂ há₃ gbɛrɛ́, gencé gá ye ge, kíɛɛ₄ mɛ₅ yóó₆ kó mé díyɛ₇. 'He₁ said₂ to₃ Lizard, "Now₄ you₅ stand₆ here₇."'

timótée dɔŋ tɔ wɛn₁ ínaa₂, gencé gá ye₃, ge₄ a mɛ₅ yú yui₆ wenáá ge nde. 'Timothy was talking₁ with him₂, saying₃, "Why₄ are you₅ running₆?"'

mise₁ bám₂ é₃ tí₄ gencé gá ye₅ ɛrɛ₆ né₇. 'Monsieur₁ took me₂ (and) put₃ (me in) front₄, saying₅ "Let's₆ go₇."'

mbí₁ yɛ₂ mise₃ mɛ ndóraa₄ gencé gá ye₅ é₆ hɛ́ ɛ́₇ zókaa₈ sák₉ sé₁₀ 'I₁ said₂, "Monsieur₃, shoot him₄," (and he answered) saying₅, "Let₆ me₇ see him₈ well₉ first₁₀."'

go₁ bó₂ zók₃ gɔ́y₄, gencé gá ye₅ dé?dé₆ zóhá₇ kó aáyɛ₈ nó wá 'so₁ when₂ (they) see₃ (her) thus₄, (they respond) saying₅, "(Look at) what's-his-name's₈ attractive₆ daughter₇!"

353.12. Short forms. These are ye ge or yɛ.²³ The short form has the following characteristics that distinguish it from the long form: (1) in addition to being used with the verbs of "explicit information," it is used with certain verbs of "implicit information" (e.g., wer- 'to make a noise, sound like, go,' ñɔ 'to know,' pí é- 'to make a gesture with the hand,' etc.); (2) it may follow the connectives gó and á as well as pronouns; (3) it may precede the final interrogative particle ndé. The meaning of yɛ ge in negative equational sentences is equivalence or significance. For example:

- ne₁ té né₂ há₃ ʒ₄ gá ye₅ bá₆ tʒ₇ ʒ dé₈ 'and₁ (they) bring₂ (it) to₃ her₄,
saying₅, "Take₆ (it) and₇ make₈ . . . "'
- dila₁ tɛá₂ go₃ ákaa₄ ák₅ gbɛrɛ́, gáy₆ gbɛrɛ̀ ndé ne, mé₇ gbɛá₈ saʔde,
'(the) Lion₁ came₂ and₃ asked him₄, (that is) asked₅ Lizard, saying₆,
"Say, Lizard, you₇ killed₈ an animal₉ . . . "'
- wa₁ rɪ́k₂ wa₃, gá ye₄ há ró₅ dák₆ kéey₇ há zaŋ'-wa₈ 'they₁ whip₂ them₃,
saying₄, "Let's₅ take₆ (the) fear₇ out of them₈!"
- go₁ sá₂ gáy daʔdoŋ 'and₁ (they) call₂ (it) a "daʔdoŋ"'
- bó₁ tɔ₂ ye ge dila₃ gɔ́y₄ 'when₁ (he) said₂ "lion"₃ like this₄'
- ŋma yín-zoro₁ wéé ye ge₂ ʔbuturu 'one fish's name₁ is₂ ʔbuturu'
- mó ne₁ ó sókái₂ ye ge₃ bé-wéey₄ né gaza₅ wenáa sé wái '(the) reason₁
the elders₂ say₃ that young men₄ should be circumcised₅ . . . '
- mé₁ ye₂ ɛ́₃ ne ɛ́₃ ó₄ ne wí-de₅ yóná₆ 'you₁ say₂, "I₃ am₄ a producer₅ of
food₆!"
- mbí₁ ye₂, dila₃ baá₄ ʒ₅ 'I₁ said₂, "A lion₃ got₄ him₅!"
- ʔdoŋ-wáá ké ré ín mé ye ge ndé 'what is our relationship with each
other?' (= 'way of us with you what?')
- mó ye ge ndé 'what's the affair'

353.2. gende gá introduces clauses or phrases with the meaning 'resulting in' or 'means,' but often when it occurs between clauses it is best left untranslated. Although it shares many of the same environments with gende gá ye ge, it is distinguished from the latter by the following characteristics: (1) it rarely precedes quotations; (2) it very frequently follows clauses with the auxiliary bo; (3) it can follow the connective ne (as well as the borrowing from French abɛ <'eh bien'). (There is also a form gá which seems to be an abbreviated form of gende gá.)

- bóm₁ gam tɛém₂ wen kó₃ ném ba₄ te₅, gende gá₆, ɛ́ hoà₇ ʔbéé₈ 'when I₁
turned around₂ to₃ climb up₄ a tree₅, well₆, it had already₈ appeared₇'
- wan gbíya dún₁ ínaa₂, gende gá₃ wá₄ ʔdafá₅ gam guram₆ '(the) master
of (the) gbíya was₁ with him₂, in other words₃, they₄ had already
prepared₅ (the) whirlwind₆'
- ere₁ kɔ́₂ wóó mise gbɛá₃ forɔ₄, gɔ́y gende gá₅ wi₆ dé saa wéndé 'we₁
yelled₂, "Hurrah, Monsieur has killed₃ an elephant₄," so then₅ (he
said), "Are you₆ happy?"'
- saʔde₁ deá taa₂ ʔbo, gende gá₃ kusi₄ 'there were three₂ more animals,
(dead), making₃ nine₄'

353.3. gá occurs between clauses as well as initial in a clause that may or may not be preceded by a clause (but is preceded by someone else's speech). The lexical meaning is minimal, and it seems to be equivalent in meaning with the connective {go}. Perhaps, because of this resemblance, the tone of gá is sometimes replaced by low tone before high tone, following the pattern for {go}. For example:

- bá₁ ʒ₂ zokóm₃ gá₄ mɪ́₅ ʒa₆ 'when₁ he₂ saw me₃, (he) said₄, "Here₆ I₅
(am)"'
- bé₁ ré₂ gbó₃ sen-tɛ-fara₄ oí₅ mɛ, ga mbóro₆ deá 'when₁ we₂ had arrived₃,
at the place₄ to sleep₅, it was already evening₆'

bó₁ wá₂ zók₃ gá éré₄ ɔɔ tɛ́₅ gǎ₆ 'when₁ they₂ looked₃, here₆ we₄ were coming₅'

gom₁ mámaa₂ go₃ mbí₄ ye₅, óó?, gá mǎ₆ deà₇ ré ge₈ 'and I₁ laughed at him₂, and₃ I₄ said₅, "Oh, so what₈ did you₆ do₇ . . . ?"'

354. The morpheme ?bo is a very common constituent in the names of villages or any such similar recognized agglomerations of habitual sleeping quarters. It is included in this section rather than with the bound morphemes because its vowel neither assimilates to a nasalized vowel that follows it nor is in harmony with a following oral vowel. In other words, there is juncture between ?bo and the following segment. In the case of ?bo oro and ?bo ay however there is never an occurrence of the glottal stop: they are always pronounced [?booro] and [?boay].

An extensive study of the place names of the Bossangoa Sous-Préfecture was not made, but even my limited data reveal a somewhat diversified environment for ?bo. The following occurred: (1) with nouns (?bo dila 'lion village,' ?bo sák 'snare village,' ?bo toró 'dog village'); (2) with noun phrases (?bo ndongó-fiyó 'village of the last remaining bit of fetish,' ?bo wan-súmá 'village of the elder of the súmá'); with noun having /V (?bo káam 'village of food' < kam); with a temporal substitute (?bo kǎne 'village of now'); with a verb phrase (?bo ŋma te 'step-on-tree village'); with a clause (?bo kpé mɔ 'shut the thing village').

Many of the village names I collected, however, resisted attempts at etymologization. In these instances ?bo is followed by dead morphs.

360. Adjectives. Adjectives are those words which stand in construction with substantives in endocentric substantive phrases. They comprise two classes, namely, preposed and postposed adjectives, the second of which is represented by only two members. The preposed adjectives are further distinguished by the fact that some can function as substantives with the determinant suffix (213.1) while others can not. Other characteristics and distinctions are discussed in the following paragraphs.

361. Preposed adjectives. These are distinguished by the fact that some (Class A) never function as substantives and that others (Class B) do.²⁴

361.1. Class A adjectives. This class is represented by only four members, viz. ?bay 'only, even, just,' gba 'big, real,' ŋma 'some,' and ó 'plural marker.'

?bay 'even, just, also.'²⁵

gó ?bay mɔ₁ kpém₂ ?món ne dǎá₃ ŋmaá₄ 'and just one₂ single thing₁, namely, keeping things from₃ one another₄'

?bay mɔ₁ nɔɔ₂ ne nzapá₃ deá₄ ɪn₅ wa₆, 'this₂ very thing₁ which God₃ did₄ for₅ them₆'

fey₁ gan yú₂ mɔ₃ ná, gó ?bay mundú₄ ne fey bá₅ 'death₁ doesn't run away₂ from anything₃, and death takes₅ even a white person₄'

?bay ze₁ deá₂, ne ?moná₃, go dǎŋ ɔ hé kpwá₄ 'even after night₁ comes₂, (it) continues₃ to cry₄'

gba 'big, real.' This adjective generally serves to distinguish one class of objects from another rather than to distinguish between two objects (as would be the case with bé and gāsá in bé-mo and gāsá mo 'little thing' and 'big thing' respectively). Such constructions as the following are therefore rare: tɔ̄ wen né gba géé 'speak loudly' and tɔ̄ wen nɛ bé-géé 'speak softly.' In fact, phrases containing the adjective gba are restricted in their meaning to certain referents. For example, whereas duwa is the word for 'goat,' gba duwa is not a 'big goat' nor even a 'real goat,' but a 'sheep.' In a sense there is greater specificity with this adjective. Almost all occurrences of gba are with nouns, but the following two phrases occur in the data, the first being a nominalized adjective (itself being derived from a verb form) and the second being a descriptive adverb: gba ʔdɛngáa 'a real big one' (< ʔdɛngi 'to be big'), gba yaŋ ʔdaŋ (or, yaŋ ʔdaŋ) 'mumps.' For example:

gba ɖay 'wound which covers up without healing properly' (ɖay 'wound')

gba sɔ̄, in kam-ɖ gba sɔ̄ 'food, memorial feast,' gba gba sɔ̄ 'the great spirit' (sɔ̄ 'spirit, shade')

gba geʔda 'certain manioc which bears one year after being planted' (geʔda 'manioc')

gba tuwa 'house kept empty for guests' (tuwa 'house')

gba wɔ 'famine' (wɔ 'hunger')

gba zawa 'ground nut: *Voandzeia subterranea*' (zawa 'peanut')

ɪma 'a, some, certain, few' (that is, an item or class of items representative of a larger group of the same):

ɪma₁ wí-ré₂ yɔ̄ɪ₃ wára₄ ré₅? 'Does a₁ person₂ eat₃ (the) village₃-fruit₄?'

tém₁ kpa₂ ɪma kóo₃ iye₄ 'where₄ should I₁ find₂ a wife₃?'

ɪma wen₁ bó ná₂ 'there's no₂ (further) word₁'

gan₁ ném₂ pi₃ ɪma₄ saʔde₅ nu kpém ná₁ 'I'm₂ not₁ going₂ to throw down₃ any₄ (of) the meat₅'

ó 'plural adjective.' This adjective is an optional marker of plurality.²⁶ (Number, in fact, is an obligatory category only in some of the pronouns and verbs.) The following comments describe its use: (1) Where plurality is implied or overtly signalled in the linguistic forms (e.g. wa 'they,' sɔn 'all,' dɛrá 'many'), it seems only to emphasize the fact of plurality. This is especially true with inanimate objects which generally do not take the plural adjective. For example, té né wara could mean 'bring (a) spade' or '(the) spades.' (2) It is used to introduce the fact of plurality which is implied in a substantive phrase containing the preposition {ín} 'with, and.' (3) It is occasionally used with personal names and kinship terms to indicate not plurality but respect (apparently as a parallel to the use of the plural pronouns for the same purpose). For example:

tɛ-ɖ kɔ̄-ríp₁ ó tɪ₂ wí-ré₃ 'in (the) eyes₁ of black₂ people₃'

ó dɛrá₁ wí-ré₂ '(the) crowd₁ of people₂'

bɔɔ-náj ó saʔde 'tracks of the animals'

ó mo-ɖɛ zɔ́gá 'things with which girls get dressed up'

ó wa nɔɔ nɛ gan zéé tɛ-rò náí 'those who don't obey'

ó gbɛré ín dila, a wa yáá 'Lizard and (the) Lion were strolling about'

ó ɪgɔɔɔŋ kíí₁ ré₂ tɛ₃ 'Ngɔɔɔŋ was looking for₁ us₂ (and) coming₃'

ó ʔdamba₁ deà₂ ʔnán₃ kosára₄ ín ré₅ ʔdé₆ '(the) people from the village of Damba₁ did₂ a very₆ bad₃ thing₄ to us₅'

361.2. Class B adjectives. The members of this class can function as substantives when they have the determinant suffix {-a} (213.1). They are distinguished by the fact that some are not derivable from any other word class (and are therefore included in a "closed class") whereas others are derivable from other word classes (and are included in an "open class").

361.21. Closed class adjectives. These are the following: bú 'white,' bura 'very large,' dé 'good,' déʔdé 'good,' mbé 'new,' and sóó 'small.' For example:

bú záan 'white clouds'
 bura kúnmgba 'a very large kúnmgba basket'
 dé kóo 'a good woman'
 déʔdé kóo ín ʔnán kóo 'good and bad women'
 ʔa kíʔdí mbé fiyo 'he looks for another fetish'
 sóó mpu-saʔde fíí 'just a little bit of meat'
 sóó naa 'maternal aunt' (= 'little mother')

361.22. Open class adjectives. These are adjectives which are derived from other word classes. Another description would exclude these from the adjective class and describe their "adjectival" use under syntax. Substantives and verbs can function as adjectives.

361.221. Adjectives from substantives. Substantives are said to function as adjectives when they occur in construction with and as attributes to another substantive. (This function contrasts with that one where the first substantive is head of a following substantival attribute and where the morpheme {ʔ} is present.) The examples are few; they are underlined below:

ám₁ heà₂ á₃ velóo₄ kóm₅ 'I₁ sold₂ my₅ old₃ (former) bicycle₄,' compare
 velóo kóm₁ deà₂ á₃ ʔdé₄ 'my bicycle₁ has gotten₂ very₄ old₃,'
 á mé tam₁ ndíñ₂ m₃ ná₄ 'don't₄ touch₁ dirty₂ things₃,' compare fóó₁
 ndíñ₂ há sən₃ 'wash₁ (the) dirt₂ out of it₃,'
 éré₁ gboá₂ ne kpém wesé₃ 'we₁ arrived₂ on the same day₃ (we went),'
 compare wesé kpém 'one day'

361.222. Adjectives from verbs. High tone perfective and imperfective verbs function as adjectives with the former being the more productive of the two. The perfective verbs can very often be translated by an English participial form, whose function, in fact, they parallel. The imperfective forms have perfective counterparts: the first describes what an object is by its nature; the second describes what an object is as a result of some event or process.

(a) Perfective adjectives:

ó dęrá wí-ré₁ són₂ 'all₂ (the) people₁' < dęr- 'to be numerous'
 gbęá mángo 'ripe mango' < gbę 'to be red, ripe'
 ʔnáná velóo 'ruined bicycle, wreck of a bicycle' < ʔnan 'to ruin, wreck'
 áyá bere₁ kóo₂ 'woman₂ (with) fallen breasts₁, an old woman' < 'to sprinkle, fall'

(b) Imperfective adjectives:

gbéŋ fara 'hot place' < gbéŋ 'to be hot'

gbé mɔ 'red thing'

ʔnáŋ mɔ 'bad thing'

362. Postposed adjectives. There are only two, both of which function as some kind of demonstrative: ná and nɔɔ.

362.1. ná hardly ever has an explicit translation in English, a fact illustrated by the following examples.²⁷ Except for the two expressions of time (first two examples), it is used exclusively in substantive phrases which themselves are used in quoted statements either in direct address to call someone's attention (by far the most common use) or in emphasizing the subject (of a sentence) with whom the speaker has some personal involvement (only one example, the last):

báraa ɪl ná mɛi 'the dry season before last'

tíyɛɛ ɪl ná mɛ 'two days before yesterday'

mise₁ tɔ̄ ye₂, mɪ ná₃, nɛ ge ndé₄. 'Monsieur₁ said₂ (to me), "Say₃, what's that₄?"'a₁ tɔ̄ ye₂, éré ná₃, nɛ ɛ₄ gbɛá₅ saʔde₆. 'He₁ said₂ (to us), "Hey you₃, I₄ killed₅ an animal₆."'foo₁ kɛ ɛ₂ ná ndé á baá zaŋ₃ wá '(he said), "My₂ mother-in-law₁ has become pregnant₃."'

nem tɔ̄ ye, mise ná nɛ 'and I said, "Hey Monsieur . . . "'

362.2. nɔɔ (sometimes nɔʔɔ) 'this' does not really contrast in meaning with any of the substitutes which mean either 'this' or 'that' (382.2), and in fact the information this word carries is sometimes negligible.²⁸ For example:

a₁ mɔ̄y₂ tɪj₃-wa₄ nɔɔ gɔɔ 'he₁ gathered₂ their₄ tails₃ together'óró₁ laa gata nɔʔɔ₂ mɛ gɔɔi₃ gá₁ 'like₁ this₂ Laa-gata over there₃'ge₁ re₂ gbó₃ sɛn-tɛ-na nɔɔ₄ 'so₁ we₂ arrived₃ here₄'mé₁ nɔɔ₂ nɛ mɛ bɛ₃ mbɔra₄ 'you₁ here₂ who reject₃ instructions₄'

370. Adverbs. Adverbs are those words which enter in construction with verbs. They are comprised of two classes, namely, the negative marker (371) and the descriptive adverbs (372).

371. The negative marker consists of the morphemes ná or (gan) . . . ná (where the dots indicate a discontinuous distribution and the parentheses an optional occurrence) whose distribution is for the most part describable in terms of the constructions with which they occur; these are discussed in the following paragraphs. The element gan also occurs sometimes as gɛn, especially before 3S a 'he, she' and gɔ before 1P re 'we.'

371.1. gan . . . ná occurs in both simple and compound sentences but not in constructions where only ná can occur. gan . . . ná is the mark of a negated sentence whereas ná is both that and also the mark of a negated verb expression. The position of gan is immediately preceding the verbal predicate except when the subject is a pronoun, in which case it precedes the pro-

noun. (Although no examples occurred in the texts, negative sentences including a negated verb expression do occur in the language. In other words, the following can occur: gan . . . [. . . ná] ná, where brackets indicate included verb expression.) Several sentences without gan but similar to if not identical with those having gan occur in the corpus, but they are insufficient to permit analysis. It is not uncommon for ná to be (probably inadvertently) left off in a long, involved sentence with several included clauses. For example:

ɲma mo ké ré wen-də wenáa gan bó ná 'there was nothing we could do about it' (= 'some thing of us to do about it is not')

gan₁ am₂ yɔɲ₃ mo₄ roy roy₅ ná₁ 'I₂ didn't₁ eat₃ things₄ indiscriminately₅'
gan₁ neá₂ ha₃ déá saa₄ hé ré₅ kpém₆ ná₁ '(it) would₂ not₁ have₂ given₃ us₅ any pleasure₄ whatsoever₆'

ɲma mo gan ó ɲgay gán nzapà 'there's nothing too strong for God'
(= 'some thing is strong surpasses God not')

gan₁ a₂ há₃ ri₄ hó wa₅ dók₆ wen-mo, nde wa₈ há₃ há₉ a₁₀ tɔ a há ri hó wa wen nśaa₁₁ ná₁ 'he₂ did not₁ give₃ them₅ much₆ water₄ for (the) things₇ they₈ gave₉ him₁₀ for which he was to give them water to drink₁₁' (that is, he gave them less water than what they 'paid' for)
gan₁ bó₂ ne mí₃ a ném₄ usi₅ mbéti hó wa ná₁ '(it) is₂ not₁ I₃ who will₄ teach₅ them to read' (= 'show paper to them')

371.2. ná occurs in the following environments as well as in those already described for gan . . . ná. Its position is last in a verb phrase, and in a sentence it is followed only by the final particles. It occurs not only with various types of verb phrases, but also with certain secondary sentence types. These are described below.

371.21. ná occurs in negated directives: á mé ne ná 'don't go!'; á mé ne₁ me yoo₂ zu-wa₃ ná 'don't go₁ (and) stand₂ over them₃'

371.22. ná occurs in verb phrases following the auxiliaries bo and ne when the meaning doubt or supposition is implied.

wí-ré₁ bó₂ ne gaza₃ ná 'if₂ people₁ aren't circumcised₃'

bó₁ o₂ ne yśá mo₃ kó mé₄ ná 'if₁ (it) should not be₂ your₄ fault₃'

né₁ mé₂ zɪm mo₃ ná 'if₁ you₂ should not observe the taboos₃'

371.23. ná occurs in dependent clauses:

tɛ₁ ri₂ fók₃ lánɣí₄ ná 'so that₁ (the) water₂ wouldn't flow₃ (and) pass₄ on'

wen há₁ ɲmgbéré₂ dé₃ mé₄ ná 'so that₁ leprosy₂ wouldn't afflict₃ you₄'

wa₁ bɛ₂ mo₃ nde wa₄ zóɲ₅ náí 'they₁ reject₂ the thing₃ which they₄ don't see₅'; compare gan wa bɛ mo nde wa zóɲ ne ríɸ₁-ró₂ ná 'they don't reject the thing which they see with their₂ eyes₁'

371.24. ná occurs in certain rhetorical questions. In some (following sé 'then,' and with o 'to be' when it occurs with the affix -V) there is no question marker in the sentence. In questions whose predicate is in the perfective, the question is marked by wéndé. (In a simple predication implying the noncompletion of an act, the perfective is otherwise not used.) For example:

mɛ ó kó mé ne koo óo ná 'aren't you a woman?' (said in derision)

nei gáy₁ mo₂ ?doo-moi₃ sé ná 'and shouldn't you scare₁ things₂ (that is, animals and birds) from under the things₃ (that is, plants)?'

wí-ré₁ nò₂, á ndòà₃ kó₄ ró₅ só kó₆ bém₇ kó ró feá₈ go₉ ró neá₁₀ biróai₁₁
 ná wéndé '(they said), "Didn't this₂ person₁ outrage₃ our₅ woman₄
 so that₆ our child₇ died₈ and₉ we went₁₀ (to) war₁₁?"'
 teá₁ wá₂ gbε₃ ηma ró kpém₄ wéndé gan₅ ríftó₆ ná wéndé '(they said),
 "Wouldn't they₂ have come₁ (and) killed₃ one₄ or₅ two₆ of us?"'

371.25. ná occurs with verbless secondary sentence types: that is (a) in an equational sentence consisting of the copula and a noun phrase, and (b) following g̃y 'like this,' where the more complete form has the verb ɔ 'to be,' such as:

né saa ná 'it's no joke'
 g̃y ná 'not like this'

372. Descriptive adverbs (henceforth abbreviated as DAs) are all other adverbs except the negative adverb. They are those words which occur in construction with verbs in endocentric verb phrases and are distinguished from substantives, which also occur in this position, by the fact that they never occur with the determinant suffix and never function as subject of a predicate. Since some occur as attributes of nouns (372.12 and 411.24), two classes are distinguished; the major part of this discussion deals with the second class.

Before the description of the DAs is begun, several sentences are cited to illustrate the use of these adverbs. It should be noted that although in this section these adverbs are frequently given glosses in adjectival form, this results from the convenience of using this class of word in English and does not suggest that the DAs are adjectival in nature. As a class, they apparently can occur in clauses with any verb but the auxiliaries. It is nevertheless true that many do occur in my corpus only with ɔ 'to be.' But there are enough instances where the same DA occurs both with the verb 'to be' and also with other verbs that one can safely conclude that there is no major class-defining restriction. (See also 414.4.) In the following examples the recurrence of the initial segments is not significant; these adverbs were all chosen from a point in an alphabetic list.

nó₁ aá₂ te-tú₃ rú₃ go₄ s̃₅ ηmgbá?buu₆. 'Oil₁ spilled₂ on (the) cloth₃ so₄ it's₅ heavy₆.'
 f̃₁ yɲà₂ yĩnaa₃ ηmgbá?dásá₄. 'He₁ gritted₂ his teeth₃ fearlessly₄.'
 wa₁ zéé₂ ηmgbal₃. 'They₁ hear₂ but don't act accordingly₃.'
 wa₁ wá₂ mɔ, wa₃ né₄ ηmgbelen ηmgbelen₅. 'They₁ are weeding₂ (the plot), (and) they₃ are going₄ at it in all directions₅.'
 wá₁ ?dafá₂ ?don-wáá₃ go₄ s̃₅ ηmgbel₆. 'They₁ fixed₂ (the) path₃, so₄ (it) is₅ clean of weeds₆.'
 me₁ t̃₂ nú-gbéyá₃ ηmgbel₄. 'You₁ talk₂ (the) Gbeyá language₃ without making mistakes₄.'

372.1. Classes of descriptive adverbs. Two classes are distinguished by the fact that some DAs can occur in attribution to nouns (preposed or postposed) in endocentric noun phrases and others never do. The second class is actually represented by only one member, ?dé 'very, a lot': búk yú ?dé 'the wind is blowing hard,' ɶ t̃ wɛn ?dé 'she talks a lot,' r̃kà ?dé 'it's very good.' The rest of this section deals with the preposed and postposed DAs.

372.11. Postposed DAs. This class is represented by only six members: ?bo 'also,' dóka 'much, many,' góo 'here,' gýy 'in this manner,' gbánj 'also accompanying,' són 'all, entirely.' In addition to being positionally distinctive from the preposed DAs, these adverbs have the following characteristics: they are short in form; they are (except for dóka) simple stems; and they are not extensively manipulated stylistically. For example:

?bo: am₁ mbá₂ mé₃ ?bo 'I₁ greet₂ you₃ also,' éré₁ tã₂ ínaa₃ ?bo 'we₁ came₂ with him₃ also'

dóka: kéey deà ré dóka 'we were very much afraid,' zéré₁ dé wa₂ dóka, go₃ wa fé₄ 'they₂ are sick₁ a lot, so₃ they dic₄,' bono-nánj₁-wa₂ ó dóka 'there were₃ a lot of their₂ tracks₁'

góo: sóó₁ tã₂ ó kporo kporo₄ góo₅ 'so that₁ my body₂ is₃ without blemish₄ here₅,' mise₁ a ðuj tã₂ me góoi₃ '(it's) Monsieur₁ coming₂ right over there₃,' go₁ rók₂ tã₃ góoi 'and₁ (which) pleases₂ me₃ here,' gaza₁ ne me₂ neã₃ góo '(the) circumcision rites₁ through which you₂ just passed₃,' á₁ né₂ óró₃ ná á₄ ne₄ óró laa-gata nó?ó me góoi gá₃ 'he₁ went₂ as if₃ to go₄, say, (in the direction of) Laa-gata here,' fara díye nóo ne gá re kpá wa ná góo (very freely trans.) 'this situation of our not finding them here'

gýy: dé₁ gýy sé₂ 'do (it) like this then₂,' bó gýy ná '(that) isn't the way,' ere₁ kp₂ ?dojáa₂ gýy ?bo₃ 'we₁ like it₂ like this too₃,' nem₁ né kóó-mise₂ ge?dék ge?dék₃ gýy ñmgbón₄ 'and I₁ followed Monsieur₂ slowly₃ like this for a long time₄,' wa₁ dé bisa₂ hó wa₃ gýy ne túrú₄ kó wai₅ gýy 'they₁ dressed₂ them₃ up like this in their₅ clothes₄,' wa₁ yú₂ gýy₃ 'they₁ fled₂ a long time₃,'

gbánj: ná á₁ ne₁ gbánj₂ ín₃ mé₄ te-galá₅ me₆ 'he shall go₁ along₂ with₃ you₄ to (the) market₅ there₆'

són: ám₁ gbo?dã₂ són₃ 'I₁ am completely₃ exhausted₂,' wa₁ tó mbora₂ hó wa₃ gýy₄ túu són₅ 'they₁ instruct₂ them₃ like this₄ fully₅,' bá₁ á₂ gón₃ wa₄ né gaza són₅ 'after₁ he's₂ finished₅ circumcising₃ them₄,' á gónã tã-gá són 'he considered it all'

372.12. Preposed DAs. This class is theoretically constituted by all the adverbs in the language not already mentioned. As a matter of fact, only a few such adverbs occur preposed to nouns in the corpus, and such an adjectival function of the adverbs is at any rate not common in the language (411.12). The number of members which constitute this class make it almost as important as the class of nouns or verbs. (Fifteen hundred occur in my dictionary.) These DAs are comparable to those words called "ideophones" in the literature on Bantu languages. As described by D. T. Cole, for example, they "are descriptive of sound, colour, smell, manner, appearance, state, action or intensity In effect therefore, ideophones are vivid vocal images or representations of visual, auditory and other sensory or mental experiences."²⁹ The following sections deal with their phonemic shape and derivation.

372.2. Phonemic shape. The most obvious characteristics of the phonemic shape of the DAs are the following: (1) They consist in very many cases of repeated elements; (2) they are generally much longer phonemically than are

the members of other word classes; (3) their vowels are usually identical; and (4) their tones are usually all high or all low.

Since further comments on their shape in this section are limited to the noncombined forms, the definition and characteristics of the combined forms are given in paragraphs (a) through (f). In brief, the combined DAs are those that consist of two or more elements, very often but not necessarily, at least one of which has morphemic status, set off from each other by open juncture. (Information about the shape of these combined forms can be obtained from the section on derivation below, 372.3.)

(a) Many forms consist of two elements at whose juncture consonant clusters occur which otherwise occur only at open juncture, such as: *dup dup*, *kép kép*, *fəp fəp*, *gbət gbət*, *ɲmgbət ɲmgbət*.³⁰ Cf. *ám₁ ndərə̀₂ dóp₃ ʔdól* 'I₁ shot₂ a water-buck₃ (and he fell) with one shot.'

(b) Many forms consist of two elements, one of which occurs in other forms, sometimes with a definable meaning, permitting their recognition as free morphemes (although with restricted occurrence), such as:

kir kir '(going, being) round,' *kiri* '(wood is) round,' *kiri wiri* '(ball, stone is) big and round,' *gbiʔdi kiri* 'large and short (person),' cf. *gbiʔdi gbiʔdi* 'large and tall (person)'

zoŋ zoŋ 'hard (pot),' *zoŋ ʔdoŋ* 'stiff (arm)'

For other examples, see 372.3.

(c) Many forms consist of two repeated elements, the first of which in some instances (apparently for stylistic purposes) is set off by a following pause. Only a few such examples occur in my texts, but I recall that this is a very common practice. Not enough examples occur to permit the description of any patterns in the differences of phonemic shapes of the forms. For example:

dún₁ wa₂ tɛ₃ kəʔdərə̀, kəʔdərə̀ 'they₂ began₁ to come₃, (making a noise)
...'

háy₁ ʔdɔɔ́wey₂ nɔɔ₃ mɔ́ gɣɣɣɣ, gɣɣɣɣ '(they) crept₁ through this₃ fire₂
(going) . . .'

gɛ́ɛ́-wa dún wéé ɲmgbəʔbək, ɲmgbəʔbɔ ɲmgbəʔbɔ 'their voices went
...'

wéé kpúgút, . . . dún wéé kpúgutu kpúgutu kpúgutu 'made a noise . . . ,
continued to go . . .'

dún₁ wa₂ sá gima₃ fu, fu, fu fu 'they₂ began₁ to sing₃ (going) . . .'

(d) Many forms consist of two (or more) repeated elements whose meaning is substantially the same as that of one of its elements. The device of repetition is a syntactic one, occurring with other word classes, having the meaning of intensity, repetition, continuation, etc. And in the case of these DAs, the meaning is somewhat the same. For examples, see derivation 372.3. Two other remarks must be made, however. First, there are some repeated forms which seem to have no meaning-resemblance to a nonrepeated form (at least in my data). Second, the majority of forms in the corpus are not paired with any nonrepeated form. But the converse is also true: Many nonrepeated forms never occur or only occasionally occur in a repeated form.

Where these characteristics are absent, the following two somewhat arbitrary rules decide whether a form is combined or not:

(e) All forms with only a repeated CV are taken to be combined unless the CV occurs as a free form. Thus: zázá, zizizi, zε?dε?dε, kokor, fu. (I assume that a form such as γεγεε could be repeated in whole.)

(f) All forms consisting of four syllables are taken to be combined of two words of unique occurrence because (1) the canonical forms of this word class (following the above analysis) do not contain four syllables, and (2) there remains the possibility that like so many other forms these too, with more data, would show one element turning up in other constructions. Here follows the complete list of this "residue," not an imposing one, considering the great number of the forms in the corpus: bera nda?du, folo fiyo, golo goto, gbere ngezeŋ, gboro go?dok, gboso ngolŋ, kpara ngusaŋ, kpoto mbiyo, kporo nŋonŋ, loko doro, luru kpuŋmgbuŋ, mbolo ?boto, ŋmgbala siyo, ŋmgboro ngondŋ, naŋma zi?ni, nda?da ŋmgbuŋ, ndoro ŋmgbor?dŋ, yuru ku?duk, wókó zóró. (Glosses here, in 372.21, and in 373.323 (i) have been regrettably omitted to save space.)

The description of the noncombined DAs follows, first grouped according to whether or not they contain repeated elements.

372.21. DAs which do not contain repeated elements have the following phonemic shapes:

CV	fu (rare)
CVV	?béé, hoo, fǽé
CVVC	ŋgɔri, ndéér, lóŋ
CVC	bəl, bēŋ, bəm, bót, but
CVCV	berc, vírí, seke, ru?du, ŋmgbor?do, lŋge
CVCVV	hɔmεε, bɔfεε, buyuu, fawɔ
CVCVC	biruŋ, bíríp, bukay, ?bárák, dɛlɛŋ
CVVCVC	láázák (rare)
CVVCVV	?dáá?díí, ʔaatií, fǽwɔɔ (rare)
CVCVCV	?deyere, dɔmoro, dékéré, doba?da
CVCVCVV	ndo?dilɔ, hēŋéréé, gogi?dɔɔ
CVVCVCV	?biikiri, ?beekere (rare)
CVCVCVC	dugulam (rare)

372.22. DAs which contain repeated elements are said to demonstrate complete or partial reduplication. Where there is partial reduplication, the reduplicated element may occur either initially or finally in the word.

372.221. Complete reduplication. When the reduplicated elements are CV, they are repeated three times; when they are CVV, they are repeated twice; and when they are VC, they are repeated twice and have a final echo vowel. Thus: bububu, fɔafaa, ɛlɛɛ.

372.222. Partial reduplication. The last four words are the only ones which demonstrate initial partial reduplication: doro 'placid (water),' bé?dé?dé ?bɔzɔɔ 'large (kernels),' kaka?da 'difficult,' gbgbot 'thick (paper),' koko?do 'strong (thick paper),' kokoroŋ '(circled) around,' cf. kor 'round.'

372.3. Derivation.³¹ The description of the derivation of the DAs concerns itself with linguistic derivation, i.e., where the source is within the

language itself. There is, however, nonlinguistic derivation, and a few words concerning this source of DAs are appropriate.

The nonlinguistic source is the world of sound mimicked in the DAs within the limits of the phonemic structure of the language. Since native-speakers of the language have a greater or lesser mimicking ability (yet always in my opinion much more than the speaker of English), and since the language permits the extensive use of DAs, it is very probable that hundreds of new forms are coined continually, but only a few of these ever become "words," that is, are generally accepted and used within a restricted community.

To be sure, onomatopoeic words are not too numerous in the data, for example, fét fét 'squeak of bicycle wheels,' ?diŋ ?diŋ 'walk of elephant on hard ground,' kákum 'roar of gun.'

Akin to onomatopoeia is the phenomenon of sound-symbolism or "secondary association":³² certain phonemes or groups of phonemes recur in forms which share a common meaning, although sometimes only a minimal one. It is probably true that many such cases are nothing more than examples of derivation by analogy, that is, where new forms are made to resemble old forms (see the words with /eŋ/ and /oŋ/ for 'hard' below). But I think that there is also some correlation between certain sounds and certain meanings. It is of some significance, for example, that several of the forms meaning 'many' or 'many different' contain the phoneme /k/: vək vək, ?dék ?dék, ŋmgbəŋ ŋmgbək. Needless to say, many contradictions to the "rule" in any case could be found. For example:

- raŋ 'sound made when a person runs on hard ground,' riŋ 'sound made when a small-hoofed animal runs on hard ground'
 gbeŋ gbeŋ, reŋ reŋ, réŋ réŋ, kéŋ kéŋ, zoŋ zoŋ, roŋ roŋ, yen yen '(all referring to some kind of) hardness or tightness'
 páŋm páŋlém, háŋm háŋm, pulam '(all referring to some kind of) lightness (in weight)'
 péŋlém 'narrow (like piece of paper),' polom polom 'long and widish (like peeled manioc skins)'
 mɔ?nuŋ mɔ?nuk 'soft (bone),' mu?nuŋ mu?nuk and gbu?nuk gbu?nuk 'soft (ground)'
 ndɔ?dɔlɔ 'undried, green (beans), resilient (undried skull),' ndɔ?dilɔɔ 'soft, weak (sick body)'

The linguistic sources are also limited. Most of the DAs are derived from other DAs, but a few bear enough resemblance to words of other word classes, that one might say there is derivation in one or another direction. These two sources are described as "regular" and "irregular" processes, for in one there are systematic morphophonemic alternations and syntactic structures and in the other there are not.

372.31. Irregular derivation. For the sake of convenience I distinguish between those DAs which are derived from non-DAs and those which are derived from DAs.

372.311. Derivation from non-DAs. The examples are few and of doubtful validity:

- boroy toy '(sit, be in one place) immoveable,' compare boro 'iron,'
zoy zoy 'hard'
- ʔbúró ʔbúró 'tiny (yams),' compare ʔburi 'shatter, break (like glass)'
- kokoroŋ '(brush fire circled) around,' compare kokor 'roof ring'
- kpyyŋ 'slipping out of one's hands,' compare kpyy 'to take off (clothes),
skin, bruise'
- ŋmgbobolo 'wide' (like mouth of ziya frog), related by informant to
ŋmgbók tóólo '(certain) frog'
- ndaʔdak ndaʔdak '(wood which) doesn't split well,' compare ndaʔdi
'to glue, stick together'
- rutuʔbay '(different kinds of sauces) mixed together,' compare ruti
'to mix together,' wá rutó kpoó né ŋmaá rutuʔbay 'they mixed the
sauces together . . .'
- wakap wakap 'noises made in going through dry grass,' compare waka
'cane-grass'

372.312. Derivation from DAs. The DAs are said to be irregularly derived from other DAs if they have some form and meaning in common, but are not correlated by systematic patterns (like those in 372.32 below). Yet a few can be described in terms of certain morphophonemic features in the language and, in two instances, of other dialects. Some of these are the same as those described under morphophonemics (133.1, 2), but they are included here because, while there are regular phonological alternations which are not correlated with any meaning difference, there may be differences in the following examples which escaped me. It is possible that here too we are confronted, at least in some cases, with the phenomenon of secondary association. With more data and a better control of the meanings, I might have been able to subsume all of these examples under a single classification.

372.312a. Words characterized by certain regular alternations.

(1) With vowel alternations:

roke roke 'rattling loose (as stone in gourd),' røkε røkε 'loose (spear-head on shaft)'

gaŋ ʔbilaŋ, gŋŋ ʔbilŋŋ 'twisted, bent'

ndoŋ kuléŋ, ndŋŋ kuléŋ '(sit around after illness) not doing anything'

(2) With consonant alternations or loss:

yándáŋ, rándáŋ '(walls of hole) clean straight up and down' (one informant rejected the first word and used the second for this meaning)

kpyreŋ 'smooth (of wood),' kpyre 'smooth (of skin)'

fɔk 'disorderly, useless,' fɔʔ '(do something) without getting results'

yóʔdé yóʔdé '(shoes) not sturdy,' yóré yóré '(cloth) not sturdy';

séʔdéʔdé 'completely filled,' séréré 'filled and slightly spilling over.' The /ʔd/ : /r/ alternation occurs on a dialectal level, the former in Gbaya words and the latter in cognate words in the Gbaya dialect of Bouar.

372.312b. Words not characterized by an alternation. Some are correlated with a shorter free form, and some are not.

(1) With shorter free form. Several of these might be described as "fused forms" since they contain phonemic segments from each element of a combined form: fɛɛ, fɛwɔɔ '(talk) softly'; rék rék '(write something down) just as one heard it,' rékét 'caught in the act (of stealing)'; gboʔdɔk, gboro goʔdɔk 'strong (salt)'; yekere, yeke reke 'troubled'; kpiʔdiri, kpiri kiʔdi 'dull (knife).'

(2) With no shorter free form: lát, sát 'all'; ruʔbay, huʔbay '(people come) in large numbers'; gbɔngom, rɔngom '(fires meet) with loud noise'; diŋ kiriŋ '(water in cove) not flowing,' ʔdiŋ kiriŋ '(sit) without saying anything'; yɛŋɛɛ, yɛŋ kɛɛŋ '(glued papers came) apart'; kɛŋɛŋ 'stiff (lion's tail),' kek seʔde 'strong'; lakam lakam '(read) haltingly' (my informant compared this with lakaʔdi '(eat) very little').

372.32. Regular derivation. The regular or patterned devices used in the derivation of DAs are modification, reduplication, and combination. The bases involved are either free (although either of nonrestricted or restricted occurrence) or nonfree. The terms are defined and further classification is made below.

372.321. Derivation by modification involves the change in the phonemic shape of a free or nonfree base: a vowel is added or the tone(s) changed.

(a) Addition of vowel. The addition of a vowel occurs in free forms and in combined forms.

(1) The addition of a vowel in free forms occurs as final VV. In a few instances such a form can be correlated with words ending either with a C or a V, but the majority of forms can not thus be correlated and must be described as being derived from a nonfree base. All such words share the meaning of "extension of the quality in question." Although the quality of the vowel can not be predicted on the basis of the present data, there is a tendency to vocalic harmony (for which see 112.2).

Derived from free base:

hiyuu '(river flows) swiftly	hiyu hiyu '(red pepper is) hot'
kutɛɛ '(see) dimly'	kutɛ kutɛ 'soft'
tɔkɛɛ 'listless'	tɔk sɔʔdɔ 'drowsy'

Derived from nonfree base:

bɔfɛɛ 'long, draping down (of clothes)'
 buyuu 'noise of people talking at once and not listening to each other'
 dayaa 'circles (being made by stone thrown into water)'
 fawɔɔ 'noise made by snake going through grass'
 hɔmɛɛ 'misty (condensation of water in bottle)'
 féwóó 'quiet (not a person in sight or talking)'

(2) The addition of a vowel to a free form with final C is seen in combined forms. The vowel is always that which occurs in the free form. For example:

ʔbetɛ ʔbetɛ '(read) well	ʔbet '(arise) without saying anything'
koto koto '(pot leaks) continuously'	kot '(snatch something away) quickly'
ŋmgbɛɛ ŋmgbɛɛ 'level (road)'	ŋmgbɛl 'clear of rubbish'
gbɔŋɔ lɔŋɔ 'tall (person)'	gbɔŋ 'straight (road)'
ndɔŋgó yóŋgó	ndɔŋ 'far, far away'

(b) Change of tone(s). The change in tone involves noncombined and combined forms, and functions to distinguish between two otherwise homophonous forms. The correlation is between forms with low tone(s) and those with high tone(s). In the case of some combined forms another pattern obtains, for which see below. A large number of forms paired in this way have some semantic common denominator; perhaps all do, and my data were only insufficient for the rest.

(1) Change of tones with no segmental change:

vɛl vɛl, véɪ véɪ 'long (spear head)'

sip '(tightened and) fast (because bottom is flat),' síp '(shoes fit) tightly'

pirip pirip '(talk) too fast,' pírip '(pass) without being seen'

ɲmgbɛl 'level,' ɲmgbéɪ 'prostrate (on ground)'

mbɔɔ ʔbɔɔ 'soft (plastic dish),' mbóló ʔbótó 'thin (paper)'

mɛnɛɲ 'soft (European mattress),' ménénɛ 'soft (cooked squash)'

keʔdɛɲ keʔdɛɲ '(roof leaks) drop by drop,' kéʔdén kéʔdén '(pot leaks) flowing out'

hoforo 'empty (box),' hófóró 'headless (axe handle)'

fot '(cut something soft) easily,' fót '(slip out) easily'

ʔbet '(arise and leave) without warning or saying anything,' ʔbét '(grab something from someone) abruptly'

boɲ 'open (space between words on page),' bóɲ '(sky) cleared (of clouds)'

ʔdɛkɛ ʔdɛkɛ '(young peanut plants) all over (plot),' ʔdéké ʔdéké 'exhausted'

fij 'dark, poor visibility,' fíf 'little, few'

gbɔɲ kálɔɲ 'wide (crate),' gbán kálán '(a few people fleeing) hurriedly'

gbɔɲ gbɔɲ 'cleared, clean,' gbón gbón '(hit) hard'

hɛl hɛl '(be) hot (in sun),' hél hél 'uneven, disproportionate (cuts of meat)'

keɲ keɲ 'shivering (from cold),' kén kén 'hard (pumped up tire tube)'

kusu kusu '(body) itching all over,' kúsú kúsú '(sunlight) pouring down (on something)'

kperɛɲ 'smooth (board),' kpérén '(walk) slowly as if looking for something'

lɔɲ lɔɲ '(earth) soft, free of stones,' lón lón 'completely bald'

ɲmgbalala 'thick (honey),' ɲmgbálálá 'light (from moon)'

(2) Change of tones with segmental change. Combined forms consisting of two reduplicated elements with low tones are correlated with others having high-low-high tones on three elements, the second one usually being a form shortened by the loss of a syllable (that is, CV) or a phoneme (C or V). In most cases the meanings of the two forms are (as far as I was able to determine) identical and the difference seems to be stylistic, but there is some semantic difference in a few forms. The examples are here grouped according to the kind and amount of segmental change involved.

No segmental change: bíl bil bíl '(talk) evasively (because caught stealing),' ndún ndún ndúk '(act) evasive (because caught stealing),' ɲgán ɲgɔɲ ɲgák '(place is) rocky (stones scattered everywhere); yénɲém yɛɲɲém yénɲém '(go) here and there (as in looking for employment).'

Loss of CV: ʔbééré ʔbe ʔbééré '(walk) fast'; kpárú kpa kpárú '(listen) half-heartedly'; gbítí gbi gbítí '(get up) in haste'; wótó wó wótó '(many people) making noise (by talking in undertone) : woto woto '(two or three people) making noise.'

Loss of C: dém de dém 'frantic (at the death of someone),' kp̄p̄ kp̄ kp̄p̄ 'lumpy (dough)'; kp̄k̄ kp̄ kp̄k̄ 'descriptive of many knots on tree'; pán pa pán '(roam around) usually alone'; táŋ ta táŋ '(pedaling bicycle) up and down' : taŋ taŋ 'beating (of heart).'

Loss of V: kée ke kée 'condition of eyes in reaction to bright light'; yáá ya yáá '(running around) doing evil.'

372.322. Derivation by reduplication involves those words with identical terminal CVCVs. The final CV is taken to be a reduplication of the preceding because of the correlation between words which are characterized by such sequences and those which are not (even though for some words it means setting up hypothetical base forms). This is not the only use of the process of reduplication; it occurs stylistically in the structuring of sentences and in the composition of combined DAs. Words having reduplicated elements are classified according to whether the reduplication is complete or partial.

(a) Complete reduplication. The examples are divided according to whether the repetition occurs twice or three times. None of these is correlated with a nonreduplicated word.

(1) Twice repeated. These always involve reduplication of an element consisting of CVV: d̄p̄s̄ d̄p̄s̄ '(come) always,' fafaaa '(stomach hurts) . . . ,' ŋḡeŋḡe '(look for someone) here and there,' páápáá 'completely (gone),' v̄oov̄o '(rain) hard with much thunder.'

(2) Repeated three times. These always involve reduplication of an element consisting of CV: bububu 'budded (cotton),' zizizi '(roasting meat) sizzling,' zozozo '(condition of person who is) perspiring a great deal.'

(b) Partial reduplication. The reduplication involves the repetition of a final CV of a free or assumed base. Some assumed bases are in turn correlated with free ones, the latter ending with a C and the former ending with an added echo vowel. Once again, some of the correlated pairs have some meaning in common, and the others do not.

(1) Correlated with free bases.

Without intermediate base:

kususu 'descriptive of certain tuber' : kusu kusu '(itch) terribly all over'

kpiʔdiʔdi '(smells) bad, strong' : kpiʔdi kpiʔdi '(fame spreads) all over'

ŋḡer̄er̄e 'descriptive of rising of sun' : ŋḡer̄e ŋḡer̄e '(walk about) in a rapid, nervous sort of way, looking for something'

w̄er̄er̄e 'descriptive of person coming through dry grass' : w̄er̄e w̄er̄e '(beer) sweet (before fermenting)'

With intermediate base:

mb̄ol̄ol̄o '(lie) around (fire)' : mb̄ol̄ mb̄ol̄ '(hawk flies) in circles'

ŋm̄ḡbalala '(honey is) thick' : ŋm̄ḡbal '(leave child) alone and uncared for'

tututu '(go into something) without worrying about consequences' : tut
 '(pull away firebrand) suddenly'
 vokokó 'many objects (all white),' but also descriptive of newly sprouted
 corn plants : vok vok 'many different things'

(2) Correlated with nonfree bases. The examples are numerous, and only a few are given: dɔrɔɔ 'limpid (pond),' bɪsisi 'descriptive of aroma of perfume,' fé?dé?dé '(chase someone away) with severity,' fé?mé?mé 'narrow (bird's bill),' hɛŋmgbɛŋmgbɛ 'good-flavored (salt),' ɛlɛlɛ 'descriptive of rabbit fur bending in breeze,' ʒréré ~ ʒrírí 'sweet (like candy),' ururu 'rumbling (of elephant's stomach),' ususu 'descriptive of angry animal's fur standing up.'

372.323. Derivation by combination is of two types: (1) the combination of forms at least one of which is either a free noncombined word or a recurrent form with a constant meaning in several different combined forms (as in a,2 and b,1 below), and (2) the combination of forms of unique occurrence (as in a,1 and b,2).

Two major types of combined forms are distinguished: those consisting of dissimilar words and those consisting of similar words. This distinction rests on the fact that there are many combined forms in which the second word is more or less unlike the first. They are clearly distinct from those forms with completely reduplicated forms. However, some are characterized by phonemic dissimilation that resembles the dissimilating pattern of the reduplicated forms.

A very interesting feature of combined forms (of both classes) is that there are many nonfree words which share both a minimal phonemic shape and meaning with other words. Since, however, these never occur independently, I can not be sure how much of the meaning of the entire combined form is carried by these words in question and how much is carried by the first word. One analysis would attribute to the second form (which is usually the patterned one, the one with least phonemic distinctiveness) the basic meaning and consider the other one a refining or distinguishing word, a type of modifier. For example, all combined forms containing a "word" which has the shape kVsV share the meaning of 'unevenness, deviation from a norm.' Thus: wɔɔ kɔɔ '(pounded grain sorghum) but not yet soft'; kɔɔ kɔɔ 'hob-nailed (shoes), bumpy (Braille dots), uneven (edges of paper chewed on by mouse)'; wolo koso 'tasteless (where sweetness is expected).' The precise function of the first word is, however, unclear. In the case of kɔɔ kɔɔ 'healthy (skin unaffected by leprosy),' for example, the meaning seems to be 'very nice and smooth, even.' See also wolo koso 'sound of water flowing in gutter.' A similar problem obtains in the dissimilated forms of the reduplicated combined forms. This is indeed an intriguing problem, but its solution can not be resolved, I feel, without two or three times the amount of data at our disposal.

(a) Combination of dissimilar words. Many of these consist of words similar in shape and meaning to other words. For the reasons given above, these forms are called combined forms with recurrent partials. The others have no recurrent partials, that is, they are of unique occurrence. I feel, neverthe-

less, that with an abundance of additional data many of these would turn up with semantic distinctiveness.

(1) Combined forms with dissimilar nonrecurrent partials. This list is complete: mbolo ?boto, mbóló ?bótó, loko doro, ndoro ngmbo?doro, ngmboro ngondoro, nda?da ngmbo, golo goto, gboro go?dok, kpoto mbiyo, kpro ngoro, bera nda?du, ndel ?be, folo fiyo, kpara ngusan, luru kpu ngmbu, ngara ngasa, kpiri ki?di, ?ni? mo, gbám gbím, gbaj ?mura, boroy toy, pá m púlém, ndoro kulé.

(2) Combined forms with dissimilar recurrent partials. The examples are grouped according to the form of the recurrent word, which is cited formulaically since its vowel or vowels are usually like those of the word which precedes it. This list is complete:

fVrV: gba?da fara 'small,' ngmbo?do foro 'small (dog)'

kVrV: ngutu kuru 'short (tuber),' ba?da kara 'short and fat (person)'

sV?dV (meaning of extension or constriction): ?dik si?di '(sit) unmoving (that is, not getting up to greet people who are returning with meat),' dók só?dó 'shallow (river),' gbak sá?dá (or gbák?) 'flat (plate),' gbek se?de 'wide-bottomed (gourd),' kók so?do 'bent (head of war-club),' tok so?do 'drowsy,' kó?bó só?dó 'long (bird bill),' dom so?do 'tasteless (not enough salt),' hák sá?dá 'tight (hat which doesn't fit),' kek so?de 'strong, healthy (child),' kék sé?dé 'thin (person after illness)'

?bVrV (quality of being hard, inflexible): deke ?bere 'descriptive of squatting,' goso ?boro 'stiff (new mat, tire),' ngasa ?bara 'hard,' ngara ?bara 'hard (ground),' saka ?bara 'sandy sensation (in eyes)'

?bVIV (quality of being supple, flabby, yielded): mboko ?boko 'supple, soft (cat's body),' zaka ?bila '(different kinds of sauces) mixed together,' roko ?biyo 'loose-jointed (corpse before rigor mortis),' compare roke roke '(spearhead) loose (on shaft).' Perhaps ?biyo can be explained by alternation of /l/ and /y/ (see phonemics 133.1).

sV?nV: ni?k si?ni 'wrinkled,' gbak sa?na 'unprepared to give a gift (flustered?)'

IVrV: bok lero 'wet (wood),' hep lere (translation not determined)

ngVIVng: gboso ngoloro 'loose, untied (rope),' gbeze ngere 'unprepared.'

These are subsumed under one formula because of the alternation that is possible between /l/ and /r/ (see 133.1).

sV (quality of being in disorder, deviating from accepted pattern): gbok so '(come) unexpectedly,' ?mam su 'large, whole (manioc), large, rotten, unclean (tooth),' ngmbuk su 'descriptive of being angry and puckering up one's mouth,' wak sa '(what they say does not agree, it's still) in disagreement'

yVrV: gbé ngmbé yéré '(appeared in front of the lions) all of a sudden, unprotected,' ngoko yoro 'uncleaned (unhoed and unlevelled front yard)'

?dVng: ndoro ?doro 'thick (cloth),' compare ndoro ?boloro 'round (tree trunk); ngmbo?doro 'fat and tall,' róro ?doro 'short and thin,' yoro ?doro '(stay in one place) without going on ahead,' zoro ?doro 'stiff (arm),' compare zoro zoro 'hard (pot)'

- ʔbVlVŋ: ndiŋ ʔbiriŋ '(be) disinterested, still (because of cold),' compare ndiŋ 'quality of not being able to ring'; gaŋ ʔbilaŋ 'twisted, bent,' compare gaŋ 'no pep (after eating),' ndoŋ ʔboloŋ 'round (tree trunk)'
- dVŋ: ŋməŋ dəŋ 'caved in (bottom of basket),' naŋ diŋ 'tough (meat),' teŋ dəŋ 'stiff (neck)'
- ʔnVŋ: diŋ ʔniŋ 'heavy (spear),' kēŋ ʔnéŋ 'descriptive of last quarter of moon,' ŋmaŋ ʔnaŋ 'big and fat,' sōŋ ʔnōŋ (make house) small'
- kVrVŋ: ʔdōŋ koroŋ '(body) swollen (in illness),' compare ʔdōŋ ʔdōŋ 'large (bundle of h̄fi grass)'; diŋ kiriŋ 'nonflowing (water in cove),' compare diŋ ʔniŋ 'above'; gbaŋ kalaŋ 'wide (crate),' compare gbaŋ gbaŋ 'open wide (mouth of lion's den)'; kpāŋ kálāŋ '(open door) wide,' soŋ koroŋ '(sit on ground) squatting,' woŋ koroŋ (same as soŋ koroŋ), wōŋ kōlōŋ 'descriptive of house with walls up but untied'
- kpVŋ: rōŋ kpōŋ '(river flows) smoothly,' gōŋ kpōŋ '(crocodile swishes tail) back and forth'
- sVŋ: gaŋ saŋ '(killed big game) with one shot,' gōŋ sōŋ '(lumber) piled up,' saŋ soŋ 'descriptive of spear-shafts being different'

(b) Combination of similar words. The forms in this class consist of a base and a reduplicated form. The reduplicated form can occur without change or with change. In the latter the change consists primarily of different types of dissimilation. The examples are grouped accordingly.

(1) Combinations with a reduplicated form without change. Once again some combined forms can be paired with a nonreduplicated form and some can not. The following is a complete list of the former kind. It should be noticed once more that there may or may not be a similarity in meaning between the reduplicated form and its nonreduplicated base.

Correlated words with similar meanings:

- gelem gelem '(runs) fast,' gelem 'descriptive of fire flaming up'
- zcm zcm '(his liver is) cool (so he does good),' zcm 'cool'
- yɛm yɛm 'many (people),' yɛm 'descriptive of many people rising'
- yɛɛ yɛɛ '(carry book) without knowing how to read it,' yɛɛ '(carry something) heavily'
- ŋgóróm ŋgóróm 'descriptive of house knocked down by wind,' ŋgóróm '(whirlwind carried) many of them away'
- ŋmgbón ŋmgbón, ŋmgbón 'a long time'
- lám lám '(hear) obediently,' lám '(come) right away'
- kər kər '(write) rapidly,' kər '(blood) gushes out'
- gbot gbot '(tree big but) weak,' gbot 'descriptive of lion breaking buffalo's neck'
- gbər gbər '(numerous people stand around) doing nothing,' gbər 'untied (firewood)'
- zēŋ zēŋ, zēŋ 'straight'
- ŋmgbeləŋ ŋmgbeləŋ '(cutting grass) in all directions,' ŋmgbeləŋ 'cleared (plot of land)'

Correlated words with no similar meanings:

dələŋ dələŋ '(love someone) always,' dələŋ '(see) at a glance'
 fót fót 'everyone, all (leave),' fót '(come out) easily'
 gboŋ gboŋ 'cleared (path),' gboŋ '(shoot animal) with one shot'
 ŋgón ŋgón '(come) fast,' ŋgón 'always being "on the go"'

(2) Combinations with a reduplicated form with change. The change consists of (a) the replacement of the first C of the reduplicated form with another C, (b) the replacement of the first V by another V, (c) by the replacement of the first CV, (d) and by the loss of the final V. The examples are grouped accordingly.

Replacement of the first C. Several types of replacements occur. The more important, grouped according to the replacing C, are the following: C > /w/, /y/, or /l/; /y/ > /r/. Many of the forms in each of these groups have a common, although perhaps minimal meaning.

C > w:

ʔbótó wóró 'descriptive of sensation in ears upon hearing loud noise'
 kéré wéré '(knock something) clean off'
 kiri wiri 'round (like ball)'
 mbélé wélé 'crazy, crazily'

C > y:

bunŋu yunŋu 'descriptive of people talking at once'
 gbéŋmgbé yéré '(appear in front of lions) unexpectedly'
 haka yaka 'rough (unplanned lumber)'
 keŋge yeŋge 'crumpled'
 koŋgo yoŋgo 'tough (meat)'
 nŋku yŋku 'wrinkled (dried hide)'
 ndónŋó yónŋó 'far away'
 saŋa yaŋa 'intermeshed (tree roots)'

C > l:

gbəŋgə ləŋgə 'descriptive of standing around, not working hard'
 séŋé léŋé 'filled to brim'
 téŋgé léŋgé 'tall and thin'
 túŋgú lúŋgú '(go) far away'

C > r (see below for more examples):

dəŋe rəŋe 'swollen (leg)'
 yeke reke 'troubled, frightened'

C > n. There is only one example: baŋa naŋa 'only (one).'

Replacement of the first V. This consists of replacing /a/ by /u/. The patterned association of the vowels /a/ and /u/ is seen in many other combined forms. For example:

gaʔda guʔda 'dirty (water)'
 hala hula 'light in weight by nature (cotton)'
 laŋmŋba luŋmŋba 'swaying (motion of the loin cloths of dancing men)'
 raʔda ruʔda 'descriptive of fleas crawling on dog's body'
 vana vuna 'condition of ground not well weeded'
 yaŋpa yuŋpa 'descriptive of spearing (old mat in practice)'

Replacement of C and V. In these examples the patterns for replacing the C are among those cited above. The patterns for the vowel replacement are different ones. For example:

faka luka 'scaly'

yongɔ riŋgɔ 'longish (stone)'

kɔŋgɔ rɪŋgɔ 'longish (squash which is not generally very long)'

yɔŋa rɪŋa 'weakened (by illness)'

Loss of final V. There is only one example:

nmgbilɪ ŋmgbil 'black (like river-otter's fur)'

380. Substantives. Substantives comprise two classes of words: nominatives (or simply nouns) and their substitutes. They are treated in 381 and 382 respectively. The greatest privileges of occurrence for the class are characteristic of the common nouns: (1) they occur with the determinant suffix; (2) they occur as heads of endocentric noun phrases with adjectives, prepositional phrases, verbs, or other nouns as attributes; and (3) they occur in exocentric constructions in prepositional phrases or as actors (or subjects) of verbal predications.

381. Nominatives. In the following sections are described their classes (381.1) and their derivation (381.2). For regular allomorphic changes see 132, 212.2, 213.1, and 213.2.

381.1. Classes. The nominatives comprise two classes: common nouns and proper nouns.

381.11. Common and intimate nouns. The common nouns have the greatest freedom of syntactic distribution of all substantives and can occur with the substantival suffixes. They are composed of two classes, the intimate and the nonintimate. The intimate nouns are characterized by the fact that they occur with the suffixal or free personal pronouns with the meaning of possession whereas the nonintimate nouns must be followed by a prepositional phrase with kó 'of.' The intimate nouns are names of body-parts and the nouns ʔbiya or ŋmaá 'friend,' yám 'father,' and kor- 'grandfather'—but only in the phrase bé-kor- 'grandchild' (otherwise koo kóm 'my grandfather'). However, intimate nouns do occasionally occur with the prepositional phrase: yám kóm 'my father,' kɔ-sɛra ké ré 'our hearts' (= 'liver'). For example:

yám₁-mɛ́₂ feà₃ wéndé. 'Did₃ your₂ father₁ die₃?'

wí-ré₁ yáá₂ ín₃ ʔbiya₄-fɛ₅ 'a person₁ goes around₂ with₃ his own₅ friend₄'

ám₁ ndorà₂ kú₃-gá₄ 'I₁ shot₂ its₄ leg₃'

381.12. Proper nouns. These are names of persons, dogs, and places. They are distinguished from the common nouns by a much more restricted distribution: They do not occur with any of the substantival suffixes and they occur as heads of nominative phrases only with the attributes ó 'plural marker,' ŋma 'some, a certain,' and nɔ́ 'this.' The construction ŋma plus a place name means 'a certain person from . . .' Thus: ŋma ndurí (or more explicitly ŋma wí-ndurí) tɛ́á 'a certain person from Ndurí came.' For the use of ó with personal names see 361.1. Examples are:

am₁ zók₂ ó bana-sére ín₃ yám-wara me₄ 'I₁ see₂ Bana-sére and,
Yám-wara over there₄'

bana-sére nóó 'this (fellow) Bana-sére!'

ám₁ neà₂ te-ndurí me₃ 'I₁ went₂ to Ndurí there₃'

Personal names consist of one word or several words in syntactic relationship to each other. Since the analysis of the composition of personal names is best taken up in a discussion of their meaning and use, a subject beyond the scope of this grammar, it must suffice to simply list several names taken at random: dan sé 'twin(s) then,' doo fón 'interfere with sorghum,' dom 'penis,' dè kóí sé 'make your own first,' dé kofé bó ná 'there are no good in-laws,' déá nam feá é 'treating relatives well is dead,' dé nam gán 'treat relatives well in vain.'

381.2. Derivation. Nominatives are derived by affixation and compounding.³³

381.21. Affixation. Nominatives are derived by the affixation of the nominalizing suffix {-i₃}, the morpheme 'V, and zero.

381.211. The suffix {-i₃} occurs with low tone imperfective verbs. Thus: sii kóm 'my returning,' nei₁ nem₂ né₃ góó₄ 'this₄ going₁ which I₂ go₃,' wí-zíí 'a tall person.' For a more complete discussion of this morpheme, see 211.4.

381.212. The suffix 'V occurs with verbs, adverbs, and nouns. See 213.3.

381.213. Zero occurs with low tone imperfective and high tone perfective verbs.

(a) With low tone imperfective verbs:³⁴ tom 'message' < tom 'to send.' Thus, tóm₁ tom₂ hǎ ǎ₃ 'send₁ him₃ a message₂,' bé-tom 'messenger,' you tom 'to run with a message.'

(b) With high tone perfective verbs. Nominalized high tone perfective verbs usually occur with the determinant suffix, but there are a few which need not occur with this suffix. For example: dé má 'a crowd of people' < dēm 'to be many,' sóká 'wisdom' < sok 'to mature,' néáa₁ ó₂ gére₃, ne₄ síóa₅ gan rém ná₆ 'going₁ was₂ all right₃, but₄ returning₅ was awful₆' < ne 'to go' and si 'to return.'

381.22. Compounding. Nominatives are derived by combining free forms either in syntactic or nonsyntactic relationship to each other. The first (381.221-225) are called syntactic compounds or phrase nouns and the second (381.226) nonsyntactic compounds. One characteristic of compound nominatives is that none of them ever occurs with the determinant suffix.

381.221. Noun + noun. In these one noun is head and the other its attribute, the relationship being signalled by the presence of the morpheme {''}. In only the first of the following examples does one of the nouns explicitly identify the object:

te-fútó 'mint bush' (perhaps used in the swatting of flies) < 'tree, bush'
+ 'sweet flies'

zu-fara 'rubbish heap' < zu 'head, top of' + 'place'

- toro^ˊkɔ 'certain spider' (= 'dog of hole') < 'dog' + 'hole'
 dom^ˊko 'ko tree sprout' (= 'penis of ko') < dom 'penis' + ko 'a certain palm tree'
 ʔbaka^ˊziya 'certain sorghum' < ʔbaka 'foreleg' + 'a certain frog'
 bé-duk 'pestle' < 'child' + 'mortar'
 nú-wey 'clan' < 'mouth, edge' + 'fire'

381.222. Descriptive adverb + noun. The examples are limited to the following two where, as in the preceding section, the relationship of the two constituents is marked by the occurrence of the morpheme {^ˊ}: nduu^ˊri 'river otter' < nduu 'fuzzy (like rabbit fur)' + 'river,' yɔrɔrɛ^ˊwesé 'certain snake' < yɔrɔrɛ 'cool' + 'sun.'

381.223. Adjective + noun. The following is the only example: gbé béem 'certain tree toad' < 'brown' + 'child.'

381.224. Verb phrases.³⁵ These consist of a verb (in the imperfective low tone form) plus a noun complement which may in turn be followed by a descriptive adverb. For example:

- sɛn mɔ 'spitefulness' < 'to hate' + 'thing'
 sɔy dam 'certain sorghum' < 'to come up, sprout' + 'granary'
 zum yara 'sleeping sickness' < 'to duck or nod one's head' + 'sleep'
 gbɪn tɛ 'eland' < 'to break' + 'tree'
 kɔy oro 'certain dove' < 'to beg' + 'place'
 toy fuk 'donkey' < 'to carry' + 'flour'
 ɔm búu 'tenth lunar month' < 'to cut, appear' + 'white'
 du wey zɛ́ɛ 'firefly' < 'to light a fire' + 'fire' + 'burning low'

381.225. Clauses. These are distinguished from the preceding class by having a verbal predicate as one of the constituents. In most cases there is also a formal subject. For example:

- tɪj gbé 'certain fish' < 'tail' + 'is red'
 dom ɲmgbáá tɛ 'certain bat' < 'penis' + 'hung (upon)' + 'tree'
 wesè ré ɲmgbóŋ ná 'certain snake' < 'sun' + 'sets' + 'long ago' + 'not'
 (= 'sun won't be long in setting')
 mɔy zɛ́p 'thirteenth lunar month' < 'gather' + 'one place'

381.226. Noun + noun in nonsyntactic relationship. These are compounds where the morpheme {^ˊ} is absent. In only some instances (see the first four below) is the object identified by a word in the compound. In these one could perhaps identify the first element as the head of the construction, but in the others such an identification seems improbable. At any rate, the list is so short that any more precise statement would only be ad hoc. For example:

- zoro ɔɔ 'leopard fish' (the body markings of which resemble those of a leopard) < zoro 'fish' + ɔɔ 'leopard'
 tɛ zoro 'certain tree' (the small branches of which are used by women to string fish for roasting) < tɛ 'tree' + zoro 'fish'
 duwa díǵí 'sheep' < 'goat' + díǵí 'eagle'
 dom bere 'certain tree (which grows along streams, the fruit of which

resemble long gourds, having the shape of pendulous breasts)' < dom 'penis' + bere 'breast'

bɔɔ dɛɛ 'certain tree' < bɔɔ 'stupidity, foolishness' + dɛɛ 'certain tree'

zera nduy 'certain liana (the leaves of which are said to resemble the ears of the nduy mouse)' < zera 'ear' + 'a certain mouse'

382. Substitutes. These comprise not only the personal pronouns but also all other words that could conceivably replace members of the nominative class. They are demonstrative, interrogative, numerative, locative, temporal, reciprocal, and quantitative substitutes. For an alternative classification of all but the personal pronouns, see note 2 of this chapter. Their description follows this order of presentation.

382.1. Personal substitutes (henceforth called personal pronouns because of common usage) comprise two classes: common and explicit pronouns. The latter are used in quotations or anywhere else where the pronominal reference is made explicit, and the common pronouns are used elsewhere. The personal pronouns are further distinguished for number (singular and plural abbreviated S and P) and for person (first, second, and third abbreviated 1, 2, and 3). Another dimension is added by the fact that all pronouns have allomorphs, some defined phonologically and others defined morphologically.³⁶ These allomorphs, distinguished by form and distribution, are described in terms of two sets, called nonsubjectival and subjectival.

Abbreviated Reference Chart
of Personal Pronouns

	Nonsubjectival	Subjectival low	Subjectival high	Nonsubjectival explicit
1S	mí ~ mbí ~ (-V̄m ~ -m)	am ~ (-V̄m ~ -m ~ ̀m)	ám ~ -m	
2S	mé	mɛ	mé	ɛ̃
3S	ǎ ~ (-aa ~ -áa)	ǎ ~ -aa	ǎ	
1P	éré ~ ré	ɛrɛ ~ rɛ	éré ~ ré	
2P	wí ~ (-V̄i ~ -í ~ ̀í)	wi ~ (-Vi ~ -i)	wí ~ -í	óró ~ ró
3P	wa	wa	wá	

Before the allomorphs of the pronouns are taken up in detail, there are some general remarks to be made:

(a) Personal pronouns are generally used only of animate objects, but occasionally 3S and 3P are used of inanimate objects. Thus: $e\acute{a}_1 \text{ } \grave{a}_2, g\acute{a}_3, \acute{i}_4 \text{ } n\acute{o}\acute{a}_5$ '(I) put₁ it₂, so₃ it₄ (the stone) is fast₅.' Compare the use of $w\acute{i}$ 'person' and \acute{o} 'plural marker' with inanimate objects. Sometimes the word $m\acute{o}$ 'thing' is used when one wants to be explicit: $am \text{ } b\acute{a} \text{ } m\acute{o}\acute{f}$ 'I take the thing (that is, it).'

(b) The 2P common pronoun is often used as an impersonal pronoun, roughly equivalent to the English 'one' or 'you' or the French 'on.' Although it seems to be most frequent in proverbs and personal names, it is common in normal speech. Thus: $t\acute{e}\acute{i}_1 \text{ } g\acute{b}\acute{e}\eta_2, g\acute{o}_3 \text{ } g\acute{a}\acute{n}_4 \text{ } r\acute{e}_5 \text{ } k\acute{p}\acute{a}_6 \text{ } f\acute{a}\acute{r}\acute{a}\text{-}\acute{o} \text{ } y\acute{a}\acute{r}\acute{a}_7 \text{ } n\acute{a}_4$ 'your body₁ is hot₂, so₃ we₅ don't₄ find₆ a way to sleep₇!'; $z\acute{a}\acute{a}\acute{n}_1 \text{ } \acute{i}\eta\acute{i}\acute{i}_2, n\acute{e}_3 \text{ } g\acute{a}\acute{n}\acute{a}_4 \text{ } \acute{i}\eta_5$ $z\acute{a}\acute{a}\acute{n} \text{ } n\acute{a}_4$ '(the) universe₁ knows you₂, but₃ you don't₄ know₅ (the) universe' (a proverb); $f\acute{e}\acute{y} \text{ } g\acute{a}\acute{n}\acute{a} \text{ } z\acute{u}\acute{f}$ 'death is too much for you' (a personal name).

(c) The plural pronouns are used to introduce or recapitulate a plurality of persons, either in the subject or verb phrase, when the sentence contains a phrase with the preposition $\acute{i}\acute{n}$ 'with.' For example:

$am_1 \text{ } m\acute{b}\acute{a}\acute{i}_2 \text{ } \acute{i}\acute{n}_3 \text{ } k\acute{o}_4 \text{ } k\acute{o} \text{ } m\acute{e}_5$ 'I greet you₂ and₃ your₅ wife₁'

$\acute{e}\acute{r}\acute{e} \text{ } t\acute{e}\acute{a}_1 \text{ } z\acute{e}\acute{e}_2 \text{ } \acute{i}\acute{n}\acute{a}\acute{a}$ 'he and I came₁ yesterday₂'

$w\acute{i}_1 \text{ } d\acute{e}_2 \text{ } m\acute{o} \text{ } n\acute{o}\acute{o}_3 \text{ } \acute{i}\acute{n} \text{ } k\acute{p}\acute{a} \text{ } n\acute{a}\acute{m} \text{ } n\acute{a} \text{ } s\acute{o}\acute{o}_4$ 'you₁ and Kpá-nam-ná do₂ this₃ today₄'

$\acute{o} \text{ } n\acute{e} \text{ } w\acute{e}\acute{n} \text{ } k\acute{o}\acute{f} \text{ } \acute{i}\acute{n}\acute{a}\acute{a} \text{ } w\acute{e}\acute{n}\text{-}\acute{d}\acute{e} \text{ } m\acute{o}\acute{i} \text{ } s\acute{o}\acute{n}$ 'you and he have to do it all'

(d) The 2P and 3P pronouns are used for single individuals who are held in respect. The culture requires that certain people are always addressed or referred to in the plural forms (such as parents, in-laws, elderly people in general, etc.). The pronouns are, however, also used stylistically by people who would otherwise address each other in the singular. In such cases the polite forms seem to be used sporadically and in short stretches of speech. The polite forms are not followed by the plural verbs where such exist. Thus: $w\acute{i} \text{ } \acute{o} \text{ } g\acute{e}\acute{r}\acute{e} \text{ } w\acute{e}\acute{n}\acute{d}\acute{e}$. 'Are you (S) all right?'

(e) The 1P common and plural explicit pronouns $\acute{e}\acute{r}\acute{e}$ and $\acute{o}\acute{r}\acute{o}$ occur in these forms in isolation, after pause, or whenever emphasis is placed on them. Otherwise, they occur as $r\acute{e}$ and $r\acute{o}$. Their distribution therefore is in part formal and in part stylistic. For example:

$\acute{e}\acute{r}\acute{e}_1 \text{ } n\acute{e}\acute{a}_2 \text{ } y\acute{a}\acute{r}\acute{i}_3$ 'we₁ went₂ hunting₃'

$\acute{o}\acute{r}\acute{o}_1 \text{ } k\acute{p}\acute{a}\acute{a}_2 \text{ } m\acute{b}\acute{c}_3 \text{ } w\acute{e}\acute{n}_4$ '(they said), "We₁ found₂ a new₃ story₄"'

$n\acute{e}_1, \acute{e}\acute{r}\acute{e}_2 \text{ } y\acute{a}\acute{a}_3$ 'and₁ we₂ hiked around₃'

$n\acute{e}\acute{a}_1 \text{ } r\acute{e} \text{ } \acute{o}_2 \text{ } \text{?}\acute{d}\acute{o}\acute{o}\text{-}\acute{z}\acute{z}_3$ '(we) went₁ (and) slept₂ in the bush₃'

$s\acute{e}\acute{r}\acute{a}\text{-}r\acute{e}_1 \text{ } d\acute{e} \text{ } s\acute{a}\acute{a}_2$ 'our lives₁ (that is, we) were happy₂'

$g\acute{e}_1 \text{ } r\acute{e}_2 \text{ } y\acute{a}\acute{a}_3 \text{ } r\acute{e} \text{ } n\acute{e}_4 \text{ } g\acute{p}\acute{y}_5$ 'so₁ we₂ hiked₃ (and) we went on₄ like this₅'

$g\acute{e} \text{ } r\acute{e} \text{ } g\acute{a}\acute{m} \text{ } t\acute{e}\text{-}r\acute{e}_1 \text{ } r\acute{e} \text{ } p\acute{e}\acute{e} \text{ } \text{?}\acute{d}\acute{o}\eta_2$ 'so we turned around₁ (and) we returned₂'

382.11. The common pronouns, like the explicit pronouns, have allomorphs which are distinguished by form and distribution, and are described in terms of two sets, called nonsubjectival and subjectival. Some of these (that is, 1S, 3S, and 2P) also have bound allomorphs whose distribution is described in 382.113.

382.111. The nonsubjectival common pronouns are those which are used in any way except as subjects of verbal predications. This is to say that they occur in isolation and as complements (that is, in construction with) of nouns, verbs, and prepositions. (It is to be noted that the tones of the first and second persons, both singular and plural, are high, whereas those of the third person are low. This distinction has no grammatical significance, but it has a historical one.) These pronouns are the following:

mí ~ mbí 'I'	éré 'we'
mé 'you'	wí 'you'
á 'he, she'	wa 'they'

Examples: ?bay mí 'only I,' gan wa ɛ́n táá ré ná 'they don't know us yet,' wá a wa té 'here they come,' te-mé 'your body,' teí 'your bodies,' wá ɛ́n á 'they know him,' mɔ́ kó wa 'their thing,' mɔ́ kóí 'your thing,' wí yé ge 'you say,' am mbá wan wí 'I greet you, sir.'

382.112. The subjectival common pronouns are used as subjects of verbal predications and occur in two sets, one in which all pronouns have high normal word tone(s) and the other where they have low tone(s). The subjectival pronouns are otherwise identical with the basic ones with the one exception that the 1S is am instead of mí. The distribution of these pronouns is discussed in the following paragraphs.

(a) Low tone subjectival pronouns occur in the following environments:

(1) Preceding imperfective (high or low tone) verbs when not preceded by the connectives há, á, or só kó. (For the uses of low and high tone imperfective verbs see 393.1.) Examples are:

mɛ ₁ té ₂ wéey ₃ .	'Hey ₃ you ₁ , come ₂ .'
mé ₁ gan ₂ mɛ ha ₃ mɔ́ há ₅ wí-ré ₆ ná ₂	'you ₁ , you (who) didn't ₂ give ₃
things ₄ to ₅ people ₆ .'	
bó ₁ nɛ á ₂ gbo ₃ sɛn-tɛ ₄	'when ₁ he went ₂ (and) arrived ₃ at ₄ . . .'

(2) Preceding perfective verbs when preceded by (a) the connective nɛ 'and,' by (b) gba or ?baa 'even if,' and by (c) a verb of motion in a series. Examples:

só ₁ gba ₂ dɔ̀á ₃ ré ₄	'and ₁ even if you ₂ should keep ₃ (things) from us ₄ .'
bó nɛm kúrɔ́	'as I was getting up'
mé ₁ nɛ mɛ bɛ́á ₂ tom ₃	'you ₁ who refused ₂ work ₃ '

(b) High tone subjectival pronouns occur in the following environments:

(1) Preceding imperfective verbs (a) when preceded by the connectives há, á, or só kó, or (b) when preceded by the connectives mó, wɛn kó or auxiliary verbs, and (c) when not preceded by one of these forms but in a negative command (preceded or not by the connective á) or (d) in a negated predication having the meaning of futurity. For example:

só kó ₁ wá ₂ tɔ́ ₃ gɔ́y ₄	'so ₁ they ₂ spoke ₃ in this manner ₄ '
gbé ₁ dila ₂ má á ₃ dɛ ₃ né gɛ ₄	'(he) killed ₁ a lion ₂ to do ₃ what with (it) ₄
(that is, for what purpose?)'	
kín ₁ mé dɛ ₂ gɔ́y ₃ ná.	'Now ₁ don't do ₂ that ₃ '
nɛ ₁ éré ₂ sí ?don ₃ wɛn kó ₄ ?nát ₅ mɔ́ mbéa ?bɔ́ ná	'and ₁ we ₂ won't
return ₃ again ₄ for ₄ evil things ₅ .'	

(2) Preceding perfective verbs in environments other than those already described. For example:

wá₁ gboà₂ sòn₃ 'they've₁ all₃ arrived₂'
 wéndé gan₁ wá₂ dèá ze₃ kpém₄ 'or₁ they₂ were (there) one₄ month₃'
 mé₁ sòkà₂ sòn á₃ mé dèá bisa₄ gó₅ 'you've₁ matured₂ so₃ here₅ you
 are an adolescent boy₄'
 ndé wá₁ teá₂ 'they're going₁ to come₂'
 gan ó mó wá₁ dèá₂ ná 'it's not for them₁ (that is, their responsibility)
 to do₂'

382.113. Pronominal suffixes. These are to be compared with the free form common pronouns discussed in 382.11. The classification used there is used here also in describing the following nonsubjectival and subjectival pronominal suffixes, the latter of which have high and low tone allomorphs.

(a) Nonsubjectival pronominal suffixes. They occur for the persons 1S, 3S, and 2P.

(1) 1S has allomorphs -V̄m and -m. The suffix -V̄m (the vowel of which is the same as whatever vowel precedes it) occurs following a consonant and following a vowel with low tone when not followed by a free form with initial high tone. The suffix -m occurs following vowels except under the conditions stated for -V̄m, that is, following a vowel with high tone or low tone, but being followed by a free form with high tone. There is however some degree of free variation between the two suffixes when followed by a free form with high tone.

Examples of -V̄m following V:

teém₁ yúm₅ 'my body₁ aches₂'
 ndé wá₁ gbéém₂ 'they are going₁ to kill me₂'
 ìnífím 'with me,' compare ìn wa 'with them'

Examples of -V̄m following C:

à zókóm 'he sees me,' compare à zók wa 'he sees them'
 à òróm 'he deceives me,' compare òó wa 'deceives them'
 à kí'dím 'he's looking for me,' compare à kí'dí wa 'he's looking for
 them'
 rífím 'my face,' compare ríp wa 'their faces'

Examples of -m:

?biyám 'my friend,' compare ?biya-ré 'our friend'
 tem yúm 'my body aches'
 yá kóm 'my brother,' compare yá kó wa 'their brother'
 á mé gbem ná 'don't kill me'
 wá prám 'they deceived me'

(2) 3S has allomorphs -aa and -áa. They occur following consonants: -áa occurs when preceded by a low tone in a noun; -aa occurs when preceded by high tone in a noun and either high or low in a verb, replacing imperfective -i if it occurs. For example:

ere óraa 'we are deceiving him'
 ndé ré ríkaa 'we are going to hit him'
 ere kí?daa (< kí'dí + -aa) 'we are looking for him'

géraa 'his neck,' compare géeé-wa 'their necks'
 rífaa 'his face'

(3) 2P has allomorphs -Vfí, -í, and -í. The suffix -Vfí occurs following consonants, -í occurs with polysyllabic nouns following a vowel, and -í occurs following vowels elsewhere.

Examples of -Vfí: wa ʒróf 'they are deceiving you,' wa kṓ ʔdoŋ-ríkíí 'they want to hit you,' géréí 'your necks,' zṓfí 'your noses.'

Examples of -í: zeraí 'your ears,' ʔbiyáí 'your friends.'

Examples of -í: tɛí 'your bodies,' íníí 'with you,' tuwa kóf 'your house,' né gbɛí 'is going to kill you,' éré kíʔdóí 'we looked for you,' wa kíʔdíí 'they are looking for you.'

(b) Subjectival suffixes. See also 423.1.

(1) Low tone suffixes occur for 1S, 3S, and 2P.

1S has allomorphs -Vm, -m, and ˘m.³⁷ The suffix ˘m occurs following the imperfective suffix -i (and indicates the lowering of its tone to low if it is not already that). The suffix -Vm occurs following vowels in other imperfective verbs which have zero suffix (instead of -i) as well as following consonants. The suffix -m follows vowels elsewhere.³⁸ These suffixes are analyzed as being the subjects of an immediately following verb even when they are phonologically bound to a preceding verb. They are identified in the following examples by a preposed plus sign.

Examples of -Vm:

nem₁ né+em₂ bá₃ ʒ₄ 'and I₁ went (and) I₂ got₃ him₄'
 nem₁ háy+am₂ né₃ 'and I₁ went₃ on crawling₂'
 go₁ pér+em₂ ríŋ nu₃ 'so₁ I came₂ (and) fell down₃'
 bóm₁ dɔŋ+um wá₂ tendɛ₃ 'as I₁ was hoeing₂ (the) cotton₃'

Examples of -m:

ám₁ neá+m₂ ɔ₃ mɛ₄ 'I₁ went (and) I₂ slept₃ there₄'
 gá ye+m₁ tɛ₂ '(he said) that I₁ should come₂'
 nɛ+m₁ bḡà₂ tí₃ 'and I₁ refused₂ before₃'
 tɛ+m₁ tɛ₂ ne mbóro₃ 'that I₁ should come₂ in the afternoon₃'
 gende gá+m₁ zók₂ wa₃ 'in other words, I₁ saw₂ them₃'

3S suffix -aa occurs following consonants. For example:

dŋ+aa₁ háy₂ wa₃ 'he's still₁ crawling up on₂ them₃'
 gan+aa₁ zók₂ wa₃ ná₁ 'he doesn't₁ see₂ them₃'

2P has allomorphs -Vi, -i, -í (and possibly ˘i on the same basis as ˘m). The suffix -Vi occurs following consonants; -i occurs following vowels with low tone and with high tone (as in the case of -Vm) only in imperfective verbs with zero suffix; -í occurs following vowels with high tone in all other words (that is, perfective verbs and nonverbs). For example:

ganai₁ tɛ₂ zéɛ₃ ná₁ 'you didn't₁ come₂ yesterday₃'
 néí₁ yaraí₂ ʔŋ₃ déá saa₄ kóí₅ 'you are going to₁ run around₂ (and) eat₃
 your₅ play₄' (that is, 'all you will have to eat is your play')
 go₁ tɛí₂ sí₃ 'so₁ come₂ (and) return₃'
 weséa ne bó dɔŋui₂ yaa₃ 'when you₁ continue₂ to run around₂'

(2) High tone suffixes occur for 1S and 2P. They are -m and -í respectively, and they occur following vowels. For example:

é hám₁ né₂ sé₃ 'let me₁ go₂ first₃'
 tém₁ kpa₂ wa₃ wéndé. 'Can I possibly₁ find₂ them₃?'
 gende gám₁ neà₂ kóm 'in other words, I₁ had gone₂'
 á₁ neám₂ fe₃ sò₄ 'then₁ I would have₂ died₃ today₄'
 remà mǎí₁ de₂ gère₃ 'you are able₁ to do₂ (it) easily₃'
 deà ré ge só kóí dé gýy 'what do you mean by doing this!'

382.12. The explicit pronouns are S ξ and P óró. Like the common pronouns, their allomorphs are described in terms of two sets, nonsubjectival and subjectival, and everything said above about these sets is applicable to the explicit pronouns. In addition to the allomorphs of the plural already described, óró and ró, there is óó which may occur wherever subjectival óró does. Although the explicit pronouns are not formally distinguished for person (first, second, or third persons), they are in practice used most frequently for third person. As the pronoun chart indicates, there are no explicit pronouns for the first person. This simply means that in talking about himself, a person makes use of no other pronouns than the common set. In reported speech, the use of 'I' in translation is therefore misleading: that is, there is no difference in Gbeya between 'you said you would go' and 'you said "I will go."' What was said about the use of plural pronouns for politeness is applicable to the explicit pronouns. The explicit pronouns are used in quotations (where the person referred to is the subject of the immediately preceding sentence) and wherever else the pronominal reference must be unambiguous.³⁹ The examples are grouped accordingly.

382.121. Explicit pronouns in quotations:

gá ye ge₁, káy₂ toy₃ kǎ ξ ₄ '(he said₁), "Get₂ my₃ things₄!"
 me₁ tǎ ye ge₂, nǎ ξ ₃ ha₄ túrú₅ hám₆ 'you₁ said₂ you would₃ give₄ clothes₅
 to me₆'
 foo₁ kǎ ξ ₂ gan₃ góy₄ ξ ₅ ná₃ '(she said) her₂ inlaws₁ did not₃ like₄ her₅'
 wen kó mo ne₁ óró₂ koà₃ bém₄ kó ró₅ '(they said) because₁ they₂ bore₃
 their₅ child₄' (among the Gbeya the husband and his family can
 speak of 'giving birth' as well as the mother)
 mé₁ ye₂ ξ ₃ nǎ ξ ₄ ne wí-de yǎná₅ 'you₁ say₂ (that) you₃ are₄ a producer
 of food₅'

382.122. Explicit pronouns for clarity:

kam₁ gan₂ bá₃ mo₄ há zu-wí-ré₅ ná₂ go wí-ré a bá toy₆ há zu-?biya₇- ξ
 só kó ?biya-ǎ óm tǎ- ξ ₈. 'Food₁ does not₂ take₃ things₄ off a person's₅
 head₆, but it's a person who takes off a burden₆ from his friend's₇
 head so that his friend can rest₈.' (a proverb)
 wí-ré₁ bó₂ ko₃ bém₄ kǎ ξ ₅ 'when₂ a person₁ gives birth to₃ his₅ child₄'
 ó nmaa₁ yǎn₂ kó ró yǎni né₃ gogo-ró₄ 'some₁ chew₂ (it) with₃ their own
 teeth₄'
 ó nmaa ne₁ gan zéé₂ te-rò ná 'those who₁ don't obey' (= 'hear₂ their
 bodies')
 ó sókái₁ kǎm₂ zifa₃ kó ró₄ 'the elders₁ break off₂ their₄ switches₃'

382.2. Demonstrative substitutes. These are distinguished for relative distance from the speaker. Although the basic implication is a spatial one,

a temporal one may be implied. The distinction is not always identifiable with the nonlinguistic world (compare the use of English 'this' and 'that'). These substitutes are $\xi\acute{e}$ 'this' and $i\acute{f}$ 'that,' the second tones of which are often (but not necessarily) low when followed by an initial high tone in another word. The demonstratives may somehow be related to the bound morphemes $\{-\varepsilon\}$ and $-i_4$, but no formal identification seems possible at the moment.⁴⁰ (See 213.2 also.) For example:

zoro₁- $\xi\acute{e}$ n \acute{o} ₂ gan₃ d \acute{e} r \acute{p} ₄ n \acute{a} ₃ 'this₂ fish₁ doesn't₃ taste good₄'
 ám₁ gb \acute{e} ₂ $\xi\acute{e}$ ₃ g \acute{o} ₄ 'I₁ have killed₂ these₃ here₄'
 $\xi\acute{e}$ ₁ r \acute{e} m \acute{a} ₂ r \acute{e} ₃ 'this₁ is enough₂ for us₃'
 b \acute{o} ₁ w \acute{a} ₂ r \acute{i} k₃ $i\acute{f}$ ₄ 'when₁ they₂ hit₃ those₄'
 $i\acute{f}$ ₁ n \acute{e} ba \acute{a} gaza k \acute{e} $\xi\acute{i}$ ₂ t \acute{e} ₃ 'that one who₁ has been circumcised₂ comes₃'

382.3. Interrogative substitutes. These are o (and $ind\acute{o}$) 'who?', ge 'what?', and $r\acute{e}$ ge (occasionally $y\acute{e}$ ge) 'how much, how many?' (a) The substitute o 'who?' is distinguished from ge and $r\acute{e}$ ge by the fact that it can occur as the head of substitute phrases and in construction with prepositions whereas the others cannot. (b) The form $ind\acute{o}$ occurs too infrequently in my data to permit making accurate statements about it. It is very likely, however, that it is bimorphemic, consisting of o and some other as yet unidentified morpheme. (c) The phrase $r\acute{e}$ ge is used as an exclamation when it occurs in a sentence containing the verb de 'to do, make' with the meaning 'by what means! how in the world!' etc. (d) Although the phrase $r\acute{e}$ ge obviously contains the interrogative ge , it is not yet possible to attribute a meaning to $r\acute{e}$ itself.⁴¹ Its contrast with ge is seen in the following constructions:

sa \acute{d} \acute{e} - ge 'what animal?' sa \acute{d} \acute{e} $r\acute{e}$ ge 'how many animals?' For example:

\acute{o} ₁ n \acute{e} o ₂ nd \acute{e} 'who₂ is₁ (it)?'
 o ₁ á t \acute{p} \acute{a} ₂ há m \acute{e} ₃ o ₁ nd \acute{e} 'who₁ told₂ you₃?'
 $\xi\acute{e}$ ₁ n \acute{e} ge ₂ nd \acute{e} 'what₂ (is) this₁?'
 ge w \acute{i} - ge ₁ a m \acute{e} ₂ t \acute{p} n \acute{e} ₃ ge nd \acute{e} 'whom₁ (= what person) are you₂ speaking of₃?'
 ge w \acute{e} n- ge ₁ a m \acute{e} ₂ t \acute{e} b \acute{o} l \acute{o} m₃ ge nd \acute{e} 'why₁ (= what affair) are you₂ following me₃?'
 zu \acute{w} a $r\acute{e}$ ge a wa g \acute{o} m te ge nd \acute{e} 'how many of them are cutting wood?'
 (= 'their heads how many they 'are cutting wood what?')
 t \acute{e} m₁ d \acute{e} ₂ n \acute{e} k \acute{o} m $r\acute{e}$ ge g \acute{a} á ge ₃ 'what in the world₃ shall I₁ ever do₂?'
 am₁ d \acute{e} k \acute{p} ém k \acute{p} -s \acute{e} ra₂ ín m \acute{e} ₃ ná $r\acute{e}$ ge nd \acute{e} ₄. 'What do you mean₄-I₁ don't treat₂ you₃ nicely!'

382.4. Numerative substitutes. These are listed below. The phrases for 6 and 7 are ellipses for $m\acute{p}$ or \acute{s} , $\acute{?}$ do \acute{n} $k\acute{p}$ ém, and $m\acute{p}$ or \acute{s} $\acute{?}$ do \acute{n} rífto respectively. That is, 6 means 'five (and) behind (it) one.' The phrases for 20 through 90 are literally 'two (etc.) bunches' < $h\acute{e}$ r- 'to tie up.' The phrases for hundreds and thousands are 'cut some' and 'stab some' respectively. The units are generally introduced by the word $z\acute{u}$ a 'the head, on top of it.' A unit number in the hundreds and thousands, when not preceded by another unit number, is generally preceded by the word $n\acute{e}$ 'and.' The decades are generally preceded by $n\acute{e}$ 'and' when included in a larger phrase. The phrase $f\acute{e}$ á za ('dead za')

was reported for 'a dozen,' but I never heard it used. The meaning of *za* has not been determined.

1	kpém
2	rífto
3	taa, tar-
4	náá, nár-
5	m̥ɔrɔ́
6	ʔdoŋ kpém
7	ʔdoŋ rífto
8	nú-náá (possibly = 'mouth of four')
9	kusi
10	ʔbú (possibly < 'to clap')
11	ʔbú zúa kpém
20	h̥ɛ́rá rífto
27	h̥ɛ́rá rífto zúa ʔdoŋ-rífto
100	gɔm ɲmaá
107	gɔm ɲmaá nɛ zúa ʔdoŋ rífto
200	gɔm ɲmaà rífto
777	gɔm ɲmaá ʔdoŋ rífto nɛ h̥ɛ́rá ʔdoŋ rífto zúa ʔdoŋ rífto
1000	dum ɲmaá

382.5. Locative substitutes. These are listed below and illustrated. Because two of them are roughly translated 'here' and four of them 'there,' the following comments are necessary: *d̥í* 'here' is opposed to *d̥í* 'there' (see also 213.2), and *na* 'here' is opposed to *mɛ* 'there.' The first pair refer to a place with more preciseness than the second pair. The word *íyɛ* 'there' seems to refer to a general direction, rather than place, removed from the speaker. The word *sɛné*, on the other hand, has the meaning 'there' in the sense of the French 'y.' In spite of this semantic classification, it is very probable that there is considerable overlapping and stylistic selection. For example:

d̥íyɛ 'here': $\epsilon\epsilon_1$ kúú₂ zu-ture₃ d̥íyɛ nó₄ ʔnɛŋ₅ 'we₁ departed₂ (from) here₄ very early₅ in the morning₃,' $b\epsilon_1$ rɛ₂ gbo₃ sɛn-tɛ-kúú-wáam₂ sɛn-tɛ-d̥íyɛ₅ tɛ-nú-ré kɛ rɛ₆ na₇ d̥ɔ́₈ 'when₁ we₂ arrived₃ at (the) other side of the Wáam₄ here₅, at the edge of our village₆ here₇ closeby₈'

d̥í 'there': $g\epsilon_1$ rɛ₂ ɔm tɛ-rɛ₃ d̥í₄ 'so₁ we₂ rested₃ there₄'

íyɛ 'there': $bó_1$ langi₂ kó ró kpékérɛ₃ tɛ-íyɛ₄ gáa₅ 'as₁ (he) was going on ahead₂ there₄ slowly₃ like that₅,' $hoá_1$ saŋa-tci₂ . . . íyɛ₃ '(the tusk) appeared₁ between the trees there₃'

mɛ 'there': gan am₁ rɛm₂ wen kó nɛ₃ tɛ-ré₄ mɛ₅ ná 'I₁ can't₂ go₃ to (the) village₄ there₅,' $ó$ wí-ré₁ bó₂ nɛ₃ tɛ-tɛ-ɔ₄ mɛ 'when₂ people₁ go₃ to him₄ there,' $ɔ_1$ ɔ₂ ínaa₃ mɛ 'he₁ stays₂ with him₃ there'

na 'here': wa_1 káy₂ wa₃ ʔmón₄ rɔ́₅ na 'they₁ take₂ them₃ right₄ (in the) village₅ here,' $mé_1$ ɔá₂ nu₃ na '(if) you₁ were₂ here (on the) ground₃'

ɲgón 'up, on top, above': $d̥ɲ_1$ sɛn-tɛ₂-sara₃-tɛí₄ nɛ sɛra-zu₅-ɲgón₆ mɛ₇ '(he) sat₁ in₂ the fork₃ of the tree₄ above him₅ up₆ there₇,'

$foá_1$ tɛ-ɲgón₂ '(it) did₁ upright₂ (that is, before hitting the ground)

sené 'there': $\text{a}_1 \text{d}\dot{\text{u}}\eta_2 \text{sen}\dot{\text{e}}_3 \text{in}_4 \text{wa}_5$ 'he₁ stays₂ with₄ them₃ there₃,'
 $\text{nde}_1 \text{re}_2 \text{yá}_3 \text{te}^{\text{c}}\text{sen}\dot{\text{e}}_4$ 'and₁ we₂ were₃ there₄'

382.6. Temporal substitutes. These, for the reasons given below, are divided into two classes. They are the following: (class A) *bere* 'dry season,' *dímísi* (< Fr. 'dimanche') 'Sunday, week,' *mbóro* 'evening, afternoon,' *?maa* 'rainy season,' *pe* 'year (consisting of one cycle of rainy and dry seasons),' *ture* 'morning,' and *ze* 'night'; (class B) *bár-* 'last year,' *bin* 'tomorrow,' *kín* 'now,' and *sóo* 'today.' This classification is based both on formal and semantic characteristics. The words in class A might be said to refer to "real" time whereas those in class B refer to "relative" time. The words in the former can be correlated with time distinguished by seasons and meteorological conditions, but those in the latter have no such specific referents. (If such semantic distinctions are not consistently valid, they at least serve as mnemonic aids to remembering the formal distinctions.) Class A words have the greatest freedom of occurrence. As a class they occur with adjectives, in noun + noun constructions, second member in prepositional phrases, as subjects of verbs, and with the suffix {-ε} (for which see 213.22). (The word *ze* 'night' can even function as an intimate noun.) Class B words occur most often with the suffix {-ε}. The words *báraa* 'last year' and *sóo* (or *sóó*) 'today' occur only in these forms, and I assume hypothetical bases **bár-* and **só*. It is in the suffixed forms that they then occur with *nóo* 'this,' as subjects of verbs, and in prepositional phrases, although *bin* 'now' occurs once in the data in a prepositional phrase in this form. Further data might, however, reveal a greater freedom of occurrence.

Class A:

$\text{bere}_1 \text{deá}_2$ '(it) has become₂ dry season₁'
 $\text{rém wen kó dí mí sí rí í tó}$ 'for about two weeks'
 mbóro ne me té 'come in the afternoon'
 $\text{wí-ré}_1 \text{gan yáá}_2 \text{yari}_3 \text{zan}^{\text{c}}\text{?maa}_4 \text{ná}$ 'people₁ don't go₂ hunting₃ in (the) rainy season₄'
 $\text{mbé pe ?doŋe}_1 \text{sé te me péé ?doŋ}_2$ 'come back₂ next year₁'
 $\text{ám}_1 \text{zoká}_2 \text{a}_3 \text{né ture}_4$ 'I₁ saw₂ him₃ in the morning₄'
 zém ó tá 'I spent three nights' (= 'my nights were three')

Class B:

$\text{wá}_1 \text{dòà}_2 \text{réi}_3 \text{báraa}_4$ 'they₁ burned down₂ the village₃ last year₄'
 bin sé te me té 'come tomorrow'
 $\text{biné}_1 \text{ihó}_2 \text{wen kó}_3 \text{bin}_4$ 'tomorrow₁ knows₂ about₃ tomorrow₄' (a saying)
 $\text{ŋma mo kí n}_1 \text{gan né}_2 \text{de}_3 \text{mè}_4 \text{ná}$ 'now₁ nothing will₂ harm₃ you₄'
 $\text{sóo nóo gēnē né kpa wa}$ 'they are going to receive guests today' (= 'today guest going find them')

382.7. Reciprocal substitute. The only one is *ŋmaá* 'each other, together,' and it occurs only in verb and prepositional phrases as an objective complement.⁴² For example:

$\text{wa}_1 \text{ték}_2 \text{in } \eta\text{maá}$ 'they₁ fall₂ together (that is, they meet)'
 $\text{wa yá ne yá kó } \eta\text{maá}$ 'they are siblings' (= 'siblings of each other')
 $\text{gan wa zéé wen kó } \eta\text{maá ná}$ 'they don't understand each other'

biro₁-gbe₂ ηmaá 'war₁ to kill₂ each other'

mε sén ηmaà ñn yá kó mé wéndé. 'Do you and your brother hate each other?' (= 'you hate each other with sibling of you')

382.8. Quantitative substitutes. These are dóka 'much, many' and són 'all.' They occur only as attributes of substantives and in verb phrases, such as:

dóka 'much, many' (< dok 'to be much, many'): ηma wen kóm dóka gan bó ná 'I don't have much to say' (= 'some word of me much is not'), kéey deà ré dóka 'we were very much afraid,' bono-nán-wa ó dóka 'there were a lot of their tracks' (= 'tracks their are much')
 són 'all' (< son 'to finish, be finished'): ó wí-ré₁ hárá són₂ mpy₃, 'all₂ (the) people₁ meet₃,' wa són, wa né tε-sené 'they all, they go there,' εre né kusára són 'we all went to work' (= 'we go work all'), dayá-gaza sonà són '(the) circumcision wound is all healed'

390. Verbs. Verbs are those words which are distinguished by having the following characteristics: (1) They occur with the following four suffixes: imperfective {-i₁}, emphatic -i₂, nominalizer {-i₃}, and the perfective {-á}.⁴³ (2) They occur immediately following a certain class of pronouns (such as am té 'I am coming': ám téá 'I came'), for which see 382.112; and (3) they can, when following pause, precede descriptive adverbs which are followed by pause (such as té lám 'come quickly').

A verb form devoid of its suffix is called a base. (A verb always occurs with one, and only one, of the four suffixes. The base is therefore a bound form. Other suffixes may occur, but only after certain ones of these four.) The verb bases occur either with high or low tone(s). Certain patterns characterizing their union with the suffixes. They are listed below, with B' representing a high tone base and B- a low tone base. The verbs used by way of examples are nε 'to go,' kí'd- 'to look for,' per- 'to return (here),' lanj- 'to pass on,' and si 'to return (there).'

- (a) B' plus emphatic -i₂: néi, kí'di, péri
- (b) B- plus nominalizer {-i₃}: nei, kí'di, lanj, peri, sii
- (c) B' plus imperfective {-i₂}: né, kí'dí, péé, sí
- (d) B- plus imperfective {-i₁}: nε, kí'di, pee, si
- (e) B' plus perfective {-á}: néá, kí'dó, pérá, síó
- (f) B- plus perfective {-á}: néá, kí'dó, perá, síó

(a) and (b) are homophonous only when a verb base is involved which takes the allomorph -i of the imperfective. It should be noted that in (c) and (d) the tone of the imperfective suffix is low or high, depending on the tone of the base; it is basically toneless.

A summary of the distinctive distributions of these forms are illustrated below:

- (a) ám hεà héi 'I bought it (that is, someone didn't give it to me)'—hεá is perfective, héi intensive.⁴⁴
- (b) gan á ñn wen kó nei kóm ná 'he didn't know about my going'—nei is in prepositional phrase, complement of noun wen 'affair.'
- (c) am né kíneε 'I'm going now'—né is predicate.

- (d) $n\acute{e}m\ n\acute{e}\ s\acute{o}$ 'I'm going to go today'— $n\acute{e}$ is predicate in dependent clause with -m as its subject.
- (e) $n\acute{e}\acute{a}\ n\acute{o}\ k\acute{a}\ \acute{z}\ \acute{g}an\ r\acute{e}m\ n\acute{a}$ 'there's no equal to his walk'— $n\acute{e}\acute{a}$ is attributive to the noun $n\acute{o}$ 'walk.'
- (f) $\acute{a}m\ n\acute{e}\acute{a}\ z\acute{e}z$ 'I went yesterday'— $n\acute{e}\acute{a}$ is predicate.

These forms (base plus suffix) are called free forms. (c) through (f) inclusive figure prominently in the syntax of the language and are treated in 393. Before that are the sections on allomorphy (391) and additional affixation (392). Finally, there is a section on classes of verbs (394).

391. Verb base allomorphs. These are distinguished by the fact that one set has two shapes, namely CVr- (where r represents the phoneme /r/) which occurs with vowel suffixes, and CVV which occurs elsewhere. This allomorphy has already been described under morphophonemics, 132.1. Bases ending in CV or CVC (where the second C represents any consonant other than /r/) have only one allomorph.

392. Suffixation to the free form. With such forms, occur subjectival or objectival suffixes (382.113) or the determinant suffix {-a} (213.1).⁴⁵ For example:

- $n\acute{e}m\ h\acute{a}yam\ n\acute{e}$ 'and I went on crawling' (= 'and-I crawl-I go')
- $w\acute{a}\ \acute{p}r\acute{a}m$ 'they deceived me' (< $\acute{p}r\acute{a}$ plus -m)
- $z\acute{e}z\ h\acute{y}r\acute{a}$ '(they) hear about the news' (< $h\acute{y}r$ plus {-a})
- $\acute{g}\acute{u}n\acute{o}a$ 'the planting' (< $\acute{g}\acute{u}n\acute{o}$ plus {-a})

393. Distribution of high and low tone forms. These are discussed according to whether they are imperfective (393.1) or perfective (393.2).

393.1. Imperfective forms. Just because some of the occurrences of imperfective verbs are translated into English in phrases introduced by "to" is certainly no reason why this form of the verb should be described as the "infinitive." Even the high tone base with the perfective is similarly translated. There is just no "infinitive" in Gbeya.

393.11. Low tone imperfective forms are used in the following seven ways:

393.111. As substantives in exocentric verb phrases. For example:

- $\acute{z}\ \acute{d}\acute{e}\ \acute{s}en\ m\acute{o}\ \acute{d}\acute{e}i$ 'he₁ does₂ spiteful things₃' ($\acute{s}en$ 'to hate')
- $te\ \acute{n}u$ 'a fall' (tek 'to fall')

393.112. As verb phrase complements of nouns and verbs.

(a) Complements of nouns. (See noun phrases, 411.25.) For example:

- $\ ?\acute{d}on\ w\acute{a}\acute{a}_1\ n\acute{e}_2\ \acute{f}\acute{o}\ \acute{b}\acute{o}_4\ n\acute{a}_5$ 'there is₄ no₅ possibility₁ of going₂ (to the) garden₃'
- $\ \acute{g}an\ r\acute{e}_1\ \acute{k}\acute{p}\acute{a}_2\ \eta\acute{m}aa_3\ wen_4\text{-}\acute{g}b\acute{e}_5\ \acute{k}\acute{p}\acute{e}m\ n\acute{a}$ 'we₁ didn't find₂ any₃ at all to₄ kill₅'

(b) Complements of verbs. (See verb phrases, 414.31.) For example:

- $\ \acute{a}m\ n\acute{e}_1\ zoy\ ri_2$ 'I'm going₁ to take a bath₂'
- $\ r\acute{e}m_1\ t\acute{p}\ wen_2$ 'is able₁ to talk₂'
- $\ \acute{g}an\ \acute{z}_1\ \acute{f}\acute{u}_2\ t\acute{p}\ wen_3\ n\acute{a}$ 'he doesn't know how₂ to talk₃'

393.113. In clausal complements of auxiliary verbs. When this verb is itself an auxiliary verb or a verb of motion, it too is followed by a low tone imperfective verb.⁴⁶ For example:

- kóoi₁ bó₂ zək₃ 'when₂ the girls₁ look₃'
 dūŋ₁ wá₂ yŋŋ₃ mɔ 'while₁ they₂ are eating₃'
 ŋmaa fíí₁ nɛ₂ nɛá₃ rɛ́₄ kpa fey 'just a little more₁ and₂ we₄ would have₃
 died' (= 'find death')
 wí-ré tɛ́á ɔ dók 'if there were many people'
 bó₁ nɛ₂ yoo₃ mɛ₄ 'when₁ (he) went₂ (and) stood₃ there₄'
 bó₁ dūŋ₂ yŋŋ₃ mɔ₄ 'if₁ (they) continue₂ to eat₃ things₄'
 né nɛ ɸ hee kɔwá 'he's going to go (and) cry' (= 'go go he cry tears')

393.114. In a few constructions where one would expect an auxiliary verb.⁴⁷ For example:

- gan árɛ́₁ ŋgɛm₂ kpásá sa?de₃ ná 'we won't₁ keep₂ (the) meat itself₃'
 bó₁ pee ʔdoŋ₂ gɔy₃ nɛm₃ bɛ́₄ kóm, pee ʔdoŋ gɔy₃ nɛm bɛ́ kóm 'if (he)
 should₁ come back₂, I₃ refuse₄; (if he) should come back, I refuse'
 á zee₁ ye ŋma mɔ₂ bó yŋŋaa₃ '(should someone) hear₁ that something₂
 ate him₃'
 gó wan to gan de₁ gɔy₂ ná 'if Wan-to had not done₁ this₂'
 gɛ́ rɛ́₁ zək₂, gɛ́ rɛ́₃ kɔ₄ ri₅ 'when we₁ looked₂, when we₃ crossed₄ (the)
 stream₅'

393.115. In negated clauses with the meaning of perfective. The perfective does not, however, occur in negated clauses. For example:

- né₁ tɔ₂ ye, gan ɸ₃ nɛ₄ kɛ́ ɸ ná '(he) will₁ say₂ that he₃ didn't go₄'
 gó₁ gan gɔn₂ kɔʔdá₃ ná 'and₁ didn't pay₂ the debt₃'

393.116. In negative commands:

- naa₁ kó sáá mɔ, kɪn rɪk₂ sáá mɔ ná 'Sáá-mɔ's mother (in direct
 address)₁, don't hit₂ Sáá-mɔ'
 á mé nɛ mɛ yoo zúa ná 'don't go and stand over them' (= 'you go you
 stand the-head not!')

393.117. In verb phrases or clauses introduced by certain connectives, such as káá, wen kó, and mó.

(a) Introduced by káá:

- mɔ[~]de₁ gale[~]zɔna₂ káá₃ de ŋguʔdu[~]zɔna₄ ná 'what harms₁ the crab's
 legs₂ will not long hence₃ harm the crab's shell₄' (proverb)
 he mbɛ́rá-biro₁ káá₂ yu₃ biro₄ ná 'he who calls to war₁ will soon₂ flee₃
 (the) battle₄' (proverb)

(b) Introduced by wen kó:

- tɔ́₁ há pasitɛɛr, wen kó₂ ba₃ ŋgombe₄ kó ró₅ 'tell₁ the pastor to₂ get₃
 his₅ rifle₄'
 nɛm₁ né₂, wen kó nɛm₃ kay₄ gbɔ́ra[~]tɛnde₅ 'and I₁ went₂ to go₃ (and)
 get₄ cotton seeds₅'

(c) Introduced by mó:

- wí-ré₁ bó₂ nɛ₃ mó₄ ba₅ mó₆ zu[~]fey₇ 'when₂ someone₁ goes₃ to₄ get₅
 (it) to put₆ (it) on the grave₇'

393.12. High tone imperfective forms are used as predicates in major clauses in all other environments.

393.2. Perfective forms. Since in some environments only a high tone or low tone perfective form may occur whereas in other environments there seems to be free variation, the examples are presented in terms of these options.⁴⁸

393.21. Low tone perfective forms alone occur as predicates of independent clauses. Examples of this use are numerous in this grammar. For example:

éré₁ kpaá₂ ŋma mɔ₃ 'we₁ found₂ something₃'
kuró₁ gɛ₂ rɛ₃ péé₄ né tji₅ '(we) set off₁ and₂ we₃ returned₄ by means of
a canoe₅'

393.22. High tone perfective forms alone occur in the following environments:

- (a) When the verb functions as a substantive, for which see 381.213b:
wa₁ úsí₂ sóká₃ hó wa₄ 'they₁ teach₂ them₄ wisdom₃' (< sok 'to mature')
gan rɛ₁ kpá₂ ŋma saʔde₃ kpém₄ wen kó₅ gbéá₆ ná 'we₁ didn't find₂ a
single₄ animal₃ to₅ kill₆'
- (b) When the verb functions as an adjective, for which see 361.222a:
kpáá mɔ 'wealth' (= 'received things' < kpa 'to receive')
kórá zoro 'dried fish' (< kor- 'to dry up')
- (c) When the verb follows an auxiliary and has the determinant suffix {-a}:
bó₁ wá₂ síó₃ 'when₁ they₂ returned₃'
zéré₁ né₂ téá₃ 'sickness₁ will₂ come₃'

393.23. Either low tone or high tone perfective forms occur in the following environments if they do not also occur with the suffix {-a}:

- (a) When predicate in a clause which is complement to an auxiliary:
bóm₁ zerá₂ 'when I₁ heard₂'
bó ré gbóá 'when we arrived'
tɔk-tɛ-wa₁ bó₂ ŋmá₃ 'when₂ their blood₁ has ceased flowing₃'
- (b) When complement to the noun heads wen 'word, to' and ʔdoŋ 'back, to':
yám₁ kóm₂ heʔdá₃ wen₄-féá₅ 'my₂ father₁ is close₃ to₄ dying₅'
s₁ ŋgay₂ wen ké₃ ré₄ wen-néá₅ '(it) is₁ hard₂ for₃ us₄ to go₅'
gan am₁ kɔ₂ ʔdoŋ-néá₃ ná 'I₁ don't want₂ to go₃'
- (c) When head in a verb expression or predicate in a clause preceded by the connective mɔ:
né mé₁ kpa₂ saʔde₃ mɔ mé₄ sí₅ mɔ mé yŋá₆ 'you'll₁ find₂ animals₃ so
you₄ (can) return₅ (and) eat₆ (the meat)'
té né₁ há₂ yámbaa₃ mɔ nɔá₄ 'bring₁ (it) to₂ the father₃ to drink₄'

394. Classes of verbs. Three special classes of verbs are distinguished from the other verbs in the language for semantic or syntactic reasons. One class has opposing members which are called singular and plural verbs. The others are motion and auxiliary verbs.

394.1. Singular/plural verbs. The opposition is operative with certain transitive and intransitive verbs. In the latter it is the number of the subject (implied or explicit) which determines which verb will be used; in the former it is the object (implied or explicit). The following list is complete for the data; the singular verb is cited first: $\text{ɔ}/\text{ya}$ 'to be,' $\text{hɔ}/\text{gbay}$ 'to come out, appear,' ba/kay 'to seize, take,' e/a 'to put, set,' re/a 'to enter, go in,' pi/a 'to cast, throw.' For example:

$\text{am}_1 \text{ ɔ}_2 \text{ gére}_3$ 'I₁ am₂ all right₃,' $\text{ɛɛ} \text{ yá} \text{ gére}$ 'we are all right'
 $\text{pí}_1 \text{ nu}_2$ 'throw₁ (it on the) ground₂,' $\text{á} \text{ nu}$ 'throw (them on the) ground'
 $\text{bá} \text{ ɔ}$ 'grab him,' $\text{káy} \text{ wa}$ 'grab them'

394.2. Motion verbs. These are characterized not only by the fact that they denote some type of motion but also since they occur with pronominal suffixes which are the subjects of the verbs immediately following and since they occur in series (for which see 423.11). The most frequently used are the following: dɔŋ 'to sit, continue,' hay 'to crawl,' ne 'to go,' per- 'to return (to place of speaker),' si 'to return (to place away from speaker),' tɛ 'to come,' yar- 'to walk around, stroll,' yu 'to flee.'⁴⁹ For example:

$\text{nem}_1 \text{ néem}_2 \text{ bá}_3 \text{ ɔ}_4 \text{ ?bɔ}_5$ 'and I₁ went (and) I₂ took₃ him₄ again₅'
 $\text{ne}_1 \text{ ɔ}_2 \text{ dila}_3$ '(he) went₁ (and) shot₂ a lion₃'

394.3. Auxiliary verbs. Their use is characterized by the following features: (1) They function as the heads of verb phrases or dependent clauses. (2) The dependent verbs occur either in low imperfective or high or low perfective forms (393.113; 393.22c; 393.23).⁵⁰ (3) The pronominal subject of such a dependent clause occurs with high tone(s) (382.113b); and (4) the auxiliaries themselves can occur with pronominal suffixes which function as the subjects of the following clause. The auxiliary itself, functioning as a predicate, can occur in both imperfective and perfective forms. There are three such auxiliary verbs: bo , ne , and tɛ , which are discussed in the following paragraphs.⁵¹ The verb dɔŋ 'to sit' can also be included, but only on the basis of one example in our data: $\text{dɔŋ} \text{ wá}_1 \text{ yɔŋ}_2 \text{ mo}$, $\text{ne} \text{ tɛ}_3 \text{ wa} \text{ yóó}_4$, $\text{zu}_5 \text{ ʔ-wa}_6 \text{ ná}$ 'should they₁ be eating₂, don't come₃ (and) stand₄ over₅ them₆.' For the alternant forms of the auxiliaries see 132.2.

394.31. bo (with phonologically defined allomorphs bo , bɔ , bɛ , and bɛ) is probably the same verb as the homonymous verb used in negated predications replacing ɔ 'to be.' Its most common meanings are those of possibility ('if, should,' etc.) and time ('when, while, after,' etc.). For example:

$\text{bó}_1 \text{ wá}_2 \text{ ba}_3 \text{ zembé} \text{ go}_4 \text{ bó} \text{ tɛ}_5 \text{ wa}_6 \text{ e}_7 \text{ zu}_8 \text{-nú}_9$ 'when₁ they₂ take₃ the zembé (fetish) and₄ when they₆ come₅ (and) put₇ (it) on₈ the ground₉'
 $\text{mise}_1 \text{ bó}_2 \text{ dɔŋ}_3 \text{ nu}_4$ 'while₂ Monsieur₁ was sitting₃ (on the) ground₄'
 $\text{bé}_1 \text{ ré}_2 \text{ ne}_3 \text{ tɛ}_4 \text{ bé}_5 \text{ ré}_6 \text{ gbóá}_7$ 'when₁ we₂ went₃, and₄ when₅ we₆ arrived₇'
 $\text{boá}_1 \text{ ne}_2 \text{ me}_3, \text{ ne}_4 \text{ ye}_5$ 'if (one) would go₂ there₃, and₄ (they) would say₅ . . .'

394.32. ne (with phonologically defined allomorphs ne , nɛ , nɛ , nde , and ndo) is the verb 'to go.' As an auxiliary, it indicates future time, as with English 'going to . . .,' or possible action (future with respect to some other

action, and therefore translated 'if, when, would,' etc.). In some instances it seems synonymous with *bo*. The formal resemblance to the connective *ne* 'and' is fortuitous. Examples are:

ndé₁ wá₂ hee kɔwà₃ wéndé₄, gan₄ té wá hee kɔwà ná wéndé 'will₁ they₂
cry₃, or₄ won't they cry'
ném₁ si né₂ gɔy₃ há₄ madáam né₅ zoká₆ 'I'm going₁ to take (it) back₂
like this₃ so that₄ Madame will₅ see₆ (it)'
wí-ré₁ né zerá oro-ndú-ró₂ . . . , né ŋmgbéré₃ né₄ de₅ p₆ ná 'the
person₁ who has obeyed us₂, leprosy₃ will₄ not afflict₅ him₆'
gan né₁ ne₂ p₃ hee kɔwá₄ tí-ó démá wí-ré₅ me₆ ná 'he₃ will₁ not go₂
(and) cry₄ in front of the people₅ there₆'
wan to gan de₁ gɔy₂ ná ne wí-ré₃ gan neá₄ kpa₅ ri₆ m₇ no₈ . . . ná
'if Wan-to had not done₁ this₂, people₃ would₄ not have found₅ water₆
to₇ drink₈'

394.33. *te* (with phonologically defined allomorphs *te*, *tə*, *tɛ*, and *to*) is the verb 'to come.' As an auxiliary it indicates probability in the past, present, or future, depending on the context. For example:

té ɔ gɔy 'that's probably the way it is'
o₁ a tɛ₂ ha₃ ŋmaa₄ hé ré₅ o₁ 'who₁ can possibly₂ give₃ us₅ some₄?'
ge re yɔŋ₁ kam ná, ne tɛ₂ ré₃ fe₄ wo₅ 'if we don't eat₁, wo₃ might₂ die₄
(of) hunger₅'
tɛ ɔ kɔɔ 'he's probably crossed (the stream)'
wí-ré₁ teá ɔ₂ dɔk₃ wen-toy₄ sa'ɔc₅ sé 'if there were₂ many₃ people₁
to carry₄ (the) animal₅ (then we could do it)'
gba₁ koo₂ oró₃ ndoá₄ wéndé, ne teá₅ wá₆ gbe₇ ŋmaa kpém₈ '(they said)
"Even if₁ we₃ had violated₄ a woman₂, they₆ could have₅ killed₇ just
one₈"'

Notes to Chapter Three

¹ Syntactic terms employed in this chapter are defined under Syntax (Chapter Four).

² A considerably different classification, and one that I now prefer, would work with a class of Modifiers. It would include adjectivals (that is, adjectives), adverbials (that is, adverbs), and substitutes. The latter would be comprised of the demonstratives (382.2), the interrogatives (382.3), the numeratives (382.4), and the quantitatives (382.8). The substantive class would also be altered so that the nominatives would be represented not only by common nouns (381), but also by locative nouns (382.5), temporal nouns (382.6), and the reciprocal noun (382.5). The latter three are now considered special types of substitutes. This change would leave only the personal pronouns coordinated with the nominatives (382.1).

³ The glottal stop seems to be distinctive in some interjections; in others there seems to be free variation with zero.

⁴ There may very likely be some historical connection between *wa* and *wá*, and even now some of their areas of meaning overlap. Since their formal (tonal) and semantic difference can not at the present be explained, they are separated.

⁵Its function seems to overlap that of há with which it may even be related historically, but these forms are now best analyzed as separate morphemes.

⁶The examples in (a) and (b) are not meant to be parallel contrasts. Affirmative commands in direct address have the form (Subject) + Verb. Thus, (mɛ) tɛ '(you) come.' In some instances the verb e 'to put, leave' and the connective há function somewhat like the English hortative 'let's,' but in Gbeya the literal meaning is more explicit. Thus, é há kéey dé mé ná 'don't be afraid' (= 'let fear do you not'), é hé ré né 'let's go' (= 'permit us to go'). Perhaps there is some connection between this use of e and the use of á in the negative commands, for (1) at Boguila é is used where the Gbeya use á, and (2) one sentence occurs in the data where a low tone verb follows é, which is what usually occurs with á in negative commands. Thus, é kpàá sòn, nde re né sené 'when all have found (the place in the book), then we'll begin.'

⁷Sometimes the adjective nɔ 'this' occurs as attribute of the noun mɔ 'thing' without adding anything to the meaning of the construction. There is no doubt that this connective is related to and in fact historically derived from the use of the word wen 'affair' as an attribute to the verb head in verb phrases. Some of the utterances containing wen kó mɔ ne might still be analyzed in this way; the presence of the conjunction ne 'and,' which ordinarily is in construction with the following and not preceding construction, lends weight to this analysis. But (1) because of the types of constructions which precede wen kó mɔ ne (and which can not precede wen and its complements), and (2) because of the frequent pauses both before and after wen kó mɔ ne, I take this whole construction as equivalent in over-all function to the other connectives, allowing that other kinds of analyses are possible.

⁸Once the various morphologically defined allomorphs are given, the morphemes shall be referred to by these cover symbols. Certain allomorphic alternations affecting all but wéndé gan are described in 132.2.

⁹The analysis of the connectives á, {a}, and há is not as neat as one should like it, and the explanation may be that I have found their use at a time of rapid change. If they are indeed a single morpheme, I have not found the unifying factors. It is of interest to note that in the dialect of Carnot a and ha (as written by Hilberth) serve "à conjuger les verbes au conditionnel et au subjonctif; dans les phrases affirmatives il sert à exprimer qu'une action est terminée au moment où l'on parle" (1952, p. 7).

¹⁰Among the few occurrences of á which resemble há in meaning is the following:

wá, né né₂ ŋginza₃ á₄ wá háá₅ ne₆ kóoi₇ 'they₁ take₂ (the) money₃, and₄ [perhaps, 'to'] pay₅ for₆ the girl₇'

¹¹As in the third example, the preposition {ín} 'with' very often connects two substantive expressions before the connective ne occurs.

¹²The noun phrase with mɔ 'thing' as its head is commonly used to connect a clause with a preceding clause. It may very well be that órɔ mɔ ne . . . gá is becoming an equivalent connective.

¹³I suspect that there is some historical relationship between the sé of the connective sé te and the só of só kó. As evidence, witness the fact that sé has a distribution somewhat independent of sé te and that phonemically só is set off from kó by open juncture which prevents the former from being assimilated to the latter in vowel quality or nasalization (for which see 132.2). In the related Ngbaka language, according to Eugene A. Nida (Learning a Foreign Language, 1950), sē is used in a statement "made in reply to a question which has been asked about the possibility of someone doing something" (p. 211) and contrasts with ne which marks a simple future statement.

¹⁴I strongly suspect that these connectives are derived from two morphemes, gan and wéndé (the first perhaps being the same as that in the negative adverb and the second perhaps the same as the final interrogative particle), in various combinations as a result of juxtaposition.

¹⁵There is a strong possibility that the connective mɔ is historically derived from the word mɔ 'thing.' Reasons for this hypothesis are the following: (1) some of the uses of mɔ parallel emergent connective uses of wen 'word' and wen kó 'word of'; (2) the use with the verb ɔ 'to be' can be translated in a way that makes a substantive of mɔ, such as, 5 mɔm de gɔy 'I have to do it like this' (perhaps = 'is thing me do like this'), and (3) the translation of mɔ is accomplished in Sango, the trade language, by an expression equivalent to wen kó and not by the conjunction sí.

There is another morpheme, *mó*, which in one case connects two substantive expressions and in another connects an adverb with a verb phrase, but its identification with the connective is doubtful. Indeed, there are insufficient examples to warrant its identification with either the connective or the substantive *mó* 'thing.' For example: *gó kayà ó béem kó ró mó bé-wéeyaa* 'so (they) took their children, that is, the sons'; *wa gbó?dí séré mó sem sem* 'they held (the) spears (making them tremble).'

¹⁴ Excluded from the class of prepositions are certain nouns which, when they occur in noun phrases, are easily translated by English prepositions, such as the 'prepositional-like nouns.' These are manifestly nouns because of their ability to take the determinative suffix {-a} and to occur in construction with other substantives with the relational morpheme {-}. Particularly noteworthy are the ones used to indicate place, such as *kp* 'hole, inside,' *zaj* 'belly, inside,' *gón* 'top, on top,' *zu* 'head, on,' *ká* 'side, beside,' *ʔdɔr* 'underneath, under,' *tí* 'ahead, in front of.' Thus: *kp-tuwa* 'inside the house,' *ká-tuwa* 'beside the house.' Even the following occur: *kp-kɔ* 'in the hole,' *te-te-wa* 'to them.' It should be noted that *te* 'body, at' can precede any one of these pseudoprepositions. The only pseudopreposition which behaves differently is *sen* 'at, to' which never follows *te* but precedes any other pseudopreposition. Thus: *sen-te-zu-ʔdúú-zoróí* - *sen-zu-ʔdúú-zoróí* 'on the Zoró bridge'; *wa gbɛn sen-te-ká-te-réí* 'they broke out beside us' (= 'at body side body us').

¹⁷ In the sentence *tém dɛ nɛ kóm ré ge gáá ge*. 'What in the world can I do?,' *né* occurs in construction with the prepositional phrase *kóm* 'of me.' But since phrases with *kó* have a considerable freedom of occurrence, this is not unusual. There are also sentences that contain a morpheme *né* whose identification with either the preposition *né* or the copula is uncertain. Thus: *mí né teém* 'me alone,' *zɛɛ nɛ mbóro, nɛm yarà te-kaka?da me* 'yesterday in the afternoon I walked around Kaka?da over there.'

¹⁸ Formal and functional resemblances indicate that some kind of relationship exists between the connective *nɛ* 'and,' the preposition *né* 'with, etc.,' and the copula *né*. The hypothesis is substantiated by similar resemblances in other Niger-Congo languages. The hypothesis is both interesting and important in a historical perspective, but it can not lead to the establishing of a single morpheme in Gbeya on formally valid grounds. Other names for this morpheme could possibly be 'linking particle' or 'ligature.'

¹⁹ This change is operative regardless of the tone that precedes. For a similar tonal change see 131.2.

²⁰ When a noun follows a verb without the copula, it is to be taken as an attribute of the subject of the verb. Compare the following: *ɔ né wey* 'it's a fire' and *ɔ wey* 'it's hot'; *ɔ né ri* 'it's water' and *ɔ ri ʔdé* 'it's very watery.'

²¹ What apparently has happened is that words that were formerly in quite distinct word classes have, as a result of frequent cooccurrence, been crystallized into a set phrase (as was the case with *wéndé gan*). The form *gende* may thus be derived from *ge ndé* which is still used as a type of "filler" with very little, if any, lexical meaning, very much as the phrases "I mean" or "you know" are used in colloquial American English. The form *gá* is probably to be identified with the *gá* of the connective *óró . . . gá*. In some Gbaya dialects, the form *gá* (or *ká*) still has the meaning 'like.'

²² Substitution between some of these forms is illustrated by a text where *gende gá ye ge*, *gende gá ye*, *gende gá*, and *ye* all follow the verb *tɔ* 'to speak' in similar environments.

²³ The form *ge* in the sequence *ye ge ndé* is analyzed as the interrogative substitute and not as part of the QV (although the latter may be historically derived from the former). Examples: *wen kp-zanáa wéé ye ge ndé*. '(The) sound inside makes what sound?' (Compare *mɔ nɛ ɔ kp-dak wéé roke roke* 'the thing which is inside the gourd goes roke roke'); *ʔdoŋ wáraa ye ge ndé*. 'What is the way to do it?' *gó?dó-wen nɔɔ ye ge ndé*. 'What is the explanation of this affair?' *mɛ tɔ wen ye ge ndé*. 'What are you saying?' Compare with *ndɛ rɛ zók, ge ndé, nɛ mise dɔŋ té* 'and we looked, what? Monsieur was coming,' *ʔmón nɛ ge ndé ndɛ wa gbó te-zan-ré* 'just like that and what? and they arrive in the village.'

²⁴ Here, as elsewhere in this grammar, the word "class" is used for "subclass" where the context makes it clear that subclasses are under discussion.

²⁵ Since all of the examples of *ʔbay* show it to be in a substantive phrase at the beginning of an utterance (being preceded only by the connective {go}), I suspect that instead of an adjective, it is some kind of clausally bound morpheme. The feature that requires its being described as an adjective is the fact that it occurs in construction with substantives where no verb is involved.

²⁶It has been suggested (William E. Welmers, personal communication) that this adjective is not strictly plural (indicating many objects of a particular kind) but rather indicates individualized plurality; it is as if objects were looked at one by one instead of in a group. I have this same feeling about 6 but no lexicographic data that would substantiate it.

²⁷This adjective has the same form as the negative adverb ná, but it is hard to see any relation between them, so they are identified as separate morphemes. If only one morpheme is involved, this fact can be proven only by means of a construction such as mí ná (= 'me not!') which I seem to recall being used by a speaker to call attention to the opinion he was going to express in his next utterance, meaning something like "won't I be considered?"

²⁸It seems almost certain that n̄ɔ is derived from the sequence n̄ ɔ 'and it is,' where the verb ɔ 'is' has the morpheme ɔV (213.3). In the Suma dialect the following occur: tuwa ɔ 'this house' (= 'house is'), tuwa n̄ ɔ 'this house' (= 'house and is'). The assimilated form of the connective occurs at Gezéri, north of Bossembele, in wí kó } n̄ ɔ } n̄ d̄ʒ 'this woman is short,' where pause can occur at points marked by vertical bars.

²⁹D. T. Cole, *An Introduction to Tswana Grammar*. Longmans, Green and Co., 1955, 370 pp.

³⁰An apology is made for not giving glosses for all of the DAs cited in this section. One-to-one correspondences are generally impossible to make and circumlocutory translations would by their length overburden the treatment.

³¹Because the derivation of stems in many Indo-European languages is largely achieved through affixation, my use of the word may at first appear ill-advised, for no derivational affixes are utilized in the formation of Gbeya DAs. The justification for its employment here rests on the recognition by others of compounding as a derivational process.

³²The term "secondary association" is taken from Charles F. Hockett (*A Course in Modern Linguistics*, 1958, pp. 296-299).

³³There are a few nouns, almost entirely names of living creatures, whose origin is onomatopoeic. They are too few in number to warrant the description of an imitative process of derivation. Thus: ná hmrí 'a certain frog,' gbúúfuu 'a certain owl,' uʔúu 'a certain fish' (although uʔúu is not a sound actually heard from the fish in question, the Gbeya claim that it is able to lead other fish into traps by making noises. This therefore is a case of pseudo-onomatopoeia), s̄ɛ s̄ú 'a certain bird.'

³⁴The form wí-zú 'thief' is not included here because of the aberrant form of the verb zú 'steal.' One expects wí-zu, with zu being the attribute of the noun wí 'person.'

³⁵If the informant is correct in translating t̄ʃ of the following phrase as 'talk,' then this one phrase constitutes a subclass coordinate with the other examples given in this section: zik t̄ʃ 'certain tree,' so named, the informant said, because people walked around the tree (zik 'to circle') and remarked on the good shade it gave. Another coordinate subclass with only one member is the following: ȳʃ gáan 'certain small animal' < 'eat' + gán 'in vain' + suffix ɔV. It would not be accurate to consider these analyses as fully analogous to folk etymologies. In their present form any other morphological segmentation is unlikely. Of course, if it could be shown that these words were borrowed from another language in which they had a different form, then we could suggest that the phonemic sequences were segmented in a way which was somehow meaningful in Gbeya.

³⁶The possibility of describing the pronouns as basically toneless and attributing the tone to some other morpheme was considered. For example, the perfective might have been described as consisting of the suffix { á } and high tone(s) on the pronouns (when these occurred). Since, however, this type of analysis would have made the whole description more complicated than the present one, even assuming that it would be entirely consistent, I have rejected it. In the following discussion it is to be understood that when I speak of the pronoun ɛɛ or éɛ, I am in fact talking about allomorphs of a single morpheme.

³⁷No examples of ɔm are found in the data, but it is here posited both because I remember having heard a form such as lángim 'passing I . . . ' and also because it is

theoretically possible with motion verbs. The grave accent mark in \grave{m} only means that the vowel preceding the suffix has low tone. An attempt was made to eliminate $-Vm$ by setting up $-m$ and introducing allomorphs of the verb bases, such as $^*háya-m$. There is some historical justification for this analysis (see the common Gbanu verb form CVCV), but the morph $-Vm$ is no longer restricted to disyllabic bases, and nouns (when it concerns the objectival pronouns) also come into the picture.

³⁸Note should be taken of the fact that there are two homophonous allomorphs of 1S, namely, $-m$ of am and $-m$ of $ám$. They contrast in terms of the whole sets of pronouns and in utterances such as $ném zók wa$ 'I went and saw them' and $ném zók wa$ 'I'm going to see them.'

³⁹That the substitution of an explicit pronoun for a common one is not entirely obligatory is demonstrated in several instances. For example:

$gá\ yé_1\ am_2\ kíf_3\ ?doj-wáá_4$ '(he) said₁, "I'm₂ looking for₃ a way₄."

⁴⁰It is certainly more than accidental that these substitutes are distinguished only by the quality of their vowels. One is tempted to segment a morph with the shape $-V$, but because its occurrence would be restricted to these words, such an analysis is hardly justified.

⁴¹The only possible identification of $ré$ at the moment is with the form which occurred in the speech of someone from Bowe where $ré\ duwa$ and $yé\ duwa$ are used, at least occasionally, instead of $ó\ duwa$ 'goats,' where $ré$, $yé$, and $ó$ simply mark plurality. Getting 'how much, how many?' from 'what plurality?' seems a bit forced, however.

⁴²This word is suspiciously like two other words in the language (in form and to some extent in meaning) with which it is also in complementary distribution. They are ηma 'some' (an adjective) which occurs only as an attribute of nouns, and $\eta ma a$ 'some' (a noun) which occurs only as the subject of verbs. One considers the possibility of somehow uniting these in a single morpheme. This may be possible if one starts with the base form ηma 'some, a few, little bit, etc.' and adds the suffix $\{-a\}$ (213.1) to make a subjective nominative with the same general meaning and the suffix $*-á$ to make an objective nominative with the added meaning of reciprocity. The resultant forms would be unique, as would the occurrence of the suffix itself.

⁴³The suffixes $-i_1$ and $\{-i_3\}$ cannot be united as a single morpheme for the following reasons: (1) their meaning and the distribution of the free forms in which they occur are not similar enough and (2) a distributional difference is correlated with a formal difference in that one occurs with B^2 and the other with $B-$. (It should also be pointed out that these suffixes are different from another one of similar form, the postclitic $\{-i_5\}$. The postclitic occurs freely with verb forms c to f inclusively, and when it occurs with those in a , it contrasts with $-i_1$ in that unlike the latter it does not occur with the $/r/$ allomorph of the verb. So: $wesé\ n\grave{e}m\ pééi$ 'the day on which I returned,' $wesé-peri$ 'the day of returning'.)

⁴⁴It should be remembered from section 131.2 that the diacritic $\grave{}$ indicates the substitution of a low for a high tone preceding high tone.

⁴⁵The high tone on $/i/$ in the following forms is described as being part of the objectival pronominal suffix $/-m/$: $bá\ é\ ki^?d\ m$ 'while he was looking for me'; $bá\ é\ l\grave{a}ng\ m$ 'when he passed me up.' The low tone in $l\grave{a}ng\ m$ in the following is however described as belonging to the subjectival pronominal suffix: $*l\grave{a}ng\ m\ r\grave{ij}\ nu$ 'passing on, I fell down' (not actually heard, but possible on the analogy of $pérem\ zók\ wa$ 'coming back, I saw them'). See note 37.

⁴⁶The following examples are unusual because of the occurrence of high tone imperfections following $bó$, so I suspect an error in transcription: $gó\ z\grave{e}\ n\grave{e}\ bó\ ndé\ wá\ d\grave{o}\ n\grave{e}\ gb\grave{y}a\grave{f}$ 'so on the night before they are going to burn the $gb\grave{y}a$ (translation uncertain),' $bá\ é\ n\grave{u}n\ n\grave{a}$ 'when he smelled the oil.'

⁴⁷The examples are too few to warrant further generalizations, but data from other Gbanu dialects seem to indicate that this combination of high tone pronoun subjects and low tone verbs may be a widespread and important pattern.

⁴⁸I do not mean by free variation that it is a demonstrable fact that either a high or low perfective form can substitute for the other one in any particular environment. I simply mean that the occurrence of one or the other is not at present structurally predictable. There may of course be a real difference in style, say, between the low in slow speech and the high in rapid speech. In the transcription of the tape-recorded texts

it was often difficult to determine whether the form was high or low, but it is certain that the contrast exists; my informant confirmed it.

⁴⁶The use of *ne* 'to go' and *te* 'to come' in a particular situation seems to depend somewhat on the speaker's point of view (whether he thinks of himself either at the point of departure or point of destination, compare English 'Are you coming to/going to the party?'), but in the dialect of Bouca it seems that both are used for 'to come,' *te* with singular subjects and *ne* with plural subjects.

⁵⁰For one possible exception see note 46.

⁵¹The word *ɪŋáá* functions as an auxiliary in that either an imperfective or perfective verb may follow it, but in some constructions it seems to function as a connective. There are not enough data to justify a conclusive analysis, especially since its meaning is not fully understood. Examples are:

bá ₁ á ba wééyaa₁ ɪŋáá pi₂ bolóa₃ 'when he took the male one₁ (that is, the gourd) to throw₂ (it) after₃ (the first one)'

ǰ₁ ngémbém₂, ne₃ ɪŋáá baám₄ 'he₁ waited for me₂, and₃ (for the purpose of) taking me₄'

The word *gó* functions similarly. It is most certainly derived from the connective {go} (332.2), but because of their differences in function, they must be considered distinct.

CHAPTER FOUR

SYNTAX

In this chapter are described the various ways in which words are arranged in maximal utterances. Hitherto, the main consideration was of morphemes or classes of morphemes, bound and free. This chapter deals with constructions, that is, with collocations of free morphemes. The unit basic to the description is the sentence, which in its smallest form consists of several types of included or potentially independent constructions. These sentence constructions are described in section 420. Nonsentence-type constructions are described in 410. Several types of syntactic combining processes are described in 430. Finally, a sample text is presented in 500. The analysis of the syntax is based on the theory of immediate constituents: It is assumed that syntactic structures can be analyzed into layers of progressively smaller dichotomous units.

410. Nonsentence-type constructions. The various constructions which are included within sentences are endocentric substantive phrases, with both noun (411) and substitute (412) heads, exocentric prepositional phrases (413), and verb phrases (414). Since the term "phrase" is descriptive of constructions, it covers both those consisting of only one word and also those of several words.

411. Noun phrases. They consist of either subordinate (411.1 and 411.2) or coordinate elements (411.3). The subordinate substantive phrase consists of the head and its preposed or postposed attributes or both. The attributes which precede the head are either adjectives, numerative substitutes, or descriptive adverbs. The attributes which follow the head are either substantives, adjectives, prepositional phrases, adverbs, verbs, or dependent clauses. The coordinate phrase consists of heads which are combined by parataxis or with some formal marker.

411.1. Noun phrases with preposed attributes. They are either numerative substitutes (411.11), adverbs (411.12), or adjectives. For the last, see section 360.

411.11. Numerative substitute attributes. The meaning of a numeral in this position is different from when it occurs postposed to the head. Here it is somewhat equivalent in meaning to an English ordinal numeral. In addition, the word *kpém* 'one' has the meaning of 'single,' such as: *kpém wésé* '(in a single day,' *kpém fara* 'single place,' *rífto wen* 'second subject.'

411.12. Adverb attributes. This use of the descriptive adverbs is infrequent in the corpus. For example:

- ffí káyá kélé 'small faith,' compare ó wí-ré tɛ̀à ffí 'a few people came'
 goŋ goŋ-tuwa 'square house,' compare wa dé tuwa goŋ goŋ 'they are making the house square'
 gère-mò 'unimportant thing,' compare ǰ tɛ̀à gère 'he came for no reason'
 yǰrɛ̀rɛ̀-wesé 'certain snake,' compare wesè dó yǰrɛ̀rɛ̀ 'the sun is shining temperately'

411.2. Noun phrases with postposed subordinate attributes. These attributes are either substantives (411.21), adjectives (411.22), prepositional phrases (411.23), adverbs (411.24), verbs (411.25), or dependent clauses (411.26).

411.21. Substantive attributes. They are either nouns or substitutes which are subordinated either paratactically or by the use of the connective óró . . . gá 'like.' Subordination is identified by the fact that one word, the head, can be used in the place of the whole construction.

411.211. Noun attributes. Several types of constructions are distinguished by their meanings, but most of these occur with the relational morpheme { }, which is discussed in 212.2. In addition to these, there are a few N + N constructions without this relational morpheme.¹ For example:

- wan to 'master fable (the Spider, chief character in the fables)'
 wan fiyo 'master fetish' (a personal name)
 gbogbo ri 'middle of the stream'
 tɛ̀rí, ɲmgbarí₂ ?doŋ saŋai₃ 'plant₁ (the) okra₂ in rows₃'
 wesè ó sera zu 'the sun is overhead'
 dpó-ki?dí₁ mbé₂ wen₃ wen₄-tǰáa₅ 'beer for looking for₁ a new₂ subject,
 to₄ talk₅ (about)'
 ó mɔ₁ tɛ̀-wesè₂ kó₃ ó kpásái ké ré₄ 'things₁ in the days₂ of₃ our elders₄'
 mɔ̀-ɲari₁ kó₂ ó sókái ké ré₃ tɛ̀-tfi₄ 'the clothing₁ of₂ our elders₃ long ago₄'
 ɲma wí-ré₁ óró₂ mé₃ gá₂ 'a person, like₂ you₃'

411.212. Substitute attributes.² It seems that all but the personal pronouns may occur as attributes of nominatives. In addition to the following examples, others may be found in 382:

- Demonstrative: kofɛ₁ ɲí₂ nɛ̀ né dɛ̀à₃ rǰk₄ ?dɛ̀i₅ 'that₂ in-law₁ who should work₃ very₅ well₄'
 Interrogative: wí-o 'who?' yari-ǰge 'what hunt?' (personal name)
 Locative: mǰy₁ tɛ̀-ré₂ mɛ̀₃ 'meet₁ in (the) village₂ there₃,' mɛ̀₁ ɔ́á₂ nu₃ na₄ '(if) you₁ were₂ (on the) ground₃ here₄'
 Quantitative: ɲma wen kóm dǰka gan bó ná 'I don't have any big speech,' ó wí-ré₁ hárá sǰn₂ mǰy₃ 'all₂ (the) people₁ gather₃'
 Numerative: ɲma₁ mɔ₂ kpém₃ 'some₁ one₂ thing₃'
 gá₁ kɛ̀rɛ̀₂ ?doŋ kpém₃ 'six₂ large₁ beer-pots₃'

¹For notes to Chapter Four, see p. 142.

411.22. Adjective attributes; such as: $z\acute{o}_1 n\acute{o}_2$ 'this₂ grass₁,' $tji_1 \acute{w}a_2 n\acute{o}_3$ 'these₃ tails₁ of theirs₂,' $fiyo_1 k\acute{o}m_2 n\acute{o}_3$ 'this₃ fetish₁ of mine₂,' $b\acute{a}raa \dot{i} \dot{i} n\acute{a} m\acute{e}i$ 'dry season before last.'

411.23. Prepositional-phrase attributes. Phrases containing the preposition $k\acute{o}$ 'of' (and much less frequently $\{fn\}$ 'with' and $n\acute{e}$) are those which most frequently occur in attribution to a noun head. (See also postposed coordinate attributes, 411.3.) Examples are:

$\text{?do}\eta\text{-w\acute{a}\acute{a}_1 k\acute{e} r\acute{e}_2 \dot{i}n\ m\acute{e} ye\ ge\ nd\acute{e}.$ 'What does our₂ way₁ have to do with your way?' (= 'our way with you means what?')

$\acute{o} y\acute{a}_1 k\acute{o}\dot{i}_2 s\acute{o}n_3$ 'all₃ your₂ friends₁'

$wen_1 k\acute{f}\ \acute{f}_2 \dot{i}n_3 k\acute{o}_4 k\acute{f}\ \acute{f}_5$ '(said) for₁ himself₂ and₃ his₅ wife₄'

$gba\ d\acute{o}ro_1 k\acute{o} wa_2$ 'their₂ hunting-path₁'

$z\acute{e}e\ n\acute{o}_1 n\acute{e}_2 mb\acute{o}ro_3$ 'yesterday₁ in₂ (the) evening₃'

411.24. Adverb attributes. Only a few occur as attributes to nouns, such as: $m\acute{o}_1 g\acute{e}re_2$ 'unimportant₂ thing₁,' $z\acute{o}\eta\acute{a}_1 k\acute{o} wa_2 n\acute{o}_3 g\acute{o}\acute{o}_4$ 'this₃ adolescent daughter₁ of theirs₂ here₄,' $\acute{o} m\acute{o}_1 \text{?d}\acute{e}k\ \text{?d}\acute{e}k_2$ 'many different₂ things₁' (cf. $lan\dot{g}i_1 \text{?d}\acute{e}k\ \text{?d}\acute{e}k_2$ 'pass₁ on all sides₂'), $m\acute{o} \text{?b}\acute{e}\acute{e}$ 'thing from long ago' (cf. $\acute{a}m_1 \dot{i}\eta\acute{o}_2 \acute{a}_3 \text{?b}\acute{e}\acute{e}_4$ 'I've₁ known₂ him₃ from long ago₄').

411.25. Verb attributes. They are either verbs or verb phrases which stand in construction with common nouns. For example:

$\acute{a}_1 d\acute{e} mal\acute{e}\acute{e}_2 wen\text{-}g\acute{o}\text{?}bi_3 wen\text{-}t\acute{e}_4 wen\text{-}ri_5$ 'he₁ played a trick₂ so as to go around₃ to come₄ for (the) water₅'

$g\acute{a} r\acute{e}_1 kpa_2 \eta\acute{m}aa\ wen\text{-}gb\acute{e}_3 kp\acute{e}m_4 n\acute{a}$ 'we₁ didn't find₂ even one₄ to kill₃,' $wa_1 b\acute{a} yar\acute{i}_2\text{-}z\acute{a}_3 yin\acute{a}_4$ 'they₁ set out₂ to dig up₃ the roots₄'

$\text{?do}\eta\text{-w\acute{a}\acute{a}\text{-}n\acute{e}\ f\acute{o}\ b\acute{o}\ n\acute{a}$ 'it's not possible to go to the garden' (= 'means of going garden is not')

$y\acute{a}r\acute{a}_1\text{-}d\acute{e}\ saa_2 za\eta\text{-}r\acute{e}_3 \eta\acute{m}\acute{\eta}\eta_4 \eta\acute{m}\acute{\eta}\eta_4$ 'running around₁ to play₂ in (the) village₃ all the time₄'

$w\acute{i}\text{-}z\acute{o}k\ wa\ gan\ b\acute{o}\ n\acute{a}$ 'there is no one to oversee them' (= 'person to see them is not')

411.26. Dependent-clause attributes. A principal clause introduced by the connective $n\acute{e}$ 'and' is a common attribute of noun (as well as substitute) phrases, the whole of which is very often "closed" with the postclitic. The noun head, regardless of its function in the sentence, is either the subject or the object of the dependent clause. When the head is the subject of the dependent clause, the verb has no grammatical subject (see below for pronominal heads). For example:

$z\acute{o}k_1 fara_2\text{-}m\acute{o}\dot{i}_3 n\acute{e}\ t\acute{e}i_4 n\acute{a}$ 'doesn't see₁ the place₂ from which the thing₃ is coming₄'

$wen\ k\acute{o}\ m\acute{o}\ n\acute{a}_1 \acute{a}_2 s\acute{a}m\acute{a}_3 fire_4 n\acute{e}\ wan\ to\ \text{?}bird_5 \acute{a}_6 nui_7$ 'because₁ he₂ ate₃ (the) paste₄ which Wan-to had broken off₅ (and) thrown to₆ the ground₇'

$er\acute{e}_1 k\acute{i}_2 ri_3 sen\text{-}t\acute{e}\text{-}fara_4 nd\acute{e}\ wa\ d\acute{u}m\acute{b}_5 \acute{e}r\acute{e}m_6 sen\acute{e}i$ 'we₁ crossed₂ the stream₃ at the place₄ where they speared₅ my hand₆'

$gan\ \acute{a}_1 r\acute{e}m_2 \acute{o}_3 \dot{i}n_4 k\acute{o}oi_5 n\acute{a}\ \acute{a}\ d\acute{e}\ k\acute{o}f\acute{e}ai_6 n\acute{a}$ 'he₁ can't₂ sleep₃ with₄ the girl₅ for whom he is working₆'

- ó nɛ mɔ₁ nɛ tɛ'foo ká a₂ né₃ yɔm₄ wenáa 'it's something₁ about which his in-laws₂ will₃ be angry₄'
- biro₁'gbe₂ ŋmaá₃ ndɛ wa gbé₄ nɛ sére₅ 'a fight₁ to kill₂ each other₃ which they did₄ with spears₅'
- mɛ káy₁ ó tɪréa₂ sɔn₃ nɛ ndé wá a₄ nu₅ há mɛi₆ 'take₁ all₃ the payment₂ which they will put₄ (on the) ground₅ for you₆'

411.3. Postposed coordinate attributes. They are substantives joined by the connective nɛ 'and' (332.4) or wéndé gan 'or' (332.9).

412. Substitute phrases. These consist only of subordinate elements, and they are fewer in number and less varied than are the noun phrases. The variation seems to be correlated with the fact that only certain substitutes function as subjects or objects of verbs, and among these only certain ones are more common than the others. The substitutes which occur with attributes are discussed in the following paragraphs.

412.1. Personal and demonstrative pronouns occur with the following attributes: nɔɔ 'this,' sɔn 'all,' ó 'plural marker,' ?bay 'only,' numerals, a phrase introduced by the preposition {ín} 'with,' and a phrase or clause introduced by the connective nɛ 'and.' For example:

- a₁ nɔɔ nɛ a gbɛa₂ réi₃ 'he₁ who killed₂ us₃'
- mɛ zók₁ wa₂ kusi₃ 'look at₁ (the) nine₃ (of) them₂'
- éré₁ sɔn₂ ɛɛ zókaa₃ 'all₂ (of) us₁ saw it₃'
- wí₁ ín₂ yám-wara 'you₁ and₂ Yám-wara'
- ó íí₁ nɛ ó₂ nɛ bé-zee mbora₃ 'those₁ who are₂ obedient children₃'
- ám₁ gbɛá₂ íí nɔɔ₃ 'I₁ killed₂ that one₃'
- ?bay mí am té gɔɔ 'it is only I coming' (= 'only me I come here')

412.2. The numerative, locative, and temporal substitutes occur only with the adjective nɔɔ 'this' (362.2). For example:

- ám₁ gbɛa₂ rííto₃ nɔɔ₄ 'I₁ killed₂ these₄ two₃'
- á ?mɔnà₁ íyɛ₂ nɔɔ 'he's still₁ over there₂'
- mbóro nɔɔ₁ am₂ tɪ néi₃ 'it's this evening₁ I'm₂ talking about₃'

412.3. The interrogative pronoun o 'who?' (382.3) occurs with the attribute ó 'plural marker' only once and in an early field-work notebook. Thus: ná á₁ kay₂ ó o₃? 'What people₃ (did you say) he was going₁ to get₂?'

413. Prepositional phrases. These consist of a preposition and a substantive or substantive phrase. It is to be understood that the term "prepositional phrase" includes prepositions with pronominal suffixes (for example, kóm 'of me'). For other examples see 340. (For a discussion of wen kó 'for, because,' see 331.2; 414.17.) Examples are:

kó 'of':

- wen kó ge 'why?'
- tuwa kó o 'whose house?'
- wa₁ gbák₂ sére₃ kó ŋmaá₄ 'they₁ exchange₂ each other's₄ spears₃'
- wen kó bɛɛ 'as for the dry season'

há 'from, to':

há₁ éé₂-ó wí-ré₃ 'from₁ (the) hands₂ of people₃'

né né₁ hó₂ wa₃ 'take₁ (it) to₂ them₃'

há sené 'from there'

dák₁ kéey₂ há zaŋ-wa₃ 'take₁ fear₂ out of them₃'

ín 'with':

ín₁ bém₂ kéé₃ ' (said) and₁ his₃ child₂'

koyo ín ó mboró ín ó dawa té 'koyo '(birds) and red monkeys and green monkeys come'

414. Verb phrases. The verb phrase consists of a verb head and non-obligatory complements. These are either substantives, prepositional phrases, verbs, or adverbs which occur in a more or less regular order. The order is a relative one: the shorter the verb phrase, the easier it is to predict the order of the constituents. The sum of the possibilities is illustrated by the following formula: verb + intensive (that is, kó phrase) + object (or goal or predicate complement) + place + time + prepositional phrase + number + purpose + adverb + repeated verb. The various combinations are not explicitly illustrated, but many can be found in the following sections.

414.1. Substantive complements. In this position these have the syntactic meaning of object (or goal or predicate complement, etc.), place, time, number, or purpose.

414.11. Object:

ǵ₁ há₂ oro-nú₃ hó₄ wa₅ 'he₁ gives₂ a command₃ to₄ them₅'

hé₁ ri₂ ínaa₃ 'buy₁ water₂ from him₃'

gom₁ bá₂ ǵ₃ wáá fara taa₄ 'and I₁ took₂ him₃ three times₄'

bá₁ kóa₂ tí₃ 'take₁ the female one₂ first₃'

414.12. Goal. It is convenient to distinguish goal from direct object when nouns with locative meaning follow verbs of motion. For example:

sí ʔdoŋ né wen há_m 'answer me' (= 'return back with word to-me')

sí ʔdoŋ te-ré₁ mé₂ 'return to the village₁ there₂'

né₁ kóó-ré₂ 'goes₁ after us₂'

rémá₁ ré₂ 'enough for₁ us₂'

né₁ yarí₂ 'go₁ on a hunt₂'

414.13. Predicate complement. This use is to be contrasted with the use of the copula né (for which see 352). Nouns with this meaning usually follow the verbs ɔ 'to be,' kifi 'to turn (into),' ʔmón 'to remain,' ya 'to be (plural).' For example:

ó wey 'it's hot'

wa yá rííto 'there are two of them' (= 'they are two')

ǵ₁ kifó₂ dila₃ 'he₁ turned into₂ a lion₃'

ʔmoná wey 'it's still hot' (= 'remained hot')

414.14. Place. The precise meanings of where, whither, or whence are in the lexical meanings of the substantives or in the construction (since há 'from' is the only preposition which can be used with a locative meaning).

For example, the word 'fire' is locative in the phrase \acute{e}_1 kprá₂ wey₃ 'puts₁ chicken₂ (on the) fire₃ (to cook)', but objective in \acute{e} wey sené 'puts fire there' (that is, 'set fire to something'). A few nouns are commonly used as the heads of noun phrases with locative meaning: kɔ 'hole, in,' ʔdɔr- 'underneath, under,' bɔnɔ 'back, behind, after,' zu 'head, on,' kɔr- 'back, after,' kɔ́ 'side, beside, next to,' saŋa 'inside, between,' zaŋ 'belly, inside, within,' gbɔgbɔ 'between.' Many locative noun phrases, even some with the words just listed, may have as head *te* or *sen* or *sen te* 'at.'³ Examples of the preposition-like nouns, of phrases with *sen* and *te*, and finally of other nouns are given below. For examples of the locative substitutes see 382.5.

414.141. Examples with preposition-like nouns:

ndɛ₁ wa₂ aɔ₃ kɔ́-daná₄ 'and₁ they₂ put₃ (it) in the bag₄'
 dɔ́ŋ ʔdɔrɔ́a 'sat underneath'
 bó₁ kpa ŋmaá₂ . . . bɔnɔa₃ 'when₁ (they) meet₂ . . . after it₃'
 nɛm₁ dɔ́ŋ₂ zu-wotɔɔ₃ 'and I₁ was sitting₂ on the truck₃'
 ɔ́₁ saŋa₂ wáam gɔɔ₃ 'is₁ in the middle of₂ (the) Waam here₃'
 te₁ yá₂ kɔ́₃-te-ŋmaá₄ '(there) were₂ trees₁ beside₃ each other₄'
 wa₁ tɔ́ wen₂ kɔ́ɔ₃-réi₄ 'they₁ talk₂ behind₃ us₄'
 nɛ₁ mɛ₂ bɛ́á₃ tom₄ zaŋ₅-rɔ́₆ mɛ₇ 'and₁ you₂ refused₃ work₄ in₅ (the) village₆ there₇'

414.142. Examples with *sen* and *te*:

bé₁ ré₂ zɔ́i₃ sen-te-kɔ́-zan-ri₄ mɛ₅ 'when₁ we₂ came down₃ to the river-bank₄ there₅'
 péé₁ ín₂ rɔ́₃ sen-te-mise₄ na₅ '(he said I should) return₁ with₂ him₃ to Monsieur₄ here₅'
 ɔ́₁ káy₂ toy₃ kó wa₄ sɔ́n₅ te-tuwa₆ ká ɔ́₇ 'he₁ takes₂ all₃ their₄ belongings, to his₇ house₆'
 gbó te-zan-ré 'arrive in the village'

414.143. Examples with other nouns:

bá₁ ʔboy₂ kɛ́ ɛ́₃ tan₄-ɛ́i₅ 'takes₁ his₃ hat₂ (from) his₅ head₄'
 mɛ́₁ ɔ́á₂ nu₃ na₄ '(if) you₁ were₂ here₄ (on the) ground₃'
 wa₁ pí₂ nú-kan₃ nu₄ 'they₁ put₂ (the) end of the torch₃ (to the) ground₄'
 á₁ éé-é₂ wáá-ri₃ 'puts₁ his hands₂ (in the) direction of (the) water₃'

414.15. Time. The most common substantives of time are the temporal substitutes, for which see 382.6. Others (not occurring in a prepositional phrase) are very often locative nominatives with temporal meaning. For example:

ɛɛ₁ kúú₂ zu-ture₃ 'we₁ left₂ early in the morning₃' (= 'head of morning')
 ɔ́₁ bá₂ kóá₃ tí₄ 'he₁ takes₂ the female₃ first₄'
 pí₁ mbéa₂ nu₃ ʔdɔŋɛ₄ 'throws₁ another one₂ (on the) ground₃ after that₄'
 gbé₁ kpasí₂ kó mɛ́₃ mbéa ʔbɔ₄ 'destroy₁ your₃ life₂ again₄'

414.16. Number. Numerative substitutes or noun phrases containing an attribute of number are used with this meaning.⁴ For example:

ayá₁ oróm₂ wáá rífto 'sent₁ after me₂ twice' (= 'way two')
 pee nɛ₁ hám₂ gɔ́y gɔ́y₃ wáá fara taa₄ 'return with₁ (it) to me₂ like this, three times₄'

bá₁ á₂ si ?don₃ ríftó₄ 'when₁ he₂ came back₃ the second time₄' (= 'the second')

414.17. Purpose. The word *wen* 'word, affair' is used independently (but with the determinant suffix) or as the head of noun phrases with various types of complements with the meaning 'reason' or 'purpose,' but it is translated in several different ways: with nouns it often has the English meaning 'for,' and with verbs the meaning 'to.' For example:

ná₁ ηma₂ wená₃ 'bite₁ each other₂ over it₃'
 ge a mē₁ yú yui₂ wená₃ ge ndé 'for what reason₃ are you₁ running₂?'
 á₁ há oro-nú hó wa₂ wen₃-m₃y₄ 'he₁ ordered them₂ to₃ gather₄'
 á bá ηganda íniim₁ wen₂-túrú₃ kóm₄ 'he's jealous₁ over₂ my₄ clothes₃'
 εε₁ né₂ wen kó₃ sa?de₄ sé 'let's₁ go₂ for₃ (the) meat₄'
 dé₁ kam₂ wen kó wa₃ ηmáη ηmáη₄ 'makes₁ food₂ for them₃ all the time₄'
 gan ε₁ kpá₂ ηma sa?de₃ kpém₄ wen kó₅ gbéá₆ ná 'we₁ didn't find₂ one₄ animal₃ to₅ kill₆'
 γε₁ ε₂ kpá₃ wen kó₄ si₅ εε y₃η₆ né kam₇ 'and₁ we₂ found₃ (meat) in order to₄ return₅ (and) eat₆ (it) with (the) porridge₇'

414.18. Manner. The only substantive which occurs in verb phrases with this meaning is *gáa* 'like this.'⁵ For example:

mise bó₁ lan₂gi₂ kó ró kpékéré₃ te-ly₄ gáa 'when₁ Monsieur went on₂ out of sight₃ over there₄ like this'
 é₁ zúa₂ ?b₃ gáa 'add₁ to it₂ again₃ like this'
 te₁ yá₂ ká-te-ηma₃ gáa nó₃ ríftó₄ 'two₄ trees₁ stood₂ beside each other₃ like this'

414.2. Prepositional phrases. These occur with the following meanings: emphasis on subject (kó); time, place, instrument, or object (with né); reciprocation (with {ín}); benefaction or origin (with há); accompaniment (with né or ín); or goal or indirect object (with {ín} or há). These prepositions are discussed in 340.

414.3. Verbs. These occur as objective complements of the verb head or in repetition of the verb head.

414.31. As objective complements, verbs occur in the low-tone imperfective forms, for which see 393.112, most often after motion verbs or such verbs as *rem* 'to be able,' *ih* 'to know,' and *kp* 'to want, agree to.' For example:

né₁ bi₂ dilai₃ 'go₁ to fight₂ the lion₃'
 ám₁ yará₂ ki?di₃ sa?de₄ 'I₁ was hiking₂ in search of₃ animals₄'
 gan rém₁ t₂ wen₂ sáη₃ ná 'can't₁ talk₂ correctly₃'
 á₁ ih₂ t₂ mbéti₃ 'he₁ knows how₂ to read₃'
 εε₁ kp₂ ké ré εε f₄ ná 'we₁ don't want₂ to go₃ (to the) garden₄'
 gu?dò kúmá₂ sé d₂ káná-biro 'Gu?dò began₁ to curse₂ Káná-biro'

414.32. Emphasis is achieved by repeating the head verb (which occurs with the suffix -i₂, for which see 211.3).⁶ For example:

ó ηmaa₁ y₂η₂ kó ró₃ y₂η₁ né₄ gogo₅-ró₆ 'some₁, on the other hand₃, chew₂ (it) with₄ their₆ teeth₅ (in contrast to pounding it)'
 hé₁ ri₂ ínaa₃ héi 'buy₁ water₂ from him₃ (instead of getting it free)'

ʔnáŋ₁ mɔ₂ ʔnáŋi 'ruin₁ things₂'

414.4. Adverbs. For exemplification see 370 and Text 10. An additional characteristic of the adverbs is that two, and occasionally more, descriptive adverbs (372) can occur in a single verb phrase, for example:

nýy₁ ʔdiriri ʔdiriri₂ gýy₃ 'boils₁ furiously₂ like this₃'

né yeŋ, yoŋ yoŋ yoŋ yoŋ '(the water) went flowing along'

nem₁ né kóó-mise₂ geʔdék geʔdék₃ gýy₄ ŋmgbóŋ₅ 'and I₁ followed Monsieur₂ like this₄ very softly₃ for a long time₅'

420. Sentence constructions. The sentence is defined as the minimal free utterance. The definition rests on the fact that in normal discourse there are constructions which regularly elicit certain types of response, linguistic or nonlinguistic. These utterances and the responses they elicit are of two types: one consists of a substantival expression in an exocentric construction with a verb expression (whose relation to each other is "subject" to "predicate," about which more is said below), and the other consists of verbless expressions. The first is by far the most important type, although more complex syntactically, and is called the "principal type" (421.1). The second, named "secondary type" (421.2), contains no verb. Principal and secondary sentence constructions (that is, simple sentences, 421) may in turn be constituents of more complex sentences, complex (422) or compound (423). When this happens, they are called "clauses." For this reason there are major (421.11) and minor (421.12) clauses, which parallel primary and secondary sentence constructions.

421. Simple sentences. They are of two types: principal (with a verbal predicate) and secondary (or nonprincipal, without a verb). Since the constructions described in this section are only potential sentences, they are here distinguished by the name "clause."

421.1. Principal clauses. These are of two types, major and minor. Major clauses are those which have grammatical subjects, and minor clauses are those which do not have grammatical subjects.

421.11. Major clauses. The minimal constituents of a major clause are a grammatical subject and verbal predicate: for example, wa té 'they are coming.' Longer clauses result from the expansion of the subject or predicate or both (for which see noun expressions 411 and verb expressions 414):

bém₁ kó mé₂ nɔ́₃ nɛ bɛ̀ɔ́₄ bém kóm₅ báraa₆ gan₇ rém₈ tɛ kɔ́ɛa₉ mbéa
ʔbɔ́₁₀ ná₇ 'this₃ child₁ of yours₂ who refused₄ my child₅ last year₆
can₈ not₇, work for her₉ (= come the in-law) again₁₀.'

The subject of a major clause is either a noun expression, a substitute expression, or a prepositional phrase.

421.111. The subject is a noun expression.⁷ For example:

kó₁ kó méi₂ | bɔ́₃ ba zaŋ₄ 'if₃ your₂ wife₁ should₃ become pregnant₄'

ó wí-ré₁ hárá són₂ | mý₃ 'all₂ (the) people₁ gather₃'

wí-dɛ mɔ́ háŋ | gan bó ná 'there is no one to do things for me' (= 'person do thing for-me is not')

ŋma mɔ₁ wen kɔ ré hɔsi₂ nɛ rɪp₃-rɛ₄ kpém₅ | gan bó ná₆ '(there) was
not₆ one₅ thing₁ with which to hide₂ our₄ faces₃ (that is, ourselves)'

421.112. The subject is a substitute expression. These are either the personal pronouns, the demonstrative substitutes, or (occasionally) the numerative substitutes. In the case of 1S, 3S, and 2P pronouns, the subject may actually be a suffix of a preceding word, even a verb. For example:

gan wa₁ | ó wa₂ ná 'they₁ aren't hungry₂'
nem₁ yúum₂ nɛ₃ gpy₄ 'and I₁ run₂ (and) go₃ like this₄' (= 'run-I')
nei₁ gáy mɔ₂ 'and you₁ (should) make noise₂'
ɛ́ɛ₁ | remà₂ rɛ₃ 'this₁ is enough for₂ us₃'
kpém₁ | remá₂ 'one₁ is sufficient₂'

421.113. The subject is a prepositional phrase. The only prepositional phrase which can function as a subject is one with kó 'of' standing alone without a head. The meaning is always like that of 'mine, hers,' etc. in English. For example:

ké rɛ₁ | sɔná₂ 'ours₁ is all gone₂'
kó wa₁ | rɪp₂ ná₃ 'theirs₁ is₂ not₃ good₂'

421.114. The subject is a clause. There is only one occurrence, the compound clause rɪk gán sɔn 'better than everything' (= 'is-good surpasses all') in the following:

á₁ mɔ₂ kó tɪ₃ ndɛ rɛ deá₄ | rɪk₅, mɛ₆ rɪk gán sɔn ná₇, mɛ rɪk gán
sɔn | ó₈ nɛ kó₉ kíneɛ nɔ₁₀ 'the former₁ things₂ of long ago₃ which
we did₄ were good₅, but₆ (they) weren't altogether good₇, but that
which is really good is₈ of₉ now₁₀'

421.12. Minor clauses. These subjectless clauses are very common in Gbeya. The observed environments in which they occur are discussed in the following paragraphs. Clauses preceded by introductory subjects are discussed below in 422.2.

421.121. The subject may be omitted with directives. For example:

mɛ₁ tɪ₂ há ó yá₃ kó mɛ₄, zók₅ 'you₁ tell₂ your₄ relatives₃, "Look₅"'
mbí₁ ye₂, káy₃ kamí₄, ɛrɛ₅ nɛ₆ 'I₁ say₂, "Take₃ the food₄, let's₅ go₆"'
tɛ₁ mɛ₂ nɛ₃ 'come₁ (and) you₂ go₃'

421.122. The subject is omitted when the subject is impersonal or non-specific. Such clauses very often occur in expanded clauses (for which see below). Several verbs are commonly used in such clauses, such as: rem 'to be able,' de 'to do,' ?mɔn 'to remain,' ɔ 'to be,' bo 'to (not) be,' rɪk 'to be good.' For example:

wá yɪhá ge?da, gó gan rém ná 'they ate a tremendous amount of manioc'
(= 'they ate manioc, and not equal')
bó de ze kpém 'after one month' (= 'when do month one')
nɛ ?mɔn gpy 'and just like that' (= 'and remains in this manner')
gan né yum kɛ́ ɛ́ rɛ́ ná '(it) won't bother us' (= 'will hurt of itself us not')

421.123. The subject may be omitted when it is indicated in an emphatic kó phrase (for which see 344) in the verb phrase. For example:

ne yáá kǫ́fí wen-de saa 'but as for you, you run around playing' (= 'and stroll of-you affair-of make game')

kó₁ ó kó₂ ké ré₃, á₄ kó ró kakó₅ 'as for₁ our₃ women₂, (they) worc₄ bustles₅'

421.124. The subject is omitted in clauses following auxiliaries. When the auxiliary has a noun subject, the verb in the dependent clause has no subject at all. When the auxiliary has no subject, the dependent clause has a pronominal subject. In addition, the subject may be omitted altogether for the reasons described in the other paragraphs of this section. For example:

bó₁ wá₂ tǫ́ wen₄ 'if₁ they₂ should say₃ something₄'

wéey₁ bó₂ ne₃ kǫ́fí₄ 'when₂ a man₁ goes₃ working for a wife₄'

wécy₁ nǫ́₂ bó₃ tǫ́ go₅ bó zók₆ gǫ́y₇ 'whcn₃ this₂ man₁ comes₄ and₅ when (he) sees₆ like this₇'

421.125. The subject is commonly omitted when it is already implied or explicit in the linguistic context. Most often the subject is the same as the one in the preceding clause, but it may also be the substantive in a preceding objective complement construction. The most common subjectless clause sequences are SV-V, V-SV, and V-V (where S means subject, C means connective, and V means verb), which are combined by parataxis, or the parallel ones combined by connectives: SVCV, VCSV, and VCV.⁸

(a) The subject is commonly omitted before the second and third predicate in a series joined paratactically, the meaning of which is additive or seriativ. For example:

mise tǫ́ ákám₂ 'Monsieur₁ comes₁ (and) asks me₂'

tǫ́ ri₂ fók₃ lánǫ́₄ ná 'so₁ (the) water₂ won't flow₃ (and) run off₄'

wa₁ káy₂ wa₃ á₄ nu₅ 'they₁ take₂ them₃ (and) put₄ (them on the) ground₅'

wan to ʔbǫ́ mbéa₂ pǫ́₃ nu₄ ʔbo₅ 'Wan-to breaks off₁ another₂ (piece and) throws₃ (it on the) ground₄ also₅'

(b) The subject is commonly omitted before a verb of motion (such as: ne 'go,' tǫ́ 'to come,' si 'to return,' yar- 'to stroll,' kur- 'to arise,' etc.) when it is followed paratactically by a subject-predicate construction in which the subject is a pronoun, and the meaning of which is additive or seriative. For example:

ne á₁ re₂ ó₃ ʔdoo-zǫ́₄ '(we) went₁ (and) we₂ slept₃ in the bush₄'

nǫ́₁ ʔ₂ gǫ́m₃ gúwá₄ '(he) goes₁ (and) he₂ cuts up₃ (some) firewood₄'

tǫ́₁ wa₂ gbé₃ mbéa₄ '(they) come₁ (and) they₂ kill₃ another₄'

go₁ sí₂ wa₃ á₄ wa₅ tǫ́-bisa₆ me₇ 'and₁ returning₂ they₃ put₄ them₅ in the young men's hut₆ there₇'

yáá₁ wa₂ bá₃ yarí₄ 'strolling about₁ they₂ take up₃ the search₄'

421.2. Secondary clauses. These are endocentric or exocentric constructions.

421.21. Endocentric secondary clauses are represented by interjections, terms used in direct address (such as, personal names, pronouns, titles, and kinship terms), the adverb gǫ́y 'like this,' and substantive expressions. In connected discourse, the adverb gǫ́y is sometimes to be translated 'that's the

way it was,' or, when followed by another clause, 'this being the case.' The substantive expressions (single words or substantive phrases) are either declarative or interrogative in meaning.

(a) Interjections:

sóó₁ mbí₂ ye₃ ná?á 'so₁ I₂ said₃, "What!"'

bó₁ zóká₂ nē óó?, nē wan to ?buró₃ rii₄ á zǫ₅ 'when₁ (he) looked₂, oh,
Wan-to had broken₃ the water₄ (pot) and spilled (it) on the ground₅'

(b) Address:

boy sé 'Boy-sé'

yáam, wi zóé sé 'Father, listen.'

(c) Substantive expressions:

nē₁ tǫ gende gá ye₂ mí ná₃ nē dila₄ 'and₁ (he) says₂, "Hey₃, (it's a)
lion₄"'

dé?dé kóo₁ ín₂ ?nán kóo₃ 'a good woman₁ and₂ a bad woman₃'

wen₁ kó₂ fiyo₃ 'the subject₁ of₂ fetishes₃'

mē zók₁ wa₂ kusi₃, ŋma₄ bāráa₅ 'look at₁ (the) nine₃ (of) them₂, (one is)
a₄ big one₅'

gende gá₁ kusi₂ 'in other words₁, nine₂'

wen kó ge 'for what reason?'

wa₁ ?doŋ kpém₂ góo₃ '(there are) six₂ (of) them₁ here₃'

(d) Particle, gende gá ye ge (see 353):

wen kó mō nē₁ gáy₂ wí-ré₃ bó nē gaza ná₄ 'because₁ (they) say₂, a
person₃ who is not circumcised₄'

mō gǫy₁ á ye ge₂ bé-wéey₃ nē gaza₄ 'thus₁, (they) say that₂ a young
man₃ should be circumcised₄'

421.22. Exocentric secondary clauses. These are described as consisting of two constituents which otherwise do not stand in syntactic relationship to each other. They are listed and illustrated in the following paragraphs.

421.221. Copula + substantive. The meaning is declarative. For example:

nē ture '(it was) morning'

nē kpána '(it is) a pot'

nē ge 'what (is it)?'

421.222. Substantive + copula phrase. For example:

mō nē ze 'it was night' (= 'thing copula night')

mō nē kam 'food is a real thing' (= 'thing copula food')

421.223. Substantive + connective sé 'then.' The meaning is 'so-and-so would be more effective,' 'so-and-so is preferable,' etc. The construction is probably elliptical. For sé see 332.6. Examples are:

ŋgombe sé '(use) a gun instead (of a spear)'

ré kóí sé 'your own village (is where you are treated right)'

?doŋ-wáá-?doo-zǫ sé 'the path through the bush by preference (because it's shorter)'

421.224. Substantive + substantive. The meaning is declarative or equational. In a clausal context there is probably a difference between an endocentric phrase such as zu²wa taa 'their three heads' and zu²wa taa 'their

heads are three' (that is, 'there were three of them'). The latter only can always take the verb ɔ 'to be.' For example:

- mí ǵí. 'Here I am! (= 'I this')
 mɔ mí? 'Who me?' (= 'thing I')
 zu-wa ré ge 'how many are there?' (= 'their heads, how many?')
 són ʔbú zúa ríto 'altogether (there are) twelve'
 mbétf kóm kpém mbétf ká ǵ. (ellipsis of mbétf ó kpém ín mbétf ká á)
 'my book (is) the same as his book' (= 'book of-me one book of him')

- 421.225. Substantive + prepositional phrase. The following are unique:
 go₁ há₂ ǵ₃ nɛ ηma béem₄ ína₅ 'so₁ (he) takes₂ him₃ (Monsieur) and a
 child₄ (comes along) with him₅'
 mersí₁ há₂ nzapá₃ 'thanks₁ to₂ God₃'

421.226. Substantive + clause introduced by the connective mɔ. The following example is the only one which occurs in the corpus:

- mbétf₁ móm₂ héá₃ 'books₁ for me₂ to buy₃' (in answer to 'What do you want?')

421.227. Substantive + quotative particle ye (ge). The substantive functions as the subject of the clause:

- mbí₁ ye₂, díla₃ baá₄ ǵ₅ 'I₁ said₂, "A lion₃ got₄ him₅"'
 ó sókái₁ ye ge₂ bé-wéey₃ nɛ gaza₄ 'the elders₁ say₂ (that) boys₃ (should) be circumcised₄'

421.228. Substantive + connective há + substantive. The meaning is equational or identificational:

- yíním₁ há yám-wara 'my name₁ is Yám-wara'
 kam₁ há mɔ₂ 'food₁ is a (real) thing₂'
 sa^ode₁ nɛ nɛà₂ ǵ₃ gbéá₄ há dilai₅ wóndé 'the animal₁ which he₃ went₂
 (and) killed₄, is (it) a lion₅'

421.229. Secondary clause + negative marker ná. The meaning is negative declaration except when the clause ends with the connective sé in which case the meaning is a question which requests confirmation of a statement. Such constructions occur with the types of clauses described above in coordinate paragraphs 221, 222, 223, 228, as well as with the adverb ǵy. For example:

- ǵy ná 'that isn't the way'
 ǵy sé ná 'isn't that the way?'
 nɛ saa ná 'it's no fun'
 ηǵinza₁ há kam₂ ná 'money₁ is not food₂'

422. Complex sentences. These consist of principal clauses preceded by constructions, usually substantive phrases, of three types: (1) expansions of the subject, (2) expansions of the verb phrase, and (3) introductory constructions. The term "expansion" is used for the types (1), and (2) is chosen for convenience only. The expansion may simply be a word that more normally occurs in the verb phrase itself. It is, moreover, not always useful to describe these complex sentences as being correlated with some kernel or basic simple sentence type. For example, in several instances, the subject

expansion contains no more morphemes than a simple subject contains. What characterizes all of these preposed elements, regardless of their meaning or syntactic function, is first that they serve as devices for emphasis, although this is not always obvious in sentences of type 3. A second feature characteristic of these constructions is the manner in which they are joined to the verb phrase or clause. A third feature is that the expanded sentence often contains a substantive phrase, one of whose constituents is a dependent clause equivalent in English to a relative clause in attribution. Since there is an observable limit to the size of a verb phrase, it is very likely that the technique utilized in type 2 is a means of avoiding overloading the verb phrase.

In order to represent the constructions in formulae, certain symbols are adopted. A period (.) serves only to separate the symbols and allow for easier reading. Parentheses in the formulae enclose elements which are optional. Thus, A = adverb, AV = auxiliary verb, C = connective (Ca = {a}, Ce = sé te, Cg = go, Cn = ne, Co = só kó), H = pause (as in "hold" or "hiatus"), N = noun or substitute (N²N = nouns in construction with relational morpheme, Na = noun with determinant suffix, Ni = interrogative substitute, NI = locative substantive, Np = pronoun, Ns = any substitute, Nt = temporal substantive, noun, or substitute), P = preposition (Pn = preposition ne, PP = prepositional phrase), QV = quotative verb, S = subject (Si = interrogative subject, Sn = noun subject, Sp = pronoun subject, Snd = Sn with dependent clause attribute, Spd = Sp with dependent clause attribute), SC = secondary clause, V = verb, VP = verb phrase, with or without subject.

422.1. Expansions of the subject. An expanded subject has the function of emphasis and can often be translated 'it . . . who/which . . .', or 'as for . . .' It can also conveniently be compared to the use of 'c'est . . . qui . . .' in French. The various types of complex sentences with expanded subjects are represented by the following formulae: S.Ca.V; S.C.(SP).V; S.C.AV.(Sp).V; Si.Ca.V; SC.Ca.QV.

(a) S.Ca.V.

Sn.Ca.V: dila₁ a né₂ kẹ́ ẹ́ '(the) lion₁ went on₂'

Snd.Ca.V: makunzi₁ ne oá₂ zaŋ-réi₃ á neà₄ wéndé 'did₄ (the) chief₁ who was₂ in the village₃ go₄?'

Sp.Ca.V (uncommon): mí á ?móná gom zókaaf 'me, I kept on looking at him' (= 'me and remained and-I look-at-him')

(b) S.C.(Sp).V.

Sn.Ca.Sp.V: ó gbęré ín₁ dila₂, a wa₃ yáá yarí₄ 'Lizard with₁ (the) Lion₂, they₃ were hunting₄'

Sp.Ca.Sp.V: wa₁ a wa₁ té₂ me gó₃ '(here) they₁ come₂ over here₃'

Spd.Ca.Sp.V: wa₁ nde wa ńmgbán ńmgbáni₂, a wa₁ yọ₂ kó wa mo roy₃, 'they₁ who take off₂ (the) circumcision clout, they₁ eat₂ anything₃, (they want)'

Sn.H.Sp.V: ó sa^ode₁, wá₂ gió₃ dọ₄ '(the) animals₁, they₂ prepared₃ beer₄' (from a fable)

Spd.H.Sp.V: wa₁ nde wa yá né ?doo-búki₂, wa₁ dó₃ 'they₁ who stand leeward₂, they₁ burn₃ (the) grass'

(c) S.C.AV.(Sp).V. Although the subject of the dependent clause following the auxiliary verb is not properly under discussion here, there is in fact a correlation between the subjectival element which precedes the main verb and that which occurs with the dependent clause. (The real subject is of course always the same, but it has already been pointed out in 421.124 that whereas a nominal subject can only precede the auxiliary, the pronominal form generally occurs in the dependent clause.) In the following I have supplied some patterns (marked by asterisk) which I am rather certain occur although they do not occur in the corpus:

Sn.H.AV.Sp.V: ó yá₁ kóí₂ són₃, bó₄ wá₅ ho₆ ləkóol₇ 'all₃ your₂ buddies₁, when₄ they₅ get out of₆ school₇'

Sp.H.AV.Sp.V: wí₁, néí₂ gun₃ ré₄ 'you₁, you'll₂ (be the one to) bury₃ us₄'

*Sn.Ca.AV.V: dila₁ a né₂ gbé₃ á₄ '(the) lion₁ will₂ kill₃ him₄'

*Sp.Ca.AV.Sp.V: éré₁ a bé₂ ré₁ néá₃ 'we₁, if₂ we₁ should go₃'

(d) Si.Ca.V. The Si is either the interrogative substitute o 'who?' or a noun phrase consisting of a noun + ge 'what?' It is my impression that if the latter occurs, and if the noun is an animate being, then an Sp can, although rarely, occur following the C. This type of interrogative sentence (with the subject as the focus of the question), if not exclusive, is certainly predominant. I am not certain of any equivalent simple SV type of sentence. Examples are:

o₁ a né₂ dún₃ ká-foro₄ o₁ ndó 'who₁ is going to₂ stay₃ by (the) elephant₄?'
zu'-wa ré ge a wa góm te ge ndé 'how many are there who are chopping wood?' (= 'head of them how many and they chop wood what?')

(e) SC.Ca.QV. This is a unique utterance, the SC representing a secondary clause used in direct address. Ordinarily, if the QV has a grammatical subject at all, it is joined to it paratactically (for which see 353). For example:

foo₁ ké é₂ ná ndó, á ye gc₃ '(he said), "my₂ in-laws₁, (they) say₃."'

422.2. Expansions of the verb phrase. Substantives or adverbs which normally occur in the verb phrase are preposed to it, and are joined paratactically—but marked by pause—or by certain connectives. Unlike the discussion of expansion of the subject, it is here convenient to assume a basic S.V construction so as to more easily describe the various types of expansions. (In this discussion, it is immaterial whether or not there is a grammatical subject, and the clause is represented in the formulae by VP.) Those types are the following: (1) object expansions, (2) temporal expansions, and (3) locative expansions. Subtypes, where they occur, are discussed in the following paragraphs.

422.21. Object expansions. The term "object" is here being used to cover those substantives which occur as (1) "direct objects" of the verb, as (2) complements of prepositions, or as (3) attributes of other substantives. The symbol N shall represent nouns except when followed by a lower case letter. The various types of object expansions are represented by the following formulae: (1) VP.N > N.C.VP.(Np), (2) VP.Ni > Ni.C.VP, (3) VP.N¹-N² > N².Ca.VP.N¹a, (4) VP.Pn.N > N.C.VP.Pn, (5) VP.P.N > N.C.P.Ns.

422.211. VP.N > N.C.VP.(Np). The N is a direct object complement of the verb. The C is either pause, {a}, or só kó. If the N is an animate being, the expanded form may have Np.⁹ For example:

gpi₁ á wá₂ gbéá₃ (á) 'it's the leopard₁ which they₂ killed₃'
 dpó-zee mbé wén, óró gió '(they said), "we have prepared beer with
 which to hear something new"' (= 'beer hear new word we prepared')
 en-te₁ -á wén₂ són, á yá₃ kó ró₄ t₅ '(they said), our₄ friends₃ are
 telling₅ just₁ old stories₂'
 kpána₁ nde wa₂ gid₃ né dpó₄ só ké é baá₅ '(he said), "it's (the) pot,
 with which they₂ prepared₃ the beer₄ that I took₅."'

422.212. VP.Ni > Ni.C.VP. This perhaps could have been included in the preceding. The Ni is the interrogative substitute ge 'what?' or a noun phrase with ge as its complement. The C is either {a} or só kó. Although the basic form does occur, it is the expanded form which is by far more common. For example:

wén kó ge₁ á mé₂ mbunzú₃ nē mē né₄ gó₅, gbé₆ toró₇ kóm₈ wén-ge ndé
 'why is it₁ that you₂, white man₃ who are going₄ there₅, kill₆ my₈ dog₇?'
 ge₁ a tó ró₂ de₃ wén kó₄ sa?dei₅ ge₁ '(he said), "what₁ should we₂ do₃
 with₄ the meat₅?"'

422.213. VP.N¹-N² > N².Ca.VP.N¹a. The construction N²-N consists of two nouns with the cooccurring relational morpheme (for which see 212.2). In the expanded construction, the second, that is, attributive, noun occurs in preposed position whereas the first noun is in the VP. This first noun also occurs with the determinant suffix {-a}. The formula is applicable to what data I have, but it is obvious that there are semantic restrictions. Examples are:

zójá₁ kó wa₂ nó₃ gó₄, a ndó ró₅ te₆ koféa₇ '(they said), "This₃ here₄
 adolescent girl₁ of theirs₂, we are going to₅ come to₆ work for her₇"'
 ?bay₁ yo₂ kpém f₃ k₅ ?donjá₄ '(he said), "It's just₁ (the) pelt₂ that I₃
 want₄."'

422.214. VP.Pn.N > N.C.VP.Pn. Except that the N is the complement of the preposition né, this construction closely resembles that of 422.211 above. Here also the preposition may be followed by a pronoun if the noun is an animate being, but it is entirely optional. The C is either pause, {a}, or {go}. It is very likely that só kó can also occur. Examples are:

éé nó₁, nēm₂ si né₃ 'this here₁, I'm going to₂ return with (it)₃'
 mbé₁ tji₂ a nēm₃ de₄ né₅ 'it's a new₁ canoe₂ that I'm going to₃ make₄
 with₅ (it)'
 yóa₁ go ro₂ péé₃ né₄ '(they said), "It's the pelt₁ we₂ are returning₃
 with₄."'

422.215. VP.P.N > N.C.P.Ns. The preposition is any one but né. The C is either pause or {a}. If the N is an animate being, the Ns is a personal pronoun; if not, it is one of the other substitutes. The latter sentences are, as a matter of fact, uncommon. Examples are:

ó sókái₁ ne yá₂ meí₃, a nēm₄ t₅ wén₅ ín₆ wa₇ 'the elders₁ who live₂ there₃,
 I'm going to₄ talk₅ with₆ them₇'

réi ám kurò há sɛné 'it's from the village that I departed' (= 'the village I departed from there')

422.22. Temporal expansions. The word temporal is here being used for any word or phrase the meaning of which is time or sequence. These are nouns or substitutes (symbolized by Nt) or adverbs (symbolized by A). The Nt expansions are by far the commonest, A being in fact represented by only one adverb.

The words occurring most often are the following: kúkutí 'first,' sɔɔ 'to-day,' oróai 'later,' kíne 'now,' wesé 'day, today,' ture 'morning,' mbóro 'evening,' kóraai 'later,' zéé 'yesterday,' bɛɛ 'dry season,' ʔmaa 'rainy season,' ɲmáɲ ɲmáɲ 'all the time.'

The C is either pause, {a}, sé tɛ, só kó, or nɛ. The complex sentences with temporal expansions are represented by the following formulac: VP.Nt > Nt.C.VP, VP.A > A.Cn.VP. It should be noted that the use of different connectives is especially significant here since they have lexical meaning as well as grammatical function. For example:

kíneɛ nɔɔ₁, wen₂ kóm₃ sɔná₄ 'now₁ my₃ story₂ is finished₄'

wesé₁-nɛ₂ kay₃ toyí₄ a ʔnáɲi₅ wéndé. 'Did it break₅ (on) the day₁ of going to₂ get₃ the baggage₄?'

kíneɛ nɔɔ a mɛ zók₁ mbétfí₂ kó mé₃ 'now look at₁ your₃ book₂'

bɛɛ₁ ndɛ wa₂ há₃ ɲginza₄ 'they₂ give₃ money₄ (in the) dry season₁'

bɛɛ sé tɛ wa há ɲginza 'they'll give money in the dry season'

bɛɛ sókó wá há ɲginza '(in the past) they gave money in the dry season'

zu-ture₁ ndɛ wa₂ tɔ́ wenáa₃ ʔbo₄ '(in the) morning₁ they₂ talked about it₃ again₄'

oróai₁ go bɛ́₂ ɛ́ gúá₃ 'later₁, when₂ it had settled down₃'

ɲmáɲ ɲmáɲ₁ nɔ́ ɛ́₂ tɛ́₃ wen₄-de₅ mɔɔ 'he₂ always₁ comes₃ to₄ do₅ things₆'

422.23. Locative expansions. These are nouns or noun phrases meaning place. They are represented by the symbol Nl. The complex sentences with locative expansions are represented by the formula VP.Nl > Nl.C.VP. The C is either pause or the connective {a}. For example:

tɛ-kɔ́₁-ríp₂-ó tú wí-ré₃, kóo₄ nɛ bó rɔk₅ ʔdé₆ 'in₁ the eyes of₂ black people₃, a woman₄ who is very₆ good₅'

fara₁ ndɛ rɛ₂ ɔá₃ sɛné₄, á gan₅ am₆ zɔk₇ wa₈ ná₅ '(the) place₁ where we₂ were₃, I₆ didn't₅ see₇ them₈ there₄'

422.3. Introductory constructions. These differ from the preceding two in that the introductory constructions can not be incorporated in the S or VP of a basic sentence. They are of three types: modal, explanatory, and instrumental.

422.31. Modal constructions. These consist of the adverb gɔ́y 'like this, in this manner' or the phrase mɔ gɔ́y (= 'thing like-this') with the same meaning. In these complex sentences, however, their meaning is something like 'this being the case, the preceding having happened,' etc., for they serve to mark the connection between sentences in connected discourse in very much

the same way that words like "however" and "therefore" do in English. The name modal is derived from the lexical meaning of the adverb *gpy* and is used instead of "sequence" to distinguish it from the sequence words included in the discussion of temporal expansions. Complex sentences with introductory modal constructions (M) are represented by the formula M.C.VP where the C is either pause {a}, *ne*, *so kó*, {go}, or *se te*. For example:

mo gpy, *ere*₁ *an*₂ *nzapá*₃ *wenáa*₄ *gpy gpy*₅ 'so we₁ asked₂ God₃ about it₄ for a long time₅'

*mo gpy nem*₁ *bá*₂ *veló*₃ *kóm*₄ 'so I₁ took₂ my₄ bike₃'

mo gpy so ká *á*₁ *té*₂ 'therefore he₁ said₂'

mo gpy á ye ge 'therefore (he) says'

422.32. Explanatory constructions. These are either nouns (or noun phrases) or prepositional phrases with the prepositions *kó* 'of,' or *né* 'with.' Such complex sentences are represented by the formulae N.C.VP and PP.C.VP. In the first, C is either the connective {a} or *ne*. In the second, C is pause. Where N is the noun *mo* 'thing,' the meaning is 'that's why the following happens'; where the N is either *mo* 'thing,' *xi* 'this,' or some other noun, the meaning is 'since this happens, the following results.' The prepositional phrase means 'as for the subject of the sentence,' and its function is to emphasize the subject. Examples are:

*mo ne oro*₁ *té*₂ *ho wa*₃ *gso*, *wi-ré*₄ *bó*₅ *zee*₆ '(they said), "Since we₁ have told₂ them₃, if₅ someone₄ should hear₆ (that) . . . ,'

*xi ne ó toró*₁ *dunó*₂ *bá*₃ *ne*₄ *yón*₅ *na*₆ *a*₇ *fó*₈ *wa*₉ *há sené*₁₀ *ná*₁₁ 'since (the) dogs₁ continue₂ to seize₃ and₄ eat₅ (it) and₆ he₇ does not₁₁ chase₈ them₉ from there₁₀.'

*moí*₁ *á saakara*₂ *ó*₃ *saŋa-wáam*₄ *wenáa*₁ 'that's why₁ there are₃ islands₂ in (the) Wáam (river)₄.'

*ne*₁ *kóm*₂, *am*₃ *té*₄ 'and₁ as for me₂, I₃ say₄.'

né *don-wáá*₁-*yón*₂ *á*₃ *gbéá*₄ *a*₅ '(it is) because of₁ fortitude₂ that you₃ killed₄ it₅.'

né *don-wáá*₁ *nó*₂ *a kó*₃ *kóm*₄ *sa*₅ *yínaa*₆ 'it is because of₁ this₂ that my₄ wife₃ exposed₅ his name₆.'

423. Compound sentences. These consist of various combinations of sentence types: Principal + Principal, Principal + Nonprincipal, Nonprincipal + Principal, and Nonprincipal + nonprincipal. These are discussed in the following paragraphs.

423.1. Principal + Principal. These consist of unrestricted combinations of major and minor clauses joined by connectives or by parataxis. The use of connectives has already been illustrated in 330. Of a different type are those compound sentences whose meaning is seriative or additive, the combination being effected as often by parataxis as by a connective (which is more frequently *go* than *ne*). In one type of such compound sentences, the first verb is a motion verb which often adds little more to the meaning of the sentence than does the verb 'go' in the English sentence 'Why did you go and hit him?' In the other type of compound sentence, the first verb is not

a motion verb and the second verb either marks a closely related and subsequent event to the first or in some way qualifies the first.

When the first clause consists of a verb and an objective complement, the second clause indicates what is done with the object. The verbs most often used in the second clause to qualify the first are rɔk 'to be good,' gan 'to surpass,' dok 'to be many,' rɛm 'to be able, equal,' yɛr- 'to be far.' Perhaps the verb bo 'to not be,' which occurs in a negated clause bó ná 'it is not' following a future clause with nɛ should be included in this list. Its use is emphatic, for a simple negative sentence is possible.

Since there is no apparent structural significance either in the omission of the grammatical subject (other than what has been noted in 421.12) or in the inclusion or exclusion of the connective (as illustrated by nɛá gɛ rɛ ɔ zɔ́ and nɛá rɛ ɔ́ zɔ́ 'we went and slept in the bush'), no distinction is made in the citation of the examples below except for these following comments: (1) where the subject occurs twice, they are always pronouns, and (2) where the subject occurs with the second and not with the first verb, the first verb, if not a motion verb, is joined by a connective.

423.11. Motion verbs:

- gɛ₁ rɛ₂ yáá₃ rɛ nɛ́₄ gɔ́y₅ 'so₁ we₂ walked around₃ (and) went on₄ like this₅'
 go₁ mɛ yú₂ mɛ sí₃ 'so₁ run₂ (and) go back₃'
 mise tɛ́₁ ákám₂ 'Monsieur comes₁ (and) asks me₂'
 gbɛrɛ́ nɛá₁ go₂ ák₃ dila₄ '(the) Lizard went₁ and₂ asked₃ (the) Lion₄'
 go₁ nɛ́₂ ɔ́₃ yóó₄ mɛ₅ 'then (he) goes₂ he₃ stands₄ there₅'
 nɛ ʔmóná gom yú 'and I kept on running' (= 'remained and I run')
 mise nɛá₁, gó₂ nɛà ndóó₃ dila₄ 'Monsieur went₁, and₂ (he) went (and) shot₃ (the) lion₄'
 kpa dé mɔ ná tɛ́₁ kɛ́ ɛ́ . . . , gó₂ tɛá₃ go₄ áy₅ oro-ré₆ 'Kpa-dé-mɔ-ná comes₁, and₂ (he) came₃ and₄ called₅ after us₆'

423.12. Nonmotion verbs:

- go₁ wa₂ káy₃ wa₄ wa₅ sí nɛ́₆ 'so₁ they₂ take₃ them₄ (and) they₅ return with₆ (them)'
 wa káy wa á₁ nu₂ 'they take them (and) put₁ (them on the) ground₂'
 toá₁ gɛ rɛ₂ yóó₃ kɛ́-zan-ri₄ 'cutting across₁ (the field) we₂ stood₃ (on the) bank of (the) stream₄'
 go₁ bá₂ ɔ́₃ sí nɛ́₄ 'and₁ (she) takes₂ her₃ (and) returns with₄ (her)'
 nɛ ɔ́ dé mɔ rɔk ʔdé 'and she does things well' (= 'does thing is-good very')
 ŋma mɔ gan ɔ́ ŋgay gán nzapà ná 'nothing surpasses God' (= 'nothing is strong surpasses God')
 ɔ́ dé go rɛm 'he does (it) as he is supposed to' (= 'he does and it-is-equal')
 gan ném pɛ́ nu bó ná 'I won't throw it down' (= 'negative go-I throw ground is not')
 te wayà dók '(the) tree bore a lot of fruit' (= 'tree bore is-much')

423.2. Principal + Nonprincipal. These consist of major clauses that precede one of the following types of nonprincipal clauses: quotative clause (consisting of the quotative verb, with or without a grammatical subject, and its dependent clause), a noun in direct address, a clause consisting of the copula and its complement, an interrogative clause, or the stative *ɔ*. For example:

nɛm₁ tɔ₂ mbí ye, ɣhéé₃, nɛm₄ nɛá₅ 'and I₁ said₂, "All right₃, I'll₄ go₅"'
am₁ mbáí₂, sórám₃. 'I₁ greet you₂, Uncle₃.'
ɣma₁ fɔà₂ tɪ₃ nɛ bé-wócy₄ 'one₁ died₂ before₃, (it was) a boy₄'
rɔk tɛm né saa ná 'I like it very much' (= 'is-good my-body no joke')
wá gboá nɛ mbéte 'they really arrived' (= 'they arrived truth')
mɛ gbé toró kóm wen-ge ndé. 'Why do you kill my dog?' (= 'you kill my dog what affair?')
am dé kpém kpá-sɛra ɪn mé ná ré ge ndé. 'What do you mean, I'm not friendly with you!'
dila₁ baá₂ ɔ₃ ɔi. '(The) lion₁ got₂ him₃.'
nde rɛ₁ kúú₂ há₃ sɛn-fara₄-sa?dc₅ mɛí₆ ɔi. 'So we₁ departed₂ from₃ the place₄ of the animal₅ there₆.'

423.3. Nonprincipal + Principal. These consist of interjections, exclamations, or substantives in direct address followed by principal clauses. They are usually joined by parataxis, but there are examples with the connectives *nɛ* and *go*, such as:

ó? dila₁ kayá₂ wa₃ 'Oh, (the) lion₁ got₂ them₃!
óó? nɛ kéey dém 'Oh, and I was afraid'
wan to, mɛ₁ tɛ₂ 'Wan-to, you₁ come₂!
mise ndé nɛ mɛ tɛ 'say Monsieur, come'
yáam₁, goi₂ tɔ₃ gɔy₄ wéndé. 'Father₁, so you₂ are talking₃ like this₄?'

423.4. Nonprincipal + Nonprincipal. These consist of interjections followed by a substantive in direct address or of substantives in direct address followed by a noun (in which case the nonprincipal clause means 'it is . . .'). For example:

ɪi mise 'yes, Monsieur'
mí ná nɛ dila '(he said to me), hey, it's a lion' (= 'me and lion')

430. Combining processes. The different syntactic elements previously described are combined by the use of connectives and by parataxis. Since connectives have been treated at great length (330), only parataxis is now discussed. Either the same or different elements are joined by parataxis, and its function varies accordingly.

431. Same elements, either substantives, adverbs, verb phrases, or clauses, are repeated two or more times and joined paratactically with the following meanings: emphasis or intensity, duration or continuation, distribution, and addition of information.

(a) Emphasis or intensity:

óó? mise, né₁ gek₂ sé, mise né gek sé. 'Oh, Monsieur, go₁ slowly₂, Monsieur go slowly.'

ri, s₂ dóka₃ dóka 'there is₂ very much₃ water₁'

dé₁ kam₃ wen kó₃ wa₄ ñmáñ ñmáñ ñmáñ ñmáñ '(she) makes₁ food₂ for₃ them₄ all the time₅'

(b) Duration or continuation:

péé ?don₁ gpy₂ gpy₃ gpy '(we) kept on returning₁ (home) like this₂'

dún₁ wa₂ yú₃ wcy₄ wa néi₅ néi néi néi 'they₂ kept on₁ following₃ (the) fire₄ (and) went on₅ and on and on and on'

dún₁ wa₂ dóm₃ fɛra₄, dóm fɛra 'he₂ kept on₁ blowing₃ (the) whistle₄, blowing the whistle'

mise dún₁ kffí₂ kffí ñem₃ ?bóó₄, kffí ñem ?bóó, kffí ñem ?bóó 'Mon-sieur kept₁ turning (it) over₂ and I₃ skinned₄ (it), (he) turned it and I skinned it, (he) turned it and I skinned it'

dún₁ re₂ ?má₃ wa₄ nde₅ wa₆ lángí₇ nde wa lángí nde wa lángí 'we₂ kept on₁ tracking₃ them₄ and₅ they₆ went on ahead₇, and they went on ahead, and they went on ahead'

(c) Distribution (being translated 'each, every' as well as 'one by one'):

ná á₁ zì₂ né pɛ₃ pɛ 'he'll₁ get bigger₂ each year₃'

nde₁ re₂ hɔ́₃ né wɛsé wɛsé₄ 'and₁ we₂ come out₃ every day₄'

ere₁ yú₂ kpém kpém kpém₃ són₄ 'each₃ and every one₄ of us₁ fled₂'

wa₁ yá₂ ne wéey₃ wéey són₄ 'each and every one₄ of them₁ was₂ a real man₃'

(d) Addition of information:

nei₁ tɔ́₂ gáa₃, tɔ́ bɔɔ₄ gáa 'and you₁ talk₂ like this₃, talk foolishness₄ like this'

dila₁ teá₂, go₃ ákaa₄, ák gbɛré '(the) Lion₁ came₂ and₃ asked him₄, asked (the) Lizard'

ne₁ fɔ́₂ wa₃ zaa₄, wotóo₅ fɔ́ wa zaa 'and₁ (we) chased₂ them₃ (out of the way) in vain₄, (the) car₅ chased them away in vain'

432. Different elements (but either parallel substantive expressions or clauses) are joined paratactically with several functions.

432.1. Substantives are joined paratactically for apposition or explanation. For example:

mé₁ wí-ré₂ ne bó₃ mé₄ kp ?don₅ ki?di₆ mo₇ 'you₁ person₂, when₃ you₄ want to₅ hunt₆ something₇'

sórám bana bóy '(paternal) uncle Bana-bóy'

gbó₁ ri₂ tiya '(we) arrived₁ at Tiya Creek₂'

ó dila₁ wa₂ té₃ '(the) lions₁ they₂ come₃'

é₁ ñma₂ wí-ró₃ sené₄, wí-mbóá zu₅ 'put₁ some₂ person₃ there₄, (some) responsible person₅'

á₁ baà₂ yám-wara, bém₃ kó wa₄ 'he₁ took₂ Yám-wara, their₄ child₃'

á₁ kó ró₂ kakó₃, lúnmgbé, wéndé gan₄ kéré₄, wéndé gán gbɔgbɔl 'they₂ put on₁ bustles₃, lúnmgbé or₄ kéré₄ or gbɔgbɔl (ones)'

am₁ kp ?don₂ usi₃ wen kó₄ biro₅, biro₆ gbɛ₇ ñmaá₈ 'I' want to₂ explain₃ about₄ wars₅, wars₆ (in which they) killed₇ each other₈'

ó wí-ré₁ wí-gida₂ kó wai₃ ye ge 'the people₁, (that is) their₃ enemies₂, said'

432.2. Clauses are joined paratactically to indicate explanation, qualification, or succession of events; other functions of this device may exist, but these are the most common.¹⁰ On the other hand, not all instances of such parataxis may have demonstrable functions of these kinds, for parataxis is a very common device in the language, especially in narratives, where the omission of connectives may simply be a device for speeding up (or giving the impression of speeding up) the narration. Evidence for this hypothesis is the fact that it was not possible to detect any meaningful contrast between many clauses joined by some connective (especially *ne* and *go*) and those that were not. Two features characteristic of such clauses are that the first one very often contains a verb of motion and that either one or both clauses may have no formal subject. The following paragraphs illustrate the most common uses of parataxis with clauses.

(a) Qualification:

gam guram₁ deá₂ mo₃ né sa[?]de₄ zéε₅ gan rém ná₆ '(the) whirlwind₁
did₂ things₃ to (the) animals₄ yesterday₅ in a terrible way₆' (= 'not
able')

g há ri hó wa dóη ná 'he didn't give them much water' (= 'he gives
water to them much not')

bó₁ wá₂ yo₃ ηgaragé rém₄ 'after₁ they've₂ danced₃ the ηgaragé (dance)
sufficiently₄' ('danced is equal')

ηma mo gan ó ηgay gán nzapà ná 'there's nothing stronger than God'
(= 'same thing negative is strong surpasses God not')

(b) Succession of events:

go₁ né₂ go né₃ rík₄ gáśá₅ kæræi₆ 'and₁ (he) went₂, and (he) went₃ (and)
hit₄ the big₅ beer-pot₆'

bó₁ ne₂ yoo₃ me₄ 'when₁ (he) went₂ (and) stood₃ there₄'

wen₁ ba₂ mo₃ yóη₄ 'to₁ take₂ (the) thing₃ (and) eat₄ (it)'

kéey₁ tæ₂ dém₃ 'fear₁ came₂ (and) overcame me₃'

kó-fey yú₁ ké é zú₂ 'Kó-fey ran₁ (and) departed₂'

mise té₁ ákám₂ 'Monsieur came₁ (and) asked me₂'

te₁ ri₂ fók₃ lángrí₄ ná₅ 'so that₁ (the) water₂ would₁ not₅ flow₃ (and) pass
out of sight₄'

bá₁ gεzε₂ sunu₃ ká á₄ é₅ nu₆ 'took₁ a basket₂ of his₄ sesame₃ (seed and)
placed₅ (it on the) ground₆'

rík₁ é₂ ηmáη ηmáη₃ dúη né₄ '(she said, "they) hit₁ me₂ all the time₃
(and) keep on with it₄"'

wan to bíf₁ mbéa₂ pí₃ nu₄ bō₅ 'Wan-to broke off₁ another₂ (piece and)
threw₃ (it on the) ground₄ also₅'

dúη₁ wa dé saa₂ wa₃ yáá₄ '(they) keep on₁ playing₂ (and) they₃ run
around₄'

Notes to Chapter Four

¹In the case of personal names it is possible that some of these constructions do not illustrate subordinate attributive constructions but, in an aphoristic manner, represent more complete utterances. However, I have only one example to justify this hypothesis: gaza ŋgay 'circumcision strength.' Its meaning was explained with the phrase né gaza né ŋgay 'go circumcision with difficulty (that is, have a very severe initiation).' Compare kofe wen 'in-law speech,' wen ŋmaá 'speech each-other,' gɛne ŋgafu 'guest priest.' Other constructions should be compared with the phrase nouns, for which see 381.22.

²The occurrence of the interrogative substitute ge before a noun is taken to be a repetition of the morpheme in its usual position, that is, following the noun: ném zɔŋ mé ge ze-ge ndé. 'When (= what month what) shall I see you?' ge wí-ge á teá ge ndé. 'Who (= what person what) came?' In only one instance does ge precede a noun which is not followed by ge, that is, ge zéc (< ge ze-ge), an impolite retort which questions the truthfulness of what has been said.

³The words sen and te, whose meanings are very often 'at' or 'to,' are not considered prepositions, even though they never occur in isolation or with the freedom of other substantives, because they function as heads of endocentric constructions and take the relational morpheme which prepositions never do.

⁴This use is to be distinguished from that as predicate complement and from the use of numerative substitutes as attributes in noun phrases. Yet there are some ambiguous cases. After the verb 'to die' the numeral is probably a predicate complement:

ó duwa₁ ká á₂ rííto₃ feá₄ (or, ó duwa ká á fea rííto) 'his₂ two₃ goats₁ died₄'

ó duwa ká á fea né tiyé rííto 'both of his goats died'

In phrases containing a direct object and a numeral separated by other elements, the numeral may be analyzed as being either an attribute to the direct-object substantive (that is, in immediate constituency with it) or coordinate with it:

koʔbo ó ne bé-toró ne naa ká á koá á kpém 'a koʔbo is a pup which was the only one born by its mother' (= 'and its mother bore it one')

á₁ koá₂ bémi₃ baŋa naŋa kpém₄ 'she₁ (human mother) bore₂ just that one₄ child₃'

gbeà kóm ŋma ndará né ŋgombe zfé kpém 'as for me, I killed one buffalo yesterday with a gun' (= 'killed a buffalo with a gun yesterday one')

It is this latter use of the number 'one' which has probably led to its use in negative sentences as a verb modifier with the meaning of 'at all.' For example:

gan ném pí₁ ŋma saʔdeí₂ nu₃ kpém₄ ná 'I'm not going₁ to throw any of the meat₂ down₃ at all₄'

J. Edward Gates suggests the interesting parallel in English where various words for small quantities are used in certain negative interrogative and conditional constructions without being used in the parallel affirmative constructions: 'not lift a finger,' 'not blink an eyelash,' 'not give a hoot,' 'not crack a smile,' 'not drink a drop,' etc.

⁵The reason for considering gáa a substantive and not an adverb is that it occurs with the adjective nɔɔ 'this' and the adverbs never do.

⁶This construction, although resembling simple repetition (for which see 432.11) appears to be different, because low-tone (that is, non-predicative) verbs also occur in the speech of some people, and perhaps exclusively in some areas, such as at Bowe. For example, pí píí 'throw (it).'

⁷Here and in the following three sections the vertical bar (|) is used to separate the subject from the predicate for ease in identifying it.

⁸More complicated patterns might be found after an analysis of units larger than the sentence (that is, a limited discourse), but except for the following illustration, the subject of discourse analysis is considered beyond the scope of this grammatical outline:

ne₁ wan to dɔŋ₂ né sara-te₃ me₄, ne zoká₅ fara-rií₆ nɔ́ á neá wená₇ gó neá á nói sɔn₈. ne bó dɔŋ á péé ʔdɔŋ₉, ne wan to zíí kɛ́ é₁₀, go góʔbí ne ká-te₁₁, go sí ʔdɔŋ te-oro-á me₁₂ mɔ́ ne ʔburi₁₃ kpána-ri₁₄ á zɔ́₁₅. 'And₁ Wan-to was sitting₂ there₄ in the fork of the tree₃, and (he) saw₅ the place of the water₆ for which

he (Gbagbas₇) went₇ and went and drank up₈. And when he was returning₉,
 Wan-to got down₁₀ and circled around₁₁ and returned to the place₁₂ (of the water)
 in order to go (and) break₁₃ the pot of water₁₄ (and) spill (it)₁₅.'

These two sentences are symbolized in the following way, with the material in parentheses being what is included in the verb phrase: SV, CV(CSV CVSV). CV(SV), CSV, CV, CV(CVVV).

⁹Complete repetition of the N occurs in only one sentence:

sa⁹de₁-bɔɔ kɛ̃ ɛ̃, ó bé nám wéey₂ a góm₃ sa⁹de₁-bɔɔ kó dila₄ 'as for his meat₁, the
 (lion) cubs₂ took₃ the lion's meat₄'

¹⁰Consideration was given to describing some constructions consisting of V plus VP as coordinate multiple heads of verb phrases. For constructions such as bá té né 'bring it' (= 'seize come with it') this might have been possible, for the subject, implicit or explicit, is the same. There are, however, many instances of paratactically combined clauses where the subjects are not the same. Thus: ɛ̃ rém tɔ wɛn sák 'he can talk correctly' (= 'he is-able speak word is-clean,' where sák 'to be clean' is a predication which is parallel to rém 'to be able' but has its own but not formal subject); éré óá ʔdɔɔ-zɔ̃ kɔ́ yɛ̃ 'we stayed in the bush for a long time' (where the subject of óá 'were' is éré 'we,' and the subject of yɛ̃ 'is long' is kɔ́ 'back'). There is therefore no structural justification for describing anything as "compound verbs."

CHAPTER FIVE

SAMPLE TEXT AND ANALYSIS

This brief text was given by the informant in answer to questions about marriage among the Gbeya people. It immediately followed my question as to whether a young man could sleep with the girl for whom he was working, and was recorded electronically on tape. It is typical of an unemotional narrative; a narrative with a great deal of action would be freely punctuated by adverbs of which only two occur here (such as [10] and [16]).

GBEYA TEXT

[1] te⁻wesé-kofe nà ʔa déi, ne gan ʔa rém ɔ ín kóoi nà ʔa dé koféai ná. [2] ne bə ʔa ɔ ín kóoi sen-te⁻tuwa kó foo kə ʔa me, go kóoi bó ba zaŋ ʔmón tuwa kó foo kə ʔai, ne ó foo kə ʔa gende gá ye ge, óó, ʔa deà ró né bɔɔ. [3] ʔa dé kofe wen kó kó kə ʔa, te óá, ne bə ʔa de kofe són, ndo ro sí ne kó kə ʔa hə ʔa, sé tɔ ʔa ɔ ínaa. [4] nà ʔa ɔ ín kó kə ʔa ʔmón tuwa kó ró, go bá zaŋ te⁻bɔɔ-rói há te-rò yúm wéndé. [5] go ó nam kó yám kó kóoi bó zee gpy, nde wa kúú, go wa né, go né wa kpé nú-valé-duwa kó yám kó bisai. [6] go wa káy duwa kó yám kó bisai há kp⁻valé túu són, go wa sí né. [7] ndé wá e kélé-kay wa ná, ne ndé wá zɔk ʔa naa⁻duwai, go wa gón géraa ʔmón kp⁻valéi. [8] go wa bá ʔa, go wa sí né, wen kó mɔ ne néá ʔa ɔ ín kóo nà ʔa dé koféa sen⁻te⁻ré kó wa me, ʔmón tuwa kó foo kə ʔa gó baá zaŋí. [9] ɔ né mɔ ne te⁻foo kə ʔa né yúm wenáa. [10] go wa dé gpy sen-te⁻saŋa⁻te-ó tɔ wí-ré. [11] go ó ŋmaa ne gan zéé te-rò ná, a bó ne kofe ne ɔ ín kóo sen⁻te⁻ré kó foo kó ró meí. [12] ne ó jí ne ɔ ne bé-zɔc mbɔra go zéé mbɔra kó yám kó ró gan ɔ ín kóoi ʔmón tuwa kó foo kó wa me ná. [13] ne bó wá de kofe só kó wá é rá, go wa ɔ ín ŋma géré kóo, ne yám kó wa ndóy ŋginza há bɔɔ-kó kó waf, nde wa haá ŋginza wenáa, go wa dé koféai, go né pé ne yíí wení. [14] ne gan wa é ŋginzai go ʔmón bɔɔ-kóoi há wa ná. [15] go ó tɔ wí-ré, gbaa gan wa iŋ nú-wen kó nzapà ná, ne gan wa kp ʔdoŋáa há wééy kofe kó wa ɔ ín bém kó wa te-kp⁻tuwa kó wa te⁻bɔɔ⁻wai ná. [16] go wa dé koféa gpy gpy. [17] go bó wá ba wa sí né te-ré kó wa me, sé te wa ɔ ín kóoi.

FREE TRANSLATION

[1] While he is doing the bride-work, he can not sleep with the girl for whom he is doing the bride-work. [2] But should he sleep with the girl in

the house of his (future) in-laws there, and should the girl become pregnant right in the house of his in-laws, his in-laws say, "Oh, he made fools of us. [3] He was doing the bride-work for his wife so that when he had finished the bride-work, we would have taken his wife to him and then he would have slept with her. [4] But has he slept with his wife right in our house so that she has become pregnant in our absence, so that our feelings are hurt?" [5] So when the relatives of the girl's father hear this, they arise, and they go, and they go and lock the door of the goat-pen of the boy's father. [6] Then they take all the boy's father's goats from the pen, and they take them back (to the boy's father). [7] If they don't choose to take them, and should they see the old mother goat, they cut her throat right in the pen. [8] So they take her (the girl), and they return (home) with (her), because he went and slept with the girl for whom he was doing bride-work at their village there right in the village of his in-laws so that she became pregnant. [9] This is something that the in-laws would get upset about. [10] So they do thusly among Africans. [11] And some (boys) who don't listen to instructions, while doing bride-work they sleep with the girl at the village of their in-laws there. [12] But those who are obedient children and listen to the commandments of their fathers don't sleep with the girl right in the house of their in-laws there. [13] And if they (the boys) should do bride-work and then give it up and sleep with some other girl, their fathers would collect from the girl for whom they had given money and for whom they had done bride-work, and they would go and pay for it (the fornication). [14] And they don't leave the money for the (first) girl for themselves. [15] Even those Africans who don't know the Gospel don't want their son-in-law to sleep with their daughter in their house in their absence. [16] So they do the bride-work for a long time. [17] Then when they (the boys) take them (the girls) to their village, then they sleep with the girls.

ANALYSIS

[1] *tɛ́-wesé-kofɛ nɔ́ ɔ́ déi* ('body of day of in-law and he does pc. '), *nɛ gan ɔ́ rém ɔ́ ín kóó* ('and neg. he can sleep with woman pc. '), *nɔ́ ɔ́ dé koféai ná* ('and he does in-law pc. not').

tɛ́, preposition-like noun, 340, fn. 16.

tɛ́-wesé-kofɛ, NP of time in complex sentence, 414.15; NP with relational morpheme {*ɛ́*} morphophonemically written, 212.2.

kofɛ nɔ́, NP < N + dep. clause attribute, 332.32; 411.26.

nɔ́ ɔ́ = < *nɛ ɔ́*, 132.2.

kofɛ, obj. of *dé*, 411.26; *dɛ kofɛ* 'to do bride-work,' that is, render services to the girl's parents or her paternal uncles in partial payment of the bride-price; *nɛ kofɛ* 'to go in-law' refers in general to all transactions for acquiring a wife, see [11].

déi < *dé* high tone imperf. verb 'do' + -i pc. which ties the phrase together, 220, 393.12.

kóó 'woman, wife'; in anticipation of the marriage union a "fiancée" is called *kóó* 'wife.'

o 'sleep,' low tone imperf. V in dep. clause attribute to V, 393.112.

gan . . . ná, neg. adv., 371.

koffá < koffe + det. suf. {-a}, 213.1.

ǎ 'he,' notice the change from sg. subj. (sentences [1-10]) to pl. (sentences [11-17]).

[2] ne bǎ ǎ o ín kóoi sen-te-tuwa kó foo kǎ á me ('and when he sleeps with woman pc. at body of house of in-law of him there'), go kóoi bó ba zaŋ ?món tuwa kó foo kǎ ǎi ('then woman pc. when seizes foetus remains house of in-law of him pc. '), ne ó foo kǎ ǎ gende gá ye ge ('and pl. adj. in-law of him say'), óó, ǎ deà ró né boo ('Oh, he did us with foolishness').

bǎ, AV freely translated 'when,' 394.31; bǎ < bó, 132.2.

ǎ 'he,' high tone in clause following AV, 382.112.

o 'sleep,' low tone imperf. following AV, 393.112; o in this context has sexual connotations.

go, conn., 332.2.

ba zaŋ ?món, paratactically joined compound clause, 423.12; ba zaŋ 'to become pregnant.'

tuwa '(in the) house,' noun in VP used locatively, 414.143.

ó foo 'in-laws,' adj. + N, 361.1; foo here probably refers to the parents of the girl, and ó foo to both the parents and the father's clan, but in [9] the omission of ó does not limit the reference to the parents, for implicit plurality is not always marked; kǎ < kó, 132.2.

gende gá ye ge, QV with NP subj., 353.

deá < de 'to do' + perf. suf. + {á}, 211.2; but notice preference for historical present, not only in this text but generally in narratives; on lowering of tone of deà, 131.2.

ró, pl. explicit pron. in quotations, 382.12.

né, prep., 345.

[3] ǎ dé koffe wen kó kó kǎ ǎ ('he does in-law word of woman of him'), te óá ('so that was'), ne bǎ ǎ de koffe són ('and when he does in-law all'), ndo ro sí ne kó kǎ ǎ há ǎ ('and we return with woman of him to him'), sé tǎ ǎ ó ínaa ('so that he sleeps with her').

wen kó, purposive, 414.17.

kó, allomorph of kóo 'woman,' 132.3c.

te óá, connecting VP with little lexical meaning, equivalent here to te bó, 332.8.

són 'all,' probably adverbial.

ndo < ne 'and,' 131.1, 132.2.

há < há, 132.2.

tǎ < te, 132.2; sé te, conn., 332.6.

ínaa 'with her,' < ín 'with' + 3S suf., 382.113.

[4] na ǎ ó ín kó kǎ ǎ ?món tuwa kó ró ('and he sleeps with woman of him remains house of us'), go bá zaŋ te-bono-rói ('then seizes foetus body of back of us pc. '), há te-rò yǐm wéndé ('so that body our hurts question').

ó . . . ?món, compound clause as in [2].

há, conn., 332.3.

te-rò 'our bodies,' noun in inalienable possession, 212.2, 344; parts of

body are frequently used in expressions describing psychological states; tone of rò, 131.2.

wéndé, question particle, 328.

[5] go ó nam kó kóoi bó zec g̃y ('then pl. adj. family of woman pc. when hear thus'), nde wa kúú ('and they arise'), go wa né ('then they go'), go né wa kpé nú-valé-duwa kó yám kó bisai ('then go they lock mouth of hut of goat of father of adolescent boy pc.').

zec, allomorph of zer- 'to hear,' 132.1a

g̃y, adv., 372.11.

nde < nɛ 'and,' 131.1.

kúú, allomorph of kur- 'to arise,' 132.1a.

né wa kpé 'they go and lock,' compound clause with verb of motion, 423.11.

[6] go wa káy duwa kó yám kó bisai ('then they take goat of father of adolescent boy pc.'), há kp̃-valé túu són ('from hole of hut all all'), go wa sí né ('they they return with').

kp̃ 'hole,' prep.-like noun, 340, fn. 16; 414.141.

duwa = ó duwa 'goats.'

kay, pl. verb paired with ba, 394.1.

túu 'all,' < Fr. 'tout'; Fr. loans are often paired with synonymous Gbeya words.

né, prep. without obj., 345.

[7] ndé wá e kélé-kay wa ná ('going they place heart take them not'), ne ndé wá zok á naa-duwai ('and going they see old mother goat pc.'), go wa gón géraa ('then they cut its neck') ?món kp̃-valéi ('remains hole of hut pc.').

ndé < nɛ, AV, 394.32, 131.1.

e, sg. V paired with a, 394.1.

kélé-kay, NP with VP attribute, 411.25.

ná, on omission of gan, 371.2.

á naa-duwa 'old mother goat,' the one which bore most of the flock, therefore the prize one.

géraa 'its throat,' bound allomorph (gér ~ gɛ́) with 3S pron. suf., 132.1a, 382.113.

[8] go wa bá ɔ ('then they take her'), go wa sí né ('then they return with'), wen kó mɔ nɛ néá ɔ ín kóo ('word of thing and went he sleeps with woman'). nɔ ɔ dé kɔ́fa sɛn-te-ré kó wa mɛ ('and he does the in-law at body of village of them there'), ?món tuwa kó foo ká ɔ ('remains house of in-laws of him') gó baá zaní ('then he seizes foetus pc.').

wen kó mɔ 'because,' 414.17.

néá ɔ í 'he went and slept,' compound clause with verb of motion, 423.1.

kóo nɔ ɔ dé, NP with dep. clause attribute, 411.26.

gó, allomorph of {go}, 332.21.

[9] ɔ né mɔ ('is cop. thing') nɛ te-foo ká ɔ né yɛm wenáa ('and body of in-law of him going hurt the word').

né, copula, 352.

mɔ nɛ, NP with dep. clause attribute.

ó, subject is impersonal, 421.122.

né 'will,' AV, 394.32.

wenáa < wen 'word' + det. suf., purposive, 414.17.

[10] go wa dé gǝy sɛn-tɛ-saŋa-tɛ-ó tǔ wí-ré ('so they do thus at body of midst of body of pl. adj. black person of village').

wa 'they,' impersonal, identified with ó tǔ wí-ré, 382.1.

tǔ 'black,' V as adj., 361.222b.

wí 'person,' practically always in NP with { ' }.

[11] go ó ŋmaa nɛ gan zéé tɛ-rò ná ('so pl. adj. some and neg. hear body their not'), a bó nɛ kɔfɛ ('and when go in-law') nɛ ó ɛn kóo sɛn-tɛ-ré kó foo kó ró mei ('and sleep with woman at body of village of in-law of them pc.').

ŋmaa nɛ, NP with dep. clause attribute, expanded subject of bó, 422.1.

ró, pl. explicit pron. for clarity, 382.122.

a, conn., 332.1.

[12] nɛ ó ɛf nɛ ó nɛ bé-zee mbɔra ('and pl. adj. those and are cop. child listen law') go zéé mbɔra kó yám kó ró ('and listen law of father of them'), gan ó ɛn kóoi ('neg. sleep with woman pc.') ?món tuwa kó foo kó wa mɛ ná ('remain house of in-law of them there not').

ó ɛf nɛ, pron. phrase with compound dependent clause, 412, subj. of né, separated by pause because of length of NP, 422.1.

bé 'child,' allomorph of béem, used in NP, 132.2c.

[13] nɛ bó wá dɛ kɔfɛ ('and when they do in-law') só kó wá é rá ('then they leave off'), go wa ó ɛn ŋma géré kóo ('then they sleep with some strange woman'), nɛ yám kó wa ndóy ŋginza ('and father of them collects money') há bɔnɔ-kó kó waf ('from back of woman of them pc.'). ndɛ wa haá ŋginza wenáa ('and they gave money the word'), go wa dé kɔfɛai ('then they do the in-law pc.'). go né pé nɛ yíí wení ('then go pay for word pc.').

bó, AV with compound dep. clause.

rá, meaning uncertain.

ŋma, reconstructed from recorded ŋmaá 'each other,' which did not make sense.

géré, adv. as N attribute, 411.12, < gère 132.3b.

ŋginza 'money,' < Sango, Gbeya word is mbɔy; notice absence of both pc. and det. suf. even though the reference is very specific (but compare [14]).

né pé, compound clause with V of motion, 423.11.

pé nɛ yíí < Fr. 'payé' with pé analyzed as the V, yíí as the N; the prep. nɛ (< né) is normal in such a V + N construction, 345. This is quite unusual, and a perfective form *pɛá was never recorded.

wení = wenáa 'for it.'

[14] nɛ gan wa é ŋginzai ('and neg. they leave money pc.') go ?món bɔnɔ-kóoi há wa ná ('then remains back of woman pc. for them not').

é . . . ?món, compound clause closed by neg. adv.

?món, subj. is not wa but ŋginza 'money.'

há wa 'for themselves'; one expects explicit pron. ró here unless first wa refers to parents and second wa to the boys; this ambiguity of reference is typical of Gbeya narratives.

[15] go ó tú wí-ré ('so pl. adj. black person of village'), gbaa gan wa ɨŋ nú-wen kó nzapá ná ('even if neg. they know mouth of word of God not'), ne gan wa kɔ́ ʔdoŋáa ('and neg. they agree the back') há wééy kɔ́fɛ kó wa ʒ ín bém kó wa ('that man in-law of them sleep with child of them') tɛ-kɔ́tuwa kó wa tɛ-bɔ́ɔ-wai ná ('body of hole of house of them body of back of them pc. not').

ó tú wí-ré, expanded subj., 422.1.

gan . . . ná, neg. adv., 371.1.

ɨŋ, imperf. low tone in neg. clause, 393.115.

nzapá 'God' < Sango.

kɔ́ ʔdoŋáa há + VP 'to want . . . '

wééy as attribute of N, < wééy 'man,' 132.2b.

bɔ́ɔ and bɔ́ɔ in this text, free morpheme alternants, 133.1.

[16] go wa dé kɔ́fɛa gɔ́y gɔ́y ('so they do the in-law on and on').

gɔ́y gɔ́y 'thus thus,' repetition, 431.

[17] go bó wá ba wa sí né tɛ-ré kó wa mɛ ('then when they take them return with body of village of them there'), sé tɛ wa ʒ ín kóoi ('then they sleep with woman pc.').

ba . . . sí, compound clause, 423.12, dep. clause attribute of AV bó.

ba, one expects kay with plural object; see [6].

kóoi, identified as plural by wa following ba even though pl. adj. ó omitted.

SELECTED TEXTS

INTRODUCTION

The following is a selection of twelve texts from my total collection. The omitted ones are either much less interesting in subject matter or are poor specimens of Gbeya because of their fractured syntax. All were first tape-recorded and then transcribed by myself, without the aid of an informant. Checking the recordings with an informant would certainly have been of much help in clearing up some obscure utterances, but the absence of sufficient electrical power in the field prevented any such work. The transcriptions themselves, however, were gone over with my regular informant. The translations are my entire responsibility since none of my friends spoke English.

All of the narrators were well known to me. In fact, all but Nganaséɛ and Boysé served as informants in one way or another during the time that I lived at "Bellevue." Sɛndéámɔ (sɛn déá mɔ), who gave me texts 1, 2, 3, and 12, was one of my workmen. Although he was born near Bellevue and spent most of his life around there, his idiolect shows evidence of having been influenced by the dialect of Boguila (for example, ɲa for ɲma 'some,' ɔ for ɛɛ 'we'). My regular informant gave me texts 6, 7, and 11. Namkóná (nam kón ná), a Protestant catechist in his 30's gave texts 8 and 9. Another catechist, Kpa-démoná (kpa dé mɔ ná) gave number 10. Boysé (boy sé), who acts the father in text 1, and Nganaséɛ (ɲgana-séɛ) were the oldest of all the speakers, probably in their late 40's. The child who played the part of the son in text 1, Gɛnam (gɛ-nam), is the nephew of Sɛndéámɔ; he was in his early teens.

The texts were obtained in the following ways: For the conversations, I suggested several topics the two individuals might discuss. They made the final selection and proceeded extemporaneously until they felt that they had nothing more to say. The fables, texts 11 and 12, were obtained by my simply asking the individuals to tell any fable they wanted. The other discourses, texts 6 through 10, came after I had suggested the topics. Once the speaker began, he was not interrupted until he chose to cease. There were also no second attempts to improve the recordings. Text 6, however, is part of a series of answers to questions put to my informant about marriage. In this instance, my question was probably "Why do some wives leave their husbands and go home?"

The transcription is broken up by commas and periods to indicate the major pause points and sentence breaks. Intonational features, syntax, and meaning were used in determining the boundaries of sentences, but it must be confessed that with such extemporaneous material, it is very difficult to be sure of one's sentences. Paragraphing is introduced for convenience. The plus sign (+) is used to mark morphemic breaks within words so as to assist the

reader in making a morphological analysis. It must be remembered that the hyphen is used to indicate the presence of the relational morpheme {⁻}, which is realized in a tone change in the word preceding the hyphen only if it is basically low and the word following it has low tone. For details, see 212.2. The grave accent continues to mark a lowered tone from the presence of a following high. When the tones very clearly deviate from the general pattern described in the grammar, they are not normalized. For example, one might find *go gan am* instead of the expected *gó gan am*. The narrowing of intervals in rapid extemporaneous speech probably accounts for some of the differences, but without dictated forms of the same utterances one can not be sure. Contrary to the convention which was adopted in the grammar proper, in these texts proper nouns and personal names are capitalized. The change is justified by the different functions of the illustrative material. Finally, the asterisk marks French words in their assimilated form only on their first appearance in a text.

The translation in English is neither literal nor a paraphrase, but a mixture of the two. The first few translations have parenthetical material which an understandable paraphrase would require, but this device was subsequently given up because of the many inconsistencies it introduced. One of the most difficult aspects of the translation was the translation of "tense." A faithful translation of the Gbeya perfective and imperfective forms of the verbs results in a very odd English translation, as is seen in text 3, where this attempt was made. The problem is that, in Gbeya narratives, the imperfective (like the "historic present") is more common than the perfective when the time of action is known. For the most part, therefore, the translation follows the understood time of the action: in these narratives the imperfective is very often translated with a simple past; the perfective, where appropriate, is translated with a present or past perfect. It was also extremely difficult to translate the ideophonic adverbs, a problem met by all those working on African languages. Part of the problem is in determining the precise meaning of these adverbs; I am not always certain that I have succeeded. Another difficulty is in trying to convey the sense in a few English words. As text 10 illustrates, I have had to resort to different kinds of solutions, sometimes even retaining the Gbeya word.

1. A Hunt Across the River

1. éré ne+á yarı sen'te-kúú-Wáam me ín ó *mise. 2. ere yáá.
3. ne+á ge re ó zǎ. 4. fara ʔbáá, ne gan re kpá ɲa (that is, ɲma) saʔde
kpém wen kó gbé+á ná. 5. ere kpá ó ndará ne dǎɲ wa yú. 6. dǎɲ wa yú.
7. a dǎɲ wa yú gǎy. 8. ne gan re kpá ɲa wen-gbe kpém ná. 9. ere gbó
sen'te-ká-gásá kara, sen'te-ká-Yáa Bǎ me. 10. go bé ré gam te-ré
wen kó pér+á+a, só ké ré kpá ɲa mbeɛ né ʔdon-wáá, sen'te-kúú-Wáam
dǎye nǎo dǎó. 11. ge re gbé ǎ rífto só ké ré káy ge re péé né. 12. sóó
mo gǎy a há dé+á saa hé ré. 13. ne, éré si+ò gére, ne gan re kpa ɲaa
(that is, ɲmaa) wen-gbe kpém ná, óʔ gan ne+á ha dé+á saa hé ré kpém ná.
14. wen kó mo ne+á re ó ʔdoo-zǎ, gó ɲgay ké ré son+à sǎn. 15. gó mo
gǎy, ere kpá ɲmaa ɲ rífto, só kó sera-ré dé saa wenáa dǎka.

2. Monsicur Kills Two Antelope

1. kúú dǎye nǎo go bé ré né+á+a, ne Kpadémoná té kǎ ǎ sen'te-nú-*bak
me gó, te+á go áy oro-ré ne gan kpá ré ná. 2. ne Kpadémoná yú né
bolo-ré gǎy gǎy. 3. ne+á go kpá ré sen'te-nú-Wáam me. 4. só kǎ ǎ
sá mo bolo-ré go+o (that is, ge re) ɲgém+aa. 5. ere té né tǎi hǎ ǎ ge
re bá ǎ né tǎi só ké ré né gǎy go bé ré gbo sen-te-ɲma bé-ri, ge re óm
te-ré sené. 6. né *mǎtǎi. 7. ge re kúú ge re né gǎy. 8. go bé ré
gbo sen-te-fara-ɔ+ɪ me ga mbóro de+á, sóó ré ó dǎi. 9. go zu'ture, nde
re kúú wen kó ne yaa re kii saʔde re né gǎy gǎy gan re kpá saʔde kpém ná.
10. ge re yáá re né gǎy gbó sen'te-ká-Yáa Bǎ. 11. ere kǎ Yáa Bǎ ere
né gbó On Yora (that is, on yora). 12. ere gbó sen'te-gásá kara. 13.
ge re gám te-ré bé ré kpa bolo-nǎɲ-ó saʔde dǎɲ re ʔmá wa nde wa lǎɲgǐ
nde wa lǎɲgǐ nde wa lǎɲgǐ ne gan re kpá wa kpém ná. 14. ge re gám
te-ré re péé ʔdon gǎy gǎy. 15. té go bé ré gbo sen'te-kúú-Wáam
sen'te-dǎye te-nú-ré ké ré na dǎó só ké ré kpá ɲa mbeɛ ge re gbé wa

1. A Hunt Across the River

1. We went hunting across the Wáam (river) over there with Monsieur. 2. We hiked around. 3. We went and we slept in the bush. 4. It became day, and we didn't find one single animal to kill. 5. We found buffalo and they kept on running away. 6. They kept on running away. 7. They kept on running away a long time. 8. And we didn't find one to kill. 9. We arrived beside the large mountain, beside the Yáa Bâ over there. 10. So when we turned around to return, we found some reedbuck on the way, on the other side of the Wáam here closeby. 11. So we killed him two (two of them) and we picked them up and we returned with (them). 12. So in this way it gave pleasure to us. 13. And if we had returned without anything, and had not found a single one to kill, oh it would not have given us any pleasure whatsoever. 14. Because we had gone and had slept in the bush, and our strength was entirely depleted. 15. So that's how it is, we found those two, and our livers are very happy about it.

2. Monsieur Kills Two Antelope

1. (We) arise (from) right here and after we had gone, Kpadémóná for his part comes (from) the ferry crossing over there and, (he) came and seeks us and can not find us. 2. And Kpadémóná runs after us for a long time. 3. (He) went and finds us at the edge of the Wáam (river) over there. 4. So he calls after us and we wait for him. 5. We bring a canoe to him and we take him with the canoe so we go on like this and when we arrive at a certain small stream, we rest ourselves there. 6. At noon (this is). 7. Then we arise and we go like this. 8. And when we arrive at the sleeping place there, in other words it has already become evening, so we sleep there. 9. Then very early in the morning, we arise to go hiking (for) us (to) hunt game (and) we go on (and) arrive beside the Yáa Bâ. 11. We cross the Yáa Bâ (and) we arrive at the On Yora. 12. We arrive at the large mountain. 13. And we turn around (and) when we find tracks of animals we continue to track them and they go on and they go on and they go on and we don't find a single one (that is, animal). 14. Then we turn around (and) we return a long time. 15. (We) come and when we arrive at the other side of the Wáam here at the approach to our

rífto. 16. *misi ndóó wa gbé rífto. 17. só ké ré káy ge re péé né.
 18. ge re kúú ge re péé go bé ré kú Wáam sen-te-díye, bé ré si go bé ré
 gbó na go misi há ŋma hé ré ge re kpá wen kó si re yŋ né kam. 19. só
 kó sɛra-rè dé saa dóka. 20. ne wesé ne éré si+ò gére, oo? ne gan ne+á
 ha dé+á saa hé ré ná.

3. A Narrow Escape from Lions

1. ɛɛ kúú zu-ture díye nɔɔ ʔnéŋ. 2. ge re né sen-te-kúú mɛ
 wen-kii saʔde. 3. bó+ó (that is, bé ré) kú ri go+o (that is, ge re)
 né. 4. ɛɛ né gpy. 5. ɛɛ kíí saʔde. 6. ɛɛ né gpy. 7. ɛɛ gbó
 sen-te-gba go. 8. gan re kpá saʔde kpém ná. 9. ɛɛ né gbó ri
 Tiya. 10. gan re kpá saʔde ná. 11. ɛɛ kíp te-ré ge re né gpy,
 gbó sen-te-Nduú. 12. go bé ré kú Nduú, ne bó+m . . . , zaŋ+ám yúm,
 go+m húfí, ne gan am kpá ŋgay kó+m kpém ná. 13. ne+m né kóó-
 *misc gedék geʔdék geʔdék gpy ŋmgbóŋ.
 14. go bé ré daŋ zu-kara, ne te-zu-kara mɛ, ne Raŋmgbá tɔ gende
 gá ye ge, éɛ mise, ɛɛ daŋ zu-kara nɔɔ sé, te o+á ne bé ré ho díí
 nɔɔ+i, ne ndé ré kpa ŋma saʔde. 15. ne Raŋmgbá bó tɔ gpy, te bé
 ré daŋ zu-kara+i, wen kó ndé ré né+á+ta, te bé ré hɔ+á+ta, ne ó dila
 wa gbɪn sen-te-ká-te-ré+i. 16. ndo+o (that is, nde re) tɔ gende gá
 ye ŋ ná. 17. ndo+o tɔ gende gá ye ŋ ná ne ó né ndará. 18. ne
 Raŋmgbá tɔ gende gá, íí mise, ó né ndará, ndará, ndará. 19. te mise
 bó wá laŋgi ín Raŋmgbá, gende gá, gá wá ho+á sen-te-bera-go díye.
 20. te bó+m gam te+ém, ne+m tɔ mbí ye, ŋmaa a yór+i. 21. te bó
 ndo+o hii te-ʔdoɔ, te ó mise bó laŋgi kó ró kpékéré te-íye gáa, te bó
 zok gende gá, á ho+á sen-te-bera-go díye. 22. te bó+m gam te+ém
 wen kó né+m ba te, gende gá, á ho+à ʔbéé. 23. ne mise bó zik tɛ-ɛ
 ne ʔmón ne gám tɛ-ɛ, ne ndór+aa ŋgombe. 24. mise bó ndór+aa, bó
 ndór+aa gbangala, ne koy-yá ká ɔ són duŋ dé ŋgay rrrrr.
 25. te bó+ó zee gpy, ó? kéey de+à ré dóka. 26. nde re ŋmáŋ ge
 re yú kpém kpém kpém són. 27. dɔn sére ké ré á nu són. 28. dɔn
 ʔboy ké ré á nu són. 29. gan re kpá ŋma mo kpém.

village here closeby then we find some reedbuck and we kill two of them. 16. Monsieur shoots them (and) kills two. 17. Then we take (them) and we return with them. 18. And we arise and we return and when we cross the Wáam here, when we return and when we arrive here then Monsieur gives some (meat) to us and we receive (some) for (us) to return (and) eat with (our) porridge. 19. Then our livers rejoice greatly. 20. And (on the) day (that) we had returned empty-handed, oh, (that) would not have given joy to us.

3. A Narrow Escape from Lions

1. We arise (from) right here very early in the morning. 2. And we go to the other side (of the river) there to hunt animals. 3. After we cross the river we go. 4. We go on in this manner (or perhaps, kept on going). 5. We hunt for animals. 6. We go on in this manner. 7. We arrive at the lateritic plateau. 8. We don't find a single animal. 9. We go (and) arrive at Tiya Creek. 10. We don't find any animals. 11. We turn around and we go on in this manner, (and) arrive at the Nduú (river). 12. And after we cross the Nduú, my stomach hurt, and I am having diarrhea, and I don't have any strength at all. 13. And I follow Monsieur slowly like this for a long time.

14. And after we climb atop the mountain, at the top of the mountain there, Raŋmgbá says, "Hey, Monsieur, let's climb atop this mountain first, so that after we go on over there, we'll find some animals." 15. And after Raŋmgbá has spoken in this way, and after we have climbed atop the mountain, for the purpose of going on, and after we had passed on, the lions they appeared beside us. 16. And we say "Don't know." 17. And we say, "Perhaps (they) are buffalo." 18. And Raŋmgbá says, "Yeah, Monsieur, (they)'re buffalo, buffalo, buffalo." 19. So after Monsieur had gone on ahead with Raŋmgbá, in other words they (the lions) had appeared on the plateau here. 20. And after I turned, I said, "There's one standing." 21. So after we ducked down, and after Monsieur for his part went on out of sight over there like that, and after (we) looked, in other words, (they) had appeared on the plateau clearing here. 22. So after I had turned around to go grab a tree, in other words, (they) had already appeared. 23. And after Monsieur turned his body, right then he turned around, and he shoots it (the lion) with the gun. 24. When Monsieur shoots it, when he shoots it bang! the rest of its (the lion's) companions begin to roar rrrr.

25. So when we hear this, oh fear struck us terribly. 26. And we divide up and all of us flee separately. 27. All of us cast our spears on the ground. 28. All of us cast our caps on the ground. 29. We don't get a thing (meaning uncertain).

30. ne misc gám tɛ-ɛ ʔbo. 31. ne wééy+aa dɔ̀n tɛ, dɔ̀n tɛ né ɲgay, dɔ̀n tɛ né ɲgay. 32. na ʔ zók kóó-Raɲmgbá ne bó ne yú+ó, na ʔ yú wen kó óró na ʔ yú wen kó ba ʔ gá. 33. ne mise ʔmón ne gám tɛ-ɛ ne yón+á yín, na ʔ ndór+aa, na ʔ ndór+aa. 34. ne wééy+aa bá tɛ-ɛ kpɔ̀n ne yú kɛ ɛ.

35. bá ʔ yu gɔ̀y, ne mise gám tɛ-ɛ, ne sá mo né fɛra fééé. 36. nde re ɲmɔy+à gé ré hɔs+ó tɛ-ré són. 37. ne+m tɔ̀ ye, tɔ̀ há Mayde, mbí ye, ééʔ, Mayde, am ɲ ná, ʔ bá mise. 38. mbí ye, dila ba+á ʔ, dila ba+á ʔ ʔ+i. 39. ne ʔmón+á ge re yá+i, yá+i, yá+i gɔ̀y. 40. na ʔ dóm fɛra, tɛ bó+m zee, ne+m tɔ̀, céʔ, ʔ ʔmón+á kpas+á, ʔ dóm fɛra, go wér+i. 41. tɛ bé ré hɔn bé ré né+á+a, na ʔ dɔ̀n wa dóm fɛra dóm fɛra gɔ̀y. 42. ne dɔ̀n ʔ kíʔdí ré, dɔ̀n wa kíʔdí ré, ɲmgbón. 43. ndo+o tɛ ndo+o kpá ʔ. 44. nde re mɔ̀y tɛ-kpém fara. 45. na ʔ tɔ̀ ye éré ná ne ɛ gbe+á saʔde. 46. nde re tɔ̀y *wi, ere zey+á ne ɲgombe+i wey+á+i. 47. ʔ gbe+á saʔde, kpási wen. 48. ne gan ó mbé ré si ɲéé ná. 49. tɛ bé ré né+á, ʔ ndor+á ʔ pɲ gɛ ʔ mpy+á ʔ, gɔ ʔ ó gáá nóo. 50. ne éré són, ere zók+aa. 51. nde re gám tɛ-ré, ge re péé ʔdoɲ.

52. ne mise tɔ̀ gende gá ye ge, o a kɔ̀ ʔdoɲ-ne sen-te-zan-ré wen-tɔ̀ há *madáam wen-ha ɲma gbara-wey hɛ ɛ, wen-si né ʔdoɲ wen-sa ɲma ó wí-ré á zu-ɛ. 53. ne tɔ̀ há *pasitɛer, wen kó ba ɲgombe kó ró. 54. ɲma *sasɛer né o+á sené, ne bá ɲma ɲgombe kó wa wen-ne né, sé tɛ né o+á ne bí né biro nóo ín ɛ. 55. ne ɛ te+á ɛ kɔ̀ sére.

56. ne misc bó tɔ̀ gɔ̀y ne+m tɔ̀y, wi, gán mí am kɔ̀ ʔdoɲ-té+á wéndé. 57. ne Raɲmgbá tɔ̀ gende gá+y, ɛ ɛ nɛ ɛ te+á, ɛ ɛ nɛ ɛ te+á. 58. ne+m tɔ̀ mbí ye, wi, Raɲmgbá a té ín+aa. 59. ne wan kó mé bó kɔ̀ sére, gá kɔ̀+ù sére é zu-mé ʔ+i. 60. ne gan am rém wen kó ne tɛ-ré me ná. 61. ne né+m ʔmón ín mise.

62. ne Raɲmgbá gám tɛ-ɛ wen kó té+á, nde re ʔmón ín mise dɲi. 63. ne mise tɔ̀ gende gá ye ge, mí ná ne, ge a tó ró de wen kó saʔde+í ge.

64. ne+m tɔ̀y, mise, ɲma mo ké ré wen-de wen+áa gan bó ná.

65. ne mise tɔ̀y, mí ná ne, *me ʔbay yo kpém ɛe (< a + ɛ) kɔ̀ ʔdoɲ+áa. 66. ne wí-ré te+á o dók wen-toy saʔde sé. 67. ne wí-ré bó ná ge a dé ge ndé.

68. ne+m tɔ̀y mise ná ne, *me gó ge a ndó+ó (that is, ndé ré) de+á sóo (that is, só kó) ʔ tɔ̀ gɔ̀y ge ndé. 69. na ʔ tɔ̀ gende gá ye mí ná, am kɔ̀ ʔdoɲ-de kpém kp-sera ín ɛ wen kó yo-saʔde wéndé.

70. ne+m tɔ̀y wi, mise, am kɔ̀ ʔdoɲ+áa. 71. ne bó+m kɔ̀ ʔdoɲ+áa gɔ̀y, ne+m zók+aa sen-te-bera-go me. 72. ʔóóʔ ne kóey te+á dé+m. 73. ne+m sáá sék am tɔ̀y, ʔóóʔ misc, é há wí-ré té sé. 74. ó ɲgay wen ké ré wen né+á.

30. And Monsieur turns around again. 31. And the male one is coming, is coming ferociously, is coming ferociously. 32. And he looks at Rajmgbá who is running away, and he (the lion) runs as if he is going to seize him. 33. And Monsieur remains and turns with courage, and he shoots him, and he shoots him. 34. And the male (who is shot) takes himself off without stopping and flees.

35. After he runs off in this way, Monsieur turns around, (he) calls with a whistle fééé. 36. But we had divided and had all hidden ourselves. 37. And I say, say to Mayde, I say, "Great guns, Mayde, I don't know, (but that) he got Monsieur." 38. I say, "The lion got him, the lion got him." 39. And we kept on sitting and sitting and sitting (that is, waiting). 40. And he (Monsieur) blows a whistle, and when I hear it, I say, "Hey, he's still alive, he blows a whistle, and there it sounds." 41. And after we (...) (and) after we go on, he continues to blow the whistle blow the whistle like this. 42. And he's in the process of looking for us, he's looking for us, quite a long time. 43. And we come and we find him.

44. And we gather in one place. 45. And he says, "You there, I've killed an animal." 46. And we say, "Yes, we heard the gun go off. 47. You killed an animal, indeed. 48. And it's not for us to argue about it." 49. And after we had gone, he shot it (and) knocked it down and then he gathered it, and it's here. 50. And all of us, we see it. 51. And we turn around, and we return.

52. And Monsieur says, "Who wants to go to the village to tell Madame to give some bullets to me, to bring them back (and) to call some additional people. 53. And tell Pastor, to bring his gun. 54. If there's a hunter there, (have him) take his gun, so as to fight this battle with me. 55. And I've come (and) started a fight."

56. And after Monsieur has spoken thus I say, "Yes, what about me, do I want to go?" (translation uncertain).

57. And Rajmgbá says, "Me, I want to go, me I want to go."

58. And I say, "Yes, Rajmgbá goes with him." 59. And when your master starts a war, in other words (he) has started a war (and) involved you in it. 60. And I can't go to the village there. 61. And I'll stay with Monsieur."

62. And Rajmgbá turns around to go, and Monsieur and I remain there. 63. And Monsieur says, "You there, what am I going to do about the animal?"

64. And I say, "Monsieur, there's nothing we can do about it."

65. And Monsieur says, "You there, but just the skin alone is what I want. 66. And if there were many people to carry the animal then (it would be fine). 67. But there's no one so what is one to do?"

68. And I say, "Monsieur, but what are we going to do that you talk like this?"

69. And he says, "You there, do you want to be in accord with me about the animal skin?"

70. And I say, "Yes, Monsieur, I want to." 71. And after I agree in this manner, I see him on the plateau clearing there. 72. My, and fear came (and) gripped me. 73. And I think I say, "Oh Monsieur, let some people come first. 74. It's hard for us to go (that is, alone)."

75. ne misc t̥+y mí ná ne, ere kángí kp̥-sera ké ré. 76. ere né wen kó yo-sa?de+i.

77. ne+m t̥+y wi, gan am k̥p̥ ?doŋ-si káfé oro-ndú-wa ná. 78. ere né.

79. na ɔ̄ t̥+y paa kó ró ó sené ge re né. 80. bó+ó (that is, bé ré) ne sen-te-bera-go+i, ʔó, me zók sa?de ó sen-te-bera-go en-t̥e-ɛ̄. 81. ne bé ré gám+á, ɲma mo wen kó ré h̥usi ne ríp-ré kpém gan bó ná. 82. ne mise bá wey nóo ne ék sen-te-ɲma bé-kurí ne sen-te-k̥a+i. 83. ne+m sáá sék ne+m t̥+y ye wi, éré te+á wen kó fé+á. 84. ne gan re té wen kó si ná. 85. ne wéey ó né zara-ʔburí, go né ne ó ʔmón ʔdoo-z̥+i. 86. gó ʔbaa re ɔ̄+à ʔmón ʔdoo-z̥+i, ne wen gan bó ná.

87. ne misc k̥ási k̥ú-ɔ̄, ne+m bá paa, ne d̥ɲ+um ʔbóó, ne+m ʔbóó sa?de. 88. ne+m zók ne ɲma mo dé mo ʔbeekere, ne+m p̥i paa+i oró+ati zan̥, ne+m k̋éé mo. 89. ne mise t̥+y mí ná ne, ge ndé.

90. ne+m t̥+y mise, oo fey nde re fe+à ké ré sóo ge re yá ne wí-ré ʔbo wéndó. 91. wi, nde re gam te-ré, nde re k̋ási sa?de wen-ʔbór+á+a, ʔbór+á+a, ʔbór+á+a. 92. ne misc d̥ɲ k̋íí, k̋íí, ne+m ʔbóó k̋íí ne+m ʔbóó, k̋íí ne+m ʔbóó, ge re ʔbóó sa?de hárá són. 93. go bé ré ɲm̥ay ér+aa són, nde re zók, ne sa?de+i wen kó ndé ré ɲm̥ay, ɲ̥ (< ɔ̄k) ɲma ʔbaká+a wen-bá+á+a, wí-tóy+á+a gan bó ná. 94. ne tan+áa ó k̋é ɛ̄ ʔbo wen kó ndó+ó (that is, ndé ré) ɲm̥ay+á, wen-p̋i sené, wí-tóy+á+a gan bó ná. 95. wen kó am h̥úí kó+m. 96. ɲgay kó+m gan bó kpém ná. 97. am t̥+y mbí+y wi misc, ɛ̄ ré rem+à ré. 98. ere káy ɛ̄é nóo ere sí. 99. ne ɛ̄é rem+à ré. 100. *kaméem gba koy-sa?de ʔmon+á, go wí-ré né de+à y̥ŋ+á yín, ne té wá ne oro-ré+i wen-ne nde wa kay mó si wa y̥ŋ+á, ne gan éré ɲgem kpás+á sa?de ná.

101. ne bé ré kay yó+ati nde re h̋éé. 102. ge re bá ʔdoŋ-wáá wen-pér+á. 103. sóó ré kpá ó sórám Banabóy sen-te-kúú me ga bó d̥ɲ wa né kó wa bolc-ré. 104. d̥ɲ wa hóé kpwá. 105. ne wa t̥+y gende gá ye, ʔó?, dila kay+á wa wéndó a ɔ̄o. 106. ne tó+ó (that is, té ré) kpa kpas+á ge zée (< ze). 107. té ndo ro kpá wa wéndó. 108. bó wá zok gá éré ɔ̄+ɔ̄ (a + ɔ̄, that is, a + ere) té g̋ó. 109. bó wá zok ré gende gá, óó, *mersíi, mersíi, mersíi, nde re kpá wa.

110. te bé ré he?di d̥p̋ó te-nú-Wáam na, nde re kpá payt̋er. 111. ga bó d̥ɲ ne kó ró ín Raŋmgbá ʔbo. 112. nde re kpá wa ʔbo. 113. nde wa t̥+y gende gá ye, óo, mersíi d̋óka, wen kó mo ne Nzapá ha+á ɲgay hé ré, gé ré gbo+á, go ro zók kp-ríp-ré me. 114. oro há mersíi há Nzapá d̋óka.

115. ʔmón ge re á kóó-ɲmaá ín wa só ké ré péé, ge re k̋ú ri, ge re péé, ge re gbó zan̥-ré+i.

116. son+á.

75. And Monsieur says, "You there, let's be courageous. 76. Let's go for the animal skin."

77. And I say, "Okay, I don't want to question your word. 78. Let's go."

79. And he says, "I have a knife so let's go." 80. When we go to the plateau clearing, horrors, you see the animal on the plateau clearing all by itself. 81. And when we turn around, there's not a single thing with which we can conceal ourselves. 82. And Monsieur takes this gun and leans it against a young kurf tree which stood to the side. 83. And I think, "All right, we came to die. 84. And we don't come to return (home). 85. But man is (just) a reed-stem (quoting a proverb), and (he) goes and sleeps in the bush. 86. And even if we were right in the bush, that's all right."

87. And Monsieur grabs its leg, and takes the knife, and I begin to skin (it), and I skin the animal. 88. And I look and something makes a noise (going) ?bæskere (the rumbling of a stomach), and I cast the knife right down, and I stare around. 89. And Monsieur says, "Say there, what's up?"

90. And I say, "Monsieur, (considering) the death which we have experienced today are we still human beings?" 91. All right, so we turn back, and we seize the animal for skinning, skinning, skinning. 92. And Monsieur continues to turn (it), turn (it), and I skin, turns it and I skin, turns it and I skin, and we skin the whole animal. 93. Then after we cut off the paws, we look, and . . . there's no porter. 94. And there's the head itself also for us to cut off, to add to (the load), (and) there's no porter. 95. Because I'm having diarrhea as far as I'm concerned. 96. I don't have any strength at all. 97. I say, "All right Monsieur, this is enough for us. 98. Let's take this (and) let's go. 99. And this is enough for us. 100. Even if the remainder of the meat stays, and should people act with courage, they could possibly go after us to go and get it to return (and) eat it, but we won't keep the animal itself."

101. And after we take the skin we tie it up. 102. Then we take the path to return. 103. After that we meet Uncle Banabóy and those accompanying him at the other side (of the river) there (for) in other words they themselves are on their way after us. 104. They are crying. 105. And they say, "Oh, indeed the lion got them. 106. And how in the world are we going to survive! 107. Are we going to come and find them?" 108. When they look, in other words here we are coming. 109. When they see us, (they) say, "Oh, thank goodness, thank goodness, thank goodness, we find them."

110. So when we get near the bank of the Wáam here, we meet the pastor. 111. In other words, he is on his way along with Raŋmgbá also. 112. And we meet them also. 113. And they say, "Oh, many thanks, because God has given you strength, so that you have arrived, and we see your faces there. 114. We give many thanks to God."

115. Right there we join up with them, and we return, and we cross the river, and we return, and we arrive in the village.

116. Finished.

4. Children Should Work in the Garden

Father: 1. kín+εε nóo, ó né fara-de mo. 2. gó wesé+ta ne bó+í tpo mbéti gpy ηmgbáη, go *iεεr bó rém+á, ne+ti kúú á+í né sen-te-bóló+m me. 3. gó koyo bó dpu yηη mo ne+ti gáy mo ?doo-mo+ti sé ná. 4. ne+ti é há mo+í dpu yηη boó-mo á zp+ti. 5. ne ypná ne ó kín+εε ηgay góo. 6. o a té ha ηma hé ré wéey.

Son: 7. ?ó? yáam (< yám), go+ti tpo boó gáa. 8. é te+ém. 9. gó *lekóol nde re dé nde re hó né wesé wesé, go mbí ye ge, wesé de+á gáa, ne ?doy-wáá-ne fo bó ná wá. 10. só kó+m ?món, go+m ?món boó-zay-ré. 11. ne+ti tpo gáa, tpo boó gáa. 12. á+í dé ne ré ge ?bo ge.

Father: 13. bó+í kp ?doy-yaa gére ηmáη ηmáη gpy, ne gan né+í yηη kam ná.

Son: 14. ó yáam, ge re yηη boó-kam ná, ne té ré fe wo. 15. é té+í zok ré té yum+úf bó ná wéndé.

Father: 16. ó yá kó+í són, bó wá ho lekóol, nde wa né bo-lo-ó yám kó wa. 17. ne yáá kó+í wen-de saa sen-te-ré+ti. 18. ηma wí-ré yηη wár+á-ré.

Son: 19. ga yηη boó-wár+á-ré ná ré ge. 20. mo nde re yáá, ge re dé saa+í, nde re zók ké ré ró+ti, óró ré yηη wár+á+ta yηη+ti gá. 21. sóo ré yáá ge re dé saa sen-te-zay-ré+ti.

Father: 22. go kín+εε nóo, kó kó+m bó gi kam, ne gan né+í yar+ai yηη dé+á saa kó+í ne+ti dé+ti. 23. ne gan né+m ha kam há+í yηη ná. 24. wen kó mo ne yár+á-de saa zay-ré ηmáη ηmáη, koyo ín ó mboró, ín ó dawa té. 25. go wa yηη ó kondi kó+m wéndé gan dpu wa yηη say kó+m sí-?day són. 26. gó mo ne+m de+á, gó wesé do+á+m, gó yum+ó+m+ti, zay+ám yim wen+áa né saa ná. 27. go bó+í yaa rée (< ré), ne gan né+m ha kam há+í yηη kó+í ná.

Son: 28. sóo gba+ti do+à ré, gé ré fe+á wo, ne wí né+í gun ré, rí+í né ay oro-ré, mó yum+úf. 29. ne gan né yum ké é ré ná, wen kó mo nde re fe+à ké ré sí-?day.

Father: 30. go+ti tpo né nday-wen ηmáη ηmáη mó dpu+ui yaa rée a bo ná.

Son: 31. ge re kp boó ké ré ne fo ná. 32. go ré+ti rpk te-ré. 33. ne té ré ne boó né ηganjú-te-rè báa.

Father: 34. wesé+ta ne bó dpu+ui yaa gpy, né ne+m tpo há *mise. 35. óo tpo ye εε ne Ganázuí gá. 36. *abe, go bá á de lekóol són, nā ḡ rík+íí, a ndúy+úf né ηgay sé te né+í ne bóló+m wen kó mo nóo 37. bó+m in kó+m ná, go+m tpo mbí ye, ?mon+á go+ti dé lekóol wéndé, andáa gá+y ho+á, gó ?mon+á go+ti yáá sen-te-zay-ré-i ηmáη ηmáη, go+ti é ó koyo ín ó npy gó dpu ?nán mo ?nan+í. 38. gbaa wí-ré

4. Children Should Work in the Garden

Father: 1. Now is the time for working. 2. So after you have studied a long time, and the time is right, arise and go after me there. 3. And if the koyo (birds) are eating things, shouldn't you make a noise in the garden? 4. But you let things continue to eat things and ruin them. 5. Food today is difficult. 6. Who is going to come give some to us?

Son: 7. Oh, Father, so you talk foolishly like this! 8. Let me be. 9. We go to school and come out day after day, and I say, "The sun has set to this point, and there's no way of going to the garden." 10. So I remain, and I remain right in the village. 11. And you talk like this, talk foolishness like this. 12. What do you mean by it? (freely translated).

Father: 13. If you want to run around all the time doing nothing in this manner, then you're not going to eat.

Son: 14. Oh, Father, if we don't eat food, then we'll probably die. 15. When you look upon us won't it hurt you at all?

Father: 16. All your buddies, when they get out of school, they go out to where their fathers are. 17. But you run around to play in the village. 18. Does anyone eat "village-fruit" (that is, fruit produced by the village, posing an impossibility)?

Son: 19. So who (in the world) doesn't eat "village fruit"? 20. Since we run around, and we play, and we for our part see the village, it's as if we ate its fruit. 21. That's how it is that we run around and we play in the village.

Father: 22. Now when my wife prepares food, you're going to run around and eat your play which you engage in. 23. And I'm not going to give food for you to eat. 24. Because of running around to play in the village, koyo (birds) and red monkeys, and green monkeys come. 25. So they eat my corn or they eat my pumpkin completely. 26. So because of the work which I have done, and (because) the sun has burned me and hurt me, I'm terribly upset about it. 27. So if you run around in the village, I'm not going to give food for you to eat.

Son: 28. So if you should keep it from us, and we should die of hunger, you, you'll be the one to bury us and your eyes will yearn for us to the point of hurting you. 29. But it won't hurt us, because we would have died completely.

Father: 30. And aren't you always talking hurtful words so as to continue running around in the village?

Son: 31. And we don't care about going to the garden. 32. And the village pleases us. 33. And do you think that we'll go under compulsion (translated freely)?

Father: 34. Should you continue to run around like this, I'm going to go and tell Monsicur. 35. Or perhaps someone like Ganázuí. 36. So after he's taught school, he'll beat you, and chase you forcefully so that you will go out to where I am because of this. 37. When I don't know, I say, "Perhaps you're still in school." It turns out that you've come out, and you're continuing to run around in the village, and you let the koyo (birds) and the (other) birds continue to ruin things. 38. And if someone should come and steal something,

te+á gó zu+ú mɔ, ne wí-zok wa gan bó ná. 39. nde wa zú, nde wa yú, wa sí né. 40. ne gan ɔ gpy rɔŋ (< rɔk) ná.

Son: 41. gó gba+ti tɔ+á há Ganázuí gó rɪk+ɔ ré, sóó kɔ'-sɛra-ré gan kɔ' ?doŋ'-ne fɔ ná. . . .

Father: 42. gó ?bay mɔ kpém ?mɔn ne dɔ+á ŋmaá. 43. a ndé ré do ŋmaá kɔ-kpána na. 44. ?bay went+áa a+ti.

Son: 45. gó ?bay mɔ+í wí ye ndó ró do ré wá. 46. gó gba+ti do+à ré, gé ré fe+á, ne wen bó ná. 47. ne ?bay went+í a+ti tɔ+í.

5. A Negligent Son-in-law

Nganasére: 1. Boysé.

Boysé: 2. wóo.

Nganasére: 3. né+m aŋ (< ak) mé, né+m aŋ mé wen kó bém kó mé ne té wen kó bém kó+m. 4. go kí+n+ɛɛ nɔɔ ám sok+à sɔn ne ŋgay kó+m gan bó wen'-de mɔ kí+n+ɛɛ ná. 5. ne bém kó mé e+á+m gó zɔ+ú yɛ+e há sí-?day. 6. go wí-de mɔ há+m gan bó ná. 7. go né+m aŋ mé, gán me kɔ' ?doŋ+áa há+m káy mɔ kó mé há mé ne me tɔ' há+m zéé.

Boysé: 8. am kɔ' ?doŋ+áa ná. 9. go+m tóm há ɔ ŋmáŋ ŋmáŋ mbí ye, ɔ péé wá á gan ɔ kɔ' ?doŋ+áa wen kɔ' ɔ pee lám ná. 10. *me ɔ ne yó+á mɔ kɔ' ɔ. 11. gó wesé+a ne bú ɔ ?mɔn gpy, ne né+m tɔ' wen ín+aa ŋgay mó+m *kaliméé te'-ɔ. 12. ɔ sók+á+ti ne yá me+í, a né+m tɔ' wen ín wa sé te ndé wá sa ɔ tɔ' ɔ péé bere.

Nganasére: 13. ne kóm, am tɔ' mbí ye ge, Boysé, né ?doŋ-wáá ké ré ín mé, nde re ɔ te-kɔ'-zaŋ'-mɔ kó Nzapá ín mé+í, gan am rém e foyo ríp-mé ná. 14. gó mɔ gpy am dé foyo ríp-mé. 15. gan am de foyo ríp-mé ná, ne gan am kɔ' ?doŋ+áa há bém kó+m ?mɔn gére ná. 16. ne+m kɔ' ?doŋ+áa há wí-ré té há dé mɔ há+m sé. 17. ne wen'-ge a me ?mɛé tí-bém kó+m went+áa ge ndé.

Boysé: 18. ?áá? yá kó+m, ám ɪŋ+ɔ kí+n+ɛɛ nɔɔ, wí-ré bó kpa wéey-kofe, ne ɔ né *mandávere wen'-de mɔ há ɔ. 19. go ɔ né foyo kó+m, wen kó mɔ nɔɔ nɔ ɔ kur+ó gá ɔ zɔ+ú há kɔ'-te+ém gó gan ɔ dé mɔ há mé ná, me tɔ' wen went+áa+ti. 20. ne gan ɔ né ŋma yó+á mɔ ná.

Nganasére: 21. bó pee ?doŋ gpy, ne+m bý kó+m. 22. pee ?doŋ gpy, ne+m bý kó+m. 23. gan am kɔ' ná.

there's no one to see them. 39. And they steal, and they flee, and they go away with it. 40. And it's not good like this.

Son: 41. Even if you told Ganázuf and (he) should beat us, still we don't want to go to the garden.

Father: 42. So there's just one thing, namely, keeping (food) from one another. 43. We'll keep food from each other in the pot here. 44. That's just it.

Son: 45. So that's just it, you say you'll keep food from us. 46. So even if you should keep food from us, and we should die, that's all right. 47. That's just what you say.

5. A Negligent Son-in-law

Nganaséɛ: 1. Boysé.

Boysé: 2. Yeah.

Nganaséɛ: 3. I'm going to ask you, I'm going to ask you about your child who is coming for my child (that is, in marriage). 4. So now I've become an old person and I have no strength for working now. 5. But your child (son) has left me and has gone off to a distant place. 6. So there's nobody to work for me. 7. So I'm going to ask you if you want me to gather up your things for you (return what was given of the bride-price), so speak so that I can hear.

Boysé: 8. I don't want that. 9. And I send word to him all the time, I say, "Return," but he doesn't want to return in a hurry. 10. But it's his fault. 11. And if he continues like this, I'm going to talk to him strongly to bring charges against him. 12. The elders who are living there, I'm going to talk with them so that they will call him to return quickly.

Nganaséɛ: 13. And as for me, I say, Boysé, that because you and I are in the work (literally, things) of God together (freely translated), I can't embarrass you. 14. But in this manner I (would) embarrass you. 15. Even if I don't embarrass you, I don't want your son to sit around doing nothing. 16. But I want someone to come to work for me. 17. But why do you keep your son from me?

Boysé: 18. What! My brother, I know that nowadays, when a person gets a son-in-law, he (the son-in-law) is a workman to work for him (the father-in-law). 19. And it's my embarrassment that he has arisen and run off from me so that he doesn't work for you but you talk about the matter. 20. It's not (my) fault.

Nganaséɛ: 21. If (he) should return, for my part I'm through (literally, refuse). 22. Should he return, I'm through. 23. I don't want (anything to do with it).

Boysé: 24. go me bɛ́ bɔ́. 25. ne té+m kpa ŋma kóo íye ndé.
26. mo ne ɔ́ kɛ́ ɛ́ kɪn+εε ge re ɔ́ ne kp-zan kó Nzapá ín mé te kó+a
zéé wen oro-nú+m, na ɔ́ dé mo rɔ́k ʔdé, go+m zók go rɔ́k te+m gɔ́+ti
te+m bá ɔ́ há bém kó+m. 27. ne bó mé bɛ́+á, ne ʔdon-wáá ɔ́ ŋgay
wen ké ré ín+aa, ne né+m kiʔdi ŋma wí-ré zɔ́a.

Nganasé: 28. *bɔ́, go ɔ́ né wen kó mé. 29. gan am rém tɔ́
ŋma mbé wen ín mé ʔbo kpém ná. 30. wen kó+m son+à kɪn+εε.
31. ne gan am kpá wen mó tɔ́ ín mé ʔbo ná.

Boysé: 32. wentí á mé tɔ́+á+ti. 33. go+m kɔ́ ʔdon+áa ʔbo óró mo
ne me tɔ́+á+ti gá. 34. go né+m tom mbéti há ɔ́ ŋmɔ́ŋ ŋmák. 35. go
bɔ́ ɔ́ te ná, sé ga ɔ́ né wen kó+m wen kó né+m tom ŋma ó wí-ré na
ɔ́ ɔ́ ín+aa me+í, te dé mo ŋgay ín+aa me+í ta ɔ́ péé ʔdon. 36. wen
kó+m son+á.

Nganasé: 37. ŋma wen bó ná. 38. ʔbay wen ɔ́+ti.

Boysé: 39. ʔɔ́ ʔbay wen éré hɛr+à zú+ati ne ŋmaa gan bó ʔbo ná.

6. A Good Woman

1. déʔdé kóo ín ʔnán kóo. 2. kóo ne ó tɔ́ wí-ré sá ye ŋmaa ɔ́ né
ʔnán+aa ne ŋmaa ɔ́ ne déʔdé+ta wá+ti. 3. wen kó ŋmaa bó de mo rɔ́k
ʔdé, ga ɔ́ dé kam na ɔ́ há há ó yare kɔ́ ɔ́ yɔ́ŋ ŋmɔ́ŋ ŋmák. 4. ne
hó ɔ́ zók ó wí-ré na ɔ́ mbá wa, na ɔ́ mám mam+ti ín wa rɔ́k ʔdé.

5. ne ɔ́ kó béem hó wa. 6. a sá ɔ́ ye déʔdé kóo. 7. go ó yare kɔ́
ɔ́ bó ba mo, ne té né há ɔ́, gá ye bá ta ɔ́ dé hó ó bém kó yá kó ró,
na ɔ́ dé mo ín ró rɔ́k ʔdé oro há mo há ɔ́ ta ɔ́ dé to ro yɔ́ŋ.

8. ne ɔ́ nóo ne gan dé mo rɔ́ŋ (< rɔ́k) ná+ti ɔ́ ne wí-do náká, gan
ɔ́ há mo há ó yare kɔ́ ɔ́ yɔ́ŋ ná. 9. ne gan ɔ́ kó béem ná. 10. na
ɔ́ dé sen mo dé+ti ŋmɔ́ŋ ŋmák. 11. mo gɔ́y a wa sá ɔ́ ye ge ɔ́ ɔ́ ne
ʔnán kóo. 12. go te-kp-ríp-ó tɔ́ wí-ré, kóo ne bó rɔ́k ʔdé go gba ɔ́
rɔ́k+à óró gende gá sóo gan ɔ́ há mo há ó wí-ré yɔ́ŋ ná, ta ɔ́ kó béem
ná, nde wa sá ɔ́ ye ɔ́ ɔ́ ne ʔnán kóo. 13. ne gan ɔ́ ɔ́ déʔdé kóo ná.

14. go déʔdé kóo kó tɔ́ wí-ré ɔ́ né ɔ́ nóo ne há mo há wí-ré yɔ́ŋ
ne góy ó yare kɛ́ ɛ́, ne mám mam+ti ín wí-ré ne mbá wí-ré rɔ́k ʔdé,
ne dé kusára-ʔdɔ́-fo kó wééy kɛ́ ɛ́. 15. á wa nóo gɔ́y nde wa kó
béem+ti, ó tɔ́ wí-ré sá ye ge wa ɔ́ ne déʔdé kóo.

Boysé: 24. But you're refusing for no reason. 25. And where can I possibly get another wife (that is, for my son)? 26. In view of the fact that now we are together in God, and the wife (of my son) obeys me and works very well, and I look, and it pleases me, I take her for my son. 27. But should you refuse, it's difficult for him and me, and I'll look for another person in vain.

Nganasé: 28. All right, so it's your affair. 29. I can't say one more additional thing to you. 30. What I have to say is finished now. 31. I don't find anything to say to you again.

Boysé: 32. You've spoken. 33. And I agree to what you've said. 34. And I'm going to send him letters all the time. 35. And if he doesn't come, then it's my responsibility to send some people with whom he lives to urge him over there so that he might return. 36. What I have to say is done.

Nganasé: 37. I haven't anything further to say. 38. That's just it.

Boysé: 39. Well, that's all there is to what we've agreed to (literally, tied up) and there's nothing more.

6. A Good Woman

1. A good woman and a bad woman. 2. (This is about) women of whom black people say some are bad and some are good. 3. Because when a woman (literally, some) works well, she makes food and gives it to her brothers-in-law to eat all the time. 4. And when she sees people, she greets them, and she laughs with them nicely. 5. And she bears children for them (her husband's family). 6. (This is the woman) whom they call a good woman. 7. And when her brothers-in-law get something, they bring it to her saying, "Take it and make something for our brother's children, for you work for us well and we give things to you to make for us to eat."

8. And the one who doesn't do things well is the stingy person, and she doesn't give things to her brothers-in-law to eat. 9. And she doesn't bear children. 10. And she's always spiteful. 11. That's why they say of her, "She's a bad woman." 12. So in the eyes of black people, the woman who is very good, no matter how good she is, if she doesn't give things to people to eat, and doesn't bear children, they say of her, "She is a bad woman." 13. She isn't a good woman.

14. So the good woman among black people is the one who gives things to people to eat and loves her brothers-in-law and laughs with people and greets people well and works in her husband's garden. 15. They are the ones thus who bear children, and black people say of them, "They are good women."

7. Why Some Wives Run Away

1. b̄́ ǵ d̄́n̄́ r̄́ k̄́ w̄́éȳ k̄́ ǵ m̄́, n̄́ b̄́ d̄́ p̄́ k̄́p̄́m̄ w̄́énd̄́ ḡ́n̄ w̄́á d̄́+á z̄́e k̄́p̄́m̄, n̄́ ǵ k̄́úú ḡ́ ǵ s̄́í ?d̄́oŋ̄ t̄́-r̄́ k̄́ ȳám k̄́ ǵ m̄́. 2. ḡ́á ȳe w̄́éȳ+i n̄́ ǵ b̄́a+á+i, f̄́o k̄́ ǵ ḡ́n̄ ḡ́ȳ ǵ n̄́á. 3. ḡ́o w̄́a t̄́p̄ ȳe ḡ́e ǵ ǵ 5 n̄́e w̄́í-t̄́p̄ w̄́en, n̄́e ǵ ǵ ḡ́n̄ ǵ z̄́éé t̄́p̄-ǵ n̄́á. 4. n̄́e w̄́óȳ k̄́ ǵ+i r̄́ìk̄ ǵ ñm̄áŋ̄ ñm̄ák̄ d̄́ŋ̄ n̄́é. 5. n̄́e ḡ́n̄ ǵ k̄́p̄á d̄́é+á s̄́aa t̄́e ɔ+á n̄́e ǵ d̄́ŋ̄ ñn̄ w̄́óȳ k̄́ ǵ s̄́en+̄t̄́e-r̄́ k̄́ k̄́p̄-t̄́uwa k̄́ w̄́éȳ k̄́ ǵ n̄́á, w̄́en k̄́ m̄́ n̄́e f̄́o k̄́ ǵ s̄́áá w̄́en ñn̄ ǵ s̄́ár+i.

6. ḡ́o m̄́ ḡ́ȳ, 6 ñmaa b̄́o k̄́p̄ ?d̄́oŋ̄-s̄́i ?d̄́oŋ̄ n̄́á, n̄́e b̄́é ?m̄́n̄ ?m̄́n̄ ḡ́o w̄́a nd̄́ȳ ñḡ́ind̄́á+a s̄́í-?d̄́aȳ há b̄́ol̄5+a ḡ́o b̄́á ḡ́óre+̄w̄́éȳ. 7. n̄́e ñí n̄́e ȳám k̄́ ǵ b̄́o t̄́p̄ m̄́b̄́ora h̄́á ǵ ḡ́o b̄́o t̄́p̄ ȳe ḡ́e b̄́á ǵ b̄́é+á, n̄́e n̄́e ǵ r̄́ìk̄+aa w̄́á+i, á ñí n̄́o+̄i a ȳám k̄́o w̄́a t̄́p̄ w̄́en ñn̄ w̄́a n̄́e ñḡ́aȳ, ḡ́o w̄́a b̄́á w̄́a s̄́í n̄́e ?d̄́oŋ̄ t̄́e-r̄́ k̄́ w̄́éȳ k̄́o w̄́a m̄́e.

8. Gbeya Warfare

1. am̄ k̄́p̄ ?d̄́oŋ̄-us̄́i w̄́en k̄́o b̄́iro, b̄́iȳo-ḡ́b̄́e ñmaa nd̄́e w̄́a ḡ́b̄́é n̄́e s̄́ére+i.

2. k̄́úku-t̄́í-m̄́o, w̄́es̄́é n̄́e ñma w̄́í-r̄́o b̄́o n̄́e ḡ́o nd̄́o k̄́o k̄́o m̄́é, n̄́e ṓr̄́o+̄a+i n̄́e k̄́o k̄́o m̄́é+i b̄́o b̄́a z̄́aŋ̄ ḡ́o k̄́o b̄́éem, ḡ́an̄ b̄́é+a f̄́o w̄́énd̄́é, ḡ́an̄ b̄́éem+i ?m̄́on+à k̄́p̄-z̄́aŋ̄-naa k̄́ ǵ m̄́e ḡ́o ḡ́b̄́in+̄b̄́ ḡ́éé-ǵ w̄́énd̄́é. 3. n̄́e z̄́aŋ̄-w̄́éȳ+aa ȳŋ̄m̄ d̄́5ka. 4. ḡ́o k̄́oo n̄́o b̄́o sa ȳŋ̄n̄-w̄́écȳ n̄́o n̄́e ɔ+à ñn̄+aa+í, n̄́e w̄́écȳ n̄́o z̄́ìk̄ t̄́p̄-ǵ ḡ́o t̄́p̄ h̄́o 6 ȳá k̄́ ǵ, k̄́ín+̄eé w̄́i z̄́ók w̄́í-r̄́é n̄́o ɔ+à ñn̄ k̄́o k̄́o+m̄. 5. ḡ́o n̄́e ?d̄́oŋ̄-w̄́áá n̄́o a k̄́o k̄́o+m̄ sa+à ȳín+aa. 6. ḡ́o b̄́ém̄ n̄́o f̄́e+á. 7. k̄́ín+̄eé ére n̄́e w̄́en+̄b̄́i b̄́iro ñn̄ w̄́a.

8. n̄́e 6 ȳá k̄́ ǵ h̄́ará s̄́on̄ k̄́áȳ s̄́ére n̄́e k̄́áȳ k̄́ura n̄́e k̄́áȳ ñḡ́ér̄o n̄́e k̄́áȳ z̄́om+̄p̄aa ñn̄ 6 b̄́oro-b̄́iro n̄́e z̄́a. 9. ḡ́o w̄́a n̄́e. 10. ḡ́o ḡ́ba w̄́a k̄́pa w̄́éȳ+̄nd̄́o k̄́oo+i n̄́á s̄́o k̄́o w̄́á k̄́pa+á ñma w̄́í-r̄́é z̄́aŋ̄-r̄́é+i r̄́oȳ, ḡ́ende ḡ́á ȳe w̄́í n̄́o nd̄́e+i nd̄́o+á k̄́o k̄́o+m̄ s̄́o k̄́o b̄́ém̄ k̄́o+m̄ f̄́e+á ǵa w̄́á. 11. nd̄́e w̄́a ḡ́b̄́é ǵ, w̄́énd̄́é ḡ́an̄ r̄́íft̄́o w̄́énd̄́é ḡ́án̄ t̄́aa.

12. ḡ́o k̄́uu b̄́ol̄5+a+i, n̄́e 6 w̄́í-r̄́é+i, w̄́í-ḡ́ida k̄́o w̄́a+i, ȳe ḡ́e, 66? ḡ́ba k̄́oo 6r̄́o nd̄́o+à w̄́énd̄́é, n̄́e t̄́e+à w̄́á ḡ́b̄́e ñma r̄́o k̄́p̄ém̄ w̄́énd̄́é ḡ́an̄ r̄́íft̄́o n̄́á w̄́énd̄́é n̄́e k̄́úú w̄́a ḡ́b̄́é r̄́o ḡ́án̄ z̄́ú+a ḡ́áa w̄́énd̄́é. 13. n̄́e d̄́ŋ̄ k̄́o r̄́o. 14. ḡ́o r̄́o k̄́átá k̄́átá ḡ́o k̄́úú n̄́e z̄́e ḡ́o ȳú w̄́aya. 15. ḡ́o t̄́é ḡ́o háȳ k̄́á-z̄́aŋ̄-t̄́uwa k̄́o w̄́a n̄́e ḡ́á+á f̄́ara n̄́e w̄́cs̄́é n̄́e w̄́cs̄́é re+á, ḡ́o f̄́ara 5 m̄́b̄́iri m̄́b̄́iri. 16. t̄́e w̄́es̄́é+a n̄́e b̄́o w̄́á k̄́pa w̄́í-r̄́é, nd̄́e w̄́a r̄́ém̄ ḡ́b̄́e ǵ. 17. nd̄́e w̄́a 5 k̄́á-z̄́aŋ̄-t̄́uwa ḡ́ȳ ḡ́ȳ. 18. ḡ́o b̄́o w̄́á z̄́oŋ̄ (< z̄́ok) ñma w̄́éȳ, nd̄́e w̄́a d̄́ŋ̄m̄+aa. 19. z̄́u-w̄́í-r̄́é r̄́íft̄́o w̄́énd̄́é ḡ́án̄ t̄́aa ḡ́ȳ+i.

7. Why Some Wives Run Away

1. After she has been in her husband's village there, and after she has been there one year or one month, she arises and goes back to her father's village there. 2. (She) says, "The man I married, my in-laws don't love me. 3. And they say that me, I'm a talkative person, and that me, I don't obey. 4. And my husband hits me all the time and keeps on doing it. 5. And I don't find any pleasure to make me to stay with my husband in the village of my husband's house, because my in-laws look for trouble with me."

6. So when some don't want to go back (to the village of their husbands) and categorically refuse, they collect all the money (of the bride-price) given for her and take another person. 7. But the one whose father lays down the law to her and says if she refuses, he'll beat her, this one whose father speaks strongly to her, they take them (such wives who return home) and return them to the villages of their husbands there.

8. Gbeya Warfare

1. I want to explain about fighting, fighting in which people killed each other with spears.

2. First of all, when someone goes and sleeps with your wife, and later your wife conceives and bears a child, the child either dies or else it has its neck broken while it is still in the womb. 3. So the husband is very much upset. 4. And when the wife reveals the name of the man who slept with her, the husband turns to his brothers and says, "Now, look at this man who slept with my wife. 5. That's why my wife revealed his name. 6. The child died. 7. Let's go now and fight with them."

8. And all his brothers grab spears, arrows, shields, swords and other weapons, and throwing knives. 9. And they go. 10. If they don't find the man who had relations with the woman, but find some other villagers, they say, "You are the ones who had relations with my wife so that my child died." 11. And they kill him, or (even) two or three of them.

12. And after that, their enemies say, "What! Even if we had slept with a woman, they might have come and killed one or two, but why is it that they come and kill so many?" 13. They are together. 14. Then they meet (in a body), arise at night and go secretly. 15. They come and crawl up to their (enemies') houses, at dusk, when the sun has set and it's darkish. 16. At that time, if they find somebody, they can kill him. 17. And they stay near the houses like that a long time. 18. And if they see a man, they spear him. 19. Two or three fall on him in this manner. 20. And when the people come

20. ó dǵr+á wí-ré bó dik wéy gbim, nde wa yú wóró go wa kíʔdí wa zǵa.

21. nde wa sáá sék ʔbo gende gá ye, go wí-re nǒo á ndo+á kó kó ró só kó bém kó ró fe+á go ró ne+á biró+a+i ná wéndé. 22. ne wen-ge a té wa gbé mbé+a ró é zú+a ʔbo gáá ge ndé. 23. nde wa kúú, go wa né. 24. go wa kíʔdí ó wí-gida kó wa nǒo wen-gbe wa.

25. ne ɲma ʔdoŋ-wáá kó biro. 26. ó né wesé-dǵs. 27. ne bó wá no dǵs, go bó wá ba dǵs né zu-mé. 28. gó gan wa há go me nǒ ná. 29. ne kuu oró+a+i ne zaŋ-mé yǹm dǒka. 30. mé ye ǰ ǰ ó ne wí-de yǹná. 31. ǰ té gǰ ǰ sóy nde wa bá dǵs né zu-ǰ gǰy. 32. geʔdé+a a wa ʔdú go wa bá hǰ ǰ wéndé. 33. go bó wá tǵ wen gó zaŋ-mé bó de da, ne me dǹm wa, me gbé. 34. go me yú me sí. 35. go wa yú wayá+a wa né né gǰy gǰy. . . . 36. bó ɔ ne yó+á mo kó mé ná, go ó né sera kó mé wen-zu yǹná kó wa gǰy nde wa do+à mé, a bó mé gbe wa wen+áa, nde wa yú wayá+a go wa gbé wí-ré taa wéndé gan nǵá wéndé gán mǵoró.

37. ne ɲma ʔdoŋ-wáá kó biro. 38. ó ne wí-ré nǒo ne gbe+à ó wí-ré kó mé ʔbéé tí, gó gan gɔn kǒʔdá+a ná+i. 39. bó mé kpa ǵ rékét fara-ne kofe, wéndé gán me kpá ǵ, gǵ ǵ ne+à ré kó ré-naa kǵ ǵ, ne me nǒn me tǵ há ó yǵ kó mé, zók, ǵ nǒo nǵ ǵ gbe+à ré+i aa (< a + ǵ) né+i. 40. nde wa á tí-wáá, go wa gbé ǵ. 41. ne oró+a+i, ne ó bé-kó kǵ ǵ ne ó zaŋ-ré+i yú tom go né tǵ há ó yǵ kǵ ǰ gá ye aáye ne te+á kofe dǵye, kíntee ó wí-gida gbe+á ǵ.

42. goʔdo-wen-biro ne gbe+á ɲmaá ɔ+á sené te-tíi ǵ+i. 43. nú-wen ne gan+à sǒn ó né ʔdoŋ-wáá kó ndó+á kóo, wéndé gan né ʔdoŋ-wáá wen-doo dǵs há éé-ɲmaá, . . . wéndé gan né ʔdoŋ-wáá wen-gbe mo-day kó ɲmaá.

9. Gbeya Adornment

1. kíntee né+m tǵ wen kó mo-a te, mo-mǵarti kó ó sók+á+i ké ré ne mǵr+á te-tíi.

2. te-wesè kó ó sók+á+i ké ré, mo-mǵarti kó wa ɔ+á ne iyó-te.

3. ó ɲmaa ɲmgbó zǒɔrɔ go mǵá. 4. go mǵá te ɔ+á nde wa zǹm ne fón wéndé gán te wa zǹm né yok. 5. ne kpás+á mo-mǵarti ne dǹŋ wa mǵá+i ó ne túrú-rǵama. . . .

6. ne kó ó kó ké ré, á kó ró kakó, lǹmgbé, wéndé gan kéré, wéndé gán gbogbol. 7. ne oró+a+i nde wa kíʔdí ʔdoŋ-wáá wen-mǵa sé te ɔ+á ne ʔmǵé mo-foyo kó wa sí-ʔday. 8. ó mo-mǵarti kó ó kpás+á+i ké ré ne mǵr+á te-tíi ǵ+i.

running, they flee helter-skelter, and they (the villagers) look for them in vain.

21. And they (the villagers) think and say, "These people, aren't they the ones who slept with our woman so that the child died, and we went a-fighting? 22. And why is it that they come and kill some more of us and add to the mischief in this manner?" 23. So they get up and go. 24. They search for these enemies of theirs to kill them.

25. And here's another way that wars started. 26. Say it's a day of beer-drinking. 27. So they drink beer and pass you up. 28. And they don't give you any to drink. 29. As a result, you are upset. 30. You say, "Me, I'm a producer of food. 31. I come and sit down, and they pass me up. 32. They scoop up the dregs and give to me, do they!" 33. They say things to you so that you get angry, and you spear them, and kill them. 34. Then you flee and return home. 35. So they come secretly on and on. 36. If it's not your fault (that is, you may not have done some evil to them previously), but you have a desire to steal the food of those who kept you from drinking, so when you kill them for it, they come secretly and kill three or four or five people.

37. And here's another way wars started. 38. There's a man who killed one of your family a long time ago, but he didn't pay the ransom. 39. And so if you catch him going to his in-laws, or should you find him at his mother's village, you conspire with your brothers, saying, "Look, there goes the one who killed one of us long ago." 40. Then they set an ambush and kill him. 41. Then girls who are related to him in the village run and tell their brothers, "The one who was coming here about getting married, well, the enemies killed him."

42. Those are the reasons for fights in which people killed each other long ago. 43. The most important ones were for sleeping with a woman or for keeping beer from each other, or for killing each others' stock.

9. Gbeya Adornment

1. Now I'm going to talk about things to put on, things which our elders wrapped on long ago.

2. In the days of our elders the thing they wrapped on was bark. 3. Some pounded the zóro tree and put on its bark. 4. They put it on so that they might abstain from their wives because of grain sorghum or because of traps. 5. And the real thing they used to put on was cotton cloth.

6. And our women used to put on skirts of leaves—lúnmgbé or kéra or gbogbol. 7. Then they sought some means of covering up their shameful parts. 8. That's what our elders put on long ago.

9. ne mo'-de bisá+a, wéey bó ne kofe, ne tók túrú-tende, tende-
 ?bé?bé wéndé gán gba tende. 10. go tón ne túrú-rama go mǎá.
 11. nde wa bá dela kú-wa. 12. nde wa dé tan'-wa ne mbónǵó wéndé
 gán ne gúdam. 13. nde wa á mo zera'-wa. 14. nde wa á ngabala
 sen-te'-zpm'-wa. 15. nde wa zú mǔrú te-wéey-ndú-wa, sé te ɔ+á
 nde wa né né kofe. 16. nde wa ndóó tan'-wa né gbiro'-fo. 17. sé
 te ɔ+á ne kóo+í bó zok, nde wa de+á bisa gǵy, tǵ ǵ rém ba wa.
 18. wa ?búk zom'-paa, go wa á fore ?doŋ+áa. 19. nde wa ?bún
 (< ?búk) ndee, nde wa bá sére kpém. 20. go wa né né kofe kó wa.
 21. gende gá mo'-mǵar+i kó ó sók+á+i ké ré te-tíi ǵ+i.

22. ne oró+a+í ne ó kó+a ?dáfi kó ró. 23. go rífi ŋma péé gǵy
 go kǵá sǵyú sǵyú. 24. go sá ye ge gbelek ǵ+i. 25. go mǎá. 26.
 ne gan wa ŋ ?doŋ-wáá kó dé?dé mo'-mǵar+i ná. 27. go ó ŋmaa dé
 kó ró tende, go yúu péé sené. 28. go sá gá+y da?doŋ. 29. go mǎá
 te-nú-ge?de-ró. 30. nde wa mǎá gbelek+í sen-te-tí-wa. 31. nde
 wa é kuro te'-wa. 32. nde wa dé tan'-wa. 33. nde wa ?dáfi ŋma
 dé?dé kofo. 34. go wa ?dáfi, go wa hǵé dǵó-tí-wa ndéér. 35. sé
 te sá gende gá ye zónǵá kó aáye nǵo dé zónǵá ?dé. 36. nde wa á káná
 te-éé-wa. 37. ne oró+a+í nde wa á ngabala te'-zpm'-wa. 38. nde wa
 ?dóy zera'-wa go wa á ó mo'-de zónǵá sené.

39. gó kuu oró+a+í ne wéey nǵo bó te go bó zok gǵy, gende gá ye
 dé?dé zónǵá kó aáye nǵo wá. 40. ne kóo+í bó zok bisa nǵo ne wéey
 de+á gǵy, ne kóo+í tǵ gende gá ye, dé?dé bisa kó aáye nǵo. 41. gende
 gá go?dó-wen'-ba ŋmaa kó wéey ín kóo te'-wesé kó ó sók+á+i ké ré ǵ+i.
 42. ne gan wa ŋ ?doŋ-wáá wen'-mǵa dé?dé mo'-mǵar+i óró ǵé ne kó
 kín+εε gá ná.

43. ne mo'-ɔ+i kó wa ó né kan. 44. nde wa sín ŋma te ŋmí?ní
 ŋmí?ní, go wa á te'-?doo. 45. go zǵ ŋma dǵ te. 46. go wa sá ye
 ge gan dok. 47. nde wa sín kan go wa pí sen-te'-guro kó wa me, go
 té gǵy gǵy te'-?doo na. 48. go wa sá gende gá ye ge kóó-geegezí ǵ+i.
 49. gende gá ó mo te'-wesé kó ó kpás+á+i ké ré ne de+á ǵ+i.

50. mo gǵy, kín+εε nǵo, éré kpa+á ?doŋ-wáá wen'-de geegezí ne
 túrú wéndé gán wen'-kpe tuwa né gey. 51. go ǵ mo kó tí nde re
 de+á+i rpk+á *me gan rpk gán són ná. 52. me rpk gán són ó ne kó
 kín+εε nǵo.

10. The Annual Grass-Burning

1. wen kó yarí. 2. yarí ó ne mo'-too te. 3. gó wesé ne bó mé
 ne yarí, ne ó ne mo'-too te wen'-ba mo yǵŋ.

9. As for the adornment of young men—. When a lad was getting married, he would weave a cotton clout, ʔbɛʔbɛ or gba tɛnde. 10. They'd weave it into a clout and put it on. 11. They put bands on their legs. 12. They fixed their hair either the mbɔ́ngó (description unavailable) or gúdám (lines from front to back) fashion. 13. They put things in their ears. 14. They put nose plugs in their nostrils. 15. They stuck things in their lips, so that they might go to their in-laws'. 16. They twisted their hair with (fibers from the) gbiro²-fo tree. 17. Then the girls would see them all dressed up like that, that she (lapse for they) can marry them. 18. They would carry a big knife and put lime on the blade. 19. They'd carry a quiver and one spear. 20. They'd go with these to their in-laws'. 21. That's what our elders wore long ago.

22. Moreover, the women for their part would fix up. 23. They'd make some string and tie it tightly. 24. This is called a gbɛlɛk. 25. They'd put it on. 26. They didn't know anything of good clothes. 27. Some prepared cotton and put a string through it. 28. They called this daʔdoŋ. 29. They put this over their anus. 30. They put the gbɛlɛk in front. 31. They put camwood powder on themselves. 32. They fixed their hair. 33. They fixed some good cowry shells. 34. They fixed them and put them on their foreheads. 35. Then people would say, "So-and-so's girl is really dressed up." 36. And they put bracelets on their arms. 37. They also put ngabala in their nostrils. 38. They pierced their ears and put in things to make them look nice.

39. So when this fellow would see the girl, he'd say, "So-and-so's daughter is nice-looking." 40. And when the girl sees the adornment which the young man had put on in this way, the girl would say, "So-and-so's son is nice-looking." 41. That's the explanation of marriage in the days of our elders. 42. They didn't know anything about putting on good clothes like today's.

43. Their beds were stalks. 44. They tied sticks together tightly and put it down. 45. They'd stick some short sticks in the ground. 46. They called this a gan dok. 47. They tied stalks (together, making a screen) and put them on (that is, hang from) the storage rack so that (the screen) fell to the ground. 48. They called this kóó-geegezí. 49. These are the things our elders made in their day.

50. So now we have found a way to make beds (or mattresses?) out of cloth and to fix our houses with mud. 51. The things we did long ago were good, but they weren't exceptionally good. 52. The best things are today's.

10. The Annual Grass-Burning

1. This is about hunting. 2. Hunting is something to get excited about. 3. And when you go hunting, it's something to get happy about because of getting something to eat.

4. gó wesé ne bó wá kɔ náǵá wen-te wa yáá yari, ne ŋma wí-ré bá gbíya. 5. gá ǵ tǵ ye ge ǵè nǵó ó ne zǵ kǵ ǵ ǵ+i. 6. gá ǵ káy dal rífto, ná ǵ mǵy ó nam kǵ ǵ, ne ó ŋma nú-wey kǵ ǵ, go wa zík tí-gbíya kǵ ǵ. 7. ná ǵ há oro-nú wen-ne mbó wá wa. . . . 8. wa bá zawa, nde wa gí waa. 9. gá ǵ há oro-nú há kó kǵ ǵ te ǵ+á ne gí waa, te ndé wá per-tá nde wa yǵŋ. 10. nde wa káy gba zawa. 11. nde wa zǵ goro. 12. go wa á kp-mo, á kp-daná, gó ŋma béem bá go ǵbúk. 13. nde wa bá dal+i, ne dǵŋ wa mbéé. 14. nde wa bá ǵdoŋ-ré nde wa lǵŋgí. 15. dǵŋ wa né sené. 16. nde wa sá gima. 17. go wa bá gima-ŋgan wí. 18. go dǵŋ wa sá gima fu, fu, fu, fu fu. 19. dǵŋ wa né né. 20. géé-wa dǵŋ wéé ŋmgbǵbók, ŋmgbǵŋ ŋmgbǵbo. 21. wí-ré zéé géé-wa. 22. go bó wá ho sen-te-zǵŋ-ré, ne ó ŋma wí-zǵŋ-ré kúú ne wé tí-wa ne dé too te ín wa. 23. gende gá ye ge, ǵè nǵó ó ne gbíya kó ró oro bá. 24. go wa zík tí-gbíya gǵy.
25. go mbóro bó dé+á+a, nde wa zik+ò nú-gbíya kó wa+i kpá, ǵmón ne gendé nde wa gbó te-zǵŋ-ré, ne mbóro, gende gá wá yǵŋ+á goro nde wa a+à kp-daná ín gba zawati són. 26. ne ǵmón ne bó wá gbo ré, gende gá kó kó wan gbíya+i á gi+ó waa+i, ná ǵ káy hó wa, go ó béem ne zik+ò tí-gbíya ín+aa+i. 27. wa yǵŋ. 28. gá ǵ dǵ tí-gbíya kǵ ǵ gǵy gǵy.
29. gó bere bó dé+á, wesé-do gbíya bó rém+á+a, ná ǵ káy ŋgaragé, gá ǵ há oro-nú hó wa wen-mǵy te-nú-tuwa kǵ ǵ. 30. ne wan gbíya a bá geze-sunu kǵ ǵ é nu, gá ǵ gbó zú+ta gunduŋ, gá ǵ dé né kam há ó ŋgaragé kǵ ǵ go yǵŋ. 31. go dǵŋ wa mbéé gata. 32. wa mǵá kísi. 33. go dǵŋ wa dé too te. 34. wa yó yora. 35. wa dé gǵ wen kó mo nǵó nde wa hc+d+á mǵ do gbíya mbó wá gbe sa?de mbó wá yǵŋ+á+a. 36. go bó wá yo ŋgaragé rém, gende gǵ ǵ kay+à ó wí-ré gó dǵr+á, mǵ rém mǵ do gbíya+i, . . . ná ǵ tǵ hó ó koy-wí-ré kǵ ǵ ne koy-ó dǵr+á wí-ré són zéé hǵr+á.
37. gó ze ne bó ndé wá do ne gbíya+i. 38. ne fara sá, nde wa yú tí-gbíya. 39. go bó wá zik nú-gbíya kpá són, nde wa á wey te-gbíya go wa dǵ. 40. go bó wá do zǵ nǵó, . . . wan gbíya+i ye ge wa nde wa yá kó wa né ǵdoǵ-búk+i a kǵn wa dǵ tí. 41. wa nde wa yá né ǵdoǵ-búk+i wa dǵ ne yǵl+á nú+ta, ne dúr+ó+i. 42. a é ŋma wí-ré sené, wí-mbó+á zu. 43. gó ǵ nǵó+i aa (< a + ǵ) dǵ. 44. ne ǵ ná ǵ dǵŋ ŋgondo+i, wan gbíya dǵŋ ín+aa. 45. gende gó wá ǵdaf+á gam guram, gó wá a+á sen-te-kǵ-kó?bo rífto. 46. ǵmon+á go wa yáá né sen-te-zǵfara-ŋgondo+i. 47. go bó wá do gbíya wa té gǵy, go bó wá he?di ín ŋgondo dǵǵ, nde wa pí nú-kan nu. 48. go ǵmon+á go wa

4. When they begin to go hunting, someone assumes supervision of the hunting area. 5. He says that this is his grass. 6. He gets two dal drums, and he gathers his family and some of his clansmen, and they make a circuit of his area. 7. And he instructs them to go and hoe. . . . 8. They take peanuts, and they cook beans. 9. And he instructs his wife to cook beans, so that when they return, they will eat. 10. They take gba zawa (ground-nuts). 11. They dig up yams. 12. They put them away, that is, they put them in a sack, and a child takes it and slings it over his shoulder. 13. And they take the drum and begin to beat it. 14. They go behind the village and go on. 15. They go on in this way. 16. They sing songs. 17. They take up the ngan wí song. 18. They go on singing fu fu fu fu. 19. They go on and on. 20. Their voices go ngmgbòbòk (onomatopoeic of many voices). 21. People hear their voices. 22. And when they come to the village, some villagers get up and meet them and carry on with them. 23. They say, "This is our hunting area, we take it." 24. They make a circuit of the area in this way.

25. So when it's evening, after they have made a complete circuit of their area, that is to say, they arrive at the village in the evening, in other words, they ate the yams which they put in the sack along with the groundnuts. 26. And when they arrive in the village, in other words, the wife of the master of the area has cooked the beans, and she gives (the beans) to them and the youngsters who made the circuit with him. 27. They eat.

28. So he (the master of the gbíya) burns the edge of his area in this way. 29. And when the dry season has come, when it's time to burn the area, he takes some ngaragé society members and instructs them to meet at his house. 30. The master of the gbíya takes a basket of sesame and opens it up pow! and he has it prepared for his ngaragé hunters, and they eat. 31. And they begin to beat the gata drum (after they have eaten). 32. They tic on beads. 33. They begin to celebrate. 34. They dance. 35. They have a lot of fun, because they are getting near to burning the area to kill animals to eat. 36. When they have danced enough of the ngaragé dance, in other words, he (the master) has taken a lot of people, enough to burn the area, and he tells all of the rest of his people, and all the rest of the many people hear about it (those in neighboring villages hear of the affair).

37. And that's on the night before they are going to burn the area. 38. Day breaks, and they hurry around the limits of the area. 39. And when they have made a complete circuit of the area, they set fire to the area, and they burn it. 40. So when they have set fire to this grass, . . . the master of the gbíya says, "They who remain beneath (downwind?) the wind, now they should burn first. 41. Those who remain beneath the wind should burn the long unburnt areas." 42. He puts somebody there, a trustworthy person. 43. He's the one who sets it afire. 44. The one who is in the ngondo (the direction from which the wind is blowing), he's the one with whom the master of the gbíya waits. 45. In other words, they have prepared the whirlwind (see Vocabularies) and have put it in two kó'bo tree nuts. 46. They continue on their way with them (the nuts) to the ngondo. 47. So after they set fire to the area, they come like that, and when they come close to the ngondo area they put the ends of the stalks to the ground (to set fire to the grass). 48. They

ngém há wey-gbíya mpy te'-saŋa sé. 49. gó wey bó mpy te'-saŋa, go bó ?bo kokoroŋ kor, gende gá wan gbíya zok+á gende gá, rem+à mǎ á pí gam guram ǎ+i. 50. ne ?món ne kote wí-pí gam guram+i, ǎ bá kó+a tí, gǎ ǎ pí hóvóvó. 51. ?món nǎ ǎ ró né ŋma gǎs+á te vōŋ. 52. a mbǎŋ. 53. ne ?món ne bá ǎ ba wéey+aa. 54. íŋáá pí bǎlǎ+á hóvóvó, nǎ ǎ ró né te+i vōŋ. 55. a mbǎŋ. 56. ne ?món ne gendé ne bó wá e wey sen-te'-bonó+á vip . . . bǎ ǎ gom tut, ne ?món ne wey bó kpa ŋmaá gbōŋgom bonó+á ne gam guram bó zụ nu ?muŋ. 57. géé-gam guram dụn wéé gbi gbi gbi, gbi gbi gbi, gbíígbíí. 58. gende gá ó wí-ne yarí bó zee géé-gam guram bó dụn npy ?diriri ?diriri gpy gende gá, ó wí-yarí kǎl+à kǎlá kǎlá. 59. jí de+á tǎ-ǎ ne wéey. 60. jí de+á tǎ-ǎ ne wéey. 61. te'-wa dụn nǎk yatete. 62. dụn wa gbó'dí sére mǎ sem sem, sem sem. 63. dụn wa háy ?dǎo'-wey nǎo mǎ gǎreŋ, gǎreŋ gǎreŋ. 64. wí-ré kǎé mǎ, á íye. 65. jí kǎé á íye. 66. gan ǎ a tǎ ǎ ho tǎ-ǎ+i wéndé, gan ǎ a tǎ ǎ ho tǎ-ǎ+i wéndé. 67. ne wí-ré sǎn ne zik+ò tí-gbíya+i, wa yá ne wéey wéey sǎn, wen kó mǎ ne gam guram hé mǎ gó gan rém ná. 68. te bó zok gende gá ŋma gǎs+á sa?de á gam guram ?mǎr+á gó dụn dǎ ǎ. 69. dǎ ǎ né né gpy gpy gó ber+á ǎ go te'-ǎ tų+ù kpōŋ. 70. sa?de bó góm+á+a, ?món ne gendé ne ŋma wí-ré bó ho her, ne dým+aa vǎy. 71. ne ?món nǎ ǎ hé zú+a gbél. 72. gende gá gam guram ne+à ndé wa ŋgóróm, ŋgóróm. 73. go dụn wa té ko?dǎo, ko?dǎo ko?dǎo. 74. dụn wa dým wa. 75. ?mon+á go dụn wa yú wey wa né+i, né+i né+i.

76. gó zee wey+i bó kpa gbōŋgom, gende gá fara kó sa?de ne bá ǎ kpa sené gó gam guram bó zok kpás+á ó sa?de+i, bó ǎ zan+áa ne mbéte, gam guram á do+á wa né né gpy gpy. 77. né ne ó ndarà nǎo. 78. mpy zak'-wa, kpó né ŋmaá. 79. bo+á ne ó mboró nǎ ǎ mpy tǎi'-wa nǎo gǎo gǎ ǎ kpó né ŋmaá. 80. bo+á te nǎ ǎ kpó né ŋmaá. . . . 81. ?món nde wa gbé sa?de te-wár+i, wár+i, wár+i. 82. dụn wa gbúú te-wár+i, wár+i wár+i. 83. bo+á wen kó bé-sa?de ne gan zǎn ná. 84. wa gbé sa?de. 85. mbóro bó dé+á+a, nde wa ó nu. 86. káy sa?de+i go sí go wa yǎŋ.

87. gó fara bó sá+ára, nde wa né ba tí-wey. 88. gende gá gam guram de+á mǎ né sa?de zéé gan rém ná 89. wa nǎo ne wey ber+á wa gó hǎf+à kátó-éé-wa sené hóvó hóvó, hay+á gó ne+á go wa gú ?dǎo'-waka wéndé, nde wa gbé wa. 90. gán wá ?mon+á gó wá re+á ?dǎo'-poo wéndé, go bó wá kpa wa ne dụn wa né ko?dǎo ko?dǎo, nde wa gbé wa. 91. go wa sí né te-ré go dụn wa yǎŋ.

92. gó wesé kó gbíya ó ne mǎ-too te. 93. go bó mé ne yarí, ne né mé kpa sa?de mǎ mé si mǎ mé yǎŋ+á. 94. ne wesé-yora me né, ne gan né mé kpa mǎ mǎ mé yǎŋ óró mǎ ne wesé-gbíya gá ná. 95. ne wesé-gbíya ó né too te. 96. gó *kaméem wí-ré ne yó yora

continue to wait for the fire of the area to meet in the center. 49. So when the fire meets in the center and makes a circle, in other words, the master of the area has decided, in other words, that he can throw in the whirlwind. 50. Just then the master-thrower of the whirlwind takes the female one first and throws it forcefully. 51. Just like that, he smashes it against a large tree; crash! 52. It breaks open. 53. Then he takes the male one and throws it forcefully. 54. He smashes it against a tree; crash! 55. It breaks open. 56. Then, in other words, when they set fire after he's done this, then when he jumps out of the way suddenly, then when the fire meets *gbonggom* (onomatopoeic for loud noise) after he's done this, the whirlwind descends *?mun* (onomatopoeic of certain noise). 57. The voice of the whirlwind makes a noise *gbi gbi gbi* (onomatopoeia). 58. In other words, when the hunters hear the voice of the whirlwind rumbling *?diriri* (onomatopoeia) like that, in other words, the hunters are happy. 59. That one acts like a man. 60. That one (a man) acts like a man. 61. Their bodies tremble *yetete*. 62. They continue to grab their spears (that is, to make them tremble) *sem sem*. 63. They continue to stoop beneath this fire rapidly. 64. One man looks over there. 65. That man looks over there: 66. "Is it (the animal) going to come out by me?" 67. And all the people who encircled the area, they all stand in a manly way because the whirlwind is making a terrible noise. 68. So when you look, in other words, the whirlwind has stopped a large animal and is burning it. 69. It burns it and burns it so that its body is completely black. 70. When the animal tries to escape, in other words, someone comes out (and cuts it off) and spears it forcefully. 71. The man cries out. 72. In other words, the whirlwind has gone on with all the animals. 73. So they (the animals) come perseveringly. 74. The people go on spearing them. 75. And they go on running after the fire.

76. When the people hear the fire meet *gbonggom* (onomatopoeia), that's to say, the place where the animals are, when the fire meets there, when the whirlwind sees the animals, when they are really there, the whirlwind has burnt them and continues to do so. 77. It took these buffalo. 78. It brought their horns together and tied them all up. 79. In the case of red monkeys, it gathers their tails and ties them up. 80. In the case of trees, it ties them up. . . . 81. They kill animals on this side and that side. 82. They drag them from this side and that. 83. In the case of small animals, they don't bother with them. 84. They kill animals. 85. When it's evening, they lie down. 86. They take the meat back and eat it.

87. The next day they go to examine the fire. 88. In other words, the whirlwind really did a lot to the animals yesterday. . . . 89. They crawl and crouch down in the burnt grass and kill some of those (animals) which the fire burned and peeled off their hooves. 90. If they were still alive and had entered a gallery-forest, when the people would find them marching off, they'd kill them. 91. They take (the meat) back and eat it.

92. The *gbiya* days are a lot of fun. 93. If you go hunting, you will get animals to take back and eat. 94. When you go to dances, you won't get anything as on the day of the *gbiya*. 95. The *gbiya* days are a lot of fun. 96. And even if someone hasn't danced but has gone to the *gbiya*, they all go

ná, gó ne+á sen-te-gbíya, nde wa són wa né te-sené, wa gbé sa?de.
 97. go wa sí go wa yǝŋ. 98. go gbíya ó ne mo-too te kó ó tú wí-ré
 ne dé saa wen+áa. 99. go bó zee ye ge, wí-ré ba+à gbíya nde wa
 dé gǝ+ta te ɔ+á nde wa kpá mo sené te wa yǝŋ.

11. The Origin of Rivers and Islands

1. kúku-tí ?béé, ne ri gan bó senè ná, gó Gbagbasɔ á rɔm+ó ri
 ne gǝsá kere. 2. ne ó wí-ré gan kpá ri mó nó+á ná. 3. go hé ri
 ín+aa hé+ti lɛŋgéré lɛŋgéré. 4. ne gan ɔ há ri hó wa dók wen-mo
 nde wa há hǝ ɔ tǝ ɔ há ri hó wa wen-nó+á+ta+i ná.

5. gó wan to kpá ri mó no ín bém kǝ ǝ ná. 6. gó ye ge ge a nǝ
 ǝ de né Gbagbasɔ, sé te ɔ+á ne úsí fara-ri nó to ro nó ŋmǝŋ ŋmǝk
 ge ndé.

7. ne ó wí-ré bó ne te-te-ɔ me, nǝ ɔ há ri hó wa dón (< dók) ná.
 8. gó Gbagbasɔ dóó ri dór+ti há éé-ó wí-ré go é wen kǝ ǝ ín kó kǝ
 ǝ ne bém kǝ ǝ.

9. ne wan to tó fire go á tón sené. 10. go mbó?dí fire go né dán
 gola kó Gbagbasɔ ne dùŋ ?dɔr+áa go fán né mo kǝ ǝ ŋmǝŋ ŋmǝk+ti,
 tóko wéndé gan yéré, wéndé gán gagi?da. 11. ne Gbagbasɔ fán.
 12. wan to hó ne zu-ze ?néŋ. 13. go né. 14. go né dán gola kǝ ɔ
 nǝ ɔ dùŋ ?dɔr+áa só kǝ ɔ fán né mo+í. 15. go dùŋ sen-te-sara-te+í
 né sera-zu-ɔ ŋgón me.

16. go bǝ á te mǝ ǝ dùŋ sené, nǝ ɔ dùŋ ɔ fán ó tóko kǝ ɔ sen-
 te-?dɔɔ-gíro-gola+ti. 17. ne wan to ?bíí fire+ti ne yǝŋ, ne dùŋ pí nu.
 18. ne ó toró kǝ ɔ ne yá kǝ-te-ɔ+ti bá fire+ti, ne dùŋ yǝŋ ŋmaà wen+áa.
 19. nde wa yǝŋ fire+ti són. 20. ne wan to ?bíí mbé+ta ne pí nu. 21.
 ne Gbagbasɔ tǝ+y, ?mní?. 22. ge ó toró nó+ti yǝŋ gǝy só kó ?mɔn+á
 go wa yǝŋ ŋmaà wen+áa, ne zók fara-mo+í ne té+ti ná, ne hó ne ŋgón
 me, ne téŋ (< ték) nu só kó toró+ti dùŋ nǝá ŋmaà wen+áa go yǝŋ gǝy
 ge ndé.

23. ne wan to bó pí mbé+ta nu ?dɔŋ+e, nǝ ɔ yǝy é+aa, gǝ ɔ bá éé-ó
 toró+ti. 24. gǝ ɔ nún a zók. 25. bǝ ǝ nún nó+a, ne nún sǝa. 26. gǝ
 ye tǝ ǝ yǝŋ táá ǝ zók ne mo nó+ti dé rɔɔ. 27. ó toró yǝŋ go ?mɔn+á
 go nǝá ŋmaà wen+áa gǝɔ. 28. ne Gbagbasɔ bá fire+ti go yǝŋ. 29. ne
 wan to ?bíí mbé+ta pí nu ?bo. 30. nǝ ɔ bá nǝ ɔ yǝŋ. 31. ne ǝé ne ó

there, they kill animals. 97. They return and eat. 98. And the gbíya is a lot of fun, and black people rejoice because of it. 99. When they hear that a person has assumed the gbíya, they are happy, because they will get meat and eat it.

11. The Origin of Rivers and Islands

1. A long time ago there was no water, because Gbagbasɔ had collected it all in very large pots. 2. Consequently, people didn't find water to drink. 3. They had to buy it from him a little at a time. 4. He didn't give them a lot of water for the things they gave him in order that he might give them water to drink.

5. So Wanto didn't get any water so that he and his children could drink. 6. So he said, "What am I going to do to Gbagbasɔ to make him show me where this water is so that we could always drink?"

7. People went to Gbagbasɔ, and he didn't give them very much water. 8. Gbagbasɔ kept water from people for himself, his wife, and his children.

9. And Wanto made some (peanut) paste and put salt in it. 10. He made balls of the paste and climbed Gbagbasɔ's gola tree underneath which he always sat and wove things: sleeping mats, yéré baskets, or wall mats. 11. Gbagbasɔ was weaving. 12. Wanto got up very early in the morning. 13. He went. 14. He went and climbed Gbagbasɔ's trec underneath which he sat and wove. 15. And Wanto sat there on a fork of the tree right above Gbagbasɔ.

16. And after Gbagbasɔ came to sit there, he began to weave his mats in the shade of the gola trec. 17. And Wanto broke off a piece of the paste, tasted it, and threw it down. 18. Now Gbagbasɔ's dogs which were sitting there beside him snatched up the paste and began to bite each other for it. 19. And they ate it all up. 20. And Wanto broke off some more and threw it down. 21. And Gbagbasɔ said, "What's this? 22. What are the dogs eating here that they are biting each other and yet I don't see what it is that's coming from above and falls on the ground so that the dogs are fighting over it and eating here?"

23. And when Wanto had thrown some more down, Gbagbasɔ reached out and grabbed the paws of the dogs. 24. He smelled and examined it. 25. He smelled the oil and it smelled sweet. 26. He said, "Perhaps I should eat some to see, for this thing is good. 27. That's why the dogs are eating it and fighting over it." 28. So Gbagbasɔ took the paste and ate it. 29. Then Wanto broke off some more and threw it down also. 30. And Gbagbasɔ took the paste and ate it. 31. And since the dogs continued to take it and eat it, for he didn't chase them away, when Wanto broke off some more and threw it down, he

toro dɔŋ+ɔ bá ne yɔŋ na ɔ fó wa há senè ná, ne wan to bó ?bii mbé+á pɪ nu na ɔ ndák ó toró+ti sí-?day ne ɔ bá na ɔ yɔŋ.

32. gɔy ne nú-ŋgu?dú-ɔ dɔm+à túlúlú. 33. ne hɛ́é gbé ɔ wen kó mo na ɔ sam+á fire ne wan to ?bir+ò á nu+i kóó yɛ́é gó gan ɔ kpá ri má ɛ́ nɔ+á ná. 34. gɔ ɔ kúú ?bet. 35. gɔ ɔ bá tóko ká ɔ, ɔ é ŋgón, na ɔ bá danà ká ɔ, go ?búk. 36. gɔ ɔ kúú gɔ ɔ né óró ná ɛ́ ne óró Laagata nɔ me gɔ+ɔi gá. 37. na ɔ dé *maléé né me wen-?doŋ bi wen-te wen-ri ɛ́+i. 38. né go né ɔ yóó me gɔ ɔ péé ?doŋ ge?dék, ge?dék ge?dék. 39. go te+á gɔ ɔ hɪy mo há nú-ri+i ne ɔ rɪm+ɔ ne gɔ́sá keɛ ?doŋ kpém gá ɛ́ hɪs+ɔ+i. 40. ?món ká-ré ká ɔ dɪye+i. 41. gɔ ɔ nɔ ŋma gɔy. 42. na ɔ bá ?doŋ-wáá gɔ ɔ bíí né oro-ɔ me. 43. gɔ ɔ péé ?doŋ te-?doo-?gala ká ɔ.

44. ne wan to dɔŋ né sara-te me ne zɔk+á fara-ri+i na ɔ ne+á wen+áa gó ne+á ɔ nɔ+ti són. 45. ne bó dɔŋ ɔ péé ?doŋ ne wan to zɪí kɛ́ ɛ́ go gɔ?bí ne ká-te go sí ?doŋ te-oro-ɔ me mɔ ne ?buri kpána-ri+i á zɔ. 46. ne bá ɛ́ pɛe go bá ɛ́ soy nu, ne wan to bá mo+ɔye kɛ́ ɛ́, bá bé-duk kɛ́ ɛ́, go né go né rɪk gɔ́sá keɛ+ti ne oro-ri+i puya, rɪk puya, rɪk puya, ne ri fók á nu né yeŋ, yoŋ yoŋ yoŋ yoŋ.

47. ne Gbagbasɔ bó zɔk+á. 48. ne óó? ne wan to ?bur+ó ri+i á zɔ gó dɔŋ fók mɔ lánɔ+á+á. 49. ne kúú go yú né, yú né ne híí gú nu ne á éé-ɛ́ wáá-ri. 50. gende gá ye á éé-ɛ́ wáá-ri te ri fók lánɔí ná. 51. ne ri kɛ́ ne íye ne kɛ́ ne íye ne e+á wɔk Gbagbasɔ sen-te-?gbɔgbɔ-ri+i. 52. ne ri fók ne ká-te. 53. ne Gbagbasɔ kúú ne yú ne lánɔí, gá+y né ɛ́ ?mɛ́e né ?doo me sé te ɔ+á te ri+i lánɔí ná te ?món tí-ɛ́+i. 54. te bó ne bó gu sené, ne ri kɛ́ ne íye kɛ́ ne íye ne fók lánɔí ne é wɔk Gbagbasɔ sen-te-?gbɔgbɔ-ri. 55. ?món gɔy ne Gbagbasɔ gá+y ?ó, gan ɛ́ kpá ŋma mo mɛ́ ɛ́ dé+á ná. 56. ne wan to ?bur+ó ri á zɔ. 57. gó ?naŋ+à ?món. 58. ne gan nɛ́ ɛ́ ?mɛ́e tí+á tɔ ?bo bó ná. 59. ?món ne ri fók kɛ́ ɛ́ go lánɔí.

60. go kí+n+ɛɛ nɔ, gɔ́sá ri ó sené. 61. gó saakara ne ó saŋa-Wáam gɔó, gá fara ne Gbagbasɔ gu+ú sené te ɔ+á ne ?mɛ́é tí-ri há fón (< fók) ná wá, go ri fók kɛ́ ɔ íye kɛ́ ɔ íye. 62. gó mo+í á saakara ó saŋa-Wáam wen+áa+i. 63. gó wan to gan de gɔy ná, ne wí-ré gan ne+á kpa ri mó no kíneɛ ne dɔk+á ná, gó Gbagbasɔ ne+á hɪsi ri mó no en-te-ɛ́ in bém kɛ́ ɛ́ ne kó kɛ́ ɛ́. 64. gó wan to á to+á fire gó ne+á á nu gá ɛ́ yɔŋ+á só kó hɛ́ gbé ɔ go né na ɔ no ri gó wan to dɔŋ sara-te me go zók fara ká ɔ gó ne+á go ?búrí ri+i á zɔ só kó kí+n+ɛɛ nɔ, ri ó dɔka dɔka go wí-ré nɔ.

65. ŋgom gám roá ne kónɔ go te+m zéé né to kó yám-Ramona.

(Gbagbasɔ) chased the dogs away and took it and ate it.

32. As a result, Gbagbasɔ's throat got choked up and dry. 33. He was dying of thirst because he had been long at eating the paste which Wanto had broken off and thrown down, and he hadn't had any water to drink. 34. So he arose without saying a word. 35. He took his mat and put it up, and he took his bag and hung it over his shoulder. 36. He arose and made as if to go to Laagata (a village a little over a mile from where the story was being told) over there. 37. He pretended to go there so as to turn aside to come for this water. 38. So he went and he went and stood there, then he came back ever so quietly. 39. He came and took off the lids of the six large pots in which he had gathered the water and had hidden. 40. They were right by his village. 41. So he drank a long time. 42. So he returned to the path and went around, and went as he had come. 43. Then he came back to the foot of his gola tree.

44. But Wanto was still in the tree, and he saw where the water was which Gbagbasɔ went for and went and drank. 45. And as Gbagbasɔ was returning, Wanto descended and went off to the side, and went back to where Gbagbasɔ had been so as to break the water pots and throw the water in the bush. 46. And when Gbagbasɔ came back and sat down, Wanto took his what-you-call-it, his pestle, and he went and he went and struck the large pots with all their water smack! hit them smack! and the water flowed on the ground and went swiftly on.

47. Gbagbasɔ saw this. 48. Wanto had busted the water and spilled it, and now it was flowing away. 49. So Gbagbasɔ arose and ran, and he leaned over and put his arms out in the direction of the water. 50. He said, "I'll put out my arms in the direction of the water so the water won't flow away." 51. So the water divided and flowed to each side, leaving Gbagbasɔ right in the middle. 52. The water flowed on each side of him. 53. Then Gbagbasɔ rose and ran off, saying, "I'll go and stoop down there, so that the water will not run off but remain in front of me." 54. When he had run, and stooped down, the water divided and flowed away on each side, leaving Gbagbasɔ in the middle. 55. That's how it was, and Gbagbasɔ said, "I don't know what to do. 56. Wanto has busted the water and thrown it away. 57. He's ruined everything. 58. And I can't do anything to stop its flow." 59. And the water continued to flow on.

60. So now there are large rivers. 61. And the islands in the Wáam are the places where Gbagbasɔ leaned down to stop the water from flowing, and the water divided and flowed on each side. 62. That's why there are islands in the Wáam. 63. And if Wanto had not done this, people would not have obtained a lot of water to drink now, for Gbagbasɔ had gone and hidden the water so that he could drink alone, as well as his wife and his children. 64. But Wanto made paste, and went and dropped it so that Gbagbasɔ ate it, after which he was thirsty, and he went and drank water, and Wanto was sitting in the tree and saw where he went, so he went and let out the water, so that now there is a lot of water, and people drink it.

65. (Untranslatable formula), so now I'd like to hear the story of Ramona's father.

12. Spider Brings Some News

1. ó saʔde, wa gi+ó dɔ́ wən-zee mbé wən. 2. nde wa tɔ́ ye ge, . . . dɔ́ nɔ́ ndo ro ri+ɔ́ gɔ́, wən-zee ne mbé wən. 3. nde wa gí rúmó dɔ́. 4. ne ŋma ó sɔ́k+á+i kó wa sɔ́n te+á, nde wa yá ká+a. 5. ne gan wa kpá ŋma mbé wən wən-tɔ́+á kpém ná. 6. nde wa tɔ́ ye ge, o a té tɔ́ ŋma mbé wən sé to ro nɔ́ dɔ́+i o ndé. 7. ne gan wa kpá ŋma mbé wən kpém ná.

8. ne wan to a zók, foo ká ʔa tomb+à há ʔa, gá ye ge, wan to, me ʔdóy kɔ́ né né hó ró wən-gún né goro. 9. ne wan to a ʔdoy+á kɔ́, gá ʔa hɛr+á, a+á kɔ́-yéré, ʔdoy+à sérá, gá ʔa a+á kɔ́-yéré, nɔ́ ʔa né né. 10. ne bɔ́ ʔa ne ne ká-te, ne ó wí-ré sɔ́n ne mɔ́y+á wən-nɔ́ dɔ́ nɔ́+i, wa mɔ́y+á, go wa yóó ká-dɔ́+i, nde wa zók+aa, nde wa tɔ́ ye, wan to, me né íye ndé.

11. nɔ́ ʔa tɔ́+y ɔ́, foo ké ɛ ná ndé á ye ge, gan ro kpá kɔ́ wən-gún né goro ná, go ɛ wan to, ɛɛ (< a + ɛ) zɔ́ kɔ́ sen-te-ré ké ɛ me ʔdóy kɔ́ há ré ké ɛ me, ɛ né né sé te ro gún né goro, go ɛ sáá sék zaa.

12. ne ɛé ne foo ké ɛ de+à ín ɛ gɔ́, gan ɛ ɪŋ ʔdoŋ-wár+aa kpém ná.

13. gán ɛè nɔ́ ɔ́ ne mbé wən a ndé wá tɔ́+á wéndé nɛ ɛ ɪŋ ná.

14. ne wí-ré bó zee gɔ́y sɔ́n, nde wa dé saa. 15. nde wa tɔ́ ye ge, ɔ́, wan to, óró kpa+à mbé wən. 16. wan to tɔ́+à mbé wən sɔ́.

17. go ro nɔ́ dɔ́+i. 18. ne dɔ́s-kiʔdi mbé wən wən-tɔ́+á+a, óró gi+ó.

19. gó en-te-á wən sɔ́n á yá kó ró tɔ́, ne gan kpá ŋma mbé wən wən-tɔ́+á ná. 20. gó wan to á tɔ́+à mbé wən. 21. go . . . sɔ́

kín+ɛɛ nɔ́, oro nɔ́ dɔ́+i. 22. ne bó wá ké dɔ́+i, go bó wá nɔ́ sɔ́n, nde wa dé saa oró+a dɔ́ka wən kó mbé wən nde wa kpa+á.

12. Spider Brings Some News

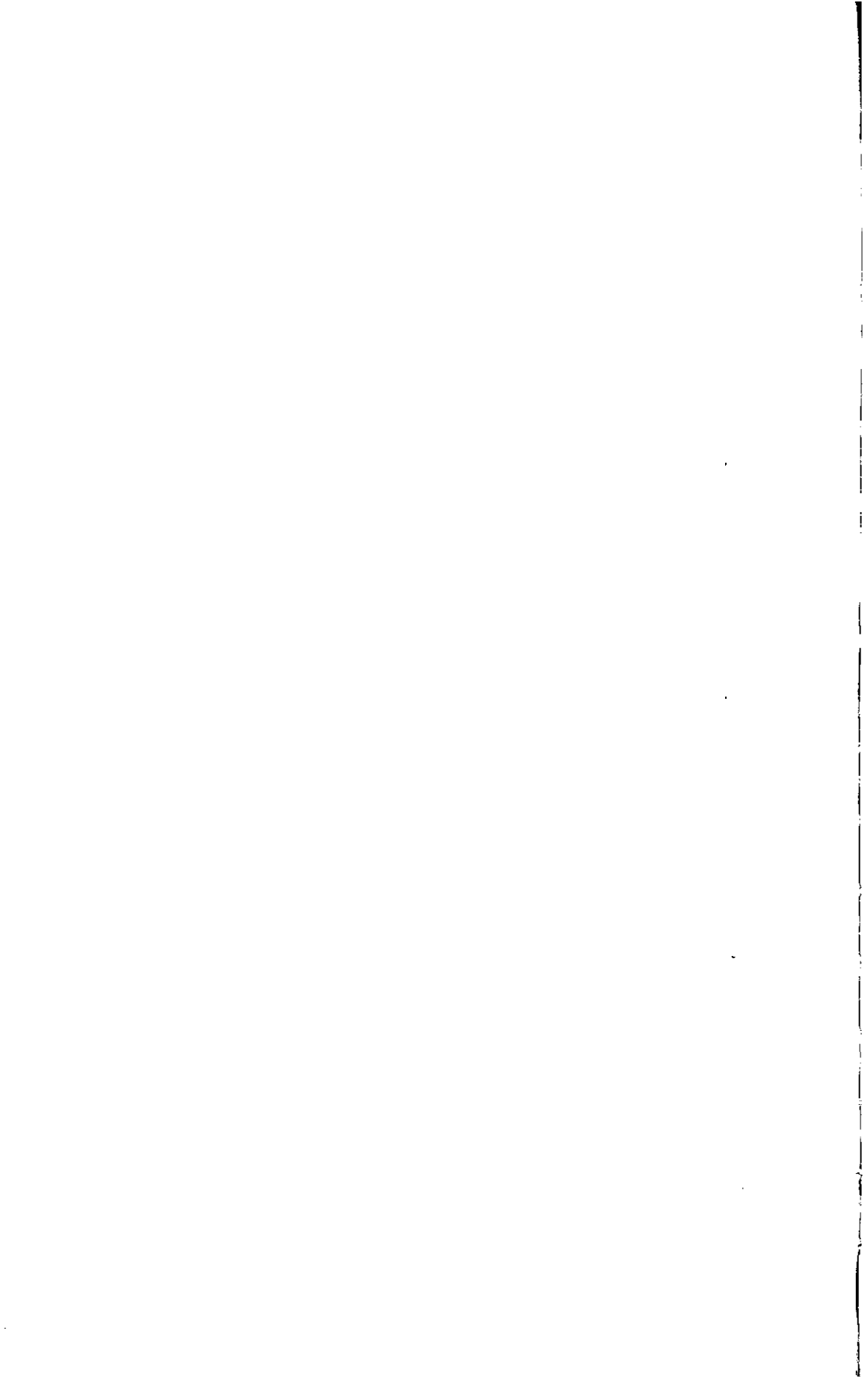
1. (Some) animals (once) brewed beer to hear something new. 2. They said, "This beer we've brewed is to hear something new." 3. So they brewed a lot of beer. 4. And a lot of their elders came and sat down beside it. 5. But they didn't find one new thing to say. 6. And they said, "Who can come and say something new so that we can drink this beer?" 7. And they didn't find one new thing.

8. And Wanto (that is, Spider) saw (perhaps just a false start). Wanto's in-laws sent word to him, saying, "Wanto, dig a hole and send it to us to plant yams in it." 9. So Wanto dug the hole, tied it up, put it in a yéré basket, dug an ant-hill, put it in the basket and went with it. 10. And as he came alongside the beer, the people (that is, the animals of line 1) who had gathered to drink the beer and were gathered alongside the beer saw him, and they said to him, "Wanto, where are you going?"

11. He said, "Aw, my in-laws said that they didn't have a hole in which to plant yams, so I've dug a hole at my village, and I'm taking it so they can plant yams, and I just can't figure it out. 12. What my in-laws have done with me, I just can't figure it out. 13. Whether or not this is something new for them to talk about, I don't know."

14. When the people heard all this, they were pleased. 15. They said, "Fine! Wanto, we've found something new. 16. Wanto has said something new today. 17. Let's drink the beer. 18. We've brewed beer with which to look for something new to talk about. 19. We brewed it, but our brothers talked just about old things and we didn't find something new to talk about. 20. But Wanto has said something new. 21. So right now let's drink the beer." 22. And when they divided the beer and had drunk it all, they had a lot of fun because of the new thing they had found.

VOCABULARIES



INTRODUCTION

Two sets of vocabularies are contained in this chapter, one from Gbeya to English and the other from English to Gbeya. (In both cases the English definitions and translations are my own, based on context or explanations of informants.) The purpose of the first vocabulary is to provide the serious reader of this grammar with the means of making his own literal translations of the examples and texts. It should serve this purpose fairly well, for it is based primarily on the texts which served as a principal part of the corpus for this grammatical description. No claim is made, however, for complete coverage. Intentionally omitted from this vocabulary are the French words that occurred in the corpus and also the interjections.

Most of the affixes are also included in the Gbeya-English vocabulary. Those left out are the ones where part of the suffix is determined by what precedes (such as -um in *dújum* 'sit I') and, naturally, the relational morpheme {*ɛ*}.

The English-Gbeya vocabulary is the reverse of the first one, and is in an abbreviated form. It is more like a lexical index, sending the reader back to the Gbeya-English section for more information.

Wherever possible, I have given the scientific names of flora and fauna, but being less than an amateur botanist and zoologist, I have used two reference works to the best of my ability. They are the following:

Pierre Bourgoïn, *Animaux de Chasse d'Afrique*. Paris: La Toison d'Or, 1955. Pp. 255.

Ch. Tisserant, *Catalogue de la Flore de l'Oubangui-Chari (Mémoire de l'Institut d'Études Centrafricaines, Numéro 2)*. Toulouse: P. Julia, 1950. Pp. 166.

In alphabetizing the entries, I have followed the traditional roman order, with the following modifications:

1. Long vowels are treated as two letters: thus, ee follows ed.
2. Nasalized vowels follow the oral vowels of the same quality: thus, a follows a. No separate headings are given ϵ and \circ . They are to be found under e and o respectively.
3. The nonroman symbols for vowels follow the roman ones: so ϵ follows e, \circ follows o.
4. Entries of more than one word are alphabetized as if they were long unit-words: *gbati* precedes *gba túrú*.
5. The unusual consonants come in the following order: b, $\text{?}b$, d, $\text{?}d$, g, gb, k, kp, m, mb, $\text{?}m$, n, nd, $\text{?}n$, ŋ, ŋg, ŋm, ŋmgb, v, \hat{v} (with v).

6. Traditional letters have priority over tone, and in the case of identical sequences of letters, low tone precedes high tone: so gu-ó precedes gúdam.
7. Verbs entered with the perfective suffix (gu-ó, etc.) are alphabetized as if nothing followed the hyphen.

Other conventions are also adopted:

1. Question marks indicate doubt concerning an entry.
2. No distinction is made between the transitive and intransitive use of a verb. The reason for this is that Gbeya verbs seem to be ambivalent with respect to the taking of an object or not, and the whole list of verbs was not tested for their behavior.
3. Tonally differentiated forms are not entered. Thus, whereas the connective go occurs both as go and gó, only go is given.
4. While some verbs are glossed with 'to become something or other' and others 'to be . . .,' it is very likely that both glosses are appropriate for all of the verbs in question.
5. Both the bound and the free forms of certain nouns are given: thus, péé and pér- 'rope.' Where the word is used in a construction, however, the free form is usually cited.
6. Verbs are entered both in their imperfective and perfective forms. If, in the former case, they end in the suffix -i, the proper form of the perfective suffix is put within parentheses: thus, pesi(á). If they do not have this suffix, but have the form with a long vowel, the long vowelled form is entered with a reference to the bound form: thus, pee (v.) See per-á. Under the perfective form one also finds the free imperfective form. Where the perfective form has no hyphen, as is true in a few cases, one is to understand that for this verb there is no form with a long vowel; that is, a form with final -Vy occurs instead. Except for the perfective suffix and except for verbs occurring in sentence-like constructions, verbs are cited in their low tone forms.
7. No forms resulting from phonological conditioning are entered: thus, ak-á 'to ask,' but not aŋ which occurs preceding a nasal consonant. One must therefore familiarize himself with the morphophonemic changes described in 130.
8. As in the rest of the grammar, numerical references are given to the appropriate sections where more information about a form is available.

The following abbreviations and symbols have been used:

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
aux.	auxiliary
conn.	connective
ctn.	certain
dem.	demonstrative
desc., descr.	descriptive (in connection with descriptive adverbs)

det.	determinant
f.p.	final particle
n.	noun
obj.	object
P (1P, 2P, 3P)	first, second, and third persons plural
perf.	perfective
pron.	pronoun, pronominal
QV	quotative verb
S (1S, 2S, 3S)	first, second, and third persons singular
sg.	singular
subj.	subject
subst.	substitute
suf.	suffix

GBEYA-ENGLISH

A

- a ~ -áa ~ -aa ~ -ára ~ -ra (det.) See 213.1
- a ~ á (conn.) See 332.1
- á (conn.) See conn. a
- á (conn.) See 331.1
- á mé nɛ mɛ yoo zúa ná don't go and stand over them
- á ~ -ó ~ -ó ~ -ú (perfl. suffix) See 211.2
- a-á (v.) to throw, put (of pl. obj.)
- a nu to throw on the ground, to throw down
- a tɛ to put on oneself (of clothes)
- fire-nu á rííím dust got into my eyes
- a fɔ to go to gardens (speaking of many people)
- a kóó-ɲmaà ín wa to join up with them
- aa (det.) See -a
- aa (3S pron. suf.) See 282
- aáyɛ (n.?) over there, what's-his-name
- éré kayà ké ré aáyɛ we got ours over there
- bém kó aáyɛ nɔ́ the child of what's-his-name
- áa (det.) See -a
- áa (3S pron. suf.) See 282
- ak-á (v.) to ask
- ak mé to ask you
- ak mɔ wenáa to ask about it
- am (pron.) I
- am-á (v.) to suck at breast, nurse
- andáa < Sango (conn.) but it turns out that
- ára (det.) See -a
- arɛ (pron.) See ɛrɛ
- ay-á (v.) to fall (of leaves, light rain, breasts of woman)
- ay oro to come or run after someone who has departed
- ríííí né ay oro-ré your eyes will long for us
- ǻ (pron.) he, she
- ǻ - ǻ (stative) See 351
- ǻ (adj.) old
- ǻ mɔ kó tí things of long ago
- ǻ naa-duwa the female goat which bore the rest of one's flock
- ǻk-á (v.) to tear, to tear off
- ǻy-á (v.) to rip off

ḡy péé to rip off bark for making cord

B

ba-á (v.) to take, seize, receive (sg. obj.)

ba te (of person) to climb a tree, (of bird) to alight on a tree

ba wéey (~ kóo) to get married

ba ʔdoŋ-wáa to get back on the path, to set off on a trip

ba gaza to assume the rights of a person initiated into the circumcision rites

wa bá yarí-za yináa they go on a walk to dig up the medicine

bó wá ba dḡḡ né zu-mé when they keep beer from you

báa (f.p.)

bá á sa ré, ne ndé ré ne né ḡgay-te-ré báa if he should call us (to go eat), should we force ourselves to go!

bágara < Sango (n.) cow, bovine animal

bana (n.) ?

bana-gaza one who has already been initiated in the circumcision rites and holds certain privileges

bá See bo

bé- (combining form for béem) young, small

bé-kóo girl, daughter

bé-ri creek, small stream

béa the child, the small one

bee (v.) See ber-á

béem (n.) child. Compare bé-

bek-á (v.) to belch

bém (n.) child

bém kóm my child

béndé See wéndé

ber-á ~ bee (v.) to burn (of fire)

bere (n.) breast

bere-á her breast

ri-bere milk

bere (adv.) right away, in a hurry, quickly

ere né bono-wa bere let's go after them right away

bé See bo

berá (bera?) (n.) cleared portion of land, expansive place

berá-go open stony clearing

berá-fó cleared garden plot

berá-oro-tuwa deserted house-site (where the house is in ruins)

bere (n.) dry season

bere dzá it's (now) dry season

bḡ-á (v.) to refuse, reject

bḡ See bo

bi-ó (v.) to fight

bi biro to wage a war, to fight

bii (v.) See bir-ó

bir-ó ~ bii (v.) to bend, to carry (a child on one's back)

biro (n.) fight, war

bi biro to wage a war

nē biro to go to war

biro (n.) a certain small antelope

bisa (n.) young man; adornment, ornament

mé deá bisa you've become a young man

de bisa to get all dressed up (of a young man). Compare zóhǎ

mó-de bisa adornment, ornament

bíyá (n.) ctn. large edible rodent hunted in the bush during the dry season

bo-á ~ bǎ ~ bé ~ bẹ́ (aux. v.) when, as, if, should. See 394.31

bó (v.) neg. of ɔ, to not be

kam gan bó ná there's no food

gan nēm pǐ nu bó ná I won't throw it down by any means

bom-á (v.) to become blind

bóom (n.) blindness

wí-bóom blind person

boro (n.) iron

boro-biro weapons

bɔɔ ~ bɔɔɔ (n.) back, behind, after

bɔɔ-nǎŋ-sa?de animal tracks

wa yú né bɔɔ-ré they run after us

tɛ-bɔɔ-wa in their absence

kuu bɔɔsai after that

wa há mboɔ bɔɔ-kóo they are paying the bride-price for a girl

wa ndóy mboɔyáa sí-?day há bɔɔsai they take back all the money paid for her

bɔɔ ~ bɔ?ɔ (n.) foolishness, stupidity

ǎ deá ré né bɔɔ he made a fool of us

wi tǔ bɔɔ gáa you're talking foolishness like this

wí-bɔɔ stupid person

bɔɔ (intensifier, perhaps the same word as the preceding)

wa yǔŋ bɔɔ-mɔ they eat the thing

bú (adj.) white

bú duwa white goat

búk (n.) wind

búk yú the wind is blowing

búú (n.) ?

búú-vey ashes

buri(ó) (v.) to fly

?B

?ba-á (v.) to cut off (section of bark, leaving the tree trunk)

?baa See ?bay

?baa (v.) See ?bar-á

- ʔbaka (n.) shoulder, forelegs (of animal), wing (of bird)
 zu²bakám my shoulder
- ʔbar-á ~ ʔbaa (v.) to shed, peel off
 fara ʔbaa to become day
 ʔbárá fara dawn
 ʔbárá gók snakeskin
 ʔbaa rfp to make a person able to see
- ʔbay ~ ʔbaa (adj.) only, just. See 361.1
 ʔbay yo kpém just the hide
- ʔbéé (adv.) a long time ago; used also to intensify the idea of completion
 ǵ hoà ʔbéé he had already appeared
- ʔbéʔbé (n.) ctn. indigenous cotton the seed of which is very small
- ʔbæekere (adv.) desc. of rumbling of one's stomach
- ʔbét (adv.) ?
 ba ʔbét to take something from a person in a single, quick motion
- ʔbii (v.) See ʔbir-ó
- ʔbir-ó ~ ʔbii (v.) to break off (piece of food), to fall off or be eaten away
 (of fingers of a leper)
- ʔbiya (n.) friend, comrade, buddy; the other (of two things)
 ʔbiya²ǵ his friend
- ʔbo-á (v.) to make a circle of something
- ʔboŋ (adv.) desc. of gun going off
- ʔboo (v.) See ʔbor-á
- ʔbor-á ~ ʔboo (v.) to butcher an animal, including skinning it
- ʔboy (n.) hat, cap
- ʔbɔ (adv.) still, again, also
 ɪn bé-zorói ʔbɔ and the small fish too
 wen²ba mbéa ʔbɔ to take it again
 ɛɛ yá nɛ wí-ré ʔbɔ wéndé are we still human beings?
 ǵ gám tɛ-ǵ ʔbɔ he also turned around
- ʔbú (subst.) ten
- ʔbuk-ó (v.) to hang something (over one's shoulder)
- ʔburi(ó) (v.) to break into many pieces, shatter
- ʔburí (n.) ctn. reed

D

- daʔdoŋ (n.) skirt of cotton strings worn by women over anus
- dak-á (v.) to extract
 dak tí to lead, to go on ahead of others
 dak kéey há zaŋ²wa to take fear out of them
- dal (n.) ctn. upright drum
- dam-á (v.) to be adequate (that is, to arrive at a given quantity, measure)
 mo²damíá thing necessary to do a task
- dan (n.) ctn. spirit
 bé-dan twins
- daná ~ dandá (n.) bag (originally of leather)

- dandá (n.) See daná
- daŋ-á (v.) to climb, climb on, ascend; to copulate (of animals)
- dawa (n.) green monkey (Cercopithecus sp.)
- day-á (v.) to raise (animals)
- mɔ-day domesticated animal
- dą (n.) anger
- dą dé ą he is angry
- zaŋ-mé bó de dą when you are angry
- dą-á (v.) to curse (someone)
- dąy (n.) wound, sore
- dąy-gaza wound left by circumcision
- dé (adj.) good
- dé kóo a good woman
- dé?dé (adj.) good
- dɛ-á (v.) to do, make; very much used in idiomatic expressions
- dɛ parába to make, have trouble
- dɛ pɛ to do something, be somewhere for a year
- dɛ ngay to treat someone meanly, to intimidate, to act ferociously
- dɛ saa to play, have fun, rejoice
- dɛ mɔ to work, to go . . . (in imitation of a noise)
- mɔ-dɛi work
- dɛla (n.) metal anklets
- ba dɛla kú-wa to put anklets on their legs
- dɛm-á (v.) to be numerous (of people)
- ó dɛmá wí-ré a large crowd of people
- déne (n.) ctn. wasp
- dɛɛ (v.) See dɛr-á
- dɛr-á ~ dɛɛ (v.) to be numerous
- dik-ó (v.) to make a loud noise
- kóro dɛk there's thunder
- dɛkó kóro thunder
- dila (n.) lion
- dji (v.) See dji-ó
- dji (subst.) there
- ɛrɛ ó dji we slept there
- dji-ó ~ dji (v.) to be heavy
- djiɔ See gba djiɔ
- djiti(ó) (v.) to be heavy
- djiye (subst.) here
- do-á (v.) to flower
- dóá te flower
- dom (n.) penis
- doo (v.) See dor-á
- dor-á ~ doo (v.) to keep someone from getting something
- doo dɔs há éé-ɲmaá to keep beer from each other
- dó-á (v.) to set fire to, burn, shine, roast; refuse to give something to someone

- wesé doám the sun roasted me
do nǎká to be stingy
gbai doà ré even if you should not give us (food)
dǎk-á (v.) to be much, many
wá dǎká they were numerous
dǎká fǎ large garden
wí-ré téá ǎ dǎk if there were a lot of people
dǎka (subst.) much, many, very
bǎlo-nǎŋ-wa ǎ dǎka there were many of their tracks
dǎm-á (v.) to blow on an instrument
dǎma (n.) ctn. tree, rope made from the bark of this tree
dǎ (adj.) short
dǎ wí-ré short person
wí-dǎ ǎ short person
dǎn-á (v.) to throw down
dǎǎ (n.) beer
wesé-dǎǎ beer-drinking day
gi dǎǎ to brew; prepare beer
dǎǎ-kǎfe marriage beer (part of the marriage obligation)
dǎǎ (n.?) near, soon
he?di dǎǎ to get near, approach
kóro gan ŋmǎy dǎǎ ná the rain didn't stop soon
dǎǎtí (perhaps dǎǎ-tí) (n.) forehead
dǎk (n.) mortar
bé-dǎk pestle
dur-ó ~ duu (v.) to be long (in measure)
nǎ dúróá lengthwise
duu (v.) See dur-ó
duwa (n.) goat
kó-duwa female witch
ǎ naa-duwa the female goat which bore the rest of one's flock
dǎm-ǎ (v.) to spear, pierce, stick, stab
dǎn-ǎ (v.) to sit; as aux., to continue to, keep on doing something, to begin
to do something. See 394.3
dǎŋaa rǎk déne he kept on hitting the wasps
dǎŋ wá yǎŋ mǎ while they're eating

?D

- ?dafi(á) (v.) to fix, prepare, adjust
?day (n.?) completely, far away (occurring only with sí)
wa yǎŋ say kǎm sí-?day they eat all of my pumpkins
?dé (adv.) very, much, hard
ǎ á yui ?dé he really runs fast
ó wí-ré né yorà ?dé if there are a lot of people
?dék ?dék (adv.) different (things)

- ?doŋ (n.) back, behind, later, inside of bark
 pee ?doŋ to return
 sí-?doŋ See sí-?day
 kp ?doŋáa to want it, agree to it
 kp ?doŋ-si ?doŋ to want to return
 ?doŋ-ri river bank
 ?doŋ-wáá path, road
 ném te ?doŋ I'll come later
 bá ɔ sí né ?doŋ take him back
 ?doŋ kpém six
 ?doŋ ríito seven
 ?dóŋ ?dóŋ (adv.) very dark, black
 fara tɔb ?dóŋ ?dóŋ it has become pitch black
 ?dɔɔ (v.) See ?dɔr-
 ?dɔr- ~ ?dɔɔ (n.) under, underneath, in
 ɔ néá ?dɔɔ-zɔ he went into the bush
 ɛɛ né ?dɔɔ-kóro we walked in the rain
 ?dɔy-á (v.) to make a hole, drill
 ?du-ó (v.) to dip up, draw (a liquid)
 ?dúu (n.) bridge

E

- e-á (v.) to place, put, leave (sg. obj.); let
 e nu to put down
 ɔ bá duwa go é sɛné he takes a goat and puts it there (that is, adds to
 what has already been given)
 wá cá ɔ kp-tuwa they left him in the house
 é há wí-ré té sé let people come first
 éé (n.) see ér-
 ér- ~ éé (n.) hand, finger, paw
 ɔ rém kpa mɔ te-kp-éé-wí-ré he can get things from people
 -ɛ ~ -ye (dem.) See 213.22
 ɛk-á (v.) to lean, lean against
 bá wey ne ɛk sɛn-te-ɲma bé-te takes the gun and leans it against a
 small tree
 am ɛk tɛm ínaa I depend on him
 ɛn (n.?) only, alone
 ɛn-te-ɔ only him, by himself
 ɛɛ ~ arɛ ~ rɛ ~ ɔ (prn.) we
 ɛ (sg. explicit prn.) See 382.12
 ɛé (subst.) this. See 382.2

F

- fan-á (v.) to weave
 fara (n.) place

- fara sɔ̄ to become day
 fara ɔ̄ mbiri mbiri it's somewhat dark (speaking of the passing of day)
 kpa ɔ̄ fara-ne kofɛ to catch him when he's going to (his) in-laws
 ɔ̄ nɛ fara-de mɔ̄ it's time to work
 nɛ sɛn-tɛ-fara nɔ̄ ɔ̄ sɛnɛi to go to the place where he is
 gɔ̄á fara evening
- fe-á (v.) to die
 féé (adv.) desc. of the noise of a whistle
 fey (n.) death
 fey-zɛmbéi gbɛà wí-róí the zɛmbé death killed the person
 zu-fey grave-site
- fɛŋ-á (v.) to be white
 fɛ́é (n.) See káfé
 fɛra (n.) whistle
 dɔm fɛra to blow a whistle
- fire (n.) paste (as of sesame, peanuts)
 yufi fire to make a paste
 fire-nu dust
- fiyo (n.) general term for the spirits which control the fortunes of men,
 also the magical paraphernalia used in placating or controlling
 them; therefore closely associated with medicinal preparations
 although there is medicine (yina) that is nonmagical; loosely trans-
 lated in this grammar as fetish
 dɛ fiyo to make, use, set up a fetish
 wan fiyo one who owns the rights to a certain fetish
 wí-fiyo a practitioner of a fetish, whose rights are obtained from the
 wan
- fíí (adv.) little, few
 dɔŋ orɔ́ai fíí to stay in the same place for a little while₁
- fo-á (v.) to sweep, push, chase
 fok-á (v.) to flow, to wash something away
 fón (n.) ctn. grain sorghum
 foo (n.) in-laws (possibly synonymous with kofɛ)
 foyo (n.) shame
 am dé foyo ríp-mé I am ashamed in your presence
 c foyo ríp-mé to make you embarrassed
 mɔ̄-foyo shameful parts of the body (sex organs)
- fɔ̄ (n.) garden, farm
 fɔ̄ (v.) See fɔr-á
 fɔr-á ~ fɔ̄ (v.) to wash (one's body, clothes, etc.)
 fɔ̄ gaza to wash ritually after circumcision rites
 fɔre (n.) lime (used in whitewashing)
 fɔrɔ̄ (n.) elephant
 gu fɔrɔ̄ to squat down
 fu ~ fuufuu (adv.) desc. of sound of many people singing
 fɔr-ɔ̄ ~ fɔu (v.) to sew pieces of cloth together
 fɔu (v.) See fúr-ɔ̄

G

- gá See oro . . . gá and 332.5
 gá (QV) See gende gá ye ge
 gáa (adv.) like this, in this manner
 bóm kási gáa as I was holding on like this
 gaʔdaʔda (adv.) desc. of opening up
 zeraʔfɔrɔ dé gaʔdaʔda the elephant's ears went . . .
 gagiʔda (n.) ctn. kind of large mat
 gale (n.) left
 wáá-gale left side
 éé-galc left hand
 ba gale to be left-handed
 gam-á (v.) to turn completely around
 gám tɛ-mé Turn around! (command to one person)
 gam guram (n.) whirlwind, dust devil; the spirit responsible for them; particularly associated with grass-burning hunts because of the whirlwinds produced by the air currents; believed capable of confusing the animals, chasing them in certain directions, tying them together by their horns, etc.; success at hunting is attributed to an effective whirlwind; control over the whirlwind is effected by certain rites (for example, the whirlwind is magically prepared in the kernel of the kóʔbo fruit and let loose by smashing it against a tree)
 gan (- gɛn - gɛa) . . . ná (adv.) negative marker. See 371
 gan wa tɛ ná they aren't coming
 gan-á (v.) to surpass; used to indicate a kind of superlative or comparative
 ɲma mɔ gan ɔ ɲgay gán Nzapá ná there is nothing too hard for God
 rɔk ʔdé gán, goi bá mbunzù nɔɔ it would be better if you would take this white man
 wa gbé ré gán zúa they kill too many of us
 gán (conn.) See wéndé . . . gan
 gara (n.) space in front of house
 gata (n.) ctn. drum
 gay-á (v.) to make much noise, scare by making a noise
 gay mɔ ʔdɔɔ-mɔ to make a lot of noise among the things (in the garden)
 gaza (n.) circumcision; covers a complex of concepts relating to circumcision and the rites that accompany it
 kútu-gaza hut used during circumcision rites
 ba gaza assume the rights of those initiated
 nɛ gaza to be initiated by circumcision
 gɔn wa né gaza to circumcise them
 gɛ (conn.) See go
 gɛ-á (v.) to be cool, to cool off
 bá á gɛá when it (the elephant) became still (after being shot)
 gɛá fara evening
 gɛa (adv.) See gan . . . ná
 gásá (adj.) large, big

- ge (QV) See gende gá ye ge
 ge (subst.) what? See 382.3
 ge wí-ge a té né ge ndé who is bringing it?
 ge wen-ge a mē tǝ ge ndé what are you talking about?
 wen-ge a mē dé gǝy wenáa ge ndé why are you doing it like that?
 deà ré ge what happened?
 geʔda (n.) manioc
 geʔdc (n.) buttocks
 kǝ geʔdéa the beginning
 nú-geʔde anus
 ǝ sí ʔdoŋ né geʔde-ǝ he backed up
 geʔde-ǝdpó beer dregs
 geegezǝ (n.) See kuʔbá
 gende gá (QV) See gende gá ye ge
 gende gáy (QV) See gende gá ye ge
 gende gá ye ge (QV) See 353
 gére (adv.) without anything, for no purpose, freely (this word has an extremely wide range of meaning)
 am ó gére I'm fine
 mo-gére worthless thing
 gǝm gúwá ne gére-ǝfara to cut firewood in some place belonging to no one
 yaa gére to roam around doing nothing
 Nzapá remà ín ré mbé ré ne gére God is enough for us to go without any trouble (that is, God is all we need for safety)
 mē yáá gére wen há ŋmgbéré dé mé ná you live untouched by leprosy
 gey (n.) pottery clay
 ge (conn.) See go
 geʔdék (adv.) still, quiet, slow
 géé (n.) See gér-
 gek (adv.) slow, a little
 ám ŋǝ gék I know a little
 né gek sé Go slowly!
 gen (adv.) See gan . . . ná
 gens (n.) guest, stranger
 gezze (n.) ctn. kind of a basket
 gér- ~ géé (n.) neck, throat, voice, sound
 gǝ (conn.) See go
 gǝ (n.) happiness
 de gǝ to be happy, have fun
 gǝé (n.) cold
 gǝé gbém I'm cold
 gǝrǝŋ (adv.) rapidly
 hay gǝrǝŋ to crawl along rapidly
 gi-ó (v.) to cook, prepare
 gi kam to prepare a meal
 gida (n.) enemy

- wí-gida enemy
 gima (n.) song
 sa gima to sing a song
 gísó (n.) stump (of a tree)
 gítí (n.) noise of feet
 gírɔ (n.) shade, shadow
 go ~ gɔ ~ ge ~ gɛ (conn.) See 332.2
 go (n.) stony area
 gba go an extensive stony area with little vegetation, particularly of
 the laterite variety
 gó (conn.) when. Compare bo
 góm zerá when I heard
 goʔdó (perhaps goʔdo) (n.) end
 goʔdó-fiyo the explanation of the fetish
 gogo (n.) molars
 goro (n.) ?
 zu'goróm my knee
 goy-á (v.) to like, love (especially demonstrated in giving gifts)
 goʔbi(á) (v.) to be warped, to rock sidewise (as in a canoe)
 gók (n.) snake
 ʔbára gók snakeskin
 gɔla (n.) ctn. tree (Berlinia sp.)
 gɔm-á (v.) to cut, cut out, run out
 gɔm bé-kprá to hatch chicks
 gɔn-á (v.) to cut
 gón (n.) top of, on
 ɔ pɪ gón-kú-ɔ he puts (the gun) on his lap
 goʔní (n.) foreign, different (?)
 góɔ (adv.) here
 ɛɛ tɛ góɔ here we come
 gɔɔ (n.) yam
 gɔy (n.) female skirt made of cotton strings and worn in front; in other
 dialects called kakó and gbɛlɛk
 gɔ (n.) leopard
 gɔɔ (n.) bee
 zɪ-gɔɔ honeybee
 nó-gɔɔ honey
 ri-gɔɔ honey
 gɔy (adv.) like this, well (very often only a meaningless pauc filler), on
 and on, for a long time (especially when repeated or stressed and
 lengthened)
 wa dé gɔy they do it like this
 ɛɛ ák Nzapá wɛnáa gɔy gɔy we asked God about it for a long time
 mɔ gɔy, ŋma yám kóm ó sɛné well, I had an uncle
 gu-ó (v.) to cover (something completely)
 ɛɛ gú zu-ré we covered our heads
 gu ʔdɔɔ-waka to hide in the cane-grass

- gu fɔrɔ to squat
 gúdam (perhaps gu + dam) (n.) a certain style of setting a woman's hair,
 in a series going from forehead to back of head
 gun (n.) base (of tree), waist
 ká-gun'wa the sides of their hips
 gunduŋ (adv.) desc. of opening something previously unopened
 ɔ gbó zu'geze'sunu gunduŋ he breaks open the basket of sesame seed
 (which is covered with large leaves now entirely brittle)
 guri(ó) (v.) to smoke (food over the fire)
 guro (n.) rack, scaffold, or platform for smoking meat, keeping objects
 out of the way, etc.
 gúwá (n.) firewood
 gom gúwá to chop firewood
 gun-ó (v.) to plant, bury

GB

- gba (adj.) big, real; even if. See 361.1
 gba koy-sa'ɔde 'moná even if the rest of the meat is left
 gba díro (n.) ctn. large rope
 gba dɔrɔ (n.) ctn. large antelope (Damaliscus korrigum), the meat is taboo
 to the newly circumcised
 Gbagbasɔ (that is, gba gba sɔ) (n.) ctn. character in the fable "The Origin
 of Rivers and Islands" (text 11); the word sɔ means the spirit of a
 dead person
 gbáŋ (adv.) also
 gbaŋgala (adv.) desc. of a thunderous noise
 ndɔɔ gbaŋgala to shoot with a very loud noise
 gbati(á) (v.) to stop (walking)
 gba túrú (n.) cloth made from the bark of the túrú tree
 gbay-á (v.) to come out, appear (usually pl. of ho-á)
 gbay záan to come outside
 gbay dan to give birth to twins
 gba zawa (n.) ctn. kind of ground-nut (Voandzeia subterranea Thouars.)
 gbɔa (n.) See gbɔara
 gbɔara ~ gbɔa (n.) bone, grain, kernel
 gbɔara'wey bullet
 gbɔara'sa'ɔde animal bones
 gbél (adv.) ?
 he gbél to cry out loudly announcing the killing of an animal
 gbɛ-á (v.) to kill
 wɔ gbém I'm hungry
 gbɛlek (n.) See gɔɔ
 gbɛŋ-á (v.) to be hot (pepper, one's body)
 tam gbéŋ 'ɔdɛ I'm very hot
 gbɛ-á (v.) to be red, mature (of fruit) (one of the three major colors)
 gbé mɔ a red thing

- gbigbigbi (adv.) descr. of noise made by a large fire
 gbii (adv.) descr. of the rumbling of thunder
 gbíígbíí (adv.) descr. of the rumbling of thunder
 gbim (adv.) descr. of the sound of many running feet
 gbiro'fɔ (gbiro'fɔ?) (n.) ctn. tree, perhaps the same as nɔɔ, whose fruit is edible
 gbíya (n.) the area of grassland systematically burnt in the hunting of animals during the dry season
 gbɪn-ɔ̄ (v.) to break, break out or through
 gbo-á (v.) to arrive, reach a place
 gbo'ɔ̄di(á) (v.) ?
 gbo'ɔ̄di sére to hold a spear shaft preparatory to casting it in such a way that it quivers
 gboŋgom (adv.) ?
 kpa ŋmaá gboŋgom to meet each other with a loud noise (as two waves of fire)
 gbo'ɔ̄di(á) (v.) to be tired
 ǰ gbo'ɔ̄dà sɔn he's all tired out
 gbɔgbɔ (n.) middle
 gbɔgbɔl (n.) ctn. tree found along small streams whose wide leaves are used by women in making skirts; its fruit ripens in the dry season
 gbur-ó ~ gbuu (v.) to drag, pull
 am gbúraa te'téem na I'm pulling him toward me
 gbut (adv.) descr. of destruction of trees by elephants
 dǰŋ wa zǰ mɔ gbut gbut they were digging up things
 gbuu (v.) See gbur-ó

H

- há₁ ~ hó (conn.) See 332.3
 sá yám-Sara há bá wey call Sara's father to get the gun
 há₂ ~ hǰ ~ hé ~ hǰ ~ hó (conn.) See 342
 dak kéey há zaŋ'wa to take fear out of them
 tɔ há wa to tell them
 há₃ (conn.) See a, 332.1
 ha-á (v.) to give
 haa (v.) See har-á
 han-á (v.) to fry, roast in an open pan
 har-á ~ haa (v.) ?
 haa mboɔ nɛ kɔo to pay the bride-price for a wife
 haa tǰ'wen to give consideration to one's thoughts
 hárá (adv.) absolutely all
 ere ʔbóó sa'ɔ̄de hárá sɔn we completely skinned the animal
 ó wí-ré hárá sɔn absolutely all the people
 hay-á (v.) to crawl, creep
 wa háy kǰ-zǰtuwa they creep up beside the house
 hǰ (conn.) See há₁, há₂

he-á (v.) to cry, utter; apparently synonymous with hey

heʔdi(á) (v.) to approach, arrive near

bé ré heʔdi dʒó te-nú-Wáam na as we approached the bank of the Waam
here

hee (v.) See hey

hey-á ~ hee (v.) to cry, make a noise

hey kpwá to cry with tears

he-á (v.) to buy, (formerly) to barter

hé (conn.) See há₁, há₂

her (adv.) ?

yu her to run to cut off a fleeing animal

hě (conn.) See há₁, há₂

hɛɛ (v.) See hɛr-á

hěé (n.) thirst

hěé-ri gbé ɔ he's thirsty

hɛr-á ~ hɛɛ (v.) to tie up (with cords)

hii (v.) See hir-ó

hir-ó ~ hii (v.) to stoop down, lower one's body

hir (adv.) descr. of a lion's roar

hik-ó (v.) to circle around, make a detour

hiŋ-ó (v.) syn. hik-ó

hó (conn.) See há₁, há₂

hóŋó hóŋó (adv.) completely off

ɔ ʔbarà kəkʔgeʔda sí-ʔday hóŋó hóŋó she peeled the manioc skin right
off

pj hóŋó hóŋó to throw swiftly

ho-á (v.) to appear, come out, flow; when ho is used of sg. subj., gbay-á
is used of pl.

ho tuwa to come of a house

hofi(á) (v.) to slip something off

hɔk-á (v.) to rub, grate, scrub, sharpen (knife)

hɔŋ-á (v.) to rub, crush; perhaps the same as hɔk-á

hufi(ó) (v.) to have loose bowels, diarrhea

husi(ó) ~ hysi(ó) (v.) to hide

husi te to hide oneself

hɔri(ó) (v.) to spread abroad

zec hɔríá to hear a person's fame

hysi(ó) (v.) See husi(ó)

I

-i₁ (imperfective suf.) See 211.1

-i₂ (emphatic suf.) See 211.3

-i₃ (nominalizing suf.) See 211.4

-i₄ (locative suf.) See 213.21

-i₅ (postclitic) See 220

-i (prn.) 2P. See 282

- ii (v.) See ir-ó
 ín ~ ìni- - ìnd- (conn.) with, to. See 343
 wá dèà ?náŋ mo ín ré they did an evil thing to us
 ìni- (conn.) See ín
 ìnd- (conn.) See ín
 ìni (n.) urine
 sɔ ìni to urinate
 ir-ó ~ ii (v.) to push something to make it move
 ìŋáá (conn.?) in order to
 ìye (subst.) where?
 tè ré kpa wí-ré ìye ndé where can we possibly find someone?
 ìye (subst.) over there. See 382.5
 hòà ìye gáa (the tusks) appeared there like this
 ìye . . . ìye here and there
 ìyo (n.) bark (of tree)
 ìj (subst.) that, those. See 382.2
 ìŋ-ó (v.) to know
 ìŋ ?doŋ-wáá wen^zdé gɔy to know how to do it this way
 ìŋ wen kó wa to know about them
 ìrírí (adv.) sweet
 nó-gɔrɔ dé rɔɔ ìrírí honey is very sweet
 ìsi(ó) (v.) to push down on something, press

K

- kakó (n.) See gɔy
 kam (n.) very thick porridge of the consistency of bread dough, made of manioc or sorghum flour, cooked over fire in an earthen pot for a short time by gradually adding water until thick; broken off and used to dip up sauce; by extension, food
 ru kam to make porridge
 kan (n.) stalk (of corn, sorghum), torch made of this material
 hɛ kan to tie up stalks to make into a torch
 káná (n.) bracelet
 kaŋgi(á) < Sango kánǵà (v.) to shut, close
 kaŋgi kɔ^zsera to be resolute
 kara (n.) hill, mountain
 kátá kátá (adv.) quickly (?)
 wá roà kátá kátá, go wa sí ?doŋ they threw themselves together and went back
 kátó (n.) hoof
 kay-á (v.) to take, receive (pl. obj.)
 kay ŋmaá to get together, assemble
 kay zoro to catch fish
 kaya (n.) ctn. large antelope (Hippotragus equinus); taboo to the newly circumcised
 ká (conn.) See kó

ká (n.) side

ká-zan'ri beside the stream

te-ká at the side, beside it

yoo ne ká-te to stand at the side

kaa (v.) See kaa-á

káará (n.) ?

bé-káará a boy who has not yet been circumcised

káfé (n.) opinion (?)

si káfé to dispute, argue

gan am kó ?doŋ'si káfé oro-ndú-wa ná I don't want to dispute what they
say

kaa-á ~ kaa (v.) to roll up, braid

kasi(á) (v.) to seize, hold on to

kéey ~ kéri (n.) fear

am dé kéey I am afraid

kéey dém I am afraid

yu káy-te-wí-ré to be afraid of someone, to respect someone

kéey-yám mother's older or younger brother's wife, father's younger
brother's wife

kélé (n.) ?

e kélé wen'de mɔ to decide to do something

am é kélém ín mé I trust you

kéri (n.) See kéey

ké (conn.) See kó

kéla kéla (adv.) ?

keli kéla kéla to be happy (?)

keli(á) (v.) to be happy (?)

kérá (n.) ctn. grassland tree (Daniella oliveri Hutch. and Dalz.), the leaves
are worn by girls after excision

kere (n.) very large pot used in the making of beer

kɛ-á (v.) to divide into portions

kɛ (conn.) See kó

kɛɛ (v.) See kɛr-á

kɛr-á ~ kɛɛ (v.) to gaze, stare at

ki'di(ó) (v.) to look for, hunt

ne ki'di sa'de to go hunting

kifi ~ kip, kifó (v.) to turn around, change, change into

kii (v.) See kir-ó

kín (n.?) now; used in commands

kín me té Now come!

kíneɛ (n.) now

kíneɛ nóɔ, wen kóm sɔná now my story is finished

kip, kifó (v.) See kifi

kir-ó ~ kii (v.) to search afar

kiri (n.) size, shape (of body), whole

kiri-te'sa'de all of the animal's body

wa bá duwai né oro-kiri they take the goat whole (not killed and butchered)

- kísi (n.) beads, once a certain kind obtained by barter, now used of all beads
- ko (n.) ctn. palm tree (Borassus aethiopum)
- ko-á (v.) to give birth, bear (a child)
- kó ~ ká ~ ké ~ kó (conn.) of. See 344
- am húfí kóm as for myself, I was having diarrhea
- kó- (combining form for kó) female, woman
- kó-toró female dog
- kóá the female one
- kó ká ǵ his wife
- kó^obo (n.) a ctn. tree (Strychnos innocua Del.) and its fruit (which is the size of a large orange)
- kofo (n.) cowry shell
- kokoroŋ (adv.) round, oval; head-band worn by elders; old-fashioned name for bicycle
- koo (v.) See kor-á
- kóo ~ kó- (n.) woman, wife
- kó-duwa female witch
- bé-kóo girl, daughter
- ba kóo to take a wife, get married
- kor-á ~ koo (v.) to dry up
- kor (adv.) round (of object or motion)
- kóro (n.) rain, rain clouds
- nú-kóro beginning of the rainy season
- kóro pǵ lightning is striking
- pǵ kóro lightning
- ri-kóro rain water
- kóróró (adv.) very black
- tǵ kóróró to be very black
- kote (n.) a specialist at anything, a gifted person
- koy (n.) remainder, remaining, the rest
- ó koy-wí-ré the rest of the people
- koyo (n.) ctn. bird
- kó (conn.) See kó
- kó^odá (n.) debt
- ǵon kó^odá to pay off a debt
- kó^odoro kó^odoro (adv.) perseveringly
- kófe (n.) in-law
- wéey^o-kófe son-in-law
- dé kófe to work for one's in-laws in partial payment for a bride, to be "engaged"
- mó^o-kófe things relating to getting married
- né ~ tǵ kófe to go or come for the purpose of working for a bride
- kók-á (v.) to get entangled, sew two pieces of material together by putting a stitch here and there
- kóli(á) (v.) to cough
- kóndi ~ kóni (n.) maize
- kóni (n.) See kóndi

- kóś (n.) See kór-
- kór- ~ kóś (n.) back (not part of one's body)
- kóś-tuwa behind the house
- ne kóś-wa to follow them
- zok kóś-wa to look in their direction
- o ʔdoo-zʔ kóś yǣ to be in the bush for a long time
- kóś-mé né yǣrá after you've done this a long time
- kóraaí later, after that
- kóró (n.) good luck, fortune (?)
- de kóró-te-béemi to do something for a child's good luck
- koy-á (v.) to ask for, beg
- bó wá koy mo ín mé when they ask you for things
- kʔ-á (v.) to agree, like, consent, respond, call back
- kʔ ʔdoŋáa to agree to it
- wa kʔ te-mé they're answering from over there
- kʔ ʔdoŋ-de mo to want to do something
- kʔ (n.) hole
- kʔ-kʔ in the hole
- kʔ-zaj-mé in you
- de kpém kʔ-sera ín wa to be of one heart with them, be kind to them
- kʔm-á (v.) to pluck (stem or leaf)
- kʔm zifa to pluck a stem for a switch
- kʔrá (n.) chicken
- bé-kʔrá chick
- kʔwá (n.)
- hey kʔwá to cry with tears
- mǔrú-kʔwá tears
- kú ~ kǔ (n.) leg
- kuʔbú (n.) mat erected to act as screen around sleeping place in a house;
- in other dialects known as geegezi
- kúku (perhaps kúkutí) first, before, ahead
- laŋgi kúku-tí go on ahead
- mo-kúku-tí things of long ago
- kur-ó ~ kuu (v.) to arise, leave from, depart
- kura (n.) arrow
- pǐ kura to shoot an arrow
- te-kura bow
- kúri (n.) egg
- kúri-kʔrá chicken egg
- kuro (n.) camwood
- kusára < Sango (n.) work
- de kusára to work
- kusi (subst.) nine
- kutú (n.) fog
- kútu (n.) hut, temporary dwelling
- kuu (v.) See kur-ó
- kuu oróai na ǵ láŋgí later he departed

- kúú (n.) other side of a river
 kú-ó (v.) to cross (a stream)
 kú náǵá to start
 kú náǵá-nzi kóm ré na when I started out to come home here
 kú sére to start a fight
 kú (n.) See kú
 kúrí (n.) ctn. tree

KP

- kpa-á (v.) to find, discover, receive, meet
 kpáá mɔ wealth
 gan wa kpá déá saa ná they weren't happy
 wá zikò núá kpá they went completely around it
 ɛɛ kpá ŋmaà ɪn wa we meet each other
 kpá (n.) location of the rumbling of an elephant's intestines
 kpá-zaŋ-foro wéé ururu the elephant's belly rumbles ururu
 kpaá (adv.) real, really
 rɔk kpaá tɛém to really please me
 kpána (n.) pot
 ndé ré dɔ ŋmaá kɔ-kpána na we will keep food from each other in the
 pot here (part of a proverb)
 kpáré (n.) planting-seed
 kpáré-kondi corn planting-seed
 kpasá (n.) life
 kpa kpasá to find life, to come out with one's life
 ʔ mɔná kpasá he's still alive
 kpasi(á) (v.) to be alive, survive
 ʔ mɔná go kpási he's still alive
 kpásá mɔ the thing itself, the real thing
 kpasi (n.) life (from influence of Christian religion?)
 zam kpasi to save one's life, preserve life
 kpási (adj.) true
 kpási wen the truth
 kpay-á (v.) to ferment, be sour
 kpay yina to prepare medicine
 kpe-á (v.) to shut, lock
 kpe tuwa né gey to plaster a house with mud
 kpém (subst.) one; in negative sentence, at all
 ʔ bay yo kpém just the hide alone
 kpém kpém sɔn each and every one
 gan wa yú kpém ná they didn't get out of the way at all
 kpékéré (adv.) (leave) without one's whereabouts being known
 kpéréŋ kpéréŋ (adv.) descr. of walking and looking for something very care-
 fully
 kpɛtí (n.) perseverance
 wéey dé mɔ né kpɛtí a man does things with perseverance

- kpéyá (n.) place where vision is unobstructed for a long way, open space
 kpo-á (v.) to tie up and make a knot
 kpo né ŋmaá to tie together
 kpolo (n.) ctn. owl
 kpoó (n.) meat saucc (to be eaten with kam)
 kpɔɔ kpɔɔ (adv.) descr. of good health, body unaffected by leprosy
 kpóŋ kpóŋ (adv.) very black
 kpúŋ (adv.) (run off) without stopping

L

- láázák (adv.) everything, completely
 lám (adv.) in a hurry, right away
 ɛre kúú lám let's get going right away
 laŋgi(á) (v.) to go on, pass on
 léf- (n.) See lép
 lép ~ léf- (n.) tongue
 léfém my tongue
 lép-ré our tongues
 léŋgéré léŋgéré (adv.) descr. of small portion of a liquid
 lúŋmgbé (n.) ctn. tree (Combretum sp.); the leaves are used by women for skirts

M

- m (pron. suf.) 1S. See 382
 makunzi ~ makunde < Sango (n.) village headman, chief
 mam-á (v.) to laugh, smile
 wa mámaa they laugh at him
 mam mami fɛ wí-ré to joke with, converse in a jovial manner with people
 mami (n.) laughter, smile
 mɔ́-á (v.) to plant by stems or stalks
 mǎ (conn.) See mǎ
 mɔ́a (v.) See mɔ́a-á
 mɔ́a- ~ mɔ́a (v.) to put an article of clothing around one's waist (originally bark-clout or leaves)
 mɛ (subst.) that place, there
 mé (pron.) 2S
 méém (n.) dew
 mɛ́ (conn.) See mǎ
 mí (pron.) See mǎí
 mɔ́ (n.) thing; used with verb when no other object is specified
 gan ɔ́ zók mɔ́ ná he can't see
 mɔ́ gɔ́y like this, in this manner
 mɔ́-yɔ́ŋi things to eat, food
 zembé é ne mɔ́-kpa mɔ́ the zembé fetish is something with which one acquires wealth

- mɔ ndɛ wa tɛ since they come
 mɔf a wa gbɛ ʒ wenáa that's why they are killing it
 wen kó mɔ ndɛ wa tɛ because they come
 mɔ ~ mǎ ~ mǎ ~ mbɛ ~ mbɔ (conn.) See 333
 mɔk-á (v.) to be, become soft
 mɔrɔ (subst.) five
 mɔy-á (v.) to gather
 ɛɛ mɔy tɛ-ɪpém fara we gather at one place
 mundú (n.) See mbunzú
 munzú (n.) See mbunzú
 mɔr- ~ mɔy (n.) boneless meat, flesh
 mɔy-tɛ-ʒ the flesh of his body
 mɔrú (n.) hail, lip plug (a piece of manioc tuber or stone inserted in a hole
 in the upper or lower lip)
 mɔy (n.) See mɔr-

MB

- mba-á (v.) to greet, to shake one's hand in greeting or congratulations
 mbaŋ-á (v.) to split, to cut lengthwise
 mbɛ (adj.) new, another, different
 wa gbɛ mbɛa they kill another one
 tɔ mbɛa ʔbɔ to repeat
 ʒ kíʔdí mbɛ fiyo he looks for another fetish
 mbɛ (conn.) See mɔ
 mbɛɛ (n.) ctn. small antelope (reed-buck?)
 mbɛɛ (v.) See mber-á
 mber-á ~ mbɛɛ (v.) to beat, pound, slap, play (a drum or a stringed instru-
 ment)
 mbɛtɛ (n.) truth (?)
 nɛ mbɛtɛ indeed
 mbɛtí < Sango (n.) paper, book, letter
 tɔ mbɛtí to read
 dɛ mbɛtí to write
 mbí ~ mí (pron.) 1S
 mbiri mbiri (adv.) somewhat dark, obscure
 fara ɔ mbiri mbiri it's darkish
 mbo-á (v.) to restrain (?)
 wí-mbɔá zu a responsible person
 mboʔdi(á) (v.) to make into balls (as in the preparation of food)
 mboró (n.) red monkey (*Erythrocebus patas*)
 mbóro (subst.) afternoon, evening (between around 3 p.m. and dark)
 mbɔ (conn.) See mɔ
 mbɔŋgɔ (n.) puddle
 mbɔɔ (v.) See mber-á
 mber-á ~ mbɔɔ (v.) to rot (of meat)
 mbɔra (n.) law, rule

bé-zee mbōra obedient child

wa t̄p mbōra²gaza they give the rules concerning the circumcision rites
mbōy (n.) bride-price

mbunzú ~ munzú ~ mundú < Sango (n.) white man

mbúre (n.) roasted sesame seeds

mbutú (mbutu?) (n.) ?

mbutú-sukpa manioc leaves crushed in mortar and cooked without gbolo
or okra

ʔM

ʔma-á (v.) to track down (animals)

ʔmaa (n.) rainy season

zaŋ²ʔmaa in the rainy season

ʔm̄ɛ (v.) See ʔm̄ɛr-á

ʔm̄ɛr-á ~ ʔm̄ɛ (v.) to prevent, obstruct, cover up

ʔm̄ɛ mō²foyo kó wa to cover up their shameful parts

ʔm̄ɛr-á ʔm̄ɛr-á (adv.) descr. of blinking

ʔmōn-á (v.) to remain, stay, be left; to still be doing something; right, just

ʔmōnà kpém one remains

ʔmōná gó gan wa dé ná they haven't done it yet

sa²de ʔmōná gó ó nu the animal is still on the ground

ne ʔmōn, ne gám t̄ɛ-ɛ and then he turned around

ʔmōn ʔdɔɔ-z̄ɔ right in the bush

ʔmōn ḡȳȳ ɔ t̄p ye so he said

ʔbay mō kpém ʔmōn just one thing

ʔmōn ʔmōn (adv.) categorically, absolutely

b̄ɛ ʔmōn ʔmōn to absolutely refuse

ʔmuŋ (adv.) ?

z̄y nu ʔmuŋ to descend with a certain noise

N

na (subst.) here

te-ré ké ré na at our village here

ná (adj.) See 362.1

ná (adv.) See gan . . . ná

naa ~ na²a (n.) mother; used with the name of a child instead of personal
name in polite, direct address

naa-Boysé Boysé's mother

na²a²duwa goat with kids

nam (n.) family, relative

naŋ-á (v.) to be lacking, inadequate

kpáá mō gan né naŋ m̄ ná you will not be lacking in wealth

náj (n.) foot

bolo-náj footprints, tracks

nájá (n.) beginning (?)

- kɔ nájá to begin
 nɔ (conn.) See nɛ
 nájá (subst.) See náj-
 náj-á (v.) to tremble
 tɛ-á náj he is trembling
 nájá (n.) ?
 dɔ nájá to be selfish
 náj- ~ nájá (subst.) four
 nɛ ~ nɔ ~ nɛ ~ ndɛ ~ ndo (conn.) See 332.4
 nɛ-á ~ nɔ ~ nɛ ~ ndɛ ~ ndo (v.) to go; aux. for future. See 394.32
 nɛ nɛ ɔ to take him
 kóro ɲmá ré go nɛ nɛ it rained on us and kept on doing it
 nɛ nɔ to walk
 nɛ (conn.) with, by means of, etc. See 345
 ó mɔ hárá sɔn nɔ ɔ tɔá nɛ all the things about which he spoke
 nɛ ture in the morning
 nɛ (copula) See 352
 nɔ-á (v.) to drink
 nɔ (n.) walk, trip
 nɛ nɔ to walk
 nɔ (n.) oil, fat, grease
 nɔ-sa?de animal grease
 nɔn-á (v.) to harden (?)
 nɔn tɔ to speak secretly
 nɔɔ (adj.) this. See 632.2
 ɛɛ gbó sɛn-tɛ-na nɔɔ we arrived here
 nɔy (n.) bird
 nu (n.) earth, ground
 fire-nu dust
 pɛ nu to throw down
 nú ~ ndú (n.) mouth, edge, rim
 ha oro-nú to give a command
 am pɛ núm sɛnɛ I add my bit (to the conversation)
 nú-tuwa front of house, door of house
 yoo nɛ nú to be quiet, not speak
 si káfé oro-nú to dispute what has been said
 ba nú to be too much for one to cope with, to be a bother
 nú-nájá (subst.) See nú-náj-
 nú-náj- ~ nú-nájá (subst.) eight
 nɔn-ɔ (v.) to smell
 ɲma mɔ nɔnɔm I smell something
 nɔn-ɔ ~ nɔ (v.) to rub between the palms of one's hands
 nɔ (v.) See nɔn-ɔ
 Nzapá ~ Ndapá < Sango (n.) God

ND

- ndak-á (v.) to chase away
 ndará (n.) buffalo
 nday (ndaáy?) ?
 nde (f.p.) See 323
 ndé (f.p.) narrative vocative, interrogative marker. See 322
 ndee (n.) See nder-
 ndéé (adv.) few, little, small
 ó kprá kóm gan dók ná go ó ndéé I have only a few chickens
 nder- ~ ndee (n.) quiver (for arrows)
 ndé (v.) See ne
 ndéér (adv.) nice looking (descr. of cowry shells tied to forehead)
 ndeŋge (n.) ctn. palm; the fronds are used in weaving mats and in making skirts
 ndin-ó (v.) to chase away
 ndfiŋ (adv.?) dirty
 ndo (conn.) See ne
 ndotí(á) (v.) to be thick (as of cloth, lumber)
 ndoy-á (v.) to save, collect, put aside
 ndo-á (v.) to have sexual relations; impolite but explicit term, by implication the sexual act is illegitimate by the culture's standards
 ndo (v.) See ne
 ndoo (v.) See ndor-á
 ndor-á ~ ndoo (v.) to shoot (by means of arrow or gun)
 ndoo tan to twist the hair into many little tufts, then apply the liquid of a certain root to stiffen them
 ndú (n.) See nú
 nduy-ó (v.) to chase away

ʔN

- ʔnaŋ-á (v.) to ruin, destroy, perish
 naa kóm ʔnaŋá my mother died
 ʔnáŋ (adj.) bad, evil
 ʔnáŋaa doká the bad ones are numerous
 ŋma ʔnáŋ mbunzú a certain bad white man
 ʔnéŋ (adv.) very early in the morning
 ʔnpo (n.) excrement
 sp ʔnpo to defecate

ŋG

- ŋgabala (n.) metal nostril plug used as adornment
 ŋgan wí (n.) ctn. dance associated with purification after defilement by killing an animal dangerous to man or by killing a human being.

See W. J. Samarin, Gbeya prescientific attitudes and Christianity, Practical Anthropology 6:179-182 (1959).

- nganǵú < Sango (n.) strength
 ngaragé (n.) ctn. hunting society. See W. J. Samarin, Ngaragé, a Gbeya society, African Studies 18:190-196 (1959).
 ngay (n.) strength, hard, difficult
 bé-ngay son, boy
 de ngay to act fiercely, act violently
 tɔ wen ngay to speak severely
 s ngay wen ké ré wen-néá it's hard for us to go
 ngendé < Sango (n.) chaise-longue
 ngéré (n.) shield
 ngeti(á) to bite
 ngem-á ~ ngembá (v.) to hold, keep, wait for
 ngem te to be careful, take precautions
 ngémbaa Wait for him!
 ngewɔɔ (adv.) descr. of bark cloth which has had ndɛngɛ sewn on it
 nginda (n.) See ngingza
 ngingza ~ nginda < Sango (n.) money
 ngombe < Sango (n.) gun
 ngómbi (n.) cloth made by pounding the bark of the zóro tree
 ngondo (n.) direction from which wind is blowing at the time of the great grass-burning
 ngók (n.) nail (of finger, toe)
 ngón (n.) up, high
 feá te-ngón died standing up (that is, before falling down)
 neá ngón me went up there
 ngɔɔr (adv.) with a loud noise
 ngóróm ngóróm (adv.)
 ne né ngóróm ngóróm to take something completely away
 gbɪn ngóróm ngóróm to collapse into uselessness
 ngoyá (n.) bush-hog (Potamochoerus porcus); taboo to newly circumcised
 nguʔdú (n.) chest
 nguʔbú (n.) hippopotamus; taboo to newly circumcised

ŋM

- ŋma ~ ŋa (adj.) a, certain
 gbéá ŋma toró killed a dog
 ŋma-á (v.) to press down on, wet (of rain)
 kóro ŋmaà ré the rain wet us
 ŋmaa (subst.) other, some, a few
 ŋmaa gan bó ʔbo ná there aren't any others
 ŋmaa a yóri there's one standing there
 ŋmaá (subst.) each other
 wa s ne yá kó ŋmaá they are brothers
 wa ték ín ŋmaá they fall together

éré àà k55-ηmaà in wa we joined up with them
 kay ηmaá to assemble, get together
 ηmáη ηmák (adv.) See ηmáη ηmáη
 ηmáη ηmáη (adv.) very often, all the time, for ever
 ηmáη-á (v.) to cut off, to slice off, to cease (flowing or raining)
 kóro gan ηmáη d5ó ná the rain didn't stop soon
 wá ηmáη te-wa they broke up (for each one to go his own way)
 t5k-te-wa bó ηmáηyá when their blood has stopped flowing
 ηmí?ní ηmí?ní (adv.) tightly

ηMGB

ηmgban-á ~ ηmgbandá (v.) to rip off or apart
 ηmgbah-á ~ ηmgbahgá (v.) to bc or become fat
 ηmgbáη (adv.) also (especially in accompaniment with)
 ηmgbééré (n.) leprosy
 ηmgbééré dé 5 he has leprosy
 ηmgbíim (n.) ctn. fish which, upon contact with flesh, gives an electrical
 shock; taboo to the newly circumcised
 ηmgbóη (adv.) for a long time
 d5η wa kí?dí ré ηmgbóη they kept on looking for us for a long time
 ηmgbó-á (v.) to pound (bark into cloth)
 ηmgbó?bók (adv.) descr. of many people singing
 ηmgbóη ηmgbó?bó (adv.) descr. of many people singing

O

o (subst.) who? See 382.3
 o á teá o ndé who came?
 oó (f.p.) See 324
 -ó (perf. suf.) See -á
 ó (adj.) plural indicator. See 361.1
 wa y5η ó kóndi kóm they eat my corn
 ó Ndurí people from the village of Ndurí
 ó Gu?dó né ín Sáámó Gu?dó and Sáámó went
 nde re kpá ó yám-Sara and we met Sara's father and those who accom-
 panied him
 óó See óró . . . gá
 oro (n.) place of, the very place
 d5η me oro-ré to live there in our place
 wa bá duwai né oro-kiri they take the goat whole
 oro-nú a command, order
 am pí paai oróai I put the knife back in its place (where it first was)
 kóá zéé wen oro-núm the girl obeys according to what I say
 si káfé oro-nú to dispute what someone has said
 kuu oro-zééré ne fey né teá after sickness death will come
 kuu oróai na 5 té later he comes

- oro ~ ro (pron.) pl. explicit pron. See 382.12
- óró (~ óó) . . . gá (conn.) like, as, as if, about approximately. See 332.5
- ngém óró mɔ nɔ ɔ tɔi gá Wait just as he said to!
- gba ɔ rɔkà óró gende gá even if she is good like anything
- óró nɔ ɔ kúró gá as if he were going to get up
- ɔ (pron.) 1P (from Boguila dialect)
- ɔ-á (v.) to be, sleep (very often of sg. subj.)
- ɔ nu to lie down
- ɔ ín kóó to have sexual relations with woman
- gan ɔ mbé ré si fɛ́é ná it's not for us to argue
- paa kóm ɔ sɛné I have a knife
- paa am ɔ né as for a knife, I have one
- mɔ-ɔi things on which to sleep
- ó (perf. suf.) See -á
- om-á ~ ombá (v.) to breathe
- om tɛ to rest
- ?moná go ɔm ɔmi he's still breathing
- py-á (v.) to vomit

P

- paa (n.) knife
- zom-ɔpaa very large knife, sword
- parába < Sango < Portuguese (n.) trouble, argument
- ndé ré de parába sɔɔ we're going to have trouble today
- pee (v.) See per-á
- per-á ~ pee (v.) to return to the place at which one is speaking
- pee ?doɔ to return
- pesi(á) (v.) to be wide
- pe (n.) year
- péɛ nɔɔ this year
- de pe rífto to last two years
- péé (n.) See pér-
- pér- ~ péé (n.) string, rope
- péé-dóma rope made from the bark of the dóma tree
- pɛ́é (n.) kob antelope (*Adenota kob*)
- pí-ó (v.) to put, cast, throw (sg. obj.)-
- pí yanɔ to fish with hook-and-line
- pí kura to shoot an arrow
- poo (n.) gallery-forest
- poopó (n.) lungs

R

- ra (det. suf.) See -a
- rá (adv.) ?
- e rá to give up, cease doing something

- raa (n.) ctn. very small black ant
 rákáʔdí (adv.) unafraid
 á ʔmoná go yóó rákáʔdí he remained standing unafraid
 rama (n.) ?
 túrú-rama cloth woven from indigenous cotton
 ro-á (v.) to enter (sg. subj.), set (of sun)
 ré (n.) village, home
 á nèà ré ká á he went home
 wí-ré person
 wí-zaŋ-ré villager
 ré-naa mother's village
 ré (?) See 382.3
 deà ré ge what happened? what's up?
 re (pron.) See ɛre
 rék rék (adv.) not missing a thing, exactly
 rékét (adv.) on the spot
 rɛm-á (v.) to be able, can; to be enough; to be equal to, alike
 rɛm wen kó nè to be able to go
 rɛm de mo to be able to do something
 ɛ́é rɛmà ré this is enough for us
 bó wá yo rɛm after they have danced enough
 wesé bó rémá when it is time
 á dé go rɛm ín oro-nú-wa he did it in compliance with their instructions
 rɛm rúʔdúʔdú to be absolutely alike
 wá yɔ́á geʔda gó gan rɛm ná they ate an awful lot of manioc
 rɛmɛ (n.) sand
 ri (n.) water, river, year
 bé-ri creek
 ri-kóro rainwater
 ʃ ri it's wet
 de ri to set traps to catch fish
 zu-ri source of stream, spring
 ʔdoŋ-ri river bank
 ri-ó (v.) to eat (when the sauce is entirely liquid)
 ríŋ- (n.) See ríŋ
 ríŋto (subst.) two
 ríŋ ~ ríŋ- ~ rí (n.) eye, face
 ríŋ-záan the sky
 ríŋ-ri surface of the river
 gɔm ríŋ to blink
 kɔ-ríŋ-wa their faces
 á mé yɔ́ mo tɛ-ríŋ-wí-ré ná Don't eat food in the presence of people!
 rífi(ʃ) (v.) to make string by rolling fibers on one's thigh
 rík-ʃ (v.) to hit, strike
 rík nu to fall down
 ro (pron.) See oro
 ro-á (v.) to hit (as with a stone)

- rək-á (v.) to be smooth
 røy (adv.) See røy røy
 røy røy (adv.) without restrictions (very wide range of meaning)
 wa kpá ŋma wí-ré zaŋ-réi røy they find just somebody in the village
 me rém kpəy há wí-ré røy røy you may prepare (the medicine) for
 people without restrictions
 tɔ wən røy røy to talk unwisely, indiscretely
 yŋ mɔ røy røy to eat without any precautions
 rɔk-á (v.) to be good, be pleasing
 réi rɔk tɛ-ré the village pleases us, we like the village
 rɔk ʔdé gán, goi bá mbunzú nó it would be better if you took this white
 man
 ɔ dé mɔ rɔk ʔdé she works well
 rɔɔ (n.?) sweetness (?)
 de rɔɔ to taste good, to be sweet
 ru-ó (v.) to prepare (porridge)
 rúʔdúʔdú (adv.) being absolutely alike
 rym-ó (v.) to collect a large quantity of something
 rym nú to pucker up one's lips

S

- sa-á (v.) to sing, call
 sa gima to sing a song
 sa mɔ to call out, yell
 sa yín to expose someone
 saa (n.) fun, game, enjoyable time
 de saa to have fun, rejoice
 mɔ-saa plaything, toy
 né saa ná an intensifier (lit. no joke): ɔ góy ré né saa ná he likes us
 very much
 saa (n.) See sar-á
 saakara (n.) island
 saʔde (n.) animal, meat
 saʔde-te flesh, body
 sáki < Sango < French (n.) thousand (francs)
 sandúku < Sango (n.) box, trunk
 saŋa (n.) within, between, among, inside
 mɔy tɛ-saŋa to meet in the middle
 sən-tɛ-saŋa-tɛ-ó tɔ wí-ré among Africans (lit. black people)
 re saŋa-tɛ-ɔ to enter him
 sar-á ~ saa (v.) to scratch, go by another route, dispute
 ɔ sáá ŋn wa he disputes with them
 saa sék to think, ponder
 sara (n.) crotch (of pole or tree)
 sát (adv.) very early
 say (n.) pumpkin

- sɔ-á (v.) ?
 fara sɔ to be a new day
- sɔa (adv.) sweet, good (of smell)
- sɔk-á (v.) to be clean, neat, correct
 kóo gan rém tɔ wen sɔk ná a woman can't talk correctly
 é hám zókaa sɔk let me see it well
- sɔm-á (v.) to eat a crumbly or dry substance without dipping it into a sauce
- sɔp (n.) spittle
 a sɔp to spit
- sék (n.) ?
 saa sék to think, ponder
- sélélé (adv.) quiet
 ɔ yóó ne nú-ɛ sélélé he is very quiet
- sé (conn.) See 332.6
- sɛm sɛm (adv.) descr. of quivering spear shaft
- sɛn (n.) place at which
 mbunzú ne tɛà kɛ ɛ sɛn-tɛ²Laagata the white man who came from Laagata
 ɛk sɛn-tɛ²ɲma bé-te to lean against a small tree
 ɔ rɪk ne déne sɛn²tanámi he hit the wasps on my head with it
- sɛn-á (v.) to hate, spite
 de sɛn mɔ to act in spiteful, hateful way
- sɛné (subst.) at this (that) place, there
 pɪ sɛné to add to it
 paa kóm ó sɛné I have a knife
- sɛra (n.) liver
 tí-sɛrám péé I'm nauseated
 ɔ dé kpém kp²sɛra ɪn wa he is of one heart with them
 ó né sɛra kó mé wen²de mɔ it's your desire to do something
 kp²sɛra-ré gan kó ʔdoŋ-ne fo ná we don't want to go to the gardens
- sɛrá (n.) anthill
- sɛrɛ (n.) spear
 kɪ sɛrɛ to start a fight
- sɛk-á (v.) to chop (at a flat surface, as with an adze)
 sɛk ʔdoŋ-fyo²te to clean the back-side of a piece of bark
- sɛm²a (v.) to tuck in
 wa sɛm wá kɛ-gun²wa they tie on leaves at each side of their hips
- si-ó (v.) to return (usually to a place other than where one is speaking)
 si fɛɛ to argue, disagree
- sí (n.) direction, way
 sí-ká-tɛ toward the side
 ba sí-ʔday to take something away
 ba sí-ʔdoŋ to take something away
- sin-ó (v.) to tie long objects parallel to each other (as in making a screen)
- sɪyú sɪyú (adv.) tightly
 kaa péé sɪyú sɪyú to braid string tightly
- só (adj.?) ?
 mɔ só what's-his-name

- só kǎ (conn.) See só kó
 só ké (conn.) See só kó
 só kǎ (conn.) See só kó
 só kó ~ só kǎ ~ só ké ~ só kǎ ~ sóó (conn.) then. See 332.7
 sóó (adj.?) little
 sóó naa mother's younger sister, (female) mother's older brother's
 daughter, (male) father's younger brother's wife (who is sibling of
 mother)
 sóó (conn.) See só kó
 soy-á (v.) to sit down, be seated
 sók-á (v.) to grow up, mature, become old
 sóká (n.) knowledge, wisdom
 sókái (n.) elder, old person
 sɔn-á (v.) to finish off, no longer exist
 ɔay'gaza sɔnà sɔn the circumcision wound is all healed
 sɔn (adv.) all, completely
 éɛ sɔn, ɛɛ zókaa all of us saw it
 bǎ á dɛ mɔ sɔn after he has finished working
 ɛɛ á fɔ sɔn we all went to the gardens
 sóó (subst.) today
 sóó nɔó today
 sórá (n.) star
 sóráam (n.) paternal uncle, term of respect for adult males
 sóráam (used in direct address)
 sɔ-á (v.) to secrete
 sɔ íni to urinate
 sɔ ʔnɔɔ to defecate
 sɔ bera (n.) sweat
 sɔ bera á tɛm I'm perspiring
 súʔbé (n.) stomach (in its specific sense, that is, the organ)
 sukpa (n.) manioc leaves (used as vegetable greens)
 sunu (n.) sesame

T

- ta (n.) stone
 taa (subst.) See tar-
 táá ~ táa (adv.)
 ʔmɔnà táa not yet (of almost any incompleated action)
 táa (adv.) See táá
 tam-á (v.) to touch, feel
 tan (n.) head
 dɛ tan to fix up onc's hair
 gɔn tan to cut one's hair
 tan-á (v.) to be straight, straighten
 é háam zók tán sé let me see better
 táná ʔdoɔ-wáá a straight road

- tar- ~ taa (subst.) three
- t̩a (n.) ?
 gon t̩a to think, make plans
 haa t̩a^ˈwen to think
- t̩a (conn.) See t̩e
- t̩e (n.) tree, bush, stick
- tek-á (v.) to fall
- t̩e (n.) body; to, at (in preposition-like constructions)
 sa^ˈde^ˈt̩e flesh
 kiri^ˈt̩e flesh
 gam t̩e to turn around
 zee t̩e to hear, obey (when there is no other object)
 zok t̩e to see
 too t̩e happiness
 t̩p̩k-t̩e^ˈwa their blood
 t̩éa ó n̩e búu it (the tree) is white
 n̩e k̩á-t̩e on the side
 am gbúraa t̩e^ˈt̩é^ˈm na I pull him toward me
 a péé ^ˈdoŋ t̩e^ˈt̩e-r̩é na he returns to us here
- t̩e ~ t̩ɛ ~ t̩a ~ to (conn.) See 332.8
- t̩e-á (v.) to come, as aux. (~ t̩ɛ ~ t̩a ~ to). See 394.33
 t̩e n̩é m̩o to bring the thing
- t̩end̩e (n.) cotton
 gba t̩end̩e a ctn. indigenous cultivated "cotton," the plant of which is
 large enough for children to climb on; the seeds are large
- t̩í (n.) first, ahead, before, previously, in front of
 p̩ee t̩e-t̩í to return first
 gan am íŋ wen kó dilai t̩í ná I didn't know about the lion before
 dak t̩í to lead (a group)
 hey k̩wá t̩í-ó d̩émá wí-ré to cry in front of a crowd of people
 gb̩èa ó wí-ré kó mé ^ˈbéé t̩í killed some of your people long ago
 kúku-t̩í the first thing, first of all
- t̩í (n.) See t̩ír-₁, t̩ír-₂
- t̩ír-₁ ~ t̩í (n.) tail
- t̩ír-₂ ~ t̩í (n.) canoe
- t̩ír̩e (n.) payment, fee (for use of canoe, fetish, etc.)
- to See t̩e (conn.), t̩e (aux.)
- to (n.) fable
 t̩p̩ to to relate fables
 Wan to the Spider (the main character of many fables)
- to-á (v.) to pound (as in mortar), to knock down
- tó See t̩e (v.)
- tok-á (v.) to sew a string onto a piece of cloth by putting it in and out on a
 flat surface, to cut down (at the base of something)
- tóko (n.) mat; (by extension) bed, sleeping place
 gón-tóko-z̩ér̩é on a bed of illness
- tom (n.) message, errand, work

- de tom to work
 béc-tom messenger
 yu tom to run with a message
 tom-á ~ tombá (v.) to send
 tom tom to send a message
 am tóm hẹ ẹ I send word to him
 ton (n.) vagina
 too tẹ (n.) happiness, happy
 de too tẹ to be happy, to celebrate
 toró (n.) dog
 toy (n.) baggage, personal belongings
 toy'ɔpɔ mɔ eating utensil
 toy-á (v.) to carry (on one's head)
 tɔ-á (v.) to be sharp
 tɔŋ (n.) salt
 tɔ-á (v.) to say, speak
 wí-tɔ wen person who talks too much
 wa tɔ ye ge they say
 tɔk (n.) blood
 tɔk-tɛ-wa their blood
 tɔɔ (v.) See tɔr-á
 tɔr-á ~ tɔɔ (v.) to count, enumerate
 tɔɔ mbétfi to read
 ture (n.) morning
 turee this morning
 zu-ture very early in the morning
 túrú (n.) ctn. tree from which bark was cut off and used in making cloth
 (Ficus punctata Lam.); cloth, clothes
 pɛ túrú to put clothes (on oneself)
 tusi(ó) (v.) ?
 tusi wey to make a fire
 tut (adv.) suddenly
 gɔm tut to cut something off with one stroke
 tuwa (n.) house, building
 nú-tuwa entrance, doorway
 tɔ-ɔ (v.) to be or become dark, black
 fara dɔŋ tɔ ré it was beginning to get dark on us (that is, darkness was
 overtaking us)
 tɔ ?dɔŋ ?dɔŋ to be very dark
 tɔ (adj.) black
 tɔ wí-ré black person, African
 tɔn-ó (v.) to waken

U

- ú (perf. suf.) See -á
 ururu (adv.) descr. of rumbling of an elephant's intestines

usi(ó) (v.) to show, teach

V

valé (n.) covered pen (usually made of logs to protect against leopards;
the entrance is shut each night)

valé-duwa goat-pen

v̄ɔy (adv.) ?

dum v̄ɔy to spear with extreme forcefulness

v̄ɛɛ (adv.) ?

yínaa hoá saŋa'tei v̄ɛɛ the tusks appeared between the trees

vip (adv.) ?

e wey vip to set fire to something explosively

vúmó (n.) body hair, fur, feathers

vúmó-tɛém my body hair

vúmó-n̄y bird feathers

vúrú (n.) ctn. vinc (Sarcophrynium sp.); used in mat-making

voŋ (adv.) ?

ro voŋ to hit something making it give off a ringing sound

W

wa (pron.) 3P

wa (f.p.) See 325

wa-á (v.) to hoe, weed, work with a hoe

wá (f.p.) See 326

waa (n.) See war-

Wáam (n.) a large river which flows north, by the towns of Bozoum and
Bossangoa, and which meets the Nana Barya (river) at Batangafo

wáá (n.) See wár-

waka (n.) cane-grass

wan (n.) master, owner, boss

Wan to Spider (the main character of many fables)

wan fiyo one who owns the rights to a certain fetish

war- ~ waa (n.) beans

gb̄ara-waa individual bean kernels

wár- ~ wáá (n.) path, road, way

a tí-wáá to set an ambush

wáá fara taa three times

?doŋ-wáá-Bossangoa the road to Bossangoa

?doŋ-wá-ne fo bó ná it's impossible to go to the gardens

am kíí ?doŋ-wáá k̄á á I'm trying to locate him

e wí-ré tɛ'¿doŋ-wáá to put a person on his way, accompany a person to
the road

ó né ?doŋ-wáaraa that's correct, that's the way

wa úsí ?doŋ-wáá há mé they show you the way (to do it)

wáá-wéey right side

- wáá-kóo left side
 way-á ~ wará (v.) to bear fruit
 wárá-te fruit
 waya (n.) ambush
 yu waya to lie in ambush
 wá (n.) leaf
 kpm wá to pluck leaves
 wáa ~ wáára the leaves
 we-á (v.) to measure
 we tí-wa to meet them (on the road)
 wee (v.) See wer-á
 wéé (perhaps wér-?) (n.) ?
 yꞑꞑ wéé-tí-sɛra-á to eat his liver (in witchcraft)
 wécy (f.p.) See 327
 wéey (n.) man, male
 wéey-kofɛ son-in-law
 dɛ tɛ nɛ wéey to act in a manly way
 wééy (n.) ?
 wééy-nú lip
 wen (n.) word, affair, matter, subject
 tꞑ wen to talk
 wen gan bó ná it's all right, everything is fine
 né kpasí wen it's the truth
 wenáa because of it, for it, about it
 hɛɛ zu-wen to conclude a matter, resolve a problem
 ó né wen ké ré wen-dɛ mɔ we must do something
 bóm gam tɛém wen kó ném ba tɛ when I turned around to climb a tree
 wa ó kꞑ-kútu-gaza wen-ze kpém they sleep in the circumcision hut for
 a month
 mɛ kíꞑdí kóo ná wen-ge ndé why aren't you looking for a wife?
 ge a mɛ yui wenáa ge ndé why are you running?
 wéndé ~ béndé (f.p.) See 328
 mé tombá tom béndé did you send word?
 wéndé . . . gan (conn.) See 332.9
 wen kó (conn.) See 331.2
 wen-mɔ (conn.) See 331.2
 wer-á ~ wee (v.) to supplicate (a fetish). See also wey-á
 wesé (n.) sun, day
 wesé rcá the sun has set
 wesé nɛ bó mé zokaa ná if you should not see him
 tɛ-wesé-kofɛ nɛ á déi at the time when he is working for his in-laws
 wey (n.) fire, heat, gun
 e mɔ wey to put something on the fire to cook
 nú-wey clan, clansman
 ó wey it's hot (to the touch)
 fara yóó wey it's hot (of the weather)
 wey-á ~ werá (v.) to make a noise, go off

- ǵ dóm f̄ra go wéy féé he blows a whistle and it goes féé
 wí (pron.) 2P
 wí (n.) person, agentive
 wí-o who?
 wía the person
 ge wí-ge ndé who?
 wí-toy m̄o porter
 wí-zaŋ-ré villager, one of us
 wírí wírí (adv.) without anyone's knowing
 raa á saŋa-té-ǵ wírí wírí the raa ants entered his body without his
 knowing
 wóró wóró (adv.) ?
 yu wóró wóró to flee quickly in a group
 w̄o (n.) desire, hunger
 fe w̄o to die of hunger
 w̄o gbém I'm very hungry

Y

- y (QV) See gende gá ye ge
 yaa (v.) See yar-á
 yám (n.) father, used casually for one of the paternal uncles
 yáam (in direct address)
 yaŋgo < Sango (n.) fishhook
 p̄i yaŋgo to fish with hook-and-line
 yar-á ~ yaa (v.) to roam, walk, stroll
 yaa yarí to go hunting
 yara (n.) sleep
 yara dém I'm sleepy
 wa 5 yara they are asleep
 rffim bá yara I'm sleepy
 yarí (n.) hunting
 yaa yarí to go hunting
 yá (n.) sibling, friend, comrade
 yá-wéey brother
 yá-kóo sister
 yara (n.) ctn. fish; taboo to the newly circumcised
 yare (n.) brother-, sister-in-law
 yaŋy-á (v.) to pull apart
 ye (QV) See gende gá ye ge
 yelele (adv.) descr. of waving back and forth slowly
 -ye (dem. suf.) See -e
 yek-á (v.) to shake in violent motions, tremble
 yetete (adv.) descr. of trembling
 yɛɛ (v.) See yɛr-á
 yɛr-á ~ yɛɛ (v.) to be far, long
 ǵ z̄uð yɛ́ɛ́ he went far away

- k55-mé né yǝrá you'll be gone a long time
 yín (n.) name
 ba yín to talk about someone, slander
 yín (n.) root, tooth
 yǝŋ yín to be courageous, persevere
 yina (n.) medicine
 kpǝy yina prepare medicine
 yo (n.) hide, leather
 yoo (v.) See yor-á
 yor-á ~ yoo (v.) to stand
 yoo ne nú to be quiet
 yoo ŋgón to stand up
 yɔ-á (v.) to lose, get lost
 ám yáá ʔdoŋ-wáá I've lost the way
 yáá mɔ fault, mistake
 yɔ-á (v.) to dance
 yɔ yɔra to dance
 yɔk (n.) trap
 yɔli(á) (v.) to move something toward oneself
 yɔŋgi(á) (v.) to carry (something big and/or heavy)
 yɔra (n.) dance
 yɔy-á (v.) to pull out (intestines of animal)
 yǝná (n.) (garden) food, foodstuffs
 yǝŋ-á (v.) to eat, bite, chew
 mɔ-yǝŋi food
 yǝŋ iyo'te to chew bark to soften it
 ŋma kóo á yǝná ǝ gbéi some woman chewed on her and killed her (in witchcraft)
 yǝy-á (v.) to stick out, extend
 am yǝy éré m I stick out my hand
 yu-ó (v.) to flee, run away, avoid
 búk yú the wind is blowing
 yu waya to lie in ambush
 yu tom to run with a message
 yufi(ó) (v.) to mix up, make (small portion of a pasty substance)
 yui (n.) running
 yu yui to run fast
 yur-ó ~ yuu (v.) to poke in, stick through
 yuu (v.) See yur-ó
 yum-ó (v.) to hurt, ache
 zaŋám yúm wenáa I'm upset about it
 tɛm yúm I'm not feeling well

Z

- za (n.) throwing-knife
 záan (n.) outside, in the open

- ne te-záan to go outside
 rfp-záan sky
 bú záan white clouds
 dɔŋ záan to live a long time
 zaʔda (n.) chin, jowls
 zaʔdi(á) (v.) ?
 zaʔdi yui to run fast
 zak (n.) horn (of animal)
 zak (n.) fibrous material (?)
 zak-geʔda fibers left after manioc flour has been sifted
 zam-á (v.) to save, deliver, preserve
 zaŋ (n.) stomach, belly; inside, in
 yáŋ-záŋ-saʔde animal's intestines
 ba zaŋ to be or become pregnant
 zaŋám yúm wenáa I'm angry about it
 zaŋ-wa dé saa they are happy
 ká-záŋ-tuwa beside the house
 zaŋ-ré in the village
 záŋ (adv.) different, apart
 mɔ nɔɔ ó záŋ this thing is different
 ǰ nɛà záŋ he went a different way
 zara (zará?) (n.) horn (instrument)
 zara-ʔburí reed whistle
 zawa (n.) peanuts
 zɔ-á (v.) to dig up, dig (hole)
 zɔa (adv.) in vain, without results
 de mɔ zɔa to do something without getting any results
 zɔra (n.) a ctn. edible tuberous root (Dioscorca sagittifolia or D. Lecardii)
 ze (n.) moon, month
 ge ze-ge when?
 ge zéc when?
 wa ó sené ze kpém they stayed there one month
 zee (v.) See zer-á
 zer-á ~ zee (v.) to hear, understand
 zee wen to listen, obey
 zee oro-nú to obey
 gan wa zéé te-wa kpém ná they just don't obey at all
 am zéé ye ge mé gbéá dila I hear that you killed a lion
 ze (subst.) night
 zu-ze very early in the morning, dawn
 ze deá it has become night
 zee tonight
 zéé (subst.) yesterday
 zembé (n.) ctn. fetish
 ba zembé to appeal to, utilize the zembé
 wí-zembé practitioner of the zembé fetish
 zera (n.) ear

- zéré (n.) sickness
 zéré dé ɔ he is sick
 wí-zéré sick person
- zé (n.) smoke
 zé-wey smoke (literally, smoke of fire)
- zik-ó (v.) to go around
 zik tɛ to turn oneself to the side
- zĩ (n.) fly
 zĩ-gpɔɔ honeybee
- zifa (n.) switch for whipping people
- ziji (v.) See zĩr-ó
- zĩm-ó (v.) to abstain from, observe a taboo, avoid
- zĩr-ó ~ ziji (v.) to descend, get down
- zólóló (adv.) very white
- zoro (n.) fish
- zoy-á (v.) to swim, bathe
 ɔ zóy ri he's bathing
- zók-á (v.) to see, understand
 gan ɔ zók tɛ-ɔ ná he can't see, he is blind
 rífaa ʔmóná go zók mɔ wɛn kó mé she is expecting you
- zom (adj.) big
- zomi (n.) senior, someone whom one must respect
- zon-á (v.) to admire
- zóná (n.) young woman, woman whose body is still youthful
 de zóná to dress up (of girls)
 zóná kóm my adolescent daughter
- zóná-ká-Wáam (n.) ctn. tree
- zóɔɔ (n.) ctn. tree (*Ficus* sp.)
- zɔ (n.) grass, bush, uncultivated area away from the village
 ɔ zɔ to sleep in the bush
 pĩ zɔ to throw away
- zɔf- (n.) See zɔp
- zɔm (n.) See zɔp
- zɔp ~ zɔm ~ zɔf- (n.) nose
 zɔfóm my nose
 zɔp-fé his own nose
 zɔm-wa their noses
- zu-ó (v.) to steal
- zu (n.) head, top of; on
 zu-ri source of stream, spring
 zu-kara top of hill
 zu-ture very early in the morning
 zu-fey grave-site
 wɛn né ɔ zu-mé trouble will fall on you
 á mé nɛ mɛ yoo zúa ná don't go and stand over them (while they eat)
 zu-wa ó taa there are three of them
 sa ŋma wí-ré á zu-wa to call some people to supplement them

zúsúka < Sango < French (adv.) for a long time

wa yáá gpy ñmgbón zúsúka they kept on walking like this for a long time

zụ-ó (v.) to stick, insert, depart

zụ nu to descend

ạ yú kẹ ẹ zụ he fled

ENGLISH-GBEYA

A

a, an ɲma
 able, to be rɛm-á
 about: to know about ɲɲ wen kó
 ask them about it ák wa wenáa
 about (approximately) óro . . . gá
 absence, in the tɛ-bɔɔ
 absolutely ʔmón ʔmón
 abstain from, to zɪm-ó
 accompany, to nɛ ín (lit. go with)
 according oro
 ache, to yɪm-ó
 addition, in e-á
 adequate, to be dam-á
 admire, to zɔn-á
 adolescent: boy bisa, girl zɔɲá
 affair wen
 afraid: we were afraid kéey dɛà
 ré
 African tɲ wí-ré
 after ɔɔɔ, oro, kuu ɔɔɔáɪ, kóraaɪ
 afternoon mbóro
 again mbéa ʔbɔ
 agree, to kɲ ʔdoɲáa
 ahead tí
 alight on tree, to ba te
 all láázák, sɔn; that's all sɔná;
 at all kpém ná
 alone ɛn-te
 also ʔbɔ, ɲmgbáɲ
 always ɲmáɲ ɲmáɲ
 ambush: to set an ambush a tí-wáá;
 to lie in ambush yu waya
 among ʔdɔr-, saɲa-te
 and nɛ, tɛ, go
 anger dɔ
 angry, to be zaɲ yɪm-ó, tɛ yɪm-ó

animal saʔde
 anklet dɛla
 another mbé, ɲma
 ant (ctn.) raa
 antelope biro, gba dɔrɔ, kaya,
 mbɛɛ, pɛɛ
 anus nú-geʔde
 any (not particular) rɔy
 anyone ɲma wí-ré rɔy
 appear, to hɔ-á
 approach, to heʔdi(á)
 arise, to kur-ó
 arm ér-, ʔbaka
 around, to go zik-ó
 arrive, to gbo-á
 arrow kura
 as See like
 ashes búú-wey
 ask, to ak-á; to ask for something,
 borrow kɔy-á
 at sɛn, tɛ, nɛ
 avoid, to yu-ó; to avoid something
 tabooed zɪm-ó
 away, to take ba sí-ʔday
 awfully gan rém ná

B

back ʔdoɲ, kór-; back in the same
 place oróa; to go back si ʔdoɲ
 bad ʔnáɲ
 bag daná
 bank of river ʔdoɲ-ri
 bark (of tree) ɲyo
 base (of tree) gun
 basket (ctn.) geze
 bathe, to zoy ri
 be, to: sg. subj. ɔ-á, pl. subj. ya-á;

to be at a place for a year *dɛ pɛ*
 bead *kísi*
 beans *war-*
 bear, to: children *ko-á, gbay-á;*
 fruit *way-á*
 because *wen, wen-mo nɛ, wen kó*
 become: it has become night *zɛ*
dɛá
 bed (sleeping place) *tóko, gan dɔk,*
mo-ɔi
 bee *zɪ-gpɔ*
 beer *dɔ́b*
 beg, to *koy-á*
 begin, to *kɪ náŋá, dɪŋ-ɔ*
 beginning *kɪ geʔdɛá*
 behind *ʔdɔŋ, kór-*
 belch, to *bek-á*
 belly *zaŋ*
 berry See fruit
 beside *ká*
 better *rɔk ʔdɛ gán* (lit. be good
 very surpasses)
 between *saŋa*
 big *gásá, zom*
 bite, to *ŋgeti(á), yŋ-á*
 bird *nɔy*
 black, to be *tɔ-ɔ; kpɔŋ, kóróró*
 blind: to become blind *hom-á;*
 blind person *wí-bóom*
 blink, to *gom rɪp*
 blood *tɔk*
 blow (on instrument) *dɔm-á; (of*
 wind) *yu-ɔ*
 body *tɛ; whole body, flesh*
saʔde-tɛ, kiri-tɛ
 bone *gbara*
 bow (weapon) *te-kura*
 bracelet *káná*
 braid, to *kɔr-á*
 break, to: break off piece of food
ʔbir-ɔ, in general gbɪn-ɔ
 breast (mammary glands) *bere*
 breathe, to *om-á*
 bride-price *mbɔy*
 bridge *ʔdúu*
 bring, to *tɛ né* (lit. come with)
 brother *yá-wéey*

buffalo *ndará*
 bullet *gbara-ʔwey*
 burn, to: intrans. *ber-á, trans.*
do-á
 bury, to *gɪn-ɔ*
 bush: uninhabited land *zɔ́; tree*
te; section of grassland burnt in
dry season gbíya
 but See connectives (330)
 butcher, to *ʔbor-á*
 buttocks *geʔde*
 by: by the side of *ká-tɛ; by means*
 of *né*

C

call, to *sa-á*
 camwood *kuro*
 canoe *tɪr-*
 cap *ʔboy*
 careful, to be *ŋɛm tɛ*
 carefully *kpérɛŋ kpérɛŋ*
 carry, to: on one's head *toy-á;*
 something big and/or heavy
yɔŋgi(á)
 catch, to: sg. obj. *ba-á, pl. obj.*
kay-á
 cease doing something, to *e rá*
 certain (some) *ŋma*
 chase away, to *fo-á, ndin-ɔ, nduy-ɔ*
 chew, to *yŋ-á*
 chicken *kprá*
 chief *makunzi*
 child *béem, bé-*
 chin *zaʔda*
 chop, to: to chop down *gom-á;*
 to chop at a flat surface *sɔk-á*
 circle, to: to make a circle *ʔbo-á;*
 to circle around so as not to be
 seen *hɪk-ɔ*
 circumcise, to *gon né gaza*
 circumcision *gaza; uncircumcised*
 boy *káará*
 clan *nú-wey*
 clay *gey*
 clean, to be *sak-á*
 climb, to *daŋ-á*

close, to kpe-á
 cloth: from zóbrɔ tree ŋgóm̄bi;
 in general túrú; clothes mɔ́-á
 tɛ, mɔ́-m̄ari
 cloud: white cloud bú záan;
 raincloud kóro
 cold (weather) gǣé
 come, to: tɛ-á; to come out (sg.
 subj.) ho-á; (pl. subj.) gbay-á
 command, to ha oro-nú
 completely sí-ʔday, són
 conclude a matter, to hɛ zu-wen
 consider, to har-á
 continue, to nɛ né, dɔŋ-ó
 cook food, to gi-ó
 cool, to become gá-á
 corn kɔndi
 correctly sáak-á
 cotton: in general tɛndɛ; ctn.
 indigenous cotton gba tɛndɛ,
 ʔbéʔbé
 cough, to kɔli(á)
 count, to tɔr-á
 courageous, to be ɔpɔ yín
 cover, to gu-ó
 cow bágara
 cowry shell kofo
 crawl, to hay-á
 creek bé-ri
 creep, to hay-á
 cross, to: to cross a stream
 kɔ ri; to cross sticks kpay tɛ
 crowd (of people) démá wí-ré
 crush (seeds for oil), to hɔŋ-á
 cry, to hey kɔwá
 curse, to dɔ-á
 cut, to: in general gɔn-á; to cut
 off end ŋm̄ay-á; to cut out bark
 ʔba-á; to cut out and make a run
 for it gɔm-á

D

dance (n.): in general yora;
 ctn. dance ŋgan wí
 dance, to ɔ yora
 dark: to be dark tɔ-ó; descr.
 mbiri mbiri

dawn, to fara ʔbaa
 day wesé; to become day fara sá
 death fey
 debt kóʔdá
 defecate, to sɔ ʔnɔɔ
 deliver (save one's life), to zam-á
 depart, to kur-ó, zɔ-ó
 descend, to zír-ó, zɔ nu
 desire wɔ
 destroy, to ʔnaŋ-á
 dew mém
 diarrhea, to have hufi(ó)
 die, to fe-á; to die off fe sí-ʔday
 different ʔdék ʔdék, zán
 difficult ŋgay
 dig, to zɔ-á
 dip up, to ʔdu-ó
 direction sí, wár-
 dirty ndfiŋ
 disagree, to si fǣé
 discrimination, without rɔy rɔy
 dispute, to sar-á, si kǣfé
 do, to dɛ-á; to do something for a
 year dɛ pɛ
 dog toró
 domesticated animal mɔ́-day
 done són
 doorway nú-tuwa
 down: to sit down dɔŋ nu; to put
 down e nu
 drag, to gbur-ó
 dregs, beer geʔde-ɔpɔ
 dress: to put on clothes pɔ túrú;
 to get dressed up for a special
 occasion dɛ bisa (for male), dɛ
 zóná (for female)
 drink, to nɔ-á
 drum (ctn.) dal, gata
 dry up, to kor-á
 dry season bɛrɛ
 dust fire-nu

E

each: each person wí-ré kpém
 kpém; each other ŋmaá
 ear zera

game (in play) saa
 garden fɔ; deserted garden biri
 gather, to mɔy-á
 gaze, to kɛr-á
 get, to: to acquire kpa-á; to get
 down zɪr-ɔ; to get up kur-ɔ; to
 get out (sg. subj.) ho-á, (pl. subj.)
 gbay-á
 girl bé-kóo; adolescent girl zɔŋá
 give, to ha-á; to give up e rá
 go, to nɛ-á; to go to the gardens (of
 many people) a fɔ; to go on
 laŋgi(á); (in the making of noise)
 wey-á
 goat duwa
 God Nzapá
 good dé, dé?dé; to be good rɔk-á
 grab, to kasi(á)
 grass zɔ́
 grassland zɔ́
 grave-site zuʼfey
 greet, to mba-á
 ground nu
 ground-nut (ctn.) gba zawa
 grow up, to sɔk-á
 guest gene
 gun ŋgombe, wey

H

hail mɔrú
 hair vúmɔ; ctn. style of setting the
 hair gúdam
 hand ér-
 hang something, to ʼbuk-ɔ
 happiness gɛ́, too tɛ
 happy, to be dɛ saa, kɛli(á)
 hard ŋgay. See also very
 harden, to ŋgay-á
 hatch chicks, to gɔm bé-kprá
 hate, to sɛn-á
 have: I have a knife paa kóm ɔ
 sɛné; I have to do it like this ɔ né
 wen kóm wen-dɛ gɔy
 he ɔ
 head tan, zu
 healthy kɔrɔ kɔrɔ

hear, to zer-á
 heart: the organ ʼbúrúŋgú; the
 seat of emotions sera
 heavy, to be dɪr-ɔ, diti(ɔ)
 here dɪyɛ, gɔɔ, na; here and there
 fyɛ . . . fyɛ
 hide (of animal) yo
 hide, to husi(ɔ), gu-ɔ
 hill kara
 hip ká-gun
 hippopotamus ŋuʼbá
 hit, to: with hand or stick rɪk-ɔ;
 with flying object (such as stone)
 ro-á
 hoe, to wa-á
 hog, bush ŋɔyá
 hold, to: to seize and hold on to
 kasi(á); to keep ŋɛm-á
 hole: in but not through an object
 kɔ; in and through an object woro
 home: I'm going home am sí ré
 honey nɔ-gɔrɔ, ri-gɔrɔ
 hoof kátó
 horn (of animal) zak
 hot, to be gbɛŋ-á; it's hot ɔ wey
 house tuwa
 how (the way) ʼdoŋ-wáá
 hunger wɔ
 hunt animals, to kiʼdi saʼde
 hunting yarí
 hurriedly lám
 hurt, to yum-ɔ
 husband wéey
 hut kútu

I

I See 382.1
 if: even if ʼbaa; whether gán.
 See bo-á, nɛ-á (aux.), tɛ-á (aux.),
 wesé
 in ʼdɔr-, kɔ, zaŋ; in the morning
 né ture
 inadequate, to be naŋ-á
 indeed nɛ mbɛtɛ
 in-laws foo, kɔfɛ; brother-, sistɛ-
 in-law yɔrɛ

in order to há₁, íjǎǎ
inside kp, saŋa
instruction mbora
intestines yǎk'-zaŋ
iron boro

J

just ʔbay

K

keep, to ŋɛm-á; to keep on doing
something dɔŋ-ó, nɛ nɛ (lit. go
with); to keep something from
someone dor-á; when they keep
beer from you bó wá ba dɔs nɛ
zu-mé
kernel gb̄ara
kill, to gbɛ-á
kind, to be dɛ kpém kp'-sɛra ɪn
knee zu'-goro
knife paa; throwing knife za
know, to ɪŋ-ó; to know how to ɪŋ
ʔdoŋ-wáá wen
knowledge sóká

L

lacking, to be naŋ-á
large gǎsá, zom; to be large zɪ-ó
later ʔdoŋ, kuu oróai
laugh, to mam-á
law mbora
lead, to dak tí
leaf wá
lean, to ɛk-á
leather yo
leave something, to e-á
left: left side wáá-gale; to remain
ʔmon-á
leg kú
lengthwise nɛ dúróa
leopard gp
leprosy ŋmgbéré
let (permit), to e há
lie down, to ɔ nu

life kpasi
lightning pǎs kóro
like, to goy-á, rpk tɛ
like (in comparison) óró . . . gá;
be like men ya nɛ wéey; like this
gáa, gǎy
lime (for whitewashing) forɛ
lion dila
lip wéey-nú
lip-plug mǎrú
listen, to zee wen
little fǎí, gɛk
live, to: in a certain place dɔŋ-ó,
ɔ-á; to be alive kpasi(á); to live
a long time dɔŋ záan
liver sɛra
long: to be long (of an object)
dur-ó, of time yǎr-á; long time
ago ʔbéé
look for, to kiʔdi(ó)
lose, to: I lost my knife paa kóm
yóá; I've lost my way ám yóá
ʔdoŋ-wáá
love, to goy-á
luck kóró-tɛ
lungs poopó

M

make, to dɛ-á; to make porridge
ru-ó; to make something straight
ʔdafi há ó tán
male wéey
man wéey; young man bisa
manioc geʔda; manioc leaves used
as food sukpa
manly dɛ tɛ nɛ wéey (lit. do body
with man)
manner ʔdoŋ-wár-
many dóká; to be many dɛm-á,
dǎr-á, dók-á
marry, to: to take a husband ba
wéey, to take a wife ba kóo
master wan
mat tóko
mature, to sok-á
meat saʔde

medicine yina
 meet, to kpa-á; to meet someone
 on his way we tí; to meet each
 other kpa ŋmaá; to meet in the
 middle mpy te'-saŋa
 message tom; to send a message
 tom tom
 middle saŋa
 milk ri'-bere
 mind, to set one's e kélé
 mix up (a paste), to yufi
 molar (teeth) gogo
 money ŋginza
 monkey: green monkey dawa; red
 monkey mboró
 month ze
 moon ze
 morning ture; very early in the
 morning zu'-ze
 mother naa
 mountain kara
 mouth nú
 move something toward oneself, to
 yoli(á)
 much dōka, ?dé, né saa ná

N

nail: fingernail ŋgók-ée
 name yín; what's-his-name mɔ só
 near dōb; to get near he?di(á)
 necessary, to be ɔ wen kó
 neck gér-
 new mbé
 next to ká-te
 night ze; during the night which
 just passed zee né ze
 nice looking ndéér
 nine kusi
 noise: to make noise gay mɔ; to
 make a thunderous noise dik-ó;
 noise of many feet gítí
 nose zpp
 nostril plug ŋgabala
 not (in predication) gan . . . ná
 nothing: there's nothing ŋma mɔ
 gan bó ná

now kín, kínɛɛ
 numerous, to be dɛr-á

 O
 obey, to zee te, zee oro-nú, zee
 mbora
 obstruct, to ?mɛr-á
 of kó
 often ŋmáŋ ŋmáŋ
 old á; to become old sɔk-á; old
 person sókái
 on gón, sɛn, zu
 one kpém. See determinant 213.1
 only ?bay
 open, out in the kpéyá, záan
 or wéndé . . . gan
 ornament: boys' mɔ'dɛ bisa,
 girls' mɔ'dɛ zóná
 other: each other ŋmaá; some
 other ŋma . . . zán
 out of há₂
 outside záan
 over zu
 over there aáyɛ, fye
 owl (ctn.) kpolo
 owner wan

P

paper mbétí
 pass on, to lanŋi(á)
 path wár-, ?dɔŋ-wáá
 paw ér-
 pay (bride-price) har-á, ha mbɔy
 bɔlo-kóo
 payment (for ctn. kinds of services)
 tjɛ
 peanut zawa
 peel, to ?ba-á, ɣy-á, ?bar-á
 pen (goat) valé
 penis dom
 persevere, to yɣŋ yín (lit. eat teeth)
 perseverance kpɣtí
 perseveringly kɔ?dɔrɔ kɔ?dɔ; ɔ
 person wí-ré, wí-
 pierce, to tok-á; to make a hole
 ?dɔy-á

place fara; particular place, back
in the same place oro

place, to: sg. obj. e-á, pl. obj.
a-á

plans, to make gon tã

plant, to: seeds gun-ó, by stems
ma-á

plaster a house with mud, to kpe
tuwa né gey

play, to: games de saa; drum or
stringed instrument mber-á

please, to rpk te

pluck (leaves), to kpm-á

plural marker ó

poke in, to yur-ó

porter wí-toy mɔ, wí-tóyáa

possible te-á (aux.)

pot kpána

pound, to to-á; to pound bark in
making cloth ηmgbo-á

pray to (fetish), to wer-á

pregnant, to be ba zaŋ

prepare, to ?dafi(á)

presence, in the te-ríp

press down on, to ηma-á

prevent, to ?mɛr-á

previously tí

probably te-á (aux.)

produce (food) yǫná

puddle mbóŋgó

pull, to gbur-ó; to pull out (as
intestines) yoy-á

pumpkin say

push, to: to push down on something
isi(ó); to push something to make it
move forward ir-ó

put, to: sg. obj. e-á, pl. obj. a-á;

to put on (clothes) a te, pí te; to

put something on the waist ma-á

Q

quiet sélélé; to be quiet yoo né nú

quiver nder-

R

rack guro

rain kóro

rainy season ?maa; beginning of
the rainy season nú-kóro

rapidly gɛrɛŋ

read, to tɔ mbétf

real kpaa, kpásá

red, to be gbɛ-á

refuse, to bɛ-á

reject, to bɛ-á

relative nam

remain, to ?mɔn-á

remainder koy

resolute, to be kaŋgi kp'-sɛra

responsible person wí-mbóá zu

responsibility: it is my responsibility
to do it this way ó né wen kóm

wen-de gɔy

rest, to ɔm te

restrain, to mbo-á

restrictions, without rɔy rɔy

return, to: to another place si ?doŋ,
to the place where one is speaking

pee ?doŋ

right hand wáá-wéey (lit. direction
of man)

right (correct): that's correct ó
né ?doŋ-wáaraa

right, all wen gan bó ná (lit. there
is no affair)

right (precisely): right in the bush
?món ?dɔɔ-zɔ

right away bere

rip off, to ɔy-á, ηmgban-á

river ri

roam, to yar-á

roast, to dɔ-á

roll up, to ka-á

root yín

rope pé-r-; ctn. gba díro

rot (of meat), to mbor-á

round kokoroŋ, kor

rub, to: to rub between the palms
of one's hands nɔr-ó; to rub (as
with sandpaper), crush hɔŋ-á; to

rub, grate, scrub, sharpen (a
knife) hpk-á
ruin, to ?naŋ-á
rumbling gbffgbff
run, to za?di yui

S

sack daná
salt tón
same, to be rəm-á
sand rɛmə
sauce (which accompanies porridge
in a meal) kpoó
save, to: to put something aside
ngem-á; to save money ndoy
nginza; to save a life zam-á
say, to tɔ-á; gende gá ye ge
screen for sleeping place ku?bú
search for something afar, to kir-ó
secretely, to speak non tɔ
see, to zək-á; see someone face to
face zək kɔ-ríp-wí-ré
seed gb̄ara; planting-seed kpáré
selfish, to be dɔ náká
send, to tom-á
sesame sunu; roasted sesame
seeds mbúre
set (of sun), to re-á
seven ?doŋ rífto
severely, to speak tɔ wen ngay
sew, to: sew pieces of cloth together
fɔr-ó; to sew by putting a stitch here
and there kək-á; sew in a special
way tok-á
sex organs mo-foyo (lit. thing of
shame)
sexual relations, to have ndɔ-á
shake, to: to tremble nək-á; to
shake something back and forth
yek-á; to shake hands kási ér-
shame foyo
shame, to e foyo
sharp, to be to-á
shed, to ?bar-á
shield ngéré
shine (of sun), to dɔ-á

shoot, to ndɔr-á
short dɔ́s
shoulder zu-?baka
show, to usi(ó)
shut, to kaŋgi(á), kpe-á
sibling yá
sickness zéré
side ká; other side (of river) kúú
since: since I arrived yesterday
mo nɛm tɛ̀à zéé
sing, to sa gima
sister yá-kóo; my sister yá kóm
ne kóo
sit, to dɔŋ-ó, soy-á
six ?doŋ kpém
skin (of animals) yo
skin (an animal), to ?bor-á
skirt (woman's): worn in front goy,
worn in rear da?doŋ
sky ríp-záan
sleep yara; to be asleep ɔ yara
slip off, to hofi(á)
slowly ge?dék, gɛk
small bé-, gɛk
smell, to nɔn-ó
smoke zé-vey
smoke (meat, fish), to guri(ó)
smooth, to be rok-á
snake gók
so (conj.) See connectives
soft, to be mok-á
some: adj. ŋma, pron. ŋmaa
somebody ŋma wí-ré
something ŋma mo
son bé-wéey, bé-ŋgay
son-in-law wéey-kofɛ
song gima
soon dɔ́s
sorghum (grain) fón
sound, to make a wer-á
speak, to tɔ wen; to not speak (be
silent) yoo ne nú
spear sére
spear, to dɔm-ó
specialist kote
Spider (in fables) Wan to
spit, to a sáɔ

split, to mbaŋ-á	teach, to usi(ó)
spread abroad, to hɔr-ó	tear off, to ʌk-á
spring (source of stream) zu-ri	teeth yín; molars gogo
stalk kan	ten ?bú
stand, to yor-á	terrible: he ate a terrible amount
star sóra	of food ʌ yɔŋá kam gó gan rém ná
stare, to kɔr-á	that (demonstrative) ɪf
start, to: to start a fight kɔ sére;	that (conj.) ye ge, ne
to start doing something kɔ nɔŋá-dɛ	then See conn., especially go, tɛ
mɔ	there dʒi, fye, me, sené
steal, to zu-ó	they wa
stick te, bé-te	thick (as piece of cloth, wood), to be
stick, to: to pierce dɔm-ó, tok-á;	ndoti(á)
to stick through yur-ó; to stick	thing mɔ
out yɔy-á	think, to saa sék
still: the animal is still on the	thirst hɛé-ri
ground sa?de ?moná go ó nu	this ɛé, nɔ́; like this gɔy
stomach sú?bé; abdomen zaŋ	thousand (of francs) sáki
stone ta	three tar-
stoop down, to hir-ó	throat gé-r-
stop, to: stop walking gbati(á);	throw, to: a-á, e-á, pi-ó; to throw
stop flowing or raining ɲmɔy-á	a spear pi sére; to throw down
straight, to be tan-á	dɔn-á; to throw away pi zó
strength ɲgay	throwing-knife za
string pér-; to make string ri(ó)	thunder, to kóro dik
strong ɲgay	tie, to: to tie into a knot kpo-á; to
stump (of tree) gísó	tie up hɔr-á; to tie together kpo
suck (at breast), to am-á	né ɲmaá; to tie long objects together
suddenly tut	sin-ó
sun wesé	tightly ɲmi?ni ɲmi?ni, sʒyú sʒyú
surpass, to gan-á	time, for a long gɔy gɔy, ɲmgbóŋ;
sweat sp bera	I'll be gone a long time kóróm né
sweet ʒrírí	yɔrá (lit. my back will be long)
swiftly hóvóvó	times: three times wáá fara taa
swim, to zoy ri	tip nú
switch (for whipping) zifa	tired, to be gbɔ?di(á)
	to: purposive há ₁ : join noun to
	verb wen, wen kó; join verb to
	noun há ₂ , mó, tɛ; to go to the
	garden ne fo
	today sɔ́
	together in ɲmaá
	tongue lép
	too (in comparisons) gán zúa (lit.
	surpasses the head)
	tooth yín
	top gón, zu

T

tabooed, to avoid something zim-ó
tail tɪr-
take, to: sg. obj. ba-á, pl. obj.
kay-á; to take something back si
né
talk, to tɔ wen; to talk about someone
ba yín
taste good, to dɛ rɔɔ

torch kan
 touch, to tam-á
 toward te
 track down, to ʔma-á
 tracks; animal tracks bɔɔ-náŋ-
 saʔde
 trap yɔk; to set traps for fish de
 ri
 tree te; ctn. trees gbiro-fo,
 gbɔgbɔɔ, kérá, lúŋmgbé, túrú,
 zɔɔrɔ
 tremble: to tremble nɔk-á; to
 make a spear tremble gboʔdi(á);
 descr. of trembling sɛm sɛm,
 yetete
 trust, to e kélé ɪn
 truth kpasí wen, mbéte
 tuck in, to sɛm-á
 turn: to turn around gam te, kip
 te; to turn to one side zik-ó
 twins bé-dan
 two rífto

U

uncle sórám, bé-yám
 underneath ʔdɔr-
 understand, to zee te, zɔk-á
 unite, to a kɔ́-ŋmaá
 unwisely rɔy rɔy
 up ŋgón
 urine ɪni; to urinate sɔ ɪni
 utensils toy

V

vagina ton
 vainly zɔa
 very ʔdé, né saa ná, gan rém ná
 village ré
 villager wí-zaj-рэ
 voice géɾ-
 vomit, to py-á

W

waist gun

wait for, to ŋgem-á
 waken, to tɔn-ó
 walk, to ne nɔ, yar-á
 want, to kɔ ʔdoŋ; I want this meat
 am kɔ ʔdoŋ-saʔde nɔɔ; I want to go
 hunting am kɔ ʔdoŋ-ne yarí
 war biro
 wash, to fɔr-á
 water ri
 way ʔdoŋ-wáá; the right way
 ʔdoŋ-wáara
 we ɛɛɛ
 wealth kpáá mɔ (lit. gotten thing)
 weapons boro-biro
 weave, to fan-á
 well (in a good manner) sɔk-á; he
 speaks well ɔ tɔ sɔk
 wet: to wet (in rain) ŋma-á; it's
 wet ó ri
 what? ge
 what (pron.) wen, mɔ; I didn't see
 what he did gan am zɔk mɔ nɔ ɔ
 deáí ná; I didn't hear what he said
 gan am zee wen nɔ ɔ tɔáí ná
 what's-his-name aáyɛ, mɔ sɔ
 when? ge wesé-ge, ge ze-ge; when
 will you return? né mé pee ge
 ze-ge ndé
 when (conj.) See fara, wesé, and
 aux. bo and gó; when you hear
 about the affair wesé ne bó mé
 zee wení
 where? íye; where did you go? mé
 neá íye ndé
 where: I don't know where he went
 gan am ɪŋ fara nɔ ɔ neá sené ná
 whether wéndé . . . gan
 which See ne, 332.4; the thing which
 I want mɔ nem kɔ ʔdoŋáa
 while aux. dɔŋ-ó. See when
 whirlwind gam guram
 whistle, to dɔm fɔra
 white bú; descr. of very white
 zólóló
 white, to be fɛŋ-á
 white man mbunzú
 who? o, ge wí-ge ndé

who See ne; I saw the woman who
came yesterday ám zokà kóoi ne
tèà zéè

why? wen-ge ndé; why aren't you
eating? ge a mɛ yɔŋ kam ná
wen-ge ndé

wide, to be pesi(á)

wife kóo

wind búk

wing ʔbaka

witch, female kó-duwa

with ín, né

within saŋa

woman kóo; young woman zóŋá

word wen

work kusára, mɔ-dɛi, tom

work, to dɛ mɔ, dɛ tom; to work

for a wife dɛ kɔfɛ wen kó kóo
worthless gére
wound dɔy

Y

yam goro

yard, front gara

year pɛ

yesterday zéè

yet: I haven't done it yet ʔmoná
gó gan am dé ná

you: sg. mé, pl. wí

young: young dog, pup bé-toró;
he's still young ʔmoná béa;

(he) hasn't grown up yet ʔmoná
gó gan sók ná



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