

The Phonology and Morphosyntax of Kol

by

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Abstract

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The Maka-Njem [A.80] languages of Cameroon are still very understudied compared to the better known Bantu languages. Many variants are endangered by virtue of their contact with both French, the language of education and government, and more prestigious neighboring languages. In this study, I describe one such language, Kol [A.832], focusing on its phonology, morphology and basic syntax. In addition, Kol is compared to neighboring (and closely related languages) and the historical development of Kol is explored by examining sound correspondences with reconstructed Proto-Bantu words and grammatical structures. In the course of the description, it is shown that Kol has important consequences not only for our

understanding of Bantu descriptive and historical linguistics but also for certain grammatical issues in general linguistic theory. An appendix includes texts and a Kol-English lexicon.

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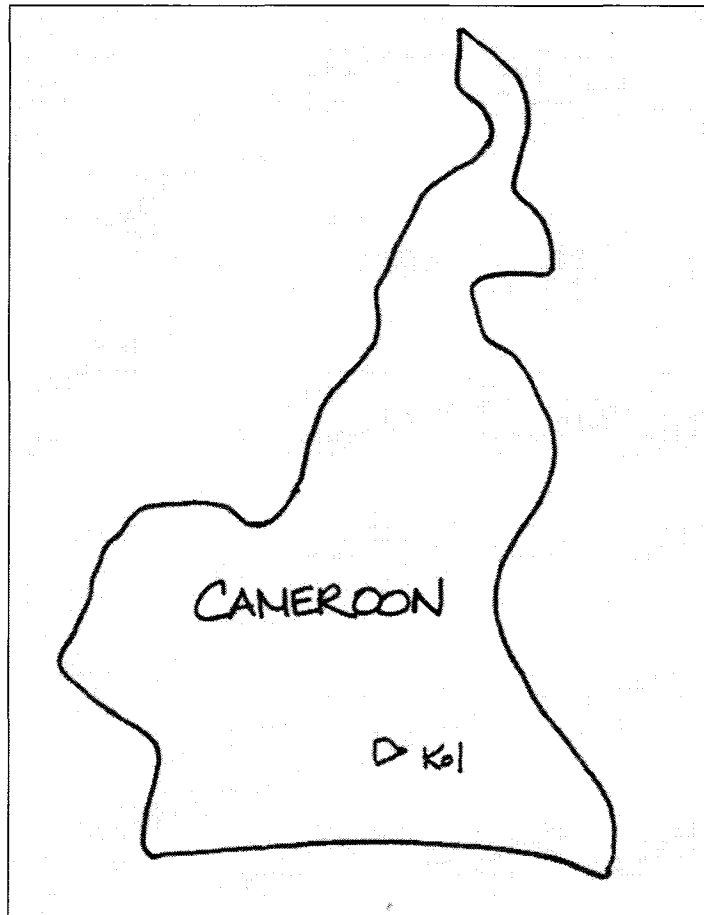
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1 Introduction

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

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

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



Map 1.1 Cameroon and Kol

Kol differs from many Bantu languages in that its preverbal morphemes are words or clitics and not prefixes. Morphologically, it is of typological interest because many of its tenses illustrate a tonal concord throughout the verbal sequence. Additionally, while Kol has a number of proclitics and enclitics, it also has a typologically rarer circumclitic, marking the non-past perfective negative. Syntactically, Kol is of interest because it offers evidence that it is one of the languages where *second position* is important, which in Kol

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

1 Background Information

1.1 THE LANGUAGE

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

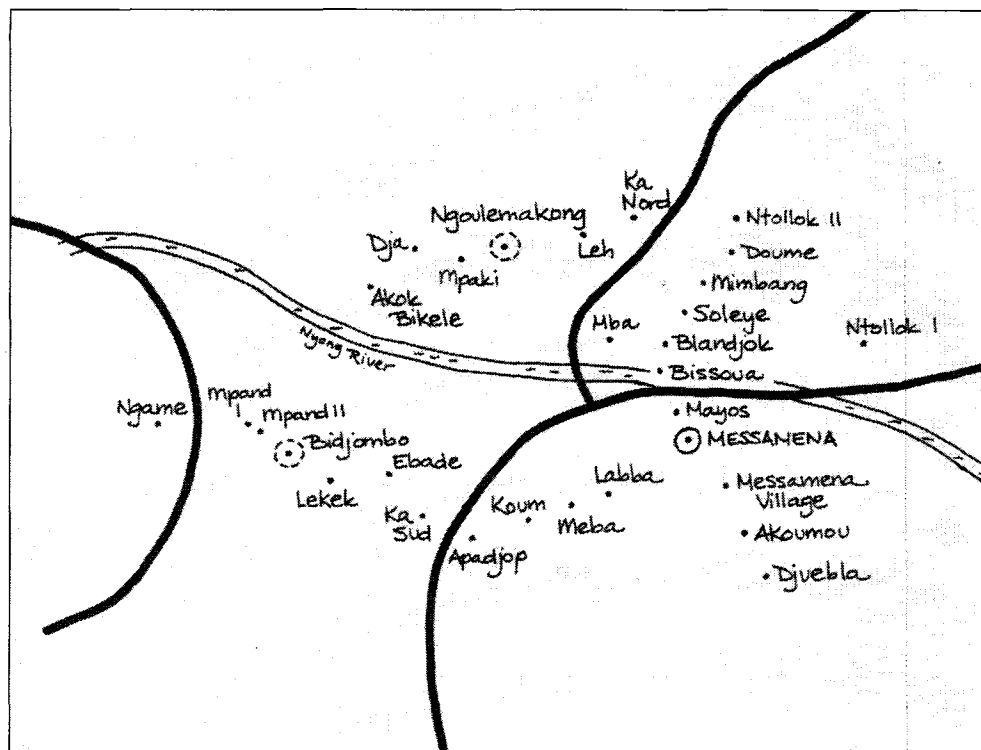
Its *Ethnologue* (Gordon 2005) classification is as follows:

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

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

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

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



Map 1.2 Kol dialects

Kol is a SVO language. In general, Kol phrases are head-initial, e.g. objects, other complements and adjuncts follow verbs, most noun modifiers follow the noun, and complements of prepositions follow the preposition. (See chapters 3 and 5 for more information.)

The Kol orthography uses 28 letters to express the 40 phonemes found in Kol. These letters are given below.

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

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

1.2 THE PEOPLE AND THEIR CULTURE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 Previous Research

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

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

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

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

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

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

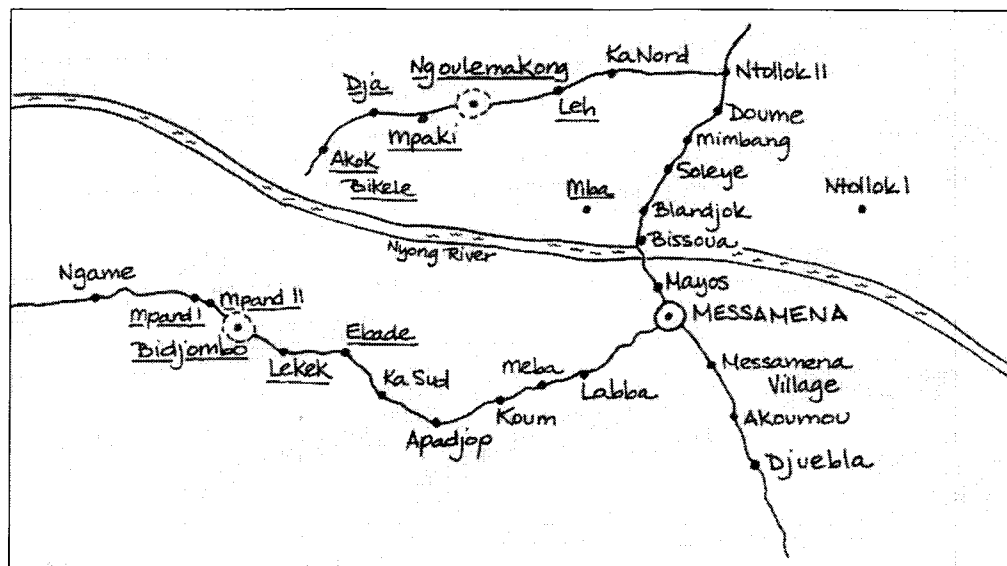
3 Methodology of Current Study

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

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

variety of Kol spoken is reportedly strongly influenced by these neighboring languages. Therefore, efforts were made to collect data only from speakers who lived in an area where Kol speakers in general report that "good" Kol is spoken. This area was that of the central dialect, located west of Messaména, along the Nyong river. (A map of Kol dialects was given above in Map 1.2.)

On the map below, villages found in the central dialect area are underlined. Data was primarily collected from speakers from four of these villages: Bidjombo, Ebade, Leh and Ngoulemakong. These villages were chosen due to relative ease of access from the main road.



Map 1.3 Source villages

4 Organization of current study

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

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

and roots. Grammatical morphemes are glossed in small caps while lexical ones are in lower case. Floating tones are marked by the '+' plus sign.

- (1) $\eta = \check{\alpha} = kw = \grave{e}$ $n\acute{\alpha}\eta...$ $d\grave{i}$ $d\grave{u}k.$
 $\eta\grave{e} = \acute{\alpha} = kw\grave{o} = \grave{e} + H$ $n\acute{\alpha}\eta + H$ $d\grave{i}$ $d\check{u}g$
 he/she-NEG-again-NEG more stay forest
 'He doesn't stay in the forest anymore.'

In all of the Kol examples, the first line given will represent the way the speaker actually said the phrase. If morphophonological processes have blurred the forms of the morphemes found in a particular example, the second line will show the underlying representations of the morphemes involved. Examples taken from texts in the appendix have a reference to the text and its sentence number in parentheses.

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

Abbreviations used to gloss grammatical morphemes are in small caps, while those used for lexical morphemes will be in lower case.

(2) *Abbreviations*

adj – adjective	FUT – future
adv - adverb	gen - genitive
APPL - applicative	IMP - imperative
ASSOC – associative marker	IMPF - imperfective
att – attributive	INF - infinitive
aux – auxiliary verb	INCL – inclusive
chg – change (of state)	interr - interrogative
COND – conditional	LOC - locative
conj – conjunction	loc – locative (copula)
DEF – definite determiner	n - noun
dem – demonstrative	NEG - negative
det - determiner	num - numeral
EMPH – emphatic pronoun	OBJ - object
F2 – distant future	P1 – near past
FOC – focus	PASS - passive
Fr - French	

P2 – far past

RELCL – relative clause

PERF – perfect

spec - specific

pl - plural

SG – singular

POSS - possessive

SUB - subject

PRES – present

SUBJ – subjunctive

QUAL – qualificative

TAM – Tense, Aspect, Mood marker

quant - quantifier

v - verb

RECIP - reciprocal

2 Phonology

This chapter will provide a summary of the Kol phonological system.

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

1 Phonemic Inventory

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

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

Table 2.1 Kol consonants

The sounds {p, v, kp, ŋkp, and ŋgb} are quite rare. Most of the words with these sounds can be identified as borrowings, particularly from Ewondo (Begne 1980:32). Word-finally, voicing distinctions are neutralized thanks to a rule devoicing consonants before pause. (See section 4.2.5.1.)

If borrowed words are excluded, there is only one voicing distinction in the fricative series, at the alveolar place of articulation, unlike the stop series. /s/ and /z/ only contrast root-initially. Additionally, /f/ is weakened to [h] in some words for some speakers. (See section 1.1)

Kol has a nearly symmetrical vowel system, with three front vowels, two central vowels and three back (and round) vowels.

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

Table 2.2 Kol Vowels.

The status of a ninth vowel, the high central vowel, is questionable, as represented by the parentheses in the table above. It will be discussed in

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

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|---------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|---------|
| (1) | <i>bì</i> | 'startle, surprise' | | <i>bù</i> | 'be scarce' | |
| | <i>bé</i> | 'toilet, latrine' | <i>bà</i> | 'be' | <i>bò</i> | 'place' |
| | <i>bè</i> | 'sow, cultivate' | <i>bà</i> | 'cut' | <i>bòg</i> | 'lip' |

Length is phonemic for 7 of the vowels given above, all but the schwa.

Some minimal pairs are given below (from Begne 1980:47-60). It is interesting that these long vowels can occur in closed syllables, since that is typologically rare.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|--------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| (2) | <i>jī</i> | 'ask, inquire' | <i>kùg</i> | 'waist, shape' |
| | <i>jì</i> | 'cry, desire' | <i>kùúg</i> | 'uncle' |
| | <i>ncě</i> | 'panther, leopard' | <i>sôŋ</i> | 'vegetables (greens)' |
| | <i>ncéè</i> | 'who?' | <i>sóòng</i> | 'father' |

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

- (3) *bà* 'a little' adverb
bá 'two' numeral
bâ 'marry' verb

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

1.1 SYNCHRONIC VARIATION

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

- (4) /tíd/ 'animal' (7) → [tír]
 /è-bùg/ 'holiday' (5) → [èbùɣ]

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

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

- (5) a. [mpàɣá] *from* /mpàgá/ 'route, path'
 [ɲkpáɣá] /ɲkpágá/ 'fishing pole'
- b. bùgè 'hope'
 lîgîlò 'accompany'

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

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

Two other sources of variation may be found within the fricative series.

Some dialects have /s/ where other dialects have /ʃ/, as shown below.

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

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

(8)	fámè	<i>varies with</i>	hámè	'true, real'
	fá		há	HORTATIVE

2 Syllable structure and Phonotactics

Kol allows both open and closed syllables, with the following syllable shapes being represented in the language: V, CV, CVC, and CVVC. Below are some examples of words illustrating the different syllabic structures allowed. There are no monosyllabic words which illustrate the V syllable type though there are proclitics which then form V syllables at the beginning of prosodic words.

(9)	V	á =	NEGATIVE (proclitic half of circumclitic)
		á.bâ	'vulture' (1/2)
	CV	jò	'tooth' (5/6)
		ko	'go'
	CVV	jìì	'cry, weep'
	CVC	kân	'guinea fowl' (3)
		dêg	'see'
	CVVC	tóòb	'sheep'
		bììl	'trap (an animal)'

Vowel initial words in general are quite rare. There are a number of vowel-initial nouns, which are either borrowings or possibly examples of a 1a class prefix *a-*, as shown below. There are no examples of vowel-initial verbs.

- (10) *ábâ* 'vulture'
 âbyôlô 'traitor'
 ăbwòm̃b ndələ̃ 'mud wasp'
 ădùŋgû 'toad'
 ădwàm 'frog'
 ăfíyò 'lemon'
 ămpígà 'dragonfly'

2.1 PHONOTACTICS

Phonotactic constraints for both consonants and vowels are discussed in the sections below. Generalizations are made on the basis of a lexicon of approximately 2000 entries.

2.1.1 Consonants

Kol has more phonemic consonant contrasts word-initially than it does word-medially or word-finally.

2.1.1.1 Onsets

Most of the phonemes in Kol may occur word-initially. The exceptions are /ŋ/ and /g/. /ŋ/ never occurs word-initially, and /g/ only occurs word-

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

- (11) gyèndô 'catfish, mudfish' gólòd 'gold' (from English)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Example (13) lists all of the words with secondarily articulated C2s in my lexicon. These may be all originally C1s. The first example is definitely a case of reduplication, where the reduplicated consonant (now C1) has lost its secondary articulation. The rest (except for the latter) look like examples of reduplication, but for most of them there are no obvious bases in the lexicon.

(13) ʃúʃwóg	'in front of'	(ʃwóg = 'be in front')
kúkwó lû	'skull of head'	
lúlwún̩	'flute'	(lwún̩ = 'vine')
pùpwó	'pawpaw, papaya'	
mbúmbwá	'poor man, poverty'	
mpìmpyân̩	'red pepper, hot pepper'	
sùʃwáàz	'naked'	

2.1.1.2 *Codas*

The distinction between voiced and voiceless obstruents is neutralized word-finally, thanks to the devoicing rule discussed in section 4.2.5.1. Word-medially and word-finally, [r] is an allophone of /d/, as discussed above in section 1.1.

The voiced velar consonants, both oral and nasal, are the most common consonants word-finally. /l/ is the third most common consonant

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

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

Table 2.3 Coda consonants

2.1.2 Vowels

For disyllabic words, the most common vowels found in the initial syllable (V1s) are {i, u, a} while the most common vowels found in the second syllable (V2s) are {ə, ɔ, a}. However, the tendency is more extreme for verbs, especially when the overall number of verbs (580) vs the total number of nouns (1016) is taken into account. Compare the two tables below.

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

Table 2.4 Vowel counts for nouns

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

Table 2.5 Vowel counts for verbs

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

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

3 Ambiguous Segments

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

3.1 NC =PRENASALIZED STOP

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

First of all, there are no clear consonant clusters in native Kol words.

Below are some examples of borrowed words, containing consonant clusters.

- | | | |
|------|---------|----------------------------------|
| (14) | àlkôl | 'alcohol' |
| | brík | 'mud block' (Fr. <i>brique</i>) |
| | krístùs | 'Christ' |
| | kliʃé | 'x-ray' (Fr. <i>cliché</i>) |

The only candidates for consonant clusters in Kol are the NC series currently under discussion, or the Cw / Cy units discussed in the section below.

Additionally, the prenasalized series contains more sounds than the oral series. /p/ is rare in Kol, occurring primarily in borrowings and ideophones. However, /mp/ is very common.

(15)	pààr	'threshing floor'	págá	'cane'
	pé	'totally'	pyèb	'winnow'
	pùpwó	'pawpaw'	pùù	'calm'

The other piece of evidence for asserting that Kol has prenasalized stops and not consonant clusters is from a reduplication process. In Kol, a diminutive can be formed by reduplicating the first C of the root and inserting a templatic vowel (usually schwa, the epenthetic vowel) between the prefixed reduplicant and the root.

(16)	kág	'child' (7)	kákág	'small child'
	fòg	'wisdom' (9)	fèfóg	'small wisdom'
	mwân	'son/daughter' (1)	mèmwân	'small son'
	ntà	'grandchild'	ntìntà	'great grandchild'

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

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

3.2 CONSONANT + GLIDE (CW / CY)

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

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

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

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

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

- | | |
|---|--|
| (17) a. [byêſ]
/bè-êz/
8-all | b. [bèbá]
/bè-bá/
8-two |
| c. [bwân]
/bò-ân/
2-child, offspring ('children') | d. [bòkól]
/bò-kól/
2-sister ('sisters') |

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

gliding process of the nominal prefixes [Co-] to [Cw-] argue that maybe labialization should be considered to be underlyingly a consonant followed by the close-mid back vowel [o].

If there were any apparent co-occurrence restrictions, that would be evidence for the contrary analysis of consonant plus glide sequences being secondary articulations. However, almost all Kol consonants may be labialized. Aside from the rare stops {kp, ŋkp, and ŋgb}, the only other gap in the stop series is the palatal affricate /c/, i.e. *cw. Only the velar nasal does not allow labialization, but /ŋ/ also does not occur word-initially. In the approximant series /l/ is the only approximant to co-occur with labialization.

There does not appear to be a phonetic reason why /c/ should be excluded from labialization when /nc/, /j/, and /nj/ allow it. This may be an accidental gap in the lexicon. Below are examples of labialized consonants.

(18)	pùpwó	'pawpaw, papaya'	bwéyá	'everywhere'
	mpwàm	'python'	mbwô	'arm'
	fwén	'corn, maize'		
	mwáz	'daytime'		
	twámbá	'elder' (n)	dwôb	'day'
	ntwòmb	'fight' (n)	ndwàng	'valley'

nwî	'rain' (v)		
lwâg	'bail' (v)		
		jwábèrà	'tangle' (v)
ncwân	'mold pottery' (v)	njwǎŋ	'river'
ɟwêl	'lizard'		
ɲwèl	'drink' (v)		
kwè	'help' (v)		
ŋkwêŋ	'leopard'	ŋgwâlà	'town'

Palatalization is much more restricted than labialization. The table below shows the consonants that may be palatalized. Note that these are all articulated toward the front of the mouth.

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

Table 2.6 Kol consonants allowing palatalization

These include almost all labial and alveolar consonants. The exceptions are {nd, n, l}. The exclusion of /n/ is not surprising since a palatalized /n/ could be confused with the palatal nasal already existing in the Kol phonological system. The absence of /nd/ and /l/ is harder to understand.

(19)	pyèb	'winnow' (v)	byâ	'beget (child)'
	mpyô	'dog'	mbyêl	'relative' (n)
	myég	'fish dam' (n)	fyâl	'test' (v)
	tyèl	'love' (n)	dyà	'chair, seat' (n)
	ntyé	'who?'	syê	'work' (v)

Palatalized consonants are excluded for obvious reasons. The absence of velars can be explained on historical grounds, namely that the Proto-Bantu voiced velar *g corresponds to synchronic {c, j} when the *g would have occurred before front vowels. For more information, see chapter 7.

In the absence of strong co-occurrence restrictions for labialization or palatalization and with the evidence of the existence of a regular gliding rule, I suggest that consonant plus glide sequences are neither consonant clusters, nor secondary articulations, but rather consonants followed by an underlying /e/ or /o/. The mid vowels are glided to avoid vowel hiatus situations. See section 4.2 below for more details.

3.3 THE HIGH CENTRAL VOWEL

In the summary of the vocalic phonemic inventory above, Kol was reported to have eight vowel phonemes. However, there are at least 9

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

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

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

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

- (20) a. [bìmpânc byâŋ] 'my sides'
 /bè-mpânc bè-âŋ/
 8-side 8-my
- b. [bí ndé] 'you were'
 /bé ndé/
 you (pl) be (loc)
- c. [bìsá] 'thing'
 /bè-sá/
 8-thing
- d. kwînd *possibly from* /kwénd/ 'fish hook' (3)
 mpwîŋg /mpwéŋg/ 'problems' (10)

4 Phonological rules

In this section, I will discuss phonological processes which are found in Kol. This section is organized by the environments in which the rules operate. This will be followed by a summary of the domain in which the rules operate (lexical vs post-lexical).

4.1 AVOIDING CONSONANT CLUSTERS

As has been previously mentioned, Kol does not have clear examples of consonant clusters within morphemes. Additionally, when the environment for a consonant cluster arises, with two consonants meeting across a

morpheme or word boundary, an epenthetic vowel is inserted to repair the cluster, as described in the section below.

- (21) /j-ób búŋ/ → [jóbá búŋ]
 7-their 7-place
 'their place' (focus on possession)

The schwa is also common as the first vowel of the relics of verb extensions (for more on these, see chapter 4 section 1.1). This suggests that the epenthetic vowel may be inserted between morphemes as well as between words.

- | | | | | | |
|------|---------|-----------------|-------------|------|--------------------|
| (22) | jùlèbà | 'go down river' | <i>from</i> | jùlò | 'descend, go down' |
| | jwàgèrè | 'hear' | | jwôg | 'hear, feel' |
| | jábèlè | 'call' | | jâb | 'call' |

4.2 VOWEL HIATUS

Kol allows CV or CVC syllables. Kol has phonemic long vowels, but non-identical vowel hiatus situations are avoided, either by transforming one of the vowels into a glide, or by deleting one of the vowels. The first strategy will be discussed below in section 4.2.1, and the second strategy will be discussed in section 4.2.2.

4.2.1 Gliding

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

4.2.1.1 *Mid vowels become glides*

As mentioned above, prefixal /e/ and /o/ become their corresponding glides (/y/ and /w/) when they occur before vowels. This is most frequently seen in class 1 nominal prefixes and in class 4, 6 and 8 concord markers.

Compare the glided versions of the concord markers on the left with their non-glided versions on the right.

- | | | | | |
|------|----|--------------------------------|----|-------------------------------------|
| (23) | a. | [myóób]
/mè-óób/
4-which | b. | [mètôn]
/mè-tôn/
4-five |
| | c. | [mwêz]
/mò-êz/
6-all | d. | [mòzún]
/mò-zún/
6-our (dual) |

4.2.1.2 *Glide insertion*

When vowel hiatus occurs across word boundaries, and one of the vowels is a high-mid vowel [e], the palatal glide is inserted. Two examples are given below.

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

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

4.2.2 **Deletion**

An alternative solution to the "problem" of vowel hiatus is deletion. Surprisingly, deletion may occur in a similar environment to that of glide insertion. Relative clauses in Kol are marked by a H boundary tone on the left and by an enclitic on the right. When this enclitic /=è/ is hosted by a verb which ends in the vowel [a], the final vowel of the verb is deleted, as shown in (25).

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

4.3 VOWEL ASSIMILATION

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

4.3.1 Vowel centralizing before nasals and alveolar fricatives

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

- | | | | |
|---------|---|----|---|
| (27) a. | [bì-mpânc]
/bè-mpânj/
8-side
'sides' | b. | [bè-kák]
/bè-kág/
8-child
'children' |
| c. | [bé-nè]
/bó-nè/
2-that
'those' | d. | [bó-bá]
/bó-bá/
2-two
'two' |

However, this centralization process is not exactly parallel for both mid vowels. To begin with they correlate to different central vowels, with the front mid vowel being both centralized and raised. Therefore, the mid vowels will be discussed independently below.

4.3.1.1 *Centralization of the back mid vowel*

The back mid vowel [o] becomes the mid central vowel [ə] when it appears before a nasal or a prenasalized stop.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(28) a. [bá-nè]
 /bó-nè/
 2-that
 'those'</p> | <p>b. [bó-bá]
 /bó-bá/
 2-two
 'two'</p> |
| <p>c. [mè-ŋgà]
 /mò-ŋgà/
 6-this
 'these'</p> | <p>d. [mó-lól]
 /mó-lól/
 6-three
 'three'</p> |

The back mid vowel [o] is also centralized before the alveolar and palatal fricatives. In (29) below, the same concord prefixes shown above are given before a modifier beginning with /s/.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(29) a. [bè-sís]
 /bò-sís/
 2-another
 'another, different'</p> | <p>b. [mè-sís]
 /mò-sís/
 6-another
 'another, different'</p> |
|--|---|

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.1.2 *The front mid vowel*

The front mid vowel [e] becomes the high central vowel [ɨ] before nasals or prenasalized stops, as shown by the examples below.

- (31) a. [bí ndé]
/bé ndé/
you (pl) be (loc)
'you are'
- b. [bè fyál]
/bé fyál/
you (pl) test
'you test'
- (32) a. [bì-mpânc]
/bè-mpânj/
8-side
'sides'
- b. [bè-kák]
/bè-kág/
8-child
'children'

As was for the case for the other mid vowel /o/, this same centralizing process occurs before the alveolar and palatal fricatives /s/ and /ʃ/.

- (33) a. [bɨ-sá]
/bè-sá/
8-thing
'things'
- b. [bè-kèkèná]
/bè-kèkèná/
8-proverb
'proverbs'
- c. [mè-ʃùk]
/mè-ʃùg/
4-stem, stalk
'stalks'
- d. [mè-kân]
/mè-kân/
4-guinea fowl
'guinea fowl' (pl)
- e. kwís
/kwés/
'cough'

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

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|------------------|
| (34) | <i>lè-mpyàb</i> | 'wing' |
| | <i>è-nék</i> | 'summit' |
| | <i>è-ntò</i> | 'crop (of bird)' |
| | <i>è-sêb</i> | 'illness' |

4.3.2 Front mid vowel raising

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

- | | | | | |
|------|----|-----------------|----|-----------|
| (35) | a. | [mì-fùmb] | b. | [mè-lélà] |
| | | /mè-fùmb/ | | /mè-lélà/ |
| | | 4-brook, stream | | 4-shiver |
| | | 'brooks' | | 'shivers' |
| | c. | [mì-njà] | | |
| | | /mè-njà/ | | |
| | | 4-intestine | | |
| | | 'intestines' | | |

d. [bì-jwàlà]
 /bè-jwàlà/
 8-banana
 'bananas'

e. [bè-kák]
 /bè-kág/
 8-child
 'children'

f. [ɲ-í]
 he/she-P1

g. [m-é]
 I-P1

Again, this raising process does not apply to the class 5 prefix, even though it contains the mid vowel /e/.

(36) lè-fù 'sake'
 lè-ɸwì 'death'
 lè-cônj 'broom'
 lè-jígé 'lesson'

Additionally, some speakers raise /e/ to [i] before the alveolar fricatives. This is may be because some dialects have /s/ where others have /ʃ/ as was noted in section 1.1. This also functions as a way for some speakers to maintain the distinction between what would otherwise be identical prefixes (for class 2 and class 8 or for class 4 and class 6) if both the /o/ and /e/ centralized to the schwa.

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

b. [mé-bá]
 /mé-bá/
 4-two
 'two'

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

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

- | | | |
|--|------------|---------|
| (38) a. [bì-sá]
/bè-sá/
8-thing
'things' | [bì-sá] | [bè-sá] |
| b. [mì-sís]
/mè-sís/
4-different
'different ones' | [mè-sís] | |
| c. [mì-sísìm]
/mè-sísìm/
4-spirit
'bad spirit' | [mə-sísìm] | |

4.3.3 High vowel Rounding

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

- (39) a. [w-úz]
 /w-íz/
 3-our
 'our'
- b. [d-íz]
 /d-íz/
 5-our
 'our'
- c. [w-ún]
 /w-ín/
 3-your (pl)
 'your (pl)'
- d. [b-ín]
 /b-ín/
 2-your (pl)
 'your (pl)'

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

- (40) a. ɲ=ú wàzà
 he-P1 forgot
 'he forgot'
- b. ɲ=í bwògá
 he-P1 collect
 'he collect'

4.4 PHRASE-FINALLY

Cross-linguistically, a number of phonological processes occur at the end of a word or sentence. In Kol, the crucial environment is at the end of a sentence, i.e. before pause.

4.4.1.1 Devoicing

Kol obstruents are devoiced when they occur before pause.

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

4.4.1.2 Phrase-final tone lowering

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

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

(43)	jɪ = ǎ	ncə	dì	dùk.
	jɪ = á-	ncə	dì	dǔg
	he/she-P2-	come	stay	7-forest
	'He came to stay in the forest.'			

4.5 TONE RULES

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

4.5.1 General tone association rules

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (47) $j_1 = \acute{o}$ $bw\grave{o}g\acute{o}$ $kw\grave{a}n$.
 $j_1 = \acute{o}$ $bw\grave{o}g\acute{o} + H$ $kw\grave{a}n$
 he/she-PRES harvest 9-honey
 'He harvests honey.'

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

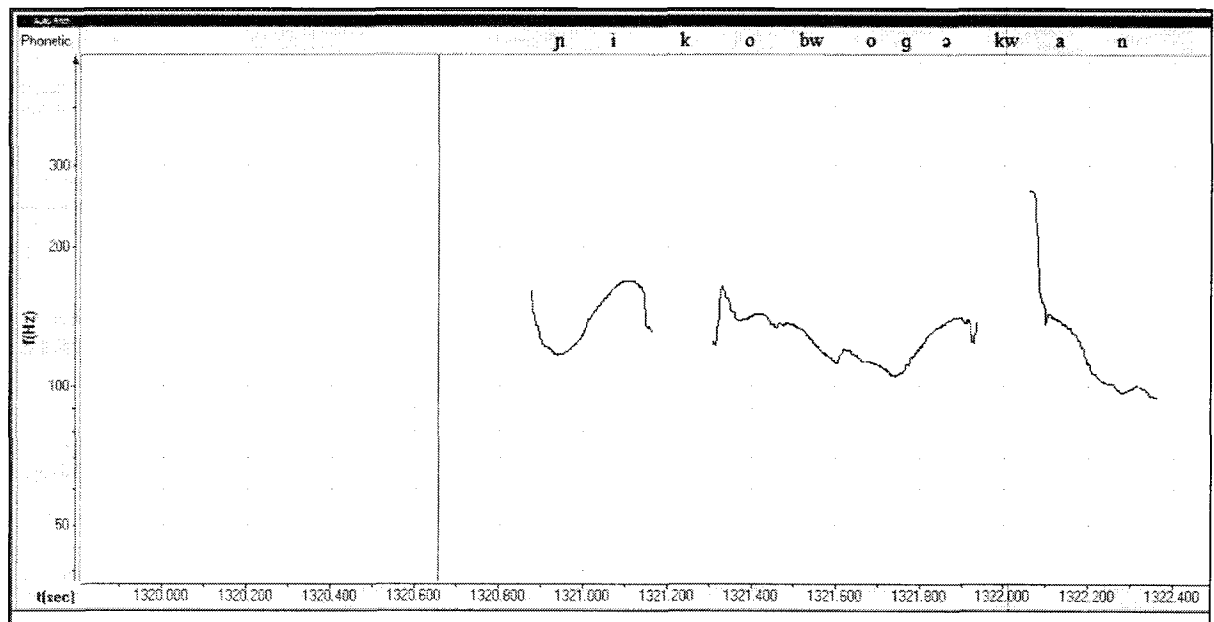
4.5.2 Downstep

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

- (48) $j_1 = \acute{í}$ $j\acute{í}$ $nc\grave{o}...$ $k\grave{a}b\grave{o}$ $m\acute{í}y\grave{o}\eta$ $s\acute{e}$ $y\grave{o}$.
 $j_1 = \acute{e}$ $j\grave{i} + H$ $nc\grave{o} + H$ $k\grave{a}b\grave{o}$ $m\acute{í}y\grave{o}\eta$ $s\acute{e}$ $y\grave{o}$
 he/she-P1 be (att) come but 1-brother PERF die
 He was coming but his brother died. (coming to see his brother)

Below is another example of downstep, followed by a chart of its pitch contour. Note the drop between the tense vowel [i] and the following syllable *kò*.

- (49) $\eta = i$ $k'ó$ $bw\grave{o}g\acute{a}$ $kw\grave{a}n$.
 $\eta = \acute{e}$ $kò + H$ $bw\grave{o}g + H$ $kw\grave{a}n + H$
 he/she-P1 go harvest 9-honey
 'He went to harvest honey.'



4.5.3 Optional H tone absorption rule

In general, in Kol, if two underlying H's are next to each other on the tonal tier, the first H tone may be merged into the second. This has the effect of reducing the number of contour tones.

Paradigms of low tone verbs show that the underlying tone of the far past (P2) tense marker is a H tone, as shown in (49) and (50) below.

- (50) mw-ân á dì dùgá ɲgùmbá fùm
 mw-ân á dì dǔg ɲgùmbá fùm
 1-child P2 stay 7-forest entire 3-night
 'The child stayed in the forest all night.'

- (51) ɲ = ǎ ncè dì dùk.
 ɲ = á ncè dì dǔg
 he/she-P2 come stay 7-forest
 'He came to stay in the forest.'

Similarly, the underlying tone of the prefixal portion of the non-past negative marker is a H tone, as illustrated by the following examples.

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

- (53) ɲ = ǎ = wàzà = yè.
 ɲ = á = wàzà = è + H
 he/she-NEG-forget-NEG
 'He doesn't forget.'

When these H tone grammatical markers precede a H tone verbs (or any lexically H tone morpheme), the H tones of the tense/negation may be absorbed into the H tone of the verb. The low tone of the subject pronoun remains on the vowel of the tense/negation marker. Examples (53) and (54)

illustrate what happens with the underlyingly H tone of the far past marker precedes a high tone verb. Example (54) also illustrates the schwa epenthesis rule.

- (54) mbwá lǎngé ɲ = à bárá mūr.
 mbwá lǎngé ɲ̩ = á bárá m-ūr
 3-year last he/she-P2 greet 1-man
 'Last year, he greeted the man.'

- (55) mbwá lǎngé ɲ = à bínà ɲò.
 mbwá lǎngé ɲ̩ = á bín ɲò
 3-year last he/she-P2 raise him/her
 'Last year, he lifted him up.'

Below, examples (56) and (57) illustrate what happens with the H tone of the prefixal portion of the non-past negative marker precedes a H tone verb.

- (56) ɲ = à = bárá = yè náj m-ūr.
 ɲ̩ = á = bárá = è náj m-ūr
 he-NEG-greet-NEG + H more + H 1-man
 'He doesn't greet the man anymore.'

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

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

below where it fails to apply.

- (58) $\text{ɲ} = \text{ǎ}$ bára mùr .
 $\text{ɲ} = \text{á}$ bára m-ùr
 he-P2 greet 1-man
 'He greeted the man.'

- (59) $\text{ɲ} = \text{ǎ}$ bínè ɲò .
 $\text{ɲ} = \text{á}$ bín ɲò
 he/she-P2 raise him/her
 'He raised him.'

This process is not restricted to these two markers, but it may occur with any H tone. Below are examples illustrating a similar process with the near future tense marker é and the present tense marker ó .

- (60) $\text{ɲ} = \text{è}$ bwó bára .
 $\text{ɲ} = \text{é}$ $\text{bwó} + \text{H}$ $\text{bára} + \text{H}$
 he/she-FUT F2 greet
 'He will greet.'

- (61) $\text{m} = \text{ò}$ lén lòn $\text{m} = \text{á}$ jòk nè dêk kwár-é .
 $\text{m} = \text{ó}$ $\text{lén} + \text{H}$ $\text{lòn} + \text{H}$ $\text{m} = \text{á}$ $\text{H} + \text{jwôg}$ nò dêg kwád-è .
 I-PRES tell 5-speech I-P2 RELCL-hear and see 9-village-RELCL
 'I tell about what I heard and saw in the village.'

4.5.3.1 Polar tone

The Near Past (or P1) tense marker *e* is unique in the Kol Tense-Aspect-Mode (TAM) system in that it appears to be a polar tone, sensitive to the underlying tone of the word on its right.

- (62) m = è ndé ké dùlò sìgá...
 m̃ = é ndé + H ké + H dùlò + H sìgá
 I-P1 be (loc) NEG smoke (v) cigarette
 'I neither smoked (...nor drank).' (*Illness.15*)
- (63) ɲ = í bə lé ncò... kǎbò ɲ = í biyà.
 ɲ̃ = é bə + H lè + H ncò + H kǎbò ɲ̃ = é biyà + H
 he/she-P1 be IMPF come but he/she-P1- be.seized
 'He was coming but he got caught (in route).'

However, an alternative description would be that the Near Past tense marker has an underlying H tone but that this is the only tense that requires the normally optional H tone absorption rule.

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

It is more elegant to have an already existing rule be required by a particular morphological environment than it is to posit a completely new kind of tone in the Kol tonal system.

4.6 LEXICAL VS. POSTLEXICAL PHONOLOGY

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

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

3 Morphosyntax of the Noun Phrase

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

(1) CV roots¹

dá 'father, ancestor' (1)

kù 'foot' (5)

ʃû 'fish' (1)

CVC roots

dìg 'bush (land), rural area' (7)

kág 'child' (7)

VC roots

mw-ân 'child, offspring' (1)

m-ùr 'person, man' (1)

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

CVCV roots

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

VCV roots

mw-àrá 'woman, wife' (1)

CVCVC roots

fəfəm 'wall' (7)
 tútúl 'old man' (3)
 sísim 'soul, spirit' (3)

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

1 Noun Classes

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

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

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

Table 3.1 Noun Class Prefixes (NPx) and Gender Pairings

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

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

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

There are semantic tendencies for some of the noun classes. These will be discussed below, along with the phonological conditioning of the different forms of the noun prefixes.

1.1 CLASSES 1/2

Nouns indicating people tend to be found in classes 1/2, though a few nouns referring to people can be found in classes 3/4, 7/8 and 9. Below are singular and plural pairings of Kol class 1 and 2 nouns. Singulars (class 1) are given first, followed by their plurals, and then the gloss.

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

However, not all nouns found in classes 1 and 2 are people. It is also common to find animals in this gender.

(3)	kúbò	bò-kúbò	'chicken'
	fû	bò-fû	'fish'

Additionally, there a number of inanimate nouns found in class 1 with their plurals in class 2.

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

Class 1 nouns which begin with a consonant are zero-marked, as shown above. These nouns are marked by the class 2 marker *bò-* in the plural.

Before most vowel-initial roots, the class 1 marker is *mw-* and the class 2 prefix surfaces as *bw-*. For the class 2 prefix it is clear that there is an [o] in the underlying form of the prefix which is glided before most vowel-initial noun roots. This may also be true for class 1 nouns, but since consonant-initial roots are zero-marked, the form /mo-/ never appears in a surface form.

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

If the noun root begins with a [u], the class 1 prefix surfaces as *m-*, while the vowel of the class 2 prefix is optionally deleted. If the vowel is not deleted, then it is glided. This is shown below in example (7).

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

Some speakers have an additional allomorph for the class 2 prefix, namely [*bà-*]. This allomorph occurs before nasals and the alveolar fricative. (While this may not seem like a natural class cross-linguistically, it is common

for the alveolar fricative to trigger similar changes to neighboring vowels as nasals in both Kol and at least one neighboring and closely related language.

See chapter 2 for more information on Kol phonology.)

(7)	sœr	bə-sœr	'nun' (French loan ⁴)
	ɲəŋgó	bə-ɲəŋgó	'mother'
	mpyó	bə-mpyó	'dog'

1.2 CLASSES 3/4

There is no clear semantic tendency for the nouns found in classes 3 and

4. Below are some sample nouns.

(8)	mbìl	mè-mbìl	'hole'
	sìlò	mè-sìlò	'girl'
	nòŋ	mè-nòŋ	'kilometer'

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

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

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

In contrast to the consistent zero-marking of class 3, the class 4 prefix has 3 common allomorphs: *[mè-]*, *[m-]*, and *[mà-]*. *[mè-]* occurs in the widest number of phonological environments and will therefore be considered to be the underlying form. In addition, for a number of nouns, the other two allomorphs alternate with *[mè-]*.

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

However, generalizations can be made as to where the latter two allomorphs occur, namely that *[mà-]* occurs before nasals and the alveolar fricatives, while *[mì-]* occurs before palatals (and the alveolar fricatives for some speakers).

1.3 CLASSES 5/6

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

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

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

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

(12)	è-bùrà	mò-bùrà	'sweet potato'
	d-úmó	m-úmó	'kapok tree'
	è-lót	mò-lót	'palm tree'
	è-lòb	mò-lòb	'blade of grass'

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

(13)	è-bá	mò-bá	'marriage'	<i>pl.</i> 'marriages'
	lè-lwí	mò-lwí	'insult'	<i>pl.</i> 'insults'

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

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

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

- (15) mò-díbo 'water'
 mò-ncì 'blood'
 mò-ɲòg 'wine'

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

- | | | | |
|------|-------|--------|---------------|
| (16) | dw-ób | m-ób | 'day' |
| | d-ààg | m-ààg | 'crab' |
| | d-ínò | m-ínò | 'name' |
| | d-òmb | m-òmb | 'war' |
| | lâl | mò-lâl | 'ethnic area' |

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

d-úmó	m-úmó	'kapok tree'
d-ǔnj	m-ǔnj	'fist'
d-úṅḁ	m-úṅḁ	'pelican'
d-úúg	m-úúg	'beak'
dw-ób	m-ób	'day'

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

(20)	làg	mò-làg	'horn'
	làl	mò-làl	'ethnic area'
	lárà	mò-lárà	'difficulty'
	lôn	mò-lôn	'speech'
	lû	mò-lû	'head'
	lùt	mò-lùt	'wrinkle'
	lùùg	mò-lùùg	'dew'
	lwô	mò-lwô	'ear'
	lwùn	mò-lwùn	'beehive'

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

(21)	è-lâmb	mò-lâmb	'trap'
	è-lát	mò-lát	'palm tree'
	è-lòb	mò-lòb	'blade of grass'
	è-lúnd		'palmnut tree'
	lè-lúnò	mò-lúnò	'woven construction'
	lè-lwí	mò-lwí	'insult'

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

- (22) a. #è-kán mó ncò
5-antelope be (chg) come
'Antelope came.'
- b. jè nè lè-kán
he with 5-antelope
'he and Antelope'

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

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

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

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

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

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

(23) *Double-marked nouns*

bâl	mè-mpâl	'bowl'
bé	mè-mpé	'toilet, latrine'
díbá	mă-ntĩbă	'brook, fountain'
dĩg	mă-ntĩg	'bush (land)'
bòòg	mè-mpòòg	'hoe'

1.4 CLASSES 7/8

Class 7 is the default class for inanimate objects.

(24)	sá	bè-sá	'thing'
	fāmb	bè-fāmb	'farm, field'
	kèkèná	bè-kèkèná	'story, proverb'

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

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

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

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

Begne (1980) consistently marks the plural of class 7 nouns as beginning with *bè-*. In my corpus, the pattern for class 8 is very similar to that seen for the class 4 noun prefix. [*bè-*] occurs in the widest number of phonological environments (as was the case for the class 4 allomorph [*mè-*]) and will therefore be considered to be the underlying form. [*bə-*] occurs before nasals and the alveolar fricatives, while [*bì-*] primarily occurs before palatals (or for some speakers the alveolar fricatives).

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

1.5 CLASS 9

Classes 9 and 10 are identical in their concord agreement. They have been kept distinct in this analysis because class 9 nouns are singular, with

their plurals formed in class 6, while class 10 nouns are all collective nouns (and therefore plural), primarily formed from class 7 stems.

Below are some examples of class 9 nouns with their corresponding class 6 plurals.

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

Many class 9 nouns have a prenasalized stop as their initial consonant. This is probably a historic remnant from the Proto-Bantu class 9/10 noun prefix which has been reconstructed as a non-syllabic homorganic nasal.

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

In contrast to class 10 nouns, discussed below, class 9 nouns begin with both voiced and voiceless prenasalized stops. However, a few of the derived nouns which end up in class 9 show evidence of the devoicing process seen with class 10 nouns.

(30)	bwâg	'be big'	mpwàag	'bigness, fatness' (9)
	dúgè	'agonize'	ntügě	'agony' (9)
	jàm	'destroy'	ncàm	'leprosy (destroyer)' (9)

1.6 CLASS 10

As was noted above, class 10 nouns are all plural. All class 10 nouns begin with a voiceless prenasalized stop, which is in part a reflex of the homorganic nasal prefix reconstructed for both class 9 and class 10 nouns in Proto-Bantu. However, for those nouns which have a singular form, a difference can be seen between the historic nasal prefix and the synchronic situation in that the class 10 plural is marked both by a prenasalization and a devoicing of the initial consonant, as shown by the example below.

(31) *Class 7/10 nouns*

bàanj	mpàanj	'bamboo stick'
búúmb	mpúúmb	'palm branch'
bùùnd	mpùùnd	'skin of fruit'
bùmó	mpùmó	'fruit'

Some nouns contrast a countable class 8 plural and an uncountable class 10 plural, as shown below.

(32)	class 7/8	bùùnd	'skin, shell'	bèbùùnd	(as in eggshells)
	class 10	mpùùnd			(as in peanut shells)

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

(33)	mpùmó	'fruits'
	mpwîŋg	'problems'
	mpànj	'bamboo'
	mpí	'palmnuts'
	mpìgìbà	'suppository'
	mpyèl	'trousers'
	mpúgá	'fracture'
	mpwěj	'corn grain'

2 Pronouns

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

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

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

(34) a. *bìzə nób* 'we (dual)'
we other

b. *bìzə bə-nób* 'we (plural)'
we 2-other

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

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

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

(36) *mə = nə "kí náj nə twò d-úl dw-áp*
me that neg still and even,if 5-another 5-day

lè-sís, bízə nə mə-jók é kwó bwàmè."
5-different we and 4-wine fut again meet
'I said that, "Never again will wine and I meet.'" (*Perils.97*)

2.1 SUBJECT PRONOUNS

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (40) mò-kwàbèlâ mǎ-nè mw=ô sé yè ɲó fòk.
6-problem 6-that (spec) 6-PRES PERF give him/her 9-wisdom
'Those problems gave him wisdom.'

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

A table giving the subject pronouns is below. The first person dual is obligatorily inclusive, referring only to the speaker and the hearer. If the hearer is not included, the speaker must use *bìzò*, even if only referring to himself and one other person.

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

Table 3.2 Subject Pronouns

The last pronoun given is a non-referential pronoun. It is commonly used in cleft constructions. An example of its use is given below.

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

Subject pronouns are analyzed as clitics, as syntactic words (not affixes) who are not independent phonological words. Most subject pronouns can be analyzed as being phonologically reduced. If they appear before the vowel initial tense markers, they form a phonological unit with the tense markers, as can be seen in (43). However, if subject pronouns appear before a consonant-initial word, the regular schwa epenthesis rule applies, as shown in (44).

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

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

Subject agreement markers are typically prefixes, but syntactically, Kol subject pronouns do not act like prefixes. If they were prefixes, we would anticipate that they would have specific selectional requirements. However,

subject pronouns may appear before any element in the verbal sequence, e.g. tense markers, verbs, adverbs, or even a prepositional phrase, as shown below.

- (45) m̀à = ǹò kwó nc̀à t́ér l̀è-jẃók b̀è-wàl.
 I with again come start INF-feel 8-fear
 'I started to be afraid.'

To summarize, since subject markers can be analyzed as phonologically reduced and do not have the strict selectional criteria of affixes, they can be analyzed as clitics.

2.2 OBJECT PRONOUNS

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

- (46) t́ěm b̀à b́é-dóp bwá = á sá ẃú m = ǎncógó ýîm ǹè d̀è bỳò.
 even be 8-food they-P2 do there I-NEGP2 can and eat 8OBJ
 'I couldn't even eat the food that they prepared there.' (Joy.08)

	Normal		Emphatic	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st person	mò	bìzə́	mè	
incl		bìzá		
dual		ncwè		
2nd person	wò	bè	wè	
3rd person (1/2)	ɲò	bwò	ɲè	bwé
3/4	wò	myò	wé	myé
5/6	dwò	mwò	dwé	mwé
7/8	yò, jwò	byò	jwé	byé
9 or 10	ɲò	ɲò	ɲwé	ɲwé

Table 3.3 Postverbal Object Pronouns

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

- (47) bé túgá lé númbə́ ɲě
 you (pl) NEG IMPF know him (EMPH)
 'You don't know it (the giraffe).' (*History.07*)

2.3 REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

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

- (48) m=ǎncógó nánj lè jwógèrà mè mè mé
 I-NEGP2 still IMPF feel me me self
 I didn't feel like myself anymore.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	mè mè mé	bìzá bé mé
dual		ncwó mè
2nd person	wè wè mé	bé bè mé
3rd person (1/2)	ɲè ɲè mé	bwè bwè mé
3/4	wé mé	myé mé
5/6	dwé mé	mwé mé
7/8	jwé mé	byé mé
9 or 10	ɲwé mé	ɲwé mé

Table 3.4 Exclusive Pronouns

2.4 LOCATIVE PRONOUN

The locative pronoun *té* is unlike the other pronouns in that it bears no resemblance to either the object pronoun stems or to the concord markers.

However, it functions as a pronoun in that it replaces noun phrases referring to a location. It is invariable. Its form does not change in accordance with the noun class of the head noun in the locative noun phrase that it replaces.

Below is an excerpt from a text.

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

Antecedents for the locative pronoun can be proper nouns, one of Kol's locative nouns, or a non-locative noun modified by the locative prefix *lé-*. A partial list of locative nouns is given below.

- | | | | | |
|------|-----|----------------------|-----|----------|
| (50) | fág | 'place' | kèl | 'side' |
| | bùŋ | 'place' | tám | 'middle' |
| | mwò | 'center' ('stomach') | sí | 'earth' |
| | wú | 'there' | tû | 'inside' |

Kol has a distinction in its locatives meaning 'here' between a specific location and a general location. There are two words used: *kôg* and *wôg*. The former is used to refer to a general location, while the latter is used to refer to a specific location and is frequently accompanied by a gesture indicating the location referred to. Below are some examples.

- (51) m̀̀=jî ɲʷàŋ wó kàn lé-bì-sá bízə ndé lé d̀̀k
 I want take you story in-8-thing H+we be (loc) IMPF see
- wók ná tʃààŋgà nè b̀̀míj̀̀ŋ b-íz-é.
 here that now with 2-brother 2-our-RELCL
- 'I will tell you a story about something that we see here today with our brothers.'

- (52) "és kà m̀ = jì nò ñkùl ỳ wógè ?"
 est-ce que I be with power die here (spec.)
 "Will I die here?" (*Illness.23*)

Example (51) above also illustrates the locative prefix *lé-* which can be glossed as 'in, on, or about.' Another example is given below.

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

Additionally, some of these locative nouns can function as locative particles or prepositions. One example of this is *sí* whose primary sense is 'ground, earth.' However, *sí* is also used to express 'down,' as in example (54) and 'under' as in example (55).

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

- (55) ǹ m̀ = nî = ñk sì jwòñ.
 nò m̀ = nî = g + H sí jwòñ
 and I enter-SUBJ 1-earth bed
 '...and should I go under the bed?'

3 Concord systems

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

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

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

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

They share the same prefix for the definite determiner, all genitives, and the quantifier 'each, all.'

Noun Class	indefinite determiner & 'which'	definite determiner & genitives	3sg genitive & 'each, all'	Example phrase
1	ɲ-	w-	y-	<i>ɲúlàgà mwàrà</i> 'another woman' <i>ntúm wàɲ</i> 'my brother' <i>mùr yêz</i> 'each person'
2	b-	b-	b-	<i>bwàrà bònḡó</i> 'those women'
3	w-	w-	y-	<i>myà wònḡó</i> 'that time' <i>njáb yé</i> 'his house'
4	mi-	miy-	me- [my-]	<i>mílàgà mámyà</i> 'certain times' <i>mènjáɓ miyònḡó</i> 'those houses' <i>mènjáɓ myó</i> 'your (sg) houses'
5	d-	d-	d-	<i>dwób dònḡó</i> 'that day'
6	m-	m-	m-	<i>mób mēz</i> 'all the days'
7	j-	j-	j-	<i>kág jíz</i> 'our child'
8	be-	biy-	be- [by-]	<i>bàkág byób</i> 'their children'
9	ɲ-	ɲ-	ɲ-	<i>ɲób kwád</i> 'which village?'
10	ɲ-	ɲ-	ɲ-	<i>mpùmó ɲêz</i> 'all fruit'

Table 3.5 Concord Pattern 1 – before V-initial stems

Below is a chart showing the concord prefixes which exhibit the second pattern, where most singular noun classes are zero-marked.

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

Table 3.6 Concord Pattern 2 – before C-initial stems

4 Modifiers

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

give new information or request new information. Additionally, when demonstratives or genitives are put in focus, they are moved from their default position after the noun to a position before the noun.

4.1 DETERMINERS

Kol has both an indefinite and a definite determiner. The determiners always agree with the noun class of the noun they modify. They follow the first concord pattern described above because both stems begin with a vowel.

Class	Definite	Indefinite	Examples
	-ɔ̀ŋɔ́	-úlègà	
1	wɔ̀ŋɔ́	júlègà	<i>júlègà mwàrá</i> 'a certain woman'
2	bɔ̀ŋɔ́	bílègà	<i>bwàrá bɔ̀ŋɔ́</i> 'the women'
3	wɔ̀ŋɔ́	wúlègà	<i>wúlègà mbì</i> 'a certain type'
4	mìyɔ̀ŋɔ́	mílègà	<i>mènjáb mìyɔ̀ŋɔ́</i> 'the houses'
5	dɔ̀ŋɔ́	dúlègà	<i>ɖwób dɔ̀ŋɔ́</i> 'the day'
6	mɔ̀ŋɔ́	mílègà	<i>mòkwád mɔ̀ŋɔ́</i> 'the villages'
7	jɔ̀ŋɔ́	júlègà	<i>júlègà kèkènà</i> 'a certain proverb'
8	bìyɔ̀ŋɔ́	bílègà	<i>bènún bìyɔ̀ŋɔ́</i> 'the birds'
9	jɔ̀ŋɔ́	júlègà	<i>júlègà kwád</i> 'a certain village'
10	jɔ̀ŋɔ́	júlègà	<i>mpùmó jɔ̀ŋɔ́</i> 'the fruits'

Table 3.7 Kol Determiners

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

Both determiners may be abbreviated without any change of meaning. The full form of *júlàgà* for example may be abbreviated as *júlà* or *júl*. The definite determiner may be abbreviated as *bðŋ* instead of *bðŋgá*.

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

- (56) bw-ân jì bðŋg mǎ míyðŋ w-àŋǎ.
 2-child be(att) 2-DEF 2-POSS 1-sibling 1-my
 'The children are my nieces and nephews.' (lit. those of my younger sibling)

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

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

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

4.2 DEMONSTRATIVES

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

Both demonstratives follow the head noun unless they are in focus, in which case they are moved to before the noun as shown in (59).

- (58) a. dá ḡgà 'this father' (1)
 bè-kèkèḡà bé-ḡgà 'these parables' (8)
- b. b-ùr bḡ-nè 'those people' (2)
 dw-àb é-nè 'that day' (5)

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

As was mentioned above, demonstratives in general show fewer concord distinctions than the determiners (or quantifiers). They all begin with a consonant and thus follow the second concord pattern described above, primarily marking the plural classes.

Class	this	that	Examples
	ga, ɲgà	né	
1	gà, ɲgà	né	<i>dá ɲgà</i> 'this father'
2	bèɲgá	bónè	<i>bùr bónè</i> 'those people'
3	gà, ɲgà	né	<i>ɲjáb né</i> 'that house'
4	mèɲgà	mèné	<i>mèɲjáb mèɲgà</i> 'these houses'
5	léɲgá, lègà	léné, éné	<i>dwàb éné</i> 'that day'
6	mógà, mèɲgà	mèné	<i>mòwàrà mógà</i> 'these vacations'
7	gà, ɲgà	né	<i>kágè né</i> 'that child'
8	béɲgà	bèné	<i>bèkèkèné bèɲgà</i> 'these parables'
9	gà, ɲgà	né	<i>kwár né</i> 'that village'
10	gà, ɲgà	né	<i>mpùmó ɲgà</i> 'this fruit'

Table 3.8 Kol Demonstratives.

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

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

class 6 suggests that the prenasalized allomorph is the underlying one, which would then provide a trigger for the mid-vowel centralization rule.

- (60) a. [bèŋgá]
 /bò-ŋgá/
 2-this
- b. bó-bá
 2-two
- c. [mèŋgá]
 /mò-ŋgá/
 6-this
- d. mó-lôl
 6-three

4.3 ANOTHER, A DIFFERENT ONE

The morpheme *sís*, meaning 'another' or 'a different one,' is difficult to categorize. Semantically, it seems to be closest to the demonstratives or the determiners. Since it begins with a consonant, it shares the consonant-initial concord pattern with the demonstratives (but not the determiners). It also occurs after the head noun, as do the demonstratives and the definite determiner. In this study, it is being kept distinct from both the determiners and the demonstratives because it can co-occur with both sets of modifiers, as illustrated by the examples below.

- (61) d-úl dw-áp lè-sís
 5-a certain 5-day 5-another
 'a certain other day' (*Perils.97*)

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

Below is a chart illustrating the concord patterns found with *sís*. Those classes who do not show overt concord have been excluded (classes 1, 3, 7, 9 and 10).

Class	'different'	Examples
2	bèsís	<i>bòkúbò bèsís</i> 'other chickens'
4	mìsís	<i>mènjáb mìsís</i> 'different houses'
5	lèsís	<i>èbùrá lèsís</i> 'different potato'
6	mèsís	<i>mòbùrá mèsís</i> 'other potatoes'
8	bìsís	<i>bèsá bìsís</i> 'other things'

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

4.4 GENITIVES

Kol speakers may express possession by using a modifier marked for the person of the possessor, i.e. the genitives described in this section, or by using a possessive associative phrase in which the possessor is expressed by means of a full noun, as described in section 4.8.

Genitives must also agree with the class of the noun that they are modifying (in Kol, the possessed item), as shown in the example below.

- (63) $\eta = \check{e}$ $sá$ $jwó$ $lè-shú$ $d-\grave{a}\eta$.
 he-FUT do H+7OBJ 5-sake 5-my
 'He will do it for my sake.' (*Elicitation.46*)

Class	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL excl.	1PL incl	1PL dual	2PL	3PL
	-àη	-ó	-é	-éz	-ézà	-zùη	-én	-ób
1	w-à η	w-ó	y-é	w-úz	w-úzà	wú-zù η	w-ún	w-ób
2	b-à η	bw-ó	b-é	b-éz	b-ízà	bé-zù η	b-ín, b-ín	b-ób
3	w-à η	w-ó	η -é, y-é	w-úz	w-úzà	wú-zù η	w-ún	w-ób
4	my-à η	my-ó	my-é	m-íz	m-ízà	mí-zù η	m-ín	my-ób
5	d-à η	dw-ó	d-é	d-íz	d-ízà	dé-zù η	d-ín	d-ób
6	m-à η	mw-ó	m-é	m-éz, m-íz	m-ízà	mó-zù η	m-ín	m-ób
7	j-à η	jw-ó	j-é	j-íz	j-ízà	jí-zù η	j-ín	j-ób
8	by-à η	by-ó	by-é	b-íz	b-ízà	bí-zù η	b-ín	by-ób
9	η -à η	η w-ó	η -é	η -íz	η -ízà	η í-zù η	η -ín	η -ób
10	η -à η	η w-ó	η -é	η -íz	η -ízà	η í-zù η	η -ín	η -ób

Table 3.9 Kol Genitives

Genitives follow the first concord pattern, with markers for every class, as shown in the table above. Genitives also have the only exception to the phonologically-conditioning of the concord system, since the 1st person dual

genitive begins with a consonant and yet patterns with the rest of the genitives which are all vowel-initial.

Genitives follow the head noun as in (64) unless they are in focus, in which case they are moved to before the noun as in (65).

- | | | |
|------|---------------|--------------------------|
| (64) | ntúm wàŋ | 'my brother' (1) |
| | ŋkwòŋ jé | 'his responsibility' (9) |
| | bòmpám bíz | 'our ancestors' (2) |
| | bíyól jób | 'their canoe' (7) |
| (65) | byân béyàbèrá | 'my efforts' (8) |
| | jé tíé | 'his position' (7) |
| | wúz mbì | 'our manner' (3) |
| | bób bwán | 'their children' (2) |

Possessive constructions with a noun phrase (NP) possessor are syntactically associative phrases. Associative phrases are constructions which associate or link a head noun with a modifying noun. The associative marker or connective agrees with the head noun. Kol has three different associative phrase constructions (to be discussed in section 4.8).

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

- (66) a. míyoŋ mǎ njúm
 1-brother 1Poss 1-husband
 ‘my husband’s brother’
- b. sísim mǎ ncìmbé
 3-spirit 3Poss God
 ‘the spirit of God,’ ‘the Holy Spirit’
- c. lè-wálà mǎ ncìmbé
 5-hour 5Poss God
 ‘God’s time’

4.5 QUANTIFIERS

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

4.5.1 'Each, all'

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

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

Table 3.10 Kol Quantifier 'each, all'

As illustrated by the example phrases in the table above, this modifier means 'each' if modifying a singular noun or 'all' if modifying a plural noun.

4.5.1.1 *Emphasis*

The quantifier may be emphasized by reduplicating the first consonant of the noun concord prefix. This can be seen in (59) below, where the noun class prefix is doubly marked in each example.

- (67) a. bízé nóp bá-b-êz
 us other 2-2-each, all
 'both of us' (intended 'me and her, each of us') (Joy.37)
- b. lé jwê jí-j-êz
 7-wood 7-your 7-7-all
 'all your wood'
- c. ηkùl η-óp jí-η-êz
 9-power 9-their 9-9-all
 'all their power' (Joy.33)

4.5.2 Numerals

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

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

⁵ Agreement in chart is for classes 1 and 2.

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

Table 3.11 Kol Numbers.

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

Associative phrases will be discussed below in section 4.8.

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

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

- b. è-wúm é bè-kág
 5-ten 5Assoc 8-child
 'approx. 10 children' (in French 'une dizaine d'enfants')

Below is a chart showing the concord patterns for the four numerals which exhibit concord, i.e. numbers 2-5.

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

Table 3.12 Concord for Kol Numbers

4.6 INTERROGATIVES

Kol interrogatives do not all behave the same way morphosyntactically.

The Kol interrogative meaning 'which', i.e. –óób, precedes the noun (and is requesting new information) and is marked by the first concord pattern for vowel-initial roots. The interrogative –níyé 'how many?' follows the noun and is marked by the second concord pattern for consonant-initial stems.

Below is a table showing the concord patterns of the two interrogatives which agree with the head noun.

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

Table 3.13 Kol Interrogatives

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

- (69) *wóób njáb?* 'which house?' (3) *wòòbé?* 'which one?'
- byóób bèkág?* 'which children?' (8) *byòòbé?* 'which ones?'

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

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

4.7 ADJECTIVES

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

(71)	Adjectives		Examples	
	bèdá	'big'	bèdá kwád	'big village'
	bwàgbwàg	'big'	bwàgbwàg mò-kwád	'big villages'
	fám	'real, true, good'	fámé bijól	'good canoe'
	fúbán	'be clean'		
	mbápmbáp	'bad, evil'	mbápmbáp sísìm	'evil spirit'
	ɲwàɲɲwàɲ	'good, holy'	ɲwàɲɲwàɲ lám	'sacred heart'
	ntúlá	'a lot' (uncountable)	ntúlá bè-sá	'a lot of things'
	bùbù	'a lot'	bùbù mè-njáb	'a lot of houses'
	ɲgúmbà	'entire, whole'	ɲgúmbà fùm	'entire night'

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

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

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

4.7.1 Dimensions

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

(73) *Adjectives*

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

Verbs

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

Nouns

mwâ	'small' (derived from <i>mwân</i> 'child')
-----	--

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

(74)	<i>nô</i>	<i>ncà</i>	<i>ɲkòné</i>	<i>bwâg</i> .
	he/she	come	INCR	(be) big
	'He became big (little by little).'			

Comparative and superlative constructions are also formed verbally,

using the verb *làng* ‘to pass’ as shown by the two examples below.

- (75) mw-ân gà jì bwâg làng mìyòŋ
 mw-ân ngà jì bwâg làng míyòŋ
 1-child 1-this be (att) (be) big pass 1-sibling (same sex)
 ‘This child is bigger than his brother.’ (or ‘her sister’)

- (76) mw-ân gà jì bwâg làn bélégá.
 mw-ân ngà jì bwâg làng bè-úlègà
 1-child 1-this be (att) (be) big pass 8-INDEF
 ‘This child is the biggest.’ (*lit.* ‘passes any others’)

In Kol, smallness can either be described using the verb *twágèbò* as shown in example (77) below or by using an associative phrase construction with the noun *mwâ* ‘small thing’ as its head noun. A plural example is given in (78), and a singular non-human example is given in (79). This noun is clearly derived from the word for ‘child,’ *mwân*, but the /n/ has been lost.

- (77) mìyòŋ jì twágèbò làng jè.
 míyòŋ jì twágèbò làng jè
 1-sibling be (att) (be) small pass him/her
 ‘His brother (or her sister) is smaller than him (her).’

- (78) bwá bó ntòmp
 2-small 2ASSOC 7-younger
 ‘small children’

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

4.7.2 Age

Most words which fit into the semantic subtype of *age* which is commonly associated with adjectives are nouns. These words are classified as nouns because they have plurals, trigger concord agreement on their modifiers and may be the heads of associative phrase constructions.

- | | | |
|------|--------|---|
| (80) | lóŋ | ‘new thing, news’ (5/6) |
| | ntòmb | ‘younger person’ (7/8) |
| | lè-sêš | ‘girl, young woman (immature, no children)’ (5/6) |
| | sìlò | ‘young woman (mature, with children)’ (3/4) |
| | Ƶwànj | ‘young man’ (3/4) |
| | tútúl | ‘old man’ (3/4) |
| | twámbá | ‘elder person’ (1/2) |

There is also a verb *jwèm* ‘to become old, to age’ and a verb *ntwómá* ‘to be young.’

4.7.3 Value

There are three Kol adjectives which fit into the semantic subtype of *value*. However, two of these are reduplicated forms of nouns. An example of the nouns is given in (82).

(81) *Adjectives*

fám	‘real, true, good’
mbápmbáp	‘bad, evil’
ɲwàɲɲwàɲ	‘good, holy’

Nouns

mò-ɲwàɲ	‘good things’ (6)
mò-mbáb	‘bad things’ (6)

(82)	ɲè	jí	dêk	mà-báp	m-êz	ndé	kók	bə-sí,
	ɲè	jì	dêg	mò-mbáb	m-êz	ndé	kóg	bò-sí
	he	be (att)	see	6-bad	6-all	be (loc)	here	2-ground

mà-ɲwàɲ	mêz	ndé	kók	bə-sí.
mò-ɲwàɲ	m-êz	ndé	kóg	bò-sí
6-good	6-all	be (loc)	here	2-ground

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

4.7.4 Physical property

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

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

adjective.

(83)	bì-mpàànc	by-áɲ	by = á	sè	bə	fúbán	nə	ɲwàɲ	ɲwàɲ.
	bè-mpànc	bè-àɲ	bè = á	sé	bə	fúbán	nə	ɲwàɲ	ɲwàɲ
	8-side	8-my	8SUB-P2	PERF	be	clean	and	good	good

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

Other physical properties are described using nouns or verbs as shown

below.

(84) *Nouns*

bùl 'rotten thing' (1/2)

dílô 'fullness'

mò-bwêz 'wetness' (6)

mpwògé 'health' (9)

ntwì 'loose thing' (1/2)

títim 'blind person' (3/4)

Verbs

bwâz 'be wet'

bôl 'be bald'

kâz 'be wrinkled'

tègá 'be tired'

4.7.5 Human propensity

There are no Kol adjectives which describe character traits or what

Dixon calls the “human propensity” semantic subtype. Character traits are

described using either nouns or verbs.

(85) *Verbs*

bízábé	'be patient'
yág	'be unaware'
fwáàg	'be crazy'
fwààz	'be happy'

Nouns

kéŋ	'wise one'
làd	'crazy person, fool'
ŋkɔ́ŋ	'brave one'
wágèlà	'stupid one'

There are also two nouns which are used to describe wealth, which is neither a character trait nor a physical property. These are given below.

(86)	kúkúm	'rich man' (3/4)
	mbúmbwá	'poor man' (3/4)

4.7.6 Quantification

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

(87)	ntúlá	'a lot' (uncountable)
	bùbù	'a lot, many'
	ngúmbà	'entire, whole'

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

- (88) *y = á nték mà ná bùbù.*
 y = á ntég mà ná bùbù
 NONREF-P2 annoy me with many
 ‘That bothered me a lot.’

4.8 OTHER NOUNS (IN ASSOCIATIVE PHRASES)

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

- (89) *è-wàlà lé-mífwàn*
 5-hour 5ASSOC-7-church
 ‘church time’

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

- (90) *sísìm* *mó-ncìmbé*
 sísìm H + *mò-ncèmbê*
 3-spirit 3 + POSSASSOC-God
 'spirit of God, God's spirit'

The second kind of associative phrases is the qualificative, or attributive, associative phrases, where the second noun expresses a quality of the first. This may include location or origin. The qualificative associative marker is *à*.

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

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

- (92) *ncùg* *mó-dífbó*
 ncùg H + *mò-dífbó*
 7-elephant 7ASSOC-6-water
 'hippopotamus'

This has been given the name 'basic' because it has the least specialized meaning, and the least specialized associative marker. For most singular nouns, the 'basic' associative marker is either zero or a tonal marker. The exception is the class 5 marker.

Below is a table giving the various forms of the markers used in these three kinds of associative phrases.

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

Table 3.14 Associative Markers

Below are some examples of basic associative phrases followed by some examples of possessive associative phrases.

- (93) a. twámbá mw-àrá
1-elder 1-woman
'old woman'
- b. bw-án bó- bíjùmp
2-child 2ASSOC- Bidjombo
'Bidjombo children'
- c. njáb bw-ûr
3-house H + 2-people
'family'
- d. mè-njáb mé- bw-ûr
4-house 4ASSOC 2-people
'families'

- e. èsáp lé ncám f. mòwúm mà tón
5-illness 5ASSOC 9-leprosy 5-ten 5ASSOC five
‘leprosy’ ‘fifty’
- g. ncùg mó-díbó h. bè-kág bé ʃùkùl
7-elephant H + 6-water 8-child 8ASSOC 7-school
‘hippopotamus’ ‘school children’
- i. ntú mò-cì
9-diarrhea 6-blood
‘dysentery’
- (94) a. míyɔŋ mɛ̀ njúm
1-brother 1Poss 1-husband
‘my husband’s brother.’
- b. sísim mɛ̀ ncìimbé
3-spirit 3Poss God
‘the spirit of God,’ ‘the Holy Spirit’
- c. lè-wálà mɛ̀ ncìimbé
5-hour 5Poss God
‘God’s time’

In the neighboring language of Makaa, the forms of the possessive and qualificative markers are formed by adding the basic associative marker to the possessive and qualificative roots (*má* and *a* with polar tone⁶). In Kol

⁶ Polar to the first tone of the second noun.

however, only the qualificative associative morpheme shows concord, while for the possessive morpheme it is only the tone of the basic associative marker which is added. Below are the Makaa forms (Heath 2003:341).

Noun Class	Associative Marker	Associative Marker + Possessive Marker	Associative Marker + Qualificative Marker
1	<i>∅</i>	<i>m'ə</i>	<i>á</i>
2	<i>ó</i>	<i>ó</i>	<i>wá</i>
3	<i>H</i>	<i>m'ə</i>	<i>á</i>
4	<i>mí</i>	<i>mí</i>	<i>myá</i>
5	<i>lú</i>	<i>m'ə</i>	<i>lú-á</i>
6	<i>m'ə</i>	<i>m'ə</i>	<i>myá</i>
7	<i>H</i>	<i>m'ə</i>	<i>á</i>
8	<i>í</i>	<i>í</i>	<i>yá</i>
9	<i>∅</i>	<i>m'ə</i>	<i>á</i>
10	<i>∅</i>	<i>m'ə</i>	<i>á</i>

Table 3.15 Associative Markers in Makaa

4.8.1.1 Ordinal Numbers

Ordinal numbers in Kol are formed via qualificative associative phrases. (For more on associative phrases, see section 4.8.) The Kol ordinal numbers for second through fifth are based on the numbers used for counting in isolation. The expression 'first' is derived from the word meaning 'front.'

'First' and 'second' may describe plural head nouns, but the remaining numbers in the series may only modify singular nouns.

Number	counting	ordinal	Examples:	
1	fóg	mèshwôg	<i>mwàrá á mèshwôg</i>	'first woman'
2	bè	bèè	<i>mwàrá á bèè</i>	'second woman'
3	lél	lêl	<i>mwàrá á lêl</i>	'third woman'
4	ná	nà	<i>mwàrá á nà</i>	'fourth woman'
5	tón	tên	<i>mwàrá á tên</i>	'fifth woman'
6	twób	twóbé	<i>mwàrá á twóbé</i>	'sixth woman'

Table 3.16 Ordinal Numbers

5 Derivational morphology

Kol has a number of derivational processes which either modify or create nouns. Reduplication is used to create new noun stems from existing noun stems. Additionally, nouns may be created from verbs through a number of different processes.

5.1 NOUN TO NOUN DERIVATION

Nouns which are derived from other nouns are formed by means of reduplication. Most of these new nouns are diminutives, but there are exceptions. One is given below.

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

5.1.1 Diminutive

Nouns meaning 'small x' are formed by reduplicating the initial consonant of the base noun on its left edge. The regular epenthetic schwa rule will insert a schwa between the two consonants, as illustrated in the examples below.

(96)	kág	'child' (7/8)	kákág	'small child'
	fòg	'wisdom' (9)	fəfóg	'small wisdom'
	mwân	'child, offspring' (1)	məmwân	'small child'

5.2 DEVERBAL NOUNS

Kol creates both agentive nouns and result nouns from verbs. Both can be created by using a homorganic nasal prefix or by adding a final vowel or both. However, they each have their own unique processes as well.

5.2.1 Agentive nouns

In Kol, there are a number of different processes which may be used to create nouns out of verbs. For creating the agent of a particular action, these include: adding a suffix vowel, adding the suffix *-lə* (or *-l*), or adding a nasal prefix.

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

- (97) kwîg 'travel, walk' kwígè 'traveler' (1)
 ɲwèl 'drink' ɲwèlè 'drinker' (1)
 mwèl 'solicit sex' mwèlá 'boyfriend, girlfriend' (1)

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

- (98) jíbà 'steal' jíbèlè 'thief' (1)
 yò 'give' yôl 'giver' (1)

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

- (99) jwî 'rule over' njwî 'king, chief' (1)
 jígèlè 'teach' njígèlè 'teacher' (1)

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

nasal prefix mentioned above and the suffix *-l*, while in (100b), the nouns are formed by adding the nasal prefix and the suffix vowel *-e*.

(100) a.	jû	'kill'	njûl	'butcher (n)' (1)
	dì	'live, stay'	ndìl	'dweller' (1)
	jìì	'cry'	njììl	'crier' (1)
b.	bùgè	'accuse'	mbùgè	'accuser' (1)
	dùb	'paint'	ndùbé	'painter' (1)
	dúg	'row'	ndúgè	'rower' (1)
	jîg	'learn'	njígè	'learner, student' (1)
	júnà	'fight'	njúnè	'fighter' (1)

5.2.2 Result nouns

Deverbal nouns which refer to the result of the action may be formed by changing the tonal contour, changing the final vowel of the root verb, adding a suffix vowel, or adding a nasal prefix. Unlike the nasal prefix seen with agentive nouns, the nasal prefix found on these nouns may devoice the following consonant.

As mentioned above, some nouns can be formed by changing the tonal contour of the root verb. Examples are given below.

(101)	yàlà	'answer (v)'	yàlá	'response' (7)
	mbèg	'be open'	mbég	'separation' (3)

Other nouns are formed by changing the final vowel of the verb root.

This is the second vowel in disyllabic roots and the first vowel in monosyllabic roots.

(102)	jíbà	'steal'	jíbò	'theft' (7)
	làb	'speak'	lób	'language, word' (3)
			lòb	'problem' (3)
	sáb	'get sick'	èséb	'illness' (5)

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

(103)	nûmb	'know'	númbá	'knowledge' (3)
			númbé	'prophecy'
	cíg	'cut'	cígà	'saw'

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

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

(104)	kèg	'promise (v)'	ɲkèg	'promise (n)'
	bwâg	'be big'	mpwàag	'bigness, fatness' (9)
	jàm	'destroy'	ncàm	'leprosy (destroyer)' (9)
	jàgèlà	'pray'	ɲjàgèlà	'prayer' (3)
	byêl	'be born'	mbyêl	'blood relative' (3)

As was the case for agentive nouns, more than one strategy may be used.

In example (105) below, the noun is formed by both adding a nasal prefix and a suffix vowel.

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

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

(106)	bàgèlà	'load (v)'	mbágèlè	'load' (3)
	jàmb	'cook (v)'	ɲjômb	'cook' (1)
	jàànd	'walk'	ɲjônd	'walking trip' (3)

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

(107)	bwámà	'meet'	mpwàmá	'meeting'
	bwàmbà	'follow in time'	mpwàmbá	descendant (pl. same)
	bwèlà	'take revenge'	mpwélá	'debt' (9/6)

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

(108)	bwàgèbè	'lie down'	mpwág	'sleeping mat'
	bùgè	'accuse'	mpúgágá	'accusation' (1)
	jìi	'cry'	njìilà	'moan' (3)

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

(109)	njì	'mark out'	njì	'border'
	ntwómá	'be young'	ntwómá	'boy' (1)
	jùg	'suffer'	jùg	'poison'

6 Word order within the noun phrase

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

6.1 MULTIPLE POSTPOSED MODIFIERS

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

(110)	Head Noun	Genitive	Demonstrative	Definite Determiner
				Another
				Quantifier

Examples are given below.

(111)	a.	ntúm	w-ǎŋ	w-ḁḁŋgḁ
		1-brother	1-my	1-DEF
	b.	mw-án	w-àŋḁ	ŋgà
		1-child	1-my	1-this
	c.	ŋkùl	ŋ-óp	ŋí-ŋ-êz
		9-power	9-their	9-9-each

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

- (112) a. mpwò nè síś
 9-accusation 9-that 9-another
 'that other accusation' (*Perils*.82)
- b. lé nè j-êz
 7-wood 7-this 7-all

6.2 RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses in Kol are formed by adding a H tone to the left edge of the embedded clause. Many relative clauses also have an enclitic =è on the right edge of the relative clause, as shown below. Unlike what is seen in some other Bantu languages, including the closely related language Makaa, there is no change in the tonal contour of a verbal sequence found inside of a relative clause.

- (113) bímp bíz = é kwàg = é
 mbímbì bíz = é kwàg-è
 amount RELCL-we-FUT put.up-RELCL
 'The amount we can put up with...'

The right edge enclitic is not obligatory, as shown by the relative clause below which lacks it. That is to say, there is no enclitic found after 'eight,' which is the end of the embedded clause.

- (114) m = ǎ bə nə mw-án á bə nə bə-kwônt mwôm
 m̩ = á bə nə mw-ân H + á bə nə bə-ŋkùùnd mwôm
 I-P2 be with 1-child RELCL-P2 be with 2-month eight
 'I had with me my child who was eight months old.'

Some of the head nouns of the relative clauses which lack a right boundary enclitic are locative nouns which have special relative clause markers in related languages (e.g. Makaa, see chapter 6 for more information).

- (115) fág bízá tēr bə lê-dúmp
 fág H + bízá tēr bə lê-dúmp
 where RELCL-we first be
 '...where we first were at the party...' (*Perils*.34)

Kol permits relative clauses to be hosted by nouns with all kinds of grammatical relations. In addition, all relative clauses in Kol are examples of gapping. That is to say, the noun within the relative clause that would have been co-referential with the head noun is deleted and not replaced with a resumptive pronoun. Below is an example of a subject relative clause.

- (116) nò jì m-ùr ndé lê dúbə má-kwíndè.
 nò = jì m-ùr H + ndé lè dúb mì-kwíndè
 he/she be (att) 1-person RELCL-be (loc) IMPF fish 4-hook-RELCL
 'He is someone who fishes with hooks.'

Relative clauses can also be formed from either of the two objects allowed in Kol clauses. One is prototypically the patient while the other is prototypically the beneficiary. In example (117), the head noun of the relative clause below is underlyingly the patient of the embedded clause. Again, there is no resumptive pronoun present in the relative clause.

- (117) biy-ðòŋgá m = á têr jwàŋ-é
 bè-ðòŋgá H + m̃ = á tér jwàŋ-è
 8-DEF RELCL-I-P2 first take-RELCL
 '...what I first took....' (*Perils*.34)

In the example below, the head noun is underlyingly the beneficiary in the embedded clause.

- (118) bw-ân m = é jâmb bè-dób = è
 bô-ân H + m̃ = é jâmb bè-dób = è
 2-child RELCL-I-P1 prepare 8-food-RELCL
 'The children that I prepared food for....'

The head noun of the relative clause below is underlyingly a location in the embedded clause below. This is a third semantic role possibility for direct objects in Kol.

- (119) búŋ m = á b = è.
 bùŋ H + m̂ = á b̂ = è
 place RELCL-I-P2 be-RELCL
 '...where I was.' (*Perils*.94)

Finally, Kol also allows adjunct relative clauses. In the example below, the head noun is underlyingly an adjunct, an optional temporal noun phrase, in the embedded clause.

- (120) m = ó nùmb twóŋgèlò d-wóp m = á jâmb bwò bè-dób = è.
 I-PRES know think 5-day H + I-P2 prepare them 8-food-RELCL
 'I remember the day that I prepared food for them.'

Nouns which are the heads of a relative clause can fulfill any grammatical relation in the matrix clause. Below is an example where the noun modified by the relative clause is the subject.

- (121) bw-ân m = é jâmb bè-dób = è jì bw-ân
 bò-ân H + m̂ = é jâmb bè-dób = è jì bò-ân
 2-child RELCL-I-P1 prepare 8-food-RELCL be (att) 2-child
 'The children that I prepared food for are the children....'

In the example below, the head noun is the object of the main verb.

- (122) m = ó nùmb twóŋgèlò d-wóp m = á jâmb bwò bè-dób = è.
 I-PRES know think 5-day H + I-P2 prepare them 8-food-RELCL
 'I remember the day that I prepared food for them.'

Relative clauses can also modify a noun marked with the locative prefix *lé-* as shown below.

- (123) m̀ə = jî ɲwàŋ wó kàn lé-bĩ-sá bízə ndé
 m̀ə = jí ɲwàŋ wó kàn lé-bè-sá H + bízə ndé
 I be (att) take you folk.tale LOC-8-thing RELCL-we be (loc)
- lé dèk wók ná càà-ŋgà nè bə-míyòŋ b-ízé.
 lè dèk wôg nò cà-ŋgà nò bə-míyòŋ b-íz-è
 IMPF see here with now-here with 2-sibling 2-our-RELCL
 'I will tell you a story about what we see today with our brothers.'
 (Serpent.01)

It is also very common to have adjunct clauses with relative clauses modifying temporal or locative head nouns, as shown below.

- (124) myǎ yô = kò nìgò jê wú = í
 myà H + yò = kò nìgò jê wú = è
 3-time RELCL + 7SUB go return arrive there-RELCL
 'Arriving there, ...'

6.2.1 Clefting Construction

In addition to the prototypical relative clauses seen above, Kol speakers also frequently use a construction which is a cross between a cleft construction and a relative clause. It is not exactly like a relative clause because, as can be seen in the example below, the head noun of the relative

clause, which is the object of the copula is co-referential with the subject and is therefore deleted. So out of three co-referential noun phrases (the subject, the object and the object of the embedded clause), only one is overtly expressed, i.e. the subject of the matrix clause.

- (125) è-kán bó ɲ = é dɛ́g = è.
 è-kán bà H + ɲ = é dɛ́g = è.
 5-antelope be he-P1 see-RELCL
 'It's the antelope that he saw.'

The negated version of this cleft construction makes use of the negative copula. However, in the negated version, the copula appears first, which means that of the three co-referential nouns present underlyingly, the only one which is overtly expressed is the direct object of the copula.

- (126) tùgá lé-kán ɲá ndé lé dɛ́g = è.
 túg lè-kán ɲà ndé lè dɛ́g = è.
 be (neg) 5-antelope he be (loc) IMPF see-RELCL
 'It's not the antelope that he saw.'

6.2.2 Relative Clause Enclitic

Since the relative clause enclitic occurs at the right boundary of a clause, it may be hosted by a verb as shown in (127) or a noun, i.e. the direct object of the clause, as shown in (128). This morpheme may be hosted by

members of two different parts of speech, which is morphosyntactic behavior typical of a clitic and not a suffix.

- (127) è-kán bó ɲ=é dég=è.
 è-kán bà H+ɲ=é dêg=è.
 5-antelope be he-P1 see-RELCL
 'It's the antelope that he saw.'

- (128) m=ó nùmb twóngàlò d-wóp m=á jâmb bwò bè-dób=è.
 I-PRES know think 5-day H+I-P2 prepare them 8-food-RELCL
 'I remember the day that I prepared food for them.'

While it is not obviously phonologically deficient, being a vowel and therefore possibly something which could stand on its own, it does seem to form a phonological word with its host. This may be seen in the way that the enclitic =è is affected by the shape of its host, as shown below in example (129) as well as the way that it impacts the shape of the host itself, as shown in example (130).

- (129) myă yô= kò nìgò jê wú=í
 myà H+yò= kò nìgò jê wú=è
 3-time RELCL+NONREF go return arrive there-RELCL
 'Arriving there, ...'

Below, the presence of the enclitic causes the final vowel of the verb to be deleted.

- (130) /mw-ùr bə_H + jì = é = wàzà = è/ → [mùr bó jíwàzè]
 1-man be RELCL + he-P1-forget-RELCL
 'This is the man that he forgot.'

To summarize, the lack of strict co-occurrence restrictions suggests that it is not a suffix, while the phonological processes seen suggest that the clitic and its host form a single phonological word, and that the relative clause boundary marker therefore is not an independent word. Since the evidence shows that it is neither a suffix nor an independent word, then it must be a clitic.

4 Elements of the Verb Phrase

This chapter will discuss the various elements found within the Kol verb phrase, e.g. tense markers, auxiliaries, main verbs, etc. The following chapter, chapter 5, will discuss the ways in which these elements may be combined and examine the syntax of the verb phrase.

In Kol, the verb phrase is the heart of the language. Verb phrases may be very complex, containing multiple auxiliaries, as well as tense, aspect and modal markers. All preverbal elements in Kol are independent words or clitics.

In the sections below, the Kol verb stem will be described, followed by discussions of tense, aspect, and mode markers. Section 3 will discuss auxiliaries, followed by a description of negation strategies in section 4. Section 5 will address the question of adverbs. (1) below gives the relative ordering of these preverbal elements, with the exception of adverbs which can appear between any two words.

(1) Tense Copula Aux Aspect/Mode Auxiliary Verb

1 Verb Stem

Kol verbs may be CV, CVC or CVCV.⁷ The initial consonant may be palatalized or labialized. Below are some examples of different verb root shapes.

(2) CV roots

bì	'startle, surprise'	kwè	'help'
sá	'act, do'	byâ	'beget'
tû	'dig'		

CVC roots

làb	'speak'	fyàl	'test'
bír	'leave to one side'	kwĩr	'save'
dêg	'see'	kwêz	'cough'

CVCV roots

dùmè	'fall'	cèlà	'love'
bìlǎ	'find after searching'		
límà	'dream'	bwámè	'meet'
kúnjá	'defecate'	ʃwézá	'be dry'

For many Bantu languages, it is descriptively useful to distinguish between the verb *root* (or *minimum radical*) and the verb *stem*, which consists

⁷ There are 39 CV verb roots (+ 14 CGV roots), 135 CVC roots (+ 53 CGVC roots) and 81 CVCV roots (+ 14 CGVCV roots), making up almost 60% of the lexicon.

of the verb root, plus any valence-changing derivational suffixes (or *extensions*), and an inflectional final vowel marking tense or mood.

However, in Kol there are only relics remaining of the proto-Bantu extensions. There are a number of longer verbs (CVCVC etc) which appear to contain frozen relics of an extension system, but these relics are not productive. This will be discussed in section 1.1 below.

Neither does Kol have an inflectional final vowel which marks tense and aspect as many Bantu languages do. Morphemes which fill those functions are all found preverbally. Kol verbs may end in a number of different vowels, but this vowel does not change in different tense, aspect or mode constructions.

Verbs ending in different vowels are given below. The front vowel /ε/ is relatively rare in this position. The high vowels /i/ and /u/ and the mid front vowel /e/ primarily occur in monosyllabic verbs. These have most likely have ended up in final position due to erosion on the right edge.

(3) /i/		/u/	
bì	'startle, surprise'	tû	'dig'
dì	'stay, dwell'	jû	'vomit'
jí	'ask'	kù	'fail'
jwî	'rule over'	lû	'sting'
/e/		/o/	
kwè	'help'	dò	'eat'
jê	'arrive'	nìgò	'return'
fwè	'bleed'	jò	'climb'
fyê	'suck'	jwábò	'respect'
/ɛ/		/ɔ/	
bè	'plant'	bàdèbò	'perch'
fwùmè	'build'	mìnò	'swallow'
		bùbò	'roast'
		lwômbèlò	'send on errand'
/ə/		/a/	
dùmè	'fall'	sá	'act, do'
bílá	'find after searching'	byâ	'beget'
bwámè	'meet'	cèlà	'love'
kùrè	'beat (heart)'	límà	'dream'

The central vowels /ə/ and /a/ and the back vowels /ɔ/ and /o/ are all common as the last segment in polysyllabic verbs. These vowels form a natural class of the non-high, non-front vowels as can be seen below.

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

Table 4.1 Final vowels in polysyllabic verbs.

The four vowels which are common as the last segment in polysyllabic words are all possible reflexes of the proto-Bantu vowel *a (see chapter 7, section 4.3 for more details). In Bantu languages with an inflectional final vowel marking tense or mode, the final vowel –a is the most common final vowel, generally used to mark the indicative. (Miti 2001, Mohammed 2001)

As was noted above, the final vowel of Kol verbs does not change due to inflectional processes. However, it may change when a deverbal noun is derived, as was described in chapter 3, section 5.2.2.

In general, the final vowel may not be deleted either. The one exception to this is found in the relative clause construction, where if a verb hosts the relative clause right boundary enclitic =è and if the verb ends in /a/, the /a/ is deleted. It is interesting that this only occurs with the vowel /a/, which as was alluded to above, is the most direct descendent of the most common inflectional final vowel in the inherited proto-Bantu system. (See chapter 3, section 6.2.1.)

1.1 EXTENSIONS

Bantu languages are well known for their valence-changing suffixes, known as extensions. In Kol, while there are a number of verbs which appear to contain such suffixes, these are synchronically only frozen relics. Only the passive extension may still be productive.

	Proto-Bantu	Kol
causative	*ic-i	-èzè, a→e
benefactive/ applicative	*-Id	-èà
passive	*Ib-u	-ówà

Table 4.2 Extensions in Proto-Bantu and their relics in Kol

The passive suffix is more productive, though still relatively rare, than the other extension candidates. However, it has a number of different forms. One, *-ówà*, is clearly related to the passive suffix found in other Bantu languages, like *-Vw* in Mòkpè (Kagaya 1992:29), *-w* in Swahili (Mohammed 2001:205), and *-iw* in Cinsanga (Miti 2001:91). Example sentences are given below.

- (4) tír sé d-ówà.
 tír sé dò-ówà
 meat PERF eat-PASS
 'The meat is eaten.'

- (5) bîzô ncà kò lê-dúmp á s-ówà-wè
 we come go to-dance (n) + H P2 do-PASS-RELCL
 'We went to the party that had been organized.' (*Perils*.11)

However, there are other passive constructions which suggest that the underlying form of the passive may be underspecified as a glide plus the vowel /a/. In the example below, the last word is a passive verb which has the glide /y/ instead of /w/.

- (6) jî=í bə lé ncò... kǎbò jî=í bî-yà.
 jî=é bə + H lè + H ncò + H kǎbò jî-é bî-yà + H
 he/she-P1 be IMPF come but he/she-P1 seize-PASS
 'He was coming...but he got caught.'

Below is a complete list of passive verbs present in my corpus.

Sentences meant to elicit passive verbs mostly failed. As can be seen from the three examples above, when a passive is possible, it is the object with the semantic role of patient which becomes the new subject.

(7)	dówà	'be eaten'	<i>from</i>	dò	'eat'
	sówà	'be done'		sá	'do'
	sówàwà	'be done'		sá	'do'
	bìyà	'be seized'		bì	'seize'
	númbàwà	'be known'		númb	'know'
	kégàwà	'be organized'		kég	'organize'

There are no productive causative processes. There are two words which may have reflexes of the proto-Bantu causative suffix *ic-i.

(8)	ságèzè	'shake'	<i>from</i>	sá	'do'
	kwámèzà	'prepare'			

There are also a number of words which correlate to what has been described as an ablaut causativization process in related languages. Below are some examples. This is not currently productive in Kol either.

(9)	wûl	'take out'	wòl	'get up'
	bêr	'put, place'	bâr	'climb in'
	bwêd	'clothe'	bwâd	'wear clothes'

- (10) *bùr mé wòl lê-mò-wàlà mǎ-lól,*
b-ùr mé wòl lé-mò-wàlà H + mò-lól
 2-person be (chg) get.up LOC-6-hour 6-Poss-6-three(3)
 'The people got up at 3 am....' (*Perils.66*)

- (11) *myǎ m-ùr á bà lè jí wúl mà kwînt lé-lú = wé,*
myà H + m-ùr á bò lè jí wúl mà kwéndè lé-lú = è
 time RELCL-1-man P2 be IMPF want remove me hook LOC-head-RELCL
 When the man wanted to take the hook out of my hair, [I told him, "While
 you're taking that out, time is going by."]

There are also two possible relics left from the proto-applicative suffix

**ɪd*. A small set of verbs appear to have a frozen derivational morpheme *-l*.

However, these appear to have somewhat passive semantics.

- (12) *byêl* 'be born' *from* *byâ* 'give birth'
bwîl 'be broken'

There is another relic where the **d* has been lost, but the vowel of the applicative and the inflectional final vowel has been retained (as is common in other Bantu languages. An example is given below.

- (13) *ncw = é d-éà nò bwè.*
 we (dual)-F1 eat-APPL with them
 'They will take care of us.' (lit. We will eat from them.)

Finally, there is a possible frozen element which may be a reflex of a reflexive extension, shown below, though it differs in shape quite a bit from

the reconstructed *-an reflexive extension, which is very common in other Bantu languages.

- (14) b̀̀z = á túk lê ỳ̀g-àlà ǹ̀ dá.
 we-P2 be (neg) IMPF pretend-RECP with ancestor
 'We shouldn't compare ourselves to the father.' (Ram.42)

This is not productive, and in general to express meanings like 'himself' or 'themselves,' Kol speakers will use the exclusive pronoun described in chapter 3.

Another relic, possibly of the *-ud reversive extension, is illustrated by the two examples below. The relationship between the two verbs seems to be one of antonymy, or reversive.

- (15) ɲ = ì sé d̀̀p lé-bé.
 ɲ-é s̀̀ + H d̀̀b + H l̀̀-bé
 he/she-P1 already open 5-door
 'She opened the door.'

- (16) ɲ = ì sé d̀̀b̀̀l̀̀ lé-bé.
 ɲ-é s̀̀ + H d̀̀b̀̀l̀̀ + H l̀̀-bé
 he/she-P1 already close 5-door
 'She closed the door.'

In other pairs, a similar frozen suffix (which differs in its final vowel) seems to mark the relationship between related intransitive and transitive verbs.

- (17) mpyó yé sé bándà dímbà dük.
 mpyó é sè + H bándà + H dímbà dük
 1-dog P1 Perf really be.lost forest
 'The dog is lost in the forest.'

- (18) ɲ = ì sé dímbàlò mpyó y-é dük.
 ɲ-é sè + H dímbàlò + H mpyò y-é dük
 he/she-P1 PERF lose 1-dog 1-his forest
 'He lost his dog in the forest.'

In Kol, there are three additional frozen suffixes which when affixed to a verb root may alter the semantics of the verb in irregular ways. The differing semantic relationships between root and derived stem are intriguing, as is the number of times the semantics does *not* seem to change. A listing of related words is given below.

(19) -àlè

jábàlè	'call back'	jáb	'call (s.o.)'
jígèlè	'teach'	jík	'learn'
fyàzàlè	'examine'	fyàl	'test, examine'
bwègàlé	'bring up'	bwèg	'bring up'
ntégàlè	'annoy'	nték	'annoy'

- | | | | |
|---------|------------|-----|--------|
| bámbáló | 'shout at' | bâm | 'roar' |
|---------|------------|-----|--------|
- (20) -àbà
- | | | | |
|--------|-----------|------|--------------|
| jógèbà | 'hear' | jwôk | 'hear, feel' |
| bùgùbà | 'prosper' | bù | 'be scarce' |
- (21) -àrè
- | | | | |
|---------|-----------|------|--------------|
| jwàgèrè | 'suspect' | jwôk | 'hear, feel' |
|---------|-----------|------|--------------|

In summary, while synchronically Kol does not have any productive valence-changing suffixes, there is evidence that it may have in the past. These suffixes are now frozen, non-productive, and non-transparent in their semantics.

2 Tense, Aspect, and Mode

Tense, aspect and mode may be marked in Kol by auxiliaries, clitics or independent words, or by a combination of all three. Auxiliaries will be discussed in section 3. In the sections below, tense markers will be discussed first, followed by discussions of aspect and mode.

2.1 TENSE

Kol has five absolute tenses and one relative tense. In the affirmative, there are two past tenses, a present tense, and two future tenses. The time spans that the absolute tenses cover are given below.

Aff	P2		P1	Pres	F1	F2
	Ancestors' Era	Last Year	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow	Next Year

Kol marks tense through a combination of tense morphemes and grammatical tones. Most tenses are marked by a single vowel, but two tenses, the distant future and the relative immediate past tense, combine a tense vowel with an additional tense morpheme. All of the tenses except the far past share a similar tonal contour, in that a high tone is added after every word in the verbal sequence. This will be discussed in more detail in section 2.1.7.

The tense morphemes are the first element in the verb and form a phonological word with pronominal subjects. As is to be expected, the tense vowels are all in complementary distribution with each other. In addition, they are in complementary distribution with the proclitic portion of the perfective negative marker, discussed in section 4.1.

The absolute tenses are marked by the following morphemes:

<i>far past (P2)</i>	á
<i>recent past (P1)</i>	é + H
<i>present</i>	ó + H
<i>near future(FUT)</i>	é + H
<i>distant future (F2)</i>	é + bwó + H

While the recent past and the future morphemes have the same underlying shape, they trigger different phonological processes as will be discussed in section 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 below.

The relative immediate tense is marked by the morpheme *lwándàbà* 'just' which co-occurs with either the absolute present tense vowel *ó* or the far past tense vowel *á*.

Tense markers are not obligatory. Frequently, if the tense has been already established, via context or previous utterances, tense will not be overtly marked.

2.1.1 The Far Past

The far past is used to refer to events that occurred yesterday or more distantly in the past. It is the only tense which does not exhibit tone concord.

- (22) mólú wàzà mpízé jɪ = ǎ mùr.
 H + mò-lú wàzà mpìzé jì = á m-ùr
 6-era forget back he/she-P2 1-man
 'In times past, he forgot someone.'

- (23) m = ǎ bè mpànd d-úlógá dwábè.
 I = P2 be Mpand 5-certain 5-day
 'I was at Mpand one day.'

2.1.2 The Recent Past

The recent past is used for events that occurred earlier that day or yesterday. In the example below, the speaker is telling his wife about the illness that hit him since he left the house that morning. The recent past, like all other tenses in Kol, adds a grammatical high tone after every preverbal element and the main verb, represented by H in the example below (and all following examples).

- (24) m = è sé númá kò kúnjá ncòò lól támè ncì.
 I-P1 PERF + H also + H go + H defecate + H time 3 mid 3-path
 'I had to stop three times along the way to go to the bathroom.' (Joy.12)

While the recent past and the immediate future both consist of the front mid vowel /e/, the recent past marker undergoes raising after the palatal nasal, as seen below and the future marker does not.

- (25) nò kùgú jɪ = í nìgó kò njáp.
 nè kùgú jɪ = é nìgò + H kò + H njáb
 with evening he/she-P1 return go house
 'Yesterday, he returned home.'

Additionally, the recent past vowel will undergo the regular rounding rule whereby /i/ becomes [u] if it neighbors the labiovelar glide /w/, as shown below.

- (26) nò kùgú jɪ = ú wàzà mûr.
 nè kùgú jɪ = é wàzà + H m-ùr
 with evening he/she-P1 forget 1-man
 'Yesterday, he forgot someone.'

Finally, the recent past is the only tense whereby the normally optional H tone merger rule is required. This means that if the recent past tense vowel é is followed by a verb with an underlying H tone on its first syllable, the high tone of the tense vowel will merge with the H tone of the verb, allowing the underlying L tone of the subject clitic to surface. This results in an apparent polar tone. Compare (26) above with example (27) below.

- (27) nò kùgú jɪ = ì bárá mûr.
 nè kùgú jɪ = é bárá + H m-ùr
 with evening he/she-P1 greet 1-man
 'Yesterday, he greeted a man.'

2.1.3 The Immediate Past

The immediate past is used for events that just happened. It adds the additional tense morpheme *lwándàbà* 'just' to either the present tense marker *ó* as shown in (28) or the far past tense marker *á* as shown in (29). *Lwándàbà* does not occur as a main verb nor may it appear in other places in the verbal sequence as do adverbs.

- (28) $\text{ɲ} = \text{ó}$ *lwándá* *bé* *bwògá* *kwàn*.
 $\text{ɲ} = \text{ó}$ *lwándàbà* + H *bwòg* + H *kwàn*
 he/she-PRES just harvest 9-honey
 'He just harvested honey.'

- (29) *ná* *tùgá* *bíz = á* *lwándàbà* *bà* *lé-ncòŋ* *nà* *ncàá* *ŋgè?*
 nê *tùg* *bìz = á* *lwándàbà* *bò* *lé-ncòŋ* *nò* *ncà* *ŋgà*
 and be (neg) we-P2 just be LOC-dance with now this
 'Weren't we just at the party now?' (*Perils.77*)

2.1.4 The Present Tense

The present tense is used for events that are happening at the current moment or in the immediate future. It is marked by the tense vowel *ó*, as shown below and the high tone tense concord.

- (30) $\text{ɲ} = \text{ó}$ *bwògá* *kwàn*.
 he/she-PRES harvest + H 9-honey
 'He harvests honey.'

The present tense marker is also used to express a habitual sense, when it is combined with the perfect aspect marker *sé*. This will be discussed in section 2.2.5.

In a larger discourse context, once the time of the events under discussion has been established, it is common to leave out overt tense marking. However, in isolation, this is only allowed for the present tense. It is very common for speakers to use an alternative present tense construction with the auxiliary verb *jì* 'to be (attributive)'. Even though this construction lacks the tense vowel, it still exhibits the tonal concord found with other present tense constructions.

- (31) *múùz jè = jí bárá múr.*
 H + mùùz jè jì + H bárá + H m-ùr
 today he/she be (att) greet 1-man
 'Today, he greeted a man.'

2.1.5 The Near Future

The near future is used to refer to events which will occur later today, tomorrow, or shortly thereafter. It is marked by the tense vowel *é* which differs from the recent past marker in that it does not undergo raising to /i/ after a palatal nasal.

- (32) émáné ɲ = ě bwògǎ kwàn.
 tomorrow he/she-FUT harvest + H 9-honey
 'Tomorrow, he will harvest honey.'

2.1.6 The Distant Future

The distant future is used for events that are further away in the future, i.e. next month or next year. It is marked by the future tense vowel *é* and the additional tense morpheme *bwó*.

- (33) m = ě bwó bù lá.
 I-F1 F2 break + H glass
 'I will break the glass (in a month).'

The additional tense morpheme is not required if the idea of a more distant future has been established by means of a temporal expression. In that case, the future tense vowel will be used alone, as shown in the example below.

- (34) ɲgúmbà ɲkúúnd múùz, ɲ = ě wàzà m-úr.
 ɲgúmbà ɲkúúnd H + mùùz ɲ = é wàzà + H 1-man
 month follow today he/she-FUT forget 1-man
 'Next month, he will forget someone.'

2.1.7 Tense tonal concord

As was mentioned above, all of the tenses except the far past share a similar tonal contour, in that in addition to the tense marker, a H tone suffix

is added. Compare an example of a sentence in the far past in (35) with sentences marked for other tenses in (36)-(39), namely the near past, the present, the future, and the distant future.

- (35) $\eta = \check{\alpha}$ $bw\grave{o}g\grave{a}$ $kw\grave{a}n$.
 $\eta = \acute{\alpha}$ $bw\grave{o}g$ $kw\grave{a}n$.
 he/she-P2 harvest (honey) 9-honey
 'He was harvesting honey.'

- (36) $n\grave{o}$ $k\grave{u}g\acute{u}$, $\eta = \acute{I}$ $bw\grave{o}g\acute{a}$ $kw\grave{a}n$.
 $n\grave{o}$ $k\grave{u}g\acute{u}$, $\eta = \acute{e}$ $bw\grave{o}g + H$ $kw\grave{a}n$.
 with evening he/she-P1 harvest (honey) 9-honey
 'Yesterday, he harvested honey.'

- (37) $\eta = \check{o}$ $bw\grave{o}g\acute{a}$ $kw\grave{a}n$.
 $\eta = \acute{o}$ $bw\grave{o}g + H$ $kw\grave{a}n$.
 he-PRES harvest (honey) 9-honey
 'He harvests honey.'

- (38) $\acute{e}m\acute{a}n\acute{e}$ $\eta = \check{e}$ $bw\grave{o}g\acute{a}$ $kw\grave{a}n$.
 $\acute{e}m\acute{a}n\acute{e}$ $\eta = \acute{e}$ $bw\grave{o}g\acute{a} + H$ $kw\grave{a}n$.
 tomorrow he/she-FUT harvest (honey) 9-honey
 'Tomorrow, he will harvest honey.'

- (39) $\eta = \check{e}$ $bw\acute{o}$ $bw\grave{o}g\acute{a}$ $kw\grave{a}n$.
 $\eta = \acute{e}$ $bw\acute{o} + H$ $bw\grave{o}g\acute{a} + H$ $kw\grave{a}n$.
 he/she-FUT F2 harvest (honey) 9-honey
 'He will harvest honey [in a month].'

Not only is this H tone added after the verb as shown above, but it is

also added after every preverbal element in the verbal sequence (and the

main verb itself). Again, compare (40) with (41) where a H tone is added after both the imperfective marker and the verb stem in (41) but not in (40).

(40) $\text{j} = \check{\text{a}}$ $\text{l}\grave{\text{e}}$ $\text{bw}\grave{\text{o}}\text{g}\grave{\text{a}}$ $\text{kw}\grave{\text{a}}\text{n}$.
 $\text{j}\grave{\text{h}} = \acute{\text{a}}$ $\text{l}\grave{\text{e}}$ $\text{bw}\grave{\text{o}}\text{g}\grave{\text{a}}$ $\text{kw}\grave{\text{a}}\text{n}$.
 he/she-P2 IMPF harvest (honey) 9-honey
 'He was harvesting honey.'

(41) $\text{j} = \check{\text{o}}$ $\text{l}^{\text{'}}\acute{\text{e}}$ $\text{bw}\grave{\text{o}}\text{g}\acute{\text{a}}$ $\text{kw}\grave{\text{a}}\text{n}$.
 $\text{j}\grave{\text{h}} = \acute{\text{o}}$ $\text{l}\grave{\text{e}} + \text{H}$ $\text{bw}\grave{\text{o}}\text{g}\acute{\text{a}} + \text{H}$ $\text{kw}\grave{\text{a}}\text{n}$.
 he-PRES IMPF harvest (honey) 9-honey
 'He harvests honey.'

This additional H tone triggers downstep in the imperfective marker which is underlyingly low. Specifically, the floating H delinks the underlying L of the imperfective marker. The underlying L cannot merge with the preceding tone because the preceding syllable is already hosting a complex contour tone. The underlying L must remain floating and thus triggers downstep.

Similarly, compare (42) with (43) where a H tone is added after the auxiliary verb and the main verb in (43) but not in (42). Since the auxiliary has an underlying L tone in (42), it surfaces with a downstepped H tone in (43).

- (42) $\eta = \check{a}$ $nc\grave{a}$ $bw\grave{o}g\grave{a}$ $kw\grave{a}n$.
 $\eta = \acute{a}$ $nc\grave{a}$ $bw\grave{o}g\grave{a}$ $kw\grave{a}n$.
 he/she-P2 come harvest (honey) 9-honey
 'Il est venu cueillir du miel.'

- (43) $\eta = \acute{a}$ $nc'\acute{a}$ $bw\grave{o}g\acute{a}$ $kw\grave{a}n$.
 $\eta = \acute{e}$ $nc\grave{a} + H$ $bw\grave{o}g\acute{a} + H$ $kw\grave{a}n$.
 he/she-P1 come harvest (honey) 9-honey
 'He came to harvest honey.'

The grammatical H tone may be absorbed into a following lexical H tone. If there are no surrounding H tones, it delinks the tone to its left and docks there, triggering downstep if there are no merger possibilities for a floating L. Both strategies are shown below in (44). (45) is a parallel sentence in the far past (P2) tense without the grammatical H tone.

Below in (44), the floating H after the auxiliary surfaces on the final syllable of the first verb of the verbal sequence *nìgò*. Its underlying L tone is retracted to only appear on the first syllable. The floating H after the main verb merges with the underlying H tone of the object.

- (44) $n\grave{o}$ $k\grave{u}g\acute{u}$ $\eta = \acute{a}$ $n\grave{i}g\acute{o}$ $k\grave{o}$ $nj\acute{a}p$.
 $n\grave{o}$ $k\grave{u}g\acute{u}$ $\eta = \acute{e}$ $n\grave{i}g\acute{o} + H$ $k\grave{o} + H$ $nj\acute{a}b$
 with evening he-P1 return go house
 'Today he returned home.'

- (45) $\text{n} = \acute{\text{a}}$ $\text{n}\grave{\text{i}}\text{g}\grave{\text{o}}$ $\text{k}\grave{\text{o}}$ $\text{nj}\acute{\text{a}}\text{p}$.
 $\text{j}\grave{\text{n}} = \acute{\text{a}}$ $\text{n}\grave{\text{i}}\text{g}\grave{\text{o}}$ $\text{k}\grave{\text{o}}$ $\text{nj}\acute{\text{a}}\text{b}$
 he/she-P2 return go house
 'He went home.'

However, it is not possible to say that it is inserted after every element in the verb phrase, since it is not added after the direct object. Rather, the scope of this tonal concord is only the preverbal elements and the main verb, not the verb phrase. This interesting fact will be taken up again in chapter 5, section 3.1.

Since all of the tenses which trigger the tonal concord are marked by morphemes with underlying H tones, i.e. $\acute{\text{e}}$ (P1), $\acute{\text{o}}$ (PRES), and $\acute{\text{e}}$ (FUT), it has been suggested that maybe the tonal concord is not a suffixal H tone but rather H tone spreading from the left. I have rejected this analysis because in polysyllabic preverbal morphemes, such as the auxiliary verb $\text{n}\grave{\text{i}}\text{g}\grave{\text{o}}$ 'return' below, we can see that the H tone does not spread across both syllables. The underlying L tone of the verb is maintained on the first syllable.

- (46) $\text{n}\grave{\text{o}}$ $\text{k}\grave{\text{u}}\text{g}\acute{\text{u}}$ $\text{n} = \acute{\text{i}}$ $\text{n}\grave{\text{i}}\text{g}\acute{\text{o}}$ $\text{k}\grave{\text{o}}$ $\text{nj}\acute{\text{a}}\text{p}$.
 $\text{n}\grave{\text{o}}$ $\text{k}\grave{\text{u}}\text{g}\acute{\text{u}}$ $\text{j}\grave{\text{n}} = \acute{\text{e}}$ $\text{n}\grave{\text{i}}\text{g}\acute{\text{o}} + \text{H}$ $\text{k}\grave{\text{o}} + \text{H}$ $\text{nj}\acute{\text{a}}\text{b}$
 with evening he-P1 return go house
 'Today he returned home.'

Additional evidence for the tense concord not being a case of tone spreading can be found in sentences which are interpreted as being in the present tense, possibly because of the tense concord, but which lack overt tense marking. In the example below, there is no present tense vowel to be a source of the H tone of the tense concord, but the tense concord is still present as can be seen by the surface high tones of the imperfective marker and the verb 'stay,' both of which have underlyingly low tones.

- (47) $j\grave{a} =$ $j\grave{i}$ $n\acute{a}\eta$ $n\grave{j}\grave{i}$ $l\acute{e}$ $d'\acute{i}$ $d\hat{u}k$.
 $j\grave{i} =$ $j\grave{i} + H$ $n\acute{a}\eta + H$ $n\grave{j}\grave{i} + H$ $l\grave{e} + H$ $d\grave{i} + H$ $d\grave{u}g$
 he/she be (att) still only IMPF stay 7-forest
 'He still stays only in the forest.'

This is most common with the attributive copula *jì* shown above and the negative copula *túg* shown below.

- (48) $t\acute{o}\grave{o}b$ $t\acute{u}g\acute{a}$ $l\acute{e}$ $d\grave{i}$ $d\hat{u}k$.
 $t\acute{o}\grave{o}b$ $t\acute{u}g + H$ $l\grave{e} + H$ $d\grave{i} + H$ $d\grave{u}g$
 sheep be (neg) IMPF stay forest
 'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

2.2 ASPECT

Kol has all six of the aspectual categories commonly seen across Bantu languages (Nurse 2003). The perfective aspect is unmarked, while the

imperfective, perfect (anterior), progressive and persistive are marked with the morphemes shown below.

Aspect	
Perfective	Ø
Perfect	sé
Imperfective	lè
Progressive	gò
Persistive	lén

Table 4.3 Aspect in Kol

The sixth common aspect seen across Bantu languages is the habitual.

Kol marks the habitual by a combination of the present tense vowel *ó* and the perfect (anterior) marker *sé*.

Unsurprisingly, aspect markers may not co-occur with each other.

They are also not required to co-occur with tense markers, though if they do that may lead to specialized semantics, as in the case of the *habitual* mentioned above.

2.2.1 Perfect

The perfect, also known as the anterior, is relatively common in Kol discourse. It is marked by the preverbal morpheme *sé*. The perfect refers to a

past action with present consequences (Nurse 2003) and is frequently translated as 'already.'

- (49) $\eta = \acute{}$ $\acute{}$ $\eta\grave{}$ $\acute{}$ $\acute{\eta}$ $\acute{}$ $\eta\grave{}$.
 $\eta = \acute{}$ $\eta + \text{H}$ $\eta\grave{}$ + H $\acute{}$ $\acute{\eta}$ $\acute{}$ $\eta\grave{}$
 he-P1 be (att) come but brother PERF die
 'He was going to come, but his brother had already died.'

Another example is given below. This sentence is interpreted as being in the past, without overt tense marking, due to the aspectual marking.

- (50) $\acute{}$ $\grave{}$ $\eta\acute{}$.
 $\acute{}$ $\acute{}$ $\eta\acute{}$
 glass PERF be.broken
 'The glass broke.'

2.2.2 Imperfective

The imperfective is marked by the preverbal morpheme $\eta\grave{}$. The imperfective marks verbs as being non-punctual; instead they are activities that occur over an undefined period of time. Below is an example marked for the far past tense. This tense inserts no additional tonal contour, allowing the underlying tones of the morphemes to surface.

- (51) $\eta = \grave{}$ $\eta\grave{}$ $\eta\grave{\eta}\grave{}$ $\eta\grave{\eta}$.
 $\eta = \acute{}$ $\eta\grave{}$ $\eta\grave{\eta}$ $\eta\grave{\eta}$
 he/she-P2 IMPF harvest 9-honey
 'He was harvesting honey.'

Nurse (2003) notes that the imperfective may be used to contrast background information with foregrounded information marked by the perfective. In Kol, the perfective is unmarked, but the imperfective and the perfect are occasionally used in the contrastive nature that Nurse describes. Below is an example.

- (52) m̀̀ = lé kwíẏ, m̀̀ = lé númp n̂ m = ǎ̀ b̀̀ mpwògé
 I IMPF cough I IMPF know that I-P2 be healthy
 nd̀̀ y = á b̀̀ n̂ è-sáp á sé ɲkẁ̀ t́́r lê-b̀̀
 while 7SUB-P2 be that 5-illness P2 PERF again start INF-seize
 mó há mó.
 me good
 'I was coughing, all the while thinking that I was in good health,
 though the illness had already taken hold.' (*Illness.08*)

2.2.3 Progressive

Kol also has a progressive marker, gó. The term 'progressive' is generally used to refer to an action which is going on when a second action begins.

- (53) ɲ̀̀ = jí sỳ̀ bí̀̀sìzà ɲ̀̀ = ò gó sì̀̀nè fwán.
 ɲ̀̀ = ɲ̀̀ + H sỳ̀ + H bè-sìzà ɲ̀̀ = ó gó + H sì̀̀nè + H fwán
 he/she be(att) sing 8-song he/she-PRES PROG grind corn
 'She sings while grinding corn.'

In Kol, multiple clauses may be marked with the progressive, showing that they are ongoing with respect to each other, as illustrated by the example below.

- (54) y=ó gó nî mò-dífbá, bîz=ó gó lwâk.
 y=ó gó+H nî mò-dífbá bîzá=ó gó lwâg
 7SUB-PRES PROG enter 6-water we-PRES PROG empty
 'As the water was coming in, we were bailing it out.'

The progressive only occurs with the present tense, as shown above, which may explain why Kol speakers have developed other grammaticalized structures, using the verb *kò* 'go' or the copula *jì* 'be (attributive),' with similar semantics to fill in the gaps. *jì* is discussed below in section 3.1.2, while *kò* is discussed in section 3.2.2.

While it may be tempting to suggest that *gó* is a grammaticalization of the verb *kò* 'go,' this will be rejected as a possibility for two reasons. First of all, voicing is distinctive in Kol, unless the obstruent is in word-final position. Speakers are unlikely to confuse /k/ and /g/ in initial position, nor is there evidence for weakening in initial position. Secondly, and more convincingly, the progressive markers in related languages are similar to *gó* but also maintain a separate verb 'go' which in all cases begins with a voiceless stop.

	Makaa	Kol	Nzime
progressive	ɲgə̀	gó	ɲgà
'go'	kə	kò	to

Table 4.4 Progressive in Makaa, Kol and Konzime

Additionally, there are three examples of the marker *ɲgə̀* in my corpus.

Since it is identical to the Makaa progressive marker, this may be another reflex of the progressive marker. *ɲgə̀* also appears in contexts where, if any tense is present, it is the present tense.

- (55) bwó ɲgə̀ jágèlè, bwó ɲgə̀ jágèlè.
they PROG pray they ITER pray
'They were praying and praying.'

- (56) bwó ɲgə̀ wîɲk mbàp mbàp mísísìm.
bwó ɲgə̀ wîɲg mbàp mbàp mè-sísìm
they PROG chase bad bad 4-bad.spirit
'They chased [exorcised] a bad spirit.'

- (57) y = ǝ ɲgə̀ bùlù nték nò kùgú.
y = ǝ ɲgə̀ + H bùlù + H nték + H nò kùgú
7SUB-PRES PROG many annoy with evening
'Yesterday, it really bothered us.' (*Funeral.06*)

2.2.4 Persistentive

Though 'persistentive' is not an especially common aspect cross-linguistically, it is found in a number of Bantu languages. It is commonly

translated as 'still' or 'to keep doing X.' Kol also has an adverb *nán* meaning 'still.' It is able to co-occur with another aspect marker, e.g. the imperfective *lè*, as well as negatives, unlike the the aspect marker currently under discussion.

- (58) *mà-díábá lèŋ kwó ní.*
 6-water PERS again enter
 'The water kept coming in.'

- (59) *ko ko ko, bwó lèŋ kó kùrò nténè*
 [sound made at door] they PERS go hit (with hand) like.that
 'Ko ko ko, they kept on knocking.'

2.2.5 Habitual

As was mentioned above, the habitual in Kol is marked by a combination of the present tense vowel *ó* and the perfect (or anterior) aspect marker *sé*. It is unusual to have an anterior marker combined with non-past tenses, though the idea in this habitual construction is that it is a regular event which has been completed multiple times in the past but which will be undertaken again.

- (60) *ɲ = ó sé bʷògá kʷàn.*
 ɲ = ó sé + H bʷòg + H kʷàn
 he/she-PRES PERF harvest 9-honey
 'He harvests honey.' (habitually)

- (61) $\eta = o$ sé bìì dwôm tô mèm bú mébá $\eta\dot{i}$ $\eta = \grave{o}$
 $\eta = \acute{o}$ sé + H bìì + H mèm-m bú mèm-bá $\eta\dot{i}$ $\eta = \acute{o}$
 he-PRES PERF receive care for 4-year 4-two only he-PRES

lé jwóg tyè.
 lè + H jwóg + H tyè
 IMPF feel sick

'He had been getting medical care for two years, but he was still sick.'

- (62) myà w = ô sé bùlǎ ðìgàb = è, w = ò jî sán
 myà + H w = ó sé + H bùlù + H ðìgàb = è w = ó jî + H sán
 time-RELCL you-PRES PERF many sweat-RELCL you-PRES be search

sá mǎ = télǎlé $\eta k^w \grave{o} \acute{o} m\grave{i}n$.
 sá + H mǎ = télǎlé $\eta k w \check{o} m\grave{i}n$
 7-thing-RELCL I refresh throat

'When you sweat a lot, you look for something to refresh your throat.'

2.3 MODE

The Kol language has four modal distinctions: indicative, subjunctive, interrogative and conditional. Only two of these are marked by preverbal elements, namely the subjunctive and the conditional. The indicative mode is unmarked, which is common cross-linguistically. Interrogatives are marked by the use of special question words.

2.3.1 Subjunctive

The subjunctive in Kol includes hortative and imperative constructions.

It may be marked by an enclitic =g or a preverbal element *há*.

2.3.1.1 *The subjunctive enclitic*

The subjunctive enclitic -g is used to mark both hortative and imperative forms. It is always accompanied by a grammatical H tone. If the subject is plural, the enclitic included an additional vowel, resulting in the form -gá. An example of the singular imperative, marked with the subjunctive enclitic is given below in (63) while an example of the plural imperative is in (64).

- (63) jí-k bwá nâè jè"
jí-g + H bwà nâ jè
ask-SUBJ them that what?
"Ask them what they want!"

- (64) myâ bé bè-kèkák ndé ηgà jwábó-gá
when you (pl) 8-small child be (loc) this respect-SUBJ (PL) + H

bèsónḡè nê bènónḡè bín,...
2-father and 2-mother 2- your (pl)
'When you children here respect your fathers and your mothers,..'

The enclitic =g appears on the first element of the verbal sequence, whatever that may be. It may appear on a main verb in (65), an auxiliary in

(66), and the word *kwó* in (67). (*Kwò* is a challenge when it comes to assigning parts of speech. It will be discussed in more detail in section 5 in this chapter and in chapter 5, section 1.4.)

(65) *dì = k* *nó* *pùù*
 dì = g + H *nò* *pùù*
 stay-IMP with calm (ideophone)
 'Stay calm!'

(66) *wò* *bó = k* *ké* *fèndà* *nè* *mè*.
 wò *bà = g + H* *ké* *fèndà* *nò* *mè*
 you (SG) be-IMP (SG) NEG be.in.rivalry with me
 'You must not put yourself in competition with me.'

(67) *mè =* *túgá* *jì* *nê* *m = ò* *kwó = k* *bár* *è-byól*.
 m = *tùg* *jí* *nê* *m = ó* *kwò = g + H* *bár + H* *lè-byól*
 I be (neg) want that I-PRES again-SUBJ climb in-canoe
 'I don't want to get in a canoe anymore!'

2.3.1.2 *Fǎ*

The morpheme *fǎ* (or *hǎ* for some speakers) is also used to mark imperatives or hortatives. In all the examples I have, it occurs at the beginning of the verbal sequence, before auxiliaries, and also before the consecutive marker *kà*. It does not co-occur with the subjunctive enclitic described above. It is generally be translated as 'should.' Below are two examples, one of a full clause and one of an imperative.

In this case, the narrator did not actually die, as is evidenced by the fact that she is telling the story now, in a time past the time of the near-death experience.

2.4 CONSECUTIVE

Kol also has a consecutive marker *kà*, which is common (both the form and the function) in Bantu languages. In Kol, it may occur with a number of different tenses and aspects. In discourse contexts, *kà* is generally found in the first clause after an aside or digression. The example below is found directly after an extended quotation.

- (71) myă bízó ndê kă nìg = é,
 myà + H bízò ndé kà nìgò = è
 3-time-RELCL we be (loc) CONS return-RELCL
 'When we were returning,.....'

Other clauses within that same sentence may also be marked with *kà*.

In the example below, the relative clause at the beginning is the first clause after a digression. Both it and the main clause are marked with *kà*.

- (72) myà m = á sé kà ncà já n-é-njwòŋ-è
 myà + H m = á sé kà ncà jâ n-è-lé- jwòŋ-è
 3-time-RELCL I-P2 PERF CONS come sleep with-LOC-bed-RELCL

èsáp á sé kà ncè lál númó.
 è-sáp á sé kà ncè lál númó.
 5-illness P2 PERF CONS come be.strong also
 'By the time I laid down, the illness had already hit me hard.'
 (*Illness.09*)

Kà occupies an unusual place in the morphosyntax of the Kol verb.

The Kol verb is quite templatic, as will be described in chapter 5, section 1. It allows one slot for a tense vowel, one slot for an additional tense marker (for the immediate past or distant future), and one slot for aspectual markers. *Kà* co-occurs with both kinds of tense markers and with aspect markers, so it may not be classified with either of these sets of morphemes.

Additionally, *kà* resembles adverbs in having freer word order than the rest of the preverbal morphemes. Its syntax will be discussed in more detail in section 1.2.2. Part of this freer word order can be seen in the way that *kà* plus the basic copula *bə* have been grammaticalized to form a conjunction meaning 'but.' An example is given below.

- (73) kǎ bə bw = á ʃùŋà bízə nób bə-b-êz.
 but they-P2 discuss us other 2-2-each, all
 'They saved both of us.' [*lit.* discussed with death] (*Joy.37*)

3 Auxiliaries

Kol has a large set of full verbs which may also be used as auxiliaries. Some of these are more grammaticalized than others. These verbs have been analyzed as auxiliaries and not serial verbs or light verbs because they do not impact the argument structure of the predicate, they can be separated from the main verb, and remain affirmative while the main verb is negated. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5, section 1.5.

If a verb precedes a verb prefixed with the infinitive (or class 5) marker, as shown in the two examples below, the initial verb is *not* considered to be an auxiliary but rather the main verb of the clause.

- (74) $\text{ɲ} = \text{ǎ}$ tér lè-bwògè kwàn .
 $\text{ɲ} = \text{á}$ tér lè-bwòg kwàn
he/she-P2 start INF-harvest 9-honey
'He started to harvest honey.'

- (75) $\text{m} = \text{ǎ}$ kwàmèzà lê-kò wú .
 $\text{m} = \text{á}$ kwàmèzà lê-kò wú
I-P2 prepare INF-go there
'I got ready to go there.'

Occasionally, a verb, such as the verb *têr* 'to start' may occur as either an auxiliary, as will be described below, or as a verb taking an infinitival

complement as shown above. The two constructions are distinct, both in meaning, and in syntactic structure. Infinitival complements will be discussed in chapter 5, section 2.1.2.

The verbs which may occur as auxiliaries are divided into three sections. Copula verbs will be discussed first. The next section will discuss the verbs which can occur as *phasal* auxiliaries, contributing to the aspectual reading of the clause. The verbs which add modal information will be discussed last.

3.1 COPULAR VERBS

Kol has at first glance an overabundance of copulas, with four affirmative copulas and one negative copula. However, all four affirmative copulas have different semantic functions: *ndé* is the locative copula, expressing 'to be at'; *jì* is the attributive and equative copula; *mé* is used whenever there is a change of state; and *bò* is the basic copula, with the widest and most general meaning.

The affirmative copulas occur in independent clauses as the only verb and also occur as auxiliaries. When they are functioning as auxiliaries, they appear as the first verb in a multi-verb construction. That is to say, they are

marked for tense, while following verbs are marked for aspect and other grammatical categories. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5, section 1.

3.1.1 Locative Copula

The copula *ndé* is used in independent affirmative clauses to express location. It is restricted to clauses unmarked for tense or marked for present tense. It does not co-occur with aspectual markers.

- (76) mà = á bə lè jwák ciè mà ndé yàùnt.
 I-P2 be IMPF feel illness I be (loc) Yaoundé
 'While I was in Yaounde, I got sick.' (*Illness.02*)

As an auxiliary, it expresses simultaneity. It frequently occurs in subordinate clauses which refer to an event which happened at the same time as the event in the main clause.

- (77) ɲ = ɪ ncò twô ŋkà ɲá ndé lé jwôg tyè.
 ɲ = é ncò + H twô ŋkà ɲà ndé lè jwóg tyè
 he-P1 come even as he be (loc) IMPF feel sick
 'He came even though he felt sick.'

Kol also has a word *ndé* which means 'while.' Given the similarity in semantics between simultaneity and 'while,' it is likely that these two words are related. At this point though, it is difficult to know in which way the

historical development went, i.e. whether *ndé* began as a conjunction and has been reinterpreted into a copula or vice versa. An example of the conjunction *ndé* is given below.

(78) m̀ə = lé kwíʒ, m̀ə = lé númp n̂ə m = a& b̀ə mpwògé
 I IMPF cough I IMPF know that I-P2 be healthy

ndè y = á b̀ə n̂ə è-sáp á sé ŋkwè tér lê-bì
 while 7SUB-P2 be that 5-illness P2 PERF again start INF-seize

mé hámé.

me good

'I was coughing, all the while thinking that I was in good health, though the illness had already taken hold.' (*Illness.08*)

3.1.2 Equative and Attributive Copula

The copula *jì* is used in independent affirmative clauses to express equation and attribution. It primarily occurs in unmarked clauses or with the present tense, and as the main verb never co-occurs with aspectual markers.

Below is an example of an equative clause using *jì*, followed by an example of an attributive clause.

(79) mwâ lón-gà jì lón kwár Bìjùmp.
 little discourse-this be discourse village Bidjombo

'This little story is the story of Bidjombo village.' (*Bidjombo.001*)

- (80) ntúm w-àṅṅé jì bèrá
 1-brother 1-my be (att) big
 'My brother is big.'

This copula may also be used to express location, overlapping with the semantic function of *ndé*. Below are two comparable sentences, said by a single speaker within one text. Both copulas are the only verb within their clause, though *jì* is found in a simple clause, while *ndé* is in a subordinate clause.

- (81) myâ njwúṅ ndé té.
 myâ H + njwúṅ ndé té-è
 time-RELCL 9-respect be (loc) LOC-RELCL
 '[The family prospers] when respect is there.' (*Family.09*)

- (82) nḁbḁ nḁ njwúṅ jì té.
 nḁbḁ nḁ njwúṅ jì té
 because that 9-respect be Loc
 'Because there is respect.' (*Family.16*)

This copula does not occur with the far past tense which may be due to its historical development. In the neighboring language of Makaa, the copula *bà* has a distinct form *-sà* in the present tense. This present tense form obligatorily agrees with the subject noun. For class 7 (the default inanimate noun class in Makaa, as in Kol), the form is *jì-sà*. Modern-day Makaa speakers

frequently drop the copula bound root in speech. If Kol has a similar history, this could have led to the reanalysis of *jì* as a distinct copula in the present tense, which could slowly be expanding morphosyntactically to occur with multiple tenses, though not the far past (yet).

The copula *jì* is also commonly used with the preposition *nò* 'with' to express possession, i.e. 'to have.' (This is also the case for the basic copula *bà* to be discussed below.)

- (83) mò-wázá jì nò w-úl mbì kwónj
 6-northerner be with 3-another 3-type sorcery
 'Northerners have a different kind of sorcery.'

As an auxiliary, *jì* gives an imperfective aspectual reading. An example is given below. Interestingly, such examples are negated using a specifically imperfective strategy as seen in section 4.2.1.

- (84) nà = jì bándà jwóg tyè.
 jì = jì bándà jwóg tyè
 he be (att) really feel sick
 'He is really feeling sick.'

The copula *jì* can also be used to express a present tense reading in the absence of the tense vowel *ó*, as shown below.

- (85) mòtán jì jáp é-cè d-ḍḍḅḅḅḅ ná "diarrhée rouge."
 white be(att) call 5-illness 5-DEF that red diarrhea (in French)
 'White people call this illness 'red diarrhea.' (actually dysentery)

However *jì* may also appear with the nonverbal imperfective marker *lè* suggesting that *jì* may contribute some more specific information to the whole clause than simply imperfective. This combination is frequently translated as 'be in the process of.'

- (86) mḁ = jì lè sīl lè-syé.
 mḁ = jì lè sīl lè-syé
 I be (att) IMPF finish INF-7-work
 'I am finishing working.'

3.1.3 Change of state

The copula *mé* marks a change of state. Below are two examples which contrast the use of *mé* with that of the attributive copula *jì*. As a main verb, it only co-occurs with the present tense or is found in clauses unmarked for tense.

- (87) m = ḁ jí ḅḅwām.
 I-PRES be (att) + H single
 'I am single.' (never married)

- (88) m = ò mé ɲgwâm.
 I-PRES be (chg) + H single
 'I am single.' (widowed or divorced)

As an auxiliary verb, *mé* also marks a new state. It is sometimes translated as 'already.' Unlike the perfect marker, it does not refer to a completed action in the past.

- (89) ɲ = ó mé lè syé.
 he/she-PRES be (chg) IMPF work
 'He is already working.'

New events, or changes of state, frequently correspond to pivotal moments in a discourse. However, *mé* is not the only way to highlight information, so its frequency in texts varies from very low (nonexistent) to very high. The following sentence is taken from a story where the narrator chose to use this discourse marker as the primary way to mark storyline (or eventline) information.

- (90) m̀è mé lê kò kúɲá ná tìtìtì, ẽ-ɲàk mécì.
 I be (chg) IMPF go defecate with regularity INF-defecate 6-blood
 'I was having bloody diarrhea, all the time.' (Joy.22)

3.1.4 Basic Form

The copula *bò* is by far the most common of the four affirmative copulas. It occurs with all tenses, may be marked for aspect and may be modified by auxiliary verbs. It may express equation as in (91), attribution as in (92), or location as in (93).

- (91) *twě j̣ = á bə ncícâm...*
twě j̣ - á bə ncícâm
even.if she-P2 be leper
'Even though she was a leper,..' (*Funeral.18*)

- (92) *y = á bə njùk.*
í = á bə njùg
7Sub-P2 be difficult, hard
'It was very hard.'

- (93) *mè ḅiz = á bə lè-mò-dííbá.*
mè ḅizə = á bə lè-mò-dííbó
but we-P2 be in-6-water
'But we were in the water.'

The copula *bò* is frequently pronounced as [ḅə]. Much of the time this can be explained by the mid-vowel centralization process already described, where [o] centralizes to [ə] before nasals and the alveolar fricatives. This is the case for (91) and (92) above. However, some speakers also use the form [ḅə] when this environment is not present, as seen in (93). When the

subjunctive clitic is added though, speakers consistently use the [bo] form, suggesting that if, for some speakers, the underlying form of this copula is becoming [bè], the result may be a suppletive subjunctive form, as is already the case for *ncò* 'come' (subjunctive form *ncâ-*).

If this copula is used with the preposition *nə* 'with', it may also express possession.

- (94) *təm bə nə fə ɲ-ðəŋɡə.*
 even be with 9-machete 9-that
 ...even having that machete.

As an auxiliary, it adds a *stative* meaning to the verbal sequence.

- (95) *nəbə myà w-ðəŋɡə m = ǎ bə lê syé njáp*
nəbə myà w-ðəŋɡə m̩ = á bə lé s'ê njáb
 because 3-time 3-DEF I-P2 be IMPF work 3-house

mə kôl.

mə kôl

3Poss cord

'Because, at that time, I worked at the radio station.' (*Perils.27*)

Below is an example where three of the copulas occur, each used in a typical way. The basic copula is used to express the beginning state, *jì* is used imperfectively, and *mé* marks the change of state at the end.

(96) $\eta = \acute{a}$ $b\grave{a}$ $l\acute{e}$ $b\grave{u}l\acute{u}$ $jw\acute{o}g$ $ty\grave{e}$, $\eta = \check{a}$ $j\grave{i}$ $j\grave{o}$,
 $\eta = \acute{a}$ $b\grave{a}$ $l\grave{e}$ $b\grave{u}l\acute{u}$ $jw\acute{o}g$ $t\grave{e}$ $\eta = \acute{a}$ $j\grave{i}$ $j\grave{o}$
 he-P2 be IMPF a.lot feel sick he-P2 be (att) die

$n\grave{e}$ $c\check{a}g\grave{a}$ $\eta = \grave{o}$ $m\acute{e}$ $mpw\grave{o}g\acute{e}$.

$n\grave{e}$ $c\check{a}g\grave{a}$ $\eta = \acute{o}$ $m\acute{e}$ $mpw\grave{o}g\acute{e}$

with now he-PRES be (chg) be.well

'He was very sick, he was dying, but now he's healthy.'

3.1.5 Negative Copula

Kol also has a negative copula *túg*. It can appear on its own as shown below or as an auxiliary. Negation strategies will be discussed in section 4.

The negative copula does not co-occur with tense markers.

(97) $b\grave{i}y\acute{o}l$ $n\acute{e}$ $t\acute{u}k$ $f\acute{a}m\acute{o}$ $b\grave{i}y\acute{o}l$.
 canoe that (spec) be (neg) true, real, good canoe
 '...that canoe wasn't a good canoe.'

3.2 PHASAL AUXILIARIES

Kol has a number of non-copula auxiliaries. These pattern together syntactically, in that they occur after the tense markers, copula auxiliaries, and aspect markers. However, they differ in that some auxiliaries have more of an aspectual meaning, i.e. describing the nature or internal structure of the event, while others have more of a modal meaning, i.e. describing desires or

obligations. The phasal auxiliaries described in this section fulfill the aspectual functions. The modal auxiliaries will be described in section 3.3 below.

The auxiliaries described here are all undergoing grammaticalization. In some sentences, they are translated as if they were serial verbs, while in other sentences they are translated as if they were aspectual markers: inceptive for the verb *ncà* 'come,' processual for the verb *kò* 'go,' repetitive for the verb *nìgò* 'return,' and initial for the verb *tér* 'start.' It is interesting that while Kol speakers have multiple ways of describing the end of a process, using the verbs *síl* 'finish' or *dwág* 'leave, finish,' neither of these verbs have become grammaticalized in the same way as the four described in this section. They must always occur as main verbs with infinitival complements, comparable to *tér* 'start' in its main verb construction.

3.2.1 'Come' = Inceptive

The auxiliary verb *ncà* from the verb *ncò* meaning 'to come' is used as an auxiliary to mark the beginning point of a process. This is one of the most

common auxiliaries. Below is an example of *ncò* as a main verb, followed by an example showing *ncò* as an auxiliary with inceptive semantics.

- (98) *ɲ = ẽ ncò nà mɛ̀-mìr.*
 ɲ = é ncò nà mɛ̀-mìr
 he-FUT come with 4-medicine
 'He will bring medicine.' (*Joy.18*)

- (99) *myǎ bíz = ó ncò bâr ébíyólé,*
 myà H + bízà = ó ncò + H bâr + H lé-byôl-è
 3-time RELCL-we-PRES come climb, ascend LOC-canoe-RELCL
 'As soon as we got in the canoe, [water began to come in].'

It can also have a purpose reading, along the lines of 'came in order to.'

An example is given below.

- (100) *ɲ = ǎ ncò bárà m-ùd.*
 ɲ = á ncò bárà m-ùd
 he/she-P2 come greet 1-man
 'He came to greet the man.'

3.2.2 'Go' = Continuous

The verb *kò* means 'to go, leave' as a main verb but is also very commonly used as an auxiliary to focus on the midpoint of a process. As a main verb, *Kol* can be either intransitive as in example (101) or transitive as in (102).

- (101) kùkú má sè bwě kò.
 kùkú má sè bwě kò
 chief PERF long.time.ago go
 'The chief already left a while ago.'

- (102) ɲ = á nìgò kò njáp.
 ɲ = á nìgò kò njáp
 he/she-P2 return go house
 'He went back home.'

As a transitive verb, *kò* can also be used metaphorically.

- (103) mw-ǎn sé kò lé-jwò.
 mò-ǎn sé kò lé-jwò
 1-child PERF go 5-sleep
 'The child fell asleep.' (lit. went into sleep.)

Below is an example of *kò* as an auxiliary. In this case, the auxiliary adds the idea that the subject is in the middle of a process.

- (104) ɲ = ǒ kó bwògá kwàn.
 ɲ = ǒ kò + H bwòg + H kwàn
 he/she-PRES go harvest 9-honey
 'He is in the process of harvesting honey.'

In other cases, the auxiliary is less grammaticalized, maintaining its motion verb semantics. This is parallel to what was seen with the verb *ncà* 'come.'

- (105) $\text{ɲ} = \acute{o}$ $k\grave{o}$ $b\acute{a}r\grave{a}$ $m\acute{u}r$.
 $\text{ɲ} = \acute{o}$ $k\grave{o} + H$ $b\acute{a}r\grave{a} + H$ $m-\grave{u}r$
 he/she-PRES go greet 1-man
 'He goes to greet the man.'

Kò differs from the progressive marker *gó* in that it may occur with all of the tenses while *gó* is restricted to present tense constructions. They are not completely in complementary distribution since *kò* may occur in the present tense as well, as seen in (104) and (105) above.

- (106) $\text{ɲ} = \check{a}$ $k\grave{o}$ $bw\grave{o}g\grave{e}$ $kw\grave{a}n$.
 $\text{ɲ} = \acute{a}$ $k\grave{o}$ $bw\grave{o}g$ $kw\grave{a}n$
 he/she-P2 go harvest 9-honey
 'He was in the process of collecting honey.'

- (107) $\text{ɲ} = \check{e}$ $k\acute{o}$ $bw\grave{o}g\acute{a}$ $kw\grave{a}n$.
 $\text{ɲ} = \acute{e}$ $k\grave{o} + H$ $bw\grave{o}g + H$ $kw\grave{a}n$
 he/she-FUT go harvest 9-honey
 'He will be in the middle of collecting honey.'

3.2.3 'Return' = Repetitive

The auxiliary *nìgò* has been grouped with the phasal auxiliaries because it also describes part of a process. The non-auxiliary verb *nìgò* means 'to go back, to return.'

- (108) m = ǎ nûmp nê mě nìgò nà bòfú.
 m̃ = á nûmb nê m̃ = é nìgò nà bò-fú
 I-P2 know that I-FUT return with 2-fish
 'I thought that I would come back with fish.'

The auxiliary means 'to go back to the beginning, to repeat, to do again.'

- (109) tēm bà ntán bízà ncà nìgò kò kwár.
 tēm bà ntán bízà-á ncà nìgò kò kwád
 even be like that we-P2 come again go village
 In spite of that, we started to go back home to the village.

- (110) ɲ = é nìgò bárá mûr.
 ɲ̃ = é nìgò + H bárá + H m-ùr
 he/she-FUT return greet 1-man
 'He will regret someone.'

It is very similar in meaning to the adverb *kwó* 'again,' described below in section 5, but the adverb and the auxiliary may co-occur with each other, giving in cases like example (111) below an iterative reading. The shades of semantic difference remain a question for further research.

- (111) ɲ = ǒ nìgó kwó bínà ɲó.
 ɲ̃ = ó nìgò + H kwó + H bèn + H ɲò
 he/she-PRES return again raise him/her
 'He keeps raising him.'

3.2.4 Do first

The verb *tér* as a main verb means 'to start.' It requires an infinitival complement.

- (112) $\text{ɲ} = \check{\text{a}}$ *tér* *lè-bwògè* *kwàn*.
 $\text{ɲ} = \acute{\text{a}}$ *tér* *lè-bwòg* *kwàn*
he/she-P2 start INF-harvest 9-honey
'He started to harvest honey.'

The auxiliary verb *tér* means 'to do first.'

- (113) *bè-sér* *bwó* *mê* *ncè* *tér* *fyàl* *mó* *mècì*.
bè-sér *bwó* *mé* *ncè* *tér* *fyàl* *mè* *mè-cì*
2-sister (nun) they be (chg) come first test (v) me 4-blood
'The Sisters first tested my blood.' (*Joy.24*)

3.3 MODAL AUXILIARIES

In addition to the phasal auxiliaries described above, Kol also has a number of modal auxiliaries, which express desires, obligations and potentialities. Unlike the copula and phasal auxiliaries described above, two of these verbs only appear as auxiliaries.

3.3.1 Optative mode (need, want)

The optative auxiliary, used to express needs and desires, is *jí* meaning 'to want.' It is related to another non-auxiliary verb *jí* meaning 'to ask.' Below

is an example of *jí* 'want' used as a main verb followed by an example of it used as an auxiliary.

- (114) w = ǒ jí mò-kùmà ɲké bè-kàbà.
 w-ó jí mò-kùmà ɲké bè-kàbà
 you (sg)-PRES want 6-manioc or 8-cocoyam
 'You want manioc or yams.'

- (115) myǎ m-ûr á bà lè jí wúl mà kwînt lélúwé,
 myà H + m-ûr á bà lè jí wúl mà kwéndè lé-lú-è
 time RELCL-1-man P2 be IMPF want remove me hook in-head-RELCL
 When the man who was rowing wanted to take the hook out of my hair,
 [I told him, "While you're taking that out, time is going by."]

3.3.2 Deontic mode (must)

The auxiliary verb *jàlàlà* expresses obligation. It only occurs as an auxiliary.

- (116) é-jî jàlàlà yè bé fòk.
 INF-ask must give you (pl) 9-wisdom
 'Asking must give you wisdom.' (*Advice.17*)

3.3.3 Potential mode (can)

The potential auxiliary, translated as 'can, be able to,' is *kwóg*. The example below shows this modal auxiliary in the negative.

- (117) m = ǎ = kwóg = é bâr é-byôl.
 I = NEG = can = NEG climb in-canoe
 'I couldn't climb in the canoe.'

3.3.4 Really

There is only one example of *bándà* as a main verb in my corpus. As a main verb, it means 'to go well' while as an auxiliary it means 'really.'

- (118) ntíbatí té nùmá nè kè bándà nán.
 Ntibati LOC too that NEG go.well still
 'At Ntibati too, it didn't go well.'

It is quite common as an auxiliary verb and tends to co-occur with other auxiliary verbs. As can be seen in the two examples below, there is non fixed order among the non-copula auxiliary verbs.

- (119) bwó mē ncò bándá ʃùŋà mǎ.
 bwó mé+H ncò+H bándá+H ʃùŋà+H mǎ
 they be (chg) come really discuss me
 'They saved me.' [*lit.* They really discussed me [impl. with death].]

- (120) mǎ = ndâk bándà ncó bè mpwógé.
 mǎ = ndâg bándà ncò bè mpwógé
 I there really come be healthy
 'I refound my health.' (*Illness.28*)

4 Negation

Negation in Kol is sensitive to differences in scope, tense, and aspect.

Kol speakers may choose to a negation strategy which has scope over the entire sentence, or they may choose to negate a smaller portion of the clause.

If the whole verbal sequence is to be negated, the negative element must show up in the first position of the verbal sequence. If only part of the verbal sequence is to be negated, then Kol speakers use the morpheme *ké* which behaves like an adverb.

The example below is a command to not do something. Thus the imperative (suffixes to the copula auxiliary *bə* which has a stative interpretation) is affirmative, while the main verb is negated.

- (121) *w = ɔ bó-k ké fɛndà nò mə.*
you (sg) be-IMP (sg) NEG be.in.rivalry with me
'You must not put yourself in competition with me.'

Below is another example where the copula auxiliary *ndé*, which has a 'simultaneous' interpretation, is in the affirmative while the main verbs are both negated.

- (122) m = è ndé ké dùló sìgá ké bà nê ɲwèl mó-ɲòk.
 I -P1 be + H NEG + H smoke cigarette NEG be with drink + H 6-wine
 'I neither smoked nor drank.' (*Illness.15*)

Negation in Kol is also sensitive to tense distinctions. Kol has more tense distinctions in the past in negative clauses than it does in affirmative clauses, but it has fewer distinctions in the non-past. A comparative chart is given below.

Aff	P2		P1	Pres	F1	F2
Neg	P3	P2	P1	á....è		F2
	Ancestors' Era	Last Year	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow	Next Year

Additionally, negation is sensitive to aspect. Imperfective sentences have fewer negation strategies available than do perfectives. Below is a chart giving the negative TAM system. These forms are based on three basic negation strategies: a circumclitic, a negative prefix and a negative copula.

Mode	Aspect	Tense	
Indicative	Perfective	F2	àbwéyè
		PRES/F1	à = + = é
		P1	áncé + H
		P2	áncé
		P3	áncégé
	Imperfective	PRES	túg
		P1	áncé + H
		P2	áncé
		P3	áncégé
Subjunctive			ké

Table 4.5 Kol Negation

4.1 PERFECTIVE CLAUSES

In the perfective, speakers may appeal to one of three negative strategies. The most common negation strategy for perfective clauses is the circumclitic *á....è*. The circumclitic is used when the scope of the negation is the entire clause. The circumclitic is always hosted by the first element of the verb. The distant future is formed by combining the negative circumclitic with the distant future marker *bwó*. Three of the negative tenses are

historically derived from combining the auxiliary *ncà* 'come' with the negative circumclitic.

If a speaker does not want to negate the entire sentence, he will use the negative prefix *ké*, as shown by example (123) below.

- (123) m=è ndé ké dùló sìgá ké bà nê ɲwèl mǎ-ɲòk.
 I-P1 be+H NEG+H smoke cigarette NEG be with drink+H 6-wine
 'I neither smoked nor drank.' (*Illness.15*)

4.1.1 Non-Past Perfective Negation

Clauses in the perfective present and immediate future are negated via the circumclitic *á=...=è* on the first word of the verbal sequence. It is interesting to note that using circumclitics to mark sentential negation is not crosslinguistically unusual, being found in a number of different languages in different language families, e.g. French, Breton and Old Icelandic.

This morpheme is being analyzed as a circumclitic because it has less strict co-occurrence requirements than we might expect of an affix and relatively strict positioning. The other logical option, that these are two independent words which co-occur to mark negation, seems unlikely since there is no evidence that these markers may occur independently on their

As was mentioned above, the non-past perfective negative circumclitic is hosted by the first word of the verbal sequence. This can be the main verb as seen in (124) and (125). The proclitic vowel behaves like the tense vowels in that it cliticizes to the subject pronoun, if it directly follows it, resulting in the deletion of the vowel of the subject pronoun, as can be seen below.

- (125) émáné ɲ = ǎ = wàzà = yè mûr.
 émáné ɲ-á-wàzà-è +H mw-ùr
 tomorrow he/she-NEG-forget-NEG 1-man
 'Tomorrow, he will not forget anyone.'

If an auxiliary is the first element in the verbal sequence, then it hosts the circumclitic as shown below in (126) for a copula auxiliary and in (127) for a non-copular auxiliary.

- (126) tóòb á=j=è dí dùk.
 sheep NEG-be(att)-NEG + H stay + H Forest
 'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

- (127) ɲ = à = níg = é wàzà m-ûr.
 he/she-NEG-return-NEG + H forget + H 1- man
 'He doesn't forget anyone anymore.'

The negative circumclitic may also be hosted by a morpheme marking tense. In affirmative clauses, the relative immediate past tense marker may host the negative circumclitic, as seen below.

- (128) ɲ = à = lwándáb = é wàzà m-ûr.
 he/she-NEG-just-NEG + H forget + H 1-man
 'He didn't just forget someone.'

This circumclitic may also appear on its own with an epenthetic consonant. Examples for this in my database are severely restricted to cases with the morpheme *kwó*, the verb *tér* 'start,' and the verbs meaning 'finish' *síl* and *dwág*.

- (129) $\text{ɲ}=\text{à}=\text{h}=\text{é}$ kwò bínà ɲó.
 $\text{ɲ}=\text{á}=\text{è}+\text{H}$ $\text{kwo}+\text{H}$ $\text{bín}+\text{H}$ ɲè
 he-NEG again raise him
 'He doesn't raise him anymore.'

4.2 DISTANT FUTURE NEGATION

The distant future is negated by adding the negative circumclitic to the distant future tense morpheme *bwó*. In the affirmative, *bwó* must co-occur with the immediate future tense marker *é*. However, when the distant future is negated, the proclitic element of the circumclitic appears in the place of the tense vowel.

- (130) $\text{ɲ}=\text{à}=\text{bwé}=\text{y'é}$ wàzà m-ùr.
 $\text{ɲ-á-bwó-è}+\text{H}$ $\text{wàzà}+\text{H}$ mw-ùr
 he/she-NEG-F2-NEG forget 1-man
 'He will not forget anyone.'

There is a lot of variation (even among the utterances of a single speaker) with the distant future negation. This suggests that this is either a newer part of the speech system, or at the other end of the spectrum, a dying part of the speech system. Below are two other forms of the negative distant future, both given by the same speaker as example (130) above.

- (131) $j\grave{n} = \grave{a} = bw\acute{e} = n'\acute{e}$ $w\grave{a}z\grave{a}$ $m\hat{u}r$.
 $j\grave{n} = \grave{a} = bw\acute{o} = \grave{e} + H$ $w\grave{a}z\grave{a} + H$ $mw-\grave{u}r$
 he/she-NEG-F2-NEG forget 1-man
 'He will not forget anyone.'

- (132) $j\grave{n} = \grave{a} = bw\acute{e} = '\acute{e}$ $w\grave{a}z\grave{a}$.
 $j\grave{n} = \acute{a} = bw\acute{o} = \grave{e} + H$ $w\grave{a}z\grave{a} + H$
 he/she-NEG-F2-NEG forget
 'He will not forget.'

4.3 PAST NEGATION

Kol has more tense distinctions in the past for negative constructions than for affirmative constructions. In the affirmative, there is a two way distinction in the past (the recent past marker \acute{e} and the far past marker \acute{a}). However, in the negative, there is a three way distinction between the recent past, the far past, and the very far past. These will all be described below.

4.3.1 Negation in the Recent Past

The negation marker for the recent past is $\acute{a}nc\acute{e}$. It always appears directly after the subject and before any other grammatical markers or auxiliaries. It appears to be derived from the present tense negated form of the verb $nc\grave{a}$ which means 'to come' as a full verb though both syllables have underlying H tones instead of the expected HL contour. This construction is

marked by the H tone tense concord, just as is the case for the affirmative recent past tense.

- (133) *nò* *kùgú*, *jì = àncé* *wàzà* *m-ùr*.
 nò *kùgú* *jì = áncé + H* *wàzà + H* *m-ùr*
 with evening he/she-NEGP1 forget 1-man
 'Yesterday, he didn't forget anyone.'

Negated recent past clauses imply that the negative state is not permanent. In stories, the negative situation may have appeared permanent at that point in the story, but the situation is reversed before the end.

4.3.2 Negation in the Far Past

The negative marker for the far past is also *áncé*, but the far past negative construction differs from the recent past negative in that it is *not* marked with the H tone tense concord, as can be seen by the lack of a H on the last syllable of the verb or the first syllable of the direct object. This is similar to the affirmative far past tense.

- (134) *mbwá* *làngé*, *jì = àncé* *wàzà* *mùr*.
 mbwá *làngé* *jì = áncé* *wàzà* *mw-ùr*
 year past he/she-NEGP2 forget 1-man
 'Last year, he didn't forget anyone.'

4.3.3 Negation in the Very Far Past

As has been mentioned above, there are more tense distinctions in the negative than in the affirmative for the past tenses. The negation marker for the very far past is *áncégé*. Again, it appears directly after the subject and before any other pre-stem material. It too is derived from the verb *ncà* 'to come.' The [g] may be related to the subjunctive suffix (discussed in section 3.6.1).

- (135) *ɲ = áncégé wàzà mùr.*
 ɲ = áncégé wàzà mw-ùr
 he/she-NEGP3 forget 1-man
 'He didn't forget anyone.'

What is interesting from a tone rule perspective though is the variation found in tonal behavior at the left boundary of the verb. Below are examples using the very far past negative marker *áncégé*. In example (14) below, there is no subject pronoun, which allows the underlying H tone of the negative marker to surface on all three vowels.

- (136) *á-myâ, myá bómpámp, ɲkwìɲ áncégé lè dí dùk*
 á-myâ myá H + bò- mpámp ɲkwíɲ áncégé lè dì dùg
 ?-time 3-time 3AM-2-ancestor leopard NEGP3 IMPF stay forest
 'In the time of the ancestors, the panther didn't stay in the forest.'

In the following example, the H tone is only associated with the last two vowels of the negative marker. The L tone of the subject pronoun surfaces on the first vowel of the negative marker.

- (137) $\text{j} = \text{àncé}^{\text{H}}\text{gé}$ dì dìk .
 $\text{jì} = \text{áncé}^{\text{H}}\text{gé}$ dì dìg
 he/she-NEGP3 stay forest
 'He didn't stay in the forest.'

Some speakers have an alternative form *ancógó*, as shown in the example below.

- (138) myà bíyól mê j-é , bìyól áncógó bà fáámá .
 3-time canoe be (chg) arrive-RELCL canoe NEGP3 be good
 'When the canoe came, it wasn't in good condition.'

4.4 IMPERFECTIVE CLAUSES

Imperfective clauses show fewer distinctions than do perfective clauses, having only a distinction between the present (non-past) and past tenses.

4.4.1 Present (Non-Past) Imperfective

Present sentences marked with the imperfective marker *lè* may only be negated using the negative copula *túg*, as shown below.

- (139) $\text{j}^{\text{H}}\text{à}$ túgá lé wàzà m-úr .
 he/she be (NEG) + H IMPF + H forget + H 1-man
 'He wasn't forgetting anyone.'

It is interesting that clauses which are not overtly marked for the imperfective may be interpreted as being imperfective as seen by the negation strategies chosen. For example, it is extremely common for speakers to choose to negate a construction of *jì* + main verb (without the imperfective marker *lè*) by means of the *túg* + *lè* negation strategy. This is illustrated by the affirmative/negative paradigm below.

- (140) η kwíŋ jí dí dũk.
 η kwíŋ jì + H dì + H dùg
 leopard be (att) stay forest
 'The leopard stays in the forest.'

- (141) tóòb túgá lé dì dũk.
 tóòb túg + H lè + H dì + H dùg
 sheep be (neg) IMPF stay forest
 'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

The use of the present imperfective negative strategy is in spite of the fact that speakers *could* negate the copula using the negative circumclitic, as shown below. This strategy though occurs relatively rarely in my corpus.

- (142) tóòb á = j = è dì dũk.
 tóòb á = jì = è dì dùg
 sheep NEG-be (att)-NEG stay forest
 'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

4.4.2 Past Imperfective

Unlike the present imperfective described above, past imperfective clauses in the past tense are negated in the same way as past perfective clauses using *áncé* for the recent past and far past, as illustrated by the example below.

- (143) $\eta = \text{áncé}$ lè bínè $\eta\text{ò}$.
 $\eta = \text{áncé}$ $\text{lè} + \text{H}$ $\text{bén} + \text{H}$ $\eta\text{ò}$
 he/she-NEGP2 IMPF raise him/her
 'He wasn't raising him.'

To negate imperfective clauses in the distant past, Kol speakers use *áncégé*, as shown below.

- (144) ámyâ , myá bémpámp , $\eta\text{kwì}\eta$ áncégé lè dí dùk .
 á-myà myà $\text{H} + \text{bò-mpámb}$ $\eta\text{kwí}\eta$ áncégé lè dì dùg
 ?-time 3-time 3ASSOC-2-ancestor leopard NEGP3 IMPF stay forest
 'In the ancestors' time, the leopard didn't stay in the forest.'

4.5 PROGRESSIVE CLAUSES

Interestingly, the progressive aspect marker permits the negation strategy described for perfective clauses, even though progressive is more similar to the imperfective aspect than to the perfective aspect. Compare the affirmative and negative sentences below.

(145) $\text{j}\text{1} = \text{ò}$ $\text{g}\text{ó}$ wàzà m-ùr .
 $\text{j}\text{1} = \text{ó}$ $\text{g}\text{ó}$ wàzà m-ùr
 he-PRES PROG forget 1-man
 'He continues to forget someone.'

(146) $\text{j}\text{1} = \text{à} = \text{g} = \text{é}$ wàzà m-ùr .
 $\text{j}\text{1} = \text{á} = \text{g} = \text{è}$ wàzà m-ùr
 he-NEG-PROG-NEG forget 1-man
 'He doesn't continue to forget someone.'

4.6 NEGATIVE PREFIX

The negative prefix is used, as mentioned in the introduction, whenever the speaker does not wish the negation to have sentential scope but intends to only negate part of the construction.

(147) wò bók ké fèndà nò mè .
 you (sg) be-IMP (sg) NEG be in rivalry with me
 'You must not put yourself in competition with me.'

This means that the negative commonly used in subjunctive clauses – either hortative or imperative – since it is generally the case that the speaker does not want to negate the part of the construction which adds the subjunctive (e.g. imperative as in the example above) element but rather the event in question.

Ké is also used to negate 'bare' clauses, which lack independent tense or aspect markers. In a discourse context, once the subject and tense information have been established, they do not need to be repeated until either the subject or tense changes or there is a discourse boundary. Since such clause chains are common in Kol, *ké* is the most common negation strategy in texts.

- (148) mò-lú mó-bá j̩=á kò dì bèrtwà ké nìgé,
 mò-lú mó-bá H + j̩=á kò dì bèrtwà ké nìgò-è
 6-era 6-two RELCL-he-P2 go stay Bertoua NEG return-RELCL
 'During the two days that he stayed in Bertoua without returning home,'

4.7 NEGATIVE ADVERB

Kol has a negative adverb *tútú* meaning 'never.' It is not necessary for this to co-occur with any other negative markers, unlike the adverb described in the section below.

- (149) mbàmpyòŋ nê "tútù! mà= bá ndé jwî."
 mbàmpyòŋ nê tuttù mà bà ndé jwî
 lion that never I be be (loc) chief, ruler
 'The lion said, "Never! I am the chief here." '

4.8 NEGATIVE + ADVERB

One adverb, *nán*, which in isolation means 'still, yet', frequently occurs with the negative markers. It may either co-occur with the negative copula as illustrated in (150), or with the morpheme *ké*, as shown in (151). When combined with these negative morphemes, the construction acquires the meaning 'no longer,' translated in French as 'pas encore' or 'ne plus'.

- (150) *mè-njà á lè sá mè tû wo nê myé tük nán.*
mè-njà á lè sá mè tû wò nê myè tùg nán
4-intestine P2 IMPF do me inside manner that 4SUBJ be (neg) still
'I was feeling like my intestines weren't there inside me anymore.'

- (151) *mè mé tègá kí nán nò ñkùl.*
mè mé tègá ké nán nò ñkùl
I be (chg) (be)tired neg still, and, with force, power
'I was tired, had no energy.' (Joy.21)

5 Adverbials

The label *adverb* in this study has been restricted to a set of words which have traditional adverbial semantics (they add temporal, locative or manner information) and which have relatively free word order and therefore contrast with other lexical categories which appear within the verb phrase.

As was mentioned in chapter 3, Kol also has a class of locative and temporal nouns. These may be translated as adverbs but in Kol they do not belong to this lexical class, having a different syntactic distribution.

Additionally, Kol also has prepositional phrases which may be used to express manner, temporal or locative information. These are adjuncts and will be discussed in chapter 5.

Some Kol adverbs are particularly free. These adverbs may appear outside of the verb phrase (on the left periphery of the sentence), outside of the verbal sequence (after the main verb, between objects or on the right periphery), and in multiple places within the verbal sequence.

In the examples below, the adverb *njì* occurs within the verbal sequence in (152) and outside in (153).

- (152) m = è númá njì lé lèlà.
 I-P1 also,too + H only + H IMPF + H shiver,tremble
 'I kept trembling.'

- (153) mèt = sá kwân njì lê-mbègèlá mó ncìmbé,
 m = sá kwân njì lê-mbègèlá H + mèt ncìmbé
 I do 7-meeting only LOC-9-protection 3Poss God
 'I participated in the meeting under the protection of God.' (Joy.07)

Other adverbs which have similar patterns are given below.

(154)	bá	'a little'	nán	'still, yet'
	ndâg	'where, still'	númó	'also'
	ntán	'like that'	nwà	'there'

Another class of words is very free within the verbal sequence but does not appear to occur outside of the verbal sequence.

(155)	bwè	'for a long time'	bùlù	'a lot, many'
	kwò	'again'	ɲkònó	'little by little'
	ɟwàl	'immediately, directly'		

In the example below, *bwè* 'for a long time' occurs before the aspect marker in (156) and after in (157). This is typical of the words given in (155).

(156)	myá	bómpámp	á	bè,	ɲkwìɲ	á	bwè
	myá	H + bò-mpámb	H + á	bè-è	ɲkwíɲ	á	bwè
	3-time	3ASSOC-2-ancestor	RELCL-P2	be-RELCL	leopard	P2	long.time

lè dì dùk.

lè dì dùg

IMPF stay forest

In the ancestors' time, the leopard stayed in the forest.

(157)	sá	m = ê	túk	lê	bwě	sá	yô.
	sá	H + m̃-é	tùg + H	lè + H	bwè + H	sá + H	yò
	7-thing	RELCL-I-P1	be	IMPF	long.time	do	7OBJ
	'..a thing that I didn't usually do.' (<i>Perils.29</i>)						

It is very common to have more than one adverb in a clause. It is also possible to have adverb stacking. That is to say, it is not necessary to spread adverbs out throughout the clause, but in general no more than two adverbs appear next to each other. These adverbs do not appear in a fixed order.

Below are two examples where adverbs are stacked within the verbal sequence.

- (159) m = è nùmé njì lé lèlà.
 I-P1 also,too + H only + H IMPF + H shiver, tremble
 'I kept trembling.'

- (160) mè m = ó kò nùmé ɟwàlɔ́ lànɟ nê ncè kwár."
 m̩ = ó kò nùmà ɟwàl lànɟ nê ncè kwád
 but I-PRES go also directly happen that come 9-village
 '...but I'm going to leave for the village.' (Ram.35)

5 Morphosyntax of the Verb Phrase

Having described the various elements which may occur within the verb phrase in the last chapter, we now turn our attention to the way in which the verb phrase can be organized.

Kol is similar to many central, eastern and southern Bantu languages in that its verbal sequence is quite templatic. However it differs from these same languages in that the morphemes which fill the different slots of the template are independent words or clitics, and not affixes. Verbal clitics in Kol have strict positioning requirements which can be explained by referring to the crosslinguistic tendency for clitics to occur in second position.

This chapter will also discuss some exceptions to the templatic nature of the Kol verb and offer additional evidence as to why non-main verbs in Kol are analyzed as auxiliary verbs and not complex predicates (serial verbs, compound verbs or light verbs).

Complementation and adjunct patterns will be explored in section 2 and section 3 will examine aspects of Kol verbal morphosyntax in light of formal syntax. In particular, Role and Reference Grammar will offer insight

as to the scope of the tense tonal concord, though some complications will arise when RRG predictions about operator scope are compared to the Kol patterns seen.

1 Structure within the Verb Phrase

Bantu languages, of which Kol is one, are assumed to have the minimal structure shown below (Brauner 1995, Meeuwis 1998, Miti 2001, Mohammed 2001 among others).

(1) Subject Marker – Tense – Verb Stem

This structure is illustrated by an example from Swahili, an eastern Bantu language. In addition to the categories above, Swahili also allows a preverbal object marker.

- (2) ni- na- wa- heshimu
 I PRES them respect
 'I respect them.' (Mohammed 2001:ii)

Many Bantu verbs are of course even more complex. (3) gives an example from Cinsenga, a Bantu language spoken in Zambia and Malawi. This language allows for an initial negative marker, followed by a subject marker, tense morpheme, object marker, verb root, derivational suffix (known

as an *extension* in Bantu linguistics) and a final vowel. These slots are labeled above the illustrative morphemes in the example below.

(3)	Neg	SM	Tense	OM	Verb Stem		
					Root	Ext	Fv
	si-	ni-	ka-	mu-	lil-	il-	a
	NEG	I	FUT	him/her	cry	APPL	
	'I will not cry for him/her.' (Miti 2001:79)						

The Kol verb structure is also fairly templatic in that it has a relatively fixed ordering of the elements in the verbal sequence. A table below gives the typical ordering of verbal units, followed by an example. In natural discourse, it is difficult to find all slots attested in a single utterance, though when slots are filled, they occur in the relative order given below.

Tense	Tense2	Cop Aux	Asp/Mode	Aux	Verb
é F1	bwó F2	bà 'be'	lè IMPF	ko 'go'	
ó PRES	lwándèbè 'just'	ndé 'be (loc)'	sè PERF	ncè 'come'	
é P1		jì 'be (att)'	mbá COND	nìgò 'return'	
á P2		mé 'be (chg)'			

Table 5.1 Ordering of Verbal Constituents.

- | | <u>Cop</u> | | <u>Asp</u> | | <u>Aux</u> | <u>Verb</u> | | | | |
|-----|--|----------|------------|----|------------|-------------|------------|--------------|---------|--|
| (4) | mà = | mé | lê | kò | kúnjá | ná | tìtìtì, | ě̀nàk | mécì. | |
| | I | be (chg) | IMPF | go | defecate | with | regularity | INF-defecate | 6-blood | |
| | 'I was having bloody diarrhea, all the time.' (Joy.22) | | | | | | | | | |

Across Bantu languages, when there are construction which contain multiple verbs, it is common for the tense to be encoded on the first verb while aspect is encoded on the second verb (Nurse 2003). This is not the case for Kol however, as can be seen by the example below. Here both tense and aspect precede the auxiliary where we might expect that tense would precede the auxiliary while the aspect marker preceded the main verb.

- | | <u>Tense</u> | <u>Aspect</u> | <u>Adv</u> | <u>Aux</u> | <u>Verb</u> | | | | | |
|-----|---|---------------|------------|------------|--------------|------|-------|--------|--------|--|
| (5) | m = è | sé | númá | kò | kúnjá | ncòò | lôl | támè | ncì. | |
| | I-P1 | PERF + H | also + H | go + H | defecate + H | time | three | middle | 3-path | |
| | 'I had to stop three times along the way to go to the bathroom.' (Joy.12) | | | | | | | | | |

However, if the first verb is a copula auxiliary, then the expected pattern holds. The tense marker precedes the copula, and the aspect marker follows the copula, preceding any other verb.

- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--|-------------|----|----|------|------|--------|----|--------|---------------|
| (6) | myǎ | m-ûr | á | bà | lè | jí | wúl | mà | kwînt | lé-lúw = é, |
| | myà | H + m-ûr | á | bò | lè | jí | wúl | mà | kwîndè | lé-lú = è |
| | time | RELCL-1-man | P2 | be | IMPF | want | remove | me | hook | in-head-RELCL |
| | When the man wanted to take the hook out of my hair, [I told him, "While you're taking that out, time is going by."] | | | | | | | | | |

In parallel to the affirmative copulas, it is possible for the negative copula to appear in a multi-verb construction where it is marked for tense and the main verb is marked for aspect (and other grammatical categories).

- (7) by = ó túgǎ lê njêp.
 bè = ó túg + H lê + H njèb
 8-PRES be (neg) IMPF lack
 'They are not lacking.'

While many of the preverbal elements do not allow multiple exponence of the same slot, there are some exceptions. While the tense vowels and the aspect markers always appear in complementary distribution (i.e. only one may appear at a time, though it is always possible to have a clause unmarked for tense or aspect or both), the auxiliary verb slots permit that more than one occur at a time.

As was just described, it is quite common to have a clause containing both a copula auxiliary and a phasal (or modal) auxiliary. However, it is also possible to have multiple copula auxiliaries in the same sentence or multiple phasal auxiliaries. An example of multiple copula auxiliaries is given below.

- (8) njwúnj b́á ndé sá nê mò-bùgùbà ncâ = k.
 njwúnj bà ndé sá nê mò-bùgùbà ncò = g + H
 9-respect be be (loc) do that 6-prosperity come-SUBJ
 'Respect works to bring prosperity.' (*Family.10*)

It is also possible to have multiple non-copula auxiliaries, as illustrated below.

- (9) myă yô = kò nìgò jê wú = í
 myà H + yò kò nìgò jê wú-è
 time RELCL + 7SUB go return arrive there-RELCL
 'Arriving there, ...'

- (10) bèsér bwó mē ncè tér fyàl mó məcì.
 bè- soeur bwó mé ncè tér fyàl mà məc-ì
 2- sister (nun) they be (chg) come first test (v) me 4-blood
 'The Sisters first tested my blood.' (*Joy.24*)

Adverbs and the consecutive marker *kà* are the exceptions to the fixed word order since they may intrude at numerous places within the verbal sequence as will be discussed in more detail in section 1.3. This fixed word order is not necessarily arbitrary, as will be discussed in section 3.2.

1.1 WORD-HOOD IN THE VERB PHRASE

As was mentioned above, Kol differs from the well-known Bantu languages of central, eastern, and southern Africa in that the morphemes which fill its templatic slots are independent words and not prefixes. (The

morphemes in the initial tense slot may be clitics and not independent words.

These are discussed in section 1.2 below.)

Evidence for the word-hood of the preverbal morphemes can be found in three different areas of the Kol grammar. These are: clitic placement, the tense concord H tone found in many tenses, and the placement of adverbs. The discussion in this section will primarily focus on the morphemes of the *Tense2* slot and on the aspect markers, since these are cross-linguistically likely to be affixes, in contrast to the auxiliary verbs which are likely to be independent words.

Non-past perfective negation in Kol, as was discussed in chapter 4, section 4.1.1, is marked by the circumclitic $\acute{a} = .. = \grave{e}$. This circumclitic appears on the first word of the verbal sequence, as shown below.

- (11)

tóòb	$\acute{a} = j = \grave{e}$	dí	dùk.
tóòb	$\acute{a} = j\grave{i} = \grave{e} + \text{H}$	dì + H	dùk.
sheep	NEG-be(att)-NEG	stay	forest

 'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

This circumclitic may also be hosted by morphemes from the *Tense2* slot, as seen in (12) and (13), which is evidence that these morphemes have the same word status as the copula auxiliary verb seen in (11).

- (12) $j = \grave{a} = lw\acute{a}nd\acute{o}b = \acute{e}$ $w\grave{a}z\grave{a}$ $m-\hat{u}r$.
 $j = \acute{a} = lw\acute{a}nd\grave{a}b\grave{a} = \grave{e} + H$ $w\grave{a}z\grave{a} + H$ $m-\hat{u}r$.
 he/she-NEG-just-NEG forget 1-man
 'He didn't just forget someone.'

- (13) $j = \grave{a} = bw\acute{e} = y'\acute{e}$ $w\grave{a}z\grave{a}$ $m-\hat{u}r$.
 $j = \acute{a} = bw\acute{o} = \grave{e} + H$ $w\grave{a}z\grave{a} + H$ $m-\hat{u}r$
 he/she-NEG-F2-NEG forget 1-man
 'He will not forget anyone.'

The non-past perfective negative circumclitic may also be hosted by an aspect marker.

- (14) $j = \grave{a} = g = \acute{e}$ $w\grave{a}z\grave{a}$ $m-\hat{u}r$.
 $j = \acute{a} = g = \grave{e}$ $w\grave{a}z\grave{a}$ $m-\hat{u}r$
 he-NEG-PROG-NEG forget 1-man
 'He doesn't continue to forget someone.'

This suggests that the progressive aspect marker *gó* is also an independent word. The subjunctive clitic behaves in the same way as the negative circumclitic and so will not be discussed further here though the morphosyntax of verbal clitics is discussed in section 1.2 below.

Another aspect of the morphosyntax of Kol which offers evidence that preverbal morphemes are independent words is the suffixal H tone which marks tense concord. This tonal tense concord was discussed in chapter 4, section 2.1.7. To review, in Kol, all tenses but the far past (P2), share a tonal contour in that every word in the verbal sequence is marked by a suffixal H tone. This can be seen by comparing a sentence in the recent past (P1) with its far past (P2) equivalent.

- (15)

nò	kùgú	ɲ=í	nìgó	kò	njáp.
nò	kùgú	ɲ=é	nìgò + H	kò + H	njáb
with	evening	he- P1	return	go	3-house

'Today he returned home.'

- (16)

ɲ=á	nìgò	kò	njáp.
ɲ=á	nìgò	kò	njáb
he/she-P2	return	go	3-house

'He went home.'

Crucially, this high tone is also suffixed to aspect markers, as can be seen by comparing (17) and (18) below. The suffixal high tone delinks the underlying low tone of the imperfective marker, resulting in downstep.

- (17)

ɲ=ǒ	l'é	bwògá	kwàn.
ɲ=ó	lè + H	bwòg + H	kwàn.
he-PRES	IMPF	harvest (honey)	9-honey

'He harvests honey (habitually).'

- (18) $\text{ɲ} = \text{ǎ}$ lè bwògè kwàn .
 $\text{ɲ} = \text{á}$ lè bwòg kwàn
 he/she-P2 IMPF harvest (honey) 9-honey
 'He was harvesting honey.'

Finally, adverbs (and the consecutive marker *kà*) can appear in multiple places in the verbal sequence. (See section 1.3 for more information.) One of the places where an adverb can occur is between the aspect marker and the following verb as illustrated in (19) with the adverb *númá* 'also.' This would not be possible if the aspect marker was an affix, since affixes have strict selectional criteria.

- (19) $\text{m} = \text{è}$ sé númá kò kújá ncòò lól támè ncì .
 I-P1 PERF+H also+H go+H defecate+H time three middle 3-path
 'I also had to go to the bathroom three times along the way.' (Joy.12)

To summarize, the positioning of clitics, the suffixal H tone marking tense concord, and adverbs all give evidence that preverbal morphemes in Kol, particularly aspect markers and the morphemes in the *Tense2* slot, are independent words and not affixes.

1.2 CLITIC POSITIONING

As was noted in the discussion of the perfective negative circumclitic and the subjunctive enclitic, clitics appear in very specific places in Kol. This

is a characteristic of all of the central A.80 Bantu languages. Heath (2003) has described the characteristic placement of the subjunctive marker (and the nature of the tense concord) by making reference to the inflection and the macrostem.

1.2.1 Inflection vs. the Macrostem

The inflection consists of the subject marker and the tense vowel. The macrostem consists of everything else. This distinction is shown for Kol by the table below. This terminology is borrowed from Mutaka and Hyman (1990) where the macrostem was used to refer to the stem plus object prefix, which was the domain of reduplication.

Inflection		Macrostem				
Subject	Tense	Tense2	Cop Aux	Asp/Mode	Aux	Verb

This division served two purposes. It explained where the subjunctive enclitic could appear, i.e. on the first element of the macrostem, and it also grouped all the elements which could be marked by the tense tonal contour together. (This is why the grammatical H tone marking most tenses is referred to by Heath and Heath as the Macrostem H tone.)

However, it also created a structure which is not universally common.

It would be more elegant if Kol could be described in terms of known crosslinguistic tendencies. In the case of the clitic placement, a possible option would be to refer to the tendency for clitics (like the enclitic portion of the perfective negative and the subjunctive enclitic) to occur in second position.

This however would not resolve the second advantage of the Inflection/Macrostem distinction, namely that of offering a concise description of the scope of the tense tonal concord. This issue will be brought up again in section 3.

1.2.2 Second Position

Second position effects are not usually associated with Bantu languages. However, they are attested in a number of different language families around the world, and therefore, a second position analysis is worth considering for Kol.

Second position is used by different researchers to refer to either the position after the first phonological word or after the first syntactic daughter.

When enclitics are hosted by the main verb, the verb is either initial or in second position, depending on whether the subject is a proclitic as shown in (20) or a full noun as shown in (21). The clitics do not occur on the full noun subject because nouns never host clitics.

- (20) $\text{ɲ} = \text{ǎ} = \text{wàzà} = \text{yè}.$
 he/she-NEG-forget-NEG
 'He doesn't forget.'

- (21) $\text{tóòb} \quad \text{á} = \text{j} = \text{è} \quad \text{dí} \quad \text{dùk}.$
 sheep NEG-be-NEG + H stay + H forest
 'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

When an object or adjunct is topicalized, the verb is also in second position, as in (22).

- (22) $\text{múùz}, \quad \text{ɲ} = \text{à} = \text{dég} = \text{é} \quad \text{lè-kán}.$
 $\text{ɲ} - \text{á} - \text{dég} - \text{è} + \text{H} \quad \text{lè-kán}$
 today he/she-NEG-see-NEG + H 5-antelope
 'Today, he didn't see an antelope.'

All the examples above are of the negative circumclitic. However, there is another candidate for a second position clitic, i.e. the subjunctive enclitic. The subjunctive however may occur with a tense vowel.

- (23) w = ò bó = k ké fèndà nà mà.
 w = ó bà = g + H ké fèndà nò mà
 you-PRES be-IMP (SG) NEG be.in.rivalry with me
 'You must not put yourself in competition with me.'

This tense vowel appears to nullify the second position hypothesis because in the example above, the subjunctive enclitic now appears to occur in third position. However, it may be possible that the tense vowels are themselves clitics. Though they are not phonologically deficient, they do occur in complementary distribution with the proclitic half of the negative circumclitic.

If the tense vowels are also clitics, this would result in clitics again occurring after the first word, since both the subject marker and the tense vowel would be clitics hosted by the first word and invisible to the syntax.

1.3 EXCEPTIONS TO THE TEMPLATIC NATURE OF THE KOL VERB

In spite of the fact that the Kol verb is relatively templatic, there *are* words which have freer word order. In some cases, this can be directly related to the question of scope. For example, the negative marker *kè* differs from other negation strategies in that it is not required to appear at the

beginning of the verbal sequence. Instead, it appears directly before the element it is negating, as shown by the example below where the initial copula is in the affirmative while the first main verb is negated, along with the second clause.

- (24) *mè ndé ké dùlò sìgá, ké bà nê ɲʷèl mɛ̀nòk.*
 I -P1 SIMUL+H NEG+H smoke cigarette NEG be with drink+H 6-wine
 'I neither smoked nor drank.' (*Illness.15*)

The words with the most options are the lexical class of adverbs and the consecutive marker *kà*. The syntactic placement of adverbs will be discussed first in section 1.2.1, followed by a discussion of the syntax of the consecutive marker *kà*.

1.3.1 Adverbs

Adverbs differ from other verbal elements in having the most free word order. They can appear in a number of different positions within the verbal sequence and may also appear outside of the verbal sequence all together. Below is an example where the adverb *númá* 'also, too' appears as the first element in a phrase.

- (25) nùmá bw=á kò fwâmb nê mà= jì nè ntú mà-cì.
 also they-P2 go discover that I be(att) with 9-diarrhea 6-blood
 'Then they discovered that I had dysentery.' (Joy.27)

Adverbs may also appear between object noun phrases, as illustrated by the adverb *njì* 'only' below.

- (26) y=á ñkwó bì mà njì lé-mpùñè.
 7SUB-P2 again seize me only in-10-hair
 'It snagged me in the hair.'

Adverbs differ from other preverbal elements with fixed templatic slots because they may insert themselves between any two words in the verbal sequence. Since there are four main possible elements, i.e. the copular auxiliary, the aspect marker, the non-copular auxiliary and the main verb, this results in three possible adverb slots. Examples will be given of each possibility below. The first available position for adverbs is after a copular auxiliary and before an aspect marker. This may be seen in (27) and (28). Example (29) also illustrates an adverb appearing in this same position, though this example lacks a copular auxiliary.

- (27) nê= jí nán l'é bwògá kwàn
 he be (att) +H still +H IMPF +H harvest (honey) +H 9-honey
 'He still collects honey.'

(28) $\text{ɲ}=\text{è}$ jì ɲjì l'é bwògá kwàn
 he/she be (att) +H only +H IMPF +H harvest (honey) +H 9-honey
 'He still collects honey.'

(29) $\text{m}=\text{è}$ númá ɲjì lé lèlà .
 I-P1 also,too +H only +H IMPF +H shiver,tremble
 'I kept trembling.'

The second available position for adverbs is after the aspect marker and before the non-copular auxiliary. The fact that adverbs can appear both before and after the aspect marker offers evidence (in addition to tonal behavior) that aspect markers too are independent words.

(30) $\text{m}=\text{è}$ sé númá kò kúnjá ncòò lól ntámè ncì .
 I-P1 PERF +H also +H go +H defecate +H time 3 middle fork
 'I also had to go to the bathroom three times along the way.' (*Joy.12*)

Finally, adverbs can occur between the non-copular auxiliaries and the main verb.

(31) $\text{ɲ}=\text{ǎ}$ kò númá jwák cìè .
 he/she-P2 go also,too hear, feel sick
 'She got sick too.' (*Joy.36*)

Adverbs may also appear after the verb, but in that position, they are outside of the verbal sequence. This may be seen because there is no extra H

tone found in that position; the last two words both surface with their underlying low tones.

- (32) ɲ = ě kwó d'í njì dùk.
 he-FUT again + H stay + H only forest
 'He will continue to stay only in the forest.'

In a number of other Bantu languages, e.g. Chichewa, adverbs may not intrude between the verb and the direct object, unless a pronominal object marker appears on the verb. This pronominal object marker fulfills the valency requirement of the verb and permits freer word order in the verbal dependents and even omission of the full NP object (Mchombo 2001).

However, as seen above in (32), Kol does allow an adverb to be inserted between a verb and a following noun phrase. The verb 'stay' in Kol is one of a class of intransitive verbs which has the option of being followed directly by a locative noun. It may be that the locative noun *dùg* is an adjunct and not a complement of the verb *dì*. However, if 'forest' was an adjunct, we might expect that it would occur with the locative prefix. More research needs to be done to determine the status of these locative nouns.

1.3.2 Ka

The consecutive morpheme *kà* also has freer word order than most preverbal elements. It may for example occur before the aspect marker as in (33) or after it as in (34).

- (33) myà bízǎ kǎ lé dī lè-sí
 myà bízǎ kà lé dī è-sí
 3-time we CONS IMPF stay LOC-world
 '...while we are in the world, ...' (*Funeral.21*)

- (34) myà m=á sé kà ncè já n-é-njwòŋ-è
 myà + H m=á sé kà ncè jâ n-é-lé- jwòŋ-è
 3-time-RELCL I-P2 PERF CONS come sleep with-LOC-bed-RELCL
- èsáp á sé kà ncè lál númá.
 è-sáp á sé kà ncè lál númá.
 5-illness P2 PERF CONS come be.strong also
 'By the time I laid down, the illness had already hit me hard.'
 (*Illness.09*)

Additionally, *kà* may occur before the phasal auxiliary as above in (34) or after as below in (35).

- (35) bé nìgó kwǒ kà cín-dè kà.
 bé-é nìgò + H kwó + H kà + H cènd + H kò + H
 you (pl)-FUT return again CONS other.side go
 'You will return again to the other side.'

Kà may even occur after the main verb as illustrated by the example below.

- (36) bé nìgò kò ká bìlè njwík,
 bé nìgò kò kà
 you (pl) return go Cons
 'You go in the Bile Njwik region...'

This range of syntactic possibilities makes *kà* similar to the lexical class of adverbs even though the consecutive marker is generally considered to be part of the tense-aspect-mode (TAM) system.

1.4 EMBEDDED PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Kol prepositional phrases can express adverbial semantics, i.e. information on time or manner. Most prepositional phrases occur after the verb as shown in the example below.

- (37) y = á nték mà nḁ búbù.
 y = á ntég mà nò búbù
 7SUB-P2 annoy me with many
 'That really bothered me.'

However, there are some prepositional phrases which appear to be embedded within the verbal sequence. The phrase *nò nkùl* 'with power'

- (41) têr dwóp dð̀ngá, m = áncé ná kwò lè kò nánjé wú.
 tér dw-ôp d-ð̀ngá m̃ = áncé nò kwó lè kò nánj wú
 start 5-day 5-DEF I-NEGPI with again IMPF go still there
 'Starting that day, I didn't go there anymore.'
- (42) m̀ = nò kwó nc̀ tér lè-jwók bè-wàl.
 I with again come start INF-feel 8-fear
 'I started to be afraid.'

Unlike *nò ɲkùl* 'with power,' there are no examples of this prepositional phrase in a non-embedded position outside of the verb phrase. However, *kwò* is extremely common as a word on its own (classified in chapter 4 as an adverb) within the verbal sequence, and parallel to the behavior of the prepositional version, also does not occur as an adverb outside the verbal sequence though many adverbs can. Perhaps most interestingly, speakers vary as to whether this word is pronounced with a prenasalized stop or an oral stop.

- (43) y=á ηkwó bì mà njì lé-mpùṇà.
y=á kwò bì mà njì lé-mpùṇà.
7SUB-P2 again seize me only LOC-10-hair
It snagged me in the hair.

- (44) *nə* = *jí* *kwò* *bàrà*.
 n̩ = *jì + H* *kwò + H* *bàrà*
 he be (att) again greet
 'He greets again.'

I suggest that this construction began as a prepositional phrase with adverbial semantics (there are many of these in Kol as will be discussed in the section on *Adjuncts* below). Once it was allowed to become embedded in the verbal sequence, the boundary between the preposition and its complement began to erode. Some speakers, such as the one who gave example (43), have collapsed the two into a single phonological word, while others have completely lost any trace of the original preposition.

It remains to be seen whether a similar process will occur with *nò nkùl* 'with force' or 'can,' though it is interesting that it is already much more common in my corpus than the modal auxiliary *kwóg* 'can.'

1.5 THE STATUS OF NON-MAIN VERBS

Many Kol verbal sequences contain more than one verb. I have labeled those verbs which are not the main verb (the last verb in the verbal sequence) as auxiliary verbs but up to this point have given only cursory justification of that classification. This section will provide more information as to why I

believe the non-main verbs in Kol are auxiliary verbs and not compound verbs, serial verbs or light verbs.

Since definitions for these terms have varied over the years and from scholar to scholar, I will be making explicit which definitions and criteria I am using throughout the course of this discussion. Scholars with different criteria could of course come to different conclusions.

Bowern (2006) includes both serial verbs and light verbs in her classification of complex predicates. She does not particularly discuss auxiliary verbs, with the implication being where they are mentioned, that these do not fall within the scope of complex predicates. Bowern gives the following criteria for identifying complex predicates (2006:30).

- **event structure** – the predicate describes a single event and not a sequence of events
- **selection criteria** – complex predicate constructions contain verbs from a restricted class, unlike coordinate constructions; they exhibit non-compositional semantics

- **word order** – the verbs in a complex predicate cannot be separated by intervening material
- **nominalization** – the whole predicate may be nominalized
- **interrogatives** – the predicate functions as a single unit in interrogatives (particularly with respect to interrogative marking)
- **negation and temporal adverbs** – have scope over the whole predicate not just particular verbs within the predicate

According to the above criteria, the Kol verbal sequence is *not* a complex predicate. The two criteria which are problematic are *word order* and *negation*. Kol auxiliary verbs may be separated from the main verb by aspect markers, in the case of the copula auxiliaries, or by adverbs. (45) below is an example of a copula auxiliary separated from the main verb by both an adverb and an aspectual marker.

- (45) ɲə = jí náŋ l'é bwògá kwàn
 he be (att) +H still +H IMPF +H harvest (honey) +H 9-honey
 'He still collects honey.'

Below is an example where a non-copula auxiliary is separated from the main verb by an adverb.

- (46) ɲ=ǎ kò númǎ jwák cìè.
 he/she-P2 go also,too hear, feel sick
 'She got sick too.' (*Joy.36*)

Additionally, it is also possible to negate only part of the predicate, as shown below where the first copula auxiliary is outside the scope of the negation.

- (47) m=è ndé ké dùló sìgá ké bà nê ɲwèl mǎ-ɲòk.
 I -P1 be +H NEG+H smoke cigarette NEG be with drink +H 6-wine
 'I neither smoked nor drank.' (*Illness.15*)

If serial verbs and light verbs are subtypes of complex predicates, and Kol verbal sequences do not fit the criteria for complex predicates, then that suggests that the non-main verbs seen in Kol are in fact auxiliary verbs. Auxiliary verbs do not assign theta roles and function as the heads of inflectional projections, not as the heads of verbal projections.

This would work for Kol since the auxiliary verbs contribute information to the predicate about the internal structure or mode of the event as described in chapter 4. There are no non-main verbs which impact the

argument structure of the predicate. The argument structure is always defined by the main verb. An intransitive verb remains intransitive even if it is modified by an auxiliary verb as can be seen by the intransitive verb 'die' in the example below.

- (48) m̀ə m̀èè lé cwòŋgəl̀ə n̂ə m̀ə méé ncà ỳə.
 m̀ə mé lè twòŋgəl̀ə n̂ə m̀ə mé ncà ỳə
 I be (chg) IMPF think that me be (chg) come die
 'I thought that I would die.'

2 Valence and word order

Kol verbs may be intransitive, transitive or ditransitive. In addition, they may contain additional optional clauses, or adjuncts. An example with two intransitive verbs is given below.

- (49) ɲ=í jí ncò kábò míj̀òŋ sé ỳə.
 ɲ=é j̀ì+H ncò+H kábò míj̀òŋ sé ỳə
 he-P1 be (att) come but brother PERF die
 'He was going to come, but his brother had already died.'

In the sections below, various complementation options will be described in 2.1 followed by a discussion of adjunct possibilities in 2.2.

Some intransitive verbs with semantic patients (or undergoers) as their syntactic subject may express the semantic agent by using a prepositional

phrase, as shown below. Note though that this verb ends in /l/ which is one of the reflexes of the frozen applicative extension. This may explain this relatively odd syntactic patterning.

- (50) lá nè bwîl nà mw-ân.
 glass this be.broken by 1-child
 'This glass was broken by the child.'

2.1 COMPLEMENTS

Kol transitive verbs can have nominal complements, infinitival complements or sentential complements. Each type of complement will be discussed in its own section below.

2.1.1 Nominal Complements

Unmarked nominal complements include prototypical patients as well as locative objects.

2.1.1.1 Direct Object

A large number of Kol verbs are transitive, requiring both a subject noun phrase (or pronoun) and an object noun phrase. The object noun phrases are prototypically fulfilling the semantic role of patient. An example is given below.

- (51) $\eta = \check{a}$ $bw\grave{o}g\grave{e}$ $kw\grave{a}n$.
 he/she-P2 harvest (honey) 9-honey
 'He was harvesting honey.'

2.1.1.2 *Locative object*

Kol also has a few verbs which would in many languages be intransitive, but in Kol always appear with a locative noun complement. The verb *já* 'sleep' is one of these verbs. An example is given below. Note that the noun 'hospital' is not marked with the locative prefix *lé-* or a preposition.

- (52) $m = \check{a}$ $j\acute{a}$ $w\grave{a}l\grave{e}f\acute{i}r\grave{e}$.
 I-P2 sleep hospital
 'I slept at the hospital.' (*Joy.31*)

Many other Kol nouns which can occur without an object may also occur with a locative object. Below are two examples.

- (53) $n\grave{e}b\acute{e}$ $m = \acute{a}$ $j\grave{i}$ $y\grave{e}$ $\eta jw\grave{a}\eta$ $dw\check{a}b$ $d-\grave{e}\eta$.
 $n\grave{e}b\acute{e}$ $m = \acute{a}$ $j\grave{i}$ $y\grave{e}$ $\eta jw\check{a}\eta$ $dw\hat{o}b$ $d-\grave{e}\grave{e}\eta g\acute{e}$
 because I-P2 be (att) die river 5-day 5-DEF
 '...because I was dying on the river that day.'

- (54) $\eta kw\acute{i}\eta$ $j\acute{i}$ $d\acute{i}$ $d\hat{u}k$.
 $\eta kw\acute{i}\eta$ $j\grave{i} + H$ $d\grave{i} + H$ $d\grave{u}g$
 leopard be (att) stay forest
 'The leopard stays in the forest.'

- (57) $\eta = \check{e}$ $sá$ $jwó$ $lè-fú$ $d-à\eta$.
 $\eta = é$ $sá + H$ $jwò$ $lè-fú$ $d-à\eta$
 he/she-FUT do 7OBJ 5-sake 5-my
 'He will do it for me.' (lit. 'for my sake')

- (58) $\eta = \check{e}$ $jù$ $míyò\eta$ $lè-fú$ $mwàné$.
 $\eta = é$ $jù + H$ $míyò\eta$ $lè-fú$ $mwàné$
 he/she-FUT kill brother 5-sake money
 'He will kill his brother for money.'

2.1.2 Infinitival Complements

Infinitival complements may consist of only an infinitive verb or of an infinitive along with its own complements. Kol allows infinitival complements to occur in the subject or object position. Kol also allows infinitival adjuncts, which will be discussed in 2.2.5.1.

2.1.2.1 Object infinitival complements

As was mentioned above, verbs may take an infinitive verb as a complement. This infinitive may appear with its own complements as in (59) and (60).

- (59) $m = \check{a}$ $kwàmèzà$ $lê-kò$ $wú$.
 $m = á$ $kwàmèzà$ $lê-kò$ $wú$
 I-P2 prepare INF-go there
 'I got ready to go there.'

- (60) η =ě tér lé-wàzà m-ùr.
 η =é tér + H lè-wàzà m-ùr
 he/she-FUT start INF-forget 1-man
 'He will start to forget someone.'

2.1.2.2 Subject infinitival complements

Infinitive verbs can also be used as subjects, as shown by the following examples.

- (61) é-jî jàlàlà yè bé fòk.
 lè-jí jàlàlà yò bé fòg
 INF-ask must give you (pl) 9-wisdom
 'Asking must give you wisdom.'

- (62) é-lêŋ nê η è bà ndé mbînt.
 lé-lêŋ nê η è bà ndé mbînt
 INF-tell that he/she be be (loc) boss
 'He says that he is the only boss.' (*lit.* 'Telling that he is the boss [here].')

- (63) è-fwá alá tùk."
 lè-fwá alá tùg
 INF-waste.time be (neg)
 'Don't waste time.' (*lit.* 'Time wasting isn't.')

2.1.3 Complement clauses

Kol also permits entire clauses to appear as the complement of the verb.

- (64) m = ǎ nûmp nê m = ẽ nìgò nê bòfú.
 m̃ = á nûmb nê m̃ = é nìgò nê bò-fú
 I-P2 know that I-FUT return with 2-fish
 'I thought that I would come back with fish.'

- (65) m = à = búgálá = yé nê mpú é nwì múùz.
 m̃ = á = búgálá = è nê mpú é nwì + H mùùz
 I-NEG-believe-NEG that rain FUT fall today
 'I don't believe that it will rain today.'

2.1.3.1 *Reported speech*

Quotations form a subset of the complement clause genre in that the matrix verb is frequently deleted. Below is an example with the matrix verb included followed by an example where it is deleted.

- (66) m = ô ncè lêŋ ná m-ùr á lè dúgè nê
 m̃ = ó ncò + H lêŋ + H nò m-ùr á lè dúgè nê
 I-PRES come say with 1-man P2 IMPF paddle that

ɲè = màgé nê bízé ê-dán
 ɲì = màg nò bízè lé-dán
 he turn.off with us LOC-reeds

[When we got to the middle of the river,] I said to the man who was rowing that he turn off with us into the reeds, [so that if the canoe starts sinking, it won't sink too far.]

Below is an example of reported speech where the speech verb has been omitted.

- (67) $j\grave{a} = n\hat{a}$ "búŋ $j_1 = \acute{o}$ lé làŋ bé."
 $j\grave{a} = n\hat{a}$ bùŋ $j\grave{a} = \acute{o}$ $l\grave{e} + H$ $l\grave{a}ŋ + H$ bé
 he that place he-PRES IMPF pass bathing.place
 'He [the fox] said, "He normally passes by here."

The only difference between indirect and direct reported speech is the pronouns. Compare the direct reported speech example below where the quotation includes the pronoun 'you' with the indirect reported speech example given in (66) where the quotation includes the pronoun 'he.'

- (68) $m = \check{a}$ $nc\grave{a}$ $l\hat{e}ŋ$ $n\grave{a}$ $j\grave{a}$ $n\hat{a}$ "myà $w = \acute{o}$ ndé
 $m\grave{a} = \acute{a}$ $nc\grave{o}$ $l\hat{e}ŋ$ $n\grave{o}$ $j\grave{a}$ $n\hat{a}$ myà $w = \acute{o}$ $nd\acute{e} + H$
 I-P2 come say with him that 3-time you-PRES be (loc)

$l\hat{e}$ $w\acute{u}l$ $n\check{e}$ $\grave{e} - w\grave{a}l\grave{a}$ $j\hat{i}$ làŋ.
 $l\grave{e} + H$ $w\acute{u}l + H$ $n\grave{e}$ $\grave{e} - w\grave{a}l\grave{a}$ $j\grave{i}$ làŋ
 IMPF take.out that 5-hour be (att) pass

[When the man who rowed wanted to take the hook out of my hair,] I told him that "While you're taking that out, time is passing."

2.2 ADJUNCTS

In Kol, as in most languages, it is possible to add further information to the clause by the use of adjuncts (optional elements). These adjuncts may syntactically be nouns, adverbs, prepositional phrases, and clauses of various kinds. They serve to add additional information about the time or location of

the event or the reason for the event. Additionally, they may serve discourse functions.

Syntactically, adjuncts also vary as to whether they may be topicalized, i.e. moved to the beginning of the sentence (its left periphery). For example, prepositional phrases marking location or manner are always found on the right periphery. Some examples are given below.

- (69) ná bwéyá 'everywhere' nò bùbù 'a lot, many'
 ná pé 'totally' ná tìtìti 'regularly'
 ná yín 'too much'

However, prepositional phrases marking time may appear either at the beginning or at the end of the sentence.

- (70) nò kùgú 'yesterday, lit. with evening'
 ná cà 'now'

In the subsections below, adjuncts have been grouped by their function (time, location, manner, purpose, or discourse).

2.2.1 Temporal Adjuncts

Some clauses have additional information included about the time of the event. Kol speakers have a wide range of choices as to the kind of

element used to add this information. They can use temporal nouns, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, or verb phrases, as discussed in the various sections below.

2.2.1.1 *Temporal nouns*

Some time expressions in Kol are single words, specifically nouns.

(71)	mùùz	'today'	fùm	'night'
	mán	'morning'	kùgú	'evening'

Evidence for these being nouns may be found in the expression 'tomorrow' *émán* or *émáné*, which is literally 'in the morning,' formed by prefixing the locative morpheme to the noun 'morning.'

(72)	é-mán-é	ɲ = ě	bwògá	kwàn.
	Loc-morning	he/she-F1	harvest (honey) + H	9-honey
	'Tomorrow, he will harvest honey.'			

Additionally, they may be modified by other nominal modifiers, as can be seen in the expression 'now' which frequently occurs with the demonstrative *ngà*. Below is an example of *cà* 'now' without the demonstrative and an example of *cà* with the demonstrative.

- (73) m̀è = jì ɲwàŋ wó kàn lébìsá bízə ndé lé
 m̀ = jí ɲwàŋ wó kàn lé- b̀è-sá bízə ndé lé
 I want take you story LOC-8-thing RELCL-we be IMPF

dêk wók ná càà-ŋgà nè b̀əmíj̀òŋ b- íz-é.

dêg wók nò cà- ŋgà nò b̀ò-míj̀òŋ b-íz-è.

see here with now-this with 2-brother 2-our-RELCL

'I will tell you a story on what we see today with our brothers.'

(*Serpent.01*)

- (74) é-jì kǎ jì ncwé nê ná cà
 lê-jí kà jì ncwè nê nò cà
 INF-need CONS be (att) we (dual) that with now

'It's necessary that the two of us...' (*Ram.20*)

These temporal nouns may be fronted as shown by the example above

or may occur postverbally, as illustrated by the example below.

- (75) mw-ân á dì dùgá ɲgùmbá fùm.
 mò-ân á dì dùg ɲgùmbá fùm
 1-child P2 stay forest entire night

'The child stayed in the forest all night.'

2.2.1.2 Temporal Prepositional Phrases

As was mentioned above, Kol has at least two temporal prepositional phrases. These may appear both postverbally and at the beginning of the sentence.

- (76) nò kùgú 'yesterday, lit. with evening'
 nǎ cà 'now'

2.2.1.3 Temporal Relative Clauses

One of the most common strategies in Kol for providing temporal information is to use a relative clause headed by the noun *myà* 'time,' as illustrated below.

- (77) myǎ bízǎ ndê kǎ nìgé,
myà + H bìzǎ ndé kà nìgà-è
3-time-RELCL we be (loc) CONS return-RELCL
'When we were returning,.....'

2.2.1.4 Temporal verb phrases

Temporal information can also be given by means of a full clause, as seen by the introductory clause below. Interestingly, this is not an infinitival clause, but is more of a sentence fragment, lacking both a subject and the infinitive prefix.

- (78) têr dwóp d-òṅgá, m = áncé ná kwò lè kò nánǵ wú.
 tér dw-òp d-òṅgá ṁ = áncé nò kwó lè kò nánǵ wú
 start 5-day 5-DEF I-NEG.P1 with again IMPF go still there
 ‘Starting that day, I didn’t go there anymore.’

2.2.2 Locative Adjuncts

As has been mentioned elsewhere, Kol has a large number of locative nouns which function as complements of some verbs and which also function as the heads of locative relative clauses.

However, Kol also has a locative adverb *nwà* and a locative prepositional phrase *ná bwéyá* 'everywhere.'

- (79) m̀̀ = è sá m̀́ bè-dùŋ nwà tú
m̀̀ = é sá + H m̀̀ bè- dùŋ nwà tú
I P1 do me 8-noises there inside
'It made sounds inside of me.' (Joy.03)

- (80) è-jé, mùr bì-nàm m̀̀ jé kwèb m̀́-cì ná
lè-jê m-ùr bì-nàm mè jê kwèb m̀̀-cì nò
INF-arrive 1-man 8-nation be (chg) arrive find 6-blood with

bwéyá. bwéyá.
bwéyá bwéyá
everywhere everywhere

'When the man of the nations arrived, he found blood everywhere.' (In this story, Fox, the narrator, is telling Lion about Man, who he calls *the man of the nations*.)

2.2.2.1 Locative Relative Clauses

The numerous locative nouns in Kol can be the heads of relative clauses which add additional information to a sentence.

- (81) búŋ bízá á dè̀sì né
 búŋ H + bízá á dè̀z nè-è
 place RELCL-we P2 drown that-RELCL
 'the spot where we almost drowned'

2.2.3 Manner Adjuncts

As was mentioned in the introduction to this section, manner adjuncts in the form of prepositional phrases always occur on the right edge of the sentence.

- (82) nó yíŋ 'too much' nò bùbù 'a lot, many'
 nó pé 'totally' nó tìtìti 'regularly'

- (83) bwá: lî bè-fàmp nó pé.
 bwó = á lî bè-fàmb nò pé
 they-P2 clear 8-fields with totally
 'They totally cleared the fields.'

2.2.4 Purpose Adjuncts

In order to express the purpose of an action, Kol speakers can either use the auxiliary 'come,' as described in chapter 4, or they can use the noun *lè-fú* 'sake.' This noun is also commonly used to express beneficiaries.

2.2.4.1 Purpose noun phrases

The noun *lè-fú* can appear as a postverbal adjunct. It can be modified as in (84) or can appear with its own complement as in (85).

- (84) $\eta = \text{ě}$ $sá$ $jwó$ $lè\text{-}\acute{f}ú$ $d\text{-}\grave{a}\eta$.
 $\eta = \acute{e}$ $sá + H$ $jwò$ $lè\text{-}\acute{f}ú$ $d\text{-}\grave{a}\eta$
 he/she-FUT do 7OBJ 5-sake 5-my
 'He will do it for me.' (lit. 'for my sake')

- (85) $\eta = \text{ě}$ $jù$ $míy\grave{o}\eta$ $lè\text{-}\acute{f}ú$ $mwàné$.
 $\eta = \acute{e}$ $jù + H$ $míy\grave{o}\eta$ $lè\text{-}\acute{f}ú$ $mwàné$
 he/she-FUT kill brother 5-sake money
 'He will kill his brother for money.'

2.2.4.2 Purpose clause

The noun *lè-fú* can also be used with the subordinate conjunction *nê* to form purpose clauses. This construction is generally translated as 'so that.'

An example is given below.

- (86) $\eta\grave{e} =$ $màgé$ $n\grave{e}$ $bìz\acute{o}$ $\hat{e}\text{-}d\acute{a}\eta$ $\acute{e}\text{-}\acute{f}ú$ $n\hat{e}$ $\eta g\acute{e}$ $byól$
 $\eta =$ $màgè$ $nò$ $bìz\grave{e}$ $lé\text{-}d\acute{a}\eta$ $\grave{e}\text{-}\grave{f}ù$ $n\hat{e}$ $\eta g\acute{e}$ $byól$
 he turn.off with us LOC-reeds 5-sake that if 7-canoe
- \acute{e} $kò$ $lém\grave{e}d\acute{í}b\acute{o}$ $y = \acute{e}$ $kò$ $\acute{f}úk$ $\eta g\acute{u}mb\grave{a}$ $bú\eta$.
 \acute{e} $kò$ $lé\text{-}m\grave{o}\text{-}d\acute{í}b\acute{o}$ $y = \acute{e}$ $kò$ $\acute{f}úg$ $\eta g\acute{u}mb\grave{a}$ $bù\eta$
 FUT go LOC-6-water 7SUB-FUT go stop certain place
 'He turned off with us into the reeds so that if the canoe sank, it would stop at a certain point.'

2.2.5 Discourse Adjunct

In the course of telling a story or exhorting an audience, speakers can also use adjunct words or clauses in order to highlight information or make the story flow better.

2.2.5.1 *Discourse linking*

Infinitive clauses are also common at the beginning of sentences. In this position, they are functioning as the 'head' of a tail-to-head linkage, a common discourse strategy where the beginning of a sentence repeats the information given at the end of the last sentence. For example, a speaker could say something along the lines of "John went to the store. Having gone to the store, he bought some bread."

In Kol, such tail-to-head linkage markers mark a boundary in the discourse and begin a new paragraph. Sometimes they repeat exactly what just occurred in the previous clause, as in (87), but much of the time they are a paraphrase as in (88).

(87)	è-jé,	mùr	bìnàm	mè	jé	kwèb	mé-cì	nó
	lè-jê	m-ùr	bì-nàm	mé	jê	kwèb	mà-cì	nê
	INF-arrive	1-man	8-nation	be(chg)	arrive	find	6-blood	with

bwéyá bwéyá.
 bwéyá bwéyá
 everywhere everywhere
 'When he arrived, he found blood everywhere.'

- (88) ê-ncò kèl nò biy-ðòngá m = á têr nwàŋ = é
 lê-ncò kèl nò bè-ðòngá H + m = á tér nwàŋ = è
 INF-come beside with 8-DEF RELCL-I-P2 first take-RELCL
 'Added to what I first took....' (*Perils.34*)

3 The Verb vs. the Verb Phrase

Crosslinguistically, the verb frequently forms a constituent with its direct or primary object. Those languages which provide surface exceptions are usually head-marking languages which permit freer word order among the head's complements or modifiers.

The tonal tense concord found in Kol is interesting because its scope is only the verbal sequence and not the verb plus its direct object. This suggests that maybe the verb phrase is not a constituent in Kol. Yet, the discourse-linking adjuncts discussed above are examples of the verb forming a constituent with its complement in that an infinitive along with its complements may appear in the head portion of tail-head linkage marking.

One solution to this problem is to posit two constituents, one which would include the elements of the verbal sequence and another which would include the elements of the verbal sequence *and* its arguments.

3.1 TENSE CONCORD REVISITED

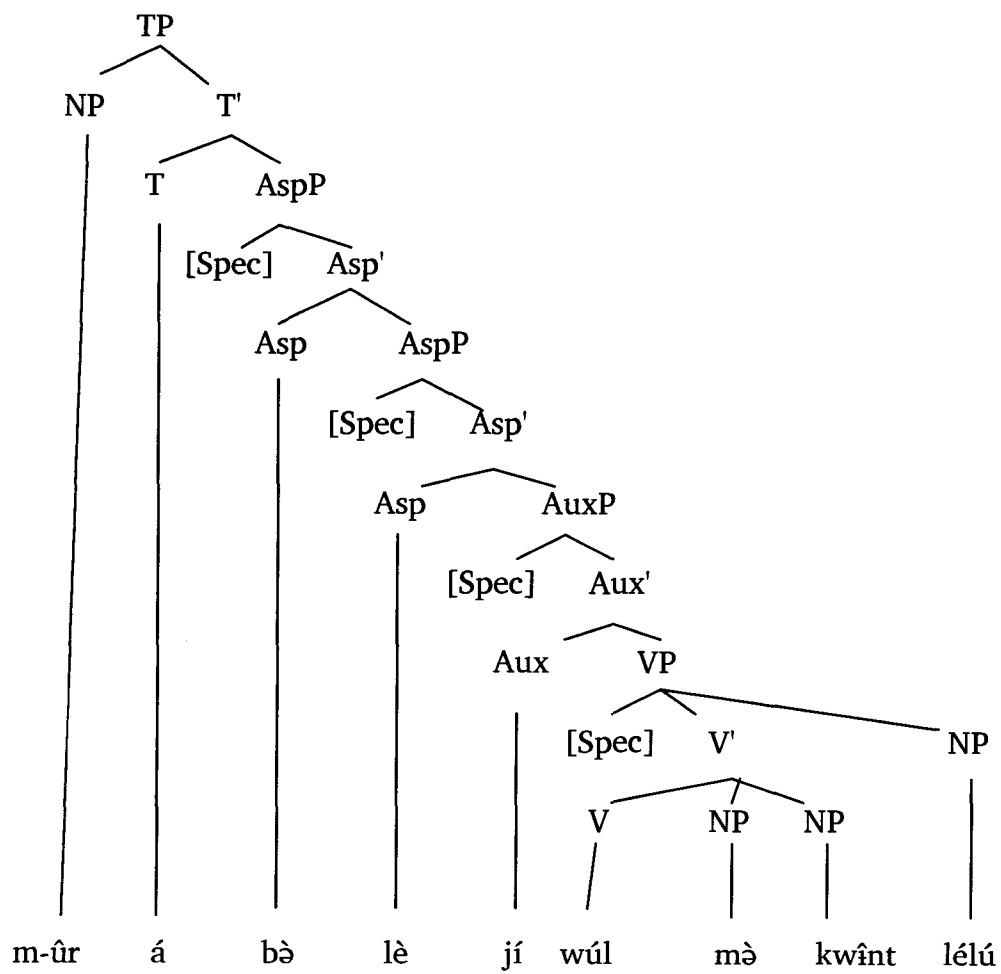
As has been previously mentioned, in all the tenses but the far past, a grammatical H tone is suffixed to every word within the verbal sequence. However, this tone is not added after the direct object. This is illustrated by the example below where there is no H tone seen after 'brother.'

- (89) $\text{j} = \text{ě}$ jù $\text{míyà}\eta$ lè-fú mwàné .
 $\text{j} = \text{é}$ $\text{jù} + \text{H}$ $\text{míyà}\eta$ lè-fú mwàné
 he/she-FUT kill brother 5-sake money
 'He will kill his brother for money.'

Since the Kol verbal sequence is made up of independent words and clitics, it would be reasonable to suggest that the scope of the tense tonal concord could be the verb phrase (VP) or inflectional phrase (IP). However, both of these syntactic constituents would not only include the preverbal elements and the main verb, but they would also include the direct object. A tree is given below of the following sentence. This sentence is in the far past

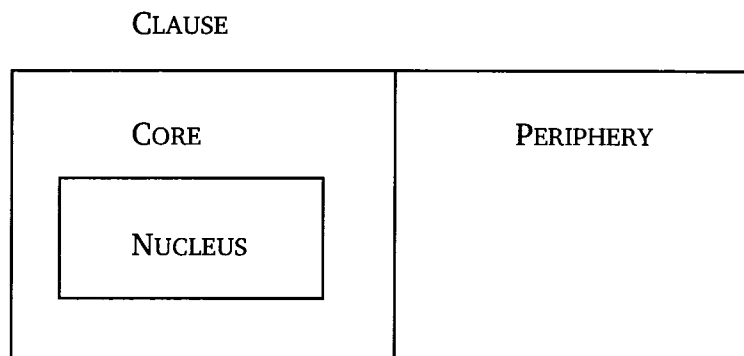
(P2) and does not therefore have tonal concord, but it demonstrates a possible structure of the VP and TP in Kol, illustrating the problem.

- (90) m-ûr á bà lè jí wúl mè kwînt lélú
 m-ûr á bà lè jí wúl mè kwîndè lé-lú
 1-man P2 be IMPF want remove me hook in-head
 'The man wanted to take the hook out of my hair.'

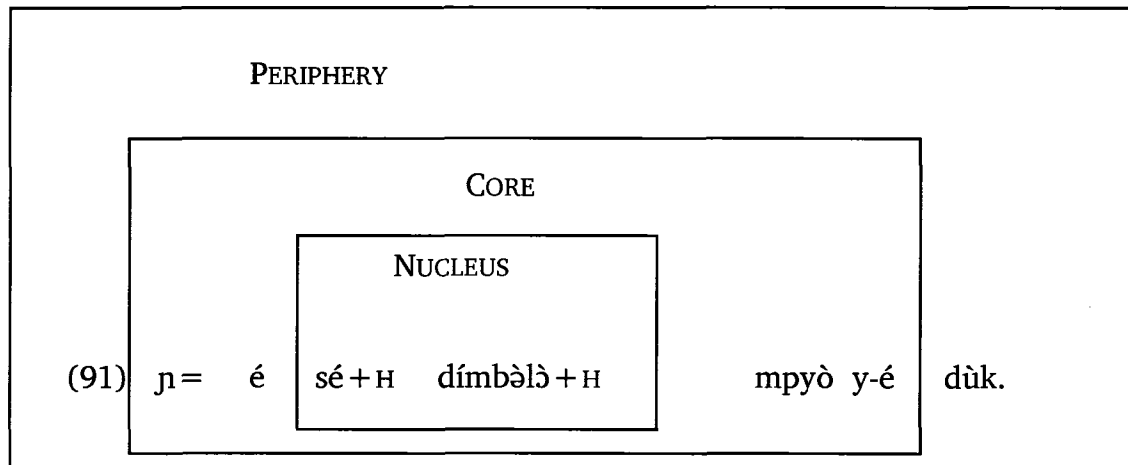


However, not all syntactic theories include a VP (or TP) constituent.

One in fact, argues explicitly against such a constituent. Instead, Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997) offers a layered clause structure, where a clause consists of three elements: the nucleus, the core and the periphery. The nucleus includes only the predating element, the core includes the predicate and its arguments (subject, object, etc.), and adjuncts are found in the periphery.



Since the tense tonal concord has scope over only the verbal sequence and not over any of a verb's arguments (subject or objects), then the tonal concord may be characterized as a H tone which is suffixed to every element of the nucleus as shown below.



(91) n = ì sé dímbàlò mpyó y-é dük.
 ñ = é sè + H òmbàlò + H mpyò y-é düg
 he/she-P1 PERF lose 1-dog 1-his forest
 'He lost his dog in the forest.'

While positing a layered clause structure appears to solve the question of what exactly the scope of the tense tonal concord is, it also raises some other questions. The hypothesis above puts all verbal elements but the initial tense vowel inside the nucleus. Van Valin and LaPolla suggest that certain operators of a clause have scope over different elements of the layered clause structure which may not be compatible with the amount put into the nucleus above. This will be examined in the section below.

3.2 OPERATORS

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:40ff) describe a class of morphemes which they call *operators* which modify the clause. They state that a crucial fact about operators, which include tense, aspect, mode, directional and evidential markers among others, is that different operators modify different parts of the layered clause structure (1997:45).

In a horizontal table below is given the crosslinguistic predictions about operator scope (originally given as a vertical projection).

	Nucleus	Core	Clause
Operators	Aspect	Directionals	Status, negation
	Negation	Modality (root)	Tense
	Directionals	Negation	Evidentials
			Illocutionary force

Table 5.2 Scope of Operators

Compare these predictions above with the verbal template given at the beginning of this chapter below. Here a row has been added at the top which shows which portions of the verbal sequence are predicted to be within the

nucleus according to the tense tonal concord patternings described in the section above.

	Nucleus				
Tense	Tense2	Cop Aux	Asp/Mode	Aux	Verb
é <i>F1</i>	bwó <i>F2</i>	bà 'be'	lè IMPF	kò 'go'	
ó <i>PRES</i>	lwándàbè 'just'	ndé 'be (loc)'	sé PERF	ncè 'come'	
é <i>P1</i>		jì 'be (att)'	mbá COND	nìgò 'return'	
á <i>P2</i>		mé 'be (chg)'			

Table 5.4 Ordering of Kol Verbal Constituents

The aspect markers and the phasal auxiliaries offer no complications.

The phasal (non-copula) auxiliaries have for the most part a directional component ('go, leave,' 'come' or 'go back'). Directionals and aspect markers are predicted to have scope over the nucleus and indeed these appear closest to the verb in the template above.

For the opposite reason, the initial tense slot also fits in with Van Valin and LaPolla's predictions. It is predicted to be clausal, i.e. outside of the nucleus, and that could work with what we know about the tense tonal

concord thus far. The tense vowels in the Tense 1 slot are not necessarily the source of the tense tonal concord, and since they are all marked with an underlying H tone anyway, they do not need to be within the nucleus to explain variations in tonal behavior.

However, the morphemes found in the *Tense2* slot, some modal morphemes in Kol, and certain aspects of negation could be problematic. These will each be discussed below, beginning with the *Tense2* morphemes.

The morphemes *bwó* 'distant future (F2)' and *lwándàbà* 'immediate relative past, or just' are a challenge because Van Valin and LaPolla predict that all tense morphemes function on the clausal level, but at least *lwándàbà* needs to be within the scope of the tense tonal concord to explain its varying tonal behavior in the far past and present tense constructions.

- (92) $\eta = \acute{o}$ lwándá**á**bá bwògá kwàn.
 $\eta = \acute{o}$ lwándá**bà** + H bwòg + H kwàn
 he/she-PRES just harvest 9-honey
 'He just harvested honey.'

- (93) ná tùgá bíz = á lwándàbà bà lê-ncòŋ nè ncàá ŋgà?
 nâ tùg bíz = á lwándàbà bà lé-ncòŋ nè ncà ŋgà
 and be (neg) we-P2 just be LOC-dance with now this
 'Weren't we just as the party now?' (*Perils.77*)

I do not have any solutions to offer to the above conundrum. This will have to be a topic for further research. It is however important to note that these tense morphemes are at the far edge of the verbal template and are relatively new innovations, since they do not have direct correlates (particularly *lwándàbè*) in the closely related neighboring languages. This "edge" confusion may be a result of an incomplete grammaticalization.

Modal morphemes in Kol are all problematic for different issues. Mode can be marked in Kol by auxiliaries, an enclitic or preverbal non-auxiliary words. The modal auxiliaries occur in the non-copula auxiliary slot which puts them firmly within the nucleus according to the tense concord hypothesis above while Van Valin and LaPolla theorize that modality is a core operator. One possible solution to this issue would be to suggest that the modal plus main verb constructions are examples of serial verb constructions. This has some complications of its own and will be discussed in section 3.3 below.

Mode can also be marked by the subjunctive clitic or by modal words like *fǎ* 'subjunctive' and *mbá* 'conditional.' The subjunctive clitic also appears

to occur within the nucleus but this may be an accident of its requirement to be in second position as described above. The modal words *fǎ* and *mbá* offer a potentially more serious complication. In all of my examples of the modal word *hà*, it occurs at the beginning of the verbal sequence. It is after any tense vowel, which is theorized to be at the clausal level, so the subjunctive morpheme could be at the clause level, with the nucleus starting with the main verb in (94) and the consecutive marker in (95). This would however require positing the underlying tone of the subjunctive morpheme as a rising (LH) contour which is relatively rare in Kol as a lexical tone. It would be more common to have the combination of a L lexical tone and a H tense concord tone as would be the case if the subjunctive marker had an underlying L tone and was inside the nucleus and therefore marked with the H tone tense concord, as could happen in (94). However, since this is a relatively minor consideration, I will suggest that the subjunctive marker does have a LH tone and can therefore be theorized to be at the clause level and not at the nucleus level (within the scope of the tonal concord).

- (94) bw = ó hǎ kwìr bá-ṇḍḍṅǎ bóp.
 bwó-ó fǎ kwìr + H bò-ṇḍḍṅǎ b-ób
 they-PRES should help 2-mother their
 'They should help their mothers.' (*Sœur.20*)

- (95) "hǎ kà wú."
 fǎ kà wú
 should CONS exit
 'Come out then.' (*Serpent.34*)

This leaves *mbá*, the conditional marker. This was originally placed within the same position in the template as the aspect markers because it never co-occurs with the aspect markers and it is always directly in front of the phasal auxiliary verb. However, it is also true that it is never preceded by anything but the tense vowels. Therefore, this is not actually a problem for either of the hypotheses above. Since *mbá* is underlyingly H, there is no direct evidence that it falls within the scope of the tense tonal concord.

- (96) myá m = ô twónǵǎlá nê ǵǎ m = ǎ mbá
 myà + H m̃ = ó twòǵǎlò + H nê ǵǎ m̃ = á mbá
 time-RELCL I-PRES think that if I-P2 COND
- kò yè lémədíbé
 kò yè lé-mò-dífb-è
 go die in-6-water-RELCL
 'When I think that I could have died in the water...'

(97)	á	mbá	bè	nò	wúndè	m = à	mbá	dììp	wúndè	fyál
	á	mbá	bè	nò	wúndè	m = á	mbá	dìb	wúndè	fyál
	P2	COND	be	with	window	I-P2	COND	open	window	exit

tón fúndè.

tón fúndò.

outside flee

'If there had been a window, I would have gone out it and fled.'

Finally, there is the question of negation. Negation can appear at any level of the layered clause construction, according to Table 5.2 above, depending on its scope. Of the differing negation strategies in Kol, the negative morpheme *ké* is not problematic because it has limited scope and will fit into the same layer as whatever follows it. However, the sentential negation marked by the negative circumclitic could be an issue for this particular theory. The negative circumclitic definitely has scope over the whole clause and is therefore expected to function on the clause level. However, it is a clitic which is hosted by elements which have been hypothesized to fall within the nucleus.

The solution here may be to fall back on the nature of clitic positioning which frequently has more to do with prosodic concerns than syntax. The

negative circumclitic occurs in second position and any tense concord which appears on the enclitic portion could be theorized to be due to the nucleus position of the host.

Below is a revised table based on the Kol data described above.

	Nucleus	Core	Clause
Operators	Aspect	<i>hǎ</i> subjunctive	<i>á</i> = .. = <i>è</i> negative
	<i>ké</i> negative marker	<i>mbá</i> conditional	Tense
	Phasal auxiliaries	= <i>g</i> subjunctive	

Table 5.5 Scope of Kol Operators

As was mentioned above, this leaves the question of the morphemes found in the *Tense2* slot as a subject for further research.

3.3 SERIAL VERBS

Role and Reference grammar predicts that predicates can be coordinate, subordinate or co-subordinate at any level of the layered structure, i.e. the nucleus, core or clause. Serial verbs are co-subordinate constructions, but they can presumably be co-subordinate at the nucleus or core level.

If *ké* is a nuclear operator as hypothesized above, then the copula + main verb construction cannot be an example of nuclear serialization since it is possible to negate the main verb while leaving the copula in the affirmative as shown below. If *ndé* is an auxiliary providing aspect information, then all three elements, *ndé*, *ké*, and the main verb are all at the level of the nucleus and offer no challenges to the theory.

- (98) m = è ndé ké dùló sìgá ké bà nê jwèl mǎjòk.
 I -P1 be +H NEG +H smoke cigarette NEG be with drink +H 6-wine
 'I neither smoked nor drank.' (*Illness.15*)

However, this same example, is an example of core serialization, since in the example above, each main verb introduces its own complement while also sharing an argument, i.e. the subject. Another example is given below. Here the conditional, theorized to be operating at the core level in Kol, has scope over all three predicates, 'open,' 'exit,' and 'flee.'

- (99) á mbá bà nò wúndè m = à mbá dìip wúndè fyál
 á mbá bà nò wúndè m = á mbá dìb wúndè fyál
 P2 COND be with window I-P2 COND open window exit

 tón fúndè.
 tón fúndò.
 outside flee
 'If there had been a window, I would have gone out it and fled.'

This still leaves the question of modal + verb constructions. These were an issue in the section above because mode is theoretically at least a core level operator and yet the modals are within the scope of tense tonal concord which is a reflex of the nucleus.

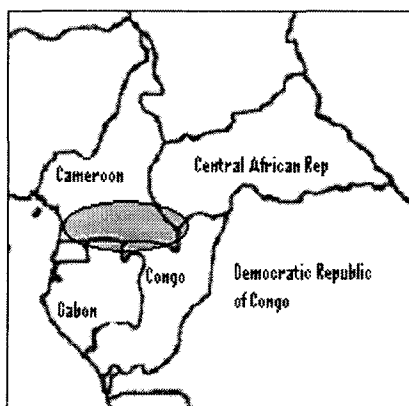
- (100) $bìz = ó$ $jàlànè$ $númp$ $jígèlè$ $bw-ân$.
 $bíz = ó$ $jàlànà + H$ $nûmb + H$ $jîgèlè + H$ $bò-àn$
 we-PRES must know teach 2-child
 'We must teach the children well.'

The modal + verb constructions do not pattern in the same way as the core serialization examples in (98) and (99). The modal auxiliaries do not occur with their own separate constituents and indeed none of the examples in my corpus show any word intruding between the modal verb and the main verb. (This cannot be said for the phasal auxiliaries.) This is what we would expect from nuclear serialization, which would fit in with the tense concord facts, but leaves unexplained the prediction that modality is a core-level operator. This too will have to be a question for further research.

6 Situating Kol within the A.80 language family

The internal cohesion of Guthrie's (1953) A.80 group and its relationship to other Bantu Azone languages has been called into question almost from the beginning. The *Linguistic Survey of the Northern Bantu Borderland* described this group as being 'a most loosely knit and unbalanced conglomeration of languages.' (1956:33)

The Maka-Njem (A.80) language family is located at the intersection of three countries. A.80 languages are found in southeastern Cameroon, in the southwestern tip of the Central African Republic and in northern Congo.



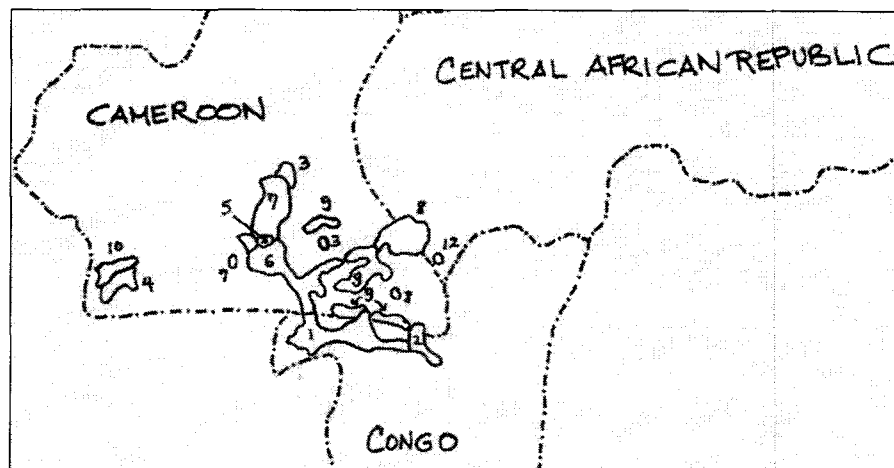
Map 6.1 A.80 languages

Sociolinguistic surveys seem to indicate that there are three language clusters within A.80: the Coastal A.80 languages (Gyele, Kwasio, Ngumba –

A.801-A.81), the Makaa/Kol/Konzime chain (A.83-84), and the eastern A.80 languages (Mpongmpong, Mpyemo, Bekwel – A.85-A.86).

The Gyele-Ngumba-Kwasio cluster is near the southwestern coast of Cameroon and is separated from the other A.80 languages by the A.70 language family. Byep, Makaa, Kol and the subvarieties of Konzime form a second cluster. Finally, a third cluster can be found in eastern Cameroon, north Congo, and southwestern CAR, made up of Mpyemo, Mpongmpong and Bekwel.

1. Bekwel
2. Bomwali
3. Byep
4. Gyele
5. Kol
6. Konzime,
Badwe'e
7. Makaa
8. Mpiemo
9. Mpong-mpong
10. Ngumba,
Kwasio
11. So
12. Ukhwejo



Map 6.2 Members of the A.80 Language Family

The authors of the *Linguistic Atlas of Cameroon* (ALCAM – Dieu and Renard 1983) suggested that this third cluster was actually one language, which they called "mpo." They identified the following speech varieties as

being dialects of "mpo": Mpyemo, Mpompo, Medjime, Bangantou, Konabembe, Boman and Bekwel. The *Ethnologue* (Gordon 2005) identifies Medjime, Bangantou, Konabembe and Boman as all being dialects of Mpongmpong.

It is not clear to which cluster the So, Bomwali and Ukhwejo languages belong, though geographic proximity would suggest that So could be included in the Byep-Makaa-Kol-Konzime cluster, while Ukhwejo and Bomwali could be included with the Mpyemo-Bekwel-Mpongmpong cluster.

There are roughly 300,000 speakers of A.80 languages (Gordon 2005). The languages of the central cluster (the focus of this chapter) have the most speakers, with approximately 140,000 people speaking languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime chain. The eastern cluster is the next largest (with approximately 86,000 speakers), followed by the coastal cluster (with approximately 21,000 speakers).

The people of the central cluster are primarily farmers. They live in a region which is crisscrossed with rivers and streams, so waterways remain a common form of transportation. They also fish and hunt.

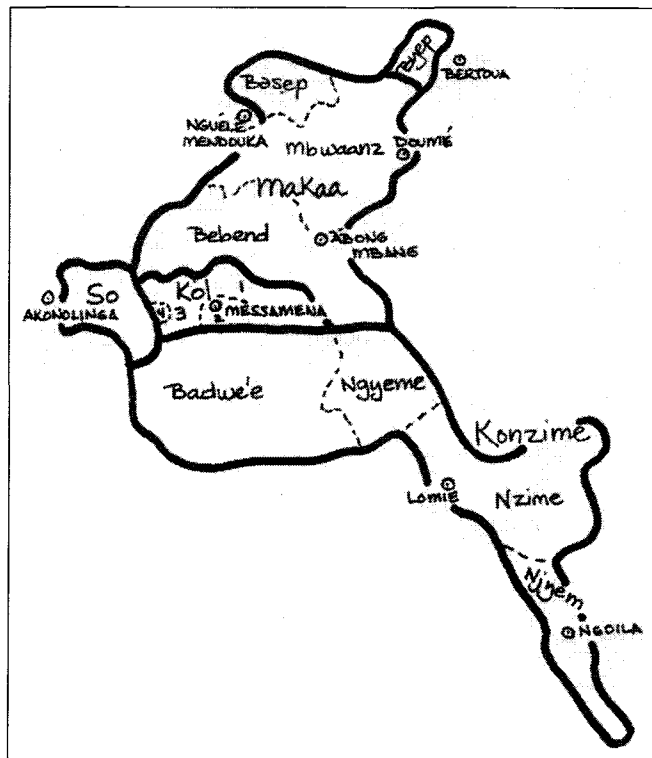
This chapter will examine some of the similarities and differences between several of the languages of the middle cluster: Makaa, Kol, and the Konzime varieties (Nzime, Badwe'e and Njem). Makaa and the Konzime varieties have been the subject of more research than any of the other A.80 languages thus far (by Dan and Teresa Heath for Makaa and by Keith and Mary Beavon for the Konzime varieties). The data given for Kol is taken from my own research.

1 Sociolinguistic Situation

The sociolinguistic situation of the A.80 languages is complicated by the proliferation of dialects within languages. Just looking at the second cluster, the focus of this paper, it is important to note that Kol, Makaa and Konzime each have at least four dialects.

Language development projects for Kol and Makaa have each decided to focus their efforts on one dialect. For Makaa, this dialect is Mbwaanz. Mbwaanz was chosen because it is spoken by the largest number of Makaa speakers (almost half the total population), it is understood by speakers of all the other dialects, and it is geographically central (Heath and Heath 1982:1).

With respect to Kol, the dialect chosen for development is also the central dialect, labeled with the number 3 on the map below. Kol informants reported that speakers of the central dialect spoke "good" Kol that was easy to understand and avoided mixing with Makaa or Badwe'e. For the Konzime varieties, Nzime and Badwe'e have both been developed (that is to say they each have an official alphabet, literacy classes, and literature – including New Testaments), and plans are underway to develop Njyem.



Map 6.3 The central A.80 languages

A series of surveys in eastern Cameroon were undertaken in 1988 and 1989 by SIL. Surveyors collected Swadesh 100 word-lists and looked at the percentage of similar lexical items between particular members of the A.80 language family. In the following table, the levels of lexical similarity between certain languages are given. This table summarizes the results given in several different survey reports. Surveyors compared the central cluster languages Makaa, Kol and Byep with each other, while Mpyemo was compared to the neighboring languages of Nzime and Mpongmpong (Johnson 1989, Etter 1988, Beavon and Johnson 1989).

	Makaa	Kol	Nzime	Mpongmpong
Kol	86%			
Byep	76%	73.5%		
Mpyemo			73.5%	77.5%

Table 6.1 Levels of lexical similarity

In addition, during the course of the sociolinguistic surveys, texts were recorded and played for speakers of neighboring languages to try to determine the levels of mutual intelligibility. (This is known as recorded text testing, or RTT. Methodology for such testing is described in Casad 1974.)

The chart below summarizes the RTT results. The number in angled brackets is the standard deviation. All of the standard deviation numbers given are relatively high, suggesting that some subjects performed better on the test due to exposure to the tested language.

Again, some cells in the table are blank because surveyors compared the central cluster languages Makaa, Kol and Byep with each other, while Mpyemo was compared to the neighboring languages of Nzime and Mpongmpong (Johnson 1989, Etter 1988, Beavon and Johnson 1989).

	Makaa	Badwe'e	Kol	Nzime	Mpongmpong
Kol	87% < 15 >	82% < 14 >			
Byep	51%		38.5%		
Mpyemo				22.1% < 25 >	86.8% < 21 >

Table 6.2 Summary of RTT results

While the levels of lexical similarity seem to be relatively high for all of the examined languages, the RTT results show a much broader variation in comprehension levels. The most interesting numbers are those for Mpyemo. While the levels of lexical similarity are only slightly higher between Mpyemo

and Mpongmpong than between Mpyemo and Nzime, the RTT results show more variation. Speakers of Mpyemo understood much more of the Mpongmpong story than they did of the Nzime story.

It is important to note though that lexicostatistics and recorded text testing can only give indications as to what the levels of mutual intelligibility and bilingualism might be. They are not a substitute for in-depth comparative linguistic research.

Interviews with speakers of the central cluster languages suggest that these languages, at least, could be considered to form a dialect chain. Kol speakers report that their language is closest to Makaa (specifically the Bəbɛnd dialect which borders them to the north) and Badwe'e, one of the Konzime/Njem subvarieties, which borders them to the south and east. Makaa speakers agree that Kol is understood by Bəbɛnd speakers and also report that speakers of a northern Makaa dialect, Besəp, can understand Byep, the language bordering them to the north (Heath 2003a:335).

2 Phonology

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime chain are very similar in their syllable inventories but differ with respect to their phonemic inventories (sections 2.2 and 2.3 below). With respect to tone, while these languages are similar in their inventories, they differ with respect to the ways in which tones interact. See section 2.4 for a comparison of the tone rules present in these languages.

The data in this section is a summary of the information found in *Makaa* (A.83) (Heath 2003a), *A Phonology of the M̐kaá Language* (Heath and Heath 1982), *A Phonology of Konzime* (Beavon 1983a), and *A Phonology of Njyem* (Beavon 2005). The latter also includes a fair amount of information on Badwe'e. Further information on Badwe'e has been gleaned from *K̐onzime Verbal System* (Beavon 1991). The information on Kol is taken from my own fieldwork, as well as from the research of Fokou Tamafo (2004a).

2.1 SYLLABLE SHAPES

The Makaa, Kol and Konzime languages have similar syllable inventories. They all allow V, CV and CVC syllables (Heath 2003a, Beavon

1983a, Beavon 2005). In addition, these languages all have a high percentage of monosyllabic words. This is primarily a result of two different phenomena. On the one hand, preverbal elements are independent words or clitics and not a series of prefixes. This will be described below in section 4.1.

Additionally, languages of this group have consistently lost the final vowels of stems. For nouns, this final vowel was part of the root, while for verbs, the final vowel was an inflectional morpheme indicating tense and aspect information. The loss of this final vowel has resulted in many monosyllabic reflexes of historically disyllabic stems. It has also meant that closed syllables are common, while for many Bantu languages they are rare. In the chart below, the ProtoBantu verbal roots are generally considered to be bound, appearing with a required final vowel. The A.80 words given do not require any suffixes. For more information on diachronic changes in Kol, see chapter 7.

				Konzime		
Gloss	*PB	Makaa	Kol	Nzime	Badwe'e	Njyem
'five'	*táano	tòon	tón	tên	tân	tên
'chase'	*beng	wííng	wîng	e-pîm		
'winnow'	*pépet	fyàf	fyàb	e-pyèb		

Table 6.3 Some cognates in ProtoBantu, Makaa, Kol and Konzime

2.2 VOWEL INVENTORIES

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime chain share the vowels shown in the table below. Languages vary slightly in the phonemic status of this subset (with respect to {ə, ɔ}), and none of the languages have only this subset. Vowel length is phonemic for all of the languages in this cluster.

i		u
e	ə	o
ɛ	a	ɔ

Table 6.4 Common Vowel Phonemes

The Kol language has the smallest vowel inventory. It adds a high central vowel [ɨ] to its vowel inventory. It remains unclear though whether [ɨ] is only an allophone of [e] or whether it is a phoneme in its own right. [ə]

is used as the epenthetic vowel wherever two consonants would meet across morpheme boundaries.

i	ɨ	u
e	ə	o
ɛ	a	ɔ

Table 6.5 Kol Vowel Inventory

Makaa also adds a high central vowel to its phonemic inventory.

However, it is a rounded one, i.e. [ɯ]. This is the epenthetic vowel in Makaa.

While Makaa has phonetically a difference between [o] and [ɔ], these two vowels are in free variation for at least the reference dialect. Makaa also has a front high lax vowel [ɪ], though it lacks a back lax vowel. Additionally, Makaa is unique in that it has a phonemic contrast in the high-mid vowels between nasal and oral vowels, that is between [e] and [ẽ] and between [o] and [õ] (Heath 2005).

ɨ	ɯ	u
ɪ		
e ẽ	ə	o / ɔ õ
ɛ	a	

Table 6.6 Makaa Vowel Inventory

The Konzime/Njem subvarieties are unique in that they all have front rounded vowels, but they vary as to which vowels they have. Nzime has the most, with three front rounded vowels. Badwe'e has two, and Njyem has one.

The Nzime dialect has the most vowels of any of the languages of this chain, with 12 vocalic phonemes. It has high lax vowels ([ɪ] and [ʊ]), as well as the three rounded vowels mentioned above. The schwa is used as the epenthetic vowel, but it is not considered to be a phoneme. However, unlike Makaa and Kol, it does not have a high central vowel. Nor is nasalization phonemic. Nzime requires that its stems be harmonic with respect to their vowels. Stems may either have all [+back] vowels or all [-back] vowels. The low central vowel [a] is neutral and may occur with either [+back] vowels or [-back] vowels (Beavon 1983a).

i	y		u
ɪ	ʏ		ʊ
e	ø	(ə)	o
ɛ		a	ɔ

Table 6.7 Nzime Vowel Inventory

Badwe'e also has 12 vocalic phonemes. Its vocalic inventory is almost identical to Nzime's, but its third front rounded vowel is a lower-mid rounded vowel instead of a higher-mid rounded vowel.

i	y		u
ɪ	ʏ		ʊ
e			o
ɛ	œ	a	ɔ

Table 6.8 Badwe'e Vowel Inventory

In contrast, Njyem has high lax vowels but no high central vowel. It only has one front rounded phoneme. There are other front rounded allophones, but they can all be analyzed as the combination of the unrounded front vocalic phoneme plus [w], while [ø] contrasts with a sequence of [w] plus [e]. (Beavon 2005:6)

i			u
ɪ			ʊ
e	ø	(ə)	o
ɛ		a	ɔ

Table 6.9 Njyem Vowel Inventory

2.3 CONSONANT INVENTORIES

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime cluster also differ in the consonantal inventory. They all share the consonants shown in the chart below.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	labio-velar
stops	b	t d	c j	k g	kp
nasals	m	n	ɲ		
fricatives		s z			
lateral		l			
semi-vowels	w		y		

Table 6.10 Common set of Consonants

Researchers working in this cluster continue to debate as to whether a nasal followed by an oral consonant at the same point of articulation are one unit or two. Heath and Heath (1982) have decided that Makaa has prenasalized stops (nasal + consonant = one unit) while Beavon (1983a) has decided that Konzime has homorganic nasal consonant clusters.

Additionally, researchers debate as to the status of glides (or semi-vowels). Beavon (1983a) and Henson (chapter 2 this volume) have argued

that glides are underlyingly vowels, while Heath and Heath (1982) argue that the glides are underlyingly consonants. The Heaths point out for Makaa that the glides do not contribute any tonal information and that analyzing them as vowels would result in an extra-long nucleus of 3 moras in some cases.

The languages of the central cluster also all share a weakening process. In Makaa, Kol and Nzime, voiced consonants become voiceless at the end of a word. It is also common for /d/ to be weakened to [r] at the end of a word. In Nzime, this weakening process for /d/ may also occur intervocally, and is paralleled for /s/ and /k/, with /s/ weakening to [h] and /k/ to [ʔ]. (Beavon 1983a)

Below are a series of charts showing the phonetic inventories for languages of this middle cluster. As was the case for vowels, the status of particular consonants may differ from language to language. This will be noted where pertinent.

In general, it is interesting to note that languages in this cluster vary widely in their fricative subset. Makaa has the most with seven, followed by Kol with six, and Badwe'e with three, possibly four.

Glottal consonants are also analyzed quite differently (on a phonological level) from language to language. Almost all of the languages in the central cluster (Konzime is the only exception) have a /h/, but in Makaa and Kol, this sound has been listed in the velar column since there is no separate velar fricative, nor are there other glottal consonants. Badwe'e is the only language of the cluster to have the glottal stop as a separate phoneme, though Njyem has the glottal stop as an allophone of /k/.

The first chart, given below, shows the consonant inventory of Makaa.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	labio-velar
stops	b	t d	c j	k g	kp
prenasalized stops	mp mb	nt nd	nc nj	ñk ñg	
nasals	m	n	ny	ñ	
fricatives	f v	s z	sh [ʃ] zh [ʒ]	h	
lateral		l			
semi-vowels	w	y			

Table 6.11 Makaa Consonant Inventory

The consonant inventory of Kol is given below. The consonants /p/ and /v/ in Kol have a questionable phonemic status. As independent consonants (i.e. not preceded by a nasal) they are only found in borrowings and ideophones. This has been one of the pieces of evidence used to suggest that /mp/ is a single phonemic unit, since there is minimal evidence for /p/ as a phoneme on its own.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	labio-velar
stops	(p) b	t d	c j	k g	kp
prenasalized stops	mp mb	nt nd	nc nj	ŋk ŋg	ŋkp ŋgb
nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
fricatives	f (v)	s	ʃ		
lateral		l			
semi-vowels	w	r	y		

Table 6.12 Kol Consonant Inventory

Beavon (1991:67) notes that the epenthetic consonant in Badwe'e is /w/. Additionally, /r/ may be an allophone of /d/ and not a separate

phoneme. As was noted for Kol, /v/ appears to be of questionable phonemic status in Badwe'e.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	labio-velar	glottal
stops	p b	t d	c j	k g	kp gb	'
prenasal. stops						
nasals	m	n		ŋ	ŋm	
fricatives	f (v)	s z				h
lateral		l				
approx.		r	y		w	

Table 6.13 Badwe'e Consonant Inventory

In contrast to Badwe'e, Beavon (1991:67) notes that the epenthetic consonant is /b/ in Nzime. Also, he suggests that [ɲ] and [ŋ] may be allophones of a single phoneme. As was noted for Badwe'e above, /r/ may be an allophone of /d/ and not a separate phoneme.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	labio-velar
stops	p b	t d	c j	k g	kp gb
prenasalized stops					
nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	ŋm
fricatives		s z			
lateral		l			
approx		r	y	w	

Table 6.14 Nzime Consonant Inventory

Below is the consonant inventory for Njyem. Beavon (2005:12-15)

notes that /d/ becomes [r] at the end of a word, thus [r] is considered to be allophonic and not a separate phoneme. /ts/ and /dz/ become palatalized (becoming the alveo-palatal fricatives) before a high vowel or the palatal glide, as does /s/. /k/ becomes the glottal stop word-medially and word-finally. /w/ becomes [y] or [ɣ] by fusing with [i] or [ɪ]. If there is no fusion, before front vowels, it becomes a labio-palatal glide.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal	labio-velar
stops	p b	t d	c = ts ɟ = dz	k g		kp gb
prenasalized stops						
nasals	m	n	ɲ			
fricatives	f	s			h	
lateral		l				
approx	w		j			

Table 6.15 Njyem Consonant Inventory

2.4 TONOLOGY

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime language chain all have underlyingly two tone systems, with high (H) and low (L) tones. These languages have both lexical and grammatical tones. These tones may be underlyingly associated with a tone bearing unit, or alternatively, be left unassociated, or floating.

Floating low tones are found in at least two different grammatical contexts. They have most likely arisen due to the loss of vowels. Floating low tones may mark noun class membership, as they do in Makaa. Noun class

prefixes for classes 3 and 7 in Makaa are both marked by a floating low tone, where historically these are reconstructed as segmental prefixes, *mʊ- for class 3 and *kɪ- for class 7. Beavon (1991) notes that for Badwe'e, the floating L tones marking noun classes may remain unassociated. (See Table 6.18 in section 3 below for examples of noun class prefixes.)

Finally, a floating L tone may mark tense, as it does in Makaa, Nzime and Badwe'e where the recent past tense marker is a floating low tone (plus a segmental marker in Makaa).

Floating H tones are also found in at least two additional grammatical contexts. For certain noun classes, concord in an associative phrase is marked by a floating H tone. For both Makaa and Kol, classes 3 and 7 mark their concord with a floating H. This can be seen by the change in the tone of the noun class prefix of the second member of the associative phrase. Below are examples from Kol.

- | | | | |
|-----|-----|----------------|----------------|
| (1) | (a) | ncùg | módííbó |
| | | ncùg | H-mò-dííbó |
| | | 7-elephant | 7ASSOC-6-water |
| | | 'hippopotamus' | |

(b)	mbì	mélòp
	mbì	H-mè-lòb
	3-sort, type	3ASSOC-4-problem
	'sort of problems'	

Tenses may also be marked by a floating H tone. A floating H functions as the present tense marker in Makaa, Nzime and Badwe'e. In addition to post-subject tense markers, in Makaa and Kol all tenses but the distant past are marked with a tonal contour. For both of these languages, this tonal contour includes a floating H tone suffix after each word in the verbal sequence.

Below is a chart illustrating which Makaa tenses have this H tone suffix (named the Macrostem H, or MacH, in Heath and Heath 1995).

Tense	Affirmative			Negative		
	tense ⁸	clause mkr	MacH?	tense	clause mkr	MacH?
P2	<i>a + H</i>		no	<i>a + H</i>	<i>shígé</i>	yes
P1	<i>ámà</i>		yes		<i>shígé</i>	yes
PRES	<i>H</i>		yes		<i>a-L + H + -é</i>	yes
F1	<i>e + H</i>		yes		<i>a-H + + -è</i>	yes
F2		<i>bá</i>	yes		<i>àbùlè</i>	yes

Table 6.16 Makaa Absolute Tenses in the Indicative Mood

In Konzime, this H tone marking tense concord is different from the other floating tones in that it is a replacive H. That is to say, it can replace a preceding L tone, instead of creating a tonal contour.

Makaa and Kol have downstep (Heath & Heath 1995, chapter 2 this volume) while Nzime does not have downstep or downdrift (Beavon 1982). Njyem has surface mid tones which are formed by the interaction of high and low tones (Beavon 2005:42,45). Nzime's lack of downstep or downdrift can be explained in part by its Macrostem H tone being a replacive H. By having this floating H replace a preceding L, the environment for downstep, or midtones (as in Njyem) is bled.

⁸ The high tone occurring in the tense marker might look like a Macrostem High tone reanalyzed to occur before the Macrostem as well as after each morpheme in the Macrostem. But this tone is not realized in the same way as the Macrostem High, and it occurs in P2 whereas the Macrostem does not.

When discussing the tonal system of these languages, it is worth mentioning that Makaa, Badwe'e and Njyem all have a small set of toneless verbs. There is currently no conclusive evidence as to whether the Kol cognate verbs are toneless or have an underlying low tone. In the absence of such evidence, they have been analyzed as low tone verbs.

Makaa <i>(Heath 2003a)</i>	Kol	Badwe'e <i>(Beavon 1991)</i>	Njyem <i>(Beavon 2005)</i>
	bò 'be'	be 'be at'	
zə 'come'	ncò 'come'	ze 'come'	nsye 'come'
yə 'die'	yò 'die'	jwe 'die'	jwe 'die'
yə 'give'	yò 'give'	jwe 'give'	je 'give'
də 'eat'	dò 'eat'	de 'eat'	
		cwe 'stumble'	
kə 'go'	kò 'go'		

Table 6.17 Toneless verbs

Beavon (1997:01) notes that: "By positing a toneless lexical form for these verbs, one is able to account for why their surface forms are low in the remote past tense but high in the recent past."

Finally, there is a common general oddity in both Makaa and Badwe'e, which is the tonal stability of the morpheme meaning 'with' (*e* or *le*). It has a

lexical low tone which is never replaced by the replacive H tones of verbal constructions (Beavon 1991:54).

3 Nominal morphosyntax

Central A.80 languages resemble each other in their noun class, pronominal systems, and relative clause constructions. Data referred to in this section may be found in *Makaa* (A.83) (Heath 2003a,b), *Anaphora, Pronouns and Reference in Konzime* (Beavon 1986), and *The relative clause in Konzime* (Beavon nd). The Kol data comes from my own research, and additional information may be found in chapter 3 of this study.

3.1 NOUN CLASSES

Central A.80 languages are typical Bantu languages in that they do have noun classes. However, they are similar to each other (and contrast with other Bantu languages of eastern and southern Africa) in that they have relatively few noun classes (ten) and a number of these noun classes are zero-marked or marked only by a floating tone. For example, Lingala has three more noun classes (11, 14 and 15), Swahili has six more (11, 14-18), and

Cinsanga has seven more (12-18) (Meeuwis 1998, Mohammed 2001, Miti 2001).

Class	PB	Makaa	Kol	Nzime
1	*mo-	<i>mù-ùd</i> 'person' <i>n-jòŋ</i> 'stranger' <i>Ø-kâm</i> 'monkey'	<i>mw-àrá</i> 'woman' <i>m-ùd</i> 'man, person' <i>Ø-kól</i> 'sister'	<i>m-ur</i> 'person' <i>n-jwéela</i> 'guard' <i>Ø-céme</i> 'monkey' <i>a-bu</i> 'pipe'
2	*ba-	<i>bù-ùd</i> 'people' <i>ò-jòŋ</i> 'strangers' <i>ò-kâm</i> 'monkeys' <i>w-àcéncénî</i> 'stars'	<i>bw-àrá</i> 'women' <i>bw-ur</i> 'men, people' <i>bò-kól</i> 'sisters'	<i>b-ur</i> 'people' <i>o-jwéela</i> 'guards' <i>o-céme</i> 'monkey's' <i>ba-abu</i> 'pipe'
3	*mo-	<i>L-lâm</i> 'heart'	<i>Ø-mbîl</i> 'hole'	<i>Ø-ku</i> 'hole'
4	*me-	<i>mî-lâm</i> 'hearts'	<i>mè-mbîl</i> 'holes'	<i>mi-ku</i> 'holes'
5	*i-	<i>Ø-lùùn</i> 'hole' <i>d-ánd</i> 'home village' <i>j-wôw</i> 'day'	<i>è-bùrà</i> 'sweet potato' <i>Ø-kù</i> 'foot' <i>dw-ób</i> 'day'	<i>e-bura</i> 'sw.potato' <i>Ø</i> <i>ḏuo</i> 'day'
6	*ma-	<i>mà-lùùn</i> 'holes' <i>m-ánd</i> 'home villages' <i>m-wôw</i> 'days'	<i>mò-bùrà</i> 'sweet potatoes' <i>mò-kwád</i> 'villages' <i>m-ób</i> 'days'	<i>me-bura</i> 'sw.potato' <i>me-kwár</i> 'villages' <i>múo</i> 'days'
7	*ke-	<i>L-ká</i> 'leaf'	<i>Ø-kág</i> 'child' <i>Ø-bùmó</i> 'fruit'	<i>L-ká</i> 'leaf' <i>bumó</i> 'fruit'
8	*bi-	<i>ì-ká</i> 'leaves'	<i>bè-kág</i> 'children'	<i>bi-ká</i> 'leaves'
9	*n-	<i>Ø-fà</i> 'machete'	<i>Ø-kwád</i> 'village'	<i>m-pumó</i> 'fruits' <i>Ø-kwár</i> 'village'
10	*n-	<i>m-pùmá</i> 'seed'	<i>m-pùmó</i> 'fruits'	<i>o-luŋ</i> 'ladder'

Table 6.18 Noun classes in Makaa, Kol and Konzime

Nzime may actually have one more noun class than Kol and Makaa.

The nouns which are found in its noun class 10 (according to Beavon and Beavon 1995) are marked quite differently from class 10 nouns in Makaa and Kol, where class 10 nouns are marked with a nasal prefix that triggers devoicing. (Compare 'fruit' for Kol and 'seed' for Makaa in class 7 with the plural in class 10.) The related word in Nzime is listed as a class 9 noun. In Beavon (1986:169), he lists these same nouns as belonging to a class 11/14, so named because its members come from proto-Bantu class 11 and proto-Bantu class 14.

Additionally, Heath and Beavon have both noticed reflexes from the Proto-Bantu locative classes in Makaa and Konzime, respectively. Heath (p.c.) has noted that certain locative nouns have idiosyncratic relative clause concord markers. Beavon (1983) noted that the Nzime dialect of Konzime has a locative noun *kwá* which could include the locative class (class 17) prefix *ko-*.

3.2 PRONOUNS

The central A.80 languages differ in whether or not their subject markers are agreement markers or pronouns (as will be discussed in section

4.2), but they make similar distinctions between 1st person plural inclusive, exclusive or dual. Additionally, the shapes of many of the subject markers are similar. Kol subject pronouns are clitics, as was described in chapter 3. Makaa subject markers form a prosodic unit with the following tense vowel, suggesting that they too are clitics.

(2) /mə ə kə/ → [mə kə]
 I P2 go
 'I went.' (Heath 2003b:3)

Below is a chart showing subject markers in Makaa, Kol and Konzime.

	Makaa		Kol		Nzime	
Subj	Sing	Pl	Sing	Pl	Sing	Pl
1 st p. excl.	mə	sə	mə	bizó	me	bis
incl.		shé		bizá		mína
dual incl.		shwə		ncwə		mína gá
2 nd person	wò	bí	wò	bè	go	bìn
3 rd person	nyə/ à ⁹	bwó	ɲə	bwó	ɲè	bé
3/4	í	mí	w-	myə	wé	myé
5/6	í	í	dwó	mwə	lé	mé
7/8	í	í	i-, jwò	byò	yé	byé
9/10	í	í	ɲò	bwò	ɲè	ɲè
11/14	--	--	--	--	wé	--

Table 6.19 Subject markers in Makaa, Kol and Konzime

Below is a table giving the object markers for Kol and Makaa. Kol does not allow object agreement, so all of the morphemes below are independent object pronouns which can only appear post-verbally. Makaa has limited object agreement (see section 4.2.2).

⁹ "nyə indicates a change in action or subject; à indicates continuing action and same subject as the previous clause. nyə is always used before vowels, and to introduce reported speech. nyə becomes *ma* when occurring in non-narrative affirmative sentences and before a morpheme beginning with a consonant." (Heath 2003)

	Kol		Makaa			Nzime	
Object	Pron		Pron		Agr	Pron	
	Sing	Pl	Sing	Pl	Sing	Sing	Pl
1 st p. excl.	mə	bìzò	m-ə	s-ə	m-ə	me	bìs
incl.		bìzá		sh-é			mìna
dual incl.		ncwə		shw-ə			mìna gá
2 nd person	wò	bè	wò	bí	wò	go	bìn
3 rd person	ɲə	bwó	ny-ə	bw-ə	è	ɲè	bé
3/4	w-	myə	w-ə	my-ə		wé	myé
5/6	dwó	mwə	dw-ə	mw-ə		lé	mé
7/8	jwò	byò	gw-ə	by-ə		yé	byé
9/10	ɲò	bwò	nyw-ə	nyw-ə		ɲè	ɲè
11/14	--	--	--	--		wé	--

Table 6.20 Object markers in Makaa, Kol and Nzime

3.3 RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses in Kol, Makaa and Nzime resemble each other in that they have a H tone boundary marker on the left and a segmental marker on the right. However, the right boundary markers in Makaa and Nzime agree with the head noun, while it is invariable in Kol. The Kol markers are enclitics, as was discussed in chapter 3.

Class	Makaa	Nzime	Kol
1	yɛ	ɲá	=è
2	wá	bá	=è
3	yí	wí	=è
4	mýa	mí	=è
5	yí	lí	=è
6	má	má	=è
7	yí	yí	=è
8	yí	bí	=è
9/10	yí	ɲí	=è
11/14	--	wí	--

Table 6.21 Relative Clause Markers in Makaa, Kol and Nzime

- (3) mǝ̀ bǝ̀l cǝ̀el b-ǝ̀ŋ b-wǝ̀ ɗǝ̀ bǝ̀l sǝ̀y wǝ̀
 I lot H want 2-those 2-they HAB H lot H work REL MKR
Mǝ̀ bǝ̀l ǝ̀ cǝ̀el bǝ̀ŋ bwǝ̀ ɗǝ̀ bǝ̀l sǝ̀y wǝ̀. 'I admire those who work hard.'

- (4) ɲǝ̀ jǝ̀ m-ǝ̀r ndé lê ðǝ̀bǝ̀ mǝ̀-kwǝ̀nd = è.
 ɲǝ̀ = jǝ̀ m-ǝ̀r H + ndé lè ðǝ̀b mǝ̀-kwǝ̀nd = è
 he/she be (att) 1-person RELCL-be (loc) IMPF fish 4-hook-RELCL
 'He is someone who fishes with hooks.'

- (5) bǝ̀y-ðǝ̀ŋǝ̀ m = á tǝ̀r ɲ^wǝ̀ŋ = é
 bǝ̀-ðǝ̀ŋǝ̀ H + m = á tǝ̀r ɲ^wǝ̀ŋ = è
 8-DEF RELCL-I-P2 first take-RELCL
 '...what I first took....' (*Perils*.34)

Beavon (nd:27-28) notes that in Nzime it is also possible to find an uninflected (invariable) relative marker at the right boundary of relative clauses, i.e. *í*. It is also possible, and indeed more frequent, to find the demonstrative *nĩ* 'that.' Beavon also notes that in Badwe'e, it is very common to have an invariable relative pronoun, which in this language is *ê*. This is extremely similar to the situation in Kol.

Additionally, in Makaa, the verbal contour also changes, in that an additional H tone is added to the first verbal element within the relative clause. This may be seen in (6) where the habitual marker hosts a H tone, though it is underlyingly marked with a low tone.

- (6) *mə* *bùl* *cèèl* *b-àng* *b-wó* *đũ* *bùl* *sêy* *wá*
 I lot H want 2-those 2-they HAB H lot H work REL MKR
Mə *bùl* *ũ* *cèèl* *bàng* *bwó* *đũ* *bùlũ* *sêy* *wá*. 'I admire those who work hard.'

Makaa also has a special locative marker which is hosted (or affixed) to the relative clause marker whenever the head noun of the relative clause is a location. An example of this may be seen below.

- (7) *L-njaw* *mə* *ngə* *jì-sə* *yí* -d
 C3-house I PROG C3-STATIVE C3-REL MKR LOCATIVE SUFFIX
Njaw *mə* *ngə* *jì* *yíd*... 'The house where I stay...'

Kol does not have a similar suffix. Locative head nouns do not trigger any special marking on the right edge of the relative clause.

- (8) búŋ m = á b = è.
 bùŋ H + mǝ = á bǝ = è
 place RELCL-I-P2 be-RELCL
 '...where I was.' (*Perils*.94)

Nzime does not have such a suffix either. However, if a locative becomes the head of a relative clause, a resumptive pronoun is required within the relative clause (Beavon nd:28).

- (9) dímé nkwâl á bè tik lí
 5-raphia.tree snail P2 be in-it 5RELCL
 'the raphia tree the snail was in'

4 Verbal morphosyntax

The languages of the central cluster, i.e. Makaa, Kol and the Konzime varieties, have a number of morphosyntactic similarities and differences in their verbal systems. They all have a loosely bound verbal sequence which contrasts to that which is seen in central, eastern and southern Bantu languages. These languages differ though in their subject and object agreement systems, or lack of said. In addition, while they make similar

distinctions in their tense, aspect and mood (TAM) systems, the syntax of particular constructions can be quite different. I will specifically discuss imperfective, habitual and negative constructions. I will also point out some differences in the number and function of copula verbs in the languages of this central cluster. Finally, Makaa and Kol are similar in that they have a reduced set of verbal derivational suffixes (or extensions) with, in the case of Kol, very limited productivity.

The Makaa data is primarily taken from two articles, a grammar sketch by Teresa Heath in *The Bantu Languages* (Nurse and Philippson 2003) and an article on the Tense and Aspect system of Makaa by Daniel Heath in *Tense and aspect of eight languages of Cameroon* (Anderson and Comrie 1990). The Badwe'e data is taken from an article on the Kɔɔzime verbal system in the same book by Keith H. Beavon. The Kol data is from my own field work. I am unaware of any in-depth published work on the verbal system of Nzime, though some information can be gleaned from an article published on the discourse structure of Nzime (Beavon 1984).

4.1 LOOSELY BOUND VERBAL SEQUENCE

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime cluster are similar in that what would correspond to a single word in many Bantu languages (prefixes + verbal root + suffixes) can be analyzed as a sequence of independent words. Evidence for this in Kol was given in chapters 4 and 5.

However, they differ in the specific nature of the verbal sequence. Makaa and Kol are very templatic in nature, with similar internal structures. Konzime is also analytic but differs quite a bit from Makaa and Kol in the ordering of its preverbal elements. These differences will be discussed in more detail in sections 2.2.4-2.2.6 below, dealing with negative, imperfective and habitual constructions, respectively.

Heath and Heath, in their work on Makaa, have found it helpful to separate the verbal sequence into two parts: the Inflection and the Macrostem. Below is a chart for Makaa (Heath 2003a:343) showing what may occur in the Inflection vs. the Macrostem.

Inflection		Macrostem				
subject mkr	tense mkr	clause mkr*	aspect mkr*	adverb and/or auxiliary*	object mkr	STEM*
						radical + extension(s)
		*An inflectional clitic may be added to whatever morpheme occurs first in the Macrostem				

Table 6.22 The Makaa verb

As can be seen above, the Inflection consists of the subject and the tense markers. The Macrostem consists of the verb stem (root plus any suffixes) and any other preverbal markers that may be present. These other markers may be clause markers (a counter-assertive marker or distant future marker), aspect markers, adverbs or auxiliaries.

As was noted in chapter 5, there are two primary forms of evidence which have been used to justify this division. One is that a division into Inflection and Macrostem helps to account for the positioning of certain morphemes, namely the subjunctive marker¹⁰ and sentential negation clitic which may be hosted by the first element of the Macrostem, whatever that

¹⁰ Beavon states that "no formally distinct subjunctive mood exists" for Badwe'e (Beavon 1990:91). However, the imperative and hortative share the same marker -g, although they differ in their tonal contours. It is this common morpheme which I am calling the subjunctive marker. The same is true for Makaa.

may be, as shown by the chart above. The other piece of evidence is the behavior (or positioning) of suffixal tones which mark certain tense contours. I argue for Kol, however, in chapter 5 that it is not necessary to divide the verbal sequence into these two elements but that the relevant data can be accounted for by turning to the notion of *second position* and a *tense tonal concord* whose scope is the nucleus of the clause.

Makaa resembles Kol in the behavior of its subjunctive marker, which marks both hortative and imperative constructions. This subjunctive marker may be hosted by the first element of the Macrostem. If the verb stem is the only element in the Macrostem, the subjunctive suffix will be affixed to that. However, if there is another element which precedes the main verb, it then becomes the host, as illustrated by the distant future marker (in the "clause marker" slot) in Makaa, as shown in the example below (Heath 2003b:22).

- (9) bə -g -a cal mə-ləndu
 H H H L H L-HH
 F2 IMP PL MacH cut MacH C6-palm tree
 Bəgá cəl mələndu. '(You PL) will cut down the palm trees!'

In Badwe'e, the subjunctive suffix may appear on an auxiliary, suggesting that the suffix also appears on the first word of the Macrostem,

whatever that may be (Beavon 1990:95-96). Both examples given, one in the imperative and one in the hortative, show the same auxiliary verb *dì* 'stay.'

Makaa and Kol also have very similar negative circumclitics, which appear on the first element of the verbal sequence. They differ in this respect though with Badwe'e. (These differences will be discussed in section 2.2.4 below.) Heath (2003a:345-6) reports that the negative circumclitic is hosted by a fixed form in the past tenses, by the distant future clause marker in the distant future, or by the first word in the Macrostem in the present and future. This positioning is identical to what was seen in Kol. Below are examples from Makaa.

- (10) Mə a- cal -ε mə-ləndu
 L L LH H H L HH
 I NEG cut + NEG NEG MacH C6-palm tree
Mə àcálε mələndú 'I do not cut down palm trees.'
- (11) Mə abule cal mə-ləndu
 L HL H L H L HH
 I NEG (FUT) MacH cut MacH C6-palm tree
Mə abulé cəl mələndú. 'I will not cut down palm trees.'

This suggests that the notion of second position will work for Makaa, but that it may not be necessary for the Konzime varieties.

The other form of evidence is tonal. Many tenses in languages of this cluster have a tonal contour associated with them. A common tonal contour is to have a floating H tone suffix which appears after every word in the Macrostem. (The one tense consistently *not* marked with a floating H tone is the far past.)

An example from Makaa illustrating this H tone (commonly called the Macrostem H tone or MacH) is given below (Heath 2003a:344).

- (12) Mè á m è nyì ng ǎ g ǔ gwò ó.
 I P1 again + MacH pick + MacH c7-mushroom
 'I again picked a mushroom.'

An example from Kol illustrating the same phenomenon, but in a different tense, is given below.

- (13) ɲ = ǎ nì g ó k ò n j á p.
 he = FUT again + H go + H home
 'He will return home.'

In Badwe'e, some of the tonal contours involve floating L's instead of H's. Beavon notes that up to four additional tones may be found in a single clause, since the perfective marker, an adverbial, and a serial verb (to use his terminology) may all appear before the main verb and each is marked with a

- (15) $\eta = \grave{\text{i}}$ sé dímbàlò mpyó y-é dùk.
 $\eta = \acute{\text{e}}$ sè + H dìmbàlò + H mpyò y-é dùg
 he/she-P1 PERF lose 1-dog 1-his forest
 'He lost his dog in the forest.'

While this works for Kol, there are some complications when it comes to explaining the tense tonal concords in Makaa and Konzime. In Makaa, the progressive marker blocks the tonal concord. If it were just the case that the H tone suffix did not appear on the progressive marker, that could possibly be explained as a co-occurrence restriction. However, as can be seen by the example below, the H tone suffix also does not appear on any word within the nucleus to the right of the progressive marker (e.g. the main verb below). The example below also offers evidence that the tense tonal concord in Makaa cannot be a case of H tone spreading since (as was the case in Kol), the first syllable of 'again' remains low in spite of the suffixal H immediately to its left.

- (16) Mə ku nyingə ŋə waambulə i-fambə
 L H+L H LL H L HHLL L LH
 I NEG HORT MacH again MacH PROG clear C8-field
 Mə kú nyìngǎ ŋə wáambulə ìfambə. 'I am not again clearing the fields.'

Badwe'e illustrates a separate complication. Beavon (1991:65-66)

describes a tonal system where there are three different kinds of tones marking tense. One is found to the left of the verbal sequence in the location of the Kol tense vowels. Some tenses are marked with morphemes with overt segmental content while others are marked with morphemes consisting only of a floating tone. The second kind of tones are the "stem tones." These are roughly equivalent to the tense tonal concord described for Kol. They are floating tones suffixed to each word in the verbal sequence. However, Badwe'e differs from Kol in that some tenses have one floating tone which is suffixed to every word in the verbal sequence except the last word and a different tone which is suffixed to the last word. This is the case in the recent past (P1) sentence illustrated below where the non-final verbal sequence words have a floating high tone (+H) suffix and the main verb, the final word in the verbal sequence, has a floating L tone suffix.

- (17) Be si ka ze fumo mi-mber
 H L Ø +H L+H L+H L+L H+L LH
 They P1 PERF finally come build 4-house
 'It was they who then finally built some houses (earlier today).'

This example also illustrates the third kind of tense tones described by Beavon, namely the floating tone which marks the end of the verbal nucleus (my terms, not his). This is the H tone floating before the direct object in (17) above. This boundary tone, if present, is always a floating H tone, whereas the stem tones may be L or H or a combination thereof, as in (17).

It is possible that postulating a distinction between nucleus and core would still prove to be helpful in describing the Badwe'e system. In effect, there are floating tones on the left edge (the tense marker tones) and on the right edge. Within the nucleus there is a tonal melody which could be considered to be anchored at either internal boundary of the nucleus, with the tone on the left permitting reiteration (unlike the tone on the right). More research will have to be done though to test this hypothesis for Badwe'e.

4.2 AGREEMENT

4.2.1 Subject Agreement

Subject agreement is one of the hallmarks of a canonical Bantu language which is why the variations across the Makaa/Kol/Konzime cluster is interesting. None of these languages have obligatory subject agreement.

In Makaa, subject agreement may occur with subjects belonging to noun classes 3-10. However, subject agreement is not required all the time, since it may be omitted in the middle of a discourse when the referent is clear. Subjects belonging to classes 1 or 2 may be expressed by either a full noun or a subject pronoun. The subject pronouns are analyzed as pronouns (instead of subject agreement) since they usually replace the full noun and do not co-occur with it, in contrast to what occurs with class 3-10 subjects.

(Heath 1995:27)

- (18) a. mudá kə gúú bwə kúwo....
 1-woman go kill them 1-chicken
 'Woman goes and kills a chicken for them.' (Heath 2002)

- b. mbwoól w-òŋgú í béeǵǵlig.
 trunk 3-this 3SUBJMKR must be kept
 'This trunk must be kept.' (Heath 2003b:12)

The subject pronouns form a phonological word with the following tense vowel, so they are probably clitics, as was the case in Kol.

The copula in Makaa agrees with its subject when it is in the present tense. For more on this phenomenon, see section 2.1.6 below.

Konzime has a phenomenon which resembles subject agreement, but it is dependent upon the tense of the verb and the tone of the prefix. Beavon (1986:185) notes that a recapitulative pronoun is required "if the tense of the verb is past perfective and if the concord prefix of the pronoun includes a high tone." If the prefix is a low tone prefix, then the recapitulative pronoun may not appear.

- (19) a. B-ud, bé á si de.
 2-people 3p:cl.2 P2 PFTV eat
 'Some people ate.'
- b. ɲúú m-ud á si de
 1-certain 1-person P2 PFTV eat
 'A certain person ate.'
- c. *ɲúú m-ud, ɲe á si de
 1-certain 1-person 3s:cl.1 P2 PFTV eat

Kol shows no evidence of subject agreement. It has a full set of subject pronouns, which appear in complementary distribution with full nouns. The only exception to this tendency is when the subject is a complex noun phrase (e.g. the head of an associative phrase), in which case there may be a subject pronoun which is used recapitulatively, generally after a pause.

- (20) a. mw-àrá w-àṅé á kò
 1-woman 1-my P2 go
 'My wife went.'
- b. mpú é bándà nwî.
 7-rain F1 really fall (rain)
 'It will certainly rain.'
- c. mò-kwàbèlâ m-à-nè mwô sé jà ṅó fòk.
 6-obstacle 6-that(spec) 6SUBJ already give him 9-wisdom
 'His problems gave him wisdom.'

4.2.2 Object agreement

In Makaa, object markers may appear preverbally for certain dialects, if the object is from noun class 1. Kol does not allow object markers to appear preverbally. Objects are only expressed after the verb stem, either as pronouns or as full verb phrases. Beavon does not mention object agreement for either Nzime or Badwe'e. Below is an example sentence from Makaa illustrating a preverbal object marker.

- (21) wò bá m-à lúlè m-à-cwôl. (or wò bá lúlè m-à m-à-cwôl.)
 you F2 me forge 4-arrows
 'You will make me arrows.' (Heath 2003b:15)

4.3 TENSE/ASPECT/MODE CONSTRUCTIONS

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime cluster also have similar Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM) contrasts and morphemes. The tense and mood markers resemble each other more than the aspect markers though in all three systems, the languages have similar contrasts.

Makaa and Kol both have five distinct tense distinctions, while the Konzime varieties (Nzime and Badwe'e) only have four. This is shown in the chart below. In general, Makaa and Kol show more commonalities with each other (as do Nzime and Badwe'e) than they do with the Konzime varieties. The recent past tense shows the most variation, suggesting that this is a later innovation.

	Makaa	Kol	Nzime	Badwe'e
remote past	a + H ¹¹	á	á	á
recent past	`ámè	e + polar tone	L	L
present	H	ó	H	H
near future	e + H	é	ó	ó
remote future	bá	é bwó		

Table 6.23 Tense in Makaa, Kol and Konzime

¹¹ The Makaa remote past and near future are analyzed as being toneless morphemes followed by a floating H tone. (Heath 1995:34)

Languages of this cluster have almost the same number of aspect contrasts, though they differ quite a bit in the way individual aspects are marked. In Makaa and Kol, the perfective aspect is unmarked. It is interesting that the perfective aspect markers in Badwe'e and Nzime resembles the perfect marker in Kol. Below is an example from Badwe'e. Beavon notes that this marker may only occur with past tenses (1991:61).

- (22) Be si fumo mi-mber
 H+L H L+L L LH
 they-P1 PFTV build 4-house
 'They built some houses.' (earlier today)

	Makaa	Kol	Nzime	Badwe'e
perfective	Ø	Ø	si	si
progressive	ŋgə	gó	ŋgà	--
habitual	də	ó + sé	--	bibé 'be' (redup.) – pres. sisâ 'do' (redup.) -past dì ' ? ' (aux) -fut
imperfective	--	lè	lí ¹²	lí ¹³
perfect	mó + L	sé	n	chg in vowel height?

Table 6.24 Aspect in Makaa, Kol and Nzime

¹² The imperfective in Nzime requires an auxiliary verb in the past or future tenses. (Beavon 1991)

¹³ The imperfective in Badwe'e requires an auxiliary verb in the past or future tenses. This auxiliary must be followed by the focus marker ó, otherwise the sentences are ungrammatical. (Beavon 1991)

Makaa is the only language of the cluster without a generic imperfective marker, though it does have two imperfective aspects, the progressive and habitual, which can co-occur with each other as shown in example (9) below (Heath 2003b:23). This contrasts with Kol where the aspect markers are in complementary distribution. In Makaa, the habitual marker may form a gerund, suggesting that it is in fact an auxiliary verb.

- (23) Mə a dɯ ŋgə bwas 0-kwesh
 L H L L L H
 I P2 HAB PROG be sick C7-cough
 Mə ʔa dɯ ŋgə bwàs kwesh. ‘I often was sick with a cough
 (but not all the time).’

It is interesting that for Kol, Nzime and Badwe'e, the imperfective marker is always homophonous (or maybe identical to) the locative marker. The syntax of the imperfective constructions differs substantially though between Kol and the Konzime varieties, as will be discussed in section 2.2.5 below.

The habitual constructions are also very different. Makaa uses an auxiliary verb, while Badwe'e uses a reduplicated form of a verb, and Kol combines the present tense vowel and the perfect marker. No information is

available as to whether Nzime has a habitual construction. More information on these constructions will be given in section 2.2.6.

The languages of this cluster are especially similar when it comes to marking mood. They all differentiate between two moods: the indicative and the subjunctive. The indicative is the default. The subjunctive is marked by a clitic consisting of a velar stop, as shown below. The subjunctive may be subdivided into two moods, the hortative and the imperative. These add different tone melodies to the verbal sequence, in addition to the subjunctive clitic which they have in common.

As was mentioned above, in Makaa and Kol, the subjunctive clitic is hosted by the first word of the verbal sequence. In Badwe'e, the subjunctive suffix may appear on an auxiliary, suggesting that the suffix also appears on the first word of the verbal sequence, whatever that may be.

	Makaa	Kol	Nzime	Badwe'e
indicative	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
hortative	-g + H (1stV) ¹⁴	-g + H	-k + H + L	-k ¹⁵ + H + L
imperative	-g + H (finV) ¹⁶	-g + H	-k + H	-k + H

Table 6.25 Mode in Makaa, Kol and Konzime

Beavon (1991:68) notes that in Badwe'e, an independent sentence in the past tense must have either an aspect marker, a focus marker or be negated. This is not the case in Makaa or Kol.

4.3.1 Imperfective

Kol and the Konzime varieties resemble each other at first glance in that they both have an imperfective marker which resemble the locative prefix, *lè* in Kol and *li* in Badwe'e. However, syntactically, these two markers behave very differently. Kol's imperfective marker behaves as do all the other aspectual markers, occurring after in the template slot after the copula auxiliary and before any other verbs, as shown below.

¹⁴ This H tone appears on the first vowel of the first word in the Macro-stem.

¹⁵ Badwe'e has a number of subjunctive allomorphs, but /-k/ is the most frequent. Others include: /-ke/, /-ko/, copy root vowel, /-a/, and /-ŋ/. (Beavon 1991:93)

¹⁶ This H tone appears on the final vowel of the first word in the Macro-stem.

- (24) $\text{nə} = \quad \text{jì} \quad \text{lé} \quad \text{bwògá} \quad \text{kwàn}.$
 $\text{nə} = \quad \text{jì} + \text{H} \quad \text{lè} + \text{H} \quad \text{bwòg} + \text{H} \quad \text{kwàn}$
 he/she be (att) Impf harvest 9-honey
 'He harvests honey.'

In the Konzime varieties however, the imperfective marker has an infinitival verb as its complement as shown in (23). In the past and future tenses in Badwe'e, it is required to occur with a copula as in (24).

- (25) $\text{Be} \quad \text{li} \quad \text{e-fumo} \quad \text{mi-mbər}$
 $\text{H} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{L} + \text{L} \quad \text{H} + \text{L} \quad \text{LH}$
 they LOC INF-build 4-house
 'They are building houses.' (Beavon 1991:63)

- (26) $\text{Be} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{o} \quad \text{li} \quad \text{e-fumo} \quad \text{mi-mbər}$
 $\text{H} \quad \text{H} \quad \emptyset + \text{L} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{L} + \text{L} \quad \text{H} + \text{L} \quad \text{LH}$
 they P2 be FOC LOC INF-build 4-house
 'They were building houses.' (Beavon 1991:63)

4.3.2 Habitual Constructions

While Makaa, Kol and Badwe'e all have a habitual construction, these constructions are formed using very different syntactic strategies. Makaa and Badwe'e both use auxiliary verbs, though Badwe'e uses different auxiliaries for each tense and has a special reduplicated form in the past and present

tenses. In contrast, Kol uses an unusual tense/aspect combination (present tense plus perfect aspect).

Makaa marks the habitual with the morpheme *dɯ* which can appear as a gerund *dɯlɔ* which means 'being in the habit of.' This suggests that this morpheme is an auxiliary verb.

- (27) Mə ba dɯ wɪŋŋ o-mpyə
 L H L H H L HL
 I F2 HABIT MacH chase MacH C2-dog
Mə bá dɯ wɪŋŋ ʔompyə. 'I usually will chase the dogs.' (habitual)

Badwe'e also uses auxiliary verbs to form the habitual. However, it differs from Makaa in that the past, the present and the future all use different auxiliary verbs. The far past and the recent past both use the locative copula *be*, while the present uses the verb *sâ* 'make, do,' and the future uses the auxiliary verb *dî* 'remain, stay.' The locative copula *be* and the verb *sâ* are both reduplicated, while *dî* is not (Beavon 1991:64-65).

- (28) Be a bi-be o li e-fumo mi-mber
 H H L H H L L+L H+L LH
 they P2 RED-be FOC LOC INF-build 4-house
 'They used to build houses.' (in the recent past)

- (29) Nye si-sa o fumo mi-mber
 L+H H+H H L+L H+L LH
 he-PRES RED-do FOC build 4-house

'He usually builds houses.'

- (30) Nye o di li e-fumo mi-mber
 L H L+L H L L+L H+L LH
 he FUT stay LOC INF-build 4-house
 'He will habitually build houses.'

Kol, unlike the other two languages, uses the present tense marker with the perfect aspect to form habitual constructions.

- (31) j̣=ó= sé bwògǎ kwàn.
 j̣=ó= sé+H bwòg+H kwàn
 he/she-PRES PERF harvest 9-honey
 'He harvests honey.' (habitually)

4.3.3 Negation

Makaa, Kol and Badwe'e resemble each other in that they all have what appears to be a negative circumclitic for sentential negation. However, they differ in the positioning of this circumclitic. For both Makaa and Kol, it occurs in second position, but in Badwe'e it is hosted by the main verb. Below is an example of a negated sentence in Badwe'e with an auxiliary, followed by a negated sentence in Kol, also containing an auxiliary. These are in different tenses, with the Badwe'e example in the recent past and the Kol example in the present.

- (32) Be be a fumo
H+L H H+L L+L
they- be NEG build
P1
'They did not build anything.'

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

Though Makaa and Kol both have a negative circumclitic for indicative sentential negation, Kol requires that a different negation strategy be used for the present imperfective tense, namely the negative copula *túg* plus the imperfective marker *lè* instead of the circumclitic. As was mentioned above, Makaa does not have a specific imperfective tense marker.

- (34) jè túgá lé wàzà m-ûr.
he/she be (NEG) +H IMPF+H forget+H 1-man
'He wasn't forgetting anyone.'

- (35) j=à=g=é wàzà m-ûr.
j=á=g=è wàzà m-ûr
he-NEG-PROG-NEG forget 1-man
'He doesn't continue to forget someone.'

Additionally, the two languages have both created fixed past negative forms by adding the circumclitic to a frozen host. In Kol, the past forms are

based off of the auxiliary verb *ncà* 'come,' while in Makaa the past forms are built on the counter assertive morpheme *shí*. Both Makaa and Kol insert an extra [g] which may be related to the subjunctive morpheme. Makaa does so in both past tense forms, while Kol only inserts a [g] in the far distant past (P3).

TAM	Makaa	Kol	Badwe'e
F2	abáŋɛ	àbwéyè	
F1	a- H + + -ɛ	á = + = è + H	a + ŋá + L + H
PRES	a- L + H + -ɛ	á = + = è + H	H + à + L + H
P1	shígɛ	áncé + H	L + H + à + HL + H
P2	a shígɛ	áncé	á + H + à + L + H
P3		áncégé	
IMPF PRES		túg + H	H + à + L + H
Subjunctive	kú	ké	

Table 6.26 Negation in Makaa, Kol and Badwe'e

The Badwe'e forms are made up of the tense marker (which is the same for affirmative and negative constructions), a grammatical tone, the negative prefix, the tonal contour added after each preverbal element, and the

grammatical tone inserted after the main verb. Negative forms in the past also require the presence of the copula auxiliary *bè*. Below is an affirmative sentence contrasted with a negative sentence in the same tense.

(36) Be a si fumo mi-mber
 H H Ø +L L+L L LH
 they P2 PFTV build 4-house
 'It was they who then finally built houses.'

(37) Be a be a fumo mi-mber
 H H Ø +L H+L L+L+H L LH
 they P2 be NEG build 4-house
 'It was they who then finally built houses.'

4.4 COPULA VERBS

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime cluster also vary in the number of copula verbs they have and in the semantics of these copulas. Kol has the most, with five. In Kol, the copulas may co-occur with a variety of tenses in simple sentences, and they may also appear as auxiliaries. In copular auxiliary constructions, the auxiliary is marked for tense, while the main verb is marked for aspect or information structure, as needed. (See chapter 4, section 3.1 for more information.)

For Makaa, Heath (2003a:347) notes that:

"Non-verbal clauses include both those with the copula *-sə* and those with the focus marker *ó*. Clauses with the copula as the predicate express attribution, equation, location, or possession. In the present perfective indicative, the copula takes a concord prefix [see Table 6.9]. Often the *-sə* is deleted, leaving only the concord. In other TAM constructions, the copula becomes *bə* without concord prefix, and takes limited TAM inflections."

Badwe'e also has a suppletive present tense form of the basic locative copula *be* (which is underlyingly toneless). Beavon describes the copulas found in Nzime in more functional terms, reporting that *mú* only occurs in main and relative clauses while *dí* appears in subject focus constructions. Below is a chart showing the copulas found in Makaa, Kol and Nzime, along with their semantic or syntactic differences. For more information on Kol copulas, see chapter 4.

Makaa	Kol	Nzime	Badwe'e
bè <i>'to be'</i>	bò	bè	be <i>locative</i>
jì-sà <i>PRES-cl.7</i>	jì <i>equative, attributive</i>		
	ndé <i>locative</i>	dí <i>subj. focus</i>	
	mé <i>change of state</i>	mû <i>main, rel.cl.</i>	mû <i>locative-PRES</i>
tùg <i>negative</i>	túg <i>negative</i>		

Table 6.27 Copula verbs in Makaa, Kol and Konzime

4.5 EXTENSIONS

In this language cluster, while there are segments which may be identified as the modern cognates of reconstructed Proto-Bantu valence-changing suffixes, also known as extensions, most of these are no longer productive. Kol, in particular, has a number of longer verbs with identifiable frozen extensions, but only the passive extension is marginally productive today. In the chart below are a few of the relics of reconstructed proto-Bantu extensions.

	Proto-Bantu	Makaa	Kol
causative	*ic-i	-àl, a→e	-èzè, a→e
benefactive/ applicative	*-Id	-yà	-èà
passive	*Ib-u	-òw	-ówà, -íyà

Table 6.28 Related extensions in Proto-Bantu, Makaa and Kol

The sound correspondences seen in the chart above are not especially surprising, with the exception of the ablaut causative seen in Makaa and Kol, if that is indeed inherited and not an innovation. Many Bantu languages illustrate the weakening process seen in the passive and the deletion of the alveolar stop seen in the applicative. It is also common for the palatal stop of the causative to surface as an alveolar fricative. What is more noteworthy is the non-productivity of the extensions. As was mentioned for Kol in chapter 4, there are very few examples in modern Kol of related verb roots and derived root plus extension stems.

In this respect, Makaa differs from Kol, being perchance more conservative in this respect. Below is a chart showing the variety of valence-changing processes which may be identified in Makaa (Heath 1995:59).

However, as in Kol, these are not fully productive; there are also verb roots

which may only appear with an extension; and the relationship between these processes and Proto-Bantu is not always clear.

Passive	-òw	<i>cìl-à</i> 'to write' + -òw → <i>cìl-òw</i> 'to be written'
Reciprocal	-là	<i>bɛ̃</i> 'to follow' + -là → <i>bɛ̃ɛ̃-là</i> 'to resemble each other'
Benefactive	-yà	<i>dúg</i> 'to see' + -yà → <i>dúg-yà</i> 'to see each other'
Reflexive	-là	<i>cìng</i> 'to be agitated' + -là → <i>cìng-ù-là</i> 'to turn self'
	-yà	<i>cìl-à</i> 'to write' + -yà → <i>cìl-yà</i> 'to register oneself'
Causative	-àl	<i>jìg</i> 'to be burned' + -àl → <i>jìg-àl</i> 'to burn (something)'
	<i>a→e</i>	<i>bwáád</i> 'to get dressed' → <i>bwééd</i> 'to clothe someone else'
Resultative	-yà	+ radical vowel change <i>jáám̩b</i> 'to cook' + -yà → <i>jéém̩b-yà</i> 'to be cooked'
Transitive	-à	<i>lúl</i> 'to purify' + -à → <i>lúlà</i> 'to forge'
augmentative: reduplication + -úg <i>à-ɲgà-lás-lás-úg</i> 'he is only talking' (he is not expected to follow through on any action discussed)		
verbs with two extensions <i>bwáád</i> 'to clothe oneself' + causative + passive → <i>bwééd-òw</i> <i>cààg</i> 'to sculpt' + causative + benefactive → <i>cèèg-à</i> 'to have something sculpted' <i>fànd</i> 'to braid hair' + causative + benefactive → <i>fènd-yà</i> 'to have someone else braid your hair'		

Table 6.29 Extensions in Makaa

Additionally, Nzime has a productive "simultaneous" suffix (-ŋɔ or -ɔ) which can appear on verbs (Beavon 1984:212). This suffix appears to correspond to a remote past consecutive relative tense with third person plural human subjects in Badwe'e (Beavon 1991:82).

5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined some of the similarities and differences between the languages of the middle cluster of the A.80 language family: Makaa, Kol, Konzime, Badwe'e and Njem. These languages are primarily monosyllabic and allow closed syllables. They differ in their phonemic inventories, showing considerable variation in their vowel systems. They are all tonal, with two phonemic tones H and L.

The languages of the central cluster have similar noun class marking systems, though Nzime appears to have an additional noun class, class 11/14. Their relative clause structures are all marked by a H tone at the left edge and a morpheme on the right edge, though these differ in whether or not they show concord with the head noun.

Extensions are rare and mostly unproductive. Their tense/aspect systems, while not the same, demonstrate strong similarities. They differ as to whether or not their verbs agree with their arguments, either subject or object.

The following chapter will examine how Kol has changed over time.

7 Correspondences to Proto-Bantu

1 Introduction

This chapter will explore Kol's relationship to Proto-Bantu, both with respect to sound correspondences and grammatical systems. Section 2 below will review Kol's phonemic inventories and synchronic variation. Section 3 will then discuss consonant correspondences between Kol and Proto-Bantu, while section 4 will discuss vowel correspondences. Section 5 will compare some aspects of Kol morphosyntax with what is reconstructed for Proto-Bantu by Meeussen in his 1967 *Bantu Grammatical Reconstructions*.

1.1 SOURCES

This study is a comparison of current day forms of Kol with Proto-Bantu. The Proto-Bantu forms are taken from Meeussen's *Bantu Lexical Reconstructions*, as referenced in the 1980 reprint and on the BLR3 website.¹⁷ The Kol data is taken from a lexicon begun by Félix Fokou-Tamafo as part of

¹⁷ <http://linguistics.africamuseum.be/BLR3.html>

his work for NACALCO¹⁸ in Cameroon. This lexicon has been added to and amended on the basis of my own fieldwork.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

A careful comparison of Meeussen's reconstructions with the Kol lexicon resulted in approximately 450 cognate pairs. Of these, around 130 were determined to be confident matches and around 320 were classified as possible matches. Sound correspondences were determined based on these cognate pairs. The vowels of the Proto-Bantu words have been transcribed as {i, e, ε, a, ɔ, o, u}, instead of Meeussen's {i, i, e, a, o, u, ʊ} system, in order to facilitate comparison with the Kol lexicon.

2 Modern Kol

Today, as was described in chapter 2, Kol has 31 consonants and 8 vowels. It permits both open and closed syllables, with the following syllable shapes being represented in the language: V, CV, CVC, CVVC

¹⁸ NACALCO is an acronym for the National Association of Cameroonian Language Committees.

Below is a consonant chart for Kol. The sounds {p, v, g, kp, ŋkp, ŋgb} have a marginal status in Kol. Each only occurs initially in a few words, all of which may be borrowed.

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

Table 7.1: Kol consonants

Kol has a nearly symmetrical vowel system, with three front vowels, two central vowels and three back (and round) vowels. An additional vowel, the high central vowel, is an allophone of the vowel /e/. (For more information see chapter 2.)

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

Table 7.2: Kol Vowels.

2.1 SYNCHRONIC VARIATION

Word-finally, voicing distinctions are neutralized for stops. Most C₂ stops are underlyingly voiced, and they may appear on the surface as either voiceless stops or as voiced continuants.

- (1) /tíd/ 'animal' → [tít] or [tíɾ]
/è-bùg/ 'holiday' (5) → [è-buk] or [èbùɣ]

Some dialects have /s/ where other dialects have /ʃ/. This is illustrated by the variants below.

- (2) ʃû 'fish' (7/8) *varies with* sû
è-ʃwì 'death' (5) *è-swè*

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

- (3) fámè 'true, real' *varies with* hámè

With respect to vowels, Kol mid vowels are optionally centralized before nasals and the fricatives /s/ and /ʃ/. There is some morphological conditioning since this process is very common for the noun class prefixes marking classes 2 (*bò-*), 4 (*mè-*), 6 (*mò-*) and 8 (*bè-*) but very rare for the class 5 prefix *lè-*. Examples are given below.

- (4) a. [bè-mpânc]
/bè-mpânj/
8-side
'sides'
- b. [bè-kák]
/bè-kág/
8-child
'children'
- c. [bè-sá]
/bè-sá/
8-thing
'things'
- (5) a. [bó-nè]
/bó-nè/
2-that
'those'
- b. [bó-bá]
/bó-bá/
2-two
'two'
- c. [bè-sís]
/bè-sís/
2-another
'another, different'
- d. [bè-ƿwó]
/bè-ƿwó/
2-friend
'friends'

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

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

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

d. [bì-jwàlà]
/bè-jwàlà/
8-banana
'bananas'

f. [ŋ-í]
he/she-P1

e. [bè-kák]
/bè-kág/
8-child
'children'

g. [m-é]
I-P1

In the sections below, the correspondences between the current-day phonemes of Kol and the reconstructed phonemes of Proto-Bantu will be explored.

3 Consonant correspondences

The discussion of consonant correspondences below have been organized by places of articulation, beginning at the front of the mouth and moving towards the back. Meeussen (1965:83) notes that the occurrence of voiceless nasalized stops is very restricted. These will be discussed where there are correspondences, but there are not correspondences at each place of articulation.

3.1 LABIAL CONSONANTS

3.1.1 *b

In modern-day Kol, the most common reflex of *b is a direct correspondence, i.e. that *b stays /b/, in both C₁ and C₂ positions.

(7) *b₁ > b

*bá	'dwell, be, become'	>	bá	'be'
*bád	'marry'	>	bâ	'marry'
*bángá	'jaw' (11)	>	báŋgô	'jaw' (7)
*bíad	'give birth'	>	byâ	'bear child'
*bî	'excreta' (13,6)	>	mè-bî	'excrement' (6)
*báká	'knife' (9)	>	è-báág	'knife' (5)
*bògà	'hoe'	>	bòg	'hoe' (5) (pl. mèm̀p̀òg̀)

The plural of 'hoe' is worthy of note. This appears to be a class 10 plural which has been moved to class 6. Historically, class 9 nouns formed their plurals in class 10, while synchronically in Kol they form their plurals in class 6. This noun and other "double-marked" nouns are discussed in chapter 3, section 1.3.

(8) *b₂ > b

*dób	'fish with a line'	>	dùb	'fish with a line'
*gùbà	'shield' (9)	>	ŋkùbò	'shield' (9)
*jìb	'steal'	>	jíbò	'steal'
*kúbà	'chicken' (9/6)	>	kúbò	'chicken' (1)

*bòbè	'spider' (5,11)	>	bùb	'spider' (5)
*tób	'pierce'	>	túbò	'pierce ears'
*tábè	'twig, branch' (5,9)	>	lòb	'branch' (3)
*tóóbá	'six' (3)	>	twób	'six'

If *b occurs at the beginning of a verb, it becomes /w/, as shown below.

(9)	*béd	'boil'	>	wûl	'boil (food)'
	*bèng	'drive, chase'	>	wîng	'drive away, chase'
	*badek	'fear, flee'	>	wàl	'fear of risk' (7)

There are a few verbs which have maintained the *b, but they are all very common verbs (be, marry, bear children). These are shown in (7) above. Their lexical frequency may have maintained the proto-sound.

The *b has two prenasalized reflexes /mp/ and /mb/. As has been noted for other A-zone languages, this "double reflex" may be explained by looking at the morphological environment (Janssens 1993). All of the words which have /mp/ or /mb/ reflexes in their C₁ slot are nouns. The nouns with /mp/ are all nouns which belong to proto classes 9 or 11. Class 9 is noted for having a historic noun class prefix which was a non-syllabic homorganic nasal. It is possible that class 11 nouns were absorbed into class 9, and then

underwent this sound change before moving again to other classes (mostly 1 and 7). The fact that both class 9 and class 11 nouns had their plural in class 10 may have made it relatively easy for these two noun classes to merge.

As was noted in chapter 3, most NC initial words in class 9 have a voiceless consonant after the nasal. The class 10 nasal prefix still actively devoices the following consonant. This synchronic evidence makes it less surprising that *b corresponds to /mp/.

(10) *bànjé	'rib, side' (11)	>	mpànj	'side of body' (7)
*bòmà	'python' (9)	>	mpwàm	'python' (1)
*búdà	'rain' (9)	>	mpú	'rain' (1)
*búè	'gray hair' (9,11)	>	mpí	'white hair' (10)

Of the two nouns with a /mb/ C₁ reflex, one is historically class 3, and thus would have had a *mo- noun prefix marker, while the other is historically class 15. In many languages, the *mo- of class 3 (and the similar prefix in class 1) lost its vowel and became a syllabic nasal prefix.

(11) *bókò	'arm' (15)	>	mbwó	'arm' (3) (pl. mòbwó)
*bòmbò	'bundle' (3)	>	mbùmb	'bundle' (3)

Finally, there is one noun which appears to have a /mpy/ reflex. It is not clear what is the source of the palatalization. It is a historic class 9 noun,

and we would expect a non-palatalized pre-nasalized stop as a reflex of the *b.

(12) *bóà 'dog' (9,12) > mpyó 'dog' (1)

In C₂ position, /b/ is the most common reflex of *b, as was mentioned above. However, there is also a word with a /m/ correspondence.

(13) *gùbà 'bellows' (3) > kwòm 'bellows'

3.1.1.1 *Summary*

To summarize, the primary correspondence of *b is /b/ in both C₁ and C₂ positions. At the beginning of a noun, *b would have corresponded to /p/ when following a nonsyllabic nasal prefix (class 9 or 10) and would have remained /b/ when following a syllabic nasal or CV- prefix. The syllabic nasal then became assimilated into the nominal stem, resulting in the difference between the /mb/ and /b/ correspondences. At the beginning of verbs, *b became /w/, except for some common verbs where *b stayed /b/.

As *b₂, *b remained /b/.

3.1.2 *p

Synchronically, there are no native voiceless bilabial stops in Kol.

There are a few words which begin with /p/, but these can all be identified as Ewondo borrowings (Begne 1989:32). In root-initial position, the historic *p has either been weakened to the voiceless labiodental fricative /f/, has become voiced as in /b/, has become part of a prenasalized stop as in /mp/ or /mb/, or has been weakened and voiced as in /w/. /b/ may be found in either the C₁ or C₂ position, but /f/, /w/, /mb/ and /mp/ only occur root-initially.

3.1.2.1 *p in C₁ position

In order to explain the numerous correspondences of *p in C₁ position, it is necessary to separate nominal roots from verbal roots. As the C₁ in verbal roots, *p has the following reflexes: {f, w}.

The primary reflex of *p at the beginning of verbal roots is /f/.

(14) *pép	'winnow'	>	fyàb	'winnow'
*pènd	'braid'	>	fènd	'braid'
*pooŋ	'admire'	>	fààg	'admire'
*píp	'suck'	>	fyê	'suck'

The /w/ reflex is the easiest to describe, since there are only two examples. It appears that *p became /w/ when it occurred at the beginning of a verbal stem, followed by *a. This is very similar to the environment suggested above for the *b > w correspondence, where *b₁ > w in verbal stems. Since *p can become /b/ between vowels, as it does when it is in C₂ position as described below, I will suggest that this is an example of a sound change chain, where *p > b > w.

(15)	*pá	'give to, gratify'	>	wá	'give, put'
	*páad	'quarrel (v)'	>	wó	'quarrel'

In nominal roots, *p has the following correspondences: {w, mp, b, mb, f}. Since for *b, different reflexes occurred when following different kind of nominal prefixes, it could be important to separate nouns according to their historical class membership. The reflexes /f/, /w/, /mp/ and /b/ occur in historic class 9 nouns, while the reflexes /mb/ and /v/ only occur in class 3 nouns.

Below are the class 9 cognate pairs which have been found for nouns beginning with *p. It is interesting that all but four of these correspondences are completely missing the nasal that was historically the noun class marker.

(The exceptions are in (20).) However, it is not that surprising, since for a number of related languages (e.g. Ewondo), the nasal prefix was deleted before voiceless stops (Janssens 1993:147). If this did occur in Kol, then that suggests that the words showing the /mp/ correspondence may be borrowings.

(16)	*pígò	'kidney' (9)	>	mbǎŋ fīg	'kidney'
	*pókò	'mouse, rat' (1,5,9)	>	fû	'mouse' (1)
	*pótá	'wound' (7,9)	>	fónj	'wound'
	*pénjù	'cockroach' (9)	>	fínj	'cockroach' (1)
	*pùùpà	'wind' (9)	>	fùbó	'wind' (7)
	*pómpó	'pigeon' (7, 9)	>	lè-fàb	'pigeon' (5)
	*pempa	'night' (9)	>	fùm	'night' (3)
(17)	*pádè	'polygamy' (9)	>	wál	'polygamy' (7)
	*pàkò	'tree-hollow' (9)	>	è-wúg	'hole' (5)
	*pédè	'puff-adder' (9)	>	wúrò	'puff adder' (7)
	*púdi	'foam' (9)	>	è-wúlè	'foam' (5)
(18)	*pádà	'forehead' (9,11)	>	è-bàdà	'forehead' (5)
	*pákù	'honey' (9)	>	bwǒg	'harvest honey'
(19)	*pákà	'cat' (9)	>	mpà	'wild cat' (7)
	*pukò	'hair' (6)	>	mpùŋò	'hair' (10)
	*pàpá	'wing' (5,11)	>	mpyàb	'wing' (5)
	*póngó	'bird, eagle' (9)	>	mpàl	'eagle' (7)

In trying to establish conditioning for these different reflexes of *p, it is hard to know whether to look at the historical environment or the synchronic environment. It is interesting that synchronically, /w/ appears mostly before /u/, while /b/ appears mostly before /a/. However, /f/ also appears before both /u/ and /a/. Synchronically, these nouns mostly belong to the same classes, classes 5 and 7. They do not change their initial consonant when the plural mò- or bè- is added.

Looking at nouns that were historically in class 1 or 3, I was only able to find one clear cognate set for *p.

(20) *pénì 'pestle' (3) > mbîn 'pestle' (3)

There is also a *p > /v/ correspondence. /v/ is a marginal phoneme in Kol, so this word is probably borrowed.

(21) *pengɔ 'ebony' (3) > è-vîn 'ebony tree' (5)

3.1.2.2 *p in C₂ position

In C₂ position, *p consistently has a reflex of /b/.

(22) *dupek 'sharpen' > jàb 'sharpen (knife)'
 *kápí 'paddle, oar' (9) > ŋkòòb 'paddle' (9)
 *kúpà 'bone' (5) > fɔb 'fish bone' (9)

*pàpá	'wing' (5,11)	>	mpyàb	'wing' (5)
*pép	'winnow'	>	fyàb	'winnow'

3.1.2.3 Summary

To summarize, *p always corresponds to the voiced bilabial stop /b/ in C₂ position. As the initial consonant of verbs, *p corresponds to /w/ before /a/, and /f/ everywhere else. As the initial consonant of nouns, *p corresponds to /mb/ after the nasal prefix of class 3, and as /f/, /w/, /b/ or /mp/ after the nasal prefix (synchronically no longer present) of class 9.

3.1.3 *m

In C₁ position, all examples of *m directly corresponds to /m/.

(23)	*mea	'calm, quiet' (7)	>	myòŋ	'quiet'
	*mìd	'swallow, devour'	>	mìnò	'swallow'

In C₂ position, this is also the case most of the time, as is shown below.

(24)	*bòmà	'python' (9)	>	mpwàm	'python' (1)
	*démà	'bat' (3)	>	njêm	'bat' (3)
	*kém	'call, cry (v)'	>	kêm	'scream, cry out'
	*kémà	'monkey'	>	kâm	'monkey' (1)
	*kómì	'ten' (5)	>	wúm	'ten' (5)

However, there is one example where *m seems to correspond to /mb/. It is interesting that this is a word which also begins with a

prenasalized stop. The opposite correspondence is much more common and will be discussed below.

(25) *gòmà 'drum' (9) > ɲkùmb 'medium drum' (9)

To summarize, *m directly corresponds to /m/ in C₁ position and most of the time directly corresponds to /m/ in C₂ position. However, there is one example of a *m > mb correspondence, as demonstrated above.

3.1.4 *mb

No roots have been reconstructed with an initial *mb. However, in the C₂ position, sometimes *mb corresponds to /mb/, sometimes it corresponds to /m/, and sometimes it corresponds to /b/. The latter two appear to be a case of simplification.

(26) *bòmɓò	'bundle' (3)	>	mbùmɓ	'bundle' (3)
*dámɓ	'cook' (v)	>	jámɓ	'prepare food, cook'
*dímb	'get lost'	>	dímɓ	'be lost'
*dómb	'ask for'	>	jwámɓ	'ask, request s.th.'
*jàmbé	'god' (9)	>	ncìmbé	'god' (1)
*gòmbá	'porcupine' (9)	>	ɲkwòmɓ	'porcupine' (1)
*kómɓe	'bank, shore'	>	kómb	'side'

(27)	*jemba	'antbear' (9)	>	yímò	'antbear' (1)
	*dòmbò	'sibling (opp.sex)	>	ntúm	'her brother' (1)
	*comb	'be on top'	>	ʃúmàló	'upper (arm)' (9)
	*dùmb	'smell'	>	nùmàlò	'smell'
(28)	*càmb	'leap over'	>	kâb	'jump'
	*tâmb	'call'	>	jáb	'call'
	*kómbè	'cup'	>	kwóbò	'cup' (1)

3.1.5 *mp

As was mentioned above, there are few reconstructed words containing voiceless prenasalized stops. Below are two correspondences. The *mp here shows the same reflexes as *mb described above. In Kol today, voiced and voiceless stops are neutralized at the ends of words. It may be that *mp was neutralized with *mb once the final vowel was lost.

(29)	*pómpó	'pigeon' (7, 9)	>	lè-fàb	'pigeon' (5)
	*pempa	'night' (9)	>	fùm	'night' (3)

3.2 ALVEOLAR CONSONANTS

3.2.1 *d

*d has a number of reflexes in current-day Kol. It may correspond to {d, j, nj, l, r, n, nd or y}. The C₁ reflexes will be examined first, followed by

those for the C₂ position. /j/ is the most common correspondence for both nouns and verbs.

3.2.1.1 *d in C₁ position

Since morphological category may be important, below is a discussion of the C₁ correspondences in nouns, followed by a discussion of the C₁ correspondences in verbs.

The clearest case will be dealt with first. *d corresponds to /nj/ for nouns in noun classes which have nasals in their reconstructed singular prefixes.

- (30) *démà 'bat' (3) > njêm 'bat' (3) (pl. mējêm)
*dómè 'husband, male' > njùm 'husband, male' (1) (pl. bòjùm)
*dòngà 'river' (3) > njwǎŋ 'river' (9)
*dèdò 'boundary' (3) > njì 'frontier' (9)
*dà 'entrails' (11) > njà 'intestines' (3)

Below are also three examples where *d corresponds to /j/ where there used to be a nasal prefix. In general, historic class 11 nouns seem to have been absorbed into class 9, maybe due to their common plural in class 10. These nouns may have regularized their singular forms with their plural. As

can be seen for 'bat' and 'husband' above, some singulars which begin with a nasal synchronically do not have a nasal in their plural form.

- (31) *dúdé 'shadow' (3) > júkábó 'shadow'
 *démì 'tongue' (11) > jôm 'tongue' (7) (pl. bijôm)
 *dèdù 'beard' (7,9,11) > jòl 'beard' (9) (no pl.)

Below are two examples which are both nominalizations of verbs and therefore may have passed through a stage where they were in a class that began with a nasal prefix. For example, in the the F and G zones, the nominalized form of the verb 'to deceive' is a class 3 noun.

- (32) *dó 'sleep' (13) > jwò 'sleep' (5)
 *dóng 'suggest' > bè-ján 'lies' (8)

There is also one odd occurrence where *d corresponds to /t/ after the nasal prefix and one example where it corresponds to /s/ in a similar environment. The first example below is parallel to what was seen for *b, which had a number of /mp/ correspondences. However, this is the only example of its kind (nor are there /nc/ correspondences). The latter is likely to be a borrowing through the church languages of Bulu or Ewondo.

- (33) *dòmbò 'sibling (opp.sex) > ntúm 'her brother' (1)
 *dímò 'spirit' (3) > sísìm 'spirit' (3)

The direct correspondence of *d to /d/ is found where the proto consonant would have been between two vowels. Perhaps more importantly though, two of these are class 5 nouns, where it is hard to know whether the synchronic /d/ which remains is a reflex of the *d₁ of the root, or of the *d of the class 5 prefix. Note that 'beak' and 'chin, jaw' lose their /d/'s in the plural.

(34)	*dongo	'beak' (3)	>	dúúg	'beak' (5) (pl. múúg)
	*dèdù	'chin' (7,9,11)	>	dôz	'chin, jaw' (5) (môz)
	*dìbà	'pool, depth' (5)	>	mò-díbó	'water' (6)

The class 5 prefix is synchronically either è- or lè-, making /l/ also a correspondence of *d, because the proto-class 5 forms are *i- (nominal prefix) and *di- (concord prefix). This reflex also shows up in a few nouns, most of them class 5 nouns synchronically, as shown below. Here, if the initial /l/ is due to the class 5 prefix historically, it has been reinterpreted over the course of time, since the plural also has /l/.

(35)	*dòng	'speak, talk'	>	lôn	'speech' (5) (pl. mòlôn)
	*dàdók	'be mad'	>	làd	'crazy person' (7)
	*dàdá	'palm tree' (3)	>	léd	'palm tree' (5) (mòléd)
	*dakɔ	'horn'	>	làg	'horn' (5) (pl. mòlàg)

The correspondence of *d to /y/ is very rare in nouns though there are also a few examples of the same correspondence in verbs. When *d corresponds to /y/ it tends to be followed by a front vowel, though this is not enough to completely distinguish this correspondence from those given above.

- (36) *dèndé 'open pit' (5) > yénj 'open place, clearing' (7)
 *dàamá 'young animal' > yém 'domesticated animal'

Finally, there is one cognate pair where *d corresponds to /n/. This is a common reflex across Bantu languages, particularly where the second C is also a nasal.

- (37) *dòmò 'entry, mouth' (3) > nùm 'mouth' (3)

This might have been an example of Meinhof's rule, where by complex nasal units are simplified when they precede another nasal. A possible series of changes is shown below.

- (38) *NV-dómɔ > ndómɔ > nnómɔ > nómɔ > num

For verbs, *d commonly corresponds to /j/, as shown below. These verbs tend to have non-high vowels in the reconstructed forms.

(39)	*dámb	'cook (v.)'	>	jâmb	'prepare food, cook'
	*dèd	'weep, cry, wail'	>	jìì	'cry, weep'
	*dupek	'sharpen'	>	jàb	'sharpen (knife)'
	*dáad	'sleep (v.)'	>	já	'sleep (v.)'
	*dèet	'lick'	>	jâl	'lick'
	*dàmok	'early, wake up'	>	jòm	'wake up'
	*dè	'be'	>	jì	'be (att.)'
	*dómb	'ask for'	>	jwâmb	'ask, request s.th'
	*dók	'vomit'	>	jû	'vomit (v.)'

The direct correspondence also occurs fairly frequently. These verbs tend to have high vowels in the reconstructed forms.

(40)	*dób	'fish with a line'	>	dùb	'fish with line'
	*dúg	'paddle (v.)'	>	dúgò	'paddle (v.)'
	*dùt	'pull, drag'	>	dùlè	'pull'
	*dé	'eat'	>	dò	'eat'
	*dìb	'stop up'	>	dìbélè	'stop up'
	*dímb	'get lost'	>	dîmb	'be lost'

There are also a couple of examples where *d corresponds to /l/, which is consistent with one of the nominal patterns and with the synchronic class 5 marker.

(41)	*dòb	'speak, talk'	>	làb	'speak, talk'
	*dàg	'show'	>	lágèlè	'show'

Additionally, *d corresponds to /y/ and /n/ in exactly the same places in verbs as it did in nouns. /y/ is a reflex of *d when *d precedes front vowels, and /n/ is a reflex of *d when the second consonant in the word is also a nasal. However, once again, this is not enough to account for why there are not more pairs with /y/ and /n/ reflexes since more than the words below would fulfill those conditions.

- | | | | | | |
|------|--------|----------------|---|--------|-----------|
| (42) | *déd | 'float, swing' | > | yòlònŋ | 'swing' |
| | *díong | 'wander' | > | yángà | 'wander' |
| | *dèng | 'measure' | > | yììg | 'measure' |

- | | | | | | |
|------|-------|---------|---|--------|---------|
| (43) | *dùmb | 'smell' | > | nùmèlò | 'smell' |
|------|-------|---------|---|--------|---------|

Additionally, there is one other correspondence, /t/, with only one cognate pair. There is not enough data to understand the conditioning, and it probably a borrowing since it exists alongside a word with the expected correspondence.

- | | | | | | |
|------|-----|---------|---|------|----------------------|
| (44) | *dò | 'fight' | > | túnà | 'fight with weapons' |
| | | | | júnà | 'fight (v)' |

3.2.1.2 *d in C₂ position

The primary correspondence of *d in a C₂ position is /l/.

(45)	*béd	'boil'	>	wûl	'boil (food)'
	*kúdù	'tortoise' (9)	>	kûl	'tortoise' (7)
	*túd	'forge (v)'	>	lúlò	'hit with a hammer'
	*dééd	'float, swing'	>	yòlòn	'swing'
	*bùd	'become plentiful'	>	bùlù	'a lot, many'
	*dèdù	'beard'	>	jòl	'beard' (9)
	*badek	'fear, flee'	>	wàl	'fear of risk' (7)
	*cùd	'fart'	>	ɲǎg fùl	'fart'
	*púdì	'foam' (9)	>	è-wúlè	'foam' (5)
	*tàd	'cut open'	>	càl	'cut down tree'

If *d is followed by a low vowel, then *d corresponds to /d/, which for many speakers is weakened to [r].

(46)	*jíd	'get dark'	>	è-yìdé	'darkness' (5)
	*pédè	'puff-adder' (9)	>	wúdò	'puff adder' (7)
	*gòdò	'leg' (15/6)	>	dù	'leg' (pl. mòdù) (5)
	*pádà	'forehead'	>	è-bàdà	'forehead' (5)

*d can also correspond to /nd/. Words with this reflex all begin with a palatal or velar nasal. However, there are also palatal and velar initial roots which have /l/ correspondences.

(47)	*jíd	'become black'	>	yíndê	'black'
	*kókòdà	'elbow'	>	ɲkwéndé	'elbow' (1)
	*cèd	'slip'	>	jàndèlà ¹⁹	'slip'

If the first consonant in the word is a nasal, then it seems that *d can correspond to /n/, as is illustrated below. Again, this is the only cognate pair illustrating this pattern.

(48)	*mìd	'devour, swallow'	>	mìnò	'swallow'
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Finally, there are some correspondences of *d to /z/. These are all synchronically after back vowels, though it is not clear why they would be a trigger for such a weakening process (which differs from the synchronic weakening of /d/ to [r]).

(49)	*dèdù	'chin' (7,9,11)	>	dôz	'chin' (5)
	*gòd	'buy, barter'	>	kùzò	'buy'
	*mòdè	'torch, bright'	>	mòz	'torch, lamp' (3)
	*jàdí	'lightning' (9)	>	njòz	'lightning' (3)

3.2.1.3 Summary

To summarize, *d₁ corresponds to /j/ after a nasal prefix and to /d/ when it occurs after a CV- prefix. The environments which led to the /l/ and

¹⁹ Also sàndèlà.

/y/ reflexes are less clear. /l/ corresponds to *d in the class 5 prefix, as well as in a few nouns and verbs. /y/ only occurs as a reflex of *d when *d was followed by a front vowel (in both nouns and verbs), but this vowel cannot be the only conditioning factor. It is possible that an alveolar C₂ is the other conditioning factor. Finally, there is one correspondence /n/ in a conditioning environment that would be consistent with Meinhof's law.

In C₂ position, the most common reflex of *d is /l/. If *d precedes a low vowel, it corresponds to /d/ which is weakened to [r] for many speakers. Some words also show a *d to /z/ reflex which could also be the result of weakening. Some words also exhibit a /nd/ reflex, but the conditioning reflex is not clear. Finally, it may be the case that when the C₁ is nasal, a nasal harmony is triggered, resulting in a correspondence of /n/.

3.2.2 *t

3.2.2.1 *t in C₁ position

There are three correspondences to *t at the beginning of a noun: /t/, /d/, and /l/. The /d/ correspondence seems the easiest to explain. *t corresponds to /d/ after the nasal prefix of class 9. It is not surprising that there is no trace of the nasal prefix in the reflexes of the class 9 words below,

since as has already been mentioned, the nasal was generally deleted before a voiceless stop.

- (50) *tòìgà 'giraffe' (9) > dwâng 'giraffe' (1)
 *tùut 'swell (v)' > dwàl 'tumor'

It is interesting that /d/ is also a reflex for a historical class 5 noun, since the historical prefixes for class 5 were *i and *di-.

- (51) *tàngá 'cattle post' (5) > dàn 'herd (cattle, sheep)'

Discovering a conditioning environment, either phonological or morphological for /t/ vs /l/ is trickier. Both occur before the same vowels, before the same tones, and in the same root shapes. There is also a mixing of morphological categories. /t/ occurs in what would have historically been an intervocalic environment (after a CV- prefix, as for class 5 nouns and the word 'five' which agrees with the head noun it modifies and thus would have followed several CV- concord prefixes). However, it also occurs with class 3 nouns, which would have been marked by a syllabic nasal.

- (52) *táánó 'five' > tón 'five'
 *tóóbá 'six' (3) > twób 'six'
 *tíndí 'heel' (5) > tíndìgì 'heel'
 *tító 'animal' (3) > tíd 'animal' (7)

In fact, there are only five examples where *t precedes a front vowel, the one given above (*tèd), the three given in (55) and (56), and the first example of (58). For two of these, *t corresponds to /s/.

- | | | | | | |
|------|---------|----------|---|---------|----------|
| (55) | *téamod | 'sneeze' | > | sâmbàlò | 'sneeze' |
| | *tèk | 'shake' | > | ságèzè | 'shake' |

For another, *t corresponds to /c/, as shown below.

- | | | | | | |
|------|-------|-------|---|----|-------|
| (56) | *tèet | 'cut' | > | cè | 'cut' |
|------|-------|-------|---|----|-------|

However, this is an interesting semantic field to look at. To begin with, there is another proto-Bantu root, *cɛɛc*, also meaning 'to cut.' It is not clear which root the Kol word is related to. It may be a direct reflex *c > c, or rather *t > c. The *c root is attested in Zone C, but not in A, while the *t root is attested in Zones A, B and C. Since there are no other reflexes of *c > c or of *t > c at the beginning of a word (other than what is shown below), the origin of 'cut' remains a mystery. The /s/ at the beginning of 'cut open' is also odd in light of the rest of the semantic field.

- | | | | | |
|------|-------|------------|------|-----------------|
| (57) | *béd | 'cut' | bà | 'cut' |
| | *tèet | 'cut' | cè | 'cut' |
| | *tàd | 'cut open' | sààl | 'cut open' |
| | | | càl | 'cut down tree' |

	cíg	'cut'
	cígàlò	'cut into pieces'
*kék	kèn	'cut hair'

For the fourth example of *t before a front vowel, given as the first example below, *t corresponds to /t/. The next two examples are confusing, since /t/ corresponds to *t in the same phonological environments as was shown for /l/ above, namely before a back vowel.

(58)	*tínd	'push'	>	tíndəlò	'push with pole (canoe)'
	*tób	'pierce'	>	túbò	'pierce ears'
	*tók	'abuse'	>	tûg	'insult, tease'

In fact, there are an additional two correspondences for *t before a back vowel, /ʃ/ and /j/. There is only one example for /ʃ/, so it may be able to be ignored, but there are three for /j/. Again, this is an area for further research.

(59)	*táng	'be first'	>	ʃwôg	'be in front'
(60)	*tòkot	'be hot, sweat'	>	júŋə	'be hot (person)'
	*támb	'call'	>	jáb	'call'
	*tànd	'spread'	>	jênj	'spread (disease, fire)'

3.2.2.2 *t in C₂ position

In C₂ position, *t corresponds to /l/ when there is a final vowel and to /d/ when it is root-final synchronically, as shown below.

- | | | | | | |
|------|---------|--------------|---|------|--------------|
| (61) | *dùt | 'pull, drag' | > | dùlà | 'pull' |
| | *ját-ab | 'answer' | > | yàlà | 'answer (v)' |
| (62) | *tító | 'animal' | > | tíd | 'animal' (7) |

3.2.2.3 Summary

For *t₁, after the non-syllabic nasal prefix of class 9, *t corresponds to /d/. There are also examples where it appears that the /d/ correspondence has been influenced by noun membership in class 5. *t also corresponds to /t/ and /l/ at the beginning of nouns.

At the beginning of verbs, /l/ is the most common correspondence, though it appears to only occur before back vowels. When preceding a front vowel, *t corresponds to /s/, /t/ and /c/. Before back vowels, there are also a few correspondences of *t to /t/, /ʃ/ and /j/.

As was described above, in C₂ position, *t corresponds to /l/ when the final vowel has been preserved and to /d/ when it is root-final synchronically.

3.2.3 *n

In nouns, adjectives and function words, the proto-alveolar nasal always corresponds to a synchronic alveolar nasal, in both C₁ and C₂ positions.

(63) *n₁ > n

*nà	'and, with'	>	nò	'and, with'
*nàì	'four'	>	ná	'four'
*nénè	'big'	>	nóné	'big, important'

(64) *n₂ > n

*nénè	'big'	>	nóné	'big, important'
*jánà	'child'	>	-ân	'child, offspring' (1)
*jínà	'name' (5)	>	dínò	'name' (5)
*gànò	'tale' (9,11)	>	kààn	'tale' (3)
*táánó	'five'	>	tón	'five'

In verbs, however, *n seems to correspond to /ɲ/, as shown by the three examples below. (The only verb found with a direct correspondence is the word for 'big' above, which may actually be a verb 'to be big.') In Kol, infinitives are marked with the class 5 prefix, and Meeussen notes that it may be possible to reconstruct that in proto-Bantu (1965:111). The historic class 5 prefix *i- may have conditioned palatalization of the alveolar nasal.

(65)	*nínk	'give'	>	ɲìg	'give back'
	*nè	'defecate'	>	ɲàg	'defecate'
	*nòkod	'tear off, extract'	>	ɲà	'tear'

There is also one more verb beginning with *n which seems to have a correlate in modern-day Kol. There are no other examples with a similar /t/ correspondence.

(66)	*nùn	'be old'	>	túl	'be old'
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3.2.4 *nd

There are no clear examples of *nd in C₁ position. However, in C₂ position, *nd almost always corresponds to /nd/.

(67)	*gàndó	'crocodile' (9)	>	ɲkòndô	'crocodile' (1)
	*gòndè	'moon' (9)	>	nkùnd	'moon' (9)
	*kándà	'cloth' (3,5,9)	>	kánd	'cloth' (7)
	*kòndè	'banana' (5)	>	kwànd	'plantain' (7)
	*tínd	'push'	>	tíndèlò	'push with pole'
	*gèndò	'journey' (11)	>	ɲkònd	'journey' (7)
	*tíndí	'heel' (5)	>	tíndìgì	'heel'

There are a few examples, where *nd may correspond to /nj/. This may be palatalization since the *nd is otherwise surrounded by palatals or the front vowels {i, e}. It cannot be just the vowel, since otherwise we would

expect the *nd in 'heel' to also become palatalized under the effect of the high front vowel /i/.

- (68) *dèndé 'open pit' (5) > yénj 'open place, clearing' (7)
 *céndé 'squirrel' > sínj 'squirrel' (7)
 *tànd 'spread' > jênj 'spread (disease, fire)'

Finally, there is one possible example of simplification of the final consonant. This is most likely a correspondence of *nd > nj > j. It is common for final prenasalized stops to be simplified to a single segment, either oral or nasal, as seen for *mb and *mp above.

- (69) *jòndò 'hammer' (9) > ncùùj 'hammer' (9)

There is also one example where *nd may correspond to /d/. This could be seen as an example of simplification.

- (70) *kèndó 'palm tree' (3) > lè-kúdó 'palm tree' (5)

3.2.5 *nt

As was mentioned above, voiceless prenasalized stops are very rare.

There are two possible examples, and in both cases *nt corresponds to /d/.

- (71) ntù 'some' > m-ùd 'person' (1)
 kònt 'knock, shake' > kùdò 'hit with hand'

3.3 PALATAL CONSONANTS

3.3.1 *j

There are no examples of *j in the C₂ position, which is consistent with the synchronic lack of palatal consonants in the coda position. However there are a plethora of reflexes, many of them contradictory, for the C₁ position.

These are discussed below.

3.3.1.1 *j in C₁ position

At the beginning of nouns, *j corresponds to /c/ after the nasal prefix.

This is illustrated below. Since *j was voiced, the nasal prefix remains (it is only deleted before voiceless consonants).

(72)	*jògù	'elephant' (9)	>	ncwòg	'elephant' (1)
	*jòndò	'hammer' (9)	>	ncùùj	'hammer' (9)
	*jàdà	'hunger' (9)	>	ncà	'hunger' (9)
	*játé	'buffalo' (9)	>	ncwòm	'buffalo' (7)
	*jango	'gall, salt'	>	ìcój	'bile or gall'
	*jango	'gall, salt'	>	ìcà	'bile or gall'

However, there are a few examples of a direct correspondence in what appears to be the same morphological environment.

(73)	*jèdà	'path' (9)	>	njwój	'path' (9)
	*jóbò	'house' (9)	>	njáb	'house' (3/4)
	*jògà	'fungus (edible)'	>	jwè	'mushroom' (7)

There is also one occurrence where the *j seems to have been deleted.

There is some question though, with many of the initial *j's whether they were there at all. Janssens notes that: "The researcher has the impression from time to time that those establishing the reconstructions posited the existence of a voiced palatal sound in PB (*j in Meeussen, *y or *j in Guthrie) more for reasons of economy than on the basis of definite indications" (1993:331). The example below could just be the nasal prefix of the class 9 occurring before a vowel-initial root. It is interesting though that it is the palatal nasal, which is the form we would expect before *j but not a expected reflex of *n in a noun.

(74) *jókà 'snake' (9) > nwân 'snake' (1)

There is also one example where *j corresponds to /d/. This is interesting because synchronically, /d/ alternates with /j/ in some dialects for at least this word. The Kol speakers who live along the Mbama-Messaména road say [jínò] while the Kol speakers who live further away from the road say [dínò].

(75) *jínà 'name' (5) > dínò 'name' (5) (pl. mínò)

Finally, there are a number of minor correspondences which may all be borrowed. The word for 'cooking pot' is quite unusual, since the expected correspondence is /nc/.

(76)	*jemba	'antbear'	>	yímò	'antbear'
	*jènjè	'mane' (3)	>	sáj	'mane' (3)
	*jòngó	'cooking pot' (9)	>	kòŋ	'cooking pot' (9)

As the initial consonant in verbs, *j corresponds to /j/ or /y/. The conditioning environment may be the following consonants. The /j/ reflexes are followed (or were followed) by labial consonants, while the /y/ reflexes are followed by alveolar consonants. However, it remains unclear why a labial consonant would maintain the proto-sound while an alveolar would condition weakening.

(77)	*jíb	'steal'	>	jíbò	'steal'
	*jòd	'laugh (v)'	>	jwò	'laugh (v)'
	*jípòd	'ask (questions)'	>	jí	'ask (for info)'
(78)	*ját-ab	'answer'	>	yàlà	'answer'
	*jíd	'become black'	>	yíndê	'black'

Finally, one verb in Proto-Bantu has two different correspondences in modern-day Kol, neither one of which shows the /j/ or /y/ correspondences illustrated above!

- (79) *jìkád 'dwell, sit, stay' > dì 'stay, remain'
> lígò 'stay, leave'

3.3.1.2 *Summary*

As was mentioned above, there are no examples of *j₂. *j₁ in nouns primarily corresponds to /c/ or /j/. All examples of /c/ are preceded by the class 9 nasal prefix. In verbs, *j₁ corresponds to /j/ or /y/, with the difference possibly being triggered by the following consonant.

3.3.2 *c

3.3.2.1 *c in C1 position

The primary reflexes of *c at the beginning of a noun are /s/ and /ʃ/. As was noted in the section above on synchronic variation, some dialects of Kol have /s/ where other dialects have /ʃ/. Not enough is known about this synchronic variation to know how it might have interacted with the historical evolution of *c. The /ʃ/ reflexes are always followed by a back vowel as seen in (81), while the /s/ reflexes are followed by both front and back vowels.

- (80) *cé 'earth, ground' > sí 'ground, earth' (7)
 *cángó 'father' (1a) > sɔ́ŋgè 'father' (1)
 *cádá 'feather' (5, 7, 11) > sà 'feather' (9)
 *céndé 'squirrel' (7) > sínj 'squirrel' (7)
 *cèngà 'sand' (3,5,9,11) > sìjè 'sand' (9) (no pl.)
- (81) *cɔ́ngɔ 'banana' (5) > ʃúŋɔ́ 'regime of plantains' (3)
 *cúé 'fish' > ʃû ~ sù 'fish' (1)
 *comb 'be on top' > ʃúmló 'upper (arm)' (9)
 *cónì 'shame' (9) > ʃû 'shame' (9) (no pl.)

Finally, there are four correspondences of which there is only one or two examples each. One, 'axe,' appears to have an incorporated nasal prefix which may be due to its shifting classes from class 5 to class 9 which is historically (though not synchronically) marked by a nasal prefix. The next is the voiced equivalent of *c, /j/, and this example historically belongs to class 14 which does not exist synchronically in Kol. The other three have /k/ and /t/ correspondences. There is not enough information to know right now what conditioned these different reflexes.

- (82) *còká 'axe' (5) > ncûŋ 'axe' (9)
 *cóngó 'poison' (14) > jwòg 'poison (n.)' (9)
 *càcè 'spark' (5,9,11) > káká 'spark' (1)
 *coga 'ladle' > tûg 'spoon' (1)

*còdò 'smell' (9) > tùd 'bad smell'

There are four correspondences for *c at the beginning of a verb. The most common reflex for *c at the beginning of a verb is /j/.

(83) *còk 'wash' > jùzà 'wash'
 *còng 'suffer' > jùg 'suffer'
 *cèd 'slip' > jàndèlà 'slip' (also sàndèlà)

The most consistent environment is found for the change *c > s, as shown below. All verbs which began with *c followed by *i synchronically begin with /s/. However, as can be seen by the last verb below, *c also changed to /s/ before *a in 'do.'

(84) *cíd 'finish' > síl 'finish'
 *cìc 'frighten' > syègèlé 'frighten'
 *cá 'do' > sá 'do'

This overlaps with the more common correspondence of *c to /j/ as well as two other correspondences which seem to occur in the same environment. These are illustrated below. Each of these is in complementary distribution with the /s/ correspondence before *i, but it is not clear at all what the conditioning environment is that determines whether *c corresponds to /j/, /k/ or /ʃ/.

(85)	*còobod	'skin'	>	kúúr	'skin animal'
	*càmb	'leap over'	>	kâb	'jump'
	*càng	'meet'	>	kwênj	'assemble, meet'
	*cééc	'run'	>	kwêg	'run'

As was the case for nouns, /ʃ/ only appears before back vowels.

However, /k/ and /j/ also appear before back vowels.

(86)	*còng	'sharpen to a point'	>	ʃwênj	'sharpen'
	*cùd	'fart'	>	ɲǎg ʃùl	'fart'

3.3.2.2 *c in C₂ position

There are only three examples of *c₂, as shown below. This is not enough data to be able to draw any sort of conclusions about the correspondences of *c₂. However, it is interesting that one of these is /z/ which is the voiced correlate to one of the *c₁ correspondences, /s/.

(87)	*kòcò	'parrot' (9)	>	kùùz	'parrot' (1)
	*kác-u	'dry'	>	ʃwézá, ʃwêz	'be dry'
	*kác	'coagulate'	>	kàgèrà	'coagulate, clot'

3.3.2.3 Summary

In nouns, *c₁ primarily corresponds to /s/ or /ʃ/. /ʃ/ is only found preceding back vowels, while /s/ is found preceding both front and back

vowels. In addition, there is an /nc/ correspondences which may have been caused in part by interaction with the class 9 prefix.

In verbs, *c corresponds to /s/ when it precedes *i, and to /j/, /s/, /k/, or /ʃ/ elsewhere. The correspondences /j/, /s/, /k/ and /ʃ/ occur in the same environments, but only /s/ occurs before *i.

In C₂ position, *c corresponds to /z/ or /k/, but there is not enough data to know which of these is the primary correspondence and/or what the conditioning environment is.

3.3.3 *ɲ

There are only three clear cognate sets with the palatal nasal. It appears that the *ɲ directly corresponds to /ɲ/.

(88)	*ɲó	'drink (v)'	>	ɲwèl	'drink (v)'
	*ɲam	'suck, suckle'	>	ɲâɲ	'nurse, suckle'
	*ɲàŋgó	'your mother' (1a)	>	ɲòŋgô	'mother' (1)

3.3.4 *ɲj

In contrast to *j where there were no clear examples of it occurring in C₂ position, for *ɲj, there are no clear examples of it occurring in C₁ position. The examples showing correspondences of *ɲj in C₂ position are themselves not numerous (two). As was mentioned above, palatal consonants are rare as

codas. The example below illustrates a direct correspondence between *nj and /nj/, while the following example shows an erosion of *nj to /n/.

- (89) *bànjé 'rib, side' > mpànj 'side of body' (7)
 *bánjá 'family' > bèn 'extended paternal family'

3.4 VELAR CONSONANTS

Meeussen does not reconstruct a velar nasal (1965:83). Below the sound correspondences for *g, *k, *ng, and *nk will be discussed.

3.4.1 *g

3.4.1.1 *g in C₁ position

In the C₁ position, *g has multiple reflexes. /g/ does not occur synchronically in C₁ position. For nominal roots, the most common correspondence is /k/. This is true for nouns in all of the nasal prefix classes as well as those in other classes.

- (90) *gango 'grass' > ká 'grass, leaf' (7)
 *gùbà 'bellows' > kwòm 'bellows'
 *gòngò 'back' > kwòṅ 'back' (3)
 *gòngó 'caterpillar' (5) > kùṅ 'caterpillar' (3)
 *gànò 'tale' (9,11) > kààn 'tale' (3)
 *gàndó 'crocodile' > ṅkòndô 'crocodile' (1)
 *gàngà 'medicine man' > ṅkàṅ 'medicine man' (1)
 *gùbà 'shield' (9) > ṅkùbò 'shield' (9)

*gèmbóá	'bat'	>	ɲkù	'fruit bat' (7)
*gèndè	'moon' (9)	>	ɲkùnd	'moon' (9)
*gèndò	'journey' (11)	>	ɲkònd	'journey' (7)

There is a less common reflex, where *g corresponds to /c/. This reflex only occurs before *i, but it occurs in all classes. This corresponds to the synchronic gap of palatalization occurring with velar consonants.

(91)	*gìdá	'blood' (6)	>	cì	'blood' (6)
	*gìdò	'religious avoidance'	>	cì	'taboo' (7)
	*gì	'fly' (9)	>	ncùŋ	'fly' (1)

There are also a few isolated examples of other reflexes.

(92)	*gèni	'stranger' (1)	>	njɔŋ	'stranger' (1)
	*gèdì, gèdà	'stream' (3)	>	wô	'current' (3)

In verbs, there are two reflexes, /k/ and /c/. It appears that /k/ is the reflex before back vowels and /c/ is the reflex before front vowels, which would parallel the noun correspondences. The one exception 'tell story' may differ because it forms a paradigm with *kààn* 'tale.'

(93)	*gò	'fall (v)'	>	kùr	'fall from high'
	*gì	'go'	>	kè	'go'
	*gòd	'buy, barter'	>	kùzò	'buy'
	*gàn	'tell story'	>	kènè	'tell story'

	*gèd	'try'	>	kèg	'try'
(94)	*gìd	'abstain from'	>	cì	'abstain'

3.4.1.2 *g in C₂ position

In C₂ position, *g has only one reflex, a direct correspondence /g/.

This is true for both verbs and nouns, as shown below.

(95)	*coga	'ladle'	>	tûg	'spoon' (1)
	*jògù	'elephant' (9)	>	ncwòg	'elephant' (1)
	*pígò	'kidney'	>	mbǎŋ fīg	'kidney'
	*tóg	'bail water'	>	lwôg	'bail water'
	*dúg	'stir, paddle'	>	dúgò	'paddle (v)'
	*bògà	'hoe'	>	bòg	'hoe' (9) (pl. mèm̀p̀ò̀g̀)

3.4.1.3 Summary

In C₁ position, the correspondences to *g seem to primarily reflect the location of the following vowel. In nouns, *g corresponds to /c/ before *i, and to /k/ everywhere else. In verbs, though with only two examples, it is impossible to tell for sure, it appears that *g corresponds to /c/ before front vowels and to /k/ before back vowels.

As was mentioned above, in C₂ position, *g has only one reflex, a direct correspondence /g/.

3.4.2 *k

3.4.2.1 *k in C₁ position

The primary correspondence for *k when it is the initial C of a noun is /k/.

(96)	*kándà	'cloth' (3,5,9)	>	kánd	'cloth' (7)
	*kúbà	'chicken'	>	kúbò	'chicken' (1)
	*kòmbe	'bank, shore'	>	kómb	'side'
	*kèndó	'palm tree'	>	lè-kúdó	'palm tree' (5)
	*kídà	'tail' (3)	>	kùùnd	'tail' (3)
	*kángà	'guinea fowl' (9)	>	kâŋ	'guinea fowl' (3)
	*kémà	'monkey'	>	kâm	'monkey' (1)

However, there are also three other minor correspondences, each with one example. It is interesting that the /c/ correspondence occurs before a historic front vowel, but there are also front vowels represented in the examples above.

(97)	*kíngó	'neck' (9)	>	cóŋ	'neck' (9)
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It is also interesting that the two labial correspondences, /w/ and /f/, occur before labial C₂'s and before back vowels, but again, this is not sufficient to explain this correspondence, since that is also true for some of the /k/ examples above.

- (98) *kómì 'ten' (5) > wúm 'ten' (5)
 *kúpà 'bone' (5) > fḡb 'fish bone' (9)

The primary correspondences for *k at the beginning of a verb is /ʃ/.

However, there are also two other correspondences, /s/ and /k/. It is possible that the vowel following *k played a part in determining the correspondences. All of the occurrences of *k corresponding to /ʃ/ shown below are when *k is followed by a back vowel.

- (99) *kác-u 'dry' > ʃwézá, ʃwêz 'be dry'
 *kód-o 'be drunk' > ʃwégá 'be drunk'
 *káng 'threaten' > ʃwàngèlè 'threaten'

Two out of the three examples showing the /s/ and /k/ correspondences are when *k preceded a front vowel, as shown below. However, there is no apparent conditioning environment to determine which of these two reflexes should emerge.

- (100) *kéng 'cheat, deceive' > sìg 'deceive'
 *kém 'call, cry' > kêḡ 'scream, cry out'

Finally, there is one example where *k corresponds to /s/ before a back vowel. As was noted in the section on synchronic variation, /s/ and /ʃ/ are in dialectal variation. This may have played a role here.

(101) *kɔŋg 'look for, seek' > sɔŋ 'look for'

3.4.2.2 *k in C₂ position

As a C₂, *k has three reflexes: /ŋg/, /ŋ/ and /g/. It seems logical to suggest that the original change was *k > ŋg, followed by a simplification of /ŋg/ to either /ŋ/ or /g/. In fact, this is what I will be proposing below for *ŋg when it is in C₂ position.

It is however not clear what would have triggered (or blocked?) a simplification of the final consonant in some words, much less why certain words have a /ŋ/ simplification while others have a /g/. It is interesting that there is only one example of the non-simplified /ŋg/.

(102) *təkà 'earth, mud' (5) > mə-ndángá 'mud' (6)

(103) *cəká 'axe' > ncûŋ 'axe' (9)
 *tòkot 'be hot' > júŋè 'be hot (person)'
 *kék 'cut' > kèn 'cut hair'
 *jókà 'snake' (9) > ɲwân 'snake' (1)

(104) *jikád 'dwell, sit, stay' > lígò 'stay, leave'
 *pàkò 'tree-hollow' (9) > wúg 'hole' (5)
 *báká 'knife' (5) > è-báág 'knife' (5)
 *tók 'abuse' > ntèg 'abuse'
 *pákù 'honey' (9) > bwǎg 'harvest honey'

*tók	'abuse'	>	tûg	'insult, tease'
*tèk	'shake'	>	ságèzè	'shake'

3.4.2.3 Summary

The primary correspondence of *k as the initial consonant in a noun is /k/, and the primary correspondence for *k as the initial consonant in a verb is /ʃ/. However, for both nouns and verbs, there are numerous other minor correspondences: /s/, /c/, /w/ and /f/ for nouns and /s/ and /k/ for verbs.

As a C₂, it is likely that *k changed to /ŋg/ at one stage and is now undergoing a simplification process with some words having only /ŋ/ and some words having only /g/. This is similar to the changes that *ng has undergone.

3.4.3 *ng

There is only one example of *ng in C₁ position, and it demonstrates a *ng > nk correspondence.

(105)	*ngà	'as, like'	>	ŋkà	'as, like'
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In C₂ position, there are a few examples of a direct correspondence, as shown below.

(106)	*bángá	'jaw' (11)	>	bángô	'jaw' (7)
	*bèng	'drive, chase'	>	wîng	'drive away, chase'

*káng 'threaten' > ʃwàngàlè 'threaten'

However, most of the examples show a simplification of the *ng to either /ŋ/ or /g/. The conditioning for the different reflexes remains unclear.

Both correspondences occur in nouns and verbs, and both are in the same phonological environments.

(107)	*túng	'build, plait'	>	lúnò	'build by weaving'
	*gòngò	'back'	>	kwòŋ	'back' (3)
	*gàngà	'medicine man'	>	ŋkàn	'medicine man' (1)
	*còngò	'banana'	>	ʃúnó	'hand of plantains' (3)
	*dòngà	'river' (3)	>	njwǎŋ	'river' (9)
	*gòngó	'caterpillar' (5)	>	kùŋ	'caterpillar' (3)
	*kíngó	'neck' (9)	>	cón	'neck' (9)
	*kàngà	'guinea fowl' (9)	>	kân	'guinea fowl' (3)
	*jango	'gall' (9)	>	ìcón	'bile or gall'
	*tàngá	'cattle post' (5)	>	dàn	'herd (cattle, sheep)'
	*dóng	'suggest'	>	bì-ján	'lies' (8)

(108)	*cóngó	'poison' (14)	>	jwòg	'poison' (9)
	*dongo	'beak' (3)	>	dúúg	'beak' (5) (pl. múúg)
	*kén	'cheat, deceive'	>	sìg	'deceive'
	*còng	'suffer'	>	jùg	'suffer'
	*táng	'be first'	>	ʃûg, ʃwôg	'be in front'

3.5.1 Nasals

The nasals in Kol are all in direct correspondence with the proto-nasals. The only slight modification is that *n appears to correspond with /ɲ/ when it is the initial consonant of a verbal root. This may be due to the infinitival form, probably the class 5 marker *i- (which has been preserved in modern Kol). The high vowel could have conditioned palatalization in the following segment. Otherwise, *n corresponds to /n/ whether it is in the C₁ position or the C₂ position. The same is true for *m, which always corresponds to /m/. While there are not a lot of clear cognate sets for the palatal nasal, for the two examples that exist, *ɲ directly corresponds to /ɲ/. Meeussen does not posit a proto velar nasal.

3.5.2 Voiced NC

There is only one example found of a NC occurring in C₁ position. In this one case, *ng corresponds to /ŋk/.

However, in C₂ position, there are a number of examples. Each NC demonstrates a direct correspondence, while additionally each shows some evidence of erosion at the right edge, with simplification of the NC to either N or C. That is to say, *mb corresponds directly to /mb/, but there are also

examples where *mb corresponds to /m/. Likewise, *nd mostly directly corresponds to /nd/, but there is also one example where it corresponds to /d/. Additionally, there are some examples where *nd has been palatalized to /nj/. Again, of the two examples found for an *nj correspondence, one is /nj/ and the other is /n/. Finally, there are a number of *ng correspondences. The most common is /ŋ/, but there are also examples of /ng/ and /g/.

For all of the NC's, it is not possible with the current data to determine why erosion happened in certain cases and not others, and why in some cases it was the C that was preserved instead of the N.

3.5.3 Voiceless NC

Meeussen notes that voiceless prenasalized stops are rare. Cognate forms all show similar reflexes to the voiced NC's. *mp has a /b/ reflex and a /m/ reflex, as seen for *mb. *nt has a /d/ reflex. *nk has a /g/ reflex. There were no examples of *nc correspondences.

3.5.4 Voiced oral stops

3.5.4.1 When in C₁ position

The C₁ position is the most diverse, probably because roots in Kol can be preceded by so many different kinds of affixes. Direct correspondences between the proto voiced stops and the current day stops are most common in morphological environments which would have placed the stop in question between vowels (that is to say, at the beginning of verbs or after a (C)V- noun prefix).

It is interesting that the reflexes for *g can be completely explained by the phonological environment, i.e. whether the following vowel is front or back, while this most definitely cannot be the explanation for the various correspondences of the other three voiced stops.

To review, in nouns, *g corresponds to /c/ before *i, and to /k/ everywhere else. In verbs, it appears that *g corresponds to /c/ before front vowels and to /k/ before back vowels. This additionally explains why velar consonants do not occur synchronically with palatalization.

In contrast, the various reflexes for *b, d, j seem to be partially explained by looking at the various possible morphological environments. It

seems to be important, for at least some correspondences, whether the C1 is at the beginning of a noun or a verb. If it is at the beginning of a noun, then for some voiced stops, it is important to consider the nature of the noun class prefix. There were most likely three different types of noun class prefix. The most widely spread would have been a (C)V- prefix (singular classes 5, 7 and all the plural classes). These singular prefixes have all been lost in modern-day Kol. The second type of noun class prefix would have been a non-syllabic nasal marking classes 9 and 10 (and probably extended to class 11 due to it having its plural in class 10). The third type of prefix would have been originally a NV- prefix, but many Bantu languages show evidence of vowel deletion in this prefix, resulting in a syllabic (possibly tone-bearing) nasal prefix.

A chart is given below, showing the correspondences for *b, d, j in these different kinds of morphological environments.

	N- (cl. 9)	NV- (cl. 1, 3)	CV- (cl. 5, 7)	verbs
*b	mp	mb	b	w
*d	j	j	d, l, y, n	j, d, l, y, n
*j	c, j	--?	j	j, y

Table 7.3 Voiced consonant reflexes

*d has the highest number of correspondences. The correspondences /y/ and /n/ occur in both nouns and verbs. /y/ only occurs as a reflex of *d when *d is followed by a front vowel, while /n/ only occurs when the other C in the word is also a nasal. The conditioning environment for /l/ remains unclear, as does the reason for having both /j/ and /d/ as common reflexes in verbs.

It is interesting that both *b and *j have a voiceless reflex in the morphological environment of the noun class prefix for class 9. This is in effect a voicing dissimilation.

This same process is synchronically present in Kol today.²⁰ When a class 7 noun is pluralized as a mass noun in class 10, this process is marked by a nasal prefix. However, this nasal prefix also devoices the root-initial consonant, as shown below.

(110) cl 7/8	bùùnd	'skin, shell'	bìbùùnd	(as in eggshells)
cl 10	mpùnd	(as in peanut shells)		
cl 7/10	bùmò	'fruit'	mpùmò	'fruits' (all kinds)

²⁰ And in Makaa.

It is odd that *d completely lacks this voicing dissimilation. It is also interesting that *d and *j, in contrast to *b and *g, have completely lost the nasal portion of the noun class markers.

Such a voicing dissimilation in this particular morphological environment is common in other Bantu languages, including languages of the A-zone (Bubi A.31 and Nen A.44 among others, see Janssens 1993).

3.5.4.2 *When in C₂ position*

Three of the four voiced oral stops, *b, *d and *g, have direct correspondences when they occur as the second consonant in a root. *j has no clear correspondences as a C₂. Palatal consonants are very rare as coda consonants in Kol today.

*b has a minor secondary correspondence of /mb/. While there is not enough data to be sure of the conditioning environment, both of the occurrences of /mb/ occur when the initial consonant is labialized.

The situation with *d is much more complicated. In C₂ position, the most common reflex of *d is /l/. If *d precedes a low vowel, it corresponds to /d/ which is weakened to [r] for many speakers. Some words also exhibit a /nd/ reflex, but the conditioning reflex is not clear. Finally, it may be the

case that when the C_1 is nasal, a nasal harmony is triggered, resulting in a correspondence of /n/.

3.5.5 Voiceless oral stops

3.5.5.1 When in C_1 position

When looking at the voiceless stops in the C_1 position, it is necessary to keep a clear division between verb-initial voiceless stops and noun-initial voiceless stops. There are quite different correspondences found on either side of this morphological line. However, in contrast to the voiced stops, the differing noun prefixes do not seem to correlate much with the differing correspondences.

	N- (cl. 9)	NV- (cl. 1, 3)	CV- (cl. 5, 7)	verbs
*p	f, w, b, mp	mb	--?	w, f
*t	d	t, l	d, t, l	l, s, t, c, ʃ, j
*c	nc	s, ʃ	s, ʃ	s, j, k, ʃ
*k	k	k	k, s, c, w, f	ʃ, s, k

Table 7.4 Voiceless consonant reflexes

One major difference between the voiced and voiceless stops is the impact of the vowel following the C_1 . For voiced stops, the phonological environment only seemed to be important for the velar stop. For voiceless

stops, the phonological environment appears to play a role for every voiceless stop *except* the velar stop, especially in verbs.

As the initial consonant of verbs, *p corresponds to /w/ before /a/, and /f/ everywhere else.

In this same environment, *d primarily corresponds to /l/, though it appears to only occur before back vowels. When preceding a front vowel, *t corresponds to /s/, /t/ and /c/. Before back vowels, there are also a few correspondences of *t to /t/, /ʃ/ and /j/.

In verbs, *c corresponds to /s/ when it precedes *i, and to /j/, /k/, or /ʃ/ elsewhere. The correspondences /j/, /k/ and /ʃ/ occur in the same environments, but each contrasts with the environment for /s/.

The phonological environment also seems to be important for *c when it is the first consonant in a noun. This is not apparently the case for the other three voiceless stops. Again, it is strange that *k does not seem to have any phonological conditioning when its voiced counterpart's correspondences could be entirely explained by reference to the phonological environment.

In nouns, *c₁ primarily corresponds to /s/ or /ʃ/. /ʃ/ is only found preceding back vowels, while /s/ is found preceding both front and back vowels. In addition, there are two /nc/ correspondences which may have been caused in part by interaction with the class 9 prefix.

3.5.5.2 *When in C₂ position*

In general, the voiceless stops are voiced when they appear as the second consonant in a word. The only exception is possibly for *c, which has a /k/ correspondence as well as the voiced /z/ correspondence.

With respect to their manner of articulation, the bilabial stop has remained the most conservative, while the alveolar stop has undergone the most weakening. The voiceless bilabial stop *p has remained a stop, just undergoing voicing assimilation, to become the voiced bilabial stop /b/ in all cognate pairs established.

The velar stop is also fairly conservative. *k has become the prenasalized stop /ng/ in the C₂ position, which is then undergoing erosion (or simplification) to the nasal /ŋ/ or the stop /g/.

The palatal stop *c has become the voiced fricative /z/ in at least one cognate set.

Finally, the least conservative alveolar stop *t corresponds to /l/ when the final vowel has been preserved and to /r/ when it is root-final synchronically.

4 Vowel correspondences

In Kol, the Proto-Bantu high vowels *i and *u and the low vowel *a have the most direct correspondences. The proto mid vowels (*e, *ɛ, *o and *ɔ) show a lot more variation. This may be due to a period of time when vowel harmony was present in the system among the mid vowels. This is common in other Bantu languages, both within and outside of the A-zone. There are no vowel harmony processes active today in any of the languages of the Makaa-Kol-Konzime group.

4.1 HIGH VOWELS

As was mentioned above, the high vowel correspondences are fairly direct.

4.1.1 *i

The high front vowel *i has direct correspondences both as a V_1 and as a V_2 , as illustrated below.

(111)	*jíd	'get dark (v)'	>	è-yìdé	'darkness' (5)
	*bî	'dung, excrement'	>	bî	'excrement' (6)
	*cíd	'finish'	>	síl	'finish'
	*mìd	'devour, swallow'	>	mìnò	'swallow'
	*tító	'animal'	>	tíd	'animal' (1)
	*jíb	'steal'	>	jíbò	'steal'

(112)	*tíndí	'heel' (5)	>	tíndìgì	'heel'
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4.1.2 *u

The most common correspondence for the back high vowel *u is a direct one, as shown below.

(113)	*búdà	'rain' (9)	>	mpú	'rain' (1)
	*bùá	'nine' (5)	>	è-bù	'nine' (5)
	*cúé	'fish'	>	ɟù	'fish' (1)
	*bùd	'become plentiful'	>	bùlù	'a lot, many'
	*dúg	'stir, paddle'	>	dúgò	'paddle (v)'
	*dùt	'pull, drag'	>	dùlè	'pull'

There is one example of *u corresponding to /o/ after a labialized consonant. Synchronically, it is quite common to have a u ~ wo variation after palatal stops. Below are examples from the southern Kol dialect on the left, and examples from the central dialect on the right.

(114)	ncùg	ncwòg	'elephant' (9)
	ncûŋ	ncôŋ	'axe' (9)
	ʃûg	ʃwôg	'front'
	-ɲùg	-ɲwòg	'wine' (6)
	jùg	jwòg	'poison' (9)

Thus, though the correspondence below is after a velar stop, this may not actually be a separate correspondence.

(115)	*gùbà	'bellows' (3)	>	kwòm	'bellows'
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However, there is also one example of *u corresponding to /a/. There are no known examples of this sort of variation synchronically.

(116)	*dupek	'sharpen'	>	jàb	'sharpen (knife)'
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There were no examples found demonstrating a cognate set for *u as a V₂. Synchronically, /u/ is allowed as a V₂ for nouns, though it is very rare for verbs.

4.2 MID VOWELS

For each of the four mid vowels, there are no clear cognate pairs for the V₂ position. Thus, the sections below will only look at the correspondences of the proto mid vowels in the V₁ position. Also, each vowel has several cognate pairs showing a direct correspondence between the proto-

vowel and the modern-day vowel. However, for each, this direct correspondence is only one among many other correspondences.

4.2.1 *e

The direct correspondence *e > e is quite common, as shown by the examples below.

(117)	*bédá	'pit, grave' (9)	>	bé	'thicket, pit' (9)
	*gé	'egg'	>	è-ké	'egg' (5)
	*té	'tree' (3)	>	lé	'tree' (3)
	*jàmbé	'god' (9)	>	ncìmbé	'god' (1)
	*béek	'put'	>	bêr	'put, place, set'

It is, however, also common to find cognate pairs which illustrate a vowel raising process, resulting in a correspondence of *e > i.

(118)	*bèng	'drive, chase'	>	wîng	'drive away, chase'
	*dèd	'shout, cry, weep'	>	jìi	'cry, weep'
	*cé	'ground, earth'	>	sí	'ground, earth' (7)
	*jèká	'only'	>	njì	'only'

Much more rare are correspondences between *e and a back vowel, though there is one example for each of the vowel heights shown above. That is to say, in the first example below, *e has maintained its level in the vowel system but has been moved back to correspond to the back vowel /o/. In the

second example, *e has been raised one level (to the same level as /i/) and moved back to correspond to the back vowel /u/.

(119)	*démì	'tongue' (11)	>	jôm	'tongue' (7)
	*béd	'boil'	>	wûl	'boil (food)'

4.2.2 *o

The proto-vowel *o also has some direct reflexes in Kol, as shown below.

(120)	*tóóbá	'six' (3)	>	twób	'six'
	*cóngó	'bitterness, poison'	>	jwòg	'poison' (9)
	*mòdè	'torch, bright'	>	mòz	'torch, lamp' (3)

However, much more common is the correspondence *o > u, which is an example of raising, parallel to the one seen for *e, where *e > i.

(121)	*jódò	'nose' (5)	>	dû	'nose' (5)
	*bòbè	'spider' (5,11)	>	bùb	'spider' (5)
	*coga	'ladle'	>	tûg	'spoon' (1)
	*gòdòbè	'pig' (9)	>	ŋkù	'pig' (1)
	*kòcò	'parrot' (9)	>	kùùz	'parrot' (1)
	*kómì	'ten' (5)	>	wúm	'ten' (5)
	*gòdò	'leg' (15)	>	dù	'thigh' (5)
	*pókò	'mouse, rat' (9)	>	fû	'mouse' (1)

There is also one example of *o corresponding to /i/. This is the inverse of one of the processes seen for *e, where *e was raised and then moved back. In this case, *o is being raised (to the level of /u/) and then moved front to correspond to /i/.

(122) *tòkot 'sweat' > dídik 'sweat, perspire'

Finally, there is one example, where *o seems to correspond to /ε/. This would involve lowering the vowel one level and then moving it to the front of the vowel space. There was no parallel to this process for *e.

(123) *tók 'abuse' > ntèg 'abuse'

4.2.3 *ε

The open-mid (or level 3) front vowel *ε also has a direct correspondence in modern-day Kol, as shown below.

(124) *démà 'bat' (3) > njêm 'bat' (3)
 *kém 'call, cry' > kêm 'scream, cry out'

As was the case for *e above, there are also examples of *ε being moved to a back vowel. However, in this case, the vowel has also been raised, since it corresponds to /o/ and not to the back open-mid vowel /ɔ/. Since in three of the examples shown below, the second vowel in the word is

a back vowel, this may be a back (or rounding) assimilation in combination with a raising process.

(125)	*gèndò	'journey' (11)	>	ɲkònd	'journey' (7)
	*béèdè	'breast, udder' (5)	>	bôl	'udder, breast' (5)
	*gègò	'molar tooth' (5,7)	>	ɲkòkók	'molar tooth' (5)
	*dèdù	'beard'	>	jòl	'beard' (9)

Synchronically, there is at least one example where a word varies along this same pattern across dialects.

(126)	ɟwènɟ	'young man' (3)	<i>varies with</i>	ɟwàɲɟ
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4.2.4 *ɔ

Unlike the case for the other mid vowels, *ɔ only has one cognate pair which illustrates a direct correspondence with /ɔ /.

(127)	*gòngò	'back' (3)	>	kwòɲ	'back' (3)
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There are also a number of examples illustrating a raising process, where the open-mid vowel *ɔ corresponds to the close-mid vowel /o/. This is similar to what has been seen for *e and *o.

(128)	*bókò	'arm' (15)	>	mbwó	'arm' (3)
	*dó	'sleep' (13)	>	jwò	'sleep' (5)
	*pókó	'one'	>	fóg	'one' (counting)
	*kɔmbɛ	'bank, shore'	>	kómb	'side'

*tón 'drip' > ntóbà 'flow, drip'

Additionally, there are a number of examples which illustrate a more drastic raising process, with *ɔ corresponding to the high vowel /u/. This process is not parallel to anything seen for the other mid vowels.

(129) *bòmbò	'bundle' (3)	>	mbùmb	'bundle' (3)
*còká	'axe'	>	ncûŋ	'axe' (9)
*cɔngɔ	'banana'	>	ʃúŋɔ	'regime of plantains' (3)
*gòndè	'moon' (9)	>	ŋkùnd	'moon' (9)
*dób	'fish with a line'	>	dùb	'fish with line'
*tób-od	'bore through'	>	túbò	'pierce (ears)'

There are examples of a fronting rule, as well. Below is one example where *ɔ has maintained its level in the vowel system, but has been moved to the front of the vowel space, corresponding to /ɛ/. Interestingly enough, the modern reflex is also labialized. It is possible that the rounding has been separated out into the /w/, leaving the unrounded version, i.e. the front vowel, behind.

(130) *ɲɔ 'drink' > ɲwèl 'drink'

There are also examples showing a combination of fronting and raising, given below. Here *ɔ has been raised one level (to the level of /o/)

and then shifted to the front of the vowel space, corresponding to /e/. Most of these words also have an initial labialized consonant. These may be similar examples to the reflex described above, where the rounding has been separated out, with the added complication of a raising process. For 'elbow' it is interesting that both synchronic vowels are /e/, which suggests that some sort of assimilation process targeted both the *ɔ and the *a .

(131) *kókòdà 'elbow' (9)	>	ɲkwéndé 'elbow' (1)
*cób 'lack'	>	njêb 'lack'
*còng 'carve, sharpen'	>	ʃwênj 'carve, sharpen'

Additionally, as we saw for *ɛ, there is a correspondence of *ɔ to /a/.

Since both of these modern words also have a labialized consonant, this could again be an unrounding process.

(132) *bòmà 'python' (9)	>	mpwàm 'python' (1)
*kòndè 'banana' (5)	>	kwànd 'plantain' (7)

Finally, there is one example where *ɔ corresponds to /ə/. This is again probably an unrounding process, but it may also be a raising process, since in the synchronic Kol system, /ə/ is on the same level as /e/ and /o/.

(133) *jògà 'fungus' (14)	>	jwə 'mushroom' (7)
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4.3 LOW VOWELS

The low vowel *a most frequently corresponds to /a/, in both the V₁ and V₂ positions, as shown below.

(134)	*bànjé	'rib, side' (11)	>	mpànj	'side of body' (7)
	*gàngà	'medicine man' (1)	>	ɲkàɲ	'medicine man' (1)
	*gango	'grass'	>	ká	'grass, leaf' (7)
	*kándà	'cloth' (3,5,9)	>	kánd	'cloth' (7)
	*táà	'bow' (14)	>	lâ	'bow' (7)
	*bád	'marry'	>	bâ	'marry'
	*dám̄b	'cook'	>	jâmb	'prepare food, cook'
	*ngà	'as, like'	>	ɲkà	'as, like'

(135)	*pádà	'forehead'	>	è-bàdà	'forehead' (5)
	*ját-ab	'answer'	>	yàlà	'answer (v)'

The next most common correspondence is when *a corresponds to /o/.

Interestingly, for two of the five cognate pairs shown below, the V₂ is /o/.

This V₂ has been lost for all five pairs, but before it was deleted, it may have

triggered vowel harmony on the *a₁. Otherwise, this is a raising and

rounding process; one that has raised *a two levels.

(136)	*táanó	'five'	>	tón	'five'
	*tátò	'three'	>	lól	'three'
	*càjá	'cheek'	>	kòg	'cheek' (5)

*jàdí	'lightning' (9)	>	njòz	'lightning' (3)
*dàmok	'early, wake up'	>	jòm	'wake up'

This raising process probably also have occurred for the following two example words. The vowel found in the word 'be' varies between /o/ and /ə/. The second vowel in 'jaw' is /o/ while the first vowel is /ə/. However, the first vowel is before a nasal, which is a common position for /o/ and /e/ to be centralized.

(137)	*bá	'dwell, be, become'	>	bə	'be'
	*bángá	'jaw' (11)	>	bəŋgô	'jaw' (7)

A similar process may have occurred for the following cognate pairs, where *a corresponds to /ɔ/. /o/ and /ɔ/ are in free variation in Makaa, and could conceivably have been in free variation in Kol at one point. This seems fairly plausible for the first example, but a big stretch for the second.

(138)	*gàndó	'crocodile' (9)	>	ŋkòndô	'crocodile' (1)
	*kápí	'paddle, oar' (9)	>	ŋkòbb	'paddle' (9)

There is one example where *a appears to be both fronted and raised to correspond with /e/. This cannot be a case of vowel harmony since the second vowel in the word is already identical to the first. However, it may be

a case of the following nasal raising the first vowel. Synchronically in Kol, the vowel /e/ is raised to /i/ when it precedes a vowel, as was discussed in the section on synchronic variation above.

(139) *bánjá 'family' > bèn 'extended paternal family'

Finally, there is one example where *a corresponds to /ɔ/ when it is in the V₂ position. Since it is the V₂, vowel harmony cannot be triggered by a following vowel, though since the first vowel is high and rounded, this might be a progressive vowel harmony, similar in everything but direction to the regressive vowel harmony discussed above.

(140) *kúbà 'chicken' > kúbò 'chicken' (1)

4.4 GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON VOWEL CORRESPONDENCES

Looking at the vowel system as a whole, it may be noted that while the high vowels *i and *u have remained remarkably stable, the rest of the vowel system has undergone some major shifts.

*i and *u both have as their primary reflex the direct correspondences /i/ and /u/. *i has no other correspondences, and *u has two minor ones

which can probably be ignored. *a has also remained fairly stable, with most occurrences of *a corresponding to /a/ today.

The most common process to have occurred among all the vowels (except for *i and *u) is a raising process. For the close-mid vowels, *e and *o, their major correspondence (other than the direct one, which is fairly numerous for *e but less so for *o) is one where they have been raised one level, i.e. where *e > i and *o > u. There appears to be a similar process occurring with *ɔ. One of its primary correspondences is one where *ɔ > o. However, if /o/ and /ɔ/ are in free variation, then this process becomes moot. *a also has two examples where *a > ə which would be a parallel pattern.

The most numerous correspondence for *ɔ though is one where *ɔ has been raised two levels to correspond to /u/. This process could have also occurred for *a and *ε, though for both of these latter proto-vowels, an additional process co-occurs with the raising one.

The open-mid vowel *ε does not really have enough cognate pairs to be able to determine which correspondence is really the primary one. However, the one with the most examples at the moment is one where *ε >

o. Of the four examples, three have a back (and round) vowel as the V_2 , which might explain how * ϵ was shifted to the back. The height shift (one level) could be part of an overall shift in the system where vowels were raised one height (as might have occurred for * e , * o , and * ɔ).

For the low vowel * a , the second-most common reflex is where * a corresponds to / o /. Again, for three of the five cognate pairs shown, the second vowel is a round vowel, either / o / or / ɔ / which means that the raising process could have been combined with a rounding assimilation. (Otherwise, a global raising process could have resulted in a mid or high central vowel, both of which do currently exist in the Kol vowel inventory.)

Finally, there is one more significant correspondence which must be mentioned. * ɔ can also correspond to / e /, / ϵ / and / a /, which appears to be an unrounding process since these unrounded variants primarily occur with a labialized consonant.

5 Grammatical Correspondences

In the sections below, some aspects of Meeussen's grammatical reconstructions (1967) will be compared with modern day Kol grammatical

structures. Nominal morphosyntax will be discussed first followed by verbal morphosyntax.

5.1 NOUNS

5.1.1 Noun Classes and Agreement

Synchronically, Kol has a reduced noun class set, only having classes 1-10 from Proto-Bantu. However, within the A.80 central cluster, Heath and Beavon have both noticed reflexes from the Proto-Bantu locative classes in Makaa and Konzime, respectively. Heath (p.c.) has noted that certain locative nouns have idiosyncratic relative clause concord markers. Beavon (1983) noted that the Nzime dialect of Konzime has a locative noun *kwá* which could include the locative class (class 17) prefix *ko-*.

1	*mo-	mò-	mwàrá	woman
		m-	mùr	man, person
		Ø	kól	sister (to a man)
2	*ba-	bò-	bw-àrá	women
			bw-ùr	men, people
			bò-kól	sisters
3	*mo-	Ø	mbìl	hole
4	*me-	mè-	mè-mbìl	holes
5	*i-	è-, lè-	èbùrà	sweet potato
		Ø	kù	foot
		d-	dwób	day

6	*ma-	mò-	mò-bùrà	<i>sweet potatoes</i>
			mò-kù	<i>feet</i>
		m-	m-ób	<i>days</i>
7	*ke-	Ø	kág	<i>child</i>
			bùmó	<i>fruit</i>
8	*bi-	bè-	bè-kág	<i>children</i>
9	*n-	Ø	kwád	<i>village</i>
10	*n-	m- ²¹	m-pùmó	<i>fruits</i>

Table 7.5 Correspondences between Proto-Bantu and Kol noun classes.

With respect to the noun class pairings, the proto-Bantu pairing of classes 9 and 10 does not occur in Kol. Rather, class 9 nouns take their plurals in class 6. Class 10 functions as a mass plural for class 7 nouns.

One of the striking aspects of Bantu morphology is the concord system.

Below is a chart comparing the Proto-Bantu subject pronoun and subject agreement system with the subject pronouns of Kol and Makaa. The Proto-Bantu data is taken from Meeussen 1965 (agreement system found on p.97, pronominal system on p.98).

²¹ Plus devoicing of the root-initial consonant.

	Proto-Bantu				Kol	
Subject	Agr		Pron		Pron	
	Sing	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sing	Pl
1st p. excl.	n	to	i-n-ε	í-có-ε	mà	bìzó
incl.						bìzá
dual incl.						ncwè
2nd person	o	mo	o-ε	í-ńó-ε	wò	bè
3rd person	o, a	ba	o-é	bá-ɔ, gú-ɔ	ńà	bwó
3/4	mo	me			w-	myə
5/6	i	ma			dwó	mwə
7/8	ke	bi			i-, jwò	byò
9/10	n	n			ńò	bwò

Table 7.6 Subject Agreement/Pronouns in PB and Kol.

Kol does not require that verbs agree with their subject (as will be in the following section on verbs).

The central A.80 languages, including Kol, have innovated three distinctions in the first person plural: inclusive, exclusive and dual. It appears that Kol has added a plural marker to the front of the inherited Proto-Bantu pronoun form. However, this has only occurred in the first person inclusive and exclusive forms, since the dual form lacks the initial *b-* and has

a closer resemblance to the Proto-Bantu form than do the other two forms of the first person plural.

5.1.2 Noun derivation

In Kol, there are a number of different processes which may be used to create nouns out of verbs. Some of these seem to correspond to processes described by Meeussen for Proto-Bantu. For more information on deverbal nouns, see chapter 3.

In Proto-Bantu, Meeussen theorized that a final *-a* indicates an action. In Kol, some nouns are created by adding a vowel, including an *-a*, to the verbal stem, as shown below.

(141)	nûmb	'know'	númbá	'knowledge' (3)
	mwèl	'solicit sex'	mwèlá	'boyfriend, girlfriend' (1)
	cíg	'cut'	cígà	'saw' (1)

Other deverbal nouns are formed by adding a final *-a* and a nasal prefix.

(142)	dèl	'bury'	ndèlà	'burial' (9)
	jùùl	'be bitter'	njùùlè	'bitter leaf vegetable' (3)

Meeussen also reconstructed an agent-creating process formed by adding an *-i* to the root. In Kol one reflex of **i* is /e/, and some agentive nouns are formed by adding a *-e* suffix.

- | | | | | |
|-------|------|----------------|-------|----------------|
| (143) | kwîg | 'travel, walk' | kwígè | 'traveler' (1) |
| | ɲwèl | 'drink' | ɲwèlè | 'drinker' (1) |

Other agentive nouns can be formed by adding the suffix *-l* or *-lə*, as shown below. This may be a reflex of the reconstructed **-edɛ*. If this is the case, some vowels have been lost and **d* has become /l/, which is a common sound correspondence in Kol. A bigger issue is that this suffix is reconstructed as creating 'a way of doing,' while in Kol it creates an agent.

- | | | | | |
|-------|------|---------|--------|-------------|
| (144) | jíbà | 'steal' | jíbàlè | 'thief' (1) |
| | yò | 'give' | yôl | 'giver' (1) |

It is extremely common for more than one strategy to be used at a time, as illustrated below, where in (76a), the noun is formed by both adding the nasal prefix mentioned above and the suffix *-l*, while in (76b), the nouns are formed by adding the nasal prefix and the suffix vowel *-e*.

- | | | | | |
|----------|-----|--------------|------|-------------------|
| (145) a. | jû | 'kill' | ɲjûl | 'butcher (n)' (1) |
| | dì | 'live, stay' | ndìl | 'dweller' (1) |
| | jìl | 'cry' | ɲjìl | 'crier' (1) |

b.	bùgè	'accuse'	mbúgè	'accuser' (1)
	dùb	'paint'	ndùbé	'painter' (1)
	dúg	'row'	ndúgè	'rower' (1)
	jíg	'learn'	njígè	'learner, student' (1)
	júnà	'fight'	njúnè	'fighter' (1)

Meeussen also theorized that a final *-o* to a verbal root indicates an action, an instrument, or a place. In Kol, some nouns appear to correspond to this pattern, as demonstrated below.

(146)	jíbà	'steal'	jíbò	'theft' (9)
	bàgèlà	'load (v)'	mbágèlò	'load' (3)

5.1.3 Word Order

Meeussen (1967:117) reconstructs that proto-Bantu noun phrases had the following phrase structure: Noun (Connective) (Adjective) (Numeral).

Kol agrees with this for the most part, though in Kol, adjectives may precede the noun as shown by each of the examples below.

(147)	bèdá kwád	'big village'
	bwàgbwàg mò-kwád	'big villages'
	ntúlá bè-sá	'a lot of things'
	bùbù mè-njáb	'a lot of houses'

5.2 VERBS

5.2.1 Agreement

One of the striking differences between Kol and the Proto-Bantu system is the lack of subject and object agreement in Kol. The subject pronouns in Kol are completely in complementary distribution with full nouns. If a full noun is the subject of a sentence, the verbal sequence starts with a tense marker; the subject pronoun is not allowed, much less required as it would be if it were actually a subject agreement marker. In the example shown below, the subject is a class 5 noun, which is one of the few remaining classes consistently marked by both a segmental agreement marker and concord markers on all modifiers. We would therefore expect that if Kol required a subject agreement marker on the verb that it would be noticeable in the sentence below. (The subject pronoun for class 5 nouns is *dwó*.)

- (151) *lè-wúg á bè lé-byôl.*
5- hole P2 be in-7-canoe
There was a hole in the canoe.

However, having said that, there may be vestiges of subject agreement. There are two forms for a class 7 subject. One, *jwò*, is a pronoun which may appear separate from the tense morpheme. The other, *y-*, only appears bound

with tense morphemes and is generally used as the dummy subject, as shown below. Class 7 is the generic class for inanimate objects, and it is the only class that shows these two forms.

- (152) y = á bə nê èsáp
 y = á bə nê è-sáp
 7SUB-P2 be that 5- illness, disease
 'It was an illness that.....' (*Illness.08*)

- (153) m = ó búl cèl kéné kèkèná gà nèbá
 m = ó búlù cèl kéné kèkèná ɲgà nèbá
 I-PRES many love tell 7-story this because

jw = ó jì kèkèná ndé lê yà bûr fôg = è.
 jw = ó jì kèkèná H + ndé lé yà b-ur fôg = è
 7SUB-PRES be story RELCL-be IMPF give 2-person 9-wisdom-RELCL
 'I really want to tell this story because it is a story which gives
 people wisdom.'

Objects only appear after a verb, either as a full noun or as a pronoun.

Object markers cannot be prefixed before the verb.

- (154) ɲ = ẽ sá jwó lè-ǰú d-àŋ.
 he-FUT do 7OBJ 5-sake 5-my
 'He will do it for me.'

5.2.2 Negation

For both Kol and Proto-Bantu, the negative marker is the first element in the verbal sequence. However, in Proto-Bantu, this means that the

negative marker precedes the subject agreement. Since Kol does not have subject agreement, the negative marker comes *after* the subject pronoun or full noun.

- (155) m = à = dég = è m-ûr.
 I-NEG- see-NEG 1-person
 'I didn't see anyone.'

5.2.3 Tense

Meeussen (1967:113) gives a list of tense markers for Proto-Bantu as "illustrative tries" rather than reconstructions.

Tense prefixes	Proto-Bantu	Kol
<i>far past</i>	á	á
<i>recent past</i>	a	é
<i>present</i>	da, Ø	ó
<i>future</i>	ka	é
<i>distant future</i>	--	é + bwó
<i>conditional</i>	ngá	mbá

Table 7.7 Tense markers in Proto-Bantu and Kol

Only one of the Kol tense markers, the far past marker, seems to correspond to the proto-Bantu marker. However, Kol has a conditional conjunction, *ngé* 'if', which may be a reflex of the proto-Bantu preverbal conditional marker.

5.2.4 Extensions

As was previously mentioned in chapter 4, only relics of the Proto-Bantu extensions remain in a few Kol verbs. The table below compares reconstructed extensions with the frozen Kol relics (Meussen 1967:92).

	Proto-Bantu	Kol
Passive	-ó	-ówà
Reciprocal	-an	-èlà
Benefactive/Applicative	-ed	-éà
Causative	-i, -ic	-èzè
Reversive	-od, -ok	-bà
??	-ad	

Table 7.8 Extensions in Proto-Bantu and Kol

(156) *Passive*

sówà	'do + passive'	sá	'do'
kègàwà	'plan + passive'	kèg	'plan'

Reciprocal/Reflexive

yìgèlà	'compare self'	yìg	'compare, claim'
--------	----------------	-----	------------------

Applicative

déà	'eat from'	dò	'eat'
-----	------------	----	-------

Causative

ságèzè	'shake'	sá or ságè	'do'
wùl	'take out'	wòl	'get up'
bêr	'put, place'	bâr	'climb in'

Transitive

béébàlè	'wound (tr.)'	bèb	'wound (intr.)'
---------	---------------	-----	-----------------

Reversive

bùgùbà	'prosper'	bù	'be scarce'
--------	-----------	----	-------------

6 Summary

This study has been an initial attempt to explore some of the ways that Kol, a Bantu language from the A-zone in the northwestern corner of the Bantu language area has changed over time from the Proto-Bantu system it inherited.

While the Kol system is reduced in many ways from the classical Bantu systems seen in eastern Africa, it is still clearly a Bantu language, complete with noun classes and complex preverbal inflectional systems.

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Texts

told by Pierre Bengomo Mossi (of Bidjombo), transcription help and translation (into French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

- | | | | | | | |
|----|----|------|----|----|------|-----|
| mé | mè | mé | á | bò | nò | té. |
| mé | mè | mé | á | bò | nò | té |
| me | me | self | P2 | be | with | Loc |

(2) m=àá bà lè jwák cìè m= ndé yàùnt.
 m=á bà lè jwôg tyè m= ndé
 I-P2 be IMPF feel illness I be (loc) Yaounde

(3) è-sáp d-ḍəŋgə à tér mə ntà lè-yón̄.
 è-sáb d-ḍəŋgə á tér mə ntà lè-yón̄
 5-illness 5-DEF P2 start me since 5-cold.weather

(4) mà lè fyêš.
 mà lè fyêz
 I IMPF neglect

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- (5) è-yón lè ñkwò kò.
 è-yón lè kwò kò
 5-cold.weather IMPF again go

It stayed cold.

- (6) mwâ kwís mǎ ncà nìgò bwàmbà.
 mwá kwéz mé ncà nìgò bwàmbà
 1-small 7-cough be (chg) come return follow

I got a little cough.

- (7) mwâ kwís j-ḍḍḅgǎ á lè bà mwâ kwís j-ḍḍḅgǎ
 mwá kwéz j-ḍḍḅgǎ á lè bò mwá kwéz j-ḍḍḅgǎ
 1-small 7-cough 7-DEF P2 IMPF be 1-small 7-cough 7-DEF

kwís ʃwízá.

kwéz ʃwézá

7-cough (be) dry

It was a little dry cough.

- (8) mǎ = lè kwíz mǎ = lè númp nê m = áá bà mpwògǎ
 mǎ = lè kwéz mǎ = lè nûmb nê m̃ = á bà mpwògǎ
 I IMPF cough me IMPF know that I-P2 be 1-health

ndè y = á bà nê è-sáp á sé ñkwò tēr

ndé y = á bà nê è-sáb á sé kwò tēr

while NONREF-P2 be that 5-illness P2 PERF again start

lè-bì mò hámǎ.

lè-bì mò fámǎ

INF-seize me good

I was coughing, thinking that I was healthy, while the illness really took hold.

- (9) myà m = á sé kà ncà njá n-é-ñjwòṅ è-sáp á
 myà H + m̃ = á sé kà ncà jâ ñ = lé- jwòṅ è-sáb á
 3-time RELCL-I-P2 PERF CONS come lie.down with-LOC-bed 5-illness P2

sé kà ncò làlé
 sé kà ncò làl
 PERF CONS come (be) strong

When I was lying down in bed, the illness really struck hard.

- (10) númá bw=á ncò kò nà mó cíló cíló wàlàfírè.
 númá bwó=á ncò kò nà mò cíló cíló wàlàfírè
 also they-P2 come go with me quickly quickly hospital
 Immediately, they took me to the hospital.

- (11) bwó kà kà nà mó wàlàfírè.
 bwó kà kò nà mó wàlàfírè
 they CONS go with me hospital
 They took me to the hospital.

- (12) bwó kò sá bò-zéksàmêz.
 bwó kò sá
 they go do 2-test (*examens* -French)
 They did tests.

- (13) bwó kò fyàlò má-cì nà dégà mà-bí.
 bwó kò fyàl mò-cì nò dèg mà-bí
 they go test 6-blood with see 6-feces
 They did blood tests and looked at my stool samples.

- (14) bwô dégà nê ndè bì-mpànc by-áy á sé têt
 bwó dèg nê ndé bè-mpànc bè-àñ á sé tér
 they see that while 8-side 8-my P2 PERF start

é-jwók cíè
 lè-jwôg tyè
 INF-feel illness

They noticed that my sides (lungs) were already sick.

- (15) m = è ndé ké dùlò sığá ká bà
 m = é ndé + H ké + H dùlò + H sığá ké bà
 I-P1 be (loc) NEG smoke cigarette NEG be

nê ɲwèl mǎ-ɲòk.
 nò ɲwèl mò-ɲwòg
 with drink 6-wine

I didn't smoke cigarettes; I didn't drink.

- (16) dòcteur m-ùr á kà sá mà bò-zéksàmêz á jí mà
 m-ùr á kò sá mà á jí mà
 doctor (Fr) 1-person P2 go do me 2-test (French) P2 ask me

nê mà = jî ɲwèl nê mà = jî dùlò tâk.
 nê mà = jì ɲwèl nê mà = jì dùlò tàg
 that I be (att) drink that I be (att) smoke tobacco

The doctor who did the tests asked me if I drank or if I smoked.

- (17) mà nê "à á".
 mà nê à á
 I that no
 I said, "No."

- (18) ɲ = à nê á jî ndé ntán sî bièn nê
 ɲ = á nê á jí ndé ntán nê
 he-P2 that QUES ask be (loc) like.that like.that (Fr) that

fwàrà ɲgà (klifé) bw = á wúl wàlàfírè
 fwàrà ɲgà klifé bwó = á wúl wàlàfírè
 photo this x-ray they-P2 take hospital

á dèg nê bì-mpàànc by-áj, by = á sé bà ntámè ?
 á dèg nê bè-mpànc bè-àɲ bè = á sé bà ntámè
 P2 see that 8-side 8-my 8-P2 PERF little rot

He asked why then the x-ray that they took at the hospital showed that my lungs were already a bit damaged.

- (19) nùmé bw=á ncà kò dīl mè centre zàmó kómb
 nùmé bwó=á ncà kò dīl mè kómb
 also they-P2 come go dwell me center Jamot side

m=á kò lè s-ówà mè-mìr=é.

H+m=á kò lè sá-ówà mè-mìd=é

RELCL-I-P2 go IMPF do-PASS 4-medicine-RELCL

They took me to the Jamot Center to get treated.

- (20) sá j-ḍḍṅgá á lè sá mé lè-ṅkwùnt myà mé mè
 sá j-ḍḍṅgá á lè sá mè lè-ṅkwùnt myà H+mè mè
 7-thing 7-DEF P2 IMPF do me 5-fear 3-time RELCL-me me

mé m=á lè bò mè mbúk n-é-njwòṅ wàlàfírè nè mú
 mé m=á lè bò mè mbúg nò-lé-njwòṅ wàlàfírè nè mú
 self I-P2 IMPF be I lie with LOC-bed hospital with reason

nê wú á bò m-ùr ké kò cík
 nê wú á bò m-ùr ké kò cíg
 that there P2 be 1-person NEG go cross

m-ùr ké kò dēk wó.

m-ùr ké kò dēg wó

1-person NEG go see you

This situation scared me because while I was lying there in the hospital,
 no one could come visit me.

- (21) wò lè já njì wò wò mé njì bé nà bà-dwábèrà.
 wò lé já njì wò wò mé njì bé nò bà-dwábèrà
 you IMPF sleep only you you self only you with 2-nurse

You sleep all alone, with only the nurses.

- (22) sì bièn m=ǎ bà fúndò bá mí-l mé-myà.
 m=á bà fúndò bà mì-úlágá mè-myà
 I-P2 be flee little 4-another 4-time

I was quite afraid.

- (23) "ést- ce què mà jì nò ñkùl yò wógè ?"
 mà jì nò ñkùl yò wôg
 I be with force die here

Will I die here?

- (24) bwùr bá njáp bwó ndé ké nûmp.
 bò-ùr bó njáb bwó ndé ké nûmb
 2-man 2-ASSOC 3-house they be (loc) NEG know

My family won't know....

- (25) m=á njì ntà m=á bò nò búgó nê twè
 m=á njì ntà m=á bò nò búgó nê twè
 I-P2 only since I-P2 be with faith that even.if

n-è-sáp á sê jâk nò ñkùl ncìimbá
 nê-è-sáp á sé jâg nò ñkùl ncìimbê
 that-5-illness P2 PERF (be) serious with force God

jà jà mé é nìgò sá mǎ mpwògá.
 jà jà mé é nìgò + H sá + H mà mpwògá.
 him him self FUT return do me (be) healthy

I had faith that even if the illness had already gotten bad, God himself will heal me.

- (26) jwé bó m=á bándà bò jízàbè mé-mìr=é.
 jwé bò m=á bándà bò jízàbè mè-mìd=è
 7SUB be I-P2 really be endure 4-medicine-RELCL

That's why I put up with the treatment.

- (27) bw=á lè sá mà.
 bwó=á lè sá mà
 they-P2 IMPF do me

They treated me.

- (28) m̀̀ nd̀̀k b̀̀nd̀̀ nc̀̀ b̀̀ mpẁ̀g̀.
 m̀̀ nd̀̀g b̀̀nd̀̀ nc̀̀ b̀̀ mpẁ̀g̀.
 I ? really come be (be) healthy
 I regained my health.

- (29) s̀̀ b̀̀n ǹ̀ m = ǎ ǹ̀g̀ j̀̀ nc̀̀mbé àk̀b̀ ǹ̀ b̀̀b̀.
 ǹ̀ m = á ǹ̀g̀ j̀̀ nc̀̀mbé àk̀b̀ ǹ̀ b̀̀b̀
 that I-P2 again give God thank with many
 So I really give thanks to God.

- (30) ǹ̀ mù ǹ̀ contre-examens bw = á k̀̀ s̀̀ ǹ̀
 ǹ̀ mú ǹ̀ bwó = á k̀̀ s̀̀ ǹ̀
 with reason that re-tests they-P2 go do with

m̀̀-̀gwàg̀l̀á m = á l̀̀ s̀̀, bw = á k̀̀ d̀̀k ǹ̀
 m̀̀-̀gwàg̀l̀á m = á l̀̀ s̀̀ bwó = á k̀̀ d̀̀g ǹ̀
 4-prayers I-P2 IMPF do they-P2 go see that

b̀̀-mp̀̀nc by-̀̀g̀ sé ǹ̀ kẁ̀ b̀̀ f̀̀b̀ ǹ̀ j̀̀ẁ̀ j̀̀ẁ̀.
 b̀̀-mp̀̀nc b̀̀-̀g̀ sé kẁ̀ b̀̀ f̀̀b̀ ǹ̀ j̀̀ẁ̀ j̀̀ẁ̀
 8-side 8-my PERF again be clean and good good
 After they retested me, and all my prayers, they found that my
 lungs were healthy and clean.

- (31) è-kál é-s̀p k̀̀ ná kẁ̀ ǹ̀g̀ lík.
 è-kál H + è-s̀p k̀̀ ǹ̀ kẁ̀ ǹ̀g̀ líg̀
 5-spot 5-illness NEG with again again stay
 No trace of the illness remained.

- (32) d̀̀nc b̀̀z̀ k̀̀ b̀̀l l̀̀ f̀̀nd̀ l̀̀-̀ẁ
 b̀̀z̀ k̀̀ b̀̀l̀ l̀̀ f̀̀nd̀ è-̀ẁ
 thus we NEG many IMPF fear 5-death

mỳ w = ó ndé n-é-j̀ẁ l̀̀-̀s̀p = é.
 mỳ H + w = ó ndé + H ǹ̀-̀l̀-̀j̀ẁ H + l̀̀-̀s̀p = è
 3-time RELCL-you-PRES be (loc) with-LOC-bed 5-illness-RELCL

Thus we shouldn't have so much fear of death when we're lying on a
 sickbed.'

2 A Funeral at Bidjombo

told by Pierre Bengomo Mossi (of Bidjombo), transcription help and translation (into French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

- (1) *nò* *kùgú* *bìzè* *bè* *mpáànt* *nè,* *è-fwì* *mà* *ɲòŋ*
 nò *kùgú* *bìzə* *bò* *né* *è-fwì* *mà* *ɲòŋɡə*
 with 3-evening we be Mpand that 5-death Poss 1-mother

mà *bòkwáálà.*

mà *bòkwáálà*

Poss Bokwaala

‘Yesterday, we were at the funeral for Bokwaala’s mother at Mpand.

- (2) *è-fwì* *d-ðòŋɡə* *jì* *nê* *y=á* *bè* *nê* *bwó* *sá*
 è-fwì *d-ðòŋɡə* *jì* *nê* *y=á* *bò* *nê* *bwó* *sá*
 5-death 5-DEF be (att) that NONREF-P2 be that they do

ndèlá *ntà* *ɲ=á* *yè* *kùgú* *á* *bè.*

ndèlá *ntà* *ɲ=á* *yò* *kùgú* *á* *bè*

9-burial since she-P2 die 3-evening QUAL second

They needed to bury her because she died the day before yesterday.

- (3) *sá* *bè* *mpwògé* *nò* *mú* *nê* *mùŋ* *áncé* *ntámè.*
 sá *bò* *mpwògé* *nò* *mú* *nê* *mùŋə* *áncé* *ntámà*
 7-thing be 1-health with reason that 3-corpse NEGP2 rot

It was a good thing because the body was not decomposed (yet).

- (4) *bìzə* *kà* *númə* *sá* *mífwàn* *mpwògé.*
 bìzə *kà* *númə* *sá* *mífwàn* *mpwògé*
 we CONS also do 7-church 1-health

We also had a good service.

- (5) njìi sá bùl ká ncò wá bízé mò-kwábèlà bò
 njì sá bùlù kà ncò wá bízé mò-kwábèlà bò
 only 7-thing many CONS come give us 6-difficulty be
- lòbè kàmbègè nè mú bw-àrá bwó nè cà ngà
 lòb kàmbègè nò mú bò-àrá bwó nò cà ngà
 3-problem fun'l.dance with reason 2-woman they with with this
- bwó túbé bwó myá míjwàn ndé syê bwó
 bwó túbé bwó myà + H míjwàn ndé syê bwó
 they be(neg) they 3-time RELCL-7-church be (loc) 7-work they
- hà bá bír nê míjwàn syê = g bwó lúgà là-wálà
 fã bà bír nê míjwàn syê = g bwó lúgà è-wálà
 HORT little leave that 7-church work-SUBJ they respect 5-hour

mó ncìmbé.
 mó ncìmbé
 5Poss God

The only thing that caused problems was the *kambaga* [traditional funeral dance], because the women were doing it during the service and not setting it aside to respect God's time.

- (6) njìi kàmbègà njì kò né njèè sá j = ò ngó
 njì kàmbègà njì kò nò njèè sá j = ó gó
 only fun'l.dance only go with 9-arrival 7-thing 7SUB-PRES PROG

bùlù ntégè nò kùgú.
 bùlù ntég nò kùgú
 many annoy with 3-evening

The *kambaga* kept going on and really annoyed us.

- (7) bízé sé kà númá làp nò bwò né bwó há
 bízé sé kà númá làb nò bwè né bwó hã
 we PERF CONS also speak with them that they HORT

nèbò	myà	y-ês	mífwàn	ndé	syé	lè-fwí	bwó	hà
nèbé	myà	y-êz	mífwàn	ndé	syê	è-fwì	bwó	hà
because	3-time	3-each	7-church	be(loc)	work	5-death	they	HORT

bîr	lòßè	kámbègà	myà	mífwàn	mé	sí
bír	lòb	kàmbègà	myà	H + mífwàn	mé	sé
leave	3-problem	fun'l.dance	3-time	RELCL-7-church	be (chg)	PERF

syê	nè	mú	nê	nciimbé	jà	jà	mé	bò	ndê...
syê	nò	mú	nê	nciimbé	jà	jà	mé	bò	ndé
work	with	reason	that	God	him	him	self	be	be (loc)

lén	ná	m-ùr	yó=k	ngè	ndágè	nê	m-ùr	cìgè.
lên	nê	m-ùd	yò=g+H	ngé	ndâg	nê	m-ùd	cìgè
say	that	1-person	die-SUBJ	if	?	that	1-person	live

We told them that from now on, during the funeral service, they have to stop the kambaga, because it is God himself who says when man lives or dies.

- (8)

donc	è-wàlà	lé	mífwàn	é	mò-fwì	bìzè	jí
donc	è-wàlà	lé	mífwàn		mò-fwì	bìzè	jí
thus	5-hour	5ASSOC	7-church	and(Fr)	6-death	we	want

jàlàna	bùlù	ně	kándèbè	dw-ób
jàlana	bùlù	né	kándèbè	dw-ób
must	many	that	respect	5-day

We should really respect the church time.

- (9)

ká	kò	jé	númá	nê	è-fwì	ló	twámbá	mw-àrá
kà	kò	jê	númá	nê	è-fwì	lé	twámbá	mw-àrá
CONS	go	arrive	also	that	5-death	5ASSOC	1-elder	1-woman

túgá	nán	ká	bùlú	bè	nó	mè-cě	lè-lámè
túg+H	nán+H	kà+H	bùlù+H	bò+H	nò	mè-tyè	lè-lâm
be (neg)	still	CONS	many	be	with	6-pain	5-heart

nè	mú	nê	ɲ=ǎ	sé	sá	syé.
nò	mú	nê	ɲ=á	sé	sá	syê
with	reason	that	she-P2	PERF	do	7-work

Arriving at the death of an old mother doesn't give much heart pain because she had done the work that she should do.

- (10) á bò nê ɲè= sá=gè ɲ=ǎ sé byá bw-án.
 á bò nê ɲè= sá=g+H ɲ=á sé byâ bò-ân
 P2 be that she do-SUBJ she-P2 PERF bear (child) 2-child
 She had already had children.

- (11) bw-án mé nùmé nè b-ób bw-ân.
 bò-ân mé númá nò b-ób bò-ân
 2-child be (chg) also with 2-their 2-child
 Her children had also had their children.

- (12) ɲ=ǎ lígò bè-ntá è-wúm.
 ɲ=á lígò bè-ntá è-wúm
 she-P2 stay, leave 8-grandchild 5-ten
 She left ten grandchildren.

- (13) té y=á sé bò bèrà sá.
 té y=á sé bò bèdà sâ
 LOC NONREF-P2 PERF be big 7-thing
 That was a big thing.

- (14) é-fwí d-ðòngá yè númá bìzà fógà né.
 è-fwì d-ðòngá yò númá bìzà fóg né
 5-death 5-DEF give also us 9-wisdom that
 This death also gives us wisdom.

- (15) myă bíz=ó ndé dì, bìzà ndé=gèé símàzà nê
 myă H + bíz=ó ndé + H dì + H bìzà ndé = g + H símàzà nê
 3-time RELCL-we-PRES be (loc) stay we be (loc)-SUBJ think that

bìzǎ ndé=gé sá lè-jwàŋ.

bìzǎ ndé=g+H sá lè-jwàŋ

we be (loc)-SUBJ do 5-good

While we're living, we should think about doing good.

- (16) nè mú nâ mw-àrá yè nò kùgé, myă
 nè mú nâ mò-àrá yò nò kùgú myà+H
 with reason that 1-woman die with 3-evening 3-time-RELCL

è-sáβǎ j=á bè nè té è-sáp lé ncám tǔgǎ
 è-sáb j=á bè nò té è-sáb lé ncám túg
 5-illness she-P2 be with LOC 5-illness 5Assoc 9-leprosy be (neg)

hám è-sáp.
 fám è-sáb
 real, good 5-illness

Because the woman who died yesterday, she had leprosy which is not a good disease.

- (17) y=ǎ lè bè ákíká bw=á lè wùl bw-ùr
 y=á lè bò ákíká bwó=á lè wùl bò-ùd
 NONREF-P2 IMPF be colonial.times they-P2 IMPF take.out 2-person

é bw-ùr kó nìgó dīlè bwé j-óbá bùŋ bònǎ á
 bò-ùd kò nìgò dīl bwó j-ób bùŋ bònǎ á
 and(Fr) 2-person go return dwell them 7-their 7-place there P2

kò mǒngòmá kómb m-íl mé-ncícám á bèè
 kò kómb mè-úlógá mè-ncícám á
 go Mongoma side 4-INDEF 4-leper P2

In colonial times, they took them away and isolated them in a leprosarium [at Mongoma] where there were other lepers.

- (18) mé j=á bò ncícám j=ǎ sé sá nê njáp bw-ùr
 j=á bò ncícám j=á sé sá nê njáb H+ bò-ùd
 but(Fr) she-P2 be 3-leper she-P2 PERF do that 3-house 2-person

y-é	wá	fúk	ná	bùbù	nè	mú	nê	ɲ = ǎ	kò
y-é	wá	fúg	nò	bùbù	nò	mú	nê	ɲ = á	kò
3-her	3SUB	be.numerous	with	many	with	reason	that	she-P2	go

sán	míyòn	mè	njúm	mw-àrá	tié	lómìè.
sán	míyòn	mè	njúm	mw-àrá	tié	lómìè
look.for	1-sibling	1Poss	1-husband	1-woman	7-position	Lomie

Even though she was a leper, she worked so that her family would be numerous because she looked for a wife from Lomié for her husband's brother.

- (19) è mw-àrá w-ḍḍḅḅḅḅḅḅ ɲ = ǎ sé ncè byá númá bùbù
 mw-àrá w-ḍḍḅḅḅḅḅḅ ɲ = á sé ncè byá númá bùbù
 and(Fr) 1-woman 1-DEF she-P2 PERF come bear also many

njáp bw-ùr.
 njáb H + bò-ùd
 3-house 2-person

That woman came and she also had a big family.

- (20) njáp bw-ùr w-ḍḍḅḅḅḅḅḅ ɲ = ǎ sé sá bèrà syé.
 njáb H + bò-ùd w-ḍḍḅḅḅḅḅḅ ɲ = á sé sá bèdà syê
 3-house 2-person 1-DEF she-P2 PERF do big 7-work

For this family, she did a big work.

- (21) ntá w-ḍḍḅḅḅḅḅḅ ndé jàlàn = ê myà bízó kǎ lè
 ntà w-ḍḍḅḅḅḅḅḅ H + ndé jàlànà = è myà H + bízó kà lè
 since 1-DEF RELCL-be(loc) must- RELCL 3-time RELCL-we CONS IMPF

dì	le-sí	bízó	kà	dêk	nê	twò	nê	bízó	ɲì	jwók
dì	lè-sí	bízó	kò	dêg	nê	twò	nê	bízó	ɲì	jwóg
stay	INF-finish	we	go	see	that	even	that	we	only	feel

cè	twò	nê	bízó	jì	mpwògè	bízó	ká	sá	njáp
cè	twò	nê	bízó	jì	mpwògè	bízó	ké	sá	njáb
illness	even	that	we	be	1-health	we	NEG	do	3-house

bw-ùr lè-mbáp.

H + bò-ùd lè-mbáp

2-person 5-bad.thing

Like that, while we are here finishing [life], we see that even if we're sick, even if we're healthy, we shouldn't do bad things to the family.

- (22) nê mú nê lè-ɲwàŋ wò ndé sá ɲáp
nò mú nê lè-ɲwân H + wò ndé sá ɲáb
with reason that 5-good.thing RELCL-you (be) loc do 3-house

bw-ùr = è ncìimbé yò wéè myánè, è-sú
H + bò-ùd = è ncìimbé yò wò myánè è-ǰú
2-person-RELCL God give you (sg) compensation 5-sake

lé-ɲwàŋ wò ndé sá ɲáp bw-ùr.
lé-ɲwân wò ndé sá ɲáb H + bò-ùd
5-good.thing you (sg) be (loc) do 3-house 2-person

Because God will reward you for the good that you do to your family.

- (23) è-ǰwí d-ðòŋgá bùl sá bìzà hámá bé-twòŋgèlâ nò kùgú
è-ǰwì d-ðòŋgá bùlù sá bìzà fám bè-twòŋgèlâ nò kùgú
5-death 5-DEF many do we good 8-thought with 3-evening

mbìl m-ùr ndé jàlàà cìgè é-ɲáp bw-ùr.
mbì H + m-ùd ndé jàlàà cìgè lé-ɲáb H + bò-ùd
3-sort RELCL-1-person be (loc) must live LOC-3-house 2-person

This death has given us good thoughts on how people ought to live in families.

3 Bidjombo

told by Pierre Bengomo Mossi (of Bidjombo), transcription help and translation (into French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

- (1) mwâ lón-gà jì lón kwár bijùmp.
 mwá lón-ngà jì lón kwád
 1-small 5-speech-here be (att) 5-speech 9-village Bidjombo
 This little story is the story of Bidjombo village.

- (2) kwár bijùmp á bà bèrà kwár bwûr á bà
 kwád á bò bèdà kwád H + bò-ùd á bò
 9-village Bidjombo P2 be big 9-village RELCL-2-person P2 be
 é cèl nó bùbù.
 cèlà nò bùbù
 and (Fr) love with many
 Bidjombo village was a big village that people loved a lot.

- (3) y = á bà númá kwár bw-ûr á bùlù bù nò
 y = á bò númá kwád H + bò-ùd á bùlù bù nò
 NONREF-P2 be also 9-village RELCL-2-person P2 many many with
 mú mè-njáp mé bw-ùr mé kwár gà cèlá á
 mú mè-njáb mé bò-ùd mé kwád ngà cèlà á
 reason 4-house 4ASSOC 2-person 4ASSOC 9-village this love P2
 bùlè bà fágéla bwó bwó mè.
 bùlù bò fágéla bwó bwó mé
 many be between they they self
 It was also a village with a lot of people because the families of the
 village loved each other a lot.

(4) myà bíjùmp bìzò á lè bà bè-kákág = é
 myà H + bíjùmb bìzò á lè bò bè-kákág = è
 3-time RELCL-Bidjombo we (excl) P2 IMPF be 8-small.child-RELCL

bìz = á lè dèk wògà mò-ntwómá nà mē-sēs á lè
 bìz = á lè dēg wōg mò-ntwómá nò mē-sēs á lè
 we-P2 IMPF see here 6-boy with 4-girl P2 IMPF

wú bè-bón bè-sís nê bwó ncè lè dī wógà
 wū bè-bón bè-sís nê bwó ncò lè dī wōg
 leave 8-place 8-another that they come IMPF stay here

nà mú nê cèlò bì-sá á bà né jwàṇṇè
 nò mú nê cèlà bè-sá á bò né jwāṇ
 with reason that love 7-thing P2 be that 5-good.thing

by = á lè syê bíjùmp.
 by = á lè syê bíjùmb
 8-P2 IMPF work Bidjombo

When we of Bidjombo were children, we saw boys and girls leaving other places and coming here because love and other good things were at Bidjombo.

(5) dónk bìjùmbà w-ḍḍṅgó j = é sí bà bízô kwár
 bìjùmb w-ḍḍṅgó j = é sí + H bò + H bìzò kwád
 thus (Fr) Bidjombo 1-DEF 1SUB-P1 finish be us 9-village

ndé ncìmb á yò bè-bwára né nê
 ndé ncìmbê á yò bè-bwára né nê
 be (loc) God P2 give 8-blessing that that

jò kô jwúgà.
 jò kô jwōg
 1SUB go front

Thus, Bidjombo became a village that God blessed and that prospered.

- (6) dóŋk bw-án bó bíjùmp jì bèrà bw-ùr né cà
 bò-ân bó jì bèdà bò-ùd nò cà
 thus 2-child 2Assoc Bidjombo be(att) big 2-person with now

ŋgà n-é-mè-yììgà.

ŋgà né-lé-mè-yììgà

this with-LOC-4-government

Thus the children of Bidjombo are now important people in the government.

- (7) dóŋk bìzò bw-ùr má kà líg = è bìzò jì
 bìzò bò-ùd H + mé kà lígò = e bìzò jì
 thus we (excl) 2-person RELCL-be (chg) CONS stay-RELCL we (excl) be (att)

jàlàna bèlà númá bì-sá lè syê lé-mò-lú mpíz = é.

jàlàna bèlà númá bè-sá H + lè syê lé-mò-lú mpízò = è

must imitate also 8-thing RELCL-IMPF work LOC-6-era back-RELCL

Therefore, those of us who remain, we must imitate what happened in older times.

- (8) ná bìzà bágèlà kwár ɲ-íz né
 nâ bìzà bágèlà kwád ɲ-iz né
 that we keep 9-village 9-our that

So that we can keep our village.

- (9) nâ kwár ɲ-ízé dégè kò sá bò jì ndì
 nâ kwád ɲ-iz dēg kò sá bò jì ndé
 that 9-village 9-our see go 7-thing be be (att) be (loc)

ʃúgènnè ʃúgù.

ʃwógènnè ʃwôg

go.forward front

So that our village keeps heading forward.

- (10) bìzò ké nìgó ncá ɲwàŋ tíé á mè mpízè.
 bìzò ké nìgò ncò ɲwàŋ tíé á mé mpízò
 we NEG return come take 7-position P2 be (chg) back

We should not take last place.

4 How Families Used to Be

told by Mathieu Zoula (of Bidjombo), transcription help and translation (into French)

by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

- (1) é àkókà njáp bw-ùt w=á là bà kwòmbèlá
 é àkíkà njáb + H bò-ùd w=á là bò kwòmbèlá
 and (Fr) colonial 3-house 2-person 3SUB-P2 IMPF be organize

mè-mbì mí-ṅgà nê bwó nè bətwámhá wó bw-ùr
 mè-mbì mè-ṅgà nê bwó nò bə-twámhá bó bò-ùd
 4-sort 4-this that they with 2-elder 2ASSOC 2-person

mè-cígó mé-cígó.
 mè-cígó mè-cígó
 4-division 4-division

In the time of the ancestors, the family was organized like that, in that there were the elders and people in divisions.

- (2) nè w-ḍḍṅ m-ûr ndé é-làp mè-lòḅ-é.
 nò w-ḍḍṅgá m-ùd ndé lè-làb mè-lòb
 with 1-DEF 1-person be (loc) INF-speak 4-problem

And someone dealt with problems.

- (3) nè w-ḍḍṅ m-ûr ndé é-k'é é-mè-lómbálé.
 nò w-ḍḍṅgá m-ùd ndé lè-kò lé-mè-lómbálé
 with 1-DEF 1-person be (loc) INF-go LOC-4-errand

And someone ran errands.

- (4) nè w-ḍḍṅ m-ûr ndé é-bàgèlè é-kùnjí.
 nò w-ḍḍṅgá m-ùd ndé lè-bàgèlè lé-kwònjí
 with 1-DEF 1-person be (loc) INF-keep, watch LOC-cashbox

And someone was treasurer.

- (5)

nà	m-ùr	y-êš	jì	dèná	j-é	tíé
nò	m-ùd	y-êz	jì	dèná	j-é	tíé
with	1-person	1-each	be (att)	like	7-his	7-position

Each person had their job.

- (6)

jà =	ndé	syê	é-njáp	bw-úr,	bà-kákák	nò
jà =	ndé	syê	lé-njáb	H + bò-ùd	bè-kákák	nò
he	be (loc)	work	LOC-3-house	2-person	8-small.child	with

j-óbà tíé
j-ób tíé
7-their 7-position

He works in the family, the children with their jobs [too].

- (7)

è	m-ùr	y-êš	bàgèlò	ṣkwón	j-é.
	m-ùd	y-êz	bàgèlà	ṣkwón	j-é
and (Fr)	1-person	1-each	keep, watch	9-responsibility	9-his

The small children had theirs, and each person looked after their own responsibility.

- (8)

m-ùr	y-êš	njwún	bó = k	é-njábà	bw-ût.
m-ùd	y-êz	njwún	bò = g + H	lé-njáb	H + bò-ùd
1-person	1-each	respect	be-SUBJ	LOC-3-house	2-person

Each person has [should have] respect for the family.

- (9)

njáp	bw-úr	w = ó	jì	bùgùbà	bò	myâ
njáb	H + bò-ùd	w = ó	jì	bùgùbà	bò	myà
3-house	2-person	3SUB-PRES	be (att)	prosper	be	3-time

njwún ndé té.
njwún ndé té
respect be (loc) LOC

The family prospers when there is respect.

- (10) njwún b́ ndé sá nê mò-bùgùbà ncâ = k.
 njwún bò ndé sá nê mò-bùgùbà ncâ = g
 respect be be (loc) do that 6-prosperity come-SUBJ
 Respect does in such a way that prosperity comes.

- (11) njwún b́ ndé cèl = é.
 ndjwún H + bò ndé cèl = è
 respect RELCL-be be (loc) love-RELCL
 Respect is love.

- (12) cèl jì è-fùk é má-bùgùbà.
 cèl jì è-fùg é mò-bùgùbà
 love be (att) 5-stalk 5Assoc 6-prosperity
 Love is the root [stalk] of prosperity.

- (13) b̀zà njî númp nê myă c̀imb á kwàmb̀l̀ò
 b̀zà njì nũmb nê myà + H nc̀imbé á kwàmb̀l̀à
 we (incl) only know that 3-time-RELCL God P2 create

njáp bw-ûr, y = á kò núḿ w = ó c̀l̀à-l̀à = k.
 njáb H + bò-ùd y = á kò núḿ w = ó c̀l̀à-l̀à = g
 3-house 2-person NONREF-P2 go also 3SUB-PRES love-REFL?-SUBJ
 We know that when God created the family, it was for them to love.

- (14) m̀-nejáp ḿ bw-ûr á b̀ l̀ àkákà
 m̀-nejáb mé bò-ùd á bò l̀ àkíkà
 4-house POSS 2-person P2 be IMPF colonial.times

ń l̀gà l̀gà l̀gà.
 nê l̀gà l̀gà l̀gà
 that prosper prosper prosper

The families during the time of the ancestors prospered.

- (15) ǹb̀ jé?
 ǹb́ jé
 because what
 Why?

- (16) nàbà nê njwún jì té.
 nàbá nê njwún jì té
 because that respect be (att) Loc
 Because there is respect.

- (17) myà bé bè-kèkák ndé ngà jwábó=gá
 myà H + bé bè-kákág ndé ngà jwâbò=gá
 3-time RELCL-you (pl) 8-small.child be (loc) this respect-SUBJ(pl)

bè-sónḡà nê bè-ḡónḡà, jwábó=gá bè-twámbá b-ín,
 bè-sónḡô nò bè-ḡónḡê jwâbò=gá bè-twámbà b-én
 2-father with 2-mother respect-SUBJ(pl) 2-elder 2-your (pl)

jwábó=gá bómíyòḡ b-ín, mỳyà w-ḡòḡḡá
 jwâbò=gá bò-míyòḡ b-én myà w-ḡòḡḡá
 respect-SUBJ(pl) 2-sibling 2-your (pl) 3-time 3-DEF

ó njáp bw-ûr ndé kwégè mpwógé.
 ó njáb H + bò-ùd ndé kwég mpwògé.
 PRES 3-house 2-person be (loc) work 1-health

When you the children who are there respect your fathers and your mothers, respect your elders, respect your brothers, it is in that time that the family works well.

- (18) mè-njáp mé bw-ûr á bò myà bé ó byêl ngà,
 mè-njáb mé bò-ùd á bò myà bé ó byêl ngà
 4-house POSS 2-person P2 be 3-time you (pl) PRES be.born this

sá á bà nò ḡwàḡ ḡwàḡ, é bízà mé
 sá á bò nò ḡwâḡ ḡwâḡ é bízà mé
 7-thing P2 be with 9-good.thing 9-good.thing and(Fr) we be(chg)

ndé ncè ntámà mé-njáp mé bw-ûr nê cà nò
 ndé ncò ntámà mè-njáb mé bò-ùd nò cà nò
 be (loc) come rot 4-house POSS 2-person with now with

nəbǎ njwùŋ kí nán bò.
 nəbá njwúŋ ké nán bò
 because respect NEG still be

The families, when you were born, what was already good will ruin the families because there is no respect.

- (19) bǐzá jí jàlàná wá njwúŋ é-mè-njáp mé bw-ûr kí
 bǐzá jì jàlàná wá njwúŋ lé-mè-njáb mé bò-ùd ké
 we (incl) be (att) must give respect LOC-4-house POSS 2-person NEG

bó ŋkà bé ndé njì ncôm ncôm ncôm.
 bò ŋkà bé ndé njì ncôm ncôm ncôm
 be like you (pl) be (loc) only disorder disorder disorder

We must put respect in the family, not like you are always in disorder.

- (20) è-jwógè = gá édià mwâ ntòmbè númá mé twòŋgèlò.
 è-jwóg = gá + H lé-dià mwá ntòmb númá mé twòŋgèlò
 INF-hear-SUBJ(pl) LOC-place 1-small younger also be(chg) thought

Listen also to the younger ones when they have thoughts.

- (21) m = ó bwúnè ŋkà njáp bw-ûr á lè bò té.
 m = ó bwúnè ŋkà njáb H + bò-ùd á lè bò té
 I-PRES believe like 3-house 2-person P2 IMPF be LOC

I believe that it was like that that the family was organized.

- (21) njáp bw-ûr jì bè-tié bé-tié.
 njáb H + bò-ùd jì bè-tié bè-tié
 3-house 2-person be (att) 8-position 8-position

The family has its positions.

- (22) m-ùr y-êš nè ɲ-é ŋkwóŋ kí kè fùŋà
 m-ùd y-êz nò ɲ-é ŋkwóŋ ké kò fúŋà
 1-person 1-each with 9-his 9-responsibility NEG go discuss

ṛkwón	má	ṛ-úlógá	m-út.
ṛkwón	má	ṛ-úlógá	m-ùd
9-responsibility	POSS	1-person	1-person

Each person has his responsibility, and he shouldn't discuss the responsibility of someone else.

- (23) b = á = jwág = è?
bé = á = jwág = è
you (pl)-NEG-hear-NEG
Do you understand?

- (24) m = é tíè né jè?
m = é tíé nò jé
I-P1 7-position? with what
What did I say?

5 A History of Bidjombo

told by Mathieu Zoula (of Bidjombo), transcription help and translation (into French)

by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

- (1) *bijùmp* *bé* *yò* *dék* *ɲgà,* *bijùmp* *á* *bò*
 bijùmb *bé* *ó* *dêg* *ɲgà* *bijùmb* *á* *bò*
 Bidjombo you (pl) PRES see this Bidjombo P2 be

bèdà *kwát* *têr* *myà* *mó* *nàm* *mbũ.*
bèdà *kwád* *tér* *myà* *mó* *mbú*
 big 9-village start 3-time 3Assoc 7-nation 3-season

The Bidjombo that you see here was a big [and important] village since the time of Nam Mbu.

- (2) *nàmb=á* *têr* *bò* *kúkúamá* *ncò* *jé* *myà* *mó*
 nàm mbù=á *tér* *bò* *kúkúamá* *ncè* *jé* *myà* *mó*
 Nam Mbu-P2 first be 3-chief come arrive 3-time 3Assoc

bókwáànt.

Bokwaand

Nam was the first chief until the time of Bokwaand.

- (3) *b-ùd* *bé* *ndé* *dék* *mpàndó* *nè* *m-ûr*
 b-ùd *H + bé* *ndé* *dêg* *né* *m-ùd*
 1-person RELCL-you(pl) be (loc) see Mpand that 1-person

y-êš *á* *dì* *wógà* *bíjùmp.*
y-êz *á* *dì* *wók* *bíjùmp*
 1-each P2 stay here Bidjombo

The people that you see at Mpand used to live here at Bidjombo.

- (4) kúkúmá á m̀è ʃwòk á bà nàm mbũ.
 kúkúmá á bà nàm mbú
 3-chief first P2 be 7-nation 3-season
 The first chief was Nam Mbu.

- (5) mpízè m̀é nàm mbũ bòkwàànt elias.
 mpízè m̀é nàm mbú
 back Poss 7-nation 3-season
 After Nam Mbu was Bokwaand Elias.

- (6) bèjũmbó é tér kwòlè ngét, kò jé njwèndé,
 tér kò jé
 Bidjombo P1 start go arrive
 kwár nà ńé byòt.
 kwár nà ǹò byòd
 9-village by with fullness
 Bidjombo started at Kola Nget (the hill of naughtiness) and went to Njwende (the swamp), and throughout the village was packed [with people].

- (7) w = ǒ dégéé nê tít sá ǹè jèè!
 w = ó d̥eg + H nê tíd sá ǹò jèè
 you (sg)-PRES see that 1-animal do with 9-arrival
 You saw lots of animals!

- (8) ɲ-úlógá tít ǎ bò wòk bé túg lè
 ɲ-úlógá tíd á bò wòg bé túg lè
 1-INDEF 1-animal P2 be here you (pl) be (neg) IMPF
 númb ɲě ndwâŋk, è kwígè wók
 númb ɲé ndwâŋg é kwíg wòg
 know him(emph) giraffe P1 walk here

tón nè tón ñkà bè-tóòb.

tón nò tón nkâ bè-tóòb
outside with outside as 8-goat, sheep

An animal was here that you don't know, the giraffe who walked around outside like goats and sheep do today.

- (9) m̀è-lú mpízò bè-tóòb áncé lé dì ñkà
m̀è-lú mpízò bè-tóòb áncé lè dì ñkà
6-era back 8-goat, sheep NEGP2 IMPF stay as

by = ó ndé kwêk byíngàlè mè
bè = ó ndé kwég byíngàlè mè
8SUB-PRES be (loc) walk all.over that

In the old days, the sheep didn't do as they do now, walking all over the place.

- (10) by = á lè dì ñjì lé-mò-kòk, è-fúndò βó-ñkwìj.
bè = á lè dì ñjì lè-mò-kòg è-fúndò bò-ñkwèj
8SUB-P2 IMPF stay only LOC-6-pen INF-flee 2-leopard

They only stayed in the pens, out of fear of leopards.

- (11) bè-bónj bé kékák ná cà nc = è
bè-bónj H + bé nò cà ncò = è
8-place RELCL-you (pl) 7-small.child with now come-RELCL

bé túgá... númbà sá j-ððngó.
bé túg númb sá j-ððngó
you (pl) be (neg) know 7-thing 7-DEF

You the children of today, you don't know about that.

- (12) sá bè é-sì ñgà ñkwìj.
sá bò lé-sí ñgà ñkwèj
7-thing be Loc-earth this 1-leopard

That was something, the leopard!

- (13) nkà bé túgé sá vùk bé ndé sá mè.
 nkà bé túg sá vùg bé ndé sá mè
 as you (pl) be (neg) do jokes you (pl) be (loc) do this
 You didn't mess around the way you do now.

- (14) bèjùmbà jì kwáré ndé nò ɲwàɲ d-ínò.
 jì kwáré ndé nò ɲwàɲ d-ínò
 Bidjombo be (att) 9-village be (loc) with good 5-name
 Bidjombo is a village with a good name.

- (15) bw-ùr bə mpànd bw=á ncə bô b-ɔ́ɔ́ŋgə kò dì á
 bò-ùd bə bwó=á ncò bô b-ɔ́ɔ́ŋgə kò dì
 2-person be Mpand they-P2 come be 2-DEF go stay at(Fr)?

 mpànd nəbə nê mpànd bə mɔ́ŋgwààl mə ncèt
 nəbə nê bô mà
 Mpand because that Mpand be Mongwaal POSS Ncet

 á tér dì.
 á tér dì
 P2 start stay
 The people of Mpand are separated because it was at Mpand that
 Mongwaal, son of Ncet, first lived.

- (16) njú b-ùd á ʃùɲà, á wúl bəkól lé-mə-lwà
 njwî + H b-ùd á ʃùɲà á wúl bə-kól lé-mò-lwà
 3-chief 2-person P2 discuss P2 take.out 2-Kol LOC-6-slavery

mákè, ɲə bá bə mɔ́ŋgwààl mə ncèt.
 mákè ɲə bə mɔ́ŋgwààl mə
 Makaa he/she ? be POSS

The chief who discussed [fought] and liberated the Kol from the slavery
 of the Makaa was Mongwaal, son of Ncet.

- (18) myà mɔ́ŋgwààl mə ncə y=ě, myà w-ɔ́ɔ́ŋgɔ́ bə
 myá H + mɔ́ŋgwààl mé ncò yò=è myà w-ɔ́ɔ́ŋgɔ́ bə
 3-time RELCL-Mongwaal be(chg) come die-RELCL 3-time 3-DEF be

When Mongwaal died, at that time, his son Langa took the position.

- He had problems with the colonial administrator because he gave the administrator a woman who had an illness, so the administrator threw him in to prison at Lomie.

- (21) wú lúmó bó ɲó kò y = è.
wú H+ bò ɲè kò yò = è
there RELCL-Lomie be he go die-RELCL
It was there at Lomié that he died.

- In that time, they took Mpwam, son of Kak, to be chief.

- (23) njú b-ùd á bà-kólò é wú yè?
 njwî + H b-ùd á bà-kól é wú + H yé
 1-chief 2-person P2 2-Kol P1 come.from where
 Where did the Kol chief come from?

- (24) é wù wók bèjùmp.
 é wù wôg
 P1 come.from here Bidjombo
 Here from Bidjombo.

- (25) dónk bèjùmbà jì bízà bwùbwàg lígò bízà
 jì bízà bwàg lígò H + bízà
 thus (Fr) Bidjombo be(att) us(incl) big inheritance RELCL-we(incl)
 ndé jàlàlà kándèbè nè bízà bágèl = è.
 ndé jàlàlà kándèbè nò bízà bàgèlà = è
 be (loc) must respect with we (incl) keep-RELCL
 Thus, Bidjombo is an important heritage for us that we should
 respect and take care of.

- (26) nèbè jé?
 nèbè jé
 because arrive
 Why?

- (27) bèjùmbà bá ndé lé-fùgè ná kól.
 bò ndé lè-fùg nò kól
 Bidjombo be be (loc) 5-stalk with Kol
 Bidjombo is the root of the Kol language.

- (28) è bízà b-ùr bá bèjùmbà ndé jàlàlà làb kól.
 bízà b-ùd bò ndé jàlàlà làb kól
 and we (incl) 2-person be Bidjombo be (loc) must speak Kol
 And we the people of Bidjombo, we should speak Kol.

(29) hámá kól á kólò.
 fám kól á kól
 true, good Kol QUAL Kol
 The real Kol of the Kol.

(30) bè bə jwógè?
 bé bò jwóg
 you (pl) be hear
 Do you understand?

(31) wôk bèjùmp bá nè.
 wôg bò nè
 here Bidjombo be this
 It's here at Bidjombo.

6 An Invitation

told by Pierre Bengomo Mossi (of Bidjombo), transcription help and translation (into French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

- (1)

bò-ntwómá	bó	béjùmp	bwá	jì	nó	cà	ngà	nê
bò-ntwómá	bò		bwó	jì	nò	cà	ngà	nê
2-young	be	Bidjombo	they	be (att)	with	now	this	that

bw = ẽ ncò sá bèrà é-mò-wàrá mó-ngà.

bwó = é ncò + H sá + H bèdà lé-mò-wàdà mò-ngà

they-FUT come do big LOC-6-vacation 6-this

The young people of Bidjombo here now, they will do a big thing during this vacation.

- (2)

bw = é	ncò	sá	bèrá	ǰámpìònèn	é-sú	é	ǰó-bùmó.
bwó = é	ncò + H	sá + H	bèdà	championnat	lè-ǰú	lé	bò-bùmó
they-FUT	come	do	big	championship	5-sake	5Assoc	2-ball

They will have a sports championship.

- (3)

bìz = ó	jì	nó	'ǰik'	w-úzó.
bìzó = ó	jì + H	nò	gic	w-éz
we-PRES	be (att)	with	GIC	1-our

We have our GIC [*Groupement d'Intervention Communautaire* or Community Intervention Organization].

- (4)

mà =	bá	ndé	vísdèlègé	mà	mw-ás	má	békwàn.
mà =	bò	ndé	vicedelegué	mà	mò-áz	mà	
I	be	be (loc)	vice-delegate	POSS	1-twin?	POSS	Bekwan

I am the vice-delegate, me the twin of Bekwan.

- (5)

mà =	bá	ndé	vísdèlègé	á	'ǰík'	gáp	pám	nè
mà =	bò	ndé	vicedelegué	á				nè
I	be	be (loc)	vice-delegate (Fr)	QUAL	GIC	GAP	PAM	that

è-dégè mèsámèná y-éz = è.

è-dêg y-êz-è

INF-see Messaména 1-all-RELCL

I am the vice-delegate of GIC-GAP PAM which is seen throughout the Messamena area.

- (6) dóŋk bîz = ó mè-tán ndé wú flàs = í bw = á
 bîzá = ó mè-tán H + ndé wû flas = è bwó = á
 thus (Fr) we-PRES 4-white RELCL-be(loc) come.from France-RELCL they-P2

kà lwándèbè tíl mè nê mè ncâ = k
 kà lwándèbè tíl mè nê mè ncâ = g + H
 CONS just write me that I come-SUBJ

òrgànizê kúp.

organiser coupe

organize (Fr) cup (Fr)

Thus, we and the whites who come from France who just wrote me that I should organize a Cup [like World Cup for soccer].

- (7) ká bò kúp, tũrnwá é-ǰú bó-ntwámá nê bwó
 ké bò coupe tournois lè-ǰú bò-ntwámá nê bwó
 NEG be cup (Fr) tournament 5-sake 2-young that they

sá nê bwó níŋgè nè gáf pá.m.
 sá nê bwó níŋg nè gáp
 do that they join that GAP

Not really a cup, but a tournament so that young people will join the GAP PAM.

- (8) dóŋ m = ǎ sé ncò nò bò-bùmó.
 m = á sé ncò nò bò-bùmó
 thus (Fr) I-P2 PERF come with 2-ball

Thus, I've come with balls.

- (9) m = ó sé kàp m = á bò nò bò-bùmó tábèl.
 m = ó sé kàb m = á bò nò bò-bùmó tábèl
 I-PRES PERF share I-P2 be with 2-ball seven
 I already shared; I had seven balls.

- (10) m = ô sé kàbé mó-kwár búŋ bó-súsgrúp bó
 m = ô sé kàb mò-kwád búŋ H + bò-sousgroupe bó
 I-PRES PERF share 6-village 7-place RELCL-2-subgroup(Fr) 2ASSOC
 gáf páam ndé.
 ndé
 GAP PAM be (loc)
 I already gave some to villages where there are GAP PAM subgroups
 [teams?].

- (11) dón wók béjòmbó m = jì nán nò
 wôg m = jì nán nò
 thus (Fr) here Bidjombo I be (att) still with
 bò-bùmó bó-bá.
 bò-bùmó bó-bá
 2-ball 2-two
 So here at Bidjombo, I still have two balls.

- (12) mò = jì cèl nê é-myà bw = á bó-ntòmp bó-b-êz
 m = jì cèl nê lé-myà H + bwó = á bò-ntòmb bó-b-êz
 I be (att) love that LOC-3-time RELCL-they-P2 2-younger 2-2-all
 mí-fwàànc my-êz é jé wógà bò-jwór = è m = è
 mè-fwènj mè-êz é jé wôg bò-joueurs = è m = è
 4-young.man 4-all FUT arrive here 2-players (Fr)-RELCL I-FUT

sá kwán = é.
 sá kwán = è
 do 7-meeting-RELCL

I would like that when all the young people, all the young men arrive,
 the players, that I will hold a meeting.

- (13) mò = lɛŋ bwó sá bízǎ ndé jàlà̀nè sá mò-wàrà
 mà = lɛŋ bwó sá H + bízǎ ndé jàlà̀nà sá mò-wàdǎ
 I tell they do RELCL-we be (loc) must do 6-vacation
- mó-ŋg = è ndè mbínt myà ɲkwóòndà gó nc = è
 mò-ŋgà = è ndé mbénd myà + H ɲkwóònd gó ncò = è
 6-this-RELCL be (loc) rule 3-time-RELCL 9-month PROG come-RELCL

mé-tǎŋ bízǎ bò-nóp ndé syê è jé bwó bwènè
 mè-tǎŋ bízǎ bò-nob ndé syê é jé bwó
 4-white we 2-other be (loc) work FUT arrive they ?

ncó kwìb nê tǔrnwá w-ðòŋgǎ má sé tēr.
 ncò kwìb nê *tournois* w-ðòŋgǎ mé sé tēr
 come find that tournament 3-DEF be (chg) PERF start

I will tell them that we must work during the vacations so that next month when the whites we work with arrive, they will find that the tournament has already started.

- (14) y = é jì sá é bùlú vólò bó-ntwámá nó
 y = é jì sá é bùlú vól bò-ntwámá nó
 NONREF-FUT be (att) do and many help 2-young with

bùbù tēr ná mò-wàrà kò jê nò myǎ bí-fùkúl
 bùbù tēr nò mò-wàdǎ kò jé nò myà + H bè-fùkúl
 a.lot start with 6-vacation go arrive with 3-time-RELCL 8-school

é tēr = è.

é tēr = è

FUT start-RELCL

This will help the young people a lot from the beginning of the vacation to the time when the schools re-start.

- (15) bwó ndê sâ bé-jún mè-mbì mè-my-êz.
 bwó ndé sâ bè-jún mè-mbì mè-mè-êz
 they be (loc) do 8-game 4-type 4-4-each, all
 They will play all kinds of games.

- (16) mò-sás nò mèt-fwènjí bwó jí jàlà̀nè ncǒ é tǐlè̀bè
 mò-sés nò mè-fwènj bwó jí jàlà̀nà ncò *et* tǐlè̀bè
 6-girl with 5-young.man they want must come and sign.up

nê é-ǵú spór w-ḍḍḅḅḅ nè mú nê bé jí
 nê lè-ǵú sport w-ḍḍḅḅḅ nò mú nê bé jì
 that 5-sake sport (Fr) 1-DEF with reason that you (pl) be (att)

númbè nê bùmó spór ánḡè̀nè̀rálè ɲè = bó ndé
 nũmb nê bùmó sport *en general* ɲè = bò ndé
 know that 7-ball sport (Fr) in general(Fr) she/he be be (loc)

bùlú làr b-úr.
 bùlù lààd b-ùd
 a.lot sew 2-person

The young woman and young men, they should come sign up for
 the sport because you know that sports brings people together.

- (17) ɲè = bó ndé sá númá nê b-ntwómá nè mèt-sás
 ɲè = bò ndé sá númá nê b-ntwómá nò mò-sès
 he/she be be (loc) do also that 2-boy with 6-girl

bó kók nă b-ò nê mèt-fwó nò b-ḍḍḅḅḅ b-úr
 b-ò k-òg nê b-ò nò mò-fwó nò b-ḍḍḅḅḅ b-ùd
 be here that be with 6-friend with 2-DEF 2-person

ndé nò b-ómíyḡḡ b-ḡḡḡ ndé nê
 ndé nò b-ómíyḡḡ b-ḍḍḅḅḅ H + ndé né
 be (loc) with 2-sibling 2-DEF RELCL-be (loc) that

mò-kwár mò-sísì.
 mò-kwád mò-sís
 6-village 6-different

It works so that the young women and young men have friendships
 with other people and with their brothers from other villages.

- (18) dóŋ é-mò-wàrà mó-ŋgà é-ŋwèndà ŋgó nc = è
 lé-mò-wàdà mò-ŋgà lé-ŋwèndà gó ncò = è
 thus (Fr) LOC-6-hour 6-this LOC-1-week PROG come-RELCL

bó m = é sá kwán j-ðòŋgó é-lén bw-án bó bíjùmbò
 bò m = é sá kwán j-ðòŋgó è-lén bò-ân bò
 be I-FUT do 7-meeting 7-DEF INF-tell 2-child be Bidjombo

sá bízò bò-nóp b-êz é sâ nê né mò-wàrá
 sá bízò bò-nób b-êz é sâ mò-wàdà
 do us 2-other 2-all FUT do 6-hour

mó-ŋgà é-sú nê àmbiàns nò ànimàfón bó = gè
 mò-ŋgà lè-fú *ambience* nò *animation* bò = g
 6-this 5-sake *ambience* with *animation* be-SUBJ

nò mó-wàlá mó-ŋgà.
 nò mò-wàlà mò-ŋgà
 with 6-hour 6-this

Thus during the vacation, next week, I will hold this meeting to say to the sons of Bidjombo what we will do together so that this vacation will be filled with good times.

- (19) m = é yò bwó bò-bùmó.
 m = é yò bwó bò-bùmó
 I-FUT give them 2-ball
 I will give them balls.

- (20) bw = é nè lé bò-bùmó bìy-ðŋgó ké bà nè bw = é
 bwó = é nè lè bò-bùmó bè-ðŋgó ké bò nò bwó = é
 they-FUT ? IMPF 2-ball 2-DEF NEG be with they-FUT

lè jàná byó.
 lè jàná byó
 IMPF pay 8OBJ

They will play with the balls for free [without paying].

- | | | | | |
|------|-------|-----------------|------|------|
| (21) | m = è | dâz | bwó | byó |
| | m = é | dâz | bwó | byó |
| | I-FUT | give.as.present | them | 8OBJ |

é-tùrnwá	bìzò	bè-nóp	é	s = é.
lé-tournois + H	bìzè	bò-nób	é	sá = è
LOC-tournament(Fr)- RELCL	we	2-other	FUT	do-RELCL

I will give them the balls as a present during the tournament that we're doing.

- (23) dóŋ mǎ = jí jì nê mò-sás nà mǎ-jwènc
 mǎ = jí jì nê mò-sés nò mè-jwènj
 thus (Fr) I want be (att) 6-girl with 4-young.man

má	bìjùmp	my-ês	è	bwó	mò	bá	nà	ncò	nó	bùbù
má	bìjumb	mè-êz	é	bwó		bò	nò	ncò	nò	bùbù
6QUAL	Bidjombo	4-all	FUT	F2	?	be	with	come	with	a.lot

é-jú	kwán	m = é	s = é.
lè-jú	kwán	H + m = é	sá = è
5-sake	7-meeting	RELCL-I-FUT	do-RELCL

Thus I want that all the young woman and the young men of Bidjombo come to the meeting that I will have.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|---------|------|------|---------|--------|---------|------|
| (24) | bìzò | bə-nóp | ká | ncó | kwàməzá | mbì | bìz = é | ncè |
| | bìzə | bə-nób | kà | ncò | kwàməzà | mbì | bìz = é | ncò |
| | we | 2-other | CONS | come | prepare | 3-type | we- FUT | come |

sá	tùrnwá	é-ǵú	nó	lé	nò
sá	<i>tournois</i>	lè-ǵú	nò		nò
do	tournament (Fr)	5-sake	with		with

bèlá	bó	súgrùp.
	bò	<i>sousgroupe</i>
	be	subgroup

We need to organize how we will do the tournament so that we can play with other subgroups.

(25) m = ě cèl nê súgrúp á bijùmbò ɲò = bó = gò
 m = é cèlà nê *sousgroupe* á bijùmb ɲà = bò = g
 I-FUT love* that subgroup QUAL Bidjombo 1SUB be-SUBJ

súgrúpò á mà ʃwôk 'ʒic' gáf páam mà =
sousgroupe mà =
 subgroup first GIC GAP PAM I

ndé vísdèlègé.
 ndé vice-delegué
 be (loc) delegate

I want the Bidjombo subgroup to be the first [best] subgroup in GAP
 PAM which I am a delegate of.

(26) àkíbà nó bùbù.
 àkíbà nò bùbù
 thanks with a.lot
 Thanks a lot.

7 Joy After Uncertainty

told by Benoit Mbagué (of Leh), transcription help and translation (into French) by

Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

- (1) w-úlègà myà m = ǎ ncà té nè mò = ó kó
 w-úlègà myà m̃ = á ncà té nò m̃ = ó kò + H
 3-INDEF 3-time I-P2 come LOC with I-PRES go

lé-kwán, mífwàn kwân, kwár á kwán,
 lé-kwán mífwàn kwán kwád á kwán
 LOC-7-meeting 7-church 7-meeting 9-village QUAL meeting

communaute bwó ndé jáp nê sacre coeur,
 bwó ndé jáb nê
 community(Fr) they be (loc) call that

ɲwàŋ ɲwàŋ lám.
 ɲwàŋ ɲwàŋ lâm
 good good 7-heart

One day I left to go to a church meeting in the Kwan village, for the community that they call "Sacré Cœur."

- (2) myà m = ó kò jé w-úl támè ncì = ì, m̃ = náŋ
 myà H + m = ó kò + H jé + H w-úlègà tám ncì = è m̃ = náŋ
 3-time RELCL-I go arrive 3-INDEF middle 3-road-RELCL I still

lè k-ě, m̃ = mé tér lè-jwógè mwò lè ɲkòná
 lè kò m̃ = mé tér lè-jwóg mwò lè ɲkòná
 IMPF go-? I be (chg) start INF-feel 3-stomach IMPF INCR

kúŋgàlà m̃.
 kúŋgàlà m̃
 hurt me

When I had arrived, during the trip, before I left again, I started to feel stomach pains.

- (3) mǎ = è sá mǎ bè-dùŋ nwà tú kɾ, kɾ, kɾ.
 mǎ = é sá + H mǎ bè-dùŋ nwà tú
 I P1 do me 8-noise there inside
 My stomach made noises inside me. [sounds].

- (4) mǎ = nǎ "é kè !
 mǎ = nǎ
 I that
 I said, "Uh oh!"

- (5) jī jòŋ nán mē?"
 jé jòŋ nán mé
 what thing still that
 What is that?"

- (6) myà mô kò jé kwán = è mǎ = jòŋè á sá
 myà H + mǎ kò jé kwán = è mǎ = jòŋè á sá
 3-time RELCL-I go arrive meeting-RELCL I in spite of P2 do

mífwàn mpwògé.
 mífwàn mpwògé
 7-church 1-health

When I arrived in Kwan, I still managed to lead the meeting well.

- (7) mǎ = sá kwán njì lê-mbègàlá mǎ ncìmbé, mǎ =
 mǎ = sá kwán njì lé-mbègàlá H + mǎ ncìmbé mǎ =
 I do 7-meeting only LOC-9-protection POSS God I

lè jwók njì ŋká mwò ndé sá m = è.
 lè jwóg njì ŋká + H mwò ndé sá m = è
 IMPF feel only like-RELCL 3-stomach be (loc) do me-RELCL

I led the meeting under God's protection, since my stomach kept hurting.

- (8) tēm bè bè-dóp bwá = á sá wú = í m = áncé yīm nè
 tēm bò bé-dób H + bwó = á sá wú = è m = áncé yīm nò
 even be 8-food RELCL-they-P2 do there-RELCL I-NEGP2 can with

eat 8OBJ

I returned, arrived back home.

I came back home, called my wife.

I told her, "Since I left for Kwan today, along the way, my stomach has been bothering me."

I also had to go to the bathroom three times along the way.

- (13) mwò w-òòṅgá ó ndê ntégàlè mé.
mwò w-òòṅgá ó ndé ntég mé
3-stomach 3-DEF PRES be (loc) annoy me (emph)
It's my stomach that's bothering me."
- (14) mw-àrá w-àṅ á kò, ṅà = mé kò jáp dwábèrà.
mw-àrá w-àṅ á kò ṅò = mé kò jáp dwábèrà.
1-woman 1-my P2 go she be (chg) go call 1-nurse
My wife went to call the nurse.
- (15) dwábèrà mē ncè, jì sá mē-mìt.
dwábèrà. mé ncè jì sá mē-mìd
1-nurse be (chg) come be do 4-medicine
The nurse came to try some medicine.
- (16) mé fámè mē-mìr kó bò.
fámè mē-mìd ké bò
but (Fr) good 4-medicine NEG be
They didn't work.
- (17) dwábèrè nê ṅ = ǒ nìgó kó bèrtwà.
dwábèrè nê ṅ = ó nìgò + H kò + H
1-nurse that he-PRES return go Bertoua
The nurse said that he was going to Bertoua.
- (18) ṅě ncè nè mē-mìr.
ṅě ncò nò mē-mìd
he (emph) come with 4-medicine
He will bring back some medicine.
- (19) mē-lú mē-bá ṅ = á kò dī bèrtwà kó nìg = é,
mò-lú mò-bá H + ṅ = á kò dī ké nìgò = è
6-era 6-two RELCL-he-P2 go stay Bertoua NEG return-RELCL

è-cè mé nìgó bùlú ncè yâk.
 è-tyè mé nìgò bùlù ncò yâg
 5-illness be (chg) return many come be.strong

The two days that he stayed in Bertoua before returning, the illness got worse.

- (20) è-cè mê lè làl ñkúl.
 è-tyè mé lè làl ñkúl
 5-illness be (chg) IMPF be.strong 9-power
 It became stronger.

- (21) m̀̀ = mé tègá ḱí nán nò ñkúl.
 m̀̀ = mé tègá ké nán nò ñkúl
 I be (chg) be.tired NEG still with 9-power
 I was tired, with no energy.

- (22) m̀̀ = mé lè kò kúná ná títìtì, ẽ-jàgè m̀̀-̀̀.
 m̀̀ = mé lè kò kúná nò títìtì ẽ-jàg m̀̀-̀̀
 I be (chg) IMPF go poop with regularity INF-poop 6-blood
 I went to the bathroom all the time; I was having bloody stools.

- (23) ńúmá bw = á ncè ñkéng kò nà m̀̀ mífwàn
 ńúmá bwó = á ncè ñkéng kò nà m̀̀ mífwàn
 also they-P2 come carry go with me 7-church

messamena wàlàfírà b̀̀s̀̀ér.

wàlàfírà b̀̀s̀̀ér

Messamena hospital 2-nun (Fr)

Then, they came to take me to the nuns' hospital at the Messamena church.

- (24) b̀̀s̀̀ér bwó mé ncè tér fyâl m̀̀ m̀̀-̀̀.
 b̀̀s̀̀ér bwó mé ncè tér fyâl m̀̀ m̀̀-̀̀
 2-nun (Fr) they be (chg) come start test me 6-blood
 The nuns tested my blood.

- (25) bwó fyâl mà mà-bí.
 bwó fyâl mà mà-bí
 they test me 6-poop
 They took stool samples.

- (26) fyâl á mà-ncêlè nè bwó dégà sá jú jwó
 fyâl á mà-ncêlè nò bwó dèg sá H + jwó jwó
 test QUAL 6-urine with they see 7-thing RELCL-7OBJ 7OBJ

mé ndé lè ntég = è.
 mé ndé lè ntég = è
 self be (loc) IMPF annoy-RELCL

They tested my urine to see what it is that was bothering me.

- (27) númá bw = á kò fwâmb nê mà = jì nè ntú mà-cì.
 númá bwó = á kò fwâmb nê mà = jì nè ntú mà-cì
 also they-P2 go search that I be with diarrhea 6-blood
 Then they found that I had dysentery.

- (28) mà-tán jì jábè é-cè d-òòngá "diarrhee rouge."
 mà-tán jì jáb è-tyè d-òòngá
 4-white be call 5-illness 5-DEF diarrhea (Fr) red (Fr)
 The whites call this illness "red diarrhea."

- (29) é-bò-kól bízó jì jábè dwó nê ntú mà-cì.
 lé-bò-kól bízó jì jáb dwó nê ntú mà-cì
 LOC-2-Kol we be call 5OBJ that diarrhea 6-blood
 In Kol, we call it bloody diarrhea.

- (30) w = ó lè nâk mǎ-cì.
 w = ó lè + H nâg + H mǎ-cì.
 you-PRES IMPF poop 6-blood
 You have bloody stools.

- (31) m = ǎ já wàlǎfirè ká bín mbwô, ká bín kù.
 m = á já wàlǎfirè ké bén mbwô ké bén kù
 I-P2 sleep hospital NEG lift 9-hand NEG lift 9-foot
 I slept at the hospital without lifting a hand or a foot.
- (32) mà = ndé njì tégá jún ké nò ñkùl.
 mà = ndé njì tégá jún ké nò ñkùl.
 I be only be.tired 9-body NEG with 9-force
 I was tired, no more energy.
- (33) myêr kòñ w-òñgá bò-dwábèrà bw = á ncè wá
 myêd kòñ w-òñgá bò-dwábèrà bwó = á ncè wá
 3-DEF 2-nurse they-P2 come take
 ñkùl j-óp ní-j-êz, lágàlà númbá w-óp, mbímbà
 ñkùl j-ób ní-j-êz, lágàlà númbá w-ób mbímbì
 9-force 9-their 9-9-all show 3-knowledge 3-their 7-amount
 bòn á jíg = è.
 H + bòn á jíg = è
 RELCL-they (emph)? P2 learn-RELCL
 After that, the nurses took all their force, showed their knowledge, all that they have learned.
- (34) bwó mé ncè bándà jùṇà mó.
 bwó mé ncè bándà jùṇà mà
 they be (chg) come really discuss me
 They succeeded in saving me. [lit. They really discussed me.
 [implied with death].]
- (35) mà = mé ncè sá mpwògé.
 mà = mé ncè sá mpwògé
 I be (chg) come do 1-health
 I regained my health.

- (36) mw-àrá w-àṅǎ ɲè = mǎ m-ùr á lè yílǎ
 mò-àrá w-àṅ ɲè = mé m-ùd H + á lè yílǎ
 1-woman woman she be (chg) 1-person RELCL-P2 IMPF look.after

m = ǎ, ɲ = ǎ kò númǎ jwók è-cè.
 mà = è ɲ = á kò númǎ jwóg è-tyè
 me-RELCL she-P2 go also feel 5-illness
 My wife who was looking after me, she fell ill too.

- (37) kǎ bǎ bw = á ɲùṅǎ bǐzǎ nóp bǎ-b-êz.
 kǎ bǎ bwó = á ɲùṅǎ bǐzǎ nóp bǎ-b-êz.
 CONS be they-P2 discuss us other 2-2-all
 They saved us, both of us.

- (38) dw-óp bǐz = á á nǐgò ncǎ kwár = é nǎ bw-ân
 dw-ób H + bǐz = á á nǐgò ncǎ kwád = é nǎ bò-ân
 5-day RELCL-we P2 return come 9-village-RELCL with 2-child
 b-áṅ nǎ njáp b-ûr w-áṅ, m-ùr y-êz á bǎ nǎ
 b-âṅ nǎ njáb H + b-ùd w-áṅ m-ùr y-êz á bò nǎ
 2-my and 3-house 2-person 3-my 1-person 1-all P2 be with

mǎ-ɲwòdòzògò.

mò-ɲwòdòzògò.

6-joy

The day that we returned to the village and my children and my family, everyone was happy.

- (39) m-ùr y-êz mé ncǎ jwìmbá.
 m-ùr y-êz mé ncǎ jwìmbá
 1-person 1-each be (chg) come rejoice
 Everyone rejoiced.

- (40) bǐz = ó mé ncǎ bándà ɲwààz.
 bǐzǎ = ó mé ncǎ bándà ɲwààz
 we-PRES be (chg) come really be.happy
 We were really happy.

- (41) "é pàpá mâ jé !
mé jê
papa be (chg) arrive
"Oh! Papa is here!"
- (42) pàpá mâ sá mpwògé !"
mé sá mpwògé
papa be (chg) do 1-health
Papa is in good health!"
- (43) mpwògé w-ḍḍṅgá jà = bá mâ = ndé nè té
mpwògé w-ḍḍṅgá jà = bò H + mà = ndé nò té
1-health 1-DEF 1SUB be RELCL-I be (loc) with LOC
- kùmà nè nâ càá-g = è.
kùmà nò nò cà-ṅgà = è
until with with now-this-RELCL
It's this good health that I still have.'

8 The Panther and the Ram

told by Barthélemy Lefoumbou (of Leh), transcription help and translation (into French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

(1) kèkèná á bà fágórá ñkwìn bâ ntwìmbè.

kèkèná á bà fágórá ñkwèñ bâ ntwèmbè

7-story P2 be between 1-leopard and 7-sheep

'This story is about the panther and the ram.

(2) ntwìmbè jì tôp ndé wógè tám díndé.

ntwèmbè jì tòòb ndé wóg tám díndé

7-sheep be (att) goat be (loc) here (spec) middle courtyard

The sheep is in the courtyard.

(3) ñkwìn jì dì òk.

ñkwèñ jì dì òg

1-leopard be (att) stay 7-forest

The panther stays in the forest.

(4) myá bà nóp mò kò bwàmé bw = á kò bwàmé

myà + H bà nób mé kò bwàmá bwó = á kò bwàmá

3-time-RELCL and other be? go meet they-P2 go meet

òk.

òg

7-forest

When they met each other, they met each other in the forest.

(5) myá bwó k'ó bwàmé òg = é bwó k'ó

myà + H bwó kò + H bwàmá + H òg = è bwó kò + H

3-time-RELCL they-PRES go meet forest-RELCL they go

bágèrè sá wùrùk nê bwó sá lè-ḡwó.
 bágèrè + H sá wùrùg nê bwó sá è-ḡwó
 join 7-thing one that they do 5-friend

When they met each other in the forest, they decided to join forces and became friends.

- (6) è-ḡwó d-òbá, myà bwó k'ó k'ó d'í, bwó
 è-ḡwó d-ób myà H + bwó kò + H kò + H dì + H bwó
 5-friend 5-their 3-time RELCL-they-PRES go go stay they-PRES

k'ó ḡùmá sá bè-kól ndé jáp nê è-bàndà.
 kò + H ḡùmè sá H + bò-kól ndé jáb nê è-bàndà
 go build 7-thing RELCL-2-Kol be (loc) call that 5-hut

Because of their friendship, when they stayed somewhere, they build what the Kol people call a shelter.

- (7) bwó k'ó dì búṅ wùrùk.
 bwó kò + H dì + H bùṅ wùrùg
 they-PRES go stay 7-place one
 They stayed in the same spot.

- (8) bwó jì ká bà nê ḡúḡwók nê bwó
 bwó jì + H kà + H bò + H nê ḡúḡwóg nê bwó
 they-PRES be CONS be that in.front.of that they

já = g = è, é-jì nê bwò sàṅ = gè lé bwó
 já = g = è lè-jì nê bwó sàṅ = gá lé bwó
 sleep-SUBJ-RELCL INF-be that they look.for-SUBJ(pl) 5-wood they

tíràg kwàrà.
 tíràg kwàrà
 light 9-fire

But before they slept, they needed to look for wood for their fire.

- (9) ncí á bà nê ɲ = ò ká sáɲ lè?
 ncé á bò nê ɲ = ó kà + H sáɲ + H lé
 who QUES be that he-PRES CONS look.for 5-wood

Who will go look for wood?

- (10) ntwìmbè á lêɲ nò ɲkwìn nê "bírá, lé túk
 ntwèmbè á lêɲ nò ɲkwèɲ nê bír lé túg
 7-sheep P2 say with 1-leopard that leave 5-wood be (neg)

nê sá.

nê sâ

with 7-thing

The sheep said to the panther, "Let it be, the wood is no big deal.

- (11) m = èé kò, m = èé kò sáɲ ncwó lé."
 m̃ = é kò + H m̃ = é kò + H sáɲ + H ncwò lé
 I-FUT go I-FUT go look.for us (dual) 5-wood

I will go and look for wood for both of us."

- (12) ɲkwìn nê "éɲkùgù ncw = ó kò sáɲ lé."
 ɲkwèɲ nê éɲkùgù ncw̃ = ó kò + H sáɲ + H lé
 1-leopard that together we (dual)-PRES go look.for 5-wood

The panther said, "Let's go! We'll both go look for wood."

- (13) myă ntwìmbè á jê lé-fùmbà lé,
 myà + H ntwèmbè á jê lé-fùmbà lé
 3-time-RELCL 7-sheep P2 arrive LOC-dead 3-tree

ntwìmbè á nìgò ámpízémpíz.

ntwòmbè á nìgò ámpízémpíz

7-sheep P2 return backwards

When the sheep came across a dead tree, he moved backwards.

- (14) myà ɲ = á k = è, ɲ = ǎ wá àlú nò lú y-é
 myà H + ɲ = á kò = è ɲ = á wá àlú nò lú
 3-time RELCL-he-P2 go-RELCL he-P2 put 1-hit with 5-head 1-his

ntánj nó kú ló-fùmbà pɾ: dùmà jí.
 ntánj nò kú lé-fùmbà dùmà sí
 like.that with hit LOC-dead fall 1-ground

Running towards the tree, he hit it with his head, and it fell down.

- (15) myà ɲkwín mǎ dēg = è, ɲkwìn nǎ
 myà H + ɲkwèn mé dēg = è ɲkwèn nǎ
 3-time RELCL-1-leopard be (chg) see- RELCL 1-leopard that

"ǎ ɲ = à tér è-wá àlú ntânǎ ló-fùmbà,
 ǎ ɲ = á tér lè-wá àlú ntánj lé-fùmbà
 he-P2 start INF-put hit like.that LOC-dead

fùmbà fùgǎlà.

fùmbà fùgǎlà

dead fall.in.pieces

When the panther saw that, he said, "Well, he hit the tree like that and it fell down in pieces.

- (16) ɲkà myǎ fùmbà mǎ fùgǎlà mè.
 ɲkà myà + H fùmbà mé fùgǎlà mè
 as 3-time-RELCL dead be (chg) fall.in.pieces this

Now the tree is in pieces.

- (17) á myà ɲ = é kà wá m = é, m = ǎ k'á
 á myà + H ɲ = é kà + H wá + H m = è m̃ = é kà + H
 QUES 3-time-RELCL he-FUT CONS put me- RELCL I- FUT CONS

bò w-ób mbì?"

bò +_H w-ób mbì

be 3-which 3-manner

If he did that to me, how would I be?"

- (18) númá bwó ncà ɲkê lé, ncà jé nà té
númá bwó ncà ɲkêŋg lé ncà jé nò té
also they come carry 5-wood come arrive with LOC

lè-bàndà.

lè-bàndà

5-hut

Then they carried the wood back to their shelter.

- (19) númá ɲkwìn mé ncà lêɲ nê "ə́ ncwó
númá ɲkwèɲ mé ncà lêɲ nê ə́ ncwó
also 1-leopard be (chg) come say that we (dual)

sé bà nà lé.

sé bò nò lé

PERF be with 5-wood

Then, the panther said, "Well, we already wood already.

- (20) é-jí kǎ jì ncwó nê ná cà nê
lè-jí kà +_H jì +_H ncwó nê nò cà nê
INF-want CONS be (att) we (dual) that with now that

ncwó k'á bà nó bè-dóp."

ncwó kà +_H bò +_H nò bè-dób

we (dual) CONS be with 8-food

Now we need food."

- (21) númá ntwìmbè á lêɲ nê "m = ẽ sé sánj lé,
númá 7-ntwèmbè á lêɲ nê m̃ = é sé +_H sánj +_H lé
also sheep P2 say that I-FUT PERF look.for 5-wood

kà sánj bə̀-dóp."

kà sánj bə̀-dób

CONS look.for 8-food

Then the sheep replied, "I already went and looked for wood, go look for food."

- (22) myà ɲkwìn mǎ ncǎ kò ɲ=ǒ kò dɛ̀gə
myà + H ɲkwɛ̀ɲ mé ncà kò ɲ=ó kò + H dɛ̀g + H
3-time-RELCL 1-leopard be (chg) come go he-PRES go see

lé-kán.

lè-kán

5-antelope

When the panther left, he saw an antelope.

- (23) è-bì ɲ=á kò bì è-kán-é ɲà lè-kán.
lè-bì ɲ=á kò bì lè-kán ɲà lè-kán
INF-seize he-P2 go seize 5-antelope tear 5-antelope

He seized it and tore it up.

- (24) ntwìmbè dɛ̀k.

ntwèmbè dɛ̀g

7-sheep see

The sheep saw it all.

- (25) númǎ ntwìmbè á ncà lɛ̀ɲ nê "é: ?
númǎ ntwèmbè á ncà lɛ̀ɲ nê
also 7-sheep P2 come say that say

Then the sheep said, "Eh?"

- (26) ɲə̀= tér ɲə̀ lè-kán ntánjə̀.
ɲə̀= tér ɲà è-kán ntánj
he first tear 5-antelope like.that

First he tore the antelope up like that.

(27) á ɲkàmà nè mà ɲ=ě sá mè nà?"

á ɲkàmà nò mà ɲ=é sá+H mà
 QUES how.many with me he-FUT do me

How much more could he do to me?

(28) nùmé ɲkwìn á ncè lêɲ nê "ɲè tér wá àlú

nùmé ɲkwèɲ á ncè lêɲ nê ɲè tér wá àlú
 also 1-leopard P2 come say that he first put hit

lè-fùmbà, ntɔ̀mbè w=ê á ɲkàmà nè mè?"

lè-fùmbà ntɔ̀mbè w=é á ɲkàmà nò mè
 LOC-dead 7-sheep you-FUT QUES how.many with me(emph)

Then the panther said, "First he hit the dead tree with his head,
 how much more could the sheep do to me?"

(29) myà yô kà jé nê bwó jì ndé

myà H+yò kà jê nê bwó jì ndé
 3-time RELCL-7SUB CONS arrive that they be (att) be (loc)

lè-bàndà lé wùrùgá.

lè-bàndà lé wùrùg
 5-hut 5ASSOC one

Having arrived back home, they stayed in the same shelter.

(30) nùmé ɲkwìn á ncè té ɲè nê "ə́ fǎ bwáánt

nùmé ɲkwèɲ á ncè té ɲè nê fǎ bwéndê
 also 1-leopard P2 come LOC he that HORT wait

má.

mè

me

Then the panther got up and he said, "Well, wait for me.

(31) m=ò gó ncà-n."
 m=ó gó ncà-né
 I-PRES PROG come-that
 I'm coming back."

(32) è-kò ñkwìn á kè fwàlò kò.
 lè-kò ñkwèñ á kò fwàl kò
 INF-go 1-leopard P2 go directly go
 But in going, he then left for good.

(33) myă ntwìmbè mǎ ncà dēk ncínè, ntwìmbè
 myà + H ntwèmbè mé ncà dēg nténè ntwèmbè
 3-time 7-sheep be (chg) come see like.that 7-sheep

 nê "jám j-ðòngǎ bó-n
 nê njám j- ðòngǎ bà-né
 that 7-moment (good) 7-DEF be-that
 When the sheep saw that, he said, "It's the perfect moment!"

(34) mǎ ká kò kwár nǎbó myà j=ó bì
 mǎ kà kò kwád nǎbǎ myà H + j=ó bì + H
 I CONS go 9-village because 3-time RELCL-he-PRES seize

 tír ntánǎ jǎ.
 tíd ntán jà
 7-animal like.that tear
 I will go to the village because he seizes animals like that and tears them.

(35) myǎ j=é bì númǎ mǎ j=ě jà númǎ mǎ,
 myà H + j=é bì + H númǎ mǎ j=é jà + H númǎ mǎ
 3-time RELCL-he-FUT seize also me he-FUT tear also me

mè m=ó kò númá fwal làŋ nê ncò kwár."
 m=ó kò+H númá+H fwál+H làŋ+H nê ncò kwád
 but(Fr) I-PRES go also directly happen that come 9-village
 Since he could do the same thing to me, I'm going to leave for the
 village."

- (36) jw=ó bó ntwìmbé ndé kwár=é.
 jw=ó bò ntwèmbè ndé kwád=è
 7SUB-PRES be 7-sheep be (loc) 9-village-RELCL
 That's why sheep are in the village.

- (37) jw=ó bó ŋkwìn ndé dīg=é.
 jw=ó bò ŋkwèŋ ndé dīg=è
 7SUB-PRES be leopard be (loc) 7-forest-RELCL
 That's why the panther is in the forest.

- (38) ntá jí lēŋ nê myá bīz=á ndé bīz=á
 ntà jí lēŋ nê myà H+bīz=á ndé H+bīz=á
 since want say that 3-time RELCL-we-P2 be (loc) RELCL-we-P2

ndé wôk mè, bīz=á jí=gè númp nê
 ndé wôg mè bīz=á jí=g nûmb nê
 be (loc) here that we-P2 need-SUBJ know that

sá ndé dá.
 sâ ndé dá
 7-thing be (loc) 1-father

This means that since we are here now, we need to know who is the
 father (ancestor).

(39) dâ jì ncìmbé.

dá jì ncìmbê

1-father be (att) God

The father is God.

(40) é-jì m-ùr ndé nê bîz = á túk nò ñkùl

lè-jì m-ùd ndé nê bîz = á túg nò ñkùl

INF-be 1-person be (loc) that we-P2 be (neg) with 9-force

bwó yìgèlâ nê jâ.

bwó yìgèlâ nò jâ

they compare with him

That's someone that we shouldn't compare ourselves to.

(41) tèm mwáz, tèm fùm, ká nà dw-óp lé-wùrùk,

tèm mwáz tèm fùm ké nò dw-ôb lé-wùrùk

even 3-daytime even 3-night NEG with 5-day 5ASSOC-one

bîz = é yìg-èlâ nê dê.

bîz = é yìg-èlâ nò dá

we-FUT pretend-REFL with father

Even during the day, even during the night, not on one single day should we compare ourselves to the father.

(42) bîz = á túk lê yìgèlâ nê dá.

bîz = á túg lê yìg-èlâ nò dá

we-P2 be (neg) IMPF pretend-REFL with father

We do not compare ourselves with the father.

(43) bîzá dî kók bésí, jě dî jwáp.

bîzá dî kók b-sí j = é dî jwáp.

we (incl) stay here 2-ground he (emph) stay sky

We stay here on earth, he stays in the heavens.

- (44) *jà jî dêk mà-báp m-êz ndé kók bási,*
 jà jì dêg mò-báb m-êz ndé kóg bò-sí
 he be (att) see 6-bad 6-all be (loc) here 2-ground
- mè-jwàŋ m-êz ndé kók bàsì.*
mò-jwàŋ m-êz ndé kóg bò-sí
 6-good 6-all be (loc) here 2-ground
- He sees all the bad things here on earth and all the good things here on earth.

9 The Perils of Drunkenness

told by Jean Sédar Atangana, transcription help and translation (into French) by

Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

- (1) m̀̀ = jí jì l̥ɛŋ mwâ lɔŋə ḿ̩ m̀̀ m = á
 m̀̀ = jì jí l̥ɛŋ mwá lɔŋ H + m̀̀ m̀̀ mé = á
 I be (att) want tell little speech RELCL-I I self-P2

númb ǹ̀ cìgè = è.

nũmb nò cìgè = è

know and live-RELCL

'I want to tell something that I myself have seen and lived.

- (2) m = á b̀̀ m̀̀ = ndé jwóp ǹ̀ jwóbà lè ŋkònǎ
 m̀̀ = á b̀̀ m̀̀ = ndé jwôb nò jwôb lè ŋkònà
 I-P2 be I be (loc) sky with sky IMPF INCR

mwâ ŋkwô lè é ŋkwó = gè kò lè jánj.

mwá kwò lè lé kwò = g kò lè

little again IMPF LOC again-SUBJ go IMPF suck

I was in the air looking for life.

- (3) m̀̀ = ndé ǹ̀ b-ùr bá c̀̀l m̀̀, bwó
 m̀̀ = ndé nò b-ùr H + b̀̀ c̀̀là m̀̀ bwó
 I be (loc) with 2-person RELCL-be love me they

ǹ̀ ŋkùl l̥ɛŋ ǹ̀ b̀̀-ɟwó.

nò ŋkùl l̥ɛŋ nò b̀̀-ɟwó

with 9-force tell with 2-friend

I had those who love me, those one could call friends.

- (4) b̀̀zə b̀̀-nób = á kwìkwêg, m-ùr ǹ̀ my-é m̀̀-mbì.
 b̀̀zə b̀̀-nób = á kwîg m-ùr nò mè-é mè-mbì
 we 2-other-P2 walk 1-person with 4-his 4-sort

Them and me, we walked together, each with his own habits.

- (5) kǎ bò dèná bwó ndé lè lɛ̃j bòkól nê wô = kwíg
 kà bò dèná bwó ndé lé lɛ̃j bòkol nê wò = kwíg
 only like they be (loc) IMPF tell Kol that you walk

nè bɛ̃-mpyó, wɛ̃ = ɲwàɲ bɛ̃-ɲá.
 nò bɛ̃-mpyó wò = ɲwàɲ bɛ̃-ɲá
 with 2-dog you take 2-flea

Only as one says in Kol: you walk with dogs, you will have fleas.

- (6) w = à = dég = é?
 w = á = dɛ̃g = è
 you-NEG-see-NEG
 Don't you see?

- (7) mô = kwíg nè bɛ̃-ɲwɛ̃l-è bɔ́-má-ɲòk, m = ô kò númá
 mò = kwíg nò bɛ̃-ɲwɛ̃l-è bó-mò-ɲwòg m̃ = ó kò + H númá + H
 I walk with 2-drink-NOM 2ASSOC-6-wine I-PRES go also

dùmà lɛ̃-ɲgwángá é-bín bì-ɲkwíndé.
 dùmà + H lɛ̃-ɲgwán è-bén bè-ɲkwéndé
 fall (intr) LOC-together 5-lift 8-elbow

You walk with wine-drinkers, you will also end up with elbow-benders [alcoholics].

- (8) w = à = dég = é?
 w = á = dɛ̃g = è
 you-NEG-see-NEG
 Don't you see?

- (9) d-úl dw-áp nè lè-yìgé, mw-àrá mà twámbá w-àɲá nò
 d-úlógá dw-òb nò lè-yìgé mw-àrá mà twámbá w-àɲ nò
 5-INDEF 5-day that 5-sign 1-woman POSS 1-elder 1-my with

m-ùr á lè bàgɛ̀là mà ɲgwàlà yàùndé ɲ = ǎ bwâr
 m-ùd á lè bàgɛ̀là mà ɲgwâlà ɲ = á bwâd
 1-person P2 IMPF keep me city Yaoundé she-P2 wear

bò-kwòndó è-fyâl lé-fùkúl b-ácígókùk.
 bò-kwòndó lè-fyâl lé-fùkúl bò-á-cígókùg
 2-stripes INF-exit 5ASSOC-7-school 2?-police

One day, with a sign, the wife of my elder who looked after me in
 Yaoundé got her stripes and graduated from the police academy.

- (10) bízó ncò kò lè-dúmp á s-ówàwà nò bók á
 bízó ncà kò lè-dúmb á sá-ówà nò bóg á
 we come go LOC-party P2 act-PASS and reception P2

kègàwà.

kèg-ówà
 plan-PASS

We went to the party which was planned and the reception that was
 organized.

- (11) bízó kò sá má-fwòòzògò s-ówà lé-wààngá dèná
 bízó kò sá mè-fwòòzògò sá-ówà lè-wààng dèná
 we go do 4-joy do-PASS 5-song like

bé-dâ bôn á lè sê nò kúl nò
 H + bò-dâ bôn á lè sá = è nò kúl nò
 RELCL-2-father they(emph)? P2 IMPF do-RELCL with 3-tam-tam and

ɲkòòm.

ɲkòòmb
 9-medium.drum

We rejoiced, singing like the ancestors did, with the tam-tams and
 drums.

- (12) bízó kò ɲwàɲ bò-fònó nè bàmîl.
 bízó kò ɲwàɲ
 we go take musical instruments
 We took musical instruments.

- (13) myêr kwò té bè-bí-má mǎ nûmp nê myà wó
 kwò té bè-bè-mé mé nûmb nê myà H + wò
 again LOC you-you-self be (chg) know that 3-time RELCL-you

sé búlá ògàb = e wò jí sán sá mà
 sé + H búlù + H ògàbà = è wò jí sán sá mé
 PERF many sweat-RELCL you want look.for 7-thing be (chg)

télélé ñkwóómìn.

télélé ñkwóómìn

refresh throat

After that, you yourself know that when you have really sweated, you look for something to refresh yourself with.

- (14) m = kò ñwàṅ sá mà télélé mó ñkwóómìn.
 ó

m = ó kò ñwàṅ sá H + mé télélé mà ñkwóómìn
 I-PRES go take 7-thing RELCL-be(chg) refresh me throat

I took something to refresh my throat.

- (15) kùgú ṅà bô by-òòṅgó ndé lè ñcààbèrà
 kùgú ṅà bô bè-òòṅgó H + ndé lè ñcààbèrà
 3-evening this be 8-DEF RELCL-be (loc) IMPF turn.upside.down

m-ûr lú, mà ndé jábè nà mà-ñwòg = è.

m-ûd lú mà ndé jáb nò mò-ñwòg = è

1-person 5-head I be (loc) call with 6-wine-RELCL

That evening, that something was head-spinning, that which I call wine.

- (16) w = à = dég = é ?

wò = á = dêg = è

you-NEG-see-NEG

Don't you see?

- (17) ònǎ mwâ m-ûr ndé myà ñà = ndé lè kwígà
 ònǎ mwá m-ûr ndé myà ñà = ndé lè kwíg
 like 1-small 1-person be(loc) 3-time he be (loc) IMPF walk

lé-wángé	ɲə =	jí	cɛ̀l	númó	sá	díná	bw-úr	bó
lé-wángé	ɲə =	jí	cɛ̀l	númó	sá	déná	bò-úr	bó
LOC-gathering	he	want	love	also	do	like	2-person	2Assoc

cɛ̀lɛ̀l mə
 cɛ̀lɛ̀l mə
 love me

When a small [unimportant] man is in a group, he wants to do like his friends.

- (18) bə-ɟwó b-é bā bə-nóp ndé lè kwîg ndè lé sɛɛ.
 bə-ɟwó b-é bā bə-nób ndé lè kwîg ndé lè sá
 2-friend 2-his and 2-other be (loc) IMPF walk be (loc) IMPF do
 His friends and others walk the same way.

- (19) m = ô bándà kǒ ɲwàŋ sá mò-bwêš mə cóŋ.
 mə = ó bándà + H kò + H ɲwàŋ sâ mò-bwêz mó cóŋ
 I-PRES really go take 7-thing 6-wet 6Assoc 9-neck

bè-sá	mó	ntámá	lú = wí,	mə-ɲòk.
bè-sâ	H + mé	ntámà	lú = è	mə-ɲwòg
8-thing	RELCL-be (chg)	rot	5-head-RELCL	6-wine

I took something to wet my throat, something that rots the head, wine.

- (20) bîzó bə-nóp mə sé ɲwèl mə-ɲòk ntínè,
 bîzó bə-nób mé sé ɲwèl mò-ɲwòg ntínè
 we 2-other be (chg) PERF drink 6-wine like.that
 Me and them, we drank wine like that.

- (21) bîzó ncò cín dé búŋá dúmp á bèè
 bîzá ncò cînt búŋá dúmb á bèè
 we come change 7-place dance QUAL second
 We went to a second party location.

- (30) m = ó kwó kèlé mǎ-jòk m = á nì jàné.
 m = ó kwò + H kèl + H mò-jwòg mò-á nì
 I-PRES again add 6-wine 6-P2 enter
 I kept adding strong wine.

- (31) tíé nè tíé lú mà jìrèbà mà njwâp.
 tíé nò tíé lû mé jìdèbà mà jwáb
 7-position with 7-position 5-head be spin me sky
 At that moment, my head was spinning.

- (32) è-ncè kél nè bìy-ðòngá m = á térè jwàṅ = é
 lè-ncè kèl nò bè-ðòngá H + m̃ = á tér jwàṅ = è
 INF-come add with 8-DEF RELCL-I-P2 first take-RELCL
 fág bíz = á tēr bò lé-dúmp fág á njwáṅmálínt.
 fág H + bíz = á tēr bò lé-dúmb fág á
 place RELCL-we-P2 first be Loc-dance where QUAL Ndjong-Melen
 I was adding to what I had originally drunk back when we were at the
 first party along the edge of Ndjong-Melen [neighborhood of Yaoundé].

- (33) mà = mé nà té tè té tè té.
 mà = mé nò
 I be (chg) with
 I couldn't control myself anymore, had no more strength.

- (34) kí nè ṅkùl mǎ = bì fògè nâ á è mà =
 ké nò ṅkùl mà = bìl fòg nâ mà =
 NEG with 9-force I seize 9-wisdom that I
 jí = k búṅ mǎ kò kò è-jâ sí.
 jí = g + H búṅ H + mà kò kò è-jâ sí
 ask-SUBJ 7-place RELCL-I go go 5-sleep 1-ground
 I didn't still have enough intelligence to ask where I could go lie
 down.

- (35) m̀̀ = mé n̂ m = ò nígò nìgò n̂ mpízè
 m̀̀ = mé n̂ m = ó nìgò + H nìgò + H n̂ mpízò
 I be (chg) that I-PRES return return with back

kò njwánm̀́l̂nt.

kò njwánm̀́l̂nt

go Ndjong-Melen

I wanted to retrace my steps, go back to Ndjong-Melen.

- (36) b̀̀-ƿwó b-ân bìl m̂ ná jìl m̀̀ = ké b̀̀ n̂
 b̀̀-ƿwó b-ân bìl m̂ n̂ jèè m̀̀ = ké b̀̀ n̂
 2-friend 2-my seize me that 9-arrival I NEG be with

mbì m̂ = mé jwágà n̂ bwè.

mbì H + m̀̀ = mé jwág n̂ bwè

3-sort RELCL-I be(chg) listen with them

My friends stopped me just before the point where I wouldn't have been able to hear [heed?] them anymore.

- (37) m̀̀ = nĉ núm̂ fyâl lé-fùm̂ m̂ mò-wàlà m̂ l̂l
 m̀̀ = nĉ núm̂ fyâl lé-fùm̂ mó mò-wàlà m̂ l̂l
 I come also exit LOC-3-evening 3ASSOC 6-hour POSS three

m-á m̂n̂.

m-á m̂n

6-QUAL morning

I headed out into the night, at 3 o' clock in the morning.

- (38) y = ó sé ntàn tám̂ fùm̂.
 y = ó sé ntàn tám̂ fùm̂
 7SUB-PRES PERF cross middle 3-night

It was already past midnight.

- (39) mó = jwáb̀̀rà ncí.
 m̀̀ = jwáb̀̀rà ncí
 I tangle 3-path

I got muddled and lost my way.

- (40) m = à = númb = é náŋɔ̀ ncí mɔ̀ kò njwónmálínd = é.
 m = á = nûmb = è náŋ ncí + H mɔ̀ kò
 I-NEG-know-NEG still 3-path-RELCL 3ASSOC go Ndjong-Melen-RELCL
 I didn't know anymore which road went to Ndong-Melen.

- (41) mɔ̀ = mē nìgò twàgàbà fág á bíyímá sí.
 mɔ̀ = mé nìgò twàgàbà fág + H á
 I be (chg) return ? where-RELCL QUAL Biyima Si

I ended up going toward Biyima Si.

- (42) é-kò, m = ó gó kò ŋgá, mwâ fâ-fók mɔ̀
 lè-kò m = ó gó + H kò + H ŋgà mwá fâ-fòg H + mɔ̀
 INF-go I-PRES PROG go this 1-small DIM-9-wisdom RELCL-I

 nìgò jì jé m-é-lú.
 nìgò jì jê mɔ̀-lé-lú
 return be (att) arrive me- LOC-head
 As I was going, a remnant of wisdom came to me.

- (43) mɔ̀ = yàgɔ̀ nó "á kyè !
 mɔ̀ = yàg nâ
 I recognize that EXCL
 I realized "Uh oh!"

- (44) yî m = ó gó kò náŋ mē ?"
 yî m = ó gó + H kò + H náŋ mē
 where I-PRES PROG go still that
 Where am I going?"

- (45) mɔ̀ = fâ nìgò nè mpízò.
 mɔ̀ = fã nìgò nò mpízò
 I HORT return with back
 I need to retrace my steps (go back the way I came).

- (51) b-ḍḍḅḡá b-úr ndé lè bàḡàlò báfilá jèlé.
 b-ḍḍḅḡá b-ud ndé lè bàḡàlò
 2-DEF 2-person be (loc) IMPF keep
 The people were those who watch over government officials,

- (52) bw-úr bá mó-wúzá ndê bà nà mò-kwàṅ nò kùbě
 bō-ùd bō mò-wázá ndé bō nò mò-kwàṅ nò kùbě
 2-person be 6-northerner be (loc) be with 6-lance with bow

mô bumbàlā númá té lè-bàḡé.
 mò bumbàlā númá té lè-bàḡ
 6SUB get.up also Loc 5-side

The men from the North with their spears and their bows, they also quickly got up in their turn.

- (53) myà bw=á jwók bē-mpyó lè bwámbàl=è, bwô tēr
 myà H + bwó=á jwág bō-mpyó lè bwāmbàl=è bwó tēr
 3-time RELCL-they-P2 hear 2-dog IMPF bark-RELCL they first

lêṅ nê "jībàlè ! jībàlè ! jībàlè !"
 lêṅ nê jībàlò jībàlò jībàlò
 say that thief thief thief

When they heard the dogs barking, to started to say "Thief! Thief! Thief!"

- (54) é-kòṇòkò, bé númp ṅgwàlā yáùnt.
 è-kòṇòkò bé númb ṅgwàlā yáùnd
 LOC-truth you (pl) know 9-city Yaounde
 Truly, you know the city of Yaoundé.

- (55) lé-mò-wàlā m-ḍḍḅḡá á bō té bè fwôk á fús sì lâl
 lé-mò-wàlā m-ḍḍḅḡá á bō té
 LOC-6-hour 6-DEF P2 be Loc

càmèrûn wús.

w-éz

Cameroon 3-our

At that time, the governor of the central province had established strong laws.

(56) fús sí á centre á mòmànt mé lâl.

(57) è-ʃù nê mē = númbà bwàgèlâ lê-bèkól.

è-ʃù nê mē = númb bwàgèlâ lé-bèkól

5-sake that I know explain LOC-Kol

(I want to explain in Kol.)

(58) lú á té á lêŋ nê bwó bí jíbèlè, bwó

lû á té á lêŋ nê bwó bì + H jíbèlè bwó

5-head P2 LOC P2 say that they-PRES seize thief they

jú = gò.

jû = gá

kill-SUBJPL

The head [governor] said that if they catch a thief, they should kill him.

(59) mē bē mé lè ncà jábè nê jíbèlè mé.

mē bē mé lè ncò jáb nê jíbèlè mé

I be be (chg) IMPF come call that thief that

I am the one being called 'thief.'

(60) hêéh jíbèlè !

hêéh jíbèlè

thief

"Thief!"

- (61) hɛ́ɛh jíbàlè !
 hɛ́ɛh jíbàlè
 thief
 "Thief!"

- (62) b-ùr mǎ wòl lé-mò-wàlà mǎ lól mǎnè
 b-ùd mé wòl lé-mò-wàlà mǎ lól mǎnè
 2-person be (chg) get.out LOC-6-hour Poss three 3-morning
 é-ncò wà nè bè-bílè nè mǎ-fà nè mǎ-báák.
 é-ncò wá nò bè-bílè nò mǎ-fà nò mǎ-báág
 INF-come put with 8-club with 6-machete with 6-knife
 The people got up at 3 o'clock, bringing with them their clubs,
 machetes, and knives.

- (63) mǎ-jòk mó mw = á bà mǎ lé-lú = wé, kì mw = á
 mǎ-jwòg mó mò = á bò mǎ lé-lú = è ké mò = á
 6-wine 6ASSOC 6SUB-P2 be me LOC-5-head-RELCL NEG 6SUB-P2
 bà lé wú kì mw = á bà nô mǎ túgè nánj lè
 bò lè wú ké mò = á bò nò mǎ túg nánj lè
 be IMPF leave NEG 6SUB-P2 be with I be (neg) still IMPF
 númp nèbè mǎ = mé fágórá mǎ-fà nò mò-kwân.
 númb nèbá mǎ = mé fágórá mǎ-fà nò mò-kwân
 know because I be (chg) between 6-machete with 6-lance
 The wine which was in my head, where it went, I don't know, or how,
 but I was already between machetes and spears.

- (64) bw-àrá gó lɛ̃n nâ "ǎ !
 bò-àrá gó lɛ̃n nâ
 2-woman PROG say that EXCL
 The women said, "Ah ha!"

- (65) bò-kúbá b-ízé mǎ lè dîmp wógè, mùùntí ngà
 bò-kúbò b-íz mé lè dímb wôg mùùntí ngà
 2-chicken 2-our be (chg) IMPF lose here mister this

dá ɲgà bò lè ɲ-ɔ̀ɔ̀ɲgá bó ncà jíbà bízá bò-kúbà."

dá ɲgà bà lè ɲ-ɔ̀ɔ̀ɲgá bò ncò jíbà bízá bò-kúbà

1-father this be IMPF 1-DEF be come steal us 2-chicken

Our chickens keep going missing, he is the one who has come to steal them."

- (66) m̀à = túgà númp ɲké m̀à = jì tél sí
- m̀à = túg nũmb ɲké m̀à = jì tél sí
- I be (neg) know or I be (att) organize 1-ground

ɲké m̀à = jì túl jwóp.

ɲké m̀à = jì túl jwôb

or I be (att) ? sky

I didn't know anymore where I was, below or above.

- (67) fók má sé dímbà m̀à.
- fòg mé sé dímb m̀à
- 9-wisdom be (chg) PERF lose me
- Wisdom had left me.

- (68) lú má sê ʃwàl jwábàrà m̀à jwáp ǹà m̀à-ɲòk
- lú mé sé ʃwàl jwábàrà m̀à jwôb ǹò m̀à-ɲwòg
- 5-head be (chg) PERF directly tangle me sky with 6-wine

ǹà by-áɲ by-êś.

ǹò bè-áɲ bè-êz

with 8-fear 8-all

My head was all muddled with wine and fear.

- (69) kò jé é té, ɲkà ncùimbé túgà lé wàzà mwá
- kò jê é té ɲkà ncùimbé túg lè wàzà mwá
- go arrive FUT LOC then God be (neg) IMPF forget 1-small

w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ɲgá m-ûr ndé lè jáànt lê-bà-tétèlé b = é,

w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ɲgá mò-ùd H + ndé lè jáànd lê-bò-tétèlè b-é = è

1-DEF 1-person RELCL-be (loc) IMPF walk LOC-2-honest 2-his-RELCL

mê	ncà	làn	té.
mé	ncà	làn	té
be (chg)	come	happen	LOC

(74) wô kà kò byèk mw-àrá mà ncé ?"
 wò kà kò byèg mò-àrá mà ncé
 you CONS go provoke 1-woman 1POSS who
 Did you go and bother someone's wife?"

(75) mà = nê "túgè lóbè mw-àrá mé.
 mà = nê túg lòb + H mw-àrá mé
 I that be (neg) 3-problem 1-woman that
 I said that, "It's not women problems.

(76) á mw-àrá á = j = ě bə nê mò-kwàŋǵ nê mà-fà.
 á mò-àrá á = jì = è + H bò nò mò-kwàŋ nò mò-fà
 QUES 1-woman NEG-be (att)-NEG be with 6-lance with 6-machete
 Women don't have spears and machetes.

(77) w = ó dék ntángè ?
 wò = ó dèg ntánǵ
 you (sg)-PRES see like.that
 You see?

(78) bw = ó sé nìgò ncó nígò mà sá
 bwó = ó sé + H nìgò + H ncə + H nígò + H mà sá
 they-PRES PERF return come return me 7-thing

 sí sís bó mé mpwò nè sís bə mà mé
 sí sís bò mé mpwò nè sís bə mà mé
 7-different be that 9-accusation 9-that 9-another be I be (chg)

 nê mà = jì jìbàlè."
 nê mà = jì jìbàlè
 that I be (att) thief

They're accusing me of something else, of being a thief."

(79) "ǵ !"
 "Oh !"

- (80) jô jwàŋ númá cílá lé-mò-kù nàbá nè áncógó bà
 jè jwàŋ númá cílá lé-mò-kù nàbá nè áncógó bò
 he take also quickly LOC-6-foot because this NEGP3 be
- jábà nò búŋ mò kò jwábàrà ncí mè.
 jábà nò búŋ H+mè kò jwábàrà ncí mè
 far with 7-place RELCL-I go tangle 3-path that
- He took off running because the second house where we were wasn't far from the point where I lost my way.

- (81) j=ó kò jáp mw-àrá á bwâr bò-kwòndó wú
 j=ó kò jáp mw-àrá H+á bwâd bò-kwòndó wú
 he-PRES go call 1-woman RELCL-P2 wear 2-stripes there
- nê "ncáá kò cíló, ncáá kò dèk!
 nê ncò kò cíló ncò kò dèg
 that come (IMP) go quickly come (IMP) go see
- He went to call the woman who wore stripes there, saying "Come quick!

- (82) sàmèdí bá ndé kógà tám mò-kwâŋ nè mèt-fà.
 bò ndé kóg tám mò-kwâŋ nò mèt-fà
 Saturday be be (loc) here middle 6-lance with 6-machete
- Come see Samedi in the middle of spears and machetes.

- (83) j=ó sé ják ncí nàbá mót-jwòk j=í
 j=ó sé jág ncí nàbá mò-jwòg H+j=é
 he-PRES PERF (be) unaware 3-path because 6-wine RELCL-he-P1
- jwèl wóg=è."
 jwèl wóg=è
 drink here-RELCL
- He went the wrong way because of the wine that he drank here."

- (84) mw-àrá nè númá mé ncè cíló.
 mw-àrá nè númá mé ncò cíló
 1-woman this also be (chg) come quickly
- That woman also came running.

- (85) ɲká ɲ=á bə ácígókùk néné ɲúm ácígókùk néné.
 ɲká ɲ=á bə ácígókùk néné ɲúm ácígókùk néné
 as he-P2 be police big 1-husband police big
 Since she was a member of the police [or military] as was her husband.

- (86) bwô ncə lɛɲ nə b-ùr bə-né nə "mwá b=íyò dɛk
 bwó ncò lɛɲ nò b-ùd bə-né nə mwá bé=ó dɛg
 they come say with 2-person 2-this that 1-small you-PRES see
 ɲgà, bízó bóɲ jì númbə ɲə, tìgələtí númbə ɲə
 ɲgà bízó bóɲ jì númb ɲə tìgələtí númb ɲə
 this we (excl) place? be (att) know him specifically know him

twò lè-ʃùgə d-é.
 twò è-ʃùg d-é
 even 5-stalk 5-his

They came and told the people that "The child that you see here, we know him personally, as well as his origins.

- (87) bízó bóɲ à=h=é jwàgərə ɲə lé-mbì á né jíbò.
 bízó bóɲ á=è jwágərə+H ɲə lé-mbì á né jíbó
 we (excl) there NEG suspect him LOC-3-sort QUAL that theft
 We have never suspected him of stealing.

- (88) lê-kònòkò, ɲ=ó sé jwábərə ncí ɲká ní ɲwəl
 lê-kònòkò ɲ=ó sé+H jwábərə+H ncì ɲká ní ɲwəl
 LOC-truth he-PRES PERF tangle 3-path as enter drink

mə-ɲòk.
 mò-ɲwòg
 6-wine

Truly, he got muddled because he got drunk.

- (89) bízó númá bé yə ɲə mə-ɲòk."
 bízó númá bə yò ɲə mə-ɲwòg
 we (excl) also be give him 6-wine
 We're the ones who gave him the wine.

- (90) nà myǎ bwó ncà bîr m = é, mǎ = jì kí
 nò myà + H bwó ncà bíd mǎ = è mǎ = jì ké
 with 3-time- RELCL they come leave me-RELCL I be (att) NEG

nán númbè bóŋ m = á ß = è.
 nán númb bóŋ H + m = á bò = è
 still know place RELCL-I-P2 be-RELCL

When they let me go, I didn't know anymore where I was.

- (91) bw = á kò númá bwík mǎ sí.
 bwó = á kò númá bwíg mǎ sí
 they-P2 go also keep me ground
 They made me lie down.

- (92) lê-mán á té, m = á wòl.
 lê-mán á té m = á wòl
 LOC-3-morning P2 LOC I-P2 get.up
 The next morning, I got up.

- (93) mǎ = nê "kí nán nǎ twò d-úl dw-áp lè-sís, bízé
 mǎ = nê ké nán nò twò d-úlógá dw-ôb lè-sís H + bízé
 I that NEG still with even 5-INDEF 5-day 5-another RELCL-we

nǎ mǎ-nwòk é kwò bwám = è."
 nǎ mǎ-nwòg é kwò bwámǎ = è
 with 6-wine FUT again meet-RELCL
 I said, "Never again will wine and I meet."

- (94) té bá lôŋ á ncà sí.
 té bò lôŋ á ncà sí
 LOC be 5-speech P2 come finish
 Here is the end to my story.

10 The Serpent and the Antelope

told by Barthélemy Bangbot (of Ngulmakong), transcription help and translation (into French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|------|------|-----|-------------|-------------|----------|----------|
| (1) | mà = | jí | ɲwàŋ | wó | kàn | lé-bì-sá | bìzə | ndé |
| | mà = | jí | ɲwàŋ | wó | kàn | lé-bè-sá | H + bìzə | ndé |
| | I | want | take | you | 3-folk.tale | LOC-8-thing | RELCL-we | be (loc) |

lè	dêk	wók	nó	càà-ŋgà	nə	bə-míyòŋ	b-íz = é.
lè	dég	wôg	nò	cà-ŋgà	nò	bə-míyòŋ	b-íz = è
IMPF	see	here	with	now-here	with	2-sibling	2-our-RELCL

‘I will tell you a story about what we see today with our brothers.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|---------|----|----|------|----------|------|------|
| (2) | kàn | w-ḍḍḅḡá | á | bè | nê | m̃pwàm, | mpú | ncè |
| | kàn | w-ḍḍḅḡá | á | bò | nê | mpwàm | mpú | ncè |
| | 3-folk.tale | 3-DEF | P2 | be | that | 1-python | rain | come |

nwî,	mpwàm	á	ɲwánɔ̀	mpú	lé	ncà	nwî,
nwî	mpwàm	á	ɲwán	mpú	lè	ncà	nwî
fall (rain)	1-python	P2	take	rain	IMPF	come	fall (rain)

té	ɲ=ǎ	bə	lè	sáŋ	mpwó = 0:.
té	H + ɲ = á	bə	lè	sáŋ	mpú = è
LOC	RELCL-he-P2	be	IMPF	look.for	rain-RELCL

This folk tale is about a serpent who was looking for rain before the rain came.

- (3) té ɲ=ǎ bò lè sánj jó=ò:.
té H+ɲ=á bò lè sánj jwò=è
LOC RELCL-he-P2 be IMPF look.for 7OBJ-RELCL

He was looking for something.

- (4) té ɲ = á bà lè kò ní lê-mbìl = è.
 té H + ɲ = á bò lè kò nîŋk lê-mbìl = è
 LOC RELCL-he-P2 be IMPF go enter LOC-hole-RELCL
 He went into a hole.

- (5) ɲ = ɔ̃ kó sáŋ ntàŋ á bà té, yó
 ɲ = ó kò + H sáŋ + H ntàŋ H + á bò té yò + H
 he-PRES go look.for 1-rat RELCL-P2 be LOC 7OBJ-RELCL

 m = à = númb = é.
 m = á = númb = è
 I-NEG-know-NEG
 If he was looking for a rat, that I don't know.

- (6) myà ɲ = ó kà nî mô kò fàràbà.
 myà H + ɲ = ó kà nî mé kò fàràbà
 3-time RELCL-he-PRES CONS enter be ? go stuck, wedged
 After he went in, he got stuck.

- (7) ɲ = ô kà dêk bá dégó cínà.
 ɲ = ó kà + H dêg + H bò + H dêg + H cínà
 he-PRES CONS see be see hare
 He saw a hare.

- (8) ɲ = ô sè já ɲwá bò-ɟwèndà bò-bá, nwà lé-mbìl
 ɲ = ó sé já ɲwá bò-ɟwèndà bò-bá nwà lé-mbìl
 he-PRES PERF sleep there 2-week 2-two there LOC-3-hole

 y-ê-n
 y-é-né
 3-his-that
 He had to sleep in that hole for two weeks.

- (9) ɲ=ó dēk lé-kán mǝ jé.
 ɲ=ó dēg+H è-kán mé jê
 he-PRES see 5-antelope be (chg) arrive
 He saw an antelope coming towards him.

- (10) ɲǝ= nǝ lǝ-kán nǝ "lǝ-kán míyǝŋ w-àŋǝ,
 ɲǝ= nǝ è-kán nǝ è-kán míyǝŋ w-àŋ
 he with 5-antelope that 5-antelope 1-brother 1-my

ô mǝ= yúm wôk lé-mbìlé.
 ô mǝ= yúm wôg lé-mbìl
 I (be) stuck here LOC-3-hole

He said to the antelope, "Antelope my brother, here I am stuck in this hole.

- (11) ncá wúlǝ mǝ!"
 ncâ wûl mǝ
 come (Imp) take.out me
 Come get me out!"

- (12) è-kán mǝ ncò, ncò sá nǝ ŋgwàn y-é
 è-kán mé ncò, ncò sá nǝ ŋgwàn y-é
 5-antelope be (chg) come come do with 3-paw 3-his

nǝ sá sá sá sá sá.
 nǝ sá sá sá sá sá
 with do do do do do

The antelope came and began to dig with his paw. Dig, dig, dig, dig.....

- (13) mpwàm wúlǝ ɲún.
 mpwàm wûl ɲûn
 1-python take.out 9-body
 The serpent got his body out.

- (14) dí dí dí dí dì, mpwàmè nò lè-kán nê "ŋkà
 mpwàm nò lè-kán nê ŋkà
 1-python with 5-antelope that as
- w = ó ndé nwă nè, mé jî jàk jwók ncà,
 w = ó ndé + H nwà né mé jì jàg jwóg ncà
 you-PRES be (loc) there that I (emph) be (att) hear 9-hunger

m = ǒ dó wó."
 m = ó dò + H wò
 I-PRES eat you (sg)

After a time, the serpent said to the antelope, "Since you're here,
 and I'm so hungry, I'm going to eat you."

- (15) è-kán nò mpwàmè "á kè !
 è-kán nò mpwàm
 5-antelope with 1-python
 The antelope said, "What!

- (16) míyòŋ w-àŋ, m = è wúlà wó lè-bé.
 míyòŋ w-àŋ m = é wúl + H wò lé-bé
 1-brother 1-my I-P1 take.out you (sg) LOC-9-pit
 My brother, I just got you out of the hole.

- (17) w = ǒ ká nìgó lèŋ nê w = ǒ dó mǎ
 w = ó kà + H nìgò + H lèŋ nê w = ó dò + H mǎ
 you-PRES CONS return tell that you-PRES eat me
- nèbá nè jè?"
 nèbá nò jè
 because with what
 Why do you say that you're going to eat me?"

- (18) $\eta\grave{a} = n\hat{a}$ "m = è $j\grave{i}$ $n\hat{a}$ m = ò $d\acute{o}$ $w\acute{o}$."
 $\eta\grave{a} = n\hat{a}$ m = é $j\acute{i}$ $n\hat{a}$ m = ó $d\grave{o} + H$ $w\grave{o}$
 he that I-P1 want that I-PRES eat you (sg)
 He said, "I want to eat you."

- (19) $k\acute{u}l$ $m\acute{a}$ $k\grave{a}$ $nc\grave{a}$ $j\hat{e}$, $w\acute{u}g\grave{e}r\grave{e}$ $mp\grave{o}$,
 $k\acute{u}l$ $m\acute{e}$ $k\grave{a}$ $nc\grave{a}$ $j\hat{e}$
 1-tortoise be (chg) CONS come arrive
 $w\acute{u}g\grave{e}r\grave{e}$ $mp\grave{o}$.

The tortoise came, in his way as tortoises do (ideophone).

- (20) $j\acute{i}$ $nd\acute{e}$ $l\grave{a}\eta\grave{a}$?"
 $j\acute{e}$ $nd\acute{e}$ $l\grave{a}\eta$
 what be (loc) happen
 "What's going on?"

- (21) $\eta\grave{a} = n\hat{a}$ "m = ò $g\grave{o}$ $w\acute{u}l$ $mpw\grave{a}m$ $w\acute{o}k$ $l\acute{e}b\acute{e}$ $\eta g\grave{a}$."
 $\eta\grave{a} = n\hat{a}$ m = ò $g\grave{o}$ $w\acute{u}l$ $mpw\grave{a}m$ $w\acute{o}g$ $l\acute{e}-b\acute{e}$ $\eta g\grave{a}$
 he that I-PRES PROG take.out 1-python here LOC-9-pit here
 He answered [the antelope], "I was getting the serpent out of this hole."

- (22) $mpw\grave{a}m$ $b\grave{o}$ $w\acute{o}g\grave{e}$?"
 $mpw\grave{a}m$ $b\grave{o}$ $w\acute{o}k$
 python be here
 "The serpent was here?"

- (23) $\grave{a}\acute{a}$."
 "Yes."

(24) "á jí ndé kǎ làṇè?"
 á jé ndé kà làṇ
 QUES what be (loc) CONS happen
 "What happened then?"

(25) "mpwàm nê ɲ = ò dó mó."
 mpwàm nê ɲ = ó dò + H mē
 1-python that he-PRES eat me
 "The serpent said that he is going to eat me."

(26) "mpwàm bà wók lé-mbìl gǎ?"
 mpwàm bà wôg lé-mbìl ṇgà
 1-python be here LOC-3-hole this
 "The serpent was here in this hole?"

(27) "èá."
 "Yes."

(28) "mpwàm w = ú bà wógè?"
 mpwàm w = é bà wôg
 1-python you-P1 be here
 "Serpent, you were here?"

(29) "èá."
 "Yes."

(30) "hǎ kwá nìgò ní, mà dégè ṇkà w = ú b = è."
 fǎ kwò nìgò ní mà dēg ṇkà H + w = é bà = è
 HORT again return enter I see as RELCL-you-P1 be-RELCL
 "Go back in so that I can see how you were."

- (31) mpwàm bìgàlè jún, bígàlè bígàlè bígàlè bígàlè.
mpwàm bìgàlè jún bìgàlè bígàlè bígàlè bígàlè
1-python enter body enter enter enter enter
The serpent got his body back in, little by little.
- (32) "nwà bó w = ú b = è?"
nwà bò H + w = é bò = è
there be RELCL-you-P1 be-RELCL
"You were like that?"
- (33) "ə́."
"Yes."
- (34) "há kà wú."
fã kà wú
HORT CONS come.out
"Ok, come out."
- (35) mpwàm m̀e ká jì wú, mbéŋ!
mpwàm m̀e kà jì wú
1-python CONS be come
The serpent wanted to come out, but wham! he got stuck again.
- (36) kúl nè lè-kán nê "njám j-ðòngé bá nè."
kúl nó è-kán nê njám j-ðòngé né
tortoise with 5-antelope that 7-good.moment 7-DEF be that
The tortoise said to the antelope, "It's a good time to leave."
- (37) ntánjé m̀e jí dēk jwé ná bè-míyòn b-án
ntánjé m̀e jì dēg jwò nó b̀o-míyòn b-àn
like.that I be (att) see 7OBJ with 2-brother 2-my

nə cǎá ŋǎ.

nò cà ŋǎ

with now this

I see the same thing with our brothers now.

(38) lè-bú jì mǎ fǐrá lé-mǎ-mbùk.

è-bú jì mé fǐr lé-mè-mbùg

5-many be (att) be ? close LOC-4-prison

Many are shut up in prisons.

(39) nǎ míyòŋ w-àŋ, cìk bé-ntwòmǐp túk lè ɲwàŋ,

nǎ míyòŋ w-àŋ cìg H + bè-ntwòmǐp túg lè ɲwân

that 1-brother 1-my 7-life 7ASSOC-8-fight be (neg) IMPF (be) good

cìk bé-ntwòmǐp túk lè ɲwàŋ.

cìg H + bè-ntwòmǐp túg lè ɲwân

7-life 7ASSOC-8-fight be (neg) IMPF (be) good

To my brother [I say] a life of fighting isn't good.

(40) m-ùr kǎ jwôk.

m-ùd ké jwôg

1-person NEG hear

He doesn't hear.

(41) ɲǎ = sǎ ŋkǎ sǎ mǎ jwôk bǐzǎ ndê

ɲǎ = sǎ ŋkǎ H + sǎ mé jwôg bǐzǎ H + ndê

he do as RELCL-7-thing be (chg) hear us RELCL-be (loc)

kò kók lé-bè-míŋwàn = é, sǎ ŋkǎ sǎ mǎ

kò kók lé-bè-míŋwàn = è sǎ ŋkǎ H + sǎ mé

go here LOC-8-church-RELCL do as RELCL-7-thing be (chg)

jwóg = è.

jwôg = è

hear-RELCL

He acts as if he hears us at church, acting as if it is heard.

- (42) ká bwè nê ɲ=ó nìgó kwó kò sâ bízà
ké bwè nê ɲ=ó nìgò+H kwò+H kò+H sâ bízà
NEG long.time that he-PRES return again go do us

y=é ká lè bír nê bwó ká kò nă
y=é kà+H lè+H bír+H nê bwó kà kò nê
NONREF-P2 CONS IMPF leave that they CONS go that

é-kò ló-mè-mbùk ɲkà bwó ndé kò-n
è-kò lé-mè-mbùg ɲkà bwó ndé kò-né
INF- LOC-4-prison as they be (loc) go-that
go

Not long after, he returns again, leaving us and going back to prison.

- (43) té bó kàn w-àɲ ndê ʃi.
té bò kàn w-àɲ ndé sí
LOC be 3-folk.tale 3-my be (loc) finish

Here is the end of my folk tale.

- (44) bwó bò bò-mpwàm.

bwó bò bò-mpwàm

they be 2-python

They are serpents.'

Kol-English Lexicon

A - a

á	<i>mkr.</i> Qualificative Associative Marker	trunk'.
	(QUAL).	ădùngû <i>Pl: bădùngû. n.</i> toad.
á	<i>interr.</i> Interrogative (QUES).	ădwàm <i>Pl: bădwàm. n.</i> frog.
á =	<i>TAM.</i> Distant past (P2).	ăfîfî <i>n.</i> deaf mute.
á = = è	<i>TAM.</i> Perfective negative (NEG).	ăfiyò <i>Pl: băfiyo. n.</i> lemon.
ábâ	<i>n.</i> vulture.	ăkókà <i>Alt. [kíkà]. n.</i> colonial times.
ăbûl fûz	<i>v.</i> be impotent.	ăjâ cînd <i>Pl: băjâ cînd. n.</i> waterhole.
ăbwòmb ndələ	<i>Pl: băbwòmb ndələ. n.</i>	ălkôl <i>n.</i> alcohol (general).
	mud wasp.	ălú. <i>n.</i> hit.
ăbyôlô	<i>Pl: băbyôlô. n.</i> 1/2. traitor.	ămpíga <i>Pl: bămpíga. n.</i> dragonfly.
ăcé lààbê	<i>n.</i> tarantula.	ămpízămpíz <i>adv.</i> backwards. <i>Etym:</i>
ăcícéné	<i>Pl: băcícéné. n.</i> star.	from mpízò 'back (of something)'.
ăcígókúg	<i>n.</i> police/military. <i>Lit:</i> 'cutters-	-ân <i>Sg: mwân. Pl: bwân. n.</i> 1/2. child,

ǎnàrà

son. *Etym:* *jánà (1).

ǎnàrà *Pl:* bǎnàrà. *n.* bedbug.

áncé *TAM.* Perfective past negative

(NEGP1 or NEGP2).

áncógó *TAM.* Perfective far past negative

(NEGP3).

ǎndàgà *Pl:* bǎndàgà. *n.* okra.

ǎntǎkntǎk *Pl:* bǎntǎkntǎk. *n.* beggar.

-ǎnô *Pl:* bǎnô. *n.* bee.

-ǎnô kwàn *Pl:* bǎnô kwàn. *n.* swarm.

Lit. bee honey [*Note:* no singular]

ǎnòz *Pl:* bǎnòz. *n.* onion, garlic.

-àn *gen.* my.

-án *Pl:* byán. *n.* 8. fear.

ǎnkò jíjò *Pl:* bǎnkò jíjò. *n.* army ant,

soldier ant.

áyô mpám

ǎnkòngò *n.* free-for-all fight. [*Note:*

everyone gets involved; could become

a feud on the village or tribal level]

-àrá *Sg:* mwàrá. *Pl:* bwàrá. *n.* 1/2.

woman, wife. mwàrá mó ʃwôg *Pl:*

bwàrá bá mǎʃwôg. *n.* principal wife,

first wife. mwàrá mwân *Pl:* bwàrá

bó bwân. *n.* daughter-in-law. *Lit:*

'woman child'.

-ǎsísì *Pl:* bǎsísì. *n.* demon, evil spirit.

[*Note:* no singular?]

átímtì *v.* (be) myopic, (be) shortsighted.

ǎwúbò *Pl:* bǎwúbò. *n.* dove.

ǎyìnò ɲkwènjí *Pl:* bǎyìnò mǎɲkwènjí.

n. ring (finger).

áyô mpám *n.* grandmother.

B - b

bà *adv.* a little.**bâb** *v.* (be) bad.**bà** *v.* cut. *Etym:* *béd 'cut, break.'**bàdèbò** *v.* perch.**bá** *num.* two (2).**bàgóbò** *n.* liver.**bâ** *conj.* and. [*Note:* used with human noun phrases]**bàgèlà** *v.* keep, store, watch.*Nominalization:* **mbègèlá** (9)**bâ** *v.* marry. *Etym:* *bád.

'protection.'

bâ *Sg:* èbâ. *Pl:* mòbâ. *n.* 5/6. marriage (not ceremony), sexual relations.**bágèrè** *v.* join, put together.**bâl** *Pl:* mòm̀pâl [mèmpâl]. *n.* 9/6. bowl.**-bààg** *Sg:* èbààg. *Pl:* mòbààg. *n.* 5/6. shoulder. [*Note:* also used as 'beside']**bálà** *v.* find again.**bàm** *n.* scar.**-báág** *Sg:* èbáág. *Pl:* mòbáág. *n.* 5/6. knife. *Etym:* *báká (5).**bâm** *v.* roar.**bámbà** *Pl:* m̀bámbà *n.* grasshopper.**bàb** *n.* hallway, small courtyard. [*Note:* Also used for a house built on the outskirts of a big village.]**bámbóló** *v.* shout at. *Etym:* from bâm 'to roar?'

bán

bêr

bán *Pl: mòmpan [mèmpán]. n. 9/6.*

buttock.

bân *Pl: mòbân. n. difficulty.*

bànd *Pl: mètband. n. gizzard.*

-bàndà *Sg: èbàndà. Pl: mòbàndà. n.*

5/6. hut, camp.

bándà *v. go well.*

bándà *aux. really.*

bándèlò *v. invite, assemble (people).*

bǎŋ *n. beam, rafter.*

bâr *v. climb, ascend. [Note: as in a hill]*

bàrà *v. greet.*

-bàdà né mpúmb *[bàrà] Sg: èbàdà*

né mpúmb. Pl: mòbàdà mó mpùmb.

n. 5/6. forehead. Etym: pádà (9,11).

bè = *pro. 8subject*

bè *num. two (when counting in*

isolation).

bé *n. potter's kiln.*

bé *Pl: mòmpe [mèmpé]. n. 9/6. 1. pit.*

2. latrine, toilet, bathing place.

3. thicket.

bé *pro. you (pl).*

bèb *v. belch.*

bèd *Pl: mòmpe. n. 9/6. chest.*

béd *n. ladder.*

bèdà *[bèrà] adj. big, important.*

bèn *n. extended paternal family. Etym:*

**bánjá 'family.'*

bén *[bîn] v. lift.*

bèncimbè *n. army.*

bènjè *v. answer, reply.*

béŋ mbáál *v. track. Lit. follow traces.*

bêr *v. put, place, set. Etym: caus of bar?*

bèz

*béek ‘put.’

bèz v. slaughter, kill (animal for
butchering).

bìzọ́ pro. us.

bìzọ́ pro. we.

bìzá pro. we (inclusive).

bìzá pro. us (inclusive).

bìzó pro. we (exclusive).

bè v. cultivate, sow, plant.

bè adj. wrong.

bê Pl: mòbê. n. 9/6. door.

bêb n. scaffolding.

bêb v. wound (animal).

bèè num. second (ordinal number).

bèlà v. imitate, resemble. *Nominalization:*

mpèlà (9) ‘imitation.’

bèmb v. worry.

bìl

bèṅ v. follow.

bèjùm Pl: mājùm. n. gall bladder.

bèlê n. bread.

bèmb lwál n. scorpion.

bèn v. refuse.

bóngô Pl: bəbóngô. n. 7/8. jaw. *Etym:*

*bángá.

bèṅkòl bá mîz n. eyebrow.

bètə̀bò v. land, alight.

bì v. startle, surprise.

-bî Pl: mòbî. n. excrement. [*Note: no
singular*] *Etym:* *bîl.

bî v. knead.

bî mó mpɔ̀nj v. clap (hands).

bìgə̀lè v. enter.

bìl v. receive.

bìl v. 1. seize. 2. trap (animal or fish).

bìlìs v. catch in the act.

bìlè n. sad news.

bílè n. club, cudgel.

bìnd Sg: èbìnd. Pl: mòbìnd. n. 5/6.

testicle.

bír v. leave to one side.

bísìn Pl: bòbísìn. n. 1/2. pot (for water).

bíyà n. beer.

bíyà v. (be) defeated, (be) seized. *Passive*

of **bìlì** 'seize, trap'

bìyèz n. disrespect.

bíyón pro. you (pl) emphatic.

bízábé v. (be) patient.

bò v. be. Alt. **bè**. *Etym:* *bá.

bóg n. reception.

bógà v. separate (intr), become separated.

-ból Sg: lèból. Pl: mòból. n. 5/6. breast,

udder. *Etym:* *béèdè (5) 'teat, breast,

udder.'

bòl Pl: mètòl. n. cola nut.

bón n. 7/8. there, place.

bòn mǎfùn Pl: bèbòn mǎfùn. n. 7/8.

cemetery. *Lit.* place grave.

bòg Pl: bèbòg. n. 7/8. lip.

bǒl n. bald.

-bóm Sg: èbóm. Pl: mòbóm. n. 5/6. plank.

(Begne has long vowel.)

bòg Pl: mòmpòg [mòm̀pòg]. n. 9/6.

hoe. *Etym:* *bògà.

bón Pl: bòbón. n. 1/2. agama lizard (red-

headed).

brík n. mud block. *Etym:* borrowing from

English.

bù v. (be) abundant, many.

-bù Sg: èbù n. 5. roof, thatch. (no plural)

búra

sweet potato.

búra v. mix.

bútə̀b̀ v. incubate, set on eggs.

-bùùg Sg: lèbùùg. Pl: mòbùùg. n. 5/6.

melon.

búúmb Pl: mpúúmb. n. 7/10. branch,

frond.

bùùnd Pl: mpùùnd. n. 7/10. skin (of

fruit), shell.

bùùnd éké Pl: bìbùùnd móké. n. 7/8.

eggshell.

bùùnd éwùnd Pl: mpùùnd éwùnd. n.

7/10. shell (of groundnut). Lit: 'shell

peanut.'

bùùnd kùl Pl: bèbùùnd bókùl. n. 7/8.

shell (of turtle). Lit: 'shell turtle.'

búzəl̀ v. cover.

-bwà Sg: èbwà. Pl: mòbwà. n. 5/6. sole.

bwámà

èbwà né kù. sole of foot

bwàànd v. create, found.

bwáánd v. wait. *Nominalization: mpwə̀nd*

(9) 'delay,' **mpwə̀nd** 'patience'

(Begne).

bwâd [bwâr] v. wear clothes. *Causative*

bwêd 'to clothe' (Begne)

bwâg v. be big. *Nominalization: mpwààg*

(9) 'fatness' (Begne).

bwàgbwàg *adj.* big. *Etym:* reduplicated

form of the verb 'to be big'.

bwàgə̀b̀ v. lie down. [Note: related to

mpwág (9) 'bed, couchette?']

bwàgə̀l̀ v. explain.

bwàl v. dance. *Nominalization: mbwəl̀*

(1) 'dancer.'

bwàm v. hoe.

bwámà v. meet. *Nominalization:*

bwàmb

mpwàamá (9) 'meeting.'

bwàmb *n.* senile person.

bwàmb *Pl: bòbwàmb. n.* 1/2. adult.

bwàmbà *v.* follow (in time).

Nominalization: mpwàmbá (9)

'descendant.'

bwànd *v.* peel.

bwàṅ *Pl: mèbwàṅ. n.* 3/4. knuckle,

joint. [Note: same word used for

'wrist.']

bwàṅ lékù *n.* ankle. *Lit:* 'joint of foot'.

bwárá *Pl: bèbwárá. n.* 7/8. blessing.

bwàz *Pl: bèbwàz. n.* 7/8. dirt, soil.

bwâz *v.* be wet.

bwè *adv.* for a long time.

bwèg *v.* bring up (a child).

bwèlà *v.* take revenge. *Nominalization:*

bwòg

mpwélá (9) 'debt' (Begne)?

bwéyá *adv.* everywhere.

bwè *pro.* them.

bwîg *v.* keep for.

bwîg *n.* ditch.

bwò *Pl: mobwò. n.* 5/6. footprint

(human).

bwò *pro.* 10Subject

bwó *pro.* they.

bwó *TAM.* Distant future (F2).

bwónḡ *n.* 5. knee.

bwǒ *n.* brain.

-bwóṁ *Sg: èbwóṁ n.* 5/6. log. (*Alt. form*

of èbóṁ 'plank'?)

bwôbèlò *v.* feel (active).

bwòg *Pl: mòm̐pwòg [mèmpwòg]. n.* 9/6.

mortar.

bwòg

cààg

bwòg v. harvest, collect (honey from
hive). *Etym:* *pákù (9) 'honey.'

byâ v. bear (child), father (child). *Etym:*
*bíad.

bwóg *Pl:* mǎbwóg. *n.* heap.

byé *pro.* 8emphatic.

bwòg ébyâ *n.* womb.

byèg v. injure, incite.

bwòm v. ring (bell).

byêl v. (be) born.

bwòmb v. beat (drum).

byèz v. despise.

bwòmb básêg *Pl:* mǎbwòmb básêg. *n.*
termite hill.

byènd *Pl:* mǎbyènd. *n.* hawk.

byè *pro.* 8object

bwòmbàlò v. bark (as dog).

byéŋ *n.* bone marrow.

Nominalization: related to mpwémilá
(9) 'bark of dog.'

byíngàlè *adv.* all over.

bwúnè v. believe. *Etym:* borrowed from
Bulu.

byód *n.* fullness, packed (populous)

byôl *Pl:* mǎl. *n.* canoe.

C - c

cà *adv.* now.

mean 'make (something)', 'compose
(song)', 'light (flame, fire)', 'start

cààg v. shape, carve. [*Note:* Also used to

càl

(car).']

càl v. fell, cut down (tree). *Etym:* *tād

'cut open.'

càz ndî v. wink (eye).

cè v. cut. *Etym:* *tèet 'cut.'

cè júŋ v. 1. be unconscious. 2. faint.

-cè Sg: ècè. n. 5. 1. illness, disease. 2.

pain. *Alt.* Class 7 for some speakers.

tyè, ciè.

cè élwô n. earache.

cè léjò n. toothache.

cè lû n. headache.

cè mwò n. stomachache, upset stomach.

cě v. give pain, hurt.

cênd *Alt.* [cînd] v. 1. exchange (of goods).

2. alter, change. 3. replace. [*Note:*

borrowed from English]

cénd [cînd] n. other.side.of.river.

cìg

cèl n. love. *Etym:* nominalization of **cèlà**

'love.'

cèl mpón v. make (facial) incisions,

tattoo.

cèlà v. love. *Nominalization:* **cèl** (7) 'love.'

cì v. abstain. *Etym:* *gìd 'abstain from.'

cì Pl: **bòcì** [bècì]. n. 7/8. taboo thing.

Etym: *gìdò 'religious avoidance.'

-cì Pl: **mòcì** [mècì]. n. 6. blood. *Etym:*

*gìdá 'blood.'

cì Pl: **bòcì** [bècì]. n. 1/2. in-law. [*Note:*

used for father-in-law, mother-in-law,

sister-in-law and brother-in-law]

cíci adj. (be) silent.

cíè n. feelings.

cìg n. 7. life.

cìg v. cut. [*Note:* could be used in the

sense of 'cut across, take a shortcut']

cìgà

cúŋ

cìgà *n.* saw. *Etym:* Nominalization of **cìg**

‘cut.’

cígá *n.* 7. question. *Etym:* Nominalization

of **cígò** ‘decide, judge.’

cìgè *v.* live, (be) alive.

cígèlè *v.* cut (tr), slice. *Etym:* Derived from

cìg ‘cut, cut across.’

cígó *Pl:* **mècígó**. *n.* 3/4. division.

cígò *v.* decide, judge. *Etym:* Derived from

cìg ‘cut, cut across?’

cìl éké *v.* lay (eggs).

cíl *Pl:* **mècíl**. *n.* piece.

cìlè fùfùl *n.* circumcision (male).

cílèbò *v.* run. *Etym:* Derived from **cíló** ‘be

fast.’

cíló *adv.* quickly.

cíló *v.* be fast.

cíndè *n.* high.

cínè *n.* hare.

cìŋgèlè *v.* go round.

cógézó *Pl:* **mècógézó**. *n.* smell of urine.

còŋ *n.* unwanted, unexpected thing.

cón *Pl:* **mècón** [mècón]. *n.* 9/6. neck.

Etym: *kíngó (9) ‘neck.’

-còŋj *Sg:* **ècòŋj**. *Pl:* **mècòŋj** [mècòŋj]. *n.*

5/6. broom.

cóŋ *v.* agree.

cóŋ *Pl:* **mècóŋ**. *n.* command.

còòl *Pl:* **bòcòòl** [bècòòl]. *n.* 1/2. partridge.

cúŋ *Pl:* **mècúŋ** [mècúŋ]. *n.* 9/6. voice.

D - d

dà v. draw water.

dá Pl: **bòdá**. n. 1/2. father, ancestor.
[Note: great-grandparents and further back are **dá**, but this may also be used as an honorific for grandfather or other.]

dá mpám Pl: **bòdá bómám**. n. 1/2. grandfather.

dá lé kwàrà n. embers. Lit: 'father in flame?'

dààg Pl: **mààg**. n. 5/6. crab.

dàl v. hurt. Nominalization: **ndòl** 'pain'.

dàn n. herd. **dàn bétóòb** herd of goats, herd of goats. Etym: *tàngá 'cattle pen, cattle post' (5).

dán n. reeds. [Note: includes all plants

that grow in or under water (as long as they are rooted under the water). Contrasts with floating water plants **èfùŋ**.]

dâz n. gift. Etym: borrowed from Ewondo.

dêg v. see.

dèl v. bury. Nominalization: **ndèlá** (9) 'burial.'

dèná conj. like, as.

déndé [déndé] n. courtyard.

dèz Alt. [dìz] v. 1. capsized. 2. drown or almost drown.

dèpà Pl: **bèdèpà**. n. bucket, pail.

dì v. remain, stay. Etym: *jìkád 'dwell,

dì mpúdá

sit, stay.'

dì mpúdá v. cohabit (unmarried man
and woman). *Lit.* stay together

dì sí v. sit. *Lit.* stay ground

dìb v. open (door).

dìbélê v. stop up. *Etym:* *dìb 'stop up.'

-díbó *Pl:* mòdíbó. *n.* 6. water. *Etym:*
*dìbà (5).

dìg *n.* 7/8. bush country, rural area.

dìgèbè v. perspire, sweat.

dìl v. dwell, inhabit, make stay. *Causative*
of **dì** 'stay.' *Nominalization:* ndìl (1)
'dweller.'

dílá *n.* fullness.

dîm v. disappear.

dîmb v. be lost. *Etym:* *dímb.

dímbèlò v. lose (tr).

dù

dìnò v. stamp (with feet).

dínò *Pl:* mínò. *Alt.* [jínò]. *n.* 5/6. name.
Etym: *jínà (5).

dìà *Alt.* [dìyà, dyà]. *n.* 7/8. seat, chair,
place, stool. *Etym:* nominalization of
dì 'stay.'

dîz *Pl:* mîz. *n.* 5/6. eye.

dò v. eat. *Etym:* *dé 'eat.'

dòb *Pl:* bèdòb. *n.* 7/8. food.

-dò *Pl:* mòdò. *n.* 6. bait. *Etym:* from **dò**
'eat.'

dòg *Pl:* mòng. *n.* 5/6. nest.

dógbó *Pl:* mógbó. *n.* 5/6. headpad.

dòmb *Pl:* mòmmb. *n.* 5/6. war.

dôz *Pl:* môz. *n.* 5/6. chin, jaw. *Etym:*
*dèdù (7,9,11).

dù *Pl:* mòdù. *n.* 5/6. leg, thigh. *Etym:*

dû

*gòdò 'leg' (15/6).

dû *Pl: mû. n. 5/6. nose. Etym: *jóðò (5)*

'nose.'

dù kwàrà *Pl: mù mó kwàrà. n. 5/6.*

fireplace. *Lit.* nose flame.

dùb *v. fish with hook and line. Etym:*

*dób.

dùb *v. paint.*

dùg *Pl: mùg. n. 5/6. hornbill.*

dùg *n. 7/8. forest.*

dúgò *v. paddle. Etym: *dúg.*

dùlè *v. pull. Etym: *dùt 'pull, drag.'*

dùlò *v. smoke (tobacco).*

dùlò *v. hollow out (log).*

dùmà *v. fall forward (intr). [Note: must*

be touching ground initially and then

fall down/fall forward]

dùmà cóṅ *v. persuade.*

dwàl

dúmb *n. dance. [Note: dance involving*

singing and loud cries of joy]

dùmò *v. 1. pound. 2. thresh, beat*

(grain).

-dùmò *Sg: èdùmò. Pl: bèdùmò. n. 7/8. tip*

(of something), edge.

dúmó *Pl: múmó. n. 5/6. silk-cotton*

tree, kapok tree.

dũnj *Pl: mũnj. n. 5/6. fist. [Note: may*

also refer to a minority, or a handful]

dùṅ *Pl: bèdùṅ. n. 7/8. noise, sound.*

dúṅò *Pl: múṅò. n. 5/6. pelican.*

dúúg *Pl: múúg. n. 5/6. beak, bill. Etym:*

*dongo (3).

dúúlà *v. make trips back and forth.*

dwábèrà *Pl: bòdwábèrà. n. 1/2. nurse.*

dwâg *v. leave, stop.*

dwàl *Pl: mwàl. n. 5/6. tumor, abscess,*

dwál

ètúg cínđ

boil. *Etym:* *tùut 'swell (v).'

dwèb *n.* sun.

dwál *n.* nape of neck.

dwó *pro.* 5emphatic.

dwâng *Pl: bèdwâng. n.* 1/2. giraffe.

dwôb *Pl: mób. n.* 5/6. day. **dwób dêz**

Etym: *tòìgà 'giraffe' (9).

'always.' *Lit:* 'day each/all'

dwè *pro.* 5emphatic.

E - e

-é *gen.* his/her.

émínjílá *n.* bladder.

é = *TAM.* Recent past (P1).

-én [ín] *gen.* your (pl).

é = *TAM.* Future (FUT).

éṅkùgù *adv.* together.

= è *mkr.* Relative clause (RELCL).

ètúg cínđ *n.* lake.

èbù *num.* nine (9). *Etym:* *bùá 'nine.'

-éz *Alt.* [íz] *gen.* 'our' (exclusive)

èkálò kwòṅ *n.* spinal column.

-ézà *Alt.* [ízà] *gen.* 'our' (inclusive)

èkíbà thank you. *Alt.* àkíbà.

ε

-è mí nûl *Pl: myè mé nûl* [myè mí nûl]. singular]

n. 4. hair (of body). [Note: no singular]

-ên *Sg: mwên. n. 1. brother. [Note: vocative form?]*

-è mótíd *Pl: myè mé tíđ* [myè mó tíđ]. *n.* **-êz** *quant. each, all.*

4. fur. Lit. hair of animal. [Note: no

ə

ə ə *yes.*

F - f

fà *Pl: bəfà. n. machete, cutlass.*

-fàb *Sg: lèfàb. Pl: mòfàb. n. 5/6. pigeon.*

fă *mkr. Hortative (HORT), should.*

*Etym: *pómpó (7,9).*

fà bəlùl *Pl: bòfà bəlùl. n. 1/2. louse.*

fábəlò *v. greet (with the hand).*

fàəg *v. admire.*

fág *n. 9. side. Etym: related to fágórá*

fâg

between.

fâg v. be in love.

fágórá Pl: **mpágórá** . conj. between.

[Note: some dialects use only the old singular while other dialects use only the old plural - no longer strong distinction between 'between 2 people' and 'between many people.']

Etym: derived from **fág** 'side.'

fámè adj. true, real, good.

fâmb Pl: **bèfâmb**. n. 7/8. farm, fields.

fând n. moonlight.

fàrèbè v. (be) closed in. [Note: Possible to

be undone - set free, unlocked,

opened, etc]

fâz v. revive.

fâz v. germinate, sprout.

fé n. muscle.

fímó

fég n. 9. pocket.

fèndà v. be, put in rivalry with.

fèndá n. 3. rivalry.

fèr v. ferment (alcohol).

fèr v. close, shut.

fém n. 9. lime, whitewash, paint.

fèndé Pl: **bòfèndè**. n. 1/2. braider. *Etym:*

nominalization of **fènd** 'braid.'

fèndè v. paint.

fêz v. pick (tr), choose (tr).

fâfâ Pl: **bâfâfâ**. n. fish-scale.

fâfem Pl: **bâfâfem**. n. wall.

fènd v. plait, braid (hair). *Nominalization:*

fèndé (1) 'braider,' **fènd** (9) 'braid.'

Etym: *pènd.

-fi Pl: **bèfi**. n. 8. ashes.

fímó Pl: **bèfímó**. n. abscess.

fínà

fùmbí

fínà *v.* hiss.

(1,5,9).

fínj *Pl: bòfínj. n. 1/2. cockroach. Etym:*
**pénjù (9).*

fúbán *adj.* (be) clean.

fùbó *n. 7. 1. wind. 2. air (breathed).*

fíyò *n. 1. avocado.*

*Etym: *pùùpà (9).*

fòg *Pl: mòfòg. n. 9/6. wisdom.*

fùbèlò *v.* blow.

fóg *num.* one (when counting in
isolation).

fùbèlò kwòm *v.* work the bellows.

fúg *v.* be numerous.

fònd *Pl: mòfònd. n. 9/6. braid. Etym:*
nominalization of fènd 'braid'.

fùgèlò *v.* ruminate, chew cud.

fùlàsí *n.* French.

fòz *n.* clitoris.

fùlò *v.* knead.

fòb *Pl: mètòb. n. fish bone. Etym: *kúpà*
(5)?.

fúlú *n. 9. habits.*

fùm *n. 3. night. Etym: *pempa.*

fòbèlò *v.* caress.

fúm *n.* calf of leg.

fóṅ *n.* wound, sore. *Etym: *pótá (7,9).*

fùmb *v.* unroot.

fóṣg *Pl: mòfóṣg. n. 9/6. track (animal).*

fùmb *v.* harvest, dig up (yams).

fòrègò *Pl: mètòrègò. n.* hoof.

fùmbà *n.* dead tree.

fû *Pl: bòfû. n. 1/2. mouse. Etym: *pókò*

fùmbí *Pl: bèfùmbí. n. 7/8. orange.*

fùmbí kàbàlá

fyêz

fùmbí kàbàlá *n.* grapefruit. *Lit.* orange

fyàb *v.* winnow. *Etym:* *pép.

horse.

fyàb *Pl: bèfyàb. n.* 7/8. shoulder blade.

fùnd *Pl: bèfùnd. n.* 7/8. calabash.

[*Note:* word originally collected was

fùnd díbó *Pl: bèfùnd módíbó. n.* 7/8.

then said (by diff LC) to be 'chicken

river bank.

wing']

fúndò *v.* run away, flee. [*Note:* in context

fyábèlà *Pl: bèfyábèlà. n.* 7/8. fan.

may mean 'fear,' since fear is usually

fyàl *n.* test, exam.

implicit in situations that cause one to

fyâl *v.* test, examine.

flee]

fyâl *v.* bleed.

fùdò [fùrò] *v.* die.

fyálà *v.* come (or go) out, exit.

fùwúlù *Pl: mǎfùwúlù. n.* hat.

fyán *Pl: bèfyán. n.* soup, broth. (9/6 in

fwálá *v.* waste time.

Begne).

fwàrà *n.* photo.

fyê *v.* suck. *Etym:* *píp.

fwêg *v.* move (intr).

fyêz *v.* mistrust, neglect.

fwén *Pl: bèfwén. n.* 7/8. maize, corn.

=g

jàànd

G - g

=g *mkr.* Subjunctive (SUBJ).

gólòd *n.* gold.

=gá *mkr.* Subjunctive (pl).

gyòndô *Pl: bəgyòndô. n.* catfish.

gó *TAM. PROG.*

I - i

ìcà *n.* salt. [Note: only pl?] *Etym: *jango* **ìcɔŋ** *Pl: ìcɔŋ. n.* bile, gall. [Note: only pl?]

‘bile, salt.’

*Etym: *jango* ‘bile, salt.’

J - j

j= *pro. 7Subject.*

jâ sí *v.* lie down.

jà *v.* (be) long, far

já kám *n.* palate.

jă *adv.* far

jàànd *v.* toddle, totter. [Note: walking as

já *v.* sleep. *Etym: *dáad.*

done by toddlers and the

convalescent]

jáánjé

jè

jáánjé *n.* thirst.

jàlà *v.* must. *Etym:* derived from **jàlà**

jàb *v.* sharpen. *Etym:* *dupek. **jàb**

‘befit, suit’?

ébaág. sharpen (knife). **jàb ékwàṅ.**

-jàm *Sg:* èjàm. *Pl:* mòjàm. *n.* 5/6.

sharpen, bring to point (arrow's
head).

witchcraft.

jáb *v.* call (someone). *Etym:* *tám

*dám.

‘call.’

jámbèlò *v.* conceive.

jág *v.* (be) unaware of.

jánà *v.* pay (for goods, services, etc.).

jâg *v.* castrate.

jând *v.* step on.

jágèbè *v.* lean against (intr).

jàndò *v.* hello, welcome.

jágèlà *v.* pray, ask.

jàndèlà *n.* floor.

jágèlè *v.* receive.

jàndèlà *v.* slip. *Alt.* sàndèlà. *Etym:* *cèd

jàkâz *Pl:* bèjàkâz. *n.* 7/8. donkey, mule.

‘slip.’

Etym. borrowed from English.

-jáj *Pl:* bèjáj [bìjáj]. *n.* 7/8. lie

jàkáló *Pl:* mòjàkáló. *n.* 9/6. thorn. (5/6

(falsehood). *Etym:* *dóng ‘suggest.’

in Begne)

jân *v.* fry.

jâl *v.* lick. *Etym:* *dèet.

jè *pro.* what?

jàlà *v.* befit, suit.

jé		jínà
jé	<i>n.</i> place, stead.	jífbò ‘steal.’
jê	<i>v.</i> arrive.	jífbò <i>Alt.</i> [jífbò]. <i>v.</i> steal. <i>Nominalization:</i>
jê lónùn	<i>Pl:</i> m̀àjê m̀ónùn. <i>n.</i> flock (of birds).	jífbò (9) ‘theft,’ jífb̀alè (1) ‘thief.’
		<i>Etym:</i> *jīb.
jènj	<i>v.</i> spill (moving to and from).	jífb̀alè <i>Pl:</i> b̀òjfb̀alè <i>n.</i> 1/2. thief. <i>Etym:</i>
jênj	<i>v.</i> spread (disease, fire). <i>Etym:</i> *t̀ànd ‘spread.’	nominalization of jífbò ‘steal.’
jémb	<i>n.</i> time.	jīg
jénà	<i>v.</i> (be) generous.	<i>v.</i> learn.
jènd	<i>v.</i> slither (snake).	-jígé <i>Sg:</i> l̀èjígé. <i>Pl:</i> m̀òjígé. <i>n.</i> 5/6. lesson, learning.
jèjé	<i>prep.</i> up to. <i>Etym:</i> redup. form of jê ‘arrive’.	jíg̀alè <i>v.</i> teach. <i>Etym:</i> Derived from jīg ‘learn.’
jì	<i>v.</i> be (att). <i>Etym:</i> *d̀è ‘be.’	jíg̀al̀ò mbwô <i>v.</i> wave (hand as a greeting).
jí	<i>v.</i> ask (for information). <i>Etym:</i> *jíp̀òd ‘ask questions.’	jìì <i>v.</i> cry, weep, wail. <i>Etym:</i> *d̀èd.
jí	<i>v.</i> need, want.	jìjâg <i>Pl:</i> b̀èjìjâg [b̀ìjìjâk]. <i>n.</i> 7/8. gecko.
jífbò	<i>n.</i> 9. theft. <i>Etym:</i> nominalization of	jìl <i>v.</i> fly.
		jìl cíg̀ò <i>Pl:</i> b̀òjìl cíg̀ò [b̀àjìl cíg̀ò]. <i>n.</i> owl.
		jínà <i>v.</i> hesitate.

-jìnó

-júm

-jìnó *Sg: èjìnó. Pl: mòjìnó. n. 5/6. pus.*

(Begne has *alt. èyínó*)

jìtí kù *n. cripple.*

jízèbè *v. put up with.*

jò *v. climb. [Note: as in a ladder, a tree, gripping with hands]*

jò *Pl: mòjò. n. 9/6. tooth.*

jòb *Pl: mòjòb. n. 9/6. shea-butter tree.*

-jòb *Pl: mòjòb. n. 6. shea-nuts.*

jòg *n. plan.*

jòl *n. 9. beard. Etym: *dèdù (7,9,11).*

jòm *v. wake up (intr). Etym: *dàmok.*

jôm *Pl: bèjôm [bìjôm]. n. 7/8. tongue.*

*Etym: *démì (11).*

jônè *adv. in spite of.*

jòn *n. thing. [Note: less commonly used than sâ.]*

jò *Pl: mējò. n. fang (of snake). Etym: from jò 'teeth' or mis-spelled?.*

jômbèlè lómbwò *v. (be) pregnant. Lit:*

shaped in bowstring

jò ñkûl *v. allow, permit.*

jû *n. nausea.*

jû *v. vomit. Etym: *dók.*

jû *v. kill, murder.*

jû lóbâ *v. divorce. Lit: 'kill marriage'.*

jùg *v. suffer. Etym: *còng 'suffer.'*

júkábó *n. shadow. Etym: *dúdé (3).*

jûl *Pl: mûl. n. 5/6. baby sling.*

jùlè *v. bake (in ashes).*

jùlò *v. weed.*

júló *Pl: múló. n. 5/6. den, lair.*

-júm *Pl: møjúm [mējúm]. n. 6. semen. [Note: no singular]*

júmbúlú

jwè

júmbúlú *Pl: mèjúblú [mèjúblú].*

jwábàrà *v. tangle.*

n. 3/4. request.

jwábò *v. respect, fear. [Note: stronger*

júnà *v. fight.*

than kándèbè]

júná *Pl: bèjúná. n. 7/8. fight.*

jwàg *v. poison (a person).*

jùndó *n. fog.*

jwâgèlò *v. polish.*

júnj *Pl: bèjúnj. n. 7/8. party.*

jwàlà *Pl: bèjwàlà [bèjwàlà]. n. banana.*

jûj *v. honor.*

jwâm *v. beg (for money).*

júnj ñkûl *Pl: bòjúnj ñkûl [bèjúnj ñkûl]. n.*

jwàmà *n. quarrel.*

1/2. chameleon.

jwám *n. fistfight. [Note: only involves 2*

júnjè *adj. (be) hot (of person). Etym:*

people, chest-to-chest]

**tòkòt 'be hot, sweat.'*

jwâmb *v. ask, request something*

jùzà *v. 1. wash. 2. bathe. Etym: *còk*

jwèm *v. become old (age).*

'wash.'

jwé *pro. 7emphatic.*

jùzà bèjùwá *v. wash dishes.*

jwè *Pl: bèjwè [bèjwè]. n. 7/8.*

jùzà mèkánd *v. wash clothes.*

*mushroom. Etym: *jògà (14) 'fungus*

júzê mán *adv. day after tomorrow.*

(edible).'

jwàb *Pl: bòjwàb [bèjwàb]. n. civet cat.*

jwè *pro. 7object*

jwî

jwòŋ

jwî v. rule over, dominate.

no singular] *Etym:* nominalization of

Nominalization: **jwî** (7) 'boss,

jwímbà 'be happy, joyful.'

employer,' **njwî** (3) 'chief, ruler.'

jwò v. laugh. *Etym:* *jòd 'laugh.'

jwî n. 7/8. boss. *Etym:* nominalization of

jwò n. sleep. *Etym:* *dò.

jwî 'rule over.'

jwó Pl: **bèjwó** [bìjwó]. n. 7/8. shoot.

jwîŋ n. reputable person. [Note: someone

jwób n. 1.sky. 2. heavens. 3. above.

who is well-known for doing

jwòg n. 9. poison. *Etym:* *cóngó (14)

good/being good, well-known good

'poison.'

reputation]

jwôg v. hear, feel, listen, understand. *Alt.*

jwíílà v. kill.

jwág.

jwíl v. be in charge.

jwógèbà v. apply (ointment), besmear.

jwìmbá v. have fun.

jwógèrà v. feel (passive of 'hear').

jwímbà v. (be) happy, joyful.

jwòŋ Pl: **mòjwòŋ**. n. 9/6. bed. *Alt.*

Nominalization: **mèjwímbà** (4) 'joy.'

njwòŋ.

-jwímbà Pl: **mèjwímbà**. n. 4. joy. [Note:

K - k

kà TAM. Consecutive (CONS).

kàbà v. mount (horse, camel).

ká bə conj. Perhaps, maybe. *Lit.*

kàbàlá Pl: **bəkàbàlá**. n. 7/8. horse.

consecutive be.

mwà kàbàlá Pl: **bwà kàbàlá**. n. 1/2.

ká Pl: **bəká**. n. 7/8. 1. grass, leaf. 2.

colt. *Lit.* 'small horse'. **myól kàbàlá**.

vegetable. *Etym:* *gango 'grass.'

Pl: **məmyól məkàbàlá**. n. 3/4. mare

ká fwén Pl: **bəká fwén**. n. corn husk. *Lit.*

(horse). *Lit.* 'female horse'. **njúm**

'leaf corn'.

kàbàlá Pl: **mènjúm məkàbàlá**. n.

ká n. place (nonspecific).

3/4. stallion. *Lit.* 'male horse'.

-kâ Pl: **bəkâ**. n. 8. rubbish, garbage.

kàbèlà v. share. *Etym:* Derived from **kàb**

'share.'

kààn Pl: **məkààn**. n. 3/4. story (tale).

kábèrà v. straddle.

Etym: *gànò (9,11)

kàg n. nasty taste in your mouth when

kàb v. succeed.

you wake up in the morning.

kàb v. share.

kág Pl: **bəkág**. n. 7/8. child.

kàb adj. (be) innocent.

kâg v. fasten, bind (load), pack.

kâb v. jump. *Etym:* *càmb 'leap over.'

kàgèlè

kân

kàgèlè v. taste.

kâm Pl: bøkâm. n. 1/2. monkey. Etym:

kágèlè v. joke.

*kémà.

kâgèlè v. embrace, hug.

kâm v. praise (someone).

kàgèrà v. coagulate, clot. Etym: *kác

kàmbègè n. traditional funeral dance.

‘coagulate.’

kàmbèlè v. forbid, prevent, protect.

kàl Pl: bøkòlò. n. 1/2. loader. Etym:

-kán Sg: lèkán. Pl: mòkán. n. 5/6.

nominalization of **kálò** ‘load.’

antelope.

-kál Sg: èkál. Pl: mòkál. n. 5/6. spot,

kánd Pl: bèkánd. n. 7/8. cloth. Etym:

speckle.

*kándà (7) ‘cloth.’

kâl v. hatch.

kánd Pl: mèkánd. n. 3/4. clothes.

kàlà Pl: bèkàlà. n. 7/8. mat.

kándèbbè v. respect, fear.

kálà Pl: bèkálà. n. 7/8. goat.

kândèbbè v. avoid.

kálàr Pl: bèkálàr. n. 7/8. book.

kàndê n. strap.

kálò v. load. Nominalizations: **kàl** (1)

kàn v. fight en masse. Nominalization:

‘loader,’ **bøkòlò** (2) ‘loaders.’

kéjè (1) ‘fighter.’

kǎlǎ Pl: mèkǎlǎ. n. 3/4. root.

kân Pl: mèkân. n. 3/4. guinea fowl.

kǎlǎ dũ n. bridge (of nose).

kân v. grow (of plants).

kàr

kóká

kàr *Pl: bākàr. n. basket.*

story.'

kàr *v. serve (food).*

kènd *v. assign, send.*

káyàn *Pl: káyàn. n. pineapple.*

kéṅ *Pl: bèkéṅ [bàkéṅ]. n. 7/8. baby.*

kâz *v. (be) shrivelled, (be) wrinkled, get thin.*

kèṅ mpúṅḁ *v. cut (hair), shave. Etym: *kék 'cut.'*

ké *mkr. Negative (NEG).*

kèèlà *v. add. Etym: related to the*

-ké *Sg: èké. Pl: mòké. n. egg. Etym: *gé 'egg.'*

conjunction **kèl** 'plus.'

-ké mǝṣû. *Pl. mǝké mǝṣû. n. 6. pimple.*

kèg *v. promise.*

[Note: no singular]

kèl *conj. plus.*

kèg *v. organize, plan.*

kêṁ *v. scream, cry out. Etym: *kém.*

kèkèṇà *Pl: bèkèkèṇà. n. 7/8. story, proverb.*

kèmb *v. defend.*

kèn [kèn] *v. go in a specific direction.*

kéṅè *Pl: bòkéṅè. n. 1/2. fighters. [Note: most often used in the plural] Etym:*

[Note: implies some duration to the 'going']

nominalization of **kàṅ** 'fight en masse.'

kèné *v. tell story. Etym: related to*

kèg *v. try, taste. Etym: *gèd 'try.'*

kèkèṇà 'story, proverb.' *gàn 'tell

kóká *Pl: bòkóká. n. 1/2. spark. Etym: *cáçè 'spark.'*

kákág

-kôg

kákág *n.* 7/8. small child. *Lit:* 'redup. child'.

opposite sex of ego (sister of a brother)]

kâmb *v.* squeak.

kól á twámbá *n.* elder sister.

kísìn *n.* 1/2. kitchen.

kól á ntòmb *n.* younger sister.

kìlkámbá *n.* big bamboo bed.

kôl *n.* cord.

klîfé *n.* x-ray.

kómb *n.* side, place. *Etym:* *kõmbɛ.

kò *v.* go. *Etym:* *gì 'go.'

-kònòkò *Sg:* èkònòkò. *Pl:* bèkònòkò. *n.* 5/8. truth.

kò nè *v.* bring, carry. *Etym:* go with.

kònɲ *Pl:* bèkònɲ. *n.* 7/8. razor.

-kòg *Sg:* èkòg. *Pl:* mòkòg. *n.* cheek. *Etym:* *càjá 'cheek.'

kònɲ *Pl:* mòkònɲ. *n.* 9/6. cooking pot (earthenware). *Etym:* *jòngó (9) 'cooking pot.'

-kóg *Sg:* lèkóg. *Pl:* mòkóg. *n.* 5/6. mountain.

kòr *n.* 3. decision. *Etym:* from 'court' (as in judicial) borrowed from English.

kóg *n.* here (generic.).

kól *n.* Bikele language.

kôg *Pl:* mækôg. *n.* baboon.

kól *v.* hang up.

-kôg *Sg:* èkôg. *Pl:* mòkôg. *n.* 5/6. cattle pen. *Etym:* from **kâg** meaning 'to fasten'.

kól *n.* 5. voice.

kól *Pl:* bòkól. *n.* 1/2. sister. [Note:

kògàlò kwòṅ

kògàlò kwòṅ *n.* spine, backbone.

kòl *Pl: bàkòl. n.* winnow.

-kòl *Pl: mòkòl. n. 6.* news, announcement.

kòmb étán *Pl: màkòmb. n.* guava.

kóṅ *n. 3.* wisdom, intelligence.

kù *Pl: mòkù. n. 9/6.* foot.

kù *v. 1.* fail. *2.* be guilty.

kú *n.* hit.

kúb *v.* move (something).

kùbě *n. 7/8.* bow.

kùbèlà *v.* move. *Etym:* borrowed from
Badwe'e.

kùbò *v.* move (intr).

kúbò *Pl: bòkúbò. n. 1/2.* chicken. *Etym:*

**kúbà. mwâ kúbò Pl: bwâ kúbò. n.*

chick. Etym: small chicken. myól

kúbò *Pl: mèmýól mé kúbò. n. 3/4.*

kúkúbò

hen. Lit: 'female chicken'. njúm kúbò

Pl: mènjúm mókúbò. n. 3/4. rooster

(cock). Lit: 'male chicken'.

kúd mé bwóṅ *v.* kneel.

kúdà *n. 7/8.* fist.

-kúdó *Sg: lèkúdó. Pl: mòkúdó. n. 5/6.*

*palm tree. Etym: *kèndó (3) 'palm
tree.'*

kúdó *n.* drizzle.

kúg *Pl: mòkúg. n. 9/6.* grinding stone.

(5/6 in Begne)

kùgé *n. 3/4.* base of tree trunk.

kúgèbò *v. 1.* bend down, stoop. *2.* bow
(as in greeting).

kùgú *n. 3. 1.* evening. *2.* yesterday.

kùgú àbè *n.* day before yesterday.

kùgú sí *n.* sunset. *Lit.* evening ground

kúkúbò *v.* stutter.

kúkúm

kùndá

kúkúm *Pl: mèkúkúm. n. 3/4. rich man.*

hunchback.

kúkúamá *Pl: mèkúkúamá. n. 3/4. chief,*
headman.

kùlà *n. generation.*

kùlè *Pl: mèkùlè. n. 3/4. string.*

kùkúrù *n. pap, mushy food.*

kúlè *v. provoke.*

kúkwó lú *n. skull.*

kúlèbò *v. limp, crawl.*

kùl *Sg: lèkùl. Pl: bèkùl. n. 5/8 or 7/8.*

kùm *Pl: bèkùm. n. 7/8. mosquito.*

leftovers. [Note: sing can just be root]

kùm *Pl: bèkùm. n. 7/8. stump.*

kùl *Pl: məkùl. n. 3/4. 1. storm. 2.*

kúmà *Pl: mòkúma. n. 9/6. cassava,*

harmattan.

manioc. (5/6 in Begne)

kùl bítòòb *Pl: məkùl bítòòb. n. flock (of*
sheep, goats).

kùmà *v. 1. reach, arrive. 2. until.*

kùl ló bínètè *Pl: məkùl mé bínètè. n. herd*
(of cattle).

kúmè *n. peanuts. [Note: wùnd (7) is*
more commonly used.]

kúl *n. 7. outside my area.*

-kùn *Sg: èkùn. Pl: mòkùn. n. 5/6.*

garbage dump.

kúl *n. 3/4. tam-tam.*

kúnò *adv. near.*

kùl *Pl: bòkùl. n. 1/2. tortoise, turtle.*

kùndá *Pl: bèkùndá. n. 7/8. cultivated*

*Etym: *kúdù (9).*

ground.

-kùl *Sg: èkùl. Pl: mòkùl. n. 5/6.*

kùndà

kwábàlà

kùndà v. get back at. [Note: eye for an eye

vengeance; returning evil in the same
manner]

-kúnj Sg: èkúnj. Pl: mòkúnj. n. 5/6. palm

(of hand).

kùṅ Pl: mèkùṅ. n. 3/4. caterpillar. Etym:

*gòngó 'caterpillar.'

kúná v. go to the bathroom. [Note: polite

euphemistic way to say 'defecate']

kúṅgàlà v. hurt (stomach).

kùr v. fall from high. Etym: *gò 'to fall.'

kùrè v. 1. beat 2. palpitate (of heart). 3.

play instrument.

kúrá Pl: mòkúrá. n. 9/6. basket. (5/6 in

Begne)

kúrègò v. slander.

kùrò v. hit, strike (with hand).

kùùbò n. movement.

kúúg Pl: bòkúúg. n. 1/2. uncle.

-kúúg Sg: èkúúg. Pl: mòkúúg. n. 5/6.

anvil.

kùùl Pl: mèkùùl. n. 3/4. rope.

kùùnd Pl: mèkùùnd. n. 3/4. barren

woman.

kùùnd Pl: mèkùùnd. n. 3/4. tail. Etym:

*kídà (3) 'tail.'

kúúr Pl: bèkúúr. n. 7/8. 1. skin (of man).

2. hide (of animal). Etym: *còobod

'skin.'

kùùz Pl: bòkùùz. n. 1/2. parrot. Etym:

*kòcò (9) 'parrot.'

kùzà v. sell.

kùzò v. buy. Etym: *gòd 'buy.'

kúzò Pl: mèkúzò. n. 3/4. widow,

widower.

kwábàlà Pl: mòkwábàlà. n. 9/6.

kwád

obstacle, distress.

kwád [kwár, kwát] *Pl: mòkwád. n. 9/6.*

village.

kwàg *v. grind.*

kwàg *n. plaster.*

kwâg *v. crow (as a rooster).*

kwàlá *Pl: bèkwàlá. n. 7/8. namesake.*

kwálá bê *Pl: bèkwálá màbê. n.*

doorway.

kwàlè *v. snore.*

kwàmèzà *v. prepare.*

-kwàmb *Sg: lèkwàmb Pl: mòkwàmb. n.*

5/6. virgin forest.

kwàmbèlà *v. create.*

kwàn *n. 9. honey.*

kwán *n. 7. meeting.*

kwànd *Pl: bèkwànd. n. 7/8. plantain.*

kwênd

*Etym: *kòndè 'banana' (5).*

-kwàn *Sg: lèkwàn. Pl: mòkwàn. n. 5/6.*

1. lance (spear). 2. head or shaft of
arrow.

kwár *n. 5. bell.*

kwàrà *Pl: mòkwàrà. n. 9/6. 1. fire,*

flame. 2. burn (n). (7/8 in Begne)

kwâzèbò *v. (be) fast.*

kwèb *v. find.*

kwég *v. work, run. Etym: *césc 'run.'*

kwèl *v. borrow, lend. Nominalization:*

kwèlá (7) 'debt.'

kwèlá *Pl: bèkwèlá. n. 7/8. debt. Etym:*

nominalization of **kwèl** 'borrow, lend.'

kwém *n. 7/8. manioc leaves.*

kwénd [kwínd] *Pl: mèkwénd. n. 3/4.*

hook.

kwênd *v. make offerings to the dead.*

kwênj

kwóbò

kwênj v. assemble, meet. *Etym:* *càng

‘assemble, meet.’

kwênj *Pl:* m̀kwênj. *n.* fishhook.

kwéz [kwíz] *n.* 7. cough.

kwêz v. cough.

kwîg v. walk, travel. *Nominalization:*

kwígè (1) ‘traveler.’

kwîg dùbó v. stagger.

kwîg èbòg v. trip, stumble.

kwígè *Pl:* b̀kwígè. *n.* 1/2. traveler.

Etym: nominalization of **kwîg**

‘walk, travel.’

kwînd v. help emotionally.

kwîr v. 1. help physically, assist. 2. save

in religious contexts

kwízà v. prepare.

kwò adv. again.

-kwób *Sg:* èkwób. *Pl:* m̀kwób. *n.* 5/6.

flea. [*Note:* the fleas found on dogs

and cows, bigger than the other kind

of fleas]

kwóg v. (be) able.

kwógèlè v. pray.

kwòm *n.* bellows. *Etym:* *gùbà (3).

kwòmbèlá v. arrange.

kwòmbèlò v. mend, repair.

Nominalizations: **ηkwómbèlò** (9)

‘repair,’ **ηkwémbèlè** (1) ‘repairer.’

kwònjí *n.* cashbox.

kwòndó *Pl:* b̀kwòndó. *n.* 1/2. stripe.

kwóη *n.* sorcery.

kwô v. pick, pluck (fruit).

kwòb *Pl:* b̀kwòb. *n.* mistake.

kwóbò *Pl:* b̀kwóbò. *n.* 1/2. cup. *Etym:*

kwòfí

lâg

*kómbè.

kwòmbèlò lówó v. settle dispute.

kwòfí n. coffee. *Etym:* borrowing.

-kwónda Pl: mòkwónda. n. 6. sap. [Note:

kwògèlò v. bite.

no singular]

kwògèlò v. strike (snake).

kwòŋ Pl: mèkwòŋ. n. 3/4. back. *Etym:*

kwóm Pl: mèkwóm. n. prisoner, slave.

*gòngò 'back.'

kp

kpèkpà Pl: bèkpèkpà. n. 7/8.

toothbrush.

L - 1

là v. surround.

talk.'

lâ Pl: bèlâ. n. 7/8. bow (hunting). *Etym:*

làbó jóp jóp v. shout.

*táà 'bow' (14).

làd n. 7. stupidity, crazy person. *Etym:*

lààd v. sew, patch. *Etym:* *tèd.

*dàdòk 'be mad.'

lààg Pl: mèlààg. n. antenna.

làg Pl: mòlàg. n. 5/6. horn. *Etym:* *dakɔ.

làb v. speak, talk. *Etym:* *dòb 'speak,

làg v. accuse. [Note: implied that the one

lágèlè

accused is innocent]

lágèlè v. show, demonstrate. *Etym:* *dàg

‘show.’

lál Pl: mèlál. n. 3/4. country, ethnic area.

lál v. 1. (be) strong, hard. 2. (be) barren

(of land).

lálé kùz adj. (be) expensive.

lám Pl: bèlám. n. 7/8. heart. *Etym:* *tómà

(3).

lám b v. set (trap). *Etym:* *tám b ‘set trap.’

Nominalization: èlám b (5) ‘trap.’

-lám b Sg: èlám b. Pl: mòlám b. n. 5/6.

trap. *Etym:* nominalization of lám b

‘set trap.’

lám b èlè v. position oneself.

làn v. crawl (lizard).

làn v. happen, occur.

làn nò ñkùl v. conquer, defeat. *Lit:*

lé léjwábèlè

‘happen with force’.

làn n. happening. *Etym:* nominalization of

làn ‘happen.’

làng v. pass (tr). [*Note:* implies quickness,

brevity]

làngà v. haggle, negotiate a price.

làngè n. print (non-human).

lárà Pl: mòlárà. n. 5/6. difficulty.

lé Pl: mèlé. n. 3/4. tree. *Etym:* *té (3).

lé n. 7. wood.

lè TAM. Imperfective (IMPF)

lèn TAM. Persistentive (PERS).

lé- - loc. in, at, on.

lé kǎñ Pl: mèlé mǎkǎñ. n. 3/4. mahogany

tree.

lé léjwábèlè Pl: mèlé léjwábèlè. n.

firewood.

lé mójwàg

lóón

lé mójwàg *Pl: mèlé mójwàg. n. 3/4.*

thorn-tree.

lôm *Pl: mèlôm. n. 3/4. midrib of palm-*

frond.

lêg *v. play.*

lî *v. clear (land for planting).*

lêl *num. three (when counting in isolation).*

lig *n. beeswax, bee-bread.*

líg *Pl: bèlíg. n. 7/8. inheritance.*

lèlà *v. shiver, tremble.*

lîgèlè *v. touch.*

lélà *Pl: mèlélà. n. 3/4. shivers.*

lîgèlè *v. accompany.*

lêb *v. advise. [Note: borrowed from Ewondo] Etym: *déb 'advise.'*

lígò *v. stay, leave. Etym: *jìkád 'dwell, sit, stay.'*

lêŋ *v. say, tell, chat.*

límà *v. dream.*

lêŋ bèjáŋ *v. lie (tell lies).*

límè *v. hollow out (log).*

lèŋgá myà *v. spend time.*

lòb *Pl: mèlòb. n. 3/4. affair, problem.*

lèbùùl *n. ringworm.*

lôl *num. three (3). Etym: *tátò.*

-léd *Sg: èléd. Pl: móléd. n. 5/6. palm tree.*

lómbálé *Pl: mèlómbálé. n. 3/4.*

[Note: also used for oil palm] Etym:

errand.

**dàdá (3).*

lóg *v. get, obtain.*

lóón *Pl: mólóón. n. 5/6. news, new thing.*

-lòb

lúṅà

-lòb *Sg: èlòb. Pl: mòlòb. n. 5/6. blade (of grass).*

blacksmith.

lób *Pl: mèlób. n. 3/4. language, word.*

lúlò *v. hit with a hammer. Etym: *túd*

lób *Pl: mèlòb. n. 3/4. branch (of tree).*

‘forge (v).’

*Etym: *tábè.*

lúlwúṅ *Pl: bèlúlwúṅ. n. flute.*

lòṅ *Pl: mòlòṅ. n. 5/6. speech, discourse.*

lúmè *v. throw out.*

*Etym: *dòṅg ‘speak, talk.’*

lúmò *v. stab. Etym: *túm ‘stab.’*

lú *Pl: mòlú. n. 5/6. time, era.*

lúmó *Pl: bèlúmó. n. 7/8. maggot (in rotten meat).*

lû *Pl: mòlû. n. 5/6. head. Etym: *tòè (3).*

lúmbò *v. dive.*

lû *v. 1. sting. 2. strike (snake). Etym: *tò ‘bite.’*

-lúnd *Sg: èlúnd. n. 5. palmtree palm tree.*

lùd *Pl: mòlùd. n. 5/6. wrinkle (on skin).*

[*Note: may also be used to refer to the regime of palmtrees the palm tree is producing*]

lùgà *v. prosper. [Note: material prosperity (lots of possessions, good harvest)]*

lúṅ *v. weave. Etym: *túṅ ‘build, plait.’*

lúgà *v. respect, honor.*

lúṅè *Pl: bèlúṅè. n. 1/2. builder (by weaving). Etym: nominalization of*

lûl *n. smithing.*

lúṅò ‘build by weaving.’

lûl mèlûl *Pl: bèlûl mèlûl. n. 1/2.*

lúṅà *v. fence in.*

lúṅḁ

lwôṁ mûr

lúṅḁ *n.* wickerwork.

lwèlò *Pl: bòlwèlò. n.* 1/2. duck.

lúṅḁlâ *n.* fence.

-lwí *Sg: lèlwí. Pl: mòlwí. n.* 5/6. insult.

lúṅḁ *v.* build by weaving. *Etym: *túṅḁ*

Etym: nominalization of lwí ‘insult.’

‘build, plait.’ *Nominalizations: lúṅḁ*

lwí *v.* insult. *Nominalizations: lèlwí (5)*

(1) ‘builder by weaving,’ **lèlúṅḁ**

‘insult,’ **lwíyè** (1) ‘insulter.’

‘construction by weaving.’

lwíyè *Pl: bòlwíyè. n.* 1/2. insulter. *Etym:*

-lúṅḁ *Sg: lèlúṅḁ. Pl: mòlúṅḁ. n.*

nominalization of **lwí** ‘insult.’

construction (by weaving).

lwô *v.* show.

-lùùḁ *Pl: mòlùùḁ. n.* 6. dew. *[Note: no*

lwô *v.* lead, guide.

singular]

lwô *Pl: mòlwô. n.* 5/6. ear. *Etym: *tóè*

-lwá *Pl: mòlwá. n.* 6. slavery.

(5).

lwâl *v.* shell (groundnuts).

lwóg *v.* show.

lwándèbè *TAM.* Immediate past, just.

lwóg *v.* empty, bail. *[Note: This verb may*

lwân *v.* whistle, blow (horn), blow (of wind).

be used for a style of fishing primarily done by women, building a small dam and then catching the fish on plates.]

lwân *Pl: bèlwân. n.* 7/8. green mamba.

*Etym: *tóg ‘bail water.’*

lwéndólá *adj.* (be) full.

lwèrèṁ *n.* danger.

lwôṁ mûr *n.* giant.

lwómèlò *Pl: mèlwómèlò. n. 3/4.*

‘send.’

messenger.

lwóndèlò *v. fill.*

lwómb *v. order (someone to do something).*

lwòng *Pl: bèlwóng. n. crest, comb (rooster).*

lwómbèlò *v. send (something to someone or someone to do something). Etym: Derived from *tóm*

lwùñ *Pl: mòlwùñ. n. 5/6. beehive.*

lwúñ *Pl: mèlwúñ. n. 3/4. vine.*

M - m

m̃ = *pro. I.*

màn *Pl: mèmàn. n. crossroads,*

mààn *Pl: bèmààn. n. 7/8. crotch (of tree).*

intersection.

májìg *n. magic.*

mán *n. 3. morning, tomorrow.*

màg *v. turn off.*

mân ñkúndo *n. 3. sunrise.*

màgèlò *v. accept, receive.*

mànà *n. copper.*

mân *n. 9. ocean, sea. [Note: no plural]*

mè =

míyòṅ ntòmb

mè = *pro.* 4subject

mèmmùmò mǎ ḡkùnd *n.* full moon.

mè *dem.* this (pointing).

mèncánc mǎ ḡkùnd *n.* new moon.

mé *pro.* self.

mènjíl sí *v.* (be) seated.

mé *v.* be (change of state).

mètánà mwò *n.* hail.

mé *dem.* that (pointing).

mètúṅgà *n.* elephantiasis.

mètánǎ *n.* administration.

mí *n.* jackal.

mè *pro.* me (emphatic)

mìd *Pl:* mèmìd. *n.* 3/4. medicine.

mèm *v.* admit (to a wrong).

mìnò *v.* swallow. *Etym:* *mìd.

mèṅ mèmpe *Pl:* bòmèṅ bèmámpè. *n.*

mìnjà *v.* urinate.

1/2. potter.

mìṅimbèlà *v.* whisper.

mè *mk.* Possessive Associative Marker.

mìrà *v.* smile.

(POSS)

míḡwàn *Pl:* bèmíḡwàn [bèmíḡwàn]. *n.*

mèjâmb *n.* evening meal.

7/8. church.

mèkà *n.* Makaa.

míyòṅ *Pl:* bòmíyòṅ. *n.* sibling, cousin.

mèmà *Pl:* bèmámà. *n.* 7/8. insect.

[Note: same sex to ego]

mémâ *v.* yawn.

míyòṅ ntòmb *n.* younger sibling. [Note:

mèmírè *n.* joy.

same sex to ego]

míyòṅ twámbá

mwôm

míyòṅ twámbá *n.* elder sibling. [Note:

same sex to ego]

mò *Alt. m̀. pro. me.*

mòz *n.* 3. lamp, torch. *Etym:* *mòdè

‘torch, bright.’

móm *Pl: b̀móm. n.* 1/2. aunt.

mú *n.* reason.

múlò *v.* grunt (from effort), growl.

múṅ *Pl: m̀múṅ [m̀múṅ]. n.* 3/4. eel.

múṅdè *Pl: m̀múṅdè [m̀múṅdè]. n.* 3/4.

corpse.

múṅdè *v.* hum.

m̀̀̀̀ntí *n.* mister.

m̀̀̀̀z *n.* today.

mw = *pro. 6subject.*

mwá *Pl: bwá. n.* 1/2. little, small. *Etym:*

from mwân ‘child’.

mwâ jùl *Pl: bwá b́ jùl. n.* orphan.

mwâgèlò *v.* harvest, husk (corn).

mwâm m̀̀lwómbèlò *Pl: bwâm*

m̀̀lwómèlò. n. servant.

mwàz *Pl: m̀m̀wàz [m̀m̀wàz]. n.* 3/4.

shrimp.

mwáz *n.* 3. daytime.

mwâz *Pl: m̀m̀wâz [m̀m̀wâz]. n.* 9/6.

twin.

mwèlá *Pl: b̀m̀wèlá [b̀m̀wèlá]. n.*

1/2. boyfriend, girlfriend. *Etym:*

nominalization of **mwèl** ‘issue sexual

invitation’.

mwé *pro. 6emphatic.*

mwèl *v.* court, issue a sexual invitation.

Nominalization: mwèlá (1) ‘boyfriend,

girlfriend.’

mwôm *num.* eight (8).

mwò

mbànj

mwò *Pl: mèm̀wò. n. 3/4. stomach*

myána *n. 9. payment.*

(internal).

myànj *Pl: mèm̀myànj [mèm̀myànj]. n. 3/4.*

my = *pro. 4subject.*

bag.

myà *Pl: mèm̀myà [mèm̀myà] n. 3/4. time,*

myàz *v. abandon.*

era.

myé *pro. 4emphatic.*

mìmyà mí myêz *adv. often. Lit. every*

myég *Pl: mèm̀myég. n. fish dam.*

day.

myól *Pl: mèm̀myól [mèm̀myól]. n. 3/4.*

-myàb *Sg: èmyàb. n. 5. chicken wing.*

female.

myágèlà *v. pray.*

myòŋ *quiet. Etym: *mea (7).*

myàn *n. madness, folly.*

Mb - mb

mbá *TAM. Conditional (COND).*

mbál *n. 3. trace.*

mbàg *Pl: mèm̀mbàg. n. shrew.*

mbàmpyòŋ *Pl: mèm̀bàmpyòŋ*

mbágèlò *Pl: mèm̀bágèlò [mèm̀bágèlò].*

[mèm̀bàmpyòŋ]. n. 3/4. lion.

n. 3/4. load, burden.

mbànj *Pl: mèm̀bànj [mèm̀bànj]. n. 3/4.*

mbàkèlò *n. herd (cattle, sheep).*

money, silver.

mbàŋ

mbàŋ *Pl: mèm̀bàŋ [mìmbàŋ]. n. 3/4.*

1. stone, pit. 2. swelling.

-mbàŋ mǎjòb *Pl: mèm̀bàŋ mǎjòb. n. 4.*

shea-nuts.

mbǎŋ jî *Pl: mbǎŋ jî. n. 3. palm nut.*

mbàŋ ébìnd *Pl: mèm̀bàŋ mǎbìnd. n. 3.*

testicle.

mbǎŋ fîg *n. kidney. Etym: *pígò (9).*

mbǎŋ mí ŋkên *n. blight, rust.*

mbàŋgà *v. shiver. Etym: borrowed from*

So.

mbàŋgá *Pl: mèm̀bàŋgá [mìmbàŋgá]. n.*

3/4. coconut palm.

mbéb *n. passing-through.*

mbèg *v. (be) open.*

mbègèlǎ *n. 9. protection. Etym:*

bàgèlǎ ‘keep, store, watch.’

mbênd *n. disreputable person. [Note:*

mbìl

someone who is infamous, well-

known for causing trouble]

mbéyà mwàrá *Pl: mèm̀béyà bwàrá.*

n. 3/4. groom. [Note: spouse of

woman]

mbéyá mùrûm *Pl: mèm̀béyá bùrûm.*

n. 3/4. bride. [Note: spouse of man]

mbéég *v. (be) different.*

mbég *n. 3. separation.*

mbèz *adv. nothing, in vain.*

mbǎmbóŋ *Pl: mèm̀bǎmbóŋ*

[mèm̀bǎmbóŋ]. n. 3/4. hill.

-mbèŋgé *Sg: èmbèŋgé. Pl: mòm̀bèŋgé.*

n. 5/6. bell.

mbì *Pl: mèm̀bì [mèm̀bì]. n. 3/4. sort,*

type.

mbí mpâmb *n. grandparent.*

mbìl *Pl: mòm̀bìl [mèm̀bìl]. n. 9/6. tuft,*

mbìl

lock (of hair).

mbìl *Pl: mèm̀bil. n. 3/4. hole in earth.*

mbìl bèsà *v. (be) rich (in things).*

mbímbì *n. 7. amount.*

mbîn *Pl: mèm̀bîn. n. 3/4. pestle. Etym:*

**pénì (3).*

mbòl mèm̀pòg *Pl: bòbòl mèm̀pòg. n.*

1/2. farmer. Lit: 'sower of seed

(seneur des semences)'. n.

mbònd *Pl: mèm̀bònd. n. crevice.*

mbòṅ ícûg *Pl: mèm̀bòṅ mé ncûg*

[mím̀bòṅ míncûg]. n. 3/4. elephant's

tusk.

mbû *Alt. mbwá. Pl: mèm̀bû [mím̀bû]*

n. 3/4. year, season.

mbú bém̀pú *n. rainy season. Lit:*

'season of rains'.

mbú ncâ *n. drought, famine. Lit: 'season*

mbúṅ

hunger'.

mbùg *Pl: mòm̀bùg [mèm̀bùg]. n. 9/6.*

prison.

mbúg *v. lie down.*

mbúgè *Pl: bòbúgè. n. 1/2. accuser.*

Etym: nominalization of búgè

'accuse.'

mbúl ncûg *Pl: mèm̀búl mé ncûg*

[mím̀búl míncûg]. n. 3/4. elephant's

trunk.

mbúló *Pl: mèm̀búló. n. in-law.*

mbùmb *Pl: mèm̀bùmb [mím̀bùmb]. n.*

*3/4. bundle. Etym: *bòm̀bò.*

mbùmbà bíyèz *n. skeleton. Lit: 'bundle*

bones'.

mbúmbwá *Pl: mèm̀búmbwá*

[mím̀búmbwá]. n. 3/4. poor man.

mbúṅ *v. kick.*

mbwèzá

mpànjèl

mbwèzá *n.* wet thing. *Etym:*

nominalization of **bwâz** 'be wet.'

mbwènd mwân *Pl: mèbwènd mébwân*

[mèbwènd mébwân]. *n.* 3/4. fetus.

mbwó *Pl: mòbwó. n.* 9/6. arm, hand.

Etym: *bókò (15).

mbwò *n.* bowstring.

mbwòb *n.* 3/4. wire, thread.

mbwòl *Pl: bòbwòl. n.* 1/2. dancer. *Etym:*

nominalization of **bwàl** 'to dance.'

mbyêl *n.* 3/4. relative.

Mp - mp

mpà *Pl: bèmpà. n.* 1/2. wild cat.

mpàl *Pl: bèmpàl [bèmpàl]. n.* 1/2. eagle.

Etym: *póngó (9).

mpám *Pl: bèmpám [bèmpám]. n.* 1/2.

ancestor.

mpàmb *Pl: bèmpàmb. n.* spitting cobra.

-mpánâ *Sg: èmpánâ. Pl: bèmpánâ. n.*

5/8. small of back.

mpándá *n.* way.

mpànj *Pl: bèmpànj [bèmpànj]. n.* 7/8.

side (of body), breastbone, rib. *Etym:*

*bànjé (11).

mpànj *n.* 10. bamboo.

mpánj *n.* shelter.

mpánj mælûl *n.* forge. [Note: shelter of

blacksmith]

mpànjèl *Pl: bèmpànjèl [bèmpànjèl]. n.*

1/2. cattle egret.

mpê

mpúrùm

mpê *Pl: mèmpe. n. 9/6. cooking pot*

(marmite).

mpê tàg *Pl: mèmpe mâtàg. n. 9/6.*

tobacco pipe. *Lit: 'pot tobacco*

(marmite tabac)'.
*Ety: *búdà (9).*

mpêd *Pl: bèmpêd [bìmpêd]. n. 7/8.*

harp.

mpèl *Pl: bèmpèl. n. butterfly.*

mpèlâ *n. 9. imitation. Ety: nominalization of bèle 'imitate.'*

mpéndé *Pl: mòmpendé [mèmpendé].*

n. 9/6. law, rule.

mpí *n. 10. white hair. Ety: *búè (9,11).*

mpí *n. 10. palmnuts.*

mpíl *Pl: mèmpl. n. charcoal.*

mpimbè *n. 9. anger.*

mpimpyân *n. 1. red pepper, hot pepper.*

mpízò *n. back (of something).*

mpòg *n. fox.*

mpòg *Pl: mèmmpòg. n. seed.*

mpú *Pl: bòmput [bèmput]. n. 1/2. rain.*

mpúdâ *adv. (be) together.*

mpúgâ *n. 9/6. fracture. Ety:*

nominalization of búg 'break.'

mpúgâgâ *Pl: bòmputgâgâ. n. 1/2.*

accusation. *Ety: nominalization of*

bùgâ 'accuse.'

mpùl *n. gazelle.*

mpúamá sál *n. stone, gravel.*

mpùñ *n. 9. flood.*

mpùñgâ *Pl: mpùñgâ. n. 10. hair (of head).*

[Note: no singular]

mpùngâ *Pl: mpùngâ. n. 10. earring.*

mpúrùm *adv. (be) same.*

mpùùg

mpyêṁ

mpùùg *Pl: bòmmpùùg [bòmmpùùg]. n. 1/2.*

squirrel. [*Note: lives in holes in trees;*

eats snakes; tufted tail; loud cry;

bigger than *sínj*]

mpwààg *n. 9. fatness. Etym:*

nominalization of **bwâg** ‘be big.’

mpwág *n. 9. family line.*

mpwág *n. 9. bed, couchette. Etym:*

nominalization of **bwàgèbè** ‘lie

down.’

mpwàm *Pl: bòmmpwàm [bòmmpwàm]. n.*

*1/2. python. Etym: *bòmà (9).*

mpwàmá *n. 9. meeting. Etym:*

nominalization of **bwàmá** ‘meet.’

mpwàmbá *Pl: mpwàmbá. n. 10.*

descendants. *Etym: nominalization of*

bwàmbà ‘follow.’

mpwélá *Pl: mòmmpwélá. n. 9/6. debt.*

Etym: nominalization of bwèlà ‘take revenge.’

mpwěnd *n. 9. delay. Etym:*

nominalization of **bwáánd** ‘wait.’

mpwénd *n. 9. patience. Etym:*

nominalization of **bwáánd** ‘wait.’

mpwîng *n. 10. problems, annoyances.*

mpwò *n. 9. accusation.*

mpwògé *n. 1. health.*

mpwòmb *Pl: mòmmpwòmb*

[mòmmpwòmb]. n. 9/6. face.

mpyà *Pl: mèmmpyà. n. cowrie shell.*

-mpyàb *Sg: lèmmpyàb. Pl: mòmmpyàb*

[mèmmpyàb]. n. 5/6. wing. Etym:

**pàpá (5,11).*

mpyânj *v. grow.*

mpyèl *Pl: mpyèl. n. 10. trousers.*

mpyêṁ *Pl: mèmmpyêṁ. n. yam.*

mpyó

nó mìdìdì

mpyó *Pl: bòmpyó. n. 1/2. dog. Etym:*

bòmpyó. n. pup. Lit: 'small dog'.

*bòà (9,12). **mwâ mpyó** *Pl: bwá*

mpyón *n. disrespect.*

N - n

ná *num. four (4). Etym: *nàì 'four.'*

summit, highest point.

nàdèbò *v. try.*

nê *conj. that.*

nàm *Pl: bènàm [bìnàm]. n. 7/8. nation.*

nèbó *conj. because.*

nàmbà *v. feel (active).*

nóné *adj. big, important. Etym: *nénè*

nàndèlò *v. tighten.*

'big.'

nán *adv. still, yet.*

nî *v. enter, go in.*

né *dem. that.*

níbò mómphyàb *v. flap the wings.*

nég *v. scapegoat.*

nìgò *v. go back, return.*

nèyà *n. poison (on arrow).*

nîng *v. enter, join.*

nêg *adv. now. Etym: borrowed from*

-níyé *interr. how many?*

Makaa.

nò *Alt. [nè]. conj. and, with. Etym: *nà*

-nég *Sg: ènég. Pl: mènég. n. 5/6.*

'and, with.'

nó mìdìdì *adj. (be) shy.*

nó yíŋ

ncàm

nó yíŋ *adv.* too much.

númbá *Pl: mènúmbá. n.* acquaintance.

nób *Pl: bònób. n.* 1/2. other.

númbè *n.* prophecy.

nòŋ *Pl: mènòŋ. n.* 3/4. kilometer.

nùn *Pl: bènùn. n.* 7/8. bird. **bèññ bé**

nóg *n.* vagina.

kwár. *n.* fowl. *Lit:* 'birds of the

village'.

nùm *Pl: mènùm. n.* 3/4. mouth. *Etym:*

*dòmò (3).

-núŋó lé díbó *Sg: ènúŋó lé díbó. Pl:*

mònúŋó mádíbó [mènúŋó mádíbó].

númé *adv.* also, too.

n. 5/6. spring.

nùmèlò *v.* smell. *Etym:* *dùmb.

nwà *adv.* there.

nûmb *v.* 1. know (something or someone).

nwâg *Pl: mònwâg* [mènwâg]. *n.* 9/6.

2. divine, prophesy.

mango tree.

nûmb sâ *v.* know how to.

nwî *v.* fall (rain).

númbá *n.* 3. knowledge.

Nc - nc

ncà *n.* 9. hunger. *Etym:* *jàdà (9)

ncààbèrà *v.* turn upside down.

'hunger.'

ncàm *n.* leprosy. *Lit.* destroyer.

ncàm à kàg

ncòn

ncàm à kàg *n.* breakfast. *Lit:* 'destroyer

fetish (spirit). *Lit:* 'little god'.

of mouth nastiness'.

ncìmbè *Pl:* bèncìmbè. *n.* 7/8. soldier.

ncàmb *Pl:* bèncàmb. *n.* 7/8. marsh.

ncíncóŋ *Pl:* mòncíncóŋ [mèncíncóŋ]. *n.*

-ncáŋ *Sg:* lèncáŋ. *Pl:* mènncáŋ. *n.* 5/6.

9/6. enemy.

balafon.

ncìndò *Pl:* bèncìndò. *n.* island.

-ncé *interr.* who.

ncíŋgà *Pl:* bèncíŋgà. *n.* 7/8. cat. **mwâ**

-ncêlè *Pl:* mòncêlè [mòncêlè]. *n.* 6.

ncíŋgà *Pl:* bwá báncíŋgà. *n.* kitten.

urine.

Lit: 'child cat'.

ncél *n.* 9/6. brideprice (for bride's family)

ncò *v.* come.

(5/6 in Begne).

ncò lêŋ [ncò lêŋ] *v.* announce. *Lit:*

-ncéllè *Pl:* mòncéllè [mèncéllè]. *n.* 6. tears.

'come say'.

[Note: no singular]

-ncóg *Sg:* èncóg. *n.* 5. cry, sound.

ncèl fwén *n.* silk, hair (of maize).

ncôm *v.* (be) in disorder.

ncì *Pl:* mènncì [mèncì]. *n.* 3/4. 1. path. 2.

ncóŋ *adj.* (be) jealous.

fork (in path).

ncòdò *n.* 10. time (countable).

ncícâm *Pl:* mènncícâm. *n.* 3/4. leper.

ncòmmb *Pl:* mènncòmmb. *n.* flower.

nciimbé *n.* God (supreme being). *Etym:*

ncòn *Pl:* mènncòn. *n.* music.

*jàmbé (9). **mwâ nciimbé** *n.* god,

ncòŋ

ncwòm

ncòŋ *Pl: m̀̀ncòŋ. n. 9/6. 1. dance, feast.*

3. funeral (at occasion of death).

ncòŋ *n. dancer. Etym: related to noun*

ncòŋ (9) 'dance'.

ncò̀̀l *Pl: b̀̀ncò̀̀l. n. pangolin, scaly*

anteater.

-ncúlè *Pl: m̀̀ncúlè [m̀̀ncúlè]. n. 6.*

earwax. [Note: no singular]

ncùmó *n. peg.*

ncùŋ *Pl: b̀̀ncùŋ [b̀̀ncùŋ]. n. 1/2. fly.*

*Etym: *gì (9) 'fly.'*

ncúŋ *n. 9. axe. Etym: *còká (5) 'axe.'*

ncùùj *n. 9. hammer. Etym: *jòndò (9)*

'hammer.'

ncwàmbèlò *n. paddle, pole. [Note:*

long, used to propel canoes]

ncwân *n. mold (pottery).*

ncwè *pro. us (dual).*

ncwó *pro. we (dual).*

ncwòg *Pl: b̀̀ncwòg. n. 1/2. elephant.*

*Etym: *jògù*

ncwòg m̀̀dífb *Pl: b̀̀ncwòg m̀̀dífb.*

n. 1/2. hippopotamus. Lit: 'elephant

water'.

ncwó ǹ̀jì ǹ̀jì *adj. border on.*

ncwòm *Pl: b̀̀ncwòm. n. 7/8. buffalo.*

*Etym: *játé (9) 'buffalo.'*

Nd - nd

ndâg *adv.* really?

1/2. bush dweller. Lit: 'dweller forest'.

ndàmbà *n.* 9. rubber.

Etym: nominalization of dîl 'dwell.'

-ndángá *Pl: mòngángá [mèndángá].*

ndòl *n.* pain. *Etym: nominalization of dàl*

'hurt'.

n. 6. mud. [*Note: no singular*] *Etym:*

**tàkà (5) 'earth, mud, marsh.'*

ndù *Pl: mòngù. n.* virgin.

ndé *v.* be (loc).

ndùbé *n.* painter. *Etym: nominalization*

of dúb 'paint.'

ndèlá *n.* 9. burial. *Etym:*

nominalization of dèl 'bury.'

ndúgè *n.* rower. *Etym: nominalization of*

dúgò 'paddle, row.'

ndíl *v.* sit.

ndùndù *n.* 3. needle.

ndìl dīg *Pl: bòngìl bó dīg [bèdìl bédìg]. n.*

ndwàng *n.* valley.

Nj - nj

njà *Pl: mòngjà [mìnjà]. n.* 3/4. intestines.

*Etym: *dà (11).*

njáb

njòmbálò

njáb *Pl: mènjááb [mìnjááb]. n. 3/4. house.*

*Etym: *jóbbò (9) 'house.'*

njáp bûr *Pl: mènjááp bûr. n. 3/4. family.*

Lit. house people.

njàgèlè *Pl: mènjàgèlè. n. 3/4. prayers.*

njám *n. 7. moment (good).*

njàŋ *n. birdlime (adhesive to catch birds).*

njêb *v. lack. Etym: *cób 'lack.'*

njékólá *Pl: mènjékólá. n. 3/4.*

initiation (male).

njékólá mwàrá *Pl: mènjékólá bwàrá.*

n. 3/4. initiation (female). Lit:

'initiation woman'.

njèè *n. 9. 1. arrival. 2. until Etym:*

nominalization of jê 'arrive.'

njèlè *n. 3/4. flame.*

njêm *Pl: mējêm. n. 3/4. bat. Etym:*

**démà (3).*

nji *v. mark out, peg out (ground).*

nji *Pl: mònji [mènji]. n. 9/6. frontier (of ethnic area). Etym: *dèdò (3).*

nji fàm *Pl: mònji mó fàm [mènji mófàm]. n. 9/6. boundary (of field).*

nji *adv. only. Etym: *jèká 'only.'*

njígè *Pl: bòjígè. n. 1/2. student. Etym: nominalization of jìg 'learn.'*

njígèlè *Pl: bòjígèlè. n. 1/2. teacher. Etym: nominalization of jígèlè 'teach.'*

njiìl *Pl: bòjiìl. n. 1/2. crier. Etym: nominalization of jiì 'cry, weep.'*

njíndè *n. machete handle.*

njìné *Pl: mènjiné [mìnjiné]. n. bamboo.*

njômb *n. cook. Etym: nominalization of jâmb 'to prepare food'.*

njòmbálò *Pl: mòjòmbálò [mèjòmbálò]. n. 9/6. sorcerer (male).*

njòmbélò mwára

njwún

njòmbélò mwára *Pl: mòjòmbélò*

njúm *Pl: mènjúm. n. 3/4. male*

bwára [màjòmbélò]. *n. 9/6. witch*

(animal).

(female). *Lit: 'sorcerer woman'.*

njúm sìlò *Pl: bàjúm bá mäsìlò. n. 1/2.*

njònd *Pl: mènjònd [mìnjònd]. n. 3/4.*

son-in-law. *Lit. husband*

trip. *Etym: from jánd 'step on'?*

young.woman

njóŋ *Pl: bòjóŋ. n. 1/2. guest, visitor,*

njúné *Pl: bòjúné. n. 1/2. fighter. Etym:*

stranger. *Etym: *gèni (1) 'stranger.'*

nominalization of **júnà** 'fight.'

njòz *Pl: mènjòz [mìnjòz]. n. 3/4.*

njwǎŋ *n. 9. river. Etym: *dòngà (3).*

lightning. *Etym: *jàdí (9).*

njwî *Alt. [njù] n. 3/4. head, king, chief.*

njù *n. chisel.*

Etym. Nominalization of jwî 'rule

njùg *adj. difficult, hard.*

over, dominate'

njúl *Pl: bòjúl. n. 1/2. killer. [Note: add*

njwòmbò *Pl: mènjwòmbò [mènjwòmbò].*

'people' to clarify if 'murderer']

n. 9/6. bottle.

njúl bètíd *Pl: bòjúl bètíd. n. butcher.*

njwóŋ *Pl: mènjwóŋ [mènjwóŋ]. n. 3/4.*

njúm *Pl: bòjúm [bèjúm]. n. 1/2. male*

path, road. *Etym: *jèdà (9) 'path?'*

(sex), husband. *Etym: *dómè.*

njwún *n. respect.*

Nt - nt

ntà conj. since.

ntà Pl: **bòntà** [bèntà]. n. 1/2. grandchild.

-ntág Pl: **mèntág** n. 4. joy, happiness.

Etym: borrowed from Ewondo.

ntámà v. rot, decompose.

ntàndà n. bean.

ntàŋ Pl: **bòntàŋ** [bèntàŋ]. n. 1/2. rat.

ntàŋ v. cross.

ntàŋ díbó v. cross river. Lit: 'cross water'.

ntáj adv. like that.

ntáj nô adv. then.

ntè Pl: **bèntè** [bìntè]. n. 7/8. ox, cow.

myól ntè Pl: **mèmyól béntè**. n. 3/4.
cow. Lit: 'female cow'. **mwâ myól ntè**

Pl: **bwâ mèmýól béntè**. n. heifer. Lit:

'small female cow'. **mwâ njúm ntè**

Pl: **bwâ mènjúm béntè**. n. calf. Lit:

'small male cow'. **njúm ntè** Pl:

mìnjúm ntè. n. 3/4. bull. Lit: 'male cow'.

ntég v. punish.

ntégèlè n. accent.

ntégèlè v. annoy, disturb.

ntélé Pl: **bàntélé**. n. penalty,
punishment.

nténè adv. like that. *Etym:* nta + -ne.

ntèd n. hundred (100).

ntèg v. abuse. *Etym:* *tók 'abuse.'

ntég v. annoy.

ntèmbèlà

-ntúṅṣ

ntèmbèlà v. (be) slow.

or one that doesn't stop]

-ntènd Pl: **bèntènd** [bìntènd]. n. 8.

ntúbá Pl: **mòntúbá** [mèntúbá]. n. 9/6.

spider's web. [Note: no singular]

sword.

ntí n. sister.

ntúd Pl: **mèntúd**. n. tusk (of warthog).

ntìg v. give, send in response to a request.

ntùg Pl: **bèntùg**. n. stopper, plug.

ntìntá n. great grandchild. Etym: redup

ntùgèjù Pl: **bèntùgèjù**. n. bud.

form of ntà 'grandchild'.

ntúlá adj. many, a lot (uncountable)

ntóbà v. flow, drip. [Note: related to

ntúm n. brother. [Note: opposite sex of ego

word for 'dysentery'] Etym: *tón

(brother of a sister)] Etym: *dòmbò

'drip.'

(1,5).

ntòmb n. 7/8 or 1/2. younger. [Note:

ntùmḁ Pl: **mòntùmḁ** [mèntùmḁ]. n. 9/6.

Variation between speakers in class

big drum, talking drum.

membership.]

ntúná Pl: **bètúnà**. n. 7/8. fight with

ntómb v. stagger.

weapons. Etym: Nominalization of

-ntḁ Sg: **èntḁ**. Pl: **mèntḁk**. n. 5/6. crop (of

túnà 'to fight.'

bird).

ntúnè Pl: **bòtúnè**. n. 1/2. fighter. Etym:

ntú n. dysentery. [Note: extreme

Nominalization of **túnà** 'to fight.'

diarrhea - either the kind with blood

-ntúṅṣ Sg: **èntúṅṣ**. Pl: **mèntúṅṣ**. n. 5/6.

ntútégú

bump.

ntútégú *Pl: m̀ntútégú [m̀ntútégú]. n.*

9/6. hump (of cow).

ntùtùmà *Pl: b̀ntùtùmà. n. crowd.*

ntwàr *v. (be) alone.*

ntwérè *adj. surprised.*

ntwì *Pl: b̀ntwì [b̀ntwì]. n. 1/2. 1. lazy*

person. 2. loose, slack things.

ntwòmb *Pl: b̀ntwòmb. n. 7/8. fight.*

ntwèmbè *Pl: b̀ntwèmbè [b̀ntwèmbè].*

ɲàg

n. 7/8. sheep. Alt. [ntwòmbè]. mwá

ntwòmbè *Pl: bwá bíntwòmbè. n.*

lamb. *Lit: 'little sheep'. njúm*

ntwòmbè *Pl: m̀njúm m̀ntwòmbè.*

n. 3/4. ram. Lit: 'male sheep'.

ntwôn *n. 3/4. scarf.*

ntwómá *Pl: b̀ntwómá [b̀ntwómá]. n.*

1/2. boy.

ntwómá *adj. (be) young.*

ɲ

ɲ = *pro. 9subject.*

ɲ = *pro. he/she.*

ɲà *tear (tr). Etym: *nòkod 'tear off, extract.'*

ɲâ *Pl: b̀ɲâ. [b̀ɲâ, b̀ɲâ] n. 7/8.*

fingernail, claw.

ɲâ *Pl: b̀ɲâ. [b̀ɲâ] n. 1/2. flea. [Note:*

the kind found on poultry and

manioc, very small and fast]

ɲàg *v. defecate. Etym: *nè 'defecate.'*

ṇǎg ʃùl

ṇwèlé

ṇǎg ʃùl v. break wind, fart. *Etym:* *cùd

‘fart.’

ṇām v. milk (cows, goats).

ṇāṅ ná bôl v. nurse, suckle (baby) (tr).

Etym: *ṇam ‘suck, suckle.’

-ṇáṅ *Pl:* mòṇáṅ [màṇáṅ]. *n.* 6. milk.

[*Note:* no singular] *Etym:*

nominalization of **ṇáṅ** ‘suckle’?

ṇáz v. move, convulse.

ṇèg v. bare, show (teeth).

ṇème v. (be) alone.

ṇè *pro.* him/her.

ṇíḃè ná bán v. spank (child).

ṇìg v. return (give back) (tr).

ṇìmèzè v. stir.

ṇômbèlè *Pl:* mòṇômbèlè [màṇômbèlè].

n. 9/6. armpit.

ṇòṇṅó *Pl:* bòṇòṇṅó. *n.* 1/2. mother.

Etym: *ṇàṅgó (1a) ‘mother.’

ṇòṅgô *n.* channel.

ṇùlām *adj.* (be) kind.

ṇún *Pl:* mòṇún [màṇún]. *n.* 9/6. body.

ṇwádèbò v. squat.

ṇwàṅ v. please, satisfy.

ṇwàṅ v. take.

ṇwàṅ *n.* 5/6. good things.

ṇwâṅ *Pl:* bòṇwâṅ [bàṇwâṅ]. *n.* 1/2.

snake. *Etym:* *jókà (9) ‘snake.’

ṇwàṅṇwàṅ *adj.* good.

ṇwè *pro.* 9emphatic, 10emphatic.

ṇwèl v. drink. *Nominalizations:* **ṇwèlé** (1)

‘drinker,’ **ṇwèlègà** (7) ‘drink.’ *Etym:*

*ṇó ‘drink.’

ṇwèlé *Pl:* bàṇwèlé. *n.* 1/2. drinker.

ɲwɛ̀lɛ̀gà

ɲgúɲgà

Etym: nominalization of ɲwɛ̀l 'drink.'

-ɲwòg *Pl: mòɲwòg* [màɲwòg]. *n.* 6.

ɲwɛ̀lɛ̀gà *Pl: bèɲwɛ̀lɛ̀gà. n.* 7/8. drink.

wine. [Note: no singular] mòɲwòg

Etym: nominalization of ɲwɛ̀l 'drink.'

mó lɛ̀nd *n.* 6. palm wine. *Lit:* 'wine of

ɲwə *pro.* 9subject.

palm'.

ɲwógə̀zə *v.* tickle.

ɲg

ɲgà *dem.* this.

ɲgwàndò *n.* 3. manioc, cassava.

ɲgàr *Pl: mɛ̀ɲgàr. n.* market.

ɲgwán *adv.* together. [Note: old.]

ɲgé *conj.* if.

ɲgwómɛ̀nɛ̀ *n.* sous-prefet.

ɲgwàgɛ̀lá *n.* 9/6. prayers. *Etym:*

ɲgwôg lwô *Pl: mɛ̀ɲgwô málwô. n.* deaf

borrowed from Ewondo.

person.

ɲgwâlà *Pl: mòɲgwâlà* [mɛ̀ɲgwâlà]. *n.*

ɲgwôɲ *n.* climbing rope.

9/6. town.

ɲgùlɔ́ *n.* dust.

ɲgwâm *Pl: mɛ̀ɲgwâm* [mɛ̀ɲgwâm]. *n.*

ɲgúmbà *adj.* entire, whole.

3/4. bachelor, spinster.

ɲgúɲgà *Pl: mɛ̀ɲgúɲgà. n.* box.

ɲgwàn *n.* 3. paw.

ɲgb

ɲgbàɲ *Pl: bə̀ɲgbàɲ. n. crow.*

ɲk

ɲkà *conj. then, as. Etym: *ngà ‘as, like.’*

ɲkêɲg *v. carry.*

ɲkàb *n. goiter.*

ɲkêɲg mwân nê kwòɲ *v. carry (child)*

ɲkàg *Pl: bə̀ɲkàg [bə̀ɲkàg]. n. 7/8. eyelid.*

on back. Lit: ‘carry child with back’.

ɲkàm *adj. right, (be) correct.*

ɲkêɲg nó lû *v. carry on head. Lit: ‘carry*

ɲkàmà *interr. how many?*

with head’.

ɲkàɲjà *Pl: mə̀ɲkàɲjà. n. fin.*

ɲkêɲg nó mə̀bwô *v. carry in arms. Lit:*

ɲkàɲ *Pl: bə̀ɲkàɲ [bə̀ɲkàɲ]. n. 1/2.*

‘carry with hands’.

medicine man, trad healer, diviner.

ɲkê ɲûl *v. boast, brag.*

*Etym: *gàngà ‘medicine man.’*

ɲkě ɲûn *v. (be) eager, (be) zealous. Lit.*

ɲkàzà *Pl: bə̀ɲkàzà. n. weaver-bird.*

boast body.

ɲké *conj. or.*

ɲkèg *Pl: mə̀ɲkèg [mə̀ɲkèg]. n. 9/6.*

promise. [Note: Nominalization of kèg]

ηκὲλ

'promise']

ηκὲλ *n.* shin.

ηκὲη *n.* wise one.

ηκὸβ *n.* same side.

ηκὸκόγ *Pl:* μὸηκὸκόγ [μὸηκὸκόγ]. *n.*

9/6. molar tooth. *Etym:* *gêgò (5,7)

'molar tooth.'

ηκὸλ *Pl:* βὲηκὸλ. *n.* eyelash.

ηκὸλο *Pl:* μὸκὸλο. *n.* 9/6. load.

ηκὸνά *adv.* little by little.

ηκὸνδ *Pl:* βὲηκὸνδ [βὲηκὸνδ]. *n.* 7/8.

journey. *Etym:* *gèndò (11) 'journey.'

ηκόνη *n.* 7. courage.

ηκὸδὸμβ *Pl:* μὸηκὸδὸμβ. *Alt:* [ηκὸμβ]. *n.*

9/6. medium drum. *Etym:* *gòma (9).

mwâ ηκὸμβ *Pl:* bwâ ηκὸμβ. *n.*

small drum. *Lit:* 'small drum'.

ηκὸλ *Pl:* βὲηκὸλ [βὲηκὸλ]. *n.* 1/2. gun.

ηκὸ λυέנדὸ

ηκὸλ jwoô *n.* thunder. *Lit:* 'gun sky'.

ηκὸνδὸ *Pl:* βὲηκὸνδὸ [βὲηκὸνδὸ]. *n.*

1/2. crocodile. *Etym:* *gàndó (9).

ηκόνη *v.* (be) brave, courageous,

powerful.

ηκὸδὸβ *Pl:* μὸηκὸδὸβ [μὸηκὸδὸβ]. *n.* 9/6.

paddle. [*Note:* short and flat] *Etym:*

*kápi (9).

ηκὸ *Pl:* βὲηκὸ [βὲηκὸ]. *n.* 7/8. fruit bat.

Etym: *gèmbóá 'bat.'

ηκὸ *Pl:* βὲηκὸ [βὲηκὸ]. *n.* 1/2. pig. mwâ

ηκὸ *Pl:* bwá bóηκὸ. *n.* piglet. *Lit:*

'small pig'. myól ηκὸ *Pl:* mèmýól

méηκὸ. *n.* 3/4. sow. *Lit:* 'female pig'.

Etym: *gòdòbè (9) 'pig.'

ηκὸ δῖγῖ *Pl:* βὲηκὸ δῖγῖ. *n.* 1/2.

warthog, boar. *Lit:* 'pig forest'.

ηκὸ λυέנדὸ *n.* rainbow.

ηκùbò

ηkwémbàlè

ηκùbò *Pl: bèηκùbò. n. shield. Etym:*

3/4. cloud.

*gùbà.

ηκùùb *Pl: mòηκùùb [mòηκùùb]. n. 9/6.*

ηκùg *Pl: mèηκùg. n. upper grinding*

quiver.

stone.

ηκùùnd *Pl: mènηκùùnd [mènηκùùnd]. Alt.*

ηκùl *Pl: mùκùl. n. 9/6. force, power.*

[ηkwóònd] *n. 3/4. month.*

ηκùl *Pl: mòηκùl [mòηκùl]. n. 9/6. cane*

ηκùúr *Pl: bènηκùúr [bènηκùúr]. n. 7/8.*

rat, cutting grass, grass cutter.

bark (of tree).

ηκùmb *Pl: bènηκùmb [bènηκùmb]. n. 1/2.*

ηkwâl *Pl: bònηkwâl [bònηkwâl]. n. 1/2.*

monitor lizard.

snail.

ηκùmbàlò *n. diarrhea.*

ηkwàη *Pl: mènηkwàη. n. cartridge.*

ηκùnd *n. 9. moon. Etym: *gòndè (9).*

ηkwàηg *Pl: bènηkwàηg. n. 7/8. fish trap.*

ηκùnd *n. scaffolding.*

ηkwéndé *Pl: bònηkwéndé [bònηkwéndé].*

*n. 1/2. elbow. Etym: *kókòdà (9).*

ηκùndà *n. granary.*

ηkwèη [ηkwèη] *Pl: bònηkwèη [bònηkwèη].*

ηκùη *Pl: mèκùη [mèκùη]. n. 3/4. arrow.*

n. 1/2. leopard.

ηκùηκùb *Pl: bènηκùηκùb. n. umbilical*

ηkwèηê *Pl: bènηkwèηê. n. centipede,*

cord.

millipede.

ηκùd [ηκùr] *Pl: mènηκùd [mènηκùr]. n.*

ηkwémbàlè *Pl: bòkwémbàlè. n. 1/2.*

ηkwênj

repairer. *Etym*: nominalization of

kwòmbèlè 'mend, repair.'

ηkwênj *n.* 7. metal. [*Note*: also used for
iron]

-ηkwòb *Sg*: lèηkwòb. *Pl*: mènηkwòb. *n.*
5/6. shoe.

ηkwómbèlè *Pl*: mòkwómbèlè. *n.* 9/6.
repair. *Etym*: nominalization of
kwòmbèlè 'mend, repair.'

ηkwónη *Pl*: mènηkwónη. *n.* 3/4.
responsability, social status.

ηkwó *Pl*: mènηkwó. *n.* handle (round).

ηkpágá

[*Note*: Used for pot handles, the sides
of plates, etc.]

ηkwòg *Pl*: mòηkwòg [mènηkwòg]. *n.* 9/6.
sugar cane.

ηkwòmb *Pl*: bònηkwòmb [bènηkwòmb]. *n.*
1/2. porcupine. *Etym*: *gòmbá (9).

ηkwòmbèlè *v.* plan.

ηkwǎmìn *n.* voice box, larynx, Adam's
apple, throat.

ηkwòη *n.* pity.

ηkwùnd *n.* terror. [*Note*: extreme fear]

ηgb

ηkpágá *Pl*: mòηkpágá [mènηkpágá]. *n.*

9/6. fishing line.

ó =

pyèb

O - o

ó = TAM. Present (PRES).

-ób gen. their.

-ó gen. your (sg).

-óób interr. which?

o

-òòngá det. Definite (DEF).

Aforementioned.

P - p

pààr n. threshing-floor.

pùpwó n. 7. pawpaw, papaya.

pága n. cane.

pùù n. calm.

pé adv. totally.

pyèb v. winnow, throw in air (grain).

S - s

sà *Pl: mòsà [mèsà]. n. 9/6. feather.*

*Etym: *cádá (5,7,11) 'feather.'*

sá *v. act, do.*

sá béjúŋ *v. 1. play games. 2. entertain, amuse.*

sà kwár *v. plunder (a town). Lit: 'do village'.*

sá mómwèlà *v. be engaged, be betrothed. Lit. do fiancés.*

sâ mpwògé *v. get well, heal. Lit: 'do health'.*

sâ *Pl: bèsâ [bîsâ]. n. 7/8. 1. thing. 2. belongings (in plural).*

sâ nó bâb bâb *n. evil, badness. Lit: 'thing with bad'.*

sààl *v. 1. cut open. 2. chop into pieces.*

*Etym: *tâd 'cut open.'*

sáb *v. get sick.*

-sâb *Sg: èsâb. n. 5/6. illness, disease. Etym: borrowed from Baywe'e?*

sâdé *n. Saturday.*

sàgbò *v. (be) restless, (be) unsettled.*

ságèzè *v. shake. Etym: *tèk 'shake.'*
Synchronically linked to sá 'do.'

sâl *v. peel.*

sàmb *Pl: bèsàmb [bîsàmb]. n. 7/8. rape.*

sámbá *n. row.*

sâmbèlò *v. sneeze. Etym: *téamod 'sneeze.'*

sàndòla *v. slip.*

sànjà

sànjà *Pl: mèsànjà. n. 3/4. thumb piano.*

sánj *v. look for. Etym: *kɔŋ 'look for, seek, hunt.'*

sánj *Pl: mèsánj [mèsánj]. n. 3/4. mane.*

*Etym: *jènjè (3) 'mane.'*

sánjá *Pl: mèsánjá. n. necklace.*

sé *TAM. Perfect (PERF).*

sèl *v. bail out (canoe. boat).*

sèn *n. 1/2. nail.*

séngé *Pl: mèséngé. n. 3/4. gift.*

sêš *Sg: lèsêš. Pl: mèsêš. n. 5/6. girl, young woman. [Note: Immature, without children. For some speakers in class 3/4.]*

sêzàlò *v. evade.*

-sâg *Pl: bèsâg [bèsâg]. n. 8. termite. [Note: no singular]*

sí *Pl: bèsí [bèsí]. n. 7/8. 1. world,*

sîn

*ground, land. 2. underneath, below, down. Etym: *cé (9) 'ground, earth.'*

sí bēb *v. hurt oneself.*

sí yò *v. (be) dead. Lit: 'finish die'.*

sìg *v. deceive. Etym: *kéké 'cheat, deceive.'*

sìgá *n. cigarette.*

sìgò *v. saw (wood).*

síl *v. finish. Etym: *cíd 'finish.'*

sílàbà *Pl: bèsílàbà. n. metal pot.*

sìlò *Pl: mèsìlò. n. 3/4. 1. girl. 2. daughter.*

sílò *v. approach.*

símàlà *v. groan (with pain).*

símàzè *v. think, remember. Etym:*

borrowed from Makaa.

sîn *Pl: mòsîn [mèsîn]. n. 9/6. point.*

síná

syègàlé

síná *n. end.*

sìzɔ́ *Pl: mèsìzɔ́ [mèsìzɔ́]. n. 3/4.*

sínj *Pl: bèsínj [bèsínj]. n. 7/8. squirrel.*

tendon, vein.

[*Note:* makes a nest; lives in trees;

sì *TAM. Contraexpectation. Etym:*

smaller than **mpùùg**] *Etym: *céndé*

Borrowed from Makaa?

(7) 'squirrel.'

sǒg *n. lung.*

sìjè *n. 9. sand. Etym: *cèngà 'sand.'*

sôl mènònm *Pl: bôsôl bó mènònm [bôsôl*

sís *adj. another.*

bó mènònm]. *n. 1/2. prostitute.*

sísìm *Pl: mèsísìm [mèsísìm]. n. 3/4. soul,*

-sòmbàlò *Pl: mòsòmbàlò [mèsòmbàlò].*

spirit (of living person).

n. 6. curse. [Note: no singular]

sísìm múj *Pl: mèsísìm mèmúj [mèsísìm*

sóngà *Pl: bòsòngà. n. 1/2. father. Etym:*

mèmúj]. *n. 3/4. spirit (of dead*

**cángó (1a) 'father.'*

person) (invisible).

syè *v. spit.*

sísôg *Pl: mòsísôg [mèsísôg]. n. 9/6.*

syě *v. sing.*

hiccup. (7/8 in Begne)

syê *v. work.*

síyé *n. end. Etym: from si 'finish'.*

syê *n. 7/8. work.*

sìyêng *v. get together.*

syègàlé *v. frighten. Etym: *cìc*

síyèng *v. heap up.*

'frighten.'

sìzà *Pl: bèsìzà [bèsìzà]. n. 7/8. song.*

Ɲêzè v. reyoice.

stem, stalk (of corn, millet, etc.).

Ɲlò n. 3/4. young woman. [Note: Mature, grounded, with children]

-Ɲùg lé Sg: èƝùg lé. Pl: mòƝùg lé [màƝùg lé]. n. 5/6. trunk (of tree).

Ɲù v. pour.

Ɲùg v. cease, stop.

-Ɲù Sg: èƝù. n. 5. sake.

Ɲùg Pl: bòƝùg [bàƝùg]. n. 1/2. ant. [Note: includes flying ants]

Ɲù n. 9. shame. Etym: *cónì (9) 'shame.'

Ɲùgèlà v. fall in pieces.

Ɲù v. empty. [Note: Only used for non-liquids, as in emptying the trash. For liquids see 'empty, bail.']

Ɲùgèzè v. strain.

Ɲùkèlà ncò adv. after.

Ɲù Pl: bòƝù. n. 1/2. fish. Alt. sù. Etym: *cúé (9) 'fish.'

Ɲùkùl Pl: bèsùkùl [bàƝùkùl, bífùkùl]. n. 7/8. school.

Ɲùbè Pl: mòƝùbè [màƝùbè]. n. 9/6. jigger. (5/6 in Begne, with an /s/)

Ɲùl v. unload.

Ɲùl nwân n. venom (of snake).

Ɲùd n. 7/8. cotton.

Ɲùlè v. rub.

-Ɲùg Sg: èƝùg. Pl: mòƝùg [màƝùg]. n. 5/6.

Ɲùlò v. descend, go down.

-fùm

fùzègò

-fùm Sg: èfùm. Pl: mòfùm [mèfùm]. n.

[mìfùmb ébwàz]. n. 3/4. earthworm.

5/6. bracelet, ankle ring, bangle.

Lit: 'worm LOC-earth'.

fùmè Pl: bòfùmè. n. 1/2. builder. Etym:

fùn Pl: mèfùn [mìfùn]. n. 3/4. flesh.

from fùmè 'build.'

fùṅ Pl: mòfùṅ [mèfùṅ]. n. 9/6. grave.

fùmè v. build. Nominalization: fùmè (1)

Alt. fwòṅ.

'builder,' fùmó (1) 'construction.'

-fùṅ Sg: èfùṅ. Pl: mòfùṅ [mèfùṅ]. n. 5/6.

fùmàlò mbwâ Pl: mètsumlò mómwbâ.

floating water plants.

n. arm (used for both upper arm and

fúṅ Pl: mètsum n. bulb, tuber.

forearm). Etym: *comb 'be on top.'

fúṅà v. discuss.

fùmó Pl: bòfùmó. n. 1/2. construction.

fúṅó kwànd Pl: mètsumó kwànd [mètsumó

Etym: from fùmè 'build.'

kwànd]. n. 3/4. regime (of plantains).

fúmò Pl: mètsumò [mètsumò]. n. 3/4. cane,

fùfwâz adj. (be) naked.

walking stick.

fúfwóg n. in front of, before. Etym:

fùmb Pl: mèfùmb [mètsumb]. n. 3/4.

Reduplicated form of the noun fwóg

brook, stream.

'front of something'.

-fùmb Pl: mòfùmb [mètsumb]. n. 6.

fùùṅ Pl: mètsumùṅ. n. waterfall.

intestinal worm. [Note: no singular]

fúwá Pl: bèfúwá. n. 7/8. plate.

fùmb ébwàz Pl: mèfùmb ébwàz

fùzègò v. congratulate.

fwá

fwìyé

fwá *n.* axe handle.

fwá *Pl: bòfwá [bèfwá]. n. 1/2.*

winnow.

fwáàg *v.* be (crazy).

fwààz *v.* (be) happy.

fwàb *v.* hide.

fwàl *adv.* directly, just.

fwàmb *v.* uncover, discover.

fwànè *v.* load (rifle).

fwàngàlè *v.* threaten. *Etym: *káng*

‘threaten.’

fwè *v.* bleed.

fwè *Pl: mòfwè [mòfwè]. n. 9/6.*

mourning.

fwéga *v.* be drunk. *Etym: *kód-o* ‘be

intoxicated.’

fwênj *v.* carve, sharpen. *Etym: *còng*

‘sharpen to a point.’

fwêz *v.* smoke, dry. *Etym: *kác-u* ‘dry.’

fwézá *v.* (be) dry. *Alt. fwízà. Etym:*

**kác-u* ‘dry.’

fwêl *Pl: bèfwêl [bèfwêl]. n. 7/8.* lizard.

fwêm *n. 9.* nasal mucus, snot.

fwêm *v.* deny.

fwênj *Pl: mèfwênj [mèfwênj]. n. 3/4.*

young man. *Alt. fwáànj.*

fwèndà *Pl: bòfwèndà. n. 1/2.* week.

fwì *v.* wither (plant).

-fwì *Sg: èfwì. mòfwì. n. 5/6.* death.

-fwí njà *Sg: éfwí njà. Pl: mòfwí njà*

[mòfwí njà]. n. 5/6. leech.

fwìyé *Pl: bòfwìyé [bòfwìyé]. n. 1/2.*

fwò

tàgákùz

hunter. *Etym*: nominalization of fwò

fwógfwóg *adj.* very far.

‘hunt.’

fwómènè *v.* grumble, complain.

fwò *v.* hunt. *Nominalizations*: fwiyé (1)

fwómènè *Pl*: bòfwómènè *n.* 1/2.

‘hunter,’ fwòmb ‘hunt.’

complaint.

fwó *n.* 1. friend.

fwòmb *n.* hunt. [*Note*: includes hunting

fwó díz *n.* 1. pupil (of eye). *lit.* friend eye

and fishing] *Etym*: nominalization of

-fwó *Sg*: lèfwó. *n.* 5. friendship.

fwò ‘hunt.’

fwô *v.* undress.

fwòòzògò *Pl*: mòfwòòzògò

fwôg *n.* front (of something). *Etym*:

[mèfwòòzògò]. *n.* 9/6. joy. *Etym*:

*táng ‘be first.’

nominalization of fwààz ‘be happy’.

fwógènè *v.* go forward.

fwùùmb *n.* 3. creek.

T - t

tá *Pl*: mètà. *n.* 3/4. nephew, niece.

tád *n.* sm. bamboo bed.

tâb sí *v.* rise up (intr).

tàg *Pl*: bòtàg. *n.* 1/2. tobacco.

tâb tètèlê *v.* stand.

tàg *n.* fertile soil.

tábèl *num.* seven (7).

tàgákùz *adj.* (be) inexpensive.

tàlà

tié

tàlà *v.* appease, pacify.

feathers.

tàm bó fú *n.* 7/8. pool.

tègá *v.* (be) tired.

tàm mǎdíbó *n.* 7/8. well.

tér *v.* start, begin.

tám *n.* middle. [Note: used for midnight

tér *aux.* first.

when combined with night and noon

têr sâ *adv.* before.

when combined with daylight]

tétèlè *n.* honest ways, righteousness.

támè mwáz *n.* noon. Lit: 'middle

tél *v.* set up, organize.

daylight'.

-télè *Pl: mǎtélè. n.* 6. saliva.

tánj *Pl: mǎtánj. n.* 3/4. white man.

télólé *v.* refresh.

-tàngènnò *Sg: ètàngènnò. Pl: mǎtàngènnò .*

tèm *adv.* even.

n. 5/6. bridge, ford.

tíbò *v.* trample.

tádà [tárà] *v.* itch.

tíd *Pl: bǎtíd. n.* 1/2. 1. animal. 2. meat.

té *pro.* Locative (LOC).

3. stupid person (by analogy with

té ripen, become ripe.

French *bête* 'animal' also used for

tê *v.* to pull.

stupid people). *Etym:* *tító (3).

tê kù *v.* to step. Lit. pull foot/leg.

tìè *n.* low.

tê mǎsà *v.* pluck (chicken) Lit. pull

tié *Pl: bǎtié. n.* 7. position, height.

tìgàlétí

tùd

tìgàlétí *adv.* specifically.

tìlìlò *v.* tether (sheep, goats).

-tíl *Sg:* ètíl. *Pl:* mòtíl. *n.* 5/6. penis.

tíl *v.* write.

tílèbè *v.* sign up. *Etym:* derived from **tíl**

‘write.’

tìlò *v.* tie (knot).

tíndìgì *n.* heel. *Etym:* *tíndí (5).

tìndèlà *v.* wipe off (excreta).

tìndèlò *v.* push with pole (canoe, boat).

Etym: *tínd ‘push.’

tíràg *v.* light (fire).

títìm *Pl:* mètítìm. *n.* 3/4. blind person.

tìtìtì *n.* regularity.

tón *num.* five (5). *Etym:* *táánó.

tón *n.* outside.

tóòb *Pl:* bètóòb. *n.* 7/8. sheep, goat.

[*Note:* generic term for both sheep

and goats] **mwá tòòb ă káká** *Pl:*

bwá bètóòb bă káká. *n.* kid. *Lit:*

‘child goat/sheep. **myól tòòb ă káká**

Pl: mèmýól bètóòb bă káká. *n.* 3/4.

she-goat, nanny goat. *Lit:* ‘female

goat/sheep’. **mwâ njúm tòòb** *Pl:*

bwâ mènjúm bétóòb. *n.* lamb, kid

(male). *Lit:* ‘child male goat/sheep’.

tóòb ăkáká *Pl:* bètóòb băkáká. *n.*

7/8. he-goat, billy goat.

tóyín *n.* thousand (1000).

tôŋ *Pl:* mòtôŋ. *n.* 9/6. price.

-tù *Sg:* ètù. *Pl:* mòtù. *n.* cocoyam, taro.

tû *v.* dig.

tû *n.* inside.

túbò lèlwô *v.* pierce (ears). *Etym:* *tób.

tùd [tùr] *n.* 9/6. bad odor, smell. *Etym:*

-tùd

twâl ncánj

*còdò (9) 'smell.'

Borrowed from English.

-tùd *Sg: ètùd. Pl: mòtùd. n. 5/6. raffia*

tùn *n. 7/8. room.*

palm stalk.

tûn *v. bless.*

túg *v. be (neg).*

túnà *v. fight. Etym: *dò.*

-túg *Sg: lètúg. Pl: mòtúg. n. 5/6. insult,*
teasing.

túncêz *n. sacrifice. (Also used for 'thank*
you.')

tûg *Pl: bòtûg. n. 1/2. spoon, ladle. Etym:*
**coga 'ladle.'*

túndà *v. attack.*

tûg *v. insult, tease. [Note: as between*
maternal uncles and their nephews]
*Etym: *tók 'abuse.'*

túg *Pl: mòtúg. n. 9/6. suffering.*

-túgô *Sg: ètúgô. Pl: mòtúgô. n. 5/6. hump*
(of hunchback).

tûg lécéì *v. hate. Lit: 'be (neg) love'.*

tùrè ndî *v. wink (eye).*

tùgà *Pl: bètùgà. n. 7/8. cloth worn by*
woman.

tútù *adv. never.*

túl *v. set oneself.*

tútúl *Pl: mòtútúl. n. old man.*

túl/ tútúl *v. (be) old (not young). Etym:*
**nùn 'be old.'*

tùzěl *v. blink.*

twâd *v. move away, migrate.*

twâg *v. leave for good.*

tùmátù *Pl: bètùmátù. n. tomato. Etym.*

twâl ncánj *n. kingfisher.*

twámbâ

tyâ

twámbâ *Pl: bòtwámbâ. n. 1. elder. 2.*

(6) ‘advice.’

firstborn.

-twíjñè *Pl: mòtwíjñè. n. 6. advice. Etym:*

twámbá mwàrá *Pl: bòtwámbá bó*

nominalization of **twíjñ** ‘advise.’

bwàrá. n. 1/2. old woman.

twóób *num. six (6). Etym: tóóbá.*

twámbèlò *v. peck (tr).*

twôl *Pl: mòtwôl. n. 9/6. navel. (5/6 in*

twàné jwàñ *n. heron.*

Begne)

twàrèlò *v. cackle (like a chicken).*

twòngàlá *Pl: mètwòngàlè. n. 3/4.*

twè *conj. even if.*

thought. *Etym: nominalization of*

twèg *v. cook.*

twòngàlò ‘think.’

twèrà *Pl: mètwèrà. n. 3/4. shivers. Etym:*

-twòkèbà *Pl: mètwòkèbà mé fùm. n. 4.*

nominalization of **twèrà** ‘be startled.’

ghost (visible apparition). [Note: no

twèrà *v. (be) startled, (be) shocked.*

singular]

Nominalization: twèrà (3) ‘shiver.’

twòngàlò *v. 1. think, reflect. 2.*

twíg *v. pick up, collect.*

remember.

twíjñ *v. advise. Nominalization: mòtwíjñè*

tyâ *n. 1. tax.*

U - u

-úlógá *det.* Indefinite (INDEF). A certain, **-ùd sâ** *Sg: mùd sâ. Pl: bùd bó bésâ. n.*

another.

1/2. owner.

-ùd *Sg: mùd. Pl: bwùd. n. 1/2. person.*

-ùrûm *Sg: mùrûm. Pl: bùrûm. n. man*

-ùd kwád *Sg: mùd kwád. Pl: bùd kwád.*

(male).

n. 1/2. inhabitant, resident. Lit:

-ùrûm á jî yíndê *Sg: mùrûm á jî*

'person village'.

yíndê. Pl: bùrûm bá jî yíndê. n. 1/2.

-ùd ndé nè nòm *Sg: mùd ndé nè nòm.*

black man. *Etym: *jíd 'get black,*

Pl: bùd ndé nè nòm. n. 1/2.

become black.'

important person.

ùtân *n. strength.*

V - v

vèkàlò *v. draw (picture).*

vólà *v. help. Etym: borrowed from Center*

-vîn *Sg: èvîn. Pl: mòvîn. n. ebony tree.*

province languages (Ewondo?

[Note: rare as singular]

Bulu?).

vólán

wáṅgé

vólán *n.* help.

vúndè *n.* window.

vùg *n.* jokes.

W - w

w = *pro.* 3subj.

*badek.

wà *n.* hunt.

wàl *Pl:* bòwàl. *n.* 1/2. cookie, biscuit.

wá *v.* give, put.

wál *Pl:* bòwál. *n.* 1/2. 1. fellow-wife. 2.

-wààṅg *Sg:* lèwààṅg. *n.* 5. song. [Note:

polygamy. *Etym:* *pádè (9).

songs sung in a group, with a lot of

noise, hand-clapping, etc. Usually

occur at a dúmb 'dance.']

-wàlà *Sg:* èwàlà. *Pl:* mòwàlà. *n.* 5/6.

hour.

wàdà [wàrà] *v.* rest.

wàlàfírà *n.* 1/2. hospital.

wámb *Pl:* bèwámb. *n.* harvest iron.

wàdà [wàrà] *Pl:* mòwàdà. *n.* 9/6. rest,

wámb *v.* stalk, chase.

vacation.

wámbèlò *v.* sweep.

wágèlà *v.* (be) stupid.

-wán *Pl:* mòwán. *n.* 6. fat.

wàl *Pl:* bèwàl. *n.* 7/8. fear of risk. *Etym:*

wáṅgé *n.* gathering.

wàzà

-wó

wàzà v. forget.

*bèng.

wázá Pl: mòwázá. n. 9/6. northerner.

wîmb v. want, desire.

wê v. grow up.

wò pro. you (sg obj).

wèb v. comb.

wò = pro. you (sg sub).

-wèb Sg: èwèb. Pl: mòwèb. n. 5/6.

wò n. manner.

comb.

wó interr. which?

wènjé Sg: èwènjé. Pl: mòwènjé. n.

wô Pl: mèwô. n. 3/4. current (river,

5/6. cocoon.

stream). Etym: *gèdì, gèdà (3)

wéyà v. argue.

'stream.'

wè pro. you (singular) (emphatic)

wô mbì interr. how? Lit. which type

wé pro. 3emphatic.

wô myá interr. when? Lit. which time

-wênj Sg: èwênj. Pl: mòwênj. n. 5/6.

wôg n. here (specific).

stork (marabou).

wòl v. get out, get up.

wêl v. wrap up.

wómàn Pl: mèwómàn. n. 1. robe

wéz v. heap up.

(man's gown). 2. shirt.

wìnj v. untie, loosen.

-wó Sg: lèwó. Pl: mòwó. n. 5/6.

wîng v. chase, drive away. Etym:

argument, quarrel

wôz

wôz v. escape.

wú n. there.

wû v. leave (place). *Etym:* related to

wul? take out?

-wûd Sg: èwûd. Pl: mòwûd. n. 5/6.

hunting net, fishing net.

-wúg Sg: lèwúg. n. 5. hole. *Etym:*

*pàkò (9).

wúgèlú adj. (be) empty.

wûl v. boil over, boil (food). *Etym:*

*béd.

wûl v. take out (from container).

-wúlè Sg: èwúlè. n. 5. foam. *Etym:*

*púdì (9).

wúlégá myà adv. sometimes, olden

wùzà

times. *Lit:* '3-INDEF 3-time'.

-wúm Sg: èwúm. Pl: mòwúm. n. 5/6.

ten (10). *Etym:* *kómì (5).

wúmò Pl: mèwúmò. n. 3/4. reputation.

wúmò v. bear fruit.

wùnd Pl: bèwùnd. n. 7/8. groundnut,

peanut.

wúrò kòg Pl: bòwúrò kòg. n. 1/2. puff

adder. *Etym:* *pédè (9).

-wúrò mé lénd Pl: mòwúrò mé lénd.

n. 6. curdled milk, cottage cheese.

[*Note:* no singular]

wùrùg num. one (1). *Alt.* ngùrùg

wùz Pl: bèwùz. n. 7/8. abdomen

(external).

wùzà v. throw away

Y - y

y = - <i>pro.</i> Non-referential subject. <i>Etym:</i>	yàlá <i>Pl: bèyàlá [biyàlá]. n. 7/8.</i>
Derived from class 7 subject	response. <i>Eytm:</i> Nominalization of
agreement.	yàlà 'answer, reply.'
yàbèrá <i>Pl: bèyàbèrá. n. 7/8.</i>	yàŋ <i>Pl: mèyàŋ. n. 3/4. paint.</i>
attempt.	yàng <i>Pl: bèyàng. n. 7/8. rattle (musical</i>
yàg <i>v. recognize.</i>	instrument).
yàg <i>n. potter's clay.</i>	yángà <i>v. wander. Etym: díong</i>
yâg <i>look out.</i>	'wander.'
yâg <i>v. (be) serious, difficult.</i>	yé <i>interr. where? Alt. yí</i>
yágèbè <i>v. keep watch. Etym: derived</i>	yénj <i>Pl: bèyénj. n. 7/8. open place,</i>
from yâ 'look out.'	clearing. <i>Etym: *dèndé (5).</i>
yàgèlò <i>n. potter. Etym: from yàg</i>	yènyén <i>n. light.</i>
'potter's clay'.	yéz <i>n. dry season. [Note: also means 'hot</i>
yàlà <i>v. answer, reply. Etym: *jât-ab</i>	weather', 'daylight', 'sunshine', 'sun']
'answer.'	yě nùm <i>v. kiss.</i>

yém

yò

yém *n.* domesticated animal. *Etym:*

*dámá.

yèpèdà *v.* breathe.

yèpèdà *n.* breath.

yèsèbò *v.* (be) courageous, (be) brave,

(be) valiant.

yèz *Pl: bèyèz [bìyès]. n.* 7/8. bone.

yèg *n.* 7/8. clay.

yèkèlò *v.* draw (picture).

yêm *v.* blow nose.

yî *v.* borrow, hire.

-yídé *Sg: èyidé. n.* 5. darkness. *Etym:*

*jíd ‘get dark (v).’

yìg *v.* claim.

yígèlè *Pl: bòyígèlè. n.* 1/2. master.

yìig *v.* measure. *Etym:* *dèng ‘measure.’

-yìigè *Pl: mèyìigè. n.* 4. government.

yílè *n.* 7/8. smoke.

yìlè *v.* incubate, set on eggs.

yílò *v.* 1. watch. 2. look after, care for

(someone).

yîm *v.* (be) able.

yímò *n.* aardvark, antbear.

yìnó *n.* 7. finger.

yìnó kù *n.* 7. toe. *Lit:* ‘finger foot’.

yìnó sòngô *n.* 7. thumb. *Lit:* ‘finger

father’.

yínjà *v.* become.

yìtəbà *v.* turn round (intr).

yîz *v.* dry up, evaporate.

yò *pro.* 7object.

yò *n.* whetstone.

-yo *Sg: lèyó. Pl: mòyó. n.* 5/6. tears.

yò *v.* die. *Alt.* yà.

yò

-zùŋ-

yò v. give. *Alt.* yə.

-yôŋ *Sg:* èyôŋ. *n.* cold weather.

yò dɔ̀b v. feed (animals). *Lit.* give food

-yɔ̃ *Pl:* mòyɔ̃. *n.* 6. wailing, ululation (at

yò mbêz/ yò ntán v. give as present.

funeral) (n). [*Note:* no singular]

Lit. give for nothing (in vain) / give

yɔ́g v. (be) fierce.

like that.

yôg v. serve.

yôl *Pl:* bôyôl. *n.* 1/2. giver. *Etym:*

yúm v. (be) stuck. [*Note:* Not possible to

nominalization of yò 'give.'

get undone (without extreme

yôlòn v. swing. *Etym:* *déd 'float,

action): blocked, condemned/

swing.'

ywâg v. swim.

Z - z

-zùŋ- *gen.* 'our' (dual)