THE GBEYA LANGUAGE
GRAMMAR, TEXTS, AND VOCABULARIES

BY

WILLIAM J. SAMARIN

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INTRODUCTION

I

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

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

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

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

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[1]For notes to Introduction, see p. 6.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III

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

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

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

<center>IV</center>

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

<center>Notes to Introduction</center>

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

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

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

[4] See Samarin, 1958.

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

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

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

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

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

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

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

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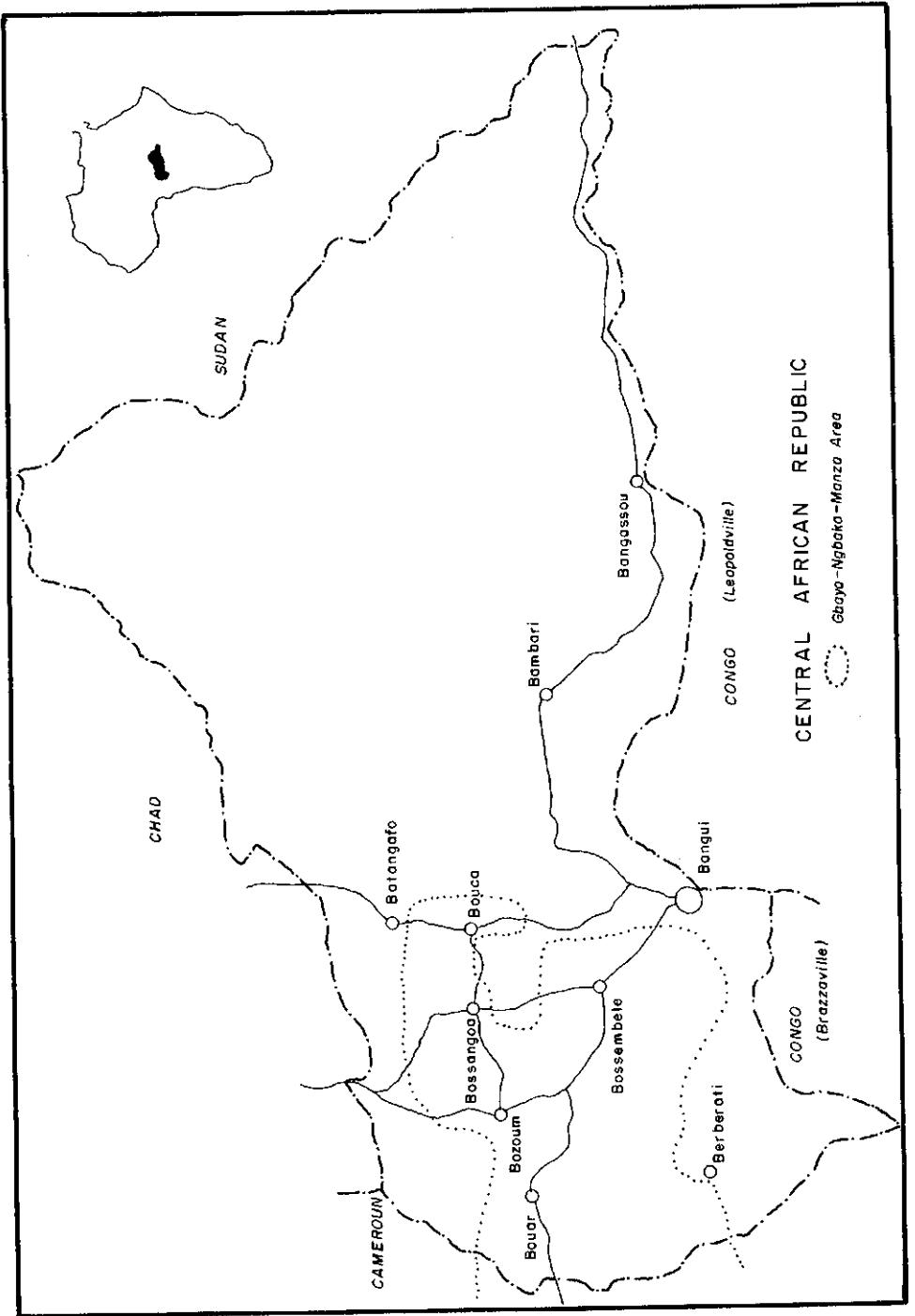
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Gbaya–Ngbaka–Manza Area

SUDAN

CHAD

CAMEROUN

CONGO (Leopoldville)

CONGO (Brazzaville)

Bangassou

Bambari

Bangui

Batangafo

Bouca

Bossangoa

Bossembele

Bozoum

Bouar

Berberati

THE DISTRICT OF BOSSANGOA

Map labels: Markounda, Sido, Boguila, Bolio, Bomatana, Bozanou, Bomayanga, Lere, Bade, Bowe, Bazian, Bellevue, Bossangoa, Ouahm River, Bazoum, Bouca, Bangui

MAJOR ROADS
MINOR ROADS
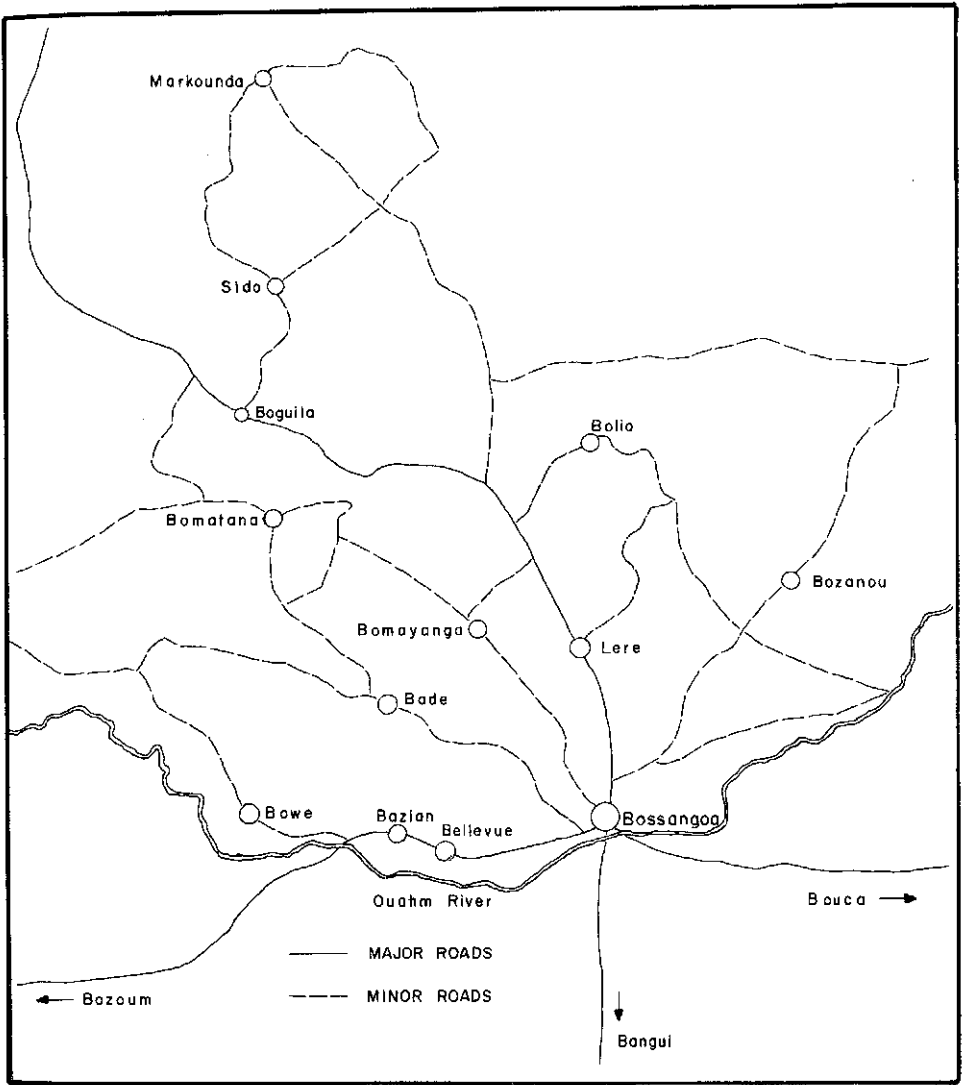
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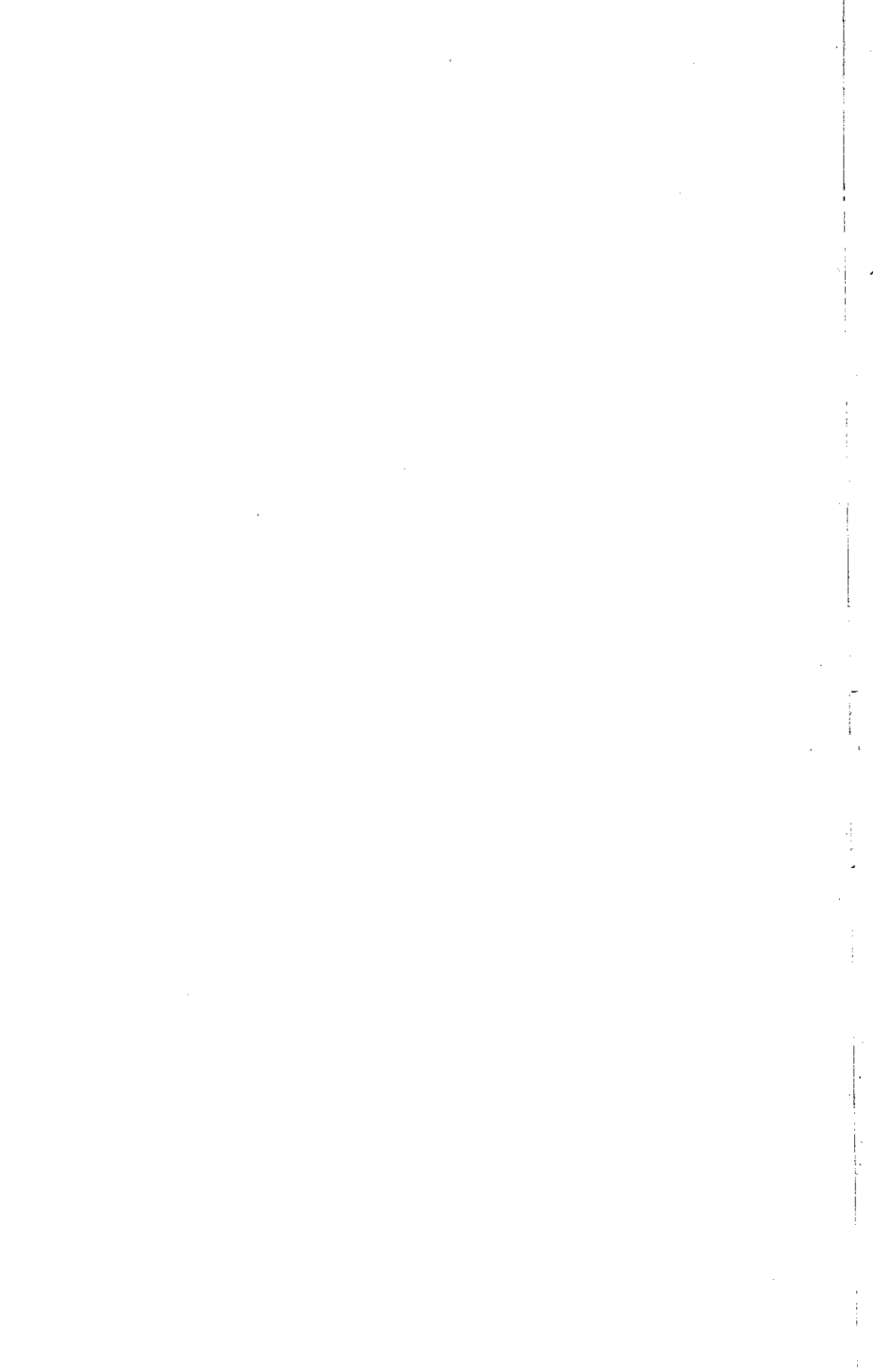
CHAPTER ONE

PHONOLOGY

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

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

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

Vowel phonemes: /i e ɛ a u o ɔ/.

Tones: high (/ ´ /) and low (unmarked).

Nasalization: / ͺ /.

Juncture: word division.

Pause: /, /.

Terminal contours: /. /, / ? /, /! /, and /ǃ ! /.

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

111. Consonant phonemes.

Chart of Consonants [2]

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

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

[1]For notes to Chapter One, see p. 41.
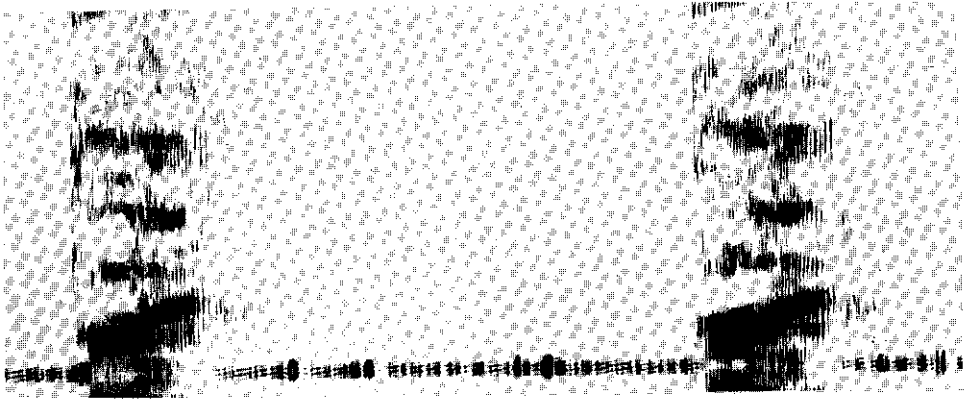
[17]

a. /kp̰a/   /gp̰a/
  'the hole'   'the leopard'

b. /ɛ́rɛ́ tɛá/   /ɛ́rɛ́ dɛá/
  'we came'   'we did'
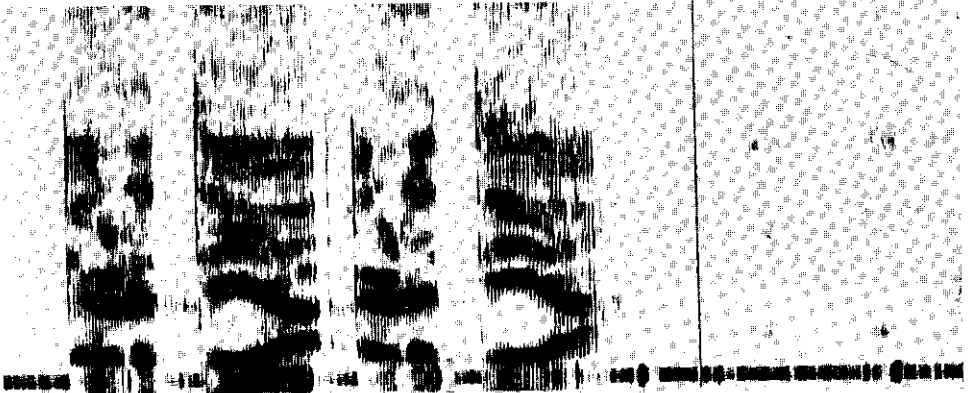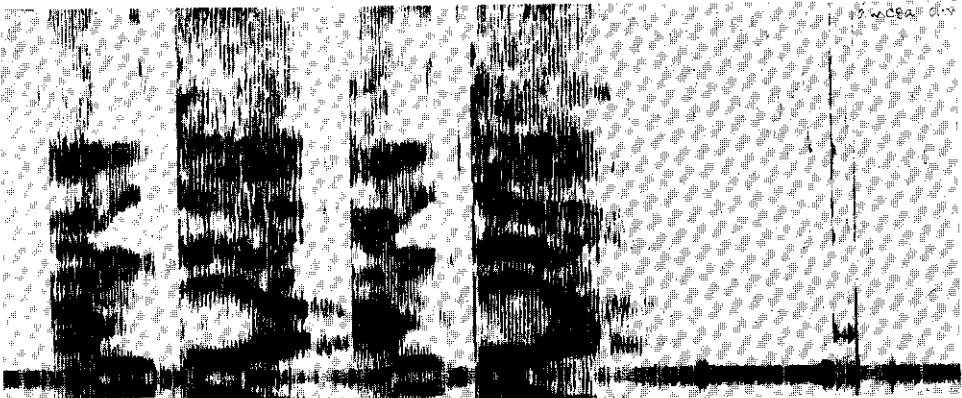
c. /ám dɛá/   /ám tɛá/
  'I did'   'I came'

Fig. 1. Broad band sonograms of three paired utterances

[18]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

soy 'to sit down'	zoy 'to bathe'
sɔk 'to become mature'	zɔk 'to see'
sɔn 'to be finished'	zɔn 'to admire'
fara 'place'	vará 'iron money'
fey 'death'	fɔrɔ 'elephant'
fére 'crocodile'	vúla 'pimple'
vúmɔ 'hair'	vuy 'to mix'
ha 'to give'	hɛ 'to buy'

The sonorants consist of nasals and liquids.

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

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

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

Preglottalized nasals contrast with plain nasals in the following examples:

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

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

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

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

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

dila 'lion'   biro 'strife'

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

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

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

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

[yɪ́ɪ́] 'certain reed'	[wí] '2P pron.'
[yếĺé] 'certain basket'	[wɛ] 'to measure out'
[yɛk] 'to shake'	[wɛ̌ɪ̆-] 'to lean (something)'
[yu] 'to flee'	[wuki] 'certain wild vine'
[yo] 'skin, hide'	[woĬo] 'hole'
[yɔ] 'to get lost'	[wɔ] 'hunger'
[ya] 'to be (pl.)'	[wa] '3P pron.'
[ỹi̧Ĭi̧Ĭi̧] 'thin'	
[ỹɛ̧Ĭ-] 'to be far'	---
[ỹu̧tu̧tu̧] 'many (such as,	---
chicks)'	
[ỹɔỹ] 'to stretch out'	[w̃ɔɔ] 'many (people)'
[ỹá̧] 'sibling'	[w̃á̧] 'leaf'

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

[Ĭɪfɪ́ɪ́] 'your (pl.) face'	---
[léféɪ́] 'your tongue'	[wey] 'fire'
[gɛ́Ĭɛ́ɪ́] 'your neck'	---
[kúɪ́] 'your leg'	[nduy] 'certain mouse'
[goĬóɪ́] 'your knee'	[kóy] 'squirrel'
[kɔ́ɪ́] 'of you'	[mbɔy] 'money'
[tai] 'the stone'	[tay] 'to wash'

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

or back vowels or both. For example, only [y] occurs between front or be-
tween back vowels[11] such as, [íye] 'where?' [wɛyɛ] 'certain necklace,'
[buyuu] 'descriptive of many people talking at once,' [vúyó] 'deception,'
[foyɔ] 'shame,' [zɔ́kɔyɔ́] 'certain soft stone.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

    [gbɛ́yá] ~ [gbáyá]

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

Vowel-clusters with intervening [y]:

    [i...e]   [ĭye] 'where?'   [tiyê] 'entirety'
    [i...ɛ]   [gɛĭyɛŋ] 'wide'
    [i...o]   [fiyo] 'fetish'
    [i...ɔ]   [giyɔɔ] 'leaning because of drowsiness'
    [i...a]   [ʔbiya] 'comrade'
    [ɛ...a]   [gbɛ́yâ] 'Gbeya'

Vowel-clusters with intervening [w]:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[íni] 'urine,' [húfúĭú] 'steam'

[biĭi] 'baboon,' [pím] 'tsetse fly,' [buĭo] 'certain small antelope,' [dǫm]
'to spear'

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

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

[yɔ] 'to get lost'	[wɔ] 'hunger'
[kaya] 'roan antelope'	[zawa] 'peanut'
[kóy] 'squirrel'	[toy] 'burden'

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

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

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

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

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

through a stage where the sequence /V¹rV¹/ (where /r/ is [ľ]) is being re-
duced to /V¹V¹/. This is clearly seen in the following three dialect forms
(in the first two of which 'r' represents [ř]): wárá (Gbanu), wár (Gbaya
south of Bossentele), wáá (Gbeya, under certain morphological conditions
wár-) 'way.' For further discussion of this matter see 132.1 and 133.3.
Only a few nouns, no verbs, and a handful of descriptive adverbs have final
/r/, that is [ř]. For example: $\acute{a}$ ịŋ5 bɔr 'he knows a little bit'; $\acute{a}$ aá te₁ nu₂
gbɔr gére 'he placed the wood₁ on the ground₂ untied'; ám mbirò₁ kɔ⁼tuwa₂,
go 5 háar 'I swept₁ the inside of the house₂, so it's clean'; zɔra yú hɔr 'the
mouse runs fast'; zór ~ zóó 'chisel.'

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

ri 'to eat something liquid'	rị 'to be dark'
rɔk 'to be smooth'	rɔk 'to be good'
ráká 'rasp'	rịk 'to hit'
ré 'village'	zịr- 'to descend'
rɛm 'be able'	yɛr- 'to be long'
ri 'water'	rạti 'to plug up (holes)'
rĩp 'eye, face'	rɛk 'to be narrow'
rofɛ 'trash, flotsam'	rɔfi 'to gain in weight'

The voiced labiodental flap /v̌/ is produced by drawing the lower lip be-
hind the upper teeth and then rapidly flapping it outward.[15] In my data it
occurred only in the following words: guv̌úuŋ 'a very deep place in a river,'
hov̌ok 'descriptive of passing on or falling out of sight,' hov̌ɔv̌ɔ 'exclamation
of victory (at winning at a throw of dice),' v̌oŋ 'descriptive of hitting some-
thing' as in ám roá₁ te nóɔi₂ v̌oŋ 'I hit₁ this tree₂ so it rang.' In addition, the
word gáv̌a is used at Bowe for the more common Gbeya word rɛfa 'fish-
trapping ramp.'

111.2. Distribution of consonants.

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

words, all descriptive adverbs: ŋɛnɛ ŋɛnɛ 'descriptive of the motion of ped-
dling a bicycle,' ŋjɾɔŋ 'covered (with water),' ŋuyuŋ 'descriptive of certain
linear design.'

All consonants except /h/ occur medially, for example: huubá 'a certain
caterpillar,' gida 'enemy,' gaga 'a certain small fish,' kógba 'crow,' bipi
'wasp,' rííto 'two,' ndɔkɛ 'wager,' sukpa 'manioc leaves,' saʔba 'blacksmith's
tongs,' saʔde 'animal,' naʔa 'mother,' zɔʔmi 'to nibble,' dɔʔniŋ 'cool,' gima
'song,' saná 'sifter,' daŋí 'eleventh lunar month,' kɛrɛŋmɛŋ 'halfheartedly,'
saambɛrɛ 'certain chicken-hawk,' ŋgíndó 'stump,' bángá 'rubber,' ʔdáŋmgbá
'testicle,' ala 'grief,' sɛ́rɛ 'spear,' hov̌ɔk 'passing out of sight,' ndɔfá 'cer-
tain small wild duck,' bisa 'adolescent boy,' kavata kavata '(walking) back
and forth,' gaza 'circumcision,' kaya 'roan antelope,' zawa 'peanut.'

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

112. Vowel phonemes.

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

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

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

ŋmgba 'to interfere'	ŋmgbɔ 'to touch'
gbur- 'to drag'	gʊr- 'to swallow'

Long vowels are equal in length to a cluster of two vowels and are pho-
nemicized as such. No contrast exists between [V·] and [VV], either in their
length or in the types of tones with which they occur. Thus, the tonal se-
quence low-high occurs in forms whose shape is CVCV, CV^1V^1, or CV^1V^2.
For example, toró 'dog,' dɔ́ɔ 'beer,' feá 'died.' And the form sii 'the return-
ing' < si 'to return' + -i is as long as bii (~ bir-) 'to twist' or tɨi (~ tɨr-)
'tail.' The contrast between long and short vowels is attested by the follow-
ing examples: [18]

bi 'to fight'	bii 'to twist'
gi 'to cook'	gii 'to follow'
ʔba 'to disavow'	ʔbaa 'to shed'
ʔbo 'to mould'	ʔboo 'to butcher'
do 'to flower'	doo 'to prevent'
dạ 'to curse'	dạa 'to limp'
fʊ 'to explode'	fʊu 'to sew'
gbɛ 'to be ripe'	gbɛɛ 'to scrape'

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

The first limitation is best stated negatively: Any combination of vowels
except those listed below can occur in a word. This then is a type of vowel
harmony. The nonpermitted patterns can be stated as follows: No combina-
tion of mid vowels (front or back) nor combination of higher mid front with
lower mid back or lower mid front with high mid back is permitted. The
nonpermitted combinations of oral vowels are reviewed in the following
chart. The arrows indicate both the combinations and the order of vowels.
Broken lines indicate problems, which are discussed below.
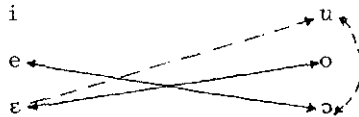
The broken-lined arrow going in one direction between /ɛ/ and /u/ indicates
that whereas the combination /u...ɛ/ occurs, /ɛ...u/ does not occur in the
data. Likewise, since /i...ɛ/ and /ɛ...i/ occur, it is possible that /u...ɔ/ and
/ɔ...u/ occur.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Oral and nasalized vowels contrast in the following words:

kɔ 'to apply, smear'	kɔ̨ 'to agree'
ir- 'to push'	i̧r- 'to roll up'
kpay 'to cross,' trans.	kpa̧y 'to be sour'
bɛrɛ 'dry season'	bɛ̧rɛ 'certain ant'
biri 'baboon'	bi̧rí 'certain fruit'
fuli 'to whisper'	fu̧ri 'to spit'
gbur- 'to drag'	gu̧r- 'to swallow'

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

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

123.1. Following hesitation:

ó nam₁ kó₂ ['], yám kó kóoi₃ , bó₄ zee₅ gɔ́y 'the members of the family₁ of a (no, that is)₂ when₄ the father of the girl₃ hears₅ thus'

gan a̧₁ ['] ɔ́₂ nɛ déʔdé₃ kóo₄ ná₅ 'she₁ is₂ not₅ a good₃ woman₄'

dṳ̧ŋ wa [:], ɛɛ, gɔrɔŋ dṳ̧ŋ záʔdí yui 'running they, er, Gɔrɔŋ was running'

nzapà nɛá ['], rɛmà₁ ín ré₂ 'God went, (no that is) is sufficient₁ for us₂'

123.2   At syntactic boundaries:

mɔ́-mạri₁ kó wa₂ [↑] ɔá₃ nɛ [:] íyo-te₄ 'their₂ clothing₁ was₃ tree-bark₄'

wa₁ ndɛ wa [,] ŋmgbán ŋmgbáni₂ [↑], a wa yɔ́ŋ kó wa mɔ₃ rɔy rɔy₄ 'they₁ who have stripped (their clothes off)₂ eat things₃ as they please₄'

bó yɔ́ŋ saʔde₁ rɔy rɔy₂ [↑], nɛ ŋmgbɛ́ré₃ né dɛ₄ ạ₅ 'if (he) should eat meat₁ indiscriminately₂, leprosy₃ will afflict₄ him₅'

gạ ạ káy₁ dal₂ rííto₃ [˘], nạ ạ mɔ́y ó nam₄ ká ạ₅ 'and he takes₁ two₃ dal drums₂, and he gathers the members₄ of his₅ family₄'

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

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

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

ạ bá₁ nạ ạ yɔ́ŋ₂. 'He takes₁ and eats (it)₂.'
gan₆ ạ₁ kpá₂ ri₃ mɔ̆₄ ạ́ nɔ́á₅ ná₆. 'He₁ doesn't₆ find₂ water₃ to₄ drink₅.'

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

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

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

ám₁ ndɔrà₂ kpém₃ ! 'I₁ killed₂ (just) one₃!'

dila₁ tέ₂ mą̂₃ ą̂ gbɛ rέ₄! 'The lion₁ was coming₂ to₃ kill us₄!'

ɛrɛ₁ kúú₂ zu-ture₃ dĩ́yɛ nɔ́ɔ₄ ʔnέŋ₅! 'We₁ departed₂ from here₄ very early₅ in the morning₃!'

wa₁ dέ₂ mɔ₃ ząa₄! 'They₁ do₂ things₃ without profit₄!'

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

ɛrɛ né!! 'Let's go!'

wa sí ʔdoŋ sέ!! '(He said), "go on back!"'

gɛ rɛ péé!! 'So we returned!'

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

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

131.1. Consonants.

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

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

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

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

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

Free alternation occurs in the following words:

daná ~ dandá 'sack'
ndɔnɔkɔ ~ ndɔndɔkɔ 'jigger'
máŋgo ~ mbáŋgo 'mango fruit'
wéné ~ wéndé 'or'
munzú ~ mbunzú 'White Person'

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

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

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

Prenasalized stops can occur in nouns preceding the determinant suffix:

kam 'food'   kambáa 'the food'
kpém 'one'   kpémbaa 'the first'
ʔdoŋ 'back'   ʔdoŋgáa 'the back'

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

ndɛ́ rɛ́$_1$ sió$_2$ 'we're going$_1$ to return$_2$'
ndɛ́ wá$_1$ gbo$_2$ sɔ́ɔ$_3$ 'they're going$_1$ to arrive$_2$ today$_3$'
ndɛ$_1$ wa$_2$ nɛ́$_3$ go$_4$ ndɛ́$_5$ wa$_6$ ŋmgbɔ́$_7$ ŋgómbi 'and$_1$ they$_2$ went$_3$ and$_4$ they
   went$_5$ (and) they$_6$ pounded$_7$ the ŋgombi bark'
wǐ$_1$ nɔ́ɔ ndɛi ndɔà$_2$ kó kóm$_3$ 'you$_1$ who outraged$_2$ my wife$_3$'
gam guram$_1$ nɛà ndɛ́$_2$ wa$_3$ 'the whirlwind$_1$ took$_2$ them$_3$'
wǐ-ré$_1$ nɛ bó zee$_2$ oro-ndú-ré$_3$ ná$_4$ 'anyone$_1$ who doesn't$_4$ obey$_2$ our
   commandments$_3$'

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

ín$_1$ (~ [índ]) ó wǐ-ré$_2$ 'with$_1$ people$_2$'
há$_1$ ŋmaa$_2$ hám$_3$ (~ [hamb]) oó$_4$ 'give$_1$ some$_2$ to me$_3$ please$_4$'

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

am$_1$ tóm$_2$ ba$_3$ ~ am tóm wa 'I$_1$ send$_2$ them$_3$' (cf. am tómbaa 'I send
   him')
mɛ$_1$ ɔ́rɔ́m$_2$ béndé (~ wéndé) 'Are you$_1$ deceiving me$_2$?'
gba fiyo$_1$ sáá mɔ$_2$ kɔ́rɔ́m$_3$ ba (or wa) 'the Great Fetish$_1$ is calling$_2$
   after me$_3$.'

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

Examples of change:

gu?dɔ ɔ́m tɛ-ɛ̀$_1$ yóó$_2$ (< Gu?dó, < ɛ̀) 'Gu?dó stopped$_1$ (and) stood$_2$'

wesɛ̀ kɔ́ mɛrkrɛdïi (< wesé) 'Wednesday (= day of Wednesday)'

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

kɔrà$_1$ rïíto$_2$ (< kɔrą́) 'two$_2$ chickens$_1$'

ɛrɛ ɔ́ tɛ-rɛ̀ sɛ́ (< ré) 'let's rest first'

wen-́pee$_1$ nɛ̀$_2$ hám$_3$ (< né) 'to return$_1$ with it$_2$ to me$_3$'

rɛ́m c rà ná (< rá) 'can't give it up'

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

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

ám$_1$ dakà tï$_2$ (< daká) 'I$_1$ led the way$_2$'

nɛm$_1$ yarà$_2$ té-kaka?da mɛ$_3$ 'and I$_1$ was strolling$_2$ there$_3$ at Kaka?da'

mɛ́$_1$ tɔà$_2$ há raŋmgbà wéndé (< tɔá, < raŋmgbá) 'did you$_1$ tell$_2$ Raŋmgbá?'

dʉŋɔ̀ bá nɛ yɔ́ŋ (< dʉŋɔ́) 'kept on taking and eating (= sat, takes and eats)'

nɛ$_1$ nɛà rɛ́$_2$ tɔ$_3$ wen (< nɛá) 'and$_1$ we would have$_2$ talked$_3$'

Examples without change:

héé kɔwá$_1$ dɔ́ka$_2$ 'cry$_1$ a lot$_2$' compare gan té wá hee kɔwà ná wéndé 'or won't they cry?'

á mɛ́ yɔŋ ŋgɔyá ná 'don't eat forest-pig' compare á mɛ́ yɔŋ ŋgu?bù ná (< ŋgu?bú) 'don't eat hippopotamus'

torɔ́ kɔ́m 'my dog' compare torɔ kɛ̀ ɛ̀ 'his own dog'

gɔ́$_1$ hɔá$_2$ zu-́turee$_3$ 'and$_1$ came out$_2$ early this morning$_3$'

gbai$_1$ tɔá$_2$ há ganá-zuí 'even if you should$_1$ tell$_2$ Ganá-zuí'

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

132. *Morphological alternations.*

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

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

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

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

gérém 'my neck'	éraa 'his hand'
tįi-ɛ́ 'his tail'	wáraa 'the path'
bé-koróm 'my grandchild'	wári 'that side'
wárɛɛ 'this side'	

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

hɛ́ɛ́ hɛ́ri 'tie it up'

ą̂ hɛrà ʔbéé 'he's tied it up already'

peri kóm ąi 'this is my returning'

ge a mɛ ɔ́róm wen-ge ndé 'why do you deceive me?'

go yáram kíí saʔde 'so I was looking for animals (= and stroll I seek
    animal)'

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

ríffím 'my face'	lép-ɛ́ 'his tongue'
zɔfáa 'the nose'	kífaa 'turn him over'
ą̂ kifó dila 'he turned into	
a lion'	

132.2. Vowel changes. The vowels of certain short words are customarily assimilated to the vowels of certain pronouns, and in one case to the plural adjective ó, which immediately follow these words. Junctural phenomena and assimilation of nasalization are discussed below. These words are the connectives mó, go, só kó (but not its alternant free form sóó), tɛ, há, nɛ, and kó (in: wen kó); the prepositions ʔbó, há, and kó; and the auxiliaries tɛ, nɛ, and bo.[24] Except for the preposition kó, these are given in the form which occurs with 2S mɛ 'you'; before nouns this preposition is usually kó but before the pronouns, except 1P explicit pronoun ró, it is kɔ. This regressive assimilation is complete before 3S ą, 1P rɛ, sg. explicit ɛ́, and pl. explicit ró in their nonsubjectival (here cited) or subjectival forms. In addition, before 3P wa 'they,' the connective nɛ and the auxiliary nɛ can become nɔ, and the connective há and the preposition há can become hó. (The alternations involving the nasal consonants of these words have already been discussed in 131.1.)

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

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

go bɛ rɛ₁ nɛ₂ go₃ bó ré gboá₄ 'and when we₁ went₂ and₃ arrived₄'

bá̧ ɛ̧́ gon₁ wa₂ né gaza 'after he circumcised₁ them₂'

ga̧ a̧ sók 'and he matures'

só ká̧ ɛ̧́ tɔ̧́ 'then he talks'

óró₁ koà₂ bém kó ró₃ mbó₄ ró yɔŋ móa '(they said) we₁ bore₂ our child₃ so as to₄ profit from it (= eat the thing)'

gá ye ge₁, mbá₂ a̧₃ ʔbɛ́ ɛ̧́₄ '(he) said,₁ "Greet₂ her₃ for me₄" (the speaker)'

há ó ŋgaragé 'to the ŋgaragé members,' hó ó koy-wí-ré 'to the remaining people'

to₁ ro₂ nɔ̧́₃ '(they said) "so₁ we₂ could drink₃"'

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

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

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

wééy ká̧ a̧ (< wéey) 'her husband,' wééy tóko 'man's mat (for sleeping),' wééy nɔ́ɔ 'this man'

kóó nɔ́ɔ (< kóo) 'this woman'

sɔ́ɔ́ nɔ́ɔ (< sɔ́ɔ) 'today'

gáá nɔ́ɔ (< gáa) 'like this'

géré wí-ré (< gérc) 'ordinary person, stranger'

ó sɔ́ká̧í kɛ́ rɛ́ ~ ó sɔ́kái kɛ́ rɛ́ 'our elders'

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

kó-toró 'female dog,' bé-toró 'pup'

kóa 'the woman, the female,' béa 'the child'

kó kɔ́m 'my wife,' bém kɔ́m 'my child'

kó-zee tɛ ná 'disobedient woman (= woman hear body not),' bé-zee tɛ 'obedient child'

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

te 'tree' > téa 'the tree'

ŋgana 'animosity' > ŋganáa 'the animosity'

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

133.1. Consonant alternations:

/s/ ~ /t/: mbɔ́sɔ́rɔ́ ~ mbɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ 'young (referring to infant whose umbilical cord has not yet fallen off),' kpasa ~kpata 'real,' gbarasa ~ gbarata 'whip'

/r/ ~ /y/: rííto ~ yííto (Boay) 'two,' lɔ́rɛ́ɛ́ ~ lɔ́yɛ́ɛ́ 'short,' rɔfɛ ~ yɔsɛ 'rubbish'

/r/ ~ /t/: kúku tí ~ kúku rí̧ (Boguila) 'first'

/r/ ~ /w/: kɛr kɛr ~ kɛwɔ kɛwɔ 'quickly'

/r/ ~ /s/: ŋgara ʔbara ~ ŋgasa ʔbara 'hard'

/r/ ~ /n/: ɛ́rɛ̂ ~ ɛ́nɛ̂ (Gbabana dialect) 'we,' ri̧fi ~ ni̧fi 'to make (cord by rubbing on thigh)'

/r/ ~ /l/: rííto ~ lííto (Concon /kɔ̧́kɔ/) 'two'

/l/ ~ /y/: lɔʔdi ~ yɔʔdi 'to swallow,' lara ~ yara 'sleep'

/l/ ~ /n/: bɔlɔ ~ bɔnɔ 'back'

/l/ ~ /w/: hɛlɔɔ ~ hɛwɔɔ 'descriptive of waving in breeze'

/w/ ~ /y/: hɔ̧́wɛ̂ ~ hɔ̧́y 'in torrents,' vawuu ~ viyuu 'many'

/p/ ~ /f/: sɔ̧ pɛn ~ sɔ̧ fɛn 'earthworm'

/y/ ~ /n/: yɛ̂rɛ̂ ~ nɛ̂rɛ̂ (Boguila) 'conversation'

/s/ ~ /f/: rɔse ~ rɔfɛ 'rubbish'

/ʔm/ ~ /ʔb/: ʔmḭsḭsḭ ~ ʔbḭsḭsḭ '(entering) quietly'

133.2. Vowel alternations:

/i/ ~ /u/: gima ~ guma 'song,' bisa ~ busa 'adolescent boy,' biro ~ buro 'oribi (antelope)'

/i/ ~ /e/: kik siʔdi ~ kek seʔde 'strong (in health)'

/i/ ~ /ɛ/: bḭʔdḭʔdḭ ~ bɛ̂ʔdɛ̂ʔdɛ̂ 'descriptive of cutting chicken's neck,' ḭrḭrḭ ~ ɛ̂rɛ̂rɛ̂ 'sweet'

/e/ ~ /o/: wesé ~ wosé 'sun,' wey ~ woy 'fire' (o-forms are from Boguila)

/e/ ~ /u/: huʔde huʔde ~ huʔdu huʔdu 'descriptive of skin drying and peeling off'

/ɛ/ ~ /ɔ/: fɛrɔ ~ fɔrɔ 'elephant'

/ɛ/ ~ /a/: fɛrɛ (Gbadee) ~ fara 'place'

/ɔ/ ~ /a/: wɔʔdi ~ waʔdi 'to push'

/ɔ/ ~ /u/: kɔn ~ kun (in a Gbɛya proverb) 'navel'

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

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

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

boro ~ boo:

    gbạra ~ gbạa 'bone'
    kpịrí ~ kpịí 'axe' (The forms kpịí 'axe' and tɛ́í 'laziness' were obtained
        only in elicitation.)
    mụru ~ mụu 'boneless meat, flesh'
    suri ~ suu (both in the imperfective) 'to swell' (In the perfective, the
        allomorph sur- occurs.)

boro ~ boy:

    ari (Bowe) ~ ay 'to fall (leaves)'
    dari (Bowe) ~ day 'to raise (animals)'
    dạri (Bowe) ~ dạy 'to have strong flavor'
    dạri (Bowe) ~ dạy 'wound'
    ʔdori (Bowe) ~ ʔdoy 'slave'
    fụri ~ fụy (Boay) 'to spit'
    gạri (Bozoum) ~ gạy 'to hang (something) up'
    geri (Bowe) ~ gey 'clay'
    kori (Bowe) ~ koy 'remainder'
    mbɔri (Bowe) ~ mbɔy 'bride price'
    ŋgari (Bowe) ~ ŋgay 'strength'
    tɔ́rí ~ tɔ́lí (Bowe) ~ tɔ́y 'certain bird'
    weri (Bowe) ~ wey 'lime'   .

boro ~ booy:

    gbéri (Bowe) ~ gbéey 'blossom'
    kéri (Bowe) ~ kéey 'fear'
    kɛ́ri (Bowe) ~ kɛ́ɛy 'charcoal'
    sɔ́ri (Bowe) ~ sɔ́ɔy 'glue'

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

140. Extra-phonemic characteristics of the language.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

abɛ ~ abɛ̧ < eh bien, a connector
báak, báki < bac 'ferry'
bɔ̧́ < bon, interj.
dízéɛr < dix heures 'ten o'clock'
dimísi < dimanche 'Sunday, week'
dɔktéɛr (dɔkɔtérɛ) < docteur 'doctor'
fatigé < fatigué 'to be tired'
fɛléɛr < fleur 'flower'
fotóo < photo 'camera, picture'
kalimɛ́ɛ < reclamé 'find fault with, to denounce'
kaméɛm < quand même 'even if'
kanivóo < caniveau 'ditch by side of road'
kátréyéɛr < quatre heures 'four o'clock'
kɔ́ntúwí < continué 'to continue'
kúmásé ~ kúmázé < commencé 'to begin'
kuziniyée < cuisinier 'cook'
léɛr < l'heure 'hour, time'
lɛkɔ́ɔl < l'école 'school'

lopitáal < l'hôpital 'hospital'

madáam < madame

madimazέεl < mademoiselle 'unmarried (usually European) woman'

mandávεrε < manoeuvre 'workman'

mε < mais 'but, and, etc.'

mέεm < même 'in fact'

mεrkrεdíi < mercredi 'Wednesday'

mεrsíi < merci 'thanks'

mεsi < monsieur

midíi < midi 'noon'

pasitέεr < pasteur 'pastor'

pε (in: pε nε yíí) < payé 'to pay'

sáki < sac 'thousand (francs)'

sasέεr < chasseur 'hunter: someone who makes living from hunting
    animals and selling meat'

sέεz < chaise 'chair'

tą́ti < tente 'tarpaulin'

tɔ́rsε < torche 'flashlight'

túu < tout 'all'

vą̀dradíi < vendredi 'Friday'

velóo < vélo 'bicycle'

vitέεs < vitesse 'rapidity'

wotóo < auto 'auto, truck'

zúska < jusqu'à 'for a long time'

Notes to Chapter One

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[22] This process accounts for many variant forms in the Gbaya dialects. For example, Bozoum lak or laŋ, Gbɛya laŋgi 'to pass on.'

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER TWO

BOUND MORPHEMES

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

Summary Chart of Bound Morphemes

		Section
$\{-i_1\}$	Imperfective	211.1
$\{-\acute{a}\}$	Perfective	211.2
$-i_2$	Emphatic	211.3
$\{-i_3\}$	Nominalizing	211.4
$-V$	"Demonstrative"	212.1
$\{\acute{\cdot}\}$	Relational	212.2
$\{-a\}$	Determinant	213.1
$-i_4$	Locative	213.21
$\{-\varepsilon\}$	Demonstrative	213.22
$\acute{\cdot}V$	Designative	213.3
$\{-i_5\}$	Postclitic	220

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

211. The affixes that occur only with verbs are the imperfective suffix $\{-i_1\}$, which indicates any action that is not completed (211.1), the perfective suffix $\{-\acute{a}\}$, which indicates any action that is completed (211.2), the emphatic suffix $-i_2$ (211.3), and the nominalizing suffix $\{-i_3\}$ (211.4).[1]

211.1. Imperfective suffix $\{-i_1\}$.[2] It has allomorphs zero, $-i$, and $-V$, the tones of which are always those of the base (see 390). The allomorph zero occurs with some consonant-final and with all vowel-final bases, including those verb-base allomorphs that have $/r/$ in the perfective (for which see 391); the allomorph $-i$ occurs with consonant-final bases; the allomorph $-V$ (which is a vowel identical to the base vowels preceding it) occurs with only four consonant-final bases.[3]

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[1] For notes to Chapter Two, see p. 54.

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

ʔbati 'to deny'	kuki 'to rub on'
kiʔdi 'to look for'	kạsi 'to seize'
guri 'to smoke (meat)'	rịɲi 'to roll (leaves)'
goʔdi 'to peek'	dali 'to reveal'
kifi ~ kip 'to turn	
kɛʔni ~ keŋ (tɛ) 'to shun'[4]	
yạkaʔni ~ yạɲi ~ yạŋ (tɛ)	
'to strive'	

Examples of zero:

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

Examples of -V:

sɛmbɛrɛ 'to pack to brim (by filling in corners)'
sɛŋgɛlɛ (wen) 'to disagree'
lɔkɔʔdɔ (tɛ) 'to obey'
ɔŋgɔlɔ 'to herd into a small group'

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

Verbs that take -ó:

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

Verbs that take -ó or -ú:

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

Verbs that take -ɔ́:

dịti 'to be heavy'	gbịn 'to break'
tụn 'to awaken'	iŋ 'to know'
fụ 'to pop, explode'	gụr- 'to swallow'

Verbs that take -ɔ́ or -ú:

kụ 'to cross (stream)'	zụ 'to stand (something) upright'

Verbs that take -á:

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

211.3. The emphatic suffix $\{-i_2\}$ is thus named to distinguish it from the other homophonous suffixes and because it occurs with a repeated verb identical with the predicate, the use of which indicates emphasis or intensity (for which see 414.32). It occurs with low tone following a verb base that always occurs with high tone. This means that it occurs with the bound allomorphs of the verbs, such as those ending with /r/. Some speakers use forms in which the tones are reversed: low tone on the verb and high on the suffix. There are some indications that the latter is especially characteristic of the Suma dialect. For example:

óró$_1$ rɛ́$_2$ yɔ́ŋ$_3$ wáráa$_4$ yɔ́ŋi gá$_1$ 'as if$_1$ we$_2$ ate$_3$ the fruit$_4$'

ó ŋmaa$_1$ a fɔ́ɔ́$_2$ gaza$_3$-bɔ kó ró$_4$ fóri 'as for some$_1$, (they) purify themselves (= wash$_2$ their$_4$ circumcision$_3$ of the circumcision rite)'

211.4. Nominalizing suffix $\{-i_3\}$. It occurs with low-tone verb bases to form nouns. In addition to the allomorph -i, there is the allomorph zero which occurs following the phoneme /y/[6] and the allomorph -í which occurs only in the word yarí 'walking around, trip, hike' < yar- 'to walk around.' Nouns thus formed can in some cases function as the heads of constructions (last four examples), but the most common function (first eight examples) is that of an attribute to a preceding noun in a construction usually having the meaning '. . . for the purpose of . . .' or '. . . resulting in . . .' Although it is a very productive morpheme, there appears to be some limitation, probably semantic, on its use. Thus, while there are mɔ́-duŋi 'chair, stool (= thing to sit on)' and mɔ́-ɔi 'mat, bed (= thing to sleep on),'[7] *mɔ́-yeŋgi and *wí-hɛi do not occur, but the following, where the verbs have objects, do occur: mɔ́-yeŋgi mɔ 'sifter (= thing sift thing),' wí-hɛ mɔ 'buyer (= person buy thing).' For example:

mɔ́-ɔi 'thing to sleep on'

mɔ́-mbɛri 'thing to beat on, drum'

mɔ́-day 'thing to raise, pet, domestic animal'

fara-ɔi 'place to sleep'

mɔ́-fei 'thing which results in death, anything lethal'

mɔ́-gbɛi 'thing for killing, weapon' (as in proverb: gíro-te há béem háí kó, nɛ gíro-te há mɔ́-gbɛi háí gbɛ́ ná 'the shade of a tree gives you children to bear and it does not give you weapons with which to kill')

zɛ́ɛ$_1$ wesé$_2$ dɔám$_3$ fara$_4$-nɛi$_5$ nɛ$_6$ fara-pérá$_7$ wesé dɔ́m ná 'yesterday$_1$ (the) sun$_2$ beat down on me$_3$ as I went (= place$_4$ of going$_5$), but$_6$ as I returned$_7$, the sun did not beat down on me'

mɔ́-dɛi kó fiyo 'thing to do for a fetish'

mam mami 'to smile'

yu yui 'to run'

nɛ́ mɛ́ kpa rįki 'you're going to receive a whipping'

nɛi kó mɛ́ ại wéndé 'is this your departure?' (= 'going of you stative
  plus postclitic question-marker')

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

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

gó₁ hɔ́á₂ zu-turee₃ nɔ́ɔ₄ ʔnɛ́ŋ₅ 'and₁ came out₂ very early₅ this₄
  morning₃'

ám₁ hufó₂ zɛɛ₃, fara ʔbáá 'I₁ had diarrhea₂ during the night₃ until
  morning (= place shed)'

mɛ tɛ́₁ mbóroo₂ sɛ́ 'come₁ this evening₂'

kĩnɛɛ₁ wi zɔ́k₂ 'now₁ look₂'

ze₁ nɛ nɛ́₂ hɔ₃ zɛɛ₄ '(the) moon₁ which will₂ appear₃ tonight₄'

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

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

> te-fɔ́tɔ́ [te fɔ́tɔ̹] 'mint bush (= tree sweatfly),' te⁻ge?da [té ge?da] 'manioc stem'
>
> fuk-fón [fuk fón] 'sorghum flour (= flour sorghum),' fuk⁻ge?da [fúk ge?da] 'manioc flour'
>
> wen-sérɛ [wen sérɛ] 'affair of the spear,' wen⁻kɔfɛ [weén kɔfɛ] 'affair of the in-laws'
>
> ŋgana-sérɛ [ŋgana sérɛ] 'hostility because of prowess (= hostility spear),' ŋgana⁻nam [ŋganá nam] 'hostility of the family'
>
> dɔ́-fón [dɔ̹́ fón] 'sorghum beer (= beer sorghum),' dɔ́-kɔfɛ [dɔ̹́ kɔfɛ] 'beer for the in-laws'
>
> sa?de⁻ge 'what animal?'
>
> kpána⁻ru kamáa 'pot for mixing the food'
>
> wen⁻kii sa?de 'to look for animals (= affair look for animal)'
>
> dawa⁻nɛ ŋgɔ́n 'green monkey which climbs above (= green monkey climb above)'
>
> goŋ goŋ⁻tuwa 'square house'

213.   The suffixes which occur with several different classes of morphemes are the determinant suffix {-a} (213.1), the locative and demonstrative suffixes -i$_4$ and {-ɛ} (213.2), and the suffix ⁻V (213.3).

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

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

> fúkaa 'the meadow'
>
> fukáa 'the flour'
>
> téa (< te) 'the tree'
>
> waráa (< wara) 'the hoe'
>
> bɛ́ráa (< bɛ́ra) 'the gourd'
>
> zɔ́ŋáa (< zɔ́ŋá) 'the adolescent girl'
>
> dɔ̹́a (< dɔ̹́) 'the beer'

tịráa (< tịr-) 'the tail'

géraa (< gér-) 'the neck'

kậára (< kậ) 'the side'

ậára (< ậ) 'the old one'

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

gan₁ wa₂ íŋ₃ mɔ₄ wen₅-gúnɔ́ɔ₆ ná₁ 'they₂ do not₁ know₃ what₄ to₅ plant₆'
Further examples follow.

Adjective:

wen₁-ba₂ mbéa₃ (< mbé) ʔbɔ₄ 'to₁ take₂ another one₃ also₄'

ó búa₁ (< bú) am₂ kɔ́ ʔdoŋáa₃ '(it's) the white ones₁ I₂ want₃'

Numeral:

bậ₁ ậ₂ si ʔdoŋ₃ ríítóa₄ (<rííto) 'when₁ he₂ went back₃ the second time₄'
   (= 'the two')

taráa₁ (< tar-) rịkɔ́₂ nu₃ 'the third one₁ hit₂ (the) ground₃'

Nouns:

téa₁ ɔ́₂ né zɔ́rɔ, go₃ bɔ́₄ wá₅ ʔba₆ íyóa₇ (< íyo) 'the tree₁ is₂ a zɔ́rɔ,
   and₃ when₄ they₅ have peeled off₆ the bark₇'

wa₁ ʔdáfí₂ kậára 'they₁ fix₂ the edges₃'

kpána₁-ru₂ kamáa₃ (< kam) ɔ́₄ kpém₅ '(there) is₄ one₅ pot₁ for mixing₂
   the food₃'

nɛ₁ ɛ́k₂ sɛn-tɛ́ŋma bé₃-kụrí nɛ y66₄ sɛn-tɛ-kậai₅ 'and₁ (he) leaned₂
   (it) against a young₃ kụrí (tree) and stood₄ beside it₅'

Verbs:

mbɔ́ráa₁ (< mbɔr-) gan₂ rɔ́ŋ₃ ná₂ 'the rotten₁ (meat) is₃ not₂ good₃'

ʔdoŋ-wáá₁ kó₂ kpậyáa₃ (< kpạy) 'the manner₁ of₂ preparation₃'

há₁ zɛra₂-zéráa₃ (< zɛr-) hɛ́ rɛ́₄ 'give₁ us₄ ears₂ which hear₃'

nɛ₁ fara-péráa₂ (< per-), wesɔ́₃ dɔ́m₄ (< dɔ́+m) ná₅ 'and₁ in returning₂,
   (the) sun₃ did not₅ burn me₄'

gan₁ wa₂ kpá₃ ŋma mbé wen wen-tɔ́áa₄ (< tɔ̣) kpém₅ ná₁ 'they₂ did not₁
   find₃ one₅ thing to talk about₄'

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

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

ŋmaa a yóri 'there's one standing there (= some and is-standing-
   there)'

nɛm₁ ʔmɔná₂ gom yóri₃ 'and I₁ continued₂ to stand there₃'

ạ₁ dóm₂ fɛra₃, go₄ wéri₅ 'he₁ blows₂ a whistle₃, and₄ there (it) goes₅'
wa₁ gbɛ́₂ saʔdɛ₃ tɛ-wári₄ 'they₁ kill₂ animals₃ in that direction₄'
sóó₁ rɛ́₂ ɔ́₃ dḭ₄ 'so₁ we₂ slept₃ there₄'

213.22. Demonstrative suffix {-ɛ}. Its allomorphs are -ɛ (sometimes
-ɛɛ), which occurs following consonants, and -yɛ, which occurs following
vowels. Its meaning is something like 'here' or 'this.' The words with which
the allomorphs occur are the following: yor- 'to stand,' wár- 'way,' ʔdoŋ
'back,' kín 'now,' mɔ 'thing,' ʔmaa 'rainy season,' dḭ- 'place.' Added to the
list are aáyɛ 'this person unnamed,' íyɛ 'there, that place,' and tíyɛ 'day
before yesterday,' which contain the phonemes /yɛ/ whose morphemic status
is doubtful; /aá/ and /í/ never occur in free form, and tí occurs only with
the meaning 'ahead, before.'[12] For example:

ạ a <u>yórɛ</u> 'there he stands nearby (= he conn. stands)'
wan to bó₁ pj₂ mbéa₃ nu₄ <u>ʔdoŋɛ</u>₅ 'when₁ Wan-to threw₂ some more₃ (on
     the) ground₄ later₅'
só kó₁ wá₂ péé ʔdoŋ₃ nɛ <u>wárɛ</u>₄ 'and then₁ they₂ returned₃ by this way₄'
mɛ₁ tɛ́₂ <u>kínɛ</u>₃ sɛ́. 'You₁ come₂ right now₃!'
ɛrɛ₁ kúṵ₂ zuᵘturɛ₃ <u>dḭyɛ</u> nɔ́ɔ₄ ʔnɛ́ŋ₅ 'we₁ left₂ here₄ very early₅ (in the)
     morning₃'
zɔ́ŋá₁ kó <u>aáyɛ</u>₂ nɔ́ɔ dɛ́ zɔ́ŋá₃ ʔdɛ́₄ 'what's-his-name's₂ adolescent
     daughter₁ is₃ really₄ dressed up₃'
wan to bá₁ <u>mɔyɛ</u>₂ kɛ́ ɛ́₃, bá bé-duk kɛ́ ɛ́ 'Wan-to takes₁ his₃ what's-its
     name₂, takes his pestle'

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

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

dṵŋ záan₁ mám₂ kṵ́um₃ ná₄ '(he who) lives a long time₁ does not₄
     laugh₂ at the cripple₃' (proverb) (< kṵm 'to cripple')
wí-bóom 'blind person' (< bom 'to blind')
tuwa-sɛ́ɛn 'house of hatred' (< sɛn 'to hate'), a personal name, com-
     pare tuwa-᷆ŋgana 'house of jealousy'
ŋgɔ́rá sɛ́ɛn 'certain fish' (so called because although it looks very
     much like the other ŋgɔ́rá fish, it differs from them slightly and
     is therefore said to dislike them; the syntactic form would be
     something like ŋgɔ́rá nɛ sɛ́n koy-ŋgɔ́rá 'the ŋgɔ́rá which hates the
     rest of the ŋgɔ́rá')
ɔ́ nɛ gbɛ́ɛ 'it's red' (< gbɛ 'to be red); likewise for tṵ 'to be black'
yɔ́ŋ gáan 'certain animal' (= 'eat in vain,' < gán 'in vain')
sɛ́n dée 'hate the good thing' (< dé 'good'), personal name

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

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

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

213.323. With the noun ré 'village,' it has a meaning similar to if not identical with the postclitic {-i₅} and in fact seems to vary with the form réi 'the village':
> bóí̧₁ yaa₂ réc₃ 'if you₁ should run around₂ (in) the village₃'
> mó̧₁ du̧ŋui₂ yaa rée 'so₁ you can continue₂ to run around in the village'
> a̧₁ ó₂ rée₃ 'he₁ is₂ (in) the village₃'

213.324. With the pronoun a̧, it means 'here you are' or 'it is' (like the French '. . . voici'):
> gende gá ye₁, wí̧₂ nó̧ɔ nɛi ndɔà̧₃ kó₄ kóm₅ só kó̧₆ bém kóm₇ feá̧₈ á̧a₉ wá '(he said)₁, "you₂ who outraged₃ my₅ wife₄ so that₆ my child₇ died₈, here you are₉!"'
> mɛ́₁ nɛ mɛ bá̧á₂ tom₃ zaŋ-ré mɛ₄ ʔdɛ́ɛ₅ á̧a₆ 'here you are₆, you₁ who refused₂ work₃ in the village there₄ so frequently₅'

213.325. With the verb ɔ 'to be,' it has the meaning 'that's how it is':
> dila₁ kayá₂ wa₃ wéndé₄ a₅ ó̧ɔ 'perhaps₄ a lion₁ got₂ them₃ and₅ that's how it is'
> wéey₁ bɔɔ kó mɛ́₂ ganá₃ zuúm₄ a₅ ó̧ɔi 'your₂ manliness₁ surpassed₃ mine (= my head₄), and₅ that's it'
> mbí̧₁ ye₂, tɛ́m kɔ̧₃ nɛ ná̧ á̧₄ tɛ₅ á tɛ́ a̧ bám₆ a ó̧ɔ ná 'I₁ said₂, if I should yell back₃, won't he₄ (that is, the lion) come₅ (and) get me₆ like that?'
> mɛ gbéȩ́₁ wen´ri̧ŋ₂ mbétí₃ a ó̧ɔ wéndé 'do you ever leave off₁ writing₂ letters₃?'

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

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

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

wa₁ yɔ́y₂ zaŋ-duwai₃ ín₄ sɛráa₅ 'they₁ pull out₂ the intestines of the goat₃ (which has been mentioned) as well as₄ the liver₅.'

222. Allomorphs. The postclitic is phonologically bound to any morpheme which precedes it.[15] Its allomorphs are -í, which occurs following low tone, and -i, which occurs following high tone. (These environments are described for isolable words and are stated for pre-pausal position, that is, where tonal sandhi does not function, for which see immediately below.) Thus: mɛ́mi 'the dew,' fúki 'the plain,' sɔ́rái 'the star,' gɔlí 'the war-club,' fukí 'the flour,' sɛrɛí 'the spear,' boroí 'the iron.' Very often, however, -i instead of -í occurs when the word following it has initial high tone or when the word to which it is bound is immediately followed by /. /. In these environments, both the data and the assurances of the informant prove that the variation is "free," although it is certainly to be suspected that style is involved in many cases. Thus: sɔ́lí tei (~ teí) péé na 'push the board toward me' (= 'push stick return here'), tɛm yṹm tɛ-wesé nɛ mɛ nɛ̀ tɛ-galá mɛi (or mɛí) 'I was sick on the day you went to the city there' (= 'body-my hurts on day and you went to market there').

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

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

mɔí 'that's the reason' (= 'the thing'), kɔ́raaí 'later' (< kɔ́r- 'back'), kuu
orɔ́aí 'later.' Thus: kɔ́ro tɛ́ dɔ́ka, gɔ́ mɔí a hái 'it's raining a lot, and that's
why (the river) is high,' kɔ́raaí nɛ mɛ rɛ́m kpạy há wí-ré 'later you can
prepare it for people .' In an expanded noun phrase, the postclitic can oc-
cur twice: once with the noun (or noun phrase) head, and then at the end of
the verb expression. This latter is the most frequent use of the postclitic in
verb expressions, and they are generally longer, that is, contain more words,
than the verb expressions discussed below. Examples of the postclitic with
various types of noun phrases follow:

 káy kamí 'take the food'

 fɔrɔ₁ ɔ́₂ sɛn-tɛ₃-́ʔdambai 'elephants₁ are₂ at₃ the (village of) Damba'

 wa₁ gbịn₂ sɛn-́tɛ-kạ́-tɛ-r̲ɛ́i̲ 'they₁ broke out₂ beside us'

 wá kpaá, ŋma wí-ré₂ z̲a̲ŋ̲-r̲éi̲₃ rɔy₄ 'they found₁ someone₂ in the vil-
  lage₃ by chance₄'

 wa káy₁ ó mɔ₂ kó kɔ̣-́t̲u̲w̲a̲i̲₃ sɔ́n₄ 'they take₁ all₄ the things₂ from
  inside the house₃'

 ɔ́ ćraai 'it's in his hand'

 ndɛ́ ré₁ kpa₂ náŋ-saʔdc₃ dị́i n̲ɔ̲́ɔ̲i̲₄ ná₅ 'if we should₁ not₅ find₂ animal
  tracks₃ there₄'

 nɛ wan₁ f̲i̲y̲ɔ̲í̲₂ usɔ̀₃ hạ́ ạ₄ 'which the owner₁ of the fetish₂ showed₃ him₄'

 bém₁ kɔ́ r̲ó̲i̲₂, bạ́ ạ́₃ bɛ̣₄ ạ₅ '(he said) "my₂ child₁, if she should₃ reject₄
  him₅"'

 ɔ́ torɔ́₁ kạ́ ạ₂ nɛ yá₃ kạ́-tɛ-́a̲i̲₄ bá₅ firei₆ 'his₂ dogs₁ which were₃ beside
  him₄ grabbed₅ the paste₆'

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

 k̲ɔ̲́o̲i̲₁ nạ ạ₂ k̲p̲a̲á̲i̲₃ rɔ̣́k₄ ʔdɛ́ wéndé 'is the girl₁ whom he₂ found₃ good₄?'

 wa káy₁ ó béem₂ nɛ ʔmɔná₃ zaŋ-ré na₄ go yá₅ fị́i fị́i₆ gó nɛ gaza n̲á̲i̲₇
  'they take₁ the children₂ who remained₃ here in the village₄ and
  who were₅ small₆ and who were not circumcised₇'

 ɔ́₁ nɛ wí-ré nɔ́ɔ₂ nɛ gbɛ̀a₃ ɔ́ wí-rc kɔ́ mɛ́₄ ʔbéé tí₅, gó gan gɔn kɔ́ʔdáa
  n̲á̲i̲₆ '(it) is₁ someone₂ who killed₃ your folk₄ a long time ago₅ and
  hadn't paid the ransom₆'

223.2. Postclitic with verb expressions. The most easily[16] classified
expressions are those that are connected to an introductory nominative ex-
pression (meaning subject, object, reason, time, etc.) by the connective á
(331.1). Another, but much smaller, group is tentatively described as ques-
tions concerning the result of some action (the following examples are ex-
haustive). All others are described as residue. The examples follow the
order of this presentation:

 gɔ́₁ mɔí₂ á saakara₃ ɔ́₄ saŋa₅-wáam w̲e̲n̲á̲a̲i̲₂ 'so₁ that's why₂ (there)
  are₄ islands₃ in the middle of₅ the Wáam (river)'

 wesé₁-nɛ₂-kay₃ toyí₄ a ʔn̲á̲ŋ̲i̲₅ wéndé 'did it₆ break₅ (on the) day₁ of
  going₂ to get₃ the baggage₄?'

 ʔbay₁ wení₂ ai₃ t̲ɔ̲́i̲₄ '(that's) just₁ what₂ you₃ say₄'

 ʔbay wen₁ kɔ́m₂ á s̲ɔ̲n̲á̲i̲₃ 'that's my₂ word₁ and it's done₃'

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

o₁ á pį́ɔ́₂ boro₃ só kó₄ ban gɔmái₅ o₁ ndé . 'Who₁ cast₂ (the) weapon₃ and₄ made the ban antelope jump out₅?' (proverb)

ge wen-ge₁ ám₂ tɔ̀à₃ ínaa₄ só6₅ kɔ́-sɛra-à yų́mi₆ ge ndé. 'What₁ did I₂ say₃ to him₄ that₅ he is angry₆?'

só kóí₁ tɔ̂₂ gɔ̂y₃ ʔbɔi₄ ndé 'so you₁ talk₂ again₄ like this₃?'

ɛ̂₁ sió₂ gbó₃ ré₄ só6m₅ tɛ́i₆ 'he₁ returned₂ (and) arrived₃ (at) home₄ then I₅ came₆'

bó₁ wá₂ zɔkóm₃ nɛm tɛ́i₄ 'when₁ they₂ saw me₃ coming₄' (= 'and I come')

ŋma₁ kóo₂ á yɔŋà₃ kó-ʔbiya-ɛ̂₄ gbɛ́i₅ 'some₁ woman₂ ate₃ (by witchcraft) her friend₄ (and) killed₅ (her)'

Notes to Chapter Two

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

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

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

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

hųsi 'to hide'	hųr 'to spread abroad, cover (as water covers rock)'
įsi 'to push in or down'	įr- 'to be caved in (as bottom of basket)'
kạsi 'to seize' (Bozoum kam)	kay (Bozoum kari) 'to take (several objects)' ka 'to win (at dice)'
kpasi 'to escape with one's life'	kpan 'to walk fast'
mbasi 'to choke up (as with tears)'	mbar- 'to fit tightly'
mbɔsi (Carnot mgbo) 'to gather (objects)'	mɔy 'to gather (people),' but Bowe mbɔ
ŋmgbasi 'to stop (as rain)'	ŋmgban 'to rip off'
nɔsi 'submerge'	nɔm 'soak,' nɔ 'to drink'
ŋgasi 'to regain one's strength (as after illness)'	Carnot ŋgaysi 'endurcir'
	ŋgay (Bowe ŋgari) 'to be hard' ŋgá geʔda 'hard manioc (also of green or hard fruit)'

susi 'to be meaty, chunky' | Carnot sulsi 'augmenter'
suri 'to swell up (as corpse)'
sur- (Carnot sul) 'to be filled (after eating)'

tusi 'to stir up (fire that is | Carnot tunsi 'to wake (someone)'
    dying out)'

tun 'to wake, awaken (but Carnot intransi-
    tive)'

wasi 'to bear (fruit)' | way 'to come up (as bamboo or banana
    shoots)'

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

ndakaʔdi (tɛ) 'to follow after, | ndak 'to chase after'
    imitate (?)'

ʔnɛŋɛri 'to shed thorns (as | ʔnɛŋ 'to trim'
    kapok tree)'

saᶆari 'to grab a handful' | sam̧ 'to break off (a piece of dough)'

sɛmbɛrɛ 'to pack to brim by | sɛm 'to tuck (leaves under waist-string)'
    tucking into corners'

Other verbs in this class are:

ʔbaŋgari 'to unravel (rope)'

ndikiri 'to honor'

dikili 'to tickle'

nᶙkuri 'to bear down on (a person in wrestling)'

sɛŋgɛlɛ (wen) 'to disagree'

kaŋgali 'to trip'

kandali 'to shrivel up'

yaŋgari 'to become untied'

siᶇiri (nɛ ŋmaá) 'to ask (?)'

wukuri (wen) 'to speak falsely'

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

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

kpɔti 'to skin oneself (in a fall)' | kpɔy (Bozoum kpɔri) 'to take off (one's
    clothes)'

dᶖti 'to be heavy (but for certain | dᶖr- (Bowe dᶖri) 'to be heavy'
    objects which are not covered
    by dᶖr-)'

ŋgati 'to harden (as one's heart),' | ŋgay 'to be hard'
    but in Carnot 'se lever après
    une maladie'

suti 'to pull out (as from one's | suri 'to swell up'
    pocket),' but Carnot 'germer'

The French glosses are Hilberth's.

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

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

[6] This suffix is therefore distinguished from the emphatic -i$_2$ which does follow /y/:
    ą dáy$_1$ bé-gɔi$_2$ dáyi 'he's actually raising$_1$ the leopard cub$_2$'
Likewise, it is possible that the enclitic can follow this suffix although my data do not provide any examples.

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

[8] Perhaps ŋma 'some, a certain' (the adjective) and ŋmaa 'some' (the substantive) might be included here. For example:

am₁ zɔ́ŋ₂ ŋma₃ saʔde₄ 'I₁ see₂ some₃ animals₄,' am zɔ́ŋ ŋmaa 'I see some.'

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

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

[11] For another deictic suffix see 213.1.

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

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

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

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

[16] Since the postclitic can occur twice in an expanded noun phrase, it is not surprising that it occurs with repeated predicates: wa yú wey na nέi nέi nέi nέi 'they run after the fire, they go go go go'; ʔmɔná gɛ rɛ yái yái yái 'we kept on sitting sitting sitting.'

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

CHAPTER THREE

DISTRIBUTION CLASSES

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

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

aaʔ   'plea for consideration:' aaʔ yá̰$_1$ kɔ́m$_2$, ám$_3$ ḭŋɔ̰$_4$ kínɛɛ nɔ́ɔ$_5$ 'Oh, my$_2$ brother$_1$, I$_3$ know$_4$ that now$_5$ . . .'

áaʔ   'protest for confirmation:' áaʔ ɛrɛ$_1$ dɛ́ saa$_2$ dɔ́ka$_3$ 'indeed, we$_1$ are very$_3$ happy$_2$'

ééʔ   'wonder:' ééʔ wééy$_1$ nɔ́ɔ$_2$ dy̰ŋ dɛ́ ŋgay$_3$ 'My! this$_2$ man$_1$ is putting up quite a fuss$_3$'

ɛɛʔ   'reproval:' ɛɛʔ wen kɔ́ ge$_1$ á́ mɛ́$_2$ gbɛ́$_3$ torɔ́$_4$ kɔ́m$_5$ wen-ge ndé$_1$ 'Hey! why$_1$ are you$_2$ killing$_3$ my$_5$ dog$_4$!'

---

[57]

ǥhɛ?   'agreement (perhaps to what was already known):' ǥhɛ? ɛrɛ₁
         tɔ́₂ gɔ́y₃ ?bɔ₄ 'yes, we₁ also₄ say₂ that₃'
hii   'general assent'
hį?   'wonder with approval:' hį? kpasa₁ mɔ́ wéey₂ ɛ̧i₃ 'Wow! this
         is₃ a real₁ he-man accomplishment₂'
hó?   'difficulty of achieving goal:' hó? wǐ-ré₁ aá₂ fɔ₃ sɔ́n₁ 'Hey!
         (but) everyone₁ has gone to₂ the gardens₃'
į?ǐ   'disagreement, no'
į̃ǐ?   'calling attention to something amazing:' į̃ǐ? mise₁ gbɛá₂ dila₃
         'Hey! Monsieur₁ has killed₂ a lion₃'
mɻ́n   'unenthusiastic approval:' mɻ́n raŋmgbá a té₁ ínaa₂ 'All right,
         Raŋmgbá goes₁ with him₂'
oo   'petition, despair, disappointment:' oo yáam 'Oh Father'
ó?   'surprise, fear:' ó? mɛ₁ zɔ́k₂ sa?de₃ 'Oh, you₁ see₂ (the)
         animal₃'
wóo   'response to call of one's name'

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

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

   bá̧₁ á̧₂ sa₃ ré₄ ná, nɛ ndɛ́ rɛ́₅ nɛ₆ nɛ́ ŋgay-̧tɛ-rɛ́ báa₇ 'If₁ he₂ didn't call₃
   us₄ (to eat), would we₅ go₆ on our own volition₇?' (= 'we shall go
   with our strength')

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

   (a) Following interrogative substitutes:
      mɛ₁ tɔ́₂ ye ge ndé₃. 'What₃ are₂ you₁ saying₂?'
      ndɛ₁ rɛ₂ zɔ́k₃, ge ndé₄, nɛ mise₅ dŋ̧ té₆ 'and₁ we₂ look₃, what₄?
         Monsieur₅ was coming₆'
      ?mɔ́n₁, nɛ₂ ge ndé₃, ndɛ₄ wa₅ gbó₆ tɛ-̧zaŋ-ré₇ 'just then₁, and₂ what₃?
         and₄ they₅ arrive₆ in the village₇'
      mbí₁ ye₂, ge ndé₃ 'I₁ said₂, "What₃?"'
      wen-̧ge₁ a té₂ wa₃ gbɛ́₄ mbéa₅ ró₆ é₇ zúa₈ ?bɔ gáá̧₉ ge ndé₁ '(they said),
         "Why₁ do they₃ come₂ (and) kill₄ another₅ one of us₆ (and) add₇ to the
         first₈ like this₉?"'
      mɛ₁ nɛ́₂ íye ndé₃. 'Where₃ are₂ you₁ going₂?'
      o₁ a nɛ́₂ dŋ̧₃ ká̧-fɔrɔ₄ o₁ ndé. 'Who₁ will₂ stay₃ by the elephant₄?'
      só kóí₁ tɔ́₂ gɔ́y₃ ?bɔi₄ ndé. 'So you₁ talk₂ again₃ like this₄?'

ó wara$_1$, ó kura$_2$, ó ge ndé 'hoes,$_1$ arrows$_2$, whatever other things'
    (= 'plural adjective what ndé')

(b) Following narrated vocatives:

mɛ́$_1$ ndé$_2$, nɛ mɛ zɔ́k$_3$ fara$_4$ 'hey$_2$ you$_1$, look at$_3$ (the) place$_4$'

yám$_1$ kɛ̂ ɛ̨́$_2$ ndé nɛ ɛ̨́$_3$ kpaà$_4$ kóo$_5$ sɔ́ɔ$_6$ '(says), "My$_2$ Father$_1$, I$_3$ found$_4$ a wife$_5$ today$_6$"'

foo$_1$ kɛ̂ ɛ̨́$_2$ ná ndé, á baá zaŋ$_3$ '(he says), "My$_2$ mother-in-law$_1$, she has become pregnant$_3$"'

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

mɛ́$_1$ zerá$_2$ nde. 'Did$_2$ you$_1$ understand$_2$?' (a question with an added meaning of compulsion, compare simple question mɛ́ zerá wéndé. 'Did you understand?')

mɛ zéé nde. 'Listen here!'

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

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

mɛ té oó. 'Come!'

am mbá mé oó. 'I greet you.'

yám oó. 'Say, Father.'

bá ŋmaa ʔbɔ́m oó. 'Get some for me please.'

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

mɛ té wa. '(I said), come.'

am mbá mé wa. 'Hey, I greet you.'

yám wa. 'Hey, Father!'

yú tɛ-mɛ́ wa. 'Get out of here!'

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

ɛrɛ$_1$ tɔ̂$_2$ ye ge . . . go$_3$ mɛ$_4$ péé$_5$ tɛ-tǐi$_6$, nɛ$_7$ ndé rɛ́$_8$ pee$_9$ ʔdoŋǐ$_{10}$ wá
    'we$_1$ said$_2$ . . . so$_3$ you$_4$ go$_5$ first$_6$ and$_7$ we'll$_8$ come$_9$ later$_{10}$'

gá ye ge$_1$, mise$_2$ á nɛ̀a$_3$ ndɔ́ɔ́$_4$ ndarà$_5$ wá, ɛ$_6$ ndɔ́ɔ$_7$ dila$_8$ wá '(he) said$_1$, "Monsieur$_2$ went$_3$ (and) shot$_4$ a buffalo$_5$, er$_6$, shot$_7$ a lion$_8$"'

kó-fey$_1$ ye$_2$, wen$_3$ nde wa$_4$ tɔá$_5$ gende gá ye$_6$, ndé wá$_7$ gbɛ$_8$ rɔ́$_9$ wái
    'Ko-fey$_1$ said$_2$. "The thing$_3$ you$_4$ said$_5$, saying that$_6$ you'd$_7$ kill$_8$ us$_9$"'

ŋma bém$_1$ kɛ̂ ə̨$_2$ bɔ́$_3$ gɔn gaza$_4$, nə̨ ə̨$_5$ á$_6$ yǐn$_7$ há ə̨$_8$ ye ge ba né wan$_9$ wái
    'when$_3$ one of his$_2$ sons$_1$ is circumcised$_4$, he$_5$ gives$_6$ him$_8$ the name$_7$ Ba-né-wan$_9$'

bɔ́$_1$ zɔk$_2$ gɔ́y, gende gá ye$_3$ déʔdé$_4$ zɔ́ŋá$_5$ kó aáyɛ nɔ́ɔ$_6$ wá 'when$_1$ (they) look$_2$ (they) say$_3$, "(Look at) what's-his-name's$_6$ pretty$_4$ daughter$_5$"'

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

mí$_1$ ɔ$_2$ na$_3$ go$_4$ mɛ tɛ́$_5$ wéey. 'Here$_3$ I$_1$ am$_2$, so$_4$ come$_5$ on!'

yám-wara wéey. 'Hey Yám-wara!'

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

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

dilai$_1$ nɛ́$_2$ gbɛ́$_3$ wa$_4$ bó ná$_2$ wéndé. 'Won't$_2$ the lion$_1$ kill$_3$ them$_4$?'

ge$_1$ a mɛ$_2$ nɛ́$_3$ kó mɛ́ wenáa. kéey dɛ́ mɛ́ wéndé. 'Why$_1$ are$_3$ you$_2$ going$_3$? Are you afraid?'

geʔdéa$_1$ a wa$_2$ ʔdú$_3$ go$_4$ wa bá$_5$ hɛ́$_6$ ɛ́$_7$ wéndé '(he said), "Is it the dregs$_1$ that they$_2$ dish up$_3$ and$_4$ give$_5$ to$_6$ me$_7$?"'

gom$_1$ tɔ́ mbí ye$_2$, ʔmoná goi dɛ́ lɛkɔ́ɔl wéndé 'and I$_1$ said$_2$, "perhaps you were still at school"'

gba$_1$ kóo$_2$ óró$_3$ ndɔ̀a$_4$ wéndé '(they said), "Even if$_1$ we$_3$ had violated$_4$ a woman$_2$"'

gɔ́y wéndé 'like this?'

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

Summary Chart of Connectives

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

á	331.1	óró . . . gá	332.5
wen kó*	331.2	sɛ́ tɛ*	332.6
{a}	332.1	só kó*	332.7
{go}*	332.2	tɛ*	332.8
há*	332.3	{wéndé gan}	332.9
nɛ*	332.4	mɔ́*	333

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

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

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

(a) Affirmative commands:[6]

fara$_1$ né$_2$ ʔbará$_3$, nɛi mɔ̦y$_4$ zép áĭ$_5$ ŋgémbÉm$_6$ há$_7$ nÉɛm$_8$ kpáĭ$_9$ 'when$_2$ day$_1$ breaks$_3$, gather together$_4$ and$_5$ wait for me$_6$ that$_7$ I might go$_8$ (and) meet you$_9$'

á mÉ yɔ̦ŋ$_1$ mɔ tɛ-rĭp$_2$-wĭ-ré$_3$ ná, á$_4$ mÉ yɔ̦ŋ$_5$ mɔ tɛ́$_6$ tuwa$_7$ 'don't eat$_1$ in front of$_2$ people$_3$, but$_4$ eat$_5$ in$_6$ (the) house$_7$'

mɛ dáŋ$_1$ á$_2$ mÉ búú$_3$ 'climb$_1$ and$_2$ untie$_3$ (it)'

mɛ bá$_1$ saʔdɛ$_2$ kóm$_3$ nɔ́ɔi$_4$, á$_5$ mÉ gɔ́n$_6$ gÉraa$_7$ 'take$_1$ this$_4$ animal$_2$ of mine$_3$ and$_5$ cut$_6$ its neck$_7$'

(b) Negative commands:

á$_1$ mÉ nɛ$_2$ mɛ yoo$_3$ zúa ná$_1$ 'don't$_1$ go$_2$ (and) stand$_3$ over them'

áĭ$_1$ dɛ$_2$ nú$_3$ ná$_1$ 'don't$_1$ make$_2$ noise$_3$'

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

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

gan né$_1$ yu̦m$_2$ kɛ̦ ɛ̦ ré$_3$ ná$_1$, wen kó mɔ ndɛ$_4$ rɛ$_5$ feà$_6$ kÉ rÉ sĭ ʔday$_7$ '(it) won't$_1$ hurt$_2$ us$_3$, because$_4$ we$_5$ (will) have died$_6$ off$_7$'

ɔ́ né$_1$ foyo$_2$ kɔ́m$_3$, wen kó mɔ nɔ́ɔ na̦$_4$ a̦$_5$ kuró$_6$ 'it's$_1$ my$_3$ disgrace$_2$, because$_4$ he$_5$ has fled$_6$'

há$_1$ mɛrsi$_2$ há$_3$ nzapá$_4$ wen kó mɔ nɛ$_5$ nzapá$_6$ ŋgɛmbá$_7$ wa$_8$ 'give$_1$ thanks$_2$ to$_3$ God$_4$, because$_5$ God$_6$ kept$_7$ them$_8$'

mɛrsée$_1$ há$_2$ nzapá$_3$ wen kó mɔ ndɛ$_4$ rɛ$_5$ zɔ́kɔ́ĭ$_6$ sɔ́ɔ$_7$ 'thanks$_1$ to$_2$ God$_3$, because$_4$ we$_5$ see you$_6$ today$_7$'

gan$_1$ am$_2$ í̦ŋ$_3$ ná$_1$, wen kó$_4$ wá$_5$ hu̦sɔ́$_6$ wenáa$_7$ nɛÉm$_8$ 'I$_2$ didn't$_1$ know$_3$, because$_4$ they$_5$ hid$_6$ the matter$_7$ from me$_8$'

332. Connectives which join clauses and other constructions are {a} (332.1), {go} (332.2), há (332.3), nɛ (332.4), óró . . . gá (332.5), sÉ tɛ (332.6), só kó (332.7), tɛ (332.8), and {wéndé gan} (332.9).[8]

332.1. {a}[9]

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

a occurs:

(1) when {a} joins a subjectival or objectival substantive phrase with a clause whose verb is imperfective: ʔbay$_1$ wenĭ$_2$ ai$_3$ tɔ̦i$_4$ 'just$_1$ the word$_2$ you$_3$ speak$_4$'

(2) when {a} joins such constructions but is immediately followed by the negative marker gan (but compare with (2) below): $ɛ_1$ a gan_2 $ɛ_3$ zéé tɛ-$ɛ_4$ ná$_5$ '(she said, they said) "Me$_1$, I$_3$ didn't$_2$ obey$_4$."'

(3) when {a} joins principal clauses in which the second clause is imperfective: mɛ zók$_1$ wa$_2$, a wa$_3$ yóó$_4$ mɛ gɔɔi$_5$ 'look at$_1$ them$_2$, they$_3$ are standing$_4$ over there$_5$.'

á occurs:

(1) when {a} joins a subjectival or objectival substantive phrase with a clause whose verb is perfective: wan to$_1$ á tɔà$_2$ mbé wen$_3$ 'Wan-to$_1$ has related$_2$ (some) news$_3$,' wení$_1$ á mɛ́$_2$ tɔái$_3$ 'you$_2$ said$_3$ it$_1$.'

(2) when {a} joins constructions described in (1) above, even though the verb is imperfective (the examples are rare): wan$_1$-gbíyaí á bá$_2$ gɛzɛ$_3$-sunu$_4$ 'the owner$_1$ of the gbíya takes$_2$ a basket$_3$ of sesame$_4$ (grain),' ɛn-tɛ$_1$-á$_2$ wen, són á yá$_4$ kó ró$_5$ tɔ́$_6$ '(they said), "It is just$_1$ old$_2$ stories$_3$ which our$_5$ brothers$_4$ tell$_6$."'

(3) when {a} precedes the negative marker gan, except for those instances listed under (2) of a above: á$_1$ gan$_2$ kɔ́$_3$ ʔdoŋáa 'so$_1$ (he) didn't$_2$ want$_3$ (to),' kúrói á gan$_1$ rém$_2$ sɛnɛ$_3$ nái$_1$ '(the word) kúró can$_2$ not$_1$ go$_2$ there$_3$.'

(4) when {a} joins principal clauses in which the second clause is perfective: mɛ́$_1$ sɔkà$_2$ són á$_3$ mɛ$_4$ dɛá bisa$_5$ gɔɔ$_6$ 'you$_1$ have grown up$_2$ so$_3$ now$_6$ you$_4$ are an adolescent (boy)$_5$.'

(5) when {a} joins principal clauses in which the second clause is imperfective and where a usually occurs: {ɲ$_1$ ná$_2$ gan$_3$ kói$_4$ kó$_5$ bécmi$_6$ á$_7$ fɛ$_8$ wéndé$_3$ '(I) don't$_2$ know$_1$ whether$_3$ the woman$_4$ bore$_5$ the child$_6$ and then$_7$ (herself) died$_8$.' This is the only example.

(6) when {a} joins secondary clauses: mɔ gɔ́y$_1$ á ye ge$_2$ 'so$_1$ (he) said$_2$,' foo$_1$ kɛ́ ɛ$_2$ ná ndé aa?$_3$, á ye gɛ$_4$ '(he said), "My$_2$ in-laws$_1$, ah$_3$, (they) said$_4$,"' wééy$_1$ bɔɔ kɛ́$_2$ a$_3$ nɔɔ$_4$ á ŋmɛ̂ŋ ŋmɛ̂ŋ$_5$ na a$_6$ kpá$_7$ wééy$_8$ 'this$_4$ husband$_1$ of$_2$ hers$_3$, all the time$_5$, she$_6$ is finding$_7$ a husband$_8$.'

(7) when {a} in a few instances joins secondary and principal clauses: wen kó ge$_1$ á mɛ́$_2$ mbunzú$_3$ nɛ mɛ nɛ́$_4$ gɔɔ$_5$ gbɛ́$_6$ toró$_7$ kɔ́m$_8$ wen-ge ndé$_1$ 'why is it$_1$, you$_2$ white man$_3$ (who) goes$_4$ there$_5$, (that you) kill$_6$ my$_8$ dog$_7$?' mɔ gɔ́y$_1$ á$_2$ tɛ-wa gá$_3$ wenáa 'so$_1$, as a result$_2$, they've cooled off$_3$,' mɔ gɔ́y$_1$, á ŋma$_2$ bém$_3$ kɛ́ a$_4$ bó$_5$ gɔn gaza$_6$ 'so$_1$ when$_5$ one$_2$ of his$_4$ children$_3$ is circumcised$_6$.'

(8) when {a} joins principal and secondary clauses: wí$_1$ zamà$_2$ rɛ$_3$, á mɔ gɔ́y$_4$, ɛrɛ$_5$ sáí$_6$ yáam$_7$ 'you$_1$ saved$_2$ us$_3$, so$_4$ we$_5$ call you$_6$ Father$_7$,' ịí$_1$ nɛ yám$_2$ kɛ́ a$_3$ bó tɔ mbɔra$_4$ hɛ́ a . . ., á ịí nɔɔi$_5$ a yám kó wa$_6$ tɔ́ wen$_7$ ịn$_8$ wa$_9$ 'the one who$_1$ is instructed$_4$ by his$_3$ father$_2$, they (are) the ones$_5$ whose fathers$_6$ talk$_7$ to$_8$ them$_9$.'

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

wen kó mɔ nɔɔi$_1$, há$_2$ wá$_3$ aà$_4$ yín$_5$ hɛ́ ại$_6$ '(it was) because of this$_1$ that$_2$ they$_3$ gave$_4$ him$_6$ the name$_5$'

o₁ há usò₂ nú-gbéyá₃ há mé₄ o ndé₁ 'who₁ taught₂ you₄ the Gbɛya lan-
guage₃?'

wen kó mɔ nɛ₁ wééy₂ nóɔ₃ ó nɛ₄ gbɛ́₅ wí-ré₆, há mɔ gɔ́y, a wa₇ á₈ yínaa₉
'(it is) because₁ this₃ man₂ was₄ a brown (skinned)₅ person₆ that
they₇ gave₈ (him) the name₉'

sí ʔdoŋ₁ há₂ mbóro₃ sɛ́ tɛi tɛ́₄ 'go back₁, then₂ come back₄ (in the)
evening₃'

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

mǐ₁ ám₁ gbɛá₂ ạ₃ '(it is) I₁ (who) killed₂ it₃'

ɛré₁, ɛrɛ₁ tɛ́₂ góɔ₃ 'here₃ we₁ come₂'

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

mɛ zók₁ wa₂, a wa₃ yóó₄ mɛ góɔi₅ 'look at₁ them₂, they₃ are standing₄
over there₅'

ạ₁ ró₂ nɛ́₃ teI₄ ᵬoŋ₅, a₆ mbáŋ₇ 'he₁ hits₂ (it) against₃ the tree₄ wham₅,
and₆ (it) splits₇'

kuu₁ há bangí₂ mɛ zɛɛ₃, ai₄ péé₅ '(you) left₁ Bangui₂ yesterday₃, and
you₄ return₅'

mɛ́₁ sɔkà₂ sɔ́n á₃ mɛ́₄ dɛá₅ bisa₆ góɔ₇ 'you₁ have grown up₂, so₃ now₇
you₄ have become₅ an adolescent₆ here₇'

332.2. {go} is a connective with the basic meaning of sequence or con-
sequence and is most often translated by 'and,' 'so,' 'then,' or by some com-
bination of these. It therefore contrasts primarily with nɛ, só kó, sɛ́ tɛ, and
tɛ. The tonally distinguished allomorphs and function of {go} are discussed
below. The vocalically distinguished allomorphs (gạ, gɛ, gɛ̧) occur according
to the description in 132.2.

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

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

High tone:

gó ye ge 'so (he) said'

gó dụŋ₁ dó₂ ạ₃ 'and continued₁ (to) burn₂ it₃'

gó gbịnɔ̀₁ gɛ́ɛ₂-ɛ̧₃ 'and broke₁ its₃ neck₂'

gó tɔk-tɛ-̃wa₁ bó₂ ŋmạ́yá₃ 'and when₂ their blood₁ stopped₃ (flowing)'

gó gan₁ wa₂ há₃ go mɛ nó₄ ná₁ 'and they₂ don't₁ give₃ (you some to)
drink₄'

Low tone:

go bó₁ wá₂ rịk₃ ịI₄ 'and when₁ they₂ hit₃ that one₄'

go sí$_1$ go wa$_2$ góm$_3$ te$_4$ 'and (they) return$_1$ and they$_2$ chop$_3$ wood$_4$'

go né$_1$ ʔdoŋ-wáá$_2$ nóɔ$_3$ 'so in$_1$ this$_3$ way$_2$'

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

mɛ$_1$ kpá$_2$ ə̧$_3$ gə̧́$_4$ ə̧́$_5$ nɛə̧$_6$ ré-naa$_7$ kə̧́ ə̧$_8$ 'you$_1$ find$_2$ him$_3$ and$_4$ he$_5$ had gone$_6$ (to) his$_8$ mother's village$_7$'

gɛ ɛ̧$_1$ baá$_2$ '(said) "and I$_1$ took$_2$"'

gə̧ ə̧$_1$ tɔ̧́ wen$_2$ rɔy rɔy$_3$ 'and he$_1$ talks$_2$ unwisely$_3$'

go ri$_1$ fók$_2$ 'so (the) water$_1$ flowed$_2$'

go gba$_1$ ə̧$_2$ rɔká$_3$ 'and even if$_1$ she's$_2$ good$_3$'

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

yóa$_1$ go rɛ$_2$ péé né$_3$ góɔ$_4$ '(it is) the hide$_1$ which we$_2$ are bringing back$_3$ here$_4$'

oo yáam$_1$, goi tɔ̧́$_2$ bɔɔ$_3$ gáa$_4$ 'oh, Father$_1$, here you talk$_2$ foolishness$_3$ like this$_4$'

oróai$_1$ go bə̧́$_2$ ə̧́$_3$ gə̧a$_4$ 'later$_1$, after$_2$ it$_3$ cooled off$_4$'

bɔ̧$_1$ go$_2$ ŋgɔzɔŋ né$_3$ ʔbɔ$_4$ 'well$_1$, and$_2$ Ngɔzɔŋ went$_3$ also$_4$'

gɔ̧́y$_1$ gó$_2$ ɛ̧̀$_3$ né$_4$ géré$_5$ fara$_6$ 'all right$_1$, so$_2$ this one$_3$ went$_4$ (to) a different$_5$ place$_6$'

kátréyɛɛr$_1$ kúmázɛ̧́ rɛ́$_3$ . . . , gó$_4$ mɔ gɔ̧́y$_5$, bɛ̧́ rɛ́$_7$ hɔ$_8$ 'four o'clock$_1$ began$_2$ (to come on) us$_3$, and$_4$ well$_5$, when$_6$ we$_7$ went$_8$'

sóó$_1$ rɛ́$_2$ ɔ̧́$_3$ dʃi$_4$, go$_5$ zu-ture$_6$, ndɛ rɛ$_7$ kúú$_8$ 'so$_1$ we$_2$ slept$_3$ there$_4$, and$_5$ in the morning$_6$ we$_7$ arose$_8$'

gan$_1$ ə̧$_2$ dɛ́$_3$, mɔ$_4$ ŋmə̧́ŋ ŋmə̧́ŋ$_5$ ná$_1$, gó$_6$ ŋma wesé$_7$, só kə̧́ ə̧́$_8$ dɛ́$_9$ mɔ$_{10}$ 'he$_2$ doesn't$_1$ always$_5$ do$_3$ things$_4$, but$_6$ sometimes$_7$ he$_8$ does$_9$ things$_{10}$'

go bɔ̧ɔ mbí yɛ 'and so I said'

ə̧$_1$ hé mɔ$_2$ wáá$_3$ taa$_4$, a bɛ̧$_5$ go nə̧́áraa$_6$ nɛm$_7$ zéé$_8$ pʃó gə̧rú$_9$ 'he$_1$ whistled$_2$ three$_4$ times$_3$, well$_5$ the fourth$_6$ (time), I$_7$ heard$_8$ the whistle$_9$'

gom$_1$ né$_2$ gom$_3$ yáá$_4$ 'and I$_1$ went$_2$ and I$_3$ walked around$_4$'

mɔ$_1$ nɛ mise$_2$ dɛá$_3$ gom$_4$ zók$_5$ '(the) thing$_1$ which Monsieur$_2$ did$_3$, and I$_4$ saw$_5$'

ə̧́$_1$ gbɔʔdà$_2$ són$_3$ go$_4$ wa$_5$ sí$_6$ né ə̧$_7$ sɛ́ 'he$_1$ is all$_3$ tired out$_2$ so$_4$ they$_5$ (should) take$_6$ him$_7$ back$_6$'

332.3. há$_1$ connects clauses and has the meaning of purpose, the translation of which is approximated by English '(so) that' and French "que" plus the subjunctive.[10] Frequent uses of this connective are: (1) when it is preceded by the verb e 'to put, leave' with the meaning 'permit . . . to . . .' and (2) when it is followed by ɔá nɛ followed by a clause with the meaning (roughly glossed) 'that the following should happen' (sometimes substitutable by sɛ́ tɛ ɔá nɛ . . .). For example:

gan$_1$ wa$_2$ kɔ̧́ ʔdoŋáa$_3$, há wá gám tɛ-wa$_4$ lám$_5$ ná$_1$ 'they$_2$ didn't$_1$ want$_3$ to turn around$_4$ right away$_5$'

mɛ tɔ̧₁ hám₂ zéé₃ 'say₁ (it) that I may₂ hear₃ (it)'

ném₁ si₂ né₃ gɔ̧́y₄, há₅ madáam₆ nɛ́ zɔká₇ 'I shall₁ return₂ with₃ (it) like this₄, that₅ Madame₆ may see₇ (it)'

zɔ́kɔ́m₁ há₂ ala₃ bá₄ mɛ₅ 'look upon me₁ until₂ compassion₃ seizes₄ you₅'

ʔmɛ̧́ɛ̧₁ tí-ri₂ há₃ fóŋ₄ ná '(Gbagbasɔ̧) stopped₁ (the) water₂ from₃ flowing₄'

é₁ wey₂ há₃ nɔ̧́y₄ 'put₁ (it on the) fire₂ to₃ boil₄'

é há₁ wí-ré₂ tɛ̧̃₃ sɛ̧̃₄ 'let₁ (some) people₂ come₃ first₄'

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

332.41. nɛ joins two substantive expressions:[11]

ʔdoŋ ríĩto₁ nɛ₂ saŋáa₃ 'seven₁ and₂ a half₃'

mɛ té né₁ ŋginza sáki₂ taa₃ nɛ₄ kɔrá₅ ríĩto₆ nɛ₇ bɛ̧̃₈-zoro₉ 'bring₁ three₃ thousand₂ francs and₄ two₆ chickens₅ and₇ (some) small₈ fish₉'

káy₁ zɔm₂-ʼpaa₃ ín₄ ó boro-ʼbiro₅ nɛ₆ za₇ 'take₁ (a) big₂ knife₃ along with₄ iron weapons₅ and₆ (a) throwing knife₇'

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

332.421. Subject:

ó sókái₁ <u>nɛ</u> yá₂ mɛi₃ 'the elders₁ who live₂ there₃'

wa₁ <u>ndɛ</u> wa yá₂ kó wa nɛ́ ʔdɔɔ-búki₃ 'they₁ who were₂ down-wind₃'

zɔ́ŋ₁ ŋma₂ bé-kóo₃ <u>nɛ</u> rɔ̧́k₄ʔdɛ́ 'sees₁ a₂ girl₃ who is good₄'

wa₁ káy₂ ó béem₃ <u>nɛ</u> ʔmoná₄ zaŋ-ré₅ na₆ go₇ yá₈ fɨ̧́ɨ̧ fɨ̧́ɨ̧₉ gó₁₀ nɛ gaza₁₁ nái₁₂ 'they₁ take₂ the children₃ who had remained₄ in the village₅ here₆ and₇ were₈ small₉ and₁₀ had not₁₂ been circumcised₁₁'

332.422. Object:

dila₁ <u>na̧</u> a̧₂ ndɔrà₃ gɔ́ɔ₄ '(the) lion₁ which he₂ shot₃ here₄'

ó mɔ₁ hárá sɔ́n₂ <u>na̧</u> a̧₃ tɔ̧à₄ néi₅ 'all₂ the things₁ of which₅ he₃ spoke₄'

zɔ́k₁ fara-mɔ₂ nɛ wí-ré₃ dɛ̧́₄, sɛ̧̃ tɛ mɛ₅ tɔ̧́₆ 'see₁ what₂ a person₃ does₄ before you₅ speak₆'

332.423. Place:

fara₁ dɨ̧́yɛ nɔ́ɔ₂ <u>nɛ</u> ga₃ rɛ₄ kpá₅ wa₆ ná₃ gɔ́ɔ₇ 'this₂ place₁ where we₄ do not₃ find₅ them₆ here₇'

tɛ-fara₁ <u>ndɛ</u> wa₂ ɔ́á₃ sɛnɛ́ gɔ̧́yi₄ 'the place₁ where they₂ were₃ in this manner₄'

332.424. Time:

wesé$_1$ ne ŋma wí-ré$_2$ bó$_3$ ne$_4$ '(the) day$_1$ when$_3$ someone$_2$ should go$_4$'

tɛm yűm$_1$ tɛ-wesé$_2$ ne mɛ$_3$ neà$_4$ tɛ-galá$_5$ mɛi 'I was sick$_1$ on the day$_2$ you$_3$ went$_4$ to the market$_5$'

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

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

(a) SC + PC:

oo? ne gan$_1$ neá$_2$ ha$_3$ déá saa$_4$ hɛ́ ré$_5$ ná$_1$ 'oh, (it) would$_2$ not$_1$ have$_2$ given$_3$ us$_5$ joy$_4$'

mɛ́$_1$ wí-ré ne bó$_2$ mɛ́$_3$ kɔ ?doŋ$_4$-ki?di$_5$ mɔ$_6$ 'you$_1$ (for example), when$_2$ you$_3$ want to$_4$ hunt$_5$ (some-) thing$_6$'

oróaí$_1$ ne kpána$_2$-ru$_3$ kambáa$_4$ ɓ$_5$ kpém$_6$?mɔ́n$_7$ 'after that$_1$, the pot$_2$ for making$_3$ the dough$_4$ was$_5$ just$_7$ one$_6$'

mɔ gɔ́y$_1$ nem bá$_2$ velóo kɔ́m$_3$ 'like this$_1$, I take$_2$ my bicycle$_3$'

(b) PC + SC:

?mɔ́n gɔ́y, ne gende gá 'just like that, and in other words'

bó$_1$ zɔká$_2$, ne óó?, ne wan to ?buró$_3$ rii$_4$ á$_5$ zɔ́$_6$ 'when$_1$ (he) looked$_2$, oh, Wan-to had busted$_3$ the water (pot)$_4$ (and) thrown$_5$ (it in the) bush$_6$'

ne gbɛ̨rɛ́ ɛn-tɛ-ɛ̨́ 'and Lizard all by himself'

(c) PC + PC:

a̧$_1$ sí ?doŋ ?bɔ$_2$, nem$_3$ néɛm$_4$ bá$_5$ a̧$_6$?bɔ$_7$, 'he$_1$ went back$_2$, and I$_3$ went$_4$ (and) got$_5$ him$_6$ again$_7$'

háy$_1$ nem né$_2$ nɛ̃$_3$ '(I) crawl$_1$ and I$_2$ go$_3$'

káy$_1$ sɛ́rɛ$_2$, ne$_3$ káy kura$_4$, ne káy ŋgéré$_5$, ne káy$_6$ zɔm-paa$_7$ '(they) take$_1$ spears$_2$, and$_3$ (they) take arrows$_4$, and (they) take shields$_5$, and (they) take large$_6$ knives$_7$'

gom$_1$ gɔ́n$_2$ zɔfáa$_3$, nem$_4$ gɔ́n tɨráa$_5$ 'so I$_1$ cut$_2$ the (elephant's) trunk$_3$, and I$_4$ cut the tail$_5$'

gom$_1$ té$_2$, ne$_3$ teá$_4$ gom$_5$ é$_6$ velóo$_7$ 'so I$_1$ came$_2$, and$_3$ (I) came$_4$ and I$_5$ placed$_6$ (the) bicycle$_7$ . . .'

bóm$_1$ zɔŋ$_2$ ne mise$_3$ dyŋ té$_4$ 'when I$_1$ looked$_2$, Monsieur$_3$ was coming$_4$'

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

ŋma wí-ré kpém$_1$ kuró$_2$ go$_3$ kúú$_4$ go$_5$ bá$_6$ a̧$_7$ ne$_8$ ŋma béem$_9$ ínaa$_{10}$ 'someone$_1$ arose$_2$ and$_3$ arose$_4$ and$_5$ took$_6$ him$_7$ and$_8$ (there was a child$_9$ with him$_{10}$ (that is, with the subject of the verb)'

te$_1$ yá$_2$ ká̧-tɛ-ŋmaà$_3$ gáá nɔ́ɔ$_4$ rííto$_5$, ne taráa$_6$ 'two$_5$ trees$_1$ stood$_2$ next to each other$_3$ like this$_4$, (in fact) three$_6$'

bɛ́$_1$ ré$_2$ daŋ$_3$ zu$_4$-kara$_5$, ne tɛ-zu-kara mɛ$_6$, ne raŋmgbá tɔ́$_7$ 'when$_1$ we$_2$ climbed$_3$ (the) top$_4$ of (the) hill$_5$, the top of the hill there$_6$, Raŋmgbá said$_7$'

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

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

bó$_1$ nɛm$_2$ ɔ óró$_3$ ném aa hur$_4$ móm$_5$ pee ?doŋ$_6$ gá$_3$ 'when$_1$ I went$_2$ as if$_3$ to turn suddenly$_4$ to$_5$ come back$_6$'

zɛra$_1$·a̧$_2$ dé$_3$ ga?da?da óró$_4$ na̧$_5$ á̧$_6$ kúró$_7$ gá$_4$ 'his$_2$ ears$_1$ flapped$_3$ as if$_4$ he$_6$ were going to$_5$ get up$_7$'

ndɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ zók$_3$ kɛ́ rɛ́ réi$_4$, óró$_5$ rɛ́$_6$ yõ̧ŋ$_7$ wáráa$_8$ yõ̧ŋi$_7$ gá$_5$ 'and$_1$ we$_2$ look upon$_3$ the village$_4$ as if$_5$ we$_6$ were eating$_7$ fruit$_8$' (that is, 'for us children strolling in the village is all the food we need')

332.52. It connects substantive phrases with verb expressions: [12]

gan$_1$ am$_2$ kó̧ ?doŋ$_3$·dɛ$_4$?náŋ mɔ$_5$ óró$_6$ a̧$_7$ gá$_6$ ná$_1$ 'I$_2$ don't$_1$ want$_3$ to commit$_4$ evil$_5$ like$_6$ him$_7$'

a̧$_1$ dé mɔ$_2$ óró$_3$ ge wí-gɛ$_4$ gá$_3$ ge ndé$_4$ 'he$_1$ works$_2$ like$_3$ whom$_4$?'

pɛ$_1$ ká̧ a̧$_2$ ó$_3$ óró$_4$ kó mɛ́$_5$ gá$_4$ 'his$_2$ age$_1$ is$_3$ the same as$_4$ yours$_5$'

ŋgɛ́m$_1$ óró$_2$ mɔ nɛ mise tó̧i$_3$, gá$_2$ 'wait$_1$ just as$_2$ Monsieur says$_3$'

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

ŋma mɔ$_1$ óró$_2$ ɛ̧ɛ nɛ kó-duwa$_3$ gá$_2$ . . . gan nɛ́ bo ná$_4$ '(there) won't be$_4$ anything$_1$ like$_2$ a bewitched woman$_3$'

gan$_1$ wa$_2$ i̧n$_3$?doŋ-wáá$_4$ wen·ma̧a$_5$ dé?dó$_6$ mɔ·ma̧ri$_7$ óró$_8$ ɛ̧ɛ$_9$ nɛ kó$_{10}$ kínɛɛ$_{11}$ gá$_8$ ná$_1$ 'they$_2$ didn't$_1$ know$_3$ how$_4$ to put on$_5$ good$_6$ clothes$_7$ like$_8$ these$_9$ of$_{10}$ today$_{11}$'

wa$_1$ zéɛ́$_2$ wɛn$_3$ kɛ́ rɛ́$_4$ óró$_5$ mɔ gɛrɛ$_6$ gá$_5$ 'they$_1$ listen to$_2$ our$_4$ words$_3$ as if$_5$ (they were) nothing$_6$'

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

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

ndóraa$_1$ nɛ́$_2$ ŋgombe$_3$ sɛ́ ta̧$_4$ a̧$_5$ kúú$_6$?bɔ$_7$ ná$_8$ 'shoot it$_1$ with$_2$ (a) gun$_3$ so that$_4$ it$_5$ (will) not$_8$ get up$_6$ again$_7$'

ndóraa nɛ́ ŋgombe sɛ́ 'shoot (it) with a gun by preference'

ŋgombe sɛ́ '(do it with) a gun by preference (that is, not with a spear)'

ŋgombe sɛ́ wa 'by means of a gun, I said!'

ndɔ́raa nɛ́ ŋgombe sɛ́ ná wéndé 'wouldn't it be preferable to shoot it with a gun?'

ŋgombe sɛ́ ná wéndé '(is) not a gun preferable?'

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

(a) Whereas sɛ́ tɛ joins a substantive expression to a clause, tɛ never does.

(b) Whereas both sɛ́ tɛ and tɛ occur in negated clauses with imperfective verbs, sɛ́ tɛ is correlated only with unrealized action in the future and tɛ with unrealized action both in the future and past, for example, $ɔ_1$ nɛ́ $mɔ_2$ wen-$dɛ_3$ sɛ́ $tɛ_4$ zɛ́rɛ́$_5$ tɛ́$_6$ ná$_7$ 'it's$_1$ something$_2$ to do$_3$ that$_4$ sickness$_5$ may not$_7$ come$_6$;' gan_1 wa_2 úsí$_3$ hám$_4$ tɛm$_5$ zéé$_6$ tí$_7$ ná$_1$ 'they$_2$ didn't$_1$ tell$_3$ me$_4$ (about it) that I$_5$ should have heard$_6$ (about it) before$_7$.'

(c) Only tɛ seems to join a principal clause with another one containing the auxiliary bo whether the action has been realized or not. In narratives, where the imperfective verb is very commonly used instead of the perfective, the connective tɛ is used in this manner, equivalent in meaning with the connective go, such as: gbɛà$_1$ ká$_1$ á$_2$ íí$_3$ taa$_4$, tɛ$_5$ bá$_6$ á$_7$ zik tɛ-á$_8$ 'he himself$_2$ killed$_1$ three$_4$ over there$_3$, and$_5$ when$_6$ he$_7$ turned around$_8$ . . . ;' á$_1$ dɔ́m$_2$ fɛra$_3$, tɛ$_4$ bɔ́m$_5$ zee$_6$ 'he$_1$ was blowing$_2$ a whistle$_3$, and$_4$ as I$_5$ listened$_6$ . . . ;' gá$_1$ á$_2$ yú$_3$ nɛ́$_4$, tɛ$_5$ bɔ́$_6$ mɛ́$_7$ tɔ$_8$ ŋma wen$_9$ ínaa$_{10}$ 'and$_1$ he$_2$ runs away$_3$ with$_4$ (it), and$_5$ should$_6$ you$_7$ say$_8$ something$_9$ to him$_{10}$ . . .'

(d) Only tɛ connects a series of clauses with bó: raŋmgbá bó$_1$ tɔ$_2$ gɔ́y$_3$, tɛ$_4$ bɛ́ rɛ́$_5$ daŋ$_6$ zu-karai$_7$ 'when$_1$ Raŋmgbá had spoken$_2$ in this manner$_3$ and$_4$ we$_4$ had climbed$_6$ to the top of the hill$_7$ . . . ;' mise$_1$ bɔ́$_2$ aa$_3$ kɛ́ ɛ́ . . . , tɛ$_4$ bɔ́$_5$ nɛm aa kóm$_6$ . . . tɛ$_7$ ɔ́ ŋgɔzɔŋ bó aa$_8$ . . . tɛ$_9$ bɔ́$_{10}$ nɛm kip$_{11}$ 'when$_2$ Monsieur$_1$ turned off to the side$_3$, and$_4$ when$_5$ I turned off to the side$_6$ and$_7$ Ngɔzɔŋ turned off to the side$_8$, and$_9$ when$_{10}$ I went (and) turned around$_{11}$ . . .'

(e) Whereas in some instances sɔ́ kó may replace sɛ́ tɛ (with a corresponding change in meaning), it never replaces tɛ. For example: ák$_1$ ŋmaá sɔ́ kó (or sɛ́ tɛ) pí$_2$ tan$_3$-zɔra$_4$ zɔ́ (proverb) 'ask$_1$ (before) throwing away$_2$ the rat's$_4$ head$_3$.'

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

mbé ze ʔdoŋɛ$_1$ sɛ́ tɛ$_2$ gbó$_3$ 'next month$_1$ then$_2$ (they'll) arrive$_3$'

bɛrɛ$_1$ sɛ́ tɛ wa$_2$ há$_3$ ŋginza$_4$ 'they$_2$ give$_3$ money$_4$ (in the) dry season$_1$'

ŋma wesé$_1$ sɛ́ tɛm$_2$ há$_3$ ŋma ŋginza$_4$ há mɛ́$_5$ 'some day$_1$ (in the future) then I'll give$_3$ you$_5$ some money$_4$'

ŋma mɔ$_1$ órɔ́$_2$ ɛ̱ɛ nɛ kó-duwa$_3$ wéndé gan$_1$ wí-fiyo$_5$, sɛ́ tɛ gbɛ́$_6$ kpasi$_7$ kó mɛ́$_8$ mbéa ʔbɔ kpém$_9$ gan nɛ́ bo ná$_{10}$ 'there won't be$_{10}$ anything$_1$ at all$_9$ like$_2$ a bewitched woman$_3$ or$_4$ a fetishist$_5$ to destroy$_6$ your$_8$ life$_7$'

332.62. sɛ́ tɛ joins two clauses, usually principal clauses. For example:

wa$_1$ rí$_2$ sɛ́ tɛ$_3$ wa$_4$ nɛ́ nɛ́$_5$ 'they$_1$ eat$_2$ (it) and then$_3$ they$_4$ take (them)'

ndo ro$_1$ sí nɛ$_2$ kó$_3$ kɛ̂ ạ$_4$ hɛ̂$_5$ ạ$_6$ sɛ́ tạ$_7$ ạ$_8$ ɔ̂$_9$ ínaa$_{10}$ '(they said) "We'll$_1$ return$_2$ his$_4$ wife$_3$ to$_5$ him$_6$ and then$_7$ he'll$_8$ sleep$_9$ with her$_{10}$"'

o$_1$ a tɛ́$_2$ tɔ$_3$ ŋma mbé wen$_4$ sɛ́ tɛ ro$_5$ nɔ̂$_6$ dɔ̂i$_7$ o ndé$_1$ '(they said) "Who's$_1$ going to come$_2$ relate$_3$ something new$_4$ so we (can)$_5$ drink$_6$ the beer$_7$?"'

ɔà$_1$ nɛ́ ndará$_2$ sɛ́ tɛ nɛ́ám$_3$ ndɔraa$_4$ '(if it) were$_1$ a buffalo$_2$, I would have$_3$ shot$_4$ (it)'

nɛ́m$_1$ tɔ wɔn$_2$ ín$_3$ wa$_4$ sɛ́ tɛ$_5$ ndɛ́ wá$_6$ sa$_7$ ạ$_8$ 'I'm going$_1$ to talk$_2$ with$_3$ them$_4$, and then$_5$ they'll$_6$ call$_7$ him$_8$'

kpém$_1$ sɛ́ tɛ$_2$ bá bái$_3$ '(if there were) one$_1$ then$_2$ (you would) grab it$_3$ (using the word bá)'

mbóro$_1$ nạ ạ tɛ́$_2$ wen$^-$kay$_3$ mbɛ́tí$_4$, sɛ́ tɛ$_5$ bin$_6$ nạ ạ nɛ́$_7$ nɛ́ 'he's coming$_2$ (in the) evening$_1$ to get$_3$ (the) mail$_4$, and then$_5$ tomorrow$_6$ he'll take (it)$_7$'

bó$_1$ wá$_2$ tɛ$_3$ sɔ́ɔ$_4$ nâ$_5$, sɛ́ tɛ$_6$ binɛ́ɛ$_7$ nɛm káy$_8$ nɛ́ nɛ́$_9$ 'if$_1$ they$_2$ don't$_5$ come$_3$ today$_4$, then$_6$ tomorrow$_7$ I'll take$_8$ (it and) go$_9$'

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

ŋma wesé$_1$ só kɛ̂ ɛ̂$_2$ tɛ́$_3$ 'he$_2$ used to come$_3$ occasionally$_1$,' ŋma wesé$_1$ sɛ́ tạ ạ$_2$ tɛ́$_3$ 'he'll$_2$ come$_3$ some day$_1$,' ŋma wesé nạ ạ tɛ́ 'he comes occasionally'

mɛ$_1$ láŋgí$_2$ tuwa$_3$ mɔɔrɔ́$_4$ sɛ́ tɛ$_5$ mɛ$_6$ gbó$_7$ 'you$_1$ pass$_2$ five$_4$ houses$_3$, and then$_5$ you'll$_6$ arrive$_7$,' ám$_1$ laŋgá$_2$ tuwa$_3$ mɔɔrɔ́$_4$ só kóm$_5$ gboá$_6$ 'I$_1$ passed$_2$ five$_4$ houses$_3$, and then I$_5$ arrived$_6$'

bɛ̂$_1$ ɛ̂$_2$ dɛ$_3$ pɛ$_4$ kpém$_5$ sóóm$_6$ kʉ́ náṅá$_7$-usi$_8$ hɛ̂ ạ$_9$ 'when$_1$ she$_2$ was$_3$ one$_5$ year$_4$ (old), I$_6$ began$_7$ to teach$_8$ her$_9$,' bɛ̂ ɛ̂ dɛ pɛ rííto, sɛ́ tɛm úsí mbɛ́tí hɛ̂ ạ 'when$_1$ she's two years old, I'll teach her to read'

ák ŋmaá só kó (or sɛ́ tɛ) pʉ́ tan$^-$zɔra zɔ́ 'ask someone before throwing the rat's head away' (proverb)

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

sɛ́rɛ$_1$ ndɛ wa$_2$ gbɛá$_3$ nɛ bɛ́m$_4$ kó wa$_5$ só kɛ̂ ɛ̂$_6$ baái$_7$ '(he said) "I$_6$ took$_7$ the spear$_1$ with which they$_2$ killed$_3$ their$_5$ child$_4$"'

nú-wen nɔ̂ɔ só kó mɛ́$_1$ tɔ̂$_2$ ye ge 'what was it you$_1$ said$_2$?'

bɛrɛ$_1$ só kó rɛ́$_2$ gbɛ́$_3$ sa'de$_4$ 'we$_2$ (used to) kill$_3$ animals$_4$ (in the) dry season$_1$'

gó mɔ gɔ̂y$_1$, só kɛ̂$_2$ ɛ̂$_3$ tɔ̂$_4$ ye ge 'so$_1$ then$_2$ he$_3$ said$_4$'

332.72. só kó joins two clauses. For example:

gɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ bá$_3$ ą$_4$ né tįi$_5$ só kɛ́$_6$ rɛ$_7$ nɛ́$_8$ 'then$_1$ we$_2$ took$_3$ him$_4$ on (the) canoe$_5$ after which$_6$ we$_7$ went on$_8$'

mbóro$_1$ dɛá$_2$, sóó$_3$ rɛ́$_4$ ɔ̧$_5$ dįi$_6$ 'it became$_2$ evening$_1$, so$_3$ we$_4$ slept$_5$ there$_6$'

nú$_1$-ąrɛ$_2$ ʔmáá$_3$ só kó$_4$ ri$_5$ á$_6$ sɛnɛ́ (proverb) '(the) oyster's$_2$ mouth$_1$ opens$_3$ and$_4$ water$_5$ goes$_6$ in$_7$'

bɛ́$_1$ rɛ́$_2$ gam tɛ-rɛ́$_3$ wen kó$_4$ péráa$_5$, só kɛ́ rɛ́$_6$ kpá$_7$ ŋa$_8$ mbɛɛ$_9$ 'after$_1$ we$_2$ had turned around$_3$ to$_4$ come back$_5$, we$_6$ found$_7$ some$_8$ reed-buck$_9$'

wá$_1$ dɛá fiyo$_2$ sóó$_3$ wá$_4$ koà$_5$ nɛ́ ą$_6$ 'they$_1$ gave offerings to a fetish$_2$ after which$_3$ they$_4$ bore$_5$ (a child) by means of it$_6$'

ó wí-rɛ́$_1$ nɔ́ɔ$_2$ dɔkà$_3$ né saa ná$_4$ só kó$_5$ wá$_6$ feà$_7$ sɔ́n$_8$ 'these$_2$ people$_1$ were very$_4$ numerous$_3$ but then$_5$ they$_6$ all$_8$ died off$_7$'

gɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ péé nɛ́$_3$, sóó mɔ gɔ́y$_4$ a há$_5$ dɛá saa$_6$ hɛ́ rɛ́$_7$ 'so$_1$ we$_2$ brought (it) back$_3$, and so$_4$ (it) gave$_5$ us$_7$ joy$_6$'

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

332.81. Sequence:

gɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ péé$_3$ . . . , tɛ$_4$ bɛ́$_5$ rɛ́$_6$ ʔmɔn$_7$ mɛ$_8$ 'so$_1$ we$_2$ returned$_3$ . . . , and$_4$ while$_5$ we$_6$ were still$_7$ there$_8$ . . .'

bɛ́$_1$ rɛ́$_2$ nɛ$_3$ tɛ$_4$ bɛ́$_5$ rɛ́$_6$ gbóá$_7$ 'when$_1$ we$_2$ went$_3$ and$_4$ when$_5$ we$_6$ arrived$_7$'

mɛ tɛ́$_1$ tɛ$_2$ mɛ zɔk$_3$ fara$_4$-sɛ́rɛ$_5$ kɔ́m$_6$ 'come$_1$ and$_2$ look at$_3$ (the) place$_4$ of my$_6$ spear$_5$'

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

oro$_1$ há$_2$ mɔ$_3$ hą́ ą$_4$ tą ą dɛ́$_5$ to ro$_6$ yɔ̧́ŋ$_7$ '(they said) "We$_1$ give$_2$ her$_4$ things$_3$ for her to make$_5$ for us$_6$ to eat$_7$,"'

nɛ$_1$ há$_2$ ą$_3$ há$_4$ wéey$_5$ tą$_6$ ą$_7$ kó$_8$ béem$_9$ 'and$_1$ (they) give$_2$ her$_3$ to$_4$ (the) man$_5$ so that$_6$ she$_7$ will bear$_8$ children$_9$'

wen$_1$-tɛ$_2$ wen-zɔk$_3$ ó béem$_4$ kó wa$_5$ . . . , tɛ$_6$ ó naa$_7$ kó wa$_8$ zɔk$_9$ wa$_{10}$ 'to$_1$ come$_2$ to see$_3$ their$_5$ children$_4$ . . . , that$_6$ their$_8$ mothers$_7$ might see$_9$ them$_{10}$'

tɛ ɔá ndɛ wa kpá$_1$ mɔ$_2$ sɛnɛ́$_3$ tɛ$_4$ wa$_5$ yɔ̧́ŋ$_6$ 'to find$_1$ something$_2$ there$_3$ that$_4$ they$_5$ might eat$_6$'

go$_1$ wesé nɛ bó$_2$ wá$_3$ kų náŋá$_4$ tɛ wa yáá yarɬ$_5$, nɛ ŋma wí-rɛ́$_6$ bá$_7$ gbíya 'so$_1$ when$_2$ they$_3$ begin$_4$ to hunt$_5$, someone$_6$ appropriates$_7$ (the) gbíya'

há$_1$ oro-nú$_2$ hó$_3$ wa$_4$ wen kó$_5$ saʔdɛ$_6$ tɛ ɔá ndɛ wa gúrí$_7$ '(we) gave$_1$ instructions$_2$ to$_3$ them$_4$ about$_5$ (the) meat$_6$ for them to smoke$_7$ (it)'

wa$_1$ há$_2$ kɔrá$_3$ tɛ ɔá nɛ gbɛ́$_4$ 'they$_1$ give$_2$ a chicken$_3$ to have killed$_4$'

gan$_1$ ɛ̧$_2$ kpá$_3$ déá saa$_4$ tɛ ɔá nɛ̧ ɛ̧ dų́ŋ$_5$ ín$_6$ wééy$_7$ kɛ̧́ ɛ̧́$_8$ . . . ná$_1$ '(she said) "I$_2$ don't$_1$ find$_3$ any pleasure$_4$ in remaining$_5$ with$_6$ my$_8$ husband$_7$"'

ɔ́$_1$ nɛ kó mɛ̧$_2$ ʔmɔ́n$_3$ tɛ ɔá nɛ mɛ wéé$_4$ 'it's$_1$ just$_3$ yours$_2$ to worship$_4$'

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

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

(a) X wéndé gan X wéndé:

rɛ́m wen kó$_1$ dįmísi$_2$ rííto$_3$ wéndé, gán ze$_4$ kpém$_5$ wéndé 'for about$_1$ two$_3$ weeks$_2$ or one$_5$ month$_4$'

bó$_1$ wá̧$_2$ ɔ$_3$ kɔ$_4$-kútú-gaza$_5$ wen$_6$-ze$_7$ kpém$_8$ wéndé gán ze rííto$_9$ wéndé 'after$_1$ they$_2$ have slept$_3$ in$_4$ (the) circumcision hut$_5$ for$_6$ one$_8$ or two$_9$ months$_7$'

hayá$_1$ gó$_2$ nɛá$_3$ go$_4$ wa gú$_5$ ʔdɔɔ$_6$-waka$_7$ wéndé, ndɛ wa$_8$ gbɛ́$_9$ wa$_{10}$, gán wa$_{11}$ ʔmɔná gó wá reá$_{12}$ ʔdɔɔ-poo$_{13}$ wéndé, go wa gbɛ wa '(whether the animals) have crawled$_1$ and$_2$ gone$_3$ and$_4$ hidden$_5$ in$_6$ (the) dry grass$_7$, they$_8$ kill$_9$ them$_{10}$, or whether they$_{11}$ have entered$_{12}$ the gallery-forest$_{13}$, they kill them'

(b) X wéndé gan X:

bó dɛ ze$_1$ kpém$_2$ wéndé gán$_3$ ze$_1$ rííto$_4$ 'when (they have done this) for one$_2$ or$_3$ two$_4$ months$_1$'

naa$_1$ ká̧ a̧$_2$ wéndé gan$_3$ yám$_4$ ká̧ a̧ gí$_5$ dɔɔ́$_6$ 'his$_2$ mother$_1$ or$_3$ his father$_4$ makes$_5$ beer$_6$'

tȩ̧ a̧$_2$ kpá$_3$ ó ŋma mɔ́-yȩ̧ŋi$_4$ wéndé gan$_5$ ó ŋginza$_6$ 'that$_1$ he$_2$ might get$_3$ things to eat$_4$ or$_5$ money$_6$'

wa$_1$ gbɛ̧́$_2$ wĭ-rɛ́$_3$ taa$_4$ wéndé gan ná̧á$_5$ wéndé gán mɔɔrɔ́$_6$ 'they$_1$ kill$_2$ three$_4$ or four$_5$ or five$_6$ people$_3$'

wa$_1$ yȩ̧́ŋ$_2$ ó kɔndi$_3$ kɔ̆m$_4$ wéndé gan dų́ŋ$_5$ wa$_6$ yȩ̧́ŋ$_7$ say$_8$ kɔ̆m$_9$ 'they$_1$ eat$_2$ my$_4$ corn$_3$ or they$_6$ keep on$_5$ eating$_7$ my$_9$ pumpkins$_8$'

wa$_1$ né gaza$_2$ wen-sɔ̆káa$_3$ tɛ$_4$ wa$_5$ háá tá̧ wen$_6$ wéndé gán, tɛ ɔá ndɛ wa į̧ŋ$_7$ mɔ$_8$ 'they$_1$ go to be circumcised$_2$ for maturity$_3$, that$_4$ they$_5$ might think (rightly)$_6$, or that they might know$_7$ things$_8$'

yám$_1$ ká̧ a̧$_2$ kúú$_3$ go$_4$ nɛ̧$_5$, wéndé gán naa$_6$ ká̧ a̧$_7$ nɛ̧$_8$ 'his$_2$ father$_1$ arises$_3$ and$_4$ goes$_5$ or his$_7$ mother$_6$ goes$_8$'

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

> wa₁ gbɛ̂₂ a̧₃, wéndé gan rííto₄ wéndé gán taa₅ 'they₁ kill₂ him₃, or
> (maybe) two₄ or three₅ (of them)'

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

(a) gan X wéndé, gan X wéndé:

> gan₁ am₂ i̧ŋ₃ kóm ná₁, gán mise₄ wéndé gán ŋgɔzɔŋ₅ wéndé, nɛ₆ tɔ̧̂₇
> gende gâ ye 'I₂ don't₁ know₃ whether (it was) Monsieur₄ or Ngɔzɔŋ₅
> but₆ (someone) said₇. . . '

> i̧ŋ₁ ná₂ gán wa₃ péé₄ zɛɛ₅ wéndé gán bin₆ sɛ́ wéndé '(I) don't₂ know₁
> whether they₃ are coming₄ tonight₅ or tomorrow₆'

> gá ye₁, hâ ró₂ dák₃ kéey₄ há zaŋ₅-wa₆, gan tɛ́ nɛ wa gɔn wa nɛ́ gaza₇
> nɛ ndɛ́ wâ₈ hee kɔ̧wà₉ wéndé, gan tɛ́ wá hee kɔ̧wà ná₁₀ wéndé
> '(they) said₁, "Let's₂ take₃ (the) fear₄ out of₅ them₆, (to find out)
> whether, when they go and get circumcised₇, they will₈ cry₉ or
> whether they will not₁₀ cry"'

> wen₁-zɔk₂ ó béem₃ kó wa₄ nɛ ɔá₅ ʔdɔɔ-zɔ̧̂₆ kɔ́ɔ yɛ́ɛ₇, gan ó béemi₈
> ŋmgbaŋgà₉ wéndé gán wa ŋmgbán ná wéndé ' . . . to₁ see₂ their₄
> children₃ who were₅ in the bush₆ a long time₇ (to see) whether or
> not the children₈ had gotten fat₉'

(b) gan X wéndé:

> ye ge₁, gan₂ ģ₃ i̧ŋ₄ ʔdoŋ-wáraa kpém₅ ná₂, gan ģɛ nɔɔ₆ ɔ́₇ nɛ mbɛ̂₈ wen₁,
> a ndɛ́ wá tɔ̧á₁₀ wéndé, nɛ̧ ģ i̧ŋ ná '(he) said₁, "I₃ don't₂ know₄ at all₅
> whether (or not) this₆ is₇ a new₈ story₉ for them to tell₁₀, I just
> don't know"'

> i̧ŋ₁ ná₂ gan kóoi₃ kó₄ béemi₅ á₆ fé₇ wéndé '(I) don't₂ know₁ whether (or
> not) the woman₃ bore₄ the child₅ and then₆ (herself) died₇'

(c) gan:

> ném₁ aŋ₂ mɛ́₃, gán₄ me₅ kɔ̧̂ ʔdoŋáa₆ hám₇ káy₈ mɔ₉ kó mɛ́₁₀ há₁₁ mɛ́₁₂
> 'I'm going₁ to ask₂ you₃ if₄ you₅ want₆ me₇ to collect₈ your₁₀ things₉
> for₁₁ you₁₂'

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

(a) with verb expressions:

> wan to kpá₁ ri₂ mɔ́₃ nɔ₄ ín bɛ́m₅ kɛ̧́ ģ₆ ná₇ 'Wan-to did₁ not₇ find₁ water₂
> (for him and) his₆ child₅ to₃ drink₄'

> ríníí₁ nɛ́ ay₂ oro-rɛ́₃, mɔ́ yumúí₄ 'your eyes₁ will seek₂ after us₃ to (the
> point of) hurting you₄'

wí-ré₁ bó₂ nɛ₃ mɔ́ ba₄ mɔ́ e₅ zu⁻fey₆ 'when₂ a person₁ goes₃ (and) takes₄ (it) and puts₅ (it) on (the) grave₆'

ó wí-ré₁ gan₂ kpá₃ ri₄ mɔ́ nɔ́á₅ ná₂ 'people₁ didn't₂ find₃ water₄ to drink₅'

gan ɔ́ mɔ́ tɛ dǐyɛ ná '(the rain) is not coming here'

(b) with dependent clauses:

wa₁ ndín₂ kó-fey mbɔ́ wá rɨk₃ kó-fey 'they₁ chased₂ Kó-fey to hit₃ Kó-fey'

gan am₁ rɛ́m₂ mɔ́m si₃ ná 'I₁ am not able₂ to return₃'

bó₁ nɛm₂ kip₃ mɔ́m₄ nɛ₅ bɔlɔ́a₆ 'when₁ I went₂ (and) turned₃ to₄ go₅ after him₆'

né mɛ́₁ kpa₂ sa?de₃ mɔ́ mɛ́₄ si₅ mɔ́ mɛ́ yɔ́ŋá₆ 'you'll₁ find₂ (an) animal₃ for you₄ to return₅ and eat₆'

ạ₁ bá₂ ɛ̀ nɔ́ɔ₃ mbɛ́ rɛ́₄ pee₅ nɛ́₆ 'he₁ took₂ this₃ for us₄ to return₅ with₆ (it)'

há₁ oro-nú₂ wen⁻nɛ₃ mbɔ́ wá₄ wa₅ '(they) gave₁ instructions₂ (for them) to go₃ to₄ hoe₅ . . . '

gan ɔ́ mɔ́m dɛ₁ gɔ́y₂ ná 'I shouldn't do₁ (it) like that₂'

ɔ́ rɔ́k ?dɛ́ mɔ́m dɛ gc ndé 'what should I do?'

340. Prepositions.

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

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

ám₁ eá₂ ŋmaa₃ ?bó₄ mɛ́₅ 'I₁ left₂ some₃ for₄ you₅ also₄'

binɛ́ɛ₁ nɛ mɛ dɛ́ gɛnɛ₂ ?bóm₃ 'tomorrow₁ treat₂ me₃ as a guest₂ (that is, make some food for me)'

mbá₁ ạ₂ ?bɛ́₃ rɛ́₄ 'greet₁ him₂ for₃ us₄'

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

wa₁ dɛ́ bisa₂ hó wa₃ 'they₁ dress₂ them₃ up₂'

ndó ró₁ tɛ kɔfɛa₂ há₃ bisa₄ kó ró₅ '(they said that) they would₁ come (working) for the bride₂ for the sake of₃ their₅ boy₄'

há₁ ŋmaa₂ hɛ́₃ rɛ́₄ 'give₁ some₂ to₃ us₄'

mɛ tɔ́₁ hạ́ ạ₂ 'tell₁ him₂'

wa₁ kɛ̣́₂ há₃ bém₄ kó wa₅ 'they₁ divide₂ (it) among₃ their₅ children₄'

há ró₁ dák₂ kéey₃ há₄ zaŋ⁻wa₅ 'let's₁ take₂ (the) fear₃ out of₄ them₅'

ą̧$_1$ zɔká$_2$ sa?de$_3$ tí há$_4$ toró$_5$ 'he$_1$ saw$_2$ (the) animal$_3$ before$_4$ (the) dog$_5$ (did)'

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

ą̧$_1$ rɨ́ŋ$_2$ nu$_3$ ínaa$_4$ 'he$_1$ fell$_2$ down$_3$ with it$_4$'

wa$_1$ yɔ́ŋ$_2$ zaŋ$_3$-duwai$_4$ ín sɛráa$_5$ 'they$_1$ eat$_2$ the stomach$_3$ of the goat$_4$ as well as the liver$_5$'

ó gbɛrɛ́$_1$ ín dila$_2$, a wa yáá$_3$ '(the) Lizard (sp. of _Varanus_)$_1$ and (the) Lion$_2$ were walking around$_3$'

koyo ín ó mboró$_1$ ín ó dawa$_2$ té 'koyo (birds) and red monkeys$_1$ and green monkeys$_2$ come'

bó$_1$ wá$_2$ kɔy$_3$ mɔ$_4$ ín$_5$ mɛ́$_6$ 'when$_1$ they$_2$ ask$_3$ something$_4$ of$_5$ you$_6$'

ám$_1$ he?dá$_2$ ín$_3$ do?dïa$_4$ 'I$_1$ came near$_2$ to$_3$ the end$_4$'

nɔ́y$_1$-nɛ$_2$ ŋgón$_3$, tanáa$_4$ ŋmą́y$_5$ ín$_6$ kɨ́lí ta$_7$ 'the head$_4$ of a bird$_1$ which flies$_2$ above$_3$ comes off$_5$ by means of$_6$ a pebble$_7$' (a proverb)

wan to kpá$_1$ ri$_2$ ṇ.ɔ́$_3$ nɔ$_4$ ín$_5$ bém$_6$ kɛ́ ɛ̧$_7$ ná$_8$ 'Wan-to did not$_8$ find$_1$ any water$_2$ to$_3$ drink$_4$ along with$_5$ his$_7$ child$_6$'

ɛrɛ$_1$ ŋgáy$_2$ ndú$_3$-ré$_4$ ín$_5$ mɛ́$_6$ 'we$_1$ harden$_2$ our$_4$ mouths$_3$ against$_5$ you$_6$'

ą̧$_1$ ɔ́$_2$ nɛ wí-gida$_3$ iniím 'he$_1$ is$_2$ my enemy$_3$'

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

ré kɛ̧́ ą̧ ɔ́ kpém ini{m 'his village is the same as mine' (= 'village of him is one with-me')

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

ó yą̧$_1$ kɔ́í$_2$ són$_3$, bó$_4$ wá$_5$ hɔ$_6$ lɛkɔ́ɔl$_7$ 'all$_3$ your$_2$ buddies$_1$, when$_4$ they$_5$ get out of$_6$ school$_7$'

wen$_1$ kɔ́m$_2$ sɔnà$_3$ sɔ́ɔ$_4$ 'my$_2$ story$_1$ is finished$_3$ today$_4$'

gbɛá$_1$ sa?de-tɛ$_2$ kɔ́$_3$ wí-ré$_4$ 'killed$_1$ (the) bodies$_2$ of$_3$ people$_4$'

ɛrɛ kángí kɔ́-sɛra ké ré 'let's be courageous' (= 'we shut inside liver of us')

gan$_1$ rɛ$_2$ té$_3$ wen kó$_4$ si$_5$ ná$_1$ 'we$_2$ didn't$_1$ come$_3$ to$_4$ go on$_5$ (home)'

nɛ̧́ ą̧$_1$ zam$_2$ wa$_3$ óró$_4$ ké ré$_5$ gá$_4$ 'he'll$_1$ save$_2$ them$_3$ like$_4$ us$_5$'

nɛ$_1$ kɔ́$_2$ túrú$_3$, ɔ́$_4$ kɛ̧́ ɛ̧ nɛ mɔ$_5$-nu$_6$ 'and$_1$ as for$_2$ clothes$_3$, (they) are$_4$ things of (this) world$_6$'

ndɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ zɔ́k$_3$ kɛ́ ré réi$_4$ 'and$_1$ we$_2$ saw$_3$ the village$_4$'

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

(a) Accompaniment:

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

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

ą₁ péé₂ nɛ₃ né ʔdoŋ-wáá₄ 'he₁ was returning₂ with₃ (it) on (the) path₄'

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

(b) Instrument:

gɛ₁ rɛ₂ péé₃ nɛ₄ tįį₅ 'and₁ we₂ returned₃ on₄ a canoe₅'

ą₁ kpó₂ né ŋmaá₃ 'he₁ tied₂ (them) together₃'

ɛ́k₁ tɛ-mɛ́ nɛ́₂ te₃ 'lean₁ against₂ a tree₃'

am₁ kíʔdí₂ ŋma mɔ₃ sɛ́ tɛ₄ mɛ₅ dų́ŋ₆ nɛ́₇ 'I'm₁ looking for₂ something₃ so that₄ you₅ (can) sit₆ on₇ (it)'

(c) Object:

ą₁ hɛ́₂ géʔda₃ wɛn₄-dɛ₅ nɛ́₆ kam₇ 'she₁ buys₂ manioc₃ to₄ make₅ (it) into₆ food₇'

ą̧₁ dɛá₂ kam₃ nɛ́₄ geʔda₅ 'she₁ made₂ (the) food₃ out of₄ manioc₅'

wesé₁ am tǫ́₂ nɛ́₃ '(it's the) sun₁ I'm talking₂ about₃'

fara sǫ́ nɛ́ wesè kó vądradïi 'the day dawned into Friday'

jĩ₁ dɛá₂ tɛ-ɛ̧́₃ nɛ₄ wéey₅ 'that one₁ made₂ himself₃ into₄ a man₅ (that is, acted as a man)'

ą₁ ró₂ nɛ́₃ ŋma gą́sá₄ te₅ 'he₁ threw₂ (it) against₃ a large₄ tree₅'

(d) Location:

sáá mɔ₁ yóó₂ kɛ̧́ ɛ̧́ nɛ₃ ką́-tɛ₄ 'Sáá-mɔ₁ stood₂ to₃ (the) side₄'

wa₁ yá₂ nɛ́ ʔdɔɔ-búki₃ 'they₁ were₂ downwind₃'

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

wa₁ bá₂ dɔ́₃ né zu₄-mɛ₅ 'they₁ take₂ beer and pass you up' (= 'take beer₃ on your₅ head₄')

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

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

The stative only rarely occurs in the simple form ạ. It occurs, in fact, only once in the corpus: mǐ ạ. 'Here I am.' A little more frequent is the form ạa:

> mɔ ạa 'Here's the thing'
>
> mɛ́ nɛ mɛ bɛ̣á$_1$ tom$_2$ zaŋ-ré$_3$ ʔdhɛ́ɛ$_4$ ạa 'There you are who refused$_1$ to work$_2$ in the village$_3$ so much$_4$'
>
> wǐ nɔ́ɔ$_1$ ndɛi$_2$ ndɔ̀ạ$_3$ kó kóm$_4$, só kó$_5$ bém kóm$_6$ feá$_7$ ạa wa 'you$_1$ who$_2$ violated$_3$ my wife$_4$ so that$_5$ my child$_6$ died$_7$, there you are!'

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

> mɔ̌ ại. 'That's right.'
>
> mɔ kɔ́m ại. 'It's my thing.'
>
> goʔdhó-wen$_1$-ba$_2$ ŋmaá$_3$ kó$_4$ wéey$_5$ ín kóo$_6$ tɛ́-wesé$_7$ kó$_8$ ó sɔ́káɩ̣$_9$ kɛ́ ré$_{10}$ tɛ-tǐi ại$_{11}$ 'That's$_{11}$ (the) full account$_1$ of taking$_2$ each other$_3$ (in marriage) of$_4$ men$_5$ and women$_6$ in the days$_7$ of$_8$ our$_{10}$ elders$_9$.'
>
> ʔbay$_1$ mɔ́-kɔfɛ$_2$ kó$_3$ ó tụ́ wǐ-ré$_4$ nɛ dɛ́i$_5$ ại$_6$. 'These are$_6$ (the) only$_1$ in-law obligations$_2$ of$_3$ (the) black people$_4$ (that is, Africans) which they perform$_5$.'
>
> gó$_1$ mɔ$_2$ nɛ ó wéey$_3$ nɛ́$_4$ gaza$_5$ wenáai$_2$ ại$_6$. 'So$_1$ that's$_6$ (the) reason$_2$ why men$_3$ went$_4$ to be circumcised$_5$.'
>
> kpásá$_1$ mɔ$_2$-wéey$_3$ ɛ̣i$_4$, wéey$_5$ ạ̣i$_6$!! 'That's$_4$ a real$_1$ manly$_3$ thing$_2$, that's$_6$ a man$_5$!!'
>
> wa$_1$ gɔ́m$_2$ saʔde$_3$-ʔbo kó dila$_4$ há ạ$_5$ ɛ̣i. 'They$_1$ cut$_2$ (the) lion's$_4$ meat$_3$ for him$_5$.'
>
> mbǐ ye$_1$, dila$_2$ baá$_3$ ạ$_4$ ại. 'I said$_1$, "(the) lion$_2$ got$_3$ him$_4$".'
>
> rɔ́k ʔdɛ́ ại$_1$, gɛ$_2$ rɛ sí kɛ́ ré$_3$. 'It's all right$_1$, so$_2$ let's go$_3$.'
>
> ndɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ kúú$_3$ há$_4$ sɛn-fara$_5$-saʔde$_6$ mɛǐ$_7$ ại. 'And$_1$ we$_2$ arose$_3$ from$_4$ (the) place$_5$ of (the) animal$_6$ there$_7$.'
>
> go sá ye ge, gbɛlɛk ại. 'So (they) call (it) a gbɛlɛk.'
>
> rɛmà$_1$ mấ ấ pị$_2$ gam guram$_3$ ại. 'It was all right (that is, it was time)$_1$ for him to cast in$_2$ (the) whirlwind$_3$.'

352. Copula. The word nɛ́ is the only member of this class.[18] Although it resembles the preposition nɛ́ in several respects, it is to be distinguished

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

wa_1 $yɔ́ŋ_2$ nɛ $ŋgáa_3$ 'they$_1$ eat$_2$ (it) hard$_3$'

$ạ_1$ $yɔ́ŋ_2$ né $biri_3$ 'he$_1$ eats$_2$ like a baboon$_3$'

$ạ_1$ $koà_2$ $béem_3$ nɛ $bé_4wéey_5$ 'she$_1$ bore$_2$ a male-child$_8$' (= 'child$_3$ nɛ child$_4$ man$_5$')

$hɔá_1$ nɛ $búu_2$ '(it) came out$_1$ white$_2$'

Other examples follow:

wa_1 $yá_2$ nɛ $wéey_3$ 'they$_1$ are$_2$ men$_3$'

$ɔ́_1$ né $ŋma_2$ $bé-te_3$ 'it's$_1$ a certain$_2$ small tree$_3$'

$téa_1$ $ɔ́_2$ nɛ $búu_3$ 'the tree$_1$ is$_2$ white$_3$'

$ɔ́_1$ né wen_2-$tɛ_3$ $sɛn$-$tɛ$-$ré_4$ kó $ró_5$ na_6 '(she said it) was$_1$ necessary$_2$ to come$_3$ here$_6$ to her$_5$ house$_4$'

$boá_1$ nɛ ó $mboró_2$ 'if (they) were$_1$ red monkeys$_2$'

wa $dɛá$ $bisa_1$ né gba $túrú$-$gaza_2$ kó wa_3 né saa ná 'they got all dressed up$_1$ in their$_3$ circumcision clothes$_2$' (where né saa ná 'it's no joke,' a common expression, is used as an intensifier)

$ture_1$ né $zạra$ $ám_2$ $dɔà_3$ $hó_4$ wa_5 '(this) morning$_1$ (it was) zạra (a ctn. tuberous root) which I$_2$ roasted$_3$ for$_4$ them$_5$'

$bó_1$ ɔ $zaŋáa_2$ nɛ $mbɛ́tɛ_3$ 'if (he) was$_1$ inside$_2$ indeed$_3$'

$nɛ_1$ $ʔbay_2$ $mɔ_3$ $kpém_4$ né $nzapá_5$ 'and$_1$ just$_2$ one$_4$ thing$_3$—it's God$_5$'

mĩ́ nɛ hɔ tĩ́a 'I'm the first-born'

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

rapid speech with the suffixal form -y, which is bound to any word pre-
ceding it:[22]

<div align="center">

gende gá ye ge

gende gá ye

ye ge

ye

gende gá

gá

</div>

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

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

> a_1 tɔ́$_2$ há$_3$ gbɛ̀ɾɛ́, gende gá ye ge, kínɛɛ$_4$ mɛ$_5$ yóó$_6$ kó mɛ dĭyɛ$_7$. 'He$_1$
> said$_2$ to$_3$ Lizard, "Now$_4$ you$_5$ stand$_6$ here$_7$."'
>
> timɔtée dʉŋ tɔ́ wen$_1$ ínaa$_2$, gende gá ye$_3$, ge$_4$ a mɛ$_5$ yú yui$_6$ wenáá ge
> nde. 'Timothy was talking$_1$ with him$_2$, saying$_3$, "Why$_4$ are you$_5$
> running$_6$?"'
>
> mise$_1$ bám$_2$ é$_3$ tĭ$_4$ gende gá ye$_5$ ɛrɛ$_6$ nɛ́$_7$. 'Monsieur$_1$ took me$_2$ (and)
> put$_3$ (me in) front,$_4$ saying,$_5$ "Let's$_6$ go$_7$."'
>
> mbíⁱ ye$_2$ mise$_3$ mɛ ndɔ́raa$_4$ gende gá ye$_5$ é$_6$ hɛ́ ɛ́$_7$ zɔ́kaa$_8$ sák$_9$ sɛ́$_{10}$ 'I$_1$
> said$_2$, "Monsieur$_3$, shoot him$_4$," (and he answered) saying$_5$, "Let$_6$
> me$_7$ see him$_8$ well$_9$ first$_{10}$."'
>
> go$_1$ bó$_2$ zɔk$_3$ gɔ́y$_4$, gende gá ye$_5$ déʔdé$_6$ zɔ́ŋá$_7$ kó aáyɛ$_8$ nɔ́ɔ wá 'so$_1$ when$_2$
> (they) see$_3$ (her) thus$_4$, (they respond) saying$_5$, "(Look at) what's-
> his-name's$_8$ attractive$_6$ daughter$_7$"'

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

nɛ₁ té né₂ há₃ ą₄, gá ye₅ bá₆ tą₇ ą dέ₈ 'and₁ (they) bring₂ (it) to₃ her₄, saying₅, "Take₆ (it) and₇ make₈ . . . "'

dila₁ tɛá₂, go₃ ákaa₄, ák₅ gbɛrέ, gáy₆ gbɛrɛ̀ ndé nɛ, mέ₇ gbɛá₈ sa?de₉ '(the) Lion₁ came₂ and₃ asked him₄, (that is) asked₅ Lizard, saying₆, "Say, Lizard, you₇ killed₈ an animal₉ . . . "'

wa₁ rį́k₂ wa₃, gá ye₄ há ró₅ dák₆ kéey₇ há zaŋⁱ́wa₈ 'they₁ whip₂ them₃, saying₄, "Let's₅ take₆ (the) fear₇ out of them₈"'

go₁ sá₂ gáy da?doŋ 'and₁ (they) call₂ (it) a "da?doŋ"'

bó₁ tp̣₂ ye ge dila₃ gɔ́y₄ 'when₁ (he) said₂ "lion"₃ like this₄'

ŋma yín- zoro₁ wéé ye ge₂ ?buturu 'one fish's name₁ is₂ ?buturu'

mo nɛ₁ ó sókái₂ ye ge₃ bé-wéey₄ nέ gaza₅ wenáa sέ wái '(the) reason₁ the elders₂ say₃ that young men₄ should be circumcised₅ . . . '

mέ₁ ye₂ f̣₃ nɛ f̣₃ ɔ́₄ nɛ wǐ-dɛ₅ yɔ́ná₆ 'you₁ say₂, "I₃ am₄ a producer₅ of food₆"'

mbǐ₁ ye₂, dila₃ baá₄ ą₅ 'I₁ said₂, "A lion₃ got₄ him₅"'

?doŋ-wáá kέ rέ ín mέ ye ge ndé 'what is our relationship with each other?' (= 'way of us with you what?')

mɔ ye ge ndé 'what's the affair'

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

bóm₁ gam tɛέm₂ wen kó₃ nέm ba₄ te₅, gende gá₆, ą̌ hɔà₇ ?béé₈ 'when I₁ turned around₂ to₃ climb up₄ a tree₅, well₆, it had already₈ appeared₇'

wan gbǐya dų́ŋ₁ ínaa₂, gende gá₃ wá₄ ?dafá₅ gam guram₆ '(the) master of (the) gbǐya was₁ with him₂, in other words₃, they₄ had already prepared₅ (the) whirlwind₆'

ɛrɛ₁ kp̣₂ wóó mise gbɛá₃ fɔrɔ₄, gɔ́y gende gá₅ wi₆ dέ saa wéndé 'we₁ yelled₂, "Hurrah, Monsieur has killed₃ an elephant₄," so then₅ (he) said), "Are you₆ happy?"'

sa?de₁ dɛá taa₂ ?bɔ, gende gá₃ kusi₄ 'there were three₂ more animals₁ (dead), making₃ nine₄'

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

bą̌₁ ą̌₂ zɔkóm₃ gá₄ mǐ₅ ą̌a₆ 'when₁ he₂ saw me₃, (he) said₄, "Here₆ I₅ (am)"'

bé₁ rέ₂ gbɔ₃ sɛn-tɛⁱfara₄ ɔi₅ mɛ, ga mbóro₆ dɛá 'when₁ we₂ had arrived₃ at the place₄ to sleep₅, it was already evening₆'

bó$_1$ wá$_2$ zɔk$_3$ gá ɛrɛ́$_4$ ɔɔ tɛ́$_5$ gɔ́ɔ$_6$ 'when$_1$ they$_2$ looked$_3$, here$_6$ we$_4$ were coming$_5$'

gom$_1$ mámaa$_2$ go$_3$ mbĭ$_4$ ye$_5$, óó?, gá mɛ́$_6$ dɛà$_7$ ré ge$_8$ 'and I$_1$ laughed at him$_2$, and$_3$ I$_4$ said$_5$, "Oh, so what$_8$ did you$_6$ do$_7$ . . . ?"'

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

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

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

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

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

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

?bay 'even, just, also.'[25]

 g6 ?bay mɔ$_1$ kpém$_2$?món nɛ dɔ́á$_3$ ŋmaá$_4$ 'and just one$_2$ single thing$_1$, namely, keeping things from$_3$ one another$_4$'

?bay mɔ$_1$ nɔ́ɔ$_2$ nɛ nzapá$_3$ dɛá$_4$ ĭn$_5$ wa$_6$, 'this$_2$ very thing$_1$ which God$_3$ did$_4$ for$_5$ them$_6$'

fey$_1$ gan yú$_2$ mɔ$_3$ ná, gó ?bay mundú$_4$ nɛ fey bá$_5$ 'death$_1$ doesn't run away$_2$ from anything$_3$, and death takes$_5$ even a white person$_4$'

?bay zɛ$_1$ dɛá$_2$, nɛ ?mɔná$_3$, go dŷŋ a hé kɔwá$_4$ 'even after night$_1$ comes$_2$, (it) continues$_3$ to cry$_4$'

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

   gba dą̇y 'wound which covers up without healing properly' (dą̇y 'wound')
   gba sɔ, in kam-́gba sɔ 'food, memorial feast,' gba gba sɔ 'the great
      spirit' (sɔ 'spirit, shade')
   gba geʔda 'certain manioc which bears one year after being planted'
      (geʔda 'manioc')
   gba tuwa 'house kept empty for guests' (tuwa 'house')
   gba wɔ 'famine' (wɔ 'hunger')
   gba zawa 'ground nut: <u>Voandzeia subterranea</u>' (zawa 'peanut')

ŋma 'a, some, certain, few' (that is, an item or class of items representa-
tive of a larger group of the same):

   ŋma$_1$ wí-ré$_2$ ýʔŋ$_3$ wárá$_4$ ré$_5$? 'Does a$_1$ person$_2$ eat$_3$ (the) village$_5$-fruit$_4$?'
   tɛ́m$_1$ kpa$_2$ ŋma kóo$_3$ íye$_4$ 'where$_4$ should I$_1$ find$_2$ a wife$_3$?'
   ŋma wen$_1$ bó ná$_2$ 'there's no$_2$ (further) word$_1$'
   gan$_1$ nɛ́m$_2$ pi$_3$ ŋma$_4$ saʔdeí$_5$ nu kpém ná$_1$ 'I'm$_2$ not$_1$ going$_2$ to throw
      down$_3$ any$_4$ (of) the meat$_5$'

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

   tɛ-́kɔ-ríp$_1$ ó tų́$_2$ wí-ré$_3$ 'in (the) eyes$_1$ of black$_2$ people$_3$'
   ó dɛ̨́rá$_1$ wí-ré$_2$ '(the) crowd$_1$ of people$_2$'
   bɔlɔ-náŋ ó saʔde 'tracks of the animals'
   ó mɔ-́dɛ zɔ́ŋá 'things with which girls get dressed up'
   ó wa nóɔ nɛ gan zéé tɛ-rò nái 'those who don't obey'
   ó gbɛ̨rɛ́ ĩn dila, a wa yáá 'Lizard and (the) Lion were strolling about'
   ó ŋgɔzɔŋ kíí$_1$ ré$_2$ tɛ́$_3$ 'Ngɔzɔŋ was looking for$_1$ us$_2$ (and) coming$_3$'

ó ʔdamba₁ dɛà₂ ʔnáŋ₃ kosára₄ ín rɛ́₅ ʔdɛ́₆ '(the) people from the village of Damba₁ did₂ a very₆ bad₃ thing₄ to us₅'

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

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

    bú záan 'white clouds'
    bura kúŋmgbá 'a very large kúŋmgbá basket'
    dé kóo 'a good woman'
    déʔdé kóo ín ʔnáŋ kóo 'good and bad women'
    a kíʔdí mbé fiyo 'he looks for another fetish'
    sóó mụuˊsaʔde fɨ́ɨ 'just a little bit of meat'
    sóó naa 'maternal aunt' (= 'little mother')

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

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

    ám₁ hɛà₂ á̰₃ velóo₄ kɔ́m₅ 'I₁ sold₂ my₅ old₃ (former) bicycle₄,' compare
        velóo kɔ́m₁ dɛà₂ á̰₃ ʔdɛ́₄ 'my bicycle₁ has gotten₂ very₄ old₃'
    á mɛ́ tam ndíŋ₂ mɔ₃ ná₄ 'don't₄ touch₁ dirty₂ things₃,' compare fɔ́ɔ₁
        ndíiŋ₂ há sɛnɛ́₃ 'wash₁ (the) dirt₂ out of it₃'
    ɛ́rɛ́₁ gboá₂ nɛ kpém wesé₃ 'we₁ arrived₂ on the same day₃ (we went),'
        compare wesé kpém 'one day'

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

    (a) Perfective adjectives:
    ó dɛ́rá wí-ré₁ sɔ́n₂ 'all₂ (the) people₁' < dɛr- 'to be numerous'
    gbɛ́á máŋgo 'ripe mango' < gbɛ̧ 'to be red, ripe'
    ʔnáŋá velóo 'ruined bicycle, wreck of a bicycle' < ʔnaŋ 'to ruin, wreck'
    áyá bere₁ kóo₂ 'woman₂ (with) fallen breasts₁, an old woman' < 'to
        sprinkle, fall'

(b) Imperfective adjectives:

gbɛ́ŋ fara 'hot place' < gbɛŋ 'to be hot'

gbɛ̃ mɔ 'red thing'

ʔnáŋ mɔ 'bad thing'

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

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

báraa ị̀ì ná mɛi 'the dry season before last'

tíyɛɛ ị̀ì ná mɛ 'two days before yesterday'

mise$_1$ tɔ́ ye$_2$, mǐ ná$_3$, nɛ ge ndé$_4$. 'Monsieur$_1$ said$_2$ (to me), "Say$_3$, what's that$_4$?"'

ạ$_1$ tɔ́ ye$_2$, ɛ́rɛ́ ná$_3$, nɛ ɛ̃$_4$ gbɛá$_5$ saʔde$_6$. 'He$_1$ said$_2$ (to us), "Hey you$_3$, I$_4$ killed$_5$ an animal$_6$."'

foo$_1$ kɛ̃ ɛ̃$_2$ ná ndé á baá zaŋ$_3$ wá '(he said), "My$_2$ mother-in-law$_1$ has become pregnant$_3$"'

nɛm tɔ́ ye, mise ná nɛ 'and I said, "Hey Monsieur . . . "'

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

ạ$_1$ mɔ̃y$_2$ tịị$_3$-wa$_4$ nɔ́ɔ gɔ́ɔ 'he$_1$ gathered$_2$ their$_4$ tails$_5$ together'

ɔ́rɔ́$_1$ laa gata nɔ́ʔɔ́$_2$ mɛ gɔ́ɔi$_3$ gá$_1$ 'like$_1$ this$_2$ Laa-gata over there$_3$'

gɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ gbɔ́$_3$ sɛn-tɛ-na nɔ́ɔ$_4$ 'so$_1$ we$_2$ arrived$_3$ here$_4$'

mɛ̃$_1$ nɔ́ɔ$_2$ nɛ mɛ bɛ̃$_3$ mbɔra$_4$ 'you$_1$ here$_2$ who reject$_3$ instructions$_4$'

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

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

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

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

> ŋma mɔ kɛ́ rɛ́ wen-dɛ wenáa gan bó ná   'there was nothing we could do
> about it' (= 'some thing of us to do about it is not')
>
> $gan_1 \ am_2 \ ypŋ_3 \ mɔ_4 \ rɔy \ rɔy_5 \ ná_1$ 'I_2 didn't$_1$ eat$_3$ things$_4$ indiscriminately$_5$'
>
> $gan_1 \ nɛá_2 \ ha_3 \ déá \ saa_4 \ hɛ́ \ rɛ́_5 \ kpém_6 \ ná_1$ '(it) would$_2$ not$_1$ have$_2$ given$_3$
> us$_5$ any pleasure$_4$ whatsoever$_6$'
>
> ŋma mɔ gan ɔ́ ŋgay gán nzapà   'there's nothing too strong for God'
> (= 'some thing is strong surpasses God not')
>
> $gan_1 \ a_2 \ há_3 \ ri_4 \ hó \ wa_5 \ dɔk_6 \ wen-mɔ_7 \ ndɛ \ wa_8 \ há_9 \ há \ a_{10} \ ta \ a \ há \ ri \ hó \ wa$
> $wen \ nɔ́áai_{11} \ ná_1$ 'he$_2$ did not$_1$ give$_3$ them$_5$ much$_6$ water$_4$ for (the)
> things$_7$ they$_8$ gave$_9$ him$_{10}$ for which he was to give them water to
> drink$_{11}$' (that is, he gave them less water than what they 'paid' for)
>
> $gan_1 \ bó_2 \ nɛ \ mǐ_3 \ a \ ném_4 \ usi_5 \ mbɛ́tí \ hó \ wa \ ná_1$ '(it) is$_2$ not$_1$ I_3 who will$_4$
> teach$_5$ them to read' (= 'show paper to them')

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

371.21. ná occurs in negated directives: á mɛ́ nɛ ná 'don't go'; á mɛ́ $nɛ_1$
mɛ yoo_2 $zu-wa_3$ ná 'don't go$_1$ (and) stand$_2$ over them$_3$'

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

> $wí-ré_1 \ bó_2 \ nɛ \ gaza_3 \ ná$ 'if$_2$ people$_1$ aren't circumcised$_3$'
> $bó_1 \ ɔ_2 \ nɛ \ yɔ́á \ mɔ_3 \ kɔ́ \ mɛ́_4 \ ná$ 'if$_1$ (it) should not be$_2$ your$_4$ fault$_3$'
> $nɛ́_1 \ mɛ́_2 \ zim \ mɔ_3 \ ná$ 'if$_1$ you$_2$ should not observe the taboos$_3$'

371.23. ná occurs in dependent clauses:

> $tɛ_1 \ ri_2 \ fók_3 \ láŋgí_4 \ ná$ 'so that$_1$ (the) water$_2$ wouldn't flow$_3$ (and) pass$_4$ on'
> $wen \ há_1 \ ŋmgbɛ́rɛ́_2 \ dɛ́_3 \ mɛ́_4 \ ná$ 'so that$_1$ leprosy$_2$ wouldn't afflict$_3$ you$_4$'
> $wa_1 \ bɛ́_2 \ mɔ_3 \ ndɛ \ wa_4 \ zɔ́ŋ_5 \ nái$ 'they$_1$ reject$_2$ the thing$_3$ which they$_4$ don't
> see$_5$'; compare gan wa bɛ́ mɔ ndɛ wa zɔ́ŋ nɛ $ríp_1$-$ró_2$ ná 'they don't
> reject the thing which they see with their$_2$ eyes$_1$'

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

> mɛ ɔ́ kó mɛ́ nɛ kóo ɔ̀ɔ ná   'aren't you a woman?' (said in derision)
> $nɛi \ gáy_1 \ mɔ_2 \ ?dɔɔ-mɔi_3 \ sɛ́ \ ná$ 'and shouldn't you scare$_1$ things$_2$ (that is,
> animals and birds) from under the things$_3$ (that is, plants)?'

wí-ré$_1$ nɔ́ɔ$_2$, á ndɔà$_3$ kó$_4$ ró$_5$ só kó$_6$ bém$_7$ kó ró feá$_8$ go$_9$ ró nɛá$_{10}$ biróai$_{11}$
   ná wéndé '(they said), "Didn't this$_2$ person$_1$ outrage$_3$ our$_5$ woman$_4$
   so that$_6$ our child$_7$ died$_8$ and$_9$ we went$_{10}$ (to) war$_{11}$?"'
tɛá$_1$ wá$_2$ gbɛ$_3$ ŋma ró kpém$_4$ wéndé gan$_5$ rííto$_6$ ná wéndé '(they said),
   "Wouldn't they$_2$ have come$_1$ (and) killed$_3$ one$_4$ or$_5$ two$_6$ of us?"'

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

   nɛ́ saa ná 'it's no joke'
   gɔ́y ná 'not like this'

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

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

   nɔ́$_1$ aá$_2$ tɛ-túrú$_3$ go$_4$ ɔ́$_5$ ŋmgba?buu$_6$. 'Oil$_1$ spilled$_2$ on (the) cloth$_3$ so$_4$ it's$_5$
      heavy$_6$.'
   ǎ$_1$ ypŋà$_2$ yǐnaa$_3$ ŋmgbá?dásá$_4$. 'He$_1$ gritted$_2$ his teeth$_3$ fearlessly$_4$.'
   wa$_1$ zéé$_2$ ŋmgbal$_3$. 'They$_1$ hear$_2$ but don't act accordingly$_3$.'
   wa$_1$ wá$_2$ mɔ, wa$_3$ nɛ́$_4$ ŋmgbeleŋ ŋmgbeleŋ$_5$. 'They$_1$ are weeding$_2$ (the
      plot), (and) they$_3$ are going$_4$ at it in all directions$_5$.'
   wá$_1$?dafá$_2$?doŋ-wáá$_3$ go$_4$ ɔ́$_5$ ŋmgbɛl$_6$. 'They$_1$ fixed$_2$ (the) path$_3$, so$_4$ (it)
      is$_5$ clean of weeds$_6$.'
   mɛ$_1$ tɔ́$_2$ nú-gbɛyá$_3$ ŋmgbel$_4$. 'You$_1$ talk$_2$ (the) Gbɛya language$_3$ without
      making mistakes$_4$.'

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

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

ʔbɔ: am$_1$ mbá$_2$ mɛ́$_3$ ʔbɔ 'I$_1$ greet$_2$ you$_3$ also,' ɛrɛ́$_1$ tɛà$_2$ ínaa$_3$ ʔbɔ 'we$_1$ came$_2$ with him$_3$ also'

dóka: kɛ́ey dɛà rɛ́ dóka 'we were very much afraid,' zɛrɛ́$_1$ dɛ́ wa$_2$ dóka, go$_3$ wa fɛ́$_4$ 'they$_2$ are sick$_1$ a lot, so$_3$ they die$_4$,' bɔnɔ-náŋ$_1$-wa$_2$ ɔ́$_3$ dóka 'there were$_3$ a lot of their$_2$ tracks$_1$'

gɔ́ɔ: sóó$_1$ tɛm$_2$ ɔ́$_3$ kpɔrɔ kpɔrɔ$_4$ gɔ́ɔ$_5$ 'so that$_1$ my body$_2$ is$_3$ without blemish$_4$ here$_5$,' mise$_1$ a dʉŋ tɛ́$_2$ mɛ gɔ́ɔi$_3$ '(it's) Monsieur$_1$ coming$_2$ right over there$_3$,' go$_1$ rɔ́k$_2$ tɛm$_3$ gɔ́ɔi 'and$_1$ (which) pleases$_2$ me$_3$ here,' gaza$_1$ nɛ mɛ$_2$ nɛà$_3$ gɔ́ɔ '(the) circumcision rites$_1$ through which you$_2$ just passed$_3$,' ạ$_1$ nɛ́$_2$ óró$_3$ ná ạ́ nɛ$_4$ óró laa-gata nɔ́ʔɔ́ mɛ gɔ́ɔi gá$_3$ 'he$_1$ went$_2$ as if$_3$ to go$_4$, say, (in the direction of) Laa-gata here,' fara díyɛ nɔ́ɔ nɛ gạ rɛ kpá wa ná gɔ́ɔ (very freely trans.) 'this situation of our not finding them here'

gɔ́y: dɛ́$_1$ gɔ́y sɛ́$_2$ 'do (it) like this then$_2$,' bó gɔ́y ná '(that) isn't the way,' ɛrɛ$_1$ kɔ́ ʔdoŋáa$_2$ gɔ́y ʔbɔ$_3$ 'we$_1$ like it$_2$ like this too$_3$,' nɛm$_1$ nɛ kɔ́ɔ-mise$_2$ gɛʔdɛ́k gɛʔdɛ́k$_3$ gɔ́y ŋmgbóŋ$_4$ 'and I$_1$ followed Monsieur$_2$ slowly$_3$ like this for a long time$_4$,' wa$_1$ dɛ́ bisa$_2$ hó wa$_3$ gɔ́y nɛ túrú$_4$ kó wai$_5$ gɔ́y 'they$_1$ dressed$_2$ them$_3$ up like this in their$_5$ clothes$_4$,' wa$_1$ yú$_2$ gɔ́y$_3$ 'they$_1$ fled$_2$ a long time$_3$,'

gbáŋ: ná ạ́ nɛ$_1$ gbáŋ$_2$ ĩn$_3$ mɛ́$_4$ tɛ-galá$_5$ mɛ$_6$ 'he shall go$_1$ along$_2$ with$_3$ you$_4$ to (the) market$_5$ there$_6$'

sɔ́n: ám$_1$ gbɔʔdà$_2$ sɔ́n$_3$ 'I$_1$ am completely$_3$ exhausted$_2$,' wa$_1$ tɔ́ mbɔra$_2$ hó wa$_3$ gɔ́y$_4$ túu sɔ́n$_5$ 'they$_1$ instruct$_2$ them$_3$ like this$_4$ fully$_5$,' bạ́$_1$ ạ́$_2$ gɔn$_3$ wa$_4$ nɛ́ gaza sɔ́n$_5$ 'after$_1$ he's$_2$ finished$_5$ circumcising$_3$ them$_4$,' ạ́ gɔnà tạ́-ạ sɔ́n 'he considered it all'

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

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

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

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

(a) Many forms consist of two elements at whose juncture consonant clusters occur which otherwise occur only at open juncture, such as: dup dup, kép kép, fɛp fep, gbɔt gbɔt, ŋmgbɔt ŋmgbɔt.[30] Cf. ám$_1$ ndɔrà$_2$ dóp$_3$?dol 'I$_1$ shot$_2$ a water-buck$_3$ (and he fell) with one shot.'

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

> kir kir '(going, being) round,' kiri '(wood is) round,' kiri wiri '(ball, stone is) big and round,' gbi?di kiri 'large and short (person),' cf. gbi?di gbi?di 'large and tall (person)'
>
> zoŋ zoŋ 'hard (pot),' zoŋ ?doŋ 'stiff (arm)'

For other examples, see 372.3.

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

> dų́ŋ$_1$ wa$_2$ tɛ́$_3$ kɔ?dɔrɔ, kɔ?dɔrɔ 'they$_2$ began$_1$ to come$_3$, (making a noise) . . . '
>
> háy$_1$?dɔɔ́-wey$_2$ nɔ́ɔ$_3$ mɔ́ gɛrɛŋ, gɛrɛŋ '(they) crept$_1$ through this$_3$ fire$_2$ (going) . . . '
>
> gɛ́ɛ́-wa dų̀ŋ wéé ŋmgbɔ?bɔk, ŋmgbɔ?bɔ ŋmgbɔ?bɔ 'their voices went . . . '
>
> wéé kpúgut, . . . dų̀ŋ wéé kpúgutu kpúgutu kpúgutu 'made a noise . . . , continued to go . . . '
>
> dų́ŋ$_1$ wa$_2$ sá gima$_3$ fu, fu, fu fu 'they$_2$ began$_1$ to sing$_3$ (going) . . . '

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

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

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

(f) All forms consisting of four syllables are taken to be combined of two words of unique occurrence because (1) the canonical forms of this word class (following the above analysis) do not contain four syllables, and (2) there remains the possibility that like so many other forms these too, with more data, would show one element turning up in other constructions. Here follows the complete list of this "residue," not an imposing one, considering the great number of the forms in the corpus: bɛra ndaʔdu, fɔlɔ fiyɔ, golo goto, gbɛrɛ ŋgezeŋ, gboro goʔdok, gbɔsɔ ŋgɔlɔŋ, kpara ŋgusaŋ, kpɔtɔ mbiyɔ, kpɔrɔ ŋɔnɔŋ, lɔkɔ dɔrɔ, luru kpuŋmgbuŋ, mbɔlɔ ʔbɔtɔ, ŋmgbala siyo, ŋmgbɔrɔ ŋgondɔŋ, naŋma ziʔni, ndaʔda ŋmgbaŋ, ndɔrɔ ŋmgbɔʔdɔŋ, yuru kuʔduk, wɔ́kɔ́ zɔ́rɔ́. (Glosses here, in 372.21, and in 373.323 (i) have been regretfully omitted to save space.)

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

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

CV	fu (rare)
CVV	ʔbéé, hoo, fɛ́ɛ́
CVVC	ŋgɔɔri, ndɛ́ɛ́r, lóóŋ
CVC	bɛl, béŋ, bɛm, bót, but
CVCV	bɛrɛ, vírí, sɛkɛ, ruʔdu, ŋmgboʔdo, lɔŋgɛ
CVCVV	hɔmɛɛ, bɔfɛɛ, buyuu, fawɔɔ
CVCVC	biraŋ, bíríp, bukay, ʔbárák, dɛlɛŋ
CVVCVC	láázák (rare)
CVVCVV	ʔdááʔdíí, taatii, fɛ́ɛwɔɔ (rare)
CVCVCV	ʔdɛyɛrɛ, dɔmɔrɔ, dɛ́kɛ́rɛ́, dobaʔdá
CVCVCVV	ndɔʔdilɔɔ, hɛ́ŋɛ́rɛ́ɛ́, gɔgiʔdɔɔ
CVVCVCV	ʔbiikiri, ʔbɛɛkɛrɛ (rare)
CVCVCVC	dugulam (rare)

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

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

372.222.   Partial reduplication. The last four words are the only ones which demonstrate initial partial reduplication: dɔrɔrɔ 'placid (water),' bɛ́ʔdɛ́ʔdɛ́ ʔbɔzɔzɔ 'large (kernels),' kakaʔda 'difficult,' gbɛgbɛt 'thick (paper),' kokoʔdo 'strong (thick paper),' kokoroŋ '(circled) around,' cf. kor 'round.'

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

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

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

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

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

> raŋ 'sound made when a person runs on hard ground,' riŋ 'sound made when a small-hoofed animal runs on hard ground'
> gbeŋ gbeŋ, reŋ reŋ, réŋ réŋ, kéŋ kéŋ, zoŋ zoŋ, roŋ roŋ, yen yen '(all referring to some kind of) hardness or tightness'
> pám púlém, hám hám, pulam '(all referring to some kind of) lightness (in weight)'
> pélɛ́m 'narrow (like piece of paper),' polom polom 'long and widish (like peeled manioc skins)'
> mɔʔnuŋ mɔʔnuk 'soft (bone),' muʔnuŋ muʔnuk and gbuʔnuk gbuʔnuk 'soft (ground)'
> ndɔʔdɔlɔ 'undried, green (beans), resilient (undried skull),' ndɔʔdilɔɔ 'soft, weak (sick body)'

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

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

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

boroy toy '(sit, be in one place) immoveable,' compare boro 'iron,'
   zoy zoy 'hard'

ʔbúró ʔbúró 'tiny (yams),' compare ʔburi 'shatter, break (like glass)'

kokoroŋ '(brush fire circled) around,' compare kokor 'roof ring'

kpɔyɔŋ 'slipping out of one's hands,' compare kpɔy 'to take off (clothes),
   skin, bruise'

ŋmgboʔbolo 'wide' (like mouth of zɨya frog), related by informant to
   ŋmgbók tóólo '(certain) frog'

ndaʔdak ndaʔdak '(wood which) doesn't split well,' compare ndaʔdi
   'to glue, stick together'

rutuʔbay '(different kinds of sauces) mixed together,' compare ruti
   'to mix together,' wá rutó kpoó nɛ́ ŋmaá rutuʔbay 'they mixed the
   sauces together . . . '

wakap wakap 'noises made in going through dry grass,' compare waka
   'cane-grass'

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

372.312a. Words characterized by certain regular alternations.

(1) With vowel alternations:

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

gaŋ ʔbilaŋ, gɔŋ ʔbilɔŋ 'twisted, bent'

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

(2) With consonant alternations or loss:

yándáŋ, rándáŋ '(walls of hole) clean straight up and down' (one in-
   formant rejected the first word and used the second for this mean-
   ing)

kpɛrɛŋ 'smooth (of wood),' kpɛrɛ 'smooth (of skin)'

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

yóʔdé yóʔdé '(shoes) not sturdy,' yóré yóré '(cloth) not sturdy';
   sɛ́ʔdɛ́ʔdɛ́ 'completely filled,' sɛrɛrɛ́ 'filled and slightly spilling
   over.' The /ʔd/ : /r/ alternation occurs on a dialectal level, the
   former in Gbɛya words and the latter in cognate words in the Gbaya
   dialect of Bouar.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Derived from free base:

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

Derived from nonfree base:

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

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

ʔbɛtɛ ʔbɛtɛ '(read) well	ʔbɛt '(arise) without saying anything'
koto koto '(pot leaks) continuously'	kot '(snatch something away) quickly'
ŋmgbɛlɛ ŋmgbɛlɛ 'level (road)'	ŋmgbɛl 'clear of rubbish'
gbɔŋgɔ lɔŋgɔ 'tall (person)'	gbɔŋ 'straight (road)'
ndóŋgó yóŋgó	ndóŋ 'far, far away'

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

(1) Change of tones with no segmental change:

vɛl vɛl, vɛ́l vɛ́l 'long (spear head)'

sip '(tightened and) fast (because bottom is flat),' sip '(shoes fit)
    tightly'

pirip pirip '(talk) too fast,' pírip '(pass) without being seen'

ŋmgbɛl 'level,' ŋmgbɛ́l 'prostrate (on ground)'

mbɔlɔ ʔbɔtɔ 'soft (plastic dish),' mbɔ́lɔ́ ʔbɔ́tɔ́ 'thin (paper)'

mɛnɛŋ 'soft (European mattress),' mɛ́nɛ́ŋ 'soft (cooked squash)'

keʔdeŋ keʔdeŋ '(roof leaks) drop by drop,' kéʔdéŋ kéʔdéŋ '(pot leaks)
    flowing out'

hoforo 'empty (box),' hófóró 'headless (axe handle)'

fot '(cut something soft) easily,' fót '(slip out) easily'

ʔbɛt '(arise and leave) without warning or saying anything,' ʔbɛ́t '(grab
    something from someone) abruptly'

boŋ 'open (space between words on page),' bóŋ '(sky) cleared (of clouds)'

ʔdɛkɛ ʔdɛkɛ '(young peanut plants) all over (plot),' ʔdɛ́kɛ́ ʔdɛ́kɛ́ 'ex-
    hausted'

fii 'dark, poor visibility,' fíi 'little, few'

gbaŋ kalaŋ 'wide (crate),' gbáŋ káláŋ '(a few people fleeing) hurriedly'

gboŋ gboŋ 'cleared, clean,' gbóŋ gbóŋ '(hit) hard'

hɛl hɛl '(be) hot (in sun),' hɛ́l hɛ́l 'uneven, disproportionate (cuts of
    meat)'

keŋ keŋ 'shivering (from cold),' kéŋ kéŋ 'hard (pumped up tire tube)'

kusu kusu '(body) itching all over,' kúsú kúsú '(sunlight) pouring down
    (on something)'

kpɛrɛŋ 'smooth (board),' kpɛ́rɛ́ŋ '(walk) slowly as if looking for some-
    thing'

lɔŋ lɔŋ '(earth) soft, free of stones,' lóŋ lóŋ 'completely bald'

ŋmgbalala 'thick (honey),' ŋmgbálálá 'light (from moon)'

(2) Change of tones with segmental change. Combined forms consisting
of two reduplicated elements with low tones are correlated with others hav-
ing high-low-high tones on three elements, the second one usually being a
form shortened by the loss of a syllable (that is, CV) or a phoneme (C or V).
In most cases the meanings of the two forms are (as far as I was able to de-
termine) identical and the difference seems to be stylistic, but there is some
semantic difference in a few forms. The examples are here grouped accord-
ing to the kind and amount of segmental change involved.

No segmental change: bil bil bil '(talk) evasively (because caught steal-
ing),' ndúŋ nduŋ ndúk '(act) evasive (because caught stealing),' ŋgáŋ ŋgaŋ
ngák '(place is) rocky (stones scattered everywhere)' yéŋgɛ́m yɛŋgɛm yéŋgɛ́m
'(go) here and there (as in looking for employment).'

Loss of CV: ʔbɛ́rɛ́ ʔbɛ ʔbɛ́rɛ́ '(walk) fast'; kpárú kpa kpárú '(listen) half-heartedly'; gbítí gbi gbítí '(get up) in haste'; wɔ́tɔ́ wɔ wɔ́tɔ́ '(many people) making noise (by talking in undertone)' : wɔtɔ wɔtɔ '(two or three people) making noise.'

Loss of C: dém de dém 'frantic (at the death of someone),' kpɔ̰́ kpɔ̰ kpɔ̰́t 'lumpy (dough)'; kpṵ́k kpṵ kpṵ́k 'descriptive of many knots on tree'; pán pa pán '(roam around) usually alone'; táŋ ta táŋ '(pedaling bicycle) up and down' : taŋ taŋ 'beating (of heart).'

Loss of V: kéé ke kéé 'condition of eyes in reaction to bright light'; yáá ya yáá '(running around) doing evil.'

372.322. Derivation by reduplication involves those words with identical terminal CVCVs. The final CV is taken to be a reduplication of the preceding because of the correlation between words which are characterized by such sequences and those which are not (even though for some words it means setting up hypothetical base forms). This is not the only use of the process of reduplication; it occurs stylistically in the structuring of sentences and in the composition of combined DAs. Words having reduplicated elements are classified according to whether the reduplication is complete or partial.

(a) Complete reduplication. The examples are divided according to whether the repetition occurs twice or three times. None of these is cor-related with a nonreduplicated word.

(1) Twice repeated. These always involve reduplication of an element consisting of CVV: dɔ̰́ɔ́ dɔ̰́ɔ́ '(come) always,' fa̰afaa '(stomach hurts) . . . ,' ŋgɛɛŋgɛɛ '(look for someone) here and there,' páápáá 'completely (gone),' vɔɔvɔɔ '(rain) hard with much thunder.'

(2) Repeated three times. These always involve reduplication of an ele-ment consisting of CV: bububu 'budded (cotton),' zizizi '(roasting meat) sizzling,' zɔzɔzɔ '(condition of person who is) perspiring a great deal.'

(b) Partial reduplication. The reduplication involves the repetition of a final CV of a free or assumed base. Some assumed bases are in turn cor-related with free ones, the latter ending with a C and the former ending with an added echo vowel. Once again, some of the correlated pairs have some meaning in common, and the others do not.

(1) Correlated with free bases.

Without intermediate base:

    kususu 'descriptive of certain tuber' : kusu kusu '(itch) terribly all over'

    kpiʔdiʔdi '(smells) bad, strong' : kpiʔdi kpiʔdi '(fame spreads) all over'

    ŋgɛrɛrɛ 'descriptive of rising of sun' : ŋgɛrɛ ŋgɛrɛ '(walk about) in a rapid, nervous sort of way, looking for something'

    wɛrɛrɛ 'descriptive of person coming through dry grass' : wɛrɛ wɛrɛ '(beer) sweet (before fermenting)'

With intermediate base:

    mbɔlɔlɔ '(lie) around (fire)' : mbɔl mbɔl '(hawk flies) in circles'

    ŋmgbalala '(honey is) thick' : ŋmgbal '(leave child) alone and uncared for'

tututu '(go into something) without worrying about consequences' : tut
'(pull away firebrand) suddenly'

vɔkɔkɔ 'many objects (all white),' but also descriptive of newly sprouted
corn plants : vɔk vɔk 'many different things'

(2) Correlated with nonfree bases. The examples are numerous, and
only a few are given: dɔrɔrɔ 'limpid (pond),' bisisi 'descriptive of aroma of
perfume,' féʔdéʔdé '(chase someone away) with severity,' féʔméʔmé 'narrow
(bird's bill),' héŋmgbéŋmgbé 'good-flavored (salt),' ɛlɛlɛ 'descriptive of rab-
bit fur bending in breeze,' ɣréré ~ iríri 'sweet (like candy),' ururu 'rumbling
(of elephant's stomach),' ususu 'descriptive of angry animal's fur standing
up.'

372.323. Derivation by combination is of two types: (1) the combination
of forms at least one of which is either a free noncombined word or a recur-
rent form with a constant meaning in several different combined forms (as
in a,2 and b,1 below), and (2) the combination of forms of unique occurrence
(as in a,1 and b,2).

Two major types of combined forms are distinguished: those consisting
of dissimilar words and those consisting of similar words. This distinction
rests on the fact that there are many combined forms in which the second
word is more or less unlike the first. They are clearly distinct from those
forms with completely reduplicated forms. However, some are characterized
by phonemic dissimilation that resembles the dissimilating pattern of the re-
duplicated forms.

A very interesting feature of combined forms (of both classes) is that
there are many nonfree words which share both a minimal phonemic shape
and meaning with other words. Since, however, these never occur indepen-
dently, I can not be sure how much of the meaning of the entire combined
form is carried by these words in question and how much is carried by the
first word. One analysis would attribute to the second form (which is usually
the patterned one, the one with least phonemic distinctiveness) the basic
meaning and consider the other one a refining or distinguishing word, a type
of modifier. For example, all combined forms containing a "word" which has
the shape kVsV share the meaning of 'unevenness, deviation from a norm.'
Thus: wɔrɔ kɔsɔ '(pounded grain sorghum) but not yet soft'; kpɔrɔ kɔsɔ 'hob-
nailed (shoes), bumpy (Braille dots), uneven (edges of paper chewed on by
mouse)'; wolo koso 'tasteless (where sweetness is expected).' The precise
function of the first word is, however, unclear. In the case of kpɔrɔ kpɔrɔ
'healthy (skin unaffected by leprosy),' for example, the meaning seems to be
'very nice and smooth, even.' See also wolo koso 'sound of water flowing in
gutter.' A similar problem obtains in the dissimilated forms of the redupli-
cated combined forms. This is indeed an intriguing problem, but its solution
can not be resolved, I feel, without two or three times the amount of data at
our disposal.

(a) Combination of dissimilar words. Many of these consist of words simi-
lar in shape and meaning to other words. For the reasons given above, these
forms are called combined forms with recurrent partials. The others have
no recurrent partials, that is, they are of unique occurrence. I feel, neverthe-

less, that with an abundance of additional data many of these would turn up with semantic distinctiveness.

(1) Combined forms with dissimilar nonrecurrent partials. This list is complete: mbɔlɔ ʔbɔtɔ, mbɔ́lɔ́ ʔbɔ́tɔ́, lɔkɔ dɔrɔ, ndɔrɔ ŋmgbɔʔdɔŋ, ŋmgbɔrɔ ŋgɔndɔŋ, ndaʔda ŋmgbaŋ, golo goto, gbɔrɔ goʔdɔk, kpɔtɔ mbiyɔ, kpɔrɔ ŋpnɔŋ, bɛra ndaʔdu, ndɛl ʔbɛ, fɔlɔ fiyɔ, kpara ŋgusaŋ, luru kpuŋmgbuŋ, ŋgara ŋgasa, kpiri kiʔdi, ʔniŋ mɔŋ, gbám gbĭm, gbaŋ ʔmu̧raŋ, bɔrɔy tɔy, pám púlém, ndɔŋ kuléŋ.

(2) Combined forms with dissimilar recurrent partials. The examples are grouped according to the form of the recurrent word, which is cited formulaicly since its vowel or vowels are usually like those of the word which precedes it. This list is complete:

fVrV: gbaʔda fara 'small,' ŋmgbɔʔdo foro 'small (dog)'

kVrV: ŋgutu kuru 'short (tuber),' baʔda kara 'short and fat (person)'

sVʔdV (meaning of extension or constriction): ʔdik si̧ʔdi '(sit) unmoving (that is, not getting up to greet people who are returning with meat),' dók só?dó 'shallow (river),' gbak sáʔdá (or gbák?) 'flat (plate),' gbɛk sɛʔdɛ 'wide-bottomed (gourd),' kɔk sɔʔdɔ 'bent (head of war-club),' tɔk sɔʔdɔ 'drowsy,' kɔ́ʔbɔ́ sɔ́ʔdɔ́ 'long (bird bill),' dom soʔdo 'tasteless (not enough salt),' hák sáʔdá 'tight (hat which doesn't fit),' kek seʔde 'strong, healthy (child),' kɛ́k sɛ́ʔdɛ 'thin (person after illness)'

ʔbVrV (quality of being hard, inflexible): dɛkɛ ʔbɛrɛ 'descriptive of squatting,' goso ʔboro 'stiff (new mat, tire),' ŋgasa ʔbara 'hard,' ŋgara ʔbara 'hard (ground),' saka ʔbara 'sandy sensation (in eyes)'

ʔbVlV (quality of being supple, flabby, yielded): mbɔkɔ ʔbɔlɔ 'supple, soft (cat's body),' zaka ʔbila '(different kinds of sauces) mixed together,' rɔkɔ ʔbiyɔ 'loose-jointed (corpse before rigor mortis),' compare rɔkɛ rɔkɛ '(spearhead) loose (on shaft).' Perhaps ʔbiyɔ can be explained by alternation of /l/ and /y/ (see phonemics 133.1).

sVʔnV: ni̧k si̧ʔni 'wrinkled,' gbak saʔna 'unprepared to give a gift (flustered?)'

lVrV: bɔk lɔrɔ 'wet (wood),' hɛp lɛrɛ (translation not determined)

ŋgVlVŋ: gbɔsɔ ŋgɔlɔŋ 'loose, untied (rope),' gbeze ŋgereŋ 'unprepared.' These are subsumed under one formula because of the alternation that is possible between /l/ and /r/ (see 133.1).

sV (quality of being in disorder, deviating from accepted pattern): gbɔk so '(come) unexpectedly,' ʔmam su 'large, whole (manioc), large, rotten, unclean (tooth),' ŋmgbuk su 'descriptive of being angry and puckering up one's mouth,' wak sa '(what they say does not agree, it's still) in disagreement'

yVrV: gbéŋmgbé yéré '(appeared in front of the lions) all of a sudden, unprotected,' ŋgɔkɔ yɔrɔ 'uncleaned (unhoed and unlevelled front yard)'

ʔdVŋ: ndɔŋ ʔdiŋ 'thick (cloth),' compare ndɔŋ ʔbolɔŋ 'round (tree trunk); ŋmgbɔŋ ʔdɔŋ 'fat and tall,' rɔ́ŋ ʔdɔ́ŋ 'short and thin,' yɔŋ ʔdɔŋ '(stay in one place) without going on ahead,' zɔŋ ʔdɔŋ 'stiff (arm),' compare zɔŋ zɔŋ 'hard (pot)'

ʔbVlVŋ: ndiŋ ʔbiriŋ '(be) disinterested, still (because of cold),' com-
     pare ndiŋ 'quality of not being able to ring'; gaŋ ʔbilaŋ 'twisted,
     bent,' compare gaŋ 'no pep (after eating),' ndoŋ ʔboloŋ 'round
     (tree trunk)'

dVᶒ: ŋmɛŋ dɛŋ 'caved in (bottom of basket),' naŋ diŋ 'tough (meat),'
     teŋ deŋ 'stiff (neck)'

ʔnVŋ: diŋ ʔniŋ 'heavy (spear),' kéŋ ʔnéŋ 'descriptive of last quarter
     of moon,' ŋmaŋ ʔnaŋ 'big and fat,' sɔ́ŋ ʔnɔ́ŋ (make house) small'

kVrVŋ: ʔdɔŋ kɔrɔŋ '(body) swollen (in illness),' compare ʔdɔŋ ʔdɔŋ
     'large (bundle of hǫ́fi grass)'; diŋ kiriŋ 'nonflowing (water in cove),'
     compare diŋ ʔniŋ 'above'; gbaŋ kalaŋ 'wide (crate),' compare gbaŋ
     gbaŋ 'open wide (mouth of lion's den)'; kpáŋ káláŋ '(open door)
     wide,' soŋ koroŋ '(sit on ground) squatting,' woŋ koroŋ (same as
     soŋ koroŋ), wɔŋ kɔlɔŋ 'descriptive of house with walls up but ùn-
     tied'

kpVŋ: rɔŋ kpɔŋ '(river flows) smoothly,' gɔŋ kpɔŋ '(crocodile swishes
     tail) back and forth'

sVŋ: gaŋ saŋ '(killed big game) with one shot,' gɔn sɔŋ '(lumber) piled
     up,' saŋ soŋ 'descriptive of spear-shafts being different'

(b) Combination of similar words. The forms in this class consist of a
base and a reduplicated form. The reduplicated form can occur without
change or with change. In the latter the change consists primarily of dif-
ferent types of dissimilation. The examples are grouped accordingly.

(1) Combinations with a reduplicated form without change. Once again
some combined forms can be paired with a nonreduplicated form and some
can not. The following is a complete list of the former kind. It should be
noticed once more that there may or may not be a similarity in meaning be-
tween the reduplicated form and its nonreduplicated base.

Correlated words with similar meanings:

gɛlɛm gɛlɛm '(runs) fast,' gɛlɛm 'descriptive of fire flaming up'
zcm zɔm '(his liver is) cool (so he does good),' zɔm 'cool'
yɛ̰m yɛ̰m 'many (people),' yɛ̰m 'descriptive of many people rising'
yɛɛ yɛɛ '(carry book) without knowing how to read it,' yɛɛ '(carry
     something) heavily'
ŋgɔ́rɔ́m ŋgɔ́rɔ́m 'descriptive of house knocked down by wind,' ŋgɔ́rɔ́m
     '(whirlwind carried) many of them away'
ŋmgbóŋ ŋmgbóŋ, ŋmgbóŋ 'a long time'
lám lám '(hear) obediently,' lám '(come) right away'
kɛr kɛr '(write) rapidly,' kɛr '(blood) gushes out'
gbɔt gbɔt '(tree big but) weak,' gbɔt 'descriptive of lion breaking
     buffalo's neck'
gbɔr gbɔr '(numerous people stand around) doing nothing,' gbɔr 'un-
     tied (firewood)'
zéŋ zéŋ, zéŋ 'straight'
ŋmgbeleŋ ŋmgbeleŋ '(cutting grass) in all directions,' ŋmgbelcŋ
     'cleared (plot of land)'

Correlated words with no similar meanings:

dɛlɛŋ dɛlɛŋ '(love someone) always,' dɛlɛŋ '(see) at a glance'

fót fót 'everyone, all (leave),' fót '(come out) easily'

gboŋ gboŋ 'cleared (path),' gboŋ '(shoot animal) with one shot'

ŋgón ŋgón '(come) fast,' ŋgón 'always being "on the go"'

(2) Combinations with a reduplicated form with change. The change consists of (a) the replacement of the first C of the reduplicated form with another C, (b) the replacement of the first V by another V, (c) by the replacement of the first CV, (d) and by the loss of the final V. The examples are grouped accordingly.

Replacement of the first C. Several types of replacements occur. The more important, grouped according to the replacive C, are the following: C > /w/, /y/, or /l/; /y/ > /r/. Many of the forms in each of these groups have a common, although perhaps minimal meaning.

C > w:

ʔbɔ́tɔ́ wɔ́rɔ́ 'descriptive of sensation in ears upon hearing loud noise'

kéré wéré '(knock something) clean off'

kiri wiri 'round (like ball)'

mbélé wélé 'crazy, crazily'

C > y:

buŋgu yuŋgu 'descriptive of people talking at once'

gbéŋmgbé yéré '(appear in front of lions) unexpectedly'

haka yaka 'rough (unplaned lumber)'

keŋge yeŋge 'crumpled'

koŋgo yoŋgo 'tough (meat)'

nu̧ku yu̧ku 'wrinkled (dried hide)'

ndóŋgó yóŋgó 'far away'

saɲa yaɲa 'intermeshed (tree roots)'

C > l:

gbɔŋgɔ lɔŋgɔ 'descriptive of standing around, not working hard'

sɛ́ŋɛ́ lɛ́ŋɛ́ 'filled to brim'

tɛ́ŋgɛ́ lɛ́ŋgɛ́ 'tall and thin'

tú̧ŋgú̧ lú̧ŋgú̧ '(go) far away'

C > r (see below for more examples):

dɛ̧ɲɛ rɛ̧ɲɛ 'swollen (leg)'

yeke reke 'troubled, frightened'

C > n. There is only one example: baɲa naɲa 'only (one).'

Replacement of the first V. This consists of replacing /a/ by /u/. The patterned association of the vowels /a/ and /u/ is seen in many other combined forms. For example:

gaʔda guʔda 'dirty (water)'

hala hula 'light in weight by nature (cotton)'

laŋmgba luŋmgba 'swaying (motion of the loin clouts of dancing men)'

raʔda ruʔda 'descriptive of fleas crawling on dog's body'

vana vuna 'condition of ground not well weeded'

ya̧kpa yu̧kpa 'descriptive of spearing (old mat in practice)'

Replacement of C and V. In these examples the patterns for replacing the C are among those cited above. The patterns for the vowel replacement are different ones. For example:

    faka luka 'scaly'

    yɔŋgɔ riŋgɔ 'longish (stone)'

    kpɔ́ŋgɔ́ ríŋgɔ́ 'longish (squash which is not generally very long)'

    yạŋa rịŋa 'weakened (by illness)'

Loss of final V. There is only one example:

    ŋmgbílí ŋmgbíl 'black (like river-otter's fur)'

380. Substantives. Substantives comprise two classes of words: nominatives (or simply nouns) and their substitutes. They are treated in 381 and 382 respectively. The greatest privileges of occurrence for the class are characteristic of the common nouns: (1) they occur with the determinant suffix; (2) they occur as heads of endocentric noun phrases with adjectives, prepositional phrases, verbs, or other nouns as attributes; and (3) they occur in exocentric constructions in prepositional phrases or as actors (or subjects) of verbal predications.

381. Nominatives. In the following sections are described their classes (381.1) and their derivation (381.2). For regular allomorphic changes see 132, 212.2, 213.1, and 213.2.

381.1. Classes. The nominatives comprise two classes: common nouns and proper nouns.

381.11. Common and intimate nouns. The common nouns have the greatest freedom of syntactic distribution of all substantives and can occur with the substantival suffixes. They are composed of two classes, the intimate and the nonintimate. The intimate nouns are characterized by the fact that they occur with the suffixal or free personal pronouns with the meaning of possession whereas the nonintimate nouns must be followed by a prepositional phrase with kó 'of.' The intimate nouns are names of body-parts and the nouns ʔbiya or ŋmaá 'friend,' yám 'father,' and kor- 'grandfather'—but only in the phrase bé-kor- 'grandchild' (otherwise koo kɔ́m 'my grandfather'). However, intimate nouns do occasionally occur with the prepositional phrase: yám kɔ́m 'my father,' kpɔ́-sɛra kɛ́ ré 'our hearts' (= 'liver'). For example:

    yám$_1$-mɛ$_2$ feà$_3$ wéndé. 'Did$_3$ your$_2$ father$_1$ die$_3$?'

    wí-ré$_1$ yáá$_2$ ín$_3$ ʔbiya$_4$-ɉ$_5$ 'a person$_1$ goes around$_2$ with$_3$ his own$_5$ friend$_4$'

    ám$_1$ ndɔrà$_2$ kú$_3$-ạ$_4$ 'I$_1$ shot$_2$ its$_4$ leg$_3$'

381.12. Proper nouns. These are names of persons, dogs, and places. They are distinguished from the common nouns by a much more restricted distribution: They do not occur with any of the substantival suffixes and they occur as heads of nominative phrases only with the attributes ó 'plural marker,' ŋma 'some, a certain,' and nɔ́ɔ 'this.' The construction ŋma plus a place name means 'a certain person from . . . ' Thus: ŋma ndurí (or more explicitly ŋma wí-ndurí) tɛá 'a certain person from Ndurí came.' For the use of ó with personal names see 361.1. Examples are:

am₁ zók₂ ó bana-sére ín₃ yám-wara mε₄ 'I₁ see₂ Bana-sére and₃
   Yám-wara over there₄'

bana-sére nóɔ 'this (fellow) Bana-sére!'

ám₁ nεà₂ tε-ndurí mε₃ 'I₁ went₂ to Ndurí there₃'

Personal names consist of one word or several words in syntactic rela-
tionship to each other. Since the analysis of the composition of personal
names is best taken up in a discussion of their meaning and use, a subject
beyond the scope of this grammar, it must suffice to simply list several
names taken at random: dan sé 'twin(s) then,' doo fón 'interfere with sor-
ghum,' dom 'penis,' dε kóí sé 'make your own first,' dé kɔfε bó ná 'there
are no good in-laws,' déá nam feá é 'treating relatives well is dead,' dé
nam gán 'treat relatives well in vain.'

381.2. Derivation. Nominatives are derived by affixation and compound-
ing.[33]

381.21. Affixation. Nominatives are derived by the affixation of the nomi-
nalizing suffix {-i₃}, the morpheme -V, and zero.

381.211. The suffix {-i₃} occurs with low tone imperfective verbs. Thus:
sii kóm 'my returning,' nεi₁ nεm₂ né₃ góɔ₄ 'this₄ going₁ which I₂ go₃,' wí-zįi
'a tall person.' For a more complete discussion of this morpheme, see
211.4.

381.212. The suffix -V occurs with verbs, adverbs, and nouns. See 213.3.

381.213. Zero occurs with low tone imperfective and high tone perfective
verbs.

(a) With low tone imperfective verbs:[34] tom 'message' < tom 'to send.'
Thus, tóm₁ tom₂ hą̂ ą₃ 'send₁ him₃ a message₂,' bé-tom 'messenger,' you tom
'to run with a message.'

(b) With high tone perfective verbs. Nominalized high tone perfective
verbs usually occur with the determinant suffix, but there are a few which
need not occur with this suffix. For example: démá 'a crowd of people' <
dεm 'to be many,' sóká 'wisdom' < sɔk 'to mature,' néáa₁ ɔ̆₂ gérε₃, nε₄ sióa₅
gan rém ná₆ 'going₁ was₂ all right₃, but₄ returning₅ was awful₆' < nε 'to go'
and si 'to return.'

381.22. Compounding. Nominatives are derived by combining free forms
either in syntactic or nonsyntactic relationship to each other. The first
(381.221-225) are called syntactic compounds or phrase nouns and the sec-
ond (381.226) nonsyntactic compounds. One characteristic of compound
nominatives is that none of them ever occurs with the determinant suffix.

381.221. Noun + noun. In these one noun is head and the other its attri-
bute, the relationship being signalled by the presence of the morpheme {-}.
In only the first of the following examples does one of the nouns explicitly
identify the object:

   tε-fᶧtó 'mint bush' (perhaps used in the swatting of flies) < 'tree, bush'
      + 'sweat flies'

   zu-fara 'rubbish heap' < zu 'head, top of' + 'place'

toro-kɔ 'certain spider' (= 'dog of hole') < 'dog' + 'hole'

dom-ko 'ko tree sprout' (= 'penis of ko') < dom 'penis' + ko 'a certain
    palm tree'

ʔbaka-zịya 'certain sorghum' < ʔbaka 'foreleg' + 'a certain frog'

bé-duk 'pestle' < 'child + 'mortar'

nú-wey 'clan' < 'mouth, edge' + 'fire'

381.222. Descriptive adverb + noun. The examples are limited to the
following two where, as in the preceding section, the relationship of the two
constituents is marked by the occurrence of the morpheme {⁀}: nduu-ri
'river otter' < nduu 'fuzzy (like rabbit fur)' + 'river,' yɛrɛrɛ-wesé 'certain
snake' < yɛrɛrɛ 'cool' + 'sun.'

381.223. Adjective + noun. The following is the only example: gbɛ́
béem 'certain tree toad' < 'brown' + 'child.'

381.224. Verb phrases.[35] These consist of a verb (in the imperfective
low tone form) plus a noun complement which may in turn be followed by a
descriptive adverb. For example:

sɛn mɔ 'spitefulness' < 'to hate' + 'thing'

sɔy dam 'certain sorghum' < 'to come up, sprout' + 'granary'

zum yara 'sleeping sickness' < 'to duck or nod one's head' + 'sleep'

gbịn te 'eland' < 'to break' + 'tree'

kɔy oro 'certain dove' < 'to beg' + 'place'

toy fuk 'donkey' < 'to carry' + 'flour'

gɔm búu 'tenth lunar month' < 'to cut, appear' + 'white'

du wey zɛ́ɛ́ 'firefly' < 'to light a fire' + 'fire' + 'burning low'

381.225. Clauses. These are distinguished from the preceding class by
having a verbal predicate as one of the constituents. In most cases there is
also a formal subject. For example:

tịi gbɛ́ 'certain fish' < 'tail' + 'is red'

dom ŋmgbaá te 'certain bat' < 'penis' + 'hung (upon)' + 'tree'

wesè ré ŋmgbóŋ ná 'certain snake' < 'sun' + 'sets' + 'long ago' + 'not'
    (= 'sun won't be long in setting')

mɔ́y zɛ́p 'thirteenth lunar month' < 'gather' + 'one place'

381.226. Noun + noun in nonsyntactic relationship. These are compounds
where the morpheme {⁀} is absent. In only some instances (see the first
four below) is the object identified by a word in the compound. In these one
could perhaps identify the first element as the head of the construction, but
in the others such an identification seems improbable. At any rate, the list
is so short that any more precise statement would only be ad hoc. For
example:

zoro gɔ 'leopard fish' (the body markings of which resemble those of
    a leopard) < zoro 'fish' + gɔ 'leopard'

te zoro 'certain tree' (the small branches of which are used by women
    to string fish for roasting) < te 'tree' + zoro 'fish'

duwa dígí 'sheep' < 'goat' + dígí 'eagle'

dom bere 'certain tree (which grows along streams, the fruit of which

    resemble long gourds, having the shape of pendulous breasts)' <
dom 'penis' + bere 'breast'

bɔɔ dɛɛ 'certain tree' < bɔɔ 'stupidity, foolishness' + dɛɛ 'certain
    tree'

zɛra nduy 'certain liana (the leaves of which are said to resemble
    the ears of the nduy mouse)' < zɛra 'ear' + 'a certain mouse'

382. Substitutes. These comprise not only the personal pronouns but
also all other words that could conceivably replace members of the nomina-
tive class. They are demonstrative, interrogative, numerative, locative,
temporal, reciprocal, and quantitative substitutes. For an alternative classi-
fication of all but the personal pronouns, see note 2 of this chapter. Their
description follows this order of presentation.

382.1. Personal substitutes (henceforth called personal pronouns because
of common usage) comprise two classes: common and explicit pronouns.
The latter are used in quotations or anywhere else where the pronominal
reference is made explicit, and the common pronouns are used elsewhere.
The personal pronouns are further distinguished for number (singular and
plural abbreviated S and P) and for person (first, second, and third abbrevi-
ated 1, 2, and 3). Another dimension is added by the fact that all pronouns
have allomorphs, some defined phonologically and others defined morpho-
logically.[36] These allomorphs, distinguished by form and distribution, are
described in terms of two sets, called nonsubjectival and subjectival.

<div align="center">Abbreviated Reference Chart
of Personal Pronouns</div>

	Nonsubjectival	Subjectival low	Subjectival high	Nonsubjectival explicit
1S	mǐ ~ mbǐ ~ (-V́m ~ -m)	am ~ (-Vm ~ -m ~ ˋm)	ám ~ -m	
2S	mέ	mε	mέ	έ
3S	ạ ~ (-aa ~ -áa)	ạ ~ -aa	ạ́	
1P	έrέ ~ rέ	εrε ~ rε	έrέ ~ rέ	
2P	wǐ ~ (-V́i ~ -í ~ ˊí)	wi ~ (-Vi ~ -i)	wǐ ~ -í	óró ~ró
3P	wa	wa	wá	

Before the allomorphs of the pronouns are taken up in detail, there are
some general remarks to be made:

(a) Personal pronouns are generally used only of animate objects, but occasionally 3S and 3P are used of inanimate objects. Thus: cá$_1$ a$_2$, gá$_3$ á$_4$ nɔá$_5$ '(I) put$_1$ it$_2$, so$_3$ it$_4$ (the stone) is fast$_5$.' Compare the use of wí 'person' and ó 'plural marker' with inanimate objects. Sometimes the word mɔ 'thing' is used when one wants to be explicit: am bá mɔí 'I take the thing (that is, it).'

(b) The 2P common pronoun is often used as an impersonal pronoun, roughly equivalent to the English 'one' or 'you' or the French 'on.' Although it seems to be most frequent in proverbs and personal names, it is common in normal speech. Thus: tɛì$_1$ gbɛ́ŋ$_2$, gó$_3$ gan$_4$ rɛ$_5$ kpá$_6$ fara-ɔ yara$_7$ ná$_4$ 'your body$_1$ is hot$_2$, so$_3$ we$_5$ don't$_4$ find$_6$ a way to sleep$_7$'; záan$_1$ ɨ̃ɲí$_2$, nɛ$_3$ ganai$_4$ ɨ̃ŋ$_5$ záan ná$_4$ '(the) universe$_1$ knows you$_2$, but$_3$ you don't$_4$ know$_5$ (the) universe' (a proverb); fey ganá zuí 'death is too much for you' (a personal name).

(c) The plural pronouns are used to introduce or recapitulate a plurality of persons, either in the subject or verb phrase, when the sentence contains a phrase with the preposition ín 'with.' For example:

am$_1$ mbáí$_2$ ín$_3$ kó$_4$ kó mɛ́$_5$ 'I$_1$ greet you$_2$ and$_3$ your$_5$ wife$_4$'

ɛ́rɛ́ tɛà$_1$ zɛ́ɛ$_2$ ínaa 'he and I came$_1$ yesterday$_2$'

wi$_1$ dɛ́$_2$ mɔ nɔ́ɔ$_3$ ín kpá nam ná sɔ́ɔ$_4$ 'you$_1$ and Kpá-nam-ná do$_2$ this$_3$ today$_4$'

ó nɛ́ wɛn kɔ́í ínaa wɛn-dɛ mɔi sɔ́n 'you and he have to do it all'

(d) The 2P and 3P pronouns are used for single individuals who are held in respect. The culture requires that certain people are always addressed or referred to in the plural forms (such as parents, in-laws, elderly people in general, etc.). The pronouns are, however, also used stylistically by people who would otherwise address each other in the singular. In such cases the polite forms seem to be used sporadically and in short stretches of speech. The polite forms are not followed by the plural verbs where such exist. Thus: wi ó gére wéndé. 'Are you (S) all right?'

(e) The 1P common and plural explicit pronouns ɛrɛ and oro occur in these forms in isolation, after pause, or whenever emphasis is placed on them. Otherwise, they occur as rɛ and ro. Their distribution therefore is in part formal and in part stylistic. For example:

ɛ́rɛ́$_1$ nɛá$_2$ yarï$_3$ 'we$_1$ went$_2$ hunting$_3$'

óró$_1$ kpaà$_2$ mbé$_3$ wɛn$_4$ '(they said), "We$_1$ found$_2$ a new$_3$ story$_4$"'

nɛ$_1$, ɛrɛ$_2$ yáá$_3$ 'and$_1$ we$_2$ hiked around$_3$,'

nɛá$_1$ rɛ ó$_2$ ʔdɔɔ-zɔ́$_3$ '(we) went$_1$ (and) slept$_2$ in the bush$_3$'

sɛra-rɛ́$_1$ dɛ́ saa$_2$ 'our livers$_1$ (that is, we) were happy$_2$'

gɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ yáá$_3$ rɛ nɛ́$_4$ gɔ́y$_5$ 'so$_1$ we$_2$ hiked$_3$ (and) we went on$_4$ like this$_5$'

gɛ rɛ gám tɛ-rɛ́$_1$ rɛ péé ʔdoŋ$_2$ 'so we turned around$_1$ (and) we returned$_2$'

382.11. The common pronouns, like the explicit pronouns, have allomorphs which are distinguished by form and distribution, and are described in terms of two sets, called nonsubjectival and subjectival. Some of these (that is, 1S, 3S, and 2P) also have bound allomorphs whose distribution is described in 382.113.

382.111. The nonsubjectival common pronouns are those which are used in any way except as subjects of verbal predications. This is to say that they occur in isolation and as complements (that is, in construction with) of nouns, verbs, and prepositions. (It is to be noted that the tones of the first and second persons, both singular and plural, are high, whereas those of the third person are low. This distinction has no grammatical significance, but it has a historical one.) These pronouns are the following:

mǐ ~ mbǐ	'I'	ɛ́rɛ́	'we'
mɛ́	'you'	wǐ	'you'
a̧	'he, she'	wa	'they'

Examples: ʔba̧y mǐ 'only I,' gan wa i̧ŋ táá rɛ́ ná 'they don't know us yet,' wá a wa tɛ́ 'here they come,' tɛ-mɛ́ 'your body,' tɛí 'your bodies,' wá i̧ŋɔ́ a̧ 'they know him,' mɔ kɔ́ wa 'their thing,' mɔ kɔ́ǐ 'your thing,' wǐ ye ge 'you say,' am mbá wan wǐ 'I greet you, sir.'

382.112. The subjectival common pronouns are used as subjects of verbal predications and occur in two sets, one in which all pronouns have high normal word tone(s) and the other where they have low tone(s). The subjectival pronouns are otherwise identical with the basic ones with the one exception that the 1S is am instead of mǐ. The distribution of these pronouns is discussed in the following paragraphs.

(a) Low tone subjectival pronouns occur in the following environments:

(1) Preceding imperfective (high or low tone) verbs when not preceded by the connectives há, á, or só kó. (For the uses of low and high tone imperfective verbs see 393.1.) Examples are:

mɛ$_1$ tɛ́$_2$ wéey$_3$. 'Hey$_3$ you$_1$, come$_2$.'

mɛ́$_1$ gan$_2$ mɛ ha$_3$ mɔ$_4$ há$_5$ wǐ-rɛ́$_6$ ná$_2$ 'you$_1$, you (who) didn't$_2$ give$_3$ things$_4$ to$_5$ people$_6$'

bó$_1$ nɛ a̧$_2$ gbo$_3$ sɛn-tɛ$_4$ 'when$_1$ he went$_2$ (and) arrived$_3$ at$_4$. . .'

(2) Preceding perfective verbs when preceded by (a) the connective nɛ 'and,' by (b) gba or ʔbaa 'even if,' and by (c) a verb of motion in a series. Examples:

sóó$_1$ gbai$_2$ dɔa̧$_3$ rɛ́$_4$ 'and$_1$ even if you$_2$ should keep$_3$ (things) from us$_4$'

bó nɛm kúró 'as I was getting up'

mɛ́$_1$ nɛ mɛ bga̧$_2$ tom$_3$ 'you$_1$ who refused$_2$ work$_3$'

(b) High tone subjectival pronouns occur in the following environments:

(1) Preceding imperfective verbs (a) when preceded by the connectives há, á, or só kó, or (b) when preceded by the connectives mó, wen kó or auxiliary verbs, and (c) when not preceded by one of these forms but in a negative command (preceded or not by the connective á) or (d) in a negated predication having the meaning of futurity. For example:

só kó$_1$ wâ$_2$ tɔ́$_3$ gɔ́y$_4$ 'so$_1$ they$_2$ spoke$_3$ in this manner$_4$'

gbɛ́$_1$ dila$_2$ má̧ á̧ dɛ$_3$ nɛ́ ge$_4$ '(he) killed$_1$ a lion$_2$ to do$_3$ what with (it)$_4$ (that is, for what purpose?')

kín$_1$ mɛ́ dɛ$_2$ gɔ́y$_3$ ná. 'Now$_1$ don't do$_2$ that$_3$'

nɛ$_1$ ɛ́rɛ́$_2$ si ʔdoŋ$_3$ wen kó$_4$ ʔnáŋ mɔ$_5$ mbéa ʔbɔ$_6$ ná 'and$_1$ we$_2$ won't return$_3$ again$_6$ for$_4$ evil things$_5$'

(2) Preceding perfective verbs in environments other than those already described. For example:

wá₁ gboà₂ sɔ́n₃ 'they've₁ all₃ arrived₂'

wéndé gan₁ wá₂ dɛá ze₃ kpém₄ 'or₁ they₂ were (there) one₄ month₃'

mɛ́₁ sɔkà₂ sɔ́n á₃ mɛ́ dɛá bisa₄ gɔ́ɔ₅ 'you've₁ matured₂, so₃ here₅ you are an adolescent boy₄'

ndɛ́ wá₁ tɛá₂ 'they're going₁ to come₂'

gan ɔ́ mɔ́ wá₁ dɛá₂ ná 'it's not for them₁ (that is, their responsibility) to do₂'

382.113. Pronominal suffixes. These are to be compared with the free form common pronouns discussed in 382.11. The classification used there is used here also in describing the following nonsubjectival and subjectival pronominal suffixes, the latter of which have high and low tone allomorphs.

(a) Nonsubjectival pronominal suffixes. They occur for the persons 1S, 3S, and 2P.

(1) 1S has allomorphs -V̂m and -m. The suffix -V̂m (the vowel of which is the same as whatever vowel precedes it) occurs following a consonant and following a vowel with low tone when not followed by a free form with initial high tone. The suffix -m occurs following vowels except under the conditions stated for -V̂m, that is, following a vowel with high tone or low tone, but being followed by a free form with high tone. There is however some degree of free variation between the two suffixes when followed by a free form with high tone.

Examples of -V̂m following V:

tɛɛ́m₁ yụm ɔ́ 'my body₁ aches₂'

ndɛ́ wá₁ gbɛɛ́m₂ 'they are going₁ to kill me₂'

íniím 'with me,' compare ín wa 'with them'

Examples of -V̂m following C:

a̧ zɔ́kɔ́m 'he sees me,' compare a̧ zɔ́k wa 'he sees them'

a̧ ɔ́rɔ́m 'he deceives me,' compare ɔ́ɔ́ wa 'deceives them'

a̧ kíʔdím 'he's looking for me,' compare a̧ kíʔdí wa 'he's looking for them'

rífím 'my face,' compare ríp wa 'their faces'

Examples of -m:

ʔbiyám 'my friend,' compare ʔbiya-rɛ́ 'our friend'

tɛm yụ́m 'my body aches'

yá̧ kɔ́m 'my brother,' compare yá̧ kɔ́ wa 'their brother'

á mɛ́ gbɛm ná 'don't kill me'

wá ɔ́rám 'they deceived me'

(2) 3S has allomorphs -aa and -áa. They occur following consonants: -áa occurs when preceded by a low tone in a noun; -aa occurs when preceded by high tone in a noun and either high or low in a verb, replacing imperfective -i if it occurs. For example:

ɛrɛ ɔ́raa 'we are deceiving him'

ndɛ́ rɛ́ rị̧kaa 'we are going to hit him'

ɛrɛ kíʔdaa (< kíʔdí + -aa) 'we are looking for him'

géraa 'his neck,' compare gɛ́ɛ́-wa 'their necks'

rífaa 'his face'

(3) 2P has allomorphs -V̂í, ⸗í, and -í. The suffix -V̂í occurs following consonants, ⸗í occurs with polysyllabic nouns following a vowel, and -í occurs following vowels elsewhere.

Examples of -V̂í: wa ʂróí 'they are deceiving you,' wa kʂ̣ ʔdoŋ⸗rịkíí 'they want to hit you,' gɛ́rɛ́í 'your necks,' zʂ̣fóí 'your noses.'

Examples of ⸗í: zɛráí 'your ears,' ʔbiyáí 'your friends.'

Examples of -í: tɛí 'your bodies,' ínií 'with you,' tuwa kóí 'your house,' nɛ́ gbɛí 'is going to kill you,' ɛ́rɛ̂ kiʔdóí 'we looked for you,' wa kíʔdíí 'they are looking for you.'

(b) Subjectival suffixes. See also 423.1.

(1) Low tone suffixes occur for 1S, 3S, and 2P.

1S has allomorphs -Vm, -m, and ⸗m.[37] The suffix ⸗m occurs following the imperfective suffix -i (and indicates the lowering of its tone to low if it is not already that). The suffix -Vm occurs following vowels in other imperfective verbs which have zero suffix (instead of -i) as well as following consonants. The suffix -m follows vowels elsewhere.[38] These suffixes are analyzed as being the subjects of an immediately following verb even when they are phonologically bound to a preceding verb. They are identified in the following examples by a preposed plus sign.

Examples of -Vm:

nɛm₁ né+ɛm₂ bạ́₃ a̧₄ 'and I₁ went (and) I₂ got₃ him₄'

nɛm₁ háy+am₂ nɛ̧₃ 'and I₁ went₃ on crawling₂'

go₁ pér+em₂ rịŋ nu₃ 'so₁ I came₂ (and) fell down₃'

bóm₁ dʉŋ+um wá₂ tɛndɛ₃ 'as I₁ was hoeing₂ (the) cotton₃'

Examples of -m:

ám₁ nɛá+m₂ ʂ₃ mɛ₄ 'I₁ went (and) I₂ slept₃ there₄'

gá ye+m₁ té₂ '(he said) that I₁ should come₂'

nɛ+m₁ bɛ̧a̧₂ tí₃ 'and I₁ refused₂ before₃'

tɛ+m₁ té₂ nɛ mbóro₃ 'that I₁ should come₂ in the afternoon₃'

gende gá+m₁ zók₂ wa₃ 'in other words, I₁ saw₂ them₃'

3S suffix -aa occurs following consonants. For example:

dʉ́ŋ+aa₁ háy₂ wa₃ 'he's still₁ crawling up on₂ them₃'

gan+aa₁ zók₂ wa₃ ná₁ 'he doesn't₁ see₂ them₃'

2P has allomorphs -Vi, -i, -í (and possibly ⸗i on the same basis as ⸗m). The suffix -Vi occurs following consonants; -i occurs following vowels with low tone and with high tone (as in the case of -Vm) only in imperfective verbs with zero suffix; -í occurs following vowels with high tone in all other words (that is, perfective verbs and nonverbs). For example:

ganai₁ tɛ₂ zɛ́ɛ₃ ná₁ 'you didn't₁ come₂ yesterday₃'

néí₁ yarai₂ yʂ̣ŋ₃ déá saa₄ kóʂ̧₅ 'you are going to₁ run around₂ (and) eat₃ your₅ play₄' (that is, 'all you will have to eat is your play')

go₁ téi₂ sí₃ 'so₁ come₂ (and) return₃'

weséa nɛ bó₁ dʉŋui₂ yaa₃ 'when you₁ continue₂ to run around₂'

(2) High tone suffixes occur for 1S and 2P. They are -m and -í respectively, and they occur following vowels. For example:

é hám$_1$ né$_2$ sé$_3$ 'let me$_1$ go$_2$ first$_3$'

tém$_1$ kpa$_2$ wa$_3$ wéndó. 'Can I possibly$_1$ find$_2$ them$_3$?'

gende gám$_1$ nɛà$_2$ kóm 'in other words, I$_1$ had gone$_2$'

á$_1$ nɛám$_2$ fe$_3$ sɔ́ɔ$_4$ 'then$_1$ I would have$_2$ died$_3$ today$_4$'

rɛmà mɔ́í$_1$ dɛ$_2$ gére$_3$ 'you are able$_1$ to do$_2$ (it) easily$_3$'

dɛà ré ge só kói dɛ́ gɔ́y 'what do you mean by doing this !'

382.12. The explicit pronouns are S ɣ̣ and P óró. Like the common pronouns, their allomorphs are described in terms of two sets, nonsubjectival and subjectival, and everything said above about these sets is applicable to the explicit pronouns. In addition to the allomorphs of the plural already described, óró and ró, there is óó which may occur wherever subjectival óró does. Although the explicit pronouns are not formally distinguished for person (first, second, or third persons), they are in practice used most frequently for third person. As the pronoun chart indicates, there are no explicit pronouns for the first person. This simply means that in talking about himself, a person makes use of no other pronouns than the common set. In reported speech, the use of 'I' in translation is therefore misleading: that is, there is no difference in Gbeya between 'you said you would go' and 'you said "I will go."' What was said about the use of plural pronouns for politeness is applicable to the explicit pronouns. The explicit pronouns are used in quotations (where the person referred to is the subject of the immediately preceding sentence) and wherever else the pronominal reference must be unambiguous.[39] The examples are grouped accordingly.

382.121. Explicit pronouns in quotations:

gá ye ge$_1$, káy$_2$ toy$_3$ kɣ̣ ɣ̣$_4$ '(he said$_1$), "Get$_2$ my$_4$ things$_3$"'

mɛ$_1$ tɣ̣ ye ge$_2$, nɣ̣ ɣ̣$_3$ ha$_4$ túrú$_5$ hám$_6$ 'you$_1$ said$_2$ you would$_3$ give$_4$ clothes$_5$ to me$_6$'

foo$_1$ kɣ̣ ɣ̣$_2$ gan$_3$ góy$_4$ ɣ̣$_5$ ná$_3$ '(she said) her$_2$ inlaws$_1$ did not$_3$ like$_4$ her$_5$'

wen kó mɔ nɛ$_1$ óró$_2$ koà$_3$ bém$_4$ kó ró$_5$ '(they said) because$_1$ they$_2$ bore$_3$ their$_5$ child$_4$' (among the Gbeya the husband and his family can speak of 'giving birth' as well as the mother)

mɛ́$_1$ ye$_2$ ɣ̣$_3$ nɣ̣ ɣ̣ ɔ́$_4$ nɛ wí-dɛ yɔ́ná$_5$ 'you$_1$ say$_2$ (that) you$_3$ are$_4$ a producer of food$_5$'

382.122. Explicit pronouns for clarity:

kam$_1$ gan$_2$ bá$_3$ mɔ$_4$ há zu-wí-ré$_5$ ná$_2$ go wí-ré a bá toy$_6$ há zu-ʔbiya$_7$-ɣ̣ só kó ʔbiya-ą́ óm tɣ̣-ɣ̣$_8$. 'Food$_1$ does not$_2$ take$_3$ things$_4$ off a person's head$_5$, but it's a person who takes off a burden$_6$ from his friend's$_7$ head so that his friend can rest$_8$.' (a proverb)

wí-ré$_1$ bó$_2$ ko$_3$ bém$_4$ kɣ̣ ɣ̣$_5$ 'when$_2$ a person$_1$ gives birth to$_3$ his$_5$ child$_4$'

ó ŋmaa$_1$ yɔ́ŋ$_2$ kó ró yɔ́ŋi nɛ́$_3$ gogo-ró$_4$ 'some$_1$ chew$_2$ (it) with$_3$ their own teeth$_4$'

ó ŋmaa nɛ$_1$ gan zéé$_2$ tɛ-rò ná 'those who$_1$ don't obey' (= 'hear$_2$ their bodies')

ó sókái$_1$ kɔ́m$_2$ zɨfa$_3$ kó ró$_4$ 'the elders$_1$ break off$_2$ their$_4$ switches$_3$'

382.2. Demonstrative substitutes. These are distinguished for relative distance from the speaker. Although the basic implication is a spatial one,

a temporal one may be implied. The distinction is not always identifiable with the nonlinguistic world (compare the use of English 'this' and 'that'). These substitutes are ɡɛ́ 'this' and i̧ɪ́ 'that,' the second tones of which are often (but not necessarily) low when followed by an initial high tone in another word. The demonstratives may somehow be related to the bound morphemes {-ɛ} and -i̧4, but no formal identification seems possible at the moment.[40] (See 213.2 also.) For example:

zoro₁-ɡɛ̀ nɔ́ɔ₂ gan₃ dɛ́ rɔɔ₄ ná₃ 'this₂ fish₁ doesn't₃ taste good₄'

ám₁ gbɛá₂ ɡɛ̀₃ ɡɔ́ɔ₄ 'I₁ have killed₂ these₃ here₄'

ɡɛ́₁ rɛmà₂ ré₃ 'this₁ is enough₂ for us₂'

bó₁ wá₂ ri̧k₃ i̧ɪ́₄ 'when₁ they₂ hit₃ those₄'

i̧ɪ́₁ nɛ baá gaza kɛ̧̀ ɡi₂ tɛ́₃ 'that one who₁ has been circumcised₂ comes₃'

382.3. **Interrogative substitutes.** These are o (and indóo) 'who?,' ge 'what?,' and ré ge (occasionally yé ge) 'how much, how many?' (a) The substitute o 'who?' is distinguished from ge and ré ge by the fact that it can occur as the head of substitute phrases and in construction with prepositions whereas the others cannot. (b) The form indóo occurs too infrequently in my data to permit making accurate statements about it. It is very likely, however, that it is bimorphemic, consisting of o and some other as yet unidentified morpheme. (c) The phrase ré ge is used as an exclamation when it occurs in a sentence containing the verb dɛ 'to do, make' with the meaning 'by what means! how in the world!' etc. (d) Although the phrase ré ge obviously contains the interrogative ge, it is not yet possible to attribute a meaning to ré itself.[41] Its contrast with ge is seen in the following constructions: sa?de-ge 'what animal?' sa?de ré ge 'how many animals?' For example:

ɔ́₁ nɛ́ o₂ ndé 'who₂ is₁ (it)?'

o₁ á tɔà₂ há mɛ́₃ o₁ ndé 'who₁ told₂ you₃?'

ɡɛ̀₁ nɛ́ ge₂ ndé 'what₂ (is) this₁?'

ge wi̧-ge₁ a mɛ₂ tɔ́ nɛ́₃ ge ndé 'whom₁ (= what person) are you₂ speaking of₃?'

ge wen-ge₁ a mɛ₂ tɛ́ bɔlɔ́m₃ ge ndé 'why₁ (= what affair) are you₂ following me₃?'

zu-wa ré ge a wa ɡɔ́m te ge ndé 'how many of them are cutting wood?' (= 'their heads how many they are cutting wood what?')

tém₁ dɛ₂ nɛ kɔ́m ré ge ɡáá ge₃ 'what in the world₃ shall I₁ ever do₂!'

am₁ dɛ́ kpém kɔ́-sɛra₂ i̧n mɛ́₃ ná ré ge ndé₄. 'What do you mean₄—I₁ don't treat₂ you₃ nicely!'

382.4. **Numerative substitutes.** These are listed below. The phrases for 6 and 7 are ellipses for mɔɔrɔ́, ?dɔŋ kpém, and mɔɔrɔ́ ?dɔŋ ri̧íto respectively. That is, 6 means 'five (and) behind (it) one.' The phrases for 20 through 90 are literally 'two (etc.) bunches' < hɛ̧r- 'to tie up.' The phrases for hundreds and thousands are 'cut some' and 'stab some' respectively. The units are generally introduced by the word zúa 'the head, on top of it.' A unit number in the hundreds and thousands, when not preceded by another unit number, is generally preceded by the word nɛ 'and.' The decades are generally preceded by nɛ 'and' when included in a larger phrase. The phrase féá za ('dead za')

was reported for 'a dozen,' but I never heard it used. The meaning of za has not been determined.

1	kpém
2	rííto
3	taa, tar-
4	ną́á, nąr-
5	mɔɔró
6	ʔdoŋ kpém
7	ʔdoŋ rííto
8	nú-ną́á (possibly = 'mouth of four')
9	kusi
10	ʔbú (possibly < 'to clap')
11	ʔbú zúa kpém
20	hę́rá rííto
27	hę́rá rííto zúa ʔdoŋ-rííto
100	gɔm ŋmaá
107	gɔm ŋmaá nɛ zúa ʔdoŋ rííto
200	gɔm ŋmaà rííto
777	gɔm ŋmaá ʔdoŋ rííto nɛ hę́rá ʔdoŋ rííto zúa ʔdoŋ rííto
1000	dųm ŋmaá

382.5. Locative substitutes. These are listed below and illustrated. Because two of them are roughly translated 'here' and four of them 'there,' the following comments are necessary: dį́i 'here' is opposed to dį̀i 'there' (see also 213.2), and na 'here' is opposed to mɛ 'there.' The first pair refer to a place with more preciseness than the second pair. The word íyɛ 'there' seems to refer to a general direction, rather than place, removed from the speaker. The word sɛnɛ́, on the other hand, has the meaning 'there' in the sense of the French 'y.' In spite of this semantic classification, it is very probable that there is considerable overlapping and stylistic selection. For example:

dį́yɛ 'here': ɛrɛ₁ kúú₂ zu-ture₃ dį́yɛ nɔɔ₄ ʔnéŋ₅ 'we₁ departed₂ (from) here₄ very early₅ in the morning₃,' bɛ́₁ ré₂ gbo₃ sɛn-tɛ-kúú-wáam₄ sɛn-tɛ-dį́yɛ₅ tɛ-nú-ré kɛ́ ré₆ na₇ dɔ́ɔ₈ 'when₁ we₂ arrived₃ at (the) other side of the Wáam₄ here₅, at the edge of our village₆ here₇ closeby₈'

dį̀i 'there': gɛ₁ rɛ₂ ɔm tɛ-rɛ̀₃ dį̀i₄ 'so₁ we₂ rested₃ there₄'

íyɛ 'there': bó₁ laŋgi₂ kó ró kpɛ́kɛ́rɛ́₃ tɛ-íyɛ₄ gáa₅ 'as₁ (he) was going on ahead₂ there₄ slowly₃ like that₅,' hɔá₁ saŋa-tci₂ . . . íyɛ₃ '(the tusk) appeared₁ between the trees there₃'

mɛ 'there': gan am₁ rɛ́m₂ wen kó nɛ₃ tɛ-ré₄ mɛ₅ ná 'I₁ can't₂ go₃ to (the) village₄ there₅,' ó wí-ré₁ bó₂ nɛ₃ tɛ-tɛ-ą₄ mɛ 'when₂ people₁ go₃ to him₄ there,' ą₁ ɔ₂ ínaa₃ mɛ 'he₁ stays₂ with him₃ there'

na 'here': wa₁ káy₂ wa₃ ʔmɔ́n₄ ré₅ na 'they₁ take₂ them₃ right₄ (in the) village₅ here,' mɛ́₁ ɔá₂ nu₃ na '(if) you₁ were₂ here (on the) ground₃'

ŋgɔ́n 'up, on top, above': dų́ŋ₁ sɛn-tɛ₂-sara₃-teí₄ nɛ sɛra-zu-ą₅ ŋgɔ́n₆ mɛ₇ '(he) sat₁ in₂ the fork₃ of the tree₄ above him₅ up₆ there₇,' fcá₁ tɛ-ŋgɔ́n₂ '(it) died₁ upright₂ (that is, before hitting the ground)

sɛné 'there': a̧₁ dúŋ₂ sɛnɛ̀₃ ín₄ wa₅ 'he₁ stays₂ with₄ them₅ there₃,'
ndɛ₁ rɛ₂ yá₃ tɛ-sɛné₄ 'and₁ we₂ were₃ there₄'

382.6. Temporal substitutes. These, for the reasons given below, are divided into two classes. They are the following: (class A) bɛrɛ 'dry season,' di̧mísi (< Fr. 'dimanche') 'Sunday, week,' mbóro 'evening, afternoon,' ʔmaa 'rainy season,' pɛ 'year (consisting of one cycle of rainy and dry seasons),' turɛ 'morning,' and zɛ 'night'; (class B) bár- 'last year,' bin 'tomorrow,' kín 'now,' and sɔ́ɔ 'today.' This classification is based both on formal and semantic characteristics. The words in class A might be said to refer to "real" time whereas those in class B refer to "relative" time. The words in the former can be correlated with time distinguished by seasons and meteorological conditions, but those in the latter have no such specific referents. (If such semantic distinctions are not consistently valid, they at least serve as mnemonic aids to remembering the formal distinctions.) Class A words have the greatest freedom of occurrence. As a class they occur with adjectives, in noun + noun constructions, second member in prepositional phrases, as subjects of verbs, and with the suffix {-ɛ} (for which see 213.22). (The word zɛ 'night' can even function as an intimate noun.) Class B words occur most often with the suffix {-ɛ}. The words báraa 'last year' and sɔ́ɔ (or sɔ́ɔ́) 'today' occur only in these forms, and I assume hypothetical bases *bár- and *sɔ́. It is in the suffixed forms that they then occur with nɔ́ɔ 'this,' as subjects of verbs, and in prepositional phrases, although bin 'now' occurs once in the data in a prepositional phrase in this form. Further data might, however, reveal a greater freedom of occurrence.

Class A:

bɛrɛ₁ dɛá₂ '(it) has become₂ dry season₁'

rɛ́m wen kó di̧mísi rííto 'for about two weeks'

mbóro nɛ mɛ tɛ́ 'come in the afternoon'

wí-ré₁ gan yáá₂ yarí₃ zaŋ-ʔmaa₄ ná 'people₁ don't go₂ hunting₃ in (the) rainy season₄'

mbé pɛ ʔdoŋɛ₁ sɛ́ tɛ mɛ péé ʔdoŋ₂ 'come back₂ next year₁'

ám₁ zɔká₂ a̧₃ né turɛ₄ 'I₁ saw₂ him₃ in the morning₄'

zɛ́ɛm ɔ́á taa 'I spent three nights' (= 'my nights were three')

Class B:

wá₁ dɔ̀ɛ₂ réi₃ báraa₄ 'they₁ burned down₂ the village₃ last year₄'

bin sɛ́ tɛ mɛ tɛ́ 'come tomorrow'

binɛ́ɛ₁ i̧ŋɔ́₂ wen kó₃ bin₄ 'tomorrow₁ knows₂ about₃ tomorrow₄' (a saying)

ŋma mɔ kín₁ gan né₂ dɛ₃ mɛ̀₄ ná 'now₁ nothing will₂ harm₃ you₄'

sɔ́ɔ nɔ́ɔ gɛnɛ né kpa wa 'they are going to receive guests today' (= 'today guest going find them')

382.7. Reciprocal substitute. The only one is ŋmaá 'each other, together,' and it occurs only in verb and prepositional phrases as an objective complement.[42] For example:

wa₁ tɛ́k₂ ín ŋmaá 'they₁ fall₂ together (that is, they meet)'

wa yá nɛ yá̧ kó ŋmaá 'they are siblings' (= 'siblings of each other')

gan wa zɛ́é wen kó ŋmaà ná 'they don't understand each other'

biro$_1$-gbɛ$_2$ ŋmaá 'war$_1$ to kill$_2$ each other'

mɛ sɛ́n ŋmaà ín yą̂ kɔ́ mɛ́ wéndɛ́. 'Do you and your brother hate each other?' (= 'you hate each other with sibling of you')

382.8. Quantitative substitutes. These are dɔ́ka 'much, many' and sɔ́n 'all.' They occur only as attributes of substantives and in verb phrases, such as:

dɔ́ka 'much, many' (< dɔk 'to be much, many'): ŋma wen kɔ́m dɔ́ka gan bó ná 'I don't have much to say' (= 'some word of me much is not'), kéey dɛ̀ rɛ́ dɔ́ka 'we were very much afraid,' bono-nán-wa ɔ́ dɔ́ka 'there were a lot of their tracks' (= 'tracks their are much') sɔ́n 'all' (< sɔn 'to finish, be finished'): ɔ́ wí-rɛ́$_1$ hárá sɔ́n$_2$ mįy$_3$ 'all$_2$ (the) people$_1$ meet$_3$,' wa sɔ́n, wa nɛ́ tɛ́-sɛnɛ́ 'they all, they go there,' ɛrɛ nɛ́ kusára sɔ́n 'we all went to work' (= 'we go work all'), dąy-gaza sɔnà sɔ́n '(the) circumcision wound is all healed'

390. Verbs. Verbs are those words which are distinguished by having the following characteristics: (1) They occur with the following four suffixes: imperfective {-i$_1$}, emphatic -i$_2$, nominalizer {-i$_3$}, and the perfective {-á}.[43] (2) They occur immediately following a certain class of pronouns (such as am té 'I am coming' : ám teá 'I came'), for which see 382.112; and (3) they can, when following pause, precede descriptive adverbs which are followed by pause (such as té lám 'come quickly').

A verb form devoid of its suffix is called a base. (A verb always occurs with one, and only one, of the four suffixes. The base is therefore a bound form. Other suffixes may occur, but only after certain ones of these four.) The verb bases occur either with high or low tone(s). Certain patterns characterize their union with the suffixes. They are listed below, with B- representing a high tone base and B- a low tone base. The verbs used by way of examples are nɛ 'to go,' ki?d- 'to look for,' per- 'to return (here),' laŋg- 'to pass on,' and si 'to return (there).'

(a) B- plus emphatic -i$_2$: nɛ́i, kí?di, péri

(b) B- plus nominalizer {-i$_3$}: nɛi, ki?di, laŋgi, peri, sii

(c) B- plus imperfective {-i$_2$}: nɛ́, kí?dí, péé, sí

(d) B- plus imperfective {-i$_1$}: nɛ, ki?di, pee, si

(e) B- plus perfective {-á}: nɛ́á, kí?dɔ́, pérá, sí6

(f) B- plus perfective {-á}: nɛá, ki?dɔ́, perá, si6

(a) and (b) are homophonous only when a verb base is involved which takes the allomorph -i of the imperfective. It should be noted that in (c) and (d) the tone of the imperfective suffix is low or high, depending on the tone of the base; it is basically toneless.

A summary of the distinctive distributions of these forms are illustrated below:

(a) ám hɛ̀à héi 'I bought it (that is, someone didn't give it to me)'—hɛá is perfective, héi intensive.[44]

(b) gan ą į́ŋ wen kɔ́ nɛi kɔ́m ná 'he didn't know about my going'—nɛi is in prepositional phrase, complement of noun wen 'affair.'

(c) am nɛ́ kínɛɛ 'I'm going now'—nɛ́ is predicate.

(d) nέm nε sɔ́ɔ 'I'm going to go today'—ne is predicate in dependent
clause with -m as its subject.

(e) nέá nɔ ká̰ a̰ gan rέm ná 'there's no equal to his walk'—nέá is
attributive to the noun nɔ 'walk.'

(f) ám nεà zέε 'I went yesterday'—nεá is predicate.

These forms (base plus suffix) are called free forms. (c) through (f) inclu-
sive figure prominently in the syntax of the language and are treated in 393.
Before that are the sections on allomorphy (391) and additional affixation
(392). Finally, there is a section on classes of verbs (394).

391. Verb base allomorphs. These are distinguished by the fact that one
set has two shapes, namely CVr- (where r represents the phoneme /r/) which
occurs with vowel suffixes, and CVV which occurs elsewhere. This allomorphy
has already been described under morphophonemics, 132.1. Bases ending in
CV or CVC (where the second C represents any consonant other than /r/)
have only one allomorph.

392. Suffixation to the free form. With such forms, occur subjectival or
objectival suffixes (382.113) or the determinant suffix {-a} (213.1).[45]   For
example:

nεm háyam nέ 'and I went on crawling' (= 'and-I crawl-I go')
wá ɔ́rám 'they deceived me' (< ɔ́rá plus -m)
zέέ hṵrĭa '(they) hear about the news (< hṵri plus {-a})
gúnɔ́a 'the planting' (< gúnɔ́ plus {-a})

393. Distribution of high and low tone forms. These are discussed accord-
ing to whether they are imperfective (393.1) or perfective (393.2).

393.1. Imperfective forms. Just because some of the occurrences of im-
perfective verbs are translated into English in phrases introduced by "to" is
certainly no reason why this form of the verb should be described as the "in-
finitive." Even the high tone base with the perfective is similarly translated.
There is just no "infinitive" in Gbεya.

393.11. Low tone imperfective forms are used in the following seven ways:

393.111. As substantives in exocentric verb phrases. For example:
a̰₁ dέ₂ sεn mɔ₃ dέi 'he₁ does₂ spiteful things₃' (sεn 'to hate')
teŋ nu 'a fall' (tek 'to fall')

393.112. As verb phrase complements of nouns and verbs.

(a) Complements of nouns. (See noun phrases, 411.25.) For example:
ʔdoŋ-wáá₁-nε₂ fɔ₃ bɔ́₄ ná₅ 'there is₄ no₅ possibility₁ of going₂ (to the)
garden₃'
gan rε₁ kpá₂ ŋmaa₃ wen₄-gbε₅ kpέm ná 'we₁ didn't find₂ any₃ at all to₄
kill₅'

(b) Complements of verbs. (See verb phrases, 414.31.) For example:
am nέ₁ zoy ri₂ 'I'm going₁ to take a bath₂'
rέm₁ tɔ wen₂ 'is able₁ to talk₂'
gan a̰₁ ḭŋ₂ tɔ wen₃ ná 'he doesn't know how₂ to talk₃'

393.113. In clausal complements of auxiliary verbs. When this verb is itself an auxiliary verb or a verb of motion, it too is followed by a low tone imperfective verb.[46] For example:

kóoi₁ bó₂ zɔk₃ 'when₂ the girls₁ look₃'

dṵŋ₁ wâ₂ yɔŋ₃ mɔ 'while₁ they₂ are eating₃'

ŋmaa fĩ₁ nɛ₂ nɛà₃ rɛ̂₄ kpa fey 'just a little more₁ and₂ we₄ would have₃ died' (= 'find death)

wí-ré tɛá ɔ dók 'if there were many people'

bó₁ nɛ₂ yoo₃ mɛ₄ 'when₁ (he) went₂ (and) stood₃ there₄'

bó₁ dṵŋ₂ yɔŋ₃ mɔ₄ 'if₁ (they) continue₂ to eat₃ things₄'

né nɛ a̱ hee kɔwá 'he's going to go (and) cry' (= 'go go he cry tears')

393.114. In a few constructions where one would expect an auxiliary verb.[47] For example:

gan árɛ₁ ŋgɛm₂ kpásá sa?dɛ₃ ná 'we won't₁ keep₂ (the) meat itself₃'

bó₁ pee ?doŋ₂ gɔ́y, nɛm₃ bɛ̱₄ kóm, pee ?doŋ gɔ́y, nɛm bɛ̱ kóm 'if (he) should₁ come back₂, I₃ refuse₄; (if he) should come back, I refuse'

á zee₁ ye ŋma mɔ₂ bó yɔŋaa₃ '(should someone) hear₁ that something₂ ate him₃'

gó wan to gan dɛ₁ gɔ́y₂ ná 'if Wan-to had not done₁ this₂'

gɛ́ rɛ́₁ zɔk₂, gɛ́ rɛ́₃ ku̱₄ ri₅ 'when we₁ looked₂, when we₃ crossed₄ (the) stream₅'

393.115. In negated clauses with the meaning of perfective. The perfective does not, however, occur in negated clauses. For example:

nɛ́₁ tɔ̱₂ ye, gan ɣ₃ nɛ₄ kɛ̱ ɛ̱ ná '(he) will₁ say₂ that he₃ didn't go₄'

gó₁ gan gɔn₂ kó?dáa₃ ná 'and₁ didn't pay₂ the debt₃'

393.116. In negative commands:

naa₁ kó sáá mɔ, kín ri̱k₂ sáá mɔ ná 'Sáá-mɔ's mother (in direct address)₁, don't hit₂ Sáá-mɔ'

á mɛ́ nɛ mɛ yoo zúa ná 'don't go and stand over them' (= 'you go you stand the-head not')

393.117. In verb phrases or clauses introduced by certain connectives, such as ka̱á, wen kó, and mɔ́.

(a) Introduced by ka̱á:

mɔ́-dɛ₁ gale-zɔna₂ ka̱á₃ dɛ ŋgu?du-zɔna₄ ná 'what harms₁ the crab's legs₂ will not long hence₃ harm the crab's shell₄' (proverb)

he mbɛ́rá-biro₁ ka̱á₂ yu₃ biro₄ ná 'he who calls to war₁ will soon₂ flee₃ (the) battle₄' (proverb)

(b) Introduced by wen kó:

tɔ̱₁ há pasitɛ́ɛr, wen kó₂ ba₃ ŋgombe₄ kó ró₅ 'tell₁ the pastor to₂ get₃ his₅ rifle₄'

nɛm₁ nɛ́₂, wen kó nɛm₃ kay₄ gba̱ra-tɛndɛ₅ 'and I₁ went₂ to go₃ (and) get₄ cotton seeds₅'

(c) Introduced by mɔ́:

wí-ré₁ bó₂ nɛ₃ mɔ́₄ ba₅ mɔ́ e₆ zu-fey₇ 'when₂ someone₁ goes₃ to₄ get₅ (it) to put₆ (it) on the grave₇'

393.12. High tone imperfective forms are used as predicates in major clauses in all other environments.

393.2. **Perfective forms.** Since in some environments only a high tone or low tone perfective form may occur whereas in other environments there seems to be free variation, the examples are presented in terms of these options.[48]

393.21. Low tone perfective forms alone occur as predicates of independent clauses. Examples of this use are numerous in this grammar. For example:

$\varepsilon r \acute{\varepsilon}_1$ kpaá$_2$ ŋma mɔ$_3$ 'we$_1$ found$_2$ something$_3$'

kuró$_1$ gɛ$_2$ rɛ$_3$ péé$_4$ nɛ́ tḭi$_5$ '(we) set off$_1$ and$_2$ we$_3$ returned$_4$ by means of a canoe$_5$'

393.22. High tone perfective forms alone occur in the following environments:

(a) When the verb functions as a substantive, for which see 381.213b:

wa$_1$ úsḭ$_2$ sɔ́ká$_3$ hó wa$_4$ 'they$_1$ teach$_2$ them$_4$ wisdom$_3$' (< sɔk 'to mature')

gan rɛ$_1$ kpá$_2$ ŋma sa?de$_3$ kpém$_4$ wen kó$_5$ gbɛ́á$_6$ ná 'we$_1$ didn't find$_2$ a single$_4$ animal$_3$ to$_5$ kill$_6$'

(b) When the verb functions as an adjective, for which see 361.222a:

kpáá mɔ 'wealth' (= 'received things' < kpa 'to receive')

kórá zoro 'dried fish' (< kor- 'to dry up')

(c) When the verb follows an auxiliary and has the determinant suffix {-a}:

bó$_1$ wá$_2$ síóa$_3$ 'when$_1$ they$_2$ returned$_3$'

zɛ́rɛ́$_1$ nɛ́$_2$ tɛ́áa$_3$ 'sickness$_1$ will$_2$ come$_3$'

393.23. Either low tone or high tone perfective forms occur in the following environments if they do not also occur with the suffix {-a}:

(a) When predicate in a clause which is complement to an auxiliary:

bóm$_1$ zerá$_2$ 'when I$_1$ heard$_2$'

bó rɛ́ gbóá 'when we arrived'

tɔk-tɛ́-wa$_1$ bó$_2$ ŋmáyá$_3$ 'when$_2$ their blood$_1$ has ceased flowing$_3$'

(b) When complement to the noun heads wen 'word, to' and ?doŋ 'back, to':

yám$_1$ kóm$_2$ he?dá$_3$ wen$_4$-feá$_5$ 'my$_2$ father$_1$ is close$_3$ to$_4$ dying$_5$'

ɔ́$_1$ ŋgay$_2$ wen kɛ́$_3$ rɛ́$_4$ wen-nɛ́á$_5$ '(it) is$_1$ hard$_2$ for$_3$ us$_4$ to go$_5$'

gan am$_1$ kɔ́$_2$?doŋ-nɛ́á$_3$ ná 'I$_1$ don't want$_2$ to go$_3$'

(c) When head in a verb expression or predicate in a clause preceded by the connective mɔ́:

nɛ́ mɛ́$_1$ kpa$_2$ sa?de$_3$ mɔ́ mɛ́$_4$ si$_5$ mɔ́ mɛ́ yɔ́ŋá$_6$ 'you'll$_1$ find$_2$ animals$_3$ so you$_4$ (can) return$_5$ (and) eat$_6$ (the meat)'

tɛ́ nɛ́$_1$ há$_2$ yámbaa$_3$ mɔ́ nóá$_4$ 'bring$_1$ (it) to$_2$ the father$_3$ to drink$_4$'

394. **Classes of verbs.** Three special classes of verbs are distinguished from the other verbs in the language for semantic or syntactic reasons. One class has opposing members which are called singular and plural verbs. The others are motion and auxiliary verbs.

394.1. Singular/plural verbs. The opposition is operative with certain transitive and intransitive verbs. In the latter it is the number of the subject (implied or explicit) which determines which verb will be used; in the former it is the object (implied or explicit). The following list is complete for the data; the singular verb is cited first: ɔ/ya 'to be,' hɔ/gbay 'to come out, appear,' ba/kay 'to seize, take,' e/a 'to put, set,' re/a 'to enter, go in,' pị/a 'to cast, throw.' For example:

am$_1$ ɔ́$_2$ gére$_3$ 'I$_1$ am$_2$ all right$_3$,' ɛrɛ yá gére 'we are all right'

pị́$_1$ nu$_2$ 'throw$_1$ (it on the) ground$_2$,' á nu 'throw (them on the) ground'

bá ạ 'grab him,' káy wa 'grab them'

394.2. Motion verbs. These are characterized not only by the fact that they denote some type of motion but also since they occur with pronominal suffixes which are the subjects of the verbs immediately following and since they occur in series (for which see 423.11). The most frequently used are the following: dụŋ 'to sit, continue,' hay 'to crawl,' nɛ 'to go,' per- 'to return (to place of speaker),' si 'to return (to place away from speaker),' tɛ 'to come,' yar- 'to walk around, stroll,' yu 'to flee.'[49] For example:

nɛm$_1$ nɛ́ɛm$_2$ bá$_3$ ạ$_4$ ʔbɔ̣$_5$ 'and I$_1$ went (and) I$_2$ took$_3$ him$_4$ again$_5$'

nɛạ$_1$ ndɔ́ɔ$_2$ dila$_3$ '(he) went$_1$ (and) shot$_2$ a lion$_3$'

394.3. Auxiliary verbs. Their use is characterized by the following features: (1) They function as the heads of verb phrases or dependent clauses. (2) The dependent verbs occur either in low imperfective or high or low perfective forms (393.113; 393.22c; 393.23).[50] (3) The pronominal subject of such a dependent clause occurs with high tone(s) (382.113b); and (4) the auxiliaries themselves can occur with pronominal suffixes which function as the subjects of the following clause. The auxiliary itself, functioning as a predicate, can occur in both imperfective and perfective forms. There are three such auxiliary verbs: bo, nɛ, and tɛ, which are discussed in the following paragraphs.[51] The verb dụŋ 'to sit' can also be included, but only on the basis of one example in our data: dụ́ŋ wá$_1$ yɔ̣ŋ$_2$ mɔ, nɛ tɛ́$_3$ wa yóó$_4$ zu$_5$-wa$_6$ ná 'should they$_1$ be eating$_2$, don't come$_3$ (and) stand$_4$ over$_5$ them$_6$.' For the alternant forms of the auxiliaries see 132.2.

394.31. bo (with phonologically defined allomorphs bo, bạ, bɛ, and bɛ̣) is probably the same verb as the homonymous verb used in negated predications replacing ɔ 'to be.' Its most common meanings are those of possibility ('if, should,' etc.) and time ('when, while, after,' etc.). For example:

bɔ́$_1$ wá$_2$ ba$_3$ zɛmbɛ́ go$_4$ bɔ́ tɛ$_5$ wa$_6$ e$_7$ zu$_8$-nuị$_9$ 'when$_1$ they$_2$ take$_3$ the zɛmbɛ́ (fetish) and$_4$ when they$_6$ come$_5$ (and) put$_7$ (it) on$_8$ the ground$_9$'

mise$_1$ bɔ́$_2$ dụŋ$_3$ nu$_4$ 'while$_2$ Monsieur$_1$ was sitting$_3$ (on the) ground$_4$'

bɛ́$_1$ rɛ́$_2$ nɛ$_3$ tɛ$_4$ bɛ́$_5$ rɛ́$_6$ gbóá$_7$ 'when$_1$ we$_2$ went$_3$, and$_4$ when$_5$ we$_6$ arrived$_7$'

boá$_1$ nɛ$_2$ mɛ$_3$, nɛ$_4$ ye$_5$ 'if$_1$ (one) would go$_2$ there$_3$, and$_4$ (they) would say$_5$ . . . '

394.32. nɛ (with phonologically defined allomorphs nɛ, nạ, nɛ̣, ndɛ, and ndo) is the verb 'to go.' As an auxiliary, it indicates future time, as with English 'going to . . . ,' or possible action (future with respect to some other

action, and therefore translated 'if, when, would,' etc.). In some instances it seems synonymous with bo. The formal resemblance to the connective nɛ 'and' is fortuitous. Examples are:

> ndɛ́₁ wá₂ hee kɔwà₃ wéndé, gan₄ tɛ́ wá hee kɔwà ná wéndé 'will₁ they₂ cry₃, or₄ won't they cry'

> nɛ́m₁ si nɛ́₂ gɔ́y₃ há₄ madáam nɛ́₅ zɔká₆ 'I'm going₁ to take (it) back₂ like this₃ so that₄ Madame will₅ see₆ (it)'

> wǐ-ré₁ nɛ́ zerá oro-ndú-ró₂ . . . , nɛ ŋmgbɛ́rɛ́₃ nɛ́₄ dɛ₅ a̧₆ ná 'the person₁ who has obeyed us₂, leprosy₃ will₄ not afflict₅ him₆'

> gan nɛ́₁ nɛ₂ a̧₃ hee kɔwá₄ tǐ-ó démá wǐ-ré₅ mɛ₆ ná 'he₃ will₁ not go₂ (and) cry₄ in front of the people₅ there₆'

> wan to gan dɛ₁ gɔ́y₂ ná nɛ wǐ-ré₃ gan nɛá₄ kpa₅ ri₆ mɔ́₇ nɔ₈ . . . ná 'if Wan-to had not done₁ this₂, people₃ would₄ not have found₅ water₆ to₇ drink₈'

394.33. tɛ (with phonologically defined allomorphs tɛ, ta̧, tɛ̧, and to) is the verb 'to come.' As an auxiliary it indicates probability in the past, present, or future, depending on the context. For example:

> tɛ́ ɔ gɔ́y 'that's probably the way it is'

> ɔ₁ a tɛ́₂ ha₃ ŋmaa₄ hɛ́ rɛ́₅ ɔ₁ 'who₁ can possibly₂ give₃ us₅ some₄?'

> gɛ rɛ yɔ́ŋ₁ kam ná, nɛ tɛ́₂ rɛ́₃ fe₄ wɔ₅ 'if we don't eat₁, we₃ might₂ die₄ (of) hunger₅'

> tá̧ á̧ ku̧ó 'he's probably crossed (the stream)'

> wǐ-ré₁ tɛá ɔ₂ dɔ́k₃ wen-toy₄ sa?de₅ sɛ́ 'if there were₂ many₃ people₁ to carry₄ (the) animal₅ (then we could do it)'

> gba₁ kóo₂ óró₃ ndɔà₄ wéndé, nɛ tɛà₅ wá₆ gbɛ₇ ŋmaa kpém₈ '(they said) "Even if₁ we₃ had violated₄ a woman₂, they₆ could have₅ killed₇ just one₈"'

Notes to Chapter Three

[1] Syntactic terms employed in this chapter are defined under Syntax (Chapter Four).

[2] A considerably different classification, and one that I now prefer, would work with a class of Modifiers. It would include adjectivals (that is, adjectives), adverbials (that is, adverbs), and substitutes. The latter would be comprised of the demonstratives (382.2), the interrogatives (382.3), the numeratives (382.4), and the quantitatives (382.8). The substantive class would also be altered so that the nominatives would be represented not only by common nouns (381), but also by locative nouns (382.5), temporal nouns (382.6), and the reciprocal noun (382.5). The latter three are now considered special types of substitutes. This change would leave only the personal pronouns co-ordinated with the nominatives (382.1).

[3] The glottal stop seems to be distinctive in some interjections; in others there seems to be free variation with zero.

[4] There may very likely be some historical connection between wa and wá, and even now some of their areas of meaning overlap. Since their formal (tonal) and semantic difference can not at the present be explained, they are separated.

[5] Its function seems to overlap that of há with which it may even be related historically, but these forms are now best analyzed as separate morphemes.

[6] The examples in (a) and (b) are not meant to be parallel contrasts. Affirmative commands in direct address have the form (Subject) + Verb. Thus, (mɛ) tɛ '(you) come.' In some instances the verb e 'to put, leave' and the connective há function somewhat like the English hortative 'let's,' but in Gbɛya the literal meaning is more explicit. Thus, é há kéey dɛ́ mɛ ná 'don't be afraid' (= 'let fear do you not'), é hɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ́ 'let's go' (= 'permit us to go'). Perhaps there is some connection between this use of e and the use of á in the negative commands, for (1) at Boguila é is used where the Gbɛya use á, and (2) one sentence occurs in the data where a low tone verb follows é, which is what usually occurs with á in negative commands. Thus, é kpaà són, ndɛ rɛ nɛ́ sɛnɛ́ 'when all have found (the place in the book), then we'll begin.'

[7] Sometimes the adjective nɔ́ɔ 'this' occurs as attribute of the noun mɔ 'thing' without adding anything to the meaning of the construction. There is no doubt that this connective is related to and in fact historically derived from the use of the word wen 'affair' as an attribute to the verb head in verb phrases. Some of the utterances containing wen kó mɔ nɛ might still be analyzed in this way; the presence of the conjunction nɛ 'and,' which ordinarily is in construction with the following and not preceding construction, lends weight to this analysis. But (1) because of the types of constructions which precede wen kó mɔ nɛ (and which can not precede wen and its complements), and (2) because of the frequent pauses both before and after wen kó mɔ nɛ, I take this whole construction as equivalent in over-all function to the other connectives, allowing that other kinds of analyses are possible.

[8] Once the various morphologically defined allomorphs are given, the morphemes shall be referred to by these cover symbols. Certain allomorphic alternations affecting all but wéndé gan are described in 132.2.

[9] The analysis of the connectives á, {a}, and há is not as neat as one should like it, and the explanation may be that I have found their use at a time of rapid change. If they are indeed a single morpheme, I have not found the unifying factors. It is of interest to note that in the dialect of Carnot a and ha (as written by Hilberth) serve "à conjuger les verbes au conditionnel et au subjonctif; dans les phrases affirmatives il sert à exprimer qu'une action est terminée au moment où l'on parle" (1952, p. 7).

[10] Among the few occurrences of á which resemble há in meaning is the following:
wa₁ nɛ́ nɛ́₂ ŋginza₃ á₄ wá háá₅ nɛ₆ kóoi₇ 'they₁ take₂ (the) money₃ and₄ [perhaps, 'to'] pay₅ for₆ the girl₇.'

[11] As in the third example, the preposition {ín} 'with' very often connects two substantive expressions before the connective nɛ occurs.

[12] The noun phrase with mɔ 'thing' as its head is commonly used to connect a clause with a preceding clause. It may very well be that óró mɔ nɛ . . . gá is becoming an equivalent connective.

[13] I suspect that there is some historical relationship between the sɛ́ of the connective sɛ́ tɛ and the só of só kó. As evidence, witness the fact that sɛ́ has a distribution somewhat independent of sɛ́ tɛ and that phonemically só is set off from kó by open juncture which prevents the former from being assimilated to the latter in vowel quality or nasalization (for which see 132.2). In the related Ngbaka language, according to Eugene A. Nida (Learning a Foreign Language, 1950), sɛ̄ is used in a statement "made in reply to a question which has been asked about the possibility of someone doing something" (p. 211) and contrasts with nɛ which marks a simple future statement.

[14] I strongly suspect that these connectives are derived from two morphemes, gan and wéndé (the first perhaps being the same as that in the negative adverb and the second perhaps the same as the final interrogative particle), in various combinations as a result of juxtaposition.

[15] There is a strong possibility that the connective mɔ́ is historically derived from the word mɔ 'thing.' Reasons for this hypothesis are the following: (1) some of the uses of mɔ́ parallel emergent connective uses of wen 'word' and wen kó 'word of'; (2) the use with the verb ɔ 'to be' can be translated in a way that makes a substantive of mɔ́, such as, ɔ́ mɔ́m dɛ gɔ́y 'I have to do it like this' (perhaps = 'is thing me do like this'), and (3) the translation of mɔ́ is accomplished in Sango, the trade language, by an expression equivalent to wen kó and not by the conjunction sí.

There is another morpheme, mɔ́, which in one case connects two substantive expressions and in another connects an adverb with a verb phrase, but its identification with the connective is doubtful. Indeed, there are insufficient examples to warrant its identification with either the connective or the substantive mɔ 'thing.' For example: gó kayà ó béem kó ró mɔ́ bé-wéeyaa 'so (they) took their children, that is, the sons'; wa gbóʔdí sɛ́rɛ mɔ́ sɛm sɛm 'they held (the) spears (making them tremble).'

[16] Excluded from the class of prepositions are certain nouns which, when they occur in noun phrases, are easily translated by English prepositions, such as the "preposition-like nouns." These are manifestly nouns because of their ability to take the determinant suffix {-a} and to occur in construction with other substantives with the relational morpheme {-}. Particularly noteworthy. are the ones used to indicate place, such as kɔ 'hole, inside,' zaŋ 'belly, inside,' gɔ́n 'top, on top,' zu 'head, on,' ká̧ 'side, beside,' ʔdɔr- 'underneath, under,' tí 'ahead, in front of.' Thus: kɔ́-tuwa 'inside the house,' ká̧-tuwa 'beside the house.' Even the following occur: kɔ́-kɔ 'in the hole,' tɛ-tɛ́-wa 'to them.' It should be noted that tɛ 'body, at' can precede any one of these pseudoprepositions. The only pseudopreposition which behaves differently is sɛn 'at, to' which never follows tɛ but precedes any other pseudopreposition. Thus: sɛn-tɛ́-zu-ʔdúú-zoróí ~ sɛn-́zu-ʔdúú-zoróí 'on the Zorɔ bridge'; wa gbín sɛn-tɛ-ká̧-tɛ-rɛ́i 'they broke out beside us' (= 'at body side body us').

[17] In the sentence tɛ́m dɛ nɛ kɔ́m ró ge gáá ge. 'What in the world can I do?,' nɛ́ occurs in construction with the prepositional phrase kɔ́m 'of me.' But since phrases with kó have a considerable freedom of occurrence, this is not unusual. There are also sentences that contain a morpheme nɛ́ whose identification with either the preposition nɛ́ or the copula is uncertain. Thus: mí nɛ́ tɛ́ɛm 'me alone,' zɛ́ɛ nɛ mbóro, nɛm yarà tɛ́-kakaʔda mɛ 'yesterday in the afternoon I walked around Kakaʔda over there.'

[18] Formal and functional resemblances indicate that some kind of relationship exists between the connective nɛ 'and,' the preposition nɛ́ 'with, etc.,' and the copula nɛ́. The hypothesis is substantiated by similar resemblances in other Niger-Congo languages. The hypothesis is both interesting and important in a historical perspective, but it can not lead to the establishing of a single morpheme in Gbɛya on formally valid grounds. Other names for this morpheme could possibly be 'linking particle' or 'ligature.'

[19] This change is operative regardless of the tone that precedes. For a similar tonal change see 131.2.

[20] When a noun follows a verb without the copula, it is to be taken as an attribute of the subject of the verb. Compare the following: ɔ́ nɛ́ wey 'it's a fire' and ɔ́ wey 'it's hot'; ɔ́ nɛ́ ri 'it's water' and ɔ́ ri ʔdɛ́ 'it's very watery.'

[21] What apparently has happened is that words that were formerly in quite distinct word classes have, as a result of frequent cooccurrence, been crystallized into a set phrase (as was the case with wéndé gan). The form gende may thus be derived from ge ndé which is still used as a type of "filler" with very little, if any, lexical meaning, very much as the phrases "I mean" or "you know" are used in colloquial American English. The form gá is probably to be identified with the gá of the connective óró . . . gá. In some Gbaya dialects, the form gá (or ká) still has the meaning 'like.'

[22] Substitution between some of these forms is illustrated by a text where gende gá ye ge, gende gá ye, gende gá, and ye all follow the verb tɔ 'to speak' in similar environments.

[23] The form ge in the sequence ye ge ndé is analyzed as the interrogative substitute and not as part of the QV (although the latter may be historically derived from the former). Examples: wen kɔ́-zaŋáa wéé ye ge ndé. '(The) sound inside makes what sound?' (Compare mɔ nɛ ɔ́ kɔ́-dak wéé roke roke 'the thing which is inside the gourd goes roke roke'); ʔdoŋ wáraa ye ge ndé. 'What is the way to do it?' góʔdó-wen nɔ́ɔ ye ge ndé. 'What is the explanation of this affair?' mɛ tɔ́ wen ye ge ndé. 'What are you saying?' Compare with ndɛ rɛ zɔ́k, ge ndé, nɛ mise duŋ tɛ́ 'and we looked, what? Monsieur was coming,' ʔmɔ́n nɛ ge ndé ndɛ wa gbó tɛ́-zaŋ-rɛ́ 'just like that and what? and they arrive in the village.'

[24] Here, as elsewhere in this grammar, the word "class" is used for "subclass" where the context makes it clear that subclasses are under discussion.

[25] Since all of the examples of ʔbay show it to be in a substantive phrase at the beginning of an utterance (being preceded only by the connective {go}), I suspect that instead of an adjective, it is some kind of clausally bound morpheme. The feature that requires its being described as an adjective is the fact that it occurs in construction with substantives where no verb is involved.

[26] It has been suggested (William E. Welmers, personal communication) that this adjective is not strictly plural (indicating many objects of a particular kind) but rather indicates individualized plurality; it is as if objects were looked at one by one instead of in a group. I have this same feeling about 6 but no lexicographic data that would substantiate it.

[27] This adjective has the same form as the negative adverb ná, but it is hard to see any relation between them, so they are identified as separate morphemes. If only one morpheme is involved, this fact can be proven only by means of a construction such as mí ná (= 'me not') which I seem to recall being used by a speaker to call attention to the opinion he was going to express in his next utterance, meaning something like "won't I be considered?"

[28] It seems almost certain that nɔ́ɔ is derived from the sequence nɛ ɔ́ɔ 'and it is,' where the verb ɔ́ 'is' has the morpheme ᷆V (213.3). In the Suma dialect the following occur: tuwa ɔ́ɔ 'this house' (= 'house is'), tuwa nɛ ɔ́ɔ 'this house' (= 'house and is'). The assimilated form of the connective occurs at Gɛzɛ́ri, north of Bossembele, in wí kɔ́ | nɔ ɔ́ | nɛ dɔ́ 'this woman is short,' where pause can occur at points marked by vertical bars.

[29] D. T. Cole, An Introduction to Tswana Grammar. Longmans, Green and Co., 1955, 370 pp.

[30] An apology is made for not giving glosses for all of the DAs cited in this section. One-to-one correspondences are generally impossible to make and circumlocutory translations would by their length overburden the treatment.

[31] Because the derivation of stems in many Indo-European languages is largely achieved through affixation, my use of the word may at first appear ill-advised, for no derivational affixes are utilized in the formation of Gbɛya DAs. The justification for its employment here rests on the recognition by others of compounding as a derivational process.

[32] The term "secondary association" is taken from Charles F. Hockett (A Course in Modern Linguistics, 1958, pp. 296-299).

[33] There are a few nouns, almost entirely names of living creatures, whose origin is onomatopoeic. They are too few in number to warrant the description of an imitative process of derivation. Thus: ná hmrɨ 'a certain frog,' gbúúfuu 'a certain owl,' u?úu 'a certain fish' (although u?úu is not a sound actually heard from the fish in question, the Gbɛya claim that it is able to lead other fish into traps by making noises. This therefore is a case of pseudo-onomatopoeia), sɛ̧ɛ súu 'a certain bird.'

[34] The form wí-zú 'thief' is not included here because of the aberrant form of the verb zú 'steal.' One expects wí-zu, with zu being the attribute of the noun wí 'person.'

[35] If the informant is correct in translating tɔ́ of the following phrase as 'talk,' then this one phrase constitutes a subclass coordinate with the other examples given in this section: zik tɔ́ 'certain tree,' so named, the informant said, because people walked around the tree (zik 'to circle') and remarked on the good shade it gave. Another coordinate subclass with only one member is the following: yɔ̧ŋ gáan 'certain small animal' < 'eat' + gán 'in vain' + suffix ᷆V. It would not be accurate to consider these analyses as fully analogous to folk etymologies. In their present form any other morphological segmentation is unlikely. Of course, if it could be shown that these words were borrowed from another language in which they had a different form, then we could suggest that the phonemic sequences were segmented in a way which was somehow meaningful in Gbɛya.

[36] The possibility of describing the pronouns as basically toneless and attributing the tone to some other morpheme was considered. For example, the perfective might have been described as consisting of the suffix { á } and high tone(s) on the pronouns (when these occurred). Since, however, this type of analysis would have made the whole description more complicated than the present one, even assuming that it would be entirely consistent, I have rejected it. In the following discussion it is to be understood that when I speak of the pronoun ɛrɛ or ɛ́rɛ́, I am in fact talking about allomorphs of a single morpheme.

[37] No examples of ᷆m are found in the data, but it is here posited both because I remember having heard a form such as láŋgim 'passing I . . . .' and also because it is

theoretically possible with motion verbs. The grave accent mark in -m only means that
the vowel preceding the suffix has low tone. An attempt was made to eliminate -Vm by
setting up -m and introducing allomorphs of the verb bases, such as *háya-m. There is
some historical justification for this analysis (see the common Gbanu verb form CVCV),
but the morph -Vm is no longer restricted to disyllabic bases, and nouns (when it con-
cerns the objectival pronouns) also come into the picture.

[38] Note should be taken of the fact that there are two homophonous allomorphs of 1S,
namely, -m of am and -m of ám. They contrast in terms of the whole sets of pronouns
and in utterances such as nɛɛm zɔ́k wa 'I went and saw them' and nɛ́m zɔk wa 'I'm go-
ing to see them.'

[39] That the substitution of an explicit pronoun for a common one is not entirely obli-
gatory is demonstrated in several instances. For example:

gá ye$_1$ am$_2$ kíí$_3$ ʔdoŋ-wáá$_4$ '(he) said$_1$, "I'm$_2$ looking for$_3$ a way$_4$."'

[40] It is certainly more than accidental that these substitutes are distinguished only
by the quality of their vowels. One is tempted to segment a morph with the shape -V,
but because its occurrence would be restricted to these words, such an analysis is
hardly justified.

[41] The only possible identification of ré at the moment is with the form which occur-
red in the speech of someone from Bowe where ré duwa and yé duwa are used, at least
occasionally, instead of ó duwa 'goats,' where ré, yé, and ó simply mark plurality. Get-
ting 'how much, how many?' from 'what plurality?' seems a bit forced, however.

[42] This word is suspiciously like two other words in the language (in form and to some
extent in meaning) with which it is also in complementary distribution. They are ŋma
'some' (an adjective) which occurs only as an attribute of nouns, and ŋmaa 'some' (a
noun) which occurs only as the subject of verbs. One considers the possibility of some-
how uniting these in a single morpheme. This may be possible if one starts with the
base form ŋma 'some, a few, little bit, etc.' and adds the suffix {-a} (213.1) to make
a subjective nominative with the same general meaning and the suffix *-á to make an
objective nominative with the added meaning of reciprocity. The resultant forms would
be unique, as would the occurrence of the suffix itself.

[43] The suffixes -i$_1$ and {-i$_3$} cannot be united as a single morpheme for the follow-
ing reasons: (1) their meaning and the distribution of the free forms in which they oc-
cur are not similar enough and (2) a distributional difference is correlated with a for-
mal difference in that one occurs with B² and the other with B-. (It should also be
pointed out that these suffixes are different from another one of similar form, the post-
clitic {-i$_5$}. The postclitic occurs freely with verb forms c to f inclusively, and when
it occurs with those in a, it contrasts with -i$_1$ in that unlike the latter it does not occur
with the /r/ allomorph of the verb. So: wesé nɛm pééi 'the day on which I returned,'
wesé-peri 'the day of returning.')

[44] It should be remembered from section 131.2 that the diacritic ` indicates the sub-
stitution of a low for a high tone preceding high tone.

[45] The high tone on /i/ in the following forms is described as being part of the objec-
tival pronominal suffix /-m/: bɛ́ ɛ́ kiʔdím 'while he was looking for me'; bɛ́ ɛ́ laŋgím
'when he passed me up.' The low tone in láŋgim in the following is however described
as belonging to the subjectival pronominal suffix: *láŋgim rɨ́ŋ nu 'passing on, I fell
down' (not actually heard, but possible on the analogy of pérem zɔ́k wa 'coming back,
I saw them'). See note 37.

[46] The following examples are unusual because of the occurrence of high tone imper-
fectives following bó, so I suspect an error in transcription: gó zɛ nɛ bó ndɛ́ wá dɔ nɛ́
gbíyaí 'so on the night before they are going to burn the gbíya (translation uncertain),'
bɛ́ ɛ́ nún nóa 'when he smelled the oil.'

[47] The examples are too few to warrant further generalizations, but data from other
Gbaya dialects seem to indicate that this combination of high tone pronoun subjects and
low tone verbs may be a widespread and important pattern.

[48] I do not mean by free variation that it is a demonstrable fact that either a high or
low perfective form can substitute for the other one in any particular environment. I
simply mean that the occurrence of one or the other is not at present structurally pre-
dictable. There may of course be a real difference in style, say, between the low in
slow speech and the high in rapid speech. In the transcription of the tape-recorded texts

it was often difficult to determine whether the form was high or low, but it is certain that the contrast exists; my informant confirmed it.

[46] The use of nɛ 'to go' and tɛ 'to come' in a particular situation seems to depend somewhat on the speaker's point of view (whether he thinks of himself either at the point of departure or point of destination, compare English 'Are you coming to/going to the party?'), but in the dialect of Bouca it seems that both are used for 'to come,' tɛ with singular subjects and nɛ with plural subjects.

[50] For one possible exception see note 46.

[51] The word íŋáá functions as an auxiliary in that either an imperfective or perfective verb may follow it, but in some constructions it seems to function as a connective. There are not enough data to justify a conclusive analysis, especially since its meaning is not fully understood. Examples are:

> bá ɛ́ ba wééyaa₁ íŋáá pɪ̰₂ bɔlɓa₃ 'when he took the male one₁ (that is, the gourd) to throw₂ (it) after₃ (the first one)'
>
> a̰₁ ŋgɛ́mbɛ́m₂, nɛ₃ íŋáá baám₄ 'he₁ waited for me₂, and₃ (for the purpose of) taking me₄'

The word gó functions similarly. It is most certainly derived from the connective {go} (332.2), but because of their differences in function, they must be considered distinct.

CHAPTER FOUR

SYNTAX

In this chapter are described the various ways in which words are arranged in maximal utterances. Hitherto, the main consideration was of morphemes or classes of morphemes, bound and free. This chapter deals with constructions, that is, with collocations of free morphemes. The unit basic to the description is the sentence, which in its smallest form consists of several types of included or potentially independent constructions. These sentence constructions are described in section 420. Nonsentence-type constructions are described in 410. Several types of syntactic combining processes are described in 430. Finally, a sample text is presented in 500. The analysis of the syntax is based on the theory of immediate constituents: It is assumed that syntactic structures can be analyzed into layers of progressively smaller dichotomous units.

410. Nonsentence-type constructions. The various constructions which are included within sentences are endocentric substantive phrases, with both noun (411) and substitute (412) heads, exocentric prepositional phrases (413), and verb phrases (414). Since the term "phrase" is descriptive of constructions, it covers both those consisting of only one word and also those of several words.

411. Noun phrases. They consist of either subordinate (411.1 and 411.2) or coordinate elements (411.3). The subordinate substantive phrase consists of the head and its preposed or postposed attributes or both. The attributes which precede the head are either adjectives, numerative substitutes, or descriptive adverbs. The attributes which follow the head are either substantives, adjectives, prepositional phrases, adverbs, verbs, or dependent clauses. The coordinate phrase consists of heads which are combined by parataxis or with some formal marker.

411.1. Noun phrases with preposed attributes. They are either numerative substitutes (411.11), adverbs (411.12), or adjectives. For the last, see section 360.

411.11. Numerative substitute attributes. The meaning of a numeral in this position is different from when it occurs postposed to the head. Here it is somewhat equivalent in meaning to an English ordinal numeral. In addition, the word kpém 'one' has the meaning of 'single,' such as: kpém wesé '(in a) single day,' kpém fara 'single place,' ríïto wen 'second subject.'

411.12. Adverb attributes. This use of the descriptive adverbs is infrequent in the corpus. For example:

fį́í káyá kélé 'small faith,' compare ó wí-ré tɛà fį́í 'a few people came'

goŋ goŋ⁻tuwa 'square house,' compare wa dɛ́ tuwa goŋ goŋ 'they are making the house square'

gére⁻mɔ 'unimportant thing,' compare ạ́ tɛà gére 'he came for no reason'

yɛrɛrɛ⁻wesé 'certain snake,' compare wesè dɔ́ yɛrɛrɛ 'the sun is shining temperately'

411.2. Noun phrases with postposed subordinate attributes. These attributes are either substantives (411.21), adjectives (411.22), prepositional phrases (411.23), adverbs (411.24), verbs (411.25), or dependent clauses (411.26).

411.21. Substantive attributes. They are either nouns or substitutes which are subordinated either paratactically or by the use of the connective óró . . . gá 'like.' Subordination is identified by the fact that one word, the head, can be used in the place of the whole construction.

411.211. Noun attributes. Several types of constructions are distinguished by their meanings, but most of these occur with the relational morpheme {⁻}, which is discussed in 212.2. In addition to these, there are a few N + N constructions without this relational morpheme.[1] For example:

wan to 'master fable (the Spider, chief character in the fables)'

wan fiyo 'master fetish' (a personal name)

gbɔgbɔ ri 'middle of the stream'

térí$_1$ ŋmgbarí$_2$ ʔdoŋ saŋai$_3$ 'plant$_1$ (the) okra$_2$ in rows$_3$'

wesè ó sɛra zu 'the sun is overhead'

dɔ́ɔ́-kiʔdi$_1$ mbé$_2$ wen$_3$ wen$_4$-tɔ́áa$_5$ 'beer for looking for$_1$ a new$_2$ subject$_3$ to$_4$ talk$_5$ (about)'

ó mɔ$_1$ tɛ⁻wesè$_2$ kɔ́$_3$ ó kpásái kɛ́ rɛ́$_4$ 'things$_1$ in the days$_2$ of$_3$ our elders$_4$'

mɔ⁻mari$_1$ kɔ́$_2$ ó sɔ́kái kɛ́ rɛ́$_3$ tɛ-tíi$_4$ 'the clothing$_1$ of$_2$ our elders$_3$ long ago$_4$'

ŋma wí-ré$_1$ óró$_2$ mɛ́$_3$ gá$_2$ 'a person$_1$ like$_2$ you$_3$'

411.212. Substitute attributes.[2] It seems that all but the personal pronouns may occur as attributes of nominatives. In addition to the following examples, others may be found in 382:

Demonstrative: kɔfɛ$_1$ i̠f$_2$ nɛ né dɛà$_3$ rɔ́k$_4$ ʔdɛi$_5$ 'that$_2$ in-law$_1$ who should work$_3$ very$_5$ well$_4$'

Interrogative: wí-o 'who?' yari⁻ge 'what hunt?' (personal name)

Locative: mɔ́y$_1$ tɛ-rɛ́$_2$ mɛ$_3$ 'meet$_1$ in (the) village$_2$ there$_3$,' mɛ́$_1$ ɔá$_2$ nu$_3$ na$_4$ '(if) you$_1$ were$_2$ (on the) ground$_3$ here$_4$'

Quantitative: ŋma wen kɔ̃m dɔ́ka gan bó ná 'I don't have any big speech,' ó wí-ré$_1$ hárá sɔ́n$_2$ mɔ́y$_3$ 'all$_2$ (the) people$_1$ gather$_3$'

Numerative: ŋma$_1$ mɔ$_2$ kpém$_3$ 'some$_1$ one$_3$ thing$_2$'

gạ́sá$_1$ kɛrɛ$_2$ ʔdoŋ kpém$_3$ 'six$_3$ large$_1$ beer-pots$_2$'

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[1]For notes to Chapter Four, see p. 142.

411.22. Adjective attributes; such as: zɔ́$_1$ nɔ́ɔ$_2$ 'this$_2$ grass$_1$,' tɪ̯i$_1$-wa$_2$ nɔ́ɔ$_3$ 'these$_3$ tails$_1$ of theirs$_2$,' fiyo$_1$ kɔ́m$_2$ nɔ́ɔ$_3$ 'this$_3$ fetish$_1$ of mine$_2$,' báraa i̯ɪ ná mɛi 'dry season before last.'

411.23. Prepositional-phrase attributes. Phrases containing the preposition kó 'of' (and much less frequently {ín} 'with' and nɛ́) are those which most frequently occur in attribution to a noun head. (See also postposed coordinate attributes, 411.3.) Examples are:

ʔdoŋ-wáá$_1$ kɛ́ rɛ$_2$ ín mɛ ye ge ndé. 'What does our$_2$ way$_1$ have to do with your way?' (= 'our way with you means what?')

ó yä́$_1$ kɔ́í$_2$ sɔ́n$_3$ 'all$_3$ your$_2$ friends$_1$,'

wen$_1$ kɛ̣ ɛ̣$_2$ ín$_3$ kó$_4$ kɛ̣ ɛ̣$_5$ '(said) for$_1$ himself$_2$ and$_3$ his$_5$ wife$_4$,'

gba dóro$_1$ kó wa$_2$ 'their$_2$ hunting-path$_1$,'

zɛ́ɛ nɔ́ɔ$_1$ nɛ$_2$ mbóro$_3$ 'yesterday$_1$ in$_2$ (the) evening$_3$,'

411.24. Adverb attributes. Only a few occur as attributes to nouns, such as: mɔ$_1$ <u>gére</u>$_2$ 'unimportant$_2$ thing$_1$,' zɔ́ŋá$_1$ kó wa$_2$ nɔ́ɔ$_3$ <u>gɔ́ɔ</u>$_4$ 'this$_3$ adolescent daughter$_1$ of theirs$_2$ here$_4$,' ó mɔ$_1$ <u>ʔdɛ́k ʔdɛ́k</u>$_2$ 'many different$_2$ things$_1$,' (cf. laŋgi$_1$ ʔdɛ́k ʔdɛ́k$_2$ 'pass$_1$ on all sides$_2$,'), mɔ <u>ʔbɛ́ɛ́</u> 'thing from long ago' (cf. ám$_1$ i̯ŋɔ́$_2$ a̧$_3$ ʔbɛ́ɛ́$_4$ 'I've known$_2$ him$_3$ from long ago$_4$,').

411.25. Verb attributes. They are either verbs or verb phrases which stand in construction with common nouns. For example:

a̧$_1$ dé malɛ́ɛ$_2$ wen-gɔʔbi$_3$ wen-tɛ$_4$ wen-ri$_5$ 'he$_1$ played a trick$_2$ so as to go around$_3$ to come$_4$ for (the) water$_5$,'

ga̧ rɛ$_1$ kpa$_2$ ŋmaa wen-gbɛ$_3$ kpém$_4$ ná 'we$_1$ didn't find$_2$ even one$_4$ to kill$_3$,'

wa$_1$ bá yarí$_2$-za̧$_3$ yináa$_4$ 'they$_1$ set out$_2$ to dig up$_3$ the roots$_4$,'

ʔdoŋ-wáá-nɛ fɔ bó ná 'it's not possible to go to the garden' (= 'means of going garden is not')

yárá$_1$-dɛ saa$_2$ zaŋ-ré$_3$ ŋmä́ŋ ŋmä́ŋ$_4$ 'running around$_1$ to play$_2$ in (the) village$_3$ all the time$_4$,'

wí-zɔk wa gan bó ná 'there is no one to oversee them' (= 'person to see them is not')

411.26. Dependent-clause attributes. A principal clause introduced by the connective nɛ 'and' is a common attribute of noun (as well as substitute) phrases, the whole of which is very often "closed" with the postclitic. The noun head, regardless of its function in the sentence, is either the subject or the object of the dependent clause. When the head is the subject of the dependent clause, the verb has no grammatical subject (see below for pronominal heads). For example:

zɔ́k$_1$ fara$_2$-mɔí$_3$ nɛ tɛ́i$_4$ ná 'doesn't see$_1$ the place$_2$ from which the thing$_3$ is coming$_4$,'

wen kó mɔ na̧$_1$ a̧$_2$ sa̧má$_3$ fire$_4$ nɛ wan to ʔbirɔ$_5$ á$_6$ nui$_7$ 'because$_1$ he$_2$ ate$_3$ (the) paste$_4$ which Wan-to had broken off$_5$ (and) thrown to$_6$ the ground$_7$,'

ɛrɛ$_1$ kú̧$_2$ ri$_3$ sɛn-tɛ-fara$_4$ ndɛ wa du̧mɔ$_5$ érém$_6$ sɛnɛ́i 'we$_1$ crossed$_2$ the stream$_3$ at the place$_4$ where they speared$_5$ my hand$_6$,'

gan a̧$_1$ rém$_2$ ɔ$_3$ ín$_4$ kóoi$_5$ na̧ a̧ dé kɔféai$_6$ ná 'he$_1$ can't$_2$ sleep$_3$ with$_4$ the girl$_5$ for whom he is working$_6$,'

ɔ́ nɛ́ mɔ₁ nɛ tɛ-foo ká̰ a̰₂ nɛ́₃ yy̰m₄ wenáa 'it's something₁ about which
    his in-laws₂ will₃ be angry₄'

biro₁-gbɛ₂ ŋmaá₃ ndɛ wa gbɛ́₄ nɛ sɛ́rɛi₅ 'a fight₁ to kill₂ each other₃
    which they did₄ with spears₅'

mɛ káy₁ ó tḭréa₂ sɔ́n₃ nɛ ndɛ́ wá a₄ nu₅ há mɛ́i₆ 'take₁ all₃ the payment₂
    which they will put₄ (on the) ground₅ for you₆'

411.3. Postposed coordinate attributes. They are substantives joined by
the connective nɛ 'and' (332.4) or wéndé gan 'or' (332.9).

412. Substitute phrases. These consist only of subordinate elements,
and they are fewer in number and less varied than are the noun phrases.
The variation seems to be correlated with the fact that only certain substi-
tutes function as subjects or objects of verbs, and among these only certain
ones are more common than the others. The substitutes which occur with
attributes are discussed in the following paragraphs.

412.1. Personal and demonstrative pronouns occur with the following
attributes: nɔ́ɔ 'this,' sɔ́n 'all,' ó 'plural marker,' ʔbay 'only,' numerals,
a phrase introduced by the preposition {ín} 'with,' and a phrase or clause
introduced by the connective nɛ 'and.' For example:

    a̰₁ nɔ́ɔ na̰ a̰ gbɛa̰₂ rɛ́i₃ 'he₁ who killed₂ us₃'
    mɛ zɔ́k₁ wa₂ <u>kusi</u>₃ 'look at₁ (the) nine₂ (of) them₂'
    ɛ́rɛ́₁ <u>sɔ́n</u>₂ ɛrɛ zɔ́kaa₃ 'all₂ (of) us₁ saw it₃'
    wí₁ <u>ín</u>₂ yám-wara 'you₁ and₂ Yám-wara'
    ó ḭí₁ nɛ ɔ́₂ nɛ bé-zee mbɔra₃ 'those₁ who are₂ obedient children₃'
    ám₁ gbɛá₂ ḭl <u>nɔ́ɔ</u>₃ 'I₁ killed₂ that one₃'
    <u>ʔbay</u> mí am tɛ́ gɔ́ɔ 'it is only I coming' (= 'only me I come here')

412.2. The numerative, locative, and temporal substitutes occur only
with the adjective nɔ́ɔ 'this' (362.2). For example:

    ám₁ gbɛá₂ rḭ́íto̰₃ nɔ́ɔ₄ 'I₁ killed₂ these₄ two₃'
    a̰ ʔmɔna̰₁ íyɛ₂ nɔ́ɔ 'he's still₁ over there₂'
    mbɔ́ro nɔ́ɔ₁ am₂ tɔ̰́ nɛ́i₃ 'it's this evening₁ I'm₂ talking about₃'

412.3. The interrogative pronoun o 'who?' (382.3) occurs with the attri-
bute ó 'plural marker' only once and in an early field-work notebook. Thus:
ná̰ a̰₁ kay₂ ó o₃? 'What people₃ (did you say) he was going₁ to get₂?'

413. Prepositional phrases. These consist of a preposition and a sub-
stantive or substantive phrase. It is to be understood that the term "preposi-
tional phrase" includes prepositions with pronominal suffixes (for example,
kɔ́m 'of me'). For other examples see 340. (For a discussion of wen kó 'for,
because,' see 331.2; 414.17.) Examples are:

    kó 'of':
    wen kó ge 'why?'
    tuwa kó o 'whose house?'
    wa₁ gbák₂ sɛ́rɛ₃ kó ŋmaá₄ 'they₁ exchange₂ each other's₄ spears₃'
    wen kó bɛrɛ 'as for the dry season'

há 'from, to':

há$_1$ éé$_2$-ó wí-ré$_3$ 'from$_1$ (the) hands$_2$ of people$_3$'

né né$_1$ hó$_2$ wa$_3$ 'take$_1$ (it) to$_2$ them$_3$'

há sɛné 'from there'

dák$_1$ kéey$_2$ há zaŋ-wa$_3$ 'take$_1$ fear$_2$ out of them$_3$'

ín 'with':

ín$_1$ bém$_2$ kɛ̰ ɛ̰$_3$ '(said) and$_1$ his$_3$ child$_2$'

koyo ín ó mboró ín ó dawa tɛ́ 'koyo '(birds) and red monkeys and
green monkeys come'

414. **Verb phrases.** The verb phrase consists of a verb head and non-
obligatory complements. These are either substantives, prepositional
phrases, verbs, or adverbs which occur in a more or less regular order.
The order is a relative one: the shorter the verb phrase, the easier it is
to predict the order of the constituents. The sum of the possibilities is illus-
trated by the following formula: verb + intensive (that is, kó phrase) + ob-
ject (or goal or predicate complement) + place + time + prepositional phrase
+ number + purpose + adverb + repeated verb. The various combinations
are not explicitly illustrated, but many can be found in the following sections.

414.1. **Substantive complements.** In this position these have the syntactic
meaning of object (or goal or predicate complement, etc.), place, time, num-
ber, or purpose.

414.11. **Object:**

a̰$_1$ há$_2$ oro-nú$_3$ hó$_4$ wa$_5$ 'he$_1$ gives$_2$ a command$_3$ to$_4$ them$_5$'

hɛ́$_1$ ri$_2$ ínaa$_3$ 'buy$_1$ water$_2$ from him$_3$'

gom$_1$ bá$_2$ a̰$_3$ wáá fara taa$_4$ 'and I$_1$ took$_2$ him$_3$ three times$_4$'

bá$_1$ kóa$_2$ tḭ́$_3$ 'take$_1$ the female one$_2$ first$_3$'

414.12. **Goal.** It is convenient to distinguish goal from direct object when
nouns with locative meaning follow verbs of motion. For example:

sí ʔdoŋ né wen hám 'answer me' (= 'return back with word to-me')

sí ʔdoŋ tɛ-ré$_1$ mɛ$_2$ 'return to the village$_1$ there$_2$'

né$_1$ kɔ́ɔ́-rɛ́$_2$ 'goes$_1$ after us$_2$'

rɛmà$_1$ rɛ́$_2$ 'enough for$_1$ us$_2$'

nɛ$_1$ yarí$_2$ 'go$_1$ on a hunt$_2$'

414.13. **Predicate complement.** This use is to be contrasted with the use
of the copula né (for which see 352). Nouns with this meaning usually follow
the verbs ɔ 'to be,' kifi 'to turn (into),' ʔmɔn 'to remain,' ya 'to be (plural).'
For example:

ɔ́ wey 'it's hot'

wa yá rííto 'there are two of them' (= 'they are two')

a̰$_1$ kifó$_2$ dila$_3$ 'he$_1$ turned into$_2$ a lion$_3$'

ʔmɔná wey 'it's still hot' (= 'remained hot')

414.14. **Place.** The precise meanings of where, whither, or whence are
in the lexical meanings of the substantives or in the construction (since há
'from' is the only preposition which can be used with a locative meaning).

For example, the word 'fire' is locative in the phrase $\acute{e}_1$ $k\mathfrak{o}r\acute{a}_2$ wey_3 'puts$_1$ chicken$_2$ (on the) fire$_3$ (to cook),' but objective in é wey sɛnɛ́ 'puts fire there' (that is, 'set fire to something'). A few nouns are commonly used as the heads of noun phrases with locative meaning: kɔ 'hole, in,' ʔdɔr- 'underneath, under,' bɔnɔ 'back, behind, after,' zu 'head, on,' kɔ́r- 'back, after,' ką́ 'side, beside, next to,' saŋa 'inside, between,' zaŋ 'belly, inside, within,' gbɔgbɔ 'between.' Many locative noun phrases, even some with the words just listed, may have as head tɛ or sɛn or sɛn tɛ 'at.'[3] Examples of the preposition-like nouns, of phrases with sɛn and tɛ, and finally of other nouns are given below. For examples of the locative substitutes see 382.5.

414.141. Examples with preposition-like nouns:
ndɛ$_1$ wa$_2$ aà$_3$ kɔ-̈daná$_4$ 'and$_1$ they$_2$ put$_3$ (it) in the bag$_4$'

dų́ŋ ʔdɔráa 'sat underneath'

bó$_1$ kpa ŋmaá$_2$ . . . bɔnɔ́a$_3$ 'when$_1$ (they) meet$_2$ . . . after it$_3$'

nɛm$_1$ dų́ŋ$_2$ zu-̈wotóo$_3$ 'and I$_1$ was sitting$_2$ on the truck$_3$'

ɔ́$_1$ saŋa$_2$ wáam gɔ́ɔ$_3$ 'is$_1$ in the middle of$_2$ (the) Waam here$_3$'

te$_1$ yá$_2$ ką́$_3$-tɛ-̈ŋmaá$_4$ '(there) were$_2$ trees$_1$ beside$_3$ each other$_4$'

wa$_1$ tɔ́ wen$_2$ kɔ́ɔ́$_3$-rɛ́i$_4$ 'they$_1$ talk$_2$ behind$_3$ us$_4$'

nɛ$_1$ mɛ$_2$ bɛ̧á$_3$ tom$_4$ zaŋ$_5$-ró$_6$ mɛ$_7$ 'and$_1$ you$_2$ refused$_3$ work$_4$ in$_5$ (the) village$_6$ there$_7$'

414.142. Examples with sɛn and tɛ:
bɛ́$_1$ rɛ́$_2$ zi̧i$_3$ sɛn-̈tɛ-ką́-zaŋ-̈ri$_4$ mɛ$_5$ 'when$_1$ we$_2$ came down$_3$ to the river-bank$_4$ there$_5$'

péé$_1$ i̧n$_2$ ró$_3$ sɛn-tɛ-̈mise$_4$ na$_5$ '(he said I should) return$_1$ with$_2$ him$_3$ to Monsieur$_4$ here$_5$'

a̧$_1$ káy$_2$ toy$_3$ kó wa$_4$ sɔ́n$_5$ tɛ-̈tuwa$_6$ ką́ a̧$_7$ 'he$_1$ takes$_2$ all$_5$ their$_4$ belongings$_3$ to his$_7$ house$_6$'

gbó tɛ-̈zaŋ-ré 'arrive in the village'

414.143. Examples with other nouns:
bá$_1$ ʔboy$_2$ kɛ̧ ɛ̧$_3$ tan$_4$-ɛ̧i$_5$ 'takes$_1$ his$_3$ hat$_2$ (from) his$_5$ head$_4$'

mɛ́$_1$ ɔá$_2$ nu$_3$ na$_4$ '(if) you$_1$ were$_2$ here$_4$ (on the) ground$_3$'

wa$_1$ pi̧$_2$ nú-kan$_3$ nu$_4$ 'they$_1$ put$_2$ (the) end of the torch$_3$ (to the) ground$_4$'

á$_1$ éó-ɛ̧$_2$ wáá-ri$_3$ 'puts$_1$ his hands$_2$ (in the) direction of (the) water$_3$'

414.15. Time. The most common substantives of time are the temporal substitutes, for which see 382.6. Others (not occurring in a prepositional phrase) are very often locative nominatives with temporal meaning. For example:

ɛrɛ$_1$ kúú$_2$ zu-̈ture$_3$ 'we$_1$ left$_2$ early in the morning$_3$' (= 'head of morning')

a̧$_1$ bá$_2$ kóa$_3$ tí$_4$ 'he$_1$ takes$_2$ the female$_3$ first$_4$'

pi̧$_1$ mbéa$_2$ nu$_3$ ʔdoŋɛ$_4$ 'throws$_1$ another one$_2$ (on the) ground$_3$ after that$_4$'

gbɛ́$_1$ kpasi$_2$ kó mɛ́$_3$ mbéa ʔbɔ$_4$ 'destroy$_1$ your$_3$ life$_2$ again$_4$'

414.16. Number. Numerative substitutes or noun phrases containing an attribute of number are used with this meaning.[4] For example:

ayá$_1$ orɔ́m$_2$ wáá ríto 'sent$_1$ after me$_2$ twice' (= 'way two')

pee nɛ$_1$ hám$_2$ gɔ́y gɔ́y$_3$ wáá fara taa$_4$ 'return with$_1$ (it) to me$_2$ like this$_3$ three times$_4$'

bǎ₁ ǎ₂ si ʔdoŋ₃ ríítóa₄ 'when₁ he₂ came back₃ the second time₄' (= 'the second')

414.17. Purpose. The word wen 'word, affair' is used independently (but with the determinant suffix) or as the head of noun phrases with various types of complements with the meaning 'reason' or 'purpose,' but it is translated in several different ways: with nouns it often has the English meaning 'for,' and with verbs the meaning 'to.' For example:

nǎá₁ ŋmaá₂ wenáa₃ 'bite₁ each other₂ over it₃'

ge a mɛ₁ yú yui₂ wenáá₃ ge ndé 'for what reason₃ are you₁ running₂?'

a₁ há oro-nú hó wa₂ wen₃-ʼmɔy₄ 'he₁ ordered them₂ to₃ gather₄'

a bá ŋganda íniím₁ wen₂-túrú₃ kóm₄ 'he's jealous₁ over₂ my₄ clothes₃'

ɛrɛ₁ nɛ́₂ wen kó₃ saʔde₄ sɛ́ 'let's₁ go₂ for₃ (the) meat₄'

dɛ́₁ kam₂ wen kó wa₃ ŋmǎŋ ŋmǎŋ₄ 'makes₁ food₂ for them₃ all the time₄'

gan rɛ₁ kpá₂ ŋma saʔde₃ kpém₄ wen kó₅ gbɛ́á₆ ná 'we₁ didn't find₂ one₄ animal₃ to₅ kill₆'

gɛ₁ rɛ₂ kpá₃ wen kó₄ si₅ rɛ yɔŋ₆ nɛ́ kam₇ 'and₁ we₂ found₃ (meat) in order to₄ return₅ (and) eat₆ (it) with (the) porridge₇'

414.18. Manner. The only substantive which occurs in verb phrases with this meaning is gáa 'like this.'[5] For example:

mise bó₁ laŋgi₂ kó ró kpɛ́kɛ́rɛ́₃ tɛ-íyɛ₄ gáa 'when₁ Monsieur went on₂ out of sight₃ over there₄ like this'

é₁ zúa₂ ʔbɔ₃ gáa 'add₁ to it₂ again₃ like this'

te₁ yá₂ kǎ-tɛ́-ŋmaǎ₃ gáá nɔ́ɔ rííto₄ 'two₄ trees₁ stood₂ beside each other₃ like this'

414.2. Prepositional phrases. These occur with the following meanings: emphasis on subject (kó); time, place, instrument, or object (with nɛ́); reciprocation (with {ín}); benefaction or origin (with há); accompaniment (with nɛ́ or ín); or goal or indirect object (with {ín} or há). These prepositions are discussed in 340.

414.3. Verbs. These occur as objective complements of the verb head or in repetition of the verb head.

414.31. As objective complements, verbs occur in the low-tone imperfective forms, for which see 393.112, most often after motion verbs or such verbs as rɛm 'to be able,' iŋ 'to know,' and kɔ 'to want, agree to.' For example:

nɛ́₁ bi₂ dilai₃ 'go₁ to fight₂ the lion₃'

ám₁ yará₂ kiʔdi₃ saʔde₄ 'I₁ was hiking₂ in search of₃ animals₄'

gan rɛm₁ tɔ wen₂ sǎŋ₃ ná 'can't₁ talk₂ correctly₃'

a₁ iŋɔ́₂ tɔɔ mbɛ́tí₃ 'he₁ knows how₂ to read₃'

ɛrɛ₁ kɔ́₂ kɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ₃ fɔ₄ ná 'we₁ don't want₂ to go₃ (to the) garden₄'

guʔdò kúmásé₁ da₂ káná-biro 'Guʔdó began₁ to curse₂ Káná-biro'

414.32. Emphasis is achieved by repeating the head verb (which occurs with the suffix -i₂, for which see 211.3).[6] For example:

ó ŋmaa₁ yɔ́ŋ₂ kó ró₃ yɔ́ŋi nɛ́₄ gogo₅-ró₆ 'some₁, on the other hand₃, chew₂ (it) with₄ their₆ teeth₅ (in contrast to pounding it)'

hɛ́₁ ri₂ ínaa₃ hɛ́i 'buy₁ water₂ from him₃ (instead of getting it free)'

ʔnáŋ₁ mɔ₂ ʔnáŋi 'ruin₁ things₂'

414.4. Adverbs. For exemplification see 370 and Text 10. An additional characteristic of the adverbs is that two, and occasionally more, descriptive adverbs (372) can occur in a single verb phrase, for example:

nɔ́y₁ ʔdiriri ʔdiriri₂ gɔ́y₃ 'boils₁ furiously₂ like this₃'
né yɛŋ, yoŋ yoŋ yoŋ yoŋ '(the water) went flowing along'
nɛm₁ né kɔ́ɔ-mise₂ gɛʔdɛ́k gɛʔdɛ́k₃ gɔ́y₄ ŋmgbɔ́ŋ₅ 'and I₁ followed Monsieur₂ like this₄ very softly₃ for a long time₅'

420. Sentence constructions. The sentence is defined as the minimal free utterance. The definition rests on the fact that in normal discourse there are constructions which regularly elicit certain types of response, linguistic or nonlinguistic. These utterances and the responses they elicit are of two types: one consists of a substantival expression in an exocentric construction with a verb expression (whose relation to each other is "subject" to "predicate," about which more is said below), and the other consists of verbless expressions. The first is by far the most important type, although more complex syntactically, and is called the "principal type" (421.1). The second, named "secondary type" (421.2), contains no verb. Principal and secondary sentence constructions (that is, simple sentences, 421) may in turn be constituents of more complex sentences, complex (422) or compound (423). When this happens, they are called "clauses." For this reason there are major (421.11) and minor (421.12) clauses, which parallel primary and secondary sentence constructions.

421. Simple sentences. They are of two types: principal (with a verbal predicate) and secondary (or nonprincipal, without a verb). Since the constructions described in this section are only potential sentences, they are here distinguished by the name "clause."

421.1. Principal clauses. These are of two types, major and minor. Major clauses are those which have grammatical subjects, and minor clauses are those which do not have grammatical subjects.

421.11. Major clauses. The minimal constituents of a major clause are a grammatical subject and verbal predicate: for example, wa té 'they are coming.' Longer clauses result from the expansion of the subject or predicate or both (for which see noun expressions 411 and verb expressions 414):

bém₁ kɔ́ mɛ́₂ nɔ́ɔ₃ nɛ bɛ̂₄ bém kɔ́m₅ báraa₆ gan₇ rɛ́m₈ tɛ kɔfɛ́a₉ mbéa ʔbɔ₁₀ ná₇ 'this₃ child₁ of yours₂ who refused₄ my child₅ last year₆ can₈ not₇ work for her₉ (= come the in-law) again₁₀.'

The subject of a major clause is either a noun expression, a substitute expression, or a prepositional phrase.

421.111. The subject is a noun expression.[7] For example:

kɔ́₁ kɔ́ mɛ́i₂ | bɔ́₃ ba zaŋ₄ 'if₃ your₂ wife₁ should₃ become pregnant₄'
ó wɪ́-ré₁ hárá sɔ́n₂ | mɔ́y₃ 'all₂ (the) people₁ gather₃'
wɪ́-dɛ mɔ hám | gan bɔ́ ná 'there is no one to do things for me' (= 'person do thing for-me is not')

ŋma mɔ$_1$ wen kɔ́ rɛ́ hụsi$_2$ nɛ rı́p$_3$-rɛ́$_4$ kpém$_5$ | gan bó ná$_6$ '(there) was
not$_6$ one$_5$ thing$_1$ with which to hide$_2$ our$_4$ faces$_3$ (that is, ourselves)'

421.112. The subject is a substitute expression. These are either the
personal pronouns, the demonstrative substitutes, or (occasionally) the
numerative substitutes. In the case of 1S, 3S, and 2P pronouns, the subject
may actually be a suffix of a preceding word, even a verb. For example:

gan wa$_1$ | ɔ́ wɔ$_2$ ná 'they$_1$ aren't hungry$_2$'
nɛm$_1$ yúum$_2$ nɛ́$_3$ gɔ́y$_4$ 'and I$_1$ run$_2$ (and) go$_3$ like this$_4$' (= 'run-I')
nɛi$_1$ gáy mɔ$_2$ 'and you$_1$ (should) make noise$_2$'
ɛ̧́$_1$ | rɛmà$_2$ rɛ́$_3$ 'this$_1$ is enough for$_2$ us$_3$'
kpém$_1$ | rɛmá$_2$ 'one$_1$ is sufficient$_2$'

421.113. The subject is a prepositional phrase. The only prepositional
phrase which can function as a subject is one with kɔ́ 'of' standing alone
without a head. The meaning is always like that of 'mine, hers,' etc. in Eng-
lish. For example:

kɛ́ rɛ́$_1$ | sɔná$_2$ 'ours$_1$ is all gone$_2$'
kɔ́ wa$_1$ | ŗ́ŋ$_2$ ná$_3$ 'theirs$_1$ is$_2$ not$_3$ good$_2$'

421.114. The subject is a clause. There is only one occurrence, the com-
pound clause rɔ́k gán sɔ́n 'better than everything' (= 'is-good surpasses all')
in the following:

á̧$_1$ mɔ$_2$ kɔ́ tı̧́$_3$ ndɛ rɛ dɛái$_4$ | rɔ̧ká$_5$, mɛ$_6$ rɔ̧k gán sɔ́n ná$_7$, mɛ rɔ̧k gán
sɔ́n | ɔ̧$_8$ nɛ kɔ́$_9$ kı́nɛɛ nɔ́ɔ$_{10}$ 'the former$_1$ things$_2$ of long ago$_3$ which
we did$_4$ were good$_5$, but$_6$ (they) weren't altogether good$_7$, but that
which is really good is$_8$ of$_9$ now$_{10}$'

421.12. Minor clauses. These subjectless clauses are very common in
Gbɛya. The observed environments in which they occur are discussed in the
following paragraphs. Clauses preceded by introductory subjects are dis-
cussed below in 422.2.

421.121. The subject may be omitted with directives. For example:

mɛ$_1$ tɔ̧́$_2$ há ó yá̧$_3$ kɔ́ mɛ̂$_4$, zɔ́k$_5$ 'you$_1$ tell$_2$ your$_4$ relatives$_3$, "Look$_5$"'
mbı̧́$_1$ ye$_2$, káy$_3$ kamı́$_4$, ɛrɛ$_5$ nɛ̂$_6$ 'I$_1$ say$_2$, "Take$_3$ the food$_4$, let's$_5$ go$_6$"'
tɛ̂$_1$ mɛ$_2$ nɛ́$_3$ 'come$_1$ (and) you$_2$ go$_3$'

421.122. The subject is omitted when the subject is impersonal or non-
specific. Such clauses very often occur in expanded clauses (for which see
below). Several verbs are commonly used in such clauses, such as: rɛm 'to
be able,' dɛ 'to do,' ʔmɔn 'to remain,' ɔ 'to be,' bo 'to (not) be,' rɔk 'to be
good.' For example:

wá yɔ̧ŋá geʔda, gó gan rɛ́m ná 'they ate a tremendous amount of manioc'
(= 'they ate manioc, and not equal')
bó dɛ ze kpém 'after one month' (= 'when do month one')
nɛ ʔmɔ́n gɔ́y 'and just like that' (= 'and remains in this manner')
gan nɛ́ yụm kɛ̧́ ɛ̧ rɛ́ ná '(it) won't bother us' (= 'will hurt of itself us not')

421.123. The subject may be omitted when it is indicated in an emphatic
kɔ́ phrase (for which see 344) in the verb phrase. For example:

nɛ yáá kóí wen-dɛ saa 'but as for you, you run around playing' (= 'and stroll of-you affair-of make game')

kó$_1$ ó kó$_2$ kɛ́ rɛ́$_3$, á$_4$ kó ró kakó$_5$ 'as for$_1$ our$_3$ women$_2$, (they) wore$_4$ bustles$_5$'

421.124. The subject is omitted in clauses following auxiliaries. When the auxiliary has a noun subject, the verb in the dependent clause has no subject at all. When the auxiliary has no subject, the dependent clause has a pronominal subject. In addition, the subject may be omitted altogether for the reasons described in the other paragraphs of this section. For example:

bó$_1$ wâ$_2$ tɔ̧$_3$ wen$_4$ 'if$_1$ they$_2$ should say$_3$ something$_4$'

wéey$_1$ bó$_2$ nɛ̧$_3$ kɔfɛ$_4$ 'when$_2$ a man$_1$ goes$_3$ working for a wife$_4$'

wéey$_1$ nóɔ$_2$ bó$_3$ tɛ$_4$ go$_5$ bó zɔk$_6$ gɔ̧́y$_7$ 'when$_3$ this$_2$ man$_1$ comes$_4$ and$_5$ when (he) sees$_6$ like this$_7$'

421.125. The subject is commonly omitted when it is already implied or explicit in the linguistic context. Most often the subject is the same as the one in the preceding clause, but it may also be the substantive in a preceding objective complement construction. The most common subjectless clause sequences are SV-V, V-SV, and V-V (where S means subject, C means connective, and V means verb), which are combined by parataxis, or the parallel ones combined by connectives: SVCV, VCSV, and VCV.[8]

(a) The subject is commonly omitted before the second and third predicate in a series joined paratactically, the meaning of which is additive or seriative. For example:

mise tɛ́$_1$ ákám$_2$ 'Monsieur$_1$ comes$_1$ (and) asks me$_2$'

tɛ$_1$ ri$_2$ fók$_3$ láŋgi$_4$ ná 'so$_1$ (the) water$_2$ won't flow$_3$ (and) run off$_4$'

wa$_1$ káy$_2$ wa$_3$ á̧$_4$ nu$_5$ 'they$_1$ take$_2$ them$_3$ (and) put$_4$ (them on the) ground$_5$'

wan to ʔbíí$_1$ mbéa$_2$ pí̧$_3$ nu$_4$ ʔbɔ$_5$ 'Wan-to breaks off$_1$ another$_2$ (piece and) throws$_3$ (it on the) ground$_4$ also$_5$'

(b) The subject is commonly omitted before a verb of motion (such as: nɛ 'go,' tɛ 'to come,' si 'to return,' yar- 'to stroll,' kur- 'to arise,' etc.) when it is followed paratactically by a subject-predicate construction in which the subject is a pronoun, and the meaning of which is additive or seriative. For example:

neá$_1$ rɛ$_2$ ɔ̧$_3$ ʔdɔɔ-zɔ̧́$_4$ '(we) went$_1$ (and) we$_2$ slept$_3$ in the bush$_4$'

nɛ̧$_1$ a̧$_2$ gɔ́m$_3$ gúwá$_4$ '(he) goes$_1$ (and) he$_2$ cuts up$_3$ (some) firewood$_4$'

tɛ́$_1$ wa$_2$ gbɛ́$_3$ mbéa$_4$ '(they) come$_1$ (and) they$_2$ kill$_3$ another$_4$'

go$_1$ sí$_2$ wa$_3$ á$_4$ wa$_5$ tɛ́-bisa$_6$ mɛ$_7$ 'and$_1$ returning$_2$ they$_3$ put$_4$ them$_5$ in the young men's hut$_6$ there$_7$'

yáá$_1$ wa$_2$ bá$_3$ yarí$_4$ 'strolling about$_1$ they$_2$ take up$_3$ the search$_4$'

421.2. Secondary clauses. These are endocentric or exocentric constructions.

421.21. Endocentric secondary clauses are represented by interjections, terms used in direct address (such as, personal names, pronouns, titles, and kinship terms), the adverb gɔ̧́y 'like this,' and substantive expressions. In connected discourse, the adverb gɔ̧́y is sometimes to be translated 'that's the

way it was,' or, when followed by another clause, 'this being the case.' The
substantive expressions (single words or substantive phrases) are either
declarative or interrogative in meaning.

(a) Interjections:

sóó$_1$ mbǐ$_2$ ye$_3$ ná?á 'so$_1$ I$_2$ said$_3$, "What!"'

bó$_1$ zɔká$_2$ nɛ óó?, nɛ wan to ?buró$_3$ rii$_4$ á z$\acute{p}_5$ 'when$_1$ (he) looked$_2$, oh,
Wan-to had broken$_3$ the water$_4$ (pot) and spilled (it) on the ground$_5$'

(b) Address:

bɔy sɛ́ 'Bɔy-sɛ́'

yáam, wi zóé sɛ́ 'Father, listen.'

(c) Substantive expressions:

nɛ$_1$ t$\acute{p}$ gende gá ye$_2$ mǐ ná$_3$ nɛ dila$_4$ 'and$_1$ (he) says$_2$, "Hey$_3$, (it's a)
lion$_4$"'

dé?dé kóo$_1$ ǐn$_2$?náŋ kóo$_3$ 'a good woman$_1$ and$_2$ a bad woman$_3$'

wen$_1$ kó$_2$ fiyo$_3$ 'the subject$_1$ of$_2$ fetishes$_3$'

mɛ zók$_1$ wa$_2$ kusi$_3$, ŋma$_4$ b̜aráa$_5$ 'look at$_1$ (the) nine$_3$ (of) them$_2$, (one is)
a$_4$ big one$_5$'

gende gá$_1$ kusi$_2$ 'in other words$_1$, nine$_2$,'

wen kó ge 'for what reason?'

wa$_1$?doŋ kpém$_2$ góɔ$_3$ '(there are) six$_2$ (of) them$_1$ here$_3$'

(d) Particle, gende gá ye ge (see 353):

wen kó mɔ nɛ$_1$ gáy$_2$ wǐ-ŕɛ$_3$ bó nɛ gaza ná$_4$ 'because$_1$ (they) say$_2$, a
person$_3$ who is not circumcised$_4$'

mɔ g$\acute{p}$y$_1$ á ye ge$_2$ bé-wéey$_3$ nɛ́ gaza$_4$ 'thus$_1$, (they) say that$_2$ a young
man$_3$ should be circumcised$_4$'

421.22. **Exocentric secondary clauses.** These are described as consisting
of two constituents which otherwise do not stand in syntactic relationship to
each other. They are listed and illustrated in the following paragraphs.

421.221. **Copula + substantive.** The meaning is declarative. For example:

né ture '(it was) morning'

nɛ kpána '(it is) a pot'

nɛ́ ge 'what (is it)?'

421.222. **Substantive + copula phrase.** For example:

mɔ nɛ́ zɛ 'it was night' (= 'thing copula night')

mɔ nɛ́ kam 'food is a real thing' (= 'thing copula food')

421.223. **Substantive + connective sɛ́** 'then.' The meaning is 'so-and-so
would be more effective,' 'so-and-so is preferable,' etc. The construction
is probably elliptical. For sɛ́ see 332.6. Examples are:

ŋgombe sɛ́ '(use) a gun instead (of a spear)'

ré kɔ́ǐ sɛ́ 'your own village (is where you are treated right)'

?doŋ-wáá-?dɔɔ-z$\acute{p}$ sɛ́ 'the path through the bush by preference (because
it's shorter)'

421.224. **Substantive + substantive.** The meaning is declarative or equa-
tional. In a clausal context there is probably a difference between an endo-
centric phrase such as zu$\doteq$wa taa 'their three heads' and zu$\doteq$wa taa 'their

heads are three' (that is, 'there were three of them'). The latter only can always take the verb ɔ 'to be.' For example:

mí ąi. 'Here I am! (= 'I this')

mɔ mí? 'Who me?' (= 'thing I')

zu-wa ré ge 'how many are there?' (= 'their heads, how many?')

sɔ́n ʔbú zúa rííto 'altogether (there are) twelve'

mbɛ́tí kɔ́m kpém mbɛ́tí ką́ ą. (ellipsis of mbɛ́tí ɔ́ kpém ín mbɛ́tí ką́ á)
   'my book (is) the same as his book' (= 'book of-me one book of him')

421.225. Substantive + prepositional phrase. The following are unique:

go_1 $bá_2$ $ą_3$ nɛ ŋma $béem_4$ $ínaa_5$ 'so_1 (he) $takes_2$ him_3 (Monsieur) and a $child_4$ (comes along) with him_5'

$mɛrsíi_1$ $há_2$ $nzapá_3$ '$thanks_1$ to_2 God_3'

421.226. Substantive + clause introduced by the connective mɔ́. The following example is the only one which occurs in the corpus:

$mbɛ́tí_1$ $mɔ́m_2$ $hɛ́áa_3$ '$books_1$ for me_2 to buy_3' (in answer to 'What do you want?')

421.227. Substantive + quotative particle ye (ge). The substantive functions as the subject of the clause:

$mbí_1$ ye_2, $dila_3$ $baá_4$ $ą_5$ 'I_1 $said_2$, "A $lion_3$ got_4 him_5"'

ɔ́ $sɔ́kái_1$ ye ge_2 bé-wéey$_3$ nɛ $gaza_4$ 'the $elders_1$ say_2 (that) $boys_3$ (should) be $circumcised_4$'

421.228. Substantive + connective há + substantive. The meaning is equational or identificational:

$yínim_1$ há yám-wara 'my $name_1$ is Yám-wara'

kam_1 há $mɔ_2$ '$food_1$ is a (real) $thing_2$'

$saʔde_1$ nɛ $nɛ̀a_2$ $ą́_3$ $gbɛá_4$ há $dilai_5$ wɔ́ndɛ́ 'the $animal_1$ which he$_3$ $went_2$ (and) $killed_4$, is (it) a $lion_5$?'

421.229. Secondary clause + negative marker ná. The meaning is negative declaration except when the clause ends with the connective sɛ́ in which case the meaning is a question which requests confirmation of a statement. Such constructions occur with the types of clauses described above in coordinate paragraphs 221, 222, 223, 228, as well as with the adverb gɔ́y. For example:

gɔ́y ná 'that isn't the way'

gɔ́y sɛ́ ná 'isn't that the way?'

nɛ́ saa ná 'it's no fun'

$ŋginza_1$ há kam_2 ná '$money_1$ is not $food_2$'

422. Complex sentences. These consist of principal clauses preceded by constructions, usually substantive phrases, of three types: (1) expansions of the subject, (2) expansions of the verb phrase, and (3) introductory constructions. The term "expansion" is used for the types (1), and (2) is chosen for convenience only. The expansion may simply be a word that more normally occurs in the verb phrase itself. It is, moreover, not always useful to describe these complex sentences as being correlated with some kernel or basic simple sentence type. For example, in several instances, the subject

expansion contains no more morphemes than a simple subject contains. What characterizes all of these preposed elements, regardless of their meaning or syntactic function, is first that they serve as devices for emphasis, although this is not always obvious in sentences of type 3. A second feature characteristic of these constructions is the manner in which they are joined to the verb phrase or clause. A third feature is that the expanded sentence often contains a substantive phrase, one of whose constituents is a dependent clause equivalent in English to a relative clause in attribution. Since there is an observable limit to the size of a verb phrase, it is very likely that the technique utilized in type 2 is a means of avoiding overloading the verb phrase.

In order to represent the constructions in formulae, certain symbols are adopted. A period (.) serves only to separate the symbols and allow for easier reading. Parentheses in the formulae enclose elements which are optional. Thus, A = adverb, AV = auxiliary verb, C = connective (Ca = {a}, Cε = sé tε, Cg = go, Cn = nε, Co = só kó), H = pause (as in "hold" or "hiatus"), N = noun or substitute (N^{-}N = nouns in construction with relational morpheme, Na = noun with determinant suffix, Ni = interrogative substitute, Nl = locative substantive, Np = pronoun, Ns = any substitute, Nt = temporal substantive, noun, or substitute), P = preposition (Pn = preposition nε, PP = prepositional phrase), QV = quotative verb, S = subject (Si = interrogative subject, Sn = noun subject, Snd = Sn with dependent clause attribute, Spd = Sp with dependent clause attribute), SC = secondary clause, V = verb, VP = verb phrase, with or without subject.

422.1. Expansions of the subject. An expanded subject has the function of emphasis and can often be translated 'it . . . who/which . . .,' or 'as for . . .' It can also conveniently be compared to the use of 'c'est . . . qui . . .' in French. The various types of complex sentences with expanded subjects are represented by the following formulae: S.Ca.V; S.C.(SP).V; S.C.AV.(Sp).V; Si.Ca.V; SC.Ca.QV.

(a) S.Ca.V.

Sn.Ca.V: dila$_1$ a né$_2$ kę́ ę́ '(the) lion$_1$ went on$_2$'

Snd.Ca.V: makunzi$_1$ nε ɔá$_2$ zaŋ-réi$_3$ á neà$_4$ wéndé 'did$_4$ (the) chief$_1$ who was$_2$ in the village$_3$ go$_4$?'

Sp.Ca.V (uncommon): mí á ʔmɔná gom zókaaí 'me, I kept on looking at him' (= 'me and remained and-I look-at-him')

(b) S.C.(Sp).V.

Sn.Ca.Sp.V: ó gbęré ín$_1$ dila$_2$, a wa$_3$ yáá yari$_4$ 'Lizard with$_1$ (the) Lion$_2$, they$_3$ were hunting$_4$'

Sp.Ca.Sp.V: wa$_1$ a wa$_1$ té$_2$ mε gɔ́ɔ$_3$ '(here) they$_1$ come$_2$ over here$_3$'

Spd.Ca.Sp.V: wa$_1$ ndε wa ŋmgbán ŋmgbáni$_2$, a wa$_1$ yɔ́ŋ$_2$ kó wa mɔ rɔy$_3$, 'they$_1$ who take off$_2$ (the circumcision clout), they$_1$ eat$_2$ anything$_3$ (they want)'

Sn.H.Sp.V: ó saʔde$_1$, wâ$_2$ gió$_3$ dɔ́ɔ́$_4$ '(the) animals$_1$, they$_2$ prepared$_3$ beer$_4$' (from a fable)

Spd.H.Sp.V: wa$_1$ ndε wa yá né ʔdɔɔ-búki$_2$, wa$_1$ dɔ́$_3$ 'they$_1$ who stand leeward$_2$, they$_1$ burn$_3$ (the grass)'

(c) S.C.AV.(Sp).V. Although the subject of the dependent clause following the auxiliary verb is not properly under discussion here, there is in fact a correlation between the subjectival element which precedes the main verb and that which occurs with the dependent clause. (The real subject is of course always the same, but it has already been pointed out in 421.124 that whereas a nominal subject can only precede the auxiliary, the pronominal form generally occurs in the dependent clause.) In the following I have supplied some patterns (marked by asterisk) which I am rather certain occur although they do not occur in the corpus:

Sn.H.AV.Sp.V: ó yá̧$_1$ kɔ́í$_2$ sɔ́n$_3$, bɔ́$_4$ wá$_5$ hɔ$_6$ lɛkɔ́ɔl$_7$ 'all$_3$ your$_2$ buddies$_1$, when$_4$ they$_5$ get out of$_6$ school$_7$'

Sp.H.AV.Sp.V: wí$_1$, néí$_2$ gun$_3$ rɛ́$_4$ 'you$_1$, you'll$_2$ (be the one to) bury$_3$ us$_4$'

*Sn.Ca.AV.V: dila$_1$ a nɛ́$_2$ gbɛ$_3$ ą$_4$ '(the) lion$_1$ will$_2$ kill$_3$ him$_4$'

*Sp.Ca.AV.Sp.V: ɛ́rɛ́$_1$ a bɛ́$_2$ rɛ́$_1$ nɛá̧$_3$ 'we$_1$, if$_2$ we$_1$ should go$_3$'

(d) Si.Ca.V. The Si is either the interrogative substitute o 'who?' or a noun phrase consisting of a noun + ge 'what?' It is my impression that if the latter occurs, and if the noun is an animate being, then an Sp can, although rarely, occur following the C. This type of interrogative sentence (with the subject as the focus of the question), if not exclusive, is certainly predominant. I am not certain of any equivalent simple SV type of sentence. Examples are:

o$_1$ a nɛ́$_2$ dųŋ$_3$ ká̧-fɔrɔ$_4$ o$_1$ ndé 'who$_1$ is going to$_2$ stay$_3$ by (the) elephant$_4$?'

zu-wa rɛ́ ge a wa gɔ́m te ge ndé 'how many are there who are chopping wood?' (= 'head of them how many and they chop wood what?')

(e) SC.Ca.QV. This is a unique utterance, the SC representing a secondary clause used in direct address. Ordinarily, if the QV has a grammatical subject at all, it is joined to it paratactically (for which see 353). For example:

foo$_1$ kɛ́ ɛ́$_2$ ná ndé, á ye ge$_3$ '(he said), "my$_2$ in-laws$_1$, (they) say$_3$."'

422.2. Expansions of the verb phrase. Substantives or adverbs which normally occur in the verb phrase are preposed to it, and are joined paratactically—but marked by pause—or by certain connectives. Unlike the discussion of expansion of the subject, it is here convenient to assume a basic S.V construction so as to more easily describe the various types of expansions. (In this discussion, it is immaterial whether or not there is a grammatical subject, and the clause is represented in the formulae by VP.) These types are the following: (1) object expansions, (2) temporal expansions, and (3) locative expansions. Subtypes, where they occur, are discussed in the following paragraphs.

422.21. Object expansions. The term "object" is here being used to cover those substantives which occur as (1) "direct objects" of the verb, as (2) complements of prepositions, or as (3) attributes of other substantives. The symbol N shall represent nouns except when followed by a lower case letter. The various types of object expansions are represented by the following formulae: (1) VP.N > N.C.VP.(Np), (2) VP.Ni > Ni.C.VP, (3) VP.N^1-N^2 > N^2.Ca.VP.N^{1}a, (4) VP.Pn.N > N.C.VP.Pn, (5) VP.P.N > N.C.P.Ns.

422.211. VP.N > N.C.VP.(Np). The N is a direct object complement of the verb. The C is either pause, {a}, or só kó. If the N is an animate being, the expanded form may have Np.[9] For example:

gɔi₁ á wá₂ gbɛá₃ (a) 'it's the leopard₁ which they₂ killed₃'

dɔɔ́-zee mbé wen, óró gió '(they said), "we have prepared beer with which to hear something new"' (= 'beer hear new word we prepared')

ɛn⁀tɛ₁ -á̰ wen₂ sɔ́n, á yá̰₃ kó ró₄ tɔ̰́₅ '(they said), our₄ friends₃ are telling₅ just₁ old stories₂'

kpána₁ ndɛ wa₂ giò₃ né dɔ́i₄ só kɛ̰ ɛ̰ baái₅ '(he said), "it's (the) pot₁ with which they₂ prepared₃ the beer₄ that I took₅."'

422.212. VP.Ni > Ni.C.VP. This perhaps could have been included in the preceding. The Ni is the interrogative substitute ge 'what?' or a noun phrase with ge as its complement. The C is either {a} or só kó. Although the basic form does occur, it is the expanded form which is by far more common. For example:

wen kó ge₁ á mɛ̰₂ mbunzú₃ ne mɛ nɛ̰₄ gɔ́ɔ₅, gbɛ̰₆ toró₇ kɔ́m₈ wen⁀ge ndé 'why is it₁ that you₂, white man₃ who are going₄ there₅, kill₆ my₈ dog₇?'

ge₁ a tó ró₂ dɛ₃ wen kó₄ sa?dei₅ ge₁ '(he said), "what₁ should we₂ do₃ with₄ the meat₅?"'

422.213. VP.N¹⁀N² > N².Ca.VP.N¹a. The construction N⁀N consists of two nouns with the cooccurring relational morpheme (for which see 212.2). In the expanded construction, the second, that is, attributive, noun occurs in preposed position whereas the first noun is in the VP. This first noun also occurs with the determinant suffix {-a}. The formula is applicable to what data I have, but it is obvious that there are semantic restrictions. Examples are:

zóŋá₁ kó wa₂ nɔ́ɔ₃ gɔ́ɔ₄, a ndó ró₅ tɛ₆ kɔféa₇ '(they said), "This₃ here₄ adolescent girl₁ of theirs₂, we are going to₅ come to₆ work for her₇"'

?bay₁ yo₂ kpém ɛ̰₃ kɔ̰́ ?doŋáa₄ '(he said), "It's just₁ (the) pelt₂ that I₃ want₄."'

422.214. VP.Pn.N > N.C.VP.Pn. Except that the N is the complement of the preposition né, this construction closely resembles that of 422.211 above. Here also the preposition may be followed by a pronoun if the noun is an animate being, but it is entirely optional. The C is either pause, {a}, or {go}. It is very likely that só kó can also occur. Examples are:

ɛ̰ɛ̰ nɔ́ɔ₁, nɛ́m₂ si nɛ̰́₃ 'this here₁, I'm going to₂ return with (it)₃'

mbé₁ tḭi₂ a nɛ́m₃ dɛ₄ nɛ̰́₅ 'it's a new₁ canoe₂ that I'm going to₃ make₄ with₅ (it)'

yóa₁ go ro₂ péḛ́₃ nɛ̰́₄ '(they said), "It's the pelt₁ we₂ are returning₃ with₄."'

422.215. VP.P.N. > N.C.P.Ns. The preposition is any one but né. The C is either pause or {a}. If the N is an animate being, the Ns is a personal pronoun; if not, it is one of the other substitutes. The latter sentences are, as a matter of fact, uncommon. Examples are:

ó sókái₁ ne yá₂ mɛi₃, a nɛ́m₄ tɔ wen₅ ín₆ wa₇ 'the elders₁ who live₂ there₃, I'm going to₄ talk₅ with₆ them₇'

réi ám kurɔ̀ há sɛnɛ́ 'it's from the village that I departed' (= 'the village I departed from there')

422.22. Temporal expansions. The word temporal is here being used for any word or phrase the meaning of which is time or sequence. These are nouns or substitutes (symbolized by Nt) or adverbs (symbolized by A). The Nt expansions are by far the commonest, A being in fact represented by only one adverb.

The words occurring most often are the following: kúkutí 'first,' sɔ́ɔ 'today,' oróai 'later,' kíne 'now,' wesé 'day, today,' ture 'morning,' mbóro 'evening,' kɔ́raai 'later,' zɛ́ɛ 'yesterday,' bɛrɛ 'dry season,' ʔmaa 'rainy season,' ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ 'all the time.'

The C is either pause, {a}, sɛ́ tɛ, só kó, or ne. The complex sentences with temporal expansions are represented by the following formulae: VP.Nt > Nt.C.VP, VP.A > A.Cn.VP. It should be noted that the use of different connectives is especially significant here since they have lexical meaning as well as grammatical function. For example:

kíneɛ nɔ́ɔ$_1$, wen$_2$ kɔ́m$_3$ sɔná$_4$ 'now$_1$ my$_3$ story$_2$ is finished$_4$'

wesé$_1$-nɛ$_2$ kay$_3$ toyɪ́$_4$ a ʔnáŋi$_5$ wéndé. 'Did it break$_5$ (on) the day$_1$ of going to$_2$ get$_3$ the baggage$_4$?'

kíneɛ nɔ́ɔ a mɛ zɔ́k$_1$ mbɛ́tí$_2$ kɔ́ mɛ́$_3$ 'now look at$_1$ your$_3$ book$_2$'

bɛrɛ$_1$ nde wa$_2$ há$_3$ ŋginza$_4$ 'they$_2$ give$_3$ money$_4$ (in the) dry season$_1$'

bɛrɛ sɛ́ tɛ wa há ŋginza 'they'll give money in the dry season'

bɛrɛ sókó wá há ŋginza '(in the past) they gave money in the dry season'

zu-ture$_1$ nde wa$_2$ tɔ́ wenáa$_3$ ʔbɔ$_4$ '(in the) morning$_1$ they$_2$ talked about it$_3$ again$_4$'

oróai$_1$ go bą́$_2$ ą́ gą́á$_3$ 'later$_1$, when$_2$ it had settled down$_3$'

ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ$_1$ ną ą$_2$ tɛ́$_3$ wen$_4$-dɛ$_5$ mɔ$_6$ 'he$_2$ always$_1$ comes$_3$ to$_4$ do$_5$ things$_6$'

422.23. Locative expansions. These are nouns or noun phrases meaning place. They are represented by the symbol Nl. The complex sentences with locative expansions are represented by the formula VP.Nl > Nl.C.VP. The C is either pause or the connective {a}. For example:

tɛ-kɔ$_1$-rɪ́p$_2$-ó tų́ wɪ́-ré$_3$, kóo$_4$ nɛ bó rɔk$_5$ ʔdɛ́$_6$ 'in$_1$ the eyes of$_2$ black people$_3$, a woman$_4$ who is very$_6$ good$_5$'

fara$_1$ nde rɛ$_2$ ɔá$_3$ sɛnɛ́$_4$, ą́ gan$_5$ am$_6$ zɔk$_7$ wa$_8$ ná$_5$ '(the) place$_1$ where we$_2$ were$_3$, I$_6$ didn't$_5$ see$_7$ them$_8$ there$_4$'

422.3. Introductory constructions. These differ from the preceding two in that the introductory constructions can not be incorporated in the S or VP of a basic sentence. They are of three types: modal, explanatory, and instrumental.

422.31. Modal constructions. These consist of the adverb gɔ́y 'like this, in this manner' or the phrase mɔ gɔ́y (= 'thing like-this') with the same meaning. In these complex sentences, however, their meaning is something like 'this being the case, the preceding having happened,' etc., for they serve to mark the connection between sentences in connected discourse in very much

the same way that words like "however" and "therefore" do in English. The
name modal is derived from the lexical meaning of the adverb gɔ́y and is
used instead of "sequence" to distinguish it from the sequence words included
in the discussion of temporal expansions. Complex sentences with introduc-
tory modal constructions (M) are represented by the formula M.C.VP where
the C is either pause {a}, nɛ, só kó, {go}, or sɛ́ tɛ. For example:

mɔ gɔ́y, ɛrɛ₁ áŋ₂ nzapá₃ wenáa₄ gɔ́y gɔ́y₅ 'so we₁ asked₂ God₃ about it₄
    for a long time₅'

mɔ gɔ́y nɛm₁ bá₂ velóo₃ kɔ́m₄ 'so I₁ took₂ my₄ bike₃'

mɔ gɔ́y só kậ ậ₁ tɔ́₂ 'therefore he₁ said₂'

mɔ gɔ́y á ye ge 'therefore (he) says'

422.32. Explanatory constructions. These are either nouns (or noun
phrases) or prepositional phrases with the prepositions kó 'of,' or nɛ́ 'with.'
Such complex sentences are represented by the formulae N.C.VP and
PP.C.VP. In the first, C is either the connective {a} or nɛ. In the second,
C is pause. Where N is the noun mɔ 'thing,' the meaning is 'that's why the
following happens'; where the N is either mɔ 'thing,' ɛ̣ɛ́ 'this,' or some other
noun, the meaning is 'since this happens, the following results.' The preposi-
tional phrase means 'as for the subject of the sentence,' and its function is
to emphasize the subject. Examples are:

mɔ nɛ oro₁ tɔ́₂ hó wa₃ gɔ́ɔ, wí-ré₄ bó₅ zee₆ '(they said), "Since we₁
    have told₂ them₃, if₅ someone₄ should hear₆ (that) . . . ,'

ɛ̣ɛ́ nɛ ó toró₁ dyŋɔ́₂ bá₃ nɛ₄ yɔ́ŋ₅ nậ₆ ậ₇ fó₈ wa₉ há sɛnɛ́₁₀ ná₁₁ 'since
    (the) dogs₁ continue₂ to seize₃ and₄ eat₅ (it) and₆ he₇ does not₁₁
    chase₈ them₉ from there₁₀,'

mɔí₁ á saakara₂ ó₃ saŋa-wáam₄ wenáai₁ 'that's why₁ there are₃ islands₂
    in (the) Wáam (river)₄,'

nɛ₁ kɔ́m₂, am₃ tɔ́₄ 'and₁ as for me₂, I₃ say₄,'

nɛ́ ʔdoŋ-wáá₁-yɔ́ŋá yín₂ áí₃ gbɛá₄ ậ₅ '(it is) because of₁ fortitude₂ that
    you₃ killed₄ it₅,'

nɛ́ ʔdoŋ-wáá₁ nɔ́ɔ₂ a kó₃ kɔ́m₄ saậ₅ yínaa₆ 'it is because of₁ this₂ that
    my₄ wife₃ exposed₅ his name₆.'

423. Compound sentences. These consist of various combinations of
sentence types: Principal + Principal, Principal + Nonprincipal, Nonprinci-
pal + Principal, and Nonprincipal + nonprincipal. These are discussed in the
following paragraphs.

423.1. Principal + Principal. These consist of unrestricted combinations
of major and minor clauses joined by connectives or by parataxis. The use
of connectives has already been illustrated in 330. Of a different type are
those compound sentences whose meaning is seriative or additive, the com-
bination being effected as often by parataxis as by a connective (which is
more frequently go than nɛ). In one type of such compound sentences, the
first verb is a motion verb which often adds little more to the meaning of
the sentence than does the verb 'go' in the English sentence 'Why did you go
and hit him?' In the other type of compound sentence, the first verb is not

a motion verb and the second verb either marks a closely related and subsequent event to the first or in some way qualifies the first.

When the first clause consists of a verb and an objective complement, the second clause indicates what is done with the object. The verbs most often used in the second clause to qualify the first are rɔk 'to be good,' gan 'to surpass,' dɔk 'to be many,' rɛm 'to be able, equal,' yɛr- 'to be far.' Perhaps the verb bo 'to not be,' which occurs in a negated clause bó ná 'it is not' following a future clause with nɛ should be included in this list. Its use is emphatic, for a simple negative sentence is possible.

Since there is no apparent structural significance either in the omission of the grammatical subject (other than what has been noted in 421.12) or in the inclusion or exclusion of the connective (as illustrated by nɛá gɛ rɛ ɔ́ zɔ́ and nɛá rɛ ɔ́ zɔ́ 'we went and slept in the bush '), no distinction is made in the citation of the examples below except for these following comments: (1) where the subject occurs twice, they are always pronouns, and (2) where the subject occurs with the second and not with the first verb, the first verb, if not a motion verb, is joined by a connective.

423.11. Motion verbs:

gɛ₁ rɛ₂ yáá₃ rɛ nɛ́₄ gɔ́y₅ 'so₁ we₂ walked around₃ (and) went on₄ like this₅'

go₁ mɛ yú₂ mɛ sǐ₃ 'so₁ run₂ (and) go back₃'

mise tɛ́₁ ákám₂ 'Monsieur comes₁ (and) asks me₂'

gbɛrɛ́ nɛá₁ go₂ ák₃ dila₄ '(the) Lizard went₁ and₂ asked₃ (the) Lion₄'

go₁ nɛ́₂ ạ₃ yóó₄ mɛ₅ 'then (he) goes₂ he₃ stands₄ there₅'

nɛ ʔmɔná gom yú 'and I kept on running' (= 'remained and I run')

mise nɛá₁, gó₂ nɛà ndɔ́ɔ́₃ dila₄ 'Monsieur went₁, and₂ (he) went (and) shot₃ (the) lion₄'

kpa dé mɔ ná tɛ́₁ kɛ́ ɛ́ . . . , gó₂ tɛá₃ go₄ áy₅ oro-rɛ́₆ 'Kpa-dé-mɔ-ná comes₁, and₂ (he) came₃ and₄ called₅ after us₆'

423.12. Nonmotion verbs:

go₁ wa₂ káy₃ wa₄ wa₅ sǐ nɛ́₆ 'so₁ they₂ take₃ them₄ (and) they₅ return with₆ (them)'

wa káy wa á₁ nu₂ 'they take them (and) put₁ (them on the) ground₂'

toá₁ gɛ rɛ₂ yóó₃ kạ̀-zaŋ-rí₄ 'cutting across₁ (the field) we₂ stood₃ (on the) bank of (the) stream₄'

go₁ bá₂ ạ₃ sǐ nɛ́₄ 'and₁ (she) takes₂ her₃ (and) returns with₄ (her)'

nạ ạ dé mɔ rɔ́k ʔdɛ́ 'and she does things well' (= 'does thing is-good very')

ŋma mɔ gan ɔ́ ŋgay gán nzapà ná 'nothing surpasses God' (= 'nothing is strong surpasses God')

ạ dɛ́ go rɛ́m 'he does (it) as he is supposed to' (= 'he does and it-is-equal')

gan nɛ́m pị nu bó ná 'I won't throw it down' (= 'negative go-I throw ground is not')

te wayà dɔ́k '(the) tree bore a lot of fruit' (= 'tree bore is-much')

423.2. Principal + Nonprincipal. These consist of major clauses that precede one of the following types of nonprincipal clauses: quotative clause (consisting of the quotative verb, with or without a grammatical subject, and its dependent clause), a noun in direct address, a clause consisting of the copula and its complement, an interrogative clause, or the stative a̧. For example:

nɛm₁ tɔ́₂ mbí ye, g̣hɛ́ɛ́₃, nɛ́m₄ nɛá₅ 'and I₁ said₂, "All right₃, I'll₄ go₅"'

am₁ mbáí₂, sɔ́ráam₃. 'I₁ greet you₂, Uncle₃.'

ŋma₁ fcà₂ tí₃ nɛ bɛ́-wécy₄ 'one₁ died₂ before₃, (it was) a boy₄'

rɔ́k tɛɛ́m né saa ná 'I like it very much' (= 'is-good my-body no joke')

wá gboá nɛ mbɛ́tɛ 'they really arrived' (= 'they arrived truth')

mɛ gbɛ́ toró kɔ́m wen⁴ge ndé. 'Why do you kill my dog?' (= 'you kill my dog what affair?')

am dɛ́ kpém kɔ⁴sɛra ín mɛ ná ré gɛ ndé. 'What do you mean, I'm not friendly with you!'

dila₁ baá₂ a̧₃ a̧i. '(The) lion₁ got₂ him₃.'

ndɛ rɛ₁ kúú₂ há₃ sɛn⁴fara₄⁴sa?dɛ₅ mɛí₆ a̧i. 'So we₁ departed₂ from₃ the place₄ of the animal₅ there₆.'

423.3. Nonprincipal + Principal. These consist of interjections, exclamations, or substantives in direct address followed by principal clauses. They are usually joined by parataxis, but there are examples with the connectives nɛ and go, such as:

ó? dila₁ kayá₂ wa₃ 'Oh, (the) lion₁ got₂ them₃'

ɔ́ɔ́? nɛ kéey dɛ́m 'Oh, and I was afraid'

wan to, mɛ₁ té₂ 'Wan-to, you₁ come₂'

mise ndé nɛ mɛ tɛ́ 'say Monsieur, come'

yáam₁, goi₂ tɔ́₃ gɔ́y₄ wéndé. 'Father₁, so you₂ are talking₃ like this₄?'

423.4. Nonprincipal + Nonprincipal. These consist of interjections followed by a substantive in direct address or of substantives in direct address followed by a noun (in which case the nonprincipal clause means 'it is . . . '). For example:

íi mise 'yes, Monsieur'

mí ná nɛ dila '(he said to me), hey, it's a lion' (= 'me and lion')

430. Combining processes. The different syntactic elements previously described are combined by the use of connectives and by parataxis. Since connectives have been treated at great length (330), only parataxis is now discussed. Either the same or different elements are joined by parataxis, and its function varies accordingly.

431. Same elements, either substantives, adverbs, verb phrases, or clauses, are repeated two or more times and joined paratactically with the following meanings: emphasis or intensity, duration or continuation, distribution, and addition of information.

(a) Emphasis or intensity:

ɔ́ɔ́? mise, nɛ́₁ gɛk₂ sɛ́, mise né gɛk sɛ́. 'Oh, Monsieur, go₁ slowly₂, Monsieur go slowly.'

ri₁ ɔ́₂ dɔ́ka₃ dɔ́ka 'there is₂ very much₃ water₁'

dɛ́₁ kam₃ wen kɔ́₃ wa₄ ŋmáŋ ŋmáŋ₅ ŋmáŋ ŋmáŋ '(she) makes₁ food₂ for₃ them₄ all the time₅'

(b) Duration or continuation:

péé ʔdoŋ₁ gɔ́y₂ gɔ́y gɔ́y '(we) kept on returning₁ (home) like this₂'

dúŋ₁ wa₂ yúʒ₃ wcy₄ wa nɛ́i₅ nɛ́i nɛ́i nɛ́i 'they₂ kept on₁ following₃ (the) fire₄ (and) went on₅ and on and on and on'

dúŋ₁ wa₂ dɔ́m₃ fɛra₄, dɔ́m fɛra 'he₂ kept on₁ blowing₃ (the) whistle₄, blowing the whistle'

mise dúŋ₁ kíʔí₂ kíʔí nɛm₃ ʔbóó₄, kíʔí nɛm ʔbóó, kíʔí nɛm ʔbóó 'Monsieur kept₁ turning (it) over₂ and I₃ skinned₄ (it), (he) turned it and I skinned it, (he) turned it and I skinned it'

dúŋ₁ rɛ₂ ʔmá₃ wa₄ ndɛ₅ wa₆ láŋgí₇ ndɛ wa láŋgí ndɛ wa láŋgí 'we₂ kept on₁ tracking₃ them₄ and₅ they₆ went on ahead₇, and they went on ahead, and they went on ahead'

(c) Distribution (being translated 'each, every' as well as 'one by one'):

ná̧ á̧₁ zi̧₂ nɛ́ pɛ₃ pɛ 'he'll₁ get bigger₂ each year₃'

ndɛ₁ rɛ₂ hɔ́₃ nɛ́ wesé wesé₄ 'and₁ we₂ come out₃ every day₄'

ɛrɛ₁ yú₂ kpém kpém kpém₃ sɔ́n₄ 'each₃ and every one₄ of us₁ fled₂'

wa₁ yá̧₂ nɛ wéey₃ wéey sɔ́n₄ 'each and every one₄ of them₁ was₂ a real man₃'

(d) Addition of information:

nɛi₁ tɔ́₂ gáa₃, tɔ́ bɔɔ₄ gáa 'and you₁ talk₂ like this₃, talk foolishness₄ like this'

dila₁ tɛá₂, go₃ ákaa₄, ák gbɛrɛ́ '(the) Lion₁ came₂ and₃ asked him₄, asked (the) Lizard'

nɛ₁ fɔ́₂ wa₃ za̧a₄, wotóo₅ fɔ́ wa za̧a 'and₁ (we) chased₂ them₃ (out of the way) in vain₄, (the) car₅ chased them away in vain'

432. Different elements (but either parallel substantive expressions or clauses) are joined paratactically with several functions.

432.1. Substantives are joined paratactically for apposition or explanation. For example:

mɛ́₁ wí-rȩ́₂ nɛ bɔ́₃ mɛ́₄ kɔ ʔdoŋ₅⸗ki ʔdi₆ mɔ₇ 'you₁ person₂, when₃ you₄ want to₅ hunt₆ something₇'

sɔ́rám bana bóy '(paternal) uncle Bana-bóy'

gbɔ́₁ ri₂ tiya '(we) arrived₁ at Tiya Creek₂'

ó dila₁ wa₂ tɛ́₃ '(the) lions₁, they₂ come₃'

é₁ ŋma₂ wí-rȩ́₃ sɛnɛ́₄, wí-mbóá zu₅ 'put₁ some₂ person₃ there₄, (some) responsible person₅'

á̧₁ baà₂ yám-wara, bém₃ kó wa₄ 'he₁ took₂ Yám-wara, their₄ child₃'

á̧₁ kó rɔ́₂ kakɔ́₃, lúŋmgbé, wéndé gan₄ kɛrá, wéndé gán gbɔgbɔl 'they₂ put on₁ bustles₃, lúŋmgbé or₄ kɛrá or gbɔgbɔl (ones)'

am₁ kɔ́ ʔdoŋ₂⸗usi₃ wen kó₄ biro₅, biro₆⸗gbɛ₇ ŋmaá̧₈ 'I₁ want to₂ explain₃ about₄ wars₅, wars₆ (in which they) killed₇ each other₈'

ó wí-réi₁ wí-gida₂ kó wai₃ ye ge 'the people₁, (that is) their₃ enemies₂, said'

432.2. Clauses are joined paratactically to indicate explanation, qualification, or succession of events; other functions of this device may exist, but these are the most common.[10] On the other hand, not all instances of such parataxis may have demonstrable functions of these kinds, for parataxis is a very common device in the language, especially in narratives, where the omission of connectives may simply be a device for speeding up (or giving the impression of speeding up) the narration. Evidence for this hypothesis is the fact that it was not possible to detect any meaningful contrast between many clauses joined by some connective (especially nɛ and go) and those that were not. Two features characteristic of such clauses are that the first one very often contains a verb of motion and that either one or both clauses may have no formal subject. The following paragraphs illustrate the most common uses of parataxis with clauses.

(a) Qualification:

gam guram$_1$ dɛá$_2$ mɔ$_3$ nɛ saʔde$_4$ zɛɛ$_5$ gan rɛm ná$_6$ '(the) whirlwind$_1$ did$_2$ things$_3$ to (the) animals$_4$ yesterday$_5$ in a terrible way$_6$' (= 'not able')

a̧ há ri hó wa dóŋ ná 'he didn't give them much water' (= 'he gives water to them much not')

bó$_1$ wá$_2$ yɔ$_3$ ŋgaragé rɛm$_4$ 'after$_1$ they've$_2$ danced$_3$ the ŋgaragé (dance) sufficiently$_4$' ('danced is equal')

ŋma mɔ gan ó ŋgay gán nzapà ná 'there's nothing stronger than God' (= 'same thing negative is strong surpasses God not')

(b) Succession of events:

go$_1$ nɛ$_2$ go nɛ$_3$ rɨk$_4$ gá̧sá$_5$ kɛrɛi$_6$ 'and$_1$ (he) went$_2$, and (he) went$_3$ (and) hit$_4$ the big$_5$ beer-pot$_6$'

bó$_1$ nɛ$_2$ yoo$_3$ mɛ$_4$ 'when$_1$ (he) went$_2$ (and) stood$_3$ there$_4$'

wen$_1$-ba$_2$ mɔ$_3$ yɔ̧ŋ$_4$ 'to$_1$ take$_2$ (the) thing$_3$ (and) eat$_4$ (it)'

kéey$_1$ tɛà$_2$ dɛ́m$_3$ 'fear$_1$ came$_2$ (and) overcame me$_3$'

kó-fey yú$_1$ kɛ̧ ɛ̧ zu̧$_2$ 'Kó-fey ran$_1$ (and) departed$_2$'

mise tɛ́$_1$ ákâm$_2$ 'Monsieur came$_1$ (and) asked me$_2$'

tɛ$_1$ ri$_2$ fók$_3$ lá̧ŋgɨ$_4$ ná$_5$ 'so that$_1$ (the) water$_2$ would$_1$ not$_5$ flow$_3$ (and) pass out of sight$_4$'

bá$_1$ gɛzɛ$_2$-sunu$_3$ ká̧ a̧$_4$ ɛ́$_5$ nu$_6$ 'took$_1$ a basket$_2$ of his$_4$ sesame$_3$ (seed and) placed$_5$ (it on the) ground$_6$'

rɨk$_1$ ɛ̧$_2$ ŋmá̧ŋ ŋmá̧ŋ$_3$ du̧ŋ nɛ$_4$ '(she said, "they) hit$_1$ me$_2$ all the time$_3$ (and) keep on with it$_4$"'

wan to ʔbɨ́ɨ$_1$ mbéa$_2$ pɨ́$_3$ nu$_4$ ʔbɔ$_5$ 'Wan-to broke off$_1$ another$_2$ (piece and) threw$_3$ (it on the) ground$_4$ also$_5$'

du̧ŋ$_1$ wa dɛ́ saa$_2$ wa$_3$ yáá$_4$ '(they) keep on$_1$ playing$_2$ (and) they$_3$ run around$_4$'

Notes to Chapter Four

[1] In the case of personal names it is possible that some of these constructions do not illustrate subordinate attributive constructions but, in an aphoristic manner, represent more complete utterances. However, I have only one example to justify this hypothesis: gaza ŋgay 'circumcision strength.' Its meaning was explained with the phrase né gaza né ŋgay 'go circumcision with difficulty (that is, have a very severe initiation).' Compare kɔfɛ wen 'in-law speech,' wen ŋmaá 'speech each-other,' gɛnɛ ŋgafu 'guest priest.' Other constructions should be compared with the phrase nouns, for which see 381.22.

[2] The occurrence of the interrogative substitute ge before a noun is taken to be a repetition of the morpheme in its usual position, that is, following the noun: nɛ́m zɔŋ mɛ́ ge ze⸗ge ndé. 'When (= what month what) shall I see you?' ge wí-gc á tɛá ge ndé. 'Who (= what person what) came?' In only one instance does ge precede a noun which is not followed by ge, that is, ge zéc (< gc ze⸗gc), an impolite retort which questions the truthfulness of what has been said.

[3] The words sɛn and tɛ, whose meanings are very often 'at' or 'to,' are not considered prepositions, even though they never occur in isolation or with the freedom of other substantives, because they function as heads of endocentric constructions and take the relational morpheme which prepositions never do.

[4] This use is to be distinguished from that as predicate complement and from the use of numerative substitutes as attributes in noun phrases. Yet there are some ambiguous cases. After the verb 'to die' the numeral is probably a predicate complement:

ó duwa$_1$ ká̧ á̧$_2$ rííto$_3$ fcá$_4$ (or, ó duwa ká̧ á̧ feà rííto) 'his$_1$ two$_3$ goats$_1$ died$_4$'

ó duwa ká̧ a̧ feà né tiyé rííto 'both of his goats died'

In phrases containing a direct object and a numeral separated by other elements, the numeral may be analyzed as being either an attribute to the direct-object substantive (that is, in immediate constituency with it) or coordinate with it:

kɔʔbɔ ó nɛ bé-toró nɛ naa ká̧ a̧ koá a̧ kpém 'a kɔʔbɔ is a pup which was the only one born by its mother' (= 'and its mother bore it one')

á̧$_1$ koà$_2$ bémi$_3$ baŋa naŋa kpém$_4$ 'she$_1$ (human mother) bore$_2$ just that one$_4$ child$_3$'

gbeà kóm ŋma ndará né ŋgombe zɛ̀ɛ kpém 'as for me, I killed one buffalo yesterday with a gun' (= 'killed a buffalo with a gun yesterday one')

It is this latter use of the number 'one' which has probably led to its use in negative sentences as a verb modifier with the meaning of 'at all.' For example:

gan nɛ́m pi̧$_1$ ŋma saʔdeí̧$_2$ nu$_3$ kpém$_4$ ná 'I'm not going$_1$ to throw any of the meat$_2$ down$_3$ at all$_4$'

J. Edward Gates suggests the interesting parallel in English where various words for small quantities are used in certain negative interrogative and conditional constructions without being used in the parallel affirmative constructions: 'not lift a finger,' 'not blink an eyelash,' 'not give a hoot,' 'not crack a smile,' 'not drink a drop,' etc.

[5] The reason for considering gáa a substantive and not an adverb is that it occurs with the adjective nɔ́ɔ 'this' and the adverbs never do.

[6] This construction, although resembling simple repetition (for which see 432.11) appears to be different, because low-tone (that is, non-predicative) verbs also occur in the speech of some people, and perhaps exclusively in some areas, such as at Bowe. For example, pi̧ pi̧í 'throw (it).'

[7] Here and in the following three sections the vertical bar (|) is used to separate the subject from the predicate for ease in identifying it.

[8] More complicated patterns might be found after an analysis of units larger than the sentence (that is, a limited discourse), but except for the following illustration, the subject of discourse analysis is considered beyond the scope of this grammatical outline:

nɛ$_1$ wan to dú̧ŋ$_2$ né sara⸗te$_3$ mɛ$_4$, nɛ zɔká$_5$ fara⸗rií$_6$ na̧ a̧ nɛá wenáa$_7$ gó nɛá a̧ nói sóng$_8$. nɛ bó dų̧ŋ a̧ péé ʔdoŋ$_9$, nɛ wan to zí̧f ká̧ f̧$_{10}$, go gɔ́ʔbí nɛ ká̧-tɛ$_{11}$, go sí ʔdoŋ te⸗oro⸗a̧ mɛ$_{12}$ mó nɛ ʔburi$_{13}$ kpáná⸗ri$_{14}$ á zɔ́$_{15}$. 'And$_1$ Wan-to was sitting$_2$ there$_4$ in the fork of the tree$_3$, and (he) saw$_5$ the place of the water$_6$ for which

he (Gbagbasɔ) went[7] and went and drank up[8]. And when he was returning[9],
Wan-to got down[10] and circled around[11] and returned to the place[12] (of the water)
in order to go (and) break[13] the pot of water[14] (and) spill (it)[15] .'

These two sentences are symbolized in the following way, with the material in paren-
theses being what is included in the verb phrase: SV, CV(CSV CVSV). CV(SV), CSV,
CV, CV(CVVV).

[9] Complete repetition of the N occurs in only one sentence:

saʔde₁-bɔɔ kᾷ ạ, ó bé nám wéey₂ a gɔ́m₃ saʔde-bɔɔ kó dila₄ 'as for his meat₁, the
(lion) cubs₂ took₃ the lion's meat₄'

[10] Consideration was given to describing some constructions consisting of V plus VP
as coordinate multiple heads of verb phrases. For constructions such as bá tɛ́ nɛ́ 'bring
it' (= 'seize come with it') this might have been possible, for the subject, implicit or
explicit, is the same. There are, however, many instances of paratactically combined
clauses where the subjects are not the same. Thus: ạ rɛm tɔ wen sᾷk 'he can talk cor-
rectly' (= 'he is-able speak word is-clean,' where sᾷk 'to be clean' is a predication
which is parallel to rɛm 'to be able' but has its own but not formal subject); ɛrɛ́ ɔá
ʔdɔɔ-zɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ yɛ́ɛ́ 'we stayed in the bush for a long time' (where the subject of ɔá 'were'
is ɛrɛ́ 'we,' and the subject of yɛ́ɛ́ 'is long' is kɔ́ɔ́ 'back'). There is therefore no struc-
tural justification for describing anything as "compound verbs."

CHAPTER FIVE

SAMPLE TEXT AND ANALYSIS

This brief text was given by the informant in answer to questions about marriage among the Gbeya people. It immediately followed my question as to whether a young man could sleep with the girl for whom he was working, and was recorded electronically on tape. It is typical of an unemotional narrative; a narrative with a great deal of action would be freely punctuated by adverbs of which only two occur here (such as [10] and [16].

GBEYA TEXT

[1] tɛ⁼wesé-kɔfɛ ną ą déi, nɛ gan ą rɛ́m ɔ ín kóoi ną ą dɛ́ kɔfɛ́ai ná. [2] nɛ bą́ ą́ ɔ ín kóoi sɛn-tɛ⁼tuwa kó foo ką́ ą mɛ, go kóoi bó ba zaŋ ʔmɔ́n tuwa kó foo ką́ ąi, nɛ ó foo ką́ ą gende gá ye ge, óó, ą́ dɛà ró nɛ́ bɔɔ. [3] ą dɛ́ kɔfɛ wen kó kó ką́ ą, tɛ ɔ́á, nɛ bą́ ą́ dɛ kɔfɛ sɔ́n, ndo ro sĩ́ nɛ kó ką́ ą hą́ ą, sɛ́ tą ą ɔ́ ínaa. [4] ną ą ɔ́ ín kó ką́ ą ʔmɔ́n tuwa kó ró, go bá zaŋ tɛ⁼bɔnɔ-rói há tɛ-rɔ̀ yų̃m wéndé. [5] go ó nam kó yám kó kóoi bó zee gɔ́y, ndɛ wa kúú, go wa nɛ́, go nɛ́ wa kpé nú-valé-duwa kó yám kó bisai. [6] go wa káy duwa kó yám kó bisai há kɔ⁼valé túu sɔ́n, go wa sĩ́ nɛ́. [7] ndɛ́ wá e kélé-kay wa ná, nɛ ndɛ́ wá zɔk ą́ naa⁼duwai, go wa gɔ́n gɛraa ʔmɔ́n kɔ⁼valéi. [8] go wa bá ą, go wa sĩ́ nɛ́, wen kó mɔ nɛ nɛ́á ą ɔ́ ín kóo ną ą dɛ́ kɔfɛ́a sɛn⁼tɛ-ré kó wa mɛ, ʔmɔ́n tuwa kó foo ką́ ą gó baá zaŋí. [9] ɔ́ nɛ́ mɔ nɛ tɛ⁼foo ką́ ą nɛ́ yų̃m wenáa. [10] go wa dɛ́ gɔ́y sɛn-tɛ⁼saŋa⁼tɛ-ó tų́ wí-ré. [11] go ó ŋmaa nɛ gan zéé tɛ-rɔ̀ ná, a bó nɛ kɔfɛ nɛ ɔ́ ín kóo sɛn⁼tɛ-ré kó foo kó ró mɛi. [12] nɛ ó įí nɛ ɔ́ nɛ bɛ̂-zee mbɔra go zéé mbɔra kó yám kó ró gan ɔ́ ín kóoi ʔmɔ́n tuwa kó foo kó wa mɛ ná. [13] nɛ bó wá dɛ kɔfɛ sɔ́ kó wá é rá, go wa ɔ́ ín ŋma géré kóo, nɛ yám kó wa ndóy ŋginza há bɔnɔ-kó kó waí, ndɛ wa haá ŋginza wenáa, go wa dɛ́ kɔfɛ́ai, go nɛ́ pé nɛ yĩ́í wení. [14] nɛ gan wa é ŋginzai go ʔmɔ́n bɔnɔ-kóoi há wa ná. [15] go ó tų́ wí-ré, gbaa gan wa įŋ nú-wen kó nzapà ná, nɛ gan wa kɔ́ ʔdoŋáa há wééy kɔfɛ kó wa ɔ́ ín bém kó wa tɛ-kɔ⁼tuwa kó wa tɛ⁼bɔlɔ⁼wai ná. [16] go wa dɛ́ kɔfɛ́a gɔ́y gɔ́y. [17] go bó wá ba wa sĩ́ nɛ́ tɛ-ré kó wa mɛ, sɛ́ tɛ wa ɔ́ ín kóoi.

FREE TRANSLATION

[1] While he is doing the bride-work, he can not sleep with the girl for whom he is doing the bride-work. [2] But should he sleep with the girl in

the house of his (future) in-laws there, and should the girl become pregnant
right in the house of his in-laws, his in-laws say, "Oh, he made fools of us.
[3] He was doing the bride-work for his wife so that when he had finished the
bride-work, we would have taken his wife to him and then he would have slept
with her.   [4] But has he slept with his wife right in our house so that she has
become pregnant in our absence, so that our feelings are hurt?"   [5] So when
the relatives of the girl's father hear this, they arise, and they go, and they
go and lock the door of the goat-pen of the boy's father.   [6] Then they take
all the boy's father's goats from the pen, and they take them back (to the boy's
father).   [7] If they don't choose to take them, and should they see the old
mother goat, they cut her throat right in the pen.   [8] So they take her (the
girl), and they return (home) with (her), because he went and slept with the
girl for whom he was doing bride-work at their village there right in the vil-
lage of his in-laws so that she became pregnant.   [9] This is something that
the in-laws would get upset about.   [10] So they do thusly among Africans.
[11] And some (boys) who don't listen to instructions, while doing bride-work
they sleep with the girl at the village of their in-laws there.   [12] But those
who are obedient children and listen to the commandments of their fathers
don't sleep with the girl right in the house of their in-laws there.   [13] And
if they (the boys) should do bride-work and then give it up and sleep with
some other girl, their fathers would collect from the girl for whom they had
given money and for whom they had done bride-work, and they would go and
pay for it (the fornication).   [14] And they don't leave the money for the (first)
girl for themselves.   [15] Even those Africans who don't know the Gospel
don't want their son-in-law to sleep with their daughter in their house in
their absence.   [16] So they do the bride-work for a long time.   [17] Then
when they (the boys) take them (the girls) to their village, then they sleep
with the girls.

ANALYSIS

[1] tɛ-wesé-kɔfɛ nạ ạ déi ('body of day of in-law and he does pc.'), nɛ gan
ạ rém ɔ ín kóoi ('and neg. he can sleep with woman pc.'), nạ ạ dé kofɛai ná
('and he does in-law pc. not').

>   tɛ, preposition-like noun, 340, fn. 16.
>
>   tɛ-wesé-kɔfɛ, NP of time in complex sentence, 414.15; NP with rela-
>   tional morpheme {-} morphophonemically written, 212.2.
>
>   kɔfɛ nạ, NP < N + dep. clause attribute, 332.32; 411.26.
>
>   nạ ạ = < nɛ ạ, 132.2.
>
>   kɔfɛ, obj. of dé, 411.26; dɛ kɔfɛ 'to do bride-work,' that is, render
>   services to the girl's parents or her paternal uncles in partial pay-
>   ment of the bride-price; nɛ kɔfɛ 'to go in-law' refers in general to
>   all transactions for acquiring a wife, see [11].
>
>   déi < dé high tone imperf. verb 'do' + -i pc. which ties the phrase to-
>   gether, 220, 393.12.
>
>   kóo 'woman, wife'; in anticipation of the marriage union a "fiancée" is
>   called kóo 'wife.'

ɔ 'sleep,' low tone imperf. V in dep. clause attribute to V, 393.112.

gan . . . ná, neg. adv., 371.

kɔfɛa < kɔfɛ + det. suf. {-a}, 213.1.

ạ 'he,' notice the change from sg. subj. (sentences [1-10]) to pl. (sentences [11-17]).

[2] nɛ bậ ậ ɔ ín kóoi sɛn-tɛ-tuwa kó foo kậ á mɛ ('and when he sleeps with woman pc. at body of house of in-law of him there'), go kóoi bó ba zaŋ ʔmón tuwa kó foo kậ ại ('then woman pc. when seizes foetus remains house of in-law of him pc.'), nɛ ó foo kậ ạ gende gá ye ge ('and pl. adj. in-law of him say'), óó, ậ dɛà ró nɛ́ bɔɔ ('Oh, he did us with foolishness').

bậ, AV freely translated 'when,' 394.31; bậ < bó, 132.2.

ậ 'he,' high tone in clause following AV, 382.112.

ɔ 'sleep,' low tone imperf. following AV, 393.112; ɔ in this context has sexual connotations.

go, conn., 332.2.

ba zaŋ ʔmón, paratactically joined compound clause, 423.12; ba zaŋ 'to become pregnant.'

tuwa '(in the) house,' noun in VP used locatively, 414.143.

ó foo 'in-laws,' adj. + N, 361.1; foo here probably refers to the parents of the girl, and ó foo to both the parents and the father's clan, but in [9] the omission of ó does not limit the reference to the parents, for implicit plurality is not always marked; kậ < kó, 132.2.

gende gá ye ge, QV with NP subj., 353.

dɛá < dɛ 'to do' + perf. suf. + {á}, 211.2; but notice preference for historical present, not only in this text but generally in narratives; on lowering of tone of dɛà, 131.2.

ró, pl. explicit pron. in quotations, 382.12.

nɛ́, prep., 345.

[3] ạ dɛ́ kɔfɛ wen kó kó kậ ạ ('he does in-law word of woman of him'), tɛ ɔá ('so that was'), nɛ bậ ậ dɛ kɔfɛ són ('and when he does in-law all'), ndo ro sí nɛ kó kậ ạ hậ ạ ('and we return with woman of him to him'), sɛ́ tạ ạ ó ínaa ('so that he sleeps with her').

wɛn kó, purposive, 414.17.

kó, allomorph of kóo 'woman,' 132.3c.

tɛ ɔá, connecting VP with little lexical meaning, equivalent here to tɛ bó, 332.8.

són 'all,' probably adverbial.

ndo < nɛ 'and,' 131.1, 132.2.

hậ < há, 132.2.

tạ < tɛ, 132.2; sɛ́ tɛ, conn., 332.6.

ínaa 'with her,' < ín 'with' + 3S suf., 382.113.

[4] nạ ạ ó ín kó kạ ạ ʔmón tuwa kó ró ('and he sleeps with woman of him remains house of us'), go bá zaŋ tɛ-bɔnɔ-rói ('then seizes foetus body of back of us pc.'), há tɛ-rɔ̀ yúm wéndé ('so that body our hurts question').

ó . . . ʔmón, compound clause as in [2].

há, conn., 332.3.

tɛ-rɔ̀ 'our bodies,' noun in inalienable possession, 212.2, 344; parts of

body are frequently used in expressions describing psychological
states; tone of rò, 131.2.

wéndé, question particle, 328.

[5] go ó nam kó kóoi bó zɛɛ gɔ́y ('then pl. adj. family of woman pɛ. when
hear thus'), ndɛ wa kúú ('and they arise'), go wa nɛ́ ('then they go'), go nɛ́
wa kpé nú-valé-duwa kó yám kó bisai ('then go they lock mouth of hut of goat
of father of adolescent boy pɛ.').

    zɛɛ, allomorph of zer- 'to hear,' 132.1a

    gɔ́y, adv., 372.11.

    ndɛ < nɛ 'and,' 131.1.

    kúú, allomorph of kur- 'to arise,' 132.1a.

    nɛ́ wa kpé 'they go and lock,' compound clause with verb of motion,
        423.11.

[6] go wa káy duwa kó yám kó bisai ('then they take goat of father of
adolescent boy pɛ.'), há kɔ́-valé túu sɔ́n ('from hole of hut all all'), go wa sǐ
nɛ́ ('they they return with').

    kɔ 'hole,' prep.-like noun, 340, fn. 16; 414.141.

    duwa = ó duwa 'goats.'

    kay, pl. verb paired with ba, 394.1.

    túu 'all,' < Fr. 'tout'; Fr. loans are often paired with synonymous
        Gbɛya words.

    nɛ́, prep. without obj., 345.

[7] ndɛ́ wá e kélé-kay wa ná ('going they place heart take them not'), nɛ
ndɛ́ wá zɔk ą̌ naa-duwai ('and going they see old mother goat pɛ.'), go wa gɔ́n
gɛ́raa ('then they cut its neck)' ?mɔ́n kɔ́-valéi ('remains hole of hut pɛ.').

    ndɛ́ < nɛ, AV, 394.32, 131.1.

    e, sg. V paired with a, 394.1.

    kélé-kay, NP with VP attribute, 411.25.

    ná, on omission of gan, 371.2.

    ą̌ naa-duwa 'old mother goat,' the one which bore most of the flock,
        therefore the prize one.

    gɛ́raa 'its throat,' bound allomorph (gɛ́r ~ gɛ́ɛ) with 3S pron. suf.,
        132.1a, 382.113.

[8] go wa bá ą ('then they take her'), go wa sǐ nɛ́ ('then they return with'),
wen kó mɔ nɛ nɛá ą ó ín kóo ('word of thing and went he sleeps with woman').
ną ą dɛ́ kɔfɛa sɛn-tɛ-ré kó wa mɛ ('and he does the in-law at body of village
of them there'), ?mɔ́n tuwa kó foo ką̌ ą ('remains house of in-laws of him')
gó baá zaŋí ('then he seizes foetus pɛ.').

    wen kó mɔ 'because,' 414.17.

    nɛá ą ó 'he went and slept,' compound clause with verb of motion,
        423.1.

    kóo ną ą dɛ́, NP with dep. clause attribute, 411.26.

    gó, allomorph of {go}, 332.21.

[9] ó nɛ́ mɔ ('is cop. thing') nɛ tɛ-foo ką̌ ą nɛ́ yųm wenáa ('and body of in-
law of him going hurt the word').

    nɛ́, copula, 352.

    mɔ nɛ, NP with dep. clause attribute.

ɔ́, subject is impersonal, 421.122.

né 'will,' AV, 394.32.

wenáa < wen 'word' + det. suf., purposive, 414.17.

[10] go wa dɛ́ gɔ́y sɛn-tɛ-saŋa-tɛ-ó tṹ wí-ré ('so they do thus at body of midst of body of pl. adj. black person of village').

    wa 'they,' impersonal, identified with ɔ́ tṹ wí-ré, 382.1.

    tṹ 'black,' V as adj., 361.222b.

    wí 'person,' practically always in NP with { ́ }.

[11] go ɔ́ ŋmaa nɛ gan zɛ́ɛ́ tɛ-rò ná ('so pl. adj. some and neg. hear body their not'), a bó nɛ kɔfɛ ('and when go in-law') nɛ ɔ́ ín kɔ́o sɛn-tɛ-ré kɔ́ foo kɔ́ rɔ́ mɛi ('and sleep with woman at body of village of in-law of them pc.').

    ŋmaa nɛ, NP with dep. clause attribute, expanded subject of bó, 422.1.

    rɔ́, pl. explicit pron. for clarity, 382.122.

    a, conn., 332.1.

[12] nɛ ɔ́ ịí nɛ ɔ́ nɛ bé-zee mbɔra ('and pl. adj. those and are cop. child listen law') go zɛ́ɛ́ mbɔra kɔ́ yám kɔ́ rɔ́ ('and listen law of father of them'), gan ɔ́ ín kɔ́oi ('neg. sleep with woman pc.') ʔmɔ́n tuwa kɔ́ foo kɔ́ wa mɛ ná ('remain house of in-law of them there not').

    ɔ́ ịí nɛ, pron. phrase with compound dependent clause, 412, subj. of né,
        separated by pause because of length of NP, 422.1.

    bé 'child,' allomorph of béem, used in NP, 132.2c.

[13] nɛ bó wá dɛ kɔfɛ ('and when they do in-law') só kɔ́ wá é rá ('then they leave off'), go wa ɔ́ ín ŋma gɛ́ré kɔ́o ('then they sleep with some strange woman'), nɛ yám kɔ́ wa ndóy ŋginza ('and father of them collects money') há bɔnɔ-kɔ́ kɔ́ waí ('from back of woman of them pc.'), ndɛ wa haá ŋginza wenáa ('and they gave money the word'), go wa dɛ́ kɔfɛai ('then they do the in-law pc.), go né pɛ́ nɛ yíí wení ('then go pay for word pc.').

    bó, AV with compound dep. clause.

    rá, meaning uncertain.

    ŋma, reconstructed from recorded ŋmaá 'each other,' which did not
        make sense.

    gɛ́ré, adv. as N attribute, 411.12, < gɛre 132.3b.

    ŋginza 'money,' < Sango, Gbeya word is mbɔy; notice absence of both
        pc. and det. suf. even though the reference is very specific (but
        compare [14]).

    né pɛ́, compound clause with V of motion, 423.11.

    pɛ́ nɛ yíí < Fr. 'payé' with pɛ́ analyzed as the V, yíí as the N; the prep.
        nɛ (< né) is normal in such a V + N construction, 345. This is quite
        unusual, and a perfective form *pɛá was never recorded.

    wení = wenáa 'for it.'

[14] nɛ gan wa é ŋginzai ('and neg. they leave money pc.') go ʔmɔ́n bɔnɔ-kɔ́oi há wa ná ('then remains back of woman pc. for them not').

    é . . . ʔmɔ́n, compound clause closed by neg. adv.

    ʔmɔ́n, subj. is not wa but ŋginza 'money.'

    há wa 'for themselves'; one expects explicit pron. rɔ́ here unless first
        wa refers to parents and second wa to the boys; this ambiguity of
        reference is typical of Gbeya narratives.

[15] go ó tų́ wí-ré ('so pl. adj. black person of village'), gbaa gan wa įŋ nú-wen kó nzapà ná ('even if neg. they know mouth of word of God not'), nɛ gan wa kɔ́ ʔdoŋáa ('and neg. they agree the back') há wééy kɔfɛ kó wa ɔ́ ín bém kó wa ('that man in-law of them sleep with child of them') tɛ-kɔ́-tuwa kó wa tɛ́-bɔlɔ́-wai ná ('body of hole of house of them body of back of them pc. not').

ó tų́ wí-ré, expanded subj., 422.1.

gan . . . ná, neg. adv., 371.1.

įŋ, imperf. low tone in neg. clause, 393.115.

nzapá 'God' < Sango.

kɔ ʔdoŋáa há + VP 'to want . . . '

wééy as attribute of N, < wéey 'man,' 132.2b.

bɔlɔ and bɔnɔ in this text, free morpheme alternants, 133.1.

[16] go wa dɛ́ kɔfɛa gɔ́y gɔ́y ('so they do the in-law on and on').

gɔ́y gɔ́y 'thus thus,' repetition, 431.

[17] go bó wá ba wa sí nɛ tɛ-ré kó wa mɛ ('then when they take them return with body of village of them there'), sɛ́ tɛ wa ɔ́ ín kóoi ('then they sleep with woman pc.').

ba . . . sí, compound clause, 423.12, dep. clause attribute of AV bó.

ba, one expects kay with plural object; see [6].

kóo, identified as plural by wa following ba even though pl. adj. ó omitted.

SELECTED TEXTS

INTRODUCTION

The following is a selection of twelve texts from my total collection. The omitted ones are either much less interesting in subject matter or are poor specimens of Gbɛya because of their fractured syntax. All were first tape-recorded and then transcribed by myself, without the aid of an informant. Checking the recordings with an informant would certainly have been of much help in clearing up some obscure utterances, but the absence of sufficient electrical power in the field prevented any such work. The transcriptions themselves, however, were gone over with my regular informant. The translations are my entire responsibility since none of my friends spoke English.

All of the narrators were well known to me. In fact, all but Nganasérɛ and Bɔysɛ́ served as informants in one way or another during the time that I lived at "Bellevue." Sɛndɛ́ámɔ (sɛn dɛ́á mɔ), who gave me texts 1, 2, 3, and 12, was one of my workmen. Although he was born near Bellevue and spent most of his life around there, his idiolect shows evidence of having been influenced by the dialect of Boguila (for example, ŋa for ŋma 'some,' ɔ for ɛrɛ 'we'). My regular informant gave me texts 6, 7, and 11. Namkɔ̀ná (nam kɔ̀ ná), a Protestant catechist in his 30's gave texts 8 and 9. Another catechist, Kpa-démɔná (kpa dé mɔ ná) gave number 10. Bɔysɛ́ (bɔy sɛ́), who acts the father in text 1, and Nganasérɛ (ŋgana-sérɛ) were the oldest of all the speakers, probably in their late 40's. The child who played the part of the son in text 1, Gɛ̀nam (gɛ̀-nam), is the nephew of Sɛndɛ́ámɔ; he was in his early teens.

The texts were obtained in the following ways: For the conversations, I suggested several topics the two individuals might discuss. They made the final selection and proceded extemporaneously until they felt that they had nothing more to say. The fables, texts 11 and 12, were obtained by my simply asking the individuals to tell any fable they wanted. The other discourses, texts 6 through 10, came after I had suggested the topics. Once the speaker began, he was not interrupted until he chose to cease. There were also no second attempts to improve the recordings. Text 6, however, is part of a series of answers to questions put to my informant about marriage. In this instance, my question was probably "Why do some wives leave their husbands and go home?"

The transcription is broken up by commas and periods to indicate the major pause points and sentence breaks. Intonational features, syntax, and meaning were used in determining the boundaries of sentences, but it must be confessed that with such extemporaneous material, it is very difficult to be sure of one's sentences. Paragraphing is introduced for convenience. The plus sign (+) is used to mark morphemic breaks within words so as to assist the

reader in making a morphological analysis. It must be remembered that the hyphen is used to indicate the presence of the relational morpheme $\{ \div \}$, which is realized in a tone change in the word preceding the hyphen only if it is basically low and the word following it has low tone. For details, see 212.2. The grave accent continues to mark a lowered tone from the presence of a following high. When the tones very clearly deviate from the general pattern described in the grammar, they are not normalized. For example, one might find go gan am instead of the expected gó gan am. The narrowing of intervals in rapid extemporaneous speech probably accounts for some of the differences, but without dictated forms of the same utterances one can not be sure. Contrary to the convention which was adopted in the grammar proper, in these texts proper nouns and personal names are capitalized. The change is justified by the different functions of the illustrative material. Finally, the asterisk marks French words in their assimilated form only on their first appearance in a text.

The translation in English is neither literal nor a paraphrase, but a mixture of the two. The first few translations have parenthetical material which an understandable paraphrase would require, but this device was subsequently given up because of the many inconsistencies it introduced. One of the most difficult aspects of the translation was the translation of "tense." A faithful translation of the Gbɛya perfective and imperfective forms of the verbs results in a very odd English translation, as is seen in text 3, where this attempt was made. The problem is that, in Gbɛya narratives, the imperfective (like the "historic present") is more common than the perfective when the time of action is known. For the most part, therefore, the translation follows the understood time of the action: in these narratives the imperfective is very often translated with a simple past; the perfective, where appropriate, is translated with a present or past perfect. It was also extremely difficult to translate the ideophonic adverbs, a problem met by all those working on African languages. Part of the problem is in determining the precise meaning of these adverbs; I am not always certain that I have succeeded. Another difficulty is in trying to convey the sense in a few English words. As text 10 illustrates, I have had to resort to different kinds of solutions, sometimes even retaining the Gbɛya word.

1. A Hunt Across the River

1. έrέ nɛ+á yarí sɛn⁻tɛ-kúú-Wáam mɛ ín ó *misɛ. 2. ɛrɛ yáá.
3. nɛ+á gɛ rɛ ó zɔ́. 4. fara ʔbáá, nɛ gan rɛ kpá ŋa (that is, ŋma) saʔdɛ
kpém wen kó gbέ+á ná. 5. ɛrɛ kpá ó ndará nɛ dų́ŋ wa yú. 6. dų́ŋ wa yú.
7. a dų́ŋ wa yú gɔ́y. 8. nɛ gan rɛ kpá ŋa wen⁻gbɛ kpém ná. 9. ɛrɛ gbó
sɛn⁻tɛ-ką́-gą́sá kara, sɛn⁻tɛ-ką́-Yáa Bą́ mɛ. 10. go bέ rέ gam tɛ-rέ
wen kó pér+á+a, só kέ rέ kpá ŋa mbɛɛ nέ ʔdoŋ-wáá, sɛn⁻tɛ-kúú-Wą́am
dį́yɛ nóɔ dɔ́ó. 11. gɛ rɛ gbέ ą rį́íto só kέ rέ káy gɛ rɛ péé nέ. 12. sóó
mɔ gɔ́y a há dé+á saa hέ rέ. 13. nɛ, έrέ si+ð gérɛ, nɛ gan rɛ kpa ŋaa
(that is, ŋmaa) wen⁻gbɛ kpém ná, óʔ gan nɛ+á ha dé+á saa hέ rέ kpém ná.
14. wen kó mɔ nɛ+á rɛ ó ʔdɔɔ-zɔ́, gó ŋgay kέ rέ sɔn+à sɔ́n. 15. gó mɔ
gɔ́y, ɛrɛ kpá ŋmaa į̀ rį́íto, só kó sɛra-rέ dέ saa wenáa dóka.

2. Monsieur Kills Two Antelope

1. kúú dį́yɛ nóɔ go bέ rέ nέ+á+a, nɛ Kpadémɔná tέ ką́ ą́ sɛn⁻tɛ-nú-*bak
mɛ gó, tɛ+á go áy oro-rέ nɛ gan kpá rέ ná. 2. nɛ Kpadémɔná yú nέ
bɔlɔ-rέ gɔ́y gɔ́y. 3. nɛ+á go kpá rέ sɛn⁻tɛ-nú-Wáam mɛ. 4. só ką́ ą́
sá mɔ bɔlɔ-rέ gɔ+ɔ (that is, gɛ rɛ) ŋgémb+aa. 5. ɛrɛ tέ nέ tįi hą́ ą gɛ
rɛ bá ą nέ tįi só kέ rέ nέ gɔ́y go bέ rέ gbo sɛn-tɛ⁻ŋma bé-ri, gɛ rɛ óm
tɛ-rέ sɛnέ. 6. nέ *mįtį́i. 7. gɛ rɛ kúú gɛ rɛ nέ gɔ́y. 8. go bέ rέ
gbo sɛn-tɛ⁻fara⁻ɔ+i mɛ ga mbóro dɛ+á, sóó rέ ó dį́i. 9. go zu⁻ture, ndɛ
rɛ kúú wen kó nɛ yaa rɛ kii saʔdɛ rɛ nέ gɔ́y gɔ́y gan rɛ kpá saʔdɛ kpém ná.
10. gɛ rɛ yáá rɛ nέ gɔ́y gbó sɛn⁻tɛ-ką́-Yáa Bą́. 11. ɛrɛ ką́ Yáa Bą́ ɛrɛ
nέ gbó On Yora (that is, ɔn yɔra). 12. ɛrɛ gbó sɛn⁻tɛ-gą́sá kara. 13.
gɛ rɛ gám tɛ-rέ bέ rέ kpa bɔlɔ-náŋ-ó saʔdɛ dų́ŋ rɛ ʔmá wa ndɛ wa láŋgį́
ndɛ wa láŋgį́ ndɛ wa láŋgį́ nɛ gan rɛ kpá wa kpém ná. 14. gɛ rɛ gám
tɛ-rέ rɛ péé ʔdoŋ gɔ́y gɔ́y. 15. tέ go bέ rέ gbo sɛn⁻tɛ-kúú-Wáam
sɛn⁻tɛ-dį́yɛ tɛ-nú-rέ kέ rέ na dɔ́ó só kέ rέ kpá ŋa mbɛɛ gɛ rɛ gbέ wa.

1. A Hunt Across the River

1. We went hunting across the Wáam (river) over there with Monsieur.
2. We hiked around. 3. We went and we slept in the bush. 4. It became day,
and we didn't find one single animal to kill. 5. We found buffalo and they
kept on running away. 6. They kept on running away. 7. They kept on running
away a long time. 8. And we didn't find one to kill. 9. We arrived beside the
large mountain, beside the Yáa Bá over there. 10. So when we turned around
to return, we found some reedbuck on the way, on the other side of the Wáam
here closeby. 11. So we killed him two (two of them) and we picked them up
and we returned with (them). 12. So in this way it gave pleasure to us. 13.
And if we had returned without anything, and had not found a single one to
kill, oh it would not have given us any pleasure whatsoever. 14. Because we
had gone and had slept in the bush, and our strength was entirely depleted.
15. So that's how it is, we found those two, and our livers are very happy
about it.

2. Monsieur Kills Two Antelope

1. (We) arise (from) right here and after we had gone, Kpadémɔná for his
part comes (from) the ferry crossing over there and, (he) came and seeks us
and can not find us. 2. And Kpadémɔná runs after us for a long time. 3. (He)
went and finds us at the edge of the Wáam (river) over there. 4. So he calls
after us and we wait for him. 5. We bring a canoe to him and we take him
with the canoe so we go on like this and when we arrive at a certain small
stream, we rest ourselves there. 6. At noon (this is). 7. Then we arise and
we go like this. 8. And when we arrive at the sleeping place there, in other
words it has already become evening, so we sleep there. 9. Then very early
in the morning, we arise to go hiking (for) us (to) hunt game (and) we go on
(and) arrive beside the Yáa Bá. 11. We cross the Yáa Bá (and) we arrive at
the On Yora. 12. We arrive at the large mountain. 13. And we turn around
(and) when we find tracks of animals we continue to track them and they go
on and they go on and they go on and we don't find a single one (that is, ani-
mal). 14. Then we turn around (and) we return a long time. 15. (We) come
and when we arrive at the other side of the Wáam here at the approach to our

rííto.   16. *misi ndɔ́ɔ wa gbɛ́ rííto.   17. só kɛ́ rɛ́ káy gɛ rɛ péé nɛ́.
18. gɛ rɛ kúú gɛ rɛ péé go bɛ́ rɛ́ kʉ Wáam sɛn⌐tɛ-dɩ́yɛ, bɛ́ rɛ́ si go bɛ́ rɛ́
gbo na go misi há ŋma hɛ́ rɛ́ gɛ rɛ kpá wen kó si rɛ ypŋ nɛ́ kam.   19. só
kó sɛra-rɛ̀ dɛ́ saa dɔ́ka.   20. nɛ wesé nɛ ɛ́rɛ́ si+ɔ̀ gére, oo? nɛ gan nɛ+á
ha dɛ́+á saa hɛ́ rɛ́ ná.

3. A Narrow Escape from Lions

1. ɛrɛ kúú zu⌐ture dɩ́yɛ nɔɔ ?néŋ.   2. gɛ rɛ nɛ́ sɛn⌐tɛ-kúú mɛ
wen⌐kii sa?de.   3. bɔ́+ɔ́ (that is, bɛ́ rɛ́) kʉ ri gɔ+ɔ (that is, gɛ rɛ)
nɛ́.   4. ɛrɛ nɛ́ gɔ́y.   5. ɛrɛ kɩ́ɩ́ sa?de.   6. ɛrɛ nɛ́ gɔ́y.   7. ɛrɛ gbó
sɛn-tɛ⌐gba go.   8. gan rɛ kpá sa?de kpém ná.   9. ɛrɛ nɛ́ gbó ri
Tiya.   10. gan rɛ kpá sa?de ná.   11. ɛrɛ kɩ́p tɛ-rɛ́ gɛ rɛ nɛ́ gɔ́y,
gbó sɛn-tɛ⌐Nduú.   12. go bɛ́ rɛ́ kʉ Nduú, nɛ bó+m . . . , zaŋ+ám yʉ́m,
go+m húfí, nɛ gan am kpá ŋgay kɔ́+m kpém ná.   13. nɛ+m nɛ́ kɔ́ɔ́-
*misɛ gɛdɛ́k gɛ?dɛ́k gɛ?dɛ́k gɔ́y ŋmgbóŋ.

14. go bɛ́ rɛ́ daŋ zu⌐kara, nɛ tɛ-zu⌐kara mɛ, nɛ Raŋmgbá tɔ́ gende
gá ye ge, ɛ́ɛ mise, ɛrɛ dáŋ zu⌐kara nɔ́ɔ sɛ́, tɛ ɔ+á nɛ bɛ́ rɛ́ hɔ dɩ́i
nɔ́ɔ+i, nɛ ndɛ́ rɛ́ kpa ŋma sa?de.   15. nɛ Raŋmgbá bó tɔ gɔ́y, tɛ bɛ́
rɛ́ daŋ zu⌐kara+i, wen kó ndɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ́+á+a, tɛ bɛ́ rɛ́ hɔ́+á+a, nɛ ó dila
wa gbɩ́n sɛn⌐tɛ-kɑ́-tɛ-rɛ́+i.   16. ndɔ+ɔ (that is, ndɛ rɛ) tɔ́ gende gá
ye ɩ̃ ná.   17. ndɔ+ɔ tɔ́ gende gá ye ɩ̃ ná nɛ ɔ́ nɛ́ ndará.   18. nɛ
Raŋmgbá tɔ́ gende gá, ɩ̃i mise, ɔ́ nɛ́ ndará, ndará, ndará.   19. tɛ mise
bó wá laŋgi ín Raŋmgbá, gende gá, gá wá hɔ+á sɛn-tɛ⌐bɛra⌐go dɩ́yɛ.
20. tɛ bó+m gam tɛ+ɛ́m, nɛ+m tɔ́ mbí ye, ŋmaa a yór+i.   21. tɛ bó
ndɔ+ɔ hii tɛ⌐?dɔɔ, tɛ ó mise bó laŋgi kó ró kpɛkɛ́rɛ́ tɛ-ɩ́yɛ gáa, tɛ bó
zɔk gende gá, á hɔ+á sɛn-tɛ⌐bɛra⌐go dɩ́yɛ.   22. tɛ bó+m gam tɛ+ɛ́m
wen kó nɛ́+m ba te, gende gá, á hɔ+a̋ ?béé.   23. nɛ mise bó zik tɛ-ɛ́
nɛ ?mɔ́n nɛ gám tɛ-ɛ́, nɛ ndɔ́r+aa ŋgombe.   24. mise bó ndɔr+aa, bó
ndɔr+aa gbaŋgala, nɛ koy-yɑ́ kɑ́ a sɔ́n dʉŋ dɛ́ ŋgay rrrrr.

25. tɛ bɔ́+ɔ́ zee gɔ́y, ɔ́? kéey dɛ+a̋ rɛ́ dɔ́ka.   26. ndɛ rɛ ŋmɑ́y gɛ
rɛ yú kpém kpém kpém sɔ́n.   27. dɔ́n sɛ́rɛ kɛ́ rɛ́ á nu sɔ́n.   28. dɔ́n
?boy kɛ́ rɛ́ á nu sɔ́n.   29. gan rɛ kpá ŋma mɔ kpém.

village here closeby then we find some reedbuck and we kill two of them.
16. Monsieur shoots them (and) kills two. 17. Then we take (them) and we
return with them. 18. And we arise and we return and when we cross the
Wáam here, when we return and when we arrive here then Monsieur gives
some (meat) to us and we receive (some) for (us) to return (and) eat with
(our) porridge. 19. Then our livers rejoice greatly. 20. And (on the) day
(that) we had returned empty-handed, oh, (that) would not have given joy to
us.

3. A Narrow Escape from Lions

1. We arise (from) right here very early in the morning. 2. And we go
to the other side (of the river) there to hunt animals. 3. After we cross the
river we go. 4. We go on in this manner (or perhaps, kept on going). 5. We
hunt for animals. 6. We go on in this manner. 7. We arrive at the lateritic
plateau. 8. We don't find a single animal. 9. We go (and) arrive at Tiya
Creek. 10. We don't find any animals. 11. We turn around and we go on in
this manner, (and) arrive at the Nduú (river). 12. And after we cross the
Nduú, my stomach hurt, and I am having diarrhea, and I don't have any
strength at all. 13. And I follow Monsieur slowly like this for a long time.
14. And after we climb atop the mountain, at the top of the mountain there,
Raŋmgbá says, "Hey, Monsieur, let's climb atop this mountain first, so
that after we go on over there, we'll find some animals." 15. And after
Raŋmgbá has spoken in this way, and after we have climbed atop the moun-
tain, for the purpose of going on, and after we had passed on, the lions they
appeared beside us. 16. And we say "Don't know." 17. And we say, "Per-
haps (they) are buffalo." 18. And Raŋmgbá says, "Yeah, Monsieur, (they)'re
buffalo, buffalo, buffalo." 19. So after Monsieur had gone on ahead with
Raŋmgbá, in other words they (the lions) had appeared on the plateau here.
20. And after I turned, I said, "There's one standing." 21. So after we
ducked down, and after Monsieur for his part went on out of sight over
there like that, and after (we) looked, in other words, (they) had appeared
on the plateau clearing here. 22. So after I had turned around to go grab a
tree, in other words, (they) had already appeared. 23. And after Monsieur
turned his body, right then he turned around, and he shoots it (the lion) with
the gun. 24. When Monsieur shoots it, when he shoots it bang! the rest of
its (the lion's) companions begin to roar rrrr.
25. So when we hear this, oh fear struck us terribly. 26. And we divide
up and all of us flee separately. 27. All of us cast our spears on the ground.
28. All of us cast our caps on the ground. 29. We don't get a thing (meaning
uncertain).

30. nɛ misɛ gám tɛ-ɛ́ ʔbɔ.　31. nɛ wééy+aa dʉ́ŋ té, dʉ́ŋ tɛ́ nɛ́
ŋgay, dʉ́ŋ tɛ́ nɛ́ ŋgay.　32. nạ ạ zɔ́k kɔ́ɔ́-Raŋmgbá nɛ bó nɛ yú+ɔ́,
nạ ạ yú wen kɔ́ ɔ́rɔ́ nạ ạ yú wen kɔ́ ba ạ gá.　33. nɛ misɛ ʔmɔ́n
nɛ gám tɛ-ɛ́ nɛ yɔ́ŋ+á yɩ́n, nạ ạ ndɔ́r+aa, nạ ạ ndɔ́r+aa.　34. nɛ
wééy+aa bá tɛ-ɛ́ kpʉ́ŋ nɛ yú kɛ́ ɛ́.

35. bạ́ ạ́ yu gɔ́y, nɛ misɛ gám tɛ-ɛ́, nɛ sá mɔ nɛ́ fɛra fééé.
36. ndɛ rɛ ŋmạy+à gɛ́ rɛ́ hʉs+ɔ́ tɛ-rɛ́ sɔ́n.　37. nɛ+m tɔ́ ye, tɔ́ há
Maydɛ, mbí ye, éé?, Maydɛ, am ɩ́ŋ ná, ạ bá misɛ.　38. mbí ye, dila
ba+á ạ, dila ba+á ạ ạ+i.　39. nɛ ʔmɔn+á gɛ rɛ yá+i, yá+i, yá+i gɔ́y.
40. nạ ạ dɔ́m fɛra, tɛ bɔ́+m zee, nɛ+m tɔ́, éé?, ạ́ ʔmɔn+á kpas+á, ạ
dɔ́m fɛra, go wér+i.　41. tɛ bɛ́ rɛ́ hɩŋ bɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ́+á+a, nạ ạ dʉ́ŋ wa
dɔ́m fɛra dɔ́m fɛra gɔ́y.　42. nɛ dʉ́ŋ ạ kɩ́ʔdɩ́ rɛ́, dʉ́ŋ wa kɩ́ʔdɩ́ rɛ́,
ŋmgbɔ́ŋ.　43. ndɔ+ɔ té ndɔ+ɔ kpá ạ.　44. ndɛ rɛ mɔ́y tɛ-kpém fara.
45. nạ ạ tɔ́ ye ɛ́rɛ́ ná nɛ ɛ́ gbɛ+ằ̃ saʔde.　46. ndɛ rɛ tɔ́+y *wi, ɛrɛ
zey+á nɛ ŋgombe+i wey+á+i.　47. ạ́ gbɛ+á saʔde, kpásí wen.　48. nɛ
gan ɔ́ mbɛ́ rɛ́ si fɛ́ɛ́ ná.　49. tɛ bɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ́+á, ạ́ ndɔr+á ạ pɩ́ gɛ̣́ ạ́ mɔy+á
ạ, gạ ạ ɔ́ gáá nɔ́ɔ.　50. nɛ ɛ́rɛ́ sɔ́n, ɛrɛ zɔ́k+aa.　51. ndɛ rɛ gám
tɛ-rɛ́, gɛ rɛ péé ʔdoŋ.

52. nɛ misɛ tɔ́ gende gá ye ge, o a kɔ́ ʔdoŋ-̈nɛ sɛn-tɛ-̈zaŋ-ré wen-̈tɔ
há *madáam wen-̈ha ŋma gbạra-̈wey hɛ̣́ ɛ́, wen-̈si nɛ́ ʔdoŋ wen-̈sa ŋma
ɔ́ wɩ́-ré á zu-ɛ́.　53. nɛ tɔ́ há *pasitéɛr, wen kɔ́ ba ŋgombe kɔ́ rɔ́.
54. ŋma *sasɛ́ɛr nɛ́ ɔ+á sɛnɛ́, nɛ bá ŋma ŋgombe kɔ́ wa wen-̈nɛ nɛ́,
sɛ́ tɛ nɛ́ ɔ+á nɛ bɩ́ nɛ́ biro nɔ́ɔ ɩ́n ɛ́.　55. nɛ ɛ́ tɛ+á ɛ kʉ́ sɛ́rɛ.

56. nɛ misɛ bó tɔ gɔ́y nɛ+m tɔ́+y, wi, gán mɩ́ am kɔ́ ʔdoŋ-té+á wéndé.
57. nɛ Raŋmgbá tɔ́ gende gá+y, ɛ́ ɛ nɛ́ ɛ́ tɛ+á, ɛ́ ɛ nɛ́ ɛ́ tɛ+á.
58. nɛ+m tɔ́ mbí ye, wi, Raŋmgbá a té ɩ́n+aa.　59. nɛ wan kɔ́ mɛ́
bó kʉ sɛ́rɛ, gá kʉ+ʉ̀ sɛ́rɛ é zu-mɛ́ ạ+i.　60. nɛ gan am rɛ́m wen kɔ́
nɛ tɛ-rɛ́ mɛ ná.　61. nɛ nɛ́+m ʔmɔn ɩ́n misɛ.

62. nɛ Raŋmgbá gám tɛ-ɛ́ wen kɔ́ tɛ́+á, ndɛ rɛ ʔmɔ́n ɩ́n misɛ dɟi.
63. nɛ misɛ tɔ́ gende gá ye ge, mɩ́ ná nɛ, ge a tɔ́ rɔ́ dɛ wen kɔ́ saʔde+ɩ́
ge.

64. nɛ+m tɔ́+y, misɛ, ŋma mɔ kɛ́ rɛ́ wen-̈dɛ wɛn+áa gan bɔ́ ná.

65. nɛ misɛ tɔ́+y, mɩ́ ná nɛ, *mɛ ʔbay yo kpém ɛɛ (< a + ɛ) kɔ́
ʔdoŋ+áa.　66. nɛ wɩ́-ré tɛ+á ɔ dɔ́k wen-̈toy saʔde sɛ́.　67. nɛ wɩ́-ré
bó ná ge a dɛ́ ge ndé.

68. nɛ+m tɔ́+y misɛ ná nɛ, *mɛ gɔ́ ge a ndɔ́+ɔ́ (that is, ndɛ́ rɛ́)
dɛ+á sɔ́ɔ́ (that is, sɔ́ kɔ́) ạ́ tɔ́ gɔ́y ge ndé.　69. nạ ạ tɔ́ gende gá ye
mɩ́ ná, am kɔ́ ʔdoŋ-dɛ kpém kɔ-̈sɛra ɩ́n ɛ́ wen kɔ́ yo-̈saʔde wéndé.

70. nɛ+m tɔ́+y wi, misɛ, am kɔ́ ʔdoŋ+áa.　71. nɛ bɔ́+m kɔ ʔdoŋ+áa
gɔ́y, nɛ+m zɔ́k+aa sɛn-tɛ-̈bɛra-̈go mɛ.　72. ʔɔ́ɔ́ʔ nɛ kɛ́ey tɛ+à dɛ́+m.
73. nɛ+m sáá sɛ́k am tɔ́+y, ʔɔ́ɔ́ʔ misɛ, é há wɩ́-ré tɛ́ sɛ́.　74. ɔ́
ŋgay wen kɛ́ rɛ́ wen nɛ́+á.

30. And Monsieur turns around again. 31. And the male one is coming, is coming ferociously, is coming ferociously. 32. And he looks at Raŋmgbá who is running away, and he (the lion) runs as if he is going to seize him. 33. And Monsieur remains and turns with courage, and he shoots him, and he shoots him. 34. And the male (who is shot) takes himself off without stopping and flees.

35. After he runs off in this way, Monsieur turns around, (he) calls with a whistle fééé. 36. But we had divided and had all hidden ourselves. 37. And I say, say to Maydɛ, I say, "Great guns, Maydɛ, I don't know, (but that) he got Monsieur." 38. I say, "The lion got him, the lion got him." 39. And we kept on sitting and sitting and sitting (that is, waiting). 40. And he (Monsieur) blows a whistle, and when I hear it, I say, "Hey, he's still alive, he blows a whistle, and there it sounds." 41. And after we (...) (and) after we go on, he continues to blow the whistle blow the whistle like this. 42. And he's in the process of looking for us, he's looking for us, quite a long time. 43. And we come and we find him.

44. And we gather in one place. 45. And he says, "You there, I've killed an animal." 46. And we say, "Yes, we heard the gun go off. 47. You killed an animal, indeed. 48. And it's not for us to argue about it." 49. And after we had gone, he shot it (and) knocked it down and then he gathered it, and it's here. 50. And all of us, we see it. 51. And we turn around, and we return.

52. And Monsieur says, "Who wants to go to the village to tell Madame to give some bullets to me, to bring them back (and) to call some additional people. 53. And tell Pastor, to bring his gun. 54. If there's a hunter there, (have him) take his gun, so as to fight this battle with me. 55. And I've come (and) started a fight."

56. And after Monsieur has spoken thus I say, "Yes, what about me, do I want to go?" (translation uncertain).

57. And Raŋmgbá says, "Me, I want to go, me I want to go."

58. And I say, "Yes, Raŋmgbá goes with him." 59. And when your master starts a war, in other words (he) has started a war (and) involved you in it. 60. And I can't go to the village there. 61. And I'll stay with Monsieur."

62. And Raŋmgbá turns around to go, and Monsieur and I remain there. 63. And Monsieur says, "You there, what am I going to do about the animal?"

64. And I say, "Monsieur, there's nothing we can do about it."

65. And Monsieur says, "You there, but just the skin alone is what I want. 66. And if there were many people to carry the animal then (it would be fine). 67. But there's no one so what is one to do?"

68. And I say, "Monsieur, but what are we going to do that you talk like this?"

69. And he says, "You there, do you want to be in accord with me about the animal skin?"

70. And I say, "Yes, Monsieur, I want to." 71. And after I agree in this manner, I see him on the plateau clearing there. 72. My, and fear came (and) gripped me. 73. And I think I say, "Oh Monsieur, let some people come first. 74. It's hard for us to go (that is, alone)."

75. nɛ misɛ tɔ́+y mí ná nɛ, ɛrɛ káŋgí kɔ́-sɛra kɛ́ rɛ́.   76. ɛrɛ nɛ́ wen kó yo-sa?de+i.

77. nɛ+m tɔ́+y wi, gan am kɔ̰́ ?doŋ-si kɑ̰́fɛ́ oro-ndú-wa ná.   78. ɛrɛ nɛ́.

79. na̰ a̰ tɔ́+y paa kó ró ɔ́ sɛnɛ́ gɛ rɛ nɛ́.   80. bɔ́+ɔ́ (that is, bɛ́ rɛ́) nɛ sɛn-tɛ-bɛra-go+í, ?ó, mɛ zɔ́k sa?de ɔ́ sɛn-tɛ-bɛra-go ɛn-tɛ-ɛ̰́. 81. nɛ bɛ́ rɛ́ gám+á, ŋma mɔ wen kó rɛ́ hṵsi nɛ ríp-rɛ́ kpɛ́m gan bó ná.   82. nɛ misɛ bá wey nɔ́ɔ nɛ ɛ́k sɛn-tɛ-ŋma bɛ́-kṵrí nɛ sɛn-tɛ-kɑ̰́+a+i. 83. nɛ+m sáá sɛ́k nɛ+m tɔ̰́ ye wi, ɛ́rɛ́ tɛ+á wen kó fɛ́+á. 84. nɛ gan rɛ tɛ́ wen kó si ná.   85. nɛ wɛ́ɛy ɔ́ nɛ́ zara-?burí, go nɛ́ nɛ ɔ́ ?mɔ́n ?dɔɔ-zɔ̰́+i.   86. gó ?baa rɛ ɔ+a̰ ?mɔ́n ?dɔɔ-zɔ̰́, nɛ wen gan bó ná.

87. nɛ misɛ kɑ̰́sí kṵ́-a̰, nɛ+m bá paa, nɛ dṵ́ŋ+um ?bɔ́ɔ, nɛ+m ?bɔ́ɔ sa?de.   88. nɛ+m zɔ́k nɛ ŋma mɔ dɛ́ mɔ ?bɛɛkɛrɛ, nɛ+m pḭ́ paa+i oró+a+i záŋ, nɛ+m kɛ̰́ɛ́ mɔ.   89. nɛ misɛ tɔ́+y mí ná nɛ, gɛ ndɛ́.

90. nɛ+m tɔ́+y misɛ, oo fey ndɛ rɛ fɛ+a̰ kɛ́ rɛ́ sɔ́ɔ gɛ rɛ yá nɛ wí-rɛ́ ?bɔ wɛ́ndɛ́.   91. wi, ndɛ rɛ gam tɛ-rɛ́, ndɛ rɛ kɑ̰́sí sa?de wen-?bɔ́r+á+a, ?bɔ́r+á+a, ?bɔ́r+á+a.   92. nɛ misɛ dṵ́ŋ kɪ̰́fḭ́, kɪ̰́fḭ́, nɛ+m ?bɔ́ɔ kɪ̰́fḭ́ nɛ+m ?bɔ́ɔ, kɪ̰́fḭ́ nɛ+m ?bɔ́ɔ, gɛ rɛ ?bɔ́ɔ sa?de hárá sɔ́n.   93. go bɛ́ rɛ́ ŋma̰y ér+aa sɔ́n, ndɛ rɛ zɔ́k, nɛ sa?de+i wen kó ndɛ́ rɛ́ ŋma̰y, a̰ŋ (< a̰k) ŋma ?bakɑ̰́+a wen-bá+á+a, wí-tóy+á+a gan bó ná.   94. nɛ tan+áa ɔ́ kɛ̰́ ɛ̰́ ?bɔ wen kó ndɔ́+ɔ́ (that is, ndɛ́ rɛ́) ŋma̰y+á, wɛn-pḭ́ sɛnɛ́, wí-tóy+á+a gan bó ná.   95. wɛn kó am húfí kɔ́+m.   96. ŋgay kɔ́+m gan bó kpɛ́m ná.   97. am tɔ̰́ mbí+y wi misɛ, ɛ̰́ rɛm+a̰ rɛ́.   98. ɛrɛ káy ɛ̰́ nɔ́ɔ ɛrɛ sí.   99. nɛ ɛ̰́ rɛm+a̰ rɛ́.   100. *kamɛɛm gba koy-sa?de ?mɔn+á, go wí-rɛ́ nɛ́ dɛ+a̰ yɔ̰́ŋ+á yḭ́n, nɛ tɛ́ wá nɛ oro-rɛ́+i wen-nɛ ndɛ wa kay mɔ́ si wa yɔ̰́ŋ+á, nɛ gan ɛ́rɛ́ ŋgɛm kpás+á sa?de ná.

101. nɛ bɛ́ rɛ́ kay yó+a+i ndɛ rɛ hɛ̰́ɛ́.   102. gɛ rɛ bá ?doŋ-wáá wɛn-pɛ́r+á.   103. sɔ́ɔ rɛ́ kpá ɔ́ sɔ́rám Banabóy sɛn-tɛ-kúú mɛ ga bó dṵŋ wa nɛ́ kó wa bɔlɔ-rɛ́.   104. dṵ́ŋ wa hɛ́ɛ kɔ̰wá.   105. nɛ wa tɔ̰́ gɛndɛ gá yɛ, ?ó?, dila kay+á wa wɛ́ndɛ́ a ɔ́ɔ.   106. nɛ tɔ́+ɔ́ (that is, tɛ́ rɛ́) kpa kpas+á gɛ zɛ́ɛ (< ze).   107. tɛ́ ndo ro kpá wa wɛ́ndɛ́.   108. bó wá zɔk gá ɛ́rɛ́ ɔ+ɔ (a + ɔ, that is, a + ɛrɛ) tɛ́ gɔ́ɔ.   109. bó wá zɔk rɛ́ gɛndɛ gá, ɔ́ɔ, *mɛrsḭ́i, mɛrsḭ́i, mɛrsḭ́i, ndɛ rɛ kpá wa.

110. tɛ bɛ́ rɛ́ he?di dɔ̰́ɔ tɛ-nú-Wáam na, ndɛ rɛ kpá paytɛ́ɛr.   111. ga bó dṵŋ nɛ kó ró ín Raŋmgbá ?bɔ.   112. ndɛ rɛ kpá wa ?bɔ. 113. ndɛ wa tɔ̰́ gɛndɛ gá yɛ, óo, mɛrsḭ́i dóka, wen kó mɔ nɛ Nzapá ha+á ŋgay hɛ́ rɛ́, gɛ́ rɛ́ gbo+á, go ro zɔ́k kɔ̰-ríp-rɛ́ mɛ.   114. oro há mɛrsḭ́i há Nzapà dóka.

115. ?mɔ́n gɛ rɛ á kɔ́ɔ-ŋmaá ín wa sɔ́ kɛ́ rɛ́ pɛ́ɛ, gɛ rɛ kṵ́ ri, gɛ rɛ pɛ́ɛ, gɛ rɛ gbó zaŋ-rɛ́+i.

116. sɔn+á.

75. And Monsieur says, "You there, let's be courageous. 76. Let's go for
the animal skin."

77. And I say, "Okay, I don't want to question your word. 78. Let's go."

79. And he says, "I have a knife so let's go." 80. When we go to the pla-
teau clearing, horrors, you see the animal on the plateau clearing all by
itself. 81. And when we turn around, there's not a single thing with which
we can conceal ourselves. 82. And Monsieur takes this gun and leans it
against a young kųrí tree which stood to the side. 83. And I think, "All right,
we came to die. 84. And we don't come to return (home). 85. But man is
(just) a reed-stem (quoting a proverb), and (he) goes and sleeps in the bush.
86. And even if we were right in the bush, that's all right."

87. And Monsieur grabs its leg, and takes the knife, and I begin to skin
(it), and I skin the animal. 88. And I look and something makes a noise (go-
ing) ʔbɛɛkɛrɛ (the rumbling of a stomach), and I cast the knife right down,
and I stare around. 89. And Monsieur says, "Say there, what's up?"

90. And I say, "Monsieur, (considering) the death which we have experi-
enced today are we still human beings?" 91. All right, so we turn back, and
we seize the animal for skinning, skinning, skinning. 92. And Monsieur con-
tinues to turn (it), turn (it), and I skin, turns it and I skin, turns it and I skin,
and we skin the whole animal. 93. Then after we cut off the paws, we look,
and . . . there's no porter. 94. And there's the head itself also for us to cut
off, to add to (the load), (and) there's no porter. 95. Because I'm having
diarrhea as far as I'm concerned. 96. I don't have any strength at all. 97.
I say, "All right Monsieur, this is enough for us. 98. Let's take this (and)
let's go. 99. And this is enough for us. 100. Even if the remainder of the
meat stays, and should people act with courage, they could possibly go after
us to go and get it to return (and) eat it, but we won't keep the animal itself."

101. And after we take the skin we tie it up. 102. Then we take the path
to return. 103. After that we meet Uncle Banabóy and those accompanying
him at the other side (of the river) there (for) in other words they themselves
are on their way after us. 104. They are crying. 105. And they say, "Oh,
indeed the lion got them. 106. And how in the world are we going to survive!
107. Are we going to come and find them?" 108. When they look, in other
words here we are coming. 109. When they see us, (they) say, "Oh, thank
goodness, thank goodness, thank goodness, we find them."

110. So when we get near the bank of the Wáam here, we meet the pastor.
111. In other words, he is on his way along with Raŋmgbá also. 112. And we
meet them also. 113. And they say, "Oh, many thanks, because God has given
you strength, so that you have arrived, and we see your faces there. 114.
We give many thanks to God."

115. Right there we join up with them, and we return, and we cross the
river, and we return, and we arrive in the village.

116. Finished.

4. Children Should Work in the Garden

Father: 1. kǐn+ɛɛ nɔ́ɔ, ɔ́ nɛ́ fara-dɛ mɔ.   2. gó wesé+a nɛ bó+ǐ tɔ́ɔ mbétǐ gɔ́y ŋmgbáŋ, go *lɛ́ɛr bó rɛ́m+á, nɛ+i kúú á+ǐ nɛ́ sɛn-tɛ-bɔlɔ́+m mɛ.   3. gó koyo bó dʉ̰ŋ yɔ́ŋ mɔ nɛ+i gáy mɔ ʔdɔɔ-mɔ+i sɛ́ ná.   4. nɛ+i é há mɔ+ǐ dʉ̰ŋ yɔ́ŋ bɔɔ-mɔ á zɔ̰́+i.   5. nɛ yɔ̰́ná nɛ ɔ́ kǐn+ɛɛ ŋgay gɔ́ɔ.   6. o a té ha ŋma hɛ́ rɛ́ wéey.

Son: 7. ʔɔ́ʔ yáam (< yám), go+i tɔ̰́ bɔɔ gáa.   8. é tɛ+ɛ́m.   9. gó *lekɔ́ɔl ndɛ rɛ dɛ́ ndɛ rɛ hɔ́ nɛ́ wesé wesé, go mbǐ ye ge, wesé dɛ+à gáa, nɛ ʔdoŋ-wáá-nɛ fɔ bó ná wá.   10. sɔ́ kɔ́+m ʔmɔ́n, go+m ʔmɔ́n bɔɔ-zaŋ-ré.   11. nɛ+i tɔ̰́ gáa, tɔ̰́ bɔɔ gáa.   12. á+ǐ dɛ nɛ ré ge ʔbɔ ge.

Father: 13. bó+ǐ kɔ̰ ʔdoŋ-yaa gére ŋmá̰ŋ ŋmá̰ŋ gɔ́y, nɛ gan nɛ́+ǐ yɔ̰́ŋ kam ná.

Son: 14. ɔ́ yáam, gɛ rɛ yɔ̰́ŋ bɔɔ-kam ná, nɛ tɛ́ rɛ́ fe wɔ.   15. é tɛ́+ǐ zɔk rɛ́ tɛ́ yʉm+úǐ bó ná wéndé.

Father: 16. ɔ́ yá̰ kɔ́+ǐ sɔ́n, bó wá hɔ lekɔ́ɔl, ndɛ wa nɛ́ bɔlɔ-ɔ́ yám kɔ́ wa.   17. nɛ yáá kɔ́+ǐ wen-dɛ saa sɛn-tɛ-ré+i.   18. ŋma wǐ-ré yɔ̰́ŋ wár+á-ré.

Son: 19. ga yɔ̰́ŋ bɔɔ-wár+á-ré ná ré ge.   20. mɔ ndɛ rɛ yáá, gɛ rɛ dɛ́ saa+ǐ, ndɛ rɛ zɔk kɛ́ rɛ́ ré+i, ɔ́rɔ́ rɛ́ yɔ̰́ŋ wár+á+a yɔ̰́ŋ+i gá.   21. sɔ́ɔ ré yáá gɛ rɛ dɛ́ saa sɛn-tɛ-zaŋ-ré+i.

Father: 22. go kǐn+ɛɛ nɔ́ɔ, kɔ́ kɔ́+m bó gi kam, nɛ gan nɛ́+ǐ yar+ai yɔ̰́ŋ dɛ́+á saa kɔ́+ǐ nɛ+i dɛ́+i.   23. nɛ gan nɛ́+m ha kam há+ǐ yɔ̰́ŋ ná.   24. wen kɔ́ mɔ nɛ yár+á-dɛ saa zaŋ-ré ŋmá̰ŋ ŋmá̰ŋ, koyo ín ɔ́ mborɔ́, ín ɔ́ dawa té.   25. go wa yɔ̰́ŋ ɔ́ kɔndi kɔ́+m wéndé gan dʉ̰ŋ wa yɔ̰́ŋ say kɔ́+m sí-ʔday sɔ́n.   26. gó mɔ nɛ+m dɛ+á, gó wesé dɔ+á+m, gó yʉm+ɔ́+m+i, zaŋ+ám yʉ́m wen+áa nɛ́ saa ná.   27. go bó+ǐ yaa róe (< ré), nɛ gan nɛ́+m ha kam há+ǐ yɔ̰́ŋ kɔ́+ǐ ná.

Son: 28. sɔ́ɔ gba+i dɔ+à ré, gɛ́ rɛ́ fe+á wɔ, nɛ wǐ nɛ́+ǐ gʉn ré, rǐf+íǐ nɛ́ ay oro-ré, mɔ́ yʉm+úǐ.   29. nɛ gan nɛ́ yʉm kɛ̰́ ɛ̰̀ rɛ́ ná, wen kɔ́ mɔ ndɛ rɛ fe+à kɛ́ rɛ́ sí-ʔday.

Father: 30. go+i tɔ̰́ nɛ́ nday-wen ŋmá̰ŋ ŋmá̰ŋ mɔ́ dʉ̰ŋ+ui yaa rée a ɔ́ɔ ná.

Son: 31. gɛ rɛ kɛ̰́ bɔɔ kɛ̰́ rɛ́ nɛ fɔ ná.   32. go ré+i rɔ̰k tɛ-ré.   33. nɛ tɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ bɔɔ nɛ́ ŋgaŋgú-tɛ-rɛ̀ báa.

Father: 34. wesé+a nɛ bó dʉ̰ŋ+ui yaa gɔ́y, nɛ́ nɛ+m tɔ̰ há *mise.   35. ɔ́ɔ tɔ̰́ ye ɛ̰̀ nɛ Ganázuǐ gá.   36. *abɛ, go bá̰ á̰ dɛ lekɔ́ɔl sɔ́n, na̰ a̰ rǐk+íǐ, a ndúy+úǐ nɛ́ ŋgay sɛ́ tɛ nɛ́+ǐ nɛ bɔlɔ́+m wen kɔ́ mɔ nɔ́ɔ   37. bó+m ḭŋ kɔ́+m ná, go+m tɔ̰́ mbǐ ye, ʔmɔn+á go+i dɛ́ lekɔ́ɔl wéndé, andáa gá+y hɔ+á, gó ʔmɔn+á go+i yáá sɛn-tɛ-zaŋ-ré-i ŋmá̰ŋ ŋmá̰ŋ, go+i é ɔ́ koyo ín ɔ́ nɔ̰́y gó dʉ̰ŋ ʔná̰ŋ mɔ ʔnaŋ+ǐ.   38. gbaa wǐ-ré

4. Children Should Work in the Garden

Father: 1. Now is the time for working. 2. So after you have studied a long time, and the time is right, arise and go after me there. 3. And if the koyo (birds) are eating things, shouldn't you make a noise in the garden? 4. But you let things continue to eat things and ruin them. 5. Food today is difficult. 6. Who is going to come give some to us?

Son: 7. Oh, Father, so you talk foolishly like this! 8. Let me be. 9. We go to school and come out day after day, and I say, " The sun has set to this point, and there's no way of going to the garden." 10. So I remain, and I remain right in the village. 11. And you talk like this, talk foolishness like this. 12. What do you mean by it? (freely translated).

Father: 13. If you want to run around all the time doing nothing in this manner, then you're not going to eat.

Son: 14. Oh, Father, if we don't eat food, then we'll probably die. 15. When you look upon us won't it hurt you at all?

Father: 16. All your buddies, when they get out of school, they go out to where their fathers are. 17. But you run around to play in the village. 18. Does anyone eat "village-fruit" (that is, fruit produced by the village, posing an impossibility)?

Son: 19. So who (in the world) doesn't eat "village fruit"? 20. Since we run around, and we play, and we for our part see the village, it's as if we ate its fruit. 21. That's how it is that we run around and we play in the village.

Father: 22. Now when my wife prepares food, you're going to run around and eat your play which you engage in. 23. And I'm not going to give food for you to eat. 24. Because of running around to play in the village, koyo (birds) and red monkeys, and green monkeys come. 25. So they eat my corn or they eat my pumpkin completely. 26. So because of the work which I have done, and (because) the sun has burned me and hurt me, I'm terribly upset about it. 27. So if you run around in the village, I'm not going to give food for you to eat.

Son: 28. So if you should keep it from us, and we should die of hunger, you, you'll be the one to bury us and your eyes will yearn for us to the point of hurting you. 29. But it won't hurt us, because we would have died completely.

Father: 30. And aren't you always talking hurtful words so as to continue running around in the village?

Son: 31. And we don't care about going to the garden. 32. And the village pleases us. 33. And do you think that we'll go under compulsion (translated freely)?

Father: 34. Should you continue to run around like this, I'm going to go and tell Monsieur. 35. Or perhaps someone like Ganázuí. 36. So after he's taught school, he'll beat you, and chase you forcefully so that you will go out to where I am because of this. 37. When I don't know, I say, " Perhaps you're still in school." It turns out that you've come out, and you're continuing to run around in the village, and you let the koyo (birds) and the (other) birds continue to ruin things. 38. And if someone should come and steal something,

tɛ+á gó zu+ú mɔ, nɛ wí-zɔk wa gan bó ná.   39. ndɛ wa zú, ndɛ wa
yú, wa sí nɛ́.   40. nɛ gan ɔ́ gɔ́y rɔ́ŋ (< rɔ́k) ná.

Son: 41. gó gba+i tɔ+á há Ganázuí gó rįk+ɔ ré, sóó kɔ́-sɛra-ré gan
kɔ́ ʔdoŋ-nɛ fɔ ná. . . .

Father: 42. gó ʔbay mɔ kpém ʔmɔ́n nɛ dɔ́+á ŋmaá.   43. a ndɛ́ rɛ́
dɔ ŋmaá kɔ-kpána na.   44. ʔbay wen+áa a̧+i.

Son: 45. gó ʔbay mɔ+í wí ye ndó ró dɔ ré wá.   46. gó gba+i dɔ+à
ré, gɛ́ rɛ́ fe+á, nɛ wen bó ná.   47. nɛ ʔbay wen+í a+i tɔ́+i.

5. A Negligent Son-in-law

Nganasɛ́rɛ: 1. Bɔysɛ́.
Bɔysɛ́: 2. wóo.
Nganasɛ́rɛ: 3. né+m aŋ (< ak) mɛ́, né+m aŋ mɛ́ wen kó bém kó mɛ́
nɛ tɛ́ wen kó bém kó+m.   4. go kín+ɛɛ nɔ́ɔ ám sɔk+à sɔ́n nɛ ŋgay
kó+m gan bó wen-dɛ mɔ kín+ɛɛ ná.   5. nɛ bém kó mɛ́ e+á+m gó
zụ+ù yɛ́ɛ há sí-ʔday.   6. go wí-dɛ mɔ há+m gan bó ná.   7. go né+m
aŋ mɛ́, gán mɛ kɔ́ ʔdoŋ+áa há+m káy mɔ kó mɛ́ há mɛ́ nɛ mɛ tɔ̧·
há+m zéé.

Bɔysɛ́: 8. am kɔ́ ʔdoŋ+áa ná.   9. go+m tóm há̧ a̧ ŋmá̧ŋ ŋmá̧ŋ mbí ye,
a̧ péé wá á gan a̧ kɔ́ ʔdoŋ+áa wen ká̧ a̧ pee lám ná.   10. *mɛ ɔ́ nɛ
yɔ́+á mɔ ká̧ a̧.   11. gó wesé+a nɛ bá̧ a̧ ʔmɔn gɔ́y, nɛ né+m tɔ wen
ín+aa ŋgay mɔ́+m *kalimɛ́ɛ tɛ-a̧.   12. ɔ́ sɔ́k+á+i nɛ yá mɛ+í, a né+m
tɔ wen ín wa sɛ́ tɛ ndɛ́ wá sa a̧ ta̧ a̧ péé bere.

Nganasɛ́rɛ: 13. nɛ kɔ́m, am tɔ́ mbí ye ge, Bɔysɛ́, nɛ́ ʔdoŋ-wáá kɛ́
rɛ́ ín mɛ́, ndɛ rɛ ɔ́ tɛ-kɔ́-zaŋ-mɔ kó Nzapá ín mɛ́+i, gan am rɛ́m e
foyo ríp-mɛ́ ná.   14. gó mɔ gɔ́y am dɛ́ foyo ríp-mɛ́.   15. gan am dɛ
foyo ríp-mɛ́ ná, nɛ gan am kɔ́ ʔdoŋ+áa há bém kó+m ʔmɔ́n gére ná.
16. né+m kɔ́ ʔdoŋ+áa há wí-ré tɛ́ há dɛ́ mɔ há+m sɛ́.   17. nɛ wen-ge
a mɛ ʔmɛ̧́ɛ tí-bém kó+m wen+áa ge ndɛ́.

Bɔysɛ́: 18. ʔáaʔ yá̧ kó+m, ám iŋ+ɔ́ kín+ɛɛ nɔ́ɔ, wí-ré bó kpa wéey-
kɔfɛ, nɛ ɔ́ nɛ́ *mandávɛrɛ wen-dɛ mɔ há̧ a̧.   19. go ɔ́ nɛ́ foyo kó+m,
wen kó mɔ nɔ́ɔ na̧ a̧ kur+ó gá̧ a̧ zụ+ú há ká̧-tɛ+ɛ́m gó gan a̧ dɛ́ mɔ
há mɛ́ ná, mɛ tɔ́ wen wen+áa+i.   20. nɛ gan ɔ́ nɛ́ ŋma yɔ́+á mɔ ná.

Nganasɛ́rɛ: 21. bó pee ʔdoŋ gɔ́y, nɛ+m bá̧ kó+m.   22. pee ʔdoŋ
gɔ́y, nɛ+m bá̧ kó+m.   23. gan am kɔ́ ná.

there's no one to see them. 39. And they steal, and they flee, and they go away with it. 40. And it's not good like this.

Son: 41. Even if you told Ganázuí and (he) should beat us, still we don't want to go to the garden.

Father: 42. So there's just one thing, namely, keeping (food) from one another. 43. We'll keep food from each other in the pot here. 44. That's just it.

Son: 45. So that's just it, you say you'll keep food from us. 46. So even if you should keep food from us, and we should die, that's all right. 47. That's just what you say.

5. A Negligent Son-in-law

Nganasɛ́rɛ: 1. Bɔysɛ́.

Bɔysɛ́: 2. Yeah.

Nganasɛ́rɛ: 3. I'm going to ask you, I'm going to ask you about your child who is coming for my child (that is, in marriage). 4. So now I've become an old person and I have no strength for working now. 5. But your child (son) has left me and has gone off to a distant place. 6. So there's nobody to work for me. 7. So I'm going to ask you if you want me to gather up your things for you (return what was given of the bride-price), so speak so that I can hear.

Bɔysɛ́: 8. I don't want that. 9. And I send word to him all the time, I say, "Return," but he doesn't want to return in a hurry. 10. But it's his fault. 11. And if he continues like this, I'm going to talk to him strongly to bring charges against him. 12. The elders who are living there, I'm going to talk with them so that they will call him to return quickly.

Nganasɛ́rɛ: 13. And as for me, I say, Bɔysɛ́, that because you and I are in the work (literally, things) of God together (freely translated), I can't embarras you. 14. But in this manner I (would) embarrass you. 15. Even if I don't embarrass you, I don't want your son to sit around doing nothing. 16. But I want someone to come to work for me. 17. But why do you keep your son from me?

Bɔysɛ́: 18. What! My brother, I know that nowadays, when a person gets a son-in-law, he (the son-in-law) is a workman to work for him (the father-in-law). 19. And it's my embarrassment that he has arisen and run off from me so that he doesn't work for you but you talk about the matter. 20. It's not (my) fault.

Nganasɛ́rɛ: 21. If (he) should return, for my part I'm through (literally, refuse). 22. Should he return, I'm through. 23. I don't want (anything to do with it).

Bɔysɛ́: 24. go mɛ bɛ́ bɔɔ́. 25. nɛ tɛ́+m kpa ŋma kóo ïye ndé.
26. mɔ nɛ ɔ́ kɛ́ ɛ́ kïn+ɛɛ ge rɛ ɔ́ nɛ kɔ́-zaŋ kó Nzapá ín mɛ́ tɛ kó+a
zéé wen oro-nú+m, ną ą́ dɛ́ mɔ rɔ́k ʔdɛ́, go+m zɔ́k go rɔ́k tɛ+m gɔ́ɔ+i
tɛ+m bá ą̀ há bém kɔ́+m. 27. nɛ bó mɛ́ bɛ́+á, nɛ ʔdoŋ-wáá ɔ́ ŋgay
wen kɛ́ ré ín+aa, nɛ nɛ́+m ki̇ʔdi ŋma wĭ-ré zą̀a.

Nganasɛ́rɛ: 28. *bɔ́ɔ, go ɔ́ né wen kó mɛ́. 29. gan am rɛ́m tɔ
ŋma mbé wen ín mɛ́ ʔbɔ kpém ná. 30. wen kɔ́+m sɔn+à kĭn+ɛɛ.
31. nɛ gan am kpá wen mɔ́ tɔ ín mɛ́ ʔbɔ ná.

Bɔysɛ́: 32. wen+ɩ̆ á mɛ́ tɔ+á+i. 33. go+m kɛ́ ʔdoŋ+áa ʔbɔ óró mɔ
nɛ mɛ tɔ+á+i gá. 34. go né+m tom mbétĭ hɛ́ ą̀ ŋmɛ́ŋ ŋmɛ́k. 35. go
bɛ́ ɛ́ tɛ ná, sɛ́ ga ɔ́ né wen kɔ́+m wen kó né+m tom ŋma ɔ́ wĭ-ré ną
ą́ ɔ́ ín+aa mɛ+ɩ̆, tɛ dɛ́ mɔ ŋgay ín+aa mɛ+ɩ̆ tą ą̀ péé ʔdoŋ. 36. wen
kɔ́+m sɔn+á.

Nganasɛ́rɛ: 37. ŋma wen bó ná. 38. ʔbay wen ą̀+i.

Bɔysɛ́: 39. ʔɔ́? ʔbay wen ɛ́rɛ́ hɛ̀r+à zú+a+i nɛ ŋmaa gan bó ʔbɔ ná.

6. A Good Woman

1. déʔdé kóo ín ʔnáŋ kóo. 2. kóo nɛ ɔ́ tɛ́ wĭ-ré sá ye ŋmaa ɔ́ né
ʔnáŋ+aa nɛ ŋmaa ɔ́ nɛ déʔdé+a wá+i. 3. wen kó ŋmaa bó dɛ mɔ rɔ́k
ʔdɛ́, gą ą́ dɛ́ kam ną ą̀ há há ɔ́ yą̀rɛ kɛ́ ą̀ yɔ́ŋ ŋmɛ́ŋ ŋmɛ́ŋ. 4. nɛ
bó ɛ́ zɔk ɔ́ wĭ-ré ną ą̀ mbá wa, ną ą̀ mám mam+i ín wa rɔ́k ʔdɛ́.
5. nɛ ą̀ kó béem hó wa. 6. a sá ą̀ ye déʔdé kóo. 7. go ɔ́ yą̀rɛ kɛ́
ą̀ bó ba mɔ, nɛ tɛ́ né hɛ́ ą̀, gá ye bá tą ą̀ dɛ́ hó ɔ́ bém kó yą́ kó ró,
ną ą̀ dɛ́ mɔ ín ró rɔ́k ʔdɛ́ oro há mɔ hɛ́ ą̀ tą ą̀ dɛ́ to ro yɔ́ŋ.

8. nɛ ą̀ nɔ́ɔ nɛ gan dɛ́ mɔ rɔ́ŋ (< rɔ́k) ná+i ɔ́ nɛ wĭ-dɔ ną̆ká, gan
ą̀ há mɔ há ɔ́ yą̀rɛ kɛ́ ą̀ yɔ́ŋ ná. 9. nɛ gan ą̀ kó béem ná. 10. ną
ą̀ dɛ́ sɛn mɔ dɛ́+i ŋmɛ́ŋ ŋmɛ́ŋ. 11. mɔ gɔ́y a wa sá ą̀ ye ge ą̀ ɔ́ nɛ
ʔnáŋ kóo. 12. go tɛ́-kp-rĭp-ó tɛ́ wĭ-ré, kóo nɛ bó rɔk ʔdɛ́ go gba ą̀
rɔk+à óró gɛnde gá sɔ́ɔ gan ą̀ há mɔ há ɔ́ wĭ-ré yɔ́ŋ ná, tą ą̀ kó béem
ná, ndɛ wa sá ą̀ ye ą̀ ɔ́ nɛ ʔnáŋ kóo. 13. nɛ gan ą̀ ɔ́ déʔdé kóo ná.

14. go déʔdé kóo kó tɛ́ wĭ-ré ɔ́ né ą̀ nɔ́ɔ nɛ há mɔ há wĭ-ré yɔ́ŋ
nɛ góy ó yą̀rɛ kɛ́ ɛ́, nɛ mám mam+i ín wĭ-ré nɛ mbá wĭ-ré rɔ́k ʔdɛ́,
nɛ dɛ́ kusára-ʔdɔɔ-fɔ kó wééy kɛ́ ɛ́. 15. á wa nɔ́ɔ gɔ́y ndɛ wa kó
béem+i, ɔ́ tɛ́ wĭ-ré sá yɛ ge wa ɔ́ nɛ déʔdé kóo.

Bɔysέ: 24. But you're refusing for no reason. 25. And where can I possibly get another wife (that is, for my son)? 26. In view of the fact that now we are together in God, and the wife (of my son) obeys me and works very well, and I look, and it pleases me, I take her for my son. 27. But should you refuse, it's difficult for him and me, and I'll look for another person in vain.

Nganasέrε: 28. All right, so it's your affair. 29. I can't say one more additional thing to you. 30. What I have to say is finished now. 31. I don't find anything to say to you again.

Bɔysέ: 32. You've spoken. 33. And I agree to what you've said. 34. And I'm going to send him letters all the time. 35. And if he doesn't come, then it's my responsibility to send some people with whom he lives to urge him over there so that he might return. 36. What I have to say is done.

Nganasέrε: 37. I haven't anything further to say. 38. That's just it.

Bɔysέ: 39. Well, that's all there is to what we've agreed to (literally, tied up) and there's nothing more.

6. A Good Woman

1. A good woman and a bad woman. 2. (This is about) women of whom black people say some are bad and some are good. 3. Because when a woman (literally, some) works well, she makes food and gives it to her brothers-in-law to eat all the time. 4. And when she sees people, she greets them, and she laughs with them nicely. 5. And she bears children for them (her husband's family). 6. (This is the woman) whom they call a good woman. 7. And when her brothers-in-law get something, they bring it to her saying, "Take it and make something for our brother's children, for you work for us well and we give things to you to make for us to eat."

8. And the one who doesn't do things well is the stingy person, and she doesn't give things to her brothers-in-law to eat. 9. And she doesn't bear children. 10. And she's always spiteful. 11. That's why they say of her, "She's a bad woman." 12. So in the eyes of black people, the woman who is very good, no matter how good she is, if she doesn't give things to people to eat, and doesn't bear children, they say of her, "She is a bad woman." 13. She isn't a good woman.

14. So the good woman among black people is the one who gives things to people to eat and loves her brothers-in-law and laughs with people and greets people well and works in her husband's garden. 15. They are the ones thus who bear children, and black people say of them, "They are good women."

7. Why Some Wives Run Away

1. bɛ̰́ ḭ́ dṵŋ ré kó wééy kḭ̰́ a̰ mɛ, nɛ bó dɛ pɛ kpém wéndé gan wá dɛ+á ze kpém, na̰ a̰ kúú ga̰ a̰ sí ʔdoŋ tɛ-ré kó yám kḭ̰́ a̰ mɛ.   2. gá ye wééy+i nɛ̰ ɛ̰ ba+á+i, foo kḭ̰́ ḭ́ gan góy ḭ̰́ ná.   3. go wa tɔ́ ye ge ḭ̰́ ɛ̰ ɔ́ nɛ wǐ-tɔ wɛn, nɛ ḭ́ ɛ̰ gan ɛ̰ zéé tɛ-ɛ̰ ná.   4. nɛ wééy kḭ̰́ ḭ̰́+i rḭ̰́k ḭ̰́ ŋmḭ̰́n ŋmḭ̰́k dṵŋ nɛ́.   5. nɛ gan ɛ̰ kpá dɛ́+á saa tɛ ɔ+á nɛ̰ ɛ̰ dṵŋ ɪ́n wééy kḭ̰́ ḭ́ sɛn-tɛ-ré kó kɔ-tuwa kó wééy kḭ̰́ ḭ́ ná, wɛn kó mɔ nɛ foo kḭ̰́ ḭ́ sáá wɛn ɪ́n ḭ́ sár+i.

6. gó mɔ góy, ó ŋmaa bó kɔ ʔdoŋ-si ʔdoŋ ná, nɛ bḭ̰́ ʔmɔ́n ʔmɔ́n go wa ndóy ŋgindá+a sí-ʔday há bɔlɔ́+a go bá górɛ-wéey.   7. nɛ ḭ̰́ nɛ yám kḭ̰́ a̰ bó tɔ mbɔra hḭ̰́ a̰ go bó tɔ ye ge bɛ̰́ ḭ́ bḭ̰́+á, nɛ nɛ̰ ḭ́ rḭ̰́k+aa wá+i, á ḭ̰̀ nɔ́ɔ+i a yám kó wa tɔ́ wɛn ɪ́n wa nɛ́ ŋgay, go wa bá wa sí nɛ́ ʔdoŋ tɛ-ré kó wééy kó wa mɛ.

8. Gbɛya Warfare

1. am kɔ́ ʔdoŋ-usi wɛn kó biro, biyo-gbɛ ŋmaá ndɛ wa gbḭ̰́ nɛ sɛ́rɛ+i.

2. kúku-tǐ-mɔ, wesé nɛ ŋma wǐ-ré bó nɛ go ndɔ́ kó kó mḭ̰́, nɛ oró+a+i nɛ kó kó mḭ̰́+i bó ba zaŋ go kó bɛ́cm, gan bḛ́+a fɛ́ wéndé, gan bḛcm+i ʔmɔn+à kɔ-zaḭ̰n-naa kḭ̰́ ḭ́ mɛ gó gbḭ̰n+ɔ gḭ̰́ɛ̰-ḭ̰́ wéndé. 3. nɛ zaŋ-wééy+aa yṵ́m dɔ́ka.   4. go kɔ́o nɔ́ɔ bó sa yɪ́n-wéey nɔ́ɔ nɛ ɔ+à ɪ́n+aa+ɪ́, nɛ wéey nɔ́ɔ zɪ́k tɛ-ḭ̰́ go tɔ́ hɔ́ ó yḭ̰́ kḭ̰́ ḭ́, kɪ́n+ɛɛ wi zɔ́k wǐ-ré nɔ́ɔ ɔ+à ɪ́n kó kó+m.   5. go nɛ́ ʔdoŋ-wáá nɔ́ɔ a kó kó+m sa+à yɪ́n+aa.   6. go bḛm nɔ́ɔ fɛ+á.   7. kɪ́n+ɛɛ ɛrɛ nɛ́ wɛn-bi biro ɪ́n wa.

8. nɛ ó yḭ̰́ kḭ̰́ a̰ hárá sɔ́n káy sɛ́rɛ nɛ káy kura nɛ káy ŋgéró nɛ káy zɔm-paa ɪ́n ó boro-biro nɛ za.   9. go wa nɛ́.   10. gó gba wa kpa wéey-ndɔ kɔ́o+i ná sɔ́ kó wá kpa+à ŋma wǐ-ré zaŋ-ré+i rɔy, gende gá yɛ wǐ nɔ́ɔ ndɛ+i ndɔ+á kó kó+m sɔ́ kó bḛm kó+m fɛ+á a̰a wá.   11. ndɛ wa gbḭ̰́ a̰, wéndé gan rḭ́ḭto wéndé gán taa.

12. gó kuu bɔlɔ́+a+i, nɛ ó wǐ-ré+i, wǐ-gida kó wa+i, ye ge, ɔ́ɔ? gba kɔ́o ɔ́ró ndɔ+à wéndé, nɛ tɛ+à wá gbɛ ŋma ró kpém wéndé gan rḭ́ḭto ná wéndé nɛ kúú wa gbḭ̰́ ró gán zṵ́+a gáa wéndé.   13. nɛ dṵŋ kó ró. 14. go ró kátá kátá go kúú nɛ́ zɛ go yṵ́ waya.   15. go tḛ́ go háy kḭ̰́-zaŋ-tuwa kó wa nɛ gḭ̰́+á fara nɛ́ wɛsɛ nɛ wɛsɛ rɛ+á, gó fara ɔ́ mbiri mbiri.   16. tɛ wɛsɛ+a nɛ bó wá kpa wǐ-ré, ndɛ wa rɛ́m gbɛ a̰.   17. ndɛ wa ɔ́ kḭ̰́-zaŋ-tuwa góy góy.   18. go bó wá zɔŋ (< zɔk) ŋma wɔ́ey, ndɛ wa dṵ́m+aa.   19. zu-wǐ-ré rḭ́ḭto wéndé gán taa góy i.

7. Why Some Wives Run Away

1. After she has been in her husband's village there, and after she has been there one year or one month, she arises and goes back to her father's village there. 2. (She) says, "The man I married, my in-laws don't love me. 3. And they say that me, I'm a talkative person, and that me, I don't obey. 4. And my husband hits me all the time and keeps on doing it. 5. And I don't find any pleasure to make me to stay with my husband in the village of my husband's house, because my in-laws look for trouble with me."

6. So when some don't want to go back (to the village of their husbands) and categorically refuse, they collect all the money (of the bride-price) given for her and take another person. 7. But the one whose father lays down the law to her and says if she refuses, he'll beat her, this one whose father speaks strongly to her, they take them (such wives who return home) and return them to the villages of their husbands there.

8. Gbɛya Warfare

1. I want to explain about fighting, fighting in which people killed each other with spears.

2. First of all, when someone goes and sleeps with your wife, and later your wife conceives and bears a child, the child either dies or else it has its neck broken while it is still in the womb. 3. So the husband is very much upset. 4. And when the wife reveals the name of the man who slept with her, the husband turns to his brothers and says, "Now, look at this man who slept with my wife. 5. That's why my wife revealed his name. 6. The child died. 7. Let's go now and fight with them."

8. And all his brothers grab spears, arrows, shields, swords and other weapons, and throwing knives. 9. And they go. 10. If they don't find the man who had relations with the woman, but find some other villagers, they say, "You are the ones who had relations with my wife so that my child died." 11. And they kill him, or (even) two or three of them.

12. And after that, their enemies say, "What! Even if we had slept with a woman, they might have come and killed one or two, but why is it that they come and kill so many?" 13. They are together. 14. Then they meet (in a body), arise at night and go secretly. 15. They come and crawl up to their (enemies') houses, at dusk, when the sun has set and it's darkish. 16. At that time, if they find somebody, they can kill him. 17. And they stay near the houses like that a long time. 18. And if they see a man, they spear him. 19. Two or three fall on him in this manner. 20. And when the people come

20. ó dɛ̰r+á wí-ré bó dik wéy gbim, ndɛ wa yú wóró go wa kí?dí wa zḁa.

21. ndɛ wa sáá sék ?bɔ gende gá ye, go wí-re nɔɔ á ndɔ+á kó kó rɔ́ só kó bém kó rɔ́ fe+á go rɔ́ nɛ+á birɔ́+a+i ná wéndé.   22. nɛ wen-ge a tɛ́ wa gbɛ́ mbé+a rɔ́ é zú+a ?bɔ gáá ge ndé.   23. ndɛ wa kúú, go wa nɛ́.   24. go wa kí?dí ó wí-gida kó wa nɔɔ wen-gbɛ wa.

25. nɛ ŋma ?doŋ-wáá kó biro.   26. ó nɛ́ wesé-dɔ́ɔ.   27. nɛ bó wá nɔ dɔ́ɔ, go bó wá ba dɔ́ɔ nɛ́ zu-mɛ́.   28. gó gan wa há go mɛ nɔ́ ná.   29. nɛ kuu orɔ́+a+i nɛ zaŋ-mɛ́ yṵ́m dóka.   30. mɛ́ ye ɛ̰ ɛ̰ ó nɛ wí-dɛ yɔ̰́ná.   31. ɛ̰ tɛ́ gɛ̰ ɛ̰ sóy ndɛ wa bá dɔ́ɔ nɛ́ zu-ɛ̰ gɔ̰́y.   32. ge?dé+a a wa ?dú go wa bá hɛ̰̂ ɛ̰̂ wéndé.   33. go bó wá tɔ wen gó zaŋ-mɛ́ bó dɛ dḁ, nɛ mɛ dṵ́m wa, mɛ gbɛ́.   34. go mɛ yú mɛ sí.   35. go wa yú wayá+a wa nɛ́ nɛ́ gɔ̰́y gɔ̰́y. . . .   36. bó ɔ nɛ yɔ́+á mɔ kó mɛ́ ná, go ó nɛ́ sɛra kó mɛ́ wen-zu yɔ̰́ná kó wa gɔ̰́y ndɛ wa dɔ+à mɛ́, a bó mɛ́ gbɛ wa wen+áa, ndɛ wa yú wayá+a go wa gbɛ́ wí-ré taa wéndé gan nɛ̰̂á wéndé gán mɔɔrɔ́.

37. nɛ ŋma ?doŋ-wáá kó biro.   38. ó nɛ wí-ré nɔɔ nɛ gbɛ+à ó wí-ré kó mɛ́ ?béé tḭ́, gó gan gɔn kɔ́?dá+a ná+i.   39. bó mɛ́ kpa ḁ rɛ́kɛ́t fara-nɛ kɔ́fɛ, wéndé gán mɛ kpá ḁ, gɛ̰́ ḁ̰ nɛ+à ré kó ré-naa kɛ̰̂ ḁ, nɛ mɛ nón mɛ tɔ̰̂ há ó yḁ̰ kó mɛ́, zɔ́k, ḁ nɔɔ nḁ ḁ gbɛ+à ré+i aa (< a + ḁ) nɛ́+i.   40. ndɛ wa á tḭ́-wáá, go wa gbɛ̰̂ ḁ.   41. nɛ orɔ́+a+i, nɛ ó bé-kó kɛ̰̂ ḁ nɛ ó zaŋ-ré+i yú tom go nɛ́ tɔ̰̂ há ó yḁ̰ kɛ̰̂ ɛ̰̂ gá ye aáyɛ nɛ tɛ+á kɔ́fɛ dɛ̰̂yɛ, kín+ɛɛ ó wí-gida gbɛ+á ḁ.

42. go?do-wen-biro nɛ gbɛ+á ŋmaá ɔ+á sɛnɛ́ tɛ-tḭi ḁ+i.   43. nú-wen nɛ gan+à sɔ́n ó nɛ́ ?doŋ-wáá kó ndɔ́+á kóo, wéndé gan nɛ́ ?doŋ-wáá wen-doo dɔ́ɔ há éé-ŋmaá, . . . wéndé gan nɛ́ ?doŋ-wáá wen-gbɛ mɔ-day kó ŋmaá.

9. Gbɛya Adornment

1. kín+ɛɛ nɛ́+m tɔ wen kó mɔ-a tɛ, mɔ-mar+i kó ó sɔ́k+á+i kɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ mar+á tɛ-tḭi.

2. tɛ-wesɔ̀ kó ó sɔ́k+á+i kɛ́ rɛ́, mɔ-mar+i kó wa ɔ+á nɛ íyo-te.
3. ó ŋmaa ŋmgbó zɔɔrɔ go mḁ̰á.   4. go mḁ̰á tɛ ɔ+á ndɛ wa zḭ̀m nɛ fón wéndé gán tɛ wa zḭ̀m nɛ́ yok.   5. nɛ kpás+á mɔ-mar+i nɛ dṵ́ŋ wa mḁ̰á+i ó nɛ túrú-rama. . . .

6. nɛ kó ó kó kɛ́ rɛ́, á kó rɔ́ kakó, lúŋmgbé, wéndé gan kérá, wéndé gán gbɔgbɔl.   7. nɛ orɔ́+a+í ndɛ wa kí?dí ?doŋ-wáá wen-mḁa sɛ́ tɛ ɔ+á nɛ ?mɛ̰̂ɛ́ mɔ-foyo kó wa sí-?day.   8. ó mɔ-mar+i kó ó kpás+á+i kɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ mar+á tɛ-tḭi ḁ+i.

running, they flee helter-skelter, and they (the villagers) look for them in vain.

21. And they (the villagers) think and say, " These people, aren't they the ones who slept with our woman so that the child died, and we went a-fighting? 22. And why is it that they come and kill some more of us and add to the mischief in this manner?" 23. So they get up and go. 24. They search for these enemies of theirs to kill them.

25. And here's another way that wars started. 26. Say it's a day of beer-drinking. 27. So they drink beer and pass you up. 28. And they don't give you any to drink. 29. As a result, you are upset. 30. You say, " Me, I'm a producer of food. 31. I come and sit down, and they pass me up. 32. They scoop up the dregs and give to me, do they!" 33. They say things to you so that you get angry, and you spear them, and kill them. 34. Then you flee and return home. 35. So they come secretly on and on. 36. If it's not your fault (that is, you may not have done some evil to them previously), but you have a desire to steal the food of those who kept you from drinking, so when you kill them for it, they come secretly and kill three or four or five people.

37. And here's another way wars started. 38. There's a man who killed one of your family a long time ago, but he didn't pay the ransom. 39. And so if you catch him going to his in-laws, or should you find him at his mother's village, you conspire with your brothers, saying, " Look, there goes the one who killed one of us long ago." 40. Then they set an ambush and kill him. 41. Then girls who are related to him in the village run and tell their brothers, " The one who was coming here about getting married, well, the enemies killed him."

42. Those are the reasons for fights in which people killed each other long ago. 43. The most important ones were for sleeping with a woman or for keeping beer from each other, or for killing each others' stock.

9. Gbɛya Adornment

1. Now I'm going to talk about things to put on, things which our elders wrapped on long ago.

2. In the days of our elders the thing they wrapped on was bark. 3. Some pounded the zoóro tree and put on its bark. 4. They put it on so that they might abstain from their wives because of grain sorghum or because of traps. 5. And the real thing they used to put on was cotton cloth.

6. And our women used to put on skirts of leaves—lúŋmgbé or kɛ́rá or gbɔgbɔl. 7. Then they sought some means of covering up their shameful parts. 8. That's what our elders put on long ago.

9. nɛ mɔ́dɛ bisá+a, wéey bó nɛ kɔfɛ, nɛ tók túrú-tɛndɛ, tɛndɛ-
ʔbɛ́ʔbɛ́ wéndé gán gba tɛndɛ.   10. go tóŋ nɛ túrú-rạma go mạ́á.
11. ndɛ wa bá dɛla kú-wa.   12. ndɛ wa dé tan-wa nɛ mbɔ́ŋgɔ́ wéndé
gán nɛ gúdam.   13. ndɛ wa á mɔ zɛra-wa.   14. ndɛ wa á ŋgabala
sɛn-tɛ-zɔm-wa.   15. ndɛ wa zṹ mụ́rú tɛ-wééy-ndú-wa, sɛ́ tɛ ɔ+á
ndɛ wa nɛ́ nɛ́ kɔfɛ.   16. ndɛ wa ndɔ́ɔ́ tan-wa nɛ́ gbiro-fɔ.   17. sɛ́
tɛ ɔ+á nɛ kóo+i bó zɔk, ndɛ wa dɛ+á bisa gɔ́y, tạ ạ rɛ́m ba wa.
18. wa ʔbúk zɔm-paa, go wa á fɔrɛ ʔdoŋ+áa.   19. ndɛ wa ʔbúŋ
(< ʔbúk) ndee, ndɛ wa bá sɛ́rɛ kpɛ́m.   20. go wa nɛ́ nɛ́ kɔfɛ kó wa.
21. gende gá mɔ-mạr+i kó ó sɔ́k+á+i kɛ́ rɛ́ tɛ-tɯ̃́ ạ+i.

22. nɛ oró+a+i nɛ ó kó+a ʔdáfɯ́ kó ró.   23. go rɯ̃fɯ́ ŋma pɛ́ɛ́ gɔ́y
go kạ́á sɯ̃yú sɯ̃yú.   24. go sá ye ge gbɛlɛk ạ+i.   25. go mạ́á.   26.
nɛ gan wa ɯ̃ŋ ʔdoŋ-wáá kó dé?dé mɔ-mạr+i ná.   27. go ó ŋmaa dɛ́
kó ró tɛndɛ, go yṹú pɛ́ɛ́ sɛné.   28. go sá gá+y da?doŋ.   29. go mạ́á
tɛ-nú-ge?de-ró.   30. ndɛ wa mạ́á gbɛlɛk+ɯ̃́ sɛn-tɛ-tɯ̃́-wa.   31. ndɛ
wa é kuro tɛ-wa.   32. ndɛ wa dé tan-wa.   33. ndɛ wa ʔdáfɯ́ ŋma
dé?dé kofo.   34. go wa ʔdáfɯ́, go wa hɛ́ɛ́ dɔ́ɔ́-tɯ̃-wa ndɛ́ɛ́r.   35. sɛ́
tɛ sá gende gá ye zɔ́ŋá kó aáyɛ nɔ́ɔ dé zɔ́ŋá ʔdɛ́.   36. ndɛ wa á kɛ́ná
tɛ-ɛ́ɛ́-wa.   37. nɛ oró+a+i ndɛ wa á ŋgabala tɛ-zɔm-wa.   38. ndɛ wa
ʔdɔ́y zɛra-wa go wa á ó mɔ-dɛ zɔ́ŋá sɛné.

39. gó kuu oró+a+ɯ̃́ nɛ wéey nɔ́ɔ bó tɛ go bó zɔk gɔ́y, gende gá yɛ
dé?dé zɔ́ŋá kó aáyɛ nɔ́ɔ wá.   40. nɛ kóo+i bó zɔk bisa nɔ́ɔ nɛ wéey
dɛ+à gɔ́y, nɛ kóo+i tạ̣ gende gá ye, dé?dé bisa kó aáyɛ nɔ́ɔ.   41. gende
gá go?dó-wen-ba ŋmaá kó wéey ɯ̃́n kóo tɛ-wesɛ́ kó ó sɔ́k+á+i kɛ́ rɛ́ ạ+i.
42. nɛ gan wa ɯ̃ŋ ʔdoŋ-wáá wen-mạa dé?dé mɔ-mạr+i óró ɡ̣ɛ̀ nɛ kó
kɯ̃n+ɛɛ gá ná.

43. nɛ mɔ-ɔ+i kó wa ɔ́ nɛ́ kan.   44. ndɛ wa sɯ́n ŋma te ŋmɯ̃ʔnɯ́
ŋmɯ̃́ʔnɯ́, go wa á tɛ-ʔdɔɔ.   45. go zạ́ ŋma dɔ̣ te.   46. go wa sá ye
ge gan dok.   47. ndɛ wa sɯ́n kan go wa pɯ̣ sɛn-tɛ-guro kó wa mɛ, go
tɛ́ gɔ́y gɔ́y tɛ-ʔdɔɔ na.   48. go wa sá gende gá yɛ ge kɔ́ɔ-geegezɯ́ ạ+i.
49. gende gá ó mɔ tɛ-wesɛ́ kó ó kpás+á+i kɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ dɛ+á ạ+i.

50. mɔ gɔ́y, kɯ̃n+ɛɛ nɔ́ɔ, ɛ́rɛ kpa+á ʔdoŋ-wáá wen-dɛ geegezɯ́ nɛ
túrú wéndé gán wen-kpe tuwa nɛ́ gey.   51. go ạ́ mɔ kó tɯ̃́ ndɛ rɛ
dɛ+á+i rɔk+á *mɛ gan rɔk gán sɔ́n ná.   52. mɛ rɔ́k gán sɔ́n ó nɛ kó
kɯ̃n+ɛɛ nɔ́ɔ.

10. The Annual Grass-Burning

1. wen kó yarɯ́.   2. yarɯ́ ɓ nɛ mɔ-too tɛ.   3. gó wesé nɛ bó mɛ́
nɛ yarɯ́, nɛ ɓ nɛ mɔ-too tɛ wen-ba mɔ yɔ́ŋ.

9. As for the adornment of young men—. When a lad was getting married, he would weave a cotton clout, ʔbɛʔbɛ or gba tɛndɛ. 10. They'd weave it into a clout and put it on. 11. They put bands on their legs. 12. They fixed their hair either the mbɔ́ŋgɔ́ (description unavailable) or gúdam (lines from front to back) fashion. 13. They put things in their ears. 14. They put nose plugs in their nostrils. 15. They stuck things in their lips, so that they might go to their in-laws'. 16. They twisted their hair with (fibers from the) gbiro-fɔ tree. 17. Then the girls would see them all dressed up like that, that she (lapse for they) can marry them. 18. They would carry a big knife and put lime on the blade. 19. They'd carry a quiver and one spear. 20. They'd go with these to their in-laws'. 21. That's what our elders wore long ago.

22. Moreover, the women for their part would fix up. 23. They'd make some string and tie it tightly. 24. This is called a gbɛlɛk. 25. They'd put it on. 26. They didn't know anything of good clothes. 27. Some prepared cotton and put a string through it. 28. They called this daʔdoŋ. 29. They put this over their anus. 30. They put the gbɛlɛk in front. 31. They put camwood powder on themselves. 32. They fixed their hair. 33. They fixed some good cowry shells. 34. They fixed them and put them on their foreheads. 35. Then people would say, "So-and-so's girl is really dressed up." 36. And they put bracelets on their arms. 37. They also put ŋgabala in their nostrils. 38. They pierced their ears and put in things to make them look nice.

39. So when this fellow would see the girl, he'd say, "So-and-so's daughter is nice-looking." 40. And when the girl sees the adornment which the young man had put on in this way, the girl would say, "So-and-so's son is nice-looking." 41. That's the explanation of marriage in the days of our elders. 42. They didn't know anything about putting on good clothes like today's.

43. Their beds were stalks. 44. They tied sticks together tightly and put it down. 45. They'd stick some short sticks in the ground. 46. They called this a gan dɔk. 47. They tied stalks (together, making a screen) and put them on (that is, hang from) the storage rack so that (the screen) fell to the ground. 48. They called this kɔ́ɔ́-geegezɩ. 49. These are the things our elders made in their day.

50. So now we have found a way to make beds (or mattresses?) out of cloth and to fix our houses with mud. 51. The things we did long ago were good, but they weren't exceptionally good. 52. The best things are today's.

10. The Annual Grass-Burning

1. This is about hunting. 2. Hunting is something to get excited about. 3. And when you go hunting, it's something to get happy about because of getting something to eat.

4. gó wesé nɛ bó wá kʋ náɲá wen-tɛ wa yáá yarí, nɛ ŋma wǐ-ré
bá gbíya.   5. gạ ạ tṣ́ ye ge ɛ̌ nɔ́ɔ ɔ́ nɛ zɔ́ kɛ̂ ɛ́ ạ+i.   6. gạ ạ káy
dal rííto, nạ ạ mɔ́y ó nam kɛ̂ ạ, nɛ ó ŋma nú-wey kɛ̂ ạ, go wa zǐk
tǐ-gbíya kɛ̂ ạ.   7. nạ ạ há oro-nú wen-nɛ mbó wá wa. . . .   8. wa
bá zawa, ndɛ wa gǐ waa.   9. gạ ạ há oro-nú há kó kɛ̂ ạ tɛ ɔ-tá nɛ gǐ
waa, tɛ ndɛ́ wá per-tá ndɛ wa yɔ̗ŋ.   10. ndɛ wa káy gba zawa.   11.
ndɛ wa zɔ́ gɔrɔ.   12. go wa á kɔ-mɔ, á kɔ-daná, gó ŋma béem bá
go ʔbúk.   13. ndɛ wa bá dal+ǐ, nɛ dʋ́ŋ wa mbɛ́ɛ́.   14. ndɛ wa bá
ʔdoŋ-ré ndɛ wa láŋgí.   15. dʋ́ŋ wa né sɛnɛ́.   16. ndɛ wa sá gima.
17. go wa bá gima-ŋgan wǐ.   18. go dʋ́ŋ wa sá gima fu, fu, fu, fu fu.
19. dʋ́ŋ wa né né.   20. gɛ́ɛ́-wa dʋ̗ŋ wéé ŋmgbɔʔbɔk, ŋmgbɔŋ ŋmgbɔ́ʔbɔ.
21. wǐ-ré zéé gɛ́ɛ́-wa.   22. go bó wá hɔ sɛn-tɛ-zaŋ-ré, nɛ ó ŋma
wǐ-zaŋ-ré kúú nɛ wé tǐ-wa nɛ dɛ́ too tɛ ín wa.   23. gende gá ye ge,
ɛ̌ nɔ́ɔ ɔ́ nɛ gbíya kó rɔ́ oro bá.   24. go wa zǐk tǐ-gbíya gɔ́y.
25. go mbóro bó dɛ́+á+a, ndɛ wa zik+ɔ̀ nú-gbíya kó wa+i kpá, ʔmɔ́n
nɛ gendé ndɛ wa gbó tɛ-zaŋ-ré, nɛ mbóro, gende gá wá yɔ̗ŋ+á gɔrɔ
ndɛ wa a+à kɔ-daná ín gba zawa+i sɔ́n.   26. nɛ ʔmɔ́n nɛ bó wá gbo
ré, gende gá kó kó wan gbíya+ǐ á gi+ó waa+ǐ, nạ ạ káy hɔ́ wa, go ó
béem nɛ zik+ɔ̀ tǐ-gbíya ín+aa+ǐ.   27. wa yɔ̗ŋ.   28. gạ ạ dɔ́ tǐ-gbíya
kɛ̂ ạ gɔ́y gɔ́y.
29. gó bɛrɛ bó dɛ́+á, wɛsɛ́-dɔ gbíya bó rɛ́m+á+a, nạ ạ káy ŋgaragé,
gạ ạ há oro-nú hó wa wɛn-mɔ́y tɛ-nú-tuwa kɛ̂ ạ.   30. nɛ wan gbíya
a bá gɛzɛ-sunu kɛ̂ ạ é nu, gạ ạ gbó zú+a gunduŋ, gạ ạ dɛ́ né kam há
ó ŋgaragé kɛ̂ ạ go yɔ̗ŋ.   31. go dʋ́ŋ wa mbɛ́ɛ́ gata.   32. wa mɛ́á
kǐsi.   33. go dʋ́ŋ wa dɛ́ too tɛ.   34. wa yɔ́ yɔra.   35. wa dɛ́ gɛ̂
wen kó mɔ nɔ́ɔ ndɛ wa hɛʔd+á mɔ́ dɔ gbíya mbɔ́ wá gbɛ saʔde mbɔ́
wá yɔ̗ŋ+á+a.   36. go bó wá yɔ ŋgaragé rɛ́m, gende gá ą́ kay+à ó
wǐ-ré gó dɛ̗r+á, mɔ́ rɛm mɔ́ dɔ gbíya+i, . . . nạ ạ tɔ́ hó ó koy-wǐ-ré
kɛ̂ ạ nɛ koy-ó dɛ̗r+á wǐ-ré sɔ́n zéé hʋrí+a.
37. gó zɛ nɛ bó ndɛ́ wá dɔ nɛ gbíya+í.   38. nɛ fara sá, ndɛ wa yú
tǐ-gbíya.   39. go bó wá zik nú-gbíya kpá sɔ́n, ndɛ wa á wey tɛ-gbíya
go wa dɔ́.   40. go bó wá dɔ zɔ́ nɔ́ɔ, . . . wan gbíya+i ye ge wa ndɛ
wa yá kó wa né ʔdɔɔ-búk+i a kín wa dɔ́ tǐ.   41. wa ndɛ wa yá nɛ́
ʔdɔɔ-búk+i wa dɔ́ nɛ yɔ̀l+á nú+a, nɛ dúr+ó+i.   42. a é ŋma wǐ-ré
sɛnɛ́, wǐ-mbó+á zu.   43. gó ạ nɔ́ɔ+i aa (< a + ạ) dɔ́.   44. nɛ ạ nạ
ạ dʋ́ŋ ŋgondo+í, wan gbíya dʋ́ŋ ín+aa.   45. gende gó wá ʔdaf+á gam
guram, gó wá a+á sɛn-tɛ-kɔ-kɔ́ʔbo rííto.   46. ʔmɔn+á go wa yáá né
sɛn-tɛ-fara-ŋgondo+í.   47. go bó wá dɔ gbíya wa tɛ́ gɔ́y, go bó wá
heʔdi ín ŋgondo dɔ̗ɔ́, ndɛ wa pɩ́ nú-kan nu.   48. go ʔmɔn+á go wa

4. When they begin to go hunting, someone assumes supervision of the hunting area. 5. He says that this is his grass. 6. He gets two dal drums, and he gathers his family and some of his clansmen, and they make a circuit of his area. 7. And he instructs them to go and hoe. . . . 8. They take peanuts, and they cook beans. 9. And he instructs his wife to cook beans, so that when they return, they will eat. 10. They take gba zawa (ground-nuts). 11. They dig up yams. 12. They put them away, that is, they put them in a sack, and a child takes it and slings it over his shoulder. 13. And they take the drum and begin to beat it. 14. They go behind the village and go on. 15. They go on in this way. 16. They sing songs. 17. They take up the ŋgan wí song. 18. They go on singing fu fu fu fu. 19. They go on and on. 20. Their voices go ŋmgbɔʔbɔk (onomatopoeic of many voices). 21. People hear their voices. 22. And when they come to the village, some villagers get up and meet them and carry on with them. 23. They say, "This is our hunting area, we take it." 24. They make a circuit of the area in this way.

25. So when it's evening, after they have made a complete circuit of their area, that is to say, they arrive at the village in the evening, in other words, they ate the yams which they put in the sack along with the groundnuts. 26. And when they arrive in the village, in other words, the wife of the master of the area has cooked the beans, and she gives (the beans) to them and the youngsters who made the circuit with him. 27. They eat.

28. So he (the master of the gbíya) burns the edge of his area in this way. 29. And when the dry season has come, when it's time to burn the area, he takes some ŋgaragé society members and instructs them to meet at his house. 30. The master of the gbíya takes a basket of sesame and opens it up pow! and he has it prepared for his ŋgaragé hunters, and they eat. 31. And they begin to beat the gata drum (after they have eaten). 32. They tie on beads. 33. They begin to celebrate. 34. They dance. 35. They have a lot of fun, because they are getting near to burning the area to kill animals to eat. 36. When they have danced enough of the ŋgaragé dance, in other words, he (the master) has taken a lot of people, enough to burn the area, and he tells all of the rest of his people, and all the rest of the many people hear about it (those in neighboring villages hear of the affair).

37. And that's on the night before they are going to burn the area. 38. Day breaks, and they hurry around the limits of the area. 39. And when they have made a complete circuit of the area, they set fire to the area, and they burn it. 40. So when they have set fire to this grass, . . . the master of the gbíya says, "They who remain beneath (downwind?) the wind, now they should burn first. 41. Those who remain beneath the wind should burn the long unburnt areas." 42. He puts somebody there, a trustworthy person. 43. He's the one who sets it afire. 44. The one who is in the ŋgondo (the direction from which the wind is blowing), he's the one with whom the master of the gbíya waits. 45. In other words, they have prepared the whirlwind (see Vocabularies) and have put it in two kóʔbo tree nuts. 46. They continue on their way with them (the nuts) to the ŋgondo. 47. So after they set fire to the area, they come like that, and when they come close to the ŋgondo area they put the ends of the stalks to the ground (to set fire to the grass). 48. They

ŋgɛ́m há wey-gbíya mɔ̰́y tɛ-́saŋa sɛ́.   49. gó wey bó mɔ̰y tɛ-́saŋa,
go bó ʔbo kokoroŋ kor, gende gá wan gbíya zɔk+á gende gá, rɛm+à
mɑ̰́ ɑ̰ pḭ gam guram ɑ̰+i.   50. nɛ ʔmɔ́n nɛ kote wí-pḭ gam guram+í,
ɑ̰ bá kó+a tǐ, gɑ̰ ɑ̰ pḭ́ hóv̂óv̂ó.   51. ʔmɔ́n nɑ̰ ɑ̰ ró nɛ ŋma gás+á te
v̂oŋ.   52. a mbáŋ.   53. nɛ ʔmɔ́n nɛ bɑ̰́ ɑ̰ ba wéey+aa.   54. ḭ́ŋɑ́á pḭ́
bɔlɔ́+a hóv̂óv̂ó, nɑ̰ ɑ̰ ró nɛ te+ḭ́ v̂oŋ.   55. a mbáŋ.   56. nɛ ʔmɔ́n nɛ
gendé nɛ bó wá e wey sɛn-tɛ-́bɔnɔ́+a vip . . . bɑ̰́ ɑ̰ gɔm tut, nɛ ʔmɔ́n
nɛ wey bó kpa ŋmaá gboŋgom bɔnɔ́+a nɛ gam guram bó zṵ nu ʔmuŋ.
57. gɛ́ɛ́-gam guram dṵŋ wéé gbi gbi gbi, gbi gbi gbi, gbíígbíí.   58.
gende gá ó wí-nɛ yarí bó zee gɛ́ɛ́-gam guram bó dṵŋ nɔy ʔdiriri
ʔdiriri gɔ́y gende gá, ó wí-yarí kɛl+à kɛ́lá kɛ́lá.   59. ḭ́ dɛ+á tʂ-ɛ̰́
nɛ wéey.   60. ḭ́ dɛ+á tʂ-ɛ̰́ nɛ wéey.   61. tɛ-́wa dṵŋ nɑ̰́k yɛtɛtɛ.
62. dṵŋ wa gbóʔdí sɛ́rɛ mɔ́ sɛm sɛm, sɛm sɛm.   63. dṵŋ wa háy
ʔdɔɔ-́wey nɔ́ɔ mɔ́ gɛrɛŋ, gɛrɛŋ gɛrɛŋ.   64. wí-ré kɛ̰́ɛ̰́ mɔ, á íyɛ.
65. ḭ̀ì kɛ̰́ɛ̰́ á íyɛ.   66. gan ɛ̰ a tɑ̰́ ɑ̰ hɔ tʂ-ɛ̰́+i wéndé, gan ɛ̰ a tɑ̰́ ɑ̰
hɔ tʂ-ɛ̰́+i wɛ́ndé.   67. nɛ wí-ré sɔ́n nɛ zik+ò tí-gbíya+í, wa yá nɛ
wéey wéey sɔ́n, wɛn kó mɔ nɛ gam guram hé mɔ gó gan rɛ́m ná.
68. tɛ bó zɔk gende gá ŋma gɑ́s+á saʔde á gam guram ʔmɛr+á gó
dṵŋ dɔ́ ɑ̰.   69. dɔ́ ɑ̰ nɛ́ nɛ gɔ́y gɔ́y gó ber+á ɑ̰ go tɛ-́ɑ̰ tṵ+ù kpɔ̰́ŋ.
70. saʔde bó góm+á+a, ʔmɔ́n nɛ gendé nɛ ŋma wí-ré bó hɔ hɛr, nɛ
dṵ́m+aa vɑ̰y.   71. nɛ ʔmɔ́n nɑ̰ ɑ̰ hɛ́ zú+a gbɛl.   72. gende gá gam
guram nɛ+à ndɛ wa ŋgórɔ́m, ŋgórɔ́m.   73. go dṵŋ wa tɛ́ kɔʔdɔrɔ,
kɔʔdɔrɔ kɔʔdɔrɔ.   74. dṵŋ wa dṵ́m wa.   75. ʔmɔn+á go dṵŋ wa yú
wey wa nɛ́+i, nɛ́+i nɛ́+i nɛ́+i.

76. gó zee wey+í bó kpa gboŋgom, gende gá fara kó saʔde nɛ bɑ̰́
ɑ̰ kpa sɛnɛ́ gó gam guram bó zɔk kpás+á ó saʔde+í, bó ɔ zaŋ+áa nɛ
mbɛ́tɛ, gam guram á dɔ+á wa nɛ́ nɛ́ gɔ́y gɔ́y.   77. nɛ́ nɛ ó ndarà
nɔ́ɔ.   78. mɔ̰́y zak-́wa, kpó nɛ́ ŋmaá.   79. bo+á nɛ ó mboró nɑ̰ ɑ̰
mɔ̰́y tḭi-́wa nɔ́ɔ gɔ́ɔ gɑ̰ ɑ̰ kpó nɛ́ ŋmaá.   80. bo+á te nɑ̰ ɑ̰ kpó nɛ́
ŋmaá. . . .   81. ʔmɔ́n ndɛ wa gbɛ́ saʔde tɛ-wár+i, wár+i, wár+i.
82. dṵ́ŋ wa gbúú tɛ-wár+i, wár+i wár+i.   83. bo+á wɛn kó bé-saʔde
nɛ gan zɔ́n ná.   84. wa gbɛ́ saʔde.   85. mbóro bó dɛ́+á+a, ndɛ wa
ó nu.   86. káy saʔde+í go sḭ́ go wa yɔ̰́ŋ.

87. gó fara bó sá+ára, ndɛ wa nɛ́ ba tí-wey.   88. gende gá gam
guram dɛ+á mɔ nɛ́ saʔde zɛ́ɛ gan rɛ́m ná . . . .   89. wa nɔ́ɔ nɛ wey
ber+á wa gó hɔf+à kátó-éé-wa sɛnɛ́ hóv̂ó hóv̂ó, hay+á gó nɛ+á go wa
gú ʔdɔɔ-́waka wéndé, ndɛ wa gbɛ́ wa.   90. gán wá ʔmɔn+á gó wá
re+á ʔdɔɔ-́poo wéndé, go bó wá kpa wa nɛ dṵ́ŋ wa nɛ́ kɔʔdɔrɔ kɔʔdɔrɔ,
ndɛ wa gbɛ́ wa.   91. go wa sḭ́ nɛ́ tɛ-ré go dṵ́ŋ wa yɔ̰́ŋ.

92. gó wɛsé kó gbíya ó nɛ mɔ-́too tɛ.   93. go bó mɛ́ nɛ yarí, nɛ
nɛ́ mɛ́ kpa saʔde mɔ́ mɛ́ si mɔ́ mɛ́ yɔ̰́ŋ+á.   94. nɛ wɛsé-yɔra mɛ
nɛ́, nɛ gan nɛ́ mɛ́ kpa mɔ mɔ́ mɛ́ yɔ̰ŋ óró mɔ nɛ wɛsé-gbíya gá ná.
95. nɛ wɛsè-gbíya ó nɛ́ too tɛ.   96. gó *kamɛ́ɛm wí-ré nɛ yɔ́ yɔra

continue to wait for the fire of the area to meet in the center. 49. So when
the fire meets in the center and makes a circle, in other words, the master
of the area has decided, in other words, that he can throw in the whirlwind.
50. Just then the master-thrower of the whirlwind takes the female one first
and throws it forcefully. 51. Just like that, he smashes it against a large
tree; crash! 52. It breaks open. 53. Then he takes the male one and throws
it forcefully. 54. He smashes it against a tree; crash! 55. It breaks open.
56. Then, in other words, when they set fire after he's done this, then when
he jumps out of the way suddenly, then when the fire meets gboŋgom (ono-
matopoeic for loud noise) after he's done this, the whirlwind descends ʔmuŋ
(onomatopoeic of certain noise). 57. The voice of the whirlwind makes a
noise gbi gbi gbi (onomatopoeia). 58. In other words, when the hunters hear
the voice of the whirlwind rumbling ʔdiriri (onomatopoeia) like that, in other
words, the hunters are happy. 59. That one acts like a man. 60. That one
(a man) acts like a man. 61. Their bodies tremble yɛtɛtɛ. 62. They continue
to grab their spears (that is, to make them tremble) sɛm sɛm. 63. They
continue to stoop beneath this fire rapidly. 64. One man looks over there.
65. That man looks over there: 66. "Is it (the animal) going to come out by
me?" 67. And all the people who encircled the area, they all stand in a manly
way because the whirlwind is making a terrible noise. 68. So when you look,
in other words, the whirlwind has stopped a large animal and is burning it.
69. It burns it and burns it so that its body is completely black. 70. When
the animal tries to escape, in other words, someone comes out (and cuts it
off) and spears it forcefully. 71. The man cries out. 72. In other words,
the whirlwind has gone on with all the animals. 73. So they (the animals)
come perseveringly. 74. The people go on spearing them. 75. And they go
on running after the fire.

76. When the people hear the fire meet gboŋgom (onomatopoeia), that's
to say, the place where the animals are, when the fire meets there, when the
whirlwind sees the animals, when they are really there, the whirlwind has
burnt them and continues to do so. 77. It took these buffalo. 78. It brought
their horns together and tied them all up. 79. In the case of red monkeys,
it gathers their tails and ties them up. 80. In the case of trees, it ties them
up. . . . 81. They kill animals on this side and that side. 82. They drag
them from this side and that. 83. In the case of small animals, they don't
bother with them. 84. They kill animals. 85. When it's evening, they lie
down. 86. They take the meat back and eat it.

87. The next day they go to examine the fire. 88. In other words, the
whirlwind really did a lot to the animals yesterday. . . . 89. They crawl
and crouch down in the burnt grass and kill some of those (animals) which
the fire burned and peeled off their hooves. 90. If they were still alive and
had entered a gallery-forest, when the people would find them marching off,
they'd kill them. 91. They take (the meat) back and eat it.

92. The gbíya days are a lot of fun. 93. If you go hunting, you will get
animals to take back and eat. 94. When you go to dances, you won't get any-
thing as on the day of the gbíya. 95. The gbíya days are a lot of fun. 96.
And even if someone hasn't danced but has gone to the gbíya, they all go

ná, gó nɛ+á sɛn⸗tɛ-gbíya, ndɛ wa sɔ́n wa nɛ́ tɛ⸗sɛnɛ́, wa gbɛ́ sa?de.
97. go wa sí go wa yɔ́ŋ.   98. go gbíya ɔ́ nɛ mɔ⸗too tɛ kɔ́ ɔ́ tų́ wí-rɛ́
nɛ dɛ́ saa wɛn+áa.   99. go bó zee ye ge, wí-rɛ́ ba+à gbíya ndɛ wa
dɛ́ gɛ̨́+a tɛ ɔ+á ndɛ wa kpá mɔ sɛnɛ́ tɛ wa yɔ́ŋ.

11. The Origin of Rivers and Islands

1. kúku-tí ?béé, nɛ ri gan bó sɛnɛ̀ ná, gó Gbagbasɔ̧ á rų̧m+ɔ́ ri
nɛ gą́sá kɛrɛ.   2. nɛ ɔ́ wí-rɛ́ gan kpá ri mɔ́ nɔ́+á ná.   3. go hɛ́ ri
ín+aa hɛ́+i lɛ́ŋgɛ́rɛ́ lɛ́ŋgɛ́rɛ́.   4. nɛ gan a̧ há ri hó wa dɔ́k wɛn⸗mɔ
ndɛ wa há hą́ a̧ ta̧ a̧ há ri hó wa wɛn-nɔ́+á+a+i ná.

5. gó wan to kpá ri mɔ́ nɔ ín bém kɛ̧́ ɛ̧́ ná.   6. gó ye ge ge a nɛ̧́
ɛ̧́ dɛ nɛ́ Gbagbasɔ̧, sɛ̧́ tɛ ɔ+á nɛ úsí fara⸗ri nɔ́ɔ to ro nɔ́ ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́k
ge ndé.

7. nɛ ɔ́ wí-rɛ́ bó nɛ tɛ-tɛ⸗a̧ mɛ, na̧ a̧ há ri hó wa dɔ́ŋ (< dɔ́k) ná.
8. gó Gbagbasɔ̧ dɔ́ɔ ri dɔ́r+i há éé-ɔ́ wí-rɛ́ go é wɛn kɛ̧́ ɛ̧́ ín kó kɛ̧́
ɛ̧́ nɛ bém kɛ̧́ ɛ̧́.

9. nɛ wan to tɔ́ fire go á tɔ́ŋ sɛnɛ́.   10. go mbɔ́?dí fire go nɛ́ dáŋ
gɔla kɔ́ Gbagbasɔ̧ nɛ dų́ŋ ?dɔr+áa go fán nɛ́ mɔ kɛ̧́ ɛ̧́ ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́k+i,
tóko wéndé gan yérɛ́, wéndé gán gagi?da.   11. nɛ Gbagbasɔ̧ fán.
12. wan to hɔ́ nɛ zu⸗zɛ ?nɛ́ŋ.   13. go nɛ́.   14. go nɛ́ dáŋ gɔla kɛ̧́ a̧
na̧ a̧ dų́ŋ ?dɔr+áa sɔ́ kɛ̧́ ɛ̧́ fán nɛ́ mɔ+í.   15. go dų́ŋ sɛn-tɛ⸗sara⸗tɛ+í
nɛ́ sɛra-zu⸗a̧ ŋgɔ́n mɛ.

16. go bą́ ɛ́ tɛ mą́ ɛ́ dų̧ŋ sɛnɛ́, na̧ a̧ dų́ŋ a̧ fán ɔ́ tóko ką́ a̧ sɛn-
tɛ-?dɔɔ-gɛ̧́rɔ⸗gɔla+i.   17. nɛ wan to ?bíí fire+i nɛ yɔ́ŋ, nɛ dɔ́n pɛ̧́ nu.
18. nɛ ɔ́ torɔ́ kɛ̧́ a̧ nɛ yá kɛ̧́-tɛ⸗a̧+i bá fire+i, nɛ dų̧ŋ yɔ́ŋ ŋmaà wɛn+áa.
19. ndɛ wa yɔ́ŋ fire+i sɔ́n.   20. nɛ wan to ?bíí mbé+a nɛ pɛ̧́ nu.   21.
nɛ Gbagbasɔ̧ tɔ̧́+y, ?mmí?.   22. ge ɔ́ torɔ́ nɔ́ɔ+i yɔ́ŋ gɔ̧́y sɔ́ kó ?mɔn+á
go wa yɔ́ŋ ŋmaá wɛn+áa, nɛ zɔ́k fara⸗mɔ+í nɛ tɛ́+i ná, nɛ hɔ́ nɛ ŋgɔ́n
mɛ, nɛ tɛ́ŋ (< tɛ́k) nu sɔ́ kó torɔ́+i dų̧ŋ ną́ą̧ ŋmaá wɛn+áa go yɔ́ŋ gɔ̧́y
gɛ ndé.

23. nɛ wan to bó pɛ̧́ mbé+a nu ?dɔ̧ŋ+ɛ, na̧ a̧ yɔ̧́y ér+aa, ga̧ a̧ bá éé-ɔ́
torɔ́+i.   24. ga̧ a̧ nų́n a zɔ́k.   25. bą́ ɛ́ nų́n nɔ́+a, nɛ nų́n sa̧a.   26. gá
ye tɛ̧́ ɛ̧́ yɔ́ŋ tą́ą ɛ̧́ zɔ́k nɛ mɔ nɔ́ɔ+i dɛ́ rɔ̧ɔ.   27. ɔ́ torɔ́ yɔ́ŋ go ?mɔn+á
go ną́ą̧ ŋmaà wɛn+áa gɔ́ɔ.   28. nɛ Gbagbasɔ̧ bá firɛ+i go yɔ́ŋ.   29. nɛ
wan to ?bíí mbé+a pɛ̧́ nu ?bɔ.   30. na̧ a̧ bá na̧ a̧ yɔ́ŋ.   31. nɛ ɛ̧́ɛ̧́ nɛ ɔ́

there, they kill animals. 97. They return and eat. 98. And the gbíya is a lot of fun, and black people rejoice because of it. 99. When they hear that a person has assumed the gbíya, they are happy, because they will get meat and eat it.

11. The Origin of Rivers and Islands

1. A long time ago there was no water, because Gbagbasɔ had collected it all in very large pots. 2. Consequently, people didn't find water to drink. 3. They had to buy it from him a little at a time. 4. He didn't give them a lot of water for the things they gave him in order that he might give them water to drink.

5. So Wanto didn't get any water so that he and his children could drink. 6. So he said, "What am I going to do to Gbagbasɔ to make him show me where this water is so that we could always drink?"

7. People went to Gbagbasɔ, and he didn't give them very much water. 8. Gbagbasɔ kept water from people for himself, his wife, and his children.

9. And Wanto made some (peanut) paste and put salt in it. 10. He made balls of the paste and climbed Gbagbasɔ's gɔla tree underneath which he always sat and wove things: sleeping mats, yéré baskets, or wall mats. 11. Gbagbasɔ was weaving. 12. Wanto got up very early in the morning. 13. He went. 14. He went and climbed Gbagbasɔ's tree underneath which he sat and wove. 15. And Wanto sat there on a fork of the tree right above Gbagbasɔ.

16. And after Gbagbasɔ came to sit there, he began to weave his mats in the shade of the gɔla tree. 17. And Wanto broke off a piece of the paste, tasted it, and threw it down. 18. Now Gbagbasɔ's dogs which were sitting there beside him snatched up the paste and began to bite each other for it. 19. And they ate it all up. 20. And Wanto broke off some more and threw it down. 21. And Gbagbasɔ said, "What's this? 22. What are the dogs eating here that they are biting each other·and yet I don't see what it is that's coming from above and falls on the ground so that the dogs are fighting over it and eating here?"

23. And when Wanto had thrown some more down, Gbagbasɔ reached out and grabbed the paws of the dogs. 24. He smelled and examined it. 25. He smelled the oil and it smelled sweet. 26. He said, "Perhaps I should eat some to see, for this thing is good. 27. That's why the dogs are eating it and fighting over it." 28. So Gbagbasɔ took the paste and ate it. 29. Then Wanto broke off some more and threw it down also. 30. And Gbagbasɔ took the paste and ate it. 31. And since the dogs continued to take it and eat it, for he didn't chase them away, when Wanto broke off some more and threw it down, he

toró dʊ̀ŋ+ɔ́ bá nɛ yɔ̰́ŋ nà à fó wa há sɛnɛ̀ ná, nɛ wan to bó ʔbii
mbé+a pɪ̰́ nu nà à ndák ó toró+i sɪ́-ʔday nɛ à bá nà à yɔ̰́ŋ.

32. gɔ́y nɛ nú-ŋguʔdú-à dɔm+à túlúlú.   33. nɛ hɛ̰́ɛ́ gbɛ̀ à wen kó
mɔ nà à sà̰m+á fire nɛ wan to ʔbir+ɔ́ á nu+i kɔ́ɔ́ yɛ̰́ɛ́ gó gan à kpá
ri má̰ ɛ̰́ nɔ́+á ná.   34. gà à kúú ʔbɛt.   35. gà à bá tóko ká̰ à, à é
ŋgón, nà à bá danà ká̰ à, go ʔbúk.   36. gà à kúú gà à nɛ́ óró nà̰ ɛ̰́
nɛ óró Laagata nɔ̀ɔ mɛ gɔ́ɔ+i gá.   37. nà à dɛ́ *malɛ́ɛ nɛ́ mɛ wen-
gɔʔbi wen-tɛ wen-ri ɛ̰+i.   38. nɛ́ go nɛ́ à yóó mɛ gà à péé ʔdoŋ
gɛʔdɛ́k, gɛʔdɛ́k gɛʔdɛ́k.   39. go tɛ+á gà à hṵ́y mɔ há nú-ri+i nɛ à
rʊ̰m+ɔ́ nɛ gá̰sá kɛrɛ ʔdoŋ kpém gá̰ ɛ̰́ hʊs+ɔ́+i.   40. ʔmɔ́n ká̰-ré ká̰
à dɪ́yɛ+i.   41. gà à nɔ̀ ŋma gɔ́y.   42. nà à bá ʔdoŋ-wáá gà à bɪ̰́
nɛ́ oro-à mɛ.   43. gà à péé ʔdoŋ tɛ-ʔdɔɔ-gɔla ká̰ à.

44. nɛ wan to dṵ́ŋ nɛ́ sara-te mɛ nɛ zɔk+á fara-ri+í nà à nɛ+á
wen+áa gó nɛ+á à nɔ́+i són.   45. nɛ bó dʊ̰ŋ à péé ʔdoŋ nɛ wan to
zɪ̰́ɪ̰ kɛ̰́ ɛ̰́ go gɔ́ʔbɪ̰́ nɛ ká̰-tɛ go sɪ́ ʔdoŋ tɛ-oro-à mɛ mɔ̀ nɛ ʔburi
kpána-ri+i á zɔ̰́.   46. nɛ bɛ̰́ ɛ̰́ pɛɛ go bɛ̰́ ɛ̰́ soy nu, nɛ wan to bá
mɔɔ+yɛ kɛ̰́ ɛ̰́, bá bé-duk kɛ̰́ ɛ̰́, go nɛ́ go nɛ́ rɪ̰́k gá̰sá kɛrɛ+i nɛ oro-
ri+i puya, rɪ̰́k puya, rɪ̰́k puya, nɛ ri fók á nu nɛ́ yɛ̰ŋ, yoŋ yoŋ yoŋ
yoŋ.

47. nɛ Gbagbasɔ bó zɔk+á.   48. nɛ óóʔ nɛ wan to ʔbur+ɔ́ ri+i á
zɔ̰́ gó dʊ̰ŋ fók mɔ́ láŋg+á+a.   49. nɛ kúú go yú nɛ́, yú nɛ́ nɛ hɪ̰́ɪ̰́ gú
nu nɛ á éé-ɛ̰́ wáá-ri.   50. gende gá yɛ á éé-ɛ̰́ wáá-ri tɛ ri fók
láŋgɪ̰́ ná.   51. nɛ ri kɛ̰́ nɛ ɪ́yɛ nɛ kɛ̰́ nɛ ɪ́yɛ nɛ ɛ+á wɔk Gbagbasɔ
sɛn-tɛ-gbɔgbɔ-ri+ɪ́.   52. nɛ ri fók nɛ ká̰-tɛ.   53. nɛ Gbagbasɔ kúú
nɛ yú nɛ láŋgɪ̰́, gá+y nɛ́ ɛ̰ ʔmɛ̰ɛ nɛ́ ʔdɔɔ mɛ sɛ́ tɛ ɔ+á tɛ ri+i láŋgɪ̰́
ná tɛ ʔmɔ́n tɪ̰́-ɛ̰+i.   54. tɛ bó nɛ bó gu sɛnɛ́, nɛ ri kɛ̰́ nɛ ɪ́yɛ kɛ̰́ nɛ
ɪ́yɛ nɛ fók láŋgɪ̰́ nɛ é wɔk Gbagbasɔ sɛn-tɛ-gbɔgbɔ-ri.   55. ʔmɔ́n
gɔ́y nɛ Gbagbasɔ gá+y ʔó, gan ɛ̰ kpá ŋma mɔ mɛ̰́ ɛ̰́ dɛ́+á ná.   56.
nɛ wan to ʔbur+ɔ́ ri á zɔ̰́.   57. gó ʔnaŋ+à ʔmɔ́n.   58. nɛ gan nɛ̰́ ɛ̰́
ʔmɛ̰ɛ tɪ̰́+a tɔ́ ʔbɔ bó ná.   59. ʔmɔ́n nɛ ri fók kɛ̰́ ɛ̰́ go láŋgɪ̰́.

60. go kɪ̰́n+ɛɛ nɔ̀ɔ, gá̰sá ri ɔ́ sɛné.   61. gó saakara nɛ ɔ́ saɲa-Wáam
gɔ́ɔ, gá fara nɛ Gbagbasɔ gu+ú sɛné tɛ ɔ+á nɛ ʔmɛ̰́ɛ́ tɪ̰́-ri há fó̰ŋ
(< fók) ná wá, go ri fók kɛ̰́ à ɪ́yɛ kɛ̰́ à ɪ́yɛ.   62. gó mɔ+ɪ́ á saakara
ɔ́ saɲa-Wáam wen+áa+i.   63. gó wan to gan dɛ gɔ́y ná, nɛ wɪ̌-ré gan
nɛ+á kpa ri mɔ́ nɔ kɪ̰́nɛɛ nɛ dɔ́k+á ná, gó Gbagbasɔ nɛ+á hʊsi ri mɔ́
nɔ ɛn-tɛ̰-ɛ̰ ɪ́n bém kɛ̰́ ɛ̰́ nɛ kó kɛ̰́ ɛ̰́.   64. gó wan to á to+á firɛ gó
nɛ+à á nu gá̰ ɛ̰́ yɔ̰ŋ+á só kó hɛ̰́ gbɛ̀ à go nɛ́ nà à nɔ ri gó wan to
dṵ́ŋ sara-te mɛ go zɔ́k fara ká̰ à gó nɛ+á go ʔbúrɪ́ ri+i á zɔ̰́ só kó
kɪ̰́n+ɛɛ nɔ̀ɔ, ri ɔ́ dɔ́ka dɔ́ka go wɪ̌-ré nɔ̀.

65. ŋgom gám roá nɛ kóŋgó tɛ+m zéé nɛ̰́ to kɔ́ yám-Ramona.

(Gbagbasɔ) chased the dogs away and took it and ate it.

32. As a result, Gbagbasɔ's throat got choked up and dry. 33. He was dying of thirst because he had been long at eating the paste which Wanto had broken off and thrown down, and he hadn't had any water to drink. 34. So he arose without saying a word. 35. He took his mat and put it up, and he took his bag and hung it over his shoulder. 36. He arose and made as if to go to Laagata (a village a little over a mile from where the story was being told) over there. 37. He pretended to go there so as to turn aside to come for this water. 38. So he went and he went and stood there, then he came back ever so quietly. 39. He came and took off the lids of the six large pots in which he had gathered the water and had hidden. 40. They were right by his village. 41. So he drank a long time. 42. So he returned to the path and went around, and went as he had come. 43. Then he came back to the foot of his gɔla tree.

44. But Wanto was still in the tree, and he saw where the water was which Gbagbasɔ went for and went and drank. 45. And as Gbagbasɔ was returning, Wanto descended and went off to the side, and went back to where Gbagbasɔ had been so as to break the water pots and throw the water in the bush. 46. And when Gbagbasɔ came back and sat down, Wanto took his what-you-call-it, his pestle, and he went and he went and struck the large pots with all their water smack! hit them smack! and the water flowed on the ground and went swiftly on.

47. Gbagbasɔ saw this. 48. Wanto had busted the water and spilled it, and now it was flowing away. 49. So Gbagbasɔ arose and ran, and he leaned over and put his arms out in the direction of the water. 50. He said, "I'll put out my arms in the direction of the water so the water won't flow away." 51. So the water divided and flowed to each side, leaving Gbagbasɔ right in the middle. 52. The water flowed on each side of him. 53. Then Gbagbasɔ rose and ran off, saying, "I'll go and stoop down there, so that the water will not run off but remain in front of me." 54. When he had run, and stooped down, the water divided and flowed away on each side, leaving Gbagbasɔ in the middle. 55. That's how it was, and Gbagbasɔ said, "I don't know what to do. 56. Wanto has busted the water and thrown it away. 57. He's ruined everything. 58. And I can't do anything to stop its flow." 59. And the water continued to flow on.

60. So now there are large rivers. 61. And the islands in the Wáam are the places where Gbagbasɔ leaned down to stop the water from flowing, and the water divided and flowed on each side. 62. That's why there are islands in the Wáam. 63. And if Wanto had not done this, people would not have obtained a lot of water to drink now, for Gbagbasɔ had gone and hidden the water so that he could drink alone, as well as his wife and his children. 64. But Wanto made paste, and went and dropped it so that Gbagbasɔ ate it, after which he was thirsty, and he went and drank water, and Wanto was sitting in the tree and saw where he went, so he went and let out the water, so that now there is a lot of water, and people drink it.

65. (Untranslateable formula), so now I'd like to hear the story of Ramona's father.

12. Spider Brings Some News

1. ó saʔde, wa gi+ó dɔ́ wen-zee mbé wen.   2. ndɛ wa tɔ̰́ ye ge,
. . . dɔ́ nɔ́ɔ ndo ro ri+ɔ̀ gɔ́ɔ, wen-zee nɛ mbé wen.   3. ndɛ wa gǐ
rų́mɔ́ dɔ́.   4. nɛ ŋma ó sɔ́k+ɑ́+i kó wa sɔ́n tɛ+á, ndɛ wa yá kɑ̰́+a.
5. nɛ gan wa kpá ŋma mbé wen wen-tɔ̰́+á kpém ná.   6. ndɛ wa tɔ̰́
ye ge, o a tɛ́ tɔ̰ ŋma mbé wen sɛ́ to ro nɔ́ dɔ́+i o ndé.   7. nɛ gan
wa kpá ŋma mbé wen kpém ná.

8. nɛ wan to a zɔ́k, foo kɑ̰́ ḁ tomb+ȁ hɑ̰́ ḁ, gá ye ge, wan to, mɛ
ʔdɔ́y kɔ nɛ́ nɛ́ hó ró wen-gųn nɛ́ gɔrɔ.   9. nɛ wan to a ʔdɔy+á kɔ,
gɑ̰́ ḁ hɛr+á, a+á kɔ-yéré, ʔdɔy+ȁ sɛ́rá, gɑ̰́ ḁ a+á kɔ-yéré, nḁ ḁ nɛ́ nɛ́.
10. nɛ bɑ̰́ ḁ nɛ nɛ kɑ̰́-tɛ, nɛ ó wǐ-ré sɔ́n nɛ mɔy+á wen-nɔ dɔ́ nɔ́ɔ+i,
wa mɔy+á, go wa yóó kɑ̰́-dɔ́+i, ndɛ wa zɔ́k+aa, ndɛ wa tɔ̰́ ye, wan
to, mɛ nɛ́ ĩ́ye ndé.

11. nḁ ḁ tɔ̰́+y ɔɔ, foo kɛ̰́ ɛ̰ ná ndé á ye ge, gan ro kpá kɔ wen-gųn
nɛ́ gɔrɔ ná, go ɛ̰ wan to, ɛ̰ɛ (< a + ɛ̰) zɑ̰́ kɔ sɛn-tɛ-ré kɛ̰́ ɛ̰ mɛ ʔdɔ́y
kɔ há ré kɛ̰́ ɛ̰ mɛ, ɛ̰ nɛ́ nɛ́ sɛ́ tɛ ro gųn nɛ́ gɔrɔ, go ɛ̰ sɑ́ɑ́ sék zḁa.
12. nɛ ɛ̰́ɛ̀ nɛ foo kɛ̰́ ɛ̰ dɛ+ȁ ĩn ɛ̰ gɔ́ɔ, gan ɛ̰ ĩ́ŋ ʔdoŋ-wár+aa kpém ná.
13. gán ɛ̰̀ nɔ́ɔ ó nɛ mbé wen a ndé wá tɔ̰́+á wéndé nɛ̰ ɛ̰ ĩ́ŋ ná.

14. nɛ wǐ-ré bó zee gɔ̰́y sɔ́n, ndɛ wa dɛ́ saa.   15. ndɛ wa tɔ̰́ ye
ge, óɔ, wan to, óró kpa+ȁ mbé wen.   16. wan to tɔ̰+ȁ mbé wen sɔ́ɔ.
17. go ro nɔ́ dɔ́+i.   18. nɛ dɔ́-kiʔdi mbé wen wen-tɔ̰́+ȃ+a, óró gi+ó.
19. gó ɛn-tɛ-ɑ̰́ wen sɔ́n á yɑ̰́ kó ró tɔ̰́, nɛ gan kpá ŋma mbé wen
wen-tɔ̰́+á ná.   20. gó wan to á tɔ̰+ȁ mbé wen.   21. go . . . sɔ́ɔ
kĩ́n+ɛɛ nɔ́ɔ, oro nɔ́ dɔ́+i.   22. nɛ bó wá kɛ̰ dɔ́+i, go bó wá nɔ sɔ́n,
ndɛ wa dɛ́ saa orɔ́+a dɔ́ka wen kó mbé wen ndɛ wa kpa+á.

12. Spider Brings Some News

1. (Some) animals (once) brewed beer to hear something new. 2. They said, "This beer we've brewed is to hear something new." 3. So they brewed a lot of beer. 4. And a lot of their elders came and sat down beside it. 5. But they didn't find one new thing to say. 6. And they said, "Who can come and say something new so that we can drink this beer?" 7. And they didn't find one new thing.

8. And Wanto (that is, Spider) saw (perhaps just a false start). Wanto's in-laws sent word to him, saying, "Wanto, dig a hole and send it to us to plant yams in it." 9. So Wanto dug the hole, tied it up, put it in a yéré basket, dug an ant-hill, put it in the basket and went with it. 10. And as he came alongside the beer, the people (that is, the animals of line 1) who had gathered to drink the beer and were gathered alongside the beer saw him, and they said to him, "Wanto, where are you going?"

11. He said, "Aw, my in-laws said that they didn't have a hole in which to plant yams, so I've dug a hole at my village, and I'm taking it so they can plant yams, and I just can't figure it out. 12. What my in-laws have done with me, I just can't figure it out. 13. Whether or not this is something new for them to talk about, I don't know."

14. When the people heard all this, they were pleased. 15. They said, "Fine! Wanto, we've found something new. 16. Wanto has said something new today. 17. Let's drink the beer. 18. We've brewed beer with which to look for something new to talk about. 19. We brewed it, but our brothers talked just about old things and we didn't find something new to talk about. 20. But Wanto has said something new. 21. So right now let's drink the beer." 22. And when they divided the beer and had drunk it all, they had a lot of fun because of the new thing they had found.

VOCABULARIES
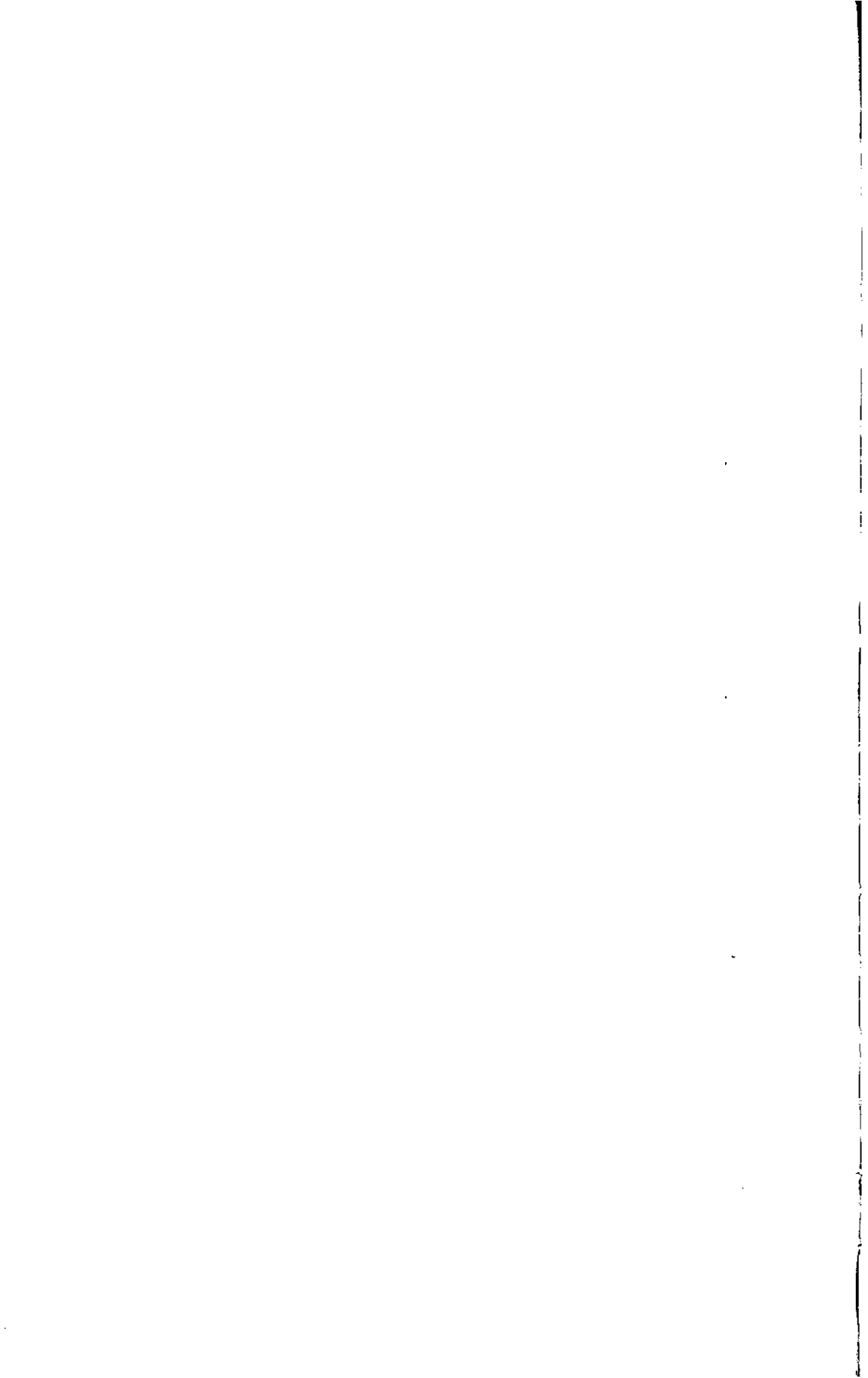
INTRODUCTION

Two sets of vocabularies are contained in this chapter, one from Gbɛya to
English and the other from English to Gbɛya. (In both cases the English
definitions and translations are my own, based on context or explanations
of informants.) The purpose of the first vocabulary is to provide the serious
reader of this grammar with the means of making his own literal transla-
tions of the examples and texts. It should serve this purpose fairly well, for
it is based primarily on the texts which served as a principal part of the
corpus for this grammatical description. No claim is made, however, for
complete coverage. Intentionally omitted from this vocabulary are the French
words that occurred in the corpus and also the interjections.

Most of the affixes are also included in the Gbɛya-English vocabulary.
Those left out are the ones where part of the suffix is determined by what
precedes (such as -um in dṹŋum 'sit I') and, naturally, the relational mor-
pheme { ´ }.

The English-Gbɛya vocabulary is the reverse of the first one, and is in
an abbreviated form. It is more like a lexical index, sending the reader back
to the Gbɛya-English section for more information.

Wherever possible, I have given the scientific names of flora and fauna,
but being less than an amateur botanist and zoologist, I have used two refer-
ence works to the best of my ability. They are the following:

> Pierre Bourgoin, Animaux de Chasse d'Afrique. Paris: La Toison
> d'Or, 1955. Pp. 255.

> Ch. Tisserant, Catalogue de la Flore de l'Oubangui-Chari (Mémoire
> de l'Institut d'Études Centrafricaines, Numéro 2). Toulouse: P.
> Julia, 1950. Pp. 166.

In alphabetizing the entries, I have followed the traditional roman order,
with the following modifications:

1. Long vowels are treated as two letters: thus, ee follows ed.
2. Nasalized vowels follow the oral vowels of the same quality: thus,
   ą follows a. No separate headings are given ɛ and ɔ. They are to
   be found under e and o respectively.
3. The nonroman symbols for vowels follow the roman ones: so ɛ
   follows e, ɔ follows o.
4. Entries of more than one word are alphabetized as if they were long
   unit-words: gbati precedes gba tṹrú.
5. The unusual consonants come in the following order: b, ʔb, d, ʔd,
   g, gb, k, kp, m, mb, ʔm, n, nd, ʔn, ŋ, ŋg, ŋm, ŋmgb, v, v̂
   (with v).

6. Traditional letters have priority over tone, and in the case of identical sequences of letters, low tone precedes high tone: so gu-ó precedes gúdam.
7. Verbs entered with the perfective suffix (gu-ó, etc.) are alphabetized as if nothing followed the hyphen.

Other conventions are also adopted:

1. Question marks indicate doubt concerning an entry.
2. No distinction is made between the transitive and intransitive use of a verb. The reason for this is that Gbɛya verbs seem to be ambivalent with respect to the taking of an object or not, and the whole list of verbs was not tested for their behavior.
3. Tonally differentiated forms are not entered. Thus, whereas the connective go occurs both as go and gó, only go is given.
4. While some verbs are glossed with 'to become something or other' and others 'to be . . .,' it is very likely that both glosses are appropriate for all of the verbs in question.
5. Both the bound and the free forms of certain nouns are given: thus, pɛ́ɛ́ and pɛ́r- 'rope.' Where the word is used in a construction, however, the free form is usually cited.
6. Verbs are entered both in their imperfective and perfective forms. If, in the former case, they end in the suffix -i, the proper form of the perfective suffix is put within parentheses: thus, pesi(á). If they do not have this suffix, but have the form with a long vowel, the long vowelled form is entered with a reference to the bound form: thus, pee (v.) See per-á. Under the perfective form one also finds the free imperfective form. Where the perfective form has no hyphen, as is true in a few cases, one is to understand that for this verb there is no form with a long vowel; that is, a form with final -Vy occurs instead. Except for the perfective suffix and except for verbs occurring in sentence-like constructions, verbs are cited in their low tone forms.
7. No forms resulting from phonological conditioning are entered: thus, ak-á 'to ask,' but not aŋ which occurs preceding a nasal consonant. One must therefore familiarize himself with the morphophonemic changes described in 130.
8. As in the rest of the grammar, numerical references are given to the appropriate sections where more information about a form is available.

The following abbreviations and symbols have been used:

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
aux.	auxiliary
conn.	connective
ctn.	certain
dem.	demonstrative
desc., descr.	descriptive (in connection with descriptive adverbs)

det.	determinant
f.p.	final particle
n.	noun
obj.	object
P (1P, 2P, 3P)	first, second, and third persons plural
perf.	perfective
pron.	pronoun, pronominal
QV	quotative verb
S (1S, 2S, 3S)	first, second, and third persons singular
sg.	singular
subj.	subject
subst.	substitute
suf.	suffix

GBEYA-ENGLISH

A

-a ~ -áa ~ -aa ~ -ára ~ -ra (det.)   See 213.1
a ~ á (conn.)   See 332.1
á (conn.)   See conn. a
á (conn.)   See 331.1
    á mɛ́ nɛ mɛ yoo zúa ná   don't go and stand over them
-á ~ -ó ~ -ɔ́ ~ -ú (perf. suffix)   See 211.2
a-á (v.)   to throw, put (of pl. obj.)
    a nu   to throw on the ground, to throw down
    a tɛ   to put on oneself (of clothes)
    fire-nu á rɪ́fɪ́m   dust got into my eyes
    a fɔ   to go to gardens (speaking of many people)
    a kɔ́ɔ́-ŋmaà ín wa   to join up with them
-aa (det.)   See -a
-aa (3S pron. suf.)   See 282
aáyɛ (n.?)   over there, what's-his-name
    ɛ́rɛ́ kayà kɛ́ rɛ́ aáyɛ   we got ours over there
    bém kó aáyɛ nɔ́ɔ   the child of what's-his-name
-áa (det.)   See -a
-áa (3S pron. suf.)   See 282
ak-á (v.)   to ask
    ak mɛ́   to ask you
    ak mɔ wenáa   to ask about it
am (pron.)   I
am-á (v.)   to suck at breast, nurse
andáa < Sango (conn.)   but it turns out that
-ára (det.)   See -a
arɛ (pron.)   See ɛrɛ
ay-á (v.)   to fall (of leaves, light rain, breasts of woman)
    ay oro   to come or run after someone who has departed
    rɪ́fɪ́ɪ́ nɛ́ ay oro-rɛ́   your eyes will long for us
ạ (pron.)   he, she
ạ ~ ɛ̣ (stative)   See 351
ạ́ (adj.)   old
    ạ́ mɔ kó tí   things of long ago
    ạ́ naa-duwa   the female goat which bore the rest of one's flock
ạk-á (v.)   to tear, to tear off
ạy-á (v.)   to rip off

ɑy pɛ́ɛ́   to rip off bark for making cord

B

ba- á (v.)   to take, seize, receive (sg. obj.)

   ba te   (of person) to climb a tree, (of bird) to alight on a tree

   ba wéey (~ kóo)   to get married

   ba ʔdoŋ-wáa   to get back on the path, to set off on a trip

   ba gaza   to assume the rights of a person initiated into the circumcision
        rites

   wa bá yarí- zạ yịnáa   they go on a walk to dig up the medicine

   bó wá ba dɔ̀ɔ̀ nɛ́ zu- mɛ́   when they keep beer from you

báa (f.p.)

   bạ́ ạ́ sa rɛ́, nɛ ndɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ nɛ́ ŋgay-tɛ-rɛ́ báa   if he should call us (to go
        eat), should we force ourselves to go!

bágara < Sango (n.)   cow, bovine animal

bana (n.)   ?

   bana- gaza   one who has already been initiated in the circumcision rites
        and holds certain privileges

bạ́   See bo

bé- (combining form for béem)   young, small

   bé- kóo   girl, daughter

   bé- ri   creek, small stream

   béa   the child, the small one

bee (v.)   See ber- á

béem (n.)   child. Compare bé-

bek- á (v.)   to belch

bém (n.)   child

   bém kɔ́m   my child

béndé   See wéndé

ber- á ~ bee (v.)   to burn (of fire)

bere (n.)   breast

   bere- ạ   her breast

   ri- bere   milk

bere (adv.)   right away, in a hurry, quickly

   ɛrɛ nɛ́ bɔnɔ- wa bere   let's go after them right away

bɛ́   See bo

bɛrá (bɛra?) (n.)   cleared portion of land, expansive place

   bɛrá- go   open stony clearing

   bɛrá- fɔ   cleared garden plot

   bɛrá- oro- tuwa   deserted house- site (where the house is in ruins)

bɛrɛ (n.)   dry season

   bɛrɛ dɛá   it's (now) dry season

bɛ- á (v.)   to refuse, reject

bɛ́   See bo

bi- ó (v.)   to fight

   bi biro   to wage a war, to fight

bii (v.)   See bir-ó
bir-ó ~ bii (v.)   to bend, to carry (a child on one's back)
biro (n.)   fight, war
    bi biro   to wage a war
    nɛ biro   to go to war
biro (n.)   a certain small antelope
bisa (n.)   young man; adornment, ornament
    mɛ́ dɛá bisa   you've become a young man
    dɛ bisa   to get all dressed up (of a young man). Compare zɔ́ŋá
    mɔ́-dɛ bisa   adornment, ornament
bíyá (n.)   ctn. large edible rodent hunted in the bush during the dry season
bo-á ~ bá̧ ~ bɛ́ ~ bɛ̧́ (aux. v.)   when, as, if, should. See 394.31
bó (v.)   neg. of ɔ, to not be
    kam gan bó ná   there's no food
    gan nɛ́m pị nu bó ná   I won't throw it down by any means
bom-á (v.)   to become blind
bóom (n.)   blindness
    wí-bóom   blind person
boro (n.)   iron
    boro-biro   weapons
bɔlɔ ~ bɔnɔ (n.)   back, behind, after
    bɔlɔ-náŋ-sa?de   animal tracks
    wa yú nɛ́ bɔlɔ-rɛ́   they run after us
    tɛ́-bɔlɔ-wa   in their absence
    kuu bɔlɔai   after that
    wa há mbɔy bɔlɔ-kóo   they are paying the bride-price for a girl
    wa ndóy mbɔyáa sí-?day há bɔlɔa   they take back all the money paid for
        her
bɔɔ ~ bɔ?ɔ (n.)   foolishness, stupidity
    á̧ dɛà rɛ́ nɛ́ bɔɔ   he made a fool of us
    wi tɔ́ bɔɔ gáa   you're talking foolishness like this
    wí-bɔɔ   stupid person
bɔɔ (intensifier, perhaps the same word as the preceding)
    wa yɔ́ŋ bɔɔ-mɔ   they eat the thing
bú (adj.)   white
    bú duwa   white goat
búk (n.)   wind
    búk yú   the wind is blowing
búú (n.)   ?
    búú-wey   ashes
burí(ɔ́) (v.)   to fly

?B

?ba-á (v.)   to cut off (section of bark, leaving the tree trunk)
?baa   See ?bay
?baa (v.)   See ?bar-á

ʔbaka (n.)   shoulder, forelegs (of animal), wing (of bird)
   zuˊbakám   my shoulder
ʔbar-á ~ ʔbaa (v.)   to shed, peel off
   fara ʔbaa   to become day
   ʔbárá fara   dawn
   ʔbárá gók   snakeskin
   ʔbaa ríp   to make a person able to see
ʔbay ~ ʔbaa (adj.)   only, just. See 361.1
   ʔbay yo kpém   just the hide
ʔbéé (adv.)   a long time ago; used also to intensify the idea of completion
   á̰ hɔ̀à ʔbéé   he had already appeared
ʔbéʔbɛ́ (n.)   ctn. indigenous cotton the seed of which is very small
ʔbɛɛkɛrɛ (adv.)   desc. of rumbling of one's stomach
ʔbɛ́t (adv.)   ?
   ba ʔbɛ́t   to take something from a person in a single, quick motion
ʔbii (v.)   See ʔbir-ó
ʔbir-ó ~ ʔbii (v.)   to break off (piece of food), to fall off or be eaten away
    (of fingers of a leper)
ʔbiya (n.)   friend, comrade, buddy; the other (of two things)
   ʔbiyaˊa̰   his friend
ʔbo-á (v.)   to make a circle of something
ʔboŋ (adv.)   desc. of gun going off
ʔboo (v.)   See ʔbor-á
ʔbor-á ~ ʔboo (v.)   to butcher an animal, including skinning it
ʔboy (n.)   hat, cap
ʔbɔ (adv.)   still, again, also
   ín bé-zorói ʔbɔ   and the small fish too
   wenˊba mbéa ʔbɔ   to take it again
   ɛrɛ yá nɛ wíˊré ʔbɔ wéndé   are we still human beings?
   a̰ gám tɛ̰-ɛ̰́ ʔbɔ   he also turned around
ʔbú (subst.)   ten
ʔbuk-ó (v.)   to hang something (over one's shoulder)
ʔburi(ó) (v.)   to break into many pieces, shatter
ʔburí (n.)   ctn. reed

<div align="center">D</div>

daʔdoŋ (n.)   skirt of cotton strings worn by women over anus
dak-á (v.)   to extract
   dak tí   to lead, to go on ahead of others
   dak kéey há zaŋˊwa   to take fear out of them
dal (n.)   ctn. upright drum
dam-á (v.)   to be adequate (that is, to arrive at a given quantity, measure)
   mɔˊdamía   thing necessary to do a task
dan (n.)   ctn. spirit
   bé-dan   twins
daná ~ dandá (n.)   bag (originally of leather)

dandá (n.)   See daná

daŋ-á (v.)   to climb, climb on, ascend; to copulate (of animals)

dawa (n.)   green monkey (<u>Cercopithecus</u> <u>sp.</u>)

day-á (v.)   to raise (animals)

　　mɔ́-day   domesticated animal

dą (n.)   anger

　　dą dɛ́ ą   he is angry

　　zaŋ-mɛ́ bó dɛ dą   when you are angry

dą-á (v.)   to curse (someone)

dąy (n.)   wound, sore

　　dąy-gaza   wound left by circumcision

dé (adj.)   good

　　dé kóo   a good woman

dé?dé (adj.)   good

dɛ-á (v.)   to do, make; very much used in idiomatic expressions

　　dɛ parába   to make, have trouble

　　dɛ pɛ   to do something, be somewhere for a year

　　dɛ ŋgay   to treat someone meanly, to intimidate, to act ferociously

　　dɛ saa   to play, have fun, rejoice

　　dɛ mɔ   to work, to go . . . (in imitation of a noise)

　　mɔ́-dɛi   work

dɛla (n.)   metal anklets

　　ba dɛla kú-wa   to put anklets on their legs

dɛm-á (v.)   to be numerous (of people)

　　ó dɛ́má wí-ré   a large crowd of people

dɛ́nɛ (n.)   ctn. wasp

dɛ̧ɛ (v.)   See dɛ̧r-á

dɛ̧r-á ~ dɛ̧ɛ (v.)   to be numerous

dik-ó (v.)   to make a loud noise

　　kóro dík   there's thunder

　　díkó kóro   thunder

dila (n.)   lion

dįi (v.)   See dįr-ɔ́

dįi (subst.)   there

　　ɛrɛ ɔ́ dįi   we slept there

dįr-ɔ́ ~ dįi (v.)   to be heavy

dįrɔ   See gba dįrɔ

dįti(ɔ́) (v.)   to be heavy

dįyɛ (subst.)   here

do-á (v.)   to flower

　　dóá te   flower

dom (n.)   penis

doo (v.)   See dor-á

dor-á ~ doo (v.)   to keep someone from getting something

　　doo dɔ́ɔ há éé-ŋmaá   to keep beer from each other

dɔ-á (v.)   to set fire to, burn, shine, roast; refuse to give something to
　　　　someone

wesé dɔám   the sun roasted me
dɔ ną́ká   to be stingy
gbai dɔà rέ   even if you should not give us (food)
dɔk-á (v.)   to be much, many
wá dɔká   they were numerous
dɔ́ká fɔ   large garden
wí-ré tεá ɔ dɔ́k   if there were a lot of people
dɔ́ka (subst.)   much, many, very
bɔlɔ-náŋ-wa ɔ́ dɔ́ka   there were many of their tracks
dɔm-á (v.)   to blow on an instrument
dɔ́ma (n.)   ctn. tree, rope made from the bark of this tree
dɔ́ (adj.)   short
dɔ́ wí-rέ   short person
wí-dɔ́ɔ   short person
dɔn-á (v.)   to throw down
dɔɔ́ (n.)   beer
wesé-dɔɔ́   beer-drinking day
gi dɔɔ́   to brew; prepare beer
dɔɔ́-kofε   marriage beer (part of the marriage obligation)
dɔ́ɔ́ (n.?)   near, soon
heʔdi dɔ́ɔ́   to get near, approach
kóro gan ŋmą́y dɔ́ɔ́ ná   the rain didn't stop soon
dɔ́ɔ́tí (perhaps dɔ́ɔ́-tí) (n.)   forehead
duk (n.)   mortar
bé-duk   pestle
dur-ó ~ duu (v.)   to be long (in measure)
nε dúróa   lengthwise
duu (v.)   See dur-ó
duwa (n.)   goat
kó-duwa   female witch
ą́ naa-duwa   the female goat which bore the rest of one's flock
dųm-ɔ́ (v.)   to spear, pierce, stick, stab
dųŋ-ɔ́ (v.)   to sit; as aux., to continue to, keep on doing something, to begin
        to do something. See 394.3
dų́ŋaa rį́k dέnε   he kept on hitting the wasps
dų́ŋ wá yɔŋ mɔ   while they're eating

ʔD

ʔdafi(á) (v.)   to fix, prepare, adjust
ʔday (n.?)   completely, far away (occurring only with sí)
wa yɔ́ŋ say kɔ́m sí-ʔday   they eat all of my pumpkins
ʔdέ (adv.)   very, much, hard
ą́ á yui ʔdέ   he really runs fast
ó wí-ré nέ yorà ʔdέ   if there are a lot of people
ʔdέk ʔdέk (adv.)   different (things)

ʔdoŋ (n.)   back, behind, later, inside of bark
   pee ʔdoŋ   to return
   sí-ʔdoŋ   See sí-ʔday
   kɔ ʔdoŋáa   to want it, agree to it
   kɔ ʔdoŋ-si ʔdoŋ   to want to return
   ʔdoŋ-ri   river bank
   ʔdoŋ-wáá   path, road
   nɛ́m tɛ ʔdoŋ   I'll come later
   bá a̧ sí nɛ́ ʔdoŋ   take him back
   ʔdoŋ kpém   six
   ʔdoŋ rííto   seven
ʔdóŋ ʔdóŋ (adv.)   very dark, black
   fara tṵɔ ʔdóŋ ʔdóŋ   it has become pitch black
ʔdɔɔ (v.)   See ʔdɔr-
ʔdɔr- ~ ʔdɔɔ (n.)   under, underneath, in
   á̧ nɛá ʔdɔɔ-zɔ́   he went into the bush
   ɛrɛ nɛ́ ʔdɔɔ-kóro   we walked in the rain
ʔdɔy-á (v.)   to make a hole, drill
ʔdu-ó (v.)   to dip up, draw (a liquid)
ʔdúu (n.)   bridge

<div align="center">E</div>

e-á (v.)   to place, put, leave (sg. obj.); let
   e nu   to put down
   a̧ bá duwa go é sɛnɛ́   he takes a goat and puts it there (that is, adds to
      what has already been given)
   wá eá a̧ kɔ́-tuwa   they left him in the house
   é há wí-ré tɛ sɛ́   let people come first
éé (n.)   see ér-
ér- ~ éé (n.)   hand, finger, paw
   a̧ rɛ́m kpa mɔ tɛ́kɔ-éé-wí-ré   he can get things from people
-ɛ ~ -yɛ (dem.)   See 213.22
ɛk-á (v.)   to lean, lean against
   bá wey nɛ ɛ́k sɛn-tɛ́ŋma bé-te   takes the gun and leans it against a
      small tree
   am ɛ́k tɛm ínaa   I depend on him
ɛn (n.?)   only, alone
   ɛn-tɛ́a̧   only him, by himself
ɛrɛ ~ arɛ ~ rɛ ~ ɔ (prn.)   we
ȩ (sg. explicit prn.)   See 382.12
ȩé (subst.)   this.   See 382.2

<div align="center">F</div>

fan-á (v.)   to weave
fara (n.)   place

fara sạ̈   to become day

fara ɔ́ mbiri mbiri   it's somewhat dark (speaking of the passing of day)

kpa ạ fara⁻nɛ kɔfɛ   to catch him when he's going to (his) in-laws

ɔ́ nɛ́ fara⁻dɛ mɔ   it's time to work

nɛ sɛn-tɛ⁻fara nạ ạ ɔ́ sɛnɛ́i   to go to the place where he is

gạ́ạ́ fara   evening

fe-á (v.)   to die

féɔ́ (adv.)   desc. of the noise of a whistle

fey (n.)   death

fey⁻zɛmbɛ́i gbɛ̀ wɪ̆-rɛ́i   the zɛmbɛ́ death killed the person

zu⁻fey   grave-site

fɛŋ-á (v.)   to be white

fɛ̧́ɛ́ (n.)   See kạ́fɛ́

fɛ̧ra (n.)   whistle

dɔm fɛ̧ra   to blow a whistle

fire (n.)   paste (as of sesame, peanuts)

yufi fire   to make a paste

fire⁻nu   dust

fiyo (n.)   general term for the spirits which control the fortunes of men,
also the magical paraphernalia used in placating or controlling
them; therefore closely associated with medicinal preparations
although there is medicine (yị̈na) that is nonmagical; loosely trans-
lated in this grammar as fetish

dɛ fiyo   to make, use, set up a fetish

wan fiyo   one who owns the rights to a certain fetish

wɪ̆-fiyo   a practitioner of a fetish, whose rights are obtained from the
wan

fɪ̧́ɪ́ (adv.)   little, few

dụ̈ŋ orɔ́ai fɪ̧́ɪ́   to stay in the same place for a little while₁

fo-á (v.)   to sweep, push, chase

fok-á (v.)   to flow, to wash something away

fón (n.)   ctn. grain sorghum

foo (n.)   in-laws (possibly synonymous with kɔfɛ)

foyo (n.)   shame

am dɛ́ foyo rɪ́p-mɛ́   I am ashamed in your presence

e foyo rɪ́p-mɛ́   to make you embarrassed

mɔ⁻foyo   shameful parts of the body (sex organs)

fɔ (n.)   garden, farm

fɔɔ (v.)   See fɔr-á

fɔr-á ~ fɔɔ (v.)   to wash (one's body, clothes, etc.)

fɔɔ gaza   to wash ritually after circumcision rites

fɔrɛ (n.)   lime (used in whitewashing)

fɔrɔ (n.)   elephant

gu fɔrɔ   to squat down

fu ~ fuufuu (adv.)   desc. of sound of many people singing

fụ̈r-ɔ́ ~ fụ̈u (v.)   to sew pieces of cloth together

fụ̈u (v.)   See fúr-ɔ́

G

gá   See oro . . . gá and 332.5

gá (QV)   See gende gá ye ge

gáa (adv.)   like this, in this manner

    bóm kạsi gáa   as I was holding on like this

ga?da?da (adv.)   desc. of opening up

    zɛra-fɔrɔ dɛ́ ga?da?da   the elephant's ears went . . .

gagi?da (n.)   ctn. kind of large mat

gale (n.)   left

    wáá-gale   left side

    éé-galc   left hand

    ba gale   to be left-handed

gam-á (v.)   to turn completely around

    gám tɛ-mɛ́   Turn around! (command to one person)

gam guram (n.)   whirlwind, dust devil; the spirit responsible for them; par-
        ticularly associated with grass-burning hunts because of the whirl-
        winds produced by the air currents; believed capable of confusing
        the animals, chasing them in certain directions, tying them together
        by their horns, etc.; success at hunting is attributed to an effective
        whirlwind; control over the whirlwind is effected by certain rites
        (for example, the whirlwind is magically prepared in the kernel of
        the kó?bo fruit and let loose by smashing it against a tree)

gan (~ gɛn ~ gạa) . . . ná (adv.)   negative marker. See 371

    gan wa tɛ́ ná   they aren't coming

gan-á (v.)   to surpass; used to indicate a kind of superlative or comparative

    ŋma mɔ gan ɓ ŋgay gán Nzapá ná   there is nothing too hard for God

    rɔ́k ?dɛ́ gán, goi bá mɓunzù nɔ́ɔ   it would be better if you would take this
        white man

    wa gbɛ́ rɛ́ gán zúa   they kill too many of us

gán (conn.)   See wéndé . . . gan

gara (n.)   space in front of house

gata (n.)   ctn. drum

gay-á (v.)   to make much noise, scare by making a noise

    gay mɔ ?dɔɔ-mɔ   to make a lot of noise among the things (in the garden)

gaza (n.)   circumcision; covers a complex of concepts relating to circum-
        cision and the rites that accompany it

    kútu-gaza   hut used during circumcision rites

    ba gaza   assume the rights of those initiated

    nɛ gaza   to be initiated by circumcision

    gɔn wa nɛ́ gaza   to circumcise them

gạ (conn.)   See go

gạ-á (v.)   to be cool, to cool off

    bạ́ ạ́ gạá   when it (the elephant) became still (after being shot)

    gạ́á fara   evening

gạa (adv.)   See gan . . . ná

gạ́sá (adj.)   large, big

ge (QV)   See gende gá ye ge

ge (subst.)   what?   See 382.3

    ge wí-ge a té né ge ndé   who is bringing it?

    ge wen⁼ge a mɛ tɔ́ ge ndé   what are you talking about?

    wen⁼ge a mɛ dé gɔ́y wenáa ge ndé   why are you doing it like that?

    dɛà rɛ́ ge   what happened?

ge?da (n.)   manioc

ge?de (n.)   buttocks

    kṵ ge?déa   the beginning

    nú-ge?de   anus

    ạ sí ?doŋ né ge?de⁼ạ   he backed up

    ge?de⁼dɔ́ɔ   beer dregs

geegezí (n.)   See ku?bú

gende gá (QV)   See gende gá ye ge

gende gáy (QV)   See gende gá ye ge

gende gá ye ge (QV)   See 353

gére (adv.)   without anything, for no purpose, freely (this word has an ex-
        tremely wide range of meaning)

    am ɔ́ gére   I'm fine

    mɔ-gére   worthless thing

    gɔm gúwá nɛ gére⁼fara   to cut firewood in some place belonging to no
        one

    yaa gére   to roam around doing nothing

    Nzapá rɛmà ín rɛ́ mbɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ gére   God is enough for us to go without
        any trouble (that is, God is all we need for safety)

    mɛ yáá gére wen há ŋmgbérɛ́ dɛ́ mɛ́ ná   you live untouched by leprosy

gey (n.)   pottery clay

gɛ (conn.)   See go

gɛ?dɛ́k (adv.)   still, quiet, slow

gɛ́ɛ́ (n.)   See gɛr-

gɛk (adv.)   slow, a little

    ám ịŋɔ́ gɛk   I know a little

    nɛ́ gɛk sɛ́   Go slowly!

gɛn (adv.)   See gan . . . ná

gɛnɛ (n.)   guest, stranger

gɛzɛ (n.)   ctn. kind of a basket

gɛr- ~ gɛ́ɛ́ (n.)   neck, throat, voice, sound

gɛ̧ (conn.)   See go

gɛ̧́ (n.)   happiness

    dɛ gɛ̧́   to be happy, have fun

gɛ̧ɛ́ (n.)   cold

    gɛ̧ɛ̀ gbɛ́m   I'm cold

gɛ̧rɛŋ (adv.)   rapidly

    hay gɛ̧rɛŋ   to crawl along rapidly

gi-ɔ́ (v.)   to cook, prepare

    gi kam   to prepare a meal

gida (n.)   enemy

   wí-gida   enemy

gima (n.)   song

   sa gima   to sing a song

gísó (n.)   stump (of a tree)

gítí (n.)   noise of feet

gíṛɔ (n.)   shade, shadow

go ~ gạ ~ gɛ ~ gɛ̣ (conn.)   See 332.2

go (n.)   stony area

   gba go   an extensive stony area with little vegetation, particularly of
        the laterite variety

gó (conn.)   when. Compare bo

   góm zerá   when I heard

goʔdó (perhaps goʔdo) (n.)   end

   goʔdó-fiyo   the explanation of the fetish

gogo (n.)   molars

goro (n.)   ?

   zu-goróm   my knee

goy-á (v.)   to like, love (especially demonstrated in giving gifts)

gɔʔbi(á) (v.)   to be warped, to rock sidewise (as in a canoe)

gók (n.)   snake

   ʔbárá gók   snakeskin

gɔla (n.)   ctn. tree (<u>Berlinia</u> sp.)

gɔm-á (v.)   to cut, cut out, run out

   gɔm bé-kɔrá   to hatch chicks

gɔn-á (v.)   to cut

gón (n.)   top of, on

   ạ pị́ gón-kú-ạ   he puts (the gun) on his lap

gɔʔní (n.)   foreign, different (?)

góɔ (adv.)   here

   ɛrɛ té góɔ   here we come

gɔrɔ (n.)   yam

gɔy (n.)   female skirt made of cotton strings and worn in front; in other
        dialects called kakó and gbɛlɛk

gɔ̣ (n.)   leopard

gɔ̣rɔ (n.)   bee

   zị́-gɔ̣rɔ   honeybee

   nó-gɔ̣rɔ   honey

   ri-gɔ̣rɔ   honey

gɔ̣y (adv.)   like this, well (very often only a meaningless pause filler), on
        and on, for a long time (especially when repeated or stressed and
        lengthened)

   wa dé gɔ̣y   they do it like this

   ɛrɛ ák Nzapá wenáa gɔ̣y gɔ̣y   we asked God about it for a long time

   mɔ gɔ̣y, ŋma yám kóm ó sɛnɛ́   well, I had an uncle

gu-ó (v.)   to cover (something completely)

   ɛrɛ gú zu-ré   we covered our heads

   gu ʔdɔɔ-waka   to hide in the cane-grass

- gu fɔrɔ   to squat

gúdam (perhaps gu + dam) (n.)   a certain style of setting a woman's hair,
        in a series going from forehead to back of head

gun (n.)   base (of tree), waist
    ká̧-gun-́wa   the sides of their hips

gunduŋ (adv.)   desc. of opening something previously unopened
    a̧ gbó zu-́gɛzɛ-́sunu gunduŋ   he breaks open the basket of sesame seed
        (which is covered with large leaves now entirely brittle)

guri(ó) (v.)   to smoke (food over the fire)

guro (n.)   rack, scaffold, or platform for smoking meat, keeping objects
        out of the way, etc.

gúwá (n.)   firewood
    gɔm gúwá   to chop firewood

gṳn-ɔ́ (v.)   to plant, bury

                                GB

gba (adj.)   big, real; even if. See 361.1
    gba koy-́sa?de ?mɔná   even if the rest of the meat is left

gba dɪ̧rɔ (n.)   ctn. large rope

gba dɔrɔ́ (n.)   ctn. large antelope (Damaliscus korrigum), the meat is taboo
        to the newly circumcised

Gbagbasɔ̧ (that is, gba gba sɔ̧) (n.)   ctn. character in the fable "The Origin
        of Rivers and Islands" (text 11); the word sɔ̧ means the spirit of a
        dead person

gbáŋ (adv.)   also

gbaŋgala (adv.)   desc. of a thunderous noise
    ndɔɔ gbaŋgala   to shoot with a very loud noise

gbati(á) (v.)   to stop (walking)

gba túrú (n.)   cloth made from the bark of the túrú tree

gbay-á (v.)   to come out, appear (usually pl. of hɔ-á)
    gbay záan   to come outside
    gbay dan   to give birth to twins

gba zawa (n.)   ctn. kind of ground-nut (Voandzeia subterranea Thouars.)

gba̧a (n.)   See gba̧ra

gba̧ra ~ gba̧a (n.)   bone, grain, kernel
    gba̧ra-́wey   bullet
    gba̧ra-́sa?de   animal bones

gbél (adv.)   ?
    he gbél   to cry out loudly announcing the killing of an animal

gbɛ-á (v.)   to kill
    wɔ gbɛ́m   I'm hungry

gbɛlɛk (n.)   See gɔy

gbɛŋ-á (v.)   to be hot (pepper, one's body)
    tɛm gbɛ́ŋ ?dɛ́   I'm very hot

gbɛ̧-á (v.)   to be red, mature (of fruit) (one of the three major colors)
    gbɛ̧́ mɔ   a red thing

gbigbigbi (adv.)   descr. of noise made by a large fire

gbii (adv.)   descr. of the rumbling of thunder

gbíígbíí (adv.)   descr. of the rumbling of thunder

gbim (adv.)   descr. of the sound of many running feet

gbiro-́fɔ (gbirófɔ?) (n.)   ctn. tree, perhaps the same as nɔɔ, whose fruit is
        edible

gbíya (n.)   the area of grassland systematically burnt in the hunting of ani-
        mals during the dry season

gbịn-ɔ́ (v.)   to break, break out or through

gbo-á (v.)   to arrive, reach a place

gboʔdi(á) (v.)   ?

    gboʔdi sɛ́rɛ   to hold a spear shaft preparatory to casting it in such a way
        that it quivers

gboŋgom (adv.)   ?

    kpa ŋmaá gboŋgom   to meet each other with a loud noise (as two waves
        of fire)

gbɔʔdi(á) (v.)   to be tired

    ą́ gbɔʔdà sɔ́n   he's all tired out

gbɔgbɔ (n.)   middle

gbɔgbɔl (n.)   ctn. tree found along small streams whose wide leaves are
        used by women in making skirts; its fruit ripens in the dry season

gbur-ó ~ gbuu (v.)   to drag, pull

    am gbúraa tɛ-́tɛɛm na   I'm pulling him toward me

gbut (adv.)   descr. of destruction of trees by elephants

    dúŋ wa zą́ mɔ gbut gbut   they were digging up things

gbuu (v.)   See gbur-ó

<center>H</center>

há₁ ~ hó (conn.)   See 332.3

    sá yám-Sara há bá wey   call Sara's father to get the gun

há₂ ~ hą́ ~ hɛ́ ~ hę́ ~ hó (conn.)   See 342

    dak kéey há zaŋ-́wa   to take fear out of them

    tɔ há wa   to tell them

há₃ (conn.)   See a, 332.1

ha-á (v.)   to give

haa (v.)   See har-á

han-á (v.)   to fry, roast in an open pan

har-á ~haa (v.)   ?

    haa mbɔy nɛ kɔ́o   to pay the bride-price for a wife

    haa tą-́wen   to give consideration to one's thoughts

hárá (adv.)   absolutely all

    ɛrɛ ʔbóó saʔde hárá sɔ́n   we completely skinned the animal

    ó wí-ré hárá sɔ́n   absolutely all the people

hay-á (v.)   to crawl, creep

    wa háy ką́-zaŋ-́tuwa   they creep up beside the house

hą́ (conn.)   See há₁, há₂

he-á (v.)   to cry, utter; apparently synonomous with hey

heʔdi(á) (v.)   to approach, arrive near

    bɛ rɛ heʔdi dɔ́ɔ́ tɛ-nú-Wáam na   as we approached the bank of the Waam
        here

hee (v.)   See hey

hey-á ~ hee (v.)   to cry, make a noise

    hey kɔwá   to cry with tears

hɛ-á (v.)   to buy, (formerly) to barter

hɛ́ (conn.)   See há$_1$, há$_2$

hɛr (adv.)   ?

    yu hɛr   to run to cut off a fleeing animal

hɛ̧́ (conn.)   See há$_1$, há$_2$

hɛ̧ɛ (v.)   See hɛr-á

hɛ̧́ɛ́ (n.)   thirst

    hɛ̧́ɛ́-ri gbɛ a̧   he's thirsty

hɛr-á ~ hɛ̧ɛ (v.)   to tie up (with cords)

hii (v.)   See hir-ó

hir-ó ~ hii (v.)   to stoop down, lower one's body

hir (adv.)   descr. of a lion's roar

hi̧k-ɔ́ (v.)   to circle around, make a detour

hi̧ŋ-ɔ́ (v.)   syn. hi̧k-ɔ́

hó (conn.)   See há$_1$, há$_2$

hóꝟ́ó hóꝟ́ó (adv.)   completely off

    a̧ ʔbarà kɔk⌣geʔda sí-ʔday hóꝟ́ó hóꝟ́ó   she peeled the manioc skin right
        off

    pi̧ hóꝟ́ó hóꝟ́ó   to throw swiftly

hɔ-á (v.)   to appear, come out, flow; when hɔ is used of sg. subj., gbay-á
        is used of pl.

    hɔ tuwa   to come of a house

hɔfi(á) (v.)   to slip something off

hɔk-á (v.)   to rub, grate, scrub, sharpen (knife)

hɔŋ-á (v.)   to rub, crush; perhaps the same as hɔk-á

hufi(ó) (v.)   to have loose bowels, diarrhea

husi(ó) ~ hu̧si(ɔ́) (v.)   to hide

    husi tɛ   to hide oneself

hu̧ri(ɔ́) (v.)   to spread abroad

    zee hu̧rı́a   to hear a person's fame

hu̧si(ɔ́) (v.)   See husi(ó)

<div align="center">I</div>

-i$_1$ (imperfective suf.)   See 211.1

-i$_2$ (emphatic suf.)   See 211.3

-i$_3$ (nominalizing suf.)   See 211.4

-i$_4$ (locative suf.)   See 213.21

-i$_5$ (postclitic)   See 220

-i (prn.)   2P. See 282

ii (v.)   See ir-ó

ín ~ íni- ~ índ-(conn.)   with, to. See 343

   wá dɛà ʔnáŋ mɔ ín rɛ́   they did an evil thing to us

íni-(conn.)   See ín

índ-(conn.)   See ín

íni (n.)   urine

   sɔ íni   to urinate

ir-ó ~ ii (v.)   to push something to make it move

íŋáá (conn.?)   in order to

íye (subst.)   where?

   tɛ́ rɛ́ kpa wí-ré íye ndé   where can we possibly find someone?

íyɛ (subst.)   over there. See 382.5

   hɔà íyɛ gáa   (the tusks) appeared there like this

   íyɛ . . . íyɛ   here and there

íyo (n.)   bark (of tree)

i̧í (subst.)   that, those. See 382.2

i̧ŋ-ɔ́ (v.)   to know

   i̧ŋ ʔdoŋ-wáá wenꞌdɛ gɔ́y   to know how to do it this way

   i̧ŋ wen kó wa   to know about them

i̧rírí (adv.)   sweet

   nɔ́-gɔrɔ dɛ́ rɔɔ i̧rírí   honey is very sweet

i̧si(ɔ́) (v.)   to push down on something, press

<div align="center">K</div>

kakó (n.)   See gɔy

kam (n.)   very thick porridge of the consistency of bread dough, made of
      manioc or sorghum flour, cooked over fire in an earthen pot for
      a short time by gradually adding water until thick; broken off and
      used to dip up sauce; by extension, food

   ru kam   to make porridge

kan (n.)   stalk (of corn, sorghum), torch made of this material

   hɛ̧ɛ kan   to tie up stalks to make into a torch

káná (n.)   bracelet

kaŋgi(á) < Sango káŋgà (v.)   to shut, close

   kaŋgi kɔꞌsɛra   to be resolute

kara (n.)   hill, mountain

kátá kátá (adv.)   quickly (?)

   wá roà kátá kátá, go wa sí ʔdoŋ   they threw themselves together and
      went back

kátó (n.)   hoof

kay-á (v.)   to take, receive (pl. obj.)

   kay ŋmaá   to get together, assemble

   kay zoro   to catch fish

kaya (n.)   ctn. large antelope (<u>Hippotragus equinus</u>); taboo to the newly cir-
      cumcised

ká̧ (conn.)   See kó

ką̀ (n.)   side
   ką́-zaŋ́ri   beside the stream
   tɛ-ką́a   at the side, beside it
   yoo nɛ ką́-tɛ   to stand at the side
kąa (v.)   See kąr-á
ką́árá (n.)   ?
   bé-ką́árá   a boy who has not yet been circumcised
ką́fɛ́ (n.)   opinion (?)
   si ką́fɛ́   to dispute, argue
   gan am kɔ́ ʔdoŋ́si ką́fɛ́ oro-ndú-wa ná   I don't want to dispute what they
        say
kąr-á ~ kąa (v.)   to roll up, braid
kąsi(á) (v.)   to seize, hold on to
kéey ~ kéri (n.)   fear
   am dɛ́ kéey   I am afraid
   kêcy dɛ́m   I am afraid
   yu kéýtɛ-wí-rê   to be afraid of someone, to respect someone
   kéeýyám   mother's older or younger brother's wife, father's younger
        brother's wife
kélé (n.)   ?
   e kélé weńdɛ mɔ   to decide to do something
   am é kélém ín mɛ́   I trust you
kéri (n.)   See kéey
kɛ́ (conn.)   See kó
kɛ́lá kɛ́lá (adv.)   ?
   kɛli kɛ́lá kɛ́lá   to be happy (?)
kɛli(á) (v.)   to be happy (?)
kɛ́rá (n.)   ctn. grassland tree (<u>Daniella oliveri</u> Hutch. and Dalz.), the leaves
        are worn by girls after excision
kɛrɛ (n.)   very large pot used in the making of beer
kɛ-á (v.)   to divide into portions
kɛ́ (conn.)   See kó
kɛɛ (v.)   See kɛr-á
kɛr-á ~ kɛɛ (v.)   to gaze, stare at
kiʔdi(ó) (v.)   to look for, hunt
   nɛ kiʔdi saʔde   to go hunting
kifi ~ kip, kifó (v.)   to turn around, change, change into
kii (v.)   See kir-ó
kín (n.?)   now; used in commands
   kín mɛ tɛ́   Now come!
kínɛɛ (n.)   now
   kínɛɛ nɔ́ɔ, wen kɔ́m sɔná   now my story is finished
kip, kifó (v.)   See kifi
kir-ó ~ kii (v.)   to search afar
kiri (n.)   size, shape (of body), whole
   kiri-tɛ́saʔde   all of the animal's body
   wa bá duwai nɛ́ oró́kiri   they take the goat whole (not killed and butchered)

kǐsi (n.)   beads, once a certain kind obtained by barter, now used of all beads

ko (n.)   ctn. palm tree (Borassus aethiopum)

ko-á (v.)   to give birth, bear (a child)

kó ~ ką́ ~ kę́ ~ kέ ~ kɔ́ (conn.)   of. See 344

   am hǔfí kóm   as for myself, I was having diarrhea

kó- (combining form for kóo)   female, woman

   kó-toró   female dog

   kóa   the female one

   kó ką́ ą   his wife

kóʔbo (n.)   a ctn. tree (Strychnos innocua Del.) and its fruit (which is the

       size of a large orange)

kofo (n.)   cowry shell

kokoroŋ (adv.)   round, oval; head-band worn by elders; old-fashioned name

       for bicycle

koo (v.)   See kor-á

kóo ~ kó- (n.)   woman, wife

   kó-duwa   female witch

   bé-kóo   girl, daughter

   ba kóo   to take a wife, get married

kor-á ~ koo (v.)   to dry up

kor (adv.)   round (of object or motion)

kóro (n.)   rain, rain clouds

   nǔ-kóro   beginning of the rainy season

   kóro pǐ   lightning is striking

   pǐɔ́ kóro   lightning

   ri-kóro   rain water

kóróró (adv.)   very black

   tų kóróró   to be very black

kote (n.)   a specialist at anything, a gifted person

koy (n.)   remainder, remaining, the rest

   ó koy-wǐ-ré   the rest of the people

koyo (n.)   ctn. bird

kɔ́ (conn.)   See kó

kɔ́ʔdá (n.)   debt

   gɔn kɔ́ʔdá   to pay off a debt

kɔʔdɔrɔ kɔʔdɔrɔ (adv.)   perseveringly

kɔfε (n.)   in-law

   wéey-kɔfε   son-in-law

   dε kɔfε   to work for one's in-laws in partial payment for a bride, to be

       "engaged"

   mɔ-kɔfε   things relating to getting married

   nε ~ tε kɔfε   to go or come for the purpose of working for a bride

kɔk-á (v.)   to get entangled, sew two pieces of material together by putting

       a stitch here and there

kɔli(á) (v.)   to cough

kɔndi ~ kɔni (n.)   maize

kɔni (n.)   See kɔndi

kɔ́ɔ́ (n.) See kɔ́r-

kɔ́r- ~ kɔ́ɔ́ (n.) back (not part of one's body)

   kɔ́ɔ́-tuwa behind the house

   nɛ kɔ́ɔ́-wa to follow them

   zɔk kɔ́ɔ́-wa to look in their direction

   ɔ ʔdɔɔ-zɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ yɛ́ɛ́ to be in the bush for a long time

   kɔ́ɔ́-mɛ́ nɛ́ yɛrá after you've done this a long time

   kɔ́raaí later, after that

kɔ́rɔ́ (n.) good luck, fortune (?)

   dɛ kɔ́rɔ́-tɛ-béemi to do something for a child's good luck

kɔy-á (v.) to ask for, beg

   bó wá kɔy mɔ ín mɛ́ when they ask you for things

kɔ-á (v.) to agree, like, consent, respond, call back

   kɔ ʔdoŋáa to agree to it

   wa kɔ́ tɛ́-mɛ they're answering from over there

   kɔ ʔdoŋ-dɛ mɔ to want to do something

kɔ (n.) hole

   kɔ-kɔ in the hole

   kɔ-zaŋ-mɛ́ in you

   dɛ kpém kɔ-sɛra ín wa to be of one heart with them, be kind to them

kɔm-á (v.) to pluck (stem or leaf)

   kɔm zịfa to pluck a stem for a switch

kɔrá (n.) chicken

   bé-kɔrá chick

kɔwá (n.)

   hey kɔwá to cry with tears

   mụ́rú-kɔwá tears

kú ~ kụ́ (n.) leg

kuʔbú (n.) mat erected to act as screen around sleeping place in a house;
     in other dialects known as geegezí

kúku (perhaps kúkutí) first, before, ahead

   laŋgi kúku-tí go on ahead

   mɔ-kúku-tí things of long ago

kur-ó ~ kuu (v.) to arise, leave from, depart

kura (n.) arrow

   pị kura to shoot an arrow

   te-kura bow

kúri (n.) egg

   kúri-kɔrá chicken egg

kuro (n.) camwood

kusára < Sango (n.) work

   dɛ kusára to work

kusi (subst.) nine

kutú (n.) fog

kútu (n.) hut, temporary dwelling

kuu (v.) See kur-ó

   kuu orɔ́ai nạ ạ láŋgí later he departed

kúú (n.)   other side of a river

kụ-ɔ́ (v.)   to cross (a stream)

   kụ náŋá   to start

   kụ náŋá-nɛi kóm ré na   when I started out to come home here

   kụ sɛ́rɛ   to start a fight

kụ́ (n.)   See kú

kụrí (n.)   ctn. tree

<div align="center">KP</div>

kpa-á (v.)   to find, discover, receive, meet

   kpáá mɔ   wealth

   gan wa kpá dɛ́á saa ná   they weren't happy

   wá zikɔ̀ núa kpá   they went completely around it

   ɛrɛ kpá ŋmaà ín wa   we meet each other

kpá (n.)   location of the rumbling of an elephant's intestines

   kpá-zaŋ-fɔrɔ wɛ́ɛ́ ururu   the elephant's belly rumbles ururu

kpaa (adv.)   real, really

   rɔk kpaa tɛɛ́m   to really please me

kpána (n.)   pot

   ndɛ́ rɛ́ dɔ ŋmaá kɔ-kpána na   we will keep food from each other in the
       pot here (part of a proverb)

kpárɛ́ (n.)   planting-seed

   kpárɛ́-kɔndi   corn planting-seed

kpasá (n.)   life

   kpa kpasá   to find life, to come out with one's life

   ǎ ʔmɔná kpasá   he's still alive

kpasi(á) (v.)   to be alive, survive

   ǎ ʔmɔná go kpásí   he's still alive

   kpásá mɔ   the thing itself, the real thing

kpasi (n.)   life (from influence of Christian religion?)

   zam kpasi   to save one's life, preserve life

kpasí (adj.)   true

   kpasí wen   the truth

kpạy-á (v.)   to ferment, be sour

   kpạy yịna   to prepare medicine

kpe-á (v.)   to shut, lock

   kpe tuwa nɛ́ gey   to plaster a house with mud

kpém (subst.)   one; in negative sentence, at all

   ʔbay yo kpém   just the hide alone

   kpém kpém sɔ́n   each and every one

   gan wa yû kpém ná   they didn't get out of the way at all

kpɛ́kɛ́rɛ́ (adv.)   (leave) without one's whereabouts being known

kpɛ́rɛ́ŋ kpɛ́rɛ́ŋ (adv.)   descr. of walking and looking for something very care-
       fully

kpẹtí (n.)   perseverence

   wéey dɛ́ mɔ nɛ́ kpẹtí   a man does things with perseverence

kpɛ́yá (n.)   place where vision is unobstructed for a long way, open space
kpo-á (v.)   to tie up and make a knot
    kpo nɛ́ ŋmaá   to tie together
kpolo (n.)   ctn. owl
kpoó (n.)   meat sauce (to be eaten with kam)
kpɔrɔ kpɔrɔ (adv.)   descr. of good health, body unaffected by leprosy
kpɔ́ŋ kpɔ́ŋ (adv.)   very black
kpúŋ (adv.)   (run off) without stopping

L

láázák (adv.)   everything, completely
lám (adv.)   in a hurry, right away
    ɛrɛ kúú lám   let's get going right away
laŋgi(á) (v.)   to go on, pass on
léf- (n.)   See lép
lép ~ léf- (n.)   tongue
    léfém   my tongue
    lép-rɛ́   our tongues
lɛ́ŋgɛ́rɛ́ lɛ́ŋgɛ́rɛ́ (adv.)   descr. of small portion of a liquid
lúŋmgbé (n.)   ctn. tree (Combretum sp.); the leaves are used by women for
        skirts

M

-m (pron. suf.)   1S. See 382
makunzi ~ makunde < Sango (n.)   village headman, chief
mam-á (v.)   to laugh, smile
    wa mámaa   they laugh at him
    mam mami ín wí-ré   to joke with, converse in a jovial manner with
        people
mami (n.)   laughter, smile
ma̧-á (v.)   to plant by stems or stalks
má̧ (conn.)   See mɔ́
ma̧a (v.)   See ma̧r-á
ma̧r- ~ ma̧a (v.)   to put an article of clothing around one's waist (originally
        bark-clout or leaves)
mɛ (subst.)   that place, there
mɛ́ (pron.)   2S
mɛ́m (n.)   dew
mɛ̧ (conn.)   See mɔ́
mǐ (pron.)   See mbǐ
mɔ (n.)   thing; used with verb when no other object is specified
    gan a̧ zɔ́k mɔ ná   he can't see
    mɔ gɔ́y   like this, in this manner
    mɔ-́yɔŋi   things to eat, food
    zɛmbɛ́ ɔ́ nɛ mɔ-́kpa mɔ   the zɛmbɛ́ fetish is something with which one
        acquires wealth

    mɔ ndɛ wa tɛ́   since they come
    mɔ́ɪ a wa gbɛ́ ą̀ wenáa   that's why they are killing it
    wen kó mɔ ndɛ wa tɛ́   because they come
mɔ́ ~ mą́ ~ mę́ ~ mbɛ́ ~ mbɔ́ (conn.)   See 333
mɔk-á (v.)   to be, become soft
mɔɔrɔ́ (subst.)   five
mɔy-á (v.)   to gather
    ɛrɛ mɔ́y tɛ-kpém fara   we gather at one place
mundú (n.)   See mbunzú
munzú (n.)   See mbunzú
mųr- ~ mųu (n.)   boneless meat, flesh
    mųu-tɛ́ɂą   the flesh of his body
mų́rú (n.)   hail, lip plug (a piece of manioc tuber or stone inserted in a hole
        in the upper or lower lip)
mųu (n.)   See mųr-

MB

mba-á (v.)   to greet, to shake one's hand in greeting or congratulations
mbaŋ-á (v.)   to split, to cut lengthwise
mbɛ̂ (adj.)   new, another, different
    wa gbɛ́ mbéa   they kill another one
    tɔ mbéa ɂbɔ   to repeat
    ą̀ kɪ́ɂdɪ́ mbɛ̂ fiyo   he looks for another fetish
mbɛ́ (conn.)   See mɔ́
mbɛɛ (n.)   ctn. small antelope (reed-buck?)
mbɛɛ (v.)   See mbɛr-á
mbɛr-á ~ mbɛɛ (v.)   to beat, pound, slap, play (a drum or a stringed instru-
        ment)
mbɛ́tɛ (n.)   truth (?)
    nɛ mbɛ́tɛ   indeed
mbɛ́tɪ́ < Sango (n.)   paper, book, letter
    tɔ́ɔ mbɛ́tɪ́   to read
    dɛ mbɛ́tɪ́   to write
mbɪ́ ~ mɪ́ (pron.)   1S
mbiri mbiri (adv.)   somewhat dark, obscure
    fara ɔ́ mbiri mbiri   it's darkish
mbo-á (v.)   to restrain (?)
    wɪ́-mbóá zu   a responsible person
mboɂdi(á) (v.)   to make into balls (as in the preparation of food)
mborɔ́ (n.)   red monkey (Erythrocebus patas)
mbóro (subst.)   afternoon, evening (between around 3 p.m. and dark)
mbɔ́ (conn.)   See mɔ́
mbɔ́ŋgɔ́ (n.)   puddle
mbɔɔ (v.)   See mbɔr-á
mbɔr-á ~ mbɔɔ (v.)   to rot (of meat)
mbɔra (n.)   law, rule

bé~zee mbɔra   obedient child

wa tɔ́ mbɔra-̰gaza   they give the rules concerning the circumcision rites

mbɔy (n.)   bride-price

mbunzú ~ munzú ~ mundú < Sango (n.)   white man

mbúre (n.)   roasted sesame seeds

mbutú (mbutu?) (n.)   ?

   mbutú-sukpa   manioc leaves crushed in mortar and cooked without gbɔlɔ
      or okra

<p style="text-align:center">ʔM</p>

ʔma-á (v.)   to track down (animals)

ʔmaa (n.)   rainy season

   zaŋ-̰ʔmaa   in the rainy season

ʔmɛɛ (v.)   See ʔmɛr-á

ʔmɛr-á ~ ʔmɛɛ (v.)   to prevent, obstruct, cover up

   ʔmɛɛ mɔ-̰foyo kó wa   to cover up their shameful parts

ʔmịrak ʔmịrak (adv.)   descr. of blinking

ʔmɔn-á (v.)   to remain, stay, be left; to still be doing something; right, just

   ʔmɔnà kpém   one remains

   ʔmɔná gó gan wa dé ná   they haven't done it yet

   saʔde ʔmɔná gó ɔ́ nu   the animal is still on the ground

   nɛ ʔmɔ́n, nɛ gám tɛ-̰ɛ̰́   and then he turned around

   ʔmɔ́n ʔdɔɔ-zɔ́   right in the bush

   ʔmɔ́n gɔ́y a̰ tɔ́ ye   so he said

   ʔbay mɔ kpém ʔmɔ́n   just one thing

ʔmɔ́n ʔmɔ́n (adv.)   categorically, absolutely

   bɛ ʔmɔ́n ʔmɔ́n   to absolutely refuse

ʔmuŋ (adv.)   ?

   zụ nu ʔmuŋ   to descend with a certain noise

<p style="text-align:center">N</p>

na (subst.)   here

   tɛ-ré kɛ́ rɛ́ na   at our village here

ná (adj.)   See 362.1

ná (adv.)   See gan . . . ná

naa ~ naʔa (n.)   mother; used with the name of a child instead of personal
      name in polite, direct address

   naa-Bɔysɛ́   Bɔysɛ́'s mother

   naʔa-̰duwa   goat with kids

nam (n.)   family, relative

naŋ-á (v.)   to be lacking, inadequate

   kpáá mɔ gan nɛ́ naŋ mɛ̀ ná   you will not be lacking in wealth

náŋ (n.)   foot

   bɔlɔ-náŋ   footprints, tracks

náŋá (n.)   beginning (?)

kụ náŋá   to begin
nạ (conn.)   See nɛ
ngáá (subst.)   See ng̣r-
nạk-á (v.)   to tremble
    tɛʹạ nạk   he is trembling
ng̣ká (n.)   ?
    dɔ nạ́ká   to be selfish
ng̣r- ~ ng̣á (subst.)   four
nɛ ~ nạ ~ nɛ̣ ~ndɛ ~ ndɔ (conn.)   See 332.4
nɛ-á ~ nạ ~ nɛ̣ ~ ndɛ ~ ndo (v.)   to go; aux. for future. See 394.32
    nɛ nɛ́ ạ   to take him
    kóro ŋmá rɛ́ go nɛ́ nɛ́   it rained on us and kept on doing it
    nɛ nɔ   to walk
nɛ́ (conn.)   with, by means of, etc. See 345
    ó mɔ hárá sɔ́n nạ ạ tɔ̣à nɛ́i   all the things about which he spoke
    nɛ́ ture   in the morning
nɛ́ (copula)   See 352
nɔ-á (v.)   to drink
nɔ (n.)   walk, trip
    nɛ nɔ   to walk
nó (n.)   oil, fat, grease
    nó-saʔde   animal grease
nɔn-á (v.)   to harden (?)
    nɔn tɔ̣   to speak secretively
nóɔ (adj.)   this. See 632.2
    ɛrɛ gbó sɛn-tɛʹna nóɔ   we arrived here
nɔ́y (n.)   bird
nu (n.)   earth, ground
    fireʹnu   dust
    pị̃ nu   to throw down
nú ~ ndú (n.)   mouth, edge, rim
    ha oro-nú   to give a command
    am pị̃ núm sɛnɛ́   I add my bit (to the conversation)
    nú-tuwa   front of house, door of house
    yoo nɛ nú   to be quiet, not speak
    si kạ́fɛ́ oro-nú   to dispute what has been said
    ba nú   to be too much for one to cope with, to be a bother
nú-ngáá (subst.)   See nú-ng̣r-
nú-ng̣r- ~ nú-ngáá (subst.)   eight
nụn-ɔ́ (v.)   to smell
    ŋma mɔ nụ́núm   I smell something
nụr-ɔ́ ~ nụu (v.)   to rub between the palms of one's hands
nụu (v.)   See nụr-ɔ́
Nzapá ~ Ndapá < Sango (n.)   God

ND

ndak-á (v.) to chase away
ndará (n.) buffalo
nday (ndaáy?) ?
ndc (f.p.) See 323
ndé (f.p.) narrative vocative, interrogative marker. See 322
ndee (n.) See nder-
ndéé (adv.) few, little, small
    ó kɔrá kɔ́m gan dɔ́k ná go ó ndéé I have only a few chickens
nder- ~ ndee (n.) quiver (for arrows)
ndɛ (v.) See nɛ
ndɛɛ́r (adv.) nice looking (descr. of cowry shells tied to forehead)
ndɛŋgɛ (n.) ctn. palm; the fronds are used in weaving mats and in making
       skirts
ndin-ó (v.) to chase away
ndfiŋ (adv.?) dirty
ndo (conn.) See nɛ
ndoti(á) (v.) to be thick (as of cloth, lumber)
ndoy-á (v.) to save, collect, put aside
ndɔ-á (v.) to have sexual relations; impolite but explicit term, by implica-
      tion the sexual act is illegitimate by the culture's standards
ndɔ (v.) See nɛ
ndɔɔ (v.) See ndɔr-á
ndɔr-á ~ ndɔɔ (v.) to shoot (by means of arrow or gun)
   ndɔɔ tan to twist the hair into many little tufts, then apply the liquid of
      a certain root to stiffen them
ndú (n.) See nú
nduy-ó (v.) to chase away

ʔN

ʔnaŋ-á (v.) to ruin, destroy, perish
  naa kɔ́m ʔnaŋá my mother died
ʔnáŋ (adj.) bad, evil
  ʔnáŋaa dɔká the bad ones are numerous
  ŋma ʔnáŋ mbunzú a certain bad white man
ʔnɛ́ŋ (adv.) very early in the morning
ʔnpɔ (n.) excrement
  sɔ ʔnpɔ to defecate

ŋG

ŋgabala (n.) metal nostril plug used as adornment
ŋgan wí (n.) ctn. dance associated with purification after defilement by
      killing an animal dangerous to man or by killing a human being.

See W. J. Samarin, Gbεya prescientific attitudes and Christianity,
Practical Anthropology 6:179-182 (1959).

ŋgaŋgú < Sango (n.)   strength

ŋgaragé (n.)   ctn. hunting society. See W. J. Samarin, Ngaragé, a Gbεya
society, African Studies 18:190-196 (1959).

ŋgay (n.)   strength, hard, difficult

  bé-ŋgay   son, boy

  dε ŋgay   to act fiercely, act violently

  tɔ wen ŋgay   to speak severely

  ɔ ŋgay wen kέ rέ wen-nέá   it's hard for us to go

ŋgendé < Sango (n.)   chaise-longue

ŋgéré (n.)   shield

ŋgeti(á)   to bite

ŋgεm-á ~ ŋgεmbá (v.)   to hold, keep, wait for

  ŋgεm tε   to be careful, take precautions

  ŋgέmbaa   Wait for him!

ŋgεwɔɔ (adv.)   descr. of bark cloth which has had ndεŋgε sewn on it

ŋginda (n.)   See ŋginza

ŋginza ~ ŋginda < Sango (n.)   money

ŋgombe < Sango (n.)   gun

ŋgómbi (n.)   cloth made by pounding the bark of the zɔɔ́rɔ tree

ŋgondo (n.)   direction from which wind is blowing at the time of the great
grass-burning

ŋgɔ́k (n.)   nail (of finger, toe)

ŋgɔ́n (n.)   up, high

  feá tε-ŋgɔ́n   died standing up (that is, before falling down)

  nεà ŋgɔ́n mε   went up there

ŋgɔɔr (adv.)   with a loud noise

ŋgɔ́rɔ́m ŋgɔ́rɔ́m (adv.)

  nε nέ ŋgɔ́rɔ́m ŋgɔ́rɔ́m   to take something completely away

  gbịn ŋgɔ́rɔ́m ŋgɔ́rɔ́m   to collapse into uselessness

ŋgɔyá (n.)   bush-hog (Potamochoerus porcus); taboo to newly circumcised

ŋguʔdú (n.)   chest

ŋguʔbú (n.)   hippopotamus; taboo to newly circumcised

ŊM

ŋma ~ ŋa (adj.)   a, certain

  gbεá ŋma toró   killed a dog

ŋma-á (v.)   to press down on, wet (of rain)

  kɔ́ro ŋmaà rέ   the rain wet us

ŋmaa (subst.)   other, some, a few

  ŋmaa gan bɔ́ ʔbɔ ná   there aren't any others

  ŋmaa a yɔ́ri   there's one standing there

ŋmaá (subst.)   each other

  wa ɔ́ nε yấ kɔ́ ŋmaá   they are brothers

  wa ték ín ŋmaá   they fall together

ɛ́rɛ́ aà kɔ́ɔ́-ŋmaà ín wa   we joined up with them

kay ŋmaá   to assemble, get together

ŋmą́ŋ ŋmę́k (adv.)   See ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ

ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ (adv.)   very often, all the time, for ever

ŋmąy-á (v.)   to cut off, to slice off, to cease (flowing or raining)

kɔ́ro gan ŋmą́y dɔ́ɔ́ ná   the rain didn't stop soon

wá ŋmąyà tɛ́-wa   they broke up (for each one to go his own way)

tɔk-tɛ́-wa bó ŋmą́yá   when their blood has stopped flowing

ŋmíʔní ŋmíʔní (adv.)   tightly

ŊMGB

ŋmgban-á ~ ŋmgbandá (v.)   to rip off or apart

ŋmgbaŋ-á ~ ŋmgbaŋgá (v.)   to be or become fat

ŋmgbą́ŋ (adv.)   also (especially in accompaniment with)

ŋmgbɛ́rɛ́ (n.)   leprosy

ŋmgbɛ́rɛ́ dɛ́ ą   he has leprosy

ŋmgbíim (n.)   ctn. fish which, upon contact with flesh, gives an electrical
shock; taboo to the newly circumcised

ŋmgbóŋ (adv.)   for a long time

dų́ŋ wa kíʔdí rɛ́ ŋmgbóŋ   they kept on looking for us for a long time

ŋmgbɔ-á (v.)   to pound (bark into cloth)

ŋmgbɔʔbɔk (adv.)   *descr. of many people singing*

ŋmgbɔŋ ŋmgbɔʔbɔ (adv.)   descr. of many people singing

O

o (subst.)   who? See 382.3

o á tɛá o ndé   who came?

oó (f.p.)   See 324

-ó (perf. suf.)   See -á

ó (adj.)   plural indicator. See 361.1

wa yɔ́ŋ ó kɔndi kɔ́m   they eat my corn

ó Ndurí   people from the village of Ndurí

ó Guʔdó nɛ́ ín Sáámɔ   Guʔdó and Sáámɔ went

ndɛ rɛ kpá ó yám-Sara   and we met Sara's father and those who accom-
panied him

óó   See óró . . . gá

oro (n.)   place of, the very place

dų́ŋ mɛ oro-rɛ́   to live there in our place

wa bá duwai nɛ́ oro-kiri   they take the goat whole

oro-nú   a command, order

am pį́ paai oróai   I put the knife back in its place (where it first was)

kóa zéɛ́ wen oro-núm   the girl obeys according to what I say

si ką́fɛ́ oro-nú   to dispute what someone has said

kuu oro-zɛ́rɛ́ nɛ fey nɛ́ tɛá   after sickness death will come

kuu oróai nạ ạ tɛ́   later he comes

oro ~ ro (pron.)   pl. explicit pron. See 382.12

óró (~ óó) . . . gá (conn.)   like, as, as if, about approximately. See 332.5

    ŋgέm óró mɔ nạ ạ tɵ̣i gá   Wait just as he said to!

    gba ạ rɔkà óró gende gá   even if she is good like anything

    óró nạ́ ạ́ kúró gá   as if he were going to get up

ɔ (pron.)   1P (from Boguila dialect)

ɔ-á (v.)   to be, sleep (very often of sg. subj.)

    ɔ nu   to lie down

    ɔ ín kóo   to have sexual relations with woman

    gan ó mbέ rέ si fέέ ná   it's not for us to argue

    paa kóm ó sεnέ   I have a knife

    paa am ó nέ   as for a knife, I have one

    mɔ-́ɔi   things on which to sleep

-ó (perf. suf.)   See -á

ɔm-á ~ ɔmbá (v.)   to breathe

    ɔm tε   to rest

    ʔmɔná go óm ɔmi   he's still breathing

ɔy-á (v.)   to vomit

P

paa (n.)   knife

    zɔm-́paa   very large knife, sword

parába < Sango < Portuguese (n.)   trouble, argument

    ndέ rέ dε parába sóɔ   we're going to have trouble today

pee (v.)   See per-á

per-á ~ pee (v.)   to return to the place at which one is speaking

    pee ʔdoŋ   to return

pesi(á) (v.)   to be wide

pε (n.)   year

    pέε nóɔ   this year

    dε pε rííto   to last two years

pέέ (n.)   See pέr-

pέr- ~ pέέ (n.)   string, rope

    pέέ-dóma   rope made from the bark of the dóma tree

pɛ̣έ (n.)   kob antelope (Adenota kob)

pị-ó (v.)   to put, cast, throw (sg. obj.)-

    pị yaŋgo   to fish with hook-and-line

    pị kura   to shoot an arrow

poo (n.)   gallery-forest

poopó (n.)   lungs

R

-ra (det. suf.)   See -a

rá (adv.)   ?

    e rá   to give up, cease doing something

raa (n.) ctn. very small black ant

ráká?dí (adv.) unafraid

    ą ?moná go yóó ráká?dí   he remained standing unafraid

rąma (n.) ?

    túrú-rąma   cloth woven from indigenous cotton

re-á (v.) to enter (sg. subj.), set (of sun)

ré (n.) village, home

    ą neà ré ką́ ą   he went home

    wí-ré   person

    wí-zaŋ-ré   villager

    ré-naa   mother's village

ré (?) See 382.3

    dɛà ré ge   what happened? what's up?

rɛ (pron.) See ɛrɛ

rɛ́k rɛ́k (adv.) not missing a thing, exactly

rɛ́kɛ́t (adv.) on the spot

rɛm-á (v.) to be able, can; to be enough; to be equal to, alike

    rɛm wen kó nɛ   to be able to go

    rɛm dɛ mɔ   to be able to do something

    ɛ́ɛ rɛmà ré   this is enough for us

    bó wá yɔ rɛ́m   after they have danced enough

    wesé bó rɛ́má   when it is time

    ą dɛ́ go rɛ́m ín oro-nú-wa   he did it in compliance with their instructions

    rɛm rú?dú?dú   to be absolutely alike

    wá yɔŋá ge?da gó gan rɛ́m ná   they ate an awful lot of manioc

rɛ̨mɛ (n.) sand

ri (n.) water, river, year

    bé-ri   creek

    ri-kóro   rainwater

    ɔ́ ri   it's wet

    dɛ ri   to set traps to catch fish

    zu-ri   source of stream, spring

    ?doŋ-ri   river bank

ri-ó (v.) to eat (when the sauce is entirely liquid)

ríf- (n.) See ríp

rííto (subst.) two

ríp ~ ríf- ~ rí (n.) eye, face

    ríp-záan   the sky

    ríp-ri   surface of the river

    gɔm ríp   to blink

    kɔ-ríp-wa   their faces

    á mɛ yɔŋ mɔ tɛ-ríp-wí-ré ná   Don't eat food in the presence of people!

rįfi(ɔ́) (v.) to make string by rolling fibers on one's thigh

rįk-ɔ́ (v.) to hit, strike

    rįk nu   to fall down

ro (pron.) See oro

ro-á (v.) to hit (as with a stone)

rɔk-á (v.)   to be smooth

rɔy (adv.)   See rɔy rɔy

rɔy rɔy (adv.)   without restrictions (very wide range of meaning)

 wa kpá ŋma wí-ré zaŋ-réi rɔy   they find just somebody in the village

 mɛ rɛm kpay há wí-ré rɔy rɔy   you may prepare (the medicine) for
   people without restrictions

 tɔ wen rɔy rɔy   to talk unwisely, indiscretely

 yɔŋ mɔ rɔy rɔy   to eat without any precautions

rɔk-á (v.)   to be good, be pleasing

 réi rɔ́k tɛ-rɛ́   the village pleases us, we like the village

 rɔ́k ʔdɛ́ gán, goi bá mbunzù nɔ́ɔ   it would be better if you took this white
   man

 a dɛ́ mɔ rɔ́k ʔdɛ́   she works well

rɔɔ (n.?)   sweetness (?)

 dɛ rɔɔ   to taste good, to be sweet

ru-ó (v.)   to prepare (porridge)

rúʔdúʔdú (adv.)   being absolutely alike

rųm-5 (v.)   to collect a large quantity of something

 rųm nú   to pucker up one's lips

<div align="center">S</div>

sa-á (v.)   to sing, call

 sa gima   to sing a song

 sa mɔ   to call out, yell

 sa yín   to expose someone

saa (n.)   fun, game, enjoyable time

 dɛ saa   to have fun, rejoice

 mɔ-saa   plaything, toy

 nɛ́ saa ná   an intensifier (lit. no joke): a góy rɛ́ nɛ́ saa ná   he likes us
   very much

saa (n.)   See sar-á

saakara (n.)   island

saʔde (n.)   animal, meat

 saʔde-tɛ   flesh, body

sáki < Sango < French (n.)   thousand (francs)

sandúku < Sango (n.)   box, trunk

saŋa (n.)   within, between, among, inside

 mɔy tɛ-saŋa   to meet in the middle

 sɛn-tɛ-saŋa-tɛ-ó tų́ wí-ré   among Africans (lit. black people)

 re saŋa-tɛ-a   to enter him

sar-á ~ saa (v.)   to scratch, go by another route, dispute

 a sáá ín wa   he disputes with them

 saa sék   to think, ponder

sara (n.)   crotch (of pole or tree)

sát (adv.)   very early

say (n.)   pumpkin

sạ-á (v.)   ?
   fara sạ   to be a new day
sạa (adv.)   sweet, good (of smell)
sạk-á (v.)   to be clean, neat, correct
   kóo gan rέm tɔ wen sậk ná   a woman can't talk correctly
   é hám zókaa sậk   let me see it well
sạm-á (v.)   to eat a crumbly or dry substance without dipping it into a sauce
sḛp (n.)   spittle
   a sḛp   to spit
sék (n.)   ?
   saa sék   to think, ponder
sélélé (adv.)   quiet
   ạ yóó nɛ nú-ḛ sélélé   he is very quiet
sέ (conn.)   See 332.6
sɛm sɛm (adv.)   descr. of quivering spear shaft
sɛn (n.)   place at which
   mbunzú nɛ tɛà kḛ ḛ sɛn-tɛ-Laagata   the white man who came from Laagata
   ɛk sɛn-tɛ-ŋma bé-te   to lean against a small tree
   ạ rḭk nɛ dénɛ sɛn-tanámi   he hit the wasps on my head with it
sɛn-á (v.)   to hate, spite
   dɛ sɛn mɔ   to act in spiteful, hateful way
sɛnέ (subst.)   at this (that) place, there
   pḭ sɛnέ   to add to it
   paa kóm ó sɛnέ   I have a knife
sɛra (n.)   liver
   tḭ-sɛrám péé   I'm nauseated
   ạ dέ kpém kɔ-sɛra ín wa   he is of one heart with them
   ó nέ sɛra kó mέ wen-dɛ mɔ   it's your desire to do something
   kɔ-sɛra-ré gan kó ʔdoŋ-nɛ fɔ ná   we don't want to go to the gardens
sérá (n.)   anthill
sέrɛ (n.)   spear
   kṵ sέrɛ   to start a fight
sḛk-á (v.)   to chop (at a flat surface, as with an adze)
   sḛk ʔdoŋ-fyo-te   to clean the back-side of a piece of bark
sḛm-a (v.)   to tuck in
   wa sḛm wậ kậ-gun-wa   they tie on leaves at each side of their hips
si-ó (v.)   to return (usually to a place other than where one is speaking)
   si fḛέ   to argue, disagree
sḭ (n.)   direction, way
   sḭ-kậ-tɛ   toward the side
   ba sḭ-ʔday   to take something away
   ba sḭ-ʔdoŋ   to take something away
sin-ó (v.)   to tie long objects parallel to each other (as in making a screen)
sḭyú sḭyú (adv.)   tightly
   kạa péέ sḭyú sḭyú   to braid string tightly
só (adj.?)   ?
   mɔ só   what's-his-name

só ká̧ (conn.)   See só kó

só kɛ́ (conn.)   See só kó

só kɛ̧́ (conn.)   See só kó

só kó ~ só ká̧ ~ só kɛ́ ~ só kɛ̧́ ~ sóó (conn.)   then. See 332.7

sóó (adj.?)   little

   sóó naa   mother's younger sister, (female) mother's older brother's
      daughter, (male) father's younger brother's wife (who is sibling of
      mother)

sóó (conn.)   See só kó

soy-á (v.)   to sit down, be seated

sɔk-á (v.)   to grow up, mature, become old

sɔ́ká (n.)   knowledge, wisdom

sɔ́kái (n.)   elder, old person

sɔn-á (v.)   to finish off, no longer exist

   da̧y-gaza sɔnà sɔ́n   the circumcision wound is all healed

sɔ́n (adv.)   all, completely

   ɛ́rɛ́ sɔ́n, ɛrɛ zɔ́kaa   all of us saw it

   bá̧ á̧ dɛ mɔ sɔ́n   after he has finished working

   ɛrɛ á fɔ sɔ́n   we all went to the gardens

sɔ́ɔ (subst.)   today

   sɔ́ɔ nɔ́ɔ   today

sɔ́rá (n.)   star

sɔ́rám (n.)   paternal uncle, term of respect for adult males

   sɔ́ráam   (used in direct address)

sɔ-á (v.)   to secrete

   sɔ íni   to urinate

   sɔ ʔnɔ́ɔ   to defecate

sɔ bɛra (n.)   sweat

   sɔ bɛra á tɛɛ́m   I'm perspiring

súʔbé (n.)   stomach (in its specific sense, that is, the organ)

sukpa (n.)   manioc leaves (used as vegetable greens)

sunu (n.)   sesame

<center>T</center>

ta (n.)   stone

taa (subst.)   See tar-

táá ~ táa (adv.)

   ʔmɔnà táa   not yet (of almost any incompleted action)

táa (adv.)   See táá

tam-á (v.)   to touch, feel

tan (n.)   head

   dɛ tan   to fix up one's hair

   gɔn tan   to cut one's hair

tan-á (v.)   to be straight, straighten

   é hám zɔ́k tán sɛ́   let me see better

   táná ʔdoŋ-wáá   a straight road

tar- ~ taa (subst.) three

tą (n.) ?

   gɔn tą to think, make plans

   haa tą-wen to think

tą (conn.) See tɛ

te (n.) tree, bush, stick

tek-á (v.) to fall

tɛ (n.) body; to, at (in preposition-like constructions)

   saʔde-tɛ flesh

   kiri-tɛ flesh

   gam tɛ to turn around

   zee tɛ to hear, obey (when there is no other object)

   zɔk tɛ to see

   too tɛ happiness

   tɔk-tɛ-wa their blood

   tɛa ɔ́ nɛ búu it (the tree) is white

   nɛ ką́-tɛ on the side

   am gbúraa tɛ-tɛɛ́m na I pull him toward me

   ą péé ʔdoŋ tɛ-tɛ-rɛ́ na he returns to us here

tɛ ~ tɛ ~ tą ~ to (conn.) See 332.8

tɛ-á (v.) to come, as aux. (~ tɛ ~ tą ~ to). See 394.33

   tɛ nɛ́ mɔ to bring the thing

tɛndɛ (n.) cotton

   gba tɛndɛ a ctn. indigenous cultivated "cotton," the plant of which is
      large enough for children to climb on; the seeds are large

tí (n.) first, ahead, before, previously, in front of

   pee tɛ-tíi to return first

   gan am ĩ́ŋ wen kó dilai tí ná I didn't know about the lion before

   dak tí to lead (a group)

   hey kɔwá tí-ó dɛ́má wí-ré to cry in front of a crowd of people

   gbɛà ɔ́ wí-ré kó mɛ́ ʔbɛ́ɛ tí killed some of your people long ago

   kúku-tí the first thing, first of all

tįi (n.) See tįr-$_1$, tįr-$_2$

tįr-$_1$ ~ tįi (n.) tail

tįr-$_2$ ~ tįi (n.) canoe

tįrɛ (n.) payment, fee (for use of canoe, fetish, etc.)

to See tɛ (conn.), tɛ (aux.)

to (n.) fable

   tɔ to to relate fables

   Wan to the Spider (the main character of many fables)

to-á (v.) to pound (as in mortar), to knock down

tó See tɛ (v.)

tok-á (v.) to sew a string onto a piece of cloth by putting it in and out on a
      flat surface, to cut down (at the base of something)

tóko (n.) mat; (by extension) bed, sleeping place

   gɔ́n-tóko-zɛ́rɛ́ on a bed of illness

tom (n.) message, errand, work

   dɛ tom   to work

   bɔ̂-tom   messenger

   yu tom   to run with a message

tom-á ~ tombá (v.)   to send

   tom tom   to send a message

   am tóm hą̧ ą   I send word to him

ton (n.)   vagina

too tɛ (n.)   happiness, happy

   dɛ too tɛ   to be happy, to celebrate

toró (n.)   dog

toy (n.)   baggage, personal belongings

   toy-yɔŋ mɔ   eating utensil

toy-á (v.)   to carry (on one's head)

tɔ-á (v.)   to be sharp

tɔ́ŋ (n.)   salt

tɔ-á (v.)   to say, speak

   wí-tɔ wen   person who talks too much

   wa tɔ́ ye gɛ   they say

tɔk (n.)   blood

   tɔk-tɛ-wa   their blood

tɔɔ (v.)   See tɔr-á

tɔr-á ~ tɔɔ (v.)   to count, enumerate

   tɔɔ mbɛ́tí   to read

ture (n.)   morning

   turee   this morning

   zu-ture   very early in the morning

túrú (n.)   ctn. tree from which bark was cut off and used in making cloth

      (Ficus punctata Lam.); cloth, clothes

   pį túrú   to put clothes (on oneself)

tusi(ó) (v.)   ?

   tusi wey   to make a fire

tut (adv.)   suddenly

   gɔm tut   to cut something off with one stroke

tuwa (n.)   house, building

   nú-tuwa   entrance, doorway

tų-ɔ́ (v.)   to be or become dark, black

   fara dųŋ tų́ rɛ́   it was beginning to get dark on us (that is, darkness was

      overtaking us)

   tų ʔdóŋ ʔdóŋ   to be very dark

tų́ (adj.)   black

   tų́ wí-ré   black person, African

tųn-ɔ́ (v.)   to waken

U

-ú (perf. suf.)   See -á

ururu (adv.)   descr. of rumbling of an elephant's intestines

usi(ó) (v.)   to show, teach

V

valé (n.)   covered pen (usually made of logs to protect against leopards;
   the entrance is shut each night)
 valé-duwa   goat-pen
vạy (adv.)   ?
 dụm vạy   to spear with extreme forcefulness
vɛɛ (adv.)   ?
 yĭnaa hɔá saŋa-tei vɛɛ   the tusks appeared between the trees
vip (adv.)   ?
 e wey vip   to set fire to something explosively
vúmɔ́ (n.)   body hair, fur, feathers
 vúmɔ́-tɛɛ́m   my body hair
 vúmɔ́-nɔ́y   bird feathers
vúrú (n.)   ctn. vine (Sarcophrynium sp.); used in mat-making
ɸoŋ (adv.)   ?
 ro ɸoŋ   to hit something making it give off a ringing sound

W

wa (pron.)   3P
wa (f.p.)   See 325
wa-á (v.)   to hoe, weed, work with a hoe
wá (f.p.)   See 326
waa (n.)   See war-
Wáam (n.)   a large river which flows north, by the towns of Bozoum and
   Bossangoa, and which meets the Nana Barya (river) at Batangafo
wáá (n.)   See wár-
waka (n.)   cane-grass
wan (n.)   master, owner, boss
 Wan to   Spider (the main character of many fables)
 wan fiyo   one who owns the rights to a certain fetish
war- ~ waa (n.)   beans
 gbạra-waa   individual bean kernels
wár- ~ wáá (n.)   path, road, way
 a tĭ-wáá   to set an ambush
 wáá fara taa   three times
 ʔdoŋ-wáá-Bossangoa   the road to Bossangoa
 ʔdoŋ-wá-nɛ fɔ bó ná   it's impossible to go to the gardens
 am kĭĭ ʔdoŋ-wáá kạ́ á   I'm trying to locate him
 e wĭ-ré tɛ-ʔdoŋ-wáá   to put a person on his way, accompany a person to
   the road
 ɓ nɛ́ ʔdoŋ-wáraa   that's correct, that's the way
 wa úsĭ ʔdoŋ-wáá há mɛ́   they show you the way (to do it)
 wáá-wéey   right side

wáá-kóo   left side

way-á ~ wará (v.)   to bear fruit

   wárá-te   fruit

waya (n.)   ambush

   yu waya   to lie in ambush

wá̰ (n.)   leaf

   kɔm wá̰   to pluck leaves

   wá̰a ~ wá̰ára   the leaves

we-á (v.)   to measure

   we tǐ-wa   to meet them (on the road)

wee (v.)   See wer-á

wéé (perhaps wér-?) (n.)   ?

   yɔŋ wéé-tǐ-sɛra-̰a̰   to eat his liver (in witchcraft)

wécy (f.p.)   See 327

wéey (n.)   man, male

   wéey-kɔfɛ   son-in-law

   dɛ tɛ nɛ wéey   to act in a manly way

wééy (n.)   ?

   wééy-nú   lip

wen (n.)   word, affair, matter, subject

   tɔ wen   to talk

   wen gan bó ná   it's all right, everything is fine

   né kpasí wen   it's the truth

   wenáa   because of it, for it, about it

   hɛɛ zu-̰wen   to conclude a matter, resolve a problem

   ɔ́ né wen kɛ́ rɛ́ wen-̰dɛ mɔ   we must do something

   bóm gam tɛɛ́m wen kó ném ba te   when I turned around to climb a tree

   wa ɔ́ kɔ-kútu-̰gaza wen-̰ze kpɛ́m   they sleep in the circumcision hut for
      a month

   mɛ kǐ?dǐ kóo ná wen-̰ge ndé   why aren't you looking for a wife?

   ge a mɛ yú yui wenáa ge ndé   why are you running?

wéndé ~ béndé (f.p.)   See 328

   mɛ́ tombá tom béndé   did you send word?

wéndé . . . gan (conn.)   See 332.9

wen kó (conn.)   See 331.2

wen-̰mɔ (conn.)   See 331.2

wer-á ~ wee (v.)   to supplicate (a fetish). See also wey-á

wesé (n.)   sun, day

   wesé rcá   the sun has set

   wesé nɛ bɔ́ mɛ́ zɔkaa ná   if you should not see him

   tɛ-̰wesé-kɔfɛ na̰ a̰ dɛ́i   at the time when he is working for his in-laws

wey (n.)   fire, heat, gun

   e mɔ wey   to put something on the fire to cook

   nú-wey   clan, clansman

   ɔ́ wey   it's hot (to the touch)

   fara yɔ́ɔ wey   it's hot (of the weather)

wey-á ~ werá (v.)   to make a noise, go off

ạ dóm fɛra go wéy féé   he blows a whistle and it goes féé

wí (pron.)   2P

wí (n.)   person, agentive

   wí-o   who?

   wía   the person

   ge wí-ge ndé   who?

   wí-toy mɔ   porter

   wí-zaŋ-ré   villager, one of us

wírí wírí (adv.)   without anyone's knowing

   raa á saŋa-tɛ́ạ wírí wírí   the raa ants entered his body without his
        knowing

wóró wóró (adv.)   ?

   yu wóró wóró   to flee quickly in a group

wɔ (n.)   desire, hunger

   fe wɔ   to die of hunger

   wɔ gbɛ́m   I'm very hungry

<div align="center">Y</div>

-y (QV)   See gende gá ye ge

yaa (v.)   See yar-á

yám (n.)   father, used casually for one of the paternal uncles

   yáam   (in direct address)

yaŋgo < Sango (n.)   fishhook

   pị yaŋgo   to fish with hook-and-line

yar-á ~ yaa (v.)   to roam, walk, stroll

   yaa yarí   to go hunting

yara (n.)   sleep

   yara dɛ́m   I'm sleepy

   wa ɔ́ yara   they are asleep

   rífím bá yara   I'm sleepy

yarí (n.)   hunting

   yaa yarí   to go hunting

yá̧ (n.)   sibling, friend, comrade

   yá̧-wéey   brother

   yá̧-kóo   sister

ya̧ra (n.)   ctn. fish; taboo to the newly circumcised

ya̧rɛ (n.)   brother-, sister-in-law

ya̧y-á (v.)   to pull apart

ye (QV)   See gende gá ye ge

yelele (adv.)   descr. of waving back and forth slowly

-yɛ (dem. suf.)   See -ɛ

yɛk-á (v.)   to shake in violent motions, tremble

yɛtɛtɛ (adv.)   descr. of trembling

yɛ̧ɛ (v.)   See yɛ̧r-á

yɛ̧r-á ~ yɛ̧ɛ (v.)   to be far, long

   á̧ zụ̀ yɛ̧́ɛ̧́   he went far away

kɔ́ɔ-mɛ́ nɛ́ yɛrá   you'll be gone a long time

yĭn (n.)   name

    ba yĭn   to talk about someone, slander

yĭn (n.)   root, tooth

    yɔ̧ŋ yĭn   to be courageous, persevere

yi̧na (n.)   medicine

    kpa̧y yi̧na   prepare medicine

yo (n.)   hide, leather

yoo (v.)   See yor-á

yor-á ~ yoo (v.)   to stand

    yoo nɛ nú   to be quiet

    yoo ŋgɔ́n   to stand up

yɔ-á (v.)   to lose, get lost

    ám yɔá ʔdoŋ-wáá   I've lost the way

    yɔ́á mɔ   fault, mistake

yɔ-á (v.)   to dance

    yɔ yɔra   to dance

yɔk (n.)   trap

yɔli(á) (v.)   to move something toward oneself

yɔŋgi(á) (v.)   to carry (something big and/or heavy)

yɔra (n.)   dance

yɔy-á (v.)   to pull out (intestines of animal)

yɔ̧ná (n.)   (garden) food, foodstuffs

yɔ̧ŋ-á (v.)   to eat, bite, chew

    mɔ-yɔ̧ŋi   food

    yɔ̧ŋ ĭyo-te   to chew bark to soften it

    ŋma kɔ́o á yɔ̧ŋá a̧ gbɛ́i   some woman chewed on her and killed her (in
        witchcraft)

yɔ̧y-á (v.)   to stick out, extend

    am yɔ̧y érém   I stick out my hand

yu-ó (v.)   to flee, run away, avoid

    búk yú   the wind is blowing

    yu waya   to lie in ambush

    yu tom   to run with a message

yufi(ó) (v.)   to mix up, make (small portion of a pasty substance)

yui (n.)   running

    yu yui   to run fast

yur-ó ~ yuu (v.)   to poke in, stick through

yuu (v.)   See yur-ó

yu̧m-ɔ́ (v.)   to hurt, ache

    zaŋám yṵ́m wenáa   I'm upset about it

    tɛm yṵ́m   I'm not feeling well

Z

za (n.)   throwing-knife

záan (n.)   outside, in the open

nɛ tɛ-záan   to go outside
ríp-záan   sky
bú záan   white clouds
dɥŋ záan   to live a long time
za?da (n.)   chin, jowls
za?di(á) (v.)   ?
   za?di yui   to run fast
zak (n.)   horn (of animal)
zak (n.)   fibrous material (?)
   zak⁻ge?da   fibers left after manioc flour has been sifted
zam-á (v.)   to save, deliver, preserve
zaŋ (n.)   stomach, belly; inside, in
   yạk⁻zaŋ⁻sa?de   animal's intestines
   ba zaŋ   to be or become pregnant
   zaŋám yụm wenáa   I'm angry about it
   zaŋ⁻wa dɛ́ saa   they are happy
   kạ́-zaŋ⁻tuwa   beside the house
   zaŋ-ré   in the village
záŋ (adv.)   different, apart
   mɔ nɔ́ɔ ɔ́ záŋ   this thing is different
   ạ́ nɛà záŋ   he went a different way
zara (zará?) (n.)   horn (instrument)
   zara⁻?burí   reed whistle
zawa (n.)   peanuts
zạ-á (v.)   to dig up, dig (hole)
zạa (adv.)   in vain, without results
   dɛ mɔ zạa   to do something without getting any results
zạra (n.)   a ctn. edible tuberous root (<u>Dioscorea</u> <u>sagittifolia</u> or <u>D</u>. <u>Lecardii</u>)
ze (n.)   moon, month
   ge ze⁻ge   when?
   ge zéc   when?
   wa ɔ́ sɛnɛ́ ze kpém   they stayed there one month
zee (v.)   See zer-á
zer-á ~ zee (v.)   to hear, understand
   zee wen   to listen, obey
   zee oro-nú   to obey
   gan wa zéê tɛ⁻wa kpém ná   they just don't obey at all
   am zéê ye ge mɛ́ gbɛá dila   I hear that you killed a lion
zɛ (subst.)   night
   zu⁻zɛ   very early in the morning, dawn
   zɛ dɛá   it has become night
   zɛɛ   tonight
zɛ́ɛ (subst.)   yesterday
zɛmbɛ́ (n.)   ctn. fetish
   ba zɛmbɛ́   to appeal to, utilize the zɛmbɛ́
   wí-zɛmbɛ́   practitioner of the zɛmbɛ́ fetish
zɛra (n.)   ear

zɛ́rɛ́ (n.)   sickness
  zɛ́ré dɛ́ a̧   he is sick
  wí-zɛ́rɛ́   sick person
zɛ́ (n.)   smoke
  zɛ́-wey   smoke (literally, smoke of fire)
zik-ó (v.)   to go around
  zik tɛ   to turn oneself to the side
zi̧ (n.)   fly
  zi̧-gɔrɔ   honeybee
zi̧fa (n.)   switch for whipping people
zi̧i (v.)   See zi̧r-ó
zi̧m-ó (v.)   to abstain from, observe a taboo, avoid
zi̧r-ó ~ zi̧i (v.)   to descend, get down
zóló̧ló̧ (adv.)   very white
zoro (n.)   fish
zoy-á (v.)   to swim, bathe
  a̧ zóy ri   he's bathing
zɔk-á (v.)   to see, understand
  gan a̧ zɔ́k tɛ-a̧ ná   he can't see, he is blind
  rífaa ʔmoná go zɔ́k mɔ wen kó mɛ́   she is expecting you
zɔm (adj.)   big
zɔmi (n.)   senior, someone whom one must respect
zɔn-á (v.)   to admire
zóŋá (n.)   young woman, woman whose body is still youthful
  dɛ zóŋá   to dress up (of girls)
  zóŋá kɔ́m   my adolescent daughter
zóŋá-ka̧-Wáam (n.)   ctn. tree
zoɔ́rɔ (n.)   ctn. tree (Ficus sp.)
zɔ́ (n.)   grass, bush, uncultivated area away from the village
  ɔ zɔ́   to sleep in the bush
  pi̧ zɔ́   to throw away
zɔf- (n.)   See zɔp
zɔm (n.)   See zɔp
zɔp ~ zɔm ~ zɔf- (n.)   nose
  zɔfóm   my nose
  zɔp-ɛ́   his own nose
  zɔm-wa   their noses
zu-ó (v.)   to steal
zu (n.)   head, top of; on
  zu-ri   source of stream, spring
  zu-kara   top of hill
  zu-ture   very early in the morning
  zu-fey   grave-site
  wen nɛ́ ɔ zu-mɛ́   trouble will fall on you
  á mɛ́ nɛ me yoo zúa ná   don't go and stand over them (while they eat)
  zu-wa ó taa   there are three of them
  sa ŋma wí-ré á zu-wa   to call some people to supplement them

zúsúka < Sango < French (adv.)   for a long time

    wa yáá gɔ́y ŋmgbóŋ zúsúka   they kept on walking like this for a long time

zụ-ɔ́ (v.)   to stick, insert, depart

    zụ nu   to descend

    ạ yú kɛ́ ɛ́ zụ́   he fled

ENGLISH-GBEYA

A

a, an ŋma
able, to be rɛm-á
about: to know about jŋ wen kó
  ask them about it ák wa wenáa
about (approximately) óro . . . gá
absence, in the tɛ-bɔlɔ
absolutely ʔmɔ́n ʔmɔ́n
abstain from, to zịm-ɔ́
accompany, to nɛ ín (lit. go with)
according oro
ache, to yụm-ɔ́
addition, in e-á
adequate, to be dam-á
admire, to zɔn-á
adolescent: boy bisa, girl zɔ́ŋá
affair wen
afraid: we were afraid kéey dèà
  rɛ́
African tụ́ wí-ré
after bɔlɔ, oro, kuu bɔlɔ́ai, kɔ́raaí
afternoon mbóro
again mbéa ʔbɔ
agree, to kɔ ʔdoŋáa
ahead tí
alight on tree, to ba te
all láázák, sɔ́n; that's all sɔná;
  at all kpém ná
alone ɛn-tɛ
also ʔbɔ, ŋmgbáŋ
always ŋmáŋ ŋmáŋ
ambush: to set an ambush a tí-wáá;
  to lie in ambush yu waya
among ʔdɔr-, saŋa-tɛ
and nɛ, tɛ, go
anger dạ
angry, to be zaŋ yụm-ɔ́, tɛ yụm-ɔ́

animal saʔde
anklet dɛla
another mbé, ŋma
ant (ctn.) raa
antelope biro, gba dɔrɔ́, kaya,
  mbɛɛ, pɛ́ɛ
anus nú-geʔde
any (not particular) rɔy
anyone ŋma wí-ré rɔy
appear, to hɔ-á
approach, to heʔdi(á)
arise, to kur-ó
arm ér-, ʔbaka
around, to go zik-ó
arrive, to gbo-á
arrow kura
as See like
ashes búú-wey
ask, to ak-á; to ask for something,
  borrow kɔy-á
at sɛn, tɛ, né
avoid, to yu-ó; to avoid something
  tabooed zịm-ɔ́
away, to take ba sí-ʔday
awfully gan rɛ́m ná

B

back ʔdoŋ, kɔr-; back in the same
  place oróa; to go back si ʔdoŋ
bad ʔnáŋ
bag daná
bank of river ʔdoŋ-ri
bark (of tree) íyo
base (of tree) gun
basket (ctn.) gɛzɛ
bathe, to zoy ri
be, to: sg. subj. ɔ-á, pl. subj. ya-á;

to be at a place for a year   dɛ pɛ

bead   kĭsi

beans   war-

bear, to: children   ko-á, gbay-á;
  fruit   way-á

because   wen, wen-mɔ nɛ, wen kó

become: it has become night   zɛ
  dɛá

bed (sleeping place)   tóko, gan dɔk,
  mɔ-ɔi

bee   zĭ-gɔrɔ

beer   dɔ́ɔ

beg, to   kɔy-á

begin, to   kṵ náŋá, dṵŋ-ɔ́

beginning   kṵ ge?déa

behind   ?doŋ, kór-

belch, to   bek-á

belly   zaŋ

berry   See fruit

beside   kā́

better   rɔk ?dɛ́ gán (lit. be good
  very surpasses)

between   saŋa

big   gā́sá, zɔm

bite, to   ŋgeti(á), ypŋ-á

bird   nɔ́y

black, to be   tṵ-ɔ́; kpɔ̂ŋ, kóróró

blind: to become blind   bom-á;
  blind person   wĭ-bóom

blink, to   gɔm rĭp

blood   tɔk

blow (on instrument)   dɔm-á; (of
  wind)   yu-ɔ́

body   tɛ; whole body, flesh
  sa?de-tɛ, kiri-tɛ

bone   gbạra

bow (weapon)   te-kura

bracelet   káná

braid, to   kạr-á

break, to: break off piece of food
  ?bir-ɔ́, in general   gbịn-ɔ́

breast (mammary glands)   bere

breathe, to   ɔm-á

bride-price   mbɔy

bridge   ?dúu

bring, to   tɛ nɛ́ (lit. come with)

brother   yā́-wéey

buffalo   ndará

bullet   gbạra-wey

burn, to: intrans. ber-á, trans.
  dɔ-á

bury, to   gṵn-ɔ́

bush: uninhabited land   zɔ̂; tree
  te; section of grassland burnt in
  dry season   gbíya

but   See connectives (330)

butcher, to   ?bor-á

buttocks   ge?de

by: by the side of   kā́-tɛ; by means
  of   nɛ́

C

call, to   sa-á

camwood   kuro

canoe   tịr-

cap   ?boy

careful, to be   ŋgɛm tɛ

carefully   kpɛ́rɛ́ŋ kpɛ́rɛ́ŋ

carry, to: on one's head   toy-á;
  something big and/or heavy
  yɔŋgi(á)

catch, to: sg. obj. ba-á, pl. obj.
  kay-á

cease doing something, to   e rá

certain (some)   ŋma

chase away, to   fo-á, ndin-ɔ́, nduy-ɔ́

chew, to   ypŋ-á

chicken   kprá

chief   makunzi

child   béem, bé-

chin   za?da

chop, to: to chop down   gɔm-á;
  to chop at a flat surface   sɛk-á

circle, to: to make a circle   ?bo-á;
  to circle around so as not to be
  seen   hịk-ɔ́

circumcise, to   gɔn nɛ́ gaza

circumcision   gaza; uncircumcised
  boy   kā́ārá

clan   nú-wey

clay   gey

clean, to be   sạk-á

climb, to   daŋ-á

close, to   kpe-á

cloth: from zɔɔ́rɔ tree   ŋgómbi;
  in general   túrú; clothes   mɔ́a
  tɛ, mɔ́marí

cloud: white cloud   bú záan;
  raincloud   kóro

cold (weather)   gɛ́ɛ́

come, to: tɛ-á; to come out (sg.
  subj.)   hɔ-á; (pl. subj.)   gbay-á

command, to   ha oro-nú

completely   sí-ʔday, sɔ́n

conclude a matter, to   hɛ́ɛ zu-́wen

consider, to   har-á

continue, to   nɛ né, dyŋ-ɔ́

cook food, to   gi-ó

cool, to become   gạ-á

corn   kɔndi

correctly   sạk-á

cotton: in general   tɛndɛ; ctn.
  indigenous cotton   gba tɛndɛ,
  ʔbɛ́ʔbɛ́

cough, to   kɔli(á)

count, to   tɔr-á

courageous, to be   yɔŋ yín

cover, to   gu-ó

cow   bágara

cowry shell   kofo

crawl, to   hay-á

creek   bé-ri

creep, to   hay-á

cross, to: to cross a stream
  ky ri; to cross sticks   kpay te

crowd (of people)   dɛ́má wí-ré

crush (seeds for oil), to   hɔŋ-á

cry, to   hey kɔwá

curse, to   dạ-á

cut, to: in general   gɔn-á; to cut
  off end   ŋmạy-á; to cut out bark
  ʔba-á; to cut out and make a run
  for it   gɔm-á

D

dance (n.): in general   yɔra;
  ctn. dance   ŋgan wí

dance, to   yɔ yɔra

dark: to be dark   ty-ɔ́; descr.
  mbiri mbiri

dawn, to   fara ʔbaa

day   wesé; to become day   fara sạ

death   fey

debt   kɔ́ʔdá

defecate, to   sʔ ʔnɔɔ

deliver (save one's life), to   zam-á

depart, to   kur-ó, zy-ɔ́

descend, to   zịr-ɔ́, zy nu

desire   wɔ

destroy, to   ʔnaŋ-á

dew   mɛ́m

diarrhea, to have   hufi(ó)

die, to   fe-á; to die off   fe sí-ʔday

different   ʔdɛ́k ʔdɛ́k, záŋ

difficult   ŋgay

dig, to   zạ-á

dip up, to   ʔdu-ó

direction   sí, wár-

dirty   ndfiŋ

disagree, to   si fɛ́ɛ́

discrimination, without   rɔy rɔy

dispute, to   sar-á, si káfɛ́

do, to   dɛ-á; to do something for a
  year   dɛ pɛ

dog   tor

domesticated animal   mɔ́day

done   sɔ́n

doorway   nú-tuwa

down: to sit down   dyŋ nu; to put
  down   e nu

drag, to   gbur-ó

dregs, beer   geʔde-́dɔ́

dress: to put on clothes   pị túrú;
  to get dressed up for a special
  occasion   dɛ bisa (for male), dɛ
  zɔ́ŋá (for female)

drink, to   nɔ-á

drum (ctn.)   dal, gata

dry up, to   kor-á

dry season   bɛrɛ

dust   fire-́nu

E

each: each person   wí-ré kpém
  kpém; each other   ŋmaá

ear   zɛra

early   sát

earth   nu

easily   gére

eat, to: in general   yɔŋ-á; to eat food with sauce which is entirely liquid   ri-ó; to be eaten away (as in leprosy)   ʔbir-ó

edge   nú

egg   kúri

eight   nú-nə́á

elder   sɔ́kái

elephant   fɔrɔ

end   nú

enemy   wí-gida

enough, to be   rɛm-á

entangled, to get   kɔk-á

enter, to: sg. subj.   re-á; pl. subj.   a-á

equal, to be   rɛm-á

even if   ʔbaa, gba

evening   mbóro, gə́á fara

every: every person   wí-ré kpém kpém sɔ́n; we get out every day   ɛrɛ hɔ́ nɛ́ wesé wesé

everything   láázák

exactly   rɛ́k rɛ́k

excrement   ʔnɔɔ

expanse   bɛrá

explanation   goʔdó

expose someone, to   sa yín

extend, to   yɔy-á

extract, to   dak-á

eye   ríp

F

fable   to

fall, to   ay-á, tek-á, rjk nu

family   nam

far, to be   yɛr-á

fat (grease)   nɔ́

fat, to become   ŋmgbaŋ-á

father   yám

fault   yɔ́á mɔ

fear   kéey

feather   vúmɔ́-nɔ́y

fee   tjrɛ

feel, to   tam-á

female   kɔ́-

ferocious, to act   dɛ ŋgay

fetish   fiyo

few   ndéé

fibers (extracted in the preparation of flour)   zak

fight   biro; to fight with a person   bi biro ín wí-ré

find, to   kpa-á

finger   ér-

finish, to   sɔn-á

finished   sɔ́n

fire   wey; to make a fire   tusi wey

firewood   gúwá

first   tí

fish   zoro; (ctn.) ŋmgbĭim, yara

fishhook   yaŋgo

five   mpɔrɔ́

fix, to   ʔdafi(á)

flee, to   yu-ó

flesh (boneless meat)   mur-

flower, to   do-á

fly   zĭ

fly, to   buri(ó)

fog   kutú

follow, to   nɛ kɔ́ɔ (lit. go back)

food   kam, mɔ́-yɔŋi, yɔ́ná

fool   wí-bɔɔ

foot   náŋ

footprint   bɔlɔ-náŋ

for   há₂, wen, wen kɔ́; for a year   dɛ pɛ (lit. do year)

forcefully   vip, vąy

forehead   dɔ́ɔtí

forelegs (of animal)   ʔbaka

four   nə́r-

friend   ʔbiya

from   há₂, sɛn

front   tí; front of a house   nú-tuwa

fruit   wáyá

fry, to   han-á

fun, to have   dɛ gɛ́

G

gallery-forest   poo

game (in play)   saa
garden   fɔ; deserted garden   biri
gather, to   mɔy-á
gaze, to   kɛr-á
get, to: to acquire   kpa-á; to get
  down   zịr-ɔ́; to get up   kur-ɔ́; to
  get out (sg. subj.) hɔ-á, (pl. subj.)
  gbay-á
girl   bé-kóo; adolescent girl   zɔ́ŋá
give, to   ha-á; to give up   e rá
go, to   nɛ-á; to go to the gardens (of
  many people)   a fɔ; to go on
  laŋgi(á); (in the making of noise)
  wey-á
goat   duwa
God   Nzapá
good   dé, dé?dé; to be good   rɔk-á
grab, to   kạsi(á)
grass   zɔ́
grassland   zɔ́
grave-site   zu-fey
greet, to   mba-á
ground   nu
ground-nut (ctn.)   gba zawa
grow up, to   sɔk-á
guest   gɛnɛ
gun   ŋgombe, wey

H

hail   mụ́rú
hair   vúmɔ́; ctn. style of setting the
  hair   gúdam
hand   ér-
hang something, to   ?buk-ɔ́
happiness   gɛ́, too tɛ
happy, to be   dɛ saa, kɛli(á)
hard   ŋgay. See also very
harden, to   ŋgay-á
hatch chicks, to   gom bé-kɔrá
hate, to   sɛn-á
have: I have a knife   paa kɔ́m ɔ́
  sɛnɛ́; I have to do it like this   ɔ́ né
  wen kɔ́m wen-dɛ gɔ́y
he   ạ
head   tan, zu
healthy   kpɔrɔ kpɔrɔ

hear, to   zer-á
heart: the organ   ?búrúŋgú; the
  seat of emotions   sɛra
heavy, to be   dịr-ɔ́, dịti(ɔ́)
here   díyɛ, góɔ, na; here and there
  íyɛ . . . íyɛ
hide (of animal)   yo
hide, to   husi(ɔ́), gu-ɔ́
hill   kara
hip   kạ́-gun
hippopotamus   ŋgu?bú
hit, to: with hand or stick   rịk-ɔ́;
  with flying object (such as stone)
  ro-á
hoe, to   wa-á
hog, bush   ŋgɔyá
hold, to: to seize and hold on to
  kạsi(á); to keep   ŋgɛm-á
hole: in but not through an object
  kɔ; in and through an object   woro
home: I'm going home   am sí ré
honey   nɔ́-gɔrɔ, ri-gɔrɔ
hoof   kátó
horn (of animal)   zak
hot, to be   gbɛŋ-á; it's hot   ɔ́ wey
house   tuwa
how (the way)   ?doŋ-wáá
hunger   wɔ
hunt animals, to   ki?di sa?de
hunting   yarí
hurriedly   lám
hurt, to   yụm-ɔ́
husband   wéey
hut   kútu

I

I   See 382.1
if: even if   ?baa; whether   gán.
  See bo-á, nɛ-á (aux.), tɛ-á (aux.),
  wesé
in   ?dɔr-, kɔ, zaŋ; in the morning
  né ture
inadequate, to be   naŋ-á
indeed   nɛ mbɛ́tɛ
in-laws   foo, kɔfɛ; brother-, sistɛ-
  in-law   yạrɛ

in order to   há₁, íŋáá
inside   kɔ, saŋa
instruction   mbɔra
intestines   yạk⁻zaŋ
iron   boro

J

just   ʔbay

K

keep, to   ŋgɛm-á; to keep on doing
  something   dųŋ-ɔ́, nɛ nɛ̂ (lit. go
  with); to keep something from
  someone   dor-á; when they keep
  beer from you   bó wá ba dɔ́ɔ nɛ́
  zu-mɛ̂
kernel   gbạra
kill, to   gbɛ-á
kind, to be   dɛ kpɛm kɔ⁻sɛra ín
knee   zu⁻goro
knife   paa; throwing knife   za
know, to   iŋ-ɔ́; to know how to   iŋ
  ʔdoŋ-wáá wen
knowledge   sɔ́ká

L

lacking, to be   naŋ-á
large   gạ́sá, zɔm; to be large   zị-ɔ́
later   ʔdoŋ, kuu orɔ́ai
laugh, to   mam-á
law   mbɔra
lead, to   dak tʃ
leaf   wạ́
lean, to   ɛk-á
leather   yo
leave something, to   e-á
left: left side   wáá-gale; to remain
  ʔmɔn-á
leg   kʉ́
lengthwise   nɛ dʉrɔ́a
leopard   gɔ
leprosy   ŋmgbɛ́rɛ́
let (permit), to   e há
lie down, to   ɔ nu

life   kpasi
lightning   pĩ́ɔ́ kɔ́ro
like, to   goy-á, rɔk tɛ
like (in comparison)   ɔ́rɔ́ . . . gá;
  be like men   ya nɛ wɛ́ey; like this
  gáa, gɔ́y
lime (for whitewashing)   fɔrɛ
lion   dila
lip   wɛ́ɛ́y-nú
lip-plug   mų́rų́
listen, to   zee wen
little   fĩ́, gɛk
live, to: in a certain place   dųŋ-ɔ́,
  ɔ-á; to be alive   kpasi(á); to live
  a long time   dųŋ záan
liver   sɛra
long: to be long (of an object)
  dur-ɔ́, of time   yɛr-á; long time
  ago   ʔbɛ́ɛ́
look for, to   kiʔdi(ɔ́)
lose, to: I lost my knife   paa kɔ́m
  yɔá; I've lost my way   ám yɔá
  ʔdoŋ-wáá
love, to   goy-á
luck   kɔ́rɔ́-tɛ
lungs   poopɔ́

M

make, to   dɛ-á; to make porridge
  ru-ɔ́; to make something straight
  ʔdafi há ɔ tán
male   wɛ́ey
man   wɛ́ey; young man   bisa
manioc   geʔda; manioc leaves used
  as food   sukpa
manly   dɛ tɛ nɛ wɛ́ey (lit. do body
  with man)
manner   ʔdoŋ-wár-
many   dɔ́ka; to be many   dɛm-á,
  dɛr-á, dɔk-á
marry, to: to take a husband   ba
  wɛ́ey, to take a wife   ba kɔ́o
master   wan
mat   tɔ́ko
mature, to   sɔk-á
meat   saʔde

medicine   yįna

meet, to   kpa-á; to meet someone
  on his way   we tí; to meet each
  other   kpa ŋmaá; to meet in the
  middle   mɔy tɛ-saŋa

message   tom; to send a message
  tom tom

middle   saŋa

milk   ri-bere

mind, to set one's   e kélé

mix up (a paste), to   yufi

molar (teeth)   gogo

money   ŋginza

monkey: green monkey   dawa; red
  monkey   mboró

month   ze

moon   ze

morning   ture; very early in the
  morning   zu-zɛ

mother   naa

mountain   kara

mouth   nú

move something toward oneself, to
  yɔli(á)

much   dóka, ?dɛ́, nɛ saa ná

N

nail: fingernail   ŋgók-éé

name   yín; what's-his-name   mɔ só

near   dɔ́ɔ́; to get near   he?di(á)

necessary, to be   ɔ wen kó

neck   gɛ́r-

new   mbê

next to   ką̂-tɛ

night   zɛ; during the night which
  just passed   zɛɛ nɛ ze

nice looking   ndɛ́ɛ́r

nine   kusi

noise: to make noise   gay mɔ; to
  make a thunderous noise   dik-ó;
  noise of many feet   gítí

nose   zɔp

nostril plug   ŋgabala

not (in predication)   gan . . . ná

nothing: there's nothing   ŋma mɔ
  gan bó ná

now   kín, kínɛɛ

numerous, to be   dɛr-á

O

obey, to   zee tɛ, zee oro-nú, zee
  mbɔra

obstruct, to   ?mɛr-á

of   kó

often   ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ

old   ą́; to become old   sɔk-á; old
  person   sókái

on   gón, sɛn, zu

one   kpém. See determinant 213.1

only   ?bay

open, out in the   kpɛ́yą́, záan

or   wéndé . . . gan

ornament: boys'   mɔ-dɛ bisa,
  girls'   mɔ-dɛ zóŋá

other: each other   ŋmaá; some
  other   ŋma . . . zą́ŋ

out of   há₂

outside   záan

over   zu

over there   aáyɛ, íyɛ

owl (ctn.)   kpolo

owner   wan

P

paper   mbɛ́tí

pass on, to   laŋgi(á)

path   wár-, ?doŋ-wáá

paw   ér-

pay (bride-price)   har-á, ha mbɔy
  bɔlɔ-kóo

payment (for ctn. kinds of services)
  tįrɛ

peanut   zawa

peel, to   ?ba-á, ąy-á, ?bar-á

pen (goat)   valé

penis   dom

persevere, to   yɔŋ yín (lit. eat teeth)

perseverance   kpɛtí

perseveringly   kɔ?dɔrɔ kɔ?dɔi ɔ

person   wí-ré, wí-

pierce, to   tok-á; to make a hole
  ?dɔy-á

place fara; particular place, back
in the same place oro

place, to: sg. obj. e-á, pl. obj.
a~á

plans, to make gɔn tạ

plant, to: seeds gụn-ɔ́, by stems
mạ-á

plaster a house with mud, to kpe
tuwa nɛ gey

play, to: games dɛ saa; drum or
stringed instrument mbɛr-á

please, to rɔk tɛ

pluck (leaves), to kɔm-á

plural marker ɔ́

poke in, to yur~ɔ́

porter wí~toy mɔ, wí-tóyáa

possible tɛ-á (aux.)

pot kpána

pound, to to-á; to pound bark in
making cloth ŋmgbɔ-á

pray to (fetish), to wer-á·

pregnant, to be ba zaŋ

prepare, to ʔdafi(á)

presence, in the tɛ-rîp

press down on, to ŋma-á

prevent, to ʔmɛr~á

previously tí

probably tɛ-á (aux.)

produce (food) yɔ́ná

puddle mbɔ́ŋgɔ́

pull, to gbur-ɔ́; to pull out (as
intestines) yɔy-á

pumpkin say

push, to: to push down on something
ịsi(ɔ́); to push something to make it
move forward ir-ɔ́

put, to: sg. obj. e-á, pl. obj. a-á;
to put on (clothes) a tɛ, pị tɛ; to
put something on the waist mạr-á

Q

quiet sélélé; to be quiet yoo nɛ nú

quiver nder-

R

rack guro

rain kóro

rainy season ʔmaa; beginning of
the rainy season nú-kóro

rapidly gɛrɛŋ

read, to tɔɔ mbɛ́tí

real kpaa, kpásá

red, to be gbɛ-á

refuse, to bɛ-á

reject, to bɛ-á

relative nam

remain, to ʔmɔn-á

remainder koy

resolute, to be kaŋgi kɔ́-sɛra

responsible person wí-mbɔ́á zu

responsibility: it is my responsibility
to do it this way ɔ nɛ wen kɔ́m
wen-dɛ gɔ́y

rest, to ɔm tɛ

restrain, to mbo-á

restrictions, without rɔy rɔy

return, to: to another place si ʔdoŋ,
to the place where one is speaking
pee ʔdoŋ

right hand wáá-wéey (lit. direction
of man)

right (correct): that's correct ɔ
nɛ ʔdoŋ-wáraa

right, all wen gan bɔ́ ná (lit. there
is no affair)

right (precisely): right in the bush
ʔmɔ́n ʔdɔɔ-zɔ́

right away bere

rip off, to ạy-á, ŋmgban-á

river ri

roam, to yar-á

roast, to dɔ-á

roll up, to kạr-á

root yín

rope pɛr-; ctn. gba díro

rot (of meat), to mbɔr-á

round kokoroŋ, kor

rub, to: to rub between the palms
of one's hands nụr-ɔ́; to rub (as
with sandpaper), crush hɔŋ-á; to

rub, grate, scrub, sharpen (a
  knife) hɔk-á
ruin, to ʔnaŋ-á
rumbling gbíígbíí
run, to zaʔdi yui

S

sack daná
salt tóŋ
same, to be rɛm-á
sand rɛmɛ
sauce (which accompanies porridge
  in a meal) kpoɓ
save, to: to put something aside
  ŋgem-á; to save money ndoy
  ŋginza; to save a life zam-á
say, to tɔ-á; gende gá ye ge
screen for sleeping place kuʔbú
search for something afar, to kir-ɓ
secretely, to speak nɔn tɔ
see, to zɔk-á; see someone face to
  face zɔk kɔ-ríp-wí-ré
seed gbɑra; planting-seed kpárɛ
selfish, to be dɔ nɑ́ká
send, to tom-á
sesame sunu; roasted sesame
  seeds mbúre
set (of sun), to re-á
seven ʔdoŋ rííto
severely, to speak tɔ wen ŋgay
sew, to: sew pieces of cloth together
  fɥr-ɓ; to sew by putting a stitch here
  and there kɔk-á; sew in a special
  way tok-á
sex organs mɔ-foyo (lit. thing of
  shame)
sexual relations, to have ndɔ-á
shake, to: to tremble nɑk-á; to
  shake something back and forth
  yɛk-á; to shake hands kɑsi ér-
shame foyo
shame, to e foyo
sharp, to be tɔ-á
shed, to ʔbar-á
shield ŋgéré
shine (of sun), to dɔ-á

shoot, to ndɔr-á
short dɔ́ɔ
shoulder zu-ʔbaka
show, to usi(ɓ)
shut, to kaŋgi(á), kpe-á
sibling yɑ́
sickness zɛ́rɛ́
side kɑ́; other side (of river) kúú
since: since I arrived yesterday
  mɔ nɛm tɛ̀a zɛ́ɛ
sing, to sa gima
sister yɑ́-kóo; my sister yɑ́ kɔ́m
  nɛ kóo
sit, to dɥŋ-ɓ, soy-á
six ʔdoŋ kpém
skin (of animals) yo
skin (an animal), to ʔbor-á
skirt (woman's): worn in front gɔy,
  worn in rear daʔdoŋ
sky ríp-záan
sleep yara; to be asleep ɔ yara
slip off, to hɔfi(á)
slowly gɛʔdɛ́k, gɛk
small bé-, gɛk
smell, to nɥn-ɓ
smoke zɛ́-wey
smoke (meat, fish), to guri(ɓ)
smooth, to be rɔk-á
snake gɔ́k
so (conj.) See connectives
soft, to be mɔk-á
some: adj. ŋma, pron. ŋmaa
somebody ŋma wí-ré
something ŋma mɔ
son bé-wéey, bé-ŋgay
son-in-law wéey-kɔfɛ
song gima
soon dɔ́ɔ
sorghum (grain) fón
sound, to make a wer-á
speak, to tɔ wen; to not speak (be
  silent) yoo nɛ nú
spear sɛ́rɛ
spear, to dɥm-ɓ
specialist kote
Spider (in fables) Wan to
spit, to a sɑ́p

split, to mbaŋ-á

spread abroad, to hur-ɔ́

spring (source of stream) zu-ri

stalk kan

stand, to yor-á

star sɔ́rá

stare, to kɛr-á

start, to: to start a fight ku sɛ́rɛ;
  to start doing something ku nə̃ŋá-dɛ
  mɔ

steal, to zu-ɔ́

stick te, bé-te

stick, to: to pierce dum-ɔ́, tok-á;
  to stick through yur-ɔ́; to stick
  out yɔy-á

still: the animal is still on the
  ground sa?de ?mɔná go ɔ́ nu

stomach sú?bé; abdomen zaŋ

stone ta

stoop down, to hir-ɔ́

stop, to: stop walking gbati(á);
  stop flowing or raining ŋmay-á

straight, to be tan-á

strength ŋgay

string pɛ́r-; to make string rifi(ɔ́)

strong ŋgay

stump (of tree) gísɔ́

suck (at breast), to am-á

suddenly tut

sun wesé

surpass, to gan-á

sweat sɔ bɛra

sweet írírí

swiftly hóv̇óv̇ó

swim, to zoy ri

switch (for whipping) zifa

T

tabooed, to avoid something zim-ɔ́

tail tir-

take, to: sg. obj. ba-á, pl. obj.
  kay-á; to take something back si
  né

talk, to tɔ wen; to talk about someone
  ba yín

taste good, to dɛ rɔɔ

teach, to usi(ɔ́)

tear off, to ak-á

teeth yín; molars gogo

ten ?bú

terrible: he ate a terrible amount
  of food á ypŋá kam gɔ́ gan rɛ́m ná

that (demonstrative) if

that (conj.) ye ge, nɛ

then See conn., expecially go, tɛ

there dfi, fyɛ, mɛ, sɛnɛ́

they wa

thick (as piece of cloth, wood), to be
  ndoti(á)

thing mɔ

think, to saa sék

thirst hɛ́ɛ́-ri

this ɛɛ́, nɔ́ɔ; like this gɔ́y

thousand (of francs) sáki

three tar-

throat gɛ́r-

throw, to: a-á, e-á, pi-ɔ́; to throw
  a spear pi sɛ́rɛ; to throw down
  dɔn-á; to throw away pi zɔ́

throwing-knife za

thunder, to kɔ́ro dik

tie, to: to tie into a knot kpo-á; to
  tie up hɛr-á; to tie together kpo
  né ŋmaá; to tie long objects together
  sin-ɔ́

tightly ŋmí?ní ŋmí?ní, síyú síyú

time, for a long gɔ́y gɔ́y, ŋmgbɔ́ŋ;
  I'll be gone a long time kɔ́rɔ́m né
  yɛrá (lit. my back will be long)

times: three times wáá fara taa

tip nú

tired, to be gbɔ?di(á)

to: purposive há₁ : join noun to
  verb wen, wen kɔ́; join verb to
  noun há₂, mɔ́, tɛ; to go to the
  garden nɛ fɔ

today sɔ́ɔ

together ín ŋmaá

tongue lép

too (in comparisons) gán zúa (lit.
  surpasses the head)

tooth yín

top gɔ́n, zu

torch kan

touch, to tam-á

toward tɛ

track down, to ʔma-á

tracks; animal tracks bɔlɔ-náŋ-
 saʔde

trap yɔk; to set traps for fish dɛ
 ri

tree te; ctn. trees gbiro-fɔ,
 gbɔgbɔl, kɛrá, lúŋmgbé, túrú,
 zɔɔ́rɔ

tremble: to tremble nạk-á; to
 make a spear tremble gboʔdi(á);
 descr. of trembling sɛm sɛm,
 yɛtɛtɛ

trust, to e kɛ́lɛ́ ín

truth kpasí wen, mbɛ́tɛ

tuck in, to sɛm-á

turn: to turn around gam tɛ, kip
 tɛ; to turn to one side zik-ó

twins bé-dan

two rííto

U

uncle sɔ́rám, bé-yám

underneath ʔdɔr-

understand, to zee tɛ, zɔk-á

unite, to a kɔ́ɔ́-ŋmaá

unwisely rɔy rɔy

up ŋgɔ́n

urine íni; to urinate sɔ íni

utensils toy

V

vagina ton

vainly zạa

very ʔdɛ́, nɛ́ saa ná, gan rɛ́m ná

village ré

villager wí-zaŋ-ré

voice gɛ́r-

vomit, to ɔy-á

W

waist gun

wait for, to ŋgɛm-á

waken, to tụn-ɔ́

walk, to nɛ nɔ, yar-á

want, to kɔ́ ʔdoŋ; I want this meat
 am kɔ́ ʔdoŋ-saʔde nɔ́ɔ; I want to go
 hunting am kɔ́ ʔdoŋ-nɛ yarí

war biro

wash, to fɔr-á

water ri

way ʔdoŋ-wáá; the right way
 ʔdoŋ-wáraa

we ɛrɛ

wealth kpáá mɔ (lit. gotten thing)

weapons boro-biro

weave, to fan-á

well (in a good manner) sạk-á; he
 speaks well ạ tɔ́ sạ́k

wet: to wet (in rain) ŋma-á; it's
 wet ɔ́ ri

what? ge

what (pron.) wen, mɔ; I didn't see
 what he did gan am zɔk mɔ nạ ạ
 dɛái ná; I didn't hear what he said
 gan am zee wen nạ ạ tɔ́ái ná

what's-his-name aáyɛ, mɔ sɔ́

when? ge wesé-ge, ge ze-ge; when
 will you return? nɛ́ mɛ́ pee ge
 ze-ge ndé

when (conj.) See fara, wesé, and
 aux. bo and gó; when you hear
 about the affair wesé nɛ bó mɛ́
 zee wení

where? íye; where did you go? mɛ́
 nɛ̀ íye ndé

where: I don't know where he went
 gan am íŋ fara nạ ạ neá sɛnɛ́ ná

whether wéndé . . . gan

which See nɛ, 332.4; the thing which
 I want mɔ nɛm kɔ́ ʔdoŋáa

while aux. dụŋ-ɔ́. See when

whirlwind gam guram

whistle, to dɔm fɛra

white bú; descr. of very white
 zɔ́lɔ́lɔ́

white, to be fɛŋ-á

white man mbunzú

who? o, ge wí-ge ndé

who   See nɛ; I saw the woman who
   came yesterday   ám zɔkà kóoi nɛ
   tɛà zéɛ
why?   wen-ge ndé; why aren't you
   eating?   ge a mɛ yɔ́ŋ kam ná
   wen-ge ndé
wide, to be   pesi(á)
wife   kóo
wind   búk
wing   ʔbaka
witch, female   kó-duwa
with   ín, nɛ́
within   saŋa
woman   kóo; young woman   zóŋá
word   wen
work   kusára, mɔ-dɛi, tom
work, to   dɛ mɔ, dɛ tom; to work

for a wife   dɛ kɔfɛ wen kó kóo
worthless   gére
wound   dąy

Y

yam   gɔrɔ
yard, front   gara
year   pɛ
yesterday   zéɛ
yet: I haven't done it yet   ʔmɔná
   gó gan am dɛ́ ná
you: sg.   mɛ́, pl.   wí
young: young dog, pup   bé-toró;
   he's still young   ʔmɔnà béa;
   (he) hasn't grown up yet   ʔmɔná
   gó gan sɔ́k ná

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