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# The Phonology and Morphosyntax of Kol 

by<br>Bonnie Jean Henson<br>B.A. (Seattle Pacific University) 1994<br>M.A. (University of California, Berkeley) 2001<br>A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the<br>requirements for the degree of<br>Doctor of Philosophy<br>in<br>Linguistics<br>in the<br>Graduate Division<br>of the<br>University of California, Berkeley<br>Committee in Charge:<br>Professor Larry M. Hyman, Chair<br>Professor Sharon Inkelas<br>Professor Lynn Nichols<br>Professor Johanna Nichols

Spring 2007

# The Phonology and Morphosyntax of Kol 

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by Bonnie Jean Henson

Abstract<br>The Phonology and Morphosyntax of Kol by<br>Bonnie Jean Henson<br>Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics<br>University of California, Berkeley<br>Professor Larry M. Hyman, Chair

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

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

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

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


Map 1.1 Cameroon and Kol

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

## 1 Background Information

### 1.1 THE LANGUAGE

Kol belongs to the A. 80 Maka-Njem language family. The authors of the Cameroon Linguistic Atlas (Dieu and Renaud 1983) listed Kol as a dialect of Makaa (A.83). More recently, it has been recognized as a distinct language and has been given its own classification number of A. 832 (Maho 2003). Its Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) classification is as follows:

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

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

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

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


Map 1.2 Kol dialects
Kol is a SVO language. In general, Kol phrases are head-initial, e.g.
objects, other complements and adjuncts follow verbs, most noun modifiers follow the noun, and complements of prepositions follow the preposition. (See chapters 3 and 5 for more information.)

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

| p, b | t, d | c, j | k, g | i | $\dot{\text { i }}$ | u |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| f, v | S, Z |  | h | e | ə | 0 |
| m | n | 1 |  | $\varepsilon$ | a | $\bigcirc$ |
| w | 1 | y |  |  |  |  |

In general, the values of most orthographic symbols are consistent with the International Phonetic Alphabet. The exceptions are found in the palatal sounds. The alveopalatal affricates [tf] and [d3] are represented in Kol with the letters $|c|$ and $|j|$ respectively. Additionally, the alveopalatal fricative [J] is written as $|\operatorname{sh}|$ and the palatal glide [j] is written as $|y|$. Though the Kol orthography uses $|n y|$ for the palatal nasal [n], this study will use the IPA symbol so as to reserve Cy clusters for representing palatalization. For more information on Kol phonology, see chapter 2.

### 1.2 THE PEOPLE AND THEIR CULTURE

There are between 12,000 and $16,000 \mathrm{Kol}$ speakers in eastern

Cameroon. The Kol live in a densely-forested, hilly region which is the headwaters area of the Nyong river. One of the larger rivers divides the Kol
language area in two, but the whole region is criss-crossed with smaller bodies of water. The waterways are still frequently used for transportation, being often more direct than the roads.

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

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

The Kol region was colonized by the Germans in the early 1900s. The Eastern Province took nine years to subdue; much longer than was originally anticipated (Mveng 1985:52). Colonial brick buildings can still be seen on
the outskirts of Messaména. After World War I, this part of Cameroon became a French colony.

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

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

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

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

## 2 Previous Research

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

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

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

For example, Begne, though ethnically Kol, does not give any information as to what dialect of Kol he speaks or to what level. Additionally,
he includes basic associative phrases in his discussion of noun root shapes. In his lexicon, he glosses over the fact that there is not a one-to-one correspondence between singular and plural noun classes. Both class 5 and class 9 nouns mark their plurals in class 6 . This merger and the lack of traditional noun class numbers makes his lexicon not especially useful in identifying class membership of various nouns.

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

## 3 Methodology of Current Study

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

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

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


Map 1.3 Source villages

## 4 Organization of current study

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

Examples are numbered separately in each chapter. Throughout this study, in Kol examples, the hyphen '-' is used to mark boundaries between roots and affixes, while the equal sign ' $=$ ' marks the boundary between clitics
and roots. Grammatical morphemes are glossed in small caps while lexical ones are in lower case. Floating tones are marked by the ' + ' plus sign.


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

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

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

| adj - adjective | Fut - future |
| :---: | :---: |
| adv - adverb | gen - genitive |
| APPL - applicative | IMP - imperative |
| Assoc - associative marker | IMPF - imperfective |
| att - attributive | InF - infinitive |
| aux - auxiliary verb | InCL - inclusive |
| chg - change (of state) | interr - interrogative |
| COND - conditional | Loc - locative |
| conj- conjunction | loc - locative (copula) |
| DEF - definite determiner | n - noun |
| dem - demonstrative | NEG - negative |
| det - determiner | num - numeral |
| EMPH - emphatic pronoun | Obj - object |
| F2-distant future | P1 - near past |
| FOC - focus | Pass - passive |

P2 - far past

PERF - perfect
pl - plural

Poss - possessive

Pres - present

QuAL - qualificative
quant - quantifier

RECIP - reciprocal
v - verb

ReLCl - relative clause
spec - specific

SG - singular

SUB - subject

SUBJ - subjunctive

TAM - Tense, Aspect, Mood marker

## 2 Phonology

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

## 1 Phonemic Inventory

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

|  | labial | alveolar | palatal | velar | labiovelar |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| stop | (p), b | $\mathrm{t}, \mathrm{d}$ | $\mathrm{c}[\mathrm{t}], \mathrm{j}[\mathrm{d} 3]$ | $\mathrm{k}, \mathrm{g}$ | kp |
| prenasalized <br> stop | $\mathrm{mp}, \mathrm{mb}$ | $\mathrm{nt}, \mathrm{nd}$ | $\mathrm{nc}, \mathrm{nj}$ | $\mathrm{gk}, \mathrm{yg}$ | $\mathrm{nkp}, \mathrm{ygb}$ |
| nasal | m | n | n | $\mathrm{\eta}$ |  |
| fricative | $\mathrm{f}, \mathrm{v})$ | $\mathrm{s}, \mathrm{z}$ | f |  |  |
| approximant |  | $\mathrm{l}, \mathrm{r}$ | y |  | w |

Table 2.1 Kol consonants

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

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

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

|  | front | central | back |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| high | i | $(\dot{i})$ | u |
| mid | e | $\partial$ | 0 |
| low | $\varepsilon$ | a | $\supset$ |

Table 2.2 Kol Vowels.

The status of a ninth vowel, the high central vowel, is questionable, as represented by the parentheses in the table above. It will be discussed in
section 2.2.1. Below are words illustrating the phonemic difference between the eight vowels.
(1) bì 'startle, surprise' bù 'be scarce'

| $b e ́ ~$ | 'toilet, latrine' | $b \grave{~}$ | 'be' | bò | 'place' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $b \grave{~}$ | 'sow, cultivate' | $b a ̀$ | 'cut' | bòg | 'lip' |

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

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

| (2) | $j \hat{l}$ | 'ask, inquire' | kùg | 'waist, shape' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | jì̀ | 'cry, desire' | kùúg | 'uncle' |
|  | $n c e ̌$ | 'panther, leopard' | sı̂刀 | 'vegetables (greens)' |
|  | ncéè | 'who?' | ssòng | 'father' |

Kol has two tones, high (H) and low (L). These may combine to form the contour tones HL and LH on single vowels. LH primarily occurs in environments where a grammatical H tone has been added to a L tone syllable.
(3) bà 'a little' adverb
bá 'two' numeral
bâ 'marry' verb

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

### 1.1 SYNCHRONIC VARIATION

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


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

Examples are given below in (5a), followed by examples of other environments where no alternation is possible. (Examples taken from Fokou Tamafo et al (2004:11).)
(5) a. [mpàyá] from /mpàgá/ 'route, path'
[ykpáyá] /ykpágá/ 'fishing pole'
b. bùgà 'hope'
lîg̀̀̀̀ 'accompany'

While /b/ is not weakened to a voiced continuant before pause (it is consistently devoiced), it may be weakened between vowels when it is the second consonant.
(6) /è-sáb/ $\rightarrow$ [ è-sáßà ] 'illness' (5)

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

Some dialects have $/ \mathrm{s}$ / where other dialects have $/ \mathrm{S} /$, as shown below.

| (7) | fû | varies with | sû |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | è̀-fwì | èsh' (7/8) | 'death' (5) |
|  | filò̀ |  | sillò |

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

| (8) fámə̀ varies with hámə̀ | 'true, real' |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| fá | há | Hortative |

## 2 Syllable structure and Phonotactics

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

| (9) | V $=$ | NeGATIVE (proclitic half of circumclitic) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | á.bâ | 'vulture' $(1 / 2)$ |
| CV | jò | 'tooth' $(5 / 6)$ |
|  | ko | 'go' |
| CVV | jì̀ | 'cry, weep' |
| CVC | kây | 'guinea fowl' (3) |
|  | dêg | 'see' |
| CVVC | tóòb | 'sheep' |
|  | bìl | 'trap (an animal)' |

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

| (10) ábâ | 'vulture' |
| :--- | :--- |
| âbyôlô | 'traitor' |
| ǎbwòmb ndàlê | 'mud wasp' |
| ǎdùngû | 'toad' |
| ǎdwàm | 'frog' |
| ǎfíyò | 'lemon' |
| ǎmpígà | 'dragonfly' |

### 2.1 Phonotactics

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

### 2.1.1 Consonants

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

### 2.1.1.1 Onsets

Most of the phonemes in Kol may occur word-initially. The exceptions are $/ \mathrm{y} /$ and $/ \mathrm{g} / . / \mathrm{y} /$ never occurs word-initially, and $/ \mathrm{g} /$ only occurs word-
initially in two words, shown below. One is definitely a borrowing from English, and the other is most likely a borrowing from an A. 70 trade languaeg like Ewondo ('catfish' is $\eta g o l$ in Fang (A.75)).
(11) gyònd̂̂ 'catfish, mudfish' gólòd 'gold' (from English)

Within a word, as the onset to a word-medial syllable, /g/ is common, but $/ \mathrm{y} /$ is not. Voiceless obstruents are rarer at the beginning of a wordmedial syllable than they are at the beginning of a word.

The two alveolar fricatives $/ \mathrm{s} /$ and $/ \mathrm{z} /$ only contrast at the beginning of a word (or root).
(12) bì-sá
bì-zún
More oddly, the palatal stop $/ \mathrm{j} /$ does not occur as the onset of a word- medial syllable (or as a coda). Only the prenasalized /nj/ occurs in those positions.

Secondary articulations, i.e. labialization or palatalization, are extremely common for word-initial consonants (C1s) and extremely rare for non-word-initial consonants (C2s). (Evidence for these being secondary
articulations and not consonant clusters is given below in section 3.2.)

Example (13) lists all of the words with secondarily articulated C2s in my lexicon. These may be all originally C1s. The first example is definitely a case of reduplication, where the reduplicated consonant (now C 1 ) has lost its secondary articulation. The rest (except for the latter) look like examples of reduplication, but for most of them there are no obvious bases in the lexicon.

| (13) Jújwóg | 'in front of ${ }^{\text {f }}$ | ( Swóg = 'be in front') |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| kúkwó lû | 'skull of head' |  |
| lúlwúg | 'flute' | (lwúg = 'vine') |
| pùpwó | 'pawpaw, papaya' |  |
| mbúmbwá | 'poor man, poverty' |  |
| mpìmpyây | 'red pepper, hot pepper' |  |
| sùfwáàz | 'naked' |  |

### 2.1.1.2 Codas

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

The voiced velar consonants, both oral and nasal, are the most common consonants word-finally. $/ 1 /$ is the third most common consonant
found at the end of words. The palatal consonants are rarer than obstruents at other places of articulation.

| Coda Consonants |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| b | 57 | $\mathbf{d}$ | 39 | g | 147 | j | 1 |  |
| mb | 44 | nd | 34 | ng | 10 | nj | 20 |  |
| m | 69 | n | 46 | y | 112 | n | 2 |  |
|  |  | s | 45 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | 1 | 106 |  |  |  |  |  |

Table 2.3 Coda consonants

### 2.1.2 Vowels

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

|  | $\mathbf{i}$ | e | $\varepsilon$ | $\mathbf{u}$ | $\mathbf{o}$ | $\jmath$ | $\partial$ | $\mathbf{a}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| V1 | 48 | 23 | 2 | 69 | 11 | 11 | 14 | 55 |
| V2 | 16 | 20 | 10 | 28 | 15 | 40 | 38 | 81 |

Table 2.4 Vowel counts for nouns

|  | i | e | e | $\mathbf{u}$ | o | o | $\partial$ | a |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| V1 | 34 | 11 | 10 | 52 | 5 | 13 | 4 | 46 |
| V2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 65 | 60 | 50 |

Table 2.5 Vowel counts for verbs

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

For verbs, the most common vowels in the first syllables are the vowels at the three corners of the vowel space $\{i, u, a\}$, while the only vowels which are commonly found in the second syllable are the central vowels \{ə, a\} and the low back vowel [ 3 ].

## 3 Ambiguous Segments

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

### 3.1 NC = PRENASALIZED STOP

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

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

| àlkôl | 'alcohol' |
| :--- | :--- |
| brík | 'mud block' (Fr. brique) |
| krístùs | 'Christ' |
| klìjé | 'x-ray' (Fr. cliché) |

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

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

| (15) | pààr | 'threshing floor' | págá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| pé | 'totally' | 'cane' |  |
|  | pùpwś | 'pawpaw' | pyèb |
| 'winnow' |  |  |  |
|  |  | pù̀ | 'calm' |

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

| (16) | kág | 'child' (7) | kákág | 'small child' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| fòg | 'wisdom' (9) | fàfóg | 'small wisdom' |  |
| mwân | 'son/daughter' (1) | màmwân | 'small son' |  |
| ntà | 'grandchild' | ntìntà | 'great grandchild' |  |

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

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

### 3.2 CONSONANT + Glide (CW / Cy)

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

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

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

Kol also has a productive gliding rule which will be discussed in more detail in section 4.2.1.1 below. These gliding rules show that many glides following C in complex words are underlyingly vowels. Examples are given below, with examples on the left showing gliding and examples on the right showing the underlying form of the prefixes.
a. [byês]
b. [bèbá]
/bè-ĉz/ /bè-bá/
8 -all 8-two
c. [bwân]
d. [bòkól]
/bò-ân/ /bò-kól/
2-child, offspring ('children')
2-sister ('sisters')

Fokou Tamafo (2004:12) suggests that labialization is underlyingly a consonant followed by the high back vowel [u]. However, the synchronic
gliding process of the nominal prefixes [Co-] to [Cw-] argue that maybe labialization should be considered to be underlyingly a consonant followed by the close-mid back vowel [o].

If there were any apparent co-occurrence restrictions, that would be evidence for the contrary analysis of consonant plus glide sequences being secondary articulations. However, almost all Kol consonants may be labialized. Aside from the rare stops $\{\mathrm{kp}, \mathrm{\eta kp}$, and $\eta \mathrm{gb}\}$, the only other gap in the stop series is the palatal affricate /c/, i.e. *cw. Only the velar nasal does not allow labialization, but $/ \mathrm{y} /$ also does not occur word-initially. In the approximant series $/ l /$ is the only approximant to co-occur with labialization. There does not appear to be a phonetic reason why /c/should be excluded from labialization when $/ \mathrm{nc} /, / \mathrm{j} /$, and $/ \mathrm{nj} /$ allow it. This may be an accidental gap in the lexicon. Below are examples of labialized consonants.

| (18) | pùpwó | 'pawpaw, papaya' | bwéyá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |$\quad$ 'everywhere'


| nwî | 'rain' (v) |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lwâg | 'bail' (v) | jwábàrà | 'tangle' (v) |
|  |  | njwǎy | 'river' |
| ncwân | 'mold pottery' (v) |  |  |
| fwêl | 'lizard' |  |  |
| nwèl | 'drink' (v) |  |  |
| kwè | 'help' (v) | Đgwâlà | 'town' |

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

| $\mathrm{p}, \mathrm{b}$ | $\mathrm{t}, \mathrm{d}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{mp}, \mathrm{mb}$ | nt |
| m |  |
| f | s |

Table 2.6 Kol consonants allowing palatalization

These include almost all labial and alveolar consonants. The exceptions are $\{n d, n, 1\}$. The exclusion of $/ n /$ is not surprising since a palatalized $/ \mathrm{n}$ / could be confused with the palatal nasal already existing in the Kol phonological system. The absence of /nd/ and $/ \mathrm{l} /$ is harder to understand.

| (19) | pyèb | 'winnow' (v) | byâ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | mpyô | 'dog' | mbeget (child)' |
| myég | 'fish dam' (n) | 'relative' (n) |  |
| tyèl | 'love' (n) | fyàl | 'test' (v) |
| ntyé | 'who?' | dyà | 'chair, seat' (n) |
|  |  | syê | 'work' (v) |

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

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

### 3.3 THE High Central Vowel

In the summary of the vocalic phonemic inventory above, Kol was reported to have eight vowel phonemes. However, there are at least 9
phonetic vowels. The central vowels in particular have been analyzed differently by different linguists.

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

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

However, it is also the case that the distribution of the high central vowel [i] is predictable, and it is therefore not a distinct phoneme, but an allophone of $/ \mathrm{e} /$. [i] only occurs before nasals and the alveolar fricatives $/ \mathrm{s}$ / and $/ \mathrm{z} /$. This environment is a common one for vowel centralization (see section 4.2.3 for more details). Below are examples where the underlying form of the central vowel can be seen from other contexts followed by examples in (d) where the environment is suggestive that the surface [i] corresponds to an underlying /e/.
(20)
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { a. } & \text { [bìmpânc } \\ \text { 乃è̀-mpânc } & \text { byầy] } \\ \text { bê-ân/ } \\ \text { 8-side } & 8 \text {-my }\end{array}$
'my sides'
8 -side $\quad 8$-my
b. [bí ndé
'you were'
bé ndé/
you (pl) be (loc)
c. [bìsá]
'thing'
/bè-sá/
8 -thing
d. kwînd possibly from /kwénd/ 'fish hook' (3)
mpwîng /mpwéng/ 'problems' (10)

## 4 Phonological rules

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

### 4.1 Avoiding Consonant Clusters

As has been previously mentioned, Kol does not have clear examples of consonant clusters within morphemes. Additionally, when the environment for a consonant cluster arises, with two consonants meeting across a
morpheme or word boundary, an epenthetic vowel is inserted to repair the cluster, as described in the section below.
/j-ób

| búy/ $/$ their |
| :--- |
| 7-place |

'their place' (focus on possession)

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

| (22) | jùlə̀bà | 'go down river' | from | jùlò |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | 'descend, go down'

### 4.2 VOWEL HIATUS

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

### 4.2.1 Gliding

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

### 4.2.1.1 Mid vowels become glides

As mentioned above, prefixal /e/ and /o/ become their corresponding glides (/y/ and /w/) when they occur before vowels. This is most frequently seen in class 1 nominal prefixes and in class 4,6 and 8 concord markers. Compare the glided versions of the concord markers on the left with their non-glided versions on the right.
a. [myóób]
b. [mètôn]
/mè-óób/
4-which
/mè-tôn/
4-five
c. [mwêz]
/mò-êz/
6-all
d. [mòzúy]
/mò-zúy/
6-our (dual)

### 4.2.1.2 Glide insertion

When vowel hiatus occurs across word boundaries, and one of the vowels is a high-mid vowel [e], the palatal glide is inserted. Two examples are given below.
$(24) /$ bè ó kò +H yé $/ \longrightarrow$ [bè yó kó yé]
you (pl) Pres go where
"Where are you going?"
(25) $/ \grave{\mathrm{j}}=\mathrm{á}=$ wàzà $=$ è /
$\longrightarrow$ [nǎwàzàyè]
he/she-Neg-forget-Neg
'He doesn't forget.'

### 4.2.2 Deletion

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

Surprisingly, deletion may occur in a similar environment to that of glide insertion. Relative clauses in Kol are marked by a H boundary tone on the left and by an enclitic on the right. When this enclitic / = è/ is hosted by a verb which ends in the vowel [a], the final vowel of the verb is deleted, as shown in (25).
(26) $/ \mathrm{m}$-ùr bə̀ $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{j}=$ é $=$ wàzà $=$ è $/ \longrightarrow$ [mùr bá níwàzè]

1-man be RelCl+he-P1-forget-RelCl
'This is the man that he forgot.'

### 4.3 VOWEL ASSIMILATION

Cross-linguistically, assimilation processes are very common. Kol has
three active assimilation processes seen in vowels. A centralizing process targets mid vowels before nasals and alveolar fricatives, as described in 4.3.1.

A raising process targets /e/when it precedes or follows palatal consonants, as described in 4.3.2. A rounding process targets high front vowels in the environment of the labiovelar glide, as described in 4.3.3.

### 4.3.1 Vowel centralizing before nasals and alveolar fricatives

The mid vowels /e/ and /o/ are centralized before nasals, as shown by the examples below. Compare the phonetic forms on the right with those (minus a nasal) on the right.
(27)
a. [bì-mpânc]
/bè-mpânj/
8 -side
'sides'
b. [bè-kák]
/bè-kág/
8-child
'children'
c. [bá-nè]
d. [bó-bá]
かó-nè/
/bó-bá/
2-that
2-two
'those'
'two'

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

### 4.3.1.1 Centralization of the back mid vowel

The back mid vowel [o] becomes the mid central vowel [ə] when it appears before a nasal or a prenasalized stop.
a. [bá-nè]
b. [bó-bá]
ßó-nè/
2-that
'those'
Aó-bá/
2-two
'two'
c. [mə̀-ngà]
d. [mó-lôl]
/mò-ngà/
6-this
/mó-lôl/
'these'
6-three
'three'

The back mid vowel [o] is also centralized before the alveolar and palatal fricatives. In (29) below, the same concord prefixes shown above are given before a modifier beginning with /s/.
(29)
a. [bà-sís]
b. [mè-sís]
ßò-sís/
2-another
'another, different'

Additionally, [o] is centralized before the palatal fricative, as shown by the nouns below. Compare the forms of the noun class prefixes on the left before $/ \subseteq /$ with those on the right before other consonants.
a. [bə̀- $\int w$ ẃ]
b. [bò-wàl]
bò-fwś/
2 -friend
'friends'
bò-wàl/
2-cookie
'cookies'

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

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

### 4.3.1.2 The front mid vowel

The front mid vowel [e] becomes the high central vowel [i] before nasals or prenasalized stops, as shown by the examples below.
a. [bí ndé]
bé ndé/
you (pl) be (loc)
'you are'
b. [bè fyál]
bé fyál/
you (pl) test
'you test'
(32)
a. [bì-mpânc]
ßè-mpânj/
8 -side
'sides'
b. [bè-kák]
bè-kág/
8 -child
'children'

As was for the case for the other mid vowel / $\%$, this same centralizing
process occurs before the alveolar and palatal fricatives $/ \mathrm{s} /$ and $/ \mathrm{S} /$.
(33)
a. [bì-sá]
b. [bè-kèkènà]
/bè-kèkènà/
/bè-sá/
8 -thing
'things'
8 -proverb
'proverbs'
c. [mə̀-fùk]
d. [mè-kây]
/mè-fùg/
4-stem, stalk
/mè-kân/
'stalks'
4-guinea fowl
'guinea fowl' (pl)
e. kwís
/kwés/
'cough'

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

| (34) lè-mpyàb | 'wing' |
| :--- | :--- |
| è̀nćk | 'summit' |
| è-nt̀̀ | 'crop (of bird)' |
| è-s $\hat{\varepsilon} b$ | 'illness' |

### 4.3.2 Front mid vowel raising

Additionally, the front mid vowel /e/ may be raised (but not centralized) to [i] before or after palatal consonants.
a. [mì-fùmb] /mè-Jùmb/
4-brook, stream
'brooks'
b. [mè-lélà]
/mè-lélà/
4-shiver
'shivers'
c. [mì-njà]
/mè-njà/
4-intestine
'intestines'
d. [bì-jwàlà]
/bè-jwàlà/
8 -banana
'bananas'
e. [bè-kák] /bè-kág/
8-child
'children'
f. $[\mathrm{n}-1$ ]
he/she-P1
g. [m-é]
I-P1

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

| lè-fù | 'sake' |
| :--- | :--- |
| lè-fwì | 'death' |
| lè-cônj | 'broom' |
| lè-jígé | 'lesson' |

Additionally, some speakers raise /e/ to [i] before the alveolar fricatives. This is may be because some dialects have /s/ where others have $/ \int /$ as was noted in section 1.1. This also functions as a way for some speakers to maintain the distinction between what would otherwise be identical prefixes (for class 2 and class 8 or for class 4 and class 6) if both the /o/ and /e/ centralized to the schwa.
(37)
a. [mì-sís]
b. [mé-bá]
/mè-sís/
4-another
/mé-bá/
'other ones'
4-two
'two'
c. [bí-zùg]
d. [bé-tón]
/bé-zùy/
8 -our (dual)
/bé-tón/
'our'
8 -five 'five'

However, it should be noted that these processes are optional, as shown below.
a. [bì-sá]
[bì-sá]
[bè-sá]
bè-sá/
8 -thing
'things'
b. [mì-sís]
[mè-sís]
/mè-sís/
4-different
'different ones'
c. [mì-sísìm]
[mò-sísìm]
/mè-sísìm/
4-spirit
'bad spirit'

### 4.3.3 High vowel Rounding

Additionally, the vowel /i/ is rounded when it precedes or follows the glide /w/.
a. [w-úz]
b. [d-íz]
/w-íz/
/d-íz/
3-our
5-our
'our'
'our'
c. [w-ún]
d. [b-ín]
/w-ín/
3 -your (pl)
/b-ín/
'your (pl)'
2-your (pl) 'your (pl)'

Interestingly, this rounding process may target a derived [i] as shown
below.
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { (40) a. } & \begin{array}{l}\mathrm{n}=\text { ú wàzà } \\ \text { he-P1 forgot }\end{array} \\ & \text { 'he forgot' }\end{array}$

### 4.4 PhRASE-FINALLY

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

### 4.4.1.1 Devoicing

Kol obstruents are devoiced when they occur before pause.

| míddle | before pause | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| (41) | dùg | dùk |
| -ób | -óp | 'forest' |
| -̂̂z | $-\varepsilon ̂ s$ | 'their' |
|  |  | 'each,all' |

### 4.4.1.2 Phrase-final tone lowering

Intonationally, pitch is lowered at the end of phrase. The result is to have a low tone where one would expect a high or rising tone, or to have a superlow tone where one would expect a low tone.
(42) $\mathrm{j}=\mathrm{i}$ sí ncò bárà.
j̀ $=$ é $\quad$ sè $+\mathrm{H} \quad$ ncò $+\mathrm{H} \quad$ bárà +H
he/she-P1 PERF come greet
'He came to greet.'
(43)
$\mathrm{n}=$ ǎ ncò dì dùk.
j̀ =á- ncà dì dǔg
he/she-P2- come stay 7 -forest
'He came to stay in the forest.'

### 4.5 Tone Rules

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

### 4.5.1 General tone association rules

Floating tones in Kol may associate to either the right or the left.

Though it appears that speakers have a choice as to the direction of association, in general, associations are made in such a way as to avoid downstep (described in section 4.5.1.2) and increase the number of tonal contours.

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

| tóòb | á $=\mathrm{j}=$ è | dí | dùk. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tóòb | á $=\mathrm{ji}=$ è +H | dì | dǔg |
| 7-sheep | NEG-be (att)-NEG | stay | 7-forest |

'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'
(45)

| *tóòb | á $=j=$ é | dì | dùk. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tóòb | á $=\mathrm{jl}=$ è +H | dì | dǔg |
| 7-sheep | NEG-be (att)-NEG | stay | 7-forest |

'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

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

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
\text { múùz, } & \mathrm{n}=\text { ó } & \text { dék } & \text { lè-kán. }  \tag{46}\\
\text { múùz } & \text { j̀ }=\text { ó } & \text { dég } & \text { lè-kán } \\
\text { today } & \text { he/she-Pres } & \text { see }+\mathrm{H} & 5 \text {-antelope } \\
\text { 'Today, he sees an antelope.' }
\end{array}
$$

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

```
(47) \(\mathrm{n}=0\) ó bwゝ̀gə́ kwàn.
\(\mathrm{n}=\) ó bwògá + H kwàn
he/she-Pres harvest 9-honey
'He harvests honey.'
```

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

### 4.5.2 Downstep

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

$$
\begin{array}{lllllll}
\mathrm{n}=\text { í } & \mathrm{j} \text { 'í } & \text { ncò... } & \text { kǎbò } & \text { míỳ̀n } & \text { sé } & \text { yò. }  \tag{48}\\
\grave{\mathrm{j}=e ́} & \mathrm{jì}+\mathrm{H} & \text { ncò+H } & \text { kǎbò } & \text { míỳ̀n } & \text { sé } & \text { yò } \\
\text { he/she-P1 } & \text { be (att) } & \text { come } & \text { but } & \text { 1-brother } & \text { PERF } & \text { die }
\end{array}
$$

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

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

| (49) | $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{i}$ | k'ó | bwògá | kwàn. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $\grave{\mathrm{j}}=\mathrm{é}$ | kò +H | bwòg +H | kwàn+H |
|  | he/she-P1 | go | harvest | 9-honey |

'He went to harvest honey.'


### 4.5.3 Optional H tone absorption rule

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

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

| mw-ân | á | dì | dùgá | ŋgùmbá | fùm |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mw-ân | á | dì | dǔg | ngùmbá | füm |
| 1-child | P2 | stay | 7-forest | entire | 3-night |

'The child stayed in the forest all night.'
(51)

| $\mathrm{j}=$ ǎ | ncə̀ | dì | dùk. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ỳ=á | ncà | dì | dǔg |
| he/she-P2 | come | stay | 7-forest |

'He came to stay in the forest.'
Similarly, the underlying tone of the prefixal portion of the non-past
negative marker is a H tone, as illustrated by the following examples.
(52)

| tóòb | á $=\mathrm{j}=\mathrm{e}$ | dí | dùk. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tóob | á $=\mathrm{ji}=$ è +H | dì +H | dǔg |
| 7-sheep | NEG-be (att)-NEG | stay | 7-forest |

'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'
(53) $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}=$ wàzà $=$ yè.
$\grave{\mathrm{j}}=\mathrm{a}=$ wàzà $=$ è +H
he/she-NEG-forget-NeG
'He doesn't forget.'

When these H tone grammatical markers precede a H tone verbs (or any lexically H tone morpheme), the H tones of the tense/negation may be absorbed into the H tone of the verb. The low tone of the subject pronoun remains on the vowel of the tense/negation marker. Examples (53) and (54)
illustrate what happens with the underlyingly H tone of the far past marker precedes a high tone verb. Example (54) also illustrates the schwa epenthesis rule.

| mbwá | làngé | $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{à}$ | bárà | mür. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mbwá | làngé | j̀=á | bárà | m -ùr |
| 3-year | last | he/she-P2 | greet | 1 -man |

'Last year, he greeted the man.'

| mbwá | làngé | $\mathrm{n}=$ à | bínò | nò. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mbwá | làngé | $\mathrm{j}=$ á | bín | nò |
| 3-year | last | he/she-P2 | raise | him/her |

'Last year, he lifted him up.'

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

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\mathrm{J}=\mathrm{à}=\text { bárà }=\text { yè } & \text { ná } & \mathrm{m} \text {-ûr. } .  \tag{56}\\
\text { n } ̀=\text { á }=\text { bárà }=\mathrm{e} & \text { nán } & \mathrm{m} \text {-ùr } \\
\text { he-NEG-greet-NEG }+\mathrm{H} & \text { more }+\mathrm{H} & \text { 1-man }
\end{array}
$$

'He doesn't greet the man anymore.'
(57)
múùz, $\mathrm{j}=\mathrm{a}=$ dég $=$ é lè-kán.
múùz j̀ = á = dég $=$ è lè -kán today he-Neg-see-NeG + H 5-antelope
'Today, he didn't see the antelope.'

This absorption process is optional, as may be seen by the examples below where it fails to apply.
(58) $\mathrm{n}=$ ǎ bárà mùr.
j̀=á bárà m-ùr
he-P2 greet 1-man
'He greeted the man.'
(59)
$\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{ǎ}$ bín $̀$ nô.
ŋ̀ =á bîn nò
he/she-P2 raise him/her
'He raised him.'

This process is not restricted to these two markers, but it may occur
with any H tone. Below are examples illustrating a similar process with the near future tense marker é and the present tense marker ó.
(60)

| $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{e}$ | bwó | bárà. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\grave{\mathrm{j}}=\mathrm{e}$ | bwó +H | bárà +H |
| he/she-Fut | F 2 | greet |

'He will greet.'
(61)

| $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{o}$ | lég | lòn | $\mathrm{m}=$ á | jôk | nə̀ | dêk | kwár-é. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| minó | $1 \varepsilon ́ \mathrm{~T}+\mathrm{H}$ | lòn + H | $\mathrm{m}=$ á | H+jwôg | nò | dêg | kwád-è. |
| I-Pres | tell | 5-speech | I-P2 | RelCl-hear | and | see | 9 -village-RelCL |

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

### 4.5.3.1 Polar tone

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

Mode (TAM) system in that it appears to be a polar tone, sensitive to the underlying tone of the word on its right.

| $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{e}$ | ndé | ké | dùló | sìgá... |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| m̀ $=$ é | ndé +H | ké +H | dùlゝे +H | sìgá |
| I -P1 | be (loc) | NEG | smoke (v) | cigarette |

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

| $\mathrm{n}=1$ | bò | lé | ncò... | kǎbò | $\mathrm{n}=1$ | bìyà. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| j̀ $=$ é | bà +H | lè +H | ncò + H | kăbò | j̀ $=$ é | biyà +H |
| he/she-P1 | be | IMPF | come | but | he/she-P1- | be.seized |

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

| $\mathrm{n}=1$ | $\mathrm{j}^{\prime} 1$ | ncò... | kǎbò | míyòy | sé | yò. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| j̀ $=$ é | jì + H | ncò + H | kăbò | míỳ̀ | sè +H | yò + H |
| he/she-P1 | be(att) | come | but | 1-brother | Perf | die |

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

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

### 4.6 LEXICAL VS. POSTLEXICAL PHONOLOGY

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

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

# 3 Morphosyntax of the Noun Phrase 

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

## (1) CV roots ${ }^{1}$

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

CVC roots
dig 'bush (land), rural area' (7)
kág 'child' (7)

VC roots
mw-ân 'child, offspring' (1)
m-ùr 'person, man' (1)

[^0]
## CVCV roots

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

CVCVC roots
fàfèm 'wall' (7)
tútúl 'old man' (3)
sísìm 'soul, spirit' (3)(1)

VCV roots
mw-àrá 'woman, wife' (1)

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

## 1 Noun Classes

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

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

|  |  | Singular |  |  |  | Plural |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | $\emptyset$ mw- <br> m- | kól <br> mw-àrá <br> m-ùr | 'sister of man' 'woman' <br> 'man, person' | 2 | bò- <br> b- | bò-kól <br> bw-àrá <br> b-ùr ${ }^{2}$ | 'sisters' <br> 'women' <br> 'men, people' |
| 3 | $\emptyset$ | mbìl | 'hole' | 4 | mè- | mè̀-mbìl | 'holes' |
| 5 | è-, lè- <br> $\emptyset$ <br> d- | è-bùrà <br> kù $\mathrm{d}-\hat{\mathrm{u}}$ | 'sweet potato' <br> 'foot' <br> 'nose' | 6 | mò- <br> m- | mò-bùrà <br> mò-kù <br> m-û | 'sweet potatoes' <br> 'feet' <br> 'noses' |
| 7 | $\emptyset$ | kág | 'child' | 8 | bè- | bè-kág | 'children' |
| 7 | $\emptyset$ | bùmó | 'fruit' | 10 | $\mathrm{m}^{-3}$ | m-pùmó | 'fruits' |
| 9 | $\emptyset$ | kwád | 'village' | 6 | mò- | mò-kwád | 'villages' |

Table 3.1 Noun Class Prefixes (NPx) and Gender Pairings

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

[^1]There are semantic tendencies for some of the noun classes. These will be discussed below, along with the phonological conditioning of the different forms of the noun prefixes.

### 1.1 CLASSES $1 / 2$

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

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

However, not all nouns found in classes 1 and 2 are people. It is also common to find animals in this gender.
(3) kúbì
bò-kúbう̀
'chicken'
fû
bò- $\int$ û
'fish'

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

| (4) | kwòndó | bò-kwòndó |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |$\quad$ 'stripe (insignia of rank)'

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

Before most vowel-initial roots, the class 1 marker is $m w$ - and the class 2 prefix surfaces as $b w$-. For the class 2 prefix it is clear that there is an [ o ] in the underlying form of the prefix which is glided before most vowel-initial noun roots. This may also be true for class 1 nouns, but since consonantinitial roots are zero-marked, the form /mo-/ never appears in a surface form. (5) mw-ân bw-ân 'child, offspring'

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

Some speakers have an additional allomorph for the class 2 prefix, namely [bò-]. This allomorph occurs before nasals and the alveolar fricative. (While this may not seem like a natural class cross-linguistically, it is common
for the alveolar fricative to trigger similar changes to neighboring vowels as nasals in both Kol and at least one neighboring and closely related language. See chapter 2 for more information on Kol phonology.)

| (7) | sœr | bò-sœr | 'nun' (French loan ${ }^{4}$ ) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nı̀ygó | bə̀-ǹ̀ngó | 'mother' |  |
|  | mpyó | bə̀-mpyó | 'dog' |

### 1.2 CLASSES 3/4

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

| (8) | mbìl | mè-mbìl | 'hole' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sìlò | mè-sìlò | 'girl' |  |
| nòy | mè-nòy | 'kilometer' |  |

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

[^2]| mbì | mə̀-mbì | 'type, sort' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mbìl | mè-mbìl | 'hole' |
| njà | mì-njà | 'intestines' |
| njáb | mè-njáb | 'house' |
| njônd | mì-njônd | 'trip' |

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

| (10) | kây | mè-kây | 'guinea fowl' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| mìr | mò-mìr, mè-mìr | 'medicine' |  |
| njà | mì-njà, mè-njà | 'intestine' |  |
| sísìm | mì-sísìm, mò-sísìm | 'bad spirit' |  |

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

### 1.3 CLASSES 5/6

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

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

| (11) jò | mò-jò | 'tooth' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | d-û̀ | m-û |

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

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

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

| (13) è-bá | mò-bá | 'marriage' | $p l$. 'marriages' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | lè-lwí | mò-lwí | 'insult' |
|  | $p l$. 'insults' |  |  |

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

```
(14) ê-fyâl lé-\intùkúl
    INF-exit 5ASsOC-school
    'school leaving' or 'graduation'
```

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

| (15) | mò-díbó | 'water' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | mò-ncì | 'blood' |
|  | mò-jòg | 'wine' |

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

| (16) | dw-ób | m-ób |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| d-ààg | m-ààg | 'day' |
| d-íǹ̀ | m-íǹ̀ | 'crab' |
| d-òmb | m-òmb | 'name' |
| làl | mò-làl | 'war' |
|  |  | 'ethnic area' |

Phonologically there is a wide range of variation in the way that class

5 nouns are marked. They may be marked with a $d$ - prefix, with a lè- prefix (which alternates with $\grave{e}$-) or zero marked. In spite of the different noun class prefixes, these nouns all trigger the same concord marking on their modifiers, showing that they do indeed belong to the same class.
a. dw-ób d-j̀̀̀nǵ
5-day 5-DEF
'the day'
b. è-sáb d-j̀̀̀ngó
5-illness
5-DEF
'the illness'

Many class $5 / 6$ nouns begin with the alveolar consonants $\{\mathrm{d}, \mathrm{l}\}$. This is not surprising since the proto noun prefix for class 5 has been reconstructed as *di, and many *d's correspond to $/ \mathrm{l} /$ in Kol. (For more information on the historical development of Kol, see chapter seven.) However, these two initial consonants behave very differently, as shown below in (16).

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

[d-] functions as an allomorph of the class 5 marker for vowel-initial roots. It always corresponds to the plural allomorph [m-] of class 6. Below is a full list of the pertinent nouns.

| (19) | d-ààg | m-ààg |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| d-íǹ̀ | m-ínò | 'crab' |
| d-îz | m-îz | 'name' |
| d-ógbó | m-ógbó | 'eye' |
| d-òg | m-̀̀g | 'headpad' |
| d-òmb | m-òmb | 'nest' |
| d-û | m-û | 'war' |
| d-ùg | m-ùg | 'nose' |


| d-úmó | m-úmó | 'kapok tree' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| d-ǔnj | m-ǔnj | 'fist |
| d-úyò | m-úŋว̀ | 'pelican' |
| d-úúg | m-úúg | 'beak' |
| dw-ób | m-ób | 'day' |

However, class 5 nouns that begin with a consonant can be split into two
lexical classes. In one, the synchronic noun prefix is $\emptyset$, while for the other class, the synchronic noun prefix is è (or lè). All zero-marked class 5 nouns begin with [1] as shown below.

| (20) làg | mò-làg | 'horn' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| làl | mò-làl | 'ethnic area' |
| lárà | mò-lárà | 'difficulty' |
| lôy | mò-lôy | 'speech' |
| lû | mò-lû | 'head' |
| lùt | mò-lùt | 'wrinkle' |
| lùùg | mò-lùùg | 'dew' |
| lwô | mò-lwô | 'ear' |
| lwùy | mò-lwùy | 'beehive' |

Other class 5 nouns beginning with $\Lambda /$ behave like the majority of class 5 nouns and are marked with the lè- prefix (which alternates with $\grave{e}$-).
(21)

| è-lâmb | mò-lâmb | 'trap' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| è-lát | mò-lát | 'palm tree' |
| è-lı̀b | mò-lòb | 'blade of grass' |
| è-lúnd |  | 'palmnut tree' |
| lè-lúyò | mò-lúyò | 'woven construction' |
| lè-lwí | mò-lwí | 'insult' |

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

| a. | \#è-kán | má | ncò |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 5-antelope | be (chg) | come |
|  | 'Antelope came.' |  |  |

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

Speakers vary as to which form they use after pause, suggesting that the choice of the underlying form varies from speaker to speaker. Speakers themselves are aware that there are two forms, though they do not seem to be
aware of individual variation due to phonotactics. Some suggest that others are lazy and 'drop' the $/ 1 /$, while others suggest that those who 'add' the $/ 1 /$ are imitating the French definite article le. Historically, [lè-] is the more conservative form, being the most clearly derived from the historical prefix *di-.

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

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

Class 6 also has some "double-marked" nouns. These appear to have belonged to class 10 at one point. (Class 10 nouns are marked with an initial
voiceless prenasalized stop.) However, these nouns are now marked with the class 6 plural marker and trigger class 6 concord.
(23) Double-marked nouns

| bâl | mò-mpâl | 'bowl' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bé | mə̀-mpé | 'toilet, latrine' |
| díbá | mə̌-ntǐbǎ | 'brook, fountain' |
| dǐg | mə̌-ntǐg | 'bush (land)' |
| bòòg | mò-mpò̀̀g | 'hoe' |

### 1.4 CLASSES 7/8

Class 7 is the default class for inanimate objects.

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

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

| kág | bè-kág | 'child' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sínj | bì-sínj | 'squirrel' |

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

| (26) | kùndá | bè-kùndá | 'cultivated ground' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | ntwòmb | bè-ntwòmb, bà-ntwòmb | 'fight' |
| sá | bè-sá, bì-sá | 'thing' |  |

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

| (27) | ntwòmb | bè-ntwòmb, bò-ntwòmb |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| míshwàn | bò-míshwàn | 'fight' |
| sí | bà-sí | 'church' |
| sá | bìsá, bèsá | 'land' |
| fwêl | bì-fwêl | 'thing' |
| jwàlà | bì-jwàlà | 'lizard' |
|  |  | 'banana' |

### 1.5 CLASS 9

Classes 9 and 10 are identical in their concord agreement. They have been kept distinct in this analysis because class 9 nouns are singular, with
their plurals formed in class 6 , while class 10 nouns are all collective nouns (and therefore plural), primarily formed from class 7 stems.

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

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

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

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

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

| (30) | bwâg | 'be big' | mpwàag | 'bigness, fatness' (9) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | dúgò | 'agonize' | ntǔǧ̌ | 'agony' (9) |
|  | jàm | 'destroy' | ncàm | 'leprosy (destroyer)' |

### 1.6 CLASS 10

As was noted above, class 10 nouns are all plural. All class 10 nouns begin with a voiceless prenasalized stop, which is in part a reflex of the homorganic nasal prefix reconstructed for both class 9 and class 10 nouns in Proto-Bantu. However, for those nouns which have a singular form, a difference can be seen between the historic nasal prefix and the synchronic situation in that the class 10 plural is marked both by a prenasalization and a devoicing of the initial consonant, as shown by the example below.
(31) Class 7/10 nouns

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

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

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

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

| (33) | mpùmó | 'fruits' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mpwîng | 'problems' |  |
| mpànj | 'bamboo' |  |
| mpí | 'palmnuts' |  |
| mpìgìbà | 'suppository' |  |
| mpyèl | 'trousers' |  |
| mpúgá | 'fracture' |  |
| mpwžj | 'corn grain' |  |

## 2 Pronouns

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

Coordinate noun phrases which include a pronoun (e.g he and she) require that the first pronoun be plural, to reflect the plurality of the entire
group. In these constructions, the third person pronoun is replaced by the noun nób meaning 'other,' bànób in the plural. It is interesting that this morpheme bears a strong resemblance to the genitive stem for 'their,' i.e. $-o ́ b$.
a. bìzá nób
we other $\quad$ 'we (dual)'

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

| bw=á | Jùyà | bízá | nób | bó-b-êz. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| they-P2 | discuss | us | other | 2-2-each, all |

'They saved both of us.' [intended 'me and her, each of us'] (Joy.37)

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

| mò $=$ | nə̂ | "kí | náy | nə̀ | twò | d-úl | dw-áp |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| me | that | neg | still | and | even,if | 5 -another | 5 -day |


| lè-sís, | bìzá | nà | mà-nók | é | kwó | bwàmè." |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 5-different | we | and | 4-wine | fut | again | meet |
| 'I said that, | "Never again will wine | and I meet."' | (Perils.97) |  |  |  |

### 2.1 SUBJECT PRONOUNS

Personal pronouns are common in Kol discourse. When the tense marker immediately follows a pronoun, the pronoun cliticizes to the tense marker, forming a single phonological unit.
(37) é-màn-é $\mathrm{n}=$ ě bárà m-ûr.
on-morning-Foc he/she-F1 greet 1-person
'Tomorrow, he will greet the man.'

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

5-hole P2 be in-canoe
'There was a hole in the canoe.'
(39) mpú é bándà nwî.

7-rain Fut really fall (rain)
'It will certainly rain.'

However, when the subject noun phrase is longer than a single noun, a subject pronoun may also be used, as shown below.
(40) mò-kwàbàlá mó-nè $\mathrm{mw}=\hat{\mathrm{o}}$ sé yà nó fòk.

6-problem 6-that (spec) 6-PRes PERF give him/her 9 -wisdom
'Those problems gave him wisdom.'
(41)

| bì̀-mpáànc | by-áy | by $=$ â | sè | bà | fùbán |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 8-side (of body) | 8 -my | 8 -P2 | PERF | be | (be) clean |
| 'My sides were clean.' |  |  |  |  |  |

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

|  | Singular | Plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathbf{1}^{\text {st }}$ person excl. | $\mathrm{m}=$ | bìzó |
| incl. |  | bìzá |
| dual incl. |  | ncwò |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ person | $\mathrm{w}=$ | bé |
| $3^{\text {rd }}$ person (1/2) | $\mathrm{n}=$ | bwó |
| $3 / 4$ | $\mathrm{w}=$ | myò |
| $5 / 6$ | $\mathrm{dw}=$ | mwò |
| $7 / 8$ | $\mathrm{jw}=$ | byò |
| $9 / 10$ | $\mathrm{n}=$ | bwò |
| Non-ref | $\mathrm{y}=$ |  |

Table 3.2 Subject Pronouns

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

| yá = | jì | kònòkò | nâ | mpú | é | nwì. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NON-REF SUB | be (att) | true | that | 7-rain | F1 | fall (rain) |

'It is certain that it will rain.'

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

| by =á | lè | dì | njì | lé-mò-kôk |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 8SUB-P2 | IMPF | stay | only | in-6-enclosure |

'They [animals] stayed only in enclosures.' (History.10)
(44) nə̂ mpwák jwá= kó=k Jwôk.
that family.line 9SUB go-SUbJ +H front (of s.th.)
'..that the family lines continues.' (History.10)

Subject agreement markers are typically prefixes, but syntactically, Kol subject pronouns do not act like prefixes. If they were prefixes, we would anticipate that they would have specific selectional requirements. However,
subject pronouns may appear before any element in the verbal sequence, e.g. tense markers, verbs, adverbs, or even a prepositional phrase, as shown
below.

| mò $=$ | nò | kwó | ncə̀ | tér | lè-jwók | bè-wàl. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| I | with | again | come | start | INF-feel | 8 -fear |
| 'I started to be afraid.' |  |  |  |  |  |  |

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

### 2.2 ObJECT Pronouns

Object pronouns may only appear after the verb stem. They may not
occur before the verb.
(46) těm bà bé-dóp bwá =á sá wú $m=a ̆ n c o ́ g o ́ ~ y i ̂ m ~ n \grave{~ d a ̀ ~ b y o ̀ . ~}$ even be 8 -food they-P2 do there I-NeGP2 can and eat 80bJ 'I couldn't even eat the food that they prepared there.' (Joy.08)

|  | Normal |  | Emphatic |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural |
| $1^{\text {st }}$ person | mò | bìzá | mè |  |
| incl |  | bìzá |  |  |
| dual |  | ncwà |  |  |
| 2 ${ }^{\text {nd }}$ person | wò | bè | w |  |
| $3{ }^{\text {rd }}$ person (1/2) | nò | bwò | лı̀ | bw |
| 3/4 | wò | myò | w ${ }^{\text {c }}$ | myé |
| 5/6 | dwò | mwò | dwé | mw |
| 7/8 | yò, jwò | byò | jw | byé |
| 9 or 10 | nò | nò | nwé | Jw ${ }^{\text {¢ }}$ |

Table 3.3 Postverbal Object Pronouns

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

| (47) bé | túgá | lé | númbà | nと̌ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| you (pl) | Neg | ImpF | know | him (EMPH) |
|  | 'You don't know | it (the giraffe).' | (History.07) |  |

### 2.3 REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

These pronouns, which mean 'him alone' are formed by adding mé to the emphatic form of the object pronoun. Personal pronoun versions use a reduplicated form of the emphatic object pronoun.
(48) $m$ =ǎncógó náy lè jwógə̀rà mè mè mé I-NeGP2 still ImpF feel me me self I didn't feel like myself anymore.

|  | Singular | Plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $1^{\text {st }}$ person | mè mè mé | bìzá bé mé |
| dual |  | ncwá mè |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ person | wè wè mé | bé bè mé |
| $3^{\text {rd }}$ person (1/2) | nè jè mé | bwè bwè mé |
| $3 / 4$ | wé mé | myé mé |
| $5 / 6$ | dwé mé | mwé mé |
| $7 / 8$ | jwé mé | byé mé |
| 9 or 10 | jwé mé | jwé mé |

Table 3.4 Exclusive Pronouns

### 2.4 Locative Pronoun

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

However, it functions as a pronoun in that it replaces noun phrases referring to a location. It is invariable. Its form does not change in accordance with the noun class of the head noun in the locative noun phrase that it replaces. Below is an excerpt from a text.
(49) Té bó $m=a ́$ tér bì-syé.

Loc be I-P2 start 8 -work
'That's where I started my job.'

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

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

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

wók ná ţààngà nà bàmíjòy b-íz-é.
here that now with 2 -brother 2 -our-RelCl
'I will tell you a story about something that we see here today with our brothers.'
(52) "દ́s kə̀ mə̀= jì nò Đkùl ỳ̀ wógà ?" est-ce que I be with power die here (spec.) "Will I die here?" (Illness.23)

Example (51) above also illustrates the locative prefix lé- which can be glossed as 'in, on, or about.' Another example is given below.
"mpwàm bà wók lé-mbìl gǎ ?"
python be here Loc-hole this
"The serpent was here in this hole?" (Serpent.026)

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

$$
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text { mə̀ }= & j i ́=k & \text { búy } & \text { má } & \text { kó } & \text { kò } & \text { jâ } & \text { sí. }  \tag{54}\\
\text { mə̀ }= & \text { jí }=g+H & \text { bùn } & \text { H+mə̀ } & \text { kò } & \text { kò } & \text { jâ } & \text { sí } \\
\mathrm{I} & \text { ask-SUBJ } & \text { place } & \text { ReLCl-I } & \text { go } & \text { go } & \text { lie } & \text { 1-earth }
\end{array}
$$

'[I didn't have enough sense to] ask where I could go lie down.'
(Perils.36)
(55) nə̀ mə̀ $=$ nî $=\eta k$ sì jwòn.
nò mə̀ $=$ nî̀ $=\mathrm{g}+\mathrm{H}$ sí jwòn
and I enter-Subj 1 -earth bed
'... and should I go under the bed?

## 3 Concord systems

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

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

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

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

| Noun Class | indefinite determiner \& 'which' | definite determiner \& genitives | 3sg <br> genitive \& 'each, all' | Example phrase |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | n- | W- | y - | núlàgà mwàrá 'another woman' <br> ntúm wàn 'my brother' <br> mùr yêz 'each person' |
| 2 | b- | b- | b- | bwàrá bòngó 'those women' |
| 3 | w- | w- | y - | myà wòngj́ 'that time' <br> njáb yé 'his house' |
| 4 | mi- | mìy- | me- [my-] | milàgà mámyà 'certain times' mènjáb mìỳ̀ngá 'those houses' mènjáb myó $\quad$ 'your ( sg ) houses' |
| 5 | d- | d- | d- | dwób dòygó 'that day' |
| 6 | m- | m- | m- | mób mêz $\quad$ 'all the days' |
| 7 | j- | j- | j- | kág jizz 'our child' |
| 8 | be- | biy- | be- [by-] | bàkág byób 'their children' |
| 9 | n- | n - | n - | nób kwád 'which village?' |
| 10 | n- | n- | ת- | mpùmó nêz $\quad$ 'all fruit' |

Table 3.5 Concord Pattern 1 - before V-initial stems

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

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

Table 3.6 Concord Pattern 2 - before C-initial stems

## 4 Modifiers

Kol is an SVO language. In general, Kol phrases are head-initial. For example, objects follow verbs, and complements of prepositions follow the preposition. While most noun phrases in Kol are head-initial, there are also three modifers which precede the head. These preposed modifiers tend to
give new information or request new information. Additionally, when demonstratives or genitives are put in focus, they are moved from their default position after the noun to a position before the noun.

### 4.1 DETERMINERS

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

| Class | Definite | Indefinite | Examples |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | -ว̀ngá | -úlàgà | núlàgà mwàrá | 'a certain woman' |
| 1 | wòngó | júlàgà |  |  |
| 2 | bòngś | bílògà | bwàrá bj̀ngó | 'the women' |
| 3 | wòngó | wúlàgà | wúlàgà mbì | 'a certain type' |
| 4 | mìyว̀ngó | mílàgà | mènjáb mìyòngj́ | 'the houses' |
| 5 | dòngó | dúlàgà | dwób dı̀ngó | 'the day' |
| 6 | mòngó | mílàgà | mòkwád mòpgá | 'the villages' |
| 7 | jòngó | júlàgà | júlàgà kèkènà | 'a certain proverb' |
| 8 | bìyว̀jgó | bílògà | bènún bìyòjgó | 'the birds' |
| 9 | лว̀ngธ́ | júlàgà | núlàgà kwád | 'a certain village' |
| 10 | лว̀ngว́ | júlògà | mpùmó nı̀̀gó | 'the fruits' |

Table 3.7 Kol Determiners

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

Both determiners may be abbreviated without any change of meaning. The full form of núlàgà for example may be abbreviated as núlà or núl. The definite determiner may be abbreviated as bı̀ instead of bı̀ngá.

The definite determiner may be used pronominally, as shown in the following example. When this occurs, the initial vowel is lengthened, and the final vowel is deleted.
(56) bw-ân jì boว̌yg má míyว̀ク w-àjว́.

2-child be(att) 2-Def 2-Poss 1-sibling 1-my
'The children are my nieces and nephews.' (lit. those of my younger sibling)

This pronominal form of the definite determiner can itself be modified as shown by the examples below.
a. ê-j-ว̀ò̀gá j-é.

Loc-7-Def 7-his (BD.38)
'in his one'

| b. | w-ว̀̀̀ngə́ | w-o |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 3-Def | 3-your |
|  | 'your one' |  |

### 4.2 DEMONSTRATIVES

Kol has two demonstratives, indicating 'this' /gà, ŋgà/ and 'that' /né/. Both demonstratives follow the head noun unless they are in focus, in which case they are moved to before the noun as shown in (59).
a. dá ŋgà
'this father' (1)
bè-kèkènà bé-ngà 'these parables'
b. b-ùr bá-nè
'those people' (2)
dw-àb é-nè
'that day' (5)
$\begin{array}{llllllll}\text { (59) myâ } & \text { bwó } & \text { ncà } & \text { bwáànt } & \text { mə̀-bá, } & \text { ně } & \text { njùm... } \\ & \text { 3-time } & \text { they } & \text { INCP } & \text { create } & \text { 6-sexual.relations } & \text { that (SPEC) } & \text { husband }\end{array}$ 'When they began an affair, that husband...'

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

| Class | this | that | Examples |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ga, ŋgà | né | dá $\eta \mathrm{ga}$ a $\quad$ 'this father' |
| 1 | gà, jgà | né |  |
| 2 | bə̀ngá | bánè | bùr bánè 'those people' |
| 3 | gà, ygà | né | njáb né $\quad$ 'that house' |
| 4 | mèngà | mèné | mènjáb mèngà 'these houses' |
| 5 | léggá, lègà | léné, énè | dwàb énè 'that day' |
| 6 | mágà, mə̀ngà | mə̀né | mòwàrà mágà 'these vacations' |
| 7 | gà, ygà | né | kágà né 'that child' |
| 8 | béngà | bàné | bèkèkènà béngà 'these parables' |
| 9 | gà, ทgà | né | kwár né 'that village' |
| 10 | gà, ŋgà | né | mpùmó ggà 'this fruit' |

Table 3.8 Kol Demonstratives.

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

However, the centralization of the [o] of the concord marker in class 2 and
class 6 suggests that the prenasalized allomorph is the underlying one, which would then provide a trigger for the mid-vowel centralization rule.
(60)
a. [bàngá]
b. bó-bá
2-two
/bò-ıgá/
2-two
2-this
c. [màgá]
d. mó-lôl
/mò-ıgá/
6-three
6-this

### 4.3 ANOTHER, A DIFFERENT ONE

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

$$
\begin{array}{lcl}
\text { d-úl } & \text { dw-áp } & \text { lè-sís }  \tag{61}\\
\text { 5-a certain } & \text { 5-day } & \text { 5-another } \\
\text { 'a certain other day' } & \text { (Perils.97) }
\end{array}
$$

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

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

| Class | 'different' | Examples |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2 | bàsís | bòkúbò bàsís 'other chickens' |  |
| $\mathbf{4}$ | mìsís | mènjáb misís 'different houses' |  |
| $\mathbf{5}$ | lèsís | èbùrá lèsís 'different potato' |  |
| $\mathbf{6}$ | mòsís | mòbùrá màsís 'other potatoes' |  |
| $\mathbf{8}$ | bìsís | bèsá bisisis | 'other things' |

Table 3.9 Examples of sis 'another, a different'

### 4.4 GENITIVES

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

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

| $\mathrm{n}=$ ě | sá | jwó | lè-shú | d-ày. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| he-Fut | do | h+7obj | 5-sake | 5 -my |

'He will do it for my sake.' (Elicitation.46)

| Class | 1SG | 2SG | 3SG | 1PL excl. | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 1PL } \\ \text { incl } \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { 1PL } \\ & \text { dual } \end{aligned}$ | 2PL | 3PL |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | -àn | -ó | -é | -éz | -ézà | -zùn | -én | -ób |
| 1 | w-àn | w-ó | y-é | w-úz | w-úzà | wú-zùn | w-ún | w-ób |
| 2 | b-àn | bw-ó | b-é | b-éz | b-ízà | bé-zùm | b-ín, b-ín | b-ób |
| 3 | w-àn | w-ó | n -ह́, y-é | w-úz | w-úzà | wú-zùn | w-ún | w-ób |
| 4 | my-àn | my-ó | my-é | m-íz | m-ízà | mí-zùn | m-ín | my-ób |
| 5 | d-ây | dw-ó | d-é | d-íz | d-ízà | dé-zùn | d-ín | d-ób |
| 6 | m-àn | mw-ó | m-é | $\begin{aligned} & \text { m-éz, } \\ & \text { m-íz } \end{aligned}$ | m-ízà | mó-zùn | m-ín | m-ób |
| 7 | j-ày | jw-ó | j-é | j-íz | j-ízà | jí-zùg | j-ín | j-ób |
| 8 | by-ày | by-ó | by-é | b-íz | b-ízà | bí-zùn | b-ín | by-ób |
| 9 | n -àn | jw-ó | n -é | n-íz | n-ízà | ní-zùn | n-ín | n -ób |
| 10 | n -àn | jw-ó | n -é | n-íz | n-ízà | ní-zùg | n -ín | л-ób |

Table 3.9 Kol Genitives

Genitives follow the first concord pattern, with markers for every class, as shown in the table above. Genitives also have the only exception to the phonologically-conditioning of the concord system, since the $1^{\text {st }}$ person dual
genitive begins with a consonant and yet patterns with the rest of the genitives which are all vowel-initial.

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

| ntúm wày | 'my brother' (1) |
| :--- | :--- |
| Økwòn né | 'his responsibility' (9) |
| bòmpám bíz | 'our ancestors' (2) |
| bíyól jób | 'their canoe' (7) |

(65)
byây béyàbə̀rá 'my efforts' (8)
jé tíé 'his position' (7)
wúz mbì 'our manner' (3)
bób bwán 'their children' (2)

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

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

1-brother 1Poss 1-husband
'my husband's brother'
b. sísìm má ncì̀mbé

3-spirit 3Poss God
'the spirit of God,' 'the Holy Spirit'
c. lè-wálà má ncì̀mbé

5-hour 5Poss God
'God's time'

### 4.5 QUANTIFIERS

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

### 4.5.1 'Each, all'

The quantifier $-\hat{\varepsilon} z$ meaning 'each, all' begins with a vowel and therefore follows the first concord pattern, as illustrated below.

| Class | each, all | Examples |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | - $\hat{\text { enz }}$ | mùr yêzz | 'each person' |
| 1 | y-Êz |  |  |
| 2 | b-Êz, bàbêz |  |  |
| 3 | y-Êz | njáp yêz | 'each house' |
| 4 | my-ĉz |  |  |
| 5 | d-êz | èbùrá dêz mòkwár mêz | 'each sweet potato' 'all the villages' |
| 6 | m-Êz |  |  |
| 7 | j-Êz | kág jizz | 'each child' |
| 8 | by-Êz | bèsá | 'everything' |
| 9 | $\mathrm{n}-\hat{\varepsilon} \mathrm{z}$ | $k w a ́ r ~ n \hat{\varepsilon} z$ | 'each village' |
| 10 | n -仑̂z |  |  |

Table 3.10 Kol Quantifier 'each, all'

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

### 4.5.1.1 Emphasis

The quantifier may be emphasized by reduplicating the first consonant of the noun concord prefix. This can be seen in (59) below, where the noun class prefix is doubly marked in each example.
a. bízá nóp bá-b-êz
us other 2-2-each, all
'both of us' (intended 'me and her, each of us') (Joy.37)
b. lé jwô jí-j-êz

7-wood 7-your 7-7-all
'all your wood'
c. ŋkùl n-óp ní-n-र̂z

9-power 9-their 9-9-all
'all their power' (Joy.33)

### 4.5.2 Numerals

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

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

[^3]| 9 | èbú | èbú | mèntèr èbù 'nine hundred' (4) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 10 | èwúm | èwúm | bòntá èwúm 'ten grandchildren' (2) |
| 11 | èwúm nà <br> fóg |  |  |
| 20 | mòwúm <br> màbá |  |  |
| 100 | ntèr |  |  |
| 1000 | tóyíg |  |  |

Table 3.11 Kol Numbers.

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

Associative phrases will be discussed below in section 4.8.

If the number ten is the second noun in the associative phrase, the phrase means ' 10 ,' but if the number ten is the first noun in the associative phrase, then it means 'approximately 10.'
a. bè-kàg è-wúm

8-child 5-ten
'10 children'
b. è-wúm é bè-kág

5-ten 5Assoc 8-child
'approx. 10 children' (in French 'une dizaine d'enfants')

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

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

Table 3.12 Concord for Kol Numbers

### 4.6 INTERROGATIVES

Kol interrogatives do not all behave the same way morphosyntactically.

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

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

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

Table 3.13 Kol Interrogatives

The quantifier meaning 'which' has differing tone patterns if it occurs with its head noun or stands alone as a pronoun. If it occurs with its head noun, it occurs prenominally and has a H tone (as shown in the chart above). However, if it occurs as a stand-alone question 'which one?' then it has a LH tonal melody and occurs with a final vowel $e$.
(69) wóób njáb? 'which house?' (3) wòòbé? 'which one?'
byóób bèkág? 'which children?' (8) byòòbé? 'which ones?'

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

| (70) | tír | jì | yé? |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | meat | be (att) | where |

'Where is the meat?'

### 4.7 ADJECTIVES

Kol has very few adjectives. A list is given in (63). These do not show any concord, which distinguishes them from other nominal modifiers. They occur before the noun as shown in the examples below. A number of them are derived by means of total reduplication. The source word may be a verb (as in the case of 'big') or a noun (as in the case of 'good' and 'bad'). These will be discussed in more detail in section 4.7.1 and 4.7.3 below.
(71)

| Adjectives |  | Examples |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bèdá | 'big' | bèdá kwád | 'big village' |
| bwàgbwàg | 'big' | bwàgbwàg mò-kwád | 'big villages' |
| fám | 'real, true, good' | fámá bìjôl | 'good canoe' |
| fúbán | 'be clean' |  |  |
| mbápmbáp | 'bad, evil' | mbápmbáp sísìm | 'evil spirit' |
| nwàynwày | 'good, holy' | jwànnwày lám | 'sacred heart' |
| ntúlá | 'a lot' (uncountable) | ntúlá bè-sá | 'a lot of things' |
| bùbù | 'a lot' | bùbù mè-njáb | 'a lot of houses' |
| ygúmbà | 'entire, whole' | ngúmbà fùm | 'entire night' |

Adjectives can also occur post-nominally, as shown in (64).
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { (72) bìyól } & \text { áncógó } & \text { bà } & \text { fáámá. } \\ & 7 \text {-canoe } & \text { NEGP3 } & \text { be } & \text { good }\end{array}$
'The canoe wasn't in good condition.'

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

### 4.7.1 Dimensions

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

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

Verbs
bwàg 'be big'
twágàbj̀ 'be small'
jà 'be long, be tall, be far'

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

Many qualities are described by verbs. In the example below, the
 the auxiliary 'come.' For more on verbs, see chapters 4 and 5.

| nô | ncò | jkòné | bwâg. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| he/she | come | Incr | (be) big |

'He became big (little by little).'

Comparative and superlative constructions are also formed verbally, using the verb làng 'to pass' as shown by the two examples below.
(75) mw-ân gà jì bwâg làyg mìyòn
mw-ân ⿹gà jì bwâg làng míỳ̀j

1 -child 1 -this be (att) (be) big pass 1 -sibling (same sex)
'This child is bigger than his brother.' (or 'her sister')
(76)
$\begin{array}{llllll}\text { mw-ân } & \text { gà } & \text { jì } & \text { bwâg } & \text { lày } & \text { bélágá. } \\ \text { mw-ân } & \text { ggà } & \text { jì } & \text { bwâg } & \text { làng } & \text { bè-úlàgà } \\ \text { 1-child } & \text { 1-this } & \text { be (att) } & \text { (be) big } & \text { pass } & \text { 8-INDEF }\end{array}$
'This child is the biggest.' (lit. 'passes any others')

In Kol, smallness can either be described using the verb twágàbò as shown in example (77) below or by using an associative phrase construction with the noun $m w a \hat{a}$ 'small thing' as its head noun. A plural example is given in (78), and a singular non-human example is given in (79). This noun is clearly derived from the word for 'child,' mwân, but the $/ \mathrm{n} /$ has been lost.

| mìỳ̀̀ | jì | twágàbò | làng | nà. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| míyว̀n | jì | twágàbゝ̀ | làng | n ̀ |
| 1-sibling | be (att) | (be) small | pass | him/her |

'His brother (or her sister) is smaller than him (her).'

| bwá | bá | ntòmp |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2-small | 2Assoc | 7-younger |

'small children'
(79) mwâ lôy

1-small 5 -speech
'little story'

### 4.7.2 Age

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

| (80) lóóy | 'new thing, news' $(5 / 6)$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ntòmb | 'younger person' (7/8) |
| lè-sês | 'girl, young woman (immature, no children)' (5/6) |
| sìlò | 'young woman (mature, with children)' (3/4) |
| Swànj | 'young man' (3/4) |
| tútúl | 'old man' (3/4) |
| twámbá | 'elder person' (1/2) |

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

### 4.7.3 Value

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

| fám | 'real, true, good' |
| :--- | :--- |
| mbápmbáp | 'bad, evil' |
| nwàngnà̀ | 'good, holy' |

Nouns
mò-nwày 'good things' (6)
mò-mbáb 'bad things' (6)
(82) nà jî dêk mà-báp m-દ̂z ndé kók bả-sí,
nə̀ jì dêg mò-mbáb m-ह̂z ndé kóg bò-sí
he be (att) see 6-bad 6-all be (loc) here 2 -ground
mò-nwàn mêz ndé kók bə̀-sì.
mò-nwàn m-દ̂z ndé kóg bò-sí
6-good 6-all be (loc) here 2 -ground
'He sees all the bad things here on earth and all the good things here on earth.'

### 4.7.4 Physical property

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

Below is an example where this adjective is coordinated with a value adjective.
$\begin{array}{llllllllll}\text { (83) } & \text { bì-mpáànc } & \text { by-án } & \text { by }=\text { â } & \text { sè } & \text { bà } & \text { fúbán } & \text { nà } & \text { nwàn } & \text { nwàg. } \\ & \text { bè-mpànc } & \text { bè-àn } & \text { bè=á } & \text { sé } & \text { bà } & \text { fúbán } & \text { nà } & \text { nwân } & \text { nwân } \\ & 8 \text {-side } & 8 \text {-my } & 8 S U B-P 2 & \text { PERF } & \text { be } & \text { clean } & \text { and } & \text { good } & \text { good }\end{array}$ 'My sides were clean and good.' (Illness.30)

Other physical properties are described using nouns or verbs as shown below.
(84) Nouns

| bùl | 'rotten thing' (1/2) |
| :--- | :--- |
| dílô | 'fullness' |
| mò-bwêz | 'wetness' (6) |
| mpwògé | 'health' (9) |
| ntwì | 'loose thing' (1/2) |
| tîtìm | 'blind person' (3/4) |
| Verbs |  |
| bwâz | 'be wet' |
| bǒl | 'be bald' |
| kâz | 'be wrinkled' |
| tègá | 'be tired' |

### 4.7.5 Human propensity

There are no Kol adjectives which describe character traits or what

Dixon calls the "human propensity" semantic subtype. Character traits are described using either nouns or verbs.

| (85) Verbs |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| bízábá | 'be patient' |
| yág | 'be unaware' |
| fwáàg | 'be crazy' |
| fwààz | 'be happy' |
| Nouns |  |
| kén | 'wise one' |
| làd | 'crazy person, fool' |
| nkj́y | 'brave one' |
| wágàlà | 'stupid one' |

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

| (86) | kúkúm | 'rich man' $(3 / 4)$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | mbúmbwá | 'poor man' $(3 / 4)$ |

### 4.7.6 Quantification

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

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

Other quantifying constructions use the quantifier $-\hat{\varepsilon} z$ 'each, all.' The adjective bùbù can also appear as a complement of a preposition in an adverbial construction as shown below.

| $\mathrm{y}=$ á | nték | mà | ná | bùbù. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{y}=$ á | ntég | mə̀ | ná | bùbù |
| NONREF-P2 | annoy | me | with | many |

'That bothered me a lot.'

### 4.8 OTHER NOUNS (IN ASSOCIATIVE PHRASES)

Associative phrases are constructions which associate, or link, a head noun with a modifying noun. The associative marker, or connective, always agrees with the first noun, the head noun, as shown in the example below.
(89) è-wàlà lé-mífwàn

5-hour 5Assoc-7-church
'church time'

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

| (90) | sísìm | má-ncì̀mbé |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | sísìm | H+mà-ncèmbê |
|  | 3-spirit | $3+$ PossAssoc-God |
|  | 'spirit of God, God's spirit' |  |

The second kind of associative phrases is the qualificative, or attributive, associative phrases, where the second noun expresses a quality of the first. This may include location or origin. The qualificative associative marker is $\grave{a}$.
(91)

| Swànjí | á-kwár-ê |
| :--- | :--- |
| Jwànjí | H+à-kwád-è |
| 3-young-man | 3+QuALASSoc-9-village-Foc |
| young man of/from the village |  |

Finally, there is a 'basic' associative phrase, as shown below.
(92)

| ncùg | mó-díbó |
| :--- | :--- |
| ncùg | H+mò-díbś |
| 7-elephant | 7Assoc-6-water |

'hippopotamus'

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

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

| Noun Class | Basic Assoc | Possessive Assoc | Qualificative Assoc |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | $\emptyset$ | mò | à |
| 2 | bó | H+ mə̀ | bá |
| 3 | H | H+ mə̀ | á |
| 4 | mé | H+ mə̀ | myá (mé+á) |
| 5 | lé | H+ mə̀ | á |
| 6 | Há | H+ mə̀ | má |
| 7 | bé | H+ mə̀ | á |
| 8 | $\emptyset$ | Hò mə̀ | byá (bé+á) |
| 9 | $\emptyset$ | mə̀ | á |
| 10 |  | á |  |

Table 3.14 Associative Markers

Below are some examples of basic associative phrases followed by some examples of possessive associative phrases.
a. twámbá
mw-àrá
1-elder 1-woman
'old woman'
c. njáb bw-ûr
3-house $\mathrm{H}+2$-people
'family'
b. bw-án bó- bíjùmp 2-child 2Assoc-
Bidjombo 'Bidjombo children'
d. mè-njáb mé- bw-ûr 4-house 4Assoc 2-people 'families'

| e. | èsáp <br> 5-illness <br> 'leprosy' | lé 5Assoc | ncám <br> 9-leprosy |  | mòwúm <br> 5 -ten <br> 'fifty' | mà <br> 5Assoc | tón <br> five |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| g . | ncùg <br> 7-elephant <br> 'hippopot | $\begin{gathered} \text { mó-d } \\ \mathrm{H}+6-\mathrm{t} \\ \text { tamus' } \end{gathered}$ | ater | h. | bè-kág <br> 8 -child <br> 'school | bé 8Assoc ildren' | Sùkùl <br> 7-school |
| i. | ntú <br> 9-diarrhea <br> 'dysentery | mò-c <br> 6-blo |  |  |  |  |  |

(94) a. míyō mà njúm

1-brother 1Poss 1-husband
'my husband's brother.'
b. sísìm má ncì̀mbé

3-spirit 3Poss God
'the spirit of God,' 'the Holy Spirit'
c. lè-wálà má ncì̀mbé

5-hour 5Poss God
'God's time'

In the neighboring language of Makaa, the forms of the possessive and
qualificative markers are formed by adding the basic associative marker to the possessive and qualificative roots (má and a with polar tone ${ }^{6}$ ). In Kol

[^4]however, only the qualificative associative morpheme shows concord, while for the possessive morpheme it is only the tone of the basic associative marker which is added. Below are the Makaa forms (Heath 2003:341).

| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Noun } \\ & \text { Class } \end{aligned}$ | Associative <br> Marker | Associative Marker + <br> Possessive Marker | Associative Marker + Qualificative Marker |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | $\varnothing$ | m' | 'a |
| 2 | ó | ó | wa |
| 3 | H | ma | á |
| 4 | mí | mi | mýa |
| 5 | lit | ma | $l_{t-\dot{L}}{ }^{\text {a }}$ |
| 6 | ma | ma | my'a |
| 7 | H | ma | 'a |
| 8 | 1 | í | yá |
| 9 | $\varnothing$ | ma | a |
| 10 | $\varnothing$ | ma | 'a |

Table 3.15 Associative Markers in Makaa

### 4.8.1.1 Ordinal Numbers

Ordinal numbers in Kol are formed via qualificative associative
phrases. (For more on associative phrases, see section 4.8.) The Kol ordinal numbers for second through fifth are based on the numbers used for counting in isolation. The expression 'first' is derived from the word meaning 'front.'
'First' and 'second' may describe plural head nouns, but the remaining numbers in the series may only modify singular nouns.

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

Table 3.16 Ordinal Numbers

## 5 Derivational morphology

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

### 5.1 NOUN TO NOUN DERIVATION

Nouns which are derived from other nouns are formed by means of
reduplication. Most of these new nouns are dimunitives, but there are exceptions. One is given below.
(95) ncàm 'leprosy' (9) ncíncâm 'leper' (3)

### 5.1.1 Diminutive

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

| (96) | kág | 'child' (7/8) | kákág | 'small child' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | fòg | 'wisdom' (9) | fàfóg | 'small wisdom' |
|  | mwân | 'child, offspring' (1) | mə̀mwân | 'small child' |

### 5.2 DEVERBAL NOUNS

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

### 5.2.1 Agentive nouns

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

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

| (97) | kwîg | 'travel, walk' | kwígè | 'traveler' (1) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | jwèl | 'drink' | jwèlè | 'drinker' (1) |
|  | mwèl | 'solicit sex' | mwèlá | 'boyfriend, girlfriend' (1) |

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

| (98) jíbò | 'steal' | jíbòlò | 'thief' (1) |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | yò | 'give' | yôl | 'giver' (1) |

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

| (99) | jwî | 'rule over' | njwî | 'king, chief (1) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | jígə̀lè | 'teach' | njígə̀lè | 'teacher' (1) |

It is extremely common for more than one strategy to be used at a time, as illustrated below, where in (76a), the noun is formed by both adding the
nasal prefix mentioned above and the suffix $-l$, while in (100b), the nouns are formed by adding the nasal prefix and the suffix vowel $-e$.

| (100) a. jû | 'kill' | njûl | 'butcher (n)' (1) |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| dì | 'live, stay' | ndìl | 'dweller' (1) |
| jì̀ | 'cry' | njìil | 'crier' (1) |
| b. bùgə̀ | 'accuse' | mbúgè | 'accuser' (1) |
| dùb | 'paint' | ndùbé | 'painter' (1) |
| dúg | 'row' | ndúgè | 'rower' (1) |
| jîg | 'learn' | njígè | 'learner, student' (1) |
| júnà | 'fight' | njúnè | 'fighter' (1) |

### 5.2.2 Result nouns

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

As mentioned above, some nouns can be formed by changing the tonal contour of the root verb. Examples are given below.
(101) yàlà 'answer (v)' yàlá 'response' (7)
mbèg 'be open' mbég 'separation' (3)

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

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

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

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

As was the case with agentive nouns, non-agentive deverbal nouns may also be created by adding a nasal prefix. These nouns group into two classes. Those which end up in class 9 have a nasal prefix followed by a voiceless consonant, even if the initial consonant of the verb root was voiced. This is similar to the process seen synchronically for class 10 nouns and is most likely a reflex of the nasal prefix reconstructed for both class 9 and class 10 nouns. The nasal prefix for nouns which are assigned to other noun classes
does not trigger devoicing, as shown by the last two examples given in the list below. These non-devoicing nasals may be reflexes of the Proto-Bantu class 3 prefix, reconstructed as *mo.

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


| jàgàlà | 'pray' | njàgàlà | 'prayer' (3) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| byêl | 'be born' | mbyêl | 'blood relative' (3) |

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

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

| dèl | 'bury' | ndèlà | 'burial' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| jùùl | 'be bitter' | njùúlà | 'bitter leaf vegetable' (3) |

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

| (106) | bàgàlà | 'load (v)' | mbágàlò | 'load' (3) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | jàmb | 'cook (v)' | njômb | 'cook' (1) |
|  | jàànd | 'walk' | njônd | 'walking trip' (3) |

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

| (107) bwámà | 'meet' | mpwàmá | 'meeting' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bwàmbà | follow in time' | mpwàmbá | descendant (pl. same) |
|  | bwèlà | 'take revenge' | mpwélá |

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

| (108) bwàgàbà | 'lie down' | mpwág | 'sleeping mat' |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bùgà | 'accuse' | mpúgágá | 'accusation' (1) |
| jì̀ | 'cry' | njiilà | 'moan' (3) |

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

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

## 6 Word order within the noun phrase

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

### 6.1 MULTIPLE POSTPOSED MODIFIERS

A single noun may of course be modified by more than one element at a time. Genitives consistently appear closest to the noun, while quantifier and sís 'another' appear on the periphery of the noun phrase. This is shown below.
(110) Head Noun Genitive Demonstrative Definite Determiner Another Quantifier

Examples are given below.

| a. | ntúm | w-ăy | w-ว̀̀̀ngá |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1-brother | 1-my | 1-Def |
| b. | mw-án | w-ànə́ | ngà |
|  | 1-child | 1-my | 1-this |
| c. | Økùl | л-óp | лí-л-દ̂z |
|  | 9 -power | 9-their | 9-9-each |

The demonstratives appear before the quantifier and sis 'another.'

| a. | mpwò | nè | sís |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 9-accusation | 9-that | 9-another |
|  | 'that other accusation' | $($ Perils .82$)$ |  |

b. lé nè j-દ̂z

7-wood 7-this 7-all

### 6.2 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses in Kol are formed by adding a H tone to the left edge of the embedded clause. Many relative clauses also have an enclitic $=\grave{e}$ on the right edge of the relative clause, as shown below. Unlike what is seen in some other Bantu languages, including the closely related language Makaa, there is no change in the tonal contour of a verbal sequence found inside of a relative clause.
(113)

| bímp | bíz $=$ é | kwàg $=$ é |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mbímbì | bł̀z=é | kwàg-è |
| amount | RelCl-we-FUT | put.up-ReLCl |
| 'The amount we can put up with...' |  |  |

The right edge enclitic is not obligatory, as shown by the relative clause below which lacks it. That is to say, there is no enclitic found after 'eight,' which is the end of the embedded clause.
(114) $m=a ̌$ bà nə̀ mw-án á bà nə̀ bò-kwônt mwôm m̀=á bò nò mw-ân $\mathrm{H}+$ á bò nò bò-nkùùnd mwôm I-P2 be with 1-child RelCl-P2 be with 2 -month eight 'I had with me my child who was eight months old.'

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

| fág | bízá | têr | bà | lê-dúmp |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| fág | H+ bìzá | tér | bà | lé-dúmp |
| where | ReLCL-we | first | be |  |

'...where we first were at the party...' (Perils.34)

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

| (116) | nò | jì | m-ùr | ndé | lê | dùbò | mó-kwíndè. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nò $=$ | jì | m-ùr | H+ ndé | lè | dùb | mì-kwíndè |  |

Relative clauses can also be formed from either of the two objects
allowed in Kol clauses. One is prototypically the patient while the other is prototypically the beneficiary. In example (117), the head noun of the relative clause below is underlyingly the patient of the embedded clause.

Again, there is no resumptive pronoun present in the relative clause.

| bìy-̇̀òngá | $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{a}$ | têr | nwàn-é |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| bè-j̀̀̀ggá | $\mathrm{H}+\dot{\mathrm{m}}=\mathrm{á}$ | tér | nwàn-è |
| 8-Def | RelCl-I-P2 | first | take-RELCL |
| '...what I first took....' (Perils.34) |  |  |  |

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

| bw-ân | $\mathrm{m}=$ é | jâmb | bè-dób $=$ è |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bò-ân | $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{m}=$ é | jâmb | bè-dób $=$ è |
| 2-child | RelCl-I-P1 | prepare | 8 -food-ReLCL |

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


Finally, Kol also allows adjunct relative clauses. In the example below, the head noun is underlyingly an adjunct, an optional temporal noun phrase, in the embedded clause.
(120) $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{o}$ n nùmb twว́ngàl̀̀ d-wóp $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{á}$ jâmb bwò bè-dób=è. I-PRes know think 5 -day $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{I}$-P2 prepare them 8 -food-RelCL 'I remember the day that I prepared food for them.'

Nouns which are the heads of a relative clause can fulfill any
grammatical relation in the matrix clause. Below is an example where the noun modified by the relative clause is the subject.
$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { (121) } & \text { bw-ân } & \mathrm{m}=\mathrm{é} & \text { jâmb } & \text { bè-dób=è } & \mathrm{jì} & \text { bw-ân } \\ & \text { bò-ân } & \mathrm{H}+\grave{\mathrm{m}}=\mathrm{e} & \text { jâmb } & \text { bè-dób }=\grave{\mathrm{e}} & \text { jì } & \text { bò-ân } \\ & \text { 2-child } & \text { ReL.CL-I-P1 } & \text { prepare } & 8 \text {-food-ReLCL } & \text { be (att) } & \text { 2-child } \\ & \text { 'The children that I prepared food for are the children...." }\end{array}$

In the example below, the head noun is the object of the main verb.
(122) $\mathrm{m}=o \mathrm{o}$ nùmb twóngàl̀̀ d-wóp $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{á}$ jâmb bwò bè-dób=è.

I-Pres know think 5-day H+I-P2 prepare them 8-food-ReLCL 'I remember the day that I prepared food for them.'

Relative clauses can also modify a noun marked with the locative
prefix lé- as shown below.
(123)

| mə̀ $=$ | jî | nwàn | wó | kàn | lé-bî-sá | bízá | ndé |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mò $=$ | jí | nwày | wó | kàn | lé-bè-sá | H+bìzà | ndé |
| I | be (att $)$ | take | you | folk.tale | Loc-8-thing | ReLCL-we | be (loc) |


| lé | dêk | wók | ná | càà-ngà | nò | bò-míỳ̀y | b-f́zé. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lè | dêk | wôg | nò | cà-ygà | nò | bò-míỳ̀n | b- íz-è |
| IMPF | see | here | with | now-here | with | 2-sibling | 2-our-RELCL | 'I will tell you a story about what we see today with our brothers.' (Serpent.01)

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

| myǎ $\quad$ yô $=$ | kò | nìgò | jê | wú $=1$ í |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| myà | H + yò $=$ | kò | nìgò | jê | wú $=$ è |
| 3-time | ReLCL $+7 S$ Sub | go | return | arrive | there-ReLCL |
| 'Arriving there, $\ldots$ '. |  |  |  |  |  |

### 6.2.1 Clefting Construction

In addition to the prototypical relative clauses seen above, Kol speakers
also frequently use a construction which is a cross between a cleft
construction and a relative clause. It is not exactly like a relative clause
because, as can be seen in the example below, the head noun of the relative
clause, which is the object of the copula is co-referential with the subject and is therefore deleted. So out of three co-referential noun phrases (the subject, the object and the object of the embedded clause), only one is overtly expressed, i.e. the subject of the matrix clause.

| è-kán | bá | $\mathrm{n}=$ é | dég $=$ è. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| è-kán | bò | $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{n}=$ é | dêg=è. |
| 5-antelope | be | he-P1 | see-ReLCL |

'It's the antelope that he saw.'

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

| tùgá | lé-kán | ná | ndé | lé | dég = è. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| túg | lè-kán | nà | ndé | lè | dêg=è. |
| be (neg) | 5 -antelope | he | be (loc) | ImpF | see-ReLCL |

### 6.2.2 Relative Clause Enclitic

Since the relative clause enclitic occurs at the right boundary of a
clause, it may be hosted by a verb as shown in (127) or a noun, i.e. the direct object of the clause, as shown in (128). This morpheme may be hosted by
members of two different parts of speech, which is morphosyntactic behavior
typical of a clitic and not a suffix.
(127)

| è-kán | bá | $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{e}$ | dég $=$ è. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| è -kán | bà | $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{n}=$ é | dêg $=$ è. |
| 5 -antelope | be | he-P1 | see-ReLCL |

'It's the antelope that he saw.'
(128) $\mathrm{m}=$ ó nùmb twóngə̀lò d-wóp $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{a}$ jâmb bwò bè-dób $=$ è. I-Pres know think 5 -day $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{I}$-P2 prepare them 8 -food-RelCL 'I remember the day that I prepared food for them.'

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

| myǎ | yô $=$ | kò | nìgò | jê | wú $=1 ́$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| myà | H+yò $=$ | kò | nìgò | jê | wú $=$ è |
| 3-time | ReLCl + NONREF | go | return | arrive | there-ReLCL |

'Arriving there, ...'

Below, the presence of the enclitic causes the final vowel of the verb to be deleted.
(130) /mw-ùr bà $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{j}=$ é $=$ wàzà $=\mathrm{è} / \longrightarrow$ [mùr bá níwàzè]

1-man be RelCl+he-P1-forget-ReLCL
'This is the man that he forgot.'

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

## 4 Elements of the Verb Phrase

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

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

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

## 1 Verb Stem

Kol verbs may be CV, CVC or CVCV. ${ }^{7}$ The initial consonant may be palatalized or labialized. Below are some examples of different verb root shapes.
(2) CV roots

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

CVC roots

| làb | 'speak' | fyàl | 'test' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bír | 'leave to one side' | kwǐr | 'save' |
| dêg | 'see' | kwêz | 'cough' |
| CVCV roots |  |  |  |
| dùmə̀ | 'fall' | cèlà | 'love' |
| bìló | 'find after searching' |  |  |
| límà | 'dream' | bwámə̀ | 'meet' |
| kúyá | 'defecate' | fwézá | 'be dry' |

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

[^5]of the verb root, plus any valence-changing derivational suffixes (or extensions), and an inflectional final vowel marking tense or mood.

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

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

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

| (3) /i/ |  | /u/ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| bì | 'startle, surprise' | tû | 'dig' |
| dì | 'stay, dwell' | jû | 'vomit' |
| jí | 'ask' | kù | 'fail' |
| jwî | 'rule over' | lû | 'sting' |
| /e/ |  | /0/ |  |
| kwè | 'help' | dò | 'eat' |
| jê | 'arrive' | nìgò | 'return' |
| fwè | 'bleed' | jò | 'climb' |
| fyê | 'suck' | jwábò | 'respect' |
| /ع/ |  | /3/ |  |
| bè | 'plant' | bàdàbò | 'perch' |
| fúmè | 'build' | mìṅ̀ | 'swallow' |
|  |  | bùbò | 'roast' |
|  |  | lwômbàl̀̀ | 'send on errand' |
| /8/ |  | /a/ |  |
| dùmə̀ | 'fall' | sá | 'act, do' |
| bìlá | 'find after searching' | byâ | 'beget' |
| bwámò | 'meet' | cèlà | 'love' |
| kùrò | 'beat (heart)' | límà | 'dream' |

The central vowels / $/ \mathrm{/}$ and $/ \mathrm{a} /$ and the back vowels $/ \mathrm{J} /$ and / $/ \mathrm{/}$ are all common as the last segment in polysyllabic verbs. These vowels form a natural class of the non-high, non-front vowels as can be seen below.

|  | front | central | back |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| high | i | $(\mathrm{i})$ | u |
| mid | e | $\partial$ | 0 |
| low | $\varepsilon$ | a | $\supset$ |

Table 4.1 Final vowels in polysyllabic verbs.

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

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

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

### 1.1 EXTENSIONS

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

|  | Proto-Bantu | Kol |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| causative | *ic-i | -ə̀zò, <br> a $\rightarrow \mathrm{e}$ |
| benefactive/ <br> applicative | *-Id | -èà |
| passive | *ib-U | -ówà |

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

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

| (4) | tír | sé | d-ówà. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | tír | sé | dò-ówà |
|  | meat | PERF | eat-Pass |

'The meat is eaten.'
(5) bìzô ncə̀ kò lê-dưmp á s-ówà-wè
we come go to-dance (n)+h P2 do-PASS-RelCL
'We went to the party that had been organized.' (Perils.11)

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

| (6) | $\mathrm{n}=$ í | bà | lé | ncò... | kǎbò | $\mathrm{n}=$ í | bì-yà. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| j̀=é | bà +H | lè +H | ncò +H | kǎbò | j̀-é | bì-yà +H |  |
| he/she-P1 | be | IMPF | come | but | he/she-P1 | seize-PAss |  |

'He was coming...but he got caught.'

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

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

| (7) | dówà | 'be eaten' from | dò |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sówà | 'be done' | 'eat' |  |
| sówàwà | 'be done' | sá | 'do' |
| bìyà | 'be seized' | bì | 'do' |
| númbàwà | 'be known' | númb | 'know' |
| kégàwà | 'be organized' | kég | 'organize' |

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

| (8) ságàzz̀ | 'shake' from | sá | 'do' |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | kwámə̀zà | 'prepare' |  |  |

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

| (9) | wûl | 'take out' | wòl |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | 'get up'

(10)

| bùr | mé | wòl | lê-mò-wàlà | má-lôl, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| b-ùr | mé | wòl | lé-mò-wàà | H+mò-lôl |
| 2-person | be (chg) | get.up | Loc-6-hour | 6-Poss-6-three(3) |

'The people got up at $3 \mathrm{am} . . .$. ' (Perils.66)
(11)

| myǎ | m -ûr | á | bò | lè | jí | wúl | mə̀ | kwînt | lé-lú = wé, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| myà | $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{m}$-ùr | á | bò | lè | jí | wûl | mà | kwéndè | lé-lú $=$ è |
| time | ReLCL-1-man | P2 | be | IMPF | want | remove | me | hook | Loc-head-RELCL | When the man wanted to take the hook out of my hair, [I told him, "While you're taking that out, time is going by."]

There are also two possible relics left from the proto-applicative suffix
*id. A small set of verbs appear to have a frozen derivational morpheme $-l$.

However, these appear to have somewhat passive semantics.
(12) byêl 'be born' from byâ 'give birth'
bwîl 'be broken'

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

| ncw $=$ é | d-éà | nò | bwà. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| we (dual)-F1 | eat-APPL | with | them |

'They will take care of us.' (lit. We will eat from them.)

Finally, there is a possible frozen element which may be a reflex of a
reflexive extension, shown below, though it differs in shape quite a bit from
the reconstructed *-an reflexive extension, which is very common in other Bantu languages.
(14) bìz =á túk lê yìg-̀̀là nà dá. we-P2 be (neg) ImpF pretend-Recp with ancestor
'We shouldn't compare ourselves to the father.' (Ram.42)

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

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

| $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{i}$ | sé | dìp | lé-bé. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| j̀-é | sè +H | dib+H | lè-bé |
| he/she-P1 | already | open | 5-door |

'She opened the door.'

| $\mathrm{j}=\mathrm{i}$ | sé | dìbàlò | lé-bé. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ỳ-é | sè +H | dìbàlò+H | lè-b |
| he/she-P1 | already | close | 5-door |

'She closed the door.'

In other pairs, a similar frozen suffix (which differs in its final vowel)
seems to mark the relationship between related intransitive and transitive verbs.
(17) mpyó yé sé bándà dímbà dùk. mpyó é sè +H bándà +H dìmbà dùk 1-dog P1 Perf really be.lost forest 'The dog is lost in the forest.'

| $\mathrm{n}=$ ì | sé | dímbàlò | mpyó | y-é | dùk. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| j̀-é | sè +H | dìmbàlo +H | mpyò | y-é | dùg |
| he/she-P1 | PERF | lose | 1-dog | 1-his | forest |
| 'He lost his dog in the forest.' |  |  |  |  |  |

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

| jábàlò | 'call back' | jáb | 'call (s.o.)' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| jígàlə̀ | 'teach' | jîk | 'learn' |
| fyàzàl̀̀ | 'examine' | fyàl | 'test, examine' |
| bwègə̀lé | 'bring up' | bwèg | 'bring up' |
| ntह́gə̀l̀̀ | 'annoy' | nték | 'annoy' |

bámbálá 'shout at' bâm 'roar'
(20) -ə̀bゝ̀

| jógàbò | 'hear' | jwôk | 'hear, feel' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bùgùbà | 'prosper' | bù | 'be scarce' |

(21) -ə̀rə̀
jwàgə̀rà 'suspect' jwôk 'hear, feel'

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

## 2 Tense, Aspect, and Mode

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

### 2.1 TENSE

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


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

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

The absolute tenses are marked by the following morphemes:

| far past (P2) | á |
| :--- | :--- |
| recent past (P1) | é +H |
| present | ó +H |
| near future(FUT) | é +H |
| distant future (F2) | é + bwó +H |

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

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

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

### 2.1.1 The Far Past

The far past is used to refer to events that occurred yesterday or more distantly in the past. It is the only tense which does not exhibit tone concord.
(22) mólú wàzà mpízé $\mathrm{n}=$ ǎ mùr.

| H + mò-lú | wàzà | mpìzé | j̀=á | m-ùr |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 6-era | forget | back | he/she-P2 | 1-man |

'In times past, he forgot someone.'

| $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{a}$ | bà | ḿpànd | d-úlágá | dwábò. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{I}=\mathrm{P} 2$ | be | Mpand | 5-certain | 5-day | 'I was at Mpand one day.'

### 2.1.2 The Recent Past

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

| $\mathrm{m}=$ è | sé | númá | kò | kúgá | ncòò | lôl | támà | ncì. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| I-P1 | PERF +H | also +H | go +H | defecate +H | time | 3 | mid | 3-path |
| 'I had to stop three times along the way to go to the bathroom.' | (Joy.12) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

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

| nò | kùgú | $\mathrm{n}=$ í | nìgó | kò | njáp. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nà | kùgú | j̀=é | nigò +H | kò +H | njáb |
| with | evening | he/she-P1 | return | go | house |
| 'Yesterday, he returned home.' |  |  |  |  |  |

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

| nò | kùgú | $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{u}$ | wàzà | mûr. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nà | kùgú | गे=é | wàzà +H | m -ùr |
| with | evening | he/she-P1 | forget | 1 -man |

'Yesterday, he forgot someone.'

Finally, the recent past is the only tense wherby the normally optional

H tone merger rule is required. This means that if the recent past tense vowel $e ́$ is followed by a verb with an underlying $H$ tone on its first syllable, the high tone of the tense vowel will merge with the H tone of the verb, allowing the underlying $L$ tone of the subject clitic to surface. This results in an apparent polar tone. Compare (26) above with example (27) below.
(27) nò kùgú $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{i}$ bárà mûr.
nà kùgú j̀ =é bárà $+\mathrm{H} \quad$ m-ùr
with evening he/she-P1 greet 1-man
'Yesterday, he greeted a man.'

### 2.1.3 The Immediate Past

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

| $\mathrm{n}=0$ ó | lwándźbá | bwògá | kwàn. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| j̀ =ó | lwándàbà + H | bwı̀g +H | kwàn |
| he/she-Pres | just | harvest | 9-honey |
| 'He just harvested honey.' |  |  |  |

(29) ná tùgá bíz=á lwándàbà bà lê-ncòy nà ncàá jgà?
nâ tùg bìz=á lwándə̀bà bò lé-ncìn nò ncà ngà
and be (neg) we-P2 just be Loc-dance with now this
'Weren't we just at the party now?' (Perils.77)

### 2.1.4 The Present Tense

The present tense is used for events that are happening at the current moment or in the immediate future. It is marked by the tense vowel ó, as shown below and the high tone tense concord.
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { (30) } \mathrm{n}=\mathrm{o} & \text { bwògá } & \text { kwàn. } \\ & \text { he/she-Pres } & \text { harvest + H }\end{array}$ 9-honey
'He harvests honey.'

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

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


### 2.1.5 The Near Future

The near future is used to refer to events which will occur later today, tomorrow, or shortly thereafter. It is marked by the tense vowel é which differs from the recent past marker in that it does not undergo raising to $/ \mathrm{i}$ / after a palatal nasal.
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { (32) émáné } & \mathrm{n}=\text { ě } & \text { bwògá } & \text { kwàn. } \\ & \text { tomorrow } & \text { he/she-Fut } & \text { harvest+H }\end{array}$ 9-honey
'Tomorrow, he will harvest honey.'

### 2.1.6 The Distant Future

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

| $\mathrm{m}=$ ě | bwó | bù | lá. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| I -F1 | F2 | break +H | glass |

'I will break the glass (in a month).'

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


### 2.1.7 Tense tonal concord

As was mentioned above, all of the tenses except the far past share a similar tonal contour, in that in addition to the tense marker, a H tone suffix
is added. Compare an example of a sentence in the far past in (35) with sentences marked for other tenses in (36)-(39), namely the near past, the present, the future, and the distant future.

| $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}$ | bwògə̀ | kwàn. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ỳ=á | bwòg | kwàn. |
| he/she-P2 | harvest (honey) | 9-honey |

'He was harvesting honey.'

| nò | kùgú, | $\mathrm{n}=$ í | bwògá | kwàn. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nò | kùgú, | $\grave{\mathrm{j}}=$ é | bẁ̀g+ H | kwàn. |
| with | evening | he/she-P1 | harvest (honey) | 9-honey | 'Yesterday, he harvested honey.'

(37)
$\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{ǒ} \quad$ bwògə́ kwàn.
$\grave{\mathrm{n}}=\mathrm{o} \quad$ bwòg $+\mathrm{H} \quad$ kwàn.
he-Pres harvest (honey) 9-honey
'He harvests honey.'

| émáné | $\mathrm{n}=$ ě | bwògá | kwàn. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| émáné | $\grave{j}=$ é | bwògá +H | kwàn. |
| tomorrow | he/she-Fut | harvest (honey) | 9-honey |

'Tomorrow, he will harvest honey.'

| $\mathrm{j}=$ ě | bwó | bwògá | kwàn. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\grave{\mathrm{j}}=\mathrm{e}$ | bwó +H | bẁ̀gə́+H | kwàn. |
| he/she-Fut | F2 | harvest (honey) | 9-honey |

'He will harvest honey [in a month].'
Not only is this H tone added after the verb as shown above, but it is
also added after every preverbal element in the verbal sequence (and the
main verb itself). Again, compare (40) with (41) where a H tone is added after both the imperfective marker and the verb stem in (41) but not in (40).

| (40) | $\mathrm{j}=$ ǎ | lè | bwògà | kwàn. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| j̀ $=$ á | lè | bwògà | kwàn. |  |
|  | he/she-P2 | ImPF | harvest (honey) | 9-honey |
|  | 'He was harvesting honey.' |  |  |  |


| $\mathrm{n}=$ ǒ | l'é | bwògə́ | kwàn. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| j̀=ó | lè +H | bwògá +H | kwàn. |
| he-PRES | ImpF | harvest (honey) | 9-honey |
| 'He harvests honey.' |  |  |  |

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

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

| $\mathrm{n}=$ ă | ncà | bwògà | kwàn. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\dot{\mathrm{j}}=\mathrm{á}$ | ncà | bwว̀gà | kwàn. |
| he/she-P2 | come | harvest (honey) | 9-honey |
| 'Il est venu cueillir du miel.' |  |  |  |


| $\mathrm{n}=1$ | nc'z | bwògá | kwàn. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\grave{j}=$ é | ncà + H | bwı̀gà+ ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | kwà |
| he/she-P1 | come | harvest (honey) | 9-honey |
| He c | har | ney |  |

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

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

| (44) | nò | kùgú | $\mathrm{n}=$ í | nìgó | kò | njáp. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | nò | kùgú | j̀=é | nìgó +H | kò +H | njáb |
|  | with | evening | he-P1 | return | go | house |

'Today he returned home.'

| $\mathrm{n}=$ á | nìgò | kò | njáp. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ỳ =á | nigò | kò | njáb |
| he/she-P2 | return | go | house |
| 'He went home.' |  |  |  |

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

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

| (46) | nò | kùgú | $\mathrm{n}=$ í | nìgó | kò | njáp. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nò | kùgú | j̀ $=$ é | nìgó +H | kò +H | njáb |  |
|  | with | evening | he-P1 | return | go | house |

'Today he returned home.'

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

$$
\begin{equation*}
 \tag{47}
\end{equation*}
$$

This is most common with the attributive copula $j i$ shown above and the negative copula túg shown below.
(48) tóòb túgə́ lé dì dûk.
tóò túg +H lè +H dì +H dùg
sheep be (neg) ImpF stay forest
'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

### 2.2 ASPECT

Kol has all six of the aspectual categories commonly seen across Bantu
languages (Nurse 2003). The perfective aspect is unmarked, while the
imperfective, perfect (anterior), progressive and persistive are marked with the morphemes shown below.

| Aspect |  |
| :--- | :---: |
| Perfective | $\emptyset$ |
| Perfect | sé |
| Imperfective | lè |
| Progressive | gò |
| Persistive | lén |

Table 4.3 Aspect in Kol
The sixth common aspect seen across Bantu languages is the habitual.

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

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

### 2.2.1 Perfect

The perfect, also known as the anterior, is relatively common in Kol
discourse. It is marked by the preverbal morpheme sé. The perfect refers to a
past action with present consequences (Nurse 2003) and is frequently translated as 'already.'

| $\mathrm{n}=1$ | jí | ncò | kábò | míjò | sé | yò. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| j̀=é | $\mathrm{ji}+\mathrm{H}$ | ncò +H | kábò | míjò | sé | yò |
| he-P1 | be (att) | come | but | brother | Perf | die |

'He was going to come, but his brother had already died.'

Another example is given below. This sentence is interpreted as being in the past, without overt tense marking, due to the aspectual marking.
lá sé bwîl
glass Perf be.broken
'The glass broke.'

### 2.2.2 Imperfective

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

| $\mathrm{n}=$ ǎ | lè | bwògò | kwàn. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ỳ=á | lè | bwòg | kwàn |
| he/she-P2 | IMPF | harvest | 9-honey |

'He was harvesting honey.'

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

Below is an example.
$\begin{array}{clllllllll}\text { (52) mə̀ }= & \text { lé } & \text { kwíz, mò }= & \text { lé númp nâ } & \mathrm{m}=\text { ǎ } & \text { bò } & \text { mpwògé } \\ \text { I } & \text { IMPF } & \text { cough } & \text { I } & \text { IMPF } & \text { know } & \text { that } & \text { I-P2 } & \text { be } & \text { healthy }\end{array}$

| ndè | $\mathrm{y}=\mathrm{á}$ | bò | nô | è-sáp | á | sé | ykwò | tér | lê-bì |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| while | 7SUb-P2 | be | that | 5-illness | P2 | PERF | again | start | INf-seize |

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

### 2.2.3 Progressive

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

| nə̀ = | jí | syè | bísìzà | $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{o}$ | gó | sìnè | fwán. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\grave{j}=$ | ji +H | syè + ${ }_{\text {H }}$ | bè-sìzà | 今̀ $=$ ó | gó + H | sìnè + H | fwàn |
| he/she | be(att) | sing | 8 -song | he/she-Pres | Prog | grind | corn |
| 'She sings while grinding corn.' |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

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

| y =ó | gó | nî | mò-díbá, | bìz=ó | gó | lwâk. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| y=ó | gó+ | nî | mò-díbś | bìzá=ó | gó | lwâg |
| 7SUb-Pres | Prog | enter | 6-water | we-Pres | Prog | empty |
| 'As the water was coming in, we were bailing it out.' |  |  |  |  |  |  |

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

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

|  | Makaa | Kol | Nzime |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| progressive | ggə̀ | gó | $g$ gà |
| 'go' | kə | kò | to |

Table 4.4 Progressive in Makaa, Kol and Konzime
Additionally, there are three examples of the marker $\eta g^{a}$ in my corpus.

Since it is identical to the Makaa progressive marker, this may be another reflex of the progressive marker. $\eta g^{\partial}$ also appears in contexts where, if any tense is present, it is the present tense.
(55) bwó ŋgá jágàl̀̀, bwó Đgá jágàl̀̀.
they Prog pray they ITER pray
'They were praying and praying.'
(56) bwó Đgə́ wî̀nk mbàp mbàp mísísìm.
bwó jgá wî̀ng mbàp mbàp mè-sísìm
they Prog chase bad bad 4-bad.spirit
'They chased [exorcised] a bad spirit.'
(57) $\mathrm{y}=\mathrm{ǒ} \mathrm{ygá} \mathrm{bùlù} \mathrm{nték} \mathrm{nò} \mathrm{kùgú}$.
$y=o ́ \quad$ ggá +H bùlù +H nt $\mathrm{c} k+\mathrm{H}$ nò kùgú
7Sub-Pres Prog many annoy with evening
'Yesterday, it really bothered us.' (Funeral.06)

### 2.2.4 Persistive

Though 'persistive' is not an especially common aspect cross-
linguistically, it is found in a number of Bantu languages. It is commonly
translated as 'still' or 'to keep doing X.' Kol also has an adverb náy meaning 'still.' It is able to co-occur with another aspect marker, e.g. the imperfective lè, as well as negatives, unlike the the aspect marker currently under discussion.
(58) mà-díbá lêy kwá nî.

6 -water Pers again enter
'The water kept coming in.'
$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { (59) } & \text { ko ko ko, } & \text { bwó } & \text { lên } & \text { kó } & \text { kùrò } & \text { nténè } \\ & \text { [sound made at door] } & \text { they } & \text { PERS } & \text { go } & \text { hit (with hand) } & \text { like.that }\end{array}$
'Ko ko ko, they kept on knocking.'

### 2.2.5 Habitual

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

| $\mathrm{n}=0$ ó | sé | $\mathrm{b}^{\text {wò }}$ g ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | $\mathrm{k}^{\text {wàn }}$. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| j$=0$ ó | sé + H | $\mathrm{b}^{\text {w }} \mathrm{j} \mathrm{g}+\mathrm{H}$ | $\mathrm{k}^{\text {wàn }}$ |
| he/she-Pres | Perf | harvest | 9-honey |

'He harvests honey.' (habitually)

| $\mathrm{j}=0$ | sé | biì | dwôm | tô | màmbú | mébá | njì | $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{o}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| j$=0$ ó | sé + H | bì̀+н |  |  | mè-mbú | mè-bá | njì | j̀=ó |
| he-Pres | Perf | receive | care | for | 4 -year | 4-two | only | he-Pres |

lé jwóg tyè.
lè $+\mathrm{H} \quad$ jwóg+H tyè
IMPF feel sick
'He had been getting medical care for two years, but he was still sick.'
(62) myà $\mathrm{w}=\hat{\mathrm{o}}$ sé bùlə́ dìgə̀ $\mathrm{b}=\mathrm{e}, \mathrm{w}=\mathrm{o}$ jî sáy
myà $+\mathrm{H} \quad \mathrm{w}=$ ó sé +H bùlù $+\mathrm{H} \quad$ digàb $=e ̀ \quad \mathrm{w}=o ́ \quad \mathrm{j} i+\mathrm{H}$ sáy time-RelCl you-Pres Perf many sweat-RelCl you-Pres be search
sá mə̀ $=$ télólé $\quad k^{w}$ òómìn.
sá +H mò $=$ télálé H kwว̌mìn
7-thing-RelCl I refresh throat
'When you sweat a lot, you look for something to refresh your throat.'

### 2.3 MODE

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

### 2.3.1 Subjunctive

The subjunctive in Kol includes hortative and imperative constructions.

It may be marked by an enclitic $=g$ or a preverbal element $h a ́$.

### 2.3.1.1 The subjunctive enclitic

The subjunctive enclitic $-g$ is used to mark both hortative and
imperative forms. It is always accompanied by a grammatical H tone. If the subject is plural, the enclitic included an additional vowel, resulting in the form -gá. An example of the singular imperative, marked with the subjunctive enclitic is given below in (63) while an example of the plural imperative is in (64).
(63) jí-k bwá náà jè"
jí-g+H bwà nâ jè
ask-Subj them that what?
"Ask them what they want!"
(64) myâ bé bè-kèkák ndé Đgà jwábó-gá
when you (pl) 8 -small child be (loc) this respect-SUBJ ( PL ) +H
bàsóngà nà bànóngà bín,....
2 -father and 2 -mother 2 -your (pl)
'When you children here respect your fathers and your mothers,..'

The enclitic $=g$ appears on the first element of the verbal sequence, whatever that may be. It may appear on a main verb in (65), an auxiliary in
(66), and the word kwó in (67). (Kwò is a challenge when it comes to assigning parts of speech. It will be discussed in more detail in section 5 in this chapter and in chapter 5 , section 1.4.)

| $\mathrm{di}=\mathrm{k}$ | nó | pùù |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{di}=\mathrm{g}+\mathrm{H}$ | nò | pùù |
| stay-IMP | with | calm (ideophone) |

'Stay calm!'

| wò | bó $=\mathrm{k}$ | ké | fèndà | nə̀ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| wò | $\mathrm{b} \mathrm{l}^{\text {e }} \mathrm{g}+\mathrm{H}$ | ké | fèndà | nò |
| you (sG) | be-IMP (sG) | NEG | be.in.rivalry | with |



### 2.3.1.2 Fǎ

The morpheme fă (or hǎ for some speakers) is also used to mark imperatives or hortatives. In all the examples I have, it occurs at the beginning of the verbal sequence, before auxiliaries, and also before the consecutive marker kà. It does not co-occur with the subjunctive enclitic described above. It is generally be translated as 'should.' Below are two examples, one of a full clause and one of an imperative.
(68)

| $b w=o$ | hǎ | kwìr | bź-^ı̀ว̀ngə́ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| bwó-ó | fă +H | kwìr + H | bò-nว̀̀̀ngâ |
| they-Pres | should | help | 2-mother |
| 'They should help their mothers.' |  |  |  |


| (69) | "hǎ | kà | wú." |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | fǎ | kà | wú |
|  | should | Cons | exit |

'Come out then." (Serpent.34)

### 2.3.2 Conditional

Kol primarily marks conditional clauses via subordinate conjunctions.

It has two conditional complementizers, $\eta g e ́$ for simple conditionals and twè for concessive conditionals. In addition though, there is a counterfactual conditional marker which may be used independently of the complementizers, or with them, as illustrated in example (70) below. This clarifies that the situation described in the clause marked by the counterfactual morpheme did not actually take place.

kò yò lémàdíb $=$ ह́
kò yà lé-mò-díbś=è
go die in-6-water-RelCL
'When I think that I could have died in the water...'

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

### 2.4 CONSECUTIVE

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


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

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

| myà | $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{á}$ | sé | kà | ncə̀ | já | n-é-njwòn-è |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| myà + H | m m á | sé | kà | ncà | jâ | ṅ̀-lé- jwòn-è |
| 3-time-RelCl | I-P2 | Perf | Cons | come | sleep | with-Loc-bed-RelCl |


| èsáp | á | sé | kà | ncə̀ | lál | númə́. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| è-sáp | á | sé | kà | ncò | lál | númá. |
| 5-illness | P2 | PERF | CONS | come | be.strong | also |

'By the time I laid down, the illness had already hit me hard.'
(Illness.09)

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

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

Additionally, kà resembles adverbs in having freer word order than the rest of the preverbal morphemes. Its syntax will be discussed in more detail in section 1.2.2. Part of this freer word order can be seen in the way that $k \underset{a}{ }$ plus the basic copula bà have been grammaticalized to form a conjunction meaning 'but.' An example is given below.
$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { (73) kǎ bà } & \text { bw=á } & \text { Jùgà } & \text { bízá } & \text { nób } & \text { bź-b-êz. } \\ \text { but } & \text { they-P2 } & \text { discuss } & \text { us } & \text { other } & 2-2 \text {-each, all }\end{array}$ 'They saved both of us.' [lit. discussed with death] (Joy.37)

## 3 Auxiliaries

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

If a verb precedes a verb prefixed with the infinitive (or class 5)
marker, as shown in the two examples below, the initial verb is not considered to be an auxiliary but rather the main verb of the clause.
(74) $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}$ tér lè-bwòg̀̀ kwàn.
j̀ =á tér lè-bwòg kwàn
he/she-P2 start Inf-harvest 9-honey
'He started to harvest honey.'
(75) $\mathrm{m}=$ ǎ kwàmàzà lê-kò wú.
m̀=á kwàmàzà lè-kò wú
I-P2 prepare Inf-go there
'I got ready to go there.'

Occasionally, a verb, such as the verb têr 'to start' may occur as either an auxiliary, as will be described below, or as a verb taking an infinitival
complement as shown above. The two constructions are distinct, both in meaning, and in syntactic structure. Infinitival complements will be discussed in chapter 5, section 2.1.2.

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

### 3.1 COPULAR VERBS

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

The affirmative copulas occur in independent clauses as the only verb and also occur as auxiliaries. When they are functioning as auxiliaries, they appear as the first verb in a multi-verb construction. That is to say, they are
marked for tense, while following verbs are marked for aspect and other grammatical categories. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5, section 1.

### 3.1.1 Locative Copula

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

| (76) | mà $=$ á | bò lè | jwák cíè | mò ndé | yàùnt. |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| I-P2 | be | ImpF | feel | illness | I | be (loc) | Yaoundé |

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

| $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{i}$ | ncò | twô | ykà | ná | ndé | lé | jwôg | tyè. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ỳ=é | ncò+ H | twô | ykà | nà | ndé | lè | jwóg | tyè |
| he-P1 | come | even | as | he | be (loc) | ImpF | feel | sick | 'He came even though he felt sick.'

Kol also has a word ndé which means 'while.' Given the similarity in semantics between simultaneity and 'while,' it is likely that these two words are related. At this point though, it is difficult to know in which way the
historical development went, i.e. whether ndé began as a conjunction and has been reinterpreted into a copula or vice versa. An example of the conjunction ndé is given below.
 $\begin{array}{llllllllll}\text { ndè } & y=\text { á } & \text { bà } & \text { nâ } & \text { è-sáp } & \text { á } & \text { sé } & \text { ykwà } & \text { tér } & \text { lê-bì } \\ \text { while } & \text { 7SUB-P2 } & \text { be } & \text { that } & \text { 5-illness } & \text { P2 } & \text { PERF } & \text { again } & \text { start } & \text { INF-seize }\end{array}$ mə́ hámó.
me good
'I was coughing, all the while thinking that I was in good health, though the illness had already taken hold.' (Illness.08)

### 3.1.2 Equative and Attributive Copula

The copula $j \grave{1}$ is used in independent affirmative clauses to express equation and attribution. It primarily occurs in unmarked clauses or with the present tense, and as the main verb never co-occurs with aspectual markers.

Below is an example of an equative clause using $j i$, followed by an example of an attributive clause.
(79) mwâ lóy-gà jì lóy kwár Bìjùmp. little discourse-this be discourse village Bidjombo 'This little story is the story of Bidjombo village.' (Bidjombo.001)

| (80) | ntúm | w-à $y$ á | jì | bèrá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 1-brother | 1-my | be (att) | big |

'My brother is big.'

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

| myâ | njwúg | ndé | té. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| myà | H+njwún | ndé | té-è |
| time-ReLCL | 9-respect | be $(\mathrm{loc})$ | Loc-ReLCL |

'[The family prospers] when respect is there.' (Family.09)
(82) nàbà nâ njwúy jì té.
nàbá nâ njwúy jì té
because that 9-respect be Loc
'Because there is respect.' (Family.16)

This copula does not occur with the far past tense which may be due to its historical development. In the neighboring language of Makaa, the copula bà has a distinct form -sд̀ in the present tense. This present tense form obligatorily agrees with the subject noun. For class 7 (the default inanimate noun class in Makaa, as in Kol), the form is jì-sà. Modern-day Makaa speakers
frequently drop the copula bound root in speech. If Kol has a similar history, this could have led to the reanalysis of $j i$ as a distinct copula in the present tense, which could slowly be expanding morphosyntactically to occur with multiple tenses, though not the far past (yet).

The copula $j i$ is also commonly used with the preposition nò 'with' to express possession, i.e. 'to have.' (This is also the case for the basic copula bà to be discussed below.)
$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { (83) } & \text { mò-wázá } & \text { jì } & \text { nò } & \text { w-úl } & \text { mbì } & \text { kwón } \\ & 6 \text {-northerner } & \text { be } & \text { with } & 3 \text {-another } & 3 \text {-type } & \text { sorcery }\end{array}$ 'Northerners have a different kind of sorcery.'

As an auxiliary, $j i$ gives an imperfective aspectual reading. An example is given below. Interestingly, such examples are negated using a specifically imperfective strategy as seen in section 4.2.1.
(84) nà $=$ jì bándà jwóg tyè.
$\grave{\mathrm{j}}=\mathrm{jì}$ bándà jwóg tyè
he be (att) really feel sick
'He is really feeling sick.'

The copula $j i$ can also be used to express a present tense reading in the absence of the tense vowel $\dot{o}$, as shown below.
(85) mòtáy jî jáp é-cè d-ว̀òngə́ nə̂ "diarrhée rouge." white be(att) call 5-illness 5-Def that red diarrhea (in French) 'White people call this illness 'red diarrhea.' (actually dysentery)

However jì may also appear with the nonverbal imperfective marker lè suggesting that $j i$ may contribute some more specific information to the whole clause than simply imperfective. This combination is frequently translated as 'be in the process of.'
(86) mò $=$ jì lè sîl lè-syé.
mə̀̀ $=$ jì lè sîl lè-syé

I be (att) ImpF finish INF-7-work
'I am finishing working.'

### 3.1.3 Change of state

The copula mé marks a change of state. Below are two examples which contrast the use of mé with that of the attributive copula $j \mathrm{j}$. As a main verb, it only co-occurs with the present tense or is found in clauses unmarked for tense.
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { (87) } & \mathrm{m}=\mathrm{o} & \text { jí } & \text { ygWâm. } \\ & \text { I-PRes } & \text { be (att) }+\mathrm{H} & \text { single }\end{array}$
'I am single.' (never married)
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { (88) } & \mathrm{m}=\text { ò } & \text { mé } \\ \text { I-Pres } & \text { be (chg) }+\mathrm{H} & \text { ygwâm. } \\ \text { single }\end{array}$
'I am single.' (widowed or divorced)

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

| $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{o}$ | mé | lè | syé. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\grave{\mathrm{j}}=\mathrm{o}$ |  | mé +H | lè +H | syé.

'He is already working.'

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

| (90) mà | mé | lê | kò | kúyá | ná | titìtì, | ě-nàk | mócì. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | I | be (chg) | IMPF | go | defecate | with | regularity | INF-defecate | 6-blood | 'I was having bloody diarrhea, all the time.' (Joy.22)

### 3.1.4 Basic Form

The copula bò is by far the most common of the four affirmative
copulas. It occurs with all tenses, may be marked for aspect and may be modified by auxiliary verbs. It may express equation as in (91), attribution as in (92), or location as in (93).
(91) twě $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}$ bò ncícâm...
twě j̀-á bò ncícâm
even.if she-P2 be leper
'Even though she was a leper,..' (Funeral.18)
(92) $\mathrm{y}=\mathrm{a}$ bò njùk.
í=á bò njùg
7Sub-P2 be difficult, hard 'It was very hard.'
(93) mè bìz=á bò lè-mò-díbź.
mè bìzà=á bò lè-mò-díb́́ but we-P2 be in-6-water 'But we were in the water.'

The copula bò is frequently pronounced as [bذ̀]. Much of the time this can be explained by the mid-vowel centralization process already described, where [o] centralizes to [ə] before nasals and the alveolar fricatives. This is the case for (91) and (92) above. However, some speakers also use the form [bə̀] when this environment is not present, as seen in (93). When the
subjunctive clitic is added though, speakers consistently use the [bo] form, suggesting that if, for some speakers, the underlying form of this copula is becoming [bə̀], the result may be a suppletive subjunctive form, as is already the case for ncò 'come' (subjunctive form ncâ-).

If this copula is used with the preposition nà 'with', it may also express possession.
$\begin{array}{llllll}\text { (94) tèm } & \text { bà } & \text { nə̀ } & \text { fà } & \text { n-ذ̀̀̀ngə́. } \\ \text { even } & \text { be } & \text { with } & 9 \text {-machete } & 9 \text {-that }\end{array}$ ...even having that machete.

As an auxiliary, it adds a stative meaning to the verbal sequence.
(95) nàbá myà w-ว̀̀̀ngá $m=a ̌$ bà lê syé njáp
nàbá myà w-ว̀̀̀ngá mà=á bà lé siê njáb
because 3 -time 3-Def I-P2 be Impr work 3-house
má kôl.
má kôl
3Poss cord
'Because, at that time, I worked at the radio station.' (Perils.27)

Below is an example where three of the copulas occur, each used in a typical way. The basic copula is used to express the beginning state, $j i$ is used imperfectively, and mé marks the change of state at the end.

| $\mathrm{n}=$ á | bà | lé | bùlú | jwóg | tyè, | $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}$ | jì | jò, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| j̀ $=$ á | bà | lè | bùlú | jwóg | tì̀ | $\grave{\mathrm{j}}=\mathrm{á}$ | jì | jò |
| he-P2 | be | IMPF | a.lot | feel | sick | he-P2 | be (att) | die |


| nò | cǎgà | $\mathrm{n}=$ ò | mé | mpwògé. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nə̀ | căgà | j̀=ó | mé | mpwògé |
| with | now | he-Pres | be (chg) | be.well |

'He was very sick, he was dying, but now he's healthy.'

### 3.1.5 Negative Copula

Kol also has a negative copula tuig. It can appear on its own as shown below or as an auxiliary. Negation strategies will be discussed in section 4. The negative copula does not co-occur with tense markers.

| bìyól | né | túk | fámá | bìyôl. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| canoe | that (spec) | be (neg) | true, real, good | canoe |
| '...that canoe wasn't a good canoe.' |  |  |  |  |

### 3.2 Phasal AuXiliaries

Kol has a number of non-copula auxiliaries. These pattern together syntactically, in that they occur after the tense markers, copula auxiliaries, and aspect markers. However, they differ in that some auxiliaries have more of an aspectual meaning, i.e. describing the nature or internal structure of the event, while others have more of a modal meaning, i.e. describing desires or
obligations. The phasal auxiliaries described in this section fufill the aspectual functions. The modal auxiliaries will be described in section 3.3 below.

The auxiliaries described here are all undergoing grammaticalization. In some sentences, they are translated as if they were serial verbs, while in other sentences they are translated as if they were aspectual markers: inceptive for the verb ncà 'come,' processual for the verb kò 'go,' repetitive for the verb nìgò 'return,' and initial for the verb tér 'start.' It is interesting that while Kol speakers have multiple ways of describing the end of a process, using the verbs sil 'finish' or dwág 'leave, finish,' neither of these verbs have become grammaticalized in the same way as the four described in this section. They must always occur as main verbs with infinitival complements, comparable to tér 'start' in its main verb construction.

### 3.2.1 'Come' = Inceptive

The auxiliary verb ncà from the verb ncò meaning 'to come' is used as an auxiliary to mark the beginning point of a process. This is one of the most
common auxiliaries. Below is an example of ncò as a main verb, followed by an example showing ncò as an auxiliary with inceptive semantics.
(98) $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{ě}$ ncə̀ nà mə̀-mìr.
j̀=é ncà nò mè-mìr
he-Fut come with 4-medicine
'He will bring medicine.' (Joy.18)
(99) myǎ bíz =ó ncà bâr ébíyólé,
myà $\mathrm{H}+$ bìzà $=$ ó ncà +H bâr+H lé-byâl-è
3-time RelCl-we-Pres come climb, ascend Loc-canoe-RelCl
'As soon as we got in the canoe, [water began to come in].'

It can also have a purpose reading, along the lines of 'came in order to.'

An example is given below.
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { (100) } & \mathrm{n}=\text { ǎ } & \text { ncò } & \text { bárà } & \text { m-ùd. } \\ & \grave{j}=\text { á } & \text { ncò } & \text { bárà } & \text { m-ùd } \\ & \text { he/she-P2 } & \text { come } & \text { greet } & \text { 1-man }\end{array}$
'He came to greet the man.'

### 3.2.2 'Go' = Continuous

The verb kò means 'to go, leave' as a main verb but is also very
commonly used as an auxiliary to focus on the midpoint of a process. As a main verb, Kol can be either intransitive as in example (101) or transitive as in (102).

| (101) | kùkúmá | sè | bwě | kò. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | kùkúmá | sè | bwě | kò |
|  | chief | PERF | long.time.ago | go |

'The chief already left a while ago.'
(102) $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{á}$ nìgò kò njáp.
j̀=á nìgò kò njáp
he/she-P2 return go house
'He went back home.'

As a transitive verb, kò can also be used metaphorically.
(103) mw-ǎn sé kò lé-jwò.
mò-ăn sé kò lé-jwò
1-child PERF go 5-sleep
'The child fell asleep.' (lit. went into sleep.)

Below is an example of kò as an auxiliary. In this case, the auxiliary
adds the idea that the subject is in the middle of a process.
(104)
$\mathrm{j}=$ ǒ kó bwògə́ kwàn.
j̀ =ó kò +H bwòg+H kwàn
he/she-Pres go harvest 9-honey
'He is in the process of harvesting honey.'

In other cases, the auxiliary is less grammaticalized, maintaining its motion verb semantics. This is parallel to what was seen with the verb ncà 'come.'

| $\mathrm{n}=$ ó | kò | bárà | mûr. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\grave{\mathrm{j}=0}=0$ | kò +H | bárà +H | m-ùr |
| he/she-PRES | go | greet | 1 -man |

'He goes to greet the man.'

Kò differs from the progressive marker gó in that it may occur with all of the tenses while gó is restricted to present tense constructions. They are not completely in complementary distribution since kò may occur in the present tense as well, as seen in (104) and (105) above.

| $\mathrm{n}=$ ă | kò | bwògà | kwàn. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\grave{\mathrm{j}}=\mathrm{á}$ | kò | bwàg | kwàn |
| he/she-P2 | go | harvest | 9-honey | 'He was in the process of collecting honey.'

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
\mathrm{j}=\text { ě } & \text { kó } & \text { bwògá } & \text { kwàn. }  \tag{107}\\
\text { j̀=é } & \text { kò +H } & \text { bwòg+H } & \text { kwàn } \\
\text { he/she-Fut } & \text { go } & \text { harvest } & \text { 9-honey }
\end{array}
$$

'He will be in the middle of collecting honey.

### 3.2.3 'Return' = Repetitive

The auxiliary nigò has been grouped with the phasal auxiliaries because
it also describes part of a process. The non-auxiliary verb nìgò means 'to go back, to return.'

'I thought that I would come back with fish.'

The auxiliary means 'to go back to the beginning, to repeat, to do
again.'
(109)

| têm | bà | ntáy | bìzá | ncà | nìgò | kò | kwár. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tèm | bà | ntán | bìzá-á | ncà | nìgò | k̀ | kwád |
| even | be | like that | we-P2 | come | again | go | village |
| In spite of that, we started to go back home to the village. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

(110)

| $\mathrm{n}=$ é | nìgò | bárà | mûr. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathfrak{j}=$ é | nìgò +H | bárà +H | m -ùr |
| he/she-Fut | return | greet | 1-man |

'He will regreet someone.'

It is very similar in meaning to the adverb kwó 'again,' described below
in section 5 , but the adverb and the auxiliary may co-occur with each other,
giving in cases like example (111) below an iterative reading. The shades of semantic difference remain a question for further research.
(111)
$\mathrm{j}=\mathrm{o}$
$\mathrm{j}=\mathrm{o}$
nìgó kwó bínə̀ nó. he/she-PRES return again raise him/her
'He keeps raising him.'

### 3.2.4 Do first

The verb tér as a main verb means 'to start.' It requires an infinitival complement.

| $\mathrm{j}=$ ǎ | tér | lè-bwògò | kwàn. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| j̀=á | tér | lè-bwゝ̀g | kwàn |
| he/she-P2 | start | Inf-harvest | 9-honey |

'He started to harvest honey.'

The auxiliary verb tér means 'to do first.'
(113)

| bà-sár | bwó | mê | ncà | tér | fyàl | má | màcì. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bè-ś́r | bwó | mé | ncà | tér | fyàl | mà | mà-cì |
| 2-sister (nun) | they | be (chg) | come | first | test (v) | me | 4-blood |

'The Sisters first tested my blood.' (Joy.24)

### 3.3 MODAL AUXILIARIES

In addition to the phasal auxiliaries described above, Kol also has a
number of modal auxiliaries, which express desires, obligations and potentialities. Unlike the copula and phasal auxiliaries described above, two of these verbs only appear as auxiliaries.

### 3.3.1 Optative mode (need, want)

The optative auxiliary, used to express needs and desires, is jí meaning 'to want.' It is related to another non-auxiliary verb jí meaning 'to ask.' Below
is an example of $j i$ 'want' used as a main verb followed by an example of it used as an auxiliary.

| $\mathrm{w}=\mathrm{o}$ | jí | mò-kùmà | ŋké | bè-kàbà. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ̀े-ó | jí | mò-kùmà | nké | bè-kàbà |
| you (sg)-Pres | want | 6 -manioc | or | 8 -cocoyam |
| ou wa | ioc | am |  |  |

(115) myǎ m-ûr á bò lè jí wúl mà kwînt lélúwé, myà $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{m}$-ùr á bà lè ji wûl mà kwéndè lé-lú-è time RelCl-1-man P2 be ImpF want remove me hook in-head-RelCL When the man who was rowing wanted to take the hook out of my hair, [I told him, "While you're taking that out, time is going by."]

### 3.3.2 Deontic mode (must)

The auxiliary verb jàlànà expresses obligation. It only occurs as an auxiliary.
$\begin{array}{llllll}\text { (116) } & \text { é-jî } & \text { jàlànà } & \text { yà } & \text { bé } & \text { fòk. } \\ & \text { Inf-ask } & \text { must } & \text { give } & \text { you (pl) } & \text { 9-wisdom }\end{array}$

### 3.3.3 Potential mode (can)

The potential auxiliary, translated as 'can, be able to,' is kwóg. The example below shows this modal auxiliary in the negative.
(117) $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{kwóg}=$ é bâr é-byôl.
$\mathrm{I}=\mathrm{NeG}=\mathrm{can}=$ NeG climb in-canoe
'I couldn't climb in the canoe.'

### 3.3.4 Really

There is only one example of bándà as a main verb in my corpus. As a main verb, it means 'to go well' while as an auxiliary it means 'really.'
(118) ntíbátí té nùmá nè kè bándà náy. Ntibati LoC too that Neg go.well still 'At Ntibati too, it didn't go well.'

It is quite common as an auxiliary verb and tends to co-occur with
other auxiliary verbs. As can be seen in the two examples below, there is non fixed order among the non-copula auxiliary verbs.
(119) bwó mê ncà bándá jùgà má.
bwó mé +H ncò +H bàndà +H fùgà +H mò
they be (chg) come really discuss me 'They saved me.' [lit. They really discussed me [impl. with death].]
(120) mə̀ = ndâk bándà ncó bə̀ mpwóǵ́.
m̀ $=$ ndâg bàndà ncò bà mpwógé

I there really come be healthy
'I refound my health.' (Illness.28)

## 4 Negation

Negation in Kol is sensitive to differences in scope, tense, and aspect.

Kol speakers may choose to a negation strategy which has scope over the entire sentence, or they may choose to negate a smaller portion of the clause.

If the whole verbal sequence is to be negated, the negative element must show up in the first position of the verbal sequence. If only part of the verbal sequence is to be negated, then Kol speakers use the morpheme ké which behaves like an adverb.

The example below is a command to not do something. Thus the imperative (suffixed to the copula auxiliary bà which has a stative interpretation) is affirmative, while the main verb is negated.

| $\mathrm{w}=\mathrm{ò}$ | bó-k | ké | fèndà | nò | mà. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| you (sg) | be-ImP (sg) | Neg | be.in.rivalry | with | me |
| 'You must not put yourself | in competition with me.' |  |  |  |  |

Below is another example where the copula auxiliary ndé, which has a 'simultaneous' interpretation, is in the affirmative while the main verbs are both negated.

| $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{è}$ | ndé | ké | dùló | sìgá | ké | bà | nê | nwèl | má-jòk. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| I-P1 | be +H | NEG +H | smoke | cigarette | Neg | be | with | drink +H | 6-wine |

Negation in Kol is also sensitive to tense distinctions. Kol has more tense distinctions in the past in negative clauses than it does in affirmative clauses, but it has fewer distinctions in the non-past. A comparative chart is given below.


Additionally, negation is sensitive to aspect. Imperfective sentences have fewer negation strategies available than do perfectives. Below is a chart giving the negative TAM system. These forms are based on three basic negation strategies: a circumclitic, a negative prefix and a negative copula.

| Mode | Aspect | Tense |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Indicative | Perfective | F2 | àbwéyè |
|  |  | PRES/F1 | à $=+$ =é |
|  |  | P1 | áncé +H |
|  |  | P2 | áncé |
|  |  | P3 | áncégé |
|  |  | P1 | áncé + H |
|  |  | P3 | áncé |
| Subjunctive |  |  | áncégé |
|  |  | ké |  |

Table 4.5 Kol Negation

### 4.1 Perfective Clauses

In the perfective, speakers may appeal to one of three negative
strategies. The most common negation strategy for perfective clauses is the circumclitic á....è. The circumclitic is used when the scope of the negation is the entire clause. The circumclitic is always hosted by the first element of the verb. The distant future is formed by combining the negative circumclitic with the distant future marker bwó. Three of the negative tenses are
historically derived from combining the auxiliary ncà 'come' with the negative circumclitic.

If a speaker does not want to negate the entire sentence, he will use the negative prefix ké, as shown by example (123) below.


I-P1 be +H NEG +H smoke cigarette NEG be with drink+h 6 -wine 'I neither smoked nor drank.' (Illness.15)

### 4.1.1 Non-Past Perfective Negation

Clauses in the perfective present and immediate future are negated via the circumclitic $\dot{a}=\ldots=\grave{e}$ on the first word of the verbal sequence. It is interesting to note that using circumclitics to mark sentential negation is not crosslinguistically unusual, being found in a number of different languages in different language families, e.g. French, Breton and Old Icelandic.

This morpheme is being analyzed as a circumclitic because it has less strict co-occurrence requirements than we might expect of an affix and relatively strict positioning. The other logical option, that these are two independent words which co-occur to mark negation, seems unlikely since there is no evidence that these markers may occur independently on their
own. If á occurs alone, it is understood as being the far past tense marker á, and if $e ̀$ occurs alone on a word, it will be understood as being the relative clause boundary marker described above in chapter 3, section 6.1. While the far past tense morpheme and the first element of the negation marker may occur in the same position (immediately following the subject noun or pronoun), the positioning of the second element of the negative marker and the relative clause marker is very different.

As was mentioned above, the non-past perfective negative circumclitic is hosted by the first word of the verbal sequence. This can be the main verb as seen in (124) and (125). The proclitic vowel behaves like the tense vowels in that it cliticizes to the subject pronoun, if it directly follows it, resulting in the deletion of the vowel of the subject pronoun, as can be seen below.
(124) múùz, $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}=$ dég $=$ é lè-kán. j̀-á-dég-è $+\mathrm{H} \quad$ lè-kán
today he/she-Neg-see-Neg + + 5 -antelope
'Today, he didn't see an antelope.'
(125) émáné $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}=$ wàzà $=$ yè mûr.
émáné j̀-á-wàzà-è + H mw-ùr
tomorrow he/she-Neg-forget-Neg 1-man
'Tomorrow, he will not forget anyone.'

If an auxiliary is the first element in the verbal sequence, then it hosts the circumclitic as shown below in (126) for a copula auxiliary and in (127) for a non-copular auxiliary.

| (126) | tóòb $\quad$ á $=\mathrm{j}=\mathrm{e}$ | dí | dùk. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | sheep | Neg-be(att)-NeG +H | stay +H | Forest |

$\begin{array}{lcc}\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{à}=\text { níg }=\text { é } & \text { wàzà } & \mathrm{m} \text {-ûr. } \\ \text { he/she-NEG-return-NEG }+\mathrm{H} & \text { forget }+\mathrm{H} & 1 \text {-man } \\ \text { 'He doesn't forget anyone anymore.' }\end{array}$

The negative circumclitic may also be hosted by a morpheme marking
tense. In affirmative clauses, the relative immediate past tense marker may
host the negative circumclitic, as seen below.

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}=\text { lwándá } \mathrm{b}=\mathrm{é} & \text { wàzà } & \text { m-ûr. }  \tag{128}\\
\text { he/she-NEG-just-NEG }+\mathrm{H} & \text { forget }+\mathrm{H} & 1 \text {-man }
\end{array}
$$

'He didn't just forget someone.'

This circumclitic may also appear on its own with an epenthetic consonant. Examples for this in my database are severely restricted to cases with the morpheme $k w o$, the verb tér 'start,' and the verbs meaning 'finish' sil and dwág.

$$
\begin{align*}
& \mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{h}=\text { é kwò bínı̀ nó. }  \tag{129}\\
& \grave{j}=\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{e}+\mathrm{H} \quad \text { kwo }+\mathrm{H} \quad \text { bîn }+\mathrm{H} \quad \text { лà } \\
& \text { he-Neg again raise him } \\
& \text { 'He doesn't raise him anymore.' }
\end{align*}
$$

### 4.2 DISTANT FUTURE NEGATION

The distant future is negated by adding the negative circumclitic to the distant future tense morpheme bwó. In the affirmative, bwó must co-occur with the immediate future tense marker é. However, when the distant future is negated, the proclitic element of the circumclitic appears in the place of the tense vowel.

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}=\text { bwé }=\text { y'é } & \text { wàzà } & \text { m-ûr. }  \tag{130}\\
\text { j̀-á-bwó-è }+\mathrm{H} & \text { wàzà }+\mathrm{H} & \text { mw-ùr } \\
\text { he/she-NEG-F2-NEG } & \text { forget } & 1 \text {-man } \\
\text { 'He will not forget anyone.' }
\end{array}
$$

There is a lot of variation (even among the utterances of a single speaker) with the distant future negation. This suggests that this is either a newer part of the speech system, or at the other end of the spectrum, a dying part of the speech system. Below are two other forms of the negative distant future, both given by the same speaker as example (130) above.
(131) $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{b} w e ́=\mathrm{n}^{\prime}$ é wàzà mûr.
$\grave{j}=\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{bwó}=\mathrm{e}+\mathrm{H} \quad$ wàzà $+\mathrm{H} \quad$ mw-ùr
he/she-Neg-F2-Neg forget 1-man
'He will not forget anyone.'

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{à}=\text { bwé }=\text { 'é } & \text { wàzà. }  \tag{132}\\
\grave{\mathrm{j}}=\mathrm{á}=\mathrm{bwó}=\grave{\mathrm{e}}+\mathrm{H} & \text { wàzà + } \mathrm{H} \\
\text { he/she-NEG-F2-NEG } & \text { forget }
\end{array}
$$

'He will not forget.'

### 4.3 Past Negation

Kol has more tense distinctions in the past for negative constructions than for affirmative constructions. In the affirmative, there is a two way distinction in the past (the recent past marker é and the far past marker á).

However, in the negative, there is a three way distinction between the recent past, the far past, and the very far past. These will all be described below.

### 4.3.1 Negation in the Recent Past

The negation marker for the recent past is áncé. It always appears directly after the subject and before any other grammatical markers or auxiliaries. It appears to be derived from the present tense negated form of the verb ncà which means 'to come' as a full verb though both syllables have underlying H tones instead of the expected HL contour. This construction is
marked by the H tone tense concord, just as is the case for the affirmative recent past tense.

| (133) | nò | kùgú, | $\mathrm{j}=$ àncé | wàzà | m -ûr. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | nò | kùgú | $\grave{\mathrm{j}}=$ áncé +H | wàzà +H | m -ùr |
|  | with | evening | he/she-NEGP1 | forget | 1 -man | 'Yesterday, he didn't forget anyone.'

Negated recent past clauses imply that the negative state is not permanent. In stories, the negative situation may have appeared permanent at that point in the story, but the situation is reversed before the end.

### 4.3.2 Negation in the Far Past

The negative marker for the far past is also áncé, but the far past
negative construction differs from the recent past negative in that it is not marked with the H tone tense concord, as can be seen by the lack of a H on the last syllable of the verb or the first syllable of the direct object. This is similar to the affirmative far past tense.
(134) mbwá làygé, $\mathrm{n}=$ àncé wàzà mùr. $\begin{array}{lllll}\text { mbwá } & \text { làngé } & \text { ỳ=áncé } & \text { wàzà } & \text { mw-ùr } \\ \text { year } & \text { past } & \text { he/she-NeGP2 } & \text { forget } & 1 \text {-man }\end{array}$ 'Last year, he didn't forget anyone.'

### 4.3.3 Negation in the Very Far Past

As has been mentioned above, there are more tense distinctions in the negative than in the affirmative for the past tenses. The negation marker for the very far past is áncégé. Again, it appears directly after the subject and before any other pre-stem material. It too is derived from the verb ncà 'to come.' The $[g]$ may be related to the subjunctive suffix (discussed in section 3.6.1).

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\mathrm{n}=\text { ǎncégé } & \text { wàzà } & \text { mùr. }  \tag{135}\\
\grave{\mathrm{j}}=\text { áncégé } & \text { wàzà } & \mathrm{mw} \text {-ùr } \\
\text { he/she-NEGP3 } & \text { forget } & 1 \text {-man }
\end{array}
$$

'He didn't forget anyone.'

What is interesting from a tone rule perspective though is the variation found in tonal behavior at the left boundary of the verb. Below are examples using the very far past negative marker áncégé. In example (14) below, there is no subject pronoun, which allows the underlying H tone of the negative marker to surface on all three vowels.

| á-myâ, | myá | bámpámp, | ykwìn | áncégé | lè | dí | dùk |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| á-myâ | myá | H+bò- mpámp | ŋkwífl | áncégé | lè | dì | dùg |
| ?-time | 3-time | 3AM-2-ancestor | leopard | NEGP3 | IMPF | stay | forest | 'In the time of the ancestors, the panther didn't stay in the forest.'

In the following example, the H tone is only associated with the last two vowels of the negative marker. The $L$ tone of the subject pronoun surfaces on the first vowel of the negative marker.
$\begin{array}{lll}\begin{array}{ll}\mathrm{n}=\text { àncégé } & \text { dì }\end{array} & \text { dìk. } \\ \text { j̀ áncégé } & \text { dì } & \text { dig } \\ \text { he/she-NeGP3 } & \text { stay } & \text { forest }\end{array}$
'He didn't stay in the forest.'

Some speakers have an alternative form ancógó, as shown in the example below.
(138) myà bíyôl mê j-é, bìyól áncógó bà fáámá.
3-time canoe be (chg) arrive-RelCl canoe NegP3 be good
'When the canoe came, it wasn't in good condition.'

### 4.4 IMPERFECTIVE CLAUSES

Imperfective clauses show fewer distinctions than do perfective clauses, having only a distinction between the present (non-past) and past tenses.

### 4.4.1 Present (Non-Past) Imperfective

Present sentences marked with the imperfective marker lè may only be negated using the negative copula túg, as shown below.

'He wasn't forgetting anyone.'

It is interesting that clauses which are not overtly marked for the imperfective may be interpreted as being imperfective as seen by the negation strategies chosen. For example, it is extremely common for speakers to choose to negate a construction of $j i+$ main verb (without the imperfective marker lè) by means of the túg + lè negation strategy. This is illustrated by the affirmative/negative paradigm below.

| (140) | Økwín | jí | dí | dûk. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Økwín | jì +H | dì +H | dùg |  |
|  | leopard | be (att) | stay | forest |


| tóòb | túgá | lé | dì | dûk. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tóò | túg +H | lè +H | dì +H | dùg |
| sheep | be (neg) | ImpF | stay | forest |

'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

The use of the present imperfective negative strategy is in spite of the fact that speakers could negate the copula using the negative circumclitic, as shown below. This strategy though occurs relatively rarely in my corpus.

| tóòb | á $=\mathrm{j}=\mathrm{e}$ | dì | dùk. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tóòb | á $=\mathrm{ji}=$ =̀ | dì | dùg |
| sheep | NEG-be (att)-NEG | stay | forest |

'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

### 4.4.2 Past Imperfective

Unlike the present imperfective described above, past imperfective clauses in the past tense are negated in the same way as past perfective clauses using áncé for the recent past and far past, as illustrated by the example below.

| (143) | $\mathrm{n}=$ àncé | lè | bínə̀ | nò. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| j̀ $=$ áncé | lè +H | bén +H | nò |  |
| he/she-NEGP2 | ImpF | raise | him/her |  |
|  | 'He wasn't raising him.' |  |  |  |

To negate imperfective clauses in the distant past, Kol speakers use áncégé, as shown below.
(144) ámyâ, myá bámpámp, ŋkwìn áncégé lè dí dùk. $\begin{array}{llllllll}\text { áayyà } & \text { myà } & \text { H+bò-mpámb } & \text { nkwín } & \text { áncégé } & \text { lè } & \text { dì } & \text { dùg } \\ \text { ?-time } & \text { 3-time } & \text { 3ASSOC-2-ancestor } & \text { leopard } & \text { NEGP3 } & \text { IMPF } & \text { stay } & \text { fores }\end{array}$ 'In the ancestors' time, the leopard didn't stay in the forest.'

### 4.5 PROGRESSIVE CLAUSES

Interestingly, the progressive aspect marker permits the negation strategy described for perfective clauses, even though progressive is more similar to the imperfective aspect than to the perfective aspect. Compare the affirmative and negative sentences below.
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { (145) } & \mathrm{n}=\mathrm{o} & \text { gó } & \text { wàzà } & \mathrm{m} \text {-ûr. } \\ & \text { j̀=ó } & \text { gó } & \text { wàzà } & \mathrm{m} \text {-ùr } \\ & \text { he-Pres } & \text { Prog } & \text { forget } & 1 \text {-man }\end{array}$
'He continues to forget someone.'
(146) $\mathrm{J}=\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{g}=$ é wàzà m-ûr.
$\grave{\mathrm{j}}=\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{g}=\mathrm{è} \quad$ wàzà m -ùr
he-Neg-Prog-Neg forget 1 -man
'He doesn't continue to forget someone.'

### 4.6 Negative Prefix

The negative prefix is used, as mentioned in the introduction,
whenever the speaker does not wish the negation to have sentential scope but intends to only negate part of the construction.

| (147) | wò | bók | ké | fèndà | nò | mà. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | you (sg) | be-Imp ( sg$)$ | Neg | be in rivalry | with | me |

'You must not put yourself in competition with me.'

This means that the negative commonly used in subjunctive clauses either hortative or imperative - since it is generally the case that the speaker does not want to negate the part of the construction which adds the subjunctive (e.g. imperative as in the example above) element but rather the event in question.

Ké is also used to negate 'bare' clauses, which lack independent tense or aspect markers. In a discourse context, once the subject and tense information have been established, they do not need to be repeated until either the subject or tense changes or there is a discourse boundary. Since such clause chains are common in Kol, ké is the most common negation strategy in texts.

| (148) mò-lú | mó-bá | $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}$ | kò | dì | bèrtwà | ká | nìgé, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mò-lú | mó-bá | $\mathrm{H}+\grave{\mathrm{s}}=\mathrm{á}$ | kò | dì | bèrtwà | ké | nìgò-è |
| 6-era | 6-two | ReLCL-he-P2 | go | stay | Bertoua | NeG | return-ReLCL |
| 'During the two days that he stayed in Bertoua | without returning |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| home,' |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

### 4.7 NEGATIVE ADVERB

Kol has a negative adverb tútú meaning 'never.' It is not necessary for this to co-occur with any other negative markers, unlike the adverb described in the section below.
(149) mbàmpyòn nô "tútù! mə̀ = bá ndé jwî." mbàmpyòn nâ tútù mà bà ndé jwî lion that never I be be (loc) chief, ruler 'The lion said, "Never! I am the chief here." '

### 4.8 Negative + Adverb

One adverb, náy, which in isolation means 'still, yet', frequently occurs with the negative markers. It may either co-occur with the negative copula as illustrated in (150), or with the morpheme ké, as shown in (151). When combined with these negative morphemes, the construction acquires the meaning 'no longer,' translated in French as 'pas encore' or 'ne plus'.

| (150) | mè-njà | á | lè | sá | mà tû | wo | nâ | myá | tùk | náy. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | mè-njà | á | lè | sá | mà | tû | wò | nâ | myà | tùg | nán |
|  | 4-intestine | P2 | IMPF | do | me | inside | manner | that | 4SUBJ | be (neg) | still | 'I was feeling like my intestines weren't there inside me anymore.'

(151)

| mə̀ | mé | tègá | kí | náy | nò | ŋkùl. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mà | mé | tègá | ké | náy | nò | ŋkùl |
| I | be (chg) | (be)tired | neg | still, | and, with | force, power | 'I was tired, had no energy.' (Joy.21)

## 5 Adverbials

The label adverb in this study has been restricted to a set of words which have traditional adverbial semantics (they add temporal, locative or manner information) and which have relatively free word order and therefore contrast with other lexical categories which appear within the verb phrase.

As was mentioned in chapter 3, Kol also has a class of locative and temporal nouns. These may be translated as adverbs but in Kol they do not belong to this lexical class, having a different syntactic distribution.

Additionally, Kol also has prepositional phrases which may be used to express manner, temporal or locative information. These are adjuncts and will be discussed in chapter 5.

Some Kol adverbs are particularly free. These adverbs may appear outside of the verb phrase (on the left periphery of the sentence), outside of the verbal sequence (after the main verb, between objects or on the right periphery), and in multiple places within the verbal sequence.

In the examples below, the adverb njì occurs within the verbal sequence in (152) and outside in (153).

| $\mathrm{m}=$ è | númó | njì | lé | lèlà. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| I-P1 | also,too +H | only +H | ImPF + H | shiver,tremble |
| 'I kept trembling.' |  |  |  |  |


| (153) | mə̀ $=$ | sá | kwân | njì | lê-mbègàlá | má | ncì̀mbé, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $\grave{\mathrm{m}}=$ | sá | kwân | njì | lé-mbègàlá | $\mathrm{H}+$ mà | ncì̀mbé |
|  | I | do | 7-meeting | only | Loc-9-protection | 3Poss | God | 'I participated in the meeting under the protection of God.' (Joy.07)

Other adverbs which have similar patterns are given below.

| (154) bá | 'a little' | náy | 'still, yet' |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ndâg | 'where, still' | númá | 'also' |
| ntáy | 'like that' | nwà | 'there' |

Another class of words is very free within the verbal sequence but does not appear to occur outside of the verbal sequence.
(155) bwè 'for a long time' bùlù • 'a lot, many' kwò 'again' ŋkònə́ 'little by little' Jwàl 'immediately, directly' In the example below, bwè 'for a long time' occurs before the aspect marker in (156) and after in (157). This is typical of the words given in (155).

| myá | bámpámp | á | bè, | ykwìn | á | bwè |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| myá | H+bò-mpámb | H+á | bə̀-è | ŋkwín | á | bwè |
| 3-time | 3ASSoc-2-ancestor | ReLCL-P2 | be-ReLCL | leopard | P2 | long.time |

lè dì dùk.
lè dì dùg
ImpF stay forest
In the ancestors' time, the leopard stayed in the forest.
(157) sá $m=e ̂$ túk lê bwě sá yô
sá $\quad \mathrm{H}+\mathrm{m}-\mathrm{e}$ tùg+H lè +H bwè +H sá +H yò
7-thing RelCl-I-P1 be ImpF long.time do 70BJ
'..a thing that I didn't usually do.' (Perils.29)

It is possible that instead of adverbs, these are actually verbs. However, I have decided to classify them as adverbs because they do not pattern like other clear verbal classes. In (156) above, if bwè is a verb, it occurs in what would normally be the copula verb slot (see the following chapter for more on the fixed order of the Kol verb), but in (157) it appears in the non-copula auxiliary slot. While it could be an auxiliary verb, it does not clearly pattern with either of the auxiliary classes.

Similarly for kwò 'again', another word which patterns with bwè, kwò can appear as the object of a preposition, which is not a syntactic slot available to verbs. Admittedly, it is also odd for adverbs to appear as the complement of a preposition. However, there are a number of prepositional phrases with adverbial semantics in Kol, as discussed in section 2.2 of the following chapter. Kwò itself will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5, section 1.4.
 'Starting that day, I didn't go there anymore.'

It is very common to have more than one adverb in a clause. It is also possible to have adverb stacking. That is to say, it is not necessary to spread adverbs out throughout the clause, but in general no more than two adverbs appear next to each other. These adverbs do not appear in a fixed order.

Below are two examples where adverbs are stacked within the verbal
sequence.
(159)

| $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{e}$ | númə́ | njì | lé | lèlà. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| I -P1 | also,too +H | only +H | $\mathrm{ImPF}+\mathrm{H}$ | shiver, tremble |
| 'I kept trembling.' |  |  |  |  |

 m̀ =ó kò nùmà fwàl làn nô ncà kwád but I-Pres go also directly happen that come 9 -village '...but I'm going to leave for the village.' (Ram.35)

## 5 Morphosyntax of the Verb Phrase

Having described the various elements which may occur within the verb phrase in the last chapter, we now turn our attention to the way in which the verb phrase can be organized.

Kol is similar to many central, eastern and southern Bantu languages in that its verbal sequence is quite templatic. However it differs from these same languages in that the morphemes which fill the different slots of the template are independent words or clitics, and not affixes. Verbal clitics in Kol have strict positioning requirements which can be explained by referring to the crosslinguistic tendency for clitics to occur in second position.

This chapter will also discuss some exceptions to the templatic nature of the Kol verb and offer additional evidence as to why non-main verbs in Kol are analyzed as auxiliary verbs and not complex predicates (serial verbs, compound verbs or light verbs).

Complementation and adjunct patterns will be explored in section 2 and section 3 will examine aspects of Kol verbal morphosyntax in light of formal syntax. In particular, Role and Reference Grammar will offer insight
as to the scope of the tense tonal concord, though some complications will arise when RRG predictions about operator scope are compared to the Kol patterns seen.

## 1 Structure within the Verb Phrase

Bantu languages, of which Kol is one, are assumed to have the minimal structure shown below (Brauner 1995, Meeuwis 1998, Miti 2001, Mohammed 2001 among others).
(1) Subject Marker - Tense - Verb Stem

This structure is illustrated by an example from Swahili, an eastern Bantu language. In addition to the categories above, Swahili also allows a preverbal object marker.
(2) ni- na- wa- heshimu

I Pres them respect
'I respect them.' (Mohammed 2001:ii)

Many Bantu verbs are of course even more complex. (3) gives an example from Cinsenga, a Bantu language spoken in Zambia and Malawi. This language allows for an initial negative marker, followed by a subject marker, tense morpheme, object marker, verb root, derivational suffix (known
as an extension in Bantu linguistics) and a final vowel. These slots are labeled above the illustrative morphemes in the example below.
(3) Neg SM Tense OM Verb Stem

|  |  |  |  | Root | Ext | Fv |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| si- | ni- | ka- | mu- | lil- | il- | a |
| NeG | I | FUT | him/her | cry | APPL |  |

'I will not cry for him/her.' (Miti 2001:79)

The Kol verb structure is also fairly templatic in that it has a relatively fixed ordering of the elements in the verbal sequence. A table below gives the typical ordering of verbal units, followed by an example. In natural discourse, it is difficult to find all slots attested in a single utterance, though when slots are filled, they occur in the relative order given below.

| Tense | Tense2 | Cop Aux | Asp/Mode | Aux | Verb |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| é F1 | bwó F2 | bà 'be' | lè IMPF | ko 'go' |  |
| ó Pres | lwándàbò 'just' | ndé 'be (loc)' | sè Perf | ncà 'come' |  |
| é $\quad P 1$ |  | jì 'be (att)' | mbá COND | nìgò 'return' |  |
| á $\quad P 2$ |  | mé 'be (chg)' |  |  |  |

Table 5.1 Ordering of Verbal Constituents.


Across Bantu languages, when there are construction which contain multiple verbs, it is common for the tense to be encoded on the first verb while aspect is encoded on the second verb (Nurse 2003). This is not the case for Kol however, as can be seen by the example below. Here both tense and aspect precede the auxiliary where we might expect that tense would precede the auxiliary while the aspect marker preceded the main verb.

|  | Tense | $\underline{A s p e c t}$ | $\underline{\text { Adv }}$ | $\underline{\text { Aux }}$ | $\underline{\text { Verb }}$ |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (5) | $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{e}$ | sé | númə́ | kò | kúyá | ncòò | lôl | támə̀ | ncì. |
| I-P1 | PERF +H | also +H | go +H | defecate +H | time | three | middle | 3-path |  |
|  | 'I had to stop three times along the way to go to the bathroom.' (Joy.12) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

However, if the first verb is a copula auxiliary, then the expected pattern holds. The tense marker precedes the copula, and the aspect marker follows the copula, preceding any other verb.
(6) myǎ m-ûr á bò lè jí wúl mò kwînt lé-lúw=é, $\begin{array}{llllllllll}\text { myà } & \mathrm{H}+\mathrm{m} \text {-ùr } & \text { á } & \text { bò } & \text { lè } & \text { jí } & \text { wûl } & \text { mà } & \text { kwíndè } & \text { lé-lú }=\text { è } \\ \text { time } & \text { ReLCL-1-man } & \text { P2 } & \text { be } & \text { IMPF } & \text { want } & \text { remove } & \text { me } & \text { hook } & \text { in-head-ReLCL }\end{array}$ When the man wanted to take the hook out of my hair, [I told him, "While you're taking that out, time is going by."]

In parallel to the affirmative copulas, it is possible for the negative copula to appear in a multi-verb construction where it is marked for tense and the main verb is marked for aspect (and other grammatical categories).

$$
\begin{equation*}
 \tag{7}
\end{equation*}
$$

While many of the preverbal elements do not allow multiple exponence of the same slot, there are some exceptions. While the tense vowels and the aspect markers always appear in complementary distribution (i.e. only one may appear at a time, though it is always possible to have a clause unmarked for tense or aspect or both), the auxiliary verb slots permit that more than one occur at a time.

As was just described, it is quite common to have a clause containing both a copula auxiliary and a phasal (or modal) auxiliary. However, it is also possible to have multiple copula auxiliaries in the same sentence or multiple phasal auxilaries. An example of multiple copula auxiliaries is given below.
(8)

| njwún | bá | ndé | sá | nâ | mò-bùgùbà | ncâ $=k$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| njwún | bà | ndé | sá | nâ | mò-bùgùbà | ncò $=g+\mathrm{H}$ |
| 9-respect | be | be (loc) | do | that | 6-prosperity | come-SuBJ |
| 'Respect works to bring prosperity.' | (Family.10) |  |  |  |  |  |

It is also possible to have multiple non-copula auxiliaries, as illustrated below.

| myǎ | yô $=$ | kò | nìgò | jê | wú $=1 ́$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| myà | H+yò | kò | nìgò | jê | wú-è |
| time | ReLCL $+7 S$ Ub | go | return | arrive | there-ReLCL |
| 'Arriving there, $\ldots$.. |  |  |  |  |  |

(10) bàsár bwó mê ncə̀ tér fyàl má màcì.
bè- soeur bwó mé ncà tér fyàl mà mà-cì 2- sister (nun) they be (chg) come first test (v) me 4-blood 'The Sisters first tested my blood.' (Joy.24)

Adverbs and the consecutive marker kà are the exceptions to the fixed word order since they may intrude at numerous places within the verbal sequence as will be discussed in more detail in section 1.3. This fixed word order is not necessarily arbitrary, as will be discussed in section 3.2.

### 1.1 WORD-HOOD IN THE VERB PHRASE

As was mentioned above, Kol differs from the well-known Bantu
languages of central, eastern, and southern Africa in that the morphemes which fill its templatic slots are independent words and not prefixes. (The
morphemes in the initial tense slot may be clitics and not independent words. These are discussed in section 1.2 below.)

Evidence for the word-hood of the preverbal morphemes can be found in three different areas of the Kol grammar. These are: clitic placement, the tense concord H tone found in many tenses, and the placement of adverbs. The discussion in this section will primarily focus on the morphemes of the Tense 2 slot and on the aspect markers, since these are cross-linguistically likely to be affixes, in contrast to the auxiliary verbs which are likely to be independent words.

Non-past perfective negation in Kol, as was discussed in chapter 4, section 4.1.1, is marked by the circumclitic $a ́=. .=\grave{e}$. This circumclitic appears on the first word of the verbal sequence, as shown below.
(11) tóòb á $=\mathrm{j}=\mathrm{è}$ dí dùk.
tóòb á = $\mathrm{ji}=$ è $+\mathrm{H} \quad$ dì $+\mathrm{H} \quad$ dùk.
sheep NEG-be(att)-NeG stay forest
'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

This circumclitic may also be hosted by morphemes from the Tense 2 slot, as seen in (12) and (13), which is evidence that these morphemes have the same word status as the copula auxiliary verb seen in (11).
(12) $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}=$ lwándá $=$ é wàzà m-ûr. $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{á}=$ lwándə̀bə̀ $=$ è +H wàzà $+\mathrm{H} \quad \mathrm{m}$-ùr. he/she-Neg-just-Neg forget 1-man
'He didn't just forget someone.'
(13) $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}=$ bwé $=\mathrm{y}^{\prime}$ é wàzà m-ûr.
j̀ = á = bwó $=$ è +H wàzà +H m-ùr he/she-Neg-F2-Neg forget 1-man
'He will not forget anyone.'

The non-past perfective negative circumclitic may also be hosted by an aspect marker.

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{g}=\text { é } & \text { wàzà } & \mathrm{m} \text {-ûr. }  \tag{14}\\
\grave{\mathrm{j}}=\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{g}=\mathrm{e} & \text { wàzà } & \mathrm{m} \text {-ùr } \\
\text { he-NEG-PROG-NEG } & \text { forget } & 1 \text {-man }
\end{array}
$$

'He doesn't continue to forget someone.'

This suggests that the progressive aspect marker gó is also an
independent word. The subjunctive clitic behaves in the same way as the negative circumclitic and so will not be discussed further here though the morphosyntax of verbal clitics is discussed in section 1.2 below.

Another aspect of the morphosyntax of Kol which offers evidence that preverbal morphemes are independent words is the suffixal H tone which marks tense concord. This tonal tense concord was discussed in chapter 4, section 2.1.7. To review, in Kol, all tenses but the far past (P2), share a tonal contour in that every word in the verbal sequence is marked by a suffixal H tone. This can be seen by comparing a sentence in the recent past (P1) with its far past (P2) equivalent.

| (15) | nò | kùgú | $\mathrm{n}=$ í | nìgó | kò | njáp. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | nò | kùgú | $\mathrm{n}=$ é | nìgò +H | kò +H | njáb |
|  | with | evening | he- P 1 | return | go | 3-house | 'Today he returned home.'


| $\mathrm{n}=$ á | nìgò | kò | njáp. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{n}=$ á | nìgò | kò | njáb |
| he/she-P2 | return | go | 3-house |

'He went home.'

Crucially, this high tone is also suffixed to aspect markers, as can be seen by comparing (17) and (18) below. The suffixal high tone delinks the underlying low tone of the imperfective marker, resulting in downstep.

| $\mathrm{n}=$ ǒ | l'é | bwògə́ | kwàn. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{n}=$ ó | lè +H | bwòg +H | kwàn. |
| he-Pres | ImpF | harvest (honey) | 9-honey |
| 'He harvests honey (habitually).' |  |  |  |


| $\mathrm{n}=$ ǎ | lè | bwògà | kwàn. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{n}=$ á | lè | bwòg | kwàn |
| he/she-P2 | IMPF | harvest (honey) | 9-honey |

'He was harvesting honey.'

Finally, adverbs (and the consecutive marker kà) can appear in multiple places in the verbal sequence. (See section 1.3 for more information.) One of the places where an adverb can occur is between the aspect marker and the following verb as illustrated in (19) with the adverb númá 'also.' This would not be possible if the aspect marker was an affix, since affixes have strict selectional criteria.

| (19) | $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{è}$ | sé | númá | kò | kúqá | ncòò | lôl | támə̀ | ncì. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $\mathrm{I}-\mathrm{P} 1$ | PERF +H | also +H | $\mathrm{go}+\mathrm{H}$ | defecate +H | time | three | middle | 3-path |

'I also had to go to the bathroom three times along the way.' (Joy.12)

To summarize, the positioning of clitics, the suffixal H tone marking tense concord, and adverbs all give evidence that preverbal morphemes in Kol, particularly aspect markers and the morphemes in the Tense 2 slot, are independent words and not affixes.

### 1.2 Clitic Positioning

As was noted in the discussion of the perfective negative circumclitic and the subjunctive enclitic, clitics appear in very specific places in Kol. This
is a characteristic of all of the central A. 80 Bantu languages. Heath (2003) has described the characteristic placement of the subjunctive marker (and the nature of the tense concord) by making reference to the inflection and the macrostem.

### 1.2.1 Inflection vs. the Macrostem

The inflection consists of the subject marker and the tense vowel. The macrostem consists of everything else. This distinction is shown for Kol by the table below. This terminology is borrowed from Mutaka and Hyman (1990) where the macrostem was used to refer to the stem plus object prefix, which was the domain of reduplication.

| Inflection |  | Macrostem |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Subject Tense | Tense2 | Cop Aux | Asp/Mode Aux | Verb |  |

This division served two purposes. It explained where the subjunctive enclitic could appear, i.e. on the first element of the macrostem, and it also grouped all the elements which could be marked by the tense tonal contour together. (This is why the grammatical H tone marking most tenses is referred to by Heath and Heath as the Macrostem H tone.)

However, it also created a structure which is not universally common. It would be more elegant if Kol could be described in terms of known crosslinguistic tendencies. In the case of the clitic placement, a possible option would be to refer to the tendency for clitics (like the enclitic portion of the perfective negative and the subjunctive enclitic) to occur in second position.

This however would not resolve the second advantage of the Inflection/Macrostem distinction, namely that of offering a concise description of the scope of the tense tonal concord. This issue will be brought up again in section 3 .

### 1.2.2 Second Position

Second position effects are not usually associated with Bantu
languages. However, they are attested in a number of different language families around the world, and therefore, a second position analysis is worth considering for Kol.

Second position is used by different researchers to refer to either the position after the first phonological word or after the first syntactic daughter.

When enclitics are hosted by the main verb, the verb is either initial or in second position, depending on whether the subject is a proclitic as shown in (20) or a full noun as shown in (21). The clitics do not occur on the full noun subject because nouns never host clitics.
(20) $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}=$ wàzà = yè. he/she-Neg-forget-Neg 'He doesn't forget.'
(21) tóòb á $=\mathrm{j}=\mathrm{è} \mathrm{dí} \mathrm{dùk}$.
sheep Neg-be-Neg + H stay +H forest 'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

When an object or adjunct is topicalized, the verb is also in second position, as in (22).
(22) múùz,

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { múùz, } & \mathrm{j}=\text { à }=\text { dég }=\text { é } & \text { lè-kán. } \\
& \text { j̀̀-á-dég-è }+\mathrm{H} & \text { lè-kán } \\
\text { today } & \text { he/she-NEG-see-NEG }+\mathrm{H} & \text { 5-antelope }
\end{array}
$$

'Today, he didn't see an antelope.'

All the examples above are of the negative circumclitic. However, there is another candidate for a second position clitic, i.e. the subjunctive enclitic. The subjunctive however may occur with a tense vowel.

| $\mathrm{w}=\mathrm{o}$ | $\mathrm{bó}=\mathrm{k}$ | ké | fèndà | nà | mà. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{w}=\mathrm{o}$ | $\mathrm{b} \grave{=}=\mathrm{g}+\mathrm{H}$ | ké | fèndà | nò | mà |
| you-PRES | be-IMP $(\mathrm{SG})$ | NEG | be.in.rivalry | with | me |

'You must not put yourself in competition with me.'

This tense vowel appears to nullify the second position hypothesis
because in the example above, the subjunctive enclitic now appears to occur in third position. However, it may be possible that the tense vowels are themselves clitics. Though they are not phonologically deficient, they do occur in complementary distribution with the proclitic half of the negative circumclitc.

If the tense vowels are also clitics, this would result in clitics again occurring after the first word, since both the subject marker and the tense vowel would be clitics hosted by the first word and invisible to the syntax.

### 1.3 EXCEPTIONS TO THE TEMPLATIC NATURE OF THE KOL VERB

In spite of the fact that the Kol verb is relatively templatic, there are words which have freer word order. In some cases, this can be directly related to the question of scope. For example, the negative marker kè differs from other negation strategies in that it is not required to appear at the
beginning of the verbal sequence. Instead, it appears directly before the element it is negating, as shown by the example below where the initial copula is in the affirmative while the first main verb is negated, along with the second clause.
 'I neither smoked nor drank.' (Illness.15)

The words with the most options are the lexical class of adverbs and the consecutive marker kà. The syntactic placement of adverbs will be discussed first in section 1.2.1, followed by a discussion of the syntax of the consecutive marker kà.

### 1.3.1 Adverbs

Adverbs differ from other verbal elements in having the most free word order. They can appear in a number of different positions within the verbal sequence and may also appear outside of the verbal sequence all together. Below is an example where the adverb númá 'also, too' appears as the first element in a phrase.
$\begin{array}{llllllllll}\text { (25) númə́ } & \text { bw=á } & \text { kò } & \text { Swâmb } & \text { nə̂ } & \text { mə̀ }= & \text { jì } & \text { nə̀ } & \text { ntú } & \text { mà-cì. } \\ \text { also } & \text { they-P2 } & \text { go } & \text { discover } & \text { that } & \mathrm{I} & \text { be(att) } & \text { with } & \text { 9-diarrhea } & \text { 6-blood }\end{array}$ 'Then they discovered that I had dysentery.' (Joy.27)

Adverbs may also appear between object noun phrases, as illustrated by the adverb njì 'only' below.

$$
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text { y = á } & \text { ykwó } & \text { bì } & \text { mə̀ } & \text { njì } & \text { lé-mpùnə̀. }  \tag{26}\\
\text { 7Sub-P2 } & \text { again } & \text { seize } & \text { me } & \text { only } & \text { in-10-hair } \\
\text { 'It snagged me in the hair.' } & &
\end{array}
$$

Adverbs differ from other preverbal elements with fixed templatic slots because they may insert themselves between any two words in the verbal sequence. Since there are four main possible elements, i.e. the copular auxiliary, the aspect marker, the non-copular auxiliary and the main verb, this results in three possible adverb slots. Examples will be given of each possibility below. The first available position for adverbs is after a copular auxiliary and before an aspect marker. This may be seen in (27) and (28). Example (29) also illustrates an adverb appearing in this same position, though this example lacks a copular auxiliary.

$$
\begin{align*}
& \begin{array}{llllll}
\text { jı̀ }= & \text { jí } & \text { nág } & \text { l'é } & \text { bwògá } & \text { kwàn } \\
\text { he } & \text { be (att) }+_{H} & \text { still }+\mathrm{H} & \text { ImPF }+\mathrm{H} & \text { harvest (honey) }+_{\mathrm{H}} & \text { 9-honey }
\end{array}  \tag{27}\\
& \text { 'He still collects honey.' }
\end{align*}
$$

$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { (28) } & \text { nə̀ }= & \text { jì } & \text { njí } & \text { l'é } & \text { bwògó } & \text { kwàn } \\ & \text { he/she } & \text { be (att) }+_{H} & \text { only }+_{H} & \text { IMPF }+_{H} & \text { harvest (honey) + } \mathrm{H} & \text { 9-honey }\end{array}$ 'He still collects honey.'
(29)

| $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{e}$ | númá | njì | lé | lèlà. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{I}-\mathrm{P} 1$ | also,too +H | only +H | ImPF +H | shiver,tremble |
| 'I kept trembling.' |  |  |  |  |

The second available position for adverbs is after the aspect marker and before the non-copular auxiliary. The fact that adverbs can appear both before and after the aspect marker offers evidence (in addition to tonal behavior) that aspect markers too are independent words.

| (30) | $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{è}$ | sé | númá | kò | kúná | ncòò | lôl | ntámə̀ | ncì. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $\mathrm{I}-\mathrm{P} 1$ | PERF +H | also +H | go +H | defecate +H | time | 3 | middle | fork |

Finally, adverbs can occur between the non-copular auxiliaries and the main verb.

| $\mathrm{n}=$ ǎ | kò | númá | jwák | cì̀. |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| he/she-P2 | go | also,too | hear, feel | sick |
| 'She got sick too.' | (Joy.36) |  |  |  |

Adverbs may also appear after the verb, but in that position, they are outside of the verbal sequence. This may be seen because there is no extra H
tone found in that position; the last two words both surface with their underlying low tones.

| $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{e}$ | kwó | $\mathrm{d}^{\prime} \mathrm{i}$ | njì | dùk. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| he-Fut | again +H | stay +H | only | forest |

'He will continue to stay only in the forest.'

In a number of other Bantu languages, e.g. Chichewa, adverbs may not intrude between the verb and the direct object, unless a prononimal object marker appears on the verb. This pronominal object marker fulfills the valency requirement of the verb and permits freer word order in the verbal dependents and even omission of the full NP object (Mchombo 2001). However, as seen above in (32), Kol does allow an adverb to be inserted between a verb and a following noun phrase. The verb 'stay' in Kol is one of a class of intranstive verbs which has the option of being followed directly by a locative noun. It may be that the locative noun dùg is an adjunct and not a complement of the verb dì. However, if 'forest' was an adjunct, we might expect that it would occur with the locative prefix. More research needs to be done to determine the status of these locative nouns.

### 1.3.2 Ka

The consecutive morpheme kà also has freer word order than most preverbal elements. It may for example occur before the aspect marker as in (33) or after it as in (34).

| myà | bìzá | kǎ | lé | dì | lè-sí |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| myà | býzzá | kà | lé | dì | è-sí |
| 3-time | we | CONS | IMPF | stay | Loc-world |

'...while we are in the world, ...' (Funeral.21)
(34)

| myà | $\mathrm{m}=$ á | sé | kà | ncà | já | n-é-njwò̀-è |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| myà +H | min $=$ á | sé | kà | ncà | jâ | nə̀-lé- jwòn-è |
| 3-time-RelCL | I-P2 | Perf | Cons | come |  | with-Loc-bed |


| èsáp | á | sé | kà | ncà | lál | númá. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| è-sáp | á | sé | kà | ncà | lál | númá. |
| 5-illness | P2 | PERF | CONS | come | be.strong | also |

'By the time I laid down, the illness had already hit me hard.'
(Illness.09)

Additionally, kà may occur before the phasal auxiliary as above in (34) or after as below in (35).

| bé | nàgó | kwǒ | kà | cíndə̀ | kà. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bé-é | nìgò +H | kwó +H | kà +H | cènd $+_{\mathrm{H}}$ | kò +H |
| you (pl)-Fut | return | again | Cons | other.side | go |

'You will return again to the other side.'

Kà may even occur after the main verb as illustrated by the example below.


This range of syntactic possibilities makes kà similar to the lexical class of adverbs even though the consecutive marker is generally considered to be part of the tense-aspect-mode (TAM) system.

### 1.4 Embedded Prepositional Phrases

Kol prepositional phrases can express adverbial semantics, i.e.
information on time or manner. Most prepositional phrases occur after the verb as shown in the example below.

| $y=a ́$ | nték | mà | ná | bùbù. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{y}=\mathrm{á}$ | ntég | mà | nò | bùbù |
| 7Sub-P2 | annoy | me | with | many |

'That really bothered me.'

However, there are some prepositional phrases which appear to be embedded within the verbal sequence. The phrase nò ykùl 'with power'
occurs between the copula auxiliary and the main verb in the examples below. It is frequently translated as 'can' as seen in (39).

| (38) "ést- ce | què | mà | jì | nò | ykùl | yà | wógà ?" |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  | mà | jì | nò | 引kùl | yà | wôg |
|  |  | I | be | with | 9-force | die | here |  | 'Will I die here?' (Illness.23)


| bw | ndé | nı̀ | Økù | \(1 \varepsilon ̂ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ) | nə̀ | bà-fwź. |  |  |  |  |
| bwó | ndé | nò | ŋkùl | 1ร̂刀 | nò | bò-fws |
| they | be (loc) | with | 9 -force | tell | with | 2-friend |
|  | uld | [ | frie | s.' | ril |  |

This phrase also occurs outside of the verbal sequence in the expected postverbal position. However, there are actually more examples in the corpus of the embedded construction than the postverbal construction.

| twè | n-è-sáp | á | sê | jâk | nò | ykùl |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| twě | nô-è-sáp | á | sé | jâk | nò | ykùl |
| even.if | that-5-illness | P2 | PERF | (be) serious | with | 9-force | '..even if the illness had already hit hard...' (Illness.25)

The morpheme kwò which was mentioned in the Adverbials section of chapter 4 can also occur as the object of an apparently embedded prepositional phrase as shown by the two examples below.
(41) têr dwóp dj̀òngá, $m=$ ǎncé ná kwò lè kò náyá wú. tér dw-ôp d-j̀̀̀ngó m̀ =áncé nò kwó lè kò nán wú start 5-day 5-Def I-NeGP1 with again ImpF go still there 'Starting that day, I didn't go there anymore.'
mà $=$ nò kwó ncò tér lè-jwók bè-wàl. I with again come start Inf-feel 8 -fear 'I started to be afraid.'

Unlike nò $\eta k u ̀ l$ ' 'with power,' there are no examples of this prepositional phrase in a non-embedded position outside of the verb phrase. However, kwò is extremely common as a word on its own (classified in chapter 4 as an adverb) within the verbal sequence, and parallel to the behavior of the prepositional version, also does not occur as an adverb outside the verbal sequence though many adverbs can. Perhaps most interestingly, speakers very as to whether this word is pronounced with a prenasalized stop or an oral stop.

| $y=a ́$ | ykwó | bì | mà | njì | lé-mpùnà. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $y=a ́$ | kwò | bì | mà | njì | lé-mpùng̀. |
| 7Sub-P2 | again | seize | me | only | Loc-10-hair | It snagged me in the hair.

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
\text { лı̀ }= & \text { jí } & \text { kwò } & \text { bárà. }  \tag{44}\\
\text { j̀ }= & \text { jì+H } & \text { kwò+H } & \text { bárà } \\
\text { he } & \text { be (att) } & \text { again } & \text { greet } \\
\text { 'He greets again.' }
\end{array}
$$

I suggest that this construction began as a prepositional phrase with adverbial semantics (there are many of these in Kol as will be discussed in the section on Adjuncts below). Once it was allowed to become embedded in the verbal sequence, the boundary between the preposition and its complement began to erode. Some speakers, such as the one who gave example (43), have collapsed the two into a single phonological word, while others have completely lost any trace of the original preposition.

It remains to be seen whether a similar process will occur with nò pkùl 'with force' or 'can,' though it is interesting that it is already much more common in my corpus than the modal auxiliary kwóg 'can.'

### 1.5 THE STATUS OF NON-MAIN VERBS

Many Kol verbal sequences contain more than one verb. I have labeled those verbs which are not the main verb (the last verb in the verbal sequence) as auxiliary verbs but up to this point have given only cursory justification of that classification. This section will provide more information as to why I
believe the non-main verbs in Kol are auxiliary verbs and not compound verbs, serial verbs or light verbs.

Since definitions for these terms have varied over the years and from scholar to scholar, I will be making explicit which definitions and criteria I am using throughout the course of this discussion. Scholars with different criteria could of course come to different conclusions.

Bowern (2006) includes both serial verbs and light verbs in her classification of complex predicates. She does not particularly discuss auxiliary verbs, with the implication being where they are mentioned, that these do not fall within the scope of complex predicates. Bowern gives the following criteria for identifying complex predicates (2006:30).

- event structure - the predicate describes a single event and not a sequence of events
- selection criteria - complex predicate constructions contain verbs from a restricted class, unlike coordinate constructions; they exhibit non-compositional semantics
- word order - the verbs in a complex predicate cannot be separated by intervening material
- nominalization - the whole predicate may be nominalized
- interrogatives - the predicate functions as a single unit in interrogatives (particularly with respect to interrogative marking)
- negation and temporal adverbs - have scope over the whole predicate not just particular verbs within the predicate

According to the above criteria, the Kol verbal sequence is not a complex predicate. The two criteria which are problematic are word order and negation. Kol auxiliary verbs may be separated from the main verb by aspect markers, in the case of the copula auxiliaries, or by adverbs. (45) below is an example of a copula auxiliary separated from the main verb by both an adverb and an aspectual marker.

| nà $=$ | jí | nán | l'é | bwògá | kwàn |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| he | be (att) +H | still $+_{\mathrm{H}}$ | ImpF $+_{\mathrm{H}}$ | harvest (honey $)+\mathrm{H}$ | 9-honey |

'He still collects honey.'

Below is an example where a non-copula auxiliary is separated from the main verb by an adverb.
(46) $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{ǎ}$ kò númó jwák cìe.
he/she-P2 go also,too hear, feel sick
'She got sick too.' (Joy.36)

Additionally, it is also possible to negate only part of the predicate, as shown below where the first copula auxiliary is outside the scope of the negation.
(47) $\mathrm{m}=$ è ndé ké dùló sìgá ké bà nê jwèl mó-nòk. I -P1 be +H Neg+h smoke cigarette Neg be with drink+h 6-wine 'I neither smoked nor drank.' (Illness.15)

If serial verbs and light verbs are subtypes of complex predicates, and Kol verbal sequences do not fit the criteria for complex predicates, then that suggests that the non-main verbs seen in Kol are in fact auxiliary verbs.

Auxiliary verbs do not assign theta roles and function as the heads of inflectional projections, not as the heads of verbal projections.

This would work for Kol since the auxiliary verbs contribute
information to the predicate about the internal structure or mode of the event as described in chapter 4. There are no non-main verbs which impact the
argument structure of the predicate. The argument structure is always defined by the main verb. An intransitive verb remains intransitive even if it is modified by an auxiliary verb as can be seen by the intransitive verb 'die' in the example below.

| mà | mè̀ | lé | cwòngàlà | nâ | mà | méé | ncà | yò. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mà | mé | lè | twว̀ngàl̀̀ | nâ | mà | mé | ncà | yà |
| I | be (chg) | ImpF | think | that | me | be (chg) | come | die |
| I thought that I would die.' |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## 2 Valence and word order

Kol verbs may be intransitive, transitive or ditransitive. In addition, they may contain additional optional clauses, or adjuncts. An example with two intransitive verbs is given below.

| $\mathrm{n}=$ í | jí | ncò | kábò | míjòn | sé | yò. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| j̀=é | jì + | ncò +H | kábò | míjòn | sé | yò |
| he-P1 | be (att) | come | but | brother | Perf | die |

'He was going to come, but his brother had already died.'

In the sections below, various complementation options will be described in 2.1 followed by a discussion of adjunct possibilities in 2.2.

Some intransitive verbs with semantic patients (or undergoers) as their syntactic subject may express the semantic agent by using a prepositional
phrase, as shown below. Note though that this verb ends in /l/ which is one of the reflexes of the frozen applicative extension. This may explain this relatively odd syntactic patterning.

| (50) lá | nè | bwîl | nà | mw-ân. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | glass | this | be.broken | by | 1 -child |

'This glass was broken by the child.'

### 2.1 COMPLEMENTS

Kol transitive verbs can have nominal complements, infinitival complements or sentential complements. Each type of complement will be discussed in its own section below.

### 2.1.1 Nominal Complements

Unmarked nominal complements include prototypical patients as well as locative objects.

### 2.1.1.1 Direct Object

A large number of Kol verbs are transitive, requiring both a subject
noun phrase (or pronoun) and an object noun phrase. The object noun phrases are prototypically fulfilling the semantic role of patient. An example is given below.
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { (51) } & \mathrm{n}=\text { ǎ } & \text { bwògə̀ } & \text { kwàn. } \\ & \text { he/she-P2 } & \text { harvest (honey) } & \text { 9-honey }\end{array}$
'He was harvesting honey.'

### 2.1.1.2 Locative object

Kol also has a few verbs which would in many languages be
intransitive, but in Kol always appear with a locative noun complement. The verb já 'sleep' is one of these verbs. An example is given below. Note that the noun 'hospital' is not marked with the locative prefix lé- or a preposition.

```
m=ǎ já wàlòfírò.
I-P2 sleep hospital
'I slept at the hospital.' (Joy.31)
```

Many other Kol nouns which can occur without an object may also occur with a locative object. Below are two examples.

| nàbé | $\mathrm{m}=$ á | jì | yə̀ | njwàn | dwǎb | d-ว̀n. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| nàbá | m$=$ á | ji | yə̀ | njwăy | dwôb | d-̇̀̀̀nga |
| because | I-P2 | be (att) | die | river | 5-day | 5-DEf |

'...because I was dying on the river that day.'

| (54) | Økwín | jí | dí | dûk. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 引kwín | jì +H | dì +H | dùg |  |
| leopard | be (att) | stay | forest |  |

'The leopard stays in the forest.'

### 2.1.1.3 Two object constructions

When there are two arguments which follow the verb, the animate one occurs immediately after the verb. Frequently, the animate argument is expressed by a personal pronoun, as in (49). This leads to the hypothesis that maybe the parameter to consider is pronoun vs. full noun phrase, but sentences like (50) suggest that indeed the important parameter is animacy. (55) sá jò̀̀ngá á lè sá mò lò-ŋkwùnt
sâ j-oे̀̀ngá á lè sá mà lè- nkwùnt
7-thing 7-Def P2 ImpF do me 5 -fear
'That situation scared me...'. (Illness.20)
(56) si byìn nâ $m$ =ǎ nìgò yà ncì̀mbé àkíbà ná bùbù. sì bìen nô $m=a ́$ nìgò yò ncì̀mbé èkíbà nò bùlú so that I-P2 return give God thanks with a.lot So that I thanked God a lot. (Illness.29)

Bearth (2003) states that: "For three argument verbs, most Bantu languages preferentially place the goal or beneficiary immediately after the verb with the patient following the goal." While this is true in Kol for inherently ditranstive verbs like 'give,' it is possible to add a beneficiary using the lè-fú 'sake of' construction. This argument always occurs second as shown in the examples below.

| $\mathrm{n}=$ ě | sá | jwó | lè- $\int$ ú | d-àn. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| j̀ =é | sá +H | jwò | lè-fú | d-ày |
| he/she-Fur | do | 7OBJ | 5-sake | 5-my |

'He will do it for me.' (lit. 'for my sake')
$\mathrm{n}=$ ě jù míỳ̀y lè-fú mwàné.
j̀=é jù+ H míỳ̀n lè-fú mwàné
he/she-Fut kill brother 5 -sake money
'He will kill his brother for money.'

### 2.1.2 Infinitival Complements

Infinitival complements may consist of only an infinitive verb or of an infinitive along with its own complements. Kol allows infinitival complements to occur in the subject or object position. Kol also allows infinitival adjuncts, which will be discussed in 2.2.5.1.

### 2.1.2.1 Object infinitival complements

As was mentioned above, verbs may take an infinitive verb as a complement. This infinitive may appear with its own complements as in (59) and (60).

| $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{a}$ | kwàmàzà | lê-kò | wú. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| m̀=á | kwàmàzà | lè-kò | wú |
| I-P2 | prepare | InF-go | there |
| 'I got ready to go there.' |  |  |  |


| $\mathrm{n}=$ ě | tér | lé-wàzà | m -ùr. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\grave{\mathrm{j}}=\mathrm{é}$ | tér +H | lè-wàzà | m -ùr |
| he/she-Fut | start | Inv-forget | 1 -man | 'He will start to forget someone.'

### 2.1.2.2 Subject infinitival complements

Infinitive verbs can also be used as subjects, as shown by the following
examples.
(61) é-jî jàlànà yà bé fòk.
lè-jí jàlànà yò bé fòg
INF-ask must give you (pl) 9-wisdom
'Asking must give you wisdom.'
(62) é-l̂̂̃ nâ nà bà ndé mbînt.
lé-lêy nô nə̀ bò ndé mbînt
Inf-tell that he/she be be (loc) boss
'He says that he is the only boss.' (lit. ‘Telling that he is the boss [here].'
(63)
è-fwálá tùk."
lè-fwálá tùg
Inf-waste.time be (neg)
'Don't waste time.' (lit. ‘Time wasting isn't.')

### 2.1.3 Complement clauses

Kol also permits entire clauses to appear as the complement of the
verb.

| $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{a}$ | nûmp | nâ | $\mathrm{m}=$ ě | nìgò | nà | bò |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nú. |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| m$=\mathrm{a}$ | nûmb | nâ | $\grave{\mathrm{m}}=$ é | nìgò | nà | bò-fú |
| I -P2 | know | that | I -Fut | return | with | 2-fish |

'I thought that I would come back with fish.'

| $\mathrm{m}=$ à $=$ búgálá = yé | nâ | mpú | é | nwì | múùz. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| m̀ =á = búgálá $=$ è | nâ | mpú | é | nwì +H | mùùz |
| I-NEG-believe-NEG | that | rain | FUT | fall | today |

'I don't believe that it will rain today.'

### 2.1.3.1 Reported speech

Quotations form a subset of the complement clause genre in that the matrix verb is frequently deleted. Below is an example with the matrix verb included followed by an example where it is deleted.

| $\mathrm{m}=\hat{o}$ | ncà | lêy | ná | m -ùr | á | lè | dúgà | nâ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{o}$ | ncò +H | lêy +H | nò | m -ùr | á | lè | dúg | nâ |
| I -PRES | come | say | with | 1 -man | P 2 | IMPF | paddle | that |

лə̀ = màgé nə̀ bìzá ê-dáy
j̀ = màg nò bìzà lé-dáy
he turn.off with us Loc-reeds
[When we got to the middle of the river,] I said to the man who was rowing that he turn off with us into the reeds, [so that if the canoe starts sinking, it won't sink too far.]

Below is an example of reported speech where the speech verb has been omitted.

```
j\grave{= nə̂ "búy n=ó lé lày bé."}
ǹ= nâ bùn \grave{n}=ó lè +H lày +H bé
he that place he-Pres ImpF pass bathing.place
'He [the fox] said, "He normally passes by here."'
```

The only difference between indirect and direct reported speech is the pronouns. Compare the direct reported speech example below where the quotation includes the pronoun 'you' with the indirect reported speech example given in (66) where the quotation includes the pronoun 'he.'

lê wúl ně è-wàlà jî lày.
lè +H wûl +H nè è-wàlà jì làn
IMPF take.out that 5 -hour be (att) pass
[When the man who rowed wanted to take the hook out of my hair,] I told him that "While you're taking that out, time is passing."

### 2.2 ADJUNCTS

In Kol, as in most languages, it is possible to add further information to the clause by the use of adjuncts (optional elements). These adjuncts may syntactically be nouns, adverbs, prepositional phrases, and clauses of various kinds. They serve to add additional information about the time or location of
the event or the reason for the event. Additionally, they may serve discourse functions.

Syntactically, adjuncts also vary as to whether they may be topicalized, i.e. moved to the beginning of the sentence (its left periphery). For example, prepositional phrases marking location or manner are always found on the right periphery. Some examples are given below.
(69) ná bwéyá 'everywhere' nò bùbù 'a lot, many' ná pé 'totally' ná tìtìti 'regularly' ná yíg 'too much'

However, prepositional phrases marking time may appear either at the beginning or at the end of the sentence.
(70) nò kùgú 'yesterday, lit. with evening' ná cà 'now' In the subsections below, adjuncts have been grouped by their function (time, location, manner, purpose, or discourse).

### 2.2.1 Temporal Adjuncts

Some clauses have additional information included about the time of the event. Kol speakers have a wide range of choices as to the kind of
element used to add this information. They can use temporal nouns, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, or verb phrases, as discussed in the various sections below.

### 2.2.1.1 Temporal nouns

Some time expressions in Kol are single words, specifically nouns.
(71)

| mùùz | 'today' | fùm | 'night' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mán | 'morning' | kùgú | 'evening' |

Evidence for these being nouns may be found in the expression
'tomorrow' émán or émáné, which is literally 'in the morning,' formed by prefixing the locative morpheme to the noun 'morning.'

| é-mán-é | $\mathrm{n}=$ ě | bwògə́ | kwàn. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Loc-morning | he/she-F1 | harvest (honey) + H | 9-honey |
| 'Tomorrow, he will harvest honey.' |  |  |  |

Additionally, they may be modified by other nominal modifiers, as can be seen in the expression 'now' which frequently occurs with the demonstrative $\eta g a ̀$. Below is an example of $c a ̀$ 'now' without the demonstrative and an example of cà with the demonstrative.
(73)

| mə̀ $=$ | jî | jnwà | wó | kàn | lébìsá | bázá | ndé | lé |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| m̀ $=$ | jí | nwàn | wó | kàn | lé- bè-sá | bìzà | ndé | lé |
| I | want | take | you | story | Loc-8-thing | ReLCL-we | be | IMPF |

dêk wók ná càà-ŋgà nə̀ bə̀míjว̀n b- f́z-é.
dêg wôk nò cà- ggà nò bò-míjว̀ b b-íz-è.
see here with now-this with 2 -brother 2 -our-ReLCL
'I will tell you a story on what we see today with our brothers.'
(Serpent.01)
(74)

| é-jî | kǎ | jì | ncwá | nâ | ná | cà |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lê-jí | kà | jì | ncwà | nâ | nò | cà |
| Inf-need | Cons | be (att) | we (dual) | that | with | now |
| 'It's necessary that the two of us...' | $($ Ram. 20$)$ |  |  |  |  |  |

These temporal nouns may be fronted as shown by the example above or may occur postverbally, as illustrated by the example below.
(75) mw-ân á dì dùgá ngùmbá fùm.
mò-ân á dì dùg ngùmbá fùm
1-child P2 stay forest entire night
'The child stayed in the forest all night.'

### 2.2.1.2 Temporal Prepositional Phrases

As was mentioned above, Kol has at least two temporal prepositional
phrases. These may appear both postverbally and at the beginning of the sentence.
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { (76) nò kùgú } & \text { 'yesterday, lit. with evening' } \\ \text { nə́ cà } & \text { 'now' }\end{array}$

### 2.2.1.3 Temporal Relative Clauses

One of the most common strategies in Kol for providing temporal
information is to use a relative clause headed by the noun myà 'time,' as illustrated below.

| myǎ | bízá | ndê | kǎ | nìgé, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| myà + H | bìzà | ndé | kà | nìgว̀-è |
| 3-time-ReLCL | we | be (loc) | Cons | return-ReLCL |
| 'When we were returning,.....' |  |  |  |  |

### 2.2.1.4 Temporal verb phrases

Temporal information can also be given by means of a full clause, as seen by the introductory clause below. Interestingly, this is not an infinitival clause, but is more of a sentence fragment, lacking both a subject and the infinitive prefix.
$\begin{array}{lllllllllll}\text { (78) } & \text { têr } & \text { dwóp } & \text { dò̀̀ngá, } & \mathrm{m}=\text { ǎncé } & \text { ná } & \text { kwò } & \text { lè } & \text { kò } & \text { náyá } & \text { wú. } \\ & \text { tér } & \text { dw-ôp } & \text { d-ò̀̀ngá } & \text { mh=áncé } & \text { nò } & \text { kwó } & \text { lè } & \text { kò } & \text { náy } & \text { wú } \\ & \text { start } & \text { 5-day } & \text { 5-DEF } & \text { I-NEGP1 } & \text { with } & \text { again } & \text { IMPF } & \text { go } & \text { still } & \text { there }\end{array}$ 'Starting that day, I didn't go there anymore.'

### 2.2.2 Locative Adjuncts

As has been mentioned elsewhere, Kol has a large number of locative
nouns which function as complements of some verbs and which also function as the heads of locative relative clauses.

However, Kol also has a locative adverb nwà and a locative
prepositional phrase ná bwéyá 'everywhere.'

| mà $=$ | è | sá | má | bè-dùy | nwà | tú |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| m̀ $=$ | é | sá +H | mà | bè- dùy | nwà | tú |
| I | P1 | do | me | 8 -noises | there | inside |
| 'It made sounds inside of me.' | (Joy.03) |  |  |  |  |  |

$\begin{array}{lllllllll}\text { (80) } & \text { è-jé, } & \text { mùr } & \text { bì-nàm } & \text { mə̀ } & \text { jé } & \text { kwc̀b } & \text { má-cì } & \text { ná } \\ \text { lè-jê } & \text { m-ùrr } & \text { bì-nàm } & \text { mè } & \text { jê } & \text { kwèb } & \text { mə̀-cì } & \text { nò } \\ \text { INF-arrive } & \text { 1-man } & \text { 8-nation } & \text { be (chg) } & \text { arrive } & \text { find } & \text { 6-blood } & \text { with } \\ & & & & & & & \\ \text { bwéyá. } & \text { bwéyá. } & & & & & \\ \begin{array}{l}\text { bwéyá } \\ \text { everywhere }\end{array} & \text { bwéyá } & \text { everywhere } & & & & & \end{array}$
'When the man of the nations arrived, he found blood everywhere.' (In this story, Fox, the narrator, is telling Lion about Man, who he calls the man of the nations.)

### 2.2.2.1 Locative Relative Clauses

The numerous locative nouns in Kol can be the heads of relative clauses which add additional information to a sentence.

| bún | bízá | á | dèsì | né |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bún | H+bìzá | á | dèz | nè-è |
| place | RelCl-we | P2 | drown | that-ReLCL |

### 2.2.3 Manner Adjuncts

As was mentioned in the introduction to this section, manner adjuncts
in the form of prepositional phrases always occur on the right edge of the sentence.

| ná yín | 'too much' | nò bùbù | 'a lot, many' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ná pé | 'totally' | ná tìtìti | 'regularly' |

(83) bwá: lî bè-fàmp ná pé. bwó=á lî bè-fàmb nò pé they-P2 clear 8 -fields with totally 'They totally cleared the fields.'

### 2.2.4 Purpose Adjuncts

In order to express the purpose of an action, Kol speakers can either use the auxiliary 'come,' as described in chapter 4, or they can use the noun lè-fú 'sake.' This noun is also commonly used to express beneficiaries.

### 2.2.4.1 Purpose noun phrases

The noun lè-fú can appear as a postverbal adjunct. It can be modified as in (84) or can appear with its own complement as in (85).

| $\mathrm{j}=$ ě | sá | jwó | lè- $-\int u ́ n$ | d-ày. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| jh=é | sá +H | jwò | lè-fú | d-àn |
| he/she-Fut | do | 7obj | 5-sake | 5-my |

'He will do it for me.' (lit. 'for my sake')

| $\mathrm{n}=$ ě | jù | míỳ̀ | lè-fú | mwàné. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\dot{j}=$ é | jù +H | míẏ̀n | lè-fú | mwàné |
| he/she-Fut | kill | brother | 5-sake | money |

'He will kill his brother for money.'

### 2.2.4.2 Purpose clause

The noun lè-fú can also be used with the subordinate conjunction nô to
form purpose clauses. This construction is generally translated as 'so that.'

An example is given below.

| nə̀ $=$ | màgé | nò | bìzá | ê-dáy | é-fú | nô | Đgé | byól |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ǹ $=$ | màgè | nò | bìzà | lé-dáy | è-fù | nâ | ngé | byâl |
| he | turn.off | with | us | Loc-reeds | 5-sake | that | if | 7-canoe |


| é | kò | lémàdíbá | $\mathrm{y}=$ é | kò | fúk | Đgúmbà | bún. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| é | kò | lé-mò-díbó | $\mathrm{y}=$ é | kò | fúg | Đgúmbà | bùg |
| Fut | go | Loc-6-water | 7sub-FUT | go | stop | certain | place |

'He turned off with us into the reeds so that if the canoe sank, it would stop at a certain point.'

### 2.2.5 Discourse Adjunct

In the course of telling a story or exhorting an audience, speakers can also use adjunct words or clauses in order to highlight information or make the story flow better.

### 2.2.5.1 Discourse linking

Infinitive clauses are also common at the beginning of sentences. In this position, they are functioning as the 'head' of a tail-to-head linkage, a common discourse strategy where the beginning of a sentence repeats the information given at the end of the last sentence. For example, a speaker could say something along the lines of "John went to the store. Having gone to the store, he bought some bread."

In Kol, such tail-to-head linkage markers mark a boundary in the discourse and begin a new paragraph. Sometimes they repeat exactly what just occurred in the previous clause, as in (87), but much of the time they are a paraphrase as in (88).

| (87) | è-jé, | mùr | bìnàm | mà | jé | kwèb | má-cì | ná |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lè-jê | m-ùr | bì-nàm | mé | jê | kwèb | mò cì | nâ |  |
|  | INF-arrive | 1-man | 8-nation | be(chg) | arrive | find | 6-blood | with |

bwéyá bwéyá.
bwéyá bwéyá
everywhere everywhere
'When he arrived, he found blood everywhere.'

| ê-ncə̀ | kèl | nə̀ | bìy-̇̀̀̀ggá | $\mathrm{m}=$ á | têr | nwà = é |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1ê-ncò | kèl | nò | bè-̇̇̀̀ngá | $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{m}$ = $=$ á | tér | nwà̀ = è |
| Inf-come | beside | with | 8-DEf | RelCl-I-P2 | first | take-RelCl |

'Added to what I first took....' (Perils.34)

## 3 The Verb vs. the Verb Phrase

Crosslinguistically, the verb frequently forms a constituent with its direct or primary object. Those languages which provide surface exceptions are usually head-marking languages which permit freer word order among the head's complements or modifiers.

The tonal tense concord found in Kol is interesting because its scope is only the verbal sequence and not the verb plus its direct object. This suggests that maybe the verb phrase is not a constituent in Kol. Yet, the discourselinking adjuncts discussed above are examples of the verb forming a consitutent with its complement in that an infinitive along with its complements may appear in the head portion of tail-head linkage marking.

One solution to this problem is to posit two constituents, one which
would include the elements of the verbal sequence and another which would include the elements of the verbal sequence and its arguments.

### 3.1 TENSE CONCORD REVISITED

As has been previously mentioned, in all the tenses but the far past, a
grammatical H tone is suffixed to every word within the verbal sequence.

However, this tone is not added after the direct object. This is illustrated by the example below where there is no H gone seen after 'brother.'

$$
\begin{equation*}
 \tag{89}
\end{equation*}
$$

Since the Kol verbal sequence is made up of independent words and clitics, it would be reasonable to suggest that the scope of the tense tonal concord could be the verb phrase (VP) or inflectional phrase (IP). However, both of these syntactic constituents would not only include the preverbal elements and the main verb, but they would also include the direct object. A tree is given below of the following sentence. This sentence is in the far past
(P2) and does not therefore have tonal concord, but it demonstrates a possible structure of the VP and TP in Kol, illustrating the problem.
(90)

| m-ûr | á | bò | lè | jí | wúl | mà | kwînt | lélú |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| m-ûr | á | bà | lè | jí | wûl | mà | kwíndè | lé-lú |
| 1-man | P2 | be | IMPF | want | remove | me | hook | in-head | 'The man wanted to take the hook out of my hair.'



However, not all syntactic theories include a VP (or TP) constituent.

One in fact, argues explicitly against such a constituent. Instead, Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997) offers a layered clause structure, where a clause consists of three elements: the nucleus, the core and the periphery. The nucleus includes only the predicating element, the core includes the predicate and its arguments (subject, object, etc.), and adjuncts are found in the periphery.

Clause


Since the tense tonal concord has scope over only the verbal sequence and not over any of a verb's arguments (subject or objects), then the tonal concord may be characterized as a H tone which is suffixed to every element of the nucleus as shown below.


While positing a layered clause structure appears to solve the question of what exactly the scope of the tense tonal concord is, it also raises some other questions. The hypothesis above puts all verbal elements but the initial tense vowel inside the nucleus. Van Valin and LaPolla suggest that certain operators of a clause have scope over different elements of the layered clause structure which may not be compatible with the amount put into the nucleus above. This will be examined in the section below.

### 3.2 OPERATORS

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:40ff) describe a class of morphemes
which they call operators which modify the clause. They state that a crucial fact about operators, which include tense, aspect, mode, directional and evidential markers among others, is that different operators modify different parts of the layered clause structure (1997:45).

In a horizontal table below is given the crosslinguistic predictions about operator scope (originally given as a vertical projection).

|  | Nucleus | Core | Clause |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Operators | Aspect | Directionals | Status, negation |
|  | Negation | Modality (root) | Tense |
|  | Directionals | Negation | Evidentials |
|  |  |  | Illocutionary |
|  |  |  | force |

Table 5.2 Scope of Operators

Compare these predictions above with the verbal template given at the beginning of this chapter below. Here a row has been added at the top which shows which portions of the verbal sequence are predicted to be within the
nucleus according to the tense tonal concord patternings described in the section above.

| Nucleus |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Tense | Tense 2 | Cop Aux | Asp/ | Mode | Aux | Verb |
| é F1 | bwó F2 | bà 'be' |  | IMPF | kò 'go' |  |
| ó Pres | lwándə̀bò 'just' | ndé 'be (loc)' |  | Perf | ncò 'come' |  |
| é $\quad P 1$ |  | jì 'be (att)' | mbá | Cond | nìgò 'return' |  |
| á $\quad P 2$ |  | mé 'be (chg)' |  |  |  |  |

Table 5.4 Ordering of Kol Verbal Constituents

The aspect markers and the phasal auxiliaries offer no complications.
The phasal (non-copula) auxiliaries have for the most part a directional component ('go, leave,' 'come' or 'go back'). Directionals and aspect markers are predicted to have scope over the nucleus and indeed these appear closest to the verb in the template above.

For the opposite reason, the initial tense slot also fits in with Van Valin and LaPolla's predictions. It is predicted to be clausal, i.e. outside of the nucleus, and that could work with what we know about the tense tonal
concord thus far. The tense vowels in the Tense 1 slot are not necessarily the source of the tense tonal concord, and since they are all marked with an underlying H tone anyway, they do not need to be within the nucleus to explain variations in tonal behavior.

However, the morphemes found in the Tense 2 slot, some modal morphemes in Kol, and certain aspects of negation could be problematic. These will each be discussed below, beginning with the Tense 2 morphemes.

The morphemes bwó 'distant future (F2)' and lwándàbà 'immediate relative past, or just' are a challenge because Van Valin and LaPolla predict that all tense morphemes function on the clausal level, but at least lwándàbà needs to be within the scope of the tense tonal concord to explain its varying tonal behavior in the far past and present tense constructions.

| $\mathrm{n}=$ ó | lwándábə́ | bwògə́ | kwàn. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 文=ó | lwándábà + H | bwòg+ | kwàn |
| he/she-Pres | just | harvest | 9-honey |
| 'He just harvested honey.' |  |  |  |


| ná | tùgá | bíz=áa | lwándàbà | bà | lê-ncòy | nə̀ | ncàá | ngà? |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nâ | tùg | bìz=á | lwándàbà | bà | lé-ncว̀y | nà | ncà | ygà |
| and | be (neg) | we-P2 | just | be | Loc-dance | with | now | this |
| 'Weren't we just as the party now?' | (Perils.77) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

I do not have any solutions to offer to the above conundrum. This will have to be a topic for further research. It is however important to note that these tense morphemes are at the far edge of the verbal template and are relatively new innovations, since they do not have direct correlates (particularly lwándə̀b̀̀) in the closely related neighboring languages. This "edge" confusion may be a result of an incomplete grammaticalization.

Modal morphemes in Kol are all problematic for different issues. Mode can be marked in Kol by auxiliaries, an enclitic or preverbal non-auxiliary words. The modal auxiliaries occur in the non-copula auxiliary slot which puts them firmly within the nucleus according to the tense concord hypothesis above while Van Valin and LaPolla theorize that modality is a core operator. One possible solution to this issue would be to suggest that the modal plus main verb constructions are examples of serial verb constructions. This has some complications of its own and will be discussed in section 3.3 below.

Mode can also be marked by the subjunctive clitic or by modal words like fă 'subjunctive' and mbá 'conditional.' The subjunctive clitic also appears
to occur within the nucleus but this may be an accident of its requirement to be in second position as described above. The modal words fă and mbá offer a potentially more serious complication. In all of my examples of the modal word hà, it occurs at the beginning of the verbal sequence. It is after any tense vowel, which is theorized to be at the clausal level, so the subjunctive morpheme could be at the clause level, with the nucleus starting with the main verb in (94) and the consecutive marker in (95). This would however require positing the underlying tone of the subjunctive morpheme as a rising (LH) contour which is relatively rare in Kol as a lexical tone It would be more common to have the combination of a L lexical tone and a H tense concord tone as would be the case if the subjunctive marker had an underlying $L$ tone and was inside the nucleus and therefore marked with the H tone tense concord, as could happen in (94). However, since this is a relatively minor consideration, I will suggest that the subjunctive marker does have a LH tone and can therefore be theorized to be a the clause level and not at the nucleus level (within the scope of the tonal concord).
(94) bw =ó hǎ kwìr bá-„ว̀ว̀ngá bóp.
bwó-ó fǎ kwìr +H bò-jı̀̀̀̀ngə̂ b-ób
they-Pres should help 2-mother their
'They should help their mothers.' (Sour.20)
(95) "hă kà wú."
fã kà wú
should CONS exit
'Come out then." (Serpent.34)

This leaves mbá, the conditional marker. This was originally placed within the same position in the template as the aspect markers because it never co-occurs with the aspect markers and it is always directly in front of the phasal auxiliary verb. However, it is also true that it is never preceded by anything but the tense vowels. Therefore, this is not actually a problem for either of the hypotheses above. Since mbá is underlyingly H, there is no direct evidence that it falls within the scope of the tense tonal concord.
(96) myá m=ô twóngálá nâ ggé $m=a ̆ ~ m b a ́ ~$

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

time-ReLCl I-Pres think that if I-P2 CoND
kò yà lémàdíbé
kò yà lé-mò-díbJ-è
go die in-6-water-ReLCL
'When I think that I could have died in the water...'

| á | mbá | bà | nò | wúndè | $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{mbá}$ | dì̀p | wúndè | fyál |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| á | mbá | bà | nò | wúndè | $\mathrm{m}=$ á | mbá | dìb | wúndè | fyál |
| P2 | CoND | be | with | window | $\mathrm{I}-\mathrm{P} 2$ | ConD | open | window | exit |


| tón | fúnd̀̀. |
| :--- | :--- |
| tón | fúndò. |
| outside | flee |

'If there had been a window, I would have gone out it and fled.'

Finally, there is the question of negation. Negation can appear at any level of the layered clause construction, according to Table 5.2 above, depending on its scope. Of the differing negation strategies in Kol, the negative morpheme ké is not problematic because it has limited scope and will fit into the same layer as whatever follows it. However, the sentential negation marked by the negative circumclitic could be an issue for this particular theory. The negative circumclitic definitely has scope over the whole clause and is therefore expected to function on the clause level. However, it is a clitic which is hosted by elements which have been hypothesized to fall within the nucleus.

The solution here may be to fall back on the nature of clitic positioning which frequently has more to do with prosodic concerns than syntax. The
negative circumclitic occurs in second position and any tense concord which appears on the enclitic portion could be theorized to be due to the nucleus position of the host.

Below is a revised table based on the Kol data described above.

|  | Nucleus | Core | Clause |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Operators | Aspect | hă subjunctive | á=.. = è negative |
|  | ké negative marker | mbá conditional | Tense |
|  | Phasal auxiliaries | $=g$ subjunctive |  |

Table 5.5 Scope of Kol Operators

As was mentioned above, this leaves the question of the morphemes found in the Tense 2 slot as a subject for further research.

### 3.3 SERIAL VERBS

Role and Reference grammar predicts that predicates can be coordinate, subordinate or co-subordinate at any level of the layered structure, i.e. the nucleus, core or clause. Serial verbs are co-subordinate constructions, but they can presumably be co-subordinate at the nucleus or core level.

If ké is a nuclear operator as hypothesized above, then the copula + main verb construction cannot be an example of nuclear serialization since it is possible to negate the main verb while leaving the copula in the affirmative as shown below. If ndé is an auxiliary providing aspect information, then all three elements, ndé, ké, and the main verb are all at the level of the nucleus and offer no challenges to the theory.
$\begin{array}{lllllllllll}\text { (98) } & \mathrm{m}=\text { è } & \text { ndé } & \text { ké } & \text { dùló } & \text { sìgá } & \text { ké } & \text { bò } & \text { nê } & \text { jwèl } & \text { mánòk. } \\ & \text { I -P1 } & \text { be }+\mathrm{H} & \text { NEG }+\mathrm{H} & \text { smoke } & \text { cigarette } & \text { NEG } & \text { be } & \text { with } & \text { drink + } \mathrm{H} & \text { 6-wine }\end{array}$ 'I neither smoked nor drank.' (Illness.15)

However, this same example, is an example of core serialization, since in the example above, each main verb introduces its own complement while also sharing an argument, i.e. the subject. Another example is given below. Here the conditional, theorized to be operating at the core level in Kol, has scope over all three predicates, 'open,' 'exit,' and 'flee.'

| (99) á | mbá | bà | nò | wúndè | $\mathrm{m}=$ à | $\mathrm{mbá}$ | dì̀p | wúndè | fyál |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | á | $\mathrm{mbá}$ | bà | nò | wúndè | $\mathrm{m}=$ á | mbá | dìb | wúndè | fyá |
|  | P 2 | ConD | be | with | window | $\mathrm{I}-\mathrm{P} 2$ | COND | open | window | exit |

tón fúndò.
tón fúndò.
outside flee
'If there had been a window, I would have gone out it and fled.'

This still leaves the question of modal + verb constructions. These were an issue in the section above because mode is theoretically at least a core level operator and yet the modals are within the scope of tense tonal concord which is a reflex of the nucleus.

| (100) | bìz $=$ ó | jàlànə̀ | númp | jígə̀lò | bw-ân. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | bíz $=$ ó | jàlànà + H | nûmb + H | jîqł̀l̀̀+H | bò-àn |
|  | we-Pres | must | know | teach | 2-child |
|  | 'We mu | teach the | children | ell.' |  |

The modal + verb constructions do not pattern in the same way as the core serialization examples in (98) and (99). The modal auxiliaries do not occur with their own separate consitutents and indeed none of the examples in my corpus show any word intruding between the modal verb and the main verb. (This cannot be said for the phasal auxiliaries.) This is what we would expect from nuclear serialization, which would fit in with the tense concord facts, but leaves unexplained the prediction that modality is a core-level operator. This too will have to be a question for further research.

## 6 Situating Kol within the A. 80 language family

The internal cohesion of Guthrie's (1953) A. 80 group and its
relationship to other Bantu Azone languages has been called into question almost from the beginning. The Linguistic Survey of the Northern Bantu Borderland described this group as being 'a most loosely knit and unbalanced conglomeration of languages.' (1956:33)

The Maka-Njem (A.80) language family is located at the intersection of three countries. A. 80 languages are found in southeastern Cameroon, in the southwestern tip of the Central African Republic and in northern Congo.


Map 6.1 A. 80 languages
Sociolinguistic surveys seem to indicate that there are three language clusters within A.80: the Coastal A. 80 languages (Gyele, Kwasio, Ngumba -
A.801-A.81), the Makaa/Kol/Konzime chain (A.83-84), and the eastern A. 80 languages (Mpongmpong, Mpyemo, Bekwel - A.85-A.86).

The Gyele-Ngumba-Kwasio cluster is near the southwestern coast of Cameroon and is separated from the other A. 80 languages by the A. 70 language family. Byep, Makaa, Kol and the subvarieties of Konzime form a second cluster. Finally, a third cluster can be found in eastern Cameroon, north Congo, and southwestern CAR, made up of Mpyemo, Mpongmpong and Bekwel.

1. Bekwel
2. Bomwali
3. Byep
4. Gyele
5. Kol
6. Konzime, Badwe'e
7. Makaa
8. Mpiemo
9. Mpong-mpong
10. Ngumba, Kwasio
11. So
12. Ukhwejo


Map 6.2 Members of the A. 80 Language Family

The authors of the Linguistic Atlas of Cameroon (ALCAM - Dieu and

Renard 1983) suggested that this third cluster was actually one language, which they called "mpo." They identified the following speech varieties as
being dialects of "mpo": Mpyemo, Mpompo, Medjime, Bangantou, Konabembe, Boman and Bekwel. The Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) identifies Medjime, Bangantou, Konabembe and Boman as all being dialects of Mpongmpong.

It is not clear to which cluster the So, Bomwali and Ukhwejo languages belong, though geographic proximity would suggest that So could be included in the Byep-Makaa-Kol-Konzime cluster, while Ukhwejo and Bomwali could be included with the Mpyemo-Bekwel-Mpongmpong cluster.

There are roughly 300,000 speakers of A. 80 languages (Gordon 2005).

The languages of the central cluster (the focus of this chapter) have the most speakers, with approximately 140,000 people speaking languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime chain. The eastern cluster is the next largest (with approximately 86,000 speakers), followed by the coastal cluster (with approximately 21,000 speakers).

The people of the central cluster are primarily farmers. They live in a region which is crisscrossed with rivers and streams, so waterways remain a common form of transportation. They also fish and hunt.

This chapter will examine some of the similarities and differences
between several of the languages of the middle cluster: Makaa, Kol, and the Konzime varieties (Nzime, Badwe'e and Njem). Makaa and the Konzime varieties have been the subject of more research than any of the other A. 80 languages thus far (by Dan and Teresa Heath for Makaa and by Keith and Mary Beavon for the Konzime varieties). The data given for Kol is taken from my own research.

## 1 Sociolinguistic Situation

The sociolinguistic situation of the A. 80 languages is complicated by the proliferation of dialects within languages. Just looking at the second cluster, the focus of this paper, it is important to note that Kol, Makaa and Konzime each have at least four dialects.

Language development projects for Kol and Makaa have each decided to focus their efforts on one dialect. For Makaa, this dialect is Mbwaanz. Mbwaanz was chosen because it is spoken by the largest number of Makaa speakers (almost half the total population), it is understood by speakers of all the other dialects, and it is geographically central (Heath and Heath 1982:1).

With respect to Kol, the dialect chosen for development is also the
central dialect, labeled with the number 3 on the map below. Kol informants reported that speakers of the central dialect spoke "good" Kol that was easy to understand and avoided mixing with Makaa or Badwe'e. For the Konzime varieties, Nzime and Badwe'e have both been developed (that is to say they each have an official alphabet, literacy classes, and literature - including New Testaments), and plans are underway to develop Njyem.


Map 6.3 The central A. 80 languages

A series of surveys in eastern Cameroon were undertaken in 1988 and 1989 by SIL. Surveyors collected Swadesh 100 word-lists and looked at the percentage of similar lexical items between particular members of the A. 80 language family. In the following table, the levels of lexical similarity between certain languages are given. This table summarizes the results given in several different survey reports. Surveyors compared the central cluster languages Makaa, Kol and Byep with each other, while Mpyemo was compared to the neighboring languages of Nzime and Mpongmpong (Johnson 1989, Etter 1988, Beavon and Johnson 1989).

|  | Makaa | Kol | Nzime | Mpongmpong |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Kol | $86 \%$ |  |  |  |
| Byep | $76 \%$ | $73.5 \%$ |  |  |
| Mpyemo |  |  | $73.5 \%$ | $77.5 \%$ |

Table 6.1 Levels of lexical similarity

In addition, during the course of the sociolinguistic surveys, texts were recorded and played for speakers of neighboring languages to try to determine the levels of mutual intelligibility. (This is known as recorded text testing, or RTT. Methodology for such testing is described in Casad 1974.)

The chart below summarizes the RTT results. The number in angled brackets is the standard deviation. All of the standard deviation numbers given are relatively high, suggesting that some subjects performed better on the test due to exposure to the tested language.

Again, some cells in the table are blank because surveyors compared the central cluster languages Makaa, Kol and Byep with each other, while Mpyemo was compared to the neighboring languages of Nzime and Mpongmpong (Johnson 1989, Etter 1988, Beavon and Johnson 1989).

|  | Makaa | Badwe'e | Kol | Nzime | Mpongmpong |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Kol | $87 \%$ <br> $<15>$ | $82 \%$ <br> $<14>$ |  |  |  |
| Byep | $51 \%$ |  | $38.5 \%$ |  |  |
| Mpyemo |  |  |  | $22.1 \%$ <br> $<25>$ | $86.8 \%<21>$ |

Table 6.2 Summary of RTT results

While the levels of lexical similarity seem to be relatively high for all of the examined languages, the RTT results show a much broader variation in comprehension levels. The most interesting numbers are those for Mpyemo.

While the levels of lexical similarity are only slightly higher between Mpyemo
and Mpongmpong than between Mpyemo and Nzime, the RTT results show more variation. Speakers of Mpyemo understood much more of the Mpongmpong story than they did of the Nzime story.

It is important to note though that lexicostatistics and recorded text testing can only give indications as to what the levels of mutual intelligibility and bilingualism might be. They are not a substitute for in-depth comparative linguistic research.

Interviews with speakers of the central cluster languages suggest that these languages, at least, could be considered to form a dialect chain. Kol speakers report that their language is closest to Makaa (specifically the Bəbend dialect which borders them to the north) and Badwe'e, one of the Konzime/Njem subvarieties, which borders them to the south and east. Makaa speakers agree that Kol is understood by Bəbend speakers and also report that speakers of a northern Makaa dialect, Besəp, can understand Byep, the language bordering them to the north (Heath 2003a:335).

## 2 Phonology

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime chain are very similar in their syllable inventories but differ with respect to their phonemic inventories (sections 2.2 and 2.3 below). With respect to tone, while these languages are similar in their inventories, they differ with respect to the ways in which tones interact. See section 2.4 for a comparison of the tone rules present in these languages.

The data in this section is a summary of the information found in Makaa (A.83) (Heath 2003a), A Phonology of the Məkaá Language (Heath and Heath 1982), A Phonology of Konzime (Beavon 1983a), and A Phonology of Njyem (Beavon 2005). The latter also includes a fair amount of information on Badwe'e. Further information on Badwe'e has been gleaned from Kээzime Verbal System (Beavon 1991). The information on Kol is taken from my own fieldwork, as well as from the research of Fokou Tamafo (2004a).

### 2.1 SYLLABLE SHAPES

The Makaa, Kol and Konzime languages have similar syllable
inventories. They all allow V, CV and CVC syllables (Heath 2003a, Beavon

1983a, Beavon 2005). In addition, these languages all have a high percentage of monosyllabic words. This is primarily a result of two different phenomena. On the one hand, preverbal elements are independent words or clitics and not a series of prefixes. This will be described below in section 4.1.

Additionally, languages of this group have consistently lost the final vowels of stems. For nouns, this final vowel was part of the root, while for verbs, the final vowel was an inflectional morpheme indicating tense and aspect information. The loss of this final vowel has resulted in many monosyllablic reflexes of historically disyllabic stems. It has also meant that closed syllables are common, while for many Bantu languages they are rare. In the chart below, the ProtoBantu verbal roots are generally considered to be bound, appearing with a required final vowel. The A. 80 words given do not require any suffixes. For more information on diachronic changes in Kol, see chapter 7.

|  |  |  | Konzime |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Gloss | *PB | Makaa | Kol | Nzime | Badwe'e | Njyem |
| 'five' | *táanว | tòon | tón | tên | tân | tên |
| 'chase' | *beng | wíng | wîng | e-p̂̂m |  |  |
| 'winnow' | *pépct | fyàf | fyàb | e-pyèb |  |  |

Table 6.3 Some cognates in ProtoBantu, Makaa, Kol and Konzime

### 2.2 VOWEL INVENTORIES

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime chain share the vowels
shown in the table below. Languages vary slightly in the phonemic status of this subset (with respect to $\{0,0\}$ ), and none of the languages have only this subset. Vowel length is phonemic for all of the languages in this cluster.

| i |  | $u$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| e | $\partial$ | 0 |
| $\varepsilon$ | a | $\supset$ |

Table 6.4 Common Vowel Phonemes

The Kol language has the smallest vowel inventory. It adds a high central vowel [i] to its vowel inventory. It remains unclear though whether [i] is only an allophone of [e] or whether it is a phoneme in its own right. [ə]
is used as the epenthetic vowel wherever two consonants would meet across morpheme boundaries.

| $i$ | $\dot{\mathbf{i}}$ | $\mathbf{u}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| e | $\partial$ | $\mathbf{o}$ |
| $\varepsilon$ | a | $\supset$ |

Table 6.5 Kol Vowel Inventory
Makaa also adds a high central vowel to its phonemic inventory.

However, it is a rounded one, i.e. [ $\mathfrak{z}$ ]. This is the epenthetic vowel in Makaa.

While Makaa has phonetically a difference between [o] and [ D ], these two vowels are in free variation for at least the reference dialect. Makaa also has a front high lax vowel [ I ], though it lacks a back lax vowel. Additionally, Makaa is unique in that it has a phonemic contrast in the high-mid vowels between nasal and oral vowels, that is between [e] and [ẽ] and between [o] and [õ] (Heath 2005).

| i |  | $\mathfrak{u}$ | u |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| I |  |  |  |
| e | $\tilde{\mathrm{e}}$ | $\partial$ | $0 / \partial \quad \tilde{o}$ |
| $\varepsilon$ |  | a |  |

Table 6.6 Makaa Vowel Inventory

The Konzime/Njem subvarieties are unique in that they all have front rounded vowels, but they vary as to which vowels they have. Nzime has the most, with three front rounded vowels. Badwe'e has two, and Njyem has one.

The Nzime dialect has the most vowels of any of the languages of this chain, with 12 vocalic phonemes. It has high lax vowels ([I] and [u]), as well as the three rounded vowels mentioned above. The schwa is used as the epenthetic vowel, but it is not considered to be a phoneme. However, unlike Makaa and Kol, it does not have a high central vowel. Nor is nasalization phonemic. Nzime requires that its stems be harmonic with respect to their vowels. Stems may either have all [+back] vowels or all [-back] vowels. The low central vowel [a] is neutral and may occur with either [+back] vowels or [-back] vowels (Beavon 1983a).

| i | y |  | u |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I | y |  | U |
| e | $\emptyset$ | $(\partial)$ | 0 |
| $\varepsilon$ |  | a | $\partial$ |

Table 6.7 Nzime Vowel Inventory

Badwe'e also has 12 vocalic phonemes. Its vocalic inventory is almost identical to Nzime's, but its third front rounded vowel is a lower-mid rounded vowel instead of a higher-mid rounded vowel.

| i | y |  | $u$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I | Y |  | $U$ |
| e |  |  | 0 |
| $\varepsilon$ | $œ$ | $a$ | $\partial$ |

Table 6.8 Badwe'e Vowel Inventory

In contrast, Njyem has high lax vowels but no high central vowel. It only has one front rounded phoneme. There are other front rounded allophones, but they can all be analyzed as the combination of the unrounded front vocalic phoneme plus [w], while [ø] contrasts with a sequence of [w] plus [e]. (Beavon 2005:6)

| $i$ |  |  | $u$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I |  |  | $U$ |
| e | $\emptyset$ | $(\partial)$ | 0 |
| $\varepsilon$ |  | $a$ | $\partial$ |

Table 6.9 Njyem Vowel Inventory

### 2.3 CONSONANT InvENTORIES

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime cluster also differ in the consonantal inventory. They all share the consonants shown in the chart below.

|  | labial | alveolar | palatal | velar | labio-velar |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| stops |  | t | c | k | kp |
|  | b | d | j | g |  |
| nasals | m | n | n |  |  |
| fricatives |  | s |  |  |  |
| lateral | z |  |  |  |  |
| semi-vowels | w |  | 1 |  |  |

Table 6.10 Common set of Consonants

Researchers working in this cluster continue to debate as to whether a nasal followed by an oral consonant at the same point of articulation are one unit or two. Heath and Heath (1982) have decided that Makaa has prenasalized stops (nasal + consonant $=$ one unit) while Beavon (1983a) has decided that Konzime has homorganic nasal consonant clusters.

Additionally, researchers debate as to the status of glides (or semi-
vowels). Beavon (1983a) and Henson (chapter 2 this volume) have argued
that glides are underlyingly vowels, while Heath and Heath (1982) argue that the glides are underlyingly consonants. The Heaths point out for Makaa that the glides do not contribute any tonal information and that analyzing them as vowels would result in an extra-long nucleus of 3 moras in some cases.

The languages of the central cluster also all share a weakening process. In Makaa, Kol and Nzime, voiced consonants become voiceless at the end of a word. It is also common for $/ \mathrm{d} /$ to be weakened to $[\mathrm{r}]$ at the end of a word. In Nzime, this weakening process for /d/ may also occur intervocalically, and is paralleled for $/ \mathrm{s} /$ and $/ \mathrm{k} /$, with $/ \mathrm{s} /$ weakening to $[\mathrm{h}]$ and $/ \mathrm{k} /$ to [?]. (Beavon 1983a)

Below are a series of charts showing the phonetic inventories for languages of this middle cluster. As was the case for vowels, the status of particular consonants may differ from language to language. This will be noted where pertinent.

In general, it is interesting to note that languages in this cluster vary widely in their fricative subset. Makaa has the most with seven, followed by Kol with six, and Badwe'e with three, possibly four.

Glottal consonants are also analyzed quite differently (on a phonological level) from language to language. Almost all of the languages in the central cluster (Konzime is the only exception) have a $/ \mathrm{h} /$, but in Makaa and Kol, this sound has been listed in the velar column since there is no separate velar fricative, nor are there other glottal consonants. Badwe'e is the only language of the cluster to have the glottal stop as a separate phoneme, though Njyem has the glottal stop as an allophone of $/ \mathrm{k} /$.

The first chart, given below, shows the consonant inventory of Makaa.

|  | labial | alveolar | palatal | velar | labio-velar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| stops |  | t | c | k | kp |
|  | b | d | j | g |  |
| prenasalized | mp | nt | nc | ñk |  |
| stops | mb | nd | nj | ñg |  |
| nasals | m | n | ny | $\tilde{\mathrm{n}}$ |  |
| fricatives | f | S | sh [J] | h |  |
|  | v | z | zh [3] |  |  |
| lateral |  | 1 |  |  |  |
| semi-vowels | w | y |  |  |  |

Table 6.11 Makaa Consonant Inventory

The consonant inventory of Kol is given below. The consonants /p/ and /v/ in Kol have a questionable phonemic status. As independent consonants (i.e. not preceded by a nasal) they are only found in borrowings and ideophones. This has been one of the pieces of evidence used to suggest that $/ \mathrm{mp}$ / is a single phonemic unit, since there is minimal evidence for $/ \mathrm{p}$ / as a phoneme on its own.

|  | labial | alveolar | palatal | velar | labio-velar |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| stops | (p) | t | c | k | kp |
|  | b | d | j | g |  |
| prenasalized <br> stops | mp | nt | nc | nk | nkp |
| nasals | mb | nd | nj | ng | ggb |
| fricatives | m | n | n | y |  |
| lateral | s | f |  |  |  |
| semi-vowels | w | r | y |  |  |

Table 6.12 Kol Consonant Inventory

Beavon (1991:67) notes that the epenthetic consonant in Badwe'e is /w/. Additionally, /r/ may be an allophone of /d/ and not a separate
phoneme. As was noted for Kol, /v/ appears to be of questionable phonemic status in Badwe'e.

|  | labial | alveolar | palatal | velar | labio-velar | glottal |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| stops | p | t | c | k | kp | ' |
|  | b | d | j | g | gb |  |
| prenasal. <br> stops |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| nasals | m | n |  | 1 | nm |  |
| fricatives | f <br> (v) | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{s} \\ & \mathrm{z} \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  | h |
| lateral |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |
| approx. |  | r | y |  | w |  |

Table 6.13 Badwe'e Consonant Inventory

In contrast to Badwe'e, Beavon (1991:67) notes that the epenthetic consonant is /b/ in Nzime. Also, he suggests that [ n ] and [ n ] may be allophones of a single phoneme. As was noted for Badwe'e above, $/ \mathrm{r} /$ may be an allophone of /d/ and not a separate phoneme.

|  | labial | alveolar | palatal | velar | labio-velar |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| stops | p | t | c | k | kp |
| b | d | j | g | gb |  |
| prenasalized <br> stops |  |  |  |  |  |
| nasals | m | n | n | y | ym |
| fricatives |  | s |  |  |  |
| lateral |  | z |  |  |  |
| approx |  | l |  |  |  |

Table 6.14 Nzime Consonant Inventory
Below is the consonant inventory for Njyem. Beavon (2005:12-15)
notes that /d/becomes [r] at the end of a word, thus [r] is considered to be allophonic and not a separate phoneme. /ts/ and /dz/ become palatalized (becoming the alveo-palatal fricatives) before a high vowel or the palatal glide, as does $/ \mathrm{s} / . / \mathrm{k} /$ becomes the glottal stop word-medially and wordfinally. /w/ becomes [y] or [y] by fusing with [i] or [I]. If there is no fusion, before front vowels, it becomes a labio-palatal glide.

|  | labial | alveolar | palatal | velar | glottal | labio-velar |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| stops | p | t | $\mathrm{c}=\mathrm{ts}$ | k |  | kp <br> gb |
| prenasalized <br> stops |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| nasals | m | n | f | dz | g |  |
| fricatives | f | s |  |  | h |  |
| lateral |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| approx | w |  | j |  |  |  |

Table 6.15 Njyem Consonant Inventory

### 2.4 TONOLOGY

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime language chain all have underlyingly two tone systems, with high (H) and low (L) tones. These languages have both lexical and grammatical tones. These tones may be underlyingly associated with a tone bearing unit, or alternatively, be left unassociated, or floating.

Floating low tones are found in at least two different grammatical contexts. They have most likely arisen due to the loss of vowels. Floating low tones may mark noun class membership, as they do in Makaa. Noun class
prefixes for classes 3 and 7 in Makaa are both marked by a floating low tone, where historically these are reconstructed as segmental prefixes, *mu- for class 3 and *ki- for class 7. Beavon (1991) notes that for Badwe'e, the floating L tones marking noun classes may remain unassociated. (See Table 6.18 in section 3 below for examples of noun class prefixes.)

Finally, a floating L tone may mark tense, as it does in Makaa, Nzime and Badwe'e where the recent past tense marker is a floating low tone (plus a segmental marker in Makaa).

Floating H tones are also found in at least two additional grammatical contexts. For certain noun classes, concord in an associative phrase is marked by a floating H tone. For both Makaa and Kol, classes 3 and 7 mark their concord with a floating H. This can be seen by the change in the tone of the noun class prefix of the second member of the associative phrase. Below are examples from Kol.

| (a) | ncùg | módíbś |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | ncùg | H-mò-díbś |
|  | 7-elephant | 7Assoc-6-water |
|  | 'hippopotamus' |  |

(b) mbì mélòp
mbì H-mè-lòb
3-sort, type 3Assoc-4-problem 'sort of problems'

Tenses may also be marked by a floating H tone. A floating H functions as the present tense marker in Makaa, Nzime and Badwe'e. In addition to post-subject tense markers, in Makaa and Kol all tenses but the distant past are marked with a tonal contour. For both of these languages, this tonal contour includes a floating $H$ tone suffix after each word in the verbal sequence.

Below is a chart illustrating which Makaa tenses have this H tone suffix (named the Macrostem H, or MacH, in Heath and Heath 1995).

| Tense | Affirmative |  |  | Negative |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | tense ${ }^{8}$ | clause mkr | MacH? | tense | clause mkr | Mach? |
| P2 | $a+\mathrm{H}$ |  | no | $a+\mathrm{H}$ | shígé | yes |
| P1 | ámà |  | yes |  | shígé | yes |
| PRES | H |  | yes |  | $a-\mathrm{L}+\mathrm{H}+-\dot{\varepsilon}$ | yes |
| F1 | $e+\mathrm{H}$ |  | yes |  | $a-H++\grave{\varepsilon}$ | yes |
| F2 |  | bá | yes |  | àbutlè | yes |

Table 6.16 Makaa Absolute Tenses in the Indicative Mood

In Konzime, this H tone marking tense concord is different from the other floating tones in that it is a replacive H . That is to say, it can replace a preceding $L$ tone, instead of creating a tonal contour.

Makaa and Kol have downstep (Heath \& Heath 1995, chapter 2 this volume) while Nzime does not have downstep or downdrift (Beavon 1982). Njyem has surface mid tones which are formed by the interaction of high and low tones (Beavon 2005:42,45). Nzime's lack of downstep or downdrift can be explained in part by its Macrostem H tone being a replacive H . By having this floating $H$ replace a preceding $L$, the environment for downstep, or midtones (as in Njyem) is bled.

[^6]When discussing the tonal system of these languages, it is worth mentioning that Makaa, Badwe'e and Njyem all have a small set of toneless verbs. There is currently no conclusive evidence as to whether the Kol cognate verbs are toneless or have an underlying low tone. In the absence of such evidence, they have been analyzed as low tone verbs.

| Makaa <br> (Heath 2003a) |  | Kol |  |  | Badwe'e <br> (Beavon 1991) |  | Njyem <br> (Beavon 2005) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  | bò | 'be' | be | 'be at' |  |  |
| zə | 'come' | ncò | 'come' | ze | 'come' | nsye | 'come' |
| yә | 'die' | yò | 'die' | jwe | 'die' | jwe | 'die' |
| yә | 'give' | yò | 'give' | jwe | 'give' | je | 'give' |
| də | 'eat' | dò | 'eat' | de | 'eat' |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | cwe | 'stumble' |  |  |
| kə | 'go' | kò | 'go' |  |  |  |  |

Table 6.17 Toneless verbs

Beavon (1997:01) notes that: "By positing a toneless lexical form for these verbs, one is able to account for why their surface forms are low in the remote past tense but high in the recent past."

Finally, there is a common general oddity in both Makaa and Badwe'e, which is the tonal stability of the morpheme meaning 'with' ( $e$ or le). It has a
lexical low tone which is never replaced by the replacive $H$ tones of verbal constructions (Beavon 1991:54).

## 3 Nominal morphosyntax

Central A. 80 languages resemble each other in their noun class, pronominal systems, and relative clause constructions. Data referred to in this section may be found in Makaa (A.83) (Heath 2003a,b), Anaphora, Pronouns and Reference in Konzime (Beavon 1986), and The relative clause in Konzime (Beavon nd). The Kol data comes from my own research, and additional information may be found in chapter 3 of this study.

### 3.1 NOUN CLASSES

Central A. 80 languages are typical Bantu languages in that they do have noun classes. However, they are similar to each other (and contrast with other Bantu languages of eastern and southern Africa) in that they have relatively few noun classes (ten) and a number of these noun classes are zeromarked or marked only by a floating tone. For example, Lingala has three more noun classes (11, 14 and 15), Swahili has six more (11, 14-18), and

Cinsanga has seven more (12-18) (Meeuwis 1998, Mohammed 2001, Miti 2001).

| Class | PB | Makaa | Kol | Nzime |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | *mo- | mù-ùd 'person' <br> $n$-jồ $\quad$ 'stranger' <br> Ø-kâm 'monkey' | mw-àrá 'woman' <br> $m$-ùd 'man, person' <br> Ø-kól 'sister' | $m-z t r$ 'person' <br> $n$-jwéela 'guard' <br> $\emptyset$-céme 'monkey' <br> $a$-bu' 'pipe' |
| 2 | *ba- | bù-ùd 'people' <br> ò-jō 'strangers' <br> ò-kâm 'monkeys' <br> w-àcéncénî 'stars' | bw-àrá 'women' <br> bw-ùr 'men, people' <br> bò-kól 'sisters' | $b-u r$ 'people' <br> o-jwéela 'guards' <br> o-céme 'monkey's <br> $b a-a b u$ ' 'pipe' |
| 3 | *mo- | L-lâm 'heart' | $\emptyset$-mbil 'hole' | Ø-ku 'hole' |
| 4 | *me- | mìlâm 'hearts' | mè-mbil 'holes' | mi-ku 'holes' |
| 5 | *i- | $\emptyset$-lùùn 'hole' <br> d-źnd 'home village' <br> $j$-wôw 'day' | è-bùrà 'sweet potato' <br> $\emptyset$-kù 'foot' <br> $d w$-ób 'day' | e-bura 'sw.potato' <br> $\varnothing$ <br> dito 'day' |
| 6 | *ma- | mà-lùùn 'holes' <br> m-ánd 'home villages' <br> m-wôw 'days' | mò-bùrà 'sweet potatos' <br> mò-kwád 'villages' <br> m-ób 'days' | me-bura 'sw.potato' <br> me-kwár 'villages' <br> m'to 'days' |
| 7 | *ke- | L-ká 'leaf' | $\emptyset$-kág 'child <br> Ø-bùmó 'fruit' | L-ká 'leaf bumó 'fruit' |
| 8 | *bi- | ì-ká 'leaves' | bè-kág 'children' | bi-ká 'leaves' |
| 9 | *n- | $\emptyset$-fà 'machete' | $\emptyset$-kwád 'village' | m-pumó 'fruits' Ø-kwár 'village' |
| 10 | ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{n}$ - | m-pùm'a 'seed' | m-pùmó 'fruits' | o-lzt 'ladder' |

Table 6.18 Noun classes in Makaa, Kol and Konzime

Nzime may actually have one more noun class than Kol and Makaa. The nouns which are found in its noun class 10 (according to Beavon and Beavon 1995) are marked quite differently from class 10 nouns in Makaa and Kol, where class 10 nouns are marked with a nasal prefix that triggers devoicing. (Compare 'fruit' for Kol and 'seed' for Makaa in class 7 with the plural in class 10.) The related word in Nzime is listed as a class 9 noun. In Beavon (1986:169), he lists these same nouns as belonging to a class 11/14, so named because its members come from proto-Bantu class 11 and protoBantu class 14.

Additionally, Heath and Beavon have both noticed reflexes from the Proto-Bantu locative classes in Makaa and Konzime, respectively. Heath (p.c.) has noted that certain locative nouns have idiosyncratic relative clause concord markers. Beavon (1983) noted that the Nzime dialect of Konzime has a locative noun kwá which could include the locative class (class 17) prefix $k o$ -

### 3.2 PRONOUNS

The central A. 80 languages differ in whether or not their subject markers are agreement markers or pronouns (as will be discussed in section
4.2), but they make similar distinctions between $1^{\text {st }}$ person plural inclusive, exclusive or dual. Additionally, the shapes of many of the subject markers are similar. Kol subject pronouns are clitics, as was described in chapter 3.

Makaa subject markers form a prosodic unit with the following tense vowel, suggesting that they too are clitics.
(2) /mə à kə/ $\rightarrow$ [mà kə]

I P2 go
'I went.' (Heath 2003b:3)

Below is a chart showing subject markers in Makaa, Kol and Konzime.

|  | Makaa |  | Kol |  | Nzime |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Subj | Sing | Pl | Sing | Pl | Sing | Pl |
| $1^{\text {st }}$ p. excl. | mə̀ | śa | mà | bìzó | me | bìs |
| incl. |  | shée |  | bìzá |  | mìna |
| dual incl. |  | shẃa |  | ncwò |  | mìna gá |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ person | wò | b́́ | wò | bè | go | bìn |
| $3^{\text {rd }}$ person | nỳ̀/ à ${ }^{9}$ | bwóo | ǹ̀ | bwó | nè | bé |
| $3 / 4$ | í | mí | w- | myà | wé | myé |
| $5 / 6$ | í | í | dwó | mwà | lé | mé |
| $7 / 8$ | í | í | i-, jwò | byò | yé | byé |
| $9 / 10$ | í | í | nò | bwò | nè | nè |
| $11 / 14$ | -- | -- | -- | -- | wé | -- |

Table 6.19 Subject markers in Makaa, Kol and Konzime
Below is a table giving the object markers for Kol and Makaa. Kol does
not allow object agreement, so all of the morphemes below are independent
object pronouns which can only appear post-verbally. Makaa has limited
object agreement (see section 4.2.2).

[^7]|  | Kol |  | Makaa |  |  | Nzime |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Object | Pron |  | Pron |  | Agr | Pron |  |
|  | Sing | P1 | Sing | Pl | Sing | Sing | P1 |
| $1^{\text {st }}$ p. excl. | mə̀ | bìzó | m-ə | s-a | m-ə | me | bìs |
| incl. |  | bìzá |  | sh-e |  |  | mìna |
| dual incl. |  | ncwà |  | shw-ə |  |  | màna gá |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ person | wò | bè | wo | bí | wo | go | bìn |
| $3{ }^{\text {rd }}$ person | лว̀ | bwó | ny-ə | bw-ə | ` | лè | bé |
| 3/4 | W- | myә | w-ə | my-ə |  | wé | myé |
| 5/6 | dwó | mwə | dw-̇ | mw-ə |  | lé | mé |
| 7/8 | jwò | byò | gw-ə | by-ə |  | yé | byé |
| 9/10 | nò | bwò | nyw-ə | nyw-ə |  | jè | nè |
| 11/14 | -- | -- | -- | -- |  | wé | -- |

Table 6.20 Object markers in Makaa, Kol and Konzime

### 3.3 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses in Kol, Makaa and Nzime resemble each other in that
they have a H tone boundary marker on the left and a segmental marker on
the right. However, the right boundary markers in Makaa and Nzime agree
with the head noun, while it is invariable in Kol. The Kol markers are enclitics, as was discussed in chapter 3.

| Class | Makaa | Nzime | Kol |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | ý́ | já | $=$ è |
| 2 | wía | bá | $=$ è |
| 3 | yí | wí | $=$ è |
| 4 | mýa | mí | $=$ è |
| 5 | yí | lí | $=$ è |
| 6 | máa | má | $=$ è |
| 7 | yí | yí | $=$ è |
| 8 | yí | bí | $=$ è |
| $9 / 10$ | yí | ní | $=$ è |
| $11 / 14$ | -- | wí | -- |

Table 6.21 Relative Clause Markers in Makaa, Kol and Nzime
(3)


(4) jò jì m-ùr ndé lê dùbà má-kwínd=è.
jò $=$ jì m-ùr $H+$ ndé lè dùb mì-kwénd $=$ è
he/she be (att) 1-person RelCl-be (loc) ImpF fish 4-hook-RelCl
'He is someone who fishes with hooks.'
(5) bìy-j̀òngə́ m=á têr $\mathrm{j}^{\mathrm{wàà} y=e ́ ~}$ bè-̇̀̀̀ngá $\quad \mathrm{H}+\mathrm{m}=$ á tér $\quad \mathrm{n}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{à} \mathrm{y}$ =è
8-Def RelCl-I-P2 first take-RelCl
'...what I first took....' (Perils.34)

Beavon (nd:27-28) notes that in Nzime it is also possible to find an uninflected (invariable) relative marker at the right boundary of relative clauses, i.e. $\mathfrak{f}$. It is also possible, and indeed more frequent, to find the demonstrative nầ 'that.' Beavon also notes that in Badwe'e, it is very common to have an invariable relative pronoun, which in this language is $\hat{e}$. This is extremely similar to the situation in Kol.

Additionally, in Makaa, the verbal contour also changes, in that an additional H tone is added to the first verbal element within the relative clause. This may be seen in (6) where the habitual marker hosts a H tone, though it is underlyingly marked with a low tone.
(6) ḿə bù č̀ $\varepsilon$ l b-ang b-wo du bul $\hat{s} \varepsilon y$ wa I lot H want 2-those 2-they Hab H lot H work Rel MkR


Makaa also has a special locative marker which is hosted (or affixed) to the relative clause marker whenever the head noun of the relative clause is a location. An example of this may be seen below.

| L-njaw | mı | ทg'ə | jì-s̀ | yı́ | -d |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| C3-house | I | PROG | C3-STATIVE | C3-REL MKR | LOCATIVE SUFFIX |
| Njaw mó | ga | d... | e house wh | e I stay...' |  |

Kol does not have a similar suffix. Locative head nouns do not trigger any special marking on the right edge of the relative clause.
(8) búy $m=a ́ \quad b=e ̀$.
bùn $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{m} \grave{=}=\mathrm{a} \quad \mathrm{b} \grave{\mathrm{a}}=\mathrm{e}$
place RelCl-I-P2 be-RelCl
'...where I was.' (Perils.94)

Nzime does not have such a suffix either. However, if a locative becomes the head of a relative clause, a resumptive pronoun is required within the relative clause (Beavon nd:28).

| (9) | dímé | nkwâl | á | bè | tik | lí |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 5-raphia.tree | snail | P2 | be | in-it | 5ReLCl |

'the raphia tree the snail was in'

## 4 Verbal morphosyntax

The languages of the central cluster, i.e. Makaa, Kol and the Konzime varieties, have a number of morphosyntactic similarities and differences in their verbal systems. They all have a loosely bound verbal sequence which contrasts to that which is seen in central, eastern and southern Bantu languages. These languages differ though in their subject and object agreement systems, or lack of said. In addition, while they make similar
distinctions in their tense, aspect and mood (TAM) systems, the syntax of particular constructions can be quite different. I will specifically discuss imperfective, habitual and negative constructions. I will also point out some differences in the number and function of copula verbs in the languages of this central cluster. Finally, Makaa and Kol are similar in that they have a reduced set of verbal derivational suffixes (or extensions) with, in the case of Kol, very limited productivity.

The Makaa data is primarily taken from two articles, a grammar sketch by Teresa Heath in The Bantu Languages (Nurse and Philippson 2003) and an article on the Tense and Aspect system of Makaa by Daniel Heath in Tense and aspect of eight languages of Cameroon (Anderson and Comrie 1990. The Badwe'e data is taken from an article on the Koszime verbal system in the same book by Keith H. Beavon. The Kol data is from my own field work. I am unaware of any in-depth published work on the verbal system of Nzime, though some information can be gleaned from an article published on the discourse structure of Nzime (Beavon 1984).

### 4.1 LOOSELY BOUND VERBAL SEQUENCE

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime cluster are similar in that what would correspond to a single word in many Bantu languages (prefixes + verbal root + suffixes) can be analyzed as a sequence of independent words. Evidence for this in Kol was given in chapters 4 and 5.

However, they differ in the specific nature of the verbal sequence. Makaa and Kol are very templatic in nature, with similar internal structures. Konzime is also analytic but differs quite a bit from Makaa and Kol in the ordering of its prevebal elements. These differences will be discussed in more detail in sections 2.2.4-2.2.6 below, dealing with negative, imperfective and habitual constructions, respectively.

Heath and Heath, in their work on Makaa, have found it helpful to separate the verbal sequence into two parts: the Inflection and the Macrostem. Below is a chart for Makaa (Heath 2003a:343) showing what may occur in the Inflection vs. the Macrostem.

| Inflection | Macrostem |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| subject <br> mkrtense <br> mkr | clause <br> $\mathrm{mkr}^{*}$ | aspect <br> $\mathrm{mkr} *$ | adverb <br> and/or <br> auxiliary* | object <br> mkr | STEM* $^{*}$ |
| radical + <br> extension(s) |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | *An inflectional clitic may be added to whatever <br> morpheme occurs first in the Macrostem |  |  |  |  |

Table 6.22 The Makaa verb

As can be seen above, the Inflection consists of the subject and the tense markers. The Macrostem consists of the verb stem (root plus any suffixes) and any other preverbal markers that may be present. These other markers may be clause markers (a counter-assertive marker or distant future marker), aspect markers, adverbs or auxiliaries.

As was noted in chapter 5, there are two primary forms of evidence which have been used to justify this division. One is that a division into Inflection and Macrostem helps to account for the positioning of certain morphemes, namely the subjunctive marker ${ }^{10}$ and sentential negation clitic which may be hosted by the first element of the Macrostem, whatever that

[^8]may be, as shown by the chart above. The other piece of evidence is the behavior (or positioning) of suffixal tones which mark certain tense contours. I argue for Kol, however, in chapter 5 that it is not necessary to divide the verbal sequence into these two elements but that the relevant data can be accounted for by turning to the notion of second position and a tense tonal concord whose scope is the nucleus of the clause.

Makaa resembles Kol in the behavior of its subjunctive marker, which marks both hortative and imperative constructions. This subjunctive marker may be hosted by the first element of the Macrostem. If the verb stem is the only element in the Macrostem, the subjunctive suffix will be affixed to that. However, if there is another element which precedes the main verb, it then becomes the host, as illustrated by the distant future marker (in the "clause marker" slot) in Makaa, as shown in the example below (Heath 2003b:22).

| bà | -g | -a |  | cal |  | mə-ləndu |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| H | H |  | H | L | H | L-HH |
| F2 | IMP | PL | MacH | cut | MacH | C6-palm tree |

In Badwe'e, the subjunctive suffix may appear on an auxiliary, suggesting that the suffix also appears on the first word of the Macrostem,
whatever that may be (Beavon 1990:95-96). Both examples given, one in the imperative and one in the hortative, show the same auxiliary verb di 'stay.'

Makaa and Kol also have very similar negative circumclitics, which appear on the first element of the verbal sequence. They differ in this respect though with Badwe'e. (These differences will be discussed in section 2.2.4 below.) Heath (2003a:345-6) reports that the negative circumclitic is hosted by a fixed form in the past tenses, by the distant future clause marker in the distant future, or by the first word in the Macrostem in the present and future. This positioning is identical to what was seen in Kol. Below are examples from Makaa.

| Mə | a- | cal | $-\varepsilon$ |  | mə-ləndu |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| L | L | LH | H | H | L HH |
| I | NEG | cut + NEG | NEG | MacH | C6-palm tree |
| Mə ácalée mə́land'u 'I do not cut down palm trees.' |  |  |  |  |  |


| Mo | abule | cal |  | mə-ləndu |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| L | H L | H | L | H | L HH |
| I | NEG (FUT) | MacH | cut | MacH | C6-palm tree |
| Mò abitlé cal móləndúu. 'I will not cut down palm trees.' |  |  |  |  |  |

This suggests that the notion of second position will work for Makaa, but that it may not be necessary for the Konzime varieties.

The other form of evidence is tonal. Many tenses in languages of this cluster have a tonal contour associated with them. A common tonal contour is to have a floating H tone suffix which appears after every word in the Macrostem. (The one tense consistently not marked with a floating H tone is the far past.)

An example from Makaa illustrating this H tone (commonly called the Macrostem H tone or MaCH ) is given below (Heath 2003a:344).

| (12) | Mà | ámə̀ | nyìngə̌ | gǔ | gwòó. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | I | P1 | again + MacH | pick + MacH | c7-mushroom |

An example from Kol illustrating the same phenomenon, but in a different tense, is given below.

| $\mathrm{n}=$ ě | nìgó | kò | njáp. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| he $=$ Fut | again +H | go +H | home |
| 'He will return home.' |  |  |  | In Badwe'e, some of the tonal contours involve floating L's instead of H's. Beavon notes that up to four additional tones may be found in a single clause, since the perfective marker, an adverbial, and a serial verb (to use his terminology) may all appear before the main verb and each is marked with a

stem tone. His analysis contrasts with mine and that of the Heaths since he suggests that the distant past is marked with floating low tones (versus our analysis for Kol and Makaa where the far past is the only tense not marked with floating high tones). Below is an example for Badwe'e (Beavon 1991:68).

| Be | a | si | ka | ze | fumo | mi-mber |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| H | H | $\emptyset+\mathrm{L}$ | L+L | L+L | L+L | L $\quad$ LH |
| they | P2 | PFTV | finally | come | build | 4-house | 'It was they who then finally built houses.'

For Kol, this tense tonal concord has been analyzed in terms of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) as a high tone which is suffixed to every word in the nucleus. A sample clause is repeated below from the previous chapter.


| (15) | $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{i}$ | sé | dímbàlò | mpyó | y -é | dùk. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $\mathrm{j}=$ é | sè +H | dìmbàl +H | mpyò | y -é | dùg |
|  | he/she-P1 | PERF | lose | 1-dog | 1-his | forest |

'He lost his dog in the forest.'

While this works for Kol, there are some complications when it comes to explaining the tense tonal concords in Makaa and Konzime. In Makaa, the progressive marker blocks the tonal concord. If it were just the case that the H tone suffix did not appear on the progressive marker, that could possibly be explained as a co-occurrence restriction. However, as can be seen by the example below, the H tone suffix also does not appear on any word within the nucleus to the right of the progressive marker (e.g. the main verb below). The example below also offers evidence that the tense tonal concord in Makaa cannot be a case of H tone spreading since (as was the case in Kol), the first syllable of 'again' remains low in spite of the suffixal H immediately to its left.

| Ma | ku |  | nyinga |  | nga | waambula | i-fa |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| L | H+L | H | LL | H | L | HHLL |  |
| I | NEG | MacH | again | ach | PROG | clear | C8-field |
| a ku nyìnǧ ng̀̀ wáambìta ìfamba. 'I am not again clearing the fields |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

describes a tonal system where there are three different kinds of tones marking tense. One is found to the left of the verbal sequence in the location of the Kol tense vowels. Some tenses are marked with morphemes with overt segmental content while others are marked with morphemes consisting only of a floating tone. The second kind of tones are the "stem tones." These are roughly equivalent to the tense tonal concord described for Kol. They are floating tones suffixed to each word in the verbal sequence. However, Badwe'e differs from Kol in that some tenses have one floating tone which is suffixed to every word in the verbal sequence except the last word and a different tone which is suffixed to the last word. This is the case in the recent past (P1) sentence illustrated below where the non-final verbal sequence words have a floating high tone $(+\mathrm{H})$ suffix and the main verb, the final word in the verbal sequence, has a floating L tone suffix.

| Be |  | si | ka | ze | fumo | mi-mber |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| H | L | $\varnothing+H$ | $\mathrm{~L}+\mathrm{H}$ | $\mathrm{L}+\mathrm{H}$ | $\mathrm{L}+\mathrm{L}$ | $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{L}$ LH |
| They | P1 | PERF | finally | come | build | 4-house |
| 'It was they who then finally built some houses (earlier today).' |  |  |  |  |  |  |

This example also illustrates the third kind of tense tones described by Beavon, namely the floating tone which marks the end of the verbal nucleus (my terms, not his). This is the H tone floating before the direct object in (17) above. This boundary tone, if present, is always a floating H tone, whereas the stem tones may be L or H or a combination thereof, as in (17).

It is possible that postulating a distinction between nucleus and core would still prove to be helpful in describing the Badwe'e system. In effect, there are floating tones on the left edge (the tense marker tones) and on the right edge. Within the nucleus there is a tonal melody which could be considered to be anchored at either internal boundary of the nucleus, with the tone on the left permitting reiteration (unlike the tone on the right). More research will have to be done though to test this hypothesis for Badwe'e.

### 4.2 AGREEMENT

### 4.2.1 Subject Agreement

Subject agreement is one of the hallmarks of a canonical Bantu
language which is why the variations across the Makaa/Kol/Konzime cluster is interesting. None of these languages have obligatory subject agreement.

In Makaa, subject agreement may occur with subjects belonging to noun classes 3-10. However, subject agreement is not required all the time, since it may be omitted in the middle of a discourse when the referent is clear. Subjects belonging to classes 1 or 2 may be expressed by either a full noun or a subject pronoun. The subject pronouns are analyzed as pronouns (instead of subject agreement) since they usually replace the full noun and do not co-occur with it, in contrast to what occurs with class $3-10$ subjects.
(Heath 1995:27)
(18) a. mudá kə gúú bwə kúwo....

1-woman go kill them 1-chicken
'Woman goes and kills a chicken for them.' (Heath 2002)
b. mbwoól w-òngú f́ béźgulig.
trunk 3-this 3SUbJMKR must be kept
'This trunk must be kept.' (Heath 2003b:12)

The subject pronouns form a phonological word with the following tense vowel, so they are probably clitics, as was the case in Kol.

The copula in Makaa agrees with its subject when it is in the present tense. For more on this phenomenon, see section 2.1.6 below.

Konzime has a phenomenon which resembles subject agreement, but it is dependent upon the tense of the verb and the tone of the prefix. Beavon (1986:185) notes that a recapitualitive pronoun is required "if the tense of the verb is past perfective and if the concording prefix of the pronoun includes a high tone." If the prefix is a low tone prefix, then the recapitulative pronoun may not appear.

| a. | B-ud, bé | á | si | de. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2-people | 3p:cl.2 | P2 | PFTv | eat |
|  | 'Some people ate.' |  |  |  |


| b. | núú | m-ud | á | si |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1-certain | 1-person | P2 | PFTV | eat |
|  | 'A certain person ate.' |  |  |  |


| c. | *núú | m-ud, | ne | á | si |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1-certain | 1-person | 3s:cl.1 | P2 | PFTV | eat |

Kol shows no evidence of subject agreement. It has a full set of subject pronouns, which appear in complementary distribution with full nouns. The only exception to this tendency is when the subject is a complex noun phrase (e.g. the head of an associative phrase), in which case there may be a subject pronoun which is used recapitulatively, generally after a pause.
(20)
a. mw-àrá w-àyる́ á kò 1-woman 1-my P2 go 'My wife went.'
b. mpú é bándà nwî.

7-rain F1 really fall (rain)
'It will certainly rain.'
$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { c. } & \text { mò-kwàbàlá } & \text { mó-nè } & \text { mwô } & \text { sé } & \text { jà } & \text { nó } \\ \text { 6-obstacle } & \text { 6-that(spec) } & \text { 6SUBJ } & \text { already } & \text { give } & \text { him } & \text { 9-wisdom }\end{array}$ 'His problems gave him wisdom.'

### 4.2.2 Object agreement

In Makaa, object markers may appear preverbally for certain dialects,
if the object is from noun class 1 . Kol does not allow object markers to appear preverbally. Objects are only expressed after the verb stem, either as pronouns or as full verb phrases. Beavon does not mention object agreement for either Nzime or Badwe'e. Below is an example sentence from Makaa illustrating a preverbal object marker.
(21) wò bá mà lúlà mì-cwôl. (or wò bá lúlà mà mì-cwôl.)
you F2 me forge 4-arrows
'You will make me arrows.' (Heath 2003b:15)

### 4.3 TENSE/ASPECT/MODE CONSTRUCTIONS

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime cluster also have similar Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM) contrasts and morphemes. The tense and mood markers resemble each other more than the aspect markers though in all three systems, the languages have similar contrasts.

Makaa and Kol both have five distinct tense distinctions, while the Konzime varieties (Nzime and Badwe'e) only have four. This is shown in the chart below. In general, Makaa and Kol show more commonalities with each other (as do Nzime and Badwe'e) than they do with the Konzime varieties. The recent past tense shows the most variation, suggesting that this is a later innovation.

|  | Makaa | Kol | Nzime | Badwe'e |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| remote past | $\mathrm{a}+\mathrm{H}^{11}$ | á | á | á |
| recent past | `ámə̀ | $\mathrm{e}+$ polar tone | L | L |
| present | H | ó | H | H |
| near future | $\mathrm{e}+\mathrm{H}$ | é | ó | ó |
| remote future | bá | é bwó |  |  |

Table 6.23 Tense in Makaa, Kol and Konzime

[^9]Languages of this cluster have almost the same number of aspect contrasts, though they differ quite a bit in the way individual aspects are marked. In Makaa and Kol, the perfective aspect is unmarked. It is interesting that the perfective aspect markers in Badwe'e and Nzime resembles the perfect marker in Kol. Below is an example from Badwe'e. Beavon notes that this marker may only occur with past tenses (1991:61).

| (22) | Be | si | fumo | mi-mber |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | H+L | H | L+L | L LH |
|  | they-P1 | PFTV | build | 4-house |

'They built some houses.' (earlier today)

|  | Makaa | Kol | Nzime | Badwe'e |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| perfective | $\emptyset$ | $\emptyset$ | si | si |
| progressive | Øgà | gó | ๆgà | -- |
| habitual | du | ó + sé | -- | bibé 'be' (redup.) - <br> pres. <br> sisâ 'do' (redup.) -past <br> dì ' ? ' (aux) -fut |
| imperfective | -- | lè | lî̀ ${ }^{12}$ | líl$^{13}$ |
| perfect | má +L | sé | n | chg in vowel height? |

Table 6.24 Aspect in Makaa, Kol and Konzime

[^10]Makaa is the only language of the cluster without a generic imperfective marker, though it does have two imperfective aspects, the progressive and habitual, which can co-occur with each other as shown in example (9) below (Heath 2003b:23). This contrasts with Kol where the aspect markers are in complementary distribution. In Makaa, the habitual marker may form a gerund, suggesting that it is in fact an auxiliary verb.

| Mə | a | du | ngə | bwas | 0 -kwesh |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| L | H | L | L | L | H |
| I | P2 | HAB | PROG | be sick | C7-cough |

Mo á dut gg̀ bwàs kwésh. 'I often was sick with a cough
(but not all the time).'

It is interesting that for Kol, Nzime and Badwe'e, the imperfective marker is always homophonous (or maybe identical to) the locative marker. The syntax of the imperfective constructions differs substantially though between Kol and the Konzime varieties, as will be discussed in section 2.2.5 below.

The habitual constructions are also very different. Makaa uses an auxiliary verb, while Badwe'e uses a reduplicated form of a verb, and Kol combines the present tense vowel and the perfect marker. No information is
available as to whether Nzime has a habitual construction. More information on these constructions will be given in section 2.2.6.

The languages of this cluster are especially similar when it comes to marking mood. They all differentiate between two moods: the indicative and the subjunctive. The indicative is the default. The subjunctive is marked by a clitic consisting of a velar stop, as shown below. The subjunctive may be subdivided into two moods, the hortative and the imperative. These add different tone melodies to the verbal sequence, in addition to the subjunctive clitic which they have in common.

As was mentioned above, in Makaa and Kol, the subjunctive clitic is hosted by the first word of the verbal sequence. In Badwe'e, the subjunctive suffix may appear on an auxiliary, suggesting that the suffix also appears on the first word of the verbal sequence, whatever that may be.

|  | Makaa | Kol | Nzime | Badwe'e |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| indicative | $\emptyset$ | $\emptyset$ | $\emptyset$ | $\emptyset$ |
| hortative | $-\mathrm{g}+\mathrm{H}(1 \text { stV) })^{14}$ | $-\mathrm{g}+\mathrm{H}$ | $-\mathrm{k}+\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{L}$ | $-\mathrm{k}^{15}+\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{L}$ |
| imperative | $-\mathrm{g}+\mathrm{H}(\mathrm{finV})^{16}$ | $-\mathrm{g}+\mathrm{H}$ | $-\mathrm{k}+\mathrm{H}$ | $-\mathrm{k}+\mathrm{H}$ |

Table 6.25 Mode in Makaa, Kol and Konzime
Beavon (1991:68) notes that in Badwe'e, an independent sentence in the past tense must have either an aspect marker, a focus marker or be negated. This is not the case in Makaa or Kol.

### 4.3.1 Imperfective

Kol and the Konzime varieties resemble each other at first glance in that they both have an imperfective marker which resemble the locative prefix, lè in Kol and li in Badwe'e. However, syntactically, these two markers behave very differently. Kol's imperfective marker behaves as do all the other aspectual markers, occuring after in the template slot after the copula auxiliary and before any other verbs, as shown below.

[^11]| nə̀ $=$ | jì | lé | bwògá | kwàn. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nà $=$ | jì + | lè + H | bwòg + H | kwàn |
| he/she | be (att) | Impf | harvest | 9-honey |

'He harvests honey.'

In the Konzime varieties however, the imperfective marker has an infinitival verb as its complement as shown in (23). In the past and future tenses in Badwe'e, it is required to occur with a copula as in (24).
(25) Be li e-fumo mi-mber

H H L L+L H+L LH
they Loc Inf-build 4-house
'They are building houses.' (Beavon 1991:63)
(26) Be a be o li e-fumo mi-mber

H $\quad$| H | $\emptyset+\mathrm{L}$ | H | H | L | $\mathrm{L}+\mathrm{L}$ | $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{L}$ | LH |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

they P2 be Foc Loc Inf-build 4-house
'They were building houses.' (Beavon 1991:63)

### 4.3.2 Habitual Constructions

While Makaa, Kol and Badwe'e all have a habitual construction, these constructions are formed using very different syntactic strategies. Makaa and Badwe'e both use auxiliary verbs, though Badwe'e uses different auxiliaries for each tense and has a special reduplicated form in the past and present
tenses. In contrast, Kol uses an unusual tense/aspect combination (present tense plus perfect aspect).

Makaa marks the habitual with the morpheme $d u$ which can appear as a gerund dúto which means 'being in the habit of.' This suggests that this morpheme is an auxiliary verb.

| Mə | ba | du |  | w11ng |  | o-mpyə |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| L | H | L | H | H | H | L HL |
| I | F2 | HABIT | MacH | chase | MacH | C2-dog |

Mo b'a dut wíing ómpyô. 'I usually will chase the dogs.'(habitual)

Badwe'e also uses auxiliary verbs to form the habitual. However, it differs from Makaa in that the past, the present and the future all use different auxiliary verbs. The far past and the recent past both use the locative copula $b e$, while the present uses the verb sâ 'make, do,' and the future uses the auxiliary verb di 'remain, stay.' The locative copula be and the verb sâ are both reduplicated, while di is not (Beavon 1991:64-65).
(28) Be a bìbe o li e-fumo mi-mber

| H | H | L | H | H | L | L + L | H + L | LH |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| they | P2 | Red-be | FOC | LOC | Inf-build | 4-house |  |  |

'They used to build houses.' (in the recent past)

| Nye | sí-sa | o | fumo | mi-mber |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| L+H | $H+H$ | $H$ | $L+L$ | $H+L \quad L H$ |  |
| he-Pres | Red-do | FOC | build | 4-house |  |

'He usually builds houses.'
(30) Nye o di li e-fumo mi-mber

L H L+L H L L+L H+L LH he Fut stay Loc Inf-build 4-house 'He will habitually build houses.'

Kol, unlike the other two languages, uses the present tense marker with the perfect aspect to form habitual constructions.

$$
\begin{array}{lcll}
\mathrm{n}=\text { ó }= & \text { sé } & \text { bwògá } & \text { kwàn. }  \tag{31}\\
\text { j̀ }=\text { ó }= & \text { sé }+\mathrm{H} & \text { bwòg+H } & \text { kwàn } \\
\text { he/she-PRES } & \text { PERF } & \text { harvest } & \text { 9-honey } \\
\text { 'He harvests honey.' } & \text { (habitually) }
\end{array}
$$

### 4.3.3 Negation

Makaa, Kol and Badwe'e resemble each other in that they all have what appears to be a negative circumclitic for sentential negation. However, they differ in the positioning of this circumclitic. For both Makaa and Kol, it occurs in second position, but in Badwe'e it is hosted by the main verb. Below is an example of a negated sentence in Badwe'e with an auxiliary, followed by a negated sentence in Kol, also containing an auxiliary. These are in different tenses, with the Badwe'e example in the recent past and the Kol example in the present.

(32) | Be | be | a | fumo |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $H+L$ | $H$ | $H+L$ | $L+L$ |
| they- | be | NeG | build |  |
|  | P1 |  |  |  |

'They did not build anything.'
(33)

| tóòb $\quad$ á $=\mathrm{j}=$ è | dí | dùk. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sheep | NEG-be(att)-NEG +H | stay +H | forest |
| 'Sheep don't stay in the forest.' |  |  |  |

Though Makaa and Kol both have a negative circumclitic for indicative sentential negation, Kol requires that a different negation strategy be used for the present imperfective tense, namely the negative copula túg plus the imperfective marker lè instead of the circumclitic. As was mentioned above, Makaa does not have a specific imperfective tense marker.

| nı̀ | túgá | lé | wàzà |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| he/she | be (Neg) + н | ImpF + + | forget + H |  |

'He wasn't forgetting anyone.'

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{g}=\mathrm{e} & \text { wàzà } & \mathrm{m} \text {-ûr. }  \tag{35}\\
\grave{\mathrm{h}}=\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{g}=\mathrm{e} & \text { wàzà } & \mathrm{m} \text {-ùr } \\
\text { he-NEG-PROG-NEG } & \text { forget } & 1 \text {-man }
\end{array}
$$

'He doesn't continue to forget someone.'

Additionally, the two languages have both created fixed past negative forms by adding the circumclitic to a frozen host. In Kol, the past forms are
based off of the auxiliary verb ncà 'come,' while in Makaa the past forms are built on the counter assertive morpheme shí. Both Makaa and Kol insert an extra [g] which may be related to the subjunctive morpheme. Makaa does so in both past tense forms, while Kol only inserts a [g] in the far distant past (P3).

| TAM | Makaa | Kol | Badwe'e |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| F2 | abute | àbwéyè |  |
| F1 | a- $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{+}$ - $\varepsilon$ | á $=+=$ è +H | $a+$ yá + L + H |
| Pres | $\mathrm{a}-\mathrm{L}+\mathrm{H}+\dot{\varepsilon}$ | á $=+=$ è +H | $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{a}+\mathrm{L}+\mathrm{H}$ |
| P1 | shíǵ $\varepsilon$ | áncé +H | $\mathrm{L}+\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{a}+\mathrm{HL}+\mathrm{H}$ |
| P2 | a shíǵ | áncé | á $+\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{a}$ + $\mathrm{L}+\mathrm{H}$ |
| P3 |  | áncégé |  |
| Impf Pres |  | túg + H | $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{a}+\mathrm{L}+\mathrm{H}$ |
| Subjunctive | kú | ké |  |

Table 6.26 Negation in Makaa, Kol and Badwe'e

The Badwe'e forms are made up of the tense marker (which is the same for affirmative and negative constructions), a grammatical tone, the negative prefix, the tonal contour added after each preverbal element, and the
grammatical tone inserted after the main verb. Negative forms in the past also require the presence of the copula auxiliary bè. Below is an affirmative sentence contrasted with a negative sentence in the same tense.
(36) Be a si fumo mi-mber
$\begin{array}{llllll}\mathrm{H} & \mathrm{H} & \emptyset+\mathrm{L} & \mathrm{L}+\mathrm{L} & \mathrm{L} & \mathrm{LH}\end{array}$
they P2 PFTV build 4-house
'It was they who then finally built houses.'
(37) Be a be a fumo mi-mber
$\begin{array}{lllllll}\mathrm{H} & \mathrm{H} & \emptyset+\mathrm{L} & \mathrm{H}+\mathrm{L} & \mathrm{L}+\mathrm{L}+\mathrm{H} & \mathrm{L} & \mathrm{LH}\end{array}$
they P2 be Neg build 4-house
'It was they who then finally built houses.'

### 4.4 COPULA VERBS

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime cluster also vary in the number of copula verbs they have and in the semantics of these copulas. Kol has the most, with five. In Kol, the copulas may co-occur with a variety of tenses in simple sentences, and they may also appear as auxiliaries. In copular auxiliary constructions, the auxiliary is marked for tense, while the main verb is marked for aspect or information structure, as needed. (See chapter 4, section 3.1 for more information.)

For Makaa, Heath (2003a:347) notes that:
"Non-verbal clauses include both those with the copula -si and those with the focus marker $o$. Clauses with the copula as the predicate express attribution, equation, location, or possession. In the present perfective indicative, the copula takes a concord prefix [see Table 6.9]. Often the $-s$ is deleted, leaving only the concord. In other TAM constructions, the copula becomes ba without concord prefix, and takes limited TAM inflections."

Badwe'e also has a suppletive present tense form of the basic locative copula be (which is underlyingly toneless). Beavon describes the copulas found in Nzime in more functional terms, reporting that mêty occurs in main and relative clauses while dí appears in subject focus constructions. Below is a chart showing the copulas found in Makaa, Kol and Nzime, along with their semantic or syntactic differences. For more information on Kol copulas, see chapter 4.

| Makaa | Kol | Nzime | Badwe'e |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bò 'to be' | bò | bè | be locative |
| jì-sò PRES-cl.7 | jì equative, <br> attributive |  |  |
|  | ndé locative | dí subj. focus |  |
|  | mé change of state | mû main, rel.cl. | mê locative-PRES |
| tùg negative | túg negative |  |  |

Table 6.27 Copula verbs in Makaa, Kol and Konzime

### 4.5 Extensions

In this language cluster, while there are segments which may be identified as the modern cognates of reconstructed Proto-Bantu valencechanging suffixes, also known as extensions, most of these are no longer productive. Kol, in particular, has a number of longer verbs with identifiable frozen extensions, but only the passive extension is marginally productive today. In the chart below are a few of the relics of reconstructed proto-Bantu extensions.

|  | Proto-Bantu | Makaa | Kol |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :--- |
| causative | *ic-i | -àl, a $\rightarrow \mathrm{e}$ | -̀̀zò, $\mathrm{a} \rightarrow \mathrm{e}$ |
| benefactive/ <br> applicative | *-Id | -yà | -èà |
| passive | ${ }^{\text {idb-u }}$ | -òw | -ówà, -íyà |

Table 6.28 Related extensions in Proto-Bantu, Makaa and Kol
The sound correspondences seen in the chart above are not especially surprising, with the exception of the ablaut causative seen in Makaa and Kol, if that is indeed inherited and not an innovation. Many Bantu languages illustrate the weakening process seen in the passive and the deletion of the alveolar stop seen in the applicative. It is also common for the palatal stop of the causative to surface as an alveolar fricative. What is more noteworthy is the non-productivity of the extensions. As was mentioned for Kol in chapter 4, there are very few examples in modern Kol of related verb roots and derived root plus extension stems.

In this respect, Makaa differs from Kol, being perchance more conservative in this respect. Below is a chart showing the variety of valencechanging processes which may be identified in Makaa (Heath 1995:59). However, as in Kol, these are not fully productive; there are also verb roots
which may only appear with an extension; and the relationship between these processes and Proto-Bantu is not always clear.


Table 6.29 Extensions in Makaa

Additionally, Nzime has a productive "simultaneous" suffix (-ŋכ or -כ)
which can appear on verbs (Beavon 1984:212). This suffix appears to correspond to a remote past consecutive relative tense with third person plural human subjects in Badwe'e (Beavon 1991:82).

## 5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined some of the similarities and differences between the languages of the middle cluster of the A. 80 language family: Makaa, Kol, Konzime, Badwe'e and Njem. These languages are primarily monosyllabic and allow closed syllables. They differ in their phonemic inventories, showing considerable variation in their vowel systems. They are all tonal, with two phonemic tones H and L .

The languages of the central cluster have similar noun class marking systems, though Nzime appears to have an additional noun class, class 11/14. Their relative clause structures are all marked by a H tone at the left edge and a morpheme on the right edge, though these differ in whether or not they show concord with the head noun.

Extensions are rare and mostly unproductive. Their tense/aspect systems, while not the same, demonstrate strong similarities. They differ as to whether or not their verbs agree with their arguments, either subject or object.

The following chapter will examine how Kol has changed over time.

## 7 Correspondences to Proto-Bantu

## 1 Introduction

This chapter will explore Kol's relationship to Proto-Bantu, both with respect to sound correspondences and grammatical systems. Section 2 below will review Kol's phonemic inventories and synchronic variation. Section 3 will then discuss consonant correspondences between Kol and Proto-Bantu, while section 4 will discuss vowel correspondences. Section 5 will compare some aspects of Kol morphosyntax with what is reconstructed for Proto-Bantu by Meeussen in his 1967 Bantu Grammatical Reconstructions.

### 1.1 SOURCES

This study is a comparison of current day forms of Kol with ProtoBantu. The Proto-Bantu forms are taken from Meeussen's Bantu Lexical Reconstructions, as referenced in the 1980 reprint and on the BLR3 website. ${ }^{17}$ The Kol data is taken from a lexicon begun by Félix Fokou-Tamafo as part of

[^12]his work for NACALCO ${ }^{18}$ in Cameroon. This lexicon has been added to and amended on the basis of my own fieldwork.

### 1.2 METHODOLOGY

A careful comparison of Meeussen's reconstructions with the Kol
lexicon resulted in approximately 450 cognate pairs. Of these, around 130 were determined to be confident matches and around 320 were classified as possible matches. Sound correspondences were determined based on these cognate pairs. The vowels of the Proto-Bantu words have been transcribed as $\{i, e, \varepsilon, a, \supset, o, u\}$, instead of Meeussen's $\{\mathfrak{j}, i, e, a, o, u, u\}$ system, in order to facilitate comparison with the Kol lexicon.

## 2 Modern Kol

Today, as was described in chapter 2 , Kol has 31 consonants and 8
vowels. It permits both open and closed syllables, with the following syllable shapes being represented in the language: $\mathrm{V}, \mathrm{CV}, \mathrm{CVC}, \mathrm{CVVC}$

[^13]Below is a consonant chart for Kol. The sounds $\{p, v, g, k p, \eta k p, \eta g b\}$
have a marginal status in Kol. Each only occurs initially in a few words, all of which may be borrowed.

|  | labial | alveolar | postalveolar | velar | labiovelar | glottal |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| stop | (p), b | $\mathrm{t}, \mathrm{d}$ | $\mathrm{c}[\mathrm{t}]], \mathrm{j}[\mathrm{d} 3]$ | $\mathrm{k}, \mathrm{g}$ | kp |  |
| prenasalized <br> stop | mp, <br> mb | $\mathrm{nt}, \mathrm{nd}$ | $\mathrm{nc}, \mathrm{nj}$ | $\mathrm{gk}, \mathrm{gg}$ | $\mathrm{ykp}, \mathrm{ggb}$ |  |
| nasal | m | n | n | y |  |  |
| fricative | $\mathrm{f}, \mathrm{v})$ | $\mathrm{s}, \mathrm{z}$ | S |  |  |  |
| approximant |  | $\mathrm{y}, \mathrm{l}$ |  |  | w |  |

Table 7.1: Kol consonants

Kol has a nearly symmetrical vowel system, with three front vowels, two central vowels and three back (and round) vowels. An additional vowel, the high central vowel, is an allophone of the vowel /e/. (For more information see chapter 2.)

|  | front | central | back |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| high | i | (i) | u |
| mid | e | $\partial$ | 0 |
| low | $\varepsilon$ | a | $\supset$ |

Table 7.2: Kol Vowels.

### 2.1 Synchronic Variation

Word-finally, voicing distinctions are neutralized for stops. Most $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ stops are underlyingly voiced, and they may appear on the surface as either voiceless stops or as voiced continuants.

| (1) /tíd/ | 'animal' | $\rightarrow$ | [tít] or [tíx] |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | /è-bùg/ | 'holiday' (5) | $\rightarrow$ |
| [è-buk] or [èbùy] |  |  |  |

Some dialects have $/ \mathrm{s} /$ where other dialects have $/ \mathrm{s} /$. This is illustrated by the variants below.
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { (2) } & \text { fû } & \text { 'fish' (7/8) } & \text { varies with } \\ & \text { è } \mathrm{e} \text {-fwì } \\ & \text { 'death' (5) } & & \text { è-swè }\end{array}$
Additionally, the fricatives /f/ and /h/ are in free variation for many speakers.
(3) fámə̀ 'true, real' varies with hám̀̀

With respect to vowels, Kol mid vowels are optionally centralized before nasals and the fricatives $/ \mathrm{s} /$ and $/ \mathrm{S} /$. There is some morphological conditioning since this process is very common for the noun class prefixes marking classes 2 (bò-), 4 (mè-), 6 (mò-) and 8 (bè-) but very rare for the class 5 prefix $l \grave{l}$-. Examples are given below.
(4)
a. [bì-mpânc]
ßè-mpânj/
8 -side
'sides'
c. [bì-sá]
ßè̀-sá/
8 -thing
'things'

| (5) a.[bó-nè] <br> fbó-nè/ | b.[bó-bá] <br> 2-that | bó-bá/ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 2-two |  |
|  | those' | 'two' |

c. [bò-sís]
ßò-sís/
2-another
'another, different'
d. [bə̀-fwó]
ßò-fws/
2 -friend 'friends'

Additionally, the front mid vowel /e/ may be raised (but not centralized) to [i] before or after palatal consonants.
(6)
a. [mì-fùmb]
/mè-fùmb/
4-brook, stream
'brooks'
b. [mè-lélà]
/mè-lélà/
4-shiver
'shivers'
c. [mì-njà]
/mè-njà/
4-intestine
'intestines'

| d. [bì-jwàlà] | e. | [bè-kák] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| /bè-jwàlà/ |  | 万bè-kág/ |
| 8-banana |  | 8 -child |
| 'bananas' |  | 'children' |
| f. [n-í] | g. | [m-é] |
| he/she-P1 |  | I-P1 |

In the sections below, the correspondences between the current-day phonemes of Kol and the reconstructed phonemes of Proto-Bantu will be explored.

## 3 Consonant correspondences

The discussion of consonant correspondences below have been organized by places of articulation, beginning at the front of the mouth and moving towards the back. Meeussen (1965:83) notes that the occurrence of voiceless nasalized stops is very restricted. These will be discussed where there are correspondences, but there are not correspondences at each place of articulation.

### 3.1 Labial CONSONANTS

### 3.1.1 ${ }^{*}$ b

In modern-day Kol, the most common reflex of *b is a direct
correspondence, i.e. that * b stays $/ \mathrm{b} /$, in both $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ and $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ positions.
(7) $* b_{1}>b$

| *bá | 'dwell, be, become' | $>$ | bá | 'be' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *bád | 'marry' | $>$ bâ | 'marry' |  |
| *bángá | 'jaw' (11) | $>$ | báygô | 'jaw' (7) |
| *bíad | 'give birth' | $>$ | byâ | 'bear child' |
| *bîil | 'excreta' (13,6) | $>$ | mə̀-bî | 'excrement' (6) |
| *báká | 'knife' (9) | $>$ | è-báág | 'knife' (5) |
| *bògà | 'hoe' | $>$ | bòòg | 'hoe' (5) (pl. mə̀mpòòg) |

The plural of 'hoe' is worthy of note. This appears to be a class 10
plural which has been moved to class 6 . Historically, class 9 nouns formed their plurals in class 10 , while synchronically in Kol they form their plurals in class 6. This noun and other "double-marked" nouns are discussed in chapter 3, section 1.3.
(8) ${ }^{*} b_{2}>b$

| *dób | 'fish with a line' | $>$ | dùb | 'fish with a line' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *gùbà | 'shield' (9) | $>$ | ŋkùbò | 'shield' (9) |
| *jíb | 'steal' | $>$ | jíbò | 'steal' |
| *kúbà | 'chicken' (9/6) | $>$ | kúbò | 'chicken' (1) |


| *bòbè | 'spider' $(5,11)$ | $>$ | bùb | 'spider' (5) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *tób | 'pierce' | $>$ | túbò | 'pierce ears' |
| *tábè | 'twig, branch' $(5,9)$ | $>$ | lôb | 'branch' (3) |
| *tóóbá | 'six' (3) | $>$ | twób | 'six' |

If *b occurs at the beginning of a verb, it becomes $/ \mathrm{w} /$, as shown
below.

| (9) *béd | 'boil' | $>$ | wûl | 'boil (food)' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *bèng | 'drive, chase' | $>$ | wîng | 'drive away, chase' |
|  | *badek | 'fear, flee' | $>$ | wàl |
| 'fear of risk' (7) |  |  |  |  |

There are a few verbs which have maintained the *b, but they are all very common verbs (be, marry, bear children). These are shown in (7) above. Their lexical frequency may have maintained the proto-sound.

The *b has two prenasalized reflexes $/ \mathrm{mp} /$ and $/ \mathrm{mb} /$. As has been noted for other A-zone languages, this "double reflex" may be explained by looking at the morphological environment (Janssens 1993). All of the words which have / mp / or / mb / reflexes in their $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ slot are nouns. The nouns with $/ \mathrm{mp} /$ are all nouns which belong to proto classes 9 or 11. Class 9 is noted for having a historic noun class prefix which was a non-syllabic homorganic nasal. It is possible that class 11 nouns were absorbed into class 9 , and then
underwent this sound change before moving again to other classes (mostly 1 and 7). The fact that both class 9 and class 11 nouns had their plural in class 10 may have made it relatively easy for these two noun classes to merge.

As was noted in chapter 3, most NC initial words in class 9 have a voiceless consonant after the nasal. The class 10 nasal prefix still actively devoices the following consonant. This synchronic evidence makes it less surprising that *b corresponds to $/ \mathrm{mp} /$.

| (10) *bànjé | 'rib, side' (11) | $>$ | mpànj | 'side of body' (7) |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *bòmà | 'python' (9) | $>$ | mpwàm | 'python' (1) |
| *búdà | 'rain' (9) | $>$ | mpú | 'rain' (1) |
| *búè | 'gray hair' (9,11) | $>$ | mpí | 'white hair' (10) |

Of the two nouns with a/mb/ $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ reflex, one is historically class 3 , and thus would have had a *mo- noun prefix marker, while the other is historically class 15 . In many languages, the *mo- of class 3 (and the similar prefix in class 1) lost its vowel and became a syllabic nassal prefix.

$$
\begin{array}{rllll}
\text { (11) *bókò } & \text { 'arm' (15) } & > & \text { mbwó } & \text { 'arm' (3) (pl. mòbwó) } \\
\text { *bòmbò } & \text { 'bundle' (3) } & > & \text { mbùmb } & \text { 'bundle' (3) }
\end{array}
$$

Finally, there is one noun which appears to have a /mpy/ reflex. It is not clear what is the source of the palatalization. It is a historic class 9 noun,
and we would expect a non-palatalized pre-nasalized stop as a reflex of the *b.
(12) *bóà 'dog' $(9,12) \quad>\quad$ mpyó $\quad$ 'dog' (1)

In $C_{2}$ position, $/ b /$ is the most common reflex of $* b$, as was mentioned above. However, there is also a word with a / $\mathrm{m} /$ correspondence.
(13) *gùbà 'bellows' (3) > kwòm 'bellows'

### 3.1.1.1 Summary

To summarize, the primary correspondence of $* b$ is $/ b /$ in both $C_{1}$ and $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ positions. At the beginning of a noun, *b would have corresponded to /p/ when following a nonsyllabic nasal prefix (class 9 or 10) and would have remained /b/ when following a syllabic nasal or CV- prefix. The syllabic nasal then became assimilated into the nominal stem, resulting in the difference between the $/ \mathrm{mb} /$ and $/ \mathrm{b} /$ correspondences. At the beginning of verbs, *b became /w/, except for some common verbs where *b stayed /b/. $\mathrm{As}{ }^{*} \mathrm{~b}_{2}$, ${ }^{\mathrm{b}}$ remained /b/.

### 3.1.2 ${ }^{*}$ p

Synchronically, there are no native voiceless bilabial stops in Kol.

There are a few words which begin with $/ \mathrm{p} /$, but these can all be identified as Ewondo borrowings (Begne 1989:32). In root-initial position, the historic ${ }^{*} \mathrm{p}$ has either been weakened to the voiceless labiodental fricative /f/, has become voiced as in /b/, has become part of a prenasalized stop as in $/ \mathrm{mp}$ / or $/ \mathrm{mb} /$, or has been weakened and voiced as in $/ \mathrm{w} /$. /b/ may be found in either the $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ or $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position, but $/ \mathrm{f} /, / \mathrm{w} /, / \mathrm{mb} /$ and $/ \mathrm{mp}$ / only occur rootinitially.

### 3.1.2.1 $\quad{ }^{*} p$ in $C_{1}$ position

In order to explain the numerous correspondences of ${ }^{*} \mathrm{p}$ in $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ position, it is necessary to separate nominal roots from verbal roots. As the $C_{1}$ in verbal roots, *p has the following reflexes: $\{\mathrm{f}, \mathrm{w}\}$.

The primary reflex of *p at the beginning of verbal roots is $/ \mathrm{f} /$.

| (14) *pép | 'winnow' | $>$ | fyàb | 'winnow' |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *pènd | 'braid' | $>$ | fə̀nd | 'braid' |
| *poon | 'admire' | $>$ | fààg | 'admire' |
| *píp | 'suck' | $>$ | fyê | 'suck' |

The /w/ reflex is the easiest to describe, since there are only two examples. It appears that *p became /w/ when it occurred at the beginning of a verbal stem, followed by *a. This is very similar to the environment suggested above for the ${ }^{*} \mathrm{~b}>\mathrm{w}$ correspondence, where ${ }^{*} \mathrm{~b}_{1}>\mathrm{w}$ in verbal stems. Since *p can become /b/between vowels, as it does when it is in $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position as described below, I will suggest that this is an example of a sound change chain, where *p $>\mathrm{b}>\mathrm{w}$.

| (15) *pá | 'give to, gratify' | $>$ | wá | 'give, put' |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *páad | 'quarrel (v)' | $>$ | wó | 'quarrel' |

In nominal roots, *p has the following correspondences: $\{\mathrm{w}, \mathrm{mp}, \mathrm{b}, \mathrm{mb}$, f\}. Since for *b, different reflexes occurred when following different kind of nominal prefixes, it could be important to separate nouns according to their historical class membership. The reflexes $/ \mathrm{f} / \mathrm{s} / \mathrm{w} / \mathrm{s} / \mathrm{mp} /$ and $/ \mathrm{b} /$ occur in historic class 9 nouns, while the reflexes $/ \mathrm{mb} /$ and $/ \mathrm{v} /$ only occur in class 3 nouns.

Below are the class 9 cognate pairs which have been found for nouns beginning with *p. It is interesting that all but four of these correspondences are completely missing the nasal that was historically the noun class marker.
(The exceptions are in (20).) However, it is not that surprising, since for a number of related languages (e.g. Ewondo), the nasal prefix was deleted before voiceless stops (Janssens 1993:147). If this did occur in Kol, then that suggests that the words showing the /mp/ correspondence may be borrowings.

| (16) *pígò | 'kidney' (9) | $>$ | mbǎy fig | 'kidney' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| *pókò | 'mouse, rat' (1,5,9) |  | fû | 'mouse' (1) |
| * pótá | 'wound' ( 7,9 ) | $>$ | fóy | 'wound' |
| *pénjù | 'cockroach' (9) | $>$ | fînj | 'cockroach' (1) |
| *pùùpà | 'wind' (9) | > | fùbś | 'wind' (7) |
| *pómpó | 'pigeon' (7, 9) | $>$ | lè-fàb | 'pigeon' (5) |
| *pempa | 'night' (9) | $>$ | fùm | 'night' (3) |
| (17) *pádè | 'polygamy' (9) | > | wál | 'polygamy' (7) |
| *pàkò | 'tree-hollow' (9) | $>$ | è-wúg | 'hole' (5) |
| *pédè | 'puff-adder' (9) | $>$ | wúrò | 'puff adder' (7) |
| *púdì | 'foam' (9) | $>$ | è-wúlè | 'foam' (5) |
| (18) *pádà | 'forehead' $(9,11)$ | > | è-bàdà | 'forehead' (5) |
| *pákù | 'honey' (9) | $>$ | bwǎg | 'harvest honey' |
| (19) *pákà | 'cat' (9) | $>$ | mpà | 'wild cat' (7) |
| *puks | 'hair' (6) | $>$ | mpùjò | 'hair' (10) |
| *pàpá | 'wing' ( 5,11 ) | $>$ | mpyàb | 'wing' (5) |
| *póngó | 'bird, eagle' (9) | $>$ | mpàl | 'eagle' (7) |

In trying to establish conditioning for these different reflexes of * p , it is hard to know whether to look at the historical environment or the synchronic environment. It is interesting that synchronically, /w/ appears mostly before /u/, while /b/ appears mostly before /a/. However, /f/ also appears before both $/ \mathrm{u} /$ and $/ \mathrm{a} /$. Synchronically, these nouns mostly belong to the same classes, classes 5 and 7. They do not change their initial consonant when the plural mò- or bè- is added.

Looking at nouns that were historically in class 1 or 3, I was only able to find one clear cognate set for *p.
(20) *pénì 'pestle' (3) $>$ mbîn 'pestle' (3)

There is also a * $\mathrm{p}>/ \mathrm{v} /$ correspondence. $/ \mathrm{v} /$ is a marginal phoneme in Kol, so this word is probably borrowed.
(21) *pengo 'ebony' (3) è̀-vîn 'ebony tree' (5)

### 3.1.2.2 ${ }^{*} p$ in $C_{2}$ position

In $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position, ${ }^{*} \mathrm{p}$ consistently has a reflex of $/ \mathrm{b} /$.

| (22) *dupek | 'sharpen' | $>$ | jàb | 'sharpen (knife)' |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *kápí | 'paddle, oar' (9) | $>$ | Økj̀̀̀b | 'paddle' (9) |
| *kúpà | 'bone' (5) | $>$ | fòb | 'fish bone' (9) |


| "pàpá | 'wing' $(5,11)$ | $>$ | mpyàb 'wing' (5) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *pép | 'winnow' | $>$ | fyàb 'winnow' |

### 3.1.2.3 Summary

To summarize, *p always corresponds to the voiced bilabial stop /b/ in $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position. As the initial consonant of verbs, * p corresponds to / $\mathrm{w} /$ before /a/, and /f/ everywhere else. As the initial consonant of nouns, *p corresponds to $/ \mathrm{mb} /$ after the nasal prefix of class 3 , and as $/ \mathrm{f} / \mathrm{h} / \mathrm{w} /, \mathrm{h} /$ or $/ \mathrm{mp}$ / after the nasal prefix (synchronically no longer present) of class 9.

### 3.1.3 *m

In $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ position, all examples of *m directly corresponds to $/ \mathrm{m} /$.
(23) *mea 'calm, quiet' (7) > myòy 'quiet'
*mìd 'swallow, devour' > mìnゝ̀ 'swallow'

In $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position, this is also the case most of the time, as is shown below.

| (24) *bòmà | 'python' (9) | $>$ | mpwàm | 'python' (1) |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *démà | 'bat' (3) | $>$ | njêm | 'bat' (3) |
| *kém | 'call, cry (v)' | $>$ | kêm | 'scream, cry out' |
| *kémà | 'monkey' | $>$ | kâm | 'monkey' (1) |
| *kómì | 'ten' (5) | $>$ | wúm | 'ten' (5) |

However, there is one example where *m seems to correspond to $/ \mathrm{mb} /$. It is interesting that this is a word which also begins with a
prenasalized stop. The opposite correspondence is much more common and will be discussed below.
(25) *gòmà 'drum' (9) $>$ 引kùmb 'medium drum' (9)

To summarize, *m directly corresponds to $/ \mathrm{m} /$ in $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ position and most of the time directly corresponds to $/ \mathrm{m} /$ in $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position. However, there is one example of a *m > mb correspondence, as demonstrated above.

### 3.1.4 *mb

No roots have been reconstructed with an initial *mb. However, in the $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position, sometimes *mb corresponds to $/ \mathrm{mb} /$, sometimes it corresponds to $/ \mathrm{m} /$, and sometimes it corresponds to $/ \mathrm{b} /$. The latter two appear to be a case of simplification.

| (26) *bòmbj̀ | 'bundle' (3) | $>$ | mbùmb | 'bundle' (3) |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *dámb | 'cook' (v) | $>$ | jâmb | 'prepare food, cook' |
| *dímb | 'get lost' | $>$ | dîmb | 'be lost' |
| *dómb | 'ask for' | $>$ | jwâmb | 'ask, request s.th.' |
| *jàmbé | 'god' (9) | $>$ | ncìmbé | 'god' (1) |
| *gòmbá | 'porcupine' (9) | $>$ | nkwòmb | 'porcupine' (1) |
| *kombe | 'bank, shore' | $>$ | kómb | 'side' |


| (27) | *jemba | 'antbear' (9) | $>$ | yímò | 'antbear' (1) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | *dòmbò | 'sibling (opp.sex) | $>$ | ntúm | 'her brother' (1) |
|  | * comb | 'be on top' | $>$ | ¢úmòló | 'upper (arm)' (9) |
|  | *dùmb | 'smell' | $>$ | nùmə̀lò | 'smell' |
| (28) | *càmb | 'leap over' | $>$ | kâb | 'jump' |
|  | *támb | 'call' | $>$ | jáb | 'call' |
|  | *kómbè | 'cup' | $>$ | kwóbò | 'cup' (1) |

### 3.1.5 *mp

As was mentioned above, there are few reconstructed words containing voiceless prenasalized stops. Below are two correspondences. The *mp here shows the same reflexes as *mb described above. In Kol today, voiced and voiceless stops are neutralized at the ends of words. It may be that *mp was neutralized with *mb once the final vowel was lost.

| (29) *pómpó | pigeon' $(7,9)$ | $>$ | lè-fàb | 'pigeon' (5) |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | *pempa | 'night' (9) | $>$ | fùm |
|  |  | 'night' (3) |  |  |

### 3.2 ALVEOLAR CONSONANTS

3.2.1 ${ }^{*}$ d
*d has a number of reflexes in current-day Kol. It may correspond to $\{d, j, n j, l, r, n$, nd or $y\}$. The $C_{1}$ reflexes will be examined first, followed by
those for the $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position. $/ \mathrm{j}$ / is the most common correspondence for both nouns and verbs.

### 3.2.1.1 $\quad *$ din $C_{1}$ position

Since morphological category may be important, below is a discussion of the $C_{1}$ correspondences in nouns, followed by a discussion of the $C_{1}$ correspondences in verbs.

The clearest case will be dealt with first. *d corresponds to $/ \mathrm{nj} /$ for nouns in noun classes which have nasals in their reconstructed singular prefixes.

| (30) *démà | 'bat' (3) | $>$ | njêm | 'bat' (3) (pl. mèjêm) |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *dómè | 'husband, male' $>$ | njùm | 'husband, male' (1) (pl. bòjûm) |  |
| *dòngà 'river' (3) | $>$ | njwǎy | 'river' (9) |  |
| *dèdゝ̀ | 'boundary' (3) | $>$ | njì | 'frontier' (9) |
| *dà | 'entrails' (11) | $>$ | njà | 'intestines' (3) |

Below are also three examples where *d corresponds to /j/ where there used to be a nasal prefix. In general, historic class 11 nouns seem to have been absorbed into class 9, maybe due to their common plural in class 10. These nouns may have regularized their singular forms with their plural. As
can be seen for 'bat' and 'husband' above, some singulars which begin with a nasal synchronically do not have a nasal in their plural form.

$$
\begin{array}{rllll}
\text { (31) *dúdé } & \text { 'shadow' (3) } & > & \text { júkóbś } & \text { 'shadow' } \\
\text { *démì } & \text { 'tongue' (11) } & > & \text { jôm } & \text { 'tongue' (7) (pl. bìjôm) } \\
\text { "dèdù } & \text { 'beard' }(7,9,11) & > & \text { jòl } & \text { 'beard' (9) (no pl.) }
\end{array}
$$

Below are two examples which are both nominalizations of verbs and therefore may have passed through a stage where they were in a class that began with a nasal prefix. For example, in the the $F$ and $G$ zones, the nominalized form of the verb 'to deceive' is a class 3 noun.

$$
\begin{array}{cllll}
\text { (32) *dó } & \text { 'sleep' (13) } & > & \text { jwò } & \text { 'sleep' (5) } \\
\text { *dóng } & \text { 'suggest' } & > & \text { bè-jáy } & \text { 'lies' (8) }
\end{array}
$$

There is also one odd occurrence where *d corresponds to /t/ after the nasal prefix and one example where it corresponds to $/ \mathrm{s} /$ in a similar environment. The first example below is parallel to what was seen for *b, which had a number of $/ \mathrm{mp}$ / correspondences. However, this is the only example of its kind (nor are there $/ \mathrm{nc} /$ correspondences). The latter is likely to be a borrowing through the church languages of Bulu or Ewondo.

| (33) *dòmbò | 'sibling (opp.sex) | $>$ | ntúm | 'her brother' (1) |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *dímò | 'spirit' (3) | $>$ | sísìm | 'spirit' (3) |

The direct correspondence of $* \mathrm{~d}$ to $/ \mathrm{d} /$ is found where the proto consonant would have been between two vowels. Perhaps more importantly though, two of these are class 5 nouns, where it is hard to know whether the synchronic /d/ which remains is a reflex of the ${ }^{*} \mathrm{~d}_{1}$ of the root, or of the $* \mathrm{~d}$ of the class 5 prefix. Note that 'beak' and 'chin, jaw' lose their /d/'s in the plural.

| (34) *dongo | 'beak' (3) | $>$ | dúúg | 'beak' (5) (pl. múúg) |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *dèdù | 'chin' (7,9,11) | $>$ | dôz | 'chin, jaw' (5) (môz) |
| *dìbà | 'pool, depth' (5) | $>$ | mò-díbś | 'water' (6) |

The class 5 prefix is synchronically either $\grave{e}$ - or $l \grave{e}$-, making $/ l /$ also a correspondence of *d, because the proto-class 5 forms are *i- (nominal prefix) and *di- (concord prefix). This reflex also shows up in a few nouns, most of them class 5 nouns synchronically, as shown below. Here, if the initial $/ 1 /$ is due to the class 5 prefix historically, it has been reinterpreted over the course of time, since the plural also has $/ 1 /$.

| (35) *dòng | 'speak, talk' | $>$ | lôy | 'speech' (5) (pl. mòlôn) |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *dàdok | 'be mad' | $>$ | làd | 'crazy person' (7) |
| *dàdá | 'palm tree' (3) | $>$ | lád | 'palm tree' (5) (mòlád) |
| *dako | 'horn' | $>$ | làg | 'horn' (5) (pl. mòlàg) |

The correspondence of *d to /y/ is very rare in nouns though there are also a few examples of the same correspondence in verbs. When *d corresponds to $/ \mathrm{y} /$ it tends to be followed by a front vowel, though this is not enough to completely distinguish this correspondence from those given above.

$$
\begin{array}{rllll}
\text { (36) *dèndé } & \text { 'open pit' (5) } & > & \text { yénj } & \text { 'open place, clearing' (7) } \\
\text { *dàmá } & \text { 'young animal' } & > & \text { yém } & \text { 'domesticated animal' }
\end{array}
$$

Finally, there is one cognate pair where *d corresponds to $/ \mathrm{n} /$. This is a common reflex across Bantu languages, particularly where the second $C$ is also a nasal.
(37) *dj̀mò 'entry, mouth' (3) > nùm 'mouth' (3)

This might have been an example of Meinhof's rule, where by complex nasal units are simplified when they precede another nasal. A possible series of changes is shown below.

```
*NV-doms > ndoms > nnэms > nomっ > num
```

For verbs, *d commonly corresponds to /j/, as shown below. These verbs tend to have non-high vowels in the reconstructed forms.

| (39) *dámb | 'cook (v)' | $>$ | jâmb | 'prepare food, cook' |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *dèd | 'weep, cry, wail' | $>$ | jì̀ | 'cry, weep' |
| *dupek | 'sharpen' | $>$ | jàb | 'sharpen (knife)' |
| *dáad | 'sleep (v.)' | $>$ | já | 'sleep (v.)' |
| *dèet | 'lick' | $>$ | jâl | 'lick' |
| *dàmok | 'early, wake up' | $>$ | jòm | 'wake up' |
| *dè | 'be' | $>$ | jì | 'be (att.)' |
| *dómb | 'ask for' | $>$ | jwâmb | 'ask, request s.th' |
| *dók | 'vomit' | $>$ | jû | 'vomit (v)' |

The direct correspondence also occurs fairly frequently. These verbs tend to have high vowels in the reconstructed forms.

| (40) *dób | 'fish with a line' | $>$ | dùb | 'fish with line' |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *dúg | 'paddle (v.)' | $>$ | dúgò | 'paddle (v.)' |
| *dùt | 'pull, drag' | $>$ | dùlà | 'pull' |
| *dé | 'eat' | $>$ | dò | 'eat' |
| *dìb | 'stop up' | $>$ | dìbál̂̂ | 'stop up' |
| *dímb | 'get lost' | $>$ | dîmb | 'be lost' |

There are also a couple of examples where *d corresponds to $/ 1 /$,
which is consistent with one of the nominal patterns and with the synchronic class 5 marker.

| (41) *dòb | 'speak, talk' | $>$ | làb | 'speak, talk' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | *dàg | 'show' | $>$ | lágə̀lò | 'show'

Additionally, *d corresponds to $/ \mathrm{y} /$ and $/ \mathrm{n} /$ in exactly the same places in verbs as it did in nouns. /y/ is a reflex of *d when *d precedes front vowels, and $/ \mathrm{n} /$ is a reflex of $* \mathrm{~d}$ when the second consonant in the word is also a nasal. However, once again, this is not enough to account for why there are not more pairs with $/ \mathrm{y} /$ and $/ \mathrm{n} /$ reflexes since more than the words below would fulfill those conditions.

| (42) | *déd | 'float, swing' | $>$ | yôlòn | 'swing' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | *díong | 'wander' | $>$ | yángà | 'wander' |
|  | *dèng | 'measure' | $>$ | yììg | 'measure' |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (43) *dùmb | 'smell' | $>$ | nùmàlò 'smell' |  |  |

Additionally, there is one other correspondence, $/ \mathrm{t} /$, with only one cognate pair. There is not enough data to understand the conditioning, and it probably a borrowing since it exists alongside a word with the expected correspondence.

| (44) *dò 'fight' |  | túnà <br>  | júnà fight with weapons' <br> 'fight (v)' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

### 3.2.1.2 $\quad$ * $d$ in $C_{2}$ position

The primary correspondence of ${ }^{*} \mathrm{~d}$ in a $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position is $/ \mathrm{l} /$.

| *béd | 'boil' | $>$ | wûl | 'boil (food)' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *kúdù | 'tortoise' (9) | $>$ | kûl | 'tortoise' (7) |
| *túd | 'forge (v)' | $>$ | lúlò | 'hit with a hammer' |
| "déd | 'float, swing' | $>$ | yôlòn | 'swing' |
| *bùd | 'become plentiful' $>$ | bùlù | 'a lot, many' |  |
| *dèdù | 'beard' | $>$ | jòl | 'beard' (9) |
| *badek | 'fear, flee' | $>$ | wàl | 'fear of risk' (7) |
| *cùd | 'fart' | $>$ | nǎg fùl 'fart' |  |
| *púdì | 'foam' (9) | $>$ | è-wúlè | 'foam' (5) |
| *tàd | 'cut open' | $>$ | càl | 'cut down tree' |

If *d is followed by a low vowel, then *d corresponds to $/ \mathrm{d} /$, which for many speakers is weakened to [r].

| (46) | *jíd | 'get dark' | $>$ | è-yìdé | 'darkness' (5) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | *pédè | 'puff-adder' (9) | $>$ | wúdò | 'puff adder' (7) |
|  | *gòdò | 'leg' (15/6) | $>$ | dù | 'leg' (pl. mòdù) (5) |
|  | *pádà | 'forehead' | $>$ | è-bàdà | 'forehead' (5) |

*d can also correspond to /nd/. Words with this reflex all begin with a palatal or velar nasal. However, there are also palatal and velar initial roots which have /l/ correspondences.

| (47) *jíd | 'become black' | $>$ | yíndê | 'black' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *kj́kj̀dà | 'elbow' | $>$ | ykwéndé | 'elbow' (1) |
| *cèd | 'slip' | $>$ | jàndòlà $^{19}$ | 'slip' |

If the first consonant in the word is a nasal, then it seems that *d can correspond to $/ \mathrm{n} /$, as is illustrated below. Again, this is the only cognate pair illustrating this pattern.
(48) *mìd 'devour, swallow' > mìǹ̀ 'swallow'

Finally, there are some correspondences of $* d$ to $/ \mathrm{z} /$. These are all synchronically after back vowels, though it is not clear why they would be a trigger for such a weakening process (which differs from the synchronic weakening of $/ \mathrm{d} /$ to $[\mathrm{r}]$ ).

| (49) *dèdù | 'chin' (7,9,11) | $>$ | dôz | 'chin' (5) |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *gòd | 'buy, barter' | $>$ | kùzò | 'buy' |
| *mòdè | 'torch, bright' | $>$ | mòz | 'torch, lamp' (3) |
| *jàdí | 'lightning (9) | $>$ | njòz | 'lightning' (3) |

### 3.2.1.3 Summary

To summarize, * $\mathrm{d}_{1}$ corresponds to $/ \mathrm{j} /$ after a nasal prefix and to $/ \mathrm{d} /$
when it occurs after a CV- prefix. The environments which led to the $/ 1 /$ and

[^14]$/ \mathrm{y} /$ reflexes are less clear. $/ \mathrm{l} /$ corresponds to *d in the class 5 prefix, as well as in a few nouns and verbs. $/ \mathrm{y}$ / only occurs as a reflex of *d when *d was followed by a front vowel (in both nouns and verbs), but this vowel cannot be the only conditioning factor. It is possible that an alveolar $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ is the other conditioning factor. Finally, there is one correspondence $/ \mathrm{n} /$ in a conditioning environment that would be consistent with Meinhof's law.

In $C_{2}$ position, the most common reflex of * d is $/ 1 /$. If $* d$ precedes a low vowel, it corresponds to /d/ which is weakened to [r] for many speakers. Some words also show a *d to /z/ reflex which could also be the result of weakening. Some words also exhibit a /nd/ reflex, but the conditioning reflex is not clear. Finally, it may be the case that when the $C_{1}$ is nasal, a nasal harmony is triggered, resulting in a correspondence of $/ \mathrm{n} /$.

### 3.2.2 *t

3.2.2.1 ${ }^{*} t$ in $C_{1}$ position

There are three correspondences to *t at the beginning of a noun: / $\mathrm{t} /$, $/ \mathrm{d} /$, and $/ 1 /$. The $/ \mathrm{d} /$ correspondence seems the easiest to explain. *t corresponds to /d/ after the nasal prefix of class 9. It is not surprising that there is no trace of the nasal prefix in the reflexes of the class 9 words below,
since as has already been mentioned, the nasal was generally deleted before a voiceless stop.

$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text { (50) *tòìgà } & \text { 'giraffe' (9) } & > & \text { dwâng 'giraffe' (1) }  \tag{1}\\
\text { *tùut } & \text { 'swell (v)' } & > & \text { dwàl } & \text { 'tumor' }
\end{array}
$$

It is interesting that /d/ is also a reflex for a historical class 5 noun, since the historical prefixes for class 5 were *i and *di-.
(51) *tàngá 'cattle post' (5) > dày 'herd (cattle, sheep)'

Discovering a conditioning environment, either phonological or morphological for $/ \mathrm{t} / \mathrm{vs} / \mathrm{l} /$ is trickier. Both occur before the same vowels, before the same tones, and in the same root shapes. There is also a mixing of morphological categories. /t/ occurs in what would have historically been an intervocalic environment (after a CV- prefix, as for class 5 nouns and the word 'five' which agrees with the head noun it modifies and thus would have followed several CV- concord prefixes). However, it also occurs with class 3 nouns, which would have been marked by a syllabic nasal.

| (52) | *táánó | 'five' | $>$ | tón | 'five' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | *tóóbá | 'six' (3) | $>$ | twób | 'six' |
|  | *tíndí | 'heel' (5) | $>$ | tíndìgì | 'heel' |
|  | *tító | 'animal' (3) | $>$ | tíd | 'animal' (7) |

/l/ also occurs after what would have been a nasal prefix in a number
of the historic class 3 and 9 examples below. The historically class 9 noun with an $/ 1 /$ reflex is especialy surprising.

| (53) | *táà | 'bow' (14) | $>$ | lâ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |$\quad$ 'bow' (7)

At the beginning of a verb, $/ l /$ is the most common correspondence for *t. It is interesting however, that for the examples below, *t only once precedes a front vowel.

| (54) | *túng | 'build, plait' | $>$ | lúyò |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | *tèd | 'sew' | $>$ | lààd |
| *túd | 'forge (v)' | $>$ | lúl̀̀ | 'sew' |
| *tóg | 'bail water' | $>$ | lwôg with a hammer' | 'bail water' |
| *tóm | 'send' | $>$ | lwômbàlò | 'send on an errand' |
| *túm | 'stab' | $>$ | lúmò | 'stab' |
| *támb 'set trap' | $>$ | lâmb | 'set trap' |  |
| *tó 'bite' | $>$ | lû | 'sting, strike (snake)' |  |

In fact, there are only five examples where *t precedes a front vowel, the one given above (*tèd), the three given in (55) and (56), and the first example of (58). For two of these, *t corresponds to $/ \mathrm{s} /$.

| (55) | *téamod | 'sneeze' | $>$ | sâmbàl̀̀ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |$\quad$ 'sneeze'

For another, *t corresponds to /c/, as shown below.
(56) *tèet 'cut' > cè 'cut'

However, this is an interesting semantic field to look at. To begin with, there is another proto-Bantu root, cعEc, also meaning 'to cut.' It is not clear which root the Kol word is related to. It may be a direct reflex *c>c, or rather *t $>\mathrm{c}$. The *c root is attested in Zone C , but not in A , while the *t root is attested in Zones A, B and C. Since there are no other reflexes of *c> c or of *t > c at the beginning of a word (other than what is shown below), the origin of 'cut' remains a mystery. The $/ \mathrm{s} /$ at the beginning of 'cut open' is also odd in light of the rest of the semantic field.

| (57) | *béd | 'cut' | bà | 'cut' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | *tèet | 'cut' | cè | 'cut' |
|  | *tàd | 'cut open' | sààl | 'cut open' |
|  |  | càl | 'cut down tree' |  |


|  | cíg | 'cut' |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  | cígə̀l̀̀ | 'cut into pieces' |
| *kék 'cut' | kèn | 'cut hair' |  |

For the fourth example of *t before a front vowel, given as the first example below, *t corresponds to /t/. The next two examples are confusing, since $/ \mathrm{t} /$ corresponds to ${ }^{*} \mathrm{t}$ in the same phonological environments as was shown for /l/ above, namely before a back vowel.

| (58) | *tínd | 'push' | $>$ | tíndə̀lò |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | 'push with pole (canoe)'

In fact, there are an additional two correspondences for *t before a back vowel, $/ \mathrm{J} /$ and $/ \mathrm{j} /$. There is only one example for $/ \mathrm{S} /$, so it may be able to be ignored, but there are three for $/ \mathrm{j} /$. Again, this is an area for further research.

| (59) *táng | 'be first' |  | $>$ | jwôg | 'be in front' |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (60) *tòkot | 'be hot, sweat' | $>$ | júyə̀ | 'be hot (person)' |  |
|  | *támb | 'call' | $>$ | jáb | 'call' |
|  | *tànd | 'spread' | $>$ | jênj | 'spread (disease, fire)' |

### 3.2.2.2 ${ }^{*} t$ in $C_{2}$ position

In $C_{2}$ position, *t corresponds to $/ \mathrm{l} /$ when there is a final vowel and to /d/ when it is root-final synchronically, as shown below.

| (61) *dùt | 'pull, drag' | $>$ | dùl̀̀ | 'pull' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | *ját-ab | 'answer' | $>$ | yàlà | | 'answer (v)' |
| :---: |
| (62) *tító |

### 3.2.2.3 Summary

For ${ }^{*} t_{1}$, after the non-syllabic nasal prefix of class $9,{ }^{*} t$ corresponds to $/ \mathrm{d} /$. There are also examples where it appears that the /d/correspondence has been influenced by noun membership in class 5. *t also corresponds to $/ t /$ and $/ \mathrm{l}$ at the beginning of nouns.

At the beginning of verbs, $/ \mathrm{l} /$ is the most common correspondence, though it appears to only occur before back vowels. When preceding a front vowel, *t corresponds to $/ \mathrm{s} / \mathrm{s} / \mathrm{t} /$ and $/ \mathrm{c} /$. Before back vowels, there are also a few correspondences of $* t$ to $/ \mathrm{t} / \mathrm{s} / \mathrm{J} /$ and $/ \mathrm{j} /$.

As was described above, in $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position, *t corresponds to $/ 1 /$ when the final vowel has been preserved and to /d/ when it is root-final synchronically.

### 3.2.3 * $n$

In nouns, adjectives and function words, the proto-alveolar nasal always corresponds to a synchronic alveolar nasal, in both $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ and $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ positions.

| (63) | * $\mathrm{n}_{1}>\mathrm{n}$ |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | *nà | 'and, with' | $>$ |  | nò |$\quad$| 'and, with' |
| :--- |

In verbs, however, *n seems to correspond to $/ \mathrm{n} /$, as shown by the three examples below. (The only verb found with a direct correspondence is the word for 'big' above, which may actually be a verb 'to be big.') In Kol, infinitives are marked with the class 5 prefix, and Meeussen notes that it may be possible to reconstruct that in proto-Bantu (1965:111). The historic class 5 prefix *i- may have conditioned palatalization of the alveolar nasal.

| *nínk | 'give' | $>$ | nìg | 'give back' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *nè | 'defecate' | $>$ | nàg | 'defecate' |
| *nòkod | 'tear off, extract' | $>$ | nà | 'tear' |

There is also one more verb beginning with * n which seems to have a correlate in modern-day Kol. There are no other examples with a similar /t/ correspondence.
(66) *nùn 'be old' $>$ túl 'be old'

### 3.2.4 *nd

There are no clear examples of ${ }^{*}$ nd in $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ position. However, in $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position, *nd almost always corresponds to /nd/.
(67) *gàndó 'crocodile' (9) > ŋkj̀ndô 'crocodile' (1)
*gòndè 'moon' (9) > nkùnd 'moon' (9)
*kándà 'cloth' $(3,5,9)>$ kánd 'cloth' (7)
*kj̀nd $\grave{~ ' b a n a n a ' ~(5) ~>~ k w a ̀ n d ~ ' p l a n t a i n ' ~(7) ~}$
*tínd 'push' $\quad$ tíndàl̀̀ 'push with pole'
*gèndò 'journey' (11) > $\gg$ kònd 'journey' (7)
*tíndí 'heel' (5) > tíndìgì 'heel'
There are a few examples, where *nd may correspond to /nj/. This may be palatalization since the *nd is otherwise surrounded by palatals or the front vowels $\{i, e\}$. It cannot be just the vowel, since otherwise we would
expect the *nd in 'heel' to also become palatalized under the effect of the high front vowel /i/.

(68) *dèndé | 'open pit' (5) | $>$ | yénj | 'open place, clearing' (7) |  |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | *céndé | 'squirrel' | $>$ | sínj |
| 'squirrel' (7) |  |  |  |  |
|  | *tànd | 'spread' | $>$ | jênj |
| 'spread (disease, fire)' |  |  |  |  |

Finally, there is one possible example of simplification of the final consonant. This is most likely a correspondence of *nd $>\mathrm{nj}>\mathrm{j}$. It is common for final prenasalized stops to be simplified to a single segment, either oral or nasal, as seen for *mb and *mp above.
(69) *jòndò 'hammer' (9) $>$ ncùùj 'hammer' (9)

There is also one example where *nd may correspond to /d/. This could be seen as an example of simplification.
(70) *kèndó 'palm tree' (3) > lè-kúdó 'palm tree' (5)

### 3.2.5 *nt

As was mentioned above, voiceless prenasalized stops are very rare.

There are two possible examples, and in both cases *nt corresponds to /d/.

| (71) ntù | 'some' | $>$ | m-ùd | 'person' (1) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | kònt | 'knock, shake' | $>$ | kùdò |

### 3.3 Palatal Consonants

### 3.3.1 ${ }^{*}$ j

There are no examples of $* \mathrm{j}$ in the $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position, which is consistent with the synchronic lack of palatal consonants in the coda position. However there are a plethora of reflexes, many of them contradictory, for the $C_{1}$ position.

These are discussed below.

### 3.3.1.1 $\quad{ }^{*}$ in $C_{1}$ position

At the beginning of nouns, *j corresponds to /c/after the nasal prefix.

This is illustrated below. Since *j was voiced, the nasal prefix remains (it is only deleted before voiceless consonants).

| (72) *jògù | 'elephant' (9) | $>$ | ncwòg | 'elephant' (1) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *jòndò | 'hammer' (9) | $>$ | ncùùj | 'hammer' (9) |
| *jàdà | 'hunger' (9) | $>$ | ncà | 'hunger' (9) |
| *játé | 'buffalo' (9) | $>$ | ncwòm | 'buffalo' (7) |
| *jango | 'gall, salt' | $>$ | ìcón | 'bile or gall' |
| *jango | 'gall, salt' | $>$ | ìcà | 'bile or gall' |

However, there are a few examples of a direct correspondence in what appears to be the same morphological environment.

| (73) *jèdà | 'path' (9) | $>$ | njwón | 'path' (9) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *jóbò | 'house' (9) | $>$ | njáb | 'house' (3/4) |
|  | *jògà | 'fungus (edible)' | $>$ | jwà |
|  | 'mushroom' (7) |  |  |  |

There is also one occurrence where the *j seems to have been deleted.

There is some question though, with many of the initial *j's whether they were there at all. Janssens notes that: "The researcher has the impression from time to time that those establishing the reconstructions posited the existence of a voiced palatal sound in PB (*j in Meeussen, *y or *j in Guthrie) more for reasons of economy than on the basis of definite indications" (1993:331). The example below could just be the nasal prefix of the class 9 occurring before a vowel-initial root. It is interesting though that it is the palatal nasal, which is the form we would expect before *j but not a expected reflex of * n in a noun.

$$
\text { (74) *jókà 'snake' (9) } \quad>\quad \text { nwây 'snake' (1) }
$$

There is also one example where *j corresponds to / $\mathrm{d} /$. This is interesting because synchronically, /d/ alternates with $/ \mathrm{j}$ / in some dialects for at least this word. The Kol speakers who live along the Mbama-Messaména road say [jínò] while the Kol speakers who live further away from the road say [dínò].
(75) *jínà 'name' (5) > dínò 'name' (5) (pl. mínò)

Finally, there are a number of minor correspondences which may all be borrowed. The word for 'cooking pot' is quite unusual, since the expected correspondence is $/ \mathrm{nc} /$.

| (76) | *jemba | 'antbear' | $>$ | yímò | 'antbear' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | *jènjè | 'mane' (3) | $>$ | sáy | 'mane' (3) |
|  | *jòngó | 'cooking pot' (9) | $>$ | kòy | 'cooking pot' (9) |

As the initial consonant in verbs, *j corresponds to $/ \mathrm{j} /$ or $/ \mathrm{y} /$. The conditioning environment may be the following consonants. The /j/ reflexes are followed (or were followed) by labial consonants, while the $/ \mathrm{y} /$ reflexes are followed by alveolar consonants. However, it remains unclear why a labial consonant would maintain the proto-sound while an alveolar would condition weakening.

| (77) | *jíb | 'steal' | $>$ | jíbò | 'steal' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | *jòd | 'laugh (v)' | $>$ | jwò | 'laugh (v)' |
|  | *jípòd | 'ask (questions)' | $>$ | jí | 'ask (for info)' |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (78) | *ját-ab | 'answer' | $>$ | yàlà | 'answer' |
|  | *jíd | 'become black' | $>$ | yíndê | 'black' |

Finally, one verb in Proto-Bantu has two different correspondences in modern-day Kol, neither one of which shows the / j / or / y / correspondences illustrated above!

| (79) *jikád 'dwell, sit, stay' | $>$ | dì | 'stay, remain' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $>$ | lígò | 'stay, leave' |

### 3.3.1.2 Summary

As was mentioned above, there are no examples of $\mathrm{j}_{2} .{ }^{*} \mathrm{j}_{1}$ in nouns primarily corresponds to $/ \mathrm{c} /$ or $/ \mathrm{j} /$. All examples of $/ \mathrm{c}$ / are preceded by the class 9 nasal prefix. In verbs, ${ }^{*} \mathrm{j}_{1}$ corresponds to $/ \mathrm{j} /$ or $/ \mathrm{y} /$, with the difference possibly being triggered by the following consonant.

### 3.3.2 ${ }^{*}$ c

### 3.3.2.1 *c in C1 position

The primary reflexes of * c at the beginning of a noun are $/ \mathrm{s} /$ and $/ \mathrm{J} /$.

As was noted in the section above on synchronic variation, some dialects of

Kol have /s/ where other dialects have $/ \mathrm{S} /$. Not enough is known about this synchronic variation to know how it might have interacted with the historical evolution of *c. The $/ \int /$ reflexes are always followed by a back vowel as seen in (81), while the /s/ reflexes are followed by both front and back vowels.

| (80) | *cé | 'earth, ground' |  | $>$ sí | 'ground, earth' (7) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | * cángó | 'father' (1a) |  | > sóngò | 'father' (1) |
|  | *cádá | 'feather' ( $5,7,11$ ) |  | $>$ sà | 'feather' (9) |
|  | *céndé | 'squirrel' (7) |  | $>$ sínj | 'squirrel' (7) |
|  | *cèngà | 'sand' (3,5,9,11) |  | > sìnè | 'sand' (9) (no pl.) |
| (81) | *congo | 'banana' (5) | $>$ | Súgó | 'regime of plantains' (3) |
|  | *cúé | 'fish' | $>$ | $\int \hat{\mathbf{u}} \sim \mathbf{s u}$ | 'fish' (1) |
|  | *comb | 'be on top' | $>$ | ¢úmló | 'upper (arm)' (9) |
|  | *cónì | 'shame' (9) | $>$ | Sû | 'shame' (9) (no pl.) |

Finally, there are four correspondences of which there is only one or two examples each. One, 'axe,' appears to have an incorporated nasal prefix which may be due to its shifting classes from class 5 to class 9 which is historically (though not synchronically) marked by a nasal prefix. The next is the voiced equivalent of *c, $/ \mathrm{j} /$, and this example historically belongs to class 14 which does not exist synchronically in Kol. The other three have $/ \mathrm{k} /$ and $/ t /$ correspondences. There is not enough information to know right now what conditioned these different reflexes.

| (82) | *còká | 'axe' (5) | $>$ | ncûy |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 'axe' (9) |  |  |  |  |
|  | *cóngó 'poison' (14) | $>$ | jwòg | 'poison (n.)' |
|  | *cácè | 'spark' (5,9,11) | $>$ | kóká |
|  | 'spark' (1) |  |  |  |
|  | *coga | 'ladle' | $>$ | tûg |
| 'spoon' (1) |  |  |  |  |

$$
\text { *còdò 'smell' (9) } \quad>\text { tùd 'bad smell' }
$$

There are four correspondences for * $\mathbf{c}$ at the beginning of a verb. The most common reflex for *c at the beginning of a verb is $/ \mathrm{j} /$.

| (83) | *còk | 'wash' | $>$ | jùzà |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | 'wash' $\quad$ (also sàndàlà)

The most consistent environment is found for the change * $c>s$, as shown below. All verbs which began with *c followed by *i synchronically begin with $/ \mathrm{s} /$. However, as can be seen by the last verb below, *c also changed to /s/ before *a in 'do.'

| *cíd | 'finish' | $>$ | síl | 'finish' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *cìc | 'frighten' | $>$ | syègòlé | 'frighten' |
| *cá | 'do' | $>$ | sá | 'do' |

This overlaps with the more common correspondence of *c to $/ \mathrm{j}$ / as well as two other correspondences which seem to occur in the same environment. These are illustrated below. Each of these is in complementary distribution with the $/ \mathrm{s}$ / correspondence before *i, but it is not clear at all what the conditioning environment is that determines whether ${ }^{*} \mathrm{c}$ corresponds to $/ \mathrm{j} / \mathrm{/} / \mathrm{k} /$ or $/ \mathrm{S} /$.

| (85) | *còobod | 'skin' | $>$ | kúúr |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | 'skin animal'

As was the case for nouns, $/ \int /$ only appears before back vowels.

However, $/ \mathrm{k} /$ and $/ \mathrm{j} /$ also appear before back vowels.
$\begin{array}{llllll}\text { (86) *còng } & \text { 'sharpen to a point' } & > & \text { fwênj } & \text { 'sharpen' } \\ & \text { *cùd } & \text { 'fart' } & > & \text { nǎg fùl } & \text { 'fart' }\end{array}$

### 3.3.2.2 ${ }^{*}$ c in $C_{2}$ position

There are only three examples of ${ }^{*} c_{2}$, as shown below. This is not enough data to be able to draw any sort of conclusions about the correspondences of ${ }^{*} c_{2}$. However, it is interesting that one of these is $/ \mathrm{z} /$ which is the voiced correlate to one of the ${ }^{*} \mathrm{c}_{1}$ correspondences, $/ \mathrm{s} /$.

| (87) | *kòcò | 'parrot' (9) | $>$ | kùùz |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |$\quad$ 'parrot' (1)

### 3.3.2.3 Summary

In nouns, ${ }^{*} \mathrm{c}_{1}$ primarily corresponds to $/ \mathrm{s} /$ or $/ \mathrm{S} / . / \mathrm{S} /$ is only found preceding back vowels, while /s/ is found preceding both front and back
vowels. In addition, there is an/nc/ correspondences which may have been caused in part by interaction with the class 9 prefix.

In verbs, *c corresponds to $/ \mathrm{s} /$ when it precedes ${ }^{*} \mathrm{i}$, and to $/ \mathrm{j} / \mathrm{/} / \mathrm{s} /, / \mathrm{k} /$, or $/ \mathrm{S} /$ elsewhere. The correspondences $/ \mathrm{j} /, / \mathrm{s} /, \mathrm{k} /$ and $/ \mathrm{S} /$ occur in the same environments, but only /s/ occurs before *i.

In $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position, *c corresponds to $/ \mathrm{z} /$ or $/ \mathrm{k} /$, but there is not enough data to know which of these is the primary correspondence and/or what the conditioning environment is.

### 3.3.3 ${ }^{*} n$

There are only three clear cognate sets with the palatal nasal. It appears that the *n directly corresponds to $/ \mathrm{j} /$.

| (88) *nó | 'drink (v)' | $>$ | nwèl | 'drink (v)' |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *nam 'suck, suckle' | $>$ | nây | 'nurse, suckle' |  |
|  | *nàngó 'your mother' (1a) | $>$ | nə̀ngâ | 'mother' (1) |

### 3.3.4 *nj

In contrast to *j where there were no clear examples of it occurring in $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position, for ${ }^{*} \mathrm{nj}$, there are no clear examples of it occurring in $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ position. The examples showing correspondences of $* \mathrm{nj}$ in $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position are themselves not numerous (two). As was mentioned above, palatal consonants are rare as
codas. The example below illustrates a direct correspondence between *nj and $/ \mathrm{nj} /$, while the following example shows an erosion of ${ }^{\mathrm{nj}} \mathrm{to} / \mathrm{n} /$.

| (89) | *bànjé | 'rib, side' | $>$ | mpànj |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 'side of body' (7) |  |  |  |
|  | *bánjá | 'family' | $>$ | bèn | 'extended paternal family'

### 3.4 VELAR CONSONANTS

Meeussen does not reconstruct a velar nasal (1965:83). Below the sound correspondences for ${ }^{*} \mathrm{~g},{ }^{*} \mathrm{k}$, ${ }^{*} \mathrm{ng}$, and ${ }^{*} \mathrm{nk}$ will be discussed.

### 3.4.1 ${ }^{*} \mathbf{g}$

3.4.1.1 $\quad * g$ in $C_{1}$ position

In the $C_{1}$ position, *g has multiple reflexes. $/ \mathrm{g} /$ does not occur
synchronically in $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ position. For nominal roots, the most common correspondence is $/ \mathrm{k} /$. This is true for nouns in all of the nasal prefix classes as well as those in other classes.

| (90) | *gango | 'grass' | $>$ | ká |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 'grass, leaf (7) |  |  |  |  |
|  | *gùbà | 'bellows' | $>$ | kwòm | 'bellows'


| *gèmbóá | 'bat' | $>$ | ŋkù | 'fruit bat' (7) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *gòndغ̀ | 'moon' (9) | $>$ | ŋkùnd | 'moon' (9) |
| *gènd̀̀ | 'journey' (11) | $>$ | ŋkònd | 'journey' (7) |

There is a less common reflex, where *g corresponds to /c/. This reflex only occurs before *i, but it occurs in all classes. This corresponds to the synchronic gap of palatalization occurring with velar consonants.

| (91) *gìdá | 'blood' (6) | $>$ | cì | 'blood' (6) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | *gìd̀̀ | 'religious avoidance' | $>$ | cì |
|  | 'gì | 'fly' (9) | $>$ | ncùn |
|  | 'fly' (1) |  |  |  |

There are also a few isolated examples of other reflexes.

| (92) | *gènì | 'stranger' (1) | $>$ | njə |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | *gèdì, gèdà | 'stream' (3) | $>$ | wô |
|  |  | 'stranger' (1) |  |  |
| 'current' (3) |  |  |  |  |

In verbs, there are two reflexes, $/ \mathrm{k} /$ and $/ \mathrm{c} /$. It appears that $/ \mathrm{k} /$ is the reflex before back vowels and /c/ is the reflex before front vowels, which would parallel the noun correspondences. The one exception 'tell story' may differ because it forms a paradigm with kààn 'tale.'

| (93) | *gò | 'fall (v)' | $>$ | kùr | 'fall from high' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *gì | 'go' | $>$ | kò | 'go' |  |
|  | *gòd | 'buy, barter' | $>$ | kùz̀̀ | 'buy' |
| *gàn | 'tell story' | $>$ | kènè | 'tell story' |  |


| *gèd | 'try' | $>$ | kàg | 'try' |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (94) *gìd | 'abstain from' | $>$ | cì | 'abstain' |

### 3.4.1.2 $\quad{ }^{*} g$ in $C_{2}$ position

In $C_{2}$ position, ${ }^{*} g$ has only one reflex, a direct correspondence $/ \mathrm{g} /$.

This is true for both verbs and nouns, as shown below.

| (95) *coga | 'ladle' | $>$ | tûg | 'spoon' (1) |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *jògù | 'elephant' (9) | $>$ | ncwòg | 'elephant' (1) |
| *píg̀̀ | 'kidney' | $>$ | mbǎy fîg | 'kidney' |
| *tóg | 'bail water' | $>$ | lwôg | 'bail water' |
| *dúg | 'stir, paddle' | $>$ | dúgò | 'paddle (v)' |
| *bògà | 'hoe' | $>$ | bj̀̀̀g | 'hoe' (9) (pl. mə̀mpj̀òg) |

### 3.4.1.3 Summary

In $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ position, the correspondences to $* \mathrm{~g}$ seem to primarily reflect the
location of the following vowel. In nouns, * $g$ corresponds to /c/before *i, and to $/ \mathrm{k} /$ everywhere else. In verbs, though with only two examples, it is impossible to tell for sure, it appears that *g corresponds to /c/before front vowels and to $/ \mathrm{k}$ / before back vowels.

As was mentioned above, in $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position, * g has only one reflex, a direct correspondence /g/.

### 3.4.2 *k

### 3.4.2.1 ${ }^{*} k$ in $C_{1}$ position

The primary correspondence for *k when it is the initial C of a noun is /k/.

| *kándà | 'cloth' $(3,5,9)$ | $>$ | kánd | 'cloth' (7) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *kúbà | 'chicken' | $>$ | kúbò | 'chicken' (1) |
| *kombe | 'bank, shore' | $>$ | kómb | 'side' |
| *kèndó | 'palm tree' | $>$ | lè-kúdó | 'palm tree' (5) |
| *kídà | 'tail' (3) | $>$ | kùùnd | 'tail' (3) |
| *kángà | 'guinea fowl' (9) | $>$ | kây | 'guinea fowl' (3) |
| *kémà | 'monkey' | $>$ | kâm | 'monkey' (1) |

However, there are also three other minor correspondences, each with one example. It is interesting that the /c/correspondence occurs before a historic front vowel, but there are also front vowels represented in the examples above.
(97) *kíngó 'neck' (9) > cóy 'neck' (9)

It is also interesting that the two labial correspondences, $/ \mathrm{w} /$ and $/ \mathrm{f} /$, occur before labial $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ 's and before back vowels, but again, this is not sufficient to explain this correspondence, since that is also true for some of the $/ \mathrm{k} /$ examples above.

| (98) *kómì | 'ten' (5) | $>$ | wúm | 'ten' (5) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | *kúpà | 'bone' (5) | $>$ | fòb |
|  | 'fish bone' (9) |  |  |  |

The primary correspondences for *k at the beginning of a verb is $/ \mathrm{J} /$. However, there are also two other correspondences, $/ \mathrm{s} /$ and $/ \mathrm{k} /$. It is possible that the vowel following *k played a part in determining the correspondences. All of the occurrences of *k corresponding to $/ \mathrm{S} /$ shown below are when *k is followed by a back vowel.

| (99) | *kác-u | 'dry' | > | 〔wézá, $\int w$ ¢̂z | 'be dry' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | *kód-o | 'be drunk' | $>$ | fwégá | 'be drunk' |
|  | *káng | 'threaten' | > | fwàngòlò | 'threaten' |

Two out of the three examples showing the $/ \mathrm{s} /$ and $/ \mathrm{k} /$
correspondences are when *k preceded a front vowel, as shown below.

However, there is no apparent conditioning environment to determine which of these two reflexes should emerge.

| (100) *kéng | 'cheat, deceive' | $>$ | sìg | 'deceive' |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *kém | 'call, cry' | $>$ | kêm | 'scream, cry out' |

Finally, there is one example where *k corresponds to /s/ before a back vowel. As was noted in the section on synchronic variation, $/ \mathrm{s} /$ and $/ \mathrm{S} /$ are in dialectal variation. This may have played a role here.
(101) *kong 'look for, seek' > sáy 'look for'

### 3.4.2.2 ${ }^{*} k$ in $C_{2}$ position

As a $\mathrm{C}_{2}, * \mathrm{k}$ has three reflexes: $/ \mathrm{yg} /, / \mathrm{y} /$ and $/ \mathrm{g} /$. It seems logical to suggest that the original change was *k $>\eta g$, followed by a simplification of $/ \mathrm{g} g /$ to either $/ \mathrm{y} /$ or $/ \mathrm{g} /$. In fact, this is what I will be proposing below for *ng when it is in $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position.

It is however not clear what would have triggered (or blocked?) a simplification of the final consonant in some words, much less why certain words have a $/ \mathrm{y} /$ simplification while others have a $/ \mathrm{g} /$. It is interesting that there is only one example of the non-simplified /ng/.

| (102) | *tàkà | 'earth, mud' (5) |  | > mà | -ndángá 'mud' (6) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| (103) | *cı̀ká | 'axe' | $>$ | ncûy | 'axe' (9) |
|  | *tòkot | 'be hot' | > | júgà | 'be hot (person)' |
|  | *kék | 'cut' | $>$ | kèn | 'cut hair' |
|  | *jókà | 'snake' (9) | $>$ | nwâg | 'snake' (1) |
| (104) | *jikád | 'dwell, sit, stay' | $>$ | lígò | 'stay, leave' |
|  | *pàkò | 'tree-hollow' (9) | $>$ | wúg | 'hole' (5) |
|  | *báká | 'knife' (5) | $>$ | è-báág | 'knife' (5) |
|  | *tók | 'abuse' | $>$ | ntèg | 'abuse' |
|  | *pákù | 'honey' (9) | > | bwǒg | 'harvest honey' |


| *tók | 'abuse' | $>$ | tûg | 'insult, tease' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *tèk | 'shake' | $>$ | ságàzà | 'shake' |

### 3.4.2.3 Summary

The primary correspondence of *k as the initial consonant in a noun is $/ \mathrm{k} /$, and the primary correspondence for $* \mathrm{k}$ as the initial consonant in a verb is $/ \int /$. However, for both nouns and verbs, there are numerous other minor correspondences: $/ \mathrm{s} / \mathrm{l} / \mathrm{c} / \mathrm{l} / \mathrm{w} /$ and $/ \mathrm{f} /$ for nouns and $/ \mathrm{s} /$ and $/ \mathrm{k} /$ for verbs.

As a $\mathrm{C}_{2}$, it is likely that *k changed to $/ \mathrm{gg} /$ at one stage and is now undergoing a simplification process with some words having only $/ \mathrm{y} /$ and some words having only $/ \mathrm{g} /$. This is similar to the changes that *ng has undergone.

### 3.4.3 *ng

There is only one example of ${ }^{*} n g$ in $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ position, and it demonstrates a
*ng > nk correspondene.
(105) *ngà 'as, like' $>$ gkà 'as, like'

In $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position, there are a few examples of a direct correspondence, as shown below.
(106) *bángá 'jaw' (11) > báygô 'jaw' (7) *bèng 'drive, chase' > wîng 'drive away, chase'

$$
\text { *káng 'threaten' > } \quad>\text { wàngòl̀̀ 'threaten' }
$$

However, most of the examples show a simplification of the *ng to
either $/ \mathrm{y} /$ or $/ \mathrm{g} /$. The conditioning for the different reflexes remains unclear.

Both correspondences occur in nouns and verbs, and both are in the same phonological environments.

| (107) | *túng <br> *gòngò | 'build, plait' 'back' | $\begin{array}{ll} > & \text { lúyò } \\ > & \text { kwòn } \end{array}$ | 'build by weaving' <br> 'back' (3) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | *gàngà | 'medicine man' | > ŋkày | 'medicine man' (1) |
|  | *congo | 'banana' | > uúyó | 'hand of plantains' (3) |
|  | *dòngà | 'river' (3) | > njwǎn | 'river' (9) |
|  | *gòngó | 'caterpillar' (5) | $>$ kùn | 'caterpillar' (3) |
|  | *kíngś | 'neck' (9) | $>$ cón | 'neck' (9) |
|  | *kángà | 'guinea fowl' (9) | $>$ kây | 'guinea fowl' (3) |
|  | *jango | 'gall' (9) | $>$ ìcón | 'bile or gall' |
|  | *tàngá | 'cattle post' (5) | $>$ dàn | 'herd (cattle, sheep)' |
|  | *dóng | 'suggest' | $>$ bì-jág | 'lies' (8) |
| (108) | *cóngó | 'poison' (14) > | jwòg | 'poison' (9) |
|  | *dongo | 'beak' (3) > | dúúg | 'beak' (5) (pl. múúg) |
|  | *kéng | 'cheat, deceive' > | sìg | 'deceive' |
|  | * còng | 'suffer' > | jùg | 'suffer' |
|  | *táng | 'be first' $>$ | fûg, jwôg | 'be in front' |

### 3.4.3.1 Summary

As a $C_{1}$, the one example found shows a correspondence between *ng
and $/ \mathrm{nk} /$. In $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position, there are a couple of direct correspondences, but the most common reflex is a simplification of *ng to $/ \mathrm{y} /$. However, there are also a couple of examples which suggest a simplification of *ng to $/ \mathrm{g} /$. The environment which triggered a maintenance of the original sound vs. the environments which triggered the two simplification processes remains unclear.

### 3.4.4 *nk

As was mentioned above, voiceless prenasalized stops are rare. *nk only has one correspondence.

$$
\text { (109) *nínk 'give' }>\quad \text { fìg 'give back' }
$$

### 3.5 GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON CONSONANT CORRESPONDENCES

In this section I will attempt to make generalizations over the
consonant correspondences detailed above. In order to best complement the discussion above, which was organized around places of articulation, this section will be organized by manner of articulation.

### 3.5.1 Nasals

The nasals in Kol are all in direct correspondence with the protonasals. The only slight modification is that *n appears to correspond with $/ \mathrm{n} /$ when it is the initial consonant of a verbal root. This may be due to the infinitival form, probably the class 5 marker *i- (which has been preserved in modern Kol). The high vowel could have conditioned palatalization in the following segment. Otherwise, * n corresponds to $/ \mathrm{n} /$ whether it is in the $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ position or the $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position. The same is true for *m, which always corresponds to $/ \mathrm{m} /$. While there are not a lot of clear cognate sets for the palatal nasal, for the two examples that exist, * n directly corresponds to $/ \mathrm{n} /$. Meeussen does not posit a proto velar nasal.

### 3.5.2 Voiced NC

There is only one example found of a NC occurring in $C_{1}$ position. In this one case, *ng corresponds to $/ \mathrm{gk} /$.

However, in $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position, there are a number of examples. Each NC demonstrates a direct correspondence, while additionally each shows some evidence of erosion at the right edge, with simplification of the NC to either N or C. That is to say, *mb corresponds directly to $/ \mathrm{mb} /$, but there are also
examples where *mb corresponds to $/ \mathrm{m} /$. Likewise, *nd mostly directly corresponds to /nd/, but there is also one example where it corresponds to /d/. Additionally, there are some examples where *nd has been palatalized to $/ \mathrm{nj} /$. Again, of the two examples found for an *nj correspondence, one is $/ \mathrm{nj} /$ and the other is $/ \mathrm{n} /$. Finally, there are a number of ${ }^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{ng}$ correspondences. The most common is $/ \mathrm{y} /$, but there are also examples of $/ \mathrm{ng} /$ and $/ \mathrm{g} /$.

For all of the NC's, it is not possible with the current data to determine why erosion happened in certain cases and not others, and why in some cases it was the $C$ that was preserved instead of the $N$.

### 3.5.3 Voiceless NC

Meeussen notes that voiceless prenasalized stops are rare. Cognate forms all show similar reflexes to the voiced NC's. *mp has a /b/reflex and a $/ \mathrm{m} /$ reflex, as seen for *mb. *nt has a /d/ reflex. *nk has a /g/reflex. There were no examples of *nc correspondences.

### 3.5.4 Voiced oral stops

### 3.5.4.1 When in $C_{1}$ position

The $C_{1}$ position is the most diverse, probably because roots in Kol can be preceded by so many different kinds of affixes. Direct correspondences between the proto voiced stops and the current day stops are most common in morphological environments which would have placed the stop in question between vowels (that is to say, at the beginning of verbs or after a (C)V-noun prefix).

It is interesting that the reflexes for *g can be completely explained by the phonological environment, i.e. whether the following vowel is front or back, while this most definitely cannot be the explanation for the various correspondences of the other three voiced stops.

To review, in nouns, *g corresponds to /c/before *i, and to $/ \mathrm{k} /$ everywhere else. In verbs, it appears that *g corresponds to /c/before front vowels and to $/ \mathrm{k}$ / before back vowels. This additionally explains why velar consonants do not occur synchronically with palatalization.

In contrast, the various reflexes for *b, $\mathrm{d}, \mathrm{j}$ seem to be partially explained by looking at the various possible morphological environments. It
seems to be important, for at least some correspondences, whether the C1 is at the beginning of a noun or a verb. If it is at the beginning of a noun, then for some voiced stops, it is important to consider the nature of the noun class prefix. There were most likely three different types of noun class prefix. The most widely spread would have been a (C)V- prefix (singular classes 5, 7 and all the plural classes). These singular prefixes have all been lost in modernday Kol. The second type of noun class prefix would have been a non-syllabic nasal marking classes 9 and 10 (and probably extended to class 11 due to it having its plural in class 10). The third type of prefix would have been originally a NV- prefix, but many Bantu languages show evidence of vowel deletion in this prefix, resulting in a syllabic (possibly tone-bearing) nasal prefix.

A chart is given below, showing the correspondences for *b, $\mathrm{d}, \mathrm{j}$ in these different kinds of morphological environments.

|  | N- (cl. 9) | NV- (cl. 1, 3) | CV- (cl. 5, 7) | verbs |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $* b$ | $m p$ | $m b$ | $b$ | $w$ |
| $* d$ | $j$ | $j$ | $d, l, y, n$ | $j, d, l, y, n$ |
| $* j$ | $c, j$ | $--?$ | $j$ | $j, y$ |

Table 7.3 Voiced consonant reflexes
*d has the highest number of correspondences. The correspondences $/ \mathrm{y} /$ and $/ \mathrm{n} /$ occur in both nouns and verbs. /y/ only occurs as a reflex of *d when *d is followed by a front vowel, while /n/ only occurs when the other $C$ in the word is also a nasal. The conditioning environment for $/ 1 /$ remains unclear, as does the reason for having both $/ \mathrm{j} /$ and $/ \mathrm{d} /$ as common reflexes in verbs.

It is interesting that both *b and $* \mathrm{j}$ have a voiceless reflex in the morphological environment of the noun class prefix for class 9. This is in effect a voicing dissimilation.

This same process is synchronically present in Kol today. ${ }^{20}$ When a class 7 noun is pluralized as a mass noun in class 10 , this process is marked by a nasal prefix. However, this nasal prefix also devoices the root-initial consonant, as shown below.

| (110) $\mathrm{cl} \mathrm{7/8}$ | bùùnd | 'skin, shell' | bìbù̀ùnd | (as in eggshells) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| cl 10 | mpùnd | (as in peanut shells) |  |  |
| $\mathrm{cl} \mathrm{7/10}$ | bùmò | 'fruit' | mpùmò | 'fruits' (all kinds) |

[^15]It is odd that *d completely lacks this voicing dissimilation. It is also interesting that *d and $* \mathrm{j}$, in contrast to $* \mathrm{~b}$ and $* \mathrm{~g}$, have completely lost the nasal portion of the noun class markers.

Such a voicing dissimilation in this particular morphological environment is common in other Bantu languages, including languages of the A.zone (Bubi A. 31 and Nen A. 44 among others, see Janssens 1993).
3.5.4.2 When in $C_{2}$ position

Three of the four voiced oral stops, *b, *d and *g, have direct correspondences when they occur as the second consonant in a root. *j has no clear correspondences as a $\mathrm{C}_{2}$. Palatal consonants are very rare as coda consonants in Kol today.
*b has a minor secondary correspondence of $/ \mathrm{mb} /$. While there is not enough data to be sure of the conditioning environment, both of the occurrences of $/ \mathrm{mb}$ / occur when the initial consonant is labialized.

The situation with *d is much more complicated. In $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position, the most common reflex of * d is $/ 1 /$. If * d precedes a low vowel, it corresponds to /d/ which is weakened to [r] for many speakers. Some words also exhibit a /nd/ reflex, but the conditioning reflex is not clear. Finally, it may be the
case that when the $C_{1}$ is nasal, a nasal harmony is triggered, resulting in a correspondence of $/ \mathrm{n} /$.

### 3.5.5 Voiceless oral stops

### 3.5.5.1 When in $C_{1}$ position

When looking at the voiceless stops in the $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ position, it is necessary to keep a clear division between verb-initial voiceless stops and noun-initial voiceless stops. There are quite different correspondences found on either side of this morphological line. However, in contrast to the voiced stops, the differing noun prefixes do not seem to correlate much with the differing correspondences.

|  | N - (cl. 9) | NV- (cl. 1, 3) | CV- (cl. 5, 7) | verbs |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| *p | f, w, b, mp | mb | --? | w, f |
| *t | d | t, 1 | d, $\mathrm{t}, \mathrm{l}$ | l, s, t, c, f, j |
| * C | nc | $s, \int$ | s, $\int$ | s, j, k, $\int$ |
| *k | k | k | k,s, c, w, f | $\int, \mathrm{s}, \mathrm{k}$ |

Table 7.4 Voiceless consonant reflexes

One major difference between the voiced and voiceless stops is the impact of the vowel following the C1. For voiced stops, the phonological environment only seemed to be important for the velar stop. For voiceless
stops, the phonological environment appears to play a role for every voiceless stop except the velar stop, especially in verbs.

As the initial consonant of verbs, *p corresponds to /w/ before /a/, and /f/ everywhere else.

In this same environment, *d primarily corresponds to $/ \mathrm{l} /$, though it appears to only occur before back vowels. When preceding a front vowel, *t corresponds to $/ \mathrm{s} / \mathrm{s} / \mathrm{t} /$ and $/ \mathrm{c} /$. Before back vowels, there are also a few correspondences of *t to $/ \mathrm{t} / \mathrm{s} / \mathrm{S} /$ and $/ \mathrm{j} /$.

In verbs, *c corresponds to $/ \mathrm{s} /$ when it precedes *i, and to $/ \mathrm{j} /, / \mathrm{k} /$, or $/ \mathrm{S} /$ elsewhere. The correspondences $/ \mathrm{j} /, / \mathrm{k} /$ and $/ \mathrm{S} /$ occur in the same environments, but each contrasts with the environment for $/ \mathrm{s} /$.

The phonological environment also seems to be important for * c when it is the first consonant in a noun. This is not apparently the case for the other three voiceless stops. Again, it is strange that *k does not seem to have any phonological conditioning when its voiced counterpart's correspondences could be entirely explained by reference to the phonological environment.

In nouns, ${ }^{*} c_{1}$ primarily corresponds to $/ \mathrm{s} /$ or $/ \mathrm{S} / . / \mathrm{S} /$ is only found preceding back vowels, while $/ \mathrm{s}$ / is found preceding both front and back vowels. In addition, there are two /nc/ correspondences which may have been caused in part by interaction with the class 9 prefix.

### 3.5.5.2 When in $C_{2}$ position

In general, the voiceless stops are voiced when they appear as the second consonant in a word. The only exception is possibly for *${ }^{*}$, which has $\mathrm{a} / \mathrm{k} /$ correspondence as well as the voiced $/ \mathrm{z} /$ correspondence.

With respect to their manner of articulation, the bilabial stop has remained the most conservative, while the alveolar stop has undergone the most weakening. The voiceless bilabial stop *p has remained a stop, just undergoing voicing assimilation, to become the voiced bilabial stop /b/ in all cognate pairs established.

The velar stop is also fairly conservative. *k has become the prenasalized stop/ng/ in the $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position, which is then undergoing erosion (or simplification) to the nasal $/ \mathrm{g} /$ or the stop $/ \mathrm{g} /$.

The palatal stop *c has become the voiced fricative $/ \mathrm{z} /$ in at least one cognate set.

Finally, the least conservative alveolar stop *t corresponds to $\Lambda /$ when the final vowel has been preserved and to $/ \mathrm{r} /$ when it is root-final synchronically.

## 4 Vowel correspondences

In Kol, the Proto-Bantu high vowels *i and *u and the low vowel *a have the most direct correspondences. The proto mid vowels (*e, * $\varepsilon$, *o and *J) show a lot more variation. This may be due to a period of time when vowel harmony was present in the system among the mid vowels. This is common in other Bantu languages, both within and outside of the A-zone. There are no vowel harmony processes active today in any of the languages of the Makaa-Kol-Konzime group.

### 4.1 HIGH VOWELS

As was mentioned above, the high vowel correspondences are fairly
direct.

### 4.1.1 *i

The high front vowel *i has direct correspondences both as a $\mathrm{V}_{1}$ and as a $V_{2}$, as illustrated below.

| (111) *jíd | 'get dark (v)' | $>$ | è-yìdé | 'darkness' (5) |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *bî | 'dung, excrement' | $>$ | bî | 'excrement' (6) |
| *cíd | 'finish' | $>$ | síl | 'finish' |
| *mìd | 'devour, swallow' | $>$ | mìǹ̀ | 'swallow' |
| *tító | 'animal' | $>$ | tíd | 'animal' (1) |
| *jíb | 'steal' | $>$ | jíb̀̀ | 'steal' |
|  |  |  |  | tíndìgì |
| (112) "heel' |  |  |  |  |

### 4.1.2 *u

The most common correspondence for the back high vowel *u is a
direct one, as shown below.

| (113) *búdà | 'rain' (9) | $>$ | mpú | 'rain' (1) |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *bùá | 'nine' (5) | $>$ | è-bù | 'nine' (5) |
| *cúé | 'fish' | $>$ | fù | 'fish' (1) |
| *bùd | 'become plentiful' | $>$ | bùlù | 'a lot, many' |
| *dúg | 'stir, paddle' | $>$ | dúgò | 'paddle (v)' |
| *dùt | 'pull, drag' | $>$ | dùlà | 'pull' |

There is one example of *u corresponding to /o/ after a labialized consonant. Synchronically, it is quite common to have a $u \sim$ wo variation after palatal stops. Below are examples from the southern Kol dialect on the left, and examples from the central dialect on the right.

| (114) | ncùg | ncwòg | 'elephant' (9) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ncûy | ncôy | 'axe' (9) |  |
| fûg | jwôg | 'front' |  |
| -nùg | -nwòg | 'wine' (6) |  |
| jùg | jwòg | 'poison' (9) |  |

Thus, though the correspondence below is after a velar stop, this may not actually be a separate correspondence.
(115) *gùbà 'bellows' (3) > kwòm 'bellows'

However, there is also one example of * $u$ corresponding to $/ \mathrm{a} /$. There are no known examples of this sort of variation synchronically.
(116) *dupek 'sharpen' $>$ jàb 'sharpen (knife)'

There were no examples found demonstrating a cognate set for *u as a $\mathrm{V}_{2}$. Synchronically, $/ \mathrm{u}$ / is allowed as a $\mathrm{V}_{2}$ for nouns, though it is very rare for verbs.

### 4.2 MID VOWELS

For each of the four mid vowels, there are no clear cognate pairs for the $V_{2}$ position. Thus, the sections below will only look at the correspondences of the proto mid vowels in the $\mathrm{V}_{1}$ position. Also, each vowel has several cognate pairs showing a direct correspondence between the proto-
vowel and the modern-day vowel. However, for each, this direct correspondence is only one among many other correspondences.

### 4.2.1 ${ }^{*}$ e

The direct correspondence *e>e is quite common, as shown by the examples below.

| (117) *bédá | 'pit, grave' (9) | $>$ | bé | 'thicket, pit' (9) |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *gé | 'egg' | $>$ | è-ké | 'egg' (5) |
| *té | 'tree' (3) | $>$ | lé | 'tree' (3) |
| *jàmbé | 'god' (9) | $>$ | ncìmbé | 'god' (1) |
| *béek | 'put' | $>$ | bêr | 'put, place, set' |

It is, however, also common to find cognate pairs which illustrate a vowel raising process, resulting in a correspondence of *e $>\mathrm{i}$.

| (118) *bèng | 'drive, chase' | $>$ | wîyg | 'drive away, chase' |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *dèd | 'shout, cry, weep' | $>$ | jì̀ | 'cry, weep' |
| *cé | 'ground, earth' | $>$ | sí | 'ground, earth' (7) |
| *jèká | 'only' | $>$ | njì | 'only' |

Much more rare are correspondences between *e and a back vowel, though there is one example for each of the vowel heights shown above. That is to say, in the first example below, *e has maintained its level in the vowel system but has been moved back to correspond to the back vowel /o/. In the
second example, *e has been raised one level (to the same level as /i/) and moved back to correspond to the back vowel /u/.

| (119) *démì | 'tongue' (11) | $>$ | jôm | 'tongue' (7) |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *béd | 'boil' | $>$ | wûl | 'boil (food)' |

### 4.2.2 * 0

The proto-vowel *o also has some direct reflexes in Kol, as shown
below.

| (120) *tóóbá | 'six' (3) | $>$ | twób | 'six' |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | *cóngó | 'bitterness, poison' | $>$ | jwòg |
| *mòdè | 'torch, bright' | $>$ | moizon' (9) | 'torch, lamp' (3) |

However, much more common is the correspondence *o>u, which is an example of raising, parallel to the one seen for *e, where *e $>\mathrm{i}$.

| (121) *jódò | 'nose' (5) | $>$ | dû | 'nose' (5) |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *bòbè | 'spider' (5,11) | $>$ | bùb | 'spider' (5) |
| *coga | 'ladle' | $>$ | tûg | 'spoon' (1) |
| *gòdòbè | 'pig' (9) | $>$ | 引kù | 'pig' (1) |
| *kòcò | 'parrot' (9) | $>$ | kùùz | 'parrot' (1) |
| *kómì | 'ten' (5) | $>$ | wúm | 'ten' (5) |
| *gòdò | 'leg' (15) | $>$ | dù | 'thigh' (5) |
| *pókò | 'mouse, rat' (9) | $>$ | fû | 'mouse' (1) |

There is also one example of *o corresponding to $/ \mathrm{i} /$. This is the inverse of one of the processes seen for *e, where *e was raised and then moved back. In this case, *o is being raised (to the level of $/ \mathrm{u} /$ ) and then moved front to correspond to $/ \mathrm{i} /$.
(122) *tòkot 'sweat' > dìdìk 'sweat, perspire'

Finally, there is one example, where *o seems to correspond to $/ \varepsilon /$.

This would involve lowering the vowel one level and then moving it to the front of the vowel space. There was no parallel to this process for *e.

$$
\text { (123) *tók 'abuse' } \quad>\quad \text { ntèg 'abuse' }
$$

## $4.2 .3^{*} \varepsilon$

The open-mid (or level 3) front vowel ${ }^{*} \varepsilon$ also has a direct correspondence in modern-day Kol, as shown below.

| (124) *démà | 'bat' (3) | $>$ | njêm | 'bat' (3) |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *kém | 'call, cry' | $>$ | kêm | 'scream, cry out' |

As was the case for *e above, there are also examples of ${ }^{*} \varepsilon$ being moved to a back vowel. However, in this case, the vowel has also been raised, since it corresponds to $/ \mathrm{o} /$ and not to the back open-mid vowel $/ \mathrm{s} /$. Since in three of the examples shown below, the second vowel in the word is
a back vowel, this may be a back (or rounding) assimilation in combination with a raising process.

| (125) *gèndò | 'journey' (11) | $>$ | ŋkònd | 'journey' (7) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| *béèdè | 'breast, udder' (5) | $>$ | bôl | 'udder, breast' (5) |
| *gègò | 'molar tooth' $(5,7)$ | $>$ | jkòkók | 'molar tooth' (5) |
| *dèdù | 'beard' | $>$ | jòl | 'beard' (9) |

Synchronically, there is at least one example where a word varies along this same pattern across dialects.
(126) Jwènj 'young man' (3) varies with Jwànj

### 4.2.4 *)

Unlike the case for the other mid vowels, *J only has one cognate pair which illustrates a direct correspondence with $/ \mathrm{o} /$.
(127)
*gòngò
'back'
(3) $>$
kwòy 'back' (3)

There are also a number of examples illustrating a raising process, where the open-mid vowel * 0 corresponds to the close-mid vowel / $\%$. This is similar to what has been seen for ${ }^{*} e$ and ${ }^{*} o$.

| (128) *bśkò | 'arm' (15) | $>$ | mbwó | 'arm' (3) |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | *dó | 'sleep' (13) | $>$ | jwò |
| *pśkś | 'one' | $>$ | fóg | 'one' (counting) |
|  | *kombs | 'bank, shore' | $>$ | kómb |

$$
\text { *tón 'drip' } \quad>\text { ntóbà 'flow, drip' }
$$

Additionally, there are a number of examples which illustrate a more drastic raising process, with *o corresponding to the high vowel /u/. This process is not parallel to anything seen for the other mid vowels.

| (129) *bòmbò | 'bundle' (3) | $>$ | mbùmb | 'bundle' (3) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| *còká | 'axe' | $>$ | ncûy | 'axe' (9) |
| *congo | 'banana' | $>$ | fúyó | 'regime of plantains' (3) |
| *gòndè | 'moon' (9) | $>$ | ŋkùnd | 'moon' (9) |
| *dśb | 'fish with a line' | $>$ | dùb | 'fish with line' |
| *tśb-od | 'bore through' | $>$ | túbò | 'pierce (ears)' |

There are examples of a fronting rule, as well. Below is one example where *o has maintained its level in the vowel system, but has been moved to the front of the vowel space, corresponding to $/ \varepsilon /$. Interestingly enough, the modern reflex is also labialized. It is possible that the rounding has been separated out into the $/ \mathrm{w} /$, leaving the unrounded version, i.e. the front vowel, behind.
(130) *лธ́
'drink'
$>\quad$ nwèl
'drink'

There are also examples showing a combination of fronting and raising, given below. Here *ว has been raised one level (to the level of /o/)
and then shifted to the front of the vowel space, corresponding to $/ \mathrm{e} /$. Most of these words also have an initial labialized consonant. These may be similar examples to the reflex described above, where the rounding has been separated out, with the added complication of a raising process. For 'elbow' it is interesting that both synchronic vowels are /e/, which suggests that some sort of assimilation process targeted both the * 3 and the *a .

| $(131)$ *kókòdà 'elbow' (9) | $>$ | 引kwéndé | 'elbow' (1) |  |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *cób $\quad$ 'lack' | $>$ | njêb | 'lack' |  |
| *còng | 'carve, sharpen' | $>$ | fwênj | 'carve, sharpen' |

Additionally, as we saw for * $\varepsilon$, there is a correspondence of *ว to $/ \mathrm{a} /$.

Since both of these modern words also have a labialized consonant, this could again be an unrounding process.

| *bòmà | 'python' (9) | $>$ | mpwàm | 'python' (1) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *kj̀ndè | 'banana' (5) | $>$ | kwànd | 'plantain' (7) |

Finally, there is one example where *ว corresponds to $/ \partial /$. This is again probably an unrounding process, but it may also be a raising process, since in the synchronic Kol system, / / is on the same level as /e/ and/o/. (133) *jògà 'fungus' (14) $>$ jwò 'mushroom' (7)

### 4.3 LOWVOWELS

The low vowel *a most frequently corresponds to $/ \mathrm{a} /$, in both the $\mathrm{V}_{1}$ and $V_{2}$ positions, as shown below.

| (134) | *bànjé | 'rib, side' |  | $>$ | mpànj | 'side of body' (7) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | *gàngà | 'medicine |  | > | Đkày | 'medicine man' (1) |
|  | *gango | 'grass' |  | $>$ | ká | 'grass, leaf' (7) |
|  | *kándà | 'cloth' (3,5 |  | $>$ | kánd | 'cloth' (7) |
|  | *táà | 'bow' (14) |  | $>$ | lâ | 'bow' (7) |
|  | *bád | 'marry' |  | $>$ | bâ | 'marry' |
|  | *dámb | 'cook' |  | $>$ | jâmb | 'prepare food, cook' |
|  | *ngà | 'as, like' |  | $>$ | ŋkà | 'as, like' |
| (135) | *pádà | 'forehead' | $>$ |  | è-bà | dà 'forehead' (5) |
|  | *ját-ab | 'answer' | $>$ |  | yàlà | 'answer (v)' |

The next most common correspondence is when *a corresponds to $/ \mathrm{o} /$.

Interestingly, for two of the five cognate pairs shown below, the $V_{2}$ is $/ \mathrm{o} /$.

This $\mathrm{V}_{2}$ has been lost for all five pairs, but before it was deleted, it may have triggered vowel harmony on the $\mathrm{F}_{1}$. Otherwise, this is a raising and rounding process; one that has raised *a two levels.

| (136) *táanś | 'five' | $>$ | tón | 'five' |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *tátò | 'three' | $>$ | lôl | 'three' |
| *càjá | 'cheek' | $>$ | kòg | 'cheek' (5) |


| *jàdí | 'lightning (9) | $>$ | njòz | 'lightning' (3) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *dàmok | 'early, wake up' | $>$ | jòm | 'wake up' |

This raising process probably also have occurred for the following two example words. The vowel found in the word 'be' varies between /o/ and $/ \partial /$. The second vowel in 'jaw' is $/ \mathrm{o} /$ while the first vowel is $/ \partial /$. However, the first vowel is before a nasal, which is a common position for / $/$ / and $/ \mathrm{e} /$ to be centralized.

| (137) *bá | 'dwell, be, become' | $>$ | bò | 'be' |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *bángá | 'jaw' (11) | $>$ | báygô | 'jaw' (7) |

A similar process may have occurred for the following cognate pairs, where *a corresponds to $/ \mathrm{\omega} / . / \mathrm{o} /$ and $/ \mathrm{\rho} /$ are in free variation in Makaa, and could conceivably have been in free variation in Kol at one point. This seems fairly plausible for the first example, but a big stretch for the second.

| (138) *gàndó | 'crocodile' (9) | $>$ | ŋkj̀ndô | 'crocodile' (1) |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *kápí | 'paddle, oar' (9) | $>$ | jkj̀̀̀b | 'paddle' (9) |

There is one example where *a appears to be both fronted and raised to correspond with /e/. This cannot be a case of vowel harmony since the second vowel in the word is already identical to the first. However, it may be
a case of the following nasal raising the first vowel. Synchronically in Kol, the vowel /e/ is raised to /i/ when it precedes a vowel, as was discussed in the section on synchronic variation above.
(139) *bánjá 'family' > bèn 'extended paternal family'

Finally, there is one example where *a corresponds to $/ \omega /$ when it is in the $V_{2}$ position. Since it is the $V_{2}$, vowel harmony cannot be triggered by a following vowel, though since the first vowel is high and rounded, this might be a progressive vowel harmony, similar in everything but direction to the regressive vowel harmony discussed above.

$$
\text { (140) *kúbà 'chicken' } \quad>\quad \text { kúbò 'chicken' (1) }
$$

### 4.4 GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON VOWEL CORRESPONDENCES

Looking at the vowel system as a whole, it may be noted that while the high vowels *i and *u have remained remarkably stable, the rest of the vowel system has undergone some major shifts.
${ }^{\mathrm{i}} \mathrm{i}$ and ${ }^{*} \mathrm{u}$ both have as their primary reflex the direct correspondences /i/ and /u/. *i has no other corresondences, and *u has two minor ones
which can probably be ignored. *a has also remained fairly stable, with most occurrences of *a corresponding to /a/ today.

The most common process to have occurred among all the vowels (except for ${ }^{*} \mathrm{i}$ and ${ }^{*} \mathbf{u}$ ) is a raising process. For the close-mid vowels, *e and *o, their major correspondence (other than the direct one, which is fairly numerous for *e but less so for *o) is one where they have been raised one level, i.e. where *e $>\mathrm{i}$ and ${ }^{\mathrm{o}} \mathrm{o}>\mathrm{u}$. There appears to be a similar process occurring with * $\boldsymbol{0}$. One of its primary correspondences is one where ${ }^{*} \mathrm{~J}>0$. However, if $/ \mathrm{o} /$ and $/ \mathrm{J} /$ are in free variation, then this process becomes moot. *a also has two examples where *a > 2 which would be a parallel pattern.

The most numerous correspondence for *ว though is one where *ว has been raised two levels to correspond to $/ \mathrm{u} /$. This process could have also occurred for *a and * $\varepsilon$, though for both of these latter proto-vowels, an additional process co-occurs with the raising one.

The open-mid vowel * $\varepsilon$ does not really have enough cognate pairs to be able to determine which correspondence is really the primary one.

However, the one with the most examples at the moment is one where * $\varepsilon>$
o. Of the four examples, three have a back (and round) vowel as the $V_{2}$, which might explain how * $\varepsilon$ was shifted to the back. The height shift (one level) could be part of an overall shift in the system where vowels were raised one height (as might have occurred for *e, *o, and *) .

For the low vowel *a, the second-most common reflex is where *a corresponds to /o/. Again, for three of the five cognate pairs shown, the second vowel is a round vowel, either / / / or / $/$ / which means that the raising process could have been combined with a rounding assimilation. (Otherwise, a global raising process could have resulted in a mid or high central vowel, both of which do currently exist in the Kol vowel inventory.)

Finally, there is one more significant correspondence which must be mentioned. *ว can also correspond to $/ \mathrm{e} /, / \varepsilon /$ and $/ \mathrm{a} /$, which is appears to be an unrounding process since these unrounded variants primarily occur with a labialized consonant.

## 5 Grammatical Correspondences

In the sections below, some aspects of Meeussen's grammatical reconstructions (1967) will be compared with modern day Kol grammatical
stuctures. Nominal morphosyntax will be discussed first followed by verbal morphosyntax.

### 5.1 NOUNS

### 5.1.1 Noun Classes and Agreement

Synchronically, Kol has a reduced noun class set, only having classes 110 from Proto-Bantu. However, within the A. 80 central cluster, Heath and Beavon have both noticed reflexes from the Proto-Bantu locative classes in Makaa and Konzime, respectively. Heath (p.c.) has noted that certain locative nouns have idiosyncratic relative clause concord markers. Beavon (1983) noted that the Nzime dialect of Konzime has a locative noun kwá which could include the locative class (class 17) prefix ko-.

| 1 | *mo- | mò- <br> m- <br> $\emptyset$ | mwàrá <br> mùr <br> kól | woman <br> man, person <br> sister (to a man) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2 | *ba- | bò- | bw-àrá bw-ùr bò-kól | women <br> men, people sisters |
| 3 | *mo- | $\emptyset$ | mbil | hole |
| 4 | *me- | mè- | mè-mbìl | holes |
| 5 | ${ }^{\text {i }}$ - | $\begin{aligned} & \text { è-, lè- } \\ & \emptyset \\ & \text { d- } \end{aligned}$ | èbùrà <br> kù <br> dwób | sweet potato <br> foot <br> day |


| 6 | $*$ ma- | mò- | mò-bùrà <br> mò-kù <br> m-ób | sweet potatoes <br> feet <br> days |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 7 | $*$ ke- | $\emptyset$ | kág <br> bùmó | child <br> fruit |
| 8 | *bi- | bè- | bè-kág | children |
| 9 | *n- | $\emptyset$ | kwád | village |
| 10 | *n- | $\mathrm{m}^{21}$ | m-pùmó | fruits |

Table 7.5 Correspondences between Proto-Bantu and Kol noun classes.
With respect to the noun class pairings, the proto-Bantu pairing of classes 9 and 10 does not occur in Kol. Rather, class 9 nouns take their plurals in class 6. Class 10 functions as a mass plural for class 7 nouns.

One of the striking aspects of Bantu morphology is the concord system. Below is a chart comparing the Proto-Bantu subject pronoun and subject agreement system with the subject pronouns of Kol and Makaa. The ProtoBantu data is taken from Meeussen 1965 (agreement system found on p.97, pronominal system on p.98).

[^16]| Subject | Proto-Bantu |  |  |  | Kol |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Agr |  | Pron |  | Pron |  |
|  | Sing | P1 | Sg | Pl | Sing | P1 |
| $1^{\text {st }}$ p. excl. | n | to | i-n- $\varepsilon$ | í-có-¢ | mə̀ | bìzó |
| incl. |  |  |  |  |  | bìzá |
| dual incl. |  |  |  |  |  | ncwò |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ person | - | mo | O- $\varepsilon$ | í-nó-¢ | wò | bè |
| $3^{\text {rd }}$ person | o, a | ba | O-¢ | bá-ว, gúlo | nı̀ | bwó |
| 3/4 | mo | me |  |  | w- | myә |
| 5/6 | i | ma |  |  | dwó | mwə |
| 7/8 | ke | bi |  |  | i-, jwò | byò |
| 9/10 | n | n |  |  | nò | bwò |

Table 7.6 Subject Agreement/Pronouns in PB and Kol.

Kol does not require that verbs agree with their subject (as will be in the following section on verbs).

The central A. 80 languages, including Kol, have innovated three distinctions in the first person plural: inclusive, exclusive and dual. It appears that Kol has added a plural marker to the front of the inherited ProtoBantu pronoun form. However, this has only occurred in the first person inclusive and exclusive forms, since the dual form lacks the initial $b$ - and has
a closer resemblance to the Proto-Bantu form than do the other two forms of the first person plural.

### 5.1.2 Noun derivation

In Kol, there are a number of different processes which may be used to create nouns out of verbs. Some of these seem to correspond to processes described by Meeussen for Proto-Bantu. For more information on deverbal nouns, see chapter 3.

In Proto-Bantu, Meeussen theorized that a final $-a$ indicates an action.

In Kol, some nouns are created by adding a vowel, including an $-a$, to the verbal stem, as shown below.

| (141) | nûmb | 'know' | númbá | 'knowledge' (3) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | mwèl | 'solicit sex' | mwèlá | 'boyfriend, girlfriend' (1) |
|  | cíg | 'cut' | cígà | 'saw' (1) |

Other deverbal nouns are formed by adding a final $-a$ and a nasal prefix.

| (142) | dèl | 'bury' | ndèlà | 'burial' (9) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | jùùl | 'be bitter' | njùúlà | 'bitter leaf vegetable' (3) |

Meeussen also reconstructed an agent-creating process formed by
adding an $-i$ to the root. In Kol one reflex of $* i$ is $/ \mathrm{e} /$, and some agentive nouns are formed by adding a -e suffix.

| (143) kwîg | 'travel, walk' | kwígè | 'traveler' (1) |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| jwèl | 'drink' | jwと̀lè | 'drinker' (1) |

Other agentive nouns can be formed by adding the suffix $-l$ or $-l a$, as shown below. This may be a reflex of the reconstructed *-edع. If this is the case, some vowels have been lost and *d has become $/ 1 /$, which is a common sound correspondence in Kol. A bigger issue is that this suffix is reconstructed as creating 'a way of doing,' while in Kol it creates an agent.

| (144) jíbò | 'steal' | jíbàlà | 'thief' (1) |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| yò | 'give' | yôl | 'giver' (1) |

It is extremely common for more than one strategy to be used at a time, as illustrated below, where in (76a), the noun is formed by both adding the nasal prefix mentioned above and the suffix $-l$, while in (76b), the nouns are formed by adding the nasal prefix and the suffix vowel $-e$.

| a. jû | 'kill' | njûl | 'butcher (n)' (1) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| dì | 'live, stay' | ndìl | 'dweller' (1) |
| jì̀ | 'cry' | njìll | 'crier' (1) |


| b. bùgà | 'accuse' | mbúgè | 'accuser' (1) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| dùb | 'paint' | ndùbé | 'painter' (1) |
| dúg | 'row' | ndúgè | 'rower' (1) |
| jîg | 'learn' | njígè | 'learner, student' (1) |
| júnà | 'fight' | njúnè | 'fighter' (1) |

Meeussen also theorized that a final -o to a verbal root indicates an action, an instrument, or a place. In Kol, some nouns appear to correspond to this pattern, as demonstrated below.

| (146) | jíbò | 'steal' | jíbò | 'theft' (9) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | bàgàlà | 'load (v)' | mbágàlò | 'load' (3) |

### 5.1.3 Word Order

Meeussen (1967:117) reconstructs that proto-Bantu noun phrases had the following phrase structure: Noun (Connective) (Adjective) (Numeral). Kol agrees with this for the most part, though in Kol, adjectives may precede the noun as shown by each of the examples below.

| (147) bèdá kwád | 'big village' |
| :--- | :--- |
| bwàgbwàg mò-kwád | 'big villages' |
| ntúlá bè-sá | 'a lot of things' |
| bùbù mè-njáb | 'a lot of houses' |

Indefinite determiners may also precede the noun, but determiners are not mentioned by Meeussen. Below is the post-nominal word order found in the Kol noun phrase. (See chapter 4 for more information.)

| (148) Noun Genitive Demonstrative | Definite Determiner |
| :--- | :--- |
|  | Another |
|  | Quantifier |

Meeussen suggests that demonstratives might have differed from the otherwise regular head-initial structure, with demonstratives preceding as well as following the noun. This is somewhat true in modern day Kol since demonstratives are one of the word classes which can be fronted for focus (along with possessives). Example (149) shows the default word order with the demonstratives following the nouns, while (150) shows a focus construction where the demonstrative (in bold) precedes the noun.
a. dá ŋggà 'this father' (1)
bè-kèkènà bé-ŋgà 'these parables' (8)
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { b. b-ùr bó-nè } & \text { 'those people' } \\ \text { dw-àb é-nè } & \text { 'that day' (5) }\end{array}$
(150)

| myâ bwó | ncà | bwáànt | mə̀bá, | ně | njùm... |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| when they | IncP | create | 6-sexual.relations | that (SPEC) | husband |

### 5.2 VERBS

### 5.2.1 Agreement

One of the striking differences between Kol and the Proto-Bantu system is the lack of subject and object agreement in Kol. The subject pronouns in Kol are completely in complementary distribution with full nouns. If a full noun is the subject of a sentence, the verbal sequence starts with a tense marker; the subject pronoun is not allowed, much less required as it would be if it were actually a subject agreement marker. In the example shown below, the subject is a class 5 noun, which is one of the few remaining classes consistently marked by both a segmental agreement marker and concord markers on all modifiers. We would therefore expect that if Kol required a subject agreement marker on the verb that it would be noticeable in the sentence below. (The subject pronoun for class 5 nouns is dwó.)
(151) lè-wúg á bà lé-byôl.

There was a hole in the canoe.

However, having said that, there may be vestiges of subject agreement. There are two forms for a class 7 subject. One, jwò, is a pronoun which may appear separate from the tense morpheme. The other, $y$-, only appears bound
with tense morphemes and is generally used as the dummy subject, as shown below. Class 7 is the generic class for inanimate objects, and it is the only class that shows these two forms.

| $y=a ́$ | bò | nô | èsáp |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $y=$ á | bà | nâ | è-sáp |
| 7sub-P2 | be | that | 5 -illness, disease | 'It was an illness that.....' (Illness.08)

(153)

| $\mathrm{m}=o ́$ | bùl | cèl | kèné | kèkènà | gà | nə̀bá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{m}=0$ ó | bùlù | cı̀l | kèné | kèkènà | ngà | nə̀bá |
| I -PRES | many | love | tell | 7-story | this | because |

$j w=o ́$ jì kèkènà ndé lê yà bûr fôg $=$ è.
jẁ =ó jì kèkènà $\mathrm{H}+$ ndé lé yò b -ur fòg $=$ è 7Sub-Pres be story RelCl-be ImpF give 2 -person 9-wisdom-RelCl 'I really want to tell this story because it is a story which gives people wisdom.'

Objects only appear after a verb, either as a full noun or as a pronoun.

Object markers cannot be prefixed before the verb.

'He will do it for me.'

### 5.2.2 Negation

For both Kol and Proto-Bantu, the negative marker is the first element in the verbal sequence. However, in Proto-Bantu, this means that the
negative marker precedes the subject agreement. Since Kol does not have subject agreement, the negative marker comes after the subject pronoun or full noun.
(155) $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{a}=$ dég $=$ è m-ûr.

I-NEG- see-NEG 1-person
'I didn't see anyone.'

### 5.2.3 Tense

Meeussen (1967:113) gives a list of tense markers for Proto-Bantu as
"illustrative tries" rather than reconstructions.

| Tense prefixes | Proto-Bantu | Kol |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| far past | á | á |
| recent past | a | é |
| present | da, $\varnothing$ | ó |
| future | ka | é |
| distant future | -- | é + bwó |
| conditional | ngá | mbá |

Table 7.7 Tense markers in Proto-Bantu and Kol

Only one of the Kol tense markers, the far past marker, seems to correspond to the proto-Bantu marker. However, Kol has a conditional conjunction, $\eta g e ́$ 'if', which may be a reflex of the proto-Bantu preverbal conditional marker.

### 5.2.4 Extensions

As was previously mentioned in chapter 4, only relics of the Proto-

Bantu extensions remain in a few Kol verbs. The table below compares reconstructed extensions with the frozen Kol relics (Meussen 1967:92).

|  | Proto-Bantu | Kol |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Passive | -ó | -ówà |
| Reciprocal | -an | -ə̀là |
| Benefactive/Applicative | -ed | -éà |
| Causative | -i, -ic | -̀̀zà |
| Reversive | -od, -ok | -bà |
| ?? | -ad |  |

Table 7.8 Extensions in Proto-Bantu and Kol
(156) Passive

| sówà | 'do + passive' | sá | 'do' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kègàwà | 'plan+passive' | kèg | 'plan' |

Reciprocal/Reflexive
yìgàlà 'compare self yìg 'compare, claim'

Applicative
déà 'eat from' dò 'eat'

Causative

| ságə̀zò | 'shake' | sá or ságə̀ | 'do' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| wûl | 'take out' | wòl | 'get up' |
| bêr | 'put, place' | bâr | 'climb in' |

Transitive
béźbàlè 'wound (tr.)' bèb 'wound (intr.)'

Reversive
bùgùbà 'prosper' bù 'be scarce'

## 6 Summary

This study has been an initial attempt to explore some of the ways that Kol, a Bantu language from the A.zone in the northwestern corner of the Bantu language area has changed over time from the Proto-Bantu system it inherited.

While the Kol system is reduced in many ways from the classical Bantu systems seen in eastern Africa, it is still clearly a Bantu language, complete with noun classes and complex preverbal inflectional systems.

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## Appendices

## Texts

## 1 A Deadly Sickness

told by Pierre Bengomo Mossi (of Bidjombo), transcription help and translation (into
French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)
(1) mò = ó ncá léy mwáà láy

| mə̀= | ó | ncà + H | $1 \varepsilon ̂ \eta+$ H | mwâ | lág | ggà | è-fù | sáb |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I | Pres | come | tell | small | happening | this | 5-sake | -illness |

mé mè mé á bò nò té.
mé mè mé á bò nò té
me me self P2 be with Loc
'I will tell this little story about an illness I had.
(2) $m=$ àá bò lè jwák cìè mò $=$ ndé yàùnt.
m̀=á bà lè jwôg tyè mà= ndé
I-P2 be IMPF feel illness I be (loc) Yaounde
When I was in Yaoundé, I got sick.
(3) è-sáp d-òòngá à tér mò ntà lè-yój.
è-sáb d-j̀̀̀ngá á tér mà ntà lè-yôp
5-illness 5-Def P2 start me since 5-cold.weather
This illness started with the cold.
(4) mə̀ lè fyês.
mà lè fyêz
I IMPF neglect
I ignored it.
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { (5) } & \text { è-yán } & \text { lè } & \text { ŋkwò } & \text { kò. } \\ \text { è-yôn } & \text { lè } & \text { kwò } & \text { kò } \\ & \text { 5-cold.weather } & \text { IMPF } & \text { again } & \text { go }\end{array}$
It stayed cold.
(6) mwâ kwís mó ncà nìgó bwàmbà.
mwá kwéz mé ncà nìgò bwàmbà
1 -small 7 -cough be (chg) come return follow
I got a little cough.
(7) mwâ kwís j-òòngá á lè bà mwâ kwís j-ว̀̀̀ngá
mwá kwéz j-ว̀̀̀ngá á lè bò mwá kwéz j-ว̀̀̀ggá
1-small 7-cough 7-Def P2 IMPF be 1-small 7-cough 7-DeF
kwís $\int$ wízá.
kwéz Jwézá
7-cough (be) dry
It was a little dry cough.
(8) mə̀ = lè kwíz mə̀ = lè númp nə̂ m=àá bə̀ mpwògé
mà = lè kwéz mà= lè nûmb nâ m̀ =á bà mpwògé
I ImpF cough me ImpF know that I-P2 be 1-health

| ndè | $\mathrm{y}=\mathrm{á}$ | bà | nâ | è-sáp | á | sé | Økwò | têr |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ndé | $\mathrm{y}=\mathrm{á}$ | bà | nâ | è-sáb | á | sé | kwò | têr |
| while | NONREF-P2 | be | that | 5-illness | P2 | PERF | again | start |

lè-bì mò hámó.
lè̀-bì mò fámò
Inf-seize me good
I was coughing, thinking that I was healthy, while the illness really took hold.
(9) myà m=á sé kà ncò njá n-é-njwòn è-sáp á
myà $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{a}=$ sé kà ncà jâ nà=lé- jwòn è-sáb á
3-time RelCl-I-P2 Perf Cons come lie.down with-Loc-bed 5-illness P2

| sé | kà | ncà | làlé |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sé | kà | ncà | làl |
| PERF | CONS | come | (be) strong |

When I was lying down in bed, the illness really struck hard.
(10) númá bw=á ncò kò nə̀ mó cíló cílá wàlàfírà. númá bwó =á ncò kò nà mò cílá cílá wàlàfírà also they-P2 come go with me quickly quickly hospital Immediately, they took me to the hospital.
(11) bwó kà kò nə̀ mó wàlàfírò.
bwó kà kò nà mó wàlàfírà
they Cons go with me hospital
They took me to the hospital.
(12) bwó kò sá bò-zćksàmê̂z.
bwó kò sá
they go do 2-test (examens -French)
They did tests.
(13) bwó kò fyàlá má-cì nà dégə̀ mà-bí.
bwó kò fyàl mò-cì nò dêg mà-bî
they go test 6-blood with see 6-feces
They did blood tests and looked at my stool samples.
(14) bwô dégà nô ndè bì-mpànc by-áy á sé têr bwó dêg nâ ndé bè-mpànc bè-àn á sé tér they see that while 8 -side 8 -my $\quad$ P2 $\quad$ PERF start é-jwók cíè
lè-jwôg tyè Inf-feel illness
They noticed that my sides (lungs) were already sick.

| $\mathrm{m}=$ è | ndé | ké | dùló | sìgá | kə́ | bà |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| m̀ $=$ é | ndé +H | ké +H | dùlò +H | sìgá | ké | bà |
| $\mathrm{I}-\mathrm{P} 1$ | be (loc) | NeG | smoke | cigarette | NEG | be |

nê jwèl mó-nòk.
nò nwèl mò-nwòg
with drink 6-wine
I didn't smoke cigarettes; I didn't drink.
(16) dòctéur m-ùr á kò sá mà bò-zદ́ksàmêz á jí mà

|  | m-ùr | á | kò | sá | mà |  | á | jí | mə̀ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| doctor (Fr) | 1-person | P2 | go | do | me | 2-test (French) | P2 | ask | me | nə̂ mə̀ $=$ jî nwèl nô mə̀ $=$ jî dùlò tâk. nâ mà $=$ jì jwèl nô mə̀ $=$ jì dùlò tàg that I be (att) drink that I be (att) smoke tobacco The doctor who did the tests asked me if I drank or if I smoked.


| mà | nâ | "ว̀ | á". |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mà | nâ | à | á |
| I | that | no |  |
| I said, "No." |  |  |  |

(18)


| á | dêg | nô | bì-mpáànc | by-áy, | by =á | sé | bà | ntámà ? |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| á | dêg | nâ | bè-mpânc | bè-àn | bè $=$ á | sé | bà | ntámà |
| P2 | see | that | 8 -side | 8 -my | 8 -P2 | PERF | little | rot |

He asked why then the x-ray that they took at the hospital showed that my lungs were already a bit damaged.
(19) númə́ bw=á ncə̀ kò dil mò centre 3àmó kómb númá bwó=á ncà kò dil mà kómb also they-P2 come go dwell me center Jamot side
$\mathrm{m}=$ á kò lè s -ówà mè-mìr $=$ é.
$\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{m}=$ á kò lè sá-ówà mè-mìd $=$ é
RelCl-I-P2 go ImpF do-Pass 4-medicine-RelCL
They took me to the Jamot Center to get treated.
(20)


| mé | $\mathrm{m}=$ á | lè | bò | mà | mbúk | n-é-njwòn | wàlàfír̀̀ | nə̀ | mú |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mé | $\mathrm{m}=$ á | lè | bò | mà | mbúg | nò-lé-njwòn | wàlàfír̀ | nà | mú |
| self | $\mathrm{I}-\mathrm{P} 2$ | IMPF | be | I | lie | with Loc-bed | hospital | with | reason |


| nâ | wú | á | bò | m-ùr | ké | kò | cík |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nâ | wú | á | bò | m-ùr | ké | kò | cíg |
| that | there | P2 | be | 1 -person | NEG | go | cross |


| m-ùr | ké | kò | dêk | wó. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| m-ùr | ké | kò | dêg | wó |
| 1-person | NEG | go | see | you |

This situation scared me because while I was lying there in the hospital, no one could come visit me.
(21) wò lè jâ njì wò wò mé njì bé nà bò-dwábə̀rà. $\begin{array}{lllllllllll}\text { wò } & \text { lé } & \text { já } & \text { njì } & \text { wò } & \text { wò } & \text { mé } & \text { njì } & \text { bé } & \text { nò } & \text { bò-dwábàrà } \\ \text { you } & \text { IMPF } & \text { sleep } & \text { only } & \text { you } & \text { you } & \text { self } & \text { only } & \text { you } & \text { with } & \text { 2-nurse }\end{array}$ You sleep all alone, with only the nurses.
(22) sì bien $m=a ̌$ bà fúndò bá mí-l má-myà. $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{a}$ bò fúndò bà mì-úlágá mè-myà I-P2 be flee little 4-another 4-time
I was quite afraid.
(23) "ést- ce què mà jì nò nkùl yò wógà ?"
mə̀ jì nò Đkùl yò wôg I be with force die here Will I die here?
(24) bwùr bá njáp bwó ndé ké nûmp. bò-ùr bó njáb bwó ndé ké nûmb 2-man 2-Assoc 3-house they be (loc) Neg know My family won't know....

| $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{a}$ | njì | ntà | $\mathrm{m}=$ á | bò | nò | búgó | nâ | twè |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\grave{\mathrm{m}}=\mathrm{a}$ | njì | ntà | $\grave{\mathrm{m}}=\mathrm{a}$ | bò | nò | búgó | nâ | twě |
| $\mathrm{I}-\mathrm{P} 2$ | only | since | $\mathrm{I}-\mathrm{P} 2$ | be | with | faith | that | even.if |

n-è-sáp á sê jâk nò Đkùl ncì̀mbá
nâ-̀--sáp á sé jâg nò nkkùl ncì̀mbê that-5-illness P2 PRRF (be) serious with force God nà nà mé é nìgò sá má mpwògá. nà nà mé é nigò+H sá+H mà mpwògá. him him self Fut return do me (be) healthy I had faith that even if the illness had already gotten bad, God himself will heal me.
(26) jwá bó m=á bándà bò jízàbà mé-mìr=é.
jwź bò m̀ má bàndà bò jízàbà mè-mìd=è
7Sub be I-P2 really be endure 4-medicine-ReLCL
That's why I put up with the treatment.
(27) bw=á lè sá mò. bwó=á lè sá mà they-P2 Impr do me They treated me.
(28)

| mà | ndâk | bándà | ncò | bà | mpwògé. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mà | ndâg | bàndà | ncò | bà | mpwògé. |
| I | $?$ | really | come | be | (be) healthy |

I regained my health.
(29) sì bìen nô $m=a ̌$ nìgò jò ncì̀mbé àkíbà ná bùbù. $\begin{array}{llllllll}\text { nâ } & \mathrm{m}=\text { á } & \text { nìgò } & \text { jò } & \text { ncìmbé } & \text { àkíbà } & \text { nâ } & \text { bùbù } \\ \text { that } & \mathrm{I}-\mathrm{P} 2 & \text { again } & \text { give } & \text { God } & \text { thank } & \text { with } & \text { many }\end{array}$

So I really give thanks to God.
(30) nə̀ mù nô contre-examens bw=á kò sâ nà

| nò | mú | nâ |  | bwó=á | kò | sá | nà |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| with | reason | that | re-tests | they-P2 | go | do | with |


| mò-ngwàgə̀lá | $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{a}$ | lè | ŝ̂, | $\mathrm{bw}=\mathrm{a}$ | kò | dêk | nâ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mè-ggwàgəlá | $\mathrm{m}=$ á | lè | sá | bwó $=$ á | kò | dêg | nâ |
| 4-prayers | I -P2 | IMPF | do | they-P2 | go | see | that |


| bì-mpáànc | by-áyà | sé | nó kwò | bò | fúbán | nə̀ | nwàn | nwàn. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bè-mpànc | bè-àn | sé | kwò | bò | fúbán | nə̀ | nwân | nwân |
| 8 -side | 8 -my | PERF | again | be | clean | and | good | good |

After they retested me, and all my prayers, they found that my lungs were healthy and clean.
(31) è-kál é-sâp kè ná kwò nìgò lík.
è-kál $\mathrm{H}+$ è-sáp ké nò kwó nìgò lígò 5 -spot 5 -illness NEG with again again stay No trace of the illness remained.
(32)

| dónc | bìzó | ká | bùl | lè | fúnd̀̀ | lè- $\int$ fì |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | bìzó | ké | bùlù | lè | fúndò | è-fwì |
| thus | we | NeG | many | IMPF | fear | 5-death |


| myà | $\mathrm{w}=0$ ó | ndé | n-é-jwòn | lé-sáp $=$ é. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| myà | $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{w}=$ ó | ndé +H | nò-lé-jwòn | $\mathrm{H}+$ lè-sáp $=$ è |
| 3-time | ReLCl-you-PRES | be (loc) | with-Loc-bed | 5 -illness-ReLCL |

Thus we shouldn't have so much fear of death when we're lying on a sickbed.'

## 2 A Funeral at Bidjombo

told by Pierre Bengomo Mossi (of Bidjombo), transcription help and translation (into
French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)
(1) nò kùgú bìzà bà mpáànt nè, è-fwì mò nòn
nò kùgú bìzá bò né è-fwì mà nòngá
with 3 -evening we be Mpand that 5 -death Poss 1 -mother
mà bòkwáálà.
mà bòkwáálà
Poss Bokwaala
'Yesterday, we were at the funeral for Bokwaala's mother at Mpand.
$\begin{array}{llllllllll}\text { (2) } & \text { è- }- \text { wì } & \text { d-j̀̀̀ngá } & \text { jì } & \text { nâ } & y=a ́ & \text { bà } & \text { nâ } & \text { bwó } & \text { sá } \\ & \text { è-fwì } & \text { d-̇̀̀̀ngá } & \text { jì } & \text { nâ } & y=a ́ & \text { bò } & \text { nâ } & \text { bwó } & \text { sá } \\ & \text { 5-death } & \text { 5-DEF } & \text { be (att) } & \text { that } & \text { NONREF-P2 } & \text { be } & \text { that } & \text { they } & \text { do }\end{array}$
ndèlá ntà $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}$ yò kùgú á bè.
ndèlá ntà $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}$ yò kùgú á bè
9-burial since she-P2 die 3-evening QuAL second
They needed to bury her because she died the day before yesterday.
(3) sá bà mpwògé nò mú nə̂ mùg áncé ntámə̀.
sâ bò mpwògé nò mú nô múnò áncé ntámà

7 -thing be 1 -health with reason that 3 -corpse NEGP2 rot
It was a good thing because the body was not decomposed (yet).
(4) bìzá kà númá sá mí§wàn mpwògé.
bízá kà númá sá mífwàn mpwògé
we Cons also do 7-church 1-health
We also had a good service.
(5)

| njì̀ | sá | bùl | ká | ncò | wá | bìzá | mò-kwábàlà | bò |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| njì | sâ | bùlù | kà | ncò | wá | bìzá | mò-kwábàlà | bò |
| only | 7-thing | many | Cons | come | give | us | 6-difficulty | be |

The only thing that caused problems was the kambaga [traditional funeral dance], because the women were doing it during the service and not setting it aside to respect God's time.
(6) njì̀ kámbàgà njì kò ná njè̀ sá $\mathrm{j}=\mathrm{č}$ ggá

| njì | kàmbàgà | njì | kò | nò | njè | sá | $\mathrm{j}=o ́$ | gó |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| only | fun'l.dance | only | go | with | 9-arrival | 7-thing | 7SUB-Pres | PRoG |

bùlù ntźgà nò kùgú.
bùlù ntég nò kùgú
many annoy with 3 -evening
The kambaga kept going on and really annoyed us.
(7) bìzá sé kà númá làp nò bwò né bwó há b̀̀zá sé kà númá làb nò bwà né bwó hǎ we Perf Cons also speak with them that they Hort

| nàbò | myà | y-ês | mífwàn | ndé | syé | lè- $\int$ wǐ | bwó | hà |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nàbá | myà | y-ह̂z | mífwàn | ndé | syê | è-fwì | bwó | hà |
| because | 3-time | 3-each | 7 -church | be(loc) | work | 5-death | they | Hort |


| bîr | lòßà | kámbàgà | myà | mífwàn | má | sí |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| bír | lòb | kàmbàgà | myà | H+míjwàn | mé | sé |
| leave | 3-problem | fun'l.dance | 3-time | RelCl-7-church | be (chg) | PERF |

syê nə̀ mú nə̂ ncìmbə́ nà nà má bò ndê...
syê nò mú nâ ncì̀mbé nò nò mé bò ndé
work with reason that God him him self be be (loc)
lén nó m-ùr yó $=\mathrm{k}$ ngè ndágò nô m-ùr cìgé.
lêp nâ m-ùd yò $=g+H$ ngé ndâg nâ m-ùd cìgà
say that 1 -person die-SubJ if ? that 1-person live
We told them that from now on, during the funeral service, they have to stop the kambaga, because it is God himself who says when man lives or dies.
(8) donc è-wàlà lé mífwàn é mò-Swì bìzà jí

| donc | è-wàlà | lé | míjwàn |  | mò-fwì | bìzà | jí |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| thus | 5-hour | 5ASSOC | 7-church | and(Fr) | 6-death | we | want |


| jàlànà | bùlù | ně | kándàbə̀ | dw-ób |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| jàlánà | bùlù | né | kándə̀bà | dw-ób |
| must | many | that | respect | 5 -day |

We should really respect the church time.
(9) ká kò jé númá nâ è-fwì lá twámbá mw-àrá
kà kò jê númá nâ è-fwì lé twámbá mw-àrá

Cons go arrive also that 5 -death 5 Assoc 1 -elder 1 -woman
túgə́ náy ká bùlú bò ná mò-cě lè-lámə̀
túg +H ná +H kà +H bùlù +H bò +H nò mò-tyè lè-lâm
be (neg) still Cons many be with 6-pain 5-heart

| nə̀ | mú | nâ | $\mathrm{j}=$ ǎ | sé | sá | syé. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nò | mú | nâ | j̀=á | sé | sá | syê |
| with | reason | that | she-P2 | PERF | do | 7-work |

Arriving at the death of an old mother doesn't give much heart pain because she had done the work that she should do.
(10) á bò nâ nə̀= sá=gà $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}$ sé byá bw-án.

| á | bò | nâ | nà $=$ | sá $=\mathrm{g}+\mathrm{H}$ | j̀=á | sé | byâ | bò-ân |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| P2 | be | that | she | do-SUBJ | she-P2 | PERF | bear (child) | 2-child |

She had already had children.
(11) bw-án mé nùmó nə̀ b-ób bw-ân
bò-ân mé númá nò b-ób bò-ân

2-child be (chg) also with 2-their 2-child
Her children had also had their children.
(12)

| $\mathrm{n}=$ ǎ | lígò | bò-ntá | è-wúm |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ỳ=á | lígò | bèntá | è-wúm |
| she-P2 | stay, leave | 8-grandchild | 5-ten | She left ten grandchildren.

(13) té $y=a ́$ sé bò bèrà sá.
té $y=a ́$ sé bò bèdà sâ
Loc NonRef-P2 Perf be big 7-thing
That was a big thing.
(14)

| é-fwí | d-ว̀̀̀ngá | yà | númá | bìzá | fógà | né. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| è-fwì | d-ว̀̀ngá | yò | númá | bìzá | fóg | né |
| 5-death | 5-Dé | give | also | us | 9-wisdom | that |

This death also gives us wisdom.
(15)

| myǎ | bíz $=$ ó | ndé | dì, | bìzá | ndé $=$ gèé | símàzà | nə̂ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| myǎ | H + bìz $=$ ó | ndé + H | dì +H | bìzá | ndé $=\mathrm{g}+\mathrm{H}$ | símàzà | nô |
| 3-time | Relcl-we-Pres | be (loc) | stay | we | be (loc)-Subu | think | hat |


| bìzá | ndé $=$ gé | sá | là-nwàn. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bìzá | ndé $=\mathrm{g}+\mathrm{H}$ | sá | lè-nwàn |
| we | be (loc)-Subj | do | 5 -good |

While we're living, we should think about doing good.
(16)

| nà | mú | nô | mw-àrá | yò | nò | kùgé, | myǎ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nò | mú | nâ | mò-àrá | yò | nò | kùgú | myà +H |
| with | reason | that | 1-woman | die | with | 3-evening | 3-time-ReLCL |


| è-sáßá | $\mathrm{n}=$ á | bà | nə̀ | té | è-sáp | lá | ncám | tùgá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| è-sáb | $\mathrm{n}=$ á | bà | nò | té | è-sáb | lé | ncàm | túg |
| 5-illness | she-P2 | be | with | Loc | 5-illness | 5Assoc | 9-leprosy | be (neg) |

hám è-sáp.
fám èmáb
real, good 5-illness

Because the woman who died yesterday, she had leprosy which is not a good disease.
(17)

| $\mathrm{y}=\mathrm{a}$ | lò | bò | ákf̂ká | bw=á | lè | wùl | bw-ùr |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{y}=\mathrm{a}$ | lè | bò | ákíká | bwó=á | lè | wùl | bò-ùd |
| NONREF-P2 | IMPF | be | colonial.times | they-P2 | IMPF | take.out | 2-person |


| é | bw-ùr | kó | nìgó | dìlò | bwó | j-óbá | bùn | bòn | á |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | bò-ùd | kò | nìgò | dìl | bwó | j-ób | bùn | bón | á |
| and(Fr) | 2-person | go | return | dwell | them | 7-their | 7-place | there | P2 |

kò móngòmá kómb m-íl mé-ncícàm á bèè
kò kómb mè-úlágá mè-ncícâm á
go Mongoma side 4-Indef 4-leper P2
In colonial times, they took them away and isolated them in a leprosarium [at Mongoma] where there were other lepers.
(18) mé $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}$ bò ncícâm $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}$ sé sá nâ njáp bw-ùr $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}$ bò ncícâm $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}$ sé sá nô njáb $\mathrm{H}+$ bò-ùd but(Fr) she-P2 be 3-leper she-P2 Perf do that 3-house 2-person

| y-é | wá | fúk | ná | bùbù | nə̀ | mú | nə̂ | $\mathrm{n}=$ ǎ | kò |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| y-é | wá | fúg | nò | bùbù | nò | mú | nə̂ | $\mathrm{n}=$ á | kò |
| 3-her | 3Sub | be.numerous | with | many | with | reason | that | she-P2 | go |

sáy míyòn mə̀ njúm mw-àrá tíé lómìè.
sáy míyòn mò njûm mw-àrá tié lómìe
look.for 1 -sibling 1 Poss 1 -husband 1 -woman 7 -position Lomie Even though she was a leper, she worked so that her family would be numerous because she looked for a wife from Lomié for her husband's brother.
(19) è mw-àrá w-ว̀̀̀ngá $\Omega=$ ǎ sé ncà byá númá bùbù and(Fr) 1-woman 1-DEF she-P2 PERF come bear also many
njáp bw-ùr.
njáb $\quad$ +bò-ùd
3-house 2-person
That woman came and she also had a big family.
(20) njáp bw-ûr w-j̀òngá $\mathrm{n}=$ ǎ sé sá bèrà syé. njáb $\mathrm{H}+$ bò-ùd w-ว̀̀̀ngá j̀ =á sé sá bèdà syê 3-house 2-person 1-Def she-P2 Perf do big 7-work
For this family, she did a big work.
(21)

| ntá | w-j̀j̀ngá | ndé | jàlàn $=\hat{e}$ | myà | bìzá | kǎ | lè |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ntà | w-j̀̀ngá | H+ndé | jàànà $=$ è | myà | H+bìzá | kà | lè |
| since | 1-DeF | ReLCL-be(loc) | must- RELCL | 3-time | RELCL-we | CONS | IMPF |


| dì | le-sí | bìzó | kò | dêk | nâ | twò | nâ | bìzá | njì | jwók |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| dì | lè-sí | bìzá | kò | dêg | nâ | twò | nâ | bìzá | njì | jwóg |
| stay | Inf-finish | we | go | see | that | even | that | we | only | feel |

cè twò nâ bìzá jì mpwògé bìzó kź sá njáp
cè twò nâ bìzá jì mpwògé bìzá ké sá njáb
illness even that we be 1-health we Neg do 3-house
bw-ùr lè-mbáp.
h+bò-ùd lè-mbáp
2-person 5-bad.thing
Like that, while we are here finishing [life], we see that even if we're sick, even if we're healthy, we shouldn't do bad things to the family.
$\begin{array}{lllllllll}\text { (22) } & \text { nò } & \text { mú } & \text { nô } & \text { lè-nwàn } & \text { wò } & \text { ndé } & \text { sá } & \text { njáp } \\ & \text { nò } & \text { mú } & \text { nâ } & \text { lè-nwân } & \text { H+wò } & \text { ndé } & \text { sá } & \text { njáb } \\ & \text { with } & \text { reason } & \text { that } & \text { 5-good.thing } & \text { ReLCL-you } & \text { (be) loc } & \text { do } & \text { 3-house }\end{array}$

| bw-ùr $=$ è | nclìmbé | yò | wáà | myánà, | è-sú |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| H+bò̀-ùd $=$ è | ncì̀mbé | yò | wò | myánà | è-fú |
| 2-person-ReLCL | God | give | you (sg) | compensation | 5-sake |

lé-nwàn wò ndé sá njáp bw-ùr.
lè-лwây wò ndé sá njáb H+bò-ùd
5-good.thing you (sg) be (loc) do 3-house 2 -person
Because God will reward you for the good that you do to your family.
(23)

| è- $\int$ wí | d-j̀òngá | bùl | sá | bìzá | hámá | bé-twòngg̀lá | nò | kùgú |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| è-fwì | d-j̀̀̀ggá | bùlù | sá | bìzá | fám | bè̀twòngg̀̀lá | nò | kùgú |
| 5-death | 5-Def | many | do | we | good | 8-thought | with | 3-evening |


| mbì̀ | m-ùr | ndé | jàlànı̀ | cìgà | é-njáp | bw-ùr. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| mbì | H+m-ùd | ndé | jàlànà | cìgà | lé-njáb | + bò-ùd |
| 3-sort | Relcl-1-person | be (loc) | must | live | LOC-3- | 2-person | This death has given us good thoughts on how people ought to live in families.

## 3 Bidjombo

told by Pierre Bengomo Mossi (of Bidjombo), transcription help and translation (into
French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)
(1) mwâ lóy-gà jì lóy kwár bìjùmp.
$\begin{array}{llllll}\text { mwá } & \text { lôj-ggà } & \text { jì } & \text { 1̂̂刀 } & \text { kwád } & \\ \text { 1-small } & \text { 5-speech-here } & \text { be (att) } & 5 \text {-speech } & \text { 9-village } & \text { Bidjombo }\end{array}$ This little story is the story of Bidjombo village.
(2) kwár bìjùmp á bò bèrà kwár bwûr á bà
kwád á bò bèdà kwád $\mathrm{H}+$ bò-ùd á bò 9-village Bidjombo P2 be big 9-village RelCL-2-person P2 be é cèl nó bùbù.
č̀là nò bùbù
and (Fr) love with many
Bidjombo village was a big village that people loved a lot.

| (3) | $\mathrm{y}=\mathrm{a} \quad$ bà |  | númó | kwár | bw-ûr |  |  | bù | nò |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $y=a ́ \quad$ bò |  | númá | kwád | H+bò-ùd | á | bùlù | bù | nò |
|  | NonRef-P2 be |  | also | 9 -village | RelCl-2-p | son P2 | many | many | with |
|  | mú | mè-njáp | mé | bw-ùr | mé | kwár | gà | cċlá | á |
|  | mú | mè-njáb | mé | bò-ùd | mé | kwád | ŋgà | cı̀là | á |
|  | reason | 4-house | 4Assoc | 2-person | 4Assoc | 9 -village | this | love | P2 |
|  | bùlò | bò fágà | blá bwó | ó bwó | mè. |  |  |  |  |
|  | bùlù | bò fágá | lá bwó | ó bwó | mé |  |  |  |  |
|  | many | be betw | een they | y they | self |  |  |  |  |
|  | It was village | also a vill loved eac | age with <br> h other a | a lot of p lot. | people bec | ause the | mili | of th |  |


| myà | bíjùmp | bìzó | á | lè | bà | bè-kákág =é |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| myà | H+bìjùmb | bìzó | á | lè | bò | bè-kákág =è |
| 3-time | ReLCL-Bidjombo | we (excl) | P2 | lMPF | be | 8 -small.child-ReLCL |


| bìz $=$ á | lè | dêk | wògà | mò-ntwómá | nə̀ | mə̀-sês | á | lè |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bìzó $=$ á | lè | dêg | wôg | mò-ntwómá | nò | mè-sês | á | lè |
| we-P2 | IMPF | see | here | 6-boy | with | 4-girl | P2 | IMPF |


| wú | bè-bón | bè-sís | nô | bwó | ncà | lè | dì | wógà |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| wû | bè-bón | bè-sís | nâ | bwó | ncò | lè | dì | wôg |
| leave | 8 -place | 8 -another | that | they | come | ImpF | stay | here |

nə̀ mú nâ cc̀ló bì-sá á bò né nwàyà
nò mú nâ cèlà bè-sá á bò né jwâp
with reason that love 7 -thing P2 be that 5 -good.thing
by =á lè syê bíjùmp.
by =á lè syê bìjùmb
8-P2 ImpF work Bidjombo
When we of Bidjombo were children, we saw boys and girls leaving other places and coming here because love and other good things were at Bidjombo.
(5)

| dónk | bìjùmbà | w-j̀ว̀ng | $\mathrm{n}=$ é | sí | bà | bízô | kwár |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | bijùmb | w-j̀̀̀ng | $\mathrm{n}=$ é | sí + H | bò +H | bìzó | kwád |
| thus (Fr) | Bidjombo | 1-DEf | 1sub-P1 | finish | be | us | 9 -village |

ndé ncì̀mb á yò bè-bwárá né nô
ndé ncì̀mbê á yò bè-bwárá né nô
be (loc) God P2 give 8 -blessing that that
nう̀ kô $\int w u ́ g ə ̀ . ~$
nò kò 〔wôg
1Sub go front
Thus, Bidjombo became a village that God blessed and that prospered.
$\begin{array}{llllllllll}\text { (6) dónk } & \text { bw-án } & \text { bó } & \text { bíjùmp } & \text { jì } & \text { bèrà } & \text { bw-ùr } & \text { ná } & \text { cà } \\ & \text { bò-ân } & \text { bó } & & \text { jì } & \text { bèdà } & \text { bò-ùd } & \text { nò } & \text { cà } \\ \text { thus } & \text { 2-child } & \text { 2Assoc } & \text { Bidjombo } & \text { be(att) } & \text { big } & \text { 2-person } & \text { with } & \text { now }\end{array}$
ygà n-é-mò-yì̀gà.
ŋgà né-lé-mè-yì̀gà
this with-Loc-4-government
Thus the children of Bidjombo are now important people in the government.
$\begin{array}{llllllll}\text { (7) dónk } & \text { bìzó } & \text { bw-ùr } & \text { má } & \text { kà } & \text { líg }=\text { è } & \text { bìzó } & \text { jì } \\ & \text { bìzó } & \text { bò-ùd } & \mathrm{H}+\text { mé } & \text { kà } & \text { lígò }=\mathrm{e} & \text { bìzó } & \text { jì }\end{array}$ thus we (excl) 2-person RelCl-be (chg) CoNs stay-ReLCL we (excl) be (att) jàlànà bèlà númá bì-sá lè syê lé-mə̀-lú mpíz=é. jàlànà bèlà númá bè-sá $\mathrm{H}+$ lè syê lé-mò-lú mpízò $=$ è must imitate also 8-thing RelCL-ImpF work Loc-6-era back-RelCl Therefore, those of us who remain, we must imitate what happened in older times.
(8) ná bìzá bágàlà kwár n-íz né
nô bìzá bàgòlà kwád n -iz né that we keep 9 -village 9 -our that So that we can keep our village.
(9) nô kwár j-ízé dégè kò sá bò jì ndì

| nâ | kwád | n-iz | dêg | kò | sá | bò | jì | ndé |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that | 9-village | 9-our | see | go | 7-thing | be | be (att) | be (loc) |

Júgə̀nə̀ $\int$ úgù.
〔wógə̀nə̀ 〔wôg
go.forward front
So that our village keeps heading forward.
(10) bìzó ké nìgó ncá jwàn tié á mò mpízà.
bìzá ké nìgò ncò jwàn tíé á mé mpízò we Neg return come take 7-position P2 be (chg) back We should not take last place.

## 4 How Families Used to Be

told by Mathieu Zoula (of Bidjombo), transcription help and translation (into French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

| (1) | é | àkźkà | njáp | bw-ùt | $\mathrm{w}=$ á | là | bà |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kwòmbèlá |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| é | àkfká | njáb+H | bò-ùd | $\mathrm{w}=$ á | lè | bò | kwòmbèlá |
|  | and (Fr) | colonial | 3-house | 2-person | 3SUb-P2 | IMPF | be |
| organize |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |


| mò-mbì | mí-ngà | nô | bwó | nə̀ | bàtwámbá | wó | bw-ùr |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mè-mbì | mè-ngà | nô | bwó | nò | bò-twámbá | bó | bò-ùd |
| 4-sort | 4-this | that | they | with | 2-elder | 2Assoc | 2-person |

mè-cígó mé-cígó.
mè-cígó mè-cígó
4-division 4-division
In the time of the ancestors, the family was organized like that, in that there were the elders and people in divisions.
(2) nò w-j̀j̀y m-ûr ndé é-làp mè-lòß-é.
nò w-ò̀̀ngá m-ùd ndé lè-làb mè-lòb with 1-Def 1-person be (loc) Inf-speak 4-problem And someone dealt with problems.
(3) nə̀ w-j̀j̀ク m-ûr ndé é-k’é é-mè-lómbálé.

| nò | w-j̀̀̀ngá | m-ùd | ndé | lè-kò | lé-mè-lómbálé |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| with | 1-DEF | 1-person | be (loc) | Inf-go | Loc-4-errand | And someone ran errands.

(4) nà w-j̀̀̀y m-ûr ndé é-bàgòlò é-kùnjí.
nò w-ว̀̀̀ngá m-ùd ndé lè-bàgàlà lé-kwònjí
with 1-Def 1-person be (loc) Inf-keep, watch Loc-cashbox
And someone was treasurer.
(5) nà m-ùr y-ês jì dènà j-é tié nò m-ùd $y$-ह̂z jì dènà j-é tié with 1-person 1 -each be (att) like 7-his 7-position Each person had their job.
(6) jà = ndé syê é-njáp bw-úr, bà-kźkák nò nə̀ = ndé syê lé-njáb $\mathrm{H}+$ bò-ùd bè-kókák nò he be (loc) work Loc-3-house 2 -person 8 -small.child with j-óbà tié
j-ób tié
7-their 7-position
He works in the family, the children with their jobs [too].
(7) è
 The small children had theirs, and each person looked after their own responsibility.
(8) m-ùr y-ês njwúy bó $=\mathrm{k}$ é-njábà bw-ût. m-ùd y-êz njwúg bò $=g+\mathrm{H}$ lé-njáb $\quad \mathrm{H}+$ bò-ùd 1-person 1-each respect be-SubJ Loc-3-house 2-person Each person has [should have] respect for the family.
(9) njáp bw-ûr w=ó jì bùgùbà bô myâ
njáb $\mathrm{H}+$ bò-ùd $\mathrm{w}=\mathrm{o}$ jì bùgùbà bò myà

3-house 2-person 3Sub-Pres be (att) prosper be 3-time
njwúy ndé té.
njwún ndé té
respect be (loc) LOC
The family prospers when there is respect.
(10) njwún bá ndé sá nâ mò-bùgùbà ncâ $=\mathrm{k}$. njwún bò ndé sá nâ mò-bùgùbà ncâ=g respect be be (loc) do that 6-prosperity come-SubJ Respect does in such a way that prosperity comes.
(11) njwúg bá ndé cèl=é.
ndjwúg $\mathrm{H}+$ bò ndé cèl=è
respect RelCl-be be (loc) love-RelCl
Respect is love.
(12) cèl jì è-fùk é má-bùgùbà.
cèl jì è-Jùg é mò-bùgùbà
love be (att) 5-stalk 5Assoc 6-prosperity
Love is the root [stalk] of prosperity.
(13) bìzá njî númp nô myǎ cìmb á kwàmbàlò
bìzá njì nûmb nâ myà +H ncìmbé á kwàmbàlà we (incl) only know that 3-time-ReLCL God P2 create
njáp bw-ûr, $\mathrm{y}=\mathrm{a}$ kò númə́ $\mathrm{w}=$ ó célà-là $=\mathrm{k}$.
njáb $\mathrm{H}+$ bò-ùd $\mathrm{y}=$ á kò númá $\mathrm{w}=$ ó cèlà-là $=\mathrm{g}$
3-house 2-person NonRef-P2 go also 3Sub-Pres love-Refl?-Subj We know that when God created the family, it was for them to love.
(14) mè-njáp mə́ bw-ûr á bà lè àkókà
mè-njáb mé bò-ùd á bò lè àkíká
4-house POSS 2-person P2 be ImPF colonial.times
nó lùgà lùgà lùgà.
nô lùgà lùgà lùgà
that prosper prosper prosper
The families during the time of the ancestors prospered.
(15) nə̀bà jé?
nàbá jé
because what
Why?
(16)

| nàbà | nô | njwún | jì | té. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nàbá | nâ | njwúy | jì | té |
| because | that | respect | be (att) | Loc |

Because there is respect.
(17)

| myà | bé | bè-kèkák | ndé | ygà | jwábó=gá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| myà | H+bé | bè-kákág | ndé | ngà | jwâbò= gá |
| 3-time | RelCl-you (pl) | 8-small.child | be (loc) | this | respect-SubJ(pl) |


| bà-sóngà | nə̀ | bà-nóngà, | jwábó= gá | bò-twámbá | b-ín, |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| bò-sóngô | nò | bò-nı̀ngâ | jwâbj̀ = gá | bò-twámbà | b-én |
| 2-father | with | 2-mother | respect-Subj(pl) | 2-elder | 2-your (pl) |


| jwábó = gá | bòmíỳ̀n | b-ín, | mìyà | w-j̀̀̀ngá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| jwâbj̀ = gá | bò-míỳ̀̀ | b-én | myà | w-j̀̀̀ggá |
| respect-SUBJ(pl) | 2-sibling | 2-your (pl) | 3-time | 3-DEF |

ó njáp bw-ûr ndé kwégè mpwógé.
ó njáb $\mathrm{H}+$ bò-ùd ndé kwég mpwògé. Pres 3-house 2-person be (loc) work 1-health When you the children who are there respect your fathers and your mothers, respect your elders, respect your brothers, it is in that time that the family works well.
(18)

| mènjáp | má | bw-ûr | á | bò | myà | bé | ó | byêl | ygà, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mè-njáb | mé | bò-ùd | á | bò | myà | bé | ó | byĉl | ngà |
| 4-house | Poss | 2-person | P2 | be | 3-time | you (pl) | PRES | be.born | this |


| sá | á | bò | ná | Jwày | jwàn, | é | bìzá | mé |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sá | á | bò | nò | jwân | nwây | é | bìzá | mé |
| 7-thing | P2 | be | with | 9-good.thing | 9-good.thing | and(Fr) | we | be(chg) |


| ndé | ncà | ntámà | mé-njáp | má | bw-ûr | ǹ̀ | cà | nó |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ndé | ncò | ntámà | mè-njáb | mé | bò-ùd | nò | cà | nò |
| be (loc) | come | rot | 4-house | Poss | 2-person | with | now | with |


| nàbǎ | njwùp | kí | náy | bò. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nə̀bá | njwún | ké | náy | bò |
| because | respect | NEG | still | be |

The families, when you were born, what was already good will ruin the families because there is no respect.
(19) bìzá jí jàlànà wá njwúy é-mè-njáp má bw-ûr kí

| bìzá | jì | jàlànà | wá | njwúy | lé-mè-njáb | mé | bò-ùd | ké |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| we (incl) | be (att) | must | give | respect | Loc-4-house | Poss | 2-person | NEG |


| bó | ๆkà | bé | ndé | njì | ncôm | ncôm | ncôm. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bò | nkà | bé | ndé | njì | ncôm | ncôm | ncôm |
| be | like | you (pl) | be (loc) | only | disorder | disorder | disorder | We must put respect in the family, not like you are always in disorder.

(20) è-jwógə̀ = gá édìà mwâ ntòmbà númá mé twòngàlò. è-jwóg $=$ gá +H lé-dìyà mwá ntòmb númá mé twòngàlà Inf-hear-Subj(pl) Loc-place 1-small younger also be(chg) thought Listen also to the younger ones when they have thoughts.
(21) $m=o ́$ bwúnà jkà njáp bw-ûr á lè bò té.
$\mathrm{m}=$ ó bwúnà pkà njáb $\mathrm{H}+$ bò-ùd á lè bò té
I-Pres believe like 3-house 2-person P2 ImpF be Loc
I believe that it was like that that the family was organized.
(21) njáp bw-ûr jì bè-tié bé-tíé.
njáb $\mathrm{H}+$ bò-ùd jì bè-tié bèttíe
3-house 2 -person be (att) 8 -position 8 -position
The family has its positions.
(22)

| m -ùr | y-ês | nà | n-é | ŋkwón | kí | kə̀ | Sùnà |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| m-ùd | y-ह̂z | nò | n-é | ŋkwón | ké | kò | fúnà |
| 1-person | 1-each | with | 9-his | 9-responsibility | Neg | go | discus |


| Økwón | má | л-úlágá | m-ût. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Økwón | má | n-úlágá | m-ùd |
| 9-responsibility | Poss | 1-person | 1-person |

Each person has his responsibility, and he shouldn't discuss the responsibility of someone else.
(23) $\mathrm{b}=\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{j} w a ́ g=\mathrm{e}$ ?
bé $=$ á $=$ jwág $=$ è
you (pl)-Neg-hear-Neg
Do you understand?
(24)

| $\mathrm{m}=$ é | tì̀ | né | jè? |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{é}$ | tié | nò | jé |
| I -P1 | 7-position? | with | what |
| What did I say? |  |  |  |

## 5 A History of Bidjombo

told by Mathieu Zoula (of Bidjombo), transcription help and translation (into French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)
(1) bìjùmp bé yò dék ngà, bìjùmp á bò

| bijùmb | bé | ó | dêg | ygà | bìjùmb | á | bò |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Bidjombo | you (pl) | Pres | see | this | Bidjombo | P2 | be |


| bèdà | kwát | têr | myà | mó | nàm | mbŭ. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bèdà | kwád | tér | myà | mó |  | mbú |
| big | 9-village | start | 3-time | 3Assoc | 7-nation | 3-season | The Bidjombo that you see here was a big [and important] village since the time of Nam Mbu.

(2) nàmb =á têr bò kúkúmá ncò jé myà mó
nàm mbù $=$ á tér bò kúkúmá ncà jé myà mó Nam Mbu-P2 first be 3-chief come arrive 3-time 3Assoc bókwáànt.

Bokwaand
Nam was the first chief until the time of Bokwaand.

| (3) | b-ùd <br> b-ùd | bé <br> H+bé | ndé <br> ndé | dék <br> dêg |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1-person | RelCl-you(pl) | be (loc) | see |  |

The people that you see at Mpand used to live here at Bidjombo.
(4) kúkúmá á mò $\int w o ̂ k ~ a ́ ~ b \grave{~ n a ̀ m ~ m b u ̌ . ~}$ kúkúmá á bò nàm mbú 3-chief first P2 be 7-nation 3-season The first chief was Nam Mbu.
(5) mpízà má nàm mbǔ bòkwáànt elias. mpízò má nàm mbú back Poss 7-nation 3 -season After Nam Mbu was Bokwaand Elias.
(6) bèjǔmbó é tér kwòl̀̀ ngét, kò jé njwèndé,

| Bidjombo | P1 | tér |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| start | kò jé |  |
| go arrive |  |  |

kwár nà ná byòt.
kwár nà nò byòd 9 -village by with fullness
Bidjombo started at Kola Nget (the hill of naughtiness) and went to Njwende (the swamp), and throughout the village was packed [with people].
(7) $w=o ̌$ dégéé nâ tít sá nà jèè!
$\mathrm{w}=$ ó dêg +H nô tíd sá nò jè you (sg)-Pres see that 1 -animal do with 9 -arrival You saw lots of animals!
(8)

| n-úlágá | tít | ǎ | bò | wôk | bé | túg | lè |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| n-úĺgá | tíd | á | bò | wôg | bé | túg | lè |
| 1-InDEF | 1-animal | P2 | be | here | you (pl) | be (neg) | IMPF |
| númb | jč | ndwânk, | è | kwígà | wók |  |  |
| nûmb | nć | ndwâng <br> know | him(emph | giraffe | P1 | walk | wôg |


| tón | nə̀ | tón | Økà | bè-tóò $b$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tón | nò | tón | nkâ | bè-toób |
| outside | with | outside | as | 8 -goat, sheep |

An animal was here that you don't know, the giraffe who walked around outside like goats and sheep do today.

| mò-lú | mpízò | bè-tóòb | áncé | lé | dì | ýkà |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mò-lú | mpízò | bè-tóob | áncé | lè | dì | 1kà |
| 6-era | back | 8-goat, sheep | NEGP2 | IMPF | stay | as |


| by $=$ ó | ndé | kwêk | byíngàlè | mè |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bè $=$ ó | ndé | kwég | byíngə̀̀è | mè |
| 8 SUb-PRES | be (loc) | walk | all.over | that |

In the old days, the sheep didn't do as they do now, walking all over the place.
$\begin{array}{llllllll}\text { (10) by =á } & \text { lè } & \text { dì } & \text { njì } & \text { lé-mò-kôk, è-fúndò } & \text { ßó-ykwìn. } \\ & \text { bè=á } & \text { lè } & \text { dì } & \text { njì } & \text { lè-mò-kôg } & \text { è-fúndò } & \text { bò-nkwèn }\end{array}$
8Sub-P2 ImpF stay only Loc-6-pen Inf-flee 2-leopard
They only stayed in the pens, out of fear of leopards.
(11)

| bè-bón | bé | kékák |  | ná |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| bè-bón | H+bé |  |  | nò |
| 8 -place | RelCl-you (pl) | (pl) 7-s | all.child | with |
| bé | túgá... n | númbà | sá | j-ว̀ว̀ngó. |
| bé | túg | nûmb | sá | j-כ̀̀̀ngó |
| you (pl) | be (neg) k | know | 7-thing | 7-Def |

You the children of today, you don't know about that.
(12)

| sá | bò | é-sì | ygà | Økwìn. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sá | bò | lé-sí | ŋgà | ŋkwèn |
| 7-thing | be | Loc-earth | this | 1-leopard |
| That was something, the leopard! |  |  |  |  |

(13) ŋkà bé túgé sá vùk bé ndé sá mè.
nkâ bé túg sá vùg bé ndé sá mè You didn't mess around the way you do now.
(14) bèjùmbà jì kwáré ndé nò jwàn d-ínò.
jì kwáré ndé nò nwàn d-ínò

Bidjombo be (att) 9-village be (loc) with good 5-name Bidjombo is a village with a good name.
(15) bw-ùr bá mpànd bw=á ncà bô b-óśngà kò dì á

| bò-ùd | bò |  | bwó=á | ncò | bò | b-óńngà | kò | dì |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2-person | be | Mpand | they-P2 | come | be | 2-Def | go | stay | at(Fr)? |


| mpànd | nàbà | nâ | mpànd | bá | móngwààl | mə́ | ncə̀t |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | nàbò <br> nâ |  | bò |  | mà |  |  |
| Mpand | because | that | Mpand | be | Mongwaal | Poss | Ncet |

á tér dì.
á tér dì
P2 start stay
The people of Mpand are separated because it was at Mpand that Mongwaal, son of Ncet, first lived.
(16) njú b-ùd á Jùnà, á wûl bòkól lé-mə̀-lwà
njwî+H b-ùd á jùnà á wûl bò-kól lé-mò-lwà

3-chief 2-person P2 discuss P2 take.out 2-Kol Loc-6-slavery
mákè, jà bá bò mòngwààl má ncc̀t.
mákè nà bò mòygwàà mò
Makaa he/she ? be Poss
The chief who discussed [fought] and liberated the Kol from the slavery of the Makaa was Mongwaal, son of Ncet.
$\begin{array}{lllllllll}\text { (18) } & \text { myà } & \text { móngwààl } & \text { má } & \text { ncà } & \text { y =è, } & \text { myà } & \text { w-òòngó } & \text { bá } \\ \text { myá } & \text { H+ mòngwàà } & \text { mé } & \text { ncò } & \text { yò=è } & \text { myà } & \text { w-j̀̀̀gǵ } & \text { bò } \\ & \text { 3-time } & \text { ReLCL-Mongwaal } & \text { be(chg) } & \text { come } & \text { die-ReLCl } & \text { 3-time } & \text { 3-Def } & \text { be }\end{array}$
mw-án y-é láygà nò ncò jwày dìyà.
mw-ân y-é jò ncò jwày dià 1-child 1-his Langa he come take seat When Mongwaal died, at that time, his son Langa took the position.
(19) ě làngà $\mathrm{n}=$ ǎ dì lé-dìyà njì ngùmbà mbù.

|  |  | j̀ $=$ á | dì | lé-dià | njì | ngùmbà | mbù |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| and (Fr) | Langa | he-P2 | stay | Loc-seat | only | entire | year | Langa was only chief for a year.

(20) bâ ŋgwómə̀nə̀ ncò bà nə̀ mè-lòßá nô $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}$ yò

| bâ | ngwómàǹ̀ | ncò | bò | nò | mè-lòb | nâ | $\mathrm{n}=$ á | yò |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| with | governor | come | be | with | 4-problem | that | he-P2 | give |


| ygwómànə̀ | mw-árà | ndé | nə̀ | lè-sáp, | ncə̀ | kìndà |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Đgwómə̀nə̀ | mw-árà | ndé | nò | lè-sáb | ncò | kènd |
| 1 -governor | 1 -woman | be (loc) | with | 5-illness | come | send |

nò lé-mò-mbùk lúmó.
nà lé-mò-mbùg
him Loc-6-prison Lomie
He had problems with the colonial administrator because he gave the administrator a woman who had an illness, so the administrator threw him in to prison at Lomie.
(21) wú lúmó bó jó kò $\mathrm{y}=$ è.
wú $\mathrm{H}+$ bò nà kò yò =è
there RelCl-Lomie be he go die-RelCl
It was there at Lomié that he died.
(22) myǎ né bó bwó ncò jwày mpwám mò kàk myà né bò+H bwó ncò jwàn mə̀ 3-time- this be-RelCl they come take Poss
njú b-ùd.
njwî+H bò-ùd
1-chief 2 -person
In that time, they took Mpwam, son of Kak, to be chief.
(23) njú b-ùd á bò-kólò é wú yè?
njwî+h bò-ùd á bò-kól é wù +h yé 1-chief 2-person P2 2-Kol P1 come.from where Where did the Kol chief come from?
(24)

| é | wù | wók | bèjùmp. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| é | wù | wôg |  |
| P1 | come.from | here | Bidjombo | Here from Bidjombo.

(25)

| dóyk | bèjùmbà | jì | bìzá <br> jìzá | bwùbwàg <br> bwàg | lígó <br> lígó <br> inheritance |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| thus (Fr) | Bidjombo | be(att) | us(incl) | big |  |
| ndé | jàlànà | kándàbà | nà | bìzá | bágàl = è. |
| ndé | jàlànà | kándàbà | nò | bìzá | bàgàà =è |
| be (loc) | must | respect | with | we (incl) | keep-ReLCl | Thus, Bidjombo is an important heritage for us that we should respect and take care of.

(26) nàbə̀ jé?
nə̀bà jé
because arrive
Why?
(27) bèjùmbà bá ndé lé-Jùgà ná kól. bò ndé lè-jùg nò kól
Bidjombo be be (loc) 5-stalk with Kol
Bidjombo is the root of the Kol language.
(28)

| è | bìzá | b-ùr | bá | béjùmbà | ndé | jàlànə̀ | làb | kól. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | bìzá | bò-ùd | bò |  | ndé | jàlànà | làb | kól |
| and | we (incl) | 2-person | be | Bidjombo | be (loc) | must | speak | Kol | And we the people of Bidjombo, we should speak Kol.

(29) hámá kól á kólò. fám kól á kól true, good Kol Qual Kol The real Kol of the Kol.
(30) bè bò jwógè?
bé bò jwóg
you (pl) be hear
Do you understand?
(31) wôk bèjùmp bá nè. wôg bò nè here Bidjombo be this It's here at Bidjombo.

## 6 An Invitation

told by Pierre Bengomo Mossi (of Bidjombo), transcription help and translation (into
French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)
(1) bò-ntwómá bó béjùmp bwó jì nó cà Đgà nê $\begin{array}{lllllllll}\text { bò-ntwómá } & \text { bò } & & \text { bwó } & \text { jì } & \text { nò } & \text { cà } & \text { ngà } & \text { nâ } \\ \text { 2-young } & \text { be } & \text { Bidjombo } & \text { they } & \text { be (att) } & \text { with } & \text { now } & \text { this } & \text { that }\end{array}$
$b w=$ ě ncò sá bèrà é-mò-wàrá mó-ŋgà.
bwó=é ncò+H sá+H bèdà lé-mò-wàdà mò-ngà
they-Fut come do big Loc-6-vacation 6-this
The young people of Bidjombo here now, they will do a big thing during this vacation.
(2) bw =é ncò sá bèrá fámpìònàn é-sú é ßó-bùmó. bwó=é ncò +H sá+H bèdà championnat lè-fú lé bò-bùmó they-Fut come do big championship 5-sake 5Assoc 2-ball They will have a sports championship.
(3) bìz =ó jì nó '3ik' w-úzá.
bìzó $=$ ó $\mathrm{ji}+\mathrm{H}$ nò gic w-éz
we-Pres be (att) with GIC 1-our
We have our GIC [Groupement d'Intervention Communautaire or Community Intervention Organization].
(4) mə̀ = bá ndé vísdèlègé mə̀ mw-ás má bákwàn.
mà $=$ bò ndé vicedelegué mà mò-áz mò
I be be (loc) vice-delegate Poss 1-twin? Poss Bekwan I am the vice-delegate, me the twin of Bekwan.
(5) mə̀ = bá ndé vísdèlègé á ' 3 ík' gáp pám nè
mò = bò ndé vicedelegué á nè
I be be (loc) vice-delegate (Fr) QuAL GIC GAP PAM that
è-dégè mèsámèná $y$-éz $=$ è.
è-dêg $y$ - $\hat{z} z$-è
Inf-see Messaména 1 -all-ReLCL
I am the vice-delegate of GIC-GAP PAM which is seen throughout the Messamena area.
(6) dóyk bìz=ó mè-táy ndé wú flàs=í bw=á

| bìzá $=o ́$ | mè-táy | $\mathrm{H}+$ ndé | wû | flas $=$ è |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| but | bá |  |  |  |

thus (Fr) we-Pres 4-white RelCl-be(loc) come.from France-RelCl they-P2

| kà | lwándàbà | tíl | mà | nê | mà | ncâ $=k$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kà | lwándàbà | tíl | mə̀ | nâ | mə̀ | ncâ $=g+H$ |
| Cons | just | write | me | that | I | come-SUBJ |

òrgànìzê kúp.
organiser coupe
organize (Fr) cup (Fr)
Thus, we and the whites who come from France who just wrote me that I should organize a Cup [like World Cup for soccer].
(7) kə́ bò kúp, tùrnwá é-fú bó-ntwámá nê bwá

| ké | bò | coupe | tournois | lè-fú | bò-ntwámá | nâ | bwó |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NEG | be | $\operatorname{cup}(\mathrm{Fr})$ | tournament | 5-sake | 2-young | that | they |

sá nô bwó níngə̀ nè gáf pám.
sá nâ bwó nîng né gáp
do that they join that GAP
Not really a cup, but a tournament so that young people will join the
GAP PAM.
(8) dóy $\mathrm{m}=$ ǎ sé ncò nò bò-bùmó.
m̀ =á sé ncò nò bò-bùmó
thus (Fr) I-P2 Perf come with 2-ball
Thus, I've come with balls.
$\begin{array}{lllllllll}\text { (9) } \mathrm{m}=\text { ó } & \text { sé } & \text { kàp } & \mathrm{m}=\mathrm{a} & \text { bò } & \text { nò } & \text { bò-bùmó } & \text { tábèl. } \\ \text { Ì =ó } & \text { sé } & \text { kàb } & \text { mə̀=á } & \text { bò } & \text { nò } & \text { bò-bùmó } & \text { tábèl } \\ \text { I-PRES } & \text { PERF } & \text { share } & \mathrm{I}-\mathrm{P} 2 & \text { be } & \text { with } & \text { 2-ball } & \text { seven }\end{array}$ I already shared; I had seven balls.
(10) $\mathrm{m}=\hat{o ̂}$ sé kàßé mó-kwár búy bó-súsgrùp bó mə̀ =ó sé kàb mò-kwád bún $\mathrm{H}+$ bò-sousgroupe bó I-Pres Perf share 6-village 7-place RelCl-2-subgroup(Fr) 2Assoc
gáf pám ndé.
ndé
GAP PAM be (loc)
I already gave some to villages where there are GAP PAM subgroups [teams?].

bò-bùmó bó-bá.
bò-bùmó bó-bá
2-ball 2-two
So here at Bidjombo, I still have two balls.
(12)

| mò $=$ | jì | cc̀l | nê | é-myà | bw =á | bó-ntòmp | bó-b-ĉz |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mə̀ $=$ | jì | cèlà | nâ | lé-myà | H+bwó=á | bò-ntòmb | bò-b-ĉz |
| I | be (att) | love | that | Loc-3-time | RelCL-they-P2 | 2-younger | 2-2-all |


| mí- $\int$ wàànc | my-ês | é | jé | wógà | bò-jwór=è | m=è |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mè- $\int w \varepsilon ̀ n j ~$ | mè-ह̂z | é | jé | wôg | bò-joueurs=è | mə̀=é |
| 4-young.man | 4-all | FUT | arrive | here | 2-players (Fr)-RELCL | I-Fut |

sá kwán=é.
sá kwán=è
do $\quad 7$-meeting-RelCL
I would like that when all the young people, all the young men arrive, the players, that I will hold a meeting.
(13)

| mò $=$ | lêy | bwó | sá | bízá | ndé | jàlànò | sá | mò-wàrá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mà $=$ | lêy | bwó | sá | H+bìzá | ndé | jàlànà | sá | mò-wàdá |
| I | tell | they | do | RelCl-we | be (loc) | must | do | 6 -vacation | mó-ŋg = è ndè mbínt myà jkwóòndà gó nc=è mò-ggà =è ndé mbénd myà +H jkwòònd gó ncò=è 6-this-RelCl be (loc) rule 3-time-RelCl 9-month Prog come-RelCl


| mé-táy | bízó | bò-nóp | ndé | syê | è | jé | bwó | bwànà |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mè-tán | bìzá | bò-nob | ndé | syê | é | jé | bwó |  |
| 4-white | we | 2 -other | be (loc) | work | Fut | arrive | they | $?$ |

ncó kwìb nê tùrnwá w-j̀̀̀ngá má sé têr.
ncò kwìb nâ tournois w-ว̀̀̀ngó mé sé tér
come find that tournament 3-Def be (chg) Perf start
I will tell them that we must work during the vacations so that next month when the whites we work with arrive, they will find that the tournament has already started.
(14)

| $\mathrm{y}=$ é | $\mathrm{jì}$ | sá | é | bùlú | vólò | bó-ntwámá | nó |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{y}=$ é | jì | sá | é | bùlù | vól | bò-ntwámá | nò |
| NONREF-FUT | be (att) | do | and | many | help | 2-young | with |


| bùbù | têr | ná | mò-wàrá | kò | jê | nò | myǎ | bí-fùkúl |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bùbù | tér | nò | mò-wàdá | kò | jé | nò | myà +H | bè-fǔkúl |
| a.lot | start | with | 6-vacation | go | arrive | with | 3-time-ReLCL | 8 -school |

é tér $=$ è.
é tér $=$ è
Fut start-RelCL
This will help the young people a lot from the beginning of the vacatio to the time when the schools re-start.
(15)

| bwó | ndê | sâ | bé-jún | mè-mbì | mè-my-ह̂z. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bwó | ndé | sâ | bè-jún | mè-mbì | mè-mè-̂̂zz |
| they | be (loc) | do | 8 -game | 4-type | 4-4-each, all | They will play all kinds of games.

(16)

| mò-sá | ás nò | mə̀-Swว̀njí bwó |  | jí | jàlànà | nc | ǒ é | tílàbà |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| mò-sés | nò | mè-jwàn | bwó | jí | jàlànà | nc | ò et | tílàbà |
| 6-girl | with | 5-youn | an they | want | must |  | me and | sign.up |
| nê | é-Jú | spór | w-j̀̀̀ng | nà | mú | nə̂ | bé | jí |
|  | lè-fú | sport | w-ว̀̀̀ngó | nò | mú | nô | bé | ji |
| that | 5-sake | sport (Fr) | 1-Def | with | reason | that | you (pl) | be (att) |
| númbà | Ə̀ nô | bùmó | spór | án3 | èrálè | nı̀ = | bó | ndé |
| nûmb | nə̂ | bùmó | sport | en gene |  | лə̀= | bò | dé |
| know | that | 7-ball | sport (Fr) | in gen | ral(Fr) | she/he | be | be (loc) |

bùlú làr b-ûr.
bùlù lààd bò-ùd
a.lot sew 2-person

The young woman and young men, they should come sign up for the sport because you know that sports brings people together.
(17)

| nò $=$ | bó | ndé | sá | númá | nô | bò-ntwómá | nə̀ | mò-sás |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nò $=$ | bò | ndé | sá | númə́ | nâ | bò-ntwómá | nò | mò-sês |
| he/she | be | be (loc) | do | also | that | 2-boy | with | 6 -girl |


ndé nò bò-míỳ̀n b-óng ndé nê
ndé nò bò-míỳ̀n b-òj̀ngá $\mathrm{H}+$ ndé né
be (loc) with 2 -sibling 2-Def RelCl-be (loc) that
mò-kwár mò-sísì.
mò-kwád mò-sís
6 -village $\quad 6$-different
It works so that the young women and young men have friendships with other people and with their brothers from other villages.
(18)

| dóy | é-mò-wàrà | mó-ygà | é- $\int$ wàndà | ygó | nc = è |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | lé-mò-wàdà | mò-ggà | lé-fwว̀ndà | gó | ncò=è |
| thus (Fr) | Loc-6-hour | 6-this | Loc-1-week | PROG | come-ReLCL |


| bó | $\mathrm{m}=$ é | sá | kwán | j -ว̀̀̀ng'́ | é-lén | bw-án | bó | bíjùmbò |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bò | $\mathrm{m}=$ é | sá | kwán | j-ذे̀ng'́ | è-lên | bò-ân | bò |  |
| be | I-FUT | do | 7-meeting | 7-DEF | INF-tell | 2-child | be | Bidjombo |


| sá | bìzó | bò-nóp | b-ĉz | é | sâ | nê | né | mò-wàrá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sá | bìzó | bò-nób | b-ह̂z | é | sâ |  |  | mò-wàdà |
| do | us | 2-other | 2-all | Fut | do |  |  | 6-hour |


| mó-ŋgà | é-sú | nê | àmbìàns | nò | ànìmà ${ }^{\text {án }}$ | bó $=$ gà |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mò-ggà | lè-fú |  | ambience | nò | animation | bò $=\mathrm{g}$ |
| 6-this | 5-sake |  | ambience | with | animation | be-SubJ |

nò mó-wàlá mó-ŋgà.
nò mò-wàlà mò-ygà
with 6-hour 6-this
Thus during the vacation, next week, I will hold this meeting to say to the sons of Bidjombo what we will do together so that this vacation will be filled with good times.
(19) $\mathrm{m}=$ é yò bwó bò-bùmó.
mə̀ =é yò bwó bò-bùmó
I-Fut give them 2 -ball
I will give them balls.
$\begin{array}{llllllllll}\text { (20) } & \text { bw }=\text { é } & \text { nè } & \text { lé } & \text { bò-bùmó } & \text { bìy-j̀ngó } & \text { ké } & \text { bà } & \text { nə̀ } & \text { bw =é } \\ & \text { bwó }=\text { é } & \text { nè } & \text { lè } & \text { bò-bùmó } & \text { bè-̇ेngó } & \text { ké } & \text { bò } & \text { nò } & \text { bwó=é } \\ & \text { they-FUT } & ? & \text { IMPF } & \text { 2-ball } & \text { 2-DEF } & \text { NEG } & \text { be } & \text { with } & \text { they-FUT }\end{array}$
lè jànà byó.
lè jànà byó
ImpF pay 8Obj
They will play with the balls for free [without paying].
(21)

| $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{e}$ | dâz | bwó | byó |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{é}$ | dâz | bwó | byó |
| I -FUT | give.as.present | them | 8OBJ |


| é-tùrnwá | bìzó | bò-nóp | é | $s=$ é. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lé-tournois + H | bìzz̀ | bò-nób | é | sá $=$ è |
| Loc-tournament(Fr)- ReLCL | we | 2-other | FUT | do-ReLCL |

I will give them the balls as a present during the tournament that we're doing.
(23)

| dón | mà $=$ | jí | jì | nê | mò-sás | nà |  | ̇̀̇-Swènc |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | mà $=$ | ji | ji | nê | mò-sés | nò |  | è-fwènj |
| hus (Fr) | 1 | wa |  |  | 6 -girl | wit |  |  |

má bìjùmp my-ês è bwó mò bá nà ncò nó bùbù
má bìumb mè-̨z é bwó bò nò ncò nò bùbù 6QuAL Bidjombo 4-all Fut F2 ? be with come with a.lot
é-fú kwán m=é $\quad \mathrm{s}=$ é.
lè-fú kwán $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{m}=$ é $\quad$ sá $=$ è
5-sake 7-meeting RelCL-I-Fut do-RelCL
Thus I want that all the young woman and the young men of
Bidjombo come to the meeting that I will have.
(24)

| bìzó | bò-nóp | ká | ncó | kwàmàzá | mbì | bìz=é | ncè |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bìzà | bò-nób | kà | ncò | kwàmàzà | mbì | bìz=é | ncò |
| we | 2-other | Cons | come | prepare | 3-type | we- Fut | come |

sá tùrnwá é-fú ná lé nò
sá tournois lè-fú nò nò
do tournament (Fr) 5-sake with with
bèlá bó súgrùp.
bò sousgroupe
be subgroup
We need to organize how we will do the tournament so that we can play with other subgroups.
(25) $\mathrm{m}=$ ě cèl nô súgrùp á bìjùmbò nò $=$ bó $=$ gò
$\mathrm{m}=$ é cèlà nô sousgroupe á bijùmb nà $=$ bò $=g$ I-Fut love* that subgroup Qual Bidjombo 1SUB be-Subj

| súgrúpò | á | mə̀ | Jwôk | '3ic' | gáf | pám |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | | mə̀ $=$ |
| :--- |
| sousgroupe <br> subgroup |
| first |

ndé vísdèlègé.
ndé vice-delegué
be (loc) delegate
I want the Bidjombo subgroup to be the first [best] subgroup in GAP
PAM which I am a delegate of.
(26) àkíbà nó bùbù.
àkíbà nò bùbù
thanks with a.lot
Thanks a lot.

## 7 Joy After Uncertainty

told by Benoit Mbagué (of Leh), transcription help and translation (into French) by
Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)
(1)


One day I left to go to a church meeting in the Kwan village, for the community that they call "Sacré Cœur."
(2) myà m=ó kò jé w-úl támə̀ ncì=ì, mə̀= náy
myà $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{m}=$ ó kò +H jé +H w-úlàgà tám ncì $=\mathrm{è} \quad$ mà $=$ náy
3-time ReLCl-I go arrive 3-IndEF middle 3-road-ReLCL I still

| lè | k-ě, | mà $=$ | mé | tér | lè-jwógà | mwò | lè | ykòná |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lè | kò | mà $=$ | mé | tér | lè-jwóg | mwゝे | lè | 引kòná |
| IMPF | go-? | I | be (chg) | start | INF-feel | 3-stomach | IMPF | INCR |

kúggàlà má.
kúngàlà má
hurt me
When I had arrived, during the trip, before I left again, I started to feel stomach pains.
(3) má $=$ è sá má bè-dùy nwà tú kr , kr , kr . mò $=$ é sá+H mà bè-dùy nwà tú I P1 do me 8 -noise there inside
My stomach made noises inside me. [sounds].
(4) mà= nô "é kè!
mà= nâ
I that
I said, "Uh oh!
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { (5) } & \text { jî } & \text { jòn } & \text { nán } & \text { mê?" } \\ & \text { jé } & \text { jòn } & \text { nán } & \text { mé } \\ & \text { what } & \text { thing } & \text { still } & \text { that }\end{array}$
What is that?"
$\begin{array}{llllllllll}\text { (6) } & \text { myà } & \text { mô } & \text { kò } & \text { jé } & \text { kwán }=\text { è } & \text { mə̀ }= & \text { jônc̀ } & \text { á } & \text { sá } \\ \text { myà } & \text { H+ } \text { mə̀ } & \text { kò } & \text { jé } & \text { kwán=è } & \text { mə̀ }= & \text { jônદ̀ } & \text { á } & \text { sá } \\ \text { 3-time } & \text { RELCL-I } & \text { go } & \text { arrive } & \text { meeting-RELCL } & \text { I } & \text { in spite of } & \text { P2 } & \text { do }\end{array}$
míjwàn mpwògé.
mífwàn mpwògé
7-church 1-health
When I arrived in Kwan, I still managed to lead the meeting well.
(7) mə̀ = sá kwân njì lê-mbègàlá má nciìmbé, mà=

| mà $=$ | sá | kwán | njì | lé-mbègàlá | H+ mà | ncì̀mbé | mə̀ $=$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| I | do | 7-meeting | only | LOC-9-protection | POSS | God | I |

lè jwók njì ŋká mwò ndê sá $m=$ è.
lè jwóg njì nká+H mwò ndé sá $m=$ è
Impf feel only like-RelCl 3 -stomach be (loc) do me-RelCl
I led the meeting under God's protection, since my stomach kept hurting.
(8) těm bò bè-dóp bwá=á sá wú=í $\mathrm{m}=$ ǎncé yîm nò
tèm bò bé-dób $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{bwó}=\mathrm{a}$ sá wú=è $\mathrm{m}=$ áncé yîm nò even be 8 -food RelCl-they-P2 do there-RelCl I-NegP2 can with
dà byò.
dò byò.
eat 80bJ
Even the food that they cooked there, I couldn't eat it.
(9) mà= mé nìgò ncò, ncə̀ jé kwár.
mà = mé nìgò ncò, ncò jé kwád
I be (chg) return come come arrive 9 -village
I returned, arrived back home.
(10) mà= mé nî njáp mà= jáp mw-àrá w-àná. mə̀ $=$ mé nî njáb mò $=$ jáb mw-àrá w-ày I be (chg) arrive 3 -house I call 1 -woman 1 -my I came back home, called my wife.
(11) mə̀ = nə̀ nà nə̂ "tíé má kò kwán mùùz-é, mà $=$ nò nà nâ tié $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{mà} \mathrm{kò} \mathrm{kwán} \mathrm{mùùz-è}$ I with her that position RelCl-I go 7-meeting today-RelCl

| ncí | nà | ncì | myà | má $=$ | bà | lè | $\mathrm{k}=$ è, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ncì | nà | ncì | myà | $\mathrm{H}+$ mà $=$ | bà | lè | kò=è |
| 3-path | with | 3-path | 3-time | ReLCL-I | little | ImPF | go-ReLCL |

$\mathrm{m}=$ é lè jwók ńkà mwò kò nà ntégə̀lè mé.
m̀ =é lè+ H jwóg+ H ŋkà mwò kò nò ntég mé I-P1 ImpF feel like 3-stomach go with annoy me(emph) I told her, "Since I left for Kwan today, along the way, my stomach has been bothering me.
(12) $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{è}$ sé númá kò kúná ncòò lôl
m̀ =é sé +H númá +H kò +H kúpá +H ncòò lôl
I-P1 PERF also go poop time three
ntámə̀ ncì.
tám ncì
middle 3-path
I also had to go to the bathroom three times along the way.
(13) mwò w-j̀òngá ó ndê ntźgàlè mé. mẁ̀ w-j̀̀̀̀gá ó ndé ntég mé 3-stomach 3-Def Pres be (loc) annoy me (emph) It's my stomach that's bothering me."
(14) mw-àrá w-àyə́ á kò, jə̀ $=$ mé kò jáp dwábə̀rà. mw-àrá w-àn á kò nò $=$ mé kò jáb dwábə̀rà. 1-woman 1-my P2 go she be (chg) go call 1-nurse My wife went to call the nurse.
(15) dwábàrà mê ncə̀, jì sá mò-mìt. dwábə̀rà. mé ncà jì sá mè-mìd 1-nurse be (chg) come be do 4-medicine The nurse came to try some medicine.
(16) mé fámə̀ mə́-mìr kə́ bò. fámə̀ mè-mìd ké bò but (Fr) good 4-medicine Neg be They didn't work.
(17) dwábə̀rə̀ nô $\mathrm{n}=$ ǒ nìgó kó bêrtwà. dwábə̀rà nô j̀ =ó nìgò +H kò +H 1-nurse that he-Pres return go Bertoua
The nurse said that he was going to Bertoua.
(18) ň̌ ncə̀ nə̀ mə̀-mìr.
nと̌ ncò nò mè-mìd
he (emph) come with 4-medicine
He will bring back some medicine.
(19) mə̀-lú mə́-bá $\mathrm{n}=$ á kò dì bèrtwà kó nìg $=$ é,
mò-lú mò-bá $H+j \grave{j}=a ́$ kò dì ké nìgò $=$ è 6-era 6-two RelCl-he-P2 go stay Bertoua Neg return-RelCl

| è-cè | mé | nìgó | bùlú | ncò | yâk. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| è-tyè | mé | nìgò | bùlù | ncò | yâg |
| 5-illness | be (chg) | return | many | come | be.strong |

The two days that he stayed in Bertoua before returning, the illness got worse.
(20)

| è-cè | mê | lè | làl | ŋ̀kûl. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| è-tyè | mé | lè | làl | jkúl |
| 5-illness | be (chg) | IMPF | be.strong | 9-power |

It became stronger.
(21) mà $=$ mé tègá kí náy nò jkùl.
mə̀ = mé tègá ké náy nò ŋkúl
I be (chg) be.tired Neg still with 9-power
I was tired, with no energy.
(22) mà $=$ mé lè kò kúgá ná tìtìtì, ě-nàgò má-cì.
mà = mé lè kò kúná nò tititì è-nàg mò-cì I be (chg) ImpF go poop with regularity INF-poop 6-blood I went to the bathroom all the time; I was having bloody stools.
(23) númə́ bw=á ncò ŋkéng kò nə̀ mə̀ míjwàn
númá bwó=á ncà nkéng kò nà mà mífwàn
also they-P2 come carry go with me 7-church
messamena wàlàfírà bə̀scór. wàlàfírà bò-sór
Messamena hospital 2-nun (Fr)
Then, they came to take me to the nuns' hospital at the Messamena church.
(24) bə̀-sór bwó mé ncà tér fyâl mà mè-cì.
bò-sớr bwó mé ncà tér fyâl mà mò-cì 2-nun (Fr) they be (chg) come start test me 6-blood The nuns tested my blood.
(25) bwó fyâl mà mə̀-bí.
bwó fyâl mò mò-bí
they test me 6-poop

They took stool samples.
(26) fyàl á mə̀-ncêlə̀ nว̀ bwó dégà sá jú jwó
fyàl á mò-ncêlà nò bwó dêg sá $\mathrm{H}+$ jwó jwó
test Qual 6-urine with they see 7-thing RelCl-7Obj 7Obj
mé ndé lè ntég=è.
mé ndé lè ntég=è
self be (loc) Impf annoy-RelCL
They tested my urine to see what it is that was bothering me.
(27) númə́ bw =á kò $\int w a ̂ m b ~ n ə ̂ ~ m ə ̀=~ j i ̀ ~ n \grave{~ n t u ́ ~ m ə ̀-c i ̀ . ~}$ númá bwó=á kò fwâmb nâ mà= jì nà ntú mò-cì also they-P2 go search that I be with diarrhea 6-blood Then they found that I had dysentery.
(28) mò-tán jî jábà é-cè d-ว̀òngá "diarrhee rouge.' $\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { mè-táy } & \text { jì } & \text { jáb } & \text { è-tyè } & \text { d-j̀̀̀ngá } & & \\ \text { 4-white } & \text { be } & \text { call } & \text { 5-illness } & \text { 5-DEF } & \text { diarrhea (Fr) } & \text { red (Fr) }\end{array}$ The whites call this illness "red diarrhea."

| é-bò-kól | bìzó | jì | jábà | dwó | nâ | ntú | mə̀-cì. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lé-bò-kól | bìzó | jì | jáb | dwó | nâ | ntú | mò-cì |
| Loc-2-Kol | we | be | call | 5OBJ | that | diarrhea | 6-blood | In Kol, we call it bloody diarrhea.

(30) $\mathrm{w}=$ ó lè jâk mó-cì.
$\mathrm{w}=\mathrm{ó} \quad$ lè +H jàg +H mò-cì.
you-Pres ImpF poop 6-blood
You have bloody stools.
$\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{ǎ}$ já wàlàfírò kó bín mbwô, kó bín kù. $m=a ́$ já wàlòfírò ké bén mbwô ké bén kù I-P2 sleep hospital Neg lift 9-hand Neg lift 9-foot I slept at the hospital without lifting a hand or a foot.
(32) mò $=$ ndé njì tègá nún ké nò ŋkùl.
mò $=$ ndé njì tègá jún ké nò ŋkúl.
I be only be.tired 9-body Neg with 9-force
I was tired, no more energy.
(33)


Đkùl n -óp ní- n - $\mathrm{c} z$, lágàlà númbá w -óp, mbímbà
ŋkúl n -ób ní-n-̂̂z, lágə̀là númbá w-ób mbímbì

9-force 9 -their 9 -9-all show 3 -knowledge 3 -their 7 -amount
bôn
á $\quad$ jíg $=$ è.
H+bòn á jíg=è
RelCl-they (emph)? P2 learn-RelCl
After that, the nurses took all their force, showed their knowledge, all that they have learned.

| bwó | mé | ncà | bándà | fùnà | má. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bwó | mé | ncà | bándà | fùnà | mà |
| they | be (chg) | come | really | discuss | me |

They succeeded in saving me. [lit. They really discussed me. [implied with death].]

| mə̀ $=$ | mé | ncà | sá | mpwògé. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| mə̀= | mé | ncà | sá | mpwògé |
| I | be (chg) | come | do | 1-health |
| I regained my health. |  |  |  |  |


$\mathrm{m}=$ ě, $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}$ kò númə́ jwók è cè̀.
mə̀ =è j̀ =á kò númá jwóg ètyè
me-RelCl she-P2 go also feel 5-illness

My wife who was looking after me, she fell ill too.

| kǎ | bà | bw =á | fùgà | bìzá | nóp | bá-b- $\hat{z} z$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kà | bà | bwó=á | fùyà | bìzó | nóp | bá-b-êz. |
| Cons | be | they-P2 | discuss | us | other | $2-2$-all |

They saved us, both of us.

| dw-óp | bíz =á | á | nìgò | ncà | kwár=é | nà | bw-ân |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| dw-ób | H+biz=á | á | nìgò | ncà | kwád=é | nò | bò-ân |
| 5-day | ReLCl-we | P2 | return | come | 9-village-ReLCl | with | 2-child |

mə̀- $\int w o ̀ o ̀ z o ̀ g o ̀ . ~$
mò-fwòòzògò.
6-joy
The day that we returned to the village and my children and my family, everyone was happy.
(39) m-ùr y-ह̂z mé ncò jwìmbá.
m-ùr y-ẑz mé ncà jwìmbá

1-person 1-each be (chg) come rejoice
Everyone rejoiced.
(40)

| bìz $=$ ó | mé | ncà | bándà | fwààz. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bìzá $=$ ó | mé | ncà | bándà | fwààz |
| we-PRES | be (chg) | come | really | be.happy |

We were really happy.
(41) "é pàpá mô jé!
mé jê
papa be (chg) arrive
"Oh! Papa is here!"
(42) pàpá mâ sá mpwògé !"
mé sá mpwògé
papa be (chg) do 1 -health
Papa is in good health!"
(43) mpwògé w-j̀j̀jgá nà = bá mâ= ndé nə̀ té mpwògé w-j̀̀̀ngá nà= bò $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{m} \grave{=}=$ ndé nò té 1-health 1-Def 1Sub be RelCl-I be (loc) with Loc
kùmà nə̀ ná càá-g=è.
kùmà nò nò cà-ngà =è
until with with now-this-RelCL
It's this good health that I still have.'

## 8 The Panther and the Ram

told by Barthélemy Lefoumbou (of Leh), transcription help and translation (into
French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)
(1) kèkènà á bò fágə́rá ykwìn bâ ntwìmbè. kèkènà á bà fágárá ŋjkwèn bâ ntwèmbè 7-story P2 be between 1-leopard and 7-sheep 'This story is about the panther and the ram.
(2) ntwìmbè jì tôp ndé wógà tám díndé. ntwèmbè jì tóòb ndé wôg tám díndé 7-sheep be (att) goat be (loc) here (spec) middle courtyard The sheep is in the courtyard.

| (3) | ŋkwìn | jî | dì | dìk. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | ŋkwèn | jì | dì | dìg |
|  | 1-leopard | be (att) | stay | 7-forest |

The panther stays in the forest.
(4) $\begin{array}{lllll}\text { myá } & \text { bâ } & \text { nóp } & \text { mò } & \text { kò } \\ \text { myà+H } & \text { bâmá } & \text { nób } & \text { mé } & \text { kò } \\ \text { bwàmá } & \text { bwó=á } & \text { kò } & \text { bwàmá } \\ \text { 3-time-ReLCL } & \text { and } & \text { other } & \text { be? } & \text { go } \\ \text { meet } & \text { they-P2 } & \text { go } & \text { meet }\end{array}$ mean
dìk.
dig
7-forest
When they met each other, they met each other in the forest.
$\begin{array}{llllllll}\text { (5) } & \text { myá } & \text { bwó } & \text { k } \text { ó } & \text { bwàmá } & \text { dìg =é } & \text { bwó } & k^{\downarrow} \text { ó } \\ \text { myà }+\mathrm{H} & \text { bwó } & \text { kò }+\mathrm{H} & \text { bwàmá }+\mathrm{H} & \text { dìg=è } & \text { bwó } & \text { kò+H } \\ \text { 3-time-ReLCL } & \text { they-PRES } & \text { go } & \text { meet } & \text { forest-RELCL } & \text { they } & \text { go }\end{array}$

| bágòrá | sá | wùrùk | nâ | bwó | sá | lè-fwó. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bágə̀rə̀ +H | sá | wùrùg | nâ | bwó | sá | è-fwó |
| join | 7-thing | one | that | they | do | 5-friend |

When they met each other in the forest, they decided to join forces and became friends.
(6) è- $\int w o$ d-òbá, myà bwó $\mathrm{k}^{\dagger}$ ó $\mathrm{k}^{\dagger} o ́ \quad \mathrm{~d}^{\dagger} \mathrm{i}, ~ b w o ́$ è-fwó d-ób myà H+bwó kò + H kò + H dì+H bwó 5 -friend 5 -their 3 -time RelCl-they-Pres go go stay they-Pres

| k ${ }^{+}$ó | Jùmá | sá | bò-kól | ndé | jáp | nâ | è-bàndà. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kò+H | fùmè | sá | H+bò-kól | ndé | jáb | nâ | è-bàndà |
| go | build | 7-thing | ReLCL-2-Kol | be (loc) | call | that | 5-hut | Because of their friendship, when they stayed somewhere, they build what the Kol people call a shelter.

(7)

| bwó | k $^{\downarrow}$ ó | dì | bún | wùrùk. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bwó | kò +H | dì +H | bùn | wùrùg |
| they-Pres | go | stay | 7-place | one |

They stayed in the same spot.
(8) bwó jì ká bà nə̂ fúfwók n̂̂ bwó
bwó jì+H kà+H bò+H nâ fúfwóg nâ bwó they-Pres be Cons be that in.front.of that they
já $=g=$ è, é-jì nô bwò sây = gò lé bwó
já $=g=$ è lè-jì nâ bwó sáy=gá lé bwó sleep-Subj-RELCl Inf-be that they look.for-SubJ(pl) 5-wood they
tíràg kwàrò.
tíràg kwàrà
light 9-fire
But before they slept, they needed to look for wood for their fire.
(9)

| ncí | á | bà | nə̂ | $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{o}$ | ká | ság | lè? |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ncé | á | bò | nâ | j̀ $=$ ó | kà + H | sáy + H | lé |
| who | Ques | be | that | he-Pres | Cons | look.for | 5-wood | Who will go look for wood?

(10) ntwìmbè á lêy nò ŋkwìn nâ "bírá, lé túk ntwèmbè á lêp nò jkwèn nô bír lé túg 7-sheep P2 say with 1-leopard that leave 5-wood be (neg)
nə̀ sá.
nà sâ
with 7-thing
The sheep said to the panther, "Let it be, the wood is no big deal.
(11)
$m=$ èé kò, $m=$ èé kò sáy ncwó lé."
m̀=é kò + H m̀=é kò +H sáy +H ncwò lé
I-Fut go I-Fut go look.for us (dual) 5-wood
I will go and look for wood for both of us."
(12) ŋkwìn nô "énkùgù ncw=ó kò sáy lé."
ŋkwèn nâ énkùgù ncẁ =ó kò +H sáy +H lé
1-leopard that together we (dual)-PRES go look.for 5 -wood The panther said, "Let's go! We'll both go look for wood."

| myǎ | ntwìmbè | á | jê | lé-fùmbà | lé, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| myà + H | ntwèmbè | á | jê | lé-fùmbà | lé |
| 3-time-ReLCL | 7-sheep | P2 | arrive | Loc-dead | 3-tree |

ntwìmbè á nìgò ámpízə́mpíz.
ntwòmbè á nìgò ámpízómpíz
7-sheep P2 return backwards
When the sheep came across a dead tree, he moved backwards.
(14) myà $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a} \mathrm{k}=$ è, $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}$ wá àlú nò lú y -é

| myà | $\mathrm{H}+\grave{\mathrm{j}}=\mathrm{á}$ | kò=è | j̀=á | wá | àlú | nò | lú |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3-time | ReLCL-he-P2 | go-ReLCL | he-P2 | put | 1-hit | with | 5-head | 1-his |


| ntáy | nó | kú | lá-fùmbà | pr: | dùmà | fí. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ntán | nò | kú | lé-fûmbà |  | dùmà | sí |
| like.that | with | hit | Loc-dead |  | fall | 1 -ground |

Running towards the tree, he hit it with his head, and it fell down.
(15)

| myà | ๆkwín | mə́ | dêg $=$ è, | ๆkwìn |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| myà | H + गkwèn | mé | dêg $=$ è | Đkwèn |
| 3-time | RelCl-1-leopard | be (chg) | see- Relcl | 1-leopard |


| "ǎ | $\mathrm{j}=\mathrm{a}$ | tér | è-wá | àlú | ntâyə̀ | lá-fùmbà, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ž | j̀=á | tér | lè-wá | àlú | ntáy | lé-fùmbà |
|  | he-P2 | start | Inf-put | hit | like.that | Loc-dead |

fùmbà Jùgàlà.

dead fall.in.pieces
When the panther saw that, he said, "Well, he hit the tree like that and it fell down in pieces.
(16)

| ýkà | myǎ | fùmbà | má | fùgàlà | mè. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Đkà | myà + H | fùmbà | mé | fùgàlà | mè |
| as | 3-time-ReLCL | dead | be (chg) | fall.in.pieces | this |

Now the tree is in pieces.


| bò | w-ób | mbì?" |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bò + н | w-óób | mbì |
| be | 3-which | 3-manner |
| If he did that to | me, how would I be?" |  |

(18) númə́ bwó ncò $\ddagger k \hat{\varepsilon}$ lé, ncò jé nə̀ té
númá bwó ncà nkêng lé ncà jé nò té
also they come carry 5-wood come arrive with Loc
lè-bàndà.
lè-bàndà
5-hut
Then they carried the wood back to their shelter.
(19)

| númá | ykwìn | mə́ | ncà | 1êy | nə̂ | "ə̀ | ncwó |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| númá | ŋkwèn | mé | ncà | lên | nô | ə̀ | ncwó |
| also | 1-leopard | be (chg) | come | say | that |  | we (dual) |

sé bò nà lé.
sé bò nò lé
Perf be with 5-wood
Then, the panther said, "Well, we already wood already.
(20)

| é-jí | kǎ | jì | ncwó | nâ | ná | cà | nâ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lè-jí | kà + H | jì + H | ncwó | nâ | nò | cà | nâ |
| INF-want | Cons | be (att) | we (dual) | that | with | now | that |

ncwó kª́ bà nó bà-dóp."
ncwó kà + H bò + H nò bè-dób
we (dual) Cons be with 8 -food
Now we need food."
(21)


| kà | sáy | bà-dóp." |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kà | sáy | bè-dób |
| CONS | look.for | 8 -food |

Then the sheep replied, "I already went and looked for wood, go look for food."
(22)

| myà | jkwìn | má | ncǎ | kò | $\mathrm{n}=$ ǒ | kò | dégə̀ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| myà +H | ŋkwèn | mé | ncà | kò | j̀=ó | kò +H | dêg +H |
| 3-time-ReLCL | 1-leopard | be (chg) | come | go | he-PRES | go | see |

lé-kán.
lè-kán
5-antelope
When the panther left, he saw an antelope.
(23) è-bì $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}$ kò bì è-kán-é nà lè-kán.
lè-bì j̀=á kò bì lè-kán nà lè-kán
Inf-seize he-P2 go seize 5 -antelope tear 5 -antelope
He seized it and tore it up.
(24) ntwìmbè dêk.
ntwèmbè dêg
7-sheep see
The sheep saw it all.
(25) númá ntwìmbè á ncò lêy nâ "ə́: ?
$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { númá } & \text { ntwèmbè } & \text { á } & \text { ncà } & \text { lên } & \text { nâ } & \\ \text { also } & \text { 7-sheep } & \text { P2 } & \text { come } & \text { say } & \text { that } & \text { say }\end{array}$
Then the sheep said, "Eh?
(26)
nə̀ $=$ tér jə̀ lè-kán ntánò.
nə̀ $=$ tér nà è-kàn ntán
he first tear 5 -antelope like.that
First he tore the antelope up like that.


How much more could he do to me?
(28) númó ŋkwìn á ncò lên nô "nə̀ tér wá àlú númá ŋkwèn á ncà lên nâ nà tér wá àlú also 1-leopard P2 come say that he first put hit ló-fùmbà, ntwìmbà $w=e ̂$ á $\mathfrak{e}$ kàmə̀ nə̀ mè?" lé-fùmbà ntwòmbè $w=$ é á ak àmà nò mè Loc-dead 7-sheep you-Fut Ques how.many with me(emph) Then the panther said, "First he hit the dead tree with his head, how much more could the sheep do to me?"

| myà | yô | kà | jé | nâ | bwó | jì | ndé |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| myà | H+yò | kà | jê | nâ | bwó | jì | ndé |
| 3-time | ReLCL-7SUB | CONS | arrive | that | they | be (att) | be (loc) |


| lè-bàndà | lá | wùrùgá. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lè-bàndà | lé | wùrùg |
| 5-hut | $5 A s s o c$ | one |

Having arrived back home, they stayed in the same shelter.
(30) númó ŋkwìn á ncò té nə̀ nô "ว̀ə́ fǎ bwáánt

| númá | ŋkwèn | á | ncà | té | nà | nâ | fă | bwéndê |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| also | 1-leopard | P2 | come | Loc | he | that | HoRT | wait |

má.
mà
me
Then the panther got up and he said, "Well, wait for me.
(31) m=ò gó ncə̀-n."
m̀ =ó gó ncə̀-né
I-Pres Prog come-that
I'm coming back."
(32) è-kò jkwìn á kè fwàlá kò.
lè-kò $\quad$ jkwèn á kò fwàl kò
Inf-go 1-leopard P2 go directly go
But in going, he then left for good.

| myǎ | ntwìmbè | má | ncà | dêk | ncínè, | ntwìmbè |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| myà +H | ntwèmbè | mé | ncà | dêg | nténè | ntwèmbè |
| 3-time | 7-sheep | be (chg) | come | see | like.that | 7-sheep |


| nâ | "jám | j-ò̀̀ngá | bó-n |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nâ | njám | j- ว̀̀̀ggá | bà-né |
| that | 7-moment (good) | 7-Def | be-that |

When the sheep saw that, he said, "It's the perfect moment!

| mə̀ | ká | kò | kwár | nàbó | myà | $\mathrm{n}=$ ó | bì |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mà | kà | kò | kwád | nàbá | myà | $\mathrm{H}+\grave{\mathrm{j}}=$ ó | bì + H |
| I | CONS | go | 9-village | because | 3-time | ReLCL-he-PRES | seize |

tír ntáyə̀ nǎ.
tíd ntáy jà
7-animal like.that tear
I will go to the village because he seizes animals like that and tears them.
(35)

| myà | $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{e}$ | bì | númá | má | $\mathrm{n}=$ ě | nà | númá | mà, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| myà | $\mathrm{H}+\grave{\mathrm{j}}=\mathrm{e}$ | bì +H | númá | mà | $\grave{j}=$ é | jà +H | númá | mà |
| 3-time | ReLCL-he-FUT | seize | also | me | he-Fut | tear | also | me |

mè $m=0$ kò númá fwál lày nâ ncò kwár." m̀ $=$ ó kò +H númá+H fwàl +H làn +H nô ncò kwád but(Fr) I-Pres go also directly happen that come 9-village Since he could do the same thing to me, I'm going to leave for the village."

| $\mathrm{jw}=$ ó | bó | ntwìmbé | ndé | kwár=é. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| jẁ =ó | bò | ntwèmbè | ndé | kwád=è |
| 7SUB-PRES | be | 7-sheep | be (loc) | 9-village-ReLCL |

That's why sheep are in the village.

| jw $=$ ó | bó | Økwìn | ndé | dìg $=$ é. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| jw =ó | bò | Økwèn | ndé | dig $=$ è |
| 7Sub-Pres | be | leopard | be (loc) | 7-forest-ReLC |

That's why the panther is in the forest.

| ntá | jí | lêy | nâ | myá | bìz =á | ndé | bìz =á |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ntà | jí | lêy | nâ | myà | H+bìz=á | ndé | H+bìz=á |
| since | want | say | that | 3-time | ReLCL-we-P2 | be (loc) | ReLCL-we-P2 |

ndé wôk mè, bìz=á jí=gà númp nâ
ndé wôg mè bìz=á jí=g nûmb nô
be (loc) here that we-P2 need-Subj know that
sá ndé dá.
sâ ndé dá
7-thing be (loc) 1-father
This means that since we are here now, we need to know who is the father (ancestor).
\(\left.\begin{array}{lll}dâ \& jì \& ncì̀mbé. <br>

dá \& jì \& ncì̀mbê\end{array}\right]\)| 1-father | be (att) |
| :--- | :--- |
| God |  | The father is God.

(40) é-jì m-ùr ndé nâ bìz=á túk nò ykùl
lè-jì m-ùd ndé nâ bìz=á túg nò nkùl Inf-be 1-person be (loc) that we-P2 be (neg) with 9 -force bwá yìgàlà nə̀ nà. bwó yìgàlà nò nà they compare with him
That's someone that we shouldn't compare ourselves to.
(41) tèm mwáz, tèm fùm, ká nà dw-óp lá-wúrùk, tèm mwáz tèm fùm ké nò dw-ôb lé-wùrùk even 3 -daytime even 3 -night NEG with 5 -day 5 Assoc-one
bíz $=$ é yìg-̀̀là nà dê.
bàz $=$ é yìg-ə̀là nò dá
we-Fut pretend-Refl with father
Even during the day, even during the night, not on one single day should we compare ourselves to the father.
(42) bìz =á túk lê yìgàlà nà dá.
bìz $=$ á tùg lè yìg-ə̀là nò dá
we-P2 be (neg) ImpF pretend-Refl with father
We do not compare ourselves with the father.
(43)

| bìzá | dì | kók | básí, | ně | dì | jwáp. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bìzá | dì | kóg | b-sí | $n=$ é | dì | jwáp. |
| we (incl) | stay | here | 2-ground | he (emph) | stay | sky |

We stay here on earth, he stays in the heavens.
(44) nà jî dêk mò-báp m-êz ndé kók básí, nə̀ jì dêg mò-báb m-Êz ndé kóg bò-sí he be (att) see 6-bad 6-all be (loc) here 2 -ground mə̀-nwày mêz ndé kók bòsì. mò-nwày m-દ̂z ndé kóg bò-sí 6-good 6-all be (loc) here 2 -ground He sees all the bad things here on earth and all the good things here on earth.
(45) kǎ bà $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{è}$ jî bwáánt njǐ dwáp lò-wúrùk kà bà j̀̀=é jì bwéndê njì dwôp lè-wùrùk only he-P1 be (att) wait only 5-day 5Assoc-one dwáp $\mathrm{n}=$ é bwò cígò kòr w-j̀̀̀ngá. dwôp $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{j}=$ é bwó cígò kòd w-j̀̀̀ngá 5-day RelCl-he-Fut F2 judge decision 3-Def He is waiting for a single day, the day that he will come and judge all that.

## 9 The Perils of Drunkenness

told by Jean SédarAtangana, transcription help and translation (into French) by
Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)
(1) mə̀= jí jì lêy mwâ lónà má mà m=á
mà= jì jí lên mwá lôy $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{m} \grave{\mathrm{y}}$ mə̀ mé=á
I be (att) want tell little speech RelCl-I I self-P2
númb nə̀ cìgè= .
nûmb nò cìgà = è
know and live-RelCl
'I want to tell something that I myself have seen and lived.
(2) m=á bò mə̀= ndé jwóp nə̀ jwóbə̀ lè ŋkònǎ
m̀=á bò mò= ndé jwôb nò jwôb lè nkònà
I-P2 be I be (loc) sky with sky IMPF INCR
mwâ j̀kwô lè é ŋkkwó = gò kò lè jáy.
mwá kwò lè lé kwò =g kò lè
little again ImpF Loc again-Subj go ImpF suck
I was in the air looking for life.
(3) mə̀ = ndé nə̀ b-ùr bá cèl mə̀, bwó
mà = ndé nò b-ùr $\mathrm{H}+$ bò cèlà mò bwó
I be (loc) with 2-person RelCl-be love me they
nà $\quad$ kùl lêŋ nà bə̀-fwó.
nò ŋkùl lên nò bò-fwó
with 9 -force tell with 2 -friend
I had those who love me, those one could call friends.
$\begin{array}{llllllll}\text { (4) bìzá } & \text { bò-nó } \beta=\text { á } & \text { kwìkwêg, } & \text { m-ùr } & \text { nə̀ } & \text { my- } & \text { má-mbì. } \\ \text { bìzá } & \text { bò-nób=á } & \text { kwîg } & \text { m-ùr } & \text { nò } & \text { mè-र́ } & \text { mè-mbì } \\ & \text { we } & \text { 2-other-P2 } & \text { walk } & \text { 1-person } & \text { with } & \text { 4-his } & \text { 4-sort }\end{array}$
Them and me, we walked together, each with his own habits.
(5) kǎ bò dèná bwó ndé lè lêy bòkól nô wô $=$ kwíg
kà bò dèná bwó ndé lé lêy bòkol nâ wò = kwîg
only like they be (loc) IMPF tell Kol that you walk
nò bə̀-mpyó, wə̀ = jwày bà-nâ.
nò bò-mpyó wò $=$ nwàn bò-nâ
with 2-dog you take 2-flea
Only as one says in Kol: you walk with dogs, you will have fleas.
(6) $\mathrm{w}=\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{dég}=$ é?
$\mathrm{w}=\mathrm{a}=$ dê $\mathrm{g}=\mathrm{è}$
you-Neg-see-Neg
Don't you see?
(7) mô= kwîg nə̀ bə̀-лwèl-è bə́-mə́-nòk, m=ô kò númə́ mò = kwîg nò bò-nwèl-è bó-mò-nwòg m̀ =ó kò +H númá +H I walk with 2-drink-Nom 2Assoc-6-wine I-PRES go also

| dùmà | lê-ŋggwáygá | é-bín | bà-ŋkwíndé. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| dùmà+H | lé-ggwán | è-bén | bè-nkwéndé |
| fall (intr) | Loc-together | 5 -lift | 8 -elbow |

You walk with wine-drinkers, you will also end up with elbow-benders [alcoholics].
(8) $\mathrm{w}=\mathrm{a}=$ dég $=$ é?
$\mathrm{w}=\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{dê} \mathrm{~g}=$ è
you-NEG-See-NeG
Don't you see?
(9) d-úl dw-áp nà lè-yìgé, mw-àrá mə̀ twámbá w-àná nò d-úlágá dw-ôb nò lè-yìgé mw-àrá mò twámbá w-àn nò 5-Indef 5-day that 5-sign 1-woman Poss 1-elder 1-my with


| bò-kwòndó | è-fyâl | lé-fùkúl | b-ǎcígókùk. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bò-kwòndó | lè-fyâl | lé-fùkùl | bò-á-cígókùg |
| 2-stripes | Inf-exit | 5Assoc-7-school | 2?-police |

One day, with a sign, the wife of my elder who looked after me in Yaoundé got her stripes and graduated from the police academy.
(10) bìzó ncò kò lè-dúmp á s-ówàwà nò bók á
bìzó ncà kò lé-dúmb á sá-ówà nò bóg á
we come go Loc-party P2 act-PASS and reception P2
kègàwà.
kèg-ówà
plan-Pass
We went to the party which was planned and the reception that was organized.
(11)

| bìzó | kò | sá | mó-Swòòzògò | s-ówà | lé-wààngá | dàná |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bł̀zá | kò | sá | mè-fwòòzògò | sá-ówà | lè-wààng | dènà |
| we | go | do | 4-joy | do-PAss | 5-song | like |


| bá-dâ | bốn | á | lè | s $\hat{\varepsilon}$ | nò | kúl | nò |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| H+bò-dà | bój | á | lè | sá =è | nò | kúl | nò |
| ReLCL-2-father | they(emph)? | P2 | IMPF | do-RELCL | with | 3-tam-tam | and |

ŋkòòm.
ŋkòòmb
9-medium.drum
We rejoiced, singing like the ancestors did, with the tam-tams and drums.
(12) bìzó kò jwàn bò-fònó nə̀ bàmîl.
bìzá kò jwàn
we go take musical instruments
We took musical instruments.
(13)

| myêr | kwò | té | bè-bí-má | má | nûmp | nâ | myà | wó |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | kwò | té | bè-bè-mé | mé | nûmb | nâ | myà | H+wò |
|  | again | Loc | you-you-self | be (chg) | know | that | 3-time | ReLCL-you |


| sé | bùlá | dìgàb $=e$ | wò | jí | sáy | sá | mə̀ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sé + H | bùlù +H | dìgàbə̀ $=$ è | wò | jí | sán | sâ | mé |
| PERF | many | sweat-RELCL | you | want | look.for | 7-thing | be (chg) |

tćlálé ŋkwóómìn.
téĺĺlé ŋkwómìn
refresh throat
After that, you yourself know that when you have really sweated, you look for something to refresh yourself with.
(14)


I took something to refresh my throat.
(15) kùgú ygà bô by-j̀j̀ngó ndé lè ǹcààbàrà
kùgú jgà bò bè-j̀̀̀ngə́ H+ndé lè ncààbàrà
3-evening this be 8-Def RelCl-be (loc) ImpF turn.upside.down

| m-ûr | lú, | mè | ndé | jábà | nà | mà-nwòg $=$ è. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| m-ûd | lú | mà | ndé | jáb | nò | mò-nwòg=è |
| 1-person | 5-head | I | be (loc) | call | with | 6 -wine-ReLCL |

That evening, that something was head-spinning, that which I call wine.
$\mathrm{w}=\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{dég}=$ é $?$
wò $=$ á $=$ dêg $=$ è
you-NeG-see-Neg
Don't you see?
(17) dìná mwâ m-ùr ndé myà jà= ndé lè kwígà
dèná mwá m-ùr ndé myà nə̀ = ndé lè kwîg
like 1-small 1-person be(loc) 3-time he be (loc) ImpF walk

| lé-wángé | nə̀ $=$ | jí | cèl | númá | sá | dìná | bw-ûr | bó |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lé-wángé | nə̀ $=$ | jí | cc̀là | númá | sâ | dèná | bò-ùr | bó |
| Loc-gathering | he | want | love | also | do | like | 2-person | 2ASSoc |

č̀lá mà
cèlà mà
love me
When a small [unimportant] man is in a group, he wants to do like his friends.
(18) bə̀- $\int$ wó b-દ́ bâ bò-nóp ndé lè kwîg ndè lé séc. bò-fwó b-é bâ bò-nób ndé lè kwîg ndé lè sá 2 -friend 2 -his and 2 -other be (loc) ImpF walk be (loc) ImpF do His friends and others walk the same way.
(19) $\mathrm{m}=$ ô bándà kǒ jwày sá mò-bwês mà cóy.
mà =ó bàndà +H kò +H nwày sâ mò-bwêz mó cóy I-PRES really go take 7-thing 6-wet 6ASSOC 9-neck

| bè-sá | má | ntámá | lú= wí, | mò-nòk. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bè-sâ | H+mé | ntámà | lú=è | mò-fwòg |
| 8-thing | RelCl-be (chg) | rot | 5-head-RelCL | 6-wine |

I took something to wet my throat, something that rots the head, wine.
(20) bìzó bà-nóp má sé jwèl má-nòk ntínè,
bł̀zó bò-nób mé sé jwèl mò-nwòg ntínè we 2-other be (chg) Perf drink 6-wine like.that Me and them, we drank wine like that.
(21) bìzó ncò cíndé búnó dúmp á bèè
bìzá ncò cînt bùn dúmb á bè̀
we come change 7 -place dance QUAL second We went to a second party location.
(22) bìz $=$ ó nìgó kò fâg sís.
bł̀zź $=$ ó nìgó +H kò+ H fág sís we-Pres return go place another We went to a different place.

| myǎ | bìz =ó | nìgó | kò | jé | lêjínı̀ | búgá, |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| myà + H | bìzá $=$ ó | nìgó + H | kò+ H jé | jé+ ${ }^{\text {r }}$ |  | bùg |
| 3-time-ReLCl | we-Pres | return | go | arrive | ? another | 6-place |
| bwó kò | númá | yàg | mò wú | nə̂ | "áà | kwò |
| bwó kò | númá | yàg | mà wú | nâ |  | kwò |
| they go | also | recognize | me there | that |  | again |
| fíyò jànt | nò bè | è-bìlò. | w-ò̀̀ngə́ | bó | mè." |  |
| jând | nò bè | è-bil̀ | w-̇̀̀ngá | bò | mè |  |
| step | with 8-s | -sad.news | 1-DEf | be th | that (poin | ing) |

When we got to the other spot, someone recognized me saying "The guy who gives the obituaries, that's him there.
(24) nàbá myà w-ว̀̀̀ngá $m=a ́ ~ b a ̀ ~ l e ̀ ~ s y e ́ ~ e ́-n j a ́ p ~ m a ́ ~$ nàbá myà w-ò̀̀ngá $m=a ́$ bò lè syê lé-njáb má because 3-time 3-DEF I-P2 be IMPF work Loc-3-house Poss kôlò.
kôl
cord
Because, at that point in time, I worked at the radio station.
(25)

| $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{o}$ | gó | kàlà | bw-ùr | mò-fòk | nò | mò-kón | m-á |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mà $=$ ó | gó | kàlà | bò-ùd | mò-fòg | nò | mò-kón | m-á |
| I-PRES | PROG | send? | 2-person | 6-wisdom | with | 6-intelligence | 6-QUAL |


| bízá | bá | sí | bò-kólò | lè̀njáb | á | mîl. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bìzá | bà | sí | bò-kól | lé-njáb | á |  |
| we | be | 1-ground | 2-Kol | Loc-3-house | Quat |  |

I transmitted the intelligence and wisdom of the Bikele to people.
(26) bwó kò yàg mà, ncǎ nìgó kwó kèèlà má

| bwó | kò | yàg | mə̀ | ncə̀ +H | nìgò +H | kwò +H | ké̌̀là +H |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| they | go |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| the | recognize | me | come | return | again | add | me |


| mô-m-íl | má-jòk | jwáp. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mò-mò-úĺgá | mò-nwòg | jwáb |
| 6-6-INDEF | 6-wine | sky |

They recognized me and gave me more wine [on top].
(27)

| sá | $\mathrm{m}=$ é | tùká | lè | bwè | sá | yô. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sâ | $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{m}=$ é | túg | lè | bwè | sá | yò |
| 7-thing | ReLCL-I-P1 | be (neg) | IMPF | long.time | do | $70 B J$ |

It was something that I was not in the habit of drinking.
(28)

| y =ó | mé | kò | bò | nwǎ | nàbà | lǒb | w-ây | jì |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{y}=$ ó | mé | kò | bò | nwà | nàbá | lòb | w-àn | jì |
| 7SUB-PRES | be (chg) | go | be | there | because | 3-word | 3-my | be (att) |


| kò | kò | njì | nə̀ | bè-kèkènà | "á-mpèlá-mpèlá | kò | bwè | nà |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kò | kò | njì | nò | bè-kèkènà | á-mpèlá-mpèlá | kò | bwè |  |
| go | go | only | with | 8 -story | ?-imitation | go | long.time |  |


| búgà | ncwògà | lè-bwón." |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| búg | ncwòg | lè-bwón |
| break | 1-elephant | 5 -knee |

But now, since my words always come with proverbs: "Imitation will lead to the elephant breaking his knees."

| ô | ǎ-mpèlá-mpèlá | mé | ncà | sá | númá | ncwòòk | w-àyá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\hat{\text { ô }}$ | á-mpèlá-mpèlá | mé | ncà | sá | númá | ncwòg | w-àn |
| Voc | ?-imitation | be (chg) | come | do | that | 1 -elephant | 1 -my |


| búgà | lè-bwóy. |
| :--- | :--- |
| búg | lè-bwón |
| break | 5 -knee |

Imitation will lead to my elephant breaking his knee.
$\mathrm{m}=$ ó kwó kèlé mó-лòk $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{á}$ nì jàné.
$\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{ó}$ kwò + H kèl+H mò-nwòg mò-á nî
I-Pres again add 6-wine 6-P2 enter
I kept adding strong wine.
(31)

| tíé | nə̀ | tíé | lú | mà | jìràbà | mə̀ | njwâp. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tié | nò | tié | lû | mé | jiddàbà | mà | jwáb |
| 7-position | with | 7-position | 5-head | be | spin | me | sky |

At that moment, my head was spinning.
(32) è-ncə̀ kél nə̀ bìy-ว̀̀̀ngá m=á térə̀ jwà $\mathrm{m}=$ é
lè-ncə̀ kèl nò bè-ว̀̀̀ngá $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{m}$ =á tér jwày $=$ è
INF-come add with 8-Def RelCl-I-P2 first take-RelCl
fág bíz $=$ á têr bò lé-dúmp fág á njwáymə́línt.
fág $\mathrm{H}+$ bìzá $=$ á tér bò lé-dúmb fág á
place RelCl-we-P2 first be Loc-dance where Qual Ndjong-Melen I was adding to what I had originally drunk back when we were at the first party along the edge of Ndjong-Melen [neighborhood of Yaoundé].
(33) mə̀ $=$ mé nà té t $\mathrm{\varepsilon}$ t $\mathrm{\varepsilon}$ t t̀ té.
mə̀= mé nò
I be (chg) with
I couldn't control myself anymore, had no more strength.
(34) kí nə̀ ŋkùl mó= bì fògò nâ á ̀̀ mə̀=

| ké | nò | nkùl | mə̀ $=$ | bì̀ | fòg | nâ | mà $=$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NEG | with | 9-force | I | seize | 9-wisdom | that | I | NeG with 9-force I seize 9-wisdom that I

jí $=\mathrm{k}$ búy má kò kò è-jâ sí.
jí $=\mathrm{g}+\mathrm{H}$ bùy $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{m}$ à kò kò è -jâ sí
ask-Subj 7-place RelCl-I go go 5-sleep 1-ground
I didn't still have enough intelligence to ask where I could go lie down.
(35)

| mə̀ $=$ | mé | n̂̂ | $\mathrm{m}=$ ò | nígó | nìgó | nə̀ | mpízà |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mə̀ $=$ | mé | nâ | $\mathrm{m}=$ ó | nìgò +H | nìgò +H | nò | mpízò |
| I | be $(\mathrm{chg})$ | that | I -PRES | return | return | with | back |

kò njwánmálínt.
kò njwágmálínt
go Ndjong-Melen
I wanted to retrace my steps, go back to Ndjong-Melen.

| bà-fwó | b-ây | bì̀ | má | ná | jì̀ | mə̀ $=$ | ké | bò | nə̀ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bò-fwó | b-àn | bì̀ | mə̀ | nâ | jèè | mə̀ $=$ | ké | bà | nò |
| 2-friend | 2-my | seize | me | that | 9-arrival | I | NEG | be | with |

mbì má = mé jwágà n ̀̀ bwò.
mbì $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{m} ̀=\mathrm{mé}$ jwág nò bwà
3-sort RelCl-I be(chg) listen with them
My friends stopped me just before the point where I wouldn't have been able to hear [heed?] them anymore.
(37) mə̀ = ncə̀ númə́ fyâl lé-fùmə̀ má mò-wàlà mə̀ lôl
mà $=$ ncò númá fyâl lé-fùm mó mò-wàlà mà lôl

I come also exit Loc-3-evening 3Assoc 6-hour Poss three
m-á mánè.
m-á mán
6-QuAL morning
I headed out into the night, at 3 o' clock in the morning.

| $\mathrm{y}=$ ó | sé | ntày | támə̀ | fùm. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{y}=$ ó | sé | ntà | tám | fùm |
| 7SUB-PRES | PERF | cross | middle | 3-night |

It was already past midnight.
(39) mó $=$ jwábàrà ncí.
mə̀ = jwábə̀rà ncí
I tangle 3-path
I got muddled and lost my way.
(40) $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{à}=\mathrm{númb}=$ é nánə̀ ncí mə̀ kò njwónmálínd=é. $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{á}=$ nûmb $=$ è nán ncí+ H mà kò I-NeG-know-Neg still 3-path-RelCL 3Assoc go Ndjong-Melen-RelCl I didn't know anymore which road went to Ndong-Melen.
(41) mà $=$ mê nìgó twàgàbà fág á bíyímá sí. mə̀ $=$ mé nìgò twàgàbà fág +H á I be (chg) return ? where-RelCl QuAL Biyima Si

I ended up going toward Biyima Si.
(42) é-kò, $m=o ́$ gó kò ygá, mwâ fò-fók má
lè-kò m=ó gó+H kò+H ngà mwá fò-fòg $\quad \mathrm{H}+\mathrm{m} \grave{\mathrm{l}}$

Inf-go I-Pres Prog go this 1 -small Dim-9-wisdom RelCl-I
nìgó jì jé m-é-lú.
nìgò jì jê mò-lé-lú
return be (att) arrive me-Loc-head
As I was going, a remnant of wisdom came to me.
(43) mò = yàgà ná "á kyè !
mà = yàg nâ
I recognize that ExCL
I realized "Uh oh!
(44) yî $\mathrm{m}=$ ó gó kò náy mê ?"
yî $\mathrm{m}=$ ó gó +H kò+H nán mè where I-Pres Prog go still that Where am I going?"

| mə̀ $=$ | fâ | nìgò | nə̀ | mpízò. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mə̀ $=$ | fã | nìgò | nò | mpízò |
| $I$ | HORT | return | with | back | I need to retrace my steps (go back the way I came).

(46) ká jì nígó nə̀ mpízò, m=ó ncá nìgó jwábàrà. $\begin{array}{llllllll}\text { kà } & \text { jì } & \text { nìgò nò mpízò } & \mathrm{m}=\mathrm{o} & \text { ncà }+\mathrm{H} & \text { nigò }+\mathrm{H} & \text { jwábàrà }\end{array}$ CONs be (att) return with back I-Pres come retrun tangle
Trying to return, I got muddled again.
(47)

| èncí | lé | $\mathrm{n}=0$ ó | kò | jè | é-njáp | bź-júy | fág |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lé-ncí | lè | $\mathrm{n}=$ ó | kò | jé | lé-njáb | bò-jún | fág |
| Loc-3-path | IMPF | 9SUb-PRES | go | arrive | Loc-3-house | 2-party | where |

bíz $=$ á nìgò kò óbìlì.
bł̀zá =á nìgò kò óbìlì
we-P2 return go Obili
I arrived on the path that led to where we were at the party in Obili [the second party].
(48) é-jwábàrà, má jwábə̀rà ygà, mò bó mé nó mpwò bòn lè-jwábə̀rà mà=á jwábàrà ygà mà bà mé nò bón INF-tangle I-PRes tangle this I be be with there lê-ncá ê-dínd mà kán.
lè-ncò lé-díndè
INF-come Loc-courtyard
Since I was all muddled, I stumbled into somebody's compound.
(49) à mpyó mô bùmbèlà bé lé-mò-wàlà má lôl mpyó mé bùmbàlà lé-mò-wàlà má lôl 1-dog be (chg) get.up ? Loc-6-hour Poss three
m-á mánè.
m-á mán
6-QuAL morning
The dog suddenly woke up, just like that, at three o'clock in the morning.
(50) mpyó gó bwámbə̀l̀̀.
mpyó gó bwว̀mbàl̀̀
1-dog Prog bark
He barked and barked.
(51)

| b-j̀̀̀ggá | b-ûr | ndé | lè | bàgàl̀ | báfilá jòlé. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| b-̇̇̀nga | b-ud | ndé | lè | bàgàà |  |
| 2-Def | 2-person | be (loc) | Impf | keep |  |

(52) bw-ùr bá mó-wúzá ndê bà nà mò-kwàg nò kùbě
bò-ùd bò mò-wázá ndé bò nò mò-kwà no nò kùbě 2 -person be 6 -northerner be (loc) be with 6 -lance with bow

| mô | bùmbàlà | númá | té | lê-bàgé |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mò | bùmbàlà | númá | té | lèbàag |
| 6SUB | get.up | also | Loc | 5-side |

The men from the North with their spears and their bows, they also quickly got up in their turn.
(53) myà bw=á jwók bà-mpyó lè bwámbàl=è, bwô têr myà $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{bwó=á} \mathrm{jwág} \mathrm{bò-mpyó} \mathrm{lè} \mathrm{bwàmbàl} \mathrm{\grave{ }=\mathrm{è}$ bwó tér } 3-time ReLCl-they-P2 hear 2-dog IMPF bark-RelCl they first
lên nâ "jíbàlè ! jíbàlè ! jíbàlè !"

say that thief thief thief
When they heard the dogs barking, to started to say "Thief! Thief! Thief!"
(54) é-kònòkò, bé númp ⿹gwálà yáùnt.
è-kònòkò bé nûmb ŋgwâlà yáùnd Loc-truth you (pl) know 9-city Yaounde Truly, you know the city of Yaoundé.
(55) lé-mò-wàlà m-j̀̀̀ngá á bò t t́ bè fwôk á fús sì lâl lé-mò-wàlà m-j̀̀̀ggá á bò té Loc-6-hour 6-DEF P2 be Loc
càmèrûn wús.
w-éz
Cameroon 3-our
At that time, the governor of the central province had established strong laws.
(56) fús sí á centre á mòmànt má lâl.
(57) è-Jù nâ mà = númbà bwàgàlà lê-bə̀kól. è-fù nâ mò= nûmb bwàgàl̀̀ lé-bòkól 5-sake that I know explain Loc-Kol (I want to explain in Kol.)
(58) lú á té á lêy nô bwó bí jíbàlà, bwó lû á té á lên nâ bwó bì + H jîbə̀l̀̀ bwó 5-head P2 Loc P2 say that they-Pres seize thief they
jú = gò.
$j \hat{u}=g a ́$
kill-SubJPL
The head [governor] said that if they catch a thief, they should kill him.
(59) mə̀ bò mé lè ncà jábò nâ jíbàlò mé.
mà bò mé lè ncò jáb nâ jîbàlò mé I be be (chg) ImpF come call that thief that I am the one being called 'thief.'
(60) hěćh jíbàlè !
hèçh jîbə̀l̀̀
thief
"Thief!"
(61) hěćh jíbàlè !
hèćh jîbàl̀̀
thief
"Thief!"
(62)

| b-ùr | má | wòl | lé-mò-wàlà | má | lôl | mánè |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| b-ùd | mé | wòl | lé-mò-wàlà | má | lôl | mánè |
| 2-person | be (chg) | get.out | Loc-6-hour | Poss | three | 3-morning | é-ncò wà nə̀ bè-bílə̀ nə̀ mə̀-fà nà mə̀-báák. é-ncò wá nò bè-bíl̀ nò mò-fà nò mò-báág Inf-come put with 8 -club with 6 -machete with 6 -knife The people got up at 3 o'clock, bringing with them their clubs, machetes, and knives.


| mò-nòk | mó | mw =á | bà | mà | lé-lú=wé, | kì | mw=á |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mò-nwòg | mó | mò=á | bò | mà | lé-lú=è | ké | mò=á |
| 6-wine | 6ASSOC | 6SUB-P2 | be | me | Loc-5-head-RELCL | NEG | 6SUB-P2 | bà lé wú kì mw=á bà nô mà túgà nán lè bò lè wû ké mò =á bò nò mà túg náy lè be Impf leave Neg 6sub-P2 be with I be (neg) still ImpF númp nə̀bə̀ mè= mé fágárá mə̀-fà nò mò-kwây. nûmb nàbá mà= mé fágə́rá mò -fà nò mò-kwàn know because I be (chg) between 6 -machete with 6 -lance The wine which was in my head, where it went, I don't know, or how, but I was already between machetes and spears.

(64) bw-àrá gó lêy nâ "ǎ !
bò-àrá gó lêy nâ
2-woman Prog say that ExCL
The women said, "Ah ha!

| bò-kúbá | b-ízé | mə́ | lè | dâmp | wógà, | mùùntí | ngà |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bò-kúbj̀ | b-íz | mé | lè | dímb | wôg | mùùntí | ngà |
| 2-chicken | 2-our | be (chg) | ImpF | lose | here | mister | this |

dá jgà bò lè n-j̀òngá bó ncà jíbà bízá bò-kúbà." dá ngà bà lè j-j̄̀̀ngá bò ncò jíbò bìzá bò-kúbò 1 -father this be ImpF 1 -Def be come steal us 2 -chicken Our chickens keep going missing, he is the one who has come to steal them."

| mà $=$ | túgà | númp | nké | mà $=$ | jì | tél | sí |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mà $=$ | túg | nûmb | Øké | mà= | jí | tél | sí |
| I | be (neg) | know | or | I | be (att) | organize | 1 -ground |

ŋké mà= jì túl jwóp.
ŋjké mà= jì túl jwôb
or I be (att) ? sky
I didn't know anymore where I was, below or above.
(67) fók má sé dímbà mà.
fòg mé sé dímb mə̀

9 -wisdom be (chg) PERF lose me
Wisdom had left me.
(68) lú má sê fwàl jwábàrà mà jwáp nà mò-nòk
lû mé sé fwàl jwábə̀rà mà jwôb nò mò-nwòg 5-head be (chg) Perf directly tangle me sky with 6-wine
nə̀ by-áy by-ês.
nò bè-án bè-ध̂z
with 8 -fear 8 -all
My head was all muddled with wine and fear.


| twámbá | w-ànə́ | á | bò | lê | dì | fág | sí | w-ò̀̀ngá | óbìlì |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| twámbá | w-àn | á | bə̀ | lè | dì | fág | sí | w-ò̀ngə́ |  |
| 1-elder | 1-my | P2 | be | IMPF | stay | where | 1-ground | 3-DEF | Obili |


| mə̂ | ncè | làn | té. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mé | ncə̀ | lày | té |
| be (chg) | come | happen | LOC |

Arriving on the scene, since God does not forget those who walk in his righteous ways, was my elder who lived on the edge of Obili, just passing by.
(70)

| $\mathrm{n}=$ ǒ | kǎ | dêk | njì | b-ùr | á | ntùntùmà. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{n}=$ ó | kà +H | dêg +H | njì | b-ùd | á | ntùtùmà |
| he-PRES | Cons | see | only | 2-person | QUAL | crowd |

(71) nó kà dêk mə́ támə̀ mò-kwànə́ nə̀ mə̀-fò. nà kà dêg mà tám mò-kwàn nò mò-fà he Cons see me middle 6-lance with 6 -machete He saw me in the middle of spears and machetes.
$\begin{array}{lllllllll}\text { (72) } & \text { nó }= & \text { ncà } & \text { bú } & \text { kómp } \\ \text { nà }= & \text { ncà } & \text { bù } & & & \text { (d-íná } & \text { bw =ú } & \text { bò } & \text { njábà } \\ \text { he } & \text { come } & \text { many } & & & \text { d-ín } & \text { H+bwó=é } & \text { bò } & \text { njáb } \\ \text { 5-name } & \text { ReLCl-they-P1 } & \text { be } & \text { 3-house }\end{array}$
mə̀ ndé bô sàmə̀dí) sàmàdí!
mà ndé bò
me be (loc) be Saturday Saturday
He cried out, "Oh no, (they called me Samedi [Saturday])
Samedi!"
 Weren't we just at the party now?
(74)

| wô | kà | kò | byèk | mw-àrá | mə̀ | ncé ?" |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| wò | kà | kò | byèg | mò-àrá | mə̀ | ncé |
| you | Cons | go | provoke | 1-woman | 1Poss | who |

Did you go and bother someone's wife?"
(75) mə̀ = nâ "túgà lóbà mw-árá mé.
mə̀ $=$ nâ túg lòb +H mw-àrá mé I that be (neg) 3-problem 1-woman that I said that, "It's not women problems.
(76) á mw-àrá $\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{j}=$ ě bə̀ nə̀ mò-kwàgá nə̀ mə̀-fò.
á mò-àrá á $=\mathrm{jì}=$ è +H bò nò mò-kwày nò mò-fà Ques 1-woman Neg-be (att)-Neg be with 6-lance with 6-machete Women don't have spears and machetes.
(77) w =ó dék ntángə̀ ?
wò=ó dêg ntán
you (sg)-Pres see like.that
You see?
(78) bw =ó sé nìgò ncə́ nígò mə̀ sá bwó=ó sé + H nìgò + H ncà+H nìgò + H mà sá they-PRes PERF return come return me 7-thing

| sís | bó | mé | mpwò | nè | sís | bá | mà | mé |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sís | bò | mé | mpwò | nè | sís | bà | mà | mé |
| 7-different | be | that | 9-accusation | 9-that | 9-another | be | I | be (chg) |

nâ mà = jì jíbə̀là."
nâ mò= jì jîbàl̀̀
that I be (att) thief

They're accusing me of something else, of being a thief."
(79)
"る!"
"Oh!"
(80) $\begin{array}{lllllllll}\text { nô } & \text { jwàn } & \text { númá } & \text { cílá } & \text { lé-mò-kù } & \text { nə̀bá } & \text { nè } & \text { áncógó } & \text { bà } \\ \text { nə̀ } & \text { nwàn } & \text { númá } & \text { cílá } & \text { lé-mò-kù } & \text { nàbá } & \text { nè } & \text { áncógó } & \text { bò } \\ \text { he } & \text { take } & \text { also } & \text { quickly } & \text { LOc-6-foot } & \text { because } & \text { this } & \text { NEGP3 } & \text { be }\end{array}$ $\begin{array}{llllllll}\text { jábà } & \text { nò } & \text { búg } & \text { mò } & \text { kò } & \text { jwábàrà } & \text { ncí } & \text { mè. } \\ \text { jǎbà } & \text { nò } & \text { búy } & \text { H+ } \text { mə̀ } & \text { kò } & \text { jwábà̀à } & \text { ncì } & \text { mè } \\ \text { far } & \text { with } & \text { 7-place } & \text { ReLCL-I } & \text { go } & \text { tangle } & \text { 3-path } & \text { that }\end{array}$ He took off running because the second house where we were wasn't far from the point where I lost my way.

| $\mathrm{n}=$ ó | kò | jáp | mw-àrá | á | bwâr | bò-kwòndó | wú |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{j}=$ ó | kò | jáb | mw-àrá | H+á | bwâd | bò-kwòndó | wú |  |
| he-PRES | go | call | 1-woman | RelCl-P2 | wear | 2-stripes | there |  |
| n̂̂ | "ncáá |  | kò | cíló, | ncáá | kò | dêk! |  |
| nâ | ncò | kò | cíló | ncò | kò | dêg |  |  |
| that | come (IMP) | go | quickly | come (IMP) | go | see |  |  | He went to call the woman who wore stripes there, saying "Come quick!

(82) sàmàdí bá ndé kógà tám mò-kwây nə̀ mə̀-fà. bò ndé kóg tám mò-kwàg nò mò-fà Saturday be be (loc) here middle 6-lance with 6-machete Come see Samedi in the middle of spears and machetes.
$\mathrm{n}=$ ǒ sé ják ncí nàbə́ má-nwòk $\mathrm{n}=$ î
$\mathrm{n}=$ ó sé jág ncì nàbá mò-лwòg $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{n}=$ é
he-Pres Perf (be) unaware 3-path because 6-wine RelCl-he-P1
nwèl wóg = غ̀."
nwèl wôg =è
drink here-RelCl
He went the wrong way because of the wine that he drank here."
(84) mw-àrá nè númá má ncà cílá. mw-àrá nè númá mé ncò cíló 1-woman this also be (chg) come quickly
That woman also came running.

| j̀ká | $\mathrm{n}=$ á | bò | ácígókùk | náné | njûm | àcígókùk | náné. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nkà | $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{a}$ | bò | ácígókùg | náné | njûum | ácígơkùg | náné |
| as | he-P2 | be | police | big | 1-husband | police | big |

Since she was a member of the police [or military] as was her husband.

| bwô | ncò | lên | nà | b-ùr | bà-né | nâ | "mwá | $b=$ íyò | dêk |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bwó | ncò | lên | nò | b-ùd | bò-né | nô | mwá | bé=ó | dêg |
| they | come | say | with | 2-person | 2-this | that | 1 -small | you-Pres | see |


| Đgà, bìzó | bón | jì | nûmbə̀ | nə̀, | tìgə̀létí | númbə̀ | nə̀ |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ygà | bìzó | bóy | jì | nûmb | nə̀ | tìgə̀létí | nûmb | nə̀ |
| this | we (excl) | place? | be (att) | know | him | specifically | know | him |

twò lè-Jùgà d-દ́.
twò è-fùg d-é
even 5 -stalk 5 -his
They came and told the people that "The child that you see here, we know him personally, as well as his origins.
(87) bìzó bôy $a ̀=h=\tilde{\varepsilon}$ jwàgàrà nà lé-mbì á né jíbò.
bìzó bón á=è jwágàr̀̀े+H nà lé-mbì á né jíbó we (excl) there Neg suspect him Loc-3-sort Qual that theft We have never suspected him of stealing.
(88) lê-kònòkò, $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{ó}$ sé jwábàrà ncí j́kà ní jwèl lé-kònòkò $\quad \mathrm{n}=\mathrm{ó} \quad$ sé +H jwábàrà +H ncì ykà ní jwèl Loc-truth he-Pres Perf tangle 3-path as enter drink
mə́-nòk.
mò-nwòg
6 -wine
Truly, he got muddled because he got drunk.

| bìzó | númá | bé | yà | nà | mà-nòk." |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bìzó | númá | bò | yò | nà | mà nwòg |
| we (excl) | also | be | give | him | 6-wine | We're the ones who gave him the wine.

$\begin{array}{llllllllll}\text { (90) } & \text { nà } & \text { myǎ } & \text { bwó } & \text { ncà } & \text { bîr } & m=\hat{\varepsilon}, & \text { mà }= & j i ̀ ~ & \text { kí } \\ \text { nò } & \text { myà+H } & \text { bwó } & \text { ncà } & \text { bíd } & \text { mə̀ }=\text { è } & \text { mə̀ }= & \text { jì } & \text { ké } \\ \text { with } & \text { 3-time- ReLCL } & \text { they } & \text { come } & \text { leave } & \text { me-ReLCL } & \mathrm{I} & \text { be (att) } & \text { NEG }\end{array}$
náy númbə̀ bón $m=a ́ \quad \beta=$ è
nán nûmb bón $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{a} \quad$ bò $=\mathrm{e}$
still know place RelCl-I-P2 be-RelCl
When they let me go, I didn't know anymore where I was.
(91) bw =á kò númá bwîk mà sí.
bwó =á kò númó bwîg mà sí
they-P2 go also keep me ground
They made me lie down.
(92) lê-mán á té, $m=a ́$ wòl.
lé-mán á té $\mathrm{m}=$ á wòl
Loc-3-morning P2 LOC I-P2 get.up
The next morning, I got up.
(93)

| mà $=$ | nâ | "kí | náy | nà | twò | d-úl | dw-áp | lè-sís, | bìzá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mà $=$ | nâ | ké | nán | nò | twò | d-úlágá | dw-ôb | lè-sís | H+bìzà |
| I | that | NeG | still | with | even | 5-InDEF | 5-day | 5-another | ReLCL-we |

nə̀ mò-лnwòk é kwò bwám = è."
nò mò-лwòg é kwò bwámə̀=è
with 6-wine Fut again meet-RelCL
I said, "Never again will wine and I meet."
(94) té bá lôy á ncà sî.
té bò lôy á ncò sí
Loc be 5-speech P2 come finish
Here is the end to my story.

## 10 The Serpent and the Antelope

told by Barthélemy Bangbot (of Ngulmakong), transcription help and translation (into
French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)
(1) mà = jí jwàn wó kàn lé-bì-sá bìzá ndé
mà $=$ jí jwàg wó kàn lé-bè-sá $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{bìzá} \mathrm{ndé}$
I want take you 3-folk.tale Loc-8-thing RelCl-we be (loc)
lè dêk wók ná càà-ngà nə̀ bə̀-míyว̀n b-íz=é.
lè dêg wôg nò cà-ggà nò bò-míỳ̀ b-f́z $=$ è
IMPF see here with now-here with 2 -sibling 2 -our-RelCL
'I will tell you a story about what we see today with our brothers.
$\begin{array}{lllllllll}\text { (2) } & \text { kàn } & \text { w-ò̀̀ngá } & \text { á } & \text { bà } & \text { nâ } & \text { m̀pwàm, } & \text { mpú } & \text { ncà } \\ \text { kàn } & \text { w-̇̀̀̀ggá } & \text { á } & \text { bò } & \text { nâ } & \text { mpwàm } & \text { mpú } & \text { ncà } \\ \text { 3-folk.tale } & \text { 3-DeF } & \text { P2 } & \text { be } & \text { that } & \text { 1-python } & \text { rain } & \text { come }\end{array}$
nwî, mpwàm á nwágò mpú lé ncò nwî,
nwî mpwàm á nwán mpú lè ncà nwî
fall (rain) 1-python P2 take rain IMPF come fall (rain)
té $\mathrm{j}=$ ǎ bà lè ság mpwó $=$ ò:.
té $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{n}=$ á bò lè sán mpú $=$ è
Loc RelCl-he-P2 be ImpF look.for rain-RelCl
This folk tale is about a serpent who was looking for rain before the rain came.
$\begin{array}{llllll}\text { (3) té } & \mathrm{n}=\text { ǎ } & \text { bò } & \text { lè } & \text { sáy } & \text { jó=ò:. } \\ \text { té } & \mathrm{H}+\mathrm{n}=\text { á } & \text { bò } & \text { lè } & \text { sá } & \text { jwò=è } \\ \text { LoC } & \text { ReLCL-he-P2 } & \text { be } & \text { ImpF } & \text { look.for } & 70 B J-R E L C L\end{array}$
He was looking for something.
(4) té $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{á}$ bà lè kò ní lê-mbìl=è.
té $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{n}=$ á bò lè kò nîpk lé-mbìl=è

Loc RelCl-he-P2 be ImpF go enter Loc-hole-RelCl
He went into a hole.
(5) $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{ǒ} \mathrm{kó} \mathrm{sáy} \mathrm{ntày} \mathrm{á} \mathrm{bà} \mathrm{té}, \mathrm{yó}$
$\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{ó}$ kò + H sán + H ntày $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{a}$ bò té yò+H
he-Pres go look.for 1-rat RelCl-P2 be Loc 7Obj-RelCl
$\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{nu} \mathrm{mb}=$ é.
$\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{a}=$ númb $=$ è
I-Neg-know-NeG
If he was looking for a rat, that I don't know.
(6) myà $\mathrm{n}=$ ó kà nî mô kò fáràbə̀.
myà $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{n}=$ ó kà nî mé kò fáràbà
3-time RelCl-he-Pres Cons enter be ? go stuck, wedged
After he went in, he got stuck.
(7) $\mathrm{n}=\hat{o}$ kà dêk bá dégə́ cínə̀.
j̀=ó $\quad$ kà $+\mathrm{H} \quad$ dêg +H bò $+\mathrm{H} \quad$ dêg $+\mathrm{H} \quad$ cínà
he-Pres Cons see be see hare
He saw a hare.
(8) $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{ô}$ sè já nwá bò-fwàndà bò-bá, nwà lé-mbìl
j̀=ó sé já jwá bò-Swàndà bò-bá nwà lé-mbil
he-Pres Perf sleep there 2-week 2-two there Loc-3-hole
y-ê-n
y-é-né
3-his-that
He had to sleep in that hole for two weeks.
(9) $\Omega=o ́$ dêk lé-kán mà jé.
j̀ =ó dêg+h è-kán mé jê
he-Pres see 5 -antelope be (chg) arrive
He saw an antelope coming towards him.
(10) nə̀ = nò là-kán nâ "là-kán míyว̀ŋ w-àyá,
nə̀ $=$ nò è-kán nâ è-kán míyว̀n w-ày
he with 5 -antelope that 5 -antelope 1 -brother 1 -my
ô mə̀= yúm wôk lé-mbìlé.
ô mə̀ = yúm wôg lé-mbì I (be) stuck here Loc-3-hole
He said to the antelope, "Antelope my brother, here I am stuck in this hole.
(11) ncá wúlò mè!"
ncâ wûl mà
come (Imp) take.out me
Come get me out!"
(12) è-kán má ncò, ncə̀ sá nò jgwàn y-é
è-kán mé ncò, ncò sá nò jgwàn y-é

5 -antelope be (chg) come come do with 3-paw 3-his
ná sá sá sá sá só.
nò sá sá sá sá sá
with do do do do do
The antelope came and began to dig with his paw. Dig, dig, dig, dig.....
(13) mpwàm wúlə̀ jún.
mpwàm wûl nûn
1-python take.out 9-body
The serpent got his body out.
$\begin{array}{llllllllll}\text { (14) dí dí dí dí } & \text { dì, } & \begin{array}{l}\text { mpwàmà } \\ \text { mpwàm }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { nò } \\ \text { nò }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { lè-kán } \\ \text { lè-kán }\end{array} & \text { nâ } & \text { ņ̂ } & \text { nkà } \\ & & & & \text { 1-python } & \text { with } & 5 \text {-antelope } & \text { that } & \text { as }\end{array}$
$w=o ́$ ndé nwǎ nè, mé jî jàk jwók ncà,
$\mathrm{w}=\mathrm{o}$ ndé +H nwà né mé jì jàg jwóg ncà you-Pres be (loc) there that I (emph) be (att) hear 9-hunger
$\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{ǒ}$ dó wó."
m̀=ó dò +H wò
I-Pres eat you ( sg )
After a time, the serpent said to the antelope, "Since you're here, and I'm so hungry, I'm going to eat you."
(15) è-kán nò mpwàmò "á kè !
è-kán nò mpwàm
5-antelope with 1-python
The antelope said, "What!
(16) míyòv $w$-ày, $m=e ̀$ wúlà wó lè-bé.
míỳ̀n w -àn $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{é} \mathrm{wûl}+\mathrm{H}$ wò lé-bé
1-brother 1-my I-P1 take.out you (sg) Loc-9-pit
My brother, I just got you out of the hole.

| $\mathrm{w}=$ ǒ | ká | nìgó | lén | nô | $w=o ̌$ | dó |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ẁ $=0$ | kà + H | nìgò + H | 1¢̂) | nô | w $=$ ó | dò + H |
| you-Pres | Cons | return | tell | that | you-Pres | eat |

nàbá nà jè?"
nàbá nò jè
because with what
Why do you say that you're going to eat me?"
(18) nə̀ $=\mathrm{n} \hat{\mathrm{a}}$ " $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{è} \mathrm{jì} \mathrm{n}$ n̂ $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{ò}$ dó wó."
nə̀ $=n \hat{a} \quad \mathrm{~m}=\mathrm{é}$ jí nâ $\mathrm{m}=o ́ \quad$ dò +H wò
he that I-P1 want that I-Pres eat you (sg)
He said, "I want to eat you."
(19) kúl má kà ncò jê, wúgòrə̀ mpò,
kûl mé kà ncò jê

1-tortoise be (chg) Cons come arrive
wúgàrə̀ mpò.

The tortoise came, in his way as tortoises do (ideophone).
(20) "jí ndé làył̀ ?"
jé ndé làn
what be (loc) happen
"What's going on?"
(21) nə̀ = nə̂ " $m=$ ò gò wúl mpwàm wôk lébé jgà."
nà $=$ nô $m=$ ò gò wûl mpwàm wôg lé-bé jgà he that I-Pres Prog take.out 1-python here Loc-9-pit here He answered [the antelope], "I was getting the serpent out of this hole."
(22) "mpwàm bò wógə̀ ?"
mpwàm bò wôk
python be here
"The serpent was here?"
(23)
"ə̀る́."
"Yes."
(24) "á jí ndé kǎ làyà?"
á jé ndé kà làn
Ques what be (loc) Cons happen
"What happened then?"
(25) "mpwàm nâ $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{ò}$ dó má."
mpwàm nô $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{ó}$ dò +H mà
1-python that he-Pres eat me
"The serpent said that he is going to eat me."
(26) "mpwàm bà wók lé-mbìl gǎ?"
mpwàm bò wôg lé-mbil ygà
1-python be here Loc-3-hole this
"The serpent was here in this hole?"
(27) "ว̀る́."
"Yes."
(28) "mpwàm w=ú bà wógà?"
mpwàm $w=$ é bò wôg
1-python you-P1 be here
"Serpent, you were here?"
(29) "ə̀る́."
"Yes."
(30) "hǎ kwə́ nìgò ní, mə̀ dégə̀ jkà $w=$ ú $\quad \mathrm{b}=$ è."
fă kwò nigò nî mà dêg jkà $\mathrm{H}+\grave{\mathrm{w}}=\mathrm{e}$ bò $=$ è
Hort again return enter I see as RelCl-you-P1 be-RelCl
"Go back in so that I can see how you were."
(31) mpwàm bìgàlà nún, bígàlà bígà̀̀ bígə̀l̀̀ bígàlò.

| mpwàm | bìgàlà | nûn | bìgàl̀̀ | bigg̀̀l̀ | bigg̀̀là | bìgàlà |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1-python | enter | body | enter | enter | enter | enter |

The serpent got his body back in, little by little.
(32)

| "nwà | bó | $\mathrm{w}=\mathrm{u}$ | $\mathrm{b}=$ è?" |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nwà | bò | $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{w}=$ é | bò $=$ è |
| there | be | ReLCL-you-P1 | be-ReLCL |

"You were like that?"
(33) "ว̀ま̇."
"Yes."
(34)

| "hǎ | kà | wú." |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| fã | kà | wú |
| Hort | Cons | come.out |

"Ok, come out."
(35) mpwàm mà ká jì wú, mféy!
mpwàm mà kà jì wú
1-python Cons be come
The serpent wanted to come out, but wham! he got stuck again.

| kúl | nà | lè-kán | nâ | "njám | j-j̀̀̀̀gá | bá | nè." |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kûl | nò | è-kán | nâ | njám | j-jذ̀ngá |  | né |
| tortoise | with | 5 -antelope | that | 7 -good.moment | 7 -DEF | be | that | The tortoise said to the antelope, "It's a good time to leave."

(37)

| ǹtáyá | mà | jí | dêk | jwá | ná | bà-míyòy | b-áy |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ntáy | mà | jì | dêg | jwò | nò | bò-míyว̀n | b-ày |
| like.that | I | be (att) | see | 7OBJ | with | 2-brother | 2-my |


| ná | càá | ngà. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nò | cà | ngà |
| with | now | this |

I see the same thing with our brothers now.
(38) lè-bú jì mà fèrá lé-mò-mbû̀k.
è-bú jì mé fèr lé-mè-mbùg
5 -many be (att) be ? close Loc-4-prison
Many are shut up in prisons.
(39) nô míyòn w-ày, cìk bé-ntwòmp túk lè jwày,

| nâ | míỳ̀y | w-ày | cìg | H + bè-ntwòmp | túg | lè | nwân |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that | 1-brother | 1-my | 7-life | 7Assoc-8-fight | be (neg) | IMPF | (be) good |

cìk bé-ntwòmp túk lè jwày.
cìg $\mathrm{H}+$ bè-ntwòmp túg lè nwây
7-life 7Assoc-8-fight be (neg) ImpF (be) good
To my brother [I say] a life of fighting isn't good.
(40) m-ùr ká jwôk.
m-ùd ké jwôg
1-person NEG hear
He doesn't hear.
(41)

| nà $=$ | sá | ykà | sá | mə̀ | jwôk | bìzá | ndê |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| jə̀ $=$ | sá | 引kà | H+sâ | mé | jwôg | bìzá | H+ndé |
| he | do | as | ReLCL-7-thing | be (chg) | hear | us | ReLCl-be (loc) |

kò kók lé-bò-mífwàn=é, sà jkà sá mò
kò kóg lé-bè-míjwàn=è sá ŋjkà $\mathrm{H}+\mathrm{sâ}$ mé
go here Loc-8-church-RelCl do as RelCl-7-thing be (chg)
$j w o ́ g=\grave{\varepsilon}$.
$j w o ̂ g=$ è
hear-Relcl
He acts as if he hears us at church, acting as if it is heard.
(42) ká bwè nâ j=ó nìgó kwó kò sâ bìzá
ké bwè nâ j̀ =ó nìgò + H kwò +H kò +H sâ bìzá

NeG long.time that he-Pres return again go do us

| $\mathrm{y}=$ é | ká | lè | bír | nô | bwó | ká | kò | nǎ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{y}=$ é | kà +H | lè +H | bír + | nâ | bwó | kà | kò | nâ |
| NONREF-P2 | CONS | ImPF | leave | that | they | Cons | go | that |


| é-kò | ló-mə̀-mbùk | Økà | bwó | ndé | kò-n |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| èt-kò | lé-mè-mbùg | ŋkà | bwó | ndé | kò-né |
| INF- | Loc-4-prison | as | they | be (loc) | go-that |

go
Not long after, he returns again, leaving us and going back to prison.
(43)

| té | bó | kàn | w-àn | ndê | fî. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| té | bò | kàn | w-àn | ndé | sí |
| Loc | be | 3-folk.tale | 3-my | be (loc) | finish |

Here is the end of my folk tale.
(44) bwó bò bò-mpwàm.
bwó bò bò-mpwàm
they be 2-python
They are serpents.'

## Kol-English Lexicon

## A - a

á $\quad m k r$. Qualificative Associative Marker (QUAL).
á interr. Interrogative (Ques).
$\mathbf{a}=$ TAM. Distant past (P2).
$\mathbf{a}==\mathbf{e ̀} \quad T A M$. Perfective negative (NEG).
ábâ n. vulture.
âbǔl fûz $v$. be impotent.
ăbwòmb ndə̀lê Pl:băbwòmb ndàlê. n. mud wasp.
âbyôlô Pl: bâbyôlô. n. 1/2. traitor.
ǎcé lààbê $n$. tarantula.
ǎcícéné Pl: băcícéné. n. star.
ácígókúg n. police/military. Lit: 'cutters-
trunk'.
ǎdùggû Pl: bǎdùygû. $n$. toad.
ǎdwàm Pl: bădwàm. n. frog.
âfifi $n$. deaf mute.
ăfíyò Pl: băfíyo. n. lemon.
àkźkà Alt. [k̂́kà]. n. colonial times.
ǎjâ cínd Pl: băjâ cínd. n. waterhole.
àlkôl n. alcohol (general).
àlú. n. hit.
ǎmpíga $P l$ bămpíga. n. dragonfly.
ámpízámpíz adv. backwards. Etym:
from mpízò 'back (of something)'.
-ân Sg: mwân. Pl: bwân. n. 1/2. child,
ǎnàrâ
son. Etym: *jánà (1).
ǎnàrâ Pl: bănàrâ. $n$. bedbug.
áncé TAM. Perfective past negative
(NegP1 or NegP2).
áncógó TAM. Perfective far past negative (NEGP3).
ǎndàgà Pl: bǎndàgà. n. okra.
ântâkntàk PL: bântə̂kntə̀k. n. beggar.
-ǎn̂̂ Pl: bă̧̂̂. n. bee.
-ăfô kwàn Pl: bănô kwàn. n. swarm.

Lit. bee honey [Note: no singular]
ǎnว̀z Pl: bănı̀z. n. onion, garlic.
-àn gen. my.
-áy Pl: byág. n. 8. fear.
ǎykò jíjò Pl: băykò jíjò. n. army ant,
áykòygò n. free-for-all fight. [Note:
everyone gets involved; could become a feud on the village or tribal level]
-àrá $\quad$ Sg: mwàrá. Pl: bwàrá. n. 1/2.
woman, wife. mwàrá má fwôg Pl:
bwàrá bá mè $\int$ wôg. n. principal wife, first wife. mwàrá mwân Pl: bwàrá bó bwân. n. daughter-in-law. Lit: 'woman child'.
-ǎsísìm PL: bǎsísìm. n. demon, evil spirit.
[Note: no singular?]
âtîmtìm $v$. (be) myopic, (be) shortsighted.
ǎwúbò Pl: băwúbò. n. dove.
ǎyìǹ̀ ŋkwènjî Pl: bǎyìnò mánkwènjî.
n. ring (finger).
áyô mpám n. grandmother. soldier ant.

## B - b

bà adv. a little.
bà v. cut. Etym: *béd 'cut, break.'
bá num two (2).
bâ conj. and. [Note: used with human
noun phrases]
bâ v. marry. Etym: *bád.
bâ $\quad S g$ : èbâ. Pl: mòbâ. n. 5/6. marriage
(not ceremony), sexual relations.
-bààg Sg: èbààg. PL: mòbààg. n. 5/6.
shoulder. [Note: also used as 'beside']
-báág Sg: èbáág. Pl: mòbáág. n. 5/6. knife. Etym: *báká (5).
bàb n. hallway, small courtyard. [Note:

Also used for a house built on the outskirts of a big village.]
bâb $\nu$. (be) bad.
bàdə̀bò v. perch.
bàgábò n. liver.
bàgòlà v. keep, store, watch.

Nominalization: mbègə̀lá (9) 'protection.'
bágàrı̀ $v$. join, put together.
bâl Pl: mòmpâl [màmpâl].n. 9/6. bowl.
bálà v. find again.
bàm n. scar.
bâm v. roar.
bámbà Pl: màbámbà $n$. grasshopper.
bámbálá v. shout at. Etym: from bâm 'to roar?'
bán PL: mòmpán [mə̀mpán]. n. 9/6.
buttock.
bân Pl: mòbân. n. difficulty.
bànd PL: màbànd. n. gizzard.
-bàndà Sg: èbàndà. Pl: mòbàndà. n. 5/6. hut, camp.
bándà v. go well.
bándà aux. really.
bándə̀l⿳亠 v. invite, assemble (people).
băy n. beam, rafter.
bâr v. climb, ascend. [Note: as in a hill]
bárà v. greet.
-bàdà né mpúmb [bàra] $S g$ : èbàdà
né mpúmb. PL: mòbàdà mé mpùmb.
n. $5 / 6$. forehead. Etym: pádà $(9,11)$.
bè $=$ pro. 8subject
bè num. two (when counting in
bé n. potter's kiln.
bé $\quad P L$ : mòmpé [màmpé]. n. 9/6. 1. pit.
2. latrine, toilet, bathing place.
3. thicket.
bé pro. you (pl).
bèb v. belch.
bèd Pl: mòmpèd. n. 9/6. chest.
béd $n$. ladder.
bèdà [bèrà] adj. big, important.
bèn n. extended paternal family. Etym: *bánjá ‘family.'
bén [bin] v. lift.
bèncìmbè n. army.
bènjè $\quad v$. answer, reply.
bé \cline { 1 - 1 } mbáál v. track. Lit. follow traces.
bêr v. put, place, set. Etym: caus of bar?
*béek 'put.'
bèz v. slaughter, kill (animal for butchering).
bìż́ pro. us.
bìzə́ pro. we.
bìzá pro. we (inclusive).
bìzá pro. us (inclusive).
bìzó pro. we (exclusive).
bè v. cultivate, sow, plant.
bè adj. wrong.
bê Pl: mòbê. n. 9/6. door.
bêb $n$. scaffolding.
bêb $v$. wound (animal).
bè̀ num. second (ordinal number).
bèlà $\quad \nu$. imitate, resemble. Nominalization: mpèlá (9) 'imitation.'
bèmb $v$. worry.
bè̀ $v$. follow.
bàjûm Pl: màjûm. $n$. gall bladder.
bàlê n. bread.
bàmb lwál n. scorpion.
bàn v. refuse.
báறgô Pl: bàbángô. n. 7/8. jaw. Etym: *bángá.
bàŋkòl bá mîz n. eyebrow.
bàtàbò v. land, alight.
bì v. startle, surprise.
-bî Pl: mòbî. n. excrement. [Note: no singular] Etym: *bíl.
bî $\quad \nu$. knead.
bî má mpônj v. clap (hands).
bìgàlà v. enter.
bì̀ v. receive.
bìil v. 1. seize. 2. trap (animal or fish).
bì̀ló $v$. catch in the act.
bìlò $n$. sad news.
bílà n. club, cudgel.
bìnd $S g$ èbìnd. Pl: mòbìnd. n. 5/6. testicle.
bír v. leave to one side.
bísìn PL: bòbísin. n. 1/2. pot (for water).
bíyà n. beer.
bíyà v. (be) defeated, (be) seized. Passive of bìil 'seize, trap'
bìyèz n. disrespect.
bíyóv pro. you (pl) emphatic.
bízábá v. (be) patient.
bò v. be. Alt. bà. Etym: *bá.
bóg n. reception.
bógà v. separate (intr), become separated.
-bôl Sg: lèbôl. Pl: mòbôl. n. 5/6. breast,
udder. Etym: *béz̀dè (5) 'teat, breast, udder.'
bòl Pl: màbòl. n. cola nut.
bóy n. 7/8. there, place.
bòn máfùn Pl: bèbòn mó $u$ ùn. n. 7/8. cemetery. Lit. place grave.
bìg Pl: bèbìg. $n$. 7/8. lip.
bǒl n. bald.
-bóm Sg èbóm. Pl: mòbóm. n. 5/6. plank. (Begne has long vowel.)
bò̀̀g PL: mòmpòòg [mòmpò̀̀g]. n. 9/6. hoe. Etym: *bògà.
bóy Pl: bòbóy. n. 1/2. agama lizard (redheaded).
brík n. mud block. Etym: borrowing from English.
bù v. (be) abundant, many.
-bù $S g$ èbù $n .5$. roof, thatch. (no plural)
-bùb $S g$ : lèbùb. Pl: màbùb. n. $5 / 6$. spider. búgó n. faith, hope.

Etym: *bòbè (5).
bùbò v. roast.
bùbù n. many. [Note: only postverbal as the object of a preposition]
bùbûl n. crown (of head).
bùg Pl: màbùg. n. pipe-stem.
búg $v$. break (tr). Nominalization: mpúgá
(9) 'fracture.'
búg bwàz n. clod. Lit. break dirt.
-bûg Sg: èbûg. Pl: mòbûg. n. 5/6. waist, hip.
bùgò v. accuse. [Note: implied that the one accused is innocent.]

Nominalization: mbúgè (1) 'accuser,' mpúgágá (1) accusation.
búgòlà $v$. believe, hope.
bûgòlà n. praise.
bùgùbà v. prosper. [Note: Numerous descendants]
bùgùbà Pl: mòbùgùbà. n. 9/6. honor. bùl Pl: bàbùl. n. rotten thing.
bùlò v. mumble.
bùlù adv. many, a lot. Etym: *bùd 'become plentiful or numerous.'
bùmó PL. bòbùmó. n. 1/2. ball, sports.
bùmó Pl: mpùmó. n. 7/10. fruit.
bùmó fwén Pl: mpùmó fwén. n. 7/10. kernel (of corn, maize) Lit. fruit corn.
bùmó PL: mə̀bùmó. n. 9/6. knot.
bùmbàlà v. get up.
bùg n. 7/8. place (specific).
bûr $v$. bubble up, boil (water).
-bùrà $\quad S g$ : èbùrà. Pl: mòbùra. n. 5/6.
sweet potato.
búrà $v$. mix.
bûtə̀bう̀ $v$. incubate, set on eggs.
-bù̀ùg $S g$ : lèbùùg. $P L$ : mòbùùg. n. 5/6. melon.
búúmb Pl: mpúúmb. n. 7/10. branch, frond.
bù̀ùnd Pl: mpùùnd. n. 7/10. skin (of fruit), shell.
bùùnd éké $P l$ :bìbùùnd móké. n. $7 / 8$. eggshell.
bùùnd éwùnd Pl: mpùùnd éwùnd. $n$. 7/10. shell (of groundnut). Lit: 'shell peanut.'
bùùnd kûl Pl: bèbùùnd bókûl. n. 7/8. shell (of turtle). Lit: 'shell turtle.'
bûzàl̀̀ .v. cover.
-bwà Sgr èbwà. PL mòbwà. n. 5/6. sole.
èbwà ná kù. sole of foot
bwàànd v. create, found.
bwáánd $v$. wait. Nominalization: mpwžnd
(9) 'delay,' mpwánd 'patience’
(Begne).
bwâd [bwâr] v. wear clothes. Causative bwêd 'to clothe' (Begne)
bwâg v. be big. Nominalization: mpwààg (9) 'fatness' (Begne).
bwàgbwàg adj. big. Etym: reduplicated form of the verb 'to be big'.
bwàgə̀bə̀ $v$. lie down. [Note: related to
mpwág (9) 'bed, couchette?']
bwàgàlà v. explain.
bwàl v. dance. Nominalization: mbwı̀l
(1) 'dancer.'
bwàm v. hoe.
bwámà v. meet. Nominalization:

| mpwàmá (9) 'meeting.' | mpwélá (9) 'debt' (Begne)? |
| :---: | :---: |
| bwàmb n. senile person. | bwéyá adv. everywhere. |
| bwàmb Pl: bòbwàmb. n. 1/2. adult. | bwà pro. them. |
| bwàmbà v. follow (in time). | bwîg v. keep for. |
| Nominalization: mpwàmbá (9) | bwîg n. ditch. |
| 'descendant.' | bwò Pl mobwò. n. 5/6. footprint |
| bwànd v.peel. | (human). |
| bwày Pl: mèbwà̀. n. 3/4. knuckle, | bwò pro. 10Subject |
| joint. [Note: same word used for | bwó pro. they. |
| 'wrist.'] | bwó TAM. Distant future (F2). |
| bwàg lékù n. ankle. Lit: 'joint of foot'. |  |
|  | bwón n. 5. knee. |
| bwárá Pl bèbwárá. n. 7/8. blessing. |  |
|  | bwǒ n. brain. |
| bwàz Pl: bèbwàz. n. 7/8. dirt, soil. |  |
|  | -bwóm Sge èwsm n. 5/6. log. (Alt. form |
| bwâz v. be wet. | of èbstm 'plank'?) |
| bwè adv. for a long time. | bwôbàlò v. feel (active). |
| bwèg v. bring up (a child). | bwìg Pl: mòmpẇ̀g [màmpwàg]. n. 9/6. |
| bwèlà v. take revenge. Nominalization: | mortar. |


| bwòg | cààg |
| :---: | :---: |
| bwòg v. harvest, collect (honey from | byâ v. bear (child), father (child). Etym: |
| hive). Etym: *pákù (9) 'honey.' | *bíad. |
| bwóg Pl: màbwóg. n. heap. | byé pro. 8emphatic. |
| bwòg ébyâ n. womb. | byèg v. injure, incite. |
| bwòm v. ring (bell). | byêl v. (be) born. |
| bwòmb v. beat (drum). | byèz v. despise. |
| bwòmb básâg Pl: màbwòmb básâg. n. | byènd Pl: màbyènd. n. hawk. |
| termite hill. | byò pro. 8object |
| bwòmbòlò $\quad v$. bark (as dog). | byón n. bone marrow. |
| Nominalization: related to mpwzmìló | byíngàlè adv. all over. |
| (9) 'bark of dog.' | byód n. fullness, packed (populous) |
| bwúnò v. believe. Etym: borrowed from |  |
|  | byôl Pl: môl. n. canoe. |
| C |  |
| cà adv. now. | mean 'make (something)', 'compose |
| cààg v. shape, carve. [Note: Also used to | (song),' 'light (flame, fire), ' start |

(car).']
càl v. fell, cut down (tree). Etym: *tàd
'cut open.'
càz ndî $v$. wink (eye).
cè v. cut. Etym: *tèet 'cut.'
cè júg v. 1. be unconscious. 2. faint.
-cè Sg: ècè. n. 5. 1. illness, disease. 2.
pain. Alt. Class 7 for some speakers. tyè, cì̀.
cè élwô n. earache.
cè léjò
n. toothache.
cè lû $n$. headache.
cè mwう̀ n. stomachache, upset stomach.
cě v. give pain, hurt.
cênd Alt. [cínd] v. 1. exchange (of goods). 2. alter, change. 3. replace. [Note: borrowed from English]
cénd [cínd] $n$. other.side.of.river.
cèl n. love. Etym: nominalization of cèlà 'love.'
cèl mpón v. make (facial) incisions, tattoo.
cèlà $v$. love. Nominalization: cèl (7) 'love.'
cì $\quad v$. abstain. Etym: *gìd 'abstain from.'
cì Pl: bòcì [bàcì]. n. 7/8. taboo thing. Etym: *gìd̀̀ 'religious avoidance.'
-cì Pl: mòcì [màcì]. n. 6. blood. Etym: *gìdá 'blood.'
cì Pl: bò̀cì [bàcì]. n. 1/2. in-law. [Note: used for father-in-law, mother-in-law, sister-in-law and brother-in-law]
cícî adj. (be) silent.
cíè $n$. feelings.
cìg n. 7. life.
cìg v. cut. [Note: could be used in the sense of 'cut across, take a shortcut']
cìgà n. saw. Etym: Nominalization of cìg 'cut.'
cígá n. 7. question. Etym: Nominalization of cígò ‘decide, judge.'
cìgə̀ $v$. live, (be) alive.
cígàl̀̀ v. cut (tr), slice. Etym: Derived from cìg 'cut, cut across.'
cígó Pl: mècígó. n. 3/4. division.
cígò $v$. decide, judge. Etym: Derived from
cìg 'cut, cut across?'
cìl éké $\quad v$. lay (eggs).
cîl PL: màcîl. n. piece.
cìl̀̀ fûjûl n. circumcision (male).
cîlə̀bう̀ v. run. Etym: Derived from cílś 'be fast.'
cíló adv. quickly.
cíló $\quad v$. be fast.
cínd̀̀ $n$. high.
cínə̀ n. hare.
cìngàlà v. go round.
cógázó PL: mə̀cógázó. n. smell of urine.
còy $n$. unwanted, unexpected thing.
cóy Pl: mòcóy [mə̀cón]. n. 9/6. neck.

Etym: *kíngś (9) ‘neck.'
-cônj Sg: ècônj. Pl: mòcônj [mòcânj]. n. 5/6. broom.
cón v. agree.
cóy Pl: màcóy. n. command.
cj̀j̀l Pl: bòcc̀òl [bàcj̀̀̀l]. n. 1/2. partridge.
cúy Pl: mòcúy [màcún]. n. 9/6. voice.
dà

## D - d

dà v. draw water.
dá PL bòdá. n. 1/2. father, ancestor.
[Note: great-grandparents and further back are dá, but this may also be used as an honorific for grandfather or other.]
dá mpám Pl: bòdá bómpám. n. 1/2.
grandfather.
dá lé kwàrà n. embers. Lit: 'father in
flame?'.
dààg Pl: mààg. n. 5/6. crab.
dà $\quad v$. hurt. Nominalization: ndòl 'pain'.
dày $n$. herd. dày bétśs̀b herd of goats, herd of goats. Etym: *tàngá 'cattle pen, cattle post' (5).
dáy n. reeds. [Note: includes all plants
that grow in or under water (as long as they are rooted under the water).

Contrasts with floating water plants
èsùg.]
dâz n. gift. Etym: borrowed from Ewondo.
dêg $v$. see.
dèl $v$. bury. Nominalization: ndèlá (9) 'burial.'
dèná conj. like, as.
déndé [déndé] n. courtyard.
dèz Alt. [dìz] v. 1. capsize. 2. drown or almost drown.
dènà Pl: bə̀dềnà. n. bucket, pail.
dì v. remain, stay. Etym: *jikád ‘dwell,
dì mpúdádù
sit, stay.'
dì mpúdá $v$. cohabit (unmarried man and woman). Lit. stay together
dì sí v. sit. Lit. stay ground
dìb $\nu$. open (door).
dìbál̂́ع v. stop up. Etym: *dìb 'stop up.'
-díbó Pl: mòdíbś. n. 6. water. Etym: *dìbà (5).
dig $n .7 / 8$. bush country, rural area.
dìgòbè $v$. perspire, sweat.
dìl v. dwell, inhabit, make stay. Causative
of dì 'stay.' Nominalization: ndill (1)
'dweller.'
dílh $n$. fullness.
dîm v. disappear.
dîmb $v$. be lost. Etym: *dímb.
dímbòlò v. lose (tr).
dìǹ̀ v. stamp (with feet).
dínò PL: mínò. Alt. [jínò]. n. 5/6. name. Etym: *jínà (5).
dìà Alt. [dìyà, dyà]. n. 7/8. seat, chair, place, stool. Etym: nominalization of dì 'stay.'
dîz Pl: mîz. n. 5/6. eye.
dò v. eat. Etym: *dé 'eat.'
dòb PL: bèdòb. n. 7/8. food.
-dj̀ Pl: mòdj̀. n. 6. bait. Etym: from dò 'eat.'
dòg Pl: mòg. n. 5/6. nest.
dógbó $P l$ mógbó. n.5/6. headpad.
dı̀mb Pl: mı̀mb. n. 5/6. war.
dôz Pl môz. n. 5/6. chin, jaw. Etym: *dèdù $(7,9,11)$.
dù Pl: mòdù. n. 5/6. leg, thigh. Etym:
*gòdò 'leg' (15/6).
dû $\quad P l$ : mû. $n .5 / 6$. nose. Etym: *jódò (5)
'nose.'
dù kwàrà $\quad P l$ mù mó kwàrà. n. 5/6.
fireplace. Lit. nose flame.
dùb v. fish with hook and line. Etym:
*dób.
dùb $\quad v$. paint.
dùg $P l$ : mùg. n. 5/6. hornbill.
dùg $n .7 / 8$. forest.
dúgò v. paddle. Etym: *dúg.
dùlə̀ v. pull. Etym: *dùt 'pull, drag.'
dùlò v. smoke (tobacco).
dùlò $v$. hollow out (log).
dùmà v. fall forward (intr). [Note: must be touching ground initially and then fall down/fall forward]
dùmà cón $\quad v$. persuade.
dúmb $n$. dance. [Note: dance involving singing and loud cries of joy]
dùmゝ̀ v.1. pound. 2. thresh, beat (grain).
-dùmò $S$ g: èdùmò. $P l$ bèdùmò. n. 7/8. tip (of something), edge.
dúmó $\quad P l$ : múmó. n. 5/6. silk-cotton tree, kapok tree.
dǔnj PL: mŭnj. n. 5/6. fist. [Note: may also refer to a minority, or a handful] dùn $P l$ : bèdùn. n. 7/8. noise, sound.
dúŋゝ̀ $P l$ : múyò. n. 5/6. pelican.
dúúg Pl: múúg. n. 5/6. beak, bill. Etym:
*dongo (3).
dúúlà $v$. make trips back and forth.
dwábòrà Pl: bòdwábòrà. n. 1/2. nurse.
dwâg v. leave, stop.
dwàl Pl'mwàl. n.5/6. tumor, abscess,

| boil. Etym: *tùut 'swell (v).' | dwàb n. sun. |
| :---: | :---: |
| dwál n. nape of neck. | dwó pro. 5emphatic. |
| dwâyg Pl: bàdwâyg. n. 1/2. giraffe. | dwôb Pl: mób. n. 5/6. day. dwób dêz |
| Etym: *tòigà 'giraffe' (9). | 'always.' Lit: 'day each/all' |
| dwè pro. 5emphatic. |  |

## E - e

| -é gen. his/her. | èmínjílá $n$. bladder. |
| :---: | :---: |
| é $=$ TAM. Recent past (P1). | -én [ín] gen. your (pl). |
| $\underline{\mathbf{e}}=$ TAM. Future (FUT) | épkùgù adv. together. |
| $=$ è $m k r$. Relative clause (RELCL). | ètûg cínd n. lake. |
| èbù num. nine (9). Etym: *bưa 'nine.' | -éz Alt. [íz] gen. 'our' (exclusive) |
| èkálò kwòn n. spinal column. | -ézà Alt. [ízà] gen. 'our' (inclusive) |
| èkíbà thank you. Alt. àkíbà. |  |

## $\varepsilon$

-è mí jûl Pl: myè mé jûl [myè mí nûl]. singular]
n. 4. hair (of body). [Note: no -ह̂n Sg: mwên. n. 1. brother. [Note: singular] vocative form?]
-è mátíd Pl: myè mé tíd [myè má tíd]. n. $-\hat{\varepsilon} \mathbf{z}$ quant. each, all.
4. fur. Lit. hair of animal. [Note: no
$\partial$
ə̀ ə́ yes.

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\mathbf{F}-\mathbf{f}
$$

fà PL: bòfà. n. machete, cutlass.
fă mkr. Hortative (HORT), should.
fâ bálùl Pl: bòfâ bólùl. n. 1/2. louse.
fààg $v$. admire.
-fàb $S g$ : lèfàb. Pl: mòfàb. n. 5/6. pigeon.

Etym: *pómpó (7,9).
fábàlı̀ v. greet (with the hand).
fág n. 9. side. Etym: related to fágárá
between.
fâg $v$. be in love.
fágə́rá Pl: mpágárá . conj. between.
[Note: some dialects use only the old singular while other dialects use only the old plural - no longer strong distinction between 'between 2 people' and 'between many people.'] Etym: derived from fág 'side.'
fámə̀ adj. true, real, good.
fàmb $P l$ : bèfàmb. n. 7/8. farm, fields.
fànd $n$. moonlight.
fárə̀bə̀ v. (be) closed in. [Note: Possible to be undone - set free, unlocked, opened, etc]
fàz $v$. revive.
fâz v. germinate, sprout.
fé n. muscle.
fég n. 9. pocket.
fèndà $v$. be, put in rivalry with.
fèndá n. 3. rivalry.
fèr $\quad v$. ferment (alcohol).
fèr v. close, shut.
fém n. 9. lime, whitewash, paint.
fêndé Pl: bòfêndè. n. 1/2. braider. Etym: nominalization of fànd 'braid.'
féndə̀ v. paint.
fêz v. pick (tr), choose (tr).
fôfâ Pl: bòfâfâ. $n$. fish-scale.
fôfèm Pl: bàfàfêm. n. wall.
fə̀nd $v$. plait, braid (hair). Nominalization:
fêndé (1) 'braider,' fònd (9) 'braid.'

Etym: *pènd.
-fì $\quad P L$ : bèfi. n. 8. ashes.
fím’́ Pl: bàfímó. $n$. abscess.
fínà $v$ ．hiss．
fînj PL：bòfinj．n．1／2．cockroach．Etym： ＊ṕ́njù（9）．
fíyò n．1．avocado．
fòg Pl：mòfòg．n．9／6．wisdom．
fóg num．one（when counting in isolation）．
fònd Pl：mòfònd．n．9／6．braid．Etym： nominalization of fànd＇braid＇．
fòz $n$ ．clitoris．
fỳb Pl：màfỳb．n．fish bone．Etym：＊kúpà （5）？．
fôbàl̀̀ v．caress．
fón $n$ ．wound，sore．Etym：＊pótá（7，9）．
fóśg Pl：mòfáśg．n．9／6．track（animal）．
fôràgò Pl：màfòràgò．n．hoof．
fû Pl：bòfû．n．1／2．mouse．Etym：＊pókò
fúbán adj．（be）clean．
fùbó n．7．1．wind．2．air（breathed）．

Etym：＊pùùpà（9）．
fùbàlı̀ $v$ ．blow．
fübə̀l⿳亠 kwòm $\quad v$ ．work the bellows．
fúg $v$ ．be numerous．
fûgòl⿳亠 $v$ ．ruminate，chew cud．
fùlàsí n．French．
fùlı̀ $v$ ．knead．
fúlú n．9．habits．
fùm n．3．night．Etym：＊pempa．
fúm n．calf of leg．
fùmb $v$ ．unroot．
fûmb $v$ ．harvest，dig up（yams）．
fùmbà n．dead tree．
fùmbí $P l$ ：bèfùmbí．n．7／8．orange．
fùmbí kàbàlá ..... fyêz
fùmbí kàbàlá
n. grapefruit. Lit. orange horse.
fùnd Pl: bàfùnd. n. 7/8. calabash.
fŭnd díbó $\quad P l$ : bèfŭnd módíbś. n. 7/8. river bank.
fúnd̀̀ v. run away, flee. [Note: in context may mean 'fear,' since fear is usually implicit in situations that cause one to flee]
fùdə̀ [fùrə̀ ] v. die.
fûwúlù $P l$ : mòfùwúlù. $n$. hat.
fwálá $\quad v$. waste time.
fwárà $n$. photo.
fwêg v. move (intr).
fwén Pl: bèfwén. n. 7/8. maize, corn.
fyàb $v$. winnow. Etym: *pép.
fyàb Pl: bèfyàb. n. 7/8. shoulder blade.
[Note: word originally collected was
then said (by diff LC) to be 'chicken wing']
fyábàlà Pl: bèfyábòlà. n. 7/8. fan.
fyàl $n$. test, exam.
fyâl v. test, examine.
fyâl $v$. bleed.
fyálà v. come (or go) out, exit.
fyáy $P l$ : bèfyáy. $n$. soup, broth. (9/6 in Begne).
fyê v. suck. Etym: *píp.
fyêz v. mistrust, neglect.
$=\mathrm{g}$
jàànd

## G-g

$=\mathbf{g} \quad m k r$. Subyunctive (SubJ). gólòd $n$. gold.
$=$ gá mkr. Subyunctive (pl). gyònd $\hat{\text { on }}$ Pl: bàgỳ̀ndô. n. catfish.
gó TAM. PROG.

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\mathbf{I}-\mathbf{i}
$$

ìcà n. salt. [Note: only pl?] Etym: *jango ìcón Pl: ìcóy. n. bile, gall. [Note: only pl?] 'bile, salt.' Etym: *jango 'bile, salt.'

$$
\mathrm{J}-\mathrm{j}
$$

$\mathbf{j}=\quad$ pro. 7Subject.
jà v. (be) long, far
jă adv. far
já v. sleep. Etym: *dáad.
jâ sí v. lie down.
já kám n. palate.
jàànd $v$. toddle, totter. [Note: walking as done by toddlers and the convalescent]
jáánjé n．thirst．
jàb v．sharpen．Etym：＊dupek．jàb
ébáág．sharpen（knife）．jàb ékwày． sharpen，bring to point（arrow＇s head）．
jáb v．call（someone）．Etym：＊támb
‘call．＇
jág v．（be）unaware of．
jâg v．castrate．
jágàbə̀ v．lean against（intr）．
jágàlà v．pray，ask．
jágàl⿳亠二口欠 v．receive．
jàkâz Pl：bèjàkâz．n．7／8．donkey，mule． Etym．borrowed from English．
jàkźlś PL：mòjàkźĺs．n．9／6．thorn．（5／6 in Begne）
jâl v．lick．Etym：＊dèet．
jàlà v．befit，suit．
jé
n. place, stead.
jê $v$. arrive.
jê lánùn Pl: màjê mánùn. n. flock (of birds).
jènj $\nu$. spill (moving to and from).
jênj $v$. spread (disease, fire). Etym:
*tànd 'spread.'
jémb n. time.
jénà $v$. (be) generous.
jènd $v$. slither (snake).
jə̀jé prep. up to. Etym: redup. form of jê 'arrive'.
jì $\quad v$. be (att). Etym: *dè 'be.'
jí $\quad v$. ask (for information). Etym: *ípòd 'ask questions.'
jí v. need, want.
jíbò n. 9. theft. Etym: nominalization of
jíbò ‘steal.'
jíb̀̀ Alt. [jíbà]. v. steal. Nominalization: jíbò (9) 'theft,' jíbòlè (1) 'thief.' Etym: *jíb.
jíbàlè PL: bòjíbàlè n. 1/2. thief. Etym: nominalization of jíbj̀ 'steal.'
jîg v. learn.
-jígé Sg: lèjígé. Pl: mòjígé. n. 5/6. lesson, learning.
jígòlè $v$. teach. Etym: Derived from jîg 'learn.'
jîgə̀l⿳亠 mbŵ̂ $v$. wave (hand as a greeting).
jiì v. cry, weep, wail. Etym: *dèd.
jìjâg PL: bèjijâg [bìjijâk]. n. 7/8. gecko.
jîl $v$. fly.
jîl cígò PL: bòjîl cígò [bàjîl cíg̀̀]. n. owl.
jínà v. hesitate.
-jìnó Sg: èjìnó. Pl: mòjìńn. n. 5/6. pus. jò Pl: màj̀. n. fang (of snake). Etym:
(Begne has alt. èyíná)
jìtíl kù n. cripple.
jízə̀bə̀ v. put up with.
jò v. climb. [Note: as in a ladder, a tree, gripping with hands]
jò PL: mòjò. n. 9/6. tooth.
jòb PL: mòjòb. n. 9/6. shea-butter tree.
-jòb Pl: mòjòb. n. 6. shea-nuts.
jòg n. plan.
jòl n. 9. beard. Etym: *dèdù $(7,9,11)$.
jòm v. wake up (intr). Etym: *dàmok.
jôm Pl: bèjôm [bijôm]. n. 7/8. tongue.
Etym: *démì (11).
jônı̀ $a d v$. in spite of.
jò $\boldsymbol{y}$ n. thing. [Note: less commonly used than sâ.]
from jò 'teeth' or mis-spelled?.
jâmbàl̀̀ lə́mbwò v. (be) pregnant. Lit: shaped in bowstring
jı̀ $\mathbf{\eta} \mathbf{k u ̂} \quad$ v. allow, permit.
jû n. nausea.
jû v. vomit. Etym: *dók.
jû v. kill, murder.
jû lábâ v. divorce. Lit: 'kill marriage'.
jùg v. suffer. Etym: *còng 'suffer.'
júkábý n. shadow. Etym: *dúdé (3).
jûl $P$ : mûl. n. 5/6. baby sling.
jùlə̀ v. bake (in ashes).
jùlı̀ v. weed.
júló PL: múló. n. 5/6. den, lair.
-jûm Pl: mòjûm [màjûm]. n. 6. semen. [Note: no singular]
júmbúlú $\quad P L$ : mèjúmbúlú [mìjúmbúlú]. jwábòrà $v$. tangle.
n. 3/4. request.
júnà v. fight.
júná $\quad P l$ bèjúná. n. 7/8. fight.
jùndś n. fog.
júg Pl: bèjún. n. 7/8. party.
jûy $v$. honor.
júŋ ŋkûl Pl: bòjúy gkûl [bàjún ŋkûl]. n. 1/2. chameleon.
júnə̀ adj. (be) hot (of person). Etym:
*tòkot 'be hot, sweat.'
jùzà v. 1. wash. 2. bathe. Etym: *còk 'wash.'
jùzà bè $\int u ́ w a ́ \quad v$. wash dishes.
jùzà mèkánd $\quad v$. wash clothes.
júzê mán adv. day after tomorrow.
jwàb Pl: bòjwàb [bàjwàb]. n. civet cat. jwò pro. 7object
jwî
jwî v. rule over, dominate.

Nominalization: jwî (7) 'boss, employer,' njwî (3) 'chief, ruler.'
jwî n. 7/8. boss. Etym: nominalization of jwî 'rule over.'
jwîg n. reputable person. [Note: someone who is well-known for doing good/being good, well-known good reputation]
jwílà $v$. kill.
jwill $v$. be in charge.
jwìmbá $v$. have fun.
jwímbà v. (be) happy, joyful.

Nominalization: mèjwímbà (4) 'joy.'
-jwímbà Pl: mèjwímbà. n. 4. joy. [Note:
no singular] Etym: nominalizatino of jwímbà 'be happy, joyful.'
jwò v. laugh. Etym: *jòd 'laugh.'
jwò n. sleep. Etym: *do.
jwó Pl: bèjwó [bìjwó]. n. 7/8. shoot.
jwób n. 1.sky. 2. heavens. 3. above.
jwòg n. 9. poison. Etym: *cóngó (14)
'poison.'
jwôg v. hear, feel, listen, understand. Alt. jwág.
jwógàbà $v$. apply (ointment), besmear.
jwógàrà $v$. feel (passive of 'hear').
jwòn PL: mòjwò̀. n. 9/6. bed. Alt.
njwòn.
kà TAM. Consecutive (CONS).
ká bà conj. Perhaps, maybe. Lit. consective be.
ká Pl: bèká. n. 7/8. 1. grass, leaf. 2. vegetable. Etym: *gango 'grass.'
ká fwén Pl: bàká fwén. $n$. corn husk. Lit: 'leaf corn'.
ká n. place (nonspecific).
-kâ Pl: bèkâ. n. 8. rubbish, garbage.
kààn PL: mèkààn. n. 3/4. story (tale).

Etym: *gàǹ̀ $(9,11)$
kàb v. succeed.
kàb v. share.
kàb adj. (be) innocent.
kàbà v. mount (horse, camel).
kàbàlá Pl: bèkàbàlá. $n$. $7 / 8$. horse. mwâ kàbàlá $P l$ bwâ kàbàlá. $n .1 / 2$. colt. Lit: 'small horse'. myśl kàbàlá. Pl: màmyól mákàbàlá. n. 3/4. mare (horse). Lit: 'female horse'. njúm
kàbàlá Pl: mènjúm mákàbàlá. n.

3/4. stallion. Lit: 'male horse'.
kàbàlà v. share. Etym: Derived from kàb 'share.'
kábòrà v. straddle.
kàg n. nasty taste in your mouth when you wake up in the morning.
kág Pl: bèkág. n. 7/8. child.
kâg $v$. fasten, bind (load), pack.
kâb v. jump. Etym: *càmb 'leap over.'

| kàgàlò $\nu$. taste. | kâm Pl: bòkâm. n. 1/2. monkey. Etym: |
| :---: | :---: |
| kágàlı̀ v. joke. | *kémà. |
| kâgàlò v. embrace, hug. | kâm v. praise (someone). |
| kàgə̀rà v. coagulate, clot. Etym: *kác | kàmbàgə̀ n. traditional funeral dance. |
| 'coagulate.' | kàmbàlò v. forbid, prevent, protect. |
| kàl Pl: bòkòlò. n. 1/2. loader. Etym: | -kán Sg: lèkán. Pl: mòkán. $n .5 / 6$. |
| nominalization of kálò 'load.' | antelope. |
| -kál Sg: èkál. PL: mòkál. n. 5/6. spot, | kánd Pl: bèkánd. n. 7/8. cloth. Etym: |
| speckle. | *kándà (7) 'cloth.' |
| kâl v. hatch. | kánd Pl: mèkánd. n. 3/4. clothes. |
| kàlà Pl: bèkàlà. n. 7/8. mat. | kándòḃ̀ v. respect, fear. |
| kálà Pl: bèkálà $n .7 / 8$. goat. | kândòbò $v$. avoid. |
| kálàr Pl: bèkálàr. n. 7/8. book. | kàndê n. strap. |
| kálò v. load. Nominalizations: kàl (1) | kày v. fight en masse. Nominalization: |
| 'loader,' bòkòlò (2) 'loaders.' | kénè (1) 'fighter.' |
| kǎló Pl: mèkǎlś. n. 3/4. root. | kây Pl: mèkây. n. 3/4. guinea fowl. |
| kălś dû $n$. bridge (of nose). | kât v. grow (of plants). |

kàr Pl: bàkàr. n. basket.
kàr v. serve (food).
káyày Pl: káyày. n. pineapple.
kâz v. (be) shrivelled, (be) wrinkled, get thin.
ké $\quad m k r$. Negative (NEG).
-ké $\quad S g$ : èké. $P l$ : mòké. n. egg. Etym: *gé ‘egg.'
-ké mò $u$ û. $P l$. màké mò $u$ û. n. 6. pimple. [Note: no singular]
kèg $v$. organize, plan.
kèkènà Pl: bèkèkènà. n. 7/8. story, proverb.
kèn [kìn] v. go in a specific direction.
[Note: implies some duration to the 'going']
kèné $\quad v$. tell story. Etym: related to
story.'
kènd $v$. assign, send.
kéy Pl: bèkéy [bàkén]. n. 7/8. baby.
kèŋ mpúyò v. cut (hair), shave. Etym: *kék 'cut.'
kè̀là v. add. Etym: related to the conjunction kèl 'plus.'
kèg v. promise.
kèl conj. plus.
kêm v. scream, cry out. Etym: *kém.
kèmb v. defend.
kéyè Pl: bòkéyè. n. 1/2. fighters. [Note: most often used in the plural] Etym: nominalization of kày 'fight en masse.'
kèg v. try, taste. Etym: *gèd 'try.'
káká Pl: bòkáká. n. 1/2. spark. Etym: *cácè 'spark.'
kákág
kókág n. 7/8. small child. Lit: 'redup. child'.
kə̂mb v. squeak.
kísìn n. 1/2. kitchen.
kìlkámbá $n$. big bamboo bed.
klìjé $n$. x-ray.
kò v. go. Etym: *gì 'go.'
kò nà $v$. bring, carry. Etym: go with.
-kòg Sg: èkòg. Pl: mòkòg. n. cheek.

Etym: *càjá 'cheek.'
-kóg Sg: lèkóg. Pl: mòkóg. n. 5/6.
mountain.
kóg $n$. here (generic.).
kól $n$. Bikele language.
kól v. hang up.
kól n. 5. voice.
-kôg Sg: èkôg. Pl: mòkôg. n. 5/6. cattle pen. Etym: from kâg meaning 'to fasten'.
kògàló kwòn
kògàló kwı̀y n. spine, backbone.
kòl Pl: bàkı̀l. n. winnow.
-kôl Pl: mòkôl. n. 6. news, announcement.
kòmb étáy Pl: mèkòmb. n. guava.
kóy n. 3. wisdom, intelligence.
kù Pl: mòkù. n. 9/6. foot.
kù v. 1. fail. 2. be guilty.
kú n. hit.
kûb v. move (something).
kùbě n. 7/8. bow.
kùbàlà v. move. Etym: borrowed from Badwe'e.
kùbò $v$. move (intr).
kúbò PL: bòkúb̀̀. n. 1/2. chicken. Etym: *kúbà. mwâ kúbò Pl: bwâ kúbj̀. n. chick. Etym: small chicken. myól kúbò $P l$ mèmyól mé kúbò. n. 3/4.
hen. Lit: 'female chicken'. njúm kúbゝ̀ Pl: mànjúm mákúb̀̀. n. 3/4. rooster (cock). Lit: 'male chicken'.
kûd má bwóy v. kneel.
kúdà n. $7 / 8$. fist.
-kúdó $\quad S g:$ lèkúdó. $P l$ : mòkúdó. n. 5/6. palm tree. Etym: *kèndó (3) 'palm tree.'
kúdó n. drizzle.
kúg Pl: mòkúg. n. 9/6. grinding stone. (5/6 in Begne)
kùgé n. 3/4. base of tree trunk.
kúgə̀bう̀ v. 1. bend down, stoop. 2. bow (as in greeting).
kùgú n.3.1. evening. 2. yesterday.
kùgú àbè $n$. day before yesterday.
kùgú sí $\quad n$. sunset. Lit. evening ground
kúkúbə̀ v. stutter.
kúkúm Pl: mèkúkúm. n. 3/4. rich man.
kúkúmá $\quad P L$ : mèkúkúmá. n. 3/4. chief, headman.
kùkúrù n. pap, mushy food.
kúkwó lû n. skull.
kùl Sg: làkùl. Pl: bàkùl. n. 5/8 or 7/8. leftovers. [Note: sing can just be root]
kùl Pl: mèkùl. n. 3/4. 1. storm. 2. harmattan.
kùl bít̀̀̀̀b Pl: màkùl bít̀̀̀̀b. n. flock (of sheep, goats).
kùl lá bíntè Pl: màkùl má bíntè. $n$. herd (of cattle).
kúl n. 7. outside my area.
kúl n. 3/4. tam-tam.
kûl Pl: bòkûl. n. 1/2. tortoise, turtle. Etym: *kúdù (9).
-kûl $S g$ : èkûl. Pl: mòkûl. n. 5/6.
kùndò $v$. get back at. [Note: eye for an eye kúúg Pl: bòkúúg. n. $1 / 2$. uncle. vengeance; returning evil in the same manner]
-kúnj $S g$ : èkúnj. Pl: mòkúnj. n. 5/6. palm (of hand).
kùg PL: mèkùy. n. 3/4. caterpillar. Etym: *gòngó 'caterpillar.'
kúná v. go to the bathroom. [Note: polite euphemistic way to say 'defecate']
kúggàlà v. hurt (stomach).
kùr $v$. fall from high. Etym: *gò 'to fall.'
kùrà v. 1. beat 2. palpitate (of heart). 3. play instrument.
kúrə́ $P$ : mòkúrá. n. 9/6. basket. (5/6 in Begne)
kúràgó v. slander.
kùrò $v$. hit, strike (with hand).
kùùbò n. movement.
-kúúg Sg: èkúúg. Pl: mòkúúg. n. 5/6. anvil.
kùùl Pl: mèkùùul. n. 3/4. rope.
kùùnd PL: mèkùùnd. n. 3/4. barren woman.
kùùnd PL: mèkùùnd. n. 3/4. tail. Etym: *kídà (3) 'tail.'
kúúr PL: bèkúúr. n. 7/8. 1. skin (of man). 2. hide (of animal). Etym: *còobod 'skin.'
kùùz Pl: bòkùùz. n. 1/2. parrot. Etym:
*kòcò (9) 'parrot.'
kùzà v. sell.
kùż̀ v. buy. Etym: *gòd 'buy.'
kúzò Pl: mèkúzò. n. 3/4. widow, widower.
kwábòlà Pl: mòkwábàlà. n. 9/6.
obstacle, distress.
kwád [kwár, kwát] Pl: mòkwád. n. 9/6.
village.
kwàg v. grind.
kwàg n. plaster.
kwâg v. crow (as a rooster).
kwàlá Pl: bèkwàlá. n. 7/8. namesake.
kwálá bê Pl: bə̀kwálá màbê. n.
doorway.
kwàlò v. snore.
kwàmz̀zà v. prepare.
-kwàmb Sg: lèkwàmb Pl: mòkẁ̀mb. n. 5/6. virgin forest.
kwàmbòlà v. create.
kwàn n. 9. honey.
kwán n. 7. meeting.
kwànd Pl: bèkwànd. n. 7/8. plantain.

Etym: *k̇̀ndè 'banana' (5).
-kwày Sg: lèkwày. Pl: mòkwày. n. 5/6.

1. lance (spear). 2. head or shaft of arrow.
kwár n. 5. bell.
kwàrà Pl: mòkwàrà. n. 9/6. 1. fire, flame. 2. burn (n). (7/8 in Begne)
kwâzə̀bò v. (be) fast.
kwèb v. find.
kwég v. work, run. Etym: *céec 'run.'
kwèl v. borrow, lend. Nominalization:
kwèlá (7) 'debt.'
kwèlá PL: bèkwèlá. n. 7/8. debt. Etym: nominalization of kwèl 'borrow, lend.'
kwém n. 7/8. manioc leaves.
kwénd [kwínd] PL: mèkwénd. n. 3/4. hook.
kwênd $v$. make offerings to the dead.
kwênj v. assemble, meet. Etym: *càng
'assemble, meet.'
kwêy Pl: màkwêy. n. fishhook.
kwéz [kwíz] n. 7. cough.
kwêz v. cough.
kwîg v. walk, travel. Nominalization:
kwígè (1) 'traveler.'
kwîg dùbó v. stagger.
kwîg èbòg $\quad v$. trip, stumble.
kwígè Pl: bòkwígè. n. 1/2. traveler.

Etym: nominalization of kwîg
'walk,travel.'
kwînd $v$. help emotionally.
kwìr v. 1. help physically, assist. 2. save in religious contexts
kwízà v. prepare.
kwò adv. again.
-kwób Sg: èkwób. Pl: mòkwób. n. 5/6.
flea. [Note: the fleas found on dogs and cows, bigger than the other kind of fleas]
kwóg $\quad v$. (be) able.
kwógàlı̀ v. pray.
kwòm n. bellows. Etym: *gùbà (3).
kwòmbèlá $\quad v$. arrange.
kwòmbə̀lı̀ v. mend, repair.

Nominalizations: ŋjkwómbàlò (9)
'repair,' ŋkwémbàlè (1) 'repairer.'
kwònjí n. cashbox.
kwòndó $P l$ bòkwòndó. n. 1/2. stripe.
kwón n. sorcery.
kwô v. pick, pluck (fruit).
kwòb Pl: bə̀kwj̀b. n. mistake.
kwóbò PL: bòkwób̀̀. n. 1/2. cup. Etym:
*kśmbè.
kwòmbàl̀̀ láwó v. settle dispute.
kwòfí n. coffee. Etym: borrowing.
-kwóndà Pl: mòkwónda. n. 6. sap. [Note:
kwògàlı̀ $v$. bite. no singular]
kwògàlò v. strike (snake).
kwò y Pl: mèkwı̀̀. n. 3/4. back. Etym:
kwóm PL: màkwóm. n. prisoner, slave. *gı̀ngò 'back.'

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kpàkpà Pl: bèkpàkpà. n. 7/8.
toothbrush.

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là v. surround.
lâ Pl: bèlâ. n. 7/8. bow (hunting). Etym:
*táà 'bow' (14).
lààd v. sew, patch. Etym: *tèd.
lààg PL: mòlààg. n. antenna.
làb v. speak, talk. Etym: *dòb 'speak,
talk.'
làbź jóp jóp v. shout.
làd n. 7. stupidity, crazy person. Etym:
*dàdok 'be mad.'
làg Pl: mòlàg. n. 5/6. horn. Etym: *dakJ.
lâg $v$. accuse. [Note: implied that the one
accused is innocent]
lágàl̀̀ v. show, demonstrate. Etym: *dàg 'show.'
làl PL: mèlàl. n. 3/4. country, ethnic area.
làl v. 1. (be) strong, hard. 2. (be) barren (of land).
làlá kùz adj. (be) expensive.
lâm Pl: bèlâm. n. 7/8. heart. Etym: *tómà (3).
lâmb v. set (trap). Etym: *támb 'set trap.' Nominalization: èlâmb (5) 'trap.'
-lâmb $S g$ : èlâmb. Pl: mòlâmb. n. 5/6. trap. Etym: nominalization of lâmb 'set trap.'
lámbə̀l̀̀ $v$. position oneself.
lày v. crawl (lizard).
làŋ v. happen, occur.
là $\mathfrak{n}$ n̂ $\mathfrak{\eta k u ̀ l ~ v . ~ c o n q u e r , ~ d e f e a t . ~ L i t : ~}$
'happen with force'.
láy $n$. happening. Etym: nominalization of lày 'happen.'
làyg v. pass (tr). [Note: implies quickness, brevity]
láygà $v$. haggle, negotiate a price.
lággè $n$. print (non-human).
lárà Pl: mòlárà. n. 5/6. difficulty.
lé Pl: mèlé. n. 3/4. tree. Etym: *té (3).
lé n. 7. wood.
lè TAM. Imperfective (IMPF)
lên TAM. Persistive (PERS).
lé- - loc. in, at, on.
lé kǎy Pl: mèlé mókăy. n. 3/4. mahogany tree.
lé léjwábàlò $P L$ mèlé léjwábòlò. n. firewood.

| lé mójwàg | lóój |
| :---: | :---: |
| lé mójwàg Pl: mèlé mójwàg. n. 3/4. | lâm Pl: mèlôm. n. 3/4. midrib of palm- |
| thorn-tree. | frond. |
| lêg v.play. | lî v. clear (land for planting). |
| lêl num. three (when counting in | lìg n. beeswax, bee-bread. |
| isolation). | líg PL: bèlíg. n. 7/8. inheritance. |
| lèlà $v$. shiver, tremble. | lîgàlà $v$. touch. |
| lélà PL: mèlélà. $n$. $3 / 4$. shivers. | lîgàlò v. accompany. |
| lêb $v$. advise. [Note: borrowed from | lígò v. stay, leave. Etym: *jikád 'dwell, |
| Ewondo] Etym: *déb 'advise.' | sit, stay.' |
| lêt v. say, tell, chat. | límà v. dream. |
| lêt bèjáy ${ }^{\text {c }}$ lie (tell lies). | límə̀ v. hollow out (log). |
| lèngá myà v. spend time. | lòb PL: mèlòb. n. 3/4. affair, problem. |
| lèbùùl n. ringworm. | lôl num. three (3). Etym: *tátò. |
| -lád Sg: èlód. Pl: mòlód. n. 5/6. palm tree. | lómbálé $\quad P L$ mèlómbálé. $n .3 / 4$. |
| [Note: also used for oil palm] Etym: | errand. |
| *dàdá (3). | lóóy Pl: mòlóón. n. 5/6. news, new |
| lág v. get, obtain. | thing. |

－lı̀b Sg：èl⿳亠口冋b．Pl：mòl̀̀b．n．5／6．blade（of grass）．
lób PL：mèlób．n．3／4．language，word．
lı̂b PL：mèl⿳亠b．n．3／4．branch（of tree）． Etym：＊tábè．
lôn PL：mòlôn．n．5／6．speech，discourse．

Etym：＊dı̀ng＇speak，talk．＇
lú PL：mòlú．n．5／6．time，era．
lû $P$ l：mòlû．n．5／6．head．Etym：＊tóè （3）．
lû v．1．sting．2．strike（snake）．Etym： ＊tś＇bite．＇
lùd PL：mòlùd．n．5／6．wrinkle（on skin）．
lùgà v．prosper．［Note：material prosperity （lots of possessions，good harvest）］
lúgà $v$ ．respect，honor．
lûl n．smithing．
blacksmith．
lúlò v．hit with a hammer．Etym：＊túd ＇forge（v）．＇
lúlwúy $P L$ b blúlwúy．$n$ ．flute．
lúmə̀ $v$ ．throw out．
lúm̀̀ v．stab．Etym：＊túm＇stab．’
lúmś Pl：bèlúmó．n．7／8．maggot（in rotten meat）．
lúmbò v．dive．
－lúnd Sg：èlúnd．n．5．palmnut palm tree． ［Note：may also be used to refer to the regime of palmnuts the palm tree is producing］
lúy v．weave．Etym：＊túng＇build，plait．＇
lúyè Pl：bòlúyè．n．1／2．builder（by weaving）．Etym：nominalization of lúgò＇build by weaving．＇
lúgò $v$ ．fence in．
lúgà
n. wickerwork
lúyàlà $n$. fence.
lúnò v. build by weaving. Etym: *túng 'build, plait.' Nominalizations: lúyè
(1) 'builder by weaving,' lèlúyò
'construction by weaving.'
-lúŋò $S g$ : lèlúyò. Pl: mòlúŋò. n. construction (by weaving).
-lùùg Pl: mòlùùg. n. 6. dew. [Note: no singular]
-lwá Pli mòlwá. n. 6. slavery.
lwâl v. shell (groundnuts).
lwándàbə̀ TAM. Immediate past, just.
lwẩ $v$. whistle, blow (horn), blow (of wind).
lwây $P L$ bèlwây. $n$. 7/8. green mamba.
lwéndálá adj. (be) full.
lwàl̀ Pl. bòlwàl̀. n. 1/2. duck.
-lwí $\quad S g$ : lèlwí. Pl: mòlwí. n. 5/6. insult. Etym: nominalization of lwî 'insult.'
lwî v. insult. Nominalizations: lèlwí (5) 'insult,' lwíyè (1) 'insulter.'
lwíyè Pl: bòlwíyè. n. 1/2. insulter. Etym: nominalization of lwî 'insult.'
lwô v. show.
lwô v. lead, guide.
lwô Pl: mòlwô. n. 5/6. ear. Etym: *tóè (5).
lwóg v.show.
lwôg v. empty, bail. [Note: This verb may be used for a style of fishing primarily done by women, building a small dam and then catching the fish on plates.] Etym: *tóg 'bail water.'
lwôm mùr $n$. giant.
lwómàló

| lwómə̀ló Pl: mèlwómə̀ló. n. 3/4. | 'send.' |
| :---: | :---: |
| messenger. | lwóndàl̀̀ v. fill. |
| lwômb v. order (someone to do | lwòng Pl: bàlwóng. n. crest, comb |
| something). | (rooster). |
| lwómbàlı̀ v. send (something to | lwùg Pl: mòlwùy. n. 5/6. beehive. |
| someone or someone to do | lwúg Pl: mèlwúy. n. 3/4. vine. |
| something). Etym: Derived from |  |

M - m
$\grave{\mathrm{m}}=$ pro. $\mathrm{I} . \quad$ màn PL . màmàn. n. crossroads,
mààn Pl: bèmààn. n. 7/8. crotch (of tree).
májìg n. magic.
màg $v$. turn off.
màgòl⿳亠 v. accept, receive.
mán n. 3. morning, tomorrow.
mân $\mathfrak{y} k u ́ n d \boldsymbol{n}$ n. 3. sunrise.
màn PL: màmàn. n. crossroads, intersection.
mán n. 3. morning, tomorrow.
mân $\mathfrak{y} k u ́ n d \boldsymbol{n}$ n. 3. sunrise.
mànà n. copper.
mây n. 9. ocean, sea. [Note: no plural]

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mè=
míy\grave{n ntòmb}
mè = pro. 4subject mə̀mùm\grave{ mó \etakùnd n. full moon.}
mè dem. this (pointing).
mé pro. self.
mé v. be (change of state).
mə̀tánà mwò n. hail.
mé dem. that (pointing).
mètú\etagà n. elephantiasis.
mètáyź n. administration.
mí n. jackal.
mè pro. me (emphatic)
mìd Pl: mèmìd. n. 3/4. medicine.
mèm v. admit (to a wrong). mìn\grave{ v. swallow. Etym: *mìd.}
mèy mə̀mpè Pl: bòmèn bàmámpè. n.
    1/2. potter.
m\grave{ mkr. Possessive Associative Marker.}
(Poss)
m\grave{jâmb n. evening meal.}
m\grave{kà n. Makaa.}
mìrà v. smile.
mí\ointwàn Pl: bèmí\ointwàn [bàmí\wàn]. n.
        7/8. church.
míy\grave{y Pl: bòmíy\grave{y. n. sibling, cousin.}}\mathbf{~}\mathrm{ ,}
    [Note: same sex to ego]
mómâ v. yawn.
mə̀mírà n. joy.
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míyòn twámbá
n. elder sibling. [Note:
same sex to ego]
mò Alt. mə̀. pro. me.
mòz n. 3. lamp, torch. Etym: *mòdè 'torch, bright.'
móm Pl: bòmśm. n. 1/2. aunt.
mú n. reason.
múlò v. grunt (from effort), growl.
múy PL: mèmún [mìmúg]. n. 3/4. eel.
múyò Pl: mèmúŋə̀ [mòmúŋว̀]. n. 3/4. corpse.
múyò v. hum.
mùùntí $n$. mister.
mù̀̀̀z n. today.
$\mathbf{m w}=$ pro. 6 subject.
mwá $\quad P l$ bwá. n. 1/2. little, small. Etym: from mwân 'child'.
mwâ jù̀l Pl: bwá bá jùl. n. orphan.
mwâg̀̀l̀ $\quad v$. harvest, husk (corn).
mwâm mòlwómbàló Pl: bwâm
mə̀lwómə̀ló. n. servant.
mwàz PL: mèmwàz [mìmwàz]. n. 3/4.
shrimp.
mwáz n. 3. daytime.
mwâz Pl: mòmwâz [mə̀mwâz]. n. 9/6.
twin.
mwèlá Pl: bòmwèlá [bə̀mwèlá]. $n$.

1/2. boyfriend, girlfriend. Etym:
nominalization of mwèl 'issue sexual invitation'.
mwé pro. 6emphatic.
mwèl v.court, issue a sexual invitation. Nominalization' mwèlá (1) 'boyfriend, girlfriend.'
mwôm num. eight (8).
mwò Pl: mèmwò. n. 3/4. stomach
(internal).
$\mathrm{my}=$ pro. 4 subject.
myà Plu mèmyà [mìmyà] n. $3 / 4$. time,
era.
mìmyà mí myêz adv. often. Lit. every
day.
-myàb Sg: èmyàb. n. 5. chicken wing.
myágàlà v. pray.
myàn n. madness, folly.
myánà n. 9. payment.
myànj Pl: mèmyànj [màmyànj]. n. 3/4. bag.
myàz v. abandon.
myé pro. 4emphatic.
myég Pl: mə̀myég. $n$. fish dam.
myól Pl: mèmyál [mòmyól]. n. 3/4. female.
myòn quiet. Etym: *mea (7).

## Mb - mb

mbá TAM. Conditional (COND).
mbàg PL: mòmbàg. n. shrew.
mbágə̀l̀̀ Pl: mèmbágàlò [màmbágə̀l̀̀].
n. 3/4. load, burden.
mbàkə̀lə̀ $n$. herd (cattle, sheep).
mbál n. 3. trace.
mbàmpyòn Pl: mèmbàmpyòn
[màmbàmpyòn]. n. 3/4. lion.
mbànj Pl: mèmbànj [màmbànj]. n. 3/4. money, silver.
mbày
mbày Pl: mèmbày [mìmbàn]. n. 3/4.

1. stone, pit. 2. swelling.
-mbày májòb Pl: mèmbày májòb. n. 4. shea-nuts.
mbăy jî Pl: mbăy jî. n. 3. palm nut.
mbày ébìnd Pl: mèmbày mábìnd. n. 3 . testicle.
mbăt fîg $n$. kidney. Etym: *pígò (9).
mbăy mí ŋkên $\quad n$. blight, rust.
m6àngà v. shiver. Etym: borrowed from

So.
mbàygá PL: mèmbàygá [mìmbàngá]. n.

3/4. coconut palm.
mbéb n. passing-through.
mbèg v. (be) open.
mbègə̀lá n. 9. protection. Etym:
bàgə̀là 'keep, store, watch.'
mbênd $n$. disreputable person. [Note:
someone who is infamous, well-
known for causing trouble]
mbéyà mwàrá Pl: mèmbéyà bwàrá.
n. 3/4. groom. [Note: spouse of woman]
mbéyá mùrûm Pl: mèmbéyá bùrûm.
n. 3/4. bride. [Note: spouse of man]
mbéźg $\quad v$. (be) different.
mbég n. 3. separation.
mbèz adv. nothing, in vain.
mbámbóy Pl: mèmbámbóy
[màmbámbón]. n. 3/4. hill.
-mbàngé Sg: èmbàngé. Pl: mòmbàggé.
n. $5 / 6$. bell.
mbì Pl: mèmbì [màmbì]. n. 3/4. sort, type.
mbí mpâmb n. grandparent.
mbìl Pl: mòmbìl [màmbìl]. n. 9/6. tuft,
mbil mbúy
lock (of hair).
mbìl Pl: mèmbil. $n$. 3/4. hole in earth.
mbill bèsâ $v$. (be) rich (in things).
mbímbì n. 7. amount.
mbîn PL: màmbîn. n. 3/4. pestle. Etym: *pénì (3).
mbòl mòmpàg Pl: bòbòl mə̀mpàg. n.

1/2. farmer. Lit: 'sower of seed (semeur des semences)'.
mbònd Pl: màmbònd. n. crevice.
mbòn ńcûg Pl: mèmbòy mé ncûg
[mímb̀̀ク míncûg]. n. 3/4. elephant's tusk.
mbû Alt. mbwá. Pl: mèmbû [mìmbû] n. 3/4. year, season.
mbú bámpú n. rainy season. Lit:
'season of rains'.
mbú ncâ n. drought, famine. Lit: 'season
hunger'.
mbùg Pl: mòmbùg [màmbùg]. n. 9/6. prison.
mbúg v. lie down.
mbúgè PL: bòbúgè. n. 1/2. accuser. Etym: nominalization of bùgà 'accuse.'
mbúl ncûg Pl: mèmbùl mé ncùg [mìmbùl míncùg]. n. 3/4. elephant's trunk.
mbúlś PL: mòmbúló. n. in-law.
mbùmb $P l$ : mèmbùmb [mìmbùmb]. $n$. 3/4. bundle. Etym: *bìmbう̀.
mbùmbà bíyèz n. skeleton. Lit: 'bundle bones'.
mbúmbwá Pl: mèmbúmbwá [mìmbúmbwá]. n. 3/4. poor man. mbúy v. kick.
mbwèzá
mbwèzá
n. wet thing. Etym:
nominalization of bwâz 'be wet.'
mbwànd mwân Pl: mèbwànd mébwân [mə̀bwànd mábwân]. n. 3/4. fetus.
mbwó Pl: mòbwó. n. 9/6. arm, hand.
mbwì n. bowstring. mbwìb n. 3/4. wire, thread.
mbwìl Pl: bòbwòl. n. 1/2. dancer. Etym: nominalization of bwàl 'to dance.' mbyêl n. 3/4. relative. Etym: *bókj̀ (15).

## Mp - mp

mpà Pl: bàmpà. n. $1 / 2$. wild cat.
mpàl Pl: bòmpàl [bàmpàl]. n. 1/2. eagle.

Etym: *póngó (9).
mpám Pl: bòmpám [bàmpám]. n. 1/2. ancestor.
mpàmb Pl: bàmpàmb. n. spitting cobra.
-mpánâ $S$ : èmpánâ. $P l$ : bàmpánâ. n. $5 / 8$. small of back.
mpándá n. way.
mpànj PL: bèmpànj [bìmpànj].n. 7/8. side (of body), breastbone, rib. Etym: *bànjé (11).
mpànj n. 10. bamboo. mpánj n. shelter. mpánj məlûl $n$. forge. [Note: shelter of blacksmith]
mpànjèl Pl: bòmpànjèl [bàmpànjèl]. $n$. 1/2. cattle egret.
mpê
mpê Pl: mə̀mpê. n. 9/6. cooking pot (marmite).
mpê tàg Pl: màmpê mátàg. n. 9/6.
tobacco pipe. Lit: 'pot tobacco
(marmite tabac)'.
mpêd $P l$ : bèmpêd [bìmpêd]. n. 7/8.
harp.
mpèl Pl: bàmpèl. n. butterfly.
mpèlá n.9.imitation. Etym:
nominalization of bèlà 'imitate.'
mpéndé $P l$ mòmpéndé [màmpéndé].
n. 9/6. law, rule.
mpí n. 10. white hair. Etym: *búè $(9,11)$.
mpí n. 10. palmnuts.
mpíl Pl: mə̀mpíl. $n$. charcoal.
mpìmbò n. 9. anger.
mpìmpyây n. 1. red pepper, hot pepper.
mpòg $n$. fox.
mpòg Pl: màmpòg. n. seed.
mpú Pl: bòmpú [bàmpú]. n. 1/2. rain. Etym: *búdà (9).
mpúdá adv. (be) together.
mpúgá n. 9/6. fracture. Etym: nominalization of búg 'break.'
mpúgágá Pl: bòpúgágá. $n .1 / 2$. accusation. Etym: nominalization of bùgà 'accuse.'
mpùl n. gazelle.
mpúmá sál n. stone, gravel.
mpùn n. 9. flood.
mpùŋə̀ Pl: mpùẏ̀. n. 10. hair (of head).
[Note: no singular]
mpùngá $\quad P L$ mpùngá. n. 10. earring.
mpúrùm $a d v$. (be) same.
mpízò n. back (of something).
mpùùg
mpyêm
mpùùg Pl: bòmpùùg [bàmpừùg]. n. 1/2.
squirrel. [Note: lives in holes in trees;
eats snakes; tufted tail; loud cry; bigger than sínj]
mpwààg n. 9. fatness. Etym:
nominalization of bwâg 'be big.'
mpwág n. 9. family line.
mpwág n. 9. bed, couchette. Etym:
nominalization of bwàgàbà 'lie down.'
mpwàm Pl: bòmpwàm [bàmpwàm]. n. 1/2. python. Etym: *bòmà (9).
mpwàmá n. 9. meeting. Etym: nominalization of bwàmá 'meet.'
mpwàmbá Pl: mpwàmbá. n. 10.
descendants. Etym nominalization of bwàmbà 'follow.'
mpwélá Pl mòmpwélá. n. 9/6. debt.

Etym: nominalization of bwèlà take revenge.'
mpwǒnd n. 9. delay. Etym: nominalization of bwáánd 'wait.'
mpwónd n. 9. patience. Etym: nominalization of bwáánd 'wait.'
mpwîyg n. 10. problems, annoyances.
mpwò n. 9. accusation.
mpwògé n. 1. health.
mpwòmb Pl: mòmpwòmb
[mə̀mpwòmb]. n. 9/6. face.
mpyà Pl: màmpyà. n. cowrie shell.
-mpyàb Sg: lèmpyàb. Pl: mòmpyàb
[màmpyàb]. n. 5/6. wing. Etym:
*pàpá (5,11).
mpyânj v. grow.
mpyèl Pl: mpyèl. n. 10. trousers.
mpyêm Pl: màmpyêm. n. yam.
mpyó Pl: bòmpyó. n. 1/2. dog. Etym:
*bóà (9,12). mwâ mpyó Pl: bwá
bámpyó. n. pup. Lit: 'small dog'. mpyón n. disrespect.
ná num. four (4). Etym: *nàì 'four.'
nàdàbò v. try.
nàm Pl: bènàm [bìnàm]. n. 7/8. nation.
nàmbà $\quad v$. feel (active).
nàndòlò $v$. tighten.
náy $a d v$. still, yet.
né dem. that.
nég v. scapegoat.
nèyà n. poison (on arrow).
nêg adv. now. Etym: borrowed from Makaa.
-nég Sg: ènég. Pl: mànég. n. 5/6.
summit, highest point.
nê conj. that.
nə̀bá conj. because.
náné adj. big, important. Etym: *nénè 'big.'
nî $v$. enter, go in.
níbò mémpyà $b v$. flap the wings.
nìgò v. go back, return.
nî̀ng v. enter, join.
-níyé interr. how many?
nò Alt. [ǹ̀]. conj. and, with. Etym: *nà 'and, with.'
nó mìdìdì adj. (be) shy.
nó yíg adv. too much.
nób Pl: bònób. n. 1/2. other.
nòn PL: mènòy. n. 3/4. kilometer.
nóg n. vagina.
nùm Pl: mènùm. n. 3/4. mouth. Etym:
*dı̀m (3).
númə́ adv. also, too.
nùmòl̀̀ v. smell. Etym: *dùmb.
nûmb $v$. 1. know (something or someone).
2. divine, prophesy.
nûmb sâ $v$. know how to.
númbá n. 3. knowledge.
númbá Pl: mònúmbá. n. acquaintance.
númbè n. prophecy.
nùn Pl: bènùn. n. 7/8. bird. bènǔn bé kwár. n. fowl. Lit: 'birds of the village'.
-núgó lá díbó $S g$ : ènúnś lá díbó. $P l$ : mònúnś mádíbś [mànúyś mádíbś]. n. 5/6. spring.
nwà $a d v$. there.
nwâg Pl: mònwâg [mànwâg]. n. 9/6.
mango tree. nwî $v$. fall (rain).

Nc - nc
ncà n. 9. hunger. Etym: *jàdà (9)
'hunger.'
ncààbàrà v. turn upside down.
ncàm n. leprosy. Lit. destroyer.
ncàm à kàg n. breakfast. Lit: 'destroyer of mouth nastiness'.
ncàmb Pl: bèncàmb. n. 7/8. marsh.
-ncáy Sg: lèncáy. Pl: màncáy. n. 5/6.
balafon.
-ncé interr. who.
-ncêlà PL: mòncêlà [mòncêl̀̀]. n. 6.
urine.
ncél
n. 9/6. brideprice (for bride's family)
(5/6 in Begne).
-ncélè Pl: mòncélè [mə̀ncél̇̀̀. n. 6. tears.
[Note: no singular]
ncə̀l fwén n. silk, hair (of maize).
ncì Pl: mèncì [màncì]. n. 3/4. 1. path. 2. fork (in path).
ncícâm PL: mèncícâm. n. 3/4. leper.
ncì̀mbé $n$. God (supreme being). Etym:
fetish (spirit). Lit: 'little god'.
ncìmbè Pl: bèncìmbè. n. 7/8. soldier.
ncíncóy Pl: mòncíncóy [màncíncón]. n. 9/6. enemy.
ncìndò Pl: bàncìndj̀. n. island.
ncíngà $P l$ : bèncíngà. $n .7 / 8$. cat. mwâ ncíngà $P l$ bwá báncíyga. $n$. kitten. Lit: 'child cat'.
ncò v. come.
ncò lêt [ncà lêy] $v$. announce. Lit:
'come say'.
-ncóg Sg: èncóg. n. 5. cry, sound.
ncôm $v$. (be) in disorder.
ncóy adj. (be) jealous.
ncòò n. 10. time (countable).
nç̀mb PL: màncı̀mb. n. flower.
ncòn Pl: màncòn. n. music. *jàmbé (9). mwâ ncì̀mbé n. god,
ncòn Pl: màncı̀y. n. 9/6. 1. dance, feast.
3. funeral (at occasion of death).
ncòn n. dancer. Etym: related to noun
ncòy (9) 'dance'.
ncò̀̀l PL: bàncj̀̀̀l. n. pangolin, scaly
anteater.
-ncúlè Pl: mòncúlè [mə̀ncúlè]. n. 6.
earwax. [Note: no singular]
ncùmə́ $n$. peg.
ncùn Pl: bòncù̀ [bə̀ncùn]. n. 1/2. fly.

Etym: *gì (9) 'fly.'
ncûy n. 9. axe. Etym: *còká (5) 'axe.'
ncùùj n. 9. hammer. Etym: *jòndj̀ (9)
'hammer.'
ncwàmbàló n. paddle, pole. [Note:
long, used to propel canoes]
ncwây n. mold (pottery).
ncwə̀ pro. us (dual).
ncwó pro. we (dual).
ncwòg Pl: bòncwòg. n. 1/2. elephant.

Etym: *jògù
ncwòg mádíbś Pl: bòncwòg módíbś.
n. 1/2. hippopotamus. Lit: 'elephant water'.
ncwó njì njì adj. border on.
ncwòm Pl: bèncwòm. n. 7/8. buffalo.

Etym: *játé (9) 'buffalo.'
ndâg adv. really?
ndàmbà n. 9. rubber.
-ndáygá Pl: mòndángá [mə̀ndángá].
n. 6. mud. [Note: no singular] Etym:
*tàkà (5) 'earth, mud, marsh.'
ndé $v$. be (loc).
ndèlá n. 9. burial. Etym:
nominalization of dèl 'bury.'
ndíl $v$. sit.
ndìl dìg Pl: bòdill bó dìg [bàdìl bádìg]. n.

1/2. bush dweller. Lit: 'dweller forest'.

Etym: nominalization of dil 'dwell.'
ndò
n. pain. Etym: nominalization of dà 'hurt'.
ndù $P L$ mèndù. $n$. virgin.
ndùbé n. painter. Etym: nominalization of dùb 'paint.'
ndúgè n. rower. Etym: nominalization of dúgò 'paddle, row.'
ndùndù n. 3. needle.
ndwàng $n$. valley.
$\mathbf{N j}-\mathbf{n j}$
njà PL: mènjà [minjà̀]. n. 3/4. intestines. Etym: *dà (11).
njáb PL: mènjáb [mìnjáb]. n. 3/4. house.

Etym: *jób̀̀ (9) 'house.'
njáp bûr PL mènjáp bûr. n. 3/4. family.

Lit. house people.
njàgàlò Pl mènjàgàlà. n. 3/4. prayers.
njám n. 7. moment (good).
njà y $n$. birdlime (adhesive to catch birds).
njêb v. lack. Etym: *cób lack.'
njékólá PL: mènjékólá. $n$. 3/4. initiation (male).
njékólá mwàrá PL: mènjékólá bwàrá.
n. 3/4. initiation (female). Lit:
'initiation woman'.
njè̀̀ n. 9. 1. arrival. 2. until Etym: nominalization of jê 'arrive.'
njèlè n. 3/4. flame.
njêm Pl: mèjêm. n. 3/4. bat. Etym:
*démà (3).
njì v. mark out, peg out (ground).
njì PLL mònjì [mànji]. n. 9/6. frontier (of ethnic area). Etym: *dèdò (3).
njî fàm Pl: mònjî mó fàm [mànjî
máfâm]. n. 9/6. boundary (of field).
njì adv. only. Etym: *jèká 'only.'
njígè Pl: bòjígè. n. 1/2. student. Etym: nominalization of jîg 'learn.'
njígàlè Pl: bòjígàlè. n. 1/2. teacher. Etym: nominalization of jígàlè 'teach.'
njìil PL: bòjiìl. n. 1/2. crier. Etym: nominalization of jìì 'cry, weep.'
njíndè $n$. machete handle.
njìnć $P l$ : mènjìnć [mìnjìnć]. $n$. bamboo.
njômb n. cook. Etym: nominalization of
jâmb 'to prepare food'.
njòmbálò Pl: mòjòmbálò [màjòmbálò].
n. 9/6. sorcerer (male).
njòmbálò mwárá
njwún
njòmbálò mwárá PL mòjòmbálò
bwárá［màjòmbálò］．n．9／6．witch （female）．Lit：＇sorceror woman＇．
njônd $P L$ mènjònd［mìnjònd］．n．3／4． trip．Etym：from jând＇step on＇？
njón PL：bòjón．n．1／2．guest，visitor， stranger．Etym：＊gènì（1）＇stranger．＇
njòz Pl：mènjòz［mìnjòz］．n．3／4．
lightning．Etym：＊jàdí（9）．
njù n．chisel．
njùg adj．difficult，hard．
njúl Pl：bòjúl．n．1／2．killer．［Note：add ＇people＇to clarify if＇murderer＇］
njûl bètíd Pl：bòjûl bètíd．n．butcher．
njûm Pl：bòjûm［bàjûm］．n．1／2．male （sex），husband．Etym：＊dómè．
njúm Pl：mènjúm．n．3／4．male （animal）．
njûm sìlò Pl：bàjûm bá másìl̀̀．n．1／2． son－in－law．Lit．husband young．woman
njúnè Pl：bòjúnè．n．1／2．fighter．Etym： nominalization of júnà＇fight．＇
njwăy n．9．river．Etym：＊dòngà（3）．
njwî Alt．［njù］n．3／4．head，king，chief． Etym．Nominalization of jwî rule over，dominate＇
njwı̀mbゝ̀ Pl：mònjwı̀mbゝ̀［mànjwว̀mbゝ̀］． n．9／6．bottle．
njwóy Pl：mènjwóy［mànjwón］．n．3／4． path，road．Etym：＊jèdà（9）＇path？＇ njwúy n．respect．

## Nt - nt

ntà conj. since.
ntà Pl: bòntà [bàntà]. n. 1/2. grandchild.
-ntág Pl: mèntág n. 4. joy, happiness.

Etym: borrowed from Ewondo.
ntámà v. rot, decompose.
ntàndà n. bean.
ntày PL: bòntày [bàntày]. n. 1/2. rat.
ntày v. cross.
ntày díbś v. cross river. Lit: 'cross
water'.
ntáy $a d v$. like that.
ntáy nô $a d v$. then.
ntè Pl: bèntè [bìntè]. n. 7/8. ox, cow.
myśl ntè Pl: mèmyál béntè. n. 3/4.

PL: bwâ mèmyól béntè. n. heifer. Lit:
'small female cow'. mwâ njúm ntè Pl: bwâ mènjúm béntè. n. calf. Lit: 'small male cow'. njúm ntè PL: mìnjúm ntè. n. 3/4. bull. Lit: 'male cow'.
ntég v. punish.
ntégòlè n. accent.
ntégàlè v. annoy, disturb.
ntélé PL: bàntélé. n. penalty, punishment.
nténè $a d v$. like that. Etym: nta + -ne.
ntèd $n$. hundred (100).
ntèg v. abuse. Etym: *tók ‘abuse.’
ntég $\nu$. annoy.
cow. Lit: 'female cow'. mwâ mýsl ntè
ntદ̀mbàlà
ntèmbàlà v. (be) slow.
-ntènd PL: bèntènd [bìntènd]. n. 8 . spider's web. [Note: no singular]
ntí n. sister.
ntìg $v$. give, send in response to a request.
ntìntá n. great grandchild. Etym: redup form of ntà 'grandchild'.
ntóbà v. flow, drip. [Note: related to word for 'dysentery'] Etym: *tón 'drip.'
ntòmb $n .7 / 8$ or $1 / 2$. younger. [Note:

Variation between speakers in class membership.]
ntómb $v$. stagger.
-nt̀̀ Sg: èntı̀. Pl: màntı̀k. n. 5/6. crop (of bird).
ntú n. dysentery. [Note: extreme diarrhea - either the kind with blood
or one that doesn't stop]
ntúbá $\quad P l$ : mòntúbá [màntúbá]. n. 9/6. sword.
ntúd Pl: màntúd. n. tusk (of warthog).
ntùg Pl: bàntùg. n. stopper, plug.
ntùgàjù Pl: bàntùgàjù. n. bud.
ntúlá adj. many, a lot (uncountable)
ntúm n. brother. [Note: opposite sex of ego (brother of a sister)] Etym: *dòmbò $(1,5)$.
ntùmò Pl: mòntùmò [màntùm̀̀]. n. 9/6. big drum, talking drum.
ntúná $\quad P l$ : bètúnà. n. $7 / 8$. fight with weapons. Etym: Nominalization of túnà 'to fight.'
ntúnè Pl: bòtúnè. n. 1/2. fighter. Etym: Nominalization of túnà 'to fight.'
-ntúý́ $\quad S g:$ èntúý́. Pl: màntúý́. n. 5/6.
ntútágú
bump.
ntútágú Pl: mòntútágú [mə̀ntútágú]. n. 9/6. hump (of cow).
ntùtùmà Pl: bə̀ntùtùmà. n. crowd.
ntwàr v. (be) alone. ntwôg n. 3/4. scarf.
ntwérə̀ adj. surprised. ntwómá Pl: bòntwómá [bə̀ntwómó]. n.
ntwì PL: bòntwì [bàntwì]. n. 1/2. 1. lazy person. 2. loose, slack things. ntwómá adj. (be) young.
n. 7/8. sheep. Alt. [ntwòmbè]. mwá ntwòmbè Pl: bwá bíntwòmbè. n.
lamb. Lit: 'little sheep'. njúm ntwòmbè $P l$ : mìnjúm mìntwòmbè. n. 3/4. ram. Lit: 'male sheep'. 1/2. boy.
Ilwonla aa). (De) young.
ntwòmb $P l$ bèntwòmb. $n$. 7/8. fight.
ntwèmbè Pl: bèntwèmbè [bìntwìmbè].

## j

$\mathrm{j}=$ pro. 9 subject.
j̀ $=$ pro. he/she.
jà tear (tr). Etym: *nòkod 'tear off,
j̀ $=$ pro. he/she.
jà tear (tr). Etym: *nòkod 'tear off, extract.'
jnâ Pl: bènâ. [bànâ, bìnâ] n. 7/8.

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jǎg $\int u ̀ l ~ v$. break wind, fart. Etym: *cùd 'fart.'

Jâm v. milk (cows, goats).
nây ná bôl v. nurse, suckle (baby) (tr).

Etym: *nam ‘suck, suckle.'
-náy $P l$ : mònáỳ [mànáǹ]. n. 6. milk.
[Note: no singular] Etym:
nominalization of nán ‘suckle’?
jáz v. move, convulse.
jè̀ $v$. bare, show (teeth).
jème v. (be) alone.
jə̀ pro. him/her.
jíbà ná bán $\quad$ v. spank (child).
jìg v. return (give back) (tr).
jìmə̀zう̀ v. stir.
jômbàlı̀ Pl: mònômbàl̀̀ [mànômbàl̀̀].
n. 9/6. armpit.
jı̀̀̀̀ngó Pl: bònj̀̀̀ngó. n. 1/2. mother.

Etym: *nàygó (1a) 'mother.'
jı̀ŋgô n. channel.
jùlâm adj. (be) kind.
jún PL: mònún [mànún]. n. 9/6. body.
jwádə̀bò v. squat.
juày v. please, satisfy.
jwày v. take.
juày n. 5/6. good things.
jwây Pl: bònwây [bànwây]. n. 1/2. snake. Etym: *jókà (9) ‘snake.'
jwày^wà $\mathfrak{a d j}$. good.
juwè pro. 9emphatic, 10emphatic.
juè̀l v. drink. Nominalizations: jwèlé (1) 'drinker,' nwèl̀̀gà (7) ‘drink.' Etym: *nś 'drink.'
jwèlé Pl: bànwèlé. n. 1/2. drinker.
jwèlàgà

Etym: nominalization of jwèl 'drink.'

Jwèlə̀gà Pl: bèjwèlàgà. n. 7/8. drink.

Etym: nominalization of jwèl 'drink.'

Jwə̀ pro. 9subject.
jwógə̀ż̀ v. tickle.
-jwòg Pl: mòjwòg [mə̀nwòg]. n. 6. wine. [Note: no singular] mònwòg mó lánd n. 6. palm wine. Lit: 'wine of palm'.

## ng

ngà dem. this.

Đgàr Pl: mə̀ygàr. n. market.

Øgé conj. if.
ngwàgàlá n. 9/6. prayers. Etym:
borrowed from Ewondo.

Đgwâlà Pl: mòngwâlà [mə̀ngwâlà]. n.

9/6. town.
ngwâm Pl: mèngwâm [mə̀ngwâm]. n.

3/4. bachelor, spinster.

Igwàn n. 3. paw.
ngwàndò n. 3. manioc, cassava.
ngwá $\mathfrak{a d v}$. together. [Note: old.]
ŋgwómə̀nə̀ n. sous-prefet.
ngwôg lwô Pl: mə̀ngwô mólwô. n. deaf person.
\gwô\ $n$. climbing rope.

りgùlô n. dust.

Ygúmbà adj. entire, whole.

Đgúngà Pl: mə̀ ggúygà. $n$. box.

## ngb

Đgbày Pl: bàngbày. n. crow.

## ŋk

Økà conj. then, as. Etym: *ngà 'as, like.’
ykàb n. goiter.

Đkàg Pl: bèykàg [bànkàg]. n. 7/8. eyelid.

Đkàm adj. right, (be) correct.
ykàmà interr. how many?
ykànjà Pl: màykànjà. n. fin.
ŋkày Pl: bònkày [bànkàn]. n. 1/2.
medicine man, trad healer, diviner.
Etym: *gàngà 'medicine man.'
ŋkàzà PL: bànkàzà. n. weaver-bird.

Øké conj. or.
gkêng v. carry.
ykêyg mwân nê kwòy v. carry (child)
on back. Lit: 'carry child with back'.
ŋkệg ná lû v. carry on head. Lit: 'carry with head'.
ykêgg ná màbwô $v$. carry in arms. Lit: 'carry with hands'.

ykě jûn $\quad$. (be) eager, (be) zealous. Lit. boast body.
ykèg PL: mònkèg [mànkèg]. n. 9/6. promise. [Note: Nominalization of kèg
'promise']
nkèl n. shin.
ŋkè̀ n. wise one.
ykòb n. same side.

Đkòkóg Pl: mònkòkóg [mànkòkóg]. n.

9/6. molar tooth. Etym: *gèg̀̀ (5,7) 'molar tooth.'
ŋkòl Pl: bàgkòl. n. eyelash.

Ykòlo PL: mòkòlo. n. 9/6. load.

Økònる́ adv. little by little.
ŋkònd Pl: bènkònd [bànkònd]. n. 7/8. journey. Etym: *gèndò (11) 'journey.’

Đkóy n. 7. courage.
ŋkòòmb Pl: màŋ̧kòòmb. Alt [ŋkùmb]. n.

9/6. medium drum. Etym: *gòmà (9). mwâ nkùmb Pl: bwâ jkùmb. n. small drum. Lit: 'small drum'.

ŋk ${ }^{\prime}$ l jwô $n$. thunder. Lit: 'gun sky'.
ykj̀ndô Pl: bòyk̀̀ndô [bànk̀̀ndô]. n.
1/2. crocodile. Etym *gàndó (9).
ŋkóy $\quad v$. (be) brave, courageous, powerful.

Đkj̀̀̀b Pl: mònkj̀̀̀b [mànkj̀̀̀b]. n. 9/6. paddle. [Note: short and flat] Etym: *kápí (9).
gkù Pl: bègkù [bànkù]. n. 7/8. fruit bat. Etym: "gèmbóá 'bat.'

Đkù Pl: bòykù [bànkù]. n. 1/2. pig. mwâ Đkù Pl: bwá bónkù. n. piglet. Lit: 'small pig'. myál ŋkú Pl: mèmyál ménkú. n. 3/4. sow. Lit: 'female pig'. Etym: "gòdòbè (9) 'pig.'
gkǔ dìgî Pl: bò̀nkǔ dìgî. n. 1/2. warthog, boar. Lit: 'pig forest'.

Đkù lyêndà n. rainbow.
ykùbò PL: bàgkùb̀̀. n. shield. Etym: *gùbà.
ŋkúg PL: mà $\mathfrak{y}$ kúg. n. upper grinding stone.

Økùl PL: mùkúl. n. 9/6. force, power.
ŋkûl PL: mònkûl [mànkûl]. n. 9/6. cane rat, cutting grass, grass cutter.

Økùmb Pl: bènkùmb [bànkùmb]. n. 1/2. monitor lizard.
ŋkúmbàl̀̀ n. diarrhea.
gkùnd
n. 9. moon. Etym: *gòndè (9).
ykùnd
n. scaffolding.
ykùndà n. granary.
ŋkù̀ Pl: mèkùy [màkùn]. n. 3/4. arrow.

Økùŋkùb Pl: bàģkùŋkùb. n. umbilical cord.
ykúd [ఇkúr] Pl: mènkúd [mànkúr]. n.

3/4. cloud.
ŋkùùb Pl: mòykùùb [mànkùùb]. n. 9/6. quiver.
gkùùnd $P l$ : mènkùùnd [mìnkùùnd]. Alt. [nkwóònd] n. 3/4. month.

Đkúúr Pl: bènkúúr [bìnkúúr]. n. 7/8. bark (of tree).

Đkwâl Pl: bònkwâl [bànkwâl]. n. 1/2. snail.
ykwày Pl: mànkwàn. n. cartridge.

Đkwà ${ }^{\text {g }}$ PL: bènkwàyg. n. 7/8. fish trap.
ykwéndé Pl: bò̀jkwéndé [bànkwéndé]. n. 1/2. elbow. Etym: *ḱkj̀dà (9).
ŋkwèn [ [jkwìn] Pl: bònkwèn [bànkwìn]. n. 1/2. leopard.

Økwènê Pl: bànkwènê. n. centipede, millipede.
ŋkwémbàlè PL: bòkwémbàlè. n. 1/2.
repairer. Etym: nominalization of
kwòmbàl̀̀ 'mend, repair.'

Økwênj n. 7. metal. [Note: also used for iron]
-ŋkwòb Sg: lèykwòb. PL: màgkwòb. n. 5/6. shoe.
ŋkwómbàlò PL: mòkwómbàlò. n. 9/6.
repair. Etym: nominalization of kwòmbàl̀ 'mend, repair.'
ŋkwóy PL: mèjkwón. n. 3/4.
responsability, social status.
ŋkwó Pl: mànkwó. n. handle (round).
[Note: Used for pot handles, the sides of plates, etc.]
ŋkwı̀g Pl: mò̀kẁ̀g [mànkwòg]. n. 9/6. sugar cane.
ŋkwòmb Pl: bònkẇ̀mb [bànkwว̀mb]. n. 1/2. porcupine. Etym: *gòmbá (9). ŋkwòmbàlı̀ $\quad$ v. plan. ykwǒmìn n. voice box, larynx, Adam's apple, throat.
ŋkwòy n. pity.
ykwùnd $n$. terror. [Note: extreme fear]
ŋkpágá PL: mònkkágá [mànkpágá]. n.
9/6. fishing line.
ó= ..... pyèb
O-0
$\boldsymbol{o}=$ TAM. Present (PRES). -ób gen. their.
-ó gen. your (sg). -óób interr. which?
0
-ว̀ว̀ngə́ det. Definite (Def). Aforementioned.
P-p
pààr n. threshing-floor.
pága n. cane.
pé adv. totally.
pùpwó n. 7. pawpaw, papaya.
pùù n. calm.
pyèb $v$. winnow, throw in air (grain).

## S - s

sà Pl: mòsà [mòsà]. n. 9/6. feather.

Etym: *cádá (5,7,11) 'feather.'
sá v. act, do.
sá béjún v. 1. play games. 2. entertain, amuse.
sà kwár $\quad$ v. plunder (a town). Lit: 'do village'.
sá mámwàlà v. be engaged, be betrothed. Lit. do fiancés.
sâ mpwògé
v. get well, heal. Lit: 'do health'.
sâ $\quad P l$ bèsâ [bisâ]. n. 7/8. 1. thing. 2. belongings (in plural).
'thing with bad'.
sâl v. peel.
sâl v. peel.
sàmb $P l$ : bèsàmb [bìsàmb]. n. 7/8. rape.
sámbá n. row.
sâmbàl̀̀ v. sneeze. Etym: *téamod
'sneeze.'
sààl v. 1. cut open. 2. chop into pieces. Etym: *tàd 'cut open.'
sáb v. get sick.
-Sâb $\quad S g$ : èsâb. $n .5 / 6$. illness, disease.

Etym: borrowed from Baywe'e?
sâdé n. Saturday.
sàgbゝ̀ v. (be) restless, (be) unsettled.
ságə̀zə̀ v. shake. Etym: *tèk 'shake.' Synchronically linked to sá 'do.'
sàndə̀la v. slip.
sànjà Pl: mèsànjà. n. 3/4. thumb piano.
sáy v. look for. Etym: *kong 'look for, seek, hunt.'
sáy Pl: mèsáy [màsán]. n. 3/4. mane.

Etym: *jènjè (3) 'mane.'
sáygá Pl: màsáygá. n. necklace.
sé TAM. Perfect (PERF).
sèl $v$. bail out (canoe. boat).
sèn n. 1/2. nail.
séngé $\quad P l$ mèséngé. n. 3/4. gift.

Sês Sg: lèsês. Pl: mə̀sês. n. 5/6. girl, young woman. [Note: Immature, without children. For some speakers in class 3/4.]
sêzàl̀̀ v. evade.
-sâg PL: bèsâg [bàsâg]. n. 8. termite. [Note: no singular]
sí PL: bèsí [bàsí]. n. 7/8. 1. world,
ground, land. 2. underneath, below, down. Etym: *cé (9) 'ground, earth.'
sí bêb $v$. hurt oneself.
sí yò v. (be) dead. Lit: 'finish die'.
sìg v. deceive. Etym: *kéng 'cheat, deceive.'
sìgá n. cigarette.
sìgò v. saw (wood).
síl v. finish. Etym: *cíd 'finish.'
sílàbà PL: bàsílàbà. n. metal pot.
sìlò Pl: mèsilò. n. 3/4. 1. girl. 2. daughter.
sîlò v. approach.
símèlà $v$. groan (with pain).
símə̀zà v. think, remember. Etym: borrowed from Makaa.
sîn Pl: mòsîn [màsîn]. n. 9/6. point.
síná
síná $n$. end.
sínj Pl: bèsínj [bisínj]. n. 7/8. squirrel.
[Note: makes a nest; lives in trees; smaller than mpùùg Etym: *céndé
(7) 'squirrel.'
sìnè n. 9. sand. Etym: *cèngà 'sand.'
sís adj. another.
sísìm Pl: mèsísìm [màsísìm]. n. 3/4. soul, spirit (of living person).
sísìm mún Pl: mèsísìm mèmúy [màsisìm
mèmún]. n. 3/4. spirit (of dead
person) (invisible).
sísâg PL: mòsísôg [màsisôg]. n. 9/6.
hiccup. (7/8 in Begne)
síyé $\quad n$. end. Etym: from si 'finish'.
sìyêtg v. get together.
síyèng $v$. heap up.
sìzà Pl: bèsìzà [bàsizà]. n. 7/8. song.
sìzó Pl: mèsìzó [mìsizó]. n. 3/4. tendon, vein.
sì TAM. Contraexpectation. Etym: Borrowed from Makaa?
sǒg $n$. lung.
sôl mə̀nว̀m PL: bòsôl bó mànว̀m [bàsôl bá màǹ̀m]. n. 1/2. prostitute.
-sòmbàlò PL: mòsòmbàlò [màsòmbàlò]. n. 6. curse. [Note: no singular]
sóngà PL: bòsŝngà. n. 1/2. father. Etym:
*cángó (1a) 'father.'
syè v. spit.
syě $v$. sing.
syê $v$. work.
syê n. 7/8. work.
syègàlé $\quad \nu$. frighten. Etym: *cic
'frighten.'
$\int \varepsilon ̂ z \grave{z}$ v. reyoice.
stem, stalk (of corn, millet, etc.).
filò n. 3/4. young woman. [Note: Mature, grounded, with children]
fù $v$. pour.
$-\int u ̀ \quad S g:$ èfù. n. 5. sake.
fû n. 9. shame. Etym: *cónì (9) 'shame.'

〔û $\quad \nu$. empty. [Note: Only used for nonliquids, as in emptying the trash. For liquids see 'empty, bail.']
-fùg lé $\quad S g:$ èfùg lé. Pl: mồùg lé [mò̀ùg lé]. n. 5/6. trunk (of tree).
fúg v. cease, stop.
 includes flying ants]

Sùgə̀là $v$. fall in pieces.
fùgàzə̀ v. strain.
fûkə̀là ncò $\quad a d v$. after.
fû Pl: bò $\int$ û. n. 1/2. fish. Alt. sû. Etym: $\int$ ùkùl Pl: bèjùkùl [bàjùkùl, bìjùkùl]. n.
*cúé (9) 'fish.'
7/8. school.
fùbà Pl: mòjùbà [màfùbà]. n. 9/6. jigger.
(5/6 in Begne, with an $/ \mathrm{s} /$ )
fûl juwây n. venom (of snake).
fûd n. 7/8. cotton.
fúlə̀ v. rub.
-fùg Sg: èfùg. Pl: mòjùg [màfùg]. n. 5/6.
fùl̀̀ $v$. descend, go down.


5/6. bracelet, ankle ring, bangle.
fùmè Pl: bòfùmè. n. 1/2. builder. Etym: from fùmè 'build.'

〔ùmè v. build. Nominalization: 〔ùmè (1) 'builder,' Jùmó (1) 'construction.'
fúmàló mbwî Pl: mà áúmló mámbwô. n. arm (used for both upper arm and forearm). Etym: *comb 'be on top.'

Sùmó Pl: bòfùmó. n. 1/2. construction. Etym: from Jùmè 'build.'

Súmò Pl: mèfúmò [mifúm̀̀]. n. 3/4. cane, walking stick.
fùmb Pl: mèfùmb [mìjùmb].n. 3/4. brook, stream.

- $\int$ úmb Pl: mòfúmb [mə̧̀úmb]. n 6. intestinal worm. [Note: no singular]
fúmb ébwàz Pl: mèjúmb ébwàz
[mìjúmb ébwàz]. n. 3/4. earthworm. Lit: 'worm Loc-earth'.
fùn Pl: mèjùn [mìjùn]. n. 3/4. flesh.
fùy Pl: mòfùn [mə̀fùn]. n. 9/6. grave. Alt. Swò̀.
-fùy Sg: èfùy. Pl: mòfùy [mèfùn]. n. 5/6.
floating water plants.
fúy Pl: mà fúy n. bulb, tuber.

Júnà v. discuss.

Súyś kwànd Pl: mèfúýs kwànd [mà̧úyś kwànd]. n. 3/4. regime (of plantains).
fù $\int$ wâz adj. (be) naked.
fúfwóg $n$. in front of, before. Etym:
Reduplicated form of the noun Jwóg 'front of something'.
fùùg PL: mè $\begin{aligned} & \text { ùùg. } n \text {. waterfall. }\end{aligned}$
fúwá Pl: bè $\int$ úwá. n. 7/8. plate.
Jùzàg̀̀ v. congratulate.

Swá n. axe handle.
fwá Pl: bòjwá [bàfwá]. n. 1/2. winnow.

Jwáàg v. be (crazy).
fwààz v. (be) happy.

Jwàb v. hide.

Jwàl adv. directly, just.

Swàmb v. uncover, discover.

Swànə̀ $v$. load (rifle).
 'threaten.'
fwè v. bleed.
fwè Pl: mò $\mathrm{fwè̀} \mathrm{[mèfwè]}. \mathrm{n}. \mathrm{9/6}$. mourning.

Jwégá v. be drunk. Etym *kód-o 'be intoxicated.'

Jwênj v. carve, sharpen. Etym: *còng 'sharpen to a point.'

Jwêz v. smoke, dry. Etym: *kác-u 'dry.'

Swézá v. (be) dry. Alt. Swízà. Etym: *kác-u 'dry.'


Jwêm n. 9. nasal mucus, snot.
$\int w \varepsilon ̂ m$ v. deny.
fwènj PL: mèfwènj [mèfwènj]. n. 3/4. young man. Alt. §wáànj.
fwàndà Pl: bò $\int$ wàndà. $n .1 / 2$. week.

Jwì v. wither (plant).
-§wì Sg: è $\int w i ̀ . ~ m o ̀ ~ f w i ̀ . ~ n . ~ 5 / 6 . ~ d e a t h . ~$

[mèfwí njà]. n. 5/6. leech.
fwìyé Pl: bòfwìyé [bàfwìyé]. n. 1/2.
hunter．Etym：nominalization of $\int$ wò $\int$ wóg $\int w$ óg adj．very far．
＇hunt．＇
fwômə̀nə̀ v．grumble，complain．
Jwò v．hunt．Nominalizations：〔wìyé（1）
＇hunter，＇Swòmb＇hunt．＇
Jwó n．1．friend．

〔wó dîz n．1．pupil（of eye）．lit．friend eye
－ $\int$ wó Sg：lè $5 w o ́$. n．5．friendship．

Jwô $\nu$ ．undress．
fwôg n．front（of something）．Etym：
＊táng＇be first．＇
〔wógə̀nə̀ v．go forward．
fwômə̀nà Pl：bò $\begin{gathered}\text { wômànà n．1／2．}\end{gathered}$ complaint．

Swòmb n．hunt．［Note：includes hunting and fishing］Etym：nominalization of fwò＇hunt．＇
fwòòzògò Pl：mòfwòòzògò ［màfwòòzògò］．n．9／6．joy．Etym： nominalization of Jwààz＇be happy＇． §wùùmb n．3．creek．

## T－t

tá PL：mètá．n．3／4．nephew，niece．
tâb sí v．rise up（intr）．
tâb tátàlê v．stand．
tábèl num．seven（7）．
tád n．sm．bamboo bed．
tàg PL：bòtàg．n．1／2．tobacco．
tàg $n$ ．fertile soil．
tàgákùz adj．（be）inexpensive．

| tàlà $v$. appease, pacify. | feathers. |
| :---: | :---: |
| tàm bá $\int$ û n. $7 / 8$. pool. | tègá v. (be) tired. |
| tàm mádíbś n. $7 / 8$. well. | tér v. start, begin. |
| tám n. middle. [Note: used for midnight | tér aux. first. |
| when combined with night and noon | têr sâ adv. before. |
| when combined with daylight] | tétèlê $n$. honest ways, righteousness. |
| támə̀ mwáz n. noon. Lit: 'middle | tél v. set up, organize. |
| daylight'. | -télè Pl: mòtélè. n. 6. saliva. |
| táy Pl: mètáy. n. 3/4. white man. | télálé v. refresh. |
| -tàngòn⿳亠 Sg: ètàngànò. Pl: mòtàngòno . | tèm adv. even. |
| n. 5/6. bridge, ford. | tíbò $v$. trample. |
| tádà [tárà v. itch. |  |
|  | tíd Pl: bòtíd. n. 1/2. 1. animal. 2. meat. |
| té pro. Locative (Loc). |  |
|  | 3. stupid person (by analogy with |
| té ripen, become ripe. | French bête 'animal' also used for |
| tê v. to pull. | stupid people). Etym: *tító (3). |
| tê kù v. to step. Lit. pull foot/leg. | tiè n. low. |
| tê mósà v. pluck (chicken) Lit. pull | tié Pl bètié. n. 7. position, height. |


| tigàlétí | tùd |
| :---: | :---: |
| tìgòlétí $a d v$. specifically. | [Note: generic term for both sheep |
| tìlo $v$. tether (sheep, goats). | and goats] mwá tóòb ă kóká Pl: |
|  | bwá bètóòb bă káka. n. kid. Lit: |
| -tíl Sg: ètíl. Pl: mòtil. n. 5/6. penis. |  |
|  | 'child goat/sheep. myól tód̀b ǎ kóká |
| tíl v. write. | Pl: mèmýl bètóòb bǎ kóká. n. 3/4. |
| tílòbò v. sign up. Etym: derived from til | she-goat, nanny goat. Lit' 'female |
| 'write.' | goat/sheep'. mwâ njúm tóòb Pl: |
| till̀ $v$. tie (knot). | bwâ mènjúm bétóòb. $n$. lamb, kid |
| tíndìgì $n$. heel. Etym: *tíndí (5). | (male). Lit: 'child male goat/sheep'. |
|  | tóòb ăkéká Pl: bètóòb băkźká. $n$. |
| tìndòlà $v$. wipe off (excreta). |  |
|  | 7/8. he-goat, billy goat. |
| tíndàlı̀ v. push with pole (canoe, boat). | tóyít $n$. thousand (1000). |
| Etym: *tínd 'push.' |  |
|  | toy Pl: motŝj. n. 9/6. price. |
| tíràg v. light (fire). |  |
|  | -tù Sg: ètù. Pl: mòtù. n. cocoyam, taro. |
| tîtìm Pl: mètîtìm. n. 3/4. blind person. |  |
|  | tû v. dig. |
| titìtì $n$ regularity. |  |
|  | tû $n$. inside. |
| tón num. five (5). Etym: *táánó. |  |
|  | túbò lòlwô v. pierce (ears). Etym: *tób. |
| tón n. outside. |  |
|  | tùd [tùr] n. 9/6. bad odor, smell. Etym: |
| tóòb Pl bètóòb. n. 7/8. sheep, goat. |  |

*còdう̀ (9) 'smell.'
-tùd $S g$ : ètùd. $P l$ : mòtùd. n. 5/6. raffia palm stalk.
túg $v$. be (neg).
-túg $S g:$ lètúg. Pl: mòtúg. n. 5/6. insult, teasing.
tûg PL: bòtûg. n. 1/2. spoon, ladle. Etym: *coga 'ladle.'
tûg v. insult, tease. [Note: as between maternal uncles and their nephews] Etym: *tók 'abuse.’
tǔg lécèl v. hate. Lit: 'be (neg) love'.
tùgà Pl: bètùgà. n. 7/8. cloth worn by woman.
túl v. set oneself.
túl/ tútúl $\nu$. (be) old (not young). Etym: *nùn 'be old.'
tùmátù Pl: bə̀tùmátù. n. tomato. Etym.

Borrowed from English.
tùn n. 7/8. room.
tûn $v$. bless.
túnà v. fight. Etym: *dò.
túncêz n. sacrifice. (Also used for 'thank you.')
túndà v. attack.
túy PL mòtúy. n. 9/6. suffering.
-túyô Sg: ètúĝ̂. Pl: mòtúgô. n. 5/6. hump (of hunchback).
tùrà ndî $v$. wink (eye).
tútù adv. never.
tútúl PL: màtútúl. n. old man.
tùzěl $\nu$. blink.
twâd v. move away, migrate.
twâg $v$. leave for good.
twâl ncánj n. kingfisher.
twámbâ Pl: bòtwámbâ. n. 1. elder. 2. firstborn.
twámbá mwàrá Pl: bòtwámbá bó bwàrá. n. 1/2. old woman.
twámbàl̀̀ v. peck (tr).
twàná jwày n. heron.
twàrə̀l̀̀ v. cackle (like a chicken).
twè conj. even if.
twèg $v$. cook.
twèrà $P l$ mètwèrà. n. 3/4. shivers. Eytm: nominalization of twérà 'be startled.'
twérà $v$. (be) startled, (be) shocked.
Nominalizations twèrà (3) 'shiver.'
twîg v. pick up, collect.
twîn v. advise. Nominalization: mòtwínà
(6) 'advice.'
-twínı̀ Pl: mòtwíǹ̀. n. 6. advice. Etym: nominalization of twîn 'advise.'
twób num. six (6). Etym: tóóbá.
twôl PL: mòtwôl. n. 9/6. navel. (5/6 in Begne)
twòngàlá PL: mètwòngə̀la. n. 3/4. thought. Etym: nominalization of twòngàl̀̀ 'think.'
-twòkòbà Pl: mètwòkàbà má fùm. n. 4. ghost (visible apparition). [Note: no singular]
twòngàl̀̀ v. 1. think, reflect. 2. remember.
tyâ n. 1. tax.
-úlágá det. Indefinite (Indef). A certain, another.
-ùd $S g$ : mùd. $P$ l: bwùd. n. 1/2. person.
-ùd kwád Sg : mùd kwád. Pl: bùd kwád. n. 1/2. inhabitant, resident. Lit: 'person village'.
-ùd ndé nà jǹ̀m Sg: mùd ndé nà nı̀m.
Pl: bùd ndé nà jò̀m. n. 1/2. important person.
-ùd sâ Sg: mùd sâ. Pl: bùd bó bésâ. $n$. 1/2. owner. -ùrûm $S g$ : mùrûm. Pl: bùrûm. n. man (male). yíndê. Pl: bùrûm bá jî yíndê. $n .1 / 2$. black man. Etym: *jíd 'get black, become black.'
ùtây $n$. strength.

$$
\mathbf{V}-\mathbf{v}
$$

vàkòlı̀ v. draw (picture).
-vîn Sg: èvîn. Pl: mòvîn. n. ebony tree. [Note: rare as singular]
vólà $v$. help. Etym: borrowed from Center province languages (Ewondo? Bulu?).
vólán $n$. help.
vúndà $n$. window.
vùg $\quad n$. jokes.

$$
\mathbf{W}-\mathbf{w}
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$\mathbf{w}=$ pro. 3 subj.
wà n. hunt.
wá v. give, put.
-wààyg Sg: lèwààyg. n. 5. song. [Note: songs sung in a group, with a lot of noise, hand-clapping, etc. Usually occur at a dúmb 'dance.']
wàdà [wàrà ] v. rest.
wàdá [wàrà] PL mòwàdá. n. 9/6. rest, vacation.
wágə̀là v. (be) stupid.
wàl Pl: bèwàl. n. 7/8. fear of risk. Etym:
*badek.
wàl Pl: bòwàl. n. 1/2. cookie, biscuit.
wál Pl: bòwál. n. 1/2. 1. fellow-wife. 2. polygamy. Etym: *pádè (9).
-wàlà $S g$ : èwàlà. Pl: mòwàlà. n. 5/6.
hour.
wàlàfírà n. 1/2. hospital.
wámb PL: bòwámb. n. harvest iron.
wâmb v. stalk, chase.
wâmbàlò v. sweep.
-wáy PL: mòwáy. n. 6. fat.
wáygé n. gathering.

| wàzà | -wó |
| :---: | :---: |
| wàzà v. forget. | *bèng. |
| wázá Pl: mòwázá. n. 9/6. northerner. | wîmb v. want, desire. |
| wê v. grow up. | wò pro. you (sg obj). |
| wèb v. comb. | wò = pro. you (sg sub). |
| -wèb $S g$ : èwèb. PL: mòwèb. n. 5/6. | wò n. manner. |
| comb. | wó interr. which? |
| wènjé Sg: èwènjé. Pl: mòwènjé. $n$. | wô Pl: mèwô. n. 3/4. current (river, |
| 5/6. cocoon. | stream). Etym: *gèdì, gèdà (3) |
| wéyà $v$. argue. | 'stream.' |
| wè pro. you (singular) (emphatic) | wô mbì interr. how? Lit. which type |
| wé pro. 3emphatic. | wô myá interr. when? Lit. which time |
| -wênj Sg: èwênj. Pl: mòwênj. n. 5/6. | wôg $n$. here (specific). |
| stork (marabou). | wòl v. get out, get up. |
| wâl v. wrap up. | wómàn Pl: màwómàn. n. 1. robe |
| wáz v. heap up. | (man's gown). 2. shirt. |
| wì̀nj v. untie, loosen. | -wó Sg: lèwó. Pl: mòwó. n. 5/6. |
| wî̀ng v. chase, drive away. Etym: | argument, quarrel |

wôz v. escape.
wú $n$. there.
wû v. leave (place). Etym: related to wul? take out?
-wûd Sg: èwûd. Pl: mòwûd. n. 5/6.
hunting net, fishing net.
-wúg $S g$ : lèwúg. n. 5. hole. Etym:
*pàkò (9).
wúgòlú adj. (be) empty.
wûl $v$. boil over, boil (food). Etym:
*béd.
wûl $v$. take out (from container).
-wúlè Sg: èwúlè. n. 5. foam. Etym: *púdì (9).
wúlágá myà $a d v$. sometimes, olden
times. Lit: '3-Indef 3-time'.
-wúm Sg: èwúm. Pl: mòwúm. n. 5/6. ten (10). Etym: *kómì (5).
wúmò Pl: mèwúmò. n. 3/4. reputation.
wúmò $v$. bear fruit.
wùnd Pl: bèwùnd. n. 7/8. groundnut, peanut.
wúrò kòg Pl: bòwúrs̀ kòg. n. 1/2. puff adder. Etym: *pédè (9).
-wúrò má lánd Pl: mòwúrò má lánd. n. 6. curdled milk, cottage cheese. [Note: no singular]
wùrùg num. one (1). Alt. ngùrùg
wùz Pl: bèwùz. n. 7/8. abdomen (external).
wùzà $v$. throw away

## $\mathbf{Y}-\mathbf{y}$

$\mathbf{y}=-$ pro. Non-referential subject. Etym:

Derived from class 7 subject
agreement.
yàbòrá Pl: bèyàbòrá. n. 7/8.
attempt.
yàg v. recognize.
yàg n. potter's clay.
yâg look out.
yâg v. (be) serious, difficult.
yágàbà v. keep watch. Etym: derived from yâ 'look out.'
yàgàlò n. potter. Etym: from yàg 'potter's clay'.
yàlà v. answer, reply. Etym: *ját-ab 'answer.'
yàlá Pl: bèyàlá [bìyàlá]. n. 7/8.
response. Eytm: Nominalization of yàlà 'answer, reply.'
yà Pl: mèyày. n. 3/4. paint.
yàng Pl: bèyàyg. n. 7/8. rattle (musical instrument).
yángà v. wander. Etym: díong 'wander.'
yé interr. where? Alt. yí
yénj PL: bèyénj. n. 7/8. open place, clearing. Etym: *dèndé (5).
yênyén $n$. light.
yéz n. dry season. [Note: also means 'hot weather', 'daylight', 'sunshine', 'sun']
yě nùm v. kiss.

| yém | yò |
| :---: | :---: |
| yém n．domesticated animal．Etym： | yílè n． $7 / 8$. smoke． |
| ＊dàmá． | yilò $v$ ．incubate，set on eggs． |
| yèpàdà $v$ ．breathe． | yîl⿳亠丷厂犬 v．1．watch．2．look after，care for |
| yèpàdà n．breath． | （someone）． |
| yèsàbò v．（be）courageous，（be）brave， | yîm v．（be）able． |
| （be）valiant． | yím̀̀ n．aardvark，antbear． |
| yèz Pl：bèyèz［bìyès］．n．7／8．bone． | yìņ́ n．7．finger． |
| yàg n．7／8．clay． | yìnś kù n．7．toe．Lit：＇finger foot＇． |
| yòkòlò v．draw（picture）． | yìnś sóngô n．7．thumb．Lit：＇finger |
| yâm $v$ ．blow nose． | father＇． |
| yî v．borrow，hire． | yínjà v．become． |
| －yìdé Sg：èyìdé．n．5．darkness．Etym： | yità bà v．turn round（intr）． |
| ＊jíd＇get dark（v）．＇ | yîz v．dry up，evaporate． |
| yìg v．claim． | yò pro．7object． |
| yîgòlè Pl：bòyîglè．n．1／2．master． | yò n．whetstone． |
| yì̀g v．measure．Etym：＊dèng＇measure．＇ | －yo Sg：lèyó．Pl：mòyó．n．5／6．tears． |
| －yil̀gò Pl：mèyì̀gà．n．4．government． | yò v．die．Alt．yò． |

yò v. give. Alt. yà.
yò dı̀b $v$. feed (animals). Lit. give food
yò mbêz/ yò ntáy $v$. give as present.

Lit. give for nothing (in vain) / give like that.
yôl Pl: bòyôl. n. 1/2. giver. Etym: nominalization of yò 'give.'
yôlòn v. swing. Etym: *déd 'float, swing.'
-yôt $\quad S g$ : èyôn. n. cold weather.
-ŷ̂ PL: mòy今. n. 6. wailing, ululation (at funeral) (n). [Note: no singular]
yág $\nu$. (be) fierce.
yวิg v. serve.
yúm $\nu$. (be) stuck. [Note: Not possible to get undone (without extreme
action): blocked, condemned]
ywâg $v$. swim.

## Z - z

-zùn- gen. 'our' (dual)


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ There are 110 CV roots, 2 CVV roots, 3 VC roots, 399 CVC roots, 38 CVVC roots, 3 VCV roots, 205 CVCV roots, 4 CVVCV roots, 43 CVCVC roots, 1 CVVCVCV root, 58 CVCVCV roots and 2 CVCVCVCV roots in the lexicon.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ May also appear as [bwùr], unlike the singular which never occurs as *[mwùr].
    ${ }^{3}$ Class 10 is marked by a homorganic nasal prefix as well as devoicing of the initial root consonant. See section 1.6.

[^2]:    ${ }^{4}$ This French loan still has the French vowel and not one of the eight Kol vocalic phonemes.

[^3]:    ${ }^{5}$ Agreement in chart is for classes 1 and 2.

[^4]:    ${ }^{6}$ Polar to the first tone of the second noun.

[^5]:    ${ }^{7}$ There are 39 CV verb roots ( +14 CGV roots), 135 CVC roots ( +53 CGVC roots) and 81 CVCV roots ( +14 CGVCV roots), making up almost $60 \%$ of the lexicon.

[^6]:    ${ }^{8}$ The high tone occurring in the tense marker might look like a Macrostem High tone reanalyzed to occur before the Macrostem as well as after each morpheme in the Macrostem. But this tone is not realized in the same way as the Macrostem High, and it occurs in P2 whereas the Macrostem does not.

[^7]:    9 "nyà indicates a change in action or subject; à indicates continuing action and same subject as the previous clause. nyà is always used before vowels, and to introduce reported speech. nyà becomes ma when occurring in non-narrative affirmative sentences and before a morpheme beginning with a consonant." (Heath 2003)

[^8]:    ${ }^{10}$ Beavon states that "no formally distinct subjunctive mood exists" for Badwe'e (Beavon 1990:91) However, the imperative and hortative share the same marker -g , although they differ in their tonal contours. It is this common morpheme which I am calling the subjunctive marker. The same is true for Makaa.

[^9]:    ${ }^{11}$ The Makaa remote past and near future are analyzed as being toneless morphemes followed by a floating H tone. (Heath 1995:34)

[^10]:    ${ }^{12}$ The imperfective in Nzime requires an auxiliary verb in the past or future tenses. (Beavon 1991)
    ${ }^{13}$ The imperfective in Badwe'e requires an auxiliary verb in the past or future tenses. This auxiliary must be followed by the focus marker $\delta$, otherwise the sentences are ungrammatical. (Beavon 1991)

[^11]:    ${ }^{14}$ This H tone appears on the first vowel of the first word in the Macro-stem.
    ${ }^{15}$ Badwe'e has a number of subjunctive allomorphs, but $/-\mathrm{k} /$ is the most frequent. Others include: $/-\mathrm{ke} /, /-\mathrm{ko} /$, copy root vowel, $/-\mathrm{a} /$, and $/-\mathrm{y} /$. (Beavon 1991:93)
    ${ }^{16}$ This H tone appears on the final vowel of the first word in the Macro-stem.

[^12]:    ${ }^{17} \mathrm{http}: / /$ linguistics.africamuseum.be/BLR3.html

[^13]:    ${ }^{18}$ NACALCO is an acronym for the National Association of Cameroonian Language Committees.

[^14]:    ${ }^{19}$ Also sàndàlà.

[^15]:    ${ }^{20}$ And in Makaa.

[^16]:    ${ }^{21}$ Plus devoicing of the root-initial consonant.

