THE GBEYA LANGUAGE
GRAMMAR, TEXTS, AND VOCABULARIES

BY
WILLIAM J. SAMARIN

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY AND LOS ANGELES
1966
CONTENTS

Introduction .................................................................................................................. 1
Bibliography .................................................................................................................. 8
Abbreviations and symbols ......................................................................................... 11
Maps ............................................................................................................................... 12

GRAMMAR

1. Phonology ................................................................................................................ 17
110. Primary phonemes .............................................................................................. 17
111. Consonant phonemes .......................................................................................... 17
111.1. Description of consonants .............................................................................. 17
111.2. Distribution of consonants ............................................................................. 26
112. Vowel phonemes ................................................................................................ 27
112.1. Description of vowels .................................................................................... 27
112.2. Distribution of vowels .................................................................................... 28
113. Tonal phonemes .................................................................................................. 29

120. Secondary phonemes .......................................................................................... 29
121. Nasalization ......................................................................................................... 29
122. Juncture ............................................................................................................... 30
123. Pause ..................................................................................................................... 30
123.1. Following hesitation ....................................................................................... 30
123.2. At syntactic boundaries ................................................................................... 31
124. Terminal contours ............................................................................................... 31
124.1. Period contour ................................................................................................ 31
124.2. Question contour ............................................................................................ 31
124.3. Exclamation contour ....................................................................................... 31
124.4. Double-exclamation contour ........................................................................... 32

130. Morphophonemics .............................................................................................. 32
131. Automatic alternations ....................................................................................... 32
131.1. Consonants .................................................................................................... 32
131.2. Tones .............................................................................................................. 34
132. Morphological alternations ................................................................................. 34
132.1. Consonants .................................................................................................... 34
132.2. Vowels ........................................................................................................... 35
132.3. Tone and other alternations ............................................................................ 36

133. Irregular alternations ........................................................................................... 37
133.1. Consonants .................................................................................................... 37
133.2. Vowels ........................................................................................................... 37
133.3. /r/, /l/, and vowel lengthening ..................................................................... 37

140. Extra-phonemic characteristics of the language .............................................. 39
150. Assimilation of loan-words ................................................................................. 40
2. Bound Morphemes .............................................. 44
   210. Affixes in construction with only one other morpheme ...... 44
   211. Affixes which occur with verbs only ....................... 44
      211.1. Imperfective suffix .................................. 44
      211.2. Perfective suffix .................................... 45
      211.3. Emphatic suffix .................................... 46
      211.4. Nominalizing suffix ................................. 46
   212. Affixes which occur with nouns ................................ 47
      212.1. "Demonstrative" suffix ............................... 47
      212.2. Relational affix ..................................... 47
   213. Affixes which occur with several different classes of
        morphemes .................................................. 48
      213.1. Determinant suffix ................................ 48
      213.2. Locative and demonstrative suffixes ................. 49
      213.3. Designative suffix ................................ 50
   220. Affix in construction with a whole construction .......... 51
   221. Function of the postclitic .................................. 52
   222. Allomorphs ................................................. 52
   223. Distribution .............................................. 52
      223.1. Postclitic with substantive expressions .......... 52
      223.2. Postclitic with verb expressions .................... 53
3. Distribution Classes ........................................... 57
   310. Interjections ............................................... 57
   320. Final particles .......................................... 58
   330. Connectives .............................................. 60
      331. Connectives which join only clauses ................ 60
      332. Connectives which join clauses and other constructions 61
      333. Connective which joins a verb expression or a dependent
            clause to a verb expression .......................... 72
   340. Prepositions ............................................... 73
   350. Unique morphemes .......................................... 75
      351. Stative .................................................. 76
      352. Copula ................................................... 76
      353. Quotative verb ......................................... 77
      354. ?bo ....................................................... 80
   360. Adjectives ................................................ 80
      361. Preposed adjectives ..................................... 80
      362. Postposed adjectives ................................... 83
   370. Adverbs .................................................. 83
      371. Negative marker ......................................... 83
      372. Descriptive adverbs ................................... 85
         372.1. Classes of descriptive adverbs ................ 85
         372.2. Phonemic shape ................................... 86
         372.3. Derivation ....................................... 88
   380. Substantives .............................................. 98
      381. Nominatives ............................................ 98
         381.1. Classes ........................................... 98
         381.2. Derivation ....................................... 99
      382. Substitutes ............................................ 101
   390. Verbs ................................................... 110
      391. Verb base allomorphs ................................. 111
      392. Suffixation to the free form ......................... 111
      393. Distribution of high and low tone forms ............. 111
## CONTENTS

393.1. Imperfective forms ........................................ 111
393.2. Perfective forms ........................................ 113

394. Classes of verbs ........................................ 113
394.1. Singular/plural verbs .................................. 114
394.2. Motion verbs ........................................ 114
394.3. Auxiliary verbs ........................................ 114

4. Syntax .......................................................... 121
410. Nonsentence-type constructions ......................... 121
411. Noun phrases ................................................ 121
411.1. Noun phrases with proposed attributes ............. 121
411.2. Noun phrases with postposed subordinate attributes ........................................ 122
411.3. Postposed coordinate attributes ..................... 124
412. Substitute phrases .......................................... 124
413. Prepositional phrases ...................................... 124
414. Verb phrases ................................................ 125
414.1. Substantive complements ................................ 125
414.2. Prepositional phrase complements .................... 127
414.3. Verb complements ........................................ 127
414.4. Adverb complements ...................................... 128

420. Sentence constructions .................................... 128
421. Simple sentences ........................................... 128
421.1. Principal clauses ....................................... 128
421.2. Secondary clauses ...................................... 130
422. Complex sentences ......................................... 132
422.1. With expansions of the subject ....................... 133
422.2. With expansions of the verb phrase .................. 134
422.3. With introductory constructions ...................... 136
423. Compound sentences ........................................ 137
423.1. Principal + Principal ..................................... 137
423.2. Principal + Nonprincipal ............................... 139
423.3. Nonprincipal + Principal ............................... 139
423.4. Nonprincipal + Nonprincipal ........................... 139

430. Combining processes ....................................... 139

5. Sample Text and Analysis ................................... 144

### SELECTED TEXTS

Introduction ...................................................... 152

1. A Hunt Across the River .................................... 154
2. Monsieur Kills Two Antelope ............................... 154
3. A Narrow Escape from Lions ................................ 156
4. Children Should Work in the Garden ....................... 162
5. A Negligent Son-in-law ..................................... 164
6. A Good Woman ................................................ 166
7. Why Some Wives Run Away .................................. 168
8. Gbeya Warfare ............................................... 168
9. Gbeya Adornment ............................................. 170
10. The Annual Grass-burning .................................. 172
11. The Origin of Rivers and Islands ......................... 178
12. Spider Brings Some News ................................... 182
## CONTENTS

### VOCABULARIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gbeya-English</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English-Gbeya</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject Index</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

I

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

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

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

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

\(^1\)For notes to Introduction, see p. 6.
gible, but, on the other hand, only slightly, and sometimes erratically, differentiated at contiguous geographical points. If, for example, we were to start from Bossangoa, we should find that the Gbayà dialects spoken at such distant towns as Batangafo, Bouca, and Bozoum were mutually intelligible with that of Bossangoa. The name of the supposed tribe or language is not indicative of this relationship, for I found at Bouca a man who considered himself a Manza but whose speech resembled that of Bossangoa more than that of Damara.

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

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

All of the idioms of the District are mutually intelligible. In my own experience, I found that although I was understood by the people around Boguila, whom I shall henceforth call Souma for the sake of brevity, I sometimes had difficulty in understanding them unless they had lived out of their locale for several years. One possible explanation for this fact is speech accommodation. Souma speech was not studied and carefully compared with the one described here. It is different, however, in having words which bear no resemblance to the Gbayà ones and in having other words which have different phonemic shapes (of which again many are patterned). The data that I did collect revealed the existence of three distinct levels of tone, on a phonetic level at least, and these were very often comparable to the three tones found in other Gbayà languages.
If we accept as a fact that the Suma who leave their villages tend to adopt the Bossangoa idiom and not vice versa, and if we take the fact, as was reported to me, that the younger people no longer use the Suma romi but Gbeya ɓu 'ten' as being indicative of a trend, we can assume that the Bossangoa idiom is the dominant one in the District.\(^7\)

The Gbeya language, like the other indigenous languages around it, is still very much alive, being the first-learned and native language of practically all of the Gbeya children. Even at Bossangoa, where many Gbeya are employed, the language continues to be used because of the preponderance of the Gbeya. Although many of the people, and perhaps all males from adolescence to senility, are bilingual in Sango, the lingua franca, this language is used for purposes of communication only with non-Gbeya-speaking individuals. French, on the other hand, is used only by a very small percentage of the population and only with Europeans and African évolués at Bossangoa. With only a relatively small percentage of the children now enrolled in schools taught in French, it is unlikely that the situation will change rapidly.\(^8\)

Two other languages are known to a significant but undetermined proportion of the population. In the northwest portion of the District, between Sido and Markounda, many of the Suma people, even women, know Kaba (a Central Sudanic language); in the northeast, east of Bolio, many men know Dagba (another Central Sudanic language, closely related to Ngambay); and east and south of Bossangoa many men know Banda. These are languages spoken at the limits of the Gbeya area.

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

I began the study of the Gbeya language in February, 1954, and continued it in the field until February, 1960, except for the year from August, 1955 to August, 1956, which was spent in graduate study in linguistics at the University of California, Berkeley. My introduction to Gbeya was first made through the Sango language, which I had learned upon arriving in the country in 1952, but as soon as I was able to carry on conversation in Gbeya, I avoided the use of Sango (that is, among the Gbeya themselves) and never had to use it in the study of Gbeya. The data upon which this grammar is based were collected during the five years I lived at the mission station at Bellevue, a little more than 21 miles from Bossangoa and worked in the District as a missionary. These data consist of (1) utterances extracted from spontaneous speech during hours with the informant (discussed in the following paragraph) and among the people, (2) an extensive lexical file in which most words are illustrated by use in sentences, (3) a collection of proverbs, riddles, personal names, dog names, and (4) texts recorded on tape by various individuals and
transcribed with the help of my informant. The texts constitute about 1,100 lines of typewritten material, or about 16,800 words.

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

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

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

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

On the other hand, I have no idea at what points and where geographically this description begins to fail. To acquire this information one would need to make an intensive comparison of the dialects, which I was never able to do. But having traveled in the area and having spoken to hundreds of people from
different parts of the region, I have obtained some scattered data on dialect differences. Wherever pertinent, I have noted them.

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

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

III

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

The format of this grammar is determined in part by the requirements of the printing process being used. For this reason, for example, underlining is avoided as a substitute for italics. It disfigures the cedilla used to indicate nasalization and otherwise makes a page unsightly. Cross-references between the Gbeya examples and their translations is meant as a partial substitute for more or less literal translations. The literal translation can be arrived at without too much difficulty, in any case, with the aid of the word-lists. These examples, incidentally, are not ad hoc. With only a few exceptions they are drawn from the tape-recorded texts. If there is some inconsistency in the phonemic shape of some morphemes it is because there is some variation in the texts themselves. For example, both kôm and kôm 'of me' and bô ré and bê ré 'when we' occur. These examples lead to the final comment
about the appearance of the grammar: Some might find the notation extremely disjunctive, feeling, for example, that bé ré should be written béré. The justification for the notation used in this grammar is that it is based on phonological criteria, not grammatical. Concerning this matter more is said in the proper place.

IV

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

Notes to Introduction

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

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

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

Sec Samarin, 1958.

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

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

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

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

Greenberg, The Languages of Africa. The total number of Gbaya speaking people can only be estimated. It would include those who live in the Congo and the Cameroun as well as the Central African Republic. Van Bulck (L.S.N.B.B.) gives a figure of 500,000, but it is unclear whether these live only in the C.A.R. or whether some other areas are included. The number 600,000 for the entire area would not seem to be an exaggerated one.
The following is a selected bibliography of the Gbaya-Manza-Ngbaka languages. For the most part these works are linguistic in nature, but a few others have been included because of their usefulness as sources of information concerning the people or their culture. Not listed is the religious literature published either by the British and Foreign Bible Society or the American and Swedish (Protestant) mission societies working in the Cameroun, the Central African Republic, or the Congo (formerly Belgian).

Bruel, Georges

Burssens, A.
1933 "Kleene bijdrage over het zoogenaamde 'Bwaka' (Ubangi)," Congo (Bruxelles?) Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 558-567.

Calloch, J.

Clerc, M.

Clozel, F. J.

Dugast, I.

Éboué, Félix

Gaud, F.
Ciraud, G.

Greenberg, Joseph H.

Guilmain, M.

Hartmann, Hermann

Hilberth, J.

Hulstaert, G.

International African Institute (London)

Landréau, L.

Maes, V.

Naumann, Oberleutnant.

Saenen, J.
Samarin, William J.


Tessmann, Günter

1931 "Die drei Sprachen des Bajastammes: To, Labi, Baja (Kamerun)," Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen (Berlin), Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 70-115.


Tisserant, (le Père Ch.)


Tucker, A. N., and M. A. Bryan

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

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

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

PHONOLOGY

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

For the sake of reference the phonemes are here summarized:

Consonant phonemes: /p t k kp ? b d g gb mb nd ng ηmgb ?b ?d ?m ?n m n ηm w y ɣ r ʃ h ʋ z/.

Vowel phonemes: /i e æ ə u o o/.

Tones: high (/´/) and low (unmarked).

Nasalization: /n/.

Juncture: word division.

Pause: /, /.

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

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

111. Consonant phonemes.

Chart of Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STOPS</th>
<th>Egressive</th>
<th>/</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>kp</th>
<th>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>gb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prenasalized</td>
<td>mb</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ηmgb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingressive</td>
<td>?b</td>
<td>?d</td>
<td>&quot;glottalized&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASALS</td>
<td>Preglottalized</td>
<td>?m</td>
<td>?n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plain</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>ηm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLAPS</td>
<td>Semivowels</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Flaps</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Continuant</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPIRANTS</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

111.1. Description of consonants. The consonant system is characterized by the following points of articulation: bilabial, labiodental, postdental, alveolar, palatal, velar, and glottal. There are in addition the following types of contrast: voicing vs. unvoicing, oral rarification vs. absence of rarification (in injective vs. egressive), single vs. doubled stops, stops vs. spirants vs.
Fig. 1. Broad band sonograms of three paired utterances
nasals, and continuant vs. flap. In the following paragraphs, the order of presentation is different from that in the chart. For example, glottal stop is discussed after the prenasalized stops.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voiceless</th>
<th>Voiced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gan 'to surpass'</td>
<td>kan 'to swear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gp 'to hang (something)'</td>
<td>kp 'to agree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day 'to raise (animals)'</td>
<td>tay 'to wash (parts of body)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de 'to make, do'</td>
<td>te 'to come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 'to roast'</td>
<td>to 'to be sharp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dam 'to be sufficient'</td>
<td>tam 'to feel by touching'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gba 'to split'</td>
<td>kpa 'to find'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbo 'to arrive'</td>
<td>kpo 'to tie on'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gba 'to appear'</td>
<td>kpay 'to cross (sticks)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gay 'to scare'</td>
<td>kay 'to take (pl.)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Egressive</th>
<th>Injective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba 'to take'</td>
<td>?ba 'to disavow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ber- 'to pound'</td>
<td>?ber- 'to prevent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi 'to extinguish'</td>
<td>?bi 'to pick (fruit)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dik 'to thunder'</td>
<td>?dik 'to sift'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dok 'to be much'</td>
<td>?dok 'to be weak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du 'to make (fire)'</td>
<td>?du 'to draw (water)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gede 'certain tree'</td>
<td>ge?de 'buttock'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prenasalized</th>
<th>Plain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba 'to take'</td>
<td>mba 'to greet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dak 'to extract'</td>
<td>ndak 'to chase'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guri 'to smoke (mcat)'</td>
<td>?guti 'to become burnt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mar- 'to tie on waist'</td>
<td>mbar- 'to be tight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na 'to drink'</td>
<td>nda 'to have sexual intercourse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?mey 'to split'</td>
<td>?mgban 'to uproot'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

The spirants consist of labiodental voiceless and voiced /f/ and /v/, apico-
aloval [s] and [z], and voiceless /h/. Of these, only /s/ and /z/ have
acoustically detectable allophones. Both of them have laminoalveolar grooved
allophones [ʒ] and [z] as well as nongrooved ones. These grooved allophones
are very much like the English phones in articulation. The grooved and non-
grooved allophones freely vary in all positions where the phonemes can occur,
but the occurrence of the grooved allophones is dialectally determined. This is to say that more grooved allophones occur in the speech of people in the area between Bossangoa and Lere (déré) than in other areas. They are, however, not absent in some other areas although I never recorded any for the speech of my informant. The spirants are illustrated by the following words:

soy 'to sit down'
sok 'to become mature'
som 'to be finished'
fara 'place'
fey 'death'
fére 'crocodile'
vûmo 'hair'
ha 'to give'

zoY 'to bathe'
sok 'to see'
zo 'to admire'
vará 'iron money'
foro 'elephant'
vûla 'pimple'
vuy 'to mix'
he 'to buy'

The sonorants consist of nasals and liquids.

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

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

kam 'food'
dam 'to be adequate'
mà 'to appear (out of ground or water)'

kan 'torch'
daŋ 'to climb'
ŋma 'to press down'

Preglottalized nasals contrast with plain nasals in the following examples:

mà 'to plant (cuttings)'
màk 'to be adequate'
mam 'to laugh'
mam 'to appear (out of ground or water)'

?ma 'to open (fist)'
?mar- 'to squeeze, wring'
?mam 'to get hold of'
?mam 'to be inadequate'
?num 'to soak'

mar- 'to tie on waist'

?mar- 'to squeeze, wring'

Other examples of the preglottalized nasals: ?mà 'rainy season,' ?mà 'to render judgment,' ?mà 'to cut down (of tree),' ?mà 'to prevent,' ?mà 'to remain,' ?mà 'to become rotten (of tree),' ?mà 'to clench (fist),' ?mà 'to chop off (branches).'

The liquids consist of continuants /w j y/ and flaps /ɾ r '/. The voiced lateral apico-postdental continuant /l/ alternates in some words with /ɾ/, for which see below, but it is phonemically distinct.

délé 'chaff'
ala 'grief'
?bela 'trouble'
bolo 'certain tree'
dolo 'rat snare'

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

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

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

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

- [yu] 'certain reed'
- [we] 'to measure out'
- [yéïé] 'certain basket'
- [yé] 'to shake'
- [yé] 'to flee'
- [yo] 'skin, hide'
- [yα] 'to get lost'
- [ya] 'to be (pl.)'
- [yũ] 'thin'
- [yũ] 'to be far'
- [yũyũ] 'many (such as, chicks)'
- [ũũ] 'to stretch out'
- [ũũ] 'many (people)'
- [ũũ] 'sibling'

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

- [ũũ] 'your (pl.) face'
- [ũũ] 'your tongue'
- [ũũ] 'your neck'
- [ũũ] 'your leg'
- [ũũ] 'your knee'
- [ũũ] 'of you'
- [ũũ] 'the stone'

In medial position, that is, intervocally, however, the occurrence of [y] or [w] is somewhat correlated with certain combinations of either front
or back vowels or both. For example, only [y] occurs between front or between back vowels\(^{11}\) such as, [fye] 'where?' [weye] 'certain necklace,' [buyuu] 'descriptive of many people talking at once,' [vdy6] 'deception,' [foyo] 'shame,' [zokoy6] 'certain soft stone.'

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

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

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

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

In the second place, there are words containing a disputed [y] which are matched by free morpheme alternates containing undisputed [y]. Rather than arbitrarily eliminating the glide in one, it seems preferable to maintain the
similarity between both words. It can be argued that if \([y]\) occurs in one word, it probably (but not necessarily) would occur in the other. For example,

\([gb\text{f}y\text{â}]\) - \([gb\text{â}y\text{â}]\)

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

**Vowel-clusters with intervening \([y]\):**

\([i...c]\) \([f\text{ye}]\) 'where?' \([t\text{iy}c\text{ê}]\) 'entirety'

\([i...\varepsilon]\) \([ge\text{f}y\text{r}y\text{ê}]\) 'wide'

\([i...o]\) \([f\text{yo}]\) 'fetish'

\([i...\varepsilon]\) \([gi\text{yo}]\) 'leaning because of drowsiness'

\([i...a]\) \([?\text{biya}]\) 'comrade'

\([\varepsilon...a]\) \([gb\text{f}y\text{â}]\) 'Gbeya'

**Vowel-clusters with intervening \([w]\):**

\([e...\varepsilon]\) \([f\text{w}o\text{ô}]\) 'quiet'

\([u...e]\) \([zu\text{w}ê]\) 'certain aquatic reptile'

\([o...e]\) \([kow\text{ê}]\) 'whooping cough'

\([a...o]\) \([k\text{â}w\text{ô}]\) 'cow bird (egret)'

**Vowel-clusters with intervening \([y]\) or \([w]\):**

\([i...u]\) \([hi\text{y}u\text{u}]\) '(floating) swiftly'

\([hi\text{y}u\text{û}]\) - \([h\text{w}ô\text{ô}]\) 'quiet'

\([e...\varepsilon]\) \([he\text{y}o\varepsilon]\) 'without enthusiasm,'

\([k\text{w}o\text{k}w\text{ô}]\) (same as \([k\varepsilon\text{r}\text{k}z\varepsilon]\)) 'quickly'

\([u...\varepsilon]\) \([k\text{uy}\varepsilon\varepsilon]\) 'white (of hair),'

\([m\text{d}w\varepsilon]\) 'just visible (sprouts)'

\([u...a]\) \([gy\text{â}]\) 'certain ant,' \([d\text{w}a]\) 'goat'

\([\varepsilon...\varepsilon]\) \([l\text{by}\varepsilon\varepsilon]\) 'short (pejorative)'

\([\text{t}w\varepsilon]\) 'kidding remark'

\([\varepsilon...a]\) \([\text{y}a\text{y}]\) 'certain fish,' \([k\text{wa}]\) 'baby-carrying sling'

\([\text{n}\text{g}o\text{y}â]\) 'bush pig,' \([\text{u}\text{g}o\text{w}a]\) 'adze'

\([a...u]\) \([k\text{g}y\varepsilon\varepsilon]\) 'descriptive of noise made by something being put in hot oil,'

\([\text{v}\text{aw}\varepsilon\varepsilon]\) - \([\text{v}\text{i}y\varepsilon\varepsilon]\) 'many (pieces of paper)'

\([a...o]\) \([k\text{a}y\varepsilon]\) 'certain tree,' \([l\text{a}w\varepsilon]\) 'wart-hog tusk,' \([p\text{a}w\varepsilon]\) 'knife'

\([a...a]\) \([k\text{a}\varepsilon\varepsilon]\) 'roan antelope,' \([z\text{a}w\varepsilon]\) 'peanut'

\([a...i]\) \([\text{n}\text{g}\text{a}\text{w}o\varepsilon\varepsilon]\) 'certain bird' (so named because of the cry it makes)

\([a...e]\) \([\text{a}\varepsilon\varepsilon]\) 'this one' (unless \([-\varepsilon\varepsilon]\) is analyzed as a morpheme)

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

\([e...\varepsilon]\) \([w\varepsilon\text{y}i]\) 'the fire'

\([u...\varepsilon]\) \([n\text{d}u\varepsilon\varepsilon]\) 'the mouse'

\([o...\varepsilon]\) \([k\text{ô}y\varepsilon]\) 'the squirrel'

\([\varepsilon...\varepsilon]\) \([m\text{b}\varepsilon\text{y}i]\) 'the wealth'

\([a...\varepsilon]\) \([t\varepsilon\varepsilon]\) 'the washing'

(b) Identification of the phonemes. The preceding data are now summarized and the choice of the phonemicization explained.
The segments [i] and [u] are in complementary distribution with [y] and [w] in initial position and intervocically, but in final position they contrast. The distributions are stated formulaically with # representing pause or juncture. For example:

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

[fni] 'urine,' [hûfûïu] 'steam'

[kûi] 'the woman,' [kûfû] 'your (pl.) legs'

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

[yô] 'to get lost'
[kays] 'roan antelope'
[kôy] 'squirrel'

[yô] 'to get lost' [wô] 'hunger'
[zawa] 'peanut'
[toy] 'burden'

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

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

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

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

The phoneme /r/ has been called a flap continuant to distinguish it from the other continuants, but in fact it has allophones [f] and [f]. The apico-alveolar flap and trill ([?] and [f]) occur only before juncture or pause and although usually voiced do sometimes occur voiceless. The variation between these allophones is free although there is some evidence that [f] is used, sometimes quite prolonged, for certain stylistic reasons. There are not too many examples of these allophones because Gbeya seems to be going
through a stage where the sequence /VlrVl/ (where /r/ is [Ï]) is being reduced to /V^V^/. This is clearly seen in the following three dialect forms (in the first two of which 'r' represents [¥]): wârâ (Gbanu), wâr (Gbaya south of Bossentele), wââ (Gbeya, under certain morphological conditions wâr-) 'way.' For further discussion of this matter see 132.1 and 133.3.

Only a few nouns, no verbs, and a handful of descriptive adverbs have final /r/, that is [?]'. For example: ¥ igo bor 'he knows a little bit'; ¥ aâ tej nu gbor gère 'he placed the wood on the ground untied'; âm mbirâ kpâ tuwaâ, go 5 hâr 'I swept, the inside of the house, so it's clean'; zora yâ hor 'the mouse runs fast'; zôr - zôô 'chisel.'

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

- ri 'to eat something liquid'
- rôk 'to be smooth'
- râkâ 'rasp'
- ré 'village'
- rôm 'be able'
- rî 'water'
- rôf 'eye, face'
- rôfe 'trash, flotsam'
- ri 'water'
- rôgti 'to plug up (holes)'
- rem 'be able'
- ré 'village'
- rôf 'eye, face'

The voiced labiodental flap /v/ is produced by drawing the lower lip behind the upper teeth and then rapidly flapping it outward. In my data it occurred only in the following words: gmédia 'a very deep place in a river,' hovok 'descriptive of passing on or falling out of sight,' hovovo 'exclamation of victory (at winning at a throw of dice),' vog 'descriptive of hitting something' as in âm roâj te nooi vog 'I hit this tree so it rang.' In addition, the word gâva is used at Bowe for the more common Gbeya word refa 'fish-trapping ramp.'

111.2. Distribution of consonants.

All consonants occur initially, for example: ba 'to grab,' dik 'to thunder,' gan 'to surpass,' gba 'to break,' pi 'to throw (single object),' te 'to come,' kin 'to roll,' lpa 'to find,' ba 'to disavow,' dik 'to sift,' mar- 'to wring out,' nap 'to ruin,' ma 'to plant (shoots),' nap 'to be inadequate,' mà 'to press down on,' mba 'to greet,' ndak 'to chase,' ngay 'to be strong,' èngban 'to uproot,' lar- 'to lick,' ra 'to congeal,' vog 'of hitting something,' fan 'to weave,' sa 'to call,' ha 'to give,' vuy 'to stir,' zam 'to rescue,' ya 'to sit (of plural subject),' wa 'to hoe.' The phoneme /ŋ/ occurs initially in only three
words, all descriptive adverbs: ṣe ṣe descriptive of the motion of peddling a bicycle, ṣiṣe covered (with water), ṣeṣe descriptive of certain linear design.

All consonants except /h/ occur medially, for example: huubá a certain caterpillar, gida 'enemy,' gaşa 'a certain small fish,' kógba 'crow,' b̩ịpí 'wasps,' r̩ịọtọ 'two,' ndọka 'wager,' su̩ka 'manioc leaves,' sa̩ba 'blacksmith's tongs,' sa̩de 'animal,' sa̩a 'mother,' zo'-mi 'to nibble,' do̩nịn 'cool,' gimá 'song,' saná 'sitter,' da-go 'eleventh lunar month,' karọmu 'halfheartedly,' sa̩ambọre 'certain chicken-hawk,' ọgba ndọ 'stump, bága 'rubber,' ọdàmgbá 'testicle,' ala 'grief,' sfọr 'spear,' họvọk 'passing out of sight,' ndọfá 'certain small wild duck,' bisa 'adolescent boy,' kavata kavata 'walking) back and forth,' gaza 'circumcision,' kaya 'roan antelope,' zawa 'peanut.'

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

112. Vowel phonemes.

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

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

gi'da 'husks'  ge'da 'manioc'
t'e tree'  te 'body'
ze 'month' ZE 'night'
r'e to enter' RE 'to poke'
o 'to break' ọ 'to be'
dęk 'to rub'  đık 'to be big'
?bo 'to mould'  ?bo 'to bud'
ʤàm 'to spear'  ìmà 'to blow (horn)'
Du 'to make (fire with grass'
ru 'to stir'  RO 'to stone'
kpa 'to find' kpo 'to tie on'
Long vowels are equal in length to a cluster of two vowels and are phonemicized as such. No contrast exists between [V-] and [VV], either in their length or in the types of tones with which they occur. Thus, the tonal sequence low-high occurs in forms whose shape is CVCV, CV\(^1\)V\(^1\), or CV\(^1\)V\(^2\). For example, toró 'dog,' d?6 'beer,' feá 'died.' And the form sii 'the returning' < si 'to return' + -i is as long as bii (~ bir-) 'to twist' or tji (~ tjr-) 'tail.' The contrast between long and short vowels is attested by the following examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bi } & \text{ 'to fight'} & \text{ bii } & \text{ 'to twist'} \\
\text{gi } & \text{ 'to cook'} & \text{ gii } & \text{ 'to follow'} \\
\text{?ba } & \text{ 'to disavow'} & \text{ ?baa } & \text{ 'to follow'} \\
\text{?bo } & \text{ 'to mould'} & \text{ ?boo } & \text{ 'to butcher'} \\
\text{do } & \text{ 'to flower'} & \text{ doo } & \text{ 'to shed'} \\
\text{dg } & \text{ 'to curse'} & \text{ dga } & \text{ 'to prevent'} \\
\text{fu } & \text{ 'to explode'} & \text{ fyu } & \text{ 'to sew'} \\
\text{gb } & \text{ 'to be ripe'} & \text{ gbpe } & \text{ 'to scrape'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

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

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

This harmony obtains with the nasalized vowels as well, except that there are no nasalized front or back higher mid vowels, /ε/ and /o/. Moveover,
in the data no instances of /p...y/, /ʔ...y/ or /a...y/ occur, but because of the symmetry which is often revealed in phonologic systems, I should expect to find these combinations. For example, I should expect to find /a...y/ because of the already existing /a...u/. Perhaps /i...y/ and /ʔ...y/ are less likely because of the absence of /ɛ...u/ and /o...u/.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low Tone</th>
<th>High Tone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nú 'mouth'</td>
<td>nu 'ground, earth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fûk 'meadow'</td>
<td>fuk 'flour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máná 'bell'</td>
<td>mana 'certain fetish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wár- 'way, path'</td>
<td>war- 'bean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kòo 'woman'</td>
<td>koo 'grandfather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kòy 'squirrel'</td>
<td>koy 'handle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gôro 'snail'</td>
<td>goro (zu-goro 'knee')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gàré 'bundle'</td>
<td>gara 'yard, space in front of house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zîrê 'sickness'</td>
<td>zere '(fall) in mourning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûm 'oar'</td>
<td>kiím 'my mother' (Boguila)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gûrû 'in one place'</td>
<td>gurû 'certain large turtle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bôrô 'lower spine'</td>
<td>boro 'hole in tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûtû 'hut'</td>
<td>boro 'iron'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutú 'fog'</td>
<td>kütû 'certain tree'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

121. Nasalization. The phoneme of nasalization is considered a suprasegmental which occurs simultaneously with vowels. It is represented thus: //,//. Two features characterize its distribution: (1) There is complete nasalization of vowels in any stretch of speech between junctures; oral and nasalized vowels never occur together in this environment. (2) Nasalized vowels follow any consonant but /b d ṭ n j/ and the prenasalized stops, and they never precede these nor /h/ and the simple plosives /b d g gb/.

The mutual exclusiveness of oral and nasalized vowels is attested by two pairs of words: [báŋgá] ~ [báŋgará] 'certain fish,' [dûlæ] ~ [dulé] (the first variant of this second example being used at Boguila) 'tadpole.' It is also significant that whereas under certain circumstances final [m] is replaced by [mb] before a vowel, this never occurs when [m] is preceded by a nasalized vowel. (See 131.1.) The convention is adopted that only the first vowel in any word is marked for nasalization: [dɔpɔ] is written /dɔpɔ/ 'beer.'
An alternative analysis would set up two sets of vowel phonemes, one oral and one nasalized, and then describe the mutual exclusiveness of these two sets in terms of a kind of vowel harmony. Since these two analyses are mutually convertible without any difficulty whatsoever, no case is made for my own.

Oral and nasalized vowels contrast in the following words:

ko 'to apply, smear'  
k? 'to agree'

ir- 'to push'  
jr- 'to roll up'

kpay 'to cross,' trans.  
kpay 'to be sour'

bere 'dry season'  
b?re 'certain ant'

biri 'baboon'  
biri 'certain fruit'

fuli 'to whisper'  
furi 'to spit'

gbur- 'to drag'  
gyr- 'to swallow'

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

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

123.1. Following hesitation:

ó nam, kó ['], yám kó kóoí, , bóú zee, g?y 'the members of the family,  
of a (no, that is) when the father of the girl hears, thus'

gan a, ['] 52 ye dé?dé kóo ná, 'shee, is2 not3 a good3 woman4'

d?n wa [:], ee, g?oro d?n zá?di yui 'running they, er, Goron was running'
nzapà ne à ['], remàì In rì, 'God went, (no that is) is sufficient, for us2'

123.2. At syntactic boundaries:
mo-µàrì, kò wa z [ ] sàì, nc [ ] ëyò-teq 'their2 clothing, was, tree-bark4' wa; nde wa [ ], ñìmgùì ñìmgùì [ ], a wa yòù kò wa mo3 roy roy4, 'they1 who have stripped (their clothes off)2 eat things3 as they please4'

bò yòù sa'de1, roy roy2 [ ] , ñì ñì mgùì roy3, nè dz4 gì 'if (he) should eat meat, indiscriminately2, leprosy3 will afflict4 him3'

gà g kày1 dal5 ríto3 [ '], ñà g mì yì nam4 kà gì 'and he takes1 two3 dal drums5, and he gathers the members4 of his5 family4.'

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

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

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

q bàj, nà ñ yùq2 'He takes1 and eats (it)2.'
gànà ñà kjàd rì4 màì à nàì4 nàì6. 'He1 doesn't take water3 to drink4.'

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

mo mf? 'Do you mean me?' (= 'thing I')
mé ye ge? 'What is that you're saying?'
mé ne à wéndé? 'Did you go? I repeat.'

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

âm ndorâ2 kpém3 ! 'I killed (just) one.'
diâ2 tê2 mâ3 â gbe re2 ! 'The lion was coming to kill us.'
trê1 kûâ2 zu'tu're2 dîfô noâ3 ?né4. 'We departed from here, very
carly in the morning.'
wâ dê2 mo3 zaa4 ! 'They did things without profit.'

124.4. Double-exclamation contour /!!/ indicates insistence or impatience
and most often occurs with directives. It is characterized by a final falling
pitch, from high to low and from low to lower. (The texts, being anecdotal
or narrative in nature, reveal only a few examples.)
trê nê!! 'Let's go!'
wâ sf ?dôn sf!! '(He said), "go on back!'
ge re péê!! 'So we returned!'

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

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

131.1. Consonants.
(a) A word-final voiceless stop phoneme preceded by an oral vowel often
becomes voiced before another voiced consonant except the nasals (and
presumably the injectives). Most examples are of /k/ > /g/. There are no ex-
amples of /t/ > /d/, for example: zog rôk ?dê (< zok rôk) '(if they should)
see very well,' tég zâan (< tôk zâan) 'fall outside,' bûg yû (< bûk yû) 'wind
blows,' dag za (< dak za) 'certain edible frog,' sog lolo (< sok lolo) '(sit)
squatting,' rîb wa (< rîp wa) 'their face.'

(b) A word-final voiceless stop phoneme often becomes a nasal of the
same point of articulation before another nasal. Most examples are of
/k/ > /ŋ/. There are none of /t/ > /n/, for example: bôm zon, ne mise dûy
tê (< ... zok, ne ... ) 'when I looked, Monsieur was coming,' nda?dak
nda?dak (< nda?dak nda?dak) 'their noses,' nda?ré (< nda?dak) 'pierce the edge of it.' That this very common process does not always
occur is attested by examples, such as: ?buk ndée 'shoulder a bow,' kooi
bo zôk, ndÊ wa dâa bâsa 'if the girl should see that they got dressed up.'

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

(d) Plain nasal consonants of many words often alternate with prenasal-
ized stops before close, and open, juncture under various circumstances.
Some words have two freely alternating forms, one with a plain nasal and
one with a prenasalized stop. Other words occur with prenasalized stop only when they occur in certain morphological or syntactic environments; they are said to be "determined."

Free alternation occurs in the following words:
- daná ~ dandá 'sack'
- ndonoko ~ ndondoko 'jigger'
- má ngo ~ mbángo 'mango fruit'
- wè né ~ wèndé 'or'
- muná ~ mbunzá 'White Person'

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

Prenasalized stops can occur in verbs preceding the 3S pronominal suffix, before the perfective suffix, and before emphatic -i. For example:
- tom 'to send' → tômbaa 'send him'
- bom 'to be blind' → bombá 'became blind'

Prenasalized stops can occur in the following words:
- daná ~ dandá 'sack'
- ndonoko ~ ndondoko 'jigger'
- má ngo ~ mbángo 'mango fruit'
- wè né ~ wèndé 'or'
- muná ~ mbunzá 'White Person'

Prenasalized stops can occur in the following words:
- kam 'food' → kambáa 'the food'
- kpém 'one' → kpémbaa 'the first'
- oôn 'back' → oón 'the back'

A prenasalized stop almost always occurs in the words ne 'to go,' ne 'and,' ne preposition, and ná 'mouth' when they precede 1P and 3P pronouns. This is true of the verb ne both when it occurs as a simple predicate and when it occurs as an auxiliary. In one instance ne 'and' occurs with prenasalized stop even before 3P pronoun:
- ndé ré, sioso 'we're going to return'
- ndé wá, gbo2 s501 'they're going to arrive today,'
- nde, wa, ná, go, ndé, wa, ná, ngombé, ngombé and they went, and they, pounded, the gombi bark'
- wi, ná, ndé, nda, kó, kóm, 'you who outraged my wife,'
- gam guram, ná, ndé, wa, 'the whirlwind took them,'
- wi-ré, ná, bó, zée, ná, 'anyone who doesn't obey our commandments,'

A prenasalized stop occasionally occurs as an alternant of a plain nasal before open juncture and followed by a vowel:
- fá, (~ [ind]) 6 wi-ré, 'with, people'
- há, ymm, hámm, (~ [ham]) 6 ó, 'give, some to me, please,'

(c) A word-initial /w/ may be replaced by /b/ following /m/, such as:
- am, tóm, bá, ~ am tóm wa 'I send them,' (cf. am tômbaa 'I send him')

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

Examples of change:

- gu?d6 bo ré ro gmaât in mise (< ꢀmā) 'when Monsieur and I departed'
- kprâ, réffto (< kprâ) 'two chickens'
- ers 5 te-rê sé (< réř) 'let's rest first'
- won̂-pee, ham, (< nê) 'to return, with it to me'
- rém c râ ná (< râ) 'can't give it up'
- ñma mo gan 5 ñgây gân nzapâ ná (< nzâpâ) 'nothing is too hard for God'
- te-rê yîm bêndé (< rô) '(said that) we should be angry (= our bodies hurt)?'
- am, dakâ tf (< dakâ) 'I, led the way'
- nem, yara 3 5 3 tê-kaka da me 3, 'and I was strolling there, at Kaka?'da'
- me 3, tâ 2 5 3 hâ ranjmgbâ wêndé (< tâ, < ranjmgbâ) 'did you tell Ranj-mgbâ?'
- dyaâ bâ né yê (< dyâ) 'kept on taking and eating (= sat, takes and eats)'
- né, neh rê tf, wen (< ntâ) 'and, we would have talked,'

Examples without change:
- héé kpwâ, doka 3 'cry, a lot,' compare gan tê wâ hee kpwâ ná wêndé 'or won't they cry?'
- a mê ypn ñgyâ ná 'don't eat forest-pig' compare a mê ypn ñgu?bû ná (< ñgu?bû) 'don't eat hippopotamus'
- torô kâm 'my dog' compare torb kâf 'his own dog'
- gö, hâs 3 zuturee 5 'and I came out early this morning,'
- gbai, tâ, hâ ganâ-zuf 'even if you should, tell Ganâ-zuf'
- nê nzapâ deâ fn wa 'what God did for them'

132. Morphological alternations.

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

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

The bound noun allomorphs occur with the pronominal suffixes (where they indicate possession), with the determinant, and—in a few cases—with -i and -ê (see 213.2.). A few of these nouns are the following: gêr- 'neck,' 6r- 'hand,' war- 'bean,' wâr- 'path,' kor- 'grandparent,' tjr- 'tail.' Note
that the free form also occurs with the explicit pronouns. For example:

gérém 'my neck'   éraa 'his hand'
tjì-ć 'his tail'   wáraa 'the path'
bó-koröm 'my grandchild'   wári 'that side'
wárée 'this side'

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

hëf hëfri 'tie it up'
\( \text{həf həfri 'his tied it up already'} \)
peri kôm gi 'this is my returning'
ge a mb gêm wéngé ndé 'why do you deceive me?'
go yâram kif sa?de 'so I was looking for animals (= and stroll I seek
animal)'

(b) \( f \)-pattern. A few nouns and verbs have free allomorphs of the form
CVp and bound allomorphs of the form CVf- whose distributions are the same
as those described in (a) above. I do not know whether all nouns with final
/p/ have bound allomorphs with /f/, so that in the lexicon I enter with /f/
only those of which I am certain. They are the following: lêf- 'tongue,' daf-
'pattern, design,' rff- 'eye, face,' zaf- 'nose' and probably kff- 'paddle.'

Only one verb characterized by this pattern occurs in the data, viz. kifì 'to
turn, paddle,' which alternates freely with kip in the imperfective, but occurs
only as kif- with the other vowel suffixes. For example:

rffâm 'my face'   lêp-ć 'his tongue'
zafâa 'the nose'   kifâa 'turn him over'
\( \text{â kifô dila 'he turned into a lion'} \)

132.2. Vowel changes. The vowels of certain short words are customarily
assimilated to the vowels of certain pronouns, and in one case to the plural
adjectivo 6, which immediately follow these words. Junctural phenomena and
assimilation of nasalization are discussed below. These words are the con-
nectives mó, go, só kó (but not its alternant free form sóô), tr, hâ, ne, and
kó (in: wen kó); the prepositions ?bó, hâ, and kó; and the auxiliaries tr, ne,
and bo. Except for the proposition kó, these are given in the form which
occurs with 2S mó 'you'; before nouns this proposition is usually kó but be-
fore the pronouns, except 1P explicit pronoun ró, it is kó. This regressive
assimilation is complete before 3S q, 1P ró, sg. explicit ğ, and pl. explicit
ró in their nonsubjectival (here cited) or subjectival forms. In addition, be-
fore 3P wa 'they,' the connective ne and the auxiliary ne can become no,
and the connective hâ and the preposition hâ can become hó. (The alterna-
tions involving the nasal consonants of these words have already been dis-
cussed in 131.1.)

The regressive assimilation of nasalization of the pronouns 3S q and sg.
explicit ğ (which differs from the function of nasalization already described
in 121) is to be described on the basis of fast informal speech. For example, in the speech of my informant (a tape-recorded text) *kô *'of himself' occurs as [kp[k££] (with two pulses but no glottal stop), and [k£f:] (as one long vowel of two-mora length):

go bô ré1 nc2 bó ré ghoâ4 'and when we1 went2 and3 arrived41
bâ 4 gon1 wa2 né gaza 'after he circumcised1 them2'
gâ 4 sôk 'and he matures'
sô kô 4 tô 'then he talks1
ôrô1 koâ2 bem kô ré3 mbô4 ré yôô môa 'they said we1 bore2 our child3 so as to4 profit from it (we eat the thing)'
gá ye ge1, mbâ2 âô3 ?ôô ôô 4 'he said1, 'Greet2 her3 for me4,' (the speaker)'
hâ ô ñgaragé 'to the ñgaragé members,' hô ô koy-wô-rê 'to the remaining people1'
tô1 ro2 nó3, ôô 'they said1, 'so1 we2 could drink3,'"

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

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

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

wééy kô ( < wéey) 'her husband,' wééy tôko 'man's mat (for sleeping),'1
wééy nôo 'this man'
kôô nôo ( < k6o) 'this woman'
sôô nôo ( < sôo) 'today1'
gâa nôo ( < gâa) 'like this4'
géré wô-rô (< géré) 'ordinary person, stranger1'
ô sôkâi ké ré - ô sôkâi ké ré 'our elders1'

(c) The nouns kôô 'woman' and bêem 'child' have allomorphs kô, and bém or bê. In attribution with another noun or verb, in a noun phrase with the preposition kô 'of,'1 and with the determinant suffix, the allomorph kô occurs. The allomorph bê occurs in the same environments, except that bêm occurs with the preposition kô. For example:

kô-torô 'female dog,' bê-torô 'pup'
kôa 'the woman, the female,' bêa 'the child'
kô kôm 'my wife,' bêm kôm 'my child'
kô-zeex te nôa 'disobedient woman (= woman hear body not), bê-zeex te 'obedient child'

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

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

133.1. Consonant alternations:

/s/ ~ /t/: mbósórô ~ mbótórô 'young (referring to infant whose umbilical cord has not yet fallen off), kpasa - kpata 'real',
gharasa ~ gbarata 'whip'
/r/ ~ /y/: riffo ~ ýffto (Boay) 'two,' lôffto ~ lyffto 'short,' rofé ~ yóxo 'rubbish'

133.2. Vowel alternations:

/i/ ~ /u/: gima ~ guna 'song,' bisa ~ busa 'adolescent boy,' biro ~ buro 'oribi (antelope)'
/i/ ~ /e/: kik si'di ~ kek ke'de 'strong (in health)'
/i/ ~ /ê/: bê'dé'dé ~ bê'dé'dé 'descriptive of cutting chicken's neck,'
êfrê ~ êfrê 'sweet'
/e/ ~ /o/: wosé ~ wosé 'sun,' wey ~ woy 'fire' (o-forms are from Boguila)
/e/ ~ /a/: feré (Gbadee) ~ fara 'place'
/o/ ~ /u/: wa'di ~ wa'di 'to push'
/o/ ~ /a/: kon ~ kun (in a Gbeya proverb) 'navel'

133.3. Many Gbeya words have alternate forms that are distinguished by the occurrence or absence of the consonants /r/ and /y/. In this respect Gbeya is typical of the Gbaya-Manza languages where this phenomenon is rather common. By describing it as it occurs in the language family as a whole, I can simplify its description in Gbeya. If we take a bisyllabic form
with intervocalic /r/ as basic, we find that several alternants are possible: The /r/ is either kept, lost, or replaced by /y/ or /w/; if /r/ is kept, then the vowels may be retained or the one preceding or following is lost, or the one preceding is lengthened. (Perhaps these vowel changes occur only if they are identical, for I do not recall any which were unlike.) Taking boro 'iron' as an example, we have the following theoretical possibilities: bro, bor, boor, boo, booy, and boy. Not all of these would occur in any one dialect, nor is any one dialect characterized by the use of only one of those possible forms. Rather, a dialect is characterized by the fact that certain percentages of the words occur in one form, and others in other forms. In one respect Gbeya is a boo-dialect, because many nouns have an allomorph of this shape whereas other dialects do not. On the other hand, it never has the form bro whereas it is common at Boguila (such as, tró 'dog,' ndrá 'buffalo,' where /r/ stands for [?]).

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

**boro ~ boo:**
- gbéra ~ gbéya 'bone'
- kpírì ~ kpìj 'axe' (The forms kpìj 'axe' and tìf 'laziness' were obtained only in elicitation.)
- mûru ~ múu 'boneless meat, flesh'
- surì ~ suu (both in the imperfective) 'to swell' (In the perfective, the allomorph sur- occurs.)

**boro ~ boy:**
- ari (Bowe) ~ ay 'to fall (leaves)'
- dâri (Bowe) ~ day 'to have strong flavor'
- dgrì (Bowe) ~ dgy 'wound'
- ?dori (Bowe) ~ ?doy 'slave'
- fìri ~ fyy (Boay) 'to spit'
- gari (Bozoum) ~ gyy 'to hang (something) up'
- gerì (Bowe) ~ gey 'clay'
- kori (Bowe) ~ koy 'remainder'
- mbori (Bowe) ~ mboy 'bride price'
- ñgari (Bowe) ~ ñgay 'strength'
- tòrf ~ tòlf (Bowe) ~ tòy 'certain bird'
- weri (Bowe) ~ wey 'lime'

**boro ~ booy:**
- gbéri (Bowe) ~ gbéey 'blossom'
- kéri (Bowe) ~ kéey 'fear'
- kërì (Bowe) ~ këey 'charcoal'
- sëri (Bowe) ~ sëoy 'glue'
wôri (Bowe) ~ wêey 'man'
bor ~ boo:
nor ~ noo 'certain tree'
zôr ~ zô6 'chisel'
boy ~ boo:
?bay ~ ?baa 'only'
boro ~ boyo ~ boo (/r/ and /y/ occur in Gbeya only in perfective verbs, with -á; but in imperfective verbs they appear with -i at Bowe, such as, beri. See 132.1.):
berâ ~ bce 'to burn'
gborâ ~ gbee 'to miss, to be absent'
herâ ~ hee 'to cry'
perâ ~ pee 'to return'
werâ ~ wee 'to make a noise, to sound'
boro ~ boyo ~ boo (where /y/ occurs in both perfective and imperfective):
gari ~ gaa (Bozoum) ~ gay 'to bail out (water)'
kparâ ~ kpay ~ kpaa 'to cross (sticks)'
larâ ~ lay ~ laa 'to lick'

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thus, from Sango and from French, Gbeya acquires words that do not fit the phonological pattern natural to Gbeya. For example, the Sango words makunzi '(village) chief,' nzapę 'God,' and ọgınza 'money' occur in those forms, or with /nd/ replacing /nz/.

French loans which occur in my texts are the following:

- abe ~ abf < eh bien, a connector
- báak, báki < bac 'ferry'
- bó < bon, interj.
- díźèr < dix heures 'ten o'clock'
- dímjfsi < dimanche 'Sunday, week'
- doktéer (doktére) < docteur 'doctor'
- fatigé < fatigué 'to be tired'
- félèř < fleur 'flower'
- fotôo < photo 'camera, picture'
- kalimèc < réclamé 'find fault with, to denounce'
- kamém < quand même 'even if'
- kanivóo < caniveau 'ditch by side of road'
- kátrétér < quatre heures 'four o'clock'
- kóntòwf < continué 'to continue'
- kámáse ~ kámázé < commencé 'to begin'
- kuziniyée < cuisinier 'cook'
- lèř < l'heure 'hour, time'
- lekòol < l'école 'school'
lopitâal < l'hôpital 'hospital'
madâam < madame
madimazÉel < mademoiselle 'unmarried (usually European) woman'
mâdâver < manoeuvre 'workman'
mâ < mais 'but, and, etc.'
mâm < même 'in fact'
mârkredi < mercredi 'Wednesday'
mârsî < merci 'thanks'
mâsi < monsieur
midî < midi 'noon'
pasîtz < pasteur 'pastor'
pe (in: pe ne yff) < payé 'to pay'
sâki < sac 'thousand (francs)'
sasîz < chasseur 'hunter: someone who makes living from hunting animals and selling meat'
sâez < chaise 'chair'
tîti < tente 'tarpaulin'
tôrșe < torche 'flashlight'
tôu < tout 'all'
vâdradî < vendredi 'Friday'
vêlôo < vélo 'bicycle'
vîteš < vitesse 'rapidity'
wotôo < auto 'auto, truck'
zûska < jusqu'à 'for a long time'

Notes to Chapter One

1 All diagraphs and /ŋmb/ represent unit phonemes. Implosive stops and preglottalized nasals are both represented by the use of the glottal stop /ʔ/ because (1) the phonation of both is in some particulars similar and (2) their distributions are parallel. (These implosives would in the European literature probably be represented by hooked 6 and ʃ. Had these symbols been available, I would have used them for the phones.) The linguistic methodological canons of some might require the segments here represented as /mb nd ŋmb ŋd ŋm ŋn/ to be interpreted as clusters of consonants. Doing so would not otherwise change the present phonemic analysis of the language. I prefer to draw attention to the fact that apart from these segments there are no consonant clusters in the language. Accepting these as unit phonemes permits me to describe the sequential pattern of words by the formula ([C][V][V]n(C)), where every vowel occurs with a tone and may or may not occur with nasalization. In phonetic transcription nasalization is indicated either by a cedilla ([ç]) or by a tilde ( [~]).

2 Although the terms "egressive" and "ingressive" are properly used to designate types of productive mechanisms, they are here used to distinguish two types of stops. The ingressive stops are more commonly known as injective or implosive stops. The term "glottalized" is used primarily to group two sets of phonemes which pattern similarly.
Spectrograms were made on a Kay Electric Company Type B Sonagram at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology with the assistance of Mr. Simon-Pierre Nambozouina, a native speaker of Gbeya, and Mr. Terry Langendoen. Words with contrasting /k g/, /t d/, and /s z/ were uttered directly into the microphone by the informant. Dr. Peter Ladefoged of the University of California (Los Angeles), who was kind enough to study the spectrograms for me, expresses the opinion that "there seems to be very little consistent difference between the items." He adds that if the apparently lowered pitch of the "voiced" ones is real, which a narrow band study would show up more clearly, this might be evidence for a decrease in air pressure. The contrast would therefore be, not between voiceless and voiced, but between fortis and lenis, with voicing an accompanying but not distinctive feature.

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


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

The freedom of this variation is of course relative. I do not in fact know whether for any particular word [s] or [û] is more frequent. An interesting comparison is American English, where the alveolar flap [?] does not freely vary with [t] according to Zellig S. Harris (Methods in Structural Linguistics, University of Chicago Press, 1951, p. 36), but does occur in some forms more frequently than not.

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

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

Some words with /r/ are written in Protestant literature with "1." The Gbaya react to these as being 'childish.' On one occasion, however, I witnessed a lapse substitution of /l/ for /r/ in the word gbalé 'partridge' which was immediately corrected.

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

It should be noted that /w 1/ as well as /r/ can be substituted morphophonemically within the language (a characteristic of some of the other Gbaya languages too), in which case the difference in form is sometimes correlated with meaning difference.


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

The occurrence of this sound in Kreish (Gbaya) and Shona has already been noted (Westermann and Ward, op. cit., pp. 76-77). Eugene Nida informed me, in conversation, of its occurrence in Ngbaka (the Congo) and I have heard it in some of the Banda dialects as well as in Kpere (related to Mbum).
"The terms initial, medial, and final (and their corresponding adverbs) in this grammar are defined respectively as follows: preceded by pause or open juncture and preceding another segment, between segments, and following another segment but preceding pause or open juncture.


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

Phonemic though they may be, tones contrast in only a relatively small number of minimal pairs. Fewer yet are the "morphologically" contrasted pairs. One example is the following: ndà re 5 ?do-a-zà 'we went and slept out (= went we sleep under bush),' ndà ré 5 ?do-a-zà 'we would have slept out (= went we sleep under bush). It is this latter kind of contrast which has been called "grammatical" or "syntactic" tone (Westermann and Ward, op. cit., p. 134).

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

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

This process accounts for many variant forms in the Gbeya dialects. For example, Bozoum lax or lag, Gbeya langi 'to pass on.'

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

One man, whom I knew, somehow acquired a few forms more characteristic of the Boguila dialect although he was born within a few miles of Bossangoa on the Bozoum road and lived near there all his life. When he used the IP pronoun ó, he would have such forms as ndoo (instead of nde re) 'and we,' too (instead of te re) 'that we should,' and ndoo (instead of ndé rê) 'we shall.'


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

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

Summary Chart of Bound Morphemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>211.1</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>Imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211.2</td>
<td>-â</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211.3</td>
<td>-i₂</td>
<td>Emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211.4</td>
<td>-is</td>
<td>Nominalizing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212.1</td>
<td>-V</td>
<td>&quot;Demonstrative&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212.2</td>
<td>-r</td>
<td>Relational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213.1</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>Determinant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213.21</td>
<td>-i₄</td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213.22</td>
<td>-i₅</td>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213.3</td>
<td>-V</td>
<td>Designative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td></td>
<td>Postclitic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

211.1. Imperfective suffix {-i₁}.² It has allomorphs zero, -i, and -V, the tones of which are always those of the base (see 390). The allomorph zero occurs with some consonant-final and with all vowel-final bases, including those verb-base allomorphs that have /r/ in the perfective (for which see 391); the allomorph -i occurs with consonant-final bases; the allomorph -V (which is a vowel identical to the base vowels preceding it) occurs with only four consonant-final bases.¹

¹For notes to Chapter Two, see p. 54.
Examples of -i. The following is only a sampling, for the list is extensive. In the vocabularies all such verbs are given in their low-tone imperfective form. Included in the following are the few verbs that take either -i or the zero allomorph:

?bati 'to deny'  kuki 'to rub on'
ki?di 'to look for'  kãsi 'to seize'
guri 'to smoke (meat)'  ri?i 'to roll (leaves)'
go?di 'to peek'  dali 'to reveal'
ki?i - kip 'to turn
ke?ni - keq (te) 'to shun'
yaka?ni ~ yã?i ~ yã (te) 'to strive'

Examples of zero:
ri?k 'to strike'
toy 'to carry (on head)'
rem 'to be able'
gan 'to surpass'
gbe 'to kill'
ko 'to give birth'

Examples of -?:
sembere 'to pack to brim (by filling in corners)'
sengle (wen) 'to disagree'
lako?do (te) 'to obey'
yaga?o 'to herd into a small group'

211.2. Perfective suffix {-a}. This has allomorphs -â, -û, -5, and -â.5 -5 occurs when the base vowel is either /i/ or /u/ (and is of course phonemically /i/ according to the morphophonemic rule of 132.2); -6 occurs when the base vowel is either /i/ or /u/ (that is, when nasalization does not occur); when the base ends in an open syllable, the allomorph -û may occur instead; -â occurs in all other environments. Examples of verbs that take these various allomorphs follow:

Verbs that take -â:
dik 'to thunder'
ndin 'to chase away'
zik 'to encircle'
usi 'to show'

Verbs that take -? or -û:
zu 'to steal'
bì 'to extinguish'

Verbs that take -5 or -û:
dâli 'to be heavy'
tyn 'to awaken'
yu 'to pop, explode'

Verbs that take -5 or -û:
kû 'to cross (stream)'
zy 'to stand (something) upright'
Verbs that take -â:
- ndak 'to chase'
- ngâ?di 'to wait'
- kâ 'to agree'
- zam 'to save'
- goy 'to like'
- ngâm 'to hold'
- sak 'to be clean'
- kpe 'to shut'

211.3. The emphatic suffix {-±2} is thus named to distinguish it from the other homophonous suffixes and because it occurs with a repeated verb identical with the predicate, the use of which indicates emphasis or intensity (for which see 414.32). It occurs with low tone following a verb base that always occurs with high tone. This means that it occurs with the bound allomorphs of the verbs, such as those ending with /r/. Some speakers use forms in which the tones are reversed: low tone on the verb and high on the suffix. There are some indications that the latter is especially characteristic of the Sama dialect. For example:

ôrôj ré
2
y?g
3
wârâa
4
yprji gâ, 'as if, we ate the fruit/
6
ijmaa, a foo
gaza
3
bo
4
fori 'as for some, (they) purify themselves (= wash their circumcision of the circumcision rite)

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

mo-ôf 'thing to sleep on'
mo-ômbéri 'thing to beat on, drum'
mo-ôday 'thing to raise, pet, domestic animal'
farâ-ôf 'place to sleep'
mo-fài 'thing which results in death, anything lethal'
mo-ôgbië 'thing for killing, weapon' (as in proverb: gôô-te há béem hât kô, ne gôô-te há mo-ôgbië hât gbé ná 'the shade of a tree gives you children to bear and it does not give you weapons with which to kill!')
zèe, wesè déâm, fara, na, nè, fara-pé, wesé dôm ná 'yesterday, (the) sun beat down on me, as I went (= place of going), but, as I returned, the sun did not beat down on me'
mo-ôdei kô fiyo 'thing to do for a fetish'
mam mami 'to smile'
yu yui 'to run'
né mé kpa rjki 'you're going to receive a whipping'
nei kô mé gi wéndé 'is this your departure?' (= 'going of you stative plus postclitic question-marker')

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

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

For example:
go, hoâ zu'turee, nôo
?nêg 'and, came out very early
morning,'
âm, hufô, zee, fark ñbâa 'I had diarrhea during the night, until morning (= place shed)'
me téj mbôrōo, sê 'come, this evening','. 1
khñu, wi zók, 2 'now, look, 2'
ze, ne nê, ho, zee, 'the' moon, which will appear, tonight,'

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

- te-fôtô [te fô tô] 'mint bush (= tree sweatfly),
- fuk-fôn [fuk fôn] 'sorghum flour (= flour sorghum),
- wen-sêre [wen sêre] 'affair of the spear,'
- wen-kofe [wen kofe] 'affair of the in-laws,'
- ñgana-sêre [ngana sêre] 'hostility because of prowess (= hostility spear),'
- ñgana-ñam [ñgana ñam] 'hostility of the family'
- dô5-fôn [dô5 fôn] 'sorghum beer (= beer sorghum),
- dô5-kofe [dô5 kofe] 'beer for the in-laws'
- sa?de?ge 'what animal?'
- kpâna-ru kamâa 'pot for mixing the food'
- wen- kil sa?de 'to look for animals (= affair look for animal)'
- dawa-ne ggôn 'green monkey which climbs above (= green monkey climb above)'
- goñ goñ-tuwa 'square house'

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

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

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

- fûkaa 'the meadow'
- fukâa 'the flour'
- têa (< te) 'the tree'
- warâa (< wara) 'the hoe'
- bêrâa (< bêra) 'the gourd'
- zôgâa (< zôjâ) 'the adolescent girl'
- dpôa (< dpô) 'the beer'
tîrâa (< tîr-) 'the tail'
gérâa (< gér-) 'the neck'
kââra (< kâ) 'the side'
ĝâra (< ĝ-) 'the old one'
nêm kpââra (< kpââ) 'I’ll find (it)' (= 'go I the finding')
gan, wa 2 jg 3 mo 4 wen 5 gyn 6 nâm, 'they do not, know, what to, plant,'

Further examples follow.

Adjective:
wen, -ba 2 mbéa 3 (< mbé) 'to, take another one also,'
obûa, (< bû) am 2 kp?dogâa 3 '(it’s) the white ones, I want,'

Numeral:
b£, § l 2 si 3 'dog rfitôa 4 (< rfitô) 'when, he went back, the second time,' (= 'the two')
tarâa, (< tar-) rjâ 2 nu, 'the third one, hit (the) ground,'

Nouns:
téa, 6 nê 2 zooro, go 3 bô 4 wâ 5 'ba 6 fyôa 7 (< fyô) 'the tree, is a zooro, and, when they have peeled off, the bark,'
wâ, ?daff, kââra 1 'they, fix the edges,'
kâna, -rjâ 2 kamâa, (< kam) 3 kpém, '(there) is one, pot, for mixing the food,'
ne, Êk 2 sen-te-gma bê 3 k£âra 4 'they, fix the edges,'

Verbs:
mborâa, (< mbor-) gar na 2 'the rotten, (meat) is not good,'
?dog-wââ, kô 2 kppyâa, (< kppy) 'the manner, of preparation,'
hâ, zera, zérâa, (< zer-) hÉ re 4 'give, us ears, which hear,'
mo, fâa-pâa, (< per-) jg 2 dôm 3 (< dôm) nâm, 'and, in returning, (the) sun did not burn me,'
gan, wa 2 kpâ 3 ñma mbé wen wen-tôa 4 (< tp) kpém, nâm, 'they did not find, one, thing to talk about,'

213.2. Locative and demonstrative suffixes. These are -i 4 'there' and (-e), which has allomorphs -e and -ye, 'here.' They are relatively unproductive suffixes, occurring with only a few bound-form substantives and verbs. The latter occur with these suffixes only as high-tone imperfective predicates. Although they are possibly derived from the demonstrative substitutes (for which see 382.2), in meaning and function they are now slightly different: mo 2-g'ë 'this thing,' moys 'this what's-its-name.' The deictic reference of {-e} seems to be somewhat vague, but both {-e} and -i 4, when used locatively, are more explicit. Further data might very well lead to a more precise description of these suffixes.11

213.21. Locative suffix -i 4. It occurs with only two verbs (yor- 'to stand,' wer- 'to sound'), one noun (war- 'way, direction'), and one bound pronoun (dj = 'place' [?]). Its meaning is always something like 'there.' For example: ñmaa a yori 'there's one standing there (= some and is-standing-there)'
nêm, ?monâ 2 gom yori, 'and I continued, to stand, there,'
213.22. Demonstrative suffix (−e). Its allomorphs are -e (sometimes -ee), which occurs following consonants, and -ye, which occurs following vowels. Its meaning is something like 'here' or 'this.' The words with which the allomorphs occur are the following: yor- 'to stand,' wâr- 'way,' ?dog 'back,' kôf 'now,' mo 'thing,' ?maa 'rainy season,' cf- 'place.' Added to the list are âye 'this person unnamed,' lye 'there, that place,' and tye 'day before yesterday,' which contain the phonemes /ye/ whose morphemic status is doubtful; /aâ/ and /!/ never occur in free form, and if occurs only with the meaning 'ahead, before.' For example:

\[ \text{za yôre} \] 'there he stands nearby (= he conn, stands)'!

\[ \text{wan to bôj pi_{2} mbé} \] 'when, Wan-to threw some more (on the ground) later.'

\[ \text{sô kô, wàj pêc ?dog_{2} na wâr_{2} \text{ and then, they returned by this way.}} \]

\[ \text{me, tf_{2} kôf_{2} st. \ 'You, come right now.'} \]

\[ \text{ere_{1} núj zu-ture, dyw nôj_{4} ?neg_{4} 'we, left here very early (in the morning).} \]

\[ \text{zañô, kô ñaye, nô dé zañô ?dô \ 'what's-his-name's1 adolescent daughter, is, really, dressed up.'} \]

\[ \text{wan to bâ, moye, k£ \ k£, bâ bê-dak k£ 'Wan-to takes, his, what's-its name, takes his pestle.'} \]

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

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

\[ \text{dun zân, mám kùm nà, 'he who lives a long time does not laugh at the cripple.' (proverb) (< kùm 'to cripple') wî-bôom 'blind person' (< bom 'to blind') tuwa-sên 'house of hatred' (< sên 'to hate'), a personal name, compare tuwa-\text{ggan}a 'house of jealousy' ñgôrâ sên 'certain fish' (so called because although it looks very much like the other ñgôrâ fish, it differs from them slightly and is therefore said to dislike them; the syntactic form would be something like ñgôrâ \text{ne sên koy-ñgôrâ} 'the ñgôrâ which hates the rest of the ñgôrâ') ŋ ne gbë 'it's red' (< gbë 'to be red'); likewise for tû 'to be black' yïn gân 'certain animal' (= 'eat in vain,' < gân 'in vain') sên dée 'hate the good thing' (< dé 'good'), personal name
213.32. The affix -V particularizes substantives and verbs. The translations of the forms with this affix reveal only a slight degree of similarity. These are taken up in the following paragraphs.

213.321. With kinship terms it has a meaning of possession. It occurred only with yâ 'sibling,' yâm 'father,' sôrâm 'paternal uncle,' and bê yâm 'cousin.' Thus: ndc re yâ kp'tuwaï în yâam 'and Father and I were in the house' (= 'and we were in house with Father'). These nouns of course can be possessed in the more usual fashion: yâ kôm 'my sibling,' yâmâm 'my father.'

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

213.323. With the noun rê 'village,' it has a meaning similar to if not identical with the postclitic {-15} and in fact seems to vary with the form rê 'the village':

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

213.325. With the verb o 'to be,' it has the meaning 'that's how it is':

213.326. With a verb phrase other than those already mentioned, it seems to have the same meaning as the postclitic {-15}. There is only one example: mc ne mc bç'a tom zan-ré mc ?dët sà 'here you are, you who refused to work in the village' (= 'you and you refused work belly village there much').

220. The affix which occurs in construction with a whole construction is the postclitic {-15}. The following paragraphs describe its function (221), its allomorphs (222), and its distribution (223).
221. Function. The function of the postclitic is that of reference or anaphora. As such it might be translated as 'that to which reference has already been made or the existence (or nature, etc.) of which is implied by what has been said,' but its most convenient translation is a simple 'the.' It is, however, to be distinguished from the determinant which is also translated 'the' (for which see 213.2). The contrast may be stated as one between the singling out of an item from the real world (which is the function of the determinant) and the singling out of an item (or even concept) from the linguistic environment. The contrast is reinforced by differences in morphological environment (about which more is said below). Whereas the postclitic is very common in the texts, the determinant is less so. The following utterance might serve to illustrate the difference between these two morphemes:

wa₁ yəy₂ zan'ëçuwal₁ fn₁ stráa₂ 'they₁ pull out₂ the intestines of the goat₃ (which has been mentioned) as well as₄ the liver₅.'

222. Allomorphs. The postclitic is phonologically bound to any morpheme which precedes it. Its allomorphs are -i, which occurs following low tone, and -i, which occurs following high tone. (These environments are described for isolable words and are stated for pre-pausal position, that is, where tonal sandhi does not function, for which see immediately below.) Thus: mêmi 'the dew,' fûki 'the plain,' sôrâi 'the star,' gâf 'the war-club,' fukf 'the flour,' strêf 'the spear,' borof 'the iron.' Very often, however, -i instead of -i occurs when the word following it has initial high tone or when the word to which it is bound is immediately followed by /j/. In these environments, both the data and the assurances of the informant prove that the variation is "free," although it is certainly to be suspected that style is involved in many cases. Thus: sôlf tei (~ tef) péé na 'push the board toward me' (= 'push stick return here'), tem yûm te'-wëse ne me ne tà te'-galâ mei (or mef) 'I was sick on the day you went to the city there' (= 'body-my hurts on day and you went to market there').

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

223.1. Postclitic with substantive expressions. The postclitic occurs with substantive expressions in every normal construction. (This means that the postclitic does not generally occur in an isolated construction. Only one such construction occurs in the data: wen kô gbulëf, which was the informant's response to a question and which in the context meant 'do you mean the word "gbulëf" which was just used?') Therefore no good purpose is served by classifying these expressions here, for this is done in 411 and 412. Of some interest nonetheless is the fact that a few words which frequently occur in introductory constructions are followed by the postclitic:
mof 'that's the reason' (= 'the thing'), kóraaf 'later' (< kór- 'back'), kuu oróaf 'later.' Thus: kóro tā dōka, gō mof a hāi 'it's raining a lot, and that's why (the river) is high,' kóraaf ne mē rēm kpyy hā wi-rē 'later you can prepare it for people.' In an expanded noun phrase, the postclitic can occur twice: once with the noun (or noun phrase) head, and then at the end of the verb expression. This latter is the most frequent use of the postclitic in verb expressions, and they are generally longer, that is, contain more words, than the verb expressions discussed below. Examples of the postclitic with various types of noun phrases follow:

kāy kām mof 'take the food'
foro, 6, sen-te,-'dambai 'elephants, are, at, the (village of) Damba'
wā, gbiṅ, 6 sen-te-kā-ī-t-rē 'they, broke out, beside us'
wā kpaā, nām wi-rē 2 sañ-riā, roy 4 they found, someone, in the village, by chance,'
wā, gbiṅ, 6 mo kōp t-u-t-wāi, sōn 'they take, all, the things, from inside the house,'
5 oróaf 'it's in his hand'
ndē re, kpaā 2 nāp-sa-2, dc, dī nāso, nā sa 'if we should, not, find, animal tracks, there,'
nc wā, fyo tō 2, bā gā 'which the owner, of the fetish, showed, him,'
bēm, kō rō, bā 3, bē 4 gā 'he said, "my child, if she should, reject, him,"'
ō terō, kā gā, nē yā, kā-te-ī, bā 5 firei 'his, dogs, which were, beside him, grabbed, the paste,'
zāk farā mof 'it's in his hand' (he) didn't see the place from which it was falling' (= 'sees place of the thing and comes not!')
kōoi, nā 2 kpaā, rāk 4 nā, nō 2 wēndé 'is the girl, whom he found, good, or?'
wā, kāy 6 bêen 4, ne 2 monā 2, sañ-riā, go yā 6 'if, if, if, gō ne gaza nāi, they take, the children, who remained, here in the village, and who were, small, and who were not circumcised, '
5, ne wi-rē nā, 2 gbea, 6 wi-rē kō mē 4 béē tfi, gō gan gōn kō pāa nāi 'it is, someone, who killed, your folk, a long time ago, and hadn't paid the ransom,'

223.2. Postclitic with verb expressions. The most easily classified expressions are those that are connected to an introductory nominative expression (meaning subject, object, reason, time, etc.) by the connective ā (331.1). Another, but much smaller, group is tentatively described as questions concerning the result of some action (the following examples are exhaustive). All others are described as residue. The examples follow the order of this presentation:
gō, mof, ā saakarā, 5 4 sañ-2, wāam, wēnāai, 2 'so, that's why, (there) are islands, in the middle of, the Wāam (river)'
wēş 4 -ne 2, kāy, toy 4, a 2 nānī, wēndé, 2 'did it, break, (on the) day, of going, to get, the baggage, or?'
 bay 1, wēn 2, a, tôi, 2 '(that's) just, what, you, say,'
 bay wēn 1, kōm 2, ā sonāi 2, 2 'that's my word, and it's done, 1'
mi am téi 'here I come' (= 'me I come')
o, à pò boro, sô kô ban gomâi o1 ndè. 'Who 2 cast (the) weapon3 and4 made the ban antelope jump out5?' (proverb)
ge wen'ge, âm, tpi, fna, sôk, kp'sera'ey mi ge ndè. 'What1 did I2 say3 to him4 that5 he is angry6?'
sô kô, tpi gô, boi o1 ndè 'so you talk4 again5 like this?'
ô, siô, gbô, ré sôm, tèi 'he1 returned2 (and3) arrived4 (at) home5 then I6 came6'
î, Wô, zôkôm, n'm téi 'when1 they3 saw me, coming4' (= 'and I come6')

Notes to Chapter Two

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hjîs 'to hide'</td>
<td>hyr 'to spread abroad, cover (as water covers rock)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jîs 'to push in or down'</td>
<td>jîr 'to be caved in (as bottom of basket)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káji 'to seize' (Bozoum kam)</td>
<td>kay (Bozoum kari) 'to take (several objects)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpa'si 'to escape with one's life'</td>
<td>ka 'to win (at dice)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbasi 'to choke up (as with tears)'</td>
<td>kpam 'to walk fast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbosî (Carnot mgbò) 'to gather (objects)'</td>
<td>mbar 'to fit tightly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñmbasî 'to stop (as rain)'</td>
<td>mpô 'to gather (people), but Bowe mbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñpsî 'to submerge'</td>
<td>ñmgban 'to rip off'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñgásì 'to regain one's strength (as after illness)'</td>
<td>nam 'soak,' na 'to drink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñggay (Bowe ñgari) 'to be hard'</td>
<td>ñgâ ge'da 'hard manioc (also of green or hard fruit)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BOUND MORPHEMES

susi 'to be meaty, chunky'

Carnot sulsi 'augmenter'
suri 'to swell up (as corpse)'
sur- (Carnot sul) 'to be filled (after eating)'

Carnot tunsi 'to wake (someone)'
tun 'to wake, awaken (but Carnot intransitive)'

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

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

ndaka'di (te) 'to follow after, imitate (?)'

?negeri 'to shed thorns (as kapok tree)'

spmarri 'to grab a handful'

embre 'to pack to brim by tucking into corners'

Other verbs in this class are:

'hangeri 'to unravel (rope)'

ndikiri 'to honor'

dikili 'to tickle'

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

se'ngelt (wen) 'to disagree'

kaqgali 'to trip'

kandali 'to shrivel up'

yangari 'to become untied'

si'jiri (né gmaa) 'to ask (?)'

wukuri (wen) 'to speak falsely'

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

Only a very few verbs with /l/ show any similarity with other verbs. It should be noted that in any case /t/ and /r/ and /l/ alternate on a dialectal level. Thus: kali but Bozoum kati (with /t/) 'to beckon (with one's hand).1 Examples are:

kppti 'to skin oneself (in a fall)'

kpzy (Bozoum kpzi) 'to take off (one's clothes)'

diti 'to be heavy (but for certain objects which are not covered by dir-)'  
dir- (Bowe diri) 'to be heavy'

ngati 'to harden (as one's heart),

but in Carnot 'se lever après une maladie'

ggay 'to be hard'

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

suri 'to swell up'

The French glosses are Hilberth's.

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

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

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

'a día, bê-gpl, däyi 'he's actually raising, the leopard cub,' 1

Likewise, it is possible that the enclitic can follow this suffix although my data do not provide any examples.
The resultant noun behaves morphophonemically like any other noun with the suffix {-a} (for which see 132.3d and 213.1): mɔ-damfa ‘thing necessary to perform a task’ < dam ‘to be sufficient,’ hyrfa ‘fame, report’ < hyr- ‘to spread.’ There are, however, insufficient data to demonstrate what happens with words of other phonemic shapes.

4 Perhaps gma ‘some, a certain’ (the adjective) and gmaa ‘some’ (the substantive) might be included here. For example:

am, zog gma 2 gmaa 4 'i see some, animals,' am zog gmaa 1 I see some.1

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

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

11 For another deictic suffix see 213.1.

12 Excluded from the list is binée ‘tomorrow’ (compare bin ‘tomorrow’) which is described as having a unique occurrence of the determinant suffix {-a}. This is, in fact, the form in the idiom of Bowe; that is, binâa. By complicating the description of the environments of {-e}, -ée could, however, have been included here.

13 Only when pairs of words systematically differ in form and meaning can the presence of this affix be determined. This is to say that not all words with the sequence /V/ demonstrate the occurrence of this morpheme: thus, kôo ‘woman,’ zâan ‘outside.’ The description becomes more complicated if the following two words are accepted as containing the affix; the authenticity of the second is doubtful: d6ka ‘much, many (< dok ‘to be much, many’ probably by way of dâkâ as in ne dâkâ ‘in a large quantity’), gene gene ‘bicycle’ (to be compared with gene gene ‘descriptive of the way wheels go round and round’).

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

15 Since the postclitic can occur twice in an expanded noun phrase, it is not surprising that it occurs with repeated predicates: wa yâ wî nî nî nî nî ‘they run after the fire, they go go go go;’ mônâ ge re yâ yâ yâ we kop on sitting sitting sitting.1

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

The free morphemes of Gbeya are classified (a) according to their distribution within a sentence (a normal utterance preceded and followed by stop or pause) and (b) according to freedom of occurrence with respect to other free or bound morphemes. The delimiting characteristics of each class are given as each is taken up. A member of any class is referred to by the class name. The distribution (or function) classes are presented in a quasi-hierarchical order, from morphemes whose position in a sentence is very restricted to those whose position is relatively free. They are the following: Interjections (310), Final particles (320), Connectives (330), Prepositions (340), Unique morphemes (350), Adjectives (360), Adverbs (370), Substantives (380), and Verbs (390).

The outline is, of course, arbitrary and is partly determined by the decimal system. For one thing, connectives and prepositions might be looked upon as belonging to a single class of linking particles. Also, the unique morphemes comprise a few anomalous morphemes which could be included in no other class.

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

aa? 'plea for consideration:' aa? yôp kôm, âm jyô kìîee nôô,
'Oh, my brother, I, know that now . . .'

ââ? 'protest for confirmation:' ââ? der, dôka bô, 'indeed, we are very happy,'

éé? 'wonder:' éé? wééy, dôô dé ngây, 'My! this man, is putting up quite a fuss,'

éé? 'reproval:' éé? wen kô ge, â mé gbô, torô kôm, wen-ge ndô,
'Hey! why, are you killing, my dog!'
58

Samarin: The Gbeya Language

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58

58
(b) Following narrated vocatives:

mé, né, ne zók, fará, 'hey you, look at, (the) place,`
yám, ké j, né, né fóo kóó sóó, '(says), "My Father, I found a wife, today,"
foo, ké j, ná, á baá zan, '(he says), "My, mother-in-law, she has become pregnant,"

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

mé, zero né. 'Did you understand?' (a question with an added meaning of compulsion, compare simple question mé zeró wéndé, 'Did you understand?')

mé zéé né. 'Listen here.'
hii né 'Yes indeed' (somehow contrastive with hii wa 'Yes indeed')

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

mé té oo. 'Come!'
am mbá mé oo. 'I greet you.'
yám oo. 'Say, Father.'
bá nmaa bám oo. 'Get some for me please.'

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

mé té wa. '(I said), come.'
am mbá mé wa. 'Hey, I greet you.'
yám wa. 'Hey, Father.'
yú té- mé wa. 'Get out of here!'

326. wá indicates that the preceding stretch (usually preceded by the quotative particle, see 333) is a quotation or something which has already been discussed. In a long quotation it may occur once or several times before the conclusion. It is, however, optional at all times. For example:

erre, tóo ye ge . . . go, mé péé, te-tfle, né, né ré pé, pec, doun, wá 'we, said . . . so, you, go, first, and, we'll come, later,`
gá ye ge, mise, né, ndóó, ndaró, wá, wé ndóó, dila wá 'he said, "Monsieur went, (and) shot, a buffalo, er, shot, a lion,"
kó-fey, ye se, wen, né, wá, tóó, gende gá ye se, ndé wá, gbe, ré, wáí 'Ko-fey, said, "The thing you, said, saying that, you'd kill us,"
'ŋma bém, ké j, bó, gom gaza, na, pë, yin, há, pë, ye ge ba né wan, wáí 'when, one of his, sons, is circumcised, he, gives, him, the name, Ba-né-wan,'
bó, zok, gáy, gende gá ye, dé, zóó, kó aáy, né, wáí 'when, (they) look, (they) say, "(Look at) what's his name's, pretty, daughter,"'

6 wará, 6 kura, 6 ge ndé 'hoes, arrows, whatever other things' (= 'plural adjective what ndé!')
327. *wéey* indicates emphasis or calls attention to oneself or to what has been said. It is almost certainly the same word as *wéey* 'man.' For example: 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mf}_1 & \text{ ñ}_2 \text{ go}_1 \text{ me tō}_5 \text{ wéey}. \quad \text{Here}_1 \text{ I am}_2, \text{ so}_4 \text{ come}_5, \text{ on}! \\
yám-wara & \text{ wéey}. \quad \text{'Hey Yám-wara!'} \\
yám-wara & \text{ oó. yám-wara wéey. yám-wara wa. 'Say there, Yám-wara.}
\end{align*}
\]

Hey, Yám-wara! I said, Yám-wara!"

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

\[
\begin{align*}
dilai & \text{ nē}_2 \text{ gbē}_3 \text{ wa}_4 \text{ bō}_5 \text{ nō}_2 \text{ wéndé}. \quad \text{'Won't}_2 \text{ the lion}_1 \text{ kill}_3 \text{ them}_4, \text{ ?'} \\
gé & \text{ ñ}_2 \text{ né}_3 \text{ kō}_4 \text{ mé} \text{ wenāa. kéey dē mé wéndé}. \quad \text{'Why}_1 \text{ are}_2 \text{ you}_3 \text{ going}_4? \text{ Are you afraid?'} \\
gé'déa & \text{ ñ}_2 \text{ dū}_3 \text{ go}_4 \text{ wa hō}_5 \text{ hō}_5 \text{ é}_7 \text{ wéndé} \text{ (the said),} \text{ 'Is it the dregs}_1 \text{ that they}_2 \text{ dish up}_3 \text{ and}_4 \text{ give}_5 \text{ to}_3 \text{ me}_7, \text{ ?'} \\
gom & \text{ tō}_3 \text{ mō}_1 \text{ ye}_2 \text{ ?mōnā goi dē tekhōol wéndé} \text{ and I1 said}_2, \text{ 'perhaps you were still at school'} \\
gba & \text{ kōo}_3 \text{ ñ}_2 \text{ óō}_3 \text{ ndē}_4 \text{ wéndé} \text{ (they said),} \text{ 'Even if}_3 \text{ we}_1 \text{ had violated}_4 \text{ a woman}_3, \text{ !'} \\
gpy & \text{ wéndé} \text{ 'like this'} \text{ ?}
\end{align*}
\]

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

**Summary Chart of Connectives**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Connective</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>â</td>
<td>331.1</td>
<td>óró . . . gá</td>
<td>332.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wen kō*</td>
<td>331.2</td>
<td>sé te*</td>
<td>332.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{a}</td>
<td>332.1</td>
<td>sō kō*</td>
<td>332.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{go}*</td>
<td>332.2</td>
<td>te*</td>
<td>332.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hā*</td>
<td>332.3</td>
<td>(wéndé gan)</td>
<td>332.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne*</td>
<td>332.4</td>
<td>mō*</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

331. Connectives which join only clauses are â (331.1) and wen kō (mo ne) (331.2).

331.1. â is a connective introducing commands. This connective joins an affirmative command to a preceding command. For example, in the first example below the command *ŋgémbémbé* 'wait for me' is joined to *mōy* 'gather' by â' and you.' In negative commands, â precedes a pronominal subject or follows a nominal subject (where it is translated as a hortative) without a preceding clause. The absence of a preceding clause and the fact that either
the connective ne or the connective go can precede á makes one doubt that this really is the same connective used in the affirmative commands or that it is indeed a connective at all. If it is not, it must be described as being the sole member of another form class, for its function is not paralleled by that of any other morpheme.  

(a) Affirmative commands:  
- fara₁ né₂ ʔbará₁, né₃ mó₄ zép₁ áf₅ ʔgém'bám₆ há₇ né₈ kém₉ ʔpar₁ 'when₂ day₁ breaks₃, gather together₄ and₅ wait for me₆ that₇, I might go₈ (and) meet you₉,' 
- a mé yŋ₁ mo te-rip₂-wi-re₃ ná, á₄ mé yŋ₂ mo te-₅ tuwa₆ 'don't eat₁ in front of₂ people₃, but₄ eat₅ in₆ (the) house₇,' 
- me dán₁ á₂ mé bá₃ 'climb₁ and₂ untie₃ (it)'
- mo bá₁ saʔde₂ kóm₃ nsoi₄ á₅ mé gôn₆ ʔfran₇ 'take₁ this₃ animal₄ of mine₅ and₂ cut₆ its neck₇,' 

(b) Negative commands:
- á, mé ne₁ me yoo₂ zú₃ ná₄ 'don't₁ go₂ (and) stand₃ over them' 
- ál₁ de₂ ná₃ ná₄ 'don't₁, make₂ noise₃,' 
- te-₅ mé á bi ná 'don't forget!' (= 'your body efface not')

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

- gan né₁ yym₂ kë ʔre₃ ná₄, wen kó mo nde₄ re₅ wà₆ ke ʔre ʔsř ḏay₇ 'it₃ won't₁ hurt₂ us₂, because₄ we₅ (will) have died₆ off₇' 
- ál₁ yym₂ kóm₃, wen kó mo nso₄ ʔsř₅ kú₆ ʔsř₇ 'it₃, my₄, disgrace², because₃, he₅ has fled₆.' 
- há₁ mérssi₂ há₃ nza₄₅ wën kó mo ne₆ nza₇₈ ʔgém'há₂₈, wà₉ 'give₁ thanks₂ to₂ God₃, because₄ God₅ kept₇ them₈' 
- mérše₂₂ há₂ nza₄₅ wën kó mo nde₄ re₅ zák₆₇ s₇₈ 'thanks₁ to₂ God₃, because₄, we₅ see you₆ today₇' 
- gan₁ am₂ ʔg₃ ná₄, wen kó₅ wà₆ hú₇ ʔn₆₇ wën₄₈, né₉₈ 'I₈ didn't₁ know₃,' because₄, they₅ hid₆ the matter₇ from me₈

332. Connectives which join clauses and other constructions are {a} (332.1), {go} (332.2), há (332.3), ne (332.4), óró ... gá (332.5), st te (332.6), sô kó (332.7), te (332.8), and {wéndé gan} (332.9).  

332.1. {a}  

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

- a occurs:  
  - (1) when {a} joins a subjectival or objectival substantive phrase with a clause whose verb is imperfective: ʔbay₁ wën₂ ai₃ tʃ₄ 'just₁ the word₂, you₃ speak₄,'
(2) when \{a\} joins such constructions but is immediately followed by the negative marker gan (but compare with (2) below): \(f_1\) a gan\(_2\) \(\tau\_3\) zéé \(t\_2\) pán\(_2\) \(\tau\_4\) (she said, they said) "Me, I didn't obey."

(3) when \{a\} joins principal clauses in which the second clause is imperfective: \(m\) zák, \(wa\_2\), a wa, yóó\(_4\) me gôô\(_5\) 'look at them, they are standing over there.'

\(á\) occurs:

(1) when \{a\} joins a subjectival or objectival substantive phrase with a clause whose verb is perfective: \(w\_1\) a \(t\_2\) mbé \(w\_3\), 'Wan-to, has related (some) news,' \(w\_1\) a \(m\_2\) \(t\_3\) \(\tau\_4\) 'you said it.'

(2) when \{a\} joins constructions described in (1) above, even though the verb is imperfective (the examples are rare): \(w\_1\)-gbfyaf \(á\) bá\(_2\) gëzë\(_3\) 'the owner, of the gbfya takes, a basket, of sesame (grain),' \(en\_2\)-\(á\), \(w\_3\) sôn \(á\) yâ\(_4\) \(k\_5\) rô\(_6\) \(t\_7\) (they said), 'It is just old stories, which our brothers tell.'

(3) when \(á\) precedes the negative marker gan, except for those instances listed under (2) of a above: \(á\) \(g\_1\) \(k\_2\) dôôá 'so, (he) didn't want, (to),' \(k\_3\)-\(á\) \(g\_4\) \(r\_5\) sôn, ná\(_6\) \(\tau\_7\) 'he didn't want, not, go there.'

(4) when \{a\} joins principal clauses in which the second clause is perfective: \(m\_1\) sôka\(_2\) sôn \(á\) \(m\_3\) \(d\_4\) \(b\_5\) \(h\_6\) gôô\(_7\) 'you have grown up, so you are an adolescent (boy).' (5) when \{a\} joins principal clauses in which the second clause is imperfective and where \(á\) usually occurs: \(m\_1\)-\(á\) \(w\_2\) \(k\_3\) \(g\_4\) \(d\_5\) \(s\_6\) \(w\_7\) \(á\) 'why is it? you are a white man, (who) goes there, (that you) kill, my dog?' \(m\_1\)-\(á\) \(g\_2\) 'so, as a result, they've cooled off,' \(m\_1\)-\(á\) \(g\_3\) \(b\_4\) \(h\_5\) \(b\_6\) \(g\_7\) \(a\) \(w\_8\) \(á\) 'so, when one of his children, is circumcised.'

(7) when \{a\} in a few instances joins principal and principal clauses: \(w\_1\)-\(á\) \(m\_2\) \(h\_3\) \(m\_4\) \(b\_5\) \(b\_6\) \(h\_7\) \(b\_8\) torô\(_9\) \(k\_10\) \(w\_11\) \(á\) \(m\_12\) 'why is it, you white man, (who) goes there, (that you) kill, my dog?' \(m\_1\)-\(á\) \(g\_2\) \(á\) \(tt\_2\) \(w\_3\) \(á\) \(w\_4\) \(á\) \(w\_5\) \(á\) \(w\_6\) 'so, as a result, they've cooled off,' \(m\_1\)-\(á\) \(g\_7\) \(á\) \(m\_8\) \(b\_9\) \(b\_10\) 'so, when one of his children, is circumcised,'

(8) when \{a\} joins principal and principal clauses: \(w\_1\) \(z\_2\) \(r\_3\) \(r\_4\) \(á\) \(m\_5\) 'you saved, us, so we call you, Father,' \(i\_1\) \(n\_2\) \(y\_3\) \(b\_4\) \(h\_5\) \(m\_6\) \(b\_7\) \(w\_8\) . . . , 'it nóôí\(_9\) á yâm\(_{10}\) \(w\_11\) \(á\) \(w\_12\) \(á\) \(w\_13\) 'the one who, is instructed, by his, father, they (are) the ones whose fathers talk, to, them,'

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

\(w\_1\)-\(á\) \(m\_2\) \(n\_3\) \(h\_4\) \(w\_5\) \(á\) \(y\_6\) 'it was because of this, that they gave him, the names.'
Distribution Classes

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

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

High tone:

gó ye ge 'so (he) said'
gó ḍòò dós gbó 'and continued (to) burn it'
gó gbónó gbó- ṣó 'and broke its neck'
gó ṭòk-ʨéwá gbó yájná 'and when their blood stopped (flowing)'
gó ganá wáá háá gbó ná 'and they don’t give (you some to) drink'

Low tone:
go bó wáá rjá ṣóf 'and when they hit that one,'
(b) Before a pronominal subject with low tone, \{go\} usually occurs with low tone, and before a pronominal subject with high tone, it usually occurs with high tone. In addition, the low tone allomorph often occurs where the high tone is expected, for example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{go} & \text{ né, } \text{?dog-wââ, nôo} \\
& \text{so in, this way/}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
yââ & \text{ go } \text{ re } \text{ péé nê } \text{ gôg } \text{(it is) the hide which we are bringing back here/} \\
oo & \text{yáam, } \text{ goi } \text{ tê } \text{ boa } \text{ gâa } \text{ oh, Father, here you talk foolishness, like this/}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
gan & \text{ wa } \text{kô } \text{?dogâa, hâ } \text{wâ } \text{gâm } \text{te } \text{ they didn't, want, to turn around right away/}
\end{align*}
\]
me té, há, zéé, 'say, (it) that I may hear, (it)'
ném, si, né, gô, há, madâm, nt zokâ, 'I shall return with, (it) like this, that, Madame, may see, (it)'
zokâm, há, ala, bá, mé, 'look upon me, until, compassion, seizes, you,'
'mié, ti-ri, há, zôn, 'Gbagbasp' stopped, (the) water, from, flowing,'
è, way, há, nô, 'put, (it on the) fire, to, boil,'
'è há, wî, rô, 4, 5, x, 'let, (some) people, come, first, '

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

332.4.1. ne joins two substantive expressions:"
'don, rô, né, sanâ, 'seven, and, a half,' ne té né, gô, sâ, tao, né, kô, rô, nt, bég, zô, 'bring,' three, thousand, francs and, two, chickens, and, (some) small, fish,'
kây, zô, pà, in, dô, bô, 'take, (a) big, knife, along, with, iron, weapons, and, (a) throwing, knife,'

332.4.2. ne joins a dependent clause attribute to a noun head which may be the subject (or expansion of the subject) of the verb or an expansion of the verb phrase. In the latter case, the noun is either the object of the verb or a noun of place or time. Although similar to the expansions of complex sentences (222), these constructions differ in being endocentric noun phrases only. Such constructions are equivalent to English relative clauses, especially such (attested) substandard ones as 'the guy that I cut his hair' (= 'the guy whose hair I cut').

332.4.2.1. Subject:
'ô sôkâm, ne yô, mé, 'the elders, who live, there,' wa, nde, wa yô, ko, wa né, dô, bûkî, 'they, who were, down-wind,' zôn, ña, bô, sô, rô, nô, 'dô, sî, a, girl, who is good,'
'wa, kay, ò béem, ne, ñônd, zâ, rô, na, go, yô, fô, fô, gô, ne, gaza, nâm, 'they, take, the children, who had remained, in, the, village, here, and, were, small, and, had, not, been, circumcised,'

332.4.2.2. Object:
dilâ, na, ë, ndô, gô, 'the lion, which, he, shot, here,'
'ô mo, hârâ, sô, na, tâ, néi, 'all, the things, of, which, he, spoke,'
'zôk, fâra, mo, ne, wî, rô, dô, st tê më, tô, 'see, what, a person, does, before, you, speak,'

332.4.2.3. Place:
fâra, ñô, ne, gô, re, kpê, wa, nà, gô, 'this, place, where, we, do, not, find, them, here,'
t-fâra, nde, wa, sô, sô, sô, gô, 'the place, where, they, were, in, this, manner,'
SAMARIN: THE GBEYA LANGUAGE

332.424. Time:

wesé₁ ne  gma  wf-ré₂ bò́₃ ne₄ '(the) day, when, someone, should go,'

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

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

(a) SC + PC:

oo ne gan₅ ne₂ ha₃ dë₄ sa₅ hë₆ ré₇ ná₈ 'oh, (it) would, not, have,
given, us, joy.'

më₁ wf-ré ne₂ bò́₃ më₄ kò ᵅ don₆ ki₇ di₈ mo₉ 'you₁ (for example), when you₂ want to hunt, (some-) thing.'

oróaf₄ ne kpán₅ ru₇ kamb₆₅ ø₆ kpém₇ ᵅ mën₈ 'after that, the pot, for making, the dough, was, just, one.'

m₉ g₉ y₁ ne b₉₃ volōo k₉₃₇ 'like this, I take, my bicycle.'

(b) PC + SC:

³môn₄ g₄ y₄ ne gende g₄ ḏ₄ 'just like that, and in other words'
bò₂ zok₅ ne₆ b₆ 'you want to?buró, ri₄ ø₅ z₆, 'when, (he) looked, oh, Want-0 had busted, the water (pot) and thrown, (it in the)
bush.'

ne gbpré en-ᵗ₆-ᵣ 'and Lizard all by himself'

(c) PC + PC:

g₃ si Ṗd₅ ḏ₅ b₅ ne₅ n₆m₅ g₅m₅ b₅ g₅ b₅ 'he, went back and I went, and got, him, again.'

h₅ y₁ ne₂ m₅ ṗ₅ 'I crawl, and I go.'

k₅y₁ st₅ r₅ ne₅ k₅y₃ k₅y₄ ne₅ k₅y₇ g₅rₑ₇, ne₅ k₅y₇ ȥ₅m₇-paa₇ 'they take, spears, and, (they) take arrows, and (they) take shields, and (they) take large, knives.'

g₉m₉ ṙ₉ f₉a₉, n₉m₉ g₉m₉ ṙ₉ r₉ a₉₇ 'so I cut, the (elephant's) trunk, and, I cut the tail.'

g₉m₉ t₉, ne₉ rophe₉ ne₉ rophe₉, ne₉ rophe₉ 'so I came, and, (I) came, and I, placed, (the) bicycle, . . .'

b₉m₉ ṙ₉ b₉ ne me₉ ṙ₉ Ṙ₉ ṙ₉₁ when, I looked, Monsieur, was coming.'

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

gma wf-ré kpém, kuro₃ go₄ kú₅ go₆ b₆ g₇ ᵅ gma bëém, ìna₉₀ 'someone, arose, and, arose, and, took, him, and, (there was a
child, with him), (that is, with the subject of the verb)'

t₉ y₉, k₉-₉-ɲ₉ ma, g₉ₙ₉ ɾ₉ ʃ₉to₈, ne tar₉₉ ᵅ t₉ ø₉ trees, stood, next to each other, like this, (in fact) three.'

b₉₁ ré₂ da₃ zu₃ ƙ₃a, ne ƙ₃u₃ ƙ₃a me₃, ne raŋmgbá ᵅ 'when, we, climbed, the top, of the hill, the top of the hill there, Rainmbá said.'
332.5. òôrò ... gâ is a discontinuous connective of comparison with the meaning 'like, as.' It combines clauses and phrases as described in the following paragraphs. The first form has an alternant ôrô with which it freely varies. Although both ôrô and gâ are usually used, either one or the other may be omitted; this more often happens to gâ following a long involved sentence with many dependent clauses.

332.51. ôrô ... gâ connects clauses with clauses, such as:

bô, nemz ò ôrô, ném aa hur, môm, pe, òo,ô, gâ, 'when, I went, as if, to turn suddenly, to, come back.'
zerâ, dô, gâ, da, da, ôrô, ngâ, kôrô, gâ, 'his, cars, flapped, as if, he, were going, to, get up.'
nde, rô, zôk, ké rô ré, ôrô, rô, yô, wâ, wâ, gâ, 'and, we, look upon, the village, as if, we, were eating, fruit,' (that is, 'for us children strolling in the village is all the food we need').

332.52. It connects substantive phrases with verb expressions:

gan, aro, dô, mô, 'I, don't, want, to commit, evil, like, him.'
gâ, dé mô, ôrô, ge, wî, gô, gâ, ge ndô, 'he, works, like, whom, ?'
pr, kô, dô, ôrô, kô, mô, gâ, 'his, age, is, the same as, yours.'
ngem, ôrô, mô, ne, mise, tî, gâ, 'wait, just as, Monsieur says.'

332.53. ôrô ... gâ connects substantive phrases with other substantive phrases:

ômô, ôrô, gâ, ge, ne, kô-duwa, gâ, ... gan, ne, bo, nâ, '(there) won't be, anything, like, a bewitched woman.'
gan, wa, jn, òo-wân, wen, mô, mêtô, ôrô, ge, ne, kô, 'they, didn't, know, how, to, put, on, good, clothes, like, these, of, today.'
wâ, jô, wô, jn, ké, rô, ôrô, mê, gô, gâ, 'they, listen, to, our, words, as if, (they, were) nothing.'

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

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

ndôraa, nê, ngombe, sê, tê, ò, kufô, nê, nês, 'shoot it, with, (a) gun, so that, it, (will) not, get, up, again.'
ndôraa nê ngombe sê, 'shoot it, with, (a) gun, by preference.'
gombe sê, '(do it with, (a) gun, by preference, (that, is, not, with, a spear).')
68
SAMARIN: THE GBeya LANGUAGE

"by means of a gun, I said!"

ndôraa né ngombe st ná wendé 'wouldn't it be preferable to shoot it with a gun?'

ngombe st ná wendé '(is) not a gun preferable?'

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

(a) Whereas st te joins a substantive expression to a clause, te never does.
(b) Whereas both st te and te occur in negated clauses with imperfective verbs, st te is correlated only with unrealized action in the future and past, for example, ó, né mo 2 wen-de, st te 4 zérê, tê 6 nâ 7 'it's, something, to do, that I, should have heard, (about it) before.

(c) Only te seems to join a principal clause with another one containing the auxiliary bo whether the action has been realized or not. In narratives, where the imperfective verb is very commonly used instead of the perfective, the connective te is used in this manner, equivalent in meaning with the connective go, such as: gbeà, kp 2 taa 4, te 6 bô 7 zik te 2 tê 8 'he himself, killed, three, over there, and when, he turned around, . . . ;' p, dom, ffra, te 4 bô 5 zee 6 'he was blowing a whistle, and as I listened . . . ;' gô 2 yu 3 4, te 6 bô 7 mê 8 tê 9 gma wen, fnaa 10 'and, he runs away with (it), and should you say, something, to him?

(d) Only te connects a series of clauses with bô: ragmgbâ bô 3 te 6 bô 7 ré, dag, zu-karai 7 'when, Ragmgbâ had spoken in this manner, and we 4 had climbed up to the top of the hill, . . . ;' mise 1 bô 2 aq 3 kp 4 . . . , te 6 bô 7 nem a kôm 8 . . . , te 6 ò ngozô bô aq 3 4 . . . te 6 bô 7 nem kîp 11 'when Monsieur turned off to the side, and when, I turned off to the side, and, when, Ngozô turned off to the side, and, when, I went (and) turned around . . . '

(e) Whereas in some instances so kô may replace st te (with a corresponding change in meaning), it never replaces te. For example: ãk, gmaâ sô kô (or st te) pf 1 tan, 2-zôra, 3-zô (proverb) 'ask (before) throwing away the rat's head.'

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

mbé ze ñdo 1 te 2 gbô 3 'next month, then (they'll) arrive,'
bere 1 st te wa 2 hâ 3 ñginza 4 'they, give, money, (in the) dry season,'
gma wese 1 st tem 2 hâ 3 gma ñginza 4 hâ më 5 'some day (in the future) then I'll, give, you, some money,'

332.62. st te joins two clauses, usually principal clauses. For example: wa 1 rî 2 st te 3 wa 4 né nê 5 'they eat 2 (it) and then, they eat 2 take (them)'
ndo ro, sf ne, kô, kà, gbà, gb, sf tâ, gb, ìnaa, o "(they said) "We'll return, his wife, to him, and then, he'll sleep, with her.""

o, a tê, tê, ñma mbé wèn, sf te ro, nô, òpô, o ndé, i "(they said) "Who's going to come, relate something new so we (can) drink, the beer?""

aà, ne ndarà, sf te ne àm, ndàraa, i "(if it) were, I would have, shot (it)"

ném, tê won, fn, wa, sf te, ndé wà, sa, gb, "I'm going, to talk, with them, and then, they'll call, him!"

kpém, sf te, bá báì, i "(if there were) one, then, you would) grab it,, (using the word bá)"

mbóro, nà, gb, te, kà-yàmy, mbìti, sf te, bin, gb, "if, it were, a buffalo, I would have, shot (it)?"

mbà, wà, sf, sà, nà, gb, te, bìn, nà, nà, "I'm going, to talk, with them, and then, they'll call, him!"

bg, gb, de, pe, kà-yàmy, sà, gbó, "when, she was, one year, old, I began, to teach, her!"

mbà, gb, de, pe, rìfò, sf, tèm, ìsì, mbbìf, nà, "when, she is two years old, I'll teach her to read!"

ák ñmaà, só kó, or sf te, pì, tan-zòra, òpô, "ask someone before throwing the rat's head away" (proverb)

332.7. só kò (and its free-form alternant sóó) is a connective with the basic meaning of 'action realized' or 'result effected' illustrated in the English glosses by 'after which the following happens' or 'has happened,' or 'which results (or resulted) in the following.'

It therefore very clearly contrasts with sf te. (Although the learner of the language must know the permitted and nonpermitted, "idiomatic," uses of this and the other connectives, it is beyond the scope of this grammar to describe these.) For the allomorphs with kó, kò, kà, and gb resulting from vowel changes see 132.2.

Before the general function of só kò is outlined, the contrast with sf te is illustrated by the following examples:

"(they said) "We'll return, his wife, to him, and then, he'll sleep, with her.""

"Who's going to come, relate something new so we (can) drink, the beer?"

"(if it) were, I would have, shot (it)"

"(if there were) one, then, you would) grab it,, (using the word bá)"

"if, it were, a buffalo, I would have, shot (it)?"

"I'm going, to talk, with them, and then, they'll call, him!"

"(if there were) one, then, you would) grab it,, (using the word bá)"

"when, she was, one year, old, I began, to teach, her!"

"when, she is two years old, I'll teach her to read!"

"ask someone before throwing the rat's head away" (proverb)
sô kô joins two clauses. For example:

ge, re bâ, p né tji, sô kê rê nê 'then, we, took, him on (the) canoe'
after which, we went on.'

mbôro, déâ, sôô, rî, dji, 'it became, evening, so, we slept there,'

nûj-pre à, dji, 'it becomes, evening,, so, we, slept, there,'

nûj-pre mâmâ, sô kô ri, â, senê (proverb) '(the) oyster's
mouth, opens, and water, goes, in/

bé, ré gam te-rÊ, wen kô pérâa,, so ké ré, kpâ ?mbee
mbee mbee, 'after, we, had turned around, to, come back,, we, found, some, reed-buck'

wâ, déâ fiyo sôô, wâ koà, né p, 'they, gave offerings to a fetish
after which, they bore, (a child) by means of it,'

wf-ré, nôo dokk, né saa nâ sô kô, wâ, fek ?son, 'these
people, were very numerous, but then, they, all, died off,'

ge, re péé né,, sôô mo gpy a hâ, déâ saa, hé ré ?mbee
mbee, 'so, we, brought (it) back,, and, (it) gave, us
joy, 'sô kô, p né tji, sô kê rê nê 'then, we, took, him on (the) canoe'

332.8. te is a connective of sequence (usually of future time) and purpose.
As a sequence marker, it has practically the same meaning as {go} (332.2);
as a purpose marker, it has practically the same meaning as sé te (332.6).

332.81. Sequence:

ge, re, péé, . . . , te, bé, ré. 'mon me, 'so, we, returned, . . . , and,
while we were still, there . . . '

bê, ré, ne, te, bé" ré, gbôâ, 'when, we, went, and, when, we, arrived,'

mo téj te me zôk Mara -séré kom 'comej and
look  at (the) place
of my spear,'

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

oro hâ mo há, tâ a dé, to ro, ýqn, 'they said) "We give, her, things, for her to make, for us, to eat,'"

ne hâ, há, wée, pâ, gô, kô, bem, 'and, (they) give, her, to, (the)
man, so that, she, will bear, children,'

wen" te wê, zôk, ó bem, kô wa, . . . , te, ó ne, kô wa, zôk, wa, 'to, come, to see, their, children
. . . , that, their, mothers, might see them,'

tc sâ nde wa kôpa, mo, senê, tc wa, ýqn, to find, something, there, that, they, might eat,'

go, wesé ne bô, wá, kó, nánâ, tc wa yáá yar, ne ìma, wû, bô, gbôôya
'so, when, they, begin, to hunt, someone, appropriates, (the) gôôya'

hâ, oro, hâ, fô, wa, wen, kô, sa, dé, tc sâ nde wa gôôya, 'we, gave, instructions
for them, to, smoke, (it)'
332.9. \{wendé gan\} is a cover symbol for a group of connectives with similar meanings and distributions.\textsuperscript{14} They include the morphemes wendé and gan in various combinations. The morpheme gan occurs with high and low tones, the first before words with an initial low tone and the second before words with an initial high tone. They do not lend themselves to easy description probably because the patterns have not yet become formalized. The various combinations are grouped according to whether they join only alternative elements with the meaning 'or' (332.91) or whether they join alternative elements or nonalternative elements (332.92). In the following, X represents any syntactic element and (...) represents any intervening stretch of speech.

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

(a) X wendé gan X wendé:

rém wen kó 1 dimfis 2 rífto 3 wendé, gán ze 4 kpém 5 wendé 'for about 1 two weeks, or one 5 month, '

bó, wá 6 kpá 3 -kátó-gaza 2 wén 7 ze 1 kpém 6 wendé gán ze rífto, wendé 'after they, have slept in (the) circumcision hut, for 6 one 5 or two 4 months, '

hayá 1 go 2 ná 3 go 4 wa gu 5 ?doo 6 -waka 5 wendé, nde wa 8 gbé 9 wa 10, gán wa 11 ?moná go wá réa 12 ?doo 13 poo 13 wendé, go wa gbé wa 'whether the animals, have crawled, and gone, and hidden in (the) dry grass, they kill them, or whether they, have entered the gallery-forest, they kill them.'

(b) X wendé gan X:

bó de ze 1 kpém 2 wendé gán 3 ze 4 rífto 4 'when (they have done this) for one 2 or 1 two 4 months,'

naa, ká 1 sá wendé gan 4 yám 5 ká 1 gí 6 dɔ 6 'his 2 mother, or his father, make 1 beer,'

tá 1 sá kpá 3 ó gí 7 ma'ýñí y 10 wendé gan 3 ó nginza 6 'that 1 he 2 might get 3 things to eat 4 or 5 money, '

wa 1 gbé 2 wi-ré 3 taa 4 wendé gan ná 5 wendé gán mporó 6 'they kill 1 three, or four 4 or five 5 people, '

wa 1 yí 2 ñó 3 kondí 1 kó 4 wendé gan dɔ 5 wa 6 yí 7 sá 8 kóm 9 'they eat 2 my 1 corn, or they, keep on 1 eating, my 1 pumpkins,'

wa 1 nɛ 2 gaza 3 wén 4 sɔká 5 4 tɛ 6 wá 7 háá tɛ 8 wén 9 wendé gán, te sá nde wa 10 fí 1 mo 6 'they, go to be circumcised for 2 maturity, that 4 they, might think 1 (rightly), or that they might know 7 things, '

yám, ká 1 gú 2 kúá 3 go 4 nɛ 5, wendé gán naa 1 ká 1 gí 6 nɛ 5 'his 2 father 1 arises, and goes, or his 1 mother 2 goes.'
wéndé gan X wéndé gan X connects substantives and occurs in only one example: wà gbé à, wéndé gan rffto, wéndé gán taaš 'they kill him, or (maybe) two or three (of them)'

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

(a) gán X wéndé, gán X wéndé:

(b) gán X wéndé:

(c) gán;
DISTRIBUTION CLASSES

when a person goes (and) takes (it) and puts (it) on (the) grave,

people didn't find water to drink.

The (rain) is not coming here!

In dependent clauses:

they chased Kô-fey to hit Kô-fey

I am not able to return.

you'll find (an) animal for you to return with.

I shouldn't do (it) like that.

I should do (it) like that?

what should I do?

Prepositions.

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

?bô is similar to hâ in meaning benefaction, but it has the added meaning 'also.' For example:

for some you also

treat me as a guest (that is, make some food for me)

greet him for us

divide (it) among their children

let's take (the) fear out of them.'
343. (fn) has the meanings instrument or accompaniment (translated 'with, along with, in addition to, and, as well as, accompanied by, by means of') and direction (translated 'for, to, against, in relation to'). It has the following allomorphs: fni- which occurs with the IS, 3S, and 2P pronominal suffixes, and in which occurs in all other environments:

\[ \text{fn, fnaa, fn, do?fa, } \text{he, came near, to, the end,} \]
\[ \text{fn, do?dfa, } \text{he, came near, to, the end,} \]
\[ \text{fn, fnaa, } \text{he, saw, the village,} \]

344. kô has the meaning possession or appurtenance; it sometimes also signals relationship or characteristic. This preposition only rarely follows intimate nouns, the possession of which is generally symbolized by the morpheme 

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

(a) Accompaniment:

\[\text{gam guram néà névé wa} \quad \text{'(the) whirlwind took them off'} \quad (= \text{'went with them'})\]

\[\text{sf né ñma kam hó wa} \quad \text{'(take some food to them') \quad (= \text{'return with some food'})}\]

\[\text{g1 péé, né, né \text{?don-wáá} \quad \text{'he, was returning, with, (it) on (the) path,'}}\]

\[\text{sf \text{?don né wen hám}} \quad \text{'(answer me') \quad (= \text{'come back with a word to me'})}\]

(b) Instrument:

\[\text{gr1 rr, péé, né4 ti\text{?}i5 \quad \text{'(and, we, returned, on, a canoe,'}}\]

\[\text{g1 kpó, né ñma\text{?}a, \quad \text{'he, tied, (them) together,'}}\]

\[\text{ék, te-mé né2 te1 \quad \text{'(lean, against, a tree,'}}\]

\[\text{am, kp\text{'?}f, ñma mo3 sf te4 mé6 né7 \quad \text{'I'm, looking for, something, so that, you, (can) sit, on, (it)'}}\]

(c) Object:

\[\text{g1 hé2 gë\text{?}da4 wcn4 de, né6 kam1 \quad \text{'(she, bought, manioc, to, make, (it) into, food,'}}\]

\[\text{g1 dë\text{?}a2 kam1 né4 ge\text{?}da4 \quad \text{'she, made, (the) food, out of, manioc,'}}\]

\[\text{wë\text{'?}e, am t\text{'?}2 né3 \quad \text{'(it's the) sun, I'm, talking, about,'}}\]

\[\text{fara ñ4 né wë\text{'?}b kõ vã\text{'?}radfì \quad \text{'the day dawned into Friday,'}}\]

\[\text{g1 dë\text{?}a2 te-\text{'?}3 né4 wë\text{'?}ey4 \quad \text{'that one, made, himself, into, a man, (that is, acted as a man,'}}\]

\[\text{g1 rô, né3 ñma gë\text{?}s\text{?}a4 te3 \quad \text{'he, threw, (it) against, a large, tree,'}}\]

(d) Location:

\[\text{sàá mo2, yò\text{'?}2 kë \text{?}e3 kë\text{?}a te4 \quad \text{'Sàá-mo2 stood, to, (the) side,'}}\]

\[\text{wa1 yà2 né \text{?}do\text{'?}búkì3 \quad \text{'they, were, downwind,'}}\]

\[\text{go1 sf \text{?}don né ge\text{?}de-rô \quad \text{'and, (he) backed up'}}\]

\[\text{wa1 bà2 dë\text{?}a2 né \text{?}zù-më6 \quad \text{'they, took, beer and pass you up'} \quad (= \text{'take beer, on your, head,'}}\]

350. Unique morphemes. Only for the sake of convenience are the unique morphemes included under one heading, for they do not comprise a class in themselves. There are four unique morphemes, or classes of morphemes, since one class consists of several morphs. These are the following: the stative (351), the copula né (352), the quotative verb (353), and ?bo (354).
351. Stative. The stative consists of one morpheme, ə (infrequently varying with ɣ). In form it is identical with the 3S low-tone pronoun, but because the function and distributions of the pronouns are so much different from that of the stative, I choose to separate them. Because of the existence of the alternant form ɣ, one might be able to make a case for its derivation from the substitute ɣ. The meaning of the stative is roughly 'to have existence, to be,' and therefore resembles that of French "voici" and "voilà." The stative never occurs alone; it always occurs in construction either with a substantive expression or with a clause in a unique type of equational sentence.

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

mo ɣa 'Here's the thing'
mé ne me bə̃, to me zan-ré, ʔdhɛɛ ɣa 'There you are who refused to work in the village, so much,'
wì nɔɔ ɗɛ, ɗɛ, nɔɔ, kó kóm, só kó, bèm kóm, fɛa, ɣa wa 'you, who violated my wife so that my child died, there you are!'

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

mof ɣi. 'That's right,'
mo kóm ɣi. 'It's my thing,'
go?dhô-wen, ʔba, ʔmaa, kó wéey, in kóo, te’wesse, kó ə sɔká, kɛ rɛ10 te-tfi ḡi11. 'That'sj1 (the) full account of taking each other (in marriage) of ə men and women in the days of our elders. '
ʔba, mo-kômɛ, kó ə tɛ wì-rɛ ne dɛi ɡi. 'These are (the) only in-law obligations of (the) black people (that is, Africans) which they perform.('
gó, mo ne ə wéey, nɛ, gaza, wénâs, ɡi. 'So that's the reason why men went to be circumcised. '
kapâ ɡa mo-wéey, ɡi, wéey, ɡi. 'That's a real manly thing, that's a man.!'  
wa, gɔm, sa?de, ʔba kó dila, há ɡ, ɡi. 'They cut (the) lion's meat, for him. '
mbi ye, dila, baâ, ɡ, ɡi. 'I said, "(the) lion got him."',  
rok ʔdë ɡi, rɛ ɡi, kɛ rɛ, te. 'It's all right, so let's go. '
nde, rɛ2 ká, há 4 sen-faŋ, sa?de, mɛ, ɡi. 'And we arose from (the) place of (the) animal, there. '
go sâ ye ge, gbelek ɡi. 'So (they) call (it) a gbelek. '
rémâ, mâ ɡ pi, gam guram, ɡi. 'It was all right (that is, it was time), for him to cast in (the) whirlwind. '

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

wa₁ yêng₂ ne ngâa₁ 'they₁ eat₂ (it) hard₁'  
ŷ₁ yêng₂ né biri₁ 'he₁ eats₂ like a baboon,₁'  
â̂₂ koâ₂ bêem₂ ne bê₂ wêey₃ 'she₂ bore₂ a male-child₃' (= 'child₃ ne child₄ man₄')  
ha₂ ne bûu₂ '(it) came out₁ white₂'  

Other examples follow:

wa₁ yâ₂ ne wêey₃ 'they₁ are₂ men₁'  
ê₃ ne ñma₂ bê-te₃ 'it's₁ a certain₂ small tree₁'  
të₃ ₂₅ ne bûu₁ 'the tree₁ is₂ white₃'  
ê₃ ne wëen₃-te₃ sent-te-rë₄ kò ro₅ na₆ '(she said it) was₁ necessary₂ to come₂ here₃ to her₄ house₄'  
bo₃₁ ne ù mborô₂ 'if (they) were₁ red monkeys²'  
wa de₃ bisa₁ ne gàa-tûru₂-gaza₂ kò wa₃ né saa nà 'they got all dressed up₁ in their₃ circumcision clothes₂' (where né saa nà 'it's no joke,' a common expression, is used as an intensifier)  
ture₁ ne zâra âm₂ doâ₃ hò₅ wa₃ 'this₁ morning₁ (it was) zâra (a ctn. tuberous root) which I₂ roasted₃, for₄ them₅'  
bô₁ o zaŋâa₄ ne mbête₂ 'if (he) was₁ inside₂ indeed₃'  
ne₁ ŋbay₃ mo₃ kpêm₄ ne nzapâ₅ 'and₁ just₂ one₄ thing₅—it's God₅'  
mî ne hò tìa 'I'm the first-born'  

353. Quotative verb (QV) gende gâ ye ge. The QV is so called because it shares with verbs the privilege of occurring after substantive expressions in a subject-predicate construction as well as that of occurring after connectives where clauses are expected. It is called "quotative" because it often functions as a verb of saying. What follows need not be a direct quotation. In any case, the distinction between direct reference, by the use of the explicit pronouns (382.12), and indirect reference is not carefully maintained. The QV shall be referred to in the singular for the sake of convenience, for although in its longest form it functions as a polymorphemic word, it actually occurs in several forms, not all of which have the same privileges of occurrence. It is because of this syntactic segmentation that I consider the QV to be composed of several morphemes although I cannot attribute lexical meanings to them individually. There is some indication that different "words" are involved, but, because of the lack of control of the semantic distinctions, rigid differentiations seem hazardous at this point. The full list is given below, it being understood that wherever ye is not followed by ge, it can alternate in
rapid speech with the suffixal form -y, which is bound to any word pre-
ceeding it:12

gende gâ ye ge

gende gâ ye

ye ge

ye
gende gâ
gâ
gâ

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

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

§1 tâ hâ gbgré, gende gâ ye ge, kînê me yôô kó mè dyê. "He,
said to Lizard, 'Now you stand here.'"

timôtée dûn tô wen, ñaaâ, gende gâ ye, ge a me yô yui wendâ gé
nde. 'Timothy was talking, with him, saying, 'Why are yous,
running'.'"

mîshe bâmë ë, tî gende gâ ye, ccrë më. 'Monsieur took me, (and)
put, (me in) front, saying, 'Let's go, go.'"

mbfî, yê mîshe me ndôrâa gende gâ ye bô hê ñê zôkkâa sôk, sëto. 'I,
said, 'Monsieur, shoot him,' (and he answered) saying, 'Let's,
see him well, first.'"

go hê zôkk gbâyâ, gende gâ ye, dëôdéô zôôa kó aayr noo wà 'so, when
(they) see, (her) thus, (they respond) saying, 'Look at his,
his-name's attractive daughter.'"

353.12. Short forms. These are ye ge or ye.21 The short form has the
following characteristics that distinguish it from the long form: (1) in addi-
tion to being used with the verbs of "explicit information," it is used with
certain verbs of "implicit information" (e.g., wer- 'to make a noise, sound
like, go,' jëk 'to know,' pë ér- 'to make a gesture with the hand,' etc.): (2) it
may follow the connectives gó and á as well as pronouns; (3) it may precede
the final interrogative particle ndé. The meaning of ye ge in negative equa-
tional sentences is equivalence or significance. For example:
ne, tè  né,  hâ  né,  pâ  ye  gâ  ye  hâ  rò  dák,  kéê,  hâ  zèn'wa,  'they,  (it)  bring,  (it)  to  her,,  saying,  "Take  (it)  and  make  ..."

dila,  trâ,  go,  akâa,  ak5  gbêrt,  gây  gbêrt  ndé  né,  mè,  gbëâla  sa?de,
'(the)  Lion,  came  and  asked  him,  (that  is)  asked  I.  Lizard,  saying,
"Say,  Lizard,  you,  killed  an  animal,  ..."

wa1  râk  wa3,  gâ  ye  hâ  rò  dák,  kéê,  hâ  zèn'wa,  'they,  whip  them,,
saying,,  "Let's,  take  (it)  and  make  ..."

gô1  sàg  gáy  da?dogn  'and,  (they)  call  (it)  a  "da'doq",  bô,  tp  ye  ge  dila,  gpy
'when,  (he)  said  "lion",  like  this/  qma  yfn-zoro,  wéé  ye  ge  bé-wéey,  né  gaza,  wéé  se  wá,  '(the)  reason,  the  elders,  say  that  young  men,  should  be  circumcised  ...'

mé,  ye,  gende  gâ,  baâ  p  hoà  ?bëé
'I,  said,  "A  lion  got  him,"

dôq-wââ  ké  ré  in  mé  ye  ge  ndé  'what  is  our  relationship  with  each  other?'  (=  'way  of  us  with  you  what?')

mo  ye  ge  ndé  'what's  the  affair'

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

bô1  gam  tsêm,  wen  kô,  nm,  bâa  te,  gende  gáw  ?ho,  ?bëé  'when  I,  turned  around,  to,  climb  up,  a  tree,  well,  it  had  already  appeared,'  wan  gbëya  dûj,  ñaa,  gende  gáw  wâ,  dafâa,  gam  guram,  'the  master  of  (the)  gbëya  was,  with  him,  in  other  words,  they  had  already  prepared,  (the)  whirlwind,'  ere,  kôg,  wôô  mise  gbëâ,  faro,  gëyy  gende  gâw  wi,  dë  saa  wëndé,  'we,  yelled,  "Hurrah,  Monsieur  has  killed,  an  elephant,"  so  then,  (he  said),  "Are  you,  happy?"

sa2de,  dea  ta2  bo,  gende  gâw  kusi,  'there  were  three,  more  animals,  (dead),  making,  nine, 1

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

bô1,  2  dë,  zokôm,  gâw  mf5  gâ,  'when,  he,  saw  me,  (he)  said,  "Here,  I,  (am)"'

bô1  rô2  gbo3  sën-te-fara,  ñi  me,  ga  mbôro,  dea,  'when,  we,  had  arrived,  at  the  place,  to  sleep,  it  was  already  evening,'
bó1 wà2 zók3 gà4 ért4 òò tê5 gô6 'when they looked, he came.'
gom1 màmaa2 go2 mbà3 ya5, bô7, gà mà, d’à7 ré ge8 'and I laughed at him,' and, I4 sai6, "Oh, so what did you do...?'"

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

An extensive study of the place names of the Bossangoa Sous-Préfecture was not made, but even my limited data reveal a somewhat diversified environment for ?bo. The following occurred: (1) with nouns (?bo dila 'lion village,' ?bo sàk 'mam village,' ?bo toró 'dog village'); (2) with noun phrases (?bo ndong-foyi 'village of the last remaining bit of fetish,' ?bo wann-sàmu 'village of the elder of the sàumá'); with noun having ?V (?bo kàam 'village of food' < kâm); with a temporal substitute (?bo kins 'village of now'); with a verb phrase (?bo gma te 'step-on-tree village'); with a clause (?bo kpé mo 'shut the thing village').

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

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

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

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

?bay 'even, just, also.'25
gó ?bay mó1 kpém2 ?món nê dàâ3 ñmaâ4 'and just one, single thing,' namely, keeping things from, one another.'

?bay mó3 nôc4 nê nzàâ4 dżâ4 òn6 wà6, 'this, very thing, which God, did, for, them.'

fey3 gâà2 mó4 nà, gó ?bay mundù4 nê fey bâ6 'death, doesn't run away from anything, and death takes, even a white person,'

?bay ézi dżâ4, nê ñmá4, gó dju3 gâ hé kpâwâ4 'even after night, comes,' (it) continues, to cry.'
DISTRIBUTION CLASSES

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

gba dpy 'wound which covers up without healing properly' (dpy 'wound')
gba sp, in kam-gba sp 'food, memorial feast,' gba sp 'the great spirit' (sp 'spirit, shade')
gba ge?da 'certain manioc which bears one year after being planted' (ge?da 'manioc')
gba tuwa 'house kept empty for guests' (tuwa 'house')
gba wô 'famine' (wô 'hunger')
gba zawa 'ground nut: Voandzeia subterranea' (zawa 'peanut')

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

ηma, wfl-ré, yûq, wârâ, ré? 'Does a, person, eat, (the) village, fruit?'
tém, kpa, ηma kôo, iye4 'where, should I, find, a wife,7'
ηma wérai, bó nàs, 'there's no (further) word,'
gan, ném, pl1, ηma, sa?dc5, nu kpém nàs 'I'm not, going, to throw down, any, of the meat,'

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

té-c kp-rf1, ó tê2, wfl-ré3, 'in (the) eyes, of black, people,'
ó dfrâ, wfl-ré1, 'the, crowd, of people,'
boalo-nâp, ó sa?de, 'tracks, of the animals,'
ó mdr-dc zônâ, 'things, with, which, girls, get, dressed, up,'
ó wa nôo, ne gan zée té-rô náî, 'those, who, don't, obey,'
ó gbrfî in dila, a wa yadâ, 'Lizard, and, the, Lion, were, strolling, about,'
ó ngôzoan kf1, rô2, tê1, 'Ngôzoan, was, looking, for, one, us, (and), coming,'
6 damba1 de2 ná_m1 kosára1 in rë2 dë6 'the people from the village of Damba1 did2 a very bad thing to us3.'

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

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

bú záan 'white clouds'
bura kúmjgba 'a very large kúmjgba basket'
dé koo 'a good woman'
dédé koo fn náp koo 'good and bad women'
á kfdi mbé fiyo 'he looks for another fetish'
sóó myu'sa'dé fff 'just a little bit of meat'
sóó naa 'maternal aunt' (= 'little mother')

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

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

ám1 hea2 vélôo kóm3 'I sold2 my3 old3 (former) bicycle,' compare vélôo kóm1 de2 my3 old3 'my bicycle has gotten very old3,'
á mé tam1 ndìn2 m3 ná4 don't touch4 dirty4 things1,' compare f551 ndìn1 hâ sené1 'wash1 (the) dirt1 out of it1,'
ér1 gboá2 m kópm wèsé1 'we1 arrived2 on the same day3 (we went),' compare wèsé kópm1 'one day1'

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

(a) Perfective adjectives:

bé dërá wfré, sôn2 all2 (the) people1 < dfr- 'to be numerous'
gbó mángó 'ripe mango' < gbó 'to be red, ripe'
３náqá vélôo 'ruined bicycle, wreck of a bicycle' < ñaq 'to ruin, wreck'
áyá bere1 kóo2 'woman2 (with) fallen breasts1, an old woman' < 'to sprinkle, fall'
(b) Imperfective adjectives:

gbëŋ fara 'hot place' < gbëŋ 'to be hot'
gbë mo 'red thing'
 'náŋ mo 'bad thing'

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

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

báraa ji nâ mei 'the dry season before last'
tyêe ji nâ me 'two days before yesterday'
mise, tô yê, mf nâ, ne ge ndé, 'Monsieur, said (to me), "Say, what's that?"
ô, tô yê, éré nâ, ne ã, gbôâ's sande, 'He said (to us), "Hey you, I killed an animal,"
foo, kë ë, nâ ndé à baâ zên, wà 'he said), "My mother-in-law, has become pregnant,"

nem tô ye, mise nâ ne 'and I said, "Hey Monsieur . . . ."

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

ôro, lâa gata nôôs me gbôi, gâ, 'like, this Lâa-gata over there,'
gô, re, gbô, sen-te-ña nôôs, 'so, we arrived here,'
mê, nôôs, ne me bô, mbôra, 'you, here, who reject instructions,'

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

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

371.1. gân . . . nâ occurs in both simple and compound sentences but not in constructions where only nâ can occur. gân . . . nâ is the mark of a negated sentence whereas nâ is both that and also the mark of a negated verb expression. The position of gân is immediately preceding the verbal predicate except when the subject is a pronoun, in which case it precedes the pro-
noun. (Although no examples occurred in the texts, negative sentences including a negated verb expression do occur in the language. In other words, the following can occur: gan...[...nâ] ná, where brackets indicate included verb expression.) Several sentences without gan but similar to if not identical with those having gan occur in the corpus, but they are insufficient to permit analysis. It is not uncommon for nâ to be (probably inadvertently) left off in a long, involved sentence with several included clauses. For example:

\[\text{gma mo kẽ rẽ wem-de wenâa gan bô ná} \ '\text{there was nothing we could do about it!}' \ (\text{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft something thing of us to do about it is not\textquoteright\textquoteright})
\]

\[\text{gan, am}_{2} \text{yo}_{3} \text{ma}_{4} \text{roy ro}	ext{y}_{5} \text{ná}_{1} \ 'I_{2} \text{didn't eat,\textquoteleft\textquoteleft things indiscriminately\textquoteright\textquoteright}'
\]

\[\text{gan, na}_{2} \text{ha}_{3} \text{de-a saa}_{4} \text{hê rê}_{5} \text{kpêm}_{6} \text{ná}_{1} \ (\text{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft it\textquoteright\textquoteright}) \text{would}_{2} \text{not}_{1} \text{have}_{2} \text{given}_{3}
\text{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft us\textquoteleft\textquoteleft any pleasure whatsoever\textquoteright\textquoteright}.'
\]

\[\text{gma mo gan sâgây gân nzapâ} \ '\text{there's nothing too strong for God}'
\ (\text{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft something thing is strong surpasses God not\textquoteright\textquoteright})
\]

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

371.21. nâ occurs in negated directives: â mé ne nâ 'don't go'; â mé, ne, më yoo_{2} zu\textasciicircumflex{2}wa_{3} nâ 'don't go, (and) stand over them,'

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

\[\text{wi-rê } bô_{2} \text{ne gaza}_{3} \text{nâ} \ '\text{if}_{2} \text{people aren't circumcised,} '
\]

\[\text{bô}_{2} \text{ne yôâ}_{3} \text{ma}_{4} \text{kô më}_{5} \text{ná} \ '\text{if}_{\text{\textquoteright\textquoteright} (it) should not be your fault,'}
\]

\[\text{në}_{1} \text{më}_{2} \text{zjm}_{4} \text{ma}_{3} \text{nâ} \ '\text{if}_{\text{\textquoteright\textquoteright} you should not observe the taboos,'}
\]

371.23. nâ occurs in dependent clauses:

\[\text{te}_{3} \text{ri}_{2} \text{fêk}_{4}, \text{lâg}_{5} \text{f}_{7} \text{ná} \ 'so that, (the) water, wouldn't flow, (and) pass, on!}
\]

\[\text{gàh}_{4} \text{ngbër}_{2} \text{d}_{3} \text{më}_{4} \text{ná} \ 'so that, leprosy wouldn't afflict you,'
\]

\[\text{wa}_{1} \text{bf}_{2} \text{ma}_{3} \text{nd}_{4} \text{wa}_{4} \text{zô}_{5} \text{ná}_{1} \ 'they reject 2 the thing, which they, don't see,'; compare gan wa bf mo ndt wa zô ne tîp_{1}\text{rô}_{2} ná \ 'they don't reject the thing which they see with their eyes,}'
\]

371.24. nâ occurs in certain rhetorical questions. In some (following së 'then,' and with à 'to be' when it occurs with the affix \textasciicircumflex{2}v) there is no question marker in the sentence. In questions whose predicate is in the perfective, the question is marked by wêndé. (In a simple predication implying the noncompletion of an act, the perfective is otherwise not used.) For example:

\[\text{me sô kô më ne kô}_{2} \text{co ná} \ 'aren't you a woman?' (said in derision)
\]

\[\text{nei gây}_{3} \text{mô}_{2} \text{do-}	ext{mô}_{3} \text{së ná} \ 'and shouldn't you scare\textquoteleft\textquoteleft things \textquoteleft\textquoteleft that is, animals and birds\textquoteright\textquoteright\textquoteleft\textquoteleft from under the things,\textquoteleft\textquoteleft that is, plants\textquoteright\textquoteright\textquoteleft\textquoteleft)"}
DISTRIBUTION CLASSES

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

ná ssa ná 'it's no joke'

'not like this'

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

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

ná aá, tc-túru, go, ngmbe?ba, 'Oil spilled on (the) cloth, so it's heavy.'

wa, néé, ngmbal, 'They heard but don't act accordingly.'

wa, wá, mo, ngmbelen ngmbelen, 'They are weeding (the plot), and they are going at it in all directions.'

me, ná, ngmbal, 'You talk (the) Gbeya language without making mistakes.'

372.1. Classes of descriptive adverbs. Two classes are distinguished by the fact that some DAs can occur in attribution to nouns (proposed or postposed) in endocentric noun phrases and others never do. The second class is actually represented by only one member, ndè 'very, a lot': bük yá ndè 'the wind is blowing hard,' a tó wen ndè 'she talks a lot,' rókà ndè 'it is very good.' The rest of this section deals with the preposed and postposed DAs.
372.11. Postposed DAs. This class is represented by only six members: *?bo 'also,' dôka 'much, many,' gôô 'here,' gôô 'in this manner,' gbâg 'also accompanying,' sôn 'all, entirely.' In addition to being positionally distinctive from the preposed DAs, these adverbs have the following characteristics: they are short in form; they are (except for dôka) simple stems; and they are not extensively manipulated stylistically. For example:

*?bo: am, mbâ, më, *?bo 'I, greet, you, also,' âré, tek, fnaa, *?bo 'we, came, with him, also'

dôka: kéey dek ré dôka 'we were very much afraid,' zérè, dë wa_i
dôka, go wa fô, 'they, are sick, a lot, so, they die,

fôô, nê, yôô, goô, wa fôô-nag,-wa, 'there were, a lot of their, tracks,'
gôô: sôô, term, sôô, kpora kpora, gôô 'so that, my body, is, without
blemish, here,

misi, a düô tf, mc gôô, 'it's) Monsieur coming,

right over there,' go, rôô, term, gôô 'and, (which) pleases, me,

here,' gaza, mc me, nêa, gôô 'the) circumcison rites, through

which you, just passed,,' ã, nê, óró, ná à nê, óró laa-gata nôô me

gôô, gôô, 'he, went, as if, to go,

sôô, dé, gôô, 'do (it) like this then,' bô gôô nâ 'that) isn't the

way,' erè, kô, ?dônâ, gôô 'we, like it, like this too,' nêm, nê

côô-misi, ge?dèk, ge?dèk, gôô tôngbô, 'and, I followed Monsieur,

slowly, like this for a long time,' wa, dë bisô, hô wa, gôô ne tûôô,

kô wâ, gôô 'they, dressed, them, up like this in their, clothes,'

wa, yû, gôô 'they, fled, a long time,'

gbâg: nê ã nê, gbûn, fn, më, tê-gala, me, 'he shall go, along with,

you, to (the) market, there,'

sôn: âm, gbo?da, sôn, 'I, am completely, exhausted,' wa, tô mbôra,

hô wa, gôô tûu sôn, 'they, instruct, them, like this, fully,' bô, ã, gôô,

wu, nê, gaza sôn, 'after, he's, finished, circumcising, them,'

â gôô têô, sôn 'he considered it all'

372.12. Preposed DAs. This class is theoretically constituted by all the

adverbs in the language not already mentioned. As a matter of fact, only a

few such adverbs occur preposed to nouns in the corpus, and such an adject-

ival function of the adverbs is at any rate not common in the language (411.12).

The number of members which constitute this class make it almost as impor-

tant as the class of nouns or verbs. (Fifteen hundred occur in my dictionary.)

These DAs are comparable to those words called "ideophones" in the litera-

ture on Bantu languages. As described by D. T. Cole, for example, they "are
descriptive of sound, colour, smell, manner, appearance, state, action or

intensity . . . . In effect therefore, ideophones are vivid vocal images or

representations of visual, auditory and other sensory or mental experiences.

The following sections deal with their phonemic shape and derivation.

372.2. Phonemic shape. The most obvious characteristics of the phonemic

shape of the DAs are the following: (1) they consist in very many cases of

repeated elements; (2) they are generally much longer phonemically than are
the members of other word classes; (3) their vowels are usually identical; and (4) their tones are usually all high or all low.

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

(a) Many forms consist of two elements at whose juncture consonant clusters occur which otherwise occur only at open juncture, such as: dup dup, kép kép, fep fep, gbot gbot, qmgbot qmgbot. Cf. ám, ndor̩, dop, do1 'I, shot', a water-buck, (and he fell) with one shot.'

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

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

zor) zorj 'hard (pot),' zorj ?dorj 'stiff (arm)'

For other examples, see 372.3.

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

d$qj wa$ té, k$or, k$or 'they, began, to come, (making a noise) ...'

háy, ?doo-wey, nso, mó ggreq, ggreq '(they) crept, through this, fire' (going) ...'

gët-wa d$q wëé qmgbo?bok, qmgbo?bo qmgbo?bo 'their voices went ...'

wëé kpugut, ... d$q wëé kpugutu kpugutu kpugutu 'made a noise ... , continued to go ...'

d$qj wa$ sá gima, fu, fu, fu fu 'they, began, to sing, (going) ...'

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

Where these characteristics are absent, the following two somewhat arbitrary rules decide whether a form is combined or not:
(e) All forms with only a repeated CV are taken to be combined unless the CV occurs as a free form. Thus: żżżâ, ziżizi, ze?de?de, kokor, fu. (I assume that a form such as yeeye could be repeated in whole.)

(f) All forms consisting of four syllables are taken to be combined of two words of unique occurrence because (1) the canonical forms of this word class (following the above analysis) do not contain four syllables, and (2) there remains the possibility that like so many other forms these too, with more data, would show one element turning up in other constructions. Here follows the complete list of this "residue," not an imposing one, considering the great number of the forms in the corpus: bera nda'du, folo fiyo, golo goto, gbeze nggezen, gozo go'dok, kpara ngusaŋ, kpopo mbiyo, kppro nqona, loko dorõ, loru kpajmgông, mbolo bo'to, ngbala siyo, ngbopo ngondog, nqana zi?ni, nda'da ngbana, ndora ngbopdog, yuru ku'duk, wôkô zôro. (Glosses here, in 372.21, and in 373.323 (i) have been regretfully omitted to save space.)

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

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

- CV fu (rare)
- CVV ḏéé, hoo, fëfë
- CVVC ngoori, ndëër, lëëŋ
- CVC bel, bëŋ, bem, bôt, but
- CVCV bero, virf, sëke, ru?du, ngbopo?do, læge
- CVVCV hëmez, bofëe, buyu, fawoo
- CVVCVC biraŋ, bïfrp, bukay, ḏâràk, dëleŋ
- CVVCVCV lââzâk (rare)
- CVVCVV ḏââ?dëf, talaïi, fëwëoo (rare)
- CVVCVC ?dëyere, dgmoro, dëkërté, doba?dá
- CVVCVV ndâ?dilo, hëŋërté, gogi?doo
- CVVCVCV ?biikiri, ñëërekë (rare)
- CVVCVCV dugulam (rare)

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

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

372.222. Partial reduplication. The last four words are the only ones which demonstrate initial partial reduplication: dororo 'placid (water),' bë?dë?dë ḏëzo?zo 'large (kernels),' kakâ?da 'difficult,' gbegbet 'thick (paper),' koko?do 'strong (thick paper),' kokorô? 'circled' around,' cf. kor 'round.'

372.3. Derivation. The description of the derivation of the DAs concerns itself with linguistic derivation, i.e., where the source is within the
language itself. There is, however, nonlinguistic derivation, and a few words concerning this source of DAs are appropriate.

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

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

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

raç 'sound made when a person runs on hard ground,' riç 'sound made when a small-hoofed animal runs on hard ground'  
ghen gheq, reñ réñ, këñ këñ, zoq zoq, roñ roñ, yen yen 'all referring to some kind of hardness or tightness'  
pam pëlém, hâm hâm, pulam 'all referring to some kind of lightness' (in weight)  
pëlém 'narrow (like piece of paper),' polom polom 'long and widish (like peeled manioc skins)'  
mėnuñ mënuñ 'soft (bone),' mënuñ mënuñ and gbu?nuk gbu?nuk 'soft (ground)'  
ndo?dolo 'undried, green (beans), resilient (undried skull),' ndo?dilo 'soft, weak (sick body)'  

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

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

372.31. Derivation from non-DAs. The examples are few and of doubtful validity:
boroy toy '(sit, be in one place) immovable,' compare boro 'iron,' zoy zoy 'hard'
?búró ?bóró 'tiny (yams),' compare ?buri 'shatter, break (like glass)'
kokoroŋ 'brush fire circled) around,' compare kokor 'roof ring'
kppyoŋ 'slipping out of one's hands,' compare kppy 'to take off (clothes), skin, bruise'
ŋmbő bolo 'wide' (like mouth of ziya frog), related by informant to ŋmbóbọ́to ńólo '(certain) frog'
da?dak nda?dak '(wood which) doesn't split well,' compare nda?di 'to glue, stick together'
rutu?bay '(different kinds of sauces) mixed together,' compare ruti 'to mix together, wá rutó kpoó né ńmáá rutu?bay 'they mixed the sauces together . . .'
wakap wakap 'noises made in going through dry grass,' compare waka 'cane-grass'

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

372.312a. Words characterized by certain regular alternations.
(1) With vowel alternations:
roke roke 'rattling loose (as stone in gourd),' roke roke 'loose (spear-head on shaft)'
gan ńbilaŋ, gan ńbilaŋ 'twisted, bent'
ndaŋ kulęŋ, ndaŋ kulęŋ 'sit around after illness' (one informant rejected the first word and used the second for this meaning)
(2) With consonant alternations or loss:
yandaŋ, randaŋ '(walls of hole) clean straight up and down' (one informant rejected the first word and used the second for this meaning)
kp̩reŋ 'smooth (of wood),' kp̩re 'smooth (of skin)'
fpk 'disorderly, useless,' fpó 'do something) without getting results'
yd̩d̩k yd̩d̩k '(shoes) not sturdy,' yóre yóre '(cloth) not sturdy'; s̩d̩̩d̩̩k 'completely filled,' s̩fr̩k 'filled and slightly spilling over.' The /d/ /r/ alternation occurs on a dialectal level, the former in Gbeya words and the latter in cognate words in the Gbaya dialect of Bouar.

372.312b. Words not characterized by an alternation. Some are correlated with a shorter free form, and some are not.
(1) With shorter free form. Several of these might be described as "fused forms" since they contain phonemic segments from each element of a combined form: fpt, fpewo 'talk softly'; rëk rëk 'write something down) just as one heard it;' rëkét 'caught in the act (of stealing)'; gbo?dok, gboro go?dok 'strong (salt)'; yekere, yeke reke 'troubled'; kpi?diri, kpiri ki?di 'dull (knife).''

(2) With no shorter free form: lât, sat 'all'; ru?bay, ha?bay 'people come in large numbers'; gongom, rongom 'fires meet' with loud noise; dit kirî 'water in cave) not flowing,' dit kirî 'sit) without saying anything'; yêngle, yêng këtì 'glued papers came) apart; këngëg 'stiff (lion' tail),' kek se?de 'strong'; laka laka '(read) haltingly' (my informant compared this with laka?di 'eat) very little').

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

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

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

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

Derived from free base:

hiyuu 'river flows) swiftly  hiyu hiyu '(red pepper is) hot'
kute e '(see) dimly'  kute kute 'soft'
toke listless'  tok so?de 'drowsy'

Derived from nonfree base:

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

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

?bete ?bete '(read) well  ?bet '(arise) without saying anything'

koto koto '(pot leaks) continuously'

ømgbël ømgbële 'level (road)'

gbëggô longô 'tall (person)'

ndôngô yôngô

gbô 'straight (road)'

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

1. Change of tones with no segmental change:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vel vel, vel vel</td>
<td>'long (spear head)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sip 'tightly'</td>
<td>'(tightened and) fast (because bottom is flat)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pirip pirip</td>
<td>'(talk) too fast,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbolo mbolo</td>
<td>'soft (plastic dish),'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gmbel gmbel</td>
<td>'level,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gmbel gmbel</td>
<td>'prostrate (on ground)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbolo mbolo</td>
<td>'soft (plastic dish),'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbolo mbolo</td>
<td>'thin (paper)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mener mener</td>
<td>'soft (European mattress),'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mener mener</td>
<td>'soft (cooked squash)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke den ke den</td>
<td>'(roof leaks) drop by drop,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke den ke den</td>
<td>'(pot leaks) flowing out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoforo hoforo</td>
<td>'empty (box),'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fot fot</td>
<td>'(cut something soft) easily,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bet bet</td>
<td>'(arise and leave) without warning or saying anything,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bet bet</td>
<td>'(grab something from someone) abruptly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bon bon</td>
<td>'(space between words on page),'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deke deke</td>
<td>'(young peanut plants) all over (plot),'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deke deke</td>
<td>'(exhausted)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fji fji</td>
<td>'dark, poor visibility,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbàg gbàg</td>
<td>'wide (crate),'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbàg gbàg</td>
<td>'light (from moon)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hel hel</td>
<td>'(be) hot (in sun),'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke'deg ke'deg</td>
<td>'(roof leaks) drop by drop,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke'deg ke'deg</td>
<td>'(pot leaks) flowing out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bug bug</td>
<td>'short (within bounds),'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusu kusu</td>
<td>'(body) itching all over,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusu kusu</td>
<td>'(sunlight) pouring down (on something)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpere kpere</td>
<td>'smooth (board),'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpere kpere</td>
<td>'(walk) slowly as if looking for something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>log log</td>
<td>'(earth) soft, free of stones,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>log log</td>
<td>'completely bald'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Change of tones with segmental change. Combined forms consisting of two reduplicated elements with low tones are correlated with others having high-low-high tones on three elements, the second one usually being a form shortened by the loss of a syllable (that is, CV) or a phoneme (C or V). In most cases the meanings of the two forms are (as far as I was able to determine) identical and the difference seems to be stylistic, but there is some semantic difference in a few forms. The examples are here grouped according to the kind and amount of segmental change involved.

No segmental change: bil bil bil '(talk) evasively (because caught stealing),' ndg ndg ndg '(act) evasive (because caught stealing),' ngg ngg ngg 'place is' rocky (stones scattered everywhere), ye'gém ye'gém ye'gém '(go) here and there (as in looking for employment).'
Loss of CV: ʔbərɛʔbeʔbərɛ '(walk) fast'; kpárù kpa kpárù '(listen) half-heartedly'; gbísti ghi gbísti '(get up) in haste'; wòtò wò wòtò '(many people) making noise (by talking in undertone)'; wòtò wòtò '(two or three people) making noise.'

Loss of C: dém de dém 'frantic (at the death of someone),' kpp kpp kpp 'lumpy (dough)'; kpp kpy k$p 'descriptive of many knots on tree'; pàn pa pán '(roam around) usually alone'; tâŋ ta tâŋ '(pedaling bicycle) up and down'; tâŋ taŋ 'beating (of heart).'

Loss of V; kéé ke kéé 'condition of eyes in reaction to bright light'; yââ ya yââ '(running around) doing evil.'

372.322. Derivation by reduplication involves those words with identical terminal CVCVs. The final CV is taken to be a reduplication of the preceding because of the correlation between words which are characterized by such sequences and those which are not (even though for some words it means setting up hypothetical base forms). This is not the only use of the process of reduplication; it occurs stylistically in the structuring of sentences and in the composition of combined DAs. Words having reduplicated elements are classified according to whether the reduplication is complete or partial.

(a) Complete reduplication. The examples are divided according to whether the repetition occurs twice or three times. None of these is correlated with a nonreduplicated word.

(1) Twice repeated. These always involve reduplication of an element consisting of CV: dòò dòò '(come) always,' fəfəfə '(stomach hurts) ...,' ŋtęŋtę '(look for someone) here and there,' páápáá 'completely (gone),' vọvọvọ 'hard rain with much thunder.'

(2) Repeated three times. These always involve reduplication of an element consisting of CV: bububu 'budded (cotton),' zizizi '(roasting meat) sizzling,' ọọọọ 'condition of person who is) perspiring a great deal.'

(b) Partial reduplication. The reduplication involves the repetition of a final CV of a free or assumed base. Some assumed bases are in turn correlated with free ones, the latter ending with a C and the former ending with an added echo vowel. Once again, some of the correlated pairs have some meaning in common, and the others do not.

(1) Correlated with free bases.
Without intermediate base: kususu 'descriptive of certain tuber' : kusu kusu '(itch) terribly all over'
kpí?di?di '(smells) bad, strong' : kpi?di kpi?di '(fame spreads) all over'
ŋgerɛɛ 'descriptive of rising of sun' : ŋgerɛ ŋgerɛ '(walk about) in a rapid, nervous sort of way, looking for something'
werɛɛ 'descriptive of person coming through dry grass' : werɛ werɛ '(beer) sweet (before fermenting)'

With intermediate base: mbololɔ '(lie) around (fire)' : mbol mbol '(hawk flies) in circles'
ŋmgbalala '(honey is) thick' : ŋmgbal 1'(leave child) alone and uncared for'
(2) Correlated with nonfree bases. The examples are numerous, and only a few are given: 
dororo 'limpid (pond),' bjsisi 'descriptive of aroma of perfume,' fê?dê?dê 'chase someone away) with severity,' fé?mê?mê 'narrow (bird's bill),' hêmgbêngbê 'good-flavored (salt),' ecle 'descriptive of rabbit fur bending in breeze,' ēfrērē ~ ēfrē 'sweet (like candy),' ururu 'rumbling (of elephant's stomach),' ususu 'descriptive of angry animal's fur standing up.'

372.323. Derivation by combination is of two types: (1) the combination of forms at least one of which is either a free noncombined word or a recurrent form with a constant meaning in several different combined forms (as in a,2 and b,1 below), and (2) the combination of forms of unique occurrence (as in a,1 and b,2).

Two major types of combined forms are distinguished: those consisting of dissimilar words and those consisting of similar words. This distinction rests on the fact that there are many combined forms in which the second word is more or less unlike the first. They are clearly distinct from those forms with completely reduplicated forms. However, some are characterized by phonemic dissimilation that resembles the dissimilating pattern of the reduplicated forms.

A very interesting feature of combined forms (of both classes) is that there are many nonfree words which share both a minimal phonemic shape and meaning with other words. Since, however, these never occur independently, I can not be sure how much of the meaning of the entire combined form is carried by these words in question and how much is carried by the first word. One analysis would attribute to the second form (which is usually the patterned one, the one with least phonemic distinctiveness) the basic meaning and consider the other one a refining or distinguishing word, a type of modifier. For example, all combined forms containing a "word" which has the shape kVsV share the meaning of 'unevenness, deviation from a norm.' Thus: woro koso '(pounded grain sorghum) but not yet soft'; kporo koso 'hob-nailed (shoes), bumpy (Braille dots), uneven (edges of paper chewed on by mouse)'; wolo koso 'tasteless (where sweetness is expected).' The precise function of the first word is, however, unclear. In the case of kporo kporo 'healthy (skin unaffected by leprosy),' for example, the meaning seems to be 'very nice and smooth, even.' See also wolo koso 'sound of water flowing in gutter.' A similar problem obtains in the dissimilated forms of the reduplicated combined forms. This is indeed an intriguing problem, but its solution can not be resolved, I feel, without two or three times the amount of data at our disposal.

(a) Combination of dissimilar words. Many of these consist of words similar in shape and meaning to other words. For the reasons given above, these forms are called combined forms with recurrent partials. The others have no recurrent partials, that is, they are of unique occurrence. I feel, neverthe-
less, that with an abundance of additional data many of these would turn up with semantic distinctiveness.

(1) Combined forms with dissimilar nonrecurrent partials. This list is complete: mbolo mbọta, mbọta mbọta, leko doro, ndoro gmgbo, ymgbo, ymgbo, ymgbo, na'da ymgban, golo goto, ghoro go'dok, kpo to nibyo, kpr o npọ, kara nda'du, ndel be, falo firo, kpara nụsị, luru kpụngbun, ụgara ụgasa, kpiri kiri di, ọnịnọ mọg, gbám gbọm, gbọ ọmọọ, boroy toy, pám púlém, ndọ g kalẹn.

(2) Combined forms with dissimilar recurrent partials. The examples are grouped according to the form of the recurrent word, which is cited formulaically since its vowel or vowels are usually like those of the word which precedes it. This list is complete:

fVrV: gba'da fara 'small,' gmgbo'do foro 'small (dog)'
kVrV: ngutu kuru 'short (tuber),' ba'da kara 'short and fat (person)'
sV'dV (meaning of extension or constriction): di di 'sit) unmoving (that is, not getting up to greet people who are returning with meat),' dọk só'dọ 'shallow (river),' gbak só'dá (or gbák) 'flat (plate),' gbék a'de 'wide-bottomed (gourd),' tọk só'dọ 'bent (head of war-club),' tọk só'dọ 'drowsy,' kọhọh só'dọ 'long (bird bill),' dom só'dọ 'tasteless (not enough salt),' hák só'd̀á 'tight (hat which doesn't fit),' kek só'de 'strong, healthy (child),' kék st'de 'thin (person after illness)'

bVrV (quality of being hard, inflexible): dẹkẹ ẹ̀bẹ̀ 'descriptive of squatting,' goso ẹ̀bọ 'stiff (new mat, tire),' ụgasa ẹ̀bọ 'hard,' ụgara ẹ̀bọ 'hard (ground),' saka ẹ̀bọ 'sandy sensation (in eyes)'

bV1V (quality of being supple, flabby, yielded): mboko ẹ̀bọ 'supple, soft (cat's body),' saka ẹ̀bila 'different kinds of sauces) mixed together,' rako ẹ̀biọ 'loose-jointed (corpse before rigor mortis),' compare roko roko '(spearhead) loose (on shaft).' Perhaps ẹ̀biọ can be explained by alternation of /l/ and /y/ (see phonemics 133.1).

sV'nV: njik ẹ̀jìni 'wrinkled,' gbak sa'na 'unprepared to give a gift (flustered?)'

IVrV: bok loro 'wet (wood),' hep lere (translation not determined)

ŋg1V1V: gbe ọgọ 'loose, untied (rope),' gbeze ọgara 'unprepared.'

These are subsumed under one formula because of the alternation that is possible between /l/ and /r/ (see 133.1).

sV (quality of being in disorder, deviating from accepted pattern): gbok so 'come) unexpectedly,' ?mam su 'large, whole (maniac), large, rotten, unclean (tooth),' ymgbuk su 'descriptive of being angry and puckering up one's mouth,' wak sa 'what they say does not agree, it's still) in disagreement' yVrV: gbọghọgbẹ̀ yéré 'appeared in front of the lions) all of a sudden, unprotected,' ọgọ gbọ 'uncleaned (unhoed and unlevelled front yard)' yV1V: ndọ ọgọ 'thick (cloth),' compare ndọ ọbọ 'round (tree trunk)'; ymgbọ ọgọ 'fat and tall,' rọ ọgọ 'short and thin,' ọgọ ọgọ 'stay in one place) without going on ahead,' ọgọ ọgọ 'stiff (arm),' compare ọgọ ọgọ 'hard (pot)'
**SAMARIN: THE GBEYA LANGUAGE**

\( \text{?b\text{\textendash}Vg:\ ndi\text{\textendash}g (be) disinterested, still (because of cold)}, \) compare \( \text{?d\text{\textendash}g (quality of not being able to ring)} \); \( \text{gan \text{\textendash}blig (twisted, bent)}, \) compare \( \text{gan (no pep after eating)} \); \( \text{n\text{\textendash}go (round (tree trunk))} \)

\( \text{d\text{\textendash}Vg:\ ym\text{\textendash}g d\text{\textendash}g (caved in (bottom of basket)), n\text{\textendash}g (tough (meat)), t\text{\textendash}g d\text{\textendash}g (stiff (neck))} \)

\( \text{\text{\textendash}n\text{\textendash}Vg:\ d\text{\textendash}g (heavy (spear)), k\text{\textendash}g (descriptive of last quarter of moon), ym\text{\textendash}g (big and fat), s\text{\textendash}g (make house) small} \)

\( \text{k\text{\textendash}Vr\text{\textendash}Vg:\ \text{\textendash}do\text{\textendash}g kor\text{\textendash}g (body) swollen (in illness)}, \) compare \( \text{\textendash}d\text{\textendash}g \text{\textendash}d\text{\textendash}g (large (bundle of \text{\textendash}h\text{\textendash}p\text{\textendash}f\text{\textendash}i grass)); d\text{\textendash}g kir\text{\textendash}g (nonflowing (water in cove)); compare d\text{\textendash}g (\text{\textendash}n\text{\textendash}g (above)); g\text{\textendash}g (wide (crate)), compare g\text{\textendash}g (open wide (mouth of lion\text{\textendash}s den)); k\text{\textendash}g k\text{\textendash}g (open door) wide, s\text{\textendash}g kor\text{\textendash}g (sit on ground) squatting, w\text{\textendash}g kor\text{\textendash}g (same as s\text{\textendash}g kor\text{\textendash}g), \text{\textendash}g\text{\textendash}g (house with walls up but untied)

\( \text{k\text{\textendash}p\text{\textendash}Vg:\ \text{\textendash}g\text{\textendash}g k\text{\textendash}g (river flows) smoothly), g\text{\textendash}g k\text{\textendash}g (crocodile swishes tail) back and forth} \)

\( \text{s\text{\textendash}Vg:\ g\text{\textendash}g (killed big game) with one shot), g\text{\textendash}g (lumber) piled up, s\text{\textendash}g s\text{\textendash}g (descriptive of spear-shafts being different) } \)

\( \text{(b) Combination of similar words. The forms in this class consist of a base and a reduplicated form. The reduplicated form can occur without change or with change. In the latter the change consists primarily of different types of dissimilation. The examples are grouped accordingly.} \)

\( \text{(1) Combinations with a reduplicated form without change. Once again some combined forms can be paired with a nonreduplicated form and some can not. The following is a complete list of the former kind. It should be noticed once more that there may or may not be a similarity in meaning between the reduplicated form and its nonreduplicated base.} \)

**Correlated words with similar meanings:**

\( \text{gel\text{\textendash}g gel\text{\textendash}g (runs) fast), gel\text{\textendash}g (descriptive of fire flaming up)} \)
\( \text{z\text{\textendash}g (his liver is) cool (so he does good), z\text{\textendash}g (cool)} \)
\( \text{y\text{\textendash}g (many (people)), y\text{\textendash}g (descriptive of many people rising)} \)
\( \text{yee yee (carry book) without knowing how to read it), yee (carry something) heavily} \)
\( \text{\eta\text{\textendash}g\text{\textendash}\text{\textendash}g\text{\textendash}m \text{\textendash}g\text{\textendash}\text{\textendash}g\text{\textendash}m (descriptive of house knocked down by wind), \eta\text{\textendash}g\text{\textendash}\text{\textendash}m (whirlwind carried) many of them away} \)
\( \text{\eta\text{\textendash}m\text{\textendash}g\text{\textendash}m \text{\textendash}g\text{\textendash}m, \eta\text{\textendash}m\text{\textendash}m (a long time)} \)
\( \text{l\text{\textendash}m l\text{\textendash}m (hear) obediently), l\text{\textendash}m (come) right away} \)
\( \text{k\text{\textendash}r k\text{\textendash}r (write) rapidly), k\text{\textendash}r (blood) gushes out} \)
\( \text{g\text{\textendash}b\text{\textendash}g (tree big but) weak), g\text{\textendash}b\text{\textendash}g (descriptive of lion breaking buffalo\text{\textendash}s neck) \)
\( \text{g\text{\textendash}b\text{\textendash}g (numerous people stand around) doing nothing), g\text{\textendash}b\text{\textendash}g (untied (firewood)) \)
\( \text{\text{\textendash}e\text{\textendash}g \text{\textendash}g, \text{\textendash}g (straight)} \)
\( \text{\eta\text{\textendash}m\text{\textendash}g\text{\textendash}m \text{\textendash}g\text{\textendash}m (cutting grass) in all directions), \eta\text{\textendash}m\text{\textendash}b\text{\textendash}g\text{\textendash}m (cleared (plot of land)) \)
Correlated words with no similar meanings:

deleq deleq 'love someone' always,' deleq 'see at a glance'
óst óst 'everyone, all (leave),' óst 'come out) easily'
gbôg gbôg 'clear path,' gbôq 'shoot animal' with one shot'
ngôn ngôn 'come fast,' ngôn 'always being on the go''

(2) Combinations with a reduplicated form with change. The change consists of (a) the replacement of the first C of the reduplicated form with another C, (b) the replacement of the first V by another V, (c) by the replacement of the first CV, (d) and by the loss of the final V. The examples are grouped accordingly.

Replacement of the first C. Several types of replacements occur. The more important, grouped according to the replacive C, are the following:
C > w,
?bôtô wôrô 'descriptive of sensation in ears upon hearing loud noise'
kéré wéré '(knock something) clean off'
kiri wiri 'round (like ball)'
mbélé wélé 'crazy, crazily'
C > y:
bufon yugyu 'descriptive of people talking at once'
gbêrmgbé yérê '(appear in front of lions) unexpectedly'
haka yaka 'rough (unplaned lumber)'
kejë yonge 'crumpled'
kôgo yongó 'tough (meat)'
nóku yóku 'wrinkled (dried hide)'
ndôngó yôngó 'far away'
sána yána 'intemeshed (tree roots)'
C > l:
gbôngolôngo 'descriptive of standing around, not working hard'
shën lënë 'filled to brim'
tênë têngë 'tall and thin'
tungó lôngó 'go far away'
C > r (see below for more examples):
dëgë rëgë 'swollen (leg)'
yëke rëke 'troubled, frightened'
C > n. There is only one example: bâna nàga 'only (one)'.

Replacement of the first V. This consists of replacing /a/ by /u/. The patterned association of the vowels /a/ and /u/ is seen in many other combined forms. For example:

gá'da gu'da 'dirty (water)'
hala hula 'light in weight by nature (cotton)'
lágmgbà lújmbà 'swaying (motion of the loin clouts of dancing men)'
rà'da ru'da 'descriptive of fleas crawling on dog's body'
vàna vúna 'condition of ground not well weeded'
yôkpa yôkpa 'descriptive of spearing (old mat in practice)'
Replacement of C and V. In these examples the patterns for replacing the C are among those cited above. The patterns for the vowel replacement are different ones. For example:

- Faka luka 'scaly'
- Yongo ringga 'longish (stone)'
- Kpôngo ringga 'longish (squash which is not generally very long)'
- Yenga rinya 'weakened (by illness)'

Loss of final V. There is only one example:

- Nmgbilif nmgbil 'black (like river-otter's fur)'

380. Substantives. Substantives comprise two classes of words: nominatives (or simply nouns) and their substitutes. They are treated in 381 and 382 respectively. The greatest privileges of occurrence for the class are characteristic of the common nouns: (1) they occur with the determinant suffix; (2) they occur as heads of endocentric noun phrases with adjectives, prepositional phrases, verbs, or other nouns as attributes; and (3) they occur in exocentric constructions in prepositional phrases or as actors (or subjects) of verbal predications.

381. Nominatives. In the following sections are described their classes (381.1) and their derivation (381.2). For regular allomorphic changes see 132, 212.2, 213.1, and 213.2.

381.1. Classes. The nominatives comprise two classes: common nouns and proper nouns.

381.11. Common and intimate nouns. The common nouns have the greatest freedom of syntactic distribution of all substantives and can occur with the substantival suffixes. They are composed of two classes, the intimate and the nonintimate. The intimate nouns are characterized by the fact that they occur with the suffixal or free personal pronouns with the meaning of possession whereas the nonintimate nouns must be followed by a prepositional phrase with kó 'of.' The intimate nouns are names of body-parts and the nouns biya or ñmaa 'friend,' yám 'father,' and kor- 'grandfather'—but only in the phrase bë-kor- 'grandchild' (otherwise koo kóm 'my grandfather'). However, intimate nouns do occasionally occur with the prepositional phrase: yám kóm 'my father,' kpúa kë rë 'our hearts' (= 'liver'). For example:

- Yám-më, feâ, wëndë. 'Did your father, die?'
- Wi-rë, yáâ, ñbiya-ê, a person, goes around with his own friend,
- Am, ndorà, kú-ê, 'I, shot its leg.'

381.12. Proper nouns. These are names of persons, dogs, and places. They are distinguished from the common nouns by a much more restricted distribution: They do not occur with any of the substantival suffixes and they occur as heads of nominative phrases only with the attributes ñ plural marker,' ñma 'some, a certain,' and nóó 'this.' The construction ñma plus a place name means 'a certain person from ...' Thus: ñma Nduri (or more explicitly ñma wi-nduri) teá 'a certain person from Nduri came.' For the use of ñ with personal names see 361.1. Examples are:
Personal names consist of one word or several words in syntactic relationship to each other. Since the analysis of the composition of personal names is best taken up in a discussion of their meaning and use, a subject beyond the scope of this grammar, it must suffice to simply list several names taken at random: dan se 'twin(s) then,' doo fon 'interfere with sorghum,' dom 'penis,' dz kof 'make your own first,' de kof be na 'there are no good in-laws,' de na am fe'á é 'treating relatives well is dead,' de naam gán 'treat relatives well in vain.'

381.2. Derivation. Nominatives are derived by affixation and compounding.

381.21. Affixation. Nominatives are derived by the affixation of the nominalizing suffix {-ig}, the morpheme -V, and zero.

381.211. The suffix {-ig} occurs with low tone imperfective verbs. Thus: sii kôm 'my returning,' neij nem gôó 'this going which I go,' wñ-zi 'a tall person.' For a more complete discussion of this morpheme, see 211.4.

381.212. The suffix -V occurs with verbs, adverbs, and nouns. See 213.3.

381.213. Zero occurs with low tone imperfective and high tone perfective verbs.

(a) With low tone imperfective verbs: tom 'message' < tom 'to send.' Thus, tôrrij tom hê y 'send him, a message,' bé-tom 'messenger,' you torn 'to run with a message.'

(b) With high tone perfective verbs. Nominalized high tone perfective verbs usually occur with the determinant suffix, but there are a few which need not occur with this suffix. For example: démâ 'a crowd of people' < dem 'to be many,' sóká 'wisdom' < sok 'to mature,' nêâa Ọ gôrç, na Ọ sôa gan rêm nâ 'going was all right, but returning was awful' < na 'to go' and si 'to return.'

381.22. Compounding. Nominatives are derived by combining free forms either in syntactic or nonsyntactic relationship to each other. The first (381.221-225) are called syntactic compounds or phrase nouns and the second (381.226) nonsyntactic compounds. One characteristic of compound nominatives is that none of them ever occurs with the determinant suffix.

381.221. Noun + noun. In these one noun is head and the other its attribute, the relationship being signalled by the presence of the morpheme {−}.

In the first of the following examples does one of the nouns explicitly identify the object:

to-fptô 'mint bush' (perhaps used in the swatting of flies) < 'tree, bush' + 'sweat flies'
zu-fara 'rubbish heap' < zu 'head, top of' + 'place'
torolkp 'certain spider' (= 'dog of hole') < 'dog' + 'hole'
domkọ 'ko tree sprout' (= 'penis of ko') < dom 'penis' + ko 'a certain palm tree'
\( \text{?baka-} \text{ziya 'certain sorghum'} \) < \( \text{?baka 'foreleg + 'a certain frog'} \)
bé-duk 'pestle' < 'child + 'mortar' 
nú-wey 'clan' < 'mouth, edge' + 'fire'

381.222. Descriptive adverb + noun. The examples are limited to the following two where, as in the preceding section, the relationship of the two constituents is marked by the occurrence of the morpheme \( \{\} \): nduma'ri 'river otter' < nduu 'fuzzy (like rabbit fur)' + 'river,' ypré'esé 'certain snake' < ypré 'cool' + 'sun.'

381.223. Adjective + noun. The following is the only example: gbé bém 'certain tree toad' < 'brown' + 'child.'

381.224. Verb phrases. These consist of a verb (in the imperfective low tone form) plus a noun complement which may in turn be complemented by a descriptive adverb. For example:

\( \text{sen mo 'spitefulness'} \) < 'to hate' + 'thing'
\( \text{soy dam 'certain sorghum'} \) < 'to come up, sprout' + 'granary'
\( \text{zum yara 'sleeping sickness'} \) < 'to duck or nod one's head' + 'sleep'
\( \text{gbín te 'cland'} \) < 'to break' + 'tree'
\( \text{koy oro 'certain dove'} \) < 'to beg' + 'place'
\( \text{toy fuk 'donkey'} \) < 'to carry' + 'flour'
\( \text{góm bùn 'tenth lunar month'} \) < 'to cut, appear' + 'white'
\( \text{du wey zë 'firefly'} \) < 'to light a fire' + 'fire' + 'burning low'

381.225. Clauses. These are distinguished from the preceding class by having a verbal predicate as one of the constituents. In most cases there is also a formal subject. For example:

\( \text{tji gbé 'certain fish'} \) < 'tail' + 'is red'
\( \text{dom ṣımgbáá te 'certain bat'} \) < 'penis' + 'hung (upon)' + 'tree'
\( \text{wést ré ṣımgbón ná 'certain snake'} \) < 'sun' + 'sets' + 'long ago' + 'not'
\( \text{('sun won't be long in setting')}
\( \text{mọy zép 'thirteenth lunar month'} \) < 'gather' + 'one place'

381.226. Noun + noun in nonsyntactic relationship. These are compounds where the morpheme \( \{\} \) is absent. In only some instances (see the first four below) is the object identified by a word in the compound. In these one could perhaps identify the first element as the head of the construction, but in the others such an identification seems improbable. At any rate, the list is so short that any more precise statement would only be ad hoc. For example:

\( \text{zoro gù 'leopard fish'} \) (the body markings of which resemble those of a leopard) < goro 'fish' + gù 'leopard'
tezoro 'certain tree' (the small branches of which are used by women to string fish for roasting) < te 'tree' + zoro 'fish'
\( \text{duwa díf 'sheep'} \) < 'goat' + díf 'eagle'
dom bere 'certain tree (which grows along streams, the fruit of which}
resemble long gourds, having the shape of pendulous breasts) 1 <

dom 'penis' + bere 'breast'

boo dez 'certain tree' < boo 'stupidity, foolishness' + dez 'certain
tree'

zera nduy 'certain liana (the leaves of which are said to resemble
the ears of the nduy mouse) 1 < zera 'ear' + 'a certain mouse'

382. Substitutes. These comprise not only the personal pronouns but
also all other words that could conceivably replace members of the nomina-
tive class. They are demonstrative, interrogative, numerative, locative, temporal, reciprocal, and quantitative substitutes. For an alternative classification of all but the personal pronouns, see note 2 of this chapter. Their
description follows this order of presentation.

382.1. Personal substitutes (henceforth called personal pronouns because
of common usage) comprise two classes: common and explicit pronouns.
The latter are used in quotations or anywhere else where the pronominal
reference is made explicit, and the common pronouns are used elsewhere.
The personal pronouns are further distinguished for number (singular and
plural abbreviated S and P) and for person (first, second, and third abbreviated 1, 2, and 3). Another dimension is added by the fact that all pronouns
have allomorphs, some defined phonologically and others defined morpho-
logically. 36 These allomorphs, distinguished by form and distribution, are
described in terms of two sets, called nonsubjectival and subjectival.

Abbreviated Reference Chart
of Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nonsubjectival</th>
<th>Subjectival low</th>
<th>Subjectival high</th>
<th>Nonsubjectival explicit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>mɪ ~ mbɪ ~</td>
<td>am ~</td>
<td>am ~</td>
<td>mɪ ~ mbɪ ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-Vm ~ -m)</td>
<td>(-Vm ~</td>
<td>(-Vm ~</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-m ~ -m)</td>
<td>-m ~ -m)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>mé</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>mé</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>ɣ ~ (-aa ~ -âa)</td>
<td>ɣ ~ -aa</td>
<td>ɣ ~</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>éřé ~ ré</td>
<td>éřé ~ ré</td>
<td>éřé ~ ré</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>wi ~ (-Ví ~ -ř ~ -ř)</td>
<td>wi ~ (-Ví ~ -ř)</td>
<td>wi ~ -ř</td>
<td>óřó ~ ró</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before the allomorphs of the pronouns are taken up in detail, there are
some general remarks to be made:
(a) Personal pronouns are generally used only of animate objects, but occasionally 3S and 3P are used of inanimate objects. Thus: cî, gî, gî, kî noâ, 'I put it, so it (the stone) is fast.' Compare the use of wf 'person' and ô 'plural marker' with inanimate objects. Sometimes the word mo 'thing' is used when one wants to be explicit: am bâ mo 'I take the thing (that is, it).'

(b) The 2P common pronoun is often used as an impersonal pronoun, roughly equivalent to the English 'one' or 'you' or the French 'on.' Although it seems to be most frequent in proverbs and personal names, it is common in normal speech. Thus: telî gbêg, gbô gan, re, kpâ, fà yara, nà, 'your body is hot, so we don't find a way to sleep'; zàam, ñnì, ne, ganâî, ñs zàan nà, 'the universe knows you, but you don't know (the) universe' (a proverb); fey ganâ zuf 'death is too much for you' (a personal name).

(c) The plural pronouns are used to introduce or recapitulate a plurality of persons, either in the subject or verb phrase, when the sentence contains a phrase with the preposition in 'with.' For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>am</td>
<td>mbôf</td>
<td>În</td>
<td>kô</td>
<td>mî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>êrê</td>
<td>tê</td>
<td>zët</td>
<td>fnà</td>
<td>'he and I came, yesterday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi, dô</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>nôj, fn kpâ nam nà sôj</td>
<td>you and Kpâ-nam-nâ do this today'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

 ô né wcn kôf fnaa wcn-de mo sôn 'you and he have to do it all!'

(d) The 2P and 3P pronouns are used for single individuals who are held in respect. The culture requires that certain people are always addressed or referred to in the plural forms (such as parents, in-laws, elderly people in general, etc.). The pronouns are, however, also used stylistically by people who would otherwise address each other in the singular. In such cases the polite forms seem to be used sporadically and in short stretches of speech. The polite forms are not followed by the plural verbs where such exist. Thus: wi ñ gère wèndé. 'Are you (S) all right?'

(e) The 1P common and plural explicit pronouns ërë and ëro occur in these forms in isolation, after pause, or whenever emphasis is placed on them. Otherwise, they occur as re and ro. Their distribution therefore is in part formal and in part stylistic. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ërê, neî, yarî</td>
<td>'we went hunting,'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñôî, kpaà, mbô, wî, (they said), 'We found a new story.'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neî, erre, yâà, 'and we hiked around.'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neî, re, ño, ñâ, 'we went (and) slept in the bush.'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñera-reî, dë sau, 'our livers (that is, we) were happy.'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geî, re, yàà, re, nî, gîya, 'so we went on like this.'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ge re gâm te-rî, re péé ñdô, 'so we turned around (and) we returned.'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

382.11. The common pronouns, like the explicit pronouns, have allomorphs which are distinguished by form and distribution, and are described in terms of two sets, called nonsubjectival and subjectival. Some of these (that is, 1S, 3S, and 2P) also have bound allomorphs whose distribution is described in 382.113.
The nonsubjectival common pronouns are those which are used in any way except as subjects of verbal predications. This is to say that they occur in isolation and as complements (that is, in construction with) of nouns, verbs, and prepositions. (It is to be noted that the tones of the first and second persons, both singular and plural, are high, whereas those of the third person are low. This distinction has no grammatical significance, but it has a historical one.) These pronouns are the following:

- **mi** - **mbf** 'I'
- **mé** 'you'
- **y** 'he, she'
- **wa** 'they'

Examples: 'bay mi 'only I,' gan wa ū tā ré ná 'they don't know us yet,' wá a wa tē 'here they come,' te-mé 'your body,' trf 'your bodies,' wá ìpó a 'they know him,' mó kó wa 'their thing,' mó kó 'your thing,' wí yc ge 'you say,' am mbá wan wí 'I greet you, sir.'

The subjectival common pronouns are used as subjects of verbal predications and occur in two sets, one in which all pronouns have high normal word tone(s) and the other where they have low tone(s). The subjectival pronouns are otherwise identical with the basic ones with the one exception that the IS is am instead of m. The distribution of these pronouns is discussed in the following paragraphs.

(a) Low tone subjectival pronouns occur in the following environments:

1. Preceding imperfective (high or low tone) verbs when not preceded by the connectives hâ, ã, or só kó. (For the uses of low and high tone imperfective verbs see 393.1.) Examples are:
   - **mél gan** mél hâ, mā hâ wí-ré, ná, 'you, you (who) didn't give things to people,'
   - **bô, ne gbo, mél** 'when, he went, and arrived, ut...'

2. Preceding perfective verbs when preceded by (a) the connective ne 'and,' by (b) gba or ìbô 'even if,' and by (c) a verb of motion in a series.
   Examples:
   - só, gbâ, dô'â, ré, 'and, even if you should keep, (things) from us,'
   - nèm kûrô 'as I was getting up'
   - mél ne mél bâ to, 'you, who refused, work,'

(b) High tone subjectival pronouns occur in the following environments:

1. Preceding imperfective verbs (a) when preceded by the connectives hâ, ã, or só kó, or (b) when preceded by the connectives mô, wèn kó or auxiliary verbs, and (c) when not preceded by one of these forms but in a negative command (preceded or not by the connective ã) or (d) in a negated predication having the meaning of futurity. For example:
   - só kó, wá, tó, gbô, 'so, they spoke, in this manner,'
   - gbâ, dô'â, mè de nè, ge, 'he killed, a lion, to do, what with (it),'
   - kn, mè de, gbô, ná, 'now, don't do, that,'
   - nè, ré, sî dò, wén kó, nè mè mè mbô, gbô, ná, 'and, we, won't return, again, for evil things,'
(2) Preceding perfective verbs in environments other than those already described. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wa}_1, \text{gbo}_2, \text{són}_3 \quad & \text{'they've all arrived'}; \\
\text{wéndé gán}_1, \text{wà}_2 \text{dá} \text{é}_3 \text{zé}_4 \text{kpé}_5 \text{m}_4 \quad & \text{'or they were (there) one} \text{month'}; \\
\text{ml}_1, \text{sók} \text{h}_2, \text{són} \text{á}_3, \text{mé} \text{dá} \text{bisa}_4 \text{gö}_5 \text{m}_4 \quad & \text{'you've matured, so, here you are an adolescent boy'}; \\
\text{ndé wà}_1, \text{tse}_2 \quad & \text{'they're going, to come'}; \\
\text{gàn 5 mó wà}_1 \text{dá} \text{á}_2 \text{ná} \quad & \text{'it's not for them, (that is, their responsibility) to do'}.
\end{align*}
\]

382.113. Pronominal suffixes. These are to be compared with the free form common pronouns discussed in 382.11. The classification used there is used here also in describing the following nonsubjectival and subjectival pronominal suffixes, the latter of which have high and low tone allomorphs.

(a) Nonsubjectival pronominal suffixes. They occur for the persons 1S, 3S, and 2P.

(1) 1S has allomorphs -Vm and -m. The suffix -Vm (the vowel of which is the same as whatever vowel precedes it) occurs following a consonant and following a vowel with low tone when not followed by a free form with initial high tone. The suffix -m occurs following vowels except under the conditions stated for -Vm, that is, following a vowel with high tone or low tone, but being followed by a free form with high tone. There is however some degree of free variation between the two suffixes when followed by a free form with high tone.

Examples of -Vm following V:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{teêm, yymo} \quad & \text{'my body, aches'}; \\
\text{ndé wà, gbeêm} \quad & \text{'they are going, to kill me'}; \\
\text{fnifm} \quad & \text{'with me,' compare fn wa 'with them'}.
\end{align*}
\]

Examples of -"Ém following C:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{y zôkôm} \quad & \text{'he sees me,' compare y zôk wa 'he sees them'}; \\
\text{y prom} \quad & \text{'he deceives me,' compare pô wa 'deceives them'}; \\
\text{y kf'dfm} \quad & \text{'he's looking for me,' compare p. ki'di wa 'he's looking for them'}.
\end{align*}
\]

Examples of ~m:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{riffm} \quad & \text{'my face,' compare rfp wa 'their faces'}.
\end{align*}
\]

Examples of -m:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{?biyâm} \quad & \text{'my friend,' compare ?biya-re 'our friend'}; \\
\text{tem yûm} \quad & \text{'my body aches'}; \\
\text{yû kôm} \quad & \text{'my brother,' compare yû kó wa 'their brother'}; \\
\text{â mé ghâm ná} \quad & \text{'don't kill me'}; \\
\text{wà prâm} \quad & \text{'they deceived me'}.
\end{align*}
\]

(2) 3S has allomorphs -aa and -âa. They occur following consonants: -âa occurs when preceded by a low tone in a noun; -aa occurs when preceded by high tone in a noun and either high or low in a verb, replacing imperfective -i if it occurs. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ere praa} \quad & \text{'we are deceiving him'}; \\
\text{ndé ré rjkaa} \quad & \text{'we are going to hit him'}; \\
\text{ere kf'daa (< kf'df + -aa)} \quad & \text{'we are looking for him'}.
\end{align*}
\]
DISTRIBUTION CLASSES

(3) 2P has allomorphs - vient, -ent, and -ent. The suffix - vient occurs following consonants, -ent occurs with polysyllabic nouns following a vowel, and -ent occurs following vowels elsewhere.

Examples of - vient: wa yènt 'they are deceiving you,' wa kò dog rènt 'they want to hit you,' gèrent 'your necks,' zèrent 'your noses.'

Examples of -ent: zènt 'your ears,' pènt 'your friends.'

Examples of -ent: tènt 'your bodies,' fnènt 'with you,' tuwa kòt 'your house,' nè gènt 'is going to kill you,' èrent kòdònt 'we looked for you,' wa kòdènt 'they are looking for you.'

(b) Subjectival suffixes. See also 423.1.

(1) Low tone suffixes occur for IS, 3S, and 2P.

IS has allomorphs - Vm, -m, and -m.17 The suffix - Vm occurs following the imperfective suffix - i (and indicates the lowering of its tone to low if it is not already that). The suffix - Vm occurs following vowels in other imperfective verbs which have zero suffix (instead of - i) as well as following consonants. The suffix - m follows vowels elsewhere.18 These suffixes are analyzed as being the subjects of an immediately following verb even when they are phonologically bound to a preceding verb. They are identified in the following examples by a preposed plus sign.

Examples of - Vm:
- nem, né + em 2 ba 4, 2 and I 1 went (and) I 2 got, here 4
- nem, háy + em 2 ne 4, 2 and I 1 went, on crawling,
- go, pèr + em 2 rèn nu 1, 1 soj 1 came (and) fell down
- bóm, dỳu + um wâ 2 tènd 3, 3 as I 1 was hoeing 2 (the) cotton

Examples of - m:
- ârn, nè + m 2 5, 4 mc 4, 4 'I 2 went (and) I 2 slept, there, 4
- gè ye+m 1 tè 2 'he said that I 1 should come, 2
- nè+m 1 b 4 la 2 ti 3, 3 'and I 2 refused, before, 3
- te+m 1 tè, ne mbôrò 1, 1 that I 1 should come 2 in the afternoon, 2
- gèn+ma, zòk 4 wà 1, 2 in other words, I 1 saw, them, 1

3S suffix - aa occurs following consonants. For example:
- dònt+aa 1, háy 2 wà 4 'he's still, crawling up on, them, 1
- gun+aa 1 zòk 2 wà 1, dà 1, 1 'he doesn't, see, them, 1

2P has allomorphs - Vient, -ent, -ent (and possibly - i on the same basis as - m).

The suffix - Vient occurs following consonants; -ent occurs following vowels with low tone and with high tone (as in the case of - Vm) only in imperfective verbs with zero suffix; -ent occurs following vowels with high tone in all other words (that is, perfective verbs and nonverbs). For example:
- gànai 1, tè 2 kè 3, nà 1, 1 you didn't, come 2 yesterday, 1
- nèf 1 yàràn 1 yàk 3, dè saa 4 kò 5, 1 you are going 1 run around 2 (and) eat, 3 your 1 play, 4 (that is, 'all you will have to eat is your play!')
- go, tèf 1 sf 2, soj 1 come 2 (and) return, 1
- wèssè na bò 1 dỳun 1 yàs 1, 1 when you, continue, run around, 1

(2) High tone suffixes occur for IS and 2P. They are - m and - i respectively, and they occur following vowels. For example:
106
Samarin: The Gbeya Language

é hâm, nê 2 sê, 'let me go first,'
têm kpa wâ wêndô, 'Can I possibly find them?'
gende gâm nê 2 kôm, 'in other words, I had gone,'
ô 1 ntâm fô 3 sô 4 'then, I would have died today,'
rema môt de 2 gérô, 'you are able to do (it) easily,'
dô ré ge só kô dê gôy 'what do you mean by doing this!'

382.12. The explicit pronouns are S £ and P 6rô. Like the common pronouns, their allomorphs are described in terms of two sets, nonsubjectival and subjectival, and everything said above about these sets is applicable to the explicit pronouns. In addition to the allomorphs of the plural already described, 6rô and rô, there is ôô which may occur wherever subjectival 6rô does. Although the explicit pronouns are not formally distinguished for person (first, second, or third persons), they are in practice used most frequently for third person. As the pronoun chart indicates, there are no explicit pronouns for the first person. This simply means that in talking about himself, a person makes use of no other pronouns than the common set. In reported speech, the use of 'I' in translation is therefore misleading: that is, there is no difference in Gbeya between 'you said you would go' and 'you said "I will go."' What was said about the use of plural pronouns for politeness is applicable to the explicit pronouns. The explicit pronouns are used in quotations (where the person referred to is the subject of the immediately preceding sentence) and wherever else the pronominal reference must be unambiguous. The examples are grouped accordingly.

382.121. Explicit pronouns in quotations:
gâ ye ge 1, kây toy 3 kô 4 'he said,' "Get my things"
me 1 tô ye ge 2, nê 3 ha 4 túrû hâm 5 'you said you would give clothes to me'
foo kô 4 gan 5 gôy 6 ê 4 nô 7 'she said her inlaws did not like her'
wen kô mo ne 1 6rô 2 kô 3 bêm 4 kô rô 5 'they said because they bore their child,' (among the Gbeya the husband and his family can speak of 'giving birth' as well as the mother)
mô 1 ye 2 ê 4 nê 5 ë 6 ne wî-dë yônô 7 'you say that you are a producer of food,'

382.122. Explicit pronouns for clarity:
kum 1 kan 2 bà, mo 3 há zu-wî-rê 4 nô 5 go wî-rê a há toy 6 zu-âbiya-7 ê 8 só kô 9 âbiya-10 ë 7 m tô-8 'food does not take things off a person's head, but it's a person who takes off a burden from his friend's head so that his friend can rest.' (a proverb)
wî-rê 1 bô 2 ko 3 bêm 4 kô 5 ë 6 'when a person gives birth to his child,'
o 7 guh 8 yê 9 ë 10 kô rô yônô nô 11 gogo-ro 12 'some chew (it) with their own teeth'
o 7 guh 11 nô 12 gan zê 13 te-rô 14 nô 15 those who don't obey (= 'hear their bodies')
o 7 sôkâi 1, kôm 2 zifô 3 kô rô 4 'the elders break off their switches,'

382.2. Demonstrative substitutes. These are distinguished for relative distance from the speaker. Although the basic implication is a spatial one,
a temporal one may be implied. The distinction is not always identifiable
with the nonlinguistic world (compare the use of English 'this' and 'that').
These substitutes are ꜙ that' and ꜙ 'that,' the second tones of which are
often (but not necessarily) low when followed by an initial high tone in another
word. The demonstratives may somehow be related to the bound morphemes
{-e} and -i-4, but no formal identification seems possible at the moment.49
(See 213.2 also.) For example:

zoroj: ꜙ nọọ gan, dé rọọ ná, 'this, fish, doesn’t, taste good,'
ám, ọgbétọ, ꜙ, 'ọgbá, I have killed, these, here,'
ꜙ, remhá, ré, 'this, is enough, for us,'
há, wá zú rjk, 'when, they hit, those,'
ꜙ, ne ba gaza k☎ ꜙ, 'that one who, has been circumcised, comes,'

382.3. Interrogative substitutes. These are o (and indóo) 'who?,' ge
'what?,' and ré ge (occasionally yé ge) 'how much, how many?' (a) The sub-
stitute o 'who?' is distinguished from ge and ré ge by the fact that it can oc-
cur as the head of substitute phrases and in construction with prepositions
whereas the others cannot. (b) The form indóo occurs too infrequently in my
data to permit making accurate statements about it. It is very likely, how-
ever, that it is bimorphemic, consisting of o and some other as yet unidenti-
fied morpheme. (c) The phrase ré ge is used as an exclamation when it oc-
curs in a sentence containing the verb de 'to do, make' with the meaning 'by
what means! how in the world!' etc. (d) Although the phrase ré ge obviously
contains the interrogative ge, it is not yet possible to attribute a meaning to
ré itself.41 Its contrast with ge is seen in the following constructions:
sa dé ge 'what animal?' sa dé ré ge 'how many animals?' For example:

ó, né o, ndé 'who, is, (it)?'
o, á tpbá, hà mf, o, ndé 'who, told, you, ?'
óh, né ge, ndé 'what, (is) this, ?'
ge wí ge, è mzp tó ní, ge ndé 'whom, (= what person) are you, speaking
of, o, ?'
ge wen ge, è mzp tó baítóm, ge ndé 'why, (= what affair) are you, follow-
ing, o, ?'
zu, wa ré ge a wa góm te ge ndé 'how many of them are cutting wood ?'
('their heads how many they are cutting wood what?')
tém, de, ne kóm ré ge gáá ge, 'what, in the world, shall I, ever do, ?'
am, dé kpém kpé, sra, in ndé, ná ré ge ndé, 'What do you mean, — I,
don’t treat, you, nicely!'
was reported for 'a dozen,' but I never heard it used. The meaning of za has not been determined.

1 kpém
2 rffto
3 taa, tar-
4 nåá, nár-
5 mporó
6 ?don kpém
7 ?don rffto
8 núa-náá (possibly = 'mouth of four')
9 kusi
10 ?bú (possibly < 'to clap')
11 ?bú zúa kpém
20 hfrá rffto
27 hfrá rffto zúa ?don-rffto
100 gom gmaâ
107 gom gmaâ ne zúa ?don rffto
200 gom gmaâ rffto
777 gom gmaâ ?don rffto ne hfrá ?don rffto zúa ?don rffto
1000 dym gmaâ

382.5. Locative substitutes. These are listed below and illustrated. Because two of them are roughly translated 'here' and four of them 'there,' the following comments are necessary: dpi 'here' is opposed to dpi 'there' (see also 213.2), and na 'here' is opposed to me 'there.' The first pair refer to a place with more preciseness than the second pair. The word fye 'there' seems to refer to a general direction, rather than place, removed from the speaker. The word sené, on the other hand, has the meaning 'there' in the sense of the French 'y.' In spite of this semantic classification, it is very probable that there is considerable overlapping and stylistic selection. For example:

dpi 'here': ere, kûû, zu-ture, dpi noo, 'we departed, (from) here very early, in the morning,' bê, rê, gbo, sen-te-kúá-wáam, sen-te-dpye, te-nâ-ré ké rê, na, dpi 'when, we arrived, at (the) other side of the Wáam, here,' at the edge of our village, here, closely.'
dpi 'there': ge, rê, 5m te-rê, dpye, 'so, we rested, there.'
fye 'there': bô, langi, kô rô këlkérê, te-fye, gâa, 'as, (he) was going on ahead, there, slowly like that,' hóá, saña-teci, . . . fye, 'the tusk appeared, between the trees there.'
me 'there': gan am, ré, wen kô ne, te-rê, me, na 'I, can't, go, to (the) village, there,' ô wí-ré, bó, ne, te-te, 'me 'when, people, go, to him, there,' g, 5 ré, sam, me 'he, stays, with him, there.'
na 'here': wa, kâ, wa, ?món, ré, na 'they, take, them, right, (in the) village, here,' mé, sá, nu, na 'if, you, were, here, (on the) ground,' ngón 'up, on top, above': dyp, sen-te, sara, te, 'on sera, zú, ngón, me, 'he, sat, in the fork, of the tree, above him, up, there,'
fcá, te-ngón, 'it died, upright, (that is, before hitting the ground)
Temporal substitutes. These, for the reasons given below, are divided into two classes. They are the following: (class A) bere 'dry season,' djemfasi (< Fr. 'dimanche') 'Sunday, week,' mboro 'evening, afternoon,' maa 'rainy season,' pe 'year (consisting of one cycle of rainy and dry seasons),' ture 'morning,' and ze 'night'; (class B) bara 'last year,' bin 'tomorrow,' kin 'now,' and sôo 'today.' This classification is based both on formal and semantic characteristics. The words in class A might be said to refer to "real" time whereas those in class B refer to "relative" time. The words in the former can be correlated with time distinguished by seasons and meteorological conditions, but those in the latter have no such specific referents. (If such semantic distinctions are not consistently valid, they at least serve as mnemonic aids to remembering the formal distinctions.)

Class A words have the greatest freedom of occurrence. As a class they occur with adjectives, in noun + noun constructions, second member in prepositional phrases, as subjects of verbs, and with the suffix {-e} (for which see 213.22). (The word ze 'night' can even function as an intimate noun.) Class B words occur most often with the suffix {-e}. The words bara 'last year' and sôo (or sôô) 'today' occur only in these forms, and I assume hypothetical bases *bara- and *sô. It is in the suffixed forms that they then occur with nôo 'this,' as subjects of verbs, and in prepositional phrases, although bin 'now' occurs once in the data in a prepositional phrase in this form. Further data might, however, reveal a greater freedom of occurrence.

Class A:
- bere, deâ, 'it has become, dry season,'
- rêm wen kô djemfasi rifto 'for about two weeks'
- mboro nô me tê 'come in the afternoon'
- wi-rê gan yâa yarî, zan? ma, nà 'people, don't go, hunting, in (the) rainy season,'
- mbé pe ?doqj, sê te me pêé ?doqj, 'come back, next year,'
- âm, zâkà, p, nê ture, 'I saw, him, in the morning,'
- zeém sà ta'n 'I spent three nights' (=

Class B:
- wà, dob, ré, bara, 'they, burned down, the village, last year,'
- bin sê te me tê 'come tomorrow'
- biné, yà, wen kô bin,' 'tomorrow, knows, about, tomorrow,' (a saying)
- yàa mo kî, gan nê, ñe, mtà, nà 'now, nothing will, harm, you,'
- sôo nôo gene nê kpa wa 'they are going to receive guests today' (=

382.7. Reciprocal substitute. The only one is ymaa 'each other, together,' and it occurs only in verb and prepositional phrases as an objective complement. For example:
- wa, jî, fall, together (that is, they meet)
- wa yà ne yô kô ymaa 'they are siblings' (=
- gan wa zéé wen kô ymaa nà 'they don't understand each other'
biro gbe ηmaá 'war to kill each other'
me són ηmaá in yá kó mé wéndé. 'Do you and your brother hate each other?'
('you hate each other with sibling of you')

382.8. Quantitative substitutes. These are dôka 'much, many' and són 'all.' They occur only as attributes of substantives and in verb phrases, such as:

dôka 'much, many' (< dok 'to be much, many'): gma wen kôm dôka gan bó ná 'I don't have much to say' (= 'some word of me much is not'), kóey deh ré dôka 'we were very much afraid,' bono-nén-wa ó dôka 'there were a lot of their tracks' (= 'tracks their are much')
són 'all' (< son 'to finish, be finished'): ó wí-rê, hárá són mýs 'all' (the) people, meet, wa són, wa nô te-sôme 'they all, they go there,' té ré né kusárâ són 'we all went to work' (= 'we go work all'), dêy: gaza sôna són '(the) circumcision wound is all healed'

390. Verbs. Verbs are those words which are distinguished by having the following characteristics: (1) They occur with the following four suffixes: imperfective {-i₁}, emphatic -i₂, nominalizer {-i₃}, and the perfective {-â}.
(2) They occur immediately following a certain class of pronouns (such as am tê 'I am coming': am teá 'I came'), for which see 382.112; and
(3) they can, when following pause, precede descriptive adverbs which are followed by pause (such as tê tám 'come quickly').

A verb form devoid of its suffix is called a base. (A verb always occurs with one, and only one, of the four suffixes. The base is therefore a bound form. Other suffixes may occur, but only after certain ones of these four.) The verb bases occur either with high or low tone(s). Certain patterns characterize their union with the suffixes. They are listed below, with B- representing a high tone base and B- a low tone base. The verbs used by way of examples are ne 'to go,' ki?d- 'to look for,' per- 'to return (here),' lâg- 'to pass on,' and si 'to return (there).

(a) B- plus emphatic -i₂: nêi, ki'dï, péri
(b) B- plus nominalizer {-i₃}: nêi, ki'dï, lanâ, perâ, siî
(c) B- plus imperfective {-i₁}: nê, ki'dï, pêé, sf
(d) B- plus imperfective {-i₂}: nê, ki'dï, pêé, sf
(e) B- plus perfective {-â}: nêâ, ki'dô, péra, siô
(f) B- plus perfective {-â}: nêâ, ki'dô, perâ, siô

(a) and (b) are homophonous only when a verb base is involved which takes the allomorph -i of the imperfective. It should be noted that in (c) and (d) the tone of the imperfective suffix is low or high, depending on the tone of the base; it is basically toneless.

A summary of the distinctive distributions of these forms are illustrated below:

(a) ám hêâ hêi 'I bought it (that is, someone didn't give it to me)'—hêâ is perfective, hêi intensive.
(b) gan g ð won kó nêi kóm ná 'he didn't know about my going'—nê is in prepositional phrase, complement of noun wen 'affair.'
(c) am nê kînê 'I'm going now'—nê is predicate.
(d) ném ne só: 'I'm going to go today'—ne is predicate in dependent clause with -m as its subject.

(e) nês no kà g an rém nà 'there's no equal to his walk'—nês is attributive to the noun no 'walk.'

(f) âm nêt zê: 'I went yesterday'—nêt is predicate.

These forms (base plus suffix) are called free forms. (c) through (f) inclusive figure prominently in the syntax of the language and are treated in 393. Before that are the sections on allomorphy (391) and additional affixation (392). Finally, there is a section on classes of verbs (394).

391. Verb base allomorphs. These are distinguished by the fact that one set has two shapes, namely CVr- (where r represents the phoneme /r/) which occurs with vowel suffixes, and CVV which occurs elsewhere. This allomorphy has already been described under morphophonemics, 132.1. Bases ending in CV or CVC (where the second C represents any consonant other than /r/) have only one allomorph.

392. Suffixation to the free form. With such forms, occur subjectival or objectival suffixes (382.113) or the determinant suffix {-a} (213.1). For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nem hâyam nê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wâ prâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zêê hyriâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gûnôa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

393. Distribution of high and low tone forms. These are discussed according to whether they are imperfective (393.1) or perfective (393.2).

393.1. Imperfective forms. Just because some of the occurrences of imperfective verbs are translated into English in phrases introduced by "to" is certainly no reason why this form of the verb should be described as the "infinitive." Even the high tone base with the perfective is similarly translated. There is just no "infinitive" in Gbeya.

393.11. Low tone imperfective forms are used in the following seven ways:

393.111. As substantives in exocentric verb phrases. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| qû dé2 sen mô3 dêi | he does2 spiteful things1 (sen 'to hate')
| teg nu 'a fall' (tck 'to fall') |

393.112. As verb phrase complements of nouns and verbs.

(a) Complements of nouns. (See noun phrases, 411.25.) For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| ?dog-wââ,-ne fo4 bô5 nà5 | there is4 no5 possibility1 of going2 (to the)
| gan re6 kpô2 naïme2 wêne4 'ghê5 kpêm nà | we6 didn't find2 any4 at all to4 kill5 |

(b) Complements of verbs. (See verb phrases, 414.31.) For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>am né1 zoy ri2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rém1 tp wên2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gan qû2 fpô2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
393.113. In clausal complements of auxiliary verbs. When this verb is itself an auxiliary verb or a verb of motion, it too is followed by a low tone imperfective verb. \(^46\) For example:

- kôoi, bô, zok, 'when, the girls, look,'
- dûy, wût, yñû, mo 'while, they are eating,'
- ñmûa, îf, nc, rë, kpa fey 'just a little more, and, we would have died' (= 'find death')
- wî-rê trá ñ dôk 'if there were many people'
- bô, nc, yoo, me, 'when, (he) went, (and) stood, there'
- bô, dûy, yûbô, mo 'if, (they) continue, to eat, things,'
- nê ne ñ hee kpwâ 'he's going to go (and) cry' (= 'go go he cry tears')

393.114. In a few constructions where one would expect an auxiliary verb. \(^47\) For example:

- gan ànt, egem, kpasá sa, dc, ná 'we won't keep (the) meat itself,'
- bô, pee, yôôg, nmr, bê, kêm, pee, yôôg, nmr, bê, kêm 'if (he) should come back, I refuse' (if (he) should come back, I refuse)
- a zee, ye, ñma, bô, yûyûy, 'if someone) hear, that something ate him,'
- gô, wan, to, gan, dc, yôôg, ná 'if Wan-to had not done, this,'
- gê rër, zok, gê rër, kû, rû, rû, 'when we looked, when we crossed (the) stream,'

393.115. In negated clauses with the meaning of perfective. The perfective does not, however, occur in negated clauses. For example:

- nê, tp, ye, gan, yom, kô, ná 'if (he) will, say, that he, didn't go, and, didn't pay, the debt,'
- gô, gan, gôn, kô, ná 'and, didn't pay, the debt,'

393.116. In negative commands:

- naa, kô, sâ, mo, km, rik, sâ, mo, ná 'Sâ-mo's mother (in direct address), don't hit Sâ-mo'
- a me, ne, me, yoo, zâ, ná 'don't go and stand over them' (= 'you go you stand the-head not')

393.117. In verb phrases or clauses introduced by certain connectives, such as kââ, wen kô, and mó.

(a) Introduced by kââ:

- mû, dê, gale, zona, kââ, de, ñgu, du, zona, ná 'what harms, the crab's legs, will not long hence, harm the crab's shell,' (proverb)
- he mbérá-biro, kââ, yû, biro, ná 'he who calls to war, will soon flee, (the) battle,' (proverb)

(b) Introduced by wen kô:

- tû, hâ, pasitèê, wen kô, ba, ñgome, kô, rû, 'tell, the pastor to get his rifle,'
- nem, nê, wen kô nem, yû, gbâra, tendê, 'and I went to go, (and) get cotton seeds,'

(c) Introduced by mó:

- wî-rê, bô, nc, mû, ba, mû, mû, zû-fey, 'when someone goes, to get (it) to put (it) on the grave,'
393.12. High tone imperfective forms are used as predicates in major clauses in all other environments.

393.2. Perfective forms. Since in some environments only a high tone or low tone perfective form may occur whereas in other environments there seems to be free variation, the examples are presented in terms of these options. 48

393.21. Low tone perfective forms alone occur as predicates of independent clauses. Examples of this use are numerous in this grammar. For example:

\( \text{érê, kpaâ, gma\ mo, 'we, found, something'} \)
\( \text{kurô, ge, r&3 pêé4 nê5 tji6 '(we) set off, and, we returned by means of a canoe'} \)

393.22. High tone perfective forms alone occur in the following environments:

(a) When the verb functions as a substantive, for which see 381.213b:
\( \text{wa1 ús2 sôkâ3 hó wa4 'they, teach, them, wisdom'} (\text{< sak 'to mature'}) \)
\( \text{gan re1 kpâ2 ñma sa3 de3 kpâm4 wen kô5 gbêá6 ná 'we1 didn't find a single animal to kill'} \)

(b) When the verb functions as an adjective, for which see 361.222a:
\( \text{kpâá mo 'wealth' (< kpa 'to receive')} \)
\( \text{kôrâ zoro 'dried fish' (< kor- 'to dry up')} \)

(c) When the verb follows an auxiliary and has the determinant suffix {-a}:
\( \text{bô1 wâ2 sfôa3 'when, they, returned,}' \)
\( \text{zèrê1 nê2 tfâa3 'sickness, will2 come3'} \)

393.23. Either low tone or high tone perfective forms occur in the following environments if they do not also occur with the suffix {-a}:

(a) When predicate in a clause which is complement to an auxiliary:
\( \text{bôn1 zerá2 'when I, heard,'} \)
\( \text{bô ré gbêá 'when we arrived'} \)
\( \text{tpk-te2wa1 bô2 ñmgyâ3 'when, their blood, has ceased flowing,'} \)

(b) When complement to the noun heads \( \text{wen 'word, to'} \) and \( \text{?dog 'back, to'} \):
\( \text{yám1 kôm2 he3?dâ4 wen4 te5 fe6 'my2 father, is close3 to, dying,'} \)
\( \text{f1 ñgââ5 wen kô5 rê4 wen-nêá6 '(it) is1 hard2 for3 us4 to go5'} \)
\( \text{gan am1 kô5 ñdog-nêá6 ná 'I, don't want2 to go3'} \)

(c) When head in a verb expression or predicate in a clause preceded by the connective mô:
\( \text{nê mé1 koa2 sa3 de3 mô5 mê4 sîs5 mô yêmâ6 'you'll find2 animals3 so you4 (can) return5 (and) eat6 (the meat),'} \)
\( \text{tê nê4 hâ1 yámbaa3 m5 nôsâ4 'bring1 (it) to2 the father3 to drink4'} \)

394. Classes of verbs. Three special classes of verbs are distinguished from the other verbs in the language for semantic or syntactic reasons. One class has opposing members which are called singular and plural verbs. The others are motion and auxiliary verbs.
394.1. Singular/plural verbs. The opposition is operative with certain transitive and intransitive verbs. In the latter it is the number of the subject (implied or explicit) which determines which verb will be used; in the former it is the object (implied or explicit). The following list is complete for the data; the singular verb is cited first: o/ya 'to be,' ho/gbay 'to come out, appear,' ba/kay 'to seize, take,' e/a 'to put, set,' re/a 'to enter, go in,' pj/a 'to cast, throw.' For example:

am, ô gëre
2 3 'I, am all rightj,' ere yâ gère 'we are all right'

Pi, nu 'throw, (it on the) ground,' â nu 'throw (them on the) ground'
bâ p. 'grab him,' kây wa 'grab them'

394.2. Motion verbs. These are characterized not only by the fact that they denote some type of motion but also since they occur with pronominal suffixes which are the subjects of the verbs immediately following and since they occur in series (for which see 423.11). The most frequently used are the following: dyy 'to sit, continue,' hay 'to crawl,' ne 'to go,' per- 'to return (to place of speaker),' si 'to return (to place away from speaker),' te 'to come,' yar- 'to walk around, stroll,' yu 'to flee.' For example:

nem, nâem^bâ, y ^bô 4 g ^bo 4 'and I, went (and) I took him again/

nek, ndôo, dila, '(he) went, (and) shot, a lion/

394.3. Auxiliary verbs. Their use is characterized by the following features: (1) They function as the heads of verb phrases or dependent clauses. (2) The dependent verbs occur either in low imperfective or high or low perfective forms (393.113; 393.22c; 393.23). (3) The pronominal subject of such a dependent clause occurs with high tone(s) (382.113b); and (4) the auxiliaries themselves can occur with pronominal suffixes which function as the subjects of the following clause. The auxiliary itself, functioning as a predicate, can occur in both imperfective and perfective forms. There are three such auxiliary verbs: bo, ne, and te, which are discussed in the following paragraphs.

394.31. bo (with phonologically defined allomorphs bo, bã, be, and bê) is probably the same verb as the homonymous verb used in negated predications replacing a 'to be.' Its most common meanings are those of possibility ('if, should,' etc.) and time ('when, while, after,' etc.). For example:

bô 1 wâ 2 ba 3 zembé go 4 bô te 5 wa 6 e 7 zu 5 nu 7 'when, they 2 take 3 the zembé (fetish) and 4 when they 5 come 6 (and) put 7 (it) on the ground,'

mîse 1 bô 2 dû 3 nu 4 'while 2 Monsieur, was sitting 3 (on the) ground 4 ,

bê 1 rf 2 ne 3 te 4 bê 5 rf 4 gbôât 'when, we 2 went 3 , and 4 when we 5 arrived 6 ,

bô 1 , ne 2 me 3 , ne 4 ye 5 'if 4 (one) would go 2 there 3 , and 4 (they) would say 5 . . . '

394.32. ne (with phonologically defined allomorphs ne, ng, ng, nde, and ndo) is the verb 'to go.' As an auxiliary, it indicates future time, as with English 'going to . . . ,' or possible action (future with respect to some other
action, and therefore translated 'if, when, would,' etc.). In some instances it seems synonymous with bo. The formal resemblance to the connective na and is fortuitous. Examples are:

\[ \text{ndé wà hee kpwa wéndé, gan} \text{ té wá hee kpwa nà wéndé 'will, they cry, or won't they cry'} \]

\[ \text{ném, si nè gò, há, madaam nè zokà 'I'm going, I will see back, like this, so that Madame will see (it)'} \]

\[ \text{wi-ré, nè zéra oro-ndú-ró, . . , nè ymbéré, nà 'the person who has obeyed us, leprosy, will not afflict him'} \]

\[ \text{gan nè, nè, hee kpwa, ti-ó déma, wi-ré, mé, nà 'he, will not go, and cry, in front of the people, there'} \]

\[ \text{wan to gan dé, gpy, nà, ne, wi-ré, gan nè, kpa, ri, mò, nà . . , nà 'if Wan-to had not done, this, people would not have found water to, drink'} \]

394.33. te (with phonologically defined allomorphs te, tá, té, and to) is the verb to come. As an auxiliary it indicates probability in the past, present, or future, depending on the context. For example:

\[ \text{tè o gò, 'that's probably the way it is'} \]

\[ \text{o, a té, ha, gmaa, hé, ré, o, 'who, can possibly give, us, some?'} \]

\[ \text{ge re yù, kam nà, nè, tè, ré, fe, wà, 'if we don't eat, we might die, of hunger'} \]

\[ \text{tp p kpo, 'he's probably crossed (the stream)'} \]

\[ \text{wan to gan dé, nè, ndó, wéndé, ne, té, rê, 'if we don't eat, we might die, of hunger'} \]

\[ \text{gan nè, kpa, ri, mò, nà, 'they said, 'Even if, we, had violated, a woman, they could have killed, just one'} \]

Notes to Chapter Three

1 Syntactic terms employed in this chapter are defined under Syntax (Chapter Four).

2 A considerably different classification, and one that I now prefer, would work with a class of Modifiers. It would include adjectivals (that is, adjectives), adverbials (that is, adverbs), and substitutes. The latter would be comprised of the demonstratives (382.2), the interrogatives (382.3), the numeratives (382.4), and the quantitatives (382.8). The substantive class would also be altered so that the nominatives would be represented not only by common nouns (381), but also by locative nouns (382.5), temporal nouns (382.6), and the reciprocal noun (382.5). The latter three are now considered special types of substitutes. This change would leave only the personal pronouns coordinated with the nominatives (382.1).

3 The glottal stop seems to be distinctive in some interjections; in others there seems to be free variation with zero.

4 There may very likely be some historical connection between wa and wá, and even now some of their areas of meaning overlap. Since their formal (tonal) and semantic difference can not at the present be explained, they are separated.
Its function seems to overlap that of há with which it may even be related historically, but these forms are now best analyzed as separate morphemes.

The examples in (a) and (b) are not meant to be parallel contrasts. Affirmative commands in direct address have the form (Subject) + Verb. Thus, (me) tê 'you' come. In some instances the verb e 'to put, leave' and the connective há function somewhat like the English permissive 'let's,' but in Gbeya the literal meaning is more explicit. Thus, é há këy dé mé ná 'don't be afraid' (= 'let fear do you not'), é hê fê ná 'let's go' (= 'permit us to go'). Perhaps there is some connection between this use of e and the use of á in the negative commands, for (1) at Boguila é is used where the Gbeya use á, and (2) one sentence occurs in the data where a low tone verb follows é, which is what usually occurs with á in negative commands. Thus, é këa sôn, ndé ré nfé 'when all have found (the place in the book), then we'll begin.'

Sometimes the adjective nôo 'this' occurs as attribute of the noun mo 'thing' without adding anything to the meaning of the construction. There is no doubt that this connective is related to and in fact historically derived from the use of the word wet 'affair' as an attribute to the verb head in verb phrases. Some of the utterances containing wen kô mo ná might still be analyzed in this way; the presence of the conjunction ne 'and,' which ordinarily is in construction with the following and not preceding construction, lends weight to this analysis. But (1) because of the types of constructions which precede wen kô mo ná (and which can not precede wen and its complements), and (2) because of the frequent pauses both before and after wen kô mo ná, I take this whole construction as equivalent in all-function to the other connectives, allowing that other kinds of analyses are possible.

Once the various morphologically defined allomorphs are given, the morphemes shall be referred to by these cover symbols. Certain allomorphic alternations affecting all but wêndé gan are described in 132.2.

The analysis of the connectives á, {a}, and hâ is not as neat as one should like it, and the explanation may be that I have found their use at a time of rapid change. If they are indeed a single morpheme, I have not found the unifying factors. It is of interest to note that in the dialect of Carnot a and ha (as written by Hilberth) serve "à conjuger les verbes au conditionnel et au subjonctif; dans les phrases affirmatives il sert à exprimer qu'une action est terminée au moment où l'on parle" (1952, p. 7).

Among the few occurrences of á which resemble hâ in meaning is the following:
  wa, né né gënza, á và háá né sô kóoi 'they take (the) money and [perhaps, 'to'] pay, for, the girl.'

As in the third example, the preposition {in} 'with' very often connects two substantive expressions before the connective ne occurs.

The noun phrase with mo 'thing' as its head is commonly used to connect a clause with a preceding clause. It may very well be that ôrô mo ne ... gâ is becoming an equivalent connective.

I suspect that there is some historical relationship between the sô of the connective sô te and the sô of sô kô. As evidence, witness the fact that sô has a distribution somewhat independent of sô te and that phonemically sô is set off from kô by open juncture which prevents the former from being assimilated to the latter in vowel quality or nasalization (for which see 132.2). In the related Ngbaka language, according to Eugene A. Nida (Learning a Foreign Language, 1950), së is used in a statement "made in reply to a question which has been asked about the possibility of someone doing something" (p. 211) and contrasts with ne which marks a simple future statement.

I strongly suspect that these connectives are derived from two morphemes, gan and wêndé (the first perhaps being the same as that in the negative adverb and the second perhaps the same as the final interrogative particle), in various combinations as a result of juxtaposition.

There is a strong possibility that the connective mó is historically derived from the word mo 'thing.' Reasons for this hypothesis are the following: (1) some of the uses of mó parallel emergent connective uses of wen 'word' and wen kô 'word of'; (2) the use with the verb ò 'to be' can be translated in a way that makes a substantive of mó, such as, sô mó ò gën 'I have to do it like this' (perhaps 'tis thing me do like this'), and (3) the translation of mó is accomplished in Sango, the trade language, by an expression equivalent to wen kô and not by the conjunction sô.
There is another morpheme, mô, which in one case connects two substantive expressions and in another connects an adverb with a verb phrase, but its identification with the connective is doubtful. Indeed, there are insufficient examples to warrant its identification with either the connective or the substantive mo 'thing.' For example: gô koyh ô bêèm kô rô mô bê-weiya 'so (they) took their children, that is, the sons'; wa gôô'dî sîrr mô sem sem 'they held (the) sours (making them tremble).

21 Excluded from the class of prepositions are certain nouns which, when they occur in noun phrases, are easily translated by English prepositions, such as the "preposition-like nouns." These are manifestly nouns because of their ability to take the determinative suffix {-a} and to occur in construction with other substantives with the relational morpheme {-}. Particularly noteworthy are the ones used to indicate place, such as kp 'hole, inside,' zaq 'belly, inside,' gôn 'top, on top,' zu 'head, on,' kô 'side, beside,' dôr 'underneath, under,' tf 'head, in front of.' Thus: kp-tuwa 'inside the house,' kô-tuwa 'beside the house.' Even the following occur: kp-kô 'in the hole,' te-ta 'to them.' It should be noted that te 'body, at' can precede any one of these pseudoprepositions. The only pseudopreposition which behaves differently is sem 'at,' to which never follows te but precedes any other pseudopreposition. Thus: sen-te ku-2dêdô-zôrô - sen-su-2dêdô-zôrô 'on the Zôrô bridge'; wa gôôn sen-te-kô-te-rêi 'they broke out beside us' (= 'at body side body us').

20 When a noun follows a verb without the copula, it is to be taken as an attribute of the subject of the verb. Compare the following: ô né wey 'it's hot' and ô wey 'it's hot'; ô né ri 'it's water' and ô ri 'ôô 'it's very watery.'

22 What apparently has happened is that words that were formerly in quite distinct word classes have, as a result of frequent cooccurrence, been crystallized into a set phrase (as was the case with wêndé gan). The form gende may thus be derived from ge ndé which is still used as a type of "filler" with very little, if any, lexical meaning, very much as the phrases "I mean" or "you know" are used in colloquial American English. The form gâ is probably to be identified with the gâ of the connective ôrô . . . gâ. In some Gbeya dialects, the form gâ (or kâ) still has the meaning 'like.'

23 Substitution between some of these forms is illustrated by a text where gende gâ ya ge, gende gâ ye, gende gâ, and ye all follow the verb tê 'to speak' in similar environments.

24 The form ge in the sequence ye ge ndé is analyzed as the interrogative substitute and not as part of the QV (although the latter may be historically derived from the former). Examples: wen kp-zangâa wêé ye ge ndé. 'The sound inside makes what sound?' Compare ma ne 5 kp-dak wêé roke roke 'the thing which is inside the gourd goes roke roke'; dôq wàrma ye ge ndé. 'What is the way to do it?' gôô'dô-wen nôô ye ge ndé. 'What is the explanation of this affair?' mc tê wen ye ge ndé. 'What are you saying?' Compare with ndé ye zôk, ge ndé, ne mise dûn tê 'and we looked, what? Monsieur was coming,' môn ne ge ndé ndé wa gôô te-zang-rê 'just like that and what? and they arrive in the village.'

25 Here, as elsewhere in this grammar, the word "class" is used for "subclass" where the context makes it clear that subclasses are under discussion.

26 Since all of the examples of "bay show it to be in a substantive phrase at the beginning of an utterance (being preceded only by the connective (go)). I suspect that instead of an adjective, it is some kind of clause-bound morpheme. The feature that requires its being described as an adjective is the fact that it occurs in construction with substantives where no verb is involved.
It has been suggested (William E. Welmers, personal communication) that this adjective is not strictly plural (indicating many objects of a particular kind) but rather indicates individualized plurality; it is as if objects were looked at one by one instead of in a group. I have this same feeling about 6 but no lexicographic data that would substantiate it.

This adjective has the same form as the negative adverb ná, but it is hard to see any relation between them, so they are identified as separate morphemes. If only one morpheme is involved, this fact can be proven only by means of a construction such as mf ná (‘me not’) which I seem to recall being used by a speaker to call attention to the opinion he was going to express in his next utterance, meaning something like "won't I be considered?"

It seems almost certain that nôo is derived from the sequence ne 60 ‘and it is,’ where the verb 5 ‘is’ has the morpheme -V (213.3). In the Sumba dialect the following occur: tuwa 50 ‘this house’ (‘house is’), tuwa ne 50 ‘this house’ (‘house and is’). The assimilated form of the connective occurs at Gezéri, north of Bossembele, in mf êô | nô 5 | ne dô ‘this woman is short,’ where pause can occur at points marked by vertical bars.

An apology is made for not giving glosses for all of the DAs cited in this section. One-to-one correspondences are generally impossible to make and circumlocutory translations would by their length overburden the treatment.

Because the derivation of stems in many Indo-European languages is largely achieved through affixation, my use of the word may at first appear ill-advised, for no derivational affixes are utilized in the formation of Gbeya DAs. The justification for its employment here rests on the recognition by others of compounding as a derivational process.

The term "secondary association" is taken from Charles F. Hockett (A Course in Modern Linguistics, 1958, pp. 296-299).

There are a few nouns, almost entirely names of living creatures, whose origin is onomatopoetic. They are too few in number to warrant the description of an imitative process of derivation. Thus: ná hmr ‘a certain frog,’ gbûûf ‘a certain owl,’ u’ûu ‘a certain fish’ (although u’ûu is not a sound actually heard from the fish in question, the Gbeya claim that it is able to lead other fish into traps by making noises. This therefore is a case of pseudo-onomatopoeia), sfe sûu ‘a certain bird.’

The form wf-zû ‘thief’ is not included here because of the aberrant form of the verb zû ‘steal.’ One expects wf-zu, with zu being the attribute of the noun wf ‘person.’

If the informant is correct in translating tê of the following phrase as ‘talk,’ then this one phrase constitutes a subclass coordinate with the other examples given in this section: zik tê ‘certain tree,’ so named, the informant said, because people walked around the tree (zik ‘to circle’) and remarked on the good shade it gave. Another coordinate subclass with only one member is the following: yôg gân ‘certain small animal’ < ‘eat’ + gân ‘in vain’ + suffix -V. It would not be accurate to consider these analyses as fully analogous to folk etymologies. In their present form any other morphological segmentation is unlikely. Of course, if it could be shown that these words were borrowed from another language in which they had a different form, then we could suggest that the phonemic sequences were segmented in a way which was somehow meaningful in Gbeya.

The possibility of describing the pronouns as basically toneless and attributing the tone to some other morpheme was considered. For example, the perfective might have been described as consisting of the suffix { = } and high tone(s) on the pronouns (when these occurred). Since, however, this type of analysis would have made the whole description more complicated than the present one, even assuming that it would be entirely consistent, I have rejected it. In the following discussion it is to be understood that when I speak of the pronoun ere or éré, I am in fact talking about allomorphs of a single morpheme.

No examples of -m are found in the data, but it is here posited both because I remember having heard a form such as lángim ‘passing I . . . .’ and also because it is
theoretically possible with motion verbs. The grave accent mark in -m only means that the vowel preceding the suffix has low tone. An attempt was made to eliminate -Vm by setting up -m and introducing allomorphs of the verb bases, such as *hâya-m. There is some historical justification for this analysis (see the common Gbanu verb form CVVC), but the morph -Vm is no longer restricted to disyllabic bases, and nouns (when it concerns the objectival pronouns) also come into the picture.

Note should be taken of the fact that there are two homophonous allomorphs of IS, namely, -m of am and -m of ñm. They contrast in terms of the whole sets of pronouns and in utterances such as nêm zôk wa 'I went and saw them' and nêm zôk wa 'I'm going to see them.'

That the substitution of an explicit pronoun for a common one is not entirely obligatory is demonstrated in several instances. For example:

\[ \text{gâ ye, am, kff} \]
\[ \text{3} \]
\[ \text{?dog-wââ} \]
\[ \text{4} \]

'(he) said, "I'm looking for a way.'

It is certainly more than accidental that these substitutes are distinguished only by the quality of their vowels. One is tempted to segment a morph with the shape -V, but because its occurrence would be restricted to these words, such an analysis is hardly justified.

The only possible identification of ré at the moment is with the form which occurred in the speech of someone from Bowe where ré duwa and yé duwa are used, at least occasionally, instead of ñ duwa 'goats,' where ré, yé, and ñ simply mark plurality. Getting 'how much, how many?' from 'what plurality?' seems a bit forced, however.

This word is suspiciously like two other words in the language (in form and to some extent in meaning) with which it also in complementary distribution. They are ñma 'some' (an adjective) which occurs only as an attribute of nouns, and ñmaa 'some' (a noun) which occurs only as the subject of verbs. One considers the possibility of somehow uniting these in a single morpheme. This may be possible if one starts with the base form ñma 'some, a few, little bit, etc.' and adds the suffix { -a} (213.1) to make a subjective nominative with the same general meaning and the suffix *-â to make an objective nominative with the added meaning of reciprocity. The resultant forms would be unique, as would the occurrence of the suffix itself.

The suffixes {-î} and {-è} cannot be united as a single morpheme for the following reasons: (1) their meaning and the distribution of the free forms in which they occur are not similar enough and (2) a distributional difference is correlated with a formal difference in that one occurs with B- and the other with B-. (It should also be pointed out that these suffixes are different from another one of similar form, the postclitic {-îg}. The postclitic occurs freely with verb forms c to f inclusively, and when it occurs with those in a, it contrasts with -î in that unlike the latter it does not occur with the /r/ allomorph of the verb. So: wesè nem pêéi 'the day on which I returned,' wesè-perî 'the day of returning.'

It should be remembered from section 131.2 that the diacritic " indicates the substitution of a low for a high tone preceding high tone.

The high tone on /î/ in the following forms is described as being part of the objective pronominal suffix /-m/: b£ £ kîdêm 'while he was looking for me'; b£ § lâggîm 'when he passed me up.' The low tone in lâggîm in the following is however described as belonging to the subjectival pronominal suffix: lâggîm ré pônu 'passing on, I fell down' (not actually heard, but possible on the analogy of pêrem zôk wa 'coming back, I saw them'). See note 37.

The following examples are unusual because of the occurrence of high tone imperfectives following bô, so I suspect an error in transcription: gô zê nê bô ndâ wô do nê gôsaf 'so on the night before they are going to burn the gôsaf (translation uncertain),' bê § se nâm nüa 'when he smelled the oil.'

The examples are too few to warrant further generalizations, but data from other Gbaya dialects seem to indicate that this combination of high tone pronom subjects and low tone verbs may be a widespread and important pattern.

I do not mean by free variation that it is a demonstrable fact that either a high or low perfective form can substitute for the other one in any particular environment. I simply mean that the occurrence of one or the other is not at present structurally predictable. There may of course be a real difference in style, say, between the slow in slow speech and the high in rapid speech. In the transcription of the tape-recorded texts
it was often difficult to determine whether the form was high or low, but it is certain
that the contrast exists; my informant confirmed it.

The use of ne 'to go' and te 'to come' in a particular situation seems to depend
somewhat on the speaker's point of view (whether he thinks of himself either at the
point of departure or point of destination, compare English 'Are you coming to/going
to the party?'), but in the dialect of Bouca it seems that both are used for 'to come,'
te with singular subjects and ne with plural subjects.

For one possible exception see note 46.

The word fpââ functions as an auxiliary in that either an imperfective or perfec-
tive verb may follow it, but in some constructions it seems to function as a connective.
There are not enough data to justify a conclusive analysis, especially since its mean-
ing is not fully understood. Examples are:

bê y be ne wééyâ3 fpââ pl. bolê3, 'when he took the male one, (that is, the gourd)
to throw (it) after, (the first one)'

qê ngémêmâ3, ne3 fpââ baâirq, 'he, waited for me, and, (for the purpose of)
taking me,'

The word gô functions similarly. It is most certainly derived from the connective
{go} (332.2), but because of their differences in function, they must be considered dis-
distinct.
CHAPTER FOUR
SYNTAX

In this chapter are described the various ways in which words are arranged in maximal utterances. Hitherto, the main consideration was of morphemes or classes of morphemes, bound and free. This chapter deals with constructions, that is, with collocations of free morphemes. The unit basic to the description is the sentence, which in its smallest form consists of several types of included or potentially independent constructions. These sentence constructions are described in section 420. Nonsentence-type constructions are described in 410. Several types of syntactic combining processes are described in 430. Finally, a sample text is presented in 500. The analysis of the syntax is based on the theory of immediate constituents: It is assumed that syntactic structures can be analyzed into layers of progressively smaller dichotomous units.

410. Nonsentence-type constructions. The various constructions which are included within sentences are endocentric substantive phrases, with both noun (411) and substitute (412) heads, exocentric prepositional phrases (413), and verb phrases (414). Since the term "phrase" is descriptive of constructions, it covers both those consisting of only one word and also those of several words.

411. Noun phrases. They consist of either subordinate (411.1 and 411.2) or coordinate elements (411.3). The subordinate substantive phrase consists of the head and its preposed or postposed attributes or both. The attributes which precede the head are either adjectives, numerative substitutes, or descriptive adverbs. The attributes which follow the head are either substantives, adjectives, prepositional phrases, adverbs, verbs, or dependent clauses. The coordinate phrase consists of heads which are combined by parataxis or with some formal marker.

411.1. Noun phrases with preposed attributes. They are either numerative substitutes (411.11), adverbs (411.12), or adjectives. For the last, see section 360.

411.11. Numerative substitute attributes. The meaning of a numeral in this position is different from when it occurs postposed to the head. Here it is somewhat equivalent in meaning to an English ordinal numeral. In addition, the word kpém 'one' has the meaning of 'single,' such as: kpém weSé '(in a) single day,' kpém fara 'single place,' rffto wen 'second subject.'
Adverb attributes. This use of the descriptive adverbs is infrequent in the corpus. For example:

ff káyá kélé 'small faith,' compare ṣi-ré teh fff 'a few people came'

gōj gōj-tuwa 'square house,' compare wa dé tuwa gōj gōj 'they are making the house square'

gère-mo 'unimportant thing,' compare ṣi-re gère 'he came for no reason'

yjere-wesé 'certain snake,' compare wesé dō yjere 'the sun is shining temperately'

Noun phrases with postposed subordinate attributes. These attributes are either substantives (411.21), adjectives (411.22), prepositional phrases (411.23), adverbs (411.24), verbs (411.25), or dependent clauses (411.26).

Substantive attributes. They are either nouns or substitutes which are subordinated either paratactically or by the use of the connective ṣi . . . ṣi 'like.' Subordination is identified by the fact that one word, the head, can be used in the place of the whole construction.

Noun attributes. Several types of constructions are distinguished by their meanings, but most of these occur with the relational morpheme (-), which is discussed in 212.2. In addition to these, there are a few N + N constructions without this relational morpheme. For example:

wan to 'master fable (the Spider, chief character in the fables)'
wan fiyo 'master fetish' (a personal name)

gbogbo ri 'middle of the stream'
térf, gmgbarf, dón saqaj, 'plant (the) okra in rows,'

wesé ṣi-sera zu 'the sun is overhead'

djé-di, mbe, 'beer for looking for, a new subject,'

djé-tjé-si, kó, d kösái kē rē, 'things in the days of, our elders,'
mo-mgrī, kó, d sōkái kē rē, tō-si, 'the clothing of, our elders, long ago'

'ŋma ṣi-rē, ọrọ, ṣe, ṣi 'a person, like you,'

Substitute attributes. It seems that all but the personal pronouns may occur as attributes of nominatives. In addition to the following examples, others may be found in 382:

Demonstrative: kofe, jJ, nt né djá, rök, ṣe, 'that, in-law, who should work, very well,'

Interrogative: ṣi-o 'who?' yari-ge 'what hunt?' (personal name)

Locative: ọm, te-rē, mē, 'meet, in (the) village, there,' mē, nā, 'on the ground, here,'

Quantitative: ṣi-ma wen kóm dōka gn bō 'I don't have any big speech,' ṣi-rē, hárá sōm, ọm, 'all, (the) people, gather, '

Numerative: ọm, mē, kpom, 'some, one, thing,'

gsō, kere, dōn kpom, 'six, large, beer-pots,'

For notes to Chapter Four, see p. 142.
411.22. Adjective attributes; such as: zophile, 'this grass,' [û]  2  wa  3  nóo, 'these, tail, of theirs,' [û]  2  fiyo, kómáf, 'this, fetish, of mine,' [û]  báraa  3  if, 'dry season before last.'

411.23. Prepositional-phrase attributes. Phrases containing the preposition kó 'of' (and much less frequently {m} 'with' and nóo) are those which most frequently occur in attribution to a noun head. (See also postposed coordinate attributes, 411.3.) Examples are:

'dog-wáâ, kó rf in mif ye ge nóo, 'What does our way, have to do with your way?!' (= 'our way with you means what?')

ô yâ, kóî 3  són, 'all your friends.'

wen, kò ë, in kó, 'a (said) for himself and his wife.'

gba dório, kó wa, 'their hunting-path.'

ô ife nóo, 'yesterday in (the) evening.'

411.24. Adverb attributes. Only a few occur as attributes to nouns, such as: mo, géré, 'unimportant thing,' zôófá, kó wa, nóó, gôó, 'this, adolescent daughter, of theirs here.' ó mo, 2dék 2dék, 'many different things.' (cf. nga, 2dék 2dék, 'pass, on all sides.') mo 2bêé 'thing from long ago.' (cf. ám, jgô 4  p, 2bêé, 'I've, known, him, from long ago.')

411.25. Verb attributes. They are either verbs or verb phrases which stand in construction with common nouns. For example:

'he played a trick so as to go around, to come for (the) water.'

'I didn't find, even one to kill.'

'they, set out to dig up, the roots.'

'it's not possible to go to the garden' (= 'means of going garden is not')

'running around, to play in (the) village, all the time.'

'there is no one to oversee them' (= 'person to see them is not')

411.26. Dependent-clause attributes. A principal clause introduced by the connective nê 'and' is a common attribute of noun (as well as substitute) phrases, the whole of which is very often "closed" with the postclitic. The noun head, regardless of its function in the sentence, is either the subject or the object of the dependent clause. When the head is the subject of the dependent clause, the verb has no grammatical subject (see below for pronominal heads). For example:

'doesn't see, the place, from which the thing, is coming.'

'because he ate, (the) paste, which Wan-to had broken off, and thrown to, the ground.'

'we, crossed, the stream, at the place where they speared, my hand.'

'for whom he is working.'
124 SAMARIN: THE GBEYA LANGUAGE

5 nê mo, ne te-foo kô a, nê yym wenáa 'it's something about which
his in-laws will be angry.'

biro, gbe, ñma, ne wâ gbé, sôr, 'a fight, to kill, each other,
which they did with spears.'

mô kâ, ô tifâ, sôm, ne wâ a, nê mbô, 'take all, the payment,
which they will put on the ground for you.'

411.3. Postposed coordinate attributes. They are substantives joined by
the connective ne 'and' (332.4) or wéndé gan 'or' (332.9).

412. Substitute phrases. These consist only of subordinate elements,
and they are fewer in number and less varied than are the noun phrases.
The variation seems to be correlated with the fact that only certain sub-
stitutes function as subjects or objects of verbs, and among these only certain
ones are more common than the others. The substitutes which occur with
attributes are discussed in the following paragraphs.

412.1. Personal and demonstrative pronouns occur with the following
attributes: nôo 'this,' sôm 'all,' ô 'plural marker,' òbay 'only,' numerals,
a phrase introduced by the preposition {in} 'with,' and a phrase or clause
introduced by the connective ne 'and.' For example:

ô, nôo nà a gbrâ, rôl, 'he, who killed, us,'

mô zôk, wa, mu, 'look at, (the) nine, (of) them, '

ô, sôm, er, zôk, 'all, (of) us, saw it,'

wê, jî, yâm-war, 'you, and, Yâm-war.'

ô ì, nê ì, ne bê-zee mbô, 'those, who are, obedient children,'

ám, gbrâ, jî nôo, 'I, killed, that one,'

òbay mf am if, gbô 'it is only I coming!' (= 'only me I come here!')

412.2. The numerative, locative, and temporal substitutes occur only
with the adjective nôo 'this' (362.2). For example:

ám, gbrâ, rôf, nôo, 'I, killed, these two,'

ô, mona, jye, nôo, 'he's still, over there,'

mbô, nôo, am, ì, nê, 'it's this evening, I'm talking about,'

412.3. The interrogative pronoun o 'who?' (382.3) occurs with the attri-
bute ô 'plural marker' only once and in an early field-work notebook. Thus:

nê ò, kâ, ô ò, 'What people, (did you say) he was going, to get?'

413. Prepositional phrases. These consist of a preposition and a sub-
stantive or substantive phrase. It is to be understood that the term "preposi-
tional phrase" includes prepositions with pronominal suffixes (for example,
kôm 'of me'). For other examples see 340. (For a discussion of wen kô 'for,
because,' see 331.2; 414.17.) Examples are:

kô 'of':

wen kô ge 'why?'

tuwa kô o 'whose house?'

wa, gôr, sôr, kô nôo, 'they, exchange, each other's, spears,'

wen kô bâr 'as for the dry season'
há 'from, to':

há, ëë-ó wë-rë, 'from, (the) hands of people,'

në në, hó, wë, 'take, (it) to, them,'

há senë 'from there'

dëk, këëy, há zën-wë, 'take, fear out of them,'

in 'with':

hë, bëm, kë, 'said' and, his, child,'

koyo in ó mborë in ó dawë të 'koyo (birds) and red monkeys and green monkeys come'

414. Verb phrases. The verb phrase consists of a verb head and non-obligatory complements. These are either substantives, prepositional phrases, verbs, or adverbs which occur in a more or less regular order. The order is a relative one: the shorter the verb phrase, the easier it is to predict the order of the constituents. The sum of the possibilities is illustrated by the following formula: verb + intensive (that is, kò phrase) + object (or goal or predicate complement) + place + time + prepositional phrase + number + purpose + adverb + repeated verb. The various combinations are not explicitly illustrated, but many can be found in the following sections.

414.1. Substantive complements. In this position these have the syntactic meaning of object (or goal or predicate complement, etc.), place, time, number, or purpose.

414.11. Object:

y, há, óro-nû, hó, 'he, gives, a command, to, them,'

hë, rë, ënë, 'buy, water from him,'

gom, bâ, wë, fëë, 'and I, took, him, three times,'

bâ, këë, tó, 'take, the female one, first,'

414.12. Goal. It is convenient to distinguish goal from direct object when nouns with locative meaning follow verbs of motion. For example:

sf òdor, në, wë, hëm, 'answer me' (= 'return back with word to-me')
sf òdor, tò-rë, në, 'return to the village, there,'

në, këë-rë, 'goes, after us,'

remë, rë, 'enough for, us,'

në, yarë, 'go, on a hunt,'

414.13. Predicate complement. This use is to be contrasted with the use of the copula në (for which see 352). Nouns with this meaning usually follow the verbs o 'to be,' kifi 'to turn (into),' òmon 'to remain,' ya 'to be (plural).'

For example:

ó wey 'it's hot'

wa ya, ënë, 'there are two of them' (= 'they are two')

y, këë, dila, 'he, turned into, a lion,'

òmonë wey 'it's still hot' (= 'remained hot')

414.14. Place. The precise meanings of where, whither, or whence are in the lexical meanings of the substantives or in the construction (since há 'from' is the only preposition which can be used with a locative meaning).
For example, the word 'fire' is locative in the phrase é kpá wey, 'puts fire on the fire, (to cook),' but objective in é wey ssn 'puts fire there' (that is, 'set fire to something'). A few nouns are commonly used as the heads of noun phrases with locative meaning: kp 'hole, in,' ?dor- 'underneath, under,' bon 'back, behind, after,' zu 'head, on,' kôr- 'back, after,' kô 'side, beside, next to,' saga 'inside, between,' zap 'beily, inside, within,' gbogbo 'between.' Many locative noun phrases, even some with the words just listed, may have as head te or sen or sen te 'at.' Examples of the preposition-like nouns, of phrases with sen and te, and finally of other nouns are given below. For examples of the locative substitutes see 382.5.

414.141. Examples with preposition-like nouns:
nde, wa, nda kp-dana 'and, they, put, (it) in the bag,'
dkp ?dorá 'sat underneath'
bó kpá ?maa 'when, (they) moved... after it,'
nem kpá zu-wódo 'and I was sitting on the truck,'
á, saaá wáam gáá 'is, in the middle of the Waam here,'
té, yá kp–te–?maa 'there were, trees, beside each other,'
wá, tó wént kóf–ré 'they, talk, behind, each other'
ne, mé bá, tom, zá 'and, you, refused, work in (the) village there.'

414.142. Examples with sen and te:
bé, ré, zji, sen–te–ká–zan–ri mé 'when, we came down to the river-bank there,'
pé, èn, ré, sen–te–mise na, 'he said I should return, with him, to Monsieur here,'
a, káy, toy, kô wa són, te–tuwa, ká a, 'he, takes, all his belongings, to his house,'
gbó te–zan–ré 'arrive in the village,'

414.143. Examples with other nouns:
ba, tó boy, ká, fó, tan–fó, 'takes, his hat, (from) his head,'
mé, aá, nu, na, 'if, you, were here, (on the) ground,'
wá, pí, mó–kan, nu, 'they, put, (the) end of the torch, (to the) ground,'
a, cí–fó, wáá–ri, 'puts, his hands, (in the) direction of (the) water,'

414.15. Time. The most common substantives of time are the temporal substitutes, for which see 382.6. Others (not occurring in a prepositional phrase) are very often locative nominatives with temporal meaning. For example:
ere kpá zu–túre, 'we, left, early in the morning,' (= 'head of morning')
a, baá, kóá, fó, 'he, takes, the female, first,'
pí, mbé, nu, dón, 'throws, another one, (on the) ground, after that,'
gbó, kpasi, kó mé, mbé, tó, 'destroys, your, life, again,'

414.16. Number. Numerative substitutes or noun phrases containing an attribute of number are used with this meaning. For example:
avá, oróm, wáá riffó 'sent, after me, twice' (= 'way two')
pee ne, hám, gáy gáy, wáá fara taa, 'return with, (it) to me, like this, three times,'
414.17. Purpose. The word wen 'word, affair' is used independently (but with the determinant suffix) or as the head of noun phrases with various types of complements with the meaning 'reason' or 'purpose,' but it is translated in several different ways: with nouns it often has the English meaning 'for,' and with verbs the meaning 'to.' For example:

npâ, gmaâ, wenâa, 'bite, each other over it,'
ge, a, m, yû, yui, wenââ, ge ndé 'for what reason are you running?'
ô, há, oro-n, hó, wa, yen, wâ, mpyâ 'he, ordered them to gather,'
ô, bâ, ñganda, ñmim, wen, tûrû, kómâ 'he's jealous, over clothes,'
err, nê, yen kó, sa, de, sté 'let's, go for (the) meat,'
dé, kam, wâ, yen, ñmim, ñmim, 'makes food for them all the time,'
gan, re, kpâ, ñma, sa, de, kpém, yen kó, gbé, ná 'we didn't find one animal, to kill,'

414.18. Manner. The only substantive which occurs in verb phrases with this meaning is gâa 'like this.' For example:
mise hó, langi, kó ro kpékfré, te-fyé gâa 'when Monsieur went out of sight, over there like this'
ô, záa, ñbo, gâa 'add to it, again, like this'
té, yâ, ké, te, kpékfré, gâa ná nô ro rffô, 'two trees stood beside each other, like this'

414.2. Prepositional phrases. These occur with the following meanings: emphasis on subject (kô); time, place, instrument, or object (with né); reciprocation (with {fn}); benefaction or origin (with há); accompaniment (with né or fn); or goal or indirect object (with {fn} or hâ). These prepositions are discussed in 340.

414.3. Verbs. These occur as objective complements of the verb head or in repetition of the verb head.

414.31. As objective complements, verbs occur in the low-tone imperfective forms, for which see 393.112, most often after motion verbs or such verbs as rem 'to be able,' jë 'to know,' and kp 'to want, agree to.' For example:

nê, bi, dilai, 'go, to fight the lion,'
âm, yarâ, ki, w), sa, de, 'I, was hiking in search of, animals,'
gan, rém, tó, yen, sâ)y, 'can't talk correctly,'
ô, pô, tó, mbétf, 'he, knows how to read,'
er, kô, kâ, ré, ne, tó, ná 'we, don't want to go, (to the) garden,'
gu, dô, kâmâ, dô, kânâ-biro, 'Gu?dô began, to curse, Kânâ-biro'

414.32. Emphasis is achieved by repeating the head verb (which occurs with the suffix -ô, for which see 211.3). For example:

ô, yômaï, yô, ro, yô, ñ, nê, go, go, ro, 'some1, on the other hand,,'
chew (it) with their teeth (in contrast to pounding it)
hê, ri, fn, hê, 'buy1 water from him, instead of getting it free,'
Adverbs. For exemplification see 370 and Text 10. An additional characteristic of the adverbs is that two, and occasionally more, descriptive adverbs (372) can occur in a single verb phrase, for example:

nëg, mo ngi 'ruin, things

414.4. Adverbs. For exemplification see 370 and Text 10. An additional characteristic of the adverbs is that two, and occasionally more, descriptive adverbs (372) can occur in a single verb phrase, for example:

nëgy, 'diriri 'diriri, gpy, 'boils, furiously, like this,

The subject of a major clause is either a noun expression, a substitute expression, or a prepositional phrase.

421.11. Major clauses. The minimal constituents of a major clause are a grammatical subject and verbal predicate: for example, wa té 'they are coming.' Longer clauses result from the expansion of the subject or predicate or both (for which see noun expressions 411 and verb expressions 414):

bém, kó mé nôo ne bôo, bém kôm, bâraa, gan, tôm, te koča, mbéa bo mo 'child, of yours, who refused my child last year can not, work for her (= come the in-law) again.'

The subject of a major clause is either a noun expression, a substitute expression, or a prepositional phrase.

421.111. The subject is a noun expression. For example:

kô, kó mé, 'child, of yours, should become pregnant,'

The subject of a major clause is either a noun expression, a substitute expression, or a prepositional phrase.
The subject is a substitute expression. These are either the personal pronouns, the demonstrative substitutes, or (occasionally) the numerative substitutes. In the case of IS, 3S, and 2P pronouns, the subject may actually be a suffix of a preceding word, even a verb. For example:

gan wa, | 5 wa2 ná 'they1 aren't hungry2,'
rem1 yüm1 n£3 gpy4 'and I1 run2 (and) go3 like this4' (= 'run-I')
ne1 gáy ma2 'and you1 (should) make noise2'
ô1 | rem2 ré3 'this1 is enough for2 us3,'
kpém1 | remâ2 'one1 is sufficient2.'

The subject is a prepositional phrase. The only prepositional phrase which can function as a subject is one with kô 'of' standing alone without a head. The meaning is always like that of 'mine, hers,' etc. in English. For example:
ké ré1 | sonâ2 'ours1 is all gone2,'
kô wa1 | r£g ná 'their1 is not2 good2.'

The subject is a clause. There is only one occurrence, the compound clause r£k gân sôn 'better than everything' (= 'is-good surpasses all') in the following:

ô1 ma2 kô t£3 nde re deà1 | rpká5, me6 r£k gân sôn, me r£k gân sôn | ô5 ne kô, kfmâ n5ô10 'the former1 things2 of long ago3 which we did4 were good5, but6 (they) weren't altogether good6, but that which is really good is8 of9 now10.'

Minor clauses. These subjectless clauses are very common in Gbeya. The observed environments in which they occur are discussed in the following paragraphs. Clauses preceded by introductory subjects are discussed below in 422.2.

The subject may be omitted with directives. For example:

me1 t£2 há ó y£5 kô me4, zók5 'you1 tell2 your4 relatives5, "Look5!"'
m£1 ye2, káy3 kam£4, err2 n£5 'I1 say2, "Take3 the food4, let's5 go6,"'
t£1 me2 n£1 'come1 (and) you2 go3,'

The subject is omitted when the subject is impersonal or non-specific. Such clauses very often occur in expanded clauses (for which see below). Several verbs are commonly used in such clauses, such as: rem 'to be able,' de 'to do,' ?mon 'to remain,' c 'to be,' bo 'to (not) be,' rpk 'to be good.' For example:

wá yypâ ge da, gó gan r£m ná 'they ate a tremendous amount of manioc' (= 'they ate manioc, and not equal')
bô de ze kpém 'after one month' (= 'when do month one?')
nc ?môôn gpy 'and just like that!' (= 'and remains in this manner')
gan n£ yym k£ ô r£ ná 'it won't bother us' (= 'will hurt of itself us not')

The subject may be omitted when it is indicated in an emphatic kô phrase (for which see 334) in the verb phrase. For example:
The subject is omitted in clauses following auxiliaries. When the auxiliary has a noun subject, the verb in the dependent clause has no subject at all. When the auxiliary has no subject, the dependent clause has a pronominal subject. In addition, the subject may be omitted altogether for the reasons described in the other paragraphs of this section. For example:

bô, wâ, tâ, nen, 'if they should say something.'

wêy, bô, ne, kô, 'when a man goes working for a wife.'

wêy, nô, bô, tâ, go, bô, zo, gû, 'when this man comes and when (he) sees like this.'

The subject is commonly omitted when it is already implied or explicit in the linguistic context. Most often the subject is the same as the one in the preceding clause, but it may also be the substantive in a preceding objective complement construction. The most common subjectless clause sequences are SV-V, V-SV, and V-V (where S means subject, C means connective, and V means verb), which are combined by parataxis, or the parallel ones combined by connectives: SVCV, VCSV, and VCV.

(a) The subject is commonly omitted before the second and third predicate in a series joined paratactically, the meaning of which is additive or seriative. For example:

mû, tê, âkâm, 'Monsieur comes and asks me.'

tê, ri, fôk, lâm, ná, 'the water won't flow and run off.'

wan ké, wà, â, nu, 'they take them and put (them on the) ground.'

wan to, à, mbë, pë, nu, 'Wan-to breaks off another piece and throws (it on the) ground also.'

(b) The subject is commonly omitted before a verb of motion (such as: ne 'go,' tê 'to come,' si 'to return,' yar- 'to stroll,' kur- 'to arise,' etc.) when it is followed paratactically by a subject-predicate construction in which the subject is a pronoun, and the meaning of which is additive or seriative. For example:

nà, re, â, dô, zë, 'we went and we slept in the bush.'

nê, ñ, gâ, më, gû, wà, 'he goes and he cuts up some firewood.'

tê, wà, gbë, mbë, 'they come and they kill another.'

go, sê, wà, â, te-bâ, më, 'and returning they put them in the young men's hut there.'

yô, wà, bâ, yar, 'strolling about they take up the search.'

Secondary clauses. These are endocentric or exocentric constructions.

Endocentric secondary clauses are represented by interjections, terms used in direct address (such as, personal names, pronouns, titles, and kinship terms), the adverb gû 'like this,' and substantive expressions. In connected discourse, the adverb gû is sometimes to be translated 'that's the
way it was,' or, when followed by another clause, 'this being the case.' The substantive expressions (single words or substantive phrases) are either declarative or interrogative in meaning.

(a) Interjections:

sôô, mbô, ye, ná, 'so, I said,' "What!"
bo, zokâ, ne, ñô, ne wan to, burô, rii, à zô, 'when (he) looked, oh,
Wan-to had broken, the water (pot) and spilled (it) on the ground,'

(b) Address:

bay sê, 'Bay-sê!'
yâam, wi zê sê, 'Father, listen.'

(c) Substantive expressions:

ne, tó, gende gá, mi ná, ne dila, 'and (he) says,' "Hey, (it's a) lion.'
dôô dé kôo, în, nân, kôo, 'a good woman, and a bad woman,'
wen, kô, fiyô, 'the subject of, fetishes,'
me, ñk, wà, kusi, ñma, karás, 'look at (the) nine (of) them, (one is)
a big one,'
gende gá, kusi, 'in other words, nine,'
wen kô ge, 'for what reason?'
wa, ñdon, kpém, gô, '(there are) six (of) them, here,'

(d) Particle, gende gá, ye, ge (see 353):

wen kô mo ne, gá, wi-r, bó ne gaza ná, 'because (they) say, a
person, who is not circumcised,'
mo, gá, ñ, ye, ge, bô-wéey, né gaza, 'thus, (they) say that a young
man, should be circumcised,'

421.22. Exocentric secondary clauses. These are described as consisting of two constituents which otherwise do not stand in syntactic relationship to each other. They are listed and illustrated in the following paragraphs.

421.221. Copula + substantive. The meaning is declarative. For example:

né, ture, 'it was morning'
ne, kpâra, 'it is a pot'

né, ge, 'what is it?'

421.222. Substantive + copula phrase. For example:

mo, ne, 'it was night!' (= 'thing copula night')
mo, ne, kam, 'food is a real thing!' (= 'thing copula food')

421.223. Substantive + connective sê, 'then.' The meaning is 'so-and-so would be more effective,' 'so-and-so is preferable,' etc. The construction is probably elliptical. For sê see 332.6. Examples are:

tômbe, sê, 'use a gun instead (of a spear)'
rô kô, sê, 'your own village (is where you are treated right)'

421.224. Substantive + substantive. The meaning is declarative or equational. In a clausal context there is probably a difference between an endocentric phrase such as zu-wa ta 'their three heads' and zu-wa ta 'their
heads are three' (that is, 'there were three of them'). The latter only can always take the verb o 'to be.' For example:

mi gi. 'Here I am! (= 'I this')
mo mf? 'Who me?' (= 'thing I')
nu-wa ré ge 'how many are there?' (= 'their heads, how many?')
sôn ré mbêtf kôm kpém mbêtf kô (ellipsis of mbêtf d kpém in mbêtf kô á) 'my book (is) the same as his book' (= 'book of-me one book of him')

421.225. Substantive + propositional phrase. The following are unique:
go, bàm, ña bêem, naïâ 'so, (he) takes, him, (Monsieur) and a child (comes along) with him,'
mæsfi, hâ, nzapâ, 'thanks, to God,'

421.226. Substantive + clause introduced by the connective mó. The following example is the only one which occurs in the corpus:
mbêtf, môm, hêâa, 'books, for me, to buy,' (in answer to 'What do you want?')

421.227. Substantive + quotative particle ye (ge). The substantive functions as the subject of the clause:
mbêtf, ye, dila, baâ 'I, said, "A lion, got him,"'
ô sôkâi, ye ge, bé-wéey, né gaza 'the elders, say, (that) boys, (should) be circumcised,'

421.228. Substantive + connective hâ + substantive. The meaning is equational or identificational:
yfnm, hâ yâm-wara 'my name, is Yâm-wara'
kam, hâ mo, 'food, is a real thing,'
sa'de, ne nà, gbêy, hâ dilai, wôndé 'the animal, which he went, (and) killed, is (it) a lion,?'

421.229. Secondary clause + negative marker ná. The meaning is negative declaration except when the clause ends with the connective sé in which case the meaning is a question which requests confirmation of a statement. Such constructions occur with the types of clauses described above in coordinate paragraphs 221, 222, 223, 228, as well as with the adverb gëy. For example:
gëy ná 'that isn't the way'
gëy sé ná 'isn't that the way?'
né saa ná 'it's no fun'
ôginza, hâ kam, ná 'money is not food,'

422. Complex sentences. These consist of principal clauses preceded by constructions, usually substantive phrases, of three types: (1) expansions of the subject, (2) expansions of the verb phrase, and (3) introductory constructions. The term "expansion" is used for the types (1), and (2) is chosen for convenience only. The expansion may simply be a word that more normally occurs in the verb phrase itself. It is, moreover, not always useful to describe these complex sentences as being correlated with some kernel or basic simple sentence type. For example, in several instances, the subject
expansion contains no more morphemes than a simple subject contains. What characterizes all of these preposed elements, regardless of their meaning or syntactic function, is first that they serve as devices for emphasis, although this is not always obvious in sentences of type 3. A second feature characteristic of these constructions is the manner in which they are joined to the verb phrase or clause. A third feature is that the expanded sentence often contains a substantive phrase, one of whose constituents is a dependent clause equivalent in English to a relative clause in attribution. Since there is an observable limit to the size of a verb phrase, it is very likely that the technique utilized in type 2 is a means of avoiding overloading the verb phrase.

In order to represent the constructions in formulae, certain symbols are adopted. A period (.) serves only to separate the symbols and allow for easier reading. Parentheses in the formulae enclose elements which are optional. Thus, A = adverb, AV = auxiliary verb, C = connective (Ca = {a}, Cc = sé te, Cg = go, Cn = ne, Co = só kó), H = pause (as in "hold" or "hiatus"), N = noun or substitute (Nt = noun in construction with relational morpheme, Na = noun with determinative suffix, Ni = locative substantive, Np = pronoun, Ns = any substitute, Nt = temporal substantive, noun, or substitute), P = preposition (Pn = preposition ne, PP = prepositional phrase), QV = quotative verb, S = subject (Si = interrogative subject, Sn = noun subject, Sp = pronoun subject, Snd = Sn with dependent clause attribute, Spd = Sp with dependent clause attribute), SC = secondary clause, V = verb, VP = verb phrase, with or without subject.

422.1. Expansions of the subject. An expanded subject has the function of emphasis and can often be translated 'it . . . who/which . . . , or 'as for . . .' It can also conveniently be compared to the use of 'c'est . . . qui . . . ' in French. The various types of complex sentences with expanded subjects are represented by the following formulae: S.Ca.V; S.C.(SP).V; S.C.AV.(Sp).V; S.Ca.V; SC.Ca.QV.

(a) S.Ca.V.
Sn.Ca.V: *dila₂ a né₂ kë f* '(the) lionj went on₂'
Snd.Ca.V: *makunzi₁ ne çà₂ zan-rëi₁ a né₂ wëndé 'did₁ (the) chiefj who wa₂ in the village₂ go?'
Sp.Ca.V (uncommon): *më₁ à ñmoná gom zëkaal* 'mc, I kept on looking at him' (= 'mc and remained and-I look-at-him!')

(b) S.C.(SP).V.
Sn.Ca.Sp.V: *ō gôğıře² in₁ dila₂, a wa₁ yáá yar³* 'Lizard with₁ (the) Lion², they_ar were hunting,4'
Sp.Ca.Sp.V: *wa₁ a wa₁ të₂ më gô³* '(here) they₁ come₂ over here₃,'
Spc.Ca.Sp.V: *wa₁ nde wa ñmgbän ñmgbàni₁₂, a wa₁ yëg² kó wa më ray³, 'they₁ who take off₁ (the circumcision clout), they₂ eat₂ anything₃ (they want)'
Sn.H.Sp.V: *ō sa²de₂, wá₂ giô₃ dë₄* '(the) animals, they₂ prepared beer₃ (from a fable)
Spc.H.Sp.V: *wa₁ nde wa yá né *doo-bûki₁₂, wa₁ dë₃* 'they₁ who stand leeward₂, they₁ burn₃ (the grass)'
(c) S.C.A.V.(Sp).V. Although the subject of the dependent clause following the auxiliary verb is not properly under discussion here, there is in fact a correlation between the subjunctival element which precedes the main verb and that which occurs with the dependent clause. (The real subject is of course always the same, but it has already been pointed out in 421.124 that whereas a nominal subject can only precede the auxiliary, the pronominal form generally occurs in the dependent clause.) In the following I have supplied some patterns (marked by asterisk) which I am rather certain occur although they do not occur in the corpus:

Sn.H.AV.Sp.V: ó yrí kófi sóna, bô wa hó lekóolá 'all your buddies,

when they get out of school,'

Sp.H.AV.Sp.V: wifo, néf'gun, rô 'you, you'll (be the one to) bury,

us'

*Sn.Ca.AV.V: dila, a né, gbe, g 'the lion, will kill, him'

*Sp.Ca.AV.Sp.V: éré, a bé, ré, neâ, 'we, if, we, should go,'

(d) Si.Ca.V. The Si is either the interrogative substitute o 'who?' or a noun phrase consisting of a noun + ge 'what?'. It is my impression that if the latter occurs, and if the noun is an animate being, then an Sp can, although rarely, occur following the C. This type of interrogative sentence (with the subject as the focus of the question), if not exclusive, is certainly predominant. I am not certain of any equivalent simple SV type of sentence. Examples are:

o, a né, dmy, kóf-foró, o, ndé 'who is going to stay by (the) elephant?'

zu-wa ré ge a wa góm te ge ndé 'how many are there who are chopping wood?' (= 'head of them how many and they chop wood what?')

(e) SC.Ca.QV. This is a unique utterance, the SC representing a secondary clause used in direct address. Ordinarily, if the QV has a grammatical subject at all, it is joined to it paratactically (for which see 353). For example:

foo, kóf, ná ndé, a ye ge, 'he said,' "my in-laws, (they) say,"'

422.2. Expansions of the verb phrase. Substantives or adverbs which normally occur in the verb phrase are preposed to it, and are joined paratactically—but marked by pause—or by certain connectives. Unlike the discussion of expansion of the subject, it is here convenient to assume a basic S.V construction so as to more easily describe the various types of expansions. (In this discussion, it is immaterial whether or not there is a grammatical subject, and the clause is represented in the formulae by VP.) Those types are the following: (1) object expansions, (2) temporal expansions, and (3) locative expansions. Subtypes, where they occur, are discussed in the following paragraphs.

422.21. Object expansions. The term "object" is here being used to cover those substantives which occur as (1) "direct objects" of the verb, as (2) complements of propositions, or as (3) attributes of other substantives. The symbol N shall represent nouns except when followed by a lower case letter. The various types of object expansions are represented by the following formulae:

422.211. \( \textbf{VP.N} > \textbf{N.C.VP.(Np).} \) The \( N \) is a direct object complement of the verb. The \( C \) is either pause, \{a\}, or \( sô \) \( kô \). If the \( N \) is an animate being, the expanded form may have \( Np \).\(^7\) For example:

\[ \begin{align*}
gpî, & \ wâ, \ gbâ, \ \{q\} \ "it's \ the \ leopard, \ which \ they, \ killed, " \\
dpô-zee \ mbé, & \ órî \ giô \ "(they \ said), \ "we \ have \ prepared \ beer \ with \ which \ to \ hear \ something \ new"! (= \ "beer \ hear \ new \ word \ we \ prepared") \\
emte, & \ wen, \ son, \ \{a\}, \ \{sô \} \ \{kô \} \ \{ti\} \ "(they \ said), \ our \ friends, \ are \ telling, \ just, \ old \ stories, !" \\
\end{align*} \]

422.212. \( \textbf{VP.Ni} > \textbf{Ni.C.VP.} \) This perhaps could have been included in the preceding. The \( Ni \) is the interrogative substitute \( ge \) 'what?' or a noun phrase with \( ge \) as its complement. The \( C \) is either \{a\} or \( sô \) \( kô \). Although the basic form does occur, it is the expanded form which is by far more common. For example:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{wen} \ \text{kô} \ \text{ge}, & \ \text{a} \ \text{mbunzû} \ \text{ni} \ \text{me} \ \text{nôo} \ \text{gôo}, \ \text{gbê} \ \text{torô} \ \text{kô} \ \text{wen} \ \text{ge} \ \text{ndê} \ "why \ is \ it, \ that \ you, \ white \ man, \ who \ are \ going, \ therc, \ kill, \ my, \ dog, ?!" \\
\text{ge} \ \{a\} \ \{rô \} \ \{de\} \ \{nôo\} \ \{sa\} \ \{de\} \ \{ge\} \ \{ti\} \ "(he \ said), \ "what? \ should \ we, \ do, \ with, \ the, \ meat, ?!" \\
\end{align*} \]

422.213. \( \textbf{VP.N}^1 \cdot \textbf{N}^2 > \textbf{N}^2.\text{Ca.\textbf{VP.N}}^1.\text{a.} \) The construction \( N^1 \cdot N^2 \) consists of two nouns with the cooccurring relational morpheme (for which see 212.2). In the expanded construction, the second, that is, attributive, noun occurs in preposed position whereas the first noun is in the VP. This first noun also occurs with the determinant suffix \{-a\}. The formula is applicable to what data I have, but it is obvious that there are semantic restrictions. Examples are:

\[ \begin{align*}
zôna, & \ \text{kô} \ \text{wa}, \ \text{nôo} \ \text{gôo}, \ \text{a} \ \text{ndô} \ \text{rô}, \ \text{te}, \ \text{kôfà} \ \{ti\} \ "(they \ said), \ "This, \ here, \ adolescent \ girl, \ of, theirs, \ we \ are \ going, \ to, \ come, \ to, \ work, \ for, her, !"! \\
?bàyì, \ \text{yo} \ \text{kpém} \ \text{f}, \ \{kô\} \ \{ti\} \ \{kô\} \ \{dpôâa\} \ \{ti\} \ "(he \ said), \ "It's \ just, \ (the) \ pelt, \ that \ I, \ want, !"! \\
\end{align*} \]

422.214. \( \textbf{VP.Pn.N} > \textbf{N.C.VP.Pn.} \) Except that the \( N \) is the complement of the preposition \( né \), this construction closely resembles that of 422.211 above. Here also the preposition may be followed by a pronoun if the noun is an animate being, but it is entirely optional. The \( C \) is either pause, \{a\}, or \{go\}. It is very likely that \( só \) \( kô \) can also occur. Examples are:

\[ \begin{align*}
& \{t\} \ \nôo, \ \text{nêm} \ \{a\} \ \text{nê}, \ "this, \ here, \ I, \ am, \ going, \ to, \ return, \ with, (it), !"! \\
& \text{mbé}, \ \{t\} \ \{l\} \ \{a\} \ \text{nêm}, \ \text{de}, \ \text{nê}, \ "it's, \ a, \ new, \ canoe, \ that, \ I, \ am, \ going, \ to, \ make, \ with, (it), !"! \\
& \text{yôa}, \ \{go\} \ \{ro\} \ \{peâ\} \ \{nê\} \ \{ti\} \ \{de\} \ "(they \ said), \ "It's, \ the, \ pelt, \ we, \ are, \ returning, \ with, !"! \\
\end{align*} \]

422.215. \( \textbf{VP.P.N} > \textbf{N.C.P.Ns.} \) The preposition is any one but \( né \). The \( C \) is either pause or \{a\}. If the \( N \) is an animate being, the \( Ns \) is a personal pronoun; if not, it is one of the other substitutes. The latter sentences are, as a matter of fact, uncommon. Examples are:

\[ \begin{align*}
& \{o\} \ \text{sÔkàl}, \ \text{ne} \ \{a\} \ \text{me}, \ \text{a} \ \text{nêm}, \ \{l\} \ \{t\} \ \{wê\} \ \{nê\} \ \{wa\} \ "the, \ elders, \ who, \ live, \ there, \ I, \ am, \ going, \ to, \ talk, \ with, \ them, !"! \\
\end{align*} \]
rêi am kurb há sêf ‘it's from the village that I departed’ (= ‘the village I departed from there')

422.22. Temporal expansions. The word temporal is here being used for any word or phrase the meaning of which is time or sequence. These are nouns or substitutes (symbolized by Nt) or adverbs (symbolized by A). The Nt expansions are by far the commonest, A being in fact represented by only one adverb.

The words occurring most often are the following: kúkutf 'first,' sóo 'today,' oróai 'later,' kîne 'now,' wesé 'day, today,' ture 'morning,' mbôro 'evening,' kôraai 'later,' zôô 'yesterday,' bere 'dry season,' ñmân 'all the time.'

The C is either pause, {a}, sê te, só kô, or ne. The complex sentences with temporal expansions are represented by the following formulas: VP.Nt > Nt.C.VP, VP.A > A.Cn.VP. It should be noted that the use of different connectives is especially significant here since they have lexical meaning as well as grammatical function. For example:

kñêe nôô wa, zôô môôk, mbôfô kô me, 'now look at, your book,'
bere nôô wa, há ñginza, 'they gave money in the dry season,'
bere sôôkô wâ há ñginza, '(in the past) they gave money in the dry season'
zêe-ture, nôô wa, zôôkô, mbôfô wô, nôô 'now, the baggage is finished, it going to get the baggage?'

422.23. Locative expansions. These are nouns or noun phrases meaning place. They are represented by the symbol Nl. The complex sentences with locative expansions are represented by the formula VP.Nl > Nl.C.VP. The C is either pause or the connective (a). For example:

te-kp, têfô wô, nôô, 'in the eyes of, black people, a woman, who is very good,'

422.3. Introductory constructions. These differ from the preceding two in that the introductory constructions can not be incorporated in the S or VP of a basic sentence. They are of three types: modal, explanatory, and instrumental.

422.31. Modal constructions. These consist of the adverb gôy ‘like this, in this manner' or the phrase mo gôy (= 'thing like-this') with the same meaning. In these complex sentences, however, their meaning is something like 'this being the case, the preceding having happened,' etc., for they serve to mark the connection between sentences in connected discourse in very much
the same way that words like "however" and "therefore" do in English. The
name modal is derived from the lexical meaning of the adverb gôy and is
used instead of "sequence" to distinguish it from the sequence words included
in the discussion of temporal expansions. Complex sentences with introd-
cutory modal constructions (M) are represented by the formula M.C.VP where
the C is either pause {a}, ne, só kô, {go}, or se le. For example:
mo gôy, ere, ân{g} zapá, wenâà, gôy gôy, 'so we asked God about it
for a long time,'
mo gôy nem, bâ, velô, kôm, 'so I took my bike,'
mo gôy só kâ {a}, tê, 'therefore he said,'
mo gôy a ye go 'therefore (he) says.'

422.32. Explanatory constructions. These are either nouns (or noun
phrases) or prepositional phrases with the prepositions kô 'of,' or né 'with.'
Such complex sentences are represented by the formulae N.C.VP and
PP.C.VP. In the first, C is either the connective {a} or ne. In the second,
C is pause. Where N is the noun mo 'thing,' the meaning is 'that's why the
following happens'; where the N is either mo 'thing,' gê 'this,' or some other
noun, the meaning is 'since this happens, the following results.' The preposi-
tional phrase means 'as for the subject of the sentence,' and its function is
to emphasize the subject. Examples are:
mo ne orô, tê, hô wa, gô, wi-rê, bô, zee, 'they said,' Since we,
have told them, if someone should hear (that) . . . .'
gê ne ô torô, dûnô, bô, ne, yônô, nô, lô, wa, há sêmô nô, 'since
the dogs continue to seize, and eat (it) and he does not chase, them, from there,'
mo 'ô saakara, ñ, sa'a-wâm, wenâai, 'that's why there are islands
in (the) Wâam (river),'
ne, kôm, am, tê, 'and, as for me, I say,'
ne *dog-wâam, yîn, yin, afô, ghe, gô, 'it is because of fortitude that
you killed it,'
ne *dog-wâam, nôô, a kô, kôm, sa'a, yîn, 'it is because of this that
my wife exposed, his name.'

423. Compound sentences. These consist of various combinations of
sentence types: Principal + Principal, Principal + Nonprincipal, Nonprinci-
pal + Principal, and Nonprincipal + nonprincipal. These are discussed in the
following paragraphs.

423.1. Principal + Principal. These consist of unrestricted combinations
of major and minor clauses joined by connectives or by parataxis. The use
of connectives has already been illustrated in 330. Of a different type are
those compound sentences whose meaning is seriative or additive, the com-
bination being effected as often by parataxis as by a connective (which is
more frequently go than ne). In one type of such compound sentences, the
first verb is a motion verb which often adds little more to the meaning of
the sentence than does the verb 'go' in the English sentence 'Why did you go
and hit him?" In the other type of compound sentence, the first verb is not
a motion verb and the second verb either marks a closely related and subsequent event to the first or in some way qualifies the first.

When the first clause consists of a verb and an objective complement, the second clause indicates what is done with the object. The verbs most often used in the second clause to qualify the first are rpk 'to be good,' gan 'to surpass,' dok 'to be many,' rem 'to be able, equal,' ypr 'to be far.' Perhaps the verb bo 'to not be,' which occurs in a negated clause bó ná 'it is not' following a future clause with ne should be included in this list. Its use is emphatic, for a simple negative sentence is possible.

Since there is no apparent structural significance either in the omission of the grammatical subject (other than what has been noted in 421.12) or in the inclusion or exclusion of the connective (as illustrated by neá ge re 5 zg and neá re 5 zg 'we went and slept in the bush'), no distinction is made in the citation of the examples below except for these following comments: (1) where the subject occurs twice, they are always pronouns, and (2) where the subject occurs with the second and not with the first verb, the first verb, if not a motion verb, is joined by a connective.

423.11. Motion verbs:

g, r2 yâk, r re âk k5 'so, we walked around, (and) went on, like this,'
go, me yâk me s5 'so, run (and) go back,'
mise tâk àkâm 'Monsieur comes, (and) asks mc,'
gb yr neâ, go âk, dila 'the Lizard went, and, asked, (the) Lion,'
go, me yâk me s5 'then, goes, he, stands there,'
ne monâ yâk 'and I kept on running' (= 'remained and I run')
mise neâ, gô, neâ ndôô, dila 'Monsieur went, and (he) went (and) shot, (the) lion,'
kpa dé mc ná tê kô â, gô, me, 'Kpa-dé-mo, (and) he, came, and (he) called after us,'

423.12. Nonmotion verbs:
go, wa kâk, wa sî nê 'so, they take, them (and) they return with them,'
wa kâk wa âk, nu 'they take them (and) put, (them on the) ground,'
tod, go re yôô, kô-zag-rî, 'cutting across, (the field) we stood, (on the) bank of (the) stream,'
go, bô, sî nê 'and, (she) takes, her (and) returns with her,'
na a dé mc rpk 'and she does things well' (= 'does thing is-good very')
êma mc gan 5 ngay gan nzapâ ná 'nothing surpasses God' (= 'nothing is strong surpasses God')
ê dé go rém 'he does (it) as he is supposed to' (= 'he does and it-is-equal')
gan ném pô nu bó ná 'I won't throw it down' (= 'negative go-I throw ground is not')
te wayâ dôk '(the) tree bore a lot of fruit' (= 'tree bore is-much')
423.2. Principal + Nonprincipal. These consist of major clauses that precede one of the following types of nonprincipal clauses: quotative clause (consisting of the quotative verb, with or without a grammatical subject, and its dependent clause), a noun in direct address, a clause consisting of the copula and its complement, an interrogative clause, or the stative ge. For example:

nem, tô2 mbı3 ye, gbɛ2, nɛm4 nɛa5 'and I said, "All right, I'll go."

am1 mbɛ2, sORam3, 'I greet you, Uncle."

yɛ1ac2 ti3 ne bɛ-wɛcy4 'one1 died2 before3, (it was) a boy4'

rɔk tɛɛm nɛ saa ná 'I like it very much' (= 'is-good my-body no joke')
wá gbɔ ɛɛ mbɛtɛ 'they really arrived' (= 'they arrived truth')
me gbɛ toror kóm wɛn'ge ndɛ. 'Why do you kill my dog?' (= 'you kill my dog what affair?')
am dɛ kpɛm kpɛ-sera fn mɛ ná ré ge ndɛ. 'What do you mean, I'm not friendly with you!'

dila1 baɛ2 g3 gi. '(The) lion, go, him3.'

nde rɛ, kʊdɛ2 hə3 sɛn-fara4 səɛ?dɛ3 mɛtɛ4 gi. 'So we1 departed2 from3 the place4 of the animal5 there6.'

423.3. Nonprincipal + Principal. These consist of interjections, exclamations, or substantives in direct address followed by principal clauses. They are usually joined by parataxis, but there are examples with the connectives ne and go, such as:

ôô? dila2 kayɛ wa4 'Oh, (the) lion, got2 them3.'

555 ne kɛɛy dɛm 'Oh, and I was afraid'

wan to, mɛ2 tɛ2 'Wan-to, you, come2.'

mise ndɛ ne mɛ tɛ 'say Monsieur, come1'

yɛam3, goi2 tô3 gɔy4 wɛndɛ. 'Father1, so you2 are talking, like this4?'

423.4. Nonprincipal + Nonprincipal. These consist of interjections followed by a substantive in direct address or of substantives in direct address followed by a noun (in which case the nonprincipal clause means 'it is . . .'). For example:

fi mɪse 'yes, Monsieur'

mɛ ná mɛ dila '(he said to me), hey, it's a lion' (= 'me and lion')

430. Combining processes. The different syntactic elements previously described are combined by the use of connectives and by parataxis. Since connectives have been treated at great length (330), only parataxis is now discussed. Either the same or different elements are joined by parataxis, and its function varies accordingly.

431. Same elements, either substantives, adverbs, verb phrases, or clauses, are repeated two or more times and joined paratactically with the following meanings: emphasis or intensity, duration or continuation, distribution, and addition of information.

(a) Emphasis or intensity:

555 mɪse, nɛ1 gɛk2 stɛ, mɪse nɛ gɛk stɛ. 'Oh, Monsieur, go, slowly2, Monsieur go slowly.'
ri, 2 dôka, dôka 'there is, very much, water;'

sôrâm bana bôy '(paternal) uncle Bana-bôy'

gbô, ri, tîya '(we) arrived, at Tiya Creek;'

6 dila, wa, té 'the lions, they, came, here;'

eî, nô, aîne, gbô 'he, put, bustles, lûgmgbé or kârâ or gbogbol (ones)'

432. Different elements (but either parallel substantive expressions or clauses) are joined paratactically with several functions.

432.1. Substantives are joined paratactically for apposition or explanation.

For example:

mê, wf-rê, ne bô, mé, kp ?don, ki, di, mo, 'you, person, who, want to, hunt, something;'

sôrâm bana bôy '(paternal) uncle Bana-bôy'

wf-rê, wf-gida, kô, wai, ye, ge 'the people, (that is) their, enemies, said'
432.2. Clauses are joined paratactically to indicate explanation, qualification, or succession of events; other functions of this device may exist, but these are the most common. On the other hand, not all instances of such parataxis may have demonstrable functions of these kinds, for parataxis is a very common device in the language, especially in narratives, where the omission of connectives may simply be a device for speeding up (or giving the impression of speeding up) the narration. Evidence for this hypothesis is the fact that it was not possible to detect any meaningful contrast between many clauses joined by some connective (especially ne and go) and those that were not. Two features characteristic of such clauses are that the first one very often contains a verb of motion and that either one or both clauses may have no formal subject. The following paragraphs illustrate the most common uses of parataxis with clauses.

(a) Qualification:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gam } & \text{ guram }_1 \ \text{ de } \ ^1 \text{ ñ } \text{ ma }_3 \ \text{ ne } \text{ sa } & \text{ së } \text{ de }_2 \ \text{ zë } \text{ t } \text{ gan } \text{ r } \text{ tm } \ \text{n } \text{ â }_8 \ \text{'(the) whirlwind, did }_2 \ \text{ things, to (thc) animals yesterday, in a terrible way, ' ( = 'not able!')}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
_9 \ \text{ hû } \text{ ri } & \text{ hû } \text{ wa } \text{ dû } \text{ n } \text{ â} \ \text{'he didn't give them much water' ( = 'he gives water to them much not!')}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bô } & \text{ w }\text{ dé }_2 \ \text{ y }\text{ a }_3 \ \text{ ñ }\text{ garagé } \text{ r } \text{ tm } _4 \ \text{'after they've danced, the ñgaragé (dance) sufficiently!', 'danced is equal!' }
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gma } & \text{ mo } \text{ gan } \text{ ñ } \text{ ñ }\text{ gay } \text{ g }\text{ an } \text{ nz }\text{ ph } \text{n } \text{ â } \ \text{'there's nothing stronger than God' ( = 'same thing negative is strong surpasses God not!')}
\end{align*}
\]

(b) Succession of events:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{go } & \text{ n }\text{ â }_2 \ \text{ go } \text{ n }\text{ ê }_3 \ \text{ r }\text{ k }_4 \ \text{ g }\text{ s }\text{ â }_5 \ \text{ k }\text{ r }\text{ ci }_6 \ \text{'and (he) went, and (he) went (and)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hit }_4 \ \text{ the big, beer-pot,'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bô } & \text{ nr }_1 \ \text{ y }\text{ oo }_3 \ \text{ m }\text{ r }_4 \ \text{'when (he) went (and) stood, there,'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wen }_1 \text{'ba }_2 \ \text{ m }\text{ a }_3 \ \text{ y }\text{ ë } \text{ â }_4 \ \text{'to, take (the) thing, (and) eat (it)!'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
k\text{e }\text{ ey }_7 \ \text{ t }\text{ k }_2 \ \text{ d }\text{ é }\text{ m }_3 \ \text{'fear, came, (and) overcame me!'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
k\text{ô }\text{ ë }\text{ y }\text{ â }_1 \ \text{k }\text{ ë } \text{ z }\text{ ë }_2 \ \text{'Kô-ë-y ran (and) departed,'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
m\text{ise }_6 \ \text{'k }\text{ k }\text{ â }_1 \ \text{'Monsieur came, (and) asked mc,'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
tw & \text{'i }\text{ s }\text{ ë }_1 \ \text{ f }\text{ k }_5 \ \text{ l }\text{ å }\text{ g }\text{ f }_1 \ \text{ n }\text{ â }_8 \ \text{'so that (the) water would not flow (and) pass out of sight,'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
b\text{a } & \text{ g }\text{ te }_2 \ \text{ su }\text{ n }\text{ j }_1 \ \text{k }\text{ d }_2 \ \text{ ë }_4 \ \text{ m }\text{ u }_6 \ \text{'took a basket of his, sesame, (seed and)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{placed, (it on the) ground,'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
l\text{ok }_2 \ \text{ r }\text{ â }_2 \ \text{ y }\text{ m }\text{ ë }_2 \ \text{ ñ }\text{ m }\text{ y }_2 \ \text{ ñ }\text{ m }_4 \ \text{'(she said, "they) hit, me all the time, (and) keep on with it,"}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
w\text{an to } \text{ ñ }\text{ f }\text{ j }_1 \ \text{ mb }\text{ n }_2 \ \text{ pf }_3 \ \text{ nu }_4 \ \text{ ñ }\text{ b }_5 \ \text{'Wan-to broke off, another, (piece and) threw, (it on the) ground also,'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dun }_4 \ \text{ wa } \ \text{ d }\text{ c } \ \text{ e }_2 \ \text{ sa }_2 \ \text{ we }_3 \ \text{ y }\text{ â }_4 \ \text{'(they) keep on, playing, (and) they run around,'}
\end{align*}
\]
In the case of personal names it is possible that some of these constructions do not illustrate subordinate attributive constructions but, in an aphoristic manner, represent more complete utterances. However, I have only one example to justify this hypothesis: gaza ggay 'circumcision strength.' Its meaning was explained with the phrase né gaza né ege 'go circumcision with difficulty (that is, have a very severe initiation).'

Notes to Chapter Four

1 The occurrence of the interrogative substitute ge before a noun is taken to be a repetition of the morpheme in its usual position, that is, following the noun: nèm ze ge ze ge gô. 'When (= what month what) shall I see you?' ge wà-ge à tê-ge gô. 'Who (= what person what) came?' In only one instance does ge precede a noun which is not followed by ge, that is, ge zô (< gà ge gô), an impolite retort which questions the truthfulness of what has been said.

2 The words zôn and te, whose meanings are very often 'at' or 'to,' are not considered prepositions, even though they never occur in isolation or with the freedom of other substantives, because they function as heads of enocentric constructions and take the relational morpheme which prepositions never do.

3 This use is to be distinguished from that as predicate complement and from the use of numeral substitutes as attributes in noun phrases. Yet there are some ambiguous cases. After the verb 'to die' the numeral is probably a predicate complement: 6 duwa, kà pà fô, feâ (or, 6 duwa kà pà feâ fô) 'his two goats died.'

4 In phrases containing a direct object and a numeral separated by other elements, the numeral may be analyzed as being either an attribute to the direct-object substantive (that is, in immediate constituency with it) or coordinate with it:

ko-bô ó nè bô-ô nà nà kà pà kà kpém 'as for me, I killed one buffalo yesterday' (= 'killed a buffalo with a gun yesterday one')

5 The reason for considering gàa a substantive and not an adverb is that it occurs with the adjective nà 'this' and the adverbs never do.

6 This construction, although resembling simple repetition (for which see 432.11) appears to be different, because low-tone (that is, non-predicative) verbs also occur in the speech of some people, and perhaps exclusively in some areas, such as at Bowe. For example, pj pjf 'throw (it).'
he (Gbagbasp) went, and went and drank up. And when he was returning,
Want-to got down, and circled around, and returned to the place (of the water)
in order to go (and) break the pot of water (and) spill (it).'

These two sentences are symbolized in the following way, with the material in parentheses being what is included in the verb phrase: SV, CV(CSV CVSV). CV(SV), CSV, CV, CV(CVVV).

9 Complete repetition of the N occurs in only one sentence:
\[
\text{sa}^{*} \text{de}^5 \text{bo}^{*} \text{ko}^5 \text{go}, \text{o} \text{be} \text{nàm} \text{wéey}, \text{a} \text{gâm}, \text{sa}^{*} \text{de}^5 \text{bo}^{*} \text{ko}^5 \text{dila}^4 \text{as for his meat}, \text{the (lion) cub}'s took, the lion's meat.'
\]

10 Consideration was given to describing some constructions consisting of V plus VP as coordinate multiple heads of verb phrases. For constructions such as bâ té né 'bring it' (= 'seize come with it') this might have been possible, for the subject, implicit or explicit, is the same. There are, however, many instances of paratactically combined clauses where the subjects are not the same. Thus: \( rêm \text{tp} \text{wen} \text{sèk} \text{'he can talk correctly'} (= 'he is-able speak word is-clean,' where sèk 'to be clean' is a predication which is parallel to rêm 'to be able' but has its own but not formal subject); \( éré \text{ó} \text{doo-zj} \text{kê} \text{yfé} \text{'we stayed in the bush for a long time'} \text{(where the subject of ó 'were' is éré 'we,' and the subject of yfé 'is long' is kê 'back')} \). There is therefore no structural justification for describing anything as "compound verbs."
CHAPTER FIVE
SAMPLE TEXT AND ANALYSIS

This brief text was given by the informant in answer to questions about marriage among the Gbeya people. It immediately followed my question as to whether a young man could sleep with the girl for whom he was working, and was recorded electronically on tape. It is typical of an unemotional narrative; a narrative with a great deal of action would be freely punctuated by adverbs of which only two occur here (such as [10] and [16]).

GBEYA TEXT


FREE TRANSLATION

[1] While he is doing the bride-work, he can not sleep with the girl for whom he is doing the bride-work. [2] But should he sleep with the girl in
the house of his (future) in-laws there, and should the girl become pregnant
right in the house of his in-laws, his in-laws say, "Oh, he made fools of us.
[3] He was doing the bride-work for his wife so that when he had finished the
bride-work, we would have taken his wife to him and then he would have slept
with her. [4] But has he slept with his wife right in our house so that she has
become pregnant in our absence, so that our feelings are hurt?" [5] So when
the relatives of the girl's father hear this, they arise, and they go, and they
go and lock the door of the goat-pen of the boy's father. [6] Then they take
all the boy's father's goats from the pen, and they take them back (to the boy's
father). [7] If they don't choose to take them, and should they see the old
mother goat, they cut her throat right in the pen. [8] So they take her (the
girl), and they return (home) with (her), because he went and slept with the
girl for whom he was doing bride-work at their village there right in the vil-
lage of his in-laws so that she became pregnant. [9] This is something that
the in-laws would get upset about. [10] So they do thusly among Africans.
[11] And some (boys) who don't listen to instructions, while doing bride-work
they sleep with the girl at the village of their in-laws there. [12] But those
who are obedient children and listen to the commandments of their fathers
don't sleep with the girl right in the house of their in-laws there. [13] And
if they (the boys) should do bride-work and then give it up and sleep with
some other girl, their fathers would collect from the girl for whom they had
given money and for whom they had done bride-work, and they would go and
pay for it (the fornication). [14] And they don't leave the money for the (first)
girl for themselves. [15] Even those Africans who don't know the Gospel
don't want their son-in-law to sleep with their daughter in their house in
their absence. [16] So they do the bride-work for a long time. [17] Then
when they (the boys) take them (the girls) to their village, then they sleep
with the girls.

ANALYSIS

[1] te-wesé-kofe nja a dìì ('body of day of in-law and he does pc.'), nza gan
jà rém ɔ fn kòòi ('and neg. he can sleep with woman pc.'), nja a dìì kòóò lə ná
('and he does in-law pc. not').
te, preposition-like noun, 340, fn. 16.
te-wesé-kofe, NP of time in complex sentence, 414.15; NP with rela-
tional morpheme {-} morphophonemically written, 212.2.
kofe nja, NP < N + dep. clause attribute, 332.32; 411.28.
ŋa ŋa = < nə ʒ, 132.2.
kofe, obj. of dìì, 411.26; de kofe 'to do bride-work,' that is, render
services to the girl's parents or her paternal uncles in partial pay-
ment of the bride-price; nə kofe 'to go in-law' refers in general to
all transactions for acquiring a wife, see [11].
dìì < dìì high tone imperf. verb 'do' + -i pc. which ties the phrase to-
gether, 220, 393.12.
kòó 'woman, wife'; in anticipation of the marriage union a "fiancée" is
called kòó 'wife.'
'sleep,' low tone imperf. V in dep. clause attribute to V, 393.112.

gan . . . ná, neg. adv., 371.

koféa < kofe + det. suf. {-a}, 213.1.

g 'he,' notice the change from sg. subj. (sentences [1-10]) to pl. (sentences [11-17]).

[2] ne bá á o fn kóoi sen-te-tuwa kó foo ká á me (‘and when he sleeps with
woman pc. at body of house of in-law of him there’), go kóoi bó ba zaŋ ?mén

[k] tuwa kó foo ká ai (‘then woman pc. when seizes foetus remains house of in-law
of him pc.’), ne ó foo ká á gende gá ye ge (‘and pl. adj. in-law of him say’),

ó, § de à ró ná boo (‘Oh, he did us with foolishness’).

bá, AV freely translated ‘when,’ 394.31; bá < bó, 132.2.

§ 'sleep,' high tone in clause following AV, 382.112.

ó 'sleep,' low tone imperf. following AV, 393.112; ó in this context has

sexual connotations.

go, conn., 332.2.

ba zaŋ ?mén, paratactically joined compound clause, 423.12; ba zaŋ 'to

become pregnant.'

tuwa '(in the) house,' noun in VP used locatively, 414.143.

ó foo 'in-laws,' adj. + N, 361.1; foo here probably refers to the parents

of the girl, and ó foo to both the parents and the father's clan, but in

[9] the omission of ó does not limit the reference to the parents, for

implicit plurality is not always marked; ká < kó, 132.2.

gende gá ye ge, QV with NP subj., 353.

dé < d 'to do' + perf. suf. + {á}, 211.2; but notice preference for his-

torical present, not only in this text but generally in narratives; on

lowering of tone of dé, 131.2.

ró, pl. explicit pron. in quotations, 382.12.

né, prep., 345.

[3] á dé kofe wen kó kó ká á (‘he does in-law word of woman of him’), te

sá (‘so that was’), ne bá á de kofe són (‘and when he does in-law all’), ndo ro

sí ne kó ká á bá á (‘and we return with woman of him to him’), sé te á ó ñaa

(‘so that he sleeps with hcr’).

wen kó, purposive, 414.17.

kó, allomorph of kóo 'woman,' 132.3c.

te sa, connecting VP with little lexical meaning, equivalent here to te

bó, 332.8.

són 'all,' probably adverbial.

ndo < ne 'and,' 131.1, 132.2.

há < há, 132.2.

tá < te, 132.2; só te, conn., 332.6.

ñaa 'with hcr,' < fn 'with' + 3S suf., 382.113.

[4] ngá á ó fn kó ká á ?mén tuwa kó ró (‘and he sleeps with woman of him

remains house of us’), go bá zaŋ te-bono-ró (‘then seizes foetus body of

back of us pc.’), há te-ró yúm wéndé (‘so that body our hurts question’).

ó . . . ?mén, compound clause as in [2].

há, conn., 332.3.

te-ró 'our bodies,' noun in inalienable possession, 212.2, 344; parts of
body are frequently used in expressions describing psychological states; tone of ṛb, 131.2.

wéndé, question particle, 328.

[5] go ó nam kó kóoi bò zec ṣẹy ('then pl. adj. family of woman pc. when hear thus'), ndé wa kúu ('and they arise'), go wa né ('then they go'), go né wa kpé ná- valu-dúwá kó yám kó bisai ('then go they lock mouth of hut of goat of father of adolescent boy pc.').

zec, allomorph of zer- 'to hear,' 132.1a
ṣẹy, adv., 372.11.
ndé < né 'and,' 131.1.
kúu, allomorph of kur- 'to arise,' 132.1a.
né wa kpé 'they go and lock,' compound clause with verb of motion, 423.11.

[6] go wa bá yáw duwa kó yám kó bisai ('then they take goat of father of adolescent boy pc.'), há kp- valu tóú són ('from hole of hut all all'), go wa sì né ('they they return with').

kp 'hole,' prep.-like noun, 340, fn. 16; 414.141.
duwa = ó duwa 'goats.'
 kay, pl. verb paired with ba, 394.1.
tóú 'all,' < Fr. 'tout'; Fr. loans are often paired with synonymous Gbeya words.
né, prep. without obj., 345.

[7] ndé wá e kélé-kay wa ná ('going they place heart take them not'), ndé wá zék è naa-duwa ('and going they see old mother goat pc.'), go wa gón géràa ('then they cut its neck') ?món kp- valu é ('remains hole of hut pc.').

ndé < né, AV, 394.32, 131.1.
c, sg. V paired with a, 394.1.
kélé-kay, NP with VP attribute, 411.25.
ná, on omission of gan, 371.2.
è naa-duwa 'old mother goat,' the one which bore most of the flock, therefore the prize one.

géràa 'its throat,' bound allomorph (gér - gèè) with 3S pron. suf., 132.1a, 382.113.

[8] go wa bá à ('then they take her'), go wa sì né ('then they return with'), wen kó mó ne né à sì fn kóo ('word of thing and went he sleeps with woman').

ná à dé kọ̀fà sẹn-te-ré kó wa mó ('and he does the in-law at body of village of them there'), ?món tuwa kó foo ká à ('remains house of in-laws of him')
gó báà zájì ('then he seizes foetus pc.').

wen kó mó 'because,' 414.17.
ná à sì 'he went and slept,' compound clause with verb of motion, 423.1.
kóo ná à dě, NP with dep. clause attribute, 411.26.
gó, allomorph of {go }, 332.21.

[9] sì ne mó 'is cop. thing') ne te-foo ká à né yẹm wenàà ('and body of in-law of him going hurt the word').
né, copula, 352.
mó né, NP with dep. clause attribute.
148  
SAMARIN: THE GBEYA LANGUAGE

5, subject is impersonal, 421.122.

né 'will,' AV, 394.32.

wenâa < wen 'word' + det. suf., purposive, 414.17.

[10] go wa dé gôy sôn-te-saanâ-te-ô tû wî-rê ('so do they thus at body of midst of body of pl. adj. black person of village').

wa 'they,' impersonal, identified with ô tû wî-rê, 382.1.

tû 'black,' V as adj., 361.222b.

wî 'person,' practically always in NP with '{'.

[11] go ô ñmaa ne gan zêé te-rô nà ('so pl. adj. some and neg. hear body their not'), a bó ne kafe ('and when go in-law') ne ô fn kôô te-rô nà ('and hear with woman at body of village of in-law of them pc.'),

ñmaa nà, NP with dep. clause attribute, expanded subject of bó, 422.1.

rô, pl. explicit pron. for clarity, 382.122.

a, conn., 332.1.

[12] ne ô ô ne bê-zee mbora ('and pl. adj. those and are copi: child listen law') go zêé mbora kô yâm kô rô ('and listen law of father of them'),

gan ô fn kôô ('neg. sleep with woman pc.') ñmôn tuwa kô foo kô wa mé nà ('remain house of in-law of them there not').

ô if ne, pron. phrase with compound dependent clause, 412, subj. of né, separated by pause because of length of NP, 422.1.

bê 'child,' allomorph of béem, used in NP, 132.2c.

[13] ne bó wá ñkô kafe ('and when they do in-law') sô kô wá ô râ ('then they leave off'),

go wà ô fn ñmô gérê kôô ('then they sleep with strange woman'),

gan ô fn kôô ('neg. sleep with woman pc.') ñmôn tuwa kô foo kô wa mé nà ('remain house of in-law of them there not'),

bó, AV with compound dep. clause.

rá, meaning uncertain.

ñmô, reconstructed from recorded ñmaá 'each other,' which did not make sense.

gérê, adv. as N attribute, 411.12, < gère 132.3b.

ñginza 'money,' < Sango, Gbeya word is mbay; notice absence of both pc. and det. suf. even though the reference is very specific (but compare [14]).

né pê, compound clause with В of motion, 423.11.

pê ne yff < Fr. 'payé' with pê analyzed as the V, yff as the N; the prep. ne (< né) is normal in such a В + N construction, 345. This is quite unusual, and a perfective form *pê was never recorded.

wenf = wenâa 'for it.'

[14] ne gan wa ñ ñginzai ('and neg. they leave money pc.') go ñmôn bôô-kôoi hâ wa nà ('then remains back of woman pc. for them not').

ë . . . ñmôn, compound clause closed by neg. adv.

ñmôn, subj. is not wa but ñginza 'money.'

hâ wa 'for themselves'; one expects explicit pron. rô here unless first wa refers to parents and second wa to the boys; this ambiguity of reference is typical of Gbeya narratives.
[15] go ọ ti wî-rô ('so pl. adj. black person of village'), gbâa gan wâ jîn nô-wen kô nzâpâ ná ('even if neg. they know mouth of word of God not'), nê gan wâ kô *dojâa ('and neg. they agree the back') hà wêéy kôe kô wa 5 fn bêm kô wa ('that man in-law of them sleep with child of them') te-kp'-tuwa kô wâ te-bolô-wâi ná ('body of hole of house of them body of back of them pc. not').

ọ ti wî-rô, expanded subj., 422.1.

gan . . . ná, neg. adv., 371.1.

jîn, imperf. low tone in neg. clause, 393.115.

nzâpâ 'God' < Sango.

kp *dojâa hà + VP 'to want . . . '

wêéy as attribute of N, < wêéy 'man,' 132.2b.

bolô and bonô in this text, free morpheme alternants, 133.1.

[16] go wa dê kaftâ gîy gîy ('so they do the in-law on and on').

gîy gîy 'thus thus,' repetition, 431.

[17] go bô wâ ba wa sî nê te-rô kö wa me ('then when they take them return with body of village of them there'), sê te wa 5 fn kôoi ('then they sleep with woman pc.').

ba . . . sî, compound clause, 423.12, dep. clause attribute of AV bô.

ba, one expects kaft with plural object; see [6].

kôoi, identified as plural by wa following ba even though pl. adj. 6 omitted.
INTRODUCTION

The following is a selection of twelve texts from my total collection. The omitted ones are either much less interesting in subject matter or are poor specimens of Gbeya because of their fractured syntax. All were first tape-recorded and then transcribed by myself, without the aid of an informant. Checking the recordings with an informant would certainly have been of much help in clearing up some obscure utterances, but the absence of sufficient electrical power in the field prevented any such work. The transcriptions themselves, however, were gone over with my regular informant. The translations are my entire responsibility since none of my friends spoke English.

All of the narrators were well known to me. In fact, all but Nganasêre and Boysê served as informants in one way or another during the time that I lived at "Bellevue." Sendêâmo (sen déâ mo), who gave me texts 1, 2, 3, and 12, was one of my workmen. Although he was born near Bellevue and spent most of his life around there, his idiolect shows evidence of having been influenced by the dialect of Boguila (for example, nga for nga 'some,' o for ere 'we').

My regular informant gave me texts 6, 7, and 11. Namkénâ (nam k pó ná), a Protestant catechist in his 30's gave texts 8 and 9. Another catechist, Kpadémonâ (kpa dé mó ná) gave number 10. Boysê (boy sé), who acts the father in text 1, and Nganasêre (ggana-sêre) were the oldest of all the speakers, probably in their late 40's. The child who played the part of the son in text 1, Gñam (gñ-am), is the nephew of Sendêâmo; he was in his early teens.

The texts were obtained in the following ways: For the conversations, I suggested several topics the two individuals might discuss. They made the final selection and proceeded extemporaneously until they felt that they had nothing more to say. The fables, texts 11 and 12, were obtained by my simply asking the individuals to tell any fable they wanted. The other discourses, texts 6 through 10, came after I had suggested the topics. Once the speaker began, he was not interrupted until he chose to cease. There were also no second attempts to improve the recordings. Text 6, however, is part of a series of answers to questions put to my informant about marriage. In this instance, my question was probably "Why do some wives leave their husbands and go home?"

The transcription is broken up by commas and periods to indicate the major pause points and sentence breaks. Intonational features, syntax, and meaning were used in determining the boundaries of sentences, but it must be confessed that with such extemporaneous material, it is very difficult to be sure of one's sentences. Paragraphing is introduced for convenience. The plus sign (+) is used to mark morphemic breaks within words so as to assist the
reader in making a morphological analysis. It must be remembered that the hyphen is used to indicate the presence of the relational morpheme \(ELL\), which is realized in a tone change in the word preceding the hyphen only if it is basically low and the word following it has low tone. For details, see 212.2. The grave accent continues to mark a lowered tone from the presence of a following high. When the tones very clearly deviate from the general pattern described in the grammar, they are not normalized. For example, one might find go gan am instead of the expected go gan am. The narrowing of intervals in rapid extemporaneous speech probably accounts for some of the differences, but without dictated forms of the same utterances one cannot be sure. Contrary to the convention which was adopted in the grammar proper, in these texts proper nouns and personal names are capitalized. The change is justified by the different functions of the illustrative material. Finally, the asterisk marks French words in their assimilated form only on their first appearance in a text.

The translation in English is neither literal nor a paraphrase, but a mixture of the two. The first few translations have parenthetical material which an understandable paraphrase would require, but this device was subsequently given up because of the many inconsistencies it introduced. One of the most difficult aspects of the translation was the translation of "tense." A faithful translation of the Gbeya perfective and imperfective forms of the verbs results in a very odd English translation, as is seen in text 3, where this attempt was made. The problem is that, in Gbeya narratives, the imperfective (like the "historic present") is more common than the perfective when the time of action is known. For the most part, therefore, the translation follows the understood time of the action: in these narratives the imperfective is very often translated with a simple past; the perfective, where appropriate, is translated with a present or past perfect. It was also extremely difficult to translate the ideophonic adverbs, a problem met by all those working on African languages. Part of the problem is in determining the precise meaning of these adverbs; I am not always certain that I have succeeded. Another difficulty is in trying to convey the sense in a few English words. As text 10 illustrates, I have had to resort to different kinds of solutions, sometimes even retaining the Gbeya word.
1. A Hunt Across the River

1. ëré ne+â yarï sen-te-kûû-Wâam me fn ëâ mïse. 2. ëré yââ.
3. ne+â ge re ë zë. 4. fara ëbââ, ne gan re kpâ ña (that is, ñma) saâ de kpém wen kô gbé+â nà. 5. ëré kpâ ë ndará ñe ëng wa yû. 6. ëng wa yû. 7. a ëng wa yû ñóy. 8. ne gan re kpâ ña wen-gbê kpém nà. 9. ëré ghô sen-te-kâ-gasâ kara, sen-te-kà-Yàa Bâ me. 10. go be re gan te-re wen kô pér+a+a, sô ké re kpâ ña mbe ñe ëdon-wââ, sen-te-kûû-Wâam ëye ñöo ëgô. 11. ge re gbê ë rïfto sô ké re kày ge re pêe nê. 12. sôô mo ñóy a hâ ën+â saa hé re. 13. ne, ëré sì+d geðe, ne gan re kàa ña (that is, ñmaa) wen-gbê kpém nà, ë? gan ne+a ha ën+â saa hé re kpém nà. 14. wen kô mo ne+â re ë ëdon-zë, ñó ñgay ké re sôn+â sôn. 15. ñó mo ñóy, ëre kpâ ñmaa ë jë rïfto, sô ké sër-a-re ë ké saa wenâa dôkâ.

2. Monsieur Kills Two Antelope

1. kûû ëye ñöo go be re nè+a+a, ne Kpadémonâ té kë ë sen-te-nà-ybak me gó, te+a go ëy oro-rê re gan kpâ re nà. 2. ne Kpadémonâ yû ñe bolo-re ñóy ñóy. 3. ne+a go kpâ re sen-te-nà-Wâam me. 4. sô kë ë së mo bolo-re go+a (that is, ge re) ëngbâ+aa. 5. ëre té nè tji hâ ë ge re bâ ë nè tji sô ké re ñóy go be re gbo sen-te-ñma bé-ri, ge re ëm te-re senê. 6. nè ë mïtifi. 7. ge re kûû ge re nè ñóy. 8. go be re gbo sen-te-fara+â+i me ga mbôro dë+a, sôô re ë ë dji. 9. go zu-ture, nde re kûû wen kô ne yàa re kii saâ de re ñé ñóy ñóy gan re kpâ saâ de kpém nà. 10. ge re yââ re nè ñóy gbo sen-te-kà-Yàa Bâ. 11. ëre kë Yàa Bâ ëre nè gbo On Yora (that is, on yora). 12. ëre gbo sen-te-gasâ kara. 13. ge re gâm te-re re be re kpà bolo-nàñ-ë saâ de ëng re ëmà wa nde wa làngi nde wa làngi ñe re gan re kpâ wa kpém nà. 14. ge re gâm te-re re pêe ëdon ñóy ñóy. 15. té go be re gbo sen-te-kûû-Wâam sen-te-dëye te-nà-re ké re nà ëgbô sô ké re kpâ ña mbe ñe ge re gbê wa.
1. **A Hunt Across the River**

1. We went hunting across the Wâam (river) over there with Monsieur.
2. We hiked around.
3. We went and we slept in the bush.
4. It became day, and we didn't find one single animal to kill.
5. We found buffalo and they kept on running away.
6. They kept on running away.
7. They kept on running away a long time.
8. And we didn't find one to kill.
9. We arrived beside the large mountain, beside the Yâa B§i over there.
10. So when we turned around to return, we found some reedbuck on the way, on the other side of the Wâam here closeby.
11. So we killed him two (two of them) and we picked them up and we returned with (them).
12. So in this way it gave pleasure to us.
13. And if we had returned without anything, and had not found a single one to kill, oh it would not have given us any pleasure whatsoever.
14. Because we had gone and had slept in the bush, and our strength was entirely depleted.
15. So that's how it is, we found those two, and our livers are very happy about it.

2. **Monsieur Kills Two Antelope**

1. (We) arise (from) right here and after we had gone, Kpadémoná for his part comes (from) the ferry crossing over there and, (he) came and seeks us and can not find us.
2. And Kpadémoná runs after us for a long time.
3. (He) went and finds us at the edge of the Wâam (river) over there.
4. So he calls after us and we wait for him.
5. We bring a canoe to him and we take him with the canoe so we go on like this and when we arrive at a certain small stream, we rest ourselves there.
6. At noon (this is).
7. Then we arise and we go like this.
8. And when we arrive at the sleeping place there, in other words it has already become evening, so we sleep there.
9. Then very early in the morning, we arise to go hiking (for) us (to) hunt game (and) we go on (and) arrive beside the Yâa B§i.
10. We cross the Yâa B§i (and) we arrive at the On Yora.
11. We arrive at the large mountain.
12. And we turn around (and) when we find tracks of animals we continue to track them and they go on and they go on and we don't find a single one (that is, animal).
13. Then we turn around (and) we return a long time.
14. (We) come and when we arrive at the other side of the Wâam here at the approach to our
3. A Narrow Escape from Lions

1. ere kúú zu-ture dýye nôo ñény. 2. ge re ne sen-te-kúú me wen-kii saÀde. 3. bô+ô (that is, bé ré) kû ri go+a (that is, ge re) né. 4. ere né gýy. 5. ere kif saÀde. 6. ere né gýy. 7. ere gbó sen-te-gba go. 8. gan re kpá saÀde kpém ná. 9. ere né gbó ri Tiya. 10. gan re kpá saÀde ná. 11. ere kip te-ré ge re né gýy, gbô sen-te-Nduú. 12. go bé ré kú Nduú, ne bô+m . . . , zaŋ+âm yîm, go+m hûf, ne gan am kpá ngay kô+im kpém ná. 13. ne+m né kô+bô+mise gedôk geôdék geôdék gôy ngbogó.

14. go bé ré dañ zu-kara, ne te-zu-kara me, ne Raàmgbá tô gende gá ya ge, êe mise, ere dañ zu-kara nóo st, te ș+ô ne be ré bo dî nôo+i, ne ndé ré kpa ñama saÀde. 15. ne Raàmgbá bô tô gýy, te bé ré dañ zu-kara+i, wen kó ndé ré né+a, te bé ré hô+a+a, ne ô dîla wa gbôf sen-te-kâ-te-ré+i. 16. ndô+ô (that is, ndé re) tô gende gá ya ñá. 17. ndô+ô tô gende gá ya ñá ne ô né ndarà. 18. ne Raàmgbá tô gende gá, ñi mise, ô né ndarà, ndarà, ndarà. 19. te mise bô wá langi in Raàmgbá, gende gá, gá wá ho+a sen-te-bëra+go dýye. 20. te bó+m gam te+êm, ne+m tô mbî ye, ñama a yôr+i. 21. te bó ndô+ô hii te+ôdoo, te ô mise bô langi kô ré kôp kêrê te-ôye gáa, te bó zok gende gá, å ho+a sen-te-bëra+go dýye. 22. te bó+m gam te+êm wen kô né+m ba te, gende gá, å ho+a ?bê+ê. 23. ne mise bô zik tê-fê ne ?môn ne gám tê-fê, ne ndô+aa ngombe. 24. mise bô ndô+aa, bô ndô+aa gbangala, ne koy-ýa kô a sôn dûn dê ngay rràrrà.

25. te bó+ô zee gýy, ôo këey dê+ô ré dôka. 26. nde re ñëmy ge re yô kpém kpém sôn. 27. dûn sôre kê ré á nu sôn. 28. dûn ñôy ké ré á nu sôn. 29. gan re kpá ñama mo kpém.
village here closeby then we find some reedbuck and we kill two of them. 
16. Monsieur shoots them (and) kills two. 17. Then we take (them) and we return with them. 18. And we arise and we return and when we cross the Wâam here, when we return and when we arrive here then Monsieur gives some (meat) to us and we receive (some) for (us) to return (and) eat with (our) porridge. 19. Then our livers rejoice greatly. 20. And (on the) day (that) we had returned empty-handed, oh, (that) would not have given joy to us.

3. A Narrow Escape from Lions

1. We arise (from) right here very early in the morning. 2. And we go to the other side (of the river) there to hunt animals. 3. After we cross the river we go. 4. We go on in this manner (or perhaps, kept on going). 5. We hunt for animals. 6. We go on in this manner. 7. We arrive at the lateritic plateau. 8. We don't find a single animal. 9. We go (and) arrive at Tîya Creek. 10. We don't find any animals. 11. We turn around and we go on in this manner, (and) arrive at the Nduû (river). 12. And after we cross the Nduû, my stomach hurt, and I am having diarrhea, and I don't have any strength at all. 13. And I follow Monsieur slowly like this for a long time.
14. And after we climb atop the mountain, at the top of the mountain there, Rañmgbâ says, "Hey, Monsieur, let's climb atop this mountain first, so that after we go on over there, we'll find some animals." 15. And after Rañmgbâ has spoken in this way, and after we have climbed atop the mountain, for the purpose of going on, and after we had passed on, the lions they appeared beside us. 16. And we say "Don't know." 17. And we say, "Perhaps (they) are buffalo." 18. And Rañmgbâ says, "Yeah, Monsieur, (they)'re buffalo, buffalo, buffalo." 19. So after Monsieur had gone on ahead with Rañmgbâ, in other words they (the lions) had appeared on the plateau here. 20. And after I turned, I said, "There's one standing." 21. So after we ducked down, and after Monsieur for his part went on out of sight over there like that, and after (we) looked, in other words, (they) had appeared on the plateau clearing here. 22. So after I had turned around to go grab a tree, in other words, (they) had already appeared. 23. And after Monsieur turned his body, right then he turned around, and he shoots it (the lion) with the gun. 24. When Monsieur shoots it, when he shoots it bang! the rest of its (the lion's) companions begin to roar rrrr.
25. So when we hear this, oh fear struck us terribly. 26. And we divide up and all of us flee separately. 27. All of us cast our spears on the ground. 28. All of us cast our caps on the ground. 29. We don't get a thing (meaning uncertain).
30. ne mise gám tê-ê ñbo. 31. ne wééy+aa djé tê, djé tê né ñgay, djé tê né ñgay. 32. ng a zôk kô-Ragmgbâ ne bó ne yû+ô, ng a yû wen kô ôô ng a yû wan kô bâ a gâ. 33. ne mise ?môn ne gám tê-ê ne yô+y+à yin, ng a ndôr+aa, ng a ndôr+aa. 34. ne wééy+aa hâ tê-ê qpà ng yû kô ñ.

35. bg ñ yu gîy, ne mise gám tê-ê, ne sà mò né fíra fêêê.

36. nde rë ñmày+à gê rë hût+ô te-rê sôn. 37. ne+m tê ye, tô hâ Mayde, mbî ye, êé?, Mayde, am ñô nà, a bâ mise. 38. mbî ye, dîla baâ ñ, dîla baâ ñng-à. 39. ne ?môn+à gë re yâ+i, yâ+i, yâ+i gûy. 40. ng a dôm fíra, te bô+m zee, ne+m tê, êé?, ê ?môn kps+à, a dôm fíra, go wê+rìy. 41. te bê rë hij bê rë ngé+a+a, ng a djé wa dôm fíra dôm fíra gûy. 42. ne dôm a kô+dî rë, dôm wa kô+dî rë, ñmgboñ. 43. ndô+ô té ndô+ô kpa ñ. 44. nde rë mij te-kpém fara. 45. ng a tê yô te-rê nà ne ñ gbi+a sà+dë. 46. nde rë tê+à wi, ere zey+à ne ñgombet+à wey+à+i. 47. ñ gbe+a sa+dë, kpâ+i fàne. 48. ne gan ñ mbî rë si îfê nà. 49. te bê rë ngé+a+a, ñ ndôr+à ñ gi gû ñ my+à ñ, ng a ñ gà+nâ nöo. 50. ne érê sôn, ere zôk+a+a. 51. nde rë gâ te-rê, ge rë pèê ñdog.

52. ne mise tê gende gâ yé ge, o a kô ñdog+à ne sen-te-zan+rê wen+tô há *mad+sàm wen+à ñma gba+à wey hë ñ, wen+si né ñdog wen+sa ñma ô wî-rê ô zu-ñ. 53. ne tê há *pasî+êër, wen kô ba ñgomba kô rô. 54. ñma *sà+s+a ñtâ senë, ne bâ ñma ñgomba kô wa wen+ne nê, sê té né ñtâ ne bë né bîro nöo ñn ñ. 55. ne ñ te+à ñ kû sêre.

56. ne mise bó tê gûy ne+m tê+y, wi, gâm mî am kô ñdog-tê+à wëndé. 57. ne Ragmgbâ tê gende gà+y, ñ ñ ñ ñ te+à, ñ ñ ñ ñ te+à. 58. ne+m tê mbî ye, wi, Ragmgbâ a té ñntaa. 59. ne wan kô mî bó kû sêre, gû kû+dî sêre ô zu+me ñ+à. 60. ne gan am rêm wen kô ne te-rê mî nà. 61. ne+n+m ?môn+à in mise.

62. ne Ragmgbâ gâm tê-ê wen kô tê+à, nde re ?môn+à in mise dîj. 63. ne mise tê gende gâ yé ge, mî nà ne, ge a tô rô de wen kô sa+dë+î ge.

64. ne+m tê+à, mise, ñmà mo kô kê re wen+de wen+à+a gan bó nà. 65. ne mise tê+y, mî nà ne, ?mëe ñbay yo kpém ge (< a + ñ) kô ñdog+à+a. 66. ne wî-rê te+à ô dôk wen+toy sa+dë nê. 67. ne wî-rê bó nà ge a dë ge ndé.

68. ne+m tê+y, mise, ñmà mo kô kê re wen+de wen+à+a gan bó nà. 69. ne mise tê+y, mî nà ne, ?mëe ñbay yo kpém ge (< a + ñ) kô ñdog+à+a. 66. ne wî-rê te+à ô dôk wen+toy sa+dë nê. 67. ne wî-rê bó nà ge a dë ge ndé.

70. ne+m tê+y wi, mise, am kô ñdog+à+a. 71. ne bó+îm kô ñdog+à+a gûy, ne+m zôk+a+a sen-te-zôræ+a go ne. 72. ñô+ô ne kôey te+à dë+m. 73. ne+m sà+s àk am tê+y, ñô+ô mise, ë hâ wî-rê té sê. 74. ñ ñgay wen kê rô re wen nê+à.
30. And Monsieur turns around again. 31. And the male one is coming, is coming ferociously, is coming ferociously. 32. And he looks at Ragmgbâ who is running away, and he (the lion) runs as if he is going to seize him. 33. And Monsieur remains and turns with courage, and he shoots him, and he shoots him. 34. And the male (who is shot) takes himself off without stopping and flees.

35. After he runs off in this way, Monsieur turns around, (he) calls with a whistle fééé. 36. But we had divided and had all hidden ourselves. 37. And I say, say to Mayde, I say, "Great guns, Mayde, I don't know, (but that) he got Monsieur." 38. I say, "The lion got him, the lion got him." 39. And we kept on sitting and sitting and sitting (that is, waiting). 40. And he (Monsieur) blows a whistle, and when I hear it, I say, "Hey, he's still alive, he blows a whistle, and there it sounds." 41. And after we (...) (and) after we go on, he continues to blow the whistle blow the whistle like this. 42. And he's in the process of looking for us, he's looking for us, quite a long time. 43. And we come and we find him.

44. And we gather in one place. 45. And he says, "You there, I've killed an animal." 46. And we say, "Yes, we heard the gun go off. 47. You killed an animal, indeed. 48. And it's not for us to argue about it." 49. And after we had gone, he shot it (and) knocked it down and then he gathered it, and it's here. 50. And all of us, we see it. 51. And we turn around, and we return.

52. And Monsieur says, "Who wants to go to the village to tell Madame to give some bullets to me, to bring them back (and) to call some additional people. 53. And tell Pastor, to bring his gun. 54. If there's a hunter there, (have him) take his gun, so as to fight this battle with me. 55. And I've come (and) started a fight."

56. And after Monsieur has spoken thus I say, "Yes, what about me, do I want to go?" (translation uncertain).

57. And Ragmgbâ says, "Me, I want to go, me I want to go."

58. And I say, "Yes, Ragmgbâ goes with him." 59. And when your master starts a war, in other words (he) has started a war (and) involved you in it. 60. And I can't go to the village there. 61. And I'll stay with Monsieur."

62. And Ragmgbâ turns around to go, and Monsieur and I remain there.

63. And Monsieur says, "You there, what am I going to do about the animal?"

64. And I say, "Monsieur, there's nothing we can do about it."

65. And Monsieur says, "You there, but just the skin alone is what I want. 66. And if there were many people to carry the animal then (it would be fine). 67. But there's no one so what is one to do?"

68. And I say, "Monsieur, but what are we going to do that you talk like this?"

69. And he says, "You there, do you want to be in accord with me about the animal skin?"

70. And I say, "Yes, Monsieur, I want to." 71. And after I agree in this manner, I see him on the plateau clearing there. 72. My, and fear came (and) gripped me. 73. And I think I say, "Oh Monsieur, let some people come first. 74. It's hard for us to go (that is, alone)."
SAMARIN: THE GBEYA LANGUAGE

75. ne mîcâ tê+y mi ná ne, ere kângi kp'-sera ké rê. 76. ere nê wen kó yo-sa?de+i.
77. ne+m tê+y wi, gan am kô òdop-si kôfê oro-ndà-wa ná. 78. ere nê.
79. na ù tê+y paa kô rê sê sê gen ge re nê. 80. bô+ô (that is, bê rê) ne sen-te-kera-gou tê, ô, me zôk sa?de sê sen-te-bëtë-gou en-tê-ô.
81. ne bê rê gâm+y, ñma mîcâ kó rê rê hyêsî ne rép-rê kpém gan bó ná. 82. ne mîcâ hâ wëf nôo ne ëk sen-te-ùma bê-kôfî ne sen-te-kà+a+i. 83. ne+m sàà sêk ne+m tô ye wi, ôrê te+a wan kô fê+a.
84. ne gan re té wën kô si ná. 85. ne wëey ô nê tara-ùfô, go nê ne ô ?mon òdoo-zô+i. 86. gô òbaa re ò+a òmon òdoo-zô, ne wen gan bó ná.
87. ne mîcâ kâsi kú-sa, ne+m bá paa, ne dûn+um òbôô, ne+m òbôô sa?de. 88. ne+m zôk ne ñma mo dé mo ñbekere, ne+m pî paa+i orô+a+i zôn, ne+m këf mo. 89. ne mîcâ tê+y mi ná ne, go ndê.
90. ne+m tô+y mise, oo fôy ndê re fo+a ké rê sôo ge re yà ne wî-rê òbô wëndë. 91. wi, ndê re gam te-rê, nê re kâsi sa?de wën-ôbô-rà+a, ôbô-rà+a, ôbô-rà+a. 92. ne mîcâ dûn kiff, kiff, ne+m òbôô kiff ne+m òbôô, kiff ne+m òbôô, ge re òbôô sa?de hâra sôn. 93. go bê rê ñmêy ét+a sôn, nê re zôk, ne sa?de+i wën kô ndê rê ñmêy, ñn (< ñk) ñma ñbakàta wën-bà+tô+a, wî+tôy+tô+a gan bó ná. 94. ne tan+à 5 kë ô òbô wën kô ndà+tô (that is, ndê rê) ñmêy+à, wën-pi sëfë, wî+tôy+tô+a gan bó ná. 95. wen kô am hûff kôm. 96. ngay kôm gan bó kpém ná. 97. am tô mîbî-yi wi mise, ô re+à rê. 98. ere kây ô nôo ere sf. 99. ne ô re+à rê. 100. *kâmëm gba këy-sa?de ñmon+à, go wî-rê ne dé+a yô+tô+a yin, ne té wà ne oro-rê+i wën-ne nê wà kay mó si wa yô+tô+a, ne gan ôré ñgmì kpâs+à sa?de ná.
101. ne bê rê kay yô+a+i ndê re hêf. 102. ge re hâ òdop-wàà wën-përtô. 103. sôô rê kpâ ô sôrâm Banabôy sen-te-kâ?u me bô dûn wa nê kô wà bô+bô-rê. 104. dûn wa hêf kpow. 105. ne wà tô gëndë gâ ye, ôtô, dîla kay+à wà wëndë a ìsô. 106. ne tô+ô (that is, tô rê) kpâ kpas+à ge zëe (< ze). 107. té ndô o kpâ wëndë. 108. bô wà zôk gâ ôrê ô+a (a + ô, that is, a + ere) té gôô. 109. bô wá zôk rê gëndë gâ, ôô, *mersëfî, mersëfî, mersëfî, ndê re kpâ wà.
110. te bê rê he+di dôô te-nû-Wâam na, ndê re kpâ paytër.
111. ga bô dûn ne kô rê fn Râmqmû òbo. 112. ndê re kpâ wà òbo.
113. ndê wà tô gëndë gâ ye, ôô, mersëfî dôka, wen kô mos ne Nzapà hâ-tô ngay hê rê, ge rê òbo+à, go ro zôk kpâ-rô-rê me. 114. oro hà mersëfî hà Nzapà dôka.
115. ?mon ge re à ký-sûnaa fn wa sô kô rê péê, ge re kë ri, ge re péê, ge re òbo zaar-rê+i.
116. sôn+a.
75. And Monsieur says, "You there, let's be courageous. Let's go for the animal skin."

77. And I say, "Okay, I don't want to question your word. Let's go."

79. And he says, "I have a knife so let's go." 80. When we go to the plateau clearing, horrors, you see the animal on the plateau clearing all by itself. 81. And when we turn around, there's not a single thing with which we can conceal ourselves. 82. And Monsieur takes this gun and leans it against a young kury tree which stood to the side. 83. And I think, "All right, we came to die. 84. And we don't come to return (home). 85. But man is (just) a reed-stem (quoting a proverb), and (he) goes and sleeps in the bush. 86. And even if we were right in the bush, that's all right."

87. And Monsieur grabs its leg, and takes the knife, and I begin to skin (it), and I skin the animal. 88. And I look and something makes a noise (going) 'beskere (the rumbling of a stomach), and I cast the knife right down, and I stare around. 89. And Monsieur says, "Say there, what's up?"

90. And I say, "Monsieur, (considering) the death which we have experienced today are we still human beings?" 91. All right, so we turn back, and we seize the animal for skinning, skinning, skinning. 92. And Monsieur continues to turn (it), turn (it), and I skin, turns it and I skin, turns it and I skin, and we skin the whole animal. 93. Then after we cut off the paws, we look, and... there's no porter. 94. And there's the head itself also for us to cut off, to add to (the load), (and) there's no porter. 95. Because I'm having diarrhea as far as I'm concerned. 96. I don't have any strength at all. 97. I say, "All right Monsieur, this is enough for us. Let's take this (and) let's go. 98. And this is enough for us. 100. Even if the remainder of the meat stays, and should people act with courage, they could possibly go after us to go and get it to return (and) eat it, but we won't keep the animal itself."

101. And after we take the skin we tie it up. 102. Then we take the path to return. 103. After that we meet Uncle Banaboy and those accompanying him at the other side (of the river) there (for) in other words they themselves are on their way after us. 104. They are crying. 105. And they say, "Oh, indeed the lion got them. 106. And how in the world are we going to survive! 107. Are we going to come and find them?"

108. When they look, in other words here we are coming. 109. When they see us, (they) say, "Oh, thank goodness, thank goodness, thank goodness, we find them."

110. So when we get near the bank of the Wann here, we meet the pastor. 111. In other words, he is on his way along with Ragmgbâ also. 112. And we meet them also. 113. And they say, "Oh, many thanks, because God has given you strength, so that you have arrived, and we see your faces there. 114. We give many thanks to God."

115. Right there we join up with them, and we return, and we cross the river, and we return, and we arrive in the village.

116. Finished.
4. Children Should Work in the Garden

Father: 1. kîntze nôo, ô ne fâra-de mo. 2. go wesê+a ne bô+f tpo mhëti gîy ñmygbây, go wîler bô rém+a, ne+i kû+k ô ne sen-te' bol+s+m ne. 3. go koyo bô duq ypg mo ne+i gîy mo ?doo-mô+î se ná. 4. ne+i ë há mo+i duq ypg bô+f mo a zö+i. 5. ne ypnâ ne ô kîntze ñgay gâo. 6. o a tê ha ñma hê ré weey.

Son: 7. ñô yâmë (< yâm), go+i tê bôo gâa. 8. ô te+ém. 9. go *lekool nde re dé dé nde re hë ne wesê wesê, go mbû ye ge, wesê de+a gâa, ne ?don-wââ-ne fo bô ná wá. 10. sô kô+m ñmon, go+m ñmon bô+f-zan-ré. 11. ne+i tê gâa, tô bôo gâa. 12. af+f dé ne ré ge ?bo ge.

Father: 13. bô+f kî ñdon-yaa gëre ñmam ñmam gîy, ne gan nê+f ypp kam ná.

Son: 14. ô yâmë, ge re ypp bôo-kam ná, ne tê ré fe wo. 15. ë te+î fok ré tê ygm+û ré bô ná wëndé.

Father: 16. ô yâm kô+i sâm, wô wà hë lekôol, nde wa ne bol+ê yâm kô wa. 17. ne yâm kô+i wen+de saa sen-te-rê+i. 18. ñma wi-ré ypp wâr-tâ-ré.

Son: 19. ga yâm bo+bô+f-zan-ré ná ré ge. 20. mo nde re yâmë, ge re dé saa+f, nde re zôk kë ré ré+i, ôô ré ypp wâr+tâ+a ypp+i gâ. 21. sôô ré yâmë ge re dé saa sen-te-zan-ré+i.

Father: 22. go kîntze nôo, kô kô+m bô gi kam, ne gan nê+f yar+ai ypp dé+a saa kô+i ne+i dé+i. 23. ne gan nê+m ha kam hâ+i ypp ná. 24. wen kô mo ne yar+â-de saa zaq-ré ñmam ñmam, koyo fô mborô, ën ô dawa tê. 25. go wa ypp ô kondi kô+m wëndé gan ëng wa ypp say kô+i sî-?day sâm. 26. go mo ne+m dé+a, go wesê de+a+m, go ypp+5+m+i, zaq+tâm ypp wen+âa ne saa ná. 27. go bô+i yaa rée (<rê), ne gan nê+m ha kam hâ+i ypp kô+f ná.

Son: 28. sôô gba+i do+r ré, gé ré fe+â wo, ne wi nê+f gûn ré, rô+rëô né ay oro-rê, mó ypp+â. 29. ne gan ne yam kë ô ré ná, wen kô mo nde re fë+à kë ré sf-?day.

Father: 30. go+i tê né nday-wen ñmam ñmam mó duq+ui yaa rèe a ñô ná.

Son: 31. ge re kî bô bô ré kë ré ne fo ná. 32. go ré+i rôk te-rê.

33. ne tê ré ne bôo ne ñgang+ú-te-râ bâa.

Father: 34. wesê+a ne bô duq+ui yaa gîy, ne ne+m tê hë ñmîse. 35. ôô tê ye ge ne Ganâziûg gâ. 36. *abë, go hë ô de lekool sâm, nê ô rôk+î, a ndûy+ô ô ne ñgay se te nê+i ne bol+s+m wen kô mo nôo 37. bô+f ñm kô+m ná, go+m tê mbû ye, ?mon+â go+i dé lekool wëndé, andâa gîy ho+â, gô ?mon+â go+i yâm sen-te-zan-ré+i ñmam ñmam, go+i ô koyo ën ô nôy go duq ?nâm mo ?nâm+i. 38. gbaa wi-ré
4. Children Should Work in the Garden

Father: 1. Now is the time for working. 2. So after you have studied a long time, and the time is right, arise and go after me there. 3. And if the koyo (birds) are eating things, shouldn't you make a noise in the garden? 4. But you let things continue to eat things and ruin them. 5. Food today is difficult. 6. Who is going to come give some to us?

Son: 7. Oh, Father, so you talk foolishly like this! 8. Let me be. 9. We go to school and come out day after day, and I say, "The sun has set to this point, and there's no way of going to the garden." 10. So I remain, and I remain right in the village. 11. And you talk like this, talk foolishness like this. 12. What do you mean by it? (freely translated).

Father: 13. If you want to run around all the time doing nothing in this manner, then you're not going to eat.

Son: 14. Oh, Father, if we don't eat food, then we'll probably die. 15. When you look upon us won't it hurt you at all?

Father: 16. All your buddies, when they get out of school, they go out to where their fathers are. 17. But you run around to play in the village. 18. Does anyone eat "village-fruit" (that is, fruit produced by the village, posing an impossibility)?

Son: 19. So who (in the world) doesn't eat "village fruit"? 20. Since we run around, and we play, and we for our part see the village, it's as if we ate its fruit. 21. That's how it is that we run around and we play in the village.

Father: 22. Now when my wife prepares food, you're going to run around and eat your play which you engage in. 23. And I'm not going to give food for you to eat. 24. Because of running around to play in the village, koyo (birds) and red monkeys, and green monkeys come. 25. So they eat my corn or they eat my pumpkin completely. 26. So because of the work which I have done, and (because) the sun has burned me and hurt me, I'm terribly upset about it. 27. So if you run around in the village, I'm not going to give food for you to eat.

Son: 28. So if you should keep it from us, and we should die of hunger, you, you'll be the one to bury us and your eyes will yearn for us to the point of hurting you. 29. But it won't hurt us, because we would have died completely.

Father: 30. And aren't you always talking hurtful words so as to continue running around in the village?

Son: 31. And we don't care about going to the garden. 32. And the village pleases us. 33. And do you think that we'll go under compulsion (translated freely)?

Father: 34. Should you continue to run around like this, I'm going to go and tell Monsieur. 35. Or perhaps someone like Ganázu. 36. So after he's taught school, he'll beat you, and chase you forcefully so that you will go out to where I am because of this. 37. When I don't know, I say, "Perhaps you're still in school." It turns out that you've come out, and you're continuing to run around in the village, and you let the koyo (birds) and the (other) birds continue to ruin things. 38. And if someone should come and steal something,
évâ gô Zuû mo, ne wî-zôk wa gan bô ná. 39. nde wa zû, nde wa yû, wa af ndé. 40. ne gan s gôy rîg (< rôk) ná.

Son: 41. gô gba+i tê+â há Ganâzul gô rîk+b ré, sôô kp²-krê-rê gan kô ?donz ne fo ná . . .

Father: 42. gô ?bay mo kpém ?môn ne dô+tâ ymaâ. 43. a ndé ré do ymaâ kp-krâna na. 44. ?bay wen+tâ a+i.

Son: 45. gô ?bay môt wî ye ndô rô do ré wâ. 46. go gba+i dô+tâ ré, gô ré tê+â, ne wen bô ná. 47. ne ?bay wen+tâ a+i tê+i.

5. A Negligent Son-in-law

Boysé: 2. wôo.

Nganasêre: 3. né+m aq (< ak) mêt, né+m aq mêt, ne té wen kô bêm kô mêt ne té wen kô bêm kô+m. 4. go kîn+tê nôô am sok+tâ sôô ne ùngay kô+m gan bô wen+de mo kîn+tê ná. 5. ne bêm kô mêt e+â+m gô zy+ù yê+hâ af-?day. 6. go wî-de mo hâm gan bô ná. 7. gô né+m aq mêt, gân me kô ?donâa hâm kây mo kô mêt há mêt ne me tô hâm zéé.

Boysé: 8. am kô ?donâa ná. 9. go+m tôm hê ù ngay ùngay mbî yê, g pêê wà â gan g kô ?donâa wen kô yê pee bâm ná. 10. am 5 ne yô+a mo kô y. 11. gô wêss+ta ne bê ù ?môn gôy, ne ndô+tô wen ùngay môt=+m ùkalim+ê tê+g. 12. sôk-â+i ne yà me+i, a né+m tô wen ùn wa st sé ndé sa qê+tà ù pêê bere.

Nganasêre: 13. ne kôm, am tô mbî yê ge, Boysé, né ?donâ-wôa kô ré ùn mêt, ndô ré 5 te-kp²-zan+tâ mo kô Nzapâ ùn mêt+i, gan am rêm e foyo ré-p=mê ná. 14. gô mo gôy am dé foyo ré-p=mêt. 15. gan am ù foyo ré-p=mê ná, ne gan am kô ?donâa há bêm kôt=m ?môn gére ná. 16. né+m kô ?donâa há wî-rê té hê dé mo hâm st. 17. ne wên+ge a me ?mê+tì bêm kô+m wên+tâ ge ndé.

Boysé: 18. ù?â? ù gô kôt+m, am jî+tâ kîn+tê nôô, wî-rê bô kpa wêcy-koûr, ne ù *mandâmèrent wen+de mo hê y. 19. go 5 ù foyo kôt+m, wen kô mo ugo na ù kû+tô gô ù zy+ù hê kô-trê-têm gô gôn y ù mo hê ná, me tô wen wên+tâ+i. 20. ne gan ù ù gô yô+a mo ná.

Nganasêre: 21. bô pee ?don gôy, né+m bê kôt+m. 22. peé ?don gôy, nt+m bê kôt+m. 23. gan am kô ná.
there's no one to see them. 39. And they steal, and they flee, and they go away with it. 40. And it's not good like this.

Son: 41. Even if you told Ganázuf and (he) should beat us, still we don't want to go to the garden.

Father: 42. So there's just one thing, namely, keeping (food) from one another. 43. We'll keep food from each other in the pot here. 44. That's just it.

Son: 45. So that's just it, you say you'll keep food from us. 46. So even if you should keep food from us, and we should die, that's all right. 47. That's just what you say.

5. A Negligent Son-in-law


Boysé: 2. Yeah.

Nganaséré: 3. I'm going to ask you, I'm going to ask you about your child who is coming for my child (that is, in marriage). 4. So now I've become an old person and I have no strength for working now. 5. But your child (son) has left me and has gone off to a distant place. 6. So there's nobody to work for me. 7. So I'm going to ask you if you want me to gather up your things for you (return what was given of the bride-price), so speak so that I can hear.

Boysé: 8. I don't want that. 9. And I send word to him all the time, I say, "Return," but he doesn't want to return in a hurry. 10. But it's his fault. 11. And if he continues like this, I'm going to talk to him strongly to bring charges against him. 12. The elders who are living there, I'm going to talk with them so that they will call him to return quickly.

Nganaséré: 13. And as for me, I say, Boysé, that because you and I are in the work (literally, things) of God together (freely translated), I can't embarrass you. 14. But in this manner I (would) embarrass you. 15. Even if I don't embarrass you, I don't want your son to sit around doing nothing. 16. But I want someone to come to work for me. 17. But why do you keep your son from me?

Boysé: 18. What! My brother, I know that nowadays, when a person gets a son-in-law, he (the son-in-law) is a workman to work for him (the father in-law). 19. And it's my embarrassment that he has arisen and run off from me so that he doesn't work for you but you talk about the matter. 20. It's not (my) fault.

Nganaséré: 21. If (he) should return, for my part I'm through (literally, refuse). 22. Should he return, I'm through. 23. I don't want (anything to do with it).
Boysé: 24. go me kô bo. 25. ne tê+m kpa ñma kôo fye ndè. 26. mo ne 5 kôf kô kôo nô+m, nga ñ dé mo rôk ?dé, go+um zôk go rôk te+m gô+i te+m bâ ġa hâ bêm kô+m. 27. ne hô mê bô+a, ne ñdôn-wââ 5 ngay wen kê ré fô+a, ne nê+m kô+m ñma wi-rê zqa. Ngañâsep: 28. ñbô, go 5 né wen kô mé. 29. gan am rém tp ñma mbé wen fn mé ñbo kpé+m nà. 30. wen kô+m san+h kô+m. 31. ne gan am kô+w ken mô tp fn mé ñbo nà. Boysé: 32. wen+f à mê tê+i. 33. go+um kô ñdôn+a ñbo ôrô mo ne me tê+i gâ. 34. go nê+m tom mbê+i hâ ñ ñmgi ñmâ+k. 35. go bô ê ñ te nà, sê ña 5 né wen kô+m wen kô nê+m tom ñma ô wi-rê nga 5 fn+a+m môt, te dé mo ngay fn+a+a môt tâ ñ pô ñdôn. 36. wen kô+m san+h. Ngañâsep: 37. ñma wen hô nà. 38. ñbay wen â+i. Boysé: 39. ñô? ñbay wen éré hê+râ zû+a+i ñ ñmâa gan hô ñbo nà.

6. A Good Woman

1. dé?dé kôo fn ñnjû kôo. 2. kôo ne ñ tû wi-rê sà y e ñmâa ñ nê ñnjû+a+aa ñ ñmâa ñ nê dé?dé+a wá+i. 3. wen kô ñmâa hô de mo rôk ?dé, ñzà ñ de kam nga ñ hâ hâ ô yâr+e kà ñ yfô ñmgû ñmgû. 4. ne hô ñ zôk ô wi-rê nga ñ mbâ wa, nga ñ mà+m mam+i in wa rôk ?dé. 5. ne ñ kô bêem hô wa. 6. a sà ñ ye dé?dé kôo. 7. go ô yâr+e kà ñ bô ba mo, ne té nê hà ñ, gâ ye bô tâ ñ dé hô ô bêm kô yà kô ré, nga ñ de mo fn ré rôk ?dé oro hâ mo hû ñ tâ ñ dé to ro yfô. 8. ne ñ nôo ne gan dé mo rôk (< rôk) nà+i ô ñ wi-do nkàa, gan ñ hâ mo hû ñ yâr+e kà ñ yfô nà. 9. ne gan ñ kô bêem nà. 10. nga ñ dé sn mo ñmâg ñmâg. 11. mo gôy a wa sà ñ ye ge ñ 5 ne ñnjû kôo. 12. go te+kû+rip-ô tû wi-rê, kôo ne hô rôk ?dé go gba ñ rû+ri+ô wò+e+e ge+e sôô gan ñ hâ mo hû ô wi-rê yfû nà, tâ ñ kô bêem nà, nde wa sà ñ ye ñ 5 ne ñnjû kôo. 13. ne gan ñ 5 dé?dé kôo nà. 14. go dé?dé kôo kô tû wi-rê 5 ñ nôo ne hô mo hû wi-rê yfû ne gôy ô yâr+e kà ñ, ne mà+m mam+i fn wi-rê ne mbà wi-rê rôk ?dé, ne dé kusâra+ñdô+e+ô kô wê+ée kà ñ. 15. ñ wa nôô gôy nde wa kô bêem+i, ô tû wi-rê sà y e ge wa 5 ne dé?dé kôo.
Boysë: 24. But you're refusing for no reason. 25. And where can I possibly get another wife (that is, for my son)? 26. In view of the fact that now we are together in God, and the wife (of my son) obeys me and works very well, and I look, and it pleases me, I take her for my son. 27. But should you refuse, it's difficult for him and me, and I'll look for another person in vain.

Nganasëre: 28. All right, so it's your affair. 29. I can't say one more additional thing to you. 30. What I have to say is finished now. 31. I don't find anything to say to you again.

Boysë: 32. You've spoken. 33. And I agree to what you've said. 34. And I'm going to send him letters all the time. 35. And if he doesn't come, then it's my responsibility to send some people with whom he lives to urge him over there so that he might return. 36. What I have to say is done.

Nganasëre: 37. I haven't anything further to say. 38. That's just it.

Boysë: 39. Well, that's all there is to what we've agreed to (literally, tied up) and there's nothing more.

6. A Good Woman

1. A good woman and a bad woman. 2. (This is about) women of whom black people say some are bad and some are good. 3. Because when a woman (literally, some) works well, she makes food and gives it to her brothers-in-law to eat all the time. 4. And when she sees people, she greets them, and she laughs with them nicely. 5. And she bears children for them (her husband's family). 6. (This is the woman) whom they call a good woman. 7. And when her brothers-in-law get something, they bring it to her saying, "Take it and make something for our brother's children, for you work for us well and we give things to you to make for us to eat."

8. And the one who doesn't do things well is the stingy person, and she doesn't give things to her brothers-in-law to eat. 9. And she doesn't bear children. 10. And she's always spiteful. 11. That's why they say of her, "She's a bad woman." 12. So in the eyes of black people, the woman who is very good, no matter how good she is, if she doesn't give things to people to eat, and doesn't bear children, they say of her, "She is a bad woman." 13. She isn't a good woman.

14. So the good woman among black people is the one who gives things to people to eat and loves her brothers-in-law and laughs with people and greets people well and works in her husband's garden. 15. They are the ones thus who bear children, and black people say of them, "They are good women."
7. Why Some Wives Run Away

1. bô ëp ëp ré kô wèéy kà ñ me, ne bô de pe kpém wéndé gan wá dc+à ze kpém, na ñ kàw go ñ ñf ?dog te-ré kô yâm kà ñ me. 2. gà ye wéeny+i nê ñ ba+à+i, foo kë ñ gan gôy ñ nà. 3. go wa tò ye ge ë ë ñ ne wî+â tè won, ne ë ñ gan ë zêe tê-ë nà. 4. ne wèéy kë ë+ì fiî ëk ë ñuq ñuposición ëp ñ nà, wen kô mo ne foo kë ë ñaâ wen ë ñ sàr+i.

6. go mo ñpy, ò ýnmaa bô kë ?dog+is ñ ?dog nà, ne bît ?mûn ?mûn go wa nôy ñindà+a sf-?day hà bold+a go bá gôc-wééy. 7. ne i+i ne ým kà ñ bô tî mbôra hà ñ go bô tî ye ge bît ñ bît+a, ne ë ë ñ rîk+aa wà+i, ò i+i ndô+i a ým kô wa tò won fn wa ñ nôy, go wa bá wa sf ñe ?don ñ te-ré kô wèéy kô wa me.

8. Gbeya Warfare

1. am kà ?don+jusi won kô biro, biyo-gbe ñmaa nde wa gôe ne stère+i.

2. kâku-tf-mo, wesé ne ýma wî+ré bô ne go ndô kô kô mé, ne orô+a+i ne kô kô mé+i bô ba zan go kô bôm, gan bê+a tê wéndé, gan bôm+tî ?mon+h kô+zi-an ne ë ñ go gbôn+â gôg-i+wéndé. 3. ne zan-wèéy+aa ým dôka. 4. go kôo nôo bô sa yfn-wôcy nôc ne o+a fn+aa+i, ne wèéy nôc zîk tê-ë go tò hò ô yà kë ë, kîn+ee wi zôk wî+ré nôo o+a fn kô+kô+m. 5. go ne ?don-wàâ nôc a kô kô+m sa+a yfn+aa. 6. go bôm nôc fo+â. 7. kîn+ee err ne wen+bi biro fn wa.

8. ne ô ýâ kà ñ hârâ sôn kày stère ne kày kura ne kày ngerô ne kày zom+paà fn ô boro-biro ne za. 9. go wa nê. 10. go gba wa kpa wèéy+ndô kô+i nà só kô wà kpa+á ýma wî+ré zan-ré+i roy, gende gâ ye wî nôo ndô+i ndô+a kô kô+kô+m só kô bêm kô+kô+m fe+a ãa wà. 11. nde wa gôe ã, wéndé gan rîsô wéndé gân taa.

12. go kuu bold+a+i, ne ô wî+ré+i, wî+gida kô war+i, ye ge, ôô gba kôo ôô ndô+a wéndé, ne te+a wà gbe ýma rô kpém wéndé gan rîsô nà wéndé ne kûu wa gôe rô gân zô+a gaa wéndé. 13. ne ëp ëp kô rô. 14. go rô kàtâ kàtâ go kû né ze go yû waya. 15. go tê go hày kà-zan+tuwa kô wa ne gô+â fàra ne wàc ne wàc re+à, gô fàra ô mbîri mbîri. 16. te wèéy+a ne bô wà kpa wî+ré, nde wa rêm gbe ã. 17. nde wa 5 kà-zan+tuwa gôy gôy. 18. go bô wà zan (< zok) ýma wèéy, nde wà dîm+aa. 19. zu-wî+ré rîsô wéndé gân taa gôy i.
7. Why Some Wives Run Away

1. After she has been in her husband's village there, and after she has been there one year or one month, she arises and goes back to her father's village there. 2. (She) says, "The man I married, my in-laws don't love me. 3. And they say that me, I'm a talkative person, and that me, I don't obey. 4. And my husband hits me all the time and keeps on doing it. 5. And I don't find any pleasure to make me to stay with my husband in the village of my husband's house, because my in-laws look for trouble with me."

6. So when some don't want to go back (to the village of their husbands) and categorically refuse, they collect all the money (of the bride-price) given for her and take another person. 7. But the one whose father lays down the law to her and says if she refuses, he'll beat her, this one whose father speaks strongly to her, they take them (such wives who return home) and return them to the villages of their husbands there.

8. Gbeya Warfare

1. I want to explain about fighting, fighting in which people killed each other with spears. 2. First of all, when someone goes and sleeps with your wife, and later your wife conceives and bears a child, the child either dies or else it has its neck broken while it is still in the womb. 3. So the husband is very much upset. 4. And when the wife reveals the name of the man who slept with her, the husband turns to his brothers and says, "Now, look at this man who slept with my wife. 5. That's why my wife revealed his name. 6. The child died. 7. Let's go now and fight with them."

8. And all his brothers grab spears, arrows, shields, swords and other weapons, and throwing knives. 9. And they go. 10. If they don't find the man who had relations with the woman, but find some other villagers, they say, "You are the ones who had relations with my wife so that my child died." 11. And they kill him, or (even) two or three of them. 12. And after that, their enemies say, "What! Even if we had slept with a woman, they might have come and killed one or two, but why is it that they come and kill so many?" 13. They are together. 14. Then they meet (in a body), arise at night and go secretly. 15. They come and crawl up to their (enemies') houses, at dusk, when the sun has set and it's darkish. 16. At that time, if they find somebody, they can kill him. 17. And they stay near the houses like that a long time. 18. And if they see a man, they spear him. 19. Two or three fall on him in this manner. 20. And when the people come
20. ô déf+tâ wi-ré bô dik wéy gbim, nde wa yû wôrô go wa kf’df wa zà.

21. nde wa sââ sék ṭbo gente gâ ye, go wi-re nôs â ndo+tâ kô kô rô sô kô bêm kô ré fe+a go rô ne+tâ birô+a+i nà wêndé. 22. ne wèn-gê a té wa gbê mbé+a rô ô zû+a ṭbo gââ ge ndé. 23. nde wa kûû, go wa nê. 24. go wa kf’df ô wi-gida kô wa nôs wèn-gbe wa.

25. ne ñma ?don-wââ kô bîro. 26. ô né wesé-dpô. 27. ne bô wâ no dpô, go bô wà ba dpô nê zu-mê. 28. go gàn wa hà go me nô nà. 29. ne kuw orô+a+i ne zañ-mê yûm dôka. 30. mê ye Ẹ Ẹ ô ne wi-de yûnâ. 31. ô tô wà yôsô nde wa bâ dpô nê zu-rô gûy. 32. ge’dé+a a wa ?dû go wa bâ hà ô rô wêndé. 33. go bô wà tô wen go zañ-mê bô de dpà, ne me dûm wa, me gbê. 34. go me yû me sf. 35. go wa yû wayâ+a wa nê nê gyî gûy . . . 36. bô ć ne yô+tâ mo kô më nà, go ô nê sêra kô më wèn-zu yûnâ kô wa gûy nde wa do+a më, a bô më gbê wa wèn+aâ, nde wa yû wayâ+a go wa gbê wi-ré taa wêndé gan ngâ wêndé gân mpôrâ.

37. ne ñma ?don-wââ kô bîro. 38. ô né wi-rê nôc ne gbê+à ô wi-rê kô më ñbêé ńf, go gan ga nôs ńf+â+a nà+i. 39. bô mê kpa ã rékké fara+ne kofe, wêndé gán me kpa ã, gâ ã ne+tâ ré kô ré-naa kà ã, ne me nôn me tó hâ ô yû kô më, zök, ã nôc nà ã gbê+à ré+i aa (k a + ã) nà+i. 40. nde wa ô tî-wââ, go wa gbê ã. 41. ne orô+a+i, ne ô bê-kô kà ã ne ô zañ-rê+i yû tom go tô hà ô yû kà ô gà ye aâye ne te+tâ kofe dîye, fnüt+të ô wi-gida gbê+à ã.

42. go’dô-do’wen-bîro ne gbê+à ñmaa ñtâ sêne te-tî ô+i. 43. nû-wen ne gan+a sôn ô né ?don-wâá kô ndô+a kôô, wêndé gan né ?don-wâá wèn+doo dpô hâ ôô-ñmaa, . . . wêndé gan né ?don-wâá wèn+gbe mo’+day kô ñmaa.

9. Gbeya Adornment

1. fnüt+të nê+m tî wen kô mó+a te, mó+mar+i kô ô sôk+â+i kë ré ne már+â te-tî.

2. te+wesé kô ô sôk+â+i kë ré, mó+mar+i kô wa ɔ+a ne sf’te.

3. ô ñmaa ñmgbô zôbrô go màa. 4. go màa te ɔ+a nde wa zîm ne fôn wêndé gân te wa zîm né yôk. 5. ne kpás+â mó+mar+i ne dîg na mà’a+i ô ne tûrô-róma. . . .

6. ne kô ô kô kë ré, Ô kô rô kakô, lûmgbê, wêndé gan kérà, wêndé gân gbôgbol. 7. ne orô+a+i nde wa kf’df ?don-wâá wèn-màa se te ɔ+a ne ?mê mó+fôyo kô wa sf’+day. 8. ô mó+mar+i kô ô kpás+â+i kë ré ne már+â te-tî ô+i.
running, they flee helter-skelter, and they (the villagers) look for them in vain.

21. And they (the villagers) think and say, "These people, aren't they the ones who slept with our woman so that the child died, and we went a-fighting? 22. And why is it that they come and kill some more of us and add to the mischief in this manner?" 23. So they get up and go. 24. They search for these enemies of theirs to kill them.

25. And here's another way that wars started. 26. Say it's a day of beer-drinking. 27. So they drink beer and pass you up. 28. And they don't give you any to drink. 29. As a result, you are upset. 30. You say, "Me, I'm a producer of food. 31. I come and sit down, and they pass me up. 32. They scoop up the dregs and give to me, do they?" 33. They say things to you so that you get angry, and you spear them, and kill them. 34. Then you flee and return home. 35. So they come secretly on and on. 36. If it's not your fault (that is, you may not have done some evil to them previously), but you have a desire to steal the food of those who kept you from drinking, so when you kill them for it, they come secretly and kill three or four or five people.

37. And here's another way wars started. 38. There's a man who killed one of your family a long time ago, but he didn't pay the ransom. 39. And so if you catch him going to his in-laws, or should you find him at his mother's village, you conspire with your brothers, saying, "Look, there goes the one who killed one of us long ago." 40. Then they set an ambush and kill him. 41. Then girls who are related to him in the village run and tell their brothers, "The one who was coming here about getting married, well, the enemies killed him."

42. Those are the reasons for fights in which people killed each other long ago. 43. The most important ones were for sleeping with a woman or for keeping beer from each other, or for killing each others' stock.

9. Gbeya Adornment

1. Now I'm going to talk about things to put on, things which our elders wrapped on long ago.

2. In the days of our elders the thing they wrapped on was bark. 3. Some pounded the zoro tree and put on its bark. 4. They put it on so that they might abstain from their wives because of grain sorghum or because of traps. 5. And the real thing they used to put on was cotton cloth.

6. And our women used to put on skirts of leaves—lûmbgbé or kërâ or gbôgbol. 7. Then they sought some means of covering up their shameful parts. 8. That's what our elders put on long ago.
9. ne mo'-de bisâ+a, wéey bó ne kofe, ne tók tûrû-tende, tende-?bô+a wèndé gân gba tende. 10. go tóy ne tûrû-râma go m'âa.
11. nde wa bâ dela kû-wa. 12. nde wa dé tân-wa ne mbângwà wèndé gân ne gûdam. 13. nde wa â mo zera-wa. 14. nde wa â ñgàbalâ sen-te-zpm-wâ. 15. nde wa zii mûru te-wëéy-ndû-wa, sé te otâ nde wa né né kofe. 16. nde wa ndâa tân-wa né gbûro-go. 17. se te otâ ne kôô+i bó zk, nde wa de+â bisa gôy, tâ ñ rém ba wa. 18. wa ñbûk zom-paa, go wa â fore ?don+âa. 19. nde wa ñbûn (< ñbûk) ndee, nde wa bâ sëre kpêm. 20. go wa né né kofe kô wa. 21. gende gâ mo'zâ-m'â kö ñ sôk+â+i kë te tû-fi â+i.
22. ne orô+a+i ne 6 kô+a ?dâff kô rô. 23. go rîff ñma pêê gôy go kôa sëyû sëyû. 24. go sà ye ge gbelek g+i. 25. go m'âa. 26. ne gan wa ñg ?don-wââ kô dé?dâ mo'-mârt+i nà. 27. go ñ ñmaa dékô rô tende, go yûû pêê senê. 28. go sâ gâ+â da?don. 29. go m'âa te-nâ-geode-rô. 30. nde wa m'âa gbelek+i sen-te-tf-wa. 31. nde wa ñ kuro tê-wa. 32. nde wa dé tân-wa. 33. nde wa ?dâff ñma dédë kofo. 34. go wa ñdâff, go wa hjê dû5-tf-wa ndêfr. 35. se te sà gende gâ ye zoñà kô aâye nôo dé zôñà vû. 36. nde wa ñ kâna te-ôô-wa. 37. ne orô+a+i nde wa â ñgàbalâ te-zpm-wâ. 38. nde wa ñdû yâra-wa go wa ñ ñ mo'-de zôñà senê.
39. gô ku ñorô+a+i ne wëey nôo bó te go bó zôk gôy, gende gâ ye dédë zoñà kô aâye nôo wâ. 40. ne kôô+i bó zôk bisa nôo ne wëey dé+â gôy, ne kôô+i tê gende gâ ye, dédë bisa kô aâye nôo. 41. gende gâ go ñdû-wen-ba ñmaa kô wëey in kôo te-wèsé kô ñ sôk+â+i kë te tû â+i. 42. ne gan wa ñg ?don-wââ won-m'âa dédë mo'-mârt+i ñro ñt ne kô kfn+ê gâ nà.
43. ne mo'-ô+i kô wa ñ né kan. 44. nde wa sîn ñma te ñm+fûû ñm+fûû, go wa a te-zdoo. 45. go zî ñma dô te. 46. go wa sà ye ge gan dok. 47. nde wa sîn kan go wa pé sen-te-guro kô wa me, go tê gôy gôy te-zdoo nà. 48. go wa sà gende gâ ye ge kôô-gegezi â+i. 49. gende gâ ñ mo te-wèsé kô ñ kpâs+â+i kë te ñtû+â a+i. 50. mo gôy, kîntzê nôo, ñtê kpa+a ?don-wââ wèn+ce ñgèegezi ne tûrû wèndé gân wèn+2ke tuwa nê gey. 51. go ñ mo kô tê nde re de+â+i rpk+a ñme gan rpk gân sön nà. 52. me rpk gân sön 5 ne kô kîntzê nôo.

10. The Annual Grass-Burning

1. wen kô yarî. 2. yarî 5 ne mo'-too te. 3. gô wêsé ne bó më ne yarî, ne 5 ne mo'-too te wèn+2ba mo yèê.
9. As for the adornment of young men—. When a lad was getting married, he would weave a cotton clout, ʔbɛʔbɛ or gba tende. 10. They'd weave it into a clout and put it on. 11. They put bands on their legs. 12. They fixed their hair either the mbɔŋɔ (description unavailable) or gudam (lines from front to back) fashion. 13. They put things in their ears. 14. They put nose plugs in their nostrils. 15. They stuck things in their lips, so that they might go to their in-laws¹. 16. They twisted their hair with (fibers from the) gbiroifo tree. 17. Then the girls would see them all dressed up like that, that she (lapse for they) can marry them. 18. They would carry a big knife and put lime on the blade. 19. They'd carry a quiver and one spear. 20. They'd go with these to their in-laws¹. 21. That's what our elders wore long ago.

22. Moreover, the women for their part would fix up. 23. They'd make some string and tie it tightly. 24. This is called a gbɛlɛk. 25. They'd put it on. 26. They didn't know anything of good clothes. 27. Some prepared cotton and put a string through it. 28. They called this da'dog. 29. They put this over their anus. 30. They put the gbɛlɛk in front. 31. They put camwood powder on themselves. 32. They fixed their hair. 33. They fixed some good cowry shells. 34. They fixed them and put them on their foreheads. 35. Then people would say, "So-and-so's girl is really dressed up." 36. And they put bracelets on their arms. 37. They also put ggabala in their nostrils. 38. They pierced their ears and put in things to make them look nice.

39. So when this fellow would see the girl, he'd say, "So-and-so's daughter is nice-looking." 40. And when the girl sees the adornment which the young man had put on in this way, the girl would say, "So-and-so's son is nice-looking." 41. That's the explanation of marriage in the days of our elders. 42. They didn't know anything about putting on good clothes like today's.

43. Their beds were stalks. 44. They tied sticks together tightly and put it down. 45. They'd stick some short sticks in the ground. 46. They called this a gan dok. 47. They tied stalks (together, making a screen) and put them on (that is, hang from) the storage rack so that (the screen) fell to the ground. 48. They called this kɔɔ-geegezf. 49. These are the things our elders made in their day.

50. So now we have found a way to make beds (or mattresses?) out of cloth and to fix our houses with mud. 51. The things we did long ago were good, but they weren't exceptionally good. 52. The best things are today's.

10. The Annual Grass-Burning

1. This is about hunting. 2. Hunting is something to get excited about. 3. And when you go hunting, it's something to get happy about because of getting something to eat.
4. gô wesé ne bó wá kô nêqâ wen-te wa yââ yari, ne ñma wi-ré bâ gbôyâ. 5. gô gô tô yô ye ge gô nô 5 ne zô kë f å. 6. gô gô kây dal rôfto, nô ñyô ô nam kô kô, ne ô ñma nú-wey kô f, go wa zik tf-gbôyâ kô f. 7. nô ñ a hâ oro-nâ wen-ne mbô wá wa. ... 8. wa bâ zawa, nde wa gi waa. 9. gô gô hâ oro-nâ hâ kô kô f te zââ ne gi waa, te nde wá pero nde wa yô. 10. nde wa kây gba zawa. 11. nde wa zô gôro. 12. go wa â kpô-mô, â kpô-danâ, gô ñma bôm bâ go ñbôk. 13. nde wa bá dal+tí, ne ñyô wa mbôk. 14. nde wa bá ñon-râ nde wa lângf. 15. ñyô wa né sent. 16. nde wa sâ gîmà. 17. go wa bá gîmà-ngan wi. 18. go ñyô wa sâ gîmà fû, fû, fû fû. 19. ñyô wa né né. 20. gô-gô wa ñyô wëè ñmbôbôk, ñmgbôñ ñmbôbô. 21. wi-rô ré zëë gôk-wa. 22. go bô wá ho ñen-te-zan-rô, ne ô ñma wi-zan-rô kôâ ne wë tf-wa ne dé to te fn wá. 23. gende gâ ye ge, gô nô 5 ne gbôyâ kô o ro bá. 24. go wa zik tf-gbôyâ gyô. 25. go mbôró bó dé-tà+tà, nde wa zik+ô nô-gbôyâ hô wa+i kpô, ñmôn ne gendé nde wa gbô te-zan-rô, ne mbôró, gende gâ wa yô+tà gôro nde wa a+h kpô-danâ fn gba zawa+i sôn. 26. ne ñmôn ne bó wá ñbo ré, gende gâ kô kô wan gbôyà+i a gitó waa+i, nô ñ kây hô wa, go ô bôm ne zik+ô tf-gbôyâ ñn+aa+i. 27. wa yô. 28. gô gô dô tf-gbôyâ kô f gôy gyô. 29. gô bere bó dé-tà, wesé-do gbôya bó ré+m+tà+a, nô ñ kây ñgagàgê, gô gô hâ oro-nâ hô wa wen-mpy te-nô-tuwa kô f. 30. ne wan gbôyâ a bâ ñeze-sunu kô f ñ e nu, gô gô gbô zû+a ganduñ, gô gô dé ne kam hâ ô ñgagàgê kô f go yô. 31. go ñyô wa mbôt gata. 32. wa màá kôsi. 33. go ñyô wa dé te te. 34. wa yô yôra. 35. wa dé gô wen kô mà nô ne wa ho?dâ+mô do gbôya mbô wá gbe sa?de mbô wá yô+tà+a. 36. go bó wá yo ñgagàgê rém, gende gâ ñ kây+i ô wi-rô gô dôr-tà, mó rem mó do gbôyi+i, ... nô ñ tô hô ô koy-wi-rô kô f ne koy-ô dôr-tà wi-rô sôn zëë hûfità. 37. gô ze ne bó ndé wá do ne gbôyi+f. 38. ne fara sô, nde wa yô tf-gbôya. 39. go bó wá zik nô-gbôya kpô sôn, nde wa â wey te-gbôya go wa dé. 40. go bó wá do zô nô, ... wan gbôya+i ye ge wa nde wa ya kô wá ne ?dôa-bûk+i a kfn wa dó tf. 41. wa nde wa yô né ?dôa-bûk+i wá dé ne yô+l+a nô+a, ne dûr+ô+i. 42. a è ñma wi-rô sent, wi-mbô+i fû. 43. gô gô nô+i aa (< a + p) dé. 44. ne ñ a nô ñ å ñyô ñgondo+i, wan gbôya ñyô ñn+aa. 45. gende go wá ?dôf+i gam guram, go wá a+h ñen-te'kp-kôbo rôfto. 46. ñmô+rô go wa yô né ñen-te'far+i-ñgondo+i. 47. go bó wá do gbôya wa tf gôy, go bó wá he?di ñ ñgondo dôf, nde wa pi nô-kan nu. 48. go ñmôtà go wa
4. When they begin to go hunting, someone assumes supervision of the hunting area. 5. He says that this is his grass. 6. He gets two dal drums, and he gathers his family and some of his clansmen, and they make a circuit of his area. 7. And he instructs them to go and hoe... 8. They take peanuts, and they cook beans. 9. And he instructs his wife to cook beans, so that when they return, they will eat. 10. They take gba zawa (ground-nuts). 11. They dig up yams. 12. They put them away, that is, they put them in a sack, and a child takes it and slings it over his shoulder. 13. And they take the drum and begin to beat it. 14. They go behind the village and go on. 15. They go on in this way. 16. They sing songs. 17. They take up the ñgan wi song. 18. They go on singing fu fu fu fu. 19. They go on and on. 20. Their voices go ñmgbo?bok (onomatopoeic of many voices). 21. People hear their voices. 22. And when they come to the village, some villagers get up and meet them and carry on with them. 23. They say, "This is our hunting area, we take it." 24. They make a circuit of the area in this way.

25. So when it's evening, after they have made a complete circuit of their area, that is to say, they arrive at the village in the evening, in other words, they ate the yams which they put in the sack along with the groundnuts. 26. And when they arrive in the village, in other words, the wife of the master of the area has cooked the beans, and she gives (the beans) to them and the youngsters who made the circuit with him. 27. They eat.

28. So he (the master of the gbifa) burns the edge of his area in this way. 29. And when the dry season has come, when it's time to burn the area, he takes some ñgaragé society members and instructs them to meet at his house. 30. The master of the gbifa takes a basket of sesame and opens it pow! and he has it prepared for his ñgaragé hunters, and they eat. 31. And they begin to beat the gata drum (after they have eaten). 32. They tie on beads. 33. They begin to celebrate. 34. They dance. 35. They have a lot of fun, because they are getting near to burning the area to kill animals to eat. 36. When they have danced enough of the ñgaragé dance, in other words, he (the master) has taken a lot of people, enough to burn the area, and he tells all of the rest of his people, and all the rest of the many people hear about it (those in neighboring villages hear of the affair).

37. And that's on the night before they are going to burn the area. 38. Day breaks, and they hurry around the limits of the area. 39. And when they have made a complete circuit of the area, they set fire to the area, and they burn it. 40. So when they have set fire to this grass, ... the master of the gbifa says, "They who remain beneath (downwind?) the wind, now they should burn first. 41. Those who remain beneath the wind should burn the long unburnt areas." 42. He puts somebody there, a trustworthy person. 43. He's the one who sets it afire. 44. The one who is in the ñgondo (the direction from which the wind is blowing), he's the one with whom the master of the gbifa waits. 45. In other words, they have prepared the whirlwind (see Vocabularies) and have put it in two kò?bo tree nuts. 46. They continue on their way with them (the nuts) to the ñgondo. 47. So after they set fire to the area, they come like that, and when they come close to the ñgondo area they put the ends of the stalks to the ground (to set fire to the grass). 48. They
176 SAMARIN: THE GBEYA LANGUAGE

ngém há wey-gbíya mpy te²-saŋa st. 49. go wey bò mpy te²-saŋa, go bò bò kokoroŋ kor, gende gá wàn gbíya zok²+tà gende gá, rem²+a mē j pi gam guram ⁹+i. 50. ne mɔn ne kote wf-pi gam guram²+f, a bã kò+a tf, gɔɔ j pi hɔòòò. 51. mɔn nà ʒ rò ne ʒma gàs²+tà te voŋ. 52. a mbàŋ. 53. ne mɔn ne bɔ ʒa ba wèey+a. 54. mòá pi bo³+hà+a hòòòò, ŋà j rò ne te²+t voŋ. 55. a mbàŋ. 56. ne mɔn ne gendé ne bò wà e wey stm-te²+bo²+sà+a vip . . . b̩ ʒ a gam tut, ne mɔn ne wèy bò kpa ʒmaà gbongom hɔòta ne gam guram bò zõ nu mɔnuy. 57. gé²+gam guram duŋ wëe gbi gbi gbi, gbi gbi gbi, gbìgbìf. 58. gende gá o wf-ne yarì bò zee gé²+gam guram bò duŋ nɔy ʒdiriri ʒdiriri gende gá, o wf-yarì ke²+là+kéla kéla. 59. jf de²+tà tê-j ne wèey. 60. jf de²+tà tê-j ne wèey. 61. te²-wa duŋ nàk yetette. 62. duŋ wa gbòdèf sèrà mô sm sem, sem sem. 63. duŋ wa háy ʒdòwèy nòo mô gēren, gēren gēren. 64. wf-řé kéf mô, ˚ yè. 65. jf kěf ˚ yè. 66. gan ġ a tā ʒ ho tê-j+tì wèndé, gan ɭ a tā ʒ ho tê-j+tì wèndé. 67. ne wf-řé són ne zik²+tì-gbíya+t, wa yà ne wèey wèey són, wcn kò mô ne gam guram hē mô go gam rêm nà. 68. te bò zok gende gà ʒma gās²+tà sa²+de ʒ am guram ʒmp²+r²+a gò duŋ dò u. 69. dò ʒ nè ne ʒy gò gò bó ʒà a go te²-ʒ yu²+tì kpòŋ. 70. sa²+de bò gòm²+tà, mɔn ne gendé ne ʒma wf-řé bò hò her, ne dỳm²+aa væy. 71. ne mɔn nà ʒ hè zü+a gbèl. 72. gende gá gam guram nè+a nè wa ñgòròm, ñgòròm. 73. go dʊŋ wa tê kɔdɔrɔ, kɔdɔrɔ kɔdɔrɔ. 74. dʊŋ wa dỳm wa. 75. mɔn²+a go dʊŋ wa yú wèy wèy nè+i, nè+i nè+i nè+i. 76. go zee wèy+j bò kpa gbongom, gende gá fàra kò sa²+de ne bà ʒ kpa sené go gam guram bò zok kpàs²+t à sa²+de+if, bó ɔ zan²+a ne mbètè, gam guram ʒ do²+tì wa ne nè ʒy gò. 77. ne nè ʒ ada ʒa. 78. mɔy zak²+wa, kɔp nè ñmaà. 79. bo²+tà ne ɔ mbòró nà ʒ mɔy tì²+wa nòo gòɔ ʒ kpò nè ñmaà. 80. bo²+tà te nà ʒ kpò nè ñmaà. 81. mɔn nde wa gbè sa²+de te²-wàr²+i, wàr²+i, wàr²+i. 82. dʊŋ wa gbàu te²-wàr²+i, wàr²+i wàr²+i. 83. bo²+tà wen kò bë-sa²+de ne gan zòn nà. 84. wa gbè sa²+de. 85. mbòró bò dët²+a, nde wa ʒ nu. 86. kày sa²+de+if go af go wa ñy̩n. 87. go fàra bò sa²+tà+rà, nde wa nè ba tī-wèy. 88. gende gá gam guram de²+tì mo ne sa²+de zëe gam rêm nà . . . 89. wa nòo ne wèy ber²+tà wa go hɔ+ta kàtô–ée-wa sàñne hòòò hòòò, hay²+tà go nè+a go wa gù ʒdòwà+wa wèndé, nde wa gbè wa. 90. gàn wà mɔn²+a go wà re²+tà ʒdòw²+poo wèndé, go bò wà kpa wa ne dʊŋ wa ne kɔdɔrɔ kɔdɔrɔ, nde wa gbè wa. 91. go wa sì ne te²-ře go dʊŋ wa ñy̩n. 92. go wesè kò gbíya ʒ ne mo²+too te. 93. go bò mè ne yarì, ne nè mè kpa sa²+de mò mè si mò mè ñy̩n²+a. 94. ne wesè-ya ra ne nè, ne gan nè mè kpa mo mò mè ñy̩n ʒrò mo ne wesè-gbíya gà nà. 95. ne wesè-gbíya ʒ nè too te. 96. go *kàmèkèm wì-rê ne ñy̩n yora
continue to wait for the fire of the area to meet in the center. 49. So when the fire meets in the center and makes a circle, in other words, the master of the area has decided, in other words, that he can throw in the whirlwind. 50. Just then the master-thrower of the whirlwind takes the female one first and throws it forcefully. 51. Just like that, he smashes it against a large tree; crash! 52. It breaks open. 53. Then he takes the male one and throws it forcefully. 54. He smashes it against a tree; crash! 55. It breaks open. 56. Then, in other words, when they set fire after he's done this, then when he jumps out of the way suddenly, then when the fire meets gboggom (onomatopoeic for loud noise) after he's done this, the whirlwind descends ?mug (onomatopoeic of certain noise). 57. The voice of the whirlwind makes a noise gbi gbi gbi (onomatopoeia). 58. In other words, when the hunters hear the voice of the whirlwind rumbling ?diriri (onomatopoeia) like that, in other words, the hunters are happy. 59. That one acts like a man. 60. That one (a man) acts like a man. 61. Their bodies tremble yette. 62. They continue to grab their spears (that is, to make them tremble) sem sem. 63. They continue to stoop beneath this fire rapidly. 64. One man looks over there. 65. That man looks over there: 66. "Is it (the animal) going to come out by me?" 67. And all the people who encircled the area, they all stand in a manly way because the whirlwind is making a terrible noise. 68. So when you look, in other words, the whirlwind has stopped a large animal and is burning it. 69. It burns it and burns it so that its body is completely black. 70. When the animal tries to escape, in other words, someone comes out (and cuts it off) and spears it forcefully. 71. The man cries out. 72. In other words, the whirlwind has gone on with all the animals. 73. So they (the animals) come perseveringly. 74. The people go on spearing them. 75. And they go on running after the fire.

76. When the people hear the fire meet gboggom (onomatopoeia), that's to say, the place where the animals are, when the fire meets there, when the whirlwind sees the animals, when they are really there, the whirlwind has burnt them and continues to do so. 77. It took these buffalo. 78. It brought their horns together and tied them all up. 79. In the case of red monkeys, it gathers their tails and ties them up. 80. In the case of trees, it ties them up. . . . 81. They kill animals on this side and that side. 82. They drag them from this side and that. 83. In the case of small animals, they don't bother with them. 84. They kill animals. 85. When it's evening, they lie down. 86. They take the meat back and eat it.

87. The next day they go to examine the fire. 88. In other words, the whirlwind really did a lot to the animals yesterday. . . . 89. They crawl and crouch down in the burnt grass and kill some of those (animals) which the fire burned and peeled off their hooves. 90. If they were still alive and had entered a gallery-forest, when the people would find them marching off, they'd kill them. 91. They take (the meat) back and eat it.

92. The gbiya days are a lot of fun. 93. If you go hunting, you will get animals to take back and eat. 94. When you go to dances, you won't get anything as on the day of the gbiya. 95. The gbiya days are a lot of fun. 96. And even if someone hasn't danced but has gone to the gbiya, they all go
178 SAMARIN: THE GBeya LANGUAGE

ná, gó ne+á sen-te-gbíya, nde wa són wa né te-sënê, wa gbé sa?de. 97. go wa sf go wa yôn. 98. go gbíya ó ne mo-too te kó ó tî wi-ré ne dé saa wen+âa. 99. go bó zee ye ge, wi-ré ba+a gbíya nde wa dé gb+a te ë+â nde wa kpá mo senê te wa yôp.

11. The Origin of Rivers and Islands

1. kûku-tf ?bêé, ne ri gan bó senê ná, gó Gbagbasp á rym+ô ri ne gásá kere. 2. ne ô wi-ré gan kpá ri mò nó+á ná. 3. go hé ri fn+aa hê+i lengërê lengërê. 4. ne gan a há ri hô wá dôk wen-mo nde wa há hë a tâ a hâ ri hô wá wen-nô+â+i ná. 5. gó wan to kpá ri mò no fn bêm kë fi ná. 6. gó ye ge ge a nê fi de né Gbagbasp, së te ë+â ne usì fara+ri nôo to ro no nô nàm nàm kôde ndé.

7. ne ô wi-ré bó ne te-te'â me, nà a há ri hô wá dôk (< dôk) ná. 8. gó Gbagbasp dôô ri dôr+i hê+é ô wi-ré go ô wen kë fi fn kô kë fi ne bêm kë fi.

9. ne wan to tô fire go ô tô+n senê. 10. go mbôéfire go né dâñ gola kô Gbagbasp ne dûm ?dor+âa go fân né mo kë fi nàm nàm kô+i, tôko wëndé gan yôrê, wëndé gan gâ+rê. 11. ne Gbagbasp fân. 12. wan to hô ne zu+ze ?nêy. 13. go né. 14. go né dâñ gola kë fi na a dûm ?dor+âa sô kô a fân né mô+i. 15. go dûm sen-te'sara+te+i né sera+zu+â ugôn me.

16. go bâ ô te më ô dûm senê, nà a dûm a fàn ô tôko kà ô sen-te'-dôô-grâ+gola+1. 17. ne wan to ?bîl fire+i ne yôg, ne dûm pi nu. 18. ne ô torô kà ô ne yà kà-te'+ô+i bá fire+i, ne dûm yôg nàm wën+âa. 19. nde wa yôg fire+i sôn. 20. ne wan to ?bîl mbê+a ne pi nu. 21. ne Gbagbasp tô+y, ?mmô. 22. go ô torô nô+ô+i yôg gôy sô kô ?mô+i go wa yôg nàm wën+âa, ne zôk fara+mo+i ne tô+i nà, ne hô ne ugon me, ne têå (< têk) nu sô kô torô+i dûm nàm nàm wën+âa go yôg gôy ge ndé.

23. ne wan to bô pi mbê+a nu ?dô+i, nà a yôg ë+aa, gâ a bâ ë+ô torô+i. 24. gâ a nôt a zôk. 25. bâ ô nût nô+a, ne nôt saa. 26. gà ye tô ô yôg têå ô zôk ne mo nôt+i dé rô. 27. ô torô yôg go ?mô+i go nàm nàm wën+âa gô. 28. ne Gbagbasp bá fire+i go yôg. 29. ne wan to ?bîl mbê+a pi nu ?bo. 30. nà Ô bâ nà Ô yôg. 31. ne êë ne ô
there, they kill animals. 97. They return and eat. 98. And the gbbya is a lot of fun, and black people rejoice because of it. 99. When they hear that a person has assumed the gbbya, they are happy, because they will get meat and eat it.

11. The Origin of Rivers and Islands

1. A long time ago there was no water, because Gbagbas was collected it all in very large pots. 2. Consequently, people didn't find water to drink. 3. They had to buy it from him a little at a time. 4. He didn't give them a lot of water for the things they gave him in order that he might give them water to drink.

5. So Wanto didn't get any water so that he and his children could drink. 6. So he said, "What am I going to do to Gbagbas to make him show me where this water is so that we could always drink?"

7. People went to Gbagbas, and he didn't give them very much water. 8. Gbagbas kept water from people for himself, his wife, and his children.

9. And Wanto made some (peanut) paste and put salt in it. 10. He made balls of the paste and climbed Gbagbas's gola tree underneath which he always sat and wove things: sleeping mats, yéré baskets, or wall mats. 11. Gbagbas was weaving. 12. Wanto got up very early in the morning. 13. He went. 14. He went and climbed Gbagbas's tree underneath which he sat and wove. 15. And Wanto sat there on a fork of the tree right above Gbagbas.

16. And after Gbagbas came to sit there, he began to weave his mats in the shade of the gola tree. 17. And Wanto broke off a piece of the paste, tasted it, and threw it down. 18. Now Gbagbas's dogs which were sitting there beside him snatched up the paste and began to bite each other for it. 19. And they ate it all up. 20. And Wanto broke off some more and threw it down. 21. And Gbagbas said, "What's this? 22. What are the dogs eating here that they are biting each other—and yet I don't see what it is that's coming from above and falls on the ground so that the dogs are fighting over it and eating here?"

23. And when Wanto had thrown some more down, Gbagbas reached out and grabbed the paws of the dogs. 24. He smelled and examined it. 25. He smelled the oil and it smelled sweet. 26. He said, "Perhaps I should eat some to see, for this thing is good. 27. That's why the dogs are eating it and fighting over it." 28. So Gbagbas took the paste and ate it. 29. Then Wanto broke off some more and threw it down also. 30. And Gbagbas took the paste and ate it. 31. And since the dogs continued to take it and eat it, for he didn't chase them away, when Wanto broke off some more and threw it down, he
torô dyg+ô bá ne yôô na fô wa ha sent ná, ne wan to bó ?bii mbê+a pî nu ná a ndâk ô torô+i sf-day ne a bá na a yôô.

32. gôy ne nô-ngû+dâ-à dom+a tûlû. 33. ne hê+è gôh a wan kô mo ná a gêm+a fire ne wan to ?bir+d à nu+i kôô yôôn gô gan a kôî ri mâ ù nô+i ná. 34. ga à kôô ?bet. 35. gô gô bá têko kô à, à ù ngôs, ná a bá dana kô à, go yôuk. 36. gô à kôô gô à ù ôro nô ù ne ôro laagata nôo me gôô+i gâ. 37. ná à de ?màkkê né me wen- gô+bî wen-teni ?tô. 38. né go nè à yôô me gô à péé ?dono gô+ôk, gô+ôk gô+ôk. 39. go te+tà gô à hûy mo hâ nâm-ri+i ne ù rûm+ô ne ?gôsa kere ?don kêm gô à yôôs+tô+i. 40. ?môn kô-rê kô à dôyo+ê. 41. gô à nô+nà gôy. 42. ná a bá ?don+wàg gô à bôf né oro-pa nô. 43. gô à péé ?don te+?doo+gôla kô à à.

44. ne wan to dô+ à òrana-të me ne zôkê ?ara-rì+i nà ù ne+à wen+aà gô ùtô à nô+i sôm à. 45. ne bó dôm à péé ?don ne wan to zif kô à go gôô+bi ne kà-te go sf ?don te+oro+à mô ne ?buri kô+nà-rì+i à zô. 46. ne bê à pce go bá à soy nu, ne wan to bá mûo+rê kô à, bà bê+àk kô à, go né go né rûk ?gôsa kere+î ne oro-rì+i puya, rûk puya, ne ri fôk à nu ù né yê, yôô yôô yo+j yo+yo.

47. ne Gbagbasp bó zôtâ. 48. ne ôô à ne wan to ?bûr+ô ri+à à zô gô dyg fôk mô lâng-tà+a. 49. ne kôî go yû nê, yû nê ne hû gô nu ne à éë-ë wàâ-ri. 50. gende gâ ya à éë-ë wàâ-ri te ri fôk lângf nê. 51. ne ri kê ne yê ne kê ne yê ne c+à wpk Gbagbasp sen-te+gabô+ri+i. 52. ne ri fôk ne kà-te. 53. ne Gbagbasp kôû ne yû ne lângf, gô+y à ù ùmô à ù ùdoo me ù té te ?sà à te+ri+lângf nà te ?môn tf+à+i. 54. te hô ne bó gû senê, ne ri kê ne yê kê ne yô ne fôk lângf ne è wpk Gbagbasp sen-te+gabô+ri. 55. ?môn gôy ne Gbagbasp gô+y à ?ô, gan ù kôà ma më à ù détà nê. 56. ne wan to ?bur+i ri à zô. 57. gô ùnaâ+à ?môn. 58. ne gan à ù ùmô à ù ké+à à ù ùdô+à à ù wpk Gbagbasp ùnaâ+à-gô+y +ù. 59. ?môn ne gô yô ne ri fôk kê à ù yô+lângf.

60. go kôn+te nôô, gösà à ù senê. 61. gö saakara ne ù sàna-Wàam gôô, gâ sara ne Gbagbasp gu+û senê te s+à ne ùmô+à tf-ri há fôy (< fôk) nà wà, go ri fôk kê à yê kê à yê à. 62. gô mo+i à saakara ù sàna-Wàam wêntà+i. 63. gô wan to gan de gôy nà, ne wi+à gan ne+tà kàà ri mô à ëkne ne dôk+à nô, gô Gbagbasp ne+tà hûs, ri mô ù ën+à+ë à ëmà kê à ù kô à ù. 64. gô wan to à te+à fire gô ù+tà à ù nu gô à yô+n+à sô kô hê gôh à ù go né nê à à ù òô go wan to dô+ òrana-të me ne zôk sara kà à gô òtô+à gô ?bûr+i à zô sô kô kôn+te nôô, ri ù dôka dôka go wi-rê nô à.

65. ngom gâm roa ne kôngô te+àm zêê né to kô yâm-Ramona.
(Gbagbasp) chased the dogs away and took it and ate it.

32. As a result, Gbagbasp’s throat got choked up and dry. 33. He was dying of thirst because he had been long at eating the paste which Wanto had broken off and thrown down, and he hadn’t had any water to drink. 34. So he arose without saying a word. 35. He took his mat and put it up, and he took his bag and hung it over his shoulder. 36. He arose and made as if to go to Laagata (a village a little over a mile from where the story was being told) over there. 37. He pretended to go there so as to turn aside to come for this water. 38. So he went and he went and stood there, then he came back ever so quietly. 39. He came and took off the lids of the six large pots in which he had gathered the water and had hidden. 40. They were right by his village. 41. So he drank a long time. 42. So he returned to the path and went around, and went as he had come. 43. Then he came back to the foot of his gola tree.

44. But Wanto was still in the tree, and he saw where the water was which Gbagbasp went for and went and drank. 45. And as Gbagbasp was returning, Wanto descended and went off to the side, and went back to where Gbagbasp had been so as to break the water pots and throw the water in the bush. 46. And when Gbagbasp came back and sat down, Wanto took his what-you-call-it, his pestle, and he went and he went and struck the large pots with all their water smack! hit them smack! and the water flowed on the ground and went swiftly on.

47. Gbagbasp saw this. 48. Wanto had busted the water and spilled it, and now it was flowing away. 49. So Gbagbasp arose and run, and he leaned over and put his arms out in the direction of the water. 50. He said, "I’ll put out my arms in the direction of the water so the water won’t flow away." 51. So the water divided and flowed to each side, leaving Gbagbasp right in the middle. 52. The water flowed on each side of him. 53. Then Gbagbasp rose and ran off, saying, "I’ll go and stoop down there, so that the water will not run off but remain in front of me." 54. When he had run, and stooped down, the water divided and flowed on each side, leaving Gbagbasp in the middle. 55. That’s how it was, and Gbagbasp said, "I don’t know what to do. 56. Wanto has busted the water and thrown it away. 57. He’s ruined everything. 58. And I can’t do anything to stop its flow." 59. And the water continued to flow on.

60. So now there are large rivers. 61. And the islands in the Wâam are the places where Gbagbasp leaned down to stop the water from flowing, and the water divided and flowed on each side. 62. That’s why there are islands in the Wâam. 63. And if Wanto had not done this, people would not have obtained a lot of water to drink now, for Gbagbasp had gone and hidden the water so that he could drink alone, as well as his wife and his children. 64. But Wanto made paste, and went and dropped it so that Gbagbasp ate it, after which he was thirsty, and he went and drank water, and Wanto was sitting in the tree and saw where he went, so he went and lot out the water, so that now there is a lot of water, and people drink it.

65. (Untranslatable formula), so now I’d like to hear the story of Ramona’s father.
12. Spider Brings Some News

1. Sa fa se, wa gi'o dpô wen-zee mbé wen. 2. nde wa tô ye ge, ... dpô nôo nôo ro ri+tô gôô, wen-zee ne mbé wen. 3. nde wa gi' rûmô dpô. 4. ne ñma 6 sôk+i ti kô wa sôn te+tô, nde wa yá këta. 5. ne gan wa kpá ñma mbé wen wen-tô+a kpém nôo. 6. nde wa tô ye ge, o a tê tê ñma mbé wen sê to ro nô dpô+i o ndé. 7. ne gan wa kpá ñma mbé wen kpém nôo.

8. ne wan to a zôk, fo o kë a tomb+tô hâ a, gâ ye ge, wan to, me ñdôy kë nê nê hô ro wol wen-æyn nôo gôô. 9. ne wan to a ñdôy+tô kë, gê a hê+tô, a+a kô-yôrê, ñdôy+tô strâ, gê a+a kô-yôrê, nê nê nê nê.

10. ne hê a ne ne kô-te, ne 6 wî-re sôn ne mpy+tô wen-no dpô nôo+i, wa mpy+tô, go wa yôô kê-dpô+i, nde wa zôk+aa, nde wa tô ye, wan to, nê nê ñye ndê.

11. nga a tê+tô yo, fo o kë fi nô ndê a ye ge, gan ro kpá kô wol wen-æyn nôo gôô nôo, go 6e wan to, ñt (< a + ñ) ze kô sen-te-re kë fi me ñdôy kë hâ ré kë fi me, ê nê nê ñe te ro wol uyn nôo gôô, go ñ fôô sôk zôa.

12. ne ñe ne fo o kë fi kô-de+tô in ñ gôô, gan ñ fi ñdôy-xôr+aa kpém nôo.

13. gan ñe nosô nô mbé wen a ndé wa tê+tô wêndê nê ñ fôô nô.

14. ne wî-re bó zee gôô sôn, nde wa dé saa. 15. nde wa tô ye ge, ñô, wan to, ñô kôt+a mbé wen. 16. wan to tê+tô mbé wen sôô.

17. go ro nô dpô+i. 18. ne dpô-ki+tô rô mbé wen wen-tô+a+a, ñô gi+ô. 19. gô en-te-ñu wen sôn a yë kô ro tê, ne gan kpá ñma mbé wen wen-tô+a+a. 20. go ... sôô kô+tê+tô nôô, oro nô dpô+i. 22. ne bó wô ki dpô+i, go bó wô nô sôn, nde wa dé saa ñôrôtô dôk en kô mbé wen nde wa kôt+a.
12. Spider Brings Some News

1. (Some) animals (once) brewed beer to hear something new. 2. They said, "This beer we've brewed is to hear something new." 3. So they brewed a lot of beer. 4. And a lot of their elders came and sat down beside it. 5. But they didn't find one new thing to say. 6. And they said, "Who can come and say something new so that we can drink this beer?" 7. And they didn't find one new thing.

8. And Wanto (that is, Spider) saw (perhaps just a false start). Wanto's in-laws sent word to him, saying, "Wanto, dig a hole and send it to us to plant yams in it." 9. So Wanto dug the hole, tied it up, put it in a yéré basket, dug an ant-hill, put it in the basket and went with it. 10. And as he came alongside the beer, the people (that is, the animals of line 1) who had gathered to drink the beer and were gathered alongside the beer saw him, and they said to him, "Wanto, where are you going?"

11. He said, "Aw, my in-laws said that they didn't have a hole in which to plant yams, so I've dug a hole at my village, and I'm taking it so they can plant yams, and I just can't figure it out. 12. What my in-laws have done with me, I just can't figure it out. 13. Whether or not this is something new for them to talk about, I don't know.”

14. When the people heard all this, they were pleased. 15. They said, "Fine! Wanto, we've found something new. 16. Wanto has said something new today. 17. Let's drink the beer. 18. We've brewed beer with which to look for something new to talk about. 19. We brewed it, but our brothers talked just about old things and we didn't find something new to talk about. 20. But Wanto has said something new. 21. So right now let's drink the beer." 22. And when they divided the beer and had drunk it all, they had a lot of fun because of the new thing they had found.
INTRODUCTION

Two sets of vocabularies are contained in this chapter, one from Gbeya to English and the other from English to Gbeya. (In both cases the English definitions and translations are my own, based on context or explanations of informants.) The purpose of the first vocabulary is to provide the serious reader of this grammar with the means of making his own literal translations of the examples and texts. It should serve this purpose fairly well, for it is based primarily on the texts which served as a principal part of the corpus for this grammatical description. No claim is made, however, for complete coverage. Intentionally omitted from this vocabulary are the French words that occurred in the corpus and also the interjections.

Most of the affixes are also included in the Gbeya-English vocabulary. Those left out are the ones where part of the suffix is determined by what precedes (such as -um in dýgum 'sit I') and, naturally, the relational morpheme { yat' }.

The English-Gbeya vocabulary is the reverse of the first one, and is in an abbreviated form. It is more like a lexical index, sending the reader back to the Gbeya-English section for more information.

Wherever possible, I have given the scientific names of flora and fauna, but being less than an amateur botanist and zoologist, I have used two reference works to the best of my ability. They are the following:


In alphabetizing the entries, I have followed the traditional roman order, with the following modifications:

1. Long vowels are treated as two letters: thus, ee follows ed.
2. Nasalized vowels follow the oral vowels of the same quality: thus, a follows a. No separate headings are given e and o. They are to be found under e and o respectively.
3. The nonroman symbols for vowels follow the roman ones: so e follows e, o follows o.
4. Entries of more than one word are alphabetized as if they were long unit-words: gbati precedes gba tûrû.
5. The unusual consonants come in the following order: b, ʔb, d, ʔd, g, gb, k, kp, m, mb, ʔm, n, nd, ʔn, ng, ʔg, ʔm, ʔmgb, v, ʔ (with v).
6. Traditional letters have priority over tone, and in the case of identical sequences of letters, low tone precedes high tone: so gu-ô precedes gudam.

7. Verbs entered with the perfective suffix (gu-ô, etc.) are alphabetized as if nothing followed the hyphen.

Other conventions are also adopted:

1. Question marks indicate doubt concerning an entry.

2. No distinction is made between the transitive and intransitive use of a verb. The reason for this is that Gbeya verbs seem to be ambivalent with respect to the taking of an object or not, and the whole list of verbs was not tested for their behavior.

3. Tonally differentiated forms are not entered. Thus, whereas the connective go occurs both as go and gô, only go is given.

4. While some verbs are glossed with 'to become something or other' and others 'to be . . .,' it is very likely that both glosses are appropriate for all of the verbs in question.

5. Both the bound and the free forms of certain nouns are given: thus, péé and pér-'rope.' Where the word is used in a construction, however, the free form is usually cited.

6. Verbs are entered both in their imperfective and perfective forms. If, in the former case, they end in the suffix -i, the proper form of the perfective suffix is put within parentheses: thus, pesi(â). If they do not have this suffix, but have the form with a long vowel, the long vowelled form is entered with a reference to the bound form: thus, pee (v.) See per-â. Under the perfective form one also finds the free imperfective form. Where the perfective form has no hyphen, as is true in a few cases, one is to understand that for this verb there is no form with a long vowel: that is, a form with final -Vy occurs instead. Except for the perfective suffix and except for verbs occurring in sentence-like constructions, verbs are cited in their low tone forms.

7. No forms resulting from phonological conditioning are entered: thus, ak-â 'to ask,' but not aq which occurs preceding a nasal consonant. One must therefore familiarize himself with the morphophonemic changes described in 130.

8. As in the rest of the grammar, numerical references are given to the appropriate sections where more information about a form is available.

The following abbreviations and symbols have been used:

- adj. adjective
- adv. adverb
- aux. auxiliary
- conn. connective
- ctn. certain
- dem. demonstrative
- desc., descr. descriptive (in connection with descriptive adverbs)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>det.</td>
<td>determinant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.p.</td>
<td>final particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obj.</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P (1P, 2P, 3P)</td>
<td>first, second, and third persons plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perf.</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pron.</td>
<td>pronoun, pronominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QV</td>
<td>quotative verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S (1S, 2S, 3S)</td>
<td>first, second, and third persons singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subj.</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subst.</td>
<td>substitute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suf.</td>
<td>suffix</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A

- a - âa - aa - âra - ra (det.) See 213.1
a - á (conn.) See 332.1
á (conn.) See conn. a
á (conn.) See 331.1
á mé né mé yoo zãa ná  don't go and stand over them
- á - ó - ô - û (perf. suffix) See 211.2
a-á (v.) to throw, put (of pl. obj.)
a nu  to throw on the ground, to throw down
a te  to put on oneself (of clothes)
fâ-fo ã riffim  dust got into my eyes
a fo  to go to gardens (speaking of many people)
a kô-ômaâ fn wa  to join up with them

-aa (det.) See -a
-aa (3S pron. suf.) See 282
aâye (n.?) over there, what's-his-name
kô ké ké aâye  we got ours over there
bâm kô aâye nôô  the child of what's-his-name
-ãa (det.) See -a
-ãa (3S pron. suf.) See 282
ak-â (v.) to ask
ak mé  to ask you
ak mo wenâa  to ask about it
am (pron.) I
am-á (v.) to suck at breast, nurse
andâa < Sango (conn.) but it turns out that
-âra (det.) See -a
are (pron.) See ere
ay-á (v.) to fall (of leaves, light rain, breasts of woman)
ay oro  to come or run after someone who has departed
riffi nô ay oro-ôô  your eyes will long for us
é (pron.) he, she
e - ë (stative) See 351
ë (adj.) old
ë mo kô tf  things of long ago
ë naâ-dwa  the female goat which bore the rest of one's flock
ak-á (v.) to tear, to tear off
ay-á (v.) to rip off
gay pte to rip off bark for making cord

B

ba-a (v.) to take, seize, receive (sg. obj.)
ba te (of person) to climb a tree, (of bird) to alight on a tree
ba wéey (~ kóo) to get married
ba djon-wáa to get back on the path, to set off on a trip
ba gaza to assume the rights of a person initiated into the circumcision rites

wa ba yarf-zà yìnàa they go on a walk to dig up the medicine
bó wá ba dòw né zu-mé when they keep beer from you

báa (f.p.)
ba a sa ré, ne ndé ré ne né ñgay-te-ré báa if he should call us (to go eat), should we force ourselves to go!
bágara < Sango (n.) cow, bovine animal
bana (n.) ?
bana-gaza one who has already been initiated in the circumcision rites and holds certain privileges

báa See bo
bé- (combining form for béem) young, small
bé-kóo girl, daughter
bé-rí creek, small stream
béa the child, the small one
bee (v.) See ber-á
béem (n.) child. Compare bé-
beck-á (v.) to belch
béem (n.) child
béem kóm my child
béndé See wéndé
ber-á ~ bee (v.) to burn (of fire)
bere (n.) breast
bere-á her breast
ri-bere milk
bere (adv.) right away, in a hurry, quickly
nbe nè bana-wà bere let's go after them right away

bé See bo
bérá (bérá?) (n.) cleared portion of land, expansive place
bérá-go open stony clearing
bérá-fo cleared garden plot
bérá-oró-tuwa deserted house-site (where the house is in ruins)
béré (n.) dry season
béré déá it's (now) dry season
bég-á (v.) to refuse, reject
bé See bo
bi-ó (v.) to fight
bi biro to wage a war, to fight
bii (v.)  See bir-ô
bir-ô - bii (v.)  to bend, to carry (a child on one’s back)
biro (n.)  fight, war
  bi biro  to wage a war
  na biro  to go to war
biro (n.)  a certain small antelope
bisa (n.)  young man; adornment, ornament
  nê deâ bisa  you’ve become a young man
  de bisa  to get all dressed up (of a young man). Compare zôgâ
  mo-de bisa  adornment, ornament
biyâ (n.)  ctn. large edible rodent hunted in the bush during the dry season
bo-á - bê - bô (aux. v.)  when, as, if, should.  See 394.31
bô (v.)  neg. of o, to not be
  kam gan bô ná  there’s no food
  gan nêm pî nu bô ná  I won’t throw it down by any means
bom-á (v.)  to become blind
bôom (n.)  blindness
  wî-bôom  blind person
boro (n.)  iron
  boro-biro  weapons
bolo - bɔo (n.)  back, behind, after
  bolo-nâq-sa? dc  animal tracks
  wa yû nê bolo-rê  they run after us
  tsê bolo-wa  in their absence
  ka boloai  after that
  wa há mbôy bolo-kôô  they are paying the bride-price for a girl
  wa ndôy mbôyáa  st-?day há boîsa  they take back all the money paid for her
bôo (n.)  foolishness, stupidity
  ã dea re  nê bôo  he made a fool of us
  wi tô bôo gâa  you’re talking foolishness like this
  wî-bô  stupid person
bôo (intensifier, perhaps the same word as the preceding)
  wa yên bôo-mo  they eat the thing
bû (adj.)  white
  bû duwa  white goat
bûk (n.)  wind
  bûk yû  the wind is blowing
bûû (n.)  ?
  bûû-wey  ashes
byri(ô) (v.)  to fly

?B

?ba-á (v.)  to cut off (section of bark, leaving the tree trunk)
?baa  See ?bay
?baa (v.)  See ?bar-á
baka (n.) shoulder, forelegs (of animal), wing (of bird)
   zu-bakám my shoulder

bar-á - baa (v.) to shed, peel off
   fara baa to become day
   bárá fara dawn
   bárá gôk snakeskin
   baa rfp to make a person able to see

bay - baa (adj.) only, just. See 361.1
   bay yo kpém just the hide

bédé (adv.) a long time ago; used also to intensify the idea of completion
   hô hê bédé he had already appeared

bébé (n.) ctn. indigenous cotton the seed of which is very small

beckere (adv.) desc. of rumbling of one's stomach

béét (adv.)?
   ba béét to take something from a person in a single, quick motion

bii (v.) See bir-ô

bir-ô - bii (v.) to break off (piece of food), to fall off or be eaten away
   (of fingers of a leper)

biya (n.) friend, comrade, buddy; the other (of two things)
   biya his friend

bo-á (v.) to make a circle of something

boq (adv.) desc. of gun going off

boo (v.) Sec bor-á

bor-á - boo (v.) to butcher an animal, including skinning it

boy (n.) hat, cap

bo (adv.) still, again, also
   fn bé-zorói bo and the small fish too
   wémba mbéa bo to take it again
   èré yà ne wi-ré bo wéndé are we still human beings?
   g gám tê-ô bo he also turned around

bû (subst.) ten

buk-ô (v.) to hang something (over one's shoulder)

burô (v.) to break into many pieces, shatter

burô (n.) ctn. reed

dá-doq (n.) skirt of cotton strings worn by women over anus

dak-á (v.) to extract
   dak tô to lead, to go on ahead of others
   dak kééy há zan'wa to take fear out of them

dal (n.) ctn. upright drum

dam-á (v.) to be adequate (that is, to arrive at a given quantity, measure)
   má-damfa thing necessary to do a task

dan (n.) ctn. spirit
   bé-dan twins

daná - dandá (n.) bag (originally of leather)
Samarin: The Gbeya Language

dandâ (n.) See daná

dan-á (v.) to climb, climb on, ascend; to copulate (of animals)
dawa (n.) green monkey (Cercopithecus sp.)
day-á (v.) to raise (animals)
  mo'7day domesticated animal
dâ (n.) anger
  dâ dê a he is angry
  zaq-mf bó dz dâ when you are angry
dâ-á (v.) to curse (someone)
day (n.) wound, sore
  day'gaza wound left by circumcision
dé (adj.) good
  dé kôo a good woman
dé7dé (adj.) good
de-á (v.) to do, make; very much used in idiomatic expressions
  de parába to make, have trouble
  de pe to do something, be somewhere for a year
  de ngay to treat someone meanly, to intimidate, to act ferociously
  de saa to play, have fun, rejoice
  de mo to work, to go . . . (in imitation of a noise)
  mo7dei work
delâ (n.) metal anklets
  ba delâ kû-wa to put anklets on their legs
dém-á (v.) to be numerous (of people)
  ó démá wi7ré a large crowd of people
dêne (n.) ctn. wasp
dê (v.) See dêr-á
dêr-á ~ dê (v.) to be numerous
dik-á (v.) to make a loud noise
  kôro dik there's thunder
  dikô kôro thunder
dila (n.) lion
dji (v.) See dji-á
dî (subst.) there
  ere 5 dî we slept there
dî-á ~ dji (v.) to be heavy
dîro See gba dîro
dîti(ó) (v.) to be heavy
dîyc (subst.) here
do-á (v.) to flower
doá te flower
dom (n.) penis
doó (v.) See dor-á
dor-á ~ doó (v.) to keep someone from getting something
  doó dpô hâ éé-ðmaâ to keep beer from each other
do-á (v.) to set fire to, burn, shine, roast; refuse to give something to someone
wesé  doám  the sun roasted me
do něká  to be stingy
gbai doh ré  even if you should not give us (food)
dok-à (v.)  to be much, many
wá doká  they were numerous
dská  fo  large garden
wi-ré teá o dsk  if there were a lot of people
dúka (subst.)  much, many, very
holo-náñ-wa 5 dúka  there were many of their tracks
dom-à (v.)  to blow on an instrument
dóma (n.)  ctn. tree, rope made from the bark of this tree
dó (adj.)  short
dó wi-ré  short person
wi-dó  short person
dph-à (v.)  to throw down
dó (n.)  beer
wesé-dó  beer-drinking day
gi dó  to brew; prepare beer
dó-koë  marriage beer (part of the marriage obligation)
dó (n.?)  near, soon
he di dó  to get near, approach
këro gan ńmëy dó ná  the rain didn't stop soon
dótf (perhaps dó-tf) (n.)  forehead
duk (n.)  mortar
bé-duk  pestle
dur-ó  -  duu (v.)  to be long (in measure)
ńc dúróa  lengthwise
duu (v.)  See dur-ó
duwa (n.)  goat
kó-duwa  female witch
4 nàa-duwa  the female goat which bore the rest of one's flock
dým-à (v.)  to spear, pierce, stick, stab
dýn-à (v.)  to sit; as aux., to continue to, keep on doing something, to begin
to do something. See 394.3
dýsaa rëk ëncë  he kept on hitting the wasps
dýn wá yën mo  while they're eating

D

dafiâ (v.)  to fix, prepare, adjust
day (n.?)  completely, far away (occurring only with sf)
wa yën say kóm sf-day  they eat all of my pumpkins
de (adv.)  very, much, hard
gá yui  de  he really runs fast
ó wi-ré né yorâ  de  if there are a lot of people
dëk  dek (adv.)  different (things)
SAMARIN: THE GBEYA LANGUAGE

?dɔŋ (n.) back, behind, later, inside of bark
pee ?dɔŋ to return
st-?dɔŋ See st-?day
kp ?dɔŋáa to want it, agree to it
kp ?dɔŋ-si ?dɔŋ to want to return
?dɔŋ-ri river bank
?dɔŋ-wáá path, road
ném te ?dɔŋ I'll come later
bá ṣi st né ?dɔŋ take him back
?dɔŋ kpém six
?dɔŋ rifto seven
?dɔŋ ?dɔŋ (adv.) very dark, black
fara tyb ?dɔŋ ?dɔŋ it has become pitch black
?doo (v.) See ?dor-
?dor- - ?doo (n.) under, underneath, in
é neá ?doo-zó he went into the bush
té te ?doo-kóro we walked in the rain
?doy-á (v.) to make a hole, drill
?du-ó (v.) to dip up, draw (a liquid)
?dúu (n.) bridge

e-á (v.) to place, put, leave (sg. obj.); let
e nu to put down
a bá duwa go é sené he takes a goat and puts it there (that is, adds to
what has already been given)
wá cá a kp' tuwa they left him in the house
é há wi-ré té st let people come first
éé (n.) see é-
ér- - éé (n.) hand, finger, paw
a rém kpa mo te-kp-éé-wi-ré he can get things from people
-e - -ye (dem.) Sec 213.22
erk-á (v.) to lean, lean against
bá wey né ék sén-te'gni ma bé-te takes the gun and leans it against a
small tree
am ék tem fnaa I depend on him
en (n.?) only, alone
en-te'q only him, by himself
té - aré - ré - e (prn.) we
e (sg. explicit prn.) See 382.12
eé (subst.) this. See 382.2

fan-á (v.) to weave
fara (n.) place
fara sa to become day
fara 5 mbiri mbiri it's somewhat dark (speaking of the passing of day)
kpa a fara ne ko  to catch him when he's going to (his) in-laws
5 ne fara de mo it's time to work
ne sen-te fara na a 5 seni to go to the place where he is
gga fara evening
fe-â (v.) to die
feâ (adv.) desc. of the noise of a whistle
fey (n.) death
fey zembéi gbea wi róí the zembé death killed the person
zu fey grave-site
feâ (v.) to be white
fe (n.) See kâfâ
tâ (n.) whistle
dom fera to blow a whistle
fire (n.) paste (as of sesame, peanuts)
yufi fire to make a paste
fire-nu dust
fiyo (n.) general term for the spirits which control the fortunes of men,
also the magical paraphernalia used in placating or controlling
them; therefore closely associated with medicinal preparations
although there is medicine (yi) that is nonmagical; loosely trans-
lated in this grammar as fetish
dé fiyo to make, use, set up a fetish
wan fiyo one who owns the rights to a certain fetish
wi fiyo a practitioner of a fetish, whose rights are obtained from the
wan
fff (adv.) little, few
yug orésâ fff to stay in the same place for a little while
fo-â (v.) to sweep, push, chase
fok-â (v.) to flow, to wash something away
fon (n.) ctn. grain sorghum
foo (n.) in-laws (possibly synonymous with ko  )
foyo (n.) shame
am dé foyo rfp-mé I am ashamed in your presence
c foyo rfp-mé to make you embarrassed
mô'foyo shameful parts of the body (sex organs)
fâ (n.) garden, farm
foo (v.) See for-â
for-â foo (v.) to wash (one's body, clothes, etc.)
foo gaza to wash ritually after circumcision rites
fort (n.) lime (used in whitewashing)
foro (n.) elephant
gu foro to squat down
fu â fufu (adv.) desc. of sound of many people singing
fur-5 — fyu (v.) to sew pieces of cloth together
fyu (v.) See für-5
gâ. See oro . . . gâ and 332.5

gâ (QV) See gende gâ ye ge

gâa (adv.) like this, in this manner

bôm kpsî gâa as I was holding on like this

gâ? da? da (adv.) desc. of opening up


gâi?da (n.) ctn. kind of large mat

gale (n.) left

wââ-gale left side

éé-gale left hand

ba gale to be left-handed

gam-á (v.) to turn completely around

gâm te- mô Turn around! (command to one person)

gam guram (n.) whirlwind, dust devil; the spirit responsible for them; particularly associated with grass-burning hunts because of the whirlwinds produced by the air currents; believed capable of confusing the animals, chasing them in certain directions, tying them together by their horns, etc.; success at hunting is attributed to an effective whirlwind; control over the whirlwind is effected by certain rites (for example, the whirlwind is magically prepared in the kernel of the kô?bo fruit and let loose by smashing it against a tree)

gan (~  gen - gșa) . . . ná (adv.) negative marker. See 371

gan wa té ná they aren't coming

gan-á (v.) to surpass; used to indicate a kind of superlative or comparative

șma mô gan 5 ngay gân Nzapâ ná there is nothing too hard for God

rîk ădê gân, goi bá mbunzi nôo it would be better if you would take this white man

wa gbé rê gân zâa they kill too many of us

gân (conn.) See wéndé . . . gan

gara (n.) space in front of house

gata (n.) ctn. drum

gay-á (v.) to make much noise, scare by making a noise

gay mô ?doc-mô to make a lot of noise among the things (in the garden)

gaza (n.) circumcision; covers a complex of concepts relating to circumcision and the rites that accompany it

kôtu?-gaza hut used during circumcision rites

ba gaza assume the rights of those initiated

nê gaza to be initiated by circumcision

gon wa né gaza to circumcise them

gy (conn.) See go

gy-á (v.) to be cool, to cool off

bâ á gşá when it (the elephant) became still (after being shot)
gșá fara evening

gșá (adv.) See gan . . . ná

gșâ (adj.) large, big
ge (QV)  See gende à ye ge
ge (subst.)  what?  See 382.3
  ge w¿-ge  a té né ge ndé  who is bringing it?
  ge wen¿ge  a me t¿ ge ndé  what are you talking about?
  wen¿ge a me ñé gpy wenán ge ndé  why are you doing it like that?
  dhá ró ge  what happened?
ge¿da (n.)  manioc
ge¿de (n.)  buttocks
  k¿ ge¿día  the beginning
  nú-ge¿de  anus
  y sf ¿don né ge¿de¿q  he backed up
  ge¿de¿dpó  beer dregs
ggegezf (n.)  See ku¿bá
gende gà (QV)  See gende gà yè ge
gende gà (QV)  See gende gà ye ge
gende gà ye ge (QV)  See 353
gère (adv.)  without anything, for no purpose, freely (this word has an extremely wide range of meaning)
  am 5 gère  I'm fine
  mo-gère  worthless thing
  gom gáwà ne gère¿fara  to cut firewood in some place belonging to no one
  yaa gère  to roam around doing nothing
  Nzapà remà in ré mbé ré ne gère  God is enough for us to go without any trouble (that is, God is all we need for safety)
  me yàà gà ne  you live untouched by leprosy
gey (n.)  pottery clay
gè (conn.)  See go
gèk (adv.)  still, quiet, slow
gèë (n.)  See gèr-
  âm jgùj gèk  I know a little
  nè gèk sè  Go slowly!
  gen (adv.)  See gan . . . ná
gene (n.)  guest, stranger
gëze (n.)  ctn. kind of a basket
gèr- - èf (n.)  neck, throat, voice, sound
gè (conn.)  See go
gè (n.)  happiness
  dà gè  to be happy, have fun
gèë (n.)  cold
  gèt gbém  I'm cold
gèrèn (adv.)  rapidly
  hay gèrèn  to crawl along rapidly
gi-ó (v.)  to cook, prepare
gi kam  to prepare a meal
gida (n.)  enemy
wf-gida enemy

gima (n.) song

sa gima to sing a song

gfsô (n.) stump (of a tree)
gift (n.) noise of feet

gfô (n.) shade, shadow

go ~ ge ~ gô (conn.) See 332.2

go (n.) stony area

gba go an extensive stony area with little vegetation, particularly of
the laterite variety

gó (conn.) when. Compare bo

góm zerá when I heard

go?dô (perhaps go?do) (n.) end

go?dô-fiyo the explanation of the fetish

go (n.) molars

?gô (n.) ?

zu?gorôm my knee

goy-á (v.) to like, love (especially demonstrated in giving gifts)
gô?bi(á) (v.) to be warped, to rock sidewise (as in a canoe)
gôk (n.) snake

?bárâ gôk snakeskin

gôla (n.) ctnt. tree (Berlinia sp.)
gôm-á (v.) to cut, cut out, run out

gôm bô-kôrá to hatch chicks

gôn-á (v.) to cut

gôn (n.) top of, on

a pî gôn-kû-x he puts (the gun) on his lap

go?nî (n.) foreign, different (?)
gô (adv.) here

ter ter gô here we come

gôro (n.) yam

gôy (n.) female skirt made of cotton strings and worn in front; in other
dialects called kakô and gbelek

gô (n.) leopard

gôro (n.) bee

zî-gôro honeybee

nô-gôro honey

ri-gôro honey

gôy (adv.) like this, well (very often only a meaningless pause filler), on
and on, for a long time (especially when repeated or stressed and
lengthened)

wa dé gôy they do it like this

ter ak Nzapâ we asked God about it for a long time

mo gôy, ñma yâm kôm ô sené well, I had an uncle

guô (v.) to cover (something completely)

ter gû zu-ré we covered our heads

gu ?dôô-waka to hide in the cane-grass
gu foro to squat
gûdam (perhaps gu + dam) (n.) a certain style of setting a woman’s hair, in a series going from forehead to back of head
gun (n.) base (of tree), waist
kâ-gun-wa the sides of their hips
gundû? (adv.) desc. of opening something previously unopened
§ gbó zu-geze-sunu gundû he breaks open the basket of sesame seed (which is covered with large leaves now entirely brittle)
guri(ô) (v.) to smoke (food over the fire)
guro (n.) rack, scaffold, or platform for smoking meat, keeping objects out of the way, etc.
gûwá (n.) firewood
góm gûwá to chop firewood
gûn-ô (v.) to plant, bury

GB

gba (adj.) big, real; even if. See 361.1
gba koy-sa?de ?moná even if the rest of the meat is left
gba dprô (n.) ctnt. large rope
gba dprô (n.) ctnt. large antelope (Damaliscus korrigum), the meat is taboo to the newly circumcised
Gbâgbasp (that is, gba gba sp) (n.) ctnt. character in the fable “The Origin of Rivers and Islands” (text 11); the word sp means the spirit of a dead person
gbâñ (adv.) also
gbâñgala (adv.) desc. of a thunderous noise
ndoo gbâñgala to shoot with a very loud noise
gbati(â) (v.) to stop (walking)
gba tûrû (n.) cloth made from the bark of the tûrû tree
gbay-à (v.) to come out, appear (usually pl. of ha-à)
gbay záan to come outside
gbay dan to give birth to twins
gba zawa (n.) ctnt. kind of ground-nut (Voandzeia subterranea Thouars.)
gbâ (n.) See gbâra
gbâra - gbâ (n.) bone, grain, kernel
gbâra-wey bullet
gbâra-sa?de animal bones
gbél (adv.)?
he gbél to cry out loudly announcing the killing of an animal
gbô-à (v.) to kill
wo gbëm I’m hungry
gbôlek (n.) See goy
gbô-à (v.) to be hot (pepper, one’s body)
tem gbô gôdé I’m very hot
gbô-à (v.) to be red, mature (of fruit) (one of the three major colors)
gbô mo a red thing
202  SAMARIN: THE GBEYA LANGUAGE

gba (adv.) descr. of noise made by a large fire
gbii (adv.) descr. of the rumbling of thunder
gbffgbff (adv.) descr. of the rumbling of thunder
gbim (adv.) descr. of the sound of many running feet
gbii (adv.) descr. of the rumbling of thunder
gbiro-fo (gbirofo?) (n.) ctn. tree, perhaps the same as noo, whose fruit is edible
gbrya (n.) the area of grassland systematically burnt in the hunting of animals during the dry season
gbijn-ë (v.) to break, break out or through
gbo-ë (v.) to arrive, reach a place
gbo?di(â) (v.)?
gbo?di sôrè to hold a spear shaft preparatory to casting it in such a way that it quivers
gbo?gôm (adv.)?
kpà ñmaâ gbo?gôm to meet each other with a loud noise (as two waves of fire)
gbo?di(f) (v.) to be tired
â gbo?da sôn he's all tired out
gbo?gô (n.) middle
gbo?gôl (n.) ctn. tree found along small streams whose wide leaves are used by women in making skirts; its fruit ripens in the dry season
gbur-ô - gbûu (v.) to drag, pull
am gbûraa te*têfêm na I'm pulling him toward me
gbut (adv.) descr. of destruction of trees by elephants
dûn wa zâ mo gbut gbut they were digging up things
gbûu (v.) See gbur-ô

H

hâ - hô (conn.) See 332.3
sâ yâm-Sara há bá wey call Sara's father to get the gun
hâ2 - hô - hê - hô (conn.) See 342
dak këcy há zañ-wa to take fear out of them
tp há wa to tell them
hâ3 (conn.) See a, 332.1
ha-ë (v.) to give
haa (v.) See har-â
han-â (v.) to fry, roast in an open pan
har-â - haa (v.)?
haa mbo ne kôo to pay the bride-price for a wife
haa ta?wë to give consideration to one's thoughts
hârâ (adv.) absolutely all
erre ?bôó sa?de hârâ sôn we completely skinned the animal
ô wî-rë hârâ sôn absolutely all the people
hay-â (v.) to crawl, creep
wa háy kâ-zan?tuwa they creep up bcside the house
hâ (conn.) See hâ1, hâ2
he-á (v.) to cry, utter; apparently synonymous with hey
he?di(á) (v.) to approach, arrive near
bél ré he?di dôô te-ná-Waam na as we approached the bank of the Waam
dence
hee (v.) See hey
hey-á ~ hee (v.) to cry, make a noise
hey kpwá to cry with tears
he-á (v.) to buy, (formerly) to barter
hee (v.) See há₁, há₂
hr (adv.) ?
  yu hér to run to cut off a fleeing animal
hee (v.) See há₁, há₂
hê (v.) See hê-á
hê¼ (n.) thirst
  hê¼-ri gbé a he's thirsty
hê¼-á ~ hê¼ (v.) to tie up (with cords)
hîi (v.) See hî-ô
hî-ô ~ hîi (v.) to stoop down, lower one's body
hir (adv.) descr. of a lion's roar
hîk-ô (v.) to circle around, make a detour
hîg-ô (v.) syn. hîk-ô
hô (comm.) See há₁, há₂
hôôô hôôô (adv.) completely off
  ñ barâ kôk-ge'da sî-ôday hôôô hôôô she peeled the manioc skin right off
  pî hôôô hôôô to throw swiftly
ho-á (v.) to appear, come out, flow; when ho is used of sg. subj., gbay-á
  is used of pl.
  ho tuwa to come of a house
ho?i(á) (v.) to slip something off
hp?k-ô (v.) to rub, grate, scrub, sharpen (knife)
hp?h-ô (v.) to rub, crush; perhaps the same as hp?k-ô
hußi(ô) (v.) to have loose bowels, diarrhea
husi(ô) ~ hysi(ô) (v.) to hide
  husi te to hide oneself
hyri(ô) (v.) to spread abroad
  zec hyrfª to hear a person's fame
hysi(ô) (v.) See husi(ô)

-i (imperfective suf.) See 211.1
-iê (emphatic suf.) See 211.3
-iô (nominalizing suf.) See 211.4
-i (locative suf.) See 213.21
-i (postclitic) See 220
-i (prn.) 2P. See 282
ii (v.) See ir-ô
fn - fini - ind- (conn.) with, to. See 343
wá dët wàn më fn ré they did an evil thing to us
fini- (conn.) See fn
ind- (conn.) See fn
fini (n.) urine
sp fini to urinate
ir-ô - ii (v.) to push something to make it move
ôgâa (conn.?) in order to
fye (subst.) where?
tô ré kpa wî-rê fye ndé where can we possibly find someone?
fye (subst.) over there. See 382.5
hoâ fye gâa (the tusks) appeared there like this
fye ... fye here and there
fyo (n.) bark (of tree)
ôf (subst.) that, those. See 382.2
ônô (v.) to know
ôn òdoñ-wáâ wen-de gôô to know how to do it this way
ôn wen kô wa to know about them
ôfrô (adv.) sweet
mâ-gpro dé rôô ôfrô honey is very sweet
ôsi(ô) (v.) to push down on something, press

K

kakô (n.) See gôô
kam (n.) very thick porridge of the consistency of bread dough, made of
mannioc or sorghum flour, cooked over fire in an earthen pot for
a short time by gradually adding water until thick; broken off and
used to dip up sauce; by extension, food
ru kam to make porridge
kan (n.) stalk (of corn, sorghum), torch made of this material
ôfôm kan to tie up stalks to make into a torch
kânô (n.) bracelet
kângi(ô) < Sango kângô (v.) to shut, close
kângi ké-sêra to be resolute
kara (n.) hill, mountain
kâtô kâtô (adv.) quickly (?)
wô roh kâtô kâtô, go wa sf òdoñ they threw themselves together and
went back
kâtô (n.) hoof
kay-ô (v.) to take, receive (pl. obj.)
kay ëmaâ to get together, assemble
kay zoro to catch fish
kaya (n.) ctln. large antelope (Hippotragus equinus); taboo to the newly cir-
cumcised
kô (conn.) See kô
ká (n.) side
ká-zan’ri beside the stream
tó-ká at the side, beside it
yoo ne ká-te to stand at the side
káa (v.) See kár-á
kárá (n.) ?
bé-kárá a boy who has not yet been circumcised
kálé (n.) opinion (?)
si kálé to dispute, argue
gan am ká?don’isi kálé oro-ndá-wa ná I don’t want to dispute what they say
kár-á ~ káa (v.) to roll up, braid
kási(á) (v.) to seize, hold on to
káey ~ kári (n.) fear
am dé káey I am afraid
káey dém I am afraid
yu káey-te-wf-ré to be afraid of someone, to respect someone
káey-yám mother’s older or younger brother’s wife, father’s younger
brother’s wife
kélá (n.) ?
e kélá wen’dé mo to decide to do something
am é kélám fn më I trust you
kéri (n.) See káey
ké (conn.) See kó
kélá kélá (adv.) ?
kélá kélá kélá to be happy (?)
kél(á) (v.) to be happy (?)
kérá (n.) ctu. grassland tree (Daniella oliveri Hutch. and Dalz.), the leaves
are worn by girls after excision
kéré (n.) very large pot used in the making of beer
ké-á (v.) to divide into portions
ké (conn.) See kó
kéf (v.) See kér-á
kér-á ~ kéf (v.) to gaze, stare at
ki?di(ó) (v.) to look for, hunt
ne kí?di sa?de to go hunting
kífi ~ kíp, kifo (v.) to turn around, change, change into
kíi (v.) See kir-ó
kíit (n. ?) now; used in commands
kíit me tê Now come!
kíit (n. ) now
kíit ne no, wen kíit soná now my story is finished
kip, kífo (v.) See kífi
kir-ó ~ kíi (v.) to search afar
kiri (n.) size, shape (of body), whole
kiri-te-sa?de all of the animal’s body
wa bá duwai né oro-kiri they take the goat whole (not killed and butchered)
kfsi (n.) beads, once a certain kind obtained by barter, now used of all beads
ko (n.) ctn. palm tree (Borassus aethiopum)
ko-â (v.) to give birth, bear (a child)
kö ~ kö ~ kö ~ kö (conn.) of. See 344
kö hûfl kôm as for myself, I was having diarrhea
kö- (combining form for köo) female, woman
kö-torô female dog
köa the female one
kö kô a his wife
kö?bo (n.) a ctn. tree (Strychnos innocua Del.) and its fruit (which is the
size of a large orange)
kofo (n.) cowry shell
kokoron (adv.) round, oval; head-band worn by elders; old-fashioned name
for bicycle
koo (v.) See kor-â
köo ~ kö (n.) woman, wife
kö-duwa female witch
bê-köo girl, daughter
ba köo to take a wife, get married
kor-â ~ koo (v.) to dry up
kor (adv.) round (of object or motion)
kôro (n.) rain, rain clouds
nû-kôro beginning of the rainy season
pî kôro lightning is striking
pjô kôro lightning
ri-kôro rain water
kôrôrô (adv.) very black
ty kôtôrô to be very black
kote (n.) a specialist at anything, a gifted person
koy (n.) remainder, remaining, the rest
ô koy-wî-rê the rest of the people
koyo (n.) ctn. bird
kô (conn.) See kö
kôdâ (n.) debt
gon kôdâ to pay off a debt
kôdorô ko'dorô (adv.) perseveringly
koft (n.) in-law
wêey'koft son-in-law
de koft to work for one's in-laws in partial payment for a bride, to be
"engaged"
mo'kofe things relating to getting married
ne ~ te koft to go or come for the purpose of working for a bride
kok-â (v.) to get entangled, sew two pieces of material together by putting
a stitch here and there
koli(â) (v.) to cough
kondi ~ koni (n.) maize
koni (n.) See kendi
kôô (n.)  See kôr-
kôr- - kôô (n.)  back (not part of one's body)
kôô-tuwa  behind the house
ne kôô-wa  to follow them
zok kôô-wa  to look in their direction
o  doo-zô kôô yêl  to be in the bush for a long time
kôô-mê  né  ygrâ  after you've done this a long time
kôraaf  later, after that
kôró (n.)  good luck, fortune (?)
de kôró-te-bêemi  to do something for a child's good luck
koy-á (v.)  to ask for, beg
bô wâ  koy mo fn mé  when they ask you for things
kp-á (v.)  to agree, like, consent, respond, call back
kp  dojâa  to agree to it
wa kp  tejâl  they're answering from over there
kp  dojâa  de mo  to want to do something
kp (n.)  hole
kpâ-kpâ  in the hole
kpâ-zaq-mê  in you
dê kpâm  kpâ-sera  fn wa  to be of one heart with them, be kind to them
kpâm-á (v.)  to pluck (stem or leaf)
kpâm  zifa  to pluck a stem for a switch
kprá (n.)  chicken
bô-kprá  chick
kpwá (n.)
hey kpwá  to cry with tears
mûrâ-kpwá  tears
kú - kû (n.)  leg
ku?bû (n.)  mat erected to act as screen around sleeping place in a house;
in other dialects known as geegezi
kûku  (perhaps kûkutâ)  first, before, ahead
langi  kûku-tf  go on ahead
mo-kûku-tf  things of long ago
kur-ô  -  kuu (v.)  to arise, leave from, depart
kura (n.)  arrow
pi  kura  to shoot an arrow
têl  kura  bow
kûri (n.)  egg
kûri-kprá  chicken egg
kuro (n.)  camwood
kusâra < Sango (n.)  work
dê  kusâra  to work
kusí (subst.)  nine
kutû (n.)  fog
kûtû (n.)  hut, temporary dwelling
kuu (v.)  See kûr-ô
kuu orbâi  nà  à  làngôf  later he departed
kûu (n.)  other side of a river
ky-ə (v.)  to cross (a stream)
    ky nápə to start
    ky nápə-nei kóm ré na when I started out to come home here
ky sére to start a fight
kî (n.)  See kû
kyrf (n.)  ctn. tree

KP

kpa-â (v.)  to find, discover, receive, meet
    kpaá mo wealth
    gan wa kpaá dîa saa ná they weren't happy
    wá zikò náa kpaá they went completely around it
    erre kpaá ñma In wa we meet each other
kpá (n.)  location of the rumbling of an elephant's intestines
    kpá-zâj-foro wé é ururu the elephant's belly rumbles ururu
kpaa (adv.)  real, really
    rîk kpaa têlm to really please me
kpâna (n.)  pot
    ndē ré do ñmaa kp-kpâna na we will keep food from each other in the
    pot here (part of a proverb)
kpâr (n.)  planting-seed
    kpâr-kondi corn planting-seed
kpâsá (n.)  life
    kpa kpâsá to find life, to come out with one's life
    â monâ kpâsá he's still alive
kpâs (â) (v.)  to be alive, survive
    â monâ go kpâsf he's still alive
    kpâsâ mo the thing itself, the real thing
kpasi (n.)  life (from influence of Christian religion?)
    zam kpasi to save one's life, preserve life
kpâsf (adj.)  true
    kpâsf wen the truth
kpây-â (v.) to ferment, be sour
    kpây yîna to prepare medicine
kpâ (v.) to shut, lock
    ke puwa ne gey to plaster a house with mud
kpêm (subst.)  one; in negative sentence, at all
    ?bay yo kpêm just the hide alone
    kpêm kpêm sôn each and every one
    gan wa yâ kpêm ná they didn't get out of the way at all
kpêké (adv.) (leave) without one's whereabouts being known
kpêrf (adv.)  descr. of walking and looking for something very care-
    fully
kpêt (n.) perseverance
    wéey dê mo né kpêt a man does things with perseverance
kpfyâ (n.) place where vision is unobstructed for a long way, open space
kpo-â (v.) to tie up and make a knot
  kpo nê nmaâ to tie together
kpolo (n.) ct. owl
kpoô (n.) meat sauce (to be eaten with kam)
kpoô kpoô (adv.) descr. of good health, body unaffected by leprosy
kpô (adv.) very black
kpô (adv.) (run off) without stopping

lââazâk (adv.) everything, completely
lâm (adv.) in a hurry, right away
  kre kûá lâm let's get going right away
laâgi(f) (v.) to go on, pass on
lôf- (n.) See lôp
lôp ~ lôf- (n.) tongue
  léôfém my tongue
  léôf-rô our tongues
léôgèrô léôgèrô (adv.) descr. of small portion of a liquid
lûgmgbé (n.) ct. tree (Combretum sp.); the leaves are used by women for skirts

-M (pron. suf.) 1S. See 382
makunzi ~ makunde < Sango (n.) village headman, chief
mam-â (v.) to laugh, smile
  wa mámaâ they laugh at him
  mam mami fn wî-rô to joke with, converse in a jovial manner with people
mami (n.) laughter, smile
mâ-â (v.) to plant by stems or stalks
mâ (comm.) See mô
mâ (v.) See mår-â
mår- ~ mâ (v.) to put an article of clothing around one's waist (originally bark-clout or leaves)
mô (subst.) that place, there
mé (pron.) 2S
mém (n.) dew
mô (comm.) See mô
mî (pron.) See mô
mô (n.) thing; used with verb when no other object is specified
  gan a zôk mô ná he can't see
  mô gôô like this, in this manner
  mô-yôôgi things to eat, food
  zembé 5 ne mô-kpa mô the zembé fetish is something with which one acquires wealth
mɔ ndɛ wa tɛ  since they come
mɔf a wa gbɛ ɡwenâ  that's why they are killing it
wen kɔ mɔ ndɛ wa tɛ  because they come
mɔ ~ mɛ ~ mɛf ~ mbɛ ~ mbɔ (comm.) See 333
mɔk-â (v.) to be, become soft
mpɔrɔ (subst.) five
mpɔ-â (v.) to gather
ere mɔy te-kpɛm fara  we gather at one place
mundû (n.) See mbunzû
munzû (n.) See mbunzû
mûr- ~ mû (n.) boneless meat, flesh
mûr- ~ mût-ô  the flesh of his body
mûrû (n.) hail, lip plug (a piece of manioc tuber or stone inserted in a hole
in the upper or lower lip)
mû (n.) See mûr-

MB

mba-â (v.) to greet, to shake one's hand in greeting or congratulations
mbanj-â (v.) to split, to cut lengthwise
mbɛ (adj.) new, another, different
wa gbt mbɛa  they kill another one
tp mbɛa ?bo  to repeat
ɡ ki?df mbɛ fiyo  he looks for another fetish
mbɛ (comm.) See mɔ
mbɛɛ (n.) ctn. small antelope (reed-buck?)
mbɛɛ (v.) See mbɛɛ-â
mbɛɛ-â ~ mbɛɛ (v.) to beat, pound, slap, play (a drum or a stringed instru-
ment)
mbɛɛɛ (n.) truth (?)
ne mbɛɛɛ  indeed
mbɛɛɛ < Sango (n.) paper, book, letter
tpɔ mbɛɛɛ to read
de mbɛɛɛ to write
mbí ~ mî (pron.) IS
mbiri mbiri (adv.) somewhat dark, obscure
fara ɡ mbiri mbiri  it's darkish
mbo-â (v.) to restrain (?)
wf-mbɔâ zu  a responsible person
mboɗiâ (v.) to make into balls (as in the preparation of food)
mbor (n.) red monkey (Erythrocebus patas)
mboro (subst.) afternoon, evening (between around 3 p.m. and dark)
mbo (comm.) See mɔ
mbɔŋgɔ (n.) puddle
mbɔɔ (v.) See mbɔr-â
mbɔr-â ~ mbɔɔ (v.) to rot (of meat)
mbɔra (n.) law, rule
bé-see mbora obedient child
wa tó mbora-gaza they give the rules concerning the circumcision rites
mboy (n.) bride-price
mbunzú - mungú - mundú < Sango (n.) white man
mbúre (n.) roasted sesame seeds
mbutú (mbutu?) (n.)
mbutú-sukpa manioc leaves crushed in mortar and cooked without gbolo
or okra.

?M

?ma-á (v.) to track down (animals)
?maa (n.) rainy season
zañ?maa in the rainy season
?mge (v.) See ?mpr-á
?mpr-á ~ ?mge (v.) to prevent, obstruct, cover up
?mge mo-foyo kó wa to cover up their shameful parts
?mprak ?mprak (adv.) descr. of blinking
?món-á (v.) to remain, stay, be left; to still be doing something; right, just
?món kpém one remains
?móná gó gan wa dé né they haven't done it yet
sa?de ?móná gó ó nu the animal is still on the ground
nk ?món, ne gám tó-ô and then he turned around
?món dō-zó right in the bush
?món gô 3 tó ye so he said
?hây mo kpém ?món just one thing
?món ?món (adv.) categorically, absolutely
bè ?món ?món to absolutely refuse
?muq (adv.)
zu nu ?muq to descend with a certain noise

N

na (subst.) here
 tc-ré kó ré na at our village here
ná (adv.) See 362.1
ná (adv.) See gan . . . ná
naa - na?a (n.) mother; used with the name of a child instead of personal
 name in polite, direct address
naa-Boysé Boysé's mother
na?a-duwa goat with kids
nam (n.) family, relative
nañ-á (v.) to be lacking, inadequate
kpáà mo gan nê nañ mk né you will not be lacking in wealth
nâñ (n.) foot
 boló-nâñ footprints, tracks
nâñá (n.) beginning (?)
kà nàfà  to begin
nà (conn.)  See ne
nàfà (subst.)  See nàfr-
nàk-à (v.)  to tremble
tà'ò nàk  he is trembling
nàkà (n.)  ?
do nàkà  to be selfish
nàfr- - nàfà (subst.)  four
nà - nàfà - nàfà - ndà - ndà (conn.)  See 332.4
nt-à - nà - nàfà - ndà - ndo (v.)  to go; aux. for future. See 394.32
ne nà  to take him
kòro ñmá ré  go né né  it rained on us and kept on doing it
ne nò  to walk
në (conn.)  with, by means of, etc. See 345
ó mo hárá són nà  tàhà né  all the things about which he spoke
né ture  in the morning
në (copula)  See 352
nò-à (v.)  to drink
nò (n.)  walk, trip
ne nò  to walk
nò (n.)  oil, fat, grease
nò-sà'de  animal grease
non-à (v.)  to harden (?)
non tp  to speak secretively
nòo (adj.)  this. See 632.2
erre gbò stè-nà-nà nòo  we arrived here
nỳy (n.)  bird
nu (n.)  earth, ground
fire-nù  dust
pj nu  to throw down
nù - ndà (n.)  mouth, edge, rim
ha oro-nù  to give a command
am pj nùm sénè  I add my bit (to the conversation)
nù-tuwa  front of house, door of house
yoo ne nù  to be quiet, not speak
si kàfè oro-nù  to dispute what has been said
ha nù  to be too much for one to cope with, to be a bother
nù-nàfà (subst.)  See nù-nàfr-
nù-nàfr- - nù-nàfà (subst.)  eight
nùn-ò (v.)  to smell
ñàmà mo ñànmù  I smell something
nùn-ò - nù (v.)  to rub between the palms of one's hands
nùu (v.)  See nùr-5
Nzapà - Ndapà < Sango (n.)  God
**ND**

*ndak-â (v.)* to chase away  
*ndarâ (n.)* buffalo  
*nday (ndaây?) ?*  
*ndâ (f.p.)* See 323  
*ndé (f.p.)* narrative vocative, interrogative marker. See 322  
*ndee (n.)* See nder-  
*ndéê (adv.)* few, little, small  
6 kprâ kôm gan dôk ná go ò ndéê I have only a few chickens  
*nder- ~ ndee (n.)* quiver (for arrows)  
*ndè (v.)* See ne  
*ndèêr (adv.)* nice looking (descr. of cowry shells tied to forehead)  
*ndïngâ (n.)* ctn. palm; the fronds are used in weaving skirts  
*ndin-â (v.)* to chase away  
*ndîñ (adv.?)* dirty  
*ndo (com.)* See ne  
*ndoti(â) (v.)* to be thick (as of cloth, lumber)  
*ndoy-â (v.)* to save, collect, put aside  
*ndo-â (v.)* to have sexual relations; impolite but explicit term, by implication the sexual act is illegitimate by the culture's standards  
*ndô (v.)* See ne  
*ndo (v.)* See nder-  
*ndo-â ~ ndoo (v.)* to shoot (by means of arrow or gun)  
**ndoo tan** to twist the hair into many little tufts, then apply the liquid of a certain root to stiffen them  
*ndû (n.)* See nû  
*nduy-â (v.)* to chase away  

?N  

*?naâ-â (v.)* to ruin, destroy, perish  
**naa kôm ?naâ** my mother died  
*?naâ (adj.)* bad, evil  
*?naâa dokâ* the bad ones are numerous  
*?ma ?naâ mbunaâ* a certain bad white man  
*?nê (adv.)* very early in the morning  
*?npô (n.)* excrement  
**sp ?npô** to defecate  

?NG  

*?nâgbala (n.)* metal nostril plug used as adornment  
*?ngan wf (n.)* ctn. dance associated with purification after defilement by killing an animal dangerous to man or by killing a human being.
Samarin: The Gbeya Language


ngangâ < Sango (n.) strength

ngay (n.) strength, hard, difficult
  bé-ngay son, boy
  de ngay to act fiercely, act violently
  tp wen ngay to speak severely
  5 ngay wen kô ré wen-nfá it's hard for us to go

ngendé < Sango (n.) chaise-longue
ngâré (n.) shield
ngeti(á) to bite
ngem-á - ngembá (v.) to hold, keep, wait for
  ngem te to be careful, take precautions
  ngembâ Wait for him!

ngëwoc (adv.) descr. of bark cloth which has had ndengc sewn on it
nginda (n.) See nginza

nginza - nginda < Sango (n.) money
ngombe < Sango (n.) gun

ngômbi (n.) cloth made by pounding the bark of the zôrò tree
ngondo (n.) direction from which wind is blowing at the time of the great grass-burning

ngôk (n.) nail (of finger, toe)
ngôn (n.) up, high
  feâ te-ngôn died standing up (that is, before falling down)
  neâ ngôn me went up there

ngôor (adv.) with a loud noise
ngôrôm ngôrôm (adv.)
  ne né ngôrôm ngôrôm to take something completely away
  goin ngôrôm ngôrôm to collapse into uselessness

ngoyâ (n.) bush-hog (Potamocherus porcus); taboo to newly circumcised
ngûdá (n.) chest
ngûrâ (n.) hippopotamus; taboo to newly circumcised

ngô Má

ngma - ng (adj.) a, certain
  gbô ngma torô killed a dog
ngma-á (v.) to press down on, wet (of rain)
  kôro ngma ré the rain wet us
ngmâa (subst.) other, some, a few
  ngmâa gan bô ngô na there aren't any others
  ngmâa a yôrì there's one standing there
ngmâá (subst.) each other
  wa 5 ne yô kô ngmâá they are brothers
  wa têk fn ngmâá they fall together
ré a kó-ŋmaâ fn wa we joined up with them
kay ŋmaâ to assemble, get together
ŋman ŋmak (adv.) See ŋman ŋmâ
ŋman ŋmâ (adv.) very often, all the time, for ever
ŋmay-â (v.) to cut off, to slice off, to cease (flowing or raining)
ko ro gan ŋmay dôô nà the rain didn’t stop soon
wâ ŋmay à te’wa they broke up (for each one to go his own way)
tkp-te’wa hô ŋmay à when their blood has stopped flowing
ŋmân ŋmân (adv.) tightly

ŋmgh

ŋmgbân-â - ŋmgbândâ (v.) to rip off or apart
ŋmgbân-â - ŋmgbangâ (v.) to be or become fat
ŋmgbâñ (adv.) also (especially in accompaniment with)
ŋmgbâr (n.) leprosy
ŋmgbâr dê q. he has leprosy
ŋmgbârin (n.) ctn. fish which, upon contact with flesh, gives an electrical shock; taboo to the newly circumcised
ŋmgbâñ (adv.) for a long time
âŋ wa kôôô rô ŋmgbôñ they kept on looking for us for a long time
ŋmgbôñ (v.) to pound (bark into cloth)
ŋmgbôbâk (adv.) descr. of many people singing
ŋmgbô ŋmgbôbâ (adv.) descr. of many people singing

O

o (subst.) who? See 382.3
ô ô trá o ndé who came?
oô (f.p.) See 324
ô (perf. suf.) See -ô
ô (adj.) plural indicator. See 361.1
wa yô ô kondi kôm they eat my corn
ô Ndurô people from the village of Ndurô
ô  Gu’dôô nê fn Sââmo  Gu’dôô and Sââmo went
nde re kpâ ô yâm-Sara and we met Sara’s father and those who accompanied him
ôô See ôô . . . gâ
oro (n.) place of, the very place
dwé me oro-rô to live there in our place
wa bâ dawai nê oro-kiri they take the goat whole
oro-nô a command, order
am pf paaí oroai I put the knife back in its place (where it first was)
kôa zéé wen oro-nûm the girl obeys according to what I say
si klô oro-nô to dispute what someone has said
kôu oro-zôô nê fey nê trá after sickness death will come
kôu oroai nô a tô later he comes
oro - ro (pron.) pl. explicit pron. See 382.12
ôrô (~ òô) . . . gâ (comm.) like, as, as if, about approximately. See 332.5
ôrô ma nà a tô gâ Wait just as he said to!
ôrô gâ (conn.) like, as, as if, about approximately. See 332.5
ôrô nà kôrô gâ as if he were going to get up
ô (pron.) 1P (from Boguila dialect)
ô-á (v.) to be, sleep (very often of sg. subj.)
ô nu to lie down
ô m kôô to have sexual relations with woman
gan ô mbô ré si sîlô nà it's not for us to argue
ôrô nôrô kôrô gâ as if he were going to get up
ô-â (v.) See -à
ô-â - àmbâá (v.) to breathe
ô-â òô to rest
ô-â go òm òmî he's still breathing
ô-á (v.) to vomit

paa (n.) knife
paa zôm paa very large knife, sword
parâba < Sango < Portuguese (n.) trouble, argument
ndé ré de parâba sôô we're going to have trouble today
pee (v.) See per-á
pee-á - pee (v.) to return to the place at which one is speaking
pee ?goq to return
pee (n.) year
pee òô this year
de pe òô this to last two years
pee (n.) See plr-
pee-á - pee (n.) string, rope
pee-dôma rope made from the bark of the dôma tree
pee (n.) kob antelope (Adenota kob)
pj-á (v.) to put, cast, throw (sg. obj.)-
pj yango to fish with hook-and-line
pj kura to shoot an arrow
poo (n.) gallery-forest
poopô (n.) lungs

ra (det. suf.) See -a
ra (adv.) ?
ra to give up, cease doing something
ras (n.) ct. very small black ant
rakâ?df (adv.) unafraid
añ? momá go y66 rakâ?df he remained standing unafraid
râma (n.) ?
turâ-râma cloth woven from indigenous cotton
ro-á (v.) to enter (sg. subj.), set (of sun)
ré (n.) village, home
añ nà ré kâ ¿ he went home
wf-ré person
wf-zâq-ré villager
ré-nas mother's village
ré (?) See 332.3
dâ ré ge what happened? what's up?
re (pron.) See eré
râk râk (adv.) not missing a thing, exactly
râkét (adv.) on the spot
rem-á (v.) to be able, can; to be enough; to be equal to, alike
rem wên kô nó to be able to go
rem de mo to be able to do something
ñ é remâ ré this is enough for us
bô wá yo rem after they have danced enough
wèsé bô remâ when it is time
añ dé go rem in oro-nû-wá he did it in compliance with their instructions
rem rû?dá?dú to be absolutely alike
wà yppâ ge?da go gân rem nà they ate an awful lot of manioc
rânt (n.) sand
ri (n.) water, river, year
bê-ri creek
ri-kôro rainwater
ó ri it's wet
de ri to set traps to catch fish
zu-ri source of stream, spring
9dôñ-ri river bank
ri-ô (v.) to eat (when the sauce is entirely liquid)
rîf (n.) See rîp
rîfto (subst.) two
rîp - rîf- - ri (n.) eye, face
rîp-zâan the sky
rîp-ri surface of the river
góm rîp to blink
ké-rîp-wa their faces
â mè ypp mo te-rîf-wf-ré nà Don't eat food in the presence of people!
rîf(6) (v.) to make string by rolling fibers on one's thigh
rîk-ô (v.) to hit, strike
rîk nu to fall down
ro (pron.) See oro
ro-á (v.) to hit (as with a stone)
rok-â (v.) to be smooth
roy (adv.) See roy roy
roy roy (adv.) without restrictions (very wide range of meaning)

wa kpâ ñma wî-rî zañ-rêî roy they find just somebody in the village
me rem kpyy hâ wî-rî roy roy you may prepare (the medicine) for
people without restrictions
tê wen roy roy to talk unwisely, indiscreetly
ypâ mo roy roy to talk without any precautions

rpk-â (v.) to be good, be pleasing
rêî rîk tc-rêî the village pleases us, we like the village
rûk êdé gén, goî hâ mbunza nôô it would be better if you took this white
man
ê dé mo rûk êdé she works well
rpo (n.?) sweetness (?)
dê rpo to taste good, to be sweet
ru-ô (v.) to prepare (porridge)
rûêdéû (adv.) being absolutely alike
rum-ô (v.) to collect a large quantity of something
rum nô to pucker up one’s lips

sâ-ô (v.) to sing, call
sa gîma to sing a song
sa mo to call out, yell
sa yfn to expose someone
saa (n.) fun, gomo, enjoyable time
dê saa to have fun, rejoice
moâsaa plaything, toy
nê saa nê an intensifier (lit. no joke): ã gîy ré nê saa nê he likes us
very much
saa (n.) See sar-ô
saakara (n.) island
sa?dc (n.) animal, meat
sa?de-ôtê flesh, body
sâki < Sango < French (n.) thousand (francs)
sandûku < Sango (n.) box, trunk
sàna (n.) within, between, among, inside
mêy te-sàna to meet in the middle
sen-ê-sàna-ôtêô tê wî-rî among Africans (lit. black people)
re sàna-ê-ô to enter him
sar-ô ~ saa (v.) to scratch, go by another route, dispute
ã sàd fn wa he disputes with them
saa sék to think, ponder
sara (n.) crotch (of pole or tree)
sât (adv.) very early
say (n.) pumpkin
sá-á (v.) to be a new day
fa ra sá to be a new day
sá (adv.) sweet, good (of smell)
sák-á (v.) to be clean, neat, correct
kóo gán rém tp wen sák ná a woman can’t talk correctly
é hám zókan sák let me see it well
sám-á (v.) to eat a crumbly or dry substance without dipping it into a sauce
sáp (n.) spittle
a sáp to spit
sék (n.) ?
sa sa sék to think, ponder
sélélé (adv.) quiet
a yóó ne nů-ř sélélé he is very quiet
st (comm.) See 332.6
stm stm (adv.) descr. of quivering spear shaft
sen (n.) place at which
mbunúd ne teh kë ʃ sen-te ça-Laagata the white man who came from Laagata
ek sen-te’má bë-te to lean against a small tree
a rõck ne dëne sen-tanámi he hit the wasps on my head with it
sén-á (v.) to hate, spite
de sen mo to act in spiteful, hateful way
sené (subst.) at this (that) place, there
pj sené to add to it
pa a kóm ʃ sené I have a knife
séra (n.) liver
tí-serâm péé I’m nauseated
a dë kpém kô-séra in wa he is of one heart with them
ô ne séra kó më wen-de mo it’s your desire to do something
kô-séra-ře gan kô ʃdoŋ-ne to ná we don’t want to go to the gardens
sérâ (n.) ant hill
sérâ (n.) spear
ky sérâ to start a fight
sák-á (v.) to chop (at a flat surface, as with an adze)
sâk ʃdoŋ-ʃo-řè to clean the back-side of a piece of bark
sâm-á (v.) to tuck in
wa sâm wé kë-guns-wa they tie on leaves at each side of their hips
si-ô (v.) to return (usually to a place other than where one is speaking)
si ʃffè to argue, disagree
sf (n.) direction, way
sf-ka-ře toward the side
ba sf-ñday to take something away
ba sf-ñdoŋ to take something away
sin-ô (v.) to tie long objects parallel to each other (as in making a screen)
sôly sôly (adv.) tightly
kaa péé sôly sôly to braid string tightly
sô (adj.) ?
mo sô what’s his-name
sô kê (conn.) See sô kô
sô ké (conn.) See sô kô
sô ké (conn.) See sô kô
sô kô ~ sô kâ ~ sô ké ~ sô kô ~ sô ô (conn.) then. See 332.7
sôô (adj.?) little
    sôô naa mother's younger sister, (female) mother's older brother's
daughter, (male) father's younger brother's wife (who is sibling of
mother)
sôô (conn.) See sô kô
soy-â (v.) to sit down, be seated
sök-â (v.) to grow up, mature, become old
sôkâ (n.) knowledge, wisdom
sôkôi (n.) elder, old person
son-â (v.) to finish off, no longer exist
    dyr-gaza sôô sôn the circumcision wound is all healed
sôn (adv.) all, completely
    ére sôn, êre zôkâa all of us saw it
bâ ô de mô sôn after he has finished working
    êre ô fo sôn we all went to the gardens
sôô (subst.) today
sôô nôô today
sôrô (n.) star
sôrôam (n.) paternal uncle, term of respect for adult males
    sôrôam (used in direct address)
sôô (v.) to secrete
    sp fnî to urinate
    sp ⁿpo to defecate
sp bera (n.) sweat
    sp bera ô teêm I'm perspiring
sôôbê (n.) stomach (in its specific sense, that is, the organ)
sukpa (n.) manioc leaves (used as vegetable greens)
sunu (n.) sesame

T

ta (n.) stone
taa (subst.) See tar-
tââ - tâa (adv.)
    ?monô tâa not yet (of almost any incompleted action)
tâa (adv.) See tââ
tam-â (v.) to touch, feel
tan (n.) head
dê tan to fix up one's hair
gôn tan to cut one's hair
tan-â (v.) to be straight, straighten
    ê hâm zôk tôôô sê let me see better
tânâ ?doj-wâôô a straight road
GBEYA-ENGLISH

tar- ~ taa (subst.) three
ta (n.)?
gon ta to think, make plans
haa ta-wen to think
ta (conn.) See te
ta (n.) tree, bush, stick
tek-â (v.) to fall
ta (n.) body; to, at (in preposition-like constructions)
se-dé²te flesh
leri-ta flesh
gam ta to turn around
zee ta to hear, obey (when there is no other object)
zok ta to see
too ta happiness
tap-ta²wa their blood
ta²ta ñe bâu it (the tree) is white
ña kâ-ta on the side
am gbûrâas ta-ta²m na I pull him toward me
a pêé ?don ta-ta-re na he returns to us here
ta ~ ta ~ ta - to (conn.) See 332.8
ta-â (v.) to come, as aux. (~ ta - ta - to). See 394.33
ta né mo to bring the thing
tende (n.) cotton
gba tende a ctn. indigenous cultivated "cotton," the plant of which is large enough for children to climb on; the seeds are large
tf (n.) first, ahead, before, previously, in front of
pee ta-tfi to return first
gan am ñu wen kô dilai tf ná I didn't know about the lion before
dak tf to lead (a group)
hey ñwâ tf-ô démâ wfré to cry in front of a crowd of people
gbôk ô wfré kô ñé ?bêé tf killed some of your people long ago
kûkû-tf the first thing, first of all
ti (n.) See tîr-1, tîr-2
tîr-1 ~ tî (n.) tail
tîr-2 ~ tî (n.) canoe
tîr (n.) payment, fee (for use of canoe, fetish, etc.)
tô See te (conn.), te (aux.)
tô (n.) fable
tp tô to to relate fables
Wan tô the Spider (the main character of many fables)
tô-â (v.) to pound (as in mortar), to knock down
tô See te (v.)
tok-â (v.) to sew a string onto a piece of cloth by putting it in and out on a flat surface, to cut down (at the base of something)
tôko (n.) mat; (by extension) bed, sleeping place
gûn-tôko-zîrê on a bed of illness
tom (n.) message, errand, work
de to work
béc-tom messenger
yu to run with a message
tom-á ~ tombá (v.) to send
tom tom to send a message
am tóm h¿ I send word to him
ton (n.) vagina
too te (n.) happiness, happy
dé too te to be happy, to celebrate
toró (n.) dog
toy (n.) baggage, personal belongings
toy-ypu mo eating utensil
toy-á (v.) to carry (on one's head)
to-á (v.) to be sharp
tôq (n.) salt
tô (v.) to say, speak
wî-tp we person who talks too much
wa tô ye ge they say
ôpk (n.) blood
tôp-k-te-üwa their blood
tô (v.) See tô-pr-á
tô-pr-á ~ tô (v.) to count, enumerate
tômbê to read
ture (n.) morning
turee this morning
zu-ture very early in the morning
tûrû (n.) ctn. tree from which bark was cut off and used in making cloth
(Ficus punctata Lam.); cloth, clothes
ôpi tôrû to put clothes (on oneself)
tusi(ô) (v.) ?
tusi wey to make a fire
tut (adv.) suddenly
góm tut to cut something off with one stroke
tuwa (n.) house, building
mâ-tuwa entrance, doorway
tû-ô (v.) to be or become dark, black
fara dôô tô rô it was beginning to get dark on us (that is, darkness was overtaking us)
tû ôôô Ôôô to be very dark
tô (adj.) black
tô wi-rô black person, African
tûn-ô (v.) to waken

-ô (perf. suf.) See -ô
ururu (adv.) descr. of rumbling of an elephant's intestines
usi(6) (v.) to show, teach

valé (n.) covered pen (usually made of logs to protect against leopards; the entrance is shut each night)
valé-duwa goat-pen

vagy (adv.) ?
dâm vagy to spear with extreme forcefulness

yinaa hoâ saa displei vyr the tusk appeared between the trees

vip (adv.) ?
e wey vip to set fire to something explosively

vûmô (n.) body hair, fur, feathers
vûmô-teèm my body hair
vûmô-nây bird feathers

vûrû (n.) ctu. vine (Sarcophyrum sp.); used in mat-making

vôq (adv.) ?
ro vôq to hit something making it give off a ringing sound

wa (pron.) 3P
wa (f.p.) See 325

wa-â (v.) to hoe, weed, work with a hoe
wa (f.p.) See 326

waâ (n.) See war-

Wàam (n.) a large river which flows north, by the towns of Bozoum and Bossangoa, and which meets the Nana Barya (river) at Batangafo

wàâ (n.) See wàr-
waka (n.) cane-grass
wan (n.) master, owner, boss

Wan to Spider (the main character of many fables)
wan fiyô one who owns the rights to a certain fetish

war- ~ waa (n.) beans

ngara-waa individual bean kernels

wàr- ~ wââ (n.) path, road, way

a tî-wââ to set an ambush

wàâ fara taâ three times

?dog-wàâ-Bossangoa the road to Bossangoa

?dog-wàâ-ne to bô ná it's impossible to go to the gardens

am kîf ?dog-wàâ kê à I'm trying to locate him

e wî-ré te-?dog-wàâ to put a person on his way, accompany a person to the road

ô né ?dog-wâraa that's correct, that's the way

wa úsf ?dog-wàâ há mé they show you the way (to do it)

wàâ-wéey right side
wáâ-kóo  left side
way-á  wará (v.)  to bear fruit
wárá-te  fruit
waya (n.)  ambush
yu waya  to lie in ambush
wá (n.)  leaf
kpm wá  to pluck leaves
wáa - wáára  the leaves
we-á (v.)  to measure
we tô-wa  to meet them (on the road)
wee (v.)  See wer-á
wéé (perhaps wér-) (n.)  ?
ypp wéé-ti-sera-á  to eat his liver (in witchcraft)
wécy (f.p.)  See 327
wéey (n.)  man, male
wéey-kofe  son-in-law
de te nè wéey  to act in a manly way
wééy (n.)  ?
wééy-ná  lip
wen (n.)  word, affair, matter, subject
tp wen  to talk
wen gan bó ná  it's all right, everything is fine
né kpasi wen  it's the truth
wenáa  because of it, for it, about it
hé zu-wen  to conclude a matter, resolve a problem
né wen kó ré wen-dr mo  we must do something
bóm gam teém wen kó ném ba te  when I turned around to climb a tree
wa 6 kp-kátu-gaza wen-ze kpém  they sleep in the circumcision hut for a month
mé kf'df kóo ná wen-ge ndé  why aren't you looking for a wife?
ge a mé yú yui wenáa ge ndé  why are you running?
wéndé  béndé (f.p.)  See 328
mé tombá tom béndé  did you send word?
tré 328
wen kó (conn.)  See 331.2
wen-mo (conn.)  See 331.2
wer-á  wee (v.)  to supplicate (a fetish). See also wey-á
wésé (n.)  sun, day
wésé rcá  the sun has set
wésé ne bó mé zokaa ná  if you should not see him
te-wésé-kofe ná  a déf  at the time when he is working for his in-laws
wey (n.)  fire, heat, sun
e mo wey  to put something on the fire to cook
nú-wey  clan, clansman
6 wey  it's hot (to the touch)
fara yóó wey  it's hot (of the weather)
wey-á  werá (v.)  to make a noise, go off
he blows a whistle and it goes féé

wôrô (adv.) to flee quickly in a group

wo (n.) desire, hunger

wo gbém I'm very hungry

-wôrô (adv.) to flee quickly in a group

¥ (n.) sibling, friend, comrade

¥-wéey brother

¥-kôo sister

¥£ (n.) ctn. fish; taboo to the newly circumcised

¥£ire (n.) brother-, sister-in-law

¥pré (v.) to pull apart

¥£ (v.) to be far, long

¥£r-â - ¥£r (v.) to be far, long

¥£râ - ¥££ (v.) to be far, long

¥££ ¥££ he went far away
k'aô-mé n'é yprá  you'll be gone a long time

yfn (n.)  name
  ba yfn  to talk about someone, slander
yfn (n.)  root, tooth
  ypg yfn  to be courageous, persevere
yfn (n.)  medicine
  kpyy yfn  prepare medicine
yo (n.)  hide, leather
yoo (v.)  See yor-á
yor-á - yoo (v.)  to stand
  yoo ne nú  to be quiet
  yoo ngón  to stand up
yô-á (v.)  to lose, get lost
  âm yôá  don-wáá  I've lost the way
  yôá mo  fault, mistake
yor-á (v.)  to dance
  yo yora  to dance
yok (n.)  trap
yoli(á) (v.)  to move something toward oneself
ycgi(á) (v.)  to carry (something big and/or heavy)
yora (n.)  dance
yor-á (v.)  to pull out (intestines of animal)
ymá (n.)  (garden) food, foodstuffs
ypná (v.)  to eat, bite, chew
  mò-ypná  food
  ypg fyö-te  to chew bark to soften it
  ñna kôô á ypgá a ñbëi  some woman chewed on her and killed her (in witchcraft)
ypr-á (v.)  to stick out, extend
  am ypr érém  I stick out my hand
yu-ô (v.)  to flee, run away, avoid
  bûk yô  the wind is blowing
  yu waya  to lie in ambush
  yu tom  to run with a message
yuif(o) (v.)  to mix up, make (small portion of a pasty substance)
yui (n.)  running
  yu yui  to run fast
yor-ô - yuu (v.)  to poke in, stick through
yuu (v.)  See yur-ô
yum-ô (v.)  to hurt, ache
  zañâm yúm wenáá  I'm upset about it
  tem yúm  I'm not feeling well

za (n.)  throwing-knife
zàn (n.)  outside, in the open
ne te-zâan  to go outside
rip-zâan  sky
bú zâan  white clouds
dyê zâan  to live a long time
za?da (n.)  chin, jowls
za?difâ (v.)  ?
zâdi yui  to run fast
zâk (n.)  horn (of animal)
zâk (n.)  fibrous material (?)
zâk-gc?da  fibers left after manioc flour has been sifted
zam-â (v.)  to save, deliver, preserve
zañ (n.)  stomach, belly; inside, in
yak-zâñ-sa?de  animal's intestines
ba zañ  to be or become pregnant
zañâm yâm wenân  I'm angry about it
zañ-wa  dê  saa  they are happy
kê-zap-tenuwa  beside the house
zañ-ré  in the village
zâñ (adv.)  different, apart
mo nôo 5 zañ  this thing is different
ø  nêh  zañ  he went a different way
zâra (zarâ?) (n.)  horn (instrument)
zara-zap-burfi  reed whistle
zawa (n.)  peanuts
zâp-â (v.)  to dig up, dig (hole)
zâa (adv.)  in vain, without results
de mo  zaâ  to do something without getting any results
zâra (n.)  a ctn. edible tuberous root (Dioscorea sagittifolia or D. Lecardii)
ze (n.)  moon, month
gê  ze-ge  when?
gê  zeé  when?
wa 6 sê  ze  kpêm  they stayed there one month
zee (v.)  See zcr-â
zcr-â  -  zoc (v.)  to hear, understand
zee wen  to listen, obey
zee oro-nâ  to obey
gan wa  zêe  te-zâ  kpêm  ná  they just don't obey at all
am zêe  ye  ge  mé  gbüâ  dila  I hear that you killed a lion
ze (subst.)  night
zu-zê  very early in the morning, dawn
ze  déâ  it has become night
zee  (subst.)  tonight
zee (subst.)  yesterday
zembé (n.)  ctn. fetish
ba zembé  to appeal to, utilize the zembé
wf-zembé  practitioner of the zembé fetish
zera (n.)  ear
zêrê (n.) sickness
zêrê dé a he is sick
WF-zêrê sick person
zê (n.) smoke
zê-wey smoke (literally, smoke of fire)
zik-ô (v.) to go around
zik te to turn oneself to the side
zik (n.) fly
zik-gô honeybee
zîfa (n.) switch for whipping people
zîj (v.) See zîr-ô
zîm-ô (v.) to abstain from, observe a taboo, avoid
zîr-ô ~ zîj (v.) to descend, get down
zôlôlô (adv.) very white
zoro (n.) fish
zoy-á (v.) to swim, bathe
zô yâ he is bathing
zôk-á (v.) to see, understand
gan a zôk te-y ná he can't see, he is blind
rfôa ?monâ go zôk mo wen kó mé she is expecting you
zom (adj.) big
zomi (n.) senior, someone whom one must respect
zôm-á (v.) to admire
zôná (n.) young woman, woman whose body is still youthful
de zôná to dress up (of girls)
zôná kám my adolescent daughter
zôná-kâ-Wáâm (n.) ctn. tree
zôbâô (n.) ctn. tree (Ficus sp.)
zô (n.) grass, bush, uncultivated area away from the village
ô zô to sleep in the bush
pi zô to throw away
zôf- (n.) See zôpp
zôm (n.) See zôpp
zôpp - zôm - zôf- (n.) nose
zôfôm my nose
zôpp-ô his own nose
zôm-wa their noses
zu-ô (v.) to steal
zu (n.) head, top of; on
zu-ri source of stream, spring
zu-kara top of hill
zu-ture very early in the morning
zu-fey grave-site
wen nê c zu-mê trouble will fall on you
á mê ne me yoo zôa ná don't go and stand over them (while they eat)
zu-wa ô taa there are three of them
sa |m|a wf-rê á zu-wa to call some people to supplement them
zúsúka < Sango < French (adv.) for a long time
wa yáá gpy ṣmgbóŋ zúsúka they kept on walking like this for a long time
zy-ọ (v.) to stick, insert, depart
zy nu to descend
p yú kọ ọ zú he fled
ENGLISH-GBEYA

A

a, an ŋma
able, to be Ʌm-á
about: to know about ɬŋ ɬen ɬó
ask them about it ɭk ɬa ɬe ɰnáa
about (approximately) ɬo ɬo ɬa
absence, in the te-bole
absolutely ɬmόn ɬmόn
abstain from, to ɬim-ó
accompany, to ɰe ɬn (lit. go with)
according oro
ache, to ɬym-ó
addition, in e-á
adequate, to be ɬam-á
admire, to zon-á
adolescent: boy bisa, girl zoŋá
affair wen
afraid: we were afraid kóe y déa
ré
African t£ ɰi-ɬé
after boló, oro, kuu boláa, kóraá
afternoon mbóro
again mbéa ɬbó
agree, to kp ɬdonáa
ahead tó
alight on tree, to ba te
all làážák, sɔn; that's all sɔná;
at all kpém ná
alone ɛn-te
also ɬbó, ɬmgbáŋ
always ɬmáŋ ɬmáŋ
ambush: to set an ambush a ɬf-wáá;
to lie in ambush ɭu wayá
among ɬdor-, saŋa-te
and ɰe, te, go
anger ɗá
angry, to be ɬaŋ ɬym-ó, te yym-ó
animal saʔde
anklet dela
another mbé, ŋma
ant (ctn.) raá
antelope biro, gba dpró, kaya,
mbé, pãá
anus ná-geʔde
any (not particular) roy
anyone ɬma wí-ɬé roy
appear, to ho-á
approach, to heʔdi(á)
arisē, to kur-ó
arm ér-, ɬbàka
around, to go zik-ó
arrive, to gbo-á
arrow kura
as See like
ashes báá-way
ask, to ak-á; to ask for something,
borrow koy-á
at ɬen, te, né
avoid, to yu-ó; to avoid something
tabooed ɬim-ó
away, to take ba sf-ʔday
awfully gan rém ná

B

back ɬdɔŋ, kór-; back in the same
place oró-; to go back ɬi ɬdɔŋ
bad ɬnáŋ
bag daná
bank of river ɬdɔŋ-ri
bark (of tree) ɬyo
base (of tree) gun
basket (ctn.) geze
bathe, to zoŋ ri
be, to: sg. subj. ɔ-á, pl. subj. ya-á;
to be at a place for a year  də pe
bead  ksì
beans  war-
bear, to:  children  ko-á, gbày-á;
fruit  way-á
because  wen,  wen-mo  ne,  wen  kò
become:  it  has  become  night  ze
deá
bed  (sleeping  place)  tôko,  gan  dok,
mo-òì
bee  zi-gprò
beer  dpò
beg, to  koy-á
begin, to  kp  négâ, dyg-6
beginning  kp  ge'déa
behind  òdog,  kór-
belch, to  bek-á
belly  zaŋ
berry  See  fruit
beside  kà
better  rpk  òdé  gán  (lit.  be  good
very  surpasses)
between  saŋa
big  gásá,  zom
bite,  to  ñgeti(â),  yàg-á
bird  nga
black,  to  be  ty-5;  kpëŋ,  kòròrò
blind:  to  become  blind  bom-á;
blind  person  wì-bóm
blink,  to  góm  ròp
blood  tpk
blow  (on  instrument)  dom-á;  (of
wind)  yu-6
body  te;  whole  body,  flesh
sa'de-te,  kiri-te
bone  gbàra
bow  (weapon)  te-kura
bracelet  kànà
braid,  to  kar-á
break,  to:  break  off  piece  of  food
âbir-6,  in  general  gbìn-5
breast  (mammary  glands)  bere
breathe,  to  om-á
bride-price  mbày
bridge  òdù
bring,  to  te  nê  (lit.  come  with)
brother  yà-wééy
buffalo  ndará
bullet  gbàra°-wey
burn,  to:  intrans.  ber-á,  trans.
do-á
bury,  to  gyà-5
bush:  uninhabited  land  zò;  tree
te;  section  of  grassland  burnt  in
dry  season  gbìya
but  See  connectives  (330)
butcher,  to  òbor-á
buttocks  ge'de
by:  by  the  side  of  kà-te;  by  means
of  nê

call,  to  sa-á
camwood  kuro
canoe  tjr-
cap  òboy
careful,  to  be  nga'm  te
carefully  kpérëf  kpérëf
carry,  to:  on  one's  head  toy-á;
something  big  and/or  heavy
yang(à)
catch,  to:  sg.  obj.  ba-á,  pl.  obj.
kay-á
cease  doing  something,  to  e  rá
certain  (some)  ñma
chase  away,  to  fo-á,  ndin-6,  nduy-6
chew,  to  yàg-á
chicken  kprá
chief  makunzi
child  béem,  bê-
chin  za'da
chop,  to:  to  chop  down  góm-á;
to  chop  at  a  flat  surface  sìk-á
circle,  to:  to  make  a  circle  òbo-á;
to  circle  around  so  as  not  to  be
seen  hjk-5
circumcise,  to  góm  nê  gaza
circumcision  gaza;  uncircumcised
boy  káárà
clan  nù-vey
clay  gey
clean,  to  be  sìk-á
climb,  to  daŋ-á
close, to kpé-á

cloth: from zoôro tree ñgômì; in general türû; clothes mo-á te, mo-mgré

cloud: white cloud bu záan; raincloud kóoro
cold (weather) g®ë

come, to: te-á; to come out (sg. subj.) ho-á; (pl. subj.) gbay-á

command, to ha oro-nû

completely sf-day, són

conclude a matter, to hët zu-wen

consider, to har-á

continue, to ne né, dyn-ò

cook food, to gi-ò

cool, to become ga-á

corn kondì

correctly sgk-á

cotton: in general tende; ct. indigenous cotton gba tende, ñbébé

cough, to koli(á)
count, to tpr-á

courageous, to be ypì yfn

cover, to gu-ó

cow bâgara
cowry shell kofo
crawl, to hay-á
creek bë-ri
creep, to hay-á
cross, to: to cross a stream kë ri; to cross sticks kpay te
crowd (of people) démâ wfré

crush (seeds for oil), to hpg-á
cry, to hey kpwâ
curse, to dâ-á

cut, to: in general góm-á; to cut off end ñmgý-á; to cut out bark ñba-á; to cut out and make a run for it góm-á

dawn, to fara ?bama

day wesë; to become day fara sá

death fey

debt kôrdá

defecate, to sp ?nço

deliver (save one's life), to zam-á
depart, to kur-ó, zë-ó
descend, to zi-ó, zë nu
desire wò

destroy, to ?nàf-á
dew mêm

diarrhea, to have hufi(ó)
die, to fe-á; to die off fe sf-day
different ñdék ñdék, zàñ

difficult ñgay
dig, to zë-á
dip up, to ?du-ó

direction sf, wár-
dirty ndfìg

disagree, to si ffê

discrimination, without ro roy
dispute, to sar-á, si kffê
do, to de-á; to do something for a year de pe
dog torô
domesticated animal mo-á day
done són
doorway nû-tuwa
down: to sit down dyg nu; to put down e nu
drag, to gbur-ó
dregs, beer ge-$fâ$-$pô$
dress: to put on clothes pj türû;
to get dressed up for a special occasion de bisa (for male), de zôfá (for female)
drink, to no-á
drum (ctn.) dal, gata
dry up, to kor-á
dry season bere
dust fire-nu

dance (n.): in general yôra;

tct. dance ñgan wí
dance, to yò yôra
dark: to be dark tû-ó; descr.
mbiri mbiri

dance (n.): in general yôra;

tct. dance ñgan wí
dance, to yò yôra
dark: to be dark tû-ó; descr.
mbiri mbiri

dance (n.): in general yôra;

tct. dance ñgan wí
dance, to yò yôra
dark: to be dark tû-ó; descr.
mbiri mbiri

dance (n.): in general yôra;

tct. dance ñgan wí
dance, to yò yôra
dark: to be dark tû-ó; descr.
mbiri mbiri

dance (n.): in general yôra;

tct. dance ñgan wí
dance, to yò yôra
dark: to be dark tû-ó; descr.
mbiri mbiri
early sâit
earthy nu
easily gîrê
eat, to: in general ỵ̣-â; to eat
food with sauce which is entirely
liquid ri-ô; to be eaten away (as
in leprosy) ?bir-ô
dge ŋû
egg kûri
eight ŋû-nââ
elder sôkâi
elephant fôrî
end ŋû
enemy wf-gîda
efficient, to be ŋem-â
entangled, to get kok-â
enter, to: sg. subj. re-â; pl. subj.
a-â
equal, to be ŋem-â
even if ?bâa, gba
evening mbôro, gâa fâra
every: every person wf-rê kpêm
kpêm sôn; we get out every day
ere hô né wesé wceâ
eeverything lââzâk
exactly ñk ñk
excrement ?npo
expansé berá
explanation go?dô
expose someone, to sa yfn
extend, to yyy-â
extract, to dak-â
eye rîf

F

fable to
fall, to ay-â, tek-â, rîk nu
family nam
far, to be yrâ-â
fat (grease) nô
fat, to become ?mgbaj-â
father yâm
fault yââ mo
fear kêey
feather vûmô-nôy
feel, to tam-â
female kô-
ferocious, to act de ñgay
fetish fiyo
few ndêe
fibers (extracted in the preparation
of flour) zak
fight biro; to fight with a person
bi biro in wf-rê
find, to kpa-â
finger ér-
finish, to son-â
finished sôn
fire wey; to make a fire tusi wey
firewood gûwâ
first tf
fish zoro; (ctn.) ?mgbfîm, ñara
fishhook yango
five mporô
fix, to ?dafi(â)
flce, to yu-ô
flesh (boneless meat) myr-
flower, to do-â
fly zî
fly, to buri(â)
fog kûtâ
follow, to ne kôô (lit. go back)
food kam, mo-ypgi, yâmâ
fool wf-boô
foot nân
footprint boîa-nân
for hâg, wen, wen kô; for a year
de pe (lit. do year)
forcefully vip, vîy
forehead dpotî
forelegs (of animal) ?baka
four nôr-
friend biya
from hâg, sen
front tf; front of a house nô-tuwa
fruit wâyâ
fry, to han-â
fun, to have de gë

G

gallery-forest poo
game (in play) saa
garden fo; deserted garden biri
gather, to mpy-â
gaze, to kôr-â
get, to: to acquire kpa-â; to get down zjr-ô; to get up kur-ô; to get out (sg. subj.) ho-â, (pl. subj.) gbay-â
girl bé-kôo; adolescent girl zôqâ
give, to ha-â; to give up e  râ
go, to ne-ô; to go to the gardens (of many people) a fo; to go on
laâgi(â); (in the making of noise) wey-ô
goat duwa
God Nzapâ
good dé, dé’dé; to be good rôk-â
grab, to kâsi(â)
grass zô
grassland zô
ground-nut (ctn.) gba zawa
grow up, to sok-â
guest gene
gun ngombe, wey

H

hail mûrâ
hair vâmô; ctn. style of setting the hair gûdam
hand ér-
hang something, to ‘buk-ô
happiness gû, too te
happy, to be de saa, keli(â)
hard ngay. See also very
harden, to ngay-â
hatch chicks, to gôm bé-kprâ
hate, to sen-ô
have: I have a knife paa kôm 5
senô; I have to do it like this 5 në
wen kôm wen’dé gôy
he a
head tan, zu
healthy kpôro kpôro

heart: the organ 7bûrûgô; the seat of emotions srâ
heavy, to be dir-ô, dît(ô)
here dyô, gô, na; here and there fôc . . . fôc
hide (of animal) yo
hide, to husi(ô), gu-ô
hill kara
hip kô-gun
hippopotamus ngûbû
hit, to: with hand or stick rôk-ô;
with flying object (such as stone) ro-ô
hoe, to wa-ô
hog, bush ngoyâ
hold, to: to seize and hold on to
kâsi(â); to keep ngom-â
hole: in but not through an object
kp; in and through an object worô
home: I’m going home am sf ré
honey nô-gprô, riô-gprô
hoof kâtô
horn (of animal) zak
hot, to be gbé-ô; it’s hot 5 wey
house tuwa
how (the way) 7don-wôâ
hunger wô
hunt animals, to ki’di sa’dô
hunting yarf
hurriedly lâm
hurt, to ygm-ô
husband weéy
hut kôtu

I

See 382.1
if: even if 7bas; whether gân.
See bo-ô, ne-ô (aux.), te-ô (aux.), wesô
in 7dor-, kp, zaq; in the morning
né ture
inadequate, to be nan-ô
indeed ne mbôte
in-laws foo, kôfô; brother-, sister- in-law yarô

234
in order to hâ₁, ŋâá
inside kp, sâna
instruction mbôra
intestines yâkɛ̃zaq
iron boro

just ?bay

K

keep, to ŋéμ-á; to keep on doing something düm-á, ne né (lit. go with); to keep something from someone dor-á; when they keep beer from you bó wá ba dpó nê zu-mé
kernel gbâra
kill, to gbé-á
kind, to be de kpém kp-séra fn knee zu-goro
knife paa; throwing knife za
know, to jŋ-á; to know how to jŋ ?don-ŋ-wáá wen
knowledge sôká

lack, to be nag-á
large gâsâ, zom; to be large zì-á
later ?don, kuu orâá
laugh, to mam-á
law mbôra
lead, to dak tî
leaf wâ
lean, to ek-á
leather yo
leave something, to e-á
left: left side wáá-gale; to remain ?mèn-á
leg ká
lengthwise ne dûròa
leopard gp
leprosy ŋmgbôré
let (permit), to e há
lie down, to c nu

life kpasi
lightning pô kóro
like, to goy-á, rpk tê
like (in comparison) ôrô . . . gâ;
be like men ya nê wééy; like this gâá, gyp
lime (for whitewashing) fore
lion dîla
lip wééy-nú
lip-plug múrdô
listen, to zee wen
little fîf, gôk
live, to: in a certain place düm-á, nê-á; to be alive kpasi(á); to live a long time düm záán
liver sôra
long: to be long (of an object) dtr-á, of time yr-á; long time ago ?bëë
look for, to kl?di(6)
lose, to: I lost my knife paa kôm yôâ; I’ve lost my way ám yôâ ?don-ŋ-wáá
love, to goy-á
luck kôrî-të
lungs poopô

make, to dz-á; to make porridge ru-á; to make something straight ?dafi há 5 tân
male wééy
man wééy; young man bîsa
manioc ge’dâ; manioc leaves used as food sîkpa
manly de tr ne wééy (lit. do body with man)
manner ?don-ŋ-wáá
many dôka; to be many dem-á, dfr-á, dôk-á
marry, to: to take a husband ba wééy, to take a wife ba kôo
master wan
mat tôko
mature, to sok-á
meat sa?de
medicine  yjna
meet, to  kpa-â; to meet someone
on his way  we tf; to meet each
other  kpa  qmaâ; to meet in the
middle  mpy  te-saga
message  tom; to send a message
tom tom
middle  saga
milk  ri-bere
mind, to set one's e kélé
mix up (a paste), to yufi
molar (teeth)  gogo
money  ñginza
monkey:  green monkey  dawa; red
monkey  mborô
month  ze
moon  ze
morning  ture; very early in the
morning  zu-zé
mother  naa
mountain  kara
mouth  nû
move something toward oneself, to
yoli(â)
much  dôka,  ?dé,  né saa ná

N
nail:  fingernail  ñgôk-éé
name  yfn; what's-his-name  mo só
near  dôs; to get near  he?di(â)
necessary, to be  o wen ko
neck  gér-
new  mbé
next to  kâ-te
night  ze; during the night which
just passed  ze  nî  ze
nice looking  ndéér
nine  kusi
noise:  to make noise  gay  mo; to
make a thunderous noise  dik-ô;
noise of many feet  gftf
nose  zpp
nostril plug  ñgabala
not (in predication)  gan . . . ná
nothing:  there's nothing  ñma  mo
gan  bô ná
now  kdn,  kîñt
numerous, to be  dpr-â

O
obey, to  zee  te,  zee  oro-nú,  zee
mbora
obstruct, to  ?mpr-â
of  ko
often  ñmjñ  ñmûn
old  ñ; to become old  sôk-â; old
person  sôkâi
on  gôn,  sên,  zu
one  kpêm.  See  determinant  213.1
only  ?hay
open, out in the  kôñya,  záan
or wándé . . . gan
ornament:  boys'  mo-ô de  bisa,
girls'  mo-ô de  zôná
other:  each other  ñmaâ; some
other  ñma . . . záu
out of  hâg
outside  záan
over  zu
over there  âáye,  fye
owl (ctn.)  kpolo
owner  wan

P
paper  mbétf
pass on, to  langi(â)
path  wâr-,  ?doq-wââ
paw  ér-
pay (bride-price)  har-á,  ha  mboy
bolo-kôô
payment (for ctn. kinds of services)
tîre
peanut  zawa
peel, to  ?ba-á,  gy-á,  ?bar-á
pen (goat)  valé
penis  dom
persevere, to  ypg  yfn (lit. eat teeth)
perseverance  kpftf
perseveringly  ko?dorco  ko?dô:  o
person  wî-rê,  wî-
pierce, to  tok-á; to make a hole
ôdoy-á
place fara; particular place, back in the same place oro
place, to: sg. obj. e-á, pl. obj. a-á
plans, to make gon tâ
plant, to: seeds gyn-â, by stems mâ-á
plaster a house with mud, to kpe tuwa nê gey
play, to: games de saa; drum or stringed instrument mbor-á
please, to rpk te
pluck (leaves), to kpm-á
plural marker â
poke in, to yur-ó
porter wf-toy mo, wf-tôyâ
possible te-á (aux.)
po tâna
pound, to to-â; to pound bark in making cloth ñmgbo-á
pray to (fetish), to wer-á
pregnant, to be ba zag
prepare, to ?dafi(á)
presence, in the te-rîp
press down on, to ñma-á
prevent, to ?mîr-á
previously tf
probably te-á (aux.)
produce (food) yônâ
puddle mbôngô
pull, to gbur-ó; to pull out (as intestines) yoy-á
pumpkin say
put, to: sg. obj. e-á, pl. obj. a-á;
to put on (clothes) a te, pj te; to put something on the waist mår-á
quiet sélélé; to be quiet yoo nê nú
quiver 'nder-

rack guro
rain kôro
rainy season ?mxa; beginning of the rainy season nô-kôro
rapidly ggey
read, to tpo mbêtô
real kpaâ, kpâsá
red, to be gbô-á
refuse, to bg-á
reject, to bî-á
relative nam
remain, to ?môn-á
remainder kow
resolute, to be kângi kp-ârâ
responsible person wf-mbôa zu
responsibility: it is my responsibility to do it this way nê wen kôm
wen?de gôy
rest, to om te
restrain, to mbo-á
restrictions, without ray ray
return, to: to another place si ?don, to the place where one is speaking pee ?don
right hand wââ-wôy (lit. direction of man)
right (correct): that's correct nê ?don-wårâ
right, all nê wen gan bô ná (lit. there is no affair)
right (precisely): right in the bush ?môn ?doo-zô
right away bere
rip off, to gy-á, ñmgban-á
river ri
roam, to yar-á
roast, to do-á
roll up, to kår-á
root yfn
rope : pér-; ctn. gba dfrô
rot (of meat), to mbor-á
round kokoro, kor
rub, to: to rub between the palms of one's hands mår-ó; to rub (as with sandpaper), crush hông-á; to
rub, grate, scrub, sharpen (a knife) hpk-á
ruin, to ?naq-á
rumbling gbffgbff
run, to za?di yui

S

sack daná
salt tôq
same, to be rem-á
sand rgme
sauce (which accompanies porridge in a meal) kpoó
save, to: to put something aside ñgém-á; to save money ndoy ñgínza; to save a life zam-á
say, to tp-á; gende gâ ye ge screen for sleeping place ku’bú
search for something afar, to kir-ó
secretely, to speak tp-á
see, to zok-á; see someone face to face zok kp-rf-wó-ré
seed gbâra; planting-seed kpará
selfish, to be do nökâ
send, to tom-á
sesame sunu; roasted sesame seeds mbûre
set (of sun), to re-á
seven ?dog rffto
severely, to speak tp wen ngay
sew, to: sew pieces of cloth together fyr-ó; to sew by putting a stitch here and there kók-á; sew in a special way tok-á
sex organs mo’foyo (lit. thing of shame)
sexual relations, to have ndó-á
shake, to: to tremble nák-á; to shake something back and forth yek-á; to shake hands kâsî ér-shame foyo
shame, to e foyo
sharp, to be to-á
shed, to ?bar-á
shield ñgérer
shine (of sun), to do-á

shoot, to ndor-á
short dô
shoulder au’?baka
show, to usi(ó)
shut, to kangi(á), kpe-á
sibling yá
sickness zérô
side kó; other side (of river) káá
since: since I arrived yesterday mo nem tâ zérô
sing, to sa gima
sister yá-kóó; my sister yá kóm ne kóó
sit, to ñpy-ó, soy-á
six ?dog kpém
skin (of animals) yo
skin (an animal), to ?bor-á
skirt (woman’s): worn in front gôô, worn in rear da?dog
sky rîf-záan
sleep yara; to be asleep o yara
slip off, to hôfi(á)
slowly ge dék, gek
small bé-, gek
smell, to nün-ó
smoke zî-vey
smoke (meat, fish), to guri(ó)
smooth, to be rók-á
snake gôk
so (conj.) See connectives
soft, to be moک-á
some: adj. qma, pron. qmaa
somebody qma wí-ré
something qma mî
son bé-wéey, bé-ngay
son-in-law wêyê-kofé
song gima
soon dô
sorghum (grain) fôn
sound, to make a wer-á
speak, to tp wen; to not speak (be silent) yoo ne nú
spear sêre
spear, to düm-ó
specialist kote
Spider (in fables) Wan to spit, to a sîp
split, to mbaŋ-á
spread abroad, to ẖr-ō
spring (source of stream) zu-ri
stalk kan
stand, to yor-ā
star sôrâ
stare, to kyr-ā
start, to: to start a fight ḵ yrâ;
  to start doing something ḵ nânâ-de mo
steal, to zu-ō
stick te, bê-te
stick, to: to pierce dûm-ā, tok-ā;
  to stick through yur-ō; to stick out ypy-ā
still: the animal is still on the ground sa?de ?mônâ go 6 nu
stomach sôbê; abdomen zaŋ
stone ta
stoop down, to hir-ō
stop, to: to stop walking gbati(ā);
  stop flowing or raining ymây-ā
straight, to be tan-ā
strength ggay
string pêr-; to make string rjfi(ā)
strong ggay
stump (of tree) gsô
suck (at breast), to am-ā
suddenly tut
sun wesé
surpass, to gan-ā
sweat sp bera
sweet jrfrf
swiftly hôvôvô
swim, to zoy ri
switch (for whipping) zîfa

T

tabooed, to avoid something zîm-ā
tail tîr-
take, to: sg. obj. ba-ā, pl. obj. kâ;
  to take something back si nê
talk, to tê wen; to talk about someone ba yfn
taste good, to de rpo

TEACH, to usi(ā)
tear off, to ɡk-ā
teeth yfn; molars gogo
ten ?bû
terrible: he ate a terrible amount of food ɑ yppa kam gô gan rém nâ
that (demonstrative) ʧ
that (conj.) ye ge, ne
then See conn., especially go, te
there dij, fye, me, senê
they wa
thick (as piece of cloth, wood), to be ndot(ā)
thing mo
think, to saa sék
thirst hê-ri
this gê, nôo; like this gêy
thousand (of francs) sákí
three tar-
throw, to: a-ā, e-ā, pi-ā; to throw
  a spear pi sûre; to throw down
  dûn-ā; to throw away pi zô
throwing-knife za
thunder, to kôro dik
tie, to: to tie into a knot kpo-ā; to tie up ẖr-ā; to tie together kpo nê ?mââ; to tie long objects together
sin-ō
tightly ?mî?nâ rî?nâ, saýû sîyû
time, for a long gîy gîy, ymgbôy;
  I’ll be gone a long time kôrôm nê yrâ (lit. my back will be long)
times: three times wââ fara taa
tip nû
tired, to be gbo?di(ā)
to: purposive hái : join noun to
  verb wen, wen kô; join verb to
  noun hág, mô, te; to go to the
garden ne fo
today sôo
together in ?mââ
tongue lép
too (in comparisons) gân zûô (lit.
surpasses the head)
tooth yfn
top gôn, zu
tarch kan

touch, to tam-á
toward te

track down, to ?ma-á
tracks; animal tracks bolo-nânsa?de

trap yok; to set traps for fish de ri
tree te; ctn. trees gbôrhôfô, gbgôbol, kêrâ, lûgmgbé, tôurô, zoôro
tremble: to tremble nák-á; to make a spear tremble gbo'di(â); descr. of trembling sem sem, yetete
trust, to e kélé fn
truth kpaf wen, mbête
tuck in, to sym-â
turn: to turn around gam te, kip te; to turn to one side zik-ô
twins bé-dan
two rffto

U

uncle sôrâm, bê-yâm
underneath ?dor-
understand, to zee te, zôk-á
unite, to a kôô-ţmaâ
unwisely roy roy
up ãght
urine fni; to urinate sp fni
utensils toy

V

vagina ton
vainly zâa
very ?dé, né saa ná, gan rêm ná
village ré
villager wf-zaŋ-re
voice gér-
vomit, to py-á

W

waist gun

wait for, to ñgêm-á
waken, to ñm-ô
walk, to ne no, yar-á
want, to kp ?dog; I want this meat am kp ?dog-sa?de nôô; I want to go hunting am kp ?dog-ne yarô
war biro
wash, to for-á
water ri
way ?dog-wââ; the right way ?dog-wâara
we ere
wealth kpââ mo (lit. gotten thing) weapons boro-biro
weave, to fan-á
well (in a good manner) sak-á; he speaks well â tô sôk
wet: to wet (in rain) ñma-á; it's wet ô ri
what? ge
what (pron.) wen, mo; I didn't see what he did gan am zôk mo ná a déâi ná; I didn't hear what he said gan am zee wen ná a tpái ná what's his name âyê, mo sô
when? ge wesé-ge, ge ze-ge; when will you return? né mê pee ge ze-ge ndé
when (conj.) See fara, wesé, and aux. bo and gó; when you hear about the affair wesé ne bó mê zee wenî
where? fye; where did you go? mê ncâ fye ndé
where: I don't know where he went gan am ñi fara ná s ncâ senî ná whether wéndé . . . gan which See ne, 332.4; the thing which I want mô nem kô ?doqâa
while aux. dyq-5. See when whirlwind gam guram
whistle, to dom fôra
white bô; descr. of very white 2ô1ôô
white, to be fê-á
white man mbunzô
who? o, ge wf-ge ndé
who  See ne; I saw the woman who
came yesterday  àm zokà kóoi ne
tèn zëe
why?  wen-ge ndé; why aren't you
eating?  ge a me yëq kam ná
wen-ge ndé
wide, to be  pesi(á)
wife  kóo
wind  bûk
wing  ?baka
witch, female  kó-duwa
within  sapa
woman  kóo; young woman  zágá
word  wen
work  kusára, mo-dei, tom
work, to  de mo, de tom; to work
for a wife  de kofe wen kó kóo
worthless  gère
wound  dýy

Y

yam  goro
yard, front  gara
year  pe
yesterday  zëe
yet: I haven't done it yet  ?moná
gó gan am dê ná
you: sg.  mê, pl.  wì
young: young dog, pup  bë-toró;
he's still young  ?moná bëa;
(he) hasn't grown up yet  ?moná
gó gan sôk ná
SUBJECT INDEX

References are to pages and notes. The latter are indicated by subscript numerals: e.g. 15 is note 15 in Chapter One.

Accompaniment, 74, 75
Additive, 130, 140
Adjectives, 48
Adverbs: attributes of nouns, 122; number in verb phrase, 126; see also Ideophones
Alternative, 71
Anacolutha, 66
Anaphora, 48, 52
Animate nouns: with personal pronouns, 102; verb phrase expansions, 135
Apposition, 140
Assimilation, 35-36; see also Dissimilation
Auxiliaries: accompanied by pause, 30; verbs with, 112; omission of subject with, 130
Banda language, 3, 1
Benefaction, 73
Body parts, 98
Braces, 2
Calls, 59
Causation, 2
Characteristic, 47
Clarity, 106
Clauses: see connectives, 60-73; noun derivation, 100; definition of, 128; compound, 129
Cochrane, G. R., 1 b
Cole, D. T., 3 p
Commands, 59, 60, 84
Common nouns: with determinant, 48, 98; in phrases, 123
Compounding: noun derivation, 99; see also Clauses
Condition: with gan...wéndé, 72; with auxiliary bo, 115
Connectives: á, 53, 60, 61, 3 10; go, 63-64, 68; ne, 123; of sequence, 70; of purpose, 70, 72; of reason, 72; with pronouns, 103; see also complex sentences, 132-137
Copula, 3 17, 131
Dagba language, 3
Definite article, 48, 52
Deictic, 48, 49
Demonstrative substitute, 49
Demonstrative adjectives, 83
Determinant, 33, 52, 80
Dialects: 1-5; phonology, 21, 26, 37-39, 1 22; variants of ideophones, 80; Boguila, 1 24, 3 6; Bolí, 2 3; Bowé, 26, 2 12, 3 41, 142; Bozoum, 2 2, 2 3; Carnot, 2 3, 3 9; Gbanu, 2 2, 4 37; Gezéri, 3 28; Sido, 20; Suma, 5, 46, 3 28
Direct address: secondary clauses, 130; nonprincipal clauses, 139
Disjunctive writing, 6
Disimilation, 98-98; see also Assimilation
Dissimilation, 140
Doubt, 84
Duration, 140
Echo vowel, 93
Education, 3
Ellipsis: with né, 75; in numbers, 107

[ 243 ]
Emphasis: with wéey, 60; with bó ná, 138; with repetition, 127, 139-140; with expansions, 133
Emphatic suffix, 33, 215
Endocentric phrases, 65
Equational sentence, 76, 77, 131-132
Equivalence, 28
Exclamation: ré ge, 107; nonprincipal clause, 139
Exclamatory marker, 58
Expansions, 65, 68
Explanation: constructions, 137; by parataxis, 140
Falsetto, 39
Final particles, 67
Free variation, 52
French: use of, 3; loan-words, 40-41
Future, 311, 114
Gbaya languages, see Dialects
Genitive, 47
Glottal stop, 3
Goal, 125
Greetings, 59
Hilberth, J., 23, 3
Homophony, 47
Hortative, 60, 3
Ideophones, 47, 86, 88
Impersonal pronoun, 102
Inanimate nouns, 81
Incompleted action, 67
Infinitive, 111
Informant, 4
Instrument, 74, 75
Intelligibility between dialects, 2
Intensity, 87
Interjections: secondary clauses, 130; nonprincipal clauses, 139
Interrogative: ge, 47, 323, 42; sentence, 134; nonprincipal clause, 139
Intimate nouns, 47, 74, 98
Introductory constructions, 52-53
Juncture, 116, 215
Kaba language, 3, 20
Kernel sentence, 132
Kinship terms, 51
Linking particles, 57
Loan-words: 22, 25; see also French, Sango
Location: df-, 49; with né, 75; nouns of place, 47; place expansion, 65; syntactic meaning of location, 125-127
Mbum language, 115
Mimicry, 89
Modal constructions, 70, 136-137
Motion verbs: verb complements, 127; omission of subject, 130; compound sentences, 137-138
Morpheme variants, 5
Narrated vocative, 58
Nasalization: with /r/, 26; degree, 39; with perfective suffix, 45; in interjections, 57
Negated clauses, 68
Negative marker ná, 67, 327
Ngbaka language, 313
Nida, E. A., 115, 313
Niger-Congo languages, 318
Noun: derivation, 46, 50; expanded noun phrase, 53; as attribute, 122; see also Animate nouns, Inanimate nouns
Numerals: with determinant, 48; preposed to nouns, 121
Object: 53, 75; expansion, 65; syntactic meaning of, 125; placement in compound sentence, 138
Olmsted, D. L., 113
Onomatopoeia, 89, 33
Origin, 73
Parataxis, 130, 134, 137-141 passim
Particularization of referent, 50
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
<th>245</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pause, 134, 136</td>
<td>Result, 46, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective: suffix, 33, 67; not negated, 112; as substantive, 113; as adjective, 113</td>
<td>Richardson, I., 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petition, 59</td>
<td>Sandhi, 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal names, 81, 99</td>
<td>Sango: use of, 3; loan-words, 40, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonologic word, 28, 30</td>
<td>Secondary association, 89, 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase nouns, 99</td>
<td>Sequence, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place, see Location</td>
<td>Scripative meaning, 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural verbs, 102</td>
<td>Similarity, 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plurality: with 6, 81; recapitulation, 102</td>
<td>Sound-symbolism, 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politeness, 59</td>
<td>Stative, 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession, 47, 51, 74</td>
<td>Subject: introductory expression, 53; expansion, 65; emphasis of, 74; with m6, 72; omission of, 78, 129-130; suffixes, 105; of second verb attached to preceding motion verb, 114; kinds of, 128-129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibility, 114</td>
<td>Substantive: phrase, 61, 63; from imperfective verbs, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postclitic: similarity to -V, 51; with stative, 76; in noun phrases, 123</td>
<td>Substitute: identification of y6, 76; attributes of nouns, 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicate complement, 125</td>
<td>Succession of events, 141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preposition-like nouns, see Pseudopreposition</td>
<td>Supposition, 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probability, 115</td>
<td>Syllable, 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun: preceded by relational, 47; pronoun y, 51; pronominal suffixes, 60; identification, 75</td>
<td>Time: nouns of, 47; with designative, 51; introductory expressions of, 53; substantive expression, 62; expansion, 66; substitutes of, 109; with auxiliary bo, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper nouns, 98</td>
<td>Tone: other dialects, 2; with vowel sequences, 28; with pause, 30; terminal contours, 31-32; drift, 31; of emphatic suffix, 46; of relational, 47; of demonstrative suffix, 47; of determinant, 48; of locative and demonstrative suffixes, 49; of designative suffix, 50; of postclitic, 52; of interjections, 57; of connective go, 63; of wéndé gan, 71; with n6, 75, 77; of stative, 76; of gâ, 79; of ideophones, 91, 92; of pronouns, 103-106; of demonstrative substitutes, 107; of verbs, 44, 46, 110-113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualification, 141</td>
<td>Transitivity, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question: contour, 31; wéndé, 60; rhetorical, 84; confirmation of fact, 132</td>
<td>Unique morphemes, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotation, 59, 106</td>
<td>/r/-final allomorphs, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotative clause, 139</td>
<td>Realized action, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reason, 53, 61; see also Purpose</td>
<td>Reason, 53, 61; see also Purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduplication, see Repetition</td>
<td>Repetition, see Repetition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational: with hâ, 73; in compounds, 99; in expansion, 135</td>
<td>Relative clauses, 65, 133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative clauses, 65, 133</td>
<td>Repetition: of verb, 46; with ideophones, 86; as combining process, 139-140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect: with personal names, 81; with plural pronouns, 102</td>
<td>Transitivity, 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Unrealized action, 68

Verbs: base, 44; with determinant, 48; preceded by relational, 47; substantive use of, 48; imperfective, 61, 62, 68, 99, 100; perfective, 62, 99; of saying, 77; of explicit and implicit information, 78; adjectival use of, 82; with pronouns, 103; order of phrase, 125; overloading verb phrase, 133; see also Perfective, Motion verbs

Village names, 80

Vowel: harmony, 28-28, 30, 91; assimilation, 60

Welmers, W. E., 325