

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

TENSE ASPECT AND MOOD IN MAYOGO

BY

MAPUMA GILBERT SEBU

*A Linguistics Project Submitted to the Graduate School in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts in Translation Studies*

JULY 2005

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

TENSE, ASPECT AND MOOD IN MAYOGO

BY
MAPUMA GILBERT SEBU

A Linguistics Project submitted to the Graduate School in
partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts in Translation Studies

Approved:

Supervisor


Mrs. Mary Huttar

Second Reader


Dr. George Huttar

External Reader


Dr. Kithaka wa Mberia


July, 2005

DECLARATION

Tense, Aspect and Mood in Mayogo

I declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other College or University for academic credit

The views presented herein are not necessarily those of Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology or the Examiners.

(Signed) 
Mapuma Gilbert Sebu

July, 2005

TO

My wife, Faustine Bonzakabo Mapuma L.

Our sons, Dominique Ndolomo, Colin Mapuma

Our daughters, Frida Maungade, Laura Bosale and Yvonne Bomba

ABSTRACT

This study is an investigation of tense, aspect and mood in Mayogo. Its purpose is mainly to describe my understanding of the form, tense, aspect and mood (TAM) and to see their function in discourse in order to help the work of Bible translation and literacy, and to make available data for those willing to learn Mayogo. Using linguistic theories and principles, it has been observed that grammatical tone, prefixes on the verb stem, auxiliaries and temporal adverbials can be used to mark tense, aspect and mood in Mayogo.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Successful completion of this project has been made possible by the grace of the Lord, for apart from Him we can do nothing. Praise be to Him for his goodness, care and mercies upon my life during my two years' training at NEGST.

My thanks go first to Mrs. Mary Huttar for her availability, supervision and advice, without which this work could never have come to a completion. I am grateful for her suggestions, encouragement and patience while directing this study. Despite her multiple tasks, she always found time for supervising this work, even setting aside other priorities.

I am grateful to Dr. George Huttar for being my second reader, and to Dr. Doris Payne whose input has been also helpful to the completion of this work.

I wish to express my deep gratitude to the Mayogo consultant, namely to Jill Brace, for her effort of being the key person in finding financial support for my training, and to the SIL-ECG group staff members for their moral and material support during my training at NEGST.

I am grateful to Father Cyril Ngongo, Father Mobebe, the Mayogo Bible Translation and literacy teams, the community of Isiro - Niangara diocese and to CECA/16 community for their various supports.

Finally, I am deeply grateful for my wife Faustine Mapuma Bonzakabo for her unfailing love, moral support and for my children Frida, Laura, Dominique, Yvonne and Colin for their encouragement, help in various services in our house, for making it a lovely place to live during this hard time of training.

May God bless you all!

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1PL	first person plural
2PL	second person plural
3PL	third person plural
1SG	first person singular
2SG	second person singular
3SG	third person singular
A	agent
ADV	adverb
AUX	auxiliary
CERT	certitude
COMPL	completive
CONT	continuous
E	event
F	future event
FUT	future tense
H	high
IMP	imperative
IMPERF	imperfective
INF	infinitive
INTERJ	interjection
IRR	irrealis
L	low

LWC	<i>Language of Wider Communication</i>
M	mid
NEG	negative
NEUT	neuter
Nr. Future	near future
O	object
PL	plural
Rc. PAST	recent past
RED	reduplication
REF	referential
REFL	reflexive
Rm. FUT	remote future
Rm. PAST	remote past
S	subject
STAT	stative
TAM	tense, aspect, mood
V	verb

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xii
CHAPTER 1	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 The significance of the subject	1
1.2 Language name.....	2
1.3 Location.....	2
1.4 Language family	3
1.5 Dialects	4
1.6 Morphological and syntactic typology	5
1.7 Phonemes and Orthography.....	6
1.8 Tone	8
1.9 Verb structure	10
1.9.1 Infinitive.....	10
1.9.2 Finite morphology	11
1.10 Previous work.....	11
1.11 Data collection.....	12
CHAPTER 2	13
TENSE, ASPECT, SPEECH ACT AND MOOD	13
2.1 Notion of Tense and Time.....	13
2.1.1 Absolute tense	13

2.1.2 Types of tense systems	13
2.1.3 Two way systems.....	13
2.1.3.1 Past and non-past.....	14
2.1.3.2 Non-future and future	14
2.1.4 Three way system.....	14
2.1.5 Metrical system.....	15
2.2 Notion of Aspect.....	15
2.2.1 Inherent lexical aspect: <i>punctual, durative</i>	16
2.2.2 Grammatical Aspect	17
2.2.2.1 Perfective - completive.....	17
2.2.2.2 Imperfective.....	18
2.2.2.2.1 <i>Progressive</i>	18
2.2.2.2.2 <i>Habitual</i>	19
2.2.2.2.3 <i>Iterative</i>	19
2.2.2.3 Perfect.....	19
2.3 Modality.....	20
2.4 Mood.....	21
CHAPTER 3	22
MAYOGO VERB MORPHOLOGY USED FOR TAM	22
3.1 Introduction.....	22
3.2 <i>a-/o-</i> + mid or low tone “Perfective”	22
3.3 Irrealis: <i>a</i> + high tone	23
3.3.1 <i>Future</i>	24
3.3.2 <i>Negative imperative/prohibition</i>	24
3.4 Continuous <i>ngá-</i> prefix.....	25

3.5 Zero prefix (no prefix).....	26
3.5.1 Present.....	26
3.5.2 Positive imperative.....	26
3.5.3 Negative past.....	27
3.5.4 Negative future/irrealis.....	28
3.6 Reduplication.....	28
CHAPTER 4.....	29
AUXILIARIES.....	29
4.1 Introduction.....	29
4.2 <i>Adù òdù</i>	29
4.2.1 Imperfective.....	29
4.2.2 Progressive/continuous in past and future.....	30
4.3 <i>Dē/ndē</i>	30
4.4 <i>Dē</i> plus <i>ā-</i> + mid or low tone.....	31
4.5 <i>Nde</i> plus <i>ā</i> + mid or low tone.....	31
CHAPTER 5.....	33
SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES FOR TAM.....	33
5.1 Introduction.....	33
5.2 Remoteness in past and future.....	33
5.3 Certitude.....	35
5.4 Completive.....	36
5.5 Deontic.....	36
5.6 Clause combination for conditional.....	37
Conclusion.....	40
REFERENCES.....	41

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1 Phonemes and graphemes.....	7
2 Word tone contrast in two-syllable word.....	9
3 Past and non-past.....	14
4 Non-future and future.....	14
5 Three ways system.....	15
6 Metrical system in Yagua.....	15
7 Perfect related to past.....	20
8 Perfect related to future.....	20
9 Remoteness in Mayogo.....	33
10 Chart showing tense and aspect in Mayogo.....	39

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The present study is an investigation of the tense, aspect, and mood system in *Mayogo*, an Adamawa-Ubangi language from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

1.1 The significance of the subject

Many other grammatical categories in a sentence can be omitted, but tense, aspect and mood (TAM) are obligatory categories in a simple sentence. Depending on the language, the TAM system can be one of the most complex and frustrating of all grammatical sub-systems (Givón 1984). For this reason, it has to be understood early in studying the structure of simple clauses of a language.

Languages in the Adamawa-Ubangi family have a relatively high range of verbs in narrative (Sawka 2001, 94). These languages, including *Mayogo*, are poorly documented. This study attempts to examine emically how *Mayogo*, an Adamawa-Ubangi language marks TAM. By doing so, it will add to the knowledge about this subgroup, and also maybe to the linguistic world. This topic has also implications for the work of Bible translation and literacy in *Mayogo*. It is assumed that the more the concept of TAM within a language is understood, the more the translation is clear, natural, and accurate.

1.2 Language name

The name *Mayogo* has been used for many years to refer to the language and to the people who speak that language. This spelling came about largely due to the contact with other language neighbors to Mayogo. The people call themselves and their language */madʷugwʷ/*. According to Ngongo (2001, 5), and to Mayogo oral tradition, this name derived from the Mayogo's ancestor name */dʷugwʷ/* 'Yogo', to which is added the prefix *ma-*, meaning 'descendants of'. So, *Madʷugwʷ* means 'descendants of *Dʷugwʷ*'. The term 'Mayogo' has been established and accepted by Mayogo people themselves. Payne (1997, 13-14) states, 'if the outsider's term has been well established in literature, there is no need for the researcher to change it, unless the people themselves are offended by the general term and prefer to be known by the self-referent.' Following this idea, for the purpose of this study, I will use the outsider's term *Mayogo* to refer both to the people and to the language.

1.3 Location

About 100,000 Mayogo speakers (Grimes 2000a, 97) live in the northeastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). In terms of the DRC's political division, their land is located in the Oriental Province, in the Haut-Uele District, and mainly in Rungu and Wamba territories. Mayogo people are believed to have migrated from Lake Chad around the 17th century, and crossed Sudan before reaching their actual location in about 1850 (Ngongo 2001, 5). The Mayogo land is relatively large, situated between 27⁰ and 30⁰ longitude east, and between 1⁰ and 4⁰ latitude north. This large land covers approximately 1,266 km² and is constituted of plateaus, forest, and savannah. Many rivers flow across it, making the soil fertile.

The Mayogo people are agriculturalists. Sawka (2001, 3) states that they are subsistence farmers growing a wide range of crops. Like many other people in that region, they also derive income from craft sales, fishing, trapping and mining. They also raise some domestic animals such as hens, goats, pigs and sheep.

Mayogo neighbors are people of diverse ethnic and linguistic groups. Among them are people from Bantu groups such as Budu, Lika people from Nilo-Saharan groups such as Mangbetu, and people from Adamawa-Ubangi groups such as Azande. The Mayogo people are hospitable, they interact easily with their neighbors, and have something either cultural or linguistic that they share with them. Ngongo (2001, 7) states that the Mayogo people have been affected by the customs, morals, and arts of the neighboring peoples.

Apart from the Mayogo language, there are three other languages spoken in the area. Lingala (Bangala, a form of Lingala), is the main lingua franca. It is used in most of the Mayogo area. Swahili is used mainly in the Mayogo-Mangbele area located in Wamba territory. So, these two are used as Languages of Wider Communication (LWC). French, which is the official language of the DRC, is used by a few literates. The Mayogo language is used by Mayogo people of all ages and sexes. Speakers use their language among themselves. They use Lingala (or Bangala) or Swahili when they interact with other people from other linguistic groups. French is used in school and in administration offices.

1.4 Language family

Grimes (2000a, 97) classifies Mayogo as Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Adamawa-Ubangi, Ubangi, Sere-Ngbaka-Mba, Ngbaka-Mba, Ngbaka, Eastern, Mayogo-Bangba. In this classification, Mayogo is closest to Bangba

and to Mundu with approximately 70% to 75 % lexical similarity with Bangba and 65% with Mundu (Grimes 2000a, 97). They were initially one group, and later, they split into many groups because of the continuous wars of the 17th century among different tribes and against Arabs (Ngongo 2001,6; see also Boone 1994). According to Sawka (2001, 4) discussion with Mundu and Mayogo speakers indicated that Mayogo may have diverged from Mundu hundreds of years ago in the Faradje area, and Bangba diverged from Mayogo shortly after.

1.5 Dialects

There are four major dialects within Mayogo: Mayogo-Mabozo is the central and the largest dialect, widely spoken and less influenced by neighboring languages than are the other dialects. According to Sawka (2001, 60) it has approximately 80% of the Mayogo speakers. The Mayogo-Mangbele dialect is subdivided into two groups according to their respective locations. There is Mayogo-Mangbele A located in the Rungu territory, in Azanga collectivity, among Mangbetu people; and Mayogo-Mangbele B or Mayogo-Mangbele Gbukuma located in the Wamba territory among Budu people. The other dialects are Mayogo-Magbai and Mayogo-Dimadoko. Although some linguistic differences may be found, speakers mutually understand each other when speaking.

Grimes (2000a, 97) mentions some other words to refer to Mayogo such as Maigo, Maiko, Mayko, Kiyo, Mayugu, Mayugo. A term like 'Kiyogo' refers to the Bantu prefix 'Ki', meaning language. Thus, 'Kiyogo' reflects the influence of the Bantu language neighbors on Mayogo.

1.6 Morphological and syntactic typology

According to Comrie (1989, 34) typology concerns the study of variation within human language. For Payne (1997, 27), ‘typology is a division of a range of phenomena into types’. Morphological typology usually recognizes four types of language: *isolating*, *agglutinating*, *fusional*, and *polysynthetic* (Comrie 1989). An *isolating language* is the one in which there is *one-to one correspondence* between words and morphemes (Comrie 1989). According to Payne (1997, 27), in a strictly isolating language every word consists of only one morpheme. An *agglutinating language* is one in which a word may consist of more than one morpheme, but there are clear-cut boundaries between morphemes in the word (Comrie 1989). In a *fusional language* the expression of different categories within the same word is fused together to give a single, unsegmentable morph. And in a *polysynthetic language*, a large number of morphemes are combined.

In terms of morphological typology, many grammatical categories in Mayogo are represented by separate words, instead of being bound together. In example (1) each morpheme is a separate word.

- (1) *Ani zu bhūgu de*
 3SG eat banana NEG
 ‘He does not eat banana.’

On the other hand, some categories such as tense, aspect, and number provide evidence of agglutinating processes going on in the Mayogo language, as exemplified in (2), (3), and (4). Overall, Mayogo has been found to be more isolating than agglutinating (Sawka 2001).

(2) *Aní ā- gò*
 3SG PAST come

‘He came.’

(3) *U ngá- ménè kúù*
 3PL CONT do work

‘They are working.’

(4) *ó- m̀ gbá ngámá*
 PL animal of chief

‘The animals of the chief.’

In (2) and (3) the tense marker *a-* and the aspect marker *ngá-* are all bound to the verb stems *gò* and *ménè*. And in (4) the plural marker *ó-* is also bound to the noun root *m̀*.

Comrie (1989, 35) referring to Greenberg (1963) distinguished three main word orders in the languages of the world, in terms of the three clause constituents S, V, and O. Considering these three elements, the pragmatically neutral order of constituents in Mayogo is SVO or AVP (agent, verb and patient) suggesting a head-first typology.

(5)	S	V	O
	<i>Úó-</i>	<i>áyè</i>	<i>baítáì</i>
	3PL	write	letter

‘They wrote a letter.’

1.7 Phonemes and Orthography

In this section, I present phonemes with the corresponding Mayogo graphemes. We shall notice that Mayogo uses both simple and complex graphemes.

Phonemes	Graphemes
/a/	a
/b/	b
/b̥/	bh
/d/	d
/dz/	dj
/d̥/	dy
/d̥̥/	dh
/e/	e
/f/	f
/g/	g
/gb/	gb
/h/	h
/i/	i
/l/	ɾ
/k/	k
/kp/	kp
/l/	l
/m/	m
/mb/	mb
/n/	n
/nd/	nd
/ndz/	ndj

/ŋ/	ng
/ŋgb/	ngb
/ŋv/	nv
/o/	o
/w/	ø
/p/	p
/s/	s
/t/	t
/ts/	ts
/u/	u
/ʊ/	u
/v/	v
/w/	w
/j/	y
/z/	z
/ʀ/	ʀ
/ɲ/	ny

Fig.1 Phonemes and graphemes

1.8 Tone

A large number of the languages of the world are so-called ‘tone languages’ (Chapman 2001). In these languages variations in pitch affect the lexical or grammatical meaning of a word. Mayogo is one of these tone languages. McCord (1989) posited that languages in the Eastern branch of the Adamawa-Eastern group

have three level tones. Basically Mayogo has three level tones: high, mid, and low. However, combinations are also possible such as high-low, high-mid, mid-high and low-high. Only high tone is marked in writing whereas the others are not marked in the practical orthography. In the following examples the tone is marked, on nouns to show contrast, as in (6) and (7), showing the lexical function of tone.

- | | | |
|-----|--------------|--------------|
| (6) | <i>ngámá</i> | <i>ngàmá</i> |
| | ‘chief.’ | ‘myself.’ |
| (7) | <i>yá</i> | <i>ya</i> |
| | ‘body part.’ | ‘we/us.’ |

Fig. 2 shows some contrast in two-syllable words.

H-M	<i>kpálá</i>	‘human being’
M-H	<i>kpálá</i>	‘squirrel’
M-H	<i>ēlé</i>	‘fight’
M-M	<i>ēlē</i>	‘tooth’
H-L	<i>fífū</i>	‘dead fish’
L-H	<i>fífú</i>	‘flour’
H-H	<i>dhádhá</i>	‘knife’

Fig.2 Word tone contrast in two-syllable word

Each of these three sets shows contrast in two-syllable words.

The high tone on the verb stem fulfils a grammatical function in tense marking such as in (8) that contrasts with (9). This will be discussed in chapter two of this study.

- (8) *Anì* *ā-* *gó*
 3SG IRR- come
 ‘He will come.’

- (9) *Anɪ* *ā-* *gò*
 3SG PAST- come
 ‘He came.’

1.9 Verb structure

Before investigating TAM in some detail, it is first good to present an overview of verb structure in Mayogo.

1.9.1 Infinitive

An infinitive expresses the basic meaning of a verb. For the purpose of this study, it is helpful to first look at the Mayogo infinitive construction. The infinitives are formed by the addition of the prefix *ná-* to the verb stem, as shown in (10).

- (10) *ná-* *gó*
 INF- come
 ‘To come’

Phonetically, the infinitive prefix *ná-* has high tone that spreads over the first syllable or syllables of the verb stem as shown in (11) and (12).

- (11) H-H *nákpí* ‘to die’
 (12) H-H-M *nákóbhò* ‘to save’

The infinitive form or infinitive VP in Mayogo can function as a nominal, i.e. as subject or object, as in (13) and (14).

(13) *ná- méne kulu ndjmdjt*

INF- do work good

‘Working is good.’

(14) *ná- zí ‘he bhøø kpála*

INF- steal thing kill person

‘To steal kills a person.’

1.9.2 Finite morphology

In the Mayogo verbal system, inflectional categories such as tense and aspect are bound to the verb stem. Apart from stative verbs, a verbal construction has an obligatory stem and an optional prefix morpheme as in (15) and (16).

(15) *Gbēlēndé, li sa basa -o*

antelope, enter IMP under hut REF

‘Antelope, enter into the house.’

(16) *Ani nga- dholo li gbadji*

3SG CONT- walk on road

‘He is walking on the road.’

1.10 Previous work

It is only in recent years that attention has been paid to Mayogo. In addition to the approved orthography (*Manuel d’orthographe de la langue Mayogo*) by the Mayogo Bible translation team, two theses have been written in English.

1. 'Acoustical and Auto-segmental Analysis of the Mayogo Vowel System' (1989) by Michael McCord analyzes the Mayogo vowel system both acoustically and auto-segmentally.
2. 'Aspects of Mayogo grammar' (2001) by Sawka describes some aspects of grammar in Mayogo.

1.11 Data collection

All my linguistic assignments and term papers during my studies at NEGST have been focused on the analysis of Mayogo, and particularly Mayogo-Mabozo, my dialect. Data for this project comes from these previous works, elaborated through my intuition as a native speaker. Some data also come from parts of Scripture translated by the Mayogo Bible translation team, such as the Gospels of Luke and John, Acts of the Apostles, and from booklets written by the literacy team working along with the Bible translation project, and finally from other text

CHAPTER 2

TENSE, ASPECT, SPEECH ACT AND MOOD

2.1 Notion of Tense and Time

Generally, tense is a *grammatical system that allows a speaker to locate a situation relative to some reference point in time* (Saeed 1997). Payne (1997, 236) defines tense as the grammatical expression of the time of an event in relation to some reference point in time, usually the moment the clause is uttered. We can describe tense in terms of a temporal dimension of time. This temporal dimension of time is linguistically called 'tense locus' (Shopen 1985, 42). According to Comrie (1985) tense is the *grammaticalized expression of location in time. So, tense helps to locate an event in time.*

2.1.1 Absolute tense

The expression 'absolute tense' refers to 'tenses that take the present moment of speaking as their deictic centre' (Comrie 1985, 36).

2.1.2 Types of tense systems

Languages use different ways to divide this conceptual notion according to the grammatical marking.

2.1.3 Two way systems

Two-way grammatical tense distinctions are common. Languages with this type of system distinguish either past/non-past or future/non-future.

2.1.3.1 Past and non-past

In this system there is a form for past and one single form for both now and not-now.



Fig.3 Past and non-past

In the English verb form, where *-ed* marks 'past', the zero on the verb marks 'non-past' as in (17), (18) and (19).

- (17) I jumped (past)
- (18) I jump now (moment of speaking)
- (19) I jump tomorrow (future)

2.1.3.2 Non-future and future

In this system, there is one single form for both past and now, and another one for future.

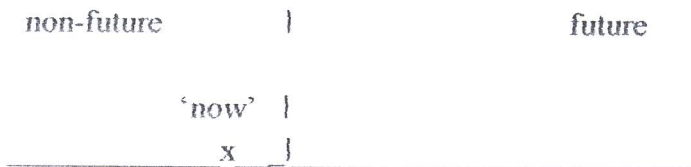


Fig.4 Non-future and future

2.1.4 Three way system

One common tense system makes a three ways division into past, present, and future (Payne 1997, 236).

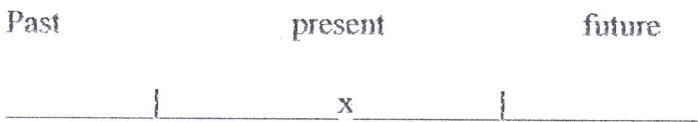


Fig.5 Three ways system

2.1.5 Metrical system

Some languages have many tense distinctions, i.e. more than three distinctions. According to Payne (1997, 236) ‘some languages are reported to have as many as five tense distinctions in the future, but it appears that there are never more distinctions in the future than in the past’. He points out five tense distinctions in the past and two in future in Yagua (Peruvian).

Distant	one	One	One	today/	“now”	Immediate	future
Past	year	month	week	yesterday		future	
	ago	ago					

Fig.6 Metrical system in Yagua

2.2 Notion of Aspect

‘Aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation’ (Comrie 1976, 3). Aspect does not specify a location in time like tense but says something about the temporal quality of the situation. Aspect can be distinguished from tense by the fact that it involves situation-internal time as opposed to tense, which involves situation-external time (Comrie 1976, 5). According to Shopen (1985, 213) ‘aspect characterizes the relation between a predicate and the time interval over which it occurs’. ‘Aspects describe the internal shape of events or states’ (Payne 1997, 238). Elson and Pickett (1983, 25) define aspects as ‘sets of affixes, special words, or phrases that delineate the sorts of actions as contrasted with the time ranges’.

Following these ideas we can say that aspect can be termed as a grammatical system that allows a speaker to relate both situation and time, with the difference that aspect allows him to view the event in various perspectives such as complete or not,

continuous or not, habitual or repeated over a period. It allows the temporal dimension of a situation to be described from different viewpoints. This depends on how the situation in question fits into the discourse (Bybee 1985, 142).

Payne (1997, 239-241) describes major common aspects including: perfective, imperfective, perfect, pluperfect, completive, inceptive, continuous and progressive, punctual, iterative, and habitual. Comrie (1976, 25) distinguishes two common aspectual sub-divisions: perfective (completive) and imperfective (incompletive) in languages of the world. 'It is not compulsory that any language grammaticalizes any of these aspects. Any language may have its own means to describe its internal temporal time' (Payne 1997, 238).

2.2.1 Inherent lexical aspect: punctual, durative

Some verbs, from their inherent lexical nature, express events taking place at punctual time. According to Payne (1997, 241) "Punctual events are those which have no internal temporal structure because they occur in an instant in time. It is referred to sometimes as instantaneous". In contrast, durativity refers to the fact that a given situation lasts for a certain period of time (Comrie 1976, 41).

Shopen (1985, 214-217) suggests other aspectual values that may be used to describe internal temporal relation to time. 'Dynamicity' can be used to describe the difference between states and processes. 'Closure' involves boundary, limitation, holicity and completion. Example (20) shows difference between verbs describing events that take place in an instant (punctual), and verbs describing events that take place within certain period of time (durative).

(20)	Punctuals		duratives	
	-kásīā	‘sneeze’	-zɯ ‘hē	‘eat’
	-zû	‘tap’	-bhúndjà	‘think’
	-kó kókò	‘cough’	-tɯ	‘grind’

2.2.2 Grammatical Aspect

Some morphemes are bound to the verb stems to mark aspects. These aspects are called ‘grammatical aspects’.

2.2.2.1 Perfective - completive

An important typical part of perfective is the notion of completeness. So, an event is described as perfective if it has been completed, terminated or accomplished (Givón 1984, 276). The perfective presents a situation as a single whole. It does not distinguish its various separate stages. It denotes the situation as completed without differentiating or focusing on beginning, middle or end (Comrie 1985, 16, 18). In the same way, Payne (1997, 239) states that ‘the situation in perfective is viewed in its entirety, and independently of tense’.

Completive aspect confirms that the event ended. Payne (1997, 240) states, ‘completive aspect indicates the completion of an event.’ He goes on and signals that this aspect is sometimes called phasal aspect because it refers to different stages of the event being described by the verb. Example (21) shows a completed phasal event.

(21) They finished building the church

2.2.2.2 Imperfective

In an imperfective aspect the internal temporal structure of a situation is viewed from within (Comrie 1976, 24), and the situation is incomplete. According to Payne (1997, 25) ‘such kind of situation is viewed from inside and is considered as ongoing process’. Smith (1991) quoted by Saeed (1997, 131) posits that imperfective focuses on the middle phase of an event and leaves unspecified the end. Saeed (1997, 131) goes on and says that its endpoint is unspecified and that is compatible with an extension into the present.

Both Comrie (1976, 25) and Payne (1997, 239) sub-divide imperfective into two categories: habitual and continuous, the latter including progressive (Comrie 1976, 25). Comrie states that in some languages imperfective is subdivided into many distinct categories. Some discussions even assume that habituality correlates to iterativity (Comrie 1976, 27). A situation in imperfective can be presented as non-completed in past, present, or in future, as in (22).

(22) He builds houses for people.

This example presents a non-completed situation in present.

2.2.2.2.1 Progressive

Progressive or continuous as sub-types of imperfective, express an event that is going on. According to Payne (1997, 240) it implies, an ongoing, dynamic process, opposed to stative. Comrie (1976, 34) says that continuous is “imperfective not determined by habituality”, in the sense that continuous refers to an actual event and habitual does not have any specific event to refer to. In this sense continuous is very much like progressive. The continuous aspect does not mention either the beginning

or the end of the situation in question as in (23). And in (24), we have progressive grammatical aspect.

(23) The teacher is talking to the students.

(24) He keeps holding the cup.

2.2.2.2.2 *Habitual*

‘Habitual or repetitive aspect expresses events that occur from time to time’ (Payne 1997, 241). The situation described by habitual is viewed as a characteristic feature of an extended period (Comrie 1976, 27), as in (25).

(25) a. He works in the office.

b. He used to work in the office.

2.2.2.2.3 *Iterative*

A number of verbs lexically express punctual events that occur in an instant in time. Iterative aspect results from a succession of punctual events (Payne 1997, 241), as in (26).

(26) The baby is sneezing.

2.2.2.3 *Perfect*

The aspect termed perfect differs from others in the sense that it relates a situation to a previous one. It expresses a relation between double time-points and in this way is like tense. One is the time of the state resulting from a previous situation, and the second is the time of the previous situation (Comrie 1985, 52). According to Payne (1997, 239) ‘it describes a relevant state brought about by the situation expressed by the verb’. In the example below the event of eating (E1) took place

before the event of getting home (E2). E1 is relevant to E2. Both E1 and E2 occurred before the moment of speaking (now) as in (27), and they can also be transferred to the future as in (28).

(27) I had eaten when Peter got home.

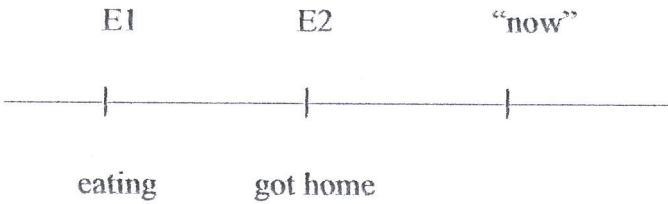


Fig. 7 Perfect related to past

In future:

(28) I will have eaten when Peter gets home

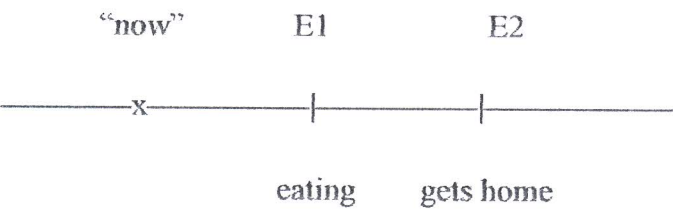


Fig. 8 Perfect related to future

The grammatical form *have + eaten* expresses the relation of continuing relevance of a resultant state to some other event.

2.3 Modality

I define modality as a semantic notion having to do with whether the sentence is asserting that a specific event or state of affairs has actually happened or is happening at that moment (realis modality) or it does not assert that a specific event or state of affairs has actually happened or is happening at that moment (irrealis situation/modality) (Palmer 1986, 21) and (Bybee and Fleischman 1995, 2).

Example (29):

Realis modality

It rained yesterday.

I forgive you Peter.

Irrealis modality

If it rains, then the chief will not come.

Shut the door!

Did you go to school today?

When did he stop smoking?

2.4 Mood

Following Palmer (1986, 21), Bybee and Fleischman (1995, 2), I define mood as grammatical form that expresses modality distinction. For example in French, the term subjunctive mood generally refers to a specific grammatical form that expresses irrealis modality, which does not assert that a specific event or state of affairs has happened as in (30) and (31).

(30) *Qu'il finisse son devoir!* May he finish his homework!

(31) *Qu'il vienne demain matin!* May he come tomorrow morning!

In (30) the grammatical verbal form *finisse* “finish”, does not assert any truth about the completion of his homework. And in (31) the grammatical verbal form *vienne* “come” does not assert any truth about his coming tomorrow morning. However, the indicative mood in French generally refers to grammatical form that expresses realis modality and asserts that a specific event or state of affairs has occurred or is true as in (32) and (33).

(32) *Il finit son devoir*
 3SG finishes his homework
 ‘He finishes his homework.’

(33) *Il vient*
 3SG come ‘He comes.’

CHAPTER 3

MAYOGO VERB MORPHOLOGY USED FOR TAM

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter we will discuss the verb morphology used for TAM in Mayogo. Mayogo does not have a lot of grammatical marking for tense, aspect, and mood. We will discuss the use of an *a-* prefix on the verb stem and grammatical tone marking, *nga-* prefix, and zero marking. In a later chapter, we will present ways Mayogo can use more complex syntactic constructions to convey TAM distinctions.

3.2 *a-/o-* + mid or low tone “Perfective”

“Perfective” is a term, which is used to refer to an event, that occurred prior to the moment of utterance and is completed without regard to its extension over time. This fits the Mayogo prefix *a-/o-* + mid or low tone that expresses a past perfective event.

The prefix *a-/o-* + mid or low tone on the verb stem indicates that the event expressed by the verb took place in the past. It locates a situation prior to the present moment. The event is presented as a single whole and as completed without notice about the continuity of the situation either in the present, or in the future. The event is both past tense and perfective aspect as in (34), (35) and (36).

- (34) *Sīā* *ā-* *kpi* *līlī*
Leopard PAST+PERF die yesterday

‘The leopard died yesterday.’

(35) *M# ō- kãlã mãs#ã*

2SG PAST- buy ca

‘You bought a car.’

(36) *Mã- ã- gó*

1SG PAST + PERF come

‘I came.’

When it occurs with a lexically punctual verb, the prefix *a-/o-* + mid or low tone on the verb stem expresses events that took place in an instant as in (37) and

(38).

(37) *Ndĩl#e ã- kãsiã*

child-REF PAST+PERF sneezed

‘The child sneezed.’

(38) *Ndĩl#e ã- kãsiã ngẽngelè*

child PAST + PERF sneeze long time

‘The child sneezed for a long time.’

3.3 Irrealis: *a* + high tone

The grammatical form *a-/o-* + high tone does not assert any truth about what is expressed or is being expressed. In this section and the following, we will see that the future and negative imperative do not assert any truth about specific events or states of affairs.

3.3.1 Future

The prefix *á-/ó-* + high tone can indicate that the events expressed by the verb will take place after the moment of utterance. The situation is located subsequently to the present moment, though future is necessarily more speculative, since it may be subject to any change. In other words, any prediction made may be changed as in (39) and (40).

- (39) *Epē á- ndjía mambi*
 month IRR- end tomorrow
 ‘This month will end tomorrow.’

- (40) *Mù ó- zú ndlɪ ná bhobhōkó*
 2SG IRR- bear child of man
 ‘You will give birth to a son.’

3.3.2 Negative imperative/prohibition

Like irrealis, the prefix *a-/o-* + high tone also helps to express a negative command or a prohibition. The sentence ends with the negative particle *dè* ‘not’ as in (41) and (42).

- (41) *Mù ó- dɥ sí-ì dè.*
 2SG NEG.IMP stay here-REF not
 ‘Do not stay here.’

- (42) *Yĩ á- gó sukpē dè.*
 2PL NEG.IMP come night not
 ‘Do not come tonight!’

3.4 Continuous *ngá-* prefix

In this section we discuss the use of *ngá-* prefix in grammatical aspect marking. The prefix *ngá-* in Mayogo denotes that the event expressed by the verb is going on, and does not say anything about the beginning or the end of the action. The action may have begun before and may also carry on after the utterance moment as in (43) and (44). When it occurs with a durative lexical verb such as *-ménè* ‘do’ a continuous or progressive meaning may result. *Ngá-* can also occur in non-present times. *Ngá-* always has high tone. This use of *ngá-* will be dealt with in chapter 4.

- (43) *Ant ngá- ménè kùlù*
 3SG CONT- do work
 ‘He is working.’

- (44) *Uo ngá- dé ‘dyî*
 3PL CONT- cut field
 ‘They are working in the field.’

In Mayogo, when the prefix *ngá-* occurs with a punctual verb the result expresses a succession of punctual events as in (45) and (46). This semantically yields an iterative meaning.

- (45) *NdHt-è ngá- kásíà*
 child CONT- sneeze
 ‘The child is sneezing.’

- (46) *Anì ngá- kó kókò*
 3SG CONT- cough cough
 'He is coughing.'

3.5 Zero prefix (no prefix)

No prefix (i.e. a zero form) conveys a range of meanings, in future, present and past time.

3.5.1 Present

A zero prefix on a verb stem in Mayogo can be used to indicate that the event described by the verb is located at the present moment as in (47) and (48). These can also be interpreted as present habitual.

- (47) *Ani ø- zʉ 'hè*
 3SG PRES- eat thing.'
 'He eats.'
- (48) *U ø- mēnè kùlì nààlì*
 3PL PRES- do work lot
 'They work a lot.'

3.5.2 Positive imperative

A zero prefix in Mayogo is also employed to express a positive command. According to Trask (1993, 135) many languages lack specific grammatical form for command, and use the simplest verbal form. The Mayogo second person singular

addressee is communicated without an overt pronoun subject as in (49), whereas the second plural addressee has an obligatory one as in (50).

(49) \emptyset /H sɪ̀!
 IMP- Stand here
 ‘Stand here!’

(50) Yɪ̄ \emptyset sɪ̀lɪ̄ kútó!
 2PL IMP- lie down
 ‘You all lie down!’

3.5.3 Negative past

In Mayogo a zero prefix on a verb stem is also used to indicate that the event described by the verb did not take place in a moment prior to the moment of utterance. For this meaning, there is a low tone that co-occurs with a negative particle at the end of the sentence as in (51), (52) and (53).

(51) Sɪ̄̀ \emptyset kɪ̀ lɪ̀lɪ̀ dè̄
 Leopard PAST die yesterday NEG
 ‘The leopard did not die yesterday.’

(52) Mɪ̄ \emptyset kalà māsɪ̄ dè̄
 2SG PAST- buy car NEG
 ‘You did not buy a car.’

(53) Mā̄ \emptyset gò dè̄
 1SG PAST- come NEG
 ‘I did not come.’

3.5.4 Negative future/irrealis

The zero prefix plus high tone on the verb stem indicates that the event described by the verb will not occur subsequently to the present moment. Again, the negative particle with low tone occurs at the end of the sentence (54) and (55).

(54) *Mā̄ ø yé bāl̄xì dè*

1SG IRR- write letter NEG

‘I will not write a letter.’

(55) *Mù̄ ø sé mām̄bî ènḡu pī ān̄ì dè*

2SG IRR- fetch tomorrow water for 3SG NEG

‘You will not fetch water for him tomorrow.’

3.6 Reduplication

‘Reduplication is common cross-linguistically, although its function or meaning may vary’ (Heine and Nurse 2000, 167). Reduplication of the first syllable of a verb occurs often in Mayogo. It expresses a present habitual event as in (56). In this example, the first syllable *me-* of the verb *náménéè* ‘do’ is reduplicated. In (57) the first syllable *dū-* of the verb *dū* ‘sew’ is reduplicated. Here, tone does not have any grammatical function.

(56) *An̄ì mē- mēnè kùl̄ù bh̄ú b̄iló*

3SG RED do work in office

‘He habitually works in the office.’

(57) *U dū- dū b̄ongō*

3PL RED sew cloth

‘They habitually make cloth.’

CHAPTER 4

AUXILIARIES

4.1 Introduction

An auxiliary verb helps the main verbs to show tense, aspect, and mood. In Mayogo some stative verbs are used as auxiliaries along with semantically main verbs.

4.2 *Adù/òdù*

4.2.1 Imperfective

In Mayogo, the auxiliary *ādù* and *òdù* with low tone can be followed by an infinitive form to mark a non-completed past situation as in (58), and *ādú* and *òdú* with high tone can be also followed by an infinitive, when the situation will be non-completed in future, as in (59). In both cases, the tonal difference appears only on the AUX and not on the infinitive.

(58) *Anɪ ādù ná- ménè kùlù*

3SG AUX INF- do work

‘He was working.’

(59) *Mɪ òdú ná- síno` kpáǎjɪ pɪ ókpálà*

2SG AUX INF- show road for people

‘You will be showing the way to people.’

4.2.2 Progressive/continuous in past and future

In section 3.4 I mentioned that the prefix *ngá-* in a simple verb phrase indicates that the event described by the verb is still going on at the moment of utterance. However, a situation might be going on at a certain moment in the past, or will be going on at a certain moment in the future. In this case, the auxiliary *ādh̄/ōdh̄* or *ādh̄/ōdh̄* is followed by a principal verb occurring with the prefix *ngá-* as in (60) and (61).

- (60) *Ndīl̄i-e* *ādh̄* *ngá-* *gʊ* *hoḷō*
 Child-REF AUX CONT- run race
 ‘The child was running.’

- (61) *Mh̄* *ōdh̄* *ngá-* *símò* *bal̄h̄k̄* *ngām̄*
 2SG AUX CONT- show letter EMPH
 ‘You will be teaching yourself.’

In (60), the action of running was going on in a past moment. And in (61), the event of teaching will be repeatedly taking place in a future moment.

4.3 *Dē/ndē*

In Mayogo, the particle *dē* varies freely with *ndē*; it can be used as an auxiliary. It is then followed by a principal verb either in infinitive or in progressive/continuous to express a recent past non-completed event (62) and (63).

- (62) *Ongs̄i* *dē* *ná-* *z̄í* *toḷò*
 children AUX INF- bury noise
 ‘The children were making noise.’

- (63) *Anɪ ndḗ ngá- lɪ ʔ̀zì*
 3SG AUX CONT- cook food
 ‘He was cooking.’

4.4 *Dē* plus *ā-* + mid or low tone

Dē can also be followed by a verb with the prefix *ā-* + mid or low tone. In this case it expresses a completed event in recent past as in (64) and (65).

- (64) *Anì dḗ ā- bhù lî mî*
 3SG AUX PAST- cite name your
 ‘He cited your name.’

- (65) *U dḗ ā- gù bhèlè*
 3PL AUX PAST- fight
 ‘They fought.’

4.5 *Nde* plus *ā-* + mid or low tone

Ndē can be followed by a verb with *ā-* prefix + low tone to express the idea of perfect. In example (66), the event relates to the past; whereas in (67) the event relates to the future.

- (66) *Anì ā- gò mé mā ndḗ ā- zì ʔ̀he ā- zì*
 3SG PAST- come that 1SG AUX PAST- eat thing PAST eat
 ‘He came when I had eaten.’

(67) *Ani á- gó mé mā ndē ā- z# 'hè ā- z#*
 3SG IRR- come that 1SG AUX PAST- eat thing PAST-eat

'He will come when I will have eaten.'

CHAPTER 5
SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES FOR TAM

5.1 Introduction

In chapter 4 I discussed the use of some stative verbs used as auxiliaries that help other verbs to show tense and aspect. In this chapter, I will discuss other syntactic structures used to show time, aspect, and modality. These are mainly formed by verb repetition (with some prefixes, i.e. *má-*, *a-*), and also with verb phrases.

5.2 Remoteness in past and future

Mayogo does not have grammatical means to express remoteness either in the past, or in the future. However, it uses lexical adverbial phrases to express an event, taking place in the near or remote time without any precision. Sawka (2001, 112), listed several adverbial particles of temporal distance that are used along with the verbs to express different degrees of remoteness in the past and in the future. These allow the speaker to locate an event before or after a reference point in absolute tense (Comrie 1985, 83). These can be represented on a time line from a near to a far period as in Figure 9 below. Here, past events are represented by P, and it goes from near past, P1, to remote past, P3. Future is represented by F, and goes from F1, near future, to remote future, F2.

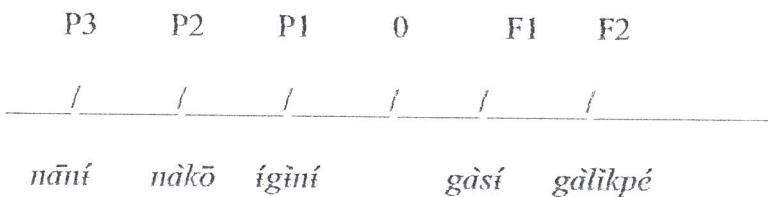


Fig. 9 Remoteness in Mayogo

P3 *nānī* ‘a long time ago’

P2 *nākò* ‘from two days to a year ago’

P1 *ígìní* ‘recent past’

F1 *gàsí* ‘within a short time in future’

F2 *gàlikpé* ‘within many years to come’

Notice that adverbial time words equivalent to English such as ‘today’, ‘yesterday’ and ‘tomorrow’ are not mentioned here, although they are very common in Mayogo. The adverbial *ígìní* (P1) is used to express a very short time before the present moment or before the moment of utterance. Sometimes, it is strengthened by *mbā̀à ìndè* ‘now’ to indicate the shortness of the temporal distance as in (68) and (69).

(68) *Anì ā- kṑlò ígìnì*
 3SG PAST- arrive Rc.PAST

‘He has just arrived.’

(69) *Anì ā- kṑlò ígìnì mbā̀à ìndè*
 3SG PAST- arrive Rc.PAST now this

‘He has just arrived now.’

The adverbial time *nākò* (P2) is used to express a distance from two days to a year ago as in (70).

(70) *Anì ā- kpì nākò ānè pṑsò bī̀nì*
 3SG PAST- die Rm.PAST pass week one

‘He died and it has passed one week.’

Nānɪ (P3) expresses a long period in the past (71). It can also be reduplicated to express a very long period in the past.

- (71) *Yesu ā- kpì nānɪ ngúbūlá mā*
 Jesus PAST die Rm.PAST for me
 ‘Jesus died a long time ago for me.’

The adverbial ‘*gàsɪ*’ (F1) is used to express a short time in the future, normally within the same day (72).

- (72) *A mb̄ā mdè-è midì, mā ā-gíè gàsɪ Imā tángōlò*
 NEUT now this noon, 1SG IRR-return Nr.FUT REFL evening
 ‘Now, it is noon, I will come back in the evening.’

Gàlikpé (F2) expresses a period of many years in the future (73).

- (73) *Yesu ā- gó gàlikpé màtá má- gò*
 Jesus IRR- come Rm.FUT again CERT-come
 ‘Surely, Jesus will come back again.’

5.3 Certitude

Mayogo expresses certitude by repeating the verb, adding the prefix *má-* on the second instance. From this the hearer infers directly that the speaker asserts the truth of his or her utterance. For example in (74) and (75).

- (74) *Elā ā- sɯ nākɪ má- sɯ*
 Sun IRR- shine today CERT-shine
 ‘Surely, today is going to be sunny.’

- (75) *Anɪ ā- ndjɪ má- ndjɪ*
 3SG PAST- drink CERT- drink
 ‘He surely drank it.’

5.4 Completive

Mayogo expresses completive by repeating the verb with prefix *a-* + mid or low tone on the verb stem after the object as in (76) and (77).

- (76) *Anɪ ā- zɥ ‘hē ā- zù*
 3SG PAST- eat thing PAST- eat
 ‘He has already eaten.’

- (77) *sā̀ ā- mbɪ̀lā̀ mē kū̀ò ā- kòlò lɪ nɪ ā- kòlò*
 leopard PAST- know that dead PAST- arrive on him PAST- arrive
 ‘The leopard knew that his death has come.’

5.5 Deontic

Deontic mood expresses what someone must accomplish or what is important or necessary for someone to do. In Mayogo, it is formed with the verbal phrase *ayo me* meaning ‘it is necessary that’ followed by a subordinate clause. This verbal phrase derives from the verb *nayo* meaning ‘to ask’ followed by the complementizer *me*. In the examples below the speaker expresses the obligation for the hearer to perform what the verb indicates (78) and (79).

- (78) *Ayō mē ndɪ̀lɪ mā̀ngā̀ ‘hì ē nē ‘dyɪ ē*
 must that child respect mother his with father his
 ‘A child must respect his mother and his father.’

- (79) *Ayō mē yī mēnè kùlù*
 must that you do work
 ‘You must work.’

Ayō can also be followed by an infinitive. In this case it means ‘it is necessary to’, as in (80) and (81).

- (80) *Ayō ná- lilà lō*
 must INF- guard REFL
 ‘It is necessary to protect oneself.’

- (81) *Ayō ná- ménè bàlǎ*
 must INF- do school
 ‘It is necessary to study.’

5.6 Clause combination for conditional

In Mayogo discourse a conditional sentence consists of two clauses. The one that states the condition (protasis) *i dH me* or *lí* ‘if’, and other (apodosis) is introduced by an obligatory *de* that states the result of the condition. The conditional sentence is used both with noun and pronoun subjects in singular and plural. In this, the speaker is not sure whether the condition will be fulfilled. So, the conditional mood is a type of irrealis mood. In the following examples (82) and (83) the action of going depends upon the calling. It is not certain whether the person will call or not. For example in (82) and (83):

- (82) ɪ d̄h̄ m̄ē ān̄ì ī m̄ù-ò, m̄ù d̄è n̄h̄
 it be that 3SG call 2SG-REF you then go
 ‘If he calls you, you would go.’

- (83) L̄í ū gò-ò m̄h̄ d̄ē p̄ā m̄h̄ m̄ā
 if 3PL come-REF 2SG then tell to me
 ‘If they come, then call me.’

Fig. 10 shows the use of tenses and aspects in Mayogo.

Tense Aspect	Present	Past	Future
Perfective		<i>Anì āzù bhúgù</i> He ate banana	
Perfect		<i>mā ābhākà mé ānì</i> <i>ndē āzù bhúgù</i> I found that he had eaten banana	<i>Mā ábhákà mé ānì</i> <i>ndē āzù bhúgù</i> I will find that he will have eaten banana
Completive		<i>Anì āzù bhúgù āzù</i> He has eaten banana	
Certitude		<i>Anì āzù bhúgù</i> <i>mázu</i> He certainly ate banana	<i>Anì ázù bhúgù</i> <i>mázu</i> He will certainly eat banana
Imperfective		<i>Anì ādù nózù</i> <i>bhúgù</i> He was eating banana	<i>Anì ádù nózù</i> <i>bhúgù</i> He will be eating banana
Continuous	<i>Anì ngózù bhúgù</i> He is eating banana	<i>Anì ādù ngózù</i> <i>bhúgù</i> He was eating banana	<i>Anì ádù ngózù</i> <i>bhúgù</i> He will be eating banana
Habitual	<i>Anì zùzù bhúgù</i> He eats banana	<i>Anì zùzù (naní)</i> <i>bhúgù</i> He used to eat banana	

Fig. 10 Showing tense and aspect together in Mayogo

Conclusion

This section is the summary of the main points of this paper and their implications for verbal construction in Mayogo. In the introductory chapter it was observed that it is only in these recent years that attention has been given to the Mayogo language through the work of Bible translation. Mayogo is still poorly documented, like other Adamawa-Ubangi languages and needs to be studied.

In the second chapter I discussed tense, aspect and mood categories according to the literature. In the third chapter I discussed the verb morphology used for TAM in Mayogo. It has been observed that, first Mayogo does not have much verb morphology for TAM; secondly tone marking distinguishes between past and future.

In the fourth chapter, I discussed the use of auxiliary verbs to show aspect. And in the fifth chapter, I discussed syntactic structures used for tense, aspect and modality. It has been pointed out also that reduplication can be used for TAM.

This study has shown that each language has its own construction of TAM. Honestly, I cannot claim to have investigated exhaustively. I have tried to discover the pertinent areas without going deeper as far as discourse is concerned. Some points need to be dealt deeply with, i.e. the used of *de/nde* and *adv, má-* prefix and the function of reduplication. Thus, this study has opened ways for further study.

REFERENCES

- Boone, Douglas. 1994. *Bangba survey report*. Bunia: SIL International.
- Bybee, J. 1985. *Morphology: A study of the relation between meaning and form*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bybee, J. and S. Fleischman. 1995. *Modality in grammar and discourse: An Introductory essay*. In *Modality in grammar and discourse*, ed. by Joan Bybee and Suzanne Fleischman, 1-14. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Chapman, William H. 2001. *Introduction to practical phonetics*, 6th ed. Horsleys Green: European Training programme.
- Chung, Sandra and Alan Timberlake. 1985. *Tense, aspect, and mood*. In *Language typology and syntactic description*, vol. 3, ed. by Timothy Shopen, 202-258. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Comrie, B. 1976. *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 1985. *Tense*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 1989. *Language universals and linguistic typology: Syntax and morphology*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Elson, Benjamin F. and Velma B. Pickett. 1983. *Beginning morphology and syntax*. Mexico: SIL.
- Givón, T. 1984. *Syntax: A functional-typological introduction*, vol. 2. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Greenberg, Joseph. 1963. *Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements in universals of language*, ed. by Joseph H. Greenberg. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Grimes, Barbara F., ed. 2000a. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*, 14th ed. Dallas: SIL International.
- _____. 2000b. *Ethnologue: Maps and indexes*. Texas: SIL International.
- Heine, Bernd and Derek Nurse, eds. 2000. *African languages: An introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- McCord, Michael S. 1989. *Acoustical and autosegmental analysis of the Mayogo vowel system*. M.A. thesis. University of Texas at Arlington.
- Ngongo, A. C. 2001. *The moral aspect of traditional healing among the Mayogo of Congo (DRC)*. Licentiate degree, thesis, Catholic University of East Africa, Nairobi.
- Palmer, F. R. 1986. *Mood and modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Saeed, John I. 1997. *Semantics* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Sawka, Kenneth S. 2001. *Aspects of Mayogo grammar*. M.A thesis. University of Texas at Arlington.
- Shopen, T. 1985. *Language typology and syntactic description*. Vol. 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, Carlotta S. 1991. *The parameter of aspect*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Trask, L. 1993. *A dictionary of grammatical terms in linguistics*. London: Routledge.

APPENDIX

Kùkùndá **nè** **úō** **nè** **gìmbá**
 Tortoise with them with monkey
 tortoise and monkey
 (Gīta Clement)

1 *Kùkùndá* *nè* *úō* *nè* *Gìmbá* *ā̀dù* *bh̄* *òlià.*
 tortoise with them with monkey PAST.be in friendship
 Tortoise and monkey were friends

2 *Ekpí* *kòkò-ò,* *Kùkùndá* *á-* *n̄* *ná-tsíà* *Gìmbá.*
 day another-REF, tortoise PAST- go INF-see monkey
 Another day, tortoise went to visit monkey

3 *Gìmbá* *ā-* *bh̄à kíó* *lí* *wā́* *ghā è* *ndj̄ndj̄.*
 monkey PAST- welcome on friend of him well.
 Monkey welcomed his friend very well.

tóló *'zō* *úō* *ā̀bh̄l̄á.*
 noise laugh their up
 They were laughing.

4 *Wā́lá* *Gìmbá* *ngá-* *l̄* *'z̄*
 wife monkey CONT- cook food,
 Monkey's wife was cooking,

sèsé *ngá-* *tú-* *túkò* *ná-* *kólò* *àsà* *bàsà*
 smell CONT- HAB- fell INF- arrive under house
 the smell (of the food) was reaching up to the house

lí *òbh̄òsì* *ā-* *d̄l̄* *l̄ê* *-ò*
 on men PAST_sit where -REF
 where the men were sitting.

5 *Gìmbá* *nè* *kīlí* *è* *kùkùndá* *bh̄* *bh̄* *ndj̄ombē* *má tsúkúdh̄!*
 monkey with friend his tortoise only in fun idephon!
 Monkey and his friend tortoise were making fun!

6 *Ez̄* *-ò* *ā-* *bh̄*
 food -REF PAST- cook
 The food was cooked.

7 *Gìmbá* *ā-* *dũ* *má ndjuũ!* *Anì pī* *wālá è mé:*
 monkey PAST-stay ideophon! 3SG to wife his that:
 Monkey stayed quiet! He said to his wife:

“*Ō ēzũ bhõmũ-ò pí mídjá!*”
 “put food that -REF on table!”
 “Put this food on the table!”

8 *Gìmbá* *ā-* *í* *kùkùndá* *ngí ná-* *zũ* *'hé -ò.*
 monkey PAST- call tortoise for INF- eat thing-REF
 Monkey invited tortoise to eat

9 *Kùkùndá* *ā-* *gò,* *ānì ā-* *vũũ* *'kpā è.*
 tortoise PAST- come, 3SG PAST- wash hand his
 Tortoise came, he washed his hands.

10 *Gìmbá* *ā-* *dũ* *dè mídjá-ò,* *ānì ā-* *hõlõ* *ná-* *zũ 'hé -ò.*
 monkey PAST- sit near table-REF, 3SG PAST- start INF- eat thing-REF
 Monkey sat near the table and started eating.

11 *Kùkùndá* *pī* *ānì* *mé:*
 tortoise to him that:
 Tortoise to him,

“*Oliá, ʾõ ēzũ -ò pī ní kító*
 “friend, put food -REF for IPL (INCL) down
 “Friend, put the food for us down

ángā *'kpā* *mā* *kõlõ* *pí* *mídjá* *õõ* *dè.*
 because hand my arrive on table there NEG
 because my hand does not reach on the table there.

12 *Gìmbá* *pī* *ānì* *mé:* “*Oliá, mũ* *gò* *gbá* *kíli* *mũ* *-ò,*
 monkey to 3SG that: “friend, 2SG come at friend 2SG -REF,
 Monkey said to him, “Friend, if you come to your friend’s house,

mũ *dē* *kpātā* *lílì* *ná* *kũĩ* *gbá* *ānì* *kò.*
 you then follow rule of house of 3SG REF.
 you should follow the rule of his house.

í *dũ* *bhá* *mé* *kpá* *mũ* *ndē* *kõlõ* *pí* *mídjá* *ēi* *dè-è,*
 it be only that hand 2SG AUX arrive on table here NEG,
 If your hand does not reach here on the table,

mũ *zĩ* *'hé* *gbá* *mā -à* *dè,*
 2SG eat thing of me -REF NEG,
 You will not eat my food,

Mā nè māsíndjí ádè ná- zù 'hé kító.
 1SG STAT uncivilized NEG INF eat thing down.
 I am not uncivilized to eat down.

13 *Kùkùndá ā- bīkì, ānī ā- kē- kè kùlū lē pīmā!*
 tortoise PAST- wait, 3SG PAST- RED- suffer pain REFL ideophon!
 Tortoise waited, and he waited in vain.

14 *Ollà ānī Gìmbá ā- zù ēzù gbá ō nè wālá è hánā má dà!*
 friend 3SG monkey PAST- eat food of them with wife his all ideophon!
 His friend monkey ate all their food with his wife.

15 *Eiā ā- sēgēlè, Kùkùndá ā- bhānà lē,*
 sun PAST- decline, tortoise PAST- signal REFL,
 The Sun declined, tortoise said bye

ā- è nè ènū àgbá è.
 PAST- leave with journey home
 and left to go to his home.

16 *Gìmbá ā- lī ābhú 'í gèòó mé*
 monkey PAST- enter into house as that
 Monkey entered into the house as if

ānī ā- djì mbō ā- hà gbà 'hé,
 3SG PAST go a bit PAST- take packet,
 he was going to take a parcel,

kè ní bīnī mē-ē!
 piece what one that!
 Nothing!

17 *Anī ā- nū ā -ò Kùkùndá lī kpādjī nè ná- pá pī ānī mé:*
 3SG PAST- go PAST- put tortoise on road with INF- say to3SG that:
 He accompanied tortoise on the road and said to him,

“Ollà, nū ndjīndjī.”
 “friend, go.IMP well.”
 “Friend, safe journey.”

18 *Ekpí kōkō -ò, gūmū ā- fòè gìmbá àgbá ē.*
 day another -REF, hunger PAST- squeeze monkey home his.
 Another day, monkey was very hungry at his home.

19 *Anī mé nī ā- djì ngà mbō àgbá òlià nī Kùkùndá,*
 3SG that 3SG PAST go a bit few home friend 3SG tortoise,
 He (said) that he was going to his friend tortoise home,

āīgàlā nī síà mbò kē 'zù kā ānī ōō.
 maybe 3SG receive a bit piece food from 3SG there.
 He may receive, a bit food from him there.

20 *A- 'lī bhā nè 'lò bhèlè kūò,*
 PAST- forget only with mind kill dead,
 Only the killer forgets,

'lò 'hī kūō 'í 'lī dè!
 mind mother dead HAB- forget NEG
 the mother of the dead never forgets.

21 *Gìmbá bhā tē mbádhàsé gbá Kùkùndá-à má mbíú!*
 monkey only middle compound of tortoise-REF ideophon,
 Monkey (came) just in the middle of tortoise compound,

Í lélé ēzē ngá- gbógbò ngúwà kálà Kùkùndá
 on when food CONT- produce smoke before tortoise
 While the food was smoking before tortoise

bhē kākápá kútó sá bàsà -ò.
 in basket down under house -REF
 in a basket down in the house.

22 *Kùkùndá ā- yīè bhíá nè gīndàgīndá hánà,*
 tortoise PAST- leave up with pride all,
 Tortoise stood proudly,

ānī ā- bhīà kúò Í olíà ē
 3SG PAST- welcome on friend his
 welcomed his friend

nē ná- pá kálāgbà pī ānī dè kākápá 'zē -ò.
 with INF- put mat for 3SG near basket food -REF
 and put a mat for him near the food.

23 *Gìmbá ā- dē kólò kutó, kùé ānī má sāmē sāmē!*
 monkey PAST- sit quickly down, body 3SG ideophon!
 Monkey sat quickly, with his body agitated.

24 *Kùkùndá ā- tūò kākápá 'ngú -ò*
 tortoise PAST- push basket water -REF
 Tortoise pushed water

Kálà Gìmbá mé ānī vūlū 'kpā ē nè dī.
 before monkey that 3SG wash hand his with it
 for monkey to wash his hand.

25 *Gìmbá* *ā-* *vū̀ù* 'kpā ē,
 monkey PAST- wash hand his,
 Monkey washed his hands,

ā̀nì *mé* *nī* *tō* 'kpā *nī* *bhū* 'zū *kālà* *Kùkùndá-ò*.
 3SG that 3SG introduce hand 3SG in food before tortoise-REF.
 and (wanted) to introduce it in the food before tortoise.

26 *Kùkùndá* *pī* *ā̀nì* *mé:* "sə *mū!*
 tortoise to 3SG that: "INTERJ 2SG!
 Tortoise said to him, "You!

Yīè *nè* *l̥bìtè* *lī* 'kpā *mū* *òkò*.
 quit. IMP with dirtiness on hand your there.
 Quit there with your dirty hand.

Vū̀ù *ngā* *mā́tá* 'kpā *mū* *nē tṑtō.*"
 wash. IMP a bit again hand 2SG again."
 Wash again your hand.

27 *Gìmbá* *ā-* *vū̀ù* 'kpā ē, *á* *vū* *dè*.
 monkey PAST- wash hand his, it cleans NEG.
 Monkey washed his hand and it was not cleaned.

Anì *ā-* *hólò* *ná-* *dýdyí* *nè* *kpázè,* *á* *vū* *dè*.
 3SG PAST start INF- scratch with leaf, it clean NEG.
 He started scratching with leaf and it was not cleaned.

28 *Kùkùndá* *pī* *ā̀nì* *mé:* 'Oliá, *mēnē* *má gālà!*
 tortoise to 3SG that: "friend, do ideophon!
 Tortoise said to him, "Friend, do quickly!

mā *á-* *hólò* *ná-* *zú* 'hé -è *lī* *mū* *pàdhá* *dè*.
 1SG IRR- start INF- eat thing -REF on 2SG without NEG.
 I will not start eating without you.

Hā *ngísé* -è, *mū* *kpḕlè* *sā-* *tīkpā* *mū* *nè* *dí*.
 take.IMP knife -REF, 2SG scratch under hand 2SG with it.
 Take this knife and scratch your hand with it.

29 *Gìmbá* *ā-* *hà* *ngísé* -ò, *ā-* *tsō* *tsòlò* *mbī̀tka*
 monkey PAST- take knife -REF, PAST- RED- cut meat
 Monkey took the knife, and cut all meat

ná *sā-* *tīkpā* *ē* *nè* *dí* *hánà*.
 of under hand his with it all.
 in his hand.

30 *Ngw̄é kútó má pátá pátá!*

blood down ideophon!

There was a lot of blood pouring down!

31 *Nè bábùmà hánà, gimbá ā- è nè ènú àgbá ē.*

with sorrow all, monkey PAST- leave with journey home 3SG.

With all sorrow, monkey left to go back to his home.

32 *Dá ná- dhé yá 'lá ká ānì ādè.*

place INF- catch branch tree for 3SG NEG.

No way to catch the branch of tree.

33 *O- bh̄ũ bhítà ā- gò*

PL- own hunter PAST- come

Hunters came

ā- dhēpè gimbá lí pá 'ngu māká mbōyè bhèmbé.

PAST- take monkey on side water as small snail

and took monkey on the water's side as a small snail.

34 *Mō ō- 'ó 'ngú lí kílí m̄ lɪ ēh̄*

2SG NEG.IMP put affair on friend 2SG for thing

Do not condemn your friend for what

inde lí Ebhé ā- 'ó -è lí ānì ngàè dè.

that God PAST- put -REF on 3SG EMPH NEG

God himself put on him.