# NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

TENSE, MOOD AND ASPECT IN THE NGBANDI LANGUAGE

BY

CRISPIN MBAGESI

A Linguistic Project submitted to the Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in Translation Studies

February, 5 2001

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

TENSE, MOOD AND ASPECT IN THE NGBANDI LANGUAGE

BY
CRISPIN MBAGESI

A Linguistic project submitted to the Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the
Degree of Master of Arts in Translation Studies

Approved by:

Supervisor _____
Mrs. Mary Huttar

Second Reader _____
Dr. Regina Blass

External Reader _____
Dr. Steve Nicolle

February 5, 2001

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

TENSE, MOOD AND ASPECT IN THE NGBANDI LANGUAGE

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 the Nairobi Evangelical
Graduate School of Theology or the Examiners.

(signed) _____
Crispin Mbagesi

February 5, 2001

DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to my wife Martine Mademogo who always was with me, took care of me, looked after me, counseled me, strengthened me, encouraged me, participated and/or shared my joy and difficulties; in brief who was all for me. My children Blandine Ngule, Hortence Yambagesi, Fabienne Mbagesi, Jean-Crispin Mbagesi; and Martine Mademogo, whose presence was for me a comfort, consolation, happiness, moral support, who missed me many times at home while I was in the library, computer or study room and because of whom I could study with joy and determination.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Compl asp	Completive aspect
Cond	Conditional
Cont	Continuous
Fut	Future
Futm	Future marker
Germ	Gerundive marker
Ideo	Ideophone
Imper	Imperative
Inf	Infinitive
Infm	Infinitive marker
Neg(1)	First negative marker
Neg(2)	Second negative marker
Np	Noun phrase
Ptc	Participle
Ptcm	Participle marker
Pl	Plural
Recip	Reciprocity
Rel	Relative
Sg	Singular
SVO	Subject-verb-object
Ten	Tense

Vesum   Verb substantive marker

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Before beginning to describe the Ngbandi language, how it deals with tense, mood and aspect, I would like to explain briefly a panoramic background.

1.1   Location and Population

The Ngbandi peoples, according to the legend, came from Sudan a long time ago, crossed the River Ubangui; and starting by Yakoma in North East of Ubangui area, they scattered throughout the other Ubangui area: Abuzi, Kota-Koli, Mobayi-Mbongo, Gbado-Lite, Molegbe and Businga which are in the North Ubangui District. Other Ngbandi peoples immigrated to Budjala which is in the South Ubangui District. While all these Ngbandi peoples are living in the Equator Province, others are in Bondo zone, in Haut-Congo province. Finally others are located in the Central African Republic. (See the Map in the appendix).

According to Grimes, the Ngbandi peoples are "210,000 in all countries (1989 UBS); 294 in CAR (1988 Census)" (Grimes 1996, 447). Because UBS and the census gave these figures about twelve years ago and because some Ngbandi who are living in the forest, towns, cities, and abroad are not counted, I would estimate that the Ngbandi peoples are currently about 750,000 in both the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Central African Republic.

The Ngbandi peoples perform different activities which help them for their lives: they practice agriculture, hunting, fishing, breeding animals and trade. The

1

products of activities are first of all used for their own consumption and the rest is for sale.

The Ngbandi peoples are open to other peoples from other areas, countries to whom they manifest hospitality, generosity, and love. In brief, they are religious peoples.

1.2. The Ngbandi language

1.2.1 Dialects

The Ngbandi language belongs to the Niger-Congo Language family and the Adamawa-Ubangui branch. Grimes gives this branching: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Adamawa-Ubangi, Ngbandi (Grimes, 447).

The main dialects are five. Bwato is spoken in the Abuzi and Kota-Koli areas. This dialect is the most common, popular and understood by most Ngbandi peoples, since it has the written form which was spread in North Ubangui. It is in this dialect that the dictionary, the stories and folktales, the proverbs and sayings, the four gospels translated by some catholic priests, the books of christian songs, some portions of the Old Testament, and the New Testament are written. The Old Testament will also be written this major dialect.

The second dialect is Yakoma, spoken in the Yakoma area zone. Even though people belonging to this dialect say that they are the original Ngbandi speakers, this dialect is not easily understood by those who are not close to them.

The third is called Sango. It is used in the Mobayi-Mbongo area and mainly spoken in the Central African Republic; it is also the national language of this country,

where it is mixed with French words and expressions.

The fourth dialect is Molegbe. It is spoken in the Molegbe and Businga areas.

And lastly there is Ngiri. People who speak this dialect live in the Budjala zone which is in South Ubangui. Because they are far from those who are in North Ubangui and especially because other tribes (Mbandja, Ngombe, Pakabete, and Ngbaka) are located between them, the Ngiri dialect is far more different from other dialects because it received great influence from surrounding and neighboring peoples. Among all influences, Lingala is the most remarkable.

1.2.2   Syntax

Syntactically speaking, the Ngbandi language has mainly SVO constituent order typology.

1.2.3   Phonology

Ngbandi has seven vowels, / a, e, ɛ, i, o, ɔ, and u /.

(1)

Vowels	Words	Gloss
a	baba	'daddy'
e	lege	'road'
ɛ	kɛkɛ	'tree'
i	gigi	'noise'
o	boro	'goiter'
ɔ	fɔndɔ	'plantain'
u	susu	'fish'

Some vowels are nasalised: / ã, ɛ̃, ĩ, ɔ̃, and ũ /.

(2)

Nasalised vowels	Words	Gloss
ã	hã	'remove'
ɛ̃	hɛ̃	'give'
ĩ	sĩ	'much'
ɔ̃	hɔ̃	'nose'
ũ	hũ	'bird'

There are seventeen consonants: / b, d, f, g, h, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, v, w, y, and z /.

(3)

Consonants	Words	Gloss
b	bi	'night'
d	da	'house'
f	fa	'cut'
g	ga	'left'
h	ha	'tilapia'
k	ko	'break'
l	lɛ	'eye'
m	mɛ	'milk'
n	nɔ	'walk'
p	pa	'quarrel'

r	tɛrɛ	'body'
s	**sa**	'animal'
t	**ta**	'pot'
v	**vi**	'open'
w	**wa**	'fire'
y	**yɔ**	'carry'
z	**zo**	'person'

Ngbandi is a tone language having high , mid , low , high-low , and low-high tone.

(4)	**High tone**	**Gloss**
	kwá	'death'
	pɔ́rɔ́	'shoe'
	píndírí	'charcoal'

(5)	**Mid tone**	**Gloss**
	kwā	'hair'
	sōlō	'saliva'

| (6) | **Low tone** | **Gloss** |
| | kwà | 'work' |

bɛ̀rɛ̀   'deny'

tòngòlò   'star'

(7) **High-low tone**   **Gloss**

â   'okay'

mâ   'may'

(8) **Low-high tone**   **Gloss**

kwǎ   'friend'

lǐ   'sorcerer'

1.3   Importance of the Ngbandi Language

Ngbandi plays an important role in the Ubangi area. Since the period of colonization up to now, other people are eager to learn and speak this language. This language is prestigious for most other peoples. This need to know Ngbandi by others reached the climax especially when Mobutu Sese Seko, a Ngbandi, was president of Zaire, the actual Congo.

Because of this prestige, other tribes surrounding the Ngbandi area prefer getting married to Ngbandi women.

1.4   Previous Work

A great effort was made in this field, exclusively by the Catholic Church. Fr. Benjamin Capushim from Belgium lived for a long time in Abuzi Parish. He

contributed to the linguistic work including the alphabet and a written form of Ngbandi which is currently used by most Ngbandi peoples. He translated some portions of the Bible, compiled a Ngbandi dictionary, and collected many stories.

A Ngbandi priest, Kenya Bongo, was very interested in Ngbandi linguistic work. He translated some portions of the Bible and wrote a book based on Ngbandi proverbs and sayings. Other Ngbandi priests spent ten years to translate the four gospels into Ngbandi.

Brother Ndanyo did a great work by writing many Christian Ngbandi songs which were published in a book.

The team of translators of the New Testament into Ngbandi, composed of Patrick Mbasa and Crispin Mbagesi, under the guidance of SIL members Dr. Elaine Thomas and Miss Margaret Hill, gave a clarification to the Ngbandi orthography and translated the New Testament from 1982 to 1986. The New Testament was published in 1987.

Currently a literacy program is being led by Mr. Azanga in the Businga area.

1.5   Scope and goals of the project

This work will strictly focus on the description of tense, mood, and aspect and their interaction in Ngbandi.

The main goals of this project are enumerated as follows:

- To show where the tense marker is located in relation to a verb in a sentence;

- To indicate how many moods there are and when they occur;

- To explain the different usages of aspect;

- To describe the function and the relationship which exist among these three areas.

1.6   Method of Data Collection

Since I am a native speaker of Ngbandi, I have used only one method for collecting the data of this project, namely the source is myself. I based my collection from my personal knowledge.

Being far from my country when war is still going on, I was not able to get any documents from which I could work.

I learned many folktales during my childhood. I chose one of them and one hortatory text that I translated into English for the sake of my project. So most examples to describe my work will be from these texts and which are in the appendix.

CHAPTER 2

TENSE

2.1   Definitions

Some definitions to help me describe my work are as follows: Saeed says that tense allows "speakers to relate situations to time. . . . Tense allows a speaker to locate a situation relative to some reference point in time, most likely the time of speaking" (Saeed 1997, 114).

In comparison, T.E. Payne "Tense is the grammatical expression of the relation of the time of an event to some reference point in time, usually the moment the clause is uttered" (Payne 1997, 236).

While these authors are diverging on certain points, T. Givon (Givon 1984, 273) also has his point on which he puts his focus, the point which is a bit different from others. Here is his definition:

a. Sequentially: Tense is a way of construing time as a succession of points, each other one pying a fixed position in the linear order, this either preceding or following other discrete points in the sequence.

b. Point of reference: Within the flow of linear time, one may establish a point of reference – the time axis – with respect to which the past precedes and the future follows. The most common universal point of reference is the time of speech anchored to the speaker at the time of performing the speech act.

As described by T. Shopen (Shopen 1995, 203), his definition emphasizes a linkage which exists between the locus of tense on one hand and the frame of event on the other, which was not mentioned by the prior authors.

Now I can say that a tense is a grammatical form which is particular to a temporal value or location, namely the past, present, and the future.

After covering different points of view based on the definition of tense, I can now go ahead with the tense diagram.

2.2   Tense Diagram

In order to have a good understanding of this topic, I will draw a horizontal line of time as shown the figure 1 below. According to the convention, the middle of this line that is indicated with O will be considered as the present moment, the past will be represented to the left of the point O with the future at its right. To represent an event which happened in the past, I will diagrammatically locate it at the left of O point, and if I want to represent an event which will happen in the future, I will diagrammatically locate it at the right of O point (Comrie 1987, 2).

```
PAST                          |                          FUTURE
_____|_____
                              O
                          PRESENT
```
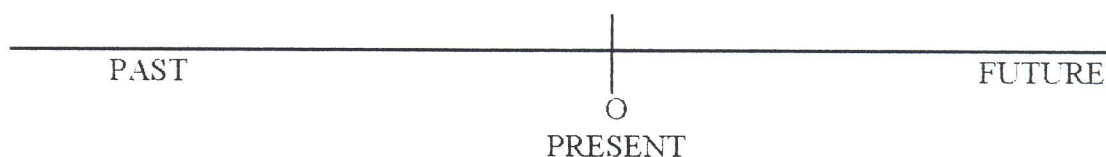
Fig. 1. Representation of time

To illustrate my explanation of the tense diagram, I will use a concrete example (9), which shows clearly the location of events on Figure 2:

(9)   I came to NEGST in 1998 and though I am writing my project in 2000, I will get my degree in 2001.

```
                              |
————————————————————————————————————————————————————————
      PAST                                        FUTURE
                              O
      (1998)                PRESENT               (2001)
```
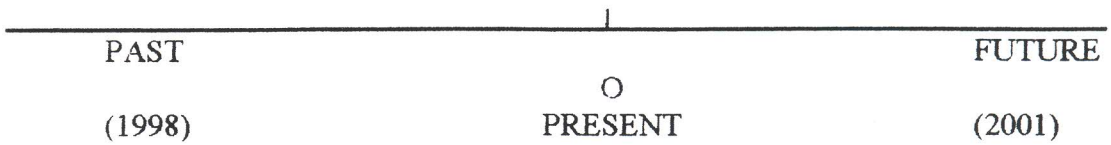
Fig. 2. Representation of events on time line

Now because the notion of the tense diagram is clear, I would like to explain the different kinds of tense in the Ngbandi language.

2.3 Kinds of Tense

The Ngbandi language has three kinds of tense which are the present, past, and future tense. Without any transition, I want to describe these different kinds in details.

2.3.1 Present Tense

"The present tense is used to speak of states and processes which hold at the present moment" (Comrie, 37).

Ngbandi does not have any characteristic marker in the present tense. As is shown in the following conjugation (10), the verb root is exactly the same for the different persons.

(10) a.   Mbi   pa   nvene.

            I   say   lie.

            'I lie.'

b.   Mɔ   pa   nvɛnɛ.

You (sg)   say   lie.

'You lie.'

c.   Lo   pa   nvɛnɛ.

He/she says lie.

'He/she lies.'

d.   E   pa   nvɛnɛ.

We   say   lie.

'We lie.'

e.   I   pa   nvɛnɛ.

You (pl)   say   lie.

'You lie.'

f.   Ala   pa   nvɛnɛ.

They say lie.

'They lie.'

The present tense in Ngbandi has another related to it and which is called **historical tense**.

From time to time, instead of expressing a past event in the past tense, the speaker uses the present tense, "to give immediacy to a description" (Saeed 120). This sort of present is known as the historical present.

(11) Ngungu   a-hunda   Ma.

      Mosquito   it-asks   Ear.

      'The mosquito asks the Ear.'

According to the context of this above example which comes from the folk tale, the event occurred long ago in the past. Normally the fact of asking the Ear by the mosquito should have past tense. But instead of doing so, Ngbandi uses the present tense.

Even in the following example, it is not allowed to use the past tense. Trying to do so is incompatible with the normal usage of the Ngbandi language. In other words, it is forcing the language, because the good way of speaking or writing Ngbandi in this example is to avoid the past tense, therefore, the present tense is the one which is required.

(12) Ma   a-gbinya   hɛ̃   lo.

      Ear   it-answers   to   him.

      'The Ear answers to him.'

This Ngbandi verb "should" be in the past, but it is not because of the requirement of the Ngbandi syntax. Syntactically, there is no difference between the present and historical tense, apart from the fact that the historical tense expresses a past event.

I can move on to demonstrate how the past tense is different from the present tense.

2.3.2   Past Tense

I will describe the past tense in comparison to the present tense. Comrie has defined it well when he says,

"The meaning of the past tense is . . . location in time prior to the present moment" (Comrie 41).

The past tense markers are *ndo* 'past', *fɛrɛ* and *nɛ* 'today' which are common ; *ali* 'today' which is Yakoma dialect; and *fadɛ* 'today' which is Molegbe, Businga, and Ngiri dialect. These tense markers are particles following the verb.

There is vagueness in the usage of *ndo*. Somebody cannot know if the event occurred three months ago or one year ago (13) and (14). The basic syntactic order is as follows: SVTen(O).

(13)   Mbi   gwe   ndo   klasi.

      I   go   past   class.

      'I went to school.'

(14)   Mbi   tɛ   ndo   susu.

       I   eat   past   fish.

       'I ate fish.'

Ndo is not used with *fɛrɛ* (15); (16); (19) and (20); *nɛ* (17), (18), (22); and *na la mɛ* (23).

The following examples are based on *fɛrɛ/nɛ* with intransitive verbs:

(15)   Mbi   ɔ   fɛrɛ   na   ngoi.

       I   go   today   at   time.

       'I went today on time.'

(16)   Ta   woto   a-ga   fɛrɛ   hiɔ   ma.

       Neg1   truck   it-comes   today   quick   Neg2.

       'The truck did not come on time today.'

With the transitive verbs, *ndo, fɛrɛ* and *nɛ* come directly after the verbs, and before the object, in declarative positive (17), negative (18) and interrogative (19) sentences.

(17)   Gbia   a-hã   nɛ   lo.

       Chief   he-removes   today   him.

       'The chief sacked him today.'

(18) Ta   ĩ   zingɔ   nɛ   lo   hiɔ   ma.

Neg1   you   wake up   today   him   quick   Neg2.

'You did not wake him up on time today.'

(19) Ala   hũ   fɛrɛ   mbi?

They   see   today   me

'Did they see me today?'

It is not possible that *ndo* occurs with *na la mɛ* but it is possible that both

fɛrɛ/nɛ and *na la mɛ* are used in the same sentence. This usage can take place only in

the case of focus.

(20) Kwia   mbi   a-hã   nɔ   fɛrɛ   na   la   mɛ.

Uncle   my   he-leaves   walk   today   at   sun   this.

'My uncle left today.'

(21) Lo   sɔ̃   ya   lo   nɛ   na   la   mɛ.

He   beats   wife   his   today   at   sun   this.

'He beat his wife today.'

In the following cases, the object is put between *fɛrɛ/nɛ* and *na la mɛ*:

(22) Ta   mɔ   hũ   fɛrɛ   mbi   na   la   mɛ   na?

| Neg1 | you(sg) | | see | today | me | at | sun | this | Neg2. |

'Did you not see me today?'

(23)

| I | | tɔ | nɛ | ts | na | la | mɛ | nga? |

| You (pl) | | cook | today | food | at | day | this | really. |

'Did you cook today?'

2.3.2.1 *Location of ndo in relative clause*

When past tense is in a relative clause, *ndo* does not follow the general rule of location, but it is located between the relative pronoun and the conjugated verb (24), (25). In other words, *ndo* precedes rather than follows the verb here. The normal syntactic order is the following: O[Rel Ten SV].

| (24) | Alo | zu | mɛ | **ndo** | to | mbi | apa. |

| | Things all | | Rel | past | father | my | say. |

'All that my father said.'

| (25) | Ye | mɛ | ndo | a-li | | la? |

| | Thing | Rel | past | it-happens | | that |

'That is what happened?'

2.3.2.2 Location of ferɛ/nɛ in relative clause

When the past tense marker is in a relative clause. *ferɛ nɛ* behaves exactly as *ndo* (1.3.2.1).

(26) Zo   mɛ   fɛrɛ   aga   la.

     Person   Rel   today   comes   that

     That is the person who comes today.

2.3.2.3 Other ways to express past time

Other ways to express past time are to use temporal adverbs which are *biri* 'yesterday', *mbandası* 'before yesterday', and *na la mɛ* 'today'.

They come after a conjugated verb in affirmative. negative and interro-negative sentences.

Birı and *mbandası* are used to locate a time which is closer to now while *ndo* is used to locate a time which took place beyond *bırı* and *mbandası*. In this specific case. *ndo* is not used with *bırı* and *mbandası* (27) and (28).

(27) Baba   a-ga   biri.

     Daddy he-comes   yesterday.

     'Daddy came yesterday.'

(28) Ta   mbi   atɛ   **mbandasi**   sa.

     Mother   my   eats   before yesterday   animal.

'My mother ate a meat yesterday.'

I want to show on the diagram of time/tense how *ndo* and *biri* relate to each other (fig. 3).
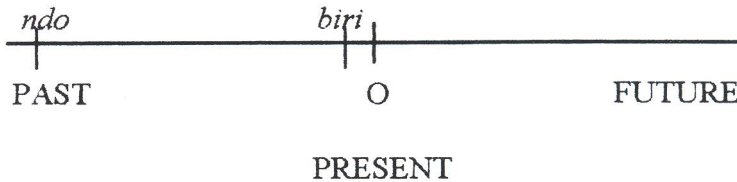
Fig. 3. Representation of relationship between *ndo* and *biri*.

2.3.3   Future Tense

Comrie writes, "It might seem straightforward to define future tense as locating a situation at a time subsequent to the present, i.e. to the right of the present moment on the diagram of the time line" (Comrie 1987, 43).

Ngbandi has two sorts of the future tense: the removed and remote future.

2.3.3.1   *Removed future*

The removed future is expressed by a high tone put on the first person pronoun subject (singular or plural), *ná* which directly follows the subject and precedes the verb root having also a high tone and the verb suffix-*ngɔ*. This rule can be seen in examples (29) and (30).

(29)   Mbǐ   ná   bá-ngɔ   lege.

        I   will   see-futm   road.

'I will see the road.'

(30) Mɔ na vɔ-ngɔ gɔzɔ.

You(sg) will buy-futm. cassava.

'You will buy cassava.'

2.3.3.2 Remote future

The remote future is expressed by a high tone on all personal pronoun subjects and on conjugated verbs, and the particle *gbanda*; *gbanda* is used for a far or very far future. So it is understood that there is no exact specification of the time. Thus it is difficult to know when an action will occur. The conjugated verb is normally followed by *gbanda* (31) and (32).

(31) ɪ kámbɪsá gbanda hɛ̀ a-ya ı.

You(pl) explain far fut. to pl-children your.

'You must explain to your children in the far future.'

(32) Ló tɔ́ gbanda tɛ.

He She cooks far fut food

He She will cook.

2.3.3.3 Location of gbanda in relative clause

In relative clauses, *gbanda* precedes the conjugated verb (33), (34), and (35)

in the same way that *ndo* does (24), (25). Here also the subject (pronoun) and the conjugated verb have a high tone (33), (34), and (35).

(33) Ngoi mɛ gbanda ĭ tĭ abange . . .

  Time Rel far fut. you become old people . . .

  'When you will become old people. . .'

(34) Zo mɛ gbanda a- zá mɔ na?

  Person Rel far fut. he-helps you (sg) who?

  'Who will help you?'

(35) Ta ye mɛ gbanda á-sĭ la ma.

  Neg1 thing Rel far fut. it-arrives is Neg2.

  'That is not what will happen.'

2.3.3.4 *Other ways to express future time*

Other ways to express future time are to use temporal adverbs which are *ndɛ* and *na la mɛ* both meaning 'today'; and *na ndá* 'tommorow.' *Ndɛ* and *na la mɛ* are used for the actions which can take place after some hours during the same day. One cannot exactly know after how many hours these actions take place. They are thus vague and indeterminate.

In a sentence. *ndε* is located after the conjugated verb; also its subject (pronoun) and conjugated verb have a high tone(36).

(36) Mbĭ ilĭ **ndε** lo.

I call today him/her.

'I will call him/her.'

The subject (personal pronoun) and conjugated verb with *na ndã̆* and *mbandasi* have a high tone (37) and (38). These temporal adverbs come at the end of the sentences.

(37) É gwé **na** **ndã.**

We go at tomorrow.

'We will go tomorrow.'(38) Ló gá **mbandasi.**

He/she comes after tomorrow.

'He/she will come after tomorrow.'

(39a) Alá wá da **mbandasi.**

They build house after tomorrow.

'They will build a house after tomorrow.'

Mbandasi means 'before yesterday' and 'after tomorrow' as well. To avoid this ambiguity, the subject pronoun and conjugated verb must have a high tone as

shown in the examples (38) and (39a) above so that the meaning is future. Otherwise the sentences could mean: 'He came before yesterday' and 'They built a house before yesterday.'

CHAPTER THREE

MOOD

3.1   Definition

Before I go deeply to the Ngbandi description of this chapter. I would like to give some definitions of mood. Payne says, "The terms mode, mood and modality are often used interchangeably, though some linguists make distinctions among these terms" (Payne 1997, 244).

These different words are mood, mode, and modality. While T. Shopen sees that mood "characterizes the actuality of an event by comparing the event world(s) to a reference world, termed the actual world" (Shopen 1995, 241). J. Bybee and S. Fleischman state that mood

> refers to a formally grammaticalized category of the verb which has a modal function. Moods are expressed inflectionally, generally in distinct sets of verbal paradigms, e.g. indicative, subjunctive, optative, imperative, conditional, etc. which vary from one language to another in respect to number as well as to the semantic distinctions they mark (Bybee and Fleischman 1995, 2).

Mode "describes the speaker's attitude toward a situation, including the speaker's belief in its reality, or likelihood. It sometimes describes the speaker's estimation of the relevance of the situation to him/herself" (Payne . 244).

Finally the term modality "is a cover term for devices which allow speakers to express varying degrees of commitment to, or belief in, a proposition" (Saeed 1997, 125).

If I do a comparative study of these above words which have the same basis, I will summarize these differences as follows: Bybee and Fleischman underline the grammaticalization of the verb while Payne targets the attitude of the speaker, and Saeed insists on the speaker's expression to a proposition.

It appears clear that these words are used according to the will or convenience of each linguist. So the term which will be used for my project will be the one of the title of this chapter, namely mood.

3.2 Kinds of Mood

The Ngbandi grammar counts six moods. They are indicative, imperative, conditional, subjunctive, participle, and infinitive. I will now examine case by case.

3.2.1 Indicative

The indicative mood means "stating a fact or asking questions of fact" (Growther 1995, 605). It expresses reality, namely something which effectively happened; it is a narrative mood.

In Ngbandi, it is the most common mood and marked with zero. Though I have already previously used indicative in many examples, I give the following examples.

Example (39) below is based on a question. The speaker tries to know if the hearer has called that person by asking him/her. Examples (40) and (41) are opposite: the first one really took place, in other words the event is realis. The second one has not taken place yet and there is no guarantee that it will. This is called irrealis.

The first case (39b) and the third (41) are irrealis and the second case (40) is realis, therefore the case of irrealis will be described in conditional mood below.

(39b)   Mɔ   ili   lo   wɛ?

You (sg) call   him/her   finish?

'Have you already called him/her?'

(40)   Mbi   lua   ndo   ezamɛ.

I   get   past   exam.

'I passed the exam.'

(41)   Mbi   na   luangɔ ezamɛ.

I   will   get   exam.

'I will pass the exam.'

The case of realis (42) and irrealis (43) can also occur in the following indicative examples.

(42)   Mbi   tɛ   ye.

I   eat   thing.

'I eat.'

(43) Ta   mbi   tɛ   ye   ma.

Neg1 I   eat   thing Neg2.

'I do not eat.'

3.2.2 Imperative

Payne writes that "imperatives are verb forms or construction types that are used to directly command the addressee to perform some action. . . . Usually imperatives are understood to refer to second person subjects" (Payne, 303).

The imperative is used for the action which has not occurred yet. When this action is imposed on another person, it may be realized or it may not, depending on the good will of the addressee.

In Ngbandi, while the imperative conjugated verb is expressed without the second person singular pronoun (44), in other words it is covertly included in the verb, the plural pronoun is obligatorily required (45). The pronoun of the second person plural is written with a high tone (45) and the imperative conjugated verb with singular second person is also written with a high tone (46).

While the subject pronoum is not put in with second person singular (44) and (46) because it is in existance here, it is put in then in the pronoun of the second person plural (45).

(44) Ngulɛ,   gá.

'Ngule,   come.'

(45) I   bátá   gbanda   la   nzɔ̌-ni.

You(pl)Imper keep   far fut.   them   good-...

'You will take good care of them.'

(46) Mú   falanga.

'Take money.'

In a successive actions imperative, the first verb is conjugated without the second person singular pronoun when the other verbs must necessarily have the subject pronoum with high tone (47). But in the case of the second person plural pronouns, all of them have their pronouns with high tone (48).

Examples

(47) Nɔ   mɔ́   ili   wa   kwà.

Go   you(sg) call   person work.

'Go to call the worker.'

(48) Mbi pa   ya   ǐ   nɔ   ǐ   ma   ya   ni.

I   say   that you(pl) go   you(pl)   get   in   it.

'I say, "Go and get in." '

There is a particle which plays a role of command and which is also commonly used in Ngbandi. This particle is *ale* 'must.' It always comes at the start of a sentence expressing an obligation and is directly followed by the personal pronoun having a high tone, and then comes the conjugated verb which also has a high tone.

Ale is impersonal, namely it does not need a personal pronoun. The following examples illustrate the formula explained above.

(49) **Ale**   i   li   ni   na   se   nyo   mbi.

      Must   you (pl)   do   that   with   way   mouth   my.

      'You must do that as I tell you.'

(50) **Ale**   i   ndo-tɔndɔ   a- gbia   klasi   tɛ   i.

      Must   you(pl)   cont-respect   pl-chiefs   school   of   you(pl).

      'You must continuously respect your school authorities.'

(51) Pa   hẽ   la   ya   **ale**   ala   ga.

      Say   to   them   that   must   they   come.

      'Say to them that they must come.'

(52) **Ale**   ta   é   gwé   ma.

      Must   Neg1   we   go   Neg2.

      'We must not go.'

From this imperative which has irrealis in one of its uses, I deal with another mood having a full use of irrealis: conditional.

3.2.3   Conditional

It is a mood of condition and hypothesis. In Ngbandi the conditional mood expresses an idea which is consequence of the first one. In other words, the second idea can only take place if the first one did. The conjunction of condition in Ngbandi is *se* 'if'. *Se*, located in the clause of condition, always starts that clause, followed by the noun or personal pronoun subject and the conjugated verb.

In the examples below, notice that the if-clause contains the condition and the other clauses are dependent on that if-clause. In example (53), if the truck does not stop, there is nothing to get in. In example (54), the speaker cannot come if he/she does not eat. In example (55), the refusal will depend on the chief. Thus if the chief agrees, the refusal will not take place.

(53) **Se**   woto   ni   a-lo   ko,   i   nɔ   i   ma   ya   ni.

If   truck   that   it-stops -,   you(pl)   go   you(pl)   get   in   that.

Imper

'If the truck stops, go and get in.'

(54) **Se**   mbi   tɛ   ye   wɛ   ko,   mbi   ga?

If   I   eat   thing   finish -,   I   come?

'If I finish eating , can I come?'

(55) **Se** ta gbia a-ye ma ko, kɛ̃ nga.

if neg chief he-agrees neg -, refuse also.

'If the chief does not agree, refuse also.'

In example (56), even though the if-clause is in the past tense, the conjugated verb of the dependent clause is in present tense. But according to the context of this sentence, all native Ngbandi speakers understand that the event of the dependent clause occurred in the past, since the if-clause verb is in the past.

(56) Se mɔ ili ndo mbi ko, ale mbi ga.

If you call past me -, should I come.

'If you called me, I should come.'

3.2.4 Subjunctive

Ngbandi does not have different kinds of subjunctive; it is only used to express a wish. The markers are *bɛ . . . ma ke* 'may.' A high tone is put on the pronoun subject and also a high tone on the conjugated verb (57).

(57) Aya mbi, ĩ lua bɛ ezamɛ ma ke!

Children my, you(pl) get may exam may may!

'My children, may you pass the exam!'

Especially in speaking and from time to time in writing – the marker is shortened to *bɛ má*: here the *ke* disappears (58).

(58) Ala   ga   bɛ   mâ!

They   come   may   may!

'May they come!'

Finally a wish can also be expressed without any special marker. In this case, the symbol which shows that it is a subjunctive is a high tone on *a-* 'he/she' prefix to a conjugated verb.

These following examples show that this kind of ellipsis of the marker deals only with the subject as *Nzapa* 'God' and *Gbia* 'Lord'.

(59)   Nzapa á-bata   mɔ.

       God   He-keeps   you(sg).

       'May God protect you.'

(60)   Gbia   á-sunu   mɔ!

       Lord   He-blesses you(sg)!

       'May the Lord bless you!'

3.2.5   Participle

Though Payne (1997, 37) recognizes that it is difficult for somebody who also has a second language to know what is a participle in the first language, he defines a participle as follows: "Participle is a relatively widely understood term for verb forms

participle as follows: "Participle is a relatively widely understood term for verb forms that have reduced verbal properties, but which are not full nominalizations. Clauses formed with participial verbs are often referred to as participle phrases" (ibid, 38).

The Ngbandi participle marker is -ngɔ as a suffix to the verb that is directly followed by the subject of the verb (61) or its object (62). It can be also directly followed by a preposition introducing an indirect object (63) or a preposition of accompaniment (64) or any other preposition (65).

(61) Ga-**ngɔ**   e   ndo   ko,   e   hũ   pɛno   s̃i.

Come-ptc(of) we   past   -,   we   see   pain   much.

'We suffered a lot while we were coming back.'

(62) Hɛ̃-**ngɔ**   'la   tɛ   a-du   kpengba-ni.

Give-ptc   them   food   it-is   difficult.

'It is difficult to give them food.'

(63) Vɔ̃-**ngɔ**   hɛ̃   'la   bɔngɔ   a-du   pɛnɔ.

Buy-ptc   to   them   clothes   it-is   pain.

'It is hard to buy clothes for them.'

(64) Nɔ-**ngɔ**   na   'la   pɛko   da   a-du   kwà

Go-ptc   with   them   behind (of) house   it-is   work.

(65) **Ba-ngɔ**   nda   li   'la   a-du   nzɔ̆-ni.

      Watch-ptc   behind   head (of)   them   it-is good-...

      'It is good to take care of them.'

3.2.6 Infinitive

"The infinitive is the basic form of a verb" (Growther 1995, 610). It is a mood whose verbs are not conjugated.

The Ngbandi infinitive can be easily confused with the mood participle substantives deriving from verbs, future tense, gerundive and some words; this confusion affects especially the non-native Ngbandi speakers or learners, since the inflection of all this is the same: *ngɔ.*

Apart from the suffix -*ngo* on the verb root, the infinitive can easily be identified by the particle *ti* which introduces the infinitive.

Instead of preceding a verb by *ti* 'to' in order to give an infinitive form to the verb, another verb used as an **auxiliary** can normally replace it.

In (66) and (67) below, the infinitive mood is introduced by the particle *ti* 'to' while (68), (69) and (70) have the auxiliary verbs *ndo-ye, kɛ,* and *onzi* .

(66) I   hã   nɔ   **ti**   gwe-**ngɔ**   klasi.

      You   have   walk   to   go-infm   school.

      'Leave to go to school.'

(67) Ala   ga   ndo   **ti**   su-**ngɔ**   mbɛti?

They come past to   write-infm   letter?

'Did they come to write a letter?'

(68) Ta   Ngulɛ ndo-ye   manda-**ngɔ**   ye   ma.

Neg1 Ngule cont.-likes   learn-infm   thing Neg2.

'Ngule does not like to learn.'

(69) E   kɛ̃   ndo   gwe-**ngɔ**   yaka.

We   refuse past go-infm   field.

'We refused to go to the field.'

(70) Kwa   mɛ   mɔ   **onzi** li-**ngɔ**   ni   nɛ?

Work that you(sg)   finish do-infm   that what?

'Which work do you finish to do?'

CHAPTER FOUR

ASPECT

4.1   Definitions

Saeed states that "aspect is … a grammatical system relating to time, but here the speaker may choose how to describe the internal temporal nature of a situation" (Saeed 1997, 108). He adds,

> Aspect systems allow the speaker to relate situations and time, but instead of fixing situations in time relative to the act of speaking like tense does, aspect allows speakers to view an event in various ways: as complete, or incomplete, as a so short as to involve almost no time, as something stretched over a perceptible period, or as something repeated over a period (Saeed, 116).

His point of view based on time or internal temporal nature of events is also shared by Payne (Payne 1997, 238) and Comrie (1976, 3).

4.2   Kinds of Aspect

Five kinds of aspects are as follows: completive, inceptive, perfective, imperfective, and continous/progressive.

4.2.1   Completive Aspect

"Completive aspect expresses the completion of an event" (Payne 1997, 240). *Wε* 'finished' expresses that an event which took place is closed. It always ends a sentence. In an interrogative sentence, *wε* means that the person who asks the question would like to know if the event is closed or not yet.

36

Originally, the particle/marker *wɛ* comes from the verb *wɛ-ngɔ* 'to finish'. This marker is unchangeable in all cases, even though the NP(s) to which the marker is related are masculine, feminine, singular, plural, person(s) or thing(s).

The following examples will confirm this statement. In examples (71) and (73) below, actions of eating and finishing are over while in examples (72), (74), and (76), the speaker is wondering if actions of coming, repairing and getting a job were really accomplished. Actions of preparing and drying in examples (75) and (77) are not performed.

(71) Mbi tɛ sa **wɛ**.

I eat animal finished.

'I finish eating meat.'

(72) Mɔ ga ndo **wɛ**?

You(sg) come past finished?

'Have you already come?'

(73) Lo onzi klasi tɛ lo **wɛ**.

He/she finishes school of him/her finished.

'He/she already finished his/her studies.'

(74) Woto ni a-dɛ̃ **wɛ**?

Truck that it-is finished?

'Is that truck already repaired?'

(75) Ta   e   lɛkɛ   ndo   tɛrɛ   e   wɛ   ma.

Neg1 we   prepare   past body our finished Neg2.

'We did not already prepare ourselves'

(76) I   lua   kwà   wɛ?

You (pl)   find   work   finished?

'Have you already got a job?'

(77) Ta   a-kɛkɛ   ni   a-ulɛ   wɛ   ma.

Neg1 pl-trees   those they-dry   finished   Neg2.

'Those trees are not already dry.'

This topic denotes the completion or non-completion of an event. Before reaching a completion, there is a beginning of the event. This can be seen in inceptive aspect.

4.2.2   Inceptive Aspect

Any event has a starting point (Payne, 240). That is inceptive aspect.

In Ngbandi inceptive aspect is formulated by two particles *to nda* followed by any infinitive form of the verb. Sometimes *to nda* is directly followed by an object. *To nda* comes from *to-ngɔ nda* denoting 'to start'. The glossing will clearly be obvious in the examples below. The past tense marker *ndo* in these examples is located between the two inceptive particles.

In (78) and (79), *to nda* is directly followed by an object (*kwa* 'work' and *bia* 'song') while in (80) and (81), *to... nda* is directly followed by an infinitive verb (*dingɔ* 'to read') and (*mandangɔ* 'to study'). This example contains a continuous aspect which does not affect the rule of the inceptive aspect.

Tense is always located between to and nda as in (79) and (80).

The examples below (78), (79), (80) and (81) show how different tenses go with the inceptive aspect.

(78) Mbi **to** **nda** kwà.

I start end work.

'I start the work.'

(79) Ala **to** gbanda **nda** bia?

They start far fut end song?

'Will they start a song?'

(80) Mɔ **to** ndo **nda** dingɔ mbɛti.

You(sg) start past end reading letter.

'You started to read a letter.'

(81) E **ndo-to** ndo **nda** mandangɔ ye na bi.

We cont.-start past end studying thing at night.

'We habitually started to study at night'.

4.2.3   Perfective Aspect

It is known that "Perfective forms indicate situations of short duration." (Comrie 1976, 16). Comrie adds: "The perfective does indeed denote a complete situation, with beginning, middle, and end" (Comrie, 18). Payne states,"In perfective aspect the situation is viewed in its entirety, independent of tense" (Payne, 239).

The perfective marker is *ndo* 'past' which habitually comes after the conjugated verb. In Ngbandi, there is no difference between the past tense *ndo* marker and the perfective aspect *ndo* marker.

In (82) below, announcing a message does not take a long time and this announcement is accomplished. In (83), the action of not seeing somebody happened in a short duration, this action is totally from the start up to the end.

(82)   Mbi   pa   **ndo**   kwà.

I   say   past   message.

'I announced a message'.

(83)   Ta   e   hü   **ndo**   lo   ma.

Neg1   we   see   past   him/her   Neg2.

'We did not see him/her.'

I would like to demonstrate the opposite of perfective aspect: imperfective aspect.

4.2.4   Imperfective Aspect

The imperfective aspect generally signals an action having a long duration. It "allows the viewing of a situation from within, making explicit reference to the internal temporal structures" (Saeed, 121).

In Ngbandi, it is difficult to know the beginning and the end of a given action, unless it is obviously specified by the speaker/writer. The markers are *ndo* as a prefix to the verb and the second *ndo* 'past' which comes directly after the verb.

In (84) below, the action of repairing lasts, and yet nobody knows by which time the action of repairing takes place and ends. Also the actions of not seeing an animal (85) and getting money (86) have a duration but there is no idea about how long they last.

(84)   Mbi   **ndo-lɛkɛ**   **ndo**   woto.

       I   cont.-repair   past   truck.

       'I was repairing a truck.'

(85)   Ta   ala   ndo-hŭ   ndo   sa   ma.

       Neg1   they   cont.-see   past   animal Neg2.

       'They were not seeing an animal.'

(86)   I   ndo-lua   ndo   falanga?

       You (pl)   cont.-get   past   money?

       'Were you getting money?'

4.2.5   Continuous/progressive

The continuous/progressive expresses an action which is ongoing and taking place. This action is not instantaneous but rather it continues and it does not express any idea about the completion. This continuous/progressive can be in present and past.

The marker of the Ngbandi continuous/progressive aspect is *ndo* used as a prefix to a conjugated verb, exactly the same as imperfective without past *ndo*.

The future of continuous/progressive aspect in Ngbandi deals with the particle *tɛrɛ* that I will describe in detail below.

Examples (86), (87), (88), (89), (90), and (91) below clearly indicate that all these actions have a certain duration: thinking, suffering, saying, washing, drinking, and saying actions are not instantaneous. And nobody can really know if they are completed or not.

The three first actions (86), (87), and (88) are described in the present continuous/progressive aspect, while the other three are in the past continuous/progressive aspect because of the *ndo* 'past' marker.

(86)   Mbi   ndo-kpă   bɛ   mbi   ndo   ni.

      I   cont.-put   heart my   on   it.

      'I am thinking of it.'

(87)　Ta　　e　　ndo-hù　　pɛnɔ　ma.

　　　　Neg1　we　　cont.-see　　pain　Neg2.

　　　　'We are not suffering.'

(88)　Tɛnɛ　mɛ　ala　ndo-tɛnɛ　　ɛ?

　　　　Word　that　they　cont.-speak　what?

　　　　'What are they saying?'

In addition to *ndo* used as a prefix to a conjugated verb expressing a continuous/progressive aspect, there is another form which is *tɛrɛ*.

Tɛrɛ is not a prefix to a conjugated verb but it is a particle which comes before a verb. *Tɛrɛ* deals with the present, past and far future as well. Its rules are these: it is located between a subject and infinitive verb. If there is past tense, the *ndo* marker precedes it (92).

Nevertheless, some Ngbandi peoples do not generally use this particle as such.

There is an on-going action in (89), (92), and (94) below while there is a negation of that in examples (90), and (94). Examples (89) and (91) show present tense with continuous aspect. Examples (92) and (93) show past tense with continuous tense and (94) shows future tense with continuous aspect.

(89)　Womba　　tɛrɛ　ga-ngɔ.

　　　　Aunt　　　cont.　come-ing.

　　　　'The aunt is coming.'

(90) Ta   ala   tɛrɛ   kpo-ngɔ   bɔngɔ ma.

      Neg1   they   cont.   wash-ing   cloth   Neg2.

      'They are not washing clothes.'

(91) Mɔ   tɛrɛ   manda-ngɔ   mbɛti?

      You (sg)   cont. learn-ing   letter?

      'Are you learning?'

(92) Ala   ndo   tɛrɛ   le-ngɔ   wele.

      They   past   cont.   play-ing   playing.

      'They were playing.'

(93) Ta   mbi   ndo   tɛrɛ   lu-ngɔ   nzo   ma.

      Neg1   I   past   cont.   plant-ing   maize   Neg2.

      'I was not planting maize.'

(94) E   du   gbanda   tɛrɛ   gwe-ngɔ   ya   ndo.

      We   be   far fut.   cont.   go-ing   in   place.

      'We shall be going to the forest.'

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This project is focused on tense, mood, and aspect in the Ngbandi language. The accent is essentially put on their description.

The first chapter deals with tense where primarily the present tense is examined. It comes up that it is in a direct relationship with the present moment. In addition to the fact that in Ngbandi there are no different forms of endings in the conjugation, the present tense also has no morphological marker.

Past tense refers to an action which takes place previous to the present. Ngbandi past tense is expressed by *ndo* which generally follows a conjugated verb, except in relative clauses where *ndo* precedes that verb. Ngbandi also has remote, removed, and near immediate past.

Lastly the future tense is described. An action of the future tense occurs after the present moment. The future tense marker is double: the particle *na* precedes a conjugated verb root which is followed by the suffix *-ngɔ*. Ngbandi has near immedia- te, removed, and remote future tenses.

The second chapter concerns mood. Though there are other synonymous terms, mood is adopted for this project. Ngbandi includes six moods: the indicative mood is commonly known as a mood of reality and it is the most commonly used.

The imperative mood is characterised by a command. The second person singular pronoun subject is not expressed unless there is a sequence of verbs. The

verb must have high tone. For a second person plural subject, the pronoun occurs with high tone.

The strong imperative is expressed by the particle *ale* which normally starts a sentence.

The conditonal mood is an irrealis mood. In Ngbandi, the conditional is marked by *se* 'if'.

The subjunctive mood in Ngbandi is characterised by the concept focusing on a wish; its markers are *bɛ... ma ke* or *bɛ... ma*. It is also possible to have the subjunctive without a marker and that exclusively when it deals with the Supreme Being (God/the Lord) as the subject of the sentence(s).

The participle mood cannot be confused with the future tense because it does not have *na*; and yet it has *-ngɔ* suffixed to a conjugated verb root. It generally starts a sentence and so directly is followed by a subject, object, and preposition.

The infinitive mood is also signaled by the marker-*ngɔ* suffixed to a conjugated verb root which is introduced by the particle *ti* or a verb used as an auxiliary.

The third and last chapter is about aspect. There are five sorts of aspect: the completive aspect means a completion of an action, and its marker is *wɛ*, always situated as the last word of a sentence, except in the case of a negative sentence in which the second part of the negation ends the sentence.

The inceptive aspect denotes the starting point of an event and is marked by the particles *to nda* having an object or an infinitive verb.

The perfective aspect describes a brief duration of an action: its marker is *ndo* 'past' as in the case of the past tense. The *ndo* also directly comes after a conjugated verb.

The imperfective aspect reflects an action of a long duration. The markers are *ndo-* 'continuous,' prefixed to a conjugated verb and a second *ndo* 'past' directly coming after a conjugated verb.

The continuous/progressive aspect is the fifth aspect. It describes an action which keeps going on in the present tense and the past tense as well. Its only marker is *ndo-*, prefixed to a conjugated verb. Because the Ngbandi continuous/progresssive aspect is not used with future tense, it is replaced by *tɛrɛ*, especially for Molegbe, Businga, and Ngiri dialect.

The door is open to anybody who is willing to contribute by his/her constructive criticism to ameliorate this project for the future.

REFERENCE LIST

Aaron. U. 1995. *Tense and aspect in Obolo grammar and discourse*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Bendor-Samuel, J. 1989. *The Niger-Congo languages: A classification and description of Africa's largest language family*. Lanham: University Press of America.

Blakemore. D. 1992. *Understanding utterances: An introduction to pragmatics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bybee. J. and S. Fleischman. eds. 1995. *Modality in grammar and discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Comrie, B. 1976. *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Comrie. B. 1987. *Tense*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Forbes. Patricia, Muriel Holland, and Collin Peter. eds. 1978. *Harrap's concise French and English dictionary*. London: Harrap London.

Givon, T. 1984. *Syntax: A functional typological introduction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Grimes. F. B.. ed. 1996. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*. Dallas. Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Growther. J. 1995. *Oxford advanced learner's dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Levinson, S. C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Moseley. Christopher and R. E. Asher. eds. 1994. *Atlas of the world's languages*. London: Routledge.

Payne. T. E. 1997. *Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Saeed. John. 1997. *Semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Schaub. W. 1985. *Babungo*. Croom Helm Descriptive Grammar Series. London: Croom Helm Ltd.

Shopen, T. 1992. *Language typology and syntactic description.* Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shopen. T. 1995. *Language typology and syntactic description.* Vol. 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Verkuyl, H. J. 1993. *A theory of aspectuality: The interaction between temporal and atemporal structure.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

APPENDIX

TEXTS

a. Folk tale: Ngungu na Ma

Mosquito and Ear

1. Ngungu na Ma a-ye-ngbi ndo si nvɛni.
   Mosquito and Ear they-love-recip past much really.

2. Ala ndo-tɛ ndo ye ndo- ni kɔi. ndo-fɔnɔ
   They cont-eat past thing place-that one. cont-walk

   ndo fɔnɔ ndo-ni kɔi. ndo-iɛ ndo welе ndo-ni
   past walk place-that one. cont-play past playing place-that

   kɔi.
   one.

3. Ala ndo-du ndo fani sini ndo-ni kɔi.
   They cont.-stay past times many place-that one.

4.   Ala   du   **ndo**   a-bɛta   a-kwà.

       They   are   past   pl-good   pl-friends.

5.   Lá   kɔi   ko.   Ma   a-pa   hɛ̃   Ngungu   ya,

       Sun   one   -.   Ear   it-says   to   Mosquito   that,

       "Kwǎ,   a-ta   e   a-ti   a-bange   si,   e

       "Friend,   pl-mothers   our   they-become   pl-old   much,   we

       ndo-hǔ   pɛnɔ   **ti**   bata-ngɔ   'la   si.

       cont- see   pain   to   keep-infm   them   much.

6.   E   **ndo**-kpo   'la   bo   e   nvɛni.

       We   cont.-wash   them   only   us   really.

7.   E   na   pɛnɔ si   na   lo   tɛ 'la: hɛ̃-ngɔ   ' la   tɛ,

       We have   pain   much   because   affair   of   them: give-ptcm   them   food,

       sara-ngɔ   'la,   ba-ngɔ   nda   li   'la,   gwe-ngɔ   na

       treat-ptcm   them,   look-ptcm   behind   head   their,   go-ptcm   with

'la   da   yɔrɔ,   vɔ-**ngɔ**   hĕ   'la   bɔngɔ,   nɔ-**ngɔ**

them   house   medicine buy-ptcm   to   them clothes, go-ptcm

na   'la   peko   da."

with   them   behind   house."

8. La   Ngungu   a-hunda   ma   ya,   "Ko   mɔ   hŭ   sia?"

    Then   Mosquito   it-asks   Ear   that,   "And   you(sg) see   how?'

9. La   Ma   a-gbinya   hĕ   lo   ya,   "Mbi   hŭ   tɛ   mbi

    Then   Ear   it-answers   to   him   that,   "I   see   of   me

    nzɔ̆-ni   ya   é   kpɔ̆   'la.

    good-...   that   we-imper   kill   them.

10. Nzɔ̆-ni   é   mu   'la   é   gwe   na   'la   ka

     Good-...   we-imper. Take   them   we-imper   go   with   them   at

     ngu   ma   bere   ɛ   ye   kpo-**ngɔ**   'la,

     water   as   like   we   want   wash-infm   them,

11. ko   se   ɛ   si   kai   ko,   é̆   kpɔ̆   'la."

     and   if   we   arrive there   -,   we-imper   kill   them."

12.

Ŋgungu	a-ma	so	ko,	a-ye	da.
Mosquito	it-hears	so	-,	it-accept	- .

13.

La	ala	mu	a-ta	'la,	a-gwe	na	'la	ka	ngu.
Then	they	take	pl-mothers	their,	they-go	with	them	at	water.

14.

Ngoi	mɛ	ala	i	si	kai	ko,	Ma	a-pa	hɛ̃
When	that	they	when	arrive	there	-,	Ear	it-says	to

Ŋgungu	ya,	"Nyi	bua,	**mu**	ta	mɔ́	mɔ	gwe
Mosquito	that,	child	(of) grandfather,	take		mother	your	you	go

na	lo	ka	hɔtɔ.	**mɔ́**	fa	legɔ̀	lo	ka	ya
with	her	at	mountain,	you	cut	neck	her	at	in

ngu.

water.

15.

Wa	ngoi	mɛ	**se**	mbi	du	ge	ndadu
Then	time	that	if	I	stay	here	down

mbi	hǔ	mɛnɛ	a-sua		a-tǎ		mbi	ko,	I
see	blood	it-flows		it-reaches		me	-,		

mbi	hinga	ya	mɔ		ho	ta	mɔ	wɛ,
I	know	that	you(sg)		kill	mother	your	finished,

wadila		mbi	ho	nga	ta		mbi."
and then		I	kill	also	mother		my."

16.

Ngungu	a-diri		na	ni	hɛ̌	lo	ya,	"Biami,
Mosquito	it-returns		with	it	to	him	that,	"Yes,

seni	la!"
right (is)	that!"

17.

La	Ngungu	a-mu		ta	lo,	a-gwe	na
Then	Mosquito	it-takes		mother	his,	it-goes	with

lo	ka	hɔtɔ,		a-fa	legɔ̌	lo	kpoo	ka
him	at	mountain,		it-cuts	neck	his	ideo	at

ya	ngu.
in	water.

18. Ngoi mɛ Ma a-hù mɛnɛ a-sua a-tã

When that Ear it-sees blood it-flows it-reaches

lo ko. lo mu ta lo. lo kpɛ na lo

him -. he takes mother his. he runs with

her

duru duru, lo diri na lo kɔdɔrɔ.

ideo ideo. he returns with her village.

19. Ngungu a-diri nga na ta lo kɔdɔrɔ,

Mosquito it-returns also with mother his village,

a-hɔ lo.

it-buries her.

20. I la bu ndã i de ko, lo nɔ ti

When (it) sleeps idea day when comes -, he goes to

ba-ngɔ Ma. Lo i hù ta Ma

see-infm Ear. He when sees mother(of) Ear

a-dε	lε	lo	ngɛ̃	ko,	lo	pa	hɛ̃	Ma
she-remains	eyes	her	open	-,	he	says	to	Ear

ya,	"Mɔ	pa	hɛ̃	mbi	**mbandasi**		ya	é
that,	"You(sg)	says	to	me	before yesterday		that	we-imper.

kpɔ̆	a-ta	e,	ko	la	ti	**biri**	ko,	mbi
kill	pl-mothers	our,	and	sun	of	yesterday	-,	I

ho	ta	mbi.
kill	mother	my.

21.	Ko	na	ndã perere	mε	nε	ko,	mbi	ma	ya
	And	at	morning	this	today	-,	I	hear	that

ta	mɔ	a-dε	lε	lo	ngɛ̃,	ko	ngoi	mε
mother	your	she-remains	eyes	her	open,	and	when	that

mbi	si	ge	tε	mɔ		ko,	mbi	hŭ	ya
I	arrive	here	of	you(sg)		-,	I	see	that

a-du   bo   biani. Ko   a-li   sia?"

it-is   only   real.   And   it-does what?"

22.   Ngungu   a-li   **ndo**   ngɔnzɔ si,   ko   na   lo   ni

       Mosquito   it-does past   anger   much,   and because of   that

la   ngoi   zu   lo   **ndo-to**   to   tɛrɛ

      Ma

is   time   all   he   cont.cries   cry (to)   body (of)

      Ear

na   lo   siɔ   lo   mɛ   **ndo**   Ma   a-li   na

because   of   bad   thing   that   past   Ear   it-does with

lo.

him.

THE MOSQUITO AND THE EAR

The Mosquito and the Ear loved each other too much. They were eating together, walking together, playing together. They were staying many times together. They were good friends.

One day, the Ear said to the Mosquito, "My friend, our mothers become very old, we are suffering a lot to take care of them. We are the only ones who bathe them

ourselves. We suffer a lot because of them: giving them food, treating them, looking after them, going with them to the hospital, buying clothes for them, going with them to the toilet" Then the Ear answers to him, "I think that we better kill them. It is better that we carry them and we go with them to the river as we want to bathe them. And if we arrive there, we can kill them." When the Mosquito hears like that, he agrees.

Then they carry their mothers, they go with them to the river. When they arrive over there, the Ear says to the Mosquito, "My dear, carry your mother, go with her to the upstream, and slaughter her. Then staying at down-stream, if I see the blood which flows and arrives where I am, I will know that you have already killed your mother and then I can also kill mine." The mosquito answers to him, "Yes, that is right!"

Then the Mosquito carries his mother, goes with her to the upstream and slaughters her. When the Ear sees the blood which flows and arrives where he is, he carries his mother, runs away fast with her back to the village.

The Mosquito carries also his mother, goes back with her to the village, and buries her. The following day, he goes to visit the Ear. When he sees the mother of the Ear still alive, he says to the Ear, "You told me two days ago that we should kill our respective mothers, yesterday I killed my mother. And this morning, I heard that your mother was still alive, and when I arrived to your place, I realize that it is really true. So what happens?"

The Mosquito was so angry, and that is why all the time he cries to the Ear because of the evil that the Ear did to him.

b. Hortatory: Gwe-ngɔ   klasi

           Go-ptcm   school

1.   A-ya   mbi,   ï   ma   la,   "Na   nda perere,

   Pl-children   my,   you(pl)   hear   -,   "At   morning,

   se   ta   wa   kwà   a-zingɔ   ï   ma   ko,   ta

   if   Neg(1) person   work   she-wakes up   you(pl) Neg(2) -,   mother

   I   na

   your   will

   zingɔ-ngɔ   ï.   ko   lo   nga   na   zingɔ-ngɔ

   wake up-futm   you. (pl)   and   she   also   will   wake up-futm

   wa   kwa.

   person   work.

2. Wa   kwà   na   kpo-ngɔ   ï,   yu-ngɔ   ï

  Person   work   will   wash-futm   you (pl),   cloth-ing   you (pl)

  na   bɔngɔ.   hɛ̌-ngɔ   ï   tɛ,

  with   clothes   giv-ing   you (pl)   food.

3. Ngoi   me   i   onzi   tɛ-**ngɔ**   ye   ko,   ĩ

   Time   that   you (pl)   finish   eat-ptcm   thing   -,   you(pl)-imper

   hã   nɔ   **ti**   gwe-**ngɔ**   klasi.

   leave   walk   to   go-infm   class.

4. Ka   ta   lege   ko,   **se**   ĩ   ye   fangbi-ngɔ,

   At   mother   road   -,   if   you(pl)   want   cross-infm.

5. **se**   ta   woto   a-du   **tɛrɛ**   ga-**ngɔ**   ma   ko,   wadila

   if   Neg1   truck   it-is   cont.   com-ing   Neg2   -,   and then

   i   fangbi   lege.

   you (pl)   cross   road.

6. Ngoi   mɛ   woto   ti   lege   klasi   tɛ   ĩ   a-si

   When   that   truck   of   road   class   of   you (pl)   it-arrives

   ko.   ĩ   pɛpɛ   ti   ĩ.

   -,   you (pl)   shake   hand   your.

7. Se   woto   ni   a-lo   ko.   ĩ   nɔ   ĩ   ma

   If   truck   that   it-stops   -,   you (pl)-imper   go   you(pl)   get

ya　　　　ni.

in　　　　that.

8.　**Se**　ĭ　　　　　hũ　ya　woto ni　a-sĭ　a-ɔ

　　If　you (pl)　see　that　truck　that　it-fills　it-passes

　　ndo-ni　　ko,　ĭ　　　zia　a-ɔ.

　　over - that　-,　you (pl)　leave　it-goes.

9　Ngoi　mɛ　ĭ　　ma　ya　woto　ko,　ĩ

　　When　that　you (pl)　get　in　truck　-,　you (pl)-Imp

　　hɛ̃　　　falanga　　hɛ̃　wa　　sɔrɔ-ngɔ　falanga.

　　give　　money　　to　person　collect-ing　money.

10.　**Se**　woto　a-lo,　　na　zu-ngɔ　　ĭ　ko,　ĭ

　　If　truck　it-stops,　in　get-germ　you(pl)-,　you(pl)

　　gbɔ̃　a-bozo　　　mbɛti　tɛ　ĭ　　　kpengbani

　　hold　pl-pockets (of)　letters　of　you(pl)　strongly

11.　Na　hã-ngɔ　　nɔ　ko,　ta　bɛ　ĭ　a-li　　na

　　in　leav-germ　walk　-,　Neg1　heart　your　it-forgets　with

ngambi	i	ma.
younger	your	Neg2.

12.

Se	i		si	ka	da	klasi	nda	ni	ko.
If	you (pl)		arrive	at		house	class	late	-	-.

i		pa	hɛ̃	gbia	klasi	ya	ta	woto
you (pl)-Imper		say	to	chief	class	that	Neg1	truck

a-ga		fɛrɛ	hiɔ	ma,	bere	i		pa	ya
it-comes		today	quick	Neg2,	or	you (sg)-Imper		say	that

ta	i		dɔ̃	fɛrɛ	nɔ	hiɔ	hiɔ	ma.
Neg1	you (pl)		walk	today	walk	quick	quick	Neg2.

13.

Wa	ta	i	pa	nvɛnɛ	ma!
But	Neg1	you	say	lie	Neg2.

14.

Ka	da	klasi	ko.	i		du	yɛkɛ,	i		zi	ma
At	house	class	-,	you(pl)		be	quiet,	you(pl)		open	ears
					Imper				Imper		

ĩ	kpa	ti	ma-ngɔ	wa	ha-ngɔ		ĩ		na
your	well	to	hear-infm	person	teach-vesum		you (pl)		with

mbɛti.

letter.

15.

Ha-ngɔ	mbɛti	a-sɔ	si:	na		lo	ni	ko. ta
Teach-ptcm	letter	it-pains	much:	because	of		that	-. Neg1

ĩ		gia	bɛ	wa	ha-ngɔ	ĩ		na
you (pl)		disturb	heart	person	teach-vesum	you (pl)		with

mbɛti ma.

letter Neg2.

16.

Manda-ngɔ	nga	mbɛti	a-du	kpengbani.	ko	ĩ		du
Learn-ptcm	also	letter	it-is	difficult,	-,	you (pl)		be imper

na	kpengba	lɛ.
with	difficult	eye.

17.

Ta	mbi	ye	ya	ĩ		tiri	to	ma.
Neg1	I	want	that	you (pl)		fight	fighting	Neg2.

18. Wangɔ zu mɛ mbi wa na i ko.

    Counsel all that I counsel with you (pl) -.

    ale ĩ li ni na se nyɔ mbi.

    must you(pl) do that at way mouth my.

19. Ale ĩ ndo-tɔndɔ a-gbia klasi tɛ ĩ.

    Must you cont. respect pl-chiefs class of you (pl).

20. Se ta mbi ma ndo nyɔ a-gbia klasi tɛ mbi

    If Neg1 I hear past mouth pl-chief class of me

    ma ko. ale ta mbi onzi ndo klasi ma. ale

    Neg2 -. should Neg1 I finish past class Neg2 should

    nga ta mbi du nzɔ-ni na la olo mɛ ma.

    also Neg1 I be good-... at sun this this Neg2.

21. A-ya mbi. i lua bɛ ezame ma ke!

    Pl-children my. you(pl) get may exam may may!

22.

Nzapa	a-zi	bɛ	kɔdɛ	li	i	ma	ke!
God	He-opens	may	intellegience	head	your	may	may!

23.

Nzapa	á-bata	i!
God	He-protects	you (pl)!

24.

A-ya	mbi.	mbi	manda	ndo	mbeti.	mbi	tɔndɔ	ndo
Pl-children	my.	I	learn	past	letter.	I	respect	past

a-gbia	klasi	tɛ	mbi.
pl-chief	class	of	me.

25.

Ta	mbi	ndo-mumana	ndo	na	a-fɔ̃	mbi	ma.	ta
Neg1	I	cont.-despise	past	with	pl-friends	my	Neg2.	Neg1

mbi	ndo-gi	ndo	lo	ma.
I	cont-look for	past	affair	Neg2.

26.

Mbi	ndo-lɛkɛ	ndo	tɛrɛ	mbi	si.
I	cont.-arrange	past	body	my	much.

27.

I	li	nga	so.
You(pl) imper	do	also	so.

28. La   mɛ   ndozu ko,   ta   bɛ   mbi   **ndo-li**   na

     Sun   that   above -,   Neg1   heart   my   cont.-forgets   with

     a-lo   zu   mɛ   **ndo**   to   mbi   a-pa   hɛ̃   mbi

     pl-affairs   all   Rel   past   father   my   he-says   to   me

     ma.

     Neg2.

29. Mbi   **ndo-kpã**   bɛ   mbi   ndo   ni   ngoi   zu.

     I   cont.-put   heart   my   on   that   time   all.

30. Mbi   du   **ndo**   wa   kɔdɛ,   ko   Ĩ   du   nga   so

     I   be   past   person   intelligence   -,   you(pl) be   also   so.

                                    Imper

31. Ngoi   mɛ   **ndo**   mbi   dɛ   nyi   ngambe   ko,   se

     Time   that   past   I   remain   child   younger   -,   way

     mɛ   **ndo**   to   mbi   a-pa   nga   na   ni   hɛ̃

     that   past   father   my   he-says   also   with   it   to

mbi   la.

me   is.

32.   Ngulɛ,   gá.   Mú   falanga   ti   futa-ngɔ

Ngulɛ,   come. Take   money   to   pay-ing-Infm

na   lege.

with   road.

33.   Nɔ́   mɔ́   ili   wa   kwa.

Go   you(sg)   call   person work.

34.   Mɔ   ili   lo   wɛ?

You (sg)   call   her   finished compl. as?

35.   Ɔ   uzu   bo   lo   mɛ!

Go   before   only   now   now!

36.   Gbɔ̃   ti   Mbagesi   mɔ́   ɔ   na   lo

Hold   hand (of) Mbagesi   you(sg)   go-imper   with   him

wadila	Yambagesi	a-ɔ	peko	i.
so that	Yambagesi	she-goes	behind	you.

37.

I	kambisa	gbanda	hɛ̃	a-ya	i
You (pl)-Imper	explain	far fut.	to	pl-children	your

a-lo	olo	zu.
pl-affairs	these	all.

38.

I	bata	**gbanda**	˙la	nzɔ̃-ni.
You(sg)-imper	keep	far fut.	them	good-...

39.

Se	mɛ	**gbanda**	i	lengbi	ti	li-**ngɔ**
Way	that	far fut.	you (pl)	can	to	do-Infm

na	˙la	la.
with	them	is.

40.

Ngoi	mɛ	**gbanda**	i	ti	a-bange	ko,
Time	that	far fut.	you (pl)	become	pl-old	-.

ala   ba   nda   li   i.

they   watch   behind   head   your.

41.   I   ma?

       You (pl)   hear?

42.   Wa   ĭ   ɔ   klasi.

       Then   you (pl)   go   class.
              Imper

Going to School

My children, listen, "In the morning, if the house helper does not wake you up, your mother will wake you up and she will also wake the house helper up. The house helper will bath you, clothe you and give you food. When you finish eating, leave and go to school.

"On the main road, if you want to cross, look to your left and right. If a van is not coming then you can cross the road. When the van which passes by the way of your school arrives, wave your hand at it. If the van stops, get in; if you notice that the van is too crowded, wait for another one.

"When you get in the van, give money to the conductor. When the van stops for you to get down, hold your school bags tightly. When you want to go, do not forget your younger sister.

"If you arrive late to class, say to the headmaster that the van did not come on time or say that you did not wake up on time or say that you did not walk fast. But do

not lie!

"In the classroom, keep quiet, listen very well to your teacher. Teaching is too hard, so do not disturb your teacher. Learning is also difficult, and be clever. I do not want you to fight with others.

"All counsels that I give you, you must do so accordingly. You must respect your school authorities. If I did not obey my school authorities, I should not complete my studies and I should not also live well today.

"My children, may you pass your exam! May you obey your school authorities! May God open your mind! May God protect you!

"My children, when I was learning, I respected my school authorities. I was not despising my fellows, I was not provoking others. I was taking much care of myself. Do also like I did.

"Today, I do not forget every thing my father told me. I am recalling it all the time. I was intelligent and be also like that. While I was still young, it is what my father told me.

"Ngule, come. Take the bus fare. Go to call the house helper. . . Have you already called her? Go ahead right now! Hold the hand of Mbagesi and then Yambagesi can follow you.

"In the future, you must explain all this to your children. You will must protect them well. That is the way you will do with them. When you will become old, they will look after you. Do you understand? So, go to school."