

A DESCRIPTION OF PIMBWE (BANTU, TANZANIA): PHONOLOGY, GRAMMAR, AND DISCOURSE

by

JONATHAN WEISS

Master of Science, Management and Organizational Behavior, Silver Lake College, 2012

Bachelor of Arts, Drury University, 2000

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Abstract

The present study is the first formal description of Pimbwe, a Bantu language (in the M.11 group) spoken in western Tanzania. After situating the Pimbwe language within the wider linguistic context, I describe Pimbwe phonology, tone, and grammar, with particular emphasis on the structure of the verb. Finally, natural language use in extended discourse is described based on two running commentaries of the Pear Story film.

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Abbreviations

1	first person	NCOP	narrative copula
2	second person	NEG	negative
3	third person	NEG2	secondary negative
ADV	adverb	NGCOP	negative copula
AdvC	adverbial clause	NP	noun phrase
AP	associative phrase	N	noun
APPL	applicative	OBJ	object
ASP	aspect	PASS	passive
ASS	associative	PFV	perfective
ATR	advanced tongue root	PHRS	phrasal adjective
AUG	augment	PL	plural
CAUS	causative	POT	potential
CoCl	complement clause	PP	possessive pronoun
CC	copula complement	PRES	present
COL	color adjective	PROG	progressive
COMP	complementizer	PRO	pronoun
COM	comitative	PS-I	prestem-initial tone
COND	conditional	PST1	near past
CONJ	conjunction	PST2	middle past
CONS	consecutive	QNT	quantifier
COP	copula	QUAL	qualitative adjective
CPL	completive	QUOT	quotative
CS	copula subject	RC	relative clause
DEM1	proximal demonstrative	REFL	reflexive
DEM2	distal demonstrative	REL	relative clause marker
DEM3	referential demonstrative	REV	reversive
DEM4	emphatic demonstrative	ROOT	nominal or verbal root
DEM5	emphatic proximal demonstrative	SBJ	subject
DEP	dependent	SF	stem final
DIM	diminutive	SG	singular
FUT	middle future	SIZE	size adjective
FUT2	distant future	S-I	stem initial
FV	final vowel	STAT	stative
HAB	habitual	TAM	tense, aspect, and modality
INT	interrogative	TNS	tense
IPFV	imperfective	V1	1st vowel of a vowel sequence
LCOP	locative copula	V2	2nd vowel of a vowel sequence
LOC	locative		

1. Background

1.1. Introduction

The Pimbwe (Narrow Bantu, Tanzania) language has not yet been formally documented up to the time of this thesis. The focus of the current research is to describe the Pimbwe phonology and grammar using two running commentaries of the Pear Story video (Chafe 1980; see also <http://pearstories.org>) as the primary example texts for the reader. The paper begins by situating the Pimbwe people with a discussion of their name (§1.2), geographical location (§1.3), and the current linguistic situation as a minority language (§1.4). This is followed by the philosophy of the thesis (§1.5). The most substantial discussion of this thesis describes the phonology (§2), grammar (§3), and discourse structure (§4).

The Pimbwe people live in two areas of the Katavi region after being displaced by the creation of the Katavi National Park in 1974 (see §1.3). The language is classified M.11 by the New Updated Guthrie list (Maho 2009: 73). Roth's historical linguistic study proposes that Pimbwe descends from an early branch of Proto-Mbozi that split off before widespread spirantization or the 7 > 5 vowel merger occurred. He comes to this conclusion primarily based on the language's lack of spirantization, lack of k-lenition¹, and retention of phonemic 7 vowels (see §1.5) (Roth 2011).

Pimbwe has seven vowel phonemes {i, ɪ, ɛ, a, ɔ, ʊ, u} and 23 consonant phonemes (see §2.1). It is a tonal language with three lexical tone categories for nouns and two lexical tone categories for verbs. Grammatical tone is also present. For example, the 2SG and 3SG in the present tense are distinguished only by tone (2SG – *wája* 'you go'; 3SG – *wajá* 'she goes'). Additionally, the progressive aspect morpheme *ku-* and the middle future tense morpheme *kũ-* are distinguishable only by tone (*akuja* 'she is going'; *akũja* 'she will go' (see §2.5).

The noun consists of three parts: the augment, the noun class prefix, and the nominal root. The augment and prefix match in noun class. The nominal system has 18 noun classes and the NP has two sets of agreement morphemes, one for adjectives and the other for quantifiers, relatives, demonstratives, possessives, numerals and the associative (see §3.1.1).

Pimbwe uses a system of copular auxiliaries, preverbal markers and postverbal suffixes to signal an utterance's tense, aspect, and modality. There is a consecutive marker (*mǎ-*) that marks the mainline events of an extended utterance. Additionally, there is one marker for progressive aspect: *ku-* can appear on its own or in combination with other markers to signal progressive aspect. Pimbwe signals habitual aspect in the verbal system by the TAM marker *kuɔ-*. Finally, the verb *-tí* is a quotative preceding reported speech, written material, or thoughts (see §4.8).

In extended text, time reference in Pimbwe is expressed at the beginning of the utterance by combining the present preverbal affix (*a-*) with the first ending of the compound verb form (*-lí, -tí, -βá*). The first verb is followed by the second verb along with a verbal suffix, progressive marker, or a

¹ K-lenition here refers to a local Mbozi clade historical process where the voiceless velar plosive has changed to a fricative (See §1.5).

combination of these two which shows aspect. This combination creates a compound verb form (e.g.: *jàlf jilɓkile* ‘it was crowing’) (see §3.2.3).

The organization of the Pear Story video running commentaries show the following general discursual patterns. The completive past form (CPL) introduces characters and sets the scene. The consecutive marker (CONS) introduces new action into the text. The present marker (PRES) reiterates and expounds upon information already introduced by CONS (§4).

1.2. Story of origin and etymology

The Pimbwe people tell a story of their original arrival in the Katavi region coming from the Southeast. The story says that a man and his family were looking for land to call their own and couldn’t decide which place to set up their camp because of the vast unpopulated countryside in what is today the Katavi region. As their dog was traveling with them, the animal returned to the camp one morning with mud on his feet. The dog’s owner decided to follow the dog’s lead and discovered a marshy land. He chose the land the dog had found and said *mpɛ r^mbwa* which means “give it to the dog.” When this phrase is pronounced quickly it sounds very similar to the name *mpimbwɛ* which means “Pimbwe person.”

The etymology of the word could also point in another direction as *pr^mbwɛ* from *pa-r^mbwɛ* means “on the edge” which is an adequate description of where the people live with relation to the larger Fipa conglomeration of tribes. While the Fipa call the Pimbwe language community one of their own, the Pimbwe do not self-identify as a strand of the Fipa group.

1.3. Geographical location

Speakers of the Pimbwe language number 64,600 according to the *Mradi wa Lugha za Tanzania* 2009. There are two non-contiguous areas where the Pimbwe people live, both of which are located in Western Tanzania in the Rukwa Rift Valley northwest of Lake Rukwa and northeast of the Fipa Highlands.



Figure 1.3.1: Pimbwe area map (map 1 - Courtesy of Google Maps, map 2 – Courtesy of SIL International)

Altitude: 3,000 ft

Longitude: 31° E

Latitude: 6.3-7.3° S

Ecosystem type: combination of forest and seasonal marshland

Geological type: valley

Climate: tropical, hot with long rains December-May and short rains October-November

1.3.1. Creation of Katavi National Park and dispersion

Historically, the Pimbwe people were hunters and enjoyed the spoils of vast wildlife in the Katavi flood plain. In 1974, governmental authorities created the Katavi National Park and mandated that all villages relocate outside of its boundaries. This resulted in the Pimbwe settling in two areas. One of the settlements is to the northeast of the park and the other south of the park. Because of the changing hunting regulations, the Pimbwe have adapted to subsistence farming of mostly rice and corn since their relocation.

1.4. Language situation

The Pimbwe refer to themselves as *aβapɪ^mbwe* and call their language *ɪcipɪ^mbwe*. In Swahili, the national language of Tanzania, the people are called *wapimbwe* and they speak *kipimbwe*. The Pimbwe people speak the Bantu language which in English is called Pimbwe (ISO 639-3 code: [piw]). According to the New Updated Guthrie list (Maho 2009: 73), Pimbwe is classified as M.11. Languages also in zone M.10 are Rungwa, Fipa, Fipa-Sukuma, South Fipa, Kandaasi, Siiwa, Nkwaamba, Kwa, Kwaafi, Ntile, Peemba, Kulwe, Mambwe-Rungu, Rungu, and Mambwe.

There is a reasonably strong consensus among Bantu comparativists that Pimbwe should be genetically classified in the Mwika clade² along with Rungwa, various Fipa varieties, and others (Nurse 1988, 1999; Fourshey 2002; Ehret 2009; Roth 2011). Nurse and Philippson (2003: 171) briefly mention the idea that Pimbwe might have a genetic relationship with some Bantu F languages (Sukuma, Nyamwezi, Kimbu, etc) before dismissing the idea. Presumably, the reasoning for mentioning this is that Pimbwe retains seven vowels and contains only partial spirantization morpheme-internally (Nurse 1988: 50; Roth 2011). Roth (2011) posits that the Pimbwe language descends from an older branch of Proto-Mbozi as it shows lack of k-lenition (*ɔkuseka* ‘to laugh’) and lack of morpheme internal spirantization (*i^mbudi* ‘goat’), among other factors.

Relatively little linguistic work has been done on Pimbwe, although, it is included in Walsh and Swilla (2000) and Nurse (2008). Waters (2009) provides socio-historical data for several of the groups

² A grouping of languages that have a common linguistic ancestor, in this case named Proto-Mwika.

presently in the Katavi region including the Pimbwe. Most recently, Abe (2011) has written an article entitled *The continuum of languages in West Tanzania Bantu: a case study of Gongwe, Bende and Pimbwe*. Each of these scholarly works places Pimbwe within its wider Bantu environment in southeastern Tanzania.

Neighboring languages include Bende to the northwest, Nyamwezi/Konongo to the north and east, Rungwa to the south, multiple varieties of Fipa to the west, and Bungu to the south. Swahili is the official national language in Tanzania and is used extensively in the public school system. Since the birth of the nation in 1961 and subsequent union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Swahili became the unifying language. The years since have seen Swahili become the dominant language in government, education, and other formal gatherings. Pimbwe along with Tanzania's other 120 local languages have remained on the lower level of the diglossic situation.

1.5. Philosophy

The primary question that will drive this research is, "How is the Pimbwe language organized phonologically and grammatically?" Within the scope of this research, another question will provide a secondary focus; "How does Pimbwe grammar function in extended text?" To answer the secondary question the Pear Story video commentaries (Chafe 1980) will be used extensively.

The grammatical system is organized around extensive use of the verb. The verbal system shows temporal realization through its use of preverbal TAM markers, postverbal aspectual suffixes, and compound verb forms.

Pimbwe phonology is conservative, in that it has undergone only partial Bantu Spirantization (Bostoen 2019: 314). The subsequent systemic devoicing is found only sporadically in Pimbwe and is likely borrowed from neighboring languages. As evidence for borrowed devoiced vocabulary and conservative phonology, Roth's (2011) cross-linguistic survey of Mwika clade languages is briefly discussed here.

Roth finds that the Pimbwe's most closely related neighbor is Rungwa. He follows Nurse by stating that Rungwa is a five-vowel language while Pimbwe maintains seven vowels. He also finds that Pimbwe was closely connected socially with the Nyamwezi and the Kwa variety of Fipa in the recent past which he posits has caused significant borrowing of lexical items containing devoicing.

He uses lack of k-lenition and Bantu Spirantization as tools for differentiation. K-lenition is a Mwika clade specific process defined as the changing of the velar voiceless plosive (*k*) to a velar fricative. K-lenition in Pimbwe is a point of departure from the Mbeya clade languages. The three Mbeya languages Nyiha, Safwa, and Malila show k-lenition while the northern languages Bungu, Ruwila, Galla, Bende-Tongwe, Nyamwezi, Konongo, Rungwa, Pimbwe, two varieties of Fipa, and Nyika all lack k-lenition. See table 1.5.1 for details (Roth 2011).

Table 1.5.1 K-lenition (Roth 2011: 85)

Proto-Bantu	<i>cek</i> ‘to laugh’
Bungu	<i>se:k^ha</i>
B-T/Ruwila/Galla	<i>seka</i>
Nyamwezi	<i>seka</i>
Konongo	<i>seka</i>
Pimbwe	<i>seka</i>
Rungwa	<i>seka</i>
Safwa	<i>sehá</i>
Malila	<i>sexa</i>
Fipa	<i>seka</i>
Nyiha	<i>se‘ha:</i>
Nyika	<i>se‘ka</i>

Additionally, Roth shows that Pimbwe stands out from its neighboring languages showing very few lexical examples of spirantization. Even Pimbwe’s closest neighbor, Rungwa, shows extensive spirantization. Table 1.5.2 shows Pimbwe as the only language without spirantization and with implosives.

Table 1.5.2 Spirantization before high *i* (Roth 2011: 92)

Proto-Bantu (P-B)	Gloss	Bende-Tongwe	Ruwila	Galla	Konongo	Pimbwe	Rungwa
bodi (303)	goat	<i>ɱbusi</i>	<i>ɱbuzi</i>	<i>ɱbuzi</i>	<i>embuzi</i>	<i>embudî</i>	<i>embuzi</i>

In the example below Pimbwe shows its spirantizational conservativity in the agentive environment. Only Nyamwezi is closer to the Proto-Bantu reconstruction in these examples.

Table 1.5.3 Agentive spirantization (2011: 94)

P-B	Gloss	Wungu	B-T	Nyamwezi	Pimbwe	Konongo	Safwa	Malila
-dog + i	sorcerer	<i>undozi</i>	<i>mulosi</i>	<i>mlogi</i>	<i>omulodî</i>	<i>mlɔzi</i>	<i>undozi</i>	<i>umulozi</i>

1.6. Data and methodology

This thesis will primarily use natural language as data for the description. The Pear Story video acts as the primary controlled stimulus of the current project. The Pear Story video was originally created by Professor Wallace Chafe of the University of California. Professor Chafe generously released the rights to the video for use in linguistic research such as this project. The video is widely available for online viewing. Two running commentaries were used, one from a male speaker and another from a female speaker. At the time of the recording, both narrators were residing in Usevia in the southern part of the Pimbwe speaking area. The author collected the Pear Story video running commentaries in Pimbwe on March 3, 2017 in the SIL office in Mpanda, Tanzania. They are transcribed and located in the appendices (§7). The first is narrated

by Fokas Nyansio Kapongwa in appendix 7.1 (hereafter labeled §7.1) and the second by Maliselina Denato in §7.2. Together the Pear Story video running commentaries provide two natural speech descriptions of the same video stimulus. When quotations are taken from these commentaries they will be referred to immediately following the English gloss. The appendix section will be listed followed by the line number of the quote. A corpus of 50 Pimbwe texts were used to supplement the Pimbwe Pear Story findings. The genres include six expository texts, four folktales, six grammatically focused elicited texts, the ongoing translation of the New Testament, seven historical texts, six hortatory texts, two video running commentaries, three picture book narrations, twelve narratives, and three procedural texts.

The texts were gathered by Karin Yalonde, Tim Roth, and Jonathan Weiss as part of the SIL Katavi Project linguistic research between 2012 and 2018. The New Testament translation is in the process of being completed by Godwin Kalawa and Linus Shauritanga along with the input of various Pimbwe community members. The five narrators were Maliselina Denato, Fokas Nyansio Kapongwa, Lobati Kasogela, Bazilio Mgawe, and Linus Shauritanga. These narrators are the authors of the 50 texts mentioned above. Each narrator consented to being recorded and having their recorded commentaries used in language research including academic language descriptions such as this thesis. All Pimbwe texts have been recorded and written in IPA with the assistance of the narrator and subsequently translated into Swahili by the narrator or Linus Shauritanga because of his consistent presence in the SIL Katavi office during the years previously mentioned.

When these texts are quoted, their text title followed by the line number of the quotation in the FLEx database will also be located at the end of the English gloss. When the New Testament translation is quoted, the book, chapter, and verse follow the English gloss. If the author quotes a Pimbwe utterance given as a translation from a Swahili prompt, there will be no citation.

This research will proceed by analyzing the data from a semasiological (form-to-function) approach with three exceptions: distinction between nominal and adjectival prefixes (§3.1.1), classification of adjectives (§3.1.6), classification of relative clauses (§3.3.2). In the previously mentioned sections, the author uses an onomasiological approach. What follows is a sketch of the Pimbwe phonological and grammatical systems.

2. Pimbwe phonology

2.1. Phonemes

Pimbwe contains 23 consonant phonemes as shown in Table 2.1.1.

Table 2.1.1 Consonant phonemes in IPA

Manner of articulation	Voicing/ nasalization	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar/ Glottal
Plosives	voiceless	p ^h	t ^h	c ^h	k ^h
	voiced	b	d	ɟ	ɡ
Fricatives	voiceless	f	s, ʃ		h
	voiced	β, v	z, ʒ		
Sonorants	approximants	w	l	j	
	nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ

There are no apparent ‘gaps’ in the Pimbwe consonant system with the exception of /fi/ and the voiceless counterpart for /β/. Pimbwe has both the voiced bilabial fricative /β/ and the voiced labio-dental fricative /v/ as phonemes which is somewhat rare among Bantu languages. Table 2.1.2 compares ProtoBantu forms with their current Pimbwe lexical equivalents.

Table 2.1.2 Phonemes β and v

Phoneme	ProtoBantu form	Gloss	Pimbwe	Gloss
Pimbwe v	bíad	bear (child)	vjal	bear (child)
	búdà	rain	vul	rain
Pimbwe β	bìdò	hurry	βilɔ	hurry
	bíng	turn around	βiʔg	drive out
	bókò	arm	βɔkɔ	arm
	bègù	seed	βedu	seed

Initial ProtoBantu research shows that the labio-dental fricative is associated with ProtoBantu forms with high toned vowels only following the word-initial consonant. Additionally, only high, level 1 vowels (i and u) are shown after the initial consonant. The bilabial fricative, on the other hand, derives from ProtoBantu forms which are followed by high and low toned vowels as well as high and mid vowels.

Voiceless stops are aspirated while the voiced stops are pronounced as implosives (Maddieson & Sands 2019: 94-5). The voiced palatal is the exception, as it is pronounced as a plosive. All the obstruents except /h/ can be prenasalized. When prenasalized, the aspiration of the voiceless plosives becomes more pronounced. The following set can be palatalized {p^h, t^h, ɸ, ɗ, f, v, l, m, n}. The following set can be labialized {t^h, k^h, ɗ, ɡ, f, s, β, v, z, l, n}. For the remainder of the thesis, I will use symbols {p, t, c, k, b, d, ɟ, ɡ} to represent the nonprenasalized plosives.

Pimbwe contains a seven-vowel system (Casali 2017: 1). More research is needed to determine which kind of seven vowel system is present in Pimbwe. Table 2.1.3 demonstrates the vowel phonemes. The example words in Table 2.1.3 are nouns that have disyllabic roots with identical vowels.

Table 2.1.3 Vowel phoneme inventory

IPA	Height	Example	Gloss
i	hi (+HI); level 1	/ʊm̩sisi/	root
ɪ	hi (+HI); level 2	/ɪʔɪɪ/	warthog
ɛ	mid (-HI, -LO)	/ʊɬʊʔjɛɛ/	hair
a	low (+LO)	/ʊɬʊzaza/	jaw
ɔ	mid (-HI, -LO)	/ʊm̩nɔmɔ/	mouth
ʊ	hi (+HI); level 2	/ʊɬʊkʊtʊ/	fence, courtyard
u	hi (+HI); level 1	/ʊfʊdʊ/	tortoise

Table 2.1.4 shows contrastive environments for six vowel phonemes (excluding *a*). Each vowel environment is presented within a verb stem.

Table 2.1.4: Contrasting vowel phonemes

Contrasted Vowels	Stem	Gloss	Stem	Gloss
i/ɪ	-it	spill	-ɪt	call
ɪ/ɛ	-ɪɪ	cry	-ɛɪ	raise (child)
	-ɪm	cultivate	-ɛm	catch
u/ʊ	-tʊk	be prideful	-tʊk	insult
ʊ/ɔ	-kʊɪ	grow	-kɔɪ	be hungry
	-pʊ:t	pass by	-pɔ:t	conquer

Figure 2.1.5 illustrates the range in quality of each vowel based on frequency as measured in hertz. The readings are taken from a single female speaker. Each vowel is represented by a circle that encompasses the quality range. In order to control for environmental change, only words with obstruents in the immediate environment were included in the figure. The high vowels (*i*, *ɪ*, *u*, *ʊ*) show a smaller range and exhibit overlap while the lower vowels (*ɛ*, *ɔ*, *a*) exhibit larger range and no substantial overlap.

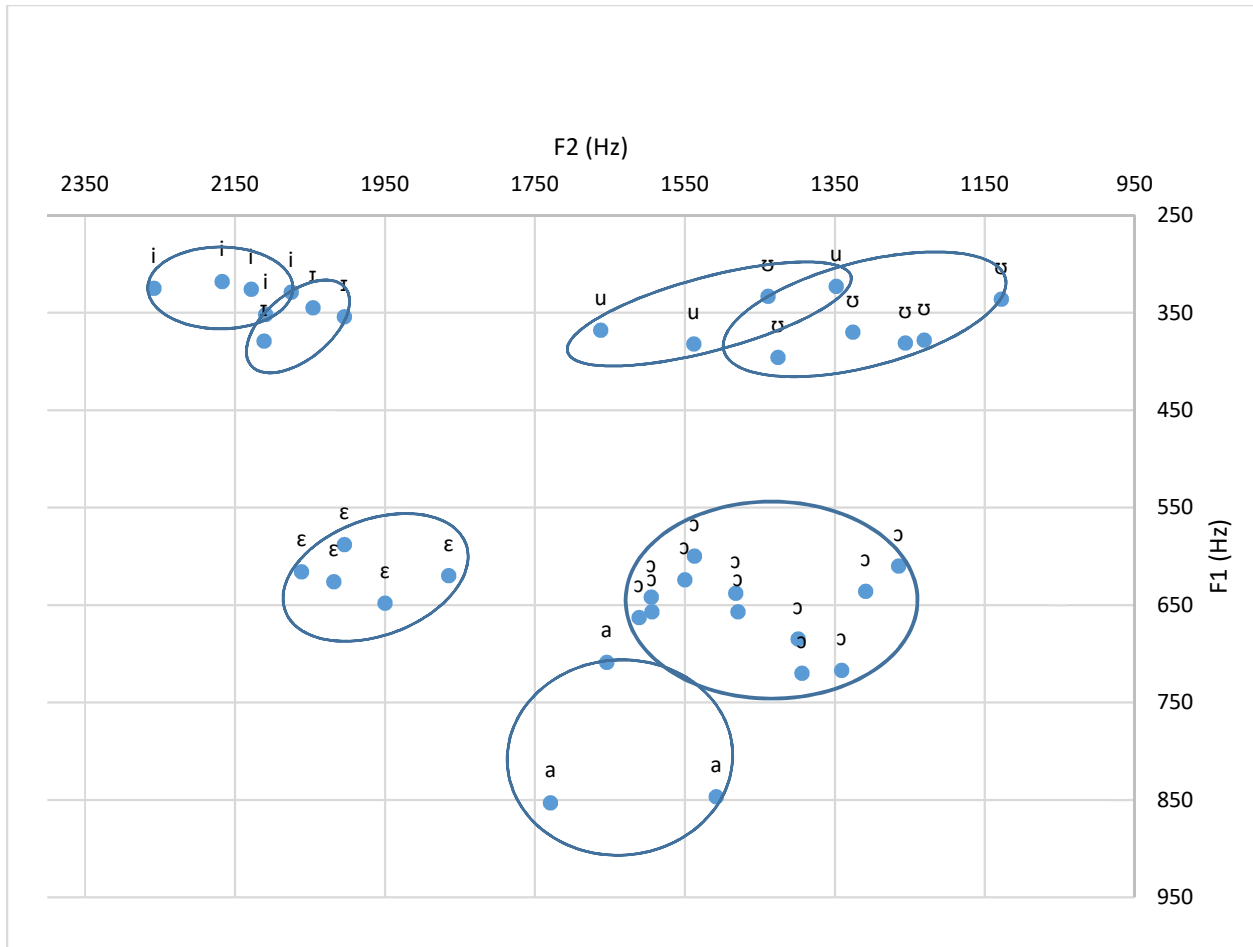


Figure 2.1.5: Vowel quality range

The degree-1 and degree-2 vowels display F1 values of 318-395 while the mid vowels show a wider range of F1 values 588-720 with a gap of 193 hertz between degree-2 vowels and mid vowels. Some recorded data supports a phonetically 9-vowel system with ATR harmony distinguishing [-ATR] { ϵ , ɔ } and [+ATR] { e , o } mid vowels but more research is needed in order to validate this possibility (Starwalt 2008: 372).

Pimbwe also displays phonemic vowel length. Phonemic vowel length is discussed in §2.2.

2.2. Vowel length

Hyman (2003: 48) mentions “five sources of vowel length in Bantu” languages: 1) underlying representation (phonemic vowel length), 2) vowel concatenation, 3) gliding plus compensatory lengthening, 4) compensatory lengthening preceding a moraic nasal plus consonant, and 5) penultimate vowel lengthening. Pimbwe exhibits all five of the aforementioned sources of vowel length. The first source in the previous list is referred to as phonemic length in this thesis, while 2-5 are referred to as compensatory lengthening for the remainder of the thesis.

The author has not yet found any restrictions on the maximum number of long vowels in a word. Table 2.2.1 provides evidence for phonemic vowel length and includes both short and long vowel examples.

Table 2.2.1 Contrastive vowel length

Vowel	Short vowel	Gloss	Long vowel	Gloss
i	/ukutipa/	cut	/ukuti:pa/	curse
ɪ	/ukupɪʃa/	to steer	/ukuwɪ:ʃa/	to drop
e	/ukulema/	to catch	/ukule:βa/	to swing
a	/ukupata/	to find	/ukupata/	to peel
o	/umɭɔdi/	sorceress	/umɭɔ:di /	lip
u	/ukupupa/	to clear land	/ukupu:da/	to rest
u	/ukufuma/	to come from, to go out	/ukufu:ma/	to knit, to weave

In addition to phonemic vowel length, Pimbwe also displays compensatory vowel length. Compensatory vowel length always occurs to the right of labialized and palatalized consonants, as well as to the left of prenasalized consonants. Table 2.2.2 gives an example for labialization, palatalization, and prenasalization, showing compensatorily lengthened vowels.

Table 2.2.2 Vowel length in conditioned environments

Environment	Example	Gloss
Labialization	/ukud ^w <u>a</u> :la/	to wear
Palatalization	/ukup ^ɿ <u>i</u> :la/	to sweep
Prenasalization	/ukus <u>u</u> : ^ŋ ga/	to protect, to look after

The syllable that follows the labialized or palatalized consonant lengthens to compensate for the labialized or palatalized sequence that was moraic in the Proto-Bantu⁴ reconstruction. The verb root for *ukudwala* ‘to wear’ and its Proto-Bantu reconstruction illustrate the process in a labialized syllable in Figure 2.2.3 (Bastin 2003).

⁴ ProtoBantu reconstructions come from *Bantu lexical reconstructions 3* which is located in the Tervuren Royal Museum for Central Africa. It was accessed online at:
<http://linguistics.africamuseum.be/BLR3.html>.

<i>*dúad</i>	‘wear’	<i>dwai</i>	‘wear’
μ μ		μ μ	
/		ʌ \	
CV V		CG V	
d u a		dw a	

Figure 2.2.3 Labialized compensatory vowel lengthening for *ukudwala*

In Figure 2.2.4, the verb *ukopjila* ‘sweep’ and its Proto-Bantu reconstruction are shown to illustrate the compensatory lengthening that takes place stemming from a palatalized sequence.

<i>*pígíd</i>	‘sweep’	<i>pjɪl</i>	‘sweep’
μ μ		μ μ	
/ /		ʌ \	
CV CV		CG V	
pɪ gɪ		pj ɪ	

Figure 2.2.4 Palatalized compensatory vowel lengthening for *ukopjila*

In Figure 2.2.5, the verb *ukusu^ɲga* ‘protect’ and its Proto-Bantu form are shown to illustrate the compensatory lengthening that takes place stemming from a nasalized sequence.

<i>*tuŋg</i>	‘close in’	<i>su^ɲg</i>	‘protect’
μ μ		μ μ	
/		/ / †	
CV N		CV C	
tʊ ŋ		sʊ ɲg	

Figure 2.2.5 Nasalized compensatory vowel lengthening for *ukusu^ɲga*

2.3. Vowel distribution

The author has not found substantial evidence for root-internal [ATR] vowel harmony but more research is required to validate this claim as some speakers show a tendency toward pronouncing nine phonetic vowels. Pimbwe displays height harmony (Hyman 1999). The degree-2 vowels {ɪ, ʊ} do not occur after a mid vowel and rarely occur before a mid-vowel. The most prevalent distribution pattern is a repeated vowel in a bisyllabic root. The next most prevalent occurrence pattern is a vowel co-occurring with *a* due to the prolific occurrence of the final *a* morpheme (Hyman 2019: 131-2). Table 2.3.1 provides the full Pimbwe vowel co-occurrence paradigm.

Table 2.3.1 Pimbwe vowel distribution in disyllabic noun roots

v1↓v2→	/i/	/ɪ/	/ɛ/	/a/	/ɔ/	/ʊ/	/u/
/i/	9	1	4	10	2	2	3
/ɪ/	4	5	0	1	5	0	1
/ɛ/	5	0	9	2	5	0	5
/a/	10	3	7	40	7	1	6
/ɔ/	8	0	4	9	10	0	3
/ʊ/	3	2	2	6	1	11	0
/u/	4	2	1	6	4	2	9

Asymmetric cross-height vowel harmony is evident in verbal derivation, as shown in Table 2.3.2 (Hyman 2019: 133-4). An underlying degree-2 front vowel in a harmonizing extension surfaces as a degree-2 front vowel unless the stem vowel is a mid vowel. In which case the harmonizing extension surfaces as the front mid vowel. An underlying degree-2 back vowel in a harmonizing extension surfaces as a degree-2 back vowel after any stem vowel except ɔ. In which case it surfaces as the same vowel as the stem vowel ɔ.

Table 2.3.2 Asymmetric cross-height vowel harmony in verbal derivation

Stem Vowel	Suffix vowel (front)	Suffix vowel (back)
i	ɪ (underlying)	ʊ (underlying)
u		
ɪ, ʊ, a		
ɛ	ɛ	ɔ
ɔ		

Table 2.3.3 shows examples which illustrate the options presented in table 2.3.2.

Table 2.3.3 Vowel height harmony examples

-ila suffix	Gloss	-ola suffix	Gloss
-fikila	enter into	-fisola	clarify
-su ^ɪ gila	come close	-fu ^ɪ gola	open
-cɪtɪla	do for	-cɪtola	put
-su ^ʊ mbila	abandon	-ku ^ʊ mbola	harvest
-lapila	swear to	-laβola	reply
-tɛ:lɛla	take seriously	-lɛ: ^ɪ gola	think about
-dɔ ⁿ dɛla	follow	-kɔβola	be able

2.4. Syllable types

In Table 2.4.1 there is information on syllable types, their descriptions, and whether they surface word-initially, medially, or finally.

Table 2.4.1 Syllable type

Type	Description	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
CV	Plain CV syllable, no length, no prenasalisation example: <i>ma-tɔ-fwa-lɪ</i> ‘bricks’	✓	✓	✓
CV:	Long vowel, no labialization example: <i>mɔː-dɔ</i> ‘heart’; <i>vi-kɔː-la</i> ‘they are swimming’; <i>ɪ-ŋkɔː</i> ‘kind’	✓	✓	✓
^(G) V	No length example: <i>wa-ji-da</i> ‘he came’; <i>ɲɪjaβɔ</i> ‘fruit’; <i>ʊ-ku-ja</i> ‘to go’	✓	✓	✓
V:	Long vowel example: <i>ɛː-lɔ</i> ‘but’	✓	X	X
C ^w V	C + w onset, no coda, compensatory length example: <i>swe-fu</i> ‘white’; <i>ʊ-ku-vwa-ŋga</i> ‘to talk’; <i>ja-kwe</i> ‘hers’	✓	✓	✓
C ^j V	C + j onset, no coda, compensatory length example: <i>dʒɔ-ⁿsɛ</i> ‘all’; <i>ʊ-ji-tja-ŋkɛ</i> ‘(you) paint it’; <i>ʊ-ku-la-ŋgr-dja</i> ‘to show’	✓	✓	✓
^N CV	Prenasalised onset, no coda, short vowel example: <i>ⁿtɔ-ŋgwa</i> ‘star’; <i>a-ka-lɛ-ma-ⁿta-na</i> ‘she attached’; <i>na-ⁿu</i> ‘even’	✓	✓	✓
^N CV:	Prenasalised onset, no coda, long vowel example: <i>^mpɛː-la</i> ‘I worship’; <i>βa-ku-^mpɛː-la</i> ‘they are worshipping him’; <i>ⁿcɛː</i> ‘little bit’	✓	✓	✓
^N C ^w V	Prenasalisation + w, no coda, compensatory length example: <i>mbwi-nɛ</i> ‘I have seen’; <i>βa-ku-^mbwi-la-ŋga</i> ‘they have gleaned’; <i>ɪ-^mbwa</i> ‘dog’	✓	✓	✓
^N C ^j V	Prenasalisation + j, no coda, compensatory length example: <i>^mpja</i> ‘new’; <i>ʊ-ku-^mpji-la</i> ‘to brush me off’; <i>wa-ma-tu-^mvja</i> ‘he then lifted up’	✓	✓	✓
ɲ	Syllabic nasal example: <i>m-bɛdu</i> ‘seed’; <i>ʊ-m-bɛ</i> ‘and you’; <i>nɛːm</i> ‘with you (pl)’	✓	✓	✓

A non-open syllable is present only when the *mu*- syllable is present and the vowel is elided leaving a syllabic nasal *m̩*-. When this syllable precedes a V(:) syllable, the *u* surfaces as a glide *mw*- if V1 and V2

backness values differ. This demonstrates there is a vowel present underlyingly (see §2.7). This analysis accounts for phones that surface in slow speech.

2.5. Tone

Pimbwe has lexical and grammatical tone. Tone is defined as pitch fluctuation patterns that contribute to lexical and grammatical meaning. These tones are found in words in isolation. First, lexical tone is described in nouns. Then lexical tone is discussed in verbs. The final subsection describes grammatical tone. Only surface tone patterns are described in this thesis.

2.5.1. Nominal tone

This analysis follows Snider's strategy of differentiating tonal categories by comparing words with similar tone profiles. According to Snider (2018) words within the same noun class and with similar tone profiles can be compared in order to show contrastive tone qualities on the morae. Four surface tone patterns have been detected. They are high, low, rising and falling. The tonal categories are classified based on typical two-syllable noun roots. Bisyllabic nouns fall into three tonal categories: 1) LO-LO, 2) HI-LO, and 3) HI-HI. The surface tones of bisyllabic nominal stems of the shape CVCV are the primary focus here.

This analysis considers a CV syllable as one mora. The CVV syllable is considered two morae (Guérois 2019: 736). The pre-root class 12 prefix is considered syllabic and one mora while its preceding augment is also counted as one syllable possessing its own mora (à-ká-). The pre-root classes 1 and 3 nasal prefixes are considered syllabic and one mora while their preceding augment is also counted as one syllable possessing its own mora (ǃ-m̃-). Class 9 and 10 prenominal augment and prefix together account for one syllable and one mora (íⁿ-), (íⁿ-). Although classes 1 and 3 appear to have a similar shape to classes 9 and 10, they differ because of vowel the reduction *mu*→*m̃* present in classes 1 and 3.

When the augment and prefix represent two morae, one being a syllabic nasal as in classes 1 (ǃ-m̃-) and 3 (ǃ-m̃-), the augment surfaces as a rising tone and the nasal surfaces as a high tone with all lexical tone categories. When the augment and prefix represent one mora as in classes 9 (íⁿ-) and 10 (íⁿ-); the tone on the mora is a rising tone. When the augment and prefix represent two syllables without a syllabic nasal (V-CV; V-NV) as in classes 2 (aβa-), 4 (imí-), 5 (ilí), 6 (àmá-), 7 (ící-), 8 (iví-), 11 (ùlú-), 12 (àká-), 13 (ùtú-), 14 (ùβú-), the augment surfaces as a low or rising tone, and the prefix surfaces as a high tone. The tables below list the tonal categories by noun class.

Table 2.5.1.1 Class 1 CV tone examples

Example	Gloss	Stem Tone	Category
ǃm̃[kàtà]	healthy	LL	1 H on prefix (PS-I)
ǃm̃[pófù]	blind person	HL	2 H on prefix and stem-initial syllable (S-I)
ǃm̃[hálá]	girl	HH	3 H on prefix and two stem syllables (S-F)

Table 2.5.1.2 Class 3 CV tone examples

Example	Gloss	Stem Tone	Category
ǒṃ[sìsì]	root	LL	1 H on prefix (PS-I)
ǒṃ[sísì]	tamarind tree	HL	2 H on prefix and stem-initial syllable (S-I)
ǒṃ[kólé]	vein	HH	3 H on prefix and two stem syllables (S-F)

Table 2.5.1.3 Class 5 CV tone examples

Example	Gloss	Stem Tone	Category
í:[dìβà]	breast	LL	1 H on prefix (PS-I)
í:[kó ⁿ dà]	buttock	HL	2 H on prefix and stem-initial syllable (S-I)
í:[díβá]	lake	HH	3 H on prefix and two stem syllables (S-F)

Table 2.5.1.4 Class 7 CV tone examples

Example	Gloss	Stem Tone	Category
ìcí[sìmà]	well	LL	1 H on prefix (PS-I)
ìcí[mínì]	kind of disease	HL	2 H on prefix and stem-initial syllable (S-I)
ìcí[síkú]	rainy season	HH	3 H on prefix and two stem syllables (S-F)

Table 2.5.1.5 Class 9 CV tone examples

Example	Gloss	Stem Tone	Category
ṙ ⁿ [dòkà]	snake	LL	1 H on prefix (PS-I)
ṙ ^m [bógò]	water buffalo	HL	2 H on prefix and stem-initial syllable (S-I)
ṙ ⁿ [dóvú]	elephant	HH	3 H on prefix and two stem syllables (S-F)

Table 2.5.1.6 Class 9 CNV tone examples

Example	Gloss	Stem Tone	Category
ṙ ⁿ [sì ^m bà]	lion	LL	1 H on prefix (PS-I)
ṙ ⁿ [sì ^m bò]	spring	HL	2 H on prefix and stem-initial syllable (S-I)
ṙ ⁿ [kó ^m bú]	pity	HH	3 H on prefix and two stem syllables (S-F)

Table 2.5.1.7 Class 11 tone examples

Example	Gloss	Stem Tone	Category
òlú[βèdù]	seed	LL	1 H on prefix (PS-I)
òlú[βílò]	speed	HL	2 H on prefix and stem-initial syllable (S-I)
òlú ⁿ [jálá]	dwarf palm	HH	3 H on prefix and two stem syllables (S-F)

Table 2.5.1.8 Class 12 tone examples

Example	Gloss	Stem Tone	Category
àká[mìnà]	scorpion	LL	1 H on prefix (PS-I)
àká[sánù]	kind of tree	HL	2 H on prefix and stem-initial syllable (S-I)
àká[βégó]	razor	HH	3 H on prefix and two stem syllables (S-F)

Table 2.5.1.9 Class 14 tone examples

Example	Gloss	Stem Tone	Category
ùβú[finè]	pus	LL	1 H on prefix (PS-I)
ùβú[kási]	bead	HL	2 H on prefix and stem-initial syllable (S-I)
ùβú[kíwá]	sorrow	HH	3 H on prefix and two stem syllables (S-F)

According to Snider 2018, one should look for the short, flat (horizontal) sections of the pitch pattern in order to find the mora's tone. If all tones in a word are of equal value, then the pitch pattern will be roughly a 45 degree angle sloping downward from left to right to account for the natural human tendency to speak in a declining pitch from start to finish. In the figures below the blue line represents the pitch pattern as automatically generated by Praat software. The pitch traces in §2.5.1 and §2.5.2 all come from the same female Pimbwe speaker.

In the phonetic transcriptions above the pitch trace, I have written 1) the tone category followed by a colon, 2) the phonetic description, and 3) the phonetic tone markings by syllable. The end of each syllable is marked by a hyphen. Above each pitch trace the segment is placed directly above its resulting pitch level. It is worth noting that the consonants in the figures below generate a spike in the blue pitch line.

Pitch traces of the three nominal tone categories for noun class 3 are below.

Table 2.5.1.10 Class 3 CV tone examples

Example	Gloss	Stem Tone	Category
ǒm̐[sìsì]	root	LL	1 H on prefix (PS-I)
ǒm̐[sìsì]	tamarind tree	HL	2 H on prefix and stem-initial syllable (S-I)
ǒm̐[kólÉ]	vein	HH	3 H on prefix and two stem syllables (S-F)

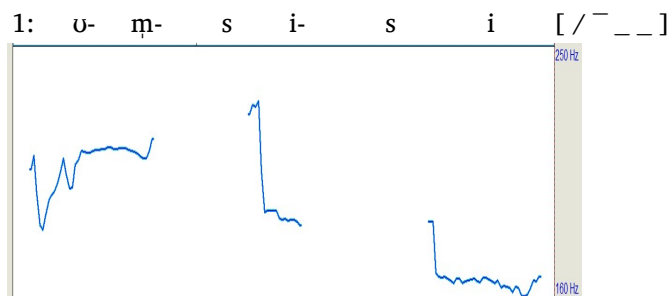


Figure 2.5.1.11: Pitch trace of [ũm̩sisi] (PS-I)

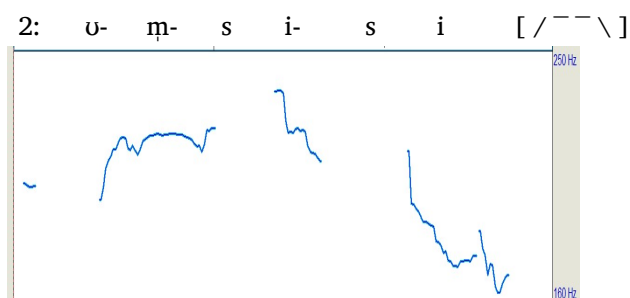


Figure 2.5.1.12: Pitch trace of [ũm̩sisi] (S-I)

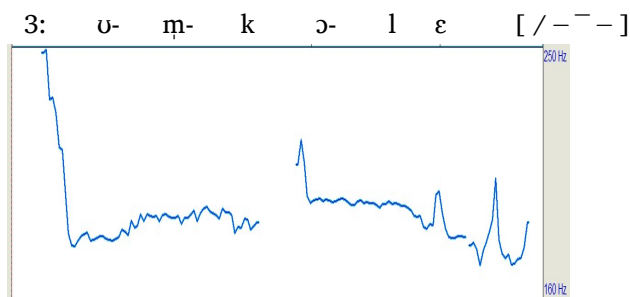


Figure 2.5.1.13: Pitch trace of [ũm̩kólé] (S-F)

2.5.2. Verbal tone

There are two tone categories for verbs: 1) H on prefix (PS-I) where the high tone occurs on the mora just before the verb stem, and 2) H on prefix and stem-initial syllable (S-I) where the high tone occurs on the first mora of the stem. The following minimal pairs provide evidence for the two verb tone categories in one and two mora stems.

Table 2.5.2.1 Verb high tone examples

Example	Gloss	Category
òkúkàlà	dry up	1 PS-I
òkòkálà	buy	2 S-I
òkúd ^w à:	fight	1 PS-I
òkùd ^w â:	leak	2 S-I

The tables below list the tonal categories for verbs. The following table contains examples of verbs in the PS-I tone category. In this category of verbs, a high tone surfaces on the mora just before the verb root.

Table 2.5.2.2 Verbal PS-I high tone

Example	Gloss	Tone
òkútà	lay (eggs)	LHL
òkútùlà	sprout	LHLL
òkúfisà	hide	LHLL
òkúβàlà	shine	LHLL
òkúβùlàgà	kill	LHLLL

Table 2.5.2.3 offers a brief list of verbs in the S-I tone category. In this category of verbs, a high tone surfaces on the first mora of the verb root.

Table 2.5.2.3 Verbal S-I high tone

Example	Gloss	Tone
òkùd ^w â:	leak	LLHL
òkùwá	fall	LLH
òkùlíà	cultivate	LLHL
òkùséà	laugh	LLHL
òkùtá ^m bòlùlà	unwrap	LLHLLL

Long vowels, both compensatory and contrastive, carry two morae and have similar duration. They can have a level or falling phonetic tone. As in the nominal tone section pitch traces, the phonological segments are presented above each pitch trace. The blue line represents the pitch pattern as automatically generated by Praat software. The pitch traces all come from the same female Pimbwe speaker.

The first two examples show falling and level tone on compensatorily lengthened segments. The long vowel for each word is highlighted in pink.

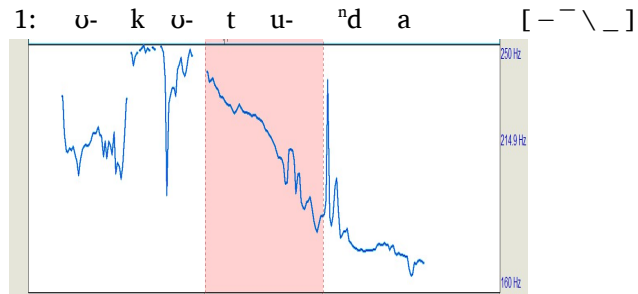


Figure 2.5.2.4: Pitch trace of [ùkótùːⁿdà] (S-I)

The vowel duration for the *ùkótùːⁿdà* recording is 0.198 seconds.

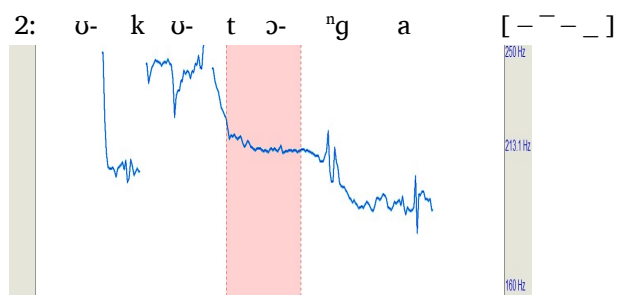


Figure 2.5.2.5: Pitch trace of [ùkótùːⁿgà] (PS-I)

The vowel duration for the *ùkótùːⁿgà* recording is 0.202 seconds.

The following two spectrograms show contrastive length and their respective tonal patterns.

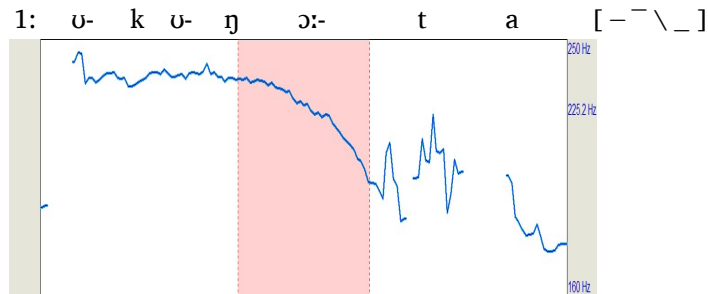


Figure 2.5.2.6: Pitch trace of [ùkótùːⁿtà] (S-I)

The vowel duration for the *ùkótùːⁿtà* recording is 0.188 seconds.

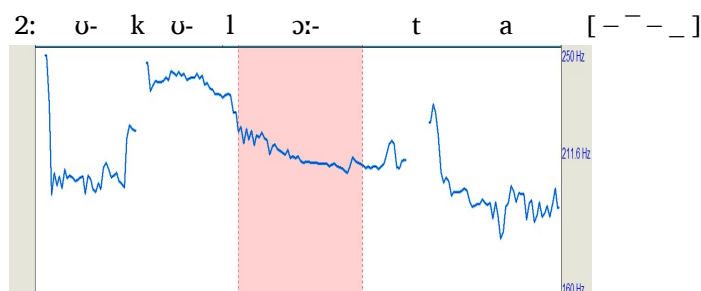


Figure 2.5.2.7: Pitch trace of [òkúlò:tà] (PS-I)

The vowel duration for the *òkúlò:tà* recording is 0.198 seconds.

2.5.3. Grammatical tone

Grammatical tone is also present in the language. Melodic H tones are present and in need of more research. An introduction to Melodic H tones in Bantu is available in Odden & Bickmore (2014). The author's initial work points towards {2SG and 3SG + *a-*} TAM working somewhat similar to the Mbugwe (F34) language as shown in (1-4) below (Wilhelmsen 2019: 535). The future TAM markers /*lô-*/ *álôkálá* 'she will buy', /*kǝ-*/ *àkǝkàlà* 'she will buy (today)', and the consecutive marker /*mǎ-*/ *àmǎkàlà* 'then she buys', however, function quite differently from Mbugwe.

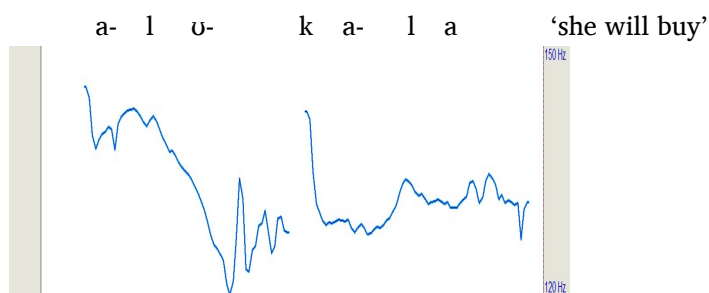


Figure 2.5.3.1: Pitch trace of [alôkàlá]

Figure 2.5.3.1 illustrates the far future TAM paired with the HL verb stem as compared to the LL stem in figure 2.5.3.2. The figure shows a falling tone over the TAM marker and the high tone surfacing on the final mora of the verb stem.

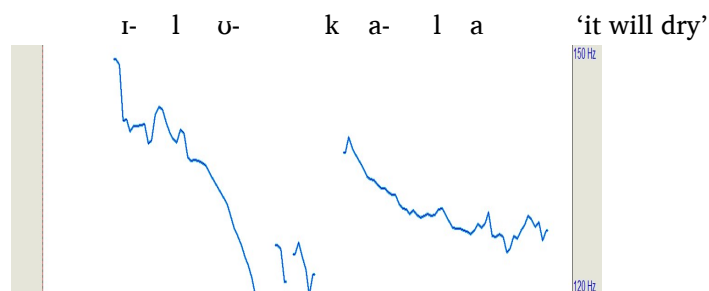


Figure 2.5.3.2: Pitch trace of [ɪlôkàlà]

One written ambiguity associated with the grammatical tone would be the contrast between the middle future marker /kǔ-/ *àkǔkàlà* ‘she will buy’ (FUT) and the progressive marker /kù-/ *àkùkàlà* ‘she is buying’ (PROG). In figure 2.5.3.3 the stem tone is overridden by the Melodic H tone that surfaces with the TAM marker.

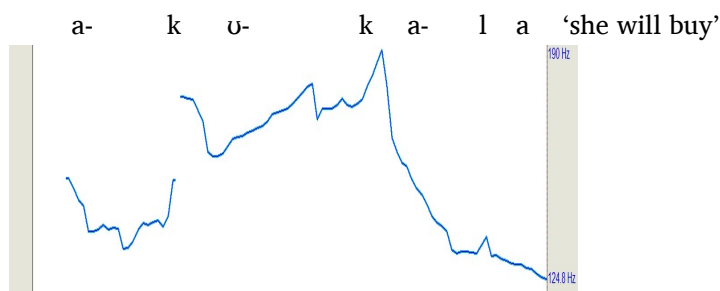


Figure 2.5.3.3: Pitch trace of [akǔkàlà]

Figure 2.5.3.3 shows the middle future TAM marker rising while the final two syllables surface with low tones.

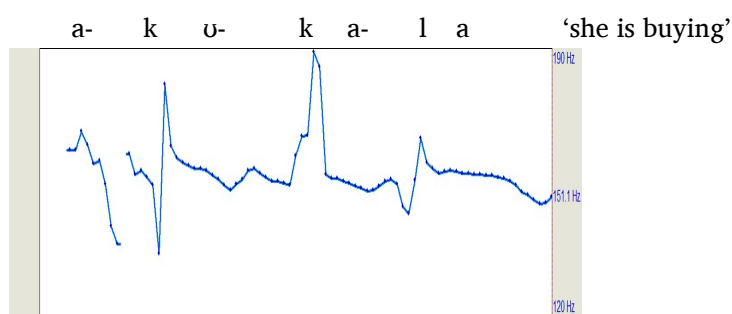


Figure 2.5.3.4: Pitch trace of [akùkàlálá]

Figure 2.5.3.4 shows the TAM marker surfacing as a low tone along with the penultimate syllable, while the final syllable surfaces with a high tone. Figure 2.5.3.3 shows the final mora surfacing with a boundary low tone while figure 2.5.3.4 shows the final mora surfacing with a high tone relative to the antepenultimate and penultimate morae. In these examples the grammatical morpheme with a particular

tone on the TAM affects the tone pattern of the whole word. This topic needs further research to determine how exactly the TAM morpheme and its tone affects the rest of the word.

There is also a tonal distinction between the second and third person singular present verb phrase in class 1. In (1) and (2) a high tone surfaces on the first syllable of the second person singular and on the final syllable of the class 1 third person singular respectively.

- (1) *w-á-j-à*
 2SG-PRES-go-FV
 ‘You are going.’

- (2) *w-à-j-á*
 3SG-PRES-go-FV
 ‘He is going.’

In (3) and (4) the high tone surfaces on the TAM marker to show second singular while the high tone surfaces on the final syllable of the verb stem signifying third singular.

- (3) *w-á-cìt-à* *cì*
 2SG-PRES-do-FV INTER
 ‘What are you doing?’

- (4) *w-à-cìt-á* *cì*
 3SG-PRES-do-FV INT
 ‘What is he/she doing?’

2.6. Phonological processes

Next, I consider phonological processes. The bilabial fricative when prenasalized surfaces as the bilabial plosive. This happens in both nominal and verbal forms. From a diachronic perspective the plosive was original and has evolved into the fricative. In certain contexts such as (6) the historical plosive still surfaces (Hyman 2019: 128).

- (5) *uloβadu* ‘rib, side’
 u-lu-βadu
 AUG-11-rib

- (6) *i^mbadu* ‘ribs, sides’ $\beta \rightarrow b/N_$
i^m-badu
 10-rib
- (7) *$\beta a:\beta \epsilon:l a$* ‘they believe’
 $\beta a-a-\beta \epsilon:l-a$
 2-PRES-believe-FV

When the bilabial fricative is preceded by a syllabic nasal in verbal forms, the fricative remains unchanged.

- (8a) *$\beta a:m\beta \epsilon:l a$* ‘they believe her’ $\beta \rightarrow \beta/N_$
 $\beta a-a-mu-\beta \epsilon:l-a$
 2- PRES- OBJ.3- believe-FV
- (8b) *$\beta a:m\beta \epsilon:l a$* ‘they believe me’ $\beta \rightarrow b/N_$
 $\beta a-a-n-\beta \epsilon:l-a$
 3PL-PRES-OBJ.1SG- believe-FV

When the obstruent is prenasalized as in (9), the prenasalization assimilates to the place of articulation of the following plosive.

- (9) *^m $\beta \epsilon:l a$* ‘believe me’ $n \rightarrow m/_\beta$
n- $\beta \epsilon:l-a$
 OBJ-believe- FV
 ‘believe me...’

When a liquid is followed by a level-1 high vowel {i, u}, the liquid hardens to become an alveolar plosive.

- (10) *$\alpha^m \beta \epsilon:d i l \epsilon$* ‘he worships him’ $l \rightarrow d/_\{i, u\}$
a-n- $\beta \epsilon:l-i l \epsilon$
 3SG-OBJ-believe-IPFV
 ‘She believes me.’

In examples (11-12) an alveolar nasal that precedes /l/ is realized as [d]. Similar to the bilabial fricative, the liquid comes from the ProtoBantu phoneme *d*.

- (11a) *ɔlɔlmi* 'tongue'
 ɔ-lɔ-lmi
 AUG-11-tongue
- (11b) *iⁿdmi* 'tongues' l→d/N__
 iⁿ-lmi
 10-tongue
- (12a) *ɔkɔlɔⁿda* 'to follow'
 ɔ-kɔ-lɔⁿd-a
 15-15-follow-FV
- (12b) *ɔkɔⁿdɔⁿda* 'to follow me' l→d/N__
 ɔ-kɔ-n-lɔⁿd-a
 15-15-OBJ.1.SG-follow-FV

When an underlying /l/ is preceded by a syllabic bilabial nasal /m/, the liquid becomes /n/. In (13), the consonant's place of articulation remains the same, but the air passage remains closed after the bilabial nasal to create the alveolar nasal.

- (13) *a-kɔ-m-nɔⁿd-a* 'to follow her' l→n/m__
 a-kɔ-mu-lɔⁿd-a
 3SG-PROG-OBJ.3.SG-follow-FV

Imbrication sometimes takes place at the end of a verb stem. Imbrication is the process of interlacing the final segments of the word (Hyman 2019: 135). (14-15) illustrate this process. Imbrication takes place most often when the IPFV aspectual suffix *-ilɛ* is present.

- (14) *m-bw-ine*
 n-βɔn-ilɛ
 1SG-look_at-IPFV
 'I look at'
- (15) *a-ina-ime*
 a-inam-ilɛ
 3SG-kneel_down-IPFV
 'He kneels down'

Root-finally, the underlying phoneme /t/ sometimes surfaces as [s] before the level-1 high vowel [i]. See (16a-d). In this environment (16b, 16d) *t* and *s* are in free variation. This Bantu Spirantization process is one of the few typical instances found in Pimbwe (See §1.1) (Hyman 2019: 140).

- (16a) *w-a-cit-a*
 w-a-cit-a
 2-PRES-do-FV
 ‘you/he do(es)..’
- (16b) *w-a-cis-ile/ w-a-cit-ile*
 w-a-cit-ile
 2-PRES-do-IPFV
 ‘you/he did...’
- (16c) *βa-a-ṁ-wit-a*
 βa-a-mu-it-a
 3.PL-PRES-OBJ.3.SG-call-FV
 ‘they call him...’
- (16d) *βa-a-ṁ-wis-ile/ βa-a-ṁ-witile*
 βa-a-mu-it-ile
 3.PL-PRES-OBJ.3.SG-call-IPFV
 ‘they called him...’

2.7. Vowel hiatus

In this section I discuss vowel hiatus resolution. I show numbered examples each followed by a related table. Vowel hiatus resolution processes move from right to left. There are two vowel hiatus resolution strategies active in Pimbwe, deletion and glide formation. If the vowels have the same backness values, then V1 deletes. If they have differing backness values, glide formation occurs.

The strategy illustrated in verbal example (17) is deletion and subsequent lengthening (u→ɔ) (Hyman 2019: 135).

- (17) *akɔpa*
a-kv-ɔp-a
 3SG-PROG-fear-FV
 ‘She is fearing...’

Table 2.7.1 Deletion verbal example

Orig. V	Pos	Back	Resulting V
u	V1	+ BACK	ɔ
ɔ	V2	+ BACK	ɔ

The only differences in these two vowels are their position in the hiatus and their height (non-factor). Notice that position in the hiatus above governs which vowel has higher activity. The prefix vowel deletes in the following nominal example (u→ɔ). In both examples (17) and (18), deletion happens because both vowels share + BACK backness values.

- (18) *umɔ:ɔ*
 u-mu-ɔɔ
 AUG-3-heart
 ‘heart’

Table 2.7.2 Deletion nominal example

Orig. V	Pos	Back	Resulting V
u	V1	+ BACK	ɔ
ɔ	V2	+ BACK	ɔ

In (18) vowel position governs the vowel activity with V2 being more active. The backness values are the same in both vowels, so V1 deletion occurs. The same occurs with different vowel combinations and different environments in (19-21).

- (19) *icɛni*
 i-ci-ɛni
 AUG-7-face
 ‘face’

Table 2.7.3 NC 7 i→ɛ example

Orig. V	Pos	Back	Resulting V
i	V1	-BACK	ɛ
ɛ	V2	-BACK	ɛ

- (20) *aβɛnɛ*
 a-βa-ɛnɛ
 AUG-2-king
 ‘kings’

Table 2.7.4 NC 2 a→ɛ example

Orig. V	Pos	Back	Resulting V
a	V1	-BACK	ɛ
ɛ	V2	-BACK	ɛ

- (21) *amĩkala*
 a-ma-ikal-a
 AUG-CONS-remain-FV
 ‘she will remain...’

Table 2.7.5 Verbal a→i example

Orig. V	Pos	Back	Resulting V
a	V1	-BACK	i
i	V2	-BACK	i

The second vowel hiatus strategy is glide formation. {i, ɔ, u, ʊ} glide when in V1 position and V2 has a different backness value. {ɪ, ɛ, a} do not glide when in V1 position, rather they assimilate to V2.

- (22) *vjɔⁿsɛ*
 vi-ɔⁿsɛ
 8-all
 ‘all’

Table 2.7.6 Glide formation example (i→j)

Orig. V	Pos	Back	Resulting V
i	V1	-BACK	j
ɔ	V2	+BACK	ɔ

In (22), the backness values of the two vowels are different so V1 glides. The same happens in (23). Backness values differ, so V1 glides.

- (23) *akwita*
 a-ku-it-a
 3SG-PROG-call-FV
 ‘she is calling’

Table 2.7.7 Verbal glide formation example (u→w)

Orig. V	1-Pos	3-Back	Resulting V
u	V1	+ BACK	w
i	V2	-BACK	i

In example (24) the first liquid drops out (a-kɔβɔl-ilɛ→ a-kɔβɔ-ilɛ→ a-kɔβw-ilɛ) to create a vowel hiatus. V2 outranks V1 by position and backness values differ, so V1 glides (ɔ→w).

- (24) *akɔβwile*
 a-kɔβɔl-ilɛ
 3SG-be_able-IPFV
 ‘she is able’

Table 2.7.8 Verbal glide formation example (ɔ→w)

Orig. V	Pos	Back	Resulting V
ɔ	V1	+ BACK	w
i	V2	-BACK	i

The vowel *i* is the exception to these vowel hiatus resolution processes. When in position V1, the result is a glide with any vowel except *i* regardless of V2’s backness value.⁵ Its ultra high, hyper front profile makes it more active than any of the other vowels. In (26) the final liquid drops out creating vowel hiatus (iɛ→jɛ).

- (25) *nkukanidje*
 n-ku-kan-il-ilɛ
 1SG-OBJ.2-forbid-APPL-IPFV
 ‘I forbid you...’ (Genesis 3:11)

Table 2.7.9 shows examples for each vowel hiatus possibility. Those without examples represent hiatus possibilities not yet found in the data.

⁵ It would be expected that two *i*’s in sequence would fail to trigger glide formation as failure to trigger glide formation is virtually universal when two identical Vs follow in sequence.

Table 2.7.9 Vowel Hiatus Resolution Strategy

v1 ↓ v2 →	i	ɪ	ɛ	a	ɔ	ʊ	u
i	i: <i>lipɛ</i> li-ipɛ ‘dig out’	jɪ <i>akovjɪta</i> akovɪ-ɪta ‘he is calling them’	jɛ <i>ɪmjɛⁿda</i> ɪmi-ɛ ⁿ da ‘clothing’	ja <i>ɪmjaka</i> ɪmi-aka ‘years’	jo <i>vjɔⁿsɛ</i> vi-ɔ ⁿ sɛ ‘all’	ju <i>ljɔβa</i> li-ʊβa ‘sun’	ju <i>vjuma</i> vi-uma ‘herds’
ɪ	i: <i>angaβiɫe</i> angaβɪɫ-ile ‘she found for me’	ɪ: <i>wamacɪɫta</i> wamacɪ-ɪta ‘then he called it’	ɛ: <i>ɪcɛⁿgɛ</i> ɪcɪ-ɛ ⁿ gɛ ‘light’	a: <i>ɪcailɔ</i> ɪcɪ-alɔ ‘field’	ɔ: <i>ɪcɔⁿɪ</i> ɪcɪ-ɔ ⁿ ɪ ‘bird’	ʊ: <i>ɪcʊⁿmɔ</i> ɪcɪ-ʊmɔ ‘bitterness’	u: <i>ɪcuma</i> ɪcɪ-uma ‘herd’
ɛ	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
a	i: <i>βamimɪlɪla</i> βa-ma-ɪm-ɪlɪl-a ‘they stood up’	ɪ: <i>wamäpɪɫta</i> wamapa-ɪta ‘he has called the place’	ɛ: <i>aβɛnɛ</i> aβa-ɛnɛ ‘king’	a: <i>aβana</i> aβa-ana ‘children’	ɔ: <i>wɔɔpa</i> wa-ɔpá ‘she was afraid’	ʊ: <i>waβʊⁿma</i> wa-βa-uma ‘she hit them’	--
ɔ	wɪ <i>akɔβwɪlɛ</i> a-kɔβɔɫ-ɪlɛ ‘he will be able’	--	--	--	--	--	--
ʊ	wɪ/ʊɪ <i>ʊmɪwɪlagu</i> ʊ-mu-ɪlagu ‘prophet’	wɪ/ʊɪ <i>lɔkwɪtwa</i> lɔku-ɪtwa ‘it is called’	wɛ <i>mwenɛ</i> mu-ɛnɛ ‘king’	wa <i>βwa</i> βʊ-a ‘of’	ɔɔ <i>mɔɔdɔ</i> mu-ɔdɔ ‘heart’	--	--
u	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

The ʊ + i (wɪ/ʊɪ) and ʊ + ɪ (wɪ/ʊɪ) hiatus resolution strategy depends on the individual speaker. Some pronounce V1 as a glide while others give both vowels in the hiatus equal length resulting in a lengthened vowel.

3.

3. Grammar

3.1. Nominal characteristics

The Pimbwe noun stem is structured with a word-initial augment followed by a noun class prefix, and word-finally, the nominal root in common with many Bantu languages (Van de Velde 2019: 247-255). The augment and the prefix match in noun class. Note here that the class 1 (along with class 3 and 18) prefix reduces from *mu-* to *ṁ-* when the stem initial phoneme is a consonant. When it is a vowel with –BACK backness value, the result is (*u*)*mw-* (see §2.7). (26) and (27) show the class 1 prefix preceded by the augment.

- (26) *uṁʒuⁿgu*
 u-ṁ-ʒuⁿgu
 AUG-1-foreigner
 ‘foreigner’
- (27) *umwaⁿce aku:mwa*
 u-mu-ana-ⁿce a-ku-um-w-a
 AUG-1-child-small 3SG-PROG-hurt-PASS-FV
 ‘The small child is hurt.’

Proper names and some kinship terms also take the class 1 augment, but not the prefix. This is termed the class 1a augment. (28) shows the class 1a augment on a proper name.

- (28) *uLutu wamăciⁿka ku = ka:da*
 u-Lutu wa-ma-ciⁿk-a ku = ka:da
 AUG-Ruth 3SG-CONS-return-FV LOC.16 = home
 ‘Ruth returned home.’

(29) shows the class 1a augment on a kinship term.

- (29) *upanɔ vɪsɪ wamăfuma paⁿdɛ*
upanɔ u-ɪsɪ wa-mă-fum-a pa = ⁿdɛ
 then 1a-father 3SG-CONS-go.out-FV 16 = outside
 ‘Then the father went outside.’

3.1.1. Noun classes

Following the pattern of the Bantu language family, many noun classes are present. Bantuists have assigned these noun classes numbers of which Pimbwe has 18 classes if 1a and 2a are treated as belonging to classes 1 and 2 respectively (Van de Velde 2019: 237-41).

Table 3.1.1.1 Noun classes

Noun Class	Augment	Prefix	Example	Gloss
1	u-	mu-	<i>umwaⁿce</i>	‘child’
			<i>umkɔta</i>	‘woman’, ‘wife’
1a	u-	-	<i>uta:ta</i>	‘father’
2	a-	βa-	<i>aβakɔta</i>	‘women’, ‘wives’
2a	-	βa-	<i>βata:ta</i>	‘fathers’
3	u-	mu-	<i>umwedi</i>	‘month’, ‘moon’
			<i>umtele</i>	‘body’
4	i-	mi-	<i>imitele</i>	‘bodies’
5	-	i:-	<i>ijulu</i>	‘sky’
	i	li-	<i>ilinso</i>	‘eye’
6	a-	ma-	<i>amaluvⁿga</i>	‘families’
7	i-	ci-	<i>icitala</i>	‘bed’
8	i-	vi-	<i>ivitala</i>	‘beds’
9	i-	N	<i>i^mpuna</i>	‘nose’
			<i>iⁿdovu</i>	‘elephant’
			<i>ijov^mbe</i>	‘cow’
10	i-	N	<i>i^mpuna</i>	‘noses’
			<i>iⁿdovu</i>	‘elephants’
			<i>ijov^mbe</i>	‘cows’
11	u-	lu-	<i>ulugusa</i>	‘rope’
12	a-	ka-	<i>akafumɔ</i>	‘tribe’
13	u-	tu-	<i>utufumɔ</i>	‘tribes’
14	u-	βu-	<i>uβulwile</i>	‘disease’
15	u-	ku-	<i>ukupita</i>	‘to walk’
16	a-	pa-	<i>apaⁿtu</i>	‘place’
17	u-	ku-	<i>ukuⁿtu</i>	‘place far away’
18	u-	mu-	<i>umⁿtu</i>	‘place inside’

Figure 3.1.1.2 shows the noun class pairings for singular and plural nouns.

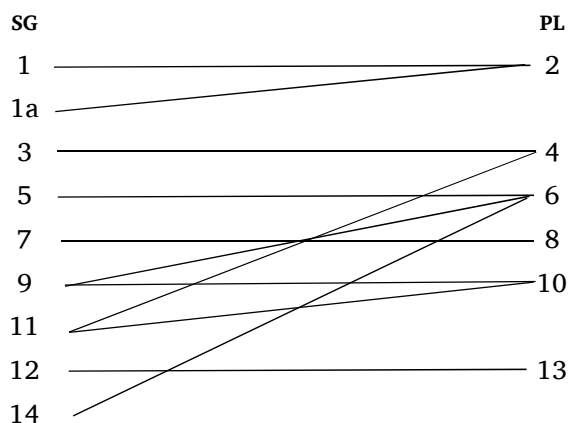


Figure 3.1.1.2 Singular plural noun class pairings

There are two sets of nominal agreement morphemes in Pimbwe. The first one is used with adjectives. Each class agreement in set one includes an augment and a prefix.

Table 3.1.1.3 First agreement set

1.	o-mu-	7.	i-ci-	13.	o-tu-
2.	a-βa-	8.	i-vi-	14.	o-βo-
3.	o-mu-	9.	i-n-	15.	o-ku-
4.	i-mi-	10.	i-n-	16.	a-pa-
5.	i-li-	11.	o-lu-	17.	o-ku-
6.	a-ma-	12.	a-ka-	18.	o-mu-

The second set of nominal agreement morphemes is used for certain quantifiers, relatives, demonstratives, possessives, numerals, and the associative. There is no augment in agreement set two.

Table 3.1.1.4 Second agreement set

1.	o-	7.	ci-	13.	tu-
2.	βa-	8.	vi-	14.	βo-
3.	βo-	9.	ji-	15.	ku-
4.	ji-	10.	di-	16.	pa-
5.	li-	11.	lu-	17.	ku-
6.	ga-	12.	ka-	18.	mu-

3.1.2. Derivation and correspondence

In Pimbwe a noun is derived from a verb by adding a noun class prefix and a nominalizing suffix to a verb stem. Below is a list of suffixes that can be added to verb stems for verb to noun derivation. The following suffixes can be compared with ProtoBantu and various other Bantu languages mentioned in Schadeberg & Bostoen (2019: 188-97).

Table 3.1.2.1 Suffixes used for verb to noun derivation

Suffix	Resulting noun
-i	agent of the action denoted by the verb (noun class 1/2) result of the action denoted by the verb (noun class 14) action of carrying out the verb (noun class 14)
-ε	patient of the action denoted by the verb (noun class 1/2) result of the action denoted by the verb (noun class 14)
-ɔ	result of the action denoted by the verb (noun class 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/10, 11) action of carrying out the verb (noun class 5/6, 7/8, 9/10, 11, 14) instrument by which the action is carried out (noun class 3/4, 7/8)
-u	result of the action denoted by the verb (noun class 9/10)
-u	patient of the action denoted by the verb (noun class 1/2)
-a	agent of the action denoted by the verb (noun class 1/2)
-aʝi	agent of the action denoted by the verb (noun class 1/2)

The following tables give examples of various kinds of verb to noun derivations. Table 3.1.2.2 provides examples of verb to noun derivation for agentive nouns.

Table 3.1.2.2 Verb to noun derivation, agentives

NC	Prefix	Suffix	Example	Gloss	Verb root	Gloss
1/2	(u)mu- (a)βa-	-a	<i>uṃfwema</i>	smoker(s)	-fwem-	smoke
1/2	(u)mu- (a)βa-	-aɟi	<i>uṃwɪ^mbaɟi</i> / <i>aβɪ^mbaɟi</i>	singer(s)	-imb-	sing
1/2	(u)mu- (a)βa-	-aɟi	<i>uṃwaⁿdikaɟi</i>	writer(s)	-andɪk-	write
1/2	(u)mu- (a)βa-	-i	<i>uṃnɪmi</i> / <i>aβalɪmi</i>	farmer(s)	-lɪm-	cultivate
1/2	(u)mu- (a)βa-	-i	<i>uṃsumi</i> / <i>aβasumi</i>	weaver(s)	-sum-	weave
1/2	(u)mu- (a)βa-	-i	<i>uṃpɟani</i> / <i>aβapɟani</i>	heir(s)	-pɟan-	inherit
1/2	(u)mu- (a)βa-	-i	<i>uṃwikadi</i> / <i>aβikadi</i>	inhabitant(s)	-ikal-	live / sit
1/2	(u)mu- (a)βa-	-i	<i>uṃwivi</i> / <i>aβivi</i>	thief	-iβ-	steal
1/2	(u)mu- (a)βa-	-i	<i>uṃciⁿdi</i> / <i>aβaciⁿdi</i>	player(s)	-chi ⁿ d-	play
1/2	(u)mu- (a)βa-	-i	<i>uṃduvi</i> / <i>aβaduvi</i>	fisherman	-duβ-	catch fish
1/2	(u)mu- (a)βa-	-i	<i>uṃte:ki</i> / <i>aβate:ki</i>	cook(s)	-te:k-	cook
1/2	(u)mu- (a)βa-	-i	<i>uṃtwi</i> / <i>aβatwi</i>	builder(s)	-tw-	build

Table 3.1.2.3 provides examples of verb to noun derivation for attributive nouns.

Table 3.1.2.3 Verb to noun derivation, attributive nouns

NC	Prefix	Suffix	Example	Gloss	Verb root	Gloss
1/2	(u)mu- (a)βa-	-ε	<i>uṃṇwile</i> <i>aβalwile</i>	/ sick person(s)	-lwal-	become sick
1/2	(u)mu- (a)βa-	-ε	<i>uṃzehe</i>	old person(s)	zehe-	become old
1/2	(u)mu- (a)βa-	-u	<i>uṃwidu</i> <i>aβafwidu</i>	/ dead person(s)	-fw-	die
1/2	(u)mu- (a)βa-	-u	<i>uṃpɔfu</i> / <i>aβapɔfu</i>	blind person(s)	-pɔf-	be/become blind
1/2	(u)mu- (a)βa-	-i	<i>uṃsavi</i> / <i>aβasavi</i>	rich person(s)	-saβ-	be rich, domesticate
1/2	(u)mu- (a)βa-	-i	<i>uṃjeβi</i> / <i>aβajeβi</i>	poor person(s)	-jeβ-	be troubled

Table 3.1.2.4 provides examples of verb to noun derivation for nominalized actions.

Table 3.1.2.4 Verb to noun derivation, nominalized actions

NC	Prefix	Suffix	Example	Gloss	Verb root	Gloss
11/10	(u)lɔ- (i)N-	-ɔ	<i>ulwɪ^mbɔ</i> / <i>injɪ^mbɔ</i>	song(s)	-ɪ ^m b-	sing
3/4	(u)ṃ- (i)mi-	-ɔ	<i>uṃṇumɔ</i> / <i>imilɪmɔ</i>	work(s)	-lɪm-	cultivate
3/4	(u)ṃ- (i)mi-	-ɔ	<i>uṃciⁿdɔ</i> / <i>imiciⁿdɔ</i>	game	-ci ⁿ d-	play
9	(i) ^N -	-ɔ	<i>ɪⁿkɔ:lɔ</i>	cough	-kɔ:l-	cough
9	(i) ^N -	-ɔ	<i>ɪⁿti:pɔ</i>	curse	-ti:p-	curse

Table 3.1.2.5 provides examples of verb to noun derivation for means/materials:

Table 3.1.2.5 Verb to noun derivation, means

NC	Prefix	Suffix	Example	Gloss	Verb root	Gloss
14	(u)βu-	-i	<i>uβutwi</i>	building(s)	-tw-	build
12/13	(a)ka-	-ɔ	<i>akaβεgɔ</i> / <i>utuβεgɔ</i>	razor(s)	-βεg-	shave
5/6	(u)tu-					
	i/ili-	-i	<i>itwi</i>	ear(s)	-it-	call
	(a)ma-		<i>amatwi</i>	lower grinding stone(s)		
7/8	(i)ci-	-i	<i>iciciβi</i> / <i>iviciβi</i>	stopper(s)	-ciβ-	stop
	(i)vi-					up
7/8	(i)ci-	-ɔ	<i>icivwa^ɔgɔ</i> / <i>ivivwa^ɔgɔ</i>	language(s)	-vwa ^ɔ g-	say
	(i)vi-					
7/8	(i)ci-	-ɔ	<i>icicɔtɔ</i> / <i>ivicɔtɔ</i>	whip(s) / cane(s)	-cɔt-	spank
	(i)vi-					
3/4	(u)mu-	-ɔ	<i>umtjo</i> / <i>mitjɔ</i>	trap(s)	-tj-	trap
	(i)mi-					

Table 3.1.2.6 provides examples of verb to noun derivation for abstract concepts.

Table 3.1.2.6 Verb to noun derivation, abstract concepts

NC	Prefix	Suffix	Example	Gloss	Verb root	Gloss
11	(u)lu-	-u	<i>ulufu</i>	death	-fw-	die
14	(u)βu-	-ε	<i>uβulwile</i> / <i>amalwile</i>	illness(es)	-lwal-	become ill
	(a)ma-					
14	(u)βu-	-i	<i>uβupjani</i>	inheritance	-pjan-	inherit
14	(u)βu-	-i	<i>uβwikadi</i>	life	-ikal-	live / sit
14	(u)βu-	-i	<i>uβujeβi</i>	poverty	-jeβ-	be troubled
9	(i) ^N -	-i	<i>rⁿgɔfi</i>	fear	-ɔp-	fear
6	(a)ma-	-a	<i>amalwa</i>	quarrel	-lw-	fight

The following tables illustrate some adjective to noun correspondences in Pimbwe. When taking an adjective stem and adding a class 14 prefix, the resulting noun expresses an abstract idea resulting from a concrete form. Tables 3.1.2.7, 3.1.2.8, and 3.1.2.9 provide examples of adjective to noun correspondence.

Table 3.1.2.7 Adjective to noun correspondence, class 14

NC	Prefix	Example	Gloss	Stem	Gloss
14	(u)βu-	<i>uβusɔga</i>	goodness	-sɔga	good
14	(u)βu-	<i>uβuβɪ</i>	badness	-βɪ	bad
14	(u)βu-	<i>uβukulu</i>	bigness	-kulu	big
14	(u)βu-	<i>uβunwamu</i>	heaviness	-nwamu	heavy
14	(u)βu-	<i>uβotalɪ</i>	distance	-talɪ	long

The same correspondences can be observed between adjectives and nouns from class 1/2. When taking an adjective stem and adding a class 1 prefix, the resulting noun is a person who has the quality described by the adjective.

Table 3.1.2.8 Adjective to noun correspondence, class 1

NC	Prefix	Example	Gloss	Stem	Gloss
1	(u)mu-	<i>umsɔga</i>	good person	-soga	good
1	(u)mu-	<i>umβɪ</i>	bad person	-βɪ	bad
1	(u)mu-	<i>umkulu</i>	big person	-kulu	big
1	(u)mu-	<i>umnwamu</i>	heavy person	-nwamu	heavy

Table 3.1.2.9 Adjective to noun correspondence, class 2

NC	Prefix	Example	Gloss	Stem	Gloss
2	(a)βa-	<i>aβasɔga</i>	good people	-sɔga	good
2	(a)βa-	<i>aβaβɪ</i>	bad people	-βɪ	bad
2	(a)βa-	<i>aβakulu</i>	big people	-kulu	big
2	(a)βa-	<i>aβanwamu</i>	heavy people	-nwamu	heavy

Table 3.1.2.10 provides examples of noun to noun correspondence.

Table 3.1.2.10 Noun to noun correspondences

NC	Example	Gloss	NC	Example	Gloss
1/2	<i>umwr^mbaɣi</i>	singer(s)	11/10	<i>ulwr^mbɔ</i>	song(s)
1/2	<i>um̄nwile</i>	ill person(s)	14/6	<i>uβulwile</i>	illness(es)
1/2	<i>um̄pjani</i> / <i>aβapjani</i>	heir(s)	14	<i>uβupjani</i>	inheritance
1/2	<i>umwikadi</i> / <i>aβikadi</i>	inhabitant(s)	14	<i>uβwikadi</i>	life
1/2	<i>um̄jeβi</i> / <i>aβajeβi</i>	poor person(s)	14	<i>uβujeβi</i>	poverty
1/2	<i>um̄twi</i> / <i>aβatwi</i>	builder(s)	14	<i>uβutwi</i>	building
1/2	<i>um̄sɔga</i> / <i>aβasɔga</i>	beautiful person(s)	14	<i>uβusɔga</i>	taste / beauty
1/2	<i>um̄gaⁿga</i> / <i>aβagaⁿga</i>	medicine man	14	<i>uβugaⁿga</i>	medicine
1/2	<i>um̄nɔdi</i> / <i>aβalɔdi</i>	sorcerer(s)	14	<i>uβulɔdi</i>	witchcraft
1/2	<i>um̄paⁿga</i> / <i>aβapaⁿga</i>	healthy person(s)	14	<i>uβupaⁿga</i>	life
1/2	<i>um̄fwidu</i> / <i>aβafwidu</i>	dead person(s)	14	<i>ulɔfu</i>	death
			9	<i>r^mfwa</i>	mourning
1/2	<i>um̄ciⁿdi</i> / <i>aβaciⁿdi</i>	player(s)	3/4	<i>um̄ciⁿdɔ</i> / <i>imiciⁿdɔ</i>	game
1/2	<i>um̄numi</i> / <i>aβalumi</i>	farmer(s)	3/4	<i>um̄numɔ</i> / <i>imilumɔ</i>	work
1/2	<i>um̄saβa</i> / <i>aβasaβa</i>	owner(s)	9	<i>rⁿsaβɔ</i>	belongings / bride price
			8	<i>rⁿvisaβwa</i>	herd (of cattle)
1/2	<i>um̄bi</i> / <i>aβaβi</i>	wicked person(s)	5/6	<i>iβi</i> / <i>amaβi</i>	problem

Note that class 14 nouns normally just change their prefix; the suffix is the same as for class 1/2 nouns.

3.1.3. Diminutives, augmentatives, locatives, and pronominals

Diminutives can be derived from different noun classes. They constitute class 12 (singular) and class 13 (plural). To get the singular diminutive, (a)ka- is added to the nominal stem; the plural prefix is (u)tu-. For

some nouns, however, the class 12/13 prefix is added to the regular noun class prefix. In these cases, both noun class prefixes agree in number.

Table 3.1.3.1 Diminutives (singular)

NC	Example	Gloss	NC	Example	Gloss
1	<i>umwana</i>	child	12	<i>aka:na</i>	little child
	<i>umwaⁿce</i>			<i>akaⁿce</i>	little, tiny child
3	<i>umti</i>	tree	12	<i>akamti</i>	little tree
	<i>umnu^mbi</i>	story		<i>akamnu^mbi</i>	little story
5	<i>iwe</i>	stone	12	<i>akawe</i>	little stone
7	<i>ica^mbi</i>	knife	12	<i>aka^mbi</i>	little knife
9	<i>i^mbwa</i>	dog	12	<i>akabwa</i>	little dog
11	<i>ulu:di</i>	river	12	<i>akalu:di</i>	little river
14	<i>uβufe</i>	lie	12	<i>akaβufe</i>	little lie

Table 3.1.3.2 Diminutives (plural)

NC	Example	Gloss	NC	Example	Gloss
2	<i>aβana</i>	children	13	<i>utwana</i>	little children
4	<i>imiti</i>	trees	13	<i>utumiti</i>	little trees
6	<i>amawe</i>	stones	13	<i>utumawe</i> / <i>utuwe</i>	little stones
8	<i>ivja^mbi</i>	knives	13	<i>utwa^mbi</i> / <i>tuvja^mbi</i>	little knives
10	<i>i^mbwa</i>	dogs	13	<i>utubwa</i>	little dogs
14	<i>uβufe</i>	lie	13	<i>utuβufe</i>	little lies

Augmentatives can also be derived from different noun classes. They constitute class 5 (singular) and class 6 (plural). To get the singular augmentative, (*i*)li- or *i:* is added to the nominal stem; the plural prefix is (*a*)ma-. For some nouns, however, (such as the class 14 example in table 3.1.3.3) the class 5/6 prefix is added to the regular noun class prefix. For this type of example, the class 5/6 prefix is added in addition to, rather than instead of, the regular noun class prefix.

Table 3.1.3.3 Augmentatives (singular)

NC	Example	Gloss	NC	Example	Gloss
1	<i>umⁿtu</i>	person	5	<i>iliⁿtu</i>	giant
3	<i>umtwe</i>	head	5	<i>ilitwe</i>	big head
7	<i>ɪɔɯni</i>	bird	5	<i>ilyɔni</i>	big bird
9	<i>^mbwa</i>	dog	5	<i>ilibwa</i>	big dog
11	<i>ɔlodina</i>	name	5	<i>ɪlidina</i>	bad name
12	<i>akaⁿta^ɲgwa</i>	star	5	<i>iliⁿta^ɲgwa</i>	big star
14	<i>ɔβɔfɛ</i>	lie	5	<i>liβɔfɛ</i>	big lie

Table 3.1.3.4 Augmentatives (plural)

NC	Example	Gloss	NC	Example	Gloss
2	<i>aβaⁿtu</i>	people	6	<i>amaⁿtu</i>	giants
4	<i>mitwe</i>	heads	6	<i>amatwe</i>	big heads
8	<i>ɪvjɔni</i>	birds	6	<i>amɔɯni</i>	big birds
10	<i>^mbwa</i>	dogs	6	<i>amabwa</i>	big dogs
13	<i>ɔtuⁿta^ɲgwa</i>	stars	6	<i>amaⁿta^ɲgwa</i>	big stars
14	<i>ɔβɔfɛ</i>	lie	6	<i>maβɔfɛ</i>	big lies

The noun can become a locative noun with the addition of a class 16, 17, or 18 locative clitic stem-initially. The result of this process does not change the class of the noun. The original noun class of the noun still governs the agreement of its constituents in the noun phrase as shown in (30).

- (30) *a-id-ile* *a-ku-εⁿdeɟ-a* *^mpaka* *pá=ɲ-tɪ* *βw-a* *ma-tuⁿda*
 3SG-come-IPFV 3SG-PROG-drive-FV until 16=3-tree 3-ASS 6-fruit
 ‘He comes riding until the fruit tree.’

The locative that attaches to a noun word-initially is treated as a clitic because it joins the noun to make a single phonological word but acts independently syntactically.

Table 3.1.3.5 Independent pronouns

Person/no.	Form	Person/no.	Form
1SG	<i>u-neɲe</i>	1PL	<i>u-tweⁿsu</i>
2SG	<i>u-weɲwe</i>	2PL	<i>u-mweⁿsu</i>
3SG	<i>u-ŋ-kɔla</i>	3PL	<i>a-βa-kɔla</i>

There are six forms of the independent pronoun. The first and second person forms contain the class 1a augment *u-*. The 3SG form takes the class 1 augment and prefix while the 3PL takes the class 2 augment and prefix. The augment is not always present. The reasons for the augment's disappearance is yet to be determined.

Table 3.1.3.6 Interrogative pronouns

Form	Gloss	Example	Gloss
<i>ni</i>	who	<i>uŋⁿtu alawe u = ni</i>	'Who is this man?'
<i>ci</i>	what/which	<i>tuŋcite ci</i>	'What should we do with him?'
<i>pɛ</i>	where	<i>uli pɛ</i>	'Where are you?'
<i>ku ci</i>	why	<i>ku ci ukovwaⁿga vivjo</i>	'Why are you talking that way?'
<i>βule</i>	how	<i>wamɔna βule</i>	'How do you know?'
<i>-ⁿga</i>	how many	<i>vili ivikapo vinga</i>	'How many baskets are there?'

Six interrogative pronominal forms are present. In order to ask time questions a word referring to a time period (day, month, year, etc.) is followed by *ci*. The interrogative form *-ⁿga* is preceded by the noun class agreement of the head noun which is being questioned.

3.1.4. Possessives

Possessive pronouns follow the NP they modify and agree in number and noun class with the head NP. They can also appear without the head NP if context allows.

Table 3.1.4.5 Possessive pronoun agreement

NC	-ane	-ako	-akwe	-itu	-inu	-aβo
	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
1	wa:ne	wa:ko	wa:kwe	wi:tu	wi:nu	wa:βo
1a	wa:ne	wa:ko	wa:kwe	wi:tu	wi:nu	wa:βo
2	βa:ne	βa:ko	βa:kwe	βi:tu	βi:nu	βa:βo
3	βwa:ne	βwa:ko	βwa:kwe	βwi:tu	βwi:nu	βwa:βo
4	ja:ne	ja:ko	ja:kwe	ji:tu	ji:nu	ja:βo
5	lja:ne	lja:ko	lja:kwe	li:tu	li:nu	lja:βo
6	ga:ne	ga:ko	ga:kwe	gi:tu	gi:nu	ga:βo
7	ca:ne	ca:ko	ca:kwe	ci:tu	ci:nu	ca:βo
8	vja:ne	vja:ko	vja:kwe	vji:tu	vji:nu	vja:βo
9	ja:ne	ja:ko	ja:kwe	ji:tu	ji:nu	ja:βo
10	dya:ne	dja:ko	dja:kwe	dji:tu	dji:nu	dja:βo
11	lwa:ne	lwa:ko	lwa:kwe	lwi:tu	lwi:nu	lwa:βo
12	ka:ne	ka:ko	ka:kwe	ki:tu	ki:nu	ka:βo
13	twa:ne	twa:ko	twa:kwe	twi:tu	twi:nu	twa:βo
14	βwa:ne	βwa:ko	βwa:kwe	βwi:tu	βwi:nu	βwa:βo
15	kwa:ne	kwa:ko	kwa:kwe	kwi:tu	kwi:nu	kwa:βo
16	pa:ne	pa:ko	pa:kwe	pi:tu	pi:nu	pa:βo
17	kwa:ne	kwa:ko	kwa:kwe	kwi:tu	kwi:nu	kwa:βo
18	mwa:ne	mwa:ko	mwa:kwe	mwi:tu	mwi:nu	mwa:βo

Table 3.1.4.6 includes short forms of NP's that include a possessive pronoun.

Table 3.1.4.6 Possessive short forms

Short Form	Long Form	Gloss
sɔ:	isi + wa:ko	your father
ise	isi + wakwe	his father
βajisiβo	βajisi + βaβo	their fathers
nyɔko	nyina + wa:ko	your mother
mwana:ne	mwana + wa:ne	my child
mwanakɔ	mwana + wa:ko	your child
mwane	mwana + wakwe	his/her child

3.1.5. Demonstratives

This research found five categories of demonstratives. The class 1 forms of these demonstratives follow: 1) proximal (we 'this'), 2) distal (wele 'that'), 3) referential (wedɔ 'this/that one previously mentioned'), 4)

emphatic (*alawε(ε)* ‘this/that very one previously mentioned’), and 5) the emphatic proximal (*wenjenεwε* ‘this one right here’). The demonstratives can stand alone, precede, or follow the noun which they modify based on their pragmatic and discursal role in the utterance (Van de Velde 2019: 256).

Table 3.1.5.1: Demonstratives by noun class

Class	Prox (DEM1)	Dist (DEM2)	Ref (DEM3)	Emph. (DEM4)	Emph-prox (DEM5)
1	<i>wε</i>	<i>wεε</i>	<i>wεdɔ</i>	<i>alawε</i>	<i>wenjenεwε</i>
2	<i>βa</i>	<i>βaε</i>	<i>βaβɔ</i>	<i>alaβa</i>	<i>βanjenεβa</i>
3	<i>βu</i>	<i>βuε</i>	<i>βuβɔ</i>	<i>alaβu</i>	<i>βunjenεβu</i>
4	<i>jɪ</i>	<i>jɪε</i>	<i>jɪɔ</i>	<i>alajɪ</i>	<i>jɪnjenεjɪ</i>
5	<i>lɪ</i>	<i>lɪε</i>	<i>lɪɔ</i>	<i>alalɪ</i>	<i>lɪnjenεlɪ</i>
6	<i>ga</i>	<i>gaε</i>	<i>gaɔ</i>	<i>alaga</i>	<i>ganjenεga</i>
7	<i>cɪ</i>	<i>cɪε</i>	<i>cɪɔ</i>	<i>alacɪ</i>	<i>cɪnjenεcɪ</i>
8	<i>vi</i>	<i>viε</i>	<i>viɔ</i>	<i>alavi</i>	<i>vinjenεvi</i>
9	<i>jɪ</i>	<i>jɪε</i>	<i>jɪɔ</i>	<i>alajɪ</i>	<i>jɪnjenεjɪ</i>
10	<i>dɪ</i>	<i>dɪε</i>	<i>dɪɔ</i>	<i>aladi</i>	<i>dɪnjenεdɪ</i>
11	<i>lu</i>	<i>luε</i>	<i>luɔ</i>	<i>alalu</i>	<i>lunjenεlu</i>
12	<i>ka</i>	<i>kaε</i>	<i>kaɔ</i>	<i>alaka</i>	<i>kanjenεka</i>
13	<i>tu</i>	<i>tuε</i>	<i>tuɔ</i>	<i>alatu</i>	<i>tunjenεtu</i>
14	<i>βu</i>	<i>βuε</i>	<i>βuβɔ</i>	<i>alaβu</i>	<i>βunjenεβu</i>
15	---	---	---	---	---
16	<i>pa</i>	<i>paε</i>	<i>paɔ</i>	<i>alapa</i>	<i>panjenεpa</i>
17	<i>ku</i>	<i>kuε</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>alaku</i>	<i>kunjenεku</i>
18	<i>mu/ɱ</i>	<i>mule</i>	<i>ɱmɔ</i>	<i>alamu</i>	<i>ɱnjenεɱ</i>

The proximal category, in its spatial function, locates the modified noun in the space near to the speaker (Nicolle 2014: 127). In the Pear story commentaries, the proximal is used nine times. (31) shows the class 17 proximal demonstrative standing on its own.

- (31) *w-a-lɪʔg-ɪf-a* *kw-ijulu* *w-a-lɪʔg-ɪf-a* *ku* *ni* *ku*
 3SG-PRES-see-CAUS-FV 17 = up 3SG-PRES-see-CAUS-FV 17.DEM1 CONJ 17.DEM1
 ‘He looks up, he looks around him.’ (lit. ‘here and here’) (§7.1: 46)

(32b) shows the class 6 proximal demonstrative surfacing after the modified noun.

- (32a) *w-a-βá* *a-ku-daβ-a* *kó = m-ti*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-PROG-harvest-FV 17 = 3-tree
 ‘He was picking in the tree...’

- (32b) *ga-mwi* *ga* *li-mwi* *li-mă-w-a*
 6-one 6.DEM1 5-one 5-CONS-fall-FV
 ‘...some (of) these. Then one falls.’ (§7.2: 6)

The distal category, in its spatial function, locates the noun it modifies in the space outside of the immediate context of the speaker. In the Pear story commentaries, the distal is used 44 times. (33) shows the class 1 demonstrative replacing the noun.

- (33) *ni* *wε-lε* *u-w-a* *^m-budi* *wa-mă-pu:t-a*
 CONJ 1-DEM2 AUG-1-ASS 9-goat 3SG-CONS-pass_by-FV
 ‘And that (owner) of the goat, then he is passing by.’ (§7.1: 33)

(34) shows the class 12 distal demonstrative surfacing before the modified noun.

- (34a) *ka-lε* *a-ka-lumeⁿdo* *k-a-βá* *ka-a-vulal-ik-aⁿg-a,*
 12-DEM2 AUG-12-boy 12-PRES-NCOP 12-PRES-injure-STAT-PFV-FV
 ‘That boy is injured,’ (§7.1: 88)

- (34b) *ka-mă-nz-a* *u-ku-sukum-a*
 12-CONS-begin-FV AUG-15-push-FV
 ‘He begins to push.’ (§7.1: 88)

The referential category, in its spatial deictic function, shows the object is near to the addressee. In the Pear story commentaries, the referential is used ten times. Both occurrences are below. (35) shows the referential demonstrative surfacing after the modified noun.

- (35) *a-ku-βik-a* *m-fukɔ* *a-ku-daβ-a* *topu* *ma-tuⁿda* *gagɔ*
 3SG-PROG-put-FV 3-pocket 3SG-PROG-pick-FV only 6-fruit 6.DEM3
 ‘He is putting (them) in his pocket, he is just picking that fruit (previously mentioned).’
 (§7.1: 35)

(36) illustrates the class 1 referential demonstrative surfacing before the modified noun.

- (36) *wa-mă-βu:k-a wədɔ ʊ-m-lumɛⁿdɔ ni basikeli*
 3SG-CONS-leave-FV 1.DEM3 AUG-1-young man CONJ bicycle
 ‘Then that young man left with a bicycle.’ (§7.1: 76)

The emphatic category emphasizes the importance of the noun it delimits or refers to in the utterance. This category is created by attaching a prefix (*ala-*) to either the proximal or the distal demonstrative. (37) shows the emphatic demonstrative standing alone.

- (37) *a-ti luⁿdi ala-pa ʊ-nɔ w-a-ⁿg-iβ-il-a ɔni*
 3SG-say again DEM4-16 1-REL 3SG-PRES-OBJ.1SG-steal-APPL-FV INT
 ‘He said again, “At this very place the one who stole from me is whom?”’ (§7.1: 100)

(38) shows the emphatic demonstrative surfacing after the modified noun.

- (38) *i-ci-tabu ala-ci c-a-lí c-aⁿdik-w-ε ni luka*
 AUG-7-book DEM4-7 7-PRES-CPL 7-write-PASS-IPFV CONJ Luke
 ‘This very book was written by Luke.’ (Foreword to Gospel of Luke)

The emphatic proximal category emphasizes the proximity of the noun referred to in the utterance. (39) and (40) show the demonstrative standing alone. There are no examples of this type in the data where the modified noun is present in the same clause.

- (39) *ⁿ-kol-ile panjenɛpa*
 1SG-grow_up-IPFV 16.DEM5
 ‘I grew up right here.’ (Acts of the Apostles 22:3 Pimbwe Translation)

- (40) *ni wenjenɛwɛ, w-a-lí a-li pamwi na-wɛ*
 CONJ 1.DEM5 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-LCOP together CONJ-1.DEM1
 ‘...and this one right here was together with him...’ (Luke 22:56, New Testament)

3.1.6. Structure of NP

This section outlines and provides the attested order for modifiers in the noun phrase (NP). The modifiers discussed are as follows: demonstratives, possessive pronouns, quantifiers (QNT), numerals (NUM), size adjectives (SIZE), qualitative adjectives (QUAL), color adjectives (COL), and phrasal adjectives (PHRS). The latter set (PHRS) occurs in the form of associative (AC) and relative (RC) clauses (Van de Velde 2019: 160-1). An example of each type is shown in Table 3.1.6.1.

Table 3.1.6.1 Nominal modifiers

	DEM	PP	QNT	NUM	SIZE	QUAL	COL	PHRS (ASS/RC)
Example	<i>-lɛ</i>	<i>-anɛ</i>	<i>-cɛː</i>	<i>-βilɪ</i>	<i>-kulu</i>	<i>-tali</i>	<i>-swɛfu</i>	<i>-a kusaβwa/-nɔ -kɔɲwɪkɛ</i>
Gloss	those	my	small	two	big	long/tall	white	domesticated/broken

Nominal modifiers generally follow the head noun. The only regular exceptions are the demonstratives which appear on either side of the noun. The reasons for the variations in the order of the demonstrative and noun have yet to be determined. (41) shows a *SIZE* following the head noun.

- (41) *ʊ-m-tɪ* *ʊ-βʊ-tali*
 N SIZE
 AUG-3-tree AUG-3-tall
 ‘tall tree’

(42) provides a complete sentence where the head noun in the first NP is followed by a *NUM*. The second NP displays the head noun followed by a *QUAL*.

- (42) *ʊ-lu-siku lu-mwi* *ɪ^m-bwa* *ɪⁿ-ta^mvi* *j-a-lɪ* *ɪ-fum-ilɛ* *ɲɪ=kada*
 AUG-11-day 11-one AUG-9-dog AUG-9-crazy 9-PRES-CPL 9-happen-IPFV 18 = village
 ‘One day a crazy dog appeared in the village.’ (Mbwa kichaa: 1.1)

Constituent order is somewhat flexible, but there is a general order of NP constituents. The attested order follows: DEM2-4 > N > PP > DEM1-3 > QNT > DEM3 > NUM > SIZE > QUAL > COL > PHRS. Only one demonstrative can occur in a single noun phrase. For examples of demonstratives preceding the noun see (34) and (36) in §3.1.5.

(43) illustrates the head noun followed first by a PP and, phrase finally, by a DEM1.

- (43) *ʊ-m-tɪ* *βw-anɛ* *βʊ*
 N PP DEM
 AUG-3-tree 3-PP.1SG 3.DEM1
 ‘this tree of mine’ (lit. ‘tree my this’)

(44) and (45) provide similar environments where the position of the DEM changes in relation to the QNT depending on what type of DEM is employed in the NP. (44) gives an example of the QNT followed by a DEM3.

- (44) *ɪ-vi-ⁿtu* *vj-ɔⁿsɛ* *vivjɔ*
 N QNT DEM
 AUG-8-thing 8-PP.1SG 8.DEM3
 ‘all those things’

(45) demonstrates DEM1 following the head noun but preceding the QNT.

- (45) *ɪ-vi-nwɛ* *vi* *vj-ɔⁿsɛ*
 N DEM QNT
 AUG-8-finger 8-DEM1 8-all
 ‘all these fingers’

(46) shows the noun followed by the PP, QNT, and SIZE in that order.

- (46) *ɪ-mi-tɪ* *j-ɑnɛ* *j-ɔⁿsɛ* *ɪ-mi-kulɔ*
 N PP QNT SIZE
 AUG-4-tree 4-PP.1SG 4-all AUG-4-big
 ‘all my big trees’

(47) demonstrates how the NUM precedes the SIZE.

- (47) *ɪ-vj-ɛ^ɔgɛ* *vi-βɪɪ* *ɪ-vi-kulɔ*
 N NUM SIZE
 AUG-8-light 8-two AUG-8-big
 ‘two big lights’ (Genesis 1:16)

(48) shows the NUM coming after DEM1.

- (48) *ɪ-vi-nwɛ* *vi* *vi-tatu*
 N DEM1 NUM
 AUG-8-finger 8.DEM1 8-three
 ‘these three fingers’

In (49) the NUM follows the PP.

- (49) *ɪ-vi-nwɛ* *vj-a:nɛ* *vi-tatu*
 N PP NUM
 AUG-8-finger 8-PP.1SG 8-three
 ‘my three fingers’

(50) shows NUM following the QNT.

- (50) *ɪ-vi-nwɛ* *vj-ɔ̃ːnɛ* *vi-tatu*
 N QNT NUM
 AUG-8-finger 8-PP.1SG 8-three
 ‘my three fingers’

(51) gives the noun immediately followed by SIZE, then QUAL, COL, and finally a PHRS in the form of a relative clause (RC) (For more description of the RC see §3.3.2). The RC resides within an NP and follows the head noun of that NP.

- (51) *ɪ-ci-nwɛ* *ɪ-ci-tali* *ɪ-ci-nu* *ɪ-ci-fisu* [*ci-nɔ ci-kɔnw-ikɛ*]_{RC}
 N SIZE QUAL COL PHRS
 AUG-7-finger AUG-7-long AUG-7-fat AUG-7-black 7-REL 7-break-STAT.IPFV
 ‘long, fat, black, broken finger’

(52) illustrates SIZE, QUAL, then a PHRS in the form of an associative phrase (AP). For the purposes of this thesis an associative phrase is defined as having NC agreement + *a* followed by an adjective. Similar to the relative clause, the associative phrase resides within an NP and follows the head noun of that NP. In (52) SIZE and QUAL come between the head noun of the NP and the associative phrase. The associative normally surfaces with the augment. As also mentioned in §3.2.6 the augment is in need of more research.

- (52) *ɪ-mi-ti* *mi-cɛ* *ɪ-mi-sɔga* [*ɪ-j-a kale*]_{AP}
 N SIZE QUAL PHRS
 AUG-4-tree 4-small AUG-4-good AUG-4-ASS old
 ‘small, good, old tree’

Table 3.1.6.2 Associative

Class	augment - associative	Class	augment - associative
1	u-wa	10	ɪ-dja
2	a-βa	11	u-lwa
3	u-βwa	12	a-ka
4	ɪ-ja	13	u-twa
5	ɪ-lja	14	u-βwa

6	a-ga	15	u-kwa
7	i-ca	16	a-pa
8	i-vja	17	u-kwa
9	i-ja	18	u-mwa

3.2. Verbal characteristics

This chapter will cover verbal structure, TAM, object markers, verbal extensions, copular constructions, and compound verb forms.

3.2.1. Verbal structure

In Pimbwe a verb has the following characteristics: morphologically, it minimally consists of a root with a suffixed final vowel but often carries additional prefixes and suffixes. Syntactically, it has a predicate function in a sentence. Semantically, it expresses an event, an action, a process or a state.

The verbal morphemes and their slots have a predictable structure. The table shows the order in which different morphemes can occur in a Pimbwe verb. The positions in brackets are not always filled; the ones marked with asterisk (*) can contain more than one morpheme.

Table 3.2.1.1 Verb structure

Position	(1)	(2)	(3*)	(4)	5	(6*)	(7)	8	(9)
Name	Subj	Neg	TAM	Object	Root	Extensions	Aspect	Final	Post-final
Func. / content	SBJ	NEG	TNS	OBJ	verb root	APPL	PFV	-a	LOC
			ASP	REFL		CAUS	IPFV	-e	-ko
						STAT			-po
						PASS			-mo

Minimally, slots 5 and 8 must be filled, as in (53):

- (53) *βu:k -a*
 (5) (8)
 leave -FV
 'Leave!'

In commands such as in (53), the subject slot is not filled as it is assumed to be either second singular or plural depending on the context of the utterance. The subject agreement morpheme slot, when filled, matches in noun class with the subject noun. The subject agreement morphemes are shown in table 3.2.1.2.

Table 3.2.1.2 Subject agreement

Class	Agreement	Class	Agreement
1	n-/u-/a-	10	di-
2	tu-/m-/βa-	11	lu-
3	βu-	12	ka-
4	ji-	13	tu-
5	li-	14	βu-
6	ga-	15	ku-
7	ci-	16	pa-
8	vi-	17	ku-
9	ji-	18	m-

(54) shows a negated verb (slot 2) in the Present tense.

- (54) *wa-ta-lⁿg-a* *m-ⁿtu*
 (1) (2) (5) (8)
 wa- ta- lⁿg -a m- ⁿtu
 3SG- NEG- look -FV 1- person
 ‘He does not see anyone.’ (§7.1: 102)

(55) demonstrates a passivized verb (slot 6).

- (55) *n-a-su^mb-w-a*
 (1) (3) (5) (6) (8)
 n- a- su^mb -w -a
 1SG- PRES- throw -PASS -FV
 ‘I have been thrown out.’

(56) illustrates the habitual TAM (slot 3) along with the reflexive object (4) and applicative and causative extensions⁷ (slot 6).

- (56) *βa-kulu-li-dɔv-ɛd-j-a*
 (1) (3) (4) (5) (6) (6) (8)
 βa- kulu- li- dɔv -ɛl -j -a
 SBJ- HAB- REFL- err -APPL -CAUS -FV
 ‘They often make mistakes.’

⁷ The applicative, causative, and other extensions are discussed in §3.2.5.

(57) provides a verb including an object (4).

(57) *a-mă-βa-taⁿgaz-id-j-a*

(1)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(6)	(8)
a-	ma-	βa-	ta ⁿ gaz	-il	-j	-a
3.SBJ-	CONS-	OBJ-	announce	-APPL	-CAUS	-FV

‘He then announced to them...’

(58) illustrates a negated (2) verb along with the mainline TAM (3) in the second verb.

(58) *u-ta-f-a u-mă-j-a*

(1)	(2)	(5)	(8)	(1)	(3)	(5)	(8)
u-	ta-	∫	-a	u-	ma-	j	-a
2.SG-	NEG-	come	-FV	2.SBJ-	CONS-	go	-FV

‘You are not coming, you will go.’

Table 3.2.1.3 shows the subject agreement markers in slot (1) of the verb.

Table 3.2.1.3 Subject markers

Subject Marker	Function	Example	Gloss
n-	1 st pers. sing.	<i>nkupita</i>	‘I am walking’
u-	2 nd pers. sing.	<i>ukupita</i>	‘you are walking’
a-/w-	3 rd pers. sing.	<i>akupita/wapita</i>	‘she is walking’/‘she walks’
tu-	1 st pers. plural	<i>tukupita</i>	‘we are walking’
m-	2 nd pers. plural	<i>mukupita</i>	‘you (pl.) are walking’
βa-	3 rd pers. plural	<i>βakupita</i>	‘they are walking’

The primary negative marker (*ta-*) surfaces in verbal slot (2) as in (59).

(59) *atakupita*

a-	ta-	ku-	pit	-a
3.SG	NEG	PROG	‘walk’	FV

‘She is not walking.’

The secondary negative marker (*si-*) expresses negation of the action described by the verb in a mood other than the indicative. (60) and (61) illustrate the secondary negative marker.

(60) *nsicita*

n- si- crt -a
 1.SG NEG2 ‘do’ FV
 ‘I would not able to do (it).’

(61) *βasipata*

βa- si- pat -a
 3.PL NEG2 ‘find’ FV
 ‘They would not find...’

3.2.2. TAM

Nurse (2008: 91) states that Pimbwe has three past tenses and three future tenses. He presents compound verb constructions for each of the past tenses and a simple verb with either a preverbal TAM marker or a TAM affix and an aspectual suffix for the future tenses. In this analysis the TAM affixes are presented in this section while the compound verb construction options are presented in §3.2.3.

TAM markers in slot three are presented in table 3.2.2.1.

Table 3.2.2.1 TAM markers

TAM	Function	Example	Gloss
a-	present (PRES)	<i>wapitá</i>	‘she walks’
kù-	progressive (PROG)	<i>akupita</i>	‘she is walking’
ká-	middle past (PST2)	<i>akápita</i>	‘she walked’ (two days ago)
mǎ- (rising tone)	consecutive (CONS)	<i>amǎpita</i>	‘then she will walk’ (in a moment)
kǔ- (rising tone)	middle future (FUT)	<i>akǔtwadwaⁿga</i>	‘he will help us’ (later today)
lô- (falling tone)	distant future (FUT2)	<i>alôpita</i>	‘she will walk’ (distant future)
ⁿ ga-/ ⁿ da-	conditional mood (COND)	<i>rⁿgaleta/rⁿdaleta</i>	‘it would bring’
kulú-	habitual (HAB)	<i>akulupita</i>	‘he usually walks’

The near past (PST1) is not included in this table because it is shown by a compound verb construction and not a single TAM marker. For examples of PST1 see §3.2.3.

(62) shows an example of the Present marker (*a-*) in the second person singular which is signaled by the high tone on the TAM marker. The 2nd and 3rd singular are differentiated by tone (See §2.5.2).

(62) *wápita*

w-	a-	pit	-a
2SG-	PRES-	‘walk’	-FV
‘you walk...’			

The progressive marker (*ku-*) shows progressive aspect and when used without context is assumed to be the Present tense. This TAM marker can be used alone or paired with other TAM markers, specifically *mǎ-* and *ká-*.

(63a) *ⁿkupita*

n-	ku-	pit	-a
1SG-	PROG-	‘walk’	-FV
‘I am walking...’			

The PST2 marker (*ká-*) expresses middle past tense. When used in isolation, the action is generally understood as happening one or two days in the past. In (64a) the past tense marker (*ká-*), which is the middle past TAM marker, is paired with the imperfective verbal suffix *-ile*.

(64a) *tukágule*

tu-	ká-	gul	-ile
1PL-	PST2-	‘buy’	-IPFV
‘We bought...’			

In extended text as in (64b), the action results or depends upon a previous activity in some way.

(64b) *ijolo ndupífa ukoja ku = Timu ʷkálʷga ɪ-mi-zíʷga*

i-jolo	n-du-píʃ-a	u-ku-j-a	ku = Timu	n-ká-lɪʷg-a	ɪ-mi-zíʷga
5-one_day	1SG-FUT2-drive-FV	AUG-15-	16 = Timu	1SG-PST2-	AUG-5-bee
_removed		go		search-FV	
_from_today					
‘Tomorrow I will go to Timu, (and) search for bees...’					

In (65) the CONS marker (*mǎ-*) communicates that the verb’s action is the main event in a sequence of events. When used in an isolated utterance, the default time reference is certain, near future tense.

(65) *wamǎjida*

wa- ma- jid -a
3SG- CONS- come -FV
'...then she will come.'

In (66) the middle future marker (*kǔ-*) can signify the action will take place later in the same day.

(66) *a-kǔ-βu:k-a*

3SG-FUT-leave-FV

ulɔɔ-ɲɛɲɛ

now-just

'He will leave very soon.' (Grammar – Verb Phrase: 58)

In (67) the distant future marker (*lǔ-*) signals that the action will happen at some time in the remote future.

(67) *tolǔvjala*

tu- lǔ- vjal -a
1PL- FUT2- 'give birth' -FV
'We will give birth...'

In (68) the TAM marker (*kulǔ-*) communicates that the action has repetitive or habitual quality.

(68) *nkulupɛ:la*

n- kulǔ- pɛ:l -a
1SG- HAB- 'worship' -FV
'I am always worshiping.'

In (69) the conditional marker (*ⁿga-*) signals the action's execution is hypothetical in nature. The conditional marker has two surface forms *ⁿga-* and *ⁿda-* which are in free variation.

(69a) *ⁿdɪ walɪ uβɛ umajɪlɛ ilɛ:lɔ lɪ*

ⁿdɪ wa-lɪ u-β-ɛ u-majɪ-lɛ ɪ-lɛ:lɔ lɪ:
DEP 2SG-CPL 2SG-NCOP-FV 2SG-know-IPFV 5-today 5.DEM1
'If you had known this day...'

(69b) *ganɔ gaⁿgaletɔ uβutɛka:nu,*

ga-nɔ ga-ⁿga-lɛt-a u-βu-tɛka:nu,
6-REL 6-COND-bring-FV AUG-14-peace
'...what would bring peace...'

(69a-b) show a dependent clause followed by a relative clause which includes the hypothetical verb. The statement resolves in (69c) starting with a disjunctive morpheme and an imperfectly marked main verb. The two TAM markers show imbrication (see §2.6).

- (69c) *ɛ:lɔ gaʃisilwɛ pa = mⁱso ga:kɔ.*
 ɛ:lɔ ga-fis-il-wɛ pa = m-iⁿso g-a:kɔ
 but 6-hide-IPFV-PASS 16 = 6-eye 6-PP.2SG
 ‘...but it is hidden from your eyes.’ (Luke 19:42)

(70) and (71) show two markers in the TAM slot. (70) shows consecutive and progressive aspect. The future time reference is due to the meaning of *ma-* in an isolated utterance. To this point in the research, only *ku-* has been found to combine with other TAM markers.

- (70) *akumapita*
 a-ku-mă-pit-a
 3SG-PROG-CONS-walk-FV
 ‘She will be walking...’

(71) illustrates the use of two TAM markers and carries past progressive tense and aspect.

- (71) *akukapita*
 a-ku-ka-pit-a
 3SG-PROG-PST2-walk-FV
 ‘She was walking...’

(72) gives the middle future marker along with the perfective verbal suffix. This combination gives future tense and continuing aspect. In the future the perfective suffix signals that the action will be completed.

- (72) *akŭtwadwaⁿga*
 a-kŭ-tu-adw-aⁿg-a
 3SG-FUT-OBJ.1.PL-help-PFV-FV
 ‘She will have helped us.’

Now we turn our attention to aspectual suffixes. There are two in Pimbwe, *-ilɛ* and *-ang*. Both markers appear in the penultimate slot (7), but only *-ilɛ* subsumes the final vowel slot (8). The *-ilɛ* morpheme conveys imperfective aspect. It signals the action has already begun and has continuing relevance for the present time. The action may or may not be continuing into the present time, but its influence is felt at the time of the speech act. This differentiates the imperfective aspect from the

progressive. When translating into English, I use the progressive *to be* + *VERB-ing* in order to convey the imperfective aspect even though the imperfective marker does not specify whether the activity is still ongoing. (73) offers an example.

- (73) *βaciⁿkile*
 βa-ciⁿk-ilɛ
 3.PL-return-IPFV
 ‘They are returning...’

Now we move to the second aspectual suffix. Nurse states that *-aⁿg* has “straight (middle) past reference” in Pimbwe. He considers this an innovation because its function in the vast majority of Bantu languages is habitual, iterative, or durative (2008: 263). The perfective marker *-aⁿg* refers to the event as a whole and sees it from an external perspective without internal temporal reference. This form can be used for action that was completed in the immediate past which points away from a straight middle past time reference and toward perfective aspect. The final slot is filled by the final vowel *-a* unless the verb is in the subjunctive mood, then the final vowel surfaces as *-ɛ*.

(74) and (75) illustrate the perfective aspectual suffix. For more information on these aspectual suffixes see §4.5.

- (74) *βalɪctaⁿga*
 βa-lɪ-cɪt-aⁿg-a
 3.PL-REFL-do-PFV-FV
 ‘They did it to themselves.’

- (75) *wajidaⁿga*
 w-a-id-aⁿg-a
 3SG-PRES-come-PFV-FV
 ‘He came.’

3.2.3. Compound verb forms

Pimbwe frequently uses compound verb forms. The first verb of these sequences relates the tense while the second verb signals the aspect. Table 3.2.3.1 shows the verbs commonly used for the first verb.

Table 3.2.3.1 Auxiliary options of compound verb forms

TAM	Function	Example	Gloss
SBJ + a- + tí + V2	near past (PST1)	<i>watí akupita</i>	‘she was walking’ (today)
SBJ + a- + lí + V2	completive past (CPL)	<i>walí akupita</i>	‘she was walking’ (not anymore)
SBJ + a- + βá + V2	narrative (NCOP)	<i>waβá akupita</i>	‘and she was walking’

The verb /tí/ with a high tone is used as the first verb to signal near past time reference. Without the present *a-* TAM marker it precedes quoted speech (see §4.8).⁸ The completive form with a high tone /lí/ is used as the first verb of a compound verb to express actions that happened in the past and are now complete.

The narrative auxiliary copula (*-βa*) also surfaces with a high tone word finally. A natural English translation of this form would be ‘and SBJ was VERBing.’ Its discursal function in the Pear Story running commentaries is to show continuity with previous information. (76) shows the narrator expounding on the action of picking by the use of NCOP. (76a) introduces the action of picking immediately after the CONS marker. Then, (76b-c) mention that the farmer “was picking some of these. Then one falls.”

(76a) *wa-mǎ-j-a* *ṁí=ku-daβ-a* *a-ma-tuⁿda*
 3SG-CONS-go-FV 18=15-pick-FV AUG-6-fruit
 ‘Then goes in order to pick fruit.’

(76b) *w-a-βá* *a-ku-daβ-a* *kú=ṁ-ti*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-PROG-harvest-FV 17=3-tree
 ‘He was picking in tree...’ (§7.2: 5)

(76c) *ga-mwi* *ga* *li-mwi* *li-mǎ-w-a*
 6-one 6.DEM1 5-one 5-CONS-fall-FV
 ‘...some (of) these. Then one falls...’

As previously mentioned, the completive form also surfaces with a high tone word finally. If the second verb is vowel initial, this high tone appears on the subject prefix of the second verb in fast speech because of the Pimbwe tendency for vowel hiatus to result in the first verb assimilating to the second verb (see §2.7). The completive past tense has two main uses, the first locates the activity in the distant past as in (77).

⁸ An alternative analysis would be that the auxiliary near past tense form *-tí* is simply a homophone with no relation to the other, non-high toned *-ti* forms.

- (77) *Kw-a-lí* *ku-li* *u-lu-siku* *u-lu-mwi* *iⁿ-koⁿko* *j-a-lí* *i-taⁿgid-ilé*
 17-PRES-CPL 15- AUG-11- AUG-11- 9- 9-PRES-CPL 9-crow-IPFV
 LCOP day one chicken
 ‘There was one day a chicken (that) crowed.’ (§7.1:1)

The first use in (77) shows that the activity was taking place in the distant past and has now been completed. The second use surfaces in dependent clauses. The second use can be seen in (78a).

- (78a) *wé-lé* *u-baba* [*u-no* *w-a-lí* *a-li* *ku = m-ti*]_{RC}
 1-DEM2 1a-father 1-REL 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-LCOP 17 = 3-tree
 ‘This father who had been in the tree...’ (§7.2: 109)

- (78b) *wa-mă-aⁿz-a* *u-kw-ik-a* *ku = ⁿ-gazi*
 3SG-CONS-begin-FV AUG-15-descend 17 = 9-ladder
 ‘...begins to descend on the ladder.’ (§7.2: 110)

(78) shows the completive aspect use of the completive form. It is located in a relative clause and, for this reason, it does not specify for distant or recent past time reference. The purpose of the RC here is to identify which man is being discussed in the main clause of the utterance.

(79) again shows the use of the first verb to signal that the event took place in the past but the situation has now changed. Here the first verb (auxiliary) serves to show completive aspect, while the second verb (locative) serves to locate the subject spatially. Again, the compound verb form is in a dependent clause.

Formula: V1 [present TAM + CPL] + V2 (second verb)

- (79) *u-jɔma* [*pa-no* *w-a-lí* *a-li* *mⁿ-da* [*i-ja* *ⁿswi*]_{AC}]_{RC}
 1-Jonah 16-REL 3SG-PRES-CPL 3-LCOP 18 = belly 9-of 9-fish
 ‘As Jonah was located inside the stomach of the fish...’

(80) shows the remote past time reference in the first verb with the aspectual suffix /-ilɛ/ on the second verb which signals imperfective aspect. The following compound verb formula is used to express action with distant past time reference.

Formula: V1 [present TAM + CPL] + V2 [imperfective aspectual suffix /-ilɛ/]

- (80) *w-a-lí* *w-a-id-ilɛ*
 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-PRES-come-IPFV
 ‘He came...’

(81) shows progressive action in the remote past.

Formula: V1 [present TAM + CPL] + V2 [progressive TAM /ku-/]

- (81) *cila m-ⁿtu w-a-lí a-ku-j-a*
 each 1-person 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-PROG-go-FV
 ‘Each person was going...’

(82) shows action in the completive past shown by the first verb. The second verb shows perfective aspect reference. To clarify, the /-aⁿg/ aspectual suffix here signals that the speaker is viewing the action as a completed whole. This contrasts with the /-ilɛ/ aspectual suffix (80) which portrays the action with imperfective aspect. The second compound verb form shows the completive form followed by the copula.⁹

Formula: V1 [present TAM + CPL] + V2 [present TAM /a-/ + perfective aspectual suffix /-aⁿg/]

- (82) [*u-nɔ w-a-lí w-a-fu-aⁿg-a*]_{RC} *w-a-lí u = mu-ana*
 1-REL 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-PRES-die-PFV-FV 3SG-PRES-CPL COP = 3-child
 ‘The one who had died was a child...’ (Luke 7:12)

The forms of /-tɪ/ have a variety of uses. The uses are as follows: 1) it can signal direct speech, 2) in the infinitive form with an augment, it can be a conjunctive clausal marker (meaning ‘that; in order to’), or 3) it can be a near past time marker in a compound verb form. The form /*kutɪ*/ without the augment is used as an adverb (meaning ‘like; as’) and also should not be confused with the compound verb form use. (83-5) are examples of the third use of /-tɪ/ (See §4.8).

(83) shows the recent past (first verb) time reference, while the second verb shows perfective aspect reference.

Formula: [-tɪ] + V2 [present TAM /a-/ + perfective aspectual suffix /-aⁿg/]

- (83) *w-a-tɪ w-a-id-aⁿg-a u-lɔnɔ-njɛnɛ*
 3.SG-PRES-PST1 3.SG-PRES-come-PFV-FV AUG-now-only
 ‘He has come just now.’

In (84), (first verb) shows the recent past time reference, while the TAM of the second verb signals the progressive aspect reference.

Formula: V1 [/tɪ/ + V2 progressive TAM /ku-/]

- (84) *w-a-tɪ a-ku-tu^mp-a a-ma-kɔnde ɪ-lɛ:lɔ u-m-naβɔ*
 3.SG-PRES-PST1 3SG-PROG-pound-FV AUG-5-corn 9-today AUG-3-morning
 ‘She was pounding corn this morning.’

⁹ The default copula that signals present tense non-locative linkage is referred to in this thesis as ‘copula’.

(85) shows the compound use of the first verb to signal recent past time reference, while the aspectual suffix *-ilɛ* of (second verb) signals that the speaker views the action from an internal temporal perspective communicating that the activity has already begun.

Formula: V1 [-tʃ] + V2 [imperfective aspectual suffix /-ilɛ/]

- (85) *i-m-bu* *dj-a-tʃ* *di-n-dum-ilɛ* *u-βu-siku* *na* *pɛ*
 AUG-10-mosquito 10-PRES-PST1 10-1SG-bite-IPFV AUG-14-night CONJ INT
 ‘The mosquitos were biting me all night.’

(86) shows the compound use of V1 [{*ká*-} + CPL] + V2 [perfective aspectual suffix {-*aʎg*}] to signal the middle past (first verb) time, while the aspectual suffix signals perfective aspect.

Formula: V1 [/ká-/ + CPL] + V2 [perfective aspectual suffix /-aʎg/]

- (86) *a-ká-lí* *w-a-jid-aʎg-a* *i-ɟɔɔ*
 3SG-PST2-CPL 3SG-PRES-come-PFV-FV 5-one_day_removed_from_today
 ‘She had come yesterday.’

3.2.4. Object marker

The object marker occurs in verbal slot (4). The 2PL and 3PL object markers are indistinguishable except through the context of a sentence or discourse. When the 1SG precedes a bilabial plosive, it is distinguishable from the syllabic 3SG object marker as the former is not syllabic while the latter is syllabic.

Table 3.2.4.1 Class 01/02 object markers

Object Marker	Person
n-	1 st singular
ku-	2 nd singular
m-	3 rd singular
tu-	1 st plural
βa-	2 nd plural
βa-	3 rd plural

- (87) *akontɪfa*
 a-ku-n-tɪ-f-a
 3SG-PROG-OBJ.1SG-‘fire’-CAUS-FV
 ‘She is firing me.’

- (88) *akukunɛna*
 a-ku-ku-nɛ:n-a
 3SG-PROG-OBJ.2SG-tell-FV
 ‘She is telling you...’
- (89) *akumwita*
 a-ku-mu-it-a
 3SG-PROG-OBJ.3.SG-call-FV
 ‘She is calling him.’
- (90) *akuβakana*
 a-ku-βa-ka:n-a
 3SG-PROG-OBJ.2PL-reject-FV
 ‘She is rejecting you (pl.).’
- (91) *akuβanɛna*
 a-ku-βa-nɛ:n-a
 3SG-PROG-OBJ.3PL-tell-FV
 ‘She is telling them.’

The object markers for all 18 noun classes are listed in Table 3.2.4.2.

Table 3.2.4.2 Object marker agreement

Class	Agreement	Class	Agreement
1	mu-	10	di-
2	βa-	11	lu-
3	βu-	12	ka-
4	ji-	13	tu-
5	li-	14	βu-
6	ga-	15	ku-
7	ci-	16	ku-
8	vi-	17	pa-
9	ji-	18	mu-

3.2.5. Extensions

The term extension is used here to refer to a verbal suffix that causes verbal derivation. All names for extensions mentioned in this section come from comparative Bantu language studies (Schadeberg & Bostoen 2019: 181-185). Verbal extensions have a wide variety of uses in Pimbwe. The most widely used

extensions are the applicative, causative, reversative, stative, and passive. The first three can be used with intransitive and transitive verbs while the latter two can only be used with transitive verbs as they decrease the verb's valence by one.

The applicative and causative each increase the verb's valence by one argument. When both the applicative and causative are added to a single intransitive verb, the verb's valence increases by two arguments. (92a) shows *-put* 'pass' in its intransitive state. (92b) shows the same verb with the applicative and causative extensions. This results in an increase of the verb's valence by two.

- (92a) *sɔ̌ka tu-lɛk-ɛ Iⁿ-sipɔ̌ɔ I-put-ɛ*
 first 1PL-wait-FV AUG-9-holiday 9-pass-FV
 'first let's let the holiday pass...' (Mark 14:2)
- (92b) *wa-mă-m-pus-id-j-a u-βw-ɛsɔ̌*
 3SG-CONS-OBJ-pass-APPL-CAUS-FV AUG-14-breath
 'He caused breath to pass through him...' (Genesis 2:7)
- (92c) *wa-mă-du-ul-a Iⁿ-daru*
 3SG-CONS-surface-REV-FV AUG-9-sandal
 'Then he removed his sandal...' (Ruth 4:8)
- (92d) *mpaka ulɔ̌nɔ̌ I-ta-a-maŋ-ik-ɛ ku-nɔ̌ j-a-j-ilɛ*
 until now 9-NEG-PRES-know-STAT-IPFV 17-REL 9-PRES-go-IPFV
 'Until now it is not known where it went.' (Ngoma 1.16)
- (92e) *I-viⁿ-tu vi-nɔ̌ vi-fis-il-w-ɛ vi-lô-βa a-pa-swɛfu*
 AUG-8-thing 8-REL 8-hide-IPFV-PASS-FV 17-FUT2-NCOP AUG-16-clear
 'Things that were hidden will be clear.' (Luke 8.17)

The reversive extension (92c) communicates the opposite action of the original verb. This extension does not effect the valence of the verb. Its surface form varies depending on whether it is used with a transitive or intransitive verb (see Table 3.2.5.1 below).

The stative extension (92d) signals that the action of the active verb has become a state of being. As mentioned above, both the stative and passive extensions (92e) lower the valence of the verb by one argument by causing the object of the active verb to move to the subject position while the original subject becomes an optional oblique.

The most productive verb extensions are as follows:

Table 3.2.5.1 Verb extensions

Function	Morpheme	Example	Gloss	With ext.	Gloss
reciprocal	-an	<i>polika</i>	‘hear’	<i>polikana</i>	‘agree’
causative	-iʃ, -j/-ʃ	<i>polika</i>	‘hear’	<i>polikɪʃa</i>	‘listen’
applicative	-ɛl, -il	<i>pita</i>	‘walk’	<i>pitila</i>	‘walk to’
		<i>tuul</i>	‘put’	<i>tuulila</i>	‘put for’
		<i>nuⁿk</i>	‘have an odor’	<i>nuⁿkɪlila</i>	‘smell good’
reversive	-ɔl, -ul, -ul	<i>dwa</i>	‘surface’	<i>du:la</i>	‘remove from the surface’
	(trans.)				
	-ɔ(n)k, - u(n)k (intrns.)	<i>paⁿgata</i>	‘be laid down’	<i>paⁿgatuka</i>	‘be raised up’
stative	-ik, -ɛk	<i>maja</i>	‘know’	<i>majuka</i>	‘be known’
passive	-w	<i>leⁿga</i>	‘create’	<i>leⁿgwa</i>	‘be created’

The extensions that are present in Pimbwe but are either no longer productive or highly restricted in their productivity are listed in Table 3.2.5.2 (Schadeberg & Bostoen 2019: 181-185).

Table 3.2.5.2 Less productive extensions

Function	Morpheme	Example	Gloss
contactive	-at	<i>pangata</i>	‘be laid down’
positional	-am	<i>njama</i>	‘spread’
extensive	-al	<i>nja:la</i>	‘shrivel’

The extensions in Table 3.2.5.2 have not been found to be productive, but this may be an accidental gap in the data.

3.2.6. Copular constructions

There are three copulas in Pimbwe: 1) the copula (COP), in (93), which surfaces as *u-* on the speech act participant forms (1st, 2nd person), listed in (94-97) below; 2) the locative copula (*-li*) (LCOP); and 3) the narrative copula (*-βa*) (NCOP).

When the copula subject (CS) is a non-participant (3rd person) the copula is uniformly *u-* in the present tense.

- (93) *u-m-kɔla* *u=m-talɪ*
 AUG-1-3SG.PRO COP = 1-tall
 ‘She is tall.’

The copula appears in the following forms in utterances involving only participants (1st and 2nd person) (Dixon 2010: 334, 338). The independent pronouns (listed as the first word in examples 94-97) are not an essential part of the copular construction but they have been included to show the similarity in form between the pronoun and the copula with which it is associated.

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| (94) | <i>u-ne-ne</i> | <i>(u)ne</i> | <i>ṁ-tali</i> |
| | 1SG.PRO | COP.1SG | 1-tall |
| | 'I am tall.' | | |
| | | | |
| (95) | <i>u-we-we</i> | <i>(u)we</i> | <i>ṁ-tali</i> |
| | 2SG.PRO | COP.2SG | 1-tall |
| | 'You are tall.' | | |
| | | | |
| (96) | <i>u-tweⁿsu</i> | <i>(u)twe</i> | <i>ṁ-tali</i> |
| | 1PL.PRO | COP.1PL | 1-tall |
| | 'We are tall.' | | |
| | | | |
| (97) | <i>u-mwe-mu</i> | <i>(u)mwe</i> | <i>ṁ-tali</i> |
| | 2PL.PRO | COP.2PL | 1-tall |
| | 'You (PL) are tall.' | | |

The participant copula has an augment that is only sometimes present. Further research is needed to determine in which environments the augment is absent. The non-participant present tense copula (*u* =) is a clitic which attaches to the copula complement (CC). The CC in a copular clause can function to 1) describe the copula subject (CS) (attribution), 2) show something is equal to the CS (identity), 3) show possession, or 4) show where the CS is located (location).

Many Bantu languages have a copula for temporary states and a separate copula for permanent states (Nicolle 2013: 285-306). Some have a third copula to express location. Notice that (98a-c) are temporary states but the copula is still used. Pimbwe is in the minority of Bantu languages in that it has a single copula used for permanent and temporary states that are not locations as well as an additional copula used for locations (Gibson, Guérois, Marten 2019: 213-242).

- | | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| (98a) | <i>saji</i> | <i>u =</i> | <i>ṁ-gɔlɔ</i> |
| | now | COP | 3-evening |
| | 'Now it is evening.' (Mark 6:35) | | |
| | | | |
| (98b) | <i>u-ṁ-hala</i> | <i>w-a-ne</i> | <i>u = ṁ-lwile</i> |
| | AUG-1-girl | 1-PP.1SG | COP 1-sick |
| | 'The girl is sick.' (Mark 5:23) | | |

Both (102a) and (102b) show the CS as “you.” The CC in (102a) is a proximal demonstrative describing the location of the CS, so the locative copula is present. The CC in (102b) is an adjective describing the CS, so the copula is present.

- (102a) *uweuwe u-li pa*
 PRO.2SG 2SG-LCOP 16.DEM1
 ‘You are here.’
- (102b) *uweuwe u-we m-kulu*
 PRO.2SG AUG-COP.2SG 1-important
 ‘You are important.’

The NCOP is /-βa/. It takes a subject marker, TAM marker, and sometimes an aspectual suffix. In (103-5), two copulas surface in the same clause. When it is the first verb in a compound verb construction, it functions as an auxiliary expressing continuation of the mainline information in that particular clause. In each example the first verb shows tense and the second verb acts as the connector describing the relationship between CS and CC.

- (103) *a-lô-βa u = wikɔɔ*
 3SG-FUT2-NCOP COP = important person
 ‘He will be (an) important person.’
- (104) *u-lô-βa we ka-meme*
 2SG-FUT2-NCOP COP.2SG 12-deaf
 ‘You will be deaf.’ (Luke 1:20)
- (105) *a-lô-βa a-li u-lu-βali lu-inu*
 3SG-FUT2-NCOP 3SG-LCOP AUG-11-side 11-PP.2PL
 ‘He will be on your side.’

When the NCOP is not functioning grammatically as an auxiliary, it carries the copular role (in either past or future time) of linking two arguments without adding additional verbal meaning. (106a) displays its copular function in the future tense. (106a) shows the NCOP standing alone and linking the CS (whose agreement is encoded in the copula) with the CC that follows. (106b) shows the NCOP preceded by the subject prefix + /a-/ signaling present or recent past time reference. The first copula (*ljaβá*) in a compound verb provides time reference and the second (*ljaβaⁿga*) carries the aspect.

As mentioned previously, when the copula complement (CC) is a location /*li*/ is the copula used. The locative copula takes a subject prefix. The use of the previously mentioned locative copula in Pimbwe is used to signal location and should not be confused with the completive auxiliary (See §3.2.3). (110) and (111) show the locative use.

- (110) *u-li* *kú = ka:da*
 2SG-LCOP 17 = home
 ‘You are at home.’
- (111) *βa-li* *mw = i-swa*
 3PL-LCOP 18 = 5-bush
 ‘They are in the bush (country).’

The completive form of the copula takes the present TAM marker /*a-*/ and has a high tone on the ultimate syllable /*li*/ signifying the completive form. This form surfaces in a compound verb form and signals completion of the activity mentioned. This form only appears on its own and not as a TAM marker in other verbs. This is distinguished from the LCOP in that the latter does not have a high tone nor can it appear with the PRES TAM marker.

The completive form has two related functions which differ only with respect to the specificity of their time reference. In a dependent clause it can refer either to the distant or recent past. In an independent clause it signals only distant past time. (112-3) show the completive use in compound verb forms. The completive form in (112) and (113) occurs in independent clauses, so their function is distant past time reference.

- (112) *W-a-li* *u = mw-εnε*
 3SG-PRES-CPL COP = 1-king
 ‘He was king.’
- (113) *kw-a-li* *ku-li* *u-ṁ-ⁿtu* *u-ṁ-mwi*
 16-PRES-CPL 16-LCOP AUG-1-person AUG-1-one
 ‘There was one person...’

The completive marker in (114b) is in a dependent (relative) clause, so its function is completive aspect and does not specify for recent or distant past time reference.

- (130) *m-maŋ-ile* [*ukotr* *u-ŋga-m-pɔd-j-a*]_{cocl} *ni* *ku-n-fupulok-a*
 1SG-know-IPFV COMP 2SG-COND-OBJ-heal-CAUS-FV CONJ 15-OBJ-be_clean-FV
 'I know that you can heal me and I will be clean.' (Mark 1:40)

3.3.2. Relative clause

The relative clause in Pimbwe is signalled by a relative concord which has the following parts [noun class prefix (set two) + *-nɔ*]. The relative concord takes the second set of noun class agreement markers (See §3.1.1). The following table displays the possible noun class prefixes and the kinds of relative clauses they signal.

Table 3.3.2.1 Relative marker

Class Prefix	Class No.	Surface form	Rel. Clause Type	Gloss
<i>u-</i>	1	<i>unɔ</i>	person	who; whom
<i>βa-</i>	2	<i>βanɔ</i>	people	who; whom
<i>βu-</i>	3	<i>βunɔ</i>	matter	which
<i>ji-</i>	4	<i>jɪnɔ</i>	matter	which
<i>li-</i>	5	<i>linɔ</i>	matter	which
<i>ga-</i>	6	<i>ganɔ</i>	matter	which
<i>ci-</i>	7	<i>cinɔ</i>	matter	which
<i>vi-</i>	8	<i>vinɔ</i>	manner/matter	how/which
<i>ji-</i>	9	<i>jɪnɔ</i>	matter	which
<i>di-</i>	10	<i>dinɔ</i>	matter	which
<i>lu-</i>	11	<i>lunɔ</i>	matter	which
<i>ka-</i>	12	<i>kanɔ</i>	person/matter	who/whom/which
<i>tu-</i>	13	<i>tunɔ</i>	people/matter	who/whom/which
<i>βu-</i>	14	<i>βunɔ</i>	matter	which
<i>pa-</i>	16	<i>panɔ</i>	time	when
<i>ku-</i>	17	<i>kunɔ</i>	location	where
<i>ŋ-</i>	18	<i>ŋnɔ</i>	location	in which, in whom

The relative concords with the widest semantic range are classes 8 (*vinɔ*) and 16 (*panɔ*). *panɔ* can be used as a connective meaning 'while' with similar clause construction to the Ngazidja language (G44A) (Patin, Mohamed-Soyir & Kisseberth 2019: 611).

(131a) shows a relative clause using the class 1 relative concord in Pimbwe. The common argument is the subject of the RC matching the word order of Simbiti (JE431) (Aunio, Robinson, Roth, Stegen & Walker 2019: 527).

- (131a) *ʊ-m-lumɛⁿdɔ* [*ʊ-nɔ* *w-a-lɪ* *a-ɛk-ilɛ* *ɪⁿ-kɔʃila*]_{RC}
 AUG-1-young man 1-REL 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-leave-IPFV 9-hat
 ‘The young man who left the hat...’ (§7.1: 84)

(133b) shows the adverb preceding the relative marker *vinɔ* ‘how’ which functions to imbed a relative clause of manner inside the the adverbial clause.

4. Implications in extended text

In this chapter two Pear Story running commentaries are used as extended texts. Because Pimbwe is a verb dominant language, this chapter will focus on the verb phrase. I use the phonological and grammatical information presented in chapters two and three in order to further communicate the organization of the grammatical information as it is presented by the narrators.

For the purposes of this chapter, I refer to two levels of activity in the commentaries (following Longacre 1986: 61). Level one activity is action signalled by a verb that is deemed of primary importance for the narrator and presented by the consecutive marker. This first level acts to move the commentary forward by adding new development to the story. Level two activity is action signalled by the verb that does not move the commentary forward in time. This supplementary information is often backgrounded and/or expresses further elaboration.

The following patterns can be seen in both commentaries. The commentaries begin with the CPL copula in a compound verb form to set the scene and introduce the characters. When a level one action takes place after the introduction of the setting and initial action, it is marked with the CONS marker *mǎ-*. As the commentary continues, level two action is marked by the present marker either standing alone or in the first verb of a compound verb in combination with another TAM marker or aspectual suffix in the second verb.

The NCOP is commonly used as the first verb of a compound verb to show connection with the immediately preceding information. The new information that was introduced by the consecutive marker is now presented in the present which is communicated by the PRES marker. It gives the details of a previously mentioned level one activity and details the process of the action introduced by CONS. In the following sections we work through these scenarios one at a time as they appear in the Pear Story commentaries. Figure 4.1 offers a visual representation (from the perspective of the hearer) of the previously mentioned TAM functions.

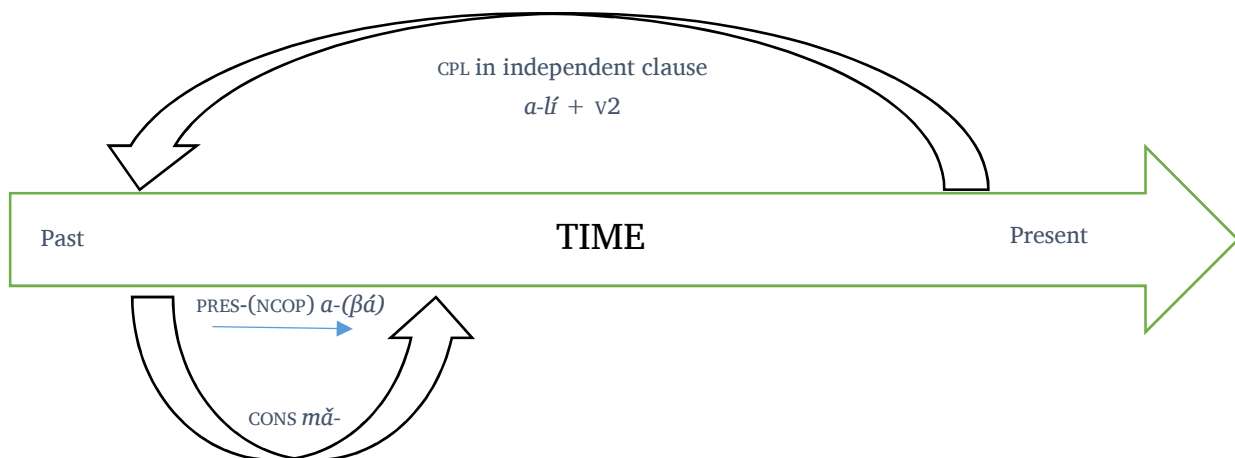


Figure 4.1 TAM effects on time

The order of TAM use is 1) the completive compound verb used in an independent clause takes the hearer from the present into the remote past time of the video's activities. It is used to set the stage, introduce characters and objects of importance. In a dependent clause it signals the completion of the action and functions to background that action. 2) the consecutive marker introduces new, dynamic activity to the hearer, moving the mainline information forward. 3) the present marker follows the introduction of new information in order to return to this information and combines with various TAM markers to give more context to the situation. Let us begin by presenting evidence for the completive compound verb as it transports the listener into remote past time.

4.1. Time reference

The initial means of communicating time reference in extended text is through the use of the copula in a compound verb form. An utterance will use the compound verb to set the background for the following event while introducing the setting and characters one by one. As mentioned in §3.2.3, the auxiliary conveys the time reference while the second verb gives the aspect. For the commentary examples, the time of the video is set in the distant past. Moving forward, the tense finds its reference point based on this distant past orientation and moves by the presentation of consecutive activity as we see in §4.2.

(134-5) offer evidence that the SBJ-a-*lĩ* + v2 shows distant past time in an independent clause. The first commentary begins as follows.

- (134a) *Kw-a-lĩ* *ku-li* *u-lu-siku* *u-lu-mwi* *lⁿ-kɔⁿkɔ* *j-a-lĩ* *i-taⁿgɪd-ile*
 17-PRES-CPL 15- AUG-11- AUG-11- 9- 9-PRES-CPL 9-crow-IPFV
 LCOP day one chicken
 'There was one day a chicken (that) was crowing.' (§7.1: 1)

- (134b) *j-a-lĩ* *i-taⁿgɪd-ile* *mala* *m-bili*
 9-PRES-CPL 9-crow-IPFV time 9-two
 'It was crowing a second time.' (§7.1: 2)

- (135a) *kw-a-lĩ* *ku-li* *u-wikɔlɔ* *u-m-mwi*
 17-PRES-CPL 15-LCOP 1a-elder AUG-1-one
 'there was one elder person...' (§7.1: 3)

- (135b) *w-a-lĩ* *a-tag-ilē* *mi-tĩ* *ĩ-j-a* *ma-tuⁿda*
 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-climb-IPFV 4-tree AUG-6-ASS 6-fruit
 'he was climbing fruit trees.' (§7.1: 4)

The scene is set in the distant past in (134a), in (135a) the character is introduced which is also set in the distant past, the character's previous climbing of the tree is introduced in (135b) which is again set in the far past.

The second narrator also sets the scene with the use of the distant past auxiliary copula. (136) uses this tense.

- (136a) *ĩ-ŋ-kɔkɔ* *j-a-lĩ* *ĩ-βĩlk-ilē*
 AUG-9-chicken 9-PRES-CPL 9-crow-IPFV
 'The chicken was crowing.'

- (136b) *j-a-lĩ* *ĩ-βĩlk-ilē* *ũ-lw-a* *βũ-βĩlĩ.*
 9-PRES-CPL 9-crow-IPFV AUG-11-ASS 14-two
 'He was crowing a second time.' (§7.2:1-2)

From this point, the commentaries move forward in time by the use of the consecutive marker *mǎ-* which is discussed in §4.2.

4.2. Consecutive event marker

Before continuing with the Pear Story commentaries, an explanation of the consecutive marker *mǎ-* will aid the reader's understanding. The consecutive marker is used frequently in the commentaries in focus. In an extended utterance the marker *mǎ-* communicates consecutive activity (CONS). As mentioned in 3.2.2, if it is used in isolation, its default meaning is certain, near future time due to its consecutive reference.

Because of its consecutive meaning *mǎ-* is used in extended text to signify the level one verbal action that moves the commentary to a new sequence of dynamic activity thus the CONS label (§7.1:20).

In (137) the first clause is independent and introduces new information. After introducing the kerchief that is around the gardener's neck in a previous clause, the narrator introduces the new action of untying the kerchief using *mǎ-*. The next clause gives the details of what the gardener is doing with the kerchief after he unties it. This introduction of new verbal action is also accompanied by *mǎ-*.

- (137) *wa-mă-fuⁿgu-a* *ɪ-ci-ta^mbala* *m̃ = siⁿgɔ* *wa-mă-aⁿg-a* *u-ku-pjil-a* *ɪ-mi-saⁿga*
 3SG-CONS-tie- AUG-7- 18 = neck 3SG-CONS-begin- AUG-15- AUG-4-
 FV kerchief FV wipe-FV sand
 'Then he ties the kerchief around his neck, then he begins to wipe away the sand.'
 (7.1:20)

Now we return to the order of the commentaries. (138) immediately follows the CPL introduction statements.

- (138a) *ga-ku-kɔm-a* *a-ma-tuⁿda* *a-mă-j-a* *m̃ = ku-daβ-a* *a-ma-tuⁿda*
 6-PROG-mature-FV AUG-6-fruit 3SG-CONS-go-FV 18 = 15-pick-FV AUG-6-fruit
 'The fruit is ripening, then he goes (in order) to harvest fruit.' (§7.1: 5)
- (138b) *w-a-βá* *a-ku-daβ-a* *a-ku-βik-a* *m̃ = m-fukɔ*
 3SG-PRES.NCOP 3SG-PROG-pick-FV 3SG-PROG-put-FV 18 = 3-pocket
 'He was harvesting and putting in a pocket,' (§7.1: 6)
- (138c) *ga-mwi* *g-a-βá* *ga-ku-w-a* *pá = ⁿsi*
 6-one 6-PRES-NCOP 6-PROG-fall-FV 16 = 9-ground
 '...some were falling on the ground.' (§7.1: 7)

(138a) contains new information. The man begins dynamic movement signalled by CONS which is then followed by an adverbial clause of purpose giving the reason for his new movement. (138b) refers back to the previously mentioned new information using PRES accompanied by NCOP. In order to better understand the PROG aspect of *ku-* and its functions in (138a) and (138c), we now turn our attention to the ways progressive aspect is employed in Pimbwe.

4.3. Progressive marker *ku-*

In the previous set of examples, the initial clause of (138a) is independent. The *ku-* marker is used by the narrator to communicate the progressive nature of the ripening ('the fruit is ripening') as a backdrop and motivation for the level one activity of 'going'. The level one activity is followed by a dependent purposive clause to tell the hearer the reason for the farmer's going.

In (138b), the compound verb form using the NCOP as V1 gives more details of the farmer's activities which were previously summarized by the 'going in order to pick'. Here the narrative copula serves to continue explaining the process of the activity that was previously introduced by the CONS marker. In this way, the present marker gives the action in the immediate past (which was presented by the consecutive *mă-* when first mentioned) as it is moving toward the present. (138c) again illustrates the use

for’ is not deemed a dynamic action in this instance. The class 18 locative clitic attached to ‘basket’ conveys the object of the previous action ‘looking for’.

- (141a) *wa-mă-aⁿg-a* *u-kw-ik-a* *kú=ⁿ-gazi*
 3SG-CONS-begin-FV AUG-15-descend 17=9-ladder
 ‘Then he begins to descend on the ladder.’ (§7.2:110)
- (141b) *ⁿdi* *a-kw-ik-a* *a-ku-lrⁿg-a* *ni=ci-kapɔ*
 DEP 3SG-PROG-descend-FV 3SG-PROG-look_for-FV 18=7-basket
 ‘As he is descending he is looking for the basket.’ (§7.2:111)

After having looked at the progressive marker and dependent marker, we turn our attention to the aspectual suffixes.

4.5. Aspectual suffixes

The perfective suffix *-aⁿg* and the imperfective suffix *-ile* represent two contrasting ways of perceiving the internal make up of an activity. The PFV suffix (*-aⁿg*) conveys the event from an external perspective seeing it as a single whole without regard for its internal temporal make up. On the contrary, the IPFV suffix (*-ile*) focuses on the activity’s internal temporal make up. It specifically draws the hearer’s attention to the fact that the action has already begun. First, let us observe the narrators’ use of the perfective suffix.

4.5.1. Perfective suffix *-aⁿg*

Because THE PFV *-aⁿg* describes the event as a unified whole without respect to internal time reference, it is commonly used as a flashback device. The example below illustrates this common use.

- (142a) *w-a-lí* *a-li* *ni* *ⁿ-taⁿtlɔ*
 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-LCOP COM 9-ladder
 ‘He had a ladder.’ (§7.1: 8)
- (142b) *ku-* *w-a-lí* *w-a-paⁿd-aⁿg-a* *a-mi-ik-a* *u-ku-fum-a* *kú=ⁿ-taⁿtlɔ*
nɔ
 17- 3SG-PRES- 3SG-PRES- 3SG-CONS- AUG-15- 17=9-ladder
 REL CPL ascend-PFV-FV descend-FV originate-FV
 ‘Where he had climbed, he (now) descends from the ladder...’ (§7.1: 9)

In the example above, the ladder is introduced via the CPL copula which is showing distant past time as it is introducing a new element to the story, namely the ladder. This is followed by a RC which notifies the hearer of where the harvester had previously been located. This is signalled by the V1

completive past use of CPL (in a dependent clause) followed by the present TAM and perfectly suffixed V2. The flashback places the man high in the tree as a result of his previous climbing. What follows the RC is the level one reversal of this activity. The farmer uses the ladder (just previously introduced to the scene with CPL in an independent clause) as the means of descent. The descent is then mentioned using CONS to continue the dynamic action.

- (143a) *ni wε-le w-a-βá a-ku-εⁿdεl-ie*
 CONJ 1-DEM2 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-PROG-continue-FV
 '...and that one has been continuing.'

- (143b) *ni w-a-paⁿd-a^gg-a kú = m̃-ti*
 CONJ 3SG-PRES-climb-PFV-FV 17 = 3-tree
 'And he has climbed into the tree.' (§7.2: 34, 35)

Again, in (143a) the second narrator reiterates the harvester's current activity using the first verb NCOP followed by the second verb marked with the progressive TAM. She then mentions how the harvester arrived at his current location by referring back to the harvester's previous climbing into the tree which is signalled by the present (*a-*) followed by PFV suffix.

Going back to the first commentary, (144) *-a^gg* surfaces with the NCOP in a compound verb where both the first verb and second verb are NCOP.

- (144a) *li-mwi li-mă-w-a pá = ⁿsi*
 5-one 5-CONS-fall-FV 16 = 9-ground
 'Then one falls to the ground.'

- (144b) *li-ku-w-a pá = ⁿsi wa-mĩ-inama m̃ = ku-li-sol-a*
 5-PROG-fall-FV 16 = 9-ground 3SG-CONS-bend over-FV 18 = 15-REFL-get-FV
 'It is falling to the ground, he then bends down in order to retrieve it.'

- (144c) *lj-a-βá lj-a-β-a^gg-a ni mi-sa^gga*
 5-PRES-NCOP 5-PRES-NCOP-PFV-FV COM 4-sand
 'It was sandy.' (§7.1: 16-18)

In (144) the gardener is picking fruit and then one falls to the ground. After it falls to the ground, he bends down to retrieve it. The narrator then presents the state of the fruit after it falls into the sand using PRES in the first and second verb, "It was sandy." The NCOP (as opposed to CPL) is used as the first verb to show the sand is still on the piece of fruit.

(145b-c) has two instances of the PFV suffix in the second verb both preceded by the first verb NCOP and both accompanied by PRES in each verb.

- (145a) *ni ku w-a-βá a-ku-suⁿtag-il-a i-lj-ulu [i-lj-a kú = fɔtɔ]*_{AC}
 CONJ 17.DEM1 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-PROG-stare- APPL-FV leg AUG-5- ASS
 ‘And here he was favoring his left leg.’
- (145b) *w-a-βá w-a-vula:l-ik-aⁿg-a pa-le [pa-no w-a-lí a-w-ilɛ]*_{RC}
 3SG-PRES- 3SG-PRES-injure- 16- 16-REL 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-fall-
 NCOP STAT-PFV-FV DEM2 IPFV
 ‘He has been injured there when he had fallen.’
- (145c) *fwaⁿdi w-a-βá w-a-lɛk-aⁿg-a ni ⁿkɔfila pa:po-ne pá = ⁿsi*
 well 3SG-PRES- 3SG-PRES-leave-PFV- CONJ 9-hat 16.DEM3- 16 = 9-
 NCOP FV DIM ground
 ‘Well, he had also left the hat right there on the ground.’
- (145d) *βa-le βa-tatu β-a-mă-i-líⁿg-a ⁿkɔfila*
 2-DEM2 2-three 3PL-PRES-CONS-OBJ-look_for-FV 9-hat
 ‘Those three then look for the hat.’ (§7.1: 77-80)

(145a) shows the NCOP followed by the PROG. The next comment gives the reason for his limping which is given with the NCOP in the first verb and the present TAM marker along with the present and PFV suffix in the second verb. This is our second example of the PFV in a main clause, the first being (144c). The result of these instances is again to create a new state. The boy is now in the state of being injured.

This main clause is followed by a RC with a compound verb where the first verb is CPL and the second verb contains the IPFV suffix which we discuss in the next section.

The second half of this example (145c) shows another use of the PFV suffix. Again, we have a compound verb with NCOP as the first verb. The second verb surfaces with PRES and the PFV suffix in a main clause. And, as in the first half of this example (145b), the PFV creates a new state. The hat is now in a state of being lost.

4.5.2. Imperfective suffix *-ilɛ*

The second aspectual suffix *-ilɛ* carries generally imperfective aspect although at times it combines with stative verbs to convey perfective aspect. When it is translated into Swahili, Pimbwe speakers readily translate the stand alone verb with an IPFV suffix into the present, progressive tense/aspect or the perfective aspect depending on the characteristics of the individual verb and the contextual environment. Sometimes the best translation of IPFV is ‘has started VERBING’ and other times it is ‘has VERBed’.

We now refer back to (145b), repeated below, to continue the discussion of IPFV. We find this instance in a RC. The function of the CPL is completive but not distant past, while the imperfective shows the activity has already begun. Together, this compound verb communicates that the action of falling was already complete. It also views the falling from an internal perspective which is further validated by the NC 16 relative marker (*pano*) meaning ‘when/while’ that precedes the compound verb. The process of falling is in view here. Had the NC 17 relative marker (*kono*) been used, we would have translated ‘where’ and the place of falling would have been in view and the internal temporal reference would not have been as apparent. But as it is, the class 16 relative marker validates our imperfective understanding *awile*.

- (145b) *w-a-βá* *w-a-vula:l-ik-a⁹g-a* *pa-le* [*pa-no* *w-a-lí* *a-w-ile*]_{RC}
 3SG-PRES- 3SG-PRES-injure- 16-DEM2 16-REL 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-fall-IPFV
 NCOP STAT-PFV-FV
 ‘He has been injured there when he had fallen.’

(146) displays three uses of IPFV. The first two times are preceded by the NCOP and the third time it is preceded by CPL.

Each instance below shows the IPFV to be communicating a process that has begun. The first two examples show greater continuity with the narrator’s present perspective because of the first verb use of NCOP. The third instance is preceded by CPL which signals separation from, but not completion of, the activity in the eyes of the narrator since the hat is returned to the boy in (146c). The second verb represents the action of leaving which had already begun at this point in the story, thus the gloss “had left”.

- (146a) *w-a-βá* *a-j-ile* *w-a-βá* *a-j-ile* *^mpaka* *pá=*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-go-IPFV 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-go-IPFV until 16=
 ‘He was going, he was going until near...’

- (146b) *m-lumeⁿdo* [*o-no* *w-a-lí* *a-lek-ile* *^rkɔfila*]_{RC}
 1-young man 1-REL 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-leave-IPFV 9-hat
 ‘...the young man who had left the hat.’

- (146c) *wa-mă-m-p-a* *^rkɔfila* *a-ku-m-p-a* *^rkɔfila*
 3SG-CONS-OBJ-give-FV 9-hat 3SG-PROG-OBJ-give-FV 9-hat
 ‘Then he gives him the hat. He is giving him the hat...’

- (146d) *wa-mă-ji-dwal-a* *kú= m-twe*
 3SG-CONS-OBJ-wear-FV 17 = 3-head
 ‘...then he wears it on (his) head.’ (§7.1: 83-86)

The previous three IPFV examples all surface in a compound verb form. (147) illustrates how IPFV functions without a preceding auxiliary. The verb *ukuza* ‘to be full’ has a stative quality which contributes to the meaning of the example in view. In this case the suffix again contributes perfective aspect resulting in a rendering of ‘has been filled’.

- (147) *wa-mă-βu:f-a* *ɪ-ci-kapɔ* *[ci-nɔ ci-z-ilɛ* *a-ma-tuⁿda ga-lɛ]*_{RC}
 3SG-CONS-lift-FV AUG-7-basket 7-REL 7-full-IPFV AUG-6-fruit 6-DEM2
 ‘Then he lifts the basket which has been filled with those fruit.’ (§7.2: 52)

(148) gives the imperfective marker along with the negative, followed by another verb with the imperfective marker. The verb *ukufwa* ‘die’ also possesses a stative quality. The *-ilɛ* here, as in (147) conveys perfective aspect.

- (148) *u-m-hala ala-we a-ta-fw-ilɛ,* *a-lad-ilɛ* *utulɔ*
 AUG-1-girl DEM4-1 3SG-NEG-die-IPFV 3SG-lie-IPFV sleeping
 ‘This very girl is not dead, she is asleep.’ (Luke 8:52)

(149) illustrates the dynamic direction oriented verbal category which includes the verbs ‘go’ and ‘come’. Because of their inherent directional meaning, the verbs *ukwida* ‘to come’ and *ukuja* ‘to go’ are frequently used in motion events where V1 communicates direction of the movement while V2 gives the manner in which a person or object is moving. In this case the IPFV suffix is used with V1 and PROG is used with V2.

- (149) *a-kulu* *[u-ku-daβ-a]*_{cocl} *ka-le* *ka-j-ilɛ* *[ka-ku-caⁿg-a]*_{cocl}
 3SG-continue AUG-15-pick-FV 12-DEM2 12-go-IPFV 12-PROG-ride-FV
 ‘He continues to pick, that one goes riding.’ (§7.2: 62)

(150) shows an irregular verb (*aβaβwinɛ*) that, in all the data, only surfaces with the IPFV suffix. The two imperfectively marked verbs are a part of a single verb phrase. The IPFV marker surfaces as *-inɛ* rather than *-ilɛ* because imbrication has taken place between the root *βɔn* and the suffix *-ilɛ* (See §2.6).

- (150) *a-βa-βw-inɛ* *βa-le* *βa-tatu* *β-i-d-ilɛ*
 3SG-OBJ.2-see-IPFV 2-DEM2 2-three 3PL-come-IPFV
 ‘Then he sees those three coming.’ (§7.2: 117)

Another marker which also conveys either recent past or present tense is PRES. Let us now investigate present and conditional activities in Pimbwe.

4.6. Present and conditional activities

The present TAM marker *a-* is used for unmarked present tense conversation when no other spoken context is given. (151) shows this use. As an anecdotal example, the following question was asked of me when I was wearing my backpack and standing on the path leading out of the village after a week's stay there.

- (151) *w-á-j-à?*
 2SG-PRES-go-FV
 'Are you going?'

The difference between the single verb with PRES in (152) and the compound verb examples with the NCOP in the first verb in (146a) is that (146a) adds explicit ongoing aspect while (152) offers punctual activity. Each example below is followed by CONS.

- (152a) *w-a-fut-á* *wa-mă-βik-a* *ṁ = cɪ-kapɔ*
 3SG-PRES-wipe-FV 3SG-CONS-put-FV 18 = 7-basket
 'He wipes (it), then he puts (it) into the basket.' (§7.2: 19)
- (152b) *w-a-ciṁk-á* *lvⁿdi* *ka-cɪ-ta^mbala* *wa-mă-li-njep-a* *ṁ = siⁿgo*
 3SG-PRES-return-FV again 12-7-kerchief 3SG-CONS-REFL-tie-FV 18 = neck
 'He returns again the kerchief, then he ties it around his neck.' (§7.2: 20)

The ⁿga- conditional marker depicts an action which is part of a hypothetical statement. It can function to express the conditional, optative, or hypothetical mood. Further research is needed to confirm the distinct morphosyntactic realizations of each previously mentioned mood. (153) illustrates the conditional marker conveying the hypothetical mood in a single verb phrase while (154) illustrates its use in the conditional mood in a complete sentence. There is free variation between *ṁga-* and *nda-* among Pimbwe speakers. The particular speaker below used *ṁga-*.

- (153) *o-ⁿga-maṁ-ε*
 2SG-IRR-know-FV
 'You may know...'
- (154) *ⁿdi* *a-ka-id-ilε* *ⁿga-βa* *ⁿ-ka-m-bw-inε*
 DEP 3SG-PST2-come-IPFV 1SG-IRR-NCOP 1SG-PST2-OBJ-see-IPFV
 'If he had come, I would have seen him.'

Finally, we turn our attention to the habitual marker in the next sub-section.

4.7. Habitual marker *kulu-*

The TAM marker *kulu-* conveys the habitual (HAB) aspect. In (155) and (156) HAB functions to signal activity that is done numerous times over an extended period of time.

- (155) a-βa-lumεⁿdo a-βa ci-bugwe βa-kulu-cit-a ci
 AUG-2-young man AUG-ASS 7-Bugwe 3PL-HAB-do-FV INT
 ‘Young Mbugwe men normally do what?’ (GRAM – Verb Phrase: 144)

- (156) u-m-kɔla a-kulu-kal-a i-pama
 AUG-1-PRO 3SG-HAB-buy-FV 9-meat
 ‘He regularly buys meat.’ (GRAM – VP ukukala: 12)

4.8. Additional verbal categories

There is one quotative marker *ti-* that signals direct speech, quoted thoughts of a person, or written material.¹² The quotative appears just before the quoted speech and takes only a subject agreement marker. It takes a subject prefix that concords with the speaker(s) but does not take a TAM marker or extensions.

- (157a) wa-mă-βu:k-a wa-mă-aⁿg-a u-ku-li-βudja
 3SG-CONS-exit-FV 3SG-CONS-begin-FV AUG-15-REFL-ask-FV
 ‘Then he exits then begins to ask himself...’ (§7.2:113)

- (157b) a-ti luⁿdi ɔni w-aⁿgiβil-aⁿg-a
 3SG-QUOT now who 3SG-PRES-OBJ.1-steal-PFV-FV
 ‘He says, “now who robbed me?”’ (§7.2:114)

The use that precedes reported speech surfaces with only the subject agreement SBJ + *-ti* while the complementizer use surfaces as *ukuti* as in (158b), the adverbial use is *kuti*, and the near past time reference marker that behaves as an auxiliary containing the present TAM marker *a-* as in (158b) (see §3.2.3). The John 1:50 Pimbwe translation shows all of the various uses of *-ti* except the adverbial use.

¹² The quotative marker is now a deficient verb that takes only limited inflection, namely subject agreement. The majority view is that it is historically derived from a verb for ‘say’. Others argue that the original meaning of *-ti* was ‘be/do thus’ (Güldemann 2002).

- (158a) *jɛsu w-a-m-bu:dj-a a-tɪ βule u-kw-amini vi- n-a-ku-nɛn-a*
nɔ
 Jesus 3SG-PRES-OBJ- 3SG- INT 2SG-PROG- 8- 1SG-PRES-OBJ-say-
 answer-FV QUOT believe REL FV
 ‘Jesus answered him saying, “Do you believe how I said...”’

- (158b) *ukutɪ n-a-tɪ n-ku-βw-inɛ pa-nɔ w-a-tɪ u-ikad-ile*
 COMP 1SG-PRES-PST1 1SG-PROG-see-IPFV 16- 2SG-PRES-PST1 2SG-sit-IPFV
 REL
 ‘...that I was seeing you when you were sitting...’

- (158c) *pí=isiⁿdɔ [ij-a m-tini]_{AC} u-kǔ-lɔl-a a-ma-kulu u-ku-lot-a ga*
 16 = under 9- 3-fig tree 2SG-FUT-FV AUG-6- AUG-15-surpass- 6.DEM1
 ASS important FV
 ‘...underneath the fig tree? You will see important things to surpass these.’ (John 1:50)

The adverbial use of *kutɪ* is displayed in (159).

- (159) *wa-mǎ-aⁿg-a u-ku-um-a ku-tɪ ⁿ-kɛⁿgele*
 3SG-CONS-begin-FV AUG-15-beat like 9-bell
 ‘Then he begins to beat (it) like a bell.’ (§7.2: 108)

5. Summary of findings

As was mentioned in §1-2, Pimbwe is a Bantu language from the Katavi region of Western Tanzania which displays phonological conservativity with respect to historical Bantu Spirantization and devoicing. It displays lexical and grammatical tone creating written ambiguities that were listed in §2.5. The 7-vowel system shows cross height vowel harmony. Its nominal characteristics are typical of a Bantu language displaying 18 noun classes assuming classes 1a and 2a are subsumed under classes 1 and 2 respectively. The noun phrase shows constituent agreement with the head noun across the NP.

The Pimbwe verbal system is in the distinct minority of Bantu languages in its use of the verbal aspectual suffix *-aⁿg* (see §3.2.2 and 4.5.1). It carries perfective aspect which translates to use as a flashback device in extended text. The CONS TAM marker *mǎ-* in an isolated utterance conveys near future time reference, which is derived from its discursual function as a CONS marker. The IPFV marker *-ile* conveys a wide aspectual range depending on the characteristics of the verb with which it is used. It can signal imperfective as well as anterior aspect.

There are three tense markers that function grammatically as auxiliaries. The PST1 auxiliary SBJ + *a-tɪ* shows near past tense specifically action that has happened in the same day. The CPL auxiliary SBJ + *a-lí* conveys far past tense and completive aspect in independent and dependent clauses respectively. In

the running commentary texts analyzed in this thesis, the setting and characters were introduced using CPL. The NCOP auxiliary SBJ + *a-βa* continues the mainline information and is only used within the context of longer discourse as it signals continuity with the information preceding it and/or following it in the utterance.

The copular system diverges from Bantu norms by using the copula for both permanent and temporary copular linkage of CS and CC. There is also a locative copula which expresses location except when followed by the comitative *ni*. In those cases it expresses possession.

This is the first formal language description that includes a Pimbwe phonology, grammar, and discussion of the use of grammatical categories in extended commentary texts. The interaction between lexical and grammatical tone and its implications on meaning is a topic in need of additional research. Another possible topic of further study would be the analysis of text genres other than running commentary. As a corollary project, a comparative study of Pimbwe and Rungwa phonology as well as a Rungwa grammar would doubtless shed light on the Pimbwe language by way of its closest linguistic neighbor.

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7. Appendices

7.1. Appendix A: Pimbwe Pear Story narrated by Fokas Nyansio Kapongwa from Usevya

- (1) *Kw-a-lí* *ku-lí* *u-lu-siku* *u-lu-mwi* *íⁿ-kɔⁿkɔ* *j-a-lí* *í-taⁿgɪd-ilɛ*
 17-PRES-CPL 15- AUG-11- AUG-11- 9- 9-PRES-CPL 9-crow-IPFV
 LCOP day one chicken
 ‘There was one day a chicken (that) was crowing.’
- (2) *j-a-lí* *í-taⁿgɪd-ilɛ* *mala* *^m-bili*
 9-PRES-CPL 9-crow-IPFV time 9-two
 ‘It was crowing a second time.’
- (3) *kw-a-lí* *ku-lí* *u-wikɔɔ* *u-mwi*
 17-PRES-CPL 15-LCOP 1a-elder AUG-one
 ‘There was one elder person...’
- (4) *w-a-lí* *a-tag-ilɛ* *mi-tí* *í-j-a* *ma-tuⁿda*
 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-climb-IPFV 4-tree AUG-6-ASS 6-fruit
 ‘...he was climbing fruit trees.’
- (5) *ga-ku-kɔm-a* *a-ma-tuⁿda* *a-mǎ-j-a* *ńí = ku-daβ-a* *a-ma-tuⁿda*
 6-PROG-mature-FV AUG-6-fruit 3SG-CONS-go-FV 18 = 15-pick-FV AUG-6-fruit
 ‘As the fruit is maturing, he then goes to harvest fruit.’
- (6) *w-a-βá* *a-ku-daβ-a* *a-ku-βík-a* *ńí = m-fukɔ*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-PROG-pick-FV 3SG-PROG-put-FV 18 = 3-pocket
 ‘And he was harvesting, he is putting in a pocket...’
- (7) *ga-mwi* *ga-βá* *ga-ku-w-a* *pá = ⁿ-sí*
 6-one 6-PRES-NCOP 6-PRES-fall-FV 16 = 9-ground
 ‘some were falling on the ground.’
- (8) *w-a-lí* *a-lí* *ní* *ⁿ-taⁿtlɔ*
 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-LCOP COM 9-ladder
 ‘He had a ladder...’

- (9) *ku-nɔ w-a-lɪ w-a-paⁿd-aⁿg-a a-mɪ-ik-a u-ku-fum-a kó=ⁿ-taⁿtuɔ*
 17-PRES 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-PRES-ascend-PFV-FV 3SG-CONS-descend-FV AUG-15-originate-FV 17=9-ladder
 ‘...where he had climbed. Then he descends from the ladder.’
- (10) *wa-mǎ-aⁿʒ-a a-ku-fum-j-a ma-tuⁿda nɪ=ɱ-fukɔ*
 3SG-CONS-begin-FV 3SG-PROG-remove-CAUS-FV 6-fruit 18=3-pocket
 ‘Then he begins removing fruit from inside the pocket...’
- (11) *ɱ-nɔ w-a-lɪ a-ku-daβ-a a-ku-βik-a*
 18=REL 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-PROG-pick-FV 3SG-PROG-put-FV
 ‘...in which he had been picking (and) putting (them).’
- (12) *a-kulu u-ku-fum-j-a tupu*
 3SG-continue 15-remove-CAUS-FV only
 ‘He just continued to remove (them).’
- (13) *a-kulu u-ku-fum-j-a topo ma-tuⁿda*
 3SG-continue AUG-15-remove-CAUS-FV only 6-fruit
 ‘He just continued to remove fruit.’
- (14) *a-kulu u-kw-i-tu:l-a topo ma-tuⁿda ga-lɛ w-a-daβ-aⁿg-a*
 3SG-continue AUG-15-REFL-gather-FV only 6-fruit 6-DEM2 3SG-PRES-pick-PFV-FV
 ‘He continues to just gather for himself those fruit he had picked.’
- (15) *a-kulu u-ku-fum-j-a tupu.*
 3SG-continue AUG-15-remove-CAUS-FV only
 ‘He just continues to remove (them).’
- (16) *li-mwi li-ma-w-a pá=ⁿ-sɪ*
 5-one 5-CONS-fall-FV 16=9-ground
 ‘Then one falls to the ground.’
- (17) *li-ku-w-a pá=ⁿ-sɪ wa-mɪ-inam-a nɪ=ku-li-sɔl-a*
 5-PROG-fall-FV 16=9-ground 3SG-CONS-bend over-FV 18=15-REFL-get-FV
 ‘It is falling to the ground he then bends down in order to retrieve it.’

- [illegible]

- (26) *kú = mwi w-a-βá a-li ni r^mbudi a-ku-kwes-a*
 17 = one 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-LCOP COM 9-goat 3SG-PROG-pull-FV
 ‘One had a goat he was pulling (it).’
- (27) *a-ku-fik-a pa-le a-βw-inε i-vi-kapɔ vj-a ma-tuⁿda*
 3SG-PROG-arrive-FV 16-DEM2 3SG-see-IPFV AUG-8-basket 8-ASS 6-fruit
 ‘(As) he is arriving there, he sees fruit baskets.’
- (28) *w-a-lrⁿg-if-a w-a-lrⁿg-if-a wa-ma-pu:t-a ni r^mbudi*
 3SG-PRES-look-CAUS-FV 3SG-PRES-look-CAUS-FV 3SG-CONS-pull-FV CONJ 9-goat
 ‘He looks and looks, then he passes with goat.’
- (29) *w-a-βa a-i-njef-ile ni ci-kuⁿga m = siⁿgɔ m^mbudi*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-OBJ-tie-IPFV CONJ 7-rope 18 = neck 9-goat
 ‘He was tying it with a rope around the goat’s neck...’
- (30) *ni wε-le u-nɔ w-a-lí a-kw-if-a ma-tuⁿda*
 CONJ 1-DEM2 1-REL 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-PROG-fall-CAUS-FV 6-fruit
 ‘...and that one who had been dropping fruit.’
- (31) *w-a-βá a-li kú = m-tri ku-nɔ w-a-lí a-ku-daβ-a ma-tuⁿda*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG- 17 = 3- 17- 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-PROG-pick- 6-fruit
 LCOP tree REL FV
 ‘He was located in the tree where he had been picking fruit.’
- (32) *w-a-βá a-kulu ku-daβ-a a-ku-tu:l-a a-ku-βik-a mⁿ-siⁿgɔ mⁿ-fukɔ*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG- 15-pick 3SG-PROG- 3SG-PROG- 18 = neck 3-
 continue choose-FV put-FV pocket
 ‘He was continuing to pick, he is choosing and putting in the pocket around his neck...’
- (33) *ni wε-le u-w-a m^mbudi wa-mă-pu:t-a*
 CONJ 1-DEM2 AUG-1-ASS 9-goat 3SG-CONS-pass_by-FV
 ‘...and that (owner) of the goat, then he passes by.’
- (34) *a-ku-daβ-a tɔpɔ a-ku-daβ-a tɔpɔ ma-tuⁿda*
 3SG-PROG-pick-FV only 3SG-PROG-pick-FV only 6-fruit
 ‘He is just picking, he is just picking fruit.’

- (35) *a-ku-βik-a m̥-fukɔ a-ku-daβ-a tupu ma-tuⁿda gagɔ*
 3SG-PROG-put-FV 3-pocket 3SG-PROG-pick-FV only 6-fruit 6.DEM3
 ‘He is putting in the pocket, he is just picking that fruit.’
- (36) *naji wa-mă-fum-il-a u-m̥-lumɛⁿɔ u-mwi a-li ni basikeli*
 time 3SG-CONS-exit-APPL-FV AUG-1-young man AUG-one 3SG-LCOP COM bicycle
 ‘Now one young man appears, he has a bicycle.’
- (37) *w-a-βá a-li ni rⁿkaⁿgalɔ,*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-LCOP COM 9-bicycle
 ‘He has a bicycle.’
- (38) *w-a-βá a-id-ilɛ a-ku-ɛⁿdef-a*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-come-IPFV 3SG-PROG-drive-FV
 ‘He was coming riding.’
- (39) *a-id-ilɛ a-ku-ɛⁿdef-a*
 3SG-come-IPFV 3SG-PROG-drive-FV
 ‘He is coming riding.’
- (40) *a-id-ilɛ a-ku-ɛⁿdef-a ^mpaka pá = m̥-tɪ βw-a ma-tuⁿda*
 3SG-come-IPFV 3SG-PROG-drive-FV until 16 = 3-tree 3-ASS 6-fruit
 ‘He is coming riding until near the fruit tree.’
- (41) *w-a-βá a-id-ilɛ tupu pa-a-fik-a (pa-nɔ w-a-fik-a) pá = m̥-tɪ βw-a a-ma-tuⁿda*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-come-IPFV only 16-PRES-arrive-FV (16-REL 3SG-PRES-arrive-FV) 16 = 3-tree 3-ASS AUG-6-fruit
 ‘He was just coming when he arrived at the fruit tree.’
- (42) *a-βw-inɛ ɪ-ci-kapɔ ɪ-c-a ma-tuⁿda*
 3SG-see-IPFV AUG-7-basket AUG-7-ASS 6-fruit
 ‘He sees a fruit basket.’
- (43) *ci-li pá = ⁿsi w-a-lrⁿgíf-a w-a-lrⁿg-íf-a*
 7-LCOP 16 = 9-round 3SG-PRES-look-CAUS-FV 3SG-PRES-look-CAUS-FV
 ‘It is on the ground, he is looking and looking.’

- (44) *naji wa-mă-su^mb-a i-basikeli wa-mă-ji-su^mb-a pá=ⁿsi*
time 3SG-CONS-lay_down-FV AUG-bicycle 3SG-CONS-OBJ-tip_over-FV 16=9-ground
‘Now he lays down the bicycle, he lays it on the ground.’
- (45) *wa-mă-j-a pá=vikapɔ vj-a ma-tuⁿda*
3SG-CONS-go-FV 16=8-basket 8-ASS 6-fruit
‘Then he goes to the fruit baskets.’
- (46) *w-a-lɪ^g-ɪf-a kw-ɪjulu w-a-lɪ^g-ɪf-a ku ni ku*
3SG-PRES-see-CAUS-FV 17=up 3SG-PRES-see-CAUS-FV 17.DEM1 CONJ 17.DEM1
‘He looks up, he looks here and there.’
- (47) *w-a-lɪ^g-á ku-ⁿsi m-ⁿtu*
3SG-PRES-look-FV 16-NEG 1-person
‘He sees there is no one.’
- (48) *wa-mă-βu:f-a i-ci-kapɔ i-c-a ma-tuⁿda gagɔ*
3SG-CONS-lift-CAUS-FV AUG-7-basket AUG-7-ASS 6-fruit 6.DEM3
‘Then he lifts the basket of that fruit.’
- (49) *wa-mă-tɛnɛk-a pá=ⁿsi pa-nɔ w-a-lɪ a-tud-ɪɛ iⁿkaⁿgalɔ*
3SG-CONS-set-FV 16-ground 16-REL 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-put-IPFV 9-bicycle
‘Then he sets on the ground near where he had put the bicycle.’
- (50) *wa-mă-βu:f-a iⁿkaⁿgalɔ wa-mă-paⁿd-a*
3SG-CONS-lift-CAUS-FV 9-bicycle 3SG-CONS-mount-FV
‘Then he lifts the bicycle then he mounts (it).’
- (51) *wa-mă-inam-a wa-mă-sɔl-a i-ci-kapɔ i-c-a ma-tuⁿda*
3SG-CONS-bend_down-FV 3SG-CONS-get-FV AUG-7-basket AUG-7-ASS 6-fruit
‘Then he bends down and gets the fruit basket.’
- (52) *wa-mă-βik-a pá=kɛlijasi*
3SG-CONS-put-FV 16=carrier
‘Then he puts (it) on the carrier.’

- (53) *wa-mă-pa"d-a* *pá = basikeli* *wa-mă-a"ž-a* *a-ku-pi-f-a* *basikeli*
3SG-CONS-mount-FV 16 = bicycle 3SG-CONS-begin-FV 3SG-PROG-move-CAUS-FV bicycle
'Then he mounts the bicycle and starts riding the bicycle.'
- (54) *ni* *wε-le* *υ-wikɔb* *u-nɔ* *w-a-lí* *a-ku-w-if-a* *ma-tu"da*
CONJ 1-DEM2 1-elder 1-REL 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-PROG-fall-CAUS-FV 6-fruit
'And that elder who had been dropping the fruit...'
- (55) *w-a-βá* *a-ta-li* *a-li* *kú = m-ti* *kú = ma-* *a-ku-w-if-a*
tu"da
3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-NEG- 3SG- 17 = 3- 17 = 5-fruit 3SG-PROG-fall-CAUSE-
LCOP LCOP tree FV
'...he had not been at the fruit tree where he drops (it).'
- (56) *υ-m-lumε"do* *w-a-βá* *w-a-βu:k-a"ŋg-a*
AUG-1-young man 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-PRES-leave-PFV-FV
'The young man (that) has left.'
- (57) *w-a-βá* *a-j-ilε* *a-ku-pi-f-a* *basikeli*
3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-go-IPFV 3SG-PROG-move-CAUS-FV bicycle
'He was going riding a bicycle.'
- (58) *w-a-βá* *a-j-ilε* *a-ku-pi-f-a* *basikeli,*
3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-go-IPFV 3SG-PROG-move-CAUS-FV bicycle
'He was going riding a bicycle.'
- (59) *w-a-βá* *a-j-ilε* *a-ku-pi-f-a* *basikeli* *kú = "bεle*
3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-go-IPFV 3SG-PROG-move-CAUS-FV bicycle 17 = forward
'He was going riding a bicycle and ahead...'
- (60) *wa-mă-fum-ilε* *wa-ka-ci-majɪ* *na-wε*
3SG-CONS-appear-IPFV 1-12-7-mom CONJ-PRO.3SG
'Then this woman also is appearing.'
- (61) *w-a-βá* *a-li* *ni* *basikeli* *a-ku-pi-f-a*
3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-LCOP COM bicycle 3SG-PROG-drive-CAUS-FV
'She has a bicycle, she is steering.'

- (62) *βuti βa-mă-li-puʃ-iʔk-anj-ε βa-mă-li-pum-a*
 EXCL 3PL-CONS-REFL-pass-IMPOS-RECP-CAUS-IPFV 3PL-CONS-REFL-crash-FV
 ‘Whoa, then they tried to cause each other to pass by, then they crashed.’
- (63) *wε-lε υ-m-lumeⁿdo w-a-mă-w-a,*
 1-DEM2 AUG-1-young man 3SG-PRES-CONS-fall-FV
 ‘That young man then falls.’
- (64) *ci-kapɔ ci-mă-w-a pá=ⁿsi, ma-tuⁿda ga-mă-sa^mbala pá=ⁿsi*
 7-basket 7-CONS-fall-FV 16=9-ground 6-fruit 6-CONS-spill-FV 16-9-ground
 ‘The basket then falls to the ground, the fruit then spills on the ground.’
- (65) *wε-lε υ-m-lumeⁿdo w-a-βá w-a-vulaɪ-ɪk-aⁿg-a pá=m-kuⁿgulu*
 1-DEM2 AUG-1-young man 3SG-PRES- NCOP 3SG-PRES-injure-STAT-PFV- FV 16=3-arm
 ‘That young man has been injured on (his) arm.’
- (66) *wa-mă-aⁿʒ-a υ-ku-ɲut-a*
 3SG-CONS-begin-FV AUG-15-wipe-FV
 ‘Then he starts to wipe (off).’
- (67) *naji wa-mă-ti-f-a ɪ-sɔkisi wa-mă-aⁿʒ-a υ-ku-li-pjil-a*
 time 3SG-CONS-remove-CAUS-FV 9-sock 3SG-CONS-begin-FV AUG-15-REFL-dust_off-FV
 ‘Now he removes socks, then begins to dust himself off.’
- (68) *naji βa-mă-fum-il-a a-βa-lumeⁿdo βa-tatu*
 time 3PL-CONS-leave-APPL-FV AUG-2-young man 2-person
 ‘Now three young men appear.’
- (69) *β-a-dan-ilε wε-lε υ-m-lumeⁿdo w-a-vulaɪ-ɪk-aⁿg-a*
 3PL-PRES-meet-IPFV 1-DEM2 AUG-1-young man 3SG-PRES-injure-STAT-PFV-FV
 ‘They are meeting that young man that had been injured.’
- (70) *βa-mă-mw-adw-a υ-ku-βu:f-a ma-tuⁿda*
 3PL-CONS-OBJ-help-FV AUG-15-lift 6-fruit
 ‘Then they help to lift the fruit.’

- (71) *wa-mă-aⁿʒ-a* *u-ku-mw-adw-a* *a-ku-səl-a* *ɪ-vi-jaβɔ* *a-ku-səl-a* *ɪ-vi-jaβɔ*
 3SG-begin- AUG-15-OBJ-help- 3SG-PROG-get- AUG-8- 3SG-PROG-get-FV AUG-8-
 FV FV FV FRUIT FRUIT
 ‘They begin to help him (as) he is lifting the fruit, lifting the fruit.’
- (72) *βa-ku-m-ŋuⁿt-a* *najɪ* *wɛ-lɛ* *u-m-lumɛⁿdɔ*
 3PL-PROG-OBJ-dust_off-FV time 1-DEM2 AUG-1-young man
 ‘They are now dusting off that young man.’
- (73) *pa-lɛ* *pa-nɔ* *u-m-lumɛⁿdɔ*
 16-DEM2 15-REL AUG-1-young man
 ‘There when the young man...’
- (74) *w-a-lí* *a-pum-ilɛ* *pa-a-lí* *pa-lɪ* *i-wɛ* *pá=ⁿsi*
 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-crash-IPFV 16-PRES-CPL 16-LCOP 5-stone 16=9-ground
 ‘...had crashed, there was a stone there on the ground.’
- (75) *w-a-lí* *a-pum-ilɛ* *i-wɛ* *wa-mă-su^mb-il-a* *ɪ-basikɛli* *pɛ^mbɛni*
 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-crash-IPFV 5-stone 3SG-CONS-tip-APPL-FV bicycle to the side
 ‘He had crashed into the rock he then tipped the bicycle over on its side.’
- (76) *wa-mă-βu:k-a* *wɛdɔ* *u-m-lumɛⁿdɔ* *ni* *basikɛli*
 3SG-CONS-leave-FV 1.DEM3 AUG-1-young man CONJ bicycle
 ‘Then that young man stands up with the bicycle.’
- (77) *ni* *ku* *w-a-βá* *a-ka-suⁿtag-il-a* *ɪ-lj-ɔlɔ* *ɪ-lj-a* *kú=ʃɔtɔ*
 CONJ 17.DEM1 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-PST2-favor-APPL-FV AUG-5-leg AUG-5-ASS 17=left
 ‘And here he was favoring his left leg.’
- (78) *w-a-βá* *w-a-vula:l-ɪk-aⁿg-a* *pa-lɛ* *pa-nɔ* *w-a-lí* *a-w-ilɛ*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-PRES-injure-STAT-PFV- 16- 16- 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-fall-IPFV
 FV DEM2 REL
 ‘He has been injured there when he had fallen.’

- (79) *fwaⁿdi* *w-a-βá* *w-a-lək-aⁿg-a* *ni* ⁿ⁻ *papo-ne* *pá=ⁿsi*
kɔfila
 well 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-PRES-leave-PFV-FV CONJ 9-hat 16.DEM3- 16=9-
 DIM ground
 ‘Well, he had left the hat right there on the ground.’
- (80) *βa-lε* *βa-tatu* *βa-mǎ-i-lǐ^ɔg-a* *i^ɔkɔfila*
 2-DEM2 2-three 3PL-CONS-OBJ-see-FV 9-hat
 ‘Those three then see the hat.’
- (81) *wa-mǎ-m-kuβ-il-a* *u-m-lɔzi* *β-a-ti* *w-i-iβil-a* *i^ɔ*
kɔfila
 3SG-CONS-OBJ-whistle-APPL-FV AUG-3- 1PL-PRES-say 2SG-PRES-forget-FV 9-hat
 whistle
 ‘Then they whistle to him saying, “You forgot the hat.”’
- (82) *βa-mǎ-m-njamn-id-j-a* *i^ɔkɔfila*
 3PL-CONS-OBJ-chase-APPL-CAUS-FV 9-hat
 ‘Then they go after the hat for him.’
- (83) *w-a-βá* *a-j-ilε* *w-a-βá* *a-j-ilε* ^m*paka* *pá=*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-go-IPFV 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-go-IPFV until 16=
 ‘He was going he was going until near...’
- (84) *m-lumeⁿdo* *u-nɔ* *w-a-lǐ* *a-lək-ilε* *i^ɔkɔfila*
 1-young man 1-REL 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-leave-IPFV 9-hat
 ‘...the young man who had left the hat.’
- (85) *wa-mǎ-m-p-a* *i^ɔkɔfila* *a-ku-m-p-a* *i^ɔkɔfila*
 3SG-CONS-OBJ-give-FV 9-hat 3SG-PROG-OBJ-give-FV 9-hat
 ‘Then he gives him the hat, he is giving him the hat.’
- (86) *wa-mǎ-i-dwal-a* *kú=^mtwε*
 3SG-CONS-OBJ-wear-FV 17=3-head
 ‘Then he wears it on (his) head.’

- (87) *u-m-lumεⁿdo wε-lε u-w-a basikeli w-a-βá a-j-ile*
 AUG-1-young man 1-DEM2 AUG-1-ASS bicycle 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-go-IPFV
 ‘That young man with a bicycle was going.’
- (88) *wε-lε u-m-lumεⁿdo wa-mă-ciⁿk-a ku-βa c-akwε*
 1-DEM2 AUG-1-young man 3SG-CONS-return-FV 15-NCOP 7-PP.3SG
 ‘That young man then returns to be his own things.’
- (89) *βa-lε βa- βa- w-a-lí a-βa-lek-ile u-ku-lim-a lj-akwε*
βilí nɔ
 2- 2-two 2- 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-OBJ-leave-IPFV AUG-15-cultivate- 5-PP-
 DEM2 REL FV 3SG
 ‘Those two who he had been leaving to cultivate his (field).’
- (90) *wa-mă-aⁿz-a a-ku-njamn-a wa-mă-βa-dan-a*
 3SG-CONS-begin-FV 3SG-PROG-run-FV 3SG-CONS-OBJ-meet-FV
 ‘Then he begins to run, then he meets them.’
- (91) *wa-mă-aⁿz-a ku-βa-gaβ-a ku-lip-a ma-tuⁿda li-mwi li-mwi*
 3SG-CONS-begin-FV 15-OBJ-divide-FV 15-OBJ-pay-FV 6-fruit 5-one 5-one
 ‘Then he begins to divide among them to pay with fruit one-by-one.’
- (92) *wε-lε uw-rⁿdi a-mă-aⁿz-a u-ku-li-fut-a kw = í-fati*
 1-DEM2 1-other 3SG-CONS-begin-FV AUG-15-REFL-wipe-FV 17 = 5-shirt
 ‘That other one starts to wipe it on shirt...’
- (93) *vi-nɔ lj-a-lí li-li ni mi-saⁿga*
 8-REL 5-PRES-CPL 5-LCOP CONJ 4-sand
 ‘...because it had had sand (on it).’
- (94) *βa-mă-aⁿz-a u-ku-lj-a β-a-βá βa-j-ile*
 3PL-CONS-begin-FV AUG-15-eat-FV 3PL-PRES-NCOP 3PL-PRES-go-IPFV
 ‘Then they begin to eat, they were going on.’
- (95) *β-a-βá βa-j-ile βa-ku-pit-a ni-ku βa-j-ile βa-ku-lj-a*
 3PL-PRES-NCOP 3PL-PRES-go-IPFV 3PL-PROG- CONJ- 3PL-PRES-go-IPFV 3SG-PROG-
 walk-FV 17.DEM1 eat-FV
 ‘They were going on, they are walking right here, they are going on eating.’

- (96) *ni wε-lε u-nɔ w-a-lɪ a-kʊ-w-ɪf-a ma-tuⁿda*
 CONJ 1-DEM2 1-REL 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-PROG-fall-CAUS-FV 6-fruit
 ‘And that one who had been dropping fruit...’

- (97) *wa-mɪ-ik-a tɛna ku-fuma kú = ⁿtaⁿtlɔ u-kw-ik-a pα-lɛ pá = ⁿsi*
 3SG-CONS-descend- again 15- 17-ladder AUG-15- 16- 16 = 9-
 FV come_from descend DEM2 ground
 ‘...then he again comes from the ladder descending there onto the ground.’

- (98) *a-βw-inε ɪ-ci-kapɔ ci-mwi ci-ⁿsi = pɔ c-a ma-tuⁿda*
 3SG-look-IPFV AUG-7-basket 7-one 7-NEG = 16 7-ASS 6-fruit
 ‘He sees one fruit basket is missing.’

- (99) *wa-mǎ-aⁿʒ-a a-kʊ-lⁿg-ɪf-a*
 3SG-CONS-begin-FV 3SG-PROG-look-CAUS-FV

‘Then he begins to look around...’

- (100) *a-tɪ luⁿdi ala-pa u-nɔ w-aⁿg-iβɪl-a ɔni*
 3SG-say again DEM4-16 1-REL 3SG-COND-steal-FV INT
 ‘...he says again, “This very place the one who might steal it is whom?”’

- (101) *w-a-lⁿg-ɪf-a kʊ ni kʊ*
 3SG-PRES-look-CAUS-FV 17.DEM1 CONJ 17.DEM1
 ‘He looks around here and there.’

- (102) *w-a-tá-lⁿg-a m̩-ⁿtu*
 3SG-PRES-NEG-look-FV 1-person
 ‘He does not see anyone.’

- (103) *najɪ a-βw-inε βa-lɛ a-βa-lumεⁿdɔ*
 time 3SG-see-IPFV 2-DEM2 AUG-2-young man
 ‘Now he sees those young men.’

- (104) *βa-le βa- βa-j-ile pa-nɔ w-a-lɪ a-li β-a-ta-li-vwaⁿʒ-a*
tatu
 2- 2- 3PL-go-IPFV 16- 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG- 1PL-PRES-NEG-REFL-speak-
 DEM2 three REL LCOP FV
 ‘Those three are going while he was there. They don’t speak.’
- (105) *w-a-βá a-kw-εle^ɲgul-a a-tɪ*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-PROG-REFL-ask-FV 3SG-say
 ‘He was asking himself saying,’
- (106) *hamɔ βa-seⁿd-ile ɪ-ci-kapɔ ɪ-c-a vi-jaβɔ*
 maybe 3PL-PRES-carry-IPFV AUG-7-basket AUG-7-ASS 8-fruit
 ‘‘Maybe they are carrying the fruit basket.’’
- (107) *w-a-lɪ a-ta-βa-βu:d-j-a a-tɪ vi-jaβɔ vj- vj-a-j-a pε*
ane
 3SG-PRES- 3SG-PRES-NEG-OBJ-question- 3SG-say 8-fruit 8-PP- 8-PRES-go- where
 CPL CAUS-FV 1SG FV
 ‘He did not question them saying, ‘‘Where has my fruit gone?’’
- (108) *ala-pa βa-le βa-tatu β-a-βá βa-pus-ile βa-j-ile ɪ-safari ɪ-dj-aβɔ*
 DEM4- 2- 2-three 1PL-PRES- 1PL-PRES- 3PL-PRES-go- 9- AUG-10-
 16 DEM2 NCOP pass_by-IPFV IPFV journey PP.3PL
 ‘Right here those three were passing by they are going on their journey.’
- (109) *ni wε-le υ-wikɔlɔ w-a-βá a-s-ile pá = m-tɪ pá = ma-tuⁿda*
 CONJ 1-DEM2 1-elder 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-stay-IPFV 16 = 3-tree 16 = 6-fruit
 ‘And that elder was remaining in the fruit tree.’

7.2. Appendix B: Pimbwe Pear Story narrated by Maliselina Denato from Usevya

- (1) *ɪ-ŋ-kɔkɔ* *j-a-lɪ* *ɪ-βɪlɪk-ilɛ*
 AUG-9-chicken 9-PRES-CPL 9-crow-IPFV
 ‘The chicken had crowed.’
- (2) *j-a-lɪ* *ɪ-βɪlɪk-ilɛ* *ʊ-lw-a* *βʊ-βɪlɪ*.
 9-PRES-CPL 9-crow-IPFV AUG-11-ASS 14-two
 ‘He crowed a second time.’
- (3) *ʊ-baba* *ʊ-mwi* *w-a-βá* *w-a-lm-ile* *a-ma-tuⁿda*
 AUG-father 1-one 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-cultivate-IPFV AUG-6-fruit
 ‘One father was cultivating fruit.’
- (4) *wa-mǎ-j-a* *ṁɪ = ku-daβ-a* *a-ma-tuⁿda*
 3SG-CONS-go-FV 18 = 15-pick-FV AUG-6-fruit
 ‘Then goes in order to pick fruit.’
- (5) *w-a-βá* *a-ku-daβ-a* *kú = ṁ-tɪ*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-PROG-harvest-FV 17 = 3-tree
 ‘He was picking in the tree...’
- (6) *ga-mwi* *ga* *lɪ-mwi* *lɪ-mǎ-w-a*
 6-one 6.DEM1 5-one 5-CONS-fall-FV
 ‘...some of these. Then one falls.’
- (7) *w-a-βá* *a-lɪ* *ni* *ʊ-ṁ-fuko* *pá = ⁿ-da*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-LCOP COM AUG-3-pocket 16 = 9-stomach
 ‘He had a pocket on his stomach.’
- (8) *kwa hiyo* *ndɪ* *w-a-daβ-a* *a-ku-tu^mbuk-ɪd-j-a*
 (SWH) so DEP 3SG-PRES-pick-FV 3SG-PROG-drop_into-APPL-CAUS-FV
 ‘So as he picks he is dropping in (the pocket).’
- (9) *a-ɪd-ile* *a-m-ɪt-ɪl-a* *ṁɪ = cɪ-kapu*
 3SG-come-IPFV 3SG-CONS-drop-APPL-FV 18 = 7-basket
 ‘He is coming then he drops into the basket.’

- (19) *w-a-fut-a* *wa-mă-βik-a* *m̃ = ci-kapɔ*
 3SG-PRES-wipe-FV 3SG-CONS-put-FV 18 = 7-basket
 ‘He wipes, then he puts into the basket.’
- (20) *w-a-ciʔk-á* *luⁿdr* *ka-ci-ta^mbala* *wa-mă-li-njep-a* *m̃ = siʔgo*
 3SG-PRES-return-FV again 12-7-kerchief 3SG-CONS-REFL-tie-FV 18 = neck
 ‘He returns again the kerchief then he ties it around his neck.’
- (21) *wa-mă-li-cit-a* *i-vi-sɔga*
 3SG-CONS-REFL-do-FV AUG-8-well
 ‘Then he does it well.’
- (22) *wa-m̃-i-m-ilil-a* *a-mă-aⁿʒ-a* *a-ku-li-kumkuml-a* *i-mi-sa^ɔga*
 3SG-CONS-stand-APPL-FV 3SG-CONS-begin-FV 3SG-PROG-brush_off-REFL-FV AUG-5-sand
 ‘Then he stands and starts brushing sand off himself...’
- (23) *m̃-nɔ* *w-a-l̃i* *wa-m̃-inam-a* *ma-gɔti*
 18-REL 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-CONS-bend_over-FV 6-knee
 ‘...on the place he had knelt.’
- (24) *wa-mă-ciʔk-a* *kú = ʔ-gazi*
 3SG-CONS-return-FV 17 = 9-ladder
 ‘Then he returns to ladder.’
- (25) *wa-mă-paⁿd-a* *luⁿdr*
 3SG-CONS-climb-FV again
 ‘Then he climbs again...’
- (26) *pa-nɔ* *a-ku-paⁿd-a* *kw-a-βá* *ku-li* *u-m̃-ntu* *a-id-ilɛ* *na-wɛ*
 16- 3SG-PROG- 17-PRES-NCOP 17- AUG-1- 3SG-come- CONJ-PRO.3SG
 REL climb-FV LCOP person IPFV
 ‘...as he was climbing there was a person. He is also coming...’
- (27) *a-ku-kwes-a* *i-^m-budi*
 3SG-PROG-pull-FV AUG-9-goat
 ‘...he is pulling a goat...’

- (28) *m̥paka papɔ-nɛ wa-mǎ-pɔt-a*
 until 17.DEM3-DIM 3SG-CONS-pass-FV
 ‘...until right there, then he passes.’
- (29) *ɪ^m-budi j-a-vu ɔ-ku-lj-a ma-tuⁿda wa-mǎ-jɪ-kwɛs-a*
 AUG-9-goat 9-PRES-want AUG-15-eat-FV 6-fruit 3SG-CONS-OBJ.9-pull-FV
 ‘The goat wants to eat fruit, then he pulls it.’
- (30) *w-a-βá a-j-ilɛ*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-go-IPFV
 ‘He was going on.’
- (31) *wa-mǎ-j-a*
 3SG-CONS-go-FV
 ‘Then he goes.’
- (32) *w-a-βá a-j-ilɛ na-jo*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-go-IPFV CONJ-9.DEM3
 ‘He was going on with it.’
- (33) *w-a-βá a-j-ilɛ a-kw-ɪ-kwɛs-a*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-IPFV 3SG-PROG-OBJ.9-pull-FV
 ‘He was going on, he was pulling it.’
- (34) *nɪ wɛ-lɛ w-a-βá a-ku-ɛⁿdɛl-ɪɛ*
 CONJ 1-DEM2 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-PROG-continue-IPFV
 ‘And that one he was continuing...’
- (35) *nɪ w-a-paⁿd-a^ŋg-a kú = m̥-tɪ*
 CONJ 3SG-PRES-climb-PFV-FV 17 = 3-tree
 ‘...and he has climbed into the tree.’
- (36) *a-ku-daβ- a-ma- a-ku-βɪk-a ɔ-m̥-fukɔ ɔ = βɔ-nɔ w-a-lɪ a-lɪ-njɛf-ilɛ kú = nani*
a tuⁿda
 3SG-PROG- AUG-6- 3SG-PROG- AUG-3- COP = 3-REL 3-PRES- 3SG-REFL- thing
 pick-FV fruit put-FV pocket CPL tie-IPFV
 ‘He is picking fruit, he is putting it in his pocket, it is the one which he had been tying to the thing...’

- (37) *m̐ = ŋ-sana waβá a-kulu u-ku-daβ-a*
 18 = 3-waist 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-continue AUG-15-pick-FV
 ‘...around waist, he was continuing to pick.’
- (38) *ni w-rⁿdi w-a-βá a-id-ilɛ ni baisikeli u = m̐-lumɛⁿɔ*
 CONJ 1-other 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-come-IPFV CONJ bicycle COP = AUG-1-boy
 ‘And the other one was coming with a bicycle, it is a boy...’
- (39) *w-a-βá a-id-ilɛ*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-come-IPFV
 ‘...who was coming...’
- (40) *m̐paka papɔ-nɛ karibu ni i-ci-ti c-a ma-tuⁿda*
 until 16.DEM3-DIM close CONJ AUG-7-tree 7-ASS 6-fruit
 ‘...until right there close to fruit tree.’
- (41) *w-a-βá a-id-ilɛ a-ku-ca^ŋg-a polepole*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-come-IPFV 3SG-PROG-ride-FV slowly
 ‘He was coming, riding slowly.’
- (42) *ni-ku a-dw-itɛ iⁿ-kɔfila*
 CONJ-17.DEM1 3SG-wear-IPFV AUG-9-hat
 ‘And here he wears a hat.’
- (43) *w-a-βá a-id-ilɛ*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-come-IPFV
 ‘He was coming...’
- (44) *m̐paka papɔ-nɛ*
 until 16.DEM3-DIM
 ‘...until right there...’
- (45) *pá = citi wa-mĩ-im-ilil-a wa-mĩ-ik-a*
 16 = 7-tree 3SG-CONS-stop-APPL-FV 3SG-CONS-descend-FV
 ‘...at the tree he stops, then he descends...’

- (46) *kú=ʷkaʷgalɔ*
17 = 9-bicycle
‘...from the bicycle.’
- (47) *wa-mǎ-jɪ-w-ɪf-a* *ɪ-ʷkaʷgalɔ* *pá=ʷsɪ*
3SG-CONS-9-fall-CAUS-FV AUG-9-bicycle 16 = 9-ground
‘Then he sets down bicycle on the ground.’
- (48) *wa-mǎ-aʷz-a* *ʊ-kʊ-liʷg-ɪf-a*
3SG-CONS-begin-FV AUG-15-see-CAUS-FV
‘Then he begins to look around.’
- (49) *wa-lɛm-ɪlɛ* *i-tuʷda* *ɪ-lj-a* *kwaʷza* *ʊ-m-saβa*
3SG-grab-FV 5-fruit AUG-5-fruit first AUG-1-owner
‘The owner is holding the first fruit...’
- (50) *kʊ-lɛ* *kʊ=mɪ-tɪ* *w-a-crʷtukɪl-a*
17-DEM2 17 = 3-tree 3SG-PRES-surprise-FV
‘...over there at the tree he is surprised.’
- (51) *wa-mɔʷp-a* *w-a-liʷg-ɪf-a* *w-a-liʷg-á* *a-ta-m-bw-inɛ*
3SG-CONS-fear-FV 3SG-PRES-look_around-CAUS-FV 3SG-PRES-look_around-FV 3SG-NEG-OBJ.1-see
‘He is afraid, he looks around, he looks, he does not see him.’
- (52) *wa-mǎ-βuʷf-a* *ɪ-cr-kapɔ* *cr-nɔ* *cr-z-ɪlɛ* *a-ma-tuʷda* *ga-lɛ*
3SG-CONS-lift-FV AUG-7-basket 7-REL 7-full-IPFV AUG-6-fruit 6-DEM2
‘Then he lifts basket which is full of those fruit.’
- (53) *a-mǎ-suʷg-ɪd-j-a* *ɪ-kalibu* *ni* *pá=ʷkaʷgalɔ*
3SG-CONS-come_near-CAUS-FV close CONJ 16 = 9-ladder
‘Then he comes close to the ladder.’
- (54) *a-mǎ-βuʷf-a* *ɪ-ʷkaʷgalɔ*
3SG-CONS-lift-FV AUG-9-bicycle
‘Then he lifts bicycle.’

- (55) *ndɪ a-ko-βu:f-a wa-mǎ-i-βɪk-a vi-sɔga wa-mǎ-inɪl-a*
 DEP 3SG-PROG-lift-FV 3SG-CONS-OBJ.9-put-FV 8-well 3SG-CONS-mount-FV
 ‘As he is lifting he places it well. Then he mounts.’
- (56) *wa-mǎ-βu:f-a ɪ-ci-kapɔ ci-lɛ*
 3SG-CONS-lift-FV AUG-7-basket 7-DEM2
 ‘Then he lifts that basket.’
- (57) *wa-mǎ-tu:l-a pá = kɛlijasi*
 3SG-CONS-set-FV 16 = carrier
 ‘Then he sets it on the carrier.’
- (58) *wa-mǎ-aʔg-a ʊ-ku-caʔg-a wa-mǎ-βu:k-a w-a-βá w-a-jiβ-a*
 3SG-CONS-begin-FV AUG-15-ride- 3SG-CONS-exit-FV 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-PRES-steal-FV
 FV
 ‘Then he begins to ride, then he exits, and he has stolen.’
- (59) *wa-mǎ-j-a*
 3SG-CONS-go-FV
 ‘Then he goes...’
- (60) *ku-lɛ ni m-kɔla wɛ-lɛ a-ɛndɛl-iɛ ku-daβ-a a-ma-tuʔda*
 17-DEM2 CONJ 1-he 1-DEM2 3SG-continue-IPFV 15-pick-FV AUG-6-fruit
 ‘...over there and he continues to pick fruit.’
- (61) *w-a-βá a-ta-maŋ-ilɛ ci-nɔ ci-kw-rʔdɪla*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-NEG-know-IPFV 7-REL 7-PROG-continue-FV
 ‘He was not knowing what is continuing.’
- (62) *a-kulʊ ku-daβ-a ka-le ka-j-ilɛ ka-ku-caʔg-a*
 3SG-continue 15-pick-FV 12-DEM2 12-go-IPFV 12-PROG-ride-FV
 ‘He continues to pick, that one goes riding.’
- (63) *ka-j-ilɛ ka-ku-caʔg-a*
 12-go-IPFV 12-PROG-ride-FV
 ‘He goes riding...’

- (64) *ni m-hala w-a-βá a-id-ilɛ ni basikeli*
 CONJ 1-girl 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-come-IPFV CONJ bicylce
 ‘...and a girl was coming with a bicycle...’
- (65) *na-wɛnɛ a-ku-ca^ŋg-a*
 CONJ-PRO.3SG 3SG-PROG-ride-FV
 ‘...and she was riding.’
- (66) *w-a-βá a-j-ilɛ*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-come-IPFV
 ‘She was going on.’
- (67) *w-a-βá a-j-ilɛ cilɛka β-a-lɪ-pot-u^ŋk-an-j'-e βa-ma-g^ŋg-an-a*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-come- CONJ 3PL-PRES-REFL-pass_by-REV-RECP- 3PL-CONS-hit-
 IPFV CAUS-IPFV RECP-FV
 ‘She was going so they pass by each other, then they run into each other.’
- (68) *u:u: βa-mă-li-pum-a*
 exclamation 3PL-CONS-REFL-hit-FV
 ‘Ohh, they hit each other.’
- (69) *a-ma-tuⁿda ga-lɛ ga-mĩ-itik-a*
 AUG-6-fruit 6-DEM2 6-CONS-spill-FV
 ‘Those fruit spill.’
- (70) *ka:lɛ a-ka-ⁿcɛ ka-mă-w-a*
 12-DEM2 AUG-12-child 12-CONS-fall-FV
 ‘That child then falls.’
- (71) *ka-mă-aⁿga hoi ka-mă-aⁿʒ-a ku-lɪ-ku^ŋkuml-a ɪ-suluβalı*
 12-CONS-begin-FV in a bad state 12-CONS-begin-FV 15-REFL-brush_off-FV 9-pants
 ‘Then he begins to be in a bad state, he begins to brush off his pants.’
- (72) *ka-ku-li-lɪl-a ni sɔkisi*
 12-PROG-REFL-look-FV CONJ socks
 ‘He is looking at his socks.’

- (73) *ka-a-aⁿʒ-a* *ku-li-liⁿg-a* *u-m-kuⁿgulu*
12-PRES-begin-FV 15-REFL-look-FV AUG-3-leg
'He begins to look at his leg.'
- (74) *ka-ma-aⁿʒ-a* *u-ku-lipjil-a*
12-CONS-begin-FV AUG-15-REFL-clean-FV
'Then he begins to clean himself...'
- (75) *ni* *βa-ndi* *β-a-βa* *β-id-aⁿg-a,* *β-a-li* *ni* *i-ci-pawa*
CONJ 2- 3PL-PRES-NCOP 3PL-PRES-come-PFV-FV 3PL-PRES-CPL COM AUG-7-
other drum
'...and the others have come, they have a drum.'
- (76) *a-ku-gɔⁿga-gɔⁿg-a*
3SG-PROG-beat-beat-FV
'He is beating it (repeatedly).'
- (77) *βa-mi-id-a* *β-a-aⁿʒ-a* *ku-m-saidi-a*
3PL-CONS-come-FV 3PL-PRES-begin-FV 15-OBJ.1-help-FV
'They have come, they begin to help him.'
- (78) *ni* *wɛ-lɛ* *wa-mă-aⁿʒa* *ku-m-saidi-a* *u-ku-kuⁿkuml-a* *wɛ-lɛ*
CONJ 1-DEM2 3SG-CONS-begin-FV 15-OBJ.1-help-FV AUG-15-brush_off-FV 1-DEM2
'And that one begins to help him to brush off that one.'
- (79) *ku = m-hala*
17 = 1-girl
'As for the girl...'
- (80) *wa-mă-aⁿʒa* *u-ku-djɔl-a*
3SG-CONS-begin-FV AUG-15-pick_up-FV
'...she begins to pick it up.'
- (81) *βa-mă-aⁿʒa* *ku-sɛ:l-l-a* *a-ma-tuⁿda* *βa-ku-βik-a* *ni = ci-kapu*
3PL-CONS-begin-FV 15-retrieve-FV AUG-6-fruit 3PL-PROG-put-FV 18 = 7-basket
'Then they have begun to retrieve fruit, they are putting in the basket.'

- (82) *ni wε-lε uw-rⁿdi wa-mǎ-bu:f-a rⁿ-kaⁿgalɔ*
 CONJ 1-DEM2 1-other 3SG-CONS-lift-FV 9-bicycle
 ‘And that other one then lifts the bicycle.’
- (83) *βa-ku-βik-a m̃ = ci-kapɔ*
 3PL-PROG-put-FV 18 = 7-basket
 ‘They are putting them in the basket.’
- (84) *ni ku-βa kú = wε-lε u-m-lumεⁿdɔ a-ku-kuⁿkuml-a i-nani*
 CONJ 17-NCOP 17 = 1-DEM2 AUG-1-boy 3SG-PROG-brush_off-FV 9-thing
 ‘And as for that boy, he is brushing off the thing.’
- (85) *βa-mǎ-βu:f-a ic-i-kapɔ βa-mǎ-βik-a pá = kelijasi*
 3PL-CONS-lift-FV AUG-7-basket 3PL-CONS-put-FV 16 = carrier
 ‘Then they lift the basket, then they put it on the carrier.’
- (86) *βa-ku-βik-a ni ga-nɔ ga-a-falil-aⁿg-a*
 3PL-PRES-CONS-put-FV CONJ 6-REL 6-PRES-remain-PFV-FV
 ‘They are putting them with those which have remained.’
- (87) *wa-mǎ-sɔl-a i-wε wa-mǎ-sɔ^mb-a u-mwi*
 3SG-CONS-retrieve-FV 5-rock 3SG-CONS-throw_away-FV 1-one
 ‘Then he retrieves the rock, then he throws one away.’
- (88) *ka-lε a-ka- k-a-βa k-a-vulal-ik-aⁿg-a ka-mǎ-anz-a u-ku-sukum-*
lumεⁿdɔ a
 12- AUG-12- 12-PRES-NCOP 12-PRES-injure-NEUT- 12-CONS-begin- AUG-15-
 DEM2 boy PFV-FV FV push-FV
 ‘That boy who has been injured then begins to push.’
- (89) *ni βa-lε βa-tatu βa-má-j-a βa-má-mdεl-a ni safali j-aβo*
 CONJ 2- 2- 3PL-CONS-go-FV 3PL-CONS-continue-FV CONJ journey 9.PP-
 DEM2 three 3PL
 ‘And those three go, they continue with their journey.’
- (90) *ni ka-lε ka-mé-εⁿdelej-a ni safali j-akwe*
 CONJ 12-DEM2 12-CONS-continue-FV CONJ journey 9.PP-3SG
 ‘And that one continues with his journey.’

- (91) *β-a-βa* *βa-j-ilɛ*
 3PL-PRES-NCOP 3PL-go-IPFV
 ‘They were going on...’
- (92) *βa-lɛ* *βa-tatu* *uw-rⁿdi* *w-a-βá* *a-li* *ku = njuma*
 2-DEM2 2-three 1-other 3SG-PRES-CONS-NCOP 3SG-LCOP 17 = behind
 ‘...those three, the other who was at the back...’
- (93) *a-ku-lɔdj-a* *i-ci-pawa*
 3SG-PROG-beat-FV AUG-7-drum
 ‘...is beating a drum.’
- (94) *wa-mǎ-βik-a* *i-ci-pawa* *kú = m-fukɔ*
 3SG-CONS-put-FV AUG-7-drum 17 = 3-pocket
 ‘Then he puts the drum in his pocket.’
- (95) *wa-mǎ-lr^g-a* *i-ⁿ-kɔfila*
 3SG-CONS-look_for-FV AUG-9-hat
 ‘Then he looks for the hat.’
- (96) *wa-mǎ-m-mil-a* *u-m-luzi* *a-ti* *w-a-iβil-a*
 3SG-CONS-OBJ-blow-FV AUG-3-whistle 3SG-say 2SG-PRES-forget-FV
 ‘Then he whistles he says, “You have forgotten it.”’
- (97) *wa-mǎ-m-twal-il-a* *a-li* *ni* *ⁿ-taβu*
 3SG-CONS-OBJ.1-take-APPL-FV 3SG-LCOP COM 9-step
 ‘He takes it to him, he is on his way.’
- (98) *a-mǎ-sɔl-a* *wɛ-lɛ* *u-m-lumɛⁿdɔ*
 3SG-CONS-retrieve-FV 1-DEM2 AUG-1-boy
 ‘That boy takes it.’
- (99) *a-mǎ-i-dwal-a* *a-mɛ-ɛⁿdɛlɛj-a* *ni* *i-safali* *j-akwe*
 3SG-CONS-OBJ.9-put_on-FV 3SG-CONS-continue-FV CONJ 9-journey 9-PP-3SG
 ‘Then he puts it on, then he continues with his journey.’

- (100) *u-m-lumeⁿdo* *ow-rⁿdi* *wa-mă-ciⁿk-a*
 AUG-1-boy 1-other 3SG-CONS-
 ‘The other boy returns...’
- (101) *w-a-ká-ɔⁿg-an-ε* *ni* *βa-lε* *a-βa-ⁿdi* *βa-tatu*
 3SG-PST-join-RECP-FV CONJ 2-DEM2 2-other 2-three
 ‘...he tries to join with those other three.’
- (102) *β-a-j-ile*
 3-PL-go-IPFV
 ‘They go.’
- (103) *wa-mă-aⁿɔ-a* *u-ku-njamⁿ-a*
 3SG-CONS-begin-FV AUG-15-run-FV
 ‘He begins to run.’
- (104) *wa-mă-βad-an-a* *w-a-βá* *βa-mă-m-p-a* *ma-tuⁿda*
 3SG-CONS-OBJ.2-meet-RECP-FV 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3PL-CONS-OBJ.1-give-FV 6-fruit
 ‘Then he meets them, he has given them fruit.’
- (105) *a-mă-aⁿɔ-a* *ku-i-fut-il-a* *kw = ífati*
 3SG-CONS-begin-FV 15-OBJ.9-wipe-APPL-FV 17 = 9-shirt
 ‘He begins wiping it on his shirt.’
- (106) *wa-mă-sɔl-a* *i-ci-pawa* *ci-nɔ* *w-a-lεk-aⁿg-a* *kukɔ* *kú = m̩fukɔ*
 3SG-CONS-retrieve-FV AUG-7- 7- 3SG-PRES-leave-PFV-FV 17.DEM3 17 = 3-
 drum REL pocket
 ‘Then he takes a drum which he left there in his pocket.’
- (107) *wa-mă-aⁿɔ-a* *ukulja* *β-a-βa* *βa-j-ile*
 3SG-CONS-begin-FV AUG-15-eat-FV 3PL-PRES-NCOP-FV 3pl-go-IPFV
 ‘Then he begins to eat as they were going.’
- (108) *wa-mă-aⁿɔ-a* *u-ku-um-a* *ku-ti* *ⁿ-kεⁿgele*
 3SG-CONS-begin-FV AUG-15-beat like 9-bell
 ‘Then he begins to beat it like a bell.’

- (109) *wɛ-lɛ ʊ-baba ʊ-nɔ w-a-lɪ a-lɪ kú = m-tɪ*
 1-DEM2 1a-father 1-REL 3SG-PRES-CPL 3SG-LCOP 17 = 3-tree
 ‘That father who had been in the tree...’
- (110) *wa-mǎ-aⁿʒ-a ʊ-kw-ik-a kú = ⁿ-gazi*
 3SG-CONS-begin-FV AUG-15-descend 17 = 9-ladder
 ‘...begins to descend on the ladder.’
- (111) *ⁿdr a-kw-ik-a a-ku-lɪ^ŋg-a mɪ = cɪ-kapɔ*
 DEP 3SG-PROG-descend-FV 3SG-PROG-look_for-FV 18 = 7-basket
 ‘As he is descending he is looking for the basket.’
- (112) *a-βw-mɛ mɪ = ⁿ-si ma-tuⁿda*
 3SG-see-IPFV 18 = ground 6-fruit
 ‘He sees fruit on the ground.’
- (113) *wa-mǎ-βu:k-a wa-mǎ-aⁿʒ-a ʊ-ku-lɪ-βu:dja*
 3SG-CONS-exit-FV 3SG-CONS-begin-FV AUG-15-REFL-ask-FV
 ‘Then he stands then begins to ask himself...’
- (114) *a-tɪ luⁿdr oni wa-^ŋg-iβɪl-aⁿg-a*
 3SG-say again who 3SG-OBJ.1-COND-steal-PFV-FV
 ‘...he says, “Now who has robbed me?”’
- (115) *w-a-βá a-ku-sɔ^ŋta-sɔ^ŋt-a*
 3SG-PRES-NCOP 3SG-PROG-shake_a_finger-FV
 ‘He was shaking his finger.’
- (116) *wa-mǎ-tɛⁿgenɛdj-a rⁿ-kofɪla vi-sɔga*
 3SG-CONS-fix-FV 9-hat 8-well
 ‘Then he fixes the hat well.’
- (117) *a-βa-βw-inɛ βa-lɛ βa-tatu β-iɪd-ilɛ*
 3SG-OBJ.2-see-IPFV 2-DEM2 2-three 3PL-come-IPFV
 ‘Then he sees those three coming.’

- (118) *mm hmm βa-tatu, wa-mǎ-βa-lɔl-a wa-mǎ-βa-ju^ŋgul-a*
 exclamation 2-three 3SG-CONS-OBJ.2-see-FV 3SG-CONS-OBJ.2-glare-FV
 ‘Mm hmm three, then he sees them, then he glares at them.’
- (119) *wa-mǎ-βa-ju^ŋgul-a vi-nɔ βa-j-ilɛ*
 3SG-CONS-OBJ.2-glare-FV 8-REL 3PL-go-IPFV
 ‘Then he glares at them as they are going.’
- (120) *wa-mǎ-imil-a wa-mǎ-li-tɔŋ-a ɲ-sana*
 3SG-CONS-stand-FV 3SG-CONS-REFL-touch-FV 3-waist
 ‘Then he stands and touches his waist.’
- (121) *a-βa-kɔla βa-mǎ-pu:t-a β-a-βa βa-j-ilɛ*
 AUG-2-PRO 3PL-CONS-pass-FV 3PL-PRES-NCOP 3PL-go-IPFV
 ‘They pass and they were going.’
- (122) *β-a-βa βa-j-ilɛ ni safali dy-aβo*
 3PL-PRES-NCOP 3PL-go-IPFV CONJ journey 10-PP.3PL
 ‘They were going on their journey.’