

A Comparative Study of Tone and Intonation  
in Seven Kongo Dialects

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Abstract

This thesis proposes a pitch-accent description of the pitch features of several dialects of the kiKongo language (Western Central Africa), hitherto considered tonal. Evidence is given that contour variation for the purposes of focus and emphasis exists in kiKongo, ie. that there is an intonational overlay to the basic pitch-accent system. The common pitch feature of 'bridging' (assimilation of low pitches to surrounding high pitches) is shown to be comparable to phenomena in three other Bantu languages, and like them has connotations of focus or emphasis. Previous systematisations of kiKongo pitch features are discussed and shown to be broadly comparable, especially in one area: comparison of the various tone-classes established in these works suggests that there are in fact two main accentual classes in kiKongo - rising (low initial) and falling (high initial). These classes are distinguished on words in isolation, but not on words in context. There is thus a three-tier system: accentual classes, pitch-accent system, and intonational overlay. Examination of pitch placement in the different dialects allows us to delimit four main dialect areas. Creole kiKongo (kiLeta) is shown to differ from kiKongo proper in that high pitch usually occurs on the penultimate syllable of the word rather than on the first syllable of the stem, and the development from one system of placement to the other is discussed.

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PART I

Preliminaries

CHAPTER ONE  
Introductory Remarks

1.1: dialects referred to in the thesis.

This thesis deals with material from several dialects of the Kongo language cluster (kiKongo). The cluster is listed as H10 in Guthrie 1967-71. The dialects in question, classified as H16 by Guthrie, are as follows (with equivalents in Guthrie's listing when they can be distinguished):

kiMbanz' aKongo	(H16a?)
kiYaka/kiNtandu <sup>1</sup>	(H16g?)
kiZombo	(H16h?)
kiNtandu <sup>1</sup>	(H16g?)
kiManyanga	(H16b??)
kisiNgombe.	

The thesis also examines creole kiKongo, referred to here as kiLeta.

1.2: domain of kiKongo.

An exact idea of the geographical domain of kiKongo is difficult to obtain. The language (or, to be more exact, the cluster of dialects comprising the language) is spoken over a wide area in northern Angola, western Zaire, and southern portions of the République Populaire du Congo, as shown on the map in Appendix 1. The number of speakers of kiKongo is estimated by the Encyclopaedia of Africa at around four million.

1.3: dialects.

1.3.1: number of dialects.

Estimates of the number of dialects comprising the cluster vary. Laman 1936 (pp. xl-xci) lists 13 main dialect areas, and Guthrie 1967-71 (vol. 2, pp. 51-52) also has 13 members in his Kikongo Group, though there is only partial resemblance to those described by Laman. Van Bulck 1948 (pp. 359-392) lists 58 dialects; Bryan 1959 (pp. 56-62) repeats these, and adds about 10 more mentioned by Guy Atkins.

1.3.2: dialect areas.

My informants gave dialect listings differing somewhat from those

in the works cited in 1.3.1; their names and distributions for the central and southern dialects have been given on the map in Appendix 1, and will be used throughout the thesis. For the northern and eastern dialects the names used by Laman 1936 have been retained.

#### 1.4: previous study of kiKongo.

Ever since the Portuguese explorers came into contact with the Kingdom of the Kongo in the 16th century (see Balandier 1968, and for an early account see Pigafetta 1591), the kiKongo language has been the subject of study (van Bulck 1948 pp. 334-59 gives an annotated list of early materials and authors). At first this study was mainly to aid proselytising among the baKongo - a catechism was published in 1624 by Cardoso (see Bontinck and Ndembe Nsasi 1978), and another priest, Brusciotto, followed this with the first <sup>surviving</sup> grammar of the language (see Brusciotto 1659, Grattan Guinness 1882), which was also the first devoted to any Bantu language (so far as we know).

Thereafter there were many grammatical studies of various dialects (for a good listing to 1948 see van Bulck 1948). The methods of description first developed for Latin and Greek were used in most of these studies, except for the more recent ones (eg. Carter and Makoondekwa 1975, 1979; Daeleman 1966; Jacquot 1967; Lumwamu 1973; Söderberg and Widman 1966, etc.). The study of syntax has, however, been barely touched on, except for some preliminary observations in Guthrie 1961 and Carter 1973.

The first dictionary of kiKongo was compiled by Fr. Georges<sup>2</sup> (see van Wing and Penders 1928), and thereafter several other dictionaries were published. The two most notable are Bentley 1887 (with appendix 1895), dealing with the southern dialects, and the monumental Laman 1936, dealing primarily with the central and northern dialects. Laman's dictionary is one of the largest for any African language, and is carefully tone-marked throughout (see also chapter 14).

Other scholars have collected and discussed kiKongo literature, both written and oral. To take a few at random, we may mention Struyf 1908, 1935; deClerq 1939; Dennett 1898; Nsuka 1968; van Roy 1963; Mbelolo ya Mpiku 1972; Jacquot 1978. There have also been ethnographical studies such as Laman 1907, 1953-68; Bittremieux 1923, 1934.

1.5: tonal studies of kiKongo.

There have been a few studies of the tonal aspects of kiKongo: Laman 1922 (one of the earliest extended studies for any Bantu language) and 1936 (introduction); Daeleman 1966; Carter 1973, 1974, 1980<sup>3</sup>; Meeussen and Ndembe 1964. There is also some information on the tonal aspects of kiYaka, a very closely related language, in Van den Eynde 1968.

Each investigator systematises the kiKongo pitch phenomena in a different way, though there does seem to be a consensus that these phenomena are related in some way to syntax. Some differences in these analyses may be due to dialectal or chronological variations, while others may be assumed to relate to differences in personal approach.

All the above studies, with the exception of Meeussen and Ndembe 1964, will be referred to and discussed in this thesis; we may thereby be able to abstract some elements common to these systematisations.

1.6: terms.

1.6.1: preliminary definition of terms.

One important question that will be asked is whether kiKongo can actually be said to have a tonal system. Both the practical and the theoretical implications of this question are important, and cannot be fully discussed here. However, it may elucidate subsequent comments if we give here an extremely brief notion of the reference of certain terms as they are understood in the rest of this thesis. Documentation and fuller discussion will be postponed until later.

1.6.2: early ideas.

Most studies of pitch phenomena in African languages take as their

basis Pike's classic definition of a tone language as one in which there is relative, significant and contrastive pitch on each syllable (Pike 1948). It has been generally considered that there are two main types of pitch phenomena - 'tonal' and 'intonational'.

It was, however, recognised that in some languages such as Norwegian, the boundary between tone and intonation was not clearly defined. Subsequent, more detailed research has allowed us to expand the notion of two types, first to give an intermediate grouping for languages like Norwegian, Serbo-Croatian and Japanese, and then to recognise that it may in fact be more fruitful to see the pitch phenomena of individual languages as being spread along a typological continuum, as McCawley 1978 has suggested.

While recognising this continuum, we have found it useful, for the purposes of our discussion, to distinguish three main areas along the tone-intonation spectrum.

#### 1.6.3: intonational systems.

At one end of the spectrum are languages using pitch solely or primarily to identify different connotations (shades of meaning) of the speech token. We will refer to this type of system as 'intonational'.

#### 1.6.4: tonal systems.

At the other end of the spectrum are languages in which a primary function of pitch is to identify different denotations (semantic references) of an otherwise homophonous speech token, ie. to distinguish morphemes. We will refer to this type of system as 'tonal'. It is quite probable that there is an intonational element in every language, even in a tonal one, since the use of pitch in marking emphasis, emotional intensity, and so on, seems to be universal. In a tonal language, however, intonational pitch contours will modulate, but usually not replace, the morphemic feature of tone.

#### 1.6.5: pitch-accent systems.

Somewhere between these points, towards the middle of the spectrum,

are languages in which pitch plays some role in distinguishing morphemes or grammatical categories, but this is secondary to its affective and syntactic roles. We will refer to this type of system as 'pitch-accent'.<sup>4</sup>

#### 1.6.6: the pitch continuum.<sup>5</sup>

The situation may be sketched as a graph. On the y axis is placed what we will call 'domain', where four main points may be distinguished: (i) pitch is bound to the syllable or morpheme;

(ii) pitch is bound to the morpheme or word;

(iii) pitch is bound to the word or phrase;

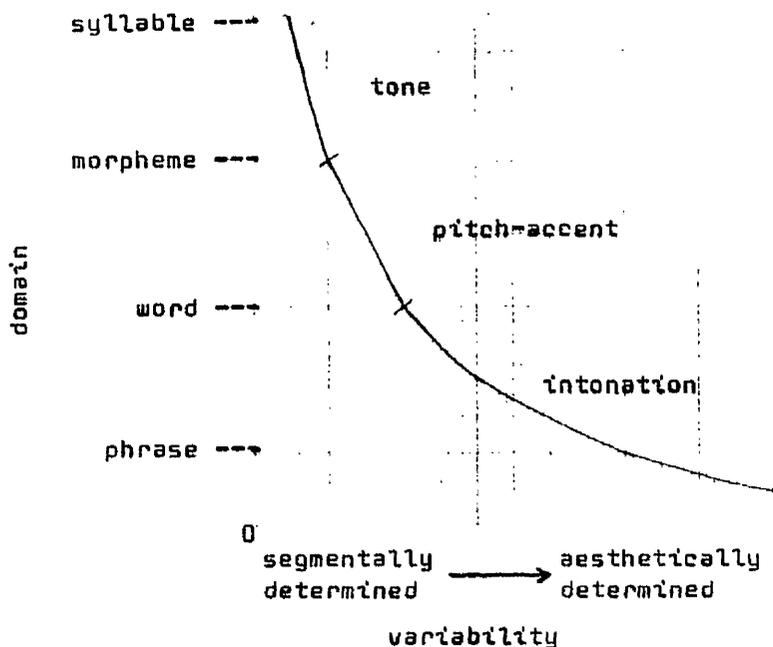
(iv) pitch is bound to the phrase or longer stretch.

On the x axis is placed what we will call 'variability', where two extremes may be distinguished:

(i) pitch is primarily fixed by the identity of the segmentals, eg. where the sequence cannot be modified except by making the intervals larger, etc.;

(ii) pitch is wholly aesthetic - meaning in effect that the speaker can select from a range of possible pitch patterns in the individual language.

Plotting on a graph with these axes, the following curve would result:



The three main types of system distinguished above have been marked off on the curve. Although an over-simplification, we can roughly characterise the three areas by saying that the domain of tone covers the area syllable-morpheme, that of pitch-accent covers the area morpheme-word (in the Dokean sense), and that of intonation covers the area word-phrase and longer. This has the interesting corollary that the shorter the utterance we are dealing with, the more difficult it is, working on the basis of that utterance alone, to decide which type of pitch system is being used in the language of the utterance.

1.6.7: aim of thesis.

This thesis will attempt, using data both from informants and from previous studies, to specify the position of various kiKongo dialects on the suprasegmental continuum, and to give some account of possible tonal-intonational interactions in the kiKongo system.

1.7. : the texts.

Texts from four informants were used as the basis of the work. Most of the texts were read from written sources, which in some cases were published works, in others self-composed pieces. Two texts, however, were spontaneous monologues. The texts were fully pitch-marked (see chapter 2), and are given, with translations, in Appendix 3. In one or two cases, the same written text was read twice, for purposes of comparison. In most cases, the informant was asked to comment on and explain specific pitch-features of the text. These comments were recorded, and constitute an important body of supplementary data.

1.7.1: dangers of using read texts.

There are of course dangers in taking a read text as the basis for a study, as there may well be special pitch contours associated with reading, or, indeed, with any material rehearsed in advance of the speech act. But at the least, use of read material permits the analysis of a valid subset of the language's pitch phenomena. Though the limitations of such texts are recognised, it is important to note that the system abstracted from the read texts correlated

very closely with that abstracted from the two spontaneous texts.

1.7.2: treatment of the texts.

After the texts were recorded their pitch contours were transcribed and examined. Any variant or otherwise interesting pitch patterns were then noted for discussion with the informant a few days later. His comments on these patterns were recorded, and if necessary, further questions were asked.

This approach has the great advantage that the informant can describe in his own words what he sees as meaningful areas of the language. This led to several interesting comments which might not have come to light otherwise. It is a useful and sometimes illuminating exercise to seek the informant's opinion in this way, as he most probably has insights into his language system which the investigator does not have.<sup>6</sup>

However, this advantage may be offset by dangers: the most obvious one is that the informant may manufacture 'explanations' for differences I thought I perceived. I tried to guard against this by returning to the same point in several different sessions, so that any spur-of-the-moment explanations would be shown up as such.

1.8. : the informants.

The four informants were Rev. André Komy Banzadio (chapters 3, 10), Mr. Y.K. Katesi (chapter 11), Rev. Daniel Ntoni-Nzinga (chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10), and Mr. Albert Ndolo Menayame (chapters 8, 9).<sup>7</sup>

1.8.1: A. Komy Banzadio.

Rev. Komy Banzadio recorded a text in 1966 for Hazel Carter of SOAS, and it was this I used. I therefore had no opportunity to ask him for comments on his text. He was born in Kinshasa, but lived most of his life in Kimpese, some distance away. At school he spoke kiNtandu (see chapter 7), but as of 1966 spoke kisiNgombe. His father came from Ntumba and used to speak kiNdibu, but now speaks kisiNgombe. His wife Marthe, also from Ntumba, speaks kiNdibu.

## CORRECTIONS

'A comparative study of tone and intonation in 7 Kongo dialects'. K.G. Donnelly, 1982.

- page 17, line 22: McCaulay → McCauley  
 28/16: there → [there]  
 31/17: and → [and]  
 32/7: 3.15 → 3.5  
 35/15: insert pause mark (·) after  
 bu-katoombula  
 36/14: ye-nsusu makumoole → yē-nsusu  
 makumoole  
 38/7: 3.15 → 3.5  
 38/13: their → [their]
- 44/3: delete se  
 44/8: 4.7.2 → 4.6.1  
 53/26: 4.7.2 → 4.6.1  
 56/27: and LOC → and + LOC  
 70/12: kiZombo → kiZombo<sup>1</sup>  
 72/21: eviambu → éviambu  
 85/12: anayses → analyses  
 83/29: engudi → éngudi  
 87/31: delete be  
 113/26: my → [my]  
 114/last: sheep' → sheep)  
 117 18: -- → --  
 124/17: last word in the line is  
 'time'
- 135/12: -- → --  
 137/13: text → text<sup>7</sup>  
 152/1: follows: → follows:<sup>5</sup>  
 153/29: 12 → 14  
 155/3: neutralisation → neutralisation  
 164/27: a → as  
 166/27: obugolo → obugoló  
 obugolo → obugóló  
 166/28: Kakulu → Kakúlu  
 166/29: Kakulu → Kakúlu  
 180/6: ahs → has  
 209/19: of the phrase → [of the phrase]  
 210/28: a → á  
 216/22: -ámwana → -amwána  
 219/9: practise → practice  
 222/10: his work → [his work]  
 241/24: ke le → ke [le]  
 246/14: phrasesin → phrases in  
 252/13: -pitches → -pitched  
 256/33: nani ke kuna → náni kĕ kúna  
 258/27: sambu → sambu (gap mark missing)  
 260/4: yái. → yái'.  
 264/19: delete th  
 265/33: consisten → consistent  
 270/30: 33 → 32  
 270/32: 33 → 32  
 270/33: ocourse → course  
 289/1: delete 'define'  
 307/31: x (under 'citation form', 2nd  
 instance) → y
- 316/27: unity (2nd instance) → correlation  
 339/3: insert 'may' at beginning of line  
 becomes → become  
 339/5: 4 → 22  
 0.6% → 3.4%  
 339/7: occurring → co-occurring  
 340/17: forms). → forms).<sup>6</sup>  
 346: insert facing p.346:  
 endnote 16:  
 This suggested derivation may in fact  
 help to account for one feature that  
 Carter has noted in her dialect, namely,  
 the barring of a further high pitch on  
 a word with high pitch on the second  
 syllable (see chapter 4, endnote 13, p.9)  
 When the 'high pitch on the last syllable  
 pattern (cycvcv̄) for the rising class  
 was dominant, it was presumably impos-  
 sible to have more than one high pitch  
 on the word - the last syllable already  
 had high pitch, and to put high pitch  
 on a preceding syllable would have  
 caused confusion with the falling class.  
 For example, in a word cycvcv̄, to put a  
 high pitch on the first syllable would  
 give it a fall there, the mark of the  
 falling class. By the same token, though  
 a falling class word could take another  
 high pitch because its defining feature,  
 the fall on the first syllable, would  
 already have marked it as belonging to  
 the falling class. Even when the rising  
 class high pitch migrated leftwards, the  
 same behaviour continued; we might say  
 that a further high pitch on a rising  
 class item in Carter's dialect is barred  
 by the ghost on the last syllable.
- 362: insert at end: /R/ = uvular r.  
 384/6: insert after 'texts': /r/ = uvular r.  
 384/14: delete ve  
 384/19: C iboosi → C iboos<sup>Y</sup>  
 N iboosi → N íboos<sup>ŋ</sup>  
 384/24: NdoloMenayame's → Ndolo Menayame's  
 399/6: 'So the elders ... in.' → 'Then they  
 heard the entrance of they the elders.  
 399/18: 'they did that.' → 'they remained  
 there.'  
 431/4: Luke 23:32-24:39 → pp. 99-100.
- Additional corrections:  
 29/14: insert after 'gemination': 'and  
 affrication'  
 40/14: ɿ → ɿ̣  
 45/2: NC → NC  
 65/10: shortage → shortness  
 121/20: visible → apparent

ADDITIONAL CORRECTIONS

'A comparative study of tone and intonation in 7 Kongo dialects'. K.G. Donnelly, 1982.

- page 53, line 2: CONN → <sup>+</sup>CONN  
 53/30: ~~†~~STAB → ~~†~~STAB  
 53/32: β CONJ → β CONJ  
 55/6: gen → gen<sup>++</sup>  
 74/15: yo-yuvúzyaaná → yo-yúvuzyaaná  
 89/28: éns-sadisi → éns-sadisi  
 100/27: 'spread -- 'spread'  
 110/7: yakala → yákálá  
 115/27: insert after máandi: 'he broke his teeth'  
     baantu → baatu  
     insert after baandi: 'he called his men'  
 151/9: any → [any]  
 153/8: VI → IV  
 151/21 } rightward(s) → leftward(s)  
 153/9 }  
 281/18: 13.2.2 → 13.2.3  
 305/32: kumóngo → kumóngo  
     kúfúla -- kúfúla  
 342/17: can → can  
 24/10: utterance. → utterance.<sup>8</sup>  
 28: insert facing p. 28:  
     endnote 8:  
     The same corollary applies to the rhythm or timing system of a language (J. Kelly, p.c.).  
 35/22: insert after 'acute': 'or grave'  
 41/5: tuna bee- → tuna bee-  
     — — — — —  
 53/28: SUB → SUB<sup>+</sup>  
 125/20: weak → unstressed  
 125/21: strong → stressed  
 202/23: affixes → affixed elements  
 244/9: (v)≠. → (v)≠.<sup>21</sup>  
 264: insert following endnote 20:  
     endnote 21:  
     The only two exceptions seem to be krèyón and kwákér, but here it is uncertain how, or even whether, the last letter is pronounced.  
 273: insert after endnote 9:  
     It has been pointed out to me (J.H. Carter, J. Kelly, p.c.) that continuity and emphasis are in fact complementary in that the former mainly acts 'horizontally', while the latter mainly acts 'vertically' (compare the distinction 'syntagmatic/paradigmatic'). Continuity has an element of 'looking backwards', while emphasis has this same element, but also one of 'presentness'. There is a good example in Swahili of a word occurring in both subsets of markedness:  
     hapo 'here, there, in the place already referred to, in the place in question' (continuity)  
     papo hapo 'right here, at this very spot' (emphasis).  
 353: insert facing p. 353:  
     Abbreviations:  
     (B)SOAS: (Bulletin of the) School of Oriental and African Studies  
     ALS: African Language Studies  
     AS: African Studies  
     BFBS: British and Foreign Bible Society  
     HMSO: Her Majesty's Stationery Office  
     IAI: International African Institute  
     IRCB: Institut Royale Coloniale Belge  
     JAL: Journal of African Languages  
     JALL: Journal of African Languages and Linguistics  
     MRAC: Musée Royale de l'Afrique Centrale  
     OUP: Oxford University Press  
     SAL: Studies in African Linguistics  
     SCOPII: Southern California Occasional Papers in Linguistics  
     SLS: Studies in the Linguistic Sciences  
 356/23: insert on next line:  
     1981. 'Tonal accent in Somali'. SAL 12/2.  
 358/15: insert after 'A.B.': 1980.  
 30/last: are → is  
 94/33 } y'-àkeéntó → y'-àkeentó  
 393/23 }  
 130/11: bases → based  
 135/10 } yè-mbundázyaanu → ye-mbundazyáanu  
 416/26 }  
 207/17: stongly → strongly  
 261/29: the work → it  
 278/25: stong → strong  
 298/8: average individual correlation →  
     (A)verage (I)ndividual (C)orrelation  
 308/3: likely numerically → probable statistically  
 318/18: transferred → exchanged  
 321/18: none are → none is  
 350/18: not → not  
 218/21: doctor' → doctor'<sup>15</sup>  
 226: insert after endnote 14:  
     endnote 15:  
     Note that this would be the contour predicted by Carter for 'it's a doctor that I caught', ie. stable noun + indirect relative (J.H. Carter, p.c.). In terms of the systematisation proposed in this thesis, nganga is emphasised by front-shifting it, and attention is further focussed on it by giving the two words anomalous contours to signal a close syntactic relationship - cf. endnote 13 to chapter 4, p.98.  
 247/30: 'cardigan(?)' → 'sweater'  
 267/17: interpretaion → interpretation  
 279/30: and → and/or

## 1.8.2: Y.K. Katesi.

Mr. Katesi comes from Mateko in the zone of Idyofa in the Bandundu region of Zaire. His mother-tongue is eNgwii (see Bwantsa-Kafungu 1966, Donnelly and Katesi 1981), but since Mateko is an important commercial centre in which kiLeta is commonly spoken, he started using this language from an early age, perhaps 3 or 4. Teaching in the first year of primary school was in kiLeta, and French was then introduced progressively, to be used exclusively in secondary school. Mr. Katesi had a passive knowledge of Lingala at primary school, and at secondary school he began to use it as a contact language; it was also the language of his military service. English was taught from the second year of secondary school, and used for certain university courses (eg. English philology), though French was the language of general use. He had taught for three years, paying visits to Zambia and the USA, before coming to Britain to attend courses at the universities of Leeds and Reading. He was a lively informant, knowledgeable about linguistics, and easily able to produce spontaneous monologues in kiLeta.

## 1.8.3: D. Ntoni-Nzinga.

Rev. Ntoni-Nzinga, my main informant, is widely-travelled. He used to speak kiNdamba, a sub-dialect of kiZombo, but owing to his travels his idiolect has become rather mixed - when speaking spontaneously, for example, he would use several dialectal variants for 'people': waantu, waatu, aatu. He spent about 10 years in Zaire, mostly in the kiTandu dialect area, but also in the kiNdibu area. When he has been in other dialect areas he has consciously tried to imitate the speech habits of the people there, so that he has a good command of different dialectal usages, and knows what the different regional accents sound like. Of course, his reproduction of these was not always perfect; for example, while reading a passage he would occasionally use forms from another dialect. However, when the discrepancies were pointed out to him he would state what he should have said, attributing the mistake to the fact that he was not a first-language speaker of the dialect concerned. For this reason he was unwilling to read passages straight off, but preferred to have some time to 'practise' the passage, so that he could read it with as

little interference as possible from the other dialects he knows. Rev. Ntoni-Nzinga is greatly interested in language in general and kiKongo dialects in particular, which is why he took the trouble of trying to learn the regional accents; he could often give examples of different dialectal pronunciations of the same word, eg. kiNdibu vátá [ - m ] 'village' but kiZombo vátá [ " - ], and he was very willing to discuss his language and answer questions on it. He speaks fluent French and Portuguese, and fairly fluent English. His wife is a kiZombo speaker, but, ironically, has learnt to speak kiNdamba more correctly than her husband now does.

1.8.4: A. Ndolo Menayame.

Mr. Ndolo Menayame originally spoke the kiManyanga dialect of Nsundi-Lutete, but now tends to speak French more than his first language. He had hoped to do an M.A. on kiManyanga tone at Essex University, but lack of library facilities forced him to write on sociolinguistics instead. He returned to Zaire sooner than I had anticipated, before I was able to obtain more information about his linguistic background.

Endnotes to chapter one.

1. KiYaka/kiNtandu (see 5.2) and kiNtandu are distinguished in this thesis; although both dialects could be described as 'kiNtandu', the former shows an admixture of the closely-related kiYaka language. Both dialects, furthermore, show some significant differences from each other where pitch is concerned - see chapters 5, 7, and 15.
2. Van Bulck 1948, p.349, suggests that Georges was in fact only the copyist or translator of the dictionary, and that the real author may have been Roboredo.
3. The most recent work from this author may be found in Carter and Makoondekwa 1981.
4. This is a wider definition of the term than that given by Hyman 1975, p.231: 'Pitch-accent languages are ... tonal to the extent that the feature which is assigned is tone (and that this tone can contrast with another tone in the same position). However there cannot be more than one syllable per word which receives the tonal accent'. In kiKongo it would seem that the contrast is between +high pitch and -high pitch; there does not seem to be a contrast between two or more tones (eg. level v. falling, etc.). Moreover, although there is usually only one high-pitched syllable per word, this is by no means always the case.
5. This section is based on an idea by Patrick R. Bennett.
6. One investigator working on Ndebele music was being sung various pieces of music by his informant, who prefaced one piece with the comment 'this is more difficult'. Further discussion of what he meant by 'more difficult' revealed that he thought it would be more difficult for the investigator to understand, but he himself did not find it any more difficult than the others he had been reciting. This shows that the informant was tailoring his answers to fit what he thought the investigator wanted to hear, but more importantly, it shows that the informant had in his head a developed idea of the musical system, which he was able to vocalise with some success - so developed was it, in fact, that he was able to guess how the investigator might hear the music, and warn him of pieces he might find difficult. (C. Vassie, p.c.)
7. All the informants were in their early middle age (30-40).

CHAPTER TWO  
Textual Conventions

2.1: orthography.

2.1.1: previous orthographies.

The present 'official' kiKongo orthography, invented by the Protestant missions, is fairly phonetic, but, for example, it writes semi-vowel + long vowel sequences as vowel + vowel (eg. -waa- is written as -ua-), and separates locative prefixes from the noun (eg. mu nsi 'in the country' instead of munsi, which is to be preferred as the sequence has only one stress). Neither does it distinguish gemination, which seems to play a morphological role in the dialect studied by Carter (Carter 1970).

An alternative orthography was developed by Carter. This distinguishes gemination, and joins both locative and connective prefixes to the noun (eg. muntsi instead of mu nsi). But Carter consistently writes long/double vowels as vowel + vowel, even though in some cases (eg. often before a nasal compound) this lengthening may perhaps be a conditioned variant (eg. -soomba 'buy' instead of -somba) - see 4.6.6 and 14.4. Likewise, in cases where there is a variation between semi-vowel + long vowel and vowel + vowel, she writes only the former.

A new official orthography is being discussed and tested by the recently formed kiKongo Consultative Committee (of which both the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga and the Rev. João Makoondekwa, who was Carter's main informant, are members), but no definite agreement has been reached as yet.

2.1.2: orthography of this thesis.

The orthography of the texts (see Appendix 3) can best be described as non-standardised. It is based on the present official orthography, but with the incorporation of some features of the Carter orthography. It is not a normalising system; for example, long vowels, affrication and gemination are only marked where heard, and not according to any standard idea of which words should have them. Locative prefixes are written conjunctively (ie. muntsi), but the connective prefix is



in terms of patterns occurring on phonological phrases.

We may consider phonological phrases to be conditioned by two factors: (i) semanto-syntactic considerations, and (ii) pulmonary capability; in other words, (i) the semantics and syntactic structure of the stretch being uttered, and (ii) the length of the stretch the speaker can utter before he runs out of breath. It seems as if the speaker picks out a suitable portion to be uttered, and then pauses while scanning ahead to consider what should be the next portion; the process is repeated indefinitely.

2.2.2: delimitation of the phrases.

Where the punctuation of the written text matches the phrasing of the speech, pauses are marked with the marks of punctuation of the text. Where a pause occurred that was not marked in the script, it was marked by a raised dot. Thus

.Momo ngyeele kuna-zaandu, ntsuumbidingi ntsusu. (7, 79)

| phrase one | phrase two |

'I went to the market, and I bought a chicken.'

,dimonekene vo . sama-skul yikitukidi . sempil' atadiya ... (10, 59-60)

| phrase 1 | phrase 2 | phrase 3

'it was seen that the summer-school had become now a kind of factory ...'

In some cases, the pauses are fairly prolonged, and this is marked by a series of dots:

.Yantikidi mukuta ... buzoba bwani. (7, 78)

| phrase 1 | phrase 2 |

'He began to tell of his foolishness'.

The same convention is used for false starts.

Very often a short pause or 'gap' occurs, usually the result of hesitation or misreading. This gap is marked by ^ as in

.Sama-skul ^ yanthete yi-twayenda . ... (10, 79)

| phrase 1 | phrase 2 |

'The first summer-school that we went to ... '

As can be seen, these gaps have been taken to delimit the phrase just as pauses do, since, although a fair number of these gaps are non-significant and could perhaps be disregarded, this is not true in all cases.

The actual phonetic difference between gaps and pauses is, of course, relative to the speaker and the context, but a study of the tracings discussed in 3.15 (Appendix 2) shows that gaps are generally of less than half-second duration, while pauses are usually longer than half a second; pauses longer than three seconds were considered prolonged. In the actual transcription without mechanical aids, of course, there is an element of subjectivity.

2.2.3: high pitch.

Having delimited the phrases, we must next decide how to represent the pitch patterns occurring on them. Let us take two phrases from the texts (from now on, spaces before and after phrases cited out of context will stand for phrase boundaries):

muna-magata (7, 25)	and	luyantiku (10, 100)
_ _ _ _		_ _ _ _
'in the villages'		'the beginning'

We can see that the two contours differ only in the number of initial low pitches, allowing us to recognise a generalised contour /...~/. Let us mark the highest point (ie. the peak) of this contour with an acute (´), thus:

muna-máagata	and	luyántiku
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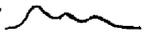
Carter (1973) found that for many kiKongo phrases it was adequate to mark only the peak, that syllable which was higher than its neighbours on either side. I have found nothing to invalidate this concept, and so it is followed here.

2.2.4: several high pitches - downdrift.

Phrases with only one high pitch are not very common; we usually find a series of high pitches:

buna ngiisidi kuna-nzo (7,46)
⊖ _ _ ⊖ ⊖ _
'then I came home'

SS

Here we have three high points (circled pitches), where the pitch rises after previous falls, ie. a contour /  /. In any such kiKongo phrase with more than one high point, there is a gradual decrease in the height of the points, such as is seen in the example. This indicates that kiKongo shows the widely-distributed phenomenon of downdrift, and allows us to mark all three high points with an acute, with the convention that successive high points in the same phrase will be progressively lower in pitch. Thus:

búna ngíísídí kuná-nzo

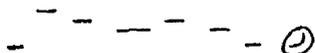
In some cases, though the second of two peaks was not higher than that preceding it, it was also no lower. Such instances are discussed in 2.2.6 and 2.2.10.

2.2.5: upturns.

2.2.5.1: pausal upturn.

Very frequently, there is a slight upturn before a pause:

ibuna baana bayenda (5, 69)

  
'then they went'

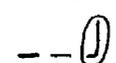
The contour is /  /, and we will mark the upturn with a raised circle (v̊), thus:

ibúna baaná bayendá

This pausal upturn has also been noted by Carter (1973, p.18) and Nsuka (1968, p.vi). It occurs only when the pause is not utterance-final, and seems to be an intonational indication that the utterance is about to be continued.

2.2.5.2: high upturn.

In one or two cases there is more of a rise:

umosi (8, 3,a)	and	twazaya (6, 13,b)
		
'one'		'we know'

While there is good reason to treat the usual upturn (v̊) as a relatively insignificant pausal feature, this high upturn presents

more of a problem, as the data give us no clear insight into its function. It may in fact be a significant high pitch. Therefore, although in the discussions of these patterns it will normally be treated as a variant of  $\hat{V}$ , it will be distinguished in transcription, and marked  $\acute{V}$ . Thus:

úmosí and twazayá

2.2.6: bridges.

There are phrases in which there is a high pitch 'plateau' such that two or more syllables have the same high pitch, ie. the contour is //. Such plateaux have been called 'tone-bridges' by Daeleman 1966, van den Eynde 1968, and Carter 1980, and the term 'bridge' will be retained here.

Bridges can occur

(a) between words, usually at any point in the phrase:

mono ndutidi mubuzoba (7, 41)  
(- - -) \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ (brackets mark the bridge)  
'I excel in foolishness'

bu-balwaaka kuna-nkunku gata dyau (5, 69-70)  
\_ \_ \_ \_ \_ (- - - - -)  
'when they arrived at the outskirts of their village'

In exceptional cases, the bridge may be very long:

kuna-mfwila maalú manzitu andi (5, 58)  
(- - - - - - - - - - -)  
'at the feet of his father-in-law's corpse'

(b) on individual words

(i) initially or medially:

ukweelele nkas' aku (5, 75)  
(- - -) \_ \_ \_ \_ \_  
'so that you could marry your bride'

(ii) finally:

bu-katoombula . gana-meesa (7, 47-48)  
\_ \_ \_ \_ \_ | \_ \_ \_ \_ \_  
'when she put them on the table'

This type of bridge is always followed by a pause, and would therefore seem to be a pausal/hesitation feature.

We could mark the bridge, as Daeleman and van den Eynde do, by putting an acute on each syllable, thus:

bu-bá!lwaaká kuná-nkúnkú gátá dyáú

However, this tends to look cluttered, and, more important, it tends to obscure the function of the bridge, which seems in most cases to indicate a close syntactic link. For this reason, Carter's marking, putting a grave (̀) on the first syllable of the bridge and an acute on the last, will be used.<sup>2</sup> Thus:

mòno ndútídi mubuzóba

bu-bá!lwaaká kuná-nkúnku gata dyáú

kuná-mfwíla máalu manzitu ándi

ukwéeleéle nkás' áku

bu-katòombulá gána-méesa.

#### 2.2.7: long vowels, rises and falls.

The marking convention used for bridges is also applied to long/double vowels when the two morae have the same pitch:

mumáámbu makimpééve (10, 74)

— — — — —

'in matters spiritual'

Where the two morae of a long/double vowel differ in pitch, an acute is marked on the higher of the two:

(a) fall: íbúuna Náfúungwa etc. (5, 23)

— — — — —

'then Mr. Owl ...'

(b) rise: baáboóle ye-nkéénto ye-yákála etc. (7, 53)

— — — — —

'the two of them, wife and husband ...'

Rises are rather infrequent, and mostly occur at the beginning of bridges.

A fall in pitch over a short vowel is marked  $\hat{v}$  in the few cases where it occurs:

yó mbutá wubagéene mboté (7, 106)  
- - - - - ~ - - - ①  
'the man greeted them'.

This fall, like the rise marked with  $\hat{v}$ , almost always occurs before pause. With both the fall and the upturn  $\hat{v}$ , the vowel is sometimes heard as slightly lengthened (see 2,2.18).

A non pre-pausal rise in pitch over a short vowel is rare, and is marked  $\check{v}$ . One of the few examples is

kánsí (5, 78)  
① -  
'but'.

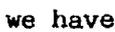
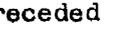
In a few cases the rise is found at the beginning of a bridge, and is then marked  $\check{v}$ :

ye-nsusu makumoole (5, 40)  
① - - - - -  
'and twenty chickens'.

2.2.8: rising bridge.

Sometimes we meet phrases such as

ndzefu zayandi bákala (7, 113)  
- - - - -  
'the beard of him the husband'

Here we can see that instead of the usual contour /  /, we have /  /, ie. that instead of 'downdrift' from a high point preceded by low and approximately level pitches, we have a steady rise towards a high point near the end of the phrase. This contour, referred to as a 'rising bridge', will be marked  $\check{v} \dots \check{v}$ , ie. the regular bridge markings, but with an arrow to indicate rise. Thus:

ndzefu $\check{v}$  zayandi bákala.

The first pitch-mark is placed on the first syllable of the phrase appreciably higher than the pitch starting the phrase - this is, of course, subjective, and we will take the rise as starting on the first



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pitch does not show the downdrift usual in such a position. We will refer to these high points as being 'extra-high', and to mark them we will use the double acute ( $\hat{\hat{v}}$ ) introduced in 2.2.9. Thus:

bak $\hat{\hat{u}}$ bika

ye-mukingélezo yib $\hat{\hat{k}}$ wanga vo.

The perceived difference between high pitch and extra-high pitch is, of course, subjective, but a study of the tracings discussed in 3.15 shows that an extra-high pitch of the type in the first example is higher than 180 Hz; a normal high pitch is usually lower.

#### 2.2.11: extra-high bridge.

Quite frequently we find an extra-high bridge:

myaanzi kaminānga myetoma syama-ko (6, 66,z)  
~ - - (- - - - -) - - -  
'their roots are not really firm'.

Using the convention introduced in 2.2.6, we mark this

myāanzi kamīnānga myetōma syāma-ko.

The extra-high bridge may also occur on a single word:

kāansi kyeeló kisíidi ntútu (7, 86-87)  
⊖ - - - - -  
'but the door remained open'

ibūuna munsungí yitūukaānga lunsuā (5, 83-84)  
- - - - - (- - -) - - -  
'so in the season when the termites come out'.

#### 2.2.12: extra-high fall.

There are a few instances of an extra-high fall, marked  $\hat{\hat{v}}$ :

wufw $\hat{\hat{a}}$  (7, 55)  
- ⊖  
'you would die!'

#### 2.2.13: higher key.

We have been marking extra-high pitch when only one or two words in the phrase have a pitch higher than usual. But if both high and

low pitches all through the phrase are raised, it is counter-productive to have special marks for both extra-high and 'raised low'; it is much easier to use the marks already assigned for normal high pitch, but with a special mark indicating that the pitch all through the phrase is raised, ie. that the phrase has been transposed to a higher 'key'.<sup>3</sup> The mark we will use to indicate higher key is ↑ at the beginning of the phrase, and it is important to remember that the higher key applies only to the phrase so designated. Thus:

↑ ibúna kayènda ssamúna (5, 25-26)  
 - - - - -  
 'so he went off to find'.

It should be noted that in a few cases phrases could be marked in either of two ways:

wàntu woólé or ↑ wàntu woólé (4, 1) 'two people'.

In such cases, whenever the entire phrase is raised, I have chosen the second method, reserving the extra-high marks for phrases in which only some of the words have extra-high pitch.

2.2.14: lower key.

Just as there may be transposition to a higher key, so also there may be transposition to a lower key. This is marked by ↓ at the beginning of the phrase:

↓ bawú badìngaléle (7, 109)  
 - - - - -  
 'they were silent'.

Note that in this case the lowering applies mainly to the high pitches, since the speaker usually has less pitch range below his normal low than he has above his normal initial high. Since the overall effect of transposition to lower key is to narrow the range between high and low pitches, in a few phrases in lower key the marking of high pitch is only tentative, since it was difficult to hear the contrast between high and low.

2.2.15: ultra-high pitch.

In a few instances the speaker goes so high that his voice breaks.

This phenomenon, which may be called 'ultra-high pitch', has so far been found only in exclamations and ideophones.<sup>4</sup> It will be marked by placing the symbol ^ before the word concerned (note that in this case the mark does not apply to the rest of the phrase).

^ gne mbòte yilugaanànga! (7, 108-9)

'says he, "Didn't I greet you?!"'

bawù ^ p'it! (7, 106)

'they were as silent as the grave!'

2.2.16: lower high pitch.

2.2.16.1: final.

Consider the following phrases:

ekuma kadi (6, 51,a)

'because'

ntambikidi (8, 25,a) and utoondele (5, 36)

'I entrust' 'he gave'.

Here, we notice, the final pitch does not return to base pitch. The phrase ends on a high pitch which is, however, lower than the level of the first high pitch in the word. In the last two examples, it is not a single syllable but a sequence which is at the lower high pitch. If we mark the last syllable with a macron (v̄), and understand it to mean 'all syllables from here to the previous high pitch are on this pitch', then we have:

ekuma kádī  
ntámbikidī and utóondelē.

This final lower high pitch seems to be a non-significant pausal feature. It occurs in free variation with the pausal upturn (2.2.5.1) - indeed, in some cases it is unclear which of the two is occurring - and with the hesitation bridge (2.2.6(b)(ii)):

bətélam̄ and bətélam̄ (8, 96, a and b) 'they got up'  
ntàmbikidí and ntàmbikidí (8, 25, b and a) 'I entrust'.

2.2.16.2: preceding normal high pitch.

There are a few examples such as

... gana tuna beeto batatu (7, 76-77)  
\_ ⊖ - - - -  
'amongst the three of us'.

Here, the circled pitch shows an appreciable lift above the base pitch, without, however, reaching peak. We will therefore mark

... ganā tūna beeto bātātu.

We could also mark

... ganā tūna beeto bātātu (cf. 2.2.8)

or ... ganā tūna beeto bātātu (cf. 2.2.9).

However, since two adjacent syllables are concerned here, the lower high pitch mark will be used.

2.2.17: lengthening of final syllable.

In some places a word-final syllable is slightly lengthened before going on to the next syllable, with or without a slight accompanying rise. This lengthening is marked y:

njantiku assaly kusama-skul (10, 100-1)  
\_ - - - - ⊙ - -  
'the beginning of the work at the 'summer-school'.

Since this lengthening seems to have an element of hesitation about it, and since the contours before and after it suggest two separate phrases, the lengthening has been taken as the equivalent of a gap, and we would thus mark the rise on that syllable, where it occurs, with the upturn mark  $\hat{v}$ , as elsewhere:

njántiku ássaly kusámá-skul.

Sometimes the gap following this lengthening is clearly audible:

buná si-twábakā mvútū (9, 38)  
\_ - - - - | - -  
'then we will get answers'.

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2.2.18: uncertain high pitch.

In one or two places it is uncertain whether the high pitch is on the syllable marked, or the one before or after. In these cases the mark ~ is placed before or after the high pitch mark, as necessary:

nzaílũ<sup>~</sup> zeéto = nzaílũ zeéto/ nzaílu zééto (9, 17) 'our knowledge'.

Occasionally it may be uncertain whether a given syllable has high pitch; this is marked by putting brackets round the high pitch mark:

si-díá kímóni (7, 49)

—     —     — ⊖ —

'for me to eat (?), I do not see [it]'.

Even if the marked syllable is not actually high-pitched, it usually has other perceptual markers of prominence, such as slightly greater stress and/or increased loudness.

2.2.19: stress.<sup>5</sup>

Peaks of stress usually co-occur with peaks of pitch (cf. 3.5.4.2), but where this is not the case, or where it is very intense, stress is marked by a subscript dot:

musíkíla yáú (8, 91,z) 'to stay with them'.

2.2.20: nasal length.

In a few instances a nasal preceding a consonant seems to be slightly lengthened.<sup>6</sup> This is marked by underlining:

mbaki (a name) (7, 22)

2.2.21: creaky voice.

The marking        under a word or syllable indicates that it is pronounced with creaky voice. This has so far been found only in exclamations:

taata (7, 125) '[by my] father!'.

2.2.22: vowel quality.

The mark ~ under a semi-vowel indicates that it was heard as nearly syllabic, eg. m̃eene (6, 6,b) 'I see' tends towards [muɛ:ne].

The mark <sub>e</sub> under -u- indicates that it was unusually low and/or open, tending towards [o], eg. by-bayenda (7, 11) 'when they went'.

2.2.23: other features.

Other important features of phrases are marked by putting + at the beginning and end of the stretch concerned, with a note at the bottom of the page explaining what is referred to. Thus:

- whispered articulation: 7,64.
- indistinct articulation: 7,63-64.
- slow, distinct articulation: 8,96-97,z; 9,6; 11,35,b.
- fast rate of articulation: 6,26-27,a; 6,28,a; 6,38-39,a; 6,69-72,a; 6,77-78,a; 7,10; 8,19,z; 8,68-70,z; 9,13-14; 9,20; 9,35.
- forceful, intense articulation: 8,43,a; 11,31-32,b.
- rising, crescendo contour<sup>7</sup>: 8,75-76,z; 8,81,z; 8,84-85,z; 11,36-37,b.
- fast falling contour<sup>8</sup>: 10,41.

2.3: summary.

To recapitulate on the markings adopted:

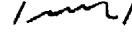
- phrase boundaries: punctuation marks, pause (.), gap (Λ) (2.2.2), hesitant lengthening (y) (2.2.17).
- pausal features: upturn (v̇) (2.2.5.1), high upturn (v̇̇) (2.2.5.2), final lower high pitch (v̄) (2.2.16.1).
- high pitch (v̇) (2.2.3, 2.2.4), fall (v̇̇) (2.2.7), bridge (v̇...v̇) (2.2.6), bridge with extra-high final (v̇...v̇̇) (2.2.9), rising bridge (v̇̇...v̇) (2.2.8), extra-high pitch (v̇̇̇) (2.2.10), extra-high bridge (v̇̇̇...v̇̇̇) (2.2.11), ultra-high pitch (x̂) (2.2.15), high pitch uncertain (v̇̇̇̇), position of high pitch uncertain (v̇̇̇̇) (2.2.18).
- higher key (↑) (2.2.13), lower key (↓) (2.2.14).
- others: stress (y) (2.2.19), nasal lengthening (n̄) (2.2.20), vowel quality (w, u) (2.2.22), creaky voice (,,,,) (2.2.21).

These markings have enabled us to represent adequately the contours of all the texts. Few, if any, contours have been found which cannot be handled under this system.

Endnotes to chapter two.

1. These numbers refer to the texts in Appendix 3. The first number is that of the chapter where the text is discussed, and the second is the line number in that text. Thus 5,37-38 means 'lines 37-38 of the text for chapter five'.
2. The  $\check{v} \dots \acute{v}$  marking, introduced in Carter 1980, is in origin a divided version of her (1973) mark for peak pitch,  $\check{v}$  (see also 4.7.2). The  $\check{v} \dots \acute{v}$  marking also allows us to reserve the marking  $\acute{\acute{v}}$  in this thesis for those few instances of 'downstep' that occur in the texts, eg. angúmb' ánzō (4, 22) 'of the temple', ka-mafwèené mōneka-ko (6, 21,b) 'they should not be seen'. Where it is necessary (eg. when discussing a word in isolation) to draw attention to the fact that an acute mark signifies the last high pitch in a bridge, the mark  $\acute{v}$  will be used, eg. kaní-ko, from the phrase kadilènda kaní-ko (6, 28,b) 'it is utterly impossible'.
3. This concept was originally used in the description of kiKongo by K.E. Laman (1922, art.13 et al., see also Donnelly 1980), though the sense in which it is used here is slightly different.
4. In the dialect studied by Carter, the phenomenon often occurs with WH-questions - cf. Carter and Makoondekwa 1981, section 4.3.
5. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to fully discuss or define what constitutes stress, particularly since this is still 'a matter of controversy' (Sommerstein 1977:36). I am content to accept general definitions of the phenomenon, such as that of Hartmann and Stork 1972 ('greater force exerted in the articulation of one part of an utterance compared with another, thus accentuating a certain part of the utterance, giving it more prominence'), or that of Pei 1966 ('intensity of utterance; special emphasis on a sound or sound group, the result of greater amplitude of the sound waves, producing relative loudness'). Sommerstein (ibid.) believes that, 'Loudness itself is not the sole auditory component of what phoneticians call stress. Pitch and duration are relative cues as well', and concludes that in any case 'uncertainty about the phonetic nature of stress ... does not necessarily preclude phonological investigation of it', since investigators can usually agree on which syllables are stressed.

6. It is as yet uncertain whether this lengthening can be considered as syllabicity, ie. whether N:C =  $\dot{N}C$ . Daeleman (1966) considers that syllabic nasals exist in kiKongo, but Carter (1970) argues against this on tonal grounds. The instances in the texts are insufficient to come to any firm conclusions.

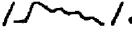
7. This differs from the rising bridge (2.2.8) in that the rise is not steady, but 'jerky', ie. not /  /, but /  /. Thus:

káánsí bée'to twá'stí'dí vùúvu vò yaá'ndí 'índí'énā (8, 75-76,z)



'but we had not left off hoping that he would be the one'.

Although there is an overall rise, high- and low-pitched syllables can still be distinguished. This is in contrast to the rising bridge, where there is a steady rise in pitch from syllable to syllable.

8. This differs from the usual downdrift contour (2.2.4), where high- and low-pitched syllables can be distinguished, in that there is a sudden fall from the highest pitch, during which there are no high/low pitch distinctions, ie. /  / instead of /  /.

PART II

Tonology: Texts and Systems

CHAPTER THREE

A Preliminary Investigation - kisiNgombe

3.1: introduction.

This chapter consists of two main sections. The first section (3.2) is a summary of my first attempt at marking and analysing the pitch-contours of one of the texts (the kisiNgombe text by the Rev. Komy Banzadio - see also chapter 10). Although this syntactically-based analysis had later to be heavily revised in favour of a pitch-accent approach, the summary will serve as a useful introduction to the main problems of analysis. The second section (3.3 ff.) embodies an expansion and revision of one part of the first analysis (3.2.3, a study of high pitch placement), along with a discussion of additional material such as pitchmeter tracings. At the end of the chapter we should be in a position to suggest a method of description for the other texts, which we will then apply to progressively longer stretches of text through the rest of the thesis, refining and modifying the description on the way.

3.2: the original analysis.

3.2.1: marking.

Many features which it was later found useful to distinguish were not noted in the original marking of the text. For the purposes of this summary, however, the contours marked will be those originally noted, since they were the ones on which the analysis was based.<sup>1</sup> For comparison, the passage (10, 1-58) to be discussed below (3.2.4-6) is given both with contours in original notation, and with later, revised, notation as described in chapter 2.

3.2.2: variant pitch contours.

Study of the text revealed that the pitch contours showed a large degree of variability, in that the same sequence, even when occurring in a superficially similar context, might show differing patterns. Some 38 sets of such sequences were noted in the text, of which the following are a representative selection:

- (1) mpil' antsúungi zina zimónekene muntsi' állphutu 5-6 'the kind of seasons which are experienced in Europe'

muntsuungi zína zimonekene muntsi áKoongo 7-8 'from the seasons  
which are experienced in the Congo'

- (2) matóko ye-zínduumbâ 36 'boys and girls'  
... mátoko yé-zínduumbâ 28 ditto  
bámatoko . yé-zínduumbâ 72-3 ditto  
kwámatoko . ye-zíndúumba 163 'to the boys and girls'  
... ulólo wamatoko ye-zíndúumba 199 'a crowd of boys and girls'
- (3) túuka ntangu yoyo ... 47 'from this time onwards'  
tuukà ntaangu yóyō 57 ditto
- (4) ímpil' álekwa ... 68 'it is the sort of thing'  
ímpil' adíámbu ... 70 'it is the sort of matter'
- (5) madya mankóokíla 117-8 'the evening meal'  
... madya mankookíla 161 ditto  
mádyá mankqokíla 167 ditto
- (6) ndyáatulu ásalu 115 'the progress of the work'  
n'yáatulu asalu ... 192 ditto
- (7) ntáangulu aBíibíla 206, cf.140 'the reading of the Bible'  
... kyantáangulu aBíibíla 166-7 'of the reading of the Bible'
- (8) ... mukukisóníkísa mukwenda kusama-skuul 49-50 'to enrol to go to  
the summer-school'  
makisóníkísa mukwéenda kusáma-skuul 52 'enrolled to go to the  
summer-school'
- (9) ... mu<sup>?</sup>oolá yanáana yampíimpâ 119 'at half past nine'  
mu<sup>?</sup>ool' anáana yampíimpâ 161 ditto  
muóol' anáana yampíimpâ 209-10 ditto
- (10) ye-mínuta kumí ye-taanú 170 'and fifteen minutes'  
... ye-mínuta kumí ye-taanu 206 ditto  
kyamínuta kumí ye-táanu 172-3 'of fifteen minutes'

The variations consisted in placement of high pitch within the word, and presence or absence of high pitch on the word. The three members of example (5) illustrate these points. In a few cases, the patterns seem to be complementary: thus, in examples (3) and (10) we have a sequence 'high-pitched word + low-pitched word' in one member, and the reverse sequence 'low-pitched word + high-pitched word' in another, eg.

(10) ye-mínuta (kumi) ye-taanu but  
 kyáminuta (kumi) ye-táanu.

This type of example might possibly be described in terms of a 'moveable peak' in the contour.

Since differing contours are found with identical sequences, the pitch patterns cannot be determined exclusively by lexical tone and tonal sandhi. From the examples above, we can already discern some possible conditioning factors in the environment of the sequence, such as occurrence after the genitive element (examples 7, 10), or in its delivery - note the effect of pause in examples (6, 8).

### 3.2.3: general pitch patterns (original marking).

As a preliminary step, certain features of the pitch patterns occurring in the text (eg. number of high pitches in the word, most common place of occurrence of high pitch, variation of pitch occurrence throughout the text, etc.) were examined, in order to have a general framework into which to fit the findings of more detailed analysis.<sup>2</sup> Lines 39-80 were chosen as a sample passage.

#### 3.2.3.1: frequency of high pitch.

Of a total of 271 words<sup>3</sup>, 120 (44%) bore no high pitch. Of the remaining 151 words with high pitch, 28 (10% of the total) had more than one high pitch. 27 of these had a bridge on the word, and in only one case<sup>4</sup> were there two separate high pitches.

#### 3.2.3.2: position of high pitch.

Of the 151 words with high pitch, it was found that the high pitch rarely<sup>5</sup> occurred later than the second syllable. It never occurred later than the fourth syllable, although there were 25 words long enough for this to happen. High pitch most commonly occurred on the second syllable of the word (80 cases - 53%), and/or the first syllable of the stem (117 cases - 77%).<sup>6</sup>

#### 3.2.3.3: ratio of high pitch to word.

A rough count was made of the number of words and high pitches all through the text. The ratio of high pitch to word was notably

consistent throughout (slightly less than 1:2), suggesting that the occurrence of high pitch was not dependent on factors of narrative structure.

3.2.3.4: conclusions.- the 'root-syllable'.

Since occurrence of high pitch was regular, and most high pitches appeared on the first syllable of the stem, we could therefore set up a 'predicted' (ie. unmarked or neutral) place of occurrence for the high pitch. We would then concentrate on the marked, non-neutral pitch contours, attempting to identify the environments in which deviations from the predicted patterns were found.

In view of the importance of the first syllable of the stem, it was labelled the 'root-syllable', following Laman (1922), who had also noted its importance. The root-syllable (as defined here) is the first syllable of the stem of a noun or verb, or the first syllable of a demonstrative, possessive<sup>7</sup>, pronoun, adverb, etc. Thus, underlining the first vowel of the root-syllable:

- kabakala 'they were'; myambote 'of goodness'; evo 'or';
- maka 'some'; zina 'which'; kota 'enter'; vaava 'now';
- zozo 'these'; yaayi 'this'; kaansi 'but'; ziyikwanga 'they are called'; intswaaswani 'there is a difference'.

3.2.4: syntactic notation.

In order to judge whether or not such factors as phrasing, context, syntactic environment and so on played a role in determining the pitch contours, the syntactic parsing system devised by Guthrie (1961) and refined by Carter (1973) was chosen as a framework for classifying the sequences with which pitch contours occurred. This system is a shorthand describing the surface syntax in terms of a number of syntactic 'units' (eg. subject, indirect object, etc.), each of which consists of a head (the most 'important' word in the unit) which may occur with one or more dependent items. Thus the phrase

muluzingu luaau luamviimba 39 'in their whole lives'

may be described as LOC-poss-gen. It is a locative unit, consisting of a head noun with locative prefix (LOC), a possessive (poss), and

a genitive (gen), both of which agree with the head noun. Other examples are:

munts\ungĩ yáayĩ 17 'in this season'  
TEMP - dem  
(a temporal unit, consisting of a head noun followed by a demonstrative agreeing with it)

máka maambu ... 40 'a few things'  
dem - OBJ  
(a direct object unit, consisting of a head noun preceded by a demonstrative agreeing with it).

The system has not been described in full here<sup>8</sup>, since it was later found that its use for the texts was unnecessary, and therefore it is not of prime importance for understanding the later chapters of this thesis. For a full description, the two works cited above should be referred to. For a critical analysis of the system, see Hayward 1976.

A method was then devised for incorporating abstract representations of the pitch patterns with the abstract representations of the syntactic patterns in the parsing system:

- (1) since high pitch was most likely to occur on the root-syllable (3.2.3.4), we could mark this by underlining the abbreviation, eg. for a locative unit munts<sup>í</sup> 'in the country', we write LOC;
- (2) if the high pitch occurred on the syllable preceding or following<sup>9</sup> the root-syllable, this was marked by a raised + before or after the abbreviation, eg. kúmbu 'in the sea' +LOC; baaná 'children' SUB+ (a subject unit);
- (3) if the high pitch occurred more than one syllable before the root-syllable, this was reflected in the number of signs, eg. álukánu 'of the aim' ++gen (a dependent genitive item);
- (4) where no high pitch appeared on the word, the unit abbreviation was left unmarked, eg. kumw<sup>ĩ</sup> 'in the sun' LOC.

In the original analysis, it was the patterns of the unit heads that were focussed on; some attempt was also made to describe the patterns on dependent items, but these were considered subsidiary, with patterns perhaps linked to those on the unit head.

## 3.2.5: sample unit descriptions.

The three sample unit descriptions (out of the total of 21) which follow have been chosen so as to highlight both the strong and the weak points of the analysis.

## 3.2.5.1: subject unit.

The first unit is that of subject (SUB)<sup>10</sup>. In most cases we find SUB, sometimes with a further high pitch:

- (1) b`eetó muntsí? aKoongó 8 'we in the country of Congo'  
SUB<sup>+11</sup> LOC - gen
- (2) y`aaú INTSÚNGÍ? amíini 13 'it is the season of sun'  
SUB STAB<sup>+</sup> - gen
- (3) INTSÚNGÍ muntsí amphutú . intswáaswani ... 6-7 'the seasons in the  
SUB<sup>+</sup> LOC - gen STAB land of Europe are different'
- (4) y`aaú yilútidí zzólakana 12 'it is the season which excels in beauty'  
SUB<sup>+</sup> PRED INF
- (5) ekúma<sup>o</sup> kadi 13, 14 'the reason being that'  
SUB<sup>(\*)</sup> - CONJ
- (6) mbbútu myakala myamboote 47 'the results were good'  
SUB PRED COMP
- (7) kadi vo mwíni umónekene 24 'since the sun has come out'  
CONJ-CONJ SUB PRED
- (8) prógrám 55 'programme' SUB
- (9) básí-mphutu bayyángalalanga ... 13-14 'Europeans are happy'  
SUB PRED
- (10) b`aantú baluta bákkanga ... 17 'people often go [on holiday]'  
SUB<sup>+</sup> AUX - <sup>+</sup>PRED
- (11) kíése kikalanga ... 21 'it is pleasant'  
SUB PRED
- (12) mb`eevó<sup>o</sup> mutupítaalú ziváyikiswanga 18-19 'invalids in hospital  
SUB<sup>+</sup> LOC PRED are taken ... '
- (13) bawóonso babíndamene ... 23-24 'everyone feels obliged'  
SUB PRED

- (14) matóko ye-zínduumbá 36 'young men and women'  
SUB CONN
- (15) ye balééke 56 'and the young people'  
 β CONJ SUB
- (16) ntsuungi zózo 10 'these seasons'  
SUB<sup>+</sup> - dem
- (17) nkuumbu yáayí yasáma-skuú1 27 'this name "summer-school" '  
SUB<sup>+</sup> - dem - gen
- (18) mbúta zabíyemese ... 53 'the directors of the BMS'  
SUB<sup>+</sup> - <sup>+</sup>gen
- (19) ntómbokolo asalú 48 'the growth of the work'  
SUB - gen
- (20) sáma-sku1 yantete yabíyemesé 46 'the first BMS summer-school'  
SUB - gen - gen
- (21) mbút' álukənu lwaamé 41-2 'my main aim'  
SUB - <sup>++</sup>gen - poss
- (22) báantu bana balàandilá ... 49 'the people who continued ...'  
SUB - rel - REL<sup>++</sup>
- (23) buna sáma 11 'well, summer'  
CONJ SUB
- (24) sikoolá zikáangamaanga 18 'the schools close' <sup>12</sup>  
SUB<sup>+</sup> PRED

It is interesting to note that the prevalence of SUB is almost the opposite of what happens in kimbanz' aKongo as described in Carter 1973; there a subject unit has its first high tone 'neutralised' (see 4.7.2ff), so that very often the first word in that slot has no high pitch at all.

In two cases we have SUB :

- (25) \musáma . baaná 27 'it is in summer that young people ...'  
<sup>++</sup>STAB SUB<sup>+</sup>
- (26) né' intsi aKoongó . baantú<sup>13</sup> ka-bena ... 22 'like the country of  
 β CONJ STAB - gen SUB<sup>+</sup> neg- PRED Congo, people do not have ...'

Note that in both cases the immediately preceding unit is STAB.

There are two examples of SUB:

(27) mpha<sup>o</sup>si v<sup>o</sup> 19 'so that'

SUB - CONJ

(28) yaau yaká<sup>o</sup>la ... 46 'it was ...' (cc. nos. 2 and 3 above)

SUB PRED

We therefore have 24 examples of SUB, 2 of SUB<sup>+</sup> (occurring after STAB), and 2 of SUB. As for other words in the unit, we have one each of SUB-dem, SUB-dem-gen, SUB-gen (bridge), SUB-gen, SUB-gen-gen, and SUB-gen-poss. The subject unit is preceded by a pause in all examples except (6).

3.2.5.2: locative unit.

The second sample unit is that of locative (LOC). Most examples are of LOC:

(29) ntsúungí muntsí a<sup>o</sup>mphutú 6-7 'the seasons in the land of Europe'

SUB<sup>+</sup> LOC - gen

(30) ziyíkwa<sup>o</sup>nga mundíng' akingelez<sup>o</sup> 10 'which are called in the English

PRED LOC - gen language ...'

(31) mbèevó mutupítaalú ziváyikiswanga 18-19 'the patients in the

SUB<sup>+</sup> LOC PRED hospitals are moved out'

(32) mbùta zabíyemese kúlóondr<sup>o</sup> 53 'the directors of the BMS in London'

SUB<sup>+</sup> - <sup>+</sup>gen LOC

(33) bèetó muntsí a<sup>o</sup>Koongó 8 'we in the country of the Congo'

SUB<sup>+</sup> LOC - gen

(34) buuna muntsí a<sup>o</sup>mphutú 8 'whereas in the land of Europe'

β CONJ LOC - gen

(35) muntsí né? intsi a<sup>o</sup>Koongó 22 'in a country like the country of

LOC β CONJ STAB - gen the Congo'

(36) kàansí kullm<sup>o</sup>hútu 23 'but in Europe'

β CONJ<sup>+</sup> LOC

- (37) musáma-skúulz zántete 54 'in the first summer-schools'  
LOC - +gen
- (38) ... muntsí aÁngletæer 1 'in the country of England'  
LOC - gen
- (39) ... kyayànámá kumwíini-ko 23 'of lying in the sun'  
gen LOC<sup>+</sup> -neg
- (40) muntsí aaú 34 'in their country'  
LOC - poss<sup>+</sup>
- (41) muntsí eto aKoongó 3 'in our country of Congo'  
LOC - poss - gen
- (42) ... mumbáanza zamphila mumphila 16 'in various towns'  
LOC - gen - loc
- (43) muntsí zánkaka zína zikwéndanga ... 35 'in other countries which  
LOC - gen - rel - REL [missionaries] go to'
- (44) muluzíngu lwaau luamvímbe 39 'in their whole lives'  
LOC - poss - gen
- (45) muAféliká 22 'in Africa' (cf. no. 24 above)  
LOC

But there are several examples of LOC:

- (46) ... zína zimónékene muntsí<sup>(w)</sup> áMphutu 5 'which are experienced in  
rel - REL LOC - +gen the country of Europe'
- (47) ... zína zimónékene muntsí<sup>(w)</sup> áKoongo 8-9 'which are experienced in  
rel - REL LOC - +gen the country of the Congo'
- (48) ... kóta mungudi ánsamu 5 'going to the heart of the matter'  
INF LOC - +gen
- (49) kíiya<sub>A</sub> muntsí<sup>(w)</sup> zánkaka 16-17 'go to other countries'  
INF LOC - +gen
- (50) ... yakála mumbaanz' a<sub>A</sub> Fólkēstōn 46-7 'it was in the town of  
PRED LOC - gen Folkstone'
- (51) ... muyángidika nitu kumwíini 24 'to let their bodies enjoy the  
PURP OBJ' LOC sun'

- (52) bakwéndanga ulólo kusama-skul 28 'that they go in a crowd to the  
IREL            REF    LOC                            summer-school'
- (53) ye-kóta mudibuundu 37 'and enter the Church'  
CONN        LOC
- (54) ye-bankáka mubaaú 37 'and some of them'  
CONN            LOC
- (55) ... mukwenda kusama-skul 50 'to go to summer-school'  
           PURP        LOC
- (56) mukwéenda kusama-skul 52 'to go to summer-school'  
           PURP        LOC

There are a few examples of +LOC:

- (57) ... yivyookele múwete 12 'which excels in beauty'  
           REL            +LOC
- (58) ... yóbilanga kúmbu 15 'swimming in the sea'  
           INF            +LOC
- (59) ... ziváyikiswāanga kúmbazi 19 'are taken outside'  
           PRED                    +LOC

We therefore have 17 examples of LOC, 11 of LOC, and 3 of +LOC. In the original analysis LOC was called a 'continuous form', while LOC and +LOC were referred to as 'discontinuous forms', ie. they occur where after the unit there is some sort of switch of reference in what is being talked about. All examples of LOC and +LOC occur clause- or sentence-finally, and although there are a few sentence-final examples of LOC (nos. 38,39,44), in general the continuous/discontinuous distinction may be useful.

There are other differences between the groups. All instances of LOC and LOC are non-initial, and all but one (no. 54) are post-verbal. Examples of LOC tend to be non-initial (13 cases) and pre-verbal (11 cases), but there are several exceptions in both areas. It seems usual for the locative unit not to be preceded by a pause - there are only six exceptions (nos. 37,40,41,43,44,45) in the above examples, all of them LOC.



(71) balenda yétila muíini 14-15 'they can sunbathe'

PRED    INF    OBJ

(72) bõonsó bwayántikila 42 'how it began'

OBJ<sup>+</sup> - gen

(73) tázó kyamafúunda matatú 51 'the number of 3,000'

OBJ<sup>+</sup> - gen    -    num

We therefore have 8 examples of OBJ and 6 of OBJ. The reason for the variation is unclear, since there appears to be no correlation with syntactic environment, context, or phrasing. A pause before the object unit seems to be optional, but more frequent before OBJ (nos. 68,72,73) than before OBJ (no. 67). As for other words in the unit, we have OBJ-num, OBJ-gen (2 examples), OBJ-gen (2), OBJ<sup>+</sup>-gen-num.

### 3.2.6: conclusions.

We can therefore see that an analysis in these terms has mixed results. In some cases (eg. the subject unit) the basic form seems fairly clearcut, though it is difficult to account for exceptions. In other cases (eg. the object unit) it seems impossible to isolate any clear conditioning factors. In a few cases, though (eg. the locative unit), we do seem to find certain correlations between pitch contour and context (see also 10.3.4).

The results obtained from this analysis are therefore disappointing, and this is exacerbated by the fact that no consistent general statement can be made for modifiers (other words in the unit), since the main emphasis of the analysis is on the unit head. We could perhaps treat gen, <sup>+</sup>gen, gen, for example, as tonally conditioned in some way, but this would have difficulties, and would also have to come to grips with the fact that the same word may have more than one of the patterns.

A subsequent attempt to apply this type of analysis to another portion of the text showed that the results were equally unsatisfactory - very few of the comments made on pitch contour in the pilot study turned out to be applicable, unless so many qualifying clauses were

inserted in the 'rules' that they were well-nigh useless.

Nevertheless, it was decided that an alternative approach might bear some fruit. In this approach high pitch would again be taken as usually occurring on the root-syllable, subject to conditioning factors of some sort, and to possible intonational variation of the same utterance - that is, a type of pitch-accent system.

The textual marking of the original analysis was refined to give that outlined in chapter 2, and subsequent texts were analysed in this way, which did seem to produce more satisfactory results than the one outlined above.<sup>14</sup>

### 3.3: further material.

The rest of the material in this chapter was not part of the original analysis. However, it is related to the matters already discussed, and must logically precede the rest of the thesis.

### 3.4: general pitch patterns (later marking).

Since the text was later re-marked, the calculations described in 3.2.3 are no longer accurate, and are here expanded and revised. The same portion of the text, lines 39-80, was used as the sample.

#### 3.4.1: frequency of high pitch.

Of the 271 words (excluding 8 foreign words), 200 had high pitch. 67 (25%) had no high pitch, and 4 more occurred inside a bridge between two flanking high pitches. There were 55 bridges between words, and 29 bridges on individual words. There were only two cases of words with two high pitches not in bridge: mo-yángalalá mpe 'enjoy them also' (57) and zááú mpe 'theirs also' (75) - as can be seen, they are followed in each case by mpe.

#### 3.4.2: position of high pitch.

The 200 words with high pitch were examined to see on which syllable of the word the first high pitch occurred, and, if there was a bridge on the word, to see on which syllable the bridge ended. The results were as follows:

type of syllable	position of syllable in the word				total
	1st.	2nd.	3rd.	4th.	
root-syllable	66	81	13	2	162
non root-syllable	23	11	-	-	34
total	89	92	13	2	196 <sup>15</sup>
end of bridge	-	18	7	4	29

These figures show that the most common position for high pitch is on the 2nd. (92 cases, 46%) or 1st. (89 cases, 44%) syllables. Later positions occur much less frequently (3rd. 7%; 4th. 1%).

No high pitch was found to occur later than the fourth syllable - this was true even of high pitches which were the last in a bridge. This is interesting, since we might have expected bridges to extend to the next high pitch, regardless of how far away it was, but in fact they seem to be subject to the same conditions of occurrence as first high pitches.

It is significant that all 15 examples of first high pitch on the 3rd. or 4th. syllable occur on the root-syllable of the word concerned.

Most single and bridge-initial high pitches do in fact occur on root-syllables (162 cases, 81%), underlining dramatically that this is the expected place of occurrence of high pitch in this idiolect.

#### 3.4.3: ratio of high pitch to word.

In all, counting first high pitches and high pitches last in a bridge, there are 225 instances<sup>16</sup> of high pitch marked. A count of high pitches throughout the text was not attempted this time, but we can extrapolate to gain a rough idea of the ratio of number of high pitches to number of words. We have here 225:271, which works out to 1:1.2, as opposed to 1:1.9 based on the earlier count (3.2.3). The difference can probably be attributed to the fact that in the re-marking we have a third as many again words being marked with high pitch (200 as opposed to the earlier 151).

It would seem from the ratio 1:1.2 that we get a high pitch to almost every word. This high pitch usually occurs on a given syllable.

Further, we hardly ever find two separate high pitches on the same word. These facts suggest a pitch-accent rather than a tonal system. The ratio of one high pitch to one word is also interesting in view of a phenomenon to be discussed later - that when a word occurs without high pitch, there is a tendency for the preceding word to have an extra high pitch (see, for example, 5.4.3).

3.4.4: conclusions.

Comparison of the figures in this section with those in 3.2.3 shows that the general patterns are very similar, the only real differences being in number of words marked with high pitch, and in number of bridges.

3.5: pitchmeter tracings.

Because of a certain degree of acoustic interference on most of the recordings of the texts, it was decided to test the accuracy of the pitch-marking described in chapter 2. Samples from the Rev. Komy Banzadio's kisiNgombe text<sup>17</sup> were used to check my transcriptions against tracings of pitch and intensity on a pitchmeter. We may assume that the degree of accuracy seen in this sample transcription will hold for the other texts, which were all transcribed by the same investigator following the same system.

Four tracings were taken: (a) linear amplitude, showing volume/intensity; (b) logarithmic amplitude, an enhanced linear amplitude which emphasises the range of the linear amplitude tracing; (c) frequency, in Hertz, showing pitch; (d) an oscillographic tracing conflating amplitude and frequency. Using such tracings it is possible to compute for a given vowel or consonant its length, intensity and pitch. For our purposes, the log amplitude and the frequency tracings were most important, though the other two tracings were occasionally helpful.<sup>18</sup>

To facilitate discussion, the log amplitude and frequency tracings have been transcribed in graph form in Appendix 2, and it is to the page numbers of these graphs that the following sections will refer.<sup>19</sup>

3.5.1: sample passages.

Tracings were made of three stretches of the text: (a) ll. 1-6 (length of tracing 300 cms.); (b) ll. 115-121 (480 cms.); (c) ll. 193-201 (600 cms.). The last two extracts were chosen for transcription, since they seemed to be more representative of natural speech. It is noticeable, for instance, that at the beginning of the text (extract a), the speech is restrained, while the speaker settles in to reading; however, as he becomes more at ease, his speech becomes progressively more intense. This is shown especially in the log amplitude tracings for extracts (a) and (c) - in (a) the peaks rise no more than 2 cms. from the base line, whereas in (c) they regularly reach 3 cms. above the base line. Likewise, comparing the frequency tracings for extracts (b) and (c), we find that in (c) the tracing regularly reaches 200 Hz or higher, whereas in (b) it reaches 200 Hz in only two instances (Appendix 2, pp. 6 and 7).

3.5.2: questions to be answered.

We may consider the graphs in terms of three questions: (i) how close is the marking to the actual pitch contour? (ii) where there are differences between the two, are there any factors (preferably recurring ones) by which we might account for these differences? (iii) what are the main features of the intensity contour, and can it be related in any consistent way to the pitch contour? The first two questions will be discussed in 3.5.3, and the third in 3.5.4.

3.5.3: pitch and marking.

Firstly, we note that the contour as marked bears a very close resemblance to the pitch contour as evidenced by the pitchmeter. This is obvious from a simple examination of the graphs, but if we wish to quantify this observation, we may say that in only 32 out of 93 words (34%) does there seem to be any discrepancy between the marking and the contour. As will be shown in the following paragraphs, all but three of these discrepant markings can be accounted for, and only one of all the 93 words seems to be incorrectly marked.

3.5.3.1: higher key.

At the beginning of paragraphs in the written text there is a

slightly higher key - pp. 1, 10, 15, 17. Only the last two of these are explicitly marked by  $\uparrow$ . The example on p.17 is not much higher in pitch, but it sounds higher because of the high intensity.

### 3.5.3.2: bridges.

Certain words are marked with a bridge when the pitch contour actually shows a slight drop:  $\text{òolá}$  (1),  $\text{sámá}$  (9),  $\text{sàambú}$  (21), in which the second syllable is 5 Hz lower than the first;  $\text{mìsyónéér}$  (19), in which there is a drop of 10 Hz. It would seem that when the interval between the two syllables is small enough, they may be perceived as level. Note also  $\text{dyamfùnu kíkílu}$  (17) and  $\text{balèeké}$  (15), where the syllables marked as being last in the bridge are actually slightly lower in pitch.

Such a phenomenon might also account for  $\text{isàlú}$  (2), but it may also be that <sup>in</sup> this word the last syllable appears higher than it actually is because there is a long drop of 65 Hz to the next syllable  $\text{kya-}$ . This may also account for  $\text{yámptìmpa}$  (6), where  $\text{ya-}$  is level with the preceding syllable  $\text{-na}$ , but perhaps appears higher because of the drop of 50 Hz to  $\text{-mpi-}$ .

It would seem, therefore, that what are marked as bridges may in a few cases not have absolutely level pitch, but may show some downdrift. Nevertheless, the main features of the bridge are supported from the graphs: the end point of the bridge is appreciably higher than what follows, and yet not higher than the starting point (this may be contrasted with the rising bridge (2.2.8), where the end point is higher than the starting point).

### 3.5.3.3: extra-high pitch.

In several instances the usual contour pattern within a phrase ( $/\sim\sim\sim/$ ) does not occur, and instead we find  $/\sim\sim\sim\sim/$ . The last peak here should theoretically be marked as extra-high (see 2.2.10), but in fact it is not:  $\text{ndwàákulu}$  (9),  $\text{mbòókolo}$  (11),  $\text{mìsyónéér}$  (12),  $\text{máana}$  (14),  $\text{byúuvu}$  (16),  $\text{bawóonso}$  (5) are all marked with the ordinary high pitch mark, though they are higher in pitch than the previous marked syllable; ie. their marking implies downdrift, but this downdrift does

not in fact occur. It seems likely that in these instances the long vowel masks the impression of extra-high pitch.

3.5.3.4: lower pitch on the root-syllable.

The example of mbòókolo (11) quoted in the previous paragraph has another interesting feature - the first mora, mbo-, is lower in pitch than the second, -o-. Several other words also show a pitch lower than that marked, the syllable in question always being in bridge to a syllable with higher pitch: mukubakə̀mbá (2, the syllable concerned is underlined), bántú (5), yóyo (10), zozo (14), lə̀andilá (15), mu'òola yantsámbwadi (4-5), dyèná (17).

In each case the syllable in question is the root-syllable, and in each case these syllables are the most intense in the phrase (it will be noted below, 3.5.4.1, that the greatest degree of intensity usually attaches to the root-syllable). It would therefore seem that with a pitch pattern [- -], where the first segment has greater intensity than the second, [- -], the overall impression is that the two segments are level in pitch, [- -] .

A similar explanation may account for ekumá (18), yè-índia (21), where -ma and ye- respectively are lower in pitch but higher in intensity.

3.5.3.5: differing pitch/intensity contours.

There are a few other cases where discrepancies between the marking and the pitch contour may be due to differences between the pitch and intensity contours. A syllable with high intensity may be perceived as higher than it actually is in pitch: éntsangu (15), múmphila (16), dyamfúnu kíkílu (17). Likewise, a syllable with lesser intensity may appear lower than it actually is: ye-kubazódilanga (9). Some similar explanation may account for basðogagá (13).

3.5.3.6: exceptions.

The processes described above appear not to have been consistently perceived, however; thus, in 18, taking the two contours together, we might expect -tùuntá- and ulóló instead of -tùúntə-, ulóló, and likewise

\`Aféliká (21) instead of Aféliká (cf. yè-índia above). It would seem that pitch is the dominant factor; intensity may alter the perception of pitch, but does not interfere in all instances.

In vo báluungidí (5), vo should perhaps have been marked as high, to be perfectly consistent, while wamátoko (18) seems to be the only clear example of mismarking - we should have, if anything, wamátoko.

3.5.3.7: conclusions.

It will have been noticed that the discrepancies discussed above all have the same general features - the pitch pattern is slightly misheard due to (i) shortage of interval, (ii) length of vowel, (iii) occurrence of high intensity. Since the discrepancies are few, are minor, and can readily be accounted for (ie. they seem to be 'phonologically natural'), it would appear that the marking is essentially valid. We can conclude that the marking is sufficiently accurate to be used for subsequent discussion of pitch features in kiKongo, and forms an adequate basis from which to draw our conclusions.

3.5.4: intensity and pitch.

We may now go on to consider the third question asked in 3.5.2, namely, what general features can be discerned in the intensity contour? Whereas the previous sections hinged mainly on the accuracy of the marking, consideration of this question leads us farther afield and gives us some clues to the nature of the kiKongo system.

3.5.4.1: intensity on the root-syllable.

Firstly, it is noticeable that in all but a few instances (about 15 words out of the total of 93 - 16%) highest intensity, like the point of highest pitch, occurs on the root-syllable.<sup>20</sup> Not all root-syllables have high intensity, and not all syllables with high intensity are root-syllables, but the equation holds in most cases. It is likely that varying the place of intensity from the norm, and its resultant coincidence with or variation from the point of highest pitch may have implications at the intonational level (see also chapter 12).

3.5.4.2: co-occurrence of intensity and high pitch.

It is also noticeable that in a great many cases (about 2/3) high

intensity co-occurs with high pitch on the same syllable. This generally close correlation of the log amplitude and the frequency tracings implies that high pitch and stress tend to occur together. Moreover, as noted in the previous paragraph, high pitch and high intensity ( $\approx$  stress) generally occur on one syllable, the root-syllable. If we can assume that it would not be likely for high pitch and intensity to be so predictable or to co-occur to such an extent in a tone language (P.R. Bennett, p.c.), then these facts indicate that this idiolect of kiKongo, at least, is not tonal. These features point rather to some sort of accentual system, whether we call this pitch-accent or stress-accent - in view of the seeming dominance of pitch, the former term might be more apt.<sup>21</sup>

### 3.6: summary.

While the original analysis in the terms described in 3.2 seems to give little return, the general features of pitch occurrence (3.2.3, 3.4) and the evidence of the tracings (3.5) show that a recurrent system of pitch use is discernible. Having verified the marking adopted (3.5.3), we are now justified in attempting at least a partial description along the lines suggested in 3.2.6 - that is, a pitch-accent system in which high pitch (and usually intensity as well) is often associated with the root-syllable of the word. The next chapter will explore this proposition a little further.

Endnotes to chapter three.

1. Nevertheless, for the sake of uniformity with other chapters of the thesis, the original pitchmarks themselves have been replaced by those described in chapter 2.
2. What is given in this section is a brief summary of the calculations performed on the original marking of the text. These calculations were later revised and expanded to take account of the re-marked text, and may be found in 3.4 below.
3. Unassimilated borrowings were not included in the count.
4. The compound mákumasámbanu 'sixty' < makumi 'ten'+ sambanu 'six'.
5. There were only 12 instances out of a possible 104 (11%), and in each of these the syllable on which the high pitch occurred was the first syllable of the stem.
6. In 70 (87%) of the cases with high pitch on the second syllable of the word, this syllable was also the first syllable of the stem.
7. In southern dialects such as kiZombo, where demonstratives and possessives may have an initial vowel, the root-syllable would then be the second syllable.
8. For ease of reading, this summarised analysis uses mnemonic labels for the various units, rather than the shorter labels used by Guthrie and Carter. I have also chosen to differentiate word categories within the syntactic categories set up by these authors. For example, the above three units as described in Carter 1973 would be respectively: S\_\_i\_\_ii; V\_\_ii; i\_\_Q-.
9. A word with a single high pitch after the root-syllable was rarely found - no examples occurred in the passage taken for the pitch count described in 3.2.3.
10. Abbreviations are as follows: SUB(ject), LOC(ative), gen(itive), STAB(ilised item), PRED(icator), INF(initive), CONJ(unction), COMP(lement), AUX(iliary), CONN(ective),  $\beta$  CONJ (co-ordinating conjunction), dem(onstrative), poss(essive), REL(ative), rel(ative pronoun), neg(ative element), PURP(osive), IREL (indirect relative), REF(erent), mod(ifier), os (object substitute), num(eral).
11. The original analysis considered a bridge from root-syllable to final syllable as an extension of the high pitch on the root-syllable, and in the parsing marked only the root-syllable as having high pitch. The bridge has been made more explicit in this

- summary by marking, for example, SUB<sup>+</sup> instead of just SUB, but it will be apparent that bridges in general (cf. 18,22) are somewhat problematic for this parsing, and hence for the analysis.
12. This example shows a loan-word which is irregular in its placement of high pitch. We must either assume high pitch not occurring on the root-syllable as previously defined (síkoola), or assume that another syllable be taken as the root-syllable (síko<sub>o</sub>la). Either approach poses difficulties, and the latter option has been chosen - cf. also (45).
  13. This word poses problems, since the segmentation into prefix and stem cannot be totally unambiguous. We could segment baa-ntu, in which case baantú would have high pitch on the root-syllable, or ba-antu, in which case baantú would have high pitch on the syllable following the root-syllable. In general, where ambiguous cases of this nature appear, I prefer, in accordance with the definition of root-syllable given in 3.2.3.4, to consider the first syllable as the root-syllable.
  14. For the new description as applied to this text, see chapter 10.
  15. The discrepancy between 196 and 200 is accounted for by words like lwasama-skú<sup>7</sup>l (43), where the high pitch is the last in a bridge, and we cannot specify where the first high pitch of the word might be.
  16. That is, counting single high pitches and high pitches at the beginning and end of a bridge. The number does not include those syllables inside a bridge, which have unmarked, ie. non-significant, high pitch.
  17. This particular text was chosen since it was the only one recorded in a studio - all the other texts were recorded on a portable cassette recorder in the informant's room, and contained a good deal of background noise. Though the ear was able to distinguish the pitch contours from the background noise, the more sensitive but less discriminating pitch-meter could not.
  18. Since orthography is not the main concern here, geminate (intense) consonants (cf. Carter 1970) and long vowels have been marked only when particularly audible, and not consistently, as in Carter and Makoondekwa's books. If geminates, for example, have the same function in this idiolect as in Makoondekwa's, then they are

predictable from the works already cited, and if they do not, a statement of their distribution would exceed the scope of this thesis.

- 19. It should be emphasised here that although these tracings were made after the method of marking had been finalised and applied to all the texts, the marking of the chosen extracts has not been touched up or adjusted in any way whatsoever.
- 20. This is an interesting point to bear in mind when discussing kiLeta - see chapters 11 and 16.
- 21. Further information on the nature of the kiKongo system might be obtained by comparing samples of kiKongo with those of other languages. Such an experiment, albeit on a small scale, was carried out. (I am grateful to P.R. Bennett for his help here.)

To test cross-dialectal systems, a tracing was made of an extract from Carter and Makoondekwa 1981. It was found to show many of the same features found in the Banzadio tracings, in particular the co-occurrence of high pitch and intensity.

Tracings were further made of an extract in Somali (a non-Bantu pitch-accent language) and one in Kikuyu (a Bantu tone language). It was found that both the Banzadio and the Makoondekwa tracings bore a closer resemblance to the Somali tracings, especially as far as the intensity tracings were concerned. Kikuyu tended to have most intensity near the beginning of phrases, while Somali and kiKongo agreed in varying the position of greatest intensity - very often it occurred at the beginning of phrases, but also it frequently came in the middle. Moreover, both Somali and kiKongo could have several intensity peaks of roughly the same height in a given phonological phrase - this was less common in Kikuyu.

Although the results must be considered tentative, the tracings do seem to show that at least two idiolects of kiKongo show features more similar to a pitch-accent language (Somali) than to a tone language (Kikuyu).

CHAPTER FOUR

Towards a Pitch-Accent Description - kiMbanz' aKongo

4.1: introduction.

Now that we have come to some preliminary conclusions about the placement of high pitch and about a possible basis for describing that placement, the next step will be to test our conclusions by applying them to a short portion of connected text. This will suggest whether the analysis might be refined.

4.2: the text.

The text is a portion (Luke 23:32-24:41) of the San Salvador (Mbanz' aKongo) Bible (Bentley 1926) as read by the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga. The dialect is kiMbanz' aKongo, referred to in Carter 1973 etc. as kiZombo.

4.3: sample passage.

We will take ll. 39-46 as a sample passage. Of the 45 words in the passage, 37 (82%) have high pitch on the root-syllable, 4 have high pitch on some other syllable, and 4 have no high pitch. Of the 37, 8 have one other high pitch in bridge with the first. These sets of words are listed below.

4.4: patterns in the text.

4.4.1: first or only high pitch on the root-syllable.

- (a) nouns (with no prefixed element)
  - nkála 40 'the tomb' (cf. kuna-nkála 44,45)
  - nduumbu 41,44 'spices'
  - Yíisu 46 'Jesus'
  - akéentó 39 'the women'
  - béézidi 39,44 'they had come'
  - bavútukidi 41 'they returned'
  - bavuúndidi 42 'they rested'
  - dyanéngomoka 45 'it had been rolled away'
  - bakófele 45 'they went in'
  - dyanéngomoka 45 'it had been rolled away'
  - bakófele 45 'they went in'
  - baléendé 40 'they followed'
  - bámwéene 40 'they saw'
  - bawéen(é) 44,45 'they found'
- (b) verbs:

banete 44 'they brought'  
 bakubikioti<sup>(A)</sup> 41,44 'they prepared'  
 una 43 'it has'.

(c) others: ybandi 39 'with him'  
 kwau 42 'completely'  
 zina 44 'which' (cc. ana 39)  
 mun'-owu 43 'according to'  
 tuuka 39 'from' (cf. tuka 30).

It will be seen that in this list are not only words with a single high pitch on the root-syllable (/ ~ /), but also words with a later high pitch in bridge with the first (/ ~ /) and words with the high pitch in bridge with that on a following word (/ ~ ~ ~ /). These latter two classes will be discussed below in 4.4.6,7.

4.4.2: nouns with prefixed element.

There is a group of nouns with a prefixed element, which have the high pitch on the root-syllable:

kyavuundu 42 'of rest'  
 wankanikinu 43 'of the commandment'  
 kyalumingu 43 'of the week'  
 kuna-Ngalili 40 'to Galilee'  
 kuna-nima 40 'behind'  
 kuna-nkala 44,45 'to the tomb'  
 ye-nsiwa 40 'and the laying'  
 y'-omazi 42 'and ointments'  
 evimbu 41 'the body' (cf. evimbu 36, cc. evimbu 46)<sup>2</sup>  
 elumbu<sup>(U)</sup> 42,43 'the day'.

4.4.3: nouns with prefixed element and shift of high pitch.

In contrast, there are 4 nouns, also with a prefixed element, which show a shift of the high pitch one syllable to the left of the root-syllable (this phenomenon will henceforth be referred to simply as 'shift'):

mansunga 42 'of perfume'  
 dyamfumu 46 'of the Lord'  
 etadi 45 'the boulder'  
 evimbu 46 'the body' (cc. evimbu 36, evimbu 41).

## 4.4.4: words without high pitch.

Words with no high pitch marked are as follows:

əna 39 'which' (cc. zɪná 44)

dyandɪ 41 'his'

dyasɪw(a) 41 'it was laid'

also: kyantete 43 'first' (inside a bridge).

## 4.4.5: conclusions.

The large proportion of words with high pitch on the root-syllable suggests that this can reasonably be taken as the 'norm'. Hence we will give most attention to words not showing this feature of high pitch on the root-syllable.

The words in 4.4.2,3 each have a prefixed element, whether it be genitive, long locative, connective, or initial vowel. Yet it seems difficult to account for the fact that a few words show shift of the high pitch, and others do not.

There are three possible explanations:

- (a) the variation may somehow be dependent on the prefixed element; yet the same elements (eg. genitive, initial vowel) occur in both groups;
- (b) there may be two or more nominal tone-classes showing different contours in this context; yet there are the examples evɪmbu and evɪmbu, showing variation on the same word;
- (c) the variation could be conditioned by pause or syntactic order; yet there seems to be little clear evidence for any such conditioning, other than the fact that the words in 4.4.3, with the exception of étadɪ, all occur after a preceding pause.

At this point it is impossible to decide on an explanation to account for the data. All the possibilities cited must be borne in mind until further data enable us to come to some conclusions. In the meantime the variation can only be noted.

## 4.4.6: bridges on individual words.

baléendé 40 'they followed'

bakùbikidí 44 'they prepared'  
 ke-bawéené-dyo-ko 45 'they did not find it'  
 akéentó 39 'the women'  
 elumbú 42 'the day'  
 ye-nsíwá 40 'and the laying'  
 túuká 39 'from'  
 ziná 44 'which'.

Three of these words (bakùbikidí, akéentó, ye-nsíwá) have a following pause. For bawéené a likely factor is that the following object substitute affects the verbal contour. However, the other examples do not lend themselves to any one explanation.

#### 4.4.7: bridges between words.

There are five of these:

bamwéene nkála 40 'they saw the tomb'  
 bakùbikidí ndúumbu 41 'they prepared spices'  
 bawéen' étadí 44-45 'they found the stone'  
 elumbu kyantete kyalumíngu 43 'on the first day of the week'  
 una nswé 43 'very early'.

In each case the bridge is between or over words that are syntactically linked: verb + object, noun + qualifiers, verb + complement. This fact may be of importance. The rising bridge in 43 may possibly be an exponent of emphasis - a new part of the story is beginning, and the speaker may wish to emphasise the occurrence (the Resurrection) about to take place. (See also 10.4.x.)

#### 4.4.8: conclusions.

The patterns occurring on this short extract fit fairly well, as we have seen, a description in which the high pitch of a word is normally associated with the root-syllable. Although there are exceptions, some of which cannot as yet be readily accounted for, it does seem that a very simple rule 'high pitch occurs on the root-syllable' will predict a large majority of the pitch contours.

#### 4.5: comments on variant contours.

For some contours which are difficult to account for, it seems that we may have to postulate an intonational system modulating the basic

patterns (cf. 4.6.5.2). The Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga referred to this as 'music', and his comments suggest that it plays a fairly important part in the kiKongo system. These comments by the informant on certain phrases will be given in each chapter (chapters 5-11) of this part of the thesis, and a final chapter (12) will summarise and attempt to classify the main comments on all the texts. The following sections deal with comments on this text.

- (i) the difference between the verbal patterns *baḡḡaleeḡ* 67 'they were silent' and *baḡḡdaleeḡ* 68 'they looked sad': the bridge on the first verb was said to be due to the fact that it does not end the sentence - if *baḡḡdaleeḡ* were in this position, it too would have the contour *baḡḡdaleeḡ*. This comment makes explicit the connection between bridging and hesitation/non-finality, denoting 'to be continued'.
- (ii) *yo-yuvúzyaaná* 65 'and conversing with each other': there was said to be a possible difference between this and *yo-yúvuzyaaná*. Both are pre-pausal and imply a continuation of the sentence, but the former may have some element of emphasis about it, or be exclusive of the speaker, while the latter is inclusive of the speaker. That is, the former may imply 'and conversing with each other' with the speaker as spectator, as opposed to the latter's 'and conversing with each other' with the speaker as a member of the group.
- (iii) *kwandi* 27 'indeed' and *kwáandi* 34 'actually': the former implies pity - Jesus was a good man and did not deserve to suffer. This may be related to the fact that lower key expresses gravity or seriousness.<sup>3</sup> The *kwáandi* can imply either scorn or sympathy. It can suggest that Joseph was a bad man, or unimportant, but since this interpretation is ruled out by the context, it implies here that his home town of Arimathea was very small and unimportant. In some cases it could even imply that the town was of low repute. In Ntoni-Nzinga's words, '*kwandi* changes its meaning according to the context - in itself it is the same'.
- (iv) the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga found it difficult to explain the precise difference between *ḡwantu woolé* 1 'two people' and *wáantú woolé* 47, since they occur in roughly similar contexts, introducing a new phase of the narrative. But he finally decided that the first

would be a special form which the speaker might use when beginning his story, or starting a whole new episode of his story contrasting with what had gone before. (cf. 3.5.3.1).

- (v) in connection with *wamúuntu ambote* 32 'a good man', I asked if there would be any difference between *ímuntu ambote* and *ímuntu ámbote*. The reply was that the first would imply 'he/it is a good person', but the second would imply 'I am a good person'. There is a superficial similarity here with the Venda *ndímúthu* 'it is a person', *ndímuthu* 'I am a person' (< *muthu*, cf. also *ndímúthu* 'I being a person'), as quoted in van Spaandonck 1973. The Venda patterns can be described in tonal terms, but the merging of tonal distinctions in kiKongo may mean that the patterns there have to be described in terms of accentuation by pitch, etc.
- (vi) there was also said to be an important difference between *kyámboté* as a question, meaning 'are you well?', and *kyámboíte*, the answer, meaning 'I am well'. A further example was given: *yáaní pfumu?* (question), but *yáaní pfumu* (statement). There are several other examples which suggest that final high pitch serves as a marker of question intonation (cf. 5.5.ix, 6.6.vii, 8.6.2.iii, and chapter 12), but the two examples above show clearly that in certain cases purely tonal criteria are inadequate for describing the pitch-contour; we must resort to accentual or intonational criteria.

#### 4.6: other research: Carter.

We will now look at the systematisation proposed by Carter (1973 and 1980), and see how well it predicts the pitch contours on another passage of the text. First we must give a brief review of the systematisation, with a view towards judging its efficacy, and comparing its features with those of others discussed in later chapters.

Carter's work is primarily based on the speech of the Rev. Joao Makoondekwa, and is certainly one of the most extensive and well-documented studies available, comprising theoretical analysis, and (compiled in collaboration with Makoondekwa) a wide selection of texts and tone-marked glossaries. The two sources Carter 1973 and 1980 reflect two discernible phases in the development of the analysis, which will be discussed separately.

## 4.6.1: pitch features.

Carter 1973 defines phonemic low pitch (left unmarked) as '(i) non-final pitches after which there is no immediate marked drop in pitch, and (ii) final pitches which begin at base pitch' (p.14). Base pitch is the lowest pitch of the speaker's range, while peak pitch (marked  $\check{v}$ ) is the highest (p.3). Phonemic high pitch is defined as '(i) pitches after which there is a drop immediately following, (ii) phrase-final pitches which do not begin at base pitch, though in some cases they may end there' (p.13). Peak pitch is effectively the first high pitch in the pitch-phrase (see next paragraph); subsequent high pitches are marked  $\acute{v}$ . In some cases, high pitch may be unrealised; this, termed 'neutralisation' by Carter, is marked  $v$ .

Two types of contour are distinguished: (i) peakless, in which 'the whole contour is at base pitch', and (ii) peaked, in which 'the pitch contour is characterised by the presence of one ... peak - never more than one'. (p.5) For these contours she uses the term '(pitch-)phrase'. Pitch-phrases are not necessarily co-terminous with other types of phrase; for example, the pitch-phrase boundary (marked / ) may, but need not, coincide with pause. (p.9)

## 4.6.2: tone-morphological variants.

Most words show two different contours. This variation is 'tono-morphological', which 'implies that tonal variation entails morphological variation, and vice versa' (p.146). Thus

o-má-vata (initial vowel-prefix-stem) / ma-váta 'villages'.

Variant 1 is characterised by the initial vowel or other pre-prefix, Variant 2 by absence of pre-prefix. There is a relationship between the tone-patterns of the two variants, such that in most cases the occurrence of the pre-prefix 'moves' (Carter 1980b) the high tone one syllable leftwards. However, there are other cases where morphological variation does not entail tonal variation, eg.

o-s-sevá / s-sevá 'to laugh'.

Such instances are called Variant 1 and Variant 2 by analogy. The totality of pitch patterns occurring on variants is resolved into a system of tone-classes (cf. 4.6.6) and realisation rules (see 4.6.3.1).

Occasionally a variant midway between Variants 1 and 2 is met. Though used by native speakers, this was rejected when Carter tried to use it. It is found only in the subject position. This variant (labelled 1a) has the tone-pattern of variant 1, but the initial vowel proper to that variant is optional, thus:

(é-)nk-kaanda 'book'; (o-)á-kulu 'ancestors'.

It will be seen that this may result in a form with no high pitch, contrasting with Variant 2, which has high pitch, eg.

nkkaanda / nkkáanda 'book'.

There are also some instances of items straddling the two variants: they have the same tone-pattern as Variant 1, but this pattern undergoes the realisation (see 4.6.3.1) proper to Variant 2, eg.

kuna-mázaandu 'to the markets', cf. omázaandu, cc. mazáandu.

#### 4.6.3: Carter 1973.

Carter 1973 defines 26 syntactic units (cf. 3.2.4), each of which has its own (pitch-) phrasing characteristics. Some are obligatorily phrase-initial (ie. must be preceded by a phrase boundary), some obligatorily non-initial (ie. cannot be preceded by a phrase boundary), and some may be either according to their position in a sequence, thus:

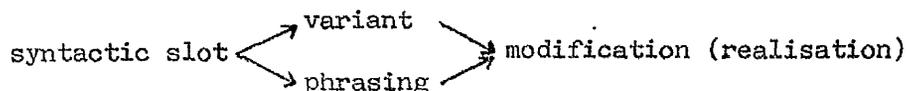
/ovaffulú kyáakína /sekoka/ 'at that place, turn ...'

/ovaffulú kyáakína /sekoka/ 'at that place, turn ...'

Here, the locative unit is phrase-initial in the first example, and non-initial in the second example, the variation depending on whether it precedes the predicator or not.

#### 4.6.3.1: realisation.

The interaction between syntactic unit, phrasing, and tone-morpho-logical variant specifies the realisation ('modification') of the tones in the word. 'The slot the nominal is to fill dictates the phrasing and the variant; the phrasing dictates whether or not there is to be initial modification, and the variant is modified according to its specific rule' (p.171). We thus have (p.169)



with realisation being dependent on syntax, even though the relationship is indirect. The modification is termed 'initial modification' because in fact it is only when the item is phrase-initial that there is a variety of possible realisations (see next section). When the item is non-initial, all marked tones are realised as high, and unmarked ones as low. When, however, the item is phrase-initial, there are two specific rules modifying the variants: (p.173)

Rule 1 (specific to Variants 1 and 1a): first potential high tone is unrealised;

Rule 2 (specific to Variant 2): second or only potential high tone is realised, with the first of two potential high tones unrealised.

There would thus be the following realisations when the words concerned appeared in phrase-initial position:

- Variant 1: omáavata 'villages' -> /omáavata
- olúsadísu 'help' -> /olúsadísu
- Variant 2: maváta -> maváta
- lusádisú -> lusádisú.

4.6.3.2: phrase-initial sequences.

'Phrase-initial sequences of nominals are classified as concatenate, composite, and compound' (p. 203).

(i) concatenate:

'In a concatenate sequence, the pattern of each item conforms to the description made for individual items, whether initial or non-initial. The first realised high tone of the phrase has peak pitch' (p.203). That is, the various items are merely placed side by side to give the whole sequence. Thus:

- /íffu kyántsi (Variant 2) 'it is the custom of the country'
- /emabúula mamýáanzi myákhengakyaasa (Variant 1) 'the skin of the roots of the creeper'.

(ii) composite:

A composite sequence shows an extension in the domain of Rule 2 from one word to two words, ie. we have two words being treated as one composite item. Thus:

- /ffwasá-mvvóvo 'it is a waste of speech' < \*ffwasá mvvóvo (Variant 2), with extended application of Rule 2.<sup>4</sup>

(iii) compound:

'A compound sequence is one in which the initiating item ['subordinate component'] has no realisation of potential high tone, irrespective of the number it may contain' (p. 203). Subordinate components cannot have an initial vowel, and have a reduced phonology (lack of vowel length, etc.). 'Compounds are invariably phrase-initial' (p.204). Thus:

/nllongo-myayíngi 'many remedies' < \*nllóngo myayíngi  
(Variant 2).

Words following the locatives kuna-, muna-, vana- are compounds, thus:

/kuna-mázaandu 'to the markets'.

'Compounds are of immense frequency' in Makoondekwa's idiolect (p.194).

#### 4.6.3.3: sequence and cohesion.

Composition seems to express 'a closer relationship between the exponents of the sequence, in contrast to concatenation, which marks a looser cohesion' (p.198). This is supported by the fact that certain morphologically bound items appear only as composite (pp. 195-7).

However, certain sequences may appear as concatenate or composite, eg.

íffu kyántsi 'it is the custom of the country' (concatenate)  
íffu-kyántsi 'it is the local custom' (composite) (p.197).

Carter considers that compounding signals a very high degree of cohesion between the components, even dependence of the subordinate component on the other, dominant, component (p.204). Certain sequences may appear as composite or compound, eg.

nllongo-myayíngi 'many remedies' (compound)  
nllonggo-myayíngi (composite) (p.189)  
asádsi-ámmbote 'they are good helpers.' (compound)  
asádsi-ámmbote (composite, or concatenate) (p.185).

But in some cases the sequences may be analysed in either way<sup>5</sup>, eg.

vata-dyámmbote (composite) 'it is a fine village'  
or vata-dyámmbote (compound) (p.192);

where the distinction marked is purely orthographic, and the sequences are homophonous.

It is possible to find the same sequence with all three types of modification, which may signal slight differences of meaning. Thus:

ənkkuumbu myay<sup>v</sup>ĩngĩ 'on many occasions' (concatenate)  
 nkkuumbu-myay<sup>v</sup>ĩngĩ 'many times' (composite)  
 nkkuumbu-myay<sup>v</sup>ĩngĩ 'often, frequently' (compound) (p.201).

However, Carter does not consider that the existence of compounding provides 'grounds for postulating a parallel with different degrees of emphasis in English, in whatever ways signalled' (p.201).

#### 4.6.4: Carter 1980.

The revised version of the analysis embodied in this work incorporates several additions and amendments.

##### 4.6.4.1: phrase-initial realisations.

Phrase-initial modification (Rule 1, Rule 2) and sequence (concatenative composition and compounding) are conflated to give four realisations in phrase-initial position. Carter notes that these 'may finally be further reduced' (p.4). Non-initial items, as in the 1973 version, have all basic tones fully realised.

##### (i) initial cancellation plus bridging:

This replaces 1973 Rule 1; the first high tone is unrealised, and the next two high tones in the phrase (if such exist) are realised on a bridge at peak pitch, for which the marking  $\check{v} \dots \check{v}$  (a divided peak mark  $\check{v}$ ) is used. Thus (using previous examples):

emabũula mamya<sup>h</sup>anzi my<sup>h</sup>ankhengakyaasa (4.6.3.2.i).

This realisation is proper to the pre-predicator subject.

##### (ii) initial bridging:

This replaces 1973 Rule 2, and also composition; the first and second high tones in the phrase are realised at peak pitch.

'Statistically, bridging is the most frequent initial sequence' (p.10), and it is the realisation proper to the predicator. Thus:

ffwas<sup>h</sup> mvu<sup>h</sup>vo (4.6.3.2.ii, formerly composite)  
 nllongo myay<sup>h</sup>ĩngĩ (4.6.3.3, formerly composite)  
 ĩffu ky<sup>h</sup>antsĩ (4.6.3.3, formerly Rule 2 concatenate or  
 composite).

Carter notes that it is 'difficult to defend the distinction between cancelled plus realised high tone [previous section], and bridged high tones [this section], on pitch grounds alone' (footnote 4). This is because the actual phonetic difference between the two realisations is slight, eg.

edyaambu dy<sup>v</sup>ankhuumbu [- ˩ - - -]  
'the matter of the name', initial cancellation + bridgin

but idyaambu dy<sup>v</sup>ammbi [- ˩ - - -]  
'it is a bad affair', initial bridging.

Even this difference between 'concave' and 'convex' contour is 'no more than a tendency. ... Moreover, in the case of 'convex' contours, there is no consistency as to the point at which the rise occurs; it may be before, on, or after the vowel with which potential high tone is associated. For instance, comparison of five occurrences of the phrase

\ntsi ˩nnene kíkílu 'it is an extremely large country'

show rise on the first vowel (i-) twice, and on the second vowel (-ntsi-) three times'. (adapted from Carter 1973, p. 301)

However, adoption of initial bridging makes for a much better system, not only because of comparability with the work of other researchers such as van den Eynde (Carter 1973, p.302), but also because it resolves some difficulties in the original analysis.

Firstly, some sequences which could be taken as either concatenate or composite (4.6.3.3) are no longer a problem, since the same analysis holds for both (see, for instance, the third example in this section). Secondly, we can account for such pairs as

wásala 'he worked' versus  
wásala-ssálu 'he did (lit. worked) some work'

(1973, p.221) by simple bridging from high tone to high tone, giving wásala ssálu. This solution also obviates the need to extend Rule 2 to give a composite sequence.

More important, bridging also neatly accounts for certain other instances where a similar process of composition seems to occur. In these cases, however, the original formulation would have caused difficulties, since Variant 1 occurs instead of the usual Variant 2. For example, we have

bab<sup>V</sup>ong' ónkkele (concatenate) 'they picked up the guns'  
but bab<sup>V</sup>ong'-<sup>V</sup>ónkkele (composite) (1973, p.259).

Both instances would now be marked bab<sup>V</sup>ong' ónkkele.

(iii) concatenation:

What is included here is much less extensive than in the 1973 analysis; it is proper only to direct WH- questions.<sup>6</sup> The first high tone is realised at extra-high pitch, and there is no bridge with any following high tone, eg. (p.14)

nk<sup>V</sup>hí ántháangwa besínga kwíza? 'what time are they coming?'

In 1973 (p.294) nk<sup>V</sup>hí-ántháangwa was analysed as a compound.

(iv) compounding:

Here the subordinate element has no high tone. Carter 1980 seems less certain about compounding than Carter 1973, but it is retained for two reasons.

Firstly, this type of realisation has to be distinguished from initial cancellation plus bridging, in which there is an optional initial vowel on the first item: the first item of a compound never has an initial vowel.

Secondly, 'the maintenance of compounding as a special type of syntactic unit seems necessary if the hypothesis<sup>7</sup> that phrasing is determined by syntax - a supposition too well attested to jettison lightly - is to be preserved' (p.16). Otherwise, there would be the problem of accounting for the differing realisations in

yayénda kuffwáá<sup>V</sup>ndu 'they went into recess'

and mu<sup>V</sup>na kweénda /kuna ffwáá<sup>V</sup>ndu 'in order to go into recess'<sup>7</sup>.

(v) remaining difficulties:

(a) such forms as tuukà 'from' (< \*túuká) look like Variant 2 with cancellation, but must be analysed as Variant 1 with dropped initial vowel (ie. t<sup>V</sup>ukà) - 'any alternative involving classification of the forms as Variant 2 results in collapse of the system as at present formulated' (p.20). In 1973 these forms were classed as compounds.

(b) the 'unstable' negative kemu-...-ko must be analysed as Variant 1 when it occurs in phrase-initial position, since it shows cancellation and bridging, eg.

kemusseva-ko 'without laughing'.

(c) in direct WH- questions initial stable nominals (Variant 2) show concatenation, not bridging, eg.

muvu<sup>v</sup>aatú myánani émyóómyo? 'whose are those clothes?'  
(lit. they are clothes of whom, those?).

Carter notes: 'If the association between variant and initial sequence is to be preserved, it is necessary [here] to establish a special category, ... although [the words concerned] are undoubtedly in Variant 2 form' (p.21).

These difficulties are probably less important than Carter fears; for (c), for instance, we can simply specify that extra-high pitch occurs on the first word of the WH- question (cf. (iii) above), even if this is not itself the question word, and that this over-rides the requirements of the variant. Moreover, if concatenation is analysed as a subset of bridging (cf. endnote 6), the problem is minor.<sup>8</sup>

4.6.4.2: variant and sequence.

Carter concludes: 'In sum, the correlation of variant and sequence (ie. type of realisation) is considerably weakened, but still substantially holds good. As with so many other facets of the Koongo tone-phrasing system as described here, there seem to be more difficulties involved in rejecting the present approach than in retaining it' (p.21).

4.6.4.3: remaining problems.

In Carter's opinion, two problems still remain. The first is the relationship between tone and stress. Carter notes that stress is associated with realised high tone, but not always directly - 'in general, for a nominal, the stressed vowels are those which have high tone in Variant 2, thus not only ngúdi ['mother', with underlining denoting stress] but also engúdi' (p.28). We also have, for '(the) help':

	Variant 1	Variant 2
phrase-initial	ol <sup>v</sup> usá <sup>v</sup> dísú <sup>v9</sup>	lusá <sup>v</sup> dísú <sup>v</sup>
non-initial	ol <sup>v</sup> úsá <sup>v</sup> dísú	lusá <sup>v</sup> dísú <sup>v10</sup> .

Carter notes: 'Stress indeed seems to be a substitute for high pitch as an exponent of high tone realisation in some cases' (p.29), eg.

tuyaantika 'let us begin'.

Since this always occurs finally, Carter suggests that it may possibly be a sentence-final feature.<sup>11</sup>

The second problem is the behaviour of vo 'that'. Carter notes that there is often 'a pitch-rise associated with it' (p.29) but there are the variants

ʔssya vo [ / - / ], but ʔssya vo [ / - - ] 'that is'.

Carter suggests that perhaps vo is so often rising or high in pitch that it has attained the status of a high-toned element, and can therefore be bridged in some cases.<sup>12</sup>

4.6.4.4: Carter's summary.

Carter notes that in relation to her earlier work 'the analysis and description of the tonal system shows advance on some fronts and retreat on others'. Some details, such as the behaviour of object suffixes, have been added. But 'the correlation of syntax and phrasing is not as clear-cut as it once seemed to be, and formidable problems of data interpretation still remain' (p.30).

4.6.5: conclusions.

Carter's systematisation is probably the most extensive and detailed to date, and is certainly adequate for the areas it sets out to describe. (cf. endnote 1, chapter 16), as is witnessed by its ability to predict contours with a high degree of accuracy: see 4.7 and 6.7, where we compare actual contours with those predicted by Carter's analysis.

However, it is a little 'complicated' (Carter 1973, p.154), and there are minor difficulties such as those in 4.6.4.1.v. Moreover, there are still a few cases where the analysis does not account for all the possible pitch patterns heard, eg.

... vo /wamona nkkéentó 'that you saw a woman'  
avó /wamona nkkeentó 'if you should see a woman'

(adapted from Carter 1973, p.156), where \*nkkéentó has two different realised patterns in virtually the same context. This example might be accounted for in terms of the very slight difference between bridged

and cancelled high tones (4.6.4.1.ii), ie. we could tonemically mark  $\text{nkkeentó}$  in both cases, with a slightly different tonetic realisation in both cases. But this does raise the question of why we should interpret the data in two different ways (initial bridging, and cancellation plus bridging) when there is so little phonetic difference between them, and when indeed marking of the first high pitch in the bridge seems to be somewhat arbitrary (4.6.4.1.ii).

#### 4.6.5.1: words without high pitch.

The phenomenon of compounding is of some interest. In Carter 1973 we have such instances as

$\text{nllongo-myayíngi} < *nllóngo + \text{myayíngi}$  'many remedies' (p.184)

Carter quite reasonably analyses this as showing cancellation of high pitch on the first element, and realisation of that from the second. Other examples, such as

$\text{yandí-ngudi} < *yáandi + (\acute{e})ngudi$  'she the mother' (p.187)

$\text{ngudí-zaau} < *ngúdi + (\acute{e})zaau$  'their mothers' (cc. ...  $\acute{e}ngudi$   $z\acute{a}au$  the non-compound) (p.187)

can be similarly analysed. Though the high pitch is realised on the final vowel of the first element, this is clearly due to the deletion of the pitch-bearing initial vowel of the second.

But there are compounds which this analysis does not fit so well, eg.

$\text{mpfiínda-zaandi} < *mpfiínda + (\acute{e})zaandi$  'his forest' (J.H. Carter

$\text{móoyo-muuntu} < *móoyo + \text{muuntu}$  'living person' (p.130),  $\angle$  p.c

where it is the second element, not the first, on which the high tone is cancelled.<sup>13</sup>

There is also the interesting case of Variant 1a (4.6.2), where in some instances the net result is to produce a contrast of high pitch versus no high pitch, eg.

$\text{nkkaanda}$  (Variant 1a without initial vowel)/ $\text{nkkaánda}$  (Variant 2) 'book'.

Moreover, if, for the  $\text{enkuumbu myayíngi}$  triplet in 4.6.3.3, we can assume that Variant 1a may occur in the concatenate (= 1980 initial cancellation plus bridging) version, we would have

nkkuumbu myayíngi

which differs only in vowel length from the compound version

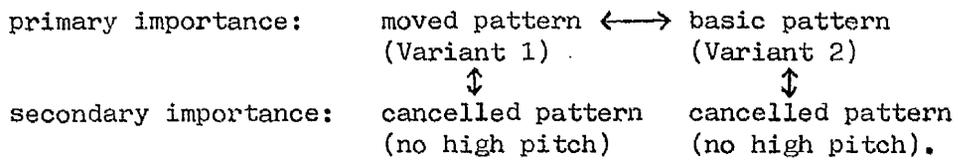
nkkuumbu-myayíngi.

There is a similar small difference between the concatenate and the composite (= 1980 initial bridging) version - the slightly different realisation of the first high tone of a bridge (cf. 4.6.4.1.ii):

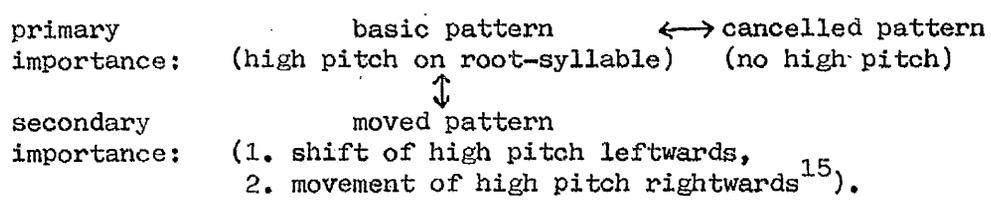
nkkuumbu myayíngi (1980 marking).

The difference between the three may therefore be questioned.<sup>14</sup>

If we see the contours of compounds purely in terms of the tonal system, with a selection of tone-classes and typical variants within those tone-classes, then it makes sense to analyse compounding, in which one word has high pitch and another does not, using those concepts. We might sketch this as follows:



However, there is a slightly different way of looking at the same phenomena:



Such a system is less specific as to the type of shift involved, but may provide a better general framework. In this case, underlying high pitch would be the basic element, but this might be conditioned by certain factors into changing its position, or into being cancelled. Sometimes the two, move and cancellation, may occur together in one phrase, eg. yandí ngudi, where both words show anomalous patterns in that neither has high pitch on the root-syllable (cf. 3.4.2); yandí shows movement of high pitch rightwards, while ngudi shows cancellation.

It should be emphasised that I am not suggesting that either way of

looking at things is 'better' than the other, but merely that each approach has its advantages, and both might profitably be examined. It is the second view, though, which will be explored in greater depth in the rest of this thesis. It shows some promise of providing a unifying feature for all previous systematisations of kiKongo pitch, as well as accounting for a large proportion of the pitch contours in new data.

Both views, however, must suggest some reason for the non-occurrence of high pitch on certain items - merely naming this 'compounding' or 'no high pitch' is not fully satisfactory. While Carter 1973 considers compounding merely as an exponent of dependence of relationships within the group (4.6.3.3), I would go slightly farther and say that no high pitch on a word signals the placement of emphasis or focus within the phrase. This is in fact inherent in what Carter says: a greater dependence of one component on the other automatically implies a lessening of the 'individuality' of the one component, and therefore some degree of focus on the other. At present, however, it is unclear what factors govern this focus, ie. when and why the speaker uses it, how he uses it, how it is signalled, and what it means; there must, presumably, be some slight differences of connotation between

- (a) no high pitch on the first element, eg. llumbu-<sup>h</sup>imosí 'one day',
- (b) no high pitch on the second element, eg. mpfiínda-zaandi 'his forest',
- (c) no high pitch on the second element, plus rightward movement of high pitch on the first, eg. yandi-ngudi 'she the mother' (though Carter would class this with the first group).

The question of focus and emphasis will be considered more fully in chapter 12.

#### 4.6.5.2: typology.

Finally, we must consider the typological classification to which the kiKongo pitch system may belong, since this may well influence the way the raw data are segmented and systematised. When Carter 1973 was being written, there seemed to be two main groupings in the typology: tonal languages and intonational languages (cf. 1.6.3 ff., 13.2). The question to be asked at that time, therefore, was simply: 'Is it feasible, or even better, to describe Zombo as intonational rather than tonal?' (Carter 1973, p.255)

Carter discusses both sides of the question: on the one hand, 'the tones of Kongo, viewed as a classic tonal system, do not make sense' (p.vi). Yet although it is 'true that over large areas of the language tonal distinctions are neutralised, ... this need not be regarded as a bar to describing it as tonal. There are other cases of tone-languages in which the distinctions are masked under certain conditions, while the homophonous items can still be described as having different basic tonal structure' (p.255).

On the other hand, 'on the level of phonetic pitch, there is undoubtedly a very strong superficial resemblance to languages such as English' (p.256). Yet intonation seems to be ruled out by the fact that 'the Zombo speaker has in my opinion no choice at all' in the pitch-patterning of the sequence - this is 'pre-determined by the lexical and syntactic choices already made' (p.256).

She concludes that 'it is not possible to describe Zombo in terms of an intonational system; the superficial resemblances are accidental, and description in tonal terms is the most satisfactory approach' (p.257). Because there are only two terms, and description in one is ruled out, the other must be used, even though it is not totally adequate either.

The concept of a continuum (1.6.3) allows us to use an intermediate classification, that of pitch-accent, which may fit kiKongo better. This is not a simple trading of one label for another - as mentioned above, awareness of different possibilities may well have a bearing on the analysis. If we view tone/intonation as discrete categories, the subject in question is dealt with on a yes/no basis; eventually it must be assigned, even if only tentatively, to one or other of the classes. However, if we recognise the existence of a continuum, we can afford to take whatever features from each extreme seem suitable, while yet preserving a distinct identity for the subject.

For example, kiKongo can probably not be described in the same way as a 'classically' intonational language such as French or English; there must, nevertheless, be (as in all (?) languages) certain intonational features, conveying emphasis, surprise, questions, etc. In fact, it

would seem, from the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga's comments (see 4.5 and following chapters, especially 12) that kiKongo has quite a wide range of these features, though their precise outlines cannot as yet be completely clarified. As for possibility of choice, the possibility of having alternative contours for virtually the same sequence surely amounts to some degree of conscious control.<sup>16</sup>

Again, purely tonal analysis is not ruled out by wide neutralisation of tonal distinctions, though if these are very widespread, we might begin to think of revising the classification: there is no point in setting up distinctions if these are going to be neutralised in many cases. It may even be that a tonal interpretation hampers development of an adequate analysis of pitch contours, since phenomena will tend to be considered in terms of tones only - this may be the case with the *issya vo* phrase (4.6.4.3).

It therefore seems best to keep an open mind on the type of system to be adopted. Previous analyses have been tonal in one way or another, while this thesis will see how useful a pitch-accent approach might be.

#### 4.6.6: Carter's tone-classes.

Carter 1973, pp.113-140 discusses the tone-classes proposed to deal with the totality of pitch-patterns, but at the end of this section the author admits that 'the attempt to sort nominals into tone-classes breaks down. ... In a few cases ... it is to some extent helpful, but in very many it is not. The exercise has not been without benefit, however, in showing general groupings of items and relationships of patterns' (p.139).

The preliminary classification in Carter 1973 crystallises in Carter and Makoondekwa 1975, 1977 into the following schema:

- I    *é-vata/váta* 'village'; *éns-sadtsí/ns-sádsí* 'worker'
- Iz   *óv-vaanga/v-váanga* 'to do'
- II   *(e)l-lúdi* 'truth'
- III *(e-)bayá* 'plank'; *(e)v-vaáva* 'to need, seek'
- IV   *end-zaambi/nd-zaambi* 'God'
- V    *ent-soómpelo/nt-soompélo* 'marriage'.

Tone-classes I and III are the most numerous, while II is 'an extremely small class' (p.116).

Apart from some uncertainties of classification (cf. Carter 1973, pp. 124, 131), there are three main difficulties with this systematisation. The first is the surprising point that paradigmatically related items are not necessarily in the same tone-class. Thus:

(e-)yáká'la 'husband', III, but (a)ma-ákalá 'husbands', II;  
 (e)s-soómpa 'to marry', III, but ent-soómpelo/nt-soómpé'lo V;  
 ól-la/l-la 'to be long', I, but (e)nn-dá 'length', II.

This type of 'unstable assignment' occurs most often in classes II-V, and is difficult to account for.

The second difficulty is that the differences between the classes are very slight - they tend to overlap with one another. Thus a Iz word without initial vowel has the same pattern as a II word (eg. vva'anga, llú'di), while a IV word without initial vowel has the same pattern as a III word (eg. ndza'ambi, vva'ava), etc. Carter 1978 makes use of this fact to support an interesting, but not entirely convincing, derivation of these pitch patterns from those established for Proto-Bantu.<sup>17</sup>

The third difficulty is the question of vowel length. Is the contrast between a long and a short syllable significant? If it is, should such long syllables be interpreted as a single long vowel, or as a double vowel? This point is discussed in Carter 1973, pp.121-131. It turns out that 'there is no phonetic difference whatsoever' (p.124) between 'long' and 'double' vowels, but both analyses must be considered. Analysing all vowel length as double vowels gives the six tone-classes above. However, if we allow some vowel length to be analysed as long vowels, it is to some extent possible to subsume IV under II, and V under III. It is, though, impossible to analyse all vowel length as long vowels, since this would interfere with the formulation of I, Iz, and III. Thus, Carter concludes, we either use one analysis and have more, yet minimally differentiated, tone-classes, or two analyses, with their domain defined in an ad hoc fashion.

Before a nasal combination, vowel length occurs 'in the overwhelming

majority of cases' (p.126). Yet Carter refrains from saying that such vowel length is a conditioned variant because (i) not all vowel length occurs in this position, (ii) some vowel length in this position is more amenable to analysis in terms of double vowels, and (iii) not all vowels in this position are long. She concludes that 'while examples disconfirming the V:NC hypothesis are not as numerous as those which tend to support it, they are nonetheless sufficient to make its adoption difficult' (p.127).

This is an interesting point, and I will return to it in 14.4. For the moment we may note (cf. Carter 1973, p.136) that Iz seems to be a conditioned variant of I:

vúimba 'to swell up', Iz, shows a pattern different from vúisá 'to authenticate', I, yet similar to vúma 'to throw', I, which suggests that the base form is \*vúimba, with vowel length conditioned by the nasal combination.

Moreover, many instance of vowel length occur on the penultimate syllable, or where NC has been reduced to C, eg.

emm-béele 'knife'  
 ent-soópelo 'marriage' (p < mp, cf. the variant ent-soómpelo)

While not all vowel length is conditioned, and therefore non-significant, there does seem to be a case for suggesting that it is not of primary importance in setting up the tone-classes. We find such non-significant variation as

ent-sangála ~ ent-sáangála 'basket' (cf. endnote 13, and 14.4).

If we arrange the example words for the 1973 tone-classes without initial vowel and ignoring vowel length, we find two main classes. The first has high tone on the first stem syllable, with another high tone if the stem is long enough:

váta (I), vvangé (Iz), nssádtisí (I), lúdti (II).

The second has high tone on the second stem syllable:

bayá (III), vvavé (III), ndzambí (IV), ntsompélo (V).

Each of these classes can be subdivided according as to whether the high

tone 'moves' (see 4.6.2) when a pre-prefix occurs (I, Iz, IV, V), or not (II, III). For further discussion see chapter 14. It is significant that in verbal stems only two classes (I/Iz and III) are represented (Carter 1973, p.136 ff.), as is the case with nominal stems longer than five moras (p.131).

Carter 1980 adopts the idea of moving versus fixed tone as the main basis for sorting the tone-patterns, and says: 'It is possible, but not very useful, to set up more refined tone-classes' (p.18). We therefore have the divisions: first syllable high tone, first syllable high tone (moving), second syllable high tone, second syllable high tone (moving), plus a few anomalous and some uncertain patterns (cf. also chapter 14). This classification is the one used in Carter 1980b, and is perhaps more useful than the earlier version - for further comments see chapter 14.

4.6.7: conclusions.

It is possible to see the development of Carter's ideas between 1973 and 1980. The earlier work was an interesting and original way of segmenting the data, but there were some shortcomings due to complexity and lack of flexibility in dealing with alternative patterns. The later work, although the theoretical background is less clear-cut, is simpler in many ways, more intuitively satisfying, and can probably deal with a larger variety of patterns than the earlier work.

4.7: comparison of passages.

It is interesting to compare the patterns of a piece of the text as spoken by the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga with those predicted by Carter's systematisation. There are of course good reasons for divergence, since two different idiolects are concerned, but such an exercise will be useful in that it will enable us to see how well the systematisation captures the features of the text.<sup>18</sup>

4.7.1: same contours.

Of the 83 words (excluding proper names) in the comparison passage (see Appendix 3), about 46 (55%) show a coincidence of high pitch, eg. ovóvele. vo 24 'he said (that)', okéembeele Nzaámbe 26 'he praised God', bavútukidi 29 'they returned', etc. In some cases, C (Carter's version)

has a bridge while N (Ntoni-Nzinga's version) does not, eg. muna-mooko maaku 24 'into your hands', yalungelakan' omona 28 '(which) had gathered together to see', y'-evangu dyau 33 'and their deeds', etc. Occasionally the occurrence of vowel length causes slight differences in the placement of high pitch, eg.

C imuuntu ansóngi / N imúntu ansóngi 27 'he was a righteous man'  
 eTáata / eTáata 24 'Father'  
 wasóngá / wasóngá 32 'of justice'.

#### 4.7.2: similar contours.

In 14 words (17%) the contours are very similar:

- (i) C andyóoyu / N andióyú 27,33,35 'he'  
 owú / ówu 26 'how'  
 ówu / ówú 28 'how'.

The last two pairs seem comparable, especially since the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga said that ówú 28 was a mispronunciation of ówu.

- (ii) there are two instances of a word occurring inside a bridge in N, but not in C:

C wááú / N wáau 25 'this'  
 nkuumbu / nkumbu 31 'name'.

The Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga commented that the contour on omuntu nkumbu andi yósefe 31-32 'a man called Joseph' was due to fast reading - the contour in slow speech would be omuntu nkumbu andi yósefe, which is more directly comparable to Carter's version (cf. also 4.7.3.i).

- (iii) there are two cases where the N version has a rising bridge, and the C version cancellation plus bridging:

C endoonga yawóonso / N endóonga yawóonso 27 'all the crowd'  
 ákuundi áandi awóonso / ákundi áandi awóonso 29 'all his friends'.

This is merely a case of two different markings for the same contour  / (cf. 4.6.4.1.ii).

- (iv) there are two cases in N where a word has high pitch in one instance but no high pitch in another; the word has high pitch in both instances in C:

váavá C23, CN25 / vava N23 'when'  
 kwaáandi C27,34, kwaáandi N34 / kwandi N27 'indeed'.

4.7.3: different contours.

There are 22 words where the contours in the two versions differ more than in the previous two sections, though even here some recurrent patterns can be discerned:

(i) N has high pitch, C does not:

- C ənə / N ɔ̃nə́ 30 'who'
- on(ə) / ɔ̃n(ə)́ 34 'who'
- omuyntu / omũntu 31 'a person'
- tuukə / tũkə́ 30 'from'.

The patterns of the latter two pairs are probably related to the rising bridge phenomenon noted in 4.7.2.ii; the Carter unrealised mark does not rule out a slight pitch rise, non-significant in her systematisation, thus omuyntu /  /.

(ii) C has high pitch, N does not:

- C dyáadí / N dyəədi 28 'this'
- túlu / tulu 29 'chests'
- máamə́ / mama 31 'these (things)'
- kuúna / kuna 35 'there'
- áame / ame 25 'my'
- ámbote / ambote 32 'good'
- also: okú vo / oku vo 26 'saying'
- kó / -ko 33 'not'.

(iii) N has high pitch on the root-syllable, C has it elsewhere:

- C kyeléka / N kyéleka 26 'truly'
- muna-valá / muna-vála 31 'at a distance'
- éviimbu / eviimbu 36 'the body'
- évata / evatá 34 'town'
- angoló / ʔngólo 24 'loud'
- ɪngyekweele mooyó / ɪngyekweele móyo 24-25 'I commend (my) spirit'
- also: ékintinu / ekintinu 35 'the kingdom'.

(iv) other different contours:

- C ombut' ankama / N ombút' ankáma 25 'the centurion'
- y'-ákeéntó / y'-akéentó 30 'and the women'.

4.7.4: conclusions.

Taking words in 4.7.1,2 it therefore seems that in 70% of cases

(60/86) the fit between the two versions is close, if not exact. The differences suggest a greater importance of the root-syllable in Ntoni-Nzinga's dialect, and a tendency for different types of word in the two versions to appear without high pitch.

4.8: summary.

This chapter has examined one text in terms of an approach which takes the root-syllable as the norm for occurrence of high pitch. This provides a useful general basis for predicting the pitch-patterns (4.4.8), though there are certain aspects of pitch placement which present some problems (4.4.5). Other anomalous patterns such as words without high pitch, and variant contours for the same word or phrase, may be ascribed to intonation modifying the basic pitch-accent system. The Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga's comments (4.5) may be helpful in coming to a preliminary understanding of this overlay.

A synopsis of Carter's systematisation shows that many of the features of the text are also present in her dialect, though described in different terms (cf. 4.6.5.1). A comparison of her 1973 and 1980 formulations shows an evolution towards greater flexibility (4.6.7) and some simplification (eg. in tone-classes). It may therefore be possible to reconcile both approaches in a general description of the kiKongo system; many stretches fit both descriptions equally well (4.7, and cf. endnote 13).

Successive chapters will follow the same outline as this one, covering three basic areas: (i) testing the usefulness of the 'high pitch on the root-syllable' rule, with comments on apparent exceptions; (ii) examination of other analyses of kiKongo pitch to see whether similar features are noted or discussed there; and (iii) comparison of passages, to test the extent to which these analyses are compatible.

Endnotes to chapter four.

1. The Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga preferred to reserve this term for dialects spoken farther east - see Appendix 1.
2. The Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga said in comments (cf. 4.5) that the form *évi'mbu* in 41 was emphatic, but that *évi'mbu* in 102 put the emphasis on the preceding verb *ka-baweene-dyo-ko* 'they did not find it'. Note also that *évi'mbu* and *évi'mbu* occur after elision, while *évi'mbu* does not.
3. From various comments by the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga, it appears that lower key denotes seriousness, gravity, a private matter of some importance, sadness, or a parenthetical comment. Higher key denotes anger, an exclamation, or the introduction of a new episode in a story or a new topic in a discussion.
4. Carter notes that Rule 1 could also be extended to operate over two words, but that this has the same net result as if it were taken to apply only to the first word - that is, in the case of Rule 1 there is 'a masking or neutralization of the concatenate/composite distinction' (p.203).
5. Compare the neutralisation of the concatenate/composite distinction (endnote 4). 'It will be appreciated that initial modification ... results in the neutralisation of tonal distinctions over a large area of the language'. (Carter 1973, p.194, cf. also p.255)
6. It is probable, though this is not explicitly stated by Carter, that concatenation could be analysed as a subset of initial bridging, since in an indirect WH- question the realisation takes this latter form: *kizéeyé-ko kana /nkhí ánthangwa besíngá kwííza* 'I don't know what time they will come' (Carter 1980, p.14).
7. Note that in terms of the description put forward in this thesis, two separate high pitches (as in the second example) would be considered 'basic', while a bridge between them (as in the first example) would be ascribed to the speaker's wishing to mark a close relationship between the words concerned (cf. 6.4.11.1,2). The applicability of such a description to the two examples here would depend primarily on whether the first example was ever found to occur without bridge, and, to a lesser extent, on whether the second was ever found to occur with bridge.
8. It may be that an ordered rule approach would find fewer difficulties here.

9. 'Cancellation of high tone seems to equal cancellation of stress too' (J.H. Carter, p.c.).
10. It is significant to our analysis to note that in three of these four cases the root-syllable is stressed, and in three out of four cases high pitch and stress coincide - compare 3.5.4. Also, there was some evidence in our tracings that the next but one syllable following a root-syllable might receive stress, eg. (Appendix 2) yekubazodilanga 9, basoonganga 10, mukituka 12,19, muyiindula 20, though this was not common and occurred only with verbs.
11. This pitch/stress relationship is very noticeable in kiLeta - see chapter 11.
12. For another explanation of these variants, see 10.4.v.
13. Recent revisions in the analysis (J.H. Carter, p.c.) mean that these examples are now considered as 'complexes', where the two items behave as if they formed one word - to some extent a return to the 1973 idea of composites. In Carter's dialect there seems to be a rule such that, if high pitch occurs on the second syllable of a word, a further high pitch on the word is barred - this applies, for example, when the negative affix -ko is suffixed to a noun, and also in certain verbal inflections (see Carter 1980 for examples). If, however, the high pitch occurs on the first syllable of the word, a further high pitch can occur later in the word.

This rule applies in the case of complexes of the form 'noun + possessive pronoun', though not, apparently, in those of the form 'noun + genitive'. There is also a tendency for the first item of a complex to undergo vowel contraction, ie. VVNC → VNC. Thus the examples would now be marked:

nllongó-muyáíngí (the 'no further high pitch' rule does not apply to the genitive)

yándí-ngúdí (?)

ngúdí-zááú (the 1973 pattern is now regarded as a mishearing; Carter 1980b also gives corrected patterns for the possessive pronoun: ezááú/zááú)

mpfiíndá-zaándí (or mpfiíndá'-zaándí)

móyó-muuntu (or moyó'-muuntu ?).

If this analysis can be more comprehensively formulated, it will provide a more effective explanation, in terms of Carter's systematisation, for the occurrence/non-occurrence of high pitch on certain words, and would certainly be an advance on the 1973



(K lh ≠ CB lh, K hl ≠ CB hl, K hl ≠ K hl); since these items are already morphologically differentiated, it seems unlikely that the situation for a phonological clash could arise.

- (2) patterns with pre-prefix are taken as the base forms, whereas it makes better sense to take patterns without pre-prefix as basic (which, in fact, is what Carter does in 1980b). The above derivation means that, for example, CB -gudú must develop to K e-ngulú via K e-ngúlu; this is possible, but it is surely more likely that e-ngúlu is a secondary development from CB -gudú → K e-ngulú, particularly since the pattern without pre-prefix is in each case ngulú.

- (3) taking patterns without pre-prefix as basic, we would then have

CB ll, lh → K lh;      CB hl, hh → K hl.

This bipartite division may be compared with chapter 14, where, on other grounds, two main pitch-pattern groups ('rising' and 'falling') are postulated for kiKongo.

- (4) patterns with pre-prefix would then be considered secondary, and indeed there seems to be some reason to suppose that leftward shift of the high pitch here depends on what pitch-group the item belongs to. In a sample from Carter 1980b (14.11), 7% of items in the rising group were found to show shift with the addition of a pre-prefix, whereas the percentage in the falling group was 79.5%. Exceptions such as e-ngúlu might be due to a certain overlapping of the two groups.

To sum up: the postulation of two main groups, each with specific pattern behaviour where pre-prefixes are concerned, seems to me simpler and more adequate than Carter 1978's system of clashes.

- 18. Such comparative experiments will form an integral part of chapters 6, 7 and 9, where the contours of a text as given or predicted by Carter, Daeleman and Laman will be compared with those of the text as read by an informant.

## CHAPTER FIVE

## Further Material - kiYaka/kiNtandu

## 5.1: introduction.

This chapter will examine a slightly longer passage in more detail, and discuss another researcher's systematisation of the pitch system of the neighbouring, closely-related language kiYaka (see van den Eynde 1968).

## 5.2: the text.

The text, from Struyf 1936, pp. 104-111, is a folktale on the theme of gratitude. It was said by the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga to be in the kiNtandu dialect, but with a certain admixture of kiYaka.

## 5.3: sample passage.

The passage chosen for discussion is ll. 52-83. Omitting patterns on the names NaNgundu-Nkunga 'Mr. Nightingale' and NaFungwa 'Mr. Owl' (see 5.4.7), there are roughly 159 high pitches in the passage, and of these, 97 (61%) occur on the root-syllable.

## 5.4: patterns in the text.

This section examines instances where the high pitch does not occur on the root-syllable; it will be seen that there are certain recurrent patterns here.

## 5.4.1: nominal patterns.

5.4.1.1: mpe 'also'.

mpe ~ mpi 'also', as in Carter's dialect (1973), seems to entail a high pitch on the preceding syllable:

monó mpi 75 'and I'

mpi'impá mpe 52 'evening also'

In one case mpi seems to 'spread the high pitch':

NaFúungwá mpi 57 'Mr. Owl too' (< \*NaFúungwa mpi ?; cf.

NaFúungwa mpi ubákidí 53-4)

5.4.1.2: -ko 'not'.

The same processes occur with the negative affix -ko:

... madyá-ko 64 '(no) food'  
 ... nzimbú-ko 78 '(no) money'  
 ka-dyaambú-ko 76 'no matter!'  
 NaNgundu-Nkungá-ko 82 '(not) Mr. Nightingale'

#### 5.4.1.3: long locatives.<sup>1</sup>

'Long' locatives (ie. with muná-, kuná-) seem to shift<sup>2</sup> the high pitch one syllable leftwards in most instances:

muná-yeemba 53 'in the funeral chamber'  
 muná-nkutu 64 'under the cloak' (cc. muná-nkùtu 59)  
 kuná-kizitu 74 'at the in-laws''  
 kuná-gata 77,83 'to the village'  
 kuná-mfwila 58 'at the feet'  
 kuNáFungwa 55,80 'to Mr. Owl'

All but two of the above locatives are in bridge with following items, while muná-yeemba and kuNáFungwa are followed by a pause. Bridging (see 5.4.6.ii) would therefore seem to be a feature of locatives in this dialect.

In a few cases the high pitch remains on the root-syllable:

muná-nzila 83 'on the way'  
 muná-nkùtu 59 'in the cloak'  
 kuná-nkunku 70 'at the perimeter' (cc. muná-nkunku 87)

The length of the following stretch may have something to do with variation in high pitch placement. Compare, for example,

muná-nkutu kanswéeka 64 'under the cloak where he had hidden him'  
 with muná-nkùtu mukala NaNgunda-Nkúunga 59-60 'under the cloak where  
 Mr. Nightingale was'  
 and muná-nkunku 87 (pre-pausal) 'at the perimeter'  
 with kuná-nkunku gata dyáu 70 'at the perimeter of his village'

However, this would still not account for phrases like

kuná-mfwila maelu manzitu áandi 58 'at the feet of his father-  
 in-law's corpse'

where, despite a long following stretch, there is a shift of high pitch.

5.4.1.4: short locatives.

'Short' locatives (ie. with mu-, ku-) usually retain high pitch on the root-syllable:

- munsí 54,56 'under'
- .mukkuma 73 'for the reason'
- mubbáka 80 'to get'.

But there is one case of no high pitch:

- mubilumbu 65 'after the days'

and one of penultimate high pitch:

- musíindíka 66 'to give a send-off to'.

5.4.1.5: genitives.

The genitive element also seems to condition a shift:

- kídya 74 'of food'
  - zímfundí 68 'of manioc'
  - kíseenda 82 'of paying'.
- } (see also 5.4.6)

The example manzítu 58 'of the father-in-law' occurs inside a bridge.

5.4.1.6: vowel-commencing stems.

The patterns on vowel-commencing stems are ambiguous:

- baákulu 57 'the elders'
- bíima 66 'things'
- but kiimá 74,81 'thing'
- besí-gata 52 'villagers'.

Occurrence as the last element in a bridge may tend to move the high pitch leftwards - see also 7.4.8.

5.4.2: verbal patterns.

In verbals, the high pitch is most commonly on the root-syllable, and is often the first high pitch of a bridge with following items.

5.4.2.1: bridges on verbals.

In a few cases the bridge is only on the verb itself:

- yíboongá 56<sup>3</sup> 'I will sing'



It is unclear why these occur; they may possibly be instances of an emphatic past tense such as occurs in Makoondekwa's dialect (Carter 1973, p.311).

5.4.3: words without high pitch.

In some cases no high pitch at all occurs on the word:

- (i) objects: kindodya  $\overleftarrow{55}, \overleftarrow{59}$  'clicking of fingers'  
 mbeembo  $\overleftarrow{57}, \overleftarrow{62}, \overleftarrow{75}$  'lament'
- (ii) subjects: bantu 62 'people'  
 bazitu 65 'in-laws'  
 NaFungwa 80 'Mr. Owl'  
 mono 56,72 'I'  
 nge 73 'you'  
 yant 77 'he'
- (iii) adjuncts: bilumbu  $\overrightarrow{62}$  'days'  
 mubilumbu 65 'after the days'
- (iv) verbs: benda 69 'they went'  
 bayenda  $\overleftarrow{69}$  'they went' (cc. wayenda 58)  
 ngyenda 76 'so that I can go'  
 wutuka  $\overleftarrow{80}$  'returning'  
 dila  $\overleftarrow{83}$  'lamenting'.

The sequence noun-possessive seems in five instances to have high pitch on the possessive only:<sup>4</sup>

- nkas' ándi  $\overleftarrow{66}, \overleftarrow{69}$  'his wife'  
 nkas' áku  $\overleftarrow{75}$  'your wife'  
 nsendo ándi 80 'his fee'  
 nsendu-áme 76 'my fee'  
 ntu ánti 81 'his head'.

5.4.4: high pitch on the last syllable.

There are a very few cases where a word has high pitch on the last syllable. Some of these have already been mentioned in other contexts: monó, mpímpá (5.4.1.1), bu-bálwaaká (5.4.2.2), teelé (5.4.2.1). But note:

baaná  $\vec{69}$  'they'

mbeembó nde 60 '... the lament, saying ...'

5.4.5: conclusions.

We may sum up by saying that the majority of high pitches occur on the root-syllable of the words concerned. Where this is not the case, the examples mostly form well-defined subsets - for instance, many anomalous nominal patterns can be described in terms of preprefixation conditioning a shift of the high pitch (5.4.1.3,5).

5.4.6: bridges between words.

Most of the bridges on individual words have been indicated in the above discussion (eg. 5.4.1.1,2; 5.4.2.1). However, there are quite a few bridges between words, showing recurring patterns of occurrence:

(i) noun/pronoun + following item:

ye-bàu banzéenza 53 'and they the guests'

kkòta kwau baákulu 57 'the entrance of they the elders'

kiimà kídyá 74 'something to eat'

kiyùnga kyándi 54 'his cloak'

nsùsu makumatánu 67 '30 chickens'

yè-nkombo makumóóle 67 'and 20 goats'

yè-ntongo zingulu kúumi 68 'and 10 fine pigs'

yè-nkama ntábá 68 'and 100 roots'<sup>5</sup>

nlùngi wúnu 78 'in a week from now'

NàFuungwa mpi ubákidi 53-4 'Mr. Owl grabbed'

(ii) locative + following item:

kunà-gata dyáme 77 'to my village'

kunà-gata dyándi 83 'to his village'

kunà-kizitu kyáku 74 'to your in-laws'' / in-law's corpse'

kunà-mfwila maalu manzitu áandi 58 'at the feet of his father-

kunà-nkunku gata dyáu 70 'at the perimeter of their village'

munsì kinkutu ngína 56 'under the cloak where I am'

muna-nkútu mukala NaNgundu-Nkúunga 59-60 'under the cloak where  
Mr. Nightingale was'

muna-nkutu kanswéeka 64 'under the cloak where he had hidden him'

mukkúma nkí 73 'for what reason'

## (iii) verb + following item:

- batùukídi bííma 65-6 'they brought out things'  
 k'ívwíidi nzimbú-ko 78 'I have no money'  
 uwíidi táanda 65 'he got very thin' (cf. uwíidi táanda 71)  
 bú-ngwíidi tánda kwáame 73 'I'm as thin as a rake'  
 yíkúfuta kwáku 79 'I will indeed pay you'  
 nzáyídi kwáame 56 'I will fully understand'  
 bakése kóko 63 'they remained there' / wèelé díla 83)  
 bèele kkóta 53 'they came and entered' (cc. wèelé vutuka 79-80,  
 wàlembwa kungána 74 'you failed to give me').

## (iv) exclamations:

- eé mpàangí 77 'hey, my friend!'  
 è nkaandí yayá 61 'hey, palm-nut, hooray!'  
 nkaandí yígana ngáanu 61 'the palm-nut confers talent!'  
 kilèlèléeee 61 'hip hip hooray!'  
 cf. also: kání 74 'at all'  
 kyèléka 73 'indeed'

There are three instances of 'broken' bridges, long bridges which have a structure similar to one of those above, but are broken by a pause (see also 6.4.11.1):

- kagèené . NàNgundu-Nkungá madyá-ko 63-4 'he didn't give Mr.  
 Nightingale any food' (cf. (iii) above)  
 yè-nkàma ntàbá . zímfundí 68 'and 100 manioc roots' (cf.  
 (i) above)  
 kavwíidi kwani nkutu kíimá . kíseenda NàNgundu-Nkungá-ko 81-2  
 'he had nothing whatsoever to pay Mr.  
 Nightingale with' (cf. (i) above)

These examples could be considered as two consecutive bridges, and are so marked. However, with two consecutive bridges we expect the high pitch to end and begin respectively on the root-syllable. With these bridges, the high pitch of the first half continues right up to the last syllable, and the high pitch of the second half starts right from the first syllable; there therefore seems to be good reason for considering these sequences as two halves of one bridge rather than as two bridges. The sequences could then be marked

kagèene . NaNgundu-Nkunga madyá-ko, etc.

5.4.7: patterns on names.

- (i) NaNgundu-Nkúnga 55, 60<sub>2</sub>, 64, 71<sub>1</sub> 'Mr. Nightingale'  
 NaNgundu-Nkúnga 60<sub>1</sub>, 82<sub>1</sub>  
 NaNgundu-Nkúnga 54, 79  
 NaNgundu-Nkúnga 71<sub>2</sub>, 72<sub>1</sub>, 82<sub>2</sub>  
 Ngúndu-Nkúnga 72<sub>2</sub>
- (ii) NaFúungwa 59, 63, 66, 70, 77, 53, 57 'Mr. Owl'  
 kuNaFungwa 55, 80  
 NaFúungwa 73  
 NaFungwa 80

Apart from noting that NaNgundu-Nkúnga and NaFúungwa are the most common forms, there is little to be said about these.

5.5: comments on variant contours.

- (i) NaFúungwa mpí 7 'Mr. Owl also' and NaFúungwá mpí 57: there was 'little difference' between these - the latter was said to place more emphasis on NaFungwa, while the former was more narrative, continuing the story, with the emphasis, if any, on the preceding íbúúna 'then'. It was noted that the difference really depends on the context, and on what the speaker wants to emphasise.
- (ii) gógele ndé [  ] 21 'she said' and kuNaNgúndu ndé' [  ] 28 '(he said) to Mr. Nightingale': the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga said that the extra-high pitch on nde in the latter was a 'special kiNtandu accent', which underlined here that the Owl was asking a favour. It would not be right, he said, to use this 'strong' form in the first example, because the speaker was a lady, and also because there was no discussion in what she said, just simple agreement. However, since the pausal upturn is the contour given to nde in all but one other example<sup>6</sup> in the text, it seems safer to assume that this is the usual form, and that nde with extra-high pitch is a marked form. We may compare the two patterns for íssya vo 'that is' noted in the previous chapter (4.6.4.2).
- (iii) kuná yakúndimína 16 'there where I am buried' and kuuna ...

wàkùndimína 27 'there ... where he lay buried (?)': the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga suspected that the final position of the latter might condition the contour; for example, we could say wàkùndimína if the word were not in final position. On the other hand, the fact that the two words refer respectively to 1st and 3rd person may, he said, affect the contours.

- (iv) nkutú-ko 25 'at all' and nkútu-ko 34: after some hesitation and difficulty, the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga finally decided that the former was more emphatic.
- (v) kadyáambú-ko 19,76 'no matter!' and kadyáambu-ko 43: these were characterised as 'different types of reply'. The latter is a reply to someone from whom you have received something, and the former a reply to someone who wants to do something for you. It is clear that these explanations do not entirely fit the contexts, but it seems likely that there is some sort of difference. This may, as suggested by P.R. Bennett (p.c.), have something to do with the relative value of the components and the degree of their lexicalisation. We may compare the English 'how-do-you-do?' as opposed to 'how do you do that?' We might suppose that the 43 example is a polite (and therefore marked) form, while the other example is the more usual one; the high pitch on the syllable preceding -ko is certainly more usual (cf. 5.4.1.2).
- (vi) kílumbu kímósi 2 'one day' and bilumbu bitanú 62 'five days': the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga said that the first example would be used when setting the scene at the beginning of a story (rather like 'once upon a time'), while the second emphasised the time lapse by means of the high pitches on the numeral. Again, lexicalisation may be a factor. We might compare wàantu woolé/wàantú woolé in 4.5.iv.
- (vii) kunà-gata dyáandí 23 'to his village' and kunà-gata dyándí 83: the extra length and falling pitch on dyáandí in the first example were said to convey an impression of sadness, or an attitude of aggressiveness, as when giving an order; the second example is the usual form. Compare the comments on kwáandí in 4.5.iii.
- (viii) yítúuka<sup>o</sup>nga lunsuá 84 'when the termites come out' and

mumbaambísa lúnswa / 85-6 'to use the termites as bait for him': the contour differences were ascribed to position in the sentence; we could have yítuukaanga lúnswa / and mumbaambísa lunsuá ... . The Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga drew attention to the way the contours of both words, not just of lunsua, changed: 'if you change one word, you must change another'. This variation is difficult to account for; no other examples of this kind have been found.

(ix) kuntu nani 105 'on whose head is it?' and kuntu Vafúngwa 105 'on Mr. Owl's head': the first example was identified as a question form: the higher the pitch, the more forceful the question.

(x) asked about the differing contours on kaansi (passim), the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga said that basically this depends on its function in the sentence, a form like káansi being used to 'reply', for example, but one like kansi being used to 'explain'. He seemed to mean here that káansi 'but' was neutral, in its ordinary function of introducing information contrary to that previously presented, while kansi introduced what might be considered a cautionary note: 'but, however, ...'. Compare also 10.4.v.

5.6: other research: van den Eynde.

We have seen that there are certain recurrent patterns both in the contours of individual words and also in the structures associated with pitch bridges. We will now compare the systematisation proposed by another scholar to see whether similar tendencies can be discerned there. Either Daeleman 1966 or van den Eynde 1968 would be appropriate for this dialect, but I will deal here with the latter, since I propose to discuss Daeleman 1966 in chapter 7.

5.6.1: pitch features.

5.6.1.1: tonemes.

Van den Eynde distinguishes two tonemes, high (marked  $\acute{v}$ ) and low (unmarked). Thus:

mútu 'it is a man'  
 wúúsidí 'it has arrived'  
 khóombo 'goat'.

But 'in fact tonal realisation is more complicated'<sup>7</sup>, since there are

also 'slightly rising' and 'slightly falling' pitches, and a 'tonal break'.

#### 5.6.1.2: 'slight rise'.

The slight rise seems to be a variant of the level contour (class C, see 5.6.2.1), and words may have either pattern. Thus:

ngóómbá 'cow' [---] or [- - -]  
yakála 'man, husband' [---] or [- - -].

The items are marked with high tones because this is 'the simplest from the tonal point of view', and also, it appears, to keep two of the nominal tone-groups (B and C, see 5.6.2.1) clearly distinct. There is 'a certain risk of confusion' with these two groups when the words occur in self-standing or phrase-final position, because it is then that the falling realisation for class C usually occurs. But the choice of the two realisations, level or falling, may even depend, 'for the same syntactic position, [on whether] the informant speaks in a more, or less, emphatic manner, slower or faster'.

#### 5.6.1.3: 'slight fall'.

As for the slight fall, we have

kúlúndzi 'cross' [- - -]  
kúúlu 'leg' [- - -].

That is, although we would expect from the marking that the contour is [- - -], it is actually [- - -]. Here we are given no reason for the marking adopted, and the exact phonetic difference between -v- and -v'- with slight fall is not explained. It is noticeable that just as the slight rise tends to blur the distinction between groups B and C, this slight fall would tend to merge groups B and A (cf. 4.6.6).

#### 5.6.1.4: 'tonal break'.

The tonal break involves an extra-high tone, thus:

↑tútálá 'we will work' [- - -].

However, 'this phenomenon has been systematically omitted, although it seems to play a distinctive role in the language'.

5.6.1.5: tone-bridge.

Van den Eynde notes that in connected speech a 'tone-bridge' is sometimes formed between the high tones of two words, eg.

batádídí bákhoombó bápúmu 'they saw the chief's goats'  
with ∅ batádídí bákhoombó bápúmu 'they saw the chief's goats'  
in his examples bridging mostly seems to occur with nouns in his 'definite' case (see 5.6.2.3). Van den Eynde gives few details on where and when bridging is used. If it occurs at all frequently, it surely obscures many of his tonal distinctions, and it would therefore be interesting to know how he arrived at his underlying forms.

5.6.2: cases and moods.

Van den Eynde describes kiYaka tone-patterns in terms of three nominal 'tone-cases' and three verbal 'tone-moods' (cf. Daeleman 1966).

5.6.2.1: tone-classes.

'At first sight, one has the impression that substantives behave according to a very irregular tonal scheme, even when occurring in the same case.' Nouns are therefore divided into three 'groups' or tone-classes, each with specific tone-patterns for the various cases (see 5.6.2.3). Thus:

	definite <sup>S</sup>	neutral	qualified	meaning
A	yi-séngelé	yi-sengelé	yi-sengele	'axe' / $\bar{\text{—}}$ marks'
B	ma-kúlúndzi	ma-kulúndzi	ma-kulundzi	'cruciform tattoo
C	ba-yákálá	ba-yakala	ba-yakala	'husbands'

It will be seen that in the qualified case there is no tonal differentiation of the words. The comments in 5.6.1.2,3 above about the distinctiveness of the tone-classes should also be borne in mind when considering the definite case.

5.6.2.2: tone-types.

Verbal behaviour also necessitates a division into two 'types', each with specific tone-patterns for the different moods. The types are not tonal classes of the radical, as we might expect from other Bantu tonal systems. Rather, they seem to be determined by the tense. We might say that there are not two, but three types, since the tenses

of type I have very different patterns according to whether the subject prefix is 1st/2nd person or 3rd person. Thus:

	absolute	selective	relative	meaning	tense
I (i)	tutadídí	tutadídí	tutádídí	'we have looked'	perfect
(ii)	batádídí	batádídí	batádídí	'they have looked'	"
II	twatadídí	twatadídí	twatádídí	'we had looked'	pluperfect

See also 5.6.2.4 and 5.6.5 .

#### 5.6.2.3: the three cases.

Van den Eynde says of the cases: (pp. 16-7)

- (i) with the neutral case, 'the substantive ... expresses only its own lexical content' - ie. this is the unmarked form.
- (ii) with the definite case, 'the accent is placed on the substantive, in its own right, or in comparison with another'. This form is therefore marked and emphatic.
- (iii) the qualified case 'signifies that ... the attention ... is deflected from this substantive to the profit of its determining [ie. qualifying] form'. We might call this a 'de-emphasised' form, and it is mostly found in first position in a nominal group.

#### 5.6.2.4: the three moods.

Of the moods, van den Eynde says: (p.19)

- (i) the absolute mood 'is neutral'.
- (ii) the selective mood 'focusses attention on the complement. The presence of the latter is obligatory ... When the selective mood is used, it is desired to clearly indicate that the complement is the main area of attention, not something else. An exclusive choice is being made among various possibilities, the chosen complement is being opposed to others'.
- (iii) the relative mood 'can be translated most adequately in French by a relative construction, although the frequency of its use far surpasses that of the relative in French'.

#### 5.6.2.5: relationship.

The moods and cases therefore seem to correspond as follows:

- (a) marked: definite case, selective mood; (b) unmarked: neutral case, absolute mood; (c) 'de-marked': qualified case, relative mood.

### 5.6.3: interaction of cases and moods.

'The sense of syntactic groups and of the phrase in Yaka is determined by tonal characteristics, which express the different possible links between one or more nominal forms and between one or more verbal forms'. (p.11) Van den Eynde examines this interplay between mood and case in the phrase from the point of view of where each case may occur.

#### 5.6.3.1: definite case.

The definite case occurs when the noun

- (a) stands alone as a predicative or vocative, eg.

mahéembo 'they are shoulders'  
a nge mwáána! 'hey, you, child!'

- (b) is preceded by the genitive element, eg.

kíimá kyáphwéénya 'it is a thing of beauty'

- (c) is preceded by kwa-/kuna-, ye-/ya-, eg.

tweelé kuna-nsítu 'we went to the forest'  
tuusidí ya-maama 'I/we have come with mother'

- (d) appears as object of a verb in the selective mood, eg.

tunímbini hatháangi 'we slept on a bed (not on the ground)'

#### 5.6.3.2: neutral case.

The neutral case occurs when the noun

- (a) occurs before numerals, -óoso 'all', or -íingi 'many'

- (b) appears as subject of a verb in (i) absolute, or (ii) selective mood, eg.

(i) yisengalé kyalála 'the axe was lost'  
(ii) maheembó mamwééné phási 'my shoulders are really sore'

- (c) appears as object of a verb in (i) absolute, or (ii) relative mood, eg.

(i) tumweené kabulukú 'we saw an antelope' / is dead'  
(ii) mutu wadíidi makhondo, fúúdi 'the person who ate the bananas'

- (d) appears as complement of an indirect relative, eg.

mwáána kávwáátisií maamá 'the child whom dresses the mother'.

#### 5.6.3.3: qualified case.

The qualified case occurs when the noun

(a) is first item in a nominal group (ie. when it occurs before a genitive, possessive or demonstrative), eg.

lusiimbá máheembo máááma 'hold mummy's shoulders!'  
mitoombo myáámí myámíbímbí 'these manioc roots are bad'

(b) is qualified by a relative, whether (i) direct, or (ii) indirect, eg.

- (i) ngaandu wazyóonda mumámá, lúúkidí 'the crocodile which dived into the water was evil'
- (ii) ndaanda yithéetele ndzyoko, yitóómbokele 'the path which the elephant was looking for sloped upwards'.

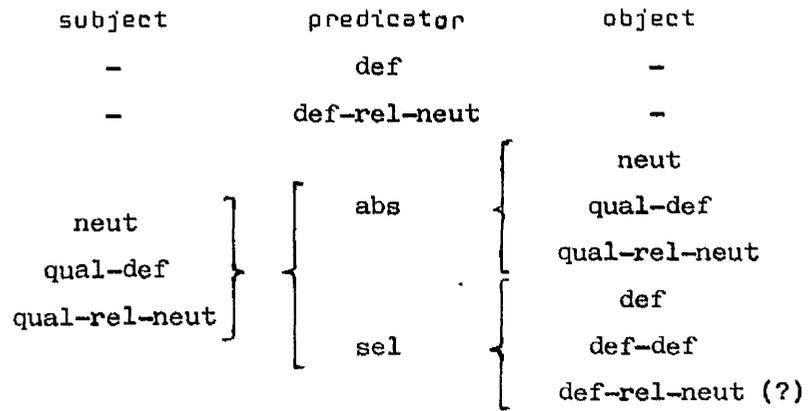
5.6.3.4: contextual variation.

Van den Eynde points out that 'in certain contexts either the qualified or the definite case may occur' (pp. 22-4), eg.

hatháangi<sup>(0)</sup> tuníimbíni<sup>(0)(0)(0)</sup> (def + rel) 'it was on a bed that we slept'  
 cf. tuníimbíni hatháangi (sel + def) 'we slept on a bed'  
 but hatháangi tuníimbíni (qual + rel) 'the bed on which we slept ...'  
 máheembo<sup>(0)</sup> mááma<sup>(0)</sup> (def) 'these are my shoulders'  
 but máheembo mááma (qual) 'my shoulders ...'.

5.6.4: range of patterns.

The range of patterns for a simple sentence with three slots then seems to be something like this:



Thus we have (p.12):

- (i) bapháangi (def) 'they are brothers'
- (ii) baphaangi báhoondéle bakhóombó (neut + abs + neut) 'the brothers killed the goats'
- (iii) baphaangi báhoondele bakhóombo (neut + sel + def) 'the brothers killed the goats (and not the sheep)'

- (iv) bakhoombó báhoondéle baphaangi (def-rel-neut) 'it is the goats that the brothers killed'
- (v) bakhoombo báhoondele baphaangi, bafúúdi (qual-rel-neut + abs) 'the goats which the brothers killed have died'.

5.6.5: verbal patterns.

Not all of van den Eynde's verb forms show the patterns predicted by his formulations (5.6.2.2). For example, in 5.6.3.2 the form káwúúáá'tí'tí, said to be a relative, has a pattern which is supposed to appear on relatives of type II only, whereas this verb form appears to be a perfect tense, not a pluperfect, and therefore type I.

Again, in 5.6.3.4 we have two different patterns for the relative tuníimbini: túníimbini and tuníimbini. The form here is definitely type I, so the second pattern does fit van den Eynde's formulations. The first pattern, however, is not included in those given for either type. We might postulate túníimbini, with lowered pitch on the last syllable because of pre-pausal occurrence (as happens to nouns - cf. 5.6.1.2), but this pattern only occurs on type II relatives.

There are two more contradictory patterns for a relative in 5.6.4: báhoondéle (iv) and báhoondele (v). All other patterns for báhoondele in these sentences except that in (v) seem to mark it as a type II verb (ie. pluperfect). But báhoondele seems closer to the pattern for a relative of type I (ie. perfect). Either the glosses for these sentences are misleading (since none of them reflects the pluperfect meaning), or the patterns displayed on verbals are not fully described in van den Eynde's formulations.

5.6.6: further problematic examples.

- (i) katólula meenu máandi but t'élele baantu baandi (both abs + qual-def): -aandi is in tone-group A, so the first example shows a definite case pattern, while the second shows a neutral case pattern. Yet from the information presented, the neutral case does not occur on a word in this context.
- (ii) a nge muáána! 'hey, you, child!' but a ngé! 'hey, you!': this implies either that there is a hierarchy in the application of

high pitch (perhaps on the lines of only one substantive in the group being in the definite case, or of only one item in a given slot having high pitch), or some sort of focus or emphasis.

- (iii) tumweené bangoomba bapfúmu (abs + qual-def) 'we saw the chief's cows' but tumweene bangóómbá báp̄fúmu (sel + def-def) 'we saw the chief's cows': such pairs suggest clearly that focus may be a relevant factor in the realisation of the pitch contours.
- (iv) lutufúúlá kheendá (abs + neut) 'have mercy on us (on all occasions, in general)' but lutufuula khéenda (sel + def) 'have mercy on us (on one particular occasion)': here the pitch patterns provide connotative contrast. We might note that in Carter's kimbanz' aKongo (Carter 1973), where the initial vowel acts to some extent as a marker of definiteness, the patterns for the noun would be nkhéenda (less definite) and énkheenda (more definite).<sup>9</sup>

#### 5.6.7: conclusions.

Despite its internal inconsistencies, van den Eynde's study shows a number of parallels with tendencies noted in the text (5.4). In many cases there is only one high pitch on a word, and in some cases none at all; in addition, words may have a variety of contours in the same context. There are variant realisations for some words (5.6.1.2) depending on position in the utterance, and also on speed of utterance and emphasis. The fact that there are discrepancies between the posited verbal contours and their actual forms in the examples suggests that there may be a certain amount of flexibility here, which would make verbal patterns hard to categorise. Finally, pitch may be used to signal a close relationship between items in a nominal group, or between a verb and its object, and to indicate various degrees of markedness or focus.

#### 5.7: summary.

Analysis of the text (5.4) has yielded more information on the occurrence of bridging (5.4.6) and of anomalous patterns (5.4.5). Comparison with van den Eynde's work (5.6) suggests parallels with the system I am postulating: one of minimal tonal differentiation, but with a certain amount of optional contour variation (5.5) - a fairly flexible system which accounts for the bulk of the data.

Endnotes to chapter five.

1. Terms such as 'locative', 'genitive', 'connective', etc. are used as shorthand for 'noun with prefixed locative element', 'noun with prefixed genitive element', 'noun with prefixed connective element', etc.
2. Such expressions as 'locatives shift the high pitch' are used as shorthand for 'nouns with prefixed locative element are associated with shift of the high pitch'. It is not necessarily intended to suggest a causal relationship between occurrence of the locative element and shift of the high pitch, though such may well be the case.
3. Henceforth, an arrow over a line number will indicate an anomalous pattern on surrounding words.
4. It will be noticed that in all these examples elision has occurred or could occur. The analysis here would be one of non-occurrence of high pitch on the first word, with expected high pitch on the second. Note that Carter (p.c.) would analyse the forms as, for example, \*nkhasé-àandi (a possessive complex) -- nkhas' áandi (with elision causing the high pitch to move one syllable to the right). That is, her analysis would be one of non-occurrence of high pitch on the second word, with expected high pitch on the first, although this high pitch is in fact realised on the second word because of the elision.
5. Other instances of ye- show no shift, eg. ye-besí-gata 52 'and the villagers', ye-bàu 53 'and they'. The shift of high pitch onto the connective element in the three examples in 67-8 may be due to their being in a list: the speaker is enunciating them carefully, emphasising the number of the gifts. Compare also bù-ngwidi ... in (iii), which also has high pitch on the prefixed element and is also emphatic, being an exclamation.
6. ndé 93, but the high pitch may be due to the fact that it is elided with the vocative element e.
7. All extracts from van den Eynde 1968 are translated from the original French.
8. Van den Eynde's names for the cases and moods are related to each other in four instances out of six, and are therefore difficult to remember. In my translations, therefore, I use slightly different terms, as follows:

## tone-cases

déterminant: definite

indéterminé: neutral

déterminé: qualified

## tone-moods

absolutif: absolute

sélectif: selective

déterminatif: relative.

9. We might also compare the Tonga

twakayandaula mulimo 'we looked for work'

but twakáyandáúla mulimo 'we looked for work'

(Carter 1971-2). See also 13.3.3.

CHAPTER SIX  
Three Versions - kiZombo

6.1: introduction.

This chapter will examine three versions of the same text in the kiZombo dialect<sup>1</sup>, to ascertain their degree of difference or similarity in terms of pitch features. A portion of the text will then be compared with the patterns predicted by Carter's systematisation (cf. 4.6.7)<sup>2</sup>.

6.2: the text.

The first text (version A) was a spontaneous one spoken by the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga into a cassette recorder. Version A was then examined in two following sessions; it would be played for a phrase, the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga would repeat the phrase more slowly and clearly perhaps two or three times, and I would check this against version A. This slowed-down, 'exploded' version (B) showed some variations from A in both wording and contour. Finally, one session was devoted to explaining the exact meaning and reference of the text. During this, the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga would frequently repeat phrases or whole sentences from my written version of the text (especially the middle portion) for the purposes of translation and explanation. This explicatory version (C) was also recorded.

6.3: sample passage.

The passage chosen for examination is ll. 33-58. About 60% of high pitches in versions B and C occur on the root-syllable; the proportion is slightly lower in A (about 52%).

For the sake of simplicity, we will describe the patterns with reference to A, only noting patterns in B and C when they diverge from those in A. This approach has been found, after trial and error, to be preferable to describing the patterns in three parallel columns, or to describing each version individually and then comparing them.

6.4: patterns in the text.

The patterns in this text (version A) are strikingly different from those of the texts previously examined. The patterns in those

texts could be categorised in terms of 'basic' (ie. high pitch on the root-syllable) or 'anomalous' (ie. (i) high pitch elsewhere, or (ii) no high pitch), with the 'basic' and 'anomalous (i)' categories containing the greatest number of items.

In this text it is the 'basic' and 'anomalous (ii)' categories which contain most items - a very high proportion (about 28%) of words have no high pitch, and words with prefixed elements tend to retain the high pitch on the root-syllable, instead of shifting it as in previous texts.

#### 6.4.1: long locatives.

Long locatives do not shift the high pitch:

- muna-wáántu 42 'for people'
- muna-kúma 52 'for the reason'
- muna-yáayí 57 'in this'
- muna-máa 45 [B muna-máamá] 'because of these [things]'
- muna-lúmbu 39 [absent in B, C muna-lúmbú] 'in the days'
- muna-dyáadi 33 [absent in B, C muna-dyáadí] 'for this [reason]'

Note also kwamúúntu 35 'to someone'

- kwaphíl(a) 46 'by a type', which might be better classed with the genitives in 6.4.3.

#### 6.4.2: connectives.

Connectives also retain high pitch on the root-syllable. Thus:

- ye-múúntu 34 'with someone'
- ye-mbúndazyáanu 48 'with a joining together'
- ye-wóonga 49 'with fear'
- ye-náni 50 'with whom'.

But note also ye-kyávoonza 51 'and of danger'  
and ye-thaangu 55 'with a time'.

#### 6.4.3: genitives.

Some genitives shift the high pitch:

- kyánene 47 'of largeness'
- kyáphasí 50 'of difficulty'



## 6.4.5: initial vowel.

The initial vowel shifts high pitch in some cases:

- éphasi 56,57 'difficulty' (cf. kyéphasi 50, cc. ephasi 52)  
 élumbu 57 'day'  
 éphila 57 'the manner'  
 ézaya 35 [C zàya] 'to know'  
 [ékhuumbu 45C] [A khúumbu, absent in B] 'names'.

But in other cases there is no high pitch:

- ełudi 43 'truth'  
 ełuvunu 43 'lies'  
 ewaantu 46 'people'  
 eyaatu 47 ditto (cc. eyaātu 39C)  
 ephasi 52 'difficulty' (cc. éphasi 56,57)  
 emaambu 55 'things'  
 estikila 53 [BC sikila] 'become right'  
 ekuma 49,51 [B ekúma] 'the reason'.

We might also note here

- dímost 38 [BC dímos<sup>7</sup>] 'one'.

## 6.4.6: high pitch on the last syllable.

A few words have high pitch on the last syllable, usually as part of a bridge:

- kínà 47 'which'  
 mànà 41,41(A here actually has mànà),42 'which'  
 [konsò 33B,34B] [A koso, C kobnsó] 'every'  
 muuntú muuntu 40,49 [40B muuntú muuntú] 'everyone'.

6.4.7: -ko.

The negative affix -ko seems to cause spreading only on verbs:

- kazèyé-ko 49 'he doesn't know'  
 katuzèyé-ko 52 'we don't know'  
 kufwílílá-ko 54 'despite'.

Note also waatú-ko 51 [B wàatú-ko] '(not) people!'.

There are three examples with no spreading:

mffúnu-ko 38 '(not) useful'  
 avúuvu-ko 48 [C àvúuvu-ko] '(not) of hope'  
 [vóva-ko 36BC] [A vova-ko] '(not) say'.

#### 6.4.8: anomalous verbal patterns.

wáleenda 35 [absent in BC] 'you should be able'  
 kúlendi 36 (perhaps an emphatic pattern) [BC kuléndi] 'you cannot'  
 túnaanga 54 [C túnáanga] 'we have'  
 dítwátoma 38 'which is constantly very much'  
 dítoma 56B [AC ditóma] 'which is very much'  
 kaèna 47C [AB kaenà] 'they do not have'  
 kamèna 37BC [A kamena] 'which are not'  
 -dìmonekaangá 43 [-dìmónekaangá<sup>(a)</sup> B(C)] 'it is being seen'  
 kakítwàvúuvika 51 [C(?) kakítwàvúuvika] 'it is not peaceful'  
 àtwáziíngila 58 'they are living'  
 atwamón(a) 52 [B àtwamón(a), C atwámón(a)] 'they are seeing'  
 yi-màkálá 42 'they are [things] which are'.

Only anomalous patterns are noted here; other examples in this text have high pitch on the root-syllable. Note particularly the high degree of variation from one version to another in verbal patterns.

#### 6.4.9: tone-classes.

As with previous texts, it seems difficult to account for categories where there is shift in some cases and not in others (eg. 6.4.3). There seem to be no conditioning factors in the surrounding environment. Should we then postulate tone-classes? There is one argument for this view, namely, that the patterns of some groups (eg. 6.4.2) mostly coincide with those assigned to them in Carter 1980b. However, there are several arguments against tone-classes:

- (a) some prefixes do not shift the high pitch as Carter predicts, eg. muna-lumbu 39, Carter predicts munà-lumbu (see also 6.7);
- (b) one word may have two different patterns, eg. dyamfunu/dyàmfunu 33;
- (c) the above variation is due more to simple difference in the placement of high pitch than to a series of different tone-patterns for the word;
- (d) the postulation of even minimally-differentiated tone-classes has not proved useful for other texts.

There is therefore a dilemma: a few pieces of evidence for tone-classes, but nothing definite. Perhaps the best approach is merely to note the possibility of lexical conditioning of contours in some cases<sup>3</sup>, but to continue with the description in terms of morphological and semantic conditioning, as has been found most useful for the majority of the contours in all the texts. It has already been noted (6.4) that the patterns in this text are somewhat different from those of other texts, and we might add the possibility of residual tone-classes as one of those differences. I will return to this question in 6.7.4.

6.4.10: words without high pitch.

- (i) adjunct:    iboosi 43,46 'so'  
                  kana vo 52 'whether'  
                  kíkílu 50 [C kíkílu] 'real' (cc. kíkílu 33)  
                  wau 49 'now'  
                  evo 56 [B yóvo, C yòvó] 'or'  
                  koso thàangu 33 [C koònsó thàangu, B konsò thàangu] 'every'  
                  màambu ne 53 [BC màambu né] 'things like'
- (ii) object:    khy' 35,36,36,53 'what'  
                  phasi 39 'difficulty'  
                  ephasi 52 ditto (cc. éphasi 56,57)  
                  ng'indu 34 [B ng'indu] 'ideas'  
                  ndaanu 38 [B ndáandú] 'wise'  
                  dyoodyo 54 'this'  
                  yaayi 40 ditto  
                  [kyau 54B] [AC kyáu] 'it'  
                  ye-thaangu 55 'with a time'  
                  [mbundanu 48C] [A mbùndanu, B mbùndanú] 'joining'
- (iii) verbs:    kamena 37 [BC kamèna] 'which are not' (cc. kaenà 47)  
                  tutad'idi 39 'we have looked'  
                  [lenda 35BC] [A lènda] 'you can'  
                  malenda 53 [C malèndá] 'they can'  
                  afwete 45 [BC afwéte] 'they are (as a rule)'  
                  makwenda 55 [C makwénda] 'they will become'  
                  vova-ko 35 [BC vóva-ko] '(not) say'

(e) s'ikilá 53 'be put right' (cc. s'ikilá 55)  
 [s'ikidi 55BC] [A s'ikidi] 'righted'  
 kupháangaang(a) 56 [B kupháangaang(a)] 'causing me'  
 kupháang(a) 57 'cause me'

note also the relative pronoun dina 35,36 [absent in BC] 'which'

(iv) subject: aatu 40 'people'  
 eyaatu 47 ditto  
 ewaantu 46 ditto  
 eludi 43 'truth'  
 eluvunu 44 'lies'  
 emáambu 55 'things'  
 maambu 37 [absent in B] ditto  
 [maambu 53BC] [A màambu] ditto  
 dyaambu 55 [C dyáambu] 'matter'  
 ekuma 49 [B ekúma], 51 'the reason'  
 muuntu muuntu 40 [B muuntu muuntu], 49 'everyone'.

It is noticeable that, as in 6.4.8, these anomalous patterns show a great deal of variation between versions. It is interesting that some words appear more than once, eg. waantu 'people' and maambu 'things'. We might compare these to English 'weak' forms, eg. 'people say that but they don't really mean it' as opposed to the 'strong' form 'people are important'.

In general, words without high pitch seem to occur in 'de-emphasised' or de-stressed position: for example, tutadidi 39 occurs as a parenthesis, 'if we care to look'; ndaanu 38 'wise' is a kiNdibu synonym for mfúnu, so it loses its high pitch in favour of mfúnu - it is interesting to note that in the B version, ndaandu is said after mfúnu, and here it is presumably meant to reinforce mfúnu, so it is given the emphatic pattern ndaandú. It is likely that other instances of no high pitch (though perhaps not all) could be accounted for in this way, by postulating a manipulation of the contours by the speaker to focus attention on certain parts of his utterance (see also chapter 12). This would be particularly likely to occur in this text, since the speaker was emotionally involved with his subject.

## 6.4.11: bridges between words.

## (i) noun + following item:

- muna-lumbu kyalumbú 39 [C muna-lumbú . kyálumbu, absent in B]  
'all the time'
- [màambu mándza 39-40B] [A màambú<sub>Λ</sub> mándza, C màambu mándza]  
'the events of the world'
- thàangu kyéthàangu 44 [absent in C] 'the whole time'
- kwaphíl' awóonga 46 'by a great fear'
- evvòonza kyánene 46-47 [C evvòonza kyánene] 'the greatest danger'
- mbùndanu avúvu 48 [B mbùndanú avúvu, C mbundanu avúvu]  
'a joining of hope'
- ye-mbùndazyaanu avúvu-ko 48 [unbridged variants in B and C]  
'nor a joining together of hope'
- tèezo kyáphasi 50 [B tèezó<sub>Λ</sub> kyáphasi] '(it is) a difficult  
situation'
- muna-kúma kyedyáayi 52 [BC muna-kúma kyedyáadi] 'on account  
of this'
- inkúundi áni 50 'it is his friend'
- intàantu áni 50 'it is his enemy'
- muna-yàayi élumbu 57 'in this day and age'
- dyambu dímosi 38 [BC dyambu dímosí] 'one thing'
- dyamfúnu kíkílu 33 [C dyamfunu kíkílu] '(it is) of great  
importance'
- muna-dyàadi náanga 33 [B muna-dyàadi . náanga, C muna-dyàadi .  
náanga] 'on account of this, perhaps'
- koso thàangu vóvaanga 33-34 [B koonsò thàangu vóvaanga,  
C kòonsó thàangu<sub>Λ</sub> vóvaanga] 'every time you  
speak'
- [konsò thàangu ssóongaanga 34B] [A koso thàangú<sub>Λ</sub> ssóongaanga,  
C kòonsó thàangu ssóongaanga] 'every time  
you explain'
- ayíng' atwamón(a) 51-52 [BC ayíngi<sub>Λ</sub> atwamón(a)] 'many are  
experiencing'
- [dyáambu dyànkaka dítóma 55-56C] [AB dyáambu dyànkaka dítóma]  
'another thing which really ...'

note also kàtu dyáka 48-49 'no longer at all'

## (ii) verb + following item:

- afwete véwa khúumbu 45 [B afwète véwa, C bafwète véwá.  
ékhuumbu] 'they are given names'
- lènda vóva 35 [BC lenda vóva] 'you can say'

kaenà dyáka 47-48 [C kàèna dyáaka] 'they no longer have'  
 [kamèna kwáani 37BC] [A kamèna kwáani] 'which are not entirely'  
 note also zìna zìnáanga 37 [C zìna zìnáanga, absent in B] 'which are'  
 kinà kisuúndidi 47 'surpassing'  
 manà kenáanga 41 'what he has'  
 manà kaváangaanga 42 'what he is doing'  
 manà kayyííndulaanga 41 [BC manà kayyííndulaanga] 'what he  
 is thinking'  
 and yìna yáatu 58 [absent in C] 'in which people'.

Here again there is a good deal of variation among the three versions, which suggests that bridging depends very much on factors such as speed of utterance, sequence of words, occurrence of pauses, and perhaps to some extent on the speaker's intentions (ie. whether he wants to emphasise the close relationship between certain items by bridging them) - see 6.4.11.2.

#### 6.4.11.1: formation of bridges.

The variant contours of some sequences allow us to draw some important conclusions about the formation of bridges.

There are a few instances of 'broken' bridges, i.e. two consecutive bridges which can be regarded as one bridge with a pause in the middle (see 5.4.6), eg.

màambú<sub>A</sub> mándza 39-40A 'the events of the world'.

This could be marked màambu<sub>A</sub> mándza, and in fact in 39-40B a similar pattern (without pause) does occur:

màambu mándza.<sup>4</sup>

Compare tээзб<sub>A</sub> kyáphasi 50B '(it is) a difficult situation'  
 and tээzo kyáphasi 50C.

The A version here shows a bridge with final extra-high pitch:

tээzo kyáphasi.

It is also possible to find examples where, although there is no pause between the two words, the first word has the bridging pattern (ie. could be taken to constitute the first half of a broken bridge),

but the second word does not continue this bridge. Thus:

mbùndanú avúvu 48B 'a joining of hope'.

This may be taken as an intermediate stage in the formation of a bridge, and in fact the full bridge occurs in

mbùndanu avúvu 48A,

where the first syllable of the second word has been raised to form a bridge proper.

The examples suggest the following steps in the expansion of a bridge:

- (i) / — | \ / → / — \ /, ie. bridge on first word + pause + unbridged pattern on second word → full bridge;
- (ii) / — \ / → / — \ /, ie. bridge on first word + unbridged pattern on second word → full bridge (with extra-high final).

Considering now the contour on the first word, we can see that syllables following the first high pitch are consecutively raised. The complete sequence is seen in:

(unbridged)	màambu . mǎndza 39-40C
(broken bridge)	màambu <sub>^</sub> mǎndza 39-40A <sup>1</sup>
(full bridge)	màambu mǎndza 39-40B.

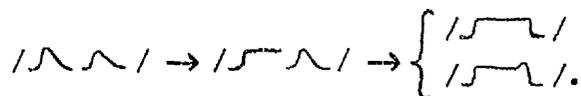
Note also (unbridged)	evvòonza kyǎnene 46-47C 'the greatest danger'
(full bridge)	evvòonza kyǎnene 46-47AB

and (unbridged)	muna-kùma kyedyáayi 52C 'on account of this'
(full bridge)	muna-kùma kyedyáayi 52A.

#### 6.4.11.2: conclusions.

These examples seem to suggest that in bridging the voice remains high after the first high pitch, in readiness for the second part of the bridge. In fairly slow speech, however, there may be a pause between the two parts, or syllables of the second part before the next high pitch may not be assimilated, ie. the second part has the unbridged pattern. In fast speech, or where there are no pauses, a full bridge is formed - the high pitch is run on from the end of the first part to the beginning of the second. The stages can be shown

as follows:



We might now ask why bridging occurs. It would seem that certain syntactic sequences (such as noun-qualifier or verb-object) are more likely to occur with bridging. They have a close grammatical relationship, and the speaker may choose to signal this relationship, and/or its importance, by putting the two items in bridge. In fast speech bridging may even be obligatory. There may be an element of conscious focus by deciding to bridge two items (see also 7.6.3 and 12.4), and the rising bridge appears to be a marked form of bridging. This syntactico-semantic phenomenon of bridging seems to have parallels in at least three other Bantu languages, as I will show in 13.3.

6.5: variation in the three versions.

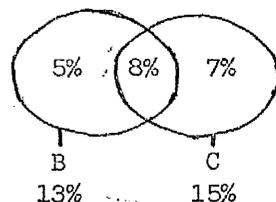
Investigation of inter-version differences is also interesting. As noted above (6.4), in the spontaneous A version there is a large proportion of words with no high pitch. The number is somewhat less in the slower versions B and C, which tend to have high pitch on the root-syllable of many words which in A have no high pitch (cf. 6.4.10). This may be ascribed to a tendency for slower speech to retain a greater number of basic patterns (cf. 6.4.11.2).

Areas of anomalous patterning, especially words or sequences which in A have no high pitch or are in bridge, are especially prone to variation over the three versions (cf. 6.4.8,10,11). Bridges are very slightly more common in A, and are usually slightly longer than those in B or C. Phrases in A are also generally longer than those in B or C, though of course this is to some degree accounted for by the nature of the secondary versions. For example, the sequence *dyambu dīmosi dītuatoma vvaəng(a) aatu phasi muna-lumbu kyəlumbu* 38-39 'one thing which constantly causes people great trouble all the time' is one phrase in A, two phrases in B (where the last two words are also absent), and four phrases in C.

We may quantify the actual divergences of B and C from A as follows:

	B ≠ A	C ≠ A	BC ≠ A	total
words	9	12	14	35 (out of 177)
%	5%	7%	8%	20%

This may be drawn as a Venn diagram:



It thus seems that there is a 20% level of variance from A. Expressed individually, B differs from A by 13%, and C from A by the slightly higher 15%, ie. there is a high degree of similarity between the three versions.

6.5.1: variance in versions of the same text, from the same speaker.

Version A was the primary version, and B and C were secondary versions based on it. If we were counting merely the number of different contours in all three versions, we would add the variance percentages for B (13%) and C (15%) to give 28%. But since we are counting the amount of variance from the A version in other versions, places where B and C both have different contours are counted as one, giving the figure of 20%<sup>5</sup>.

If A is taken as zero, then the amount of variation when A is compared to one other version (A+1) is 15% (taking the figure for C, the version showing greatest divergence), and when A is compared to two other versions (A+2) the figure is 20%. If we can assume that this text is representative, it would seem that there is an exponential decrease in variance, so that eventually we would expect the amount of variation not to exceed a certain figure, no matter how many versions were compared. This assumption seems reasonable, since, as pointed out several times above (eg. 6.4.8,10), the variation generally occurs in certain areas, ie. it is non-random. We would at any rate expect a finite amount of variation, since no language has yet been discovered which shows infinite variability. An ultimate figure of around 25% variation seems appropriate.

It appears, then, that we might predict a sequence such as

A:	0	(within limits of)
A+1:	15%	13-17%
A+2:	20%	17-23%
A+n:	25%	20-30% (?)

6.5.2: variance in versions of the same text, from different speakers.

This hypothesis becomes more attractive when we remember the level of correlation with patterns derived from other systematisations. In 4.7 I compared a text from the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga and the same text marked as predicted by Carter's systematisation. The two showed a correlation of about 70%, ie. a variability level of about 30%. The same exercise has been carried out for this text (see 6.7), again showing 70% correlation. In later chapters it will be shown that there is a similar level of comparability with other systematisations (chapters 7 and 9), and between two versions of the same text from two different speakers (chapter 8).

6.5.3: variation and focus.

It therefore seems likely that there are certain possibilities of variation in the kiKongo system: the expected patterns may be varied by the speaker to give anomalous patterns which possibly convey differences of focus or emphasis (see also chapter 12). It is interesting that in one comparability study (see 9.6) it was found that the system I am postulating here, and that proposed by another researcher, both had difficulty in accounting for the same phrases where the speaker had used anomalous contours; this suggests that at a certain level systems based on linguistic features excluding focus and emphasis break down, and we must postulate some system including these.

Although not all variation in contours can be ascribed to focus or emphasis (some variation may be due to misreading, or to a slightly different choice of words or phrasing), nevertheless it seems reasonable to attribute the bulk of the variation to focus. As a working hypothesis, then, we may use the figures in the previous sections as a rough index to the amount of focus, while bearing in mind that the actual amount may be slightly less than that given.

## 6.5.4: conclusions.

To sum up, therefore, we might say that there is a very high degree of similarity between versions A, B and C, which suggests that the basic system is similar in all three. On the other hand, there is also a fairly high level of variation, which suggests that the basic system is being conditioned in some way. This variation tends to occur in the same phrases, suggesting that such variation is the exponent of emphasis or focus. The fact that the figures for the degree of variation are comparable to those obtained for a text from two different sources suggests that the possibility of variation may be an integral part of the system itself.

I would suggest that variation between two versions of the same text by the same speaker would typically be about 15%, and that this would increase the more versions were compared until we found a general level of about 25% variation. If we were to compare two versions of the same text by different speakers we would find a further increase to about 30% variation. It is uncertain what would be found if several versions of the same text by different speakers were compared. However, if we assume that there are structural limits as to how much variability is possible, and that certain structures are more likely to permit variation (as seems probable), the level should not be too high: we might estimate 40%. Thus:

	same speaker	different speakers
two versions	15%	30%
more than two versions	25%	40% (?).

## 6.6: comments on variant contours.

- (i) discussing 52-53, the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga gave the pair *katuzèyé-kô*, *kana vó ekhy'éthāngu ...* 'we do not know whether some time ...' and *katuzéye-kô*, *kana vó ekhy'éthāngú ...* ; *katuzèyé-ko* was said to be the neutral form, suggesting that what follows is not very important, but *katuzéye-kô* is much more emphatic, implying that something very important, eg. an opinion dearly held by the speaker, is about to follow.
- (ii) in 58, B has a neutral *éphilá yìna yaétu*, but A has a more

emphatic <sup>↑</sup>éphila yina yáatu ('the way in which people ...'), with the high key emphasising yáatu. The speaker feels strongly about the subject, and this is also signalled by the three pauses in this part of the sentence, which help to emphasise each phrase.

- (iii) discussing 75, the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga drew attention to two possible patterns for a noun in final position. When the same syntactic pattern is repeated, as here, it tends to have its high pitch suppressed, with no pausal upturn: aatu alútidi vóvel' elúvuvamu, aatu alútidi vóvel' ezola 'people often talk about peace, people often talk about love'. However, as a paratactic addition, the noun has high pitch and upturn: aatu alútidi vóvel' elúvuvamú, yé-zolá ... 'people often talk about peace, and love'. The first form was compared to one before a comma, and the second to one before a semi-colon.
- (iv) in 95-96, kalèendelé vúluzwa ye-maambu maandi-ko 'he cannot be saved with all his problems' would be a neutral form with no emphasis, but the actual kalèendelé vúluzwa ye-maambu maandi-ko emphasises maambu, implying that the Church has a responsibility to save not only a person's soul, but his whole being, problems and all.
- (v) discussing 55, emaambu was said to be a neutral form, but a form such as maambu would be emphatic.
- (vi) discussing 32, the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga gave the pair muna-káti kwáandi 'inside him' (cf. the actual muna-káti kwáandi) and muna-káti kwáandi; the first is neutral, but the latter would be used when the speaker was angry, or wanted to emphasise that he was talking about one thing in particular.
- (vii) in 2, yíindwidi 'you were thinking' is a statement, but the question form would be <sup>↑</sup>yíindwidi?
- (viii) discussing 7, the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga said that ingíndu záame would be a non-final form, while ingíndu záame is a final form. Ingíndu záame implies a feeling of sadness, while ingíndu záame is impossible, or at any rate would be used only by missionaries. (It seems, though, that ingíndu záame is possible in Makoondewa's idiolect, as a possessive complex - J.H. Carter, p.c.). Discussing

ng'indu z<sup>á</sup>aku 34, the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga said that extra-high pitch on zaaku and fast rate of delivery would imply that an opposite idea was to follow, as in ng'indu z<sup>á</sup>aku z<sup>á</sup>mbot(e), k<sup>á</sup>ás<sup>í</sup> ... 'your ideas are good, but ...'.

(ix) in 90, the low key of <sup>↓</sup>muná-phwa yaphíla yáayi 'in a situation of this kind' was attributed in part to its occurrence at the end of a sentence, but it is also the result of a conscious attempt to give the impression of an open question - the speaker is pondering. This is not an ordinary question (cf. (vii) above), but, in the speaker's own words, a 'thinking' question, so the speaker must 'go low', ie. use a low key. Moreover, the low key will emphasise what is being said, because everyone will listen attentively to hear better what the speaker is saying.

6.7: comparison of passages.

The patterns on a portion of the text (ll. 33-50) will now be compared to those predicted by Carter's systematisation.

6.7.1: same contours.

Of 123 words in the passage, 66 have identical contours, sometimes over fairly long stretches: muuntú muuntu uná ye-wóonga, ekuma kádi kazéyé-ko ... 49 'everyone is afraid, because he doesn't know ...' is a case in point, as is afwete vewa khúumbu zaziingi 45 'they are given many names'. There is sometimes slight variation due to vowel length:

Cr (Carter)	z <sup>á</sup> aku	N (Ntoni-Nzinga)	z <sup>á</sup> aku	34	'your'
	dyá <sup>á</sup> ka		dyá <sup>á</sup> ka	48	'(no) longer'
	avúúvu-ko		avúúvu-ko	48	'(not) of hope'
	kwamuúntu		kwamuúntu	35	'to someone'

and so on.

6.7.2: similar contours.

Other words have similar, though not identical, contours, which are relatable in many cases:

(i) N has high pitch on the root-syllable, while Cr has it elsewhere:

Cr	aatú /	N	aátu	39	'people'
	määmbú /		määmbu	39	'things'

Cr dyàmfunu / N dyamfùnu [dyàmfunu] 33 '(it is) of importance'  
 munà-dyaádi / muna-dyàadi 33 'therefore'  
 munà-llumbu / muna-lùmbu 39 'in the days'  
 munà-maáma / muna-máa [muna-màamá] 45 'because of these [things]'  
 ìkya' / ìkyá' 47 'it is this'  
 ìnkkuundi / ìnkùundi 50 'it is a friend'  
 ìnttaantu ìnttaantu / ìntàantu 50 'it is an enemy'  
 -lussengõmonwaanga / -luséngomonwaanga 44 'what is becoming common'  
 bakotélo / bakótelo 46 'they are entered'

note also yè-mbundázyaanu / ye-mbùndazyaanu 48 'with a joining together'

(ii) there are two cases where the N patterns can be derived from the Cr patterns by processes of assimilation (peak pitch  $\checkmark$  -- high pitch in bridge  $\checkmark$ ) and elision:

Cr nkhi' adyaámbu → nkhi' adyaámbu → (n)khy' adyaámbu →  
 N khy' adyaámbu 35,36 'what thing'  
 Cr nkhi' áthaangu → nkhi' áthaangu → (n)khy' áthaangu →  
 N khy' áthaangu 36 'what time'

(iii) Cr has no marked high pitch, N has:

Cr (konsò) thaangu / N (koso) thàangu [(konsò) thaangu]  
 33,34 'every time'  
 walenda / wáleend(a) [waleenda] 35 'you should be able'  
 vo / vó [vó] 41 'that'  
 (ísyá) vo / (ísyá) vó [(ísyá) vó] 40 'that is'  
 dyaambu / dyambu 38 'thing'  
 evvoonza / evvoónza 46 'danger'  
 kisuundidi / kisuúndidi 47 'surpassing'  
 zina / zìna 37 'which'  
 mana / manà, mèna 41,41,42 'which'

(iv) N has no marked high pitch, Cr has:

Cr konsò (thaangu) / N koso (thàangu) [konsò (thaangu)]  
 33,34 'every time'  
 ngíindu / ngindu [ngíindu] 34 'ideas'  
 ndaáandu / ndaanu [ndaándú] 38 'wise'  
 phási / phasi 39 'difficulty'  
 yáayi / yaayi 40 'this'  
 kyésya / kyesya [kyésya] 47 'of saying'  
 wáau / wau 49 'now'

Cr kíkílu / N kíkílu [kíkílu] 50 'really'

vó / evo 39 'if'

kamèná / kamèna [kamèna] 37 'which are not'

note also vvóva-kó / vova-ko [vóva-ko] 36 '(not) to speak'

(v) N shows no high pitch on -ko, while Cr does:

Cr mffúnu-kó / mffúnu-ko 38 '(not) useful'

vvóva-kó / vova-ko [vóva-ko] 36 '(not) to speak'

kazèeyé-kó [kazèeyé-ko (?)] / kazèyé-ko 50 'he does not know'.

### 6.7.3: different contours.

The rest of the words in the passage show more divergent contours in the two versions:

(i) Cr has two high pitches on the word, N only one:

Cr vóvaangá / N vóvaanga 34 'you are speaking'

sóongaangá / ssóongaanga 34 'you are explaining'

kavvèangaangá / kavèangaanga 42 'that he is doing'

yè-mbundázyaanu / ye-mbundázyaanu 48 'with a joining together'

but note the opposite in

Cr yi-mákala / N yi-mákala 42 'they are things which are'

(ii) other different contours:

Cr zzàayá / N ézaya [zàya] 35 'know'

kulèndi / kúlèndi [kulèndi] 36 'you cannot'

-dimmònekaangá / -dimmonekaangá 43 'it is being seen'

iboosí / iboosi, íboosi 36, 43, 46 'so'

dìmosì / dímosi 38 'one'

kyállumbu / kyá'lumbú [kyá'lumbu] 39 'of days'

and note also the differing contours on ise- in 43-44.

### 6.7.4: conclusions.

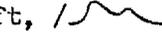
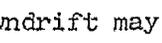
If we take words with the same or similar contours in Cr and N, those due to elision (6.7.2.ii), and those which have variants in N similar to the Cr contours, there is a 70% (88/123) correlation of the two versions. This figure matches well with other data (cf. 6.5.2). It is interesting that Cr seems closer to B or C than to A. This is natural, since Carter's systematisation is based on slow speech, and may be less applicable to faster, spontaneous speech. To deal with the latter, we may need additions to Carter's systematisation.

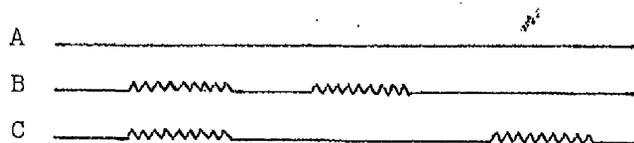
Though recognising tone-classes (see 6.4.9) would help to account for contours in certain cases, it would be counter-productive to introduce them as a basic part of the description. In this text they would create more problems than they solve, and they seem unnecessary when dealing with other texts. Carter's 1973 systematisation, based on tone-classes, does not achieve a full fit with the contours<sup>6</sup>, and finds it difficult to account for cases where the same sequence has two different contours. On the other hand, Carter's systematisation does predict many of the basic contours, and chapter 14 will show that there is good evidence for postulating underlying tone-classes, though these may be merged in actual speech. On balance, however, the concept of tone-classes seems of little practical use in the prediction of contours in running text. The description proposed in this thesis will therefore not assign an important role to tone-classes, preferring to approach the texts from the point of view of establishing the possible range of contour choice for a given sequence.

#### 6.8: summary.

This text shows considerable differences from those previously discussed, which might be attributed to its spontaneous nature (6.4). Comparison with other versions of the same text provides information on variant contours: these are especially common where the A version has what I have called an anomalous contour, suggesting that spontaneous speech departs further from the 'basic' patterns than slow speech (6.4.8,10,11). Comparison of the versions also throws some light on bridging (6.4.11) and on general level of variability (6.5). The conclusions about the latter agree to a large extent with data from other texts (6.5.2), and with comparison with Carter's systematisation (6.7). This final comparison indicates certain basic differences between Carter's description and the one suggested here (6.7.4).

Endnotes to chapter six.

1. This should not be confused with Carter's kiZombo - see 4.2.
2. The passage in chapter 4 was a rather short one on which to base final conclusions, hence the repetition here. Moreover, although the two dialects in question (kiMbanz' aKongo and kiZombo) are both southern, Carter's systematisation may apply slightly differently to each of them, and this requires testing.
3. The question of whether traces of tone-classes exist will be taken up in chapter 14.
4. The reason for the occurrence of the extra-high pitch is unclear: it may just be that in some cases, perhaps articulated more slowly, the ear perceives the lack of downdrift between the two marked syllables as extra-high pitch on the second, ie. a phrase may usually show downdrift, /  /, but in a bridge /  / (as here) the lack of downdrift may be perceived as /  / - cf. 3.5.3.2. The bridge with extra-high final will be considered as a variant of the ordinary bridge.
5. The differing implications of the two figures (20% v. 28%) may be more readily seen in the following diagram, where a straight line stands for 'same contours', and a toothed line for 'variant contours':



Here, using the first approach, we would count four variant contours, but using the second, we would count only three, since two of the variants occur in the same place relative to A. This latter approach is chosen, since, as already pointed out, a large proportion of the variance from A occurs in certain areas where the patterns in A have been classed as anomalous, ie. the variation occurs in the same phrase in B and C. To count such variation in both versions as two instances rather than one would mean that we are not measuring variation from A in subsequent versions, but merely number of variant contours.

6. Carter's 1980 systematisation does in fact recognise that tone-classes are inadequate, and discards them for the most part, retaining them only for verbal inflections.
7. The southern dialects may be a possible exception, since there may here be slightly less neutralisation of tonal distinctions in certain contexts.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

## Other Systematisations - kiNtandu

## 7.1: introduction.

This chapter discusses the pitch features of a kiNtandu text (Nsuka 1968, pp. 70-78) as read by the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga, and compares them with Nsuka's marking of the text. Since this seems to owe a good deal to Daeleman, his description of kiNtandu tonal features (Daeleman 1966) will be examined and compared to the system proposed here. Finally, I will look briefly at an interesting treatment (Byarushengo et al. 1976) of apparently comparable phenomena in Haya.

## 7.2: the text.

The text is an amusing story about three fools who each tried to prove themselves more foolish than the others. The Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga enjoyed the story and became greatly involved in it; towards the end he was frequently convulsed by laughter. This may account for the many bridges in the text (7.4.8), which I have suggested elsewhere (6.4.11.2) are associated with animated speech.

## 7.3: sample passage.

High pitch occurs on the root-syllable in 112 out of 196 instances (57%) in the sample passage, ll. 79-109. It would seem as if a major tendency noted for previous texts, that is, to shift the high pitch of the word one syllable leftwards when certain pre-prefixes are added, hardly applies here. On the other hand, there is a marked tendency to have high pitch on the last or penultimate syllables of the word.

## 7.4: patterns in the text.

## 7.4.1: locatives.

Most instances show retention of high pitch on the root-syllable:

gana-lóónga 84 'on the plate'  
 gana-méesa 84,103 'on the table'  
 gana-mwéelo 108 'to the door'  
 goméesa 98 'at the table'

mudyáambu 89 'because'.

But several examples show shift:

ganà-nzo 100 'to the house'

kóndzo 101 'to the house'

múntaangu 85 'at the time'.

The word mòmboombo 103 'in the vicinity (?)' shows a bridge from prefix to root-syllable, while múuna-nsuunga 83 'in the herbs' shows high pitch on the first syllable, perhaps as a mark of emphasis.

Three examples have no high pitch:

kuna-zaandu <sup>←1</sup>79 'to the market' (cc. kuná-zaandu 44)

kunkeento <sup>←</sup>80 'to the wife' (cc. kunkéento 47)

momwamba <sup>←</sup>82 'in the sauce' (cf. mwaamba 90, cc. mwaambà 81).

7.4.2: other pre-prefixed nominals.

(i) stabilised items: ebuúna 104 'so'

yí-buúna 85 'so'

(ii) genitive: d'insusu 104 'of the chicken'.

Note also k'isalu 92 'work'.

7.4.3: pronouns.

A few pronouns have high pitch on the root-syllable:

yáu 80 'it'

ngè 94 'you' (cc. nge inside a bridge in 88)

ngé [mpt̩] 97 'you also'

ka-ngé 97 '(not) you'

ngéye 90 'you' (cc. 92, 93, 88)

bóo 108 'they'

ayúna 101 'he' (cf. yòoná 99)

mòno 95 'I'

ka-mòno 96 '(not) I'.

Others have high pitch on the last syllable:

monó 79, 87, 88, 89, 90, 93 'I'

monó [mpt̩] 96 'I too'

monô 92 'I'

ngeyé 92, 93 'you'

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ngeyê 88 'you'  
 yãandĩ 100 'he'  
 bæwú 101,104,109 'they' (cf. bæwú 106).

There is one example without high pitch:

beeno 106 '(to) you'.

It is unclear whether high pitch on the last syllable is due to a specific tendency in this dialect to have high pitch there (see 7.3), or to such factors as focus or emphasis 'disturbing' (see chapter 12) the basic contour of high pitch on the root-syllable. In view of the patterns on other words (eg. verbs - see 7.4.4), the first view is perhaps more likely. However, such patterns as yòoná 99, m̀onó 95, monô 92 and ngeyê 88 may well be emphatic.

#### 7.4.4: verbs.

Most verbs have high pitch on the root-syllable, although this is very often in bridge with another high pitch later in the word, usually on the penultimate syllable.

ntsùumbidííngí 79 'I bought'  
 tufwòongéle 86 'we sat down'  
 zìbíkà 87,89 'shut'  
 zìbíká 93 'shut'  
 bayìndeleleéenge 101 'they sat on'  
 kawìdikíla 103 'he smelt'  
 ffùmbanãanga 105 'watching'  
 yìindwéle 107 'he thought'  
 kèngeléle 108 'it was silent'  
 badìngaléle 109 'they were silent'.

Note also yilugaanãanga 109 'I am giving you'  
 zzìbíkà-ko 94 '(not) to close'.

It may be significant that four of these verbs have flanking words with anomalous patterns, and that four more (those in 86, 109 (2) and perhaps 107) are clause-final. Moreover, all are three syllables or more in length.

Several verbs show high pitch on the last or penultimate syllable:

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(i) last:           ngyeelé <sup>→</sup>79 'I went'  
                   ngeené <sup>→</sup>80 'I gave'  
                   ndeembé <sup>→</sup>91 'I cooked'  
                   nd'ikidí <sup>↔</sup>90 'I made'  
                   nTekelé <sup>→</sup>91 'I fetched'  
                   wisí- <sup>→</sup>100 'he came' (an auxiliary verb)  
                   bawidí 105 'they were' (cc. wídí 82)

(ii) penultimate:   bBotúla 82 'bake'  
                   tomène 84 'she did well' (cc. bu-katòmene 82)  
                   zibíka 88 'shut' (cc. z'ibíka 87,89)  
                   nsukwèelé 91 'I washed'.

It is noticeable that all these verbs are of three syllables or less in length. Note that the first five are followed by an item without high pitch: the resulting sequence 'anomalous pattern + anomalous pattern' suggests that the two items are bound together to form a complex in these cases. The alternation between final and penultimate high pitch recalls that of Carter's kimbanz' aKongo (Carter 1973, pp. 117-8).

In some cases there is shift of the high pitch; this often happens with a preceding verbal element (cf. 5.4.2.2), and in this case a bridge may occur as well:

kúdyá 85 'to eat' (cc. kudya 86)  
 kúmbhakha 102 'to seize him'  
 múgogâ 99<sup>2</sup> 'to speak'  
 báyíndalala 99,99 'they sat'  
 bu-kátoombula 83 'she then took out'  
 ko-kátuuka 102 'where he came from'  
 bu-ka<sub>A</sub>kānikini 81 'she then cooked'  
 si-túyāantíka <sup>→</sup>86 'we will begin'.

Not all instances of preceding verbal elements show shift, however:

bu-ntsúumbidí 80 'when I had bought'  
 bu-katòmene-go 82 'she then did it very well'  
 bu-bamwééne 101 'they then saw him'  
 kizibíká-ko 88 'I won't shut it'  
 káníkúná-ko 98 'he should not move'

kə-kyāzìbíkà-ko 95 'I won't close it'  
 kuzzìbíkà-kyó-ko 96 'you won't close it'.

There are a few instances of verbs where no high pitch is marked:

widì 82 'she had' (cc. bawidì 105)  
 nteele 87 'I said'  
 nsadidì 92 'I've done work'  
 lutìla 100 'passing'  
 wuyità 99 'he should speak' occurs inside a rising bridge.

The verbal patterns in general suggest that in this dialect there is a tendency to have high pitch on the later syllables of the word.

#### 7.4.5: high pitch on the last syllable.

Apart from instances noted above, we also find:

mwaamba 81 'sauce' (cc. mwaamba 90)  
 kyeeló 86 'door' (cc. kyeelo 93,99)  
 mbotê 106 'good wishes' (cc. mbòte 108, mbote 106)  
 mbutá 106 'gentleman'  
 mbutá [mpú] 102 'the gentleman also'  
 meesá [mpí] 85 'the table also'  
 fufú [mpe] 85 'kitchen also'  
 nzalá [mphí] 102 'hunger also'  
 nkeentó [nde] 88,94-95 'said the wife' (cc. nkéento nde 90)  
 yakàlá [nde] 69,93,96 'said the husband' (cf. gækàla 100)  
 baantú-e 108 'people, are they?'  
 kím̄-ko 93 '(not) a thing'  
 kíkíngí 92 'a great deal'  
 kaní 105 'but' (cc. kání 97, kani 97)  
 yíná 80 'that'  
 goonsó 98 'whoever'.

It will be noticed that in all but four of these words there is a following element (mpe, nde, -e, -ko) which seems to attract the high pitch rightwards, or an anomalous pattern on a following word. These considerations, plus the fact that in some cases there is an alternative example without high pitch (eg. mwaamba, kyeeló, mbotê, kaní) suggest that final high pitch is not a basic pattern, but a morphology- or

focus-conditioned variant of the basic 'high pitch on root-syllable' pattern.

7.4.6: words without high pitch.

Not counting the examples noted in 7.4.1,4, the following words occur without high pitch. Since they cannot be grouped by pre-prefix, etc., they are grouped by function. Also included here (in brackets) are words occurring inside a bridge.

- (i) object: ntsusu <sup>←</sup>79,<sup>←</sup>80,<sup>←</sup>91 'chicken'
- mwaamba <sup>←</sup>90 'sauce' (cf. momwaamba <sup>←</sup>82, cc. mwaamba <sup>←</sup>81)
- masa <sup>←</sup>91 'water'
- kyeelo 93,99 'door' (cc. kyeelo <sup>←</sup>86)
- ntsuunga <sup>←</sup>103 'herbs'
- mwisi 104 'steam'
- (kiingi) 89 'much'
- (ii) adjunct: kani 97 'moreover' (cc. kani 97, kani <sup>→</sup>105)
- nkatu 87,105 (post-verbal) 'completely' (cc. nkhatu 107, / pre-verbal)
- (yaa) 81 'then (?)'
- (kaka) 83,104 'just'
- (iii) subject, complement: muuntu <sup>←</sup>105 'person'
- [ande] mbote <sup>↔</sup>106 'sez he, "greetings ..."' (cc. ane mbote 108)
- (mbuta) 100 'gentleman'
- (nge) 88 'you'
- (taata) 95 'father'.

7.4.7: conclusions.

The patterns suggest that it is more common in this dialect than in others previously examined to have high pitch on the last or penultimate syllable. However, there are also suggestions (for nouns, 7.4.5, and some verbs, 7.4.4) that this final high pitch pattern is due either to morphological features or to focus on the words concerned, ie. that it is a perturbation of the basic pattern. We might therefore conclude that there is no need, for most words, to postulate an underlying final high pattern, but that if there is going to be an anomalous pattern it is most likely in this dialect to be one with final high pitch<sup>3</sup> - other anomalous patterns, such as shift, or zero high pitch, do not occur with such frequency.

There is one interesting case in this text of a sequence showing the basic pattern in one occurrence, and an anomalous pattern in another. The phrase *ngyēéle kuná-zāandu* 'I went to the market' occurs in 1.44, and has the expected patterns of high pitch on the root-syllable of the first item, and shift of high pitch (due to prefixation of *kuná-*) in the second. But later in the text (presumably once the speaker has settled in to his reading and is involved in the story), the pattern is *ngyēelé kuná-zāandu* 79, with zero high pitch on the second item and final high pitch on the first. This latter sequence seems to reflect the speaker's increased involvement in the story by using the anomalous patterns on both items to signal the close relationship between them, thus drawing attention to the beginning of the new story about Makengo and his wife. If this interpretation is correct, it also suggests that the domain of pitch has expanded from word to phrase - when patterns are modulated they tend to be altered over the whole phrase rather than on one particular word (cf. 5.5.viii). Compare also *ngēené kunkéento* 46-47 'I gave it to the wife', but *ngēené kunkéento* in 1.80.

#### 7.4.8: bridges between words.

##### (i) verb + following item:

- bu-katòmene-yo bbotúla* 82 'she then baked it very nicely'  
*yitòmene kúmbhákha* 102 'it had really seized him'  
*tomène yála* 84 'she laid (the table) very nicely'  
*dyēele gáana* 85 'it went there'  
*kilèndi zzibíkā-ko* 94 'I can't close it'  
*tà kaka zitā* 83 'it kept emitting (the odour)'  
*tòka kaka ditòka* 104 '(the steam) kept coming out'  
*bu-ntsùmbidi yiná ntsusu* 80 'when I had bought that chicken'  
*ngìtsidi yáu* 80 'I came with it'  
*kusàdidi kimá-ko* 92-93 'you haven't done anything'  
*wuzìbika kyáawu* 94 'you close it'  
*sìidi dyaáka* 84 'she placed (it) again'  
*kiffwà taata Mandyáangu* 95 'may I die, by my father M.'

##### (ii) noun + following item:

- nkéento yaa kagoóndele* 81 'the wife then killed it'  
*yoonsò wuyita múgagá<sup>2</sup>* 98-99 'whoever speaks first'

- sálu kíngí nsáá'dí 89 'I have done a lot of work'
- kí'sálu kíki'ngí nsá'dí 92 'I have done a great deal of work'
- ngè m'ósí 94 'you alone'
- gákála mbuta mbó'sí 100 'a certain gentleman'
- baawù babóole 104-5 'the two of them'
- mwaambà ngúba 81 'peanut sauce'
- ntí m'insuunga 82-83 'a sprig of herbs'
- lòonga dínsusu 104 'the plate of chicken'
- [z'í'bíká] kyeé'lo nge nke'nto 87-88 'close you the door, wife'
- ganà-nzo báu 100 'to their house'.

It may be that for such cases as bu-ntsúumbídi yíná ntsusu 80 and kí'sálu kíki'ngí nsá'dí 92 we could propose intermediate sub-surface forms \*... yíná ntsúsu and \*... kíki'ngí nsá'dí respectively. The surface forms would then be due to a contraction of the bridge such as has been noted by Carter (p.c.) for certain forms in kíMbanz' aKongo. Such a formulation would answer several questions, such as the absence of high pitch on ntsusu and nsá'dí, and the final high pitch on yíná and kíki'ngí, as well as leaving kí'sálu kíki'ngí nsá'dí more comparable with the almost identical sálu kíngí nsá'dí (though see also 7.5.v).

7.4.9: conclusions.

All in all, this passage may be characterised as showing a greater number of anomalous patterns than previous texts, but yet displaying a certain regularity in these patterns in that 'final high pitch' is the most common anomalous pattern, and is more likely to recur in a given environment. Nevertheless, the 'high pitch on the root-syllable' rule still provides a useful basis in terms of which to describe the contours.

7.5: comments on variant contours.

- (i) yákála dí'móno 10 'my husband' and yákála dí'móno 13: the latter is in a slightly lower key. The former also occurred as yákála dí'móno n'tootíla wungé'ené mboté 'it was my husband the king greeted'. The difference between them can therefore be represented as /  / for 10 and /  / for 13. This is reinforced by the Rev. D.

Ntoni-Nzinga's comment that 13 was 'an answer - we stop there; that's why we don't go up, we go down', ie. the slightly lower key is because of occurrence at the end of an unmarked declarative sentence. However, the pattern of 10 was said to be due to the fact that it is a preposed object, and that this made it 'stand out more'. If it were in normal postposed position, we would have ntootilá ngèení mboté yákalá dímonó 'the king greeted my husband', ie. the same pattern as 13. The Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga noted that this was 'the same dímonó' as in 13. It would seem therefore as if the rising contour is a marked one, as noted previously.

- (ii) bu-katdombulá 47 'when she dished (it) out' and bu-kátoombula 83: the former is apparently a pre-pausal form. When no pause occurred in 47 we had bu-kátoombula ganá-méesa, and when a pause occurred in 83, we had bu-katdombulá yáú.
- (iii) a pre-pausal pattern on ngeye occurs in zibíka ngeyé 88 'close you' when compared with zibíka ngéye nkéénto 89-90 'close you (it) wife'. When in a repetition a pause occurred in the latter phrase after ngeye it had the same pattern (ngeyé) as in the former.
- (iv) nkeentó ndē 88 'says the wife' and nkéénto ndē 90: the latter was classed as a mistake, and the form in 88 was said to be correct. The fact that 90 is anomalous was pointed out above (7.4.5, cf. also 7.7.5).
- (v) monó sálu kíngí nsádidí 89 'I did a lot of work' appeared in repetitions as monó kǐsálu kíngí ntsádidí, kǐsálu kíngí ntsádidí, [monó] kǐsálu kíngí ntsádidí, kǐsálu kíngí ntsádidí. This was compared with kǐsálu kíkíngí nsádidí mono 92 'I did a great deal of work', which also appeared as kǐsálu kíkíngí ntsádidí monó, kǐsálu kíkíngí ntsádidí monú, kíkíngí ntsádidí, kíkíngí ntsádidí monú. In the repetitions of 89, nsádidí had no high pitch, whereas it had in the text, and the opposite applied to 92. Likewise, in the repetitions 89 was uttered in a slightly lower key than 92, but the opposite occurred in the text. This variation is difficult to account for. However, judging from the majority of examples, we could associate post-posed mono

with a high pitch on *nsadidi*, as the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga suggested. He noted that if *mono* in 89 were right-shifted, we would have *mudyámbo kǎsálú kíngí ntsádidi monú*, or *mudyámbo kǎsálú kíkíngí nts<sup>h</sup>ádidi monú*. The latter shows aspiration of *nts*, which may mark emphasis, and the extra prefix *ki-* in *kíkíngí*, which certainly marks emphasis: 'a lot of work - she wants to emphasise'.

- (vi) *mweené ntootílá* 38 'you see, king', *mweené ntootílá* 72 (also said as 38 in repetition), and *mweené ntootílá* 130: the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga said that the pattern in 130 could not occur in the other two contexts. Whether this should be ascribed to a syntactic feature (the examples in 38 and 72 are followed by stabilised nominals) or to some such factor as emphasis is uncertain.
- (vii) *yáandi sí-wuzíbika kyeelo* 121-2 'he would have to shut the door' and *ngé sí-wuzíbika kyeelo* 126 'you have to shut the door': the latter was pronounced in repetition as *ngé sí-wuzíbika kyeelo*. Since the former was also given the same pattern, *yáandi sí-wuzíbika kyeelo*, it may be that 121-2 shows emphasis, while 126 shows the basic pattern before bridging. This is, however, tentative.
- (viii) *bátala* 6 'they saw' and *katála* 103 'he saw': the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga said that the latter could also be pronounced *kátala*. This seems to be correlated with a feature of 'continuity': '*kawídikíla ntsuunga mombóombó* ^ comma ^ *kátala gana-méesa* ^ *loonga díntusu* .... *kátala gana-méesa*, you can say that. But you can also say *kawídikíla ntsuungá mombóombó* ^ colon ^ *katálá gana-méesá* ^ *loonga díntusu* .... Now the sentence becomes two.' That is, *kátala* seems to imply connection or continuity with the previous clause (which the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga symbolised by 'comma'), whereas *katála* or *katalá* seems to imply forward rather than backward reference (which he symbolised by 'colon'). '*Kátala gana-méesa* because you put comma, only ... [it] is not [a] full stop ... but if you put [a] colon here, you must stop, and go on, and you can separate ... the two sentences.' He also noted that 'this is the grammar, but in *kiKongo* [it]self, it doesn't matter', ie. these are fine distinctions which do not alter the basic meanings of the words. When asked if *katala* was possible, he was at first uncertain whether this was *kiTandu*, but then said it could be used, but

not in the context of 103 above; it would be used rather in a sentence like 'Nkaambi kakotá muná-ndzo katalá - Nkaambi to enter [in] the house and to see, and to look', ie. Nkaambi entered the house and looked. Katala therefore seems to imply subsequent action which is expected and need not therefore be marked by high pitch - compare kavuumbúla meesó katalá 'he raised his eyes and looked' in 118-9.

- (ix) the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga gave examples of mpi altering the pitch pattern: (a) mfu'ídi, mfu'ídi mpi 'I [also] died'; (b) eyáau ayóole, eyáau mpe ayóole 'the two of them [also]'; (c) eyáau avóvele, eyáau mpe avóvele 'they [also] spoke'; (d) báu batátu bafúkamene, báu batátu mpi bafúkamene 'the three of them [also] knelt down'.
- (x) other comments on patterns produced conflicting information. Insufficient examples mean that no conclusions can be drawn, and they are simply listed here: (a) mónnwa 31 'in his mouth', but monnwa 123 - in repetition the latter was also given as múnwa; (b) bétó boólé 129 'the two of us' was repeated as beto bóóle - cf. 127; (c) tusídi múnzála 129 'we remained hungry' was said to be a mistake - 'this is mixed, my dialect with another thing' - and the correct form was given as tusídi munzála, comparable to sídi munzála in 38<sup>4</sup>; (d) ndáá mono táata mfu'ídi 124-5 'aiee, by my father, I'm dying' was also given as ndáá mono táata mfu'ídi, where the bridge and final fall seem to denote emphasis: 'an exclamation - he's crying'.
- (xi) as on previous occasions, the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga noted that it was difficult for him sometimes to explain what differences in pattern meant: 'You can see the difference there, but I can't explain any other thing ... I can't explain [it to] you, because, I can think, but I am not sure that I can explain [to] you why they are different'. He was also aware that he might be influenced by his own dialect: 'It is possible, my friend, it is not my dialect, it is possible for me to ... go wrong'.

The above comments suggest that rising bridges are associated with emphasis, but that there may be pausal patterns and 'continuous' patterns as well as those associated with focus or marking. This would mean that

the suprasegmental system might well be more complex than previously thought.

#### 7.6: other research.

It may be interesting to compare Nsuka's (1968) marking of the same passage discussed in 7.4 above. However, this seems to be very similar to the marking used by Daeleman 1966; in fact, 14 tales in Nsuka's total corpus were lent to him by Daeleman (Nsuka 1968, p.ii), and this text is one of them (*ibid.*, last page). It will first be necessary, therefore, to give a brief description and discussion of Daeleman's systematisation of the pitch features of the kiNtandu dialect of kiKongo.

##### 7.6.1: nominal patterns.

Nominal tone-patterns are described in Daeleman 1966, pp. 73-90 (English summary pp. 383-5). Nominals are classified in five tone-classes, each with a series of six tone-cases (ie. variations of the basic pattern used in particular semanto-syntactic environments - cf. 7.6.1.1). Thus, where  $\acute{v}$  = high tone, and low tone is left unmarked:

tone-class:	a	b	c	d	e
tone-case I	kisakála	mákyéléká	dílálánsá	mákáású	mákekése
tone-case II	kisakála	mákyéléká	dílálánsá	mákáasu	mákekése
tone-case III	kisakála	mákyéléká	dílálánsá	mákáású	mákekése
tone-case IV	kísakála	mákyéléká	dílálánsá	mákáasu	mákekése
tone-case V	kisakála	mákyéléká	dílálánsá	mákáású	mákekése
tone-case VI	kísakála	mákyéléká	dílálánsá	mákáású	mákekése
meaning	'thicket'	'truth'	'orange'	'kola nuts'	'termites'
underlying pattern	kisakála L...L	mákyeleka H...L	dilalansa L....H	makaasu L..H	makekese H...H

It should be noted that more recent work (J. Daeleman, p.c.) has shown that two of the tone-classes (c and d) are in complementary distribution and can therefore be conflated, and also that the tone-cases have been revised to make them simpler. Comments below, however, will refer predominantly to the published work.

##### 7.6.1.1: tone-cases.

The six tone-cases are:

- I: absolutive, occurring with a verbal in what Daeleman calls the absolutive mood;
- II: predicative, ie. stable, 'it is a ...', 'the most easily obtainable as an isolated form';
- III: determinative, occurring before a qualifying genitive or relative;
- IV: selective, occurring on a genitive or relative after a determinative noun, and on a noun after a selective verb;
- V: negative predicative, 'it is not a ...';
- VI: negative selective, 'none, without any '.

It is interesting to compare these tone-cases with those of van den Eynde 1968 (see 5.6), where their reference is described in somewhat more detail.

7.6.1.2: reduction of the tone-cases.

There are a number of points about these tone-cases:

- (1) III and IV are secondary formations from II: their only differentiating features are a bridge from the first high pitch to the end of the word (III), and a bridge from the beginning of the word to the first high pitch (IV), eg.

makáasu II, makáású III, mákáasu IV.

However, eIV does show a difference from eII - the high pitch is moved one syllable rightwards, eg.

makékese II, makékésé III, mákekese IV.

- (2) V and VI are also secondary formations from II:
  - (i) in V classes (a,b) have the same patterns as II, and (c,d,e) have a bridge to the end of the word from the first high pitch,

eg.                   makyéléka II, makyéleka V,  
                          makékese II, makékésé V.

- (ii) in VI there is a bridge from the beginning of the word to the last high pitch of case V, eg.

makyéléka V, . mákyéléka VI, .  
makékésé V, mákékésé VI.

- (3) in deriving I from II, tone-class (c) poses some problems. However, if we postulate two rules deletion (ie. 'delete the last or only high tone') and shift (ie. 'move the tone-pattern rightwards so that the last or only high tone is on the last syllable'), all the patterns

can be derived as follows:

kísakála II → (deletion) → kísakala I  
 makyéléka II → (shift) → makyeléká I  
 dílálánsa II → (shift) → \*dílálánsá → (deletion) → dílálánsa I  
 makéasu II → (shift) → makaasú I  
 makékese II → (shift) → makekesé I.

The six cases can therefore be reduced to one basic pattern: that of case II. The simplified tone-cases referred to by Daeleman (see 7.6.1) may well be along these lines.

#### 7.6.1.3: dichotomy among the tone-classes.

There is also a dichotomy in the five classes. In case I, (a) deletes the high tone of II, but (b,d,e) shift the high tone - the remaining class (c) is ambivalent, since it does both. In cases V and VI, (a,b) have a final low tone, and (c,d,e) have a final high tone. It therefore seems that there are two main groups of nouns as far as tone is concerned.<sup>6</sup>

What does the dichotomy among the classes imply? To examine each class more individually, we may note that one of the reasons which may have prompted Daeleman's conflation of (c) and (d) is that in his lists of minimal pairs (pp.81-90) class (c) does not contrast with any other. (cf. also its ambivalence, noted above).

The number of minimal contrasts is as follows: a/e 132, a/d 60, a/b 3; e/d 45, e/b 3; d/b 2. It is notable that in seven cases out of the eight where (b) is concerned, the contrast is between stems, ie. the word is already differentiated by some morphological marker. The total number of items concerned is as follows: a 195, b 8, d 107, e 180. Not only does this distribution imply that class (c) is not a separate entity, it also suggests that class (b) is becoming obsolete (or is newly emerging). The fact that this class shows only 8 contrasts, with all but one of these already morphologically differentiated, suggests that, even though it may still exist in the language, it will eventually be absorbed into one of the other classes. This may in fact account for its ambivalence in the dichotomies pointed out above: (a) v. (b,d,e) and (a,b) v. (c,d,e).

Secondly, we may note the preponderance of items in classes (a),

low on first syllable, and (e), high on first syllable, showing contrasts: 132 - 54% of the total number (245) of minimal contrasts. These two classes also show more contrast with each other than with any other class, suggesting that kiNtandu nouns are polarising (or have been polarised in the past) into two main groups, low initial and high initial. There is a sizeable proportion of words in class (d), but it will be remembered that this class is differentiated from class (e) in only one of the six cases: case VI, where (e) shows a rightward shift of the high pitch. Class (b) seems to be approaching (a) or (d), as I have suggested above. Class (c) may now be conflated with (d), but it is interesting to speculate on its past history - conflation with (d) means it is more difficult to establish underlying forms for the new (c/d) (cf. endnote 5), and it does show many resemblances to (b). It may well be that it was once an independent class, but is now defunct and has been absorbed by (d), much as I have suggested might happen to class (b).

The situation therefore seems to be comparable to that in Carter's 1973 systematisation of the kiMbanz' aKongo noun classes - a number of classes, each differing only minimally (and which might possibly be classified in a number of ways), with two classes at the 'extremes', and the other classes arranged in a spectrum between these two extremes (Carter's I and III, Daeleman's a and e). Moreover, these classes at the extremes seem to comprise the bulk of the vocabulary items. It is also interesting to compare here Laman's (1922, 1936) division of his vocabulary items into two main groups, rising and falling (ie. low initial and high initial), with some other groups, such as 'acute', between these extremes. For a full discussion of vocabulary correlations between Laman, Carter and Daeleman, and the implications of this, see chapter 12.

#### 7.6.2: verbal patterns.

Daeleman has two main verb-classes (high and low), though some tenses may have no tonal distinctiveness in the verb stem (1966, p.256, 6.2, 6.3). He also distinguishes four tone-moods (pp. 256,396):  
 I: absolutive, 'the common structural form';  
 II: determinative, referring to a preceding determinative, the

pattern being a bridge from the beginning of the verbal inflection to the last high of the absolutive pattern;

III: indirect relative, which seems (?) to have the same tone-pattern as the absolutive;

IV: selective, which 'selects something excluding all else', for which the pattern is a bridge from the first high pitch to the end of the verbal inflection.

For the various verbal tenses Daeleman gives tonal formulae (p. 329 and preceding sections) - note that some tense formatives are purely tonal, with no segmental carrier. There are two formal divisions: 'tabular' forms, ie, those exhibiting the four categories of polarity, mood, tense, and aspect; and 'non-tabular' forms like the subjunctive, imperative, infinitive, etc., which operate only the categories of polarity, mood and aspect (pp. 396-8). Each division has associated preferences for the moods they may occur in: tabular forms usually show all four moods, non-tabular forms are usually in the absolutive, less often in the selective, seldom in the determinative, and rarely in the indirect relative.

The tense formulae are related to the surface patterns by nine realisation rules, though it must be said that these are more in the nature of collections of descriptions of occurrence than rules predicting realisation (pp. 330-40).<sup>7</sup> These are finally conflated into four rules (pp. 341,400), but unfortunately these do not seem to give all the correct realisations from the formulae (eg. the personal forms of tense 9 for high verbs).

7.6.3: focus and bridging.

7.6.3.1: tone-cases.

I have shown in 7.6.1.2 that cases III-VI can be derived directly from II, the predicative. It is interesting that in this case, in which we might expect a certain affirmation of the existence of the object in question, all five classes have at least one high pitch, in four instances on the root-syllable. In I, the absolutive, however, the neutral form used in most contexts, the high pitch moves towards the end of the word, and class (a) has no high pitch

at all. Again, we might expect this: pitch prominence is reserved for the verb, the core of the neutral sentence (cf. Bennett nd.). It is worth comparing here the kimbanz' aKongo neutralisation of the first high pitch of the word when it occurs as a subject (Carter 1973), and it will be remembered that in this and previous texts there were several instances in which a subject showed no high pitch.

Case III, the determinative, emphasises the connection of the item with the following qualifier and is therefore in bridge with it. Case IV, the selective, emphasises the connection of the item with the preceding word, and again is in bridge with it. Case V, the negative predicative, might be expected to affirm the non-existence of the item, and so we have a form very similar to II, but with spreading of the high pitch in classes (c,d,e) - again, this is comparable to the spreading before -ko noted many times in this and previous texts. Case VI, the negative selective, is a more emphatic version of V, so again we have bridging, this time with the preceding verb (cf. case IV). This correlation of bridging with close connection of the items concerned (so that they form a type of complex), or with emphasis, is another feature which has been commented on in previous texts.

This correlation may be made clearer if we consider the part the verb plays in the sentence.

7.6.3.2: range of patterns.

The following chart<sup>8</sup>, as for van den Eynde's systematisation (see 5.6.4), shows permitted cases and moods for items in a simple sentence with three slots: (+ = bridge between the two items)

subject		predicator		object
-		pred		-
-		neg. pred		-
-		det + sel		-
abs		abs		abs
abs		ind. rel		abs
det	+	det		abs
abs		sel	+	sel
abs		sel	+	neg. sel

We can see that there is indeed a complementary distribution of the cases and moods. The determinative case + selective case (called the 'connective' by Daeleman) in the predicator slot needs little comment - the bridge links the two items together in a complex. But in other cases of bridging, we note that the bridge occurs on the items on which the speaker is focussing: if he is emphasising the subject, there is a bridge between subject and verb (determinative + determinative); if he is emphasising the object, there is a bridge between verb and object (selective + selective). In other words, the bridging would seem to be a direct consequence of the prominence given to a certain item, and Daeleman's characterisation of it as 'tonal concentration' (p.396) is most apt.

#### 7.6.3.3: conclusions.

It is conceivable, therefore, that the concept of tone-cases and tone-moods is unnecessary, and could perhaps be replaced by a simple statement to the effect that the greater the prominence given to a particular item, or the greater the degree of cohesion the speaker wants to assign to two items, the more likelihood there will be of a bridge.

It may, of course, be that a bridge is more likely to occur with certain collocations than not, eg. in the determinative + selective case complex above; moreover, it might be difficult to argue that every single instance of bridging carries added emphasis - in some cases the bridging may merely be a characteristic of fast or animated speech. But it is probably fair to say that bridges, at least originally, carry some connotation of prominence - they are, after all, anomalous patterns. If kiKongo is, as seems probable, incorporating them into the basic system of suprasegmental contours and regularly associating them with certain syntactic/semantic functions, it is in any case developing away from having a tonal system.

#### 7.7: comparison of passages.

##### 7.7.1: same contours.

Comparing the passage as read by the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga with the marking given in Nsuka 1968, we find that of the 219 words,

about 130 (59%) have identical patterns, sometimes over fairly long stretches, eg. ... yáala meesá mpí; fufú mpe dyéele gáana 84-85 'laid the table as well; there was also fufu on it'.

Included in this figure of 130 are words which have different patterns in each version due to the occurrence of bridging. These instances are as follows: (D = Nsuka's text, N = Ntoni-Nzinga)

- D nkeénto yáá kagòóndele / N nkéento yaa kagoóndele 81  
'the wife then killed it'
- monò kizibiká-ko / monó kizibiká-ko 88 'I won't shut it'
- gò kuzibiká-kyó-ko / gó kuzzibiká-kyó-ko 96 'if you don't close it'
- bayíndele gomeésa / bayíndele gomeésa 98 'they sat at the table'
- tóka kakà dítóka / tòka kaka dítóka<sup>9</sup> 104 'it kept coming out'
- monò kifwa taata Mandyaángu / monó kiffwà taata Mandyaángu  
95 'I swear by my father Mandyaangu'
- yuzíba kyáaw / yuzíba<sup>7</sup> kyáau 87 'it was open'
- kugógi dyáaka / kugógi<sup>7</sup> dyáaka 97 'you're not to speak again'
- ngè mosí wuzibiká kyáawu / ngè mmósi<sup>7</sup> wuzibiká kyáawu<sup>10</sup>  
94 'you alone will close it'

7.7.2: similar contours.

(i) N has a falling pitch where D has a high level pitch:

- D wá / N wá 79 'listen' (cc. wa/wá 90)
- monó / monó 92 'I' (cc. mono/monó 90, monó/mónó 95)
- mboté / mboté 106 'good wishes' (cc. mbóte/mbote 106).

In each of these three cases the word is sentence-final.

(ii) a bridge between words in one version is confined to one word in the other:

- D kíimá-ko / N kíimá<sup>7</sup>-ko 93 '(not) a thing'
- fumbanáanga / ffumbanáanga 105 'watching'.

(iii) D has pre-pausal final high pitch, N has no high pitch:

- D nsusú / N ntsusu 79,80,91 'chicken'
- kudyá / kudya 86 'to eat'
- ná / na 87 'said'
- ndé / nde 88,89,93,95,96,107 'said'
- mwaambá / mwaamba 90 'sauce' (cc. mwaamba/mwaambá 81)

māsá / māsá 91 'water'

kyeeló / kyeelo 93,99 'door' (cc. kyeeló/kyeelo 87)

mwisí / mwisi 104 'steam'

note also nsuungá / nsuunga 83 'peanut' (cc. nsúunga/ntsuunga 103)

bawwú / bawu 106 'they' (cc. baawu/baawú 101, bawwú/bawú 109).

(iv) D has pre-pausal final high pitch, N has high pitch on the root-syllable:

D yaaú / N yáú 80 'it'

ntuutú / ntútu 87 'open'

píí / píí 106 'silent'

yugogá / yugóga 107 '(nary a one) spoke'

note also kígogí / kígogí 97 'I won't speak'

ganá-méesá / ganá-méesa 84 'on the table' (cc. ganá-méesa 103)

and mugogá / múgogá 99 'to speak' (this might be better classed under (i) above).

### 7.7.3: different contours.

(i) D has final high pitch, N has high pitch on the root-syllable:

D ngíísídí / N ngíísídí 80 'I came'

kyeeló / kyeelo 87 'door' (cc. kyeeló/kyeelo 93,99)

katalà / katála 103 'he saw'

ngaatú / ngáatu 107 'surely'.

(ii) D has high pitch on the root-syllable, N has high pitch elsewhere:

D nkeéntó / N nkeentó 88,94 'wife' (cc. nkeento/nkéento 90)

kíkíngí / kíkíngí 92 'very much'

káni / kání 105 'yet' (cc. káni/kání 97)

wísi- / wísí- 100 'he came'

bawídi / bawídí 105 'they were'

ngéye / ngeyé 88,93 'you'

tòmene / tomène 84 'she did very well'

bu-katòombulá / bu-kátoombulá 83 'she then dished (it) out'.

Note the reverse in

mínsuunga / minsúunga 83 'of herbs'.

(iii) D has high pitch, N has no high pitch:

D kuná-zaandu / N kuna-zaandu 79 'to the market'

mómwaamba / momwaamba 82 'in the sauce'

D kunke<sup>7</sup>ento / N kunkeento 80 'to the wife'  
 w\i<sup>7</sup>di / widi 82 'she had (put)'  
 nsúunga / ntsuunga 103 'herbs' (cc. nsuungà/nsuunga 83)  
 nsádidi / nsadidi 92 'I worked'  
 káni / kani 97 'nor' (cc. káni/kaní 105)  
 nkátu / nkatu 105 'at all' (cc. nkátu/nkhátu 107)  
 mbóte / mbote 106 'greetings' (cc. mboté/mboté 106)  
 béeno / beeno 106 '(to) you'  
 muúntu / muuntu 105 'nobody'  
 lu7ila / lutila 100 'passing'  
 nteelé / nteele 87 'I said'.

(iv) N has high pitch, D has no high pitch:

D muntángu / N múntángu 85 'at the time'  
 nti / nti 82 'a sprig'  
 loonga / lónga 104 'dish'  
 malonga / malónga 91 'dishes'  
 nkeento / nkéento 90 'wife' (cc. nke<sup>7</sup>ento/nke<sup>7</sup>ento 88,94)  
 kisidi / kísidi 86 'it remained'  
 kusádidi / kusádidi 92 'you didn't do'  
 wa / wá 90 'listen' (cc. wá/wá 79)  
 zita / zítá 83 'it emitted'  
 zibika / zíbíka 89 'close' (cf. 87,88,93)  
 yakala / yakálá 89,93 'husband' (cc. yakalà/yakalà 96)  
 mono / monó 90 'I' (cc. monó/monó 92, monó/monó 95)  
 ndikini / ndikíni 90 'I cooked'  
 baawu / baáwú 101 'they' (cc. bawu/bawu 106, bawú/bawú 109)  
 nzala / nzálá 102 'hunger'  
 mwaamba / mwaámbá 81 'sauce' (cc. mwaamba/mwaamba 90).

(v) D has one high pitch, N has two:

D bu-kánikini / N bu-kánikini 81 'she then cooked'  
 yúuna / yóoná 99 'he'  
 nsukwele / nsukwéle 91 'I washed'  
 tufwoongele / tufwóngele 86 'we sat down'  
 mono / monó 95 'I'  
 zibika / zíbiká 93 'close'  
 zibika / zíbiká 87 'close' (cf. zibikà/zibiká 88).

(vi) N has one high pitch, D has two:

D kò-kátuuka / N ko-kátuuka 102 'where he came from'  
 gána-mwéelo / gana-mwéelo 108 'to the door'  
 yú-wuzibíka / uzíibika 99 '(it is he who) will shut'  
 bu-báyíndalalá / báyíndalala 99 'they sat on'  
 báyíndalala / báyíndalala 99 ditto<sup>11</sup>.

(vii) other patterns:

D zíbíkà / N zíbíka 88 'close' (cf. zíbíká/zíbíka 87)  
 kǐsalú / kǐsalu 92 'work'.

#### 7.7.4: conclusions.

It is clear that the contours of the two passages are broadly similar, in spite of certain individual differences (eg. Nsuka's version has more final high pitches, has fewer words without high pitch, and tends to have slightly longer bridges). Counting the words in 7.7.1 and 7.7.2, there is a 73% (160/219) level of similarity between the two versions. This figure is very slightly higher than the figure of 70% given by other comparisons (4.7.4, 6.7.4, 9.6.4), and this may perhaps be due to the fact that the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga lived for ten years in the kiNtandu dialect area (1.8.3), and was therefore familiar with this dialect.

#### 7.7.5: variation in Nsuka's text.

Although some contour variation, due to the effects of different tone-classes, tone-cases or tone-moods, is allowed for in Daeleman's systematisation, there are a few cases where the same item appearing in the same general context has a different contour in each instance. This is not allowed for in the systematisation, and, if there are no misprints in Nsuka's marking, we must assume that a type of contour variation exists which has not been described by Daeleman. The examples are as follows: (giving least common pattern, when this can be determined, first)

ngiisidí yáaw 80 'I came back with it', but bu-katòombula  
 yáaw 83 'she then dished it out'  
 zíbíka ngéye 89 'open (it) you', but zíbíkà ngéye ... 88  
 nkeento nde 90 'sez the wife', but nkeénto ndé 88  
 mono ndikini ... 90 'I cooked', but monó ngyeele ... 79  
 'I went'

baawu bay\ndeleleéenge 101 'they sat on', but baawú  
 bad\ngaléle 109 'they remained silent'  
 yakalà ndé 96 'sez the husband', but yakalà ndé 89  
 wa 90 'listen', but wá 79  
 gana-méesá 84 'at the table', but gana-méesa 103  
 nsuungà tá ... 83 'the herbs emitting', but kaw\ndikíla  
 nsúunga ... 103 'he smelt the herbs'.

There is also the example (not in the sample passage):

si-wúzi**b**ika kyeeló 121-2 'he will have to shut the door',  
 but nz**i**bikidí kyéelo 128-9 'I had to close the door'.

#### 7.8: Haya pitch.

Daeleman's systematisation as it stands, although it provides a good description of the patterns in the text, is rather clumsy. However, it does have one very important feature built into it which Carter's systematisation lacks - that is, the concept that patterns may be conditioned by prominence or focus as well as by purely syntactic or lexical factors (the selective case and mood are an especial example of this). His systematisation may therefore be characterised as one having a tonal basis, in which pitch patterns are originally conditioned by lexical/morphological considerations (eg. tone-class of verb, tones on verbal elements co-occurring with it), but which leaves room for accentual variation (eg. tone-mood of verb, tone-case of noun).

A similar attempt to include non-tonal features within the framework of a tonal analysis is that by Byarushengo et al. 1976. This analysis seems to be midway between Carter and Daeleman: the authors conclude that 'tonologists may have to spend a lot more time and effort examining ... syntax', but the phenomenon of assertion seems to have many similarities with that which Daeleman tries to describe in terms of tone-cases and tone-moods.

#### 7.8.1: patterns and preliminary rules.

Haya, the authors say, has two tones: high (h, marked  $\checkmark$ ) and low (l, unmarked). A consideration of possible tone-sequences in the Haya noun in isolation reveals that:

- (i) h never occurs on a final syllable, occurs initially only in

- disyllabic nouns, and on the third syllable from the end in only a few words (often loans);
- (ii) f(alling pitch) occurs only penultimately;
- (iii) there is only one mark of prominence (ie. h or f) per word.

However, in context the pattern of the word can vary considerably:

omúti (lhl) 'tree'  
 okubón' ómúti (hhl) 'to see a tree'  
 omutí gwange (llh) 'my tree'  
 okubón' ómutí gwange (hlh) 'to see my tree'  
 omuti gwa Káto (lll) 'Kato's tree'  
 okubón' ómuti gwa Káto (hll) 'to see Kato's tree'  
 abon' ómúttí Káto (hhh) 'he sees the tree, Kato'.

The lll and hll patterns are not dealt with in the article.

The authors go on to establish preliminary rules:

- (a) hl≠ → fl≠ (where ≠ denotes pause);
- (b) lh≠ → hl≠ (in footnote 6 it is said that non pre-pausal hl (and also fl) may surface as ll, depending on the underlying tone of the following syllable);
- (c) hh → lh (instances of hh≠ → hl≠ can be accounted for by a sequence hh → lh → hl≠);
- (d) the pre-prefix has high tone except after pause (this exception does not apply to disyllabic nouns).

#### 7.8.2: phrase-boundary and revised rules.

Haya does not seem to have the phrase-penultimate accent the authors consider typical of many Bantu languages, yet the widespread fl and hl finals give penultimate prominence. The alternations hl → fl and lh → hl are 'unnatural from a tonetic point of view [ie. tonal assimilation is unlikely to give these patterns], but natural from an accentual one'. Since examples occur of words having a 'pausal' pattern even when there is no following pause, the authors postulate a phrase-boundary (denoted by %) which assigns or conditions a penultimate accent, the one they claim is reconstructable for Proto-Bantu. This phrase-boundary may or may not coincide with pause. The earlier rules (a-c) are revised to give (1) hl% → fl%; (2) lh% → hh%; (3) h≠ → l≠;

(4) lhh → llh. The authors then go on to propose rules for the insertion of this accent-conditioning phrase-boundary.

7.8.3: focus on object, verb and adjunct.

The authors note that tonal alternations in sentences with a right-dislocated noun recapitulating old information can be accounted for by postulating a phrase-boundary preceding this noun, eg.

abakázi babon' ómwáàna 'the women see the child'  
 but babon' ómwáàn' ábakázi 'they see the child, the women'.<sup>12</sup>

Compare the pattern on omwáana in

ah' ómwáàn' óbugólo 'he gives the child snuff',

where there is no following boundary. Sentences with right-dislocation they characterise as having an element of assertion, contrast, surprise or contradiction on the item preceding the right-dislocated noun, and a certain 'de-focussing' of the right-shifted noun itself. We could, in fact, describe the above sentences as showing focus on the object, and represent them, after the authors, as SVO → VÓ,S.

When focus occurs on the verb, there are two markers: tonal alternation, and an object substitute (os) agreeing with the object, eg.

bamubón' ábakázy' ómwáàna 'they see him, the women, the child'  
 bamubón' ómwáàn' ábakázi 'they see him, the child, the women'  
 abubóná Kakúlu' óbugólo 'he sees it, Kakulu, the snuff'  
 abubón' óbugólo Kakúlu 'he sees it, the snuff, Kakulu'.

We can represent these as SVO → Vós, S, O / Vós, O, S.<sup>13</sup> Verbal focus can also occur where there is no subject noun, eg.

bamubón' ómwáàna 'they see him, the child'  
 (cf. babon' ómwáàna 'they see the/a child')  
 bamujúná nyina 'they help her, his mother'  
 (cf. bajuná nyina 'they help his mother').

These can be represented as VO → Vós, O.<sup>14</sup>

Focus may also occur with two post-verbal items, eg.

nibajuná Kakúlu mhwéenu 'they are helping Kakulu today'

n'ibajuné Kakúlu mbwéenu 'they are helping Kakúlu, today'  
 n'ibamujúná Kakúlu mbwéenu 'they are helping him, Kakulu, today'  
 n'ibamujúná mbwéenu Kakúlu 'they are helping him, today, Kakulu'.

These can be represented as VOA → V<sup>ó</sup>,A / V<sup>ó</sup>s, O, A / V<sup>ó</sup>s, A, O.

#### 7.8.4: process.

The authors note that left-dislocation is not characterised by a phrase-boundary and the resulting tonal alternations. They propose boundary insertion, therefore, (i) after the assertion of an utterance, and (ii) after each recapitulation. In sum, then, we might suggest that the process is as follows: the speaker's decision to assert or focus on a particular item in the sentence means that a phrase-boundary will be inserted in the appropriate place, and this boundary then conditions certain tonal alternations.<sup>15</sup>

#### 7.8.5: conclusions.

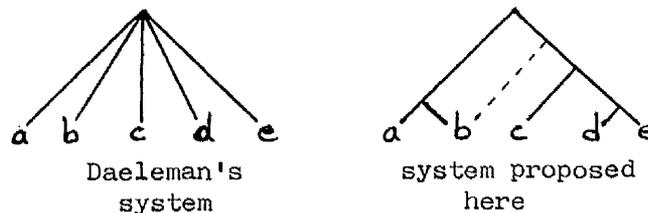
This study is therefore interesting for showing that 'syntactic variations not only affect the tones of Haya, but that the tones may in turn reveal the nature of these variations.' Tone is linked to the syntax, as in Carter's analysis of kiKongo, yet these tono-syntactic alternations reflect focus or 'assertion' in the mind of the speaker, as occurs in Daeleman's analysis discussed above. There would therefore seem to be several similarities between the suprasegmental systems of Haya and kiKongo.

#### 7.9: summary.

Patterns in this text are similar to those of texts previously discussed, but there are many more instances of high pitch on the final or penultimate syllable (7.4.9). However, it seems adequate in most cases to treat these instances as perturbations of the basic pattern, particularly since the same word or phrase can sometimes show two patterns (7.4.7,5). A consideration of Daeleman's systematisation (7.6) shows that although his analysis is based on lexical tone, it leaves a good deal of room for conditioning of the pitch-patterns by focus or emphasis (7.6.3.3). A similar situation of tonal base and subsequent conditioning by 'assertion' seems to exist in Haya (7.8). A comparison of Ntoni-Nzinga's and Daeleman's patterns in a portion of the text shows a large degree of correlation between them (7.7.4).

Endnotes to chapter seven.

1. As usual, the arrow  $\nabla$  marks anomalous patterns on neighbouring words.
2. I postulate a base form \*mu-góga, with shift (múgoga) and final fall to mark emphasis - note that the item occurs in a rising bridge, which seems to be associated with emphasis.
3. It is interesting to compare this situation with that in kiZombo, where zero high pitch seems to be the single most common anomalous pattern (6.4).
4. It is sometimes difficult to hear the final fall on the last item in the sentence, and it may even be deleted in some cases: cf. mboté 20, but mbote 10.
5. In the revised version, we require three rules: shift as above, deletion, revised to read 'delete the only high tone', and lowering (ie. 'lower the second of two high tones'). For the conflated (c/d) we must specify a basic pattern (h)h on the penultimate syllable, ie. a high tone on the first mora of the penultimate, with another high tone preceding this if there is another stem syllable to bear it, thus ma-káasu, di-lálánsa. I is then derived from II by deletion for (a), shift for (b,e), and shift followed by lowering for (c/d).
6. This does not imply complete absence of differences between Daeleman's (a) and (b), or between his (c),(d) and (e) - nevertheless, these differences do seem to be subsidiary to the main bipartite grouping. We might symbolise the situation in diagrams as follows:



Here, although we end up with five classes in each diagram, the picture of their relationship to each other is markedly different.

7. This tendency, which occurs also with the nominal underlying forms, is probably due to the fact that Daeleman's thesis was a fairly early attempt at morphotonemic analysis.
8. This chart may not of course be entirely correct, because there is no detailed statement in the thesis on co-occurrence of tone-

cases and tone-moods, but it is broadly correct, and it greatly clarifies what was said above.

9. Compare D *tá kaka zita* / N *tà kaka zita* 83 'it kept emitting'.

10. There are in addition instances of bridging in one version but not in the other where most of the word-contour differences cannot be attributed solely to the occurrence of bridging, and the individual words have therefore been listed separately in subsequent sections. These instances are as follows:

D *bu-nsúumbidi yína nsusú* / N *bu-ntsúumbidi yíná ntsusú* 80

*ngíisidi yááw* / *ngíisidi yáu* 80

*ngeenè kúnkeénto* / *ngeené kúnkeento* 80

*kisalú kíkíngí nsádidi* / *kíisalú kíkíngí nsádidi* 92

*kusádidi kíimá-ko* / *kusádidi kímá-ko* 92-93

*yoonsò wuyíta mugogá* / *yoonsò wuyíta múgogá* 99.

11. It is possible that the sequence *bu-bayíndalalá*, *báyíndalala* in D should be interpreted, not as two distinct verbal patterns, but as a bridge from root-syllable to root-syllable, ie. *bu-bayíndalala bayíndalala*.

12. An acute indicates the accentual locus in the English translation, while a comma indicates the phrase-boundary.

13. The authors do not say whether there is any difference between these two marked ('asserted') patterns.

14. The authors do not discuss the possibility of there being special tone-patterns for a verb containing an object substitute.

15. It could be argued that we could have direct accent assignment without reference to the intermediate phrase-boundary by having the rules (1) *l +accent* → *h*, eg. *obugolo* → *obugolo* (underlining marks the accented syllable), and (2) *h +accent* → *f*, eg. *Kakulu* → *Kakulu*.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

## Two Speakers - kiManyanga, part one

## 8.1: introduction.

This chapter deals with material from two informants - the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga and Mr. A. Ndolo Menayame. A portion from a text read by the former will be compared with two versions of the same portion read by the latter, in order to ascertain the degree of pitch-pattern similarity or difference between the three. The results will then be used to test the conclusions drawn in chapter 6 (6.5).

## 8.2: the text and sample passage.

The text consists of Luke 23:32-24:39 in Laman's kiManyanga translation, which is also used by some of the baNdibu. The passage chosen for examination is ll. 43-77. In the following discussion Mr. Ndolo Menayame's first version will be referred to as A, his second version being labelled B, while the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga's version will be called Z. Following the convention of chapter 6, all three versions will be discussed together, giving patterns occurring in all three versions first (unlabelled), and then going on to patterns occurring in only one or two versions (labelled with the above letters A, B or Z).<sup>1</sup>

8.3: patterns in the text<sup>2</sup> (omitting those on names).

## 8.3.1: locatives.

Most locatives show shift of the high pitch:

kúndyamu 44 'to the t<sup>B</sup> múbáau 61 [AZ mubáau] 'among them'

múndyamu 45 'from the<sup>B</sup> múnzeengolo 74 [A munzèéngolo, Z múnzeéngolo] 'to a ve

múlumbu 54 'on the day'

kúvata 61 'to a town'

múmoomo 63 'about this'

A mulúmingu 43 [B mùlúmingu, Z múlumingu] 'in the week' week'

AB vóluse 59 [Z vóluse] 'in the opinion' (cf. 72)

AB mubáfwa 50 [Z mubáfwa<sup>^</sup>] 'among the dead'

B vántoto 49 [A vántoto, Z vantóto] 'on earth'

B múbáau 61 [AZ mubáau] 'among them'

B múnzeengolo 74 [A munzèéngolo, Z múnzeéngolo] 'to a verdict'

B vákulunsi 75 [AZ vakúlunsi] 'on the cross' (cf. 54)

- BZ kúndíamu 55 [A kúndíamu] 'to the tomb'  
 Z múnkyaaama 49 [AB múnkíama] 'why?'  
 Z mumávaanga 72 [A mómávaanga, B mómavàngá] 'in deeds'  
 Z múmaambu 55 [AB mómáambu] 'in matters'.

Some locatives show shift, plus another high pitch:

- múbyaabí 70 'in these'  
 B vákúlunsi 54 [A vákúlunsi, Z vakú'lunsi] 'on the cross'  
 Z mubáfwa 50 [AB mubáfwa] 'among the dead'.

However, other locatives show a bridge between prefix and root-syllable:

- válwéeka 48 'to the side'  
 A vántoto 49 [B vántoto, Z vantóto] 'on earth'  
 A kúndíamu 55 [BZ kúndíamu] 'to the tomb'  
 A vákúlunsi 54 [B vákúlunsi, Z vakú'lunsi] 'on the cross'  
 AB múnkíama 49 [Z múnkyaaama] 'why?'  
 AB mómóoko 53 [Z mómóoko] 'into the hands'  
 AB mómáambu 55 [Z múmaambu] 'in matters'  
 A(B) yé-<sub>Λ</sub>mómáambu 72 [Z ye-mómáambu] 'and in matters'  
 Z múnzeéngolo 74 [A munzééngolo, Z múnzeengolo] 'to a verdict'  
 also: A kwáyáandi 68 [B kwayáandi, Z kwayaandi] 'to him'.

Other locatives show a retention of the high pitch on the root-syllable:

- A munzééngolo 74 [B múnzeengolo, Z múnzeéngolo] 'to a verdict'  
 AZ vakú'lunsi 75 [B vákúlunsi] 'on the cross'  
 Z vakú'lunsi 54 [A vákúlunsi, B vákúlunsi] ditto  
 AZ mubáau 61 [B múbáau] 'among them'  
 Z vántoto 49 [A vántoto, B vántoto] 'on earth'  
 Z ye-mómáambu 72 [A(B) yé-<sub>Λ</sub>mómáambu] 'and in matters'  
 kwabáau 49,66,70 'to them'  
 kwabéeno 51 'to us'  
 kwayáandi 71,68B [A kwáyáandi, Z kwayaandi] 'to him'  
 kwakúmi 56 'to ten'.

A number of locatives where the word has a syllabic prefix show shift of the high pitch over two syllables (to the first syllable of the word) instead of over one. These examples can probably be considered a subset of the usual one-syllable shift, conditioned by the syllabic prefix.

There are also examples of words with bridge between the first syllable and second syllable; again, this would probably best be considered a subset of words showing bridge between prefix and root-syllable.

- Z m'ulum'ingu 43 [A mul'um'ingu, B m'ulum'ingu] 'in the week'  
 Z valuse 59 [AB val'use] 'in the opinion'  
 B m'ulum'ingu 43 [A mul'um'ingu, Z m'ulum'ingu] 'in the week'  
 A m'um'avaanga 72 [B m'um'av'anga, Z m'um'avaanga] 'in deeds'  
 Z kw'az'intumwa 59 [AB kw'az'int'umwa] 'to the disciples'.

Some words show two separate high pitches:

- AB kw'az'int'umwa 59 [Z kw'az'int'umwa] 'to the disciples'  
 B m'um'av'anga 72 [A m'um'avaanga, Z m'um'avaanga] 'in deeds'  
 Z ye-kw'ab'odonsono 56 [A ye-kw'ab'odonsono, B ye-kw'ab'odonsono] 'and to all'.

Only one locative shows no high pitch:

- Z kwayaandi 68 [A kway'aandi, B kway'andi] 'to him'.

### 8.3.2: genitives.<sup>3</sup>

Most genitives show shift of the high pitch:

- ky'antete 43 'first'  
 my'ansuunga 44 'of the herbs'  
 a'mfumu 46 'of the Lord'  
 ba'nkaka 58, 56A 'other'  
 A a'muuntu 52 [B amuuntu, Z am'untu] 'of a person'  
 A ma'moonsono 77 [B ma'moonsono, Z ma'm'oonsono] 'all'  
 AB ma'moonsono 63 [Z ma'm'oonsono] 'all'  
 B ma'moonsono 56 [AZ ma'm'oonsono] 'all'  
 A ba'boonsono 73 [B ba'b'oonsono, Z ba'boonsono] 'all'  
 A ky'antatu 77 [B ky'ant'atu, Z kyantatu] 'third' (cf. 54)  
 A wa'luleendo 72 [BZ wa'lul'eendo] 'of power'  
 AZ a'vata 61 [B a'vata] 'of the town'  
 B my'am'asumu 53 [A myamasumi, Z my'am'asumu] 'of sins'  
 Z ya'nkatu 60 [AB ya'nk'atu] 'of nonsense'  
 Z a'lekwa 70 [AB a'lek'wa] 'of things'.

Some words show shift plus another high pitch:

- A a'maambu 66 [B amaambu, Z ama'm'ambu] 'of things'

A zàngangá 74 [B zangaanga, Z zangáanga] 'of priests'  
 Z alúfwá 74 [A alúfwá, B alufwa] 'of death'.

Some genitives show a prefix to root-syllable bridge:

kyántátu 54,77B 'third'  
 AB yánkátu 60 'of nonsense'  
 AB lwàNdzaám̄bi 73 [Z lwàNdzaám̄bi] 'of God'  
 A màstád̄iya 62 [B mastadiya, Z màstád̄iya] 'of stadia'  
 B aváta 61 'of the town'  
 B mànd̄onson̄o 77 'all'.

Other genitives show retention of high pitch on the root-syllable:

AZ mànd̄onson̄o 56 'all'  
 Z mànd̄onson̄o 63 'all'  
 Z mànd̄onson̄o 77 'all'  
 B bab̄onson̄o 73 'all'  
 AB alékwa 70 'of things'  
 AZ byánayéem̄bele 67 [B byánayéem̄bele] 'of sadness'  
 Z amúuntu 52 'of a person'  
 Z lwàNdzaám̄bi 73 'of God'  
 Z zangáanga 74 'of priests'.

As with locatives, there are a few words with high pitch on the first syllable:

A màbankwa 53 [BZ màbánkwa] 'of possessors'  
 AZ màlúse 72 [B màlúse] 'before'  
 Z myámásumu 53 'of sins'  
 B màlúse 72 'before'  
 A alúfwá 74 'of death'  
 B byánayéem̄bele 67 'of sadness'  
 BZ wáluléendo 72 'of power'.

There are several genitives with no high pitch:

B amuntu 52 'of a person'  
 A myamasumi 53 'of sins'  
 B amaambu 66 'of things'  
 B zangaanga 74 'of priests'  
 B alufwa 74 'of death'

- Z baboonsono 73 'all'
- Z kyantatu 77 'third'.

8.3.3: connectives.

Some connectives show shift:

- AB yé-mosi 56 [Z ye-mosi] 'and one'
- AB ye-bákeento 58 [Z ye-bakééento] 'and the women'
- A yé-ndííngí 61 [B ye-<sub>^</sub>ndííngí, Z ye-ndííngí] 'with sadness(?)'
- Z yé-komwa 53 [AB ye-<sub>^</sub>kómwa] 'and be crucified'
- Z yé-fúluka 54 [A ye-fúluka, B yè-fúluka] 'and rise'
- also: B yé-zízi 67 [AZ ye-zízi] 'with (their) faces'
- AZ ye-bákuluntu 74 [B ye-bákulúntu] 'and the leaders'.

There is one example of a bridge from prefix to root-syllable:

- B yè-fúluka 54 'and rise'.

Others retain the high pitch on the root-syllable:

- AB ye-<sub>^</sub>kómwa 53 'and be crucified'
- A ye-fúluka 54 'and rise'
- A(Z) ye-yúv(u)lasana 64 [B ye-<sub>^</sub>yúv<sub>^</sub>lasana] 'and talking to each / other'
- AZ ye-zízi 67 'with (their) faces'
- BZ ye-báantu 73 [A ye-baantu] 'and the people'
- B ye-<sub>^</sub>ndííngí 61 'with sadness(?)'
- Z ye-bakééento 58 'and the women'
- AZ yéeno 52 [B yeeno] 'with you'
- AB yáau 65 [Z yaau] 'with them'.

A few connectives show no high pitch:

- A ye-baantu 73 'and the people'
- Z ye-mosi 56 'and one'
- Z ye-ndííngí 61 'with sadness(?)'
- B yeeno 52 'with you'
- Z yaau 65 'with them'.

8.3.4: anomalous patterns on verbs.

Most verbs show a shift of high pitch (here and below, a hyphen preceding the word indicates a preceding verbal element):

- mábwa 63 'which had happened'

- mábw'idi 70 'which have happened'  
 AB lúbambuka 51 [Z lubáambuka] 'remember'  
 AB twás'idi 75 [Z twás'idi] 'we had left'  
 A wákana 76 [B wákána, Z wakána] 'who would ransom'  
 B wáwova 68 [A wávóva, Z wāvóva] 'he said'  
 BZ bávova 71 [A bavóva] 'they said'  
 Z -kávova 51 [A -kávóva, B -kavóva] 'he said'  
 BZ -bákála 48 [A -bakála] 'they were'  
 Z bákála 58 [A bakála, B bakála] 'they were'  
 Z bwákála 46 [A bwakála, B bwakála] 'it was when'  
 Z bávwata 48 [AB bavwáta] 'they were wearing'  
 Z mákakwa 65 [A makákwa, B makákwa] 'they were deceived'  
 Z bwányekole 73 [AB bwányékole] 'how (they) handed him over'  
 Z bānkkomisa 75 [AB bankómisa] 'they nailed him'  
 Z yáváangwa 77 [A yaváangwa, B yāváangwa] 'it was done'  
 Z -kákedi 52 [A -kákédi, B -kakedí] 'he was'  
 Z bábwaana 46 [AB -bāvwaana] 'they found'  
 Z kúzeyi 69 [AB kuzéyi] 'you do not know'  
 Z kúnzaya 65 [A kúnzáaya, B kunzáaya] 'to recognise him'.

A similar number of examples show a bridge from prefix to root-syllable:

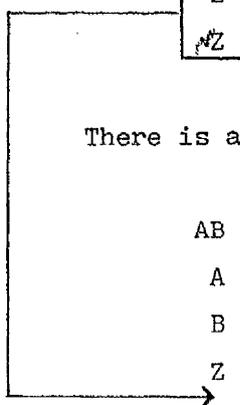
- AZ myáséema 48 [B myásiema] 'which were shining'  
 A -kávóva 51 [B -kavóva, Z -kávova] 'he said'  
 A wávóva 52 [BZ wāvóva] 'he said'  
 A wávóva 68 [B wáwova, Z wāvóva] 'he said'  
 B bávóva 49 [AZ bavóva] 'they said'  
 B wávóva 66 [A wāvové, Z wāvóva] 'he said'  
 A makákwa 65 'they were deceived'  
 A -kákedi 52 'he was'  
 A -bámókasana 63 [BZ -bāmókasana] 'they were talking'  
 A kúnzáaya 65 'to recognise him'  
 AB bwányekole 73 'how (they) handed him over'  
 B wákana 76 'who would ransom'  
 B yáváangwa 77 'it was done'  
 B wávútula 68 [AZ wāvútula] 'he answered'  
 B (má-)lwéti 66 [AZ (má-)lwéti] 'which you are ...'  
 Z bakáamba 58 [AB bakáamba] 'they told'  
 Z twás'idi 75 'we had left'  
 Z -bákédila 47 [A -bakédila, B -bákédila] 'they were'.

One or two verbs retain the high pitch on the root-syllable, even though we might expect a shift due to the occurrence of a preceding element:

- b'idi (?) 65 'they came'
- A -bakád'ila 47 'they were'
- BZ -bamókasana 63 'they were talking'
- BZ -kayéku'lwa 53 [A -ka<sub>A</sub>yeku'lwa] 'he (would) be delivered'.

A few verbs show no high pitch:

- AB wakedi 72 [Z wəkédí] 'he was'
- AB dyaata 67 [Z dyaata] 'walk'
- B bwakala 46 'it was when'
- B bakala 58 'they were'
- Z wena 50 (inside a bridge) [AB wéna], 69 [AB wéna] 'he who has'
- Z -bakubika 45 [AB -bakúbika] 'they had prepared'
- Z banáta 44 [AB banáta] 'they carried'
- Z babwáana 46 'they found'.



There is a bridge on some verbs:

- fúlukíd'íngi 51 'he has risen'
- AB (bú-)lweti 67 [Z (bu-)lwéti] 'as you are'
- A wáwová 66 'he said'
- B kuzéyí 69 'you do not know'
- Z babáambuká 54 [AB babáambuka] 'they remembered'

cf. also: B -kakedi 52 'he was'.

8.3.5: words without high pitch.<sup>4</sup>

- (i) adjuncts: lumbu-ko 70 '(not) days'
- AB lumbu 43 [Z lumbu] 'day'
- Z lumbu 60 [A lumbu, B lumbu] 'day'
- AB nabu 44 [Z nabu] 'very'
- AB kansí 46 [Z kansí] 'but'
- B kansí 65 [A kansí, Z kansí] 'but'
- AZ ntaangu 76 [B ntaangu] 'time'
- BZ kaka 69 [A kaka] 'only'
- A myamasumi 53 'of sins'
- A ye-baantu 73 'and the people'

B yeeno <sup>←</sup>52 'with you'  
 B əlufwa 74 'of death'  
 Z ye-mosi <sup>←</sup>56 'and one'  
 Z ye-ndi'ingi 61 'with sadness(?)'  
 Z yəsu 65 'with them'  
 Z kwagaandi 68 'to him'  
 Z baboonsono 73 'all'.

(ii) objects: AZ tadi 45 [B tadi] 'boulder'  
 AZ moomo 59 [B móomo] 'these'  
 Z moomo 56 [A moomó, B móomo] 'these'  
 B mbomo 69 [AZ móomo] 'these'  
 A nlele 48 [BZ nlele] 'clothes'  
 B mooyo 50 [AZ móoyo] 'life'  
 Z mooyo <sup>←</sup>54 [AB móoyo] 'mind'  
 Z ndzeenzo <sup>←</sup>44 [AB ndzéenzo] 'perfume'  
 Z zizi 49 [AB zizi] 'faces'  
 Z nitu 46 [AB nítu] 'the body'.

(iii) subjects: boole 47 'two'  
 B boole <sup>←</sup>61 [AZ bōole] 'two'  
 yaandi 64 'he'  
 nkumbu <sup>←</sup>68 'name' (inside a bridge in Z)  
 BZ mwəən(ə) 52 [A mwəən(ə)] 'the child'  
 AZ beeto <sup>←</sup>74 [B béeto] 'our'  
 AB beeto 75 [Z béeto] 'we'  
 BZ əndi <sup>←</sup>68 (inside a bridge in Z) [A əndi] 'his'  
 B əmuuntu 52 'of a person'  
 B meeso 65 [AZ méeso] 'eyes'  
 B yaandi 75 [AZ yáandi] 'he'  
 B zangaanga 74 'of the priests'  
 Z moo 59 (inside a bridge) [AB móomo] 'these'  
 Z kibeeni 64 [AB kibeéni] 'himself'  
 Z kyaki 77 [AB kyáki] 'this'  
 Z kyantatu 77 'third'.

(iv) predicators: moomo 71 'these'  
 B moomo 66 [A moomó, Z móomo] 'these'  
 B əməambu 66 'of things'  
 Z nki 70 [AB nkí] 'what kind of?'

Z mpova 60 [AB mpóva] 'words'.

(v) verbs: see 8.3.4.

8.3.6: high pitch on the last syllable.

B -kakedí 'he was' 52

A moomó 56 'these'

AB minú-ko 60 [Z mínu-ko] '(not) trust'

B lumbú 60 'day'

Z kiná 60 [AB kíina] 'that'

A kansí 65 'but'

A émaembú 66 'of things'

AB mostí 68 [Z mǒstí] 'one'

A moomó 66 'these'

AB kadí 68 [Z kǎdǐ] 'because'

ngeyé 69 'you'

B ndzeenzá 69 [AZ ndzéeenza] 'visitor'

múbyaabí 70 'in these'

AZ ye-bákuluntú 74 'and the leaders'

A zángangá 74 'of the priests'

A kaansí 75 [BZ kǎansi] 'but'

AZ tuuká 76 [B túuka] 'from'

A kansí 76 [BZ kǎnsí] 'but'.

8.3.7: high pitch on the penultimate syllable.

BZ mestadiya 62 'of stadia'

B ye-bákuluntu 74 'and the leaders'

B vákulúnsí 54 'on the cross'.

8.3.8: bridges on words.

Z bǒonsó 59 [AB bǒónso] 'like'

Z kǎká 53 [AB kǎka] 'only'

kwakumí 56 'to ten'.

See also 8.3.4 for bridges on verbs.

8.3.9: other anomalous patterns.

BZ kídungá 47 [A kí, dúungá] 'hesitation(?)'

BZ babákála 47 [A babákála] 'men'

- AZ bǎngúdi 74 [B bǎngúdi] 'the elders'  
 ǐlumbu 77 'it was the day'  
 B bǎngúdi 74 'the elders'  
 ǐndyēna 76 'it was he'  
 AB makúmasaambu 62 [Z makúmasaambu] 'sixty'  
 A bábákala 47 'men'  
 vó 75, 52Z [AB vo] 'that'.

## 8.3.10: bridges between words.

## (i) noun + following item:

- Z ǐMǎliá mwisi-ngǎda ... [A Mǎliá · mwisi ... , B ǐMǎliá mwisi ... ]  
 57 'it was Mary, an inhabitant of ...'  
 Z ǐngúdi ayákobi 57 [A ǐngúdi ayákobi, B ǐngúdi ayákobi] 'she  
 was the mother of Jacob'  
 Z maambu moó mamónika 59 [AB maambu móomo · mamónika] 'these  
 things seemed'  
 Z nkúumbu ávata 61 [A nkúumbu ávata, B nkúumbu ávata] 'the  
 name of the village'  
 Z mosi nkumbu ándi Kléopa 68 [A mosi nkumbu ándi Kléopa,  
 B mosi nkumbu ándi Kléopa] 'one, whose name (was) Cleopas'  
 Z kúula ǐsayéli 76 [A kúula · ǐsayéli, B kúula ǐsayéli] 'the  
 tribe of Israel'

note also: (A)B bò kídunga 47 [Z ...bo · kídunga] 'in hesitation(?)'

## (ii) adjunct + following item:

- Z nssúuka nábu 44 [AB ntsúká nabu] 'very early'  
 AB kwakúmi yé-mosi 56 [Z kwakúmi ye-mosi] 'to the eleven'  
 (A)B kíina lumbú ... 60 [cf. A kíina lumbu ..., Z kíiná lumbu ... ]  
 'that day'  
 A bòole mubáau 61 [B ...boole · múbaau, Z ... bòolé mubáau  
 'two of them'  
 B ye-ndíngi kúvata 61 [A yé-ndíngi kúvata, Z ye-ndíngi kúvata]  
 'with sadness to the town'  
 B(Z) kadí ngeyé kaka ... 68-9 [cf. Z kadí ngeyé kaka, A kadí  
 ngeyé kaka ... ] 'surely you (are) just'  
 Z bòonso bwanyékole 73 [AB bòonso · bwanyékole 'how he was  
 handed over'  
 A(Z) ... vò yaandi 75 [cf. Z ... vò yaandi, B ... vó yaandi]  
 'that he'

## (iii) verb + following item:

- Z bu-bákala wóonga 48 [A bu-bákala wóonga, B bu-bakála wóonga]  
 'they were afraid'

- B lutɔ̃mbele wéna mooyo 50 [A lutɔ̃mbele<sup>é</sup> wéna móoyo] 'are you looking for the living?'
- Z lutɔ̃mbele wena móoyo 50 ditto
- Z bu-kàkedi yéeno 52 [A bu-kàkedi yéeno, B bu-kakedi yeeno] 'when he was with you'
- Z wəvóvə vó 52 [A wəvóvə .vo, B wəvóvə vo] 'he said that'
- Z bamókasana múmoomo 63 [AB bamókasana<sup>^</sup> múmoomo] 'they were talking about this'
- B kə-bidi kunzáaya 65 [A kə-bidi kunzáaya, Z kə-bidi kúnzaya] 'so that they did not recognise him'
- B ... wəna ndzeenzá ... 69 [A ... wéna<sup>^</sup> ndzéeenza, Z ... wena ndzéeenza ...] 'you are a stranger!'
- Z wakedi mbíkudi 72 [AB wakedi<sup>^</sup> mbíkudi] 'he was a prophet'.

8.4: discussion of the patterns.

The above layout, while exhaustive, makes it difficult to draw conclusions. The material will therefore be re-arranged in subsequent sections in order to discuss several main points.

8.4.1: pitch patterns in each version.

It will be helpful to list together the number of various patterns for each version:

	A	B	Z
shift	34	37	42
prefix to root-syllable bridge	23	20	9
retention on root-syllable	18	17	27
on first syllable	3	0	3
first syllable to prefix bridge	2	2	2
two separate high pitches	5	7	4
on last (penultimate) syllable	14(0)	8(3)	5(1)
no high pitch	18	28	32
total anomalous patterns	117	122	125

A has 3 bridges on individual words, B 4, and Z 7.

The most noticeable feature of this table is that Z has very few bridges from prefix to root-syllable, and shows mostly a two-way distinction between shift or no shift. With versions A and B, on the other hand, the 'half-way house' of prefix to root-syllable bridge is

very common. The tendency in Z to have some words with this bridge may be an attempt to imitate the features of kiManyanga, since such a bridge does not occur frequently in the texts previously examined (see also 8.4.5, 9.3.6).

Version A shows the greatest number of high pitches occurring on the last syllable of the word. Eight of these words occur in contexts where surrounding words also have anomalous patterns, and in 3 other cases the equivalent word in version B shows no high pitch (ie. also has an anomalous pattern). This suggests that the rising pattern in words with high pitch on the last syllable is not a basic pattern, but merely an anomalous pattern used in certain phrases where there is general perturbation, perhaps for focus or emphasis, of the expected contours on a particular portion of the utterance. That these patterns are in fact variants of the basic pattern can be seen from the fact that they need not occur in both versions A and B, eg.

kansí tuuká ntaangu 76A 'but from the time'  
but kánsi tuúka ntáangu 76B.

This suggests that the rising pattern is a manipulation of the expected pattern, for general effect. Moreover, different perturbations can occur in each version, eg.

nkí ámaambu moomó 66A 'what are these things?'  
but nkí amaambu moomo 66B,

which reinforces the idea that these anomalous patterns are not an underlying pattern of the word concerned. A special rising pattern therefore does not seem to be required to account for these cases, though of course this does not rule out the possibility that such patterns may exist (see chapter 14).

Version B shows the greatest number of words with two unbridged high pitches. The second high pitch in most cases is on the root-syllable, which suggests a tendency for the root-syllable to retain its prominence in this idiolect. The frequent occurrence of prefix to root-syllable bridges may support this (see 8.4.5).

It is notable that all three versions have roughly the same number

of anomalous contours. The number is smallest in A, and this may be because A was read hesitantly, so that words tended to retain their basic pattern rather than show the anomalous patterns associated with faster, more spontaneous reading. Mr. Ndolo Menayame tended to read in a more restrained fashion than the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga, so the same comment also holds true of B to a certain extent. The difference in reading is reflected in the number of pauses or gaps in the passage (excluding full stops):

A 113            B 96            Z 77.

8.4.2: words without high pitch (see 8.3.5).

As in previously examined texts, many words without high pitch occur in contexts where the preceding or following word also has an anomalous contour, eg.

bu-kakedí yeeno 52B 'when he was with you'.

In many cases the preceding word shows a bridge, as if the word without high pitch had transferred this to the preceding word, eg.

baba<sub>^</sub>mbuká mooyo 54Z 'they called to mind'.

As pointed out previously, therefore, (eg. 6.4.10) it seems best to consider non-appearance of high pitch to be a means of focussing attention on something else in the phrase.<sup>5</sup>

We might then postulate the following interpretation of such phrases as mosí nkumbu andí Kléopa . [wávútuls]... 68B 'one whose name (was) Cleopas answered ...':

- (a) mosí with rising pattern intimates that more information is about to follow; this comes in the appositive phrase nkumbu andí Kléopa, which gives the name of the mosí, the individual;
- (b) nkumbu andí is devoid of high pitch to convey that the name Kléopa is the most important part of this appositive phrase;
- (c) the sentence then continues, with the verb telling what this person did.

Note that pause can affect the realisation of the pattern:

mosí nkumbu andí<sub>^</sub> Kléopa 68A.

Bridging seems to achieve a similar focus on the name:

mò'si nkumbu andi Kléopa 68Z.

However, focus need not occur in all instances, eg.

nkuúmbu àándi Yóósefi 33B(A) 'his name (was) Joseph'.

8.4.3: bridges between words (see 8.3.10).

Version Z has 16 bridges (4 of them rising bridges), while A has 4, and B has 8. The less frequent occurrence of bridging in versions A and B may represent a fundamental difference between the two idiolects, but it is more likely to be due to Mr. Ndolo Menayame's restrained reading of the passage - as I have previously suggested, bridging seems to be frequent only when the speaker is reading fairly quickly, and with a certain degree of animation. The manner of reading may also account for the fact that neither A nor B has any examples of a rising bridge, the marked form of bridging.

8.4.4: other features.

In version Z, involvement or excitement may be conveyed by several means, including change of pattern, key and rate of delivery:

- (a) ↓yáandi kibéeni Yíisu 64Z 'he himself Jesus' has no high pitch, but the syllables where we would expect high pitch are given extra stress; this, and the fact that the phrase is in lower key, may be intended to express gravity or seriousness;
- (b) ↑kádi ngeyé kaka wena ndzéenza ... 68-9Z 'surely you are indeed a stranger' shows anomalous patterns on the middle three words; the phrase is also spoken in a higher key and faster than usual, presumably to indicate the surprise of the speaker. Note that the fast rate and anomalous contours (on 4 out of 5 words) also apply to the second half of the sentence (69-70Z);
- (c) ↓káansi ..... \ndíena 75-76Z 'but we had not left off hoping that he was the one' shows lower key and a 'crescendo' pitch-pattern (cf. 2.2.24), ie. each high pitch is successively louder and higher than the previous one: /~~~~~/ (cc. the rising bridge /~~~~~/);
- (d) ↑lúmbu kyántete 43Z 'on the first day' is pronounced in a higher key to indicate that a new section of the story is beginning; this phrase also has a more forceful delivery than normal in versions A and B.

Versions A and B show no special manipulation of the contour for effect (except for the example in 43); again, this may be attributed to Mr. Ndolo Menayame's restrained reading of the passage.

There are several examples of final falling pitch, which seems to be emphatic:

Z ə̀lɔ́fwā̂ 74 'of death'  
 A ə̀lɔ́fwā̂ 74 ditto  
 Z mubə́fwā̂ 50 'among the dead'  
 B yé-zízî 67 'with faces'.

There seem to be two instances in version Z of a shift of high pitch conveying emphasis:

múṅkyaama 49Z 'why?' (note extra stress and extra-high pitch)  
 kúzeyi 69Z 'you do not know' (note that this occurs in a phrase with a fast rate of delivery).

#### 8.4.5: prefix to root-syllable bridges.

This pattern poses some problems of interpretation. If an item \*v-c<sub>v</sub>cv (prefix separated by hyphen, root-syllable underlined) shows a pattern v-c<sub>v</sub>cv, should this be taken as the realisation of an underlying form \*v-c<sub>v</sub>cv (with anticipation of the high pitch on the prefix), or of one \*v̂-c<sub>v</sub>cv (with continuation of the high pitch to the root-syllable)? Is there a shift here or not? Moreover, if \*v-c<sub>v</sub>cv and \*v̂-c<sub>v</sub>cv can both appear as v-c<sub>v</sub>cv, the distinctiveness between shift and non-shift would be cancelled.

There are two possible explanations for the 'half-way house' of v-c<sub>v</sub>cv: either it is a stage in the development of shift, or it is a stage in a development away from shift. The former implies a derivation v-c<sub>v</sub>cv → v̂-c<sub>v</sub>cv → v̂-c<sub>v</sub>cv, thus accomplishing a shift of the high pitch. The latter of the two views implies a derivation v̂-c<sub>v</sub>cv → v̂-c<sub>v</sub>cv → v-c<sub>v</sub>cv (cf. base form c<sub>v</sub>cv). That is, the root-syllable has come to be the most prominent syllable of the word, and resists the shift of high pitch to the affix.

We will label the two derivations respectively (s) and (r), and we

will now see whether the figures for occurrence of prefix to root-syllable bridges in the three versions of this text support one or other of the two derivations.<sup>6</sup>

The arguments for (s) and (r) may be set out in parallel columns, as follows:

in favour of (s)

in favour of (r)

(1) such a sequence is a phonologically natural explanation for shift.

(2) such a sequence would be systematically consistent; the importance of the root-syllable has been pointed out all through this thesis.

(3) (r) cannot be true, as it implies that the dialect with the greatest number of  $\check{v}-c\check{v}cv$  patterns is moving towards having most high pitches on the root-syllable. But this is not the case: Z, with fewer  $\check{v}-c\check{v}cv$  patterns, has more root-syllable high pitches than AB, and in general the southern dialects have more of these than kiManyanga (cf. chapter 15).

(4) (s) cannot be true, as it implies that the dialect with the greatest number of  $\check{v}-c\check{v}cv$  patterns is moving towards having most examples of shift. But this is not the case: Z, with fewer  $\check{v}-c\check{v}cv$  patterns, has more examples of shift than AB, and in general shift is the most common anomalous pattern even where  $\check{v}-c\check{v}cv$  is rare (cf. chapter 15).

(5) if we take the patterns  $\check{v}-c\check{v}cv$  and  $\check{v}-c\check{v}cv$ , AB shows 57 examples, while Z shows only 51; ie. there is a forward tilt of the high pitch in kiManyanga (which is also clear from chapter 15).

(6) AB show fewer examples of shift than Z, yet more examples of  $\check{v}-c\check{v}cv$ ; ie. there is a tilt of the high pitch towards the root-syllable.

(7) if we take the patterns  $v-c\check{v}cv$  and  $\check{v}-c\check{v}cv$ , the figures from each speaker (AB average 39, Z 36) are closer together than the figures for  $\check{v}-c\check{v}cv$  and  $\check{v}-c\check{v}cv$  (AB 57, Z 51). This suggests that the patterns  $v-c\check{v}cv$  and  $\check{v}-c\check{v}cv$  may be variant realisations of one underlying pattern. Taking the first two steps of (s) and (r), this argues in favour of (s), since if  $v-c\check{v}cv$  and  $\check{v}-c\check{v}cv$  are related in this way, the connection between them is closer than that between  $\check{v}-c\check{v}cv$  and  $\check{v}-c\check{v}cv$ .

(8) the same reasoning holds, but ...

... taking the last two steps of (s) and (r), this argues in favour of (r).

(9) in chapter 14 it will be shown that about 60% of CB lh patterns are realised as hl in Laman 1936, compared to 30% in Carter 1980b. This suggests that the shift \*lh → hl has progressed farthest in kiManyanga. If this is true, we

(10) the same reasoning holds, but ...

might expect that the same could be said for the shift  $l-hl \rightarrow h-ll$  (ie.  $v-c\acute{v}cv \rightarrow \acute{v}-c\acute{v}cv$ ). This is the case: taking high pitches occurring before the root-syllable, kiManyanga shows the greatest number of these (see chapter 15, and cf. 5 above), while the  $\acute{v}-c\acute{v}cv$  pattern is most common there, yet least common in the southern dialects.

... this is not the case: if it were, we would expect the  $\acute{v}-c\acute{v}cv$  pattern to be found most commonly in kiManyanga (with  $\acute{v}-c\acute{v}cv$ , the earlier stage, of infrequent occurrence) and that  $\acute{v}-c\acute{v}cv$  would be more common in the southern dialects (with  $\acute{v}-c\acute{v}cv$ , the later form, infrequent, since the shift has not advanced so far there). But instead we find that  $\acute{v}-c\acute{v}cv$  is most common in kiManyanga, and least common in the southern dialects, while  $\acute{v}-c\acute{v}cv$  is the more common of the two in all dialects (see chapter 15, and cf. 4 above).

(11) these examples amount to about 2% of the total, and are insufficient on which to base firm conclusions.

(12) there are quite a few examples in this text of words showing two separate high pitches which are not in bridge - one on the affix and one on the root-syllable. This may suggest a greater prominence of the root-syllable in kiManyanga.

As can be seen, we can argue equally well for either derivation. (5) is a good argument for (s), but (10) is a good argument for (r), and otherwise there seems little to choose between either point of view - (12) would perhaps clinch the argument for (r), if there were a few more examples of this kind. However, we can only deduce that the place of the prefix to root-syllable bridge is unclear.<sup>7</sup>

It may in fact be best to consider  $\acute{v}-c\acute{v}cv$  as a variant of  $v-c\acute{v}cv$  (cf. 7 above), one which is more likely to occur in kiManyanga than in other dialects. This would in effect be midway between (r) and (s):  $\acute{v}-c\acute{v}cv$  would be closest to  $v-c\acute{v}cv$  (as in r), but the net effect of having such a variant would be to have a greater number of high pitches occurring before the root-syllable (as in s). We must also note the fact that instances of  $\acute{v}-c\acute{v}cv$  occur in Laman's work of the twenties and thirties (Laman 1922, 1936); if we consider  $\acute{v}-c\acute{v}cv$  to be a variant, then this is evidence that it is widespread in kiManyanga; if we consider it to be a stage in one of the above derivations, then we must conclude that the pitch-shift (in whatever direction) has been in progress for at least 50 years.

8.5: variation in the three versions.

The amount of pitch variation between all three versions is shown below. Numbers indicate number of words in each pair of versions which show different contours.

section	A ≠ B	A ≠ Z	B ≠ Z
8.3.1	9 ( 5)	15	16
8.3.2	15 (11)	15	17
8.3.3	7 ( 5)	7	10
8.3.4	20 ( 7)	33	32
8.3.5	17 (17)	21	26
8.3.6	4 ( 4)	6	6
8.3.9	3 ( 3)	4	3
total (out of 208 words)	75 (52)	101	110

Leaving aside for the moment the bracketed figures under A ≠ B, the percentage variation is as follows:

A ≠ B 36%      A ≠ Z 49%      B ≠ Z 53%.

These figures can be laid out as a table:

	same speaker	different speakers
two versions	36%	49-53% <sup>+</sup>

Compare this to the table suggested in 6.5.4:

	same speaker	different speakers
two versions	15%	30%
more than two versions	25%	40% (?)

The differences are clearly significant: what could account for the much larger percentages from this text?

The ambivalent status of the prefix to root-syllable bridge, which is very common in versions A and B, may be affecting the figures. The figures in brackets under A ≠ B above do not count instances of prefix to root-syllable bridge: that is, where this pattern occurs in one version, and the other version has shift, or retention on the root-syllable, the two versions are considered as having the same pattern. This seems reasonable, since (as pointed out above) the prefix to root-syllable bridge seems to be a 'half-way house', and could be

counted in either category. The adjusted percentage A ≠ B is then 25% (previously 36%). There are difficulties with applying the same method to A ≠ Z and B ≠ Z<sup>8</sup>, but if we can assume a comparable decrease, their percentage variations would be A ≠ Z 34% (previously 49%), B ≠ Z 37% (previously 53%).

These adjustments bring the figures within the range of the table constructed in chapter 6, but they are still slightly higher than their equivalents in that table. This might be accounted for in two ways:

- (a) the figures in the table in chapter 6 could be revised upwards, particularly for the 'same speaker' column. This implies that the text of chapter 6 may not have been fully representative. On the other hand, the table as suggested makes a fairly good system - if the figures are raised too much, the level of possible variability might go over 50%, and we would surely then have to consider an intonational system; moreover, the table must be drawn in such a way as to take in lower levels of variability as well as higher ones<sup>9</sup>;
- (b) the figures for this text could be revised downwards. In my opinion, this would be the best solution; versions A and B, as noted several times above, were read hesitantly, and some obvious differences of pitch patterning were pointed out in 8.4. It is not unlikely that this hesitancy also had an effect on the contours of individual words, and if the number of words affected were even as few as 10, this would bring the figures down 5% and place them within the range of variability predicted from the table.

The second suggestion gives the following revised table (figures for this text first, general figures in brackets):

	same speaker	different speakers
two versions	20% (10-20%)	30% (25-35%)
more than two versions	(20-30%)	(35-45%).

8.6: comments on variant contours.

8.6.1: the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga.

- (i) The concept of relative importance of the items in a sentence or

phrase influencing the pattern came up several times, but only seemed to be verifiable when discussing bankaka mubau 81 'some of them': '... we are talking about some people, and one part of this people; now the most important word is báau ... we want to accentuate one part, and ... one part is bánkaka. But can we know what are ... these bánkaka? There can be another group different from the group which we are talking [about] here, and we say báau, and there is a reference to the same group which I [am] talking about'. Bánkaka mubáau is the pattern given in discussion, but in view of the mention of accentuation it is interesting to note that in the text the pattern is bánkaka mubáau, a rising bridge (which I have suggested is associated with emphasis), and that the words appear in a 'crescendo' phrase.

- (ii) Comparing batélama<sup>o</sup> 6 'they stood' and batélama (which occurred when discussing batélamene in 32), the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga said that in 6 'I can't say báantu batélama batála ... ['the people stood and watched'] because we have a comma: báantu batélama<sup>o</sup>, batála'. Since the form in 32 occurs without a following pause (batélama ntéma 'they stood at a distance'), we might conclude that batélama is a pre-pausal form. Yet batélama ntéma also occurred in the discussions. From other comments it seemed that a difference in emphasis was also involved.

It was said of 6: 'batélama<sup>o</sup> is the most important word here. The writer wants to give us the impression that the people were there standing - the standing is very important for us, no? - and because there [were] two actions, standing and seeing. ... This is the beginning of a sentence, ... and we want to make emphasis about the people, and the two actions'. The fact that batélama was said when speaking about batélama (see the first word in this quotation) might suggest that the former is unmarked, the latter marked.

Of the other form, batélama, the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga said: 'here we are talking about people who see the [saddest thing] about Christ, and ... they are sad; ... batélama is important, but we talked about [it] (earlier?) ... and now it is not very important - [what] is very important [is what precedes]. ... I can't say [batélama] strongly, [because it] is a sad ... story - my voice needs to be sad also'. The reference to not being able to say the word 'strongly' because

the story is sad is perhaps significant.

It is notable that in a repetition of the sentence containing *batélama* all the verbs were given a high pitch on the prefix syllable, although in the text the high pitch was on the root-syllable. Since this repetition was the last of the section of comments dealing with this question, it might be that by this time the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga was unintentionally emphasising the words to bring out the point he was making. Conversely, discussing *bátelama*, the verbs in the text have high pitch on the prefix syllable, but in the repetition have high pitch on the root-syllable, perhaps because this instance was among the first repetitions, and was therefore neutral in pattern. However, the evidence is conflicting, and it is uncertain whether we should attribute the difference between *bátelama*/*batélama* to pause, emphasis, or even dialect interference (see (xi) below).

- (iii) Discussion of *walunúungu* 28 'of righteousness' and *walúnuungu* 33 brought more comments on relative emphasis, and its relation with downdrift.

Comments on 28 were as follows: 'kédikā, ndyéū . ↓ imúntu walunúungu ... Kédikā, ndyéū . imúntu ↓ wə́lunúungu ['truly, this was a righteous man'] ... here ndyéū . imúntu ↓ wə́lunungu is [an] exclamation, ... he said [what] he had in his heart, and I want to give the impression to people who can't read, how was the situation: kédikā . ndyéū . imúntu wə́lunungu. Emphasis [is on] wə́lunúungu, wə́lunúungu. ... I talk very slowly, but all the emphasis is there, not with kédikā, not with ndyéū. ... Because we have two kinds of emphasis: I can put the emphasis if ... talking strongly, or talking very slowly - [it] is the music. For example, [talking] very slowly is very good emphasis, because all the people will [become] quiet, you see? ... And I am calling [them to] ... reflection'.

This seems to suggest that a word may be emphasised by putting the high pitch in an unexpected place: eg. in (ii) above, *batélama* might be the expected form, so this was emphasised by shifting the high pitch: *bátelama*. Here, the shift is expected because of the genitive prefix, but instead of *walúnuungu* (cf. 33), we find *walunúungu*, with no shift (cf. chapter 12 for a development of this point). Moreover, it seems that having no high pitch on a word (eg.

walunungu) may also emphasise it. This seems to be comparable to the fact that both speaking in a higher key and speaking in a lower key are devices to emphasise what is being said, as the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga noted several times.<sup>10</sup> To get the full meaning of what is being implied (emphasis or reduction of emphasis), he repeatedly affirmed, we must take the whole context into consideration.

Of the second instance (ye-walúnuungu 33), he said: 'the emphasis is with kyám'bote. ... Yes, [there] is [a] difference when I want to put the emphasis with wám'bote - imúúntu wám'boté . ↓ yé-walunungu ['he was a good and righteous man']. [The anomalous pattern here may serve to focus on the words concerned.] Every time when [I am] talking, if ... I said the first word strongly, the second I need to [gesture for 'lower'] ... and you see the music: imúúntu wám'boté [gesture for 'high'] . yé-walúnuungu [gesture for 'low']. I can't say ↑ imúúntu wám'boté ye-walúnuungu - if I say imúúntu wám'boté 'é-walúnuungu I need to say something again [ie. continue with another modifier] ... to go down. ... Every time when I am speaking, when I speak strongly I need to go down, I can't go up and finish'. This suggests that height is associated with phrasal 'unfinishedness', ie. denotes continuity.

Other phrases came up in discussion: ↑ imúúntu wám'boté kwáani; óo, imuntu wám'boté kíkíilu. The latter seems to be a marked contour, but its exact significance is unclear.

- (iv) kyántátu 54 'third' and kyantátu 77: both examples were at first pronounced kyántátu. But some thought produced the comment that in 77 the 'people are sad, are talking ... about the man; ... they believed him, ... that he would be a saviour, but he didn't, and now they are very sad - kyantátu; ... I can say that ... c'est une action désespérée'.
- (v) Discussing kabammwéeningí-ko 83 'they did not see him', it was said that such a pattern in this context was a mistake, and that the correct pattern here should be ka-bámwéeningí-ko. Further questions revealed that this was because of the pre-posed yaandi: 'the emphasis is with yaandi. ... When I say ka-bamwéeningí-ko, I haven't the yaandi, you see? ... I suppose yaandi in the verb [ie. as an object substitute] ... yaandi·ka-bámwéeningí-ko; I can't

say yáandí . ka-bamwéeningí-ko, it is impossible in this context'. This is reminiscent of some phrases in kiNtandu where marked word-order was accompanied by pitch-pattern differences (7.5.i,v). Asked about the pattern in 83, the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga said: 'I can say that, I can say it, but not in this context. ... For example, you ask me, ... "did ... the travellers come back?" I say, "Yes". "Did they see their mother?" I say, "ka-bamwéeningí-ko", you see?' This may suggest different patterns for verbs with and without the object substitute, but it may also have something to do with focus.<sup>11</sup>

Asked about the difference between -ko in ka-bámwéeningí-ko 83 and -kô in ye-mávanga mau-kô 34 'and their actions', the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga replied, '-kô? Yes, it is a music; I want to ... emphasise the negative -kô'.

(vi) mə-lwéti mókina . bu-lwéti dyásta 66-67 'that you are talking about, as you are walking along': it appears that mókina can also occur without high pitch 'to make a distinction between the two actions', but the comments were not very clear.

(vii) kákivúlusa 8 'let him save himself' and ukivúlusa 11,13 'save yourself': the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga said that ukivúlusa could also be pronounced ukivú'lusa in order 'to oblige him', ie. to emphasise the imperative to the person being spoken to.

For 8, kákivúlusa occurred once in repetitions, and kákivúlusa six times. When it was pointed out that kákivúlusa occurs in the text, he thought for a while and came to the conclusion that kákivúlusa was not a kiManyanga form, but a form from his own dialect. The two forms quoted at the beginning, therefore, might suggest that kiManyanga has different pitch-patterns for 2nd and 3rd person imperatives, though no evidence of such variation was found in other dialects.

However, it is also possible that we have in 8 another case of relative emphasis: the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga noted that both commands were mocking Jesus ('joking'), but that in 8 the speaker 'was not talking directly to Jesus, he was talking to the people'. In a rhetorical command of this nature the speaker might choose to place the emphasis on -ki-: 'he has saved others, now let him save himself'.

- (viii) mǎ-bavééngí 5 'what they have done' and mǎma-twáveengí 17 'for what we have done': the latter occurred consistently in repetitions as mǎma-twáveengí, which is similar to 5. 17 is possibly emphatic.
- (ix) Of pitch patterns in general, he said: 'All lecture [ie. reading] ... is accompanying the story -- I need to change the ... voice in the different place, ... to apply my voice to the story, to express well the opinion with the accent'.
- (x) Of kiManyanga pitch patterns he said: 'If somebody from Manyanga is reading this, you will [get] more [of an] impression, 'cos it is a good music, a very nice music that one, yes. ... They have a good music ... when they are reading. ... I like it myself - ... I like reading the music with somebody from Manyanga who is reading himself'.
- (xi) As always, he was well aware of the possibility of dialect interference: 'The problem is, sometimes I can't be very ... faithful to the ... situation - I get some [influence] from my dialect, you know?' His advice was, 'If you hear some slight nuance [ie. some small variation], it is because it's not my dialect, ... but if I repeat the same, that one is right'.

8.6.2: Mr. A. Ndolo Menayame.

- (i) mǎntoto wáwóónsonó 22 'over all the earth': when asked if mǎntoto wáwóónsonó was ever possible, the reply was, 'That would be due to idiosyncrasy, ... not really characteristic to a whole region, maybe to one individual. ... People who use that sort of language are just pastors - they try to make their language a bit different from ordinary people'.<sup>12</sup>
- (ii) Discussing véésu-ko 46 'not Jesus', Mr. Ndolo Menayame said that véésú-ko was not likely for two reasons: (a) véesu was a name (which seems to imply that proper names may have different realisations from ordinary nouns), and (b) 'if you use a rising intonation, you have this tendency to ask a question instead of [having] a negation - negation is falling'. Asked if véésu-kô were possible, he said this 'would be a sort of exclamation of astonishment' (cf. the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga's comment in (v) above that -kô denotes emphasis).

(iii)  $\text{b}\dot{\text{u}}\text{-lwe}\acute{\text{t}}\text{i} \text{dyaata}$  67 'as you are going along':  $\text{b}\dot{\text{u}}\text{-lwe}\acute{\text{t}}\text{i} \text{dya}\acute{\text{t}}\acute{\text{a}}$  was said to be also possible, with 'a rising intonation at the end of  $\text{dyaata}$  because there is a question there'. However, the precise difference in significance between the two forms is unclear.

### 8.6.3: conclusions.

It would therefore seem that at least some of the variation in the texts must be ascribed to differences in focus or emphasis, though individual speakers may vary greatly in how coherently they are able to verbalise these differences, and most likely also in the extent and type of these differences.

### 8.7: summary.

The versions discussed in this chapter show slightly more examples of anomalous patterns than texts previously considered (8.3). Even among themselves, each version shows several differences from the other two (8.4), and the level of variation among them is higher than that encountered in other texts (8.5). There is also the problem of how to interpret the pattern of prefix to root-syllable bridge, which occurs here much more frequently than in other texts (8.4.5). Nevertheless, discussion of all these points shows that the text does not diverge so widely as might be thought at first sight from the system established for other texts: the root-syllable is of prime importance, and the problematic  $\text{v-c}\acute{\text{v}}\text{cv}$  pattern may even be a variant of the pattern with high pitch on the root-syllable (8.4.5); differences between the versions may be ascribed to idiolectal features or to hesitant reading (8.4.1,3); and the high level of variation may be due to the ambivalent nature of the  $\text{v-c}\acute{\text{v}}\text{cv}$  pattern and perhaps to the effects of hesitation (8.5). Comparison of the three versions allows us to draw further conclusions about the function of anomalous contours as markers of focus (8.4.2), and in version Z we can distinguish several phrases where a variety of means is used to draw attention to what is being said (8.4.4). The same point is taken up in several of the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga's comments on the text (8.6.1).

## Endnotes to chapter 8.

1. As noted in 6.3, this method has been found the most useful of several tried. On the other hand, it involves the presentation of an excessive amount of data at one time, especially in this text, where there is a large variety of pitch-patterns. Nevertheless, it is essential to give a complete listing of the data on which conclusions are to be based; the reader who wishes to omit section 8.3 may therefore proceed to section 8.4, where the data is discussed.
2. There seem to be no syntactic or phrasal factors conditioning, eg. shift v. non-shift, etc.
3. In this and following sections patterns from other versions will only be given when they have not already been previously noted.
4. Words without high pitch are listed here by function of the phrase they occur in merely as a convenient method of sorting words which have no pre-prefix; there does not seem to be any syntactic factor conditioning the contours (cf. endnote 2).
5. This is supported by the fact that the word without high pitch often appears in a phrase that has been given extra prominence by means of adjustment in key or fast rate of delivery - see 8.4.4.
6. In examining these figures it will be useful to remember that version A and B are from a kiManyanga speaker, while version Z is from a speaker of the southern dialect, kiZombo. Version Z therefore provides a useful midway point between kiManyanga proper and the southern dialects kiMbanz' aKongo and kiZombo; while not showing exactly the same features as Versions A and B, it is nevertheless closer to them than it is to the southern dialects (see also 9.3.6 and chapter 15).
7. The only alternative to the two derivations above is to consider  $\check{v}-c\check{v}cv$  to be a falling together of  $\check{v}-c\check{v}cv$  and  $v-c\check{v}cv$ ; however, there seem to be no good arguments for this solution.
8. For example, given Z  $m\grave{u}nze\grave{e}ngolo$ , A  $munze\acute{e}ngolo$ , B  $m\acute{u}nzeengolo$  'to a verdict', do we count the Z pattern with the A pattern, or with the B pattern?
9. For example, similar studies of variability (J.H. Carter, p.c.) in different versions of the same text as read by the Rev. João Makoondekwa showed very little contour variation, perhaps lower than 5%. Most of that variation consisted of occurrence/non-occurrence

of bridging, and realisation/non-realisation of high pitch on the subject, eg. (using Carter's notation)

/ntsɪ̃ aNgóla /yivwɪ́dɪ́ mphe ... 'the country of Angola  
 but /ntsɪ̃ aNgóla /yivwɪ́dɪ́ mphe ... . also has ...'

There were also examples of such a type as

/evvuuu /ikyássya vo 'the hope is that ...'  
 but /evvuuu /ikyássya vó.

The realisation evvuuu tended to occur when there was a following pause.

10. Exactly the same thing may happen in English. Consider the following sentences (marked using the conventions of chapter 2):

(1) I tóld him to do it, <sup>↑</sup> and he didn't dó it!

(2) I tóld him to do it, <sup>↓</sup> and he didn't dó it!

(In my idiolect, this sentence requires a longer pause at the comma than sentence 1.)

The second clause of both sentences conveys emphasis, although in (1) it is in what I have called 'higher' key, while in (2) it is in 'lower' key. Just as in kiKongo, however, (see endnote 3 to chapter 4) the emphasis has a slightly different connotation in each case. In (1) there is a sense of indignation and frustration that the person has not done what was asked of him. In (2) it is implied that the speaker did not really expect the request to be obeyed; there is a sense of 'well, that's typical! ...'.

11. The sequence might also be stable noun + relative verb, rather than subject + indicative verb, as assumed here. (J.H. Carter, p.c.)
12. The Rev. João Makoondekwa, Carter's informant, also referred to a 'parsonical voice'. (J.H. Carter, p.c.)

## CHAPTER NINE

## The Earliest Research - kiManyanga, part two

## 9.1: introduction.

This chapter continues the discussion of kiManyanga pitch features by considering two texts recorded by Mr. A. Ndolo Menayame, along with a series of minimal pairs given by him. The earliest research on kiKongo pitch, that of K.E. Laman, will then be discussed, followed by a comparison of pitch patterns on a portion of the text with those predicted by Laman's systematisation.

## 9.2: the text and sample passage.

The first text (ll. 1-38) seems to have been composed first and then read into the recorder, while the second (ll. 39-46) is a portion of a letter, also read. As with all Mr. Ndolo's texts, these were read much more haltingly, in a lower key, and with much less animation than those contributed by the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga. Stress in some cases would seem to be as important an exponent of prominence as high pitch, and in general the pitch range (ie. the distance between high and low) is smaller than in other texts.

Since a certain amount of intensity seems to occur automatically on the root-syllable, it is sometimes hard to decide on the marking to be used. For example, the marking  $\uparrow\text{cvc}^{\circ}$  suggests the contour /  $\sim$  /, but in the texts it often had to be used to mark a /  $\sim$  / contour, eg.

$\uparrow\text{toont}^{\circ}$  10 'try' [  $\sim$  ]  
 $\uparrow\text{yaand}^{\circ}$  29 'she'  
 $\uparrow\text{mw}^{\circ}\text{aan}^{\circ}$  29 'the child'  
 and note  $\text{my}^{\circ}\text{een}^{\circ}$  19 'are'.

Another instance of uncertainty as to whether the prominence involves high pitch occurs with the marking  $\text{cvc}^{\wedge}$ , suggesting the contour /  $\sim$  / . In the texts the second syllable often seems to drift down to give the contour /  $\sim$  /, which might instead be marked  $\text{cvc}^{\wedge}$ , eg.

$\text{b}^{\wedge}\text{een}^{\wedge}$  20 'very much'.

In some cases it is difficult to know whether the first syllable is indeed high, eg.

loongá or loongá 23 'dish'.

It is noticeable that in all these cases the syllable in question has a long vowel; it may be that the second mora of a long vowel tends to be slightly lower in pitch than the first.

These features are again reminiscent of kiLeta, but there is also one last similarity - the distinctly rare occurrence of bridging. In the 24 lines of text sampled, only three examples of a bridge between words was found (ll. 16,31,42) - see 9.3.11. This lack of bridging may be due to the manner in which the texts were read, but the resemblance to kiLeta is interesting.

The sample passages are ll. 11-23, 30-38, and 42-46.

9.3: patterns in the text.

9.3.1: nominals with syllabic prefixes.

In most instances these show a shift of the high pitch:

- bánkaka 12 'some'
- múníngu 20,22 'tone' (cc. múníngu 11,19; múníngu 13;
- múníngu 22,34 'tones' (cc. múníngu 11,19; múníngu 13;
- mítatu 12 'three' / múníngu 30)
- míya 12 'four'
- bífwaani 19 'examples'
- bífwaadi 16 'examples'
- bízizi 43 'pictures'.

There are some examples of a prefix to root-syllable bridge:

- múníngu 11,19 'tones' (cc. 22,34; 13; 30)
- í<sub>A</sub>bífwaani 23 'they are the examples'

note also kílányaaŋgá 11 'kiManyanga'.

There are two instances of high pitch on the root-syllable:

- babíngi 35 'many' (cf. 8)
- múníngu 13 'tones'.

9.3.2: locatives.

- (i) shift: vaxímosi 38 'together'

- mum'loonga 32,33 'in sentences'  
 m'unki 33 'in what' (cf. k'unki 28)  
 note also m'usonga 16 'to show'  
 (ii) bridge: m'm'untu 13 'from person' (cf. ye-muuntu 13)  
 m'uz'unga 14 'from area' (cf. ye-zuunga 14)  
 m'ubri'uvu 37 'to the questions'  
 m'upoo'stye-ko 44 '(not) in the post'  
 note also m'lw'aka 45 'on arriving'.

## 9.3.3: genitives.

- (i) shift: by'anda 19 'longer'  
 my'anda 32,33 'longer'  
 z'ankak'a [mpe] 14 'some (also)' (cf. b'ankaka 12)  
 note also zak'iMany'aanga 36 'of kiManyanga'  
 (ii) bridge: z'amp'ova 18 'of the words' (cf. ye-mp'ova 18)  
 b'andz'eendza 37 'foreign'  
 'amin'ingu 14,32,17(?) 'of tones'  
 note also ky'a'nts'obolo 34 'of changes'  
 (iii) retention: andz'ila 33 'of a way'  
 af'ila 44 'of sending'  
 xambot'e 45 'alright'.

## 9.3.4: connectives:

- (i) shift: ye'-tuku 34 'and the origin'  
 ye-k'ud'ikila 15 'and nourish' (cf. ye-k'ud'ikila 9)  
 (ii) bridge: ye-m'untu 13 'to person'  
 ye-z'unga 14 'to area'  
 ye-mp'ova 18 'with words'  
 ye-b'andw'eenga 37 'and scholars'  
 note also ye'-min'ingu 11 'with tones'  
 (iii) retention: ye-t'oonta 33 'and try'  
 ye-s'onika 35 'and write up'  
 ye-bw'aabu 43 'to now'  
 ye-nt'angu 13 'and times'  
 ye-min'ingu 12 'with tones'.

## 9.3.5: anomalous patterns on verbs.

- (i) shift:           túsobele 20,20 'should we change'  
                   túbeki 31 'should we take'  
                   sí-twábaka 38 'we will get'  
                   mílendá 15,30 'they can'  
                   bálendá 21 'they can'  
                   túleendā 36 'we can'
- (ii) bridge(?):    zāsíkíla 38 'which are correct'.

## 9.3.6: conclusions.

As in previous texts it must be admitted that it seems hard to find any recurrent system in the data. There seems to be no common factor among words showing different pitch-patterns: placement in the sentence, position of pauses, function, and even tone-marking in Laman's dictionary (Laman 1936) all vary. Setting up tone-classes would in any case be open to the same criticisms as were discussed in 6.4.9.

General frequency of each pattern is, however, comparable to figures from the previous chapter (8.4.1). In the table below, the number of words with a certain pattern is given, and then expressed as a percentage of the total number of words in the passage:

	this text	AB (average)	Z
shift	30/169 18%	34+37/416 17%	42/208 20%
prefix to root-syllable bridge	20/169 12%	23+20/416 10%	9/208 4%
retention on root-syllable	9/169 5%	18+17/416 8%	27/208 13%
on last syllable (see 9.3.7)	15/169 9%	14+8/416 5%	5/208 2%
no high pitch (see 9.3.8)	22/169 13%	18+28/416 11%	32/208 15%

The most obvious conclusion to be drawn from the above table is that in four of the five categories this text most resembles versions A and B of the chapter 8 text. This is hardly surprising, since the same speaker is responsible for all three. The resemblance of this text to the Z version of the chapter 8 text, from a speaker of a southern dialect (cf. chapter 8, endnote 5), is not so close, but as will be seen in chapter 15 the two are closer to each other than

to any other text discussed in this thesis.<sup>1</sup>

It will be noticed that in this text there are 30 instances of shift, 20 of prefix to root-syllable bridge, and only 9 of retention of high pitch on the root-syllable. This last figure is lower than the equivalent figure for versions A and B, but in general the patterns in this text shed no light on the problem of the  $\check{v}$ - $\check{c}\check{v}$  pattern, and do not affect the arguments put forward in 8.4.5. The conclusion reached there, that  $\check{v}$ - $\check{c}\check{v}$  may possibly be a variant of the high pitch on root-syllable pattern, may apply here as well. If they are variants, it seems clear that in this text the prefix to root-syllable bridge is by far the commoner of the two. In fact, retention of high pitch on the root-syllable of an inflected word only occurs to any great extent with the connective prefix (9.3.4).

9.3.7: high pitch on the last syllable.

nzai<sup>l</sup>ú 17 'knowledge'  
 ntaangū <sup>←</sup>44, <sup>←</sup>45 'time'  
 mosí <sup>→</sup>18, <sup>→</sup>31 'one'  
 mbokí <sup>→</sup>19 'afterwards'  
 buná 38, 36(?) 'then'  
 naté 43 'until'  
 kaansí 44, 45 'but' (cc. kaansi <sup>→</sup>12, 21)  
 kyená 11 'it has'  
 baná 38 'they will' (cc. bana 9, 35)  
 lendá <sup>→</sup>17 'it can'  
 tulendá <sup>→</sup>30, 32 'we can'  
 note also bálendá <sup>→</sup>21 'they can'  
 mílendá 15, <sup>→</sup>30 'they can'  
 túleendá <sup>←</sup>36 'we can' (see also 9.3.9.iii).

9.3.8: words without high pitch.

subject: miníngu 30 (cc. 11, 19; 22, 34; 13)  
           bisi-nsi 37 'the inhabitants of a country'  
 object:  mosi <sup>←</sup>18, <sup>←</sup>31 'one'  
 adjunct: kaansi 12, 21 'but' (cc. kaansi 44, 45)

vava 16,23 'now'  
 boonso 30 'as'  
 kuAnvers 45 'to Anvers'

verbs: zeti 18 'which are'  
 ngina <sup>←</sup>19 'I will'  
 bana 9,35 'they will' (cc. banà 38)  
 soba <sup>←</sup>17, <sup>←</sup>31 'change'  
 kaamba 21,22 'to say'  
 zaaya <sup>←</sup>21 'know'  
 mona <sup>←</sup>30 'see'  
 ngyeti badika 18 'I am going to begin'.

It is noticeable that most of these words are components of a verbal complex (auxiliary verb + main verb); the anomalous patterns may therefore signal the close syntactic relationship of the items (cf. 7.4.7).

#### 9.3.9: auxiliary verbs.

##### (i) -eti 'am, are, is':

An examination of all instances in the text shows that -éti occurs 10 times, and can thus be taken as the base form. -eti occurs twice, in ngyeti badikè 18 'I am beginning' (which may have an element of assertion) and in zeti vovwa 18 'which are being spoken'. -eti occurs once in tweti kumulóombila 7 'we are praying for him'; this may be contrasted with twéti loómbila 'we are praying' in 5.

##### (ii) -(i)nə 'have' + nominal, 'will' + verbal:

Whereas -eti is always followed by an infinitive, -(i)nə may be followed by a nominal or a verbal. It is followed here by a nominal in 7 cases, and in 6 of these the pattern is -(í)nə. The exception is kyená yē- 11 'it has', which seems to be due to unusual pause placement - we would expect kyená yē-miníngu. When -(i)nə is followed by a verbal (5 cases), the pattern is -(i)nə in four cases (with exception banà 38 'they will'), ie. where -(i)nə is an auxiliary verb, it seems to have no prominence.

##### (iii) -lenda 'can':

The patterns on this auxiliary pose some problems. On the basis of lendá soba 17 'it can change', tulendá mona 30 'we can see', and

tulendá mpe 32 'we can also', we might postulate a base form \*-léndá, with subsequent shift of high pitch rightwards and deletion of high pitch on the following main verb to form a complex. But bálendá zaaya 21 'they can know' and mílendá soba 30 'they can change' seem to imply two shifts of high pitch leftwards, eg. a base form \*míléndá sóba. Yet while tulendá mpe 32 suggests that we have \*-léndá with shift rightwards because of mpe, mílendá mpe 15 'they can also' suggests a high pitch appearing from nowhere; if we have base form -léndá with shift rightwards, where does the high pitch on mí- come from?; and if the shift is leftwards, where does the high pitch on -ndá come from? We might assume mpe to have underlying high pitch, but why does it not show up in other cases, for example in 32? (See also 9.3.10.) Postulating -léndá with rightward shift for persons and leftward shift for classes is also impossible: we have tulendá mona 30 but túleendā bákā 36 'we can take'. It appears that the only way of reconciling these examples is to postulate a base form \*-lendá, with a high pitch on the prefix when this refers to one of the classes, and often with no high pitch on the following main verb. Túleendā remains anomalous, but may be emphatic. Here then is a further similarity to kiLeta (and perhaps kiNtandu) - we may have to postulate a few words (perhaps residual items in the lexicon) with final high pitch.

#### 9.3.10: other items.

We may note that vó in this idiolect seems always to have high pitch (16,20,31,38,44) - in other dialects, including Carter's kiMbanz' aKongo, it varies. Note, however, évo 'if' in 17 and 22.

Instances of mpe<sup>are</sup> /as follows:

- zánkaká mpe 14 'some also'
- mílendá mpe 15 'they can also'
- túsobele mpe 20 'should we change also'
- tulendá mpe 32 'we can also'
- dyáákā mpe 7 'also again'
- baaú mpe 9 'they also'
- mbokí mpe 10 'and afterwards'.

The first three examples suggest that mpe has a high pitch of its own,

but it is probably better to think of it as shifting the high pitch rightwards on most occasions, though, as with -lenda, it is difficult to come to firm conclusions because of the conflicting examples.

Examples of relative prefixes are as follows:

má-tuzòléle 21 'what we want'  
 bú-<sub>^</sub>yíkòondoló 45 'which suits [you]'  
 bí-tuvéeni 37 'which we have given'  
 bú-<sub>→</sub>tubbákæga 31 'when we take'.

It would seem that in these constructions there are two high pitches, one on the relative prefix and one on the root-syllable of the verb, though this basic pattern may be altered slightly by occurrence before pause, by emphasis, etc. Compare also

kà-byalweéki-ko 43 'they have not arrived',

with the same pattern of high pitch on negative element and root-syllable.

There is one example of a final falling pitch, possibly for emphasis: bēeni<sup>ˆ</sup> 20 'very much'.

### 9.3.11: bridges.

Most bridges on words are associated with occurrence before pause, eg. tsòboló 14, muníngú 17, mpòvá 31,31, ttòombá 33, zàáú 36, sàlá 42, xamboté 45, yíkòondoló 45. Báká in 44 occurs before ntængū - the fact that both words have 'anomalous' patterns may be significant.

Taking 'bridge' in its usual sense here of 'an assimilation of a low pitch to surrounding high pitches', there are only three real bridges between words in the sample passages:

vàna bífwæadi 16 'give examples'  
 mpòvā mosí mosi 31 'individual words'  
 bēti ttóma 42 'they are doing very much'.

There is one instance of a 'broken' bridge (see 6.4.11.1):

tsòboló<sub>^</sub> àmíníngu 14 'the variation of the tones'.

There are three instances of 'bridges' between úó and an initial

high pitch on the following word, though these are better described as juxtapositions than as true bridges:

vò ntsó**́**boló 'that the variation' 16  
 vò túb**́**ekí 31 'if we take'  
 vò kútub**́**aká 44 'if you don't get'.

The low frequency of real bridges is reminiscent of kiLeta (cf. chapter 11).

One rising bridge occurs in

bú<sup>→</sup>-tubbák**́**æŋǝ 31 'when we take'.

In a few other instances we find an 'up-step', ie. a lower high pitch and then a high pitch, which may be related to the phenomenon of rising bridge. Thus:

bunā túb**́**leendā bák**́**ǝ ... 36 'then we can obtain'  
 ... ntaangū mú<sup>^</sup><sub>44-45</sub> 'time on ...'  
 ... ntaangū bú<sup>^</sup><sub>45</sub> 'a time that ...'.

#### 9.3.12: conclusions.

All in all, the text can be described in the terms used for previous texts, though the occurrence of prefix to root-syllable bridge is much more frequent than elsewhere. If it is considered a variant of the pattern high pitch on root-syllable, as suggested in 8.4.5, we have the usual variation between shift and retention of high pitch common from other texts. It would seem that retention of high pitch on the root-syllable and/or bridge from prefix to root-syllable are the most common patterns where affixes are concerned (9.3.2-4), while shift of high pitch is most common with syllabic prefixes (9.3.1) and verbs (9.3.5). However, as in other texts, exceptions are difficult to account for. The anomalous patterns of high pitch on the last syllable (9.3.7) and no high pitch (9.3.8) correspond to those seen in previous texts, though they are proportionally rather fewer. The language of this text shows few bridges or emphatic patterns, and shows some interesting similarities to that of the specimen of kiLeta (chapter 11).

#### 9.4: minimal pairs.

There is one interesting part of this text (11. 23 ff.) where the speaker gives examples of minimal pairs. In the text as written by the



the items of the text and the meaning assigned to them. When putting these items into longer sentences, Mr. Ndolo may have forgotten which item of the pair came first; he then went back to the pairs and added the meanings of the words (as mentioned above, these are entered in ink of a different colour) following the order of the longer sentences (ll. 25-30). When he was asked to repeat the minimal pairs, he followed the order of the meanings, and this accounts for the switched patterns of pairs 1, 2 and 5.

The table can therefore be revised as follows:

1A	under	kúnsi	kúnsi	kúnsi	kúntsi
B	pillar	kuunsi	kuunsi	kunsi	--
2A	plough, cultivate	vətá	vətá	váta	-vátá
B	village	vátá	vátá	váta	vátá
3A	dish	loongá	loongá	longá	loóngá
B	educate, teach	longá	longá	longá	-loóngá
4A	village	búla	búla	búla (bulá)	--
B	distance, length	bulá	bulá	bulá (lā)	nndá
5A	weapon	butá	butá	butá (búta)	--
B	give birth to	búta	búta	búta	-wúta

We can now see the obvious correlation with Laman's and Carter's patterns. Only two contours appear on the words: rising (low pitch on the first syllable) and falling (high pitch on the first syllable) - see chapter 14. Strong stress coincides with high pitch except in two instances: 2B vátá (but note vátá in column 3), and 5B búta (but note búta in column 3). There would thus seem to be a good case for suggesting that these pairs show, not tonal contrast, but pitch-accent contrast<sup>2</sup> (cf. 3.5.4.2).

The fact that vátá 'village' and vətá 'cultivate' both have the pattern vátá in Laman's and Carter's versions suggests that there the two patterns may have fallen together, or that there is a certain amount of variation in the particular class to which a word may be assigned (this is already apparent from other comparative data - see chapter 14)<sup>3</sup>.

Perhaps most intriguing of all is the question of why these two patterns should not appear consistently in the text. This is especially obvious when the words cited occur in longer utterances (ll. 25-30) - here they all have high pitch on the root-syllable, with the exception of 3B longá. As it seems otherwise unnecessary (and even impossible) to distinguish between falling and rising word-classes (cf. 6.4.9), we must conclude that words in isolation may be distinguished as to falling or rising class, but that this distinction may disappear when the words are placed in context in connected speech: their contours are then conditioned by external factors such as occurrence with certain prefixes, occurrence in a certain syntactic environment, focus, emphasis, and so on. These points will be more fully discussed in chapters 12 and 14.

#### 9.5: other research: Laman.

Since kiManyanga is the dialect in which Laman did most work, it will be of interest to see if there are any correlations between his work and the text as discussed above. Laman 1922 has been discussed in depth in an unpublished paper, of which Donnelly 1980 is an abbreviated version. Brief references only will therefore be made to Laman 1922, and the main emphasis here will be on discussing Laman's view of kiKongo pitch as set out in the 'Musical Tones' section (pp. xii-xxxvii) of the introduction to Laman 1936. What he says here is a summary of his earlier work<sup>4</sup>, but there is some revision and advance, mainly in the area of general formulations. All quotations are translated from the original French.

#### 9.5.1: pitch features.

Laman first describes what he sees as the role musical tones play in a language. In European languages, he says, we can speak of 'an emotive tone or a syntactic tone serving to modify the sense of a word in a certain position, to accentuate the expression of one thought at the expense of another'. (para.9) In most African languages, however, the tones 'serve also to distinguish different fundamental ideas expressed by the words of the language ... We can therefore speak of a tone of signification (a semantic or etymological tone), and also of a grammatical or syntactic tone'. (para.10) Laman seems here to be trying to express the difference between what we now call intonation and tone.

He notes that pitch is relative - a great advance on Laman 1922, when he held that it was absolute. (para.13) He also recognises downdrift, though he does not use this term - a hl pattern usually extends over 5 or 6 semitones, while a lh pattern extends only over 3 (para.14) - cf. also 9.5.4.3. He contends that tone is an integral part of the syllable (para.17) and concludes that 'the semantic tone of a word seems to be the same in all dialects, even the <sup>''</sup>a [acute] tone, in spite of the variations which it undergoes according to the various spoken forms' (para.18) -cf. chapter 14.

#### 9.5.2: intensity.

There is 'an intimate correlation between the tone of a syllable on the one hand and its intensity and duration on the other ... A final syllable with a tone higher than the preceding syllable always has great intensity ... A syllable, even a prefix, with a tone higher than the following syllable is often the most intense [in the word]'. (para.19) Laman seems to be saying that intensity is usually associated with high pitch, but he also cautions us that 'this melodic intensity should not be confused with what is called in general the accent of intensity, or even, quite simply, the accent'. (para.19) 'In Kongo, words have, as a rule, the principal (etymological) accent [primary stress, called root-stress in Laman 1922] on the root-syllable, and a secondary (rhythmic) accent, fairly strong, on the penultimate [perhaps penultimate length]. The melodic intensity can more or less weaken the etymological accent on the root-syllable, but this latter can never become atonal [ie. totally without accent]'. (para.20)

It is unclear what exactly Laman means here. Perhaps he is saying that there is an expected pattern of intensity in the word, but that where this 'clashes' with the pitch pattern the place of intensity is moved to coincide with the high pitch. This seems apparent from para.21, where he gives the examples kɪbɛ [- ˀ] 'walk' and kɪbɛ [ˀ -] 'wound'. Here the intensity is on the root-syllable in the second example (where it happens to coincide with the high pitch), but in the first example the root-syllable intensity has been 'weakened' by the 'melodic intensity' of the rising 'melody', so that it is the final syllable (which also bears the high pitch) which is the most intense. This interpretation would also account for Laman's comment

in para.21 that 'the melodic intensity has a semantic and grammatical function', for the rising and falling contours do of course have these functions. The three paragraphs 19-21 are an example of Laman's tendency (frequently apparent in Laman 1922) to establish various categories, related by 'rules', for particular parts of the data, rather than trying to formulate general principles that would hold good over several parts of the data. However, it does seem clear that his comments agree with the findings of 3.5.4.

#### 9.5.3: tonal classes.

In para.22 Laman distinguishes 'four very characteristic tones [which] serve to form the four principal tonal classes, which are the origin of the semantic tones and the grammatical tones. They also constitute the principle for the melodic notation in the dictionary'. These four tones are:

- (1) à, 'low tone', 'indicating the grave class with rising melody';  
[- -];
- (2) ¨a, 'strongly accentuated high tone', 'indicating the double acute class with falling melody'; [- -];
- (3) á, 'high tone', 'indicating the acute class with falling melody';  
[- -];
- (4) ā, 'mid tone', 'indicating the mid (mid-acute) class with uniform [ie. level] melody'; [- -].

#### 9.5.3.1: the acute pitch.

Laman discusses the 'double acute tone' (called the 'acute pitch' in Laman 1922) in paras.23 and 24. This pattern is interesting in that it straddles the boundary between rising and falling classes. Laman had had occasion to refer to it many times in the earlier work, but now he seems to have a better idea of how it might fit into his classification of the patterns. 'The double acute tone (¨a) is a constant tone. The ordinary acute tone (á) is on the contrary a variable tone. The difference between the two tones is often very difficult to grasp. But in inflection and in derivation this difference is apparent in the variations of the acute tone'. (para.23) In other words, Laman sets up the two different classes on the basis of the different behaviour of the words in context, even if in isolation there is little difference in the contour.

He attempts to account for the double acute tone by reference to dialectal variation. 'The double acute tone is a grammatical tone as well as a semantic tone. It should be understood that it constitutes a variation of the grave tone [ie. the rising pattern, (1) above]. This noteworthy double acute tone is produced - for grammatical reasons as often as semantic ones - by a replacement of the original rising melodic intensity [- ˩] ... by a falling one [- ˨]', for example, n̄lɔngɪ [- ˩] 'schoolmaster', l̄lɔngɪ [˩ -] 'lesson'. 'In Bembe, verbs and substantives have retained the same strongly accentuated and falling acute tone, [eg. l̄anda [˩ -] 'follow']. But in other dialects: l̄anda [˩ -]. It seems that, in some dialects of the North and South, the fall of the tone has disappeared and the grave tone only remains', eg. l̄anda [- ˩]. (para.24)

The number of possible patterns here for words in the same tone-class is striking, especially when we consider that this same tone-class shows most variation in the vocabulary lists of other researchers such as Daeleman and Carter (see chapter 14, and Appendix 5/3). In this paragraph Laman has referred to the following patterns:

- (i) [- ˩], (ii) [˩ -]<sup>5</sup>, (iii) [˩ -], (iv) [˩ -], (v) [˩ -].

His comments on Bembe and the Northern and Southern dialects suggest that Laman thought of the acute falling contour<sup>6</sup> as 'original', and that this developed into the rising contour. However, a number of factors in his own work (eg. the lesser frequency of the acute falling contour as opposed to the rising contour, the fact that the rising contour is subject to further variation while the acute falling contour is not -cf. 9.5.6.1,2) actually suggest the opposite, and the rare occurrence of the rising contour in the texts I have analysed would tend to support this. We might therefore picture the arrangement of patterns above as a development, resulting in a transference of the high pitch from the final to the first syllable (though the place of (iii) in this derivation is arguable, and may in fact represent a divergent line of development). This derivation would also account for the lack of further variation with the acute falling contour, since it is already a derived contour.

The fact that Laman considers the complex of patterns related to

the acute pitch as dialectal variants is some advance on his earlier work. It shows, not only that he now has some idea of underlying forms (cf. my comments on Laman 1927 in Donnelly 1980), but that kiKongo words may have a variety of surface patterns (cf. the example vembo 'shoulder' [ / ~ \ ] or [ \ . ] in para.17). If there is this variety of realisations for the rising class, it would mean that it would be more open to influence from the falling class, which has only two realisations, falling and level (see 14.3). The shift of high pitch resulting from the (i-v) development above would also mean that there was some precedent for the convergence of the rising and falling classes. I have argued for both these points in 14.13.

#### 9.5.4: function of pitch.

Laman considers 'tones' (ie. pitch) to have four main functions: 'According to their use and their signification, we have the following tones: (i) semantic or etymological tones indicating a determinate meaning for the isolated word; (ii) grammatical or syntactic tones indicating a grammatical relationship for the word in the phrase; (iii) emotive tones indicating various sentiments; (iv) tones of the phrase, indicating at the end of the phrase the desired effect, either greatly rising or greatly falling'.<sup>7</sup> (para.30) Again, the paragraph shows that Laman had a clear idea of the different possible uses of pitch in the language, and it is a pity that he did most of his work on (i) and (ii) only, and wrote little about (iii) and (iv). The four functions Laman distinguishes will be discussed in turn, drawing on his comments.

##### 9.5.4.1: semantic and syntactic pitch.

Laman has assigned each word to one of four tone-classes (see 9.5.3), and since minimal pairs occur (eg. kibá 'walk', kíba 'wound'), pitch can be said to play a semantic role in differentiating meaning. Table I (Laman 1936, pp. xix-xxiv) 'Comparative Tables of the Semantic Tonal Classes and their Tonal Forms' gives a more detailed description of the four tonal classes than was possible in para.22.<sup>8</sup> The various contours occurring in each class over words of different length are exemplified and marked using the basic system of four diacritics.

However, the 'semantic tonal classes ... are subject to numerous

modifications, because there also exist grammatical and syntactic tonal classes in the inflections as well as according to the position of words in the phrase'. (para.31) That is, in Laman's opinion, 'The tone of a syllable and the tones (melody) of a word or group of words depend, leaving accent [ie. intensity] and duration out of consideration, on the following four facts:

- (a) the tonal class in question;
- (b) the position in the word or in the phrase;
- (c) the initial phoneme and the internal one [ie. elision];
- (d) the neighbouring tones.' (para.26)

He believes that 'one can indicate fixed rules for the musical tones of Kongo'. (para.25)

In the context of Laman's systematisation (and to some extent outside that context) these comments seem to be true, and Laman discusses them in succeeding paragraphs. The tonal class (a) is obviously of importance in determining the final pattern of the word, and elision (c) may condition this pattern, as indeed it does in Carter's dialect (Carter 1973, pp. 150-1). Para.28 shows the effects of elision on the contours.

The reference to 'position' (b) may be a reminder that significant pitch is relative and not absolute (cf. para.13), but it is also possible that Laman may be using the word to mean 'sequence' or even 'function'. In simple terms, a noun occurring before a verb is a subject, while a noun occurring after a verb is an object; likewise, a syllable occurring after, for example, the genitive element, may well have a pitch other than it would normally have, as Laman endeavours to demonstrate in para.27. Here he gives some examples of the 'tonal laws' referred to in para.25 as they apply to the genitive, their function being to 'harmonise and assimilate'. Dealing first with the a tone-class, Laman gives four rules: assigning a high pitch to the genitive element, lowering a high pitch after a high pitch, raising a low pitch after a high pitch, and lowering all syllables after a raised pitch. The four together can be simply rephrased as 'the genitive element moves the high pitch of the word one syllable leftwards', eg. *kála* 'coal', *mákála* 'coals', *-ákála* 'of the coal', *-ámákála* 'of the coals'.<sup>9</sup> This may not be exactly the reference we would give to 'position/sequence/function' nowadays, but the general idea does seem to be

valid: Carter (1973) made syntactic sequence a cornerstone of her systematisation, and position relative to certain items such as predicator is of some importance in describing bridging in Daeleman's (1966) and van den Eynde's (1968) systematisations.

By his reference to 'neighbouring tones' (d) Laman may again be referring to relative pitch, but it is more likely that he means the general 'texture' of the language, or the dialectal accent, in view of his comments in para.29. Here he discusses 'intonation', by which we should understand, not intonation in the modern sense, but the more original meaning of 'melody'. 'As for intonation, it is not the same in all the dialects. In the speech of Kingoyi, for example, one 'sings' - in other words, the voice rests for a longer time on certain tones in the melody of the words, such that the intonation becomes more marked and approaches a chant. In the Mazinga dialects, on the other hand, the usual melody of the words becomes a richer modulation, which renders the tones of this dialect hard to grasp. [cf. Laman 1922, articles 19,20,126,128.] ... In the Northern dialects the tone of the prefix has a greater influence than in the other [dialects].' (para.29) Laman is therefore trying to say that the realised pitch pattern of a word depends to some extent on the general pitch system in the dialect in question, which is unarguable. Unfortunately, his tantalising comments give only a glimpse of the possibilities - for example, how far are the variant patterns discussed here a case of intonational perturbation in the dialect concerned, and how far a case merely of variant realisation for the same underlying tones?

In the context of the systematisation proposed in this thesis, the four facts listed in para.26 are of some relevance. Tonal class (a) has not been a major part of this analysis (see 6.4.9, 14.13), and there has been no cause to propose special realisation rules for (c) elision. However, tonal classes for words in isolation are quite likely (see 9.4), and (b) position in the word or phrase and (d) influence of neighbouring tones have both been taken as integral conditioning factors for the realised contours. It has been suggested many times (in 8.4.2 to take just one example) that to account for the patterns fully we must take into consideration the phrase as a whole, and not just the individual words.

## 9.5.4.2: emotive pitch.

Para.33 repeats what was said in para.18 about the 'onomatopoeic nature' of the tones; Laman considers that this has an effect on the intonation or melody: 'Concerning the emotive tone in Kongo, where affection [ie. emotion] does not play the same role at all as in European languages, we consider that the intonation has entirely different causes'. Laman seems to imply that the intonation of the sentence does not depend on the emotional state of the speaker at the time of the utterance, as in European languages, but on the semantic reference of the words. It is difficult to see how this interpretation differs from the previous descriptions of lexical and grammatical tones - indeed, examples of the latter are included in this paragraph: genitive, locative, imperfect, future, and even the imperative, eg. tála 'to look', tala! 'look!'. It may be that Laman was hampered by the difficulties of conceptualising tonal phenomena at the time he was writing, for it is plain that he means something more, otherwise he would not discuss it in a separate section.

The clue may be that he talks of a 'raised melodic intensity [ie. pitch contour] ... serving to express, for example, a rapid movement, ... great intensity, ... a shout', etc., eg. maálu 'quickly', but maálu-maálu 'very quickly'. Likewise, 'the weakening of the melodic intensity [ie. a lowering of the pitch contour] expresses, for example, a slow movement, ... an order', etc., eg. kúnu 'nearby', but kunu-kunu 'very close by'. It will be obvious that these comments are reminiscent of phenomena already discussed in previous chapters: bridging, use of different keys, and relevance of these to emphasis.

Laman may here be struggling to express the fact that there is a type of 'emotive tone' in kiKongo, used in limited contexts, even if there is not the full range of emotionally-based intonation found in some European languages. The texts I have previously discussed are certainly amenable to this interpretation. The only way he can express this is to say that the 'emotive tone' is due to a certain 'melodic intensity' or pitch contour associated with qualities possessed by the words in the phrase. But of course he then has the problems of trying to explain (i) why a similar 'melodic intensity' (eg. on verb forms or the genitive) should not have a similar effect, and (ii) how

the 'melodic intensity' associated with qualities the words express is different from the semantic tones of the words (cf. also 12.4). These difficulties perhaps explain why his comments are hard to understand. His ideas here are a slight advance on those in Laman 1922, since here he refers to whole contours, not just specific pitches such as high, low or acute, having the 'emotive' effect, but all in all his statements are still not clear enough.

#### 9.5.4.3: phrase pitch.

Laman next discusses the 'phrase tone' (para.34): 'This tone is modified according to the contents of the phrase as well as according to the different tonal classes. We have already said that one can make certain words in the phrase stand out by giving them raised or lowered tones, a richer modulation. [*Italics mine.*] These emotional tonal groups are however influenced and modified by the neighbouring tonal groups in the same way that the tone of one syllable influences that of another. Thus the tones of the phrase progressively approach each other<sup>10</sup> (lit. become equal), except at the end [of the phrase], where, rising very high or descending very low, [the tones] arrive at a culminating point, which consequently indicates the desired effect'.

Laman seems to be describing here something like the pausal phenomena mentioned by the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga (see 8.6.1.iii). According to the latter, high pitch at the end of the phrase (of which pausal upturn is the most common example) denoted continuity or 'unfinishedness', whereas low pitch denoted finality or completeness. Such an interpretation would fit Laman's comments, though of course it should not be ruled out that he has in mind some other type of contour, denoting emphasis.

He refers to a transcription in Laman 1922, pp. 135-40 of a quarrel between two women: 'The study of these examples shows us (i) that one tonal group is easily distinguished from others; (ii) that, in accented words, the interval [ie. the pitch range] is greater; (iii) that the tones of the phrase have a levelling influence on the tonal groups to render the tonal effect at the end [of the phrase] so much the greater'. He gives the sample sentence

eh, mama nge Masúmbu kamba makutu maku ↓téelé'?

'hey you, Mrs. Masumbu, tell me, are you listening properly? (?)'

The paragraph again raises echoes of phonological phrases, Carter's tone-phrases, pausal phenomena, emphasis, and neutralisation of tonal differences (perturbation). The last part of the paragraph definitely suggests that the contours of words in context may be significantly different from those of the same words in isolation.

9.5.5: conclusions.

Laman's essay might have been better if it had been a new work, instead of simply a re-working of Laman 1922. It follows the plan of the earlier work fairly closely, and this means that little space is given to aspects such as emotive tone or phrase tone. Laman's theories are a little muddled by modern standards, but are still serviceable, and with a little interpretation can tell us a lot about the kiKongo pitch system as he has abstracted it.<sup>11</sup> His comments in para.24 on pitch variation according to different dialects is interesting, since it shows the variety of contours possible in one tone-class. This may have relevance in discussing vocabulary comparison, though his terminology is not so precise as we might perhaps wish. His references to intonation, emotive tone and phrase tone all bring to mind comments by other researchers, as I have pointed out above. The existence of these similarities in the descriptions implies that there is indeed a certain core of features in the kiKongo use of pitch which has been apparent to those who have worked at different times with different dialects, even though they have chosen to put this core in the context of different systematisations.

9.5.6: Table III.

Further evidence that kiKongo, even in Laman's systematisation, may have unexplained contour variation becomes apparent when we study closely Table III, 'Comparative Tables of the Tonal Declensions of Substantives' (Laman 1936, pp. xxxiv-xxxv). This table gives examples of words from the three tone-classes à, á, and á (which includes ā) - cf. para.22. Examples are then given of the contours of these words in the genitive, with a possessive pronoun or demonstrative, and in the

locative. Some interesting variations in the contours of individual words are noticeable, about which there are no explicit rules in either Laman 1922 or 1936.

#### 9.5.6.1: the $\grave{a}$ class.

Taking the rising ( $\grave{a}$ ) class first, we notice tokó 'young man', but -àtóko 'of the young man' and -amàtokó 'of the young men'; also ngondá 'moon', -ángondá 'of the moon'. It will be recalled that Laman refrains from proposing rules for the rising class genitive in para.27, but the impression he gave in Laman 1922, article 82 was that the contour was almost level. With the tokó examples, this can be seen to be a partial description, but for the ngondá example it is plainly not even that. In my examination of Laman 1922 (Donnelly 1980), I came to the conclusion that the genitive element tended to shift the high pitch one syllable to the left - again, this partially explains -àtóko but not -amàtokó or -ángondá. The question is not a simple one, but it is revealing to note the general similarities to various contour patterns in the text by Mr. Ndolo discussed above. There is a further similarity in that many locative examples in Laman's table have high pitch on both locative prefix and root-syllable, eg. in this class, mongó 'mountain', kùmóngo 'to the mountain', vàmóngo 'on the mountain';<sup>12</sup> ngo 'leopard', mùngó 'about the leopard'; dyambú 'matter', mùdyambu 'about the matter'.

Other examples of unexplained variation are muntú 'person, man', but kwámuntu 'to the person', muntu ámi 'my husband (?)', muntú wau 'this man', wau muntu 'the man (?)', muntu ú 'that man (?)'. Note again the apparently varying length of the root-syllable. Also kandá 'family', but dyádi kánda 'the family (?)'. This is comparable to wau muntu in that the preceding demonstrative attracts the high pitch one syllable leftwards, but note the bridge in the second example. Note also the differing contours of kandá dyami 'my family' and muntú ámi, showing that the pitch behaviour before possessives cannot be predicted with the rules Laman has given us.

#### 9.5.6.2: the $\acute{a}$ class.

Going on to the acute class ( $\acute{a}$ ), it is clear that what Laman says about it being more 'stable' is very true. Nevertheless, there is the interesting point that he cites kandá dyami 'my palm-tree' when

talking about the  $\acute{a}$  class in para.27, but that this appears here as  $k\acute{a}nda\ dy\acute{a}mi < k\grave{a}nda$  'palm-tree'. It may be that  $k\acute{a}nda\ dy\acute{a}mi$  in para.27 is a misprint (cf.  $k\acute{a}nda\ dy\acute{a}mi < k\acute{a}nda$  'family'), but if it is not, it suggests that the acute falling and the rising contour are not only variations, but interchangeable. This in turn raises the question of how important the rising contour is. It will have been noticed that in most of the inflected examples cited in 9.5.6.1 the rising contour is replaced by a falling one; as I have suggested elsewhere (eg. 14.13, cf. 16.3.2.2, 9.5.3.1), this may have been the original reason for the convergence of the falling and rising classes. The place of the acute class in such a development is intriguing - is it a distinct class, or an intermediate stage? Arguments for the second view are easy to find, but in favour of the first view we must note that the rising and acute falling classes show different behaviour with locative and genitive prefixes, in that these prefixes do not have high pitch in the latter class.

#### 9.5.6.3: the $\acute{a}$ class.

Anomalous variation is also manifest in the falling class ( $\acute{a}$ ). It will be remembered that we concluded from Laman's para.27 that the genitive contour for this class could be accounted for by postulating a shift of the basic high pitch one syllable leftwards (9.5.4.1). But this does not happen in  $mw\acute{a}na$  'child',  $-ámwana$  'of the child'. There are also the examples  $-ak\grave{o}oko$  'of the arm' and  $-ad\grave{i}isu$  'of the eye'. Note that these nouns all have vowel-commencing stems; Laman may also have been uncertain about their classification -  $d\grave{i}isu$ , for example, is marked with the acute pitch in Laman 1922. There are further examples of high pitch on both prefix and root-syllable, as often occurred in Mr. Ndolo's texts:  $k\grave{u}f\acute{u}la$  'to the path',  $k\grave{u}nk\acute{e}nge$  'to the market',  $v\grave{a}mw\acute{a}na$  'on the child',  $m\grave{u}nk\acute{u}mbu$  'in the name',  $m\grave{u}l\acute{a}nda$  'in order to follow'.

An interesting set of examples is  $mf\acute{u}mu$  'king',  $m\grave{u}mf\acute{u}mu$  'about the king',  $dy\acute{a}mf\acute{u}mu$  'of the king',  $mf\acute{u}m\acute{u}\ yi$  'that king (?)',  $mf\acute{u}m\acute{u}\ y\acute{a}ayi$  'this king',  $y\acute{a}ayi\ mf\acute{u}mu$  'the king (?)'. The pairs  $y\acute{a}ayi\ mf\acute{u}mu/w\grave{a}u\ m\acute{u}ntu$  and  $mf\acute{u}m\acute{u}\ y\acute{a}ayi/m\grave{u}nt\acute{u}\ w\acute{a}u$  suggest that succeeding demonstratives are less prominent and therefore have no high pitch of their own, while preceding demonstratives (= definite articles?) are more

prominent and do have a high pitch.

9.5.6.4: other examples.

Two miscellaneous examples are *bàbonsóŋ* 'all', and *-ábakénto* 'of the women'. Note that the latter has two high pitches, as happened once or twice in Mr. Ndolo's text in chapter 8. This suggests (along with other similarities pointed out above) that Laman's data and Mr. Ndolo's speech are broadly comparable (see also 9.6).

9.5.6.5: conclusions.

It can therefore be seen that the examples in this table provide some good evidence for a large degree of overlap for the tone-classes in context. In the face of this evidence, it would seem that there are only two choices to be made: either (1) we must postulate more tone-classes (in fact, Daeleman and Carter could be said to have taken this approach), or (2) the factors conditioning pitch contour changes have not been fully described. In turn, when we consider the correlations of vocabulary items (see chapter 14), and see that there is a recurrent two-fold grouping, it would seem that the second choice is the most likely one. It is this that I would argue for, suggesting that factors of emphasis or focus ('emotive tone' and 'phrase tone', as Laman calls them) may have played a part in the realisation of the contours<sup>13</sup> in Laman's examples, though he never described these phenomena systematically.

9.5.7: other tables.

9.5.7.1: Table II.

Table II, 'Comparative Tables of the Tonal Conjugations of Verbs' (Laman 1936, pp. xxv-xxxiii) sets out the tonal behaviour of various tenses and verbal forms in 8 sections, the first six of which deal with 'primitive verbs', and the last two with 'derived verbs'. These tables are a great advance on the way the data were dealt with in Laman 1922, though it is only the first three sections, dealing with the most common tenses, that contain enough examples from which to draw firm conclusions about verbal contours.<sup>14</sup> There is a major difference between rising and falling/level classes in that the former has a high pitch on the prefix only very rarely, whereas in

the latter class this or the root-syllable is the most common place for the high pitch.

Examination of these first three sections of the table show that where verbal inflections of disyllabic radicals are concerned, there is no real difference between falling and level classes, so that there is really only a two-way distinction between rising and falling classes (later researchers such as Carter and Daeleman have come to similar conclusions in their systematisations). Laman may have realised this, because in the next four sections of his table he makes no reference to the level class. Section 4 deals with interrogative forms, while Section 5 gives examples of various negative forms. Section 6 exemplifies the infixed object substitute, and the last two sections deal with what Laman calls 'derived verbs': relatives in Section 7, and passives in Section 8.

Laman concludes with some examples which he quoted in Laman 1922, and which, I argued in Donnelly 1980, imply contour variation due to focus:

màkáyá mā-nkómbele 'the leaves that I swept away'  
 makáyá mà-nkómbele 'the leaves with which I swept'  
 mbéki ngàngá 'I caught the doctor'  
 ngàngá mbeki 'I caught the doctor'  
 mbéndí ngàngá 'I hit the doctor (?)'.

#### 9.5.7.2: Table IV.

Table IV, 'Comparative Tables of the Tonal Formations of Words' (Laman 1936, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii) gives examples of extended verbs (Section 1), deverbative nouns (Section 2), and derived nouns (Section 3). The secondary formations seem to follow fixed patterns: thus, falling verbs longer than two syllables have a level contour in the infinitive (which again shows that falling and level classes are merely two parts of one larger grouping); in derived nouns, the prefix has low tone, unless it precedes a nasal (augment), in which case it has high tone. More information and examples are given in Laman 1922, chapter 5.

## 9.5.7.3: conclusions.

Much more could be said on the data in these two tables, but this much is included to show that Laman's systematisation takes account of most of the grammatical areas of the language. The main shortcoming of these sections of the analysis is that Laman makes little attempt to formulate general rules for the patterns, and does no more than list the examples.

## 9.6: comparison of passages.

Following the practise of other chapters, a portion of Ndolo's text (N) will be compared to the same text marked according to the principles outlined in Laman 1936 (L).

## 9.6.1: same contours.

Leaving aside conditioning of contours by pausal features, etc. (eg. L mpóva / N mpòvá 31 'words'), we notice that there is a high degree of correlation between the two sets of contours. Of the 142 words in the passage (ll. 11-23, 30-38), almost half (70) show a coincidence of high pitch, eg. ndwéngə zéeto 15 'our knowledge', nkí tuzólele 21-22 'what we want', évo (passim) 'whether', vó banə sála vakímosi 38 'if they will work together', etc.

In several cases one of two high pitches in L matches one in N, eg.

L zám-pova / N zàmpòva 18 'of the words'  
 múbyuuvu / mùbyúuvu 37 'to the questions'  
 múzuungə / mùzúungə 14 'from area'  
 ye-bəndwéengə bəndzèendza / ye-bəndwéengə bəndzèendza 37  
 'and foreign scholars'.

It would seem that these could easily be accounted for by postulating a difference in tonological rule between the two dialects (where L's dialect says 'shift the high pitch leftwards', N's says 'spread the high pitch leftwards'), and so examples like these have been counted in this section.

## 9.6.2: similar contours.

There are also about another 50 words where the contours are very similar, and where recognition of certain simple principles produces more coincidence:

- (i) although L's dialect regularly has final high pitches, these are much less common in N - we must postulate a tendency in the latter for the high pitch to 'gravitate' towards the root-syllable, eg.

L bəzonsaəngá / N bəzónsaəngə 12 'they speak'  
 maəmbú / mə́mbu 20 'things'  
 baəntú / báantu 21,35 'people'  
 longuká / lónguka 32 'study'  
 vuuvú / vúúvu 35 'hope'  
 ndongokoló / ndóngokolo 36 'researches'.

- (ii) this tendency in N to avoid final high pitch leads to monosyllabic stems having their high pitch shifted to the penultimate (this may also apply in L, but since this is uncertain the words have been marked as if it does not apply), eg.

L miyá / N m'iyə 12 'four'  
 byandá / byánda 19 'longer'  
 munkí / múnki 33 'in what'  
 (?) ngyetí / ngyéti 16 'I am'.

- (iii) in N such verbal contours as m'isobaəngá L13,34 'they change' are realised as m'isóbaəngə N13,34; again, the high pitch seems to gravitate to the root-syllable. There is also a parallel in the fact that verbs with level basic contour appear to be a subset of the falling class - cf. 9.5.7.1.

- (iv) also in this section are:

- (a) L əmín'ingu / N əmín'ingu 32 'of the tones', which appears to be a variant of the spreading rule mentioned in 9.6.1;  
 (b) L mumíloəngə / N mum'iloəngə 33 'in sentences', which implies stating that the acute pitch does not exist in N, or at any rate is not so stable as it is in L (this is already implied in the spreading rule (9.6.1) above, cf. L bəndz'éendzə / N bəndz'éendzə 37 'foreign');  
 (c) L bifwáani / N bifw'aani 19 'examples'; L mun'ingu / N mún'ingu 22 'tone'; these imply that in certain cases a syllabic prefix can trigger a high pitch shift.

- (v) there are a few examples which seem to be related, even though it is not entirely clear how we might account for them, eg.

L mǐléndá mpe / N mǐléndá mpe 15 'they can also'  
 baléndá zǎáya / baléndá zǎaya 21 'they can know'.

### 9.6.3: different contours.

In the third section are 22 words whose contours in L cannot really be related in any consistent way to their contours in N. It is intriguing to note that these are almost the same sequences which were difficult to describe in my discussion of the text (9.3), and which necessitated the postulation of some non-tonological factor such as emphasis to account for them. It would appear that Laman's systematisation too would find these sequences difficult to deal with.

Eg. L zetì vóvwa / N zetì vóvwa 18 'which are being spoken'  
 ngyeti bádika / ngyeti bádika 18 'I am going to begin'  
 kaambá / kaamba 21,22 'to say'  
 váva / ↑vava 23 'now'  
 bóonso tuléndá móna míningu / ↑boonso .tuléndá mona .míningu  
 30 'as we can see, the tones ...' (note that this sequence occurs when the speaker is launching into a new part of his text, after giving the examples).

### 9.6.4: conclusions.

The degree of close correlation between the two texts is therefore in the order of 70%: 70 examples from 9.6.1 + at least 30 from 9.6.2 = 100/142. This is no small proportion when we consider the time difference (about 50-60 years), the fact that Laman's systematisation was not based on Ndolo's idiolect, and the fact that Ndolo's contours may have been influenced somewhat by emphasis. The differences between the two texts are also illuminating since they suggest that slightly different tonological rules apply in each text: spread of high pitch instead of shift, rarity of final high pitch, greater tendency for high pitch to occur on the root-syllable, apparent lack of acute pitch, etc. all mark off Ndolo's idiolect as opposed to Laman's systematisation.

### 9.7: comments on variant contours.

In general, Mr. Ndolo said, he tends to use French more now than his native language. He speaks the Nsundi-Lutete dialect of kiManyanga, but there are other dialects in Luozi, Kibuunzi and Mongolwala. The last seems to be furthest away from his dialect - 'that is the worst; they

speaking like a kind of Cockney, you can't really understand [it]. But still they say they are speaking Manyanga. They have a tendency to drop consonants.' When told of Laman's northern dialects, he said, 'I know Kingoyi, but I don't know what he means by Mazinga.'

- (i) When some of Laman's phrases were repeated to him, Mr. Ndolo in most cases did not show the same contours or distinctions. For example, Laman differentiates between kímfumu 'authority' and kímfúmu 'kingdom', but Mr. Ndolo knew only kímpfumu for both meanings. He noted, 'The problem is, it is a long way since he did his work ... it may be just one word now'.
- (ii) Laman also gives ku-yízólele 'where it wants' and ku-bazólele 'where they want' - these should theoretically have the same pattern, since they are both third person forms. It appears that the difference is correlated with tense. Mr. Ndolo immediately recognised ku-bazólele, and when asked if ku-bázólele was possible, said that it implied past time. Thus: béele<sub>1</sub>enge kú-<sub>Λ</sub> kú-bazólele, béele<sub>1</sub> kú-bazólele, béele<sub>2</sub> kú-bazólele: 'that's saying just today, the present ... they are going where they want'. But: bayele<sub>1</sub> kú-bázólele, bayele<sub>2</sub> kú-bázólele, mbéele<sub>1</sub> kú-bázólele, bayele<sub>2</sub> kú-bázólele: 'that's in the past ... they went where they wanted to go'. It is probable that the two forms have different morphological structure: \*ku-ba-zol-ele for the present, and \*ku-b(a)-á-zol-ele for the past. Note that the relative prefix in the examples has high pitch in most instances (cf. 9.3.10), and that a high pitch often occurs on the penultimate syllable, especially when the preceding syllable is low-pitched.
- (iii) There do seem to be similar emphatic processes in Mr. Ndolo's dialect as in that of the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga. Asked about the phrase 'since that time', Mr. Ndolo produced tuuka ntaangu yíin<sub>2</sub>, ↓tuuka ntaangu yóoy<sub>0</sub>. Asked if tuukà ntaangu yóoyo was possible, Mr. Ndolo said, 'tuukà ntaangu yóoyo means you are a bit surprised ... tuuká ntaangu yóoy<sub>0</sub> - since I left you, you haven't done that'. Note that the first instance shows a bridge between the two high pitches of the second instance. It will be remembered that for the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga the phrase with contour /  / also had an element of emphasis associated with it. Asked if tuúka ntaangu yóoyo was possible, Mr. Ndolo said, 'I don't think so, but you

could use it in joking, just changing your way of speaking', again showing that pitch contours can be varied for effect.

(iv) Mr. Ndolo gave one further example of a possible minimal pair.

He said that makabu meaning 'groups' and meaning 'shares, gifts' differed by 'a slight variation in the tone'. But the examples are hard to interpret: makabú (3 instances) 'groups'; makabu, makábu 'shares'. However, in the phrase makabu memoonsono 'all the groups' the pattern was makábu.

#### 9.8: summary.

The text is amenable to description in the terms used for previous texts (9.3.13), though it does have the noticeable individual feature of prefix to root-syllable bridging (9.3.6), also seen in the chapter 8 text. The patterning shows some general similarities to that of kileta (9.2). The five minimal pairs in the text suggest that words in isolation may be distinguished by pitch, but that these distinctions are obscured when the words are placed in context (9.4). The systematisation proposed by Laman (1936) is discussed (9.5), and found to be internally consistent and remarkably advanced in scope for a work of that period. His examples show some interesting parallels with other work on the kiKongo pitch system, especially in the area of variability of contour on the same utterance (9.5.4.2,3; 9.5.6). The patterns predicted by his systematisation correlate to a large extent with those found in the text (9.6).

Endnotes to chapter nine.

1. A rough method of measuring similarity would be to compare the ratio for each dialect of words showing shift of high pitch to words showing prefix to root-syllable bridges. The figures in the table above may be used for kiManyanga, but for the other dialects the figures in Appendix 7/1 will be used.

	(a) shift	(b) bridge	ratio (a/b)
kiManyanga 2 (ch.9):	30	20	1.5
kiManyanga 1, A:	34	23	1.5
(ch.8) B:	37	20	1.8
Z:	42	9	4.7
kiMbanz' aKongo (ch.4):	8	1	8
kiZombo (ch.6):	24	3	8
kiNtandu (ch.7):	14	1	14
kisiNgombe (ch.10):	29	1	29

kiYaka/kiNtandu (ch.5) has no instances at all of a prefix to root-syllable bridge, but 27 instances of shift of high pitch.

As can be seen, version Z is midway between the other specimens of kiManyanga and those of the remaining dialects. This suggests that although it may show some features of the speaker's own dialect, kiZombo, it is sufficiently close to kiManyanga as evidenced by the other speaker to be classed along with it.

- 2. In the case of pair 3, the contrast actually seems to be between long vowel and short vowel.
- 3. Compare such CB items as 'path', with two tone-patterns: \*-zida (CS940) and \*-zida' (941). Guthrie refers to such items, 'where the divergence between starred forms or meanings is slight, or in other words where most of the features of two or more [comparative series] are coincident', as showing 'osculance'. (Guthrie 1967-71, vol.2, p.111)
- 4. He admits that this 'seemed to lack coherence a little and to be difficult of comprehension' (para.11). There is also a difference in the system of notation used in the two books: that in Laman 1922 was based on musical scales and had syllable-by-syllable marking of 6 different pitch-levels, whereas in Laman 1936 examples in the introduction are marked with Meinhof's system of raised dots, and the words in the body of the dictionary use a marking 'illustrating all the tones or the whole melody that a word can have' (para.12). See also 9.5.3.

5. This is actually given in Laman 1922 as a variant of (i) (cf. Donnelly 1980, p.6), so I have listed it here.
6. To facilitate discussion, Laman's classes will henceforth be referred to by more mnemonic titles. Thus:
  - (1)  $\grave{a}$  (Laman's grave class): rising class;
  - (2)  $\ddot{a}$  (Laman's double acute class): acute falling class, or simply, acute class;
  - (3)  $\acute{a}$  (Laman's acute class): falling class;
  - (4)  $\bar{a}$  (Laman's mid class): level class.

Moreover, all subsequent examples from Laman 1936 will be marked in my notation, with the exception that Laman's mark  $\ddot{v}$  will be retained for the acute falling class.
7. It is interesting to compare this section with Laman 1922, article 79, which is an earlier version of it.
8. In Laman 1936, the author prefers to present his examples in tabular form (pp. xix-xxxvii), reserving discussion for his more general findings on pitch. In part this was no doubt due to lack of space, and also to the fact that a large selection of data is more clearly presented in tabular form. On the other hand, this type of presentation may be due to the fact that Laman had not succeeded in progressing beyond a partial formulation of rules, and therefore in many cases could do no more than list the data.
9. As for the  $\ddot{a}$  class, the high pitch is fixed, eg.  $k\ddot{a}nda$  'palm-tree',  $-ak\acute{a}nda$  'of the palm-tree'. Laman gives no rules for the  $\grave{a}$  class, perhaps because the rules that would be required are rather more complex than those previously given - see 9.5.6.1.
10. This seems to be the phenomenon nowadays referred to as 'downdrift' - I am grateful to P.R. Bennett for pointing this out to me.
11. Van Spaandonck 1973 has noted that many early tonal studies are virtually unintelligible nowadays because of obscurity of explanation, advances in tonal concepts, and changes in technical vocabulary. This seems to me a rather extreme view to take, and it is my opinion that early studies can be valuable if we take the trouble to try to understand the data from the author's point of view, and to interpret his writings on this basis.
12. Note that the different pitches on the root-syllables in these two examples seem to show free variation in vowel length before -NC-, as I have suggested elsewhere (4.6.6, 14.4).

13. In fact, it would have been interesting to have had more information on how the examples were collected - whether they came from a text or were elicited, and so on; -amàtokó is remarkably reminiscent of a pausal form, for example.
14. Interestingly, the patterns abstracted from these tables for the imperfect, future, perfect and pluperfect bear a very close resemblance to the patterns I tentatively abstracted from the more scattered examples in Laman 1922 (see Donnelly 1980).

CHAPTER TEN

Chapter Three Revisited - kisiNgombe

10.1: introduction.

This chapter returns to the text discussed in the preliminary investigation of chapter three. It will be remembered that that text showed a high frequency of variant contours occurring on otherwise similar sequences (3.2.2), and it was attempted to account for the patterns in terms of the syntactic environment of the item concerned. For this the syntactic parsing system developed by Guthrie and Carter (3.2.4) was used, and applied to ll. 1-58 of the text. While this gave fairly good results for some categories (eg. locatives, 3.2.5.2), as a whole it was of little help in describing the contours, and this became obvious when it was attempted to apply it to a further portion of the text (3.2.6).

In this chapter, the original marking of the text has been revised to accord with the conventions of chapter 2 (3.2.1), and the terms of description used in chapters 4-9 will be applied. It should be noted, however, that although possible conditioning factors for the contours can be adduced (10.3), these can be no more than statements of general tendencies, because it would seem that in this text there is a great deal of individual intonational contour variation (10.4).

10.2: the text and sample passage.

Although most of the high pitches in this text occur on root-syllables, as usual, there is sometimes extreme variation about which syllable the other high pitches occur on, to the extent that very frequently we find the same phrase (eg. matoko ye-z'indumba 'boys and girls') with two or even three different contours. The sample passage is ll. 128-167.

10.3: patterns in the text.

10.3.1: shift.

In this passage there are remarkably few instances of a high pitch shift leftwards. They are as follows:

- (a) genitive:           zánkaka 138 'other'
- dyánkaka 145 ditto

byá'kkaká 151 'other'  
 'ásambu 141 'of prayer'  
 zándzeenza 142 'foreign'  
 kyásáabala 149 '(the day of) Saturday'  
 má'nkook'íla 161 'of the evening'  
 yá'mpi'ímpa 161 'of the evening'  
 ak'íese 162 'of happiness' (cc. dyak'íese 160)  
 á'Bi'ib'íla 167 'of the Bible' (cc. á'Bi'ib'íla 140)  
 'ándza 153 'of the world'

note also: á'salu 136 'of work'  
 zám'bote-m'bote 162 'beautiful'.

There is also mulukkánu lwás'íká m'v'váang'í 163 'with the object of praising our Maker', which contrasts with múlukánu lwás'íká Ndzaambi mpé 'with the object of praising God also' in 165.

- (b) locative, etc.: mú'mp'íla 146 'in kinds'  
 kú'saambu 160 'to the church' (cc. kusáambu 158,  
 kú'mbu 148 'in the sea' / cf. 'ásambu 141)  
 mú'w'wa 162 'to hear' (cc. muttá 148 'to do').
- (c) connective: yé-zhán'és 130 'and youth'  
 yé-ndzo 143 'with a house'.
- (d) verbs: m'ítad'ídi 136 'which are concerned with'  
 wás'ala 153 'he worked'.
- (e) others: 'ífulu 133 'it is a place'  
 ká'lumbu 149 'it is not a day(?)'  
 'íssya 133,135,143 'it is to say'.

#### 10.3.2: high pitch on the first syllable.

In a few cases the high pitch is moved onto the first syllable of a word with two syllabic prefixes<sup>1</sup>, suggesting that in the case of shift the high pitch tends to associate with the preposed element conditioning the shift. Thus:

- (a) genitive: á'm'inkuunga 142 'of hymns'  
 kwá'matoko 163 'by the young men'.
- (b) locative: múlukánu 132,165 'with the aim of' (see also 10.3.1.a)  
 mú'di'buundu 136 'in the Church'  
 v'vák'imosi 134,135 'together'.

(c) verb: kúkivaana 137 'to give themselves'.

10.3.3: retention on the root-syllable.

In most instances, the high pitch does not move as predicted:

- (a) genitive: lwasákana 132 'of relaxing'  
 kyálumbu 149 'of a day'  
 əBííbílá 140 'of the Bible' (cc. áBííbílá 167)  
 əbyúúvu 141 'of questions'  
 byálumbu 151 'of days'  
 wə<sub>Λ</sub>ntsémono 153 'of the creation'  
 kyawoónso 154 'all'  
 kyaLumíngu 157 '(the day of) Sunday'  
 dyakíése 160 'of happiness' (cc. akíése 162)  
 anáana 161 'of eight'  
 lwasíika 165 'of praising' (cc. lwésika 163)  
 kyantáangulu 166 'of a reading'  
 lwəmvíimba 137 'entire'  
 məkimpéeve 145 'of the spirit'  
 kyabatíístá 158 'Baptist'.
- (b) locative: muluzíngu 137 'in life'  
 musádílá 138 'to work for'  
 muntsí 138,138,141 'in countries'  
 musálu 141 'about the work'  
 muzúgə 164 'in the area'  
 mulukkənu 163 'with the aim of' (cc. múlukənu 132,165)  
 mun'óowu 153 'concerning'  
 musúumbá-myə 144 'to read them'  
 mutúungə 144 'in strengthening'  
 mumáambu 145 'in matters'  
 muttá 148 'to do' (cc. múwua 162 'to hear')  
 mulúmbú 150 'on the day'  
 mummánisə 154 'to finish'  
 munsyúuká 157 'in the morning'  
 mukyantsəmbwadi 154 'on the seventh (day)'  
 munkookílá 159 'in the evening'  
 mu'óol(ə) 161 'at the hour'  
 vakáti 129 'among'

vasámbu 145 'on the side'  
 kusáambú 158 'to the church' (cc. kúsaambu 160)  
 kwabalóongi 129 'of the teachers'  
 muBíibíla 152 'in the Bible' (cf. aBíibíla 140)60  
 kwabalóongi 129 'of the teachers'  
 muBíibíla 152 'in the Bible' (cf. aBíibíla 140).

(c) connective: ye-lóngoká 133,135 'and study'  
 ye-sòsá 136 'and examine'  
 ye-vazímunina 148 'and moreover'  
 ye-zindúumba 163 'and young women'  
 ye-ng'imbudulu 167 'and singing'  
 ye-baléeke 134 'and the young people'.

(d) others: bawóonso 151,158 'all'.

#### 10.3.4: conclusions.

The above data suggest that phonological phrasing may be a factor conditioning the placement of high pitch. In the first group, with shifted high pitch (10.3.1,2), nearly all the examples in sections (a), (b) and (c) occur with following pause, but with no preceding pause, ie. in an environment /...x ≠ /. On the other hand, in the group with high pitch retained on the root-syllable (10.3.3), only 5 examples from those sections occurred in this environment: the rest occurred in environments /... x .../, / ≠ x .../, / ≠ x ≠ /. That is, the shift occurs prepausally, but not when the word is preceded by pause as well. It will be remembered that this type of variation occurred with at least one unit (the locative) in the first analysis of this text (3.2.5.2). Moreover, Carter's (1973) analysis of pitch-patterns in kiMbanz' aKongo is based on syntactic phrasing. There would thus seem to be a general pattern here which suggests that the composition of the phrase conditions the pitch contour; this pattern in turn suggests a pitch-accent system.

#### 10.3.5: words without high pitch.

These will be listed in terms of the function of the phrase in which they occur. Arrows, as usual, indicate that the pattern on surrounding words is also anomalous.

(i) subject: dyaadi <sup>←</sup> 129 'this'  
 kyokyo <sup>←</sup> 156 'this'  
 moole <sup>←</sup> 134 'two'  
 mambu 133 'things'

- tenis 147 'tennis'  
 baantu 157 'people'  
 mphil(a) 162 '(it is) a type'.
- (ii) object: myaau 145 'their'  
 maambu <sup>←</sup>139 'matters'  
 ntsaka zampila 146 'games of types'  
 saambanu <sup>←</sup>153 'six'  
 salu kyandi 154 'his work'  
 kyavuundu 155 'of rest'  
 Ndzaambi 165 'God'  
 zola 129 'love'.
- (iii) predicator: ndzolele <sup>→</sup>139 'I would like'  
 balenda 145 'they can'  
 dyo-zaya 152 'know it'  
 kena <sup>←</sup>158 'it is'  
 'is(sy)a vo 166 'that is'.
- (iv) adjunct: ye-<sub>Λ</sub>diBuundu 130 'and the Church'  
 ye-bapastöö<sub>ŋ</sub> 130 'and the pastors'  
 kyabamisyo<sub>ŋ</sub>ε<sub>ŋ</sub> <sup>←</sup>141 'of the missionaries'  
 əau 138 'their'  
 kyokyo <sup>←</sup>150 'this'  
 yaau 165 'with them'  
 waau 150 'now'  
 boonso 146 'like'  
 kadi 144 'for'  
 kaka 132 'only'  
 edi vo 160 'it (is) that'  
 evo 131,138,143,163 'or'  
 buna 139,161,166 'so'  
 laandi<sub>l</sub> 152 'following' (cc. l<sub>ə</sub>andi<sub>l</sub> 160)  
 teeki<sub>l</sub> 166 'preceding'.

As has been suggested for other texts, the absence of high pitch on a word may be correlated with focus on another word in the phrase: some of the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga's comments (10.4) will make this point.

## 10.3.6: other anomalous patterns.

There are two instances of high pitch on the last syllable:

kənsí (mpe) 132 'but (also)'  
 mphási 155 'so that' (cf. mphási 137).

In seven cases there is a bridge on the first two syllables of a word:

ká? -ífulu 131 'it is not a place' (cf. ífulu 133)  
 kúlúsoongə 139 'to tell you'  
 əmínkaəndə 142,143 'of books'  
 ʔlúsədísu 144 'it is a help'  
 dyəKlísto 136 'of Christ'  
 kúmósi 165 'in one place'.

## 10.3.7: bridges on words.

There are many instances of bridges on an individual word:

dyəəmbú  $\vec{\quad}$  128,160 'a thing'  
 mfunú? 131 'the purpose'  
 məú  $\vec{\quad}$  134 'they'  
 bambútə 134 'the adults'  
 mphási vo 137 'so that' (cc. mphási 155)  
 baléendə 137 'they can' (cc. balendə 145)  
 vəavə  $\leftarrow$  139 'now'  
 məká  $\vec{\quad}$  139 'some'  
 məné 139 'which'  
 nthəəngulú 140,142 'the reading'  
 mpfidilú? 140 'the leading'  
 ndilú 141 'the asking (lit. eating for)'  
 musəlú  $\vec{\quad}$  141 'about the work'  
 vənə (mpe) 143 'there is (also)'  
 musúumbə-myə 144 'to read them'  
 mutúungə 144 'in strengthening'  
 baləongukəəngə (mpe) 148 'they (also) learn'  
 səlú 149,151 'the work'  
 mulúmbú  $\vec{\quad}$  150 'on the day'  
 bıkə 151 'let's'  
 bətó 151 'us'  
 tuttəəngə 152 'we read'

lúmbú  $\vec{156}, \vec{153}$  'days' (cc. lúmbu 155)  
 munsyúuká 157 'in the morning'  
 bakwéendangá  $\vec{158}$  'they go'  
 kusáambú  $\vec{158}$  'to the church'  
 kyabatíistá 158 'of the Baptists'  
 kííná  $\vec{158}$  'which'  
 lukúfú... 159 'near'  
 munkookílá (mpe) 159 'in the evening (also)'  
 bawóónsó 159 'all' (cc. bawóónso 151, 158)  
 zíkúúbíkúwángá 162 'which is organised'  
 bésí- 164 'the members'  
 vāambanā 166 'dispersal'.

In most cases these bridges occur as the result of hesitation, but in several instances there is a neighbouring word with anomalous pattern, suggesting that the two words are in a complex. In other cases, the bridge is due to the spreading of high pitch associated with following items such as mpe<sup>2</sup>.

#### 10.3.8: bridges between words.

The number of bridges between words is smaller than might have been expected: again this shows some similarity to kiManyanga.

##### (i) noun + following item:

díBúundu yé-zhānzēs 130 'the Church and youth'  
 kyálumbu kálumbu 149 'from day to day'  
 kyawóónso mvíimba 154 'completely entire'  
 nssámu mítadídí 135-6 'subjects concerned with'  
 Ndzāambi wásala 153 'God made'  
 muntsí zánkaka 138 'in other countries'  
 mumāambu makimpéeve 145 'in matters spiritual'  
 mulukkānu lwásika 163 'with the object of praising'  
 muzúnga kyasamá-skuul 164 'in the neighbourhood of the summer-  
 anāana yampímpa 161 'of eight in the evening'. / school'

Most of these are locative + genitive sequences.<sup>3</sup>

##### (ii) verb + following item:

zítísá lúmbu 155 'honour the day'  
 ye-sòsa ndzila 136 'and examine ways'  
 musádíla Ndzāambi 138 'to work for God'.

(iii) adjunct + following item:

béeni kíkílu 157 'very much indeed'

lǎndíla madya mǎnkookíla 160-1 'following the evening meal'.

#### 10.3.9: conclusions.

This passage shows features broadly comparable to those discussed in previous texts, especially instances of words without high pitch, and of bridging. However, it has some individual features, notably the tendency to retain high pitch on the root-syllable, and the phenomenon of phonological phrasing as a factor conditioning the pitch contours.

#### 10.4: comments on variant contours.

Since the original text was spoken by someone else, the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga found it hard at times to explain exactly what the differences in pitch contour signified. Sometimes he attributed the differences to the fact that his friend the Rev. A. Komy Banzadio was a 'very fantasy man', by which he seemed to mean that Mr. Banzadio sometimes varied the pitch contours simply for effect, rather than to alter the meaning of the phrase in any substantial way. Nevertheless, the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga had no difficulty in accepting that pitch contours could be varied in this way, even if the variation was at times slightly different in type or extent from what he himself might have used. The fact that two speakers use such a system, and that it can be explained to a foreigner, suggests that the system is fairly widespread, and also standardised to some extent, even if the exact mechanisms cannot be fully described at this early stage (see also chapter 12).

- (i) kulenda mónika 122 'there can be seen' and tuléndá mona 124 'we can see': the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga said at first that the former pattern emphasised monika, but then he became uncertain and said that since monika ends in -ka and not -na (ie. because it is one syllable longer than mona) this affects the pattern on -lenda.
- (ii) ntéte 2 'first' and twaffímpa ntete 5 'let us examine first': the high pitch on the former was ascribed to the fact that it occurred sentence finally, whereas the example in 5 did not. But if the latter had occurred in final position, it would have been possible to say twaffímpa ntéte.
- (iii) kumbazi 19 'outside' and kumbázi? əluzíngu 69 'outside life': the

Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga said 'this is Banzadio kiKongo: he says it, I remember, but it is not very good - it is the accent in kiNgombe or something. As I say, [he] is [a] very fantastic man - he talks very well. When he speaks [any] language he is very sensitive, he has ... good expression, more fantasy'. The informant therefore seems to attribute this difference in contour to idiolectal accentuation, and it may well be that we have here an instance of phonological phrasing conditioning the pitch contour (cf. 10.3.4).

- (iv) ndzòlele kulúsoonga 1 'I would like to tell you' and ndzòlele kulusoonga 89: the pattern on the latter was said to signify that the speaker was moving on to a new topic, while the pattern in 1 signified that the speaker was actually starting the new topic, in this case introducing the talk. We might also compare ndzòlele kulúsoonga 139 with the pattern in 1; again, the speaker is launching into a new topic.
- (v) discussing 'issya vo (passim) 'that is', the Rev. D. Ntoni-Ozinga said that the exact pattern varies and depends on who is speaking. Sometimes, he said, there is a slightly different connotation according to the pattern, but it is impossible to describe this outside the context. In general, 'issya vò is the usual pattern, while 'issya vó is not normal, and might be used to signal contrast.
- (vi) mulukkànu lwásika Muváangi 163 'with the object of praising our Maker' and múlukànu lwástika Ndzaambi mpê 165 'with the object of praising God also': the fact that no high pitch occurred on Ndzaambi was said to be due to the following mpe. This probably means that the speaker was here emphasising mpe at the expense of Ndzaambi. In general the phrase in 165 is a repetition of the one in 163, but the speaker wishes to emphasise in 165 that the praising of God took place here also - this may account for the general difference in pattern between the two phrases. See also 12.3.
- (vii) discussing musámə-skulz zántete 54 'in the first summer-schools', the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga said that this pattern emphasised the word zántete. It is possible, he said, to have músámə-skulz zántete, but in that case the sentence structure must be different: 'I can't begin ... that time with musámə-skulz; I will begin with another [word]'. Thus, dyamóniká, músámə-skulz zántetè, vo p'rogram ... ,

instead of (as in the text) musàmə-skulz zántete, dyamónika vo .  
 prógrám ... . In the latter, 'dyamónika is lower down; if it  
 starts the sentence [as in the former], it is higher. I told you  
 before: our music conditions the meaning'. These comments suggest  
 that bridging, as I have suggested in previous chapters, is  
 associated with emphasis - we would expect a certain amount of  
 emphasis at the beginning of a new topic.

- (viii) madyá mánkookíla 117-8 'the evening meal' and læandíla madya  
 mánkookíla 160-1 'following the evening meal': the pattern in 117-8  
 was characterised as placing emphasis on mánkookíla. In 160-1, on  
 the contrary, there was said to be no emphasis on the phrase:  
 'every time in kiKongo when we use læandíla, the emphasis is not  
 there - it's at the end of the sentence, or in the middle; læandíla  
 introduces, it is not very important - we could even leave [the  
 phrase containing] it out, or put it at the end'.
- (ix) vakáti kwabalóongi ye-diBuundú, biseélo ye-bapastóór, diBúundu  
 yé-zhaneés 129-30 'between the teachers and the Church, the domestics  
 and the pastors, the Church and youth': when the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga  
 read this sequence, he said vakáti kwabalóongi ye-diBuundú, biseélo  
 ye-bapastóór, ↓diBúundu ye-zhaneés. When it was pointed out to him  
 that the Rev. A. Komy Banzadio had said yé-zhaneés and not ye-zhaneés,  
 he said, 'Aa, ... it is the music... . In the first two places, he  
 put the emphasis on the first word, but in the third citation he put  
 the emphasis on the last word: diBúundú . yé-zhaneés ... . Also, we  
 can understand something: he [is making] some accusation ... [with  
 this way of talking] he [is pointing out that] the baloongi are the  
 people who sometimes have problems with the Church, not Church with  
 baloongi; ... he wants to [say that] sometimes the biseelo have  
 problems with the pastors, not the pastors with the biseelo. Also,  
 [using] the accent we can make many interpretations ... [thus we can  
 say in the third case that] now it is the Church [which has] problems  
 with the Youth<sup>4</sup>. ... The Kongo music is sometimes very complicated  
 - without the background we can't understand'. These comments indicate  
 very clearly that the pitch patterns can be modulated to convey  
 differences of focus, according to the intentions of the speaker.  
 Moreover, this focus may involve a whole complex of associations  
 which are not immediately obvious, but are implicit in the pitch  
 contours.

(x) tuuká ntangu yoyó 47 'from this time on' and tuukà ntaangu yóyó 57: the first pattern was identified as the usual form. The Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga said, 'It is not a very important difference, but ... [depends on] the idea. ... You need to have the background to understand why he said that, and this is very usual in kiKoongo: sometimes you can't understand it, but kiKoongo people understand why he said that. [The second pattern would be used when the speaker] was talking about something, and he wanted to give [some] idea about the difference between the first time and the time following. ... [Or] maybe he was ... accusing someone, maybe he was talking about changing the situation, and he wanted to help the people to understand ... the serious matter. [As if he were saying] "Since that time the matter [has] become very serious". And he didn't say [directly] "Now the matter [is] becoming serious" - no, he only said tuuká ntangu yóyó ... and [his listeners] say, "Oh, what is this?" ... [and they] will listen about the explanation, to understand why he said tuukà ntaangu yóyó with a different intonation'. Again, these comments bring out the fact that pitch patterns may be modulated according to the 'background' (ie. context), and that this pattern variation conveys a great deal of unspoken information about the relative importance of items, the speaker's opinion on the subject, and so on.

We may sum up with another of the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga's comments: he said that kiKongo music is very common - a person may not say something directly, but the music he uses will show you exactly what he is thinking. BaKongo elders especially do not like to say something straight out - they use proverbs. But the music they use helps the listener to understand: he still has to figure it out himself, but the music and the proverb taken together should leave him in no doubt as to what is meant.

10.5: summary.

In the texts discussed in this and previous chapters, I hope to have shown that there is one general principle which is widespread, namely, that high pitch occurs on the root-syllable of the word. Deviations from this may be due to morphological and perhaps syntactic or phonological

factors, or to features of emphasis or intensity affecting the contours. I have also tried to show how this analysis would dovetail with previous studies. The main point I have been arguing for is that we must, in discussing kiKongo pitch contours, give much more weight to the part played by emphasis, etc., and consider the phrase rather than the word as the domain of pitch. That is, kiKongo has more of a pitch-accent system than a tonal one.

Endnotes to chapter ten.

1. Compare a similar phenomenon in one of the kiManyanga texts (8.3.1,2).
2. Note also *kānsí mpe* 132 'but also' and *Ndzāmbi mpé* 165 'God also'.
3. It is interesting to note that if we postulate for several of the above examples an underlying form with high pitch on the root-syllable, followed by bridging with a preceding high pitch, followed by a contraction of the bridge (cf. 7.4.8), we have an explanation for some anomalous patterns, eg. \**Ndzámbi wásála* → \**Ndzāmbi wásála* → *Ndzāmbi wásála*. It will be remembered that *wásála* is one of only two verbs in this passage showing shift of high pitch (10.3.1.d) – the other is *mítádídi*, which also occurs here. Whether the contraction should be considered automatic or conditioned by focus is unclear. Note, for example, \**mulukkánu lwasíka* → \**mulukkànu lwasíka* → *mulukkànu lwasíka*, but (165) \**mulukánu lwasíika* → *múlukànu lwasíika*, where the first high pitch is shifted to give an anomalous pattern, and no bridging occurs. It therefore seems likely that if the phenomenon of contraction does exist, it is conditioned by focus, since it is secondary to bridging, which may itself act as a marker of focus (cf. chapter 12). More information, though, is required before firm conclusions can be drawn.
4. I suspect that the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga really meant to say that 'youth has problems with the Church', as his other comments imply that this is the meaning intended. He may by this time have been unintentionally emphasising the words to bring out his point (cf. 8.6.1.ii) – his repetition of the phrase at this juncture (*díBuundu. yé-zhānēs*) shows what may be an emphatic contour on *díBuundu* (earlier *díBuundu*).

While on this subject we may note other variant contours which occurred on repetitions of the phrases. Most of these show a high pitch on the prefix syllable, and since the pattern in question (*yé-zhānēs*) is similar, these repetitions may also show a certain degree of emphasis:

- (a) *díBuundu (•yé-zhānēs)*
- (b) (*vákáti kwabalóngí•*) *ye-díBuundu*
- (c) (*biséeló•*) *yé-bapastóór*
- (d) *bíseeló (•ye-bapastóór)*.

The last two examples suggest differential emphasis: on the second item in (c), and on the first item in (d).

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

## Creole kiKongo - kiLeta

## 11.1: introduction.

This chapter discusses pitch features in creole kiKongo, a language with, in Fehderau's (1962) words 'a kiKongo-like vocabulary, with an essentially Lingala-like grammar, lined with French borrowings'. This language has many names: Kikongo, Kikongo véhiculaire, Kikongo simplifié, Kikongo commercial, Kituba, Kikwango, Kingala, Ikeleve, Monokutuba, Kibulamati, etc., but the name most often used now seems to be Kikongo ya leta (< Kikongo ya l'état), and I will refer to it by the abbreviated version of this title, kiLeta. For some comments on the possible development of the language, see chapter 16.

## 11.2: kiLeta grammar.

KiLeta differs in some important respects from kiKongo, and it may be well to give here a short list of the more obvious differences to prevent confusion in the subsequent discussion. The following notes are based on the sketch of the language in Fehderau 1967, pp. 46-57.

- (1) There are 5 main genders: (a)  $\emptyset \sim n- \sim mu-$  /  $ba-$ ; (b)  $mu-$  /  $mi-$ ; (c)  $\emptyset \sim di-$  /  $ma-$ ; (d)  $ki-$  /  $bi-$ ; (e)  $ku-$ . These are obviously relatable in form to the general Bantu prefixes, but the system has been considerably simplified. Moreover,  $ba-$  is widening its application, often reducing other prefixes to augments, eg.  $bamambu$  'things',  $bandzo$  'houses'.
- (2) Personal pronouns are much more widely used than in kiKongo:  $mono$ ,  $nge$ ,  $yandi$ ,  $beto$ ,  $beno$ ,  $bau$  'I, you, he/she, we, you, they'. There is also the impersonal  $yau$  'it'. These pronouns are often abbreviated, eg.  $mono \rightarrow mu$  or even  $m$ ,  $bau \rightarrow bo$ ,  $yau \rightarrow yo$ ;  $nge$  seems to be a short form of the older (now emphatic)  $ngeye$ .
- (3)  $na$  + pronoun = possessive, eg.  $tata na yandi$  'his father';  
 $na$  + noun = locative, eg.  $na mesa$  'on the table';  
 $ya$  + noun = genitive, eg.  $munkanda ya muntu ya$  'this person's book'.
- (4) Demonstratives:  $ya$  'this',  $yina$  'that',  $yango$  'this/that already referred to'.  $yina$  is also the relative pronoun, apparently often shortened to  $ya$  - cf. ll. 35,74,75 of the text.

(5) *tí* 'with, that, or, and' (though *ye* also occurs for 'and');  
*sambu* (*nə*) 'because (of)'.

(6) Verbal inflections have been greatly streamlined, though with apparently no diminution in the range of time reference of which they are capable. The basic pattern is (pronoun +) + formative + base + suffix. The formatives are *ke-* (probably from *ke* [*le*] 'is, are'), *me-* and *tə-* (cf. Swahili *me-* and *tə-*, with similar meanings). Fehderau refers to these as auxiliaries. The habitual suffix is *-ka*. One-word tenses are as follows:

present indefinite: ( <i>nge</i> ) <i>sala</i>	past indefinite: ( <i>nge</i> ) <i>salaka</i>
'(you) must work'	'(you) worked'
present progressive: ( <i>nge</i> ) <i>kesala</i>	present habitual: ( <i>nge</i> ) <i>kesalaka</i>
'(you) are working'	'(you) work'
present perfect: ( <i>nge</i> ) <i>mesala</i>	past perfect: ( <i>nge</i> ) <i>mesalaka</i>
'(you) [have] worked'	'(you) had worked'
future indefinite: ( <i>nge</i> ) <i>tasala</i>	future habitual: ( <i>nge</i> ) <i>tasalaka</i>
'(you) will work'	'(you) will work'

Fehderau notes that an alternative form of the past indefinite, *nge kusalaka*, which occurs several times in the texts, seems to be an older form, but is still much used in the eastern (Kwilu-Kwango) region.

For the verb 'to be' the eight tenses above are:

( <i>nge</i> ) <i>vanda</i>	( <i>nge</i> ) <i>vandaka</i>
( <i>nge</i> ) <i>ke le</i>	( <i>nge</i> ) <i>kevandaka</i>
( <i>nge</i> ) <i>mevanda</i>	( <i>nge</i> ) <i>mevandaka</i>
( <i>nge</i> ) <i>tavanda</i>	Fehderau gives no examples.

Note also the form *ikele* 'it is, there is'.

These forms may be combined with the verbal noun to give periphrastic tenses, eg. *nge tavanda kusala* 'you will be working', *nge vandaka kusala* 'you were working (continuous)'.

The negative marker *ve* is placed at the end of the phrase or sentence to be negated, eg. *nge salaka ve* 'you did not work'.

### 11.3: variation in *kileta*.

It should be emphasised that a great deal of variation occurs even in idiolects; no doubt the fact that *kileta* speakers come from widely different linguistic backgrounds contributes to this situation. Some examples of phonological variation in the texts are:

- (a) y, l and sometimes k seem to be unstable and are often elided, eg. m'ilele pronounced [m'ilee] 6 'clothes'; bantu ya [bantu a] 30a 'the people of'; kelongukaka [kelongwaka] 71 '(they) learn'; kubulukaka [kubulwaka] 76 '(they) have congregated';
- (b) nd is often simplified to n, eg. takwenda [takwena] 32a '(you) will go';
- (c) mb is sometimes simplified to m, eg. kuyambaka [kuyamaka] 14a '(they) received', and sometimes to b, eg. mbala [bala] 75 'times';
- (d) o often approaches [u], eg. kusonga mono [kusunga munu] 20a 'teaching me';
- (e) nasal + s, z is usually pronounced as a prenasalised affricate, but not always, eg. mbandza 13b / mbanza 13a 'town'; yontso 54 / yonso 83 'all';
- (f) voicing sometimes occurs, eg. matonsi [matonzi] 18 'marks'; ntswa [ndzwa] 23a 'permission';
- (g) a nasal is sometimes inserted, eg. mosi [monsi] 18a 'some'; mukanda [munkanda] 21b 'paper';
- (h) miscellaneous: kezaba [kaizaba] 70 '(he) knows'; makambu yina [makambo yena] 72 'these difficulties';
- (i) a final vowel is sometimes elided and replaced by aspiration, eg. 3, 18, 38, 45.

The language system is therefore fairly fluid.

11.4: other research: Fehderau.

11.4.1: Fehderau 1969.

The author describes 'word tone and stress' on pp. xxix-xxx. He describes five 'word tone-classes'<sup>1</sup>, marked using  $\acute{v}$  to mean 'high pitch' and  $\grave{v}$  to mean 'low pitch/stress'. These are variously called 'tone-marks' and 'accent-marks', as if Fehderau is uncertain how to classify the suprasegmental features; it may be that his marking owes something to Laman, whose dictionary he cites on p. xxxv as being 'most helpful'. The five classes are as follows:

I: high pitch on the penultimate syllable, marked  $\acute{v}$ , eg. bamagazini 'shops'. If the stressed syllable is not the penultimate, it is marked  $\grave{v}$ , eg. kupèsila 'to give for'.

- II: high on the last syllable, marked  $\acute{v}$ , eg. *yangé* 'yours'. If the stressed syllable is not the last, it is marked  $\grave{v}$ , eg. *bibàndé* 'metal'.
- III: all low, marked  $\check{v}$  on all syllables of the root, eg. *kupòlà* 'to rot'.
- IV: all low, except that the prefix immediately preceding the root is high; marked  $\check{v}$  on all syllables of the root, eg. *bamìngàngà* 'doctors'. Fehderau warns that this marking is therefore the same as for III, because the distinction between the two classes was discovered too late for the dictionary marking to be revised. A revised marking for IV would be ' $\check{v}$  on the root-syllable', eg. *bamìngàngà*.
- V: all high, marked  $\acute{v}$  on all syllables of the root, eg. *mpémbé* 'white'.

Fehderau's examples of IV are items including what we might call an 'augment' (though *bamìndéle* 'Europeans' occurs in I) - cf. 9.5.7.2. The examples cited for II, III, IV and V seem to have no more than two syllables in the stem, and to some extent this is borne out in the sample analysed below, though its significance is unclear.

#### 11.4.1.1: class frequency.

To test the distribution of these classes, it was decided to count through a random sample from the dictionary - words beginning with k (pp. 69-117)<sup>2</sup>. There were 33 items in II (high on last syllable), including 25 French loanwords.<sup>3</sup> There were 53 items (including one Portuguese loan), 16 of which were monosyllabic roots, in III (all low).<sup>4</sup> There were roughly 555 items in I (high on the penultimate syllable), including 3 loans from English (*kaméla*, *kóma*, *kisikítí*), 4 from Portuguese (*kaválu*, *kisábála*, *kolóá*, *kwártu*), and 16 from French (*kaláka*, *kalási*, *kamaládi*, *kanífu*, *kantíni*, *kapiténi*, *katolíka*, *kifwalánsa*, *kílómetá*, *klístó*, *kómiséle*, *kitánsi*, and the less certain *kárte*, *kiníni*, *kípi*, *kansánsa*).<sup>5</sup> There were no items in the sample from V, and if we are correct in assuming IV to occur only where there is an augment, there were no items from this class either. We note therefore that in this sample at any rate class I overwhelmingly outnumbers all the other classes put together by more than 6 to 1.

#### 11.4.1.2: French loans.

For French loans, it would seem that the high pitch goes on the last

syllable of the word as pronounced in French; if this last syllable ends in a vowel sound (which will therefore be the last syllable of the kiLeta version, since no epenthetic vowels will be added), there will moreover be stress on the root-syllable,<sup>6</sup> eg. cadeau → kàdò, commencer → kòmànsé. If however the last syllable ends in a consonant sound (which will therefore be the penultimate syllable of the kiLeta version, since an epenthetic vowel will be added), the stress will co-occur with the high pitch, eg. camarade → kamaládi, catholique → katolíkà. That is, -cv# → ˈcv#, while -vc# → -ˈvc(v)#.

#### 11.4.1.3: stress.

Fehderau says that stress 'usually' occurs on the root-syllable, but in actual fact in this sample it was found to occur there in all but the following cases: kafukúsu (from Portuguese?), kan'ki (from Swahili?), kap'ita (from French?), ki(ə)mə(n)kúlu. However,

- (i) in compounds it seems that the first element is devoid of stress and high pitch, eg. kalakála, kati-káti, kifwa-makútu, koso-kóso, kifwani-fwáni, kitala-tála, etc.;
- (ii) monosyllabic roots tend to have high pitch and stress on the prefix syllable (Laman noted the same phenomenon), eg. kí-nzu, kí-ti; where they have low pitch, however, the stress remains on the root-syllable, eg. ki-nwè;
- (iii) loanwords with high pitch on the penultimate syllable have the stress on that syllable (cf. previous section), the only two exceptions being kòmiséle and kisàbála.

#### 11.4.1.4: conclusions.

This sample seems to show that since stress is largely predictable, and since so much of the lexical stock belongs to just one of the five classes, it might perhaps have been more concise for Fehderau to have set up one 'canonical form' for lexical items in general, only marking in detail exceptions or deviations from this. This is reinforced by the fact that two of the classes (IV and V) seem to have so few items that there were no examples of them in this sample. Moreover, the comments made above about high pitch on French loanwords suggest that high-pitch assignment follows a fixed pattern in all loanwords, and that we can consider those in class II (high on the last syllable) as a subset of those in class I (high on the penultimate syllable).

## 11.4.2: Fehderau 1962.

## 11.4.2.1: stress.

On p.6 Fehderau notes that stress can have a connotative function, eg.

muḡana nḡ mḡno 'the child and I'  
 muḡana nḡ mḡno 'my child',  
 bḡto lḡnda kuḡala 'we can work'  
 bḡto lḡnda kuḡala 'we were able to work'<sup>7</sup>.

He draws attention (this is developed at greater length in the dictionary) to the fact that high pitch and stress are independent of each other - we could express this by saying that stress is morphologically determined (occurring on the root-syllable), while high pitch is phonologically determined (occurring on the penultimate syllable), though of course these syllables may coincide. It is interesting to note that Fehderau has some difficulty distinguishing stress and high pitch: on p.91 komḡnse (< commenḡer) is marked komḡnseḡ, with stress on the last syllable, while in the dictionary it is marked komḡnse', with stress on the first and high pitch on the last syllable (cf. also 11.5).

## 11.4.2.2: sentence contours.

One or two references are made to pitch patterns on sentence-length stretches. On p.6 we are given

yḡndi keḡle kuḡad'isa 'he is helping',

which suggests that the last item of this particular sentence is the only one to have high pitch - the other two, if they ever had it, seem to have it suppressed here. On p.200 Fehderau discusses interrogative intonation, giving the following examples:

yḡndi ke ḡala?  $\begin{matrix} \uparrow \\ \uparrow \\ \uparrow \end{matrix} \left[ \text{----} \right] \text{'is he working?'} \\
 \text{yḡndi ḡalaka? } \begin{matrix} \uparrow \\ \uparrow \\ \uparrow \end{matrix} \left[ \text{----} \right] \text{'did he work?'} \\
 \text{(cc. yḡndi ḡalaka } \begin{matrix} \uparrow \\ \uparrow \\ \uparrow \end{matrix} \left[ \text{----} \right] \text{'he worked'}) \\
 \text{yḡndi ḡalaka ve? } \begin{matrix} \uparrow \\ \uparrow \\ \uparrow \end{matrix} \left[ \text{-----} \right] \text{'did he not work?'}$

Again, these show a distinctive pitch pattern for the sentence being realised on the last word in that sentence. See also 11.6.7.

## 11.5: the texts: general features.

The texts obtained from Mr. Katesi were (i) a letter read on two

different occasions (referred to as a and b), (ii) a spontaneous description of the language situation in Zaire, and (iii) a translation of a very short English text.

The marking conventions used for kiKongo (chapter 2) seem to be applicable to kiLeta as well. There is, however, one exception. The place of the pausal upturn ( $\overset{\circ}{\vee}$ ) is uncertain,<sup>8</sup> and the mark has been used here only when the word already has a high pitch, ie. in 5 cases:  $\acute{\text{á}}\text{w}\acute{\text{á}}$  16a,  $\text{M}\acute{\text{o}}\text{b}\acute{\text{ú}}\text{t}\acute{\text{ú}}$  89,  $\text{m}\acute{\text{í}}\text{ng}\acute{\text{í}}$  101,  $\text{B}\acute{\text{á}}\text{ndund}\acute{\text{ú}}$  58,63. Where the word has no other high pitch, high pitch on the final syllable (even when occurring pre-pausally) is marked with an acute.<sup>9</sup>

Although  $\acute{\vee}$  has been used, as in other chapters, to denote 'pitch higher than that on surrounding syllables', it must be said that high pitch in these texts is not so clearly perceptible as in previous ones. The canonical form for phonological phrases in other texts was  $/\text{~~~~~}/$ , but in these the general key is much lower, and downdrift within the phrase is less apparent, giving a canonical form more like  $/\text{~~~~~}/$ <sup>10</sup> - cf. 9.2. Most of the high pitches seem to be at the same height, and indeed it is sometimes uncertain whether we have two high pitches, or merely one accompanied by a 'lead-up' or 'lead-off' rise in pitch, eg.  $\text{v}\acute{\text{a}}\text{n}\acute{\text{d}}\acute{\text{á}}\text{k}\acute{\text{á}}/\text{v}\acute{\text{a}}\text{n}\acute{\text{d}}\acute{\text{á}}\text{k}\acute{\text{a}}$  7,  $\text{k}\acute{\text{u}}\text{b}\acute{\text{í}}\text{k}\acute{\text{á}}\text{l}\acute{\text{a}}/\text{k}\acute{\text{u}}\text{b}\acute{\text{í}}\text{k}\acute{\text{á}}\text{l}\acute{\text{a}}$  24, where each of the versions has a different marking.

The position is complicated somewhat by the phenomenon of stress. By far the most common thing in these texts is for high pitch to occur on the penultimate syllable of each word (except for certain formatives such as  $\text{y}\acute{\text{a}}$  or  $\text{n}\acute{\text{a}}$  - cf. 11.2.iii).<sup>11</sup> This high pitch is usually accompanied by stress. However, in a few cases it is difficult to decide which of the two (high pitch or stress) is most prominent, eg.  $\text{p}\acute{\text{e}}\text{n}\acute{\text{e}}\text{p}\acute{\text{e}}\text{n}\acute{\text{e}}$  99/ $\text{p}\acute{\text{é}}\text{n}\acute{\text{e}}\text{p}\acute{\text{é}}\text{n}\acute{\text{e}}$  104 'up, over'.

As mentioned above, not only is the general key much lower than in previous texts, but the overall range of key is much smaller as well, so that lower and higher key occur much less frequently than in other texts. High key appears in 20,25,35,40,46 in the b version (which seems on the whole to have a greater variety of pitch features than the a

version - cf. endnote 8), and appears to have the function of emphasis or the introduction of another aspect of the subject under discussion. Low key occurs in 53, in a parenthetical comment.

There are instances (all in the b version) of a stretch with extra emphasis (ie. more intensity and greater pitch height) in 31-32, a stretch with slow rate (35), and a stretch with rising contour (36-37). These all seem to be for the purposes of emphasis. There are two instances of a contour /  / in 32b and 72, both of them what we might call parenthetical comments.

Extra-high pitch occurs in several instances and seems to have two main functions:

- (i) as an optional pause marker when the syllable preceding the pause has high pitch (in the kileta system this is not very frequent), eg. with ve 'not' in 7a, 23a, 25a, 30a, 64, and with Zair in 51;
- (ii) for emphasis, eg. 19a, 32b, 35b (note that these last two appear in stretches which have additional special pitch features), 53. It also occurs in Kiswahili kētubamāka 60 'Kiswahili is spoken', sāmbu 65 'because', and ntāngu 102 'time'.

#### 11.6: patterns in the text.

Since the formulation 'high pitch on the penultimate' is of such wide application, no 'sample passage' will be taken as in previous chapters; instead, reference will be made to exceptions throughout the text.

##### 11.6.1: high pitch on the last syllable.

This occurs with:

- (i) French loanwords:

avió 5 'aeroplane'  
 yuniversiti 17, 78 'university'  
 bapantáló 38 'trousers'  
 tllikó 39 'cardigan (?)'  
 kaminyó 43 'vehicle'  
 ekwatór 57 'equator'  
 guvɛrnámǎ 70, 94 'government'  
 prezidǎ 89 'president'

bamuzisýé 91 'musicians'  
 basoló 92 'soloists'  
 Zaír (passim) 'Zaire';

## (ii) miscellaneous:

Kivú 88 'Kivu'  
 (m)penzè 8 'really'  
 minkandá 19 'books' (there may be some influence from  
 mu(n)kandá 21 'paper' Lingala with this word - cf.  
 endnote 1)  
 mucídí 103 'bank' (cc. mucídí 101, mucídí 100);

(iii) there are two words which seem to be treated as both monosyllables and disyllables. The word for 'also' was presumably originally \*mpí, a monosyllable. However, syllabification of the nasal seems to have produced two competing forms: /m-pí (eg. 2a, 6b, 30a, 61, 71, etc., cf. also 58 ímpí), where the pitch has been assigned as usual to the penultimate syllable, and m-pí (eg. 30b, 33b, 63, etc., cf. ímpí 91), where the pitch has been retained on what is now the last syllable. Note also the forms ímpí 56, 60, 61 and mpí 33a, 76. The same variation occurs to a lesser extent with n-tswá 23b 'permission' versus n-dzwa 23a (with voicing). Compare also n-dzo-44, 45 'house', where the form with penultimate high seems to be usual - note what seems to be a transference of this high pitch in ná ndzo-nkánda 48 'to my studies (lit. to the library)'.  
 .

## 11.6.2: words without high pitch.

These may be grouped as follows:

## (i) showing no high pitch in most of the recorded instances:

kantsí 6, 29a, 40b, 58, 63, 81, 86 'but'  
 bantu 21a, 30, 52, 56, 57, 58, 62, 64, 70, 73, 82, 86, 87, 91 'people'  
 (but note bantú in 21b and 74)  
 mbala 25, 31, 66, 75, 78, 93, 94 'occasion'  
 kana 2b, 33, 59, 70 'if' / 29a, 75)  
 nde 11a, 29b, 52, 59, 61, 72, 78, 85, 89, 93 'that' (cc. ndé 11b,  
 makulu 43 'feet'  
 kundíma 89 'agree'  
 ndeke 5 'bird, plane' (this was pronounced ndéke during  
 the discussions of 11.7; the use of this  
 word rather than the now archaic n(y)úni  
 was said to be due to the influence of  
 Lingala);

(ii) occurring both with and without high pitch:

awa 3,24,27,35,48 (cc. 1,31) 'here'  
 go 33 (cc. 31,43) 'or'  
 (na) yandi 68,90 (cc. 60) 'his'  
 (na) mono 104 (cc. 1) 'my'  
 Lingala 88 (cc. 85) 'Lingala'  
 takuma 93 (cc. 85) '(it) will become'  
 penepene 99 (cc. 104) 'over, up'  
 mucidi 101 (cc. 100,103) 'bank'  
 yee 17b 'and'  
 ti 28b,34a,37b 'and'  
 yo 36b 'it (is)'  
 bo 31b,33b (cc. 30) 'they'  
 nge 38b 'you'  
 beto 50a 'us'  
 pipi 45a 'close'  
 mbote(-mbote) 19b 'very good' (cf. 45a,59,87 with this  
 basic pattern, but mbóte-mbóte in 45b)  
 ata fgoti 46a 'the slightest'  
 ikele 2b,45b 'is, are'  
 kevanaka 37b '(it) is'  
 kekumaka 42a '(they) become'  
 kupesaka 47a '(which you) gave'.

Note also the interesting *kisiwo* yaí 49a 'this dry season' versus *kisiwo* yaí 49b, where in each case only one word in the group has high pitch.

These examples suggest either (i) that certain words usually have no high pitch, or (ii) that words may lose their high pitch in certain contexts. However, a combination of these ideas of no high pitch basically, and suppression of high pitch, may best account for the above examples, the former applying perhaps to the words in section (i)<sup>12</sup>, and the latter to the words in section (ii).

### 11.6.3: bridges on words.

There are a number of cases where words have high pitch on both syllables of a disyllabic <sup>root,</sup> although very often another instance has the usual high pitch on the penultimate syllable. The phenomenon seems

to be more common in the passages that were read from a prepared text. The resultant contour is very similar to the hesitation bridge, and indeed with  $n\grave{a}m\acute{a}$  15 'afterwards',  $m\grave{o}s\acute{a}$  27 (cf. 65) 'a',  $m\grave{p}\grave{e}m\acute{b}\acute{e}$ <sup>13</sup> 41 'white',  $y\grave{a} n\grave{k}\acute{a}k\acute{e}$  42 (cf. 35) 'some' and  $m\grave{i}ng\acute{a}$  50 (cf. 77) 'greatest' version b has a following pause, though version a does not. In other cases there is no following pause, but one might be expected to occur:

$b\grave{a}m\grave{i}nd\grave{e}l\acute{e}$  3 'Europeans' occurs at the end of a parenthesis;  
 $f\grave{y}\acute{o}t\acute{a}$  34a 'youth' occurs before  $t\acute{i}$  'and, or';  
 $\grave{i}m\grave{p}\acute{a}$  56 (cf. 60,61) 'also'  
 $b\grave{a}ndzo-n\grave{k}\acute{a}nd\grave{a}$  77 (cf. 45) 'schools' both show final hesitation;  
 $m\grave{i}ng\acute{a}$  77 (cf. 50) 'a lot' occurs before  $e$  'er, um'.

However, not all instances of the pattern can be accounted for in terms of hesitation, and the remainder (all but 3 of which occur in the read passages) seem to fall into two main groups:

(i) the word in question is the subject of the clause or sentence:

$m\grave{b}\acute{v}\acute{u}l\acute{e}$  5b 'rain'  
 $y\grave{o}o\grave{n}t\acute{s}\acute{o}$  7b 'either'  
 $y\grave{e}n\acute{d}\acute{a}$  32b 'he'  
 $n\grave{t}\acute{a}l\acute{u}$  35a 'the price'  
 $k\grave{i}m\acute{e}$  35a 'a thing'  
 $y\grave{a}n\grave{k}\acute{a}k\acute{e}$  35 (cf. 42) 'another'  
 $m\grave{o}n\acute{o}$  14,35a,46a,92 'I'  
 $m\grave{a}d\acute{i}d\acute{a}$  37b 'the cold'  
 $n\grave{d}zo-n\grave{k}\acute{a}nd\grave{a}$  44b '(my) studies'  
 $b\grave{e}t\acute{o}$  48 'we'.

The fact that for most of these examples the other version has the more common form with high pitch on the penultimate syllable suggests that the form with two highs is a free variant.

(ii) the word occurs in close proximity with the connective  $n\grave{a}$ :

after:  $n\grave{a}m\acute{a}$  15a 'afterwards'  
 $z\acute{u}l\acute{u}$  39b 'top'  
 $n\grave{t}\acute{a}ng\acute{u}$  47b 'time'  
 $b\grave{a}ndzo-n\grave{k}\acute{a}nd\grave{a}$  77 (cf. 45) 'schools'

before:  $b\grave{a}m\grave{i}nd\grave{e}l\acute{e}$  3 'Europeans'  
 $k\grave{u}n\acute{a}$  9 'there'  
 $m\grave{o}n\acute{o}$  14 'me'

zòlè' 15a 'two'  
 mǎngí' 50a (cf. 77) 'greatest'  
 ìkèlè' 67 (cf. 27b) '(he) has'.

As can be seen, this group crosscuts the previous two groupings to a large extent.

(iii) other examples:

bàlǎngyí' 19a 'the lecturers'  
 ìkèlè'<sup>14</sup> 27b (cf. 67) '(they) are'  
 mòsì' 65 (cf. 27a) 'one'.

Although this pattern sometimes occurs several times on the same word (eg. *mono*, *mǎngí*), there does not seem to be enough evidence here to postulate a class of words with high-pitched roots, especially since many examples have variants with only one high pitch. Of course, this is not to say that such a class does not exist, but merely that the evidence here, when taken in conjunction with the very common pause-marking function of the plateau pattern, seems to point more towards hesitation with the words concerned, even if no actual pause follows. It may be that there is a tendency for the pattern to occur in certain syntactic (eg. subject) or morphological (eg. with *nə*) contexts, but the evidence even for this is not conclusive. The fact that most examples occur in the read passages, where we would expect a certain amount of hesitation, is another factor in favour of a description in terms of hesitation-conditioned variants.

#### 11.6.4: bridging between words.

Bridging as hitherto defined (ie. where the high pitches of two contiguous words are pronounced on the same pitch, sometimes with raising of intervening low pitches) occurs only in 9 of the 22 cases noted below, since many of the words concerned are monosyllabic. Bridging in general seems to be much less common than in previous texts (cf. 9.3.11), and in fact seems to take a slightly different form, since there are variants in which the high pitch seems to fall before rising again to complete the bridge, eg. *bò kénwá* [ - - ] 31a 'they drink', but *bò kénwá* [ ^ - ] 33a. Compare also *yóo yína* 24a 'that is why' (cc. *yòo yína* 24b), *bəpantalò zòlè* 38 'two pairs of trousers'.

It is uncertain how these instances should be treated; we might suggest that two contiguous high pitches, when occurring on different words, have two possible realisations: h-h → h-h (bridge) or f-h. But this variance seems to suggest that the high pitch entity possesses some component such as a fall, i.e. that the drop in pitch after a high pitch is just as important as the high pitch itself (cf. Carter 1973, p.13, and also 4.6.1 of this thesis), though at times this drop may be so short as to give the impression of two successive high pitches. If this view is correct, it would mean that bridging in kiLeta is rather different from that found in kiKongo. This might be supported by the two facts mentioned above: that bridging is much less common, and that it mostly applies only to two successive high pitches, with the raising of intervening low-pitches syllables comparatively rare.

Instances of bridging are as follows:

(i) subject + verb:

- bò kénwà 30,31a 'they drink'  
 bò kètubáka 76 'they speak'  
 bò kúkotáka 77 'they have entered'  
 bò kezóla 85 'they want'  
 ngè tála 87 'you look'  
 ngè kezóla 33 'you want'  
 mú kemóna 85 'I see'  
 ntálú ya makàya méluta 35 'the price of tobacco exceeds'  
 Kiswahili kètubamàka 60 'Kiswahili is spoken'.

(ii) verb + object:

- tayùla ngé 32b '(he) will ask you'.

(iii) adjunct + following item:

- gò káfe 31b 'or coffee' (cc. gó káfe 31a, go káfe 33)  
 yòo yína 24b 'that is why'  
 yò yáí 36a (cf. 81) 'it (is) this'  
 yò m'ingyí 34 '... it a lot'  
 tí bayakalá 34b 'and men'  
 tí bá-Zaír 58 'or Bas-Zaire'  
 vé áwa 40b 'not here'.

(iv) noun + qualifier:

- údzò-nkànda na móno 45b 'my place of study'

note also ntángu <sub>Λ</sub> mwà míngí 101 'a long time'.

To sum up: the concept of bridging does not seem so helpful here as in kiKongo, since in many cases the bridges might be described as the mere juxtaposition of two high pitches. Further, they do not seem to occur in positions where we might expect emphasis, or in one type of passage more than another. It might therefore be best to consider bridges in kiLeta as variants with no special significance, though reserving full judgement on bridges over several syllables until more examples present themselves.

#### 11.6.5: falling pitch.

Apart from those examples noted under 11.6.4, falling pitch also occurs in mbá 28a 'badness', bŋ 76 'they', tŋ 33a 'or', vé 31 'not'. Note that these are all monosyllabic, and all except bŋ occur pre-pausally.

There is an interesting set of words which have two high pitches, the last of which is pronounced with a fall: munkàndá 21b 'paper', bántú 21b,74 'people', míngí 37b 'great', kàntsá 53 'but', cf. also 'ankákáa 66 'some'. Note that these all occur pre-pausally, except the last. Moreover, they all occur in the b version (which I have already suggested (11.5) may be more 'vivid' than the a version) and the spoken passage, which seems to characterise them as typical of more lively monologue. When we note that they all occur in contexts where the speaker might be expected to use a certain amount of emphasis, it seems reasonable to suppose that we have here a marked form (hf instead of the usual pausal hh), used to highlight what the speaker is saying. This gains credibility from the fact that in the great majority of other instances of bántu (11.6.2.i), it has no high pitch, so that the difference between marked and unmarked forms for this item is more obvious.

#### 11.6.6: verbal patterns.

Verbal forms show a variety of patterns. In most cases there seems to be a majority form, but there also seem to be fairly numerous exceptions to these. Moreover, it may be that in some of the patterns stress has been confused with high pitch, so the following listing is not final.

- (1) past indefinite (base + -ka, sometimes ku- + base + -ka): the majority form is penultimate high, eg. lombáká 21 '(I) asked', kupelísáká 10 '(they) lit'. But note:
- (i) high on antepenultimate and penultimate, eg. kukulumúkáká 5b '(I) disembarked', kupóláká 6b '(they) got wet', kubuyáká 23b '(they) refused', mónáká 24b '(you) have seen'. Note that these all occur in the b version. It is possible that the first high is actually stress, especially since in 3 of the cases it occurs on the root-syllable.
  - (ii) high on penultimate and final, eg. vandáká 7b,9b,10,99 '(it) was', kuláláká 8b '(it) set', zoláká 36a '(I) want', kubulukáká 74 'who have congregated', kwisáká 103 '(he) came'.
  - (iii) kúkotáká 77 '(they) have entered'.
- (2) present habitual (ke- + base + -ka): the majority form has high pitch on ke- and on the penultimate, eg. kétubáká 64,73 '(they) speak'. But note:
- (i) kébíngáká 21b '(they) call'.
  - (ii) kebíngáká 21a, kelongukáká 71 '(they) learn'.
- (3) present progressive (ke- + base): the majority form seems to be high on the penultimate, eg. kebánsá 93 '(I) think', though this may occur pausally (38b,70) or in bridge (33,74,85). But note:
- (i) high on ke-, eg. kézólá 29a '(they) like', kénwá 30,31 '(they) drink', kébwáká 41 '(it) falls', kétulá 48 '(I) am devoting', kéndíma 86 '(they) agree', kétubá yó 58 '(they) speak it'.
  - (ii) high on ke- and penultimate, eg. kézólá 26a '(I) want', kétúbá 65,66 '(they) speak'.
- (4) present perfect (me- + base): there are not enough examples to say which is the majority form. There are three patterns:
- (i) high pitch on me- and the penultimate syllable, eg. mékatúka 74 'who have come', mékutáná 75 '(they) meet' (pre-pausal); the two highs may be in bridge, eg. mēlúta 4b 'which has preceded', mēlálá 11 '(it) has set', mēkwénda 70 '(he) has gone'.
  - (ii) high on the penultimate, eg. melúta 4a,25 'which has preceded', memóna 28 '(I) have seen', mesála 28b '(they) have done', melúta 35b '(it) has exceeded'.
  - (iii) high on me-, eg. mésaala 28a, mēluta 35a.

- (5) future indefinite (ta- + base): the majority form has high pitch on the penultimate syllable, eg. tatúba 78 '(they) will speak'. But note takuma '(it) will become'.

#### 11.6.7: conclusions.

It appears, therefore, that in the great majority of cases in these texts, high pitch occurs on the penultimate syllable, though a few words seem to have high pitch on the last syllable, or no high pitch at all. Hesitation or pause may raise the final syllable of the word. It seems possible to discern some differences between each text: the b version is slightly more vivid than the a version (having extra-high pitches and fewer hesitation bridges), and the read passages have distinctive features when compared with the spoken passages (loss of high pitch, high pitch on both syllables, hesitation-conditioned bridges). Moreover, the emphatic hf contour occurs only in the b version and the spoken passage.

It can be seen that there is a very large degree of correlation between Fehderau's description and the contours of the texts discussed above. There are three main similarities:

- (a) the frequent occurrence of high pitch on the penultimate syllable in the texts is similar to Fehderau's most common class (I), with penultimate high pitch;
- (b) stress is commonly associated with high pitch in the texts - indeed, as noted in 11.5, it is sometimes difficult to say which is which. In Fehderau's description stress usually occurs on the root-syllable, but this very often coincides with the high-pitched penultimate syllable anyway. Moreover, he notes that in class II, with final high pitch, the root-syllable stress tends to move to the final syllable to coincide with the high pitch. We might also note Fehderau's uncertainty in the case of komansə/komansé (cf. 11.4.2.1); this may have to do with the development of his ideas, but it does show that high pitch and stress in kiLeta are easily confused;
- (c) the lənda/lənda variance noted in Fehderau 1962 (11.4.2.1) may bear some relationship to a possible neutral/marked pair lənda/lənda<sup>h</sup> (cf. 11.6.5). (But note the alternative explanation in endnote 7.)

Nevertheless, there is one important difference: there seems no

reason to posit special tone-classes for the words in these texts (though it may be that a small minority depart from the general pattern). I have suggested above (11.4.1.4) that Fehderau's description does not make it plain enough that one class far outnumbered all the rest, and that there seems to be a simple rule governing stress-placement in his data. His methods of description could therefore be misleading when applied to the texts here.

11.7: comments on variant contours.

Detailed discussion of a few key sentences revealed several possibilities for contour variance.

- (i) With regard to the general idea of intonation, Mr. Katesi said that the contours depended on 'the emotions, and the attitudes towards a person I am talking to, and then I think that the voice or the intonation depends on that. I might be angry and raise my voice when I use one word or a phrase or sentence. ... In some sentences, for instance, you would notice that you don't have a word like *nani* ['who'] which might introduce a question, or *inkí kima*<sup>15</sup> ['what'] there, but you will notice just by the intonation that there is a question'. On the difference in contours when reading and when speaking spontaneously, he commented, 'When I am reading I think that I am a little bit conscious that I'm reading, and I have to read in such a way because the sentences are [already] there of course. When I speak, you see, at the same time the sentences come, and the attitudes - there are a lot of factors; but here I've just got the text there I have to read'. Of emphasis he said, 'When the emphasis is on one word, it means that the information provided by the word has not been given - maybe the person got some cue, but he didn't get the exact information'. He added, 'This question of intonation - sometimes it is not conscious'.
- (ii) 'Who is there?' This was given in a series from slow and unelided to fast and elided: *náni íkéle kúna?*, *náni kéle kúna?*, *náni kĕ kúna?*, *náni ke kúna?*, *náni ke kúna?* *Náni kĕ kúná?* and *náni ... kéle kúna?* also occurred. For emphasis, 'who is over there?', *náni ke kúna?* was given.

Since *-kúna* also means 'sow', the sentence could also theoretically mean 'who is sowing?', as Mr. Katesi pointed out: *náni ké kúna?*, *náni*

ke kuna? Since there is no difference in the contour, 'it depends now also on the context, the situation, and so on'. However, he noted that this sequence would almost always be used as a minor sentence, if the speaker 'told you for instance that somebody is sowing': náni ke kùná? or ↑nání ke kùná? In most other cases 'I think that we need a complement': náni ke kùná matiti? 'who is sowing the grain?'<sup>16</sup>

- (iii) 'Who saw you?' Nání monáka ngé?, nání monáka nge?, nání monaka ngé?, nání monaka nge? The exact difference between these four is unclear. The first may be slow, distinct speech, and the third may be a variant of this, suppressing the high pitch on monaka to give more prominence to that on nge.

The second tends to emphasise monaka.

The fourth would tend to emphasise nani ('you want to know chiefly "who?" '), and this may be reinforced by pronouncing nani slowly and with emphasis.

However, nání monáka ngé? or nání monaka ngé? can also emphasise nge, while nání monaka ngé or nání monáka ngé? again emphasise nge, but convey an element of surprise (though Mr. Katesi was not entirely sure about this).

When replying 'X saw me' the high pitch was usually on the X item, eg. ndzéndza monaka mono 'the visitor ...', mbuta-muntu monaka mono 'the gentleman ...', tata na ngé monaka mono 'your father ...', etc.

- (iv) 'Do you want me to eat rice?' ↑Ngé kezóla múnu kúdyá lóso?

The statement form would be ngé kezóla múnu kúdyá lóso (the same contour, but in a normal key) or ngè kezóla múnu kúdyá loso.

Nge kezóla munu kudya loso? sounds 'a bit awkward', though some people (eg. missionaries) might use it, or it might occur if the speaker was angry - 'the tune is not common'.

Ngè kezóla múnu kúdyá lósó, gó nyama? 'do you want me to eat rice ... or meat?'

Ngé kezóla munu kudya lósó? would have somewhat the same connotation, emphasising loso.

Ngè kezóla munu kudya lóso? could mean the same, but might also imply 'I see that you want me to eat rice, you are forcing me to eat rice'.

Nge kezóla múnu kudya loso seems not to be possible, though nge

kezola yãndi kudya loso, kansi m̀nú ve 'you want him to eat meat, but not me' did occur (with a few variants), 'emphasising - not in the sense of "him, not me" ... yes, it might mean so, but I think it can also mean in the sense of "must" - it might introduce a sense of obligation'.

(v) 'I came to London'. M̀ono kwisáka na L̀ondrã.

Ngyééle kuL̀ondrã was what Mr. Katesi learnt in school - 'when these people speak kiNtandu or the other [dialects] you notice that there is a lot of intonation or tones'.

M̀ono kwisáka na L̀ondrã sounds like a question, but is not normal: 'maybe someone asking a question where he is surprised ... in answer to a statement made by somebody else'.

M̀ono kwisáka na L̀ondrã might mean something similar, as if you queried somebody's statement that you had been in London, or that he had seen you in London.

Mono kwisáka na Londrã is possible, presumably to emphasise kwisáka.

M̀onó kwisáká na L̀ondrã 'might be a question of hesitation, or you don't know what you're going to say afterwards. Or a pause to make this kind of thing important, so people would expect to know where you came [to] ... maybe the person wants people to ... guess what is coming next'.

M̀onó kwisáka na Londrã is possible, 'but not very usual, unless there is a hesitation'.

M̀ono kwisáka na L̀ondrã sámbu na kutála nge 'I came to London in order to see you' is a neutral form.

M̀ono kwisáka na L̀ondrã sámbu na kutála nge is possible, emphasising London, 'not somewhere else. But it means that we are not in London, maybe'.

M̀ono kwisáka na L̀ondrã sámbu na kutála nge (kutála pronounced slowly and emphatically) 'won't sound quite normal unless somebody wants to insist, or he is a little bit angry, or he has got a special attitude. Unless you are maybe angry, or someone asks you to repeat again and again and you say m̀ono kwisáka na L̀ondrã sámbu na kutála ngé ... he is insisting that he came to see him. Chiefly when people have arguments they try to insist like this'.

(vi) 'Did I come to Kinshasa?' Asked if there was any difference between

móno kwisáka na Kintshásá? and móno kwisáka na Kintshása? Mr. Katesi said that the second would be the more natural of the two, though the speaker would be surprised in both cases - in the second that his interlocutor was referring to him, in the first that his interlocutor was referring to Kinshasa. 'There is a very slight difference in meaning ... In the second one I think that it is maybe "you saw somebody else, but not me": [the speaker] is surprised that you are saying that you saw him or that he went to Kinshasa, but it is definitely not him. But in the first one maybe [the speaker] went somewhere, but not in Kinshasa. Maybe you saw him somewhere [else], but according to [the speaker] it seems unlikely to be Kinshasa'.

(vii) 'Your brother will not be coming to Kinshasa'. Mbúta na ngé takwísa vé na Kintshása. A pause is possible after ve, but in such a case the word seems to have no high pitch. A pause after the first three words gives them the contour mbúta na ngé.

Mbúta na ngé takwísa dyáka vé na Kintsyása 'your brother will no longer be coming to Kinshasa [as expected]'. Asked whether it were possible to pronounce the vé here as vé, Mr. Katesi said that this emphasised the negative: 'I haven't said it myself many times, but I have often heard people insisting like this [in arguments]'.

(viii) 'My father [works hard]'. Táta na móno kèsála kísálu ngólo (note the cognate object, again showing a dislike of ellipsis<sup>16</sup>).

As a minor sentence in answer to the question nání kèsála kísálu ngólo? 'who works hard?' we might have táta na mono.

Táta na móno? would imply that 'I want to make sure I got what you said'.

Táta na móno? implies that 'you are maybe surprised, you didn't know what he was saying, or maybe you just want to check'.

When mono was given the 'hesitation' contour noted earlier (v), táta na móno kèsála kísálu ngólo, Mr. Katesi said, 'I don't actually see a great difference'.

Tata na móno kèsála kísálu ngólo (mono pronounced slowly and emphatically): 'maybe you want to correct what somebody said before; maybe he implied that it is his father, and now you want to say it is your father who is doing it - in this case the person might be a bit excited anyway': táta na móno kèsála kísálu ngólo, táta na ngé ve, táta na móno 'my father works hard, not your father, my father'.

- (ix) 'Is this the book belonging to this person?' Inki<sup>15</sup> yáí munkánda  
ya muntu yáí?, inki yáí munkánda ya muntu yáí?<sup>17</sup>  
Munkánda ya muntu yáí is possible, but 'I think [then] there is  
definitely an emphasis on yáí.  
Munkánda ya muntu yáí may possibly emphasise muntu: 'not other  
people's, or not ours, but it belongs to this person'.  
Munkánda ya muntu yáí also occurred (giving prominence to munkánda?).
- (x) 'My father's chair'. Kítí ya táta na móno, kítí ya táta na mono.  
Kítí ya táta na móno or kítí ya táta na móno would imply that  
the speaker was pointing out the chair and saying not to touch it.  
Kítí ya táta na móno (spoken fast) would imply that the speaker  
'is a bit angry maybe'. It might be said as a minor sentence answering  
the question yáí kítí ya náni? 'whose chair is this?' ('maybe the  
person is inquiring where people are going to sit down'), 'but it  
sounds a little bit that the person who is answering is less polite,  
anyway, to insist like this: "not of your father, not of somebody  
else, but of my father", because I would say that the idea is, even  
if the father is yours he belongs to the society, he is the father  
of everybody, anybody will call him táta, so why should you emphasise  
on that?'  
Kítí ya táta na mono seems to be impossible.  
Kítí ya táta na móno would indicate surprise.
- (xi) 'My older brother'. Mbúta na móno, mbúta na mono - the latter  
implies that the speaker is 'a little bit happy'.  
Mbúta na móno 'doesn't seem to be quite regular, but if somebody  
says it maybe he is very very happy ... chiefly between children'.  
Mbúta na nge would denote surprise, and emphasise nge - 'I mean  
the person is maybe surprised to hear that [the other person's]  
brother is coming, and he wants to know even more'.  
Mbúta na móno (spoken slowly and emphatically) would denote that  
'[the speaker] is very happy - "you must know that it is my brother  
who is coming"'.  
Mbuta nge sounds 'very awkward - perhaps ná nge could be a  
kind of humour, but not a normal pattern'.
- (xii) During discussion of the translated passage (ll. 96-104), a  
seeming tonal minimal pair appeared: mútambi 'fishing-net', but  
mutámbi 'fisherman [with net]'. However, on further investigation

it turned out that Mr. Katesi used only *mútambi* with any frequency, preferring *pəshə̀r* (< *pəcheur*) for the personal noun, and that this applied to most people - in fact, he sometimes had great difficulty in remembering to say *mutámbi* for the person. It is therefore a moot point whether we actually do have a pair *mútambi/mutámbi* - it seems rather to be *mútambi/pəshə̀r*.

Enough recurring principles can be discerned (eg. extra-high final bridge denoting a surprised question, high pitch on every word denoting insistence and even impoliteness) to suggest that we do indeed have here a fairly well-developed system of intonation.<sup>18</sup> The main method of altering the connotation of various stretches seems to be the suppression or raising of the high pitches on various items in that stretch. Very often, this amounts to what we might call a 'moveable peak', though there does not seem to be enough information at present to say much about the relationship between place of peak and connotation.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, the difference between, or factor governing, right-hand suppression in a nominal group (which seems to be the most usual), eg. *mbutá-múntu*<sup>20</sup> 'gentleman', as against left-hand suppression, eg. *táta na mono* 'my father', is as yet unclear.

When comparing the notes above with what Fehderau 1962 says about intonation (11.4.2.2), it must be admitted that the two sets of comments show few points of contact. We might suggest that Fehderau's informant merely used stress (instead of high pitch) for non-final words, reserving high pitch for the final word of the sentence so as to give specific sentence finals.

#### 11.8: summary.

This chapter has examined earlier work on *kiLeta* (11.4), and suggests improvements in the systematisation that work proposes (11.4.1.4), though recognising that the work forms a very useful basis for future research. Analysis of the texts (11.6) shows that it is most common for *kiLeta* to have high pitch on the penultimate syllable, and that there are some differences between spoken and read versions of the language. Finally, the comments on variant contours (11.7) show that *kiLeta* seems to be well on the way to systematising several intonation features.

Endnotes to chapter eleven.

1. Fehderau 1967 pp. 46-47 notes that there seems to be tonal contrast, eg. mukongo 'back', mukóngo 'Kongo person', mukanda 'skin', mukánda 'book'.

In 1969 he marks these examples

mukòngó, mukóngo  
mukànda, mukánda  
[- - -] [- - -]

Fehderau does however note that this contrast seems to carry little functional load. Are the examples given real minimal pairs, or are they accidental? (Cf. 11.7.xii.) Mukongo 'back' looks like a loan-word from Lingala (cf. mokongo in Dzokanga 1979), and no kiKongo cognate is given in Laman 1936. In the case of the second pair, the cognate nkánda in Laman 1936 is given for both meanings. The Lingala mokandá (Dzokanga 1979) means 'letter', but the pattern seems to be closer to the pattern given by Fehderau 1969 for 'skin'. Compare the CB -kandá 'letter', -kánda 'skin', where the patterns and meanings are also switched. All in all, it would seem that we require many more examples before we can suggest that there is tonal contrast in kileta.

2. The layout of the dictionary leaves something to be desired, as prefix and stem are not segmented, eg. -kumísa 'finish' is followed by ku-móna 'to see'.
3. Kafumbá, káká, kibéndé, kibúkilo, kindumbá, kitémwé, kóngó, kuná, and loans kabíné, kádó, kafé, kalesó, kámínio, kàré, kàrtó, kàwusú, kàyé, kilésó, kiló, kimásó, kómá, kómándá, kómansé, kómí, kómpaní, kòntíné, kòntará, kònzé, krèyón, kùrtyé, kùpé, kùsé, kwàkér.
4. Kana, kansí, kasíndí, ketí, kibuka, kidíkidi, kidiba, kidinga, kifú, kikodí, kilanga, kilungí, kilunzi, kimbwa, kimia, kimpá, kimuntu, kimununu, kindokí, kinduku, kinganga, kinsuní, kinunu, kinwe, kinzana, kipesí, kipíka, kipubu, kiríkin, kisungí, kisi, kisoní, kíta, kitemba, kitende, kivumu, kiya, kiziba, kizitu, kubwa, kudia, kufwa, kuka, kukis, kukusa, kumana, kunda, kundima, kunwa, kusa, kwa, kwanga, and loan kopá.
5. There are three items which belong to none of the classes described by Fehderau: the indigenous kékete, the English loan klím, and the French loan katekísima. These pose some problems of classification, ie. what status do we assign to epenthetic vowels? To a certain

extent these problems also occur with kwártu, Klísto and kárte in class I. We might rewrite these words k(í)lím(u), katekís(í)mə, kwár(u)tu, K(í)lís(í)to, kár(e)te, and we then note that the high pitch occurs on the penultimate or only syllable which has a 'full' vowel. It therefore seems reasonable to put these words in class I. Kékete, however, is still problematic.

6. Fehderau notes, though, that this stress tends to move to the last syllable (ie. the high-pitched syllable) in speech.
7. It is possible that we do not have here a distinction lənda (present)/lənda (past), but in fact one lənda/ləndaə. The regular past formation from lənda 'can, is able' would be lənda(k)a 'could, was able' (11.2.6); however, as noted in 11.3.a [k] is often elided. This would mean that we do not have here a minimal pair distinguished by stress placement, but a regular present/past alternation, with lənda(k)ə being heard by Fehderau as having final stress when it has in fact final length. But see also 11.6.7.
8. The hesitation bridge (2.2.6.b.ii) is by far the most common pausal marker, though it should be noted that it does not occur before all pauses. There are several instances of one of the versions of the letter (11. 1-50) having the bridge, and the other one not, eg. ku\lálá 9a 'going down', yə mbv\lálá 17a 'of the year', yə mbòté 27b 'good', yə mad\lólí 40a 'of coldness'. The fact that the a version seems to have more examples of the bridge may be an indication that it is less spontaneous than the b version. In quite a few cases the pause has no special pitch indication, eg. nə bétó 26b 'our', kuv\ílə 36b 'to note', yáí 64,82 'these', nə kumónə 82 'on seeing'.
9. The reason is that most of the handful of words with final high pitch are French loan-words; since some of these do not occur pre-pausally and yet have this final high pitch, it seems best from the point of view of systematisation to mark it in all cases with an acute.
10. This may be due to the influence of Lingala, whose pitch system shows virtually no downdrift (J.H. Carter, p.c.).
11. This is in contrast to kiKongo, where it is most common for high pitch to occur on the root-syllable. It should be noted though that in many cases root-syllable and penultimate syllable coincide (see also 16.3.2).
12. It will be remembered that there is a sizeable number of words in Fehderau 1969 which have no high pitch (class III) - see 11.4.1.1.

13. Note that Fehderau lists this as being an all-high stem (class II).
14. The example *íkéle* 57 may be a variant of *íkéle*.
15. [i]nki seems to act as a question marker (cf. *je* in Swahili), eg. *ínki bó kekúisa ná Lóndra?* 'do they come to London?'
16. It is to be noted that Mr. Katesi did not seem to like ellipsis or indefiniteness in the sentences he discussed. Nouns were almost always made specific, eg. *nkénto ná ngé* 'your wife', *mpfúmu ya bwála* 'the chief of the village', *múntu mósi* 'a man', etc.
17. Note the variant patterns on *munkanda*; the latter pattern may owe something to Lingala influence (cf. endnote 1). Note also the use of *inki* as a question marker (cf. endnote 15).
18. It might be said that, apart from a rising contour in 36-37, and a low contour in 32b and 72, the texts themselves do not show much of what we would term intonation, ie. pitch differences applying over sentences to give varying connotations. However, we must remember that these texts were mostly neutral as regards contour.
19. This method of altering connotation could be said to stand midway between word-pitch (tone) and sentence-pitch (intonation). The units used to alter the contour are words (by suppression or raising of their high pitch), the domain of this contour is the phrase, but since the effect of suppressing or raising certain high pitches is to give a different contour over the phrase, this contributes to the contour being associated with the phrase rather than with the words, thus making it easier for the phrasal contour to be used as a unit when the idea of sentence-contours develops.
20. Historically *mbut'* *amuntu* (noun + genitive), but now best treated as a compound.

## CHAPTER TWELVE

## The Mechanisms of Contour Variation

## 12.1: introduction.

In chapter 11 it was noted (11.7) that kiLeta seems to be developing an intonation system, though no more than the outlines can be discerned at present.<sup>1</sup> Can anything similar be said about kiKongo? Chapters 4-10 included informants' comments on variant contours, and it is the aim of this chapter to assemble and summarise these comments<sup>2</sup> so as to give a preliminary systematisation of variant contour types and their function. The summarised comments, all from my main informant the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga<sup>3</sup>, are collected in Appendix 4, to which the numbers in the rest of this chapter refer.

## 12.2: difficulties.

There are several difficulties inherent in any such attempt to investigate contour variation:

- (a) the informant may be unable to vocalise his ideas of nuances of meaning;
- (b) he may misunderstand what he is being asked to comment on;
- (c) there is some difficulty in separating the effects of suprasegmental markers from those of other markers such as variant word order;
- (d) there is a dearth of examples in exactly comparable environments;
- (e) the investigator may misunderstand what the informant considered significant;
- (f) he may tend to see things from his own point of view rather than from that of the informant;
- (g) there is a great amount of wastage in examples presented for comment, the comments on perhaps only a quarter overcoming the above difficulties and seeming relevant to the inquiry.

Nevertheless, it is imperative that some account be given of these phenomena of contour variation if we are to begin to approach a full description of the kiKongo pitch system. It will become apparent in the rest of this chapter that, contrary to what might be expected, we are in fact presented with a remarkably consistent picture of the form and function of variant contours.

## 12.3: emphasis.

Most of the examples show a neutral/marked or normal/emphasised distinction. It would seem that such examples could be summed up as follows: 'emphasis may be achieved by the use of the non-expected'. That is, a sequence may be emphasised by one or more of the high pitches in that sequence being in a position or having an attribute that would not occur in the normal, neutral sequence.

Exponents of emphasis seem to be as follows:<sup>4</sup>

- (i) high pitch when none is expected, eg. 20b, 21b, 50a, 36c (cc. 5a), 42a(?), 49a, and perhaps 36a (cc. b). Thus: *imúntu ámbote* 'he is a good man' 5a neutral, *imúúntu wámbote* 36c emphatic.
- (ii) suppression of expected high pitch (cf. (vii) below), eg. 3a, 24c, 33b, 37b. Thus: *kyántátu* 'third' 37a neutral, *kyántatu* 37b emphatic.
- (iii) unexpected shift of high pitch, eg. 35a, 40a, 38b(?), 33b(?), and note rightward move in 10a, 29a. Thus: *batélama* 'they stood' 35b neutral, *bátelama* 35a emphatic.
- (iv) non-shift of normally shifted high pitch, eg. 49a, 36a (cc. c)(?), and note no rightward move in 11b. Thus: ... *madya mánkookíla* 'the evening meal' 49b neutral, *madya mánkóókíla* 49a emphatic (for the pattern on *madya* cf. (i) above).
- (v) falling pitch instead of low pitch, eg. 17b, 39b, 41b, 21b, 33b. The first three could also be classified under (i) above. Thus: *yéésu-kó* 'not Jesus' 41a neutral, *yéésu-kó* 41b emphatic.
- (vi) higher key, or extra-high pitch, eg. 18a, 22b, 25b, 36c (cc. 5a). Thus: *muna-káti kwáandi* 'inside him' 22a neutral, *muna-káti kwáandi* 22b emphatic.
- (vii) lower key, eg. 26, 36a. Thus: *muná-phwa yaphíla yáayi* 'in a situation of this kind' 26 emphatic.
- (viii) bridging, eg. 7b; 16b, 46b, 9b; 45a, 48a, 4a, 12a (these four are all at the beginning of a new topic); 51b, 27b, 34b, 31a, 33b. Thus: *bánkaka mubáau* 'some of them' 34a neutral, *bánkaka mubáau* 34b emphatic.

It is noticeable that one example may occur in several of the above categories, eg. 21b in (i) and (v); 36c in (i) and (vi); 49a in (i) and (iv); 36a in (i), (iv) and (vii); 33b in (ii), (iii), (v) and (viii). This suggests that several parameters of emphasis may intersect in a given case to convey the desired effect. Thus in the last example mentioned,

33b, we have:

mono	for monó	in a (ii above)
tàata	for taatá	in a (iii above)
mfwiidí	for mfuídi	in a (v above)
tàata mfwiidí	for taatá mfuídi	in a (viii above).

This concept of the simultaneous occurrence of several markers of emphasis may help to account for sequences where the patterns pose problems of description. Such a sequence is 47b (cf. 10.3.1.i). Looking at this in terms of emphatic parameters, we can say we have:

múlukənu	for mulukkənu	in a (iii above)
lwəsíka	for lwásika	in a (iv above)
Ndzaambi (no high pitch)	for Muváangi (high pitch on the root-syllable)	in a (ii above)
mpé with falling pitch		(v above).

The extra vowel-length in lwəsíka may also have an emphatic function (cf. 3b and 13a).

However, in putting forward this interpretation we are faced with one problem: namely, why is the reverse not possible? That is, since the above categories mostly fall into opposing pairs (i  $\Leftrightarrow$  ii; iii  $\Leftrightarrow$  iv; vi  $\Leftrightarrow$  vii), we could just as well work the other way, and say we have:

mulukkənu	for múlukənu	in b (iv above)
lwásika	for lwəsíka	in b (iii above), etc.

We would then be arguing that 47a is the marked phrase, and this view would be reinforced by the fact that 47a has a bridge (viii above), while 47b does not. Yet are the parameters of emphasis outlined above of any benefit if we can use them to argue both ways?

The point is that these parameters are purely descriptive; they are not prescriptive. We cannot use them by themselves to decide whether a given sequence is emphatic; however, once we conclude that this sequence is in fact emphatic, they can be used to describe how this emphasis is conveyed. In example 47, we conclude that 47b is the marked version on the basis of three considerations:

(1) 47b was said by the informant to be marked;

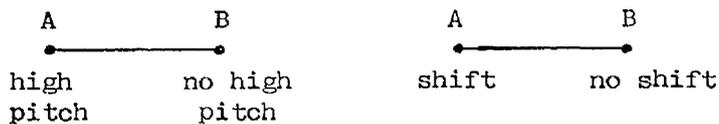
- (2) 47b fits less easily into the description proposed here than does 47a, ie. from the point of view of systematisation 47b is the odd one out;
- (3) 47b shows the distinctive falling pitch, which in other occurrences in the texts indicates emphasis.

On these grounds, 47b is considered the marked version, and it is only then that the above parameters may be applied.

12.4: intonational overlay.

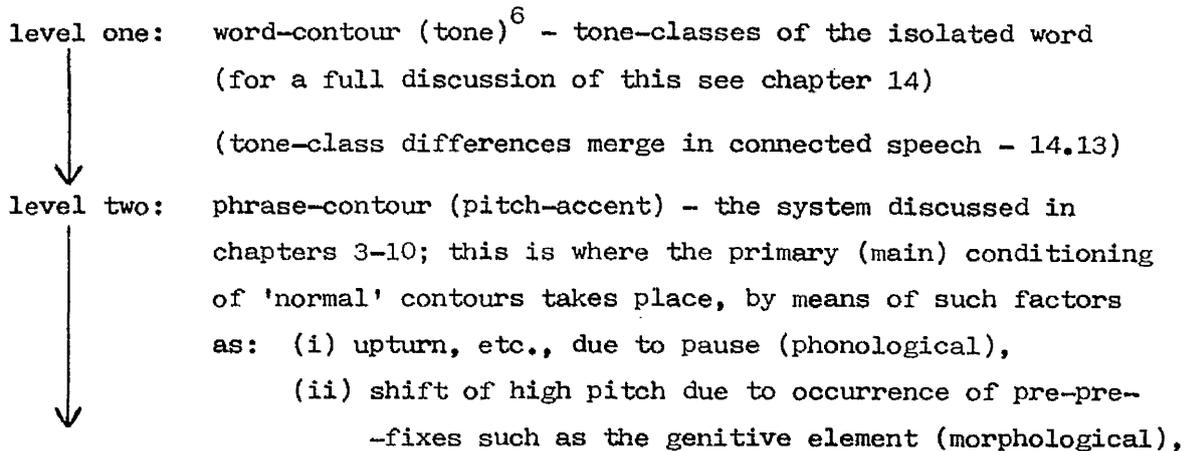
The previous paragraph raises the question of how to fit the idea of exponents of emphasis such as those listed above into the systematisation put forward in previous chapters. How, for example, do we differentiate between high pitch shift with, say, a genitive element, and high pitch shift for emphasis (12.3.iii)? On what basis do we say that one conveys no connotation of markedness, and yet hold that the other does?<sup>5</sup>

The only answer seems to lie in suggesting that this system of emphasis is an overlay to the pitch-accent system. We might visualise the above parameters of emphasis as a disturbance of the expected contours, and this would unite the opposing pairs in one whole. Thus we would have the parameters



If the word was 'normally' at point A, there would be the option of emphasising it by moving it to point B, and vice versa.

We therefore envisage a three-tier system, as follows:



(iii) bridging due to close association of items  
(syntactic), etc.

↓  
level three: connotation (intonation) - this is where the secondary conditioning of the contours established at level two may take place; the same mechanisms are used for the most part as at level two, but in this case to disturb, not to fix, the 'normal' contours.

We can now see why the parameters of emphasis cannot of themselves be used to decide whether or not a given sequence is marked - they are dependent on the contours conditioned at the lower level, two. That is, emphasis can be signalled only by modulating the 'normal' level two contour, and not by creating an entirely new emphatic contour based on, say, level one. In other words, a level three contour does not exist as an independent entity, but implies a pre-existing level two contour on which it is based. Since level three is strictly secondary to level two (the word 'overlay' is therefore apt), and yet uses much the same mechanisms, it cannot be used alone as a deciding factor for markedness.

This brings us to the question raised at the beginning of this section - on what basis do we distinguish, say, shift at level two and shift at level three? The result in each case is exactly the same - high pitch is moved one syllable leftwards. However, the significance in each case is different. At level two shift is, we might say, automatic; indeed, if the mechanisms at level two were not automatic, if they could not be taken for granted as the normal, neutral, expected pattern, then they could not be manipulated at level three for the purposes of emphasis. At level three, shift seems to be much more a conscious modulation of the expected contour by the speaker. In other words, therefore, we distinguish shift at levels two and three on the basis of the part it plays in the system as a whole: if a speaker attributes no special emphasis to a word with shift, then it is at level two; if, on the other hand, he does say it is emphatic, then the shift is at level three. The fact that the same mechanisms can occur at two different levels is significant; it is inherently likely that when a system develops it would do so by the extension of existing mechanisms, rather than by the creation of totally new ones.

It would therefore seem that to describe kiKongo contours fully we must look not only at the word, but also at the phrase and the whole context: all of these factors are crucial in conditioning the pitch contours.

#### 12.5: continuity.<sup>7</sup>

There seems to be one other main level three grouping in the examples besides that of emphasis - final versus non-final. It is more difficult to organise these examples, partly because there are fewer of them, but also because the final/non-final distinction cuts across the level two feature of pausality, eg. it is quite possible to have a non-final form occurring pre-pausally. Accordingly, the examples will merely be listed here.

Exponents of finality<sup>8</sup> seem to be:

- (i) move of high pitch towards the beginning of the word, eg. 44a, 8b (but see also 12.6.b) [cf. 12.3.iii],
- (ii) move of high pitch towards the end of the word, eg. 29a (though this may be more a matter of emphasis than finality) [cf. 12.3.iv],
- (iii) suppression of high pitch, eg. 24b (though the absence of high pitch on ingindu may be a variant, and the real marker of finality the absence of pausal upturn on z'áame) [cf. 12.3.ii],
- (iv) high pitch when none is expected, eg. 43b, 14b [cf. 12.3.i].

These categories are less clear-cut than those for emphasis, but it is notable that again we have a system of oppositions (i)  $\Leftrightarrow$  (ii), (iii)  $\Leftrightarrow$  (iv). Moreover, the categories are directly comparable to those suggested for emphasis. The possible significance of this appears when we examine one example in greater depth.

In example 32 we have \_\_\_kátala, katála\_\_\_, and \_\_\_(katala). The third instance (32c) shows no high pitch, in this case de-emphasising the word, since the action expressed is expected and therefore needs no attention drawn to it. 33a and b are interesting since they are very similar to 35a and b, and yet were explained differently by the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga. He explained 33a/b in terms of continuity, but 35a/b in terms of emphasis. The syntactic context is of course different in each case, but even so, the examples pose a problem: why should the same

features be explained in different ways? The answer may be that continuity and emphasis are in fact related; the final/non-final 33a/b is comparable to the emphatic/neutral 35a/b, and, as noted above, continuity and emphasis seem to be similarly expressed. We might therefore suggest that these two phenomena are subsets of a single category 'marked' on level three<sup>9</sup> (cf. also 7.6.3).

12.6: other examples.

A few other examples are worthy of comment:

- (a) examples 6a, 15a, and 23b are questions, from which it would seem that question intonation includes high pitch on the final syllable.
- (b) examples 5 and 8 show third person forms with high pitch nearer the beginning of the phrase than first person forms; since these are the only examples in the whole corpus (other than, possibly, 40 - cf. 8.6.1.vii) where there seems to be a distinction of this nature, it seems somewhat suspect. The different contours may be due to some other feature, eg. in 8 the distinction final/non-final is also adduced as a conditioning factor.
- (c) examples 19b and 36c show a paratactic connective - note the high pitch on the connective element ye- in each case (cf. 50a).
- (d) examples 30b and 38b show marked word-order, which interacts with pitch features to give an emphatic connotation.

12.7: summary.

I have suggested in previous chapters that the occurrence of sequences with variant contours implies a certain degree of variability in the kiKongo pitch system (cf. 4.5). In spite of the difficulties involved in investigating variant contours (12.2), certain recurrent features can be discerned, and a consistent picture emerges of a relationship to emphasis (12.3) or continuity (12.5). Further examination suggests that there is an intonational overlay to the pitch-accent system, where varying connotations can be signalled by perturbation of the normal contours of a sequence (12.4). Although this formulation is tentative, the outlines are sufficient to suggest that this overlay plays an important part in the kiKongo pitch system.

Endnotes to chapter twelve.

1. KiLeta will not be dealt with in this chapter, as it has already been discussed at some length (11.7), and in any case seems to differ fairly markedly from kiKongo in terms of its pitch system.
2. These are as follows: 1-6 (chapter 4.5), 7-16 (chapter 5.5), 17-27 (chapter 6.6), 28-33 (chapter 7.5), 34-41 (chapter 8.6.1), 42-51 (chapter 10.4). For full information on the examples reference should of course be made to the relevant portions of the chapters concerned.
3. There are very few comments by Mr. A. Ndolo Menayame (chapters 8 and 9), since he was not so forthcoming about these variant contour features as my main informant. It was therefore considered best to exclude Ndolo Menayame's comments altogether in order to concentrate on those from Ntoni-Nzinga. It is not impossible that Ndolo Menayame may have a different or less extensive system of contour variation in his idiolect, though on the one occasion when both he and Ntoni-Nzinga commented on the same phrase (example 51), their comments were almost identical.
4. Simplified examples are given to illustrate each exponent; the syllable in question is underlined.
5. The problem is remarkably similar to that faced by Laman in the same context - see 9.5.4.2.
6. The use of the word 'tone' here is not strictly accurate, because I have argued in chapter 14 that since only two main patterns can be discerned, the contrast is really one of pitch-accent rather than of tone. However, the term is retained since Carter 1973 and Daeleman 1966 distinguish several patterns which seem subsidiary to the bipartite division of chapter 14, and also because the term draws attention to the fact that the domain of pitch in this case is the word.
7. It should be noted that this term does not refer to an action taking place uninterrupted over a period of time, as when we speak of a certain tense as being 'continuous', but rather refers to the presence or absence of a subsequent entity related to the one in question, as when we speak of 'continuity' between successive regimes.
8. In two instances (1b, 28a), the variant contours seem to be due merely to the occurrence of hesitation bridges before pause.
9. It seems reasonable to consider politeness as a form of markedness

also, and if this is accepted we can then refer to another Bantu language where continuity is related to another subset of 'marked'. Recent work by Mateus Katupha on Makua (P.R. Bennett, p.c.) shows that there exist two indicative verbal suffixes -a and -aka; -a implies that the verbal item is final or independent, while -aka implies that it is conjunct or related to some other clause. In the subjunctive we can distinguish cognate suffixes -e and -eke, but there, -e is a neutral form, while -eke has an implication of politeness, eg.

kilime ettima 'I ought to hoe the field'  
 kilimeke ettima 'may I hoe the field?'

CHAPTER THIRTEEN  
Coda - Bantu Parallels

13.1: introduction.

This chapter is devoted to general discussion of two main areas: (i) is there any precedent for a pitch-accent description of Bantu pitch systems, ie. is the description proposed for kiKongo in this thesis paralleled by other work in the Bantu field?; (ii) does the most distinctive feature of the kiKongo pitch system, bridging, have any parallels in other Bantu languages<sup>1</sup>, whether in form or function?

13.2: pitch-accent.

I have defined what I mean by 'pitch-accent' in 1.6.5 (see also Carter 1980c for a general discussion of 'tone', 'pitch-accent' and 'intonation'). In my opinion, the features present in the texts I have discussed are quite capable of being interpreted in terms of a pitch-accent system, and therefore the only point that needs to be established is whether it is reasonable to expect that such a system could occur in a Bantu language.

13.2.1: developing ideas.

With the great increase in suprasegmental studies over the past few years (90% of all work on tone, etc. has been done in the past 10 years), our ideas on pitch features and their function in language has been crystallising, so that it is now possible to publish general introductory works on, for example, tonal theory (see Fromkin 1979). The suprasegmental systems of a great many languages have been studied, leading to useful advances in description and analysis. The descriptions of a few languages (eg. Tonga - see Goldsmith 1980) have been revised and recast in terms rather different from those of the original description. Most of this new work will contribute to the development of pitch typology, though no doubt a certain amount of it may just be due to the 're-writing mania' which strikes linguistics every now and again (such that all previous descriptions must be re-written to accord with the latest revealed truth).

At one period Bantu languages were being described in terms of a

fair number of discrete tone-levels (eg. Doke's 9 for Zulu, Laman's (1922) 6 for kiKongo). From the 1940s onward, however, it began to be realised that most Bantu languages could be described in terms of two tonemes, and many descriptions were published in the fifties and early sixties which took advantage of this (see especially the works of the Belgian Bantuists such as Meeussen). It was recognised that some languages, such as Swahili, could not be described as tone-languages, and they were classed separately as intonation languages. Further research in the late sixties and the seventies has led to a further extension in our understanding of pitch phenomena, and this time American scholars have taken the lead, arguing that the pitch typology should not be limited to two divisions, but is much more flexible, and that there is a variety of gradations of pitch system. Arguments have been given for regarding certain languages as having unorthodox tonal systems in one way or another, eg. Johnson 1976, Byarushengo et al. 1976, Cheng and Kisseberth 1979-80, Goldsmith 1980, Voorhoeve 1973, Schadeberg 1973, Stucky 1979, while Kisseberth and Wood 1980-81 argue for Digo having residual tone, and Bennett 1974 suggests that there are elements of intonational overlay in Kikuyu.

Thus, due to growing awareness of and interest in pitch systems, the suggestion that kiKongo might have a pitch-accent system would by no means be a unique one. Apart from the evidence put forward by the analysis of texts earlier in the thesis, however, are there any general considerations which might support the suggestion of a pitch-accent system?

#### 13.2.2: PB stress-accent.

Bennett nd. puts forward several arguments in favour of there having been some sort of stress-accent system as well as a tonal system in Proto-Bantu. Although the evidence is circumstantial, he makes a strong case. The variety of existing pitch systems in Bantu languages would then be due to the interaction of those two systems and the progression towards dominance of one of them. This would lead to various types of tonal system, and perhaps in certain cases to a pitch-accent or even intonational system.

## 13.2.3: variation in tonal systems.

Tonal systems do certainly vary. In some languages (eg. Yao) there is a loss of tonal distinctiveness on verbal stems, and in other languages (eg. Kikuyu) the tones of the verbal stem are not associated with individual syllables, but rather are patterns which may expand or contract to cover verbs of varying length. Moreover, in most languages nouns do not have the full complement of possible patterns: there are usually several 'holes', and the tendency is to enlarge these holes, especially since most nouns of three syllables or more are verbally derived and therefore have often only a two-way tonal contrast on syllables up to the final suffix. Even disyllabic nouns have often only three, or sometimes even two, of the four possible patterns, hl often merging with hh, and, less commonly, lh with ll. There is also a general tendency to lose tonal distinctiveness at the edges of the subject-predicate complex: for example, noun class prefixes and verbal extensions are usually not tonally contrastive.

In general it may be said that Bantu tonal patterns are more loosely associated with the segmental level than are those of, say, Chinese. Such things as pattern expansion or contraction, tonal shift and tonal displacement are widely documented throughout the Bantu area. In many languages a certain syllable of the word is prominent, sometimes by extra length (as with the penultimate syllable of many south-eastern Bantu languages), sometimes by stress, and we may find high tones becoming associated with this prominent syllable by, for example, being moved from a syllable of less prominence (eg. Zulu  $_{-} \_ \_ \_ \neq \rightarrow \_ \_ \_ \neq$ ). The situation may therefore develop into one amenable to an interpretation in terms of pitch-accent or phrase intonation.

## 13.2.4: intonational overlay.

It may even be questionable whether anything recognisable as a Bantu language ever had a fully tonal system in which each syllable was tonally distinct (see Bennett nd.). A type of phrase-intonation may be present in many languages and yet go unnoticed. For example, in unpublished work Bennett and others found that in spontaneous Kikuyu narrative, volume/intensity tracings showed recurrent patterns of 'humps', eg.



Closer study showed that these were bursts of speech separated by pauses of variable length. There were three types of pause - short, medium and long (cf. kiKongo gap, pause and long pause, 2.2.2) - and three types of hump -  level or 'molar' and  falling or 'canine' were the most common, occurring with about equal frequency, while the third,  rising, was very rare. The tracing also showed downdrift over several humps (indicated by lines in the invented example above), with periodic 'hoists' back to higher level - these hoists served as markers for what would in written text be called paragraph-beginnings. Inside the humps themselves, it was found that the peak usually occurred at the beginning of a word or phrase (not necessarily initially, but usually no more than three words from the beginning), and usually on a predicator such as a verb. The length of the humps varied from around 3 to 30 syllables, though each hump occupied roughly the same amount of time. It should be remembered that these phrasal features were in addition to the tonal features of the text.

#### 13.2.5: conclusions.

There would thus seem to be a fairly strong independent theoretical and observational basis for the suggestion that kiKongo may have a pitch-accent system, and that this type of system may be much more widespread than generally realised, perhaps even going back to a feature of Proto-Bantu itself.

#### 13.3: bridging.

The usefulness of the analysis in this thesis for comparison purposes comes when we are able, using also data from other languages, to point out one aspect of the system which may go back to the parent language. The general features of bridging, to which I have drawn attention several times, are reminiscent of intonational overlay features in other languages, especially where the sequences noun-qualifier (n-q) and verb-object (v-o) are concerned.

##### 13.3.1: Kikuyu.

In Kikuyu, for example, (Bennett 1974) there is the phenomenon of

'tone reversal': underlying LLLHH may be realised in certain contexts as lllll, but when occurring in the above environments is realised as hhhhl (ie. all syllables up to and including the first underlying high are raised). This raising may extend over several words (as in kiKongo bridging). Sequences of v-o where the raising does not occur are in most cases cognate objects, where o has reduced prominence and where we would therefore not expect a great deal of emphasis anyway.

13.3.2: Southern Sotho.

In Southern Sotho, Kunene (1972) finds that 'downstep' (by which he means 'a downward tonal transition ... bringing the total set of contrasting syllable pitches to a lower key') does not occur between a noun and its first qualifier or a verb and its first modifier, but does occur between these sequences and additional qualifiers/modifiers. Thus we have (n-q<sub>1</sub>-<sup>!</sup>q<sub>2</sub>-<sup>!</sup>q<sub>3</sub> etc.) <sup>!</sup> (v-m<sub>1</sub>-<sup>!</sup>m<sub>2</sub>-<sup>!</sup>m<sub>3</sub> etc.), where the n-q and v-m sequences are marked off by lack of downstep. It should be noted, though, that these sequences have a potential downstep, and this is converted to a realised downstep in emphatic constructions. Thus:

ɣwaná wá ka n-q → wá ká <sup>!</sup>ɣwaná q-n  
 'my child' (unmarked) 'as regards my child' (marked)

Downstep, therefore, like bridging in kiKongo, is connected with the phenomenon of emphasis.

13.3.3: Zambian Tonga.

In Zambian Tonga (Carter 1962) certain items have two tone-patterns. Carter calls these 'strong' and 'weak' patterns, based on their capabilities of occurrence: a strong pattern 'require [s] no support and may stand at the end of an utterance', while a weak pattern 'require [s] the support of a following item'. We might say that the sequence 'weak pattern + following item' is a complex, and indeed the function of this weak pattern seems to be to increase the focus or emphasis on the following item; the strong pattern, on the other hand, retains emphasis on itself. Thus:

kujaya 'to kill', but kújáyá mbeba 'to kill a mouse'  
 ndakátola nyama 'I took meat', but ndakát<sup>!</sup>ólá nyama 'I took meat'.

The second example in each case shows the weak pattern on the first word.

(Cf. also endnote 9 to chapter 5) The weak pattern can usually be inferred from the strong one - 'the typical relationship is that syllables bearing low tone in the strong pattern have high tone in the weak, with tone-slip between the 'raised' tones and preceding high tone, if any'. The domain over which the weak pattern operates is again n-q and v-o.

In later work (Carter 1971-2), the same phenomena are dealt with in terms of complexes (part 2, pp. 69-82). The 'weak' variant is now described as a 'verb in D-link with the following item'. 'D-link [marked by +] implies emphasis of O(bject) as against V(erb); absence of D-link, with or without transference [marked by ←], implies emphasis of V(erb)'. (pp. 82-3) Thus:

D-link:            wákáyándáúlé + <sup>!</sup>músúne 'he looked for the ox (not something else)'  
 transference: wákáyandaulá ← músúne 'he looked for the ox (but didn't find it)'

Carter notes (p.83) that 'complexes abound in Tonga', and concludes (p.87): 'One is left with the growing conviction of a prevailing principle: the signalling of syntactic relationships by means of the tonal system, even at the expense of its functions in lexis'.

#### 13.3.4: conclusions.

The similarities between the above three intonational overlay phenomena and bridging in kiKongó are very marked, not only in the domain where each phenomenon applies, but also to some extent in the mechanisms by which the phenomenon is realised.<sup>2</sup> In Tonga, and to a lesser extent in Sotho, there seems to be some connection with emphasis, while in Kikuyu the phenomenon seems to be more automatic. KiKongó bridging seems to be somewhere between these two states - in some cases it may be automatic, in others emphatic. It would appear, therefore, that the existence of a special pattern for n-q and v-o sequences can perhaps be reconstructed as a Proto-Bantu intonational feature.

#### 13.4: summary.

Consideration of other research in the field of Bantu suprasegmentals

shows that the pitch-accent description proposed in this thesis is by no means unique. Recent advances in suprasegmental study, and evidence from other areas, suggest that pitch-accent descriptions may be more widely-applicable than previously realised (13.2). Moreover, one particular part of the kiKongo pitch system, bridging, seems to be directly comparable to phenomena in three other widely-separated Bantu languages, thus suggesting that similar features may have been present in the parent language (13.3).

Endnotes to chapter thirteen.

1. I am grateful to P.R. Bennett for drawing my attention to relevant material on this subject.
2. Despite similarities in domain and mechanism, there does however, as P.R. Bennett has pointed out in a letter to me, seem to be one main difference between 'the Kongo type (pitch-accent with bridging) and the Kikuyu/Tonga type (tone-spreading or hopping), for which see Bennett 1970. Given a sequence [ - - ], the Kongo style tends to fill in the gap under the right conditions, thus [ - - ] → [ - - - ]; the Kikuyu style preserves the contrast in levels with downstep, thus [ - - ] → [ - - - ] or (in Kikuyu) [ - - - ]. The next question is why? Downdrift is at least as important in the Kongo type, and is supposed to be the mechanism facilitating downstep. The result, of course, is to work toward tone-class merger in Kongo and maintenance in Kikuyu [see 14.13.4], but I can't think of a source. That it is linked with an increase in the relative role of clause intonation at the expense of lexical suprasegmentals is, however, clear.' See also 13.2.2.

PART III

Dialectology: Patterns and Similarities

CHAPTER FOURTEEN  
Lexical Pitch Correlations

14.1 : introduction.

This chapter discusses several aspects of the correlations between the various tone-classes to which researchers have assigned kiKongo lexical items, and attempts to draw some conclusions from this.

14.2. : sources.

The chapter is based on a list (Appendix 5) of 236 cognates<sup>1</sup> from four sources: Laman 1936 (abbreviated henceforth as L), Carter 1980b (C), Daeleman 1963 and 1966 (D), and Guthrie 1967-71 (B). Some comment on each of these sources is necessary.

14.2.1: Laman 1936.

L was chosen as the base-list since this dictionary is by far the largest corpus of tone-marked items in kiKongo. Items given by Carter or Daeleman are not necessarily to be found in the other, but always have a cognate in L. The items have therefore been arranged according to L's tone-class system, so that there are two main groups: falling (which includes L's á and ā tone-classes), and rising (which includes L's à tone-class).

L's remaining tone-class, â (acute), posed some problems, since it is not distinguished in the other sources. Eventually the following procedure was adopted. Where cognates from C and D showed a falling pattern, or where only one cognate (from either C or D, the other not being represented) showed a falling pattern, the item in L was counted as belonging to the falling class. In all other cases (ie. C and D rising, C or D - the other not being represented - rising, C rising D falling, C falling D rising) the item in L was counted as belonging to the rising class, since Laman does say several times that the acute class is a variation of an underlying rising contour. Nevertheless, the fact that he does seem to have changed his mind over a period about the class assignment of certain words (eg. d<sup>â</sup>isu 'eye' 1922, but d<sup>á</sup>isu 1936) provides justification for assigning some of his acute words to the falling class. Where it is of some

interest to compare these varying assignments, the tone-pattern in Laman 1922 is given in square brackets after the entry for L. Thus the above example would read: d'í'su [d'í'su] 'eye'.

14.2.2: Carter 1980b.

C is a conflation and revision of previous vocabulary lists (Carter and Makoondekwa 1975, 1977, 1981) and uses 'direct' marking of the pitch patterns instead of the assignment to tone-classes used in the earlier works, eg. zzeénga 'to cut off' instead of zzeenga III. A capital M following the entry indicates that with the addition of a pre-prefix the high pitch Moves one syllable leftwards (cf. 14.11), eg. kiínzú M 'pot', but ekiínzu. If only the form with initial vowel is known, that is the only one given, eg. endzóonzi ? 'type of fish'. A question-mark following the entry indicates that it is unclear whether the high pitch moves or not, ie. whether we have here a base form ndzóonzi or ndzoónzi. A double question mark indicates that the tone of the entry is uncertain, eg. kkweela ?? 'to marry'. For the sake of completeness, in this list the tentative marking when given in the earlier works is put in brackets on the word, thus kkwe<sup>(l)</sup>ela. Occasionally cognates were not to be found in Carter 1980b; in this case they were taken from the earlier works and given in square brackets, eg. [ngólu] 'pig'.

14.2.3: Daeleman 1963, 1966.

D is a collection of cognates from two sources. It is difficult to locate cognates easily in Daeleman 1966, since they are not listed alphabetically. The main source here was a list of minimal pairs (Daeleman 1966 pp. 81-83), and cognates from C were noted when these could be found. When seeking cognates for those words taken from C, however, Daeleman 1963 was used, since this is an alphabetical list of nouns.

The two Daeleman sources hardly vary, if at all, in the tone-class to which they assign a word, but their marking of the tone-classes differs, and it is the marking of Daeleman 1963 that I have used here, since it is the easiest to read. In this 1963 presentation, Daeleman distinguishes three tone-classes: first

mora high, eg. mfúmu 'chief'; first two moras high, eg. munsángá 'type of tree'; all low, eg. nzau 'elephant'. The first two will be considered as belonging to the 'falling' class, and the last to the 'rising' class. It is interesting to note the resemblance of the second class to Laman's 'level' ( $\bar{a}$ ) tone-class; this second class is much less common than the other two.

In his 1966 presentation, Daeleman distinguishes five tone-classes; some of these (eg. D and E) are distinguished only by differing contours in certain tone-cases (see chapter 7). In the two most common tone-cases, absolute / predicative, we have: E last mora high / first mora high; D likewise; C, B last two moras high. / first two moras high; A all low / penultimate mora high.<sup>2</sup> The relationship to the 1963 classes is clear, but it does raise some difficulties about marking. A later personal communication from Daeleman (1979) brings the number of classes down to four: A, B, C/D (now called C), E (now called D).

In view of all this, I decided to mark the 1966 data using the 1963 conventions, but giving the 1966 tone-class letter after the item, eg. mfwííla B 'manner of dying'. The 1966 A is therefore marked all low, B is marked with the first two moras high, and D and E with the first mora high (C does not occur). Again, A is counted as belonging to the rising class, and the others to the falling class.

#### 14.2.4: Guthrie 1967-71.

B is a list of cognates from CB, for which the English-CB index in Mann 1976 was found useful. A few tentative cognates are included as well as the obvious ones - the former are marked by a question-mark, eg. kyozi 'coldness', -didi ?. There is some evidence (P.R. Bennett, p.c.) of ambivalence between Guthrie's CB hh and hl patterns for nouns, so that in this discussion words having these patterns will all be counted as being in the 'falling' class - note the resemblance here with Laman's  $\acute{a}$  (falling) and  $\bar{a}$  (level) tone-classes. However, only words with ll pattern will be counted as belonging to the 'rising' class. This seemingly counter-intuitive

omission of lh patterns from the rising class is due to the fact that the kiKongo reflex of CB pattern lh seems to be hl (ie. falling) in most cases - this will be discussed more fully in 14.12.

#### 14.3. : defining the two classes.

More should be said about the general concept of the two classes. The terms 'falling' and 'rising' are merely mnemonic, and should not be taken as a totally accurate description. Basically, 'falling' may be defined for kiKongo as 'high on the first syllable or mora (with succeeding syllables or moras low)', while 'rising' may be defined as 'low on the first syllable or mora (with succeeding syllables or moras high)'. There are several intentional ambiguities here - 'syllable/mora', 'first', 'succeeding' - which are necessary to leave the definition flexible enough. These ambiguities require some discussion.

##### 14.3.1. : syllable v. mora.

First of all, it seems that for L the pitch-bearing unit is the syllable<sup>3</sup>, while for C and D it is the mora. Thus, for example, in the rising class L has the second syllable high, while C and D have only the second mora high, eg. nsángú 'news', ntsaángu, nsaangu A (as noted above, this tone-class in Daeleman 1966 has the pattern nsaángu in the predicative case). This is not because L ignores vowel length (cf. eg. túúlá 'to put', díinu 'eye', etc.), but because he considers vowel lengthening before a nasal compound to be non-significant, while C and D do consider it significant. The difference is also evident in examples such as mbúngu 'beaker', mmbúungu M, mbúungu E, where L marks the first syllable high, but C and D mark only the first mora high. Therefore, the terms 'falling' and 'rising' when applied to L refer to the contour over the whole word ( [ - ] and [ - ] ), but when applied to C and D refer only to the contour over the first two moras ( [ ˘ ] and [ ˘ ] ).

##### 14.3.2. : 'level' patterns.

This view still presents difficulties, the most notable of which is the place of items such as lééká 'to sleep', llééká M, which either show no fall as defined above, or show a subsequent rise<sup>4</sup>.

However, since the researchers themselves have said that these patterns are a subset of those discussed in the previous paragraph, it seems reasonable to put them in the falling class, even if they do not exactly fulfil the criteria for that class.

#### 14.3.3 : acute pitch.

A similar difficulty arises with the acute pitch. As described above, in some cases items in L with the acute pitch are put in the falling class, and this is reasonable, since they have an overall fall. But in most cases, where the items with acute pitch are retained in the rising class, the overall falling contour contradicts the basic criteria for that class. We can do no more than say with Laman that they are 'variations' of an underlying rising contour. This too seems reasonable in view of such examples as bundú/búndu 'fruit'.

#### 14.3.4: stem v. word.

As for the word 'first' qualifying 'syllable or mora', we must specify that for C it is the first mora of the stem, whereas with L and D it is the first syllable or mora of the whole word, prefix included. Thus L and D díinu (dí-inu) 'tooth', but C díinu (dí-ínu); L and D máazi/máasi 'fat', but C máázi. With vowel-commencing stems in the falling class, therefore, C has a pattern superficially similar to that of an item in the rising class.

#### 14.4: vowel length in C.

While on the subject of syllables and moras, it should be noted that C fairly often shows variance in this regard, such that if a syllable is shortened so as to contain only one mora instead of two, this has a corresponding effect on the pitch contour of the word, eg. mi-níiti 'minute(s)' ~ mi-nítí, -maánta 'climb' ~ -matá, ma-kuúlu 'dysentery' ~ ma-kulú. Such examples provide solid evidence for relating Laman's rising contour to Carter's 'second mora high' contour, but they also raise questions about the significance of vowel length in kiKongo.

Other variations are also interesting. For example, Carter's

pattern hlh M on verbs is a variant or subset of hl M, occurring when the verb is three moras or more long<sup>5</sup>, eg. -sádlá 'work for' -sála 'work'. But, again relating to the significance of vowel lengthening before a nasal compound, if the second mora of the verb is followed by a nasal compound, the pattern is not hlh M, but hll M (= hl M ?), eg. -kóolá M 'extract', but -kóonda M 'hunt'. It is also possible sometimes to find the hlh M and hl M patterns on the same verb, dictated by the length of the first syllable, eg. -sóla M 'choose' ~ -sóola M. Again, such variations provide good evidence for the relationship of 'level' contours to 'falling' contours. They also suggest, however, that vowel length in certain contexts (before an NC compound, and perhaps even in penultimate position) may be conditioned, and therefore non-significant.

#### 14.5: correlation of tone-classes.

The computations that follow were undertaken to test the theory that there is a large degree of correlation between the tone-classes occurring in L, C, D, and even B, provided that we take defining criteria for the classes general enough to apply to all the sources. Hence the reason for the broad rising/falling dichotomy, the basis of, and justification for, which I have outlined above. If a correlation does exist, it will raise certain important questions, but consideration of these will be deferred until after the figures have been evaluated.

#### 14.6. : method.

The method used is as follows. Each of the four sources L, C, D, and B will have three relationships, one with each of the other sources. This gives six relationships in total: L/C, L/D, L/B, C/D, C/B, D/B. To judge the degree of each relationship equally, we can express it as a percentage figure, using the formula  $\frac{n}{t} \times 100\%$ . Here  $t$  stands for 'total number of cognates in the two sources being investigated', while  $n$  stands for 'number of those cognates displaying the same falling (rising) contour, as defined below'.

##### 14.6.1: assignment of items.

We must now define, bearing in mind the earlier discussion,

define, not what constitutes the falling and rising classes, but what criteria are to be used in assigning items from each source to those classes. We will therefore propose that

- (i) in the falling class be counted items from L having a high pitch on the first or only syllable; items from C having a high pitch on the first or only mora; items from D having a high pitch on the first or only mora; items from B having a high pitch on the first or only syllable. Note that such a definition allows us to include not only the items with 'obvious' falling contour, but also such items as t'ú'lá (L) / tt'ú'lá M (C) 'to put, place', muns'ángá B (D) 'type of tree', -d'ú'ngú (B) 'pepper', and sé (all sources) 'father'.
- (ii) in the rising class be counted items from L having a low pitch on the first or only syllable (and those having the variant realisation of acute pitch there, provided this is reinforced by the item appearing in the rising class in either C or D or both); items from C having a low pitch on the first or only mora; items from D having a low pitch on the first or only mora; items from B having a low pitch on all syllables. In effect, it would seem that all monosyllables in C and D have a high pitch (and would therefore be in the falling class), so the qualification 'or only' may be unnecessary.<sup>6</sup>

#### 14.6.2: reckoning the correlations.

Where an item line like mf'úmu 'chief', mpf'úmu M, mf'úmu, -k'úmy is concerned, the situation is simple - the n number of each of the six relationships will have a unit added to it. But what about item lines like mb'úndu 'heart', mbu'úndu, mbuundu A, Ø ? The situation here is rather more complicated. L obviously has an item in the falling class, but both C and D have it in the rising class, and there is no cognate in B. This immediately means that this item line cannot contribute anything to finding the degree of correlation in the three relationships L/B, C/B, and D/B.

Where L/C and L/D are concerned, the item line will count in the t number for the falling class (since the cognate occurs in both sources), but not in the n number (since both cognates do not belong

to the same class) - the net result would be to lower the percentage degree of correlation for L/C and L/D in the falling class.

But what about the relationship C/D? In neither of these sources does the item occur in the falling class, so we must transfer this particular pair of cognates to the rising class. This means that for the falling class this pair will not exist and cannot be counted there. However, they will be counted in the t number of the rising class, and also in the n number (since they both have the same pattern) - the net result would be to raise the percentage degree of correlation for C/D in the rising class.

This 'transfer necessity' occurs only a few times: mbundu 'heart' (D/C), mbamba 'type of snake' (D/B), ntantu 'bridge' (D/B), taata 'father' (D/B) must all be transferred from the falling class where they are listed, and counted in the rising class for the relationships shown; ngo 'leopard' (C/D), ziku 'certainty' (C/D), nkasa 'bean' (C/D), bundu 'group' (C/D), yukuta 'to be sated' (C/B) must all be transferred from the rising class where they are listed, and counted in the falling class for the relationships shown.

#### 14.7. : which base-list?

Obviously, the layout here is not faultless - it takes L as the base-list (since L has most cognates with all other sources, and also has the simplest system of tone-classes), but the picture thus gained would presumably be slightly different if, say, Daeleman's five tone-classes were to be chosen as the base-list, or Carter's (earlier) five tone-classes. The cognates from other sources would then be mapped onto these, such that, say, Daeleman's tone-class A had x% cognates in Laman's falling class, and y% cognates in Laman's rising class. In spite of small differences, however, I am convinced that the general picture would remain the same no matter which source we took as the base-list, and for the reasons above L seems to be the most useful in this preliminary investigation. The ideal, of course, would be to do the calculations using each source in turn as the base-list, but then it would also be ideal to use a much larger corpus of cognates than is given here.

14.7.1: D as base-list.

Nevertheless, to give a very rough idea of a small area of the problem, let us see what order of difference might be expected as a result of taking different base-lists. We will use cognates from L and from D 1966. The calculations are rough, and only the most common classes A, D and E are used in referring to the data from Daeleman 1966.

(i) taking L as the base-list:

rise	— 87% —→	A	(33 out of 38 in the rising class)
fall	← 24% →	D	(16 out of 67 in the falling class)
	58% →	E	(39 out of 67 in the falling class)

(ii) taking D as the base-list:

A	— 73% —→	rise	(33 out of 45 in the A class)
D	— 84% —→	fall	(16 out of 19 in the D class)
E	95%		(39 out of 41 in the E class)

Taking 'fall~D,E' first, it can be seen that fall → D,E = 82%, while D,E → fall = 89.5% (84+95, ÷ 2), so that the difference is small. With 'rise~A', the difference is almost twice as much, and may be accounted for only because a fairly large group of words in Daeleman's A class (12 here) have cognates in Laman's falling class. On the whole, though, it can be seen that taking different base-lists would still give the same general results.

14.7.2: everyday frequency of items.

One further factor that might have a bearing on the results of the calculations is the question of how far the items listed here would be heard in daily speech, ie. how typical they, and the patterns associated with them, are. (P.R. Bennett, p.c.) It is of course true that the items were taken from linguistic studies and pedagogical material, and therefore might not be entirely representative of everyday speech. But on the other hand all the authors have based their analyses on many texts and/or a great deal of experience in the field. Furthermore, the fact that consistent correlations exist at all tends to point to a basic system in the language. The question of frequency, therefore, does not seem at this stage to be an important one, though the related question of

how far the differences between falling and rising classes are realised in connected speech will be taken up again in 14.13.

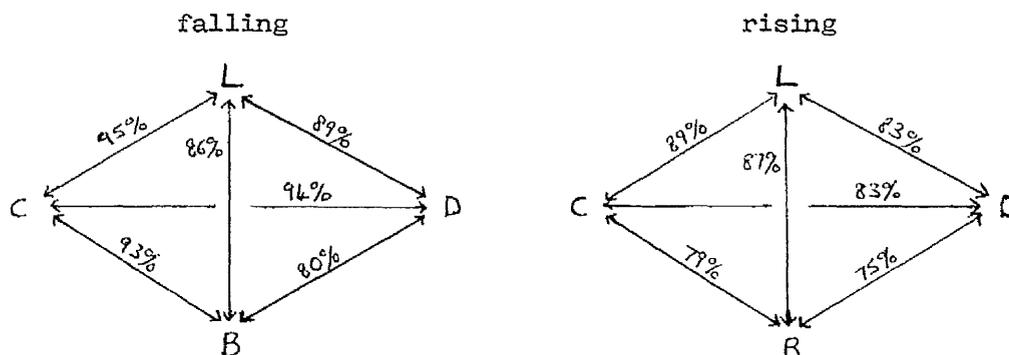
14.8: correlation figures.

14.8.1: correlation figures for the full count.

The correlation figures for the two classes are as follows:

	L/C	L/D	L/B	C/D	C/B	D/B	(L total)
falling	79/83 95%	88/99 89%	54/63 86%	47/50 94%	51/55 93%	28/35 80%	(136)
rising	70/79 89%	55/66 83%	35/40 87%	34/41 83%	31/39 79%	18/24 75%	(100)

The figures can be put into 'webs' to display them more effectively:



It is immediately noticeable how uniform the various figures are; for example in both classes L, C, and D vary by no more than 6% for any one relationship against the other two. The figures where B is concerned are more variable. For C/B and D/B in the rising class the total number of items was rather small, and moreover, items with pattern lh in B were not included in the count: This may explain the low percentages for these two relationships. The total for D/B in the falling class was also small.

The average web correlation is 89% for the falling class, and 83% for the rising class. If we take only L, C, and D the figures are 93% and 85% respectively. This level of correlation is very interesting, since it suggests that a basic falling/rising dichotomy in the pitch contours of kiKongo lexical items is very widespread. It is also noteworthy that in each case the percentage for the falling class is higher, which might suggest that it has a slightly

greater 'cohesion' and 'identity' than the rising class. This also applies to the basic percentages given in the webs above, except in the case of L/B.

The average of the correlation figures for each source ('the average individual correlation') is as follows:

(i) all sources:

	L	C	D	B
falling	90%	94%	88%	86%
rising	86%	84%	80%	80%

(ii) kiKongo sources only:

	L	C	D
falling	92%	94.5%	91.5%
rising	86%	86%	83%

Again, the level of correlation is exceptionally close, particularly when B is not taken into account. The higher level of correlation in the falling class is again noticeable, being in the 90s in table (ii), while the level for the rising class there is in the 80s.

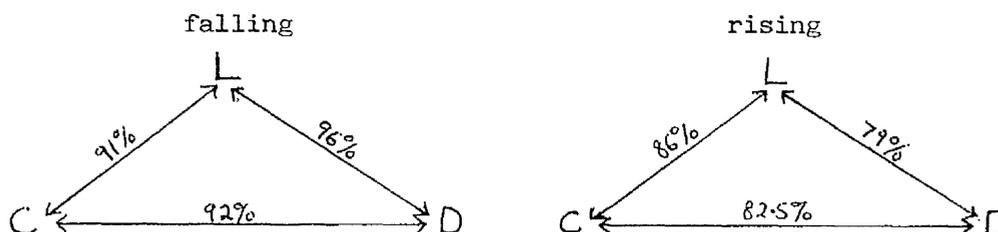
14.8.2: correlation figures for the reduced count.

It will be noticed that in the computations above the number of items occurring in each relationship varies, from the lowest of 24 (D/B rising) to the highest of 99 (L/D falling). It is conceivable that this could distort the correlation figures somewhat, so as a check on this we will now give the correlation figures (reduced count) for the 90 items occurring in all three kiKongo sources (B will not be counted for these figures):

falling			rising		
L/C	L/D	C/D	L/C	L/D	C/D
43/47	45/47	46/50	37/43	34/43	33/40
91%	96%	92%	86%	79%	82.5%
(95%)	(89%)	(94%)	(full count)	(89%)	(83%)

Here and subsequently the reduced count figures will be followed by the full count figures in brackets.

If the reduced count figures are put into webs, we have:



It can be seen that while the L/C and C/D correlations are very similar in both counts, the L/D correlation in the reduced count goes up 7% for the falling class, to make it the closest correlation of the three (whereas previously it was the least close), and down 4% for the rising class, to make it the least close correlation (whereas previously it had the same correlation as C/D). These movements may be balanced in some way.

This becomes more likely when we consider the average web correlation for each class: falling 93% (93%), rising 82.5% (85%). The correlations for the two counts are almost the exact same.

The average individual correlations are as follows:

falling			rising		
L	C	D	L	C	D
93.5%	91.5%	94%	82.5%	84%	81%
(92%)	(94.5%)	(91.5%)	(86%)	(86%)	(83%)

Although the ranking of the three sources differs slightly in the two counts, it is significant that there is no more than 3.5% variation between them for each source.

#### 14.8.3: conclusions.

The figures for the reduced count therefore support the conclusions drawn from those for the full count: (1) there is an extremely high degree of correlation between the pitch-patterns given for the same items from different sources, suggesting that there is a basic dichotomy in the lexicon between items with a falling contour and items with a rising contour, and that this dichotomy is widespread throughout the kiKongo area; (2) the correlation figures for the falling class are consistently and significantly higher than those

for the rising class, which may suggest greater 'cohesion' in the falling class.

14.9. : preponderance of the falling class.

What are we to make of this cohesion? It is conceivable that it could represent a situation where the falling class is expanding its influence at the expense of the rising class, but this seems unlikely in view of the facts that (1) the degree of correlation for items from L is close to the mean even though his work was done 50 or 60 years before that of C and D, and (2) there is a large, though more variable, degree of correlation with the patterns proposed for Guthrie's CB constructs.

We might therefore ask whether the slightly greater number of items in the falling class is reflected in B, and whether we might be able to say that this in turn is reflected in kiKongo itself. To answer this question, samples were taken from the four sources L, C, D, and B, and the number of words with the patterns concerned were counted. Naturally, this is only a tentative exercise, and for L, C, and D the samples could be expanded. For L and C the samples were taken from glossaries, which has the disadvantage that derived forms must be included in the count, which may slightly distort the result. On the other hand, the lexicographer presumably included only those derived forms which were most common, or which diverged from the base meaning of the root, so that this provides some sort of balance. The situation also raises the interesting theoretical question, which will not be discussed here, of whether the contours counted (in samples of speech, for instance) should be based on the total number of items (even if some of these are repetitions), or only on the number of distinct items.

14.9.1: B sample.

The first sample consists of the contours on items from B. The index in Mann 1976 giving the tonal contours of all CB items was used here. The results were as follows:

1	2	3
l (verbs) 577	lh ... 211	h (verbs) 662
l . . . . . 51	lĥ . . . . 5	h . . . . . 138
ll . . . . . 340	llh . . . . 2	hl . . . . . 402
lll . . . . . 11	llh . . . . 1	hl̂ . . . . . 22
	lhl . . . . 1	hll . . . . . 4
	hlh . . . . 17	hh . . . . . 158
	hl̂h . . . . 1	hhl . . . . . 2
	hl̂hl . . . . 1	hhh . . . . . 2
total . . . 979	total 239	total 1,390

Column 1 gives items in what I have termed here the 'rising' class, while column 3 gives items in the falling class. The place of column 2 is uncertain - as mentioned above, I will later discuss reflexes of this group as they occur in L - and it seems best not to assign the group to either class yet. It is noteworthy that this group is fairly small numerically.

The total number of items is 2,608, and the percentage of the rising class (column 1) is 37.5%.

#### 14.9.2: L sample.

The second sample consists of words from Laman 1936 beginning with sa- (pp. 861-882). In this sample the contours were as follows:

rising 279 acute 29 level 298 falling 178 total 784

The percentage of the rising class (rising + acute) is 39%.

#### 14.9.3: C sample.

The third sample consists of words from Carter 1980b beginning with s- (pp. 29-36). The figures were as follows: (1 = high on first mora of stem, 1+ = 1 plus another high later in the stem, 2 = high on second mora of stem, M = moving, ? = movement uncertain, ?? = exact contour uncertain, pre = high on prefix)

(i) falling:

1 15; 1M 58; 1? 11; 1+ 7; 1+M 70; total 161

(ii) rising:

2 98; 2? 12; 2M 8; total 118

(iii) others:           pre 8;       ?? 22

These groups may seem more formidable than Carter's previous 5 tone-classes, but in fact they show much more clearly than the tone-classes the basic dichotomy between rising and falling in the lexicon.

The total number of items is 309, so the percentage of the rising class is 38%.

#### 14.9.4: D sample.

The fourth sample consists of all words from Daeleman 1963 except those beginning with m- and n-. The contours for the first two moras are as follows:

ll 105;   lh 1;   hl 153;   hh 22

The total number of items is 281, so the percentage of the 'rising' class (ll + lh) is 38%.

#### 14.9.5: conclusions.

The percentage of items in the rising class is therefore as follows: B 37.5%, L 39%, C 38%, D 38%. The correlation between the four figures is extremely close, and suggests that an imbalance in the numbers of items belonging to the two main classes is indeed a basic feature of kiKongo, and may in fact reflect a similar situation in CB. Voorhoeve 1973 (fn. 4, p. 4) suggested a similar result for CB, based on work by Schadeberg on a much smaller database, and this is confirmed here. However, the reasons why this situation should be as it is are not clear - Voorhoeve's suggestion that in CB the low pattern (the rising class here) was the marked pattern is debatable in view of the fairly high ratio of rising class to non-rising class words (3 : 5).

/ Of course, if further and longer samples were taken from L, C, and D it is quite possible that the figures would be slightly different, but I firmly suspect that the general picture would remain the same: the rising class items are slightly less numerous than those in the falling class.

While we would expect the figures to be roughly similar because of the large degree of correlation for each class, this cannot be the whole story: because of the different lengths and fields of the samples the smaller number of rising class items must be attributed to a basic feature in the language.<sup>7</sup>

14.10. : measure of opposedness.

The figures given above in the correlation webs (14.8) suggest another interesting point. The average individual correlation for L, C, and D was obtained by taking each source in turn and finding the average of its correlation with the other two sources. Thus, for the average individual correlation (reduced count) of L in the falling class:  $L/C (92\%) + L/D (96\%), \div 2, = AIC 94\%$ . It is interesting that of the four AIC figures (2 counts x 2 classes) for D, three (the exception being the reduced count, falling class figure) are the lowest in their series. Granted that for the full count this result may perhaps be due to the fewer items from D in the list, yet its recurrence in at least some of the reduced count figures suggests that there may be some special feature associated with D.

Suppose that each AIC is compared to the web correlation 'opposite' to it, ie. the AIC of D, for example, would be compared with the correlation L/C. This should give some indication of the relative 'distance' or 'opposedness' between the source whose AIC is under consideration and the other two sources considered as a unit.

14. 10.1: full count.

The figures for the full count (omitting B) are as follows:

	L v. C/D	C v. L/D	D v. L/C
falling	92% ← 94%	94.5% ← 89%	91.5% ← 95%
rising	86% ← 83%	86% ← 83%	83% ← 89%
combined	89% ← 88.5%	90% ← 86%	87% ← 92%

The arrow ← indicates 'is opposed to the following unitary figure'. It can be seen that the AIC figure for D is lower than the corresponding opposite correlation figure - this is most noticeable when the mean of the rising and falling class figures (shown above

as 'combined') is considered. The only other instance in the nine series where this happens is with L v. C/D, falling.

#### 14.10.2: reduced count.

The figures for the reduced count say much the same thing:

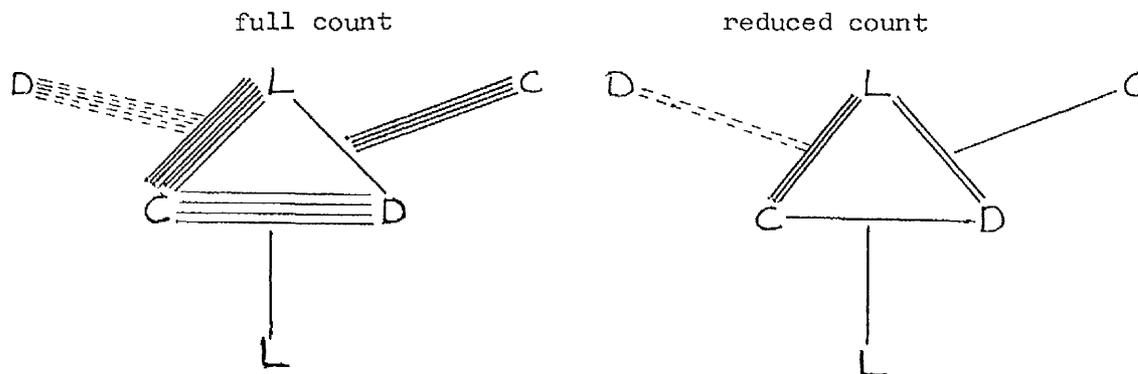
	L v. C/D	C v. L/D	D v. L/C
falling	93.5% ← 92%	91.5% ← 96%	94% ← 91%
rising	82.5% ← 82.5%	84% ← 79%	81% ← 86%
combined	88% ← 87%	88% ← 87.5%	87.5% ← 88.5%

Although the figures are not so clearcut in the falling/rising series, The combined figure gives the same result, though less striking, as before - the AIC for L and C is higher than the opposed correlations, while that for D is lower.

#### 14.10.3: prisms.

The correlations may be taken as a measure of 'connectedness', while the AIC opposed to any particular correlation may be taken as a measure of the 'opposedness' of the source in question to the other two sources considered as a unit. Both the connectedness and the opposedness may be displayed more effectively for the combined figures above by putting them in 'prisms' in which the inner triangle shows the connectedness of the three sources, and the outer one shows their opposedness.

The degree of relationship in the correlation figures may be shown by taking the lowest percentage as 1, giving the relationship showing it one line, and then giving an additional line for each unit or half-unit above the base percentage. To show the degree of relationship in the AIC figures, the same principle of 1% = 1 line is used, but, the AIC figures are compared to the corresponding correlation figures, not to any base percentage. Therefore, when the AIC figure is lower than the correlation figure, the result is negative, and this is shown by broken lines. This difference in counting had to be used to show opposedness rather than connectedness for the outer triangle. We thus have:



#### 14.10.4: conclusions.

It can be seen that connectedness in terms of the full count is L/C first, then C/D, then L/D, and in terms of the reduced count is L/C first, then L/D, then C/D. On the other hand, opposedness (taking both counts) is D first, then L, then C. It would therefore seem that the correlation L/C is closest, while D is farthest removed from this correlation.

This suggests that the kiNtandu dialect diverges more from the other samples of kiKongo discussed. Since this dialect is spoken nearest Kinshasa, the capital of Zaire, it has probably been slightly more under the influence of various other languages than C or L, and has therefore been more prone to change. It is especially interesting that it is spoken near the area where we might presume kiLeta to have come into existence.

Since by these counts C and L are closer to each other than either is to D, it is possible that we can see here a hint of conservatism at the edges of the kiKongo-speaking area. Of course, taken against the background of similarities between L, C, and D, the differences between L/C and D are minimal, and have in fact been emphasised in the discussion above. But it does seem clear that a slight difference exists, and should be noted.

#### 14.11. : shift of high pitch.

In connection with relationships between L and C, the most immediately obvious morphological difference is the presence in C of an initial vowel (IV), which the northern dialects (L and D) do not

possess. Carter (p.c.) has pointed out that the pattern with IV (eg. empfumu 'chief') would be most directly comparable to Laman's pattern with the genitive element prefixed (ie. -amfumu), since in the dialect she has studied the pattern with IV and the pattern with the genitive element (or indeed with any pre-prefixed element) are the same. This raises another interesting area of comparability between C and L.

It would seem that the locative element, the genitive element and, in southern dialects, the IV (to take the most common pre-prefixed elements) have similar effects on the pattern of the word, so that we have a set {loc, gen, IV}. For L, these effects (see chapter 9) can be summarised as 'the set usually moves the high pitch of the falling class one syllable leftwards, but the set's effects on the rising class are less predictable'.

In the sample vocabulary count from C (14.9.3), it was found that there were eight groups of patterns which could be divided into two main classes. Three of these groups had the property M, ie. the high pitch moves one syllable left when the IV, genitive element, etc. is prefixed to the word. It is revealing to consider the distribution pattern of this property: out of 161 items in the falling class, 128 (79.5%) were marked M, while out of 118 items in the rising class, 8 (7%) were marked M. This obvious imbalance (ratio 16 : 1 that an item marked M will be in the falling class) suggests that the property M belongs primarily to the falling class.

In other words, we have for L {loc, gen} usually shifting the high pitch in the falling class, with variable effects in the rising class, while for C we have {loc, gen, IV, etc.} usually shifting the high pitch in the falling class, with (in most cases) no such shift in the rising class. The comparability is unmistakable.

Again, the result seems to show that the falling class has more cohesion over the whole area in that it behaves similarly in different dialects, while the rising class does not - indeed, we could say that

the only area of similarity it has over different dialects is that it behaves differently from the falling class. The greater variability in the rising class patterns in L is possibly indicative of a certain state of 'flux', where inflected patterns are not so 'settled' as in C. The 8 M items in the rising class in C might be similarly accounted for by influence from the more numerous falling class, or they might be grouped on their own as a borderline class. This is in fact what Carter did in earlier research, referring to them as TC IV - the same applies to those 33 items in the falling class which are not marked M; these were called TC II. Finally, the result may have implications for the earlier morphological status of the initial vowel.

#### 14.12. : CB lh patterns.

It has been said several times before that CB lh was not counted in the rising class, and some discussion of the reasons for this is required. Since Carter and Daeleman have both contributed their own studies of CB reflexes in kiKongo (Carter 1973, 1978, Daeleman in press), it was felt reasonable to base decisions in this area on the patterns of CB reflexes in Laman 1936. This may have led to some very slight distortions where the other two sources were concerned, but these would be minimal; in any case, there are complications no matter what system of correspondence is used.<sup>8</sup> It seems likely in any case that it was Laman's patterns that Guthrie took into account when considering the tone-marking of his CB items.

##### 14.12.1: reflexes in L.

To test the kiKongo reflex of CB lh, 35 items were taken at random (see Appendix 6). Of the 35 items, 23 (66%) occur in L in the falling class, 3 (8%) in the acute class, and 9 (26%) in the rising class. It seems therefore that in two out of every three cases CB lh is realised in L as hl (the proportion is more if we take the acute tone-class as also counted in the falling class). On this basis, it would be unwise to count CB lh among rising class items, since we could expect only 1 out of 3 accuracy in this assignment.

14.12.2: \*lh → hl.

However, that is not the only piece of information to emerge from Appendix 6. Granted that what follows must be tentative because of the small number of items involved, an interesting pattern emerges when we compare the reflexes in C and D with those in L. For C, there are 18 reflexes in all, 12 of which (67%) are in the rising class, with 6 (33%) in the falling. Out of a total of 13 reflexes in D, 4(31%) are in the rising class, and 9 (69%) in the falling class. We therefore have:

	L	D	C
falling	66%	69%	33%
rising	26%	31%	67%

If we compare the patterns occurring on reflexes common to L and D, we find that they are the same in 12 out of 13 cases (92%). However, patterns on reflexes common to L and C are the same only in 9 out of 18 cases (50%).

There may therefore be some reason to postulate a shift \*lh → hl, which, however, does not occur in all cases. It would seem to be at least twice as common, though, in the northern dialects. It is noteworthy that this seems to be an example of the falling class extending its domain at the expense of the rising class; it is most interesting that the shift appears to have progressed farthest in the northern dialects, which were the most influential in the formation of kiLeta, and where we know (from Daeleman), or assume (from Laman), that we must postulate contour variation due to focus or emphasis.

14.13. : realisation of the classes in connected speech.

This brings us to the last point, which I have avoided raising until now. If this bipartite grouping of lexical items is so all-pervading, why has there been no evidence of it in the texts discussed in the previous chapters of this thesis? At first sight, since the class correlations are so obvious, and yet absent from my discussions, the question would appear to be a very serious one. But on reflection, several items of circumstantial evidence, most of which have also been outlined above, add up to give, in my view, a fairly convincing answer.

## 14.13.1: reinterpretation of patterns.

First of all, let us consider patterns on the individual item. It will have been noticed that for C and D there is in many cases only a difference of one mora between the classes, eg. falling mbóongo 'cloth', but rising mboóngo 'harvest' (this latter would be the pattern in C, and in D's predicative case). C and D mboóngo may be compared with L mbongó. It is already significant that for C and D the pattern seems tied to moras rather than syllables, since we find, not \*mboongó, with the high pitch on the second syllable, but mboóngo, with it on the second mora. Since in this (and perhaps many other items) the vowel length may not be significant (see 14.4), there exists the possibility that such structures could be reinterpreted as showing a high pitch belonging to the first syllable<sup>9</sup>, giving \*mbóongo. In L this in fact seems to occur, since he gives variant pairs such as bundú/búndu 'fruit'; the above process seems the most likely explanation for the variation between his acute and rising tone-classes. That it is possible for the high pitch to change moras like this is shown by C dí'su 𑌒 'eye' versus L, D d'ísu; note that Laman 1922 marks this d'ísu, and that in C the pattern is prone to move the high pitch in any case.

In fact, several examples can be found in Appendix 5 of a word in L and C having two contours, one rising and one falling. In L there is bundú/búndu 'fruit'; zíkú/z'íku 'certainty'; and kosí/makó'sí 'headache'; note also [nkókílá]/nkóokíla 'evening'. There are also instances of the item occurring in both the falling and the acute class, showing that this variation is also possible: kúulu 'leg', dí'su 'eye', dí'ínu 'tooth', kyélo 'door', mwíni 'sunshine', máazi 'fat', and táata 'father'. In C there is mmbáanza/mmbáanza 𑌒 'city'; nthálu/nthálu 𑌒 'price'; -mosí 𑌒 / -mósi 𑌒 'one'; and kyooz'í 𑌒 / kyoozi 𑌒 'coldness' - note that in the last two there is again the additional factor that the rising pattern may move the high pitch.

There is also the fact that reflexes of CB lh have the pattern hl in ½ (C) or ¾ (L, D) of the instances. This points to a general tendency to reanalyse rising patterns.

It is interesting to note that in C and D the high pitch does seem to be moving, or to have moved, leftwards in the rising class. In L the high pitch occurs on the last syllable, even in a word of, say, four syllables; in other words, the first syllable defines the falling class, while the last syllable defines the rising class. In C and D there is a distinct difference in that the high pitch in the rising class occurs on the second mora, ie. whereas in L we counted from the end, in C and D we must count from the beginning. This means that the first mora is the critical one in deciding the class affiliation - if the first mora is low, the class is rising, but if it is high, the class is falling. In such a situation it is possible that the class affiliation, and in certain contexts the classes themselves, could become blurred. This is already clear from the verbal system, where the tone-classes are differentiated only in a minority of tenses in all three sources, even those differences being slight.

It would seem that in monosyllables in C and D the two classes have already fallen together - each monosyllabic noun must have a high pitch; thus ngó 'leopard' in C and D, but ngo in L - note however that even L has the variant ngó. Again, there is a reflection of this in the verbal system - in L and D all verbal inflections must have at least one high pitch.

#### 14.13.2: predominance of the falling class.

Going on to the classes as wholes, the greater 'cohesion' of the falling class has already been pointed out several times. This is apparent in the consistently higher correlation figures for that class, and also in the more predictable contour behaviour after a pre-prefixed element. The variability of the rising class in this context is especially noticeable in L, as also is the overlap between the two classes in this context; for example, unless we were told elsewhere in Laman 1936, we could not tell from looking at the examples kúmóngo 'to the mountain' and kúfúla 'to the path' that the first noun was in the rising class; and the second in the falling. Of course, I am not arguing that such a difference does not exist, but merely that in some contexts it is obscured. This phenomenon

probably occurs to a certain extent in all tone-systems, but if it happens at all widely or regularly, then it becomes of special importance, since it could lead to the classes themselves falling together.

It is noteworthy that, just as the leftward move of the high pitch in the C and D rising class citation form has led to a fall over the word as a whole, ie. [  ], so the net result of the prefixation of a genitive or locative element to a rising class item in L is to change the rise to a fall. On what syllable the fall will occur is rather unpredictable, and here it is noticeable that Laman 1936, para. 27 refrains from giving rules about this, though he has already given several for the behaviour of falling and acute tone-class words in the same context (see chapter 9).

This net result is interesting when we consider the general preponderance of items in the falling class. This, as noted above, is probably not a feature just of kiKongo, but may reflect a situation in CB (see 14.9). While there may therefore be no compelling reason to postulate here an expansion of the falling class, it is certainly the case that this is the most common class numerically. The rising contour would thus be more likely to assimilate to the falling contour, rather than vice versa.

We may note that in one of the dialects discussed in Laman 1922 this state of affairs does seem to have resulted in the coalescence of the two classes. In discussing his selection of pitch-marked items from the Bembe dialect (art. 132), one of the northernmost dialects, Laman notes that 'all the words in this table have the grave pitch [ie. a short falling contour] except a few nouns, numerals and pronouns ..., and that there are no primitive words [ie. roots] with a ... rising intonation.'

#### 14.13.3: PB accent.

Finally, there is Bennett's well-argued suggestion (Bennett nd.) that it is possible to discern certain features in various present-day languages which may have to be ascribed to an accentual or

intonational system in Proto-Bantu. He finds that there is a general tendency in Bantu languages for tonal distinctiveness to shrink from the edges of the utterance (cf. such common tonal alternations as Zulu  $llh\# \rightarrow lfl\#$ ), and to gravitate towards the predicator in the sentence. This is probably reflected in the fact that in kiKongo (as in many other languages) a rise over a pre-pausal word implies a continuation of the utterance, whereas a fall in the same context implies the end of the utterance.

#### 14.13.4: conclusions.

I would therefore argue that although tonal (or perhaps we should say, accentual) contrasts can be found in words in isolation, the differentiation between the two classes is often meagre; given the greater cohesion and frequency of the falling class, those differences may merge (as in monosyllabic nouns and in Bembe). When the isolated words are placed in context there may be a certain amount of overlap in the contours of inflected forms, which is most noticeable in Laman's examples. Added to this, there is the phenomenon of bridging, which would tend to obliterate distinctions even if they had been previously maintained, and whatever intonational overlay there may be - I have suggested that for kiKongo this is fairly extensive.

The differences between the kiKongo system and that of kiKuyu are interesting in this regard.<sup>10</sup> In the latter language, words in isolation show minimal contrast, and the full range of tonal contrast only appears in connected speech. In kiKongo, on the other hand, it would seem that citation forms show most contrast, while with words in context many of the contrasts seem to be merged. The situation may be tabulated as follows:

(a) kiKuyu	citation	form in contexts			
	form	A	B	C	D
	x	x	x	y	x
	x	x	y	y	y
(b) kiKongo	citation	form in contexts			
	form	A	B	C	D
	x	x	x	x	x
	y	x	x	x	y

Once a language has reached the stage shown by kiKongo here, there is a tendency to reduce the tonal contrasts even further; a word is more likely numerically to occur in context than in isolation, and since most contextual forms show no contrast, the tendency is to assimilate those remaining forms which do. Through time this could well lead to the complete collapse of tonal contrast in the language. The opposite situation holds in kiKuyu, where the occurrence of most contrasts in contextual forms tends to maintain the tonal system.

All in all, therefore, it is not inconceivable that some speakers, but not all, may maintain accentual differences at word level, but that these become largely obscured in connected speech, though again this need not apply to all speakers. Thus Mr Ndolo gave some minimal pairs, but in spite of extensive testing Rev. Ntoni-Nzinga showed no consistent tonal differentiations, while Mr. Makoondekwa (Carter's informant) seems to maintain tonal distinctions even in connected speech. There is doubtless a good deal of dialectal and idiolectal variation in kiKongo, and it is for these reasons that I think it important to concentrate on areas of general similarity rather than on idiolectal details; in this way, paradoxically, we may be able to proceed to more detailed work for each idiolect from our clearer understanding of how the system works as a whole.

#### 14.14: summary.

I have tried to show that for all of the kiKongo sources considered there are two main word-classes, falling and rising, the first of which is more common, even in CB. Consideration of the individual sources may give some clues to development in different dialect areas. For example, taking the vocabulary list as a whole, L and C seem closer together than either are to D; taking reflexes of CB lh, L and D have most in common since they have more instances of \*lh → hl than C has; taking contours of words in context, C and D seem closer together than they are to L, since the latter shows more contour variability and overlap of the two classes. However, although two classes can be distinguished in citation forms, it is likely that in connected speech the contrasts between them merge to a greater or lesser extent, depending on the dialect and on the speaker.

Endnotes to chapter fourteen.

1. 'Cognate' is used here in the sense of 'descended from common ancestor ... representing same word or root'. (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 6th. ed. 1976)
2. Describing the all low pattern as 'rising' (previous paragraph), therefore, does not seem so arbitrary, since in some contexts this pattern does show a rise.
3. It must be born in mind, of course, that this matter is not entirely beyond doubt; Laman's work is not as sophisticated as that of later researchers, and he may not have consistently differentiated syllable and mora.
4. It is interesting to speculate on the relationship of the tonal patterns ɫlééká and lééká (ie. lèéká).
5. There thus seems to be a shift to a word contour, as has happened in Luganda and other languages in that area. (P.R. Bennett, p.c.)
6. All nouns in citation form in C and D must have at least one high pitch - see also 14.13.1, last paragraph.
7. While the reason for the class imbalance in either kiKongo or CB cannot as yet be known, the situation provides telling evidence that if tone-classes (or indeed, any classes) are to be set up for a language, some indication should always be given of the general size of each tone-class, ie. how many items (roughly) it contains. Knowledge of the relative size of each class may suggest something about their relatedness, but even if the information cannot immediately be put to use, it may fall into place at a later date.
8. For example, Carter 1973, p. 41: 'No very regular correspondence of Common Bantu patterns with those of Zoombo is discernible.'
9. This is doubly likely since in other Bantu tonal systems, and indeed in Classical Greek, there is a tendency for rising syllables to be reanalysed with level high pitch. (P.R. Bennett, p.c.)
10. This paragraph is based on an idea by P.R. Bennett.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN  
Dialect Similarities

15.1: introduction.

This chapter<sup>1</sup> tries to quantify the differences noted between the texts of chapters 4-10. In those chapters general comments on the individual features of the texts were given, such as, 'kiNtandu shows many penultimate or final high pitches'. In this chapter we attempt to define this judgement in numerical terms, such as, 'kiNtandu shows 68 out of 196 high pitches (ie. 35%) in this position'. It then becomes possible to compare this figure with those for other dialects, eg. kiManyanga with 7 or 8% of high pitches in this position.

The figures for each dialect<sup>2</sup> are first discussed in general terms, and then used as the basis for various mathematical computations designed to bring out their significance as fully as possible. A wide variety of graphic display is also used towards the same end. Since much of this display takes up a good deal of space, it has been grouped together in Appendix 7.<sup>3</sup>

15.2: full pitch-count.

The sample passages of chapters 4-10 were examined to determine (i) place of high pitch, and (ii) type of word on which the high pitch occurred. The results are given in 7/1. It should be noted that the numbers in the tables are those of high pitch as marked - other syllables, eg. those inside a bridge, may be high in pitch, but are not marked as such and are therefore not counted.

There are 80 possible combinations in the tables in 7/1, but in practice less than half of these are ever filled.<sup>4</sup> Some dialects show a greater spread of possibilities in that they fill more positions than other dialects, thus:

M1 39,   S 37,   N 33,   Z 32,   B 29,   Y 29,   M2 26.

Y, N and S show a sizeable number of penultimate high pitches (9, 25 and 7 respectively), while other dialects show only 1 (M1, Z) or none (M2, B). We might therefore say that the north-eastern dialects have a tendency to penultimate high pitch.

High pitch on the first syllable of the word is very common in M1, M2 and S, and this may be a dialectal characteristic, since it occurs with three different speakers. Again, a prefix to root-syllable bridge is most common in M1 and M2, and indeed seems to mark kiManyanga off from the other dialects.

Some dialects show very few (Z, S) or no (M2) words inside a bridge. The reason in this case may be that longer bridges are more likely to occur when reading from a book - these three texts were all speaker-composed.

### 15.3: collapsed pitch-count.

To use the tables in 7/1 for the later calculations of this chapter would mean that categories would be distinguished which would have too low an incidence for significance within the texts used. To avoid this, the tables in 7/1 have been collapsed to give the grosser, but more manageable, figures of 7/2.

To make each set of figures comparable, they were expressed as percentages. That is, the figures in the first three columns of each table in 7/2 were calculated as a percentage of the total given in the fourth column. The resulting percentages are given in 7/3<sup>5</sup> (with graphic display in 7/4), and it is these figures which will be used in the rest of the chapter.

In each dialect a high proportion of pre-prefixed items show high pitch before the root-syllable. This is especially pronounced in kiManyanga, where the proportion of items with shift is actually greater than that of items with high pitch on the root-syllable: M1 49% v. 44%; M2 55% v. 43%.

The proportion of nominals with high pitch after the root-syllable is exceptionally high in N, while Y also has a high figure here (49% and 28% respectively). On the other hand, M shows a high proportion of nominals with high pitch before the root-syllable (M2 33%, M1 14%).

The same pattern holds for verbals: N has a larger proportion with

high pitch after the root-syllable (32%), while M has a higher proportion with high pitch before the root-syllable (M1 30%, M2 29%).

For other items, B shows an exceptionally high proportion with high pitch not on the root-syllable (43%), in opposition to Y, with only 4%. S and Z also show high proportions - 35% and 23% respectively.

#### 15.4: measures of correlation.

A simple consideration of 7/3, therefore, shows that certain dialects have well-defined features which mark them off from other dialects. This section will try to reprocess the information given in 7/3 in order to produce a measure of the correlation of each dialect with every other, that is, a 'similarity coefficient'. The object of finding these coefficients is to produce a classification of the dialects in terms of similarity (cf. Henrici 1973, p.92). The methods<sup>6</sup> used are derived from the field of numerical taxonomy (see Henrici 1973 for an excellent introduction to this subject, and Sneath and Sokal 1973 for a full and lucid discussion), though with some individual adaptation.

##### 15.4.1: first method.

The first method is a measure of dispersion, taking the mean absolute difference between the 11 pairs of basic figures in 7/3 for each pair of dialects, ie. the formula is

$$C = \frac{*[p(rs) - p(rs)'] + *[n(rs) - n(rs)'] + \dots * [o(b) - o(b)']}{11}$$

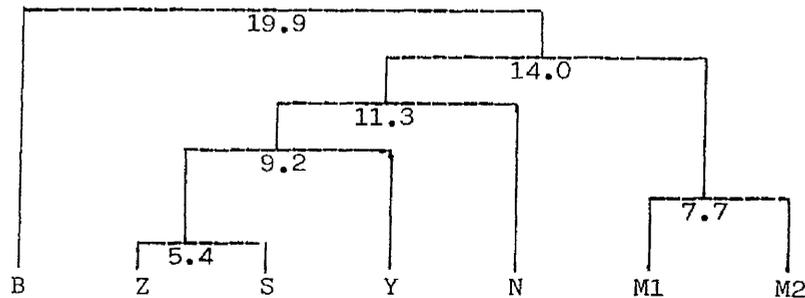
Note: \* indicates that the number in square brackets was always given positive polarity.

For each of the 11 positions a list was made ranking the dialects in descending order. The difference in percentage points between each pair of dialects was then displayed in a matrix. Ranking and matrices are shown in 7/5. The matrices were then conflated and averaged to give the following matrix:

	B	Y	Z	N	M1	M2
Y	19.2					
Z	13.3	7.3				
N	21.1	9.9	12.4			
M1	18.5	12.1	9.0	16.2		
M2	24.4	11.8	12.6	15.0	7.7	
S	9.7	11.0	5.4	13.0	12.1	16.9

Each of the above figures is a dissimilarity coefficient for that pair of dialects, ie. the higher the figure, the more dissimilar are the two dialects.

Using group average classification (Henrici 1973, p.96, Sneath and Sokal 1973, pp.230ff.) this matrix can be converted into a phenogram<sup>7</sup> (for matrix sequence see 7/6):



The numbers on the crossbars indicate the relative levels at which the clusters join. We can see that Z and S are most similar. M1 and M2 cluster at a slightly higher level of similarity. ZS then clusters successively with Y and N, and the resultant complex then clusters with kiManyanga. B is last to cluster with all the other dialects.

However, it is well known that phenograms are liable to oversimplify the picture. In Henrici's words (1973, p.100):

'Once a tree structure has been imposed on a set of languages then any grouping of them based on this tree is necessarily into non-overlapping clusters. ... It may be a useful corrective to consideration of these uncompromising pictures to compare them with a similar diagram generated by a method which allows clusters to overlap.'

One possible way of achieving this is to recast the matrix in terms of a series of 'linkage diagrams', showing the situation

'as the criterion for [dialects] linking up is gradually relaxed. A difficulty of this approach is that in order to get an understanding of the relationships of an entire taxonomic group one needs to have in front of one the various layers or cross-sections of the taxonomic hierarchy, which requires a fairly large number of successive graphs [in the graph theoretical sense] showing the increasing interrelationship of the set of [dialects.] ... Ideally the clustering process should be shown as a continuous series of images as in a moving picture.' (Sneath and Sokal 1973, p.264)

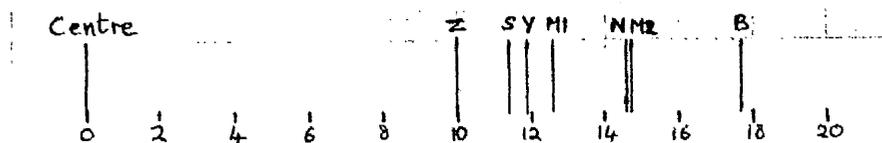
The dissimilarity matrix above has been converted into a series of linkage diagrams in 7/7. Here heavy lines indicate links that changed the previous diagram to the present one (ie. connect previously unconnected groups), and light lines represent internal structure that existed in the previous diagram (after Sneath and Sokal 1973, p.267).

A consideration of these diagrams shows clearly that much of the information in the matrix does not come out in the phenogram, although of course the general outlines are similar. The central cluster SZY has appeared by level 2, and M1 and M2 cluster at the next level. But M joins the central cluster SZY much sooner than the phenogram suggests (M1 level 4, M2 level 8). The same applies to B, which clusters with S at level 5. It is interesting that B and Z do not cluster until level 14 - we might have expected this to happen earlier, since they are both southern dialects. The phenogram gives the impression that N is a fairly central dialect, but in fact it is last to cluster, joining the closely-related Y at level 6, and not clustering with another dialect until level 11, when it joins Z. Moreover, the phenogram does not bring out the fact that although M1 and M2 cluster at level 3, M1 bears more resemblance generally to SZY, and M2 to YN. Although N is the last to join the cluster (level 6), it integrates more rapidly (by level 20) than M2, which clustered first at level 3 but only integrates at level 21. Again, although B joins at level 5, it is last to integrate (from level 18 on). These facts are reflected in the phenogram.

If we take the average of the figures in the above matrix for each dialect, we can obtain a rough idea of how far each dialect is from a centre containing the 6 remaining dialects, ie. its average distance.<sup>8</sup>

	B	Y	Z	N	M1	M2	S
	17.7	11.9	10.0	14.6	12.6	14.7	11.4

Drawing these on a spectrum gives:



As might be expected, this spectrum shows the central dialects as being less distant from the Centre than the peripheral dialects.

15.4.2: second method.

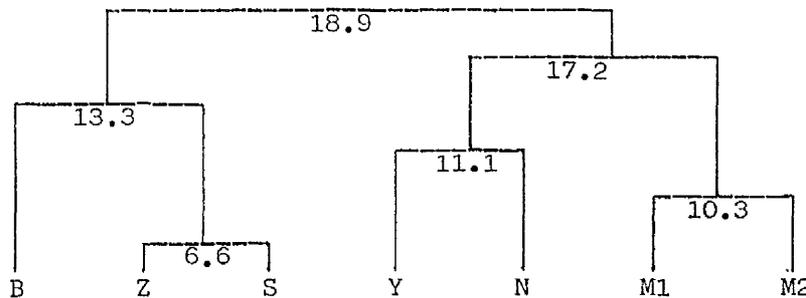
The second method is a measure of dispersion, taking the root mean square difference between the 11 pairs of basic figures in 7/3 for each pair of dialects. That is, the dissimilarity coefficient C for each pair is found by the formula

$$C = \sqrt{\frac{[p(rs) - p(rs)']^2 + [n(rs) - n(rs)']^2 + \dots + [o(b) - o(b)']^2}{11}}$$

We obtain the following matrix:

	B	Y	Z	N	M1	M2
Y	22.2					
Z	15.0	9.6				
N	24.6	11.1	15.2			
M1	21.2	13.6	9.4	20.9		
M2	27.0	14.4	14.5	19.7	10.3	
S	11.5	14.8	6.6	16.8	13.2	18.2

This matrix converts by group average into the following phenogram (for matrix sequence see 7/8):



This phenogram shows one main difference from that in 15.4.1: the placement of Y and N. It shows Z/S and M1/M2 clustering early (as in the previous phenogram). However, instead of ZS clustering progressively with Y and then with N, Y and N themselves cluster. Moreover, they then cluster with M. Again, instead of B clustering last with all the other dialects, it clusters first with ZS. Then the two main groups (BZS and YNM) join.

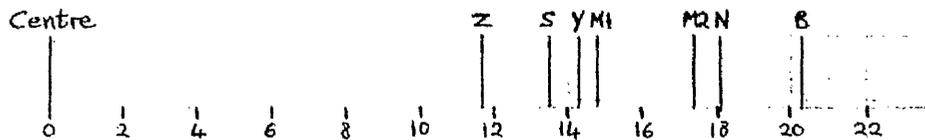
The previous phenogram suggested the sequence ZS + Y + N + M + B. However, this phenogram suggests four main groups clustering into two complexes, which in turn join each other.

This phenogram seems to reflect the series of linkage diagrams (7/9) more faithfully than the one in 15.4.1. The main discrepancy is that the close relationship of Z/M1 (level 2) and Z/Y (level 3) is not made clear in the phenogram.

The average distance for each dialect is as follows:

B	Y	Z	N	M1	M2	S
20.3	14.3	11.7	18.1	14.8	17.4	13.5

Drawing these on a spectrum gives:



The main difference between this spectrum and the one in 15.4.1 is that N has here moved farther away from the Centre, and is now positioned between M2 and B. Otherwise, the relative positions of the dialects are exactly the same.

#### 15.4.3: third method.

The third method is a measure of correlation using Pearson's coefficient of correlation ( $r$ ) between the 11 pairs of basic figures in 7/3. The formula for  $r$  is:

$$r = \frac{n \cdot \sum xy - \sum x \cdot \sum y}{\sqrt{\{n \cdot \sum x^2 - (\sum x)^2\} \{n \cdot \sum y^2 - (\sum y)^2\}}}$$

where  $n$  = total number of items in the sample (11 in this case),  $\sum$  = sum of ... ,  $x$  = figure in dialect  $a$ ,  $y$  = corresponding figure in dialect  $a'$ .

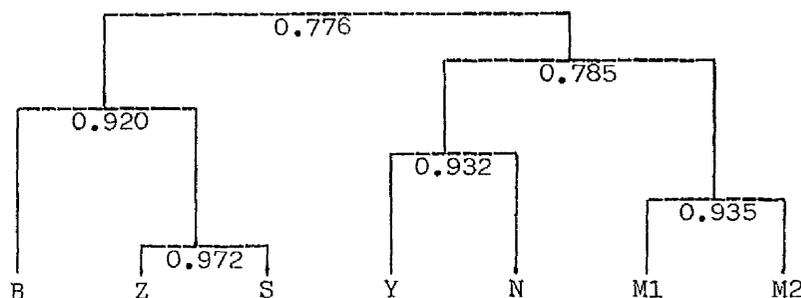
Pearson's coefficient gives 'a numerical value to the correlation present between two sets of data' (Gregory and Ward 1978, p.109). 'The value of  $r$  varies between +1 and -1. Perfect correlation is represented by unity. (The sign indicates whether it is positive correlation or negative.) A value of 0 indicates no correlation'. (ibid., p.119) That is, a value for  $r$  approaching unity shows a high degree of unity. However, 'the value of  $r$  is very much affected by the size of the sample (ie. the number of items) and for small samples it should be treated with great reserve' (ibid.). Since the sample here consists

only of 11 variables, it is plain that a high value for  $r$  will be required if we wish to say there is a correlation. We will therefore increase the area of no correlation from 0 to  $(-0.5)-(+0.5)$ , and say that if we obtain a value below  $\pm 0.5$  it is not significant, ie. it could have arisen by chance, and there is consequently no correlation. The calculations yield the following matrix:

	B	Y	Z	N	M1	M2
Y	0.751					
Z	0.889	0.946				
N	0.663	0.932	0.838			
M1	0.769	0.891	0.945	0.699		
M2	0.592	0.874	0.854	0.683	0.935	
S	0.950	0.865	0.972	0.778	0.888	0.745

It will be noticed that each pair of dialects shows a positive correlation, each of which is above the limit of 0.5. The higher the figure, the closer the correlation between the dialects concerned; that is, B/M2 (0.592) show least correlation, and Z/S (0.972) show most.

The matrix converts by group average into the following phenogram (for matrix sequence see 7/10):



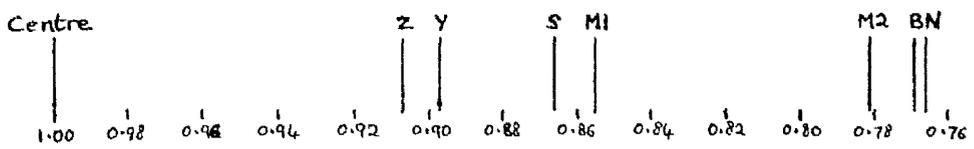
Interestingly, this shows exactly the same cluster pattern as the phenogram in 15.4.2. Z/S and M1/M2 cluster first, then Y/N and B/ZS, to give three major groups. It is noticeable that all these clusterings take place above a level of correlation of 0.900. The next clustering only occurs below a level of correlation of 0.800: the two northern groups cluster first (YN/M), and then the northern and southern groups (BZS/YNM). There is thus a clear division between what we might call narrow clustering and extended clustering.

However, on comparing the series of linkage diagrams (7/11) drawn from the same matrix, we see that the phenogram presents an oversimplified picture. S/Z cluster at level 1, as suggested by the phenogram, but B/S cluster at level 2, much sooner than suggested. The dual division into northern and southern dialects is not reflected to the same extent in the diagrams, where Z/Y and Z/M1 cluster early (levels 3 and 4). N is the last to join the cluster (N/Y, level 6), and only clusters with dialects other than Y from level 13 on (cf. 7/7). Even then it joins Z (level 13) and S (level 14) first, not M1 or M2 as implied by the phenogram. In fact it is noticeable that the northern dialects N and M2 cluster with the central dialects Z (levels 13, 12) and S (levels 14, 17) before they cluster with each other (level 19), and then with B (levels 20, 21).

The average distance for each dialect is as follows:

B	Y	Z	N	M1	M2	S
0.769	0.877	0.907	0.766	0.855	0.781	0.866

Drawing these on a spectrum gives:



Compared to previous spectra (15.4.1,2), S and Y have transferred positions, and N has moved to become the farthest dialect from the Centre.

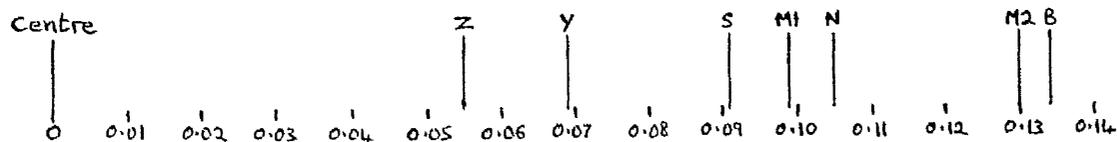
We will also use a slight variation on this theme by taking the standard deviation of each set of dialect figures, ie. how far the set deviates from its average. The formula for the sample standard deviation ( $\sigma_{n-1}$ ) is:

$$\sigma_{n-1} = \sqrt{\frac{\sum x^2 - \frac{(\sum x)^2}{n}}{n - 1}}$$

where abbreviations are the same as those used in the formula for Pearson's coefficient. The resultant figures are as follows:

B	Y	Z	N	M1	M2	S
0.134	0.069	0.055	0.105	0.099	0.130	0.091

Drawing these on a spectrum gives:



This spectrum resembles that in 15.4.1 in that N occurs between M1 and M2, not at the end as in the average distance spectrum above. However, it does resemble the latter in that Y and S have transferred positions in comparison to the other spectra. The fact that Y and N, related dialects, vary in their placement with regard to the other dialects may be significant.

#### 15.4.4: linkage diagram correlation.

There are several minor differences between each of the three series of linkage diagrams 7/7, 7/9 and 7/11, but all three give the same general picture of the central dialects clustering earlier and the peripheral dialects later. In each series stages can be discerned where the dialect clustering is similar, thus:

7/7	1	4	6	-	-	14	17	18	19	20	21
7/9	1	4	6	12	13	14	17	18	19	20	21
7/11	1	-	6	12	13	14	-	-	19	20	21

The first method (7/7) has 9 stages in common with the second method (7/9), and 6 with the third (7/11); the second method has 8 stages in common with the third method. This seems to suggest that the results given by the first and second methods are most similar, then those given by the second and third methods, and least similar are the results given by the first and third methods.

This is borne out when we examine the linkage diagram sequences in greater depth. Ranking the dialect pairs in terms of the level at which they cluster, we have:

	1st	2nd	3rd		1st	2nd	3rd
Z/S	1	1	1	N/Y	6	5	6
Z/Y	2	3	3	S/Y	7	11	11
M1/M2	3	4	5	M2/Y	8	9	10
M1/Z	4	2	4	M1/Y	9	8	7
B/S	5	6	2	M1/S	9	7	9

	1st	2nd	3rd		1st	2nd	3rd
Z/N	11	13	13	M2/S	17	15	17
Z/M2	12	10	12	M1/B	18	18	15
N/S	13	14	14	Y/B	19	19	16
B/Z	14	12	8	N/B	20	20	20
M2/N	15	16	19	M2/B	21	21	21
M1/N	16	17	18				

The previous table showed stages in each sequence where the overall dialect situation was the same; this table shows the level in each sequence where a specific pair of dialects cluster. If we calculate Pearson's coefficient  $r$  for each pair of rankings above, we have:

1st/2nd 0.968      1st/3rd 0.924      2nd/3rd 0.948.

This suggests that there is a high degree of correlation between all three rankings, though those given by the first and second methods are most similar.<sup>9</sup> This is somewhat surprising, since judging from the phenograms we might have said that the second and third methods gave most similar results.

#### 15.5: scattergrams.

The calculations of 15.4 give a detailed picture of dialect similarities, but there is one further representation of the data in 7/3 which gives a less detailed, though more graphic, display of the correlation between two dialects. A pair of dialects is selected, and the figures for dialect a are then mapped along the x axis of a graph, while those for dialect a' are mapped along the y axis. The result is a diagram showing a scatter of points - this is called a 'scattergram'. If the points tend to lie along a line, this shows a strong correlation between the two dialects. Normally, at least a hundred points are required for a scattergram to have statistical validity, but even though the ones given here (7/12) show only 14 points, they are effective illustrations of the conclusions reached in 15.4.

Rather than give a scattergram for each of the 21 pairs of dialects, which would take up too much space, 4 pairs have been selected on the basis of the third method ranking (cf. 15.4.4) so as to give a picture of the changing configurations as we progress from least correlation to most correlation: M2/B (21st in the ranking), N/S (14th), M1/Y (7th) and

Z/S (1st). A 'central area of greatest correlation' has been assigned on an ad hoc basis, taking in the region between  $x = y + 10$  and  $y = x + 10$ . On either side of this (as far as  $x = y + 20$  and  $y = x + 20$ ) has been marked an 'extended area of greatest correlation'.

The scatter of the points in the scattergrams may be tabulated as follows:

	central	extended	total
(a) M2/B	4	0	4
(b) N/S	6	4	10
(c) M1/Y	5	8	13
(d) Z/S	12	2	14.

The first scattergram shows a wide scatter of points, only 4 being in the central area, and none in the extended area. The second shows the points coming closer to the central area and beginning to form themselves into a line, only 4 being outside the central or extended areas. In the third scattergram the process continues, all but one point being inside the boundaries of the extended area. In the last scattergram the process is complete - all but 2 points are in the central area, and none are outside the extended area.

#### 15.6: multi-dimensional scaling.

In addition to taxonomic methods such as those used in 15.4, modern numerical taxonomy also has access to several more complex classification methods, usually requiring the use of a computer for their application. Such a method is that of local order non-metric multi-dimensional scaling, run by a program known as MDSCAL (Version 5M). The data on the entities to be compared (in this case, the 7 dialects) is prepared in the form of matrices such as those in 15.4, and fed into the computer. In Henrici's words (1973, p.89):

'Consider any three languages A, B and C. If A [shows greater correlation] with B than with C then the program will attempt to position A nearer to B than to C. The data is likely to be such that this cannot be done completely consistently for all the languages. The end result produced is a configuration in which as many as possible of such relations are reflected correctly in the final positions [of the languages on the printout]. The method is called multi-dimensional since it can be used to arrange objects along one dimension, or in a two-dimensional map as here, or in three or more dimensions. The

term 'non-metric' signifies that no use is made of how much larger the AB overlap is than the AC one, merely the fact that it is larger. And finally 'local order' specifies that only comparisons containing one item in common are made. Thus AB versus AC is considered, but not AB versus CD.'

The three matrices in 15.4.1,2,3 were used as input.

'The MDSCAL program first arranges the points randomly in 2 dimensions, then compares the distance-rankings between each pair of dialects on this map with the distance-rankings extracted from the input data. It then calculates by a trigonometric algorithm how to improve this correlation by moving the points around. It then compares the new map distance-rankings with the input distance-rankings and so on cyclically. During each cycle it prints one line of 'iteration figures', representing a 'history of the calculation'. The program gives up after some value has reached a satisfactorily low/high level, or after 50 cycles. The map represents the state after the last iteration.' (M. Mann, p.c.)

The program also measures how much distortion is involved in transferring the correlations shown in the input matrix onto a two-dimensional map. This is known as the 'stress' of the map. The satisfactory stress level for MDSCAL Version 5M is  $\leq 0.010$ , calculated using Formula 2, the most recent stress formula for the program.

#### 15.6.1: first method.

Using the first method matrix (15.4.1) there were 50 iterations (the maximum possible in the program), and the stress was 0.023 (above the 'acceptable' level of 0.010, but still low). The final configuration, ie. the grid references for the points on the map, was as follows:<sup>10</sup>

	x	y
B	0.102	-1.596
Y	0.109	0.404
Z	0.015	-0.117
N	1.040	0.657
M1	-0.837	0.178
M2	-0.644	1.084
S	0.215	-0.610

The resultant map is shown in 7/13.

#### 15.6.2: second method.

Using the second method matrix (15.4.2) only 12 iterations were

required to reach a stress of 0.006. The final configuration was:

	x	y
B	-0.020	-1.619
Y	0.298	0.541
Z	-0.112	-0.126
N	1.099	0.754
M1	-0.605	0.131
M2	-0.673	0.968
S	0.012	-0.648

The resultant map is shown in 7/14.

#### 15.6.3: third method.

The third method (15.4.3) gave 9 iterations leading to a stress of 0.007. The final configuration was:

	x	y
B	-0.454	-1.351
Y	0.379	0.352
Z	-0.182	-0.364
N	1.336	0.258
M1	-0.584	0.442
M2	-0.276	1.281
S	-0.218	-0.619

The resultant map is shown in 7/15.

#### 15.6.4: conclusions.

A simple examination of the three maps reveals that they are very similar. Calculating Pearson's coefficient for each pair of final configurations gives:

1st/2nd 0.985      1st/3rd 0.908      2nd/3rd 0.923

(cf. 15.4.4 and endnote 9). All three maps show Y and N in the north-eastern quadrant, M1 and M2 in the north-western quadrant, while Z, S and B occur in the southern half, close to the y axis. To some extent this reflects the phenograms of 15.4.2,3. However, the maps avoid the phenograms' tendency to oversimplify in that they show the proximity of Z and S to Y and M1 (cf. the phenogram in 15.4.1). It is in fact noticeable that, contrary to the phenograms and linkage diagrams, the maps do not necessarily show Z and S as the two most similar dialects:

in 7/13 Z is closest to Y, and in 7/14 to M1. However, they do reflect the linkage diagrams in that B is shown, paradoxically, as closer to S than to Z, and conversely M1 is shown as closer to Z than to S.

The three maps therefore give a consistent picture which supplements those obtained from the measures of correlation in 15.4. But there are two important points to be noted.

The first is the relationship of these maps based on pitch features to the actual geographical situation.

'It is not surprising that some sort of recognisable map should appear - one would not have expected closely-related languages to have dispersed to opposite sides of the continent. But the accuracy of this one is a trifle disconcerting. Does it show that all the purported measures of linguistic relationship are merely reflections of geography, so that the figures ... only reflect distances between language communities and can tell us nothing about their evolution? This would be an unduly defeatist view since [7/3] contains much more information than can be displayed in any single map. But the map should serve as a warning that the table is by no means purely linguistic.'  
(Henrici 1973, p.89)

As Henrici says, to consider pitch-pattern differences merely as a function of geographical distance is an oversimplification. The linkage diagrams in 7/7, 7/9 and 7/11 show clearly that a multiplicity of relationships is involved. Nevertheless, it is probable that whatever differences exist between dialects may be accentuated by distance, and this factor should be taken into account in any study of the evolutionary relationship of dialects.

The second point is that one obvious departure from the geographical position of the dialects does occur: namely, Z has moved much closer to the centre than we would expect in terms of its location. (This fact was also apparent from the spectra in 15.4.) There are two possible explanations for this, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive:

- (i) the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga had lived for some time in other areas, so that what he called Z was in reality rather mixed (as he himself averred on a few occasions);
- (ii) the fact that he spoke Z as his mother-tongue means that this would tend to be the central point for the other dialects Y, N, M1, B, rather than an abstract 'origin'.

15.7: other data.

There are some remaining data in 7/3 which have not yet been utilised. These, involving the ratio of high pitch to word, are fully set out below.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	t	z	$\frac{z}{t}\%$	w	h	h:w	r	$\frac{r}{w}\%$
B	135	27	20%	108	123	1.14	95	88%
Y	218	44	20%	174	165	0.99	112	64%
Z	177	49	28%	128	139	1.08	94	73%
N	219	48	22%	171	196	1.15	112	65%
M1	208	33	16%	175	201	1.15	125	71%
M2	142	27	19%	115	141	1.23	78	68%
S	237	54	23%	183	221	1.21	142	78%

Column 1 gives the total number of words in the passage (abbreviated t). Column 2 shows the number of words without high pitch in that passage (abbreviated z for 'zero'). Column 3 shows the number of words without high pitch as a percentage of all the words in the passage ( $z/t\%$ ). In column 4 is listed the number of words with high pitch (abbreviated w), ie.  $t - z$ . Column 5 gives the total number of high pitches occurring in the passage (abbreviated h). Column 6 shows the ratio of high pitch to word (h:w), where the figure for w is set at unity; this should be read, 'for every word on which high pitch will occur, there are likely to be x number of high pitches on that word'. Figures above unity imply that there will be more than one high pitch per word, ie. in a sequence of words with high pitch, one may have two high pitches; figures below unity imply that there will be less than one high pitch per word, ie. in a sequence of words with high pitch, one may have no high pitch. Column 7 shows the number of words with high pitch on the root-syllable (abbreviated r). Column 8 shows the number of words with root-syllable high pitch as a percentage of words with high pitch ( $r/w\%$ )<sup>11</sup>; this should be read, 'when a word has high pitch, in x% of cases the high pitch will occur on the root-syllable'.

If we rank the figures in Column 3 in descending order, we have Z, S, N, Y + B, M2, M1. Z and S show the highest frequency of words without high pitch. It may be significant that these texts were composed by the informant; on the other hand, the same applies to M2, which occurs at

the opposite end of the list. Different reading styles may therefore also have played a part (cf. 9.2).

Ranking the figures in Column 6 in descending order gives M2, S, M1 + N, B, Z, Y. The highest ratios are shown by M2 and S, and since we know from the previous studies that these two dialects do not show an especially close affinity, perhaps their separation from the other dialects here may be accounted for by the fact that both these texts were from informants other than the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga. The figures in this column support the suggestions in 6.5 and 8.5 that there may be a fair amount of variation in the frequency of the high pitches of individual speakers; the variation level here, 14.5%<sup>12</sup>, correlates well with the estimates of 8.5, though it is slightly lower than predicted there.

Ranking the Column 8 figures in descending order gives B, S, Z, M1, M2, N, Y. B is set off from the other dialects by its very high figure. The lowest figures are in the north-eastern dialects Y and N; this correlates with the fact that they have a large proportion of high pitches after the root-syllable (cf. 15.2,3).

These data<sup>13</sup> fill out the picture given earlier, but are less reliable since they are perhaps more prone to show variation with the content of the text: for example, if words without high pitch signal emphasis, focus or complexes (as I have argued), their frequency of occurrence depends on the type of text and the level of the speaker's involvement with it.

15.8: summary.

This chapter has discussed the implications of the differing pitch-pattern distribution in samples of the kiKongo dialects discussed in chapters 4-10. A pitch-count was first made to determine the placement of high pitch in each of the 7 samples (15.2), and this brought out preliminary differences and similarities among the dialects. A collapsed version of the pitch-count was then drawn up (15.3) and used as a basis for more detailed analysis of the correlation between the dialects. Three measures of correlation were used (15.4), giving matrices from which phenograms, linkage diagrams, spectra and 2-D maps

could be derived. All these methods give a consistent picture of dialect similarity, though they may differ in some minor details. This picture is filled out with scattergrams (15.5) and other data from the original pitch-count (15.7).

The evidence suggests four main dialect areas:

- (a) NE: comprising kiNtandu and kiYaka/kiNtandu, characterised by a tendency for high pitch to move towards the end of the word;
- (b) NW: comprising kiManyanga, characterised by a tendency for high pitch to move towards the beginning of the word;
- (c) SW: comprising kiMbanz' aKongo, characterised by a tendency for high pitch to remain on the root-syllable (?);
- (d) SE: comprising kisiNgombe and kiZombo, characterised by no discernible tendencies.

The first three areas' distinctiveness is reinforced by the differing lexical pitch-pattern behaviour, discussed in chapter 14. The fourth area might well be called SE/Central, since it is less homogeneous than the other three areas, and indeed seems closely-related to kiYaka/kiNtandu in the NE area - it might even be best to consider this dialect as belonging to both the NE and SE areas.

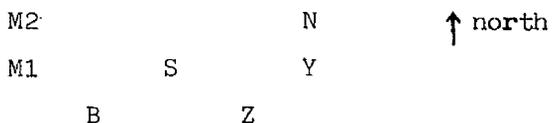
Endnotes to chapter fifteen.

1. I am grateful to Michael Mann for his helpful advice on this chapter, and for running the MDSCAL program of 15.6.

2. In this chapter the dialects will be referred to by abbreviations:

B	kiMbanz' aKongo (chapter 4)
Y	kiYaka/kiNtandu (5)
Z	kiZombo (6)
N	kiNtandu (7)
M1	kiManyanga 1 (8, Ntoni-Nzinga)
M2	kiManyanga 2 (9, Ndolo Menayame)
S	kisiNgombe (10).

Compass directions will refer to the following diagram of the geographical distribution of the dialects:



3. All references of the form '7/n' should be read as 'the nth section of Appendix 7'.

4. Three of the unfilled positions (oth/prs; oth/sh; oth/1st) are ruled out by definition: the first syllable of conjunctions, etc., is taken to be the root-syllable (3.2.3.4), and since they cannot take pre-prefixes (note, however, *vo/evo* 'if', *buna/ibuna* 'then, so'), there cannot be any syllable of the word before the root-syllable.

5. In a few cases, because of rounding off to the nearest whole number, the rows add up to 99% instead of to 100%.

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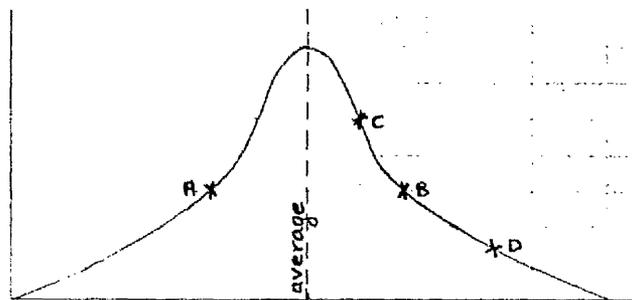
7. 'The terms phenogram and cladogram ... have come into general use to define dendrograms [ie. tree-diagrams] representing phenetic and cladistic relationships, respectively.' (Sneath and Sokal 1973, p.58) The terms 'phenetic' and 'cladistic' are roughly equivalent to the linguistic terms 'synchronic' and 'diachronic' respectively; that is, a cladogram displays ancestor-descendant relationships, while a phenogram displays similarity based on the characteristics of the objects under study. Sneath and Sokal (1973, p.29) note that, 'While phenetic similarity may be an indicator of cladistic relationship it is not necessarily congruent with the latter.' It should be noted that this whole chapter is concerned with phenetic (ie. present-day) resemblances only; it is not necessarily the case that these resemblances reflect evolutionary development, though of course we would

\*\*\* For endnote 6 see p.

like to assume that they do (cf. Henrici 1973, p.88).

8. It should be noted that this spectrum does not show relative closeness of each dialect. Thus the proximity of N and M2 on the spectrum does not mean that they are closely-related, nor does the fact that Z and M1 are separated by S and Y mean that they are not closely-related. The position of each band on the spectrum shows the distance of each dialect from all the other six dialects considered as a unitary Centre.

The concept may be illustrated by referring to a standard deviation curve, a symmetrical curve about the average, showing deviation from that average:



Points A and B are equidistant from the average, yet they are actually farther from each other than are points C and D, which are at different distances from the average.

Likewise, in the spectrum N and M2 are at almost the same average distance from the Centre, yet are not necessarily of close affinity, while M1 and Z are farther away from each other on the spectrum, but are yet of closer affinity.

9. Likewise, Pearson's coefficient for the basic matrices of each pair of methods gives similar results:

1st/2nd	0.979	1st/3rd	-0.922	2nd/3rd	-0.960.
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The negative values are due to the fact that the first and second methods are measures of dissimilarity, while the third is a measure of similarity - any correlation between them would therefore have to be negative (see 15.4.3).

10. In this and subsequent configurations the figures have been adjusted so as to make the computer-produced map comparable to the actual geographical positions of the dialects (cf. endnote 2). All that was involved was changing the polarity of the x figures so as to produce a reflection along the y axis and bring east and west the

right way round. On the actual maps (7/13,14,15) the positions of the dialects have been shown to only 2 decimal places, instead of 3 as here.

11. It should be noted that in 7/3 the total percentage in the root-syllable column is that of number of high pitches on the root-syllable expressed as a percentage of the total number of high pitches in the passage, ie.  $r/h\%$ . The figures therefore differ from those given here, which show  $r/w\%$ .
12. This figure was calculated as follows. We have two groups of dialects: B, Y, Z, N, M1 from the Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga, and M2, S from other informants. The outer limits for the possible variation in the first group are Y 0.99 and N,M1 1.15, giving a difference of 0.16. Expressing this difference as a percentage of the figures for the first group of dialects (average 1.10) will give an idea of the amount of possible variation in that speaker's high pitch occurrence: the answer is 14.5%.
13. The data could of course be used as additional variables when calculating Pearson's coefficient  $r$  (15.4.3). Taking the dialect pairs in 15.4.3 showing the highest (Z/S) and lowest (B/M2) values for  $r$ , the figures were re-calculated to include the three sets of variables just presented. The results were:
 

Z/S	0.977 (formerly 0.972)
B/M2	0.693 (formerly 0.592);

 that is, the higher limit shows little change, but the lower limit is significantly raised. The net result would probably be to raise the values for the bottom half of the ranking of the 21 pairs (cf. 15.4.4), while yet retaining the major features of the ranking as already established.
6. It must be emphasised that although three methods are used, this is only in order to examine the figures from all sides; minor differences in the results for each method do occur, but it should be remembered that the main object of the exercise is to group the dialects, not to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of each method.

## CHAPTER SIXTEEN

## Coda: Historical Development

## 16.1: introduction.

This chapter has two purposes. Firstly, it will give a few suggestions on the evolution of the kiKongo pitch system, and what this might imply for the systematisation of pitch features. Secondly, it will examine the kiKongo and kiLeta pitch systems to see whether any relationships between them can be discerned, and what these might imply.

## 16.2: kiKongo pitch.

Chapter 14 discussed lexical correlations among three kiKongo sources (Laman 1936, Daeleman 1963 and 1966, and Carter 1980b). It was concluded that, despite a number of features peculiar to each dialect, the three agreed in differentiating two main tonal classes (rising and falling).

Chapter 15 discussed relative similarities between the six kiKongo dialects of this thesis, based on pitch features, and distinguished four main dialect areas: NW (kiManyanga), NE (kiNtandu, kiYaka/kiNtandu), SW (kiMbanz' aKongo), and SE/Central (kiZombo, kisiNgombe). It was noted that there was a tendency for the central dialects kiZombo, kisiNgombe and kiYaka/kiNtandu to show most similarity.

The picture is therefore an expected one of individual dialectal differences, which must, however, be seen against a background of wider general similarity. It remains now to try to integrate this information with the picture given in part II of the thesis concerning the various systematisations of kiKongo pitch features.

## 16.2.1: development of research.

Guthrie 1967-71 has abstracted four tone-classes for Proto-Bantu, and although some of the tone-class distinctions (eg. \*hl v. \*hh, see 14.2.4) may need revision, it is clear that PB showed tonal features. However, Bennett nd. has argued that we may need to posit accentual features as well for PB (see 14.13.3).

Carter, Laman, Daeleman and van den Eynde describe kiKongo, with varying degrees of success, in terms of a tonal system. However, all four authors admit that this tonal system shows some additional non-tonal features, and, to account for these, bring special features into their descriptions: Laman refers to 'phrase-tone' and 'emotive tone', gives a few intriguing examples, and leaves it at that; Carter develops the idea of tone-phrases and syntactic conditioning of the tonal contours; Daeleman and van den Eynde resort to 'cases' and 'moods'. The last two also refer to pitch patterns being conditioned by focus (eg. Daeleman characterises bridging as 'tonal concentration'). This implies a clause-level (ie. intonational) accent supplementary to the word-level (ie. tonal) system (see also 12.4).

In this thesis I have taken the view that tone-classes figure very little in connected speech (for arguments in favour of this, see 14.13), and have given them a subordinate position in the description. I have described pitch-patterns in terms of high pitch normally occurring on the root-syllable of the word. Certain affixes such as genitive, locative or connective elements condition other patterns, such as 'shift'. Other anomalous patterns such as high pitch on the last syllable of the word, bridge on the word, or no high pitch on the word have been considered as exponents of a system of focus or emphasis, which has been taken to be the main system governing realisation of pitch patterns in kiKongo. It has been suggested that bridging between words is another marker of focus (or at least close relationship between the words concerned), and similar structures from three other Bantu languages have been discussed (13.3). A preliminary attempt has been made to classify mechanisms by which contours may be varied for effect (chapter 12), and general arguments for a pitch-accent system have been put forward (13.2).

The preceding paragraphs might be summarised as follows:

- (1) PB: tone-classes + accent (?)
- (2) C,D,L,E: tone-classes + something else (accentual?)
- (3) here: pitch-accent + residual tone-classes<sup>1</sup>.

(2) and (3) reflect merely a difference of emphasis, though it may be that a similar increasing importance of accentual features over tonal

features was an actual historical fact in the language. It will be remembered that in 14.13 I gave reasons for why the tone-classes might have merged in connected speech, and how this would have led to pitch becoming increasingly linked to the phrase, with the possibility of modulating phrase contours for effect.

#### 16.2.2: implications.

Consideration of the system proposed in this thesis, and of previous systematisations, leads to several conclusions.

If non-tonal factors are subsidiary to tonal ones in a language, it is probably better to deal with the suprasegmentals in terms of a tonal analysis - it may even be easier to describe the non-tonal features in the same set of rules as the tonal ones (cf. Bennett 1974 for Kikuyu).

As non-tonal factors assume increasing importance, however, it may become more difficult to deal with them in this way, especially if the tonal factors are simultaneously altering their domain from morpheme/syllable to word/phrase. It may then be necessary to link tonal realisations to their surrounding syntactic environment (cf. Carter 1973). In McCawley's (1968) terms, we still have to ask to some extent, 'What type of high pitch is this? What sort of matrix does it occur in?' rather than just 'Where is the high pitch?'.<sup>2</sup>

If the sequence continues, though, we may have to admit specifically non-tonal factors to the analysis; their occurrence may be fairly predictable, but to describe them we may need to introduce special concepts such as tone-cases or moods (cf. Daeleman 1966) or assertion (cf. Byarushengo et al. 1976).

The next step may be for high pitch to become associated with one particular syllable in the word, usually with accompanying stress (cf. the system postulated in this thesis, cf. also 4.6.4.2; compare Johnson 1976 on Low Runyankore). The model here is an accentual system, with possible further development of structures for determining prominence or cohesion within a group (eg. bridging). Such a system would eventually lead, via modulation of contour for special effect, to an intonational system.<sup>2</sup>

Tonal systematisations for a language in the early accentual stage may be descriptively and predictively adequate, as are Daeleman's and Carter's, but if the language passes beyond a certain point, such systematisations will end up describing only a minor portion of the system. It is, unfortunately, difficult to conduct investigations into marking of prominence, particularly if the language is in a transitional stage, but in part II of the thesis I have tried to present evidence that the development of kiKongo has proceeded to a stage where this sort of work must be undertaken<sup>3</sup>, and have made a few suggestions as to the type of system which might be in operation.<sup>4</sup>

#### 16.3: relationship between kiKongo and kiLeta.

Previous chapters have dealt mostly with kiKongo, though kiLeta has been described in chapter 11. Before discussing the relationship between the two entities, it is necessary to summarise the main conclusions reached in the most important work on the subject - Fehderau 1967.

##### 16.3.1: Fehderau 1967.

Fehderau bases his suggestions about kiLeta on geographical, historical and linguistic data. Chapter 2 of his book gives a brief history of the area in which kiLeta is spoken, while chapter 3 gives a sketch of the language.

##### 16.3.1.1: linguistic evidence.

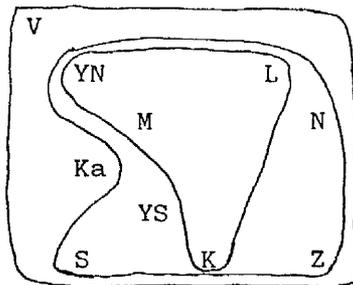
In chapter 5 Fehderau discusses borrowing in kiLeta, and concludes that Portuguese has only affected kiLeta to the extent that there were some Portuguese loanwords in kiKongo, a major component of kiLeta. (Fehderau 1967, pp. 77-78) Lingala, about 40% related to kiLeta by cognation (in Fehderau's words), is also about 10% related by borrowing of some of its lexical items and grammatical features<sup>5</sup> into kiLeta (ibid. pp. 78-80). French is playing an increasing role in the development of kiLeta, again donating lexical items and a few sporadic grammatical features (ibid. pp. 82-87).

Chapter 4 gives Fehderau's evidence for the relatedness of kiLeta with other kiKongo dialects and other Bantu languages in the area.

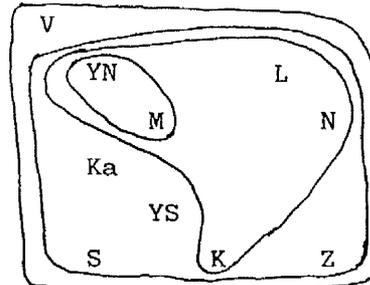


(K)	kisiKongo	473
(N)	kiNtandu	465
(YS)	S. kiYombe	444
(Z)	Zombo	443
(S)	kiSolongo	436
(Ka)	kiKabinda	423
(V)	kiVili	394
	upper liNgala	276
	lower liNgala	261
	kiLu <sup>u</sup> wa	251
	giMbala	233
	kiNgwana	164
	kiTeke	159.

The 10 kiKongo dialects obviously show greatest proximity to kiLeta. Fehderau groups them (M-K)(N-S)(Ka,V), giving picture (i) below. However, it is also possible to group them (M,YN)(L-N)(YS-Ka)(V), giving picture (ii) below.



picture (i)



picture (ii)

Both groupings are based on an arbitrary selection of cutoff points, but have slightly different implications. Fehderau's segmentation of his table (picture i) implies a fairly wide central area, then a wider area taking in all the other dialects except kiKabinda and kiVili. My segmentation (picture ii) implies a small central area, then a wider area taking in up-river dialects, then a wider area still, taking in the down-river dialects, with kiVili last. Fehderau concludes from picture (i) that the central dialects of kiKongo are more similar to kiLeta than the peripheral dialects (p.76).

#### 16.3.1.2: historical evidence.

He then proceeds (chapters 6 and 7) to trace the development of

kiLeta as he sees it. He refutes suggestions that Portuguese, English or French provided the impetus for the growth of kiLeta: (i) most Africans learnt Portuguese proper, rather than pidgin, to communicate with the Portuguese merchants; (ii) English trading companies tended to hire workers from the West African coast, so that there was no contact situation with the local people; (iii) missionaries usually learnt the local language properly rather than try to communicate in pidgin; (iv) French was not widely introduced until after WWII, when kiLeta was already in existence (pp. 89-92). Fehderau therefore concludes that since none of the above groups could have been responsible for the formation of kiLeta, it must have arisen independently. He also postulates a unitary origin for kiLeta because it possesses almost the same features regardless of region (pp. 93-98).

In Fehderau's opinion, therefore, kiLeta started as 'a koine based only on African dialects and languages' (p.99), which first came into existence 'as a contact language of the native traders in the Lower Congo region west of Kinshasa' (p.vii). He quotes Eliet (1953) as reporting that two old men had told him that kiLeta was already in use in the Kinshasa area by 1881, having come from the SW via Manyanga. However, he contends that Eliet's suggestion of Boma as the contact centre where kiLeta arose is not convincing, since it involves contradictory dates (p.100). He suggests rather that the contact centre was in fact Manyanga, a convenient switchover point for the local trading caravans, whether going upriver or coastwards (cf. pp. 24-8).

Apart from agreeing well with his linguistic data, such a centre is attractive from a historical point of view. The whole Lower Congo region was a trading area as early as 1600 (p.99), monopolised by the baKongo, baZombo and baTeke, so that such centres as Manyanga had become focal points by, perhaps, 1750<sup>7</sup>, bringing together speakers of various dialects of kiKongo and of other related languages. A pidginised version of kiKongo presumably took shape<sup>8</sup>, and was perhaps established in that area around 1800(?)<sup>7</sup>. Thereafter, as the trade routes pushed farther up the R. Kongo, the pidgin language expanded its sphere of use.

After European exploration of the R. Kongo and the establishment

of direct trading with the peoples of the interior, the old 'ivory road' system was phased out. Nevertheless, the infrastructure of the Congo Free State ensured the continued use of kiLeta (1870-90) (p.108). Probably by the turn of the century, increased contact with Lingala speakers led to that language influencing kiLeta (p.109). Then came an eastward expansion of use to the Kwango-Kwilu region (1910-20) (p.110). In the thirties and forties the language began to be creolised (ie. people began to speak it as a first language), with borrowing from French to fill gaps in the lexicon (p.110). Finally, Fehderau notes the beginnings of dialect differentiation into a western and an eastern form<sup>9</sup> (pp. 111-3).

#### 16.3.2: indications from pitch features.

It now remains to be seen whether evidence from the pitch features of kiKongo and kiLeta can be fitted into Fehderau's fairly detailed scheme. The main difference between the two pitch systems is that kiKongo tends to have high pitch on the root-syllable, whereas kiLeta usually shows penultimate high pitch. How might these two be reconciled?<sup>10</sup> There are three ways in which this might be done:

- (i) suggest that the kiLeta pitch system is not derived by inheritance from that of the kiKongo source dialects;
- (ii) postulate a development of the kiLeta system from the kiKongo one;
- (iii) postulate divergent development of both systems from a common source.

In view of the many other relationships between kiKongo and kiLeta, it is difficult to believe that the kiLeta pitch system is completely innovative and independent of the kiKongo one. The first position, therefore, will not be considered here unless the other two positions are found not to provide a reasonably coherent explanation of the data.

#### 16.3.2.1: evolutionary development.

The second position would suggest a sequence along the following lines: (1) in kiKongo, high pitch became increasingly linked to the root-syllable around the time a stable pidgin kiLeta was developing (c. 1900?); (2) in kiLeta this high pitch was reinterpreted as stress<sup>11</sup>;

(3) owing to influence from another source, high pitch was reintroduced on the penultimate syllable; (4) the stress on the root-syllable then becomes associated with this new high pitch.

The second step in this sequence would account for the fact that out of 644 items in a sample from Fehderau 1969, only 4 (0.6%) did not have stress on the root-syllable (see 11.4.1.3). Step 4 accounts for stress and high pitch usually occurring on the penultimate in Mr. Katesi's speech, and in any case Fehderau (1969) notes that stress tends to move to the high-pitched syllable in one of his tone-classes (II) - cf. 11.6.7.

However, we have still to find the 'other source' specified in step 3. A perfect example of the same type of language as kiLeta, with penultimate stress/high pitch, is Swahili. However, it is unlikely that Swahili would have had enough influence this far west at an early enough period (cf. Fehderau's (1967) conclusions about kiNgwana, 16.3.1.1 above), though it has no doubt exerted some such influence in more recent years (Mr. Katesi, for example, knew a few Swahili words). There is, however, one other source closer to kiLeta which might possibly fit the bill - kiNtandu. If we can assume that the pitch features of modern kiNtandu are comparable to those of a century ago, it is possible that the common tendency in kiNtandu to have high pitch towards the end of the word (see chapters 7 and 15) may have influenced the developing kiLeta. KiManyanga also may have played a part - it will be remembered that the early work of Laman, done in the 1920s, showed a final high pitch for the rising class, no matter what the length of the word, thus *cvcv́*, *cvcvcv́*, etc. (9.5). This feature does not appear in modern kiKongo (cf. chapters 9 and 15), where the high pitch seems to have been moved leftwards, but its presence in kiKongo at one stage may have influenced kiLeta.

#### 16.3.2.2: divergent development.

The third position mentioned above, that of divergent development from a common source, suggests the following sequence: (1) at a certain stage in its development, pidgin kiLeta interpreted kiKongo pitch patterns in a fundamentally different, though superficially similar, way; (2) the two languages continued an individual, but parallel,

development.

The most obvious way in which the differing interpretations referred to in step 1 could arise is based on disyllabic patterns. Take the kiKongo patterns

(a) \*c'vcv (falling) and \*cvc' (rising).

As long as the interpretation is 'high on first syllable' and 'high on last syllable' respectively, there will be trisyllabic forms

(b) \*c'vcvcv and \*cvcvc' (cf. Laman).

But if the domain of pitch increases from syllable to word, ie. if the patterns in (a) are seen as unitary wholes, trisyllabic forms may be seen as 'falling pattern + syllable' and 'rising pattern + syllable' respectively, giving

(c) \*c'vcvcv<sup>12</sup> and \*cvcvc'.

This starts the leftward movement of the high pitch in the kiKongo rising class, and further development, as outlined in chapter 14, may leave only one mora distinguishing falling and rising classes (cf. Daeleman's and Carter's forms). Eventually even this distinction may disappear, leading to a complete merger of the classes (cf. 14.13).

If we assume, as we did for the first step of the previous position (16.3.2.1), that stable pidgin kiLeta was developing at a time when kiKongo high pitch was becoming increasingly linked to the root-syllable, a similar reinterpretation could account for the different contours in both languages:

kiKongo \*c'vcv → \*c'vcvcv  
 kiLeta \*c'vcv → \*cvcvc'.

KiKongo here counts from the beginning of the word, and kiLeta from the end. That this became the usual pattern in kiLeta was probably due to the kiManyanga and kiNTandu patterns mentioned above (16.3.2.1), the rising pattern in (c) above, and the greater frequency in kiKongo of the falling pattern which begins the sequence.

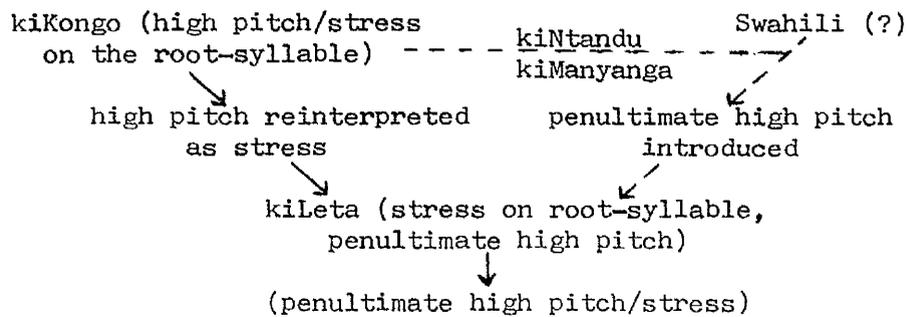
### 16.3.2.3: conclusions.

The third sequence (16.3.2.2) might account for penultimate high

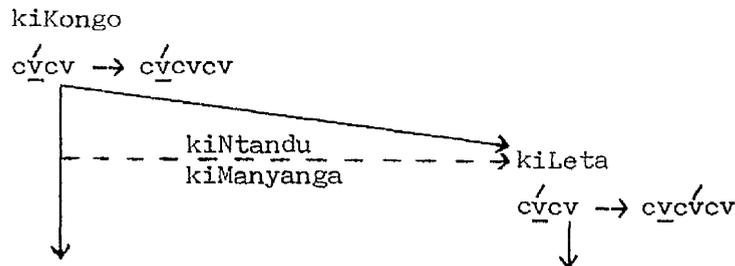
pitch more easily than the second one (16.3.2.1) - the high pitch arises from different placement of the same basic feature in each language, and does not have to materialise from somewhere else. On the other hand, the third sequence does not account so well for Fehderau's stress patterns. Both sequences must be considered tentative, and perhaps further research will throw more light on the matter.

We may summarise as follows:

second sequence:



third sequence:



### 16.3.3: kiNtandu influence.

The pitch system of kiLeta does therefore seem to be relatable to that of kiKongo, either by derivation or by independent development. The northern dialects of kiKongo seem closest to kiLeta: kiNtandu shows a tendency to have high pitch towards the end of the word, and kiManyanga shows a somewhat similar, though not at all so marked, tendency in some cases (Laman's patterns, and possibly a few words with underlying rising contours - cf. 9.3.9). KiManyanga also showed, in one idiolect, patterns of bridging similar to those of kiLeta: bridges were not so common nor so long as in other dialects studied (9.2, 9.3.11).

In chapter 11 it was suggested that kiLeta was on the way to developing an intonational system. It may not be coincidence that the dialect between kiManyanga and kiNtandu, kisiNgombe, shows development towards phrase-pitch (ie. pitch patterns may be determined by length of phrase and placement of pause - 10.3.4), and also shows most contour variation.

Fehderau did not take pitch features into account in his study (1967, pp. 46-47), but it will be noticed that the above observations agree substantially with his conclusions. However, on one point there is an important difference. On pp. 92-93 Fehderau says, 'Those who point to kiNtandu as the kiKongo dialect which has most influenced [kiLeta]<sup>13</sup> must contend with linguistic evidence that does not give a special place to it. It is rather a cluster of central dialects that proves to be most closely related ...'<sup>14</sup> - see picture (i) under 16.3.1.1. However, as picture (ii) illustrates, the segmentation of the data may be done in several ways, and in this latter picture kiNtandu could be said to have a special place, since it can then be considered as one of the 'cluster of central dialects'.

Fehderau seems to want to discount kiNtandu because that might suggest Kinshasa as the contact centre rather than Manyanga. However, the two views can be reconciled easily enough by agreeing with Fehderau that Manyanga was the contact centre that gave rise to kiLeta, but suggesting that once kiLeta came into existence it was influenced to some degree by kiNtandu. It is in any case surely counter-intuitive to rule out the neighbouring kiNtandu as an influence when kiZombo influence, from much farther away, is implied in at least one passage (p.100). Moreover, kiNtandu is the main dialect near the Stanley Pool area, and Leopoldville had been established as an important inland depot by 1885 (p.31), so kiNtandu influence is chronologically possible in Fehderau's scheme (16.3.1.2). Further, since he accepts that in this period liNgala could have influenced kiLeta (p.109), it is difficult to see how kiNtandu influence can be ruled out. Finally, this sequence of an original centre in Manyanga, influenced by kiManyanga, and then a spread upriver to Kinshasa, influenced by kiNtandu, fits well with Fehderau's linguistic evidence as segmented in my picture (ii) under 16.3.1.1.

## 16.3.4: conclusions.

Evidence from pitch features thus seems to support Fehderau's conclusions, though I would prefer to give greater weight to the northern dialects (kiManyanga, kiNtandu, and perhaps kisiNgombe) in the formation of kiLeta.<sup>15</sup> However kiLeta develops in the future, it does seem to show a clear relationship to kiKongo. We may characterise both languages as following different, though parallel, paths: both show the development of word-contours modified by focus and emphasis. There is an echo here of the 'notion that creolisation is merely accelerated natural change', as Hancock nd. paraphrases van Name 1870, and he also notes that some modern scholars also see this process as 'not very different except in intensity' (Goodman 1964) from ordinary linguistic change. It may indeed be that the kiLeta pitch system has merely accelerated certain tendencies inherent in the kiKongo pitch system.

Endnotes to chapter sixteen.

1. A very crude characterisation of the different levels described by different researchers might be as follows:

contour variation	-					
patterns on phrases	-					
lexical patterns	-					
		E	C	D	L	H

where E = van den Eynde, C = Carter, D = Daeleman, L = Laman, and H = this thesis.

2. This sequence suggests an increasing importance of pitch. Pitch starts out as a segmental feature differentiating lexical items; as an expansion of this, it starts to delineate function, which puts it on the suprasegmental level (cf. Knappert, nd.). Pitch may then extend its domain from syllable to word to phrase to sentence, and has by this time only vestigial remains of its earlier segmental nature. Both high pitch and stress indicate prominence, so at some stage in the preceding sequence they may begin to regularly co-occur. If this 'prominence complex' becomes the main suprasegmental feature of the language (eg. in a stress-timed language), it may lead to certain segments having reduced phonetic features in some environments. In this view, therefore, pitch would begin as a segmental feature and evolve into a conditioning factor for other segmental features.
3. Malcolm Guthrie once said of kiKongo, 'It's got too complicated and has broken down as a tonal system.' (J.H. Carter, p.c.)
4. Compared to Carter's and Daeleman's systematisations, the system I have used to describe the patterns of the various passages can be considered only vaguely predictive (prescriptive?) - rather in the nature of 'contour x is more probable in this context than contour y'. On the other hand, for a language in the state I postulate, we can no longer predict how a passage will be read - we can only predict the parameters within which it will be possible to read it; we can only regress from the spoken contours to determine which rules the speaker followed, though not necessarily why. In any case, the rule for determining the basic patterns of a stretch ('high pitch occurs on the root-syllable') is very simple, and there is more scope for dealing with patterns that are anomalous in some way.

5. Some of the features attributed to liNgala influence (eg. the habituative suffix -aka, p.80) are however also found in such kiKongo dialects as Ladi (eg. p.104).
6. The method is as follows: each set of cognates is given a weight of 100 points; each language which shows a cognate with kiLeta is given an equal share of the points. For example, if 10 of the 16 test languages show a cognate with kiLeta, these 10 are given 10 points each, and the other 6 are given none. Finally, all the points are added up for each language.

The main drawback to this method is that it is weighted so heavily in favour of (perhaps chance) similarities. For example, if kiLeta, Ladi, and kiNtandu had all happened to borrow the same loan-word, which did not occur in any of the other languages, Ladi and kiNtandu would receive 50 points each, yet actually the fact that they both showed the same 'cognate' (in this case a loan-word) would not necessarily imply that they were genetically related. Such non-genetic interpretations are inherent in all forms of lexicostatistics, and the example given is extreme, but nevertheless Fehderau's figures may well be skewed in some such way.

7. These two dates are my own suggestions, not Fehderau's.
8. Several dialects of kiKongo (eg. some kiManyanga dialects and kiZombo) are mutually intelligible only with difficulty (Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga, p.c.) - cf. also 9.7.
9. It may be that Fehderau is rather premature in doing this; as noted in chapter 11 (11.3), there seems to be a good deal of variation in one idiolect. For example, Fehderau considers a syllabic nasal in words such as mpi 'also' to be characteristic of the eastern region, and forms with prefixed vowel (impi) as characteristic of the western region, but Mr. Katesi used both.
10. Similar problems are encountered when discussing languages such as Lozi. P.R. Bennett (p.c.) says: 'Material being used in Mukumbuta Lisimba's PhD dissertation here [in Wisconsin] indicates that the system of Lozi (already shown by me as it could have been derived by evolution from the Sotho system - see Bennett 1970) is matched reasonably well by some dialects of the Luyana group, which form the substrate for Lozi. Question: did Lozi borrow from Luyana?, did Luyana borrow from Lozi?, did both evolve from the earlier systems?, and in the last case, was the evolution independent or did

interaction precipitate it?'

11. A similar thing happened in Ancient Greek: 'In Hellenistic times the Greek pitch accent changed to a stress incident upon the same syllable as that on which the pitch had previously been.'  
(Atkinson 1933, p.62) The change was complete as early as the third century BC.
12. The leftward movement seems to have already happened in connected speech in Laman's time (cf. for example, 9.5.6.1), but citation forms may not have shown this.
13. It is unfortunate that Fehderau gives no source for the suggestion that kiNtandu may have influenced kiLeta.
14. Fehderau here gives a rather opaque example 'to illustrate the above point'. He seems to be suggesting that if we can find in kiLeta certain words which are common there, but are different from the cognate items common in the neighbouring kiKongo dialect, this proves that kiLeta cannot have been influenced by that neighbouring dialect. Given the nature of kiLeta, this is a rather dubious line of reasoning, especially since only four words are given, from Brazzaville kiLeta and the neighbouring Ladi:

kiLeta		Ladi
tuba	'talk'	zonza
zaba	'know'	zaya
bwala	'village'	vata
ve	'no, not'	kani.

The kiLeta words, he says, 'are all characteristic of the more western kiKongo dialects'. However, this is not entirely true: *ve* is of common occurrence all over the kiKongo area, including such distant dialects as kiMbanz' aKongo; *zonza* occurs in the kiManyanga text of chapter 9 (as *zonsa*), and Fehderau would presumably count kiManyanga as a 'western' dialect. At least two of the words given cannot therefore be reliably marked off as to district or dialect, and Fehderau's examples do not disprove Ladi influence on kiLeta. In any case, some common kiLeta words may have been borrowed from sources other than kiKongo.

15. It is worth noting that the influx of French loan-words may possibly change the suprasegmental pattern of kiLeta (penultimate → final high pitch/stress? - cf. 11.4.1.2). The development of a more elaborate intonation system also seems a distinct possibility.

PART IV  
Retrospective

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN  
Summary and Conclusions

Now that we have come to the end of this thesis, it will be helpful to summarise its main ideas and recapitulate the conclusions reached.

The thesis has several equally important aims:

- (a) to make a suprasegmental comparison of several dialects, or at least idiolects, such as has not been attempted since K.E. Laman's work of the 1920s/30s;
- (b) to demonstrate that in certain cases the pitch features of kiKongo are difficult to analyse in terms of tone, and may therefore warrant a pitch-accent description;
- (c) to show that there may be an intonational overlay in kiKongo;
- (d) to consider the relevance of the conclusions reached in the previous two sections to the development of kiKongo;
- (e) to critically summarise previous work on kiKongo suprasegmentals, attempting to abstract common elements in a range of different systematisations.

The important point of the meaning of the terms to be used is taken up in chapter 1. It should be noted that 'pitch-accent' is not used here in precisely the same sense as what seems to be the typical one in current American publications: it refers to a system 'in which pitch plays some role in distinguishing morphemes or grammatical categories, but this is secondary to its affective and syntactic roles' (1.6.5). This loose definition means that the pitch-accent systematisation proposed in this thesis does not predict, by means of formal rules, what pitch-contour will appear in what context; rather, it describes the range of possible pitch-contour choice. (This point is extremely important when considering chapters 4-11.) It is my belief that the nature of the kiKongo system precludes the establishment of predictive rules (or in any case that formulating them would not be worth the trouble), and that it seems to be more a question of establishing descriptive guidelines such as 'contour x is more probable in this context than contour y'.

There is usually (but not always) only one high pitch per word (15.7). 64% (on average) of all high pitches occurred on the 'root-syllable', the

first syllable of the root or stem, while 72% (on average) of all words had high pitch on the root-syllable (see Appendix 7/3 and 15.7). Pitchmeter tracings, apart from validating the pitch-marking used, showed that in 84% of all words in a sample passage highest intensity occurred on the root-syllable. Moreover, highest intensity and highest pitch coincided in about 65% of cases (3.5.4).

These facts suggest that we can postulate a simple, yet comprehensive, rule for high pitch occurrence, namely, 'high pitch usually occurs on the root-syllable'. This is taken as the basic pattern. However, other patterns also occur, of which by far the most numerous are:

- (a) high pitch occurs on the syllable before the root-syllable (this pattern is referred to as 'shift');
- (b) high pitch occurs on the last syllable of the word;
- (c) no high pitch occurs on the word.

These are considered 'anomalous' variants of the basic pattern, derived from it by, respectively:

- (a) shift of the basic high pitch leftwards;
- (b) move of the basic high pitch rightwards;
- (c) suppression or deletion of the basic high pitch.

Shift is usually morphologically conditioned in that the affixation of certain elements (eg. locative, genitive, connective) to the noun conditions a shift of the high pitch one syllable leftwards. In some cases where these elements appear, however, the expected shift does not actually occur. This may be connected with focus or emphasis, especially since the other two anomalous patterns seem to signal close relationship with neighbouring words, ie. a complex, and therefore act as mechanisms for focus or emphasis. It is also significant that items with anomalous patterns usually occur in groups (ie. \*basic + basic → anomalous + anomalous), suggesting that pitch variation operates over the phrase rather than over the word. Tonal distinctions as a major conditioning factor for the pitch patterns seem to be ruled out by the fact that the same word may have different pitch patterns in essentially the same environment.

One particularly important feature of kiKongo pitch is 'bridging', ie. where lower pitches between two high pitches are raised so that a high pitch 'plateau' is formed. This occurs especially with the sequences

noun-qualifier and verb-object, and seems to indicate the close relationship of the items concerned. It may even signify focus or emphasis, since similar phenomena, over the same sequences, can be discerned in Kikuyu, Zambian Tonga and Southern Sotho, and these all have some connection with focus. The fact that these sequences have special patterns in four widely-separated languages suggests that we may be dealing here with a PB intonational feature.

In an effort to clarify the points raised in the previous two paragraphs, the main informant was asked to comment on certain phrases in the texts where the same words showed different pitch contours. His answers indicate that it is possible for the kiKongo speaker to modulate or condition the pitch contours in certain ways so as to emphasise or focus on certain aspects of his utterance. An examination of these 51 comments leads to a preliminary description of the mechanisms of this contour variation. It seems that 'emphasis may be achieved by the use of the non-expected' (12.3); that is, if, for example, a word might normally be expected to have its high pitch shifted, it can be emphasised by not shifting this high pitch, and so on. Continuity/finality and emphasis seem to be related in that they both use these same mechanisms of 'markedness'.

Comparison of several versions of the same text show certain differences in pitch patterning. If we can assume that these differences may be due to differing patterns of emphasis and focus in each version, we then have a crude means of measuring roughly how much emphasis and focus is 'permissible' in the language. For one speaker reading several versions, the answer seems to be about 15% (6.5); for two speakers reading one version each the figure seems to be around 30% (8.5). Comparison of textual patterns with those predicted by the systematisations of previous researchers (4.7, 6.7, 7.7, 9.6) again shows a variability level of about 30%.

A consideration of previous studies of kiKongo (4.6, 7.6, 9.5, and cf. 5.6) reveals that although each systematisation deals with the pitch features in terms of tone, they all agree that certain of these pitch features require additional non-tonal elements in the description (eg.

Carter's tone-phrases, Laman's emotive tone, Daeleman's tone-cases/-moods) - see 16.2.1. The idea of focus-based conditioning of contours provides a unifying factor for all the systematisations, and, as I have tried to argue, such an interpretation can be read into each one without undue difficulty.

Comparison of the lexical tone-classes established by Laman, Daeleman and Carter reveals a large degree of correlation between the three sources, and suggests that we can abstract a further unifying feature: in each source two main tone-classes can be distinguished - rising (ie. low initial) and falling (ie. high initial), though of course there may be a few patterns on the boundaries of these two main ones. The same outlines can even be discerned in CB, though to a lesser degree. Moreover, the falling class is the predominant one, even in CB - the rising class accounts for only 38% of items in samples from the four sources. There is also some evidence of a shift \*lh → hl, which has progressed farther in the north than in the south.

As to why these two tone-classes (or, to be perfectly consistent, accentual classes) do not appear in the texts, evidence is adduced to argue that although they may exist for words in isolation, once these words are placed in context the distinctions disappear (cf. also 9.4). This may be due to the fact that: (cf. 14.13)

- (a) the falling class is most numerous, and would therefore tend to assimilate the rising class;
- (b) there is in some cases very little difference between the classes, thus leading to possible merger;
- (c) PB, as Bennett persuasively argues, may have had some sort of stress-accent, so that the kiKongo system may be a development of that.

The conclusions of the preceding paragraphs lead to the postulation of a three-tier system for kiKongo (12.4):

- (a) accentual classes on words in isolation;
- (b) pitch-accent on words in context, conditioning 'normal' contours;
- (c) possible intonational variation, conditioning emphatic contours.

An examination of the pitch patterning in sample passages from the

individual dialects allows us, by using a variety of numerical taxonomic methods, to distinguish four main dialect areas:

- (a) NW: kiManyanga;
- (b) NE: kiNtandu, kiYaka/kiNtandu;
- (c) SW: kiMbanz' aKongo;
- (d) SE/Central: kiZombo, kisiNgombe.

KiLeta (creole kiKongo) tends to have high pitch on the penultimate syllable of the word rather than on the root-syllable as in kiKongo proper - of course, in many cases (eg. disyllabic stems) these two syllables would coincide. It also has a fairly well-developed range of intonational variation, similar in some respects to that of Swahili. After consideration of Fehderau 1967, the most detailed work on the subject, we conclude that kiLeta probably developed around Manyanga and Kinshasa from 1800 onwards, and that its pitch features have been based on/influenced by kiManyanga, kiNtandu, Lingala (?), Swahili (?) and lately French.

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## Appendices

The following section contains seven appendices:

- 1: map of kiKongo area (chapter 1)
- 2: pitch-meter graphs (chapter 3)
- 3: texts, translations and comparison passages (chapters 3-11)
- 4: summarised examples of variant contours (chapter 12)
- 5: comparative list of cognates (chapter 14)
- 6: reflexes of CB lh (chapter 14)
- 7: dialect similarity: data and displays (chapter 15).



## Appendix 2

## Pitch-meter graphs

The following pages represent pitch-meter tracings of two extracts from a passage read by the Rev. A. Komy Banzadio.

2/1-2/9: ll. 115-121 of the text for chapter 10 (Appendix 3)

2/10-2/21: ll. 193-201 of the same text.

The results are arranged as follows:

- (a) frequency (measured in Hertz), with my marking;
- (b) logarithmic amplitude (measured in number of 5mm units from the base line);
- (c) text and marking;
- (d) duration of utterance and [duration of pause] (measured in seconds);
- (e) translation.

Stretches where the results are uncertain (eg. 2/5) are placed in brackets.



230-

220-

210-

200-

190-

180-

170-

160-

150-

140-

130-

120- lu

110-

100-

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6- a

5-

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sa

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kaa

lu

kre

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kya

ba

lu kaanga// i

muku

mba//

text luákaanga · isàlú kyasékretö<sup>o</sup>R · mukubakaàmbá.

time 0:80

[1.22]

1:56

[0:62]

1:13

[0:67]

translation to arrive, [and] it is the job of the secretary to welcome them

230-

220-

210-

200-

190-

180-

170-

160-

sùkú

150-

bá

so

140-

ku

ongá//

ma

mán

130-

au

de

120-

ye

ma

110-

e

100-

ka//

90-

6-

5-

4-

3-

ba

maau

2-

so

ongá//

masu

ma

de

1-

yeku

ku

n

e

ka//

0-

text yeku bá so ongá , masùkú maau mándeeka.

time

1:04

[0:20]

1:42

[1:36]

translation and to show them their bedrooms.

230-

220-

210-

200-

190-

180-

170-

160-

150-

140-

130-

120-

110-

100-

90-

80-

70-

60-

50-

40-

30-

20-

10-

0-

nkoo''

la

(?oo)

dya'

ma

ka'

nga''

la

ma

a

mu

kila''

ma

'oo

koo

la

dya

ka

ma

la

kila''

nga''

ma

n

ma

a

mu

text Madyá mankoókila , makálaangá .. mu'òola...

time 1.26 [0.43] 0.96 [4.02]

translation The evening meal is at the hour

230 -

220 -

210 -

200 -

190 -

180 -

170 -

160 -

150 -

140 -

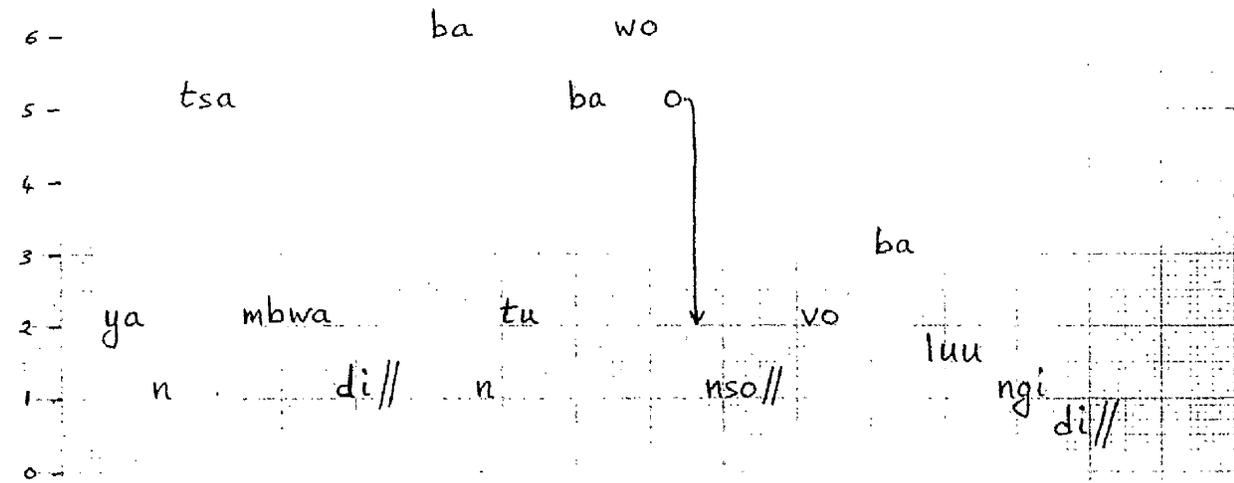
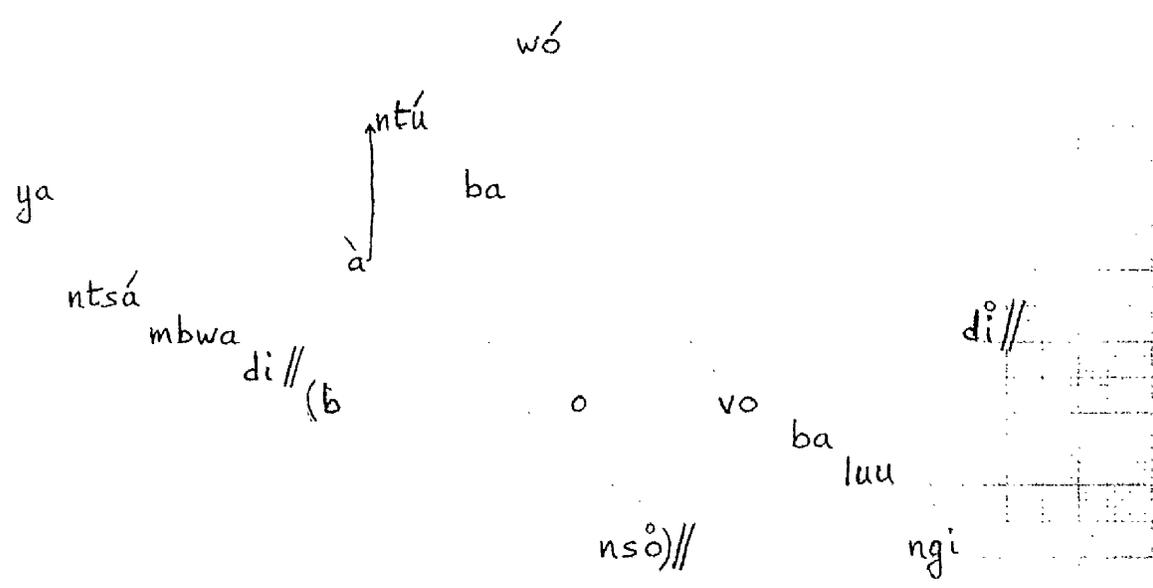
130 -

120 -

110 -

100 -

90 -



text ...yantsámbwadi. <sup>↑</sup>Bàntú bawóonso. vo baluungidi.

time 1.39 [1.61] 1.24 [0.40] 0.93 [0.90]

translation of seven. When everyone has finished [his meal].

230 -

220 -

210 -

200 -

naa

190 -

180 -

(?oo)

170 -

la

160 -

ya na ya

150 -

140 -

buna mu

mpa

130 -

120 -

110 -

mpi

100 -

i

90 -

6 -

?oo

5 -

4 -

la

naa

na

3 -

2 -

1 -

buna mu

ya

ya

mpiimpa

0 -

text buna mu'oola yanana yampiipa.

time

2.42

[1.38]

translation it is about eight o'clock in the evening

230 -

220 -

210 -

200 -

kú

190 -

180 -

170 -

160 -

taka

ndzó

kú

150 -

nanga mu

140 -

ʔalu ta

130 -

120 -

ka

110 -

ba

100 -

nu//

90 -

8 -

ta

ndzo

7 -

ka

6 -

ʔa ta

5 -

na

4 -

nga mu luku ka

3 -

baku

nu//

2 -

text bakútakananga mundzó ʔalukútakanu.

time

2.39

[1.45]

translation [and] they gather in the assembly hall

230 -  
220 -  
210 -  
200 -  
190 -  
180 -  
170 -  
160 -  
150 -  
140 -  
130 -  
120 -  
110 -  
100 -  
90 -  
6 -  
5 -  
4 -  
3 -  
2 -  
1 -  
0 -

pré  
ká  
buuna kuba yi ngã//  
zidõ } //  
o  
saa

pre ka  
ba yi a  
na dõ//  
s a  
buu zi oku ngã//

text buuna prézidõ, okubakáyisaangã.

time 1:20 [0:40] 1:19 [0:78]

translation where the president welcomes them

230 -

220 -

210 -

200 -

190 -

180 -

170 -

160 -

150 -

140 -

130 -

120 -

110 -

100 -

90 -

6 -

5 -

4 -

3 -

2 -

1 -

0 -

dwàá

n ku

zódila

ng  
a

lu ám

sà  
ma

yekuba

boté<sup>o</sup> // ku-sku  
ul //

dwaá

zo

ba di la  
ga

a

kulu mbo s ma

yeku

n n

a te // ku

-skuul //

text yekubazódilanga ndwàákulu ámboté . kusà má -skuul.

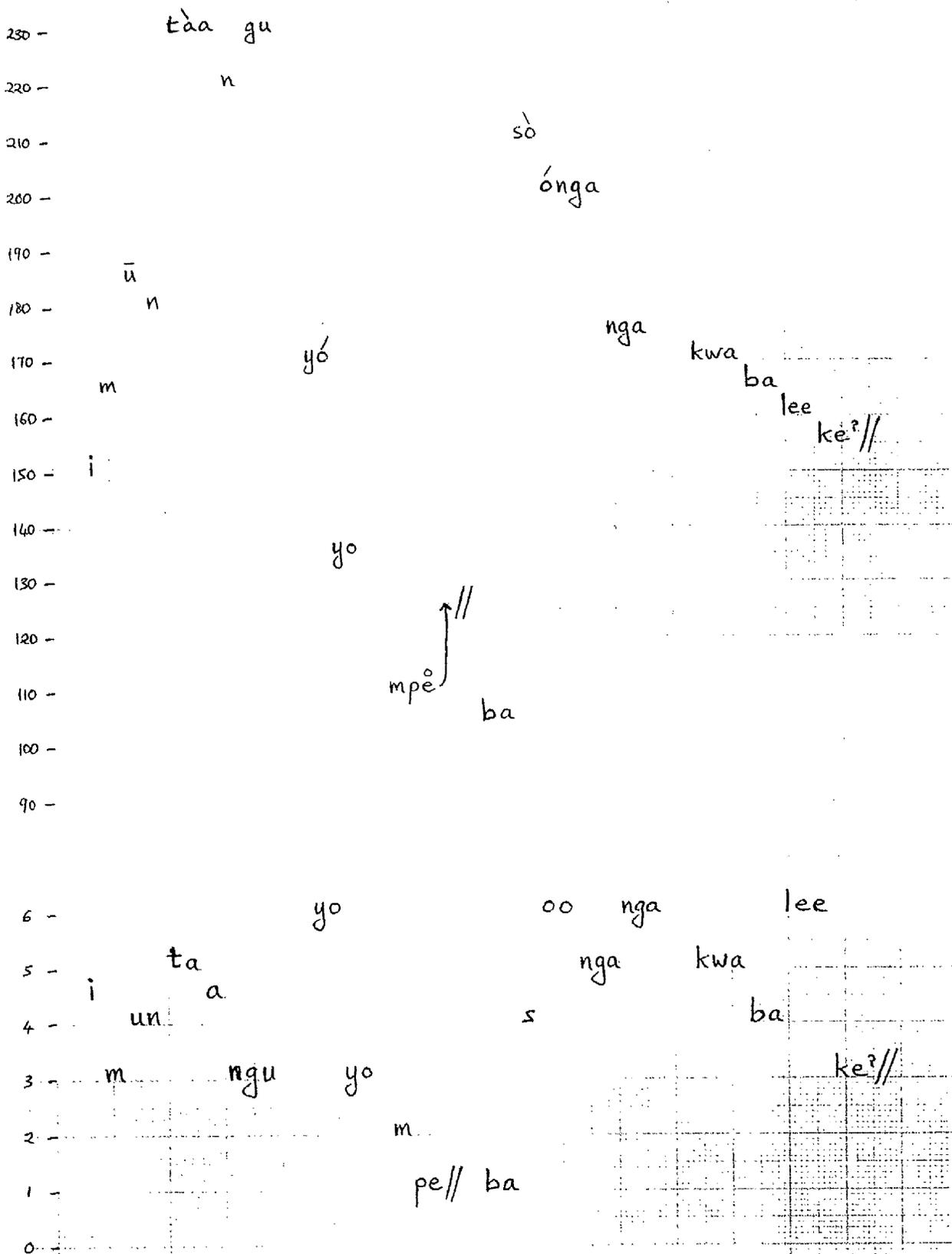
time

2:18

[0:51]

0:14

translation and hopes they had a good journey to the summer-school.



text Imūnt̄aangu yóyo mpé . basòónganga kwabaleeke?

time 1.40 [0.92] 1.49 [0.36]

translation It is at this time too that they tell the young people

230 -

220 -

210 -

200 -

190 -

180 -

170 -

160 -

150 -

140 -

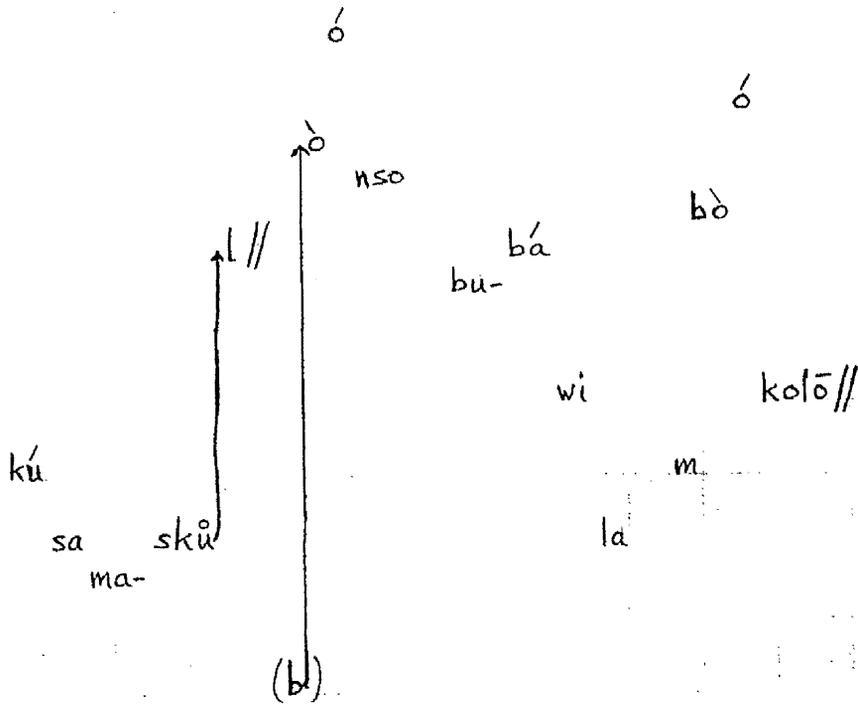
130 -

120 -

110 -

100 -

90 -



6 -

5 -

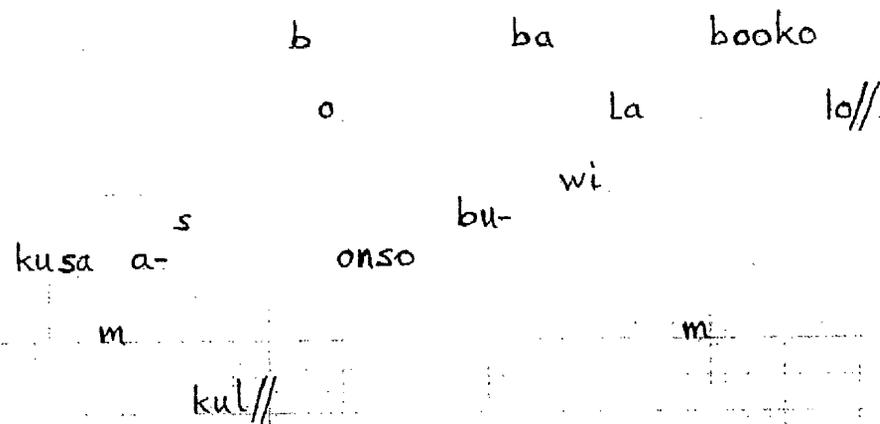
4 -

3 -

2 -

1 -

0 -



text kúsama-skūl . bònso bu-báwila mbòókolō .

time 0.85 [0.96] 1.87 [0.43]

translation at the summer-school how they heard the call

230 -

220 -

210 -

200 -

190 -

180 -

170 -

160 -

150 -

140 -

130 -

120 -

110 -

100 -

90 -

80 -

70 -

60 -

50 -

40 -

30 -

20 -

10 -

0 -

ne'

vo''

ki'  
tu

ka

mi<sup>(1)</sup>

syə

i

sy

vo''

bav vanga

mu

a

εR//

vvo

a

ki

ka

iy

va

ne

mu

tu

misyo εR//

s

vo''

ba

nga

text

mukituka mi<sup>(1)</sup>syonéεR · isya vo'' · bavvovanga...

time

1.29

[1.22]

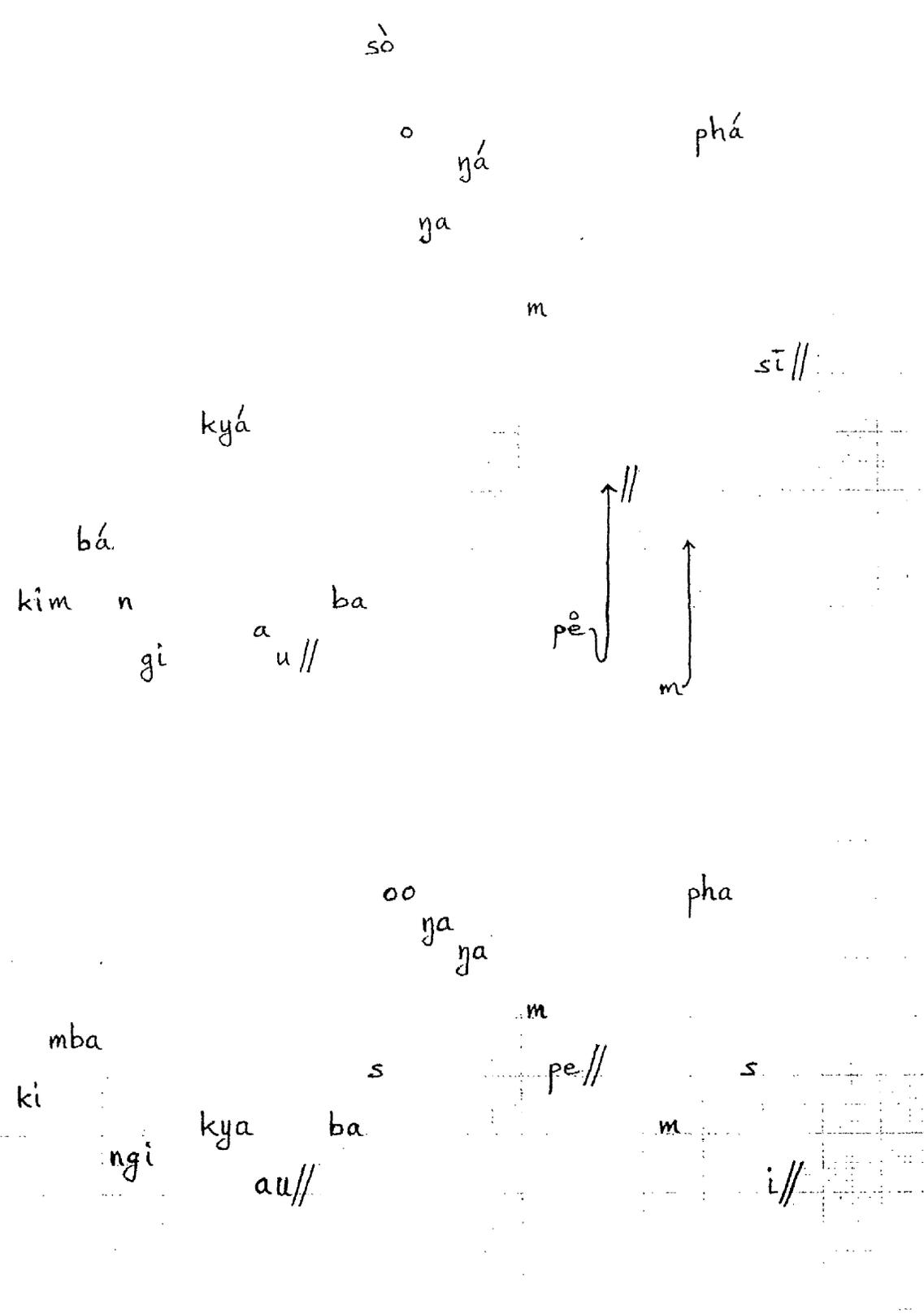
0.76

[0.66]

translation

to become missionaries, that is, they give

230 -  
220 -  
210 -  
200 -  
190 -  
180 -  
170 -  
160 -  
150 -  
140 -  
130 -  
120 -  
110 -  
100 -  
90 -  
6 -  
5 -  
4 -  
3 -  
2 -  
1 -  
0 -



text ...kimbáangi kyáau. Basòoyayá mpé . mphásiĩ

time 3.0 [1.57] 1:16 [0.78] 0:90 [0.54]

translation their witness. They tell also of the hardships

230 -

220 -

210 -

200 -

190 -

180 -

170 -

160 -

150 -

140 -

130 -

120 -

110 -

100 -

90 -

80 -

70 -

60 -

50 -

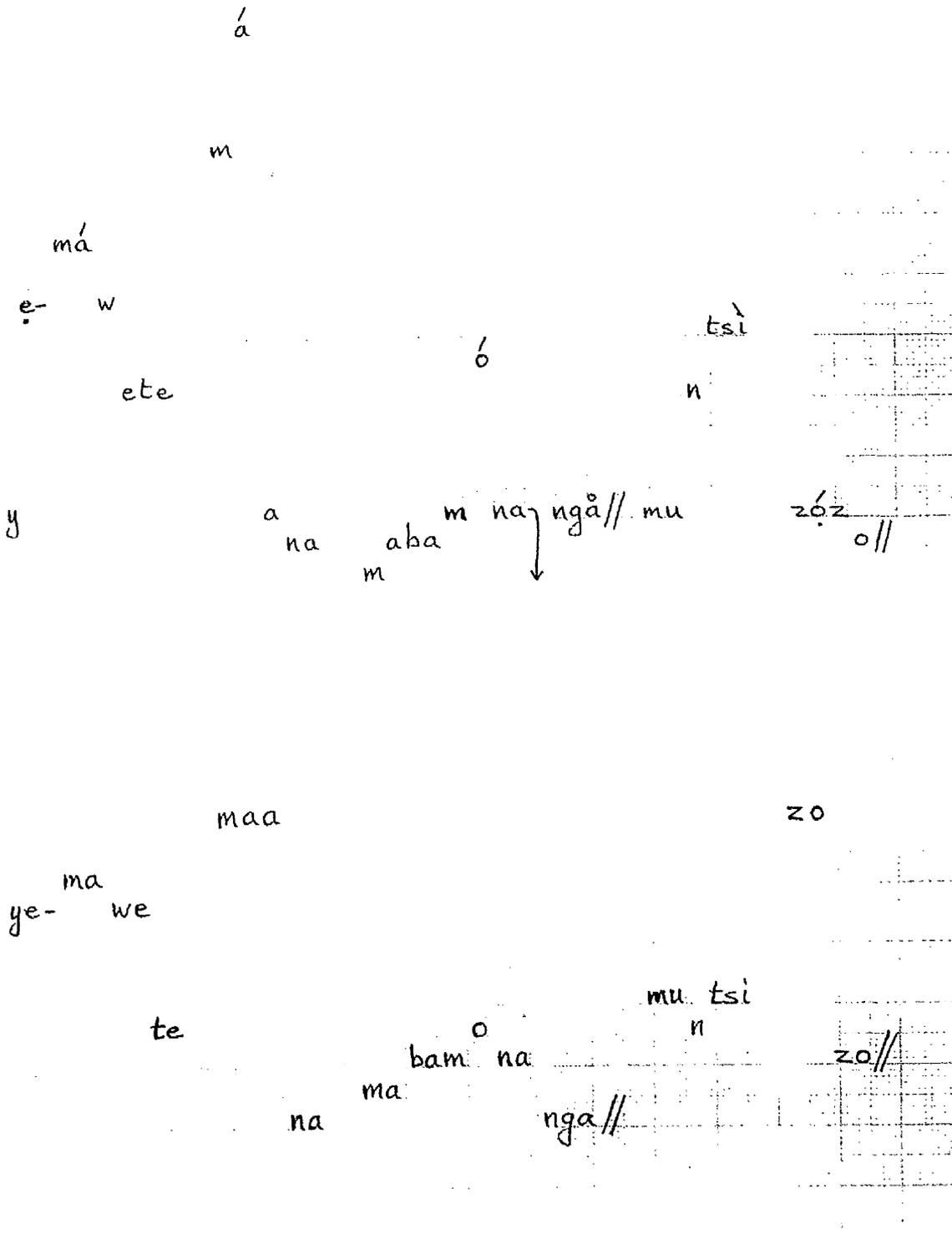
40 -

30 -

20 -

10 -

0 -



text ye-máwete máana mabamónangã, muntsì zóz0./

time

2.45

[0.35]

0.86

[2.66]

translation and the beauties which they experience in these countries.

230 - andilá  
 220 - ntso  
 210 -  
 200 - o lèe  
 190 - à  
 180 - ngolo á u// ké  
 170 -  
 160 - ntsa  
 150 - n  
 140 - l ba  
 130 - gu z aa  
 120 -  
 110 -  
 100 -  
 90 -  
 6 - laa di balee  
 5 - tsoo ke  
 4 - la ngo antsa  
 3 - n n a  
 2 - lo ngu a z a u//  
 1 -  
 0 -

text ↑ Làandilá ntsoongolo ántsangu zaaú . balèéké...

time 2.06 [1.19]

translation Following the presentation of their talks, the young people

230 -  
220 -  
210 -  
200 -  
190 -  
180 -  
170 -  
160 -  
150 -  
140 -  
130 -  
120 -  
110 -  
100 -  
90 -

byú  
u  
yú  
kuba vula  
ba nga  
v // phi  
u // bya m la  
mu m phi la//

6 - baku la  
5 - yu vu  
4 - ba byu u  
3 - phi mu  
2 - vu// bya m la m  
1 - nga phi la//  
0 -

text ...bakubayúvulanga byúuvü , byamphíla múmphila./

time: 2:42 [0:47] 1:11 [2:15]

translation ask them questions of various sorts.

230 -

220 -

210 -

mfunu

200 -

(d)

ki (l)

190 -

180 -

na

170 -

dya

160 -

ambu dyaá

150 -

di//

140 -

y

130 -

120 -

ki

u//

110 -

dyè

100 -

90 -

6 -

dy<sup>a</sup>

dya<sub>a</sub>

dyena dya

5 -

4 -

bu

m

ki

funu

3 -

2 -

m

di//

ki

1 -

lu//

0 -

text ↑Dyambu dyaáti: dyená dyamfunu kíkílu.

time

1.20

[0.42]

1.70

[1.42]

translation

This matter is of great importance,





230 -  
220 -  
210 -  
200 -  
190 -  
180 -  
170 -  
160 -  
150 -  
140 -  
130 -  
120 -  
110 -  
100 -  
90 -  
8 -  
5 -  
4 -  
3 -  
2 -  
1 -  
0 -

!  
 yì  
 ndu  
 vàanangá//  
 ba  
 n u  
 e diku thá gù// la  
 n  
 a m  
 y  
 kubavaa nanga// ta  
 yii  
 tha ndu  
 di a  
 ye ni ngu// mu

text ye dikubavàanangá , ntháangù . muyì'ndula...

time: 1.52 [0.23] 0.24 [0.00]

translation: and it gives them the opportunity to think of

230 -

220 -

210 -

200 -

190 -

180 -

170 -

160 -

150 -

140 -

130 -

120 -

110 -

100 -

90 -

6 -

5 -

4 -

3 -

2 -

1 -

0 -

fé

Ín

è-

sàam

bú

A

y

ya

be(sí?)-

li

kã

di

ā//

mu

a  
u//

A

e-

I

a

a

ya

fe

be

n

s

a

s

di

mbu

i?

lika//

y

a// mu

u//

text ...besi?-Afélikã ^ yè-Índiã ^ musàambú yaau.

time

1.97

[0.62]

0.93

[0.92]

1.03

translation

the inhabitants of Africa and India in their prayers.

## Appendix 3

## Texts, translations and comparison passages

This section contains the texts (with interlinear translation) which form the basis for the discussions in chapters 3-11. Comparison passages, where they occur, are given after the texts concerned. Slashes ( / ) indicate paragraph beginnings in the original texts.

chapter 3: the text is the same as that for chapter 10. The original marking for the sample passage (ll. 1-58) is given on the lower line of the chapter 10 text, ll. 1-58.

chapter 4: in the comparison passage, C stands for Carter's version, and N for Ntoni-Nzinga's.

chapter 6: version C does not occur for all of the text - where it is not written down, this means that there is no version C for that portion of the text, eg. 1-32, 58-67, etc. Likewise, version B does not occur for some stretches, eg. 37, 39. In the comparison passage, C stands for Carter's version, N for Ntoni-Nzinga's. For ease of comparison, pausal upturn marks have been omitted in N except where they seem to be reflected in the patterns of C, eg. C *iboosi* / N *iboosi* 36.

chapter 7: in the comparison passage, D stands for Daeleman's version from Nsuka 1968, and N for Ntoni-Nzinga's. D is re-marked for easier comparison with N, such that bridging is more obvious, eg. *síídí dyáaka* is re-marked *síídí dyáaka* 57.

chapter 8: Z stands for Ntoni-Nzinga's version, A for NdoloMenayame's first version, and B for his second version.

chapter 9: in the comparison passage, the first line gives Laman's base forms as listed in Laman 1936. The second line, labelled L, gives his realised forms, insofar as these can be determined. The third line, labelled N, gives Ndolo Menayame's version, in which pause marks have been omitted for ease of comparison.

chapter 11: in ll. 1-50, version A is the upper line, and version B the lower.

Text for chapter 4.

Dialect: kiMbanz' aKongo.

Informant: Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga.

Source: Bentley 1926, pp. 83-84.

1. ↑Wantu woole. ↑akak' amimpanga-mayi. batueso yaandi beenda  
Two other wrong-doing people were brought out with him and went
2. vobondwa. Balweeke vana-fulu kyavalanganza, vana bankomene  
to be executed. When they arrived at the place of the Skull,  
there they nailed
3. van'-ekuluzu oyandi, ye-mimpanga-mayi, omosi kuna-kooko  
him on the cross, and the malefactors, one on the right
4. kwalunen, omosi kuna-lumonso. Ovisu ovvale vo: Etata,  
hand, one on the left. Jesus said, 'Father,
5. ubayambulwila, kadi ke-bazayi kwau-kō owu bevaanga.  
forgive them, for they do not know at all what they are doing.'
6. Bakayanini mvwaatu myaandi, batetelelel' enkas' amyenze.  
And they shared out his clothes, and cast lots.
7. Dwaantu ↑batelamene vaavana, ↓batadididinge. Akuluntu  
The people stood in that place, watching. And the rulers
8. bankenonokeen' oku vo: Wavulwiz' akaka; mbula kayivuluzza,  
derided him, saying, 'He has saved others, let him save himself,
9. ovo yaandi iKlistu anzaambi, wandimbuki. Amakesa mpe  
if he is the Christ of God, the Chosen One. The soldiers also
10. bansokeele, beezidi bantambididi dikaya, oku vo: ↑Ovo nge  
mocked him, coming and offering him vinegar, saying, 'If you
11. iNtinu ayuda, wiyivuluzza. Vakala ye-sono vana-ntaandu antu  
are the king of the Jews, save yourself.' There was a notice above
12. andi: Ondioyo. ↓iNtinu ayuda. Dwaaka mumpanga-mayi.  
his head: 'This is the king of the Jews.' One of the wrong-doers

- 13. wamánamə untyàngwín' oku vō: Ngə kè-ngeyé iKlístu-ko e?  
hanging there railed at him, saying, 'Are you not the Christ?
- 14. Wiyivúluza. ↓ yò-yéeto mpe. Dóna wakək' ovútwídi, untúumbidi  
Save yourself, and us too.' But that other one answered and rebuked  
him,
- 15. oku vō: Kuvúminá Nzaambi-ko é? Wəú vo ntúumbwá mostí tutúumbwá.  
saying, 'Do you not fear God?, seeing as we have received the  
same sentence.
- 16. Wáástu eyéeto yansóongi; kadi yéetō, tubákidi nséndo ansóongi.  
And we indeed justly, for we, we have received a just punishment
- 17. ↓ mun'-ówu tuvangidi; ... káansi ndioyó, kavàngidi kwandi  
for what we have done; but he, he has done nothing
- 18. dyambú dyambi-ko. ↓ Ovovele mpe vō EYítisu, ungiindula vav'  
wrong whatsoever.' And he said, 'Jesus, remember me when
- 19. olwáaka muna-kintínu kyaaku. ↓ Umvovése vō Kyéleka isəmunwini'  
you arrive in your kingdom.' He replied, 'Truly I say,
- 20. vo. ↑ ówuúnu. ókala yáame. ↓ muna-paladisu. / Setéezo kyaóla  
that today you will be with me in paradise. It was now the
- 21. ina ye-sáambanú, etómbe kibúkamene ensi yawóonsó. yamuna  
sixth hour, and darkness covered the whole earth until
- 22. óola ina ye-vwá, omwini úkiindamené; onlél' angúb'anzó.  
the ninth hour, for the sun was dark. The veil of the temple
- 23. ávauká utlázukini vana-káti. OYítisu vava kabóokeele mbók'  
was torn in the middle. When Jesus had called out in a loud
- 24. ángóló, ovóvele vo ETáata, muna-móoko máaku ingyékweele  
voice, he said, 'Father, into your hands I commend
- 25. móyo áme; vavə kavovele wəau oyəmbwidi omóoyo. Ombút' ankəme  
my spirit'; and when he had said this, he gave up his spirit. The  
centurion
- 26. omwén' ówu uvəngamené, okéembeele Nzaambi ↓ oku vō: Kyéleka,  
saw what had happened, and he praised God, saying, 'Truly,

27. ↓ andi'boyú imúntu ansóngi kwandi. ↑ Endóngá yawóonsó, ina  
this was indeed a righteous man. All the people who had
28. ya'lungalakan' ómona dyaadi' bamwéen' bowú uvangamené,  
gathered together to see this, when they saw what had happened,
29. ↑ ba'buundidi' .tulu yáú, ↓ bavútukidi. Akundi' andi awóonso  
beat their breasts and went back home. All his friends,
30. y'-akéentó mpé, ↑ a'áná baléendeenge yáandi tüká kuna-Ngálili,  
and also the women who had followed him from Galilee,
31. batélamene muná-vála, ↓ batádidí mama. / Omúntu nkumbu andi  
stood at a distance, and watched these things. One man called
32. yósefé, wambánda-mbánda wamúntu amboté, wásóngá mphi -  
Joseph, a member of the Council, a good man, and also just -
33. andi'oyú kakwíikila muná-lókánu lwáú, y'-évangu dyáú-ko -  
he had not consented to their intention or deed -
34. mwístí' Alímatayá .kwáandi, ↓ evatá dyaAyúda, ↑ gón' otálaang'  
a native of Arimathea actually, a town of the Jews, who awaited
35. ekintínu kyaNzáambi; andi'oyu weéle kuna kwaPílatu, olóombel'  
the kingdom of God; he went to Pilate, and asked for
36. evímbu dyayíisu. Okúlumwiini'-dyó, obúundidi'-dyo muná-nlelé.  
the body of Jesus. He took it down, wrapped it in a cloth
37. alíinu, ↑ osíidi'-dyo muná-nkkála wátozwá .muná-nsenzelé,  
of linen, and placed it in a tomb hewn in the rock,
38. muná ké-mwasíwa nkútu muntu-ko. Sélumbu kyáNkúbamá, elumbu  
in which no-one else at all had been laid. It was now the  
day of the Preparation, and the day
39. kyavúundu sekíkya. Akéentó, ... aná béézidi yáandi tüká  
of rest was beginning. The women who had come with him from
40. kuna-Ngálili, baléendé kuna-nímá, ... bamwéene nkála, ye-nsíwá  
Galilee followed along behind, and saw the tomb, and the way

- 41. dyasiw' eviĩmbu dyandi. Bavútukidĩ, bakúbikidĩ ndúumbú.  
his body was laid. They returned home, and prepared spices
- 42. y'-omáazi. mánsunga. / ... Elúmbú kyavúúndū. bavúúndidĩ kwáū,  
and perfumed ointments. On the day of rest they rested completely,
- 43. mun'-ówu wankánikĩnu. Elúmbu kyantete kyalumúngū, uná nswé,  
according to the commandment. On the first day of the week, very  
early in the morning,
- 44. beéziđi kuna-nkála, banete ndúumbū. ziná bakúbikidĩ. Baween'  
they came to the tomb, bringing the spices they had prepared.  
They saw
- 45. étadi. dyanéngomoká. kuna-nkála. Bakótelé, ke-bawéené-dyo-ko.  
the stone rolled away from the tomb. They went in, but could not  
see
- 46. éviĩmbu ... dyámfumu v̄ĩisu. Entĩma myáū. uná miyáángamene  
the body of the Lord Jesus. As their hearts puzzled
- 47. dyámú dyadi, wáantú woole babatélameené, emwatú myáú  
over this matter, two men stood by them, their garments
- 48. myelézi-lezi; wáū bamwene wóongá, ... y'-obbókeká tuse.  
shining; they were afraid, and bowed their faces
- 49. muná-ns̄, babávovesé v̄o: Adyéeyi ... muváavil' doná una móoyó.  
towards the ground, but they said to them, 'Why are you looking  
for a living person
- 50. vana-máfwa? Kená-mo-ko, ofúlukidĩ kwáandi. Nubbákula mpovésáē.  
among the dead? He is not here, but has actually risen. Remember  
the words
- 51. kanúvovesē. v̄ava kákala kuna-Ngálili oku v̄o: Omwāan' amúuntu  
that he spoke to you when he was in Galilee, saying, "The Son of  
Man
- 52. ofwete yékolwá muna-móoko máasumukĩ, kákomwá. van'-ekúluzu,  
must be delivered into the hands of sinners, and be nailed to  
a cross,
- 53. kafúluka kwandi. elúmbú. kiná kyetátu. Babákwiđi máambu  
but rise again on the third day." They remembered his words,
- 54. maandi, bavútukidĩ kuná-nkála, basámunwiĩni máambu mama máwóonsó.  
and returned from the tomb, and recounted all these things

55. kúna kwayáú ekuumi ye-mosi, yo-kúná-kwækaka yawóonso. I María.  
to the Eleven, and to all the others. It was Mary

56. mwisi Mandálá . yóoyó, yo-yóanā, yo-Mariā . wangu'ándi ayakobo,  
of Magdala, and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James,

57. y'-ákak' ákeento bakèdi yáú . basámunwíini mámbu māmā .  
and other women who were with them, who told these things

58. kwántumwa. Oyaú . babéenze vō . mámbú máamā . māmfwáanti káka,  
to the apostles. They thought that these things were just  
nonsense,

59. bavúniisi. Vó iPéetelo otélamene wéel' éntiínu kuna-nkála;  
and did not believe them. As for Peter, he got up and went at  
a run to the tomb;

60. ovétamené, odyóongelé, omwéené nlele myalíino . vakíkaka,  
and went in, and bent down, and saw the linen cloths by  
themselves,

61. ↓ovútukidi kuná-nzo ándi, ↓osívikidi edi dívangamene. Ekyákin'  
and he returned home, amazed at what had happened. That same

62. élumbú, ówóole vaná benā, wayéeleengé kun'-évata dyaEmaú,  
day, two of them were going to the village of Emaus,

63. dikálá vō . kílómetā kúumi ye-zoolé . túuka yelusaléeme.  
which is twelve kilometres from Jerusalem.

64. ↓Bámokeené . mámbu máwóonso . ↓mānā mábwíidi. Wáú bámokenangā  
They were talking about all the things which had happened. As they  
were talking

65. yo-yúvuzyanā, ovíisu yāndi kibeni ofinamene, ↓wéle yáú.  
and conversing with each other, Jesus himself came up and walked  
along with them.

66. Kānsí meso máu mavílakeswā, kē- bakúntonena. ↓Ubavovésé vo:  
But their eyes were deceived, so that they did not recognise him.  
He said to them,

67. Nki amámbu máma númokenengā wáú nukwénda? Badingaleelé,  
'What matters are you discussing as you go along?' They were  
silent,

68. bayíndaleele. Omósi nkumbú andi Keléopa . unvútwidí vo:  
looking sad. One, whose name was Cleopas, answered him,

- 69. Nga ngèye káka wúnáàngā kuna-Yélusaleeme, walémbi záy' o'  
'Surely you are the only one in Jerusalem who does not know the things
- 70. mabwíidí yáayi élumbu-kó? ↓Ubavòvesé vo: ↑Améyi? Bamvòvesé vo:  
that have happened [there] these [last few] days?' He said to them,  
'What things?' They said to him,
- 71. Omàama mavíísu akwaNázaléte, andídoná wángúnzā .wamámá.  
'These things about Jesus of Nazareth, he [who was] a prophet of  
might
- 72. muna-mávangú . yó-mvovó, oókú kwaNzáambí, ↓yo-nkàngú awòonsó mpe;  
in deeds and words, before God and also before all the people;
- 73. ye-nygèkola bányekwele ámbuta zangáangā . y'-akúluntú eetó.  
and the way he was handed over by our chief priests and leaders
- 74. kazéengwa nzéengo afwa, ↓bamvòondele van'ekúluzu. ↓Vò iyétó,  
and was sentenced to a verdict of death, and they executed him on  
the cross. As for us,
- 75. ↑vúuvu túsíidí, vo iyáandi yun'ókulá ísaele. Vanà-ntandu amaa  
we had not left off hoping that he would be the one who would  
ransom Israel. On top of all
- 76. mawòonsó, ↓owúnu ilumbu kyétátu, tükámena kyábwilá . ↓máambu máama.  
this, this is the third day since the doing of these things.
- 77. Káansi kadi, akak' ákeentó etó . batuzéngenekene, bakèdi  
But also, some of our womenfolk astonished us, who were
- 78. émene-mene kuna-nkálā; oova baleembelé wáan' éviimbu dyáandi,  
at the tomb very early; when they were unable to find his body
- 79. beezidi ávoví yó mōnā-méeso kyámási. ↓ bamweené, áaná bavovele vó.  
they came saying that they had seen a vision of angels, who said  
that
- 80. ↓ uná kwaandi uuna. Akaká mpe bana yéetó . béelé kuna-nkálā,  
he was in fact now alive. And some who were with us went to the  
tomb,
- 81. baméene wáú uvovele ákeento, káansi yáandi ke-bamóni.  
and found it as the women had said, but him they did not see.'
- 82. ↓Ubavovésé vó: Yéeno ámazowa, nu akwá ntimá mya kkoómboká.  
He said to them, 'You fools, you possessors of hearts slow

- 83. muna-kw<sup>h</sup>ikila <sup>h</sup> muna-maaw<sup>h</sup>onso . mavova nguunza! ... Oklistu .  
to believe in all that the prophets have spoken! Should Christ
- 84. mpasi zazi nga . kafwete zo-mona-ko-e, kakota muna-nkeembo andi?  
indeed not have suffered these agonies, and enter into his glory?'
- 85. Tuuka muna-m<sup>h</sup>ose . yo-muna-nguunza . zawonso, osimbidi  
Starting from Moses and all the prophets, he began
- 86. kubab<sup>h</sup>akila . muna-sona yaw<sup>h</sup>onso . omambu . mena muna-yaandi.  
to explain to them in all the scriptures the things which were  
about himself.
- 87. Bafinamene mpata-vata ina bekwenda; sewadi vlok<sup>h</sup> kuna-ntu.  
They approached the perimeter of the town to which they were going,  
and he was about to go on ahead.
- 88. Bankomeene oku vo: ↓ Utunangina, ↓ kad<sup>h</sup> se-masika, ↓ okuma  
They pressed him, saying, 'Stay with us, for it is now evening,  
and the daylight
- 89. se-kufwa. Okotele ka-banangina. Una kawende yau kuna-meza,  
is now fading.' And he went in to where they were staying. When he  
was sitting with them at the ta
- 90. obongele mboolo osambwidi-zo, obukunwini, ↓ ubakayisi.  
he took bread, and blessed it, and broke it, and shared it out to  
them.
- 91. ↑ Omeseo mau mateendokele bantionene oveempokele muna-meseo mau.  
And their eyes were opened and they recognised him, and he disappea  
from their sight.
- 92. Bavvazyani vo: Nga myooy<sup>h</sup> myeeto ke-mizininininge-ko .  
They said to each other, 'Did not our hearts burn [within us]
- 93. un<sup>h</sup> katumokeseeneenge . muna-nzilā, yo-kututeendweel' esono?  
when he was speaking to us on the road, and opening to us the  
sciptures?'
- 94. ↑ Muna-yaau ntaangwa . ina batelamen<sup>h</sup>, bavutukidi muna-Yelusaleeme,  
It was that instant that they got up and returned to Jerusalem,
- 95. beenda wana yau ekuumi ye-mosi, ... y'-ana bakala ya  
and went and found the Eleven, and those who were with them,
- 96. balungilu; ↓ oyau vo: Domfumu ofulukidi kikilu, omonekene  
gathered together; and they said, 'The Lord has indeed risen, and  
has been seen

97. kwaSímon. ↑ Bakúmbulwíidí. ↑ bómá mánzílá, ye-ndzàgá bānzéyē  
by Simon.' They related what [had happened] on the road, and how  
they had recognised him
98. vāvá kabúkwiní embóolo. Unà bavoveleengé māmú ... māmá,  
when he broke the bread. While they were talking about these  
things,
99. oyāandí kibéeni otélamene vānā-bēnā, ↓ ubavovesé vo: Luvuvamú  
He himself stood among them, and said to them, 'Peace
100. oko nwína. ↑ Babúbwíidí, bamwéene wóngá, éédí bābēenze vó.  
be with you.' They were alarmed, and felt afraid, because they  
thought that
101. ↓ mwāandá bamwéene. Ubavovesé vó: ↑ Adyéeyí nutélamenw'emyóoyo?  
it was a ghost they had seen. He said to them, 'Why are your hearts  
troubled?
102. ↓ Adyéeyí - zikwíizil' embáwū ↓ muná-ntima myéeno? ↑ Nutála  
Why do doubts arise in your hearts? Look
103. mooko māmē yé-tāmbi yāmē, imóno kwāame yyyu; nunguunzā-wuunzā,  
at my hands and my feet, it is really me; touch me,
104. ↓ nwatala; kadí mwāandā - kená ye-nítu ye-vísí-ko, ndzēé yāayí  
and see for yourselves; for a ghost does not have flesh and bones,  
in the way that
105. ↓ numbwéené. ↓ wau. Unà kavovele wāwū, ubasóngele omóoko yé-tāmbi.  
you see me now.' When he had spoken thus, he showed them his hands  
and feet.
106. Wau baléembele kwikidilā. ↓ kuna-kiesé, ↓ basívikā, ubavovesé vó:  
While they were unable to believe for joy, and were astonished,  
he said to them,
107. Nwíná ye-mā.kyédya vāv'é?  
'Have you anything to eat here?'

Comparison passage for chapter 4: Carter.

23c. .... OV<sup>v</sup>i<sup>s</sup>u v<sup>a</sup>av<sup>a</sup> kabo<sup>o</sup>keele mbo<sup>o</sup>k'  
/P /V K Q

n. .... OV<sup>v</sup>i<sup>s</sup>u v<sup>a</sup>ava kab<sup>o</sup>keele mb<sup>o</sup>ok'

24c. angol<sup>o</sup>, ov<sup>v</sup>ele vo: ET<sup>a</sup>ata, muna-m<sup>o</sup>oko m<sup>a</sup>aku ingyekweele  
i<sup>i</sup> /A G /A /S(c) i<sup>i</sup> /iK

n. ang<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup>, ov<sup>v</sup>ele vo ET<sup>a</sup>ata, muna-m<sup>o</sup>oko m<sup>a</sup>aku ingyekweele

25c. mooy<sup>o</sup> a<sup>a</sup>me; v<sup>a</sup>av<sup>a</sup> kavovele w<sup>a</sup>au oya<sup>a</sup>mbwidi omo<sup>o</sup>yo. Q<sup>u</sup>but' ankama  
Q i<sup>i</sup> /V K Q /A Q+ /P i<sup>i</sup>

n. m<sup>o</sup>yo ame; v<sup>a</sup>av<sup>a</sup> kavovele w<sup>a</sup>au oya<sup>a</sup>mbwidi omo<sup>o</sup>yo. Omb<sup>u</sup>t' ankama

26c. omw<sup>e</sup>en' ow<sup>u</sup> uvaangamene, ok<sup>e</sup>embeele Nza<sup>a</sup>mbi ok<sup>u</sup> vo: Kyeleka,  
/A Q L /A Q /A G /A

n. omw<sup>e</sup>en' ow<sup>u</sup> uvangamene, ok<sup>e</sup>embeele Nza<sup>a</sup>mbi oku vo: Kyeleka,

27c. andyo<sup>o</sup>yo im<sup>u</sup>ntu ans<sup>o</sup>ngi kw<sup>a</sup>andi. Endo<sup>o</sup>nga yaw<sup>o</sup>onso, ina  
/P /iA i<sup>i</sup> m /P i<sup>i</sup> /L(c)

n. and<sup>o</sup>yo<sup>o</sup> im<sup>u</sup>ntu ans<sup>o</sup>ngi kw<sup>a</sup>andi. End<sup>o</sup>nga yaw<sup>o</sup>onso, ina

28c. yalungalakan' om<sup>o</sup>na dy<sup>a</sup>adi bamw<sup>e</sup>en' ow<sup>u</sup> uvaangamene,  
T Q /A Q+ L

n. yalungalakan' om<sup>o</sup>na dy<sup>a</sup>adi bamw<sup>e</sup>en' ow<sup>u</sup> uvangamene,

29c. bab<sup>u</sup>ndidi t<sup>u</sup>lu ya<sup>a</sup>u, bav<sup>u</sup>tukidi. Aku<sup>u</sup>ndi andi aw<sup>o</sup>onso  
/A Q i<sup>i</sup> /A /P i<sup>i</sup> i<sup>i</sup>

n. ba<sup>u</sup>ndidi t<sup>u</sup>lu ya<sup>a</sup>, bav<sup>u</sup>tukidi. Akundi andi aw<sup>o</sup>onso

30c. y'-ake<sup>e</sup>nto mpe, ana bale<sup>e</sup>ndeenge ya<sup>a</sup>andi tyuk<sup>a</sup> kuna-Ng<sup>a</sup>lili,  
/E X /L(c) Q /H /S(c)

n. y'-ake<sup>e</sup>nto mpe, a<sup>a</sup>na bale<sup>e</sup>ndeenge ya<sup>a</sup>andi tyuk<sup>a</sup> kuna-Ng<sup>a</sup>lili,

31c. batelamene muna-val<sup>a</sup>, bat<sup>a</sup>dididi ma<sup>a</sup>ma. Omuy<sup>u</sup>ntu nkyumbu andi  
/A /S(c) /A Q /P\* /P i<sup>i</sup>

n. batelamene muna-val<sup>a</sup>, bat<sup>a</sup>dididi mama. Om<sup>u</sup>ntu nkumbu andi

32c. V<sup>h</sup>osefe, ... wamu<sup>h</sup>untu ámbote, wəso<sup>h</sup>ngá mphe -  
/A /A ii /A X

n. V<sup>h</sup>osefē, ... wamu<sup>h</sup>untu ámbotē, wəso<sup>h</sup>ngá mphī -

33c. ándyo<sup>h</sup>oyu kakw<sup>h</sup>íkila muna-lúkanu lwáau, y'-èvaangu dyáau-kó -  
/P /A /T(c) ii /E ii

n. andi<sup>h</sup>oyú kakw<sup>h</sup>íkila muna-lúkanu lwáu, y'-évangu dyáu-ko -

34c. mwis<sup>h</sup>í Áíimataya kwaáandi, évata dyaAyúda, on' òtalaang'  
/A ii m ? ii /L(c)

n. mwis<sup>h</sup>í? Áíimatayá . kwaáandi, ↓ evátá dyaAyúda, ↑ gòn' otaləang'

35c. ékintínu kyəNzáambi; ándyo<sup>h</sup>oyu wéele kuúna kwaPílatu, olóombel'  
Q+ ii /P /A S /S /A

n. ek<sup>h</sup>intínu kyəNzáambi; andi<sup>h</sup>oyu wéele kuna kwaPílatu, olóombel'

36c. évi<sup>h</sup>imbu dyaV<sup>h</sup>íisu.  
Q+ ii

n. ev<sup>h</sup>imbu dyaV<sup>h</sup>íisu.

Text for chapter 5.

Dialect: ~~ki~~Yaka/kiNtandu.

Informant: Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga.

Source: Stuyf 1936, pp. 104-111.

1. Kimpà k'NàFúungwa. NàFúungwá . . . wakàlè kwání mpuumpà-yákala.  
The adventure of Mr. Owl. Mr. Owl was indeed an eligible bachelor.
2. Kílumbu kímósi, welè kàangala kwání muñá-mákàanga, welè waaaná  
One day he went travelling, indeed, in the bush, and came upon
3. mwana-ndumbá mpwená, † zina dyàándi Myèéese. NàFúungwá ^ dé  
a pretty young maiden whose name was Moonray. Mr. Owl
4. munwá ndé: È mbadi mwana-nkéento, ùngaanéte mēsa, † inwa  
spoke to her thus: 'Hey, my dear young lady, would you kindly  
give me some water, so that I may
5. kwámo, kikuma kádi mbundù leemá yikundeemá . ye-kiwina kímása.  
take a drink, because my inside is really burning me with a thirst  
for water.'
6. Ibúna yaní ndumbá mpi . dé munwá ndé: Nwa kwáku tàata mwana-  
So the maiden also spoke to him thus: 'Drink away, my dear young
7. yákala, nkal' ámō . yiyòbìlè móoko. Ibúúna NàFúungwá mpi,  
man - [here is] my calabash, in which I wash my hands.' So Mr.  
Owl in his turn
8. iby-kábaká-yo mpi, yiby-kànwá-mo. Ngá NàFúungwá . . . kabònga  
then took it, and drank from it. Then Mr. Owl took up
9. go dyaambú . katulá . dé munwá ndé: È mbadi mwana-nkeentó yu,  
the conversation, and carried on saying, 'Hey, my dear young lady  
there,
10. ngá naní ukúzitíkila kwáku? Ndumbá mpi . dé munwá ndé: † Káni  
who might it be that you are engaged to?' And the young lady said,  
'In fact,
11. kikuèlétí-ko . káánsi taat' ámo wáfwa kwáni. † Káánsi  
I am under no compulsion to marry, except that my father has in  
fact died. But
12. bu-káyaya ndé: Monó bubù yimfw' ámo; káánsi koonso muunt'  
when he was in his death agony, he said, "I am now dying; but  
whoever

13. ukwééla mwáan' ámo Myéése, kandyé nziímbu-ko, †kánsí • mpási  
wants to marry my daughter Moonray, do not ask for a brideprice  
from him, but rather
14. gō wísi boóngá ... mbeembō yikwenda kúumbwa gagā • †ntatá  
that he should come and sing a lament which should be well-thought  
of here all through
15. ntangi • yíyí yákúlu, iyàndí yuna ukwéla mwáan' ámo! Káánsí  
this whole area, and it is he who should marry my child! But
16. mbeembō • kesà bboongíla • ... kuná yakúundimína • iddídíláanga,  
the lament must be sung there where I am buried, where [they] weep
17. †monó, †táat' ándí. Ibúúna táat' ámō • káyaya kungudí ámō.  
for me, her father." That was what my father groaned to my mother
18. yé- • kubàmbuta zámo. †Ibúúna Náfúungwa bu-káwá-bō, dé • munwá  
and my relatives.' So when Mr. Owl heard this he said,
19. ndé: †Ká-dyáambu-ko! ... Sá-yeboongá-yo • kuunā • ku-bakúndikíla  
'That's no problem! I will indeed sing it where they have buried
20. táat' áku. Mbádí nduumbá mpé • kanwàana muffína mpáka-ko,  
your father.' The charming young lady for her part did not  
prolong the conversation;
21. gógele ndé: Ká-dína kwandí dyáambu-ko, †yikuzòlele kwáku,  
she said, 'It is indeed no problem, for I am in love with you;
22. wísa boóngá mbembō • †kunā kukundimína táat' ámo, †íbúna •  
so come and sing the lament where my father is buried, so that
23. †yíkítuka nkàs' áku! Ibúúna Náfúungwa wééle †kunā-gata dyáandí.  
I may become your wife!' So Mr. Owl went back to his village.
24. / †Wélè yínduláanga mbeembō, †yí-kàkobóonga • †kunā-kízítu  
He kept on thinking about the lament which he was to sing there  
before his in-laws,
25. kyáandí, †kánsí kasólulá-yóo nkutú-ko. †Ibúna káyènda  
but he couldn't think of one at all. So he went
26. ssamúnā • NāNgundu-Nkúunga, keendā kuboóngíla mbeembō.  
to ask Mr. Nightingale to go and sing the lament [for him]

27. kùuna kuna-nzítu áandí • wákúndimína. Ibúna NaFúungwa ... unéte  
there before his buried father-in-law. So Mr. Owl took along
28. malafú • kuNāNgundu-Nkúunga, yí-bu-kásá • kuNāNgundu ndé: ...  
some palm-wine to Mr. Nightingale, and when he got there he said  
to Mr. Nightingale,
29. É mbadi VāaNgundu-Nkúunga, dódokolo dyáku, twèendeéte  
'My dear Master Nightingale, I beg you, come along with me
30. umbòongílā • mbeembó kuna-kízítu kyámo, ku-ikwèeleéle nkeentó  
and sing a lament for me to my in-laws, so that I can marry a  
woman
31. múmbembó kwáni, ↓ ká-munziĩmbu-ko, ↓ bu-bántsiila ndé: ... Gó  
because of this lament, not because of brideprice, as they have  
promised me, saying, "If
32. wísiđí bóonga mbeembó nkeentó uná zinà dímyáese, ↓ ngá  
you come and sing a lament, the woman whose name is Moonray
33. kákítúká nkas' áku. Káansi tuuka bántemba ílembwá yíndula  
will indeed become your wife." But since they told me this, I  
haven't stopped thinking
34. mbembó, ... káni kisolwele-yo nkútu-ko. Dyánu ngísiđí •  
about a lament, and yet I can't think of one at all. That's  
why I've come
35. kusámuna káansi • kíisi nkátu-kó; yáani kíndongo kyókyó •  
to talk to you, but I haven't come empty-handed, because [I] have  
brought you this
36. ↓ kunətíni. / Ibúuná • NāNgundu-Nkúungā • utóondele • ...  
calebash.' So Mr. Nightingale accepted
37. malafu mándí • yibu-bānwini-mó mpe. Ibúna, basíđí kilumbú •  
his palm-wine, and drank it as well. Then they set aside a day
38. kí-bakwéenda kuna-kízítu. Kílumbu bu-kífwéené, ↓ bakútíđí  
on which they would go to the in-laws. On the appointed day,  
they gathered up
39. malafu kúumí ye-nkoombó ye-ttáanū • yé-ntoongo zoole zingúlú •  
10 [caleashes] of palm-wine, and 5 goats, and 2 fine specimens  
of pigs,
40. yé-nsusu makumoóle. Bakútíđí mpi kibuká • kíbaleeke báu. Ibúuna  
and 20 chickens. They also assembled a group of their friends.  
Then

41. bayénda kuna-kízítu. / ↑ Bu-báyenda lwaáka kuna-kízítú . bu-bása  
they went to the in-laws'. When they finally arrived at the in-laws',  
they
42. ndé: ↑ Beetó . ka-túdíla mwiíni-ko, ↓ mumpìmpa kaka tudíla. /  
said, 'We cannot sing laments during the day, it is only at night  
that we sing.'
43. ↓ Bazítu nde: Kà-dyaámbu-ko! ↓ Ibuunā bābasoongéle kilombo kyáu.  
The in-laws said, 'That's no problem!' And then they showed them to  
to their room.
44. Ibuuná báú mpé . básikulá biimā , bi-biyéele yáu , bazítu báú. /  
Then they also presented the things that they had brought their  
in-laws.
45. Ibuúna Nāngundu-Nkúunga wayénda lloóngá ... NāFúungwā.  
Then Mr. Nightingale went to tell Mr. Owl what to do,
46. kunā-nímá nzo ndé: Kánsi ngé, NāFúungwā, ↑ bu-sá-twekotà  
behind the house, and said, 'Now you, Mr. Owl, once we have gone  
into
47. kúyeembā, kukúndimíná , nzítu akú , mukúdíla, íbúunā ,  
the funeral chamber where your father-in-law is buried, to mourn,  
then
48. sē-wabòongá , mòno Ngundu-Nkúunga, wəkòtísá kumunā-nsí.  
you are to grab hold of me Mr. Nightingale, and put me below
49. kúyungá kyáku, búunā . ka-balèndí zẏáya-ko . gò mono  
your cloak, so that they will not realise it is I
50. Ngundu-Nkúungá yíboongíla mbeembo. Edí sē-bābāansē káka ndé:  
Mr. Nightingale who is singing the lament. What they will just  
think is,
51. NāFúungwā kwáni, ↓ yaandí kibeéni bóongele mbembo áni. /  
"Mr. Owl himself, it is he himself who sang his lament."
52. ↑ Ibúna mpímpá mpe yíbwídi. Ibúna bábòonso ye-besí-gatá.  
So night then fell. So all the villagers ...
53. ↓ ye-báú bānzéenzā . ↓ bēele kkóta munā-yeemba. ↓ NāFúungwā mpi  
and they the guests went and entered the funeral chamber. And  
Mr. Owl
54. ubákidi . ↓ Nāngundu-Nkúunga unsídi . ↓ munsí kiyúnga kyándí. /  
took hold of Mr. Nightingale and placed him under his cloak.

55. ↑ NaNgundu-Nkúnga bu-kása kuNáFungwa ndé: Gó tee'lé k'indodyá.  
Mr. Nightingale had said to Mr. Owl, 'When you click your fingers
56. munsì kinkutu ngína, búuna monó. ↓ nzáyidi kwáme, ↓ ye yibòongá  
under the mantle where I am, then I will fully understand, and  
I will sing
57. mbembo. / ↓ Ibúuna bawíidi kkòta kwau baákulu. ↓ Náfúungwá mpi.  
the lament.' So the elders kept going in. Mr. Owl too
58. ↓ wákóta, ye wayénda fòonga kunà-mfwila mælu manzitu áandi.  
entered and went and sat down at the feet of his father-in-law's  
corpse.
59. ↓ Ibúna Náfúungwa. ↓ wéeta k'indodya. ... muna-nkùtu mukala  
So Mr. Owl clicked his fingers in the mantle where Mr.
60. NaNgundu-Nkúunga, ibúna NaNgundu-Nkúnga wábonga mbeembó ndé:  
Nightingale was, and then Mr. Nightingale sung the lament,  
saying,
61. ↑ È nkéandi yayá! Nkàandi yigana ngáanu! Kilelelééééé! Ibúna  
'Hey, palm-nut, hooray! The palm-nut confers talent! Kileleleleeee!'  
Then
62. bantu bónso bay'imbíidi-yó mbeembó, ↓ ibúna bilumbu bitánú.  
everyone joined in in singing the lament, so for five days
63. ↓ bakése kóko. / ↑ Káansi Náfúungwa kagèené. NàNgundu-Nkunga  
they did that. But Mr. Owl didn't give Mr. Nightingale
64. madyá-ko, ↓ munà-nkutu kanswéeka. Ibúna NàNgundu-Nkúungá.  
any food under the cloak where he had hidden him. So Mr.  
Nightingale
65. ↑ uwíidi téanda. / ↑ Ibúna mubilumbu bíiná. bazitú, batúukidi  
got very thin. So after those days the in-laws brought out
66. bíimá. bi-báyundula Náfúungwá. ↓ mustíndíka nkás' áandi; ibúna  
things which they gave to Mr. Owl, as a send-off for his wife; so
67. bagòóndele nsusu makumatánú. ↓ yè-nkombo makumbole.  
they slaughtered 30 chickens, and 20 goats,
68. ↑ yè-ntongo zingulu kúumí. yè-nkama ntábá, zímfundí. Ibúna  
and 10 fine pigs, and 100 manioc roots (?). Then

69. bageéne nkas' ándí bendā yándí. Ibúna baaná bayendā, bu-bálwaaká  
they handed over his wife, and they went off with her. So they  
went off, and when they arrived
70. kuna-nkúngu gata dyáú, Náfúungwā, bu-kātuukiísi ...  
at the perimeter fence of their village, Mr. Owl took out
71. Nāngundu-Nkúunga, ↓ kánsi Nāngundù-Nkúunga. ↓ uwíídi táanda. /  
Mr. Nightingale, but Mr. Nightingale was very thin.
72. ↑ Ibúna Nāngundù-Nkúunga. dé munwá ndé: Tála mono Ngundù-Nkúunga  
So Mr. Nightingale said, 'Look at me Nightingale,
73. kyéléka. ↑ bú-ngwídi tánda kwáme! Mukkúma nkí ngē, Náfúungwā,  
truly I am as thin as a rake! For what reason, Mr. Owl,
74. wálemwā kungána kání kíimā kídyā. ↓ kunā-kízítu kyáku?  
did you fail to give me anything whatsoever to eat at your  
in-laws?
75. Monó ñpi yákùboongíla mbeembó, ukwéleléle nkas' áku. ↓ Kánsi  
After all, I sang the lament for you, so that you could marry  
your wife. But
76. ka-dyáambú-ko! Kánsi gáana nsendu'áme, ↓ ngyenda kwáme  
no matter! But give me my fee, so that I can go back on home
77. kunā-gata dyáme! Ibuúna yaní Náfúungwā ndé: Eé mpàangí,  
to my village.' So he Mr. Owl said, 'Hey, my friend,
78. ↑ uúnu kíwíídi nzimbú-ko. ↓ íkufúta. Kánsi nlúngi wúnu  
at the minute I have no money on me to pay you with. But in a  
week from now
79. umvúkíla, ↓ ngá yíkúfuta kwáku! ↓ Nāngundu-Nkúunga wélelé  
come back to me, and I will indeed pay you!' Mr. Nightingale  
came
80. vutuka kuNáfúungwā, mubbáka nsendo ándí. ↓ Kánsi Náfúungwā.  
back to Mr. Owl to get his fee. But Mr. Owl
81. ↓ ntu ání. ↓ kayúngása, ... kavíídi kwání nkutu kíimá.  
shook his head, because he had nothing whatsoever
82. kíseenda Nāngundu-Nkúunga-ko. Ibuúna Nāngundù-Nkúunga.  
to pay Mr. Nightingale with. So Mr. Nightingale

83. wēelé díla muná-nzíla ye-kunà-gata dyándi. Ibúuna munsungí  
went sadly on his way back to his village. So it was in the  
season
84. yitúukaánga lunswá, NaNgúndu-Nkúunga wēle ssámuná  
when the winged termites come out, and Mr. Nightingale went to  
tell
85. NaMfusí-Ntábu, keendá kumbbakíla NaFungwá. múmbaambísa  
Mr. Trapper to go and catch Mr. Owl by using as bait for him
86. lúnswa. Ibúuna Mfusí-Ntaambu wēle yika mbaambísa.  
the termites. So the Trapper went and set up bait for Mr. Owl
87. muná-nkunkū. NaFúungwá. / ↑ Ibúuna NaFúungwá. bu-kázola  
at his perimeter fence. So Mr. Owl felt like
88. káangálá. ... nkokíla. ... mumbelè gata dyáni, wēlè wwaána  
a walk that evening around the edge of his village, and he came  
upon
89. lunswá lu<sub>A</sub>babiláanga, ↑ bu-kása ndé: Ngyeenda mína kwáame  
termites shaking their wings, and he said, 'I'm going to gorge  
myself
90. lunswá lúuna, ... lúna muná-ntí! Ibuúna bu-káyeenda  
on those termites which are in that tree!' So as he was going
91. ttoótá-ló, ntambú mpi. ... yibù-úbasuka, ↓ ibuúna NaFúungwá.  
to collect them, didn't the trap spring, and then Mr. Owl
92. wēkáangama muná-lúsiingá; ye-Mfusí-Ntaambu. uyísi kungwáana  
was caught in the rope; and the Trapper came and found him
93. muná-ntambw'áni, bu-kása ndé-E Fungwa, únu wēlè kwáku  
in his trap, and said, 'Hey, Owl, today you will find your way
94. mumwáamb' ámo! Ibuúna NaFúungwá. wēgaána ludokólo.  
into my sauce!' So Mr. Owl begged
95. ↓ kumfusí-Ntaambu ndé<sub>A</sub> ↓ Unkútula, ↓ ngyenda kúgaaná nsendó  
the Trapper, saying, 'Let me go, and I will then give you a fat
96. mpwena. Káansi Mfusí-Ntaambu ndé: Gó yiNáNgundu-Nkunga ú'una.  
reward.' But the Trapper said, 'If you lied to Mr. Nightingale

97. ↓ munsendo ᵏ gó yímóno. ... ngá yu-kù'uná-ko? Vándí ndé:  
about a fee, will you not indeed lie to me as well?' He said,
98. Kìguná-ko. ↓ bònso ígúníní. ↓ NàNgundu-Nkúunga! Kánsí Mfusi-Ntaambu.  
'I will not lie as I lied to Mr. Nightingale!' But the Trapper
99. kawà nkutu ... ngogo myandí-ko, unzzùbidi kákà. ... yè-nyini  
didn't listen at all to his words, he just hit Owl with the  
handle
100. mbéele. ganà-mbatá ntu. ↓ Fúungwà; ↓ Ibúna unéte ...  
of his knife on the crown of his head, and then carried him
101. kuNàNgundu-Nkúunga. ↑ Ibúna NàNgundu-Nkúunga umwéne yangí. díngí,  
to Mr. Nightingale. So Mr. Nightingale was overjoyed;
102. welè bónge nkeentò 'ní Myése, ukítu'dí. sínkeentw'áni ᵏ  
he went and took his wife Moonray and she now became the wife of  
him
103. NàNgundu-Nkúungá munseendw'áni, wu-kábaká-ko. ↓ kuna-NaFúungwà.  
Mr. Nightingale in [place of] his fee, which he had not received  
from Mr. Owl.
104. Yítà ngánā, fulà ngánā, ↑ Bànguníngí afwíídí. yè-ntete  
Tell a tale, ask for a tale (?), Bangingi died with a basketful
105. ngána! Kímpà zíkí-zíkí. kuntú nani? ↓ Kuntu YaFúungwà!  
of tales! This tale of miserliness, on whose head is it? (?) On  
Master Owl's head!

Text for chapter 6.

Dialect: kiZombo.

Informant: Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga.

Source: own composition.

1a. Wəú tuzolele m̀kená fyoti . mundíng' akiKoongo . Kizéyé-ko  
 Now we would like to speak a little in the kiKongo language.  
 I don't know

2a. kana v̄o . khy'amaámbu yíndwíidí , ekuma kádí , uná ngáphovaaŋgá .  
 b. Uná ngáphovanga .  
 what kind of thing you were thinking, because when I was speaking

3a. kikélé ye-kòonso ngíindu nkútú . zəvvova koso dyámbu  
 b. kikélé . yé-koónsō . ngíindú . nkútu . zəvvovə . koónsō . dyámbú  
 I had no idea at all of saying anything

4a. dyaphilá yina . Káansí . náanga ngíndwíidí v̄o . kutómene  
 b. dyáphíla 'iina-ko . Náangá . ngíndwíidí . v̄o . kutómené .  
 of that nature . But it is possible, I think, that you didn't really

5a. kuphísá-ko . Mudyámbu kélé vo uphíisidiingí . ephíipita  
 b. kúphísá-ko . Mú dyámbú . kélé v̄o . uphíisidiingí . ephíipitá .  
 understand me . Because, if you had understood me, the difficulty

6a. yíná mweene ngá kaní kumwóne-yo-ko . Ye-náangá . wádí  
 b. yíná mweenē . ngá . kaní kumwóne-yo-ko . Yé-náangá . wádí .  
 which you have experienced, you would certainly not have experienced it . And perhaps you didn't

7a. lleénd' ezaya kana v̄o . nkhií ingíindu zéame ye-khíí  
 b. lleéndá . zayá . kana v̄o . nkhií . ingíindu zéamé . yé .  
 actually realise what my idea and what

8a. ilukànu lwáame . Sedímosí kaka ndzòlele tóma záyá . ékkuma .  
 b. lúkanú . lwáame . Sedímosí kaka ndzòlelé toma záyá . ékkuma .  
 my intention was . I really want to know just one thing now: the reason

9a. lwáákidi muná-teezō kyáphwi yáayi . Ekkuma kádí .  
 b. lwáákíidí . muná-tèezó . kyáphíla yáayi . Ekkuma kádí .  
 you have come to a conclusion of this sort . Because

- 10a. kisidi-wo yyiindulá ncutú-ko . vó lenda lwàaka múphwa  
 b. kisidi-wo yyiindula ncutú-ko . vó lenda lwàaká . múphwa  
 I never thought that you would come to a position
- 11a. yaphila gooyo. ↓ Wáú ^ ed' iyyiinduláangá . náangá . fiípha  
 b. ↓ yaphila gooyo. Wáú . ed' iyyiinduláangá . náangá . fiípha  
 of this kind. Now what I am thinking is that perhaps
- 12a. dyaká tufweté toma fiíph' eyani dyáambu . kinúmáana  
 b. dyaká . tufwete toma fiíphá . eyáni dyáambu . kinúmáaná .  
 we ought to examine this matter in detail once more, so that
- 13a. twazayá kana vó . venáanga ye-kóonsó kumá kyánkaka .  
 b. twazayá . kana vó . venáangá . yé . kóonsó . kumá . ↓ kyánkaka .  
 we may know whether there is any other reason
- 14a. kitweése emáambu né imóomo. ↑ Muná-záame engiíndu mónó .  
 b. kitwées' ↓ emáambu né imóomo. Muná-záame ^ engiíndu mónó .  
 which might cause such anxiety. In my own opinion,
- 15a. ékkumá . kakìna kyánkaka-kó . ekkuma isya vó . kináangá .  
 b. ekkumá . ↓ kakìna kyánkaka-ko . ékkuma isya vó kináangá .  
 the reason is no other than - that is, the reason is to do
- 16a. ↑ muná-máná ^ matwamónéká ^ ye-muná-máná matwavéangama .  
 b. muná-máná matwamóníká . ↓ ye-muná-máná ^ matwavéangama .  
 with things which can be witnessed, and with things which  
 are happening.
- 17a. ↑ Kizéyé-ko kana vó . wateka wwà kalá dyáambu díphila yayi,  
 b. Kizéyé-ko . kana vó wateka wwà kalá ... ,  
 I don't know whther you have already noticed something of  
 this nature,
- 18a. káansi . laandila máná mbweene kalá ^ ye-laandila máná  
 b. káasi . ↑ laandilá . ↑ máná mbweene kalá . ye-↑ máná  
 but according to what I have already seen, and according  
 to what
- 19a. mbwidi kalá . muvvisá nginaanga vó . vená yé-thaangu  
 b. mbwidi kalá . muvvisá ^ nginaangá . vó . vená yé-thaangu .  
 I have already heard, I understand very well that there are  
 times

- 20a. zánkaka zína zináanga vó . maambu manè menáanga vó . ngá  
 b. zánkaká . zína zináanga vó . ↓ maambu <sub>Λ</sub> manè menáanga vó . ngá  
 occasionally when things [happen] which are not indeed
- 21a. ka-mafwēenē mōnekā-ko ↓ kǎansi mumōnekā ménáanga. Muna-dyáadī.  
 b. ka-mafwēenē mōneká-ko <sub>Λ</sub> kǎansi ↓ mumōneká ménáanga. Muna-dyáadī.  
 fit to be seen, and yet you see them. And so
- 22a. thāngu zíngi immwēenanga phasi. ↑ Uwéyi mǔúntu kalénda  
 b. thāngu zazíngi immwēenang' ephási. Uwéyi omǔúntu kalénda  
 I often experience some difficulty. How can a person
- 23a. kádila . wazzíkuka . muna-zíngu kyandi . ye-munè-ngíndu  
 b. kádila . wazzíkuka . ↓ muna-zíngu kyani . muna-ngíndu  
 be truly honest in his life and in his thoughts,
- 24a. zǎani yè-vvisakaná kwááatu. Iboosí . kakalangā dyáaka  
 b. zǎani . yè-vvisakaná kwááatu. Iboosí . kakálanga dyáaka .  
 and be correctly understood by people? Then again he has
- 25a. ye-máambu manè mavwá kúnkkakamakalā <sub>Λ</sub> muna-mená ma-  
 b. ye-máambu . maná . mavwá kúnkakalakyana . y'óvó .  
 problems in which he is entangled, [or] by which
- 26a. kúmzzingalakyana muna-káti kwántim' ááne. + Kwíkiidí-tyo  
 b. kúmzing<sub>Λ</sub>alakyana . muna-nkáti kwántim' áani. Kwíkiidí-dyó .  
 he is assailed in his innermost heart. Do you believe
- 27a. vó muuruhú kádema káa ye-luvúvamu<sup>+</sup> muna-phwà yaphíla yaayi.  
 vó . muuntú . kalenda kálé<sub>Λ</sub> ye-luvúvamu . muna-phwà yaphíla yaayi.  
 that someone can have peace of mind in a situation of this  
 nature?
- 28a. lyííndulanga vó<sup>+</sup> kadílènda káni-ko.<sup>+</sup> Ekuma kádí . ↑ dyàphasi  
 b. lyííndulanga vó kadílènda káni-ko. Ekuma kádí . dyàphasi  
 I think it is utterly impossible. The reason is that it is  
 a little difficult
- 29a. fyóti kwamúúntu <sub>Λ</sub> vó uná ye-<sub>Λ</sub>máambu manè matwákumvāang'  
 b. fyóoti . kwamúúntú . vó uná ye-máambu . maná . matwákúmvaang'  
 for a person, if he has problems causing him

NB: 26-27a: ++ fast. 28a: ++ fast.

- 30a. éphasi muna-kàti kwántimá . íboosi kaleenda ékala wazzíkuka  
 b. éphasi . muna-kàti kwántima . íboosi . kaleenda <sub>^</sub>ékalá . wàzikuká .  
 anxiety in the depths of his heart, for him then to be able to  
 be honest
- 31a. thaangu kyéthaangu vena-tète awáantu. Ise-dímonekaanga  
 b. thaangu kyénthaangu . vena-thàdisi awáantu. Ise-dímonekaanga  
 all the time with regard to people. It will be quite obvious
- 32a. nkútu vo . elúvunú . isé-lukótaga muna-kàti kwáandi.  
 b. nkútu vó . eluvunú . isé-lukótangá . muna-kàti kwandi.  
 that lying will enter into his very core.
- 33a. Muna-dyàadi náanga . dyamfúnu kíkílu vó . koso thàangu  
 b. Muna-dyaadi . náanga . dyāmfunu kíkílu vó . konsò thàangu  
 c. Muna-dyaadi . náanga dyāmfunu kíkílu vó <sub>^</sub>koònsó , thàangu <sub>^</sub>  
 It is therefore perhaps of great importance, every time
- 34a. vóvaanga ye-múúntu . koso thàangú <sub>^</sub>ssóongaanga ngíndu zàáku  
 b. vóvaanga ye-múúntu . konsò thàangu ssóongaanga <sub>^</sub>ngíndu zàákú .  
 c. vóvaanga ye-múúntu . koònsó thàangu ssóongaanga ngíndu zàaku  
 you are speaking to someone, every time you are explaining  
 your ideas
- 35a. kwamúúntu . wáleend' ézaya <sub>^</sub>khy'edyáambu . dína <sub>^</sub>lènda vóva  
 b. kwamúúntu . waleendá . ézayá . khy'edyáambu . lènda vóva .  
 c. kwamúúntú . waleenda záy' ekhy'edyáambu . lènda vóva .  
 to someone, to be able to know what sort of thing you can say,
- 36a. 'e-khy'edyáambu dína kúlendi vova-ko íboosi khy'éthangu  
 b. ye-khy'edyáambu . ↓ kuléndi vóva-ko . ye-khy'éthangu .  
 c. ye-khy'edyáambu . kuléndi vóva-kó . ye-khy'éthangú .  
 and what sort of thing you cannot say, and also on what  
 occasions,
- 37a. zínà zínáanga vó <sub>^</sub> náanga määmbu mánkaka kamèna kwáni  
 b. <sub>^</sub> kamèna kwáani  
 c. zínà zíná vó . náanga määmbu mánkaka . kamèna kwáandi .  
 since there are perhaps some things which it is not entirely
- 38a. ndaanu mffúnu-ko . <sup>+</sup> Dyambu dímosi ditótoma vvaang'  
 b. mffúnu-ko ndáandú . Dyambu dímosí . ditwátoma vvaang'  
 c. ↓ ndaandú . ↓ evo mffúnu-ko . Dyambu dímosí <sub>^</sub> ditwátoma vvaangá .  
 wise or useful [to say] . One thing which constantly causes

- 39a. aátu phasi muna-lumbu kyálumbú<sup>+</sup>. evó tutadidi . määmbú<sub>Λ</sub>  
 b. aátu phasi . vó tutadidi . määmbu  
 c. eyaátu phasi . muna-lumbú . kyálumbu . vó tutadidi määmbū .  
 people great trouble all the time, if we examine the events

- 40a. mándza yaayi tutwazííngíla . ↑ eísyá vó aatú . ↑ muuntú mutu  
 b. mándza yaayi tutwazííngíla . ísyá vó aatú . muuntú muntú  
 c. mándza yaayi . tútwazííngíla . ísyá vó . aatú . muuntú muntú .  
 of this world we are living in, is that people - everyone

- 41a. zólele vó manà kenáanga máau . ↑ manà kayyííndulaanga<sub>Λ</sub>  
 b. zólele vó . manà kenáanga máau . manà kayyííndulaanga .  
 c. zólele vó . manà kenáanga máau . manà kayyííndulaanga .  
 wants [to believe] that what he is involved in, what he is  
 thinking,

- 42a. manà kaváangaanga yi-màkálá muna-wáantu awóonsono . . . . .  
 b. manà kaváangaanga . yi-màkálá muna-áatu awóonsono . . . . .  
 c. manà kaváangaanga . yi-màkálá muna-áatu awóonsono . . . . .  
 what he is doing, has to hold good for everyone else.

- 43a. Iboos! íse-dímonekaanga vó . ellud' íse-kíswéekwanga .  
 b. Iboosi . íse-dímonekaanga vó . ↓ eludi . ↓ íse-kíswéekwanga .  
 c. Iboosi<sub>Λ</sub> íse-dímonekaanga vó . eludi . íse-kíswéekwanga .  
 Then what is happening is that the truth is being covered up,

- 44a. eluvunw' íse-luséngomonwaaंगा . ↓ thàangu kyéthaangu .  
 b. ↓ eluvunú . ↓ íse-luséngomonwaaंगा . ↓ thàangu kyéthaangu .  
 c. eluvunú . íse-luséngomonwaaंगा .  
 and lies are becoming common the whole time.

- 45a. Afwete véwa khúumbu zazííngi . muna-máa mawóonsonó .  
 b. Afwete véwa . zazííngi . muna-máana<sub>Λ</sub> mawóonsonó .  
 c. Bafwete véwa . ékhuumbu zayííngi . muna-mána mawóonsonó .  
 They are given many names, and because of all these things

- 46a. ewaantú . bakótelo kwaphíl' awóonga . Iboosi<sub>Λ</sub> . evvóónza  
 b. ewaantú . bakóteló . kwá . phíl' awóonga . Iboosi<sub>Λ</sub> . evvóónza  
 c. ewaantú . bakóteló . kwaphíl' awóonga . Iboosi<sub>Λ</sub> . evvóónza  
 the people are seized by terror. So the most dangerous

- 47a. kyānene <sup>^</sup> kinà kisuúndidi ikya kyesya vó .<sup>↑</sup>eyaatú .<sup>↑</sup>kaenà  
 b. kyānené . kinà kisuúndidi . ikyāaki kyesya vó . eyaatú . kaenà  
 c. kyānené . kinà kisuúndidi . ikyāakí <sup>^</sup> kyésya vó . eyaatú . kaēna  
 thing is that people
- 48a. dyākā <sup>^</sup> ye-mbùndazyaaenu avúuvu-ko . mbùndanu avúuvu kàtu  
 b. dyākā . yé-<sup>^</sup>mbùndazyaaenú .<sup>↓</sup>avúuvu-ko . mbùndanú avúuvu kàtu  
 c. dyāākā .<sup>↑</sup>ye-mbùndazyaaenu avúuvu-ko .<sup>↑</sup>mbundanu avúuvú .<sup>↑</sup>kàtu  
 now have a mutual lack of trust - there is no longer any
- 49a. dyāka wau .<sup>↑</sup>Muuntú muuntú . uná ye-wóonga . ekuma kádi kazèyé-ko  
 b. dyāka wau . Muuntú muuntú<sup>ó</sup> . uná ye-wóonga . ekúma kádi . kazèyé-ko .  
 c. dyāaka wau . Muuntú muuntú<sup>ó</sup> <sup>^</sup> uná ye-wóonga <sup>^</sup> ekuma kádi <sup>^</sup> kazèyé-ko <sup>^</sup>  
 confidence at all now. Each person is afraid because he doesn't  
 know
- 50a. nāni inkúundi āni kikiḷú . ye-nāni intāantu āni . Tēzo kyāphasi  
 b. nāni inkúundi āni kikiḷú . ye-nāni intāantu āni . Tēzó <sup>^</sup> kyāphasí .  
 c. nāni<sup>ó</sup> inkúundi āni<sup>ó</sup> . kikiḷú . ye-nāni intāantu āni . Tēzo kyāphasí<sup>ó</sup> <sup>^</sup>  
 who is his real friend and who is his enemy. It is a very  
 distressing
- 51a. ye-kyávoonzā<sup>ó</sup> . ekuma kádi . kakitwāvúúvika wāatú-ko . Ayíing'  
 b. ye-kyávoonza . ekuma kádi . ka<sup>^</sup>kí<sup>^</sup>twá<sup>^</sup>vú<sup>^</sup>vú<sup>^</sup>ka<sup>^</sup> . wāatú-ko . Ayíing'<sup>ó</sup> <sup>^</sup>  
 c. ye-kyávoonzā <sup>^</sup> ekuma kádi<sup>ó</sup> . kakitwāvúúvika aatú-ko . Ayíing'<sup>ó</sup> <sup>^</sup>  
 and dangerous situation, because people can have no peace of mind.  
 Many
- 52a. atwamón' ephasi munā-kúma kyedyáayi . Katuzèyé-ko . kana vó <sup>^</sup>  
 b. atwamón' ephasi . munā-kúma kyedyáadi . Katuzèyé-ko . kana vó <sup>^</sup>  
 c. atwamón' ephasi . munā-kúma kyedyáayi . Katuzèyé-ko kana vó <sup>^</sup>  
 are suffering because of this. We do not know whether
- 53a. natéye khy'ēthaangu . māambú ne imāamā malenda lléend' estikila.  
 b. natéye khy'ēthaangú . māambu né imāamā . malenda lléenda sikila.  
 c. natéye khy'ēthaangú . māambú <sup>^</sup> ne imāamā <sup>^</sup> maléndá sikila.  
 at some time things like this can be righted.
- 54a. <sup>↑</sup>Kāansi kufwēelá-ko dyoodyo vúuvu túnaanga kyáu vó .  
 b. Kāansi kufwēilá-ko dyoodyo <sup>^</sup> vúuvu wuná <sup>^</sup> túnaanga kyáu vó .  
 c. Kāansi kufwēilá-ko dyoodyo . vúuvu túnaanga kyáu vó .  
 But despite this we still hope that

- 55a. vená ye-thaangu. ↓ emaambu . ↓ s'ikilá makwenda s'ikidi. ↑ Dyambu
  - b. vená ye-thaangu . emaambu . s'ikilá makwenda s'ikidi. Dyambu
  - c. vená ye-thaangu . emaambu . s'ikilá makwenda s'ikidi. Dyambu
- there will be a time when things will in fact be put right.

- 56a. dyánkaka ditóma kuphaangaana' éphasi yevo ... dilútidi
  - b. dyánkaka ditóma kuphaangaang' éphasi . yovó . dillútidi
  - c. dyánkaka ditóma kuphaangaang' éphasi . yovó dillútidi
- Another thing which causes me great difficulty, or which often

- 57a. kuphaang' éphasi muna-yáayi élumbu . idyámoná . ↑ éphila
  - b. kuphaang' éphasi muna-yáayi élumbu idyámoná . éphila
  - c. kuphaang' éphasi . muna-yáayi élumbu . idyámoná . éphila .....
- causes me difficulty in this day and age, is seeing how

- 58a. y'ina yaátũ . átwáziíngila . Iboosí waú . aayiíngí . azòlele zíínga
  - b. y'ina yaátu . átwáziíngila . Iboosí waú . ayííngí . azòlele zíínga
- people are living. I mean now, many want to live

- 59a. muna-lukwíikílu lwau ye-Ndzáambi. Kási vathàdis!
  - b. ↓ muna-lukwíikílu lwau . ↓ ye-Ndzáambi. Kàantsí . vena-thàdis!
- in their faith in God, but on account

- 60a. amaambu máama máwóonso . ↓ lukwíikílu lwau . ... ↓ ye-tukwíikílu
  - b. amaambu máama máwóonso . lukwíikílu lwau . yovó tukwíikílu
- of all these things their faith or their beliefs

- 61a. twau . . . . ↑ lumène vwa . báka phíl' àphúta . isya vó . káalèndi
  - b. twau . lumène vwa bbáka phíl' àphúta . káalèndi
- have in a manner of speaking been seriously wounded, that is, they cannot

- 62a. lleénda . kkalá avúuvama-ko . ekundaambu-ngá woóngá . ↑ ekundaambu-ngá
  - b. lleénda . kálá avúuvama-ko . ekúndaambu-ngá woóngá . ekúndaambu-ngá
- really be at peace - on one side fear, on another

- 63a. lukátikísú . ekundaambu-ngá nndiímbu lwávuuvú . isya vó .
  - b. lukátikísú . ekúndaambu-ngá luvíímbu lwávuuvú . isyá vó .
- doubt, on another lack of hope - that is, .

64a. kayènaanga syáama-kò<sup>h</sup> ayííngí kayèna syáama-kò . munà-kuma  
 b. kayènaanga asyáama-kò<sup>h</sup> . ayííngí kayèna syáama-kò . muna-kùma  
 they cannot be confident; many are not confident on account

65a. kyésya vò<sup>h</sup> etteembo esákidi<sup>h</sup> . emávuku masákidi<sup>h</sup> . waaú poodi<sup>h</sup> .  
 b. kyésya vò<sup>h</sup> etteembo esákidi<sup>h</sup> . emávukú masákidi<sup>h</sup> . waaú poodi<sup>h</sup> .  
 of the constant outside pressure (lit. winds), and then the  
 unfortunate people

66a. ène enáanga vò . myáanzi kámínáanga myetóma syáama-ko . ísya vò .  
 b. ene ènáanga vò . emyáanzi<sup>h</sup> kámínáanga myetóma syáama-kò . ísyà vó .  
 are in the state of having no really firm roots, that is,

67a. atwàzííngilá kaka munà-phwé yoyo .<sup>h</sup> enáanga muna-lukwííkílu  
 b. atwàzííngilá káká<sup>h</sup> munà-phwé yoyo . enáanga muna-lukwííkílu  
 they just exist any old way - they have faith,

68a. káansi . se-keená zatòma záya kana vò . wunà enéna  
 b. káansi . se-keená atomà záya-ko . kana vó wunà enená .  
 c. káansi . se-káaná atomà záya-kò . kana vò . wúuná . enená .  
 but they don't really know whether they

69a. wáafwete kádilá .<sup>h</sup> ye-kaná vó vená ye-dyáambu dyánkaka  
 b. wáafwéte kádila . ye-kaná vo vèná ye-dyáambu dyánkaka  
 c. wáafwete kádilá . yé-kaná vò . vená ye-dyáambu dyánkaka .  
 ought to stay as they are (?), or whether there is something  
 else

70a. dínà afwete váanga .<sup>h</sup> ye-kaná<sup>h</sup> vo vená ye-dyáambu díkondelè  
 b. díná afwete váanga . ye-kaná vó vená ye-dyáambu díkòndelè  
 c. díná<sup>h</sup> afwéte váanga . yé-kaná vò<sup>h</sup> vená ye-dyáambu díkondelè .  
 which they ought to do, or whether there is something lacking

71a. muna-yáau-é .<sup>h</sup> mamííngí mayííngí afwete kíyuvula .  
 b. muna-yáau-é . mamííngí<sup>h</sup> mayííngí afwete kúkiyuvula .  
 c. muna-yáau . mayííngí . afwéte . kúkiyuvula .  
 in them - they have to ask themselves many things.

72a. Vena venáanga emáa mawóonsono .<sup>h</sup> vaitwámweena v' edíBuundu<sup>h</sup>  
 b. Venà venáangá . emáamá<sup>h</sup> mawóonsono . vaitwámweena vó . edíbuundu .  
 c. Venà venáanga émaamá<sup>h</sup> mawóonsonó . vaitwámweena vó .<sup>h</sup> edíBuundu .  
 It is because of all these things that I have come to see that  
 the Church

NB: 69-72a: ++ fast.

73a. sálu kyám'weena dyáka kenaanga kyau. ↑ Ephási zantátu ziná  
 b. sálu kyám'weena dyáka . kénáanga kyau. Ephási zantátu ziná  
 c. sálu kyámphweena . dyááká , kenáanga kyáau. Ephási zantátu . ziná  
 has got an immense task before it. The three difficulties that

74a. mbween' ízaa zásya vó . ↑ múnzà yawóonsoño eyaatu  
 b. mbweene dyáká , ízaázi zásya vó . ↑ múnzà yawóonsoño . eyaatu .  
 I perceive now are these: that in the whole world people

75a. alútidi vóvel' eluvuvamu . aatu alútidi vóvel' ezola .  
 b. alútidi vvóvel' elúuvuvamu . eyaatu alútidi vóvel' ezola .  
 often talk about peace, people often talk about love,

76a. aatu alútidi vóvel' ellúdi . káánsi máau máambu mama matátu  
 b. aatu alútidi vóvel' elúdi . káánsi máau máambu mama matátu ^  
 people often talk about truth, yet these three things

77a. v'íkésyá vo ká-matwámónéka . ↓ elúvuvámú kaluná-ko . +↑ yámúná-ntsi  
 b. v'íkésyá vo ká-matwámónika-ko . elúvuvámú kaluná-ko . yámúná-ntsi  
 are in fact not in evidence; there is no peace, even in the  
 countries

78a. nkútu'ina ziyíndwílú'ísya vó náanga ^ kiphwáanza zináangá ^  
 b. nkútu . ziné ziyíndwílú vó . kiphwáanza zináangá ^  
 usually considered as being independent,

79a. eaatu avúuvama yenáangá . ísya vó luvuvámú kaluná-ko  
 b. eaatu avúuvama yenáangá . ísya vó luvuvámú kaluná-ko  
 with their inhabitants at peace - that is, there is no peace  
 there,

80a. muna-vóvel' elúdi . Aatu ená kaka abáangama . vená kaka  
 b. muna-vóvel' elúdi . Aatu ená kaka abáangama . vená kaka  
 if the truth be told. People are just being victimised; they  
 still

81a. ye-dyáambu ditwákwaabaangika ^ ditwákwaaváang' éphási . . . . .  
 b. ye-dyáambu ditwákwaabangiká . ditwákwaaváang' éphási . . . . .  
 have something persecuting them, causing them distress.

82a. Kaní tuttátamaná kweeto . yambuléeti . owátete nkúunga wáau ...  
 b. Kaní tuttátamaná kweeto . yambuléeti . wowo tete nkúunga wáau ...  
 Before we continue with our discussion, let us first hear this  
 hymn now: . . . . .

NB: 77-78a: ++ fast.

- 83a. Waaú muna-leend' étataman' emmoko kyeetó: phoveleengé vo
- b. Waaú muna-leend' étataman' emoko kyeetó: phoveleengé vó.
- c. Waaú muna-leend' étataman' emoko kyeetó: phoveleengé vó.

Now, to continue with our discussion: I said earlier that

- 84a. phási zináanga múlumbu kyawúunu . ekuma kádí . eyaatu
- b. phási zináanga mulumbu kyawúunu . ekuma kádí eyaatu
- c. phási zináanga múlumbu kyawúunu .

there are difficulties nowadays because people

- 85a. kayènaanga avúuvama-ko. .... Munà-kuma kyamáa mawóónsonó.
- b. kayènaanga avúuvama-ko. .... Muna-kuma kyamáama mawóónsono.
- c. Muna-kuma kyemáama mawóónsono.

have no peace. .... Because of all these things,

- 86a. zíngu kyau . kádílu kyau . vúuvu kyau . yaawóónsonó yaayi .
- b. zíngu kyau . kádílu kyau . vúuvu kyau . yaawóónsonó yaayi .
- c. ezíngu kyáú . kádílu kyáú . vúuvu kyáú . yaawóónsono yaayi .

their life, their existence, their hope, all of these things

- 87a. ínáanga muna-lukátikísu 'sya vó kayènaangé asíkila-ko .
- b. ínáangá . muna-lukátikísu . 'sya vó kayènaangé asíkila-ko .
- c. ínáangá muna-lukátikísu 'sya vó . kayènaangé asíkila-kó .

are in doubt, that is, they are not confident,

- 88a. kayènaanga ásyáama-ko . kayènaangé . ye-vúuvú kyásíkálalá-kó .
- b. kayènaanga asyáama-ko . kayènaangá ye-vúuvú kyásíkálalá-ko .
- c. kayènaanga ásyáama-kó . kayènaangé ye-vúuvu kyásíkama-kó .

they are not optimistic, they have no firm hope.

- 89a. Kizéyé-ko kana vó muna-kálá mukwíkizí . díBuundú . kíí .
- b. Kizéyé-kó kana vó . muna-kálá mukuunkizí . edíBuundú . kíí .
- c. Kizéyé-ko kana vó muna-kalá mukúunkizí . edíBuundú . kíí

I don't know whether, being a Christian - what is the Church's

- 90a. yi-mbébaáni . muna-phwa yaphíla yaayi . Vó tuvòvelaangá .
- b. yi-mbébaáni . muna-phwá yaphíla yaayi . Vó tuvòvelaangá .
- c. yi-mbébaáni muna-phwa yáphíla yaayi . Vó tuvòvelaangá

responsibility in a situation of this kind. If we are speaking

- 91a. luvùluzú lwená muna-Yííisu . ↑ iyyíndulaanga vó luvùluzú loolò .  
 b. luvùluzú ^ lwená muna-Yííisu . iyyíndulaanga vó . luvuluzú loolò .  
 c. luvùluzú ^ lúná muna-Yííisú . iyyíndulaanga vó . eluvuluzú loolò .  
 about salvation in Christ, I think that this salvation
- 92a. kalùnàangá ... ↑ mundzila yánkaka-ko . vó kailùléendá . evúluz' .  
 b. kalùnàangá ^ mundzila yánkaka-ko . vó ^ kailùléendá . evúluza  
 c. kalùnàanga mundzila yánkaka-ko .  
 is in no other sense than that it ought to save .
- 93a. eyaatu . muna-maawóonsono mana makúbavaangaang' éphasi' .  
 b. aatu . muna-maawóonsonó ^ máná ^ makúbavaangaang' éphasi' .  
 people with regard to all the things which are causing them  
 distress,
- 94a. 'sya vó' íbàáanzilaanga-dyo vó ^ eluvuluzú' lwaYííisu . kalúbàkàangá  
 b. isya vó íbàáanzilaanga-dyo vó ^ eluvulúzu lwaYííisú . kalubàkàangá  
 c. íbàáanzilaanga-dyo vó . eluvuluzú' lwaYííisú . kalubàkàangá .  
 that is, I consider that the salvation of Jesus cannot take place
- 95a. fulú mumúuntu-ko ^ vó muuntu ndyooyó kalèendelé . vùlúzwa  
 b. ffulú mumúuntu-kó ^ vó muuntu ndyooyó ^ kalèendelé ^ vùlúzwá .  
 c. fulú . mumúuntu-kó . vó muuntu ndyooyó ^ kalèendelé vuluzwá ^  
 place in someone if this man cannot be saved
- 96a. ye-màámbu maandí-ko . ↑ màámbú manà makúmvaangaang' éphasi' .  
 b. ye-màámbu maandí-ko . ↑ màámbú maná . makúmvaangaang' éphasi' .  
 c. ye-màámbu maandí-ko .  
 with all his problems - things which cause him distress,
- 97a. màámbú maná makúmweesaang' ekyéese . ↑ màámbú manà  
 b. ↓ màámbú maná makúmweesaang' ekyéese . ↑ màámbú maná  
 things which give him joy, things which
- 98a. makúunkatulaang' eluvuvámú . màámbú manà makúntwaasilaang'  
 b. makúunkatulaang' eluvuvámú . ↓ màámbú manà makú ^ kúntwaasaang'  
 give him riches, things which give him
- 99a. eluvuvámu ^ maawóonsono móomo mafwete ^ vvúluzwá kumòsí  
 b. eluvuvámu . maawóonsonó moomó . mafwete vulúzwá . kumòsí ^  
 poverty - all these things have to be saved, along

- 100a. yé-nitu áandi kibeeni. Wáú <sup>waanti.</sup> aovó / muna-yáayi élumbu akóondelé <sup>waanti.</sup>  
 b. ye-nitu ááni. Wáú . ovó / muna-yáayi élumbu . azólele  
 with his body.itself. Now, if people nowadays who lack (b: like)
- 101a. evúuvu <sup>?</sup> kyasíkalala . azííngiláanga muna-lukátíkísu, kyaikhí <sup>?</sup>  
 b. vúuvu kyasíkalala . azííngiláanga muna-lukátíkísu, khí  
 a firm hope are living in doubt, what kind
- 102a. iluvúlúzu . ↓ tukúbavaanaanga? ↓ Ekyáaki <sup>?</sup> ↓ ikúuvu kyáame,  
 b. iluvúlúzú . tukúbavaanaanga? ↓ Ekyáaki <sup>?</sup> ↓ ikyúuvu kyáame,  
 of salvation are we giving them? This is my question,
- 103a. ↓ íphasi záame . íngííndu záame . ekuma kádi ngé <sup>?</sup> dyaambu  
 b. ↓ íngííndu záame . ↓ ekúma kádi ngé dyaambu  
 and my difficulty, and my opinion, because something in fact
- 104a. dífwete vó kala. Wáú <sup>?</sup> idiBúundu aloóngáanga lumbu kálumbu.  
 b. dífwéte vo kala. <sup>?</sup> DiBúundu aloóngáanga . lumbu kálumbu.  
 ought to be [done for them]. Now, the Church is indeed teaching  
 the whole time,
- 105a. ↑ káantsi natee ye-wáawú . malóongi madíBúundu . makínúvezelwá <sup>?</sup>  
 b. ↑ káantsi . natee ye-wáawú <sup>?</sup> malóongi madíBúundu . makínúvezelwá <sup>?</sup>  
 but up until now the teaching of the Church has been ignored,
- 106a. ye-yyííndulwíilwa nkútu kwawáantu ankaka . avó náanga <sup>?</sup> imáau  
 b. ye-yyííndulwíilwa nkútu . kwawáantu ankaka . vó . imáau <sup>?</sup>  
 and even considered by some people as perhaps being
- 107a. malutidí fwás' eenkáangu. .... Kizéyé-ko . khí íngííndu  
 b. malútídí . ↓ fwása . ↓ enkáangu. .... Kizé'é-ko . ↑ khí íngííndu  
 what has often devastated the population. .... I don't know  
 what your opinions are,
- 108a. zéenu . evo khí íngííndu záako ngéyé . muna-ttéézó kyemáa  
 b. zéenu . yóvó . khí íngííndu záako ngéye . muna-téézó <sup>?</sup> kyemáamá <sup>?</sup>  
 or what your own views are as regards all these
- 109a. mawóonsono.  
 b. mawóonsono.  
 things.

Comparison passage for chapter 6: Carter.

33c. Munà-dyááadí náəngə dyàmfunu kíkílu vo konsò thəəngu  
 /T(c) X /A X G /V(c)  
 n. Munà-dyááadi náəngə . dyàmfunu kíkílu vo . koso thəəngu  
 [C dyàmfunu kíkílu vo] [B konsò thəəngu]

34c. vóvəəngə ye-muúntu konsò thəəngu sóongəəngə ngíndu záaku  
 K /N /V(c) K Q ii  
 n. vóvəəngə ye-muúntu . koso thəəngu<sup>1</sup> ssóongəəngə ngíndu záaku .  
 [B konsò thəəngu ssóongəəngə ngíndu záaku.]

35c. kwəmuúntu wəleendə zəəyá nkhi'ədyəəmbu dínə ləndə vvóvə  
 /J /A F /A ii /K(c) F  
 n. kwəmuúntu . wəleend' ézaya<sup>1</sup> khy'ədyəəmbu . dínə<sup>1</sup> ləndə vvóvə  
 [C wəleenda zəəyá khy'ədyəəmbu .]

36c. ye nkhi'ədyəəmbu dínə kuləndi vvóvə-kó íboosi nkhi'əthəəngu  
 /β /A ii /K(c) F /β /A ii  
 n. 'e-khy'ədyəəmbu dínə kúləndi vovə-kó íboosi<sup>1</sup> khy'əthəəngu  
 [BC ∅ kuləndi vovə-kó.]

37c. zína zínəəngə vo náəngə məəmbu mənkəkə kəmenə kwáandi  
 /L(c) G X /P ii /A m  
 n. zína zínəəngə vó<sup>1</sup> náəngə məəmbu mənkəkə kəmenə kwáani  
 [B<sup>1</sup> kəmenə kwáandi]

38c. ndəəndu mffúnu-kó. Dyaəmbu dímosi dítwátomə vvəəng'  
 C /C /P ii L F  
 n. ndəənu mffúnu-ko. <sup>1</sup>Dyaəmbu dímosi dítwátomə vvəəng'  
 mffúnu-ko ndəəndú.]

39c. əətu phəsi munə-lumbu kyəlumbu vó tutədidi məəmbu  
 B Q /V(c) ii /G /A Q  
 n. əətu phəsi munə-lumbu kyəlumbu<sup>1</sup> . evə tutədidi . məəmbu<sup>1</sup>  
 [C munə-lumbu kyəlumbu.]

40c. məndzə yəəyi tutwəzíngila ísya vo<sup>2</sup> əətu muuntú muuntu  
 ii iii iv /iA G /P /P(c)  
 n. məndzə yəəyi tutwəzíngila . <sup>1</sup>eísyə vó əətu . <sup>1</sup>muuntú mutu  
 [C ísyə vo . əətu.]

- 41c. zólele vo manà kenàanga máau manà kayyíndulaanga  
 /A G /K(c) Q /K(c)  
 n. zólele vó manà kenàanga máau <sup>↑</sup>manà kayyíndulaanga <sup>^</sup>  
 [BC zólele vó.] [BC manà]
- 42c. manà kavvàngaanga yi-màkala muna-wàantu awóonsono. ....  
 /k(c) /iA /s(c) ii  
 n. manà kavàngaanga yi-màkalá muna-wàantu awóonsono. ....
- 43c. Iboosí ise-dímmonekaanga vo elludí ise-kíswéekwaanga  
 /β /iA G /P /iA  
 n. Iboos' íse-dímmonekaanga vo . ellud' íse-kíswéekwaanga .  
 [BC Iboosí.]
- 44c. eluvvunu ise-lusengómonwaanga thàangu kyéthaangu.  
 /P /iA /V ii  
 n. eluvunw' íse-luséngomonwaanga <sup>^</sup> thàangu kyéthaangu.
- 45c. Afwete vvèwa khúumbu zazíngí munà-máamá mawóonsono  
 /A F Q ii /T(c) ii  
 n. Afwete vèwa khúumbu zazíngí . munà-máa . mawóonsono .  
 [B munà-máamá <sup>^</sup> mawóonsono.]
- 46c. ewaantu bakotélo kwaphíl' awóonga. Iboosí evvoonza  
 /P /A /J ii /β /P  
 n. ewaantu . bakótelo kwaphíl' awóonga. Iboosí . evvoonza
- 47c. kyánene kinà kisuúndídi íkyá' kyésya vo ewaantu kaená  
 ii /L(c) /iA ii G /P /A  
 n. kyánene <sup>^</sup> kinà kisuúndídi íkyá' kyesya vo . <sup>↑</sup>eyaatú . <sup>↑</sup>kaená  
 [C íkyáaki <sup>^</sup> kyésya vo.]
- 48c. dyáaka yè-mbundázyaanu avúuvu-ko mbúndaanu avúuvu kátu  
 X /N ii /A ii /A  
 n. dyáká <sup>^</sup> yè-mbundazyáanu avúuvu-ko . mbúndaanu avúuvu kátu
- 49c. dyáaka wááu. Muuntú muuntu uná ye-wóonga ekuma kádi kazéyè-kó<sup>3</sup>  
 X V /P(c) /A /N /P /A /A  
 n. dyáka wau. <sup>↑</sup>Muuntú muuntu . uná ye-wóonga . ekuma kádi kazéyè-ko

50c. nāni \inkuundi áandi kíkílu ye nāni \ntāantu áandi.<sup>4</sup>

/p /iA i X / /P /iA i

n. nāni \inkuundi áni kíkílu • ye-nāni \ntāantu áni.

[C • kíkílu.]

Notes:

- 1. Broken bridges have been marked as full bridge with pause.
- 2. \isyə vo also occurs with patterns \isyə vó, \isyé vo.
- 3. kazéeyé-kó is the form given in revised notes, but since final highs in Makoondekwa's idiolect can also appear on the penultimate (eg. nssádísí-kó or nssádísí-ko), kazéeyé-ko, more comparable to Ntoni-Nzinga's version, is also possible.
- 4. Since nntaantu is in two classes (1M, as given, or 2), \nttaantu is also possible.

Text for chapter 7.

Dialect: kiNtandu.

Informant: Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga.

Source: Nsuka 1968, pp.70-78.

1. Bambùta batátu mazòwa kwáú.↑ Kilùmbu kimósi muná-gatá - mukála  
The three men who were fools. There were once in a village
2. bambuta batátū, mazòwa kwáú. Ka-bàzaaya kwaau kisalú-ko; ksalu  
three men, all of them fools. They didn't know any trade; their
3. kyáú kuyambíla lumbú. muná-lumbu: bàu batátū ^ bafwòongeléengi ^  
trade was to fool about each day, all three having gathered
4. ↓ kifùlu kimósi. / Yibúuná, kilùmbu kimósi béfwoongá. ganá~mpaambu  
at the same place. So one day they had met at the cross-
5. nzíla: bàu batátū mukuyambíla gána. Bu-báyambíla báyambilá,  
roads, all three to fool about there. When they had been playing  
about for some time,
6. bátala kuná-fulá, ↓ nftótila lwéki. Bàu batátū. ↓ bafúkamene.  
they looked at the road and saw that the king was coming. All  
three knelt down.
7. Ntootilá. wubagéene mboté; baú mpi. ↓ batambulwééle. ↓ Ntootila  
The king greeted them, and they also replied. The king
8. lutidí kwani. / ↑ Bàu bu-básaalá, bàu ye-báú. bamwàangené mpi  
went on his way. They stayed behind, and then they also left,
9. bëele kwáú. Bu-báyenda muná-nzo záú, wúuna nkeentó. ↓ kisémá  
and went home. When they each went home they told their wives
10. kibákidi. / + ↑ Andé: Vakála dimóno ntootilá + wungeené mbote!  
the news (?). [Each wife] said [to herself], 'The king actually  
greeted my husband!'
11. / Yibúuna by-báyenda munzila mása, bàu bakeéntó. mukwáteesúlá.  
So when they were on the way [to fetch] water the women went on  
thinking
12. wánkeendá wúuna. / ↑ Nkeentó guumósi ndé katá, búuna bankaká  
about this favour. When one woman said it, then the others

NB. 10: ++ fast.

13. ndé: / Kā-yakala dīngé-ko<sub>Λ</sub> yakala dimóno! Yuumósi ndé: ↑ Kā-yakala  
said, 'It wasn't your husband, it was my husband!' And the first  
one said, 'It wasn't your
14. dīngé-ko yakala dimóno! Búunā<sub>Λ</sub> bau ye-bāū . yumanà sí-bayúmana.  
husband, it was my husband!' Then among themselves they started  
arguing.
15. Búuna maambu máana banétē . kubaau bakala. ↑ Bāū bakalá mpi .  
So they took this matter before the husbands themselves. The  
husbands also
16. bāū ye-bāū . yumaná mpi sí-bayúmana; banwéene nkiindū yingólo.  
began to argue among themselves as well; they had a terrible  
quarrel.
17. Yibúunā . bēele dyáka kuntuótíla. / Bu-báyenda kuntuótíla,  
So they went back to the king. When they had gone to the king
18. banyuwéle: ↓ È ntoótíla, ganagéna beetó . ngéye nani ugeeneéngé  
they asked him, 'Oh king, who among us did you yourself
19. mbote? ↓ Ntootíla ... ubayúwéle ndé: ↑ Bēene baántú . ngáatu  
greet?' The king answered them, 'You people, indeed
20. lu mázobà lúna! Ganagena béeno . yungeenéenge mboté<sub>Λ</sub> yoonso  
you must be idiots! Among you I greeted whoever
21. yillútídi mubuzobā, ↓ yiyúuna ngeeneéngé mboté. ... Búunā<sub>Λ</sub>  
has excelled in foolishness, it is him I greeted.' There was
22. gākala zoba dimósi, ... zina dyáanni<sub>Λ</sub> mbakí. Mbakí ndé: ...  
one foolish man, [and] his name was Mbaki. Mbaki said:
23. Yunddútídi mubuzobā ntootíla, móno! Búna ntootíla ndé:  
'I have excelled in foolishness, king, me! So the king said,
24. ↑ Sí-téeti bwabūzoba bwábu, keti-bwe lutídi! Ndé: Wá ntootíla  
'Say first all about this foolishness, and how you have excelled!'  
[Mbaki] said; Listen, king
25. yitá! Kílumbu kimósi, ngyéélē . múkuleengā . muna-mágata, ↑ yibúna  
and I will tell! One day I went on a visit to the villages, and
26. bampaangi zámē . bangeéene máaki<sub>Λ</sub> . ↓ kuumí ye-zóole. ↓ Búna muna-nzo  
my brothers gave me twelve eggs. Now in my house

27. áamo .<sup>↓</sup>mvwíídi baaná kuúmi, búna nkeentò mósí<sup>^</sup> ye-móno; mpíla  
I have ten children, then one wife and myself; one family
28. mósí<sup>^</sup> beeto kúumí ye-boole bàána. Búna mækì máana . ngééne  
[of] us twelve [counting] the children. So I gave these eggs
29. kunkéento. Bu-kálaambá, nkeentó ... bu-kása máau gana-méesá;  
to the wife. When she had cooked them the wife placed them on  
the table;
30. bu-yíyisa maaki<sup>^</sup> maákulú<sup>^</sup> bádíidi, basísidi<sup>^</sup> dyaaki<sup>^</sup> dímosí.  
when I came in [to eat] they had eaten [all] the big eggs, and  
left one egg.
31. <sup>↑</sup>Díina bu-yíboongá, bu-ntúbidi dyáú<sup>^</sup> mónnwá, ... bú-nsíidi  
This one I took, and put it in my mouth, and held it
32. kobúundi, ká-dyáú kinyáakuna. ... / Abú-nzítu bu-káyisa,  
in my cheek, and did not chew it. My father-in-law arrived
33. bu-kámona buundi<sup>^</sup> divíimbidi ndé:<sup>↓</sup> Áa! ngè nzítu, ngùulungu  
and saw my swollen cheek and said, "Ah, my son-in-law, this
34. zozo wubéela. <sup>↑</sup>Ndé Twaalá yuvuzá díiná díinú . dítatátika.  
toothache is hurting you." Says he, "Let me examine that  
decayed tooth,
35. bányoka bángulunga, buundi<sup>^</sup> ngá wubeelúká. Nzítú ...  
so that the toothache may be cured (?), and your cheek will  
then get better." The father-in-law
36. bu-kansíimbidi-wó laká, bu-káta nleembó... muná-nnwá,  
then seized him by the throat, put his finger into [Mbaki's] mouth,
37. dyaakí dibwíidi. Anzítú boongéele dyaakí díidi. Búuná<sup>^</sup>  
and the egg fell out. The father-in-law took the egg and ate  
it. So [Mbaki]
38. yaanì síidi munzala. / <sup>↑</sup>Ánde Mweené ntootíla, <sup>↓</sup>yíyí  
he was left hungry. Says he, 'You have seen, king, this
39. yibuzóba .<sup>↓</sup> bumóno búuna. <sup>↓</sup>Ntootíla nde Áa kyeleká . ngáatu  
is that foolishness of mine.' The king said, 'Ah, indeed it  
was perhaps
40. ngé . yungeenée mboté! Búna ... gakála yumósi ndé: Vé ntootíla,  
you whom I greeted.' Then one [other] man said, 'No, king,

41. ↓ ka-yaandí-ko! Mòno ndútídi mubuzóba. ↓ Zíná<sup>(s)</sup> dyándi Pululu.  
it is not him! I have excelled in foolishness.' His name was  
Pululu.
42. Pululú ndē: Mòno ndútídi mubuzobà Ntoótíla ndē: Wúnteeléethi, ^  
Pululu said, 'I have excelled in foolishness.' The king said,  
'Tell us then
43. kèti-bwe lutíidi mubuzobá. Ana wá ntootíla . yíkuteéla . kèti-bwe  
how you have excelled in foolishness.' 'Well, listen, king, and  
I will tell you how
44. ndutíidi. Kílumbu kimósí ^ ngyééle kuná-zaandu; ↓ bandúku záme ^  
I have excelled. One day I went to the market; my friends
45. bangéene fimboongó; yè-mboongo zíná . ↑ nsúumbidi zau ntu ngúlū .  
gave me a little money; with this money I bought a pig's head
46. ye-makòlo mængulu máya. Búna ngiisidí kuná-nzo, ngéené  
and four pig's trotters. Then I came home, and gave [them]
47. kunkéento. Nkeentó mpi tòmene-byo láamba. Bu-katòombulá.  
to the wife. And the wife cooked them beautifully. When she put
48. gana-méesa, ↑ monò kímá . ↑ sí-yimonáangá . sí-makòlo matátu,  
[them] on the table, I for my part could see but three trotters,
49. ↑ kaká ^ kòlo dímosí . sí-díá kímóni. ↓ Ngyuùla kunkeénto,  
only the other trotter I could not see (?). I asked the wife,
50. ↓ nkeentó nde: ↑ Ê! Monó kímá mbweené ↓ makòlo matátu. / ↑ Kuná  
and the wife said, "Well! I myself have seen [only] three  
trotters." "It was
51. makòlo máya nsuumbidíngi . kuná-zaandu . yè-ntú ngulu! /  
four trotters that I bought at the market along with the pig's  
head!"
52. Káansi nkeentó nde: ↑ Ê! Makòlo matátu yè-ntu kaka mon(o)  
But the wife says, "Well! Three trotters and the head is all I
53. mbéene. / Bábóole ye-nkéénto ye-yákala mpaká zibwíidi.  
have seen." The two of them, wife and husband both, fell to  
arguing.
54. Yákálá ndē: Moonó ^ díina koló ^ gó kímwéene-dyó-ko, dyàamá  
The husband said, "If I don't see that trotter [at once], then

55. yifwā. / Nkeentó nd(e): Wufwā. mudyāmbū d'ikolo kumweéne? ↓ Éé  
I will die." The wife says, "You'll die because you haven't seen  
a trotter?" "Yes,
56. monó fwa yifwā! Ndé Kaansí koló ka-dimònekene kwáni-ko . ngá  
indeed I will!" Says she, "But the trotter is nowhere to be seen,  
and indeed
57. monó kiimā. mbweené makòlo matátu Ndé: Gó matátu, ↓ monó fwa  
I myself have only seen three trotters." Says he, "If [there are  
only] three, I am indeed going
58. yifwā. búbú yitá mpi! ↓ Mfwíidi! Bu-ki-dyó kwani. gānā-ntótō  
to die just as I said! I have died!" And at that [he fell] to  
the ground
59. yaní ↓ fwiidi. ↓ Buna bánkeenge. ↓ muná-nlele, si-bakwā-nziika.  
and he died. So they wrapped him in a shroud and went to bury  
him
60. kumazyāami. Bu-bānnatā, si-bakwēenda. mukūnziika. ↑ ku-bakwā-  
in the graveyard. They carried him along, and as they went to  
bury him they had to
61. lutilā?. munā-nzilā. ↑ yi-úuyuná mbutá ... wúntekila ntu ngúlú.  
pass along the road [beside the house of] that gentleman who  
had sold [Pululu] the pig's head
62. ye-makòlo máya. / Búna yúnā mbutā. ↑ bu-kāmona mvuumbi banéti,  
and the four trotters. So that man, when he saw the corpse they  
were carrying,
63. bu-káyuwéele: ↓ Nā yo banéte (nā)ni? ↓ Baawú ndē: ↓ Mpululu  
asked, "Who is it [you] are carrying there?" They said, "It is  
Pululu
64. yóyō banéte wufwíidi. ↑ Búuna yó ndē: ↑ Wa! ↑ Kyeléka Mpululú  
that we are carrying - he has died." So he said, "Heavens!  
Indeed it was [only]
65. zoonò ki-kasuumbídi ntu ngúlú. ye-makòlo máya kumóno! /  
yesterday that Pululu bought a pig's head and four trotters  
from me!"
66. ↑ Búuna yaaní Mpululú. ↑ bu-káwā búunā, yi-yāaní vūumbukídi,  
So when Pululu heard that, didn't he get up,
67. ffútumukini! Andá Wíidi! ↑ Wíidi! ↑ Wíidi monó luvūnu  
restored to life! Says he, "You heard! You heard! You heard  
that I
68. nteeleéngé! ↑ Beenó kulu gó lu bambaangi! Luwíidi.  
had told a lie! You people are all my witnesses! You heard

NB. 63-64: ++ very indistinct. 64: ++ whispered.

69. yù-wuntekéle . ntu ngúlū . ye-màkolo máya! Widi monó  
[the man] who sold me a pig's head and four trotters! Whereas  
you heard [earlier] that I
70. luvunu yitá ta. / Buúná baákulu ndé: Ááa makyéléka téele.  
had in fact told a lie." Then everybody said, "Ah, you told  
the truth
71. ↓ máambu máku! ↑ Buúna yani nkéento yù-wuteéle luvunu. Buúna  
[about] these things! So it was the wife who told the lie. So
72. ... ↑ Mpululu nuungini kwáni! Búna mweenè ntootílā.  
Pululu is completely vindicated!" So you have seen, king,
73. ↓ yi-buzòba bumono búuna! Búna ntootílā. ↓ bu-káyindalaa  
this is that foolishness of mine.' So the king thought [for  
a while]
74. ndé: Ááa ↓ kyéléka . ngáatu ngè kibéeni wúzoba dítete. ...  
and said, 'Ah, indeed it is perhaps you yourself [who is] the  
foremost fool.
75. Ngè mpi ngeenéenge mboté! Abúunā . gākàla Makeéngo ndé:  
And it was you whom I greeted!' Then a man [called] Makeengo  
said,
76. Kə-yàaní-ko zoba dítete wá; yundùtidi kibéeni ganā  
'It is not him who is the foremost fool, d'ye hear - I myself  
have excelled amongst
77. túna beeto batátu, móno! Ntootila ndé Síte ngé . kəti-bwe  
the three of us, me!' The king said, 'You tell us how
78. lutíidi. ↓ Yántikidi mukutá ... buzòba bwáni. Makeengó ndé:  
you have excelled.' Makeengo began to relate his foolishness.  
He said,
79. Wá! Monó ngyeelé kuna-zaandu, ntsuumbidíngi ntsusu.  
'Listen! I went to the market, and I bought a chicken.
80. ↑ Bu-ntsuumbidí yiná ntsusú, ngúsidí yáu, ngeené kunkeento.  
When I had bought that chicken, I came [back home] with it, and  
gave it to the wife.
81. Nkéento yaa kagoóndele, ... bu-kā, kánikiíni mwaamba ngúba,  
The wife then killed it, cooked a peanut sauce,
82. bu-katòmene-yo bbotúla momwaamba ngúba. Widi ttúula ntì  
and baked it very nicely in the peanut sauce. She had put

83. m'nsúunga . múúna-nsuungá , tã kaka zitã. Búúnã . bu-kátoombula yáú,  
herbs in it, and it kept giving off [the beautiful odour] of  
herbs. Then she took it out,
84. síidi gana-loóngã, ↓ síidi dyaáka gana-méesa. ↓ Tomène yála  
placed it on a dish, and placed [the dish] again on the table.  
She had very beautifully laid
85. meesá mpi; fufú mpe dyéele gáana. Yi-búúna (ú) mún̄taangu kúdyá,  
the table too; there was also fufu (kitchen) on it. So it was  
time to eat;
86. ↓ tufwòongéle, si-tùyaantíka kudyá, ... káánsi kyeeló kisíidi  
we sat down, and were about to begin eating, but the door had  
been left
87. ntútu, yuzìbá' , kyáú nkátu. ↓ Monó nteele ná: Zìbìka kyeèlo  
open, it was wide open. I then said, "Close the door,
88. nge nkeénto. ↓ Nkeentó ndē: ↓ Monó kizìbìkã-ko, ↓ zìbìka ngeyê.  
you, wife." Says the wife, "I won't shut it, shut it you,
89. mudyáambu monó sálu kíngi nsádidi! ↓ Yakálá nde: ↓ Zìbìka  
because I have [already] done a lot of work!" The husband said,  
"Shut
90. ngéye nkeénto! Nkeénto ndē: Wá! ↑ Monó ndikidí mwaamba,  
you it, wife!" The wife said, "Listen! I made the sauce,
91. ↓ ndeembé ntsusu, ntekelé masã, nsukwèelé malóonga;  
I cooked the chicken, I fetched the water, I washed the plates;
92. kùsalu kikiíngi nsádidi monó. Káánsi ngeyê kusádidi  
I've done an awful lot of work, I have. But you haven't done
93. kímã-ko; ↓ zìbìkã ngeyê ... kyeelo. / ↓ Yakálá ndē: Monó  
a hand's turn; close you the door." The husband said, "I
94. kílëndí zizìbìkã-ko, ngè mmósi . wuzìbìka kyáawu! ↓ Nkeentó  
can't [bring myself] to close it, you're the only one who's  
going to close it!" The wife
95. ndē: Mònó kiffwà taata Mandyaangu! Ka-kyãzìbìkã-ko!  
said, "I swear by my father Mandyaangu, I won't close it!"
96. Búúna yakálá ndē: Gó kuzzìbìkã-kyó-ko, monó mpi, ka-mònó  
So the husband said, "If you don't close it, I [won't] either,  
and I won't

97. kígógí, ... kání ngé mpi, ka-ngé kugógí dyáaka; ... ↑ kání  
speak, nor you either, you're not to speak again; and
98. múuntu kaníkúna-ko! Babóole bayínde le goméesa. Voonso  
neither of us is to move!" The two of them sat at the table,  
[the understanding being that] "whoever
99. wuyita múgogá, yóná uzíbika kyeelo! Bayíndalala bayíndalala,  
speaks first, he it is who will shut the door!" They sat on and on,
100. ↑ gakála mbuta mbósi, ↑ wisi-lutíla'. ganá-nzo báu. Vaandí  
and a certain gentleman came along past their house. He
101. kkésa, ↑ bu-bamwéénē, kóndzo báawú bayínde leleéngē. Ayúna  
came [over to the house], and they saw him, but they sat on  
in the house. And that
102. mbutá mpi • ko-kátuuka nzalá mphi yitómene kúmbhakha. ...  
man too, where he came from [there was] a famine as well, and  
it had greatly afflicted him.
103. ↑ Kawídíkíla ntsuungá... mómboombo; katála ganá-méesa  
He smelt [the odour of] the herbs wafting about, and saw on the  
table
104. lóonga dínsusu, tóka kaka dítoke mwisi. Ebuúna báawú  
the plateful of chicken just steaming. So those [other]
105. babóole • ... ↑ bawidí ffumbanáanga, kání muuntu góga nkatu.  
two were watching, but neither said a word.
106. Yó mbutá wubagéene mboté. Andé mbote beeno! Bawú ↑ pííí!  
The man greeted them. He said, "Greetings to you!" They were as  
silent as the grave!
107. Nkhátu yugóga! Buúna yíndwéle ndé: ↑ Ngáatū' biyúyu.  
Not a one spoke! So [the man] thought and said [to himself],  
"Perhaps they are loonies,
108. bóo báantú-e! Wéele ganá-mwéelo, kengeléele; Á! ↑ Áne Mbote  
these people!" He went [closer] to the door, and all was [still]  
silence. Ah! He said, "I am
109. yilugaanáanga! ↓ Bawú badingaléle. ↓ Yó ndé: ↑ Éé! Maa  
greeting you [- don't you realise that?]" They remained silent.  
He said, "Hey, these ones
110. mazóba má! ↓ Kótele kuná-nzo. Bu-kákotá, ... fwóongel(e  
are real idiots!" He went into the house. When he had entered,  
he sat down

111. g)anā-méesa; dyā kwānī si-kādya. Abu-kábonga nsusú, bu-kādya,  
at the table, and tucked in. He took the chicken, and ate,
112. kādya, akivúmu kyānī kiyúkweete. Bóonge le ... nyisi,  
and ate, [until the hunger in] his belly was satisfied. He  
took a bone
113. yi-wā-kakéenge mō-ndzefú zayandi bákala ... .↑ Yúuna mbutá  
and entwined it in the beard of the husband. That man [who had  
eaten the chicken]
114. tuukidi kwānī; wéele. Bakélé bakélé, bátalá yùbi dímbwa.  
went out and went away. They sat on and on, and they saw a big  
brute of a dog.
115. Mbwa bu-káwa nsuungá, ↑ééé! dyúu dyáaka - ↓kóonzo. Bu-kákota  
The dog smelt the herbs, hey!, and this one also [enters] the  
house. When he had entered
116. kunzó, ndé kafímbá?, kafímbá?, kavúumbúla mboombó (g)ooméesa,  
the house, he sniffed and sniffed, and smelt the odour from the  
table
117. ↓ntsúungā tā kaka zitá, ↑ééé! díilá goméesa! ... Bu-kādya  
that the herbs were still giving off. Hey!, [and there he was,]  
eating from the table! When he had
118. bina bísiisa yúna mbutá, ↓ bu-yímbana, ndé kavúumbúla meesó  
finished whatever that other man had left, he looked up, he  
raised his eyes
119. katalá . mokyéefo . nyúyisi wudyéembiláangá! Abu-kása na  
and saw in the [husband's] beard the bone hanging! Then he grabbed
120. kómonkisi, zékása si-kazékása nyúyisi. Zékése zékése, yaanī  
hold of the bone, and tugged and tugged at the bone. Tug, tug,  
and [the husband]
121. kaangídi mbuundú, mudyáambu gò tátuéelé, yaandi si-wuzíbika  
held back his yells, because if he complained it would be him  
who [would have] to shut
122. kyeelo. Búuna-mbwá, nánikini, nánikini, nánikini, ↑aá,  
the door. So the dog yanked and tugged and heaved at the bone ,  
ah!,
123. bu-kámona mpasí . zimakúnttwa monwá, mudyáambu nkáandá .  
and [the husband] felt pains in his jaw (?), because the skin
124. ↑wúnna . nnanúka si-wunanúka, ↓yi-yānī lóokelē: ↑ Ndaá  
of his mouth was beginning to tear, and he yelled, "Hiyaa!

125. monó taatá mfulúdi! ↑ Aa ngumúna! Nkeéntó ndé Aaa! Buungángi ngé!  
by my father; he's killing me! Aa, the pain!" The wife said, "Aha!  
You've lost!
126. Ngé yítídi mukugogá! Ngé sí-wuzibíka kyeeló ...! Abé!  
It was you who spoke first! You have to close the door!" And  
that was that!
127. Gáana beto bóole yi-nkéénto, ye-yákala, ↑ biima byaakulu  
There we were, the two of us, wife and husband, our best things
128. badiidíngi, ↓ abé monó ngítídi mukugogá, kání nzibikídi  
had been eaten, and I had been the first to speak, so I [had  
to] close
129. kyeelo, anki dyaká tudyá! Beto boolé tusiidi múnzála.  
the door, and what would we eat as well? The two of us went  
hungry.
130. Mwéne ntootíla, ↑ monó nddútídi mubuzobá! Ntootíla  
You have seen, king, that I have excelled in foolishness!" The  
king's
131. mudyaambu: Náaa! Yí-nkútú . yilééngi Koongó, ↓ yí-Mpúumbu,  
reply [was], 'I have visited my entire [kingdom of] Koongo  
and Mpuumbu,
132. kání kimonéti-kó zoba d'impila yóyo! D'íidintete mbwéené  
but I have never yet seen a fool like this! The worst fool I  
have seen
133. zoba, ↓ ngéye! Búunā . gāna lūna beno batátu, yungeenée  
is you! So, among you three, [the one] I have greeted
134. mboté, ngéye! ↑ Ngéye lútídi mubuzobá!  
[is] you! You have excelled in foolishness!"

Comparison passage for chapter 7: Daeleman (from Nsuka 1968).

- 79d. Wá! Monó ngyeelé kuná-zaandu, nsuumbidiíngi nsusú.  
 n. Wá! Monó ngyeelé kuna-zaandu, ntsuumbidiíngi ntsusu.
- 80d. Bu-nsúumbidi yína nsusú, ngiisidi yáaw, ngeené kunkeénto.  
 n. ↑ Bu-ntsuumbidi yína ntsusú, ngiisidi yáu, ngeené kunkeénto.
- 81d. Nkeénto yáa kagoóndele, bu-káníkini mwaamba ngúba,  
 n. Nkeénto yáa kagoóndele, ... bu-kā<sub>Δ</sub>kánikiíni mwaamba ngúba,
- 82d. bu-katòmene-yo bbotúla mómwaamba ngúba. Widi tuúla nti  
 n. bu-katòmene-yo bbotúla momwaamba ngúba. Widi ttuúla nti
- 83d. mínsuunga múuna, nsuungá tá kaká zítá. Búuna bu-katòombula yáaw,  
 n. mínsúunga . múúna-nsuungá<sub>Δ</sub> tá kaka zítá. Búúnā . bu-kátoombula yáú,
- 84d. síidi gana-loóngá, síidi dyaáka gana-méesá. Tòmene yála  
 n. síidi gana-loóngá, ↓ síidi dyaáka gana-méesá. ↓ Tomène yála
- 85d. meesá mpi; fufú mpe dyeele gáana. Yi-búuna muntaangu kúdyá,  
 n. meesá mpi; fufú mpe dyeele gáana. Yi-búuna m<sup>(u)</sup>untaangu kúdyá,
- 86d. tufwoongelé, si-túyaantíka kudyá, káansi kyeeló kíssidi  
 n. ↓ tufwoongéle, si-túyaantíka kudyá, ... káansi kyeeló k<sup>(i)</sup>íssidi
- 87d. ntuutú, yuzíba kyáaw nkátu. Monó nteelè ná: Zibíká kyeelò  
 n. ntútu, yuzíba<sub>Δ</sub> kyáú nkátu. ↓ Monó nteele ná: Zibíká kyeelò
- 88d. nge nkeénto. Nkeénto ndé: Monó kizibíká-ko, zibíkà ngéye  
 n. nge nkeénto. ↓ Nkeéntó ndé: ↓ Monó kizibíká-ko, ↓ zibíkà ngeyé.
- 89d. mudyáambu monó kisélu kíngi nsádidi! Yakála ndé: Zibíka  
 n. mudyáambu monó<sub>Δ</sub> sálu kíngi nsádidi! ↓ Yakála n<sub>Δ</sub>de: ↓ Zibíka
- 90d. ngéye! Nkeento nde: Wá! Mono ndikini mwaamba,  
 n. ngéye nkeénto! Nkeénto ndé: Wá! ↑ Monó ndikidí mwaamba,
- 91d. ndeembé nsusú, ntekelé masá, nsukwéle maloonga;  
 n. ↓ ndeembé ntsusu, ntekelé masá, nsukwéelé malóonga;
- 92d. kisélu kíkíngi nsádidi monó. Káansi ngeyé kusádidi  
 n. k<sup>(i)</sup>isélu kíkíngi nsádidi monó. Káansi ngeyé kusádidi

- 93d. k̄imá-ko; z̄ibikà ngéye kyeeló. Yakala ndé: Monó  
n. kimá-ko; ↓ z̄ibiká ngeyé ... kyeelo. ↓ Yakalá ndē: Monó
- 94d. kiléndi z̄ibikà-ko, ngè mosi wuzibika kyáawu! Nkeénto  
n. kiléndi z̄z̄ibiká-ko, ngè mmósi • wuzibika kyáawu! ↓ Nkeentó
- 95d. ndé: Monó kifwa taata Mandyáangu! Ka-kyákizibika!  
n. ndē: Monó kifwá taata Mandyáangu! Ka-kyáz̄ibiká-ko!
- 96d. Buuna yakalá ndé: Gó kuzibika-kyó-ko, monó mpi, ka-mónó  
n. Buúna yakalá ndē: Gó kuz̄z̄ibiká-kyó-ko, monó mpi, ka-mónó
- 97d. k̄igógí, k̄áni ngé mpi, ka-ngé kugógí dyáaka; ... k̄áni  
n. k̄igógí, ... k̄áni ngé mpi, ka-ngé kugógí dyáaka; ... ↑ k̄áni
- 98d. muúntu k̄anikuná-ko! Babóole bayindele gomeésa. Yoonsó  
n. múuntu k̄an̄ikuná-ko! Babóole bayindele gomeésa. Yoonsó →
- 99d. wuyíta mugogá, yúuna yú-wuzibika kyeeló! Bu-bayindalalá, bayindalala,  
n. wuyita múgogá, yooná uz̄z̄ibika kyeelo! Bayindalala bayindalalá,
- 100d. gakalá mbuta mósi, w̄isi-lutíla ganá-nzo báaw. Yani  
n. ↑gakalá mbuta mbósi, ↑w̄isi-lutíla? ganá-nzo báaw. Yaandí
- 101d. keésa, bu-bamwéene, kónzo baawu bayindeleleéenge. Ayúna  
n. k̄késa, ↑bu-bamwéénē, kónzo baawú bayindeleleéengē. Ayúna
- 102d. mbutá mpi kò-kátuuka nzalá mpi yitómene kumbaká.  
n. mbutá mpi • kò-kátuuka nzalá m̄phi yitómene kumbhakha. ...
- 103d. Kawidikíla nsúunga mombóombo; katalá gana-méesa  
n. ↑Kawidikíla ntsuungá • ... mombóombo; katalá gana-méesa
- 104d. loonga d̄insusu tókà kakà ditókà mwisi. Ebuuna baawú  
n. loonga d̄insusu tókà kakà ditókà mwisi. Ebuuna baawú
- 105d. babóole bawidi fumbanáanga, k̄áni muúntu góga nkátu.  
n. babóole • ... ↑bawidí ffumbanáanga, k̄aní muuntu góga nkátu.
- 106d. Yó mbutá wubagéene mboté. Ndé Mbóte béeno! Bawú pii!  
n. Yó mbutá wubagéene mboté. Andé Mbote beeno! Bawú pii!

107d. Nkátu yugogá! Búuna yíndwéle ndé: Ngaatú biyúuyu  
 n. Nkhátu yugóga! Búuna yíndwéle ndé: ↑ Ngáatū^ biyúuyu.

108d. bó baantu-é! Wéele gána-mwéelo, kengeléle; Ane Mbóte  
 n. bóo baantú-e! Wéele gána-mwéelo, kengeléle; A! ↑ Ane Mbóte

109d. yilugaanaánga! Bawú badíngaléle.  
 n. yilugaanaánga! ↓ Bawú badíngaléle.

Text for chapter 8.

Dialect: kiManyanga.

Informants: Rev. D. Ntoni-Nzinga and Mr. A. Ndolo Menayame.

Source: Laman 1905, Luke 23:32-24:39.

- 1z. ↑Boole bānkakā, ibānkwa nkanū, bānatwa yāandi mūvoondwa.
- a. Boole. bānkakā, ibānkwa nkānu, bānatwa yāandi. mūvoondwa.
- b. Boole bānkakā, ibānkwa nkanu, bānatwa yāandi mūvoondwa.

Two other men, both criminals, were taken out with him to be executed.

- 2z. Bu-bālwāākā vāvumā . kibīkwāangā . Kōonzongolo kyāntū,
- a. Bu-bālwāaka vāvumā . kibīkwāangā . Konzongolo . ↑ kyantū,
- b. Bālwāakā vāvuma kibīkwāangā . Kōonzongolo kyāntū,

When they came to the place called The Skull,

- 3z. bānkoma vāanā vākūlunsi . ye-bānkwa nkanū ūmosi . valúbakalā
- a. bānkōma vānā kūlunsi . yé-bānkwa nkānū, ūmosi . valúbakalā
- b. bānkōma vānā kūlunsi . ye-bānkwa nkānu, ūmosi valúbakalā .

they nailed him to the cross, along with the other criminals, one on his right,

- 4z. ūmosi valūmōonso. Yisu wāvova, Tāata ubayāmbudila . kadī
- a. ūmosi valūmoso. Yesu wāvova, Tāata . ubayāmbudila . kadī
- b. ūmosi valūmoso. Yisu-wāvova, Tāata . kubayāmbudila kadī .

one on his left. Jesus said, 'Father, forgive them, for

- 5z. ka-bāzeeyi mā-bavēēngi-kō. ↑ Bakābanā . ↑ mvwāatú myāandi, ...
- a. ka-bazēeyi mā-bavēēngi-ko. Bakābanā . ↑ mvwatu myāandi,
- b. ka-bazēeyi mā-bavēēngi-ko. Bakābana mvwāatu myāandi,

they do not know what they are doing. 'They shared out his clothes,

- 6z. bāta-myō wāadi. Bāantu bātelama bātālā . kansī bākūluntū .
- a. batā-myō-wādi. Bāantu batēlamā . batālā . ↑ kansī . bākūluntu
- b. batā-myō wādi. Bāantu batēlemā . bātālā kansī . bākūluntū .

casting lots for them. The people stood watching, but the rulers

- 7z. bānnānisa mbōombō . bāvova: yāandi wāvulusi bānkakā; bīikā
  - a. bānnānisa mbōombo . bāvova: yāandi wāvulusi bānkakā; bīikā
  - b. bānnānisa mbōombō bāvova: yāandi wāvulusi bānkakā; bīika
- made fun of him; they said, 'He saved others; let

8z. káívu'lusa, vó ndyeu íKlíísto, sòolwá kyaNdzáambi.  
 a. káívu'lusá, vó ndyeú íKlíístó, sòolwá kyaNdzáambi.  
 b. káívu'lúsa, vó ndyeú íKlíístó, sòolwá kyaNdzáambi.  
 him save himself, if he is the Christ, the Chosen One of God.'

9z. Binwaní mpē . byánsákananā, byayíza kwayáandi, bántaambika  
 a. Binwaníí mpē byantsákanana, byayízā kwayáandi, bántaambika  
 b. Binwaníí mpē byantsákanana, byayíza . kwayáandi, bántaambikā  
 The soldiers also mocked him, they came up to him and offered  
 him

10z. v'ínga kyándeki, bāvóva: vó ngeye íntínu abayúdayo,  
 a. v'ínga kyándeki, bāvóva: vó ngeye íntínu abayúdayó,  
 b. v'ínga kyándeki, bāvóva: vó ngeye íntínu abayúdayó,  
 wine vinegar, and said, 'If you are the king of the Jews,

11z. ukivúluza. Ntsónokono yákalā . vántaandu ándí: Ndyéú.  
 a. ukivúlúsa. Ntsónokono . yákalā . vántaandu áandi: Ndyeu  
 b. ukivúlusa. Ntsónokonó yákalā vántaandu áandi: Ndyéú  
 save yourself.' There was a written notice above him: 'This

12z. íntínū . abayúdayo. Mvàngí mostí ánkánū . wamánukwa yáandi  
 a. íntínu abayúdayo. Mvàngí mostí ánkánū . wamánukwā yandi .  
 b. íntínú abayúdayó. Mvàngí mostí ánkánú . . . . wamánukwa yáandi .  
 is the king of the Jews.' One of the criminals hung there with  
 him

13z. wántiaka mpe: Kadí ngeyé ká-íKlíísto-ko-e? Uki'vúlusa  
 a. wántiaka mpē: Kadí ngeyé . ká-íKlíísto-ko-é? Uki'vúlusa  
 b. wántiakā mpe: Kadí ngeyé . ká-íKlíísto-ko-é? Uki'vúlúsá  
 also insulted him: 'Aren't you the Christ? Save yourself

14z. ye-béeto! Káansi wánkaka wávutulā, wánséemba wávóva:  
 a. ye-béeto! Káansi . wánkakā wávútulā, wánséemba . wávóva:  
 b. ye-béeto! Káansi wánkaka wávútulā, wánséemba wávóva:  
 and us as well!' But the other criminal replied and rebuked  
 him and said,

15z. Kadí kúvumína Ndzáambi nkútu-ko-é, bú-wéna  
 a. Kadí . kuvúminā Ndzáambi nkútu-ko-é, bú-wenā .  
 b. Kadí . kuvúmināga Ndzáambi nkútu-ko-é, bú-wenā  
 'Don't you fear God at all, since you are

- 16z. mundzéeŋgolo yimosi? ↑ Beeto bōonso búsoongelē, kadi  
 a. múnzžeengolo yimosi? Beeto bōonso búsoongelē, kadi<sub>Λ</sub>  
 b. múnzžeengolo yimosi? Beeto bōonsó<sub>Λ</sub> búsoongelē, kadi...  
 under the same sentence? We are both justly punished, for
- 17z. tūttaambulaangā nseendo úfweni<sub>Λ</sub> muma-twaveengi<sub>Λ</sub>, kaansi  
 a. tut<sub>Λ</sub>tāmbulaanga ntséendo<sub>Λ</sub> úfweni<sub>Λ</sub> mu<sub>Λ</sub>má-twaveengi<sub>Λ</sub>, ↑kaansi  
 b. tūttaambulaanga ntséendo úfweni<sub>Λ</sub> muma-twaveengi<sub>Λ</sub>, kaansi  
 we are getting punishment suitable for what we have done, but
- 18z. ndyeú . kavéengi dílembolo fuáanana-kó. ↓ Vandi wávova: Yeésú.  
 a. ndyeú<sub>Λ</sub> kavéengi<sub>Λ</sub> dílembolo<sub>Λ</sub> fuáanana<sub>Λ</sub>-kó. Vandi wávova: ↑Yeésú.  
 b. ndyeú<sub>Λ</sub> kavéengi<sub>Λ</sub> dílembolo<sub>Λ</sub> fuáanana<sub>Λ</sub>-kó. Vandi wávova: Yíisu<sub>Λ</sub>  
 this man has done nothing which is wrong. 'And he said, 'Jesus,
- 19z. umbāmbukila móoyo, bú-ulweeki<sup>+</sup> ↓ mukímfumu kyaaku<sup>+</sup>. Vāndi  
 a. umbāmbukila móoyo, bu-ulweeki<sub>Λ</sub> mukímfumu kyaaku. Vāndi  
 b. umbāmbukila móoyo, bú-ulweeki mukímfumu kyaaku. Vāndi  
 keep me in mind when you have arrived in your kingdom.' Jesus
- 20z. wávova kwayáandi: Kédika monó . ívovele: kyaakí lumbu ngéye  
 a. wávova kwayáandi: Kédika<sub>Λ</sub> mono<sub>Λ</sub> ívovele: kyaakí lumbu ngéye  
 b. wávova kwayáandi: Kédika<sub>Λ</sub> mono<sub>Λ</sub> ívovele: kyaakí lumbú<sub>Λ</sub> ngéye  
 said to him, 'Truly I have said, this day you
- 21z. sí-ukala yáami mupaladisu. Bwákala kani . múlokula  
 a. sí-ukala yáami . mūpaladisu. Bwákala kani . múlokula<sub>Λ</sub>  
 b. sí-ukala yáami . múpaladisu. Bwákala<sub>Λ</sub> kani . múlokula  
 will be with me in paradise. It was now about the
- 22z. kyantsáambanú . toombe kyákala muntoto wawóonsono natée  
 a. kyantsáambanú . toombe kyákala . muntoto<sub>Λ</sub> wawóosono . natée  
 b. kyantsáambanú . toombe<sub>Λ</sub> kyákala muntoto wawóonsono . natée  
 sixth hour, and darkness was over the whole land until
- 23z. ye-lókula kyávwa, ntangu bú-yaleembwa teentikā;  
 a. ye-lókula<sub>Λ</sub> kyávwa, ↑ntangu<sub>Λ</sub> ↑bu-yaleembwā<sub>Λ</sub> ↑teentinā;  
 b. ye-lókula kyáva . kyávwa, ntangu<sub>Λ</sub> bu-yaleembwa<sub>Λ</sub> teentinā;  
 the ninth hour, [since] the sun had stopped shining.

- 24z. ↑ ngúumbú <sup>^</sup> múkínlongó <sup>^</sup> yatíásuká . ↓ mukáti. Yíisu wabóoká <sup>^</sup>  
 a. ngúumbú <sup>^</sup> múkínlongó <sup>^</sup> yatíásuká <sup>^</sup> mukáti. Yeesu wabóóká.  
 b. nguumbu <sup>^</sup> minkólongó . yatíásuká <sup>^</sup> mukáti. Yeesu wabóoka <sup>^</sup>  
 And the veil in the temple was torn down the middle. Jesus  
 called out
- 25z. ↑ mundííngá yáyínene wávóná: Táata mumóoko máaku ntáambikidi  
 a. mündííngá <sup>^</sup> yáyínene . wávóná: Táata mumóoko máakú <sup>^</sup> ntámbikidí <sup>^</sup>  
 b. mündííngá yáyínene <sup>^</sup> wávóná: Táata mumóoko máakú <sup>^</sup> ntámbikidí <sup>^</sup>  
 in a loud voice and said, 'Father, into your hands I commend
- 26z. mpéév' áami. ↓ Bu-kávóná-mó . watábuka vúmunu. ↑ Nkuluntú.  
 a. mpéév' áami. Bu-kávóná-mó . watábuka ... vúmunu. Nkúluntú. ...  
 b. mpéév' áami. Bu-kávóná móomó <sup>^</sup> watábuká . vúmunu. Nkuluntú.  
 my spirit.' When he had said this, he breathed his last. The
- 27z. ankamá <sup>^</sup> bínwáani . ↑ bú-kámona máveengó, wakkéembila Ndzáambi  
 a. ankám' bínwá . bú-kámóna máveengó, wakkéembila Ndzáambi .  
 b. ankábin ... bínwáani . bu-kámóna máveengó, wakkéembila Ndzáambi  
 centurion, when he saw what had happened, praised God
- 28z. wávóná: Kédika . ndyéú <sup>^</sup> ↓ ímuúntu walunúungu. Makábu  
 a. wávóná: Kédika ndyéú <sup>^</sup> ímuuntú <sup>^</sup> wálunúungu. Makábu  
 b. wávóná: Kédika ndyéú <sup>^</sup> ímuuntú <sup>^</sup> wálunúungu. ... Makábu  
 and said, 'Truly, this was a righteous man.' All the
- 29z. mamóonsonó <sup>^</sup> makútakaná . múmona máámbú móomó, bú-bámóna  
 a. mámoonsonó . makútakana . múmona máámbu móomo, bú-bámóna  
 b. mamóonsonó . ... makútakaná . múmona máámbu móomo, bú-bámóna  
 crowds who had gathered to see these things, when they saw
- 30z. máveengó, babáanda ntulú . bavútuka. ↑ Babóonsonó bazáyaana  
 a. máveengó, babáanda ntúlu . bavútuka. Bábóonsonó <sup>^</sup> bazáayaná <sup>^</sup>  
 b. máveengó, babáanda ntúlu bavútuka. Bábóonsonó <sup>^</sup> bazáaya <sup>^</sup>  
 what had happened, they beat their breasts and went back [home].  
 All those who knew
- 31z. yáandí ye-bákeentó . bannémíingí . ↑ tüká <sup>^</sup> kuNgálití,  
 a. yáandí ye-bákeento . ... ↑ bannémíingí . ↑ tüká . ↑ muNgálili,  
 b. yáandí <sup>^</sup> ye-bákeentó . ... bannémíingí . ttuká . muNgálili,  
 him, and the women who had come with him from Galilee,

- 32z. batélamenē ntāmā. ↓ batálá móomo. Tála, kwákala bákala
- a. batélamā ntāmā. batála móomo. ↑ Talá, kwákala bákala.
- b. batélama ntama. batála móomo. Tála, kwákala bákala. ...

stood at a distance, watching these things. And behold, there was a man

- 33z. nkúumbu ándi yósefi. imáyala, imúuntu wámboté ye-walúnúungu -
- a. nkúumbu áándi yóseefi. imáyala, imuuntu wámboteé ye-walúnúungu -
- b. nkúumbu áándi yóosefi. imáyala, imuuntu wámboté ye-walúnúungu -

and his name was Joseph, a member of the Council, a good and upright man -

- 34z. katámbudila mulúkanū lwáú. ↓ ye-mávanga máu-kô - ↓ imwisi
- a. katámbudilā mulúkanū lwáú ye-mávanga máu-ko - imwisi
- b. katámbudilā mulúkanu lwáú ye-mávanga máu-ko - imwisi

he had not consented to their decision and actions - he was a native of

- 35z. Alimatáya, mbáanz' ábaYúdayo, waviíngila kímfumu kyáNdzáambi.
- a. Alimatáya, ... mbaanz' ábaYúdayo, waviíngilā kímfumu kyáNdzáambi.
- b. Ilimatáya, mbáanz' ábaYúdayo, waviíngila kímfumu kyáNdzáambi.

Arimathea, a Judean town, and he was waiting for the kingdom of God.

- 36z. Ndyena wayénda kwaPílaatu wáloombā nítu ayíisu. Wakúlumuna-yó,
- a. ↑ Ndyenā. wayéndā kwaPílaatú. wáloombā nítú ayésu. Wakúlumuna-yó,
- b. Ndyena wayéndā. kwaPílaatú. wáloomba nítu ayésu. Wakúlumuna-yó,

This man went to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. He took it down,

- 37z. ↑ waziíngá-yó nlelé wálinu, wáántuulā. ... ↑ mündiamú.
- a. waziíngá-yó. nlelé. wálinu, wántuúla mündiamú. ...
- b. waziíngá-yó nlele. wálinú, ↑ wántuulā mündiamú.

wrapped it in linen cloth, and placed it in a tomb

- 38z. yázzokulwá. mútadi. yí-ká-yatéka túulwa múuntu-ko.
- a. yá zokulwá. mútadi. ... yí-ká-yatéka túulwá muuntu-ko.
- b. yázokulwá mútadi. yí-ká-yatéka túulwá muuntu-ko.

cut in the rock, one in which no-one had yet been laid.

- 39z. Ilumbu kyánkubukulu kwáandí, lumíngu lwéka lukúfi.
- a. Ilumbu kyánkubukulu kwáandí, lumíngu lwékā lukúfi.
- b. ↑ Ilumbu. kyánkubukulu kwáandí, lumíngu lwéka lukúfi.

It was in fact Preparation Day, and the Sabbath was near.

- 40z. Bakèentó bayíza yáandí batúuka mùNgálilí báléandá . bátála  
 a. Bákentó bayíza yáandí . ba<sup>^</sup>túuká mùNgálilí<sup>^</sup> báléanda . bátála  
 b. Bákentó . bayíza yáandí . batúuka mùNgálilí<sup>^</sup> báléandá<sup>^</sup> bátála

The women who had come with Jesus all the way from Galilee  
 followed after and saw

- 41z. ndyáamu ye-bónso bwátuudulwa nítu áandí; bávutukā.  
 a. ndyámú<sup>^</sup> ye-bóónso bwá<sup>^</sup>túudulwá<sup>^</sup> nítu<sup>^</sup> áandí; bavútukā.  
 b. ndyámú<sup>^</sup> ye-bóónsō<sup>^</sup> bwátuudulwā<sup>^</sup> nítu<sup>^</sup> áandí; bavútukā<sup>^</sup>

the tomb, and how his body was laid in it . Then they went  
 back home

- 42z. bakúbika<sup>^</sup> ... nzéenzó<sup>^</sup> myántsungá ye-máazi; ↓ múlumíngú.  
 a. bakúbikā ndzéenzó<sup>^</sup> myansúungā<sup>^</sup> ye-máazi. Múlumíngú.  
 b. bakúbika ndzéenzó<sup>^</sup> myánsungā<sup>^</sup> ye-máazi. ↑ Múlumíngú<sup>^</sup>

and prepared spices and perfume. On the Sabbath

- 43z. ↓ bavúundá . ↓ boontsó bweninā . ↓ nsíkudukusu. ... ↑ Lumbu kyántetē . ↑ múlumíngú.  
 a. bavúundá<sup>^</sup> bóonsó<sup>^</sup> bwéninā . nssídukusu. + Lumbu kyántetē . múlumíngú<sup>+</sup>  
 b. bavúunda bóónso bwéninā<sup>^</sup> ntsíkudukúsu. Lumbu kyántetē . múlumíngú<sup>^</sup>

they rested according to the commandment. On the first day of the week,

- 44z. ↑ ntsúka nábu . bayíza kúndyamú<sup>^</sup> banátá ndzeenzo myántsungá.  
 a. ntsúká nábu . bayízá<sup>^</sup> kúndyamú . banáta ndzéenzó<sup>^</sup> myánsungá.  
 b. ntsúká nábu . bayízá<sup>^</sup> kúndyamú . banáta ndzéenzo myánsungá .

very early, they went to the tomb, carrying the spices

- 45z. mí-bakúbika. Babwáana tādí . . . . dinéngomonó<sup>^</sup> múndyamú; bakkótā<sup>^</sup>  
 a. mí-bakúbika. Babwáana . tādí . . . . dinéngomonó<sup>^</sup> múndyamú; bakótā  
 b. mí-bakúbika. Babwáana tādí<sup>^</sup> dinéngomonó<sup>^</sup> múndyamú; bakóta

that they had prepared. They found the stone rolled away from the  
 tomb; they entered,

- 46z. kánsī<sup>^</sup> ka-bábwaana ↓ nítu ámfumu yíísu-ko. ↑ Bwákala.  
 a. kansí . ka-babwáana nítu ámfumu yéésu-ko. Bwákala.  
 b. kansí<sup>^</sup> ka-babwáana nítu ámfumu yíísu-ko. Bwákala

but could not find the body of the Lord Jesus. While

- 47z. ↑ bu-bakádila-bó . kídungā , tála , babákala boolē . batélama yáau  
 a. bú-bakádilā . bó kídungā , tála , babákala boolē . batélama yáau<sup>^</sup>  
 b. bú-bakádilā . bó kídungā , tála , babákala boolē . batélama yáau<sup>^</sup>

they were hesitating, behold, two men stood there

- 48z. vəlwéeka • bāvwaata n'léle myàséema. ↑ Bu-bákala wóonga  
 a. vəlwéekā • bavwáta n'lélē • myàséema. Bu-bakála wóonga  
 b. vəlwéeka • bavwáatā n'lélē • ... myásiema. Bu-bákala wóonga  
 beside them, wearing clothes that gleamed. They were afraid,
- 49z. ye bayínika z'izi kyáu vantótó • bavóva kwabáau: Múnkyāama  
 a. ye ba<sub>Λ</sub>yínika z'izi byáú vantótó • bavóva kwabáau: Múnkiāmā  
 b. yē<sub>Λ</sub> bayínika z'izi byáú vantótó<sub>Λ</sub> bavóva kwabáau: Múnkiāmā  
 and bowed their faces to the ground, but [the men] said to  
 them, 'Why
- 50z. lutóombele wena móoyo mubáfwa? ↓ Kená-vo-ko • ↓ káansi  
 a. lutómbelé<sub>Λ</sub> wéna móoyo<sub>Λ</sub> mubáfwa? Kená-vo-kō • kaansi.  
 b. lutóombele wéna mooyo<sub>Λ</sub> mubáfwa? Kená-vo-kó kaansi  
 do you look for the living among the dead? He is not here; on  
 the contrary,
- 51z. fúlukidíngi. Lubáambukā móoyo<sub>Λ</sub> b'oonsó • bu-kávova<sub>Λ</sub> kwabéeno,  
 a. fúlukidíngi. Lúbambuka móoyo • b'oonsó • bu-kávova kwabéeno, ...  
 b. fúlukidíngi. Lúbambuka móoyo<sub>Λ</sub> b'oonsó bu-kávova kwabéeno,  
 he has risen. Call to mind how he spoke to you,
- 52z. bu-kákedi yéeno<sub>Λ</sub> ↓ muNgálili, wāvóva:vo: Mwaan' amúuntú.  
 a. ↑ bu-kákedi yéeno<sub>Λ</sub> muNgálili, wāvóva vo: Mwaan' amúuntú<sub>Λ</sub>  
 b. bú-kakedí yéeno m'Ngálili, ↓ wāvóva vo: Mwaan' amúuntú<sub>Λ</sub>  
 when he was still with you in Galilee, saying, "The Son of Man
- 53z. sí-kayékuwā • káké mumóoko mabánkwā myámásumu • yé-komwa  
 a. sí-ká<sub>Λ</sub>yékuwā<sub>Λ</sub> káká • mumóoko mabánkwā • ... ↑ myámásumi • ye-<sub>Λ</sub>kkómwā<sub>Λ</sub>  
 b. sí-<sub>Λ</sub>kayékuwā<sub>Λ</sub> káká • mumóoko mabánkwā<sub>Λ</sub> myámásumu yé-<sub>Λ</sub>kómwa  
 must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified,
- 54z. vakúlunsi • yé-fulukā<sub>Λ</sub> ↓ m'ulumbu<sub>Λ</sub> ↓ kyántátu. Babáambuká mooyó.  
 a. vakúlunsi • ye-fulukā<sub>Λ</sub> m'ulumbu kyántátu. Babáambuka móoyó.  
 b. vakúlunsi • yé-fulukā m'ulumbu kyántátu. Babáambuka móoyó.  
 , and rise on the third day." They remembered
- 55z. ↓ m'umaambu máandi, bavútuka kwáu t'úukā<sub>Λ</sub> m'undiāmu, bakáamba  
 a. m'umáambu máandi, bavútuka kwáu • t'úukā<sub>Λ</sub> k'undiāmu, ... bakáamba  
 b. m'umáambu máandi, bavútuka kwáu • t'úuka k'undiāmu, bakáamba  
 his words, and went back home from the tomb, and told

- 56z. moomo<sup>o</sup> <sub>Λ</sub> mamoonsono<sup>o</sup> • kwakuumi ye-mosi • yé-kwaboonsono.  
 a. moomo<sup>o</sup> mamoonsono<sup>o</sup> • kwakumi yé-mosi • ye-kwa<sub>Λ</sub> baboonsono<sup>o</sup> <sub>Λ</sub> bankaka,  
 b. moomo<sup>o</sup> mamoonsono<sup>o</sup> • kwakumi yé-mosi • ye-kwaboonsono,  
 all these things to the Eleven and to all the others.
- 57z. Imalia mwisi-ngada Mangadalā, ye-yōanā, ye-Maliā, ↑ ingudi ayakobi?  
 a. Maliā • mwisi Mangadalā, ye-yōané • ye-Maliā • ingudi ayakobi,  
 b. imaliā mwisi • ... Mangadalā, ye-yōané <sub>Λ</sub> ye-Maliā <sub>Λ</sub> ingudi ayakobi,  
 It was Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Mary the mother of James,
- 58z. ye-bakeento bankaka bakala yāu • ↑ bakāamba māambu moomo<sup>o</sup> <sub>Λ</sub>  
 a. ye-bakeento bankaka • bakala yāu <sub>Λ</sub> bakāamba māambu moomo<sup>o</sup> •  
 b. ye-bakeento bankaka • bakala yau <sub>Λ</sub> bakāamba māambu moomo<sup>o</sup> •  
 and the other women who were with them who told these things
- 59z. ↓ kwāzintumwa. Māambu moo mamōnikā <sub>Λ</sub> ↑ valuse lwāu <sub>Λ</sub> boonso  
 a. kwāzintumwa. ↑ Māambu moomo<sup>o</sup> • mamōnika <sub>Λ</sub> valuse lwāu <sub>Λ</sub> boonso  
 b. kwāzintumwa. Māambu moomo<sup>o</sup> <sub>Λ</sub> mamōnika <sub>Λ</sub> valuse lwāu <sub>Λ</sub> boonso  
 to the apostles. These things seemed in their view like
- 60z. mpova yankatu, ↓ ka-balēekila minu-ko. Tāla, kinā llumbu  
 a. mpovā <sub>Λ</sub> yankatu, ... ka-ba<sub>Λ</sub> lēekila minū-ko. Tāla, kinā lumbū.  
 b. mpovā <sub>Λ</sub> yankatu, ka-balēekila <sub>Λ</sub> minū-ko. Tāla, kinā lumbū  
 nonsense, and they did not believe them. Behold, that same day
- 61z. boole<sup>o</sup> <sub>Λ</sub> mubāu bayēnda • ↑ ye-ndiingi <sub>Λ</sub> ↑ kúvatā, ↑ nkúumbu ávatā  
 a. boole mubāu bayēnda • yé-ndiingi kúvatā, nkúumbu <sub>Λ</sub> ávatā <sub>Λ</sub>  
 b. boole<sup>o</sup> • mubāu <sub>Λ</sub> bayēnda • ye-<sub>Λ</sub>ndiingi kúvatā, nkúumbu <sub>Λ</sub> ávatā  
 two of them were going sadly(?) to a village, the name of the  
 village
- 62z. Emāusi, ↓ dyatátukā ye-Yélusalemi • ↓ makumásaambanū • ↓ má <sub>Λ</sub> stādīya.  
 a. Emāusi, dyatátukā <sub>Λ</sub> ye-Yélusalemi • makumásaambanū <sub>Λ</sub> mastādīya.  
 b. Emāusi, dyatátuka ye-Yélusalemi makumásaambanū <sub>Λ</sub> mastādīya.  
 being Emmaus, distant from Jerusalem by 60 stadia.
- 63z. Bamokasana moomo<sup>o</sup> • mamoonsono mábwa. Bwakalā • bū-bamokasanā • ...  
 a. Bamokasanā <sub>Λ</sub> moomo<sup>o</sup> <sub>Λ</sub> mamoonsono <sub>Λ</sub> mábwa. Bwakalā bu-<sub>Λ</sub> bamokasanā.  
 b. Bamokasanā <sub>Λ</sub> moomo<sup>o</sup> <sub>Λ</sub> mamoonsono <sub>Λ</sub> mábwa. Bwakalā <sub>Λ</sub> bū-bamokasanā.  
 They were talking with each other about everything that had  
 happened. As they were talking

- 64z. ... ye-yúvasanā, ↓ yaandi kibeeni yíisu wafinama wayénda  
 a. ye-yúvulasanā, yaandi kibeeni yéesū wafinamā wayénda  
 b. ye- ... yúvú lasanā, yaandi kibeeni yéesū wafinamā wayénda

and conversing with each other, Jesus himself came up and walked along

- 65z. yaau. ↑ Kānsi meeso máau mákákwa, ka-bídi kúnzaya.  
 a. yáau. Kānsi meeso máau .. mákákwa, ... ka-bídi kúnzáaya.  
 b. yáau. Kānsi meeso máau mákákwa, ... ka-bídi kúnzáaya.

with them. But their eyes were deceived so that they did not recognise him.

- 66z. ↓ Wavóna kwabáau: ↑ Nky'amaambu móomo ma-lwéti mókina,  
 a. Wāvová kwabáau: Nk'í amaambu móomó ma-lwéti mókina,  
 b. Wāvóna kwabáau: Nk'í amaambu móomó ma-lwéti mókina,

He asked them, 'What are these things that you are discussing

- 67z. ↓ bu-lwéti dyaata? Bastimpamā. ↓ ye-zízi. ↓ byanayéembelee.  
 a. ... bú-lwéti dyaata? Bastimpamā ye-zízi. bya nayéembelee.  
 b. bú-lwéti dyaata? Bastimpama yé-zízi byanayéembelee.

as you walk along?' They stood still, with their faces downcast.

- 68z. Mōsi nkumbu andi Kléopa, ↓ wavútuka, wavóna kwayaandi: ↑ Kadi  
 a. Mōsi nkumbu andi Kléopa, wavútula wāvóna kwayáandi: Kadi  
 b. Mōsi nkumbu andi Kléopā, wavútulā wāvovā kwayáandi: Kadi

One of them, named Cleopas, answered and said to him, 'Surely

- 69z. ngeyé kaka wena ndzeenza múvelusalemi, kuzeyi mómo  
 a. ngeyé kákā wēnā ndzēenzā múvelusalemi, kuzeyi móomo  
 b. ngeyé kaka wēna ndzeenzā múvelusalemi, kuzeyi móomó

you must just be a stranger to Jerusalem, that you don't know these things

- 70z. mábwidi múbyaabí lumbu-ko-é? ↑ Wavóna kwabáau: Nky'álekwa?  
 a. mábwidi múbyaabí lumbu-ko-é? Wāvóna kwabáau: Nk'í álekwa?  
 b. mábwidi múbyaabí lumbu-ko-é? Wāvóna kwabáau: Nk'í álekwa?

which have happened these past few days?' He said to them, 'What things?'

- 71z. Bāvova kwayáandi: ↓ Momo muYíisu, imwisi Nazaléti,  
 a. Bāvova kwayáandi: ↑ Moomó múYeesu, imwisi Nazaléeti,  
 b. Bāvova kwayáandi: Moomó ... ↑ muYíisú, imwisi ... Nazaléti,

They said to him, 'This about Jesus, a native of Nazareth;

NB: 68-70z: ++ fast.

- 72z. wakèdi mbíkudi . wáluléendo mumávaanga . ye-mumáambu máluse  
 a. ↑ wakèdi ↑ mbíkudi . wáluléendo ↑ mumávaanga ↑ ye-mú ↑ määmbu máluse ↑  
 b. wakèdi ↑ mbíkudi . wáluléendo ↑ mumávaanga ↑ ye- ↑ määmbu máluse ↑  
 he was a prophet powerful in deed and word before

- 73z. lwàNdzáambi . ↓ ye-báantu baboonsono, boonso bwányyekole  
 a. lwàNdzáambi ye-baantú . báboonsong, ... ↑ boonsó . bwányeékole .  
 b. lwàNdzáambi . ye-báantu babóonsono, ↑ boonsó . bwányékolé  
 God and all the people, and how he was handed over

- 74z. bángudi zàngaanga . ye-bákuluntú beeto múnzeengolo alufwá,  
 a. bángudi ↑ zàngangá ye-bá ↑ kuluntú beeto . munzeengalo . ... alufwá,  
 b. bángúdi zangaanga ↑ ye-bákuluntu beeto . múnzeengolo alufwá,  
 by the chief priests and our leaders to a sentence of death,

- 75z. ↓ bānkkomisa vakúlunsi. ↑↓ Káansi beetotwásiidi vúúvu vó yáandi .  
 a. bānkómisā vakúlunsi. Kāansí beeto twásiidi vúúvu vó yāandi ↑  
 b. bānkómisā vakúlunsi. Kāansi beeto twásiidi vúúvu vó yāandi ↑  
 and they crucified him. But we had not left off hoping that he

- 76z. \indíenā + wakāna . ↓ kùulá ísáyeli; kánsi tuuká ntaangu  
 a. \indyéna wákānā . kùulá . ísáyeli; kánsí tuuká ntaangu . ...  
 b. \indyéna wákānā . kùulá ísáyeli; kánsi tuúka ntaāngu ↑  
 was the one who would redeem the tribe of Israel; but since the  
 time

- 77z. yávaangwa móomo mámbóonsonó, kyáaki ílumbu kyántatu. Bakéento  
 a. yávaangwa móomo mámbóonsonó, kyáki ílumbu kyántatu. ↑ Bakeentó ↑  
 b. yávaangwa móomo mámbóonsonó, kyáki ílumbu kyántatu. Bakéento  
 that all this was done, it is now the third day. Some women

- 78z. bānkakā múbéeto . batúbwíisisi zéngelé-zéngelé, balwéekíngi  
 a. bānkakā ↑ múbéeto . batú ↑ bwíisisi ↑ zéengele-zéengele, ba ↑ lwéekíngi  
 b. bānkakā ↑ múbéeto . batubwíisisi ↑ zéengele-zéengele, balwéekíngi ↑  
 among us caused us great amazement; they arrived

- 79z. nsúuka nabú kundyamu; bu-balémbolo bwáanā nítu áandi, ↓ bizi  
 a. nsuuká nabú kundyamu; bu-balémbolo bwáanā nítu áandi, bizi  
 b. ntsúká nabú ↑ kundyamu; bu-balémboló ↑ bwáanā nítu andi, bizi  
 early in the morning at the tomb, but were unable to find his  
 body, and came

NB: 75-76z: ++ crescendo.

80z. voví vó .↓ bamwèení mona-méeso . mázimbási závova .↓ vó wena  
 a. voví . vó . bamwèení mona-méeso mázimbási závova vó wena  
 b. voví vó . bamwèení mona-méeso mázimbási závova vó . wena  
 saying they had seen a vision of angels who said that he was

81z. mooyo .+ Bänkàka mubáú bakèdi yéeto béeleenge kúndyamu .+  
 z. móoyo . Bänkàka mubáú . bakèdi yéeto . béeleenge kúndyamu .  
 b. móoyo . Bänkàka mubáú . bakèdi yéeto . béeleenge kúndyamu .  
 alive. Some of those who were with us went to the tomb

82z. babwèéningi nádéde . boontsó buteelenge bákeento . káansi yáandi  
 a. babwèéningi nádéde . boontsó buteelenge bákeento . káansi yáandi .  
 b. babwèéningi nádéde boonso buteelenge bákeento káansi yáandi .  
 and found it exactly as the women had said, but him

83z. ka-bammwèéningi-ko . Wavóva kwabáau : Éngwa béeno , lu bánkwa  
 a. ka-bammwèéningi-ko . Wavóva kwabáau : Éngwa .↑ beeno , lu bánkwa  
 b. ka-bammwèéningi-ko . Wavóva kwabáau : Éngwa .↑ beeno , lu bánkwa  
 they did not see.' He said to them, 'You fools, you who are

84z. buzéengi ye-ffúki múntima muleeka + mínu mumáambu  
 a. buzéengi ye-ffúki múntima muleeka mínu mumáambu  
 b. buzéengi ye-ffúki múntima muleeka mínu mumáambu  
 foolish and slow of heart to believe all the things

85z. māmōōnsono .+ māvová bambíkudi . Kadi Klíisto kafwiti lúungwá .  
 a. māmōōnsono māvová bambíkudi . Kadi Klíisto kafwiti lúungwá  
 b. māmōōnsono māvová bambíkudi . Kadi Klíisto kafwiti lúungwá  
 that the prophets have spoken! Did not Christ have to suffer

86z. moomó-ko-é .↓ yé-kota múnkembo áandi-é? Wabádika ... múmóosé .  
 a. moomó-ko-é . yé-kota múnkembo áandi? ... ↑ Wabádika múmóosé .  
 b. moomo-ko-é . yé-kota múnkembo áandi? Wabádika múmóosé .  
 these things and then enter his glory?' He started with Moses

87z. ↑ yé-mbíkudi myāmyōōnsono , wababāngudilā .mumásonukwā māmōōnsono .  
 a. yé-mbíkudi myāmyōōnsono , wababāngudilā .mumásonukwā māmōōnsono  
 b. yé-mbíkudi myāmyōōnsono , wababāngudilā .mumásonukwā māmōōnsono  
 and all the prophets, and explained to them from all the  
 Scriptures

NB: 81z: ++ crescendo. 84-85z: ++ rising.

- 88z. moomó menā .↓ muyáandi. Bafínanganā . ye-vata ^ di-bayénda.
- a. moomó ^ aména yáandi. Bafínanganā . ye-vata di-bayénda.
- b. moomó menā ^ muyáandi. Bafínanganā . ye-vata ^ di-bayénda.

those things which were about him. They approached the village to which they were going,

- 89z. yáandi wása boonsó vō .↓ kèní vyooka. Bau bānleba bāvovā:
- a. yáandi wásā boonsó ^ vō kèní vyóoka. Bau ^ banlléemā . bāvova:
- b. yáandi wā ^ sa boonsó ^ vo kèní vyoka. Bau bānleba . . . bāvova:

and Jesus acted as if he were going further. But they begged him saying,

- 90z. Síkila yéeto; kadi nkookila yibwidi, lumbu kyeka munsuka.
- a. Síkila yéeto; kadi ^ kookila yibwidi, lumbu kyekā ^ musuka.
- b. Síkila yéetó; kadi nkookila yibwidi, lumbu kyena ki... musuka.

'Stay with us, because evening has fallen, and the day is about to finish.'

- 91z. ↓ Yaandi wakota musikila yau. Bwakala bu-kavwanda yau
- a. Yandi ^ wakota ^ musi ^ kila yau. ↑ Bwakala ^ bu-kavwanda yau ^
- b. Yandi wakota musikila yau. ↑ Bwakala ^ bu- ^ kavwanda yau ^

And he went in to stay with them. While he was seated with them

- 92z. vaméezā, wabdongé dīmpā wasákumunā . wabukunā ^ wabāvāana.
- a. vāméezā, wabdongā dīmpā . wasákumunā . wabakkúuna . wabāvāana.
- b. vaméezā, wabongé dīmpā . wasákumunā . wabukunā . wabāvāana.

at the table, he took bread, gave thanks, broke it, and gave it to them.

- 93z. Meeso maaú mazibuka bānzayā . yáandi wálala ↓ muméeso máau.
- a. Meeso maaú mazibukā . bānzāyā ^ yáandi wálalā ^ muméeso máau.
- b. Meeso maaú mazibukā . bānzāyā ^ yáandi ^ wálala ^ muméeso máau.

Their eyes opened, and they recognised him, but he disappeared from their sight.

- 94z. ↓ Bavóvasana ↑ Kadí ntima myéeto ka-míkedi myaléema mubéeto-ko-é,
- a. Bavóvasana: ↓ Kadí ntima myéetó . ka-míkedi ^ myaléema mubéeto-ko-é,
- b. Bavóvasana: Kadí ntima myéetó . ka-míkedi ^ myaléema ^ mubéeto-ko-a,

They said to each other, 'Were not our hearts burning within us

- 95z. bú-kavovele kwabéeto mündzila . bú-katuzibudidi masonukwa?
- a. bu-kavóvele kwabéeto mündzilā . bu-katú . . budidi ^ masonukwa?
- b. bú-kavóvelé kwabéeto mündzilā ^ bú-katuzibudidi masonukwa?

when he was talking to us on the road, while he opened the Scriptures to us?'

- 96z. Kĩĩna lóokulā batélamenē . bavvútuka kúyelusaléemī, + babwáana  
 a. Kĩĩna lóokulā <sub>^</sub> batélamā . bavútuka kúyelusalemī, babwáana <sub>^</sub>  
 b. Kĩĩna lóokulā <sub>^</sub> batélamā <sub>^</sub> bavútuka . kúyelusaláimī, babwáana  
 That very hour they got up and returned to Jerusalem, and found
- 97z. kúumi ye-móosi + . bakútakeenē . ↓ yé-bayáau, ↓ bavóvā: Mukédika.  
 a. kúmi yé-mosi . bakútakana <sub>^</sub> ye-<sub>^</sub> bayáau, bavóva: Mukédika <sub>^</sub>  
 b. kúmi yé-mosi <sub>^</sub> bakútakana . yé-báau, bavóva: Mukédika  
 the Eleven assembled together, and said, 'It is true!
- 98z. ... ↑ mfumu fúlukidĩngī, ye monekene <sub>^</sub> kwaSĩmon. Buna  
 a. mfumu <sub>^</sub> fúlukidĩngī, ye monekeneengē . kwaSĩmoonī. Buna  
 b. mfumu <sub>^</sub> fúlukidĩngī, ye monekeneengē . kwaSĩmoonī. Buna .  
 The Lord has risen, and has been seen by Simon.' Then
- 99z. bazĩngula móomo mandzĩlā . ye-bóonsō . bu-kazáyakana kwabáau,  
 a. bazĩngula móomō <sub>^</sub> mandzĩlā yé-bóonsō . bú-kazáyakana kwabáau, ...  
 b. bazĩngula móomō <sub>^</sub> mandzĩlā <sub>^</sub> yé-bóonsō . bú-<sub>^</sub> kazáyakana kwabáau,  
 they recounted those [things that had happened] on the way, and  
 how he was recognised by them
- 100z. bú-<sub>^</sub> kabúkuna dímpa. Bu-bávova móomō, yáandĩ kibéeni  
 a. bú-kabúkuna dímpa. Bu-bávova móomō, yáandĩ kibéeni  
 b. bú-ka<sub>^</sub> kabúkuna dímpa. Bu-bávovā <sub>^</sub> móomō, yáandĩ kibéeni  
 when he broke the bread. As they spoke about these things, Jesus  
 himself
- 101z. watélamā vakáti ye-báau. ↓ Bazákama . wóongá . wababwĩlā  
 a. watélamā <sub>^</sub> vakáti ye-báau. Bazákamā . wóongá <sub>^</sub> wababwĩlā .  
 b. watélamā <sub>^</sub> vakáti ye-báau. Bazákama wóongá <sub>^</sub> wababwĩlā .  
 stood among them. They were startled, and fear assailed them,
- 102z. babáanza vō . ↓ bamwéeni mpéeve. Wavóva kwabáau: Múnkĩama  
 a. babáanza vō . bamwéeni mpéeve. Wavóva kwabáau: Múnkĩamā <sub>^</sub>  
 b. babáanza vō . bamwéeni mpéeve. Wavóva kwabáau: Múnkĩamā <sub>^</sub>  
 for they thought that they had seen a ghost. He said to them,  
 'Why
- 103z. luvĩzucidĩ ntĩma, ↑ múnkĩama mabáanza matélamene  
 a. luvĩzucidĩ <sub>^</sub> ntĩma, múnkĩamā <sub>^</sub> mabáanza . ... matélamene <sub>^</sub>  
 b. luvĩzucidĩ <sub>^</sub> ntĩma, mú<sub>^</sub> nkĩama mabáanza matélamene <sub>^</sub>  
 are your hearts troubled, and why do doubts rise

NB: 96-97z: ++ distinct.

- 104z. mún'timá myééno? Luttá'la m'ókko má'ami ye-má'alu má'ami <sup>↓</sup> v'ó  
 a. mún'timá myééno? Lútá'la m'ókko má'ami <sup>^</sup> ye-má'alu má'ami • vo  
 b. mún'timá myééno? Lutá'la m'ókko má'ami <sup>^</sup> ye-má'alu má'ami • v'ó  
 in your hearts? Look at my hands and my feet, that [you may see]
- 105z. imono kwá'ami. Lúntsiimba, <sup>↓</sup> lútala • kadí mpeevé̄ ka-yená  
 a. im'ono kwá'ami. Lúntsiimbá, lútala • kadí mpeevé̄ • ka-yená <sup>^</sup>  
 b. im'ono kwá'ami. Lúntsiimbá, lútalā <sup>^</sup> kadí mpeève • ka-yená <sup>^</sup>  
 it is I myself. Touch me and see; for a ghost does not have
- 106z. nsuní <sup>^</sup> ye-vísi-kó, bóonso bú-lumwéentí <sup>^</sup> v'ó ngyena.  
 a. nsuní ye-vísi-ko, bóonsó <sup>^</sup> bu-lú <sup>^</sup> mwéentí <sup>^</sup> v'ó ngyéna.  
 b. nsuní ye-vísi-ko, bóonso <sup>^</sup> bú-lumwéentí <sup>^</sup> v'ó ngyéna.  
 flesh and bones, as you can see I have.'

Text for chapter 9.

Dialect: kiManyanga.

Informant: Mr. A. Ndolo Menayame.

Source: own composition.

1. Mambu määmä . méti . sokwâ <sup>^</sup> mudyaambú . dyasédise Táta Kévin Donnelly .  
These words are composed in order to help Mr. Kevin Donnelly,
2. wéti toontá <sup>é</sup> longuká . mĩníngu myèkiManyangá , ndĩnga  
who is trying to investigate the tones of kiManyanga, the  
language
3. yábisi-Manyangá <sup>é</sup> máLwoozĩ <sup>ĩ</sup> kúnsi <sup>ĩ</sup> yáZairi . KĩManyangá <sup>é</sup>  
of the Manyanga of Lwozi, in the country of Zaire. The kiManyanga
4. kyéti vóvwá . ikĩManyangá kyáNsundi-Lutéte , vúla dyená .  
which is being spoken is the kiManyanga of Nsundi-Lutete, a  
large town which is
5. ntámá ye-Lwoozĩ <sup>ĩ</sup> évó <sup>ĩ</sup> Kingói . / Twéti loómbila Táta Kévin .  
not far from Lwozi or Kingoyi. We ask on Mr. Kevin's behalf
6. ngóló ye-méelá . kwaTáta Nzáambi . pásĩ <sup>ĩ</sup> . + kátomá . músuungá <sup>é</sup> <sup>+</sup>  
ability and perceptiveness from the Lord God, so that he may  
do careful research
7. músalu kíáandi . Twéti kumulóombila dyáaka mpé . mpási vo .  
in his work. We also ask again for him that
8. kálendá . záyíkísa ndĩnga yáayi . kwábaantu babĩngi .  
he may be able to make known this language to many people,
9. mpási vó . baau . mpé <sup>ĩ</sup> . bana toontá <sup>é</sup> múlonguká-go , yé-kúdikila  
so that they also will try to examine it, and enlarge
10. díéela díááú . <sup>†</sup> mbokí mpé . <sup>†</sup> toontá <sup>é</sup> múnénivisá <sup>é</sup> sálu <sup>é</sup> kyéti <sup>é</sup>  
their perceptions and afterwards try to extend the work which  
has been
11. bádukúá <sup>é</sup> kwaTáta Kévin . / KĩManyangá <sup>é</sup> kyená yé <sup>é</sup> - <sup>é</sup> mĩníngu <sup>é</sup>  
started by Mr. Kevin. KiManyanga has three tones (lit. sounds),
12. mítatú . kaansi bánkáká <sup>é</sup> bázónsängá . (y)e-mĩníngu míya .  
but some people speak with four tones.

NB: 6: ++ slow.

13. Míńńíngu myóomyó . mtsóbaangǎ́ ʌ mùmúuntu yè-múuntǔ .<sup>+</sup> ye-ntángu  
These tones vary from person to person and sometimes
14. zánkaké mpeé<sup>+</sup> .<sup>↓</sup> mùzúunga yè-zúunga. Tsòboló ʌ ʌmíníngu  
also from area to area. The variation of these tones
15. myóomyó ʌ mílendá mpe lóngukwa, ye-kúdíkilá ʌ ndwéngá ʌ zéeto. /  
can also be studied, and enlarge our knowledge.
16. Vavá ʌ ngyétí ʌ vana bífwáadi ʌ músonga? ʌ vò ntsóboló  
Here I give examples to show that the variation
17. é ʌ míníngu ʌ évo ʌ múníngu ʌ lendá sobá . nzailú zéeto.  
of the tones or tone can change our comprehension
18. zàmpóva zeti vóvwa. Ngyeti badiká . yè-mpóva mosí mosí,  
of the words which are being spoken. I begin with single words,
19. mbokí nginǎ ʌ báka ʌ bífwaani ʌ byánda. Míńńíngu ʌ myéenǎ ʌ  
and afterwards I will take longer examples. The tones are
20. mfúnu beení .<sup>+</sup> Vò túsobele múníngu, túsobele mpé <sup>+</sup> ʌ mǎambú? ʌ  
very important indeed. If we change the tone, we change also  
what
21. mǎ-tuzóléle kaamba, kansí báantǔ ʌ bálendá zǎayǎ ʌ nkí  
we wish to say, but people can know what
22. tuzóléle kaambá, péleko múníngu ʌ évo míníngu . myanswáasana.  
we want to say, since the tone or tones change.
23. <sup>↑</sup> Vavá ʌ í ʌ bífwáani: kúunsi, kúnsi; vátá, vátá; lóongá, longá;  
Here are the examples: under, pillar; [to] plough, village; dish,  
[to] educate/teach;
24. búla, bulá; búta, butá. / Vavá ʌ ngyeti túla bífwaani ʌ  
village, distance/length; weapon, [to] give birth to. Now I  
give the preceding
25. bíteekidi múnđlonga myánda: mbwá ʌ yífwéendi kúnsi? ʌ méesa;  
examples in longer sentences: the dog has gone under the table,
26. Klísto íkuúnsi édiBuúndu; bákeentó ʌ bétí vátá ʌ mfúba,  
Christ is the pillar of the Church; the women are cultivating  
the field,

NB: 13-14: ++ fast. 20: ++ fast.

- 27. yáandí 'impfumu aváta; tuulá mádya m̀l̀bongá, ngúdíw' wéti  
he is the chief of the village; put the food on the plate, the  
mother is
- 28. longá mwan'áandí; kúnki abúla kééle?, ndzólele dzáayá  
teaching her child; which village are you from? (?), I would  
like to know
- 29. búla bwándzila yáayi; ↑mwáanā wéti sakanā ye-búta, ↑yaandí?  
the length of this road; the child is playing with a gun, she
- 30. wábúta mpfumu. / ↑Boonsó tulendá mona. miningú mílendá  
gave birth to the chief. As we can see, the tones can
- 31. sobā vò túbeki mpová mostí mostí. ye bú-tubbákaaga. mpová  
changa if we take individual words, and when we take words
- 32. mumíloongā myánda. Tulen(d)á mpē lóngukā ntsóbolō aminíngú.  
in longer stretches. We can also study the variation of the  
tones
- 33. mumíloonga myándyā. ye-tóonta ttoombá. múnki andzila  
in longer stretches and try to find out in what way
- 34. miníngu myóomyō misóbaanga, yé-tukū kyá ntsóbolō zóozo. /  
these tones change, and the reason for these variations.
- 35. \*Ntsídi vuvu vō bāantu babíngi bānā lóngukā ye-sónikā  
I greatly hope that many people will study, and publish
- 36. ndóngokolo zāáú zakíManyāanga, bunā túleendā báka mvútū ...  
their researches into, kiManyanga, and then we will be able to  
obtain answers
- 37. m̀biriúuvú. bí-tuvéeni. ↑Bisi-nsi. ye-bāndwéenga bāndzéendzā  
to the questions which we have posed. If native speakers and  
foreign scholars
- 38. vó bānā sálla vaxímoosi, bunā si-twábakā mvútū zāssíkilā.  
work together, then we will get the correct answers.
- 39. Kwāmwān' ámi - Ndzáambi kákala yáaku! Twéna kyéese beentí  
To my son - God be with you! We were very pleased
- 40. m̀ttaambulā nkáand' áakú yé-nsaangu záaku. Twéna mavímpi  
to receive your letter and your news. We are in good enough

NB: 35: \*fast.

41. fyootí mündzo èetó<sup>o</sup> ye-vúvu kyéna yéeto vó? ngeye mpé wéna  
health at home here, and we hope that you also are
42. mavímpi ... málunga. .... Baléke bétí ttóma sálá mbóte. /  
completely well. .... The children are working very hard.
43. Bízizi bi-wafíllá? naté ye-bwáabú kà-byalweéki-ko ...  
The photos that you sent, up until now they have not arrived,
44. †kaansí? mfúnu afílā . bíima mupoóstye-ko. Vò kútubaké ntangū  
but I suppose it is necessary to send things by post.(?) If you  
don't find time [to write]
45. mú<sup>o</sup>lwáaka . †kuAnvers gambòté kaansí ntangū bú-<sup>o</sup>yíkòondoló  
when you get to Anvers, that's alright, but at a time that suits  
you
46. yámbula káka.  
you can just reply [then].

Comparison passage for chapter 9: Laman.

- 11. ... KiMānyāaanga kyená ye-mínííngu  
 1. ... KiMānyāaanga kyená ye-mínííngu  
 n. ... KiMānyāaanga kyená ye-mínííngu
  
- 12. mítatú káansí bānkāka bāzonsāanga ye-mínííngu miyá.  
 1. mítatú káansí bānkāka bāzonsāangá ye-mínííngu miyá.  
 n. mítatu káansí bānkāka bāzonsāanga 'e-mínííngu miya.
  
- 13. Míniíngu myóomyó mīsóbāanga mūmūntú ye-mūuntú ye-ntāngu  
 1. Míniíngu myóomyo mīsobāangá mūmūntu yē-mūuntu yé-ntangu  
 n. Míniíngu myóomyo mīsóbāanga mūmūntu yē-mūuntu ye-ntāngu
  
- 14. zānkāka ípe muzúunga ye-zúunga. Tsóbóló yamínííngu  
 1. zānkāka ípe múzuunga yé-zuunga. Tsóbolo yamínííngu  
 n. zānkaké mpee múzúunga yē-zúunga. Tsóbóló 'amínííngu
  
- 15. myóomyó milénda ípe longukwá, ye-kudíkíla ndwénga zéeto.  
 1. myóomyo milénda ípe longukwá, ye-kúdíkíla ndwénga zéeto.  
 n. myóomyo milénda ípe longukwa, ye-kúdíkíla ndwénga zéeto.
  
- 16. Vává ngyetí vāná bifwāani musóngá vó ntsóbóló  
 1. Váva ngyetí vāna bifwāani músongá vò ntsóbóló  
 n. Vava ngyetí vāna bifwāadi músongá vò ntsóbóló
  
- 17. amínííngu évo munííngu lénda sóba nzáilú zéeto  
 1. amínííngu évo munííngu lénda sóba nzáilu zéeto  
 n. amínííngu évo munííngu lénda sóba nzáilú zéeto.
  
- 18. zāmpóva zetí vóvwa. Ngyetí bádíká ye-mpóva mostí mostí,  
 1. zāmpova zetí vóvwa. Ngyetí bádika yē-mpova mostí mostí,  
 n. zāmpóva zetí vóvwa. Ngyetí badíka yē-mpóva mostí mostí,
  
- 19. mbokí ngíná bāka bifwāani byānda. Míniíngu myeená  
 1. mbokí ngíná bāka bifwāani byānda. Míniíngu myeená  
 n. mbokí ngíná bāka bifwāani byānda. Míniíngu myēena
  
- 20. mfúnu béeni. Vó tusóbele munííngu, tusóbele ípe maambú  
 1. mfúnu béeni. Vó tusóbele munííngu, tusóbele ípe maambú  
 n. mfúnu béeni. Vò tusóbele múnííngu, tusóbele ípe maambu

21. ma-tuzólele kaambá, kánsi baantú balénda záaya nkí  
 1. ma-tuzólele kaambá, kánsi baantú balénda záaya nkí  
 n. má-tuzóléle kaamba, kansi báantu <sup>^</sup>baléndá zaaya <sup>^</sup>nkí
22. tuzólele kaambá mpeléko muniíngu évo miniíngu myanswáasana.  
 1. tuzólele kaambá mpeléko muniíngu évo miniíngu myanswáasana.  
 n. tuzólele kaamba . péleko muniíngu <sup>^</sup>évo miniíngu . myanswáasana.
23. Váva ibifwáani: .....  
 1. Váva ibifwáani: .....  
 n. <sup>↑</sup>Vava <sup>^</sup>ibifwáani: .....
30. .... Boonsó tulénda móna miniíngu milénda  
 1. .... Bóonso tulénda móna miniíngu milénda  
 n. .... <sup>↑</sup>Boonso <sup>^</sup>tulendá mona . miniíngu <sup>^</sup>miléndá
31. sóba vó tubéki mpóva mosí mosí ye bu-tubákaanga mpóva  
 1. sóba vó tubéki mpóva mosí mosí ye bu-túbakaangá mpóva  
 n. soba <sup>^</sup>vó tubéki mpóva mosí mosí . ye bú-tubákaanga . mpóva <sup>^</sup>
32. mumilóonga myandá. Tulénda mpe longuká ntsóbolo aminíngu  
 1. mumilóonga myandá. Tulénda mpe longuká ntsóbolo aminíngu  
 n. mumíloonga <sup>^</sup>myánda. Tulen'á mpe <sup>^</sup>lónguka <sup>^</sup>ntsóbolo aminíngu .
33. mumilóonga myandá ye-toonta tóomba munkí andzila  
 1. mumilóonga myandá ye-toonta tóomba munkí andzila  
 n. mumíloonga myándya . ye-toonta tóombá . múnki andzila
34. miniíngu myóomyó misóbaanga, ye-túkú kyantsóbolo zóozo.  
 1. miniíngu myóomyo misobaangá, yé-tuku kyantsóbolo zóozo.  
 n. miniíngu myóomyo <sup>^</sup>misóbaanga, yé-tuku <sup>^</sup>kyá <sup>^</sup>ntsóbolo zóozo.
35. Ntsídi vuuvú vó baantú babíngi baná longuká ye-soniká  
 1. Ntsídi vuuvú vó baantú babíngi baná longuká ye-sonika  
 n. Ntsídi vuúvu vo <sup>^</sup>báantu babíngi <sup>^</sup>baná lónguka <sup>^</sup>ye-sonika <sup>^</sup>
36. ndongokoló zááú zakíMányáanga, buná tuleénda báka mvútú  
 1. ndongokoló zááú zakíMányáanga, buná tuleénda báka mvútu  
 n. ndóngokolo zááú <sup>^</sup>zakíMányáanga, buná túleendá báka mvútu <sup>^</sup>...

37. mubyúúvu bi-tuvéeni. Bísti-nsí ye-bandwéenga bandzéendza  
 ɓ. múbyuuvu bi-tuvéeni. Bísti-nsí ye-bándweenga bandzéendza  
 n. mùbiúúvu . bi-tuvéeni. ↑ Bísti-nsi . ye-bándwéenga bándzéendza ^
38. vó banà sála vakimosí, buná si-twábaka mvútu zasíkila.  
 ɓ. vó banà sála vakímosi, buná si-twábaka mvútu zásíkila.  
 n. vó banà sállá ^ vaxímoosi, buná si-twábaka ^ mvútu ^ zássíkila.

Text for chapters 10 and 3.

Dialect: kisiNgombe.

Informant: Rev. A. Komy Banzadio.

Source: own composition.

1. Wàáú . ndzòlele kulúsoonga máka maambu . mundzyéetolo aame muntsí?  
Wàáú . ndzolele kulúsoonga máka maambu . mundzyéetolo aame muntsí?  
Now I would like to tell you a few things about my visit to the  
country
2. aÁngletéér . Ndzolele vóvilā . mukúma kyasáma-skúul , ntéte . /  
aÁngletéér . Ndzolele vóvilā . mukuma kyasama-skuul , ntéte . /  
of England. I would like to talk about the 'summer school' first.
3. Sáma-skúul . Muntsí eto áKoongó . katwéna ye-lekwa kiyíkwanga  
Sáma-skúul . Muntsí eto áKoongó . katwéna ye-lekwa kiyíkwanga  
The summer school. In our country of Congo we have nothing  
referred to
4. nkúmbú asáma-skúul-ko . Inkúumbu yandzéenza múwa ; íkumá , tekila  
nkumbu asama-skuul-ko . Inkumbu yandzeenza muwa ; ikuma , tekila  
by the name of summer school. It is a strange name to hear ; so,  
before
5. kóta múngudi ánsamú , ndzòlelé vo twaffíímpa ntete . mpil'  
kóta mungudi ansamu , ndzolele vo twaffiimpa ntete . mpil'  
getting to the heart of the matter, I would like us to examine  
first the kind
6. antsúungí zina zimónekene muntsí ámphutu . / íngá , ntsúungí  
antsuungi zina zimonekene muntsi amphutu . / inga , ntsuungi  
of seasons which are seen in the land of Europe. Indeed, the  
seasons
7. muntsí ámphutú . intswáaswani béni kikilú . muntsúungí zína  
muntsi amphutu . intswaaswani beni kikilu . muntsuungi zina  
in the land of Europe are very different indeed from the  
seasons which
8. zimónekene muntsí áKoongo . Bèetó muntsí? áKoongó . twena  
zimonekene muntsi áKoongo . Beeto muntsi? áKoongó . twena  
are seen in the country of Congo. We in the country of Congo  
have
9. ye-ntsúungí táanu , buuna muntsí ámphutú . bena ye-zííya .  
ye-ntsuungi taanu , buuna muntsi amphutu . bena ye-ziiya .  
five seasons, whereas in the land of Europe they have four.

10. Ntsùungí zózo . ziyíkwanga munding' akiNgelezó . ʒtsɔ̃n, wíintá,  
Ntsùungí zózo . ziyíkwanga munding' akiNgelezó . ʒtsɔ̃n, wíintá,  
These seasons are called in the English language autumn, winter,
11. spríng, ye-sáma. Vakáti kwantsùungí zózo zawoonsó, buna sáma<sub>^</sub>  
spríng, ye-sáma. Vakáti kwantsùungí zózo zawoonsó, buna sáma<sub>^</sub>  
spring, and summer. Among all these seasons, well, summer
12. intsùungí yivyóokele múwete, yááú yilútídi zzólakana,  
intsùungí yivyóokele múwete, yááú yilútídi zzólakana,  
is the season which excels in beauty, it is very well-liked,
13. ekúmá kadi, yááú<sub>^</sub> intsùungí? amíini. / Musámá, bési-mputu  
ekúmá kadi, yááú<sub>^</sub> intsùungí? amíini. / Musámá, bési-mputu  
the reason being, it is the season of sun. In summer, Europeans
14. bayyángalálaanga béeni kikiú, ekúmá kadi, balenda yétila  
bayyángalálaanga béeni kikiú, ekúmá kadi, balenda yétila  
are very happy indeed, because they can sunbathe -
15. mwíini, intsùungí yi-bakwéenda yóbilanga kúmbu, ye yí-baluta  
mwíini, intsùungí yi-bakwéenda yóbilanga kúmbu, ye yí-baluta  
it is the season in which they go for a swim in the sea, and  
in which they usually
16. zyéetangá mumbáanza zámphila múmphila, évó nkutú, kíyá<sub>^</sub>  
zyéetangá mumbáanza zámphila múmphila, évó nkutú, kíyá<sub>^</sub>  
visit various towns, or even go
17. muntsi zánkaka. / Muntsùungí yáayi, báantú baluta bákkanga  
muntsi zánkaka. / Muntsùungí yáayi, báantú baluta bákkanga  
to other countries. In this season, people often go on
18. vuundu; sikoolá zikáangamaanga; mbéevó<sub>^</sub> mutupítaalú  
vuundu; sikoolá zikáangamaanga; mbéevó<sub>^</sub> mutupítaalú  
holiday; the schools close; invalids in hospitals
19. ziváayikiswaaanga<sub>^</sub> kumbázi, mphási vó. bayétila mwíini.  
ziváayikiswaaanga<sub>^</sub> kumbázi, mphási vó. bayétila mwíini.  
are taken outside, so that they can sunbathe.

20. ↑ Kə-mwĩĩni ángolo beentí-ko . né? ímwĩĩni ántsi áKoongo, kàansí utũ.  
Kə-mwĩĩni ángolo beentí-ko . né? ímwĩĩni ántsi áKoongo, kàansí utũ.  
It is not a very strong sun, like the sun in the country of Congo,  
but yet
21. kíése kikalanga muyètíilá-wo, kemussúngula kwámwĩsi-Afélika.  
kíése kikalanga muyètíilá-wo, kemussúngula kwámwĩsi-Afélika.  
it is pleasant to bask in it, especially for an African.
22. MuAféliká, muntsí? né? íntsi áKoongó, baantú kə-bená ye-ffú  
MuAféliká, muntsí? né? íntsi áKoongó, baantú kə-bená ye-ffú  
In Africa, in a country like the country of Congo, people are  
not in the habit of
23. kyayánamá kumwĩĩni-ko. Kàantsí kumphútu, búuná, bawóonso  
kyayánamá kumwĩĩni-ko. Kàantsí kumphútu, búuná, bawóonso  
lying in the sun. But in Europe, however, everyone
24. babíndamene muyángidika nitu kúmwĩĩni. Kadi vo mwĩni umónekené,  
babíndamene muyángidika nitu kumwĩĩni. Kadi vo mwĩni umónekené,  
feels obliged to let his body enjoy the sun. Since the sun has  
come out,
25. iláu duadínene. / ímúkuma kyokyó, muntsúungí yáayi mpé,  
iláu duadínene. / ímúkuma kyokyó, muntsúungí yáayi mpé,  
it is a great opportunity. It is for this reason, in this season  
also,
26. bákkubika lékwa kibóokulwanga nkuumbú asámá-skuul, ísya vó,  
bákkubika lékwa kibóokulwanga nkuumbu asámá-skuul, ísya vó,  
that they prepare things which are given the name 'summer school',  
that is,
27. nkuumbu yáayi yásámá-skuul. yitúukidi musáma. ↑ ímusámá . baaná .  
nkuumbu yáayi yásámá-skuul . yitúukidi musáma. ímusámá . baaná .  
this name 'summer school' comes from 'summer'. It is in summer  
that young people,
28. ísya vo mátoko yé-zinduumbá . bakwéndanga ulólo kusámá-skuul -  
ísya vo mátoko yé-zinduumbá . bakwéndanga ulólo kusámá-skuul -  
that is, boys and girls, go in a crowd to the summer school -
29. mpil' asikólá . ziváangwaangwá isikólá zamwĩĩni . kuuna baantú  
mpil' asikólá . ziváangwaangwá isikólá zamwĩĩni . kuuna baantú  
a type of school designed to be a school [full of] sun, where  
people

30. balenda vùundilâ, lóngukâ . ye-sákana. / Muntàngu yásamâ . buuna  
balenda vùundilâ, lóngukâ . ye-sákana. / Muntàngu yásamâ . buuna  
can relax, study and play. In the time of summer there are
31. sikôla zazíngi zikúbikwaanga kwamáBuundu . mampíla múmpíla,  
sikôla zazíngi zikúbikwaanga kwamáBuundu . mampíla múmpíla,  
many schools organised by Churches of various types,
32. muvùuvu kyátomâ ffínamâ, evo kála báti-bati ye-bantweenyâ<sup>o</sup><sub>Λ</sub>  
muvùuvú kyátomâ ffínamâ, evo kala báti-bati ye-bantweenyâ<sup>o</sup><sub>Λ</sub>  
in the hope of truly approaching, or getting close to, the young  
people,
33. yevo baléেকে, ye-mulukànu lwa<sup>o</sup><sub>Λ</sub>ttôma kubasaansâ<sup>o</sup><sub>Λ</sub> mumàambu  
yevo baléেকে, ye-mulukànú lwa<sup>o</sup><sub>Λ</sub>ttôma kubasaansâ<sup>o</sup><sub>Λ</sub> mumáambu  
or teenagers, and with the aim of really informing them about the  
matters
34. mäsälu kyäNdzaambi - ↑koosi, ↑mantsi ääü; koolé, muluyíindulu  
mäsalu kyäNdzaambi - köosi, mäntsi ääü; köolé, muluyíindulu  
of the work of God - firstly, in their own countries; secondly,  
in the consideration
35. lwasälu kyäNdzaambi<sup>o</sup><sub>Λ</sub> muntsi zänkaka zinä zikwëndanga  
lwasälu kyäNdzaambi<sup>o</sup><sub>Λ</sub> muntsi zänkaka zina zikwëndanga  
of the work of God in other countries which missionaries
36. bamisyoneer. ↑imúntaangu yoyo mpé, matóko ye-zínduumbâ<sup>o</sup><sub>Λ</sub>  
bamisyoneer. imúntaangu yoyo mpé, matóko ye-zínduumbâ<sup>o</sup><sub>Λ</sub>  
go to. It is at this time also that the young men and women
37. bavvílukanga ntímâ, ye-kóta mudíBuundu, ye-bankáka mubaáú.  
bavvílukanga ntímâ, ye-kóta mudíBuundu, ye-bankáka mubaáú.  
cleanse their hearts, and enter the Church, and some of them
38. bakukisóníkisaangâ . ye-táŋa kimbaangi<sup>o</sup><sub>Λ</sub> mukítuka semísyoneer<sup>o</sup><sub>Λ</sub>  
bakukisóníkisaangâ . ye-táŋa kimbaangi<sup>o</sup><sub>Λ</sub> mukítuka semísyoneer<sup>o</sup><sub>Λ</sub>  
put their names down and bear witness to becoming now missionaries
39. muluzíingu lwäáú lwämviimba. / Váavâ<sup>o</sup><sub>Λ</sub> ↑ntéézele kulusoongâ.  
muluzíingu lwäáú lwämviimba. / Váavâ<sup>o</sup><sub>Λ</sub> ntéézele kulusoongâ.  
in their whole life. Now, I have already told you

40. máka maambu mudíambu dyasáma . ye-túkú dyankúmbú asámá-skuul.  
 máka maambu mudíambu dyasama . ye-túkú dyankúmbú asámá-skuul.  
 some things about the word 'summer' and the origin of the name  
 'summer school'.
41. +Káimbut' álukánu lwaámé-ko muvóvilá dyáambu dyasáma.† Mbùt'  
 +Káimbut' álukánu lwaáme-ko muvovilá dyaambu dyasama.† Mbùt'  
 It is not my main aim to talk about the word 'summer'. My
42. álukánu lwaámé . ímúkulusoongá . †boonsó bwayántikilá, evó .  
 álukánu lwaámé . ímúkulusoongá . bboonsó bwayántikilá, evó .  
 main aim is to tell you how the Baptist Missionary Society
43. luyántiku lwasama-skuul zabíyemese . ísya vó . ndzólelé<sup>~</sup>  
 luyántiku lwasama-skuul zabíyemese . ísya vó . ndzólelé  
 summer-schools started, or their beginning. That is, I would like
44. kuluzayisá . ntsáangú zasámá-skuulz zíná zikúbikwaangá  
 kuluzayisá . ntsáangu zasámá-skuulz zina zikúbikwaangá  
 to give you information about the summer-schools which are  
 organised
45. kwabíyemese . / †Imumvú wa fúnda dímosí nkháma vwa ye-kuumi .  
 kwabíyemese . / Imumvú wa fúnda dímosí nkháma vwa ye-kuumi .  
 by the B.M.S. It was in the year 1910
46. sáma-skul yántete yabíyemesé . yayántika . Yaau yakála mumbaanz'  
 sáma-skul yántete yabíyemesé . yayántika . Yaau yakála mumbaanz'  
 that the first B.M.S. summer-school began. It was in the town
47. a<sub>A</sub>folkéston . †Mbbútu myakála myamboote . Túuká ntangu yoyo  
 a<sub>A</sub>folkéston . Mbbútu myakála myamboote . Túuka ntangu yoyo  
 of Folkstone. The results were good. From this time on
48. dyamónika vó . ntómbokolo' ásəlú . yanýngunuka kíbe? kíkílu.  
 dyamónika vó . ntómbokolo' asəlú . yanýngunuka kíbe? kíkílu.  
 it became obvious that the growth of the work increased very  
 much indeed.
49. Ye dyabádika mónika vó . báantu bána baláandilá mukukísóníkisa  
 Ye dyabádika mónika vó . báantu bana baláandilá mukukísóníkisa  
 And it began to be seen that the people who continued to enrol

NB. 41: ++ falling.

50. mukwēnda kusama-skuul̄ . ka-bakàl̄a ffyl̄ú-ko, ↓ ka-babàk̄a ffyl̄ú-ko,  
mukwenda kusama-skuul̄ . ka-bakàl̄á ffyl̄ú-ko, ↓ ka-babàk̄á ffyl̄ú-ko,  
to go to the summer school were no small group, and remained no  
small group,
51. kadī . fínámāw . t̄ézó kyamafuúnda matat̄ú . évó nkkutu mafuúnda  
kadī . fínámāw . t̄ézó kyamafuúnda matat̄ú . évó nkkutu mafuúnda  
for almost the number of 3,000, or even three and a half
52. mā<sub>Λ</sub>tt̄átu ye-ndaambu . makisónikis̄ā<sub>Λ</sub> mukwēenda kusama-skuul̄ . /  
mā<sub>Λ</sub>tt̄átu ye-ndaambu . makisónikis̄a<sub>Λ</sub> mukwēenda kusama-skuul̄ . /  
thousand enrolled to go to the summer school.
53. ↑ Mb̄uta zab̄iyemese kul̄b̄ondr̄ō . baziz̄ibula sik̄ola náanā , évó  
Mb̄uta zab̄iyemese kul̄b̄ondr̄ō . baziz̄ibula sik̄ola náanā , évó  
The directors of the B.M.S. in London opened nine schools, or
54. nkkutu kúum̄i , mun̄ā-mvu myómyo . / Musama-skulz zántet̄é , dyamónika  
nkkutu kúumi , munā-mvu myomyo . / Musama-skulz zántete , dyamónika  
even ten, in these years. In the first summer schools, it became  
apparent
55. v̄o . pr̄óggr̄ām - ísya v̄o , máambu mána makúbikwa . v̄o<sub>Λ</sub> ímafwet̄i  
v̄o . pr̄óggr̄ām - ísya v̄o , máambu mána makúbikwa . v̄o<sub>Λ</sub> ímafwet̄i  
that 'programmes', that is, things which are prepared as a schedule
56. laandw̄ā - makàl̄a m̄afuana , ye mat̄oma l̄aandw̄a , ye-baléek̄e<sub>Λ</sub>  
laandw̄ā - makàl̄a m̄afuana , ye matoma l̄aandw̄a , ye-baléek̄e<sub>Λ</sub>  
to be followed, were useful, and were carefully followed, and the  
young people
57. bat̄oma mo-yángalal̄ā m̄pe . Tuuk̄à ntaangu yóyō , buuna s̄ama-skulz<sub>Λ</sub>  
batoma mo-yángalala m̄pe . Tuuk̄à ntaangu yóyō , buuna s̄ama-skulz<sub>Λ</sub>  
greatly enjoyed them as well. From this time on, there were summer  
schools
58. zatt̄átamana kúbikw̄ā , ↓ ye zitt̄átamanaanga kubikw̄ā , nat̄é ye-wáau . /  
zatt̄átamana kúbikwa , ↓ ye zitt̄átamanaanga kúbikw̄ā , nat̄è ye-wáau . /  
which were constantly organised, and are being constantly organised,  
up until now.
59. ↑ Mumv̄u myáami mileendī , dimónekene v̄o . s̄ama-skul̄ yik̄it̄ukidī .  
In those following years, it became apparent that the summer school  
had now become
60. semp̄il̄' at̄ádiya dyaminkw̄ikizi , t̄adiya dya<sub>Λ</sub>b̄ana b̄andz̄āmbi ,  
a kind of factory for believers, a factory for children of God,



75. mukáti kwánítu zaaú . ye-mungííndu z'ááú mpe. ↑ ye mumvú  
as concerns their bodies, and their minds also. And in the  
year
76. wa fúnda dímosi nkháma vwa makumasaámbanu ye-ya . bu-twafííwa  
1964, when we were brought
77. kúmp'hutú m'ulonguká, mundwák' eto kú'angletéér . mumvú wowó,  
to Europe to study, on our arrival in England in this year,
78. Tata žbrž Tomatalá . ye-mónó . twabbáka láu dyakwénda  
Mr. Georges Tomatala and I took the opportunity of going
79. kúsama-skul. Sáma-skuúli yánthete yi-twayénda . yakála muntsí'  
to a summer school. The first summer school that we went to was  
in the country
80. apéi-de-gal . muzúngá kyānyúkasi-élm . múfivata féna nkumbú  
of Wales, in the region of Newcastle Emllyn, in a little village  
by the name
81. akílgwín. Kúuná . twanáenginá tumíngu tóole, láandilá dyodyó.  
of Cilgwyn. There we stayed for two weeks, and after this
82. twaffííwá kusúúde dyaangletéér . kumbánz' abóskóomb.  
we were taken to the south of England, to the town of Boscombe,
83. kú-twakalá . lumíngu lumósi kaka, ye-vazímuniná . twayénda  
where we were for just one week, and afterwards we went
84. kusáma-skul yánkáká . yakála kubártóósi, lukúfi ye-mbánz'  
to another summer school which was at Barton-on-Sea, near the  
town
85. a nyúmltí . muzúngá kyāhámshí . / ↑mufúlu byawóónso  
of New Milton, in the region of Hampshire. In all the places
86. bí-twázyeeta, twatoma ttáambulwa, twalóombwa muyíimbíla  
that we visited, we were very well received, and were asked to  
sing
87. nkúnga myakísí-Koongo . ye twalóombwa mpé . musóonga ntsáangu  
songs of Kongo culture, and we were also asked to give news
88. zakísí-Koongó . ye-ntsátú ádíByundu dyáKoongo. Waaú,  
of Kongo life and the state (?) of the Kongo church. Now,

89. ndzóléle kulusoongá . mána yámoná . kusámá-skul. / Ntuádísí,  
I would like to tell you what I saw at the summer school: The  
director,
90. kónsó sálu? kéná ye-ntsá'tú anttwáádísí, ye-mu...mutwáád'sa  
each task which is under the supervision (?) of the director, and  
about the directing
91. salu kyokyo. Ibóbo mpe kusámá-skuúl . yamóná báantu bána  
of this work. So at the summer school as well I saw people who
92. básoolwá . mudyáat'sa sálu, báantu bqbō bábóókulwanga  
were chosen to organise the work, these people being called
93. mundíng' ákingelezo vo stáaf. Kóonso samá-skuúl yíwáídí  
in the English language 'staff'. Every summer school has
94. stáf záandí. Mustáfi zozó, muéntina ye-prézidō (évo ntuádísí  
its staff. In this staff there is a president (or director
95. asálu), s'ekrétéér (insonikí), mísyonéér, k'ferósié  
of the work), secretary (writer), missionaries, conference  
director
96. (intuádisí alukútakanú), shéf de grúp (imfidí myábíkuunku  
(director of a meeting), group leaders (leaders of groups
97. evo? makabú), metrés dtél (inlámbsí amadyá), servónt  
or gatherings), cateress (preparer of meals), servants
98. (imínsadísí), ye-áfirmyéér (evo mffwélemi). Kumbànino  
(helpers), and a matron (or nurse). At the end of the s
99. asámá-skuúl, prézidō . ofílaga rapór kyaandí . kwásékrétéér  
of the summer school, the president gives his report to the  
general
100. zhenérál . kúna-lóndra. / Luyántiku. B'ká twavóv'ila? njántiku  
secretary in London. The beginning: Let us talk about the  
beginning
101. ássalú kusámá-skul. Fisíídí ngá? samá-skúlz ziluta yántikaaga  
of the work at the summer school. Almost all the summer schools  
usually begin
102. kyásáabala, laandíla llumbu kyángoonda k'na kyásoolwá  
on Saturday, according to the day of the month which was chosen

103. kwabámbuta z̄b̄aantú . b̄āna b̄asoolw̄a mudȳaatisá salú  
by the senior officials of the people who were chosen to  
organise
104. kyábantwéenyá . Mbúta z̄óz̄o . z̄ísálanga salu kyaaun mundz̄o  
the youth work. These officials carry out their work in a  
building
105. yibíkwaanga nkhuumbú mukífwalansa v̄o . dep̄artm̄a da zhanéés,  
which is given the name in French of 'departement de jeunesse',
106. ye-mukingélezo yibíkwanga v̄o . yang píp̄ālz dep̄artm̄ent.  
and in English is called 'young people's department'.
107. Mumbútá zaazi, zitw̄adisanga salu kyábantweenyá, mumónekené  
Among these officials directing the youth work can be seen
108. ulólo wabap̄astöör, ye-s̄ekret̄ér zhener̄al yab̄antweenyá.  
a number of pastors, and the general secretary for the youth
109. ip̄astöör. / ↑ Nt̄ekelé kulusoonga v̄o . s̄am̄a-skuūl . yiluta  
is a pastor. I have already told you that the summer school usually
110. yántikanga kyás̄aabalá . Munt̄angú yoyó . s̄ekret̄ér zhener̄al.  
starts on a Saturday. At this time the general secretary
111. uuv̄aanaanga kíiyekwa kyadȳat'sa s̄am̄a-skuūl . kwab̄ast̄aaf.  
hands over the responsibility of running the summer school to  
the staff.
112. Íkum̄a, bast̄af balw̄aákanga kufúlu kyás̄am̄a-skuūl . seb̄aantu  
Thus the staff arrive at the location of the summer school as
113. bant̄ét̄e, teekila ndw̄aakulú abaleeke . ye-yab̄aantu b̄ankaka.  
the first comers, before the arrival of the young people or of  
other people.
114. ↑ Dyodyó . ↑ dikubav̄aananga ntaangú . muteeza síkidisa m̄aambu m̄aū.  
This gives them the time to try to arrange their affairs
115. mun' òom̄a mat̄adidi . ndȳaastulū ás̄alu. / Tuuka òolá . yanzoolé  
as regards the organisation of the work. From the second hour
116. (evo d̄óz̄ é̄r), baléeke baȳant̄ík̄ā lūakaanga, is̄alú kyás̄ekret̄ör.  
(or two o'clock), the young people begin to arrive, and it is the  
secretary
116. (evo d̄óz̄ é̄r), baléeke baȳant̄ík̄ā lūakaanga, is̄alú kyás̄ekret̄ör.

117. mukubakaa<sup>h</sup>mbá . ye-kubásoongá <sup>h</sup> masúkú máau mándeeka . Madyá  
to welcome them and to show them their bedrooms. The
118. mankóókíla <sup>h</sup> makálaangá . mu<sup>h</sup>óola yantsámwadi . ↑ Baa<sup>h</sup>ntú báwóonsó,  
evening meal is at seven o'clock. Everyone,
119. vo baluungidi<sup>o</sup>, buna mu<sup>h</sup>óola yanáana yámpíimpá, bakútakananga  
when they are present, about eight o'clock in the evening, meets
120. mundzó<sup>o</sup> alukútakanu, buuna prézid<sup>o</sup> <sup>h</sup> okubakáyisaangá .  
in the assembly hall, and the president welcomes them
121. ye-kubazódilanga ndwáákulu ámboté . kusámá<sup>h</sup>-skuul . / mpíla  
and hopes they had a good journey to the summer school. The kind
122. zábáentu . Kusámá<sup>h</sup>-skuul . kulenda múnika mpíla zawóonsó zabáentu.  
of people: At the summer school can be seen many kinds of people.
123. Èedi ndzole' é vova vó . ka-baleéke kaka-kó <sup>h</sup> bakwéndanga kúuna,  
What I would like to say is that it is not only young people who  
go there,
124. kaansi<sup>o</sup> . ye-bámbutá mpe . Mubámbutá . buuna tulendá moná .  
but adults as well. Among the adults, well, we can see
125. bapástöör<sup>o</sup>, biséeló, balóongi basíkoola . ↑ Mukíese báantú<sup>h</sup>  
pastors, domestics, schoolteachers. Joyfully
126. bóbo báwóonso . basóngazananga ngíindu, ye-bapástöör<sup>o</sup> .  
all these people exchange ideas, and the pastors
127. basádisanga mátoko yé-zindumbá . mumámbu makimpéve . línga,  
assist the young men and women in spiritual matters. Indeed,
128. ka-véna bbáká . vakáti kwabámbuta ye-baleeké . -kó . / Dyáambú  
there are no obstacles between the adults and the young people.  
This
129. dyaedi dítuunganga zolá . vakáti kwáau, vakáti kwabalóongi  
state of affairs strengthens love between them, between the  
teachers
130. ye-<sup>h</sup>diBuundu<sup>o</sup>, biséeló ye-bapástöör<sup>o</sup>, diBúundu yé-zhanéés,  
and the Church, the domestics and the pastors, the Church and  
youth,

131. ↓evo bantwéenyá. / Mfúnú? <sub>Λ</sub> asámá-skuul. Sámá-skuul. ká?-ífulu  
or young people. The purpose of the summer school: The summer  
school is not a place
132. kíkweéndulwængé. múlukanu lwasákana kaka-kó, kaansí mpé,  
which is gone to with the aim only of relaxing, but also,
133. ífulu kílóngukulwanga. ísya vó, ntsáka <sub>Λ</sub> ye-lóngoká, mambu  
it is a place where study goes on. That is, play and study, these
134. máma <sub>Λ</sub> máú moolé. madyáatanga vvákimosi. Bambútá ye-baléeké.  
two things go on together. The adults and the young people
135. bavwán'anga vvákimosi. ye-lóngoka, ísya vó. mókinina <sub>Λ</sub> ↓nssámu  
sit down together and learn, that is, discuss subjects
136. mítadidi nndyá'tisulu? <sup>(1)</sup> asalú. múdiBuundu dyáKlístó, ye-sósa ndzílá.  
concerned with the conduct of work in the Christian Church, and  
examine ways
137. mphási vo baléendá. kúkivaaná. muluzíngu lwáu lwamvúmbā.  
in which they may dedicate themselves for their entire life
138. musádila Ndzáambi. muntsi zánkaká. evo muntsi? áau kibéeni. /  
to working for God in other countries, or in their own country.
139. Buna vává, ndzolele kulúsoonga <sub>Λ</sub> maká máambu. maná  
So now I would like to tell you some of the things which
140. malóongwaenga <sub>Λ</sub> kusámá-skuul: nthàangulú <sub>Λ</sub> abílibila; mpfídilú? <sub>Λ</sub>  
are studied at the summer school: the reading of the Bible; the  
leading
141. ésamu; ndíilú <sub>Λ</sub> abyúúú <sub>Λ</sub> musálú kyabamisyoneēē. muntsi <sub>Λ</sub>  
of prayers; the asking of questions about the work of missionaries  
in foreign
142. zándzeenza; ngímbudulú <sub>Λ</sub> ámínkuunga; ntàangulú <sub>Λ</sub> ámínkaanda -  
countries; the singing of hymns; the reading of books -
143. íssya vó, vená mpe ye-ndzō ámínkaanda. (evo líbrerí),  
that is, there is also a house of books (or 'library'),
144. baléeke babíndamené. musúumbá-myo, kadí. ílúsadísū. mutúungá <sub>Λ</sub>  
and the young people are encouraged to read them, because it is  
a help in strengthening

145. myóyo myaəú . muməəmbu makimpéve. / Vasámbu dyánkáká, balenda  
their hearts in matters spiritual. On the other hand, they can
146. lónguká <sub>Λ</sub> ntsəka zəmpila múmpila, boonsó <sub>Λ</sub> fútból, vúlebál,  
learn games of various sorts, like football, volley-ball,
147. básketbál, tenis, píng-póng evo tébəl-tenís, kríket,  
basketball, tennis, ping-pong or table-tennis, cricket,
148. ye-vazímunina . balòongukaəngá mpe . muttá mantsáya kúmbu. /  
and moreover they also learn to swim in the sea.
149. ↑səlú kyəlumbu kəlumbu. ↑Səmə-skuúl <sub>Λ</sub> yiyántikəngə kyásəabala,  
Day to day work: The summer school begins on Saturday,
150. ye <sub>Λ</sub> yilusòongelengé . məəna mavəəngaməngə mulúmbú kyokyo. Wəəú,  
and I have already told you what happens on that day. Now,
151. biká twəfíimpə <sub>Λ</sub> səlú . byəlumbu byánkəkə. / ↑Bətó bəwóonso .  
let us look at the work [done] on other days. All of us
152. tuttómene dyo-zayə, laəndila məəna tyttəngəngá muBíibila <sub>Λ</sub>  
know very well, according to what we read in the Bible
153. mun'-dóow' wə <sub>Λ</sub> ntsémone éndzə, Ndzəəmbi wásala lúmbú səəmbanú.  
about the creation of the world, that God worked six days
154. mummánisa salu kyandi kyəwóonso muvúimba. Mukyāntsáəmbwadi.  
to complete all his work entirely. On the seventh day
155. wəvúunda, ye dyəsónəmə vó: 'Zítisa lúmbu kyəvuundú, mphási  
he rested, and it is written, 'Honour the day of rest, that
156. wəkéba-kyō <sub>Λ</sub> kyaváuka'. / Búunā, kusəmə-skuúl, lúmbú kyokyo  
you may keep it sacred'. So at the summer school this day
157. kizítuswəngə bəen' kíkílu. Munsyúuká, kyəlūmíngú, bəantu  
is held in very great respect. In the morning on Sunday,
158. bəwóonso bəkwəəndəngá kusəəmbú kyəbattísté . kíinə kena  
everyone goes to the Baptist church which is

159. lukúfú...lukúfi ye-sámá-skul; munkookilá mpē . bawqònsó  
close to the summer school; in the evening too everyone
160. bavútukanga kúsaambu. Dyámú dyakíese edí vó . lãandila  
returns to the church. A pleasant thing is that, following
161. madya mánkookilá, mu'òól' anãana yãmpímpã, buna nggímbudulū .  
the evening meal, at eight o'clock in the evening, there is a  
[hymn-]singing [session]
162. zikúbikwãnga. ↑ Mphil' akíese múwwã . nggímbudulu zãmbote-mboté.  
organised. It is extremely enjoyable to hear the beautiful singing
163. kwámatokó . ye-zíndúumba . ↓ mulukkãnu lwásíkã Mvãangí , ↓ evo  
by the young men and women, with the object of praising our Maker,  
or
164. Nssãmi. Bési-díBúúndu muzùga kyasámá-skuul . bakwéénda  
Creator. The members of the church in the neighbourhood of the  
summer school go
165. búúndananga yaãú , kúmósi . múlukãnu lwásíkã Ndzaambi mpé.  
to join them in the same place, with the intention of praising  
God also.
166. Tëekilã vãambaná, buuna épilóog, ís'a vó, sãmbu kyantãngulu  
Before [the gathering] breaks up, there is an epilogue, that is,  
a prayer [consisting] of a reading
167. áBíibílã, ye-ngímbudulú, kíváangwãnga. / ↑ Kdonso kyámondé,  
from the Bible, and singing, is made. Every Monday,
168. kyãzóole, kyayã . yé-kyatãanu, ntsãdulu yená bonsò ébu: /  
Tuesday, Thursday and Friday, the schedule is like this:
169. ↑òól' antsãmbwadi yé-ndambu: ntãngú? asíkama, yayóbilã,  
7.30: time to get up, wash,
170. ye-yakãla báakubama. / ↑òól' anãánã . ye-mínuta kúmi ye-tãanu:  
and get ready. 8.15:
171. sãambu kyantsyúuka - sãambu kyãakí kítwããduswãngwã , kwabãstãaf.  
morning prayer - this prayer is led by the staff,
172. kumósi ye-báleeke. ↑ Isãambu kyãnkufi kãkã, kyãmínuta kúumi  
together with the young people. It is only a short prayer of

173. ye-tāənu. / \dɔl' anəəna yé-ndaəmbú: mədya məntsýúuka. /  
15 minutes. 8.30: morning meal.
174. \dɔl' əwə yé-ndaəmbú: lukútakənu; muntəəngu yəəyí, bəəntú bawóonsó<sub>Λ</sub>  
9.30: a meeting; at this time, everyone
175. bənátəngā<sub>Λ</sub> məBílibila máau, ye-lékwa byəntsóníkína. /  
brings their Bibles, and writing materials.
176. \dɔl' akúumí: intəəngú? əgrúúp da dískusyó, ísya vó. bəəntú  
10.00: it is time for the 'discussion group', that is, people
177. bavəəmbusu mukuunku kyəbantu nəəná evo kúumi, ye bakwəendanga  
are separated into groups of 8 or 10 people; and they go off
178. múfíimpā<sub>Λ</sub> ye-ddízəzəna byuuvó<sub>Λ</sub> ye-téəza sólula mbvútu<sub>Λ</sub> muməəna  
to examine, and ask each other questions, and try to find answers  
for what
179. bəwíídí kulukútakənu. / \dɔl' akúumi<sub>Λ</sub> zakóondwa mínuta məkumaya  
they have heard at the meeting. 10.45:
180. ye-təənú: bə<sub>Λ</sub>wóonso. bavvútúkaəngā<sub>Λ</sub> muna-súkú dyəlukútakənú,  
everyone returns to the meeting-room,
181. ye-kóonso kabú. dísooləngə múuntú. muvəəná rapó<sub>Λ</sub> evo ntsəəngú  
and each group chooses a person to give a report, or account,
182. zəməəná mə-bəfíimpídi. / tuuka \dɔl' akúmi ye-mósi natéé.  
of what they have examined. from 11.00 to
183. ye-yakúmi ye-zoolé: nthəngú<sub>Λ</sub> əvuundu. / tuuka \dɔl' amósi.  
12.00: free time. from 1.00
184. naté ye-\dɔl' amósi ye-ndaəmbú: ntəəngú<sub>Λ</sub> ədya. / mudola yəzoolé:  
to 1.30: meal-time. 2.00:
185. inthəngú əntsəka zəmpila múmpilə; bankəka bakwəendanga kumbu  
it is time for various games; some go to the sea
186. mulonguka ta məntsəyá. \dɔl' əyá: tí kyənkóokila. /  
to learn to swim, or for a dip. 4.00: evening tea.

187. ʔool' ántsambwadi: mádyá mánkʊ́kíla. / ʔool' anáanə: lukútakənu  
 187. ʔool' ántsambwadi: mádyá mánkʊ́kíla. / ʔool' anáanə: lukútakənu
188. lwánkʊ́kíla; lukútakənu lwáalú ʔ ludyááatuswaaŋga kwabámísyonéɛɛɛ.  
 this meeting is conducted by the missionaries.
189. Imuntáangú yáayí. bámsíyonéɛɛɛ ʔ basámunangá ʔ ntsááŋgu zásalu  
 It is at this time that the missionaries give an account of their
190. kyááú. muntsí zína zí-basádílŋga sálú kyáau, boonsó ʔ Kóongó,  
 work in the countries they are working in, such as Congo,
191. ye-Índia. Basóóŋgəŋga síndima evo fílmz, músoongəŋ ntsí yína  
 and India. They show movies or films, to show the country that
192. yí-basádílŋga sálú kyáau, yé-soongá mpé ʔ n'yááatulu ásalu  
 they are doing their work in, and also to show the progress of  
 the work
193. kyáNdzáámbrí. muntsí zózo. / Imuntáangú yóyo mpé. basóóŋgəŋga  
 of God in these countries. It is at this time also that they  
 explain
194. kwabaleekeʔ ʔ kúsama-skúɪ. bóónso bu-báwíla mbóókolo ʔ mukítuka  
 to the young people at the summer school how they heard the call  
 to become
195. mʔísyonéɛɛɛ, ísya vó. bavvóvəŋga kimbáŋgí kyáau. Basóonŋaŋá mpé.  
 missionaries, that is, they give their witness. They also talk  
 about
196. mphásí ʔ yé-máwete máəna ma-bámónangá ʔ muntsí zózo. / ʔ Láandíla  
 the difficulties and the pleasant things which they experience  
 in those countries. Following
197. ntsoongolo ántsəŋgu zaaú, baléeké bakubayúvuləŋga byúuvú ʔ  
 the giving of their account, the young people ask them questions
198. ʔ byamphíla múmphila. / ʔ Dyámbo dyaádí. dyəná dyamfúnu kíkílu,  
 of various sorts. This event is of great importance,
199. ekúmá kadí. ditúuntəŋa ulólo wamətoko ye-zíndúumbá. mukítuka  
 because it attracts a number of young men and women to become
200. sɛmʔísyonéɛɛɛ, ye díkubaváanangá ʔ ntháangú. muyííndula  
 now missionaries, and gives them the opportunity to remember

201. besi-ʔAfélikā<sub>Λ</sub> yè-índiā<sub>Λ</sub> musəəmbú yəəu. † Fisíídi ngə̄ . bəmísyəncéer<sub>Λ</sub>  
the people of Africa and India in their prayers. Almost all the
202. bəwóonso . íkusəmə-skuul . balúta wíílangā<sub>Λ</sub> mbòókolo<sub>Λ</sub> áu.  
missionaries, it was usually at the summer school that they heard  
their call.
203. Muntáangu yòyó mpē . bési-Koongō . basòónganga ntsángu záKeongō.  
At this time also the Kongo people give an account of Congo
204. mún'-owu wásalu kyadíBuundū . ye-kyabantwéenya. † Byúuvú mpē.  
as regards the task of the Church and of young people. Questions
205. biyúvulwangā . kwabáau. / tuka òol' akumi ye-mósi . naté ye-òol'<sub>Λ</sub>  
are also put to them. from 11.00 to
206. akumi ye-mmósi ye-mínutá kúmi ye-taanú: ntəangulú əBííbilā.  
11.15: reading of the Bible
207. kwámúuntu múuntu. / ool' akumi ye-mósi yé-ndaəmbú: míínda  
individually. 11.30: lights
208. mizímaəngə . ye-bawòonsō . baléekanga. / Koonso kyátatú . ilúmbu  
out, and everyone goes to sleep. Every Wednesday is a day
209. kyəndzyéetolo múmbəanzə . yé-kúmbu. † Koonso kyataanú . † muòol'  
for a visit to the town or to the sea. Every Friday, at
210. ənəəna yəmpíimpā . ilúmbú kyəméəzə mampfumú . † évó . † nléekolo. /  
eight o'clock in the evening, is the day for the Lord's Supper,  
or Communion.
211. † Momo . íməəmbú . məlumbu kálumbú . makálangā<sub>Λ</sub> kusámə-skuul.  
These are the day-to-day events which occur at the summer school.

Text for chapter 11.

Dialect: kileta.

Informant: Mr. Y.K. Katesi.

Source: own composition.

1. Na kuyantíká <sub>Λ</sub> béno yamba mbóte na móno. Áwa móono ikéle ngóólo.  
Na kuyantíká <sub>Λ</sub> béno yamba mbóte na móno. Áwá <sub>Λ</sub> móno ikele ngólo.  
To begin with, accept my best wishes. Here I am well.
2. Móno kézaba vé kána béno kúná <sub>Λ</sub> ikéle mpi mbóte. Móno kumáka  
Múnu kézaba vé <sub>Λ</sub> kana béno kúna ikele mpi mbóte. Móno kumáka  
I don't know if you there are also well. I arrived
3. awa <sub>Λ</sub> na mpúth(u) . go ntóto ya bamindélé na kilúmbu ya kúmi  
awa na mpúthú . go ntóto ya bamindélé na kilúmbu ya kúmi  
here in Europe, or the country of the white people, on the
4. na náné <sub>Λ</sub> ya ngónḁa ugústi ya mbvúla melúta yáí. Na ntángu  
na náná <sub>Λ</sub> ya ngónḁa ugústi ya mbvúla melúta yáí. Na ntángu  
eighteenth day of the month of August of the year preceding this  
one. And when
5. ya múnu kukulumukáka na ndeke ya zúlu go avió . mbvúla  
ya múnu kukulumúkaka na ndeke ya zúlú <sub>Λ</sub> go avió . mbvúla  
I disembarked from the aircraft, or aeroplane, it was
6. van'áka kunóka . kantsi mílee na móno kupoláka ve. B'íma  
vandáka kunóka . kantsi mílee na móno kupólaka ve. B'íma  
raining, but my clothes did not get wet. None of my things
7. na móno yóntso kupoláka mpi vé, sámbu mbvúla <sub>Λ</sub> vandáka  
na múnu yóontsó kupoláka mpi vé, sámbú <sub>Λ</sub> mbvúla <sub>Λ</sub> vandáká  
got wet either, because the rain was
8. peenzá . ngólo ve. Kilúmbu yína . ntángu kulaláka na ntángú.  
mpenzá ngólo vé. Kilúmbu yína . ntángu kulaláká na ntángu  
not really heavy. That day the sun set when
9. ya béno vandáka ya kulálá . kúná na bwála. Na mp'impá . bó  
ya béno vandáká ya kulála . kúná na bwála. Na mp'impá . bó  
ours was going down there at the village. In the evening they

10. kupelisáka mwínda . na babala-bálá . ye yó vandáká kumoníka bóntso  
kupelisáka mwínda na babala-bálá . ye yó vandáká kumoníka bóntso  
lit lamps on the streets, and it was as bright as
11. nde ntángu mèlálá ntété ve. Na kilúmbu ya kúmi na nâná,  
ndé . ntángu mèlálá ntété ve. ↑ Na kilúmbu ya kúmi na nâná,  
if the sun had not already set. On the eighteenth day,
12. móno katukáka na mbándza . móno kumáka ntété . yee móno  
móno katukáka na mbándza ya móno kumáka ntété . ye móno  
I left the city I had first arrived in, and I
13. kwen'áka na mbánza mósi ya fyotí zína na yó strátford-ápon-  
kwendáka na mbándza mósi ya fyotí zína na yó strátford-ápon-  
went to a small town by the name of Stratford-upon-
14. évon. Kúná . bó kuyam'áka mónó na famílya mósi. Móno kusaléka  
évon. Kúná . bó kuyambáka mónó na famílya mósi. Mónó kusaléka  
Avon. There I was received by a family. I stayed
15. mpóso zó'é na bwála uáí, ye na nímá bampfúmu kuthindáka  
mpóso zóle na bwála uáí, ye na nímá . bampfúmu kuthindáka  
two weeks in this village, and afterwards my sponsors sent
16. múnu na mbánza mósi zína na yó líidz. Áwá . móno  
móno na mbándza mósi zína na yó líidz. Áwá móno  
me to a town called Leeds. There I
17. kulongukákā na yuniversity . yéé na ntsúka ya mbvúla móno  
kulongukáka na yuniversity . yéé na ntsúka ya mbvúla móno  
studied at the university and at the end of the year I
18. kuzwáka díplómi na mónó na matónzi mōnsí . ya mbóth', sámbu  
kuzwáka díplómi na mónó na matúnsi mósi ya mbóthe, sámbu  
got my diploma with good marks, because
19. móno vandáka kutánga minkandá mbote-mbóte . na mpíla ya balóngyí  
móno vandáka kutánga minkandá mbote-mbóte . na mpíla ya balóngi  
I had read very good books, and [on account of] the calibre of  
the lecturers

20. vandáka kusúnga múnu. Na ntángu ya múnu kuzwáka lutíthi.  
vandáka kusóngá móno. ↑ Na ntángu ya múnu kuzwáka lutíthi  
who were teaching me. When I got the certificate
21. ya mukandá ya bó kebingáka diplómí, múnu lombáka na bantu  
ya munkandá ya bó kebingáka diplómí, múnu lombáka na bantu  
they call a 'diploma', I asked the people
22. ya van'áka kupésa múnu mbòongó. sámbu na kulóngúka dyáka áwá  
ya van'áka kupésa múnu mbòngó sámbu na kulóngúka dyáka áwá  
who were funding me about studying again here
23. mbúúla yankáka. Bó kubuyáka vé. ye. bó kupesáka múnú ndzwa  
mbúúla yankáka. Bó kubuyáka ve. ye. bó kupesáka múnu ntswá  
for another year. They didn't refuse, and they gave me permission
24. ya kubikál' awá na Mpútu. Yoo yína. béno monáka móno kúna  
ya kubikál' awá na Mpútu. Yoo yína. béno monáka móno kúna  
to remain here in Europe. And that's why you haven't seen me  
there
25. na bwála vé na ndzangúka\* ya melúta yáí. Mbala yáí. móno  
na bwála vé na ndzangúká ya melúta yáí. ↑ Mbala yáí. móno  
at the village last Assumption. This time I
26. fwetéle kuvutúka na íntsi na bétó Zaír, sámbu múnu kèzóla  
fwetéle kuvutúka na íntsi na bétó Zaír sámbu mòno. kezóla  
will return to our country, Zaire, because I do not want
27. kubikála dyák' awá ve. Bamindélé ikéle bantu mósí ya mbóte  
kubikála áwa dyáká ve. Bamindélé ikéle bantu mósí ya mbóte  
to remain here any longer. Europeans are good
28. tí luzítu. Móno memóna ntéte kíma mósí ya mbí ya bó mésaála vé,  
tí luzítu. Móno memóna ntéte kíma mósí ya mbí ya bó mesála vé,  
and respectful people. I have not yet seen one bad thing that  
they have done,
29. kantsi múnu lén'a kusóga béno ndé. bó kézóla kúnwa tí míngí.  
kantsi múnu lénda kusóngá béno nde. bó kezóla kúnwa tí míngí.  
but I can tell you that they like to drink a lot of tea.

\* 15th August, used as the name of the period June-September.

30. Bò kénwa maláfu mííngí vé . bóntso béto benty 'a Záír. Mása m̄pí  
 Bò kénwa maláfu mííngí vé . bóntso béto bantu ya Záír. Mása m̄pí  
 They do not drink a lot of wine like us people in Zaire. Neither
31. bò kénwa mííngí vé, káka tí go káfe. Kúntsu mbala ya ngé  
 bo kénwa yò mííngí vé, káka tí go káfe. Kòóntsu mbala ya ngé  
 do they drink a lot of water, only tea or coffee. Every time that  
 you
32. takwén'a kutála mundéle áwa na intsi yáí, yándí tayúúla ngé  
 takwénda kutála mundéle áwa na intsi yáí, yándí tayúla ngé  
 go to visit a European here in this country, he will ask you
33. kana ngé kezóla kúnwa tí go káfe. Makáya m̄pí bô kénwa yò  
 kana ngé kezóla kúnwa tí go káfe. Makáya m̄pí bo kénwa yò  
 whether you want a drink of tea or coffee. Tobacco too they  
 smoke
34. mííngyi, bankénto ti bayakálá, bana ya fyóti ti bambúta.  
 mííngyi, bankénto tí bayakálá, bana ya fyóti tí bambúta.  
 a lot, both men and women, young people and adults.
35. Ntálú ya makáya melúta kitésó awa. Kíma yankàkà ya múnú  
 ↑ Ntálú ya makáya + melúta kitésó áwa. Kíma yankàkà ya múnú  
 The price of tobacco here is past measure. Another thing that I
36. zolàké kuvíla na kusóngá béno yò yáí - áwá, katúka ngóna  
 zolàka kuvíla na kusóngá bènó yo yáí - áwa, + katúka ngóna  
 would like to note and to tell you is this - here, from the
37. ya kúmi na zòlé tí ngóna ya tàtú, madídi kévandáka míngí.  
 ya kúmi na zòlé. tí ngóna ya tàtú, madídi kévandáka míngí.  
 12th month (December) to the third month (March), the cold is  
 very great.
38. Bantu yankàkh' ngé tamóna bó kevwáta bapantáló zòlé tí  
 Bantu yankàkhá nge tamóna báú kevwáté bapantáló zòlé tí  
 Some people, you will see them wearing two pairs of trousers,  
 as well as
39. símìsí tí tílíkó tí kazàké na zúlu ya míléle yáí yónso.  
 símìsí tí tílíkó tí kazàké na zúlú ya míléle yáí yóntso.  
 a shirt, and a cardigan (?), and a coat (?) as well over all  
 these clothes.

NB: 31-32b: ++ emphatic. 35b: ++ slow. 36-37b: ++ rising.

40. Na ntsúngi ya madìdí, mbvúla kénokáka míngi vé aw', kántsi  
 ↑ Na ntsúngi ya madìdí, ... mbvúla kénokáka míngi vé áwa, kántsi  
 And in the cold season there is not much rain here, but
41. mpfúmpfu ya mpèmbé kébwaaka na ntóto. Bāndzó, babala-bàlá <sup>^</sup> tí  
 mpfúmpfu ya mpèmbé <sup>^</sup> kébwaka na ntóto. Bāndzó, babala-bàlá <sup>^</sup> tí  
 snow (lit. white flour) falls to the ground. The houses, the  
 roads, and
42. mpfínda ke <sup>^</sup> kumáka mpèmbé na ntsúngi yáí. Ye ntángu yankàká  
 mpfíndá <sup>^</sup> kékumáka mpèmbé na ntsúngi yáí. Ye ntángu yankàká <sup>^</sup>  
 the trees as well, become white in this season. And sometimes
43. mpíla ya kutambúla na makulu gó kaminyó <sup>^</sup> kévandáká ve. Bóntso  
 mpíla ya kutambúla na makulu <sup>^</sup> gó kaminyó <sup>u</sup> kévandáka ve. Bóntso  
 it is impossible to travel on foot or in a vehicle. As
44. béno memúná <sup>^</sup> móno kwáku iké'e mbóte. Ndzo-nkándá kedyáta  
 béno memúná <sup>^</sup> móno kwáku ikéle mbóte. Ndzo-nkándá kedyáta  
 you have seen, I am fine here. My studies are going on
45. mbote-mbòté, ndzo-nkán'a na móno ikéle piph' <sup>^</sup> na kifúlu ya móno  
 mbóte-mbóte, ndzo-nkándá na móno ikele pìphí <sup>^</sup> na kifúlu ya móno  
 very well; my place of study is near the place where I
46. kébikaláka. Mònó tapésa béno ntsóni atə fyoti vé, móno kélānda  
 kébikaláka. Mònó tapésa béno ntsóni atə fyóti ve. ↑ Mònó kélānda  
 am living. I will not give you the slightest reason to be  
 ashamed of me. I am following
47. malóngyi <sup>^</sup> ya béno kupesáka móno na ntángu ya móno vandáka  
 malóngyi ya béno <sup>^</sup> kupesáka mónó <sup>^</sup> na ntàngú ya múnu vandáka  
 the advice which you gave me when I was
48. kukwís' awa, ye móno kétula kikésa míngi <sup>^</sup> ná ndzo-nkándá. Bètó  
 kukwísá awa, ye móno kétula kikésa míngi <sup>^</sup> ná ndzo-nkándá. ↓ Bètó  
 coming here, and I am dedicating myself entirely to my studies (?).  
 We
49. takutána na kísíwo yáí; béno biká'a mbòté <sup>^</sup> ye béno pésa mbóte  
 takutána na kísíwo yai; béno bikála mbòté <sup>^</sup> ye béno pésa mbóte  
 will meet again this dry season (May-August); take care, and give  
 my best

50. m̀ngí na bambúta yóntso ya dikánda na beto.  
m̀ngí na bambúta yóntso 'a dikán'a na bétó.  
regards to all the elders of our family.
51. Bandínga ya Zaír. Na . íntsi Zaír . bétó ké na bandínga m̀ngyí . e .  
The languages of Zaire. In the country of Zaire we have many  
languages, um,
52. nkáma zòlé makúmi tánu - ↓ bantú ankáka ketúbá nde bétó ké na  
250 - some people say that we have
53. bandínga káka nkáma zò'é . ↓ kàantsí . mpíla kuzába nthálu ya  
only 200 languages, but there is no way of knowing the number of
54. bandínga yóntso 'a Zaír ikéle ve. Bandínga ya nènéné ikéle  
all the languages of Zaire. The biggest languages are
55. Kikóngó, Lingálá, Kiswahílí yé Cilúba. Balúbá ya Kasáí  
Kikongo, Lingala, Kiswahili, and Ciluba. The Luba of Kasai
56. kétubáka Cilúbá, ìmpí bantú 'a ké'e . pípi nabó . kétubáka mpí  
speak Ciluba, and the people who are beside them speak
57. ndínga yéno. Lingálá . ikéle ndínga ya bantú . ya ekwatór . tí  
that language too. Lingala is the language of the people of the  
equatorial region, or of
58. Kíntásá . kansi bantú ya Bándundú tí bá-Zaír ìmpí kétubá yo.  
Kinshasa, but the people of Bandundu or Bas-Zaire also speak it.
59. Kana ngé kutála mbote-mbòté ngé tamóna nde . na . lák Mai-ndòmbé  
If you examine carefully, you will see that around Lake Blackwater
60. bantú kétubáká ìmpí Lingála. Kiswahílí kétubamáka . na . Shábá,  
the people also speak Lingala. Kiswahili is spoken in Shaba,
61. Kívu, mpí na 'ó-Zaír. Kúna na 'ó-Zaír mpí, ngé tamóna nde  
Kivu, and also in Haut-Zaire. There in Haut-Zaire also, you will  
see that
62. bantú yankáka mpe kétubáka Lingála. Kikóngó kétubamáká na .  
some people also speak Lingala. Kikongo is spoken in
63. Bándundú, na Kwíly-Kwàngó, mpí na . na . na bá-Zaír. Kansi mpíla  
Bandundu, in Kwilu-Kwango, and also in Bas-Zaire. But there

64. ya kutúb' 'a mucyeléka vé, wápi kifúlu bantu kétubáka ndínga yáí,  
is no way of stating precisely where people speak these languages,
65. sããmbū ᵂ ngé tamónā . na . kifúlu mòsí bantu kétúba bándínga m'íngyí .  
because you will notice that in one area people speak many  
languages -
66. ngé tamónā kónso muntu ᵂ kétúba . mbal' 'ankákáa bándínga zólé.  
you will notice each person sometimes speaks two languages,
67. gó bándínga tátú . go bándínga yya . yándí ᵂ ikéé na ndínga . ya . ya  
or three languages, or four languages; he has the language of
68. bibúti na yándí ᵂ táta na yandi máma na yándí . e ᵂ yándí ᵂ ikéé  
his parents, his father's and mother's, um, he has
69. tí na ndínga ᵂ yína ya bándínga yíta 'a néne ᵂ ya Zair . yína ya  
also that language from among (?) the four biggest languages  
of Zaire, that used
70. bantú ya guvernámó kezábá . e . kana yándí mèkwén'a na klás .  
by government officials he knows, um, if he has gone to school
71. yándí tátúba m'pi fr̥s̥é . e ᵂ bankáka m'pi kelongu'áka ᵂ onglé ᵂ  
he will also speak French, um, some also learn English
72. kúná ᵂ na ᵂ baklás . e na kumona makambu yína . ngé tátúba nde  
there at school, um, and considering this troublesome situation,  
you might say that
73. bantu yankáka kétubáka bándínga ya kulúta . m'ínji kibéni .  
some people speak far too many languages!
74. Kána bántú . ya mékatúka na kifúlu mòsí . go yína ya kubulu'áká  
If people who have come to one place or who have congregated
75. na kifúlu mòsí mékutáná . bala míngi béto kémonéka ndé . bò  
at one place meet, we often see that they
76. kétubáka . ndínga ᵂ ya kifúlu yína . Kana bô kulongukáka mpi  
speak the language of that place. If they have received a
77. míngi e bò kúkotáka na bā́dzo-nkándá ya kulúta míngyí . gó ᵂ  
lot of education as well, um, [if] they have been at school  
for a long period, or

78. bayuniversití, ngé tamóna nde mbala 'ankáka bó tatúbā.fr̄se.  
at universities, you will see that they will often speak French,
79. gó <sub>^</sub> bó tatúbā <sub>^</sub> Lingálá <sub>^</sub> gó Kiswahílí <sub>^</sub> gó Cilúbá. ye ndínga  
or they will speak Lingala or Kiswahili or Ciluba, and they
80. nabó ya bwálā. bó tabíkísa yó. kúna na lwékā. gó <sub>^</sub> bó tatúbā  
will set aside there to one side the language of their home  
town, or they will speak
81. yò mpí <sub>^</sub> kansí míngí míngí ve. Yò yat <sub>^</sub> bampfúmū. 'e ntóto na  
it also, but not very much. Therefore, the leaders of our
82. bétó <sub>^</sub> na kumóna. mámbu yáí <sub>^</sub> ya mpási ya <sub>^</sub> bandínga yat <sub>^</sub> bantu  
country, seeing the difficulties with these languages, that  
all the people
83. yónso kétuba ndínga mósi evé, kèsála kikésa míngí. sàmbú.  
do not speak one language, are working very hard (lit. with  
great courage) so that
84. bantu yónso tú ya Zaír. kutúbā <sub>^</sub> ndínga mòsí. e na kikésa  
the entire population of Zaire should speak one language, um,  
and the hard thing (?)
85. na báu 'lná <sub>^</sub> mù kemóna nde. bó kezólā <sub>^</sub> nde Lingála kukùmá.  
for them is that I see that they would like Lingala to  
become
86. ndíngā <sub>^</sub> ya néne na Zaír. kantsi. bantu yóntso kéndíma ve.  
the main language in Zaire, but not all the people agree.
87. Kana ngè tála mbote-mbòté ngé tamóna nde <sub>^</sub> bantu ya Shábā <sub>^</sub>  
If you consider carefully you will see that the people of  
Shaba
88. tí Kivú <sub>^</sub> kúná <sub>^</sub> bo kézola Lingála míngí evé. Bétó fweté'e  
or Kivu - there they do not like Lingala much. We should
89. kundíma <sub>^</sub> nde <sub>^</sub> prezidís na bétó Mobútú <sub>^</sub> kétubáka <sub>^</sub> Lingálā <sub>^</sub>  
agree that our President Mobutu speaks Lingala
90. na ntangu 'an'i kétubákā ... na ntəgú 'an'i kətubilákā <sub>^</sub>  
when he speaks - when he addresses
91. bantu yóntso. Na mizíki impí <sub>^</sub> bamuzisyé na bétó <sub>^</sub> keyimbáka  
all the people. And music also, our musicians sing

- 92. na Lingálá . e . mu . Lingála mpi ikée ndínga 'a basoló. Múnú  
in Lingala, um, in, Lingala is also the language of the soloists. I
- 93. kebánsa nde ndínga yáí mbala 'ankáka takuma . ndínga mosi  
think that some time this language will become the main
- 94. ya néne ya Zaír . mbal' 'ankáka guvernámó tasónge bantu yónso  
language of Zaire; some time the government will tell the entire
- 95. tú ya Zaír na kutúba yáú.  
population of Zaire to speak it.
- 96. Kilúmbu mósí, múnu vandáka kutambúla pípi na mäsá, ye móno  
One day I was walking along by the river, and I
- 97. kumonáká bwátu mósi kúna. Náni kuvan'áka kúna? Yó kuvandáka  
saw a boat there. Who was there? It was
- 98. mutámbi mósi. Móno kutelamáká ye kutaláka yándi. Mutámbi  
a fisherman. I stopped and watched him. The fisherman
- 99. kumonáka mónó, ye yándi vandáká kukwísá penepene na  
saw me, and sailed over to the
- 100. mucídí. Mäsá kuvandáka néné yó yiná yó kubakáka mutámbi  
bank of the river. The river was big, so it took
- 101. ntángu mwà míngi sámbu na kukúma na mucidí. Móno vandáka  
some time to reach the bank. I was
- 102. káka kutelámá na kutála mutámbi. Na ntángu bwátu na yándi  
still standing watching the fisherman. When his boat
- 103. kukumáka na mucidí. mutámbi basikáka na bwátú ye kwisáká  
reached the bank the fisherman got out and walked
- 104. penepéne na móno, gó pípi na mono.  
up to me.

## APPENDIX 4

## Summarised examples of variant contours

- 1a bay'indaaleele ≠ 'they looked sad' final  
 b bay'indaaleelé, ... non-final
- 2a yo-yúvuzyaanó 'and conversing with each other' emphatic, exclusive  
 (speaker as spectator)(?)  
 b yo-yúvuzyaanó inclusive (speaker as member of the group)(?)  
 Both non-final
- 3a kwandi 'indeed' pity (cf. low key = gravity, seriousness)  
 b kwáandi sympathy, scorn, considered of low repute
- 4a ↑wàntu woolé 'two people' beginning the story, starting a new  
 contrasting episode  
 b wàantú woolé —
- 5a imúntu ambote 'he/it is a good person' third person  
 b imuntu ámbote 'I am a good person' first person
- 6a kyámboté 'how are you?' question  
 b kyambóte 'I am well' statement
- 7a Náfúngwá mpí 'Mr. Owl also' emphasises preceding word, narrative  
 b Náfúngwá mpí emphasises Náfúngwá
- 8a yakúndimína 'where I am buried' non-final(?), first person  
 b wákúndimína 'where he was buried' final(?), third person
- 9a gógele ndé 'she said' weak (lady speaking), agreement, not discussion,  
 usual  
 b kuNaNgúndu ndé'' '(he said) to Mr. Nightingale' special kiNtandu accent,  
 strong, emphasises asking of favour, marked
- 10a nkutú-ko 'not at all' emphatic  
 b nkútu-ko —
- 11a ka-dyáambú-ko 'no matter!' reply to 'someone you have received  
 something from', usual(?)  
 b ká-dyaámbu-ko reply to 'someone who wants to do something for you',  
 polite/marked(?)  
 Both final
- 12a kilumbu kimósi 'one day' beginning the story ('once upon a time')  
 bilumbu bitanú 'five days' emphasises time lapse (high pitch on numeral)

- 13a kuná-gata dyáandi 'to his village' sadness, aggression, imperative  
 b kuná-gata dyáandi usual
- 14a yítuukaánga lúnswá 'when the termites come out' non-final (cc.  
 yítuukaánga lúnswá ≠)  
 b múmbaambísa lúnswá ≠ 'to use the termites as bait for him' final (cc.  
 múmbaambísa lúnswá )
- 15a kuntu nani 'on whose head is it?' question  
 b kuntu VaFúngwa 'on Mr. Owl's head' statement
- 16a káánsi 'but' replies, neutral  
 b kánsi explains, marked, cautionary
- 17a katuzéyé-kó 'we do not know' neutral  
 b katuzéyé-kó emphatic
- 18a †éphi'la yína yáátu 'the way in which people' emphatic  
 b éphi'la yína yáátu neutral
- 19a aatu alútidi vóvel' elúvuvamu, aatu alútidi vóvel' ezola 'people  
 often talk about peace, people often talk about love'  
 same syntactic pattern, emphatic(?)  
 b aatu alútidi vóvel' elúvuvamú, yé-zolá 'people often talk about  
 peace, and love' tacked on, addition, afterthought
- 20a vúluzwá ye-maambu maandi-ko '(not) saved with all his problems' neutral  
 b vúlúzwá ye-máambu maandi-ko emphasises maambu
- 21a emaambu 'matters' neutral  
 b máambu emphatic
- 22a muna-káti kwáandi 'inside him' neutral  
 b muna-káti kwáandi emphatic, angry
- 23a yíndwídi 'you were thinking' statement  
 b †yíndwídi 'were you thinking?' question
- 24a ingyíndu záame 'it is my opinion' non-final  
 b ingyíndu záame final  
 c ingyíndu záame sadness  
 d ingyíndu záame impossible(?)

25a ngindu zääku 'your opinion' neutral

b ngindu zääku opposite idea to follow ('it's a good idea, but ...')

26 ↓ muná-phwa yaphíla yáayi 'in a situation of this kind' pondering, thinking, open, emphatic

27a yákala dímono 'my husband' final(?), answer

b yákala dímono / yakala dímono pre-posed, stands out, marked

28a bu-kátóombulá 'when she dished (it) out' pausal

b bu-kátóombulá ---

29a ngeyé 'you' final, pausal, emphatic(?)

b ngeyé ---

30a monó kisalu kíngí ntsadidi 'I did a lot of work' neutral

b kisalu kikíngí ntsáadi monú 'I did a great deal of work' emphatic (cf. extra-high pitch, postposed mono, extra prefix ki-)

Several conflicting examples

31a yáandi sí-wuzibíka kyeelo 'he has to shut the door' emphatic(?) (cf. yáandi sí-wuzibíka ...)

b ngé sí-wuzibíka kyeeló 'you have to shut the door' basic pattern before bridging (cf. ngé sí-wuzibíka ...)

32a kátala 'he saw' continuity, connection with preceding clause, comma

b kátala (or kátalá) connection with succeeding clause, colon

c katala expected subsequent action, 'and ...'

33a ↑ ndáá monó tātá mfuídi 'aieeee, by my father, I'm dying' exclamation

b ndáá mono tātá mfwiidí emphatic exclamation(?)

34a bánkaka mubáau 'some of them' basic pattern before bridging, baau most important word

b bankaka mubáau emphatic

35a bátelama 'they stood' marked(?), emphasises verb, strong

b batélama already given, neutral(?), weak, sad

36a ↓ imúuntu wáluúngu 'he is a righteous man' } exclamation, emphasises wáluúngu

b imúuntu wáluungu

c imúuntu wámboté . yé-wáluúngu 'he is a good and righteous man' emphasises wámboté

- 37a kyántátu 'third' neutral  
 b kyantatu sad, despairing
- 38a ka-bámwéeniíngí-ko 'they did not see him' verb + object substitute  
 b yáandí . ka-bámwéeniíngí-ko 'him they did not see' verb + object substitute + pre-posed object
- 39a yáandí , ka-bámwéeniíngí-ko 'him they did not see' ---  
 b ye-mávanga mau-kô 'and (not) their actions' emphatic
- 40a kakívulusa 'let him save himself' emphatic(?) (cf. kakívulusa)  
 b ukívulusa 'save yourself' ---
- 41a yéésu-ko '(not) Jesus' ---  
 b yéésu-kô exclamation, astonishment
- 42a kulenda mónika 'there can be seen' emphasises monika(?)  
 b tuléndá mona 'we can see' ---
- 43a ntéte 'first' final  
 b ntete non-final
- 44a kúmbazi 'outside' final  
 b kumbázi non-final
- 45a ndzólele kulúsoonga / ndzólele kúlúsoonga 'I would like to tell you'  
 beginning new topic  
 b ndzólele kulusoonga about to move on to new topic
- 46a íssya vó 'that is' neutral  
 b íssya vó marked, contrast
- 47a mulukkánu lwásika Muvváangi 'with the object of praising (our) Maker' ---  
 b múlukánu lwásiika Ndzaambi mpé 'with the object of praising God also'  
 marked(?), emphasises mpe(?)
- 48a musáma-skulz zántete 'in the first summer-schools' beginning sentence/  
 new topic, emphasises zantete  
 b musáma-skulz zantete in the middle of the sentence
- 49a madyá mankookíla 'the evening meal' emphasises mankookíla  
 b ↑laandíla madya mankookíla 'following the evening meal' neutral

50a yé-zhə́nɛɛs 'and Youth' emphasises ye-  
 b ye-bapə́stöör 'and the pastors' neutral

51a tüká ntangu yoyó 'from this time on' neutral  
 b tuukà ntaəngu yóyō marked, contrast

Both non-final. Same distinction from Ndolo Menayame.

## Appendix 5

## Comparative list of cognates

The first column gives items from Laman 1936; the second, items from Carter 1980b; the third, items from Daeleman 1963, 1966; the fourth, items from Guthrie 1967-71. I am grateful to Dr. Jan Knappert for translating the glosses in Daeleman 1966, and to Prof. P.R. Bennett for drawing my attention to several CB reflexes I had omitted. Note that Guthrie's \*c is here written \*s, and his \*j as \*z (after Mann 1976). Brackets around a comparative series number indicate a partial series, and a + after a number indicates a CS marked by 1 or 2. Items from each source have been marked using the convention  $\acute{v}$  or  $\ddot{v}$  = underlying high pitch, and no mark = low pitch. Underlining marks a syllabic nasal (m, n). Asterisks before an item indicate that it occurs in the reduced count (14.8.2).



*ndúngu	pepper	ndúungu E	-dúngú	718
*kyélo	[kiélo] door	kiéelo	-bédo	80 ?
fú	custom	fúka E	-túku	1864
fúka	respect, homage		-kúdu	1259
fúku	night	mfúlu E	-kúmu	1265
*mfúlu	tortoise	mfwííla B	-kúídi	1255
*mfúmu	chief	mfwííla E		death
*mfwííla	manner of dying			
mfwíla	small black ants			
mwíni	[mwíni] sunshine	díinu	-yíno	2073
*díinu	[dínu] tooth	mwíisi D	-yíki	2054
*mwíisi	smoke	díisu	-yíso	2030
*díisu	[dísu] eye			
káka	only	nkáka E	-káka	991
nkáka	pangolin			anteater
nkáma	dam	nkáma E		
*nkánda	book	nkáanda	-kánda	1003
kánga	to roast		-káng-	1009
nkáyí	grandparent	nkáyí D		skin
*nkáyí	antelope	nkáyí E		
nkéfuwa	pungent smell of pepper	nkéfu D		
kéle	root of palm-branch	kikéle E		

ndúungu M(?)

kyéelo M

ffú M

ffuka ? ceremony

ffúku M

mpfúlu [-bitutí] M

mpfúmu M

mpfwíílu M

mwíini M

díinu M

mwíisi M

díisu M

káka

nkáanda M

kkáanga M

nkayí

*nkísi	fetish	nkkísi m	-kítí	1072
kóko	scab		-kóko	1125
kómba	to sweep	kkóomba	-kómb-	1137
*nkómba	goat	nkhóombo m		
nkóndo	baobab tree			
nkóngo	grasshopper	koonko ??		
makósi	payment on account of adultery			
*kúba	bag, bale	cf. kkúba to weave		
kúla	to grow	kkúla m	-kúd-	1190
*nkúlu	old person	nkkúlu m	-kúdu	1197
nkúmbi	vassal, satrap			
nkúmbu	time	nkkúmbu m		
nkúta	stores, provisions			
kwélá	to marry	kkwéela ??	-kúéd-	1175
lámba	to cook food	llámamba m	-dám-	486
láu	lunatic		cf. -dadú	461
léba	fig-tree			
maléba	someone who gently exhorts			
lééká	to sleep	lléeká m		
lómba	to pray	llóomba m	-dómb-	653
lwálá	to be wounded	llwáalá m	-dúád-	677
				be ill
				madness
				fig-trees
				propitiation
				paramount chief
				bags, bales

nnáni	who?	nnáni M	-náni	1343
*nítu	body	nítu M	-yútu	2178
mpáka	quarrel			
mpáka	stable, chicken-run			
mpáku	tax, tribute			
mpándi	branch			
*mpángi/ mpándi	brother	mphángi M		
mpólo	ashes			
mpólo	face			
mpúku	quarrelsome/unlucky person			
*mpúku	rodent, rat	mpúku	-púku	1597
mpúnga	tree whose fibres are used for rope			
*mpútu	Europe	mpútu		
ssála	to remain	ssála M	-sáá-	345
sáka	to increase	ssáka M		
sála	tail-fin			
sála	smallpox			
*sálu	work	ssálu M	-sádu	254
sámbu	palm-nut			
*sámbu	prayer	ssáambu M		
nsánga/ múnsga	type of tree			
*nsángwa	grains	sáangu M	-sángú	294
		grain of maize		maize

*sé father	sé m	sé	-sé 303 his father
síílá to promise	ssíílá m		
nsíki type of tree	nssíki m	nsíki D	
*nsíki player, performer	ntsíngu m	nsíki E	
*nsíngu neck		ntsíngu	-kíngu 1086
nsóko central leaf of banana plant		nsóko E	
nsómbe larva of palm-beetle		nsómbe E	
sóngá to show	ssónga m		-song- 381
sóólá to choose	ssóolá m		-sóól- 366
*táata/ táata father	taata	táata	-taata 1686
tála to see	ttála m		-tád- 1638
tánga to read	ttáanga m		-táng- 1672
*ntángu sun	ntháangu m	ntáangu	-tango 1679
*ntántu enemy, stranger	nttántu m/ nttántu	ntántu E	
ntántú bridge		ntaantu A	-tanto 1671
			as bridge
téésó measure		kitéeso B	
*ntéka sale	cf. nttéki m salesman	ntéka E	cf. -té- 1697 sell
télámá to stand	ttélamá m		-tédam- 1692+
ntéte first	nthéte m		
*ntí tree	nttí m	ntí	-tí 1729
ntíma heart	nttíma m		-tíma 1738
tóma to be good	ttóma to do well		

tónda	to thank	ttóonda	ḿ	-tónd-	1789
*ntúlu	chest	nthúlu		-túdo	1822
túnga	to build	ttúunga	ḿ	-túng-	1848
túúká	to come from	ttúuká	ḿ	-túúk-	1828
túúlá	to put, lay	ttúulá	ḿ	-túúd-	1818
kúulu	[kúlu] leg	kuúlu	ḿ	-gudu	884
vóla	to cool	vvóla	ḿ	-pód-	1564
*mvú	year	mvvú	ḿ	-by	217
vwá	nine	vwá		-byá	219
vwétá	to get dressed	vvwáata	ḿ	-dúgát-	727 wear
mvyozi	whistling			-doodi	642
yánga	crime, fine				
nzádi	kinsman of the same generation	ndzádi	?		
*nzádi	river	zzála	ḿ	-záde	921
*nzála	nails, claws	zíku	ḿ	-záda	920 finger [-nail]
*zíku	hearth	ndzó	ḿ	-gúko	828
*nzó	house	endzoonzi	?	-yúko	2056
*nzónzi	little fish	zzúunga	ḿ	-zó	946
zúnga	to walk around			-dúung-	597 wander

2. rising class:

ngambá	poisonous tuber	ngaamba	A	
*ngambá	porter, carrier	ngáamba	D	
*dyambú	word	dyaambu		-gambo 771 affair
*ngangá	fetish-priest	ngaanga		-[n] ganga 786
*ngangú	sense	ngaangu		
ngangulá	blacksmith			
*mbangú	intelligence	mbaangu	A	
banzá	thought			
*mbazí	tomorrow	mbasi	A	-basi, 25
bongá	to take			
*mbongó	harvest, produce	mbongo	A	
boobá	old woman	ki'booba	B	
bundá	old person			cf. buunda A bald patch
*bundú/ bündu	fruit	buundu	A	
*bundú	group	búundu	E	
bungá	to destroy			
mbungú	red, yellow, orange	mbuungu	A	
dilá	to cry	cf. ndila	A weeping	-did- 561
ndungú	type of drum	nduungu	A	
dyetá	to walk			-diat- 553 tread
fuká	muscular strength	fuka	A	

fulú place	fulú			
mfulú council	mfulú		mfulu A	
*mfutá savanna	ffutá	grass, jungle	mfuta A	
*mfutá payment	cf. mpfutá		mfuta A	-pyto 1628
*kiinzú pot	kiinzú		kinsu	
kwizá to come	kwíza			-yiz- 2045
kalá long ago	kalá			-kada 979+ olden times
nkamá spouse	nkamá		nkama A	
*nkandá grave	nkkaánda	garden plot	nkkaanda A	
kangá to tie, bind	kkaánga			-kang- 1007
nkasá tree with poisonous bark	nkhasá	?	nkasa A	
*nkasá bean	nkhasá		nkása E	
nkondó prohibition	nkóngó		nkoondo A	
*nkongó hunter	nkóngó		nkongo A	
kostú/ makósi headache	kkotá		makosi A	nape of neck 1162
kotá to enter	makulú/ makuúlu	? dysentery	nkulu A	venereal disease 1159
*kulú abscess full of pus	kuúmbi	vehicle		
kumbú steamer	cf. unkhutá	cowardice	nkuta A	
*nkutá coward	llaánda			-dand- 493
landá to follow	laú		lawu A	
*laú luck, chance	llaónga			-dong- 660
longá to teach				

*longá	plate	loónɡá ?	loonga	-donga	662+
*nlongó	taboo	nloońɡo	nloongo		
lundá	to keep	luuńda			
lungá	to be sufficient	luuńɡa	to be complete	-dung-	711 be fitting
monó	I	móno			
natá	to carry	natá			
nwaná	to fight	nwanána			
*ngo/ ngó	leopard	ngó	ngó	-du [ən] -	675
*ngolá	fish	ngolá	ngola	-go	834
*ngoló	strength	ngoló	ngolo	-godo	840
*ngomá	drum	ngomá ?	ngoma	-goma	844
*ngombé	bovine	ngombé	ngoambe A	-gombe	849
*mongó	mountain	moongó	moongo	-gongo	858 back, ridge, hill
mooyó	life	mooyó		-yoyo	2143
kyozí	coldness	kyoózi	m/ kyoózi m	-didi	608 ?
mpaká	horn		mpaka A		
mpakú	fish-hook		mpaku A		
mpilá	sort, kind	mphilá	m		
mputú	poverty		mputu A		
*nsangú	news	ntsańɡu	nsaangu A	-sango	292
sadí	wild breadfruit		kisadi A		
sewá	to laugh	ssewá		--sek-	312
nsokó	path		nsoko A		

nsudí	stench		nsudí A	-sudu	408
nsudí	type of bird		nsúdi D		
sukulá	to wash	ssukúla		-suk [ud]	- 410
nsungú	hive, conical basket		nsuungu A		
*ntalú	price	nthalú m / nthalú	ntalu		
tímá	to dig	ttimá		-tí <sub>3</sub> m-	1752
*tokó	youth	tokó	toko		
tuutá	to crush, beat	ttuúta		-tuut-	1852 to knock, pound
*ngulú	pig	[ngúlu]	ngulu	-gudú	887
*lumbú	enclosure	lumbú ?	lumbu		
*ngungá	bell	ngungá m	ngungu	-gunga	900
*mungwá	salt	mungwá ??	muungu	-yungúá	2176
*muntú	person	muuntú m	muuntu	-ntu	1798
valá	wall-lizard		kigala A		
vilá	to lose	vvilá to disappear			
vingá	to inherit	vvinga			
vuná	to tell a lie	vvuná			
vundá	to rest	vvuúnda			
vwandá	to sit	vwaánda			
yimitá	to be pregnant	yyimíta to conceive		-yímit-	2062
yukutá	to be sated	yyúkutá m		-yí <sub>3</sub> kut-	2057
*nzalá	hunger	nzalá [m]	nzala A	-yúgut-	2153
				-zada	917

*nzaú elephant	ndzaú	nzaú	-zogy 951
zengá to cut off	zzeénga		-seng- 321
*zíkú/ z'íku certainty	z'íku m	z'íku D	
zoolé two	nzoolé		
*nzonzí lawyer, judge	cf. nzooónzi	nzoonzí A	

3. acute class:

(i) assigned to the falling class:

bānda	chief's hat	k'ibāanda	E
m̄boko	commission, bribe ( < boko market )	mboko	E
k'ibundu	trunk of banana-tree	k'ibūundu	E
*nd̄ombe	dark, black ( < lombā to get dark )	nd̄ombe	'the Blackness'
*nk̄ānu	law-suit	nk̄ānu	
*nk̄āta	lap ( < katā to fold )	nk̄āta	
nk̄ūmbi	rodent	nk̄ūmbi	D
v̄v̄umi	reverence	v̄v̄umi	

(ii) assigned to the rising class:

*nd̄ūmba	maiden	nd̄ūmba	
*nk̄ooki'ila	[nkokilā] evening	nk̄ooki'ila	
ns̄ombe	type of antelope	ns̄ombe	A
nt̄eka	pupa	nt̄eka	A
*Nz̄ambi	God	Nz̄ambi	
*nz̄enza	[nz̄enza] stranger	nz̄enza	
*z̄ūnda	thousand	fūunda	

-zambé 925  
-yenyi 1984 ?

cf. also tāata/ taata; bundú/ būndu; kostí/ makósi; zikú/ z̄iku.

Appendix 6

Reflexes of CB lh

The first column gives items from Guthrie 1967-71; the second, items from Laman 1936; the third, items from Carter 1980b; the fourth, items from Daeleman 1963, 1966. The items are grouped according to the reflex in Laman 1936.

Reflexes of CB \*lh (grouped according to reflex in Laman 1936):

120	-bigá	pot	mbíka			
151	-bitá	war	mvíta	vítá m	víta	
163	-bombó	forehead	mbómbo	mbómbo	mbómbo	nose
194	-bugí	squirrel	búkí			
411	-sukí	hair	lusúki	lusúki	lusúki	
487	-dambá	cloth	lámmba			
692	-dugú	friend	ndúku		nduku	
743	-dymbá	smell	mvúmba			
744	-dymbí	continuous rain	mvúmbí			
768	-gadí	nut of oil-palm	ngázi	ngázi ?	ngási	
780	-gandá	village	ngánda			
783	-gandú	crocodile	ngáandu	ngáandú m	ngáandu	
875	-gubú	hippo	ngúvu	nguvú		
908	-gubú	hippo	mvúbu			
941	-zídá	path	nzíla	ndzílá m	nzíla	
959	-zudú	top, sky	zúlu	zulú m	zúlu	
1018	-katí	inside	káti	káti		
1097+	-kobé	box	lukóbe			
1242	-kutú	scorpion	nkútu			
1243	-kutú	ear	kútu	kutú	kútu	
1374	-nuní	bird	núni	nuní	núní	

1511	-pisi	bone	vvisi m
1596	-puká	insect	vísi mvúka maggot
206	-mbungú	hyena	kimbungu
228	-bumá	fruit	mbvumá flower
922	-zadí	lightning	nzázi
56	-banzí	rib	lubanzí
260	-saká	thicket	saká
458	-dadá	palm-frond	dindalá
639	-dobá	soil	lobá green mud
645	-dogá	witchcraft	loká cf. lloká to bewitch
762	-gadá	mat	kalá
779	-gandá	clan	kaanda
887	-gudú	pig	ngulu
1322	-motí	one	-mosí m / -mósi m
			ndala
			kaanda
			ngulu

## Appendix 7

## Dialect similarity: data and displays

The following section gives basic data for chapter 15, and various additional data and displays which would have been too bulky to fit into the text. They are as follows:

- 7/1: full pitch-count
- 7/2: collapsed pitch-count
- 7/3: 7/2 expressed as percentages
- 7/4: 7/3 in graphic display
- 7/5: ranking and matrices for the first method
- 7/6: matrix sequence for the first method phenogram
- 7/7: linkage diagrams for the first method
- 7/8: matrix sequence for the second method phenogram
- 7/9: linkage diagrams for the second method
- 7/10: matrix sequence for the third method phenogram
- 7/11: linkage diagrams for the third method
- 7/12: scattergrams
- 7/13: MDSCAL map for the first method
- 7/14: MDSCAL map for the second method
- 7/15: MDSCAL map for the third method.

## Appendix 7/1: full pitch-count.

The pitch-count involved (i) place of high pitch, and (ii) type of word on which the high pitch occurred.

In the first case the following subdivisions were noted:

rs	high pitch on root-syllable
prs	bridge from prefix to root-syllable
sh	high pitch one syllable leftwards from the root-syllable (shift)
1st	high pitch on first syllable of the word (where this first syllable is not the root-syllable [rs] or the syllable preceding a root-syllable [sh])
pen	high pitch on penultimate syllable
ult	high pitch on last syllable
∅	no high pitch
↔	no high pitch marked, since the word is inside a bridge
∇	bridges on individual words.

In the second case the following types of word were distinguished:

con	connectives with ye-
gen	genitives with -a-
loc	locatives with ku-, mu-, va-
mun	long locatives with kuna-, muna-, vana-
sta	stabilised items with i-
IV	items with initial vowel
nom	nominals with none of the above prefixed elements
pro	pronouns and possessive pronouns
vbl	verbals
oth	other items (demonstratives, conjunctions, etc.).

Before each pitch-count is given: the dialect abbreviation (see endnote 2 to chapter 15); the chapter in which the dialect is discussed; the name of the dialect; the informant; the source of the text; and the line numbers of the sample passage in the text (see Appendix 3).

B: ch.4, kiMbanz' aKongo: Ntoni-Nzinga, Bible, 23-36,39-46.

	rs	prs	sh	1st	pen	ult	∅	↔	↗
con	3		1			1			2
gen	12	1	2				1	1	
loc									
mun	8		1						
sta	1								
IV	14		4			5	1		5
nom	10					2	1	1	
pro	7						4	3	
vbl	31					5	3	2	5
oth	8					6	10		4

total number of words: 135.

Y: ch.5, kiYaka/kiNtandu: Ntoni-Nzinga, folktale, 52-83.

	rs	prs	sh	1st	pen	ult	∅	↔	↗
con	2		3						
gen			4					2	
loc	4				1		1		
mun	3		8						
sta	15								
IV									
nom	19		3		3	10	13	5	5
pro	14					1	4		
vbl	33		9		5	5	4	2	9
oth	22					1	10	3	1

total number of words: 218.

Z: ch.6, kiZombo: Ntoni-Nzinga, spontaneous, 33-58.

	rs	prs	sh	1st	pen	ult	∅	↔	↗
con	4		1				2		
gen	8	2	7				1		2
loc	2								
mun	6								
sta	4		3			1	2		1
IV	2		7				7		
nom	15		1			5			1
pro	5						11		
vbl	28	1	5	1		6	9	1	6
oth	17				1	4	16		

total number of words: 177.

N: ch.7, kiNtandu: Ntoni-Nzinga, folktale, 79-109.

	rs	prs	sh	lst	pen	ult	∅	↔	↗
con									
gen	1		1			1			
loc	2	1	2			1	3		
mun	4		1	1			1		
sta	1								
IV									
nom	21		1		4	14	11	3	3
pro	14					17	3	1	3
vbl	50		9		21	7	5	1	18
oth	18					3	16	4	1

total number of words: 219.

M1: ch.8, kiManyanga: Ntoni-Nzinga, Bible, 43-77.

	rs	prs	sh	lst	pen	ult	∅	↔	↗
con	6		3	1		1	2		
gen	10	1	9	2		1	2		
loc	12	2	12	3		3	1		
mun									
sta		1	1						
IV									
nom	20		4	1			13	1	1
pro	9					1	3	1	
vbl	41	4	15	2	1	4	2		2
oth	19					4	7	1	1

total number of words: 208.

M2: ch.9, kiManyanga: Ndolo Menayame, own text, 11-23,30-38,42-46.

	rs	prs	sh	lst	pen	ult	∅	↔	↗
con	4	5	2						
gen	5	3	5	3		1			3
loc		3	5						
mun									
sta	1			1					1
IV									
nom	19	2	11			2	4		5
pro	3								1
vbl	20		8	3		7	12		3
oth	13					2	11		1

total number of words: 142.

S: ch.10, kisi'Ngombe: Komy Banzadio, own text, 128-167.

	rs	prs	sh	1st	pen	ult	∅	↔	↵
con	8		1		1		1		1
gen	17	1	13	3	2		4		3
loc	26		4	7	2	5			8
mun	1								
sta			6	2			1		2
IV									
nom	39		2		1	9	8	1	10
pro	4					2	4		2
vbl	31		3	2	1	4	6		8
oth	15					8	29		6

total number of words: 237.

Appendix 7/2: collapsed pitch-count.

Place of high pitch is grouped in four main classes:

- rs high pitch on the root-syllable, containing 7/1 rs and prs
- f high pitch in front of (before) the root-syllable, containing 7/1 prs, sh and 1st
- b high pitch behind (after) the root-syllable, containing 7/1 pen and ult
- z no (zero) high pitch, containing 7/1  $\emptyset$  and  $\leftrightarrow$ .

Type of word is grouped in four main classes:

- p pre-prefixed, containing 7/1 con, gen, loc, mun, sta, IV
- n nominal, containing 7/1 nom and pro
- v verbal, containing 7/1 vbl
- o other, containing 7/1 oth.

In the tables below, t stands for 'total'.

<u>B</u> :	rs	f	b	t	z
p	39	9	6	54	3
n	17	-	2	19	9
v	31	-	5	36	5
o	8	-	6	14	10
t	95	9	19	123	27

<u>Y</u> :	rs	f	b	t	z
p	24	15	1	40	3
n	33	3	14	50	22
v	33	9	10	52	6
o	22	-	1	23	13
t	112	27	26	165	44

<u>Z</u> :	rs	f	b	t	z
p	28	20	1	49	12
n	20	1	5	26	11
v	29	7	6	42	10
o	17	-	5	22	16
t	94	28	17	139	49

<u>N:</u>	rs	f	b	t	z
p	9	6	2	17	4
n	35	1	35	71	18
v	50	9	28	87	6
o	18	-	3	21	20
t	112	16	68	196	48

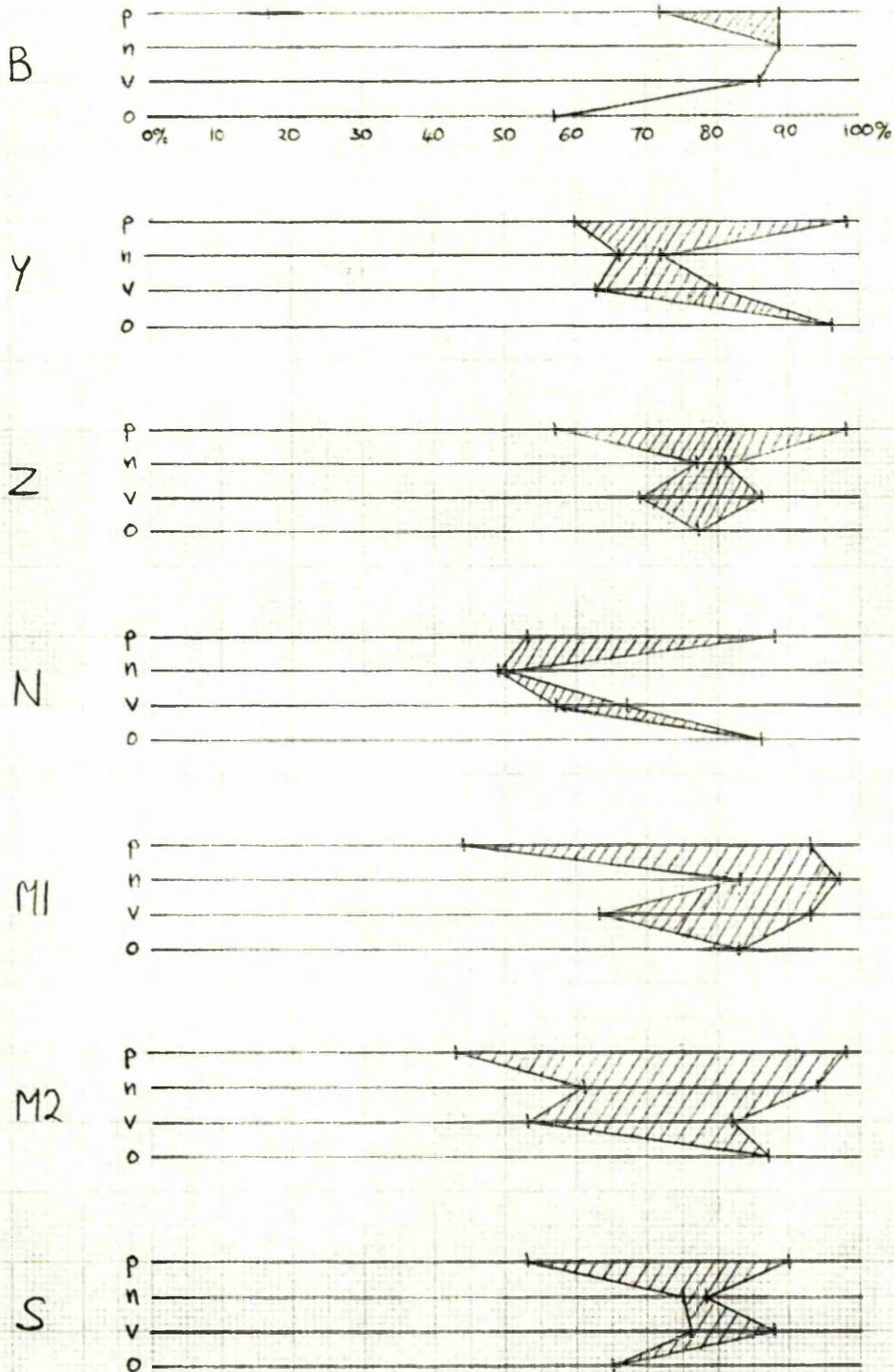
<u>M1:</u>	rs	f	b	t	z
p	32	35	5	72	5
n	29	5	1	35	18
v	45	21	5	71	2
o	19	-	4	23	8
t	125	61	15	201	33

<u>M2:</u>	rs	f	b	t	z
p	21	27	1	49	-
n	24	13	2	39	4
v	20	11	7	38	12
o	13	-	2	15	11
t	78	51	12	141	27

<u>S:</u>	rs	f	b	t	z
p	53	37	10	100	6
n	43	2	12	57	13
v	31	5	5	41	6
o	15	-	8	23	29
t	142	44	35	221	54

## Appendix 7/3: 7/2 expressed as percentages.

		rs	f	b
<u>E</u> :	p	72%	17%	11%
	n	89%	-	11%
	v	86%	-	14%
	o	57%	-	43%
	t	77%	7%	16%
<u>Y</u> :	p	60%	38%	2%
	n	66%	6%	28%
	v	63%	17%	19%
	o	96%	-	4%
	t	68%	16%	16%
<u>Z</u> :	p	57%	41%	2%
	n	77%	4%	19%
	v	69%	17%	14%
	o	77%	-	23%
	t	68%	20%	12%
<u>N</u> :	p	53%	35%	12%
	n	49%	1%	49%
	v	57%	10%	32%
	o	86%	-	14%
	t	57%	8%	35%
<u>M1</u> :	p	44%	49%	7%
	n	83%	14%	3%
	v	63%	30%	7%
	o	83%	-	17%
	t	62%	30%	7%
<u>M2</u> :	p	43%	55%	2%
	n	61%	33%	5%
	v	53%	29%	18%
	o	87%	-	13%
	t	55%	36%	8%
<u>S</u> :	p	53%	37%	10%
	n	75%	3%	21%
	v	76%	12%	12%
	o	65%	-	35%
	t	64%	20%	16%



The first section of each line shows the proportion in the rs column, the second (shaded) section shows that in the f column, and the third section shows that in the b column.

(based on an idea by Michael Mann)

Appendix 7/5: ranking and matrices for the first method.

p(rs)

B	72%		B	Y	Z	N	S	M1
Y	60%	Y	12					
Z	57%	Z	15	3				
N	53%	N	19	7	4			
S	53%	S	19	7	4	0		
M1	44%	M1	28	16	13	9	9	
M2	43%	M2	29	17	14	10	10	1

v(rs)

B	86%		B	Y	Z	N	S	M1
S	76%	Y	23					
Z	69%	Z	17	9				
Y	63%	N	29	6	12			
M1	63%	S	10	13	7	19		
N	57%	M1	23	0	9	6	13	
M2	53%	M2	33	10	16	4	23	10

p(f)

M2	55%		B	Y	Z	N	S	M1
M1	49%	Y	21					
Z	41%	Z	24	3				
Y	38%	N	18	3	6			
S	37%	S	20	1	4	2		
N	35%	M1	32	11	8	14	12	
B	17%	M2	38	17	14	20	18	6

v(f)

M1	30%		B	Y	Z	N	S	M1
M2	29%	Y	17					
Y	17%	Z	17	0				
Z	17%	N	10	7	7			
S	12%	S	12	5	5	2		
N	10%	M1	30	13	13	20	18	
B	0%	M2	29	12	12	19	17	1

p(b)

N	12%		B	Y	Z	N	S	M1
B	11%	Y	9					
S	10%	Z	9	0				
M1	7%	N	1	10	10			
M2	2%	S	1	8	8	2		
Y	2%	M1	4	5	5	5	3	
Z	2%	M2	9	0	0	10	8	5

v(b)

N	32%		B	Y	Z	N	S	M1
Y	19%	Y	5					
M2	18%	Z	0	5				
B	14%	N	18	13	18			
Z	14%	S	2	7	2	20		
S	12%	M1	7	12	7	25	5	
M1	7%	M2	4	1	4	12	6	11

n(rs)

B	89%		B	Y	Z	N	S	M1
M1	83%	Y	23					
Z	77%	Z	12	11				
S	75%	N	40	17	28			
Y	66%	S	14	9	2	26		
M2	61%	M1	6	17	6	34	8	
N	49%	M2	27	5	16	12	14	22

o(rs)

Y	96%		B	Y	Z	N	S	M1
M2	87%	Y	39					
N	86%	Z	20	19				
M1	83%	N	29	10	9			
Z	77%	S	8	31	12	21		
S	65%	M1	26	13	6	3	18	
B	57%	M2	30	9	10	1	22	4

n(f)

M2	33%		B	Y	Z	N	S	M1
M1	14%	Y	6					
Y	6%	Z	4	2				
Z	4%	N	1	5	3			
S	3%	S	3	3	1	2		
N	1%	M1	14	8	10	13	11	
B	0%	M2	33	27	29	32	30	19

o(b)

B	43%		B	Y	Z	N	S	M1
S	35%	Y	39					
Z	23%	Z	20	19				
M1	17%	N	29	10	9			
N	14%	S	8	31	12	21		
M2	13%	M1	26	13	6	3	18	
Y	4%	M2	30	9	10	1	22	4

n(b)

N	49%		B	Y	Z	N	S	M1
Y	28%	Y	17					
S	21%	Z	8	9				
Z	19%	N	38	21	30			
B	11%	S	10	7	2	28		
M2	5%	M1	8	25	16	46	18	
M1	3%	M2	6	23	14	44	16	2

Appendix 7/6: matrix sequence for the first method phenogram.

In the original matrix (1), Z and S are most similar, with the lowest figure (5.4). They are therefore clustered as ZS. The average distance of each dialect from this new cluster is then computed; eg., for dialect B:  $B/ZS = (B/Z + B/S)/2 = (13.3 + 9.7)/2 = 23/2 = 11.5$ . This procedure gives the following matrix:

(2)		B	Y	ZS	N	M1
	Y	19.2				
	ZS	11.5	9.2			
	N	21.1	9.9	12.7		
	M1	18.5	12.1	10.6	16.2	
	M2	24.4	11.8	14.8	15.0	7.7

The circled figure is lowest in this new matrix, so M1 and M2 are clustered at that level and another matrix is computed:

(3)		B	Y	ZS	N
	Y	19.2			
	ZS	11.5	9.2		
	N	21.1	9.9	12.7	
	MM	21.5	12.0	12.7	15.6

Y and ZS are then clustered, and the following matrix results:

(4)		B	ZSY	N
	ZSY	15.4		
	N	21.1	11.3	
	MM	21.5	12.4	15.6

ZSY clusters with N to give a new matrix:

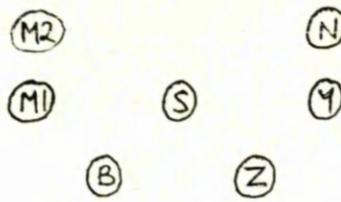
(5)		B	ZSYN
	ZSYN	18.3	
	MM	21.5	14.0

All the dialects except B cluster, to give the final matrix:

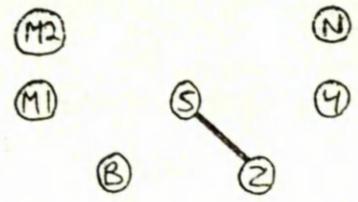
(6)		B
	ZSYNMM	19.9

In matrix sequences for the second and third method phenograms (7/8, 7/10), the matrices will be numbered 1-6 as here, with the relevant figures circled, but no further explanation of the method will be given there.

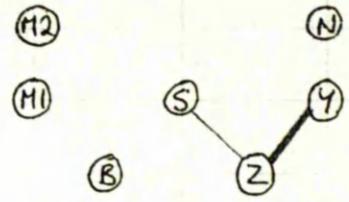
0 (=0)



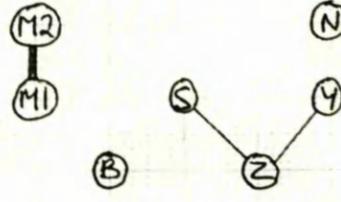
1 ( $\leq 5.4$ )



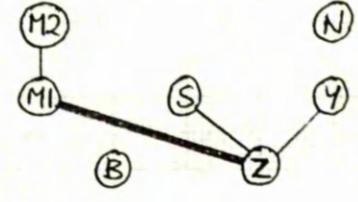
2 ( $\leq 7.3$ )



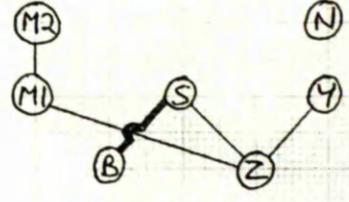
3 ( $\leq 7.7$ )



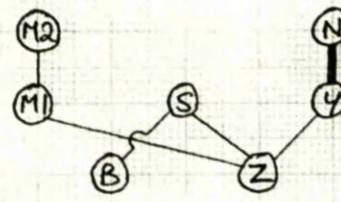
4 ( $\leq 9.0$ )



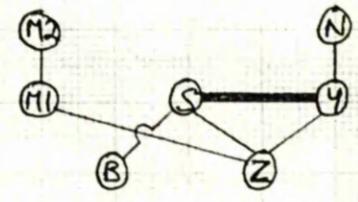
5 ( $\leq 9.7$ )



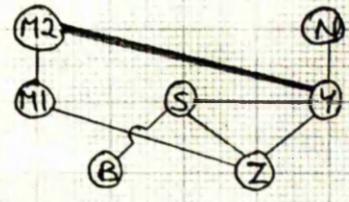
6 ( $\leq 9.9$ )



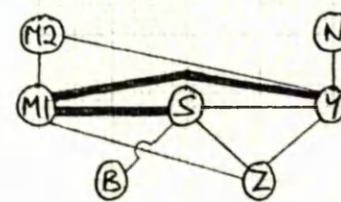
7 ( $\leq 11.0$ )



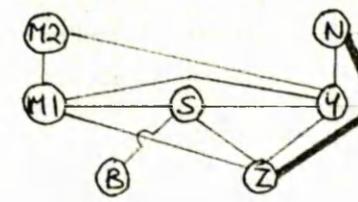
8 ( $\leq 11.8$ )



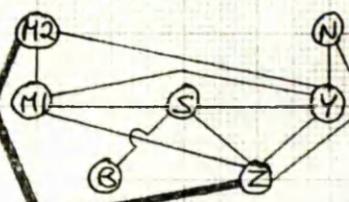
9/10 ( $\leq 12.1$ )



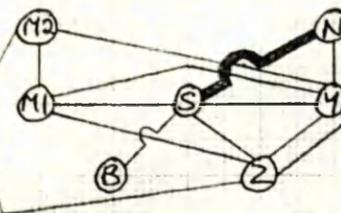
11 ( $\leq 12.4$ )



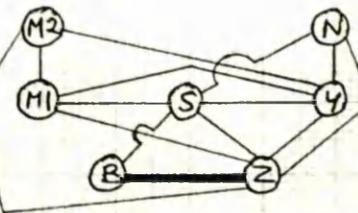
12 ( $\leq 12.6$ )



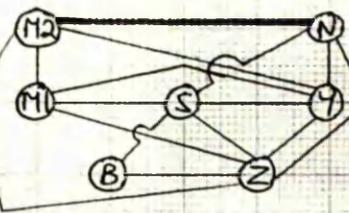
13 ( $\leq 13.0$ )



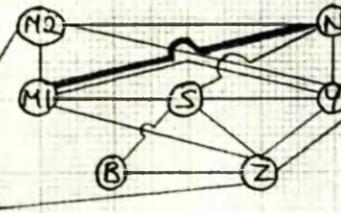
14 ( $\leq 13.3$ )



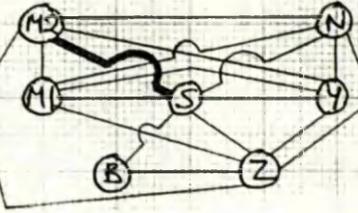
15 ( $\leq 15.0$ )



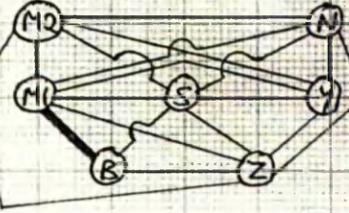
16 ( $\leq 16.2$ )



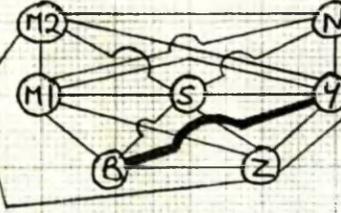
17 ( $\leq 16.9$ )



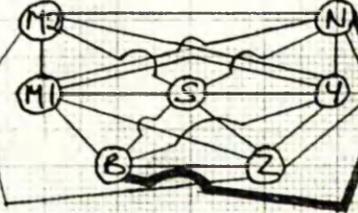
18 ( $\leq 18.5$ )



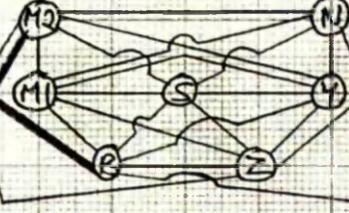
19 ( $\leq 19.2$ )



20 ( $\leq 21.1$ )



21 ( $\leq 24.4$ )



Appendix 7/8: matrix sequence for second method phenogram.

(1) Z and S are most similar.

(2)		B	Y	ZS	N	M1
	Y	22.2				
	ZS	13.3	12.2			
	N	24.6	11.1	16.0		
	M1	21.2	13.6	11.3	20.9	
	M2	27.0	14.4	16.4	19.7	10.3

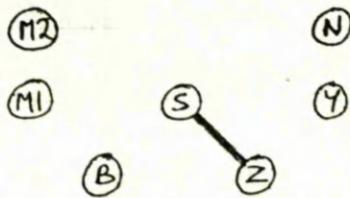
(3)		B	Y	ZS	MM
	Y	22.2			
	ZS	13.3	12.2		
	N	24.6	11.1	16.0	
	MM	24.1	14.0	13.9	20.3

(4)		B	YN	ZS
	YN	23.4		
	ZS	13.9	14.1	
	MM	24.1	17.2	13.9

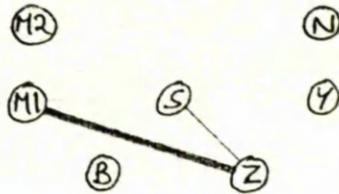
(5)		BZS	YN
	YN	18.8	
	MM	19.0	17.2

(6)		BZS
	YNMM	18.9

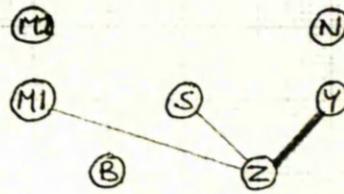
1 ( $\leq 6 \cdot 6$ )



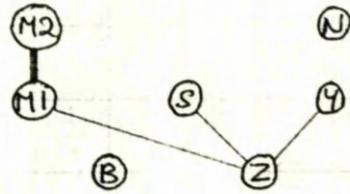
2 ( $\leq 9 \cdot 4$ )



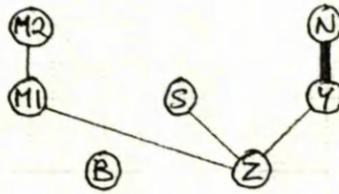
3 ( $\leq 9 \cdot 6$ )



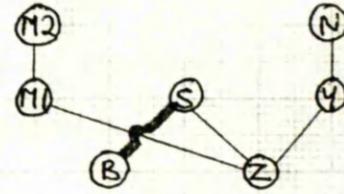
4 ( $\leq 10 \cdot 3$ )



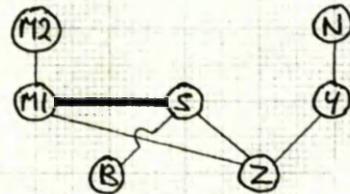
5 ( $\leq 11 \cdot 1$ )



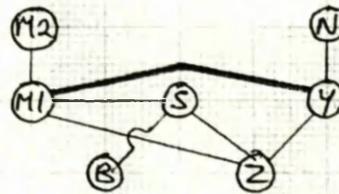
6 ( $\leq 11 \cdot 5$ )



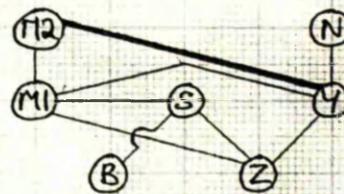
7 ( $\leq 13 \cdot 2$ )



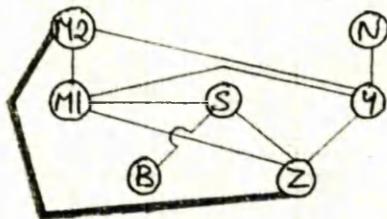
8 ( $\leq 13 \cdot 6$ )



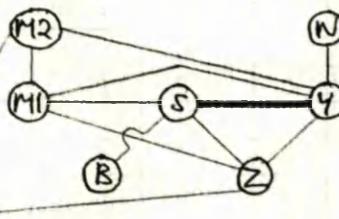
9 ( $\leq 14 \cdot 4$ )



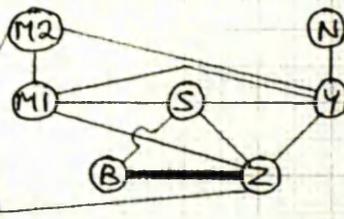
10 ( $\leq 14 \cdot 5$ )



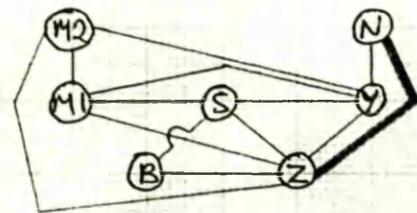
11 ( $\leq 14 \cdot 8$ )



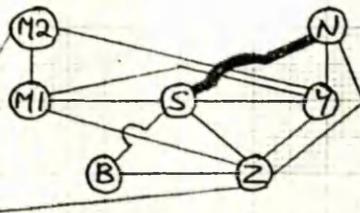
12 ( $\leq 15 \cdot 0$ )



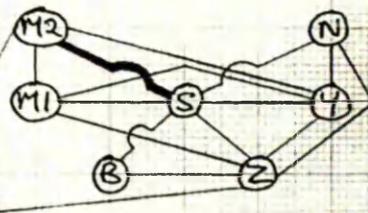
13 ( $\leq 15 \cdot 2$ )



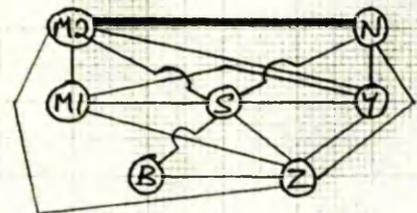
14 ( $\leq 16 \cdot 8$ )



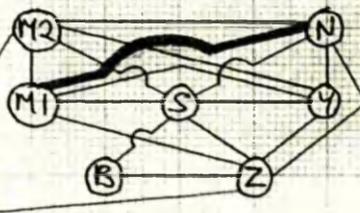
15 ( $\leq 18 \cdot 2$ )



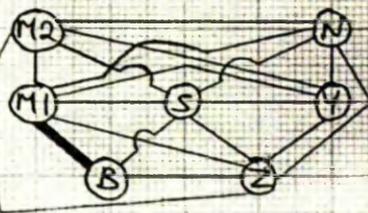
16 ( $\leq 19 \cdot 7$ )



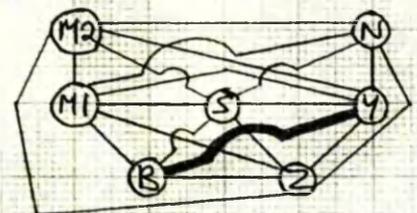
17 ( $\leq 20 \cdot 9$ )



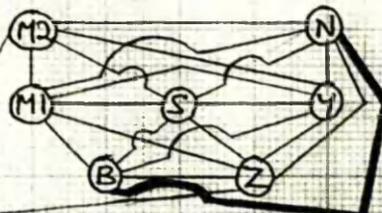
18 ( $\leq 21 \cdot 2$ )



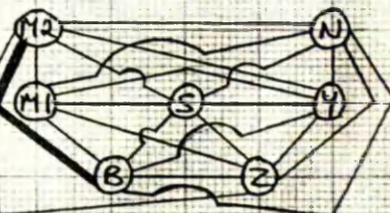
19 ( $\leq 22 \cdot 2$ )



20 ( $\leq 24 \cdot 6$ )



21 ( $\leq 27 \cdot 0$ )



Appendix 7/10: matrix sequence for third method phenogram.

(1) Z and S are most similar.

(2)	B	Y	ZS	N	M1
Y	0.751				
ZS	0.920	0.906			
N	0.663	0.932	0.808		
M1	0.769	0.891	0.917	0.699	
M2	0.592	0.865	0.800	0.683	0.935

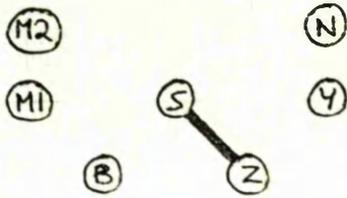
(3)	B	Y	ZS	N
Y	0.751			
ZS	0.920	0.906		
N	0.663	0.932	0.808	
MM	0.680	0.878	0.859	0.691

(4)	B	YN	ZS
YN	0.707		
ZS	0.920	0.857	
MM	0.680	0.785	0.859

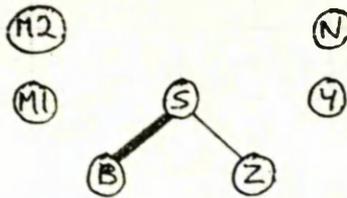
(5)	BZS	YN
YN	0.782	
MM	0.770	0.785

(6)	BZS
YNMM	0.776

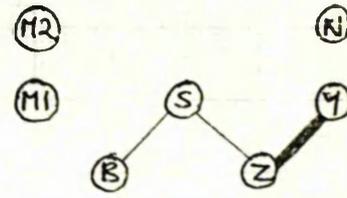
1 ( $\geq 0.972$ )



2 ( $\geq 0.950$ )

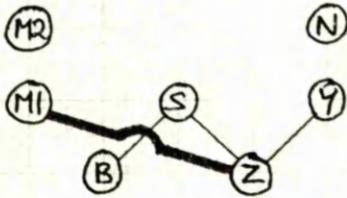


3 ( $\geq 0.946$ )

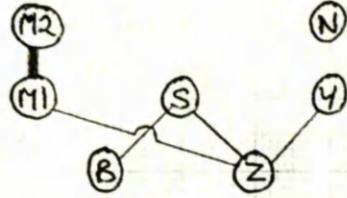


> 14

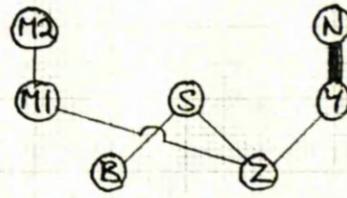
4 ( $\geq 0.945$ )



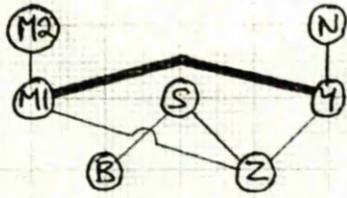
5 ( $\geq 0.935$ )



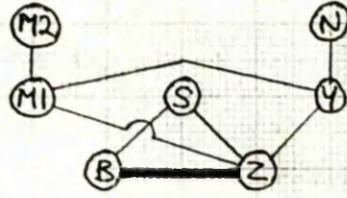
6 ( $\geq 0.932$ )



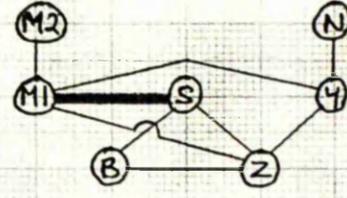
7 ( $\geq 0.891$ )



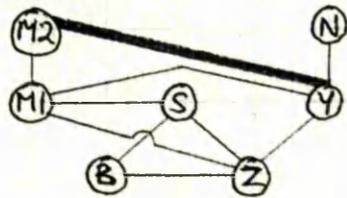
8 ( $\geq 0.889$ )



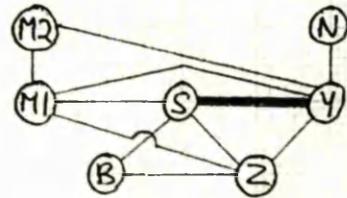
9 ( $\geq 0.888$ )



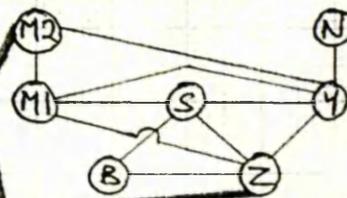
10 ( $\geq 0.874$ )



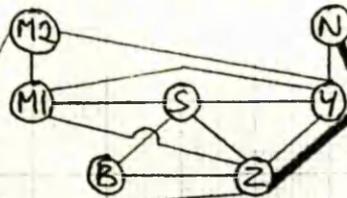
11 ( $\geq 0.865$ )



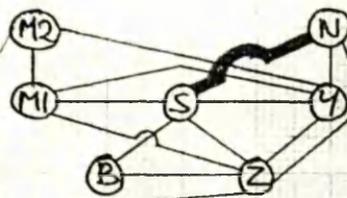
12 ( $\geq 0.854$ )



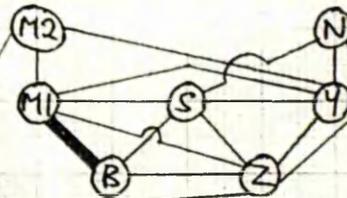
13 ( $\geq 0.838$ )



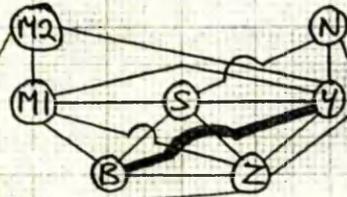
14 ( $\geq 0.778$ )



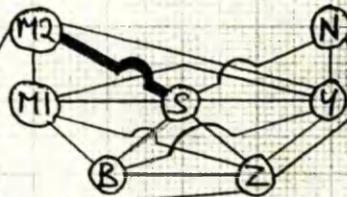
15 ( $\geq 0.769$ )



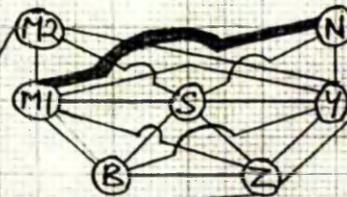
16 ( $\geq 0.751$ )



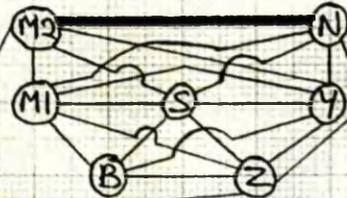
17 ( $\geq 0.745$ )



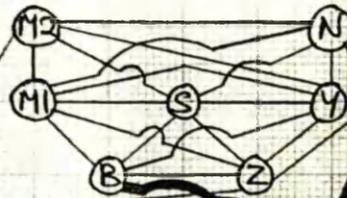
18 ( $\geq 0.699$ )



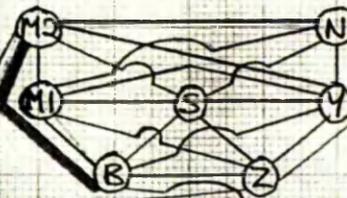
19 ( $\geq 0.683$ )



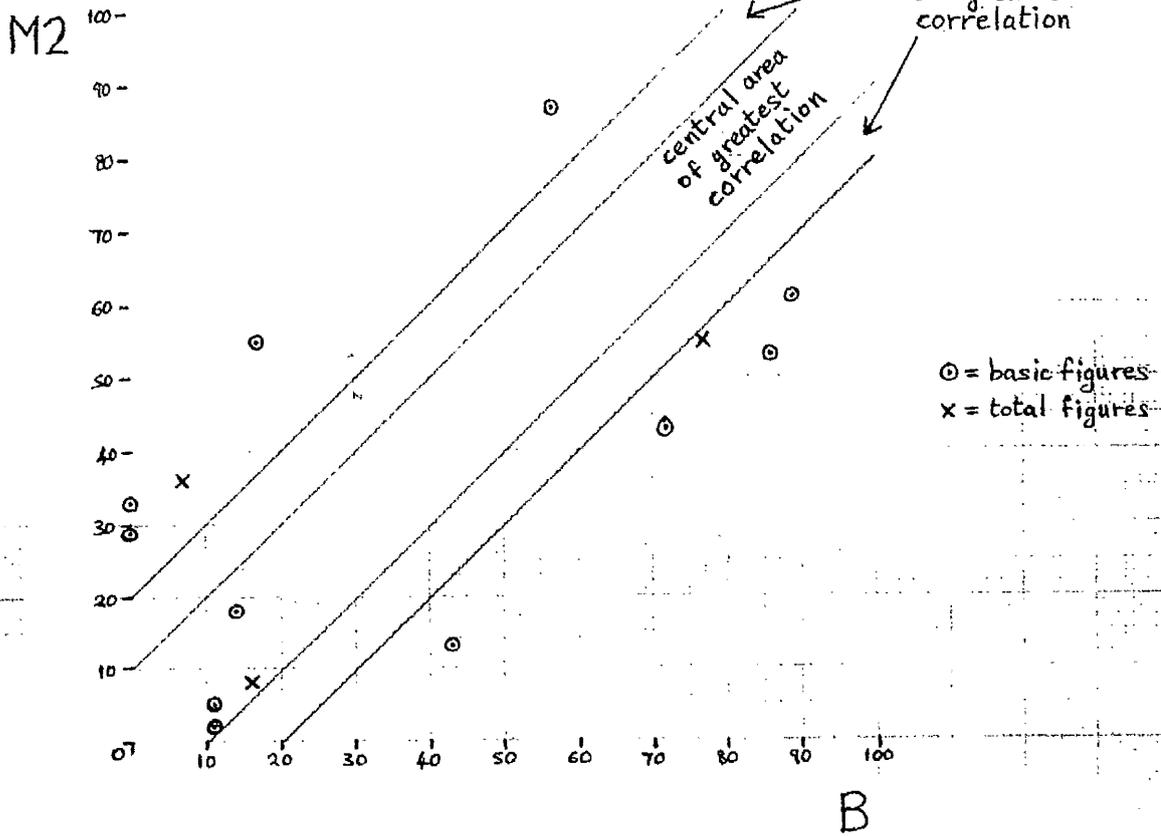
20 ( $\geq 0.663$ )



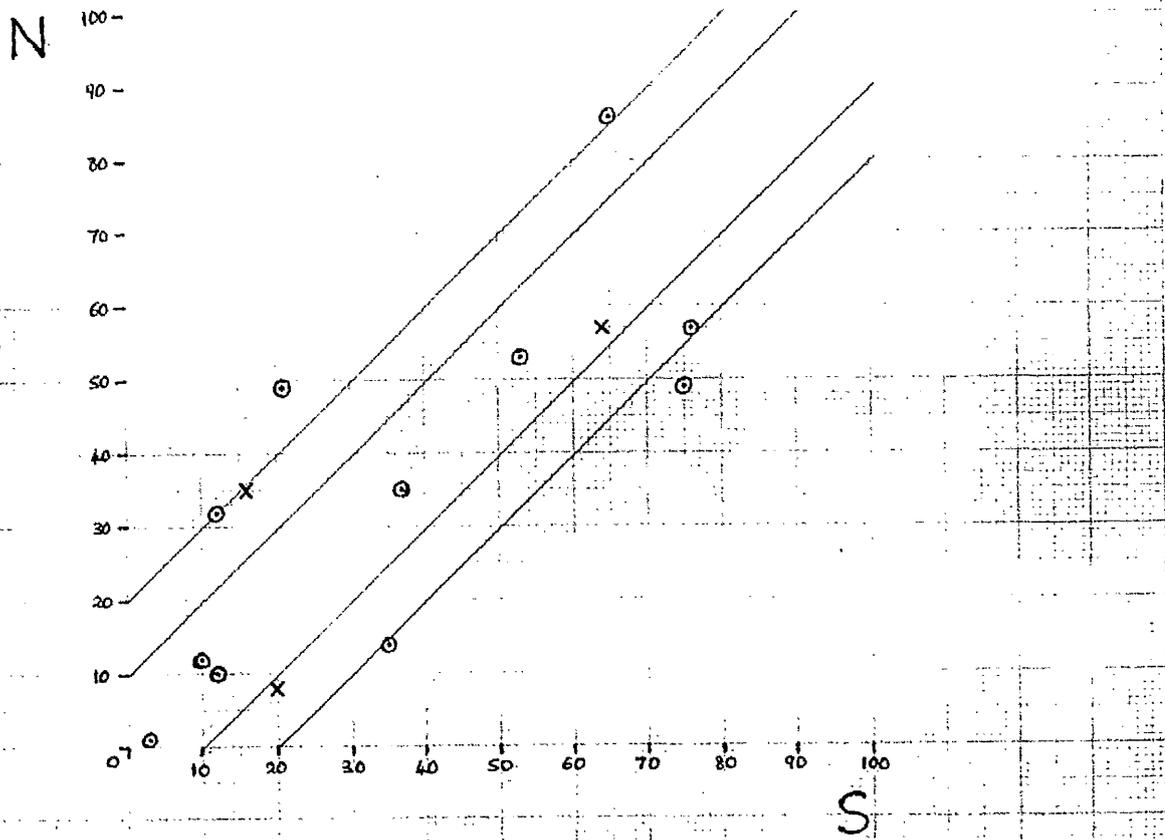
21 ( $\geq 0.592$ )



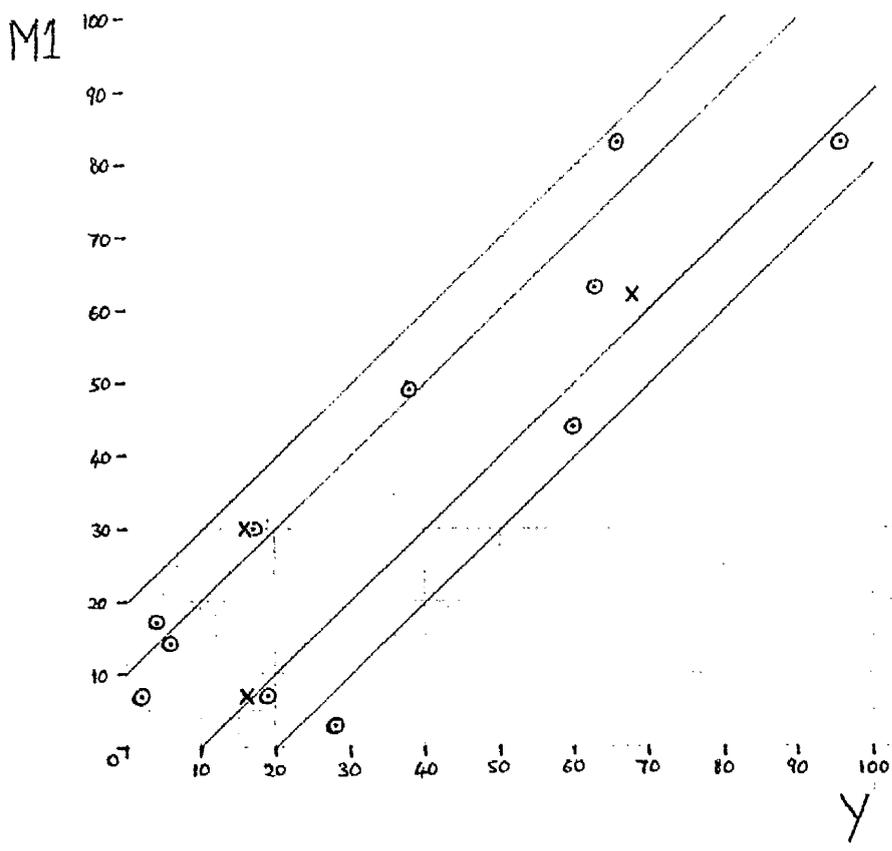
(a) M2/B



(b) N/S



(c) M1/Y



(d) Z/S

