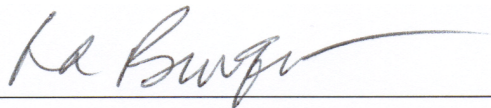NARRATIVE STORYLINE MARKING IN SAFALIBA: DETERMINING

THE MEANING AND DISCOURSE FUNCTION OF A

TYPOLOGICALLY-SUSPECT PRONOUN SET

The members of the Committee approve the doctoral
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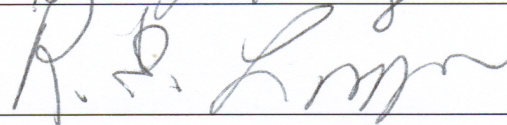
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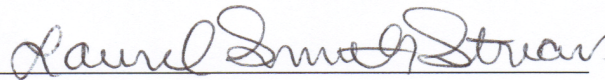
Robert E. Longacre

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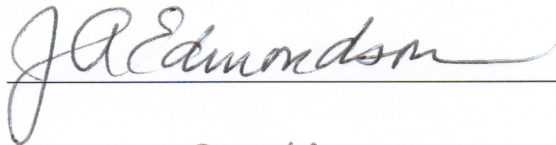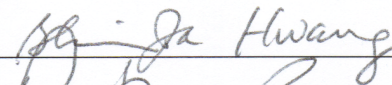
TYPOLOGICALLY-SUSPECT PRONOUN SET

by

PAUL ALAN SCHAEFER

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

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of the Requirements

for the Degree of

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to

Caleb,

Micah,

Josiah,

and

Sarah

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April 10, 2009

ABSTRACT

NARRATIVE STORYLINE MARKING IN SAFALIBA: DETERMINING

THE MEANING AND DISCOURSE FUNCTION OF A

TYPOLOGICALLY-SUSPECT PRONOUN SET

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The University of Texas at Arlington, 2009

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This study examines the meaning and discourse functions of a typologically unusual set of pronouns (the "N-pronoun" set) in Safaliba, a little-studied Gur language of western Ghana. The phonological structure of the N-pronouns suggests derivation from the regular pronoun form joined to a subject focus marker, rendering suspect the hypothesis that the N-pronoun exists as an independent form. In isolated sentences, substitution of N-pronouns for those of the regular set produces no immediately obvious difference in meaning, suggesting a discourse or pragmatic function.

Three main areas of investigation are pursued: the grammatical contexts where the N-pronouns can and cannot occur; the function and distribution of the hypothetically-related marked focus constructions; and the narrative discourse

conventions of Safaliba, particularly the participant reference patterns. The main data source for the research consists of an electronic corpus of approximately 20,000 words comprising 39 narrative texts in Safaliba, supplemented with elicited words and sentences.

Grammatical background is presented first, illustrating those aspects of phonology and syntax which have a bearing on the research questions, as well as documenting these areas of the language for future reference. Marked focus constructions are presented next, analyzed following Dik (1997a); these are compared with the usage and distribution of the N-pronoun set, in both elicited and corpus-based examples. Finally, the narrative structure and participant reference patterns are analyzed following Longacre (1995, 1996) and are discovered to be the key to understanding the core meaning and discourse functions of the N-pronoun in narrative text.

A unique appropriateness to the narrative storyline, possibly because of higher agentive status, is proposed as the main difference between the N-pronoun set and the regular pronoun set, so that the primary function of the N-pronoun is to distinguish storyline from background information. The pragmatic category of focus is shown to be unrelated synchronically to the meaning or functions of the N-pronoun. This study illustrates the flexibility and advantages of a corpus-based approach to language research. It also shows that the effects of text structure on sentence form can be an unconsidered variable in the study of pragmatic functions in naturally-occurring text data.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1s	First-person singular
1sN	First-person singular N-pronoun
1sEm	First-person singular Emphatic
1p	First-person plural
1pN	First-person plural N-pronoun
1pEm	First-person plural Emphatic
2s	Second-person singular
2sN	Second-person singular N-pronoun
2sEm	Second-person singular Emphatic
2p	Second-person plural
2pN	Second-person plural N-pronoun
2pEm	Second-person plural Emphatic
3s	Third-person singular
3sN	Third-person singular N-pronoun
3sEm	Third-person singular Emphatic
3p	Third-person plural
3pN	Third-person plural N-pronoun
3pEm	Third-person plural Emphatic
3pnh	Third-person plural non-human

3pnhN	Third-person plural non-human N-pronoun
3pnhEm	Third-person plural non-human Emphatic
Imperf	Imperfective aspect
Ep	Episode
Foc	Focus on subject
Fut	Future (relative)
Hab	Habitual
ideoph	Ideophone
Imperf	Imperfective
Impv	Imperative
Neg	Negation
NegFut	Negation + Future
NegImpv	Negation + Imperative
Nom	Nominal
onoma	Onomatopoeia
pl	Plural
PfIntr	Perfective Intransitive
PredFoc	Focus on predicate
sg	Singular
Spec	Specifier

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> [a] concern to be further correlated with participant reference...[is]...the general area of **highlighting, topicalizing, and focus**. It is by no means clear what these various terms mean but they are relevant here as attempts to verbalize ways in which...[such] modifications further affect **participant reference and thematicity**. These latter concerns lead us into a still more comprehensive correlation, that of relating **storyline salience and dominance**...[to] essentially nominal concerns.....
>
> *Longacre 1995:697-698 (emphasis mine)*

In the quote above Longacre points out that issues of narrative text structure (storyline salience, dominance, etc.) and information structure (highlighting, topicalizing, focus, thematicity, etc) can affect participant reference in narrative, and this study attempts to explicate the nature of this influence in Safaliba[1] with respect to the usage of one particular pronoun set. This research grew out of the desire to find out why narratives in Safaliba are able to use pronouns to a much higher degree than is possible in comparable English narratives, with the assumption that the complex pronoun inventory found in Safaliba is a key factor.

Languages differ greatly in the sorts of pronouns they have and in the way those pronouns are interpreted within the larger context of a unit of discourse. To comprehend or create a natural text in any given language, it is necessary to understand

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[1] Safaliba is spoken by about 6000 people in western Ghana near the northernmost corner of Côte d'Ivoire. It is a Central Gur language in the Northwestern section of the Western Oti-Volta (or "Mabia")

1

the principles governing how a given pronoun comes to be associated with its antecedent, and the ways in which a particular referent may be represented or tracked throughout a unit of discourse.

This study does not focus on the constraints that bear on pronoun interpretation in isolated sentences. This interesting area is the subject of an important subarea of Generative (Formal) Syntax, known as The Binding Theory. For example, in the Principles and Parameters version, a pronoun (the word is a technical term within the theory, more narrow in reference than its common usage) must be "free in its governing category": it cannot be bound to an accessible subject within the minimal domain containing the pronoun, its governor, and the accessible subject (Haegeman 1994:225). From this perspective, the pronoun might logically refer to any referent in the universe of discourse that agrees with its features (i.e. person, number, and gender for English). Haegeman recognizes that in sentences used for communicative function, this "freedom" is effectively limited by context, when due to communicative purposes an "antecedent" in a previous sentence is often inevitably "bound" (though not in the technical sense) to the pronoun in question (1994:204). She further points out this formal model of syntax regards dependency on a context outside the sentence area of study as being properly a part of pragmatics.

Although like many functionally-oriented analyses, this study will not have much more to say about the formalist analysis of pronouns, it is important to note at this point that the two perspectives are not absolutely incompatible. Burquest (2001:270)

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subgroup, most closely related to Waali as well as to the widely-spoken and more thoroughly studied

presents an analysis of the interpretation of Hausa nominals in narrative in which the pragmatics–related factors are presented as a pragmatics module which can be integrated with the other (sentence-level) modules of Principles and Parameters syntax to form an account of nominal interpretation that draws on both the pragmatic (text analysis) and the formalist traditions. Burquest further notes that for coherent narratives in the Hausa language "the pronouns...can be interpreted unambiguously as to their reference beyond the contributions provided by the binding theory...." He also points out that "general discourse-based principles" as well as "factors which are specifically pragmatic" (Burquest 2001:299) must all be taken into account in order to explain the interpretation of Hausa nominals. These principles hold just as true for Safaliba, though it is from a quite different linguistic family tree, and displays significant formal differences from Hausa.

The study of pronouns and their referents within texts can be approached from at least two different directions: either by looking at a particular referent (or participant, for narrative discourse) and determining which linguistic form represents that referent at various points in the discourse unit, or alternatively by focusing on a particular type of linguistic form to see how it functions as it represents the various referents that occur in the discourse unit. The central problem to be looked at in this study favors the second approach, though the analysis of how specific referents are represented throughout a discourse is also a necessary part of the study. I focus on a particular pronoun set, and

Farefare and Dagaare languages further north. Further details follow in section 1.1.

more often the 3rd person singular form specifically, as representative of the set as a whole and as having a wider distribution in narrative texts.

The study aims to be a foundation for further research on participant reference in Safaliba, as well as a contribution to the cross-linguistic comparison of aspects of Safaliba linguistic structure with those of closely-related languages such as Dagaare and Farefare. This research also contributes to the understanding of how the recognition of the structural features of a discourse contributes to the analysis of participant reference, in comparison to the contributions of sentence-level analysis of the more conventional pragmatic categories like focus and topic. Finally, since I outline the general strategies of participant reference in Safaliba narrative and give overviews of the basic linguistic structures of the language, this study also serves to document and survey an otherwise little-studied and endangered language.

This chapter first presents some basic background on the Safaliba people and the classification of the language, outlines the main research problems and the related issues that will be covered in the dissertation, and describes the methodology used in the research, the kinds and sources of the data. Finally, it introduces the analytical perspectives that inform the analysis: the investigation of participant reference in discourse, storyline and plot structure issues, and approaches to focus and information structure; ending with a brief consideration of the impact of syntactic structure on the use of the pronoun set in question. Chapter 2 presents a more detailed overview of Safaliba syntax, especially in those areas that impinge upon some point of the main discussion. Chapter 3 considers the typical marked focus constructions in Safaliba and

compares these to the distribution and use of the different pronoun sets. Chapter 4 investigates narrative discourse structure, particularly the participant reference conventions, and tentatively answers the research questions in the light of the research findings. Chapter 5 evaluates the conclusions reached in the previous chapter, addresses some implications, and suggests areas for additional research.

1.1 Putting "Safaliba" in Context

The 5000-7000 speakers of Safaliba live in the northwestern part of the West African country of Ghana, almost due west and slightly south of the city of Tamale and almost due south of the city of Wa. They occupy several towns and villages clustered near the Black Volta river which at that point forms the border with Côte d'Ivoire. Safaliba is spoken as the main language of communication in locations 1-7 and by Safaliba minorities in locations 8-14 on the map below.

Both the language and the people are called "Safaliba" (*safalıba*) while a single individual is a *safalʋʋ*. Each Safaliba town consists of a number of subsections, each with an independent patrilineal clan with its sectional leader usually chosen according to age and other qualifications. Different stories are told of the times and origins of the different clans in different towns, and accordingly there is debate about which were first in the area and whether all who now speak the language are actually ethnically "Safaliba."
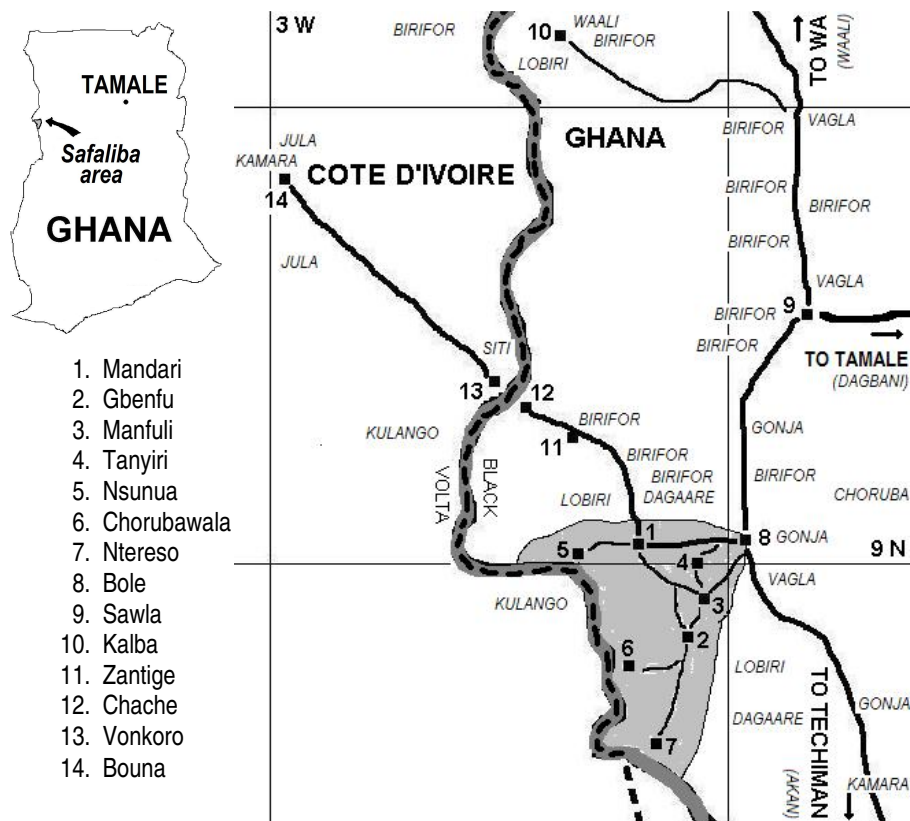
Figure 1 Safaliba Towns and Villages Map
(Schaefer and Schaefer 2003:iv, modified)

Generally speaking there is a main division in self-identification between those who follow "traditional African religion" and those who are traditionally Muslim (again following patrilineal clan groupings), and this division is reflected in some variations of pronunciation and vocabulary. There are also similar slight variations in speech patterns between speakers from the different non-Muslim clans, and between speakers from different villages. However, the speech differences which can be observed between people from different clans or villages do not appear to be as great as those between people of different age groups.

Like most of the other inhabitants of this part of Ghana, the Safaliba are mostly subsistence farmers. Like the Vagla, Choruba, Siti and Gonja, they mostly live in long-established towns in flat-roofed homes made of dried clay, many of which are built into one another, often with a narrow alleyway between clan sections. They make their farms in the surrounding forest areas, and in recent years they share this farm area with settler-farmers speaking Dagaare, Birifor, or Lobiri; these settler-farmers have quite a different way of life, preferring to settle outside the established towns in spread-out settlements with each family cultivating a few acres immediately surrounding their homes. Safaliba people feel akin to and intermarry with the other "established" groups, but feel different from and discourage intermarriage with the settler-farmers. It is not surprising therefore that the Safaliba people have had the most ongoing contact with the other established groups and the language has been more influenced by these groups than by the languages spoken by the settler-farmers. Some Safaliba are well established traders, more notably those from the Muslim sections, and their occupation takes them further afield; accordingly among this subpopulation there appears to be more use of other languages and loan-words.

There is no internal central political authority structure for the Safaliba group as a whole apart from the authority of the Gonja chiefs, who rule a wide-spread traditional kingdom in northern Ghana that includes the entire Safaliba area. As is the case with many other ethnic groups living in the area, each Safaliba village has a Gonja chief usually residing in the village, who represents the Gonja state. The Gonja chief is given the Gonja title *wura* or the Safaliba title *naa* 'chief'. All the towns and villages where

the Safalibas live fall under the authority of the *Bolewura* who is chief of Bole and one of the five divisional chiefs of Gonjaland. In addition to this authority structure, three of the oldest Safaliba villages recognize as "Safaliba chief" (*Safalınaa* in Safaliba) the elder of a particular clan in each respective village, who is responsible for leading the other clan leaders in the village in the performance of certain rituals and community-internal affairs; men from these clans are distinguished by being greeted as "*jenjina*" in the typical daily greetings. All the Safaliba villages are part of the Bole District of the modern state of Ghana, though there are also numerous Safalibas living in Sawla and Kalba in the district immediately to the north of Bole.

Safaliba is classified by Naden (1988:16-19; 1989:145) as Niger-Congo, Gur, Central Gur, Oti-Volta, Western Oti-Volta, Northwestern Western Oti-Volta. It is most closely related to the Waali, Farefare, and Dagaare languages (also in Northwestern Western Oti-Volta), but is geographically distant from them; the nearest Waali-speaking community is about 50 miles away by road, and the Dagaare and Farefare home areas are even further away. Although settler-farmers who speak the related languages of Dagaare and Birifor have settled in the uninhabited areas not far from the Safaliba villages, this situation is of comparatively recent origin and social interaction between settler-farmers and Safaliba people is rather limited. So Safaliba is surrounded by languages which are not closely related but with whom the Safaliba people have regular and extensive interaction, Gonja, Choruba, Vagla, and Siti; while interaction with speakers of the more closely-related languages is more limited, despite the presence of such communities in the surrounding countryside. This relative isolation from closely-

related languages may have contributed to Safaliba's ongoing existence as a separate language distinct from its near linguistic relatives.

The classification of Safaliba and its relationships with nearby and related languages are shown in the following diagram (solid lines indicate direct relationships between levels, while dotted lines are used to indicate that details of intervening levels have been left out):
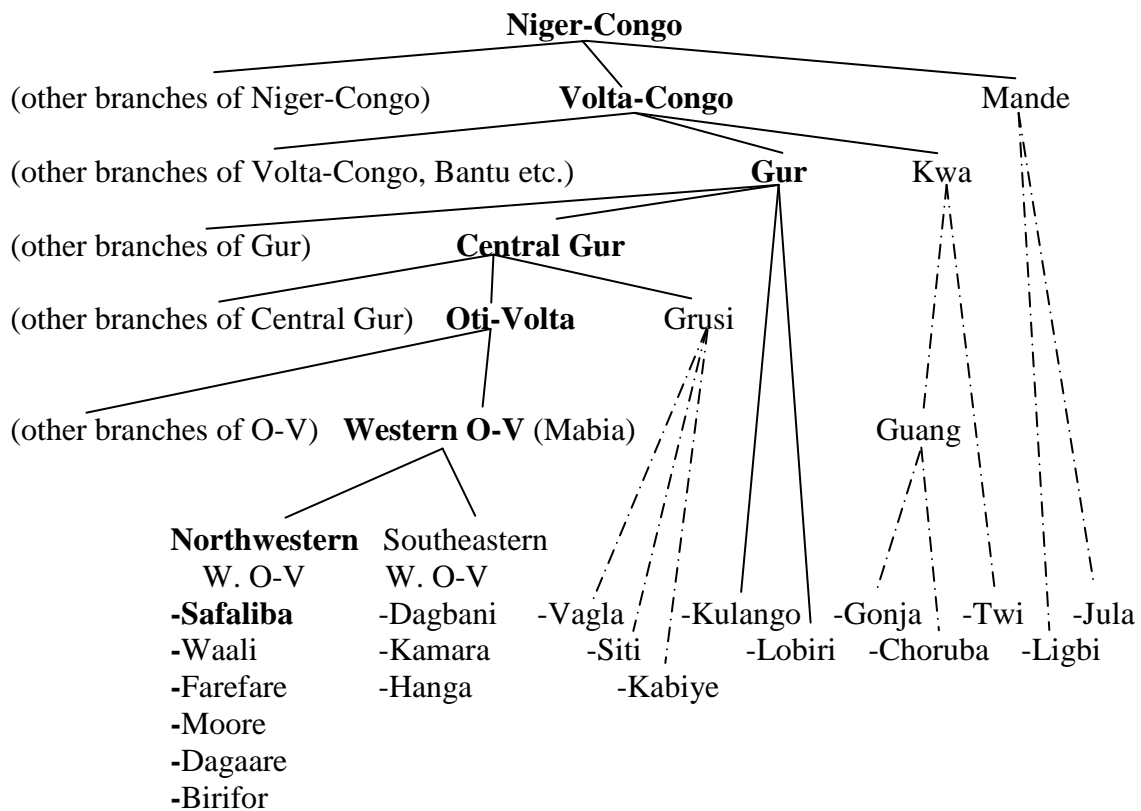
Figure 2 Safaliba and Relationships with Other Languages
(Naden 1988, 1989; Kropp Dakubu 1988; Bendor-Samuel 1989)

According to Naden (1988:12), the Gur languages "have attracted comparatively little study by outsiders; they have remained until recently the vehicles of

9

an oral, unwritten tradition only". For this reason, there are still many gaps in the available knowledge of the grammatical structure of these languages as a whole, and grammatical study of any of the languages in this group necessarily involves a significant amount of preliminary primary research on basic grammar and discourse structure. Over the past 40 or so years, basic linguistic research has been done in many of these languages by linguistic personnel associated with the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT) and other entities. In most cases, this has been followed up with the development of linguistically-informed and socially-acceptable orthographies and reading materials, along with ongoing publication of both locally-authored and translated literature.

Grammar sketches do exist for some of the larger Western Oti-Volta (WOV) languages, such as Dagaare (Kropp Dakubu 2005, 55 pp.; Bodomo 1997, 159 pp.), Farefare (Kropp Dakubu 1995, 100 pp.) and Kusaal (Spratt and Spratt 1972, 111 pp.). For Mooré there is the sizable work by Canu (1973, 673pp) as well as the older work by Alexandre (1953, 209 pp.); however, both are in French and are so old as not to reflect the work done in more recent years on related languages or African languages in general. Research on various aspects of the grammar and phonology of some of the languages has resulted in a growing number of articles, but as far as I know there are no full reference grammars for any but the most distantly-related languages[2].

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[2] Carlson (1994) is a complete reference grammar of Supyire (Niger-Congo/Gur/Senufo, 766 pp.); it is the only published reference grammar of a Gur language that I am aware of, though others are in progress (Stefan Elders, p.c.).

Analyses of pragmatic or discourse-related phenomena are even less common. I am aware of studies done for Farefare (Alando, Schaefer, and Schaefer, 1984, 24 pp.; Kropp Dakubu 2000, 6 pp.; N. Schaefer 2003, 14 pp.), Dagaare (4 pages in Kropp Dakubu 2005), and Hanga (Hunt 1978, 10 pp.); Naden (1989:160-166) gives some discourse-pragmatic generalizations about the Gur languages as a whole, but with almost no specific examples. Recent conferences and projects investigating information structure in African languages have contributed newer studies in this area, some of which cover Oti-Volta languages (Schwarz and Fiedler 2007). Also, some younger scholars such as Samuel Issah and Hudu Fusheini (Issah, p.c.) are currently engaged in graduate research on Dagbani focus constructions, but this material is not yet available to me.

The Safaliba language remains among the least-studied of WOV languages, and at the time of this research remains primarily an oral language. Brief analyses of some aspects of its linguistic structure have been carried out by my wife and myself (Schaefer and Schaefer 2003, 2004; P. Schaefer 2008a, 2008b, 2008c), and these remain the only known published work on the language at this time. This makes it necessary to present the fairly-detailed overview of Safaliba linguistic structure which comprises Chapter 2.

1.2 The Research Problem

1.2.1 The Safaliba N-Pronoun Set and Possible Derivation

The Safaliba pronouns are presented in the following table:

Table 1 Safaliba Pronouns

	Regular		Emphatic	"Special"
	Subj.	Obj.	(Subj.)	(Subj.)
1st person singular	ɲ̀	-ma	màáɲ̀	máŋ
1st person plural	tì	-tʋ	tʋ̀nʋ́ʋ̀	tʉ́ŋ
2nd person singular	ì	-ɪ	íná	íŋ
2nd person plural	yà	-ya	yáná	yáŋ
3rd person singular	ʋ̀	-ʋ	ʋ́ná	ʋ́ŋ
3rd person plural (human)	bà	-ba	báná	báŋ
3rd person plural (nonhuman)	à	-a	áná	áŋ

In the chart above it can be seen that there are three main sets of pronouns in Safaliba: a **regular** pronoun set with subject and object forms, with (C)V syllable structure; an **emphatic** pronoun set used in subject position, with mostly (C)VCV syllable structure; and a "**special**" pronoun set which occurs only in subject position, with a (C)Vŋ syllable structure (hereafter termed "N-pronoun" in consideration for its phonological shape). Apart from tone, the three pronoun sets display clear morphological similarities: the emphatic set, in the 2nd and 3rd person forms, is made up of the regular pronoun plus '*na*'; while the N-pronoun set, in all but the 1st person singular, is made up of the regular pronoun plus '*ŋ*'.

In some respects, this type of pronoun system is not uncommon among languages in this family: cognates of the regular and emphatic pronoun sets are attested

in descriptions of related languages. However, in these descriptions there is nothing corresponding to the Safaliba "special" N-pronoun set.

It is reasonable to ask whether either '*na*' or '*ŋ*' constitutes an identifiable morpheme in Safaliba which might contribute a specific meaning distinguishing either of these pronoun sets. In the case of '*na*' there are no obvious candidates which can be identified as a source. However, a separate morpheme '*ŋ*' does occur with a meaning and context which are suggestive. Syntactically, it follows the noun phrase; and based on its cognates in related languages, its probable meaning would appear to be applicable to a pronoun.

The cognate forms of this morpheme in other languages all have a syllabic nasal (Ṇ) syllable shape, and each is typically categorized as a marker of focus or emphasis. Naden (p.c.) has suggested that the N-pronoun set in Safaliba is derived from the combination of the regular pronoun with this focus marker. If the derivation is synchronic, it would imply that the apparent "special" pronoun set is not in fact a distinct form, but consists of the regular pronoun plus the focus marker. If this derivation is diachronic, it is still at least probable that the primary meaning of the pronoun set relates in some way to focus on the subject. This hypothesis can be checked by considering whether actual usage of the N-pronoun aligns with what would be expected for a focus form.

The next section discusses the apparent functions of the N-pronoun as observable in a the context of a short section of narrative.

1.2.2 The Safaliba N-Pronoun and Contextual Function

Consider the following selection from a paragraph of a Safaliba narrative[3]:

(1) *(3)* Yoon-i kpaŋ, **ʋŋ** wa' tɪ' nyɔgɪ waʋ,   ka ʋ dɪgʋ-ʋ waanɪ,
      year-sg single 3sN come go catch elephant then 3s pick-3s bring

a wa' goolu-u bɪlɛɛŋ,   **ʋŋ** wa' ta',   waʋ pɔl-lɪ.
and come rear-3s on.and.on 3sN come reach eleph. fat-sg

(4) **Ʋŋ** gooli ʋ waʋ bee bɪlɛɛŋ,   **ʋŋ** wa' ta' waʋ.
      3sN rear 3s eleph. there on.and.on 3sN come reach elephant

'One year, he (the chief) went[4] and caught a (small) elephant, and he brought him[5] (to the village) and took care of him for some time, he (the elephant) grew and became a young adult elephant. He (the chief) took care of his young elephant there for some time, he (the elephant) became an adult elephant.' (Text 8:3-4)

In this brief extract from a text, each occurrence of the pronoun *ʋŋ* signals a change in the referent of the subject from that of the previous clause. As seen in the English free translation, a sequence of such sentences in English using the 3rd person singular masculine pronoun is unnatural and in many cases would not allow the participant reference to be unambiguously tracked. However, in Safaliba there is no ambiguity.

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[3] All Safaliba examples are given in a modified form of the provisional Safaliba orthography, which follows IPA standards to some extent but marks tone only in selected places. Details are given in sections 1.3, 2.1 and 2.2.

[4] The tense is supplied by context. The Safaliba verb root carries only aspectual distinctions: this form is unmarked but carries a basic imperfective aspect which may be used for either past or future. Details are given in section 2.3.

[5] The free translation for this first example uses "him" for the elephant instead of "it" at this point in order to carry the point of the research problem: Safaliba doesn't distinguish here between human and non-human, and uses the same pronoun form to refer to the elephant as to the chief (Safaliba pronouns do not indicate gender either—in fact we learn later in the story that this elephant is female).

14

This example suggests that the function of this pronoun in a narrative context is to indicate a switch in reference, and attributing this reference-switch to the presence of a focus marker seems plausible as well. An examination of the corpus of 38 Safaliba texts used for this study indicates that about 70% of the occurrences of the 3rd person singular N-pronoun *ʋŋ* do occur where the subject is different from that of the previous clause. However, the other 30% of occurrences occur where *ʋŋ* refers to the same referent as the subject of the previous clause. Those cases are evidence that *ʋŋ* does not function primarily to indicate a switch in reference, and also present a challenge to the focus hypothesis.

If *ʋŋ* were consistently used with a "different subject" meaning, the specific meaning carried by the N-pronoun set could instead be categorized as an uncomplicated "pronominal switch-reference" system, independent of the hypothetical derivation from a focus marker. However, the large number of exceptions make it clear that there are other factors at work which affect the use of this pronoun form in discourse. The existence of such factors makes the problem more challenging, and this research aims to account for the use of the N-pronoun both in the "switch-reference" contexts as well as in those contexts where the reference apparently does not switch.

A more extended example, from the same narrative, is perhaps illustrative of some of the contexts where N-pronouns may occur as well as some contexts indicating either referent switch or continuity:

15

(2) *(24)* Bɛɛ wa' bɛɛ, **baŋ** dɪ' tɪ'. *(25)* **Baŋ** tɪ' chɔɔsɪ naa, chɛ zɪnɪ "pɪrɪp."
      day come dawn 3pN take go   3pN go greet chief and sit packed

(26) Ʋŋ ye' ká, ŋʋna? *(27)* **Baŋ** ye' ka, bɛɛ-rʋ naanɪ. *(28)* Ká ʋ saa
      3sN say that for   3pN say that bad-sg not   that 3s place

baŋ wa' nɪ[6]. *(29)* Ʋŋ ye' ká, ɛhɛn'? *(30)* Ká amaniye? *(31)* Ŋ daba
3pN come Spec   3s say that yes   that news   1s friend

nɪ isigi, ká, naa... *(32)* A! *(33)* **Baŋ** taaŋɪ. *(34)* Ʋŋ ye' ká, ŋ won-
Spec get.up that chief   ah   3pN keep.quiet   3sN say that 1s hear-

-ne. *(35)* Ʋŋ ye' ká, ɪ waʋ nɪ, ɪ haŋ waanɪ nɪ, ká ʋ yɛl-a
-Imperf   3sN say that 2s eleph. Spec 2s prev. bring Spec that 3s matter-pl

patɪ-tʋ paaa. *(36)* **Tɪŋ** woo-re   ká, ɪ koroŋ lɛ nya' ʋ-daa
please-1p much   1pN want-Imperf that 2s formerly again see 3s-male

wa' iŋŋi ʋ ɪŋŋa, ka a   koroŋ ɛ' ayi', ka a   dɔgɪ-ra.
come put.in 3s body then 3pnh formerly do two that 3pnh bear-Imperf

(37) Ʋŋ ye' ká, bɪlɛ? *(38)* Ooo. *(39)* Ká ʋ bʋlɪ-ya, ʋ bʋlɪ-ya, ʋ
      3sN say that so   Ooh.   that 3s speak-PfIntr 3s speak-PfIntr 3s

bʋlɪ-ya.   *(40)* **Baŋ** ye', oo, ká bɪlɛ vɛɛla,   ká ʋ na wo' ʋ-
speak-PfIntr   3pN say ooh that so be.good.Imperf that 3s Fut seek 3s-

-daa iŋŋi ʋ ɪŋ-ŋa. *(41)* **Baŋ** zaa isigi yi'.
-male put.in 3s body-sg   3pN all get.up go.out

'(24) The next morning, they went. (25) They went and greeted the chief, then sat packed tightly together. (26) He said, "For what?" (27) They said, "It's not a bad thing." (28) That to his place they had come. (29) He said, "Yes? (30) What news?" (31) This friend of mine got up, "Chief..." (32) Hey! (33) They (his fellow villagers) kept quiet. (34) He (the chief) said, "I'm listening." (35) He (the man) said, "This elephant of yours, which you brought, everything about it pleases us so much. (36) We are desiring that you should already have found a male one to impregnate it, then they would be two, then they be bearing more." (37) He (the chief) said, "Is that so? (38) Ooh." (39) That he had spoken well, he had spoken well, he had spoken well. (40) They (the fellow

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[6] The particle *nɪ* is glossed 'Spec' in the interlinear glosses. It is a deictic of some sort, often used to specify something that has been previously mentioned, but it is not an ordinary demonstrative like *ŋaa* 'that'.

villagers) said, ooh, that is wonderful, that he should seek a male to impregnate it. (41) They (the villagers) all got up and went out.' (Text 8:24-41)

Two new facts are obvious from example (2). First, the special N-pronoun form (*υη* or *baη* above) appears not just in places where the referent might otherwise be ambiguous. In sentences (26), (27), (29) and following sentences the referent change is clearly indicated by the distinction between singular and plural pronouns, and the N-pronoun is used where additional indication of a referent change would be redundant. Second, the N-pronoun form is used in sentences (25) and (27) even where the referent of the subject has not changed from that of the immediately previous clause. Therefore the N-pronoun must be used here for some reason other than non-co-reference with an element of the preceding clause.

Furthermore, there are specific contexts where the N-pronoun may not occur, such as a clause conjoined to another clause with the conjunction *ka* 'and, then': notice the presence of *ka* before occurrences of the regular 3rd person pronoun *υ* above, in both same-subject contexts (example 1, sentence 3, second clause) as well as different-subject contexts (example 2, sentence 36, third clause). There are other clause-conjoining constructions, using *a* 'and' or *chε* 'and, but', where the same-subject referent is indicated without the use of any overt representation at all, pronoun or otherwise: notice the use of the conjunction *a* with same-subject null reference (example 1, sentence 3, third clause) and the use of the conjunction *chε* with same-subject null-reference (example 2, sentence 25, second clause). These examples suggest that beyond the hypothetical presence of focus and the significance of the wider

17

discourse context, the syntactic context may also affect pronoun occurrence and should be considered in the investigation.

The relationships between these factors and pronoun uses are considered in the following research questions: (1) What is the primary difference between the N-pronoun set and the regular pronoun set? (2) How is each set used within a narrative text? (3) How does the Safaliba hearer or reader determine which referent in a narrative discourse has been selected by the use of a particular pronoun? These questions can be further specified. (4) Which factor, or group of factors, is mainly responsible for the referent-switching effect seen in these examples? (5) Specifically, is this effect due to a grammatical switch-reference system manifested through different pronoun forms, an application of sentence-level focus, some effect of text structure or participant reference patterns, or something entirely different? (6) Furthermore, what can be said about the relationship between the special N-pronoun set and the probable marker of subject focus, $ŋ$: is the N-pronoun set synchronically or diachronically derived from the combination of the regular pronoun set with the subject focus marker?

This research will approach these research questions by (1) examination of the meaning and usage of focus markers in Safaliba, from the perspective of focus as defined in Dik 1997a; (2) analysis of narrative discourse structure as represented in Longacre 1996 and Longacre and Hwang in press; (3) analysis of the general patterns of participant reference which occur in Safaliba narrative texts, using the participant reference analysis methods of Longacre 1995 supplemented with the referent topicality

18

measurements of Givón 1994; and (4) survey of those aspects of Safaliba syntax which have a bearing on reference patterns and other aspects of the research questions.

1.3 Data and Methodology

1.3.1 Data

The primary data for this research consist of both written and oral narrative texts in Safaliba, written or told by native speakers acknowledged as capable storytellers and edited with these language associates to eliminate false starts and other unintentional errors.

Non-text data (isolated sentences and words) were also necessary in order to check various hypotheses, and to fill in gaps where illustrative examples of a particular type of construction do not happen to occur in the text corpus. This material was collected from the same speakers used for the narratives.

1.3.1.1 Text Data

The text corpus for this research consists of 38 Safaliba texts, 25 of which were originally told orally and recorded on cassette tape, and 13 of which were originally composed in written form. The oral texts were transcribed, and all texts were keyboarded and then reviewed with either the original source (when possible) or another Safaliba language associate to eliminate typographical errors and obvious mistakes. Additionally, one oral text in the Waali language was recorded, transcribed and keyboarded, along with a Safaliba version of the same story, for possible cross-language comparison of pronoun usage conventions. All texts were recorded and edited

19

at intervals between May 2007 and June 2008, and were told, written, and/or corrected by the ten Safaliba speakers and one Waali speaker, all of whom had agreed to be part of the research and had signed informed consent documents.

The Safaliba text corpus includes about 20,000 words, equivalent to about 39 pages in 12-point single-spaced font. Some of the individual texts are quite short, about half a page, while others are several pages long. Some are historically true narratives, while others are fictional; some are told in 3rd person while others are in 1st person. Stories in the 3rd person true narrative category have been the focus of the research, though examples have also been taken from the other categories where appropriate.

1.3.1.2 Non-Text Data

Three main types of non-text data were collected. The first type of non-text data consists of several dozen elicited sentences constructed so as to roughly parallel the English topic and focus constructions in Gundel (1974:1-3) and Givón (1990:700-704). In addition to these, sentences from the texts which approximated some of these constructions were extracted, modified with respect to focus and topic structure, and separately recorded onto cassette.

The second type of non-text data collected consisted of answers to questions about the substitution of one type of pronoun for another in some of the collected texts, as to whether a certain different form was usable in a particular context, and if so whether there was any change in meaning. The third type of non-text data included a variety of questions and elicitations about various points of phonology, morphology,

20

syntax, and discourse collected and written down on an *ad hoc* basis from the language associates at various intervals throughout the research period. Most of these data were not recorded on cassette.

1.3.2 Methodology

In order to have good results from a corpus-based project, the corpus needs to be assembled with the purpose of the research in mind. Some corpora are "assembled...for unspecified linguistic research" (Kennedy 1998:19). Such "general corpora" are "typically designed to be balanced, by containing texts from different genres and domains of use" (Kennedy 1998:19-20). Other corpora are "designed with particular research projects in mind;" such "specialized corpora" intentionally contain only a particular type of texts (Kennedy 1998:20).

The corpus used for this project is a specialized corpus, containing only monologue narrative texts spoken by adult male native speakers. Thus the findings of the discourse-related research based on this corpus are only claimed to be valid for the narrative genre, in particular the sub-type of narrative on which the study has focused (cf. section 4.1). The grammatical analysis at the sentence level and below is held to be more generally representative of Safaliba grammatical structure, though it is expected that the frequency of occurrence of some forms may vary according to the genre in which they appear.

Three specific concerns were also considered in assembling the Safaliba narrative corpus: the quality of the initial narrative performance, elimination of

unintentional mistakes, and collection of a sufficient number of texts from a moderate number of language associates so as to insure a diversity of text sources sufficient to make obvious any personal idiosyncrasies in speech.

In accordance with Grimes' observation that in any society there are certain people who "have a reputation for consistently producing the kind of discourses that other people want to listen to...[and p]art of the reason people like these discourses appears to lie in their well formedness" (1975:33-34), adult native speaker subjects were sought out who are acknowledged by other Safaliba people as being good storytellers, with the expectation that their texts would exhibit prototypical patterns of the language. Although exceptional storytellers may sometimes use very unusual language forms in creative ways, those types of narrative are not represented in these data. Although people considered to be poor storytellers were not chosen as sources for the data, those that were chosen as sources for the data are not, with one exception, considered to be highly exceptional orators. In the judgment of the language associates, all the texts in the corpus are all within the range of regular, well-told, narratives. Within this range, some stories were judged to be more well-told than others; these became the obvious candidates for more in-depth analysis.

1.3.2.1 Previous Work and Pilot Project

Over the past 10 years I have worked regularly in the Safaliba area as an Advisor to the Safaliba Language Project. Many of the questions and insights that underlie this study, or that have emerged through it, came out of experiences relating to

this work with the Project: development of an alphabet and writing conventions for this previously unwritten language, and production of vernacular literacy materials. As an ongoing learner of Safaliba, I also have had the opportunity to listen to and speak oral Safaliba with people in the community, as well as to read through or be involved in the translation of various materials in the language; many constructions were first observed in oral interchanges or in translated materials, and only afterwards located in the naturally-occurring texts used for this study.

The pilot project for the current research was carried out using narratives from three books of brief narratives, published by the Safaliba Language Project. (Most were short, and first composed in written form; versions of these narratives were included in the current corpus only after review and revision by their authors, and by those language associates who are also editors of the Safaliba Language Project.) It was during the pilot project that the basic observations were made about the usage of the N-pronoun for switch reference, with exceptions due to yet to be understood factors. At that time text charting and analysis were also done using several of the texts found in the Safaliba storybooks.

1.3.2.2 Recording the Data

The oral Safaliba texts were all recorded in a context designed to promote natural storytelling by the subject. As recommended by Biber (1984:4), the stories were not told directly to myself as an outside researcher, but always to at least one or two other Safaliba listeners; I myself was either absent from the area or observing

unobtrusively. The text recordings were done on two different basic cassette recorders, an Akai and a Realistic, usually using an external microphone.

The isolated sentence recordings were done in such a way as to create as much as possible a plausible natural context for understanding them. First, I selected from the text corpus certain sentences which I believed (based on previous experience) to be comparable examples of types of constructions I wanted to investigate. Then I added or deleted words, or otherwise adjusted these sentences so as to have several variant sentences to be evaluated along with the original sentence, each of which could with some plausibility fit into a specific context in a story. I then went through this list of sentences with two of the research subjects, recording their pronunciation of these sentences as well as any explanations of the differences in meaning or well-formedness of particular constructions. I also elicited other sentence data unrelated to any of the texts, which were more specifically parallel to existing examples of focus and topic constructions in English and other languages. In these cases, there was no existing plausible context except what the research subjects or myself made up on the spot. Since investigation of this non-text data would include more detailed listening for tonal and other differences, for those recordings I used a Marantz PMD201 professional cassette recorder and a Sony HF cassette to obtain higher quality recordings.

The other types of non-text data were collected as follows. To further investigate pronoun choices in text, I went through several of the texts with the research subjects and asked specific questions about the substitution of different pronoun forms for those that appeared in the texts, and noted what they said about whether such

substitution was possible and what meaning changes were involved, if any. And at various points throughout the research period, I would take a few minutes to ask for clarification or further data on a particular topic from any of the research subjects, in order to check hypotheses or fill out gaps in my ongoing analysis.

1.3.2.3 Transcribing, Keyboarding, and Editing

After recording the text materials, I transcribed them with the assistance of Ahiah Kipo Joseph, one of the authors and editors for the Safaliba Language Project. In his mid-30's, Mr. Ahiah is a graduate of Tumu Teacher Training College, has taught for three years in the Bole District public schools, and is currently an undergraduate student in the Ghanaian Languages division of the University of Education Winneba. Mr. Ahiah is bilingual in Safaliba and Vagla, with family connections to both the Vagla village of Chorubang near Bole and the chiefly clan in Mandari, and was previously a teacher in the Adult Literacy Programme of the Vagla Language Project. Mr. Ahiah's experience in writing Vagla and Safaliba, as well as his more recent training in phonetics and phonology, were an invaluable assistance in transcribing the materials. In transcribing the texts, Mr. Ahiah and I listened to the recording, pausing after every few words to write down what had been said. In many cases where the speed of speech made it difficult for me to hear all the words, Mr. Ahiah could say with confidence what had actually been said, and this is what was written down.

After the texts had been transcribed with Mr. Ahiah's assistance, I keyboarded all the texts, using the current provisional orthography in use by the Safaliba Language

Project, with two exceptions: two vowels are written in the older orthography format (following the "old IPA" standard) instead of the new characters currently in use in publications. This is due to difficulty in typing the newer characters which will not be eliminated until the full conversion of the project to Unicode, which will not take place until late 2009. The correspondence between the Safaliba orthography and the phonological and other linguistic features is explained in Chapter 2.

In order to eliminate errors of performance, false starts, etc., I worked with the language associates to go over the texts several times for correction and improvement, following Grimes (1975:34) observation that "[s]peakers of unwritten languages display editorial reactions just as regularly as editors who work with paper and pencil," and "even people who produce highly valued discourses recognize that certain parts of what they say can be improved...[such editing principles] are likely...to represent a replacement of expressions that are less consistent with the discourse as a whole by other expressions that fit the structure and the context better." In particular, I worked with two men, Amaaliya Mbatumwini and Elisha Kipo Dari, who have served as editors and proofreaders for publications of the Safaliba Language Project and who could therefore serve to identify areas which needed correction.

In his early 50s, Mr. Mbatumwini attended Bole and Tuna Middle Schools in the 1960s and acquired a speaking and reading knowledge of English that surpasses most of today's secondary school graduates in the area. He is from the chiefly clan in Mandari and is widely acknowledged in the community as a storyteller and orator. He

26

is multilingual, able to speak French, Jula, and several other languages in addition to Safaliba.

Mr. Kipo is in his middle 40s, attended Damongo Secondary School in the 1970s, and among his other responsibilities is the Secretary for the Assemblies of God Church in Mandari. He and his family all speak Safaliba as their first language. Matrilineally they are connected to the chiefly clan in Mandari, while patrilineally they are connected to the chiefly clan of the Choruba-speaking village of Seripe even though they no longer speak Choruba. In addition to Safaliba, Mr. Kipo also speaks and reads Gonja and has been a Literacy Facilitator for the Non-Formal Education department and for the Gonja Language Project.

Mr. Kipo and Mr. Mbatumwini listened to the recordings with me, comparing what they heard to the printed version of the transcription. They noted errors in the transcription where neither I nor Mr. Ahiah had understood the recorded text exactly right, and they also corrected places where the speaker had either made unconscious mistakes, or had corrected himself and both the mistake and the correction were still in the transcription. Finally they were satisfied that the texts had been corrected and were now representative of well-structured texts in the language; in some cases I then took the final version back to the original speaker for final comments, but in all these cases the speaker was well-satisfied with the end product.

Based on my current knowledge of the language, I am fairly confident that this procedure eliminated genuine mistakes while not doing away with acceptable personal variation in storytelling. It also gave me an opportunity to gain a better understanding

of some of what constitutes basic storytelling conventions and which things could be categorized as personal tendencies (whether good or bad). Generally speaking however, the variation in pronoun usage which is the focus of this study does not seem to be affected by personal storytelling variations to any extent.

The texts were not formally interlinearized at this time; however I went through all the final versions of texts with the speakers and editors until any unclear portions were fully explained and understood. Five of the texts were then chosen as particularly useful for the research problem because they typified the 3rd person realistic narrative, were of reasonable length, were judged to be some of the best examples of narrative in the corpus, and had sufficient variation in the number of participants for there to be a large pool of occurrences of pronouns from the set in question. Two of these appear in Appendix A.

1.3.2.4 Charting, Interlinearizing and Concordancing

Two different types of charts were used for the analysis. The five selected texts were first charted using templates prepared for Microsoft Word, following the constituent charting and macrosegmentation method described in Longacre and Hwang (in press: 42-50). As described in that source, this method of charting arranges an entire text within a multi-column and multi-row table, usually spanning a number of pages. This permits a spatial arrangement of both the discourse-level constituents (in contiguous rows) and clause- and sentence-level constituents (arranged across categorized columns, and, in the case of longer sentences, contiguous rows). Since the

entire text is present in the chart, particular elements (various referential devices, particular verb forms, particular constructions) may be highlighted throughout the text for visual tracking and analysis, giving a much clarified and broader textual context than is easily accessible from either uncharted texts or individual analyzed sentences.

The Longacre-Hwang charting was done to confirm and develop findings from the pilot study on the issues of basic participant reference patterns, as well as the influence of narrative macrosegmentation and verb salience on such patterns. A section of the chart for Text 1 sentence 69 follows.

Sent. #	x	S	P	O, Comp, Others
69	Bee	baŋ	naŋ asɩ liire duu,	

Figure 3 Section of Longacre-Hwang Chart for Text 1

Here, the sentence number occurs in the first column. Columns for sentence introducers and any preposed dependent clauses would occur next, but for reasons of space are not shown in this brief example. The rest of the columns include constituents of the main clause: first, a column labeled "x" for any non-subject material that may optionally appear before the subject of the sentence; second, the "S" column, for the subject of the sentence; third, the "P" column for the verb(s) and any verbal particles that may occur (including serial verb constructions and verbal idioms); finally, the "O, Comp, Others" column for any object, complement, or other material following the verb.

In the Safaliba text charts, several different elements were visually coded for investigation. The verbs themselves were categorized as to type, mood, and aspect, and

each category was highlighted with a different highlighting color in Word. Verb particles were categorized into TAMP[7] particles (see further Chapter 2.3) and focus particles; each of these categories was coded with different colors of text. In addition, the particle *bɪlɛɛŋ* 'on and on' was coded separately as an adverb that can further affect the inherent aspect of a verb. Finally, the commonly-recurring participants in each text were each coded by a different type of underlining (varying by color and style), so that it could be seen at a glance which participant was referred to by a particular linguistic expression.

Two of these texts were then charted separately a second time in Participant Topicality charts which included Givón's (1990, 1994) measures of topic persistence for each participant, using a display inspired by but not directly related to Grimes' description of Thurman and Span charts (1975:82-96).

In the Participant Topicality text charts, each major participant was given a column into which was put each reference to that participant; minor participants were all grouped together in a separate column, and the final column was used for the rest of the non-participant related sentence material. Like the Longacre-Hwang charts, each of these charts includes the entire text so that if read line-by-line from left to right the complete text is still recoverable within the chart. A portion of the Participant Topicality chart for Text 1 Sentence 69 follows:

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[7] TAMP is an acronym for Tense, Aspect, Mood, Polarity (negation, etc.): the term is commonly used by linguists studying languages in this part of the world, particularly in the Kwa and Gur language families, because these categories encompass the basic meanings carried by the types of verbal modifiers that occur, cf. Ameka and Kropp Dakubu (2008:5).

minor	Uncle1	Uncle2		UncleFriend	non-partic. material	clause
Bee [1.42] a-4 c-TP0						
	baŋ a-2 RD2/3 c-TP5	a-2 RD2/3 c-TP0		a-10 RD>3 c-TP0	naŋ ası liire duu, ka	207

Figure 4 Section of Participant Topicality Chart for Text 1

In these charts, each reference to a participant is coded with two measures of topicality following Givón (1990, 1994):   the first number measures anaphoric topicality or referential distance (the number of clauses back to the previous reference to that participant), while the second number measures cataphoric reference or topic persistence (the number of times the topic is mentioned in the next 10 clauses). The coding was exhaustive for each participant (major or minor) and object mentioned in these two texts.

Each of the five selected texts was also interlinearized with morpheme breaks, morpheme glosses, grammatical categories, and free translation, using Toolbox 1.5.4 to automate some of the analysis and produce the interlinear display.

Bee	**baŋ**	**naŋ**	**ası**	**liire**		**duu,**
bee	**baŋ**	**naŋ**	**ası**	**li'**	**-rA**	**duu**
there	3pN	still	stand	tie	-Imperf	plans
loc	pro	v-Infl	v	v	-Asp	n
There they still stood, making a plan...						

Figure 5 Example of Interlinear Text Produced with Toolbox

I had hoped that the Concordancing function in Toolbox would be able to access the grammatical and lexical information for each form in its occurrence, so that the Toolbox lexicon that had been created would serve as an extended tagset for more automated corpus research. But in practice the Toolbox concordancing function did not provide the automating tools I needed. It became clear that development of an adequate tagset and complete manual tagging of the corpus for the features I needed would have comprised a project worthy of separate research in its own right.

The necessary limited tagging and concordancing work had to be completed manually within non-interlinearized text in Microsoft Word, using find and replace functions as well as highlighting to extract and compare examples of particular forms or constructions. (For example, Word's find and replace function was used to highlight all 339 occurrences of *υη* in the 38-text corpus, each of which was then manually examined and tagged for referential continuity or discontinuity with the subject of the previous clause; this revealed 104 of the occurrences did not in fact mark a change in subject from that of the immediately previous clause.) The disadvantages arising from this more manual approach were far outweighed by the advantages of having the corpus as a large pool of available and contextualized data for confirming and disconfirming hypotheses.

1.4 Theoretical Preliminaries

The main areas of analysis presumed to be necessary for answering the research questions presented above include the participant reference conventions (including the

32

switch-reference effect); an outline of narrative discourse structure; the inventory and function of marked focus constructions; and aspects of syntax at the sentence-, clause-, and phrase-level.

First, note that the examples presented in section 1.2 show that pronoun usage seems to have a switch-reference function, at least in the aggregate. Pronominal switch-reference falls under the domain of participant reference in discourse, also known as topic continuity or referent tracking. Both the preliminary and the main research questions above can be answered only through consideration of the patterns of participant reference in the language, which is introduced in section 1.4.1 and further developed in section 4.2.

Second, analysis of the discourse structure of the texts in the data corpus is assumed to be necessary background for an investigation like this which centers around the tracking of participants across a whole and coherent text. More specifically, this includes consideration of genre, including social function and text subtypes; the overall structure of the text as determined by text-genre; and the cohesive and structural qualities of verb salience. These concepts are introduced in section 1.4.2, and analysis of Safaliba narrative within that framework is presented in section 4.1.

Third, due to the hypothetical relationship of the N-pronoun set with the particle ŋ which occurs elsewhere in the language as an independent subject focus marker, it is necessary to look at focus functions in the language to see whether or to what extent focus plays a role in the use of that pronoun set. Focus is discussed in section 1.4.3 in the larger context of information structure and further defined in the specific context of

33

its use in other African languages. The use of focus in Safaliba is presented in section 3.1, and the distribution of the N-pronoun set in relation to the known focus constructions is analyzed in section 3.2.

Finally, the research questions demand knowledge and discussion of aspects of the phrase, clause, and sentence syntax of Safaliba, as well as an understanding of the lower-level domains of phonology and morphology. Inasmuch as none of these is documented to the necessary degree in available sources, a survey of aspects of these domains is also a necessary part of the research. Section 1.4.4 introduces the subtopics to be addressed and transitions to chapter 2 where the necessary grammatical background topics are presented, analyzed, and discussed.

In the subsections remaining in this chapter, the discussion begins with consideration of the main issues of participant reference analysis in narrative. The discussion perspective then broadens to consider the larger context of the overall narrative discourse structure, then focuses back on lower-level structures to establish the understanding of focus, which in most analyses is treated as a phenomenon affecting one sub-part of a clause. The discussion then concludes with a brief introduction to the grammatical background topics which must be surveyed, and transitions into the second chapter.

1.4.1 Participant Reference

Current approaches to the study of participant reference are described as follows by Longacre and Hwang:

Following Staley (1995) and Huang (2000), we may group them into three models. First, the topic continuity or recency model is used by Givón and others with good statistical results showing the iconicity principle...(Givón 1983:18). Second is the hierarchy or episode model, which finds evidence for heavier coding material across structural boundaries (Hinds & Hinds 1979, Fox 1987, and Tomlin 1987b). Third, the cognitive or memorial-activation model is concerned with cognitive factors such as memory and attention (Prince 1981, Tomlin 1987b, Chafe 1994, and Gundel, Hedburg, and Zacharski 1993). The first two have to do with the nature of discourse structure, which is both linear and hierarchical.... These three models are not discrete entities but are based on the primary focus of the researchers. (in press:68)

They go on to note that although all of these approaches have proved to be explanatory in certain areas, "they do not fully consider discourse operations interacting with discourse structure and ranking among participants in discourse" as presented in Longacre 1995 (Longacre and Hwang in press: 68).

In this study I follow Longacre 1995 most closely for participant reference procedures. I include aspects of Givón's measurements of referent topicality (1994:10-11) in my analysis, using the cataphoric topicality measurement as a quantitative measure of comparative rank among participants in a text, and comparing the predictions of the iconicity principle and the anaphoric topicality measurement with the actual participant reference data in Safaliba texts.

The term "switch-reference", while broadly descriptive of the effects of pronoun usage in Safaliba, is something of a misnomer. "Canonical switch-reference is an inflectional category of the verb, which indicates whether or not its subject is identical with the subject of some other verb" (Haiman and Munro, 1983:ix). Such switch-reference systems are found in a number of languages in the Americas, Papua New

Guinea and Australia (Haiman and Munro 1983). The languages are often described as "chaining" languages, with each chain having a main verb and several medial verbs, with switch-reference operating on the medial verbs. Switch-reference markers on the medial verbs in these languages indicate Same-Subject (SS) and Different-Subject (DS) with respect to the following verb, as in the following examples.

(3)   a.   Fisi - huk   na-wek
              arrived – (sim)SS   ate-he
              'As he$_i$ arrived, he$_i$ was eating.'

        b.   Mu   - ha   - pie   kio-wek
              spoke - (sim)DS - they   wept-he
              'As they$_i$ spoke, he$_j$ wept.' (Kâte, Longacre 1983:187)

In another article in the same volume, Givón (1983b) looks at canonical switch-reference from the broader perspective of what he calls topic (referent) continuity in discourse, noting that the function of reference-switching is not to be uniquely identified with the formal constructions used in canonical switch-reference, but may be manifested in constructions which are formally quite different from canonical switch-reference. It is in recognition of this broader definition of switch-reference that I use the term at various points to describe aspects of reference-switching in Safaliba, which unlike canonical switch-reference, uses pronouns and various syntactic constructions to indicate the switch in reference.

1.4.1.1 Approaches to Participant Reference

As Givón points out, all types of switch-reference need to be considered within the broader concept of topic continuity in discourse. Analysis of topic continuity has been an ongoing concern of Givón's (1983a, 1983b, 1990, 1994). Both Givón and Longacre (1989, 1995, 1996, under the term "participant reference") recognize topic continuity as contributing to cohesion and the structure of discourse units larger than the sentence. Issues like relative rank of discourse referents (topics, in Givón's terminology), their persistence and reinstatement, and the functions of different types of referring expressions (nouns, pronouns, zero anaphora) are discussed in both perspectives.

Givón (1983a) notes that within a given topic-continuity chain, a topic may occur as follows (1) near the beginning of the chain, where a newly-(re)introduced topic may occur, which is typically discontinuous with respect to the previous context but persistent with respect to the following context; (2) in the middle of the chain, where a topic is typically continuous with respect to the previous context and persistent with respect to the following context; and (3) near the end of the chain, where a topic is typically continuous with respect to the previous context and non-persistent with respect to the following context.

However, as noted above, Longacre's approach involves consideration of variables not considered in Givón's more quantitative method. It takes into consideration a very explicit and detailed model of discourse structure (1996:36) which also distinguishes clearly the storyline or backbone of a narrative from the supportive

37

material (1996:21-29). This permits delineation of different-sized segments of the text, distinguishing paragraph and discourse as language structures beyond the sentence level, and defining subparts of narrative discourses such as stage and episode (see further section 1.4.2).

Recognition of such specific aspects of discourse structure allows a more explicit ranking of participants, relative to each other and a given segment of text, than in other approaches to participant reference. Longacre specifies that within a given narrative there is a distinction between **main participants** (further divided into **central** and **non-central**), **minor participants**, and **props** (1995:700-702).

He also delineates the typical operations undertaken on participants over the course of a given story as follows: **first mention**, **integration** into the story as a central participant, **routine tracking** of participants, **restaging** of a previously offstage participant, **confrontation** between participants, marking of **locally thematic** status, intrusive **narrator evaluation**, and **exit of participant** from the narrative (1995:702-703). Longacre and Hwang (in press: 70) add **boundary marking** (where restaging is not involved) and **addressee** in a dialogue as additional operations.

Both Givón 1983a and Longacre 1995 discuss the use of different types of referring expressions for participant reference. Givón's presentation of the iconicity principles underlying referent encoding is a helpful concept: known and continuous topics need less coding so may be expected to be referred to by pronominal elements, while unknown, more discontinuous topics need more coding so can be expected to be referred to with modified nouns or proper names (1990:968). Longacre (1995) gives an

explicit ranking of these and other elements, with provision for cross-linguistic variations and noting more specifically than Givón that the use of these elements is tied in closely to participant ranking and operations.

1.4.1.2 Participant Reference in Other African Languages

Mention of relative participant rank is a common feature of many analyses of participant reference conventions in other African languages, so there is good reason for expecting that the participant rank scheme noted above may be relevant in Safaliba as well. Mention is also often made of the impact of the macrosegmentation of a narrative on the specific resources used for participant reference at a point of segmentation.

For example, Marchese (1986b) observes that relative participant rank in Godié determines the use of a pronoun versus a full noun phrase, with the pronouns being used for high-ranking characters and for what is significant. The use of a full noun phrase can also indicate a crucial structural division of the story. De Craene (1984:1-2) notes that in Tem "clues to the importance of a character to the story will be indicated from his second mention onward by pronouns...." Reimer (1984:1) shows that in Gangam "tracking is normally done with pronouns, for major and secondary figures," but for other participants it is normally done with a noun (1984:5). And in Cicite (Tagba Senufo), Kompaore (1998:38) reports that the emphatic pronoun is used to refer to non-central or minor participants.

Furthermore, Naden (1986:277) reports a usage of the Mampruli emphatic pronoun "to indicate the other participant (than the one in focus in the previous

clause)." Because Mampruli is more closely related to Safaliba than the other languages cited, I give the example here (the emphatic pronoun is underlined):

(4)   Man yɛli ni '...'. <u>ŋɔna</u> yɛ 'Tɔɔ.'
        I   say that ... <u>he</u>   say OK
        'I said "...". <u>He</u> (i.e. the interlocutor) said "O.K.!"' (Naden 1986:277)

None of these descriptions of participant reference in related languages is exactly parallel to what is seen in Safaliba, but they do suggest some potentially fruitful lines of inquiry. However, the issues of participant rank and operation are evidently important in at least some of these languages, and must be considered in analyzing Safaliba participant reference.

1.4.2 Discourse Structure

A working hypothesis of this research has been the existence of structures analogous to sentence-level syntax at the level of discourse, as defined in Longacre 1996, and this assumption has proved fruitful in arriving at a workable analysis of the main research questions. Since discourse structures vary considerably with the type of text under analysis (Longacre 1996:16-21, cf. Brown and Yule 1983:63-64), it is appropriate to consider questions of text genre, as well as social setting and function, before beginning analysis of structural features. Since the texts in the Safaliba corpus are all various subtypes of narrative, I expect that the structural organization of each should align to some degree with universal narrative plot-structure schema.

For this section, I rely mainly on the text typology and analytical text-structure framework presented in Longacre 1996 and Longacre and Hwang (in press), characterized as follows: Text types are initially categorized within a universal etic schema based on binary features (Longacre 1996:10), intended as a preliminary to in-depth analysis of the genre distinctions innate to the language. Text structure is presented as involving two structurally-defined grammatical levels, the paragraph and the discourse (1996:269-276), which are considered to be suitable domains for analysis comparable to the lower levels commonly recognized in sentence-based approaches to grammar (morpheme, stem, word, phrase, clause, and sentence). Finally, narrative discourse in particular is expected to display the features of universal narrative plot-structure (Longacre 1996:36), as well as structural markers of the storyline and other bands of information in the narrative.

In the sections below, I cover these issues in the following order. First, in 1.4.2.1 I consider the questions of genre and social context, as specific generalizations about text structure can only be made about a particular type of text, and the social context and functions of a text also affect its occurrence and structure. Next, in 1.4.2.2 I look at one of the most important factors in a text's followability by a hearer or reader: the textual cohesion carried by the distinctions between the storyline and other different strands of information in a text[8], usually shown by different markings on the verb (Longacre 1989; Longacre 1996:21-23; Longacre and Hwang in press:61-67). Finally, in 1.4.2.3 I consider the points of discontinuity in a text which allow it to be

41

macrosegmented into the gross constituents which correlate with the narrative plot structure (Longacre 2006; Longacre and Hwang in press: 49-54).

1.4.2.1 The Social Context and Functions of a Text

It is important for categorization and analysis of a text to understand something about its actual or typical social context and function (cf. Eggins and Martin 1997:238). So what generalizations can be made about the social context of the texts in the corpus assembled for this research? A survey and analysis of the possible types of speech use in the Safaliba community, and the position of the corpus texts within this framework, would be ideal for answering this question. Yet this would likewise be worthy of a separate research project.

Since a formal survey of speech use in Safaliba has not been made, I rely here on a survey of speech use done in related and nearby language groups[9] (N. Schaefer 1991) in which the speech-use contexts are likely to be very similar to those seen in Safaliba (based on informal observation and discussions). This survey describes the social context and vocabulary for a wide variety of speech events, following Sherzer and Darnell (1972). It presents eleven general speech-event categories which occur in the vocabularies of the languages: to greet, to converse, to teach or instruct, to judge a case or settle a dispute, to argue or dispute face to face, to ask or beg for help, to send a message, to praise or flatter, to proclaim, to transact (buy or sell), and to pray. This division of speech-event categories is made based on the distinctions made in the

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[8] The other major category of textual cohesion, participant reference, was considered in section 1.4.1.

lexicons of these languages, so that each category tends to be a separate word in each language.

Within some of these speech event categories various component activities occur; for example, in the context of ordinary conversation you have people telling stories, histories, jokes, and narratives of recent activities. "One would not begin to speak with the intention of telling a story: the story would relate to the wider context of the conversation. However, speech events such as a praise song or a proclamation have as their context an event which is not a speech event"[10] (N. Schaefer 1991:10-11). Thus this survey provides a clear idea of the normal social contexts where different texts occur, and thus an opportunity for understanding the functional usages of a particular linguistic form.

Stories in these languages are told in a specific type of social context, usually with a particular function. The fables or animal stories are more typically told in a family context as an evening story, and often include a lesson, though this is not necessarily the main aim of the story. Other types of narrative, including stories, histories, and recent happenings, occur in the context of conversation.

Details of the social context and function for stories in the folktale genre in Farefare, called *so'olim* or *soleni*, are given by Stephen Alando as follows:

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[9] Many of the languages surveyed are either closely related to Safaliba, or share many similarities in material culture, customs, and world view.

[10] I.e. the speech event takes place not as a part of a conversation or in response to another speech event, but as a response to some other social context. Note also that this categorization would divide the typical text-genre categories (discussed below) into two categories, those which comprise a complete speech event of themselves and those which serve as a component activity within a speech event.

Traditionally, these stories…are an activity which is carried on at night. The audience is often the whole household. In larger households, story telling can normally go on in various parts of the same house. The audience includes both old and young, but sometimes the elderly men do not take an active part when they have other business to attend to. The very active participants are women and children. Children always ask for stories to be told to them. [The stories] may again fall into several types. The very obvious type are those stories which are told to teach some lesson, usually a moral. Such stories end with an exhortation giving the reason why moral uprightness should be desired. There is a second type of traditional story. These are stories told to give an explanation why something is like it is. For example, why a section of the people of Zuarungu (Upper East Region of Ghana) don't eat monkey. Lastly, there are those stories which may not necessarily teach a particular lesson even though such lessons can sometimes be forced on them. Most of these stories are meant to show how wise or how foolish or how deceptive a particular animal (often personified) is. (Alando, Schaefer, and Schaefer 1984:3).

The broad aspects of this description appear to be in close agreement with the context and function of Safaliba texts of the same genre (called by the Safaliba cognate word *solime*). The genre of a text in these languages is thus closely related to its typical social context: the degree to which a narrative involves talking animals as the characters, the emphasis placed on the teaching or hortatory function, and whether the text is typically told in the 1st or 3rd person, or to children or fellow adults. These factors are dependent on the particular social context and are at least to some degree determinative of sub-genre of narrative to which such a text belongs.

1.4.2.2 Categorizing the Genre of a Text

Each language and community makes use of a distinct inventory of text-types. Furthermore, there are discernable differences among both spoken and written texts within a particular language community, which can be used to classify them into the

44

"relatively stable types" of interactive utterances which are used in that community (Bakhtin 1986, cited in Eggins and Martin 1997). Linguistic analysis then requires the researcher to adopt some objective system which explicitly recognizes at least some of the objective and quantifiable text features. Although each language will have a different inventory of specific text-types (which, to complicate matters, change over time, cf. Görlach 2001), the broad categories of the inventory can be compared with those found in other languages.

Classification of texts based on either language external or internal features may be accomplished by the methods in Longacre 1996. Universal or language-external **etic** categories can be assigned based on an intuitive (or **notional**) understanding of the text content as represented by the following binary oppositions: +/- **agent orientation**, +/- **contingent succession**, +/- **projected time**, +/- **tension** (1996:10). This system of categorization is useful both for heuristic procedure and cross-linguistic comparison. This can serve as the foundation for a more complex and data-oriented categorization based on language-internal surface structures, representing the **emic** categories (1996:16-21).

In this combined approach, categorization factors include both those gleaned from cross-linguistic and literary analysis, and those based on characteristic structural and functional differences that exist in a specific language. Used together or separately, these factors serve to draw specific and measurable distinctions among those "relatively stable types" of utterances noted above. Longacre's etic scheme divides all monologue discourse into four main types: **narrative**, **procedural**, **behavioral**, and **expository**;

but the emic scheme for a given language may not necessarily coincide with this etic scheme in all particulars (1996:10-21).

The systems of discourse types formally distinguished by language-internal factors can vary considerably. For example, texts in Aguacatec (spoken in Guatemala) categorize into seven genres which are each formally distinct from one another: expository, procedural, three types of narrative, and two types of hortatory (Longacre and Hwang in press: 37-39). In contrast, texts in Biblical Hebrew categorize into four major structural categories some of which have subcategories: expository, narrative, a distinct form used for both hortatory and juridical discourse, and a fourth type of structure used for both predictive, procedural, and instructional discourse.

In addition to recognizing language-specific variation as a critical element in a valid text-typology, Longacre's approach accommodates the mixed complexity of real-world text material in two more ways: first, by observing that a discourse of one type can be **embedded** within a discourse of another type; and second, by defining as **skewing** the usage of a particular conventionalized surface structure to encode (in a functionally-motivated context) what is notionally a different genre (Longacre and Hwang in press: 37).

Analysis of Safaliba text structure will proceed on the assumption that the texts in the corpus fit not only into one of the universal etic types, but into particular subtypes of narrative distinguished by localized factors. It will be necessary to specify to some degree the inventory of emic or language-specific genres reflected in the structures seen in these texts. This further specification is part of the analysis presented in section 4.1.

46

1.4.2.3 Storyline Cohesion in Narrative Discourse

Hopper and Thompson (1980:280) suggests that the distinction between foregrounded and backgrounded portions of a text "is perhaps the most basic one that can be drawn," and therefore ought to be part of any basic analysis of discourse structure. This distinction between events and non-events in narrative can be seen in detail in Grimes (1975:35-43, 51-70), and is reflected also in Hopper 1979 and Longacre (1996:21-29).

Grimes (1975:35) makes the most basic distinction between **events** and **non-events**. Non-events include **setting**, which is "[w]here, when, and under what circumstances actions take place" (1975:50); **background**, which is the information in narratives that "is not part of the narratives themselves, but stands outside them and clarifies them" (1975:55) and includes certain events told "not as part of the event sequence" (1975:58); **evaluations**, reporting the attitude of the author or speaker of the narrative (1975:61); and **collateral**, possible events including "what did not happen," "what might have happened," projected time, negation, adversatives, questions, and predictions (1975:64-69).

Hopper and Thompson 1980 reframe this distinction as being between what is foregound and what is background in a text: "the foregrounded portions together comprise the backbone or skeleton of the text, forming its basic structure; the backgrounded clauses put flesh on the skeleton, but are extraneous to its structural coherence" (1980:281). They give several parameters along which foregound (high transitivity) from background (low transitivity) may be distinguished; higher transitivity

47

is associated with more participants, kenesis (action), punctuality, volitionality, affirmation, realis mode, and agency, among others (1980:252).

These transitivity parameters, together with Grimes' types of information in discourse, are combined and developed by Longacre into a salience scheme dividing the information types according to the differing degrees of salient information in the text, following parameters related to those given for transitivity above. Thus the storyline is taken as the most salient, followed by routine "script-predictable action sequences," backgrounded actions, backgrounded activity, setting, irrealis (Grimes' collateral), evaluation, and cohesive and thematic elements (Longacre 1996:28), usually represented as a cline of information types:

1'. Pivotal storyline
    1. Primary storyline
        2. Secondary storyline
            3. Routine
                4. Backgrounded actions
                    5. Backgrounded activity
                        6. Setting
                            7. Irrealis
                              8. Evaluation
                                9. Cohesive
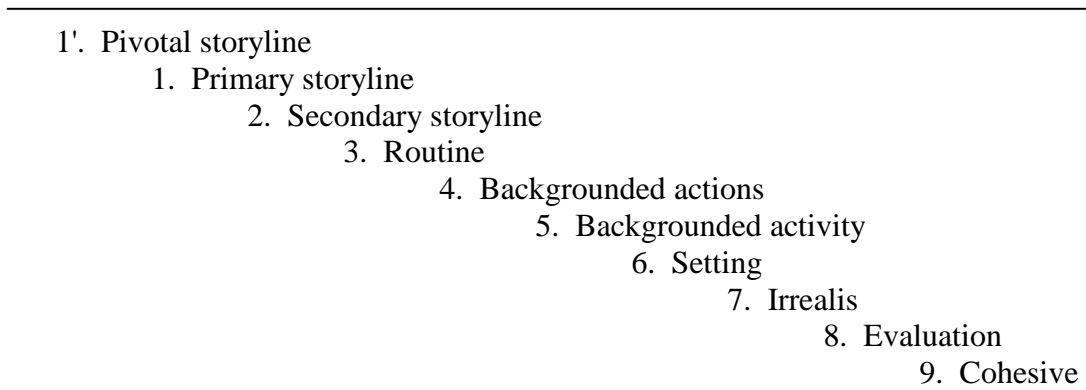
Figure 6 Etic Salience Scheme for Narrative
(Longacre 1996:28)

As noted above, Hopper and Thompson consider the distinction between foreground (storyline) and background (other bands of information) to be the most basic distinction to be made in analyzing text structure. This point of view is shared by

Longacre, who classifies the storyline as one of the two major cohesive strands in narrative discourse, the other being the lines of reference to various participants (2002:17)**,** as discussed in the previous section.

1.4.2.4 The Narrative Template and Textual Macrosegmentation

Longacre states that, cross-linguistically, narrative texts display such similarities in plot structure as to suggest a common psycho-sociological template for narrative discourse. This can be seen by the convergence of independent analyses of narrative structure from diverse linguistic and cultural origins: (1) drama analysis beginning with Aristotle, continuing though Freytag 1863 an on through modern critics; (2) folktale analysis beginning with Propp 1958 (published in Russian in 1928) and further developed by more recent analysts; and (3) personal narrative analysis in the sociolinguistic tradition of Labov 1967 and its later developments (all cited in Longacre 2006).

Longacre's own approach to the plot structure of narrative is derivative of the Aristotelian dramatic tradition. It has been further developed and tested on narratives in dozens of languages from multiple language families, and includes the following plot-template slots: a narrative typically begins with an **exposition** where the situation is laid out, then moves to an **inciting moment** where some complication occurs which initiates the action, continues through **developing conflict** as the story builds to its **climax**, winds down through **denouement** and **final suspense** to a **conclusion**. This template forms what Longacre calls the **notional** structure of a narrative (1996:33-35).

49

This underlying notional structure is realized by language-specific surface structures[11] which correspond to some degree with the notional categories: **Title**, **Aperture**, **Stage**, **Prepeak episodes**, **Peak episode**, **Postpeak episode**, **Closure**, and **Finis** (1996:35-38). These slots differ according to both the type of linguistic unit with which they can be filled and the degree and manner of their relationship with the notional template.   The correspondence between notional and surface structures is shown in Figure 7 below:

Surface Structure	Stage	Prepeak episodes	Peak episode	Peak' (if present)	Postpeak episode	Closure
Notional Structure (plot)	-exposition	-inciting moment -developing conflict	-climax	-denouement	-final suspense	-conclusion

Figure 7 Narrative Discourse: Notional and Surface Structures
(after Longacre 1996:36)

These terms are further defined by Longacre   (1996:36-38) as follows. Typically the Title, Aperture (formulaic phrase used to indicate the beginning of a type of narrative) and Finis are words or sentences, and do not correspond to any part of the notional structure. The Stage is either a paragraph or an embedded discourse[12] of either

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[11] The contrast of the terms "notional structure" and "surface structure" as used here is different from the contrast in generative grammar between "deep structure" and "surface structure. The notional structure of a discourse is explicitly a generalized plot-structure which is not directly related to the specific linguistic forms used to communicate, and the surface structure simply refers to the actual words and grammatical structures used in the language (cf. Longacre 1996:1-3).

[12] The hierarchical nature of Longacre's functional approach to language structure can be seen in the concept of embedding used here. In this approach, constituent slots of a given level are typically filled by elements from the level immediately below, with the additional possibilities that in various circumstances either an element at same or a higher level, or an element from even further down in the hierarchy, may

the expository or narrative variety, and corresponds to the notional exposition. The Prepeak episodes are either paragraphs or embedded discourses, usually of the narrative or dialogue variety, and these correspond to the inciting moment, developing conflict, and in some cases the climax. The Peak episode is either a paragraph or discourse with marked characteristics which distinguish it from regular episodes, and depending on the story it can correspond either to the climax or the denouement of the notional structure, or in some cases both (some stories have two such episodes, a Peak and a Peak') ; although narratives can be found which do not have a peak section, most narratives do have this feature. Any Postpeak episodes are structurally similar to the Prepeak episodes, and these correspond either to the denouement or the final suspense. The closure often consists of an expository paragraph, but can also be a discourse of either of the four main genres; this corresponds to the notional conclusion.

Structural analysis of narrative under this approach thus involves macrosegmentation of the text with the notional narrative template in mind, with the divisions determined by boundary-marking features in the surface structure of the text. These include specific markers which occur at the boundaries, as well as expressions of continuity or discontinuity in time, place, event, and agent span (Longacre and Hwang, in press: 50).

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be called on to fill this slot. These usages are termed recursion, backlooping, and level-skipping and provide for analysis of the complex forms that can and do occur in real language use (Longacre 1996:276-284)

1.4.3 Focus

Analysis of focus becomes a necessary part of this research with the recognition that the special N-pronoun set appears to have some relationship with the "subject focus" particle ŋ. Since related languages have been described as having only two sets of subject pronouns (cf. section 2.4.1.4), it has been reasonably suggested (Naden, p.c.) that what appears to be a third category of subject pronoun is actually just the regular pronoun with the typical emphatic or focus particle, the syllabic nasal ŋ, probable cognates of which have been observed in many related languages. The presumed subject focus particle ŋ, as well as the options for attributing focus to other parts of the clause, are described briefly below as preparation for the background discussion of focus which follows. Analysis of the usage of the Safaliba subject focus particle, and comparison with other types of focus, is presented in section 3.1.

First, note the particle ŋ in the following sentence, with enough context provided to suggest the reason for the presence of a focus marker:

(5) A   naa yɛlɪ ká ʊna bee-aa, ká ʊ kʊŋ   kuli sɪra   zaa.
     the chief say that 3sEm child-this that 3s NegFut marry husband all

     Amɪ, ʊna   nɪɪ haŋ wa' tɔŋŋɪ sɛbɪ kubiri zu' ká tambugo isigi,
     but 3sEm Spec did come able dance stone on that dust get.up

     a sʊba buu ŋ na dɪgɪ a bee.
     the owner type Foc Fut pick the child

     The chief said that, his daughter, she would never marry any husband. However,
     that one who would be able to dance on the rock until dust rises—*that sort of*
     person would receive his daughter. (Text 27:4)

In this example, the chief has made a statement that his daughter will never marry. He then modifies this by saying that, actually, if anybody is able to dance on the rock (this would typically be a large flat granite outcropping) until dust rises, that is the sort of person who could marry his daughter. Following the convention in related languages, as well as the intuition of speakers of the language based on the English translation, we note that the focus of the sentence is put on the noun phrase "that sort of person", which is in the subject position.

The usage of this marker of subject focus may be compared to two other manifestations of focus: that of the particle *naaŋ* which is likewise understood to indicate focus on the predicate, and the word order variation (fronting) used to indicate focus on an object or location:

(6) Ŋmaaŋa nɔŋɲɩ a daa geni. Saŋŋa zaa ʋ maŋ be' a daa-zu'.
     monkey love the tree much time   all 3s Hab live the tree-top

     Dɔŋkɩŋ mɩŋ   be' **naaŋ**   a kɔŋ poo.
     crocodile likewise live PredFoc the water in

     Monkey loved the tree very much. He was always in the tree-top. Crocodile
     meanwhile *lived* in the water. (Text 26:4)

The post-NP particle *ŋ* in Safaliba and the post-VP particle *naaŋ* correspond to some degree in phonological form and syntactic placement to several apparently cognate particles in related languages (often written *ŋ*, *n* or *m*, and *la*, respectively). These functions of these cognate particles have been described variously by terms such as "assertion", "predicate focus", "affirmation," or "subject focus" (Kropp Dakubu

53

2005:18-19); "factative" or "affirmative" (Bodomo 1997:93); and "focus" or "light emphasis" (Naden 1988:27-31). Kropp Dakubu further contrasts these *in-situ* manifestations of "broad focus" of subject or predicate with the "narrow focus" resulting from the fronting of other syntactic constituents (2005:18-21); this treatment is paralleled by Naden (1988:31-32) who calls the former "light emphasis" and the latter "heavy emphasis."

(7) à   bíe –ŋ tú à zíe
     DEF child FOC dig DEF place
     'The child (and nobody else) dug up the place.'
     Dagaare ("broad focus" on subject, post-nominal /N/, Kropp Dakubu 2005:18)

(8) nérɪba lá **ń** sò tʊ lá báma máŋà **ń** máàlɛ yétɔga lá
     people DEF FOC own us TOP they   self FOC settle case   DEF
     'The people who own us, they settled the case themselves.'
     Farefare ("subject focus", post-nominal /N/, Kropp Dakubu 2000:63)

(9) n zugu **m**   beera
     my head (emph) paining
     '*My head* is hurting.'
     Mampruli ("light emphasis on subject", post-nominal /N/, Naden 1988:31)

(10) a bíe nyɔ̀gí **!lá** à búɔ
     DEF child catch AFF DEF goat
     The child has caught the goat.
     Dagaare ("broad focus" or "affirmation" of predicate, post-verbal *la*, Kropp Dakubu 2005:19)

(11) o na kul   **la**
     s/he fut+pos go home fact
     S/he will go home.
     Dagaare ("factative particle", post-verbal *la*, Bodomo 1997:94)

(12) Mám bó tì **lá** fúo lá
I   want LINK FOC cloth DEF
I want the cloth [and not something else].
Farefare ("predicate focus or affirmation", post-verbal *la*, Kropp Dakubu 2000:62)

(13) **Gáǹ lá kà** Dɛ́r kʋ̀ n   yɔ́ɔ̀
book FOC LINK Der gave 1.SG.GEN brother
It was a book that Der gave my brother.
Dagaare ("narrow focus" on object, Kropp Dakubu 2005:20)

(14) **sinkaafa ka**   ʋ dugra
rice   (emph) she cooking
It is rice that she is cooking.
Mampruli ("heavy emphasis" on object, Naden 1988:31)

It is clear from the variety of meanings attached to these particles that, while their distributions and functions share similarities, it is not at all clear how exactly to put meaningful labels on them. Examples of these types of constructions in Safaliba do convey to some extent the difference in meaning normally indicated in English by the types of intonational variations typically categorized as "focus", so this label seems an appropriate first approximation. Likewise, the terms "assertion", "affirmation", and "factative" are indicative of a main function of focus as commonly defined, that of indicating what is "asserted" in contrast to what is presupposed (cf. Lambrecht 1994:207, discussed below).   However, the distinction between what it means for this quality to be "heavy" or "light", or alternatively "narrow" or "broad", is not at all clear. One thing is clear, however: from the variety of terms employed, it is clear that simply labeling the presence of these particles as indicating "focus" is too broad to be

satisfactory, and more precise explanation for the presence of such markers is necessary.

1.4.3.1 Defining "Focus" in the Wider Pragmatics Context

Focus has been defined in different ways. "[I]n generative grammar focus is usually opposed to presupposition...focus is also sometimes identified with comment... [or] focus is a choice the speaker makes with respect to the piece of information that s/he wants to present to the addressee as the most salient [as in Dik 1978]" (Ameka 1992:1).

In talking about focus we are in the area of "pragmatic roles" (Comrie 1989:64) or functions. This is a sub-area of linguistics in which many writers have used the same terms with often quite different nuances in meaning. In order to arrive at a meaningful understanding of the term "focus", it is helpful to look at it in the context of two other terms used in the same domain: topic and comment. There is broad agreement about the basic meaning of these terms: focus is "the essential piece of new information that is carried by the sentence," while topic is "what the sentence is about" (Comrie 1989:63-64)[13].

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[13] Topic is often also contrasted with comment—"the remainder of the sentence" (Comrie 1989:64). Gundel notes that "many linguists, following Halliday and Chomsky..., use it [focus] to refer to the element which would roughly correspond to the opposite of the topic, i.e., to the new information in the sentence" (1974:63, endnote 4). Although her assessment of the general trend is correct, I do not agree with her assessment that comment and focus are roughly equivalent: note that Comrie 1989:64 regards "comment" as equivalent to "non-topic", but "focus" is a separate and distinct function. In this context it is not possible to accept Gundel's assessment that "...given an adequate theory of topic-comment structure no separate notion of focus needs to be accounted for in the grammar" (1974:65, endnote 21). This would be simply to re-define the terminology while still having to account for the same phenomena.

However, complexity and disagreement likewise emerge in the particulars of how to define "new" and "about-ness", and how these terms interact with other pragmatic categories. Green (1996:133-134) notes that the terms "topical..., given..., old..., new..., asserted..." etc., are used in different ways by different authors, and that they are often described as being related to the order of occurrence in the sentence and other factors. Various people have attempted to systematize the usage of some of the different terms and concepts used in pragmatic analysis. For example, Comrie clarifies that:

> With pragmatic roles...we must emphasize that we are concerned with relations between noun phrase arguments and their predicate, and not with inherent properties of noun phrases. This is essential in order to distinguish adequately between, on the one hand, topic and focus, and on the other, definiteness and indefiniteness.... The terms given versus new information are potentially confusing because of this distinction between inherent and relational pragmatic properties of noun phrases, and to avoid this potential confusion we use definite/indefinite as inherent terms and topic and focus as relational terms. (1989:64-65)

The most ambitious attempt to systematize this type of terminology, with careful and precise (re)definition within a unified theoretical framework, is seen in Lambrecht 1994. This consists of a book-length treatment of topic, focus, presupposition, assertion, and several other familiar pragmatic categories of discussion[14]. Lambrecht defines as "information structure" or "discourse pragmatics"

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[14] Lambrecht's framework includes definition and analysis of the components of participant reference, however for practical reasons I do not make use of his system and describe it here only in summary. In fact, taken as a whole Lambrecht's work is more theoretical than directly practical—though that is not necessarily a critical failing as it is a quality shared with many other significant and valuable works. One significant problem is the extreme reliance on examples in English, French, Italian, and German, which biases the entire work heavily towards assumptions and definitions determined by the typical linguistic features of those languages. Although Lambrecht acknowledges this limitation in several places, the work as it stands contains no rectification of this deficiency. As a result, I make only limited use of a

that area of study which has to do with "the relationship between grammar and discourse", and holds to "the idea that certain formal properties of sentences cannot be fully understood without looking at the linguistic and extralinguistic contexts in which the sentences having these properties are embedded" (1994:3) Drawing on Prince 1981 and Chafe 1976, Lambrecht defines information structure as being "concerned with the form of utterances in relation to assumed mental states of speakers and hearers," including "hypotheses about the statuses of the mental representations of the referents of linguistic expressions in the mind of the receiver at the moment of utterance" (1994:3).

Although Lambrecht does a remarkable job of integrating a wide variety of pragmatic ideas, in the main his arguments and evidence rely heavily on prosodically-oriented examples from English and other Indo-European languages. This limitation hinders the direct application of his approach to languages where prosody has little to do with pragmatic functions, and has prevented the inclusion in his work of types of focus not present in these languages (Bearth 1999:133 footnote 19).

The point can be clarified by noting that neither focus nor topic is generally grammaticalized in English; instead, focus is usually indicated by stressed intonation and some types of topic may be indicated by word order (Comrie 1989:63-64). This situation stands in marked contrast to the situation in many African languages, where

work which has many attractive features, and have found the linguistically-broadbased approaches of Givón (1990, 1994) for participant reference, and Dik (1997a) for focus, to be more directly applicable to my research needs.

both focus and topic are often grammaticalized, and indicated by the presence of specific particles.

As noted in a recent survey of focus strategies in African languages, "[t]he information-structural category of *focus* must be kept apart from the notion of *focus-marking*, which refers to the overt realization of focus by special grammatical means, which is subject to cross-linguistic variation: Languages can mark focus syntactically, or prosodically, or morphologically, or they can use combinations of these grammatical means" (Aboh, Hartmann, and Zimmerman 2007:2)[15]. While Lambrecht keeps these ideas separate in theory, in practice his heavy reliance on the prosody form of focus-marking affects the definition and understanding of focus as an information-structural category. For these reasons, it is helpful to consider the way focus is defined and analyzed in studies of African languages.

1.4.3.2 Defining "Focus" in the Context of Other African Languages

Many West African languages make use of special particles to give a sort of prominence to certain parts of the sentence, which in current research on these languages is usually described as "focus." Although focus has traditionally been defined as something to do with "new information" in a sentence (Lambrecht 1994 above and others), as the term has been applied to a wider variety of languages its

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[15] This observation contradicts statements in Givón 1990, showing that even a work which is based on a broad sample of diverse languages can still retain significant gaps. Givón predicts that the "sole use of either word-order or morphology [for focus] is unattested and unlikely", based on limited data that "only intonation is ever used as a lone code element for focusing". Note also the less significant mistake that "the combination of word-order and morphology [as an encoding of focus] will probably remain unattested", also based on the same limited data (Givón1990: 735). Aboh, Hartmann and Zimmerman

definition has been expanded and redefined in terms of specific functions, so that the notion of "contrast" has become more important than "newness" as the basic meaning of focus (Bearth 1999:134): in fact, according to Aboh, Hartmann, and Zimmermann, in many African languages "what has been referred to as new information focus (e.g. in answers to wh-questions) tends to be unmarked ... [challenging] ... the view that such focus must be marked somehow (see e.g. Gundel 1999)" (Aboh, Hartmann, and Zimmermann 2007:7). Therefore, in the present research, I will take the position that the principal meaning of focus is not connected with "newness" as such, but rather focus "correlates in a principled way with speaker-hearer asymmetries in inference-processing" (Bearth 1999:132), and "refers to that part of the clause that provides the most relevant or most salient information in a given discourse situation" (Aboh, Hartmann, and Zimmerman 2007:1[16]), as developed further below.

Bearth (1999) states that a more adequate understanding of focus must take into account the sizable body of focus literature in African linguistics (such as Watters 1979, Marchese 1983, Heine and Reh 1983, Hyman and Watters 1984, Thwing and Watters 1987, Ameka 1992, Bearth 1992). Bearth shows that Hyman and Watters 1984 contributes one of the most significant improvements to focus theory to have come from research on African languages, the concept of "auxiliary focus" which extends the

2007 discuss the combined use of word-order and morphology as a regular occurrence in African languages.

[16] Aboh, Hartmann and Zimmermann 2007 give this definition as emerging from the work of Jackendoff 1972, Dik 1981, and Lambrecht 1994, but the wording used here appears to be most reflective of Dik, see below.

notion of focus into non-referential categories such as tense, aspect, mood, and polarity[17] (Bearth 1999:132-133).

Bearth points out that the contributions of field studies on focus in African languages were not immediately incorporated into general focus theories, with "Dik's heuristics of pragmatic functions" a notable exception, being partly inspired by African data (Bearth 1999:133, footnote 19). In marked contrast to Lambrecht's analysis, Dik's work (1997a, 1997b) includes references to about 100 languages[18] distributed fairly evenly over Africa, Asia, the Pacific, Australia, Europe and the Americas. Since Dik incorporates examples and concepts from such a broad range of languages, it is not surprising to find that his categories and approach to focus prove to be well-suited for analyzing focus phenomena in diverse languages.

Dik comes from a strongly functional perspective primarily informed by the use of speech in its communicative functions, where "pragmatics is seen as the all-encompassing framework within which...syntax must be studied" and where "there is no room for something like an 'autonomous' syntax" (Dik 1997a:8). As such he gives priority to the forms that occur in actual language performance, and the context in which these occur, and expects these to inform any theoretical explanations.

Dik himself defines topic and focus as in a way which is not incompatible with Lambrecht's basic definition: both are "functions which specify the informational

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[17] Because Lambrecht (1994) explicitly excludes this category of focus from his analysis, Bearth (1999:133) "has reservations about the 'wide crosslinguistic applicability' which it [the theory] claims for itself."

status of the constituents in relation to the wider communicative setting in which they are used" (Dik 1997a:310). But in Dik's analysis focus is divided into a number of different subtypes, so that the category of "new" focus is only one (relatively marginal) subtype. This division is echoed in the works of a number of researchers in the field. For example, Ameka states that, in Ewe (another Ghanaian language) "the forms that mark focus may be used to signal different kinds of information such as new information..., important information or contrastive information" (Ameka 1992:1).

A brief overview of some points of Dik's approach to focus is necessary here.

> The focal information in a linguistic expression is that information which is relatively the most important or salient in the given communicative setting, and is considered by S[peaker] to be most essential for A[ddressee] to integrate into his pragmatic information. (1997a:326)

Dik explicitly recognizes a wide variety of devices that can be the vehicle of focus across languages:

> (1) *prosodic prominence*: emphatic accent[19] on (part of the) focused constituent; (2) *special constituent order*: special positions for focus constituents in the linear order of the clause; (3) *special focus markers*: particles which mark off the focus constituent from the rest of the clause; (4) *special focus constructions*: constructions which intrinsically define a specific constituent as having the focus function. (1997a:327)

The use of these devices is illustrated in the following example:

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[18] This total combines the two volumes cited, which cover much more than just pragmatic relations; the number of languages cited for the sections on pragmatic relations is of course much smaller, but still far more diverse than the selection found in Lambrecht 1994.

[19] Dik makes the important comment that although focus is often expressed through "accent", the two should not be equated: "prosodic prominence is [only] one of the means (though a common one) through which focus may be expressed" (1997a:327).

(15)   a.   John love *Mary*—prosodic prominence on Mary

b.   *Mary* John love—special initial position for Mary

c.   John love FM *Mary*—a special focus marker FM

d.   (it) (be) *Mary* (who) John love—a special focus construction

(Dik 1997a:327)

When a language uses one of the non-prosodic focus devices, the focus is not necessarily also marked by prosodic prominence. Dik specifically notes that since tone languages (into which category most African languages fall) already use prosodic prominence (tone) for lexical and grammatical purposes, they tend to use non-prosodic devices to indicate focus (1997a:328).

Dik also recognizes differences in the scope and communicative point[20] of focus (1997a:330-335).   The scope of focus can be either what he calls the π-operators (polarity, tense, aspect, mood, etc.—like the Safaliba preverbal TAMP particles), the predicate itself, or the terms of the predicate (the subject or other terms):
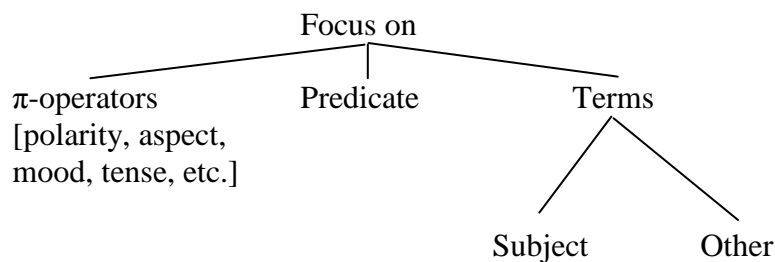
Figure 8 Differences in the Scope of Focus
(after Dik 1997a:331)

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[20] Dik explicitly recognizes the dependence of this part of his theory on language research in non-Western languages: two studies of focus in African languages, Watters (1979) and Thwing and Watters (1987); and studies of focus in Arabic by Moutaouakil (1984, 1989).

The following focus categories, inspired by accounts of focus strategies in African languages and Arabic, are suggested as relevant for distinguishing the communicative point of focus. Focus can be used either to indicate an information gap on the part of the speaker (Questioning focus) or the addressee (Completive focus, which relates to the traditional "newness of information" definition of focus). More commonly, focus is used to indicate contrast of some sort, as seen in the following chart.
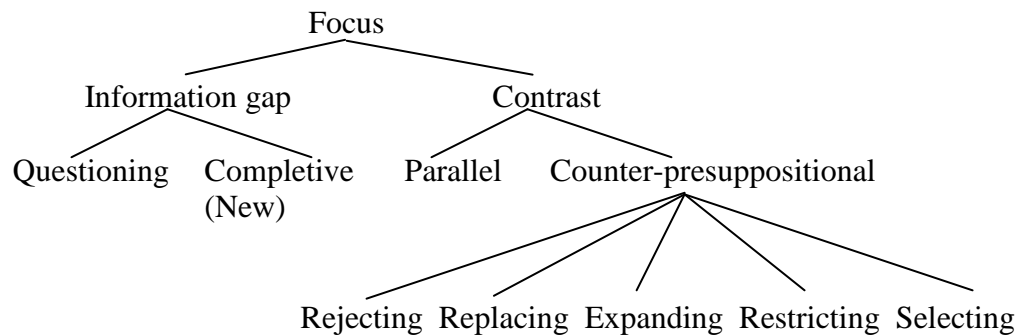
Figure 9 Differences in the Communicative Point of Focus
(after Dik 1997a:331)

These subtypes of communicative point are applicable whether the scope is the subject, predicate, or the terms of the predicate. Dik gives the following examples in English of the different categories of communicative point with predicate focus:

(16)   A: What have you done with my money?
        Questioning focus, (Dik 1997a:335)

(17)   S: I SPENT it.
        Completive [or New] focus, (Dik 1997a:335)

64

(18)   John and Bill came to see me. JOHN was NICE, but BILL was rather BORING.
        Parallel focus, (Dik 1997a:326)

(19)   A: John grows potatoes.   S: No, he doesn't GROW them.
        Rejecting focus, (Dik 1997a:335)

(20)   A: John grows potatoes.   S: No, he SELLS them.
        Replacing focus, (Dik 1997a:335)

(21)   A: John grows bananas.   S: He also SELLS them.
        Expanding focus, (Dik 1997a:335)

(22)   A: It seems John grows and sells potatoes.   S: No, he only SELLS them.
        Restricting focus, (Dik 1997a:335)

(23)   A: Are you going to rent or buy a car?   S: I'm going to BUY one.
        Selecting focus, (Dik 1997a:335)

The categories of focus given above provide a good starting point from which to categorize some of the functions of focus in Safaliba and its linguistic relatives[21]. As noted above, these languages have been characterized as having a variety of focus particles and constructions which are used to indicate focus on the subject, predicate, and other elements. The initial examples above are repeated below, with further discussion and insights gained from application of Dik's framework.

Note first that Dik's attention to the scope of focus is vindicated by the different constructions which are immediately obvious in the data: depending on whether the scope of focus is the predicate, subject, or something else, a different marking strategy

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[21] Note that I am not making the case that all these categories of focus are present in Safaliba. Rather, I am contending that it makes sense to recognize a variety of types of focus, and that a variety of types of focus clearly exist in African languages, usually not marking "new" information but some sort of contrast.

is used. These scope distinctions are likewise reflected in Kropp Dakubu's analysis of

focus types in Dagaare[22].

The following are examples of sentences where focus is marked with *la*, and the

scope of focus is the predicate:

(24) a   bíe nyɔ̀gí **!lá** à   búɔ
      DEF child catch AFF DEF goat
      The child has caught the goat.
      Dagaare ("broad focus" or "affirmation" of predicate, post-verbal /la/, Kropp
      Dakubu 2005:19)

(25) o   na   kul   **la**
      s/he fut+pos go home fact
      S/he will go home.
      Dagaare ("factative particle", post-verbal /la/, Bodomo 1997:94)

(26) Mám bó   tì   **lá**   fúo lá
      I   want LINK FOC cloth DEF
      I want the cloth [and not something else].
      Farefare ("predicate focus or affirmation", post-verbal /la/, Kropp Dakubu
      2000:62)

The following are examples of sentences where focus is marked with a syllabic

nasal, and the scope of focus is the subject:

(27) à   bíe **–ŋ** tú   à   zíe
      DEF child FOC dig DEF place
      'The child (and nobody else) dug up the place.'
      Dagaare ("broad focus" on subject, post-nominal /N/, Kropp Dakubu 2005:18)

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[22] For Dagaare, there are certain contexts where instead of the regular form of the predicate focus particle
la, two phonologically-different alternate forms can occur, ŋ or εε (Kropp Dakubu 2005:18-19). Because
the regular form of the subject focus marker is also ŋ, Bodomo (1997) treats all of these as the same
particle, setting aside the scope distinction. Since in both Farefare and Safaliba the markers of subject
focus and predicate focus are completely distinct from each other, it suggests that Kropp Dakubu's
analysis of two different homophonous particles is to be preferred.

(28) nérɪba lá **ń** sò tʊ lá báma máŋà **ń** máàlɛ yétɔ̀ga lá
     people DEF FOC own us TOP they self FOC settle case DEF
     'The people who own us, they settled the case themselves.'
     Farefare ("subject focus", post-nominal /N/, Kropp Dakubu 2000:63)

(29) n zugu **m** beera
     my head (emph) paining
     '*My head* is hurting.'
     Mampruli ("light emphasis on subject", post-nominal /N/, Naden 1988:31)

The following are examples of sentences where focus is indicated by a shift in word order, and the scope of focus is the direct object[23]:

(30) **Gáǹ lá kà** Dɛ́r kʊ̀ n   yɔ́ɔ̀
     book FOC LINK Der gave 1.SG.GEN brother
     It was a book that Der gave my brother.
     Dagaare ("narrow focus" on object, Kropp Dakubu 2005:20)

(31) **sinkaafa ka** ʊ dugra
     rice   (emph) she cooking
     It is rice that she is cooking.
     Mampruli ("heavy emphasis" on object, Naden 1988:31)

Categorization of these examples within Dik's subtypes of "communicative point" is somewhat less immediately obvious. Except where this has been indicated in some way in the gloss, with such isolated examples it is difficult to tell exactly what type of communicative point is intended.

For the instances of subject focus above, a good case can be made that in these examples, the presence of the focus marker is not due to "newness" but instead the Selecting subtype of Contrastive Focus (Dik 1997a:335): one child among many

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[23] Kropp Dakubu notes that other elements can also be put in focus with this strategy (2005:20-21).

(example 27); the leaders of the people among the general population (example 28), my head in contrast to my other body parts (example 29). Each of the examples given above occurs in "non-unique determination" context, which Bearth (1999:83) has shown to be one of the felicity conditions for Contrastive Focus markers to occur in Toura (a language spoken in Côte d'Ivoire). A similar case could be made for the examples of object focus.

With the predicate focus examples, however, meaningful categorization is not so obvious. As already noted, the suggestions that the predicate is being "affirmed" or "emphasized" lack precision, and there is insufficient context to supply criteria for why some verbs might be singled out for a focus marker. However, speculation on possible discourse contexts for the examples above gives some possible options for "communicative point". For example (24), the possible felicity conditions are that the child either did or did not catch the goat. In this case, the communicative point would appear to be Selecting Focus (selecting one of these two options) or Replacing Focus (correcting the view of the hearer that the child had not in fact caught the goat). In example (25), the same two possibilities would appear to apply: the person has two options, either to go home or to stay (Selecting Focus), or the hearer might already have the view that the person had decided to stay (Replacing Focus).

1.4.4 Syntax

As seen in the introductory examples in section 1.2, the sentence-level syntax appears to play a significant role in determining how participants are represented in

discourse: there are sentence structures where verbs are conjoined without overt subjects, there are certain constructions in which certain pronouns cannot occur and others in which they must occur.

Just as the overall discourse structure serves as the background against which the participant reference patterns can most clearly be seen, the syntax proves to be the appropriate background from which to view the use of focus particles and constructions. Both together are necessary as a backdrop for the analysis of the use of the N-pronoun.

The hypothesis that the form of the N-pronoun is made up of the regular pronoun plus the presumed subject focus particle can be to some degree confirmed or disconfirmed by consideration of Safaliba word-structure constraints, thus the grammatical background will have to begin with a consideration of aspects of the phonology and morphology. The basic nominal and verbal structures must also be presented, as well as the clause structure and (most importantly) the sentence syntax, which prior to this study has not been subjected to much analysis.

CHAPTER 2

GRAMMATICAL BACKGROUND

In this chapter, I present an overview of some aspects of Safaliba grammar, since these are the resources of the language which determine to a great degree what possibilities exist for arranging a narrative and for tracking referents within it. This sketch covers primarily those areas of the grammar that directly impinge upon some point of the main discussion, although some aspects have been included for completeness or because they are likewise helpful for following some point in the sketch itself. Many topics are likewise not covered here, because although they are fascinating and significant in their own right, the available time and space do not permit their presence in this chapter.

2.1 Phonology Overview

The information in this section is a summary and extension of the analysis presented in Schaefer and Schaefer 2003; contrastive wordlists and some other details are found in that work but not presented here.

Safaliba has a phonology fairly typical for languages in the Western Oti-Volta subfamily: for details, compare with the phonologies of Dagaare (Bodomo 1997, Kennedy 1966), Farefare (R. Schaefer 1975), Birifor (Kuch 1993) or more distantly Kusaal (Spratt and Spratt 1968), Mampruli (Naden 1988:22, Naden 1990) and Dagbani (Olawsky 1996). Safaliba's phonological inventory and processes are almost

prototypical, with a 9-vowel three level cross-height ATR[24]-based vowel harmony system (cf. Starwalt 2008), and a two-level tone system with downstep.

2.1.1 Consonant and Vowel Inventory

Safaliba has the following consonant inventory, established through comparison of phones in identical or analogous environments: /p t t͡ʃ k k͡p ʔ b d d͡ʒ g g͡b f s h v z ɾ l m n ɲ ŋ ŋ͡m j w/. The voiced and voiceless stops (including the affricates) as well as the nasals occur in five different places of articulation: labial, alveolar, alveopalatal, velar, and the doubly articulated labial-velar. The phonemes with other manners of articulation do not occur in all five of these places. A sixth place of articulation, the glottal, occurs in the voiceless obstruent /ʔ/ and the fricative /h/. Two of the phonemes, /ɾ/ and /ʔ/, have a restricted distribution in the phonology[25]. As is unremarkable in languages of this family (Naden 1989:155), a syllabic nasal N̩, unspecified for place of articulation, occurs as both a particle and a pronoun; it also occurs, against expectation, as part of two noun roots (/ŋfɛɾɛ/ 'thoughts' and /m̩busu/ 'bad fate') which are almost certainly loan words. In all contexts N̩ assimilates in place

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[24] "Advanced Tongue Root"—described further below.

[25] By alternative analyses /ɾ/ could be analyzed as an allophone of /d/, and /ʔ/ as an otherwise unpredictable word-structure feature of certain CV word roots; however these analyses themselves are not unproblematic. The topic is not developed further in this study; more detailed studies of the phonology and word-structure of Ghanaian languages with data analogous to that found in Safaliba can be found in Hansford (1990) and Casali (1995:50-53).

71

of articulation to any following consonant, but before vowels or in isolation it is always [ŋ][26].

Safaliba has nine oral vowel phonemes, /i ɪ e ɛ u ʊ o ɔ ɑ/. Vowel length and nasalization are phonemic, with contrastive examples in easily identified noun or verb roots; double-length vowels are quite common but nasal vowels less so. There are, however, some contexts where phonetically long or nasal vowel in the surface form occur as a result of phonological processes working on the underlying phonological structure.

Safaliba has an active cross-height vowel harmony system, in which the vowels within a specific phonological domain the vowels must come from only one of two sets: either the set of four vowels with a vowel quality often characterized as "tense" or "close" or from the set of five vowels with the voice quality often characterized as "lax" or "open". Research in the 60s and 70s suggested that in some languages of this type it is the shape of the pharyngeal cavity, as controlled by the tongue root, which is most determinative of the observed pattern of changes in vowel quality (Clements 2000:135-137). As a result it has become a fairly standard practice to categorize this type of vowel system as displaying ATR (Advanced Tongue Root) vowel harmony[27] .

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[26] Native speakers prefer to write the syllabic nasal as ŋ regardless of context, thus it is written as ŋ in the orthography.
[27] Although phonologically the ATR distinction holds quite well for Safaliba, no research has been done on the exact physiological mechanism responsible involved in this type of harmony system, and no position is taken here as to the degree to which the an "advanced tongue root" is responsible for such harmony in other languages (cf. Clements 2000:138). Recent research on ATR and other voice quality and tone distinctions (Edmondson and Esling 2006, Edmondson to appear) shows that the articulatory mechanisms involved are more numerous and complex than had been described in previous research.

In addition to the nine phonemic vowels described above, Safaliba has a marginal tenth vowel phoneme[28], /ə/, which causes +ATR changes in suffixes and occurs as a +ATR phonetic variant in the pronunciation of some words by some speakers (i.e. /məəli/ 'scar', usually pronounced as [mɑɑli] but also as [məəli] by some speakers; /məə/ 'smear a sticky substance', [mɑɑ]~[məə]). However /ə/ is quite restricted in its distribution and is probably better considered to be an artifact of the vowel harmony system.

The Safaliba vowel phonemes are shown in Table 2:

Table 2 Safaliba Vowel Phonemes

	Front		Central		Back	
	+ATR	-ATR	+ATR	-ATR	+ATR	-ATR
High	i	ɪ			u	ʊ
Mid	e	ɛ			o	ɔ
Low			(ə)	ɑ		

Syllable and word-structure constraints cause the insertion of vowels at the phonemic level which are not present at the level of the individual lexemes. Where word-formation creates underlying CC sequences across morpheme boundaries, epenthetic vowels are inserted to avoid violation of the canonical syllable structure. Although many speakers pronounce these vowels identically to those presumed to be present in the underlying morpheme structure, some speakers do at times pronounce

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Edmondson (p.c.) points out that the transnasal laryngoscopy methods used in this recent research suggest that the traditional terms "tense" and "lax" are actually backwards from the physical characteristics.

them with shorter duration. The quality and tone of the epenthetic vowels are predictable to a fairly high degree though not absolutely; they usually appear as /ɪ/ or /i/, as appropriate by the vowel harmony rules. Not all speakers pronounce these epenthetic vowels in exactly the same way, and they may disappear completely in the fast speech of some speakers.

2.1.2 Syllable and Word Structure

Syllable structure patterns are also typical for this language family, with CV being the prototypical syllable structure (cf. Clements 2000:140). Vowel-initial syllables do occur, but these are pronounced with a phonetic glottal stop as the onset. Syllables with complex onsets (CCV) are generally disallowed. CVC syllables do occur, with restrictions as to which consonants can appear in the coda. Word-medially, codas on CVC syllables are limited to nasals homorganic with the following consonant. The only allowable non-nasal CC sequences also occur across syllable boundaries; these consist of doubled consonants where the first of the pair forms the coda of the previous syllable, while the second forms the onset of the following syllable (words with word-medial geminate consonants). In most of these cases, the doubled consonant occurs across a morpheme boundary between a root and a suffix, and is the result of a definable phonological process.[29]. Word-final consonants are limited to the consonant /ŋ/. As noted above, the syllabic nasal, usually /ŋ/, is also an acceptable syllable shape.

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[28] Thanks to Samuel Issah (ms, p.c.) for his work urging the phonemic status of /ə/ which I had previously recognized only as a phonetic variant.
[29] See further section 2.2.1, examples (34) through (41).

Long vowels can occur in any of the canonical syllable types, except that there seems to be a "weight limit" on syllable structure limiting a syllable to two moras only (cf. Clements 2000:142). In this case, what is underlyingly a CVVŋ syllable is usually pronounced as CVV with nasalization on the vowels. In monosyllabic words with this syllable shape spoken in isolation, the long vowel and the final nasal can be heard separately if spoken carefully and slowly, but in multisyllable words or in sentence context such syllables are heard as nasalized CVV.

Safaliba, as well as some other languages in this family (Naden 1988 and 1990), exhibits a pattern of alternating light (single-mora) and heavy (two-mora) syllables within many words (i.e. example 40 below). The pattern is not regular enough to admit easy analysis, but neither is it limited enough to posit a purely lexical determination. It is a phonological feature I have not seen explained satisfactorily in any of the available literature, but which can not be discussed further here. However, it may be noticed in some of the examples that the underlying form sometimes differs from the spoken form in this way.

2.1.3 Tone Inventory

Safaliba has two basic tone levels, high (H, symbolized by the acute accent) and low (L, symbolized by the grave accent). Automatic downstep, or downdrift, occurs, in that with a sequence of H-L-H-L tones in a word or phrase, the second H will be spoken at slightly lower pitch than the first. Sometimes such a downstepped H occurs where there is no overt L tone. An autosegmental account of tone is able to account for this by

75

the assumption that the L tone is actually there in the underlying form but not attached to a surface segment; such non-automatic downstep is marked with the ꜜ symbol before the lowered H tone (downdrift is not noted in the phonemic transcription since it is predictable). Examples of different types of tones follow:

(32)   H and L tones: /kúʔ/ 'kill'   but   /kùʔ/ 'give'

(33)   Non-automatic downstep: /jéꜜéŋú/ 'night'

Tone is extremely stable in Safaliba: in contrast to the complicated tone systems described in Naden 1989:155, in Safaliba there are just a few simple tonal processes where the surface tones of certain words change due solely to the tone of an adjacent morpheme or word. In addition to these purely tonal processes, some tone changes occur due to specific grammatical contexts. Tones are spoken consistently by native speakers, with as little variation from one speaker to the next as in the pronunciation of segmental phonemes; and native speakers can become as consciously aware of tonal distinctions as easily as they learn segmental distinctions.

2.1.4 Implications

Since most of the Safaliba examples in this study are written in the standard orthography in use for the language, the phoneme-related orthography conventions are noted here. The phonemes symbolized in IPA by standard Roman letters (p, t, k, b, d, g, f, s, h, v, z, l, m, n, w) are represented in the orthography by the same characters; /ŋ/ is written unchanged in the orthography as this character has become widely accepted for

writing Ghanaian languages. The labial-velars /k͡p, g͡b, ŋ͡m/ are written without the ligature, the affricates /t͡ʃ, d͡ʒ/ are written as *ch* and *j*, and /ɾ/ and /j/ are written as *r* and *y* respectively, also following established conventions. The glottal stop is represented by the symbol ', and the /ɲ/ by the digraph *ny*.

Again following orthographic custom for Ghanaian languages, the following seven vowels are written unchanged from the IPA: /i e ɛ u o ɔ ɑ/. The two high -ATR vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ are represented in the current Safaliba orthography as *e̜* and *o̜*, but in this study for ease of typing they are written in the old Safaliba orthography which represented these two vowels by their old IPA equivalents *ɪ* and *ʋ*.

The previous sections show that within the Safaliba phonology the consonant /ŋ/ has a special status as the only option for a word-final syllable coda, and as the default form of the syllabic nasal. Thus the Safaliba lexicon contains a large number of words with a word-final /ŋ/, from a variety of grammatical categories. Because of this, a particular instance of word-final /ŋ/ (such as occurs with the N-pronouns) should not be taken to represent a derivation from a separate morpheme /ŋ/ without additional corroborating evidence.

The implications of tone are discussed in Section 2.3.3. At this point it will be noted only that in the orthography tone diacritics are written only on selected words and constructions, and not throughout.

77

2.2 Morphology Overview

Nicole (1999:4-5) observes that in the Gur languages, "verb stems are generally verbo-nominal, that is they can be used both as verbs (on the addition of appropriate aspect suffixes) and as nouns (on the addition of a class suffix)," and indeed this is what occurs in Safaliba with various word roots reappearing in different grammatical categories with various affixes. For example the verb 'to trap' in its basic form is *bɛrɩ*, but with the addition of the noun class suffix *-ga* 'singular for class 4b' we get *bɛrɩga* 'a hunting trap' (cf. Text 1:6).

Nouns in their basic form occur (in most cases) with either a singular or plural suffix; the pair of suffixes designates a particular noun class. Many ideas commonly expressed by adjectives in English and related languages are expressed by verbs in Safaliba, as is true for many other African languages. True adjectives do occur, however. Some adjectives are able to occur as separate words, in a stative identification construction (see section 2.3.4.2 below), in which case they take a nominal singular or plural suffix. More commonly, adjectives occur as a bound form following a noun root. Each adjective is, furthermore, a member of one of the existing noun classes but not necessarily the one belonging to the noun root it is currently compounded with. Verbs appear in three different forms, either suffixless or with one of two aspectual suffixes; there are also other suffixes to indicate nominalization. Finally the cardinal numbers must each take a prefix depending upon the type of thing being counted. These root-affix constructions, and the various compounded forms, constitute the main morphology

present in the language. There is no concord within the noun phrase, nor agreement between the noun phrase and the verb.

2.2.1 Nominal Morphology

Noun class systems are common in many African languages; in such languages "the nouns of the language can be categorized according to a system of concord or affixal markings on the nouns" (Bodomo 1997:53). Schaefer and Schaefer 2004 gives a classification of Safaliba nouns divided into 8 major classes[30] with several subclasses, first grouping together those classes which share a particular plural suffix, then further dividing according to singular suffixes, with the numbering loosely corresponding to the classes given for Dagaare in Bodomo 1997. The full noun class system will not be described in this study, but data is presented sufficient for understanding the type of patterns that occur.

In general, a nominal root must either have a noun class suffix or be incorporated in a compound noun which itself must have a noun class suffix. However, for some nouns in the singular form the suffix may consist only of a reduplicated root vowel or some less obvious change, in some cases no overt suffix at all. Class 1 seems to consist only of words that refer to human beings, but the other classes do not have any obvious semantic commonality. As might be expected, phonological changes that

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[30] In East Africa language research, it is common to find the term "class" used to refer to a single affix whether singular or plural, but in West Africa it is more common for researchers to refer to the singular-plural pairing as a class (cf. Naden 1989), as is done in this study.

obscure some of the derivations can occur at the morpheme boundaries[31]. Some examples of nouns in the singular and plural follow[32]:

(34)   sɪra 'husband'   from sir 'husband' + -a 'class 1 singular'
        sɪrɪba 'husbands'   from sir 'husband' + -ba 'class 1 plural'

(35)   daba 'man, friend'   from dab 'man' + -a 'class 1 singular'
        dappa 'men, friends' from dab 'man' + -ba 'class 1 plural'

(36)   dʊgʊ 'pot'   from dʊg 'pot' + -ʊ 'class 3b singular'
        dʊgɪrʊ 'pots'   from dʊg 'pot' + -rʊ 'class 3 plural'

(37)   bɔkkʊ 'hole'   from bɔg 'pot' + -gʊ 'class 3c singular'
        bɔgɪrʊ 'holes'   from bɔg 'pot' + -rʊ 'class 3 plural'

(38)   zakka 'house'   from zag 'house' + -ga 'class 4b singular'
        zagɪsɪ 'houses'   from zag 'house' + -sɪ 'class 4 plural'

(39)   sɔrɪ 'road'   from sɔ 'road' + -rɪ 'class 5 singular'
        sɔya 'roads'   from sɔ 'road' + -ya 'class 5 plural'

(40)   kuuri 'hoe'   from kuu 'hoe' + -rɪ[33] 'class 5 singular'
        kuye 'hoes'   from kuu 'hoe' + -ya 'class 5 plural'

(41)   zu' 'head'   from zu' 'head' + -Ø 'class 3a singular'
        zuttu 'heads'   from zu' 'head' + -rʊ 'class 3 plural'

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[31] I am indebted to Tony Naden (p.c.) for his observations and suggestions on Safaliba noun class morphology which set this analysis on the right track (compare with Naden 1989:157).

[32] As noted above, from this point onwards all examples are in Safaliba orthography.

[33] The vowel-harmony system mandates that a non-compound word should contain only vowels from one of the two sets (-ATR or +ATR). Since nominal and verbal suffixes occur regularly, this means that in general there are two forms of each suffix, a –ATR and a +ATR version, though –ATR roots occur far more often and appear to be the default specification. As a measure of the marginal phonemic status of /ə/, note that when a suffix containing the vowel /ɑ/ is attached to a +ATR root, the /ɑ/ changes to /e/, not /ə/, as in example 40.

80

Many adjectival ideas are expressed verbally in Safaliba, but some are expressed with true adjectives. As nominals, these also must occur with noun class suffixes:

(42)   *wakkʋ* 'tall-sg.'   from *wag* 'tall' + *-gʋ* 'class 3c singular'
         wagɪrʋ 'tall-pl.'   from *wag* 'tall' + *–rʋ* 'class 3 plural'

Wakkʋ, *tabɪrɪ* 'far' and a few others can occur as independent words in the descriptive clause with the verb *be'* 'exist, live (as).' As noted in section 2.3.4.2 below, this is the same type of construction used for identification between two nouns.

(43)   ɪ be' wak-kʋ.
         2s live tall-sg.
         'You are (a) tall (person).'

However, when these occur in contexts other than the descriptive construction above, they cannot stand as separate words but must form a compound with the noun, just like the majority of true adjectives. (The examples below are considered to be single words, not noun phrases, since in each case the noun, adjective, or both may not occur in isolation in the form which appears here.)

(44)   *zuwakkʋ* 'tallhead' (an insult), from *zu'* 'head' + *wag* 'tall' + *-gʋ* 'class 3c sg.'

(45)   *nagɪpɛɛlɪga* 'white cow', from *nag* 'cow' + *-pɛɛl* 'white' + *-ga* 'class 4b sg.'

(46)   *kuriziaŋ* 'red turtle (spec.)', from *kur-* 'turtle' + *-ziaŋ* 'red' + *-Ø* 'class 4a sg.'

(47)   *dapa* 'good stick', from *da* 'wood' + *-pa* 'right, correct' + *-Ø* 'class 4a sg.'

Other types of compound nouns exist: combinations of noun + verb and noun + noun. However, all of these take suffixes from one or another of the noun classes.

(48)   *potuuribe* 'follower'
         from *poo* 'back' + *tu* 'follow' + *-rɩ* 'Nom.' + *-ba* 'class 1 pl.'

(49)   *bʋŋkaarɩsɩ* 'living things'
         from *bun* 'thing' + *kaa* 'look' + *-rɩ* 'Nom.' + *-sɩ* 'class 4 pl.'

(50)   *nɩnsaalɩmalafiki* 'human traitor'
         from *nɩnsaal* 'human being' + *malafiki* 'traitor'

(51)   *pɔgɩsaana* 'female stranger (not family)'
         from *pɔg* 'woman' + *saan* 'stranger' + *-a* 'class 1 sg.'

(52)   *nimbizɛmpɔllɩ* 'a very serious problem'
         from *niŋ* 'face' + *bi* 'seed' + *-zɩaŋ* 'red' + *pɔl* 'grown' + *-rɩ* 'class 5 sg.'
         (*nimbizɩaŋ* 'red eyes', idiom for ill will or trouble; Text 15:4)

The cardinal numbers have prefixes that indicate the type of thing being counted. However in this case the distinction is not so finely grained: the prefix *a-* is used for all plural non-human items while the prefix *ba-* is used for counting plural humans[34]:

(53)   counting human beings: *bayi'* 'two',   *bata'* 'three',   *banaasɩ* 'four'

(54)   counting everything else: *ayi'* 'two',   *ata'* 'three',   *anaasɩ* 'four'

What is interesting here is that unlike many African languages with noun class systems, Safaliba (and its near relatives Waali and Dagaare) lack the system of concord

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[34] The ordinal numbers (second, third, etc.) take the prefix *bʋ-*, which is used for all classes of nouns, human or not; cf. *saa nɩ na chɛ' a nyɩbɩsɩ bɩlɛ bʋta'*, 'the rain would thunder and lightening like this a third (time)' (Text 12:25).

which identifies the noun class with class-specific 3rd person pronouns, demonstratives, numbers and other word categories. Wilson (1971) shows that different degrees of development (or degeneration) of the noun class concord system can be seen across the range of the Western Oti-Volta languages. N. Schaefer (p.c.) points out that in Farefare, pronominal reference patterns in narrative texts makes for easier identification of the participant in question due to the class-specific 3rd person pronouns. The historical loss of noun-class concord in Safaliba could be an important functional consideration in the development of a different type of pronominal reference system.

2.2.2 Verbal Morphology

Safaliba has a basic 3-way distinction in verbs, based on the presence of aspectual suffixes; this is comparable to the analyses of Dagaare in Bodomo 1997 and Kropp Dakubu 2005, although Saanchi 2003 presents a 4-way distinction in Dagaare which does not occur in Safaliba. In Safaliba, the morphological distinctions are between the bare verb root with no suffixes, the verb root with the suffix –*ya*, and the verb root with the suffix –*ra.*

For the bare or unmarked form of the verb, the action is viewed as a whole, making it "perfective" in aspect. Kropp Dakubu categorizes a comparable bare form in Dagaare as the "unmarked", noting that it has perfective or completive aspect (2005:32-33). For the form with the –*ya* suffix, there are two salient features: first, there appears to be a stronger emphasis on the completive sense of the verb, and furthermore verbs with this marking occur with only a single argument, the subject. This form is therefore

referred to as the "perfective intransitive," following Bodomo (1997:81) for the comparable form in Dagaare. For the form with the *–ra* suffix, the action is viewed as ongoing or uncompleted, thus it is designated as "imperfective"; this designation is uncontroversial and similar forms exist in related languages (cf. Bodomo 1997 and Kropp Dakubu 2005 for Dagaare examples).

Both the bare unmarked form ("perfective") and the *–ya* suffix form ("perfective intransitive") are used to designate completed or perfective action, therefore the term "perfective" may appropriately be used for either. However, the perfective intransitive form occurs relatively rarely in the narrative text corpus used for this research, and it is not possible to give a more refined account of its range of meaning and functions in contrast to the regular perfective form, beyond what is observed here. A more in-depth study of the meanings associated with these two forms would probably reveal nuances which would make possible a more meaningful designation[35], however this must be left to future research. In this study, the designations used for these two forms primarily relate to the morphological structure of the verb forms and the basic restrictions observed with respect to the allowable argument structure for the two forms, and are not the result of detailed study of their semantic denotations.

The perfective form is the most commonly used form, and is often used for past events. It is very frequent in narrative, occurring with a variety of modifiers indicating

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[35] It is possible that the verb with the *–ya* suffix represents not perfective aspect but perfect aspect, with "continuing relevance to a past situation," Cullen 1999:29-30 (cf. also Welmers "completive" meaning, where the emphasis seems to be on "the present effect of an action," 1973:350).

a wide range of meanings, including both past and future tense (see further section 2.4.2). The imperfective form is used where the emphasis is on the action as currently in progress, and it may occur with the full range of modifiers as well. Examples of these three basic aspectual forms follow:

(55) *dɪgɪ* 'pick up something' (perfective, root form)
      dɪgɪya 'finished picking up s.t.' from *dɪgɪ* 'pick up s.t.' + *-ya* 'perf. intrans.'
      dɪgɪra 'currently picking up s.t.' from *dɪgɪ* 'pick up s.t.' + *-ra* 'imperfective'

(56) *di'* 'eat, ate' (perfective, root form)
      diye 'finished eating' from *di'* 'eat' + *-ya* 'perfective intransitive'
      ditte 'currently eating' from *di'* 'eat' + *-ra* 'imperfective'

Of course, the system is not perfectly regular. The inherent semantic aspect of some words prevents their occurrence in one or more of the basic forms: *kpi'* 'die' can occur either in the regular perfective form (i.e. "he died", as an event in a story) perfective intransitive form ("he's dead", reporting the information by itself) but apparently this verb does not occur in the imperfective. And the semantic changes introduced by the use of the different verb forms can go beyond the root idea of "completed action" versus "ongoing action:" for example, note the meaning of the verb *baŋŋɪ* 'know' in the following examples:

(57) Ŋ baŋŋɪ yini ɪ kʊ   wa' naaŋ.
      I know like 2s NegFut come PredFoc
      'I thought you wouldn't come.'

(58) Ŋ baŋŋɪ-ya   yini ɪ kʊ   wa' naaŋ.
      I know-PfIntr like 2s NegFut come PredFoc
      'I knew you wouldn't come.'

85

Furthermore, some words exhibit suppletion instead of taking the affixes on their root forms:

(59) *wa'* 'come' (perfective, root form)
      waya 'finished coming' from *wa'* 'come' + *-ya* 'perfective intransitive'
      kenne 'currently coming' imperfective, occurs only in this form

(60) *tɪ'* 'go' (perfective, root form)
      tɪya 'finished going' from *tɪ'* 'go' + *-ya* 'perfective intransitive'
      wɛɛra 'currently going' imperfective, occurs only in this form

(61) *compare from Waali*
      ga 'go'
      gara 'currently going'

Imperative mood is indicated by a change in the tone melody of the verb. The prototypical second-person singular imperative may be indicated without an overt subject, while the second-person plural imperative is indicated by the use of the second-person plural pronoun with the same form. The same imperative verb form is also used with first-person and third-person pronouns. These imperatival forms could be categorized as indirect imperatives (as per Kropp Dakubu 2005:36 for Dagaare) or jussive and cohortative forms (as per Naden 1989:162 for Gur languages in general). In addition, any of these imperatival forms can occur in both the perfective ('do X!') and imperfective aspects ('keep doing X!'). Examples and additional information are given in section 2.3.1.

Verbs can be nominalized by the addition of a nominal suffix. Abstract nominals are formed by the addition of a *–bʋ* or *–rɪ* suffix (62), and concrete nominals

can be formed by further adding one of the regular noun-class suffixes to the nominalized form (63).

(62) *isi*   'remove, choose'   (perfective, root form)
      isibu   'the act of choosing' from *isi* 'choose' + -*bʊ* 'Nominal'

(63) *dɔgɪ*   'bear (a child)'   (perfective, root form)
      dɔgɪrɪ   'childbearing'   from *dɔgɪ* 'bear' + -*rɪ* 'Nom.'
      dɔgɪra   'relative'   from *dɔgɪ* 'bear' + -*rɪ* 'Nom.' + -*a* 'class 1 sg.'
      dɔgɪrɪba 'relatives'   from *dɔgɪ* 'bear' + -*rɪ* 'Nom.' + -*ba* 'class 1 pl.'

There is one other verbal suffix, -*nɪ* 'with', which may occur with some verbs in the perfective or imperfective forms. This suffix seems likely to be related to the independent NP conjunction *nɪ* 'with, and', described below in section 2.4.1.3.

(64) *wa'* 'come'   *waanɪ* 'bring (come with)'
      tɪ' 'go'   *tɪnʊ* 'take (go with)'
      wɛɛra 'currently going'   *wɛɛranɪ* 'currently taking (going with)'
      yemmi 'go away'   *yemmini* 'carry away (go away with)'

The meaning of the Safaliba verb can be further modified by other means. The basic verb in any of the three aspectual forms can be further modified by a set of preverbal clitics indicating variations of tense, aspect, modality, polarity, and certain adverbial meanings (section 2.4.2 below).

2.2.3 Implications

Safaliba verbs have three different forms exhibiting aspectual distinctions, a basic (suffixless) form which has carries perfective aspect, a special perfective intransitive form indicated by a suffix –*ya* which emphasizes a fully completed

87

intransitive action, and an imperfective form indicated by the suffix –*ra* which indicates an ongoing action. As will be seen in chapter 3, these different verb forms contribute to the distinctions between foreground and background material which make up the information salience scheme for the narrative discourse genre in Safaliba.

Nouns, adjectives, and compound nouns in Safaliba all take singular and plural suffixes which serve to distinguish a number of different categories or noun classes. However, unlike many related African languages, Safaliba and its closest linguistic relatives do not preserve the system of noun class concord followed by pronouns and other word categories, which would ordinarily contribute to referent tracking. The morphology of number words in Safaliba preserves only a distinction between human and nonhuman. As will be seen in 2.4.1.4 below, this is the only noun class concord-related feature still observable in the Safaliba pronoun system.

2.3 Tone and Intonation

2.3.1 Lexical and Grammatical Tone

As noted above in section 2.1.3, Safaliba has two tones, H (high) and L (low), with automatic downstep and in some places downstep due to a floating (undocked) L. This can be further specified by noting that the Tone Bearing Unit (TBU) in Safaliba is the mora (unit of syllable weight), and each mora in a word can be associated with either H or L tone. Furthermore, not all logically possible patterns of H and L tone appear on Safaliba words, but only a selection of patterns called tone melodies.

The functional load carried by tone differs by grammatical category. For nouns, tone has a primarily lexical function in that the tone melodies are distributed among different nouns without regard to their segmental composition. As might be expected, pairs of nouns do occur which are segmentally identical and differ only by tone melody. There are probably several dozen nouns in this category, and it is comparatively easy to give examples of such nouns, as in examples (65) and (66); but obviously these comprise only a tiny percentage of the total number of nouns.

(65)   *yóórì* 'name'   *yòòrì* 'beer-pot'

(66)   *kɔ̀ŋ́* 'water'   *kɔ́ŋ̀* 'famine, hunger'

For verbs, tone has a primarily grammatical function, so that different tone patterns are seen among the three basic aspectual forms (unmarked perfective, perfective intransitive, and imperfective) and the nominalized form. However, verb tone also has a limited lexical function, in that there are four variations on the verbal tone-change paradigm, which appear to be lexically determined as no other factor appears to cause the variation; this complicates the picture somewhat. But as noted by Naden 1989:155 for Gur languages in general, the use of tone to mark grammatical distinctions is often only reinforcement for what is already indicated segmentally by the morphology, and in such cases it does not bear a great functional load. The verb

subclasses and their tone patterns across the verb paradigm are presented in Table 3 below[36]:

Table 3 Tone Subclasses Across Safaliba Verbal Forms

subclass	Perfective (Unmarked)	Perfective Intransitive	Imperfective	Nominal	gloss
1	LH⁺ *tàkí* x	LH⁺ *tàkìyá* x	LH⁺ *tàkìrá* x	LH⁺ *tàkìrí* x	'pull' x
2	LH⁺ *ɔbí* x	LH⁺ *ɔbìyá* x	LH⁺ *ɔbìrá* x	HH⁺ *ɔ́bírí* x	'chew' x
3	HH⁺ *vɔ́lí* x	H⁺H *vɔ́líⁱyá*	HL⁺ *vɔ́llà* x	HL⁺ *vɔ́líbʊ̀* x	'swallow' x
4	HL⁺ *dígì* x	H⁺H *díⁱgíyá*	H⁺H *díⁱgírá*	H⁺H *díⁱgírí*	'pick up' x

As is described below in 2.4.2.1, a verb may be modified by preverbal particles which specify tense, aspect, mood, and polarity. In the text corpus used for this study, the perfective intransitive form is only ever modified by tense particles; however the ordinary perfective and the imperfective forms may be modified by any of the particles described below, including those conveying future, subjunctive, and similar types of meaning.

Imperative mood verbs are segmentally identical to the corresponding non-imperative[37] forms described above. However, in a majority of verbs sampled, the imperative perfective form had a different tone pattern from the non-imperative

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[36] The tonal data in Table 3 and Table 4 are taken from Schaefer and Schaefer 2004:185.

[37] "Non-imperative" is used here, because the forms under consideration are not used solely for "indicative" mood; as noted above, with the addition of various preverbal particles these same forms can indicate various non-imperative irrealis moods.

perfective form[38]. Thus in contrast to its supplemental role in the categories listed above, tone often carries the entire functional load of distinguishing the imperative form of the verb:

Table 4 Tones on Unmarked Perfective and Regular Imperative Verb Forms

subclass	Unmarked Perfective	Regular Imperative
1 (~36%)	*LH* *tàkí*	*LL* *tàkì*
2 (~31%)	*LH* *ɔ̀bí*	*LL* *ɔ̀bì*
3 (~17%)	*HH* *vɔ́lí*	*HH* *vɔ́lí*
4 (~16%)	*HL* *dígì*	*HL* *dígì*

As seen in Table 4 above, in subclasses one and two (which include almost 70% of the verbs in the sample), distinct tone melodies distinguish the unmarked perfective verb from the imperative. Among verbs in subclasses three and four, however, the tone melodies on the imperative and non-imperative forms are the same. This is not so significant in the typical 2nd-person singular imperative, which is often expressed without a subject and therefore is easy to distinguish. However, a subject (usually a pronoun) is required with the 2nd-person plural, as well as with 1st-person and 3rd-person imperatives. Fortunately, regardless of its subclass a verb in the imperative always seems to induce a high tone in its subject pronoun, so that in the vast majority of cases

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[38] With the imperfective form, however, the tone patterns of imperative and non-imperative forms are identical.

the imperative mood is still clearly marked. Table 5 illustrates this for the 3rd person

pronoun:

Table 5 Tones on Pronouns with Imperative and Non-imperative Verb Forms

subclass	Unmarked Perfective	gloss	Regular Imperative	gloss
1	*ʊ̀ tàkɪ́...*	he pulled...	*ʊ́ tàkɪ̀...*	he should pull...
2	*ʊ̀ ɔ̀bɪ́...*	he ate...	*ʊ́ ɔ̀bɪ̀...*	he should eat...
3	*ʊ̀ vɔ́lɪ́...*	he swallowed...	*ʊ́ vɔ́lɪ́...*	he should swallow...
4	*ʊ̀ dɪ́gɪ̀...*	he picked...	*ʊ́ dɪ́gɪ̀...*	he should pick...

2.3.2 Intonation

The "intonation" (or more precisely, the pitch contour) of a Safaliba sentence is

almost totally determined by the individual tones of the words in the sentence, though at

a clause boundary there can be a re-setting of the pitch which is related to the type of

clause boundary (sentence-medial, sentence-final, between coordinate or subordinate

clauses). The following graph (from an audio recording processed by Speech Analyzer

3.0.1, SIL International) indicates the computer-analyzed pitch trace, with the addition

of short horizontal lines indicating the relative phonemic tone changes between tone

bearing units, and two horizontal lines indicating the clause boundaries. It can be seen

from this that the high and low pitch is directly related to the tones of the words in the

sentence, with the application of downdrift, and also that the clause boundaries cause a

re-setting of the baseline pitch for each clause.
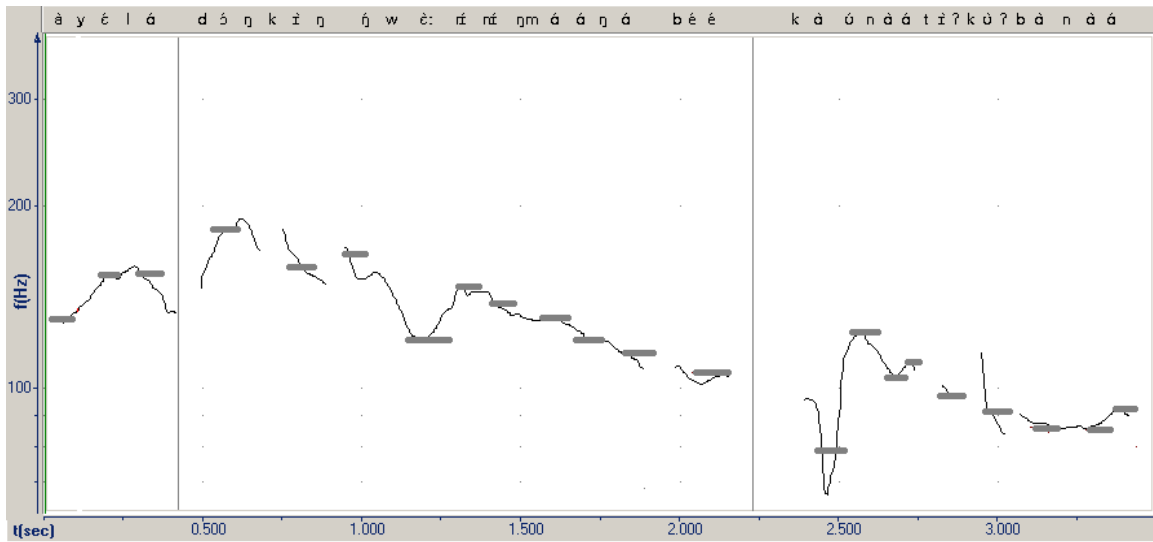
À yélá, Dóŋkìŋ ŋ́ wèɛrí⁺ní Ŋmá⁺áŋá ⁺béé, kà ú nàá tì' kù' bà nàá.
the matters Croc. Foc send Monkey there and 3s int. go give 3p chief

"The matters [= therefore], it is Crocodile (instead of somebody else) who is sending Monkey there, then he intends to finally give him to their chief."

**Figure 10 Tone Downdrift, Downstep, and Re-Setting
of Baseline Pitch at Clause Boundaries**

For comparison, see Peacock (forthcoming:31) who shows that for Nkonya (another tonal Ghanaian language), the computer-analyzed acoustic pitch trace of a sentence is likewise determined almost entirely by the tones of the individual words.

Safaliba does indicate speaker attitude by changes in volume and in voice quality; however, the only pitch-related sentence intonation which has been observed in Safaliba is that which occurs on questions. For a question, the tone of the final syllable is lowered from what it would otherwise be; in a polar question the vowel is also lengthened to about two or three times the length of an ordinary short vowel. These changes are considered to be adequately indicated in the orthography by the use of the question mark:

(67)   Orthographic: Nyɩna ɩŋ wɛɛra?   ɩ   ba   nya'?
         Phonemic: nyíná íŋ wèɛrà   ì   bá   nyààà
                       where 2sN go.Imperf 2s Neg see
                       "Where are you going?" "Don't you see?"

Compare with *wɛɛra* and *nya'* in the following sentence:

(68)   Orthographic: Bɛɛla maŋ wɛɛra.   ɩ   ba   nya'.
         Phonemic: Bɛ́ɛlá máŋ wèɛrá   ì   bá   nyà'
                       Bole 1sN go.Imperf   2s Neg see
                       "It is Bole I am going to." "You didn't see."

In most other types of sentences, the intonation follows quite closely with the underlying tones of the words. Affecting this tonal contour are the points at which the high tone value is re-set (after a particular downdrift span), which occur at clause boundaries of various types. Although at this point I have not fully studied this feature, I summarize my observations here: (1) the relative pitch to which the high tone is re-set appears to vary with different types of clause boundary (cf. Yip 2002:129); (2) the initial pitch which surfaces here may vary further according to whether the tone on the initial syllable of the first word is underlyingly high, downstepped high, or low; (3) the relative pitch of the overall clause intonation contour can in many cases be something of an additional guide to the relative independence or dependence of the clauses in the sentence, which is already shown generally by the presence of various markers (described in section 2.4.4).

2.3.3 Implications

Tone analysis is critical to an accurate understanding of Safaliba grammar, since tone has both lexical and grammatical functions. Within both the nouns and the verbs, instances can be found of near-homophones which differ only in their tone melodies. Although some of the grammatical distinctions made by tone are redundant, being marked also by segmental changes, the difference between imperative and non-imperative verb forms is indicated only by tone. This modality change also induces the presence of a H tone on the pronoun immediately preceding the verb, where ordinarily pronouns have L tone.

For these reasons, the Safaliba orthography marks tone on those nouns and verb pairs which are segmentally spelled the same, and on pronouns when they occur before a verb in the imperative mood.

Though some tonal processes do occur, tone is generally very stable in Safaliba, and the underlying tones of the individual words comprise the main input to what is usually called the intonation of a sentence. Re-setting of the relative pitch occurs at some clause boundaries; this is represented in the orthography by the use of punctuation. No evidence has been found that Safaliba uses intonation for marking pragmatic functions such as topic and focus; rather, these functions are indicated by special syntactic constructions and morphemes, as noted in sections 2.4.1.5 and 2.4.2.4 below, and more fully described in chapter 3.

2.4 Syntax Overview

This section presents the syntax of the nominal phrase along with a summary of pronominal forms; the verb and its modifiers, which comprise the verb phrase in non-generative terminology; the different types of simple clauses, both stative and active, with their constituents; serial verb constructions; and the ways in which clauses can combine.

2.4.1 Noun Phrase Structure

2.4.1.1 The Noun and Its Modifiers

A noun phrase is made up of a head noun and peripheral elements. These elements follow the noun, with the exception of the article *a* 'the' which comes before the noun[39]. The other elements of the noun phrase are the demonstrative *ŋaa* 'this', numerals, quantifiers and certain other modifiers. The following examples illustrate the position of the article (69) and the demonstrative (70):

(69)   *a nɪrɪba lɔgɔ*   '**the** people's sides' (Text 8:11)
         a bampɛ bav   '**the** leopard's tracks' (Text 1:24)
         a bampɛ yɛla   '**the** matter of the leopard' (Text 1:15)

(70)   *bʋnʋ ŋaa*   '**this** thing' (Text 1:46)
         tɪ kuuŋ ŋaa   '**this** our death' (Text 3:6)

The numbers *kpaŋ* 'one, a certain' and *bayi'* 'two' can be seen in (71), the quantifiers *yaka* 'many' and *zaa* 'all' in (72), and the modifiers *nɪnnɪ* 'nice' and

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[39] As far as I am aware, most languages in Western Oti-Volta have post-nominal articles; only Safaliba and its near linguistic relatives Dagaare and Waali have a pre-nominal article.

halalasɩ 'prototypical, perfect' in (73). The occurrence of *ayi'* in (73) suggests that numbers follow the other modifiers.

(71) *yɩrɩ **kpaŋ***   '**one** village' (Text 8:1)
       *nɩrɩba **bayi'***   '**two** people' (Text 11:1)

(72) a   dun-si   **yaka zaa zaa**
       the   animal-pl   **many all   all**
       '**every last one of** the **many** animals' (Text 14:16)

(73) kɔɔsɩsɩ   **nɩnnɩ halalasɩ**   ayi'
       round.stones   **nice   prototypical**   two
       'two **nice prototypical** round stones' (Text 1:23)

     A particle with a similar meaning to *ŋaa*, but which has a wider distribution and more complex functions is the particle *nɩ*; it is usually glossed as 'Spec' for "specifier" and might be best understood as a discourse-oriented deictic. It comes at the end of some constituent that is being pointed out or specified. For example, it can occur at the end of a noun phrase or a clause to indicate previous mention of either a referent or a predication in the previous discourse context. With basically the same sort of function it can help to mark a relative clause by optionally following the noun being modified, the modifying clause, or both.

(74) Bee **nɩ** kenne yɩ-rɩ, a   naa   wa' kalɩ nɩŋ-kot-tu   **nɩ**...
       child **Spec** coming town-sg and intend come inform person-old-pl **Spec**
       'The child (whom we just mentioned in the previous sentence) was returning to
       town, intending to inform the elders (whom we also just mentioned)' (Text
       1:10)

(75) ...ʋŋ ye' ká, zi-aa   a bɛrɪga unsi **nʋ**.
      3sN say that place-this the trap   uproot **Spec**
      '...he said, it is this place the trap was uprooted (in response to a previous
      question about the location)' (Text 1:22)

(76) Chɛ lɛɛbɪ **nʋ**, baŋ wa' po'.
      but return **Spec** 3pN come farm
      'Then (they) returned, and arrived at the farm.' (Text 1:32)

(77) Aŋ   bɛɛ-ra   ŋ asʋba Abulai pa-pa-pa-pa, ŋ asʋba Bokoro haŋ
      3snhN cause.pain-Imperf 1s uncle Abulai very.greatly, 1s uncle Bokoro had

      tɔŋŋɪ wigilu-u dabɪ-lʋŋ **nʋ**.
      able teach-him man-Nom **Spec**

      'This pained my uncle Abulai very greatly, (that) my uncle Bokoro was able to
      teach him bravery (where *nʋ* refers the entire second clause).' (Text 1:45)

(78) Chɛ ŋ asʋba Abulai mɪŋ haŋ woore ye' ká bá baŋŋɪ   ká ʋ
      but 1s uncle Abulai also had want say that 3s know-Impv that 3s

      chɛ'   dɛbeŋ **nʋ**, ʋ bɪɪ-ya   **nʋ**,
      is.not.at fear **Spec** 3s be.ripe-PfIntr **Spec**

      'But in contrast my uncle Abulai wanted them to know that he was without fear,
      that he was completely brave.' (Text 1:57)

2.4.1.2 Possessive or Associative Constructions

In a possessive construction, two noun phrases are associated together with no

intervening particle. As in the English (Saxon) genitive construction, the possessor NP

(underlined) comes first, with the possessed NP following[40] (bolded):

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[40] Having the head (the possessed NP) at the end contrasts with the otherwise head-initial tendency seen
in Safaliba phrase structure. This might seem like a problem to try to account for: an X-bar account
could eliminate the apparent inconsistency by assigning the NP possessor to [Spec, NP]. However,
whatever its origin this combination of head-initial and head-final tendencies within a single language has
been recognized as typological category. It is one of four common patterns among African languages:
Heine 1976 (cited in Creissels et al. 2008) recognizes languages like Safaliba as Type B, consisting of
languages with SVO word order typology, possessor-possessed genitive structure, and postpositions.

(79) ba **bʋnʋ**
     3s   **thing**
     'their thing' (Text 12:34)

(80) a foon nɩɩ sʋba **namba**
     the phone Spec owner **number**
     'the phone's owner's number' (Text 15:24)

It is preferable to consider the possessive as one subcategory of what can be called an "associative construction", since languages of this family commonly use this type of construction to express a wide variety of other relationships between nouns. As is the case with the "of" construction in English, the associative construction can indicate many different types of relationship between the two noun phrases:

(81) ʋ bɔtɔ-sɩ   **tagɩta** ŋaa
     3s burlap.sack-pl **shirt**   this
     'this his shirt *made of* burlap sack material' (Text 6:28)

(82) mɔɔmɔɔsɩya **kuuŋ**
     shame   **death**
     'shame*ful* death' (Text 6:72)

(83) maŋ-chɛŋ-ŋa **kaŋ-ŋʋ**
     river-side-sg **forest-sg**
     'forest *near* the river' (Text 13:31)

     Furthermore, the Safaliba locative phrase can be considered as a subcategory of this structure:

(84) ba mɩŋ nɩŋ-kori-gu   **yue**
     3p own person-old-sg **front** [=before]
     '(they gathered) *before* their own elder' (Text 8:11)

99

In Safaliba, the words which correspond to English prepositions are usually identical in form to ordinary nouns (often body parts), and the resulting syntactic structure is identical[41].

(85)   ba be' <u>kɔŋ</u> **poo**
       3s be.at <u>water</u> **stomach** [=in]
       'they were *in* the water' (Text 12:18)

2.4.1.3 NP Conjunction

    Unlike English, which uses the same words to conjoin noun phrases that are used to conjoin clauses, Safaliba uses a different set of words for noun phrases than for clauses. NPs can be joined with the nominal conjunction *nι* 'and, with' or the similar *anι* 'and' (87); in contrast, clauses are joined with *a*, *chɛ* or *ka* (see section 2.4.4.2 below).

(86)   ʊ **nι** kɔm-pɔlι-billi   wa' tι' po'.
       3p **and** child-grown-small.pl. come go farm
       'He and the young men went to the farm.' (Text 1:7)

(87)   ...ká ʊ **nι** ŋ yaarιba   Aja, **anι** ŋ yaarιba   Bʊrama Looloo...
        that 3s **and** 1s grandfather Aja **and** 1s grandfather Braimah Looloo
       '[He said] that he **and** my grandfather Aja, **and** my grandfather Braimah
       Looloo...' (Text 12:6)

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[41] I prefer to analyze such constructions are Noun-Noun (genitive) constructions, "the old-people's front", "the water's inside," preserving the head-initial structure; I see no benefit from the alternative analysis which would classify these as postpositions, in which case these would be head-final phrases in contrast to what is seen elsewhere in the syntax. Constructions using *nι* 'with' are different and discussed below.

2.4.1.4 Pronoun Summary

In Safaliba as in other languages, a pronoun can stand in the place of a full noun phrase. Safaliba has a basic 7-way distinction in pronouns: first-person singular and plural; second-person singular and plural; third-person singular; third-person plural human; and third-person plural nonhuman. These distinctions carry through the range of the four main pronoun groups[42], the regular, emphatic, and focus sets which typically occur in subject position, and the Object set. All pronouns are independent words and are written as such, except for the Object pronouns.

Table 6 Safaliba pronouns

| | Regular | | Emphatic | N-pronoun |
	Subj.	Obj.	(Subj.)	(Subj.)
1st person singular	ǹ̀	-ma	màáŋ̀	máŋ
1st person plural	tì	-tʋ	tʋ̀nʋ́ʋ̀	tíŋ
2nd person singular	ì	-ɩ	íná	íŋ
2nd person plural	yà	-ya	yáná	yáŋ
3rd person singular	ʋ̀	-ʋ	ʋ́ná	ʋ́ŋ
3rd person plural (human)	bà	-ba	báná	báŋ
3rd person plural (nonhuman)	à	-a	áná	áŋ

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[42] A fifth third-person plural pronoun, *bamma*, occurs in Text 16:41; it was explained to me as the form used in reported speech to further report what a third party had stated in first-person. As with other particles which occur rarely in the corpus, I have verified with other language associates that this is a separate word in common usage and not an error in speech or transcription; however due to lack of additional data I cannot specify the meaning further.

The object pronouns are phonologically bound to the verb and may undergo a variety of phonological changes depending on the verb root (see section 2.4.2.3 for details); in the transcription the object pronouns are indicated as suffixes to the verb. Although phonologically bound to the verb, object pronouns in Safaliba and related languages are true pronouns and not merely verb agreement: either an object pronoun or a noun phrase object may occur, but not both. For example:

(88) Ʊ ba kʊ' **Kipo.**
      3s Neg give **Kipo**
      'He didn't give Kipo (any).'

(89) Ʊ ba kʊ-ʋ.
      3s Neg give-**3s**
      'He didn't give him (any).'

(90) *Ʊ ba kʊ-ʋ$_i$ **Kipo**$_i$.

As seen in the table above, the regular pronouns are pronounced with an L tone (except in imperative mood, see 2.3.1 above), while the focus pronouns are pronounced with an H tone. All emphatic pronouns are also pronounced with an H tone except the 1st person singular and plural which have a LHL melody. In contrast to these, the tone of the object pronouns varies according to the tone of the verb root. And as noted above, when the regular pronouns appear before a verb in the imperative mood, they are pronounced with an H tone. The differences in usage among the different pronoun sets are set forth in section 3.2.

A number of other Gur languages have been described as having a pronominal system with different pronoun sets for subject and object, plus an additional set of

subject pronouns often called the "strong," "intensive," or "emphatic" form. Naden

states that the "strong" form "is often described as 'emphatic' and is used disjunctively

and with marked focus or thematicity" (1986:259).   This type of pronominal system is

very similar to that of Safaliba, without the N-pronoun set. For example, the pronouns

of Dagaare are given as follows:

Table 7 Dagaare Pronouns
(after Kropp Dakubu 2005:52)

| | Subject/Possessive Pronouns | | | | | Object Pronouns | |
| | Weak, Clitic | | | Strong, Nominal | | | |
	Sg.	Pl.		Sg.	Pl.		Sg.	Pl.
1st person:	N	tɩ		maa	tɩmʊ		ma	tɩ
2nd person:	fʊ	yɛ		fʊʊ	yɛnʊ		fʊ	yɛ
3rd p. +human	ʊ	ba		ʊnɔ	bana		ʊ	ba
-human		a			ana			a

Those languages with active noun class concord systems often have additional

noun class-specific third-person pronouns, as noted below in Table 8. These noun

class-specific pronouns can be used optionally in place of the generic third-person

pronouns. This strategy reduces ambiguity in many discourse situations.

Table 8 Farefare Pronouns
(after Alando, Schaefer and Schaefer 1984:23)

| | Subject | | | Object | | | Emphatic Subj. | |
	Sg.	Pl.		Sg.	Pl.		Sg.	Pl.
1st person:	n	to		ɔ/mam	tɔ		mam	tomam
2nd person:	ho	ya		hɔ	ya		hon/m	yamam
* 3rd p. (definite):	a	ba		en	ba		eŋa	bama
(indefinite):							ena	bana
*(there are also six noun-class specific additional third-person pronoun sets, not shown here)								

103

Farefare (Kropp Dakubu 1995; Alando, Schaefer and Schaefer 1984) and Moore (Canu 1973:262-272), among others, are described as having this type of more complex pronominal system.

2.4.1.5 The Subject Focus Marker

A final item that appears to occur in certain noun phrases is the marker of subject focus, *ŋ*. When it occurs in a sentence, the subject focus particle follows immediately after the last constituent of the subject noun phrase. However, this particle is not exactly part of the NP syntax. As noted in section 1.4.3.2, focus is considered to be a pragmatic feature of the clause, thus in a single clause there should be focus on only one element. This is supported by the fact that (in the corpus data) the subject focus marker never occurs in a sentence which has the predicate focus marker. So from this perspective the subject focus marker relates to the focus structure of the sentence, and as such is a modifier of the entire subject argument of a verb, not just a particular noun constituent[43].

2.4.2 The Verb and Its Modifiers

In this section I describe the verb together with its modifying particles and auxiliaries, excluding the complements of the verb. I also include in this section discussion of the object pronouns and the predicate focus particle.

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[43] For comparison, note that in English and other languages which use intonation to mark focus, an individual word or part of a word may be marked as focal within a sentence, whereas in Safaliba the focus is always applied to the complete noun phrase or verb phrase, not one of its elements.

2.4.2.1 Preverbal Particles

In Safaliba and related languages, the meaning of the verb can be modified by the presence of one or more particles[44] that occur immediately before it. This syntactic position (or several adjacent positions) is the main classificatory factor for these particles, as a classification by function is impossible due to the diverse categories of meaning they can carry. The nearest generalization that can be made is to say that these particles specify variations in tense, aspect, mood, or polarity (abbreviated TAMP), though in actuality a single particle often operates in more than one of these categories; and in many languages there are particles with what might be called a purely adverbial meaning.

In most languages, these particles cannot be identified with existing verbs or word forms from another grammatical category in the language, though sometimes there are some similarities which suggest a possible diachronic source (as noted in Criessels 2000:239). The number of such particles in a given Gur language can vary considerably, from six in Tampulma to more than thirty in Dagbani (Bendor-Samuel 1971:162).

So far in Safaliba twenty different preverbal particles have been catalogued, covering all four main TAMP categories.

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[44] They do not seem to be prefixes, but neither are easily analyzable as being independent words of some other grammatical category; the bound word or clitic category is another possibility.

2.4.2.1.1 Tense Particles

The time-oriented particles are listed first, with their basic meanings: *zaaŋ* 'yesterday', *daarɪŋ* 'two or more days ago', *bɛɛ* 'tomorrow', *na* 'future', *koroŋ* 'formerly, long ago, ever', *tɛɛŋ* 'already', and *haŋ* 'did' (temporal contingency[45]). Sentences with these particles follow:

(91)   ...anna ŋ **zaaŋ**   ŋma' ʋ fitiŋ-gɛl-lɪ?
        who Foc **yesterday** burst 3s lantern-egg-sg
        '...who broke his lantern globe yesterday?' (Text 6:51)

(92)   ...ŋ **daarɪŋ**   wa'...
        1s **two.days.ago** come
        '...I came a few days ago...'

(93)   ...baŋ woo-re   ye' ba **bɛɛ**   tɪ' bee.
        3sN want-Imperf say 3s **tomorrow** go there
        '...they were planning to go there tomorrow.' (Text 1:66)

(94)   ...ʋŋ ye' ká ʋ **na** tɪ' a naafʋ zee.
        3sN say that 3s **Fut** go the cow   place
        '...he said he will go to where the buffalo was.' (Text 1:57)

---

[45] The meaning of *haŋ* is not easy to specify; it can almost always be glossed as English 'did', but it is not a verb, nor is it something like "Past Perfect". It often occurs in subordinate clauses which are understood as having a "conditional" relation with the main clause, but *haŋ* itself does not appear to carry this meaning, as it also occurs in contexts where no conditionality can be understood (and furthermore conditionality can sometimes be understood without the presence of either *haŋ* or the conditional marker *kà* 'if'). A comparable particle to Safaliba *haŋ* occurs in Farefare as /hã/ or /sã/ (N. Schaefer 1984, Kropp Dakubu 1995) where it occupies the same syntactic position and is categorized as a conditional marker, but apparently is more consistent than Safaliba *haŋ*. In Dagaare, the counterpart is /nàŋ/ and the usage variation appears to be more similar to Safaliba. Bodomo 1997:131 treats the Dagaare particle as a conditional conjunction which occurs within the clause instead of at its margin, while Kropp Dakubu 2005 agrees that conditionality is often the meaning of a clause with this marker (and glosses it as "COND", p.26). However Kropp Dakubu recognizes more complexity of usage, categorizing /nàŋ/ not as a direct marker of conditionality but as a clause topicalizer which can indirectly cause a conditional meaning by marking a clause as "background information to what happens in the next clause" (p.30).

(95) Anabi Mohammed **koroŋ** bʊl-la   naaŋ   tɪ-maalɪ-ba yɛla...
      prophet Mohammed **long.ago** speak-Imperf PredFoc idol-make-pl matter
      'Long ago, the Prophet Mohammed was speaking against the makers of idols...'
      (Text 5:24)

(96) ...a **tɛɛŋ**   dɪ' ʊ baʊ a   tuu-re...
        and **already** pick 3s trail and follow-Imperf
      '...and (they) already had found its trail and were following...' (Text 1:72)

(97) ...ʊ **haŋ** tɛbʊ-ʊ   a ye' ʊ viibu-u   basɪ   nʊ...
        3s **had** puncture-3s and say 3s turn.forcefully-3s throw.away Spec
      '...it had punctured him and intended to fling him around...' (Text 1:88)

Three of these particles, *na*, *koroŋ*, and *haŋ* can convey additional subtle changes in meaning, especially when combined with each other or when used in various constructions: *haŋ na* means 'planned, expected to', *na* with the imperative indicates 'should'[46], *na* with the final verb in a serial construction functions like embedded purpose clause (see further section 2.4.4.1); *koroŋ* in a conditional clause with *kà* glosses as 'ever', *koroŋ lɛ* perhaps gives what might be called a respectfully mitigated imperative ('you already again find' = 'please go and find'), and *haŋ koroŋ* gives the meaning of 'had earlier' and shows that the similar glosses I have given to these particles do not do justice to their function. The full examples follow:

(98) Bɛ-tʊ bɪlɛ sɔŋgɔ nʊ ba **haŋ**   **na** di' bee wa' ta'...
      day-pl so end   Spec 3p **previous Fut** eat there come reach...
      'When the end came of the days they *had planned* to stay there...' (Text 11:4)

---

[46] This is in direct contrast to Naden 1989:162 where in the Gur languages the only known options for expressing "should" involve loan words or an explicit mention of the authority involved. See also section 2.4.2.1.3.

(99) ...ká bá **na ɛ'**   bampɛ yɛla kʊ́' nɔɔ-sɪ.
      that 3p **Fut do-Impv** leopard matter kill chicken-pl
      '...that they *should kill* chickens (soothsay) about the matter of the leopard.'
      (Text 1:49)

(100) ...ba kʊ   lɛ   wa' so' po' bʊn-zaa **na** di'.
      3s NegFut again come own farm thing-all **Fut** eat
      '...they would no longer have anything in their farms *to eat*." (Text 8:13)

(101) **Kà** ɪ **koroŋ**   nya' ʊ poori zɛ', ɪ na nya' pɛɛlɪ paa.
      if 2s **long.ago** see 3s back here 2s Fut see scar much
      '*If you ever* saw his back (about here), you would see a great scar.' (Text 1:85)

(102) Tʊŋ woore   ká, ɪ **koroŋ lɛ**   nya' ʊ-daa wa' iŋŋi ʊ ʊŋŋa...
      1pN want-Imperf that 2s **long.ago again** see 3s-male come put 3s body
      'Our desire is, that you *already would have* found a male to impregnate it...'
      (Text 8:36)

(103) Ba **haŋ koroŋ**   dɪ' mʊɪ asɪ, Wɔfa di-ta-a   guu-re,   aa!
      3s **had formerly** take rice stand Uncle eat-Imperf-3pnh unable-Imperf oh
      '*Earlier they had* set out rice (for lunch), but Uncle couldn't eat—oh!' (Text
      15:55)

Koroŋ is one of two preverbal particles which can also occur separately and

unchanged as an adverbial time margin; in this position, it always means 'long ago'.

(104) **Koroŋ** nɪɪ, bʊn-nɪɪ haŋ waanɪɪ ʊ yoori wa' jɛŋ tɪmpana   poo...
      long.ago Spec thing-Spec did bring 3s name come lie talking.drums in
      'Long ago, what brought his name to rest in the talking drums...' (Text 21:6)

Bɛɛ can likewise occur unchanged as the noun 'tomorrow' and as the verb 'dawn', and

the other two specific time particles, *zaaŋ* and *daarɪŋ*, are virtually unchanged from the

two nouns *zaa* 'yesterday' and *daarɪ* 'two days or more ago'. However, except for

koroŋ, none of these others occurs frequently in its preverbal particle form[47]. Instead, the noun forms as temporal margin are used with far greater frequency, which appears to be quite different from the patterns seen in most other languages in this family (cf. Naden 1988:36-37).

2.4.2.1.2 Aspect Particle

The only clear aspectual particle is *maŋ* 'habitual', as in the following example:

(105) Ana   vɛnɪ ba haŋ **maŋ** dit-te   Ambatɪgɪ,   ba **maŋ**
       3pnhEm cause 3s prev. **Hab**   eat-Imperf Ambatigi.Festival 3s **Hab**

       vɪɪ-ta   buguŋ yeeŋu...
       throw-Imperf fire   night

       'This is why when they celebrate the Ambatigi Festival they always throw fire at night...' (Text 5:28)

2.4.2.1.3 Modal Particles

The modal particles include *naa* 'intend to', *taa* 'surely', *naaŋ* 'would', and *a* with a similar but somewhat stronger meaning 'should'. Sentences with these particles follow:

(106) A   yɛla, a naafʊ, ba **naa**   kʊ́-ʊ.
       3pnh matter the cow   3s **intend** kill-3s
       'Therefore, as for the buffalo, they intend to kill it." (Text 1:62)

(107) ...ká   a foon ŋʊna **taa**   beʼ   tɪ tʊma zee.
         that the phone for   **surely** be.at 1p work place
       '...[he said] that surely the phone is at our workplace' (Text 15:18)

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[47] Due to their comparative rarity in occurrence these particles were only noted recently and do not appear in Schaefer and Schaefer 2004.

(108) Kà ŋmɪn-sɔsɪ naanɪ, ŋ ba baŋŋɪ bɪlɛ nʊ a yɛla naŋ **naaŋ** be'.
if God-ask not 1s Neg know so Spec the matter still **would** be.at
'If not due to prayers, I don't know where the matter would have ended up.'
(Text 16:54)

(109) Ká ana ŋ so', ká kà ʊ koroŋ chɛ', ká **a-ŋ** kʊ́' ya zaa.
that 3pnhEm Foc own that if 3s ever not.there that **should**-1s kill 2p all
'This is why, if he had not been here, I should have killed you all.' (Text 34:24)

The particles *a* and *naaŋ* are worthy of discussion. First, the meanings they carry[48] are outside the set of meanings typically listed for such particles in related languages (cf. Bendor-Samuel 1971:163-164, Bodomo 1997:84). And since Naden 1989:162 states that "Gur languages apparently do not have either grammatical or lexical means to convey deontic notions," this kind of particle may not occur in other languages. As noted in 2.4.2.1.1 above the notion of 'should' is more commonly conveyed in Safaliba by the use of the preverbal particle *na* 'Future' with the imperative form. While a comparable Farefare construction is given in Kropp Dakubu 1995:73 as an "indirect imperative", and a "should" construction in Dagaare is mentioned in Kropp Dakubu 2005:36 (there marked by high tone on the negative particle *kʊn*), more exact parallels in other languages are not known to me.

Secondly, *a* is particularly unusual as a "preverbal particle" because in the few instances in the corpus, it always occurs before the pronoun, so that it is in a nearby but clearly different syntactic position from the other preverbal particles. Furthermore *a* is

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[48] These two particles *naaŋ* and *a* occur only three times in the text corpus so there is not enough data to analyze their meanings in depth; the glosses given for these particles are therefore based solely on the English translations given by the native speakers and not on analysis of many examples of usage in context. The language associates, however, fully affirmed that *naaŋ* and *a* are distinct from each other, and that both particles are in common use and understood by all.

phonologically active with the pronouns, so the same vowel coalescence that takes place at the verb-object pronoun interface (see section 2.4.2.3 below) appears here also: in example (110) below with the third-person singular pronoun *ʋ*, *a* and *ʋ* coalesce to produce *ɔɔ*. Native speakers assure me that this is a commonly-used particle, and they detect and interpret its presence easily, but it is typologically unusual because it occurs before the subject pronoun whereas in other languages such particles occur only following the subject pronoun.

(110) ...a   din-aa   **ɔ-ɔ**   ba kpi'.
         the today-this **should**-3s Neg die
         '(in other circumstances) even today, he certainly would not have died
         (=he would still be alive).' (Text 13:58)

It is also significant that in both example (109) and (110) above, native speakers had little difficulty in pointing out that the pronoun and the modal particle were two separate morphemes.

2.4.2.1.4 Polarity Particles

The modal particles include, *ba* 'Neg', *kʋ* or *kʋŋ* 'NegFut', *ta* 'NegImpv', and *nampa* 'not yet'[49]. Sentences with these particles follow:

(111) Tɪ **ba** baŋŋɪ bɪlɛ nʋ   tɪ haŋ naaŋ tɪ' isi   amaniye...
         1p **Neg** know   so   Spec 1p had   would go   remove news
         'We didn't know how we would have broken the news...' (Text 15:59)

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[49] *Nampa* is also pronounced *namba* but this pronunciation is associated with the younger generation; older Safaliba speakers prefer *nampa*. However, in favor of *namba* is the fact that it suggests a combination of *naŋ* 'still' with *ba* 'Neg:' 'still not' = 'not yet.'

(112) Dɔŋkɩŋ chi' Ŋmaaŋa ka ɩ barɩ **kʊŋ**   fɩɩsɩ kɔŋ,
       Crocodile tell Monkey that 2s leg **NegFut** touch water
       'Crocodile told Monkey, "Your foot will not touch the water..."' (Text 26:10)

(113) Ká bʊnʊ zaa **ta**   lɛ   bʊ' ʊ di-nɔɔrɩ.
       that thing all **NegImpv** again turn 3s room-mouth
       '(He said) that no creature should ever again pass by his doorway.' (Text 6:13)

(114) ...a bɛbɛɛ   puppu maŋ so' kɔŋ ka zee **nampa** chaanɩ.
        the morning early   1sN wash water and place **not.yet** light
       '...that early morning I took my bath while it was not yet light." (Text 36:6)

2.4.2.1.5 "Adverbial" Particles

The "adverbial" particles[50] include *naŋ* 'still', *lɛ* 'again', and its alternative *kɛlɩŋ* 'again', which is generally regarded to be a loan word. They carry a meaning which does not affect the view of the internal verb action (or aspect) but rather has to do with the entire action of the verb. I have termed these "adverbial", since they convey meanings expressed by adverbs in English. Sentences with these particles follow:

(115) Ka diŋ-kpin-ni nɩɩ **naŋ** asɩ bɩlɛ.
       then room-joint-sg Spec **still** stand so
       'And the wall still stood upright.' (Text 7:56)

(116) Ka a daba **lɛ**   yɛlɩ...
       then the man-sg **again** said
       'The man said again, ...' (Text 2:15)

(117) Ɔ-ɔ   naa **kɛlɩŋ** nya' pɔgɔ.
       should-3s intend **again** see woman
       'He surely would have found a different wife.' (Text 13:59)

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[50] Alternatively, *lɛ* 'again' could be regarded as an aspectual auxiliary verb (from *lɛɛbɩ* 'return'), similarly to the treatment of the specialized use of *wa'* 'come' and *tɩ'* 'go' below in section 2.4.2.2. The findings in section 3.2.1.3 do provide some support for grouping *lɛ* with the auxiliary verbs instead of with the preverbal particles.

2.4.2.1.6 Discourse-Related Tense Particle

The particle *haaŋ* has an explicit (sentence-level) meaning almost identical to the shorter *haŋ*, except that *haaŋ* is used only in a sentence containing a event of critical significance to the narrative[51]. It can occur early in the story to mark an action to be noted by the hearer, as a sort of foreshadowing (Texts 13 and 16) or at the peak of the story (Texts 4 and 14). I was told that it can only occur once in a narrative, but it appears twice in Text 14 (though both occurrences are in the same sentence, which may contain a rephrasing of the climactic event which was not edited out).

(118) Ŋ **haaŋ** tɪˈ ta-tɔ-ɔ,   bɪlɛ ʋ haŋ asɪ   nʊ...
1s **had** go reach-Imperf-3s so   3s had   stand Spec
'When I finally reached him, the way he was standing (I thought...).' [Occurs early in the story where the narrator was about to receive news of the murder of a tenant.] (Text 16:20)

2.4.2.2 Auxiliary Verbs

Two verbs, *wa'* 'come' and *tɪ'* 'go', occur in conjunction with other verbs quite frequently. In these situations instead of conveying their ordinary lexical meanings, they rather appear to convey some additional aspectual distinctions. They could be classified as a type of serial verb construction, but there are factors which favor classification as auxiliary verbs when in this combination. *Wa'* as an auxiliary communicates something like the colloquial English "up and", as in "he up and left." *Tɪ'* as an auxiliary means something like 'finally'.

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[51] Intriguingly, native speakers have also explained that *haaŋ* is equivalent to *haŋ haŋ* (Jennifer Schaefer, p.c.); this is certainly an area that will be the focus of future study.

(119) ...ka nɪrɪ-ba nʊ **waꞌ** waꞌ, ka ba waꞌ diꞌ.
      then person-pl Spec **begin** come then 3p **begin** eat
      '...then as soon as those people return, then they can eat right away.' (Text 5:19)

(120) ...ʊŋ wa, ʊ nɪ ba **tɪꞌ** waꞌ man-nɔɔ-rɪ, ʊŋ **waꞌ** ŋmaa-ba dʊꞌ.
      3sN come 3s and 3p **finally** come river-mouth-sg 3sN **begin** cut-3p   climb
      '...he came, he and them finally came to the riverside, and he took them across
      right away.' (Text 13:28)

2.4.2.3 The Verb and Phonological Changes in the Object Pronouns

The object pronouns are discussed here because they are phonologically bound
to the verb, and clarification of some of the processes which take effect will be helpful
for the following discussion of other aspects of the grammar. The first process to take
note of is the vowel harmony set changes (see section 2.1.1) brought on by the addition
of the object pronouns to a verb root marked for +ATR. The difference that occur in the
pronouns can be seen by comparing column 1 with column 2 in Table 9 below:

Table 9 Phonological Changes in Object Pronouns

Object Pronoun	(1) waanɪ 'bring' -ATR	(2) wigili 'teach' + ATR	(3) tara 'hold' - ATR	(4) dɛɛ 'save' - ATR	(5) chiꞌ 'tell' + ATR
1st person singular	*waanɪma*	*wigilime*	*tarɪma*	*dɛɛma*	*chime*
1st person plural	*waanɪtʊ*	*wigilitu*	*tarɪtʊ*	*dɛɛtʊ*	*chitu*
2nd person singular	*waanɪ*	*wigilii*	***tarɛɛ***	***dɛɛgɪ***	*chii*
2nd person plural	*waanɪya*	*wigiliye*	*tarɪya*	*dɛɛya*	*chiye*
3rd person singular	***waanʊʊ***	***wigiluu***	*tarɔɔ*	*dɛɛgʊʊ*	*chiu*
3rd pers. pl. human	*waanɪba*	*wigilibe*	*tarɪba*	*dɛɛba*	*chibe*
3rd pers. pl. nonhuman	*waanaa*	***wigilaa***	*taraa*	***dɛɛgaa***	***chiaa***

In comparing columns (1) and (2), it will first be noticed that the vowels of all pronouns
(of both the CV and V syllable patterns) change to the equivalent +ATR vowel at the

114

same height; furthermore, the vowel /a/ changes to /e/ because there is no +ATR companion[52] to /a/. It should be further noted that the 3ʳᵈ person plural nonhuman suffix –a always retains the –ATR quality, and is unaffected by the ATR value of the verb root. In addition, note that when the final vowel of a verb is /ɪ/ or /i/ it merges with pronouns of the V-syllable pattern, taking on all features of the pronoun's vowel and resulting in a double-length vowel; this is seen most clearly in columns (1) and (2) above, with the 3ʳᵈ person singular pronoun and with the 3ʳᵈ person plural non-human pronoun.

Then note that in column 3, where a verb ending in –ra occurs, different vowel merger processes occur. In the 2ⁿᵈ person singular, /a/ combines with /ɪ/ to form /ɛɛ/; and /a/ combines with /u/ to form /ɔɔ/. In +ATR verbs, the vowels undergo parallel processes within the +ATR set.

Finally, note that additional processes occur in verbs which are one-syllable in their unmarked perfective form. In column (4) note that a verb that is CVV in its unmarked perfective form inserts -gI- between the verb root and a V pronoun; this results in the same type of vowel mergers already seen in columns (1) and (2). In column (5) note that a verb that is CV' in its unmarked perfective form does not display the vowel merger process; the vowel of the verb root is still distinguishable from that of

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[52] This is one of the major reasons for considering /ə/ to be a marginal phoneme, as it does not appear in typical ATR-related processes as would otherwise be expected.

the pronoun[53]. Also note in this column that for verbs with this syllable shape, the 3rd person plural nonhuman pronoun has a variant form[54], -*aa*.

The phonological binding between the verb and the object pronoun would support the idea that the object pronoun is also be part of the syntactic verb word. Furthermore, the object pronoun can occur only immediately following the verb, and no other element except the aspectual suffixes on the verb can appear between the verb root and the object pronoun.

Furthermore, the predicate focus marker usually occurs immediately after the verb (example 121), but follows the object pronoun if one is present (example 122). However, since the predicate focus marker also can appear at the end of the clause this too does not supply conclusive evidence of syntactic binding between the verb and the object pronoun. Examples of both constructions are given below (the verb is bolded, the object is underlined, and the predicate focus marker is dot-underlined):

(121) ...ka ba tɩ' **nya'** ṇạạṇ a bee ka ʋ kpi-ye jɛŋ...
        then 3s finally **see** PredFoc the child and 3s die-PfIntr lie.down
        '...(or whether) then they finally found the child and he was lying dead...' (Text 5:31)

(122) ...kà ʋ koroŋ **nya**-ʋ ṇạạṇ zee ṇaa...
        if 3s ever **see**-3s PredFoc place this
        '...if he ever should see him in this place (again)...' (Text 20:17)

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[53] This lack of merger is very clear in slow speech, though in fast speech the vowel distinctions are less obvious; this is considered to be a phonetic feature. However, the phonological difference between this phonetic feature and true vowel merger is evident in Safaliba: no matter how slowly the word is pronounced, where there is true merger a native speaker will always pronounce both vowels with the same quality.

[54] Although /*aa*/ appears in the last row in all five columns, in those occurrences it is attributable to vowel merger. It is only in column five that the presence of /*aa*/ cannot be attributed to some phonological process, so in that case an unexplained lexical variant is supposed.

On the other hand, phonological binding is not limited to the object pronouns, but can occur (in certain contexts) with the subject pronoun as well. When the regular subject pronoun occurs as possessor in a genitive phrase following the verb, or in subject position following the modal particle *a* (which, unlike the other preverbal particles which occur between the pronoun and the verb, occurs before the pronoun), phonological changes occur which are identical to those seen above with the object pronouns. Examples of the subject pronoun in these contexts are given below (pronoun bolded, syntactic unit underlined):

(123) ...Wɔfa yoogu-**u** foon...
       Uncle open **3s** phone
       '...Uncle brought out **his** phone...' (Text 15:24)

(124) Ká ana   ŋ so', ká kà ʋ koroŋ chɛ',   ká a-ŋ   kʊ́' ya zaa.
       that 3pnhEm Foc own that if 3s ever not.there that should-**1s** kill 2p all
       'This is why, if he had not been here, **I** should have killed you all.' (Text 34:24)

(125) ...a din-aa   ɔ -ɔ   ba kpi'.
                       a ʋ
        the today-this should-**3s** Neg die
        '(in other circumstances) even today, **he** certainly would not have died
        (=he would still be alive).' (Text 13:58)

In the case of the genitive noun phrase in direct object position (123), it would be particularly difficult to make a case for regarding the pronoun as part of the verb word. These examples make it clear that phonological and syntactic boundaries do not necessarily coincide in Safaliba. This potential discrepancy between phonological and grammatical words in some African languages is noted in Dimmendaal 2000:179-180.

117

2.4.2.4 The Predicate Focus Marker

The particle *naaŋ* usually occurs immediately following the verb, although it can also occur following other elements at the end of the clause (example 126 below). I have categorized this particle as a marker of predicate focus, since in analyses of related languages an equivalent function is often attributed to particles with similar syntactic distribution and no other obvious semantic or grammatical meaning (N. Schaefer 1975, Kropp Dakubu 1995, 2005; Bodomo 1997). Focus on the predicate is usually taken to mean a somewhat emphatic assertion of the predicate. A more precise definition of the meaning carried by Safaliba focus markers is one of the critical components of this study, presented in chapter 3.

In this section are given only the basic co-occurrence restrictions for the predicate focus particle: the predicate focus marker and the subject focus marker cannot co-occur in the same sentence (cf. section 2.4.1.4.5), but apart from that there appear to be very few sentence-level restrictions on the presence of the predicate focus marker. It can occur in different syntactic positions: the more common is the postverbal position as in example (121) above, but it can occur at the end of the clause as in example (126) below. It can also occur with a wide variety of verb forms and particles. Below are examples of *naaŋ* following the static verb *be'* (127); *naaŋ* following regular verbs in both the imperfective (128) and perfective intransitive (129) aspects; and *naaŋ* following verbs with the negative preverbal particles *ba* (130) and (131), and *kʋ* (126). This last type of construction is not uncommon in Safaliba,

although in other languages negatives apparently have inherent focus, and do not occur

with such predicate focus markers (Marchese 1983).

(126) ...ŋ kʊ   vɛnɪ zaa **naaŋ**.
         1s NegFut allow all   **PredFoc**
       '...I will surely not leave him at all.' (Text 17:4)

(127) Bile sʊba   nu   ʊ mɪŋ be'   **naaŋ** Ŋsunua...
       small owner Spec 3s also be.at **PredFoc** Nsunua
       'Furthermore the younger one lived at Nsunua...' (Text 11:5)

(128) Ʊ tɔɔ-ra   **naaŋ** Sumaani nɪ   geni geni geni   nɪ.
       3s beat-Imperf **PredFoc** Sumaani Spec much much much Spec
       'He was beating Sumaani so badly.' (Text 2:38)

(129) ...ʊ le-ye   **naaŋ**   kaka...
         3s fall-PfIntr **PredFoc** like.this
       '...it had fallen down so (like this)...' (Text 1:81)

(130) ... chɛ ʊ ba haŋ tɔŋŋɪ **naaŋ**   dɔgɪ kɔmma geni...
         but 3s Neg had able   **PredFoc** bear   children much
       '...but he was just not able to beget many children...' (Text 6:7)

(131) ...tɪ ba vɛnɪ **naaŋ**   digi   ʊ waʊ   ŋaa yɪr-aa...
         1p Neg cause **PredFoc** drive.away 3s elephant this village-this
       '...(if) we don't surely cause to be driven away this his elephant from the
       village...'
       (Text 8:13)

2.4.3 Clause Syntax

Safaliba clauses can be grouped according to the type of verb used, whether the

verb is an ordinary active verb or whether it is stative. Clauses with active verbs can

combine in complex ways, while clauses with stative verbs have limited structural

possibilities (although clauses of either type can be embedded in the other). The active

clause involves an open class of verbs, most of which inflect fully for aspectual changes

and take a broad range of verb modifiers, including the TAMP preverbal particles, auxiliary verbs, and adverbs (section 2.4.2 above). In contrast, the stative clauses involve a closed class of verbs, and these tend to be more restricted in the types of verbal morphology and verbal modifiers they can carry; indeed these form a sort of cline from the most stative intransitive identificational constructions with no verbal morphology or modifiers, through presentational and identificational forms which can occur with some of the preverbal particles, up to the occupational identification construction which can take all verbal morphology and modifiers. The postverbal predicate focus particle (section 2.4.2.4 above) can occur in active clauses as well as in all but the most stative clauses, consistent with the lesser degree of "verbiness" already in evidence by the limitations on verbal morphology and modifiers seen there.

The structure of ordinary clauses (those with active verbs) will be summarized first.

2.4.3.1 Ordinary Clause Structure

As a brief glance at any of the texts in the corpus will confirm, complex and serial constructions are the rule rather than the exception, and uncomplicated simple clauses occur relatively rarely in normal language usage. However, the presentation here will begin with such uncomplicated structures as a foundation for the overview of complex clauses which follows. Even though a full analysis of syntactic structure would be desirable, it is beyond the scope of the present study. Safaliba is S-V-O in

simple clauses[55], but more complex patterns occur in complex clauses and various types of serial constructions. Examples (132) and (133) show verbs with only a single argument, the subject. Verbs are in bold, with arguments underlined.

(132) <u>ʊ</u> **gbisi-re** naaŋ.
     3s **sleep-Imperf** PredFoc
     S   V
     'She's sleeping.' (response to inquiry about baby)

(133) ...<u>baŋ</u> **cheŋ** bɛɛla...
      3sN **walk** a.little
      S   V   (adjunct)
     '...they walked a little...' (Text 12:24)

In (133) above, *bɛɛla* 'a little' is not part of the argument structure of the verb, but is an optional part or adjunct which can be added on to modify the predicate. Adjuncts commonly follow the final argument of the verb, as with the adverbs *bɛɛla* and *geni* 'much', as in example (134) below; other adjuncts showing time, location, and manner also commonly occur.

Examples (134), (135) and (136) are of verbs with two arguments, a subject and a direct object:

(134) <u>Ŋmaaŋa</u> **nɔŋŋi** <u>a daa</u> geni.
     Monkey **love** the tree much
     S   V   O   (adjunct)
     'Monkey loved the tree greatly.' (Text 26:2)

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[55] If analysis is limited to basic constructions, Safaliba phrase structure can be formalized in X-bar (P&P) Syntax by the following typical rules: XP -> Spec X', X' -> X' YP, X' -> X ZP. However, the Formal Syntax analysis will not be elaborated here.

(135) ...<u>Wɔfa</u> **yoogu-**<u>u</u> <u>foon</u>...
      <u>Uncle</u> **open** <u>3s</u> <u>phone</u>
       S   V   O
      '...Uncle brought out his phone...' (Text 15:24)

(136) <u>Ŋmaaŋa</u> **vugi-re** <u>dɛbɛŋ</u>...
      <u>Monkey</u> **fear-Imperf** <u>fear</u>
      S   V   O
      'Monkey was greatly afraid...' (Text 26:11)

     Examples (137), (138) (139) and (140) are of verbs with three arguments. Many verbs are able to take three arguments, a subject, an indirect object, and a direct object. In these constructions, it is more common to find the IO as a pronoun, and less common to find clauses where both objects are fully NPs. As pointed out by Bodomo (1997:105), in such double-object constructions the DO must be a full NP and cannot be a pronoun.

(137) ...<u>ŋ asʋba Bokoro</u> **haŋ tɔŋŋɪ wigilu-**<u>u</u> <u>dabɪ-lʋŋ</u>...
      <u>1s uncle Bokoro</u> **had able show** <u>-3s</u> <u>man-Nom</u>
       S   V   IO   DO
      '...my uncle Bokoro had been able to teach him bravery...' (Text 1:45)

(138) ká   <u>ʋ́</u> **kʋ-**<u>ʋ</u>   <u>ʋ zuguri ŋaa</u>
      that <u>3s</u> **give-**<u>3s</u> <u>3s forge</u> <u>this</u>
           S V IO   DO
      '...that he should lend him this his forge...' (Text 31:29)

(139) <u>Ba</u> **ba** **lɛ**   **chi'** <u>nʋŋ-kot-tu</u> <u>nʋ</u> <u>bʋlɛ</u> woo.
      <u>3s</u> **Neg again tell** <u>person-old-pl</u> <u>Spec</u> <u>thus</u> serious
      S   V   IO   DO
      'They didn't tell the elders this (and that's bad)!' (Text 1:58)

(140) Ka kà <u>ŋ</u> **koroŋ** **wigili** <u>pɔgɔ</u>   <u>ŋaa</u> <u>bʋnʋ nʋ haŋ na' fupin</u>...
      that if <u>1s</u> **formerly show** <u>woman this</u>   <u>thing Spec had it.is needle</u>
               S   V   IO   DO
      'If I had explained to this woman the thing called "needle"...' (Text 10:56)

122

In fact, it will be seen below in section 2.4.4.1 that it is more common to use a serial verb construction to express this type of situation.

As noted above, adjuncts (italicized) of various types commonly occur:

(141) ...boŋ wa' ʊŋ lɛ lɛɛbʊ kuse yʊrʊ *bɛbɛɛ-aa*?
     what come **2s** **again** **return** **go.home** <u>town</u> *morning-this*
                S   V   O   (adjunct: time)
     'What caused you to return to the village this morning?' (Text 1:11)

(142) ɩ́ **kɔtʊ**-<u>ma</u> *Alijima daarʊ.*
     2s **await**-<u>1s</u>-Impv *Friday day*
     S   V   O   (adjunct: time)
     'You should wait for me on Friday.' (Text 23:7)

2.4.3.2 Stative Clause Structures

Lɛ' is the most restrictive of the stative verbs, and could be described as a nominal predicator. It is commonly used for intransitive identification, and can be glossed 'it is'.

(143) Pɔgɔ ŋ **lɛ'**.
     woman Foc **it.is**
     'It is a girl.' (common response to question about the sex of one's baby)

In most contexts the noun phrase in this type of clause must occur with the subject focus marker *ŋ*, which is understandable because the noun phrase is the only real candidate for focus in such a construction. However there are constructions (in the text corpus) where certain other particles follow the noun and the *ŋ* is apparently unnecessary[56]:

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[56] It might be suggested that in these constructions the *ŋ* is present but phonologically "absorbed" into the word-final *ŋ* on the other particles. However, I reject this analysis since there is evidence against it: where sequences of a word-final *ŋ* followed by the predicate-focus *ŋ* do occur they are phonetically quite

(144)   ...bʊn-nɩ   haŋ **lɛ'**.
      thing-Spec had **it.is**
      '...that thing it had been.' (Text 10:33)

(145)   Sanya   mʊŋ **lɛ'**.
      blacksmith also **it.is**
      'Furthermore he was a blacksmith.' (Text 31:3)

Dagaare has a comparable construction, analyzed by Kropp Dakubu (2005:15) as a non-verbal identificational clause: for example, *Baa láʔ* 'It's a dog'. Since in Dagaare *láʔ* also occurs as a focusing particle[57] (Kropp Dakubu 2005, described as a factative particle in Bodomo 1997) and occurs in other syntactic contexts, in the construction above it is not analyzed as a verb but rather as another instantiation of the focus particle.

Safaliba *lɛ'* does not exhibit any typical verb morphology, is used only intransitively, and cannot be negated or take any of the other typical verb modifiers. But unlike Dagaare *láʔ*, it is formally distinct from other words[58] and its only function is as a nominal predicator. Since it occupies the same syntactic position as the other verbs, it seems simplest to classify it as a verb, albeit a marginal one in relation to morphology and modifiers.

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distinct, and in such cases the Safaliba language associates could easily detect their presence and ensure that they were transcribed correctly.

[57] In Dagaare and Farefare (Kropp Dakubu 1995, N. Schaefer 1975), the particle *la* is used in a variety of different contexts to indicate functions as diverse as coordination and definiteness (Kropp Dakubu 2000 gives a survey and analysis of some of the usages in Farefare). It seems likely that there are actually several different homophonous particles with the same phonological shape. Fortunately, Safaliba maintains formal distinctions among most of its particles, and perhaps the analysis presented here may suggest further possibilities for analysis in related languages.

Although Safaliba does not permit negation of *lɛ'*, there is a construction which can be used for negative identification, using the word **naanʊ**, which could be classified as a negative nominal predicator and may be glossed as 'it is not'. A construction with *naanʊ* can stand alone:

(146) Baa **naanʊ**.
       dog **it.is.not**
       'It is not a dog.

This type of construction also commonly occurs embedded within another clause (*naanʊ* in bold, negated NP underlined):

(147) kà ʊna ŋ be' kpɛɛnʊ, kà <u>ʊ</u> **naanʊ** ŋ be' kpɛɛnʊ, tʊ zaa kaa-ra.
       if 3sEm Foc be.at hard   if 3s **it.is.not** Foc live hard   1p all watch-Imperf
       '...if he is stronger, or if **it is not** <u>he</u> that is stronger, we will all be watching.'
       (Text 34:47)

(148) ...baŋ wa' asʊ yini ye' ká <u>bʊlɛ nʊ bana ŋ haŋ bʊl-la   nʊ</u>
        3sN come stand like say that thus Spec 3pEm Foc had speak-Imperf Spec

       naanʊ, ba kʊ   sagʊ maaŋ tɔɔrʊ nʊ.
       it.is.not   3s NegFut agree 1sEm own Spec

       '...they came and explained that **apart from** <u>what they had been saying [about wages]</u>, they would not agree for my own [farm to be cultivated].' (Text 16:6)

Dagaare (Kropp Dakubu 2005:14) has a similar sounding construction in the following example: *Dɛr naa nʊ kvɔra* 'Der is no farmer'; however in the Dagaare example the *naa nʊ* is analyzed as two separate words, the first being a negative copula

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[58] *Lɛ'* seems very unlikely to be related to *lɛ*, the preverbal particle meaning 'again', which is the only lexeme that it resembles. It does not resemble the Safaliba focus particles *ŋ* and *naaŋ*; and as seen above in most constructions with *lɛ'* the subject focus marker *ŋ* must appear to indicate focus on the subject.

(no gloss is given for the second). There may be no true relationship between the two, but the similarities do perhaps suggest a single diachronic source for both.

Na' 'this is' is the second stative verb; like *lɛ'* it does not exhibit typical verb morphology, nor does it take any of the usual verb modifiers. This verb is used for intransitive presentation (as a noun phrase predicator) as well as for identification (an identification copula). Like *lɛ'*, *na'* has counterparts in related languages, which are also often analyzed as something other than a verb. For example, Mampruli *ŋŋɔ* and *nla*, glossed as 'this' and 'that' respectively, follow a noun phrase forming a complete sentence identifying an unknown object; but instead of verbs these are classified as special demonstratives in Naden 1988:24. However, the arguments proposed above for the status of *lɛ'* as a verb may equally be applied to *na'*, and furthermore it may be recalled that the phonology and word structure constraints of Safaliba strongly favor an analysis where a word-initial syllabic *ŋ* is a separate morpheme, disfavoring the analysis of *ŋna'* as a unitary word form. Examples of *na'* usage follow:

(149) Pɔgɔ   ŋ   **na'**.
       woman Foc **this.is**
       'This is a woman.'

(150) ...Ŋmaaŋa ŋ   **na'**   da-dʊʋ-r-a...
        Monkey Foc **this.is** tree-climb-Nom-sg
       '...Monkey is a tree-climber...' (Text 28:17)

(151) Ba mɪŋ zaa nambagɪlɪ-ba ŋ   **na**-ba.
       3p also all   hunter-pl   Foc **this.is**-3p
       'Likewise for all of them, hunters is what they were.' (Text 1:5)

Some speakers substitute *lɛ'* as an identification copula instead of *na'*, although most older speakers consider this to be incorrect:

(152) ? Ŋmaaŋa ŋ **lɛ'** da-dʊʊ-r-a...
 Monkey Foc **this.is** tree-climb-Nom-sg
'Monkey is a tree-climber...'

The third stative verb is **be'** 'live, exist, be at'. It is more similar to regular active verbs in that it can take some of the modifying preverbal particles, such as *na* 'Future' and *lɛ* ' again', as well as the postverbal predicate focus particle *naaŋ*. Depending on usage this construction may be used for presentation, or may indicate existence, location, or description:

(153) Daba kpaŋ ŋ **be'** bee.
 man one Foc **live** there
'There lived a certain man.' (Text 6:1, Text 21:1)
(Often used at the beginning of a narrative.)

(154) Ʊ **be'** bee.
 3s **live** there
'He's [still] there.' (i.e. He's still alive, if someone asks.)

(155) Ʊ **be'** yɪrɪ.
 3s **live** town
'He is in town.' [He hasn't traveled elsewhere.]

(156) Ʊ **be'** wak-kʊ.
 3s **live** tall-sg
'He is [a] tall [person].'

Be' does not inflect for aspect and is never used without a complement. Like *lɛ'* and *na'* above, the verb *be'* cannot be directly negated, and like *lɛ'* it has a special

127

negative counterpart: the inherently negative verb ***chɛ'*** 'is not.' *Chɛ'* is used to indicate the negation of existence, location, or description; but unlike *be'*, *chɛ'* can also be used intransitively.

(157) Ʊ **chɛ'.**
  he **is.not**
  'He is not.' (He's not here, or he's dead.)

(158) Ʊ **chɛ'** bee.
  3s **is.not** there
  'He's not there.' (He's not around.)

(159) ...ʋ **chɛ'** dɛbɛŋ...
   3s is.not fear
  '...he is without fear...' (He's brave.) (Text 1:57)

Kropp Dakubu (2005:14-15) shows that Dagaare has a similar verb used for location (*be*, *bee*, or *bibe* 'exist in a place'); however, it can be negated with preverbal markers like regular verbs: *Ba bibeŋ* 'They are <u>here</u>.'; *Ba da ba bee <u>chɛ</u>* 'They were not <u>there</u>.'

  The final verb in the stative category is the verb ***ɛ'*** 'do'. This verb displays all the morphology and takes all the particles seen with the ordinary active verb. *ɛ'* in its basic form is used for identification, in contexts where the identifying category is something like an occupation; in these cases the predicate focus particle usually follows:

(160) ...maaŋ **ɛ'** naaŋ daa-zu' bʋnʋ...
  1sEm **do** PredFoc tree-head thing
  '...I am a tree-top thing....' (Text 26:9)

(161) A zɪŋ-fʊ mɪŋ ɛ' naaŋ   pɛɛtɪrɪ.
     the fish-sg. also **do** PredFoc Peetiri
     'The fish was furthermore a Peetiri [species].' (Text 35:11)

(162) Ʊ ɛ' naaŋ   yini ye' bɪlɛ ɪ haŋ nya' yɛla haŋ pakɪ nɛr-a.
     3s **do** PredFoc like say thus 2s had see matter had cover person-sg.
     'It is like something you have seen that happened to a person.' (Text 1:2)

However it can also be used with a more literal meaning of the word 'do':

(163) ...ʊ ba baŋŋɪ bɪlɛ nɪ zaa ʊ haŋ na ɛ' nya' dii-bu   a di'.
      3s Neg know thus Spec all 3s had Fut **do** see eat-Nom and eat
     'He did not know what he would do to find food and eat it.' (Text 30:4)

2.4.4 Serial Verbs and Other Complex Constructions

        Serial verb constructions (SVCs) are common in many African languages, and
all languages have complex ways of combining single clauses into what are usually
called sentences[59]. The various sentence-structuring conventions in Safaliba have a
direct effect on the types of surface structure resources used to keep track of referents in
discourse. Some constructions are valid only when the referent conveyed by the subject
remains the same; other constructions are used specifically when the subject referent is
different; in some constructions, certain types of pronouns may be required and other
types not permitted. For these and other reasons, it is necessary to present an overview
of these types of syntactic constructions.

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[59] Or, in some languages, the paragraph serves as the next unit above the clause.

2.4.4.1 Serial Verb Constructions

Bamgboṣe 1982:4 categorizes SVCs into four major groups: the Coordinate or linking SVC, the Modifying SVC, the Purpose SVC, and the Complex Verb SVC. He further cautions that there is disagreement as to whether each type is a true SVC or should be analyzed as a different type of structure. However, this four-way categorization seems appropriate to the type of summary attempted here, since examples of each category[60] can be found in Safaliba.

"In a coordinate SVC, each verb has the same meaning as it would have had in a simplex sentence" (Bamgboṣe 1982:5), and as will be seen below the type of conjoining relation expressed by this type of SVC can also be communicated with a fuller variant where the verbs are separated into separate clauses joined by the conjunction *a* ' and'. In the example below (164), *kʊ́ʹ* 'kill' and *sɔsɪ* 'ask' are conjoined within an SVC[61], while in (175) in section 2.4.4.2 below the same two verbs appear in two separate clauses conjoined by *a*.

(164) ...ka bá kaa,   a **kʊ́ʹ**   nɔɔsɪ **sɔsɪ**   Naaŋmɪnnɪ...
      that 3p look-Impv and **kill-Impv** fowls **ask-Impv** God
     '...that they should divine, and **kill fowls and ask God**...' (Text 1:13)

In contrast to the above type, the Modifying SVC does not preserve the complete meaning of both verbs: here, one verb modifies the other and does not have

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[60] Variations on the Coordinate and Purpose SVCs are the most common type which occur in the Safaliba corpus, and examples of Modifying and Complex types were less easy to find; however these last two types of SVC are heard with some regularity in the spoken language and will be assumed to be valid here.

the full meaning it would have in a simplex sentence. In example (165), the verb *kʋ′* 'give' modifies the verb *sɔrɪ* 'count', but in the SVC *kʋ′* now means 'for, on someone's behalf', and no longer carries the meaning 'give'. This type of construction seems to be the main form for benefactive-type pronouns:

(165) ...ɪ kʋŋ wa' **sɔra-a kʋ-ma**?
     2s NegFut come **count-3pnh give-1s**
     '...won't you **count them for me**?' (Text 29:15)

In the Purpose SVC, the underlying relation between the verbs is different yet again, involving a situation where the effect of the construction is to introduce an idea of purpose. This type of SVC can be compared to a clause with an embedded complement clause expressing purpose (which can be substituted for it with little apparent difference in meaning), but in the SVC the typical complementizer does not appear, nor is the second verb a full clause. In Safaliba, this construction seems to occur only with the *na* 'Fut' particle before the second verb, which is compatible with the purpose idea.

(166) ...chɛ a sɛʋ **woo-re na yemini** tɪ zaa.
     but the wind **want-Imperf Fut carry.away** 1p all
     '...but the wind was **wanting to carry** us all away.' (Text 39:3)

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[61] In Bamgboṣe's Coordinate SVC, the two verbs share an overt subject and have no overt conjunction; however, one or both may have an object (cf. Bamgboṣe 1982:4, example 1b), so that the object of the first verb may occur between the two verbs, as in the Safaliba examples (164) and (165).

In the fourth type, the Complex SVC, there is a fixed collocation of certain verbs (or idiom) which taken together have a meaning quite different from either of the verbs taken singly:

(167) Chɛ kà ya maŋ sɔsɪ-ra   Ŋmɪnnɪ, yá maŋ **sagɪ di'**, chɛ ka
       but   if 2p Hab beg-Imperf God   2p Hab **agree eat** but then

       yá ta   lɛ   baala.
       2p NegImp again doubt

       'But if you are praying to God, you should *agree that it is so* (=*believe*), but no longer doubt.' (James 1:6, translated by A. Mbatumwini)

Kropp Dakubu develops further the analysis of SVC, proposing that "the SVC is not an autonomously definable syntactic phenomenon, but a range of syntactic constraints on a speaker's freedom *not* to express arguments and features that have been previously expressed" (2003:32). She further specifies that the verbs in a SVC must display the first, and likely the rest, of the following qualities: the same subject, the same tense, aspect, modality, and polarity features, and non-repetition of coreferent objects. Furthermore, these qualities are prototypically marked on the first verb only, and the objects are limited either to one per verb or one of each thematic type (Agent, Patient, Theme, or Goal). This proposal provides some helpful parameters[62] for distinguishing SVCs from other similar structures, and for understanding some of the possible motivations for their presence alongside more expanded but semantically equivalent structures.

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[62] Bodomo 2002:33 includes similar parameters, with the addition of a constraint on connectors between the verbs in an SVC.

For example, the consideration of thematic or case roles (as noted by Kropp Dakubu above, see also Naden 1988:23-24) explains the preference for an SVC over the S V IO DO construction (double object) construction. As noted above, the following double-object construction is permitted in Safaliba:

(168) ...ká ʋ́   kʋ -ʋ   ʋ zuguri ŋaa
        that 3s   give -3s   3s forge   this
              S [Ag.]   V   IO [Goal]   DO [Theme]
        '...that he should lend him this his forge...' (Text 31:29)

In such constructions the IO (Goal) is usually a pronoun, and it is very rare to find both objects in full NP form. Bodomo (1997:105) points out that in the equivalent structure in Dagaare, the direct object is prohibited from being a pronoun; and this appears to be the case in Safaliba as well. Both of these potential difficulties are avoided by the use of the SVC type of construction, where each object is attached to a single verb, in conformity with Kropp Dakubu's (2003) proposal. An example of such a construction can be seen below (169). This is by far the more common way in Safaliba to express transferal of a theme from an agent to a goal. As might be expected, empirical study has shown that across Africa "[s]erializing languages tend to code events involving three participants by means of combinations of two verbs..." (Creissels et al. 2008:98).

(169) Baŋ   dɪ' a pɔgɔ kʋ' Darɪ.
        3sN   take the woman give Spider
        S [agent]   V   DO [theme] V   IO [goal]
        'They gave Spider the woman.' (Text 27:21)

One form of SVC which seems a bit different from any of these is the SVOV

construction below, in what could be considered a type of Modifying SVC with a single

object. In this case, the two verbs share both the subject and the object, but the object

comes between the two verbs, as in the following two somewhat parallel examples:

(170) ...yoome toko   nɪ anuu, ka ʋ   ba tɔŋŋa -a   na nyɔgɪ.
         years   twenty and five   then 3s   Neg able -them Fut catch
                                      S[Ag.]   V   O[Pat.]   V
       '...for 25 years, he was unable to catch them.' (Text 34:6)

(171) Kà ŋ ba dɪ' hakɪla, ŋ   kʋ   tɔŋŋɪ bʋnsa -a   nyɔgɪ.
       if 1s Neg pick wisdom 1s   NegFut able   things -these catch
                                    S[Ag.]   V   O [Pat.]   V
       'If I don't use cunning, I'll not be able to catch these things.' (Text 34:13)

In this example the verb *tɔŋŋɪ* occurs serially with a second verb, and in such contexts it

may be glossed 'able to do'. However, *tɔŋŋɪ* may also occur unaccompanied as a single

verb in a clause, though this is less common. In such contexts it can be glossed

'overcome, subjugate'. Verbs such as *tɔŋŋɪ* which occur more frequently in SVCs than

singly are worthy of further research.

2.4.4.2 Coordinate Clauses

Whether a clause in Safaliba has a single verb or an SVC, it may relate to other

clauses in several different ways. Conjoined clauses with the same subject often use the

conjunction *a* 'and', which in many instances encodes an underlying temporal

succession notion (cf. Longacre 1985:244). A distinctive aspect of this conjunction is

134

the requirement that when clauses are joined by *a*, only the first may have an overt subject.

(172) ...*ʋ* **maŋ** **wo'** bugun-saala ŋaa **a** **Ø** **wo'** kaaŋ iŋŋa-a **a** **Ø**
      3s Hab **seek** fire-black   this **and** **Ø** **seek** oil   put.in-3pnh **and** **Ø**

     nɛɛma-a   **a**   **Ø** **sɛ'** ʋ bɔtɔ-sɪ tagɪta ŋaa **a** **Ø** **yarɪ,** **a** **Ø** **dɪgɪ** ʋ
     grind-3pnh **and** **Ø** **sew** 3s sack-pl shirt   this **and** **Ø** **wear** **and** **Ø** **pick** 3s

     guli   nɪ ʋ soye **a** **Ø** **yi',**   **a** **Ø** **vugisi-re**   nɪrɪ-ba.
     cudgel and 3s knife **and** **Ø** **go.out** **and** **Ø** **frighten-Imperf** person-pl

'...he used to look for charcoal and add oil to it, and grind it together, and sew his sack-cloth shirt, and wear it, and pick up his cudgel and his knife and go out, and be frightening people.' (Text 6:28)

In this example, note also that although some of the verbs in the series have no other TAMP marking, they seem to inherit the habitual aspect of the first verb (particle underlined) but are not so specified; this applies even to the final verb, which is different in this particular sentence because it is further marked for the imperfective aspect. Generally speaking, it appears that chains of clauses conjoined by the conjunction *a* 'and' may display this property, that subsequent clauses may inherit the aspectual distinction marked on the verb of the initial clause, even where it is not directly marked on the subsequent verbs. In addition to the habitual aspect marker *maŋ* above, this process seems to occur commonly with some of the tense-marking preverbal particles, as in the examples below:

(173) A yɛla, ʋ **haŋ** tɛbʋ-ʋ   **a** **Ø** **ye'** ʋ viibu-u   basɪ
     the matters 3s **did** **puncture**-3s and **Ø** **say** 3s turn.with.force-3s throw

nɪɪ, ʋŋ pʋlɪ gannɪ nɪɪ.
Spec 3sN tear skin Spec

'So, it had punctured him intending to toss him [with its horns], it tore the skin.'
(Text 1:88)

(174) Anabi Mohammed **koroŋ** **bʋl-la** naaŋ tɪ-maalɪba yɛla,
Prophet Mohammed **long.ago** **speak-Imperf** PredFoc idol-maker matters

a Ø lɛ **tʋʋ-rɪ**-ba **a** Ø **ŋmaa-ra** ba tɪfʋrʋ...
and Ø again **insult-Imperf**-3p **and** Ø **destroy-Imperf** 3p idols

'Long ago, Prophet Mohammed was certainly speaking (against) the idol-makers' activities, and also insulting them and destroying their idols....' (Text 5:24)

This appears not to be the case with other verbal modifiers, however, as other examples indicate that verbs in such subsequent constructions often cannot be understood as inheriting the features marked on the initial verb. This and related constructions are discussed further in section 4.2.3.3.

As noted above with respect to example (164), the conjoining relations expressed by the coordinate type of SVC can usually be expressed by a sentence composed of coordinate clauses connected by *a*, with almost equivalent meaning:

(175) ...ka bá kʋ́' nɔɔsɪ **a** sɔsɪ Naaŋmɪnnɪ...
    that 3p kill-Impv fowls **and** ask-Impv God
'...that they should kill fowls (= divine) and ask God...' (Text 1:9)

Ka may be used to conjoin two clauses with either coreferential or non-coreferential subjects; furthermore, both subjects must be overt. This contrasts with *a*, where all but the initial clause must not have an overt subject, and which may not be

used to conjoin two clauses which do not have the same subject. In various contexts *ka* may be glossed as 'and' but often has a slightly different meaning, more like 'then', 'since', or 'that' (perhaps some type of temporal notion).

Though I have not studied it exhaustively, *ka* appears to have an underlying L (low) tone, as seen in example (66) with the pitch trace graph in section 2.3.2 (however, it is possible that the tone is not invariable). *Ka* is written without a tone diacritic in the orthography. This spelling distinguishes it from two other words which are otherwise segmentally identical[63], but for whose tonal and syntactic distinctiveness there is considerably more evidence: *ká* which is a complementizer or speech attribution particle, and which always has H (high) tone[64]; and *kà* which is a marker of hypotheticality used with a temporal dependent clause at the left sentence margin, and which always has L (low) tone (both of these are discussed below in the following sections).

As is noted below in section 4.1.2.2, a clause following a *ka* is normally understood as expressing some category of information which is off of the narrative storyline. This observation may provide support for the idea that the relation encoded by this conjunction is not purely a conjoining relation, but includes some notion of temporality or implication (cf. Longacre 1985), as suggested above by the possible

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[63] The conjoining *ka* and its near-homophones should be the subject of more in-depth study: a more complete analysis might elucidate the possibilities for the comparable conjunctions in Dagaare, which, though analyzed clearly and in considerable detail in Kropp Dakubu 2005, still exhibit intriguing variation in usage (cf. Bodomo 1997 for a less detailed but somewhat different analysis).
[64] Sometimes this seems to be heard as "extra high", though probably the higher pitch is due to a re-setting upward of the downdrifted High-tone pitch due to the clause boundary.

glosses for this particle. If this is so, clauses with *ka* might be better classified as subordinate. Examples of clauses joined with *ka* are given below:

(176) Ʋ_i haŋ tɪ' ta', **ka** ʋ_j be' ʋ_j po', ʋŋ_i ye' ká bá gaŋŋɪ.
 3s had go reach **and** 3s be.at 3s farm 3sN say that 3p pass-Impv
 'He (Bok.) reached there, *and since* he (Abu.) was at his farm; he (Bok.) said that they should pass by.' (Text 1:18)

(177) Baŋ tɪ' nya' a bampɛ baʋ, **ka** ʋ haŋ tu-ro-o...
 3pN go see the leopard trail **and** 3s did follow-Imperf-3s
 'They finally found the leopard's trail, *and then* he was following it...' (Text 1:24)

(178) Ká ʋ_i yi' naaŋ yɪrɪ kenne a wa' toosi Waayo
 that 3s go.out PredFoc village come.Imperf and come meet Waayo

 ka ʋ_j kuse.
 and 3s go.home

 'That he left the town and was coming and he met Waayo *and at that point* he (Waayo) was returning home.' (Text 1:37)

The conjunction *chɛ* [65] marks a degree of contrast between clauses, sometimes as strong as English 'but', but often less so. *Chɛ* is used when presenting alternatives or unexpected contrasts, and also perhaps (as in example 179) for indicating tension in a situation. Unlike *a*, which conjoins only clauses with the same subject, *chɛ* can join clauses with the same or different subjects. In general, if the subject is the same as in examples (179) and (180), then no overt subject appears in the second clause. If the

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[65] This conjunction is distinct from its near-homophones, in that it is not pronounced with a final glottal stop, whereas the negative stative verb *chɛ'*, and the homophonous active verb *chɛ'* 'cut, sing, roar', are both pronounced with a final glottal stop in some contexts (and are always written with it in the orthography).

subject is different, as in example (181), or if the second clause is negated as in example

(182), then the overt subject is used in the second clause.

(179) Baŋ tɪ' chɔɔsɪ naa, **chɛ** zɪnɪ "pɪrɪp."
3pN go morning.greet chief **and** sit packed.tightly
'They went and greeted the chief, *and immediately* sat down tightly together.'
(Text 8:25)

(180) Baŋ haŋ ba tʊn-na tʊm-a zaa, **chɛ** wa' ta' kɔm-pɔl-a...
3pN did Neg work-Imperf work-sg all **and** come reach child-grown-pl
'They did no work at all, *until* they reached the age of young adulthood...' (Text 4:9)

(181) Ʊ nyɛ-ga asɪ zɛ' **chɛ** ʊ vaa-rʊ mɪŋ lɛ tɪ' fɛɛgɪ teŋ-ŋe.
3s root-sg stand here **and** 3s leaf-pl also again go touch ground-sg
'Its roots stood here and its leaves also finally touched the ground [here].' (Text 1:82)

(182) Ʊ so-ye, **chɛ** ʊ ba haŋ tɔŋŋɪ naaŋ dɔgɪ kɔmma geni.
3s own-PfIntr **but** 3s Neg had able PredFoc bear children much
'He was very rich, *but* he was never able to produce many children.' (Text 6:7)

2.4.4.3 Adverbial, Complement, and Relative Clauses

Adverbial conditional clauses in Safaliba can be unambiguously indicated by

the use of the particle *kà* 'if':

(183) ...**kà** <u>ʊ haŋ isigi zi-aa</u>, ya na va' naaŋ taa a le'.
if <u>3s had get.up place-this</u> 2p Fut hit PredFoc other and fall
'...**if** <u>he (the buffalo) should emerge right here</u>, you will run into one another and
fall down (trying to escape).' (Text 1:77)

Note particularly here that *haŋ* 'previously' or 'had done X', occurs in the adverbial

clause; however, the categorization of the clause as "conditional" is due to the presence

of the *kà*, and the *haŋ*, as analyzed above, is an indicator of some less-specific kind of temporal or contingent relation with the main clause. This is further discussed below.

Clausal complements of the verbs *ye'* 'say', *chi'* 'tell', and *woore*[66] 'want' are usually marked with the particle *ká*; and even when one of these verbs is not overtly present, both direct and indirect attributed speech are still introduced with this particle.

(184) Ŋ maa ye' **ká,** "Ai,   ι haŋ zaaŋ   wa' zee ŋaa...
       1s mother say **that** expletive 2s had yesterday come place this
       'My mother said, "Yesterday you came here...' (Text 6:52)

(185) Ʊŋ_i ye' **ká,** ŋ_j asʊba Abulai ŋ   tʊmʊ-ʊ_i...
       3sN say **that** 1s uncle Abulai Foc send-him
       'He (Waayo) said, it was my (narrator's) uncle Abulai who sent him (Waayo)...'
       (Text 1:12)

(186) Ʊŋ wa' tʊŋ bee yι-rι,   **ká** ʊ́ wa' chi'   nιŋ-kot-tu **yini**
       3sN come send child village-sg **that** 3s come tell-Impv person-old-pl **like**

       ba bɛrιga nyɔgι bampɛ...
       3p trap-sg catch leopard

       'He sent a boy to the village, [saying] that he should tell the elders their trap has caught a leopard...' (Text 1:9)

Note further in example (186) that sometimes the word *yini* 'like' is also used for speech attribution, usually for indirect speech.

Relative clauses occur in Safaliba, but without a marker specific to the construction. However, what occurs is plainly a clause modifying a noun, so I have classified these structures as relative clauses. The particles that mark the structure boundaries are not limited to a relativizing role, and it appears that perhaps they may

not be strictly necessary at all (this would closely parallel what is described for Dagaare in Kropp Dakubu 2005:27-28). Often the noun to be modified and the modifying clause are each followed by the specifier *nʋ*, but this appears to be optional. The relative clause, which usually has the preverbal particle *haŋ* as one of the verb modifiers, follows immediately after the noun to be modified (or the *nʋ* which follows it).

Nouns in various syntactic positions can be modified by a relative clause. Within the modifying clause, there is a gap at the position of the noun being modified. In the corpus, examples are found showing that this gap can occur in either the subject or the object position in the modifying clause; and in example (189) it is the location adjunct which is left out. If the gap occurs in the subject, the *haŋ* of the modifying clause follows immediately after the modified noun (or more specifically, the *nʋ* which usually follows the noun in such cases). In the examples below, the noun phrase being modified is in bold, the relative clause is underlined, and the gap is marked with Ø.

(187) **Bɛtʋ bɪlɛ sɔŋgɔ nʋ** <u>ba haŋ na di' Ø bee</u> wa' ta'...
       day-pl so   end   Spec <u>3p did Fut eat   there</u> come reach
          S   (S   V O Loc) V   O
       'These days' end which they were to spend there arrived...' (Text 11:4)
       (Matrix subject modified, interior object gapped)

(188) ...ʋna na wa' ka ʋ wa' wo' **nɪra nʋ** <u>Ø haŋ kʋ́' ʋ maa.</u>
        3sEm Fut come so 3s come seek **person Spec** <u>   did kill 3s mother</u>
                           S   V   O   (S   V   O)
       '...she will come and start seeking the person who killed her mother' (Text 10:6)
       (Matrix object modified, interior subject gapped)

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[66] *Woore*, in the imperfective, has the meaning of 'want' and can take a clausal complement; in the unmarked aspect *wo'* has the meaning of 'seek' and cannot take a clausal complement.

(189) ...ka   ba ta'   **a naafʋ zee nɪɩ**   <u>ba haŋ ŋmɛ-ʋ Ø nɪɩ</u>...
      then 3p reach **the cow   place Spec** <u>3p had hit-3s   Spec</u>
            S   V   O   (S   V   O Loc)
'...then they reached the cow's place (where) they had shot it' (Text 1:72)
(Matrix subject modified, interior location adjunct gapped)

(190) ...**bʋn-zaa_i**   <u>ba haŋ kɔ' Ø po'</u>,   ʋ naa   tɪ' saann-**aa**_i.
      thing-all   <u>3p did hoe   farm</u>   3s intend go spoil-**3pnh**
      Topic [O]   (S   V   O Loc)   S   V   O
'...everything they had cultivated at farm, he intentionally went and spoiled
them.' (Text 8:9)
(Topicalized matrix object modified, interior object gapped)

(191) Ka kà ŋ koroŋ   wigili pɔgɔ   ŋaa **bʋnʋ nɪɩ**   <u>Ø haŋ na' fupin</u>...
      that if 1s formerly show   woman this **thing Spec**   <u>had it.is needle</u>
            S   V   IO   DO   (S   V   O)
'If I had explained to this woman the thing called "needle"...' (Text 10:56)
(Matrix direct object modified, interior subject gapped)

Note further that example (190) above is an example of topicalization (not otherwise discussed in this study). Here, the noun modified by the relative clause is topicalized by being brought forward to the beginning of the sentence; its original position (or trace) in the matrix clause is marked with a pronoun. This type of fronting (for topicalization) is a different construction than the fronting construction (to indicate object or location focus) described in section 3.1, which does not leave a trace.

2.4.4.4 Juxtaposition of Clauses

In addition to those structures described in section 2.4.4.3 above, other sentence constructions can occur which at first glance appear to convey a conditional relationship between clauses. The particle *haŋ* occurs in a high proportion of these clauses[67],

___
[67] In a previous analysis (Schaefer and Schaefer 2004) I had glossed *haŋ* as a marker of conditionality. However, *haŋ* also occurs quite commonly in contexts where it is difficult or impossible to admit to a

apparently with a basic temporal meaning which can be rendered as "previously". However, in many complex sentences where *haŋ* appears in an initial clause, the overall effect is often that the clause with *haŋ* appears to be subordinate to the main clause. Consideration of the range of possibilities in other languages is helpful in resolving this problem.

Kropp Dakubu 2005:29 states that in Dagaare "a subordinate clause...can precede the principal clause with no conjunction...[and]...is generally interpreted as a temporal clause, 'when', especially if it refers to past time." Although the example given for this construction does not contain any equivalent to the Safaliba *haŋ*, it does appear that in Dagaare at least a conditional subordinate clause can be constructed without an overt conjunction[68]. This would appear to be a case of what Thompson and Longacre describe as a function of juxtaposition and surface coordination in some languages: either can be used as a means of signaling the type of relationship which is otherwise commonly indicated by the presence of an adverbial subordinate clause (1985: 174).

In fact, in Safaliba there may be more than one type of clause relationship signaled without an overt indicator of subordination. This appears to hold true for clauses occurring before as well as after the main clause. In the following examples,

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'conditional' interpretation; in these cases it rather seems to convey a kind of temporal relationship. For this reason, I have concluded that in Safaliba *haŋ* is not as a conditional clause marker but is yet another operator among the TAMP particles on the verb, as described above in section 2.4.2.1.

[68] However, it should be noted that Kropp Dakubu suggests that such clauses in Dagaare seem to be marked distinctively by a low tone at the end of the clause.

the main clause is bolded, while the clauses which appear to be temporally contingent

(but are otherwise not specifically marked as subordinate) are underlined:

(192) Ʊ haŋ wa' duu   kubi-ri nʊ,   ʊŋ yallɪ, ka kɔŋ haŋ kpɛɛra
      3s had come scrape rock-sg Spec **3sN split**   and water did enter-Imperf

      arɪgʊŋ nʊ poo.
      canoe   Spec stomach

      '(When) it (the canoe) had scraped over the rock, it split, and (then) water began
      entering inside the canoe.' (Text 11:14)

(193) Ʊ haŋ tɪ' ta'   ka ʊ be' ʊ po',   ʊŋ ye' ká bá gaŋŋɪ.
      1s had go reach and 3s be.at 3s farm **3sN say that 3p pass.by-Impv**
      '(When) he (Bokoro) had reached (there) and (since) he (Abulai) was at his
      farm, he (B.) said they should pass by.' (Text 1:18)

Note particularly that in the second example above (193), there are two temporally

contingent clauses that come before the main clause; and in both of the examples, it

appears that *haŋ*, *ka* or both may appear in such a clause and help to facilitate this

interpretation.

    In juxtaposed clauses where there is no marker to indicate the type of

relationship between the two clauses, the type of pitch-level resetting detectable in

spoken language that occurs at the clause boundaries appears to reduce or eliminate

ambiguity. An impressionistic description is that the relative pitch of a dependent

clause is kept higher: in a second dependent clause following a dependent clause, the

first H tone will have a pitch almost as high as the first H tone of the previous clause,

eliminating the relative pitch drop due to automatic downstep over the length of the first

clause; while an independent clause's intonation is allowed to continue dropping by automatic downstep. Something similar occurs in reported speech: the high tone *ká* that introduces speech is often spoken at a higher pitch than the initial H of the matrix clause, and it appears that downstep in the speech reported therein takes the H tone of the *ká* as its starting point.

2.4.5 Implications

Many aspects of the syntax discussed in section 2.4 can have an effect on the pronominal reference patterns which are the focus of this study. First of all, the description of noun phrase structure shows what language resources exist for use in referent tracking in text. Secondly, the description of the verb and its modifiers illustrates how tense, aspect, modality, and polarity are conveyed, which is important for understanding both clause and discourse structure. Thirdly, the possible occurrence in a given clause of either the subject focus or the predicate focus marker (or perhaps neither, but not both) is key to the analysis of focus and its relationship to the focus pronouns which are the object of this research. Finally, the possible syntactic structures, serial verb constructions (SVCs), and the possible relationships between clauses are all critical to an analysis of the discourse structure and the patterns of reference within it.

CHAPTER 3

FOCUS, PRONOUNS, AND SYNTACTIC RESTRICTIONS

In this chapter I begin my main analysis of the meaning and function of the N-pronoun set in Safaliba narrative discourse. All of the topics discussed in this chapter and the next are interdependent to some extent, but I have ordered them according to the degree of greatest dependency of one section on the other. The broad syntax overview in the previous chapter was a necessary preliminary to the more narrow areas of investigation here and in chapter 4. Likewise the first section of this chapter, on focus, provides additional necessary background for a closer look at the pronoun system in the second section. These topics supply part of the necessary background and motivation for chapter 4. Here the first section describes storyline distinctions and narrative structure conventions in Safaliba, both of which are necessary preliminaries for the second section, which presents an analysis of participant reference in narrative and leads naturally to the final part of the chapter, an assessment of the degree to which the research questions have been answered.

Analysis of each of these single topics could of course be developed to a much higher degree, were that the main aim of the research. In this study, however, each topic is developed only to the extent necessary to shed critical light on the main research questions (presented near the end of section 1.2.3). Thus the analyses

presented here of focus, pronoun usage, discourse structure and participant reference in Safaliba are not each developed to the same degree.

In section 3.1, I look at ways the pragmatic category of focus is manifested in Safaliba, particularly the subject marker ŋ and its relationship to other indicators of focus, because of its hypothetical relationship with the N-pronoun set. I show that the scope of focus determines the marking strategy used, and that the different categories of focus marking cannot co-occur within the same clause.

In section 3.2, I consider the usages of the N-pronoun set as compared to those of the other pronoun sets. I discuss the basic usage restrictions of these pronouns in elicited examples, and their more complex distributional patterns in the text corpus. Armed with these syntactic regularities, I make an initial assessment of the degree to which pragmatic focus can be regarded as part of the contemporary meaning of the N-pronoun, and conclude that focus as such does not appear to be the salient feature involved. At this point the analysis cannot be totally conclusive, as the evidence suggests even more strongly the necessity of considering the larger discourse context in which the N-pronoun appears.

3.1 Focus Markings and Constructions in Safaliba

As noted in the introduction, for analysis of the Safaliba data I assume that focus must be defined not simply as new or asserted information, but "that information which is relatively the most important or salient in the given communicative setting, and is considered by S[peaker] to be most essential for A[ddressee] to integrate into his

pragmatic information" (Dik 1997a:326). Cross-linguistically, focus has no necessary connection with prosodic prominence, though this is a common means of expressing this function in many languages (Dik 1997a:327). In Safaliba it appears that focus is grammaticalized, being indicated by the presence of certain particles or by specific syntactic constructions.

Furthermore, a more precise understanding of focus in a given context may be arrived at by considering its **scope** and **communicative point**. The scope may be either the **grammatical operators** such as tense, aspect, modality, polarity; the **predicate** itself; or the **terms** of the predicate (either the subject or other terms). The communicative point may involve the correction of an **information gap**, which may exist either on the part of the speaker, categorized as **questioning** focus, or on the part of the addressee, categorized as **completive**, or "new," focus. More commonly, however, the communicative point is a matter of **contrast**, and the following are suggested as subtypes of this category: **rejecting**, **replacing**, **expanding**, **restricting**, or **selecting** focus (Dik 1997a:331).

The definition of focus as that which is most salient or important, the attention to scope, and the suggestions for communicative point have all proven to be directly applicable to the Safaliba data. I begin with a set of elicited sentence variants, based on sentence 13 of Text 26.

3.1.1 Scope and Communicative Point in Elicited Examples

Three constructed examples are presented below: the first has no part marked for focus, while the two which follow it have a marker following the subject and the verb, respectively. In these last two cases, the glosses given by the language associates suggest that the presence of these markers communicates an additional sense of saliency or importance about the item so marked, corresponding with Dik's definition of focus given above.

In the quasi-context provided by the text containing the original form of the sentence, applying focus-marking to the subject suggests that "Crocodile, and not somebody else" is doing the action, and applying focus-marking to the predicate suggests that Crocodile is "with some purpose" sending Monkey away. Note further that these two focus markers align perfectly with two of Dik's categories of focus scope, and that furthermore, the meaning change introduced by the presence of the focus particle is well-expressed by one of Dik's categories of communicative point.

(194) *Unmarked focus*
A yala Dɔŋkɪŋ wɛɛrɪnɪ Ŋmaaŋa bee ka ʊ naa tɪˈ kʊˈ ba naa.
the matter Crocodile send   Monkey   there then 3s intend go give 3p chief
'So, Crocodile is sending Monkey there, intending to give him to their chief [to eat as medicine].'

(195) *Subject focus: Selecting*
A yala Dɔŋkɪŋ   ŋ wɛɛrɪnɪ Ŋmaaŋa bee ka ʊ naa tɪˈ kʊˈ ba naa.
the matter Crocodile **Foc** send   Monkey   there then 3s intend go give 3p chief
'So, it is Crocodile (and not somebody else) who is sending Monkey there, intending to give him to their chief [to eat as medicine].'

(196)   *Predicate focus: Completive*
    A yala Dɔŋkɩŋ wɛɛrɩnɩ **naaŋ** Ŋmaaŋa bee ka ʋ naa tɩ'
    the matter Crocodile send   **PredFoc** Monkey there then 3s intend go

    kʋ' ba naa.
    give 3p chief

    'So, Crocodile is (surely, with some purpose) sending Monkey there, intending
    to give him to their chief [to eat as medicine].'

Furthermore, it can be seen in the next example below that the two markers in question may not co-occur in one sentence. This restriction on the co-occurrence of these markers in the same clause lends support to the hypothesis that both are expressions of the same pragmatic category, focus, since according to the common understanding of focus there should be only one point of focus within a single clause.

(197)   *Combine subject focus with predicate focus?*
    *A yala Dɔŋkɩŋ **ŋ** wɛɛrɩnɩ **naaŋ** Ŋmaaŋa bee ka ʋ naa tɩ'
    the matter Crocodile **Foc** send   **PredFoc** Monkey there then 3s intend go

    kʋ' ba naa.
    give 3p chief

The manifestation of focus in the examples above is described in the literature on African languages as *in-situ*: the item in focus remains in its typical place, and the focus is indicated by a marker. This type of focus construction is contrasted with the *ex-situ* manifestation of focus, where the item in focus is put in a different position in the clause, perhaps without any marker at all (Aboh, Hartmann and Zimmerman 2007:5-6). It is reasonable to ask whether any *ex-situ* focus constructions exist in Safaliba, especially considering Kropp Dakubu's (2005:20-21) description of

150

movement-based "narrow focus" in Dagaare, where elements of the clause which do not take a focus-marking morpheme (including specifically objects and locations) are put at the front of the clause to indicate focus.

In fact, in both the Safaliba text corpus and the elicited sentences there are many examples of location fronting, and also some of object fronting, in a particular type of construction which seems to be a good candidate for *ex-situ* focus.

For example, in another elicited variant of the sentences used above, the location *bee* 'there' is brought to the front of the clause. As with the application of the subject and predicate focus markers to their particular elements, fronting of an object or location conveys an additional salience or importance to that element. This suggests that in Safaliba the fronting of locations or objects in this type of construction is an *ex-situ* manifestation of focus on these elements, which are not permitted to be marked with either of the two focus markers above. This analysis also finds a ready-made provision in Dik's scope categorization schema, which suggests that focus on non-subject terms of the predicate[69] will group separately from subject or predicate focus.

(198)   *Object/location focus*
A yala **bee** Dɔŋkɪŋ wɛɛrɪnɪ Ŋmaaŋa ka ʊ naa tɪˈkʊˈ ba naa.
the matter **there** Crocodile send   Monkey then 3s intend go give 3p chief
'So, it is there that Crocodile is sending Monkey, intending to give him to their chief [to eat as medicine].'

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[69] This also suggests that for the Safaliba verbs under consideration, locations group together with objects as "other terms of the predicate" and not with other types of adjuncts such as time phrases, which occur more freely at other locations in the clause without necessarily provoking the particular focus type of fronting construction under consideration here. Unfortunately, a consideration of all types of movement constructions and adjunct positions is beyond the scope of this study.

The following ungrammatical examples support the classification of this type of construction as an *ex-situ* indication of focus, by showing that this particular type of fronting construction cannot be combined with the presence of either the subject or predicate focus markers:

(199) *Combine object/location focus with predicate focus?*
    *A yala **bee** Dɔŋkɪŋ wɛɛrɪnɪ **naaŋ** Ŋmaaŋa ka ʋ naa tɪˈ kʋˈ
    the matter **there** Crocodile send **PredFoc** Monkey then 3s intend go give

    ba naa.
    3p chief

(200) *Combine object/location focus with subject focus?*
    *A yala **bee** Dɔŋkɪŋ **ŋ** wɛɛrɪnɪ Ŋmaaŋa ka ʋ naa tɪˈ
    the matter **there** Crocodile **Foc** send Monkey then 3s intend go

    kʋˈ ba naa.
    give 3p chief

3.1.2 Confirmation from Text-Based Examples

Unmodified examples from the text corpus confirm the assessment above, both of the meaningful applicability to the Safaliba data of Dik's approach to focus, and of the identification and categorization of the markers and construction above. For each example, a brief explanation of the narrative context is given as motivation for the communicative point category.

The following examples illustrate the scope and communicative point of the subject focus marker *ŋ*. In (201), a sentence from the middle part of Text 34, the communicative point is once again **selecting focus**. All the participants have been introduced and are known to the hearer, and the presence of the focus marker highlights

the fact that one of these is being selected: Lion does not know which of the three bulls

he will come upon, then suddenly realizes that it is White Bull.

(201) ...ʊ waꞋ baŋŋɪra   ká nagɪ-saalɪga ŋ   tɪꞋ dit-te.
        3s come know-Imperf that bull-white   **Foc** go eat-Imperf
       '...(as he was creeping stealthily) he suddenly realized there was White Bull
       eating.' (Text 34:48)

In (202), a sentence from near the end of Text 34, the communicative point is

replacing focus. The addressee, Lion, naturally believes that he himself bears all the

blame for killing and eating the three bulls, but the speaker, Red Bull, corrects this

belief. Lion killed the other two bulls after deceiving all three of them not to help each

other, but Red Bull explains to Lion that even if Lion should kill him, the final blame

for the deed does not lie with Lion but with Red Bull himself, because he allowed

himself to be deceived and had refused to help the others when they were attacked.

(202) A yɛla, kà ι waꞋ nyɔgɪ-ma, ι naanι ŋ   waana-a.
        the reason that 2s come catch-1s   2s not.be **Foc** bring-it
       'So, if you catch me, it is not you who brought it.' [=not your fault]
       (Text 34:66)

In (203) and (204), two sentences each from near the beginning of Texts 29 and

31 respectively, the communicative point is **completing or "new" focus**.   The

addressee (the hearer or reader of the story) does not know the content of the story, so

new characters must be marked for completing focus: the Chief and the Hyena are both

introduced to the addressee in this fashion.

(203) Yɩrɩ-bile naa kpaŋ **ŋ** di', ʋ yoori ŋ na' Ayɔɔbɩ.
village-small chief one **Foc** eat 3s name Foc is six
'A certain chief of a small town succeeded to the chieftaincy, his name was "Six."' (Text 29:2)

(204) Ka Yeeŋusʋba **ŋ** isigi.
that Hyena **Foc** get.up
There lived a Hyena. (Text 31:2)

The following examples illustrate the scope and communicative point of the predicate focus marker *naaŋ*. In (205) below, a sentence from the middle part of Text 26, the communicative point is **replacing focus**. The addressee wants the speaker to do something, and the speaker responds by presenting contrasting information: Crocodile wants Monkey to come into the water, but Monkey counters this assumption of occupational flexibility by asserting that his being or identity is as a tree-top thing, that is why he doesn't play in water.

(205) Ŋmaaŋa chi' Dɔŋkɩŋ ká maaŋ ɛ' **naaŋ** daa-zu' bʋnʋ, a yala
monkey tell crocodile that 1sEm do PredFoc tree-top thing the matter

ŋ ba dɛɛ-na kɔŋ.
1s Neg play-Imperf water

'Monkey told Crocodile, "I am (by occupation or identity) a tree-top thing, therefore I don't play in water.' (Text 26:9)

Examples (206) and (207) below are two sentences from the first sections of Text 11 and Text 39 respectively. In each case the communicative point is **completive focus**, meaning that the addressee in question has incomplete knowledge of the situation. In these examples the addressee is the hearer of the story, who here at the

154

beginning of the story is being given information critical to understanding the story as it progresses. It is highly significant in (206) that the younger brother lived in a village near the river and not in the main town with the rest of the family, and in (207) that the rainstorm on the day in question was truly far more violent than typical rainstorms in that area.

(206) Bile sʋba nɪ ʋ mɪŋ be' **naaŋ** Ŋsunua, a so' arɪgʋŋ.
       small owner Spec 3s likewise live **PredFoc** Nsunua and own canoe
       Now the younger one, he lived at Nsunua, and owned a canoe. (Text 11:5)

(207) ...ka sa-kɔŋ anɪ sa-kube pɛgɪlɪ **naaŋ** teŋŋe zaa...
         that rain-water and rain-stones whiten **PredFoc** land all
       '...rain and hail whitened the entire land...' (Text 39:3)

The following example illustrates object/location fronting as an *ex-situ* indication of focus, showing the scope and communicative point of this construction. In this question extracted from dialogue in Text 10, the communicative point is **questioning focus**: the speaker lacks information, which she wants the addressee to supply:

(208) ...**vaa yommu** ɪ maŋ tɔŋŋɪ lɛɛbɪ?
         leaf only   2s Hab able   change.into
             O   S   V
       '...is it only a leaf that you are able to change into?"' (Text 10:26)

The next two examples are statements extracted from dialogue in Texts 1 and 38, given in reply either to stated or implied questions. As expected in such contexts,

155

the communicative point is **completive focus**: the speaker is supplying additional

information the addressee lacks.

(209) ...ʋŋ ye' ká, **zi-aa**   a bɛrɪga unsi   nɪɪ.
            3sN say that **place-this** the trap   uproot Spec
                           Loc   S   V
       '...he said, "This place is where the trap was uprooted."' (Text 1:22)

(210) **Kaa** ɪ   na yabɪ.
       thus 2s Fut pay
        O   S   V
       'This (is how much) you will pay."' (Text 38.20)

These examples from the text corpus indicate some of the common

communicative points indicated by the various focus strategies. In the examples above

with the subject focus marker *ŋ*, a common communicative point is **selecting focus**:

indicating that the referent of the subject is selected in contrast to other possibilities. In

the examples with the predicate focus marker *naaŋ*, a common communicative point is

completive (or new) focus: the predicate so marked indicates an action or state which

is not in line with the expectations of the addressee, and therefore should be marked as

significant. In the examples where an object or location has been fronted, **completive**

focus is also common, though this construction is also commonly used for **questioning**

focus.

3.1.3 Summary and Implications

This presentation of three main strategies for indicating focus in Safaliba

suggests that in this language focus marking does indicate the important or salient part

of a clause and not merely "new" information. In particular, focus scope in this language is directly determinative of the type of focus marking which can be employed on a particular clausal element. Focus on the subject and predicate of a clause are both indicated by *in-situ* strategies, where the structure of the sentence is unchanged and focus is indicated by the presence of a focus marker following the element in focus: for subject focus, and for predicate focus. Focus on a direct object or a location is indicated by an *ex-situ* strategy, where the focused element is brought to the front of the clause, with no additional marking or morpheme added.

The communicative categories of focus suggested by Dik are seen to be applicable to the different types of focus that occur, and particularly that **selecting focus** is commonly indicated by the use of the subject focus marker η, a point which could be potentially significant for reference-switching if in fact the N-pronoun could be shown to have a direct relationship with the subject-focus marker.

In the next section, I examine Safaliba pronoun usage, particularly the syntax and meaning of the N-pronoun set, to see whether it is possible to determine if the final η seen on these pronouns is an alternative manifestation of the subject focus marker η. If this is the case, we might expect the distribution and usage of the focus pronouns to parallel at least in some respects those of the subject focus marker as used with noun phrases.

3.2 Pronoun Sets and Syntactic Restrictions in Safaliba

As initially noted in section 1.2 and described further in section 2.4.1.4, the main research questions for this study center around the typologically-unusual N-pronoun set in Safaliba. The pronoun system includes what appear to be three separate sets of pronouns, of which only two are in a form corresponding to those commonly attested in related languages (cf. Naden 1986). The **regular pronoun set** occurs in a wide variety of grammatical contexts, and includes a slightly different subset used only in the object position. In more restricted contexts occurs **a second, lengthened, pronoun set, "often described as 'emphatic'** and...used disjunctively and with marked focus or thematicity" (Naden 1986:258-259). The **third (typologically-unusual) pronoun set** occurs more frequently than the lengthened emphatic set but less frequently than the regular set. Furthermore, it is unlike any pronoun sets described in closely related languages, is of unknown derivation and function, and is thus provisionally referred to as **the N-pronoun set** (due to its phonological shape). If its hypothetical relationship with the subject-focus marker η could be confirmed, it could be referred to as a "focus" pronoun set. The distributional and functional distinctions between these sets of pronouns are explored in this section, as well as the appropriateness of the categorization of the N-pronoun as a "focus" pronoun.

3.2.1 Comparing Pronoun Usage in Elicited Examples

The pronouns in question are seen in the following chart (repeated from section 1.2 and 2.4.1):

Table 10 Safaliba Pronouns

	Regular Subj.	Obj.	Emphatic (Subj.)	N-Pronoun (Subj.)
1st person singular	*ǹ̀*	*-ma*	*màáǹ̀*	*máŋ*
1st person plural	*tì*	*-tʋ*	*tònʋ́ʋ̀*	*tíŋ*
2nd person singular	*ì*	*-ɩ*	*íná*	*íŋ*
2nd person plural	*yà*	*-ya*	*yáná*	*yáŋ*
3rd person singular	*ʋ̀*	*-ʋ*	*ʋ́ná*	*ʋ́ŋ*
3rd person plural (human)	*bà*	*-ba*	*báná*	*báŋ*
3rd person plural (nonhuman)	*à*	*-a*	*áná*	*áŋ*

Some of the differences in the usage of the three pronoun sets can be seen in their usage in elicited examples. Consider the following often-heard question:

(211) Nyɩna **ɩŋ** wɛɛra?
      where   2sN go.Imperf
      'Where are you going?'

The pronoun form used here is the N-pronoun. It turns out that the regular pronoun form is not allowed in this sort of construction:

(212) *Nyɩna ɩ   wɛɛra?
       where   2s go.Imperf

In fact, the N-pronoun is the default form for a pronominal subject in a clause with a fronted object or location following this pattern, whether in a content question like this, or for focus[70] as described in the previous section.

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[70] Since we have already established in section 3.1 that there may be only one focused element in a clause, this immediately brings into question the designation of the N-pronoun as a "focus" pronoun,

The pragmatically permissible answers to this question are also informative.
The following sentence is not pragmatically acceptable as the answer to the question in
example (211), even though it is syntactically permissible:

(213) *Ŋ wɛɛra   Bɛɛla.
         1s go.Imperf   Bole
         'I'm going to Bole.' (Not acceptable as a response to 211 above)

The commonly expected answer is:

(214) Bɛɛla **maŋ** wɛɛra.
         Bole   1sN   go.Imperf
         'I'm going to Bole.'

This construction parallels the question form (211). And as might have been
expected from the patterns thus far, the ordinary subject pronoun is not acceptable in
this context:

(215) *Bɛɛla **ŋ**   wɛɛra.
          Bole   1s go.Imperf

There are at least two other acceptable responses, however. In order to use the regular
pronoun form in an answer to question (211), the predicate focus particle must follow
the verb:

(216) **Ŋ** wɛɛra   **naaŋ** Bɛɛla.
         1s go.Imperf PredFoc Bole
         'I'm going to Bole.'

since its usage here would indicate focus both on the object and on the subject. This issue is discussed in
4.1.

Oddly enough, the emphatic pronoun form is more flexible than either of the others in this context, as it is permitted in place of the other pronouns in either of the two constructions above. Both resulting sentences communicate a contrast with the actions of some presumed other person, so that they carry a slight change in meaning from the sentences above (however, the meanings of the new sentences are said to be equivalent[71] to each other):

(217) <u>Maaŋ</u> wɛɛra   **naaŋ**   Bɛɛla.
       1sEm   go.Imperf PredFoc Bole
       'As for me, I'm going to Bole—the other person is going to another place.'

(218) **Bɛɛla** <u>maaŋ</u>   wɛɛra.
       Bole   1sEm   go.Imperf
       'As for me, I'm going to Bole—the other person is going to another place.'

There are also other contexts (the presence of a negative particle, or a verb with the perfective intransitive suffix *-ya*) where the regular pronoun can be used, but not the N-pronoun:

(219) Ʊ ba   wɛɛra   Bɛɛla nıı.
       3s Neg go.Imperf Bole Spec[72]
       'He's not going to Bole.'

(220) *Ʊŋ ba wɛɛra Bɛɛla nıı.

(221) Ʊ tı-ya.
       3s go-PfIntr
       'He has already gone [to Bole].'

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[71] I am sure that there is a subtle though distinct difference in meaning between these two sentences. However, for the purposes of the present study this cannot be pursued.
[72] The particle *nıı* following Bole specifies it is the Bole we know about.

(222) *ʊŋ tɪ-ya.

In section 3.2.2 below, it will be seen that there are even more contexts where the N-pronoun may not be used.

Even in sentences with minimal context such as those above, it is clear from the sentence gloss that the substitution of the emphatic pronoun for either of the other pronouns contributes an obvious difference in meaning, justifying to some extent the quality "emphatic." However, the observable differences between the focus and regular pronouns at this point are limited to occurrence restrictions in certain contexts, and differences in meaning are not obvious. Compare the two sentences, taken not as answers to a particular question, but simply as statements:

(223) ʊ   tɪ' Bɛɛla.
       3s go Bole
       'He went to Bole.'

(224) ʊŋ   tɪ' Bɛɛla.
       3sN go   Bole
       'He went to Bole.'

In this case, there is not any obvious difference in meaning; both sentences are grammatical and a native speaker will usually say that there is no difference in meaning between them. In fact, the differences in meaning between these two forms only start to become clear through examination of their use in texts.

3.2.2 Pronouns in the Corpus: Prevalence and Restrictions

The distribution and restrictions observable in the elicited examples above are fewer and more straightforward than those observed in the text corpus. In this section, I present the syntactic restrictions for each pronoun set, based on examples from the text corpus. The relative prevalence in the corpus of each set of pronouns can be seen in the following table:

Table 11 Relative Frequency of Different Pronoun Sets in the Text Corpus

	Regular	Emphatic	N-pronoun
3rd person singular	*ʋ̀*	*ʋ́ná*	*ʋ́ŋ*
# of occurrences	861	56	339
percentage of total	68.6%	4.46%	27.0%

As an approximation of the relative distribution of the three main pronoun sets (excluding the object pronouns), I did an automated count of the number of third-person singular pronouns from each category[73]. In the main corpus of 38 texts used for this study, there are 1256 3rd person singular subject pronouns of various types. Of these, the regular and N-pronouns are most common. In fact, over 95% of the 3rd person singular pronouns in the corpus are either regular or N-pronouns, with over two-thirds of these being the regular pronouns. If both the regular and the N-pronouns have wide

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[73] The third-person singular pronouns were chosen as representative of their respective pronoun classes, because they occur frequently in this type of text, and because several of the other pronoun forms are homophonous with other words which would make an automated count inaccurate. It may be argued that Table 11 skews the relative frequency of the regular pronoun since it includes those tokens where the regular pronoun appears as a possessor in a genitive construction, while the N-pronoun occurs only in the subject position. By manually searching through the first two texts in the corpus (which contained 100 tokens of *ʋ*), I discovered that 77 of these were in subject position while 23 were possessors. If this percentage hold true among all forms of this set across the total corpus, the regular pronouns in subject position would still outnumber the N-pronouns by almost 2 to 1.

usage in narrative discourse, this would explain their more frequent occurrence in the corpus.

3.2.2.1 Attested Syntactic Positions of the Regular Pronoun

Closer examination of actual occurrences supports the prediction that the regular pronoun may be used in a wider variety of contexts. First, it appears in two different syntactic positions, as possessor in a genitive construction and as the subject of a verb as had already been noted. Second, it may appear with an active verb in any of the three basic aspectual forms, unmarked perfective, imperfective, or perfective intransitive, or with a verb in either of the imperative forms. Third, it may appear with any of the preverbal particles representing a variety of differences in tense, aspect, modality, and polarity. Fourth, it may occur in both independent and subordinate clauses of various types, as well as in any clauses in coordinated and chaining structures. Fifth, it may occur as the subject of several of the stative verbs.

In spite of these diverse usages and the overall prevalence of this pronoun form, it appears to be somewhat restricted in the corpus in certain contexts. Although examples can be found of the regular pronoun as the subject of an unmarked perfective verb in an independent clause (i.e. without various preverbal particles or imperative marking) with the regular pronoun as subject, it is far more common for verbs of this type to occur with the N-pronoun as the subject in this context. This restricted distribution will be discussed in the sections immediately below and followed up in more detail in section 4.1.

164

Following are examples of the regular pronoun in the different environments where it is used. In these sentences from the text corpus, the pronoun is bolded, and where the environmental element can be conveniently indicated, this is underlined.

The regular pronoun may occur as possessor in a genitive construction:

(225) **ʊ nyɛga** asɪ   zɛ' chɛ **ʊ vaarʊ** mɪŋ lɛ   tɪ' fɛɛgɪ teŋŋe.
3s roots stand here and **3s leaves** also again go touch ground
'**Its roots** stood here and **its leaves** likewise touched the ground.' (Text 1:82)

The regular pronoun may appear as the subject of an active verb in any of the three basic aspectual forms, unmarked perfective (226), imperfective (227), and perfective intransitive (228); it may also appear as the subject of a verb in the imperative form (229) which is indicated only by a tone change (indicated orthographically by a high-tone mark on the subject pronoun):

(226) Amɪ, **ba** kʊ́' a naafʊ ŋʊna.
but   **3p** kill the cow   for
'However, **they** killed the buffalo, anyway.' (Text 1:106)

(227) **Ba** ɛ-ta   bɪlɛ a wa' ye' ba kaa, ka ʊna kpɛ' ba arɪgʊŋ...
3p do-Imperf thus and come say they see and 3sEm enter 3p canoe
'**They** were doing this and came to understand, and he entered their canoe...'
(Text 38:25)

(228) **ʊ** so-ye,   chɛ ʊ ba haŋ tɔŋŋɪ naaŋ   dɔgɪ kɔmma geni.
3s own-PfIntr but 3s Neg had able PredFoc beget children much
'**He** was very rich, but he was never able to beget many children.' (Text 6:7)

(229) ...ka **bá** kaa,   a kʊ́'   nɔɔsɪ sɔsɪ   Naaŋmɪnnɪ...
that **3p** look-Impv and kill-Impv fowls ask-Impv God
'...that **they** should divine, and should kill fowls and should ask God...' (Text 1:13)

The regular pronoun may occur as the subject of a verb marked by any of the 20+ preverbal particles, including all variations of tense (230) and (231), aspect (232), modality (233), and polarity (234) and (235); due to considerations of space, only a selection of examples from each category is shown:

(230) **ʋ** haŋ tɪ' ta', ka ʋ be' ʋ po', ʋŋ ye' ká bá gaŋŋɪ.
       3s had go reach and 3s be.at 3s farm 3sN say that 3p pass-Impv
       '**He** previously reached (there), and he was at his farm; he said that they should pass by.' (Text 1:18)

(231) ...**ya** na va' naaŋ   taa a le'.
        2p Fut hit PredFoc other and fall
       '...**you** will run into one another and fall down (trying to escape).' (Text 1:77)

(232) Chɛ kà **ya** maŋ sɔsɪ-ra   Ŋmɪnnɪ, **yá** maŋ sagɪ   di'...
       but if **2p** Hab pray-Imperf God   **2p** Hab agree-Impv eat
       'But if **you** habitually pray to God, **you** should habitually believe....'
       (James 1:6, translated by A. Mbatumwini)

(233) **ʋ** naaŋ   kʋ́' ba zaa bayi'...
       3s would.have kill 3p all two
       '**He** would have killed them both...' (Text 1:100)

(234) ...yoome toko nɪ anuu, ka ʋ ba tɔŋŋa-a   na nyɔgɪ.
        years   twenty and five   then **3s** Neg able-them Fut catch
       '...for 25 years, **he** was not able to catch them.' (Text 34:6)

(235) ...ɪ kʋŋ   wa' sɔra-a   kʋ-ma?
        2s NegFut come count-3pnh give-1s
       '...will **you** not count them for me?' (Text 29:15)

The regular pronoun can occur as the subject of a verb in an independent clause as can be seen above in (226) and others, or as the subject in any subsequent clauses connected in a chaining construction by either *ka* 'and, then', as indicated below in (236) and (237), or *chɛ* 'and, but', as indicated in (238). In a conditional sentence with

166

kà 'if', the regular pronoun may occur either in the subordinate clauses, or the main

clause, as indicated in (239) and (240).

(236) Baŋ tɪ' nya' a bampɛ baʋ, <u>ka</u> ʋ haŋ tu-ro-o...
       3pN go see the leopard trail <u>and</u> **3s** did follow-Imperf-3s
       'They finally found the leopard's trail, <u>and</u> **he** was following it...' (Text 1:24)

(237) Ʋ haŋ tɪ' ta', <u>ka</u> ʋ be' ʋ po', ʋŋ ye' ká bá gaŋŋɪ.
       3s had go reach <u>and</u> **3s** be.at 3s farm 3sN say that 3p pass-Impv
       'He (Bokoro) had reached there, <u>and</u> **he** (Abulai) was at his farm; he (Bok.) said
       that they should pass by.' (Text 1:18)

(238) ...a be' ʋ yaŋfarɪga beesʋŋ bɪlɛɛŋ, <u>chɛ</u> ʋ haŋ wa' ye' ʋ kpi'...
        and be.in 3s freedom living on.and.on <u>but</u> **3s** did come say 3s die
       '...and lived freely like this for some time, <u>but</u> at the time **he** was ready to die...'
       (Text 6:68)

(239) <u>Kà</u> **ŋ** ba dɪ' hakɪla, **ŋ** kʋ tɔŋŋɪ bʋnsa-a nyɔgɪ.
       <u>if</u> **1s** Neg pick wisdom **1s** NegFut able things-these catch
       (dependent conditional clause) (independent clause)
       '<u>If</u> **I** don't use cunning, **I** will not be able to catch these things.' (Text 34:13)

(240) ...<u>kà</u> ʋ haŋ isigi zi-aa, **ya** na va' naaŋ taa a le'.
        <u>if</u> **3s** had get.up place-this **2p** Fut hit PredFoc other and fall
        (dependent conditional clause) (independent clause)
       '...<u>if</u> **he** (the buffalo) should emerge right here, **you** will run into one another and
       fall down (trying to escape).' (Text 1:77)

Furthermore, the regular pronoun may occur as the subject of the following

stative verbs: *be'* 'live, be located at' (241) and its negative counterpart *chɛ'* 'not alive,

not located at' (242); with *ɛ'* 'do, be' (243); or with the negative nominal predicator

naanɪ 'it is not' (244). However, it cannot appear as the subject of the positive nominal

predicator *lɛ'* or the copula *na'* (as noted below in 3.2.2.2, a pronominal subject is used

with these verbs must be from the emphatic pronoun set):

(241) ...ka kɔn-dappa bayi', **ba** <u>be'</u> bata' gba,...
       and child-males two **3p** be.at three actually
       'and two boys, actually **they** <u>were</u> three, ...' (Text 15:42)

(242) Ká ana ŋ so', ká kà ʋ koroŋ <u>chɛ'</u>, ká a ŋ kʋ́' ya zaa.
       that 3pnhN Foc own that if **3s** long.ago <u>not.exist</u> that would 1s kill 2p all
       '[He said,] because of this, if **he** <u>were not around</u>, I would have killed you all.'
       (Text 34:24)

(243) ...Joo mɪŋ ɛ' bi-pɔlɪ-bile, ka ʋ ɛ' ʋ kpɪa.
       Joe likewise do child-grown-small and **3s** <u>do</u> 3s senior.sibling
       '[and at this time] Joe was a youth, and **he** <u>was</u> his elder.' (Text 22:3)

(244) Ká ɪ <u>naanɪ</u> bʋlɪ ŋaa?
       that **2s** <u>it.is.not</u> speak that
       '[He said,] <u>Is it not</u> **you** who has spoken here?' (Text 31:56)

3.2.2.2 Attested Syntactic Positions of the Emphatic Pronoun

In contrast to the regular pronouns, the emphatic pronouns are much less common in narrative. In this genre, they occur most often in reported speech, though not exclusively so. Apart from the relative rarity of these forms, it appears that they may be used over the same range of constructions as the regular pronouns. They most commonly occur in the subject position, with all verbs including the copula *na'* (247) and nominal predicator *lɛ'* (248).

(245) ...haali **tɪnʋʋ** ŋʋna kpaŋ zaa ba baŋŋɪ, chɛ polisisi gba na nyɔgʋ-ʋ.
       even **1pEm** for one all Neg know but police surely Fut catch-3s
       '...even if none of **us** know, but the Police surely will catch him.' (Text 17:6)

(246) Ŋmaaŋa chi' Dɔŋkɪŋ ka **maaŋ** ɛ' naaŋ daa-zu' bʋnʋ,
       Monkey tell Crocodile that **1sEm** do PredFoc tree-head thing
       'Monkey told Crocodile, **I** (unlike a croc.) am a tree-top thing...' (Text 26:9)

(247) ...**bana** ŋ <u>na'</u> baya'-ayi'-nʊma.
        3pEm Foc it.is foot-two-people
        '...they are the two-footed-ones.' (Text 28:14)

(248) ...**bana** ŋ <u>lɛ'</u>...
        3pEm Foc it.is
        '...they were the ones...' (Text 15:42)

        The Emphatic pronouns do occasionally occur as possessives:

(249) ...ka a   ɛ' ka **maaŋ** <u>boyo</u> yala ʊŋ kʊŋ   nyɛ' laanfɪa.
          then 3pnh do that **1sEm** <u>heart</u> matter 3sN NegFut see health
        '...that it would be that because of **my** <u>heart</u> he wouldn't recover.' (Text 26:16)

(250) A naa yɛlɪ ka <u>**ʊna** bee-aa</u>,   ka ʊ kʊŋ   kuli sɪra   zaa.
        the chief say that <u>**3sEm** child-this</u> that 3s NegFut marry husband all
        'The chief said that this <u>his child</u> would never marry any husband.' (Text 27:3)

(251) Bá ŋmaa   **ʊna** <u>Boadu zu'</u>
        3p cut.off-Impv **3sEm** <u>Boadu head</u>
        'They should cut off <u>**his**, Boadu's, head</u>.' (Text 21:20)

        Even more rarely, they occur in apposition to a regular object pronoun, though

not directly in the object position.

(252) Bɪlɛ baŋ wigili-tu **tʊnʊʊ**   ŋʊna...
        thus 3pN show-1p **1pEm** for
        'Thus they taught us, **us** anyway (in contrast to others)' (Text 5:29)

        The occurrence of emphatic pronouns in syntactic positions other than subject

(i.e. as a possessor or in apposition to a direct object as described above) has not been

noted in descriptions of closely related languages (cf. Bodomo 1997:71, Kropp Dakubu

2005:52), probably because of the relative rarity of this type of construction.

3.2.2.3 Attested Syntactic Positions of the N-Pronoun

In contrast to the other pronouns, the N-pronoun form is more significantly restricted in usage. First, it never occurs in any syntactic position other than subject, and even in this position it is further restricted. Second, it may appear with an active verb in either the unmarked perfective or the imperfective aspects, but may not co-occur with a verb in the perfective intransitive aspect or the imperative mood. Third, it does not appear with many of the preverbal particles, *lɛ* 'again' being a notable exception. Fourth, it may occur only in an independent clause, including some types of subsequent clauses in chaining structures. Fifth, it may occur with the two positive stative verbs *be'* 'live, be located at' and *ɛ'* 'do, be', but not with the negative stative verb *chɛ'* 'not alive, not located at', the negative nominal predicator *naanɩ* 'it is not', the positive nominal predicator *lɛ'* or the copula *na'*.

In contrast, there is one type of construction in which the N-pronoun occurs almost to the exclusion of other forms. Within the text corpus, a pronominal subject of a verb in the unmarked perfective form with no preverbal particles in an independent clause is usually an N-pronoun. N-pronouns occur with far greater frequency than regular pronouns in this type of context.

Some examples of occurrence patterns follow. N-pronouns may occur only as subjects of a verb, and not as possessors in a genitive construction (253); compare with (225) above.

(253) *Ʋŋ nyɛga asɪ zɛ' chɛ ʋŋ vaarʋ mɪŋ lɛ tɪ' fɛɛgɪ teŋŋe.
     3sN roots stand here and 3sN leaves also again go touch ground

N-pronouns may occur with active verbs in both the unmarked perfective form,

(254) and (255), and the imperfective forms, (256) and (257), but not with verbs in the

perfective intransitive or imperative forms:

(254) **Baŋ** <u>tɪ' lakʋ-ʋ</u> a waanɪ yɪrɪ, a wa' tɪnʋ-ʋ asibiti.
    3pN go lift-3s and bring town and come send-3s hospital
    '**They** <u>finally lifted</u> him up and brought him back to town, and sent him to the
    hospital.' (Text 6:40)

(255) **Baŋ** <u>chi'</u> bi-pɔllɪ nɪɪ, chɛ **ʋŋ** <u>tɔrɪgɪ</u>,...
    3pN tell child-grown Spec but **3sN** refuse
    '**They** <u>told</u> the young man, but **he** <u>refused</u>...' (Text 13:9)

(256) Ba haŋ wa' ta', **ʋŋ** <u>ŋmɛɛ-ra</u> baa maa nyɪa kɔba nɪɪ...
    3p did come reach **3sN** hit-Imperf dog mother chest bones Spec
    'They had reached there, and **he** <u>was beating</u> Dog's mother's ribs...' (Text 19:5)

(257) ...**baŋ** lɛ wa' <u>sɔsɪ-ra</u> a dit-te.
    3sN again come ask-Imperf and eat-Imperf
    '...**they** again were <u>begging</u> and eating.' (Text 4:8)

N-pronouns do not occur with the modal preverbal particles *naaŋ* 'would', *ɔ*

'ought', and *taa* 'should', nor with the tense, polarity, or most of the aspect particles[74].

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[74] In the texts in the corpus which were charted and have been most carefully checked, *ʋŋ* does not appear
with any preverbal particles except the adverbial markers *lɛ* 'again' and *naŋ* 'still'. However, in the rest
of the corpus there are a few occurrences of *ʋŋ* with other preverbal particles in all categories but mood.
A language informant eliminated some of the occurrences as errors in speech or transcription, but verified
one instance each of *ʋŋ* before a verb with one of the following particles: *koroŋ* 'long ago', *haŋ*
'previously', *na* 'Future', *maŋ* 'Habitual', and *kʋŋ* 'Future Negative'. Since there are not sufficient
examples of this usage in the corpus, I regard these examples as anomalous within the present analysis,
and an account of the factors involved in their occurence must await further data and research.

However, they do occur with two of the aspect particles which have more of an adverbial meaning, *lɛ* 'again' and, less commonly, *naŋ* 'still':

(258) ...boŋ wa' **ɩŋ** <u>lɛ</u> lɛɛbɩ kuse yɩrɩ bɛbɛɛ-aa?
       what come **2s** <u>again</u> return go.home town morning-this
       'What caused **you** to <u>again</u> return to the village this morning?' (Text 1:11)

(259) ...ʋŋ <u>naŋ</u> wa' kenne na wa' dɩgɩ-ɩ, ka í lɛɛbɩ mɔzu'.
       3sN <u>still</u> come coming Fut come pick-2s then 2s change.to-Impv grass
       '...**it** is <u>still</u> coming to get you, then you change to a grass-clump.' (Text 10:27)

       N-pronouns may occur only in independent clauses; this includes initial clauses in a clause chain, or subsequent clauses if conjoined by *chɛ* 'and, but'. Typically, the presence of an N-pronoun in a subsequent clause indicates a change in reference. Clauses which are transcribed with no conjunction and only a comma[75] between are both independent[76]; and N-pronouns may occur as the subject of any such clauses. Examples of some of these follow:

(260) **Baŋ** tɩ' chɔɔsɩ naa, chɛ zɩnɩ "pɩrɩp."
       3pN go morning.greet chief and sit packed.tightly
       '**They** greeted the chief, and sat down closely.' (Text 8:25)

(261) Ʋŋ ye' ka, zɩnɩ, a daba zɩnɩ, <u>chɛ</u> **ʋŋ** kpɛ' ʋ dii, <u>a</u> tɩ' dɩ' ʋ
       3sN say that sit the man sit <u>and</u> **3sN** enter 3s room and go take 3s

       lɩgɩbee a wa' yi'...
       money and come go.out...

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[75] The comma indicates a briefer pause than what is usual between separate sentences.
[76] However note that some cases of such juxtaposition, if the preverbal particle *haŋ* occurs in one of the clauses, this seems to confer a subordinate status on it (see section 2.4.4.4); however, this does not affect the conclusions above as the presence of *haŋ* in a clause always excludes the use of an N-pronoun as subject.

'He said, sit, the man sat, <u>and</u> **he** entered his room and went and got his money and came out...' (Text 37:5)

(262) Baŋ chi' bipɔllɪ   nɪɪ, <u>chɛ</u> ʋŋ tɔrɪgɪ, <u>chɛ</u> naŋ woore pɔsarɪga nɪɪ.
3pN tell young.man Spec <u>but</u> **3sN** refuse and still seeking woman Spec
'They told the young man, <u>but</u> **he** refused and continued pursuing the woman.'
(Text 13:9)

(263) **Baŋ** zabɪ-ra,   **tɪŋ** laafi-be,   <u>chɛ</u> **baŋ** ŋmaa a zɪŋfʋ.
3pN fight-Imperf **1pN** separate-3p <u>and</u> **3pN** divide the fish
'**They** were fighting, **we** separated them, **but they** divided the fish.' (Text 35:21)

(264) Ba mɪŋ baŋŋɪ ká dɛbɛŋ ŋ kúʋ-rɪ-ba,   **baŋ** woore   ye' ba
3p also know that fear Foc kill-Imperf-3p **3pN** want.Imperf say 3p

bɛɛ   tɪ' bee.
tomorrow go there

'The were sure that (the elders) were cowards, (and) **they** were intending to go there tomorrow.' (Text 1:66)

(265) Baŋ tara, <u>chɛ</u> **baŋ** dugusi bɪlɛɛŋ,   ka bá wa'   ta-ba.
3pN hold <u>and</u> **3pN** paddle on.and.on then 3p come reach-3p
'They held tightly, <u>and</u> **they** (the others) paddled on and on, until they reached them.' (Text 11:50)

However, N-pronouns may not be used as the subject of a conditional clause beginning with *kà* 'if' (266)—compare with (240). Neither can they be used in subsequent clauses conjoined by *ka* 'and, then' (267)—compare with (265).

(266) *<u>kà</u> ʋŋ haŋ isigi zi-aa,   ya na va' naaŋ   taa a le'.
  <u>if</u> **3sN** had get.up place-this   2p Fut hit PredFoc other and fall

(267) *Baŋ tara, chɛ baŋ dugusi bɪlɛɛŋ,   <u>ka</u> **baŋ** wa'   ta-ba.
 3pN hold and 3pN paddle on.and.on <u>then</u> **3pN** come reach-them

Finally, pronouns in this set may occur with the two positive stative verbs *be'* 'live, be located at' (268) and *ɛ'* 'do, be' (269), but not with the negative stative verb *chɛ'* 'not alive, not located at', the negative nominal predicator ***naanɩ*** 'it is not', the positive nominal predicator *lɛ'* or the copula *na'*.

(268) Chɛ **baŋ** <u>be'</u> bee.
       and   **3sN** <u>be.at</u> there
       'And **they** <u>were</u> there (still in the canoe).' (Text 11:43)

(269) ...chɛ **baŋ** <u>ɛ'</u> koori nɩɩ bɩlɛɛŋ   a wa' sa'.
         but   **3sN** <u>do</u> funeral Spec on.and.on and come finish
        '...and **they** <u>performed</u> all the funeral activities until the end.' (Text 9:7)

A table comparing the occurrence environments of the regular and N-pronoun sets (as determined both in the present and subsequent sections) may be found in section 5.1.1.

3.2.3 Is It Focus: N-Pronoun Usage and Known Focus Constructions

As noted above, the question "Where are you going?" in Safaliba must take the form in (270), with the N-pronoun; use of the regular pronoun as in (271) is ungrammatical:

(270) Nyɩna ɩŋ wɛɛra?
       where 2sN go.Imperf
       'Where are you going?'

(271) *Nyɩna ɩ   wɛɛra?
        where 2s go.Imperf

A full noun phrase can be substituted for the pronoun in this construction as in (272). To begin to test whether the N-pronoun conveys subject focus, we see whether it is permissible to add the subject focus marker after the noun as in (273). However, according to native speakers this type of construction is said to be ungrammatical:

(272) Nyʊna a daba wɛɛra?
where the man go.Imperf
'Where is the man going?'

(273) *Nyʊna a daba ŋ wɛɛra?
where the man Foc go.Imperf

This is exactly what we should expect, since the form of this content question follows the location-fronting construction already observed to be an *ex-situ* focus construction. An object/location fronted for focus may not co-occur in the same clause with the subject focus marker.

Recall that the expected answer to (270) above must be constructed similarly, so that (274) is the default answer, (275) is ungrammatical, (276) is pragmatically unacceptable in this context, and (277) is an alternative answer:

(274) **Bɛɛla** <u>maŋ</u> wɛɛra.
Bole 1sN go.Imperf
'I'm going to Bole.'

(275) ***Bɛɛla** <u>ŋ</u> wɛɛra.

(276) *<u>Ŋ</u> wɛɛra Bɛɛla.
1s go.Imperf Bole
'I'm going to Bole.' (Not acceptable as a response to ?? above)

(277) Ŋ wɛɛra **naaŋ** Bɛɛla.
1s go.Imperf PredFoc Bole
'I'm going to Bole.'

As a generalization, question (270) expects an answer with one part of the sentence marked for focus: either the object/location (expected) or the predicate (acceptable). However, in a clause with the object/location fronting construction above, if a pronominal subject is used it must be an N-pronoun and not a regular pronoun. For comparison, a full noun phrase in the same context may not be marked with the subject focus marker. This calls into question whether the N-pronoun is in fact indicative of focus on the subject as had been suggested.

A closer look at this can be found in the following examples, which are elicited variants based on sentence 13 of Text 26, comparable to examples (194) through (200) in section 3.1 above:

Unmarked focus, with ordinary subject pronoun:
(278) A yala ŋ wɛɛrɪnɪ Ŋmaaŋa bee ka ŋ naa tɪ' kʋ' tɪ naa.
the matter 1s send Monkey there then 1s intend go give 1p chief
So, I am taking Monkey there, intending to give him to our chief [to eat as medicine]."

Same sentence with "subject focus" N-pronoun—Subject focus?:
(279) A yala **maŋ** wɛɛrɪnɪ Ŋmaaŋa bee ka ŋ naa tɪ' kʋ' tɪ naa.
the matter **1sN** send Monkey there then 1s intend go give 1p chief
So, **I** am taking Monkey there, intending to give him to our chief [to eat as medicine]." [NOTE: no apparent change in meaning]

Predicate focus, with ordinary subject pronoun:
(280) A yala ŋ wɛɛrɪnɪ **naaŋ** Ŋmaaŋa bee ka ŋ naa tɪ' kʋ' tɪ naa.
the matter 1s send **PredFoc** Monkey there then 1s intend go give 1p chief
So, I am [**surely**] taking Monkey there, intending to give him to our chief [to eat as medicine]."

Object/location focus, with ordinary subject pronoun: Ungrammatical!
(281) *A yala **bee** ŋ wɛɛrɪnɪ Ŋmaaŋa ka ŋ naa tɪ' kʊ' tɪ naa.
       the matter **there** 1s send   Monkey then 1s intend go give 1p chief

Compare these with the following sentences:

Combine "subject focus" N-pronoun with predicate focus:
(282) *A yala **maŋ** wɛɛrɪnɪ **naaŋ**   Ŋmaaŋa bee ka ŋ naa tɪ' kʊ'
       the matter **1sN** send   **PredFoc** Monkey   there then 1s intend go give

       tɪ naa.
       1p chief

Combine predicate focus with object/location focus:
(283) *A yala **bee** maŋ wɛɛrɪnɪ **naaŋ**   Ŋmaaŋa ka ŋ naa tɪ' kʊ'
       the matter **there** 1sN   send   **PredFoc** Monkey   then 1s intend go give

       tɪ naa.
       1p chief

Combine object/location focus and "subject focus" N-pronoun? Permitted!
(284) A yala **bee maŋ** wɛɛrɪnɪ Ŋmaaŋa ka ŋ naa tɪ' kʊ' tɪ naa.
       the matter **there 1sN** send   Monkey then 1s intend go give 1p chief
       So, it is **there** that **I** am taking Monkey, intending to give him to our chief [to
       eat as medicine]."

3.2.4 Summary and Implications

The data above are somewhat inconclusive on the question of the root function

of the N-pronoun. The restriction of the N-pronoun to the subject position, which is

also the only place where the subject focus marker *ŋ* may occur, supports the suggestion

that the N-pronoun really does indicate focus on the subject. However, if we accept the

focus hypothesis (with its prohibition against marking two elements of a clause for

focus), the different co-occurrence patterns of the N-pronoun lead in two opposite

directions. On the one hand, since the N-pronoun does not co-occur with the predicate focus marker *naaŋ*, this may suggest support for the idea that the N-pronoun carries focus. On the other hand, since the N-pronoun does occur as the subject in an *ex-situ* object/location focus construction (and indeed is the default form here), this suggests that the N-pronoun does not carry focus.

There are several possibilities which could be considered for resolving this dilemma. (1) Perhaps the notion of "focus" on a pronoun is different from focus on another type of nominal. But in this case, why can focus be applied to the emphatic pronouns, in what appears to be parallel to other nominals? (2) Perhaps some other unknown focus-like pragmatic function is active on the N-pronoun, which conflicts only with predicate focus but not with the presence of focus on the object/location. But this multiplies pragmatic categories, and it would be preferable to find an answer within the rich theoretical constructs already at my disposal. (3) Perhaps there is some factor in the syntax or discourse category, unrelated to focus or other pragmatic functions, which would yet (a) constrain the use of the N-pronoun to the subject position, and (b) restrict its co-occurrence with the other focus markers. This indeed would be a preferable outcome.

This brings us back to what kind of meaning differences can be seen in the use of the N-pronoun in sentences. As already noted, even in sentences with minimal context such as those above, it is clear that the substitution of the emphatic pronoun for the regular pronoun carries an obvious difference in meaning. But so far, the observable differences between the N-pronouns and the regular pronouns have been

limited to occurrence restrictions in certain contexts, and differences in meaning are not obvious. Consider again the two constructions:

(285) Ʊ tɪ' Bɛɛla.
     3s go Bole
     'He went to Bole.'

(286) Ʊŋ tɪ' Bɛɛla.
     3sN go Bole
     'He went to Bole.'

As already stated, when native speakers are asked about the differences between these two sentences, a common response is that "they mean the same thing, you can use either one." When asked to elaborate, most are unable to give any specific difference in meaning.

However, after many questions about pronouns of both types occurring in natural and translated texts, Mr. Mbatumwini, confirmed by Mr. Kipo, suggested a more specific difference between isolated pairs of constructions like this:

(287) Ʊ wɛɛra Bɛɛla nʊ.
     3s go.Imperf Bole Spec
     'He is going to Bole.'

(288) Ʊŋ wɛɛra Bɛɛla nʊ.
     3sN go.Imperf Bole Spec
     'He is going to Bole.'

Mr. Mbatumwini described the distinction between these two sentences as follows: the first sentence (287) is a person reporting that he is going to the Bole (as a planned event), but the second sentence (288) is different because "something should come

179

before and after." However, neither one could elaborate beyond this impressionistic description. I summarize their understanding as follows: with the use of the N-pronoun (288) there is the expectation of some additional context before and after, however both sentence forms are equally grammatical and both have the same basic lexical and syntactic meaning.

Thus the analysis of the pragmatic function of the N-pronoun is not conclusive. Analysis of the discourse structure environment is the focus of the next section, textual occurrence providing the type of context hinted at in the above explanation.

CHAPTER 4

DISCOURSE STRUCTURE AND PARTICIPANT REFERENCE

This chapter continues the analysis of the meaning and function of the N-pronoun set in Safaliba narrative discourse. In section 4.1, I delve into some of the discourse-analytical generalizations which can be made about some of the texts in the corpus. The first preliminary is to work out the different genre sub-categories which exist among the texts, so as to be aware of possible points of structural variation due to this factor. Following this, two of the most significant structural features are analyzed: the distinctions between storyline information and the different types of backgrounded information which provide much of the cohesion or followability of a narrative text, and the text-internal boundaries which divide a narrative into various subsections associated with the narrative plot structure.

In section 4.2, I examine participant reference in Safaliba narrative, taking into account the following factors: (1) the lexical resources available in the language for referring to participants within a text; (2) the different ranks or types of participant, relative to the context of a particular narrative, and the extent to which this is indicated by measurements of cataphoric topicality; and (3) the discourse-related operations, the different functions to which participant reference resources are put at various points within the overall structure of the text. Referential distance measurements and the iconic principle are broadly indicative of the forms used, but attention to episode

boundaries, participant rank, and participant operations are more determinative of usage, particularly with respect to pronoun patterns which emerge.

In section 4.3 I return to the main research questions raised in chapter 1, in the light shed by the examination of the topics above. I assess the extent to which the analysis has answered the question of the main distinction in meaning carried by the N-pronoun set in comparison with the regular pronoun set, and the conclusions which can be reached about the functions of the two pronoun sets in narrative discourse. I also explain the causes of the switch-reference effects apparently associated with the N-pronoun, and the parameters associated with determining the referent of a particular pronoun in discourse. I also assess the probable extent and nature of the relationship of the N-pronoun to the focus marker η. Finally, I mention some of the related issues which are addressed more fully in the final chapter.

4.1 Safaliba Narrative Discourse Features

The aim of this section is to present the analysis of two main structural features of Safaliba narrative discourse. The first of these involves specifying the distinctions between the storyline and other categories of information (i.e. those in various roles supportive of the storyline) (Longacre 1996:21-29, Grimes 1975:35-43, 51-70; Hopper and Thompson 1980). The second involves denoting the features which set apart the subsections of the story and correlate them to aspects of universal narrative plot-structure (Longacre 1996:33-38, Longacre 2006). Since different types of information are more prominent in different parts of a narrative, these two concerns are inter-related.

Before such analysis can begin, however, it is necessary to touch on questions of genre (including social function) of the texts, as such factors have an effect on specific informational and organizational strategies used (Longacre 1996:16-23, Hopper and Thompson 1980:282-283).

4.1.1 Genre in Safaliba and Related Languages

As noted in 1.4.2.1, all the texts in the corpus have been informally categorized as narratives, but it is necessary to distinguish the subtypes of narrative which can be observed among them. Since study of the social functions of speech and the common genres of spoken language in Safaliba is at present still in the early stages, I must here depend on such studies done in other languages, in order to make informed decisions about specific categorization of the texts. I rely here on text-type inventories made for other African languages, many of which, like Safaliba, have been primarily oral languages until recent years. The text-type inventories used here are therefore mainly reflective of oral genres, and this study therefore recognizes in this context the priority and significance of oral text genre and structure.

The following serves as an approximation to narrative subtypes in these languages: folktales, parables, legends, third-person historical narrative, first-person conversational stories. These categories are drawn together from the following collections of text types inventories: Wiesemann and Spielmann's (2002:30-32) partial inventory of observed oral literary forms in African languages (prayers, proverbs, folktales, parables, riddles, songs, and ritual insults); Adinyah's (2001:10) list of oral

genres observed in Nawuri ("folk stories, history and legends, riddles and proverbs, special greetings, prayer"); Alando, Schaefer, and Schaefer's (1984:3) description of folktale types in Farefare; and N. Schaefer's (1991) survey of different categories of speech use in fifteen Ghanaian languages (already mentioned in 1.4.2.1).

Being so universally common, folktales have been subjected to more analysis in more languages than the other sub-types of narrative, so there are more references to the content, function, and structure of these types of texts. In Safaliba and other Ghanaian languages, the folktale often involves personified animals and is recognized as a separate genre by all the sources cited above, and this is reflected in many languages by a special vocabulary word for such stories. A major function of this genre appears to be teaching or instructing: "folktales contain many lessons…[and are] thought to be more easily understood than proverbs" and their themes focus on qualities to be emulated or avoided (Wiesemann and Spielmann 2002:30-32). Although folktales are entertaining, they usually also have a teaching point, which may not be directly related to the explicitly stated reason for the story.

In Safaliba this type of narrative is called a *solime*. In the corpus assembled for this study, a number of texts turn out to be members of this category (many people, if not firmly guided otherwise, will tell a folktale if asked for "a story"). Within the folktale genre itself, subtypes can be distinguished according to various structural or functional features. For the Farefare *soleni* (cognate to the Safaliba word), the following subtypes may be distinguished (Alando, Schaefer, and Schaefer 1984:3): (1) short, riddle-like stories, often told as a prelude to longer stories; (2) longer stories told

184

in order to teach a lesson (usually a moral lesson) and to give an exhortation; (3) stories told to give an explanation of the origin of a custom; and (4) stories told to illustrate the prototypical character-qualities of certain personified animals. So quite a bit is known about the traditional folktale forms of narrative as it appears in at least some African languages.

Folktales differ in significant ways from other types of narrative. They typically feature animals instead of human beings as the main characters. They are told repeatedly so that their content is well-known, and perhaps for this reason they are often quite short. It also seems likely that less contextual material may be required due to this familiarity, perhaps resulting in a less complex narrative structure. This familiarity is also likely to put less of burden on the referent-tracking resources of the language. These factors motivated the collection of a variety of other types of narrative in addition to folktales, the only stipulation to the language assistant being, "Tell a story but not an animal folktale."

These additional non-folktale narratives are similar in many ways to the animal fables, the most consistent similarity being the presence of some kind of moral or teaching at the end of each story, some variation of which is present in almost every text in the corpus. There are also some not-unexpected differences between folktales and the other texts. In general, non-folktales have human beings as the main characters instead of animals, and most appear to be the record of true or at least believable events. They are also of more varied length; and, although a few are shorter than the average folktale, most are longer.

185

These differences are partly reflected in the Safaliba terminology used to refer to narratives. As noted above, the word *solime* prototypically refers to the animal fable type of narrative, and many native speakers express some dissatisfaction with using the term to speak of true or believable narratives. In the corpus some of narratives in the "true or at least believable" category are explicitly stated to be *solime*: Text 24 (a written text) ends with "This is my *solime*," while Text 12 begins with "My grandfather once told me this *solime*." But this does not appear to reflect the consensus of opinion. In other stories it is clear that the term *solime* is not normally applied to a narrative of "real" happenings: Text 1 begins with "this is not an actual *solime*, but is the sort of thing which happened to somebody," while Text 11 ends with "This one is what happened to them that day." In other such cases the narrative is referred to as "this thing" or "the serious matter." Finally, I was told explicitly by two of the language associates that narratives of actual events should not be called *solime*, but should rather be referred to as *ɛttɪsɪ* 'doings' or more generally *ɣɛla* 'matters.'

These realistic narratives, or *ɣɛla*, also differ among themselves, and can be further divided into two or more subtypes, corresponding roughly to the conversational narratives, parables, historical narratives, and legend types above. First-person narratives of recent events (very similar to the personal-experience narratives detailed in Labov 1967) appear to be likely to occur in ordinary conversation. They can be formally distinguished, not only by the prevalence of the first-person pronouns, but because they are almost always introduced with a reference to a very specific time and location (Texts 15, 16, 17, 35, 36, and 39). The remaining texts are third-person

186

narratives, which are tentatively categorized impressionistically in three groups: (1) "parables" or believable accounts featuring human characters in an unspecified time and place, and with a definite explanation or moral teaching at the end (Text 4, Text 8, Text 10, Text 24); (2) "legends" or accounts of events believed to have happened in the distant past (Text 5, Text 21, Text 38); (3) historical narratives about people no longer living but personally known or related to the storyteller (Text 1, Text 6, Text 7, Text 11, Text 12, Text 13, Text 22, Text 37). Additionally, there are two final texts which do not fit any of these categories, Text 2 which is a sort of an extended ethnic joke, and Text 3 which is a very short parable or a long proverb; these last might be considered to fit into Alando's category (4), above.

For critical aspects of the analysis of narrative structure below, I have relied on the third-person historical type of narrative. These texts display many similarities in text-structure and participant reference to the *solime* type, but with more complexity. I have also made use of examples from other parts of the corpus for syntactic and structural aspects not affected by genre differences.

4.1.2 Storyline and Salience in Safaliba Narrative

In Safaliba, the storyline or mainline of development for narrative is distinguished from various types of supportive material (Longacre 1996:21-29) according to the distribution of various markings on the verb, as well as other structural features of the clause. The following types of information can be distinguished in Safaliba narrative: the storyline, backgrounded action, backgrounded activity, setting

187

(expository), irrealis (negatives and modals), evaluation (author intrusion), and cohesion.

The following salience scheme can therefore be set up for Safaliba narrative:

1. Storyline	-perfective verbs in independent clauses (unmodified except by the preverbal particles *lɛ* 'again' or *naŋ* 'still', or the auxiliary verbs *wa'* 'start to' and *tɪ'* 'finally')
2. Backgrounded actions/events	-perfective verbs with *haŋ* 'did' or *tɛɛŋ* 'already' -perfective verbs in a clause following *ka* -perfective intransitive verbs
3. Backgrounded activities	- perfective verbs in independent clauses with *bɪlɛɛŋ* 'on and on' -imperfective verbs
4. Setting	-stative verbs -other verbs expressing a state or condition
5. Irrealis	-negatives, future tense, modals (intention, imperative, subjunctive, etc.)
6. Evaluation	-author intrusion (usually with 2nd person pronouns)
7. Cohesion	-preposed clauses with *haŋ* (where these recapitulate a clause in the immediately previous context)

Figure 11 Salience Scheme for Safaliba Narrative

To begin with, consider the following paragraph (sentences 10-16) from Text 1. In this paragraph, there are examples of several of the categories. The clauses are numbered separately for reference.

(289) (1) *Bee nʋ kenne yɪrɪ,* (2) <u>a naa wa' kalɪ nʋŋkottu nʋ,</u>
       child Spec come.Imperf town   and intend come gather elders   Spec

     (3) **chɛ wa' toosi ŋ asʋba Bokoro ŋʋna,** (4) *ka ʋ naŋ wɛɛra*
       but come meet 1s uncle Bokoro as.for   and 3s still go.Imperf

    po'. (5) *Ʋŋ* **sʋgʋ-ʋ,** (6) "Amaniye, boŋ wa' (7) ʋ̃ lɛ lɛɛbɪ
    farm   3sN ask-3s   news   what come   2sN again return

kuse yɪrɪ bɛbɛɛ-aa?" (8) Ʋŋ ye' (9) ká, ŋ asʋba Abulai ŋ tʋmʋ-ʋ,
go.home town morning-this   3sN say   that 1s uncle Abulai Foc sent-3s

(10) ká ʋ́ tɪ'   kalɪ   nɪŋkottu (11) yini ba bɛrɪga nyɔgɪ
      that 3s go-Impv gather-Impv elders   like 3p trap   catch

bampɛ. (12) A yɛla ŋ so', (13) ká bá kaa,   (14) a kʋ́'
leopard   the matter Foc own   that 3p look-Impv   and kill-Impv

nɔɔsɪ sɔsɪ   Naaŋmɪnnɪ, (15) chɛ ka bá wo'   kɔmma (16) ka
fowls ask-Impv God   but and 3p seek-Impv children   and

bá wa',   (17) tí tɪ'   tuu.   (18) Ŋ asʋba Bokoro ye' ká,
3p come-Impv   2p go-Impv follow-Impv-3s   1s uncle Bokoro say that

"Aai!"   (19) Ká a bampɛ yɛla ʋŋ lɛ wɛɛra yɪr-aa, bɪ?
(contempt)   that the leopard matter 3sN again going town-this or

(20) Ká ʋ́ lɛɛbɪ,   (21) bá yemmi.
      that 3s return-Impv   3p go.away-Impv

'(1) *The boy was returning to town,* (2) he intended to inform the elders, (3) **and met my uncle Bokoro,** (4) *who was still journeying to the farm.* (5) **He (Bokoro) asked him,** (6) "What's the news, what has happened (7) that you are again returning to town this early morning?" (8) **He (the boy) said**, (9) my uncle Abulai had sent him, (10) that he should inform the elders (11) that their (Abulai and co.) trap has caught a leopard. (12) This being so, (13) they (the elders) should do divination, (14) and sacrifice some chickens and beg God, (15) then they should choose some young men, (16) who should come, (17) so that we all may go and track it down. (18) **My uncle Bokoro said** (with great contempt), "Aai!" (19) Due to the leopard problem he (Waayo) was returning to town, or what? (20) He (Waayo) should turn around, (21) they would go together.'

We can note here that clauses (3), (5), (8), and (18) are on the main **storyline**, bolded above; clause (11) is on the storyline of the narrative embedded in the boy's answer to Bokoro. Clauses (1) and (4), containing verbs in the imperfective, are **backgrounded activities**, and are italicized; clause (9) is a **backgrounded event** in the

embedded narrative. Three clauses are **irrealis**, and are underlined: (2) contains a verb marked for intentionality, and (20) and (21) are third-person imperatives; in the embedded narrative, clauses (10) and (13) through (17) are all third-person imperatives and thus are also irrealis. Finally, clause (12) in the embedded narrative contains a verb with a near-stative meaning, "to own", which indicates that that clause is **setting**.

The first sentence of this example contains four clauses, with each of the three subsequent clauses joined to the previous clause with a different conjunction; each clause is also on a different salience band from the previous one. This illustrates what was noted in section 2.4.4.2, that the conditions for a subsequent verb inheriting the tense or aspect marked on the previous verb so marked are restricted (only verbs joined with the conjunction *a* may inherit such tense or aspect designations, and only the designations indicated by the preverbal particles *maŋ*, *haŋ*, *tɛɛŋ*, and *koroŋ* may be so inherited).

Furthermore, this first sentence illustrates the importance of the verb form and preverbal particles as the main indicators of the salience band: clauses (1) and (4) are both Backgrounded Activity because of verbs in the imperfective aspect, while clause (2) is Irrealis because the verb is marked with the "intended future" preverbal particle, and clause (3) is Storyline because the verb is in the perfective aspect and unmodified except by the auxiliary verb *wa'*, which is noted below as being one of the few acceptable modifiers of a verb on the storyline.

It is important to notice here that when the occurrences of N-pronouns and regular pronouns (which follow the sentence-level restrictions as analyzed in section

3.2) are correlated with the category of information in each clause (determined by the verb morphology and modifiers, along with sentence structure), the net result is that only N-pronouns appear as the subjects of storyline verbs, while the regular pronouns occur as the subjects of verbs in various categories of supporting information.

4.1.2.1 Storyline

The **storyline** band is shown by verbs in the unmarked perfective aspect in an independent clause, which may be modified only by the auxiliary verbs *wa'* 'start to' and *tɩ'* 'finally', and by the preverbal particles *lɛ* 'again' and *naŋ* 'still'. A verb on the storyline may not occur with any other preverbal particles, nor with the postverbal predicate focus marker *naaŋ*. The storyline clauses are bolded in the examples below:

(290) *Daarɩ kpaŋ ʋŋ guunsi <u>bɩlɛɛɛŋ</u>, ʋ wɛɛra   ka nagɩzɩaŋ dit-te.*
day   one   3sN creep <u>on.and.on</u> 3s go-Imperf and Red-Bull eat-Imperf

Ʋŋ tɩ' yi'   ʋ ɩŋŋa boin, "Ŋ daba." **Ʋŋ harɩsɩ. Ʋŋ ye'** ka...
3sN go reach 3s area gently   1s friend   3sN startle   3sN say that

'*One day he was creeping along*, *and Red Bull was eating,* **he (Lion) appeared quietly in his area,** "My friend." **He (Red Bull) jumped. He (Lion) said**....' (Text 34:15-18)

(291) Ká, **ʋŋ ɛ', baŋ asɩ,** ká **ʋŋ sɔsɩ bɩlɛ ŋmɩnnɩ,** chɛ **dɩ' bɩlɛ bʋnnɩɩ**
that 3sN do 3pN stand that 3sN ask this God   and take this thing-Spec

kʋ' ŋ yaarɩba Looloo, ká ʋna   mɩŋ   ŋ na' ba bibile.
give 1s grandfather Looloo that 3sEm likewise Foc is   3p younger

'[He said that] He did it, they stood, he asked this of God, and took the thing and gave it to my grandfather Looloo, since he was the youngest.' (Text 12:19)

Verbs which would otherwise qualify as storyline but are marked with the adverbial *bɪlɛɛŋ* 'on and on' are considered to be **demoted** down to backgrounded activity, as in the first clause of example (290) above. Likewise, verbs which would otherwise be Background may be **promoted** to the storyline by the use of an appropriate modifier: in each of the example below, the second clause would normally be off the storyline (since it is in the perfective intransitive aspect, and follows the conjunction *ka*), however the ideophone *pɪʊʊ* (indicating surprise and suddenness) raises the salience of this clause to the level of the storyline:

(292) Bee baŋ naŋ asɪ lii-re   duu, **ka** a naafʊ **isigi-ye**,   "**pɪʊʊ**!"
      there 3sN still stand tie-Imperf plans **and** the cow **get.up-PfIntr ideoph**
      'There they still stood making plans, when suddenly the buffalo emerged!' (Text 1:79)

Finally, the subject of a storyline clause may be a noun or noun phrase, a pronoun, or null, depending on the discourse context and the options permitted by the syntactic structure. If such a subject is a noun or noun phrase, it may not be marked with the subject focus marker *ŋ*; if the subject is a pronoun, it must be an N-pronoun and not a regular pronoun (but see further 4.1.2.9); a null subject has no restrictions, and may freely occur as the subject of any clause as permitted by the sentence syntax, regardless of its discourse salience.

As noted in 1.4.2.3, the storyline clauses of a narrative form the backbone of the narrative (Hopper and Thompson 1980:281). When extracted from the rest of the narrative, this "backbone" structure can be clearly seen. In Appendix B, the storyline

192

clauses (in English) of Text 1 are presented, along with the next two levels of information (backgrounded actions and events, described in the two sections below).

4.1.2.2 Backgrounded Actions and Events

As defined here, **backgrounded events** include information presented to clarify a narrative, including both explanatory material as well as events that are out of sequence (Grimes 1975:56-59). This category of information includes verbs marked in several different ways.

A perfective verb modified by one of the tense-oriented preverbal particles *haŋ* or *tɛɛŋ* is off of the storyline and is categorized as a background action or event. (However, where *haŋ* occurs in a preposed clause, and repeats information from a previous clause, I have categorized it as cohesion, at the lowest degree of salience, below.) Verbs in the first category, with perfective aspect and modified by *haŋ* 'did' or *tɛɛŋ* 'already', appear in the examples below.

(293) **Ba <u>haŋ</u> ɛ' ba siriya   wa'   sa'**, jaa   ka nɪŋ-korigu nʊ
      3p <u>did</u> do 3p preparation come finish not.knowing and man-old   Spec

      mʊŋ, ka ʊ mʊŋ so' ʊ baŋŋɪrɪ.
      also   and 3s also own 3s knowledge

      '**They had finished their preparations,** not knowing that the old man had magical powers.' (Text 13:11)

(294) ...ka ba ta'   a naafʊ zee   nʊ ba haŋ ŋmɛ-ʊ nʊ, **a   <u>tɛɛŋ</u>**
         and 3p reach the cow   place Spec 3p did   hit-3s Spec **and <u>already</u>**

      dɪ' ʊ baʊ a   tuu-re...
      pick 3s trail and follow-Imperf

193

'...and they had reached the area where they had shot the buffalo, and already found its trail and were following it...' (Text 1:72)

A perfective verb (modified or unmodified) which occurs in a clause following the conjunction ka^{77} is also understood to be off the storyline, either because it is temporally out of sequence with the storyline events, or because it expresses an action which is in some sense dependent on or resultant from the action in the main clause. Thus it is also categorized here as a background action or event.

(295) Baŋ tɪ' kaa bɛrɪga nɪɪ, **<u>ka</u> ʋ nyɔgɪ bampɛ.**
       3pN go look trap Spec **and 3s catch leopard**
       'They went and looked at the trap, **<u>and</u> it had caught a leopard.**' (Text 1:8)

In addition, the perfective intransitive form of the verb (cf. section 2.2.2) as a general rule also appears to convey non-storyline information, and is thus provisionally considered to express backgrounded action; however, it occurs infrequently in the text corpus and a more specific discourse function cannot be determined with the present data.

(296) ...daa nɪɪ haŋ le' nɪɪ, ʋ **<u>le-ye</u>   naaŋ   kaka,** a gɔrɪ gɔndɔŋ.
        tree Spec did fall Spec **3s fall-PfIntr PredFoc thus** and bend hollow
        '...the tree which fell, **it had fallen just so**, and bent hollowly.' (Text 1:81)

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⁷⁷ While in some contexts ka 'and, then, so' appears to function like an ordinary coordinating conjunction, in other contexts it appears to have a subordinating function (as discussed in section 2.4.4.2). Thus a clause beginning with ka would not necessarily be an independent clause as is required for verbs on the storyline. Whether for this or some other reason, it appears to be the case that any clause which begins with ka does not occur on the storyline.

The verbs categorized in this section as backgrounded actions or events all have perfective aspect (whether regular perfective, or perfective intransitive), and are distinguished from the next category, backgrounded activities..

4.1.2.3 Backgrounded Activities

Backgrounded activities are indicated in two ways, either by a verb directly marked with the imperfective aspect, or a verb in the unmarked perfective aspect which is followed by the durative adverb *bɪlɛɛŋ* 'on and on'. I take it that the verb in the unmarked perfective aspect is more salient than the verb in the imperfective aspect, even though it is marked with *bɪlɛɛŋ*, so that there is a relative rank between these two forms. It appears from the data that the verb in the imperfective is the more common way of conveying backgrounded activities.

(297) ...ʊŋ le' kɔŋ, <u>ka ʋ puuŋ bɪlɛɛŋ</u>, a wa' dʋ'.
...3sN fall water and 3s swim on.and.on and come climb
'...it entered the water, and swam for a while, then climbed out.' (Text 13:39)

(298) Baŋ gaŋŋɪ Voŋkoro bɛɛla, <u>a sigi-re</u>...
3pN pass Vonkoro a.little and go.down-Imperf
'They passed Vonkoro a little, and were going downhill...' (Text 12:22)

4.1.2.4 Setting

The **setting** band again includes verbs from three categories: any verbs marked with *maŋ* 'habitually'; any verbs which are active by morphology but which semantically convey a more stative meaning, such as *so'* 'own, have'; and all the positive stative verbs, such as *be'* 'live, exist', *kɛɛsɪ* 'remain', and *lɛ'* 'it is'.

195

(299) ...kà nɪŋkorigu wa' **so'** ʊ dɪmɪnɪ kpaŋ, **ʊ maŋ** ye' ká "sɔrɪ."
      if elder come own 3s power one 3s Hab say that path
    '...if an elder possesses a spiritual power, he calls it a "way."' (Text 34:14)

(300) <u>Jara mɪŋ **be'** mɔɔ</u>.
    Lion likewise be.at bush
    'Lion also lived in the bush.' (Text 34:3)

(301) <u>Aŋ wa **kɛɛsɪ** nagɪzɪaŋ</u>.
    3sN come be.left Red.Bull
    'Finally, only Red Bull was left.' (Text 34:61)

(302) <u>Jara mɪŋ beesuŋ zee ŋ **lɛ'**</u>.
    Lion likewise living place Foc it.is
    'It was also Lion's living place.' (Text 34:4)

4.1.2.5 Irrealis

Irrealis includes those things mentioned that did not actually happen. This includes verbs in the imperative mood, as well as those with preverbal particles indicating negation, future time, and various types of modality.

(303) ...baŋ wa' zɪnɪ paa zu', <u>ká bá lii-re duu</u>.
    3sN come sit high.bench top that 3p tie-Impv plan
    '...they came and sat on top of the high bench, that they would make plans.'
    (Text 1:60)

(304) ...chɛ baŋ be' kɔŋ poo chene, <u>saa ba tɔɔ-rɪ-ba</u>.
    but 3sN be.at water in walking, rain Neg beat-Imperf-3p
    '...but they were walking in the water, but the rain was not beating them.' (Text
    12:23)

(305) Ʊ kenne, a isigi yini <u>ʊ na wa' nyɔgɪ ŋ asʊba Bokoro</u>.
    3s come.Imperf and get.up like 3s Fut come grab 1s uncle Bokoro
    'It was coming, and jumped like it will come and catch my uncle Bokoro.' (Text
    1:25)

(306) ...ka ʋ mɪŋ   yi'   Yɛrɪsɪwɛɛrɪ a   wa' <u>naa   dɔɔnɪ-ba</u>.
      and 3s likewise go.out Yerisiweeri and come intend greet.evening-3p
      '...and he likewise left Yerisiweeri and came intending to bid them good
      evening.' (Text 1:63)

(307) ...<u>a   din-aa   ɔ-ɔ   ba kpi</u>'.
         the day-this would-3s Neg die
      '...to this day, he wouldn't have died.' (Text 13:58)

4.1.2.6 Evaluation

Evaluation as author intrusion into the story occurs frequently, though not in

every story. It is most commonly set apart by the use of a second-person pronoun, thus

explicitly addressing the comment to the hearer, as in example (308). However, such

evaluations can also occur without this feature, as in example (309).

(308) ɩ ba nya' ká a   ɛ' yɛlɪ-bɛɛrɪsɪ?
      2s Neg see that 3pnh do matter-painful
      'Don't you see this was a bitter thing to him?' (Text 1:51)

(309) A   yini, ʋ kʋ   woŋ yɛla, ana   ŋ nyɔgʋ-ʋ nɪɪ.
      3pnh like 3s NegFut hear matter 3pnhEm Foc catch-3s Spec
      'It's like, because he wouldn't listen, this is what got him.' (Text 13:61)

4.1.2.7 Cohesion

The cohesive band is marked by back-reference in preposed clauses with *haŋ*

which repeat some aspect of the previous sentence.

(310) Ba yi'   Gbonnaa bɪlɛɛŋ,   a wa' ta' Voŋkoro. <u>Ba haŋ wa'</u>
      3p go.out Bouna   on.and.on and come reach Vonkoro 3p did come

      <u>ta' Voŋkoro,</u> ka ŋmɪnɪŋa le-ye.
      reach Vonkoro   and sun   fall-PfIntr

'They went away from Bouna for a long time, and reached Vonkoro. They had reached Vonkoro, and the sun had gone down completely.' (Text 13:15-16)

4.1.2.8 Conclusions and Implications

The distinctions above are significant because there appears to be a distinction made between which of the pronoun forms can appear on the storyline. A pronominal subject of a clause on the storyline must be from the N-pronoun set. Similarly, a pronominal subject of a clause not on the storyline must not be from the N-pronoun set, but rather from the regular set. Consider the following extended example (311), where Bokoro recounts his activities, for his brother and rival Abulai (Text 1:36-44). This is a brief narrative embedded in conversation, apart from the first speech verb which is on the storyline of the matrix narrative; clauses (9) and (10) through (14) comprise additional levels of embedded narrative:

(311) (1) Ʊŋ ye' (2) ká, yɪrɪ amaniye zaa ŋ na': (3) Ká ʋ   yi'   naaŋ
            3sN   say   that town news   all Foc it.is   that 3s go.out PredFoc

yɪrɪ (4) kenne   (5) a   wa' toosi Waayo (6) ka ʋ kuse. (7) Ʊŋ sʋgʋ-ʋ
town come.Imperf and come meet Waayo   and 3s go.home   3sN   ask-3s

amaniye. (8) Ʊŋ ye' (9) ká, ɪna   ŋ tʋmʋ-ʋ. (10) Ká ú tɪ'
news   3sN say   that 2sEm Foc send-3s   that 3s go-Impv

kalɪ   (11) yini ka ya bɛrɪga ŋ chɛ'.   (12) Ʊŋ ye' (13) ká, bá
inform-Impv   like that 2p trap   Foc not.there   3sN say   that 3s

kaa   a   poo, (14) chɛ ka bá wa'   wo-u.   (15) Ká ʋŋ ye'
look-Impv 3pnh in   and that 3s come-Impv seek-Impv-3s   that 3sN say

(16) ká, a   ŋaa ba lɛ ta' (17) ká bá tɪ'   yɪrɪ sarɪ. (18) Ká
      that 3pnh this Neg again reach   that 3p go-Impv town first   that

198

ʋŋ tarɔ-ɔ. (19) Ká a̱ bampɛ, ká ʋna tɩ' kʊ́-ʋ biŋŋi bee.
3sN held-3s   that the leopard that 3sEm go kill-3s put   there

'(1) **He (Bokoro) said**, (2) this is the whole town news: (3) That he had gone out of the town (4) and was coming (5) and **came upon Waayo** (6) as he was going home [not imperf. in Saf]. (7) **He (Bokoro) asked him the news.** (8) **He (Waayo) said,** (9) *you* had sent him. (10) That he should inform (11) that your trap had got missing. (12) **He (Abulai) said,** (13) they should divine about it, (14) then come and they would look for it (the leopard). (15) **Then he (Bokoro) said,** (16) this matter does not reach [the degree of seriousness] (17) that they should go to the town [=inform the elders] first. (18) That **he collected him**. (19) As for the leopard, *he* had killed it and stashed it away.'

Here, the storyline events are bolded and backgrounded events are underlined, while other non-storyline categories are not indicated. The following are storyline clauses: (1), (5), (7), (8), (12), (15), and (18). Of these, all except (5) occur in a context where a pronoun is preferable as subject, and each case the pronoun that appears is an N-pronoun. Clause (5) is joined to the previous clause by the conjunction *a*, which requires null reference, however the form of the verb indicates that it too is on the storyline.

In contrast, the other clauses in this example are non-storyline. The following clauses are seen to be backgrounded action, so that each takes place off of the storyline: (3) because of the presence of the predicate focus particle, (6) because of the conjunction *ka*, (9) because of the subject focus marker, (19) by the topicalized NP; these clauses take as subjects either regular or emphatic pronouns (*ʋ*, *ʋ*, *ɩna*, and *ʋna*, for each of the clauses respectively). Clause (4) is off the storyline because the verb is in the imperfective aspect; since it is in an SVC, it does not have an overt subject. Clauses (2) and (11) are both off the storyline as stative verbs in the setting band, and

both have a full NP as the subject. Five clauses are irrealis and therefore off of the storyline: of these, (10) (13) (14) and (17) have verbs in the imperative mood with pronominal subjects from the regular pronoun set, while (16) is negated and has a full NP subject.

This extended example supports the notion that if a storyline clause has a pronominal subject, it must take an N-pronoun instead of a regular pronoun. However, it is important to note that the implication does not quite hold the other way: if a clause has an N-pronoun as the subject, this does not necessarily imply that the verb is on the storyline (though this would be correct for a great majority of the cases).

An examination of all N-pronouns in the four texts coded for salience yields two categories where a N-pronoun can appear without being on the storyline. First, there are a few cases where the N-pronoun appears with a verb marked for imperfective aspect, which would generally be Backgrounded activity, as in the following example:

(312) **Baŋ weɛra** ká ŋ asʊba Abulai bɛrɪ ʊ bɛrɪga.
 3pN go.Imperf and 1s uncle Abulai set 3s trap
 '**They were going** to farm, and my Uncle Abulai set his trap.' (Text 1:6)

Second, there are cases where the N-pronoun occurs as the subject of the stative verb *be'*, which would generally be considered Setting information, as in the following example:

(313) ...chɛ **baŋ be'** kɔŋ poo chen-e...
 and **3pN be.at** water in walk-Imperf
 '...but **they were** in the water walking' (Text 12:23)

The third main category is a clause which may not be on the storyline but has the object or location fronted for focus, as described in section 3.1. As noted before, this construction requires the presence of the N-pronoun as subject:

(314) **Ʋ baŋŋɪrɪ** ʋŋ ɛ' a iŋŋi baa nʊ ɪŋŋa.
     3s knowledge 3sN do and put.in dog Spec body
     '**His (esoteric/spiritual) knowledge he** used and put into the dog.' (Text 13:37)

So apart from the above exceptions, the presence of the N-pronoun is a strong indication that the sentence in question is on the storyline.

Returning to the regular pronoun: thus far, the majority of examples of a regular pronoun in an independent clause have included one of the conditioning factors seen in section 3.2: either the presence of a preverbal particle or clause conjunction which does not co-occur with the N-pronoun. Recalling that in 3.2 there were a few isolated examples of the regular pronoun in a completely unmarked clause, it is reasonable to look more closely at their discourse context (this is also discussed in more detail in section 4.1.3.3).

Note the following somewhat parallel examples, with my initial glosses:

(315) Ʋŋ lɔbʋ-ʋ, ʋ kʉ́-ʋ.
     3sN throw-3s 3s kill-3s
     'He (Lion) threw him (Black Bull), he killed him.' (Text 34:53)

(316) Ʋŋ bʋ' zɛ', ʋ soye kʋŋ. Ʋ kʉ́-ʋ biŋŋi.
     3sN turn here 3s machete cry 3s kill-3s put.away
     'It (the leopard) turned here, his (Bokoro's) machete sounded. He killed it
     down.' (Text 1:30-31)

My earliest hypothesis was that this type of sequence was the prototypical switch-reference example, with the regular pronoun being used to show continuity of subject from the previous clause. Since that hypothesis was shown to be incorrect, what in fact does such a sequence of pronouns signify? Taking a closer look at (316) in its larger discourse context (317), and using the modified translation supplied by the author to correct my initial lack of understanding, a clearer picture emerges:

(317) (26) Ʊŋ vɯrɩ ʋ zu', kɔsɩga [le'] "kpan'"! (27) ɩ daba le'.
           3sN throw.rock 3s head round.stone [fall] onoma   2s friend fall

    (28) Ʊ vɯrʋ-ʋ lɔbɩ. (29) Ʊŋ bʋ' zɛ', ʋ soye kʋŋ. (30) Ʊŋ
        3s throw.rock-3s throw   3sN turn here 3s knife cry   3sN

    bʋ' zɛ', ʋ soye kʋŋ. (31) Ʊ kʋ́-ʋ biŋŋi.
    turn here 3s knife cry   3s kill-3s put.away

    'He threw the rock at its head, the rock hit (the leopard's head) with a thud.
    Your friend (the leopard) fell. He has thrown it down (with the rock). It turned
    here, his machete sounded. It turned here, his machete sounded. He has killed it
    down (some time previously).' (Text 1:26-31)

As I questioned the author of the text more closely about the meaning, I finally realized that he was very careful to say "He *has* killed it down." He specified that this was being communicated not as an event in sequence ("He killed it") but as something that happened already or previously ("He has killed it"), even though this tense difference is not indicated by an explicit marking on the verb.

I questioned him further about why a narrator would set such an important event out of the story like this, and suggested that the N-pronoun should be used here instead. He responded that it would certainly be possible to tell the story this way, to make this

202

an event in sequence by using the N-pronoun instead of the regular pronoun. But this would diminish Bokoro's bravery by elevating his victory over the leopard to an action worth recording.

As it stands, the text presents uncle Bokoro as such a mighty hunter that the single-handed killing of a leopard, with nothing but a large rock and a machete, is not even an event worthy of the name: it is background information.

4.1.3 Macrosegmentation of Safaliba Narrative Texts

Universal narrative plot structure is realized in individual languages by language-specific surface-structure forms (Longacre 1996:35-38).   These surface structure forms relate in systematic ways to the notional plot structure through the following correspondences: the **Stage** (corresponding to notional **exposition**); the **Pea**k **Episode** (the "zone of turbulence" corresponding to the notional **climax** or **denouement**); both **Prepeak** and **Postpeak Episodes** (corresponding on the one hand to the **inciting moment**, **developing conflict**, and in some cases the **climax**; and on the other hand to the **denouement**—where this has not already been encoded by the Peak— and the **final suspense**), and the **Closure** (corresponding to the notional **conclusion**).

Each of these surface elements consists of a discourse unit, either at the level of the **paragraph**, or the level of the **discourse**. Furthermore, each will be from a particular genre of this discourse unit: normally, the Stage is either an **expository** or a **narrative** unit, while the episodic sections of the narrative are made up of either

203

narrative or **dialogue** units, and the Closure is often a non-narrative unit (Longacre 1996:35-38).

This section presents the above narrative substructures as they occur in Safaliba, with a concentration on the characteristics of the episodic sections. Although space does not permit a thorough discussion of Peak features in Safaliba narrative, an overview is given in 4.1.3.3 below (elsewhere, where I have used an example from a peak section, I have noted the fact). **Title**, **Aperture**, and **Finis** are surface structure features only and do not correspond to any part of the notional structure (Longacre 1996:36). Though these are not relevant to the participant reference questions, they are significant in helping to determine genre so are discussed briefly.

The macrosegmentation of Safaliba narrative is illustrated with examples from the text corpus, particularly from texts 1, 12, and 13 (historical narratives) as well as text 34 (a longer and well-constructed folktale).

4.1.3.1 Title, Aperture, and Finis

A historical narrative is usually referred to by the first few words of the story itself, or else by a summary of some part of its content: Text 11, "A man and his younger brother went hunting;" Text 12, "Kpembinaa and his younger brothers on the roadside." Some folktales have a similar title: Text 27, "The person who is able to dance on the rock outcropping until dust rises will marry the chief's daughter", but more often a folktale title will reflect the "teaching" at the end of the story: Text 28, "You learn what put Elephant into the bush;" Text 33, "Somebody's cleverness is

greater than yours." In some cases, the ostensible title does not correspond with the teaching at the end: for example, the teaching at the end of Text 27 mentioned above says, "It was due to Spider's cleverness that he obtained a wife."

An **Aperture** or formulaic opening is optional for Safaliba narratives. For animal folktales, it is common in oral texts to begin with "This is mine," as in (318) below.

(318) Ŋ tɔɔrɩ   ŋ   naʹ.
       1s ones.own Foc this.is
       'This is mine.' (Text 9:1, Text 18:1, Text 29:1, and others)

In contrast, few realistic narratives in the corpus begin with this Aperture. One does have the same Aperture as the animal fables, but it is structurally more similar to them as well. Two of the historical narratives begin with sentences which serve to signal that a narrative is about to begin, but these are not formulaic enough to be regarded as a true Aperture:

(319) Ŋ yaarɩba   Kpembinaa haŋ koroŋ   kʊ-tʊ   ʊ solime kpaŋ..
       1s grandfather Kpembinaa had formerly give-1p 3s story   one
       'My grandfather Kpembinaa once told us this story.' (Text 12:1)

(320) A-ŋaa,   ʊ ba ɛʹ yini solime gbagba ŋ   lɛʹ woo.
       3pnh-this 3s Neg do like story   actual Foc it.is warning
       'Now, this one is not really a "story" as such.' (Text 1:1)

Many narratives end with a Finis, or formulaic ending, particularly fables. Sometimes this is just variation on "It's finished," as in (321) below:

(321) ℧ sa-ya.
    3s finish-PfIntr
    'It is finished.' (Text 34:70)

However, some fables end with a more complex Finis which appears not to have a fully meaningful translation. Apart from the pronoun *ŋ* 'I' and the conjunction *nɩ* 'and', I do not recognize the words as being Safaliba, and no translation was offered: *Ŋ kaŋ kaŋ zaga nɩ ŋ choŋ kpara*, or *Ŋ saŋ kpaŋ chogo lii choŋ kpara.*

4.1.3.2 Indicators of the Stage

As noted above, the Stage is narrative or expository paragraph or discourse. In this section, story action does not take place: the Stage is "set" by introducing the participants and describing anything else which is needed before the story starts moving. The informational material of the Stage, particularly in typical cases where it is made up of an expository paragraph, includes the same type of information classified as "setting" in the salience scheme above: stative, non-dynamic verbs, habitual activities which set the scene for the action to come.

The Stage in these narratives is typically made up of sentences with stative verbs which serve to introduce the participants and their surroundings:

(322) ...ana   ŋ   **be'** a   yɩrɩ.
      3pnhEm Foc **live** 3pnh home
      '...these **lived** in their home.' (Text 34:2)

(323) Jara mɩŋ   **be'** mɔɔ.
      Lion likewise **live** bush
      'Lion for his part **lived** in the bush.' (Text 34:3)

(324) ...Jara mɪŋ   beesuŋ zee   ŋ   **lɛ'**.
　　　 Lion   likewise living   place Foc **it.is**
　　　 'Likewise, **it was** [also] Lion's living place.' (Text 34:4)

Often the Stage is quite short[78], including only a few short sentences with these

stative verbs (Text 11, Text 13). Sentences with ordinary verbs in the imperfective can

also appear here:

(325) ...ka   Jara **woo-re**   a   **guu-re**.
　　　 then Lion   want-Imperf and **fail-Imperf**
　　　 'Lion was **wanting** and **failing**.' (Text 34:6)

In the next example, imperfectives occur along with *isigi* 'get up', an active verb

which is nevertheless used in such contexts with the meaning 'lived' or 'was there':

(326) Nɔdaa   ŋ   **isigi**   a   tɪ' bɔɔ-ra   ʋ   pɔgɔ, ka waʋ   mɪŋ
　　　 Rooster Foc **get.up** and go   court-Imperf 3s woman   then Elephant likewise

　　　 tɪ' woo-re   a   pɔgɔ.
　　　 go   seek-Imperf the woman

　　　 '**There lived** a rooster, and he went courting his wife, and the elephant finally
　　　 was also seeking the woman.' (Text 28:1)

If the Stage is longer, there may be a section which shows the habitual or

customary activities of the participants.

An extended clause chain appears in the following example (repeated from

chapter 2) from a story with a very rambling beginning where the stage is much longer

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[78] Sometimes, however, the stage can be quite long: in Text 1, for example, the Stage for the main
narrative includes an entire embedded narrative discourse.

than usual; here, the verbs are connected with the conjunction *a* which is used only where the same subject continues:

(327) ...ʊ maŋ wo' bugun-saala ŋaa **a** wo' kaaŋ iŋŋa-a **a** nɛɛma-a
  3s Hab seek fire-black this **and** seek oil put.in-3snh **and** grind-3snh

   a sɛ' ʊ bɔtɔsɪ tagɪta ŋaa **a** yarɪ, **a** dɪgɪ ʊ guli nɪ ʊ soye
   and sew 3s sacks shirt this **and** wear **and** pick 3s cudgel and 3s knife

   a yi', **a** vugisi-re nɪrɪ-ba.
   and go.out **and** frighten-Imperf people

   '...he would look for charcoal **and** add oil to it, **and** grind it together, **and** sew his sack-cloth shirt, **and** wear it, **and** pick up his cudgel and his knife **and** go out, **and** be frightening people.' (Text 6:28)

4.1.3.3 Indicators of Peak

Peak is a subsection of a narrative discourse where tension is usually highest and the surface patterns do not apply or are even flouted, a "zone of turbulence" characterized by distortion or absence of normal conventions (Longacre 1996:38). Other features include rhetorical underlining (parallelism, paraphrase, repetition, used to stretch out that portion of the story), concentration of participants or "crowded stage" (many or most of the participants active and mentioned), heightened vividness (shift in nominal/verbal balance, tense, person, etc.), change of pace (variation in the length of clauses, sentences, etc.), change of vantage point or orientation, and incidence of particles and onomatopoeia (Longacre 1996:39-48).

The peak episodes have been identified in texts 1, 12, 13, and 34, and are used as the main basis for examples for this section. In each text, the peak episode is

identified by two characteristics: it is similar to other episodes by being marked by boundary features which set it apart from the elements which precede and follow it, and at the same time it is clearly different from these in that its surface structure is less typical than those episodes determined to be non-peak. In each of these texts, the peak episode also lines up with what is arguably the notional climax.

The peak episode of Text 1 consists of an embedded narrative discourse, sentences 69-100 (the overall narrative structure of Text 1 can be seen in Appendix C). The peak of this embedded discourse consists of sentences 79-98, and as such is the climax of the entire narrative. A number of peak-marking features occur here. At the beginning of this peak section, rhetorical underlining is used as the narrator explains in some detail about the bent-over fallen tree which provides a partial shield for Abulai as he attempts to avoid the buffalo (sentences 81-83), and then describes how Abulai is pierced and wounded by the buffalo's horn, though not mortally, and the extent of the scar afterwards (sentences 84-92). After all this, the narrative changes pace, using shorter sentences and moving quickly to the end of the climactic section (sentences 93-98).

Example (328) below, from the core of the peak episode of Text 1, illustrates the rhetorical underlining (the wounding of Abulai by the buffalo in sentences 86-88).

Rhetorical underlining:
(328) (86) Ʊŋ tɛbʊ-ʊ gan'. (87) Ʊ ulɪ tɛbɪ ʊ poori nu, ʊ logiri
           3sN pierce-3s greatly   3s horn pierce 3s back Spec 3s side

kakaa   nu, a na mɪsʋ-ʋ nu. (88) A yɛla, ʋ haŋ tɛbʋ-ʋ   a
just.here Spec and Fut scatter-3s Spec   the matter 3s did pierce-3s and

ye' ʋ viibu-u basɪ   nu, ʋŋ pɪʋlɪ gannɪ nu.
say 3s twist-3s throw Spec 3sN tear   skin Spec

'It (the buffalo) pierced him greatly. Its horn pierced his waist, his side just
here, to scatter him. So, it had pierced him and was about to twist him and
throw him down, and tore the skin (so that he fell free).' (Text 1:86-88, Peak
episode)

Other markers of peak in this section includes some shift in the vantage point as
the author addresses the hearers directly (sentences 85, 89, 95); a more frequent
occurrence of onomatopoeia or ideophones (79, 83, 96, 98), and a shift in verb tenses so
that in the last section (sentences 93-98), several important events are expressed in non-
storyline forms: sentence (93) "*Ka* Uncle Yeliwaya thought", sentence (94) "He *had
drawn* his machete", and sentence (96) "My father Alijima *had stood*...." Each of these
could probably be expressed more directly as an ordinary storyline action, but the
narrator chooses to do otherwise, presumably as part of the peak marking.

The first episode of Text 1 also consists of an embedded narrative discourse (see
Appendix C for further details), which likewise has a peak episode (sentences 17-32)
displaying some of these features, though in different proportions. Again the pace
changes: as matters come to a head (sentences 24-32), the action speeds up suddenly
with shorter sentences and almost only storyline material. Once again we have
rhetorical underlining, in the form of paraphrase (sentence 26) and repetition (sentences
29 and 30). Vantage point changes, as the hearers are addressed directly and the
leopard is called "your friend" (sentence 27). Similarly to what is described above for

the main peak section of the entire narrative, significant events in the peak section of this embedded discourse are expressed in forms which are used to communicate background information (but, as noted above in 4.1.2.8, the marking used—the regular pronoun instead of the N-pronoun—is not as obvious to the non-native speaker).

The peak episode of Text 13 (sentences 36-51) also displays similar features. Example (329) below illustrates rhetorical underlining (in the repetition), change of pace (in the heavy use of short, choppy sentences which up until this point are uncommon), and a higher incidence of onomatopoeia (*ŋma'*, the sound of the lion's roar, *pabab*, an ideophone representing the way the man and woman jumped at the sound, and *nyaam*, an ideophone representing completeness, all bolded below):

Change of pace, rhetorical underlining, onomatopoeia:
(329) (41) ʊ haŋ lɛɛbɪ jara nɪɪ, tɔ', daba nɪ pɔgɔ jɛŋ-ya, ka jara
       3s did change lion Spec o.k. man and woman lie-PfIntr and lion

isigi-ye posi, "**Ŋma'**!" (42) Baŋ harɪsɪ **pabab**! (43) Ʊŋ nyɔgɪ daba.
get.up-PfIntr shout roar   3sN shiver onoma   3sN grab man

(44) Daba kʊnsɪ pagɪ. (45) Nɪrɪba nɪɪ be' doori bee chɛ won-ne
    man cries cover   people Spec be.at side there and hear-Imperf

nɪra haŋ kʊn-na. (46) Daba kʊnsɪ pagɪ. (47) Ʊŋ nyɔgɪ daba, ka ʊ
person did cry-Imperf   man cries cover   3sN grab man and 3s

ɔbɪ ʊ zaa ká **nyaam**, chɛ wa' kɛɛsɪ ʊ yɔɔrɪ nɪ ʊ lannɪ. (48)
eat 3s all that ideoph but come leave 3s privates and 3s testicles

Chɛ kɛɛ pɔgɔ nɪɪ. (49) A pɔgɔ dɔbɪ bee.
but left woman Spec   the woman squat there

'It had changed into a lion, okay, the man and woman were asleep, and the lion emerged and roared, "ngma!" They shivered, "pabab." It grabbed the man. The man's cries covered (the area). People were on the other bank and heard a

person wailing. The man's cries covered (the area). It grabbed the man and ate him up completely, "nyaam," leaving only his private parts. But left the woman (untouched). The woman squatted there (in shock).' (Text 13:41-49, Peak episode)

A full analysis of peak marking in Safaliba narrative must be left for future investigation. However it is important to note that the identification of the peak episode of an embedded discourse provides an explanatory context for the unusual use of a regular pronoun in a clause which in other respects would be a storyline event. This can be seen specifically in Text 1, sentences 28 and 31, and also in example (315) in section 4.1.2.8 above, which is sentence 53 from the peak episode of Text 34. These examples closely parallel the use of other types of non-storyline forms to express events in the peak of the main narrative, as in Text 1 sentences 93, 94, and 96.

4.1.3.4 Indicators of Episode Boundaries

Episodes are defined by continuity in time, place, event, and/or agent span, and discontinuities of these same qualities may mark episode boundaries, which are usually additionally indicated by specific boundary markers (Longacre and Hwang, in press:50). Typically, the first pre-peak episode encodes the notional "inciting moment," the following episode or episodes encode the notional "developing conflict," followed by further episodes corresponding with the climax, denouement, and final suspense as the story comes to its conclusion. As noted above, the episodes are all structurally similar, with the exception of the peak episode (corresponding usually to either the climax or the denouement), which is marked by various departures from the norm.

212

In the four Safaliba narratives where the narrative structure was most completely analyzed, the features above are clearly distinguishable. In most narratives, main episode boundaries are indicated in the first sentence of the episode with an adverbial time phrase such as *daarɪ kpaŋ* 'one day', *bɛɛ bɛɛ* 'day dawned', or something similar. This often comes at the beginning of the sentence, but may occur at permissible syntactic positions within the sentence, with the same discourse function. Some longer narratives have shorter narratives embedded as episodes within the main narrative; in these cases, the episode boundaries of the embedded narratives may not be so obviously marked by a time phrase. All episodes, whether of the main or embedded narratives, are further distinguished from the surrounding context by changes in the time or place of occurrence or in the participant inventory of the episode.

The following time margins are examples of such episode boundaries:

(330) **Daarɪ kpaŋ** ʋŋ guunsi bɪlɛɛŋ, ʋ wɛɛra ka nagɪzɪaŋ dit-te.
day one 3sN creep on.and.on 3s go.Imperf then Red.Bull eat-Imperf
'**One day** Lion lay down, and he was thinking on and on....' (Text 34:15, from Episode 2, sentences 15-28)

(331) **Bɛɛ bɛɛ,** ʋŋ lɛ guunsi bɪlɛɛŋ...
day dawn 3sN again creep on.and.on
'**The next morning**, he again crept carefully....' (Text 34:29, from Episode 3, sentences 29-37)

(332) Bɪlɛɛŋ, **daarɪ kpaŋ,** ʋŋ waꞋ ɛꞋ ʋ ŋfɛrɛ yini ká ʋ na dɪgɪ bipɔgɔ...
on.and.on, day one 3sN come do 3s mind like that 3s Fut take girl
'And so on; **one day**, he made up his mind to steal the girl...' (Text 13:10, from Episode 2, sentences 10-15)

(333) Ʊ haŋ wa' nyaa, ʋŋ lɛ   isigi tɩ' Bɛɛla **daarɩ kpaŋ**...
       3s did come revive 3sN again get.up go Bole   day   one
       'When he recovered, he again went to Bole **one day**...' (Text 6:41, from
       Episode 2, sentences 41-55)

        In stories where the action does not take place over several days, or the time
duration is not specified, there are different phrases which may be used to indicate a
boundary. The phrases *bee ka* 'there that' or *bee ŋ le* 'there it is" leave the time units
unspecified, and have the meaning "there" or "there at that time":

(334) Ká **bee ŋ lɛ'**, ka ŋ yaarɩba   Kpembinaa, ʋŋ asɩ.
       that there Foc it.is and 1s grandfather Kpembinaa 3sN stand
       'At that point, my grandfather Kpembinaa, he stood.' (Text 12:36, from
       Postpeak Episode 1, sentences 36-49)

        A change in location is commonly also used to indicate episode boundaries:

(335) **Ká baŋ cheŋ bɛɛla,** ka saa nɩɩ   posi-ye...
       that 3sN walk a.little and rain Spec thunder-PfIntr
       'They walked a little further, and the rain thundered....' (Text 12:24, from
       Episode 3, sentences 24-25)

(336) **Ba haŋ wa' ta' Voŋkoro,** ka ŋmɩnɩɩa le-ye.
       3s did come reach Vonkoro   and sun   fall-PfIntr
       'They had just reached Vonkoro, and the sun had set.' (Text 13:16, from
       Episode 3, sentences 16-28)

        Furthermore, each episode boundary often involves a partial or complete change
in the participants currently on stage. For example, in Text 34 most episodes involve
only the Lion and one of the three Bulls. The change of participant inventory is one of
the critical indicators of episode boundaries in the narrative discourse embedded as the

214

Stage of Text 1: here, the first episode involves Uncle Abulai, Uncle Yeliwaya, and the farm youth; the second and the peak episodes involve Uncle Bokoro and one of the youths (with a change in location distinguishing the peak), and the postpeak episode involves Uncle Bokoro and Uncle Abulai. This is very similar to the participant changes which distinguish episodes in the main narrative of this and other stories.

4.1.3.5 Indicators of Closure

The Closure is the final substantial part of a narrative, and it is one of the most consistent aspects of narrative structure observable in the texts in the corpus. As noted in previous sections, the natural context of many narratives involves some sort of teaching, so that all traditional folktales end with some kind of moral or explanation. But this is also an intrinsic part of narrative structure, which also serves to bring the narrative to an end: hence the term "closure." Only the "personal experience" conversational narratives in the corpus display the lack of a teaching moral at the end, although there is still some kind of observation or conclusion from the experience.

In the historical narratives and folktales, there is always some kind of a short expository or hortatory discourse which forms the Closure, often set off similarly to some of the episodes by a preposed phrase. In this case a different phrase is often used: either *ana ŋ so,* 'for this reason' or 'therefore' (literally, 'they own'), as in Texts 1 and 32; or *a yɛla* 'so' (literally, 'their matters'), as in Texts 6, 11, 26.

(337) **Ana   ŋ so'**, kà ɩna ŋ   won-ne   wɔgɩrɩ, ba na tɔ' ya zaa...
3pnhEm Foc own if 2sEm Foc hear-Imperf deceits 3p Fut beat 2p all
'These (words) indicate, if you are listening to deceits, they will beat you all....'
(Text 34:68)

Many of the other folktales have a similar closure at the end, though in most of them it is not so lengthy and is comprised of only one sentence. In the historical narratives, though, the closure is usually a full paragraph:

(338) (55) Kà ɩ wa' ɛ' bibile a isigi, a daga ká kà ba wa' ye' yɛla buu ba daga, í vɛnʊʊ. (56) Ta ye' ká "chɩnchɩnaa", ká ɩna na ɛ' naaŋ a bɩlɛ yɛllɩtatɩgʊ buu. (57) ɩ ba baŋŋɩ bʊnnɩ haŋ naa wa' yi' poori. (58) Kà bipɔllɩ ŋaa koroŋ vɛnɩ naaŋ, kà ʊ koroŋ vɛnɩ naaŋ daba ŋaa pɔgɔ ŋaa kʊʊ, a dinaa ɔɔ ba kpi'. (59) Ɔɔ naa kɛlɩŋ nya' pɔgɔ. (60) A daba mɩŋ chiu yɛlɩsɩra, ʊŋ tɔrɩgɩ. (61) A yini, ʊ kʊ woŋ yɛla, ana ŋ nyɔgʊʊ nɩɩ.

'If you are a child and grow up, it is right that, if they come and suggest something which is not right, you stay away from it. Don't say "chinchinaa" [an expression of disrespect and willfulness], that *you* will surely do that type of thing. You don't know what may come from it in the end. If this young man had surely refrained, if he had surely allowed the man to have his wife, today he wouldn't be dead. He would have found another woman. The man told him the truth, he refused. It's like, his refusal to listen, this is what got him in the end.'
(Text 13:55-61, Closure)

4.1.3.6 Conclusions and Implications

The major structural divisions in a narrative are the Stage, the Prepeak and Postpeak Episodes, the Peak, and the Closure. Different types of information are included in each section: some participants are introduced in the Stage, and different participants are often active in each Episode. The Closure may mention participants, but it does not narrate in the same way as the Episodes and may not directly mention the

participants at all. Appendix C presents a detailed display of the macrosegmentation of Text 1 and Text 13, as analyzed under this approach.

These structural components of narrative, together with the different strands of information discussed in 4.1.2, provide a narrative with much of its organization and coherence. The remaining major category of coherence is participant reference, which is best viewed across the background of the storyline and other categories of information, as well as the plot structure and internal boundaries. This is the topic of the next section.

4.2 Participant Reference: Resources, Rank, and Operations

Most approaches to participant reference involve one or more of the following concerns: (1) they distinguish different types of participants, relative to some defined span of text; (2) they catalogue (for a particular language) the different types of linguistic elements which may be used to refer to a participant in a narrative; and (3) they give a framework for following participants through a span of text, including introducing a new participant, maintaining reference to that participant, and reintroducing the participant after a time of comparative absence (cf. Givón 1990:740ff, 1990:893ff; Dik 1997a:313-326, 1997b:436-437; Lambrecht 1994:74-116). While most approaches acknowledge that these concerns are interrelated with each other (i.e. Givón 1990:748), they do not all incorporate each concern to the same degree[79].

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[79] This may be partially reflected in the operational metaphor of each approach. Longacre's metaphor, derivative from literary analysis, is stage drama ("the story is organized like a play"), which as a

Although no single approach to participant reference could incorporate all the possible parameters of participant reference, in my view the most integrated and expansive set of parameters useful for the present purposes is that presented in Longacre 1995[80]. Unlike some other approaches, this approach is qualitative rather than quantitative. This may be due to the complex structures and operations defined for a coherent narrative, which as noted below would be very difficult to model in a statistical approach. Nevertheless, the quantitative method defined by Givón, which does not attempt to model this complexity, still attains good functional results in some areas, and results of the application of this method are incorporated to some degree in the account below.

Givón 1994 describes measurement of two aspects of what he has defined as "topicality" in a text, starting from any single invocation of a particular referent in a text. The first aspect, topicality as what is "given," or referential accessibility, is measured by the distance (in terms of number of clauses) between the point in question and the previous invocation of that referent. The second aspect, topicality as what is "being talked about," or topic persistence, as measured by the number of times that particular referent is mentioned in the ten clauses following the point in question (1994:10-11; cf. 1990:902-903). These measurements correlate significantly with and

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reflection of human society is perhaps overly rich in metaphorical potential. In contrast, Givón's and Lambrecht's metaphor appears to be related to information technology ("the story is in the mind, which is organized like a computer"); this view seems to be borrowed through use in certain domains of neurological research, but ultimately the entire "computer" metaphor originates in the modern Western business-records office. Of course, analytical insights of equal but very different perspective might be expected to emerge from such alternatives.

[80] With some aspects, such as reference to other approaches and the suggested inventory of operations, developed further in Longacre and Hwang in press.

support the more qualitative framework used here, but there is also clear evidence that eliminating various complicating factors from consideration results in a limited ability to predict certain types of occurrences (cf. Givón 1990:913).

The pronoun and null-reference alternations which are at the forefront of the present research appear to be dependent on distinctions of a very specific nature, for which the quantitative approach of Givón (1994, 1990) does not encode. For this reason Longacre's (1995) approach to the study of participant reference has been the main methodological and theoretical guide in this section, as it gives specific attention to the discourse structure, the determination of relative importance of participants, and the text-related functional explanations of both the routine and the exceptional usages of different types of referring expressions. In particular, each part of this approach expects to take into consideration, and is therefore both constrained and enlightened by, the relevant language-specific discourse structures.

Thus the relative rank of participants is not based simply on the nature and frequency of invocations of a particular referent, but a more qualitative assessment of the relative ranking of the referents in the narrative, distinguishing those who act (participants) from those who are acted upon (props), and further distinguishing major participants as those participants who are relevant to the entire discourse and not just some subsection (Longacre 1995:700-702).

Likewise, the assessment of the degree of coding used to invoke a particular referent is considered not only with respect to the distance between and the fact of two particular invocations, but on the story-related motivation for each such invocation.

These motivations constitute the "participant operations" of this approach, and include consideration not only of the point in the discourse, but also of the relative rank and relationships between the participants "on stage" (Longacre 1995:702-703; Longacre and Hwang in press:70). These "participant operations" distinguish between the following motivations for the use of particular type of coding at a given point: (1) first mention in a story, (2) integration as the central participant, (3) routine tracking, (4) restaging of a participant who has been offstage, (5) boundary marking, (6) confrontation or dominance shift, (7) locally contrastive status, (8) evaluation by narrator, (9) exit of participant from the story. Like the inventory of possible participant ranks, the qualitative and functional inventory of operations suggested here contrasts significantly with the (more measurable) binary set of operations[81] in Givón's approach.

The remainder of this section is thus organized according to the three categories suggested in Longacre 1995, considering first the inventory of language resources for participant reference (section 4.2.1.), then the relative ranking of participants distinguished in the texts (section 4.2.2), and finally the operations of participant reference in narrative (section 4.2.3). Measurement of topic persistence or importance in the two texts contributes to the discussion of participant rank in section 4.2.2, and measurement of referential distance is related to the analysis of participant operations in section 4.2.3.

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[81] Givón distinguishes two such operations, first introduction and re-introduction of participants (1990:748).

4.2.1 Participant Reference Resources and a Summary of the Texts

The Safaliba language has a variety of resources for referring to participants in narrative, some similar to other languages, some not so similar. I present them following the inventory in Longacre 1995: 698-700, in which the forms of reference are arranged in order, from those forms of reference involving the greatest amount of coding down to those involving the least amount of coding.

The forms with the greatest amount of encoding are nouns with qualifiers, including compounded nouns with an adjectival element:

Compounded noun with additional qualifiers:
(339) Nya', ι baŋŋι **Daga-daba kpuri-kpuri zɛɛ-zɛɛ** nιι wɔ?
         look 2s know **Dagao-man short-short red-red** Spec answer
         'Look, do you know the **short reddish Dagao man**?' (Text 7:13)

*Bare noun marked with **nιι** 'thing specified in the preceding discourse':*
(340) **Bee nιι** kenne   yιrι, a   naa wa' kalι **nιŋkottu nιι**...
         child Spec come.Imperf town and intend come inform **elders   Spec**
         '**The specified boy** was coming to town to inform **the specified elders**...' (Text 1:10)

Below this come bare nouns, without any qualifiers[82]:

Bare noun:
(341) ...ka **jara** isigi-ye   posi, "Ŋma'!"
          and **lion** get.up-PfIntr shout onoma
         'The **lion** (no def. article in original) up and roared, "roar!"' (Text 13:41)

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[82] Safaliba uses a variety of different constructions to express the sort of reference handled by the "definite article+noun" form in English. Thus the free translation in example (341), following English usage, translates *jara* as "the lion", whereas there is no article in the original (nor can *jara* be considered a proper name in the original, since this is not a folktale and the animal is not personified).

Next are surrogate nouns, expressing kinship, role, or occupation. In both instances below, the referent is referred to differently in other contexts:

Surrogate noun, kinship term with inalienable possession:
(342) **ʊ saa** dɪgɪ pɔgɔ, baŋ be' bee bɛtʊ ayi'.
    3s father take woman 3sN be.at. there days two
    '**His father** married the woman, they lived together for a short time.' (Text 10:19)

Surrogate noun, kinship term with inalienable possession:
(343) Nɪrɪba bayi' ŋ be' bee, nɪra nɪ ʊ **dɔgɪlɪga**...
    people two Foc be.at there person and **3s hanging.one**
    'There were two people, a person and **his sibling immediately younger**...'
    (Text 11:1)

After this are the pronominal elements: the emphatic pronoun set, the N-pronoun set, and the regular pronoun sets:

Emphatic pronoun:
(344) Ká a baɱpɛ, ká **ʊna** tɪ' kʊ́-ʊ biŋŋi bee.
    that the leopard that **3sEm** go kill-3s put.away there
    '[He said,] As for the leopard, **he** had gone and killed it and put it away there.'
    (Text 1:44)

N-pronoun:
(345) Ká **baŋ** cheŋ bɛɛla, ka saa nɪ posi-ye,
    that **3sN** walk a.little and rain Spec thunder-PfIntr
    '**They** walked a little further, and the rain thundered....' (Text 12:24)

Regular pronoun:
(346) **Ba** haŋ wa' ta' Voŋkoro, ka ŋmɪnɪŋa le-ye.
    3s did come reach Vonkoro and sun fall-PfIntr
    '**They** had just reached Vonkoro, and the sun had set.' (Text 13:16)

Deictic elements, such as in the following example, are ranked here below the pronouns:

Deictic with nu:

(347) **Ŋaa nu** haŋ gaŋŋɩ baa nʊ sa',
    that Spec had pass dog Spec finish
    '**That (one) specified** had passed the specified dog...' (Text 13:39)

At the bottom of the scale is null reference. There are two uses of null reference which can be distinguished. The first occurs in chaining or conjoined clauses with *a* or *chɛ*, where the referent of the subject does not change and is therefore unexpressed, as seen in the first occurrence in the example below:

Null reference, in chaining structure and in SVC:

(348) ...ká ʊŋ sɔsɩ bɩlɛ ŋmɩnnɩ, chɛ Ø dɩ' bɩlɛ bʊn-nu Ø kʊ' ŋ yaarɩba...
    that 3sN ask this God and pick this thing-Spec give 1s grandfather
    '...he begged this of God, then Ø took this thing and Ø gave my grandfather...'
    (Text 12:19)

Null reference in this context is more significant for participant reference issues, as the overt presence of subject here may have discourse significance. In contrast, the second occurrence of null reference above occurs in a serial verb construction (SVC, discussed in section 2.4.4.1), and in this case there is no possibility of variation.

The different forms of reference above are used contrastively to communicate various discourse functions in particular contexts in the story. The genre environment where this occurs affects the degree to which different types of resources are contrasted: in narrative sections, a main contrast is between the use of focus and regular pronouns with null reference; in dialogue sections, the main contrast seems to be between regular pronouns and emphatic pronouns.

223

For the analysis of participant reference presented below, I rely mainly on two texts[83] by two different authors, taken from the main corpus: Text 1, "The Reward of Jealousy", and Text 13, "Stay Away from What's Not Right" (both presented in their entirety and with full interlinear in Appendix A). Text 1 is about two brothers, Abulai and Bokoro, uncles of the storyteller, who were always competing to see who was the bravest hunter. Text 13 is about an old man with a young wife, and a young man who tries unsuccessfully to steal the old man's wife.

In Text 1, the stage is set with an embedded narrative in which Abulai realizes that a trap he set has caught a leopard. In such situations the animal's leg is usually wounded by the trap, but the animal will still uproot the stake holding the trap and try to escape. Since tracking a wounded leopard is dangerous, he requests that the village elders sacrifice and divine to learn whether such a course of action would be blessed. Bokoro intercepts the message, says that a leopard is too small a matter to disturb the village for, tracks down and kills the leopard single-handedly without a gun, and then goes to Abulai and reports nonchalantly that he has taken care of this little matter. Abulai is of course absolutely mortified with shame because he was afraid to go without spiritual support. This sets the scene for the main part of the narrative.

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[83] Along with several other texts, these two texts were subjected to analysis of storyline and background information as a basis for the presentation of those topics in previous sections. For the analysis of participant reference in these two texts I followed Longacre 1995, assessing the participant inventory, distinguishing relative rank within the story, and analyzing participant operations as described in this section and below. I also coded every referring expression (used non-technically for all invocations of referents) with Givón's (1994) measurements of anaphoric and cataphoric topicality, which are discussed at appropriate points as part of the overall analysis.

Bokoro and his other brother go hunting and wound a buffalo, which is renowned as the most dangerous animal to hunt. Following procedure he reports his activity to the village, and the elders divine and say that there is a bad fate with the buffalo, nobody should go and try to finish it off. However, because of Bokoro's recent exploit, Abulai decides that the elders are being cowardly, and determines to go and kill the buffalo anyway. Yeliwaya supports him, and as they are making plans, a friend meets them and says he will help them in this. But Abulai and his brother leave very early the next day, without telling the friend.

The friend tracks them, though, and meets up with them just before the buffalo charges unexpectedly while they are tracking it. Not surprisingly, Abulai trips and falls while trying to get away, and would have been gored to death except that as the buffalo tried to gore him, it pushes him into a providential refuge under a fallen tree where he is out of reach of the horns for the moment. But since the buffalo is still shoving its head at Abulai, Yeliwaya is sure that Abulai is about to be killed, and losing all good sense drops his gun and runs to attack the buffalo with just his machete. This would have meant certain death, except for the quick thinking of the friend, who calmly stands and shoots the buffalo with the gun. Abulai's jealousy has permanently scarred him, and almost cost him his life. The story ends with the admonishment that if somebody (like Bokoro) is gifted by God in something (like Bokoro's hunting and bravery), they should not be envied, because such jealousy brings a bad reward.

Text 13 is a much shorter story, with a simpler structure. An old man has been given a young wife, and all is well except that a young man decides he wants her.

225

Although the old man very reasonably points out to him that there are lots of other girls his own age, the young man refuses and makes plans to steal her anyway—never realizing that the old man has spiritual powers (as so many old and venerable men do). He is therefore completely aware of what the young man has in mind, and is preparing a response.

The day comes that the young man steals the woman and makes for the border, where he has to cross a river. When he gets there it is sundown, and the ferry-people do not want to take them across. But he persists, saying they will sleep in the woods on the other side, and carry on to town in the morning. So they are ferried across, but on the return trip the ferry-boy notices a strange white dog coming down towards the river. Meanwhile the young man and woman have gone to sleep in the woods.

The ferry-boy has gone home. We didn't know it, but the old man had put his powers into that dog. The white dog enters the river, swims across, and then changes into a lion. The man and woman are asleep. The lion roars, then attacks the man and eats him, but leaves the woman untouched. The lion then changes back into a dog and swims back across the river. The village people heard the screams in the night and come next morning to see what happened. When they see, they admonish the woman not to get involved in the bad things that others have planned, because you never know where it will end—after all, if that young man had listened to his elders, he would still be alive. But his refusal to accept and obey the teaching of his elders caught him in the end.

4.2.2 Relative Importance of a Participant to a Particular Span of Discourse

As noted above, the participants in a discourse may be ranked into three different groups, according to agency and degree of relevance to parts of the discourse: major participants, minor participants, and props. Two of these categories, major participants and props, may be further subdivided. Major participants are relevant to all parts of the story, and may be subdivided into central and non-central major participants. Among the non-central ones, we may further distinguish two possible types: an antagonist of the central participant, and helpers of either the central participant or the antagonist (if these are relevant to the entire story; helpers whose role is limited to a particular subsection of the story would be classified as minor participants). Props do not act as voluntary agents in their own right, and may be subdivided as follows: human, animate non-human, inanimate, and natural forces (Longacre 1995:700-701).

4.2.2.1 Relating Rank and Topicality

As noted above, ranking corresponds to some degree to the relevant and measurable quality of "thematic importance" (Givón 1990:903), as reflected in cataphoric topicality. Since participants are agents who are relevant to some section (or perhaps all) of the discourse, we might expect them to be referred to with some regularity, resulting in higher values for the measure of cataphoric topicality. Higher topicality values across particular stretches of discourse should correspond to some degree with relative rank of the participants. Furthermore, it seems likely that this

227

measurement would provide a quantitative way to distinguish participants from props, since participants as actors will be mentioned more often.

If the measurement above is done so that the section of text under consideration is correlated with the episode as determined in the section 4.1.3 above, it should be possible to determine to some degree which participants are relevant to those episodes. Furthermore, the measurement can be extended for the entire discourse, so that the referents which are "important" over the greatest number of episodes should correlate with the major participants, distinguishing them from the minor participants which are relevant only for parts of the narrative.

A complicating factor in all of this is that Longacre's classification of a participant being "relevant" to a particular episode may not correlate so directly with Givón's concept of "importance."

4.2.2.2 Ranking of Participants in the Two Texts

As noted above, there are two major participants in Text 1, the central participant Uncle Abulai, and his antagonist Uncle Bokoro. In the first section, which is an embedded narrative serving as the stage for the rest of the narrative, Bokoro proves that he is superior in bravery and a better hunter than Abulai. The rest of the story hinges on Abulai trying to prove that he is equally brave, with disastrous consequences. Although Bokoro only appears on stage during the first section of the story, he is relevant to the entire story because this rivalry is the ongoing context for the rest of the narrative. Abulai on the other hand is certainly relevant to the entire discourse: it is

about him, and he is active in all three major sections, though in the first section he is on stage very little.

There are five individual minor participants: Uncle Yeliwaya, Alijima, Waayo, the buffalo, and the leopard; the village elders act together to serve as a sixth participant unit. The first five are relevant only to a particular episode where they occur; while the elders have bit parts in two different episodes. There are also numerous props, though only a few (such as the trap and the farm) are topical for brief spans of text.

There are two major participants in Text 13, too: the central participant who is a young man trying to steal someone else's wife, and his antagonist, the old man whose wife is being stolen. As in Text 1, the antagonist is not present on stage in all sections of the story, but proves to be very truly relevant to the entire story. The old man is on stage only in the first two episodes of the story (though his avatar makes an appearance in the fourth episode and in the peak episode), but his relevance is felt throughout the story because the young man is trying until the end to escape with the old man's wife. There are two individual minor participants, the ferry-boy and the dog which turns into a lion. As in the previous story, there is also a group who acts as a single (minor) participant unit, the people in the riverside village. There are also several props, but only one is significant: the woman being stolen from her old husband. Although she is referred to collectively with the young man throughout much of the narrative, she never takes any direct action herself. This proves to be something that is not easy to measure by Givón's topicality measurements.

229

As an example of the results of measuring thematic importance by Givón's methods, consider the cataphoric topicality measurements for the first two episodes of Text 13 (recall that a cataphoric topicality measurement, also called topic persistence, is defined for a particular referring element as the number of times in the next ten clauses that the same participant is referred to). In the tables below are listed for each participant the number of times that participant is mentioned in each episode, the cataphoric topicality range (i.e. the lowest and highest topicality values for this set of mentions), and the number of "thematic" mentions (defined as the number of mentions with a topicality value greater than 2, following Givón's identification of more "thematically important" participants as those which will generally have topic persistence values above 2).

Table 12 Thematic Importance in Text 13 Episodes 1 and 2

Participant	# of times mentioned	cataphoric topicality range	# "thematic" mentions
Young Man (Episode 1)	9	6-11	9/9
Woman (Episode 1)	6	3-7	6/6
Old Man (Episode 1)	5	1-3	3/5
Young Man (Episode 2)	14 (6 jointly)	4-8	14/14
Woman (Episode 2)	9 (6 jointly)	2-7	7/9
Old Man (Episode 2)	12	0-9	8/12

As expected, the Young Man proves to be both the major participant as well as the most thematically important participant. Understandably, the Woman also proves to be thematically important in both these episodes: she is the object of contention between the two men! In the first episode, she is referred to singly; but in the second, and for most of the rest of the story, she is referred to jointly with the Young Man. However, this measurement obscures the important fact that she is not actually the agent of any actions.

As noted already, her lack of agency defines her technical status as a prop in this story. This status has implications for the type of expression used to refer to her: with a few exceptions in special contexts, whenever she is referred to apart from the young man, she is always referred to by a noun phrase, which is not what is expected for a highly topical referent by Givón's iconicity principle: as topical, she should be so accessible as not to need the weight of a full noun phrase.

A second problem with this topicality measurement is that it ranks the Old Man lower than the Woman. If the results from the two episodes are put together, the Old Man's percentage of "thematic" mentions is lower than that of the Woman, and his total cataphoric topicality range goes lower also.

Table 13 Combined Thematic Importance in First Two Episodes of Text 13

Participant	# of times mentioned	cataphoric topicality range	# "thematic" mentions
Young Man	23	4-11	23/23
Woman	15	2-7	13/15
Old Man	17	0-9	11/17

This is another context in which the measurable category of "thematic topicality" does not coincide well with the qualitative category of relevance to the entire discourse. I do not present here all possible comparisons and measurements from these two texts, since these examples are typical of the others. (Anaphoric topicality measurements are discussed in section 4.2.3 below.)

4.2.2.3 Summary

Referents in a Safaliba narrative can be divided into major participants, minor participants, and props, based on the degree to which they act as agents in the story, and the number of episodes to which they are relevant. In each of the narratives used for this analysis, there are two major participants, a central participant and an antagonist. Each narrative also has an assortment of minor participants and props.

Givón's measurements of topic importance correlate with Longacre's distinctions among participants and props in the following ways. A topic which is never thematic by Givón's measurements is always a prop by Longacre's classification. A topic which is usually thematic will usually be a participant in Longacre's category. And a topic which is thematic over several sections of a discourse is likely to correspond with a major participant. A topic which is thematic only over a particular section may correspond with a minor participant. However, as seen in the example above, sometimes a prop associated with one of the participants will be referred to regularly in particular sections of text, and in this case will qualify as thematically important, even perhaps more so than some referents in the participant category.

Participant rank is a significant factor which must be considered in evaluating participant reference operations. It is in the discussion of this topic, below, that we can see the details of participant reference which have the most significance for pronoun variation.

4.2.3 Participant Operations

Participant operations corresponds to some degree to Givón's concept of anaphoric accessibility (1994:10). A part of this approach is the observation that an "iconicity principle" exists to some degree in the forms used for reference. "Information that is already activated [in the mind, usually recently mentioned nearby in the text] requires the smallest amount of code" (Givón 1990:917), so that as noted above items like null reference are expected to be used for the more important and active participants, while forms of reference like the noun with modifiers (which he calls "marked topic constructions") would be reserved for participants which are less accessible or unimportant and therefore not often referenced.

He correlates the use of different items in the iconicity scale with the idea of "marked topic constructions." While zero anaphora and pronouns are used for highly topical participants, marked topic constructions are reserved for referents which are less accessible or unimportant, perhaps because of being new in the discourse or having been absent, or because of the presence of other referents in the discourse which may make a less marked form ambiguous (1990:741). Related to this, Givón distinguishes two "operations" within a discourse: (1) the first introduction of a referent into the

233

discourse, and (2) the reintroduction of a referent after considerable absence (1990:748).

Anaphoric accessibility is quantified by measurement of referential distance. As noted previously, the measurement of referential distance involves counting the number of clauses back from a particular invocation of some referent, to the previous invocation of that referent. Givón (1994) does not consider that the actual number is so important[84], and distinguishes only three categories. Generally, highly topical referents are expected to be represented by pronouns or null reference and should tend to have a value of "1," meaning that the previous occurrence is in the directly preceding clause. Referent somewhat less topical are often "[e]mphatic and topicalized NPs, or independent contrastive pronouns" and tend to have a value of "2/3," meaning that the previous occurrence is in the second or third preceding clause. Referents which are "anaphorically less accessible" would be expected to be represented by yet more coding, and have a value of ">3," meaning that the previous occurrence is in a preceding clause more than three clauses back.

These observations, and the measurement of topicality by referential distance measurement, are partly vindicated by the results of referential distance measurements in the two Safaliba texts. These support the general validity of the iconicity principle to a high degree: participants that are never "thematic" are almost always referred to with NPs and rarely with pronouns, while thematic participants are more commonly referred to by pronouns and null reference throughout the text, and only by nouns and noun

phrases at the very beginning and certain particular places in the body of the text. However, there are occurrences of both pronouns and noun phrases[85] in contexts not expected by the measurements.

Because of this, topicality measurements have proven to be of limited analytical value for the specific task at hand. While my findings have generally affirmed Givón's correlations of various factors such as iconicity and thematicity, those correlations have not proven to be explanatory of the different distributions of pronoun forms in Safaliba narrative. I have retained here such results as relate either to useful measurements within the research issue, or potentially helpful critiques or insights into the application of aspects of that method.

As an illustration of pronoun and null reference alternation which is clearly not dependent on such general factors as topicality and referential distance, consider the two parallel examples below. Example (349) uses pronouns and separate sentences, while example (350) uses a chaining structure with null reference:

(349) (1) Ŋaa nʊ haŋ gaŋŋɪ baa nʊ sa', (2) **baa** haŋ wa' ta' mannɪ,
　　　　this Spec did pass dog Spec finish **dog** did come reach river

(3) ʊŋ le' kɔŋ, (4) ka̲ ʊ puuŋ bɪlɛɛŋ, (5) a̲ Ø wa' dʊ'. (6) Ʊ haŋ
　　3sN fall water 　and **3s** swim on.and.on 　and Ø come climb 　**3s** did

puuŋ Ø wa' dʊ', (7) ʊ haŋ wa' dʊ' doori sa', (8) ʊŋ lɛɛbɪ jara.
swim Ø come climb 　**3s** did come climb bank finish 　**3sN** change.to lion

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[84] Though Givón 1990:913 shows that the specific distance in number of clauses to the previous mention can be relevant for some purposes.

[85] Givón notes that while the use of zero anaphora and pronouns correlates to a high degree with a low referential distance, the use of nouns and noun phrases does not correlate so well with a particular referential distance (1990:912-913).

'After this one had finished passing the dog, and the dog had reached the river, **it** jumped in, and **it** swam for a while, and **Ø** climbed out (on the other side). After **it** had swum and **Ø** climbed out, after **it** had come all the way out of the river, **it** turned into a lion.' (Text 13:39-40)

(350) Chɛ ka ʋŋ lɛ lɛɛbɪ ʋ baa, **a** **Ø** lɛɛbɪ le' kɔŋ, **a** **Ø** lɛ
 but and **3sN** again return 3s dog and **Ø** return fall water and **Ø** again

 wa' dʋ', **a** **Ø** dɪ' yemmi.
 come climb and **Ø** take go

'And **it** again changed into its dog, and **Ø** returned and entered the water, and **Ø** again climbed out, and **Ø** went on its way.' (Text 13:51)

These two examples recount the same set of steps, though in opposite order. The second example gives the bare events with no elaboration in participant reference. The first example, on the other hand, has made more use of pronouns and complex structures, for certain discourse effects. Such effects have little to do with referential distance or topicality, and everything to do with the structure of the narrative and certain things which the storyteller wishes to communicate about the participant in question.

Accounting for the forms of reference in Safaliba, particularly the pronoun variations, requires implementation of Longacre's participant operations. Summarized from the section above, these are (1) first mention, (2) integration, (3) routine tracking, (4) restaging, (5) boundary marking, (6) confrontation or dominance shift, (7) locally contrastive, (8) exit of participant from the story (narrator evaluation, mentioned above as a participant operation, does not appear to affect the participant reference patterns in these texts, so is not discussed here).

4.2.3.1 First Mention

The first mention of a participant typically takes place in the narrative's Stage section, usually in the Setting band of information. In these two texts, as well as in others looked at in less detail, all major participants are introduced in the stage. Minor participants, on the other hand, may be introduced whenever they are needed. The first two examples below involve the introduction of major participants, while the third demonstrates the introduction of a minor participant.

(351) Koroŋ nʋ, ye' ká **daba kpaŋ** ŋ   koroŋ be' bee, a yi' Gbonnaa.
       old   Spec say that **man   one** Foc long.ago be.at there and go.out Bouna
       'The old ones say that **a certain man** once lived in Bouna.' (Text 13:1)

(352) Yooni kpaŋ yaŋ, **ŋ asʋba Abulai** anɪ **ŋ asʋba Yɛlɪwaya**, ba be'
       year   one   well **1s uncle Abulai** and **1s uncle Yeliwaya** 3p be.at

       bee, **baŋ zaa** be' po' kpenleeri nɪ   **ŋ asʋba Bokoro**.
       there **3pN all** be.at farm single   with **1s uncle Bokoro**

       'One year, **my uncle Abulai** and **my uncle Yeliwaya**, they were there, **they all** were farming together with **my uncle Bokoro**.' (Text 1:3)

(353) Baŋ isi   **bee**, ʋŋ wa', ʋ nɪ ba tɪ' wa' man-nɔɔrɪ...
       3pN choose **child** 3sN come 3s and 3p go come river-mouth
       'They chose a **youth**, he came, he and they finally reached the river's edge.'
       (Text 13:28)

Where major participants represent human beings known or related to the storyteller in some way, as in Text 1, it is common for them to be introduced as "my uncle" or "my grandfather". Major participants may also be introduced as "a certain..." as in Text 13, where the participant is either not personally known or related to the storyteller, or is presented as such.

"Uncle Yeliwaya", in Text 1, is one of the few examples of a minor participant being introduced into the narrative in the Stage section. However, the operation of integration assists in clarifying who the main participants are.

4.2.3.2 Integration

Integration is the operation by which some form of reference is used to indicate that a particular participant is being marked out as central to the narrative.

(354) Baŋ wɛɛra   ká ŋ asʋba Abulai bɛrɪ ʋ bɛrɪga.
       3pN go.Imperf that **2s uncle Abulai** trap his trap
       'They were going on, and **my uncle Abulai** set his trap.' (Text 1:6)

(355) **Ʋ** haŋ be' bee nɪɪ, baŋ dɪ' pɔsarɪga,   a kʋ-**ʋ**, ka ʋ mɪŋ korigiye.
       3s did be.at there Spec 3pN take young.woman and give-**3s** and **3s** also old
       '**He** was there for a while, and they gave **him** a young woman (to marry), and **he** in contrast was old.' (Text 13:12)

In the first example above, Abulai is mentioned to affirm that the story is really about him, as the hearer would expect since his name was mentioned before the others'. In the second example, the old man is mentioned three times in this sentence which establishes his centrality to the narrative.

4.2.3.3 Routine Tracking

Routine tracking consists of "continuous, subsequent, references to a referent already introduced inside the discourse unit boundary," it "does not call for any special marking," is expected to use the least explicit form possible for the context, and is also the form "commonly used in reporting eventline information" (Longacre and Hwang, in

press: 70). The description of routine tracking given below reveals the complex resources of Safaliba syntactic and discourse conventions.

As detailed in section 2.4.4.2, several clauses may be joined to each other in a single complex sentence, producing a chain of clauses the nature of which determines the possible participant reference options. In such a structure, an initial independent clause with an overt subject is conjoined with other subsequent (though not necessarily subordinate) clauses. The conjunction used for joining each subsequent clause controls to some extent the type of pronoun which may be used as the subject of that clause.

Three conjunctions are used in such clause chains: *a*, *chɛ*, and *ka*. The conjunction *a* has a simple conjoining meaning translatable as 'and', but it is only used for subsequent clauses where the referent of the subject is the same as that of the initial clause, because it requires that the subsequent clause have no overt subject.

The conjunction *chɛ* has a slightly contrastive meaning and is translatable as 'and' or a mild 'but'. Where the referent of the subject of the subsequent clause is different from that of the initial clause, there is an apparent restriction in the use of a pronoun for the second subject. If the second verb is on the storyline, then a pronominal subject (an N-pronoun) may be used; but if the second verb is off the storyline, then in the vast majority of the cases the subject is a noun or noun phrase and not a pronoun. Where the referent of the subject of the subsequent clause is the same as that of the initial clause, the presence of an overt subject depends on other syntactic considerations.

239

The third conjunction *ka* is phonetically similar to two other particles (written *ká* and *kà* in the orthography), and therefore subject to possible transcription error and misinterpretation. Where interpretation as a conjunction is indicated, it is translatable as 'and, then, so', though this may be an artifact of the chaining environment, and as mentioned in section 2.4.4.2, it often appears to have a subordinating function. This conjunction always requires an overt subject in the subsequent clause, which may or may not be co-referent with the subject of the initial clause. When a pronoun appears in the subject position of the subsequent clause, the default interpretation is that the referent of this pronoun is different from that of the subject of the initial clause. However, since this interpretation is not absolutely required by the syntax, pronoun interpretation here is sensitive to a variety of discourse factors.

A fourth option is to juxtapose two independent clauses together without a conjunction. The only difference between this and two separate sentences is that there is less pause between the clauses, but what this difference in pause length may signify, if anything, to the grammatical or discourse context is not yet understood.

From examination of the examples in the text corpus, it appears that the most unmarked case of ongoing regular reference, as defined by the tracking operation, is to use the conjunctions *a* or *chɛ* to join clauses with verbs which have the same subject, choosing between them based on the degree of contrast between the two actions.

Depending on the marking on the verbs (whether morphology, tone, or preverbal particles), the two verbs may or may not be in the same salience band. As noted in section 2.4.4.2, in a subsequent clause joined with the conjunction *a*, there

seems to be a general tendency that certain distinctions brought to the initial verb by the preverbal particles *maŋ*, *haŋ*, *koroŋ*, and *tɛɛŋ* may be inherited by the subsequent verbs, as long as they have no other specified marking. It does not appear that this can be generalized to other preverbal particles, however..

The following are examples of basic tracking across conjoined storyline clauses where the referent of the subject remains the same for each clause. The first example uses *a* between clauses for simple sequential conjunction:

(356) Chɛ ka ʋŋ lɛ   lɛɛbɪ ʋ baa, <u>a</u> Ø lɛɛbɪ le' kɔŋ, <u>a</u> Ø lɛ
       but and **3sN** again return 3s dog <u>and</u> Ø return fall water <u>and</u> Ø again

       wa' dʋ', <u>a</u> Ø dɪ' yemmi.
       come climb <u>and</u> Ø take go

       'And **it** again changed into its dog, <u>and</u> Ø returned and entered the water, <u>and</u> Ø again climbed out, <u>and</u> Ø went on its way.' (Text 13:51)

The second example uses *chɛ*, perhaps to reflect the tension between the people and their chief:

(357) **Baŋ** tɪ' chɔɔsɪ   naa, <u>chɛ</u> Ø zɪnɪ "pɪrɪp."
       3pN go morning.greet chief <u>and</u> Ø sit   ideoph (packed.tightly)
       '**They** went and greeted the chief, <u>and</u> Ø immediately sat down tightly together.'
       (Text 8:25)

The following five examples illustrate basic tracking across chained non-storyline clauses where the referent of the subject remains the same for each clause. The first example uses *a* between a succession of setting clauses, all of which inherit the habitual meaning indicated on the initial verb:

(358) ...ʋ maŋ wo' bugun-saala ŋaa <u>a</u> Ø wo' kaaŋ iŋŋa-a   <u>a</u> Ø
       3s Hab seek fire-black   this <u>and</u> Ø seek oil   put.in-3pnh <u>and</u> Ø

       nɛɛma-a   <u>a</u> Ø sɛ' ʋ bɔtɔ-sɪ tagɪta ŋaa <u>a</u> Ø yarɪ, <u>a</u> Ø dɪgɪ
       grind-3pnh <u>and</u> Ø sew 3s sack-pl shirt   this <u>and</u> Ø   wear <u>and</u> Ø pick

       ʋ guli   nɪ ʋ soye <u>a</u> Ø yi',   <u>a</u> Ø vugisi-re   nɪrɪ-ba.
       3s cudgel and 3s knife <u>and</u> Ø go.out <u>and</u> Ø frighten-Imperf person-pl

       '...**he** used to look for charcoal <u>and</u> Ø find shea-butter and add to it, and Ø grind
       it together, and Ø sew his sack-cloth shirt, and Ø wear it, and Ø pick up his
       cudgel and his knife and Ø go out, and Ø be frightening people.' (Text 6:28)

The second example uses *a* between a backgrounded event clause and a backgrounded

activity clause:

(359) Ʋ kenne   ka **ba** zɪnɪ paa   nɪ zu' <u>a</u> Ø bʋl-la   a bʋlʋ.
       3s come.Imperf and **3s** sit   high.bench Spec top <u>and</u> Ø speak-Imperf the talk
       'He was coming, and **they** had sat on the high bench <u>and</u> Ø were talking about
       this.' (Text 1:64)

The third example uses *a* between two irrealis (imperative) clauses:

(360) ...ka **bá** kaa,   <u>a</u> Ø kʋ́'   nɔɔsɪ sɔsɪ   Naaŋmɪnnɪ...
       that **3p** look-Impv <u>and</u> Ø kill-Impv fowls ask-Impv God
       '...that **they** should divine, <u>and</u> Ø should kill fowls and ask God...' (Text 1:13)

The fourth example uses *chɛ* with a null reference in the subsequent clause, with both

being in the setting band:

(361) Ká naafʋ ŋʋna, **ya** maŋ yaasɪ yaasɪ naaŋ   bɛɛla, <u>chɛ</u> Ø tuuro-o.
       that cow   for   **2s** Hab spread spread PredFof a.little <u>and</u> Ø follow-3s
       'As for a buffalo, **you** must spread yourselves out a little, <u>before</u> Ø following it.'
       (Text 1:76)

The fifth example uses *chɛ* with an overt subject in the second clause (perhaps because of the negative particle), with the first clause in setting and the second in irrealis:

(362) **ʋ** so-ye,   <u>chɛ</u> ʋ ba haŋ tɔŋŋɪ naaŋ   dɔgɪ kɔmma geni.
      3s own-PfIntr <u>but</u> **3s** Neg had able PredFoc bear children much
      '**He** was very rich, <u>but</u> **he** was never able to produce many children.' (Text 6:7)

     The following are examples of basic tracking across chained storyline clauses where the referent of the subject changes from one clause to the next. In the first example, I have transcribed the two clauses with a comma between them because the pause between them is very brief. However, since the subject changes it is not possible to use the conjunction *a*, and *ka* may not be used as it cannot be followed by an N-pronoun.

(363) **ʋŋ**   sʋgɪ-ba, **baŋ** ye' ká naafʋ baŋ tɪ' ŋmɛ'...
      3sN ask-3p   **3pN** say that cow   3pN go hit
      '**He** asked them, (and) **they** answered that a buffalo they had wounded....' (Text 1:65)

In the second example, the conjunction *chɛ* is used between the first two clauses to indicate the contrastive aspect of the relationship between those clauses. (Between the second and third clauses the reference does not change, and is an example of the use of *chɛ* between two clauses with the same subject.)

(364) **Baŋ** chi' bipɔllɪ   nɪɪ, <u>chɛ</u> **ʋŋ** tɔrɪgɪ, <u>chɛ</u> **Ø** naŋ woore
      3pN tell young.man Spec <u>but</u> **3sN** refuse <u>and</u> **Ø** still seeking

pɔsarɩga   nɩɩ.
young.woman Spec

'**They** told the young man, <u>but</u> **he** refused, <u>and</u> **Ø** still was seeking the woman.'
(Text 13:9)

In the third example, the second clause appears to be off the storyline[86] as a

backgrounded event, and juxtaposition is used for conjoining.

(365) **Baŋ** isi   bee, **ʋ nɩ ba** tɩ'   wa' man-nɔɔ-rɩ, **ʋŋ** wa'
      3pN choose child **3s and 3p** finally come river-mouth-sg **3sN** begin

      ŋmaa-ba dʋ'.
      cut-3p   climb

      '**They** chose a boy, **he and they** finally came to the riverside, (and) **he** took
      them across right away.' (Text 13:28)

     The following are examples of basic tracking across chained non-storyline

clauses where the referent of the subject changes from one clause to the next. In the

first example, *ka* is used to join two backgrounded events.

(366) Ká **ʋ**ᵢ yi'   naaŋ   yɩrɩ **Ø**ᵢ kenne   a **Ø**ᵢ wa' toosi
      that **3s** go.out PredFoc village **Ø** come.Imperf and **Ø** come meet

      Waayo <u>ka</u> **ʋ**ⱼ kuse.
      Waayo <u>and</u> **3s** go.home

      'That **he**ᵢ left the town (and) **Ø**ᵢ was coming <u>and</u> **Ø**ᵢ met Waayo <u>and</u> **he**ⱼ (Waayo)
      was on his way home.' (Text 1:37)

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[86] I am not sure of the storyline status of the second clause, as the joint pronoun "he and they" may be a
mistranscription not caught in the editing process (the recording is not very clear at this point). If the
transcription is correct, the use of such joint pronouns would be another sub-area for future investigation.

In the second example, *ka* is used to join a backgrounded activity with a backgrounded event.

(367) **ʊ** kenne **<u>ka</u> ba** zιnι paa   nιι zu' a bʊl-la   a bʊlʊ.
 3s coming <u>and</u> **3s** sit sitting.place Spec top and speak-Imperf the talk
 '**He** was coming <u>and</u> **they** were sitting on top of the sitting place and speaking of this.' (Text 1:64)

In the third example, *chɛ* is used to join two setting clauses (here the subject changes, and is realized as a full noun phrase in both the first and second clauses).

(368) ...**baasι nιι zaa** sɔgιlι sɔgιlι, <u>chɛ</u> **a**   **maa** jɛŋ   zee nιι...
     dogs Spec all hide hide <u>and</u> **3pnh mother** lie.down place Spec
 '...**all the dogs** hid, <u>and</u> **their mother** lay down in the place...' (Text 19:14)

 The following are examples of basic tracking between clauses not on the same salience band, storyline to non-storyline and vice versa, whether same subject or different subject.

(369) **Bee nιι_i** kenne   yιrι, <u>a</u> Ø_i naa wa' kalι nιŋkottu nιι,
 child Spec come.Imperf village <u>and</u> Ø intend come inform elders Spec

 <u>chɛ</u> Ø_i wa' toosi ŋ asʊba Bokoro_j ŋʊna, <u>ka</u> ʊ_j naŋ wɛɛra   po'.
 <u>and</u> Ø come meet 1s uncle Bokoro for   <u>and</u> **3s** still go.Imperf farm

 '**The youth_i** was still coming to the village, and Ø_i intended to come and inform the elders, <u>but</u> Ø_i met my uncle Bokoro_j, <u>and</u> **he_i** was still on his way to farm.' (Text 1:10)

(370) **ʊ_i** haŋ tι' ta', <u>ka</u> ʊ_j be' ʊ_j po', ʊŋ_i ye' ká bá gaŋŋι.
 3s had go reach <u>and</u> 3s be.at 3s farm **3sN** say that 3p pass-Impv
 '**He_i** (Bokoro) reached there, <u>and</u> **he_j** (Abulai) was at his_j farm; **he_i** (Bokoro) said that they should pass by.' (Text 1:18)

245

(371) Ʊ haŋ waꞌ duu kubi-ri nɩ, ʊŋ yallɩ, ka kɔŋ haŋ kpɛɛ-ra
       3s had come scrape rock-sg Spec **3sN** split <u>and</u> **water** did enter-Imperf

       arɩgʊŋ nɩ   poo.
       canoe Spec stomach

       'After **it** (the canoe) scraped over the rock, **it** split, <u>and then</u> **water** began
       entering inside the canoe.' (Text 11:14)

Generally speaking, the decision to end a chain of clauses (with a longer pause, representing the end of the sentence) appears to be functionally motivated; as can be seen from the first few examples above, it is possible and natural to have very long chains of conjoined clauses. Once the functional decision is made to begin a new sentence, then there are different ways to continue reference to the participants. The factors involved in making this decision include the particular discourse operations being undertaken, as will be noted in the sections below.

Generalizing from the examples above, routine tracking conventions within a section of narrative text (1) use null reference in chaining structures to indicate the same participant, and (2) use a pronoun to typically indicate a switch in reference to the other participant. Whether the pronoun used is an N-pronoun or a regular pronoun depends on whether the action is taking place on or off the storyline. When non-pronominal forms of reference are used for known referents, or when a construction with a pronoun is used where a construction with null reference would be equally effective for tracking purposes, this indicates the presence of some other form of participant operation.

246

4.2.3.4 Reinstatement

Reinstatement of a participant who has been offstage is often done with a noun followed by the specifier *nʊ*, which may be translated as 'the', but differs from the definite article in Safaliba in that it is primarily used to indicate that the referent has been previously mentioned in the preceding discourse context. In this example, the elders (minor participants, treated as a single entity), who have been off stage, are reinstated to the action partway into a new episode.

(372) **Nɪŋkottu nʊ** kaa kaa a yɛla poo bʊlɛɛŋ...
elders   Spec look look the matter in on.and.on
'The elders looked seriously (divined) about the matter for some time....' (Text 1:56)

When the same participants are carried over from one episode to another without leaving the stage, they continue to be referred to with pronouns after the boundary. But, as seen below, there is still some variation from the routine tracking usage.

4.2.3.5 Boundary Marking

While restaging and episode boundary marking may co-occur, they need not coincide (Longacre and Hwang in press:70). This suggests that in cases where participant continuity persists across the episode boundary, there may yet be variations in the form of reference that are different from routine tracking, finding their cause in the presence of the episode boundary.

In fact, at episode boundaries in the two texts we do find this sort of deviation from the normal tracking conventions. For example, in Text 13, across the boundary between the first and second episodes, there is continuity of the participants; only the time changes. The first participant mentioned is the young man who was the subject of the previous clause. So both the previous clause and the subsequent clause have an N-pronoun as the subject, because both are storyline actions.

(373) (9) **Baŋ_i** chi' bipɔllɩ_j nɩɩ, chɛ ʋŋ_j tɔrɩgɩ, chɛ **Ø**_j naŋ woore
       3pN tell young.man Spec but **3sN** refuse and **Ø** still wanting

       pɔsarɩga_k   nɩɩ. (10) Bɩlɛɛŋ,   daarɩ kpaŋ, ʋŋ_j wa' ɛ' ʋ_j ŋfɛrɛ
       young.woman Spec   on.and.on day   one **3sN** come do 3s mind

       yini ká ʋ_j na dɩgɩ bi-pɔgɔ_k   nɩɩ **Ø**_j zɛ'.
       like that **3s** Fut take child-woman Spec **Ø** run

       '**They_i** told the young man_j, but **he_j** refused and **Ø**_j still was wanting the young woman_k. [episode boundary] After some time, one day, **he_j** made up his mind that he would take the girl_k and **Ø**_j run.' (Text 13:9-10)

If this pattern were to occur within an episode, normal tracking conventions would imply a change in subject. In this case (373), though, the N-pronoun is understood as co-referential to the previous N-pronoun, because the episode boundary interrupts the tracking conventions to that extent. The normal switch-reference interpretation which would normally occur as a result of the presence of a pronoun as the subject of the clause, does not in fact occur, due to the interference of the episode boundary.

248

In the next example (374), the normal tracking convention also does not take place. Although the change does not parallel the example above, the deviation nevertheless can be attributed to the presence of an episode boundary. In both cases, the N-pronoun is used because it is storyline action.

(374) Aŋ   bɛɛ-ra   ŋ asʊba Abulai gan'. Bɛtʊ ayi' **baŋ** wa' tɪ' mɔɔ.
      3pnhN pain-Imperf 1s uncle Abulai much days two **3pN** come go bush
      'These (issues) [Bokoro's bravery versus his own prudence] pained my uncle
      Abulai greatly. [episode boundary] "Two days later" (idiomatic for "some time
      later") **they** went to bush.' (Text 1:52-53)

The diversion from normal tracking seen here is somewhat different and more complex. Within an episode, the use of this third-person plural N-pronoun *baŋ* would indicate a switch in reference from that of the previous subject, to that of the subject before that[87]. *Baŋ*, however, may only take a plural human referent. In this case, however, there is no plural human group referent represented in any near part of the previous context and the previous *baŋ* was 21 sentences back. An alternative under normal tracking would be that *baŋ* would indicate the participants in the previous context previously indicated by separate pronouns, in this case Abulai and Bokoro[88]. However, this would prove not to be the right interpretation here.

Because of the boundary marker, however, the hearer knows that the reference will not follow routine tracking. Instead, the ranking and dominance patterns already

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[87] Except for cases where *baŋ* is being used for an inferred referent (see 4.2.4 below) or being used indefinitely—the construction used in these languages in a way analogous to the use of English passive for avoiding mention of an agent—the default case would be that the referents were previously specified.
[88] The sentences where these references occur are not shown here due to considerations of space, but can be seen in Appendix A.

established indicate that Abulai and somebody else (and certainly not Bokoro) are acting together. A few sentences later we learn it was Yeliwaya, who is relatively unimportant except as a marginal supporter of Abulai.

4.2.3.6 Confrontation or Role Change

Another departure from routine tracking patterns is where there is a shift, or attempted shift, in dominance patterns: a confrontation of some sort. In example (375) below, Abulai has already been referred to in the previous near context, both singly and jointly, with third-person N-pronouns. Due to his status as central participant he could here be referred to quite unambiguously by the use of the third-person N-pronoun *ʋŋ*. The use of the full noun phrase instead is not due to re-staging or tracking needs. Rather, as is shown clearly by the content of his thoughts, this is a participant reference operation to indicate confrontation in the coming context.

(375) Chɛ **ŋ asʋba Abulai** mɩŋ haŋ woore ye' ká bá baŋŋɩ   ká ʋ
       but **1s uncle Abulai** also did seeking say that they know-Impv that he

       chɛ'   dɛbɛŋ, ʋ bɩɩ-ya   nɩɩ, ʋŋ ye' ká ʋ na tɩ' a naafʋ zee.
       be.not.at fear   3s ripe-PfIntr Spec 3sN say that 3s Fut go the buffalo place

       'But since **my Uncle Abulai** likewise was wanting people to know that he was
       unafraid, that he was totally brave, he said he would go to the buffalo's place'
       (Text 1:57)

4.2.3.7 Marking of Locally Contrastive/Thematic Status

Local contrast is a similar departure from routine tracking, but without the aspects of confrontation and dominance in the previous operation. In the next example, the boy (a minor participant) is marked as locally contrastive: he is thematic to this

episode, and the next, as Bokoro's sidekick. He was introduced in the previous sentence, but this is his first action. Apart from these sections, he does not recur in the text.

(376) **Bee nʊ** kenne   yɪrɪ, a   naa   wa' kalɪ   nʊŋkottu nʊ...
       child Spec come.Imperf town and intend come inform elders   Spec
       '**The boy** (just mentioned) was coming to town to inform the specified elders...'
       (Text 1:10)

4.2.3.8 Exit of Participant

Only one example of this operation has been noticed. Here, the "exit" concept appears to explain rather well another departure from routine tracking. In an extended conversational interchange with the elders of Vonkoro, the young man has been arguing that they should ferry him and the woman across the river in spite of the lateness of the hour. Normally, conversational interchange is one of the prototypical contexts where N-pronouns are used from one sentence to another and indicate switch-reference in conversational turn-taking. However, near the end of the conversation, the young man as speaker is referred to with a noun modified by the specifier, instead of by an N-pronoun. This is not in any way required by routine tracking, so represents the occasion of a different participant operation:

(377) Ba haŋ bʊlɪ a   ŋaa zaa, chɛ **bipɔllɪ**   nʊ   ye' ká...
       3p did   speak 3pnh these all but **young.man Spec** say that
       'They had discussed all of this, but **the young man** said....' (Text 13:23)

In spite of the Vonkoro elders' attempts to dissuade him, the young man is determined to continue with his elopement, cross the river and spend the night in the forest. The speaking of these words proves to be the last real action the young man takes before he is eaten by the lion. As this action seals his fate, it may be appropriate to classify it as an example of "exit."

4.2.4 Summary and Implications

Safaliba participant reference patterns clarify how pronouns (both regular and N-pronouns) are used in text, and for what purposes. These different usages likewise indicate the principles governing how a particular piece of encoding (whether null reference or pronoun) is associated with a referent. The default pattern appears to be that in the routine tracking operation, as little coding should be used as possible. Null reference is preferred for indication of co-reference where syntax permits, and where the referent changes then a pronoun may be used. Furthermore, it appears that where a negative preverbal particle appears before a subsequent verb, an overt subject may be required even for a coreferent subject.

These patterns appear to hold without respect to the status of any clause with respect to the storyline, and may occur between two clauses on the storyline, two clauses off the storyline, or two clauses of different storyline status. However, the conjunction *ka* may not be used to join a subsequent storyline clause, but is only permitted for joining a subsequent non-storyline clause. For this reason, joining a

subsequent storyline clause requires either the use of the conjunction *a* (with a non-overt subject) or *chɛ*, or else the use of no conjunction at all.

These routine patterns of participant reference are tied to the recognition of basic patterns in narrative discourse: the basic structural divisions, the distinction between storyline and non-storyline, the different participant ranks, and the additional participant operations in the sections above: first mention, integration, restaging, boundary marking, confrontation, local contrast, and exit. Several of these operational categories were seen to affect both the choice of what form of encoding to use, as well as the interpretation of the referent of a pronoun.

Thus Longacre's inventory of operations has proven to be very helpful in understanding the contexts for routine tracking with minimal coding, which generally speaking do follow Givón's iconicity principle. However, it is in the deviations from routine tracking—non-typical, non-minimal references, as well as co-referencing one participant instead of another which might be thought to be equally accessible—where it proves its functionality and explanatory capacities. It proves to be more precise in acknowledging discourse structural effects in this respect than Givón's more quantitative approach, which by its nature does not correct for discourse structure issues, participant rank, and participant operations. The comparative results below illustrate some of the ways in which this can be seen in the Safaliba texts[89].

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[89] One interesting artifact of the syntactic and discourse distribution of the N-pronoun is that because it is mainly used for the storyline, it correlates highly with the participants and rarely with props. This is another distinction more clearly explained through Longacre's distinctions than Givón's.

For example, in the first clause of sentence 42 of Text 1, Bokoro has not been mentioned in the past 8 clauses. By anaphoric topicality measurements he is no longer very accessible and the iconicity principle would suggest that a "large" type of referring expression would be appropriate. Nevertheless, what occurs here is the N-pronoun *υη*, probably due to Bokoro's status as a major participant. This may be contrasted with either the second clause of sentence 33 or the second clause of sentence 45, where in each case the full phrase 'my uncle Bokoro' appears only two clauses after the last reference to Bokoro. In all of these examples, there are factors other than referential distance and cataphoric topicality at work.

Additional examples may be seen in the use of a pronoun in the first clause of sentence 50, with ten clauses intervening since the previous mention of the referent, or the first clause of sentence 80, where Abulai is mentioned by name in the clause immediately following a previous reference to him. Similar examples can be found in Text 13, where in the fourth clause of sentence 12, a referent is referred to by a pronoun after four clauses, exceeding Givón's three-clause limit even for "less anaphorically accessible" referents.

As noted above, analysis of the basic unmarked patterns for chaining and non-chaining structures is what yields the definition of the routine tracking conventions. These primarily deal with null reference and pronouns, making this subtopic of participant reference highly relevant for distinguishing the different usages of the focus and regular pronoun sets. Same or different subject is indicated in similar but slightly different ways for storyline and non-storyline verbs (because of the restriction that the

N-pronoun may not normally appear following the conjunction *ka*). It is only by comparison with these unmarked patterns that the marked usages can be distinguished and interpreted.

In the main, the patterns of participant reference seen in these Safaliba texts do support the iconicity principle and Givón's basic assertions about topicality and reference. But this is probably due to the comparative frequency of the "routine tracking" operation (hence the adjective). The non-routine operations, however, tend to work quite outside the iconicity principle, and at the level of text-analysis detail needed for the research questions, there turns out to be little direct enlightenment from Givón's measurements and associated predictions.

The contention that the narrative parameters and operations defined in this theory reflect universals of narrative structure is supported by the degree to which they readily lend themselves to explaining the various usages of Safaliba pronominal forms. The distinction between participant ranks and the catalogue of participant operations prove to be critical in explaining the patterns of pronominal reference in particular.

There are, however, some points where the analysis can benefit from aspects of Prince's taxonomy of given-new information (1981:237). Although as a whole I have not found this more cognitive approach directly helpful in working out most of the factors affecting my research problem, the categories are useful in explaining a couple of otherwise unexplained pronoun usages.

For example, in Text 13, sentence 17, the young man and the old man's wife arrive at the river village of Vonkoro and immediately ask that "they" should ferry them

across. This is odd because the referent of "they" has not been previously identified. In fact, in the next sentence, "they" respond and are introduced as "the Vonkoro people." This is a case of what Prince calls an "inferrable" discourse entity, and is based on the cultural knowledge that villages at the river side always have people assigned to ferry travelers back and forth across the river.

A second example occurs a few sentences further on (sentence 27). When the fatal decision is made to appoint a village youth to ferry the man and woman across the river, this decision represented as being spoken by some authority, "I", not the collective. We are not told who this person is, he is not introduced before he speaks, and this is the only mention of him apart from the collective "Vonkoro people". But this too is an inferrable, based on the cultural knowledge that in any such group, there is always somebody whose responsibility it is to make such serious decisions.

With the exception of such contextually-inferred participants, which affect a small percentage of total pronoun usage, the pronominal variation in Safaliba narrative seems to be well analyzed by the methods described in this section.

4.3 The N-pronoun Set and Its Function in Narrative Discourse

In chapter 1, several basic research questions were formulated which have guided the plan of the research. At this point I consider each of them briefly to note whether they are answerable from the different areas of investigation so far undertaken. First, the main question: why is there an "extra" pronoun set in Safaliba? What is the difference in meaning between this N-pronoun set (identified as being related to focus),

256

and the regular pronoun set? Second, if the basic difference is known, then how is each pronoun set used in narrative text? How does the Safaliba hearer or reader determine which referent of a discourse has been selected by the use of a particular pronoun? Third, which factor is responsible for the referent-switching effect seen in these examples? Is switch-reference an explicit function of the special pronoun form, or is it derivative of other factors? Fourth, what can be said about the relationship between the special pronoun set and the probable marker of subject focus, η: is there a synchronic or diachronic relationship here?

I believe the research undertaken so far provides satisfactory answers to each of the research questions, as follows. First, the extra pronoun set in Safaliba is primarily used to indicate agents that move the story along, marking a narrative step: as such, it is an additional indicator of narrative storyline beyond what is marked on the verb itself. Although full noun phrases or null reference may occur in the subject position of a storyline verb, pronouns do occur quite frequently in that position, and those pronouns are (without apparent exception) always taken from the N-pronoun set.

The answer to the first question partially answers the second: the N-pronouns are used on the storyline of the narrative. The regular pronouns are used in every other type of information in text, but the difference is particularly striking on those rare occasions when the regular pronoun is used in an independent and otherwise unmarked clause in a context that in all other respects should be a storyline clause. In such cases, the clause with the regular pronoun is translated in such a way as to indicate that it is something that happened out of narrative time, perhaps long ago, but not as part of the

257

story. For comparison, note that this usage also occurs in clauses which are clearly presented as being outside the narrative context (i.e. to report an action, but not to give it as part of a story), as in the following examples:

(378) Nuŋkottu nu kaa kaa a yɛla poo bɩlɛɛŋ, a ye' ká **ba** kʊ́' nɔɔsɩ...
elders Spec look look the matters in on.and.on and say that **3p** kill fowls
'The elders looked into the matter, and said (reported that) **they have killed fowls** [for divination, and this is the verdict]...' (Text 1:56)

(379) Amɩ **ba** kʊ́' a naafʊ ŋʊna.
but **3s** kill the cow anyhow
'But anyhow, **they killed the buffalo**. [reiterating the result of the story, in the non-narrative closure section of Text 1]' (Text 1:106)

The referent of a pronoun in a discourse is determined by the particular participant operation at that point in the discourse. For the routine tracking operation, the default principle appears to be "use the least amount of coding necessary". Thus in tracking two or more participants through a section of text the following principles apply: where the subject of a subsequent verb is the same as that of the previous one, null reference is preferred; where the subject reference changes to one of the other established participants, a pronoun is used.. Other participant operations cause interruptions to this pattern. For example, to show local contrast or dominance changes, a pronoun may be used without carrying the default implication of reference switch, or a different type of expression (noun, noun phrase) may occur where a pronoun would have been completely unambiguous.

This likewise partially answers the third question. Switch-reference is a combined effect of the syntactic constraints on clause chaining and pronoun reference

258

interpretation. Switch-reference is not especially a function of the N-pronoun set, but applies almost as commonly to the regular pronoun set.

The answer to the fourth question is that there is no evidence that the N-pronoun has any synchronic relationship with focus, nor is there strong evidence for a diachronic relationship (though this cannot be ruled out completely). Although it does not collocate with the markers of subject or predicate focus, this is probably derivative of its storyline status as neither marker may occur in a storyline clause either. In fact, that the N-pronoun does occur in clauses which have a fronted object or location is an argument that it does not carry focus, since these fronting constructions were shown to be another type of focus construction, in which the other two focus markers cannot occur. While a diachronic relationship with the subject focus marker could be posited, the similarities between the two forms can satisfactorily be attributed to phonological defaults in the language. Since $ŋ$ is the only permissible word-final consonant in Safaliba, it is difficult to argue convincingly that the word-final $ŋ$ present in the N-pronouns has its origin in the subject focus marker.

Finally, it must be noted that the N-pronoun set is used in two specific environments where a relationship to the narrative storyline is not immediately evident. First, it sometimes appears as the subject of certain verbs in the imperfective aspect, which would normally be regarded as backgrounded activities; second, it is the default form used for the pronominal subject of a clause where the object or location has been fronted for focus.

These points are elaborated and refined in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

In this section I evaluate the conclusions reached through the analysis in the previous chapter, address some implications of the research, and note areas for further study suggested by this research.

5.1 Evaluation of the Analysis

At the end of the previous chapter I proposed answers to the research questions from chapter 1, in the light shed by examination of basic phonological and grammatical structures, marked focus constructions, narrative discourse features, and participant reference patterns in Safaliba.

In this section I first consider the meaning and function of the N-pronoun set, distinguishing the most salient difference between it and the regular pronoun set; define the different functions of these two pronoun sets in narrative, together with their context-related referent-determining conventions; and explain the apparent switch-reference function. Secondly, I discuss the reasons why the functions of the N-pronoun form cannot be said to be focus, thus eliminating a synchronic relationship with the subject focus marker.

A unique appropriateness to the narrative storyline, possibly because of higher agentive status, is here proposed as the main difference between the N-pronoun set and the regular pronoun set. This defines the main differences in discourse function

between the two pronoun sets, and provides part of the context for understanding the ways in which the referent of a particular pronoun is determined.

The storyline answer is a direct result of an unsuccessful search for a syntax- or focus-based motivation for the alternation between pronoun forms in narrative, and is supported by an analysis of the differences between foregrounded and backgrounded types of information in narrative from a discourse analytical perspective. Referent-determination conventions emerge from the analysis of participant reference operations and participant rank, which come into play not only in routine tracking conventions, but in the deviations from routine represented by particular reference operations. These issues are considered in section 5.1.1 below.

Despite the superficial formal resemblance between the N-pronoun and the subject focus marker ŋ, and the co-occurrence restriction against both appearing together in the subject of a clause (which could be taken as implying identity between them), I conclude that the N-pronoun is unrelated to the subject-focus marker ŋ. Determination of Safaliba focus strategies and focus scope, examination of the syntactic patterns seen with these markers and with the N-pronoun, and consideration of the relevant phonological constraints supply most of the justification for this assessment, with additional support provided in the examination of storyline restrictions. This issue is considered in 5.1.2.

A summary is included in section 5.1.3.

5.1.1 Answering the Primary Questions

The most salient difference between the N-pronoun and the regular pronoun proves to be foreground or storyline status, which is supported by occurrence restrictions at several levels in the syntax (section 3.2) and the discourse (section 4.1.2).

Note that since the N-pronoun is restricted to the subject position, it does not appear in a possessive or associative construction (described in 2.4.1.2). At the phrase level, then, the restriction is that only regular pronouns (or, in certain contexts rare in narrative, the emphatic pronouns) may be used in possessive or associative constructions.

At the clause level, in stative constructions (cf. 2.4.3.2), N-pronouns may only occur with the positive and more transitive *ɛ'* and *be'*, and not with the negative *chɛ'* or *naanɪ* or the less transitive *na'* and *lɛ'*. In contrast, regular pronouns may occur with *ɛ'*, *be'*, *chɛ'* and *naanɪ*, but not *na'* or *lɛ'*, while emphatic pronouns may occur with any of these.

In constructions with active verbs (cf. 2.4.3.1), N-pronouns do not occur with verbs in the perfective intransitive aspect (cf. 2.2.2) or imperative mood (cf. 2.3.1). They also do not occur with most of the preverbal particles (cf. 2.4.2.1), which as a general rule modify considerably the tense, aspect, modality, or polarity of the verb. In contrast, the regular pronouns (and, more rarely in narrative, the emphatic pronouns) do occur with all verb aspects and moods, whether indicated by morphology or verb phrase syntax.

262

The only preverbal particles which co-occur with the N-pronouns are more adverb-like *lɛ* 'again' and *naŋ* 'still'. The auxiliary verbs *wa'* 'begin to' and *tɩ'* 'finally' are also compatible with the N-pronouns. None of these add such drastic modification of the meaning of the verb so as to put it off the storyline.

At the sentence level, note that an N-pronoun may occur only in an independent clause. This includes conjoined subsequent clauses in certain types of chaining structures (cf. 2.4.4.2). It does not include adverbial conditional, relative, or embedded complement clauses (cf. 2.4.4.3), except that in reported speech, the N-pronoun may in some cases occur (depending once again upon the type of content embedded in such a construction). The N-pronoun seems to be disallowed in one type of possible coordination: the conjunction *ka* 'and, then', while not conclusively shown to be a subordinating conjunction, nevertheless prevents the use of an N-pronoun as the subject of the clause immediately following it.

At the pragmatic level (cf. 3.1), relating elements of the sentence to the immediate discourse context (i.e. sentence focus), the N-pronoun is restricted from co-occurrence with any of the *in-situ* markers of focus: it may not occur with either the subject focus marker *ŋ* nor the predicate focus marker *naaŋ*. If consideration of higher level discourse structure is ruled out *a priori*, these restrictions are sufficient to imply a relationship with the subject focus marker. However, that analysis is complicated by the strange (from the focus-analysis perspective) constraint that the N-pronoun is the default form for the subject of object/location focus constructions (a particular type of fronting construction). In these constructions, the regular pronoun is (in most cases)

said to be ungrammatical, and the emphatic pronoun is permissible, but the N-pronoun is the expected form and occurs most frequently in such constructions.

At the discourse level (cf. 4.1.2) an explanation finally emerges for the partial patterns seen at the earlier stages of the investigation: for verbs on the storyline, the subject may be either a noun phrase or an N-pronoun, but never a regular pronoun. Although there are a number of examples of an N-pronoun as the subject of an imperfective verb (which according to the working definition of Safaliba storyline is not on the storyline, but is a backgrounded activity), nonetheless the N-pronoun is more strongly linked with the concept of storyline than with any other single factor investigated in this research.

In contrast, the regular pronoun occurs in a greater variety of syntactic and discourse contexts, except for the storyline. The regular pronoun is used in subordinate and embedded clauses of various types. It is also used in cohesive off-line initial clauses which summarize the content of the previous sentence (tail-head linkage between sentences). In addition, the regular pronoun is used as the subject in clauses expressing all types of irrealis information, whether markers of future, imperative or subjunctive mood, intention, or conditionality, as well as other kinds of non-storyline information. The following table summarizes the differing distributions of the pronominal forms in question:

Table 14 Regular and N-pronoun Occurrence Environments

environment			regular	N-pronoun
as possessor in a genitive construction			yes	no
as the subject of a verb			yes	yes
with unmarked verb form			yes	yes
with imperfective			yes	yes
with perfective			yes	no
with imperative forms			yes	no
with most preverbal particles			yes	no
in an independent clause			sometimes	always
in subordinate clauses			yes	no
with an object or location fronted for focus (including questions[90])			no[91]	yes
in subsequent clauses in coordinate or chaining structure:				
	conjunctions	*a*	yes	yes
		chɛ	yes	yes
		ka	yes	no
		\<none\>	yes	yes
with stative verbs:		*ɛ'*	yes ('be')	yes ('do')
		be'	yes	yes
		na'	no	no
		lɛ'	no	no
		chɛ'	yes	no
		naanι	yes	no

If a regular pronoun appears as the subject of a clause which (in other structural and positional features) is identical to a storyline clause, that clause will be interpreted by native speakers as a background event instead of a storyline event. This means that

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[90] It appears that questions are constructed using the exact type of movement as is used to indicate object/location focus, as noted in section 3.2.3. It has been suggested that the presence of the N-pronoun in the object/location focus construction may still be understood as indicative of storyline status, in at least some cases. It is possible that this explanation could also be offered for the occurrence of the N-pronoun in questions, however this is a topic that would need further research before a more definitive answer could be given.

[91] The regular pronoun does occur, rarely, when the verb is modified by certain preverbal particles, such as the negative marker *ba*.

it is understood as an event reported outside the line of narration[92]: it happened, but not in a way that moves the story forward. This has several implications, one of which is that such an event is not specified as contingent to the previous storyline event.

Therefore the N-pronoun must communicate something linked to the storyline characteristics of agency, transitivity and contingency, those features which indicate a step in the narrative, even though because of its less-frequent non-storyline occurrences the N-pronoun by itself cannot be said to indicate the storyline. For comparison, however, note that the verb in the unmarked perfective aspect is itself only a partial indicator of the storyline: it too depends on additional factors (such as occurrence in an independent clause) for full indication of storyline status.

Beyond the basic storyline/background distinction, how do these two pronoun sets function in discourse? The original hypothesis about the two pronoun sets was that the N-pronoun had unique switch-reference function in narrative, while the regular pronoun form was used where the reference remained the same. However, examination of more and better data has shown that in direct contrast to this early hypothesis, both sets of pronouns are used for switch-reference, each in its appropriate context: in routine participant-tracking situations, the appearance of either a regular or an N-pronoun in narrative signals a switch in reference, and contrasts with the use of zero anaphora which signals a continuation of the same referent. These patterns which occur without any unusual discourse function reflect to a significant degree the iconicity

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[92] Note Hopper's observation that "[s]trictly speaking, only foregrounded clauses are actually narrated. Backgrounded clauses do not themselves narrate, but instead they support, amplify, or comment on the narration" (1979:215).

principle that what is familiar and more continuous requires less coding, while what is less continuous requires more coding (cf. Givón 1990).

Outside routine tracking, other discourse functions related to participant operations within the narrative (cf. Longacre 1995) result in deviations from the basic conventions above. These include first mention of a participant in a story; integration, or marked indication of a particular participant as the central participant; restaging, the reintroduction of a participant who has not been involved in the story for a defined span of text; confrontation, marking a particular participant or participants to indicate dominance shifts between the participants; local contrast, indicating that a participant is thematically relevant to a defined span of text; and exit, which indicates that a participant is dropping out of the story. The interpretation of any particular pronoun depends upon where in the narrative it occurs and the type of participant operation shown by the form and context.

5.1.2 Answering the Secondary Questions

The secondary questions concern the derivation of the N-pronoun set. It is reasonable to inquire into the origins of this pronoun set since it appears to be typologically unusual. However, given the function determined for this pronoun set and the comparatively slight phonetic contrast between it and the regular pronoun, it seems at least possible that analogues to the N-pronoun set do in fact occur in related languages but have not been documented in the literature so far. It may simply be that the pronominal systems of these languages have been the subject of insufficient

research[93]. However, it is still reasonable to inquire as to whether the N-pronoun can be attributed to other elements such as are already attested in related languages.

As already noted, the only obvious candidate for an underlying synchronic source is a combination of the regular pronoun set (which is identical in six out of seven basic forms, apart from the absence of the final -*ŋ* which characterizes the N-pronouns), with the marker of subject focus, which is likewise *ŋ* and known to occur following noun phrases and even (in some contexts) the emphatic pronoun form.

The first response to this suggestion is the observation that in narrative texts, where full noun phrases appear on the storyline (which is the main context for the N-pronoun), they never appear with the subject focus marker (or with the predicate focus marker for that matter). Focus markers appear only in clauses which are off of the storyline. This is in line with what has been reported as a general pattern for narrative discourse: it is highly unusual for focus to be applied to the subjects of storyline clauses (Hopper 1979:215-217). In Safaliba, since the N-pronouns are so frequent as storyline subjects in narrative, it would be very strange if they were indicative of focus.

Such an argument might not be convincing if the existence of the storyline structure in narrative is considered an open question. In this case, the fact that the N-pronoun never co-occurs with the subject or predicate focus markers could be interpreted differently. The non-co-occurrence with the subject focus marker would be attributed to the presumed incorporation of that morpheme into the N-pronoun form,

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[93] Note, for example, the common characterization of the cognates of the (uncontroversial) emphatic pronoun as an alternative *subject* pronoun in other languages, whereas the corpus-based approach in Safaliba reveals examples of emphatic pronouns in other syntactic positions.

and its non-co-occurrence with the predicate focus marker will be attributed to the restriction that only one point of focus may appear in a given clause.

Here, however, the independent attestation of the object/location fronting construction as a marker of *ex-situ* focus proves to be a significant barrier to this line of reasoning. In constructions not involving pronouns, the three focus strategies prove to be mutually exclusive: the presence of any one focus form precludes the presence of any of the others. But where object/location fronting includes a pronoun as the subject, the default form used is the N-pronoun. In this case, the storyline analysis is preferable, as it explains more of the facts.

But it may be argued that similarly, if the N-pronoun indicates storyline, why should it be a required form for a focus construction? The answer in this case would appear to be that the apparent default nature of the N-pronoun is a statistical artifact due to the more frequent occurrence of a particular subtype of this focus construction, and not an absolute requirement: where the verb in such a clause agrees in other respects with the requirements for a storyline verb, the N-pronoun is used. However, it is possible, and indeed necessary, to use the regular pronoun in such a construction, provided that the verb has been modified with one of the preverbal markers disallowed on the storyline, and which would normally require the use of the regular pronoun in a conventionally-structured clause:

(380) Ká haali ʋ zɪnɪŋaa   ʋ haŋ zɪnɪ dine   dine din-aa ŋʋna...
      that even 3s sitting.place 3s did sit   today today day-this for
                    Location   S   V
      '[He said] that even if in his sitting-place he has sat, this very day....' (Text
      12:44)

The alternation of the N-pronoun with the regular pronoun in object/location

fronting constructions could thus be explained as follows: the N-pronoun may indicate

storyline even in the location-focus context; but when such a fronting construction is

used for non-storyline information, the regular pronoun appears, just as in non-storyline

clauses with no fronting. This too may find support in the observation by Hopper

above, since given the restriction against focus in the storyline subject, object/location

focus would seem to be the only option for focus in a storyline clause.

We may also note that another syntactic restriction supports the storyline

conclusion over the focus hypothesis. In the section above, it was noted that the N-

pronoun does not occur with any of the stative verbs[94] except for *ɛ'* and *be'*, while the

ordinary pronoun occurs with these as well as the two negative stative verbs, *chɛ'* and

naanɪ. The restriction against negativity is attested as a marker of transitivity, and

therefore storyline (Hopper and Thompson 1980:252; Longacre 1996:24), whereas even

in Safaliba it can be seen that the subject focus marker may occur with negative

constructions of various types, including the stative verb *chɛ'* 'is not present':

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[94] Note that the N-pronoun does occur with an active verb which is homophonous (perhaps with an
unnoticed tone difference) with *chɛ'* 'not be there': *chɛ'* 'chop wood, shout' (*Ʋŋ chɛ', pop!*, 'It roared,
pop!'; Text 34:49).

270

(381) ...ká ʊ́ tɪ'   kalɪ   yini ka ya bɛrɪga ŋ   chɛ'.
       that 3s go-Impv inform-Impv like that 2p trap   Foc is.not.present
       '[He said] that he should go and inform them that your trap is missing.' (Text
       1:40)

Furthermore, it has been noted in the previous chapter that in contrast to the N-pronoun and regular pronoun, the emphatic pronoun is permitted to occur with both the nominal predicator *lɛ'* and the copula *na'*. In both these constructions, the emphatic pronoun usually occurs accompanied by the subject focus marker, showing that subject focus may occur in these constructions. Now, it may be considered that the reason that the other pronouns do not occur with these stative verbs is because of some inherent requirement of the verb for a "weightier" pronoun. But perhaps the factor is transitivity: in all the examples given previously it can be seen that the stative verbs with which the N-pronoun may occur are higher in transitivity parameters than those with which it does not occur. This too seems to be a point in support of the designation of the N-pronoun as a storyline form.

The data strongly support the assessment that the N-pronoun does not indicate focus and thus is not synchronically derived from a combination with the subject focus marker, however a diachronic origin is not out of the question. Once factor which might support this possibility is the high tone present on all N-pronouns, in contrast to the low tone present on the regular pronouns. Since the subject focus marker *ŋ* always carries high tone, it might be the diachronic origin of the high tone present on the N-pronoun.

However, the presence of high tone on the N-pronoun may be otherwise explained by regarding the tone as an example of phonological iconicity or markedness (cf. Givón 1990:945-946). In Safaliba, high tone appears quite independently of any segmental source on other forms which might legitimately be considered to be marked. For example, the regular pronoun is pronounced with high tone when used with an imperative verb, as seen in section 2.3.1; furthermore, most of the pronouns in the emphatic set are pronounced with either high tone (in the two-syllable forms) or a low-high-low contour (in the three-syllable forms), as seen in table 6. Of the two phonological tones in Safaliba, low tone appears to be the default while high tone is marked; this situation stands in agreement with the general (though not exclusive) pattern observed for the great majority of two-tone languages (Yip 2002:61-63). Thus the presence of the high tone on the N-pronoun set can be quite satisfactorily explained by existing phonological constraints within the language, without special appeal to a derivation from the subject focus marker *ŋ*.

In addition, it is important to note two other points which call into question a derivation from the focus pronoun. First, in the first-person singular, the N-pronoun is *maŋ*, while the regular pronoun is *ŋ*. It seems difficult to derive the first from the second, with just the addition of a second *ŋ*. In fact, when looking at the other attested pronoun sets, we see that the *maŋ* structure is not so different from the first-person form of the object or emphatic sets: the object form is *–ma*, while the emphatic form is *màáŋ̀*. This suggests that the N-pronoun form is yet another class of pronoun, and not a phonetic construct. Furthermore, native speakers are well able to distinguish separate

morphemes in contexts which might not be obvious to an outside researcher (as noted in section 2.4.2.1.3 for the typologically unusual preverbal particle *a*); however, they resist an analysis for any of the N-pronouns which suggests that *ŋ* is a separate morpheme. Finally, only one consonant is ever permitted word-finally, *ŋ*; the only exceptions occur in ideophones and borrowed words. Thus the identification of any word-final occurrence of *ŋ* with a particular *ŋ* morpheme would need more substantial support than can be deduced here.

5.1.3 Conclusion

As shown above, the analysis in the previous chapters gives substantive answers to both the main and the ancillary research questions. The designation of the N-pronoun set as a marker of the storyline, instead of a marker of focus, has been shown to be well-supported by the evidence.

An inspection of the third-person N-pronouns in Text 1 yields the following statistics: The N-pronoun in the third-person singular form occurs 53 times. Six of these occurrences are with a verb in the imperfective aspect, and would therefore be categorized as backgrounded activity. Two occur with a stative verb, and are therefore setting. Three occur in some type of embedded construction in which it could be argued they still serve some kind of storyline function. And five occur in a fronted object or location construction, for which the N-pronoun has been shown to be the default form. Thirty-seven appear in unambiguous storyline clauses, including several in embedded texts. Of the sixteen questionable occurrences, then, only the two which occur as

setting and the six which occur as backgrounded activity are apparently off of the storyline by the definition used here. The distribution of the third-person plural N-pronouns is similar, with 17 in unambiguous storyline clauses, and five in setting or backgrounded activity clauses.

In other words, in this limited sample the storyline hypothesis accounts for at least 62 out of 75 occurrences (or about 83%) of the N-pronoun in narrative text. This is better than the 70% rate provided by the raw switch-reference hypothesis, besides being based on more detailed examination of the factors involved[95]. Furthermore, the exceptions display some degree of regularity, which may be explainable through further research.

The existence of the N-pronoun set is therefore justified as a separate pronoun set, distinct in form, meaning, and discourse function from the regular pronoun set. It does not express pragmatic focus but rather exhibits a unique appropriateness to the narrative storyline, and as such carries some sort of higher agentive status or some other characteristic of the higher degree of transitivity associated with the storyline.

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[95] In discourse analysis it is expected that there will be a certain amount of "residue" of data which do not agree with the main hypothesis. Hopper 1979:221 states: "Apparent inconsistencies and irregularities often mean that a certain proportion of the data contradict the general hypothesis. As a rule of thumb, I take this proportion to be about 20%; that is, I expect my explanations to account for an obviously large majority of the data. The remainder are then assumed not to be contradictory or arbitrary but to reflect a specific intention of the author. The exegesis of this remainder may be quite convincing, or it may be guesswork."

5.2 Implications of the Research

5.2.1 Methodological Advantages

This research has established that what appears to be a third pronoun set (beyond the expected "regular" and "emphatic" sets) does truly exist independently of any synchronic derivation from known linguistic structures in Safaliba. The evidence given in this study supports its existence, even though such a grammatical feature is typologically unusual, based on the limited documentation available for related languages. However, apart from the methodology used here, the analysis could have led in a very different direction.

This research has implications for the usefulness of a corpus methodology in doing broad language research: with a large enough corpus (where most of the forms are well-understood) it is possible to undertake research over a wide selection of linguistic domains. In addition, corpus data often provide evidence of constructions that may not easily be recalled by a language associate in elicitation sessions. Although the elicited data proved to be very illustrative of certain aspects of the analysis, limiting the analysis of focus to the elicited sentences would have left out certain constructions (such as the use of the regular pronoun in certain object/location focus construction) because those constructions did not readily come to the mind of the language associates. In fact, without the large body of natural narrative text comparison, the function of the N-pronoun as a marker of storyline might never have been noticed.

This research also has the parallel implication that study of coherent and natural texts has positive implications for the type of results achieved. In such a text, different types of construction may be seen in their natural contexts, with appropriate functional explanations just waiting to emerge under favorable conditions of examination.

Finally, the research suggests that an awareness of explicit discourse structure should be part of the methodology of any research into text-related pragmatics research. The operations of participant reference, with all their implications for the use of particular forms and the selections of particular referents in the story, are completely dependent upon the recognition and analysis of discourse structure which goes beyond what is included in the conventional pragmatic categories like focus and topic. Both the initial hypothesis relating the N-pronoun to focus constructions in Safaliba, and the results of using Givón's topicality measurements for participant reference, illustrate the limitations of pragmatics analysis without consideration of discourse structure. Though the use of such pragmatic functions may very appropriately be studied in the naturally occurring context of a narrative, such analysis without recognition of hierarchical text structure may prove to be misleading.

5.2.2 Documentation of Key Areas of Safaliba Linguistic Structure

As noted in the first chapter, the research design of this study incorporates significant aspects of language documentation for Safaliba. Due to the lack of substantial linguistic documentation of Safaliba or its near relatives, a broad investigation into the three domains of syntax, pragmatics, and discourse structure was

necessary in order to answer the research questions. These domains are documented in this study to varying degrees.

Several aspects of the phonology, morphology and syntax are presented. The tone inventory and basic functions are described, particularly in the grammatical use of tone as the sole indicator of the imperative mood and as an supplemental indicator of aspectual distinctions in the verb. The syllable- and word-structure constraints of the phonology are also presented, as well as the morphology of nouns, verbs, and some other grammatical categories. An inventory of preverbal particles (verb modifiers) is also given, together with working definitions of their meanings in terms of the four main areas of tense, aspect, mood, and polarity. Noun phrase constituents and the basic pronoun system are also described. Finally, aspects of the internal structure of both stative and active clauses, as well as a preliminary analysis of clause combinations and serial verb constructions, are presented. Most of these aspects of linguistic structure are illustrated by several examples taken from the text corpus, which was collected in such a way as to reflect natural speech patterns as much as possible within the research design.

Three formally distinct types of focus construction are identified[96]: subject focus indicated by the presence of the subject focus marker *ŋ* following a subject noun phrase; predicate focus indicated by the presence of the predicate focus marker *naaŋ* following the verb; and object/location focus as indicated by a particular type of fronting construction. These are shown to correlate directly with three of Dik's (1997a)

277

categories of focus scope. The fact that none of the three may co-occur provides evidence that each exists as a way to make one portion of the clause more salient for the hearer: that all three do, in fact, mark the same pragmatic category. Both elicited contrastive examples and unelicited text data from the corpus illustrate these distinctions, and also provide a basis for distinguishing the communicative point of such constructions, again following Dik (1997a).

Three aspects of narrative discourse structure are identified and described. The concept of the narrative storyline (Longacre 1996) is used to determine the verb forms and other structures which distinguish that strand of information in the narrative which marks the narrative proper: the contingent events which move the story forward and serve as its backbone. This type of information is distinguished from the various other types of information (Longacre 1996, Grimes 1975) which support or comment on (Hopper 1979) the main narrative: background, setting, irrealis, cohesion, and others. These informational distinctions constitute a salience scheme and contribute to the general cohesion, or followability, of a narrative.

The salience scheme contributes to the second aspect of narrative structure considered, the plot structure itself as reflected in the main subsections of a text. The conventions for setting apart the main macrosegments of a Safaliba narrative are presented. Following a universal narrative template (Longacre 2006), these macrosegments include a Stage section involving mostly expository setting information where the preliminaries to the actual narrative are laid out, Episode sections set apart by

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[96] The three types follow closely the analysis of focus constructions presented in Kropp Dakubu 2005 for

boundary markers, a Peak section (often encoding the notional climax of the narrative) where the usually patterns are not followed, a Closure section made up of an embedded hortatory or expository paragraph, and various opening and closing surface structures which bracket the narrative.

The narrative macrosegmentation, together with the information salience scheme, are a crucial backdrop to the third aspect of narrative structure and the one which addresses the interpretation of pronouns in discourse, i.e. the analysis of participant reference (Longacre 1995). Here the language resources for participant reference are described, as well as different ranks of participants (based on their relevance to the narrative). Participant operations use the language resources to refer to the participants over the course of the narrative, while correlating three separate variables: (1) the given point in the narrative with respect to the episode structure; (2) the relative rank of the particular participant; and (3) the particular function designated for the operation.

The different participant operations include: first mention (with a full noun phrase, sometimes with modifiers), integration (a repetition of the noun or noun phrase, sometimes with the specifier *nʊ*), routine tracking (accomplished by the minimal coding possible, and with chaining structures where appropriate, to the extent that co-referent subjects are expressed with null subject and the use of a pronoun signals a shift in reference), reinstatement of a participant that has been out of the action for a defined period (usually by a noun modified by the specifier *nʊ*), boundary marking (usually in

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the closely-related Dagaare language.

these texts by an anomalous use of pronouns, where the typical co-reference and switch-reference functions are not followed), confrontation (by the use of a noun or noun phrase where not otherwise required), local contrast, and exit of a participant from the narrative (both of these marked by the same strategy as reinstatement, on a participant who has recently been referenced).

The most significant contribution to Safaliba language documentation, however, is the discovery of storyline marking in the pronominal system, which is a linguistic feature apparently not previously documented as a possibility for human language. This illustrates the intrinsic value of describing and documenting the linguistic structures of the little-studied languages of the world, many of which may not otherwise be available for study in just a few decades. The documentation of such languages can contribute not only to the expansion of understanding regarding possible structures in human language (as shown in this dissertation) and thus the refinement of linguistic theory, but can assist the speakers of such languages in language maintenance and revitalization efforts.

5.2.3 Contributions to Knowledge of Linguistic Domain Interactions

This study draws on three main linguistic domains: syntax at the sentence level, pragmatic functions at the intersentential level (which refer to the discourse context but not in a structural way), and textlinguistic discourse structure, which expects structural features at the level of paragraph and discourse, and evaluates the occurrence of linguistic units of all sizes according to how they are situated in the discourse structure.

Although in this study the discourse structure is taken to be the (potential) functional governor of any part of the text, no attempt is made here to seek discourse explanations for every aspect of syntactic structure, or even of pragmatic structuring. Instead, each domain has been treated as operationally separate to the extent possible, although in practice the lower level analyses have served as part of the necessary apparatus for approaching that of the next level. The solution for the central problem of the N-pronoun usage could in principle have emerged from any three of these domains.

However, at this point it is appropriate to consider the implications of the possible interactions between the different levels and the constraints and patterns that have been seen at the various levels. A consideration of the presence of the N-pronoun on the storyline as the licensed pronominal form in that context, compared to the exclusion from the storyline of focus forms, negatives, modals, imperatives, etc., may be equally considered from two different perspectives. Either the syntactic restrictions may be considered to be primary, and those restrictions appear embedded within the discourse patterns (the operational perspective in this study); or alternatively the functional discourse-related restrictions on types of information may be considered to be primary, resulting in arbitrary (from the sentence perspective) restrictions upon co-occurrence of N-pronouns in particular constructions or with particular markers.

Particularly, we may note (following Longacre 1996:25-27) that storyline clauses have the following characteristics: they are substantive, as opposed to nonsubstantive (eliminating Band 7, Cohesion, and therefore many clauses with *haŋ*); they are narrative, as opposed to non-narrative (eliminating Band 6, Evaluation); they

are realis, as opposed to irrealis (eliminating Band 5, Irrealis, and therefore all conditionals, negatives, futures, and modals); they are dynamic, as opposed to static (eliminating Band 4, Setting, which is true in many cases); they are sequential, as opposed to nonsequential (eliminating many clauses classified as Band 2, Backgrounded Events[97]); they are punctiliar, as opposed to nonpunctiliar (eliminating Band 3, Backgrounded activities, which again is true in the majority of cases). This leaves the backgrounded events to be marked as distinct from storyline events by the presence of time-oriented preverbal particles or their occurrence in a clause following the conjunction *ka*, or (occasionally, in peak sections) the use of a regular pronoun instead of an N-pronoun in a construction which would otherwise be suitable for the storyline.

I have proposed that the most salient difference between the two pronoun forms has to do with appropriateness to the storyline. The restrictions on the N-pronoun at various levels of syntax, which were determined without recourse to the discourse context (reviewed above in section 5.1.1), in the final analysis correlate significantly with the characteristics of the different types of non-storyline information, formulated quite separately from consideration of the distribution of the N-pronoun. Categorizing the N-pronoun from the discourse perspective as a storyline form brings with it all the (apparently) arbitrary clause- and sentence-level restrictions: subject position only, no

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[97] Some events classified as Backgrounded Events might be more appropriately classified as Flashback (Longacre, 1996:24).

stative verbs[98], no perfective intransitive aspect, no imperfective aspect[99], no imperative, no preverbal particles with major tense, aspect, or modal meaning changes, no negatives, no dependent or embedded clauses, and no focus markers. Except for the instances of N-pronouns occurring with imperfectives and certain statives, the restrictions correspond, and are not arbitrary but functionally motivated.

If the N-pronoun's distribution is ultimately determined by the narrative storyline concept, as seems to be the case, then it is a tribute to linguistic structure as well as to the native speaker's linguistic competence that even in elicited sentences isolated from any narrative context the N-pronoun still may occur only in those sentences which meet the restrictions of a storyline clause.

5.2.4 Development of a Discourse-Based Ergativity Hypothesis

The use of a distinct form as the pronominal subject of storyline clauses bears a strong resemblance to what is called ergativity on the clausal level, which is "a grammatical pattern in which the logical subject of intransitive clauses and the logical object of transitive clauses share some grammatical features, and in this respect differ from transitive subjects," and which contrasts with the pattern seen in "accusative languages where the subject has the same grammatical marking in intransitive and transitive clauses, while the object has different marking" (Johns, Massam and Ndayiragije 2006:ix). A basic component of the definition of ergativity thus depends upon transitivity (presented in this case as a binary feature).

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[98] Leaving aside, for the moment, the regular exceptions known to occur: N-pronouns used with *be'* and *ɛ'*, and with some imperfective verbs.

While ergativity is often presented as a structural category (Anand and Nevins 2006:3), some researchers take the view it is a lexical category based on thematic role, and therefore "a noun phrase...must be a thematic agent in order to bear ergative case" (Anand and Nevins 2006:4). This brings out another important component of ergativity, that the subjects so marked are more agentive than those not so marked.

As noted in section 1.4.2.3, a higher degree of agency correlates with Hopper and Thompson's components of transitivity (1980:252). Furthermore, highly transitive material characterizes the foreground (storyline) information in a narrative, as contrasted by the less transitive supporting information (1980:280).

As mentioned above, in clause level ergativity, ergative marking serves to distinguish the subject of a transitive clause from that of an intransitive clause. Similarly, in Safaliba narrative discourse, the pronominal subjects of clauses with the highest level of transitivity (the storyline clauses) are marked to distinguish them from pronominal subjects of less transitive clauses (background material). Setting apart these most agentive actions by a special pronominal form thus bears a strong resemblance to clause-level ergativity.

The difference between the Safaliba situation and regular clause-level ergativity is that in Safaliba basic transitivity (i.e. the number of arguments on the verb) is not sufficient context for necessitating use of the special pronoun form. Rather, basic transitivity is just one component factor, and the broader discourse situation must be considered in order to arrive at the notion of the storyline. Hopper and Thompson's

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[99] Leaving aside this exception also.

statement that "the defining properties of Transitivity are discourse-determined" (1980:251) recognizes that the notion of transitivity cannot be linked solely to the number of verb arguments. Since "an understanding of ergativity is rests on an understanding of other difficult grammatical issues" including transitivity (Johns, Massam and Ndayiragije 2006:ix), it is perhaps not going too far to suggest that the special marking of pronominal subjects in storyline clauses suggests the idea of a discourse-based ergativity system[100].

5.3 Directions for Further Study

5.3.1 Explaining the Usages of the N-Pronoun with Non-Storyline Verbs

The designation of the N-pronoun as indicative of storyline was made with the caveat that there are two regular exceptions: the N-pronoun regularly occurs with some verbs in the imperfective tense (which had been otherwise categorized as non-storyline "backgrounded activities") and with the stative verb *be′* 'be at, be located, live' (which had been otherwise categorized as non-storyline "setting" information). Since these appear to be regularly occurring exceptions not due to mistakes in speaking or transcription, it would be desirable to investigate what regularities may occur in their distribution, to determine how they can be accounted for.

The concepts of "promotion" or "demotion" (Longacre 1996:25) of a clause from one band to another have already been invoked in section 4.1.2.1 to explain the use of a durative adverb with a verb form which would otherwise be on the storyline

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[100] Thanks to Robert Longacre for pointing out this insiteful perspective.

(thus demoting it to backgrounded activity) and the use of an ideophone communicating suddenness and surprise with a verb form which would otherwise be in the background (thus promoting it to the storyline). The same concepts may be able to account for some of the remaining inconsistencies.

It is possible that some of the occurrences of an N-pronoun with either a regular verb in the imperfective aspect or the stative verb *be'* could be seen as promotion of these otherwise non-storyline clauses to the storyline, by marking them with the pronoun form otherwise used only on the storyline. Likewise, those clauses which would be on the storyline by verbal criteria, but which have a regular pronoun as a subject (and are therefore explicitly described as outside the storyline by native speakers) could be seen as demotion from the storyline by being marked with the pronoun form never used on the storyline. Further research would clarify the extent to which this explanation accounts for the presence of these otherwise anomalous forms.

A few other very rare exceptions also appear in the corpus: single occurrences exist of the N-pronoun with a verb modified by each of the following, *koroŋ* 'long ago', *haŋ* 'previously', *na* 'Future', *maŋ* 'Habitual', or *kʋŋ* 'Future Negative', in sentences verified by the language associate as being correct as written. So it would be important to gather more occurrences of such data, determine their context, and see to what extent they may affect the analysis given here.

286

5.3.2 Expanded Analysis of Other Usages of Pronoun Forms in Discourse

A second concern is to do further study on other usages of pronouns in discourse. Although not addressed in this study, the third-person plural pronoun, both in the human and the non-human form, appears to be used non-referentially in some contexts (similar to what is described in Marchese 1986a for Godié pronouns). In at least some cases, these usages involve the N-pronoun form, and a study of these occurrences would refine or expand the analysis of the N-pronoun usage presented here.

5.3.3 Comparison of *a* and *ka* Chaining Structures

Several properties have been noted about clause-chaining structures in Safaliba which use the conjunctions *a* and *ka* to conjoin two or more clauses. The relationship of these structures with comparable serial verb constructions should be more thoroughly investigated, as well as the degree to which such structures represent conjunction versus subordinating relationships between the clauses. Also, a comparison should be made of the degree to which the *a* chaining construction and the *ka* chaining construction display a complementary distribution in the case of same-subject conjoining, for N-pronouns and regular pronouns, respectively.

5.3.4 Discourse Structure and Pronoun Use in Other Genres

An impressionistic assessment of the texts in the 1st person personal experience narrative subtype suggests that the pronoun usage may differ significantly from that of third-person historical narrative, not just in the substitution of first-person pronouns for third-person pronouns—which would be expected—but in a switch to a much greater

usage of pronouns from the emphatic set. Since even in narrative the emphatic pronouns are more prominent in quoted material, this is not unexpected. However, an analysis should be made of pronominal usage in this subgenre, as well as in the non-narrative genres, since clearly the full range of pronominal usage in Safaliba is still to be determined. This subtype of narrative could not be examined within the bounds of the present study, but is an appropriate topic for future research.

5.3.5 Focus and the Meaning of the "Emphatic" Pronoun

Although this study has concluded that the N-pronoun does not communicate the pragmatic function of focus, it has raised the issue of the application of focus to pronominal forms. It has been noted, without comment, that the emphatic pronoun set may occur in subject position with the subject focus marker ŋ. Since "emphasis" and "focus" are both considered to be types of local highlighting or prominence, it seems worthwhile to ask what it means for focus to be applied to an emphatic pronoun.

5.3.6 Comparative Study of Pronouns in Related Languages

Finally, having shown that the N-pronoun is a substantive category with a specific role in Safaliba narrative, it seems reasonable to ask whether analogous forms truly do not exist in related languages. As pointed out above, considering the many preliminary issues involved in getting to the core meaning of this form, it seems possible that similar separate forms might exist in related languages without ever having been analyzed as such.

Also, noting the switch-reference function in Safaliba which emerges from pronominal usage and syntactic structure options, it seems appropriate to ask to what degree this type of pattern is also reflected in languages like Moore (as per comments in von Roncador 1992:168) and Dagaare (as per comments in Kropp Dakubu 2005:29). The conclusions reached in the present study thus have potential for wider application.

APPENDIX A

INTERLINEAR TEXTS IN SAFALIBA

Text 1: The Reward of Jealousy (Amaaliya Mbatumwini)

• *RewardOfJealosy* 001

A	ŋaa,	ʋ	ba	ɛ'	yini	solime	gbagba	ŋ	lɛ'	woo.
a	ŋaa	ʋ	ba	ɛ'	yini	solim -A	gbagba	ŋ	lɛ'	woo
1pnh	this	3s	Neg		do	like	story -sg	actual	Foc	is	?

As for this, be aware that it is not like an actual "story".

• *RewardOfJealosy* 002

Ʋ	ɛ'	naaŋ	yini	ye'	bɪlɛ	ι	haŋ		nya'	yela
ʋ	ɛ'	naaŋ	yini	ye'	bɪlɛ	ι	haŋ		nya'	yel -a
3s	do	PredFoc	like	say	so	2s	previously		see	matter -sg

haŋ	pakι	nɛra.
haŋ	pakι	nɛr -A
previously	meet	person -sg

It is really more like what you may have seen happen to a person.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 003

Yooni	kpaŋ	yaŋ,	(Ɛɛŋ),	ŋ	asʋba	Abulai	anι	ŋ
yoom- rI	kpaŋ	yaŋ	Ɛɛŋ	ŋ	asʋba	Abulai	anι	ŋ
year - sg	one	?	yes	1s	uncle	Abulai	and	1s

asʋba	Yɛlιwaya,	ba	be'	bee,	baŋ	zaa	be'	po'	kpenleeri
asʋba	Yɛlιwaya	ba	be'	bee	baŋ	zaa	be'	po'	kpenleeri
uncle	Yɛlιwaya	3p	live	there	3pN	all	live	farm	single

nι	ŋ	asʋba	Bokoro.
nι	ŋ	asʋba	Bokoro
with	1s	uncle	Bokoro

One year, my uncle Abulai and my uncle Yeliwaya, there they were, they both were farming together with my uncle Bokoro.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 004

Baŋ	wɛɛra	po'	nι	bιlɛɛŋ.
baŋ	wɛɛra		nι	bιlɛɛŋ
3pN	go.Imperf	farm	Spec	on.and.on

They were going to farm on and on.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 005

Ba   mʊŋ   zaa   nambagɪlɪba   ŋ   naba.
ba   mʊŋ   zaa   nambagɪl -ba   ŋ   na' -ba
3p   each   all   hunter   -pl   Foc   is   -3p

They were also all hunters.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 006

Baŋ   wɛɛra   ka   ŋ   asʊba   Abulai   bɛrɪ   ʋ   bɛrɪga.
baŋ   wɛɛra   ka   ŋ   asʊba   Abulai   bɛrɪ   ʋ   bɛrɪ   -ga
3pN   go.Imperf   then   1s   uncle   Abulai   trap   3s   trap   -sg

They were going and my uncle Abulai set his trap.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 007

Ʋ   nɪ   kɔmpɔlɪbilli   wa'   tɪ'   po'.
ʋ   nɪ   kɔm   -   pɔlɪ   -   billi   wa'   tɪ'   po'
3s   with   child   -   grow   -   small.pl   come   go   farm

He and the young men were going to the farm.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 008

Baŋ   tɪ'   kaa   bɛrɪga   nɪɪ,   ka   ʋ   nyɔgɪ   bampɛ.
baŋ   tɪ'   kaa   bɛrɪ -ga   nɪɪ   ka   ʋ   nyɔgɪ   bampɛ
3pN   go   look   trap   -sg   Spec   then   3s   catch   leopard

They went to check the trap, it had caught a leopard. [When a trap catches such a big animal, it uproots the stake holding the trap and wanders off into the bush; the men saw from the tracks near where the trap had been set that it had caught a leopard.]

• *RewardOfJealosy* 009

Ʋŋ   wa'   tʊŋ   bee   yɪrɪ,   ká   ʊ́   wa'   chi'
ʋŋ   wa'   tʊŋ   bee   yɪ   -   rI   ká   ʊ́   wa'-Impv   chi'-Impv
3sN   come   send   child   village   -   sg   that   3s   come   tell

nʊŋkottu   yini   ba   bɛrɪga   nyɔgɪ   bampɛ,   ká
nʊŋ   -   kor   -ru   yini   ba   bɛrɪ -ga   nyɔgɪ   bampɛ   ká
person   -   old   -pl   like   3p   trap   -sg   catch   leopard   that

bá   kʊ́'   nɔɔsɪ   a   sɔsɪ   Naaŋmɪnnɪ,   chɛ   ka   bá
bá   kʊ́'-Impv   nʊ   -sɪ   a   sɔsɪ   Naaŋmɪnnɪ   chɛ   ka   bá
3p   kill   fowl   -pl   and   beg   God   but   then   3p

292

isi	nɛrɪba	a	wa',	ká	bá	tɪ'	kʊ́'	a	bampɛ.
isi-Impv	nɛr	-ba	a	wa'	ka	bá	tɪ'-Impv	kʊ́'-Impv	a	bampɛ
choose	person	-pl	and	come	then	3p	go		kill	the	leopard

He [Abulai] sent one of the young men [later named as Waayo] back to the village, saying he should tall the elders that their trap has caught a leopard, so that should kill fowls [for divination] and ask God, then choose some people to come help find and kill the leopard.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 010

Bee	nɪ	kenne	yɪrɪ,		a	naa		wa'	kalɪ
bee	nɪ	kenne	yɪ	-rI	a	naa		wa'	kalɪ
child	Spec	come.Imperf	village	-sg	and	intend		come	inform

nɪŋkottu			nɪ,	chɛ	wa'	toosi	ŋ	asʊba	Bokoro
nɪŋ	- kor	-ru	nɪ	chɛ	wa'	toosi	ŋ	asʊba	Bokoro
person	- old	-pl	Spec	but	come	meet	1s	uncle	Bokoro

ŋʊna,	ka	ʊ	naŋ	wɛɛra	po'.
ŋʊna	ka	ʊ	naŋ	wɛɛra	po'
as.for	then	3s	still	go.Imperf	farm

The young man was coming to the village, intending to come and inform the elders, but met my uncle Bokoro, who was going to farm [at that late hour].

• *RewardOfJealosy* 011

Ʊŋ	sʊgʊʊ,	"Amaniye,	boŋ		wa'	ʊŋ	lɛ	lɛɛbɪ	kuse
ʊŋ	sʊgɪ - ʊ	amaniye	boŋ		wa'	ʊŋ	lɛ	lɛɛbɪ	kuse
3sN	ask - 3s	news	what		come	2sN	again	return	go.home

yɪrɪ		bɛbɛɛaa?"
yɪ	-rI	bɛbɛɛ	-aa
village	-sg	morning	-this

He [Bokoro] asked him, What news? What's brought you to return home so early in the morning?

• *RewardOfJealosy* 012

Ʊŋ	ye'	ká,	ŋ	asʊba	Abulai	ŋ		tʊmʊʊ,	ká	ʊ́	tɪ'
ʊŋ	ye'	ká	ŋ	asʊba	Abulai	ŋ		tʊŋ - ʊ	ká	ʊ́	tɪ'-Impv
3sN	say	that	1s	uncle	Abulai	Foc		send - 3s	that	3s	go

kalɪ	nɪŋkottu			yini	ba	bɛrɪga	nyɔgɪ	bampɛ.
kalɪ-Impv	nɪŋ	- kor	-ru	yini	ba	bɛrɪ	-ga	nyɔgɪ	bampɛ
inform	person	- old	-pl	like	3p	trap	-sg	catch	leopard

He [Waayo] said my uncle Abulai had sent him, that he should go and inform the elders that their trap has caught a leopard.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 013

A	yɛla	ŋ	so',	ká	bá kaa,	a	kú'	nɔɔsɪ
a	yɛl	-A	ŋ	so'	ká	bá kaa-Impv	a	kú'-Impv	nʊ	-sɪ
the	matter	-sg	Foc	own	that	3p look	and	kill	fowl	-pl

sɔsɪ	Naaŋmʊnnɪ,	chɛ	ka	bá	wo'	kɔmma	ka	bá
sɔsɪ-Impv	Naaŋmʊnnɪ	chɛ	ka	bá	wo'-Impv	kɔmma	ka	bá
beg	God	but	then	3p	seek	children	then	3p

wa',	tí	tɪ'	tuu.
wa'-Impv	tí	tɪ'-Impv	tu'-Impv	-ʊ
come	1p	go	follow	-3s

So, they should look into it, and kill fowls [divine] and ask God, and find some more youth to come, so we can go and follow [the leopard's trail].

• *RewardOfJealosy* 014

Ŋ	asʊba	Bokoro	ye'	ká,	"Aai!"
ŋ	asʊba	Bokoro	ye'	ká	aai
1s	uncle	Bokoro	say	that	aai

My uncle Bokoro said, aai! [expression of deep disdain and contempt]

• *RewardOfJealosy* 015

Ká	a	bampɛ	yɛla	ʊŋ	lɛ	wɛɛra	yɪraa,	bɪ?
ká	a	bampɛ	yɛl	-A	ʊŋ	lɛ	wɛɛra	yɪ	-rI	-aa	bɪ
that	the	leopard	matter	-sg	3sN	again	go.Imperf	village	-sg	-this	or

So it's because of the leopard he [Waayo] is coming back to the village?

• *RewardOfJealosy* 016

Ká	ú	lɛɛbɪ,	bá	yemmi.
ká	ú	lɛɛbɪ-Impv	bá	yemmi-Impv
that	3s	return	3p	go.somewhere

He [Waayo] should turn back, they should go.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 017

Ba	haŋ	tɪ'	tatta	dapɪraa,	ʊ	ba	lɛ
ba	haŋ	tɪ'	ta'	-rA	da	-	pɪraa	ʊ	ba	lɛ
3p	previously	go	reach	-Imperf	tree	-	bottom	3s	Neg	again

bʋ'   ŋ   asʋba Abulai saa   gba.
bʋ'   ŋ   asʋba Abulai saa   gba
turn.by 1s   uncle   Abulai place self

When they were reaching the farm base [big shade tree under which meals are taken etc.], he did not turn by the actual place where Abulai was then working.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 018

Ʋ haŋ   tɩ' ta',   ka   ʋ   be'   ʋ   po', ʋŋ ye' ká
ʋ haŋ   tɩ' ta'   ka   ʋ   be'   ʋ   po'   ʋŋ ye' ká
3s previously go reach then 3s be.at 3s farm 3sN say that

bá gaŋɲɩ.
bá gaŋɲɩ-Impv
3p pass.by

When he [Bokoro] reached, he [Abulai] was out in the field in his section of the farm, he [Bokoro] said they should pass right on by.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 019

Ká nya' a   bee   baŋɲɩ a   bɛrɪga   zee   wɔ?
ká nya' a   bee   baŋɲɩ a   bɛrɪ -ga zee   wɔ
that see   the child know the trap -sg place yes

Saying, Hey, the boy knows where the trap was, right?

• *RewardOfJealosy* 020

Ʋŋ ye' ká,   ɛɛŋ.
ʋŋ ye' ká   ɛɛŋ
3sN say that yes

He [Waayo] said, yes.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 021

Ká ʋ́ gaŋɲɩ.
ká ʋ́ gaŋɲɩ-Impv
that 3s pass.by

[Bokoro said] that he [Waayo] should pass right on by.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 022

Baŋ weera   a tɩ' ta'   a   bɛrɪga   zee, ʋŋ ye' ká,
baŋ weera   a tɩ' ta'   a   bɛrɪ -ga zee   ʋŋ ye' ká
3pN go.Imperf and go reach the trap -sg place 3sN say that

ziaa		a	bɛrɪga	unsi	nʊ.
zee	-aa	a	bɛrɪ -ga	unsi	nʊ
place	-this	the	trap -sg	uproot	Spec

They were going and reached the place where the trap was, he [Waayo] said, this is where the trap [stake] was uprooted.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 023

Ʊ	haŋ	nya'	kɔsɪsɪ		nʊnnɪ	halalasɪ		ayi'
ʊ	haŋ	nya'	kɔsɪ	-sɪ	nʊnnɪ	halala	-sɪ	ayi'
3s	previously	see	round.stone	-pl	good	exemplary	-pl	two

haŋ	dɪgɪ	tara,	chɛ	ye'	ká	bá	wɛɛra.
haŋ	dɪgɪ	tara	chɛ	ye'	ká	bá	wɛɛra-Impv
previously	pick	hold	but	say	that	3p	go.Imperf

He (Bokoro) had seen two perfect round [fist-sized] stones and picked them up, and said they should keep going along.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 024

Baŋ	tɪ'	nya'	a	bampɛ	baʊ,	ka	ʊ	haŋ		turoo	
baŋ	tɪ'	nya'	a	bampɛ	baʊ	ka	ʊ	haŋ	tu'	-rA	-ʊ
3pN	go	see	the	leopard	trail	then	3s	previously	follow	-Imperf	-3s

turoo,			bampɛ	tɪ'	chɛ',	paoo!
tu'	-rA	-ʊ	bampɛ	tɪ'	chɛ'	paoo
follow	-Imperf	-3s	leopard	go	roar	onoma

They finally found the leopard's tracks, and he was following it and following it; the leopard roars, "roar!"

• *RewardOfJealosy* 025

Ʊ	kenne,	a	isigi	yini	ʊ	na	wa'	nyɔgɪ	ŋ	asʊba	Bokoro.
ʊ	kenne	a	isigi	yini	ʊ	na	wa'	nyɔgɪ	ŋ	asʊba	Bokoro
3s	come.Imperf	and	get.up	like	3s	Fut	come	catch	1s	uncle	Bokoro

It's coming, and get's ready as if to come and grab my uncle Bokoro.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 026

Ʊŋ	vɪɪrɪ	ʊ	zu',	kɔsɪga		"kpan'"!
ʊŋ	vɪɪrɪ	ʊ	zu'	kɔsɪ	-ga	kpan'
3sN	throw	3s	head	round.stone	-sg	thunk

He [Bokoro] throws [a stone at] it's head, the stone [hits] "thunk!"

296

• *RewardOfJealosy* 027

ɩ   daba   le'.
ɩ   dab -A le'
2s man -sg fall

Your friend falls.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 028

ʊ   vɩɾʊʊ   lɔbɩ.
ʊ   vɩɾɩ   -ʊ   lɔbɩ
3s throw -3s throw.down

He has thrown [a stone at] it [causing it to fall] down.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 029

Ʊŋ bʊ'   zɛ', ʊ soye   kʊŋ.
ʊŋ bʊ'   zɛ' ʊ so   -yA kʊŋ
3sN turn.by here 3s knife -sg cry

It [the leopard] turns here, his machete cries [as it hits the leopard]

• *RewardOfJealosy* 030

Ʊŋ bʊ'   zɛ', ʊ soye   kʊŋ.
ʊŋ bʊ'   zɛ' ʊ so-   -yA kʊŋ
3sNturn.byhere   3s knife- -pl cry

It [the leopard] turns here, his machete cries [as it hits the leopard]

• *RewardOfJealosy* 031

Ʊ   kʊ́ʊ   biŋŋi.
ʊ   kʊ́' -ʊ   biŋŋi
3s kill -3s put.away

He has killed it and put it somewhere [for later].

• *RewardOfJealosy* 032

Chɛ lɛɛbɩ   nɩ, baŋ wa' po'.
chɛ lɛɛbɩ   nɩ   baŋ wa' po'
but return Spec 3pN come farm

Then returning, they come back to the farm.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 033

Ŋ	asʋba	Abulai	ŋʋna	tara	yini	panapana	ŋ	asʋba
ŋ	asʋba	Abulai	ŋʋna	tara	yini	panapana	ŋ	asʋba
1s	uncle	Abulai	as.for	hold	like	just.now	1s	uncle

Bokoro	naŋ	wa'	po'.	
Bokoro	naŋ	wa'	po-	-'
Bokoro	still	come	farm-	-sg

As for my uncle Abulai, [he] thought my uncle Bokoro had just now come to the farm.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 034

Ʋŋ	ye'	ká,	"Ɛŋhɛŋ?"
ʋŋ	ye'	ká	ɛŋhɛŋ
3sN	say	that	yes

He said, Yes?

• *RewardOfJealosy* 035

Ká	ba	yɪrɪ?	
ká	ba	yɪ	-rI
that	3p	village	-sg

How's the village?

• *RewardOfJealosy* 036

Ʋŋ	ye'	ká,	yɪrɪ		amaniye	zaa	ŋ	na':
ʋŋ	ye'	ká	yɪ	-rI	amaniye	zaa	ŋ	na'
3sN	say	that	village	-sg	news	all	Foc	is

He [Bokoro] said, here's all the village news:

• *RewardOfJealosy* 037

Ká	ʋ	yi'	naaŋ	yɪrɪ		kenne	a	wa'	toosi
ká	ʋ	yi'	naaŋ	yɪ	-rI	kenne	a	wa'	toosi
that	3s	go.out	PredFoc	village	-sg	come.Imperf	and	come	meet

Waayo	ka	ʋ	kuse.
Waayo	ka	ʋ	kuse
Waayo	then	3s	go.home

He [Bokoro] had left the village and was coming and met Waayo returning home.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 038

Ʊŋ sʊgʊʊ amaniye.
ʋŋ sʊgɪ -ʋ amaniye
3sN ask -3s news

He [Bokoro] had asked, what news?

• *RewardOfJealosy* 039

Ʊŋ ye' ká, ɪna ŋ tʊmʊʋ.
ʋŋ ye' ká ɪna ŋ tʊŋ -ʋ
3sN say that 2sEm Foc send -3s

He [Waayo] had said, it was you [Abulai] who had sent him.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 040

Ká ʋ́ tɪ' kalɪ yini ka ya bɛrɪga ŋ chɛ'.
ká ʋ́ tɪ'-Impv kalɪ-Impv yini ka ya bɛrɪ -ga ŋ chɛ'
that 3s go inform like then 2p trap -sg Foc not.there

 [You Abulai had said] that he should go and inform [people] that your trap was missing.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 041

Ʊŋ ye' ká, bá kaa a poo, chɛ ka bá wa'
ʋŋ ye' ká bá kaa-Impv a poo chɛ ka bá wa'-Impv
3sN say that 3p look 1p insides but then 3p come

wou.
wo'-Impv -ʋ
seek -3s

He [Abulai] had said, they should look into the matter, then come find it.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 042

Ká ʋŋ ye' ká, a ŋaa ba lɛ ta' ka bá
ká ʋŋ ye' ká a ŋaa ba lɛ ta' ka bá
that 3sN say that 1pnh this Neg again reach then 3p

tɪ' yɪrɪ sarɪ.
tɪ'-Impv yɪ -rI sarɪ
go village -sg before

That he [Bokoro] had said, this matter is not serious enough to warrant checking with the elders first!

• *RewardOfJealosy* 043

Ká   ʋŋ   tarɔɔ.
ká   ʋŋ   tara -ʋ
that   3sN hold -3s

That he [Bokoro] took him [Waayo].

• *RewardOfJealosy* 044

Ká a bampɛ, ká ʋna tɪ' kʋ́ʋ   biŋŋi   bee.
ká a bampɛ ká ʋna tɪ' kʋ́' -ʋ biŋŋi   bee
That the leopard that 3sEm go kill -3s put.away there

The leopard, that *he* [Bokoro] had killed it and put it away there [for later].

• *RewardOfJealosy* 045

Aa! Aŋ   bɛɛra   ŋ asʋba Abulai pa   pa   pa   pa,
aa aŋ   bɛɛra   ŋ asʋba Abulai pa   pa   pa   pa
?   3pnhN cause.pain   1suncle   Abulai much much much much

ŋ   asʋba Bokoro haŋ   tɔŋŋɪ   wigiluu   dabɪlʋŋ   nɪɪ.
ŋ   asʋba Bokoro haŋ   tɔŋŋɪ   wigil -ʋ   dab -lʋŋ   nɪɪ
1s   uncle Bokoro previously be.able.to teach -3s man -ship Spec

Hey! This was seriously painful to my uncle Abulai, that my uncle Bokoro was able to teach him [imply the Abulai was deficient] about man-ship [i.e. bravery, hunting prowess, etc.]

• *RewardOfJealosy* 046

Aŋ ɛ' ká bʋnʋ   ŋaa, ɪna   haŋ   na   tɪ'
aŋ ɛ' ká bʋn -ʋ ŋaa ɪna   haŋ   na   tɪ'
3pnhN do that thing -sg this 2sEm previously Fut   go

nyaʋ,   ʋ haŋ   nyɔgʋʋ.
nya' -ʋ   ʋ haŋ   nyɔgɪ -ʋ
see -3s   3s previously catch -3s

It happened that [= to review the events]: this thing, you [Abulai] had gone and seen it, that it had caught it [a leopard].

• *RewardOfJealosy* 047

ɪna   kʋ   tɔŋŋɪ   kʋ́ʋ.
ɪna   kʋŋ   tɔŋŋɪ   kʋ́' -ʋ
2sEm Neg.Fut be.able.to kill -3s

You [Abulai] were not able to kill it.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 048

l	mɪŋ	gba,	nambagɪla		birii	ŋ		naɪ.
ɪ	mʊŋ	gba	nambagɪl	-A	birii	ŋ	na'	-ɪ
2s	also	self	hunter	-sg	complete	Foc	is	-2s

Yet you yourself are a "complete hunter".

• *RewardOfJealosy* 049

lna	lɛɛbɪ	wa'	tʊŋ	bee	ká	ʊ́	naŋ	tɪ'		yɛlɪ
ɪna	lɛɛbɪ	wa'	tʊŋ	bee	ká	ʊ́	naŋ	tɪ'-Impv		yɛlɪ-Impv
2sEm	return	come	send	child	that	3s	still	go		say

yɪrɪ,		ká	bá	na	ɛ'		bampɛ	yɛla		kʊ́'
yɪ	-rI	ká	bá	na	ɛ'-Impv	bampɛ		yɛl	-A	kʊ́'-Impv
village	-sg	that	3p	Fut	do		leopard	matter	-sg	kill

nɔɔsɪ.	
nʊ	-sɪ
fowl	-pl

You [Abulai] returned and sent a young man to still tell the village, that they should kill chickens to divine and find out about the leopard [whether it is fateful to go for it or not].

• *RewardOfJealosy* 050

Chɛ	ʊŋ	wa'	toosuu		bɪlɛ,	a	nyɔgʊʊ		lɛɛbɪ,	a	wa'
chɛ	ʊŋ	wa'	toosi	-ʊ	bɪlɛ	a	nyɔgɪ	-ʊ	lɛɛbɪ	a	wa'
but	3sN	come	meet	-3s	so	and	catch	-3s	return	and	come

tɪ'	dɪ'	kubiri		vɪɪrɪ	a	bɪlɛ	bampɛ	kʊ́'!
tɪ'	dɪgɪ	kub	-rI	vɪɪrɪ	a	bɪlɛ	bampɛ	kʊ́'
go	pick	stone	-sg	throw	the	so	leopard	kill

But he [Bokoro] came and met him on this mission, and brought him back, and went and picked rocks and killed that sort of leopard by throwing [the rocks at its head].

• *RewardOfJealosy* 051

l	ba	nya'	ká	a	ɛ'	yɛlɪbɛɛrɪsɪ?			
ɪ	ba	nya'	ká	a	ɛ'	yɛl	- bɛɛ	-rA	-sɪ
2s	Neg	see	that	1pnh	do	matter	- pain	-Imperf	-pl

Don't you [the hearers] see, it's a painful thing?

301

• *RewardOfJealosy* 052

Aŋ	bɛɛra	ŋ	asʊba	Abulai	gan'.
aŋ	bɛɛ -rA	ŋ	asʊba	Abulai	gan'
3pnhN	pain -Imperf	1s	uncle	Abulai	greatly

This pained my uncle Abulai greatly.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 053

Bɛtʊ	ayi'	baŋ	wa'	tɪ'	mɔɔ.
bɛ -rU	ayi'	baŋ	wa'	tɪ'	mɔɔ
day -pl	two	3pN	come	go	bush

Some time later, they went to bush.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 054

Ʊŋ	tɪ'	ŋmɛ'	mɔnaafʊ,	chɛ	wa'.
ʊŋ	tɪ'	ŋmɛ'	mɔnaafʊ	chɛ	wa'
3sN	go	hit	buffalo	but	come

He [Abulai] went and shot [wounded but not killed] a buffalo, and returned.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 055

Baŋ	wa'	bʊlɪ.
baŋ	wa'	bʊl
3pN	come	speak

They told [what had happened].

• *RewardOfJealosy* 056

Nʊŋkottu		nu	kaa	kaa	a	yɛla		poo	bɪlɛɛŋ,
nʊŋ-	kor -rU	nu	kaa	kaa	a	yɛl	-A	poo	bɪlɛɛŋ
person-	old -pl	Spec	look	look	the	matter	-sg	insides	on.and.on

a	ye'	ká	ba	kʊ́'	nɔɔsɪ,		ká	kpeembe	ye'	ká
a	ye'	ká	ba	kʊ́'	nʊ	-sɪ	ká	kpeembe	ye'	ká
and	say	that	3p	kill	fowl	-pl	that	ancestors	say	that

bá	ta	tɪ'	a	naafʊ	tuubu		zee.
bá	ta	tɪ'	a	naafʊ	tu'	-bU	zee
3p	Neg.Impv	go	the	cow	follow	-Nom	place

The elders looked into [= divined] the matter on and on, and said they have killed chickens [in divination], and the Ancestors say nobody should attempt to follow the [wounded] buffalo [and kill it].

Chɛ	ŋ	asʋba	Abulai	mʋŋ	haŋ	woore	ye'	ká
chɛ	ŋ	asʋba	Abulai	mʋŋ	haŋ	wo' -rA	ye'	ká
but	1s	uncle	Abulai	also	previously	seek -Imperf	say	that

bá	baŋŋı	ká	ʋ	chɛ'	dɛbɛŋ	nʋ,	ʋ	bʋya	
bá	baŋŋı-Impv	ká	ʋ	chɛ'	dɛbɛŋ	nʋ	ʋ	bı'	-yA
3p	know	that	3s	not.there	fear	Spec	3s	ripe	-PfIntr

nʋ,	ʋŋ	ye'	ká	ʋ	na	tı'	a	naafʋ	zee.
nʋ	ʋŋ	ye'	ká	ʋ	na	tı'	a	naafʋ	zee
Spec	3sN	say	that	3s	Fut	go	the	cow	place

But by uncle Abulai really wanted everyone to know that he had no fear, he was completely ripe [hard, courageous, a full man], he said he would go the the buffalo's place.

(Ba	ba	lɛ	chi'	nʋŋkottu		nʋ	bılɛ	woo.)
ba	ba	lɛ	chi'	nʋŋ-	kor -rU	nʋ	bılɛ	woo
3p	Neg	again	tell	person-	old -pl	Spec	so	?

Now, this wasn't said to the elders, you understand!

Baŋ	sagı.
baŋ	sagı
3pN	agree

They [Abulai and uncle Yeliwaya] agreed.

Chɛ	zee	sɔɔ,	ʋ	nı	ŋ	asʋba	Yɛlıwaya,	baŋ	wa'
chɛ	zee	sɔɔ	ʋ	nı	ŋ	asʋba	Yɛlıwaya	baŋ	wa'
but	place	be.black	3s	with	1s	uncle	Yɛlıwaya	3pN	come

zını	paa	zu',	ká	bá	liire		duu.
zını	paa	zu'	ká	bá	li'-Impv	-rA	duu
sit	high.bench	head	that	3p	tie	-Imperf	plans

The place darkened, and he and my uncle Yeliwaya, they came and sat on a the paa [sitting place like a high bench], to make plans.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 061

Ká	dɛbɛŋ	ŋ	kúʊra	a	nuŋkottʊ.
ká	dɛbɛŋ	ŋ	kú' -rA	a	nʊŋ- kor -rU
that	fear	Foc	kill -Imperf	the	person- old -pl

Saying, Fear is killing the elders [= it's not the Ancestors forbidding the following of the buffalo, but the elders are just afraid].

• *RewardOfJealosy* 062

A	yɛla,	a	naafʊ,	ba	naa	kúʊ.
a	yɛl -A	a	naafʊ	ba	naa	kú' -ʊ
1pnh	matter -sg	the	cow	3p	intend	kill -3s

So, the buffalo, they will kill it.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 063

Ba	haŋ		wa'	yɛlla	bɪlɛ,	ka	yɛrɪdaba
ba	haŋ		wa'	yɛl -rA	bɪlɛ	ka	yɛrɪ - dab -A
3p	previously		come	say -Imperf	so	then	Muslim - man -sg

kpaŋ	baŋ	bɔɔla		Alijima,	ba	mɪŋ	daba	ŋ	lɛ',
kpaŋ	baŋ	bɔɔl -rA		Alijima	ba	mɪŋ	dab -A	ŋ	lɛ'
one	3pN	call -Imperf		Alijima	3p	each	man -sg	Foc	is

ka	ʊ	mɪŋ	yi'	Yɛrɪsɪwɛɛrɪ	a	wa'	naa
ka	ʊ	mɪŋ	yi'	Yɛrɪsɪwɛɛrɪ	a	wa'	naa
then	3s	each	go.out	Yerisiweeri	and	come	intend

dɔɔnɪba.
dɔɔnɪ -ba
greet.evening -3p

They were saying this, and a Muslim man they call Alijima, one of their friends, he left Yerisiweeri to come and greet them for the evening.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 064

Ʊ	kenne	ka	ba	zɪnɪ	paa	nʊ	zu'	a
ʊ	kenne	ka	ba	zɪnɪ	paa	nʊ	zu'	a
3s	come.Imperf	then	3p	sit	high.bench	Spec	head	and

bʊlla	a	bʊlʊ.
bʊl -rA	a	bʊl -bU
speak -Imperf	the	speak -Nom

He was coming and they were on the sitting place and speaking about this matter.

304

Ʋŋ sʋgɪba,   baŋ ye' ká   naafʋ baŋ tɪ'   ŋmɛ', a   wa'
ʋŋ sʋgɪ -ba baŋ ye' ká   naafʋ baŋ tɪ'   ŋmɛ' a   wa'
3sN ask -3p   3pN say that cow   3pN go   hit   and come

yɪrɪ,   ka ba saanɪma   ye' ká bá ta   tɪ'
yɪ   -rI ka ba saa -nɪma ye' ká bá ta   tɪ'-
village -sg then 3p father -people say that 3p Neg.Impv go

ʋ tuubu   zee, ká mbusu   kpaŋ ŋ   be' bee.
ʋ tu' -bU   zee ká mbusu   kpaŋ ŋ   be' bee
3s follow -Nom place that bad.fate one Foc be.at there

He asked them, they said that a buffalo they went and shot, and came back to the village, then their elders said they shouldn't go back and follow it, that a bad fate awaits there.

Ba mɪŋ baŋŋɪ ká dɛbɛŋ ŋ   kʋ́ʋrɪba,   baŋ
ba mɪŋ baŋŋɪ ká dɛbɛŋ ŋ   kʋ́' -rA   -ba baŋ
3p also know that fear Foc   kill -Imperf -3p 3pN

woore   ye' ba bɛɛ tɪ' bee.
wo' -rA   ye' ba bɛ tɪ' bee
seek -Imperf say 3p day go there

They [the uncles] likewise know that they [elders] are afraid, they [uncles] plan to go there tomorrow.

Ʋŋ ye', kà ba bɛɛ wa' wɛɛra,   bá siŋŋuu.
ʋŋ ye' kà ba bɛ wa' wɛɛra   bá siŋŋi-Impv -ʋ
3sN say if 3p day come go.Imperf 3p wake.up   -3s

He [Alijima] said, when tomorrow they're going, they should wake him.

Oo.   Ba dɪgɪya   yemmi   ditu   tɪ' jɛŋ.
oo   ba dɪgɪ -yA yemmi   di- -tU tɪ' jɛŋ
oo   3p pick -PfIntr go.somewhere room- -pl go lie.down

So you see. They got themselves together and went to their rooms to sleep.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 069

Bɛɛ wa' bɛɛra,   ba haŋ   isigi, ba ba lɛ
bɛ wa' bɛ -rA   ba haŋ   isigi ba ba lɛ
day come day -Imperf   3p previously   get.up 3p Neg again

siŋŋi   ba daba nʋ.
siŋŋi   ba dab -A nʋ
wake.up   3p man -sg Spec

Day was dawning, when they got up, they didn't wake up their friend.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 070

"Paʋʋ!" ba yemmiye.
paʋʋ   ba yemmi   -yA
ideoph   3p go.somewhere -PfIntr

Like that, they were gone.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 071

Ʋ haŋ   wa' isigi kenne   ba dii bɛbɛɛ nɔɔrɪ,
ʋ haŋ   wa' isigi kenne   ba dii bɛbɛɛ nɔɔ -rI
3s previously   come get.up come.Imperf 3p room morning mouth -sg

ka ba tɛɛŋ   yemmiye.
ka ba tɛɛŋ   yemmi   -yA
then 3p already   go.somewhere -PfIntr

When he [Alijima] got up and was coming to their room in early morning, then they had already gone away.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 072

Ʋŋ dɪgɪ kparɪ kparɪ kparɪ kparɪ, ʋ wɛɛra tɪ' paaba,
ʋŋ dɪgɪ kparɪ kparɪ kparɪ kparɪ ʋ wɛɛra tɪ' paa -ba
3sN pick walk walk walk walk 3s go.Imperf go reach -3p

ka ba ta' a naafʋ zee nʋ ba haŋ   ŋmɛʋ
ka ba ta' a naafʋ zee nʋ ba haŋ   ŋmɛ' -ʋ
then 3p reach the cow place Spec 3p previously hit -3s

nʋ, a tɛɛŋ dɪ' ʋ baʋ a tuure,   a wa'
nʋ a tɛɛŋ dɪgɪ ʋ baʋ a tu' -rA a wa'
Spec and already pick 3s trail and follow -Imperf and come

306

bʋ'	zɛ',	a	bʋ'	zɛ',	a	bʋ'	zɛ',	ka	ba	zaa
bʋ'	zɛ'	a	bʋ'	zɛ'	a	bʋ'	zɛ'	ka	ba	zaa
turn.by	here	and	turn.by	here	and	turn.by	here	then	3p	all

haŋ	kparɪ	taa	bɪlɛ.
haŋ	kparɪ	taa	bɪlɛ
previously	group	one.another	so

He went quickly walking, he was going and went and reached them, and they had reached the place they had shot the buffalo, and had already taken its trail and were following, and turned here and turned here and turned here, so that they all had grouped together thus.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 073

ʋ	haŋ	tɪ'	ta'	nɪɪ,	ka	ʋ́	bɔɔlɪba,	baŋ	asɪ.
ʋ	haŋ	tɪ'	ta'	nɪɪ	ka	ʋ́	bɔɔl	-ba	baŋ	asɪ
3s	previously	go	reach	Spec	then	3s	call	-3p	3pN	stand

When he reached them so he could call them, they stood.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 074

Ʋŋ	ye'	ká,	Nya'.
ʋŋ	ye'	ká	nya'
3sN	say	that	see

He said, Look.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 075

Ká	ba	ba	tuure	naafʋ	bɪlɛ.
ká	ba	ba	tu'	-rA	naafʋ	bɪlɛ
that	3p	Neg	follow	-Imperf	cow	so

[He said] They [indef.] do not follow a buffalo like this.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 076

Ká	naafʋ	ŋʋna,	ya	maŋ	yaasɪ	yaasɪ	naaŋ	bɛɛla,	che
ká	naafʋ	ŋʋna	ya	maŋ	yaasɪ	yaasɪ	naaŋ	bɛɛla	che
that	cow	as.for	2p	Hab.	scatter	scatter	PredFoc	slightly	but

tuuroo.
tu'	-rA	-ʋ
follow	-Imperf	-3s

As for buffalo, you must always scatter yourselves out a bit, then be following it.

307

Panaa,	bʋlɛ	ya	haŋ		tuure		naafʋaa,		kà	ʋ
panaa	bʋlɛ	ya	haŋ	tu'	-rA	naafʋ	-aa	kà	ʋ
now	so	2p	previously	follow	-Imperf	cow	-this	if	3s

haŋ		isigi	ziaa,		ya	na	va'	naaŋ	taa		a	le'.
haŋ	isigi	zee	-aa	ya	na	va'	naaŋ	taa	a	le'
previously	get.up	place	-this	2p	Fut	hit	PredFoc	one.another	and	fall

Now, the way you are following this buffalo, if he should come upon us at this place, [in trying to excape] you will crash into one another and fall.

A	yɛla,		ba	ba	tuure		naafʋ	bʋlɛ.
a	yɛl	-A	ba	ba	tu'	-rA	naafʋ	bʋlɛ
1pnh	matter	-sg	3p	Neg	follow	-Imperf	cow	so

That's why this is not how to follow a buffalo.

Bee	baŋ	naŋ	asɪ	liire		duu,	ka	a	naafʋ	isigiye,	
bee	baŋ	naŋ	asɪ	li'	-rA	duu	ka	a	naafʋ	isigi	-yA
there	3pN	still	stand	tie	-Imperf	plans	then	the	cow	get.up	-PfIntr

"pɪʋʋ!"
pɪʋʋ
ideoph

There they still stood, making a plan, when the buffalo surprisingly got up (implied: and charged at them).

Ŋ	asʋba	Abulai	ye'	ʋ́	bʋ'		zɛ',	oo,	ka	ʋ	tɛɛŋ
ŋ	asʋba	Abulai	ye'	ʋ́	bʋ'-Impv	zɛ'	oo	ka	ʋ	tɛɛŋ
1s	uncle	Abulai	say	3s	turn.by	here	oo	then	3s	already

va'	daa		yemmi	tɪ'	le'.
va'	da	-A	yemmi	tɪ'	le'
hit	tree	-sg	go.somewhere	go	fall

My uncle Abulai thought to turn here, oops, he already hit a tree and fell down.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 081

Naaŋmɪnnɪ	maalɪ	yɛlaa,		daa	nɪɪ	haŋ		le'	nɪɪ,
Naaŋmɪnnɪ	maalɪ	yɛl	-aa	da	-A	nɪɪ	haŋ	le'	nɪɪ
God	make	matter	-this	tree	-sg	Spec	previously	fall	Spec

ʋ	leye	naaŋ	kaka,	a	gɔrɪ	gɔndɔŋ.
ʋ	le'	-yA	naaŋ	kaka	a	gɔrɪ	gɔndɔŋ
3s	fall	-PfIntr	PredFoc	like.this	and	bend.over	hollow.place

Providentially, the tree had fallen, it fell like this, and bent over with a protected area underneath.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 082

Ʋ	nyɛga	asɪ	zɛ'	chɛ	ʋ	vaarʋ	mʊŋ	lɛ	tɪ'	fɛɛgɪ
ʋ	nyɛg	-A	asɪ	zɛ'	chɛ	ʋ	va	-rU	mʊŋ	lɛ	tɪ'	fɛɛgɪ
3s	root	-sg	stand	here	but	3s	leaf	-pl	also	again	go	touch

teŋŋe.
teŋ	-ga
land	-sg

Its roots stood here [its trunk bent over] and its leaves touched the ground [over here].

• *RewardOfJealosy* 083

Ʋ	so'	poo	woŋgoloŋ.
ʋ	so'	poo	woŋgoloŋ
3s	own	insides	large.interior.space

It had a large interior space [under the fallen trunk]

• *RewardOfJealosy* 084

Ŋ	asʋba	Abulai	haŋ		wa'	le'	nɪɪ,	bee	naafʋ	nɪɪ
ŋ	asʋba	Abulai	haŋ	wa'	le'	nɪɪ	bee	naafʋ	nɪɪ
1s	uncle	Abulai	previously	come	fall	Spec	there	cow	Spec

tɛbʋʋ.
tɛbɪ	-ʋ
puncture	-3s

When my uncle Abulai had fallen, there the buffalo punctured him.

309

(Kà ɩ koroŋ nya' ʋ poori zɛ', ɩ na nya'
kà ɩ koroŋ nya' ʋ poo -rI zɛ' ɩ na nya'
if 2s formerly see 3s insides -sg here 2s Fut see

pɛɛlɩ paa.)
pɛɛl -rI paa
scar -sg large

(If you ever saw his side, here, you would have seen a very big scar.)

Ʋŋ tɛbʋʋ gan'.
ʋŋ tɛbɩ -ʋ gan'
3sN puncture -3s greatly

It punctured him severely.

Ʋ ʋlɩ tɛbɩ ʋ poori nʋ, ʋ logiri kakaa
ʋ ʋl -rI tɛbɩ ʋ poo- -rI nʋ ʋ logi -rI kakaa
3s horn -sg puncture 3s back- -sg Spec 3s side -sg this.place

nʋ, a na mɩsʋʋ nʋ.
nʋ a na mɩsɩ -ʋ nʋ
Spec and Fut broadcast -3s Spec

Its horn punctured his back, his side here, in order to scatter him.

A yɛla, ʋ haŋ tɛbʋʋ a ye' ʋ
a yɛl- -A ʋ haŋ tɛbɩ -ʋ a ye' ʋ
the matter- -sg 3s previously puncture -3s and say 3s

viibuu basɩ nʋ, ʋŋ pʋlɩ gannɩ nʋ.
viibi -ʋ basɩ nʋ ʋŋ pʋlɩ gam- -rI nʋ
turn.with.force -3s throw.away Spec 3sN tear skin- -sg Spec

So when it punctured him in order to turn and throw him with force, it tore his skin [and he came off the horn].

Chɛ pʋlɩbʋ nʋ, ya baŋŋɩya ká ʋ na vuu
chɛ pʋlɩ -bU nʋ ya baŋŋɩ -yA ká ʋ na vu' -ʋ
but tear -Nom Spec 2p know -PfIntr that 3s Fut shove -3s

310

bɛɛla,   ʋŋ vuu,   ʋŋ kpɛ' daa   nʋ bɔkkʋ   nʋ zee.
bɛɛla   ʋŋ vu' -ʋ   ʋŋ kpɛ' da -A   nʋ bɔg -gʋ   nʋ zee
slightly   3sN shove -3s   3sN enter tree -sg Spec hole -sg.   Spec place

But in this tearing, you understand this would shove him slightly, it shoved him, and he entered into the hollow place under the tree trunk.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 090

Ʋ pɛnnɪ   nʋ, ʋ haŋ   le'   nʋ, ʋŋ lɛ   tɪ' be'
ʋ pɛn   -rI nʋ ʋ haŋ   le'   nʋ ʋŋ lɛ   tɪ' be'
3s abdomen -sg Spec 3s previously   fall Spec 3sN again go be.at

daa   nʋ zee   nʋ.
da -A   nʋ zee   nʋ
tree -sg Spec place Spec

The tree's "abdomen" is where he fell, he went to be at the tree's place.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 091

Naafʋ mɪŋ ba   so' hakɪla   yini ye', ŋ   lɛ   tɪ'
naafʋ mɪŋ ba   so' hakɪla   yini ye'   ŋ   lɛ   tɪ'
cow   also   Neg   own knowledge   like say 1s again go

bʋ'   zɛ'   a   wa'   nyɔgʋʋ.
bʋ'   zɛ'   a   wa'   nyɔgɪ -ʋ
turn.by   here and   come catch -3s

Accordingly, the buffalo didn't have sense enough to know, if I go and turn here [around behind the tree] I can catch him.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 092

Ʋ   haŋ   bʋ'   zɛ' nʋ haŋ   dɪgɪ ʋ nyɪa a
ʋ   haŋ   bʋ'   zɛ' nʋ haŋ   dɪgɪ ʋ nyɪa a
3s previously   turn.by   here Spec previously   pick 3s nose and

haŋ   tuutoo,   ʋ mɪŋ ʋlɪ   nʋ kʋ   lɛ
haŋ   tuuta   -ʋ   ʋ mɪŋ ʋl -rI nʋ kʋ   lɛ
previously   push.w/.nose -3s   3s also horn -sg Spec Neg.Fut again

tɔŋŋɪ   kpɛ'.
tɔŋŋɪ   kpɛ'
be.able.to   enter

It turned here [in front of the tree] and took its nose and was pushing him, its horn couldn't enter that place.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 093

ʊ	haŋ	ɛta	bɪlɛɛŋ,	ka	ŋ	asʊba	Yɛlɪwaya
ʊ	haŋ	ɛ' -rA	bɪlɛɛŋ	ka	ŋ	asʊba	Yɛlɪwaya
3s	previously	do -Imperf	on.and.on	then	1s	uncle	Yɛlɪwaya

ŋʊna	baŋŋɪ	yini	ye'	ʊ	kʊ́ʊra		naaŋ	ŋ	asʊba
ŋʊna	baŋŋɪ	yini	ye'	ʊ	kʊ́' -	-rA	naaŋ	ŋ	asʊba
as.for	know	like	say	3s	kill -	-Imperf	PredFoc	1s	uncle

Abulai.
Abulai
Abulai

It was doing this on and on, then my uncle Yeliwaya was sure it was killing my uncle Abulai.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 094

ʊŋ	dɪ'	ʊ	marɪfa	basɪ,	chɛ	haŋ	vɔ'
ʊŋ	dɪgɪ	ʊ	marɪfa	basɪ	chɛ	haŋ	vɔ'
3sN	pick	3s	gun	throw.away	but	previously	unsheath

karɪntɪa	wɛɛra	naa	tɪ'	chɛ'	a	naafʊ.
karɪntɪa	wɛɛra	naa	tɪ'	chɛ'	a	naafʊ
machete	go.Imperf	intend	go	hack	the	cow

He threw down his gun, and had unsheathed his machete and was going to attack the buffalo.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 095

ɪ	ba	nya'	ʊ	haŋ	naaŋ	kʊ́'	ba	zaa	bayi'	wɔ?
ɪ	ba	nya'	ʊ	haŋ	naaŋ	kʊ́'	ba	zaa	bayi'	wɔ
2s	Neg	see	3s	previously	would.have	kill	3p	all	two	yes

Don't you [the hearer] see it would surely already have killed the two of them?

• *RewardOfJealosy* 096

Ŋ	saa	Alijima	haŋ	asɪ,	chɛ	vɛnɪ	marɪfa	kʊŋ,	"gbiim!"
ŋ	saa	Alijima	haŋ	asɪ	chɛ	vɛnɪ	marɪfa	kʊŋ	gbiim
1s	father	Alijima	previously	stand	but	cause	gun	cry	onoma

My father [a term of respect] Alijima stood, and fired his gun, "boom"!

• *RewardOfJealosy* 097

Nanta	le'	a	naafʊ	zu'.
nanta	le'	a	naafʊ	zu'
old.type.gun	fall	the	cow	head

[The bullet from] the old gun fell on the buffalo's head.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 098

Ʊŋ	le'	teŋŋe,	"bɩra!"
ʊŋ	le'	teŋ	-ga	bɩra
3sN	fall	land	-sg	crash

It [the buffalo] fell to the ground with a crash.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 099

Bʊnnɩ	haŋ	dɛɛ	ŋ	asʊba	Yɛlɩwaya	nɩ	ŋ
bʊn	-nɩ	haŋ	dɛɛ	ŋ	asʊba	Yɛlɩwaya	nɩ	ŋ
thing	-Spec	previously	collect	1s	uncle	Yɛlɩwaya	with	1s

asʊba	Abulai	ŋ	lɛ'	nɩ.
asʊba	Abulai	ŋ	lɛ'	nɩ
uncle	Abulai	Foc	is	Spec

This is what saved my uncle Yeliwaya and my uncle Abulai.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 100

Ʊ	naaŋ	kʊ́'	ba	zaa	bayi'	kɔraɩ	kɔraɩ	kɔraɩ	kɔraɩ.
ʊ	naaŋ	kʊ́'	ba	zaa	bayi'	kɔraɩ	kɔraɩ	kɔraɩ	kɔraɩ
3s	would.have	kill	3p	all	two	certainly	certainly	certainly	certainly

It would have killed the two of them, certainly.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 101

Ana	ŋ	so',	kà	nɛra	wa'	ɛ'	yɛlɩ	kpaŋ
ana	ŋ	so'	kà	nɛr	-A	wa'	ɛ'	yɛl	-rI	kpaŋ
3pnhEm	Foc	own	if	person	-sg	come	do	matter	-sg	one

ɩŋ	gba	nya'	yini	ye'	ka	Naaŋmɩnnɩ	sɔrɩ	ʊŋ	tu',
ɩŋ	gba	nya'	yini	ye'	ka	Naaŋmɩnnɩ	sɔ	-rI	ʊŋ	tu'
2sN	self	see	like	say	then	God	path	-sg	3sN	follow

ta	dɩgɩ	zome.
ta	dɩgɩ	zome
Neg.Impv	pick	jealousy

This tells us, if a person does something [significant, worthy] and you yourself see that it is by God's permission he does it, don't become jealous.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 102

A	zome	ŋʊna	ŋ	asʊba	Abulai	koroŋ	dɩgɪ,	ʊ	ba
a	zome	ŋʊna	ŋ	asʊba	Abulai	koroŋ	dɩgɪ	ʊ	ba
the	jealousy	as.for	1s	uncle	Abulai	formerly	pick	3s	Neg

woore		ye'	ká	a	ɛ'	ká	ŋ	asʊba	Bokoro
wo'	-rA	ye'	ká	a	ɛ'	ká	ŋ	asʊba	Bokoro
seek	-Imperf	say	that	1pnh	do	tha1s		uncle	Bokoro

bɩɩya		yittoo		naaŋ,	bɪ	ʊ	so'	naaŋ	nyɩa
bɩɩ	-yA	yitte	-ʊ	naaŋ	bɪ	ʊ	so'	naaŋ	nyɩa
or	-PfIntr	more.than	-3s	PredFoc	or	3s	own	PredFoc	chest

yittoo.
yitte -ʊ
more.than -3s

This jealousy is what my uncle Abulai took; why? because he didn't want it to be that my uncle Bokoro was "riper" than he, or that he had more courage than he.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 103

Bɩlɛ	ŋʊna	baŋ	koroŋ	dɩ'	naa	tɪ'	kʊ́'	naafʊaa,
bɩlɛ	ŋʊna	baŋ	koroŋ	dɩgɪ	naa	tɪ'	kʊ́'	naafʊ -aa
so	as.for	3pN	formerly	pick	intend	go	kill	cow -this

sabaabu		tɪ'	wa'	nɩɩ.
sabaabu		tɪ'	wa'	nɩɩ
fateful.happening		go	come	Spec

And this is what they did and planned to kill the buffalo, and this fateful event came upon them.

• *RewardOfJealosy* 104

A	daarɪ	ba	too	naaŋ	ŋ	asʊba	Abulai	wa'	yɪrɪ.
a	daarɪ	ba	too	naaŋ	ŋ	asʊba	Abulai	wa'	yɪ -rI
the	day	3p	carry	PredFoc	1s	uncle	Abulai	come	village -sg

That day my uncle Abulai was carried back to the village.

314

Ʊ logiri ziaa maali, ka ʊ nyɔgʊʊ paaa, ba
ʊ logi -rI zee -aa maali ka ʊ nyɔgɪ -ʊ paa ba
3s side -sg place -this wound then 3s catch -3s large 3p

toogu naaŋ wa' yɪrɪ.
too -ʊ naaŋ wa' yɪ -rI
carry -3s PredFoc come village -sg

His side here was wounded, and it was very painful, he was carried back to the village.

Amɪ ba kʊ́' a naafʊ ŋʊna.
amɪ ba kʊ́' a naafʊ ŋʊna
but 3p kill the cow as.for

But they killed the buffalo, anyway.

Chɛ ba toogu naaŋ wa' yɪrɪ.
chɛ ba too -ʊ naaŋ wa' yɪ -rI
but 3p carry -3s PredFoc come village -sg

But he was carried back to the village.

A solime kpaŋ ŋ lɛ' nɪ.
a solim -A kpaŋ ŋ lɛ' nɪ
the story -sg one Foc is Spec

This is a story.

Zome tɔnnɔ ŋ lɛ' nɪ.
zome tɔnnɔ ŋ lɛ' nɪ
jealousy reward Foc is Spec

This is jealousy's reward.

Iŋganbaansɪ mɪŋ tɔnnɔ ŋ lɛ' nɪ.
ɪŋganbaansɪ mɪŋ tɔnnɔ ŋ lɛ' nɪ
envy also reward Foc is Spec

This is also skin-pain's (envy's) reward.

Text 13: Stay Away from What's Not Right (Eden Kosiaku)

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 001

Koroŋ	nʋ,	ye'	ká	daba		kpaŋ	ŋ	koroŋ	be'
koroŋ	nʋ	ye'	ká	dab-	-A	kpaŋ	ŋ	koroŋ	be'
formerly	Spec	say	that	man-	-sg	one	Foc	formerly	be.at

bee,	a	yi'	Gbonnaa.
bee	a	yi'	Gbonnaa
there	and	go.out	Bouna

Long ago they said there was once a certain man who lived in Bouna.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 002

Ʋ	haŋ	be'	bee	nʋ,	baŋ	dɩ'	pɔsarɩga,	a
ʋ	haŋ	be'	bee	nʋ	baŋ	dɩgɩ	pɔsarɩga	a
3s	previously	be.at	there	Spec	3pN	pick	young.woman	and

kʋʋ,		ka	ʋ	mʋŋ	korigiye.
kʋ'	-ʋ	ka	ʋ	mʋŋ	korigi	-yA
give	-3s	then	3s	also	be.old	-PfIntr

In his living there, he was given a young wife, but he himself was old.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 003

Ba	haŋ		dɩ'	pɔsarɩga	nʋ	kʋʋ,		ka
ba	haŋ		dɩgɩ	pɔsarɩga	nʋ	kʋ'	-ʋ	ka
3p	previously		pick	young.woman	Spec	give	-3s	then

bipɔllɩ			kpaŋ	mʋŋ	be'	a	yɩrɩ,		a
bi-	pɔl-	-rI	kpaŋ	mʋŋ	be'	a	yɩ-	-rI	a
child-	grow-	-sg	one	also	be.at	the	village-	-sg	and

woore		a	pɔsarɩga.
wo'	-rA	a	pɔsarɩga
seek	-Imperf	the	young.woman

They had given him a young wife, and there was a certain young man living in the town who was wanting the woman.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 004

Ka	nʋŋkorigu			nʋ	wa'	baŋŋɩ	ká	bipɔllɩ
ka	nʋŋ-	kor-	-gU	nʋ	wa'	baŋŋɩ	ká	bi-	pɔl-	-rI
then	person-	old-	-sg	Spec	come	know	that	child-	grow-	-sg

316

nʋ   woore   a   pɔsarɩga   nʋ.
nʋ   wo' -rA   a   pɔsarɩga   nʋ
Spec seek -Imperf   the young.woman Spec

The old man got to know that the young man wanted the young woman.

Ʋŋ tʋŋ baŋ tɩ' chiu,   ká   í   chi'   bipɔllɩ
ʋŋ tʋŋ baŋ tɩ' chi' -ʋ   ká   í   chi'-Impv   bi-   pɔl-   -rI
3sN send 3pN go   tell -3s   him that 2s tell   child- grow- -sg

ŋaa, pɔgɔ   ŋaa ba haŋ   dɩ' kʋma   ŋaa,
ŋaa   pɔg-   -ʋ   ŋaa ba haŋ   dɩgɩ kʋ' -ma   ŋaa
this woman- -3s   this 3p previously pick give -me   this

ʋ́   vɛnʋʋ   kʋma.
ʋ́   vɛnɩ-Impv   -ʋ   kʋ' -ma
3s   leave   -3s   give -me

He sent people to tell him, You tell that young man, this woman I have been given, he should leave her for me.

Ʋna   naŋ   ɛ' naaŋ   bipɔllɩ.
ʋna   naŋ   ɛ' naaŋ   bi-   pɔl-   -rI
3sEm   still   do PredFoc   child- grow- -sg

He is still a young man.

ɪ   taasɪ   pɔgɪba   naŋ   be'   yaka.
ɪ   taa   -sI   pɔg-   -bA naŋ   be'   yaka
2s   one.another -pl   woman- -pl still   be.at many

The young women your age are still many.

A   yɛla,   pɔgɔ   kpenleeri ŋaa ŋʋna,   vɛnʋʋ
a   yɛl-   -yA pɔg-   -A kpenleeri ŋaa ŋʋna   vɛnɩ -ʋ
1pnh matter- -pl woman- -sg single   this as.for leave -3s

kʋma.
kʋ'   -ma
give   -me

317

As for this single woman, leave her for me.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 009

Baŋ	chi'	bipɔllɪ		nɪɪ,	chɛ	ʊŋ	tɔrɪgɪ,	chɛ	naŋ
baŋ	chi'	bi-	pɔl- -rI	nɪɪ	chɛ	ʊŋ	tɔrɪgɪ	chɛ	naŋ
3pN	tell	child-	grow- -sg	Spec	but	3sN	refuse	but	still

woore		pɔsarɪga	nɪɪ.
wo'	-rA	pɔsarɪga	nɪɪ
seek	-Imperf	young.woman	Spec

They told the young man, but he refused, and still was wanting the young woman.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 010

Bɪlɛɛŋ,	daarɪ	kpaŋ	ʊŋ	wa'	ɛ'	ʊ	ŋfɛrɛ	yini	ká	ʊ
bɪlɛɛŋ	daarɪ	kpaŋ	ʊŋ	wa'	ɛ'	ʊ	ŋfɛrɛ	yini	ká	ʊ
on.and.on	day	one	3sN	come	do	3s	thought	like	that	3s

na	dɪgɪ	bipɔgɔ		nɪɪ	zɛ'.
na	dɪgɪ	bi-	pɔg- -A	nɪɪ	zɛ'
Fut	pick	child-	woman- -sg	Spec	run

Finally, one day it came to his mind that he would steal away the young woman.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 011

Ba	haŋ	ɛ'	ba	siriya	wa'	sa',	jaa	ka
ba	haŋ	ɛ'	ba	siriya	wa'	sa'	jaa	ka
3p	previously	do	3p	preparation	come	finish	not.knowing	then

nɪŋkorigu		nɪɪ	mɪŋ,	ka	ʊ	mɪŋ	so'	ʊ	baŋŋɪrɪ.
nɪŋ-	kor- -gU	nɪɪ	mɪŋ	ka	ʊ	mɪŋ	so'	ʊ	baŋŋɪ -rI
person-	old- -sg	Spec	also	then	3s	also	own	3s	know -sg

They (the young man and the woman) had made all their preparations, not knowing that the old man was likewise an owner of esoteric knowledge.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 012

Ʊ	haŋ	wa'	woore		na	zu'	bipɔgɔ	
ʊ	haŋ	wa'	wo' -rA		na	zu'	bi-	pɔg- -A
3s	previously	come	seek -Imperf		Fut	steal	child-	woman- -sg

nɪɪ	zɛ'	nɪɪ,	ʊŋ	baŋŋɪ.
nɪɪ	zɛ'	nɪɪ	ʊŋ	baŋŋɪ
Spec	run	Spec	3sN	know

318

He (the young man) had started wanting to steal away the young woman, he (the old man) knew.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 013

Ʋŋ	dɪ'	ʋ	baŋŋɪrɪ	ka	ʋ	ɛ'	ʋ	ɛttɪsɪ.
ʋŋ	dɪgɪ	ʋ	baŋŋɪ -rI	ka	ʋ	ɛ'	ʋ	ɛ' -rA -sI
3sN	pick	3s	know -sg	then	3s	do	3s	do -Imperf -pl

He took his knowledge and performed certain (magical) activities.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 014

Ʋ	haŋ	ɛ'	ʋ	ɛttɪsɪ		wa'	sa',	nɪ	ʋ
ʋ	haŋ	ɛ'	ʋ	ɛ' -rA	-sI	wa'	sa'	nɪ	ʋ
3s	previously	do	3s	do -Imperf	-pl	come	finish	with	3s

baŋŋɪrɪ	poo,	daarɪ	nɪɪ,	bipɔgɔ		nɪɪ	nɪ
baŋŋɪ -rI	poo	daarɪ	nɪɪ	bi-	pɔg- -A	nɪɪ	nɪ
know -sg	insides	day	Spec	child-	woman- -sg	Spec	with

bidaba		nɪɪ	haaŋ	yi'	yɪrɪ		nɪɪ,	ka
bi-	dab- -A	nɪɪ	haaŋ	yi'	yɪ-	-rI	nɪɪ	ka
child-	man- -sg	Spec	when.fatefully	go.out	village-	-sg	Spec	then

ba	zɛtta	dʋʋra		Gaana.
ba	zɛ' -rA	dʋ'	- -rA	Gaana
3p	run -Imperf	climb	- -Imperf	Ghana

He finished his activities (through his esoteric knowledge), that day, the young woman and the young man fatefully left the village, to escape to Ghana.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 015

Ba	yi'	Gbonnaa	bɪlɛɛŋ,	a	wa'	ta'	Voŋkoro.
ba	yi'	Gbonnaa	bɪlɛɛŋ	a	wa'	ta'	Voŋkoro
3p	go.out	Bouna	on.and.on	and	come	reach	Vonkoro

They left Bouna for some time, and reached Vonkoro.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 016

Ba	haŋ	wa'	ta'	Voŋkoro,	ka	ŋmɪnɪŋa	leye.
ba	haŋ	wa'	ta'	Voŋkoro	ka	ŋmɪnɪŋa	le' -yA
3p	previously	come	reach	Vonkoro	then	sun	fall -PfIntr

They reached Vonkoro, and the sun had set.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 017

Baŋ ye' ká   bá wa'   dugisibe   ka bá dʋ'
baŋ ye' ká   bá wa'-Impv   dugisi-Impv -ba ka bá dʋ'-Impv
3pN say that   3p come   paddle   -3p then 3p climb

mannɩ.
man-   -rI
river-   -sg

They (the young people) said they (the villagers) should ferry them across the river.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 018

Ka Voŋkoro nʋma yɛlɩ,   "Ei!
ka Voŋkoro nʋma yɛlɩ   ei
then Vonkoro people say   ooh

The Vonkoro people said, Oh-oh.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 019

Saŋŋaa,   ŋmɩnɩŋa leye.
saŋŋa -aa   ŋmɩnɩŋa le'   -yA
time -this   sun   fall -PfIntr

At this time, the sun has set.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 020

A   yɛla,   yá jeŋ,   ká bɛɛ bɛɛ, ká
a   yɛl-   -yA yá jeŋ-Impv   ká bɛ- bɛɛ ká
1pnh matter- -pl 2p lie.down   that day- dawn that

tí daŋŋɩ   ŋmaaya,   ká yá dʋ'   Gaana.
tí daŋŋɩ-Impv ŋmaa-Impv -ya ká yá dʋ'-Impv   Gaana
1p be.first   cross   -2p that 2p climb   Ghana

So sleep here, when the day dawns we'll ferry you across first, so that you reach Ghana.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 021

Ʋŋ ye' ká,   "Kʋrai!"
ʋŋ ye' ká   kɔraa
3sN say that   certainly.not

He (the young man) said, No way!

320

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 022

Ká,	"Ŋ	woore	naaŋ	ká	tí	dʋ'	dinaa	zaa."
ká	ŋ	wo' -rA	naaŋ	ká	tí	dʋ'-Impv	dine -aa	zaa
that	1s	seek -Imperf	PredFoc	that	1p	climb	today -this	all

I want us to cross this very day.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 023

Ba	haŋ	bʋlɪ	a	ŋaa	zaa,	chɛ	bipɔllɪ	nʋ
ba	haŋ	bʋlɪ	a	ŋaa	zaa	chɛ	bi- pol- -rI	nʋ
3p	previously	speak	1pnh	this	all	but	child- grow- -sg	Spec

ye'	ká	bá	ŋmaaba	ká	bá	dʋ'.
ye'	ká	bá	ŋmaa-Impv -ba	ká	bá	dʋ'-Impv
say	that	3p	cross -3p	that	3p	climb

They had spoken all this, but the young man said they should send them across to Ghana.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 024

Ká	haali	kà	bana	ŋ	dʋ'	gba,	ba	na	jɛŋ
ká	haali	kà	bana	ŋ	dʋ'	gba	ba	na	jɛŋ
that	even	if	3pEm	Foc	climb	self	3p	Fut	lie.down

manchɛŋŋa.
man- chɛŋ- -gA
river- edge- -sg

If they were able to cross, they would sleep in the forest.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 025

Kà	zee	wa'	chaana,	ka	bá	daŋŋɪ	dɪgɪrɪ.
kà	zee	wa'	chaanɪ -rA	ka	bá	daŋŋɪ-Impv	dɪgɪ-rI
if	place	come	shine -Imperf	then	3p	be.first	pick -nom

The next day, they would quickly be off again.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 026

Ʋ	woore	naaŋ	bá	ta'	Gaana	manaŋ.
ʋ	wo' -rA	naaŋ	bá	ta'-Impv	Gaana	quickly
3s	seek -Imperf	PredFoc	3p	reach	Ghana	quickly

He wanted them to reach Ghana quickly.

321

"Ei!	Tɔ'!"	Ká,	"Bɩlɛ	ŋʋna	ŋ	lɛ'	yaaŋ,	ŋ	na	vɛnɪ
ei	tɔ'	ká	bɩlɛ	ŋʋna	ŋ	lɛ'	yaŋ	ŋ	na	vɛnɪ
ooh	okay	that	so	as.forSuFoc	is	?		1s	Fut	permit

ka	bá	tɩ'		ŋmaaya."
ka	bá	tɩ'-Impv	ŋmaa-Impv	-ya
then	3p	go	cross	-2p

Hmm. Well. If that's how it is, I will permit them to send you across.

Baŋ	isi	bee,		ʋŋ	wa',	ʋ	nɪ	ba	tɩ'	wa'
baŋ	isi	bi-	-A	ʋŋ	wa'	ʋ	nɪ	ba	tɩ'	wa'
3pN	choose	child-	-sg	3sNcome	3s	with	3p	go	come

mannɔɔrɪ,			ʋŋ	wa'	ŋmaaba	dʋ'.
man-	-nɔɔ	-rI	ʋŋ	wa'	ŋmaa	-ba	dʋ'
river-	-mouth	-sg	3sN	come	cross	-3p	climb

They chose a young man, he came, he and them went to the river's edge, and he sent them across.

Ʋ	haŋ	ŋmaaba	wa'	dʋ'	sa',	ka	yeeŋu	nɪ
ʋ	haŋ	ŋmaa -ba	wa'	dʋ'	sa'	ka	yeeŋu	nɪ
3s	previously	cross -3p	come	climb	finish	then	night	Spec

sɔɔya.
sɔɔ	-yA
be.black	-PfIntr

He sent them across, and the night was very black.

Ʋ	haŋ	ŋmaaba	wa'	dʋ',	ka	zee	haŋ	ɛ'
ʋ	haŋ	ŋmaa -ba	wa'	dʋ'	ka	zee	haŋ	ɛ'
3s	previously	cross -3p	come	climb	then	place	previously	do

bilabila	bɩlɛ.
bilabila	bɩlɛ
very.dark	so

He sent them across, and the place was very dark.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 031

Tɔ',	baŋ	jɛŋ,	maŋchɛŋŋa			kaŋʋ		poo.
tɔ'	baŋ	jɛŋ	man-	- chɛŋ-	-gA	kaŋ-	-gU	poo
okay	3pN	own	river-	- edge-	-sg	forest-	-sg	insides

Okay, they slept, in the forest by the river.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 032

Chɛ	ŋaa	nʋ	haŋ	wa'	ŋmaaba	dʋ'	nʋ,	ʋŋ	lɛɛbʋ
chɛ	ŋaa	nʋ	haŋ	wa'	ŋmaa -ba	dʋ'	nʋ	ʋŋ	lɛɛbʋ
but	this	Spec	previously	come	cross -3p	climb	Spec	3sN	return

wɛɛra.
wɛɛra
go.Imperf

And the one who had sent them across, he was returning.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 033

Ʋ	haŋ	lɛɛbʋ	wɛɛra,	ʋŋ	toosi	badapɛɛlɪga				ka
ʋ	haŋ	lɛɛbʋ	wɛɛra	ʋŋ	toosi	ba-	-da	-pɛɛlɪ	-gA	ka
3s	previously	return	go.Imperf	3sN	meet	dog-	-male	-white	-sg	then

ʋ	sigire		mannɪ.
ʋ	sigi	-rA	man-	-rI
3s	go.down	-Imperf	river-	-sg

He was returning, he met a white male dog, and it was going down towards the river.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 034

Ʋŋ	ye'	ká,	"Ei!"
ʋŋ	ye'	ká	ei
3sN	say	that	ooh

He said, Hmm.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 035

Ká,	"Nyɪna	mɪŋ	badapɛɛlɪga			mɪŋ	yi'
ká	nyɪna	mɪŋ	ba-	-da	-pɛɛlɪ	-gA	mɪŋ	yi'
that	where	also	dog-	-male	-white	-sg	also	go.out

saŋŋaa	a	wa'	sigire		mannɪ?"
saŋŋa	-aa	a	wa'	sigi	-rA	man-	-rI
time	-this	and	come	go.down	-Imperf	river-	-sg

323

Where would a white male dog be coming from at this hour and be going down towards the river?

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 036

Jaa,	nɩŋkorigu			nɩɩ,	ʋ	mʋŋ	ɛ'	naaŋ	karamɔgɔ.
jaa	nɩŋ-	kor-	-gU	nɩɩ	ʋ	mʋŋ	ɛ'	naaŋ	karamɔgɔ
not.knowing	person-	old-	-sg	Spec	3s	also	do	PredFoc	maalam

Unknown [to the man and woman], the old man, he was a maalam [spiritually powerful].

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 037

Ʋ	baŋŋɩrɩ	ʋŋ	ɛ'	a	iŋŋi	baa		nɩɩ	ɩŋŋa.
ʋ	baŋŋɩ	-rI	ʋŋ	ɛ'	a	iŋŋi	ba-	-A	nɩɩ	ɩŋ -gA
3s	know	-sg	3sN	do	and	put.in	dog-	-sg	Spec	2sN -sg

His esoteric knowledge (power) he used and put in the dog.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 038

Ʋŋ	tuure			daba	nɩɩ	nɩ	bipɔgɔ			nɩɩ.
ʋŋ	tu'	-	-rA	dab-	-A	nɩɩ	nɩ	bi-	pɔg-	-A	nɩɩ
3sN	follow	-	-Imperf	man-	-sg	Spec	with	child-	woman-	-sg	Spec

It was following the man and the woman.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 039

Ŋaa	nɩɩ	haŋ	gaŋŋɩ	baa		nɩɩ	sa',	baa	
ŋaa	nɩɩ	haŋ	gaŋŋɩ	ba-	-A	nɩɩ	sa'	ba-	-A
this	Spec	previously	pass.by	dog-	-sg	Spec	finish	dog-	-sg

haŋ	wa'	ta'	mannɩ,	ʋŋ	le'	kɔŋ,	ka	ʋ	puuŋ
haŋ	wa'	ta'	man-	-rI	ʋŋ	le'	kɔŋ	ka	ʋ	puuŋ
previously	come	reach	river-	-sg	3sN	fall	water	then	3s	swim

bɩlɛɛ,	a	wa'	dʋ'.
bɩlɛ	-	a	wa'	dʋ'
so	-	and	come	climb

This one (the ferryman) had passed the dog, the dog had reached the river, it fell (jumped) in the water, and it swam for some time, and climbed out (on the other side).

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 040

℧	haŋ	puuŋ	wa'	d℧',	℧	haŋ		wa'	d℧'
℧	haŋ	puuŋ	wa'	d℧'	℧	haŋ		wa'	d℧'
3s	previously	swim	come	climb	3s	previously		come	climb

doori	sa',	℧ŋ	lɛɛbı	jara.
doori	sa'	℧ŋ	lɛɛbı	jara
riverbank	finish	3sN	return	lion

It swam and had finished climbing out on the other bank, it became a lion.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 041

℧	haŋ		lɛɛbı	jara	nı,	tɔ',	daba		nı	pɔgɔ	
℧	haŋ		lɛɛbı	jara	nı	tɔ'	dab-	-A	nı	pɔg-	-A
3s	previously		return	lion	Spec	okay	man-	-sg	with	woman-	-sg

jɛŋya,		ka	jara	isigiye		posi,	"Ŋma!"
jɛŋ	-yA	ka	jara	isigi	-yA	posi	ŋma
lie.down	-PfIntr	then	lion	get.up	-PfIntr	shout	roar

It had changed to a lion, okay, the man and the woman were sleeping, and the lion appeared and roared!

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 042

Baŋ	harısı	pabab!
baŋ	harısı	pabab
3pN	shiver	ideoph

The shook with fear.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 043

℧ŋ	nyɔgı	daba.	
℧ŋ	nyɔgı	dab-	-A
3sN	catch	man-	-sg

It grabbed the man.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 044

Daba		k℧nsı		pagı.
dab-	-A	k℧ŋ	-sI	pagı
man-	-sg	cry	-pl	fill

The man's cries filled the area.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 045

Nɪrɪba	nʊ	be'	doori	bee	chɛ	wonne
nɪr-	-bA nʊ	be'	doori	bee	chɛ	woŋ -rA
person-	-pl Spec	be.at	riverbank	there	but	hear -Imperf

nɪra	haŋ	kʊnna.
nɪr-	-A haŋ	kʊŋ -rA
person-	-sg previously	cry -Imperf

The people on the other side of the river heard a person crying out.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 046

Daba	kʊnsɪ	pagɪ.
dab-	-A kʊŋ -sI	pagɪ
man-	-sg cry -pl	fill

The man's cries filled the area.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 047

Ʊŋ	nyɔgɪ	daba,	ka	ʊ	ɔbɪ	ʊ	zaa	ka	nyaam,	chɛ
ʊŋ	nyɔgɪ	dab- -A	ka	ʊ	ɔbɪ	ʊ	zaa	ka	nyaam	chɛ
3sN	catch	man- -sg	then	3s	eat	3s	all	then	nice	but

wa'	kɛɛsɪ	ʊ	yɔɔrɪ	nɪ	ʊ	lannɪ.	
wa'	kɛɛsɪ	ʊ	yɔ-	-rI nɪ	ʊ	lam-	-rI
come	remain	3s	male.organ-	-sg with	3s	testicle-	-sg

It grabbed the man, and ate him completely, leaving only his private parts.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 048

Chɛ	kɛɛ	pɔgɔ	nʊ.
chɛ	kɛɛsɪ	pɔg- -A	nʊ
but	remain	woman- -sg	Spec

And the woman was left alone.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 049

A	pɔgɔ	dɔbɪ	bee.
a	pɔg- -A	dɔbɪ	bee
the	woman- -sg	squat	there

The woman squatted there.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 050

Aŋ	wa'	kɛɛsɪ	ʋ	yɔɔrɪ		nɪ	ʋ	lannɪ
aŋ	wa'	kɛɛsɪ	ʋ	yɔ-	-rI	nɪ	ʋ	lam-	-rI
3pnhN	come	remain	3s	male.organ-	-sg	with	3s	testicle-	-sg

yommu	biŋŋi.
yommu	biŋŋi
alone	put.away

There was left only his private parts set aside.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 051

Chɛ	ka	ʋŋ	lɛ	lɛɛbɪ	ʋ	baa,	a	lɛɛbɪ	le'	kɔŋ,	a
chɛ	ka	ʋŋ	lɛ	lɛɛbɪ	ʋ	ba-	-A	a	lɛɛbɪ	le'	kɔŋ	a
but	then	3sN	again	return	3s	dog-	-sg	and	return	fall	water	and

lɛ	wa'	dʋ',	a	dɪ'	yemmi.
lɛ	wa'	dʋ'	a	dɪgɪ	yemmi
again	come	climb	and	pick	go.somewhere

Then it (the lion) changed back into a dog, jumped back in the water, climbed out on the other side, and left.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 052

Bɛɛ	bɛɛ,	ka	yɪrɪnʋma		nɪ	isigi,	a	kenne.
bɛ-	bɛɛ	ka	yɪ-	-rI	-nʋma	nɪ	isigi	a	kenne
day-	dawn	then	village-	-sg	-people	Spec	get.up	and	come.Imperf

The next day, the village people got up, and were coming.

• *StayAwayFromWhatsNotRight* 053

Ba	haŋ	kenne,	ka	pɔgɔ	ŋ	dɔbɪ,	chɛ
ba	haŋ	kenne	ka	pɔg-	-A	ŋ	dɔbɪ	chɛ
3p	previously	come.Imperf	then	woman-	-sg	Foc	squat	but

daba	lannɪ		nɪ	ʋ	yɔɔrɪ		yommu	ŋ	kɛɛsɪ.
dab-	-A	lam-	-rI	nɪ	ʋ	yɔ-	-rI	yommu	ŋ	kɛɛsɪ
man-	-sg	testicle-	-sg	with	3s	male.organ-	-sg	alone	Foc	remain

They had come, and the woman was squatting, and the man's private parts alone were left.

327

Baŋ ye' ká, "Dinaa, kà ɩ haŋ wa' isigi, kà
baŋ ye' ká dine -aa kà ɩ haŋ wa' isigi kà
3pN say that today -this if 2s previously come get.up if

nʋŋkorigu haŋ wa' ye' ká kakaa ŋ lɛ',
nʋŋ- kor- -gU haŋ wa' ye' ká kakaa ŋ lɛ'
person- old- -sg previously come say that like.this Foc is

a daga ká í woŋ ʋ nɔɔrɩ."
a daga ká í woŋ-Impv ʋ nɔɔ- -rI
1pnh be.right that 2s hear 3s mouth- -sg

They said, Today, if you get up, if an old man tells you this is how things are, it is right for you to listen to him.

Kà ɩ wa' ɛ' bibile a isigi, a daga ká kà
kà ɩ wa' ɛ' bi- bile a isigi a daga ká kà
if 2s come do child- small.sg and get.up 1pnh be.right that if

ba wa' ye' yɛla buu ba daga, í vɛnʋʋ.
ba wa' ye' yɛl- -yA buu ba daga í vɛnɩ-Impv -ʋ
3p come say matter- -pl type.of Neg be.right 2s leave -3s

From the time of your youth onwards, it is right that, if anybody suggests something which is not right, stay away from it.

Ta ye' ká "chɩnchɩnaa", ká ɩna na ɛ'
ta ye' ká chɩnchɩnaa ká ɩna na ɛ'
Neg.Impv say that I'll.do.what.I.like that 2sEm Fut do

naaŋ a bɩlɛ yɛllɩtatɩgʋ buu.
naaŋ a bɩlɛ yɛllɩtatɩ- -gU buu
PredFoc the so desire- -sg type.of

Don't be headstrong that you will do that kind of bad desire.

ɩ ba baŋŋɩ bʋnnʋ haŋ naa wa' yi' poori.
ɩ ba baŋŋɩ bʋn- -nʋ haŋ naa wa' yi' poo- -rI
2s Neg know thing- -Spec previously intend come go.out back- -sg

You don't know what will come of it.

Kà bipɔllɪ				ŋaa	koroŋ	vɛnɪ	naaŋ,	kà	ʋ
kà bi-	- pɔl-	-rI		ŋaa	koroŋ	vɛnɪ	naaŋ	kà	ʋ
if child-	- grow-	-sg		this	formerly	leave	PredFoc	if	3s

koroŋ	vɛnɪ	naaŋ	daba		ŋaa	pɔgɔ		ŋaa	kʋʋ,	
koroŋ	vɛnɪ	naaŋ	dab-	-A	ŋaa	pɔg-	-A	ŋaa	kʋ'	-ʋ
formerly	leave	PredFoc	man-	-sg	this	woman-	-sg	this	give	-3s

a	dinaa		ɔ-ɔ		ba	kpi'.
a	dine	-aa	a-	ʋ	ba	kpi'
the	today	-this	would.have	3s	Neg	die

If this young man had left aside (the woman), if he had permitted this man (the old man) to have the woman, even up to today he wouldn't have died.

Ɔ-ɔ		naa	kɛlʊŋ	nya'	pɔgɔ.	
a-	ʋ	naa	kɛlʊŋ	nya'	pɔg-	-A
would.have	3s	intend	again	see	woman-	-sg

He would have found another woman.

A	daba		mʊŋ	chiu		yɛlɪsɪra,		ʋŋ	tɔrɪgɪ.
a	dab-	-A	mʊŋ	chi'	-ʋ	yɛl-	-sɪra	ʋŋ	tɔrɪgɪ
the	man-	-sg	also	tell	-3s	matter-	-true	3sN	refuse

The man (the old man) told him the truth, he refused.

A	yini,	ʋ	kʋ	woŋ	yɛla,		ana	ŋ
a	yini	ʋ	kʋ	woŋ	yɛl-	-yA	ana	ŋ
1pnh	like	3s	Neg.Fut	hear	matter-	-pl	3pnhEm	Foc

nyɔgʋʋ		nɪɪ.
nyɔgɪ	-ʋ	nɪɪ
catch	-3s	Spec

It is like, this is what caught him.

APPENDIX B

STORYLINE AND BACKGROUND IN TEXT 1

Storyline and Background in Text 1:

The **Storyline** clauses in Text 1 (shown below in the lines beginning at the left margin) include the actions which move the story forward, providing the backbone of the story, the narrative proper. When read apart from the other information, the storyline information provides an abstract of the narrative. The **Backgrounded Events** in Text 1 (shown in the lines indented by a single tab) flesh out the narrative with events which did not occur directly on the storyline but which adds important information to the story. The **Backgrounded activities** in Text 1 (shown in the lines indented by two tabs) usually indicate activities which occur in between, or concurrently with, the Storyline actions and Backgrounded Events. The content of speech-attribution verbs is included in brackets and italicized, in order to make the display more followable.

Text 1: The Reward of Jealosy

> > > 4. They were going to farm on.and.on
> > > 6. They were going
> > my uncle Abulai had set his trap.
7. He and the young men went to farm
8. They went and checked the trap,
> > it had caught a leopard.
9. He send a child to the village [*to inform the elders*]
> > > 10. The child was going towards the village...
but [the child] met my uncle Bokoro
> > and he (Bokoro) was still journeying to the farm.
11. He [Bokoro] asked [*Why are you coming back to the village so early?*]
12. He [the child] said [*Abulai had sent him to inform the elders about the leopard.*]
14. My uncle Bokoro said [*Because of the leopard? Come, let's return to the farm.*]
> > > 17. They were reaching the farm-camp
18. He [Bokoro] said [*Let's pass on by. Do you know where the trap was?*]
20. He [the child] said [*Yes*]
> > > 22. They were going
and reached the place of the trap,
he [the child] said [*Here is where the trap was.*]
> > > 23. He [Bokoro] had found two excellent large round stones and picked them up
and said [*Let's go.*]
24. They finally found the leopard's trail
> > and he [Bokoro] was following it
the leopard roared,
> > > 25. It was coming
and leapt
26. He [Bokoro] threw (a stone) at its head,
stone [hit] "thump!".
27. Your friend fell.

331

28. He [Bokoro] has thrown it [the leopard] down.
29. It [the leopard] turned here,
his [Bokoro's] knife sounded.
30. It [the leopard] turned here,
his [Bokoro's] knife sounded.
     31. He [Bokoro] has killed it and put it away.
     32. And has returned,
they [Bokoro and child] came to the farm.
        33. My uncle Abulai was thinking [*B. had just arrived from the village.*]
34. He [Abulai] said [*So, how's the village?*]
36. He [Bokoro] said... [*told how he met Waayo, then went and killed the leopard*]
      45. This was paining my uncle Abulai greatly,
    my uncle Bokoro was able to teach him bravery.
      52. This was paining my uncle Abulai greatly.

53. Some days later they went to the bush.
54. He [Abulai] shot a buffalo [wounding it], and returned.
55. They came and told [the village].
      56. The elders were looking into the matter for some time,
and said [*The ancestors say nobody should try to follow the wounded buffalo.*]
      57. But my uncle Abulai had been wanting [*to show his bravery*]
he [Abulai] said [*He would go after the buffalo.*]
59. They [Abulai and Yeliwaya] agreed together.
60. The place was dark, Abulai and Yeliwaya, they sat on the high bench...
      63. They were saying all this
   and [their friend] Alijima had left the Muslim quarter....
      64. He was coming
   and there they sat on the top of the high bench
     and were talking about this.
64. He asked them,
they said [*They'd shot a buffalo but the cowardly elders say not to follow it because a
      bad fate awaits there, and they intend to go after the buffalo tomorrow.*]
67. He said [*when they are ready to go tomorrow, they should wake him too.*]
68 [They] went home and slept

      69. Day was dawning
   they had woken up
70. Whoops, they [Abulai and Yeliwaya] left.
   71. He [Alijima] had awoken
     and was coming to their house in the early morning,
   and they had already left.
72. He [Alijima] started walking,
    he was going
and finally reached them,

and they had reached the place where they had shot the buffalo,
and already found its trail
and were following it
and had turned here, and turned here, and turned here
and they all had grouped together like that.
73. and he had called them,
they stood.
74. He said [*Look, that's not how to follow a buffalo. You have to spread out. The way
you're doing, if it emerges here, you'll run into one another trying to escape.*]
79. There they (all) still stood
making plans
and the buffalo suddenly emerged [and charged]
80 My uncle Abulai said [=thought, *he'd try to escape in a certain direction*]
Oh, he has already stumbled into a (fallen) tree and gone and finally fallen.
81. God had so arranged it [*that the tree which had fallen had bent over and
provided a protected place underneath it.*]
84. there the buffalo punctured him.
86. It punctured him greatly.
87. Its horn punctured his back, his side just so...
88. ...it tore his skin.
89. ...it shoved him,
he entered the hollow of the tree.
90. Its hollow, where he had fallen, he entered to be in the tree's (hollow) place.
93. It (the buffalo) had been doing this for some time,
and my uncle Yeliwaya thought [*it was killing Abulai*]
94. He threw his gun down,
and had drawn his machete
and was going [*to attack the buffalo with the machete*]
96. My father Alijima had stood,
and [in contrast to Yeliwaya] caused the gun to sound, bang.
97. Muzzle-loader [bullet] fell on the buffalo's head.
98. It [the buffalo] fell to the ground, crash.

APPENDIX C

MACROSEGMENTATION OF TEXTS 1 AND 13

Macrosegmentation of Texts 1 and 13:

This appendix displays the macrosegmentation (internal text structure) of the two texts which are given in interlinear form in Appendix A. Following each macrosegment, the surface features which support the proposed macrosegments are given (italicized and in brackets).

Text 1: The Reward of Jealousy

Macrosegment	Sentences
Aperture (---)	1-2

[*"This is not a fable, it's something that happened to somebody."*]

Stage (exposition)   3-52
  Embedded Narrative Discourse:

      Stage (exposition)   3-5 (expos. paragraph)
           [*Segmentation: Time phrase, "One year...", almost all stative verbs (as expected in the Stage which is usually expository]*

      Prepeak Ep.1 (inciting moment)   6-9 (narr. paragraph)
           [*Segmentation: change from Setting to Storyline (events); participant inventory (Abulai, Yeliwaya, farm youths); location (on the way to the farm)]*

      Prepeak Ep.2 (developing conflict)   10-16 (narr. paragraph)
           [*Segmentation: change in participant inventory (farm youth Waayo, Bokoro), change in location (on the way back to the village)]*

      Peak Ep. (climax)   17-32 (narr. discourse—3 paragr.)
           [*Segmentation: change in location (tracking down the wounded leopard). Peak markings: change of pace, ideophones/onomatopoeia, repetition, demotion of storyline to background, heightened vividness in use of 2nd person forms and dropping out of verb at point of highest tension]*

      Postpeak (denouement)   33-44 (narr. paragraph/embedded disc. in rep. speech)
           [*Segmentation: change in participant inventory (Bokoro, Abulai), change in location (back at farm)]*

      Closure (conclusion)   45-52 (expository paragraph)
           [*Segmentation: narrator evaluation of situation, glimpse into the mind of Abulai mortified with shame]*

335

Prepeak Episode (inciting moment)   53-68
    (Narrative paragraphs—internal structure not analyzed)
    [<u>Segmentation</u>: Time phrase, "Two days later" (idiomatic for some
    undetermined time later); change in participant inventory (Abulai, Yeliwaya,
    elders, Alijima—in separate paragraphs); change in location (mainly village,
    and an unspecified part of the "bush")]

Peak Ep. (climax)   69-100
  Embedded Narrative Discourse:

    Prepeak Ep.1 (inciting moment)   69-72 (narr. paragraph)
      [<u>Segmentation</u>: Time phrase, "Day began to dawn..." (indicates "the
      following day"; participants (Abulai, Yeliwaya, Alijima); location
      (moving from village to location of buffalo), activity (tracking)]

    Prepeak Ep.2 (dev. conflict)   73-78 (narr. paragraph)
      [<u>Segmentation</u>: location (static, now at the place where buffalo is),
      activity (discussion of how to avoid disaster)]

    Peak Ep. (climax)   79-98 (narr. paragraph)
      [<u>Segmentation</u>: Time/location phrase, "There they were making
      plans..."; participants (Abulai, Yeliwaya, Alijima, and the buffalo),
      location (where the buffalo is), action (evasion, conflict). <u>Peak</u>
      <u>markings</u>: change of pace (speeds up initially, then slows down),
      rhetorical underlining (repetition, detailed description of Abulai's
      providential refuge and his painful wounding), crowded stage as noted,
      onomatopoeia, frequent author intrusion, shift in verb tenses so that just
      before the buffalo is shot (and the tension ends) several important
      actions are indicated through background forms]

    Closure (conclusion)   99-100 (expository/evaluation)
      [<u>Segmentation</u>: no more actions, author evaluation in stative and
      subjunctive clauses]

Closure (conclusion)   101-107
  (Hortatory paragraph)
    [<u>Segmentation</u>: Conclusion idiom, "therefore" (lit. "these things own/cause");
    the narrator speaks to the hearer (no more storyline forms), prohibition,
    evaluation, warning]

Finis (---)   108-110
  (108 is a finis, 109-110 summarize the teaching of the story)
    [This is a story, this is jealousy's reward, this is envy's reward.]

336

Text 13: Stay Away from What's Not Right

Macrosegment   Sentences

Stage (exposition—expos. paragraph)   1-3
[Segmentation: Time phrase, "One year...", stative clauses in the majority, also back-reference, one compound event and one imperfective.]

Prepeak Ep. 1 (inciting moment—narr. paragraph)   4-9
[Segmentation: change from Setting to Storyline (events and reported speech); participant inventory (old man, young man, young woman, townspeople), location (town of Bouna)]

Prepeak Ep. 2 (dev. conflict—narr paragraphs)   10-15
[Segmentation: Time phrase "One day..."; change in participant inventory (old man, young man, young woman only), location (still Bouna)]

Prepeak Ep. 3 (dev. conflict—narr./dialogue paragraph)   16-28
[Segmentation: Back-reference "They had reached Vonkoro..."; change in participant inventory (young man, young woman, people of Vonkoro, ferry-boy), location (the village of Vonkoro)]

Prepeak Ep. 4 (dev. conflict—narr. paragraph)   29-35
[Segmentation: Back-reference "When he had helped them across the river..."; change in participant inventory (young man, young woman, ferry-boy, white dog), location (the river, riverbanks, and nearby forest)]

Peak Ep. (climax)   36-51
  Embedded Narrative Discourse:

    Stage (exposition)   36-38 (expos. paragraph)
    [Segmentation: Introducer of Unexpected Information, jaa "Not knowing...", stative verb telling about the old man's abilities, summary of his activities during the couple's attempted elopement; change in participant inventory (old man, white dog, young man, young woman); location (unstated, presumably Bouna)]

    Prepeak Ep. (inciting moment)   39-40 (narr. paragraph)
    [Segmentation: Back-reference "When this one (the ferry-boy) had finished crossing back over..."; change in participant inventory (ferry-boy, white dog which changed into a lion), location (the river and riverbanks)]

Peak Ep. (climax)   41-51 (narr. paragraph)
    *[Segmentation: Back-reference "When it had changed into a lion..."; change
    in participant inventory (lion which had been the dog, young man, young
    woman, those one the far bank who heard the cries), location (the forest,
    river, and riverbanks). Peak markings: rhetorical underlining (repetition,
    stretching out the narrative), use of non-storyline form to report a critical
    event]*

Postpeak Ep. (denouement—narr. paragraph w/ reported speech)   52-54
    *[Segmentation: Time phrase "The next day..."; change in participant inventory
    (villagers, young woman), location (the forest)]*

Closure (conclusion—hortatory paragraph and evaluation)   55-61
    *[Segmentation: If-then statements, positive and negative imperatives, warnings,
    evaluations of the young man in the narrative proper)]*

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348

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Paul Schaefer graduated from John Brown University in 1994 with degrees in Bible and Mathematics, and received a Master of Arts in Linguistics in 1996 from The University of Texas at Arlington. In 1998 he began working in Ghana as project advisor to the Safaliba Language Project under the auspices of the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy, and Bible Translation (GILLBT), an organization affiliated with the Institute of African Studies of the University of Ghana; since 2000 he has also served as Linguistics Coordinator for GILLBT. Paul's research interests are in the discourse structure, syntax, and phonology of African languages, as well as documentation of little-studied languages, orthography development and writing systems. He received a Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics in August 2009 from The University of Texas at Arlington, and expects to return to Ghana to continue working there in the same capacities.