Order Number 1350161

Discourse grammar of Bandi

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The University of Texas at Arlington, 1992

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DISCOURSE GRAMMAR OF BANDI

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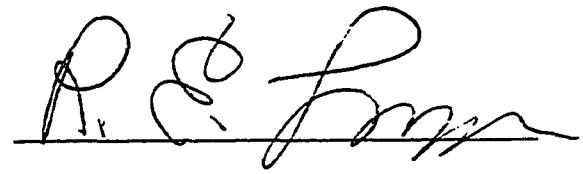

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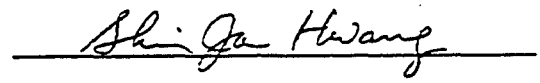

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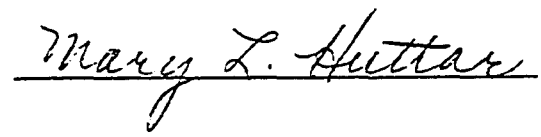

DISCOURSE GRAMMAR OF BANDI

by

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Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN LINGUISTICS

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

August 1992

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis could not have been written without the assistance of numerous people. I wish to thank the members of my committee who offered their insights and helped me complete this thesis. Also, Ilah Fleming, Pam Cope, David Mead, Scott Youngman, and Clyde Whitby who reviewed my analysis and answered my grammar questions. Invaluable computer assistance was provided by Bev Cope, Dan Davis, Paul Frank, Don Lewis, Clay Johnston, Heidi Rosendall, and Karen White. I also thank Don and Dini Kovac for the data and analysis they did and Mike Rodewald who has answered numerous questions particularly concerning tone. I also thank Thomas Kawala and J. Ngaima Kawala for so patiently helping me learn Bandi and answer my questions. A very special thanks goes to my husband Al who has encouraged me and put up with the many hours I have spent writing instead of with him.

All praise, honor, and glory go to God to whom I owe everything.

May 5, 1992

ABSTRACT

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The African language of Bandi has little written about its grammar. This thesis analyzes discourse structure based on a folk tale, an historical narrative, and a procedural text. The data was gathered while working for The Institute for Liberian Languages in Liberia, West Africa.

The model used is Stratificational Grammar as developed by Ilah Fleming. Included are formulas for lower level grammatical constructions and higher level text formulas. Also included are the salience schemes of the texts based on Robert Longacre's etic rank scheme.

This study reveals a complex verbal system which plays a major role in revealing text structure and salience schemes. One salience scheme of eight bands is posited for both narratives and another scheme of three bands for the procedural text. Plot structure and referent rank determine the use of reported speech. Referents are ranked by their manner of introduction and their roles throughout a text.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to describe various aspects of the discourse structure of the Bandi language of Liberia. Three different discourse types will be compared, and features such as referent identification, use of quotations, and salience schemes will be contrasted. The types of texts covered in this paper will include a folk tale narrative, an historical narrative, and a procedural text. The questions to be answered are:

How referents are introduced, ranked, and maintained as characters.

What the purpose of reported speech is within a text.

What salience schemes characterize the different text types.

How the lower level grammar structures compare in the different text types.

1.2 The Bandi Language

The Bandi people live in northwestern Liberia. Bandi is categorized as Niger Kordofanian, Niger-Congo, Mande, Northern-Western, Southwestern, Mende-Bandi (Grimes 1988:249). In a recent study (Bendor-Samuel 1989:19), Niger-Congo is the term used for the language family and Kordofanian is a subdivision of it because it is now widely agreed upon that Kordofanian did not split off earlier than the Mande branch. This same study agrees with Welmers (1971) who groups Mende, Bandi, Loko, Loma, and Kpelle together as the Southwestern division of the Mande languages. According to him,

> . . . within Niger-Congo, . . . the Mande languages represent the oldest division from the parent stock; the relationship between the Mande languages and any other Niger-Congo language is more remote than any other relationship within Niger-Congo apart from Mande (1973:17).

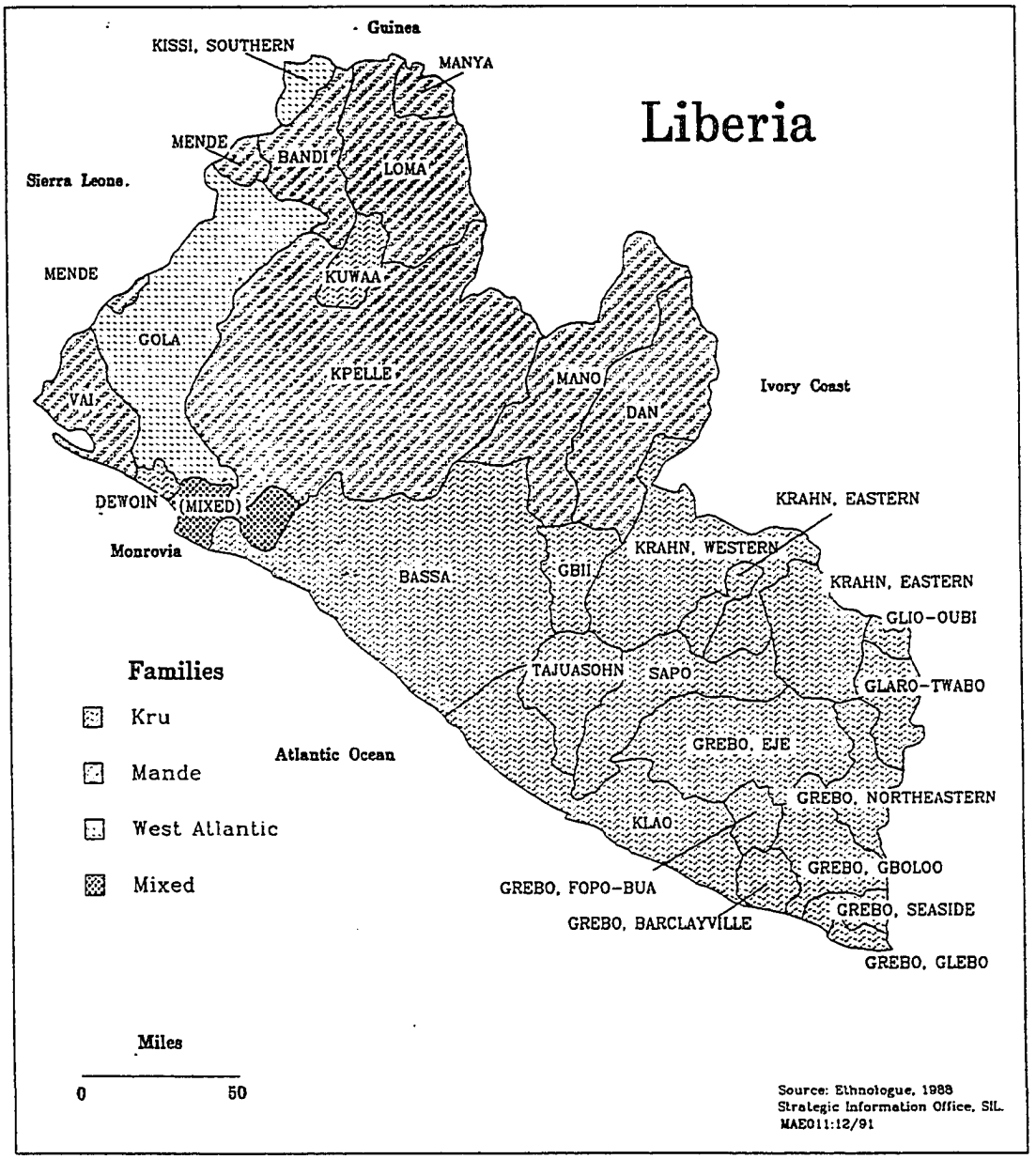

Figure 1. Liberia language map

And although generally treated as a separate language, Welmers considers Bandi a dialect of Mende (1971:115). Bandi is about 83 per cent cognate with Mende (Sindlinger 1978 as quoted in Rodewald 1989:5).

There are six dialects of Bandi which are 96.5 per cent cognate with one another (Sindlinger 1975 as quoted in Rodewald 1989:2). The dialects are Tahamba, Wawoma, Wulukoha, Hasala, Ngolahun, and Lukasu. According to adjustments to the 1984 census in Liberia, there are about 66,000 speakers of the Bandi language (Sam Bickel, personal interview).

1.3 The Data

The data for this thesis was collected during the period of April 1989 - November 1990 when the author was the translation and literacy advisor for the Bandi language project under the auspices of The Institute for Liberian Languages. All data for this work is taken from the Tahamba dialect. It is the most central dialect not bordering surrounding languages so it does not exhibit extensive borrowing.

Transcriptions were made by several Bandi men, trained in marking tone: Thompson Yengbeh of Nyewolihun, Thomas Kawala and J. Ngaima Kawala both from Taninahun. Texts used in this study were collected by Don and Dini Kovac, previous translation advisors, and Michael Rodewald, literacy advisor. The author's own elicited data will be used to supplement these data where needed.

1.4 Limitations and Delimitations

The study is limited to the following limitations and delimitations:

1. There may be some influence from the use of English as a second language on all of the Bandi language associates. However, it will be assumed that the Bandi presented is accurate and natural.

2. The data is provided by a small set of Bandi national speakers. We can therefore not conclude that the findings presented will contain all the characteristics and features of Bandi discourse. However, we should be able to assume that the findings here will give a reasonably accurate picture of discourse characteristics in the different text types.

3. This study focuses mainly on discourse features. There are many other questions to be answered concerning the lower level grammatical features. The grammar sketch in Section 1.7 provides only a basic analysis and is not meant to be exhaustive. The features presented are intended to help clarify those phenomena which are at discourse level. The main body of this thesis will then focus on those features characteristic of discourse and/or which are most insightfully analyzed by examining discourse.

1.5 The Model

For the most part, the model used in this thesis is the Stratificational Grammar model as developed by Ilah Fleming. It is not possible to make a full description of the model here. However, the following information is intended to explain the broad concepts, the organization, and the notation used in order for the reader to understand the grammar description that follows.

In this model, "the communication system is viewed as a series of stratal levels" (Fleming 1988:3). Three strata will be analyzed in this study: the Communication Situation (CS), the Semantic (S), and the Morphemic or Morphosyntactic (M). These strata interact with each other, influencing what is communicated in any given situation.

Each stratum is organized with constructions. The constructions are composed of constituents which may have either a function or a position in the construction. The functions and positions are then filled with (1) a minimal unit called an eme, (2) a distribution class, or (3) an embedded construction. Distribution classes are groups of minimal units which can substitute for each other within the same part of a construction. On the M stratum there are nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc. On the S stratum distribution classes include actions, mental processes, attributes, etc. On the CS stratum there physical objects, abstractions, motions, etc. Please see Figure 17 and 18 in Appendix A for further examples.

Examples of a semantic and a morphemic construction are found on page 6. The construction in each example begins with a capital letter. Following the equals sign are the constituents. In the ^{S}Event the constituents are functions and are in capital letters. In the ^{M}Clause construction there are constituent positions symbolized by P for preceding, C for central, and F for following. Each of the constituents is then filled by a distribution class or an embedded construction.

The CS stratum includes anything in the referential realm. These may be real objects as well as hypothetical ones. The CS stratum also includes the culture, social setting, social relationships, and language of any communication situation, as well as the communicator's attitude, intent, or evaluation.

The S stratum reflects what the communicator has selected from the CS stratum and how s/he chooses to focus on whatever is there. For example, if in the CS stratum, two people are walking to school, they are both ^{CS}PERFORMER and they can both be realized on the S stratum by the function ^{S}AGENT. Or, one can be the ^{S}AGENT and the other the ^{S}ACCOMPANIMENT. Each of these ways of interpreting the CS stratum on the S stratum, will be reflected in a different way on the M stratum.

(1) John and Mary were walking to school
AGENT AGENT

(2) John was walking to school with Mary.
AGENT ACCOMPANIMENT

The M stratum is the actual realization of how the event or idea is formed in words and constructions such as Sentences, Clauses, Noun Phrases, etc. There may be several morphemic or grammatical forms for a semantic construction. For example, an ^{S}Event can be expressed by a Clause (e.g., *The dog barked.*) or by a Noun Phrase (e.g., *the barking dog*). The choice will be affected by influences in the CS and S strata.

There are two types of relationships which are basic to this model and which will be used throughout the thesis. These are the tactic relationships and the realization relationships.

Tactic relationships are intrastratal. They relate the elements of one stratum to the constructions which they can form. As already stated, the individual units of the constructions are called constituents and may either be a function or a position with a filler. The constituents may be either ordered or unordered relative to each other.

Some formulas will help to illustrate. The superscripted CS, S, or M, before the construction identifies the stratum. Again, constructions always begin with a capital letter. The functions or positions will be in all capitals. The fillers are all small letters except where there is an embedded construction. Sometimes the filler will be a particular eme. A superscripted ^{n} following a constituent means that the constituent can occur more than once. The curly braces mean there is a choice between two or more fillers. Information found in parentheses identifies a subtype of a construction, function, or class.

$$^{S}\text{Event(ACTIVITY)} = \text{AGENT:thing} + \text{ACTIVITY:action} + \text{PATIENT:thing}$$

This is an example with unordered constituents. It reads, "a semantic activity Event is composed of an agent filled by a thing, an activity filled by an action, and a patient filled by a thing." There may also be additional constituents such as RECIPIENT or SPATIAL LOCATION. Most of the constructions and constituents will be self explanatory.

$$^{M}\text{Clause} = \text{P:\{noun, Noun Phrase\}} + \text{C:verb} + \text{F1:\{noun, NounPhrase\}} + \text{F2}^{n}\text{:PrepPhrase}$$

This is an example of an ordered construction. It reads, "a morphemic Clause is composed of a preceding position (P) filled by a noun or Noun Phrase, a central position (C) filled by a verb, an immediately following position (F1) filled by a noun or Noun Phrase, and a further following position (F2) which can occur more than once being filled by a Prepositional Phrase." The preceding (P) positions and the following (F) positions are numbered in relation to their closeness to the central (C) position.

Realization relationships relate the different strata to each other. They show how the different constructions on one stratum either realize a higher stratum or how they are realized by a lower stratum. These realizations are indicated by slashes (/ or \). The following examples illustrate realization relationships. The direction of the slash indicates the direction either to a higher stratum or to a lower stratum. As in the tactic formulas, these are also read from left to right.

$^{S}Event/^{M}Clause$

An Event proposition on the semantic stratum is realized by a Clause on the morphemic stratum.

$^{M}Clause\backslash^{S}Event$

A Clause on the morphemic stratum realizes an Event proposition on the semantic stratum.

There are times when these realizations are not merely one-to-one relationships. The following examples describe other relationships:

1. Neutralization is when one element on a lower stratum realizes more than one element on a higher stratum. Homonyms are good examples where the same morphemic word realizes two different semantic notions. This can also work with larger units such as several semantic propositions being realized in the same morphemic construction. The ^{M}Possession Phrase can realize ^{S}Ownership (e.g., *the woman's purse*) or an ^{S}Event(ACT) (e.g., *the baby's walking*). This would be symbolized as:

$$^{M}PossPhr\backslash^{S}\{Ownership, Event(ACT)\}.$$

The backward slash shows the upward direction of the relationship and the curly braces show the alternatives.

2. Alternate realization is when an element on a higher stratum can be realized in several alternate ways on a lower stratum. It is the reverse of Neutralization. Some examples on page 5 show that an ^{S}Event(ACT) was realized by both a Clause (*The dog barked*) and a Noun Phrase (*the barking dog*). This can be symbolized as follows. Note that the slash is now going forward.

$$^{S}Event(ACT)/^{M}\{Clause, Noun\ Phrase\}$$

3. Portmanteau realization is when a single element on a lower stratum realizes more than one thing from a higher stratum at the same time. Some of the pronouns in Bandi realize both Plurality and Negation on the semantic stratum. The square braces indicate that both occur at the same time. They are not alternatives as in the above examples.

^{M}tɛi 'theyNEG' \$^{S}$[Plurality + Negation]

4. Composite realization is when one element on a higher stratum is realized by more than one element on a lower stratum. Compound words are often composite realizations. In Bandi, 'present' or 'gift' is realized by joining two morphemes meaning 'on' and 'fix' together. The numbers in the brackets indicate that the elements are ordered and both must be present.

^{S}gift/^{M}[1.maa 2.batɛ]
on fix

5. Empty realization is when an element on a lower stratum has no realization relationship with a higher stratum. The verb *do* in English does not have a semantic equivalent when used in some negative constructions, for example, "I know the answer" versus "I do not know the answer."

6. Zero realization is when an element on a higher stratum has no realization on a lower stratum. The plural forms of words like *sheep*, *deer*, and *fish* on the morphemic stratum have nothing to realize ^{S}plural. This is symbolized by using Ø.

There is one more distinction to be made concerning relationships and that is the distinction between static and trace formulas. A static formula is a general formula and the fillers are single morphemes, distribution classes, or embedded constructions. A trace formula will give the particular members of a class. It represents one particular ^{S}Event or ^{M}Clause or whatever construction one wishes to represent.

While the Stratification approach gets quite involved, the purpose here is not to confuse the reader with the technicalities of a particular approach to text analysis. It is only the framework within which the discoveries were made and it provides a way to describe the data. Appendix A contains a listing of the notational conventions of the model and diagrams to further illustrate the model.

1.6 Brief Phonological Sketch

1.6.1 Consonant Phonemes

The consonant phonemes in Bandi are found in Table 1.

Table 1.--Bandi consonant phonemes (The chart is in orthographic notation.)

	Bilabial	Labio dental	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Velar	Labio-velar
STOP vl	p		t		k	kp
vd	b		d		g	gb
prenasalized	mb		nd	nj	ng	mgb
FRICATIVE vl		f	s			
vd		v			ɣ	
APPROXIMANT	w		l	y	h	
NASAL	m		n	ny	ŋ	

1.6.1.1 Initial Consonant Change.

The phonology of Bandi can not be studied without taking into consideration Initial Consonant Change (ICC). ICC is a process by which an initial strong consonant alternates with a relatively weak counterpart (see Table 2) in certain grammatical environments. This feature has been referred to as consonant mutation (Innes 1962:6) and consonant alternation (Welmers 1971:118). It is a characteristic of the Southwestern Mande languages.

ICC, where the strong consonant goes to the weak, occurs in the following environments. The isolated form of the morpheme which occurs with the strong consonant is found in parentheses below the form with the weak consonant.

1. The possessed noun in a NP.[1]

---

[1]It may seem to some that the change on the postposition in example 4 should be included as a separate grammatical environment. However, in reality what have traditionally been called postpositions in Bandi and other African languages are really not postpositions at all (Welmers

(3) ní vélɛ 'my house'
(pélɛ)
my house

(4) Ngí liingó táá ñu. 'I went to town.'
(su)
I go-RtPST town insides

2. Modifiers following nouns in the NP.

(5) siỹɛndopo guloi 'the small man'
(kulo-i)
man small-the

3. Transitive verbs when the object is explicit.

(6) Nyá lɔɔ mboolóngi w̃aaɣɛ. 'I am selling bitterball'
(maaɣɛ)
I am bitterball sell

4. Intransitive verbs.

(7) Ngí liingó táá ñu. 'I went to town.'
(ndi-ngó)
I go-RtPST town insides

Words denoting ^{S}Kinship.REFERENT do not undergo ICC.

(8) ní kéɛɣɛ 'my father'
my father

1973:217). Rather, these words are nouns and in these phrases act either as possessed nouns in the NP or as ^{S}PART of a ^{S}Partitive proposition. (Nevertheless these nouns will be referred to throughout the paper as postpositions, a subset of the noun distribution class.)

Table 2.--Initial consonant change

	Strong	Weak
STOPS	p	v
	t	l
	k	ɣ,g /__i,e,ɛ,a
	k	w / __ɔ,u,o
	kp	b
FRICATIVES	f	h
	s	h
PRE-NASALIZED	mb	y / __i,e,ɛ
STOPS	mb	w / __u,o,ɔ,a
	nd	l
	nj	y
	ŋg	y / __i,e,ɛ,a
	ng	w / __u,o,ɔ
NASALS	m	ỹ / __i,e,ɛ
	m	w̃ / __u,o,ɔ,a
	ny	ỹ

Dwyer (1974) and Welmers (1973) have posited phonological explanations for this feature. There are certain morphemes now missing which cause the morpheme to retain its strong phone. Where that missing morpheme, most likely a syllabic nasal, does not occur, the weak counterpart is found (in the grammatical environments listed above). Dwyer posits several functions of the missing nasal--a pre-reference morpheme, a 1st and 3rd singular pronoun, and a missing final /ŋ/.

Where the missing /ŋ/ does occur, the process of ICC is interrupted and the strong consonant is found. For example, where the missing nasal is a 1st or 3rd singular object pronoun, a following verb is found with a strong consonant (compare example 6 with example 9). The missing nasal may also be evidenced by the effect of its tone on the following morpheme. The missing nasal is represented in parentheses below but is not found in speech except as evidenced by the lack of ICC and the effect of its tone.

(9) Nyá lɔɔ (Ŋ) maaɣɛ. 'I am selling it.'
I am it sell

Example 10 illustrates a missing nasal that is not one of the pronouns.

(10) kɔlu gó(ŋ) tɛi-ngí ná 'that black iron door'
iron door black-the that

(11) gɔnɛ lɛi 'black cat'
cat black

In example 10, *ko* 'door' has a changed initial consonant because of 'iron' which precedes it (see further discussion of ICC in Section 1.7.5.7). 'Black' in example 11, however, retains its strong phoneme /t/ rather than switching to /l/ because of the missing nasal which is associated with *ko*. *Gɔnɛ* 'cat' is not associated with a nasal.

Generally a word either always occurs with this nasal, or it does not occur with the nasal. The morpheme which follows shows the presence or absence of the nasal. This morpheme may be an adjective as in the above example, a noun or pronoun, or may be one of the clitics found in the NP.F2 position (see Section 1.7.5.7). If one of the clitics is attached to a morpheme associated with a nasal, the clitic is preceded by /ŋg/. Nouns, verbs, and adjectives may have a missing nasal associated with them. (The hyphens in these examples are used to differentiate the morphemes.)

(12) ko(ŋ) + i --> ko-ngi 'the door'
door the door-the

(13) gɔnɛ + i --> gɔnɛ-i 'the cat'
cat the cat-the

There is some disagreement as to the nature and function of the nasals as in example 10. Rodewald (1989) disputes that it is simply a missing syllable final /ŋ/. He posits a separate morpheme in all cases of the missing nasal even though at the present time the function is unknown. He does this for phonological reasons and tone interpretation reasons. There are adverbs which actually end in /ŋ/ and the previous vowels are highly nasalized. However, in words like *masa* 'chief' where a missing /ŋ/ becomes evident with the addition of the morpheme *-i* 'the' as in *masangí* 'the chief', there is no nasalization of the previous vowels (Rodewald 1989:37). There are also

instances where the nasal can be either present or absent but the meaning or use of the phrase or word changes. The contexts of these changes in meaning are not yet understood. Further implications of this matter are discussed in Rodewald 1989 and are not the focus of this paper. No more will be said except where it may be necessary for the interpretation of a discourse feature.

It is interesting to note that the changes stimulated in Mende, Loma, and Bandi by this syllabic nasal or its absence are the reverse of that in Kpelle. Where you find the strong consonant in the former languages you find the weak consonant in Kpelle (Welmers 1950:117).

1.6.1.2 Further Description of the Consonants

The phonemes /b kp gb mgb/ are all implosives. In the past, the implosive /b/ has been mistaken for a /gb/ and thus earlier manuscripts have Gbandi instead of Bandi for the name of this people group and their language. Ladefoged found velarization of the b in Igbo and perhaps that is what is happening here as well. This implosive b can be considered as "a labial stop with an additional velar sonorant." It then patterns as the sonorant counterpart of kp with the sonorants generally found to be the weak counterparts of the consonants undergoing the process of ICC (Bird 1968:4-5).

Pre-nazalized stops are considered single phonemes. They undergo ICC, and they occur both word initially and word medially (Kovac 1978:4-5).

Nasalization has been assigned to the word level rather than to the phoneme level (Kovac 1978:11-12). Nasalization occurs following a nasal consonant or its ICC counterpart, or where a final /ŋ/ has been deleted. It carries through a word unless a stop blocks it. Where no nasal consonant is itself present, nasalization is written with ˜ above the first segment of the nasal syllable. It is necessary to write nasalization where ICC has occurred to prevent ambiguity.

(14) /mba/ --> /wa/ 'on, onto, with, for'

(15) /ma/ --> /w̃a/ 'surface, on'

1.6.2 Vowel Phonemes

Table 3.--Bandi Vowel Phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Close-mid	e		o
Open-mid	ɛ		ɔ
Open		a	

Vowel harmony occurs when the vowel /i/ of a pronoun assimilates to the first vowel of the following word where that vowel is a back vowel.

(16) ni lówoloi [no lówoloi] 'our kola nut'
our kola.nut

Also, /a/ --> /ɛ/ when the morpheme /-i/ 'the' attaches to the word.

(17) nja -i [njɛi] 'the water'
water the

1.6.3 Syllable Patterns

The basic syllable template is (C)V(ŋ). V syllables may occur contiguously and are not analyzed as complex syllable peaks because of the nature of the Bandi tone system as described below.

1.6.4 Tone

Rodewald (1989:1) describes the Bandi tone system as follows.

> Bandi has two underlying tones, high (H) and low (L). These tones, through a series of low-level phonetic rules, result in four surface pitches: high, low, falling (F), and downstepped high (!H). The uniqueness of the Bandi tonal system lies in the fact that the phonetic rules interact globally over the domain of the phonological phrase, often producing a surface string in which lows are not realized phonetically. The existence of these lows, however, can be adduced by the influence they exert on adjacent high tones.

In addition to phonetic changes, tone changes on morphemes can also occur in context with other morphemes. "Contextual tone rules and the low-level phonetic tone rules combine to make of the Bandi tone system a complex but very rich system" (Rodewald 1989:1). Because of the complexity of these rules the reader is directed to Rodewald 1989. Tone is not the focus of this paper except where it may give a significant clue to the interpretation of discourse structure and meaning. Tone is written for the most part throughout this paper by the orthographic system in Bandi where only the first high tone is marked in a morpheme (using an acute accent) except where necessary to distinguish between two similar morphemes. Then an additional high tone will be marked. Because the tones marked are not always the underlying tone and because not all tones are marked, readers are not encouraged to attempt a tonal analysis of data presented in this thesis.

1.7 Brief Grammar Sketch

1.7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this grammar sketch is to familiarize the reader with the basic word order typology of Bandi, its verbal constructions, and its lower level morphemic constructions. Much could be written on the basic grammar of Bandi. I have selected these topics because they affect how the discourse features are analyzed.

1.7.2 Word Order Typology

Bandi is what R. Longacre (1990:91) would call a weak SOV system. Bandi is SOV in that (1) the ^{S}PATIENT of an ^{S}Event(ACTIVITY), the ^{S}STIMULUS of an ^{S}Event(REACTION), the ^{S}CREATED of an ^{S}Event(CREATION), and the ^{S}COMMUNIQUE of an ^{S}Event(EXPRESSION) all occur before the verb (in other words, the direct object comes before the main verb); (2) it has postpositions instead of prepositions; and (3) suffixation rather than prefixation is the norm. However, like Avokaya, an East Sudanic language, the verb is not clause-final. It is final only in the Verb Phrase which occupies the central position of the Clause (see Sections 1.7.5.10 and 1.7.5.11).

Thus we find a SOVX pattern. Occurring in the Clause positions after the verb are such things as SPATIAL LOCATION, RECIPIENT, and BENEFICIARY expressed in Postpositional Phrases, Relator Phrases, nouns, or pronouns.

The characteristic chaining of structures toward a final verb is also not found. In fact, what we do find is a fully inflected initial Clause followed by one or more Clauses with a consecutive tense. This consecutive tense takes on the tense, mood, and aspect of the initial Clause.

Bandi has other features which are typically characteristic of VO languages. While the possessor of a noun precedes the noun, modifiers follow. Auxiliary verbs precede the main verb, and conjunctions are found previous to the Clause rather than in final position.

There are various arguments as to the word order typology of proto-Niger-Congo. Hyman (1975) and Givón (1975) would argue for SOV and Heine and Reh (as quoted in Bendor-Samuel 1974:28) for SVO. It is possible that Bandi is in one of the last stages of SOV attrition as Longacre suggests (1990:89). As mentioned before, the Mande languages were one of the earliest divisions from the rest of the Niger-Congo languages and, as Longacre also points out, SOV languages which do not chain toward a final verb (as is diagnostic of SOV structures around the world) should be regarded with suspicion as to typology.

> For a purportedly SOV language to have consecutive clauses rather than medial clauses which chain toward a final is, for me, a much more serious structural contradiction than the matters of noun phrase structure, postposition versus preposition, and distribution of tense/aspect particles which preoccupy Givón (1990:89).

The purpose of this paper, however, is not to account for all the historical changes. I intend to describe what is now occurring and how it affects the mechanics of story telling.

1.7.3 Verbal Constructions

> For the most part, the verbal systems of Niger-Congo languages are best described in terms of a uni-dimensional list of "verbal constructions" rather than in terms of a bi-dimensional or multi-dimensional grid with intersecting categories such as tense, aspect, and mode (Welmers 1973:343).

Because the verbal systems in Niger-Congo languages are not easily divided into tense, aspect, and mood (mode), Welmers proposes the term 'verbal constructions.'

> Some constructions, to be sure, may have specific reference to time, such as past; others may have specific reference to mode, such as conditional. But the forms or constructions of Niger-Congo languages do not fall into neat sets with different types of morphological structure (Welmers 1973:344).

Bandi is no exception to Welmers' findings. It is very difficult to sort out what each morpheme in the Verb Phrase (VP) is doing. Most of the time, any one morpheme does not indicate one thing. Its meaning can only be determined in relation to the other morphemes elsewhere in the VP. This is obvious from pronoun Tables 4 and 5.

Tone on the pronoun is not necessarily an indicator of the verbal construction in use. The same tone pattern does not always progress straight through the paradigm. The tone on the 1st plural inclusive (incl) and exclusive (excl) pronouns as well as the 3rd plural pronouns polarizes according to the tone on the following word (Rodewald 1989:46). The tone on the 3rd singular pronoun *i* derives its tone from the noun stem preceding it. The tone is H if it follows a stem with a L or H tone melody, it retains its isolated L tone following a noun stem with a LH or HL melody (Rodewald 1989:87). Comparing across the different sets, some pronouns have the same segmental form. However, in addition to differing tone, these forms will be used with different verb forms to make the meaning clear.

The pronoun sets in Bandi are a portmanteau realization of person, number, $\pm$negation, and the type of construction (see Tables 4 and 5). Typically the pronoun reveals the mood, but as already has been said, tense, aspect, and mood are not easily separable. The primary purpose of pronouns is to reveal the type of verbal construction in use. For purposes of simplicity the pronoun will sometimes be indicated in this paper as realizing ^{S}MOOD. However, the reader is directed to the pronoun charts for a more accurate definition. While pronouns help keep track of known referents, it is not their primary purpose. Referent identification will be discussed in the appropriate sections of Chapters 2 and 3.

Table 4.--Affirmative subject pronoun sets

	Emphatic	Potentive	Customary, Progres-sive	Condi-tional	Habitual	Past, Hortatory, Conse-cutive
Singular						
1	nyá	ngáá	ngáa	ngɔ́ɔ́	ngɔ́ɔ	ngí
2	yá	yáá	yáa	yɔ́ɔ́	yɔ́ɔ	yí
3	aá/laá	aa	áa	ɔɔ́	ɔ́ɔ	i
Plural						
1 incl	muya	maa	máa	mɔɔ	mɔ́ɔ	mu
1 excl	nia	naa	náa	nɔɔ	nɔ́ɔ	ni
2	wúyá	wáá	wáa	wɔ́ɔ́	wɔ́ɔ	wú
3	tia	taa	táa	tɔɔ	tɔ́ɔ	ti

Table 5.--Negative subject pronoun sets

	Past, Emphatic, Imperative	Potentive, Conditional	Hortatory	Consecutive
Singular				
1	ngáá	ngɛ́í	nyáláa	ngɔ́ɔ́
2	yáá	yɛ́í	yáláa	yɔ́ɔ́
3	aa/láa	ɛi	áláa	ɔ́ɔ́
Plural				
1 incl	maa	mɔi	máláa	mɔɔ
1 excl	naá	nɛí	náláa	nɔɔ́
2	wáa	wɛi	wáláa	wɔɔ
3	taa	tɛi	táláa	tɔɔ

Bandi does not have the typical past, present, and future constructions. The focus is not so much on tense as on the activity. The emphasis is on accomplished action, present (progressive) action, and unaccomplished action (Kovac 1983:2).

Emphatic is a term used by Kovac (1985) to refer to action going on at the present time. The auxiliary verb *lɔɔ* is used in this construction. I have substituted Potentive for Kovac's term

Enablative. It shows action that can happen and the underlying meaning usually is that it will happen. When used along with the auxiliary verb *yɛ*, some doubt is introduced as to whether the event will occur (Kovac 1985:13).

Customary is something that is a regular activity, while Habitual refers to a past action as in "I used to play the piano" (Kovac 1985:17). The Progressive pronoun set is used in conjunction with the auxiliary verb *yɛ* and shows on going action.

Conditional verbal constructions involve a relationship with another proposition. They may express "hypothetical propositions, contrary to fact propositions, contingency propositions involving a temporal reference, and propositions expressing intention" (Kovac 1985:15).

There are three types of temporal Past constructions, remote (yesterday and previous), recent (earlier today), and immediate. These are marked on the verb with the suffixes *-ni* or *-i* for remote past, *-ngɔ* for recent past, and *-nga* or *-a* for immediate past. The alternations have to do with elision of the beginning nasal. These constructions are a bit elusive in that the remote past can be used like the aorist or completive aspect and there is no emphasis on time. The immediate past, *-nga*, almost always occurs when the conjunction *kɛ* 'then' is used. As we will see in the folk tale text in Chapter 2, it is not referring to something that just happened.

The Consecutive verbal construction is noted only by the pronoun set. There are no auxiliaries in the Verb Phrase and no suffixes are marked on the verb. It is used in relation to an initial, fully-marked verbal construction. The Consecutive construction takes on the meaning as marked in the initial construction. For example, in Clauses 6 and 7 of "Deer and Leopard" (see Figure 6 in Chapter 2), Clause 6 is marked for the immediate past and Clause 7 is marked for the consecutive. Clause 7 is considered to also be in the immediate past.

The Hortatory verbal construction is not used in the permissive sense. Rather it is something that is better translated as 'should' or 'ought to' (Welmers 1973:356).

Pronouns are always required in verbal constructions. Sometimes, however, the pronoun is combined with the vowel of the previous noun and it is therefore seemingly absent. This is particu-

larly true of the 3rd singular Past pronoun *i*. Where there is a noun before it ending in the definite *-i*, one of the vowels elides, or if there is no definite *-i*, the vowel on the noun may be lengthened.

Table 6.--Object and possessive pronoun sets

	mfr + prn	prn + free noun	Object, prn + relational noun, prn + post
Singular			
1	ngé	ní	H
2	íye	í	í
3	la	ngi	L
Plural			
1 incl	muye	mu	mu
1 excl	niye	ni	ni
2	wúye	wú	wú
3	tiye	ti	ti

There are also object and possessive pronoun sets (see Table 6). The object pronouns used before a verb differ from those used after the multi-functional relator (mfr) *ngaa*. The 3rd singular pronoun *la* occurs by itself and *ngaa* is not realized in the morphemics. The 1st and 3rd singular pronouns of the object and possessive pronoun set on the far right are realized only by the tone on the verb or possessed noun when the noun is inalienable or relational. The process of ICC is also interrupted. This same set is used before postpositions. These pronouns are possibly one type of missing syllabic nasal as discussed on page 11. Free nouns occur with a segmental 1st and 3rd singular pronoun. (See section 1.7.4 for a discussion of free and relational nouns.) The nasal pronouns will be marked in the charts in the following chapters as H (high tone) for 1st singular and L (low tone) for 3rd singular. Or, the morpheme to which they are attached will be divided and the missing syllabic nasal will be written as Ń or Ṇ for 1st and 3rd respectively.

There are two types of verbal constructions as defined by Welmers (1973). These are (1) "primary constructions" which have only one verb base plus inflectional markers, and (2) "auxiliary constructions" which have two verb bases. In this latter construction, it is the auxiliary which takes the primary inflectional morphemes such as past tense suffixes.

There are several auxiliary verbs. The present incompletive auxiliary is *lɔɔ*. This is sometimes confused with the copula *lɔ*. It is used with the Emphatic pronoun set. The non-present auxiliary is *yɛ*. This latter auxiliary can take past tense suffixes and is also used in progressive and perfect constructions.

There are three types of copula verbs in Bandi. Kovac (1984) classifies the constructions in which they occur as non-verbal clauses. The term Non-verbal will be used for Clauses in which the copulas occur. It will also be used for Locative Phrases, Noun Phrases, and other non-clausal constructions. The listing below identifies the copula and the semantic proposition which activates it. These copulas fit Fleming's definition as "determined morphemes" having no semantic realizate themselves (1990:248-250). The isolated form and the ICC form are both listed.

1. *tɔ/lɔ* ^{S}Identification, ^{S}Spatial Location, ^{S}Existential
2. *te/le* ^{S}Attribution
3. *mbaa/waa* ^{S}Origin, ^{S}Name, ^{S}Measurement, ^{S}Description

^{S}Description is different from ^{S}Attribution. It can be used to ask about someone's health or to describe an object.

The non-present auxiliary *yɛ* is used as a copula when the present time is not in focus. It can take the past tense endings. Additional data will have to be studied before a more concise clarification of this morpheme can be made.

The listing below contains all the different types of clausal verbal constructions found in the texts included in this study. I do not claim that the possibilities are exhausted. In fact, there are other constructions in elicited data, but without the context of the utterances they are difficult to define and therefore are not included here. The underlining indicates the morphemes which deter-

mine the type of verbal construction in use. The < >'s indicate if the morpheme has been activated by the semantic proposition. Hyphens show morpheme division.

Primary constructions:

(18) Conditional

kɔ́ í ɔ́ɔ́ ti gúla — Haale 2c
war it them destroy

"the war would destroy them"

(19) Negative Conditional (contrary to fact)

yéi ɓelé kɛ — Deer E
youNEG COND do

"you would not do it"

(20) Consecutive

tí páa Háale kámbai w̃a — Haale 30
they kill Haale grave on

"They kill it on Haale's grave"

(21) Habitual

Bandiái kpélɛɛ tɔ́ɔ nika lɛíngi hou — Haale 29
Bandi all they cow black catch

"All the Bandi people used to catch a black cow"

(22) Hortatory

Bɛlé ngí lí mbeindá fólo hólóngí . . . — Deer A
HORT me go where sun shine . . .

"Let me go where the sun shine . . ."

(23) Negative Imperative
yáá mɛ́ Deer B
youNEG eat

"don't eat me"

(24) Non-verbal
Ndɔpái <lɔ> wɔ́lɔ. Deer 2
Deer COP long ago.

"Deer existed a long time ago."

(25) Negative Non-verbal (non-present)
ná téi <yɛ́> ngáa tɔɔỹaa Deer B
if theyNEG COP REL truth

"if they are not true"

(26) Non-verbal + Past
Siỹɛ ngiláa ngí[2] <yɛ́>ni na. Haale 10
man one he COP-RmPST there

"One man was there."

(27) Past Haale 26
Ti wɔ́yɔw̃ɔai ti híye-ni bándoi volu.
The enemies they came.from-RmPST border back

"The enemies were from across the border."

(28) Potentive
taá kpɔ́ngi lo náa Brush 15b
they scaffold build now

"they will build a scaffold now"

---

[2]The 3rd singular subject pronoun *i* 'he' shows the effect of the missing nasal /ŋ/ associated with *ngiláa* by the *ng-* which precedes the pronoun. See page 12 for further reference.

(29) Negative Potentive

kɔí ɛ́i tí gúla — Haale A
war itNEG them destroy

"the war could not destroy them"

(30) Obligatory

Kɛ taá ngi vóngai kpɛ́lɛɛ kúla . . . — Haale D
OB they his relatives all free . . .

"They must free all his relatives . . ."

Auxiliary constructions:

(31) Past Perfect

i yɛ-i suwa walá hóu-ni — Deer 21
he PERF-RmPST animal big catch-PERF

"he had caught a big animal"

(32) Negative Past Perfect — Deer 20

Kɔlí áá mɔ́ɔ yɛ-i Ndɔpái ỹɛ-ní
Leopard heNEG again PERF-RmPST Deer eat-PERF

"Leopard had not again eaten Deer."

(33) Past Progressive

I yɛ-í náa áá kpɔ́kɔ hólo w̃alɛ́lɛ — Deer 23a
He PROG-RmPST now hePROG evening sun wait

"He was now waiting for evening"

(34) Potentive Perfect

Ná táa yɛ́ víla-ni náa . . . — Brush 18a
when they PERF finish-PERF now . . .

"When they finish cutting the rice now"

It may be noted that in the "Deer and Leopard" narrative there are several occurrences of the auxiliary *yɛ* (PERF) + *kɔlɔ* 'to know' where there is no perfect suffix as would be expected on the main verb *kɔlɔ*. The verb 'to know' uses only the past pronoun sets and does not take the usual past suffix *-ni*. Apparently this use of the auxiliary yɛ has something to do with this particular verb. The auxiliary is needed in order to attach the past suffixes as well as to give it durative meaning. There are some semantic factors here as well. 'Knowing' is typically not a punctiliar event and therefore can not simply take a past suffix but requires the auxiliary to agree with its durative meaning.

While there are most likely further distinctions to be made regarding the function of tone in the verbal system, this description of the verb system will have to suffice until tonal data can be confirmed and the analysis broadened in scope. However, most of the distinctions for the purposes of this thesis, can be made by the morphology.

1.7.4 Noun System

One of the reasons Mande languages are considered the oldest division from the Niger-Congo is that there is no noun class system. It is tempting to posit one based on the definite suffix *-i*. This suffix has the form *-ngi* on certain nouns and adjectives as discussed in 1.6.1.1. The Loma language is similar using *-i* and *-gi* for the definite suffix. Welmers explains that this is due to a missing final *-ŋ* which can still be found in Kpelle cognates (1973:185) and he does not consider them to be remnants of a noun class system. However, as we have already pointed out on page 12, there are differing opinions as to where this missing nasal came from.

Bandi does make a distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns, or as Welmers (1973) describes them, between free and relational. A free noun can stand alone but a relational noun must have a possessor. The relational nouns are primarily kinship terms, parts of the body, and words for place relationships (Welmers 1973:212). The words for place relationships will be termed

postpositions throughout this paper even though they are really possessed relational nouns often referring to body parts. See example 4 on page 10.

In addition to requiring a possessor, relational nouns take a different 1st and 3rd singular possessor than do free nouns when possessed. It is manifested in high or low tone respectively on the first syllable of the possessed noun and the possessed noun does not undergo the usual ICC. This is mentioned here because it occurs frequently in the texts that follow. The high or low tone will be identified by the use of H for high and L for low or Ń and N as already discussed.

1.7.5 Morphemic Constructions

1.7.5.1 Charting Procedures

"Morphotactic constructions are organized in terms of relative sequential positions, i.e., P (PRECEDING), C (CENTRAL), and F (FOLLOWING) positions" (Fleming 1988:244). Constituents are related to each other by their position to the C constituent. The P and F constituents are numbered in order as they get further from the C constituent. The morphotactic constructions can be determined by making charts.

The organization of the charts not only reflects the relative sequential positions but also gives information as to what the constituents realize on the semantic and/or communication situation strata (see page 27 or Figures 6,7, and 14 for examples). The columns in the charts reflect:

1. Relative sequential positions,
2. Similarity of the morphemic class or embedded construction that fills one position,
3. Similarity of semantic or communication situation function realized by a particular sequential position (Fleming 1988:244-245).

Contiguous columns can be combined if they meet the following requirements (Fleming 1988:250-252):

1. The columns have different kinds of fillers and are in complementary distribution. For example in the following chart, the SPATIAL LOCATION can be realized by a Postpositional Phrase or a pronoun but never both at the same time.

FUNCTION filler	AGT prn	NEG part	ACT v	SLOCATION PP, prn
text gloss ps	í he prn		vélɛ bend v	Kɔlí bámbui ñu Leopard path in n n post
text gloss ps	ngéi he prn	bele NCOND part	vélɛ bend v	na there prn

2. The columns have the same or non-constrastive fillers and can co-occur in the same examples but they have different semantic realizates. The last two columns in the next example have the same fillers and should be analyzed as an iterative central constituent of the Verb Phrase. The order of the semantic information, if ordered, is then given in the morphemic to semantic realization formula as seen following the next chart example.

FUNCTION filler	MOOD prn	PERF VW	RCTN VW
text gloss ps	ngí I prn	ɣɛi AUX VW	lóni know VW

The tactic formula is: VP = P:prn + C^n:VW

The M/S realization formula is: $^{M}_{VP.C^n} \setminus ^{S}$ {1. PERF ngí ɣɛi lóni; 2. RCTN ngí ɣɛi lóni}

3. The columns have different fillers, can co-occur in the same example, and have different semantic realizates but without a fixed order.

Charts for all constructions were made and compiled by the above criteria. The charts for non-clausal constructions will not be included in this paper, but the formula for each construction will be given along with M\S realization relationships. These relationships illustrate what the morphemic construction and its constituents realize from the semantic stratum. For each semantic

proposition or function there is an example with the corresponding construction or position underlined.

Clause charts for each of the texts studied can be found in Figures 6, 7, and 14 in the morphemic sections of the appropriate chapters.

1.7.5.2 Verb Word

The morphemic Verb Word is composed of a central position filled by a verb plus a following position filled by a suffix. The auxiliary yɛ is considered a verb.

$$M_{VW} = C{:}v + F{:}suf$$

$M_{VW}\backslash^{S}$	TENSE(past)	hé -ni give-RmPST	Haale 12a
	ASPECT(perfect)	vila -ni finish-PERF	Deer 22a
$M_{VW.C}\backslash^{S}$	ACTION	wó -ni open-RmPST	Deer 27c
	EXPRESSION	ngélɛ-ngá laugh-ImPST	Deer 18
	PHASE	vila -ni finish-PERF	Deer 22a
	REACTION	lo -ni want PERF	Deer 24a
	ASPECT(perfect)	yɛ -i PERF-RmPST	Deer 22a
	ASPECT(progressive)	yɛ -ni PROG-RmPST	Haale 2a
$M_{VW.F1}\backslash^{S}$	TENSE	hé -ni give-RmPST	Haale 12a
	ASPECT(perfect)	vila -ni finish-PERF	Deer 22a

The Verb Word is activated by past tense and perfect aspect. Although the C position realizes other semantic functions they do not activate this construction.

1.7.5.3 Adjective Phrase

The morphemic Adjective Phrase is composed of a central position which may occur more than once.

$$M_{AdjPh} = C^{n}:adj$$

$M_{AdjPh}\backslash S$	INTENSITY	wɔlɔ wɔ́lɔ long long	Brush 12b
$M_{AdjPh.C^{n}}\backslash S$	1. ATTRIBUTION(state)	wɔlɔ wɔ́lɔ long long	Brush 12b
	2. INTENSITY	wɔlɔ wɔ́lɔ long long	Brush 12b

1.7.5.4 Adverb Phrase

The morphemic Adverb Phrase is composed of a preceding position filled by a *nɔɔ*, a central position which can occur more than once filled by an adverb, plus a following position filled by a Postpositional Phrase.

$$M_{AdvPh} = P{:}nɔɔ + C^{n}:adv + F:\{PP\}$$

$M_{AdvPh}\backslash S$	INTENSITY	fála fala quickly quickly "very quickly"	Deer C
	TEMP LOCATION +TPROXIMITY	nɔ́ɔ fevaa just now "just now"	Deer 21
	TEMP LOCATION[3] +TDIRECTION	kpóloo ngaú sáángó háaW̃a until month three for "for three months"	Brush 21

[3]The Adverb Phrase requires more investigation. The TEMPORAL LOCATION in both the C and F positions is unusual. The adverb *kpóloo* also requires further investigation. This morpheme is usually translated 'until' but seems to be realizing approximation either temporally or spatially. *Kpóloo* can occur by itself after a verb and functions adverbally, e.g., *Ná í yéi áá lɔ́ve kpóloo*, 'When he was passing around.' The example in Brush 21 above possibly could be embedded in the PP rather than the PP embedded in the AdvPh as shown here. The example from Brush 12a, *kpóloo mbaí yɛ wɔlɔ wɔ́lɔ* 'until the rice is long', looks like a subordinate clause. More investigation needs to be made as to both the meaning and use of the morpheme *kpóloo*.

$M_{AdvPh.P\backslash S_{TPROXIMITY}}$	nóɔ feyaa just now	Deer 21
$M_{AdvPh.C^{n}\backslash S}$ 1 ATTRIBUTION	fála fala quickly quickly	Deer C
1 TLOCATION	nóɔ feyaa just now	Deer 21
1 TDIRECTION	kpóloo ngaú sáángó háaW̃a until month three for	Brush 21
2 INTENSITY	fála fala quickly quickly	Deer C
$AdvPh.F\backslash S_{TLOCATION}$	kpóloo ngaú sáángó háaW̃a until month three for	Brush 21

1.7.5.5 Complex Phrase

The Complex Phrase is composed of a preceding position filled by a Noun Phrase, Postpositional Phrase, or a Locative Phrase, plus a central position filled by a coordinating pronoun, the multi-functional relator, or *eyɛ* 'and', plus a following position filled by a noun, Noun Phrase, Complex Phrase, or Locative Phrase.

$$M_{CompPhr} = P:\{NP,PP,LocPh\} + C:\{coord\ prn,mfr,eyɛ\} + F:\{n,NP,CompPhr,LocPh\}$$

$M_{CompPhr\backslash S_{Coordination}}$	Ndɔpani ngaa Kɔli Deer REL Leopard "Deer and Leopard"	Deer 1
	ti lóyaN̄u taa híí vekaí they between theyCOORD tribe other "between them and another tribe"	Haale 2a
$M_{CompPhr.P\backslash S_{COORD\text{-}filler}}$	Ndɔpani ngaa Kɔli Deer REL Leopard	Deer 1
	ti lóyaN̄u taa híí vekaí they between theyCOORD tribe other	Haale 2a
$M_{CompPhr.C\backslash S_{COORD\text{-}FUNCTION}}$	Ndɔpani ngaa Kɔli Deer REL Leopard	Deer 1
	ti lóyaN̄u taa híí vekaí they between theyCOORD tribe other	Haale 2a

$M_{CompPhr.F}\backslash S_{COORD\text{-}filler}$ Ndɔpani ngaa Kɔli Deer 1
Deer REL Leopard

ti lóyaɲu taa híí vekaí Haale 2a
they between theyCOORD tribe other

The morphemic Complex Phrase may realize both ^{S}Coordination and ^{S}Accompaniment. The C and F positions can occur both contiguous and non-contiguous with the referent with whom the filler of F accompanies. When the referents are contiguous, and thus positions P, C, and F are all filled, the construction realizes ^{S}Coordination (see example 35 below). The mfr and *ɛyɛ* in the data studied are restricted to Complex Phrases where P is filled.

The filler which would fill P if contiguous may fill a position somewhere else in a Clause and then the C and F positions only of the Complex Phrase are filled and are found in Clause.F1. When this happens the construction realizes ^{S}Accompaniment (see examples 36 and 37 below). Example 37 has an embedded Complex Phrase in the F position. The position of the Complex Phrase in the Clause determines the semantic function it realizes in that where the referents do not occur contiguously the second referent is ^{S}ACCOMPANIMENT. The Complex Phrases are underlined in the following examples.

(35)
P C F
Offanko-ni ngaa Váani ti yɛ́-ngɔ taa lí.
Offanko-pl REL Vanni they PROG-RtPST PROG go

"Offanko and Vanni were going."

(36)
C F
Ngí liingɔ́ táa ɲu naá tiyéni
I went town in we.excl them

"I went to town with them."

(37)
C F:CompPh
Nyá lɔɔ mboolóngi wáayɛ taá kihéngi éyɛ tɔwɔí.
I COP bitterball sell they pepper and bean

"I am selling bitterball along with peppers and beans."

There is a limited set of pronouns that usually fill the CompPh.C position. These are the plural pronouns *maa* 'we inclusive', *naa* 'we exclusive', *waa* 'You plural', *taa* 'they'. They will be referred to as coordinating pronouns. These may be connecting single or plural referents together. What has been called the multi-functional relator (mfr) and the coordinating conjunction *eyɛ* are also found in this position. This mfr is homophonous with the 3S morpheme *ngaa* which matches the segmental shape of the plural pronouns just listed. However, a singular morpheme here seems out of place and none of the other singular morphemes have been found to occur in this position.

1.7.5.6 Locative Phrase

The morphemic Locative Phrase is composed of a preceding position filled by a Noun Phrase (P2), plus an another preceding position (P1) filled by a consecutive pronoun plus a central position filled by a Postpositional Phrase.

$$M_{LocPh} = P2{:}NP + P1{:}cons\ prn + C{:}PP$$

$M_{LocPh}\backslash{}^{S}$Spatial Location	kɔɔléi i ma cold it him-on "He is cold." (Literally, "Cold is on him")	Deer 4
$M_{LocPh.P2}\backslash{}^{S}$SLOCATED	kɔɔléi i ma cold it him-on	Deer 4
$M_{LocPh.P1}\backslash{}^{S}$MOOD	kɔɔléi i ma cold it him-on	Deer 4
$M_{LocPh.C}\backslash{}^{S}$SLOCATION	kɔɔléi i ma cold it him-on	Deer 4

1.7.5.7 Noun Phrase

The morphemic Noun Phrase is composed of a preceding position filled by a noun, pronoun, or Noun Phrase, plus a central position filled by a noun, demonstrative, or verb, plus an initial following position (F1) which can occur more than once filled by an adjective, an Adjective Phrase, or a noun, plus a further following position (F2) which may occur more than once filled by the clitic

morphemes *ngɔ*, *a*, or *i*, plus another following position (F3) filled by a demonstrative, plus another following position (F4) which can occur more than once filled by the clitic morphemes *tii* or *ni*, plus a further following position (F5) which may occur more than once filled by a noun. The F5 position fillers are limited to the quantifying nouns *kpɛlɛɛ* 'all', *sɔ* 'all', *fili* 'any', and *ta* 'some'.

$$M_{NP} = P1{:}\{n,prn,\ NP\} + C{:}\{n,dmstr,v\} + F1^{n}{:}\{adj,AdjPh,n\}$$
$$+ F2^{n}{:}ngɔ, a, i + F3{:}dmstr + F4^{n}{:}tii, ni + F5^{n}{:}n$$

$M_{NP}\backslash^{S}$			
	Specification	kɔɔlɛ-i cold the "the cold"	Deer 4
	Count	fáa sáangɔ́ thing three "three things"	Deer B
	Proportion	njɛpɛ-í sí sɔ́ talk -the this all "all this talking"	Deer H
	Partitive	Kɔlíi yaá Leopard hand "Leopard's hand"	Deer 27c
	Ownership	Kɔlí bámbui Leopard path "Leopard's path"	Deer 7
	Attribution	suwa walá animal big "big animal"	Deer 21
	Plurality	Bandí-a -i Bandi-pl-the "the Bandi people"	Haale 2a
	Social Relationship	ti wúlubai their leader "their leader"	Haale 27
	Kinship	ngi vóngai his relatives "his relatives"	Haale D
	Identification	tɔtɔbɛ mɔ́-i divine person-the "the diviner"	Haale 5
	Material Composition	kɔlu gó tɛi-ngí ná iron door black-the that "that black iron door"	Example 10
	Event(ACTIVITY)	ndowó mbóndai brush doing "the clearing of the bush"	Brush 4

$M_{NP.P1\backslash S}$

SPECIFICATION	máa súwai that animal "that animal"	Deer 22a
NUMBER	Fele kélei two portion "the second one"	Deer F
WHOLE	Kɔlíi yaá Leopard hand	Deer 27c
OWNER	Kɔlí bámbui Leopard path	Deer 7
[SR.REF + RANK:+]	ti wúlubai their leader	Haale 27
[Kinship.REF + RANK:+]	ngi vóngai his relatives	Haale D
IDENTIFIER	tɔtɔbɛ mɔ́-i divine person-the	Haale 5
MATERIAL	kɔlu gó tɛi-ngí ná iron door black-the that	Example 10
PATIENT	ndowó mbóndai brush doing	Brush 4

$M_{NP.C\backslash S}$

SPECIFIED	kɔɔlɛ-i cold the	Deer 4
COUNTED	fáa sáangɔ́ thing three	Deer B
TOTAL	njɛpɛí sí sɔ́ talk this all	Deer H
PART	Kɔlíi yaá Leopard hand	Deer 27c
OWNED	Kɔlí bámbui Leopard path	Deer 7
Attribution.ITEM	suwa walá animal big	Deer 21
Plurality.ITEM	Bandí-a -i Bandi-pl-the	Haale 2a
[SR.REF + RANK:-]	ti wúlubai their leader	Haale 27
[Kinship.REF + RANK:-]	ngi vóngai his relatives	Haale D
IDENTIFIED	tɔtɔbɛ mɔ́-i divine person-the	Haale 5
Material.ITEM	kɔlu gó tɛi-ngí ná iron door black-the that	Example 10
ACTIVITY	ndowó mbóndai brush doing	Brush 4

$M_{NP.F1^{n}\backslash S}$

1.ATTRIBUTION	suwa walá animal big	Deer 21
2.NUMBER	fáa sáangɔ thing three	Deer B

$M_{NP.F2^{n}\backslash S}$

1.?	fáa sáa -ngɔ thing three *	Deer B
2.PLURALITY	Bandí-a -i Bandi-pl-the	Haale 2a
3.SPECIFICATION	kɔɔlɛ-i cold the	Deer 4

$M_{NP.F3}\backslash^{S}$SPECIFICATION+PROXIMITY	njɛpɛ-í sí sɔ́ talk -the this all	Deer H
$M_{NP.F4}{}^{n}\backslash^{S}$ 1.PLURALITY	tɛ -á -tii-ni chicken-pl-pl -acc	Spider A
2.ACCOMPANIMENT	tɛ -á -tii-ni chicken-pl-pl -acc	Spider A
$M_{NP.F5}{}^{n}\backslash^{S}$PROPORTION	njɛpɛ-í sí sɔ́ talk -the this all	Deer H
	ti tá fíli tá they some any some	Haale D

An example of an expanded Noun Phrase (minus F5) is as follows:

(38)

P	C	F1	F1	F1	F2	F2	F3	F4
kɔlu	gó	tɛi	kulo	gulo	féle-	ngɔ-i	nɔ́	-tii
iron	door	black	small	small	two	-* -the	those-	pl

"those two very small black iron doors"

A morpheme although graphemically written as one word is considered a Noun Phrase when it occurs with one of the morphemes which fill the F2 or F4 positions. Example Deer 4 above displays a noun plus the clitic *-i* 'the'. These clitics attach to whatever morpheme precedes them whether it be the central constituent, an adjective, a demonstrative, or another of the morphemes found in the F2 or F4 positions.

Three of the clitic morphemes, *a*, *tii*, and *ni* have to do with plurality. The first is the general plural and is found preceded by *ng-* on the same morphemes as the definite *i* is found with it (see 1.7.4). In Kpelle there is a plural that focuses on individual items that are not found in one place versus a group of items all together (Welmers 1973:213). It is posited here that *tii* is focussing on a number of individual items. *Ni* has to do with accompaniment. It is often found on the filler of the P constituent of a Complex Phrase. However, it can occur on a noun with no additional direct reference to those accompanying. It means that there are others that are with whatever *ni* is attached to.

The meaning of *ngɔ* in F1 is unclear. It occurs prior to the SPECIFICATION on either adjectives or numbers but not on both when both occur in the NP. It does not obligatorily occur.

It may seem strange to have both verbs and nouns filling the central position of a Noun Phrase. Like Mende, Bandi has classes of words that Innes (1962) defines as neutrals. Mende has both nouns and neutrals. The neutrals can be found in the same positions as nouns and take the clitic endings. Neutrals, however, also take suffixes which nouns can not take (Innes 1962:22-23). Bandi verbs fit into this category of neutrals.

In the Noun Phrase, it is the fillers of the C and F1 positions where ICC takes place. The grammatical environment of possessed noun in a NP as explained in Section 1.6.1.1 can be expanded to include the semantic functions in NP.C where NP.P is filled. Where the strong consonant remains on the C or F constituent it can be deduced that the previous constituent has an associated missing nasal.

1.7.5.8 Postpositional Phrase

The morphemic Postpositional Phrase is composed of a preceding position filled by a verb, noun, pronoun, or Noun Phrase plus a central position filled by a postposition. A postposition is considered a Postpositional Phrase where the object of the postposition is marked with tone on the postposition.

$$M_{PP} = P{:}\{v,n,prn,NP\} + C{:}post$$

$M_{PP}\backslash^{S}$	SPATIAL LOCATION	Kɔlí bámbui ñu Leopard path in "in Leopard's path"	Deer 7
	LOGICAL LOCATION	mɛngó mbɛ eat for "for eating by him"	Deer 21
	ADDRESSEE	Ndɔpá w̃á Deer on "to Deer"	Deer 19
	BENEFICIARY	ndɔwɔlói háaw̃a country for "for his country"	Haale 12a

ACTIVITY	pɔngí wó ma cutting do on "the cutting"	Brush 7a
TEMPORAL DURATION	kúu félengɔ háaŵa time two for "for several weeks"	Brush 14b

$M_{PP.P\backslash S}$

SPATIAL LOCATED	Kɔlí bámbui ñu Leopard path in	Deer 7
LOGICAL LOCATED	mɛngɔ́ mbɛ eat for	Deer 21
ADDRESSEE	Ndɔpá ŵá Deer on	Deer 19
BENEFICIARY	ndɔwɔlɔ́i háaŵa country for	Haale 12a
ACTIVITY	pɔngí wó ma cutting do on	Brush 7a
TEMPORAL DURATION	kúu félengɔ háaŵa time two for	Brush 14b

$M_{PP.C\backslash S}$

SLOCATION	Kɔlí bámbui ñu Leopard path in	Deer 7
LOGICAL LOCATION	mɛngɔ́ mbɛ eat for	Deer 21
ADDRESSEE	Ndɔpá ŵá Deer on	Deer 19
BENEFICIARY	ndɔwɔlɔ́i háaŵa country for	Haale 12a
ACTIVITY	pɔngí wó ma cutting do on	Brush 7a
TEMPORAL DURATION	kúu félengɔ háaŵa time two for	Brush 14b

1.7.5.9 Relator Phrase

The morphemic Relator Phrase is composed of a central position filled by the multi-functional relator plus a following position filled by a noun, pronoun, demonstrative, or Noun Phrase.

This relator is the only one of its type in Bandi and is similar in use to the associate *a* and *ka* found in many Bantu languages. Mende, Loma, and Kpelle all have a similar morpheme (Welmers 1963:435). On the Sentence level, this morpheme acts as a subordinating conjunction.

$$M_{RelPh} = C{:}mfr + F{:}\{n,prn,dmstr,NP\}$$

$M_{RelPh\backslash}{}^{S}$	IDENTIFICATION	ngáa tɔɔỹaa REL truth "truth"	Deer 25b
	TEMPORAL DURATION	ngáa nyii ngɔ́felangɔ REL sleep seven "for seven nights"	Haale 22
	PRODUCT	ngáa saáỹai REL sacrifice "as the sacrifice"	Haale 15b
	INSTRUMENT	ngáa ndekpa bolóka ngɔ́felangɔ REL arrow * seven "with seven arrows"	Haale 19
	ACTIVITY	ngáa ngulú gulándai REL tree picking "with the tree picking"	Brush 13

$M_{RelPh.C\backslash}{}^{S}$	IDENTIFICATION-FUNCTION	ngáa tɔɔỹaa REL truth	Deer 25b
	TDURATION-FUNCTION	ngáa nyii ngɔ́felangɔ REL sleep seven	Haale 22
	PRODUCT-FUNCTION	ngáa saáỹai REL sacrifice	Haale 15b
	INSTRUMENT-FUNCTION	ngáa ndekpa bolóka ngɔ́felangɔ REL arrow * seven	Haale 19
	ACTIVITY-FUNCTION	ngáa ngulú gulándai REL tree picking	Brush 13

$M_{RelPh.F\backslash}{}^{S}$	IDENTIFICATION-filler	ngáa tɔɔỹaa REL truth	Deer 25b
	TDURATION-filler	ngáa nyii ngɔ́felangɔ REL sleep seven	Haale 22
	PRODUCT-filler	ngáa saáỹai REL sacrifice	Haale 15b
	INSTRUMENT-filler	ngáa ndekpa bolóka ngɔ́felangɔ REL arrow * seven	Haale 19
	ACTIVITY-filler	ngáa ngulú gulándai REL tree picking	Brush 13

An alternate analysis for the semantic realizations is that the relator *ngaa* is simply marking a more general ^{S}ASSOCIATED INFORMATION and does not itself realize all the functions listed above. The type of function that the filler of the ASSOCIATED INFORMATION is doing would be deduced from the overall context of the entire utterance.

1.7.5.10 Verb Phrase

The morphemic Verb Phrase is composed of a preceding position (P4) filled by a modal, plus a preceding position (P3) filled by a Verb Phrase, plus a preceding position (P2) filled by a

subject pronoun, plus a preceding position (P1) filled by the morphemes *belé* (NCOND) or *mɔ́lɔ* 'again', plus a central position which can occur more than once filled by a verb, Verb Word, noun, or Noun Phrase, plus a following position filled by the morpheme *naa* 'now.'

$$M_{VP} = P4{:}modal + P3{:}VP + P2{:}subject\ prn + P1{:}\{belé, mɔ́lɔ\}\ C^{n}{:}\{v,VW,n,NP\} + F{:}naa$$

At first, it may seem strange to see both verb and noun constructions in the central position of a VP. The noun constructions are used for the object. The object realizes such semantic functions as PATIENT, and COMMUNIQUE. The object is included in the VP because it comes between the pronouns which determine the verbal construction type and the main verb. If auxiliary verbs are present, the auxiliary verb comes prior to the object noun or NP followed by the main verb. The object noun or NP does not occur as the sole filler of VP.C but occurs with a verb. The central position fillers are ordered as shown in the M\S realization formulas. The object always occurs in the VP and does not occur at Clause level except when it is put in Cl.P3 as TOPIC.

$M_{VP\backslash S}$

Event(ACTIVITY)	Bɛlé ngí lí HORT I go "Let me go"	Deer A
Event(EXPRESSION)	í yé-i ndé-i He PERF-RmPST say-PERF "he had said"	Deer 25a/b
Event(PROCESS)	ngí wɔɔlé wo I warm do "(let) me warm myself"	Deer A
Event(COGNITION)	ngí yé-i kɔlɔ́ He PERF-RmPST know "I had known"	Deer D
Event(REACTION)	aa yɛ-i ló-ní HeNEG PERF-RmPST want-PERF "he had not wanted"	Deer 24a
Event(CREATION)	taá kpóngi lo náa they scaffold build now "they can build a scaffold now"	Brush 15b

$M_{VP.P4\backslash CS}$

INTENT(request)	Bɛlé ngí lí HORT I go	Deer A
INTENT(persuade)	Kɛ wáá ndɔ́wɔlɔ lɛ̂ndoi ta gúla OB you country child some destroy "You must kill a native citizen"	Haale B

$M_{VP.P3}\backslash^{S}$ ASPECT(progressive) i yé-ni áá bólu — Haale 2a
it PROG-RmPST itPROG hard

$M_{VP.P2}\backslash^{S}$ [MOOD, AGENT] áá wó — Deer 27b
itPTVE open
"it can open"

ASPECT(prog) i yé-ni áá bólu — Haale 2a
it PROG-RmPST itPROG hard

$M_{VP.P1}\backslash^{S}$ REPETITION áa mɔ́ɔ yɛ-i Ndɔpái ỹɛ-ní — Deer 20
HeNEG again PERF-RmPST Deer eat-RmPST
"again, he did not eat Deer"

LRELATION SUBSQ ngéi belé vélɛ — Deer D
INEG NCOND bend
"I would not have bent down"

$M_{VP.C^{n}}\backslash^{S}$

ASPECT(progressive) i yɛ-ni — Haale 2a
it PROG-RmPST

1.ASPECT(perfect) áa mɔ́ɔ yɛ-i — Deer 20
HeNEG again PERF-RmPST
Ndɔpái ỹɛ-ní
Deer eat-RmPST

2. PATIENT áa mɔ́ɔ yɛ-i — Deer 20
HeNEG again PERF-RmPST
Ndɔpái ỹɛ-ní
Deer eat-RmPST

COMQUE áá tɔɔỹaa háa le — Deer 27a
He truth thing say
"he spoke the truth"

ATTRIBUTION ngí wɔɔlé wo — Deer A
I warm do

CREATED taá kpóngi lo náa — Brush 15b
they scaffold build now

3. ACTION áa mɔ́ɔ yɛ-i — Deer 20
HeNEG again PERF-RmPST
Ndɔpái ỹɛ-ní
Deer eat-RmPST

PHASE Aa yé-i bélɛ víla-ni — Deer 22a
HeNEG PERF-RmPST self finish-PERF
"he had not finished the same"

EXPRESSION í yé-i ndé-i — Deer 25a/b
He PERF-RmPST say-PERF

COGNITION ngí yé-i kɔló — Deer D
He PERF-RmPST know

CHANGE ngí wɔɔlé wo — Deer A
I warm do

REACTION aa yɛ-i ló-ni — Deer 24a
heNEG PERF-RmPST want-PERF

CREATION taá kpóngi lo náa — Brush 15b
they scaffold build now

$M_{VP.F}\backslash^{S}$ TEMPORAL LOCATION yáá mɛ́ náa — Deer B
you me-eat now
"you can eat me now"

Several of the Verb Phrase positions require further explanation. The VP.P4 position is used only with the Hortatory and Obligatory verbal constructions. Although only two examples are given, the VP.P2 position can be filled by any of the subject pronouns found in Tables 4 and 5.

The Verb Phrase gets somewhat complicated when an auxiliary verbal construction is in use. The progressive and perfect aspects each activate several constructions or positions. ^{S}ASPECT(progressive) is the only function which activates VP.P3 which is filled by a VP where the C position is filled by the auxiliary *yɛ*. Thus we find one of the semantic functions in VP.C is ASPECT(progressive). There will not, however, be a morphemic VP in which both the P3 and C positions realize ^{S}ASPECT(progressive). The progressive aspect also activates the VP.P2 position which is filled by a progressive pronoun.

The perfect aspect activates the VW with VW.F filled by *ni* (see Section 1.7.5.2) and it activates VP.C1 which is filled by the auxiliary *yɛ*.

The VP.C position realizes a number of different semantic functions. ^{S}ASPECT(progressive) has already been discussed. Once it is selected in the encoding process that is all that can be selected for that VP. The semantic functions beneath it are grouped together and ordered. One of each ordered grouping may occur in a VP but they are not all required. There will always be a verb realizing one of the semantic functions in VP.C3 without which there would be no need for a Verb Phrase. The example Deer 20 includes all three of the ordered choices shown in VP.C.

1.7.5.11 Clause

The morphemic Clause is composed of a preceding position (P3) which can occur more than once filled by a demonstrative, a Noun Phrase, or a Complex Phrase, plus another preceding position (P2) filled by an adverb, noun, or Noun Phrase, plus a another preceding position (P1) filled by a demonstrative, noun, Noun Phrase, or Complex Phrase, plus a central position filled by a verb, Verb Word, or Verb Phrase, plus an initial following position (F1) which can occur more than once filled by a demonstrative, Postpositional Phrase, Noun Phrase, a Complex Phrase, or *ta*, plus

another following position (F2) filled by a pronoun or Relator Phrase, plus a further following position (F3) filled by an expletive, adverb, Adverb Phrase, or an Adjective Phrase.

A Clause in which only the central position is filled by a VP will still be considered a Clause. The F1 and F2 positions never co-occur in the texts studied, but it is possible for them to co-occur. There is other elicited data which shows that they co-occur in the order given. So at this time I have chosen to retain the three following positions rather than combining them.

$$M_{Cl} = P3^{n}:\{dmstr,NP,CompPh\} + P2:\{adv,n,NP,\} + P1\{:dmstr,n,NP,CompPhr\}$$
$$+ C:\{v,VW,VP\} + F1^{n}:\{dmstr,PP,NP,CompPhr,ta\}$$
$$+ F2:\{prn,RelPh\} + F3:\{exp,adv,AdvPh,AdjPh\}$$

$M_{Cl\backslash S}$ Existential	Ndɔpái lɔ wólɔ. Deer COP long.ago "There was a deer long ago."	Deer 2
Identification	Ngilángi lɔ ngáa sí. First-the COP REL this "The first one is this"	Deer D
Attribution	mbaí yɛ wɔlɔ wólɔ rice COP long long "the rice is very long"	Brush 12b
Spatial Location	ná néné ndɛɛñúi yéni su when yet life COP him.in "when he was yet alive"	Haale 20b
Event(EXPRESSION)	Náa baíni, That.one cried "That one cried"	Deer 10
Event(ACTIVITY)	í vélɛ Kɔlí bámbui ñu. he bend Leopard path in "he laid down in Leopard's path"	Deer 7
Event(COGNITION)	Aa yɛi kɔló. heNEG PERF know "He did not know it."	Deer 8
Event(REACTION)	aa yɛi lóni heNEG PERF want "he had not wanted"	Deer 24a
Event(PROCESS)	ngí wɔɔlɛ́ wó I warm do "(let) me warm myself"	Deer A
$M_{Cl.P3}$ $S_{PATIENT}$ / CS_{TOPIC}	sí tóɔ kɛ this they it-do "what they might do"	Haale 3b

$M_{Cl.P2}\backslash^{S}$	TEMPORAL LOCATION	Ná náa Kóli ɣéi áá lɔve . . .	Deer 9a
		When now Leopard PROG he pass . . .	
		"When now Leopard was passing . . ."	
$M_{Cl.P1}\backslash^{S}$	EXISTENTIAL	Ndɔpái lɔ wólɔ.	Deer 2
		Deer COP long.ago	
	IDENTIFIED	Ngilángi lɔ ngáa sí.	Deer D
		First-the COP REL this	
	Attribution.ITEM	mbaí ɣɛ wɔlɔ wólɔ	Brush 12b
		rice COP long long	
	SPATIAL LOCATED	ná néne ndɛɛñúi ɣéni su	Haale 20b
		when yet life COP him.in	
	SPEAKER	Náa baíni,	Deer 10
		That.one cried	
	AGENT	Ná náa Kóli ɣéi áá lɔve . . .	Deer 9a
		When now Leopard PROG he pass . . .	
$M_{Cl.C}\backslash^{S}$	Existential	Ndɔpái lɔ wólɔ.	Deer 2
		Deer COP long.ago	
	Identification	Ngilángi lɔ ngáa sí.	Deer D
		First-the COP REL this	
	Attribution	mbaí ɣɛ wɔlɔ wólɔ	Brush 12b
		rice COP long long	
	SPATIAL LOCATED	ná néne ndɛɛñúi ɣéni su	Haale 20b
		when yet life COP him.in	
	EXPRESSION	Náa baíni,	Deer 10
		That.one cried	
	ACTIVITY	í vélɛ Kɔlí bámbui ñu.	Deer 7
		he bend Leopard path in	
	COGNITION	Aa ɣɛi kɔló.	Deer 8
		heNEG PERF know	
	REACTION	aa ɣɛi lóni	Deer 24a
		heNEG PERF want	
	PROCESS	ngí wɔɔlé wó	Deer A
		I warm do	
	PHASE	Taá tókuláhei náa ngáa ngulú gúlandai.	Brush 13
		they begin now REL weed picking	
		"They begin now with picking weeds"	
$M_{Cl.F1}{}^{n}\backslash^{S}$	SPATIAL LOCATION	í vélɛ Kɔlí bámbui ñu.	Deer 7
		he bend Leopard path in	
	ADDRESSEE	i ɣɛ Ndɔpa ṽá	Deer 19
		he say Deer on	
		"he said to Deer"	
	COMMUNIQUE	nde ná hɔ́ɔ	Deer C
		say now all	
		"say all of it now"	
	LOGICAL LOCATION	i ɣɛí . . . hoúni mɛngó mbɛ	Deer 21
		he PERF . . . caught eat for	
		"He had caught . . . for eating"	
	SPATIAL LOCATION	ná néne ndɛɛñúi ɣéni su	Haale 20b
		when yet life COP him-in	
	BENEFICIARY	i bɔwɔ́ héni ndɔwɔlɔ́i háaṽa	Haale 12a
		he self gave country for	
		"he gave himself for his country"	
	ACTIVITY	Ná táa víla ndowóngi wó má	
		When 3P finish brush do on	
		"When they finish cutting the bush"	

$M_{Cl.F2\backslash}{}^{S}$

IDENTIFIER	Ngilángi lɔ ngáa sí. First-the COP REL this	Deer D
PHENOMENON	ɛi la ngáa ndaa woi ta fíli heNEG lay REL mouth word some any "he will not believe any of my words"	Deer F
PRODUCT	Kɛ wáa ndówɔlɔ léndoi ta gúla must you country child some destroy "You must kill a native citizen	Haale B
	ngáa saáya REL sacrifice as a sacrifice"	
INSTRUMENT	wú mbɔ ngáa ndekpa you him.shoot REL arrow	Haale B
	bolóka ngófelangɔ * seven "you shoot him with seven arrows"	
TEMPORAL DURATION	I kéní kambái ñu he remained grave in	Haale 22
	ngáa nyii ngófélangɔ REL sleep seven "he stayed in the grave seven nights"	
Event(ACTIVITY)	Taá tókuláhei náa ngáa ngulú gúlandai. he begin now REL weed picking	Brush 13

$M_{Cl.F3\backslash}{}^{S}$

ATTRIBUTION(ACT)	ngéi belé véle na kéi I NEG NCOND bend there at.all "I would not have laid there at all"	Deer D
ATTRIBUTION(EXPSN)	Kɔlí yélɛnga ngwála bútei Leopard laughed big really "Leopard laughed really hard"	Deer 18
ATTRIBUTION(thing)	mbaí ɣɛ wɔlɔ wólɔ rice COP long long	Brush 12b
REPETITION	Fele kélei lɔ mulɔ. Second portion COP again "Again, the second one is this."	Deer F
TEMPORAL LOCATION	Ndɔpái lɔ wólɔ. Deer COP long.ago	Deer 2

The data in these texts does not give reason to posit separate positions that are non-contiguous for the P3 and P1 positions. However, as can be seen in the following example, a noun filling the P2 position and realizing ^{S}TEMPORAL LOCATION can intervene.

(39) Sítii háa yáa ti ɣɛ
these today you them do

"These are the things you can do today."

Where something fills the P3 position, the Clause it precedes contains a pronoun also representing that item.

1.7.5.12 Sentence

The morphemic Sentence is composed of a preceding position filled by a Clause or Sentence beginning with the subordinating conjunctions *na* 'when' or 'if', *kɛbei* 'if', or *kɛkía* 'as' plus a central position filled by a Clause plus a following position which can occur more than once filled by a Clause or Sentence beginning with the subordinating conjunctions *na* 'when' or 'if', *kɛkía* 'as', *sifa* 'because', *ngáa* 'that', *kɛbei* 'if', or zero.

$$M_S = P:[1.\begin{Bmatrix} na \\ kɛbei \\ kɛkía \end{Bmatrix} + 2.\begin{Bmatrix} Clause \\ Sentence \end{Bmatrix}] + C:Cl$$

$$+ F^n:[1.\begin{Bmatrix} na \\ kɛkía \\ sifa \\ ngáa \\ kɛbei \\ 00 \end{Bmatrix} + 2.\begin{Bmatrix} Clause \\ Sentence \end{Bmatrix}]$$

$M_{S\backslash S}$

Temp Arrangement(SIMULTANEOUS) Deer 9
Ná náa Kóli yɛi áá lóve ngi bámbui ɦu, kɛ i lɛɛngá
When now Leopard PROG he pass his path in then he lift.up

ngaa Ndɔpa fuu.
REL Deer !
"Now when Leopard was passing on his path, he came upon Deer"

Temp Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL) Brush 5
Ná táa víla ndowóngi mbóndai wu, taá koonóngi yéve náa.
When they finish brush doing under they axe take now
"Whey they finish cutting the bush, they now take the axe."

Comparison(PROPOSITION) Deer 27
Ngimíla nóɔ nu fíli . . . áá wó, kɛkía nóɔ Ndɔpái
Likewise just person any . . . it open, as just Deer
"Likewise, just any person. . . it can open, as just Deer's

wumáa í wóni Kɔlíi yaá.
head it opened Leopard hand
head opened Leopard's hand (just like Deer saved himself)."

Logical Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL-condition/consequence) Deer D
Kɛbeí ngí yéi kɔlɔ́ . . . , ngéi belé véle na kéi.
If I PERF know . . . , I NCOND bend there at.all
"If I had known . . . , I would not have laid there at all."

Logical Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL-means/purpose) Haale 12
I bɔwó héni ndɔwɔlói hááw̃a, kɛinɔɔ tí paa.
he self gave country for so that they him-kill.
"He gave himself for his country, so that they could kill him."

Conversation Block Deer 16,G
Kɔlí yéi ma, "Tɔɔỹaa lɔ múlɔ yí ndénga . . ."
Leopard said him.on, Truth COP again you spoke, . . .
"Leopard said to him, 'You spoke the truth again. . . .'"

Spatial Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL) Deer A
Bɛlé ngí lí mbeindá foló hólóngí áá vu na
let me go where sun shine it put there
"Let me go where the sun shine is falling"

Event(COGNITION) Haale 3
táa yéní kɔló sí tóɔ kɛ
theyNEG PERF-RmPST know this they do
"they did not know what they might do"

Event(REACTION) Haale 2
taá yéní loní kɔí óó ti gúla
theyNEG PERF-RmPST wantPERF war it them destroy
"they did not want the war to destroy them"

Identification Haale 31
Saáỹai ná lɔ taá tóli ngáa Háalengi
sacrifice that COP they call REL Haale-the
"That sacrifice is the one they call The Haale."

$M_{S.P}$ \S Temporal Arrangement(SIMUL).SIMUL B Deer 9
Ná náa Kóli yɛi áá lóve ngi bámbui ñu, kɛ i lɛɛngá
When now Leopard PROG he pass his path in then he lift.up

ngaa Ndɔpa fuu.
REL Deer !

Temp Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL) Brush 5
Ná táa víla ndowóngi mbóndai wu, taá koonóngi yéỹe náa.
When they finish brush doing under they axe take now

Logical Arrangement(SEQ-condition/consequence).PRIOR Deer D
Kɛbeí ngí yéi kɔló . . . . , ngéi belé véle na kéi.
If I PERF know . . . , I NCOND bend there at all

\CS TOPIC Deer 25
Faa sáangɔí síi pa Ndɔpái í yéi ndeí,
thing three this come Deer he PERF-RmPST it-speak-PERF

kpélɛɛ i yɛi ngáa tɔɔỹaa.
all it COP-RmPST REL truth
"The three things Deer had spoken, all were true."

$M_{S.C}$ \S Temporal Arrangement(SIMUL).SIMUL A Deer 9
Ná náa Kóli yɛi áá lóve ngi bámbui ñu, kɛ i lɛɛngá
When now Leopard PROG he pass his path in then he lift.up

ngaa Ndɔpa fuu.
REL Deer

Temp Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL) Brush 5
Ná táa víla ndowóngi mbóndai wu, taá koonóngi yéye náa.
When they finish brush doing under they axe take now

Comparison(PROPOSITION).COMPARED PROPOSITION Deer 27
Ngimíla nóɔ nu fíli . . . áá wó, kɛkía nóɔ Ndɔpái wumáa
Likewise just person any . . . it open, as just Deer head

í wóni Kɔlíi yaá.
it opened Leopard hand

Logical Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL-cond/consequence).SUBSQ Deer D
Kɛbeí ngí yéi kɔló . . . , ngéi belé vélɛ na kéi.
If I PERF know . . . , I NCOND bend there at all

Conversation Block.QUOTATIVE Deer 16,G
Kɔlí yéi ma, Tɔɔỹaa lɔ múlɔ yí ndénga, . . .
Leopard said him.on, Truth COP again you spoke, . . .

Spatial Arrangement.SUBSQ Deer A
Bɛlɛ́ ngí li mbeindá foló hólóngí áá vu na
let me go where sun shine it put there

COGNITION Haale 3
táa yéni kɔló sí tóɔ kɛ
theyNEG PERF-RmPST know this they do

REACTION Haale 2
taá yéni loní kɔí óó ti gúla
they PERF-RmPST want-PERF war it them destroy

IDENTIFIED Haale 31
Saáyai ná lɔ taá tóli ngáa Háalengi
sacrifice that COP they call REL Haale-the

$M_{S.F\backslash S}$

Comparison(PROPOSITION).REFERENCE PROPOSITION Deer 27
Ngimíla nóɔ nu fíli . . . áá wó, kɛkía nóɔ Ndɔpái wumáa
Likewise just person any . . . it open, as just Deer head

í wóni Kɔlíi yaá.
it opened Leopard hand

Logical Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL-means/purpose).SUBSQ Haale 12
I bɔwó héni ndɔwɔlói hááw̃a, kɛínɔɔ tí paa.
he self gave country for so that they him-kill.

Conversation Block.QUOTATION Deer 16,G
Kɔlí yéi ma, Tɔɔỹaa lɔ múlɔ yí ndénga, . . .
Leopard said him.on, Truth COP again you spoke, . . .

Spatial Arrangement.PRIOR Deer A
Bɛlé ngí li mbeindá foló hólóngí áá vu na
let me go where sun shine it put there

PHENOMENON Haale 3
táa yéni kɔló sí tóɔ kɛ
theyNEG PERF-RmPST know this they do

AFFECT	Haale 2
taá yéní loní kɔí ɔ́ɔ́ ti gúla	
they PERF-RmPST want-PERF war it them destroy	
IDENTIFIER	Haale 31
Saáyai ná lɔ taá tóli ngáa Háalengi	
sacrifice that COP they call REL Haale-the	

The Sentence.P position can realize ^{CS}TOPIC as can the Clause.P3 position. The Sentence position is filled by a Clause or a Sentence and the Clause position is filled by some construction smaller than a Clause. It may seem that Sentences such as Deer 25 or the last one in Deer J should be considered a NP with a relative clause. However, there is no indication that this is any different from a normal Clause construction.

The ^{S}Identification proposition in the Sentence, where a Non-verbal construction is found in Sentence.C, is a special construction which will be referred to as topicalization. It is a more emphatic way of focussing on a particular thing than putting it in the P position as ^{CS}TOPIC. The differences in the use of these two constructions needs further examination with additional data.

Where the Sentence realizes ^{S}Identification, Clause.C of the Clause filling Sentence.C is usually filled by *lɔ* which is the same morpheme activated in a Clause level ^{S}Identification. There is one occurrence, however, in the "Deer and Leopard" text where we find the morpheme *pa* (see example 40 below). This morpheme is usually translated by Bandi translators as 'and'. But, it is found in the same position as *lɔ* and seems to be realizing ^{S}Identification also. Why *lɔ* is not used here needs further study.

(40) Sent.C:Cl Sent.F:Cl

Cl.C

Faa sáangɔ́i síi pa Ndɔpái í yéi ndéi, Deer 25
thing three this COP Deer he PERF say

"These three things are what Deer said,"

Pa is also a verb meaning 'come' in other Clauses and can have an auxiliary form in constructions stating action intended to be done in the future. There is a form of *pa* in the Logical Relator *aavɑ*. This relator may be a lexicalized Non-verbal composed of the 3S pronoun and the verb *pa*. There-

fore, instead of treating *pa* as a conjunction in the above mentioned example, it will be analyzed as a verb.

1.7.5.13 Conjunction Chain

The morphemic Conjunction Chain is composed of an initial position filled by a conjunction, plus a second position filled by a Clause or Sentence, plus a third position filled by a conjunction, plus a fourth position filled by a Clause or Sentence. The conjunction set used here is made up of *bɔw̃alale* 'because', *kɛ́* 'but', *kɛ* 'then', *aava* 'and', *faale* or *faalɔ* 'therefore', and *ngimíla* 'likewise'.

The Conjunction Chain differs from the previously described constructions in that there is no central constituent to which the other positions relate. It is simply a chain of smaller constructions connected by conjunctions.

$$M_{ConjCh} = 1.\text{:conj} + 2.\text{:}\{Cl,Sent\} + 3.\text{:conj} + 4.\text{:}\{Cl,Sent\}$$

$M_{ConjCh\backslash S}$

Logical Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL-reason/result) Deer 20
Kɔlí áá móɔ. . . bɔw̃álale i yɛi suwa walá hóuní . . .
Leopard heNEG again... because he PERF animal big caught
"Leopard did not again..because he had caught a big animal..."

Logical Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL-means/result) Deer 25
Faa sáangɔi . . . kpɛ́lɛ i yɛi ngáa tɔɔw̃aa
thing three . . . all it COP REL truth
"The three things . . . all were true

aavá nguméa í wóni.
and his-head it opened
and his head opened (he saved himself)."

Logical Arrangement(CONTRASTED) Deer B
Ndóngɔ le ngí fáa sáangɔ le í wá,
my-desire COP I thing three say you on,
"I want to say three things to you,

kɛ́ na tɛ́i yɛ́ ngáa tɔɔw̃aa . . .
but if theyNEG COP REL truth . . .
but if they are not true . . ."

$M_{ConjCh.1}$ \S Temporal Arrangement.SUBSQ
Kɛ Ndɔpá ɣéa ta, . . . Deer 13
Then Deer said *, . . .

\CS CONTRAEXPECTATION
Ké Kɔlí ɣéi ma, . . . Deer 12
But Leopard said him-on, . . .

$M_{ConjCh.2}$ \S Logical Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL).PRIOR Deer 25
Faa sáangɔi . . . kpélɛ i ɣɛi ngáa tɔɔỹaa
thing three . . . all it COP REL truth

aavá ngumáa í wóni.
and his-head it opened

Logical Arrangement.CONTRASTED Deer B
Ndóngɔ le ngí fáa sáangɔ le í wá,
my-desire COP I thing three say you on,

kɛ́ na téi ɣé ngáa tɔɔỹaa . . .
but if theyNEG COP REL truth . . .

$M_{ConjCh.3}$ \S LOGICAL RELATION.SUBSEQUENT Deer 26
Faa sáangɔi . . . kpélɛ i ɣɛi ngáa tɔɔỹaa
thing three . . . all it COP REL truth

aavá ngumáa í wóni.
and his-head it opened

\CS CONTRAEXPECTATION Deer B
Ndóngɔ le ngí fáa sáangɔ le í wá,
my-desire COP I thing three say you on,

kɛ́ na téi ɣé ngáa tɔɔỹaa . . .
but if theyNEG COP REL truth . . .

$M_{ConjCh.4}$ \S Logical Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL-means/result).SUBSQ Deer 26
Faa sáangɔi . . . kpélɛ i ɣɛi ngáa tɔɔỹaa
thing three . . . all it COP REL truth

aavá ngumáa í wóni.
and his-head it opened

Logical Arrangement.CONTRAST Deer B
Ndóngɔ le ngí fáa sáangɔ le í wá,
my-desire COP I thing three say you on,

kɛ́ na téi ɣé ngáa tɔɔỹaa . . .
but if theyNEG COP REL truth . . .

CHAPTER 2

NARRATIVE DISCOURSE IN BANDI

2.1 Introduction

Narrative discourse in Bandi can be divided into several types based on their purpose:

1. For entertainment
   a. to teach a lesson
      1) to exonerate good behavior
      2) to display undesirable behavior
   b. just for fun

2. To inform

Most folk tales fall under the first type. Those that have the purpose of teaching a moral are usually told by a story teller to children. This is often done at night, presumably after the day's work is done and it is too dark for anything else. The purpose for telling the story is to teach a lesson about the cultural values. These stories typically have animals for characters where one animal is characterized by either a good or bad quality. Each animal has certain characteristics and most Bandi people know which of the characteristics is associated with each animal.

The texts used in this study can be found in Figures 6 and 7 on pages 73-84 and in Appendix B. Readers are encouraged to familiarize themselves with these texts before continuing on.

"Deer and Leopard" is an example of a story told in praise of telling the truth and using one's intelligence to get out of a dangerous situation.

A specific type of tale is the Bandi trickster tale. This is a story where one character has been doing something morally wrong and is fooled by another character. "It graphically illustrates the personality traits which are considered undesirable and which make a character vulnerable to being deceived" (Steen n.d.:2). It is distinguished from a story like "Deer and Leopard" because in

the latter the Leopard wasn't fooled. Deer just used his head to get out of a tricky situation. The "Spider" story is a good example of a trickster tale. Here Spider is being greedy and selfish and he is exposed.

Trickster tales usually involve animal characters. This provides emotional distance from the audience. If animal characters are not used, the human character is given such a flaw that the audience wants him to be tricked (Steen 2).

While many of the folk tales are told by a story teller, anybody can tell a story that teaches a lesson. Usually the person telling the story will be older than the audience, although the story may be entertaining to adults as well. This reflects the cultural norm that older people are given respect and have the knowledge to teach.

"The Animal Skull" is such a story that can be told by anyone at anytime, usually a relevant time, to teach a lesson. This story has human characters as its main characters. There is not enough data to determine whether the character types determine who tells the story. Animal and human characters often interact in Bandi stories.

"Founding of Our Town" and "Why There are White People and Black People" are stories told just for fun and can be told by anyone. They are not believed to be true.

A story like "The Haale" can be told by anyone. It is usually told to inform someone that is not familiar with the story, often by fathers to their sons as they work on the farm. It is believed to be true. It also contains moral values but it is not told for that purpose. It is told to give an historical lesson about a Bandi hero.

The following analysis will focus on two of the narratives studied, "Deer and Leopard," a folk tale, and "The Haale," an historical narrative. These two texts were selected because of the differences in text type, in the intent of the communicator, in the use of quotations, and in structure. Reference will be made to other texts as needed.

2.2 Referent Identification

2.2.1 Charting Procedures

Figures 2-5 (pages 59-66) display two charts for each narrative. The CS/M charts show how a referent is identified in the morphemics. This chart is structured with a column for each referent. Referents only referred to several times, or with very minor participation may occur in the same column. This column also contains the hypothetical referents such as those that are used in a naming quotative but have no actual CS referent.

Under each referent is listed the morphemic data used throughout the text to identify that referent. Along side the morphemic column, there is a column indicating the ^{S}FUNCTION of the participant. Where two referents such as the Bandi people and the citizens have joined together and have the same function there is a dashed line (see Figure 3 row 12b). A column of the verbs is also charted to help reference the place within the text. Each row is identified with the same letter or number associated with that Clause as per the morphemic text trace charts in Section 2.3 (Figures 6 and 7). Quotations are shaded so that the referent system within the quotations is not confused with the storyline. These charts are used to help analyze when nouns, pronouns, or other morphemic constructions are used to identify a referent.

The CS/S chart focuses more specifically on the Semantic stratum. It shows what kind of information is used to identify a referent. Perhaps it is given a proper name, or connected to another referent within a social relationship. Again, each referent has its own column. The left most column is reserved for CS functions and S propositions. Then the appropriate ^{S}FUNCTION is indicated in the column for the referent identified by such a ^{S}FUNCTION. The last row sums up the number of references for each participant. The information in these charts helps clarify how a referent might be ranked.

2.2.2 Function Spans

Function spans are groups of semantic functions associated with one referent running vertically down the CS/M chart. Function spans are formed when the same referent continues to fill functions that belong to the same grouping of functions as identified in Table 7. In "Deer and Leopard," Deer has a primary function span running from Clause 2-8 (see Figure 2). These spans help determine if a referent is marked with a noun or pronoun and they are sometimes related to a referent's rank. Referents may switch which function group they are filling. In Bandi, semantic functions are divided into three categories: primary, secondary and tertiary. Table 7 illustrates the division.

Table 7.--Groupings of semantic functions

PRIMARY	SECONDARY	TERTIARY
AGENT SPEAKER REACTOR EXPERIENCER IDENTIFIED SLOCATED EXISTENTIAL TLOCATED	PATIENT COMMUNIQUE CREATED STIMULUS	RECIPIENT SLOCATION TLOCATION INSTRUMENT ADDRESSEE AFFECT

These categories have been divided on the basis of their relation to the action of the verb, the contrastive use of nouns and pronouns in the texts, and also where they occur morphemically. The secondary functions are realized by positions within the VP in the morphemics and the tertiary functions are realized outside and after the VP in the morphemics. The division is logical in that an ^{S}AGENT would be the focus of an action more so than the ^{S}PATIENT. These categories differ some from Fleming's lecture note divisions. She would agree that the categories must be divided by how a particular language uses them. The secondary and tertiary functions are the most difficult to divide and the above chart may not be the final decision. However, it seems to make sense with the use of these functions in the texts studied.

Social Relationship and Kinship are not listed in Table 7. They typically do not have a relationship to the verb but relate two participants to each other.

2.2.3 Morphemic Realizations

2.2.3.1 Nominal Realizations

Typically a referent's first introduction in a text is with a noun. Once known to the ^{CS}AUDIENCE a pronoun is used. The pronoun is found in the VP which fills Clause.C. There is then no overt realization in the Clause.P1 position.

(41) Ná náa Kóli yɛ́i áá lóve ngi bámbui ñu, Deer 9
When now Leopard was hePROG pass his path in

kɛ i lɛɛngá ngáa Ndɔpá fúu.
then he came upon REL Deer !

"When Leopard was passing on his path, he came upon Deer."

Nouns are used to disambiguate referents. As referents switch back and forth between function spans, nouns are used initially in each span to clarify who is doing what, i.e., which referent is now the filler of that primary function span. The quotatives in "Deer and Leopard" clearly reveal this. We see: "Leopard said," "Then Deer said," etc.

Similarly, a noun is used when a referent occurs initially in a secondary or tertiary function span. See the reference to Deer in example 41. In the previous sentence, Deer was in primary function. Now, Leopard is primary and Deer has switched to tertiary.

In the main body of "Deer and Leopard," nouns are used for the switch to the primary function of ^{S}SPEAKER, but not for the secondary function of ^{S}ADDRESSEE. There are several reasons for this. (1) Because there are only two characters in the text, once the primary function referent has been identified with a noun, the ^{S}ADDRESSEE can easily be assumed to be the other character. (2) The section of text which contains the conversation is the peak section of the text. Nouns are used less frequently at peak. (See discussion of "The Haale" in Section 2.2.3.2.) Nouns

are needed here for at least one of the function spans because both referents are third person singular. Pronouns only would be confusing.

The final quotative by Leopard gives a noun for Deer as ^{S}ADDRESSEE. This seems to put the ending bracket, so to speak, on the series of ^{S}Conversation Blocks which is also the end of the climactic section of the story.

2.2.3.2 Non-nominal Realizations

Usually after a participant is introduced, a pronoun is used throughout the rest of the function span until there is a switch in the type of function for the referent. The pronouns in a text do help the reader keep track of participants because they agree with the noun referent in person and number. However, the primary purpose of the pronoun is to determine the verbal construction type in use (see 1.7.3).

The first and third person object pronouns are realized as high or low tone on the word following the usual object position (see Table 6 in Chapter 1). There is also no ICC on the word to which the tone is attached. The pronouns are marked in the charts with H and L respectively.

An exception to the use of nouns when a referent switches function spans is found in "The Haale" Clauses 15-24 which are the peak of the story. Although there are several switches of function between Haale and the Bandi people, only the pronouns are used. It is the pronoun number that distinguishes the referents.

Pronouns are also used for hypothetical characters which do not have an actual referent in the CS situation. There are several uses in "The Haale". One is in the ^{S}Conversation Block naming Haale. Using reported speech to name Haale gives him higher rank as a character, but there is no actual referent referred to by *tɔɔ* 'they' in the example below. Reported speech is where there is a quotative and a quotation in the text.

(42) tóɔ yé ma, "Háale." Haale 11
theyHAB say on, Haale

"They used to call him Haale."

The other use realizes the primary function when the major character is not in primary function but is still the focus. This use is needed because there is not a passive construction in Bandi.

43) taá Bándiai kulani kɔí ɦu Haale 34b/b
theyNEG Bandi people destroy war in

"The Bandi people were not destroyed by war."

This example gives the conclusion to what happened to the Bandi people. It could be argued that the 3rd person plural pronoun here refers to the enemies. However, this is highly unlikely. The enemies are never given a primary function on the main line in any part of the previous text. A noun referring to them would be expected here as they have not been referred to recently.

An interesting demonstrative pronoun is used in several of the narratives. *Na* is used to refer to a referent switching from secondary or tertiary to primary function when it has just been referenced with a noun in its previous function. The vowel on *na* has been lengthened because the 3rd singular pronoun *i* 'he' has elided.

(44) ...i lɛɛngá ngaa Ndɔpá fuu. Náa bainí...Deer 9b,10
...he came upon REL Deer ! That one cried...

Another demonstrative that requires more study is *maa*. This occurs in "The Founding of Our Town" and in "The Animal Skull." It comes before the noun it refers to which is not the usual position of demonstratives. Typically a demonstrative is used by itself or following a noun. It could be the postpositional noun *ma* which has been lengthened as is typical when a postposition is used prior to something it is associated with, i.e., a compound with a verb, *maakpɔ* 'to meet together.' Whatever its origin it notifies the listener that what follows now concludes the story. It associates

the noun with the main purpose for telling the story. The following example comes from "The Founding of our Town."

(45) Maa tái laahéingi wáa ngáa Taninâñu. Founding 21
That town's name is REL Taninahun

The whole story deals with how the author's town came into being. Here is the first time the town is actually named and is in conclusion to the telling of the events leading up to the town's coming into existence.

2.2.3.3 Summary of morphemic identification

CS referent		
1.	a. Initial occurrence in text	/^{M}noun
	b. Initial in a function span	
	c. To bring major referent back into focus at the end of peak	
2.	a. Non-initial in a function span	/^{M}pronoun
	b. Peak of story even though initial in a function span	
	c. Hypothetical referent for an impersonal or passive type construction	
3.	Initial in primary span when a noun is used in the immediately preceding secondary or tertiary span	/^{M}*na*
4.	Text final to identify referent with the purpose of the story	/^{M}*maa*

	Preceding morphemes	Verbs	Deer		Leopard		Sunshine	
1		0	Ndɔpa-ni	COORD	Kɔli	COORD		
2		lɔ	Ndɔpá-i	EXTSL				
3		yɛ́i	í	TLCTD				
4		0	L	SLOC				
5	Kɛ	yɛa	i	SPKR				
A		Bɛlɛ́ li	ngi	AGT				
		vu					fólo hólo-ngi	AGT
		wó	ngí	AGT				
6	Kɛ	liingá	i	AGT				
7		vélɛ	í	AGT	Kɔlí	OWNR		
8		yɛi kɔlɔ́	aa	PRCR				
9a	Ná	yɛi lóve			Kóli,áá ngi	AGT OWNR		
9b	kɛ	lɛɛngá	Ndɔpa	PAT	i	AGT		
10		baíni	Náa	SPKR				
11		yɛ	i	SPKR	0	ADDR		
B		veleni			Yí	AGT		
		mɛ	H	PAT	yaa	AGT		
		le	H	WHOLE				
		le	ngi	SPKR	í	ADDR		
	kɛ́ na	yɛ́						
		mɛ́	H	PAT	yáá	AGT		
12	kɛ́	yɛ́i	L	ADDR	Kɔlí	SPKR		
C		nde	O	SPKR				
13	Kɛ	yɛa	Ndɔpá	SPKR	0	ADDR		
D		lɔ						
	Kɛbei	yɛ́i kɔlɔ́	ngí	PRCR				
	kɛ	lɔ			í	OWNR		

Figure 2. Referent identification CS/M--"Deer and Leopard"

Sunshine		path		truths		misc	
						Kɔɔlé-i	SLCTD
		mbeinda	SLOC				
fólo hólo-ngi	AGT						
						wɔɔlé	PAT
		Kɔlí bámbu-i	SLOC/OWND				
		ngi bámbu-i	SLOC/OWND				
						Ndóngó	PART
				faa sáangɔ	COMQUE/CNTD		
				téi tɔɔỳaa	IDFD IDFR		
				Ngilá-ngi si	IDFD IDFR		
		í bámbu-i si	IDFD/OWND IDFR				

		vélɛ	ngéi	AGT					na
14		yéi	L	ADDR	Kɔlí	SPKR			
E		O							
		kɛ	yɛi	AGT					
		le	O	SPKR					
15	Kɛ	yɛa	Ndɔpái	SPKR	L	ADDR			
F		O							
	ɛyɛ	O							
		li	ngí	AGT					
		yé	ngí	SPKR					
		yɛngɔ	naa, ni	SPKR/COORD	Kíya Kɔlí	SPKR/COORD			
		yépɛ	naa------	----------					
		la	ndaa woi	WHOLE					
16		yéi	L	ADDR	Kɔlí	SPKR			
G		lɔ							
		ndénga	yi	SPKR					
		waa							
		Nde	O	SPKR					
		ỳé	í	PAT	Ngóɔ	AGT			
17		yéi	Ndɔpá	SPKR	L	ADDR			
H		lɔ							
		kólɔ	ngí	PRCR	Kíỳa	VOCATIVE			
	kɛ	le			í líí	Att.ITEM WHOLE/PART			
	kɛbei ná	yéi			áa				
		kólɔ	ngí	PRCR					
		pu	maa------	SPKR	----------	SPKR			

Figure 2. Referent identification CS/M--"Deer and Leopard" (continued)

		na	SLOC				
				Tɔɔŷaa	IDFD		
				peka feleng-i	COMQUE/CNTD		
						Suwaitii kínɛi ti Ndóbɔ-i	SLCTD/TOTAL /SPCFD SLOC
						sii kínɛi ti táa	SLCTD/TOTAL /SPCFD SLOC
						ngilaa kêletɔ bɛlɛ	CS-TOPIC
						L	ADDR
						ɛi	PRCR
				Tɔɔŷaa	IDFR		
				ngapuma yɛle-i bɛɛ	IDFD IDFR		
				Sawa kéle-i si	IDFD/CNTD IDFR		
						njɛpɛí sí só	SPCFD /CS-TOPIC

	kɛbɛi	mɛ́nga	H	PAT	yí	AGT			
18	Kɛ	yɛ́lɛnga			Kɔlí	SPKR			
19		yɛ	Ndɔpa	ADDR	i	SPKR			
J		Wuyeyé	O	AGT					
		ii	yi	AGT					
		ndénga	yi	SPKR					
		Iɔ							
20		yɛi ỹɛní	Ndɔpá-i	PAT	Kɔlí áá	AGT			
21	bɔw̃álale	hóuni			i	AGT			
		mɛngó			L	AGT			
22a		yɛ́i vílani			aa	AGT			
22b	sífa	yɛi			koohengó i	Att.ITEM WHOLE/PART			
23a		yɛi w̃aléle			i,áá	AGT	kpókɔ holo	PAT	
23b/a		ỹɛ			i	AGT			
23b/b	na	sóuni			L	PAT			
24a	Faale	yɛi lóni			aa	RCTR			
24b1		hóu	Ndɔ́pa-i	PAT	ɔ́ɔ́	AGT			
24b2		lúva	na ɔ́ɔ́	AGT	ngeá	SLOC WHOLE/PART			
25a/a		pa							
25a/b		ndeí	Ndɔpá-i í	SPKR					
25b		yɛi							
26	aavá	woní	ngumáa i	AGT/WHOLE PART					
27a	Ngimíla	le							
27b		wó							
27c	kɛkía	wóni	Ndɔpá-i wumáa, i	AGT/WHOLE PART	Kɔlí-i yaá	SLOC/WHOLE PART			

Figure 2. Referent identification CS/M--"Deer and Leopard" (continued)

				Faa sáangó-i	IDFD/CNTD		
				tiá tɔɔỹaa	IDFD IDFR		
						suwa walá	PAT /Att.ITEM
						máa húwa-i	PAT
T							
	kpókɔ holo	PAT					
						máta-i	PAT
						ndólɛ	AGT
RT							
				Faa sáángói sii	IDFD		
				L	COMQUE		
				kpélɛɛ i tɔɔỹaa	IDFD IDFR		
				tɔɔỹaa háa	COMQUE	nu fili áá	SPKR
						ngumáa áá	AGT/WHOLE PART
E							

	Preceding morphemes	verbs	Bandi people		Citizens		other tribes	
1		0						
2a	Ná	bólu	Bandia-a ti lóyáñu	SLOC SLOC/COORD			hií vekaí	COORD/
2b		yéni loní	taá	RCTR				
2c		gúla	ti	PAT				
3a	Ké	yéni kɔlɔ́	taá	PRCR				
3b		kɛ	tóɔ	AGT				
4		wáakpóni	Tí	AGT				
5		li	tí	AGT				
6		mɔɔni	tí	SPKR				
A		kɛ gúla	taá ti	AGT PAT				
7		suu beléni						
8		yɛ	0	ADDR				
B		kɛ	wáá	AGT				
		gúla	wú	PAT				
		kɛ gúla	wáá	AGT	ndówola léndoí ta saáya	PAT QUAND IDFD		
		mbo	wú	AGT	L			
		lo			L	SLOC		
		kpólu	wú	AGT	L	PAT		
9a	Ná	híyeni	tí	AGT				
9b		sítini	tí	SPKR	ndɔwɔlɔ́ léngai	SLOC/ADDR		
10		yéni						
11		yé						
C								
12a		héni			ndɔwɔlɔ́-i	BENEF		
12b	kɛinɔɔ	páa	tí	AGT	----------	----------		
13	ké	yɛni	ti	ADDR	----------	----------		

Figure 3. Referent identification CS/M--"The Haale"

		other tribes		diviner		Haale		war		misc	
						Haalengi	GIVEN NAME				
		híí vekai	COORD/SLOC					kɔ-i, (i), áá	AGT		
								kɔí.ɔɔ	AFFECT		
								ɔɔ	AGT		
				tɔtɔbɛ mɔ́i	SLOC						
				L	ADDR						
								kɔ-í ɛí	AGT		
				tɔtɔbɛ mɔ́i i	AGT						
				i	SPKR						
								kɔ-i ɛí	AGT		
	PAT QUAND IDFD										
										ndɛkpa bɔlɔ́kangɔ́ fɛlangɔ	INSTR CNTD
	SLOC									ndɛɛhu-i	SLCTD
	PAT										
				tɔtɔbɛmái							
ɔgai	SLOC/ADDR										
						Siỹɛ ngiláa ngi	EXSTL				
						L	SLOC/ADDR			tɔ́ɔ	SPKR
						Haale	Name				
	BENEF					i bɔwɔ́	AGT PAT				
-----	----------					L	PAT				
-----	----------					i	SPKR				

D		kɛ kúla mbo	taá	AGT	----------	----------			
14		lúẅa	----------	----------	Ndɔwɔlɔ́ yélai tí	AGT			
15a	Ná	héni							
15b		kúlani	tí	AGT	----------	----------			
16		loní héi							
17		wɔ	tí	AGT	----------	----------			
18		ɛeíni	Tí	AGT	----------	----------			
19		mbɔ	tí	AGT	----------	----------			
20a		njení	tí	AGT	----------	----------			
20b	ná	yéni							
21a		lúkpe	tí	AGT	----------	----------			
21b/a	kɛkía	kɛ							
21b/b	ná	há							
22		kɛní							
23		búunɔ							
24		ha							
25a	Ná	gúlani	tí	AGT	----------	----------			
25b		kpéni	tí tí	AGT SR+	----------	----------	tí wóyɔẅɔngáitii	PAT/SR-	
26		híyeni	ti	SR+	----------	----------	ti wóyɔẅɔái	AGT	
27		yɛni					ti	SR+	
28a	Ná	vílani							
28b	kɛkía fíli	foló							
28c		kɔ	tóɔ	AGT	----------	----------			
29		hou	----------	----------	Bandiá-i kpélɛɛ tóɔ	AGT/TOTAL			
30		páa	----------	----------	Tí	AGT			

Figure 3. Referent identification CS/M--"The Haale" (continued)

					ngí	Kinship+			ngí vóngai kpɛlɛɛ	PAT Kinship-TOTAL
									tí tá fíli tá lâa	AGT/TOTAL
					Háale bówɔ	AGT PAT				
					L saáyai	PAT IDFR				
					I	AGT				
					ngí	OWNR			ngí yámbai tá-i	PAT/OWNED SLOC
					L	PAT/SLCTD			kambái	SLOC
					L	PAT			ndekpa bolókangó ɛelangɔ	INSTR CNTD
					L	PAT/SLCTD			kambái	SLOC
					L	SLOC			ndɛɛhu-i	SLCTD
					L	SLOC			pólɔ-i	PAT/SLCTD
									taá	AGT
									nuu áá	AGT
					L	AGT			kambá-i	SLOC
					áá	SPKR				
					óó	AGT				
					saáyai sí	PAT/SPCFD				
	tí wóycwɔngáitii	PAT/SR-								
	tí wóycwɔái	AGT								
	tí	SR+							Tí wúlubai Masangí Mbagúlomɛ	IDFD/SR-IDFR/TITLE
							kɔ-í	AGT		
					Haale	OWNR			páa sówɔ-i ɔɔ	AGT/Asso.RANK
					L	PAT				
AL									nika lɛí-ngí	PAT/Att.ITEM
					Háale	Asso.RANK-			L Haale kámba-	PAT SLOC/OWND

31a		lɔ							
31b		tóli							
32	Fowó fíli	waakpɔ	nuu wâla wâla-i kpéle tɔ́ɔ	AGT/Att.ITEM TOTAL					
33		li	tí	AGT					
34a	bɔwalále	lɔ							
34b/a		kéni							
34b/b		kulani	Bándiá-i	PAT					

Figure 3. Referent identification CS/M--"The Haale" (continued)

					Saáya-i na	IDFD/SPCFD				
					Háale-ngi	IDFR			taá	SPKR
					Háale	OWNR			Háale kóma-i	SLOC
					laá	IDFD				
					1	AGT				
							ko-í	INSTR	taá	AGT

inued)

CS-Communication Incident	Deer	Leopard	Sunshine	path	truths	misc cold,warm desire, hunger animal
CS-Comm Incid FUNC 3 not COMM or AUD 2 AUD 1 COMM + Dir Quote Indir +QUOTATIVE Indir -QTVE formula	 3 5	 4 3				
CS TOPIC					Faa sáangɔi sii kpɛlɛɛ	ngilaa kéletɔ njɛpɛ-í sí sɔ
S-CLASS CLASS NAME PROPER NAME TITLE	animal ndɔpa Ndɔpa	animal Kɔli Kɔli Kíya	sunshine foló holóngi	path bámbu-i	truths tɔɔyaa	
S-Social Relationship		RANK-				
S-Partitive	WHOLE WHOLE/PART	WHOLE/PART				PART WHOLE/PART
S-Ownership		OWNR		OWND		
S-Attribution		Att.ITEM				Att.ITEM
S-Quantification/ Proportion						TOTAL
S-Count					CNTD	
S-Spat Location	SLOC:ma	SLOC:ngea		SLOC: Kɔlí bámbui-i ñu mbeinda,na		SLCTD: kɔɔlé-i Suwaitii SLOC: Ndóbɔ-i táa hu
S-Specification +PROXIMITY				SPCFD: si	SPCFD: Sii	SPCFD:sii njɛpɛ-í sí
S-Identification				IDFD IDFR	IDFD IDFR	IDFD: Ndóngɔ
S-Existential	EXSTL					
S-Coordination	COORD	COORD				
S-Event FUNCTION	TLCTD,SPKR, PRCR, AGT PAT,ADDR	SPKR,AGT, RCTR,PAT ADDR	AGT,PAT		COMQUE	PAT,ADDR AGT,SPKR PRCR
S-Proposition FUNCTION Primary Secondary Tertiary	 34 11 1	 23 3 4	 1 1	 1 4	 11 3	

Figure 4. Referent identification CS/S--"Deer and Leopard"

CS-Communication Incident	Bandi people	Citizens	other tribes	diviner	Haale/sacrifice
CS Comm Incid FUNC 3 not COMM or AUD 2 AUD 1 COMM + Dir Quote Indir +QUOTATIVE Indir -QTVE formula	 2 2	 2	 	 1 1	 1 1
S-CLASS CLASS NAME PROPER NAME	human nuu Bandia-í	human ndɔwɔlɔ lendoi	human hii vekai wɔyɔwangaitii	human tɔtɔbɛmɔ-i	human siỹɛ ngilaa /saaya-i Haale/Haalengi
S-Social Relationship	RANK+		RANK- RANK+		
S-Affiliation		REF+AFF			
S-Kinship					RANK +
S-Association					RANK-
S-Ownership					OWNR
S-Attribution	Att.ITEM				
S-Quantification/ Proportion	TOTAL	TOTAL			
S-Count					
S-Spat Location /M n + post	LOCATION: -Bandiaị nda ti lóyáhu -su		LOCATION: taa híi vekaí	LOCATION: -tɔtɔbɛ mói yelé -tɔtɔbɛ mai	LOCATED LOCATION: su ma
S-Specification +PROXIMITY					SPCFD:saaya-i saáya-i si saáya-i na
S-Identification		IDFD IDFR as saáya			IDFD:laa,saạya-i- IDFR:saaya-i Háale-ngi
S-Existential					EXSTL: siỹɛ ngiláa
S-Coordination	COORDINATE ti lóyáhu		COORDINATE: taa híi vekaí		
S-Event FUNCTION	RCTR,PAT,PRCR SPKR	PAT,ADDR,BENEF	PAT,AGT	ADDR,AGT,SPKR	ADDR,AGT,PAT SPKR
S-Proposition FUNCTION Primary Secondary Tertiary	 26 4 2	 12 4 1	 1 1 1	 2 1 2	 13 10 2

Figure 5. Referent identification CS/S--"The Haale"

liviner	Haale/sacrifice	war	arrows	grave	relatives	town, chief cow, enemy life, mud generic people
l l	1 1					1
uman tɔtɔbɛmɔ-i	human siỹc ngilaa /saaya-i Haale/Haalengi	war kɔ-i	arrows ndekpa bolóka	grave kamba-i	human vónga-i	misc: human wúluba-i Masangi Mbagulome
						RANK-
	RANK +				RANK -	
	RANK-					RANK+
	OWNR			OWND		
						Att. ITEM
					TOTAL	
			CNTD			
LOCATION: -tɔtɔbɛ mói yelé -tɔtɔbɛ mai	LOCATED LOCATION: su ma			LOCATION: kambá-i la kambá-i hu		LOCATED: ndɛchú-i pólɔ-i LOCATION: ta-i liiwaa bándo-i volú
	SPCFD: saaya-i saáya-i si saáya-i na					
	IDFD: laa, saaya-i- IDFR: saaya-i Háale-ngi					IDFD: ti wúluba-i IDFR: Masangi Mbagúlome
	EXSTL: siỹc ngiláa					
ADDR, AGT, SPKR	ADDR, AGT, PAT SPKR	AGT, AFFECT INSTR	INSTR	PAT	PAT, AGT	SPKR, PAT, AGT
2 1 2	13 10 2	5 1 1	3	1 3	1 1	9 3 1

2.2.4 Referent Ranking

There are several ranks of referents in Bandi discourse narrative. The ranking can be determined by the way a participant is introduced and the type and number of activities associated with it.

2.2.4.1 Major participants

There may be several rankings of major participants. The most important are introduced with an ^{S}Existential which may have additional constituents of TEMPORAL and SPATIAL LOCATION.

(46) Ndɔpái lɔ wɔ́lɔ́, i ɣɛ́i na. Deer 2-3
Deer COP long ago, he COP there

"There was a deer long ago."

(47) Siỹɛ ngiláa ngí ɣɛ́ni na. Haale 10
man one he COP there

"There was one man."

It is interesting to note that the second example above from "The Haale" does not occur until Clause 10. Typically the highest ranked major participant is introduced at the beginning of the text. However, Haale is clearly the topic of the text as we look at the title and the conclusion.

Another indication of rank is whether or not the referent is given a name. In both "The Founding of Our Town" and "The Haale," the major referent is named with reported speech in a ^{S}Conversation Block (Founding 4 and Haale 11). It is important to distinguish those named in this way and those named in another manner. For example, the chief of the enemies in "The Haale" is also given a name. But his name is given only in a ^{S}Name proposition in relation to the enemies who are mentioned in relation to the Bandi people (Haale 27). It is not within a ^{S}QUOTATION. The sacrifice of Haale is also named with a quotation but it is indirect.

Both Haale and the sacrifice are put into topicalized forms in Clauses 31 and 33. "That sacrifice is the one they call the Halengi." And, "he is the one who made it possible for the Bandi people not to be destroyed in the war."

The number of times a referent is referred to by noun or name can be an indication of rank. Haale's name is used 5 times in addition to the actual naming of him. One time he is in the S_{AGENT} function. The other times, in relation to the sacrifice. He is closely identified with the sacrifice, he, being the sacrifice, so he receives that nominal identification as well.

Other major participants are introduced with nouns which may realize various semantic functions. They can be found in subordinate Clauses, in Noun Phrases, and in Postposition Phrases.

(48) Ná náa Kóli yɛ́i áá lóve,... Deer 9a
When now Leopard was hePROG pass

(49) Na wólɔ́ kɔí yɛ́ni áá bólu Bandíai nda,...
When long ago war was itPROG hard Bandi people on Haale 2a

Their role in the story helps differentiate them from minor participants. It is clear by their interaction with the other main character that they are also major participants. Deer is the protagonist of "Deer and Leopard" and Leopard is the antagonist and thus the lesser rank but still a major character. The Bandi people in "The Haale" are in primary function more than any other character--26 times. They must perform the deeds on Haale.

We are first aware of Leopard by his mention in a Noun Phrase telling where Deer laid. It is used here not to introduce the character so much as to foreshadow trouble ahead.

The number of times a referent is referred to can give a clue to its ranking. Deer has 47 references while Leopard has 31. In "The Haale," the Bandi people have more references than Haale but he outranks them by virtue of the Existential, the direct quotation to give him a name,

and his singular concrete reference as opposed to the plural group reference of the entire group of people.

Another indicator of rank among referents occurs in "Deer and Leopard." The main part of the text is a series of ^{S}Conversation Blocks. Deer's quotations are longer and more complex than those of Leopard. See Table 8 for an abstract of the Conversation Blocks.

Table 8.--Quotations in "Deer and Leopard"

Reference	# of Sentences	# of Clauses
5 He(Deer) said...	1	3
11 That one(Deer)cried	3	6
13 Deer said	2	4
15 Deer said	2	8
17 Deer said	3	7
TOTAL	11	28
12 Leopard said	1	1
14 Leopard said	2	3
16 Leopard said	3	5
18 Leopard laughed	0	4
TOTAL	8	13

Whether a referent is allowed to be the ^{CS}COMMUNICATOR and/or ^{CS}AUDIENCE can also be a clue to ranking. In "The Haale," only the Diviner and Haale are allowed the formulaic quotative *i yɛ ta/ma* 'he said.' The diviner, while not having a long appearance in the story, is key to solving the Bandi people's problem on how to end the war. He is also a highly respected and feared person in the Bandi culture. His quotation is the only direct quotation in the story. The reason for its being direct is not so much rank as it is the Inciting Moment of the plot, getting the story going.

Haale's ^{S}QUOTATION (Haale 13) is in indirect form. The pronouns referring to the ^{S}ADDRESSEEs are in the 3rd person. Whether the quotation is direct or indirect in this text does not seem to be related to rank.

The Bandi people's speech act is realized in an indirect quotation (Haale 6) and no quotative formula using *yɛ* 'speak'. More discussion of the quotatives can be found in Section 2.4.5.

Other referents, while not visible in the CS stratum, can be given a high ranking. This is evident with the idea of truth and the things Deer said. While truth is not really a referent on the CS stratum, it is given a fairly high ranking by its being referenced with a number of different nouns and it has 11 primary function references.

2.2.4.1.1 Summary of Major participants

1. Introduced with an existential.
2. Introduced by naming in reported speech.
3. Used in a topicalized construction.
4. Several different nominal references.
5. Used in primary function spans to a great extent and, in addition, used in other function spans.
6. Total number of references is many in relation to other referents.
7. Allowed to be the ^{CS}COMMUNICATOR or ^{CS}AUDIENCE.
8. Complexity of the quotations by that participant.

2.2.4.2 Minor Participants

There are no minor participants in "Deer and Leopard" other than inanimate objects which, aside from the major emphasis on truth, have little more to do in the story than provide ^{S}SPATIAL LOCATION.

In "The Haale," there seems to be a blurred distinction between the Bandi people who went to the diviner and the citizens to whom they relayed the solution. It seems that at the point Haale gives himself to be sacrificed, the two groups come together as one under *ndɔwɔlɔ́i* 'the country'. So instead of the citizens having a lesser role in the story, they are major participants.

The enemies, their chief, and Haale's relatives are only mentioned in connection to other major referents. The enemies are first mentioned in a coordinating phrase at the beginning. If they were accorded equal status, another method of coordination would have been used. As it is, they are associated to the war in connection with the Bandi people.

(50)	ti	lóɣaĥu	taa	híi	vekaí	Haale 2a
	their	between	they.and	tribe	other	
	(Bandi)		(Bandi)			

Rather than something like:

(51)	Bandiaitii	ɛyɛ	híi	vekaí
	Bandi people	and	tribe	other

Minor participants are not given the roles of ^{CS}COMMUNICATOR or ^{CS}AUDIENCE. The other tribes and the relatives in "The Haale" are only talked about and not to.

2.2.4.2.1 Summary of Minor participants

1. Introduced in relation to a major character.
2. Only secondary or tertiary functions, perhaps very minimally a primary function.
3. Not ^{CS}COMMUNICATOR or ^{CS}AUDIENCE.

2.2.4.3 Summary of rank

Factors determining rank	referent
1. EXSTL, TOPIC, NAME	Haale/sacrifice
2. primary function, many references	Bandi's/citizens
3. Event Participants	diviner, war
4. Social Relationships	enemies, relatives
5. SLOC, INSTR, PAT	grave, cow, arrows sacrifice

The characters in "The Haale" can be ranked in the order listed above. The first three are considered a major ranking and the fourth and fifth, a minor ranking.

The sacrifice becomes rank-shifted to a major referent after Haale dies because it realizes ^{CS}TOPIC and is found in a topicalized construction. Haale and the sacrifice are the main focus throughout the story and are associated almost as one referent item.

The direct quotation for the diviner and his major role, not only in the story but in the culture as a whole, gives him a fairly high rank. He could be considered one of the major participants.

The other participants are merely circumstantial or are only mentioned in connection with other participants.

2.3 Morphemic Text Trace

2.3.1 Introduction

The purpose of the morphemic trace is to determine the basic structures that form the text. "Each genre that is contrastive in a language has structures that are contrastive" (Fleming lecture notes). The structures not only predict genre, but may also tell us something about the author. There is not enough data in this study to contrast authorship, but an attempt will be made to contrast the various genres studied.

Basic morphemic constructions have been described in chapter one. Only where there are differences in those structures will they be noted here.

2.3.2 Charting Procedures

The morphemic text traces displayed in Figures 6 and 7 (pages 73-84) are numbered according to the independent morphemic constructions. Clauses, dependent or independent, which are related to each other in a Sentence construction are indicated with a number and a letter (e.g., Haale 2a, 2b).

The text trace charts contain all Clauses despite their status as to dependent or independent. Quotations are also charted but the rows are shaded so as to distinguish them from the event line. Quotations are indicated by a capital letter rather than a number.

	Semantic FUNCTIONS	CS-TOPIC	TLOC APPROX	AGENT REACTOR ATTRIB(state) TLOCATED IDENTIFIED SPEAKER ADDRESSEE Att.ITEM EXSTL	COGNITION REACTION PROCESS EXPRESSION ACTION
	Cl=	P3:NP, LocPh	P2:adv	P1:n,NP, CompPh	C:v,VW,VP
	Non-clausal constructions				
1	Ndɔpani Ndɔpa-ni deer and.others Ngaa Kɔli. Ngaa Kɔli REL leopard				
2				Ndɔpái ndɔpá-i deer -the	lɔ lɔ COP
3					í yɛ́i í yɛ -i he COP-RmPST
4	kɔɔlɛ́i kɔɔlɛ́-i cold -the i ma, i Ø -ma it him-on				
5	kɛ kɛ then				i yɛa i yɛ -a he say-ImPST
A	mbeindá mbeindá where			fólo hólóngî fólo hólo -ngi sun shine-the	˜Bɛlɛ́ ngí lí Bɛlɛ́ ngi lí HORT I go áá vu áá pu it put
					ngí wɔɔlɛ́ wó ˜ ngí wɔɔlɛ́ mbó I warm do
6	Kɛ Kɛ then				i liingá i ndi-ngá he go -ImPST
7					í vɛ́lɛ í vɛ́lɛ he bend
8					aa yɛi kɔl aa yɛ -i kɔl heNEG PERF-RmPST knc
9a	Ná Ná when		náa náa now	Kóli Kóli leopard	(i) yɛ́i áá l yɛ -i áá l he PROG-RmPST he pa

Figure 6. Morphemic text trace--"Deer and Leopard"

ɔGNITION REACTION ROCESS XPRESSION CTION	SLOCATION LLOCATION ADDRESSEE COMMUNIQUE	IDENTIFIER PHENOMENON	TLOCATION REPETITION ATTRIB(ACT) ATTRIB(EXPSN) F3:exp,prn,	Free Translation
:v,VW,VP	F1:PP,dmstr,ta	F2:RelPh,prn	F3:adv,AdvPh	
				Deer and Leopard
lɔ lɔ COP			wɔ́lɔ́ kpɔ́lɔ long	There was a deer long ago who was cold.
í yɛ́i í yɛ -i he COP-RmPST			na na there	
i yɛa i yɛ -a he say-ImPST	ta, ta •			
"Bɛlɛ́ ngí lí Bɛlɛ́ ngí lí HORT I go áá vu áá pu it put	 na na there			Then he said, "Let me go where the sunshine is falling. I can warm myself there."
ngí wɔɔlɛ́ wó " ngí wɔɔlɛ́ mbó I warm do				
i liingá i ndi-ngá he go -ImPST				Then he went and laid down in
í vɛ́lɛ í vɛ́lɛ he bend	Kɔlí bámbui ɦu, Kɔlí bámbu-i su leopard path-the in			Leopard's path, but he didn't know (it was Leopard's path).
aa yɛi kɔlɔ́. aa yɛ -i kɔlɔ́ heNEG PERF-RmPST know				
(i) yɛ́i áá lɔ́ve yɛ -i áá lɔ́ve he PROG-RmPST he pass	ngi bámbuí ɦu, ngi bámbu-í su his path -the in			Now when Leopard was passing on his path, he came upon Deer. !

9b	kɛ kɛ then				i lɛɛngá i lɛ -ngá he lift.up-ImPST
10				Náa Náa that.one	(i) baíní, bai-ní he cry-RmPST
11					i yɛ i yɛ he say
B					˜Yí véleni Yí véle-ní you beg -RmPST
					yaa mɛ́. yaa Ŋ -mɛ youNEG me-eat
				Ndóngɔ́ Ŋ -ndo -ngɔ́ɔ my -desire-*	le le COP
					ngí fáa sáángɔ le ngí fáa sáá -ngɔ I thing three-*
	ké ná ké ná but if				téi yɛ téi yɛ theyNEG COP
					yáá mɛ́ náa.˜ yáá Ŋ-mɛ náa you me-eat now
12	Ké Ké but			Kɔlí Kɔlí leopard	yɛ́i yɛ -i say-RmPST
C	˜Áva. Ava ok				nde ná nde ná say-now
13	Kɛ Kɛ then			Ndɔpá Ndɔpá deer	yɛ́a yɛ -a say-ImPST
D				˜Ngilángi ngilá-ngi one -the	lɔ lɔ COP
	Kɛbei Kɛbei if				ngí yɛ́i kɔlɔ́ ngí yɛ -i kɔlɔ́ I PERF-RmPST know
	ngáa kɛ ngáa kɛ that then			i bámbuí hu i bámbu-i su your path -the in	lɔ lɔ COP
					ngɛ́i belé vɛ́lɛ ngɛ́i belé vɛ́lɛ INEG NCOND bend
14				Kɔlí Kɔlí leopard	yɛ́i yɛ -i say-RmPST

Figure 6. Morphemic text trace--"Deer and Leopard" (continued)

	i lɛɛngá i lɛ -ngá he lift.up-ImPST		ngáa Ndɔpá ngáa Ndɔpá REL deer	fúu. fúu !	
	(i) baíní, bai-ní he cry-RmPST				
	i yɛ i yɛ he say	ta, ta *			That one (Deer) cried and said, "I beg you please don't eat me.
	Yí vélení Yí véle-ní you beg-RmPST			kâi kâi please	
	yaa mɛ́. yaa Ṋ -mɛ youNEG me-eat				
	le le COP				I want to say three things to you.
	ngí fáa sáángɔ́ le ngí fáa sáá -ngɔ I thing three-*	í wá í ma you on			
	téi yɛ téi yɛ theyNEG COP		ngáa tɔɔ̀yaa, ngáa tɔɔ̀yaa REL truth		But if they are not true, then you can eat me.
	yáá mɛ́ náa." yáá Ṋ-mɛ náa you me-eat now				
	yɛ́i yɛ -i say-RmPST	ma, Ṋ-ma him-on			And Leopard said, "OK, tell me all now quickly."
	nde ná nde ná say now	hɔ́ɔ sɔ́ɔ all		fála fala." fála fala quickly quickly	
	yɛ́a yɛ -a say-ImPST	ta, ta *			Then Deer said, "The first one is this.
	lɔ lɔ COP		ngáa sí. ngáa sí REL this		
	ngí yɛ́i kɔlɔ́ ngí yɛ -i kɔlɔ́ I PERF-RmPST know				If I had known
hu su in	lɔ lɔ COP		ngáá sí, ngáá sí REL this		that this was your path, I would not have laid down here at all."
	ngɛ́i belé vɛ̂lɛ ngɛ́i belé vɛ̂lɛ INEG NCOND bend	na na there		kéi." kéi at all	
	yɛ́i yɛ -i say-RmPST	ma, Ṋ-ma him-on			Leopard said, "True, you wouldn't have done it."

E	Tɔɔŷaa. Tɔɔŷaa true				yɛ́i belé kɛ. yɛ́i belé kɛ youNEG NCOND do	
	Ava Ava ok				peka féléngɔ́i peka féle-ngɔ́-i other two -* -the le ná.” nde ná say now	
15	Kɛ Kɛ then			Ndɔpái ndɔpá-i deer -the	yɛa yɛ -a say-ImPST	N- hi
F				“Fele kélɛ́i Fele kélɛ́ -i two portion-the	lɔ lɔ COP	
		Suwaitii suwa -a -i -tii animal-pl-the-pl kinɛi kinɛi all tí ndɔ́bɔí ĥu tí ndɔbɔ-i su they bush -the in ɛ́yɛ sii kinɛ́i ɛ́yɛ sii kinɛ́i and this all tí táa ĥu, tí táa su they town in --- ngilaa kéléto ngiláa kéléto one even			bɛ́lɛ ngí li bɛ́lɛ ngi li HORT I go	
					ngí yɛ́ ngi yɛ́ I say	N- hi
				“Naa Kíŷa Kɔlí, naa Kíŷa Kɔlí I.and uncle leopard	ni yéngɔ háa ni yɛ-ngɔ́ háa we.excl PROG-RtPST today naa yɛ́pɛ, naa njɛ́pɛ we.excl talk	
					ɛi la ɛi nda heNEG lay	
16				Kɔlí Kɔlí leopard	yɛ́i yɛ -i say-RmPST	N n
G				“Tɔɔŷaa Tɔɔŷaa truth	lɔ lɔ COP	

Figure 6. Morphemic text trace--"Deer and Leopard" (continued)

yéi belé kɛ. yéi belé kɛ youNEG NCOND do					
peka féléngói peka féle-ngó-i other two -* -the le ná." nde ná say now					Ok, say the other two now."
yɛa yɛ -a say-ImPST		ma, Ŋ-ma him-on			Then Deer said, "The second one is again this.
lɔ lɔ COP				mulɔ. mulɔ again	
bélɛ ngí li bélɛ ngí li HORT I go					All the animals in the bush and all those in town, let me go and say to one of them, 'Uncle Koli and I, we were talking today,' he will not believe my words."
ngí yé ngí yé I say		ma, Ŋ-ma him-on			
ni yéngɔ háa ni yɛ-ngó háa we.excl PROG-RtPST today naa yépɛ. naa njépɛ we.excl talk					
ɛi la ɛi nda heNEG lay			ngáa ndaa woi ngáa ndaa wo-i REL mouth do-the ta fíli." ta fíli some any		
yéi yɛ -i say-RmPST		ma, Ŋ-ma him-on			Leopard said,
lɔ lɔ COP				múlɔ múlɔ again	"You spoke the truth again. Ok, the last one is what?"

					yi ndéngə. yi ndé -ngə you speak-ImPST	
	ava ava ok			ngapúma yelei ngapúma kele -i last portion-the	wáa mbáa COP	
					Nde Nde say	
					ngɔ́ɔ́ belé i yɛ- ngɔ́ɔ́ belé i mɛ I NCOND you eat	
17				Ndɔpá Ndɔpá deer	yéi náa yɛ -i náa sayRmPST now	
H				"Sawa kéléi Sawa kélé -i three portion-the	lɔ lɔ COP	
	Kíya. Kiya uncle				ngí kólɔ ngí kólɔ I know	
	ngáa kɛ ngáa kɛ that then			i líí léingɔ i ndí -i téi-ngɔ your heart-the cold-"	le le COP	
	Kɛbei Kɛbei if		ná ná now		áa yéi áa yɛ-i itNEG COP-the	
					ngí kólɔ ngí kólɔ I know	
	ngáa ngáa that	njɛpɛi si só njɛpɛ-i si só talk-the this all	háa háa today		máa pu. máa pu we put	
	kɛbei kɛbei if				yi méngá-" yi N- mɛ -ngá you me- eat-ImPST	
18	Kɛ Kɛ then			Kɔlí Kɔlí leopard	yélɛngá ngélɛ-ngá laugh-ImPST	
I	há-há-a. há há ha ha					
19					i yɛ i yɛ he say	
J					"Wuyeyé Wuyeyé get.up	
					yí lí. yi lí you go	

Figure 6. Morphemic text trace--"Deer and Leopard" (continued)

yí ndénga. yi ndé -nga you speak-ImPST				
wáa mbáa COP		bɛɛ? bɛɛ what		
Nde Nde say			fála fala fála fála quickly quickly	Say it quickly, or else I will eat you."
ngɔ́ɔ́ belé i yɛ́." ngɔɔ belé i mɛ́ I NCOND you eat				
yɛ́i náa yɛ -i náa sayRmPST now	ma, Ŋ -ma him-on			Deer now said, "The third one is this.
lɔ lɔ COP		ngáá si. ngáá si REL this		
ngi kɔ́lɔ ngi kɔ́lɔ I know				Uncle, I know that your heart is cold (black) today. (which is to say,
le le COP			háa háa today	"I know that your stomach is full.")
áa yɛ́i áa yɛ-i itNEG COP-the		lá, lá with.it		If now it were not true,
ngi kɔ́lɔ ngi kɔ́lɔ I know				I know all the talking we are doing.
máa pu. máa pu we put				
yí méngá." yi Ŋ- mé -ngá you me- eat-ImPST				you would have eaten me."
yélɛngá ngélɛ-ngá laugh-ImPST			ngwála bútéi, ngwála bútéi much really	Then Leopard laughed really hard, "Ha,ha"
i yɛ i yɛ he say	Ndɔpa wá Ndɔpa má Deer on			He said to Deer, "Get up and go!"
"Wuyeyé Wuyeyé get.up				
yí lí. yi lí you go				

		Faa sáángɔ́i Faa sáa -ngɔ́-i thing three-* -the síi kpélɛɛ síi kpélɛɛ this all			yi ndénga. yi Ŋ -ndé -nga you it-speak-ImPST	
					tiâ lɔ tiâ lɔ they COP	
20				Kɔlí Kɔlí leopard	áá mɔ́ɔ yɛi áá mɔlɔ yɛ -i heNEG again PERF-RmPST Ndɔpái ỹɛní. ndɔpá-i mɛ -ní deer -the eat-PERF	
21	bɔwálale bɔwálale because				i yɛi i yɛ -i he PERF-RmPST suwa walá hóuní suwa ngwalá sóu -ní animal big catch-PERF	mɛngó mɛ -ngó eat-*
22a					Aa yɛ́i Aa yɛ -i heNEG PERF-RmPST bélé vílaní bélé víla -ní self finish-PERF	máa máa that.one wa, ma on
22b	sífa sífa because			koohengó koohe -ngó stomach.full-*	i yɛi náá i yɛ -i náá it COP-RmPST now	
23a					I yɛi náa I yɛ -i náa he PROG-RmPST now áá kpókɔ hólo walélɛ áá kpókɔ hólo malélɛ he evening sun wait	
23b /a	ngáa ngáa that				í mátaí ỹɛ, í máta -í mɛ he remainder-the eat	
23b /b	ná ná when			ndólɛ ndólɛ hunger	áá yɛ́ sóuní. áá yɛ́ Ŋ -sóu -ní it PERF him-catch-PERF	
24a	Faale Faale thing.is				aa yɛi lóní aa yɛ -i ndó -ní heNEG PERF-RmPST want-PERF	
24b /1					ɔ́ɔ́ Ndópai hóu. ɔ́ɔ́ ndópa-i hóu he deer -the catch	
24b /2				ná ná that.one	ɔ́ɔ́ lúva ɔ́ɔ́ lúva he stay	ngeá. Ŋ -nge his-ha
25a /a				Faa sáangɔi síi faa sáa -ngɔ-i síi thing three-* -the this	pa pa come	

Figure 6. Morphemic text trace--"Deer and Leopard" (continued)

yí ndéngə, yí Ɲ -ndé -ngə you it-speak-ImPST				These three things you spoke are all truth.
tiá lɔ tiá lɔ they COP		ngáa tɔɔỹaa. ngáa tɔɔỹaa REL truth		
áá móɔ yɛi áá mɔlɔ yɛ -i heNEG again PERF-RmPST Ndɔpái ỹɛní, ndɔpá-i mɛ -ní deer -the eat-PERF				Leopard had not again eaten deer because he had already just caught and eaten some big animal.
i yɛi í yɛ -i he PERF-RmPST suwa walá hóuní suwa ngwalá sóu -ní animal big catch-PERF	mɛngó mbɛ mɛ -ngó mbɛ eat-* for		nóɔ feyaa. nóɔ feyaa just now	
Aa yɛ́i Aa yɛ -i heNEG PERF-RmPST bélé vílaní bélé víla -ní self finish-PERF	máa húwáí máa súwa -í that.one animal-the w̃a, ma on			He had not even finished that animal because his stomach was now full.
i yɛi náá í yɛ -i náá it COP-RmPST now		lá. lá with.it		
I yɛi náa I yɛ -i náa he PROG-RmPST now áá kpókɔ hólo w̃alélɛ áá kpókɔ hólo malélɛ he evening sun wait				He was now waiting till evening to eat the remainder when he got hungry.
í mátaí ỹɛ, í máta -í mɛ he remainder-the eat				
áá yɛ́ sóuní. áá yɛ́ Ɲ -sóu -ní it PERF him-catch-PERF				
aa yɛi lóní aa yɛ -i ndó -ní heNEG PERF-RmPST want-PERF				Therefore, he did not want to catch Deer and keep him.
ɔ́ɔ́ Ndɔ́pai hóu, ɔ́ɔ́ ndɔ́pa-i hóu he deer -the catch				
ɔ́ɔ́ lúva ɔ́ɔ́ lúva he stay	ngeá. Ɲ -ngeá his-hand			
pa pa come				And the three things Deer said, all were true

25a /b				Ndɔpái ndɔpá-i deer -the	í yɛ́i ndeí, í yɛ-i Ŋ -nde-í he PERF-RmPST it-say-PERF	
25b				kpélé kpélé all	i yɛi i yɛ-i it COP-RmPST	
26	aavá aavá and			nguméa Ŋ -nguméa his-head.on	í wóni. í wó -ni it open-RmPST	
27a	Ngimíla Ngimíla likewise		nɔ́ɔ nɔ́ɔ just	nu fílí nu fílí human any	áá tɔɔỹaa háa le, áá tɔɔỹaa háa nde he truth thing say	
27b				nguméa nguméa head.on	áá wó, áá mbó it open	
27c	kɛkía kɛkía as		nɔ́ɔ nɔ́ɔ just	Ndɔpái wuméa ndɔpá-i nguméa deer -the head.on	í wóni í wó -ní it open-RmPST	Kɔlíi kɔlí -i leopard-t

Figure 6. Morphemic text trace--"Deer and Leopard" (continued)

	í yɛ́i ndeí, í yɛ-i Ŋ -nde-í he PERF-RmPST it-say-PERF				
	i yɛi i yɛ-i it COP-RmPST		ngáa tɔɔỹaa, ngáa tɔɔỹaa REL truth		
	í wóni. í wó -ni it open-RmPST				and his head opened. (saved himself)
	áá tɔɔỹaa háa le, áá tɔɔỹaa háa nde he truth thing say				Likewise any person who can tell the truth, his head can open just as
	áá wó, áá mbó it open				Deer's head opened Leopard's hand. (Any person who tells
	í wóni í wó -ní it open-RmPST	Kɔlíi yaá. kɔlí -i ngeá leopard-the hand			the truth can save himself as Deer did from Leopard.)

		CS-TOPIC	TLOC	AGENT SLOCATED EXISTENTIAL IDENTIFIED	ACTIVITY REACTION COGNITION EXPRESSION	SLOCATION ADDRESSEE BENEFICIARY MEANS LLOCATION	INSTRUMENT PRODUCT TDURATION IDENTIFIER	free translation
	Cl=	P3:dmstr	P2:adv NP,	P1:NP	C:v,VP	Fl^n:CompPhr,PP,NP	F2:RelPh	
	Non-clausal constructions							The Haale
1	Haalengi haale-ngi haale-the							
2a	Ná Ná when		wóló kpólo long	kɔí kɔ -í war-the	(i) yéni yé -ni he PROG-RmPST áá bólu áá bólu PROG hard	*Bandiál nda,* Bandi-á -i nda Bandi-pl-the mouth --- ti lóyáhu ti ndówahu their between taa hií taa hií 3Pand tribe vukaí, puka -í other-the		When long ago the war was hard on the Bandi people, between them *and another tribe,*
2b					taá yéni taá yé -ni theyNEG PERF-RmPST loní ndo -ní want-PERF			they did not want it to destroy them.
2c				kɔí kɔ -í war-the	ɔ́ɔ́ tí gúla. ɔ́ɔ́ tí kúla it them destroy			
3a	Ké Ké but				taá yéni kɔló taá yé -ni kɔló theyNEG PERF-RmPST know			But they did not know what to do.
3b		sí sí this			tɔ́ɔ kɛ. tɔ́ɔ Ø -kɛ they it-do			
4					Tí wáakpóní Tí maa-kpó -ní they on -gather-RmPST	mba, Ø -mba it -on		They met together.

Figure 7. Morphemic text trace--"The Haale"

5					tí li tí li they go	tɔtɔbɛ mɔ́i tɔtɔbɛ mɔ́ɔ -i divine person-the yelé, yelé to		they went to the diviner,
6					tí mɔɔní tí mɔɔní they ask			they asked about what they could do
A	ngáa ngáa about	sí sí this			taá kɛ, taá Ŋ -kɛ they it-do			
				kɔ́í kɔ -í war-the	éí tí gúla. éí tí kúla itNEG them destroy			(so) the war wouldn't destroy them.
7				Tɔtɔbɛ mɔ́i Tɔtɔbɛ mɔ́ɔ -i divine person-the	i suu belení, i suu kpelé-ní he in look -RmPST			
8					i yɛ i yɛ he say	ta, ta "		The diviner divined and said,
B		"Sí Sí this			wáá kɛ wáá Ŋ-kɛ you it-do			"This is what you should do
				kɔ́í kɔ -í war-the	éí 'ú gúla, éí wú kúla itNEG you destroy			(so) the war will not destroy you.
					Kɛ wáá ndówoló Kɛ wáá ndówoló OB you country léndói ndó -ndóu -í born-child-the ta gúla ta kúla some destroy		ngáa saáya, ngáa saáya REL sacrifice	You must take a native citizen as a sacrifice,
					wú mbɔ wú Ŋ -mbɔ you him-shoot		ngáa ndekpa ngáa ndekpa REL arrow bolóka ngófélángó, bolóka ngófela-ngó " seven -"	shoot him with seven arrows,
				ndɛɛhúí ndɛɛhú-i life -the	(I) ló ló it stand	su Ŋ -su him-in		and while breath is still in him, bury him."

Figure 7. Morphemic text trnce--"The Haale" (continued)

					wú kpólu." wú Ŋ -kpólu you him-bury			
9a	Ná Ná when				tí hívéní tí hívɛ -ní they come.from-RmPST	totɔbɛmái, totɔbɛ-máa -i divine-place-the		When they came from the diviner,
9b					tí sítíní tí síti -ní they inform-RmPST	ndɔwɔlɔ́ ndɔwɔlɔ́ country léngái ma. ndé -áa -i ma born-pl -the on		they informed the citizens.
10				Slýɛ ngilláa *Slýɛ ngiláa* man one	ngí yéni *ngí yé -ni* he COP-RmPST	na, *na* there		
11					tɔ́ɔ yé tɔ́ɔ yé they say	ma Ŋ -ma him-on		One man was there named Haale.
C	"Háale", Háalɛ Haalɛ							
12a					I bɔwɔ́ héní i kpówɔ fɔ́ -ní he own.self give-RmPST	ndɔwɔlɔ́i hááẅa, ndɔwɔlɔ́-i háaẅa country-the for		He gave himself to be killed for his country.
12b	kɛinɔ kɛinɔɔ so				tí páa tí Ŋ -paa they him-kill			
13	Ké *ké* but				i yɛni i yé -ni he say-RmPST	ti ẅa, ti ma them on		But he said to them,
D					kɛ taá ngi kɛ taá ngi OB they his vóngái pónga -i relatives-the kpélɛɛ kúla kpélɛɛ kúla all free	wíi wíi foreigner ngéngóngí wa. ngónge-ngi mba work -the on		they must free his relatives from slave labor to the foreigners or government.
				Tí tá fíli tá Tí tá fíli tá they some any some	láa polɔtɔ láa polɔtɔ heNEG porter yéngé mbo. ngéngɔ mbo work do			None of them was to do porter work.

Figure 7. Morphemic text trace--"The Haale" (continued)

14				Ndɔwɔlɔ́ yélái Ndɔwɔlɔ́ mbóla -i country people-the	tí lúʉ́á. tí ndúʉa they agree			All the people of the land agreed.
15a	Ná Ná when			Háale Háale Haale	bówɔ́ héní, kpówɔ fé -ní own.self give-RmPST			
15b					tí kúlaní tí Ø -kúla -ní they him-destroy-RmPST		ngáa saáyáí. ngáa saáya -í REL sacrifice-the	When Haale gave himself, they sacrificed him.
16					I loní héi I ndo -ní séi he stand-RmPST sit			
17					tí ngi tí ngi they hig yámbáí wɔ kámba-í mbɔ grave-the dig	taí líiwáá. taa -í ndíiwáá town-the center		He remained sitting while they dug his grave in the center of town.
18					Tí séíní Tí Ø -séí-ní they him-set-RmPST	kambái la, kambá-i nda grave-the mouth		They set him at the mouth of the grave
19					tí mbɔ tí Ø -mbɔ they him-shoot		ngáa ndɛkpa ngáa ndɛkpa REL arrow bolóka ngófélángó, bolóka ngófela-ngó * seven -*	and shot him with seven arrows.
20a					Tí njuní tí Ø -njɔ -ní they him-lower-RmPST	kambái ñu, kambá-i su grave-the in		*They lowered* him into the grave
20b	ná ná when		nɛ́nɛ nɛ́nɛ yet	ndɛɛ̃húí ndɛɛhú-i life -the	yéní yé-ní COP-RmPST	su, Ø -su him-in		while life was still in him
21a					Tí pólí lúkpe tí pólɔ-í túkpe they mud -the pour	ma, Ø -ma him-on		They covered him with earth
21b /a	kɛkía kɛkía as				taá kɛ taá Ø -kɛ they it-do			as they *do when* a person dies.
/b	ná ná when			nuu nuu person	áá há. áá há he die			

Figure 7. Morphemic text trace--"The Haale" (continued)

22					I kɛnί I kɛ -ní he remain-RmPST	kambái ĥu kambá-i su grave-the in	ngáa nyíi ngáa nyíi REL sleep ngófélángó, ngófela-ngó seven -*	He stayed in the grave seven days, howling,
23					áá búúnɔ, áá kpúunɔ he howl			
24					ɔ́ɔ́ yέla ha. ɔ́ɔ́ yέla sa he finally die			before he finally died.
25a	Ná Ná when				tí saáyáí tí saáya -í they sacrifice-the sí gúlání, sí kúla -ní this destroy-RmPST			When they offered this sacrifice,
25b					tí ti tí ti they their wɔ́yɔwɔngáitíí wɔ́yɔwɔ-áa-i -tíí enemy -pl-the-pl kpéní kpé -ní drive-RmPST			they drove out their enemies.
26				Ti wɔ́yɔwɔ́áí ti wɔ́yɔwɔ-áa-i their enemy -pl-the	ti híyéní ti híye -ní they come.from-RmPST	bándói vólú. bándo -í pólu border-the back		Their enemies were from across the border.
27				Ti wúlúbái Ti wúluba-i their leader-the	yɛni yέ -ni COP-RmPST		ngáa masangí ngáa masa -ngí REL chief-the Mbagúlómέ. Mbagúlómέ Mbagulome	Their leader was Mbagulome.
28a	Ná Ná when			kɔí kɔ -í war-the	víláni, píla -ni finish-RmPST			When the war finished,
28b	kɛkía fílí kɛkía fílí as any			Háálé páa sɔ́wɔ́i Háale páa sɔ́wɔ-í Haale kill time-the	ɔ́ɔ foló, ɔ́ɔ foló it come.upon			on the anniversary of Haale's death,
28c					tɔ́ɔ kɔ. tɔ́ɔ Ø -kɔ they him-worship			they would worship him.

Figure 7. Morphemic text trace--"The Haale" (continued)

29				Bandíáí kpéléɛ Bandí-áa-í kpéléɛ Bandi-pl-the all	tóɔ nika tóɔ nika they cow lɛíngí hou, tɛí -ngí sou black-the catch			All the Bandi people would catch a black cow
30					tí páa tí Ŋ -paa they it -kill	Háálé kámbái ẅa, Háale kámba-i ma Haale grave-the on		and kill it on Haale's grave.
31a				Saáyáí ná saáya -í ná sacrifice-the that	lɔ lɔ COP			
31b					taá tólí taá Ŋ -tolí they it -call		ngáa Hááléngí, ngáa Háale-ngí REL Haale-the	That sacrifice is what they call The Haale.
32			Fowó Fowó year fílí fílí any	nuu wálá nuu ngẅála person big wálaí kpéléé ngẅála-í kpéléé very -the all	tóɔ tóɔ they ẅaa kpó maa-kpó on -gather	mba, Ŋ -mba it -on		Every year all the big men would got together.
33					tí lí tí lí they go	Háálé Háale Haale kómái, kó -máa -í worship-place-the		They would go to worship Haale,
34a	Bəẅálále bəẅálale because				laá lɔ laá lɔ he COP			because it was he
34b /a					í kéní í Ŋ -ké -ní he it-make/do-RmPST			who saved the Bandi people from being conquered.
/b					taá taá theyNEG Bándíáí Bándi-áa-í Bandi-pl-the kulaní kula -ní destroy-RmPST	kɔí ńu. kɔ -í su war-the in		(He made it possible they not destroy the Bandi people in the war.)

Figure 7. Morphemic text trace--"The Haale" (continued)

Horizontally, the charts reflect the relative sequential positions of the constituents of the Clause. The verb, Verb Word, or Verb Phrase is considered the C constituent and all other preceding and following positions are numbered in relation to it. Where a constituent may occur more than once, a dashed line is drawn between the iterative occurrences (see Figure 7 row 2a).

Each column is labeled with the morphemic classes or embedded construction that fills it. Directly above that is a listing of the semantic functions for each constituent. The non-clausal column contains conjunctions and Non-verbal constructions which are part of the Text Chain.

2.3.3 Observations

^{S}TEMPORAL LOCATION occurs in two positions in the morphemic Clause, in P2 and in F3. The F3 position is the more common position. In "The Haale" the F3 position does not occur. The use of ^{S}TEMPORAL LOCATION in this narrative is to give setting. It is fronted because this is an historical text and the time of events occurring is important. In "Deer and Leopard" the TEMPORAL LOCATIONs found in F3 simply relate to the verb and do not give the hearer of the story an historical time frame. The 'long ago' in Clause 2 is part of an existential and the actual time of the event is not important.

The function of the P2 position in "Deer and Leopard" is not clear (see Clause 9a and H). It is not an obvious reference to time. The morpheme used is *na(a)* 'now' which is also used in the procedural text "Brushing" in the Verb Phrase to punctuate the various procedures (see Section 3.3.3.3). It seems to be used here to get the audience's attention or to emphasize the next thing being said. In 9a, Leopard is introduced and the story really gets going because now Deer has a problem. In H, Deer has just made his third point, which could be presumptuous on his part. But he clarifies it with "If now it were not true . . . ." Further study will have to be done to clarify the environments and the functions of these alternate positions.

There is one occurrence in Deer C of the ^{S}COMMUNIQUE outside of it's usual place in the Verb Phrase. It is possible for it to be a Non-verbal construction separate from the Clause and

therefore should be charted in its own row, i.e, "*Ava, nde ná, hɔ́ɔ fála fala,*" "Ok, say it now, (say) all of it quickly," rather than "Ok, say it all now quickly" as is currently charted.

2.3.4 Morphemic Abstraction

2.3.4.1 Introduction

The purpose of the abstract is to synthesize the morphemic Clause text trace and allow us to more easily see the organizational patterns in the texts. It is organized around the verbal construction types used throughout each text in both the independent and subordinate Clauses.

2.3.4.2 Charting Procedures

Figures 8 and 9 (pages 87-90) display the morphemic abstracts of the two narrative texts. The data is arranged in columns corresponding to the independent constructions and the subordinate constructions. The first main column, titled "Independent morphemic constructions," lists and numbers the independent Clauses of the text in the rows beneath it. The numbers on the left correspond to the Clause numbers in the morphemic text trace.

The columns to the right of the independent morphemic construction column list the subordinated Clauses. They are arranged horizontally in relation to the Clause to which they are subordinate. The columns are headed by the subordinating conjunction which occurs at the beginning of the subordinate Clause. Or, if there is no subordinating morpheme, the Clause is listed under the double zero column.

Where there are several verbal construction types used, there are several columns under the main heading. The headings for the sub-columns are found in the second row down, immediately under the main column headings (see Figure 9). If a main column is only used once or twice, the verbal construction is simply noted in the appropriate Clause row (see Clause 9 in Figure 8).

The text Clauses are recorded in the rows where the numbering begins. The appropriate column of the verbal construction used is marked with an "X."

	Independent morphemic constructions						θθ	sifa 'because'	na 'when'	kɛkía 'as'	ngaa 'that'	Quota-tions
	non verb	Past	Cons	Past Perf	Past Prog	Ptve						
1.	X											
2.	X											
3.	X											
4.	X											
5.		kɛ										(A) ta
6.		kɛ										
7.			X									
8.				neg								
9.		kɛ							PresProg			
10.		X										
11.			X									(B) ta
12.		kɛ́										(C) ma
13.		kɛ										(D) ta
14.		X										(E) ma
15.		kɛ										(F) ma
16.		X										(G) ma
17.		naa										(H) ma
18.		kɛ										(I) --
19.			X									(J) ma

Figure 8. Abstraction of morphemic text trace--"Deer and Leopard"

	Independent morphemic constructions						θθ	sifa 'because'	na 'when'	kɛkía 'as'	ngaa 'that'	Quota-tions
	non verb	Past	Cons	Past Perf	Past Prog	Ptve						
20.				neg								
21.				bɔw̃á-lale								
22.				neg				sífa Non-verb				
23.					X						Cons	
24.				Faale neg			Cond Cond					
25.	pa past											
26		aavá										
27.						Ngi-mila				Past		

Figure 8. Abstraction of morphemic text trace--"Deer and Leopard" (continued)

Independent Morphemic constructions						θθ	na 'when'		kɛinɔɔ 'so that'	kɛkia 'as'		Quota-tions
	non verb	Past	Cons	Past Perf	Hab		Past	Past Prog		Ptve	Hab	
1	NP											
2				neg		Cond		X				
3				kɛ́ + neg		Cond						
4		X										
5			X									
6			X									(A) ngaa
7		X										
8			X									(B) ta
9		X					X					
10	Past											
11					X							(C) ma
12		X							Cons			
13		kɛ́										(D) ma
14			X									
15		X					X					
16		X										
17			X									
18		X										
19			X									
20		X					non -verb					
21			X							X		
22		X										
23		Ptve										

Figure 9. Abstraction of morphemic text trace--"The Haale"

Independent Morphemic constructions						θθ	na 'when'		kɛinɔɔ 'so that'	kɛkia 'as'		Quota-tions
	non verb	Past	Cons	Past Perf	Hab		Past	Past Prog		Ptve	Hab	
24		Cond										
25		X					X					
26		X										
27	Past											
28					X		X				fili	
29					X							
30			X									
31	X					Ptve						
32					X							
33			X									
34	bɔw̃a-lale					Past						

Figure 9. Abstraction of morphemic text trace--"The Haale" (continued)

There are several other morphemes marked in the abstracts. The non-subordinating conjunctions such as *kɛ* 'then' and *kɛ́* 'but' are marked in the appropriate box where the Clause occurs. Negatives are also marked. In the final column, the form of the quotative is marked. Some end with *ta* (?), others with *ma* 'on him'. These are the most common quotative markings. There is one *ngaa* 'that' (Haale 6) and one with no special marker (Deer 18). The first one is indirect and the second is before an onomatopoeic quotation where Leopard laughs. Where any of these morphemes are noted an "X" is not marked.

2.3.4.3 Morphemic Text Formula--"Deer and Leopard"

The morphemic Text Chain for this text can be summarized in the following formula.

$M_{\text{Text Chain}} =$ 1^n: Non-verbal Clause

2^n: [1^n: [1. {kɛ / kɛ́ / θθ} 2. {Past / Cons}]

2^n: [1. {faale / bɔw̃alale / θθ} 2. {PastPerf / PastProg}]]

3: [1. Non-verbal 2. [1. aava 2. Past]]

4: [1. ngimila 2. Ptve]

(The non-subordinating conjunctions are defined as: *kɛ* 'then', *kɛ́* 'but', *faale* 'therefore', *bɔw̃alale* 'because', θθ is zero or no conjunction.)

"Deer and Leopard" begins with several Non-verbal constructions which give the title, introduce the main referent, and give us information about the main referent which will lead us into the story.

The second section occurs twice. There is a series of constructions in the Past or Consecutive followed by a Past Perfect construction(s), 5-8 and 9-24. The Clauses and Sentences in this section may have non-subordinating conjunctions preceding them. The use of these conjunctions is explained in the semantic section of this chapter. Most of the verbal constructions used are either Past or Consecutive. Where the Past Perfect constructions begin, time stops and flashback information is given.

The third section of the text (25-26) begins with a Non-verbal construction found in the independent Clause 25b. The *aavá* coordinates 25 and 26 while providing a ^{S}Logical Arrangement where the Clause following the *aava* gives the result of the previous Clause. Deer said the truth and so the result was that he was spared.

The final section is a Sentence which begins with *ngimîla* 'likewise'. This section concludes the text and gives the moral for the story.

2.3.4.4 Morphemic Text Formula--"The Haale"

The morphemic Text Chain for this text can be summarized in the following formula.

^{M}Text Chain =

1^{n}: [1. Non-verbal
{ 2^{n}.[1. {θθ, kɛ́} 2. {PastPerf,Hab}]
3^{n}.[1. {θθ, kɛ́} 2. {Past,Cons}] }

2^{n}: [1^{n}. Hab
2. [1.{θθ,bɔw̃alale} 2.Non-verbal]]

(The non-subordinating conjunctions are defined as: *kɛ* 'then', *kɛ́* 'but', *bɔw̃alale* 'because', θθ is zero or no conjunction.)

The first section in "The Haale" (see Figure 9) can occur more than once. The first occurrence, 1-9, begins with a Noun Phrase to give us the title. Then there are two constructions in the

Past Perfect which realize Events in the semantics. This is followed by several Past and Consecutive constructions. The whole series repeats itself again in 10-26. A Non-verbal construction ends this section of the text (27).

The second section can also occur more than once. There are several Habitual constructions which are then followed by a Non-verbal topicalization Sentence construction, 28-31 and 32-34.

There are two Clauses which are not included in this formula. They are Clauses 23 and 24. In the Abstract they are shown as an independent Potentive and an independent Conditional Clause. The Potentive construction in 23 is very likely a peak signal. It takes the story out of the past for the most tense point in the story. Haale has been buried alive and stays alive for seven days. He is not only alive, but he howls and screams the entire time.

There are some doubts as to the status of Clause 24. It very well may be subordinate to Clause 23. It has the meaning that the previous seven days of being in the grave and Haale's howling were conditions that went on before he died. This use of the Conditional requires further study. There is a morpheme *pɛ̄ɛ́* in Bandi which is translated 'before', but it is not used here nor in all similar contexts. It may be because this is the peak of the text and very climactic that it is left out. Another hypothesis is that his dying was inevitable and that this is actually the denouement of the text. The tension built up because of his suffering for seven days is finally released. Therefore, having the part of his dying in a subordinate Clause is not out of place

2.3.4.5 Observations

The abstractions reveal some differences between the narrative texts. The folk tale makes more use of non-subordinating conjunctions, particularly the conjunction *kɛ* 'then'. This conjunction is not used at all in the historical narrative which makes more use of the Consecutive verbal construction. The use of a conjunction in a construction requires a fully inflected verb and, as has already been discussed in 1.7.3, *kɛ* requires the use of the Immediate Past suffix *-nga/-a*.

The folk tale also differs from the historical narrative in that there is more use of reported speech. Whether this has to do simply with the nature of the moral being taught (i.e., speaking the truth) or whether reported speech is used more often in folk tales and by animal referents needs further investigation.

2.4 Semantic Text Trace

2.4.1 Introduction

"The intent in semotactic charting is to identify the semantic constructions that are realized by the morphotactic data . . ." (Fleming lecture notes). These constructions, also called propositions, may be embedded within interproposition arrangements, conversation blocks, and discourse. While most proposition constituents are related to one another by functions and have no sequential ordering, the semantic discourse does have ordered position constituents.

The organization of the morphemic abstract is the basis for the organization of the semantic trace. The charting will be based on morphemic criteria.

2.4.2 Charting Procedures

The semantic text trace charts displayed in Figures 10 and 11 (pages 106-113) are organized to show the independent propositions vertically and the dependent propositions horizontally. The semantic realizations are found at the top of the chart. There are morphemic headings as well. A tactic trace of the minimal constituents for each proposition is recorded. Pronouns indicating the verbal construction in the VP have not been included as realizations of ^{S}EventFUNCTIONS.

The mainline propositions are found in the first several columns. The first column contains those which are related sequentially in time for the most part. The next column contains the main line propositions that are related simultaneously in time.

The minimum constituents of the subordinated propositions are recorded in columns that follow. They are located horizontally with the independent propositions to which they are subordi-

nate. Again, each column is labeled by the subordinating morpheme which begins it. The semantic realizates are labeled above each column.

The second to the last column records the propositions found in Non-verbal constructions. The ^{S}QUOTATION of the ^{S}Conversation Block is recorded in the last column. The morphemic *ma* and *ta* of the ^{S}QUOTATIVE are also recorded in that column.

2.4.3 Semantic Text Formula--"Deer and Leopard"

^{S}Text = P: Coordination (1)

C: [
[Discourse(Narrative folk tale) = P2^{n}: {Existential, SpatLocation} (2-4)
+ P1^{n}: {Evt(ACT), Evt(EXPSN), Evt(COG)} (5-12)
+ C: [1. TempArr(SEQ)^{n} (13-19) 2.TempArr(SIMUL)^{n} (20-24)]
+ F1: [LogArr(SEQ)] (25-26)]
+Temporal Arrangement(SIMUL)
+Logical Arrangement(SEQ)
+ Conversation Block
+ Event(REACTION)
]

F:[1. ngimila + 2. Comparison] (27)

The semantic tactic formula of this text is composed of a preceding position filled by ^{S}Coordination plus a central position filled by an embedded narrative folk tale. This discourse is composed of an initial preceding position (P2) which can occur more than once filled by ^{S}Existentials and ^{S}Spatial Location. The next position (P1) can occur more than once and is filled by ^{S}Event(EXPRESSION), (ACTIVITY), and (COGNITION). The central constituent is filled by ^{S}Tem-

poral Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL) followed by ^{S}Temporal Arrangement(SIMULTANEOUS). There is a following position for the narrative discourse filled by a ^{S}Logical Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL).

In addition to the Discourse there is also ^{S}Temporal Arrangement(SIMULTANEOUS), ^{S}Logical Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL), ^{S}Conversation Block, and ^{S}Event(REACTION). (These are realized by the dependent and independent Clauses in ^{M}Sentence structures.)

The entire text has a following position filled by a ^{S}Comparision which begins with the morpheme *ngimila* 'likewise.'

The semantic text formula can be related to Longacre's (1983:20-25) notional structure features in the following way.

^{S}Text.C: Discourse.	P2	Exposition	There was a deer long ago. He was cold.
	P1	Inciting Moment	Deer laid in Leopard's path. Leopard comes along. Deer requests to say three things. Leopard agrees.
	C:1.	Developing tension Climax	Deer states 1st and 2nd truth. Third truth.
	2.	Denouement	Leopard laughs and lets Deer go. Explanation why Leopard was full.
	F1	Final Suspense	Deer spoke the truth and was saved.
^{S}Text.F:		Conclusion	Any person who speaks truth can save himself.

The Exposition is found in the beginning Non-verbal constructions that compose Discourse.P2. These constructions lay the ground work that gets the Deer on stage and into Leopard's path.

Kɛ, usually translated 'then', starts the story rolling. We see the Deer taking action about his problem of being cold. This same morpheme also connects the text together in the series of ^{S}Conversation Blocks found in Discourse.C. The ideophone *fuu* puts an exclamation point on the real

conflict in the story and immediately following we see Deer's proposal which takes us into the main part of the text. Prior to getting into the main part, however, *kɛ́*, usually translated 'but', introduces Leopard's agreement to Deer's proposal, something that the audience would not expect a Leopard to do.

Discourse.C contains the Developing Conflict, Climax, and Denouement. The counting out of the three truths, Leopard's threats, and the lengthening of Deer's quotations all develop the tension. We reach the Climax at the third truth where the quotative changes. Instead of the usual *kɛ* there is *naa*, "Deer now said".

The Denouement is realized as Leopard laughs. Tension is relieved. An explanation summed up by *faale* 'therefore' ends the conflict. The Final Suspense is signaled by *pa* which sums up what Deer did and the result.

The Conclusion in Text.F is signaled by *ngimĩla* 'likewise' where the author applies the truths gained from the story to the listener by using a ^{S}Comparison proposition.

The realization formulas for the semantic Discourse are as follows.

^{S}Text.P \ ^{CS}Genre of text folk tale

/ ^{M}Text Chain 1

^{S}Text.C \ ^{CS}COMMUNICATOR INTENT to entertain and illustrate benefits of telling the truth.

/ ^{M}Text Chain 2-26

^{S}Discourse \ ^{CS}Plot

/ ^{M}Text Chain

^{S}Disc.P2^{n} \ ^{CS} 1.Major Participant
2.Plot.TIME
3.Deer Plot.PROBLEM

/ ^{M}Text Chain 2-4

$S_{Disc.P1^n}$ $\backslash^{CS}$ 1.Plot.PLACE
2. Secondary Participant
3.Deer Plot PLANNED RESOLUTION
4.Deer Plot RESOLUTION
5.Deer Plot PROBLEM
6.Leopard Plot CIRCUMSTANCE

$/^{M}$Text Chain 5-12

$S_{Disc.C^n}$ $\backslash^{CS}$1.Deer and Leopard Plot RESOLUTION
2. Leopard Plot PROBLEM

$/^{M}$Text Chain 13-24

$S_{Disc.F}$ $\backslash^{CS}$COMMUNICATOR BELIEF telling the truth is beneficial

$/^{M}$Text Chain 25-26

$S_{Text.F}$ $\backslash^{CS}$COMMUNCATOR INTENT to apply lesson to AUDIENCE

$/^{M}$Text Chain 27

2.4.4 Semantic Text Formula--"The Haale"

The semantic tactic formula of this text is composed of a preceding position (P2) filled by S_{Name} and $S_{Temporal}$ Arrangement(SIMULTANEOUS) plus another preceding position (P1) which can occur more than once filled by S_{Event}(ACTIVITY) and (EXPRESSION). The central position is filled by an embedded historical narrative. This narrative is composed of a preceding position (P2) filled by an $S_{Existential}$ and $S_{Conversation}$ Block plus another preceding position (P1) which can occur more than once filled by S_{Event}(ACTIVITY) and (EXPRESSION). The central position is filled by a $S_{Temporal}$ Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL) which is filled by an $S_{Elaboration}$ and then a second position which contains an S_{Event}(ACTIVITY) and a $S_{Temporal}$ Arrangement(SIMULTANEOUS). The $S_{Elaboration}$ is filled by an S_{Event}(ACTIVITY) and a series of $S_{Temporal}$ Arrangements(SEQUENTIAL). The following position of the embedded discourse is filled by an $S_{Elaboration}$ and $S_{Indentification}$. This $S_{Elaboration}$ is also filled by an S_{Event}(ACTIVITY) and a series of $S_{Temporal}$ Arrangements(SEQUENTIAL).

In addition to the propositions in the Discourse there is also ^{S}Temporal Arrangement(SIMULTANEOUS), ^{S}Logical Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL), ^{S}Comparison, and ^{S}Conversation Block. These are again found in the dependent and independent Clauses of the ^{M}Sentence.

The following position of the entire text is filled by a ^{S}Temporal Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL) and ^{S}Identification. The combination in position Text.F of ^{S}Temporal Arrangement and Identification produces a ^{S}Logical Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL).

^{S}Text = P2^{n}: [1.Name 2.Temporal Arrangement(SIMULTANEOUS)] (1-3)

P1^{n}: ∫Event(ACTIVITY) ⌉ (4-9)
⌊Event(EXPRESSION) ∫

C:Discourse (Narrative = historical

[P2:[1.Existential 2.Conversation Block] (10-11)

P1^{n}: ∫Event(ACTIVITY) ⌉ (12-14)
⌊Event(EXPRESSION) ∫

C: TempArr(SEQ): [1.Elaboration: [1.Evt(ACT)
2^{n}.TempArr(SEQ)]
(15-24)
2.[1.Event(ACTIVITY)
2^{n}.TempArr(SIMUL)] (25-27)]

F: [1.Elaboration 2.Indentification] (28-31)

+ Temporal Arrangement(SIMUL)

+ Logical Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL)

+ Conversation Block

+ Comparison]

F: [1.TempArr(SEQ) 2.Indentification] (32-34)

Again, this discourse can be related to Longacre's (1983:20-25) notional structure features:

^{S}Text.P1	Exposition	When the war was troublesome for the Bandis, they did not know what to do.
^{S}Text.P2	Inciting Moment	They went to the diviner. He told them to make the human sacrifice.
^{S}Text.C:1.Discourse. P2	Exposition	There was a man named Haale.
P1	Inciting Moment	Gave himself for the sacrifice.
C:1	Developing Tension	Details about how Haale was killed.
	Climax	He was alive for seven days, howling.
	Denouement	Haale died.
2	Final Suspense	The enemies were driven back.
F:	Conclusion	The people sacrifice a cow on the anniversary of Haale's death. This is the Haale Sacrifice.
^{S}Text.F	Conclusion	People worship Haale because he saved them.

This text is different from the folk tale in that it does not start out with the highest ranked referent. There are more referents involved than in the folk tale, but there is also more information needed in order for the audience to understand why the sacrifice was made. So the text begins by giving the background to the sacrifice which gives us the problem concerning the war.

The action begins as the people gather and go to the diviner. Unlike the folk tale, there is no *kɛ* 'then' to get time moving and to keep it moving. In fact, this morpheme is not used at all in "The Haale". It seems the nature of the ^{S}Events serves to keep the story going whereas in "Deer and Leopard" there are a series of ^{S}Conversation Blocks that need some assistance to keep them flowing.

The Denouement comes when Haale dies and there is relief that he is no longer suffering. There is the word *yɛla* 'finally' in the VP of that Clause which emphasizes the relief felt.

The Final Suspense comes as the enemies are driven out.

The Conclusion comes in two parts. Discourse.F gives the connection between the sacrifice that occurred in the story and the sacrifices that occur following his death. Text.F connects the worship and the sacrifice with the ending of the war which was made possible through Haale.

"The Haale" makes more use than "Deer and Leopard" of the Sentence structure where the Sentence.P uses a Clause beginning with the subordinating conjunction *na*. The use of this Sentence structure corresponds to the notional structure features in the following way.

When war was hard	Exposition
When they came from the diviner	Inciting Moment
When Haale gave himself	Developing Tension, Climax, Denouement
When the sacrifice was made	Final Suspense
When the war was finished	Conclusions

The realization rules for the semantic Discourse are as follows.

$S_{Text.P2^n}$ $\backslash^{CS}$ 1.Genre of text historical narrative
2.Introduce major Participants
3.Plot.TIME
4.Bandi Plot.PROBLEM

$/^{M}$ Text Chain 1-3

$S_{Text.P1^n}$ $\backslash^{CS}$ 1.Plot.PLACE
2.Secondary Participant
3.Bandi Plot.PLAN
4.Bandi Plot.PLANNED RESOLUTION

$/^{M}$ Text Chain 4-9

$S_{Text.C}$ $\backslash^{CS}$ COMMUNICATOR INTENT to inform about the events of the original Haale sacrifice

$/^{M}$ Text Chain 10-31

$S_{Discourse}$ $\backslash^{CS}$ Plot

$/^{M}$ Text Chain

$S_{Disc.P2^n}$ $\backslash^{CS}$ 1.Major Participant
2.Haale Plot.PROBLEM

$/^{M}$ Text Chain 10-11

$S_{Disc.P1^n}$ $\backslash^{CS}$ 1. Haale Plot.RESOLUTION
2. COMMUNICATOR INTENT to show Haale's generosity and concern for family

$/^{M}$ Text Chain 12-14

$S_{Disc.C}$ $\backslash^{CS}$ 1. Bandi Plot.RESOLUTION:SCENE.Incidents
2. BACKGROUND KNOWLEDGE identifies who the enemies were

$/^{M}$ Text Chain 15-27

^{S}Disc.F \$^{CS}$COMMUNICATOR INTENT to inform about the connection of further sacrifices to the original one

/^{M}Text Chain 28-31

^{S}Text.F^{n} \$^{CS}$ COMMUNICATOR INTENT to validate the sacrifice and to honor Haale as a hero

/^{M}Text Chain 32-34

2.4.5 Observations

There are a number of subordinating conjunctions in both of the texts. *Na* 'when' plus a Progressive verbal construction gives ^{S}SIMULTANEOUS of a ^{S}Temporal Arrangement(SIMULTANEOUS). When used with a Past verbal construction it is the ^{S}PRIOR of a ^{S}Temporal Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL). *Na* is used only once in "Deer and Leopard" and this is where Leopard gets introduced. In "The Haale," we saw it correlating with changes in the notional structure features.

There are several Logical Relators for ^{S}Logical Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL). Both *kɛinɔɔ* 'so that' and *ngaa* 'that' introduce the ^{S}SUBSEQUENT of ^{S}Logical Arrangement-means/purpose (Haale 12 and Deer 23). Why there are two different morphemes is not known at this time. The *ngaa* has the same phonological shape as the multi-functional relator discussed in Section 1.7.5.9.

Sifaa 'because' and *bɔw̃alale* 'because' are found at the beginning of a construction realizing the ^{S}SUBSEQUENT of a ^{S}Logical Arrangement-reason/result. The latter is considered non-subordinating because the information following it seems to be on the mainline of events (see Deer 21 and Haale 34). *Sifaa* gives a reason for something that could be implied by the previous information (see Deer 22b). Further analysis is needed before establishing this hypothesis.

Aava 'and' is found at the beginning of a Clause realizing the ^{S}SUBSEQUENT of a ^{S}Logical Arrangement-means/result. It is used in "Deer and Leopard" as the conclusions of the text are being made. "All this Deer said was true, and he saved himself." Both Clauses are on the mainline but also have a logical relationship.

Kɛkia 'as' is found at the beginning of the ^{S}REFERENCE PROPOSITION of a ^{S}Comparison proposition.

The semantic propositions realized by the independent and subordinated Clauses are illustrated in the semantic text trace charts and in Sections 1.7.5.12 and 1.7.5.13.

The use of reported speech which refers to direct and indirect quotations with a quotative needs to be addressed as well as the morphemes *ma* and *ta* found in the quotatives. Larson's study of reported speech revealed several functions as to their use on the discourse level:

> (1) to realize speech acts; (2) to highlight events and participants, and to mark peak; and (3) to realize nonspeech acts such as awareness attribution, causal relations, identification relations, and performatives (1978:xiii).

Bandi also uses reported speech in similar ways. The way the reported speech is being used determines the quotative morpheme used. There are several hypotheses for the use of *ta* in the quotative.

1. When the Conversation Block is not recording an actual speech incident but is being used to announce the upcoming event on the mainline.

(52) Deer A

```
Kɛ   i  ɣɛa ta
Then he said *

"Bɛlɛ́ ngí li mbeindá folo hólongi áá vu  na,
 let  me  go where   sun  shine   it put there

ngí wɔɔlɛ́ wó."
I   warm  do

"Then he (Deer) said, 'Let me go where the sun is shining
and warm myself.'"
```

2. Used when no ^{S}ADDRESSEE in particular is addressed. This hypothesis doubles with the example above and needs further study.

3. For the Inciting Moment.

(53) I ɣɛ ta, Haale B
he said *

"Si wáa kɛ, kɔí ɛí wú gúla. . . ."
This you do war itNEG you destroy. . . .

"He (the diviner) said, 'This is what you can do, so the war will not destroy you. . . .'"

4. For the first speech act in a series of speech acts.

(54) Kɛ Ndɔpá ɣéa ta Deer D
then Deer said *

"Ngilángi lɔ ngáa sí. . . ."
first.one is REL this. . . .

"Then Deer said, 'The first one is this. . . .'"

The quotative morpheme *ma* is used for the following:

1. For naming a referent.

(55) Tóɔ ɣé ma, Haale C
they said him-on

"Haale."
Haale.

"They said to him, 'Haale.'" (Or, They called him Haale.)

2. When the SADDRESSEE for an actual speech act is known.

(56) Ké í ɣɛni ti ῦa Haale D
But he said them on

"Kɛ taá ngi vóngái kpélɛɛ kúla wíí ngéngengi wa. . . ."
must they his relatives all free foreigner work on. . . .

"But he (Haale) said to them, 'They must free his relatives from foreigner work.'"

The first examples under each of the above sets of hypotheses do not realize actual speech acts. The third example under *ta* could possibly also not be a speech act but in these particular stories it is logical for them to represent speech acts.

The functions of the morphemes *ma* and *ta* are elusive but may give a clue to rank. In "Deer and Leopard," there are two times that *ta* is used when Leopard is the ^{CS}AUDIENCE and thus there is nothing referring to the ^{S}ADDRESSEE (Clauses 11 and 13). *Ta* is never used when Deer is the ^{CS}AUDIENCE. He is always recognized as an ^{S}ADDRESSEE by the use of the form *ma*. *Ma* is a postposition overlaid with the 3S pronoun tone which indicates who is the ^{S}ADDRESSEE. In Clause 19 we are assured of this as the ICC form of *ma*, *wa*, is used following *Ndɔpa* who is the ^{S}ADDRESSEE. *Ta* seems to be a particle indicating something was said, but no reference is made as to who the ^{S}ADDRESSEE is. This hypothesis concerning the use of *ta* and its effect on referent rank is tentative. The two instances mentioned above coincide with the quotation used for the Inciting Moment and the first speech act of Deer's three truths.

However, if the hypothesis about rank is true, then "The Haale" gives some interesting clues as to who is most important in the story and also in society. The diviner, who only appears for a short time, is the speaker following a quotative that uses *ta*. He is key to the story because he gives the solution to the problem and his quotation is the Inciting Moment to get the story going. It is also the only truly direct quotation in the story (Haale B). At this point in the text he has a higher rank than the Bandi people. This would be in agreement with the Bandi culture as well. Traditionally diviners are highly respected people.

Later in the story, Haale has a quotation which is in indirect form. The pronouns referring to the ^{S}ADDRESSEEs are in the 3rd person as well as the pronoun referring to himself. His quotative uses *ma* (Haale 13,D). The use of the quotative gives him a higher rank than the Bandi people who do not have any formulaic type of quotative, *i yɛ ta/ma*, to express their speech acts. Instead, their speech acts are realized by a ^{S}Conversation Block with the ^{S}QUOTATION connected with *ngaa* (Haale 6,A). It is all indirect and draws little attention to its content.

	S-Events							Coordination	
	S-Conv.Blk.QTVE							Existential	QUOTATION
	S-Comp.COMPPROP.SIMUL A						REFPROP	SpatLocation	
	S-LogArr(SEQ)-purpose.PRIOR					LA.SUBSQ			
	S-TempArr.SIMUL A				TA.SIMUL B				
	S-LogArr(SEQ)-reason.SUBSQ			LA.PRIOR					
	Identification		CS-TOPIC						
	Event(REACTION)		AFFECT						
	TempArr(SEQ)	TempArr(SIMUL)							
	M-Clause Past,Cons,Ptve	PastPerf,PastProg	00	*sifa*	*na*	*ngaa*	*kckia*	Non-verbal	
1								Coordination= COORD:Deer COORD:Leopard	
2								Existential= *EXSTL:Deer* TLOC:long ago	
3								Existential= EXSTL:Deer	
4								SpatLocation= SLCTD:cold SLOC:Deer	
5	Evt(EXPSN)= EXPSN:*say*								(A) ta: Let me go where the sun is shining and I will warm myself
6	Evt(ACT)= ACT:went								
7	Evt(ACT)= ACT:bend SLOC:Leopard's path								

Figure 10. Semantic text trace--"Deer and Leopard"

8		Evt(COG)= NGTD:he COG:know							
9	Evt(ACT)= ACT:lift.up PHEN:Deer				Evt(ACT)= AGT:Leopard ACT:pass SLOC:path				
10	Evt(EXPSN)= SPKR:that one EXPSN:cried								
11	Evt(EXPSN)= EXPSN:said								(B) ta Please don't eat me. I want to say three things to you, but if they are not true then you can eat me.
12	Evt(EXPSN)= SPKR:Leopard EXPSN:said ADDR:him								(C) ma Ok, tell me all now quickly.
13	Evt(EXPSN)= SPKR:Deer EXPSN:said								(D) ta The first one is this. If I had known that this was your path, I wouldn't have laid down here at all.
14	Evt(EXPSN)= SPKR:Leopard EXPSN:said ADDR:him								(E) ma True, you wouldn't have done it. Ok, say the other two now.
15	Evt(EXPSN)= SPKR:Deer EXPSN:said ADDR:him								(F) ma The second one is again. All the animals in the bush and all the animals in town, if I go and say to even one of them, he will not believe my words.
16	Evt(EXPSN)= SPKR:Leopard EXPSN:said ADDR:him								(G) ma You have spoken the truth again. Ok the last one is what? Say it quickly or I will eat you.

Figure 10. Semantic text trace--"Deer and Leopard" (continued)

17	Evt(EXPSN)= SPKR:Deer EXPSN:said TLOC:now ADDR:him								(H) ma The third one is this. Uncle, I know your hear is cold today. If now it were not true, all the talking we are doing, you would have eaten me.
18	Evt(EXPSN)= SPKR:Leopard EXPSN:laughed								(I) -- Ha-ha-a.
19	Evt(EXPSN)= EXPSN:said ADDR:Deer								(J) ma Get up! Go! These three things you spoke are all truth.
20		Evt(ACT)= AGT:Leopard NGTD:he ACT:eat PAT:Deer							
21	Evt(ACT)= ACT:caught PAT:big animal								
22		Evt(ACT)= NGTD:he ACT:GO PHASE:finish PAT:same		Attribution= ATTRIB:full Att.ITEM:him					
23		Evt(ACT)= ACT:waiting PAT:evening				TA(SIMUL)= SIMUL A: Evt(ACT)= ACT:eat PAT:remainde SIMUL B: Evt(ACT)= AGT:hunger ACT:catch PAT:him			
24		Evt(RCTN)= NGTD:he RCTN:wanting	Evt(ACT)= ACT:catch PAT:Deer Evt(ACT)= ACT:stay SLOC:Leopard's						

Figure 10. Semantic text trace--"Deer and Leopard" (continued)

25	Identification= IDFD:all IDFR:truth		Ident= IDFD:three things IDFR: Evt(EXPSN)= SPKR:Deer EXPSN:said						
26	Evt(ACT)= AGT:his head ACT:opened								
27	Evt(ACT)= AGT:his head ACT:open		Evt(EXPSN)= SPKR:any person EXPSN:say CONQUE:truth thing				Evt(ACT)= AGT:Deer's head ACT:opened SLOC:Leopard's		

Figure 10. Semantic text trace--"Deer and Leopard" (continued)

S-Events										
S-ConvBlk.QTVE									QUOTATION	
S-Comp.COMPPROP							REFPROP		Name	
S-LogArr(SEQ)-purpose.PRIOR						SUBSQ			Existential	
S-TempArr.SIMUL A				SIMUL B				SIMUL B	Ident	
S-TempArr(SEQ).SUBSQ			PRIOR							
Identification		IDENTIFIER							IDENTIFIED	
S-Event(COGNITION)		PHENOMENON								
S-Event(REACTION)		AFFECT								
TempArr(SEQ)	TempArr(SIMUL									
	M-Clause Past,Cons,Hab	Past Perfect	00	Past	Na PastProgressive	kcinoo	kckia Potentive	Habitual	Non-verbal	
1									Name= GIVEN NAME	
2		Evt(RCTN)= NGTD:they RCTN:want	AFFECT: Evt(ACT)= AGT:war ACT:destroy PAT:them		Evt(ACT)= AGT:war ACT:make difficult BENEF:Bandi people and other tribes TLOC:long ago					
3		ké Evt(COG)= NGTD:they COG:know	PHEN: Evt(ACT)= ACT:do PAT:what							
4	Evt(ACT)= ACT:gather									
5	Evt(ACT)= ACT:go SLOC:diviner									

Figure 11. Semantic text trace--"The Haale"

6	Evt(EXPSN)= EXPSN:ask									(A)ngaa what they could do (so) the war would not destroy them.
7	Evt(ACT): AGT:diviner ACT:looked PAT:it									
8	Evt(EXPSN)= EXPSN:say									(B) ta This is what you should do so the war will not destroy you. You must take a native citizen as a sacrifice, shoot him with seven arrows and while breath is still in him. bury him
9	Evt(EXPSN)= EXPSN:inform ADDR:citizens			Evt(ACT)= ACT:come from SLOC:diviner						
10									Existential= EXSTL:on man	
11	Evt(EXPSN)= EXPSN:say ADDR:him									(C) ma Haale.
12	Evt(ACT)= ACT:give PAT:self BENEF:country					Evt(ACT)= ACT:kill PAT:him				
13	ké Evt(EXPSN)= EXPSN:say ADDR:them									(D) ma they must free his relatives from slave labor to the foreigners or government. None of them was to do porter work.
14	Evt(ACT)= AGT:citizens ACT:agree									
15	Evt(ACT)= ACT:destroy PAT:him PROD:sacrifice			Evt(ACT)= AGT:Haale ACT:give PAT:self						

Figure 11. Semantic text trace--"The Haale" (continued)

16	Evt(ACT)= PHASE:continue ACT:sit									
17	Evt(ACT)= ACT:dug PAT:grave SLOC:center of town									
18	Evt(ACT)= ACT:place PAT:him SLOC:grave									
19	Evt(ACT)= ACT:shoot INSTR:7 arrows									
20	Evt(ACT)= ACT:lower PAT:him SLOC:grave			SLocation= SLCTD:life SLOC:him						
21	Evt(ACT)= ACT:pour PAT:mud SLOC:him						TA(SIMUL)= SIMUL A: Evt(ACT)= ACT:do SIMUL B: Evt(ACT)= AGT:person ACT:die			
22	Evt(ACT)= ACT:remain SLOC:grave TDUR:7 days									
23	Evt(ACT)= ACT:howl									
24	Evt(ACT)= ACT:die									
25	Evt(ACT)= ACT:drive PAT:their enemies			Evt(ACT)= ACT:destroy PAT:sacrifice						
26	Evt(ACT)= AGT:their enemies ACT:come from SLOC:other side of border									

Figure 11. Semantic text trace--"The Haale" (continued)

27									Ident= IDFD:their leader IDFR:Chief Mbagulome	
28	Evt(ACT)= ACT:worship PAT:him			Evt(ACT)= AGT:war PHASE:finish				Evt(ACT)= AGT:Anniversary of Haale's death ACT:come		
29	Evt(ACT)= AGT:all Bandia ACT:catch PAT:black cow									
30	Evt(ACT)= ACT:kill PAT:it SLOC:Haale's grave									
31			IDFR: ConvBlk= QTVE: Evt(EXPSN)= EXPSN:call QTN:the Haale						IDFD:sacrifice	
32	Evt(ACT)= AGT:all important people ACT:gather TLOC:every year									
33	Evt(ACT)= ACT:go SLOC:Haale worship place									
34			IDFR: Evt(ACT)= CAUSE:make ACT:destroy PAT:Bandia MEANS:war NGTD:they						bowalale IDFD:he	

Figure 11. Semantic text trace--"The Haale" (continued)

2.5 Communication Situation Text Trace

2.5.1 Introduction

The purpose of the Communication Situation Text Trace is to identify the information from the referential realm which is reflected in the text. It includes the time, place, incidents, and referents. These may be actual, hypothetical, or imaginary.

The CS stratum, like the Semantic and Morphemic strata, has constructions composed of constituents. The ^{CS}Incident has constituents such as PERFORMER, AFFECTED, COMMUNICATOR, and AUDIENCE. The ^{CS}Plot has PROBLEM, CIRCUMSTANCE, PLANNED RESOLUTION, and RESOLUTION. The CS Stratum also includes static structures which are apart from the communicator and audience but which are used to encode or decode a text (Fleming 1988:298). Static structures include the CULTURE, LANGUAGE, and SOCIAL SETTING, among others.

The examination of the Communication Situation in these texts will be brief. There could be much more detail involved if one was to take a look at all the cultural factors, beliefs, attitudes, interests, etc., of the Bandi people and of the person to whom the texts were first told.

2.5.2 Charting Procedures

Figures 12 and 13 (pages 116-117) display the referential plot trace for each narrative. This trace is organized around the semantic trace. There is a vertical column for each major and minor ranking referent. The first row or rows gives the inter-relationship between referents if such is needed. This is information that is not necessarily related to time, for example, the Social Relationship between the Bandi people and those they are fighting, or the Social Relationship between the enemies and their chief.

The left most column gives the temporal order once time begins and also the place an incident occurs. The time is marked as T1, T2, etc. to refer to events in chronological order. If several events are going on at the same time, they are found horizontally arranged in line with the same

time marking. If an incident occurs for an extended period of time there will be a vertical line marking the beginning and end of the incident.

Each referent is marked according to its role in each particular incident. The asterisk marks the higher ranking referent of a particular incident or relationship.

Flashbacks are placed where they actually occur rather than where they are mentioned in the story. Thus, we see the Leopard eating the big animal before the time of the story actually starts.

2.5.3 Observations

2.5.3.1 "Deer and Leopard"

The ^{CS}Plot for "Deer and Leopard" includes the following. There are plot structures for both Deer and Leopard. The constituents have been lined up horizontally to show how the plots of each referent interact with each other.

Deer Plot	Leopard Plot
PROBLEM:he was cold	CIRCUMSTANCE:he was full from eating
PLANNED RESOLUTION: lay in the sun	
RESOLUTION: laid in the Leopard's path	CIRCUMSTANCE:Deer in his path
Plot =	PROBLEM:too full to eat Deer
	RESOLUTION: Plot =
PROBLEM:he didn't know, Leopard came	
REACTION: fear	
PLAN:to tell 3 truths as a way out	CIRCUMSTANCE:Deer begs to tell three truths
RESOLUTION:Leopard lets him go	REACTION:Leopard agrees & lets Deer go

Time	Place	Deer	Leopard	big animal
Long ago		CIRCUM:cold	PER:caught	AFF:caught
			PER:eat CIRCUM:full	AFF:eaten
			PER:waiting	
T1	Leopard's path	*PER:went		
T2		*PER:laid down		
T3		AFF:came upon	*PER:passing *PER:came upon	
T4		COMM:cried		
T5		COMM:Don't eat me. I want to say 3 things. If they aren't true then you can eat me.	AUD	
T6		AUD	COMM:Ok, tell me quickly.	
T7		COMM:The 1st one is this. If I had known this was your path I wouldn't have laid down here at all.	AUD	
T8		AUD	COMM:True, you wouldn't have done it. OK, say the other 2 now.	
T9		COMM:The second one is this. Out of all the animals in the bush and all those in town, if I went to one and said 'Uncle Leopard and I were talking today.' He would not believe me.	AUD	
T10		AUD	COMM:You have spoken the truth again. Ok, what is the last one? Tell me quickly before I eat you.	
T11		COMM:Uncle, I know that you are satisfied. If that were not true, with all the talking we're doing, you would have eaten me.	AUD	
T12			*PER:laughed	
T13		AUD	COMM:Get up and go.The three things you spoke are all true.	

Figure 12. Referential plot trace--"Deer and Leopard"

		Bandi people	citizens	Haale	enemies/chief	diviner	grave/arrows
inter-relationships among referents		SocRel: <----> leaders	SocRel: <----> citizens	SocRel: Citizen	SocRel: subjects/chief		
		SocRel: <---------- enemies		---------->	SocRel: enemies		
Time:	Place:						
Long ago	Bandi country	*PER:fight RCTN:fear			PER:fight		
T1		*PER:gather					
T2	diviner	*PER:went					
T3		*COMM:What to do so not destroyed in war				AUD	
T4						*PER:divined	
T5		AUD				COMM:This is what you must do . . .	
T6	town	*PER:came from					
T7		COMM:told plan	AUD	AUD			
T8				*PER:gave AFF:given			
T9		AUD	AUD	COMM:relatives should not be slaves			
T10		COMM:agree	COMM:agree				
T11	grave	*PER:dug		*PER:sat			AFF:grave
T12		*PER:set		AFF:set by grave			
T13		*PER:shot		AFF:shot			INSTR
T14		*PER:lower		AFF:lowered			
T15		*PER:put mud		AFF:buried			
7days				*PER:stayed *PER:howled			
T16				*PER:died			
T17	Bandi border	*PER:drove out			AFF: driven out		

Figure 13. Referential plot trace--"The Haale"

Here we can see that the solution for Deer's problem of being cold only led to another problem, that of being found by Leopard. This causes a problem for Leopard because he has already eaten although this is unknown to those hearing the story. Deer's solution offers resolution to both of the plots.

The negative, the fact he didn't know it was Leopard's path, has not been charted in the plot trace. But we see that it realizes part of the ^{CS}PROBLEM.

Deer's two problems give us an interesting clue to the use of quotations already mentioned. The use of the *ta* morpheme can be used at the Inciting Moment. From the CS stratum, this is also the point where a solution to the ^{CS}Plot.PROBLEM is given. Although I have not charted Deer as speaking before he went to the path because it was probably not a real incident, it is the solution for his problem of being cold and is found on the S stratum as a Conversation Block and on the M stratum in the Event(EXPRESSION).

The chart shows clearly the temporal arrangement of the incidents in the referential realm. The information about Leopard having already eaten is not revealed in the story until later. By withholding this information, the story teller creates suspense and makes the story interesting. This information is later given and is found in the Past Perfect verbal constructions.

The information found in the F positions in the semantic trace is not found in the Plot structures, nor on the CS chart. This is information given by the story teller to explain, inform, or relay ^{CS}BELIEF or ATTITUDE. In this text, the value of telling the truth is portrayed.

2.5.3.2 "The Haale"

The ^{CS}Plot for "The Haale" includes the following. There are plot structures for both the Bandi people and for Haale.

Bandi People Plot	Haale Plot
PROBLEM:war is going poorly the people don't want to lose, they don't know what to do	PROBLEM:relatives are being used as slaves
PLAN:go to diviner for answer	
PLANNED RESOLUTION: do what diviner says and offer a sacrifice	
Plot = PROBLEM:need a volunteer	
RESOLUTION:Haale volunteers, enemies are driven out	RESOLUTION:volunteers to be the sacrifice in exchange for relatives freedom.

Again, in this text we see that the plots for the Bandi people and for Haale are dependent on each other. The same ^{CS}RESOLUTION, that of Haale giving his life, ends the ^{CS}PROBLEMs found in both plots.

Here we see again that part of the ^{CS}PROBLEM of the war going badly is found in the morphemics in negative constructions. These negatives reveal the fact it was undesirable to be destroyed and that the people lacked a solution to solve the problem.

While both the solutions are found in ^{S}Conversation Blocks, the morpheme *ta* is not found in the quotative prior to Haale's solution. Perhaps this is because of its embedded nature within another plot or perhaps this is not so much to give a solution to his problem as for the story teller to reveal Haale's good character. Taking care of one's family and generosity are highly valued personal characteristics for the Bandi people. Here Haale is portrayed as possessing these traits not only in his offer to give his life but also in providing for his relatives' future. Highlighting a favorable characteristic of a referent is perhaps another use of reported speech.

Again in this text, there is information about incidents that occur prior to the story. This information, the fact that the people are in the midst of a hard war, is given at the beginning of the text to give the occasion for what is to follow. In both narratives, this information is found in Past Perfect verbal constructions.

By comparing the number of semantic events with the number of actual time incidents (T1, T2, etc.) on the referential chart we can see there is a difference in number. There are several times within the morphemic text where we are told that Haale gave himself to be killed or was killed (^{M}Text Chain 12, 15, and 25). Then it is in M 16-24 that he is killed. These correspond to the time line of T11-16. The killing can only happen once in the referential realm, but in the story it is mentioned three times in addition to the actual incidents causing his death. In fact, there are four references if the diviner's quotation is counted. Suspense is created as this is an unusual request. Then Haale (T8, M 12) volunteers himself to be killed. Sentence 15, the ^{S}ELABORATED, does not happen on the referential realm except in the series of incidents that follow this morphemic construction. When the death is mentioned again, it is as a back reference in M 25a, highlighting this event once again as the solution to the war. Truly the sacrifice is the peak of the text.

As already mentioned in Section 2.2.3.2 the lack of noun references is one indicator of peak. In Clauses 16, 17, and 22 there is a switch in function for a referent or a new referent in primary function and a noun is expected.

Another indicator of peak is the length of seven days that Haale howls before he dies. All other events, aside from the war going on, are punctiliar. The durative nature of this event holds up the story for a moment at the Climax.

The sentence structure in Clauses 15-24 makes more use of the Sentence.F position in comparison with the rest of the text. There are four occurences (20b, 21b, 24) including the embedded Sentence in 21b and counting 24 as subordinate as mentioned in Section 2.3.4.4 on page 93. The entire rest of the text has only one occurrence of Sentence.F being filled (12b).

It is interesting to see that the enemies and their chief have only the CS function PERFORMER concerning the fighting. This function does not get a primary realization on the Semantic stratum but only a tertiary realization as ^{S}SPATIAL LOCATION. This confirms their low ranking in the text.

As in "Deer and Leopard," the information found in the ^{S}Discourse and Text.F positions is not found in the referential plot trace. These are added to explain the connection between the sacrifice in the story and the sacrifice now called The Haale. The conclusion to the story, giving Haale credit for saving his people, is given to inform those being told the story as well as to exonerate Haale. Both conclusions realize the ^{CS}COMMUNICATORS INTENT and INTEREST (see realization formulas in Sections 2.4.3 and 2.4.4).

2.6 The Salience Scheme

In the analysis of texts, it becomes evident that not all Clauses have the purpose of telling the story. Differing verbal constructions and repetition, as well as author intrusions are used to provide other sorts of information.

> First of all, it is assumed that in most languages, clauses that advance the progress of a narrative are distinguished . . . from clauses that do not. . . . The formal distinguishing of the storyline needs sometimes to be supplemented by a semantic distinction, e.g., barring 'be' verbs and statives from the storyline even if they happen to have the required form. Secondly, storyline clauses, . . . are accompanied by clauses which report other sorts of information and which may be ranked in order of progressive degrees of departure from the storyline. (Longacre 1990:3)

Table 9.--Etic bands (Longacre 1990:6)

1'. Pivotal storyline (augmentation of 1)
1. Primary storyline (S/Ag>S/Ex>S/P)
2. Secondary storyline
3. Routine (script-predictable action sequences)
4. Backgrounded actions/events
5. Backgrounded activity (durative)
6. Setting (exposition)
7. Irrealis (negatives & modals)
8. Evaluations (author intrusions)
9. Cohesive & thematic

In any language, texts contain a main line of development, usually the sequential and punctiliar events, and other materials which encode other information. Longacre has developed a set of etic bands ranked in order of their departure from the mainline (see Table 9). He hypothesizes that

this ranking is related to the morphemic structure: ". . . the sentences whose main verb(s)/clause(s) are of highest rank are structurally dominant in the local span and those of lower rank are structurally ancillary" (Longacre 1989:415).

The storyline bands for a Bandi narrative can be found in Table 10 on page 123.

2.6.1 Storyline 1

Storyline verbs in Bandi narrative are typically in the simple remote past which entails the past indicative pronoun set + *-ni* or *-i* on the verb. The immediate past, marked by *-nga* or *-a*, is also used in conjunction with *kɛ* 'then' which moves the dialogue forward in "Deer and Leopard." The simple past marks punctiliar events in the text. The morphemic abstracts in Section 2.3.4 help to illustrate this.

The Consecutive verbal construction which uses the consecutive pronoun set and no suffix on the verb, is used in Clauses where the actions are closely related. The question needs to be asked whether or not the Consecutive constructions should have the storyline ranking when they follow a fully inflected storyline Clause. This is the same question Longacre (1990:89) addresses for the Northern Nilotic language Anywak. It seems reasonable here to assign the Consecutive constructions the same rank.

The Consecutive is not limited to the main storyline. It can be used following other verbal constructions. Consecutive marked Clauses obtain their rank from the Clause preceding it.

Clause chains as described above do not typically go on for long stretches of text. Anytime the primary referent changes, a back reference Clause with the subordinating conjunction *na* 'when' is used, the story is interrupted with more background or setting information, or there is some change in logical direction, the verb is again fully inflected and a new chain may begin.

Table 10.--Narrative salience scheme

BANDS	VERB/CLAUSE FORMS
1 Storyline 1	Simple Past ± Consecutive
2 Storyline 2	Habitual constructions ± Consecutive
3 Flashback	Past Perfect
4 Backgrounded/ simultaneous activity	*na* + Progressive
5 Setting	Non-verbal Clauses
6 Irrealis	Conditional
7 Evaluation/ Author Intrusion	Time stops, topicalization logical connectors
8 Cohesion	back reference: *na* + Past

2.6.2 Storyline 2

Storyline 2 refers to the Habitual verbal constructions that are at the end of "The Haale." These events are not happening now or as punctiliar events in the past. They are used to describe regularly occurring action of the referents in the past (see Example 57). It is possible that with further study of expository texts this form may be found to be used for explanation rather than a narrative text storyline.

(57) Ná kɔí vílaní, kɛkía fíli Háale páa Haale 28
when war finished, as any Haale kill

sówɔí ɔ́ɔ foló, tɔ́ɔ kɔ.
time itHAB reach theyHAB him-worship

"When the war finished, anytime Haale's anniversary came, they used to worship him."

2.6.3 Flashback

Flashback is a category that is closely related to Background. However, it is listed separately here because the activity has clearly been completed prior to the current time in the story. It is not an event going on at the same time as the main event line. The verbal constructions used in Flashback are typically Past Perfect constructions.

It has been placed in Band 3 above the background and setting because it provides important information to the story. The Past Perfect verbal constructions suggest an ongoing significance of the action. This action affects the storyline.

(58) Kɔlí áá mɔ́ɔ yɛi Ndɔpái ỹɛní, Deer 20-21
Leopard heNEG again PERF-RmPST Deer eat-PERF,

bɔw̃álale i yɛi suwa walá houni mɛngɔ́ mbɛ
because he PERF-RmPST animal big caught eat for

nɔ́ɔ feyaa.
just now.

"Leopard did not again eat Deer, because he had just caught and eaten some big animal."

2.6.4 Background

Background information is found in the Clauses beginning with the subordinate conjunction *na* 'when' and having the progressive aspect. They do not back reference something that already happened as does the *na* plus past (see Cohesion Section 2.6.8). These events occur simultaneously with the event in the storyline but are not themselves storyline as can be seen in Examples 59 and 60.

(59) Ná náa Kɔ́li yéi áá lɔ́ve ngí bámbui ñu, Deer 9
when now Leopard PROG-RmPST PROG pass his path in

kɛ i lɛɛngá ngáa Ndɔpá fúu
then he came.upon REL Deer !

"When now Leopard was passing on his path, he came upon Deer."

(60) Ná wólɔ kɔí yéni áá Bandíai nda . . . Haale 2
When long war PROG-RmPST PROG Bandi on . . .

taá yéni loní kɔí ɔ́ɔ́ ti gúla.
theyNEG PERF-RmPST wantPERF war it them destroy.

"When long ago the war was coming down hard on the Bandi people . . ., they did not want the war to destroy them."

2.6.5 Setting

Setting is typified by Non-verbal constructions. These are usually in the form of existentials to introduce participants or to give information as to time and place. They usually occur at the beginning of the text, but may be inserted where needed such as in "The Haale" where the main participant is introduced later in the text.

(61) Siỹɛ ngiláa ngí yéni na, Haale 10
man one he COP there

"One man was there,"

2.6.6 Irrealis

There seems to be irrealis in the ^{S}AFFECT of the Event(REACTIONS) in Deer 24 and Haale 2. The ^{S}AFFECT is realized by a Conditional verbal construction.

(62) taá yéni loní kɔí ɔ́ɔ́ ti gúla Haale 2
theyNEG PERF-RmPST wantPERF war itCOND them destroy

"They did not want the war to destroy them."

2.6.7 Evaluation/Author Intrusion

Evaluation/Author Intrusion is not distinguished by a certain verbal construction. There can be an increase in the number of logical connectors used. Time usually stops and events are referred to as having happened but with no reference to time in relation to other events.

Evaluation/Author Intrusion usually comes near the end of the text and uses whatever verbal construction is necessary to make particular comments or summarize the story events. This is the place in the text where the listener is instructed about some moral value or given the conclusions to what has been talked about. The Potentive verbal construction is used to encourage the practice of the moral value lauded in "Deer and Leopard."

(63) Ngimíla nɔ́ɔ nu fíli áá tɔɔỹaa háa le, Deer 27
Likewise just person any hePTVE truth thing say,

ngumáa áá wó . . .
his.head hePTVE open . . .

"Likewise, any person who can tell the truth, he can save himself."

Topicalization was used in both narrative texts (Deer 25a embedded, Haale 31 and 34) to connect the events of the story to the communicator's intention for telling the story.

(64) Saáỹai ná lɔ taá tóli ngáa Háalengi. Haale 31
Sacrifice that COP they call REL Haale-the.

"That sacrifice is the one they call The Haale."

2.6.8 Cohesion

The most obvious cohesive feature is the use of the conjunction *na* 'when' with a Past verbal construction which back references previous events. This Clause also serves to change scenes for episodes which may be based on a change of time, location, or circumstance. "The Haale" shows clear use of the *na*-Clause as a cohesive device. The use of the *na*-Clause as an adverbial Clause found in Sentence.F following another Clause should not be confused with the one used for cohesion found in Sentence.P.

(65) [The Bandi people went to the diviner, he told them what to do.]

Ná tí híɣeni tɔtɔbɛmai, Haale 9
When they come.from-RmPST divining-place,

tí sítini ndɔwɔlɔ́ lengái ma.
they explained country people on.

"When they came from the diviner, they explained it to the citizens."

The Sentence.F adverbial clauses are difficult to place into the salience scheme without more study. Several examples are found in the peak of "The Haale". In Clause 20 we see "They buried him when he was still alive." And in Clause 21 we see a comparison: "They put mud on him as they can do when a person dies." These clauses seem to be Setting or Author Intrusion, however, they are very crucial pieces of information. Haale had to be alive when they buried him and he had to be buried properly in order for the sacrifice to be valid.

There are several factors that may give reason to rank shift these Clauses to Storyline. Usually a subordinate Clause beginning with *na* 'when' is Background or Cohesion and is found in Sentence.P. It's place following the independent Clause may give it more prominence. The additional use of Sentence.F at peak (see Section 2.5.3.2) may also be a clue to rankshift these clauses. Both of the examples given above occur during peak.

CHAPTER 3

PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE IN BANDI

3.1 Introduction

"Procedural discourse tells us how something would be done whenever it happens to be done, or even how something was done whenever it happened to be done" (Longacre 1976:199). The only data available for the study of procedural discourse is "Brushing." It is a text told to describe to a foreigner how the Bandi people farm. It is important to realize that rice farming is the major occupation in the Bandi area. The rice grown is needed for the year's supply of food. If there is a bad season, i.e., no rain or the birds eat the grain, the people suffer. The emphasis is not so much on the end result, the harvest, but on the process and making sure that the rice has the opportunity to grow and head out.

3.2 Referent Identification

Procedural texts do not focus on particular referents. They tend to focus on the actions needed to accomplish some particular task or event. There are no referent identification charts included for this text. It is simple to look at the morphemic text trace in Figure 14 and see that for the most part pronouns are used to refer to a generic group of people assumed to be Bandi farmers. However, like in the narrative texts, there are nouns that introduce referents the first time they are mentioned. In Clause 2a and b the time of the year is introduced with a noun as well as a NP referring to all people who will be doing the farming. Any new referent after that is brought in with a noun, but unlike the narrative, most of these items are only part of the text briefly before it goes on to the next procedure. Aside from the people doing the farming and the rice itself, there are no long function spans as found in the narratives (see Section 2.2.2 for definition of function spans).

		AGENT Attri- bution	PHASE ACTIVITY	Event(ACT) TDURATION SLOCATION	Event(ACT)	ATTRIBUTION TLOCATION	free translation
	Cl=	Pl:NP,n	C:v,VP	Fl:PP	F2:Rel Phrase	F3:AdvPh,AdjPh	
	Non-clausal constructions						
1	Ndowó Ndowó brush Mbóndai. mbó-nda-i do -NOM-the						The Brushing
2a	Ná Ná when	ndɔ́bɔ hóu ndɔ́bɔ hóu bush catch gówói gówɔ-i time-the	áá híti. áá híti it reach				
2b		nuí nuu -í person-the kpélɛɛ kpélɛɛ all	áa li áa li he go				
3			í vélɛwaí í pélɛ-ma -í he bend-place-the wáli. wóli look				When the time comes to cut the bush for farming, everybody will go and find the best place to start their work.
4			Taá láalé naa Taá ndáalɛ naa they mouth.lift now	ndowó mbóndái wu. ndowó mbó-ndá-i mbu brush do -NOM-the under			They begin to cut the bush.
5a	Ná Ná when		táa víla táa víla they finish	ndowóngí wó má, ndowó-ngí mbó má brush-the do on			After cutting the bush, they will take an axe and cut the trees.
5b			taá koonóngí taá koonó-ngí they axe -the yóyo náa ndéyo náa take now				

Figure 14. Morphemic text trace--"Brushing"

6			tí ngúlúí vɔ. tí ngúlu-i pɔ they tree -the cut				
7a	Ná Ná when		táa víla táa víla they finish	pɔngí wó ma, pɔ -ngí mbó ma cut-the do on			When they finish cutting, they cut them in pieces and burn them.
7b			taá ngánjɔ́i náa. taá ngánjɔ́i náa they press now				
8	ké ké but		tí mɔ. tí Ø -mɔ they it -burn				
9a	Ná Ná when		áá wɔ́, áá mɔ́ it burn				After it is burned, they will do the clearing and plant (the rice seeds).
9b			tí ngóyangí wo tí ngóya-ngí mbó they clear-the do				
10			tí sí. tí sí they plant				
11a	Ná Ná when		táa sí, táa sí they plant				After they plant, they will continue to drive birds.
11b			tí wónií bɛ tí wóni-í bɛ they bird-the drive	ma Ø -ma it-on			
12a			í ló í ló it stand	su, Ø -su it-in		kpóloo mbaí... kpóloo mba -í until rice-the	until the rice is big and they begin to weed.
12b		mbaí mba -í rice-the	yɛ yɛ COP			wɔlɔ wólɔ kpólɔ kpólɔ long long	
13			taá tókuláhói náa taá tókuláhéi náa they begin now		ngáa *ngáa* REL kúlándáí. kúla-ndá-í pick-NOM-the		
14a	Ná Ná when		táa víla, táa víla they finish				When they finish, they will rest for two or three weeks.

Figure 14. Morphemic text trace--"Brushing" (continued)

14b			taá lɛ́clɛmbó náa taá lɛ́clɛ-mbó náa they rest -do now	kúu félóngó háaʉa. kúu fɛ́lɛ-ngó háaʉa time two -* for			
15a	Ná Ná when	mbál mbá -l rice-the	áá gúlá áá kúla it fall	su, ɰ -su it-in			
15b			taá kpóngí taá kpó -ngí they scaffold-the lo náa, lo náa build now				When the rice is heading out, they build a scaffold and drive the birds again.
16			tí mɔ́ɔ tí mɔlɔ they again ʉɔnlí bɛ. ʉ́ónl-í bɛ bird-the drive				
17a	Ná Ná when	mbál mbá -l rice-the	áá yé, áá yé it dry				
17b			taá láalé náa taá ndáa-lé náa they mouth-lift now	tevéndál wu. tevé-ndá-l mbu cut -NOM-the under			When the rice is dry (ready to harvest), they will start harvesting the rice now.
18a	Ná Ná when		táa yɛ́ vílaní táa yɛ́ víla -ní they PERF finish-PERF	náa mba lóvéndáa ʉ̃a, náa mba tóve-ndáa ma now rice cut -NOM on			When they finish cutting the rice now, they carry it in town,
18b			taá mbéelé náa taá mbéelé náa they liftup now	taí ñu, taa -í su town-the in			
19			tí pu tí pu they put	kotál ñu. kotá -l su attic-the in			and put it in the attic.
20			Taá lo náa Taá lo náa they stand now	lɛclɛmbó ma lɛ́clɛ-mbó ma rest -do on		kpóloo ngaú kpóloo ngaú until month ɛ́ɛ́ngó háaʉa ɛ́ɛ́ -ngó háaʉa three-* for	They will continue to rest for three months, then they will go again to find new bush for the following year.
21			tí mɔ́ɔ tí mɔlɔ they again tɔkúláhél náa tɔkúláhél náa begin now		ndɔbɔ wɔlíndál ndɔbɔ wɔlí-ndáa-l bush look-NOM -the fowo vékál háaʉa fowo póka -l háaʉa year other-the for		

Figure 14. Morphemic text trace--"Brushing" (continued)

3.3 Morphemic Text Trace

3.3.1 Charting Procedures

The morphemic text trace for the procedural text is displayed in Figure 14 on pages 129-131. The same procedures as used in the narrative texts were used when charting this text.

3.3.2 Observations

The Clause structure for the procedural text is somewhat simpler than that for the narrative. The same formula found Section 1.7.5.11 can be used, however, the P3 and P2 positions are not used in this procedural text and the F3 position can also be filled by a ^{M}Adjective Phrase.

The M\S realizations are limited to ^{S}Event(ACTIVITY) on the mainline. There is one ^{S}Attribution proposition embedded in the Adverb Phrase (12a). The ^{M}Clause.C often realizes ^{S}PHASE of an ^{S}ACTIVITY with the ^{S}ACTIVITY itself found in a ^{M}Postpositional Phrase or ^{M}Relator Phrase in Clause.F1 or F2.

There are four different phasals used in this text, *p/vīla*, *nd/laalɛ*, *t/lɔ́kulahei* and *nd/lo*. The first one means 'finish', the next two mean 'begin', and the last one means 'stay' or 'continue.' Each of these phasals requires a nominal morphemic form realizing the ^{S}ACTIVITY. *P/vīla* and *nd/laalɛ* are both used intransitively and require a Postpositional Phrase which contains the ^{S}Event (Clauses 4, 5, 7, 14, 17, and 18). *P/vīla* requires the postposition *m/w̃a* 'on', and *nd/laalɛ* requires the postposition *mb/wu* 'under'. *Tɔ́kulahei* is a transitive phasal. If it were being used intransitively, the form of the phasal would be *lɔ́kulahei* with the initial consonant changing according to the ICC rules. *Tɔ́kulahei* thus requires a Relator Phrase which identifies the 3S pronoun referent which is only expressed by the tone and the use of the strong consonant rather than the weak (Clause 13). In Clause 21 the relator *ngaa* is absent making the above assertion about *tɔkulahei* weak based on this text. However, other data shows this phasal usually followed by a Relator Phrase. More study is needed as to why the relator is absent here.

There are two ways to nominalize the Verb Phrases used for ^{S}ACTIVITY. One way is to add the suffix *-nda* ± the definite suffix *-i* (Clause 4). The other way is to put the definite suffix on the verb realizing the ^{S}ACTIVITY (Clause 7a). The verb *mb/wo* 'do' is also used in both forms after the ^{S}ACTIVITY verb except in Clauses 13, 17b, 18a, and 21. The phasal *nd/laalɛ* tends to use the first method *-nda* + *-i*. The phasal *p/vila* tends to use the second method. *Tɔkúlahei* uses only the *-nda-i* with no *mb/wo* (Clause 13). The only exceptions to these tendencies are found in 17b and 18a where there is no *mb/wo* form and *vila* is followed by a *-nda* non-definite form. Why these do not follow the same patterns as the others is not known. Neither is it known why the different phasals nominalize the verbal construction differently.

3.3.3 Morphemic Abstraction

3.3.3.1 Charting Procedures

The abstract chart is displayed in Figure 15 (page 136). The same charting procedures are used here as were used with the narrative texts. The data for this text has been arranged in 2 main columns with sub-columns indicating the verbal construction used. The first main column lists the independent Clauses and the second column lists all subordinate Clauses beginning with *na*. The subordinate Clauses are found horizontal to the independent Clauses upon which they are dependent. The Sentence constituent order of dependent Clauses in relation to the independent Clauses is ignored here.

The verbal construction used is marked with an X in the appropriate column. If a phasal is used, that phasal is found in the column in place of an X. The * indicates the use of the morpheme *naa* in the VP.

3.3.3.2 Morphemic Text Formula

The morphemic Text Chain for this text can be summarized in the following formula.

$$M_{\text{Text Chain}} = 1.\ \text{Non-verbal}$$
$$2^{n}.\ \{\text{Ptve, Cons}\}$$

The morphemic Text Chain begins with a NP to tell us the title and topic of the text. The second part which can occur more than once is made up of Potentive and Consecutive verbal constructions.

3.3.3.3 Observations

The verbal constructions used in this procedural text are much different than those in the narratives. The Potentive and Consecutive are the only verbal constructions used. There is one construction marked for the Perfect.

As with the narrative texts, the Consecutive is associated with the previous fully marked Clause. However, in Clauses 9-12 there are four Consecutive Clauses which do not seem to be connected to another fully marked Clause. There are two intervening *na* Clauses which complicate the matter more. It seems that these Clauses are related together with the chain of Clauses beginning with Clause 7.

Clause 7 is marked Potentive and then is followed by Clause 8 which is Consecutive but has the conjunction *kɛ́*. This conjunction is often translated 'but'. However, there does not seem to be anything to indicate contra-expectation or contrast at this point in the text. Rather, it seems to be indicating that the procedures to follow are very important to the process of farming. Now that the farm is burned, the actual planting can begin. The procedures that follow have to do with actually planting the rice and making sure the birds don't eat it while it is first growing. Both the *kɛ́* and the use of the Consecutive with no Clause fully marked indicates the peak of this procedural text, the *kɛ́* to indicate its commencing and the consecutive throughout. Longacre refers to the surface structure

peak of a procedural text as the notional structure Target Procedure. This is the section of text to which the rest of the text is directed (1983:29).

The frequent use of ^{S}PHASE is quite evident from the Abstract. *Vīla* is only found in subordinate Clauses.

Laalɛ and *tɔkulahei* are found only in the independent Clauses marked with the Potentive construction. *Laalɛ* is found at the beginning in Clause 4. It is found again in 17 when the rice is being harvested. It seems to be acting like bookends for the main procedures related to rice farming.

Tɔkulahei is used in connection with subsidiary activities related to farming, the chasing of the birds and looking again for another farm site.

The *na* Clauses are used in several ways. Clauses 2a, 9a, 15a, and 17a set up the stage by giving orientation to the condition of the farm or the rice. Clause 2a lets us know it is time again to find a place to farm. Clause 9a sets the stage for procedures to be followed once the farm is cleared. Clauses 15 and 17 give us a new time, that of the rice heading out and its being ready for harvest.

The rest of the *na* Clauses with the exception of 11a use the phasal *vila*. These Clauses give back reference to the previous task. That task being finished, the people start on the next one. The Clause in 11a is found in what has already been determined to be the peak. This may explain the absence of the phasal.

The final *na* Clause again uses the phasal *vila* and the only auxiliary verbal construction in the entire text. This Potentive Perfect construction signals that the whole process of farming is complete. The people have only to carry the rice home for storage.

Another interesting morpheme is *naa* typically translated 'now'. It is found in the F position of the VP. It is found in every Potentive independent Clause. It is also found in the Potentive Perfect dependent Clause and in the final independent Consecutive Clause. It seems to act as a punctuation mark for a procedure or each series of procedures that are closely related in purpose. At peak, it is not found.

Independent morphemic constructions			na 'when'
	Ptve	Cons	Ptve
1	Noun Phrase		
2	X		X
3		X	
4	laalɛ*		
5	X*		vila
6		X	
7	X*		vila
8		kɛ́	
9		X	X
10		X	
11		X	X
12		lo	
13	tɔku-*		
14	X*		vila
15	X*		X
16			X
17	laalɛ*		X
18	X*		Perf vila*
19		X	
20	lo*		
21		tɔku-*	

Figure 15. Abstraction of morphemic text trace--"Brushing"

3.4 Semantic Text Trace

3.4.1 Charting Procedures

The semantic text trace chart is displayed in Figure 16 (pages 138-139). Again the charting is based on the morphemic abstract. Columns 1-2 contain the independent Clause Events. Column 3-4 record the subordinate Clauses beginning with *na*. The subordinate Clauses are divided here on the basis of the presence of a phasal. There are different semantic realizations based on its presence or absence. Column 5 records the non-clausal constructions which in this text is limited to the title.

3.4.2 Semantic Text Formula

^{S}Text = P: Event(ACT)

C^{n}: Temporal Arrangement (SEQ)

+ Temporal Arrangement (SEQ)

+ Temporal Arrangement (SIMUL)

+ Reiteration

The semantic tactic formula is composed of a preceding position filled by an Event(ACTIVITY) plus a central position which can occur more than once filled by ^{S}Temporal Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL). In addition, there is also ^{S}Temporal Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL) and (SIMULTANEOUS), and ^{S}Reiteration.

The additional propositions are found relating horizontally across the chart. The Reiteration is found in Clauses 11 and 12 where the *i lo su* in 12 refers back to the driving of birds in 11 and tells us how long this procedure goes on.

	S-Events				Event(ACT)
	S-TempArr(SEQ).SUBSQ			PRIOR	
	S-TempArr(SIMUL).SIMUL A		SIMUL B		
	S-TempArr(SEQ)				
	M-Clause Potentive	Consecutive	Na Clause - Phasal	+ Phasal	Non-clausal
1					Evt(ACT)= PAT:brush ACT:do
2	Evt(ACT)= AGT:everybody ACT:go		Evt(ACT)= AGT:brush time ACT:reach		
3		Evt(ACT)= PAT:bendplace ACT:look			
4	Evt(ACT)= PHASE:begin PAT:brush ACT:do TLOC:now				
5	Evt(ACT)= PAT:axe ACT:take TLOC:now			Evt(ACT)= PHASE:finish PAT:brush ACT:do	
6		Evt(ACT)= PAT:tree ACT:cut			
7	Evt(ACT)= PAT:it ACT:cut into pieces TLOC:now			Evt(ACT)= PHASE:finish ACT:cutting	
8		Evt(ACT)= PAT:it ACT:burn			
9		Evt(ACT)= PAT:clearing ACT:do	Evt(ACT) ACT:burn		
10		Evt(ACT)= PAT:it ACT:plant			
11		Evt(ACT)= PAT:birds ACT:drive SLOC:on		Evt(ACT)= PHASE:(finish) PAT:it ACT:plant	
12		Evt(ACT)= ACT:stand SLOC:inside TLOC+TDIR: Attribution: Att.ITEM:rice ATT:very long			

Figure 16. Semantic text trace--"Brushing"

13	Evt(ACT)= PHASE:begin PAT:weed ACT:pick TLOC:now				
14	Evt(ACT)= ACT:rest TLOC:now TDUR:2 weeks			Evt(ACT)= PHASE:finish ACT:00	
15	Evt(ACT)= PAT:scaffold ACT:build TLOC:now		Evt(ACT)= AGT:rice ACT:fall SLOC:inside		
16		Evt(ACT)= PAT:birds ACT:drive			
17	Evt(ACT)= PHASE:begin ACT:cutting TLOC:now		Evt(ACT)= AGT:rice ACT:dry		
18	Evt(ACT)= PAT:it ACT:lift SLOC:town TLOC:now			Evt(ACT)= PHASE:finish ASPECT:perfect PAT:rice ACT:cut TLOC:now	
19		Evt(ACT)= PAT:it ACT:put SLOC:attic			
20	Evt(ACT) PHASE:continue ACT:rest TLOC:now TLOC+TDIR: until after three months				
21		Evt(ACT)= PHASE:begin PAT:bush ACT:look TLOC:now LLOC:next year			

Figure 16. Semantic text trace--"Brushing" (continued)

3.4.3 Observations

The semantic organization of this text is relatively simple. All propositions are related in time, either simultaneously or sequentially. The independent Clauses are arranged sequentially going from top to bottom down the chart. The *na* Clauses with *vila* for a phasal realize a ^{S}PRIOR function of a ^{S}Temporal Arrangement(SEQUENTIAL) to the independent Clauses to which they are subordinate.

The *na* Clauses which do not have a phasal (2a, 9a, 15a, 17a) are part of a Temporal Arrangement(SIMULTANEOUS). The Events they realize are durative in meaning. They are not punctiliar Events. The time to cut the brush, the field having burned, the rice heading out, and the rice being dry all start at one point in time and then continue. The text is arranged into four logical units based on these stages. Each new stage in the farming process requires a certain set of procedures. This becomes evident in Section 3.5 in the Communication Situation.

3.5 Communication Situation Text Trace

The entire procedural text is a ^{CS}Communication Incident where a Bandi person is explaining the process of rice farming to a foreigner. The trace in Section 3.5.1 outlines the Communication Situation.

3.5.1 Communication Situation Trace

COMMUNICATOR INTENT: to explain rice farming
LANGUAGE: Bandi

REFERENTIAL REALM:^{CS}Communication Transaction =

COMMUNICATOR: person from Bandi tribe
COMMUNICATION: encode
AUDIENCE: a foreigner unfamiliar with rice farming
MESSAGE:procedure =
STEP 1:procedure (preparing farm) =
STEP 1:Incident T1 going out
STEP 2:Incident T2 looking for a place
STEP 3:Incident T3 cutting the brush
STEP 4:Incident T4 taking the axe
STEP 5:Incident T5 cut trees
STEP 6:Incident T6 cut trees in pieces
STEP 7:Incident T7 burn trees
Step 2:procedure(planting) =
STEP 1:Incident T8 clear the land
STEP 2:Incident T9 plant
STEP 3:Incident T10 drive birds
STEP 4:Incident T10 continue to drive birds
STEP 5:Incident T11 pick weeds
STEP 6:Incident T12 rest
Step 3:procedure (caring for the rice) =
STEP 1:Incident T13 build scaffold
STEP 2:Incident T14 drive birds
Step 4:procedure (harvesting): =
STEP 1:Incident T15 cutting the rice
STEP 2:Incident T16 carry the rice in town
STEP 3:Incident T17 put it in the attic
STEP 4:Incident T18 rest
STEP 5:Incident T19 start looking again

3.5.2 Realization Relationships

Communication Situation Trace

COMMUNICATOR INTENT: to explain rice farming /^{S}Text.P/^{M}Text Chain 1
LANGUAGE: Bandi

REFERENTIAL REALM:^{CS}Communication Transaction =

COMMUNICATOR: person from Bandi tribe
COMMUNICATION: encode
AUDIENCE: a foreigner unfamiliar with rice farming
MESSAGE:procedure = /^{S}Text.C/^{M}Text Chain 2-21
- STEP 1:procedure (preparing farm) = /^{S}TA(SIMUL)
  - STEP 1:Incident T1 going out /^{M}Text Chain 2
  - STEP 2:Incident T2 looking for a place /^{M}Text Chain 3
  - STEP 3:Incident T3 cutting the brush /^{M}Text Chain 4
  - STEP 4:Incident T4 taking the axe /^{M}Text Chain 5
  - STEP 5:Incident T5 cut trees /^{M}Text Chain 6
  - STEP 6:Incident T6 cut trees in pieces /^{M}Text Chain 7
  - STEP 7:Incident T7 burn trees /^{M}Text Chain 8
- Step 2:procedure(planting) = /^{S}TA(SIMUL)
  - STEP 1:Incident T8 clear the land /^{M}Text Chain 9
  - STEP 2:Incident T9 plant /^{M}Text Chain 10
  - STEP 3:Incident T10 drive birds /^{M}Text Chain 11
  - STEP 4:Incident T10 cont. driving birds /^{S}Reiteration/^{M}Text Chain 12
  - STEP 5:Incident T11 pick weeds /^{M}Text Chain 13
  - STEP 6:Incident T12 rest /^{M}Text Chain 14
- Step 3:procedure (caring for the rice) = /^{S}TA(SIMUL)
  - STEP 1:Incident T13 build scaffold /^{M}Text Chain 15
  - STEP 2:Incident T14 drive birds /^{M}Text Chain 16
- Step 4:procedure (harvesting): = /^{S}TA(SIMUL)
  - STEP 1:Incident T15 cutting the rice /^{M}Text Chain 17
  - STEP 2:Incident T16 carry the rice in town /^{M}Text Chain 18
  - STEP 3:Incident T17 put it in the attic /^{M}Text Chain 19
  - STEP 4:Incident T18 rest /^{M}Text Chain 20
  - STEP 5:Incident T19 start looking again /^{M}Text Chain 21

Semantic Text Trace ^{S}Text = P: Event(ACT)

C^{n}: Temporal Arrangement (SEQ)

+ Temporal Arrangement (SEQ)

+ Temporal Arrangement (SIMUL)

+ Reiteration

Morphemic Text Trace ^{M}Text Chain = 1. Non-verbal (1)

2^{n}. {Ptve, Cons} (2-21)

3.5.3 Observations

The largest structure in this text is the ^{CS}Communication Transaction. It has the constituents of COMMUNICATOR, COMMUNICATION, AUDIENCE, and MESSAGE. While there is nothing in the text to directly indicate the AUDIENCE, it is highly unlikely that such a text would be encoded to no one. The message given indicates the person is unfamiliar with the local farming practices. Typically, a Bandi person would teach another Bandi person by modeling the procedure rather than explaining it as we see here. The explanation would be unnecessary to someone growing up in the Bandi culture as s/he would start helping with the farm work at an early age.

The message contains a procedure composed of 4 steps. Step 1 is composed of a procedure containing 7 steps related to preparing the farm. Step 2 is composed of a procedure containing 5 steps related to planting. Step 3 is composed of a procedure containing 2 steps related to caring for the rice. Step 4 is composed of a procedure containing 5 steps related to the harvest and which bring us back to the beginning of the farming cycle again.

The realization relationships in Section 3.5.2 show where the different Communication Situation constituents are realized by the Semantic and Morphemic strata. They are read horizontally across the diagram. The complete semantic and morphemic formulas are repeated at the bottom for convenience.

Each part of the semantic and morphemic text traces is included in one of the realization relationships with the exception of the additional Temporal Arrangements(SEQUENTIAL). These are used to back reference and are not part of the actual message in the communication situation. They are found in Sentence.P in the morphemics.

3.6 The Salience Scheme

The salience scheme for a procedural discourse would be expected to be different from that of a narrative text. Instead of a storyline as the mainline, we find a line of procedure.

> The line of procedure in a procedural discourse is similar in many ways to a storyline, but while its mainline verbs are punctiliar, sequential, and (usually) volitional, they are not set in past time so much as in lapsed time: a series of actions to be performed (or which were performed) under certain cultural constraints and for certain goals (Longacre 1990:2).

In the Bandi text just discussed the verbal constructions used do not refer to a specific time but to actions which typically happen or in which one can engage relative to the time specified in the text. The salience scheme for the Bandi procedural type discourse is given in Table 11 on page 145.

3.6.1 Line of Procedure

The line of procedure can be read straight through the text containing the independent Clauses. The Potentive and Consecutive verbal constructions are used.

3.6.2 Routine

The routine band is defined as the script predictable events. These are contained in the *na* Clauses followed by a potentive verbal construction. These Clauses act to move the procedural text forward and group them into the four main procedures outlined in the Communication Situation trace.

They are script predictable in that they give information which would be expected.

(66) [The rice has been planted and the people are resting]

Ná mbái áá gúla su . . . Brush 15a
When rice 3S fall inside . . .

"When the rice is heading out . . ."

In the above example, once the rice is growing, it is expected that then it will head out. This information is not given in an independent Clause because it is not part of the procedure, but it is relevant to the next steps to be explained and it is predictable information.

Table 11.--Procedural salience scheme

BANDS	VERB/CLAUSE FORMS
Line of Procedure	Potentive Consecutive
Routine	*na* + Potentive
Cohesion	back reference: *na* Clause ± PHASE:finish

3.6.3 Cohesion

Aside from Clause 11a in the peak of the story (see Section 3.3.3.3), the Cohesion band uses *na* Clauses that include the phasal *vila* 'finish'. They simply repeat the previous activity as a means to tie the procedures together.

(67) [The people just cut down the trees] Brush 7a

Ná táa víla pɔngí wó ma, taá ngánjei náa,
when they finish cutting do on they press now,

"When they finish the cutting, they cut them in pieces,"

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

In the Introduction to this thesis, I stated that I wanted to answer the following questions in relation to the three texts studied.

How referents are introduced, ranked, and maintained as characters.

What the purpose of reported speech is within a text.

What salience schemes characterize the different text types.

How the lower level grammar structures compare in the different text types.

The following sections will summarize what has been written in Chapter 2 and 3 about each of these questions.

4.1 Referent Identification

The function of a referent helps determine both its morphemic realization as a noun or pronoun and its rank. Functions are divided into three categories, primary, secondary and tertiary. Primary functions include functions such as agent, speaker, or the one doing the action, usually the subject. Secondary functions include functions like patient. These functions are all found to occur in the object position prior to the main verb as is typical of SOV word order typology. Tertiary functions are functions realized outside of the verb phrase. They include functions such as spatial location, instrument, and addressee. A function span is when a referent continues to hold functions from one of these three groupings throughout a section of the text.

Referents are typically introduced with nouns in both the narrative texts and the procedural. However, their identification and use throughout the text is a more crucial feature of the narrative texts than the procedural.

Nouns are used for a referent's initial occurrence in a function span. Pronouns are used for non-initial occurrences. At the peak of a narrative, they are used where a noun would normally occur at the beginning of a function span. Pronouns are also used in the primary function in constructions where a major ranking referent is not in the primary function but it is desired to keep the focus on that referent. This is seen in "The Haale" at the end when it states, "They did not destroy the Bandi people in war." In this example, the Bandi people are the object and are in the patient function but are the focus of the text.

Referent ranking is based on a number of factors. Those referents which are introduced in existentials, named with reported speech, or placed in a topicalized construction are typically the highest ranking referents. Major referents will have many primary functions, several different nominal references, and a large number of references in comparison to minor referents. Major referents participate in speech acts and the complexity of their quotations has bearing on their rank. Those referents whose speech acts are found in reported speech (i.e., that which has the formulaic quotative *i yɛ ma/ta* 'he said') representing their speech acts versus an indirect form are ranked slightly higher. The Inciting Moment in both narrative texts was a speech act performed by a major referent.

Minor referents are introduced in relation to other referents. They hold mostly secondary or tertiary functions and a limited number of primary functions. They do not participate in speech acts. They are often merely circumstantial participants.

4.2 Reported Speech

Reported speech or direct quotation is found only in the narrative texts and has a variety of purposes.

1. To record actual speech acts,
2. To anticipate an upcoming event on the mainline,
3. To mark the close of the Inciting Moment where, after the conflict has been given, a solution for the problem is stated,

4. To name a major referent,

5. To highlight a referent's favorable character.

In "Deer and Leopard", the moral of the story, speaking the truth, is emphasized by the use of speech acts throughout the text.

As already mentioned in Section 4.1, the participation in speech acts helps determine the major referents in a text. These speech acts may or may not be in the form of reported speech in the text. In the historical narrative, the diviner and Haale are the only characters with a quotative formula and a quotation. Through his quotation, the diviner provides the solution to the problem of the war. This is also the close of the Inciting Moment directly before the main section of the story. Haale also has a problem for which a solution is given in reported speech. The speech acts of the Bandi people in the narrative are not represented in reported speech. They are all in an indirect quotation with no quotative formula. This lack of reported speech in the text gives the Bandi referents a ranking lower than the other character on the scene at the same time. The enemies and their chief who are minor characters never participate in a speech act.

4.3 Salience Schemes

Both narrative texts have the same salience scheme. These bands are distinguished mainly by the use of different verbal constructions.

1. Storyline 1
2. Storyline 2
3. Flashback
4. Backgrounded/simultaneous activity
5. Setting
6. Irrealis
7. Evaluation/Author Intrusion
8. Cohesion

The procedural text has only three bands and are as follows.

1. Line of Procedure
2. Routine
3. Cohesion

Only the Line of Procedure is in independent constructions. Routine and Cohesion are subordinated by the morpheme *na* 'when'. The presence of the phasal *vila* 'finish' distinguishes the Cohesion band from the Routine band.

4.4 Lower Level Grammar Structures

Eleven lower level formulas were discussed in Chapter 1. These included the Verb Word, Adjective Phrase, Adverb Phrase, Complex Phrase, Locative Phrase, Noun Phrase, Postpositional Phrase, Relator Phrase, Verb Phrase, Clause, Sentence, and Conjunction Chain.

The Verb Phrase is the most complex of all the lower level structures and has a high functional load in the grammar on both the lower level and discourse level. In addition to the main verb, the Verb Phrase contains a pronoun which agrees in person and number with the subject. It also contains the object if there is one and any auxiliary verbs used in auxiliary verbal constructions such as progressive and perfect. Modals for hortatory and obligatory constructions, conditional particles, and temporal references are also included in the VP.

There are two types of verbal constructions in Bandi. Primary constructions have only one verb base. Auxiliary constructions use an auxiliary verb as the name suggests. The verbal constructions are not easily separated into tense, aspect, and mood. The primary constructions include Conditional, Consecutive, Customary, Emphatic, Habitual, Hortatory, Imperative, Obligatory, Past, and Potentive. The auxiliary constructions are Perfect and Progressive. These constructions are formed by a combination of the subject pronoun used, suffixes on the verb(s), and the presence or absence of auxiliary verbs. Negatives use a different subject pronoun set.

The Verb Phrase in the procedural text is simpler for the most part than in the narratives. There is very little use of auxiliary verbal constructions and thus VP.P3, which is filled by an embedded VP when the progressive aspect is in use, is not used at all. The only auxiliary construction in the entire text is the Perfect construction found in Clause 18a. The Procedural text also incorporates the object in the Verb Phrase as found in the Narrative texts. However, where a phasal is used, the verb realizing the activity is found nominalized in a Postpositional Phrase. The object is found directly prior to the nominalized activity verb in the Postpositional Phrase.

The Clause structures in the narrative texts are basically the same. Several positions precede the verb or Verb Phrase. The morphemes in these positions realize the topic, a time reference, and the subject (Clause.P3, P2, P1). The positions following the verb contain the tertiary functions (Clause.F1, F2, F3).

Differences in Clause structure between the narrative texts was minimal. The historical narrative did not use the final position in the clause (F3) where a temporal reference can be given.

The procedural text did not use the two left most positions previous to the verb (P3 and P2) which express the topic and give reference to time.

The Sentence formula for the procedural text lacks a following position. The logical connectors between Clauses are limited to the subordinating *na* 'when' and the non-subordinating *kɛ́* 'but' where in the narratives there are five others subordinating conjunctions used.

A comparison of the morphemic abstracts and the semantic text traces of the narrative texts and the procedural text reveals much simpler charts for the procedural text. The reason for this is that the procedural text uses only two different verbal constructions and the narratives use up to eight different verbal constructions.

The procedural text contains an Adjective Phrase which is not found in either of the narratives. Neither a Locative Phrase or a Complex Phrase is found in the procedural text.

A major difference between the narrative texts and the procedural text was in the function expressed by the central position (C) of the Clause. In the procedural text the main verb as found in the Verb Phrase in Clause.C was a phasal such as begin, continue, or finish. The action was then found following the VP in the Cl.F1 or F2 positions in a nominal form.

The procedural text lacks the amount of variety in the Semantic stratum as found in the narrative texts. It is limited to activity events where the narratives have activity events, speech events, thought events, etc. The narratives have identification propositions and existentials. Inter-propositional relationships, i.e., the relationships between independent and subordinate clauses, are confined to temporal arrangements in the procedural text. In the narrative, logical relationships are also included in addition to the temporal.

4.5 Further Observations

Peak in each of these texts is marked somewhat differently. "Deer and Leopard" is the least marked because of the nature of the series of direct quotations. The back and forth changing of the primary function of speaker between Deer and Leopard requires that a noun is used for at least one referent. It uses a change in the quotative construction, the addition of *naa* 'now', to highlight the climactic third truth.

In "The Haale", there is an obvious lack of noun references at peak. Peak is formed in an $S_{Elaboration}$ with the main event, Haale's sacrifice, being stated in a general way followed by the specific events of the sacrifice and his death. The tension of his dying is prolonged by his howling for seven days and this event is expressed by a Potentive verbal construction rather than the usual Past construction.

In "The Haale," the use of the Sentence.F positions, subordinated clauses following the mainline independent clause, is increased during the peak.

We have already stated that referent identification is not as important a feature in the procedural text as in the narrative. Therefore, instead of using a change in referent identification at

peak, the procedural text resorts to a series of Consecutive constructions and an absence of phasals. It too prolongs the climax, that of the rice growing, as the procedure of driving away birds is extended until the rice is tall.

The discourse structure of the procedural text as well as the lower level grammatical constructions is much simpler than in the narrative texts. This is natural given a lesser number of verbal constructions used, simpler Sentence formula, and fewer ranks in the salience scheme.

Both of the narrative texts make use of embedded discourses. The texts, including the embedded ones, are similar in structure in that in each text there is an initial position which lays out the story (P2), one which gets us into the heart of the problem (P1), one which contains the peak (C), and a final position which gives conclusions or evaluations of some type (F). The P2 position is filled with either non-verbal setting information or background information. P1 is a series of events related sequentially in time but not yet the heart of the story. The C position contains the events which develop the tension and include the climax and denouement for each text. The F positions give the outcome of the story and emphasize the main point of the text either in the form of a moral or truth value, or in restating of the topic in connection with the story.

4.6 Further Questions

The analysis of the texts in this study has by no means been exhausted. Some areas of further exploration include:

What differences would appear if the texts would be told to a person of the Bandi culture?

Are the findings in this study consistent with a larger body of text materials?

What other peak devices are used and what determines which device is used?

How are the different verbal constructions used in other texts of similar and differing types? How can the different verbal constructions be more easily distinguished?

What determines when the Consecutive verbal construction is used and when a construction is fully inflected?

How is the auxiliary ɣɛ different from the auxiliary *lɔ* and how do these differ from the copulas of similar segmental shape?

Are there higher level tone markers, i.e., interproposition tone?

Are the post verbal positions in the Clause separate positions or can they be combined? Are the positions ordered or unordered?

What is the function and meaning of the morpheme *kpoloo* which is usually translated 'until'. What is its meaning and use when it is used with the continuative phasal *lo*?

The use of *naa* 'now' has only been touched on in this study. Why does it occur in so many positions and what is it doing in each position?

The use of adverbial and relative clauses and/or the devices used in place of them.

Further study of the use of reported speech. Is it associated more closely with fiction than fact?

How can the knowledge of the discourse features of a language be transferred to those who speak that language particularly when the language has only recently come into written form?

APPENDIX A

STRATIFICATIONAL GRAMMAR

ORGANIZATION AND NOTATIONAL CONVENTIONS

(Figures have been taken from Fleming 1988)

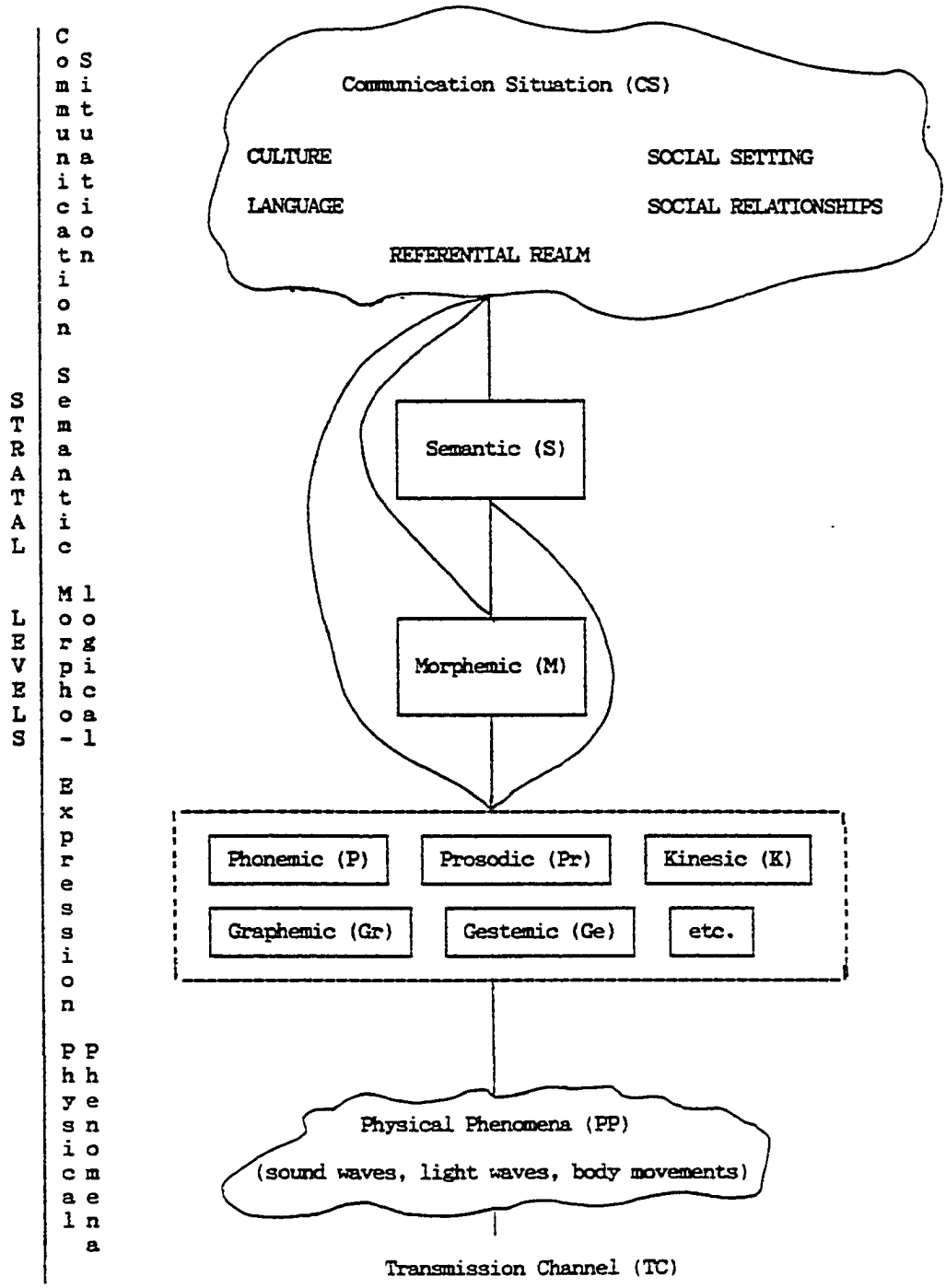

Figure 17. Stratal levels and strata

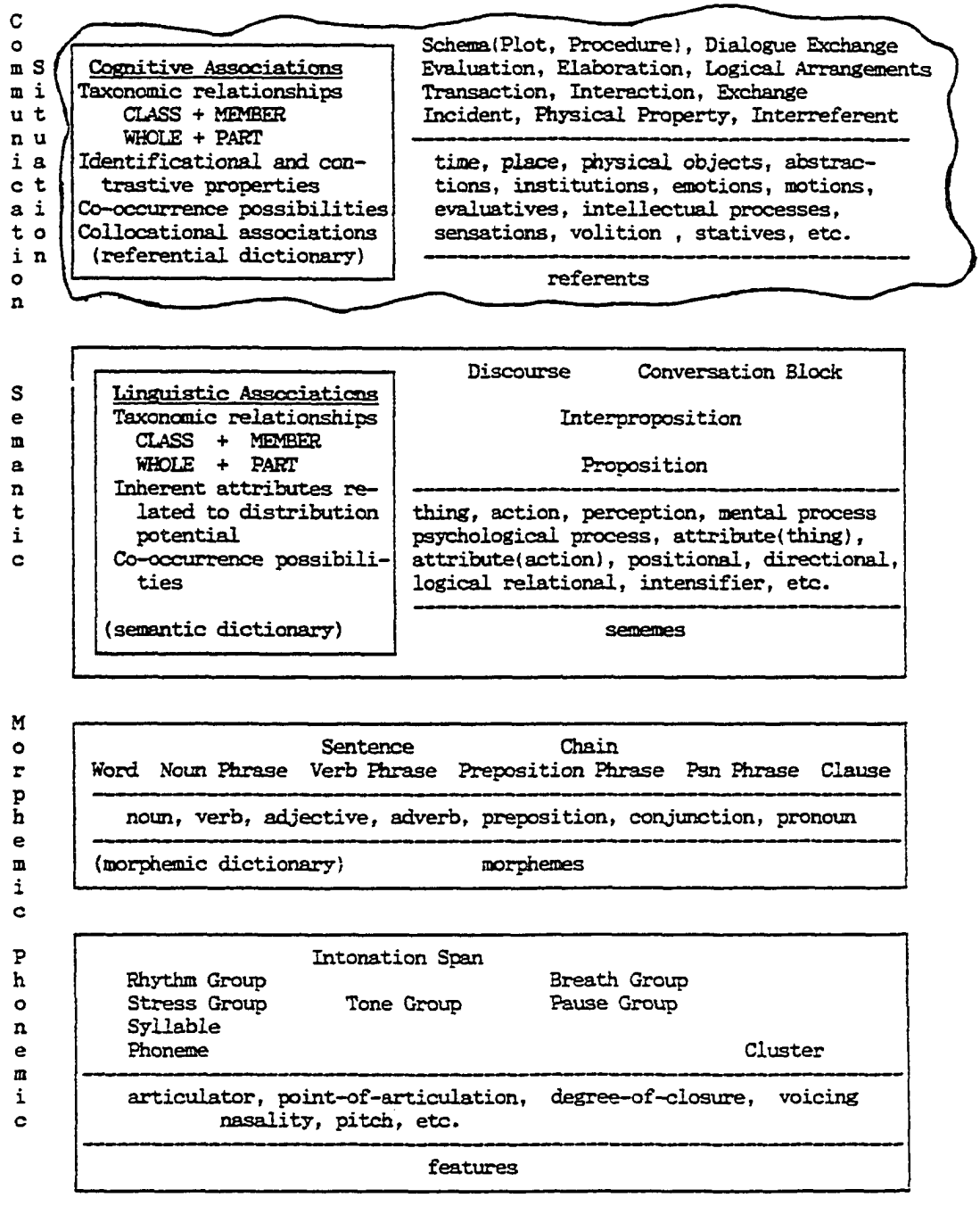

Figure 18. Emes, distribution classes, and constructions

NOTATION CONVENTIONS

stratum	superscript capital letter	e.g., ^{S}Event, ^{M}Clause
construction	initial capital letter	Event, Clause
constituent filler	all small letters	thing, noun
constituent function	all capital letters	AGENT, ATTRIBUTION
constituent order (relative sequential position)	all capital letters	C (CENTRAL) P (PRECEDING) F (FOLLOWING)
	number after P or F (relative closeness to C)	P1, P2, P3 F1, F2, F3
absolute order	numbers followed by period	1.up 2.set
recursion	superscript n or number	^{M}NP.P1^{n}:adj

forward slash	/	"is realized by" (higher to lower stratum)
backward slash	\	"realizes" (lower to higher stratum)
equals sign	=	"is composed of" (The tactic construction on the left is composed of the constituents on the right.)
colon	:	"filled by" (A tactic function or position on the left is filled by an eme or embedded construction on the right.)
period (full stop)	.	The function or position following the period is a constituent of the construction preceding the period. e.g., ^{M}Clause.F1 ^{S}Attribution.ITEM
square brackets	[ ]	"and" (Everything within the brackets is included.)
braces	{ }	"or" (Choose one alternative within the braces.)
parentheses	( )	A subtype of construction, function, or class. e.g., ^{S}Event(ACTIVITY), attribute(action)

comma	,	"or" (Choose one alternative.)
plus sign	+	"and" (In addition.) The plus sign does not mean sequential order or obligatory.
double zero	00	zero as an alternate filler of a constituent (An alternate realization for a constituent filler present on an upper stratum.) e.g., Ted picked up his books and 00 left for class.
underline	xxxx	The semantic construction or constituent function being illustrated and that part of the morphemic data that realizes it. This may be an entire morphemic construction or a constituent of a morphemic construction. e.g., $\overset{S}{\underline{\text{PATIENT}}}$ $\overset{M}{\text{John hit }\underline{\text{the ball}}}$.
angle brackets	< >	A lower stratum morpheme which realizes an upper stratum semantic construction or function. e.g., $\overset{S}{\text{INSTRUMENT:thing}}$ $\overset{M}{\underline{<\text{with}>\text{ a stick}}}$

APPENDIX B

TEXTS AND GLOSS

"Animal Skull"

[1]Suwa Wúkókoí Suwa ngúkóko-í animal head.* -the	Animal Skull
[2]Siỹɛ́ndópó yilá i liíní Siỹɛ́ndópó ngilá i ndi-ní man.child one he go -RmPST	One boy went into the bush,
ndɔbɔí wá, [3]kɛ i suwa ndɔbɔ-í má kɛ i suwa bush -the on then he animal	and saw an animal skull.
wúkókoí lónga. [4]kɛ i ngúkóko-í ló -nga kɛ i head.* -the see-ImPST then he	Then he said to it,
ɣɛa ma, [A]"Suwa wúkókoó." ɣɛ -a Ŋ -ma suwa ngúkóko say-ImPST it-on animal head.*	"Animal skull."
[5]Náá ɣɛ ma, [B]"Ndáa ló í Náá ɣɛ Ŋ -ma ndáa ló í that.one say him-on mouth COP it	That one (the skull) said, "It was my mouth that killed me."
páángɔ." [6]Aa mɔɔ mɔníí Ŋ́ -paa -ngɔ Aa mɔlɔ mɔni-í me-kill-RtPST heNEG again ask-RmPST	He did not again ask, saying,
[7]ɔ́ɔ́ ɣé maa, [C]"í lái i ɔ́ɔ́ ɣé maa í ndá -i i he say on your mouth-the it	"How was it your mouth killed you?"
ɣelé í váángɔ?" [8]I lií ɣelé í pa -ngɔ I ndi-í how you kill-RtPST he go -RmPST	He went running
náa ngáa viliỹé táá ɱ̀u [9]i ɣɛ ta, náa ngáa piliỹé táá su i ɣɛ ta now REL run town in he say *	into town, saying,
[D]"Ngí súwa wúkókoí lóngɔ Ngí súwa ngúkóko-í tó -ngɔ I animal head.* -the see-RtPST	"I saw an animal skull

áá bɔɔlɔ."[10]Kɛ masangi mɔniá,
áá bɔɔlɔ kɛ masa -ngí mɔni-á
it talk then chief-the ask-ImPST

(and) it talked." Then the chief asked,

[11]i ɣɛ ma, [E]"Ná náá máa lí
i ɣɛ Ŋ -ma Ná náá máa lí
he say him-on when now we go

"Suppose when we go there

na ɛí ɣɛ bɔɔlɔ́í?" [12]I ɣɛ
na ɛí ɣɛ bɔɔlɔ-í I ɣɛ
there itNEG PERF talk -the he say

and it doesn't talk?"

ta, [F]"Wú páa." [13]Kɛ laá bɛ́lɛ́ í
ta Wú Ń -paa kɛ laá bɛ́lɛ́ í
* you me-kill then he self he

He said, "Kill me." Then he himself

masangí wóniá, [14]i ɣɛ ma,
masa -ngí móni-á i ɣɛ Ŋ -ma
chief-the ask -ImPST he say him-on

asked the chief,

[G]"Kɛ́ na náa máa li na ngáá tóli
kɛ na náa máa li na ngáá tóli
but if now we go there I call

"Suppose now when we go there, I call it

áá bɔɔlɔ. Ndeé lɔ náa yá fe
áá bɔɔlɔ Ndeé lɔ náa yá fe
it talk what COP now you give

and it can talk. What is it now you will give me?"

mbɛ́?" [15]Kɛ masangí ɣɛa
Ń -mbɛ kɛ masa -ngí ɣɛ -a
me-to then chief-the say-ImPST

Then the chief said,

ma, [H]"Ná yáá tóli nɔɔleí í
Ŋ -ma Ná yáá tóli nɔɔleí í
him-on when you call just it

"Just when you call, if it talks,

bɔɔlɔ, ngáá tái wólésu féle,
bɔɔlɔ ngáá táa -i wólésu féle
talk I town-the divide two

I will divide the town in two

ngí káka yílaangi he í yɛ́."
ngí káka ngílaa-ngí fe í mbɛ́
I surely one -the give you to

and give one (half) to you."

[16]Kɛ i ɣɛa ma, [I]"Tókó
kɛ i ɣɛ -a Ŋ -ma Tókó
then he say-ImPST him-on hand

Then he said, "I agree.

lɔ mbu.
lɔ Ŋ -mbu
COP it-under

A mu lí naa suwa
A mu lí naa suwa
pl we.incl go there animal

Let's go there to the animal skull place."

wúkókoí ŋaĺa."[17]Kɛ tí
ngúkóko-í ŋaĺa kɛ tí
head.* -the place then they

lía [18]tí fóló na
ndí-a tí fóló na
go -ImPST they arrive there

Then they went and arrived

fálí [19]tí suwa wúkókoí
fálí tí suwa ngúkóko-í
completely they animal head.* -the

right at the spot and saw the animal skull

lɔ lááníi [20]ti ɣɛ́ ma,
lɔ lá́á-níi ti ɣɛ́ Ŋ -ma
see lie-stve they say him-on

lying there. They said,

J"Ava tolí ná."[21]Kɛ i tolía
ava tolí ná kɛ i tolí-a
ok call now then he call-ImPST

"OK, call it now."Then he called it

féle, [22]i ɣɛ ma, K"Suwa
féle i ɣɛ Ŋ -ma Suwa
two he say it-on animal

twice saying,

wúkókoó, suwa wúkókoó" [23]Ná
ngúkóko suwa ngúkóko Ná
head.* animal head.* that.one

"Animal skull, animal skull."

áa bɔɔlói. [24]Kɛ masangí
áa bɔɔló-i kɛ masa -ngí
itNEG talk -RmPST then chief-the

That (skull) did not talk. Then the chief said,

ɣɛa ta, L"A vá lɛɛ la
ɣɛ -a ta A pá lɛɛ la
say-ImPST * pl come lift.up him

"Bring him here.

mbei, a mú páa." [25]Kɛ i
mbei a mú Ŋ -paa kɛ i
here pl we.incl him-kill then he

Let us kill him." Then he cried

baíngá gbéĺéé. [26]Tɔɔ ɣé nɔɔ
baí-ngá gbéĺéé Tɔɔ ɣé nɔɔ
cry-ImPST loudly they COP just

loudly. They were just about to kill him

kínéí tí páa
kínéí tí Ŋ -paa
almost they him-kill

27kɛ suwa wúkókoí kɛ suwa ngúkóko-í then animal head.* -the	when the animal skull talked.
bóólɔá. 28Tí ɣé ma, bóólɔ-á Tí ɣé Ŋ -ma talk -ImPST they say it-on	They said,
M"Suwa wúkókoo?" 29I ɣɛ ta, Suwa ngúkóko I ɣɛ ta animal head.* it say *	"Animal skull?" It said,
N"Ndá lɔ́ í pááni." Ndá lɔ́ í Ŋ -paa -ni mouth COP it me-kill-RmPST	"My mouth was what killed me."
30Tɔɔ ɣéa be mba. Tɔɔ ɣɛ -a be ŋ -mba they PERF-ImPST leave him-on	They left him there.
31Maa híỹéndopoí láahéí maa síỹéndopo-í ndáahéí that man.child-the mouth.sit	That boy's name is
mbáa ngáa siỹɛndóu bɔɔlɔí mbáa ngáa siỹɛndóu bɔ́ɔlɔ-í COP REL man.child talk -the	"Boy talk (rumor) was done today."
tá wo kúú waa háa. tá mbo kúú mbaa háa some do time equals today	

"Founding of Our Town"

[1]Ỹanda Wɔlimai. Ỹanda Wɔli-maa -i place look-place-the	Place of origin.
[2]Wólɔ kpólɔ, ní kiỹa i faa kpólɔ kpólɔ ní kiỹa i faa long long my uncle he thing	Long long ago, my uncle told me
húyɛní ngáá nge ngáa, kɛ́a wólɔ húyɛ-ni ngáá nge ngáa kɛ́a kpólɔ tell-RmPST REL me about how long	about how
tí ni láaɱ̃ú w̃áahɔlɔi. tí ni táa -su máahɔlɔ-i they our town-in receive-RmPST	our town was found long ago.
[3]Masa ngíla tɔ́ wólɔ,[4]í yɛ́ni Masa ngíla tɔ́ kpólɔ í yɛ́ -ni chief one COP long he COP-RmPST	There was one chief long ago
na, ngakpángɔ́ wála, [5]tɔ́ɔ́ yɛ na ngakpá-ngɔ́ ngwála tɔ́ɔ́ yɛ there power -* big theyHAB say	who was powerful.
ma [A]"Síimɔ."[6]I Bandi Ŋ -ma Síimɔ I Bandi him-on Simah he Bandi	His name was Simah.
lɔ́wɔlɔi léheni fowó púungɔ ndɔ́wɔlɔ-i léhe-ni fowó púu-ngɔ country-the rule-RmPST year ten-*	He ruled the Bandi country over ten years.
maɱ̃u mba. [7]Masangí Síimɔ maɱ̃u Ŋ -mba masa -ngí Síimɔ over it-on chief-the Simah	Chief Simah
yɛi ngáa nyaama w̃ɔɔ wala, yɛ -i ngáa nyaama mɔ́ɔ ngwala COP-RmPST REL wicked person very	was a very wicked person.
[8]ɔ́ɔ́ yɛ ngi bóilopoa ma ɔ́ɔ́ yɛ ngi bóilopo -a ma heHAB say his helping.people-pl on	He would tell his servants,
[B]"Ná wáá kóo ỹahá fíli tɔ́ Ná wáá kóo nyahá fíli tɔ́ when you stomach woman any see	"When you find any pregnant woman

ɛ́yɛ ndóu lála, wú ti váa."	and young babies, kill them."
ɛ́yɛ ndóu lála wú ti páa	
and child young you them kill	
[9]Nungáitií kpélɛ ti yɛ́i	More than one hundred people were
nungáa-i -tií kpélɛ ti yɛ -i	with him.
people-the-pl all they COP-RmPST	
ngeá, ti lɔ́vengɔ yɛi	
Ŋ -ngeá ti tɔ́ve-ngɔ yɛ -i	
his-hand they pass-* COP-RmPST	
lá nu wúlu ngilá mbá.	
lá nu wúlu ngilá mbá	
with.it human hundred one on	
[10]Ná fówo ta váani, kɛ	One year,
Ná fówo ta páa -ni kɛ	
when year some come-RmPST then	
kɔí gulangá. [11]Nungáitií	a war broke out.
kɔ -í kula-ngá nungáa-i -tií	
war-the fall-ImPST people-the-pl	
ti yɛ́i loí tí	The people wanted to kill
ti yɛ -i ndo -í tí	
they PERF-RmPST want-PERF they	
masangí ná váa [12]í báha ngi	that chief and his servants.
masa -ngí ná páa í báha ngi	
chief-the that kill he join his	
lúwɔitii mba.[13]Masangí ná	The chief
ndúwɔ -i -tii mba masa -ngí ná	
servant-the-pl on chief-the that	
i lɔɔwuní í lí ndɔbɔí ɦu.	hid in the bush.
i ndɔɔwu-ní í ndí ndɔbɔ-í su	
he hide -RmPST he go bush -the in	
[14]I kɛní ndóbɔi ɦu ngáa	He stayed in the bush
I kɛ -ní ndóbɔ-i su ngáa	
he remain-RmPST bush -the in REL	
ndɔwó félengɔ. [15]Ná í yɛ́i	for two weeks. When he was still
ndɔwó féle-ngɔ Ná í yɛ -i	
moon two -* when he COP-RmPST	
ndɔbɔí ná ɦu,	in the bush,
ndɔbɔ-í ná su	
bush the that in	

i folóni nja gúloi ῶa, i foló-ni nja kúlo -i ma he meet-RmPST water small-the on	he came upon a small river,
16kέ nja ῶɔníi ɣɛi ma kέ nja ῶɔníi ɣɛ -i Ŋ -ma but water thirst COP-RmPST him-on	but he was very thirsty.
ngwala.17I heiní í ta bóle, ngwala I hei-ní í ta bóle big he sit-RmPST he some drink	He sat down and drank some,
18kέ i njɛí ná kέ i nja -í ná but he water-the that	then he named the water Lahboi.
laahéíni ngáa Lɔboi, laahéi -ni ngáa Lɔboi mouth.sit-RmPST REL Lahboi	
19í ta wúu lɛ 20í í ta mbu tɛ í he some under lift.up he	He went a little farther
búwui lo. 21Maa tái búwu-i to maa táa -i hut -the build that town-the	and built a hut.
laahéingi wáa ngáa Taninάῆu. ndaahéi -ngi mbáa ngáa Taninάῆu mouth.sit-the COP REL The.new.town	That town's name is Taninahun.
22Taninάῆu lɔ Kolάῆu Taninάῆu lɔ Kolάῆu The.new.town COP jigger.town	Taninahun is within the Kolahun district in Liberia.
lówɔlɔi ῶa, Labía. ndówɔlɔ-i ma Labía country-the on Liberia	

"Spider"

[1]Gulóní ngaa ngi ỹáha lɔ guló-ní ngaa ngi nyáha lɔ spider-pl REL his woman COP	There was a spider and his wife long ago.
wólɔ, [2]tí ɣéi na. kpólɔ tí ɣɛ -i na long they COP-RmPST there	
[3]Kɛ ti kpáalaí gúlaa kɛ ti kpáala-í kúla-a then they farm -the fall ImPST	Then the two of them made a farm.
tí félengɔ. [4]Na tí kpaalaí tí féle-ngɔ Na tí kpaala-í they two -* when they farm -the	When the farm was burned,
w̃ói, ngi ỹáha ɣɛ ma, mɔ́ -i ngi nyáha ɣɛ Ŋ -ma burn-RmPST his woman say him-on	his wife said,
A"Mu li ngáa tɛátiíní Mu li ngáa tɛɛ -á -tií-ní we.incl go REL chicken-pl-pl -pl	"Let's bring the chickens
kpabái la, ti ɣé na kpabá -i nda ti ɣé na kitchen-the mouth they COP there	to the kitchen, they will be there
kpaalaí ɦu." [5]Guló ɣɛ ma, kpaala-í su Guló ɣɛ Ŋ -ma farm -the in spider say her-on	on the farm. Spider said,
B"Tóko lɔ́ mbu." [6]Kɛ tí Tóko lɔ́ Ŋ -mbu kɛ tí hand COP it-under then they	"I agree." Then they
lía ngáa tɛátiini ndí-a ngáa tɛɛ -á -tii-ni go -ImPST REL chicken-pl-pl -pl	carried the chickens
kpabái la. [7]Ná ti kpabá -i nda Ná ti kitchen-the mouth when they	to the kitchen. When they
líini ngáa tɛátiini ndí-ni ngáa tɛɛ -á -tii-ni go -RmPST REL chicken-pl-pl -pl	carried the chickens

kpabái la, kpabá -i nda kitchen-the mouth	to the kitchen,
kɛ tɛátii tí ngalúi kɛ tɛɛ -á -tii tí ngalú-i then chicken-pl-pl they egg -the	then the chickens laid all their eggs,
langá kpélɛɛ, [8]tí tɛté, [9]tí nda-ngá kpélɛɛ tí tɛté tí lay-ImPST all they hatch they	and they all finished hatching.
vilá kpélɛɛ. [10]Ná Guló pilá kpélɛɛ Ná Guló finish all when spider	When Spider
ɣɛ́i kɔló ngáa kɛ ɣɛ -i kɔló ngáa kɛ PERF-RmPST know that then	knew that
tɛátii mbɔlɔwólɔngɔɔ tɛɛ -á -tii mbɔlɔ-mbɔlɔ-ngɔɔ chicken-pl-pl big -big -*	the chickens were grown,
le náa, i ɣɛ ngi ỹáha wa, le náa i ɣɛ ngi nyáha mba COP now he say his woman on	he said to his wife,
[C]"Ndóngɔɔ le ngáa yáa ndó -ngɔɔ le ngáa yɛ -ngaa want-* COP I PROG-IPROG	"I want to be
ỹii kpabái la nuu nyii kpabá -i nda nuu sleep kitchen-the mouth person	sleeping in the kitchen
véka ɔ́ɔ vá tɛí tá péka ɔ́ɔ pá tɛɛ -í tá other he come chicken-the some	so someone doesn't come
wuỹá kpabái la." [11]Náa nguỹá kpabá -i nda Náa steal kitchen-the mouth that.one	and steal some of the chickens from the kitchen.
ɣɛ ma, [D]"Tóko lɔ mbu". ɣɛ Ŋ -ma Tóko lɔ Ŋ -mbu say him-on hand COP it-under	That one (the wife) said, "I agree."
[12]Ná kpɔkɔ hóloi folóni, Ná kpɔkɔ fólo-i foló-ni when evening sun -the meet-RmPST	When evening came,

ngi ỹaha ɣɛ ma, E"Nyá tó ngáa
ngi nyaha ɣɛ Ŋ -ma Nyá tó ngáa
his woman say him-on I COP I

his wife said, " I am going

lí taa ɦu. Faalɔ, máa lɔ
lí taa su Faalɔ máa lɔ
go town in thing.is we see

to town. Therefore, see you tomorrow."

díina." 13Na nyahápoi pele
díina Na nyahápo-i pele
tomorrow when woman -the road

When the woman left,

hóuni, Guló tɛɛ
sóu -ni Guló tɛɛ
catch-RmPST spider chicken

Spider caught one of the chickens,

yiláangi hou, 14i paa,
ngiláa-ngi sou i Ŋ -paa
one -the catch he it-kill

he killed it,

15í kpélɛɛ ngili, 16í mɛ.
í kpélɛɛ ngili í Ŋ -mɛ
he all cook he it-eat

cooked it, and ate it.

17Na ngele wóni, kɛ ngi
Na ngele mbó -ni kɛ ngi
when sky open-RmPST then his

When morning came, then his wife

ỹáha hiɣeá táa ɦu,
nyáha siɣe -á táa su
woman come.from-ImPST town in

came from town,

18i va kpabái la.
i pa kpabá -i nda
she come kitchen-the mouth

and came to the kitchen.

19Kɛ i tɛɛ bélengi
kɛ i tɛɛ kpéle -ngi
then she chicken feather-the

Then she saw the chicken feathers

lɔá fahangó haali
tɔ -á faha -ngó haali
see-ImPST scatter-* everywhere

scattered everywhere

kpabái wu. 20Kɛ i
kpabá -i mbu kɛ i
kitchen-the under then she

in the kitchen. Then she

ɣɛa Gulo ỹa,
ɣɛ -a Gulo ma
say-ImPST spider on

said to Spider,

F"Ndeénii le tɛɛ bélengi
Ndeénii le tɛɛ kpéle -ngi
why COP chicken feather-the

"Why are there chicken feathers

í kpabái wu háali
í kpabá -i mbu háali
it kitchen-the under everywhere

all over the kitchen?"

haali?" 21Guló yɛ ma,
haali Guló yɛ Ŋ -ma
everywhere spider say her-on

Spider said,

G"Nyá bélɛ ngáa kɔló bɔ̃wálale
Nyá bélɛ ngáa kɔló bɔ̃wálale
I self INEG know because

"I myself don't know because

ngí yéngɔ nyii ɦu."
ngí yé -ngɔ nyii su
I COP-RtPST sleep in

I was sleeping."

22Ngi ỹáha yɛ ma, H"Nyáá ngaá
Ngi nyáha yɛ Ŋ -ma Nyáá ngaá
his woman say him-on I IPROG

His wife said,

naa velé kéle kele."
naa pelé kéle kele
that curse * *

"I am going to curse him."

23Gulo yɛ ma, I"Naa velé."
Gulo yɛ Ŋ -ma Naa pelé
spider say her-on that curse

Spider said, "Curse him."

24Kɛ kpɔkɔ hóloi hitiá,
kɛ kpɔkɔ fólo-i siti -á
then evening sun -the reach-ImPST

Then evening came,

Guló yóóyɛ, 25i li ngi lɔi ya
Guló yóóyɛ i li ngi ndɔi nga
spider get.up he go his wine on

Spider got up and went to the wine cutting place.

tevemai. 26Kɛ ngi ỹáha
teve-maa -i kɛ ngi nyáha
cut -place-the then his woman

Then his wife

kendeí bátɛa fɔ́ɔ ngáa
kende-i kpátɛ-a fɔ́ɔ ngáa
ghost-the fix -ImPST fine REL

made a ghost

ndopo gúloi,
ndopo gúlo -i
child small-the

in the form of a small child,

[27]í to kpabái wu, í Ŋ -to kpabá -i mbu she it-stand kitchen-the under	she put it in the kitchen,
[28]í ndo na, [29]í li í Ŋ -ndo na í ndi she it-leave there she go	left it there, and went in town.
taa ñu. [30]Kɛ Guló híyeá taa su kɛ Guló síye -á town in then spider return-ImPST	Then Spider returned
ndɔí yá ngáa kpindíi, [31]i va ndɔí ngá ngáa kpindí -i i pa wine on REL darkness-the he come	from the wine cutting place. He came
kpabái la, [32]í kendeí lɔ kpabá -i nda í kende-i lɔ kitchen-the mouth he ghost-the see	in the kitchen and saw the ghost
lóóni kpábai wu, [33]ké i ndó -ni kpába -i mbu ké i stand-stve kitchen-the under but he	standing in the kitchen.
tɔí nóɔ ngáa ndopo gúlo Ŋ -tɔ -í nóɔ ngáa ndopo gúlo it-see-RmPST only REL child small	But he saw it only as a small child
le í lóóni. [34]Kɛ Gúlo le í ndó -ni kɛ Gúlo COP he stand-stve then spider	standing there. Then Spider
ɣɛa ma, [J]"Ndopó, isɛ." ɣɛ -a Ŋ -ma Ndopó isɛ say-ImPST it-on child hello	said to him, "Child, hello."
[35]Ná ɛi ta lé mbé. Ná ɛi ta ndé Ŋ -mbɛ that.one heNEG some speak him-for	That one didn't say anything to him.
[36]Guló ɣɛ ma, [K]"Yéi bɔɔló? Guló ɣɛ Ŋ -ma Yéi bɔɔló spider say it-on youNEG talk	Spider said, "You can't talk?
Kɛ vá, yí li, yí va ngáa kɛ pá yí ndi yí pa ngáa then come you go you come REL	Then come, you go and bring
njɛí, ngí tɛí yíli, nja -í ngí tɛɛ -í ngíli water-the I chicken-the cook	water. I will cook a chicken

```
mu      mɛ      hoó." 37Ná      ɛi
mu      Ŋ -mɛ   hoó     Ná      ɛi
we.incl it-eat !      that.one heNEG
```
and we will eat it. That one (ghost) did not

```
ta   lé     38Gulo   ɣé  má,
ta   ndé     Gulo    ɣé  Ŋ -ma
some speak   spider say it-on
```
say anything. Spider said,

```
L"Ná   ngáa tɛí          sí   yíli,
  Ná   ngáa tɛɛ    -í    sí   ngíli
  when I    chicken-the this cook
```
"When I cook this chicken

```
yɛ́i    ta   fíli mɛ." 39Ná
yɛ́i    ta   fíli mɛ     Ná
youNEG some any  eat    that.one
```
You will not eat any."

```
ɛi    ta   lé.   40Guló
ɛi    ta   ndé    Guló
heNEG some speak  spider
```
That one said nothing.

```
tɛí         váa 41kpélɛɛ í  ngili,
tɛɛ    -í   páa   kpélɛɛ í  ngili
chicken-the kill all    he cook
```
Spider killed the chicken. He cooked it all

```
42í  séi,  43í  ɣɛ  ta, M"Bɛlé
  í  Ŋ -séi  í  ɣɛ  ta    Bɛlé
  he it-sit  he say *     HORT
```
and set it down, saying,

```
ní wai      áá yáa         lɛi
ní mbaa-i   áá ɣɛ  -aa     lɛi
my rice-the it PROG-hePROG cold
```
"Let my rice be cooling fine."

```
ngáa pangó." 44Kɛ   Guló
ngáa pa  -ngó   Kɛ   Guló
REL  good-*     then spider
```
Then Spider

```
liá       kendeí    yéle,
ndi-á     kende-i   ngéle
go -ImPST ghost-the to
```
went to the ghost,

```
45i  mɔɔni, 46i  ɣɛ  ma,  N"I
  i  mɔɔni    i  ɣɛ  Ŋ -ma  I
  he ask      he say it-on  your
```
He asked him,

```
láaheingi?"  47I  ɣɛi        nɔ́ɔ
ndáa -sei-ngi  I  ɣɛ  -i     nɔ́ɔ
mouth-sit-the  he PROG-RmPST just
```
"What is your name?" He was just

```
áá     kendeí    lɔ́  ngáa nuu
áá     kende-i   lɔ́  ngáa nuu
hePROG ghost-the see REL  person
```
looking at the ghost as a person.

búsa. [48]Kɛ i yɛá ma, búsa Kɛ i yɛ -á Ŋ -ma body then he say-ImPST it-on	Then he said to it,
[0]"Nyá ngáa í léve háa mbéi kɛ Nyá ngáa í téve háa mbéi kɛ I I you cut today here make	"I am going to beat you so hard it will make you fill your pants."
yí boo." [49]Kɛ Gulo kendeí yí boo Kɛ Gulo kende-i you poop then spider ghost-the	Then Spider beat the ghost
lúbaa ngaa lokoí. [50]Ná túba-a ngaa toko-í Ná hit -ImPST REL hand-the that.one	with his hand.
ba mba. [51]I mɔ́ɔ tuba ngáa kpa Ŋ -mba I mɔlɔ tuba ngáa stick it-on he again hit REL	That (his hand) stuck on it. He again beat it
gɔwɔ́i. [52]Na mɔ́ɔ ba mba. kɔwɔ́-i Na mɔlɔ kpa Ŋ-mba foot-the that.one again stick it-on	with his foot. That again stuck on it.
[53]Kɛ Guló áa tɔ áa Kɛ Guló áa tɔ áa then spider he PROG hePROG	Then Spider started begging
kendeí waanɛ́ɛnɛ, [54]i yɛ ma, kende-i maanɛ́ɛnɛ i yɛ Ŋ -ma ghost-the beg he say it-on	saying,
[P]"Yí véleni kái, be mbá Yí véleni kái be Ŋ́ -mba you beg please leave me-on	"I beg you please, leave me
tɔ́ɔ va sóu ngáa nyúỹa tɔ́ɔ pa sóu ngáa nyúỹa theyCOND come catch REL steal	before they come and catch me as a thief."
ṽɔ́ɔ." [55]Ná ɛi ta le mɔ́ɔ Ná ɛi ta nde person that.one heNEG some say	That one didn't say anything.
mbɛ. [56]Kéndeiní ngaa Gulo Ŋ -mbɛ kɛ́nde-i -ni ngaa Gulo him-for ghost-the-pl REL spider	The ghost and Spider
ti loi naa na ti ndo -í naa na they stay-RmPST now there	

57í lo su ngele wó ti w̃a. í ndo Ŋ -su ngele mbó ti ma it stay it-in sky open them on	stayed there now until morning.
58Ná nungái tóó ɣɛ Ná nu -a -i tóó ɣɛ when human-pl-the theyCOND PROG	When the people were about to come,
ti li na, Gulo siỹɛngaa ti ndi na Gulo siỹɛ-aa they go now spider man -pl	Spider sang the men's song.
wuleí yéɣe. 59Ỹahaítii ngule-í ndéɣe nyaha-a -í -tii song -the take woman-pl-the-pl	The women ran.
ti víliỹɛ. 60Ná siỹɛngai ti píliỹɛ Ná siỹɛ-a -í they run when man -pl-the	When the men
tóó ɣɛ ti lí na, Gulo tóó ɣɛ ti lí na Gulo theyCOND PROG they go there spider	were about to come, Spider
ỹahaá wuleí yéɣe. nyaha-á ngule-í ndéɣe woman-pl song -the take	sang the women's song.
61Ỹahaítii taa nyaha-a -í -tii taa woman-pl-the-pl they	The women and the men
siỹɛngáitii kpɛlɛɛ 62ti ɣɛ́ ta siỹɛ-á -i -tii kpɛlɛɛ ti ɣɛ́ ta man -pl-the-pl all they say *	all said,
Q"A mu lí náa na w̃olíma." A mu ndí náa na w̃olíma pl we.incl go now there together	"Let's all go there now together."
63Ti kpélɛɛ ti liiní náa, Ti kpélɛɛ ti ndi-ní náa they all they go -RmPST now	They all went there,
64tí Guló w̃aale kpangó tí Guló maale kpa -ngó they spider met stick-*	and found Spider stuck
kendeí wá kpé. 65Ngi ỹáha kende-i mbá kpé Ngi nyáha ghost-the on tight his woman	tight on the ghost. His wife said to him,

ɣɛ ma, R"Guló, yɔɔ yaa	"Spider, you are the one
ɣɛ Ŋ-ma Guló ya -lɔ yaa	
say him-on spider you-COP you	
tɛátii mɛ kpabái	eating the chickens at the kitchen.
tɛɛ -á -tii mɛ kpabá -i	
chicken-pl-pl eat kitchen-the	
la, yáá ndɛí wóóla ngéa."	You were lying to me."
nda yáá ndɛ-í wóóla Ŋ -ngea	
mouth you lie-the * my-hand	
66Nungáitii kpélɛɛ ti	All the people
nu -á -i -tii kpélɛɛ ti	
human-pl-the-pl all they	
ɣɛ́i náa kólɔ ngáa kɛ	knew now that
ɣɛ -i náa kólɔ ngáa kɛ	
PERF-RmPST now know that then	
Guló lɔ́ í ɣéngɔ áá	it was Spider
Guló lɔ́ í ɣé -ngɔ áá	
spider COP he PROG-RtPST hePROG	
tɛátii mɛ kpabái	who was eating the chickens at the kitchen.
tɛɛ -á -tii mɛ kpabá -i	
chicken-pl-pl eat kitchen-the	
la. 67Faalɔ nyuŭá, ndɛɛ	Therefore, stealing, lying, and
nda Faalɔ nyuŭá ndɛɛ	
mouth thing.is steal lie	
ɦaa, éɣɛ kutóngi, ná ta fíli	stupidity, none of these existed
faa éɣɛ kutó -ngi ná ta fíli	
thing and stupid-the that some any	
aa ɣɛi ngele wu 68kɛ́	under heaven, but
aa ɣɛ -i ngele mbu kɛ́	
itNEG COP-RmPST sky under but	
Guló lɔ́ í váangɔ la.	Spider is the one who brought them.
Guló lɔ́ í pá -ngɔ la	
spider COP he come-RtPST with.it	

"Why There are White People and Black People"

[1]Nu Wolengai Taa Nu Nu kole -aa-i Taa Nu human white-pl-the they human	The parable of the white and black people.
Ṽaalɛingai, Ti maa-tɛi -aa-i Ti on -black-pl-the their	
Haanɛɛngi haa -nɛɛ -ngi thing-sweet-the	
[2]Ná wóló Ngalá ngí ngetéangí Ná kpólɔ Ngalá ngí ngetéa-ngí when long God he earth -the	When long ago God fixed this earth,
sí bátɛ́ni í báha ngáa suu sí kpátɛ-ni í báha ngáa su this fix -RmPST it join REL in	and all the things on the earth,
wólíngái, nungáitií kpɛ́lɛ́ wóli-á -i nungáa-i -tií kpɛ́lɛ́ look-pl-the people-the-pl all	all people were alike.
a mu ɣɛkíli ɣɛi nɔ́ɔ a mu ɣɛkíli ɣɛ -i nɔ́ɔ pl our.incl likeness COP-RmPST only	
yílákpe. [3]Tɛi ṽɔ́ɔ áa ngíla-kpe Tɛi mɔ́ɔ áa one -* black person heNEG	There was not a difference between black and white people.
ɣɛi na téɣélé kɛla ɣɛ -i na téɣélé kɛla COP-RmPST there different nor	
kole ṽɔ́ɔ. [4]A mu kpɛ́lɛ́ kole mɔ́ɔ A mu kpɛ́lɛ́ white person pl we.incl all	We were all
a mu ɣɛ́i nɔ́ɔ ngáa a mu ɣɛ -i nɔ́ɔ ngáa pl we.incl COP-RmPST only REL	
híi yilá. [5]Ná Ngála ngí híi ngilá Ná Ngála ngí tribe one when God he	one tribe. When God

nuu húlúi bátɛ́ni í nuu fúlu -i kpátɛ-ni í person alive-the fix-RmPST he	finished making everybody,
víláni kpón, i píla -ni kpón i finish-RmPST completely he	
yɛi náa nu búsá ῶa, yɛ -i náa nu búsá ma say-RmPST now human body? on	he said to the human beings,
A"A mu líí na háa wú A mu ndí na háa wú pl we.incl go now today you	"Let's go now today, you
kíapelé, ngí hɛ́li wú ῶá." kíapelé ngí hɛ́li wú má show.road I say.goodbye you on	take me part way, and I will say goodbye."
6Kɛ́ nungái ti hítɛ́ni kɛ nu -a -i ti sítɛ -ni then human-pl-the they follow-RmP	Then the people followed God
náa Ngála pólu 7tí li. 8Ná ti náa Ngála pólu tí lí Ná ti now God back they go when they	and went. When they
lói polú háaŋ tí ló -i polú háaŋ tí stand-RmPST behind till they	were going, they
fóloní nja wálái ῶa, fólo -ní nja ngwála-i ma arrive-RmPST water big -the on	arrived at a large river.
9Ngalá ngí yɛi náa nu Ngalá ngí yɛ -i náa nu God he say-RmPST now human	God said now to the humans,
búsái ῶa, B"A hei mbéi wú lóko búsa-i ma A hei mbéi wú tóko body-the on pl sit here you hand	"Sit here, and cover your eyes completely with your hands.
vɛ́lɛ yaañú kpán kpán búte, pɛ́lɛ nyaañú kpán kpán kpúte bend eye tight tight real	
sífa nyá ngaá ῶúỹa. sífa nyá ngaá ngúya because I IPROG wash	because I am going to take a bath.

10Kɛ́ ná ngáá ɣé vílaní
kɛ ná ngáá ɣé víla -ní
but when I PERF finish-RmPST

But when I have finished,

njɛí vúma ῆa, wáá yáaɲú
njɛ -í pú -ma ma wáá nyáaɲu
water-the put-place on you eye

taking my bath, You can open your eyes

wo náa, wú yáima taa ɲu."
mbo náa wú ngáima taa su
open now you return town in

and return to town."

11Ná ɲu Ngalá ngí ɣéni nu
Ná su Ngalá ngí ɣé -ni nu
when in God he say-RmPST human

When God told the humans

búsá ῆa, C"A yaaɲú lívi," síi háa
búsá ma A nyaaɲú lívi sí háa
body on pl eye close this today

to close their eyes, those today

maá ti lolí ngáa nu
maá ti tolí ngáa nu
we.incl them call REL human

that we call

wóléngái, tiá taá kɛ́ni
kóle -á -i tiá taá kɛ́-ni
white-pl-the they theyNEG do-RmPST

white people, they did not do it,

tɔ́ɔ lóko vɛ́lɛ yaaɲú kpé kpé,
tɔ́ɔ tóko pɛ́lɛ nyaaɲú kpé kpé
they hand bend eye tight tight

covering their eyes tight

kía nu ῆáalɛingái tí
kía nu máa-tɛi -á -i tí
as human on -black-pl-the they

as the black people did.

kɛ́ni. 12Ná náa Ngalá ngí
kɛ́-ni Ná náa Ngalá ngí
do-RmPST when now God he

When God now was doing

ɣéni áá kámáa
ɣé -ni áá kámáa
PROG-RmPST hePROG wonder

some wonderful things,

haítíi kɛ, ná vólu
haa -a -í -tíi kɛ ná pólu
thing-pl-the-pl do that back

sí nɔ́ɔ kínɛ́i í ngáa keleɣelé
sí nɔ́ɔ kínɛ́i í ngáa keleɣelé
this only all it REL wise

and also all clever things,

fáá, nu wãálɛingái
fáá nu máa-tɛi -á -i
thing human on -black-pl-the

the black people

taá ɣéi taá náa lɔ
taá ɣɛ -i taá náa tɔ
theyNEG PROG-RmPST theyPROG now see

they did not see them

13bɔwãlale ti lóko véléngɔ
bɔwãlale ti tóko pélɛ-ngɔ
because their hand bend-*

because they covered their eyes.

ɣɛi lá yáaɲú kpé.
ɣɛ -i lá nyáaɲu kpé
COP-RmPST with.it eye tight

14Síi pa háa ti ngáa nu
sí pa háa ti ngáa nu
this come today they REL human

But those who are known as white people,

wóléngái, tí lókoí
kóle -á -i tí tóko-í
white-pl-the they hand-the

wúyéɣeni kúlo 15taá Ngalá
wúyéɣeni kúlo taá Ngalá
under.lift small they God

they lifted their hands a little

maavɛ́ɛnɛ. 16Sí kínéi náá
maavɛ́ɛnɛ Sí kínéi náá
spy this all that.one

and peeked. All the things that

ɣéi áá kɛ, 17ti kpélé
ɣɛ -i áá kɛ tí kpélé
PROG-RmPST he do they all

he was doing, they saw all of them.

náa lɔní kpóu. 18Ké tí
náa tɔ -ní kpóu kɛ tí
now see-RmPST completely but they

But they

lóni náa Ngála kpéle má
ló -ni náa Ngála kpéle má
stand-RmPST now God look on

continued to watch as

náa yéi njɛí
náa njé -i njɛ -í
that.one descend-RmPST water-the

as God got in the water,

wu, 19ké nduwúi i
mbu kɛ nduwú-i i
under but body -the it

but his body

wolení ma fó kía nɔɔ nu kole -ní Ŋ -ma fó kía nɔɔ nu white-RmPST it-on ! as just human	became white as just a white person's is.
wóléngái tí na. [20]Ná nu kóle -á -i tí na Ná nu white-pl-the they there when human	When the white people
wóléngái tí náa lɔní kóle -á -i tí náa tɔ -ní white-pl-the they now see-RmPST	now saw this
sí í yɛ́i ngáa Ngalá, ti sí í yɛ -i ngáa Ngalá ti this it COP-RmPST REL God they	that happened to God,
kpɛ́lɛ́ tí ngákpalení náa[21]ti kpɛ́lɛ́ tí ngákpale-ní náa ti all they left -RmPST now they	they all left now,
yéi njɛí ɱu ngáa njé -i njɛ -í su ngáa descend-RmPST water-the in REL	they went down to the river
víliỹé, [22]ti vili mbu [23]táa píliỹɛ ti pili Ŋ -mbu táa run they throw it-under they	running. They went in the river
pu ῶa.[24]Ti kpɛ́lɛ́ tí lói pu ma Ti kpɛ́lɛ́ tí ndó -í put on they all they stand-RmPST	and took a bath. They all continued
náa pú ma ῶa [25]ti luwúi i náa pú ma ma ti nduwú-i i now put place on they body-the it	to take a bath, until their bodies
wóle búte fó. [26]Ná ti kóle kpúte fó Ná ti white real ! when they	were really white all over. When they
lóni njɛí vúma ῶa ló -ni njɛ -í pú -ma ma stand-RmPST water-the put-place on	were in the river taking a bath,
í yɛ́ni náa áá yɛ́ɛ́li í yɛ́ -ni náa áá yɛ́ɛ́li it PROG-RmPST now itPROG dry	it was drying up.
su, [27]ná ɱu ló kpéi nu Ŋ -su ná su ló kpéi nu it-in that in COP exactly human	That is exactly when

ῶaalɛingai tí yáaɲú maa-tɛi -aa-i tí nyáaɲu on -black-pl-the they eye	the black people
wóni, [28]kɛ́ tí ti mbó -ni kɛ tí ti open-RmPST but they their	opened their eyes, but they
mbálángái tɔí náa, mbalaa-á -i tɔ -í náa friend-pl-the see-RmPST now	saw that their friends now
[29]nái kóléngó búte fó. na -i kóle -ngó kpúte fó that-it white-* real !	were really white.
[30]Nu ῶáalɛingáitií, tiá Nu máa-tɛi -á -i -tií tiá human on -black-pl-the-pl they	The black people
bɛ́lɛ́ tí líiní náa ngáa bɛ́lɛ́ tí ndí-ní náa ngáa self they go -RmPST now REL	themselves went now
viliỹɛ́. [31]Ti hitɛ nja vopángí piliỹɛ́ ti sitɛ nja popá-ngí run they follow water * -the	running. They followed into the river bed,
ná ɲu, sífa njɛí ná su sífa njɛ -í that in because water-the	because the water
yɛi náa yɛɛliní. [32]Síi pa yɛ -i náa yɛɛli-ní sí pa COP-RmPST now dry -RmPST this come	was now drying up. Those who
maifóló tí yɛ́i hitɛí maifóló tí yɛ -i sitɛ -í first they PERF-RmPST follow-PERF	first followed
pópangí ná ɲu, tɔ́ɔ loko vɛ́lɛ pópa-ngí ná su tɔ́ɔ toko pɛ́lɛ * -the that in they hand bend	in the river bed, they put their hands
náa palaválángí ya [33]táa siáhiá náa pala-pala-ngí nga táa siá-siá now mud -mud -the on they rub-rub	in the mud and rubbed it on themselves.
ῶa, [34]ti lɛ́inga tɔ́ɔ lá táa ma ti tɛ́inga tɔ́ɔ lá táa on they some they lay they	Some of them rolled around in it.

ɣílíkíli nga. [35]Pekaítíi — And the others who
kíli-kíli nga peka -a -i -tíi
roll-roll on other-pl-the-pl

pa, síi tí lóni búnɔ́ɔ, — remained behind
pa sí tí ló -ni búnɔ́ɔ
come this they stand-RmPST behind

tí máaleni náa njɛí — they got to the river when it was
tí máale-ní náa njɛ -í
they meet -RmPST now water-the

yɛ́ɛ́lingɔ́ su. [36]Nái tɔ́ɔ — dried up. Those ones
yɛɛlí-ngɔ́ Ŋ -su na -i tɔ́ɔ
dry -* it-in that.one-the they

loko vɛ́lɛ náa nga,[37]tí síá ṽa, — tried to rub it on themselves,
toko pélɛ náa nga tí Ŋ -síá ma
hand bend now on they it-rub on

baikílá. [38]Síí kínɛ́i ti — but it was impossible. Those all
baikílá sí kínɛ́i ti
impossible this all they

lííni ti lááni ti — who went and laid down and were
ndí-ni ti lá -ni ti
go -RmPST they lay-RmPST they

ɣɛ́i taa ɣílíkíli, — rolling around,
ɣɛ -i taa kíli-kíli
PROG-RmPST theyPROG roll-roll

nái tɔ háa ti — those are the ones today
na -i tɔ háa ti
that.one-the COP today they

ngáa solóɣáitií. [39]Síi pa — that are called albinos. And those
ngáa solóɣa-a -i -tií sí pa
REL albino-pl-the-pl this come

ti ɣɛ́i folóní na — that reached there
ti ɣɛ -i foló-ní na
they PERF-RmPST meet-PERF there

ti ɣɛ́i taá siahiá — and were rubbing it on,
ti ɣɛ -i taá sia-sia
they PROG-RmPST theyPROG rub-rub

ṽa, nái tɔ maa ɣɛ — those are
ma na -i tɔ maa ɣɛ
on that.one-the COP we.incl say

tí ῶa kole yelái, ɔɔ nduwu
tí ma kole mbela -i ɔɔ nduwu
them on white person-the or skin

the white people or

ῶa wo mbéláitíi. [40]Ké síi
ma mbo mbéla -a -i -tíi kɛ sí
on open people-pl-the-pl but this

light skinned people. But those

tí maalení njɛí
tí maale-ní njɛ -í
they met -RmPST water-the

that found the river

yɛ́ɛ́lingɔ́ yɛ́ni náa lá
yɛ́ɛli-ngɔ́ yɛ́ -ni náa lá
dry -* COP-RmPST now with.it

dried up

su, tí lókói ná náa tɔɔ
Ŋ -su ti tóko-i ná náa tɔɔ
it-in their hand-the that now they

on their hands where they had

pɛlɛ́ nga, ná vólu ti wɔwɔ́i
pɛlɛ́ nga ná pólu ti gɔwɔ́-i
spread on that back they foot-the

spread the mud, and on their feet

ná tɔɔ yɛ́a lóto su
ná tɔɔ yɛ -a lóto Ŋ -su
there they PERF-ImPST stand it-in

where they stood in it,

lá, naítíi tí
lá na -a -i -tíi tí
with.it that-pl-the-pl they

those are

bíῦakpíῦáni náá tí wa.
kpíῦa-kpíῦá-ni náá tí mba
red -red -RmPST now them on

red now.

[41]Ná lɔ í kéngɔ, béiva
Ná lɔ í ké -ngɔ́ béiva
that COP it make-RtPST whether

That is what made

nuí lɔ ngáa tɛiῶɔ́ɔ
nuu -í lɔ ngáa tɛi -mɔ́ɔ
person-the COP REL black-person

a black person's

kɔwɔ́ yángi taá tókoí
kɔwɔ́ ngá -ngi taá tóko-í
foot surface-the they hand-the

bottom of his feet and hands

ya, naa áá yɛ gba
nga naa áá yɛ gba
on there it COP different

different from his skin.

nduwui wa. [42]Ná nu nduwu-i mba Ná nu skin -the on when human	When the white people
wóléngái tí sóloɣái kóle -á -i tí sóloɣa-i white-pl-the they albino-the	
nái tiá bɛ́lɛ́ táa wóle na -i tiá bɛ́lɛ́ táa kóle that.one-the they self they white	saw the albinos now were also very white,
ngwala, i baalɛní náa tí ngwala i kpaalɛ-ní náa tí very it hurt -RmPST now them	they were hurt.
wa, [43]faale ti líiní mba faale ti ndí-ní on thing.is they go -RmPST	Therefore, they went
[44]ti búndɛ nái ma ti kpúndɛ na -i ma they attack that.one-the on	and attacked those ones
kɛinó tí ti gúla nja kɛinóɔ tí ti kúla nja so they them pick water	so that they threw them out of the river bed.
vopángí yá mba. [45]Kɛ́ síi kínéi popá-ngí yá mba kɛ sí kínéi * -the on from but this all	But all those who were
tí yɛ́i ngáa solóɣáitií, tí yɛ -i ngáa solóɣa-a-i -tií they COP-RmPST REL albino-pl-the-pl	albinos,
tí nu wóléngái nái tí nu kóle -á -i na -i they human white-pl-the that-the	they caught those white people,
sóuní [46]tí ti la sóu -ní tí ti nda catch-RmPST they them lay	they laid them
ndɔwɔlɔi wa, [47]táa hía ti ndɔwɔló-i mba táa sía ti ground -the on they walk them	on the ground and walked on them.
w̃a, [48]táa palaválángi wála ma táa pala-pala-ngi wála on they mud -mud -the put.in	They put mud up their noses.

ti hokpá ɱú. [49]Ná lɔ í ti sokpá sú Ná lɔ í their nose in that COP it	That is what
kéngɔ nu wólêngái taa ké-ngɔ́ nu kóle -á -i taa do-RtPST human white-pl-the they	made the white people
bɔ́ɔ́lɔ hokpá ɱú, [50]bɔw̃álale palái bɔ́ɔ́lɔ sokpá sú bɔw̃álale palá-i talk nose in because mud -the	talk in their noses, because mud
lɔ nénɛ kpé ti hokpái ɱu. lɔ nénɛ kpé ti sokpá-i su COP yet * their nose -the in	is still in their noses.
[51]Ké sífa tiá tí Ngála kɛ sífa tiá tí Ngála but because they they God	But because they peeked at God,
maavéénɛí, ná lɔ í maavéɛnɛ-í ná lɔ í spy -RmPST that COP it	that is what made them
kéa tiá tí ké -nga tiá tí make-ImPST they they	able to do so many
ɣéleɣeléngói kámáa kéle -kelé -ngɔ́-i kámáa clever-clever-* -the wonder	clever, wonderful things
haítíi ké ma [52]í lóve haa -a -í -tíi kɛ ma í tóve thing-pl-the-pl do on it pass	more than
nu w̃áalɛingí wa. [53]Faale nu máa-lɛi -ngí mba Faale human on -black-the on thing.is	black people. Therefore,
nu w̃áalɛi ngaa ɣɛi nu máa-tɛi ngaa ɣɛ -i human on -black heNEG COP-RmPST	there was no difference long ago
na wólɔ gba, nu wólé na kpólɔ gba nu kóle there long different human white	between black and white people.
ngɔ́ɔ́ ɣé na, [54]ké ná lɔ í ngɔ́ɔ́ ɣé na kɛ ná lɔ í he COP there but that COP it	But this is what

kɛ́ngɔ nu w̃áalɛingái caused there to be black people
kɛ́ -ngɔ́ nu máa-tɛi -á -i
make-RtPST human on -black-pl-the

tí na, tí lɛ́ínga tí na and some that
tí na ti tɛ́inga tí na
they there they some they there

ti wóléngɔ. [55]Kɛ́ Ngalá ngi are white. But long ago God
ti kóle -ngɔ kɛ Ngalá ngi
they white-* but God he

ɣɛi nɔ́ɔ wɔ́lɔ́ nuí
ɣɛ -i nɔ́ɔ kpɔ́lɔ nuu -í
PERF-RmPST only long person-the

kpɛ́lɛ́ kpátɛ́ni ngáa ŋani only made all people
kpɛ́lɛ́ kpátɛ-ni ngáa ŋani
all fix -RmPST REL something

híi yilákpé. [56]Ngalá ngi as one tribe. God
híi ngilá-kpé Ngalá ngi
tribe one -* God he

ɣɛi nɔ́ɔ mu kpɛ́lɛ́ made all of us in one form.
ɣɛ -i nɔ́ɔ mu kpɛ́lɛ́
PERF-RmPST only we.incl all

kpátɛ́i toko yilá má.
kpátɛ-i toko ngilá má
fix -RmPST hand one on

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACT	ACTIVITY
ADDR	ADDRESSEE
adj	adjective
AdjPh	Adjective Phrase
adv	adverb
AdvPh	Adverb Phrase
AFF	AFFECTED
AGT	AGENT
APPROX	APPROXIMATION
Asso	Association
Att	Attribution
ATT	ATTRIBUTION
ATTRIB	ATTRIBUTION
AUD	AUDIENCE
BENEF	BENEFICIARY
C	Central
CIRCUM	CIRCUMSTANCE
Cl	Clause
CNTD	COUNTED
COG	COGNITION
COMM	COMMUNICATOR
Comm Incid	Communication Incident
CompPh	Complex Phrase
COMPPROP	COMPARISON PROPOSITION
COMQUE	COMMUNIQUE
COND	Conditional
conj	conjunction
ConjCh	Conjunction Chain
Cons	Consecutive
ConvBlk	Conversation Block
COORD	COORDINATE
COP	copula
CS	Communication Situation
dir	direct
disc	discourse
dmstr	demonstrative
Evt	Event
excl	exclusive
exp	expletive
EXPSN	EXPRESSION
EXSTL	EXISTENTIAL
F	Following

FUNC	FUNCTION
H	high tone
Hab	Habitual
HORT	Hortatory
ICC	Initial Consonant Change
IDFD	IDENTIFIED
IDFR	IDENTIFIER
ImPST	immediate past
incl	inclusive
Indir	indirect
INSTR	INSTRUMENT
L	low tone
LA	Logical Arrangement
LCTD	LOCATED
LLOC	LOGICAL LOCATION
LLOCATION	LOGICAL LOCATION
LocPh	Locative Phrase
LogArr	Logical Arrangement
LRELATION	LOGICAL RELATION
M	Morphemic
mfr	multi-functional relator
n	noun
NCOND	Negative Conditional marker
neg	negated
NGTD	NEGATED
NP	Noun Phrase
NUM	NUMBER
OB	Obligatory
OWND	OWNED
OWNR	OWNER
P	Preceding
part	particle
PAT	PATIENT
PER	PERFORMER
PERF	Perfect
PHEN	PHENOMENON
post	postposition
PP	Postpositional Phrase
PRCR	PROCESSOR
pres	present
prn	pronoun
PROD	PRODUCT
PROG	Progressive
PROPRN	PROPORTION
ps	part of speech
PST	Past
Ptve	Potentive
QTN	QUOTATION
QTVE	QUOTATIVE
RCTN	REACTION
RCTR	REACTOR

REF	REFERENT
REFPROP	REFERENCE PROPOSITION
REL	Relator
RelPh	Relator Phrase
RmPST	Remote Past
RtPST	Recent Past
S	Semantic
S.	Sentence
SIMUL	SIMULTANEOUS
SLCTD	SPATIAL LOCATED
SLOC	SPATIAL LOCATION
SLOCATED	SPATIAL LOCATED
SLOCATION	SPATIAL LOCATION
SocRel	Social Relationship
SOV	Subject Object Verb typology
SPCFD	SPECIFIED
SPCFN	SPECIFICATION
SPKR	SPEAKER
SPOSITION	SPATIAL POSITION
SR	Social Relationship
stve	stative
SUBSQ	SUBSEQUENT
suf	suffix
SVO	Subject Verb Object typology
TA	Temporal Arrangement
TDIR	TEMPORAL DIRECTION
TDIRECTION	TEMPORAL DIRECTION
TDUR	TEMPORAL DURATION
TDURATION	TEMPORAL DURATION
TEMP	TEMPORAL
TempArr	Temporal Arrangement
TLCTD	TEMPORAL LOCATED
TLOC	TEMPORAL LOCATION
TLOCATION	TEMPORAL LOCATION
TPROXIMITY	TEMPORAL PROXIMITY
v	verb
vd	voiced
vl	voiceless
VP	Verb Phrase
VW	Verb Word