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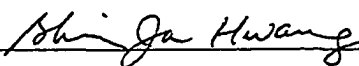
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AN INTRODUCTION TO MONA GRAMMAR

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AN INTRODUCTION TO MONA GRAMMAR

by

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Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
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of the Requirements
for the Degree of

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ABSTRACT

AN INTRODUCTION TO MONA GRAMMAR

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Mona is a Niger-Congo language spoken by the Mona people in central Côte d'Ivoire. This paper presents an introductory analysis of the clause, sentence, noun phrase structures, and verb morphology of Mona. The chapter on verb morphology looks closely at what has been labelled the perfective aspect, a feature of Mona grammar which has proven difficult to define. The chapter on the noun phrase focuses particularly on the development of the definite article. The paper then examines some aspects of discourse level grammar, including participant reference, cohesive devices, and the function of various verb tenses and aspects. With respect to the latter, a scheme for ranking the saliency of Mona predication types is proposed.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|----------|--|
| ACC | accusative |
| ADJ | adjective |
| AN | animate |
| ART | article |
| CONJ | conjunction |
| DEIC | deictic |
| DEM | demonstrative |
| EMPH | emphatic |
| EXCL | exclusive |
| IDEOPH | ideophone |
| INAN | inanimate |
| INCL | inclusive |
| INF | infinitive |
| INTERJ | interjection |
| INTER | interrogative |
| IRREAL | irrealis |
| NEG | negative |
| NOM | nominative |
| NOMIN | nominalizer |
| PERF | perfective |
| pl | plural |
| pn | pronoun |
| PP | postposition |
| POSS | possessive |
| PRES | presentative |
| PROG | progressive |
| RELpn | relative pronoun |
| sg | singular |
| SUP | superlative |
| VIP | VIP pronoun (Very Important Participant) |
| á | high tone |
| à | low tone |
| unmarked | mid tone |

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose and Scope

The purpose of this thesis is to provide a tentative analysis of some of the basic structures of Mona grammar as well as a few of the more complex structures for which these are foundational. It considers some of the more frequently occurring clause structures, the noun phrase, and verb morphology, then looks at how these structures function within the framework of a folk narrative. As a result some light has been shed on several aspects of Mona grammar that once seemed obscure. Hopefully this study will pave the way towards both a broader and a deeper understanding of Mona grammar.

1.2 Background Information

Mona (Muan, Mwan or Mwa) is a Southeastern Mande language of the Niger-Congo family. It numbers 12-15,000 speakers who live in eighteen villages in the Prefecture of Séguéla, located in the central portion of Côte d'Ivoire approximately 50 miles west of the city of Bouaké. Mona is the official name; the people call themselves Muan (Mona speakers consistently metathesize /na/ to /an/ word finally). Although a number of Mona people have migrated either to Bouaké or Abidjan in search of work, most of them remain in the villages where they continue in the traditional lifestyle of hunting and farming. Education is available in the villages through elementary school, after which anyone wishing to continue must attend one of the government-sponsored

boarding schools. French is the medium of instruction at all levels, and is the language of government and business. Many of the people speak French and most also speak Dioula, the unofficial trade language of Côte d'Ivoire. However, Mona is still used in the homes. In the late nineteenth century, the Mona villages were invaded by Samory, the Muslim Malinke chief who had established a powerful kingdom in west Africa and attempted to extend it into Côte d'Ivoire. Most of the Mona people fled to the villages of the neighboring Gouro people, where they lived until the early twentieth century. As a result they incorporated some features of the Gouro language and culture into their own; however there has been a determined effort to return to their own language and traditions. Although the elderly people still speak Gouro in addition to Mona, the younger people speak only Mona (Flik 1978:60).

In the 1970s an orthography based on that of a related language (Yacouba) was proposed by linguists Eva Flik and Margrit Bolli, members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, working together with Yegbe Antoine, a Mona speaker originally from the village of Kongasso. A reading primer was published shortly thereafter and literacy classes begun under the supervision of Tiangbe Alphonse, a pastor who resides in the village of Bambalouma. Mr. Yegbe and Mr. Tiangbe, in collaboration with the Summer Institute of Linguistics and under the auspices of the Association Ivoirienne Pour la Traduction de la Bible, have been working since 1992 on translating the Bible into Mona. I studied the language from the fall of 1991 until the summer of 1993 with the help of Yegbe Moïse, cousin of Yegbe Antoine. Most of the data on which this paper is based comes from texts recorded in the villages, and referred to in this paper as the deer text, the monkey text, the guinea text, and the buffalo text. The narrators are all mother tongue

speakers of Mona, men of mid to late middle age living in the villages. This paper is based on my very limited knowledge of the language and a restricted corpus of data consisting of some elicited material and four traditional fables. The result is that many of the conclusions presented here are tentative, and subject to further revision.

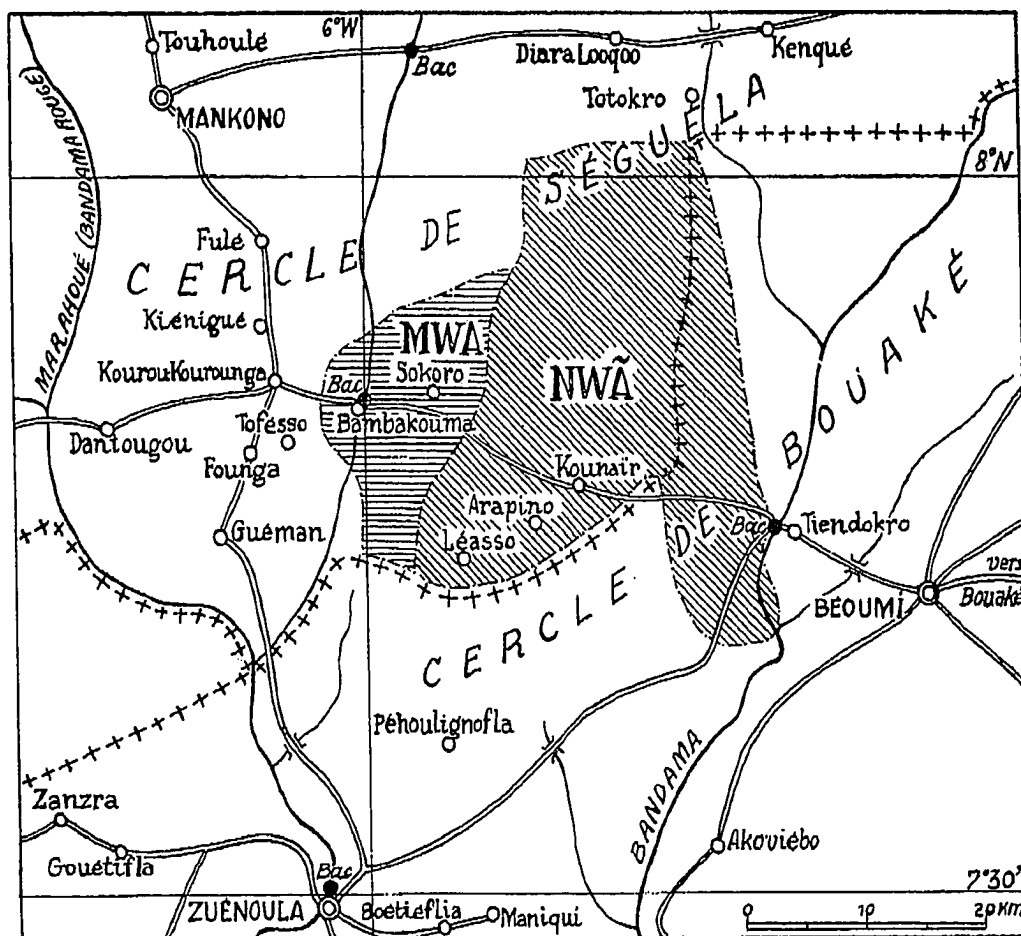


Figure 1. Mwan and Wan Language Areas (Prost 1953:22)

1.3 Language Classification

The forty languages which make up the Mande family of Niger-Congo languages are spoken by some ten million people living in fifteen countries of West Africa (Dwyer

1989:47). There are word lists of Mande languages dating back as far as the late seventeenth century, and a few grammars published as early as the mid-nineteenth century. The inclusion of Mande as a branch of the Niger-Congo languages was originally based on a comparison of word lists. In the early part of this century Delafosse (1901) divided the Mande languages into the Mande-tan group in the north and the Mande-fou group in the south, based on the word used by the various languages for the number ten, as well as cultural differences between the two groups (52). Delafosse was also the first to describe structural as well as lexical similarities among Mande languages, which he characterized as lack of gender, use of affixation in word formation and in indicating number, tense, and mode, and lack of tone (48), the last of which was an erroneous assumption.

Although the Mande-tan and Mande-fou terminology is still used, the classification is no longer recognized as valid -- in fact, the very language that gave the Mande-fou group its name is now classified with the former Mande-tan languages (Welmers 1971:115). André Prost (1953), Maurice Houis (1959), and William Welmers (1958) were apparently the first to conduct any in-depth study of the Mande languages and to base their classification of these on phonological and grammatical structure rather than by relying on comparative word lists. The result was Welmers' reclassification of the Mande family into a northern and western group, and a southern and eastern group (1971:115-116). Further research has since produced the following classification scheme which has received general acceptance.

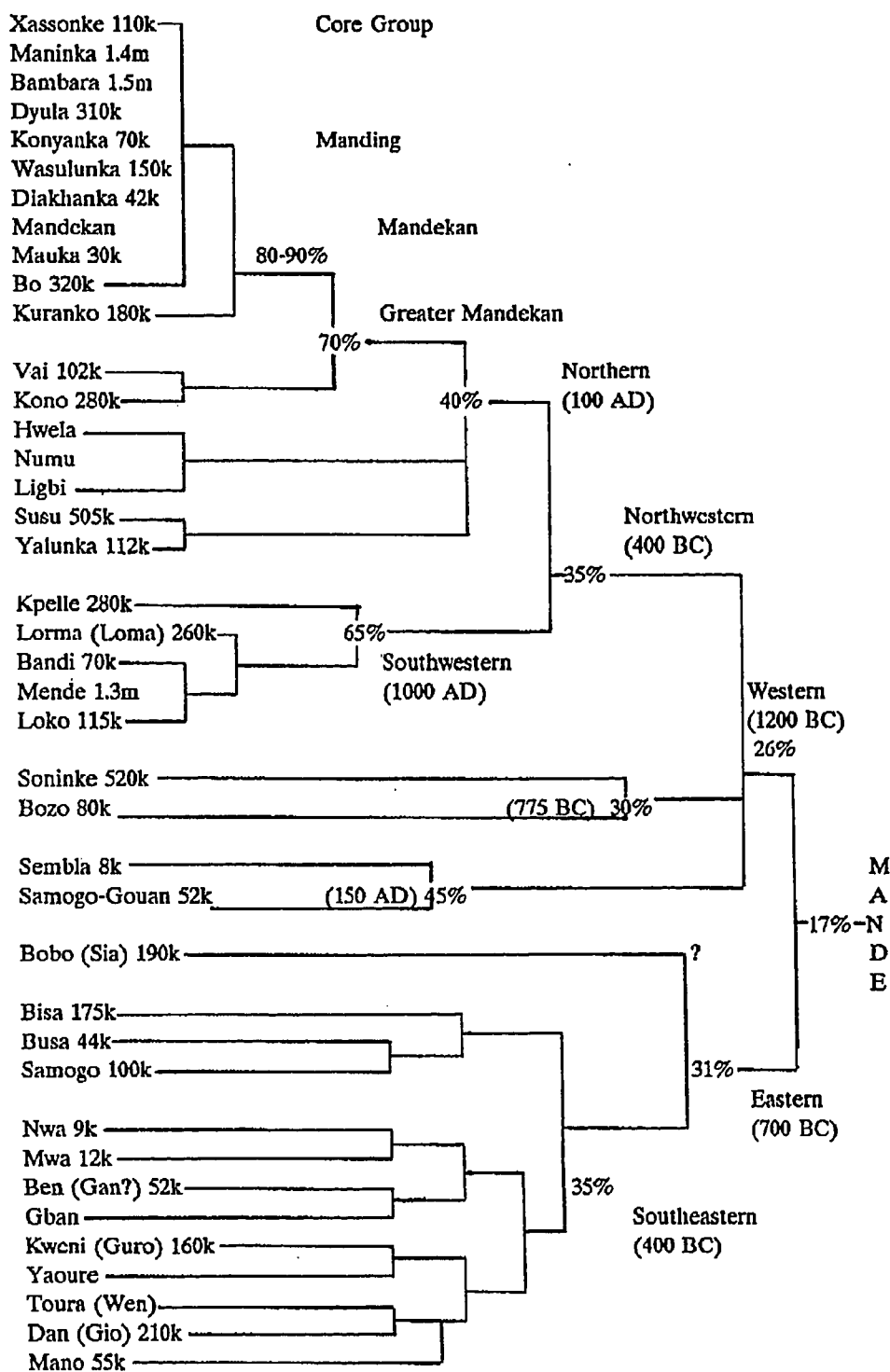


Figure 2. Mande Language Classification (Dwyer 1989:50)

The numbers represent number of speakers (in thousands and millions), cognate percentages, and estimated time period when the language split off from the source language. Presumably there are no statistics available for those languages for which figures are lacking.

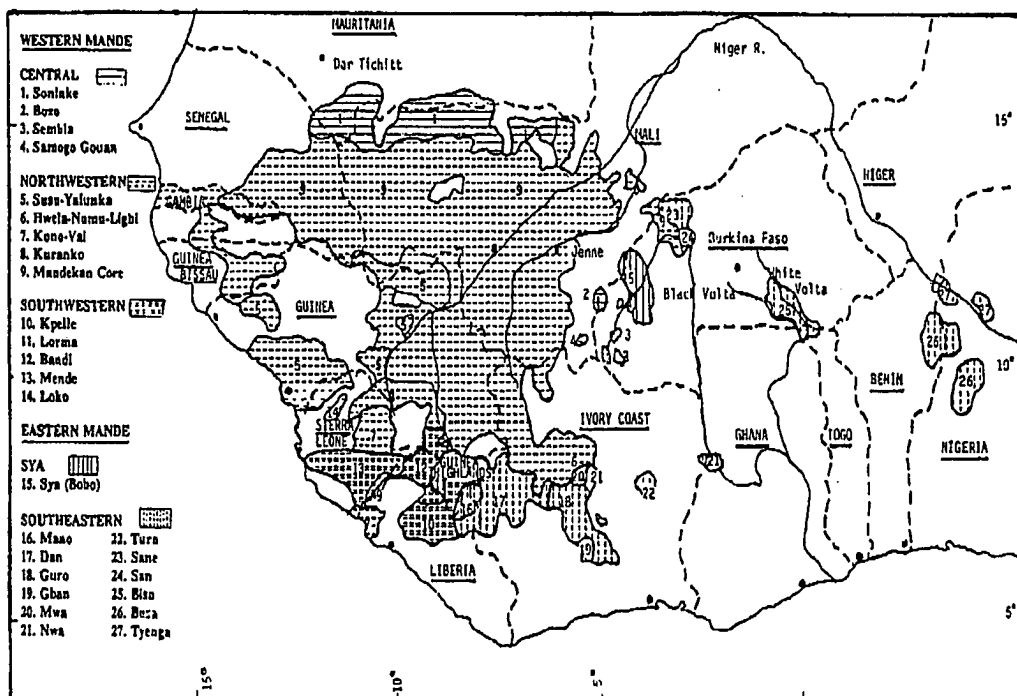


Figure 3. Mande Language Area (Dwyer 1989:46)

Welmers claims that the Mande languages bear some striking structural differences from the other branches of Niger-Congo, and that they represent the earliest offshoot from the original stock (1971:113). For one thing, it is the only Niger-Congo group in which there is no trace of a noun-class system. Welmers believes that it is more likely that proto-Niger-Congo had such a system which the Mande languages subsequently lost, than that it would have developed in the other groups after Mande split off (Welmers

1973:184). Another characteristic of Mande languages is the alienability/inalienability distinction. Welmers sees this dichotomy as defining two types of nouns, which he calls free nouns and relational nouns (1973:212). A free noun may by itself constitute a noun phrase. A relational noun may not occur without a possessive. The former are alienable, the latter inalienable. This is discussed in more detail in relation to Mande noun phrase structure in section 4.3 of chapter 4.

Another characteristic of Mande languages is that words which are often labelled adpositions are actually terms for body parts and place relations. Welmers gives as an example the Kpelle sentence 'he is behind the house' which literally means 'he is at the back of the house'. "In the case of such a noun phrase used as a complement after a verb, the preposition-like relationship is not inherent in the relational noun at all, but rather in the position of the noun phrase after the verb" (1973:217). He feels this is an area of study which has been much neglected -- too many linguists have assumed these words are true adpositions without considering the possibility of their actually being nouns which function as adpositions.

In addition to these features, Welmers lists other characteristics typical of many Mande languages. One of these is a tendency towards tonal change in compound nouns, which he says usually occurs on the second noun (1973:281). Another is the predominance of Head-Modifier word order for noun phrases, which he says is usual but not universal (285). Like many Niger-Congo languages, Mande languages express 'having' as something 'being in the hand' (308). And finally, they have a sentence-final falling (rather than rising) intonation for yes/no questions, while information questions have the same intonation as a declarative sentence, which is governed by the tones of the

individual words (416). Other features of Mande languages, mentioned by Dwyer, are the fact that they generally have SOV word order, that they mark tense and aspect through a combination of verb suffixes and auxiliary verbs which occur following the subject, and that possessive pronouns generally precede the noun while other modifiers, including demonstratives, definite articles, and plural markers, generally follow the noun (58).

Many of the preceding features which characterize Mande languages can be found in Mona. To begin with, basic clause order is SOV:

- | | | | | | | |
|----|--|----------|-----|------|--------|---------------|
| | S | | O | | V | |
| 1. | Béè | bie | bé | a | gba | kpàà gè. |
| | and | elephant | DEM | POSS | garden | put-PAST here |
| | 'And the elephant made his garden here.' | | | | | |

In all of the language data referred to throughout this paper, square brackets will be used to highlight the particular portion of the data which is relevant to the discussion. The words on the text line do not reflect the morpheme breaks that are included on the gloss line. This will mainly be apparent on the verbs (suffixed with *-à*, *-le* and *-lɛ*), the alienable possessive pronouns (*a* cliticized to personal pronouns), and the combination of pronoun plus negation (*láá* cliticized to personal pronouns). These should be clarified by the discussion of the morphology of each of these constructions (verbs in chapter three, possessive pronouns in section 4.4.3, and negation in section 2.2).

There is no noun class system. Alienability is distinguished from inalienability by insertion of the morpheme *a* between the possessive and an alienable noun. In this paper, this morpheme is glossed as 'POSS' to indicate that it is a marker of alienable possession. The phrase *bé a gba* 'his garden' in example 1 is an alienable possessive phrase. Inalienable (or perhaps 'relational') nouns never occur without a possessive noun or

pronoun, though this may also be due to the context in which they occur. Inalienable possessive pronouns are identical with the personal pronouns, except for third person singular. Examples 2-4 below contain inalienable possessive phrases (*ní kóó* ‘my hand’, *ní nèn* ‘my child’, *à zànta*, ‘his back’). The possessive pronoun *à* in example 4 is not the same as the alienability marker *a*, but is the third singular possessive pronoun.

A number of words which function as postpositions may be relational nouns, as evidenced by the following examples. In examples 2 and 4, *kóó* and *zànta* are body parts; in examples 3 and 5 the same words are apparently being used as postpositions. While it is entirely possible that these are simply homophonous, it is also possible that example 3 literally means ‘you left my child in the buffalo’s hand’, while example 5 means ‘I’m going to the back of you.’

2. Ma pù yaga ò ní [kóó].
 chicken white three be 1sg hand
 ‘I have three white chickens.’
3. É ní nén é tóà du é [kóó] éè?
 2sg 1sg child ART leave-PAST water.buffalo ART to INTER
 ‘You left my son with the buffalo?’
4. È à [zànta] doà gban.
 3sg 3sgPOSS back put-PAST already
 ‘He already turned his back.’
5. Ní ge zí ní wín tãnlɛ ká [zànta] kòó [zànta]
 1sg go PROG 1sg hair braid-IRREAL 2pl behind 1plINCL behind
 ...
 wà é ta gè.
 village ART to here
 ‘I’m going to get my hair braided behind you, behind us in the village here.’

There is a characteristic downstep intonation on the sentence-final interrogative marker for yes/no questions.

6. É n nén é tóà du é kóó [éè].
 2sg 1sg child ART leave-PAST water.buffalo ART to INTER
 'You left my son with the buffalo?'

The predominant noun phrase order in Mona is Head-Modifier. Adjectives, relative clauses, and the definite article follow the noun, while possessives, modifying noun or verb phrases, and the demonstrative precede the noun (cf. chapter 4, section 4.2).

7. [À naàgonen nèn do] ò ye.
 3sgPOSS little.brother small one be there
 'His one little brother is there.'
8. Guè [bé dàwlí] klàà bie ni yrelánòò bé lè 6e.
 grey.deer DEM trick put-PAST elephant to where DEM PRES so
 'So this is where the grey deer played this trick on the elephant.'
9. Yée nèn lá ò gba é ta
 VIP child RELpn be garden ART on
 'the child who is in the garden'

Tense and aspect are marked by a combination of auxiliaries which follow either the subject noun phrase or the verb, and verbal suffixes:

10. Ké è [ò] fe yì [kpá zí].
 and 3sg be mound in put PROG
 'And he's hoeing the mounds.'
11. È [nu] à [zɔnlɛ].
 3sg come OBJ hit-IRREAL
 'He will hit him.'

1.4 Typological Considerations

Greenberg has observed that there are implicational universals strongly linked to constituent order. The following chart lists some of the characteristics which typically co-occur with head-final and head-initial constituent orders (Hwang 1993:2).

Head-Final
OV (SOV)

Postposition
Modifier-Noun
Adverb-Adjective
Main Verb-Auxiliary
Suffixation
Indirect Object-Direct Object
Adverb-Verb

Head-Initial
VO (VSO, SVO)

Preposition
Noun-Modifier
Adjective-Adverb
Auxiliary-Main Verb
Prefixation
Direct Object-Indirect Object
Verb-Adverb

Although Mona is an SOV language, in most respects it does not conform to the pattern for head-final languages. In fact, the only respect in which it resembles the SOV prototype lies in the fact that it is a postpositional and suffixing language. Heine, who proposed a typology for African languages based on Greenberg's system of implicational universals, observes that although Mande languages have SOV word order, "they do not belong to Greenberg's SOV type" (Heine 1976:24). He assigns Mande languages to his type B category, in which most languages are SVO. He lists the characteristics of SVO languages as: (1) use of postpositions rather than prepositions; (2) possessive elements precede the noun; (3) numerals and qualifying adjectives follow the noun; (4) demonstratives and numerals usually follow adjectives; (5) adverbs usually follow adjectives and verbs; (6) the subject pronoun precedes the tense/aspect markers, the verb, and the direct object pronoun; (7) they lack a noun class system based on gender; and (8) they lack a passive construction (41-42). All of these characteristics apply to Mona with the exception of number (4) -- in Mona the proximal demonstrative *be'* precedes the noun, which precedes adjectives (cf. 4.2).

1.5 Mona Phonemic Inventory

The following inventory of Mona phonemes is taken from an article entitled *La Phonologie du Muan*, written by Eva Flik and Margrit Bolli and published in the *Annales de L'Université d'Abidjan* (1978).

Table 1. Mona Phoneme Charts

Consonants:

| | | Labials | Alveolars | Palatals | Velars | Velolabials | Labiovelars |
|-----------------|-----------|---------|-----------|----------|--------|-------------|-------------|
| Obstru- ents | voiceless | p | t | c | k | kp | kw |
| | voiced | b | d | j | g | gb | gw |
| | implosive | ɓ | | | | | |
| Frica- tives | voiceless | f | s | | | | |
| | voiced | v | z | | | | |
| Nasals | | | n | | ŋ | | |
| Laterals | | | l | | | | |
| Semi- vowels | | w | | y | | | |

Vowels:

| | | Front | Central | Back |
|------|-------|-------|---------|------|
| High | | i | | u |
| Mid | Tense | e | | o |
| | Lax | ɛ | | ɔ |
| Low | | | a | |

In addition, there are three level tones and one downglide which is a combination of a mid and low tone:

| | | |
|-----------|-----|-------------------|
| High | lé | 'with' |
| Low | lè | presentative |
| Mid | -le | perfective suffix |
| Downglide | wîn | 'head/hair' |

1.6 Organization of the Thesis

Chapter two deals with clause and sentence structure from a functional point of view. After a brief discussion of the theory I examine the basic clause structure of verbal and nonverbal predications, modality, sentence structure, and pragmatic functions. Chapter three describes the tense and aspect system, consisting of simple present/habitual aspect, present progressive, simple past and perfect tenses, past imperfective aspect, and irrealis. The latter is discussed in this chapter rather than under modality in chapter two, because it is involved in potential or future tense constructions. Chapter four describes noun phrase structure, free and relational nouns, and pronouns. The bulk of this chapter is devoted to an analysis of the emerging definite article. Chapter five looks at some of the more discernible discourse features, including participant reference, use of tense and aspect, discontinuity and cohesion, and features of the peak.

CHAPTER 2

CLAUSE AND SENTENCE STRUCTURE

2.1 Theoretical Background

The following analysis of Mona sentence structure is based on the Functional model developed by Dik (1978). This approach to language analysis defines language as “an instrument of social interaction” and seeks not only to define its structural rules but to explain their various functions in the context of communication between individuals (1978:5). These functions are threefold: syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic. The semantic function defines the roles which the arguments of a predication play in the situation which the predication describes. The syntactic function defines the perspective from which the situation is presented. As Dik describes it, “the point of departure for describing the state of affairs is brought about by assigning the syntactic function Subject to that argument” (71). The pragmatic function relates certain of the arguments to the larger context of the discourse. According to Dik, “both the form and the semantic content of linguistic expressions may vary according to different function-assignments made to their constituents on each of the three levels of function” (14). The predication constitutes the nucleus of a clause, and consists of a predicate and its syntactic arguments. These arguments, which are constituents of the nuclear predication, are those which are central to the meaning of the predication; therefore, they are obligatorily present. These are the Agent (for all clause types), Goal (for transitive clauses), and Recipient (for bitransitive clauses). The situation which the predication describes may be an action, a process, a

position, or a state. These categories are defined by the parameters Controlled (i.e. by an agent) and Dynamic (i.e. involving change) (33). An action is +Controlled, +Dynamic. A process is -Controlled, +Dynamic. A position is +Controlled, -Dynamic, and a state is -Controlled, -Dynamic.

The clause can be expanded to include “satellite” arguments of the nuclear predication, these being the optional arguments which are not inherent in the meaning of the predication but add more information concerning the situation. These arguments include such elements as Time, Place, Manner, Benefactive, and Instrument. There seems to be a universal hierarchy into which these semantic roles can be organized for purposes of syntactic assignment within the predication. Thus the function of Agent is most central to actions and positions, since they are by definition +Controlled and therefore cannot take place without an agent. Goal is more central to the meaning of transitive clauses than Recipient, since “there can be a Goal without a Recipient, but no Recipient without a Goal” (1978:70). The satellite function of Benefactive seems to follow Recipient in terms of centrality, followed by Instrument, Location, and Time. These are the semantic functions which can potentially be assigned the syntactic functions of Subject and Object in order to present a particular perspective on the situation under discussion. Thus if the speaker wishes to focus on the Goal rather than the Agent of an action, he will assign the syntactic function of Subject to the Goal. In like manner the Recipient can be assigned to both the Object and Subject functions. In English it would be highly questionable to assign one of these to the next semantic function in the hierarchy, Benefactive (*?Mary was bought a car by John.*) Each language will have its own cutoff point beyond which the remaining semantic functions cannot be assigned to the syntactic functions of Subject and

Object. By changing the constituents which fill the roles of Subject and Object, the speaker can describe the same state of affairs from several different perspectives. “This view implies that there is more to the semantics of natural language sentences than can be captured in terms of truth-conditions” (Dik 1978:71).

The pragmatic functions consist of Topic, Focus, Theme, and Tail (1978:130). The Topic is the entity with which the predication is concerned, and Focus has to do with the most important item of information being given about this entity, particularly new information, or at least information which the speaker assumes is new to the listener. Both of these are predicate-internal functions. The syntactic Subject is often also the pragmatic Topic, though not always. Focus is often indicated by a special construction (such as cleft constructions) or a focus marker, special word order, or by greater stress or higher tone (Dik 1980:212-213).

Theme and Tail are both sentence-level functions, and not part of the predication itself, which constitutes the clause nucleus. The Theme and Tail relate the predication to the larger context of the discourse. Syntactically they often consist of left-dislocated (Theme) and right-dislocated (Tail) constituents. The Theme can be defined as a device the speaker uses to introduce some entity with which the predication will be concerned. The Theme and Topic may refer to the same entity, but are different constituents functioning on different levels of the discourse. As evidence that the Theme should be considered a sentence-level constituent separate from the predication itself, Dik cites sentences such as the following Japanese example (1978:133):

zoo wa hana ga nagai
 elephant Theme nose Subj long
 ‘As for elephants, noses are long.’

This sentence is concerned with elephants; however, the phrase ‘as for elephants’ is not a constituent of the predication. Furthermore, if the Theme of a sentence is deleted there still remains a complete predication; not so with the Topic (142).

The Tail contains information presented as an afterthought, for emphasis or as clarification of the preceding predication, as in ‘They have really long noses, those elephants’. Both Theme and Tail are often set off from the predication by a slight pause or “comma intonation”.

Mona clause structure is fairly simple and straightforward, with SOV word order which is consistent in both main clauses and dependent clauses, and in declarative, interrogative, and imperative clauses. The ordering of such satellite constituents as Time, Manner, and Location is rather flexible. The semantic and syntactic functions of the clause constituents are indicated by word order rather than case marking.

2.2 Negation and Auxiliary Verbs

Before going on to an analysis of clause structure, a brief explanation of the syntactic position of auxiliary verbs and negation markers within Mona clauses is called for. These are not a part of the verb phrase, as evidenced by the fact that they occur between the Subject and the Object in Transitive clauses. When the Subject is a pronoun the negation marker *láá* cliticizes onto the pronoun, resulting in the following paradigm:

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1sg í + láá = náá | 1pl ó + láá = wáá |
| 2sg é + láá = yáá | 2pl ká + láá = káá |
| 3sg è + láá = yàà | 3pl ò + láá = wàà |

However, *láá* does not cliticize onto the demonstrative pronoun *ḡé*. The combination of the demonstrative pronoun *ḡé* and the negative morpheme *láá* yields the phrase *ḡé láá*.

Examples 1-3 illustrate the syntactic position of the negative *láá*. Examples 4-6 illustrate the syntactic position of auxiliary verbs.

1. Mεε kédo [láá ò gelè] ḡé ta ye.
 person none NEG be go-PERF DEM to there
 'No one went to him there.'
2. Ké [yáá ò tó kánle] mí é de zí.
 if 2sg-NEG 3pl name make-IRREAL 1sgEMPH 2sg kill PROG
 'If you don't tell me their names I myself am killing you.'
3. [Náá ḡé tó do.]
 1sg-NEG DEM name know
 'I don't know this one's name.'
4. Bon! Bèè yée Loonèn è [jà yaa gba
 okay next VIP hare 3sg go-PAST VIPPOSS garden
 kpále] vle sàà ta.
 put-IRREAL stone space on
 'Okay! Then he, the hare, went to plant his garden on granite.'
5. Ò [nu ḡí ḡlólε] àman.
 3pl come 2sgEMPH eat-IRREAL INTERJ
 'They will eat you for sure.'
6. È [nu] a [gonle] à vrò ma.
 3sg come OBJ sell-IRREAL 3sgPOSS bunch on
 'He will sell it by the bunch.'

2.3. Verbal Predications

2.3.1 Transitive Clauses

Mona transitive clause order is SOV, with the Indirect Object realized as a postpositional phrase following the verb in ditransitive clauses.

- S O V
 7. Ké ò ɓé yaan là tán zí.
 and 3pl DEM yam under plant PROG
 'And they're planting these yams.'

- S O V
 8. Bèè bie ɓé a gba kpàà gè.
 and elephant DEM POSS garden/field put-PAST here
 'And Elephant planted his garden here.'

- S O V
 9. Bèè è ɓé yáa gban du é lé ɓe.
 and 3sg DEM see-PAST already buffalo ART PRES so
 'And so he saw this already, that this was the buffalo.'

- S O V IO
 10. È maɲyiren nan zí à ɓegonen ni.
 3sg chicken-egg give PROG 3sgPOSS friend to
 'He's giving an egg to his friend.'

- S O V S O
 11. Bèè nèn mu é mú pèè klúle si ɓéè mú ge ɓé
 then child PL ART PL clay roll-PERF take and PL go DEM

- V IO
 nále fédo mu é ni.
 give-IRREAL house-builder PL ART to
 'Then the children, they take the clay which has been rolled into balls and they go give it to the housebuilders.'

- S O V IO
 12. È tyùntyùnj é kláfàpàà gona gbananen ma.
 3sg machete ART lend-PAST man old to
 'He loaned the machete to an old man.'

Reflexive clauses are simply transitive clauses in which the object pronoun corresponds with the subject pronoun or noun phrase. Thus, for example, a first person singular subject takes a first person singular object, resulting in the meaning that ‘I did it to myself’.

- S O V
 13. *Ń ò ń mangan zí tabalí é la.*
 1sg be 1sg hide PROG table ART under
 ‘I’m hiding (myself) under the table.’

- S O V
 14. *É é siànà.*
 2sg 2sg sneeze-PAST
 ‘You sneezed (lit. ‘you sneezed yourself’).’

- S O V
 15. *Bé à gànna bé nóò tyé.*
 DEM OBJ hide-PAST DEM place place
 ‘This one hid (himself) in this place.’

2.3.2 Intransitive Clauses

An intransitive clause consists minimally of a subject and predicate. They, as well as transitive clauses, can be expanded to include such satellite constituents as time, manner, and location. By far the majority of intransitive clauses in the narrative texts have to do with verbs of motion: coming, going, arriving, falling, climbing, passing, etc. These would all be characterized as actions, since they are both +Control and +Dynamic.

- S V LOC
 16. [*Gbàan bàlá yì é ta*] *βéè* [*βé yue kààn.*]
 dog fall/jump-PAST water ART on and DEM river cut-PAST
 ‘The dog jumped in the water and swam across the river.’

S V LOC TIME
 17. Bèè [è ɓàà yì é dre yí wáátí lá ba]
 and 3sg arrive-PAST water ART middle in moment RELpn in

S V LOC
 ɓèè [à pe we yrì é bàlá yue é ba.]
 and 3sgPOSS thing salt wood ART fall-PAST river ART to
 ‘And when he got to the middle of the river, at that moment his block
 of salt fell into the river.’

S V LOC
 18. Bèè muen kpén kan yée a pe gba é ɓé ta.
 and people all pass VIP POSS thing garden ART DEM on
 ‘And everyone passes by his garden.’

A number of Mona intransitive clauses are processes -- they are -Controlled,

+Dynamic:

S V LOC
 19. Yée gblànnà du è léé gban.
 VIP fear-PAST water.buffalo ART before already
 ‘He was already afraid before the buffalo.’

S V
 20. Bé klɛle [ɓé too é klíɲà.]
 DEM do-PERF DEM tomorrow ART make-PAST
 ‘This being so, this day ended.’

S V
 21. La gbèntèn é bààn.
 rain large ART rain-PAST
 ‘A lot of rain fell (lit. ‘a lot of rain rained’).’

Others would be characterized as stative, since they lack the elements of control and dynamism. In the four narrative texts I studied, most of these are locative clauses. Stative clauses require the existential/copular verb ò (‘to be’) when the complement involves a phrase or a word of more than two syllables.

appears to be the same as the particle *le* which Houis (1966) identifies in Malinke, a northern Mande language found in Guinea, as a bivalent particle which marks noun phrase constituents which are both predicative and non-predicative (194). When no other predicate is present, the noun phrase accompanied by *le* is itself the predicate (214). This same structure is found in Muna identification clauses.

- S P
33. Ké yée á pélé gbàán ni doo [gbàán lè yaa pε
 and VIP OBJ say-PERF dog to that dog PRES VIPPOSS thing
 wε yrì é síà].
 salt block ART take-PAST
 'And he said to the dog that it was the dog who took his block of salt.'

- S P
34. Loonèn! Loonèn lè á bààlá.
 hare hare PRES OBJ instigate-PAST
 'Hare! It's hare who instigated it.'

- S
35. Bé gba kpáleya é yí, nèn do é, [à
 DEM garden put-PERF-NOM ART in child one ART 3sgPOSS
 P
 dε lè yàà wi é dε].
 father PRES be-PAST animal ART kill
 'In this garden-making story, a certain boy, his father was the one
 who used to kill the animals.'

2.5 Modality

2.5.1 Imperative

Imperative clauses take the uninflected verb root, which is also used for the habitual aspect and simple present tense.

36. Ké yáá ǂé tó do à [lɾòkpá] é de kóó.
 if 2sg-NEG DEM name know OBJ ask 2sg father to
 ‘If you don’t know this one’s name, ask your father.’

37. À tó [kán] too.
 3sgPOSS name put tomorrow
 ‘Say its name tomorrow.’

2.5.2 Negative

The suffix *-le* functions in combination with the negative adverb *láá* to produce negative constructions. It is argued in section 3.5 of the following chapter that *-le* is an irrealis marker.

38. ǂéè ò pe kòó [láá éke tó péle].
 and 3pl say 1plINCL NEG each.other name say-IRREAL
 ‘And they said, “Let’s not criticize each other.”’

39. È pe íh! la gbèntèn bààn [yáá yéle]
 3sg say INTERJ rain large rain-PAST 2sg-NEG see-IRREAL

εè?

INTERROG

‘He said, “Hey, a lot of rain fell, didn’t you see?”’

The verb *do* (‘know’) is apparently an exception to the rule for negative constructions. It seems to be an irregular verb which does not take the irrealis suffix.

40. Áh! [náá ǂé tó do.]
 INTERJ 1sg-NEG DEM name know
 ‘Oh! I don’t know this one’s name.’

41. Ké yáá ǂé tó do à lɾòkpá é de kóó.
 if 2sg-NEG DEM name know OBJ ask 2sg father to
 ‘If you don’t know its name, ask your father.’

As Manner:

46. ò à klɛlè [nále] zón?
 3pl OBJ do-PERF how today
 'How will they do it today?'

As Location:

47. È pe bɛ ni 'é gelè [náa]?'
 3sg say DEM to 2sg go-PERF where
 'He says to her, "Where are you going?"'

Yes/no questions consist of a clause followed by the interrogative marker *éè* or *léè* which carry a sentence-final downstep intonation characteristic of yes/no questions in Mona. As far as I can determine, declarative intonation is governed by the sequence of tones associated with each word in the sentence.

48. Ké bɛ nen á pélé doo 'Tyíbo! é ní nén é
 and DEM wife OBJ say-PERF that ugh 2sg 1sg child ART

tòà du é kós [éè]?'
 leave-PAST buffalo ART hand INTER
 'And his wife said, "Ugh! You left my child with the buffalo?"'

49. Bèè bɛ pe 'vle sàà é ta be [éè]?'
 and DEM say stone surface ART on then INTER
 'And she says "On the granite then?"'

2.6 Compound and Complex Sentences

2.6.1 Compound Sentences

Several clauses may be joined by either of the conjunctions *ké* or *béè* (both of which are translated by Mona speakers as either 'and' or 'next') to form compound sentences.

50. [Gbàán bàlá yì é ta] 6éè [bé yue kaàn].
 dog jump/fall-PAST water ART on and DEM river swim-PAST
 'The dog jumped into the water and swam across the river.'

51. [Yéè ò gba é ba] ké [è à de gba é
 VIP be garden ART in and 3sg 3sgPOSS father garden ART

kpáà.]

put-PAST

'He's in the garden, and he planted his father's garden.'

At the peak of the narrative several clauses may be conjoined to give the impression that the story is running away with the narrator.

52. Áh! è pe, è 6é ple mi é pélé, 6égonen! ké
 INTERJ 3sg say 3sg DEM two time ART say-PERF friend and

du è pe, è à yrèkpá nèn é ta ké nn...
 buffalo 3sg say 3sg 3sgPOSS eye-put child ART on and ...

6é nuàgonen é, 6é yáale káálá yí 6e gaan
 DEM little.brother ART DEM sit-PERF sitting.place in there hide

yre noò 6e ké 6é sá é zonlè à yrè ba.
 place place there and DEM arrow ART pierce-PERF 3sg eye in

'He says, he said this two times, friend! and the buffalo says, he looks at the child, and...this little brother, this one seated there in the sitting place, there in the hiding place and this arrow pierced him (i.e. the buffalo) in the eye.'

2.6.2 Conditional and Temporal Clauses

Both conditional and temporal clauses in Mona are introduced by the word *ké*, which Mona speakers translate into French as either *si* ('if') or *quand* ('when'). I assume this to be homophonous with the *ké* mentioned in the previous section, which they translate as *et* ('and') or *ensuite* ('next'). Not only are they translated differently by bilingual Mona speakers, but the first *ké* introduces a subordinate clause and the second *ké*

introduces an independent clause. Welmers points out that many languages do not typically differentiate between different degrees of expectedness as does English (e.g. ‘when he comes’, ‘if he comes’, ‘if he should come’) (1973:362). In Mona the surface structure of conditional and temporal clauses is the same, the difference between them being determined by the context.

In temporal clauses, the subordinate clause verb can be inflected for present tense/habitual aspect, present progressive, or past tense. The main clause verb may or may not be inflected with the same aspectual suffix, depending on the context.

53. [Ké mɛɛlá zan ò zan] [ké
if/when whoever come/arrive 3pl come/arrive if/when

è ò yàa fe é pá zí] è à [ma]
3sg be VIPPOSS mound ART fill/pile PROG 3sg OBJ hear

wléŋ wléŋ.

IDEOPH

‘When someone arrives, when he’s hoeing his mounds, he (i.e. the person who has arrived) hears “jingle jingle”.’

54. [Ké ò nyà fédolelé] gona mu [yala]
if/when 3pl finish house.build-INF man PL sit

gbedo, le mu [yala] gbedo ɔ́éè nèn mu [yala] gbedo.
arm-one woman PL sit arm-one and child PL sit arm-one
‘When they’ve finished house-building, the men sit down on one side,
the women sit down on one side, and the children sit down on one side.’

55. [Ké ò kélá dià] ɔ́é ngólo ɔ́é lè [ge] yée ni
if/when 3pl RELpn kill-PAST DEM head DEM PRES go VIP to

gba la ye yée ɔ́é [ɔ́le].
garden to there VIP DEM eat

‘When they killed something, it’s the head of this one that goes to him
in the garden and he eats it.’

The same constructions can also be used in conditional clauses of various degrees of expectedness. The verb of the conditional clause seems always to be in the past tense. At this point there is not enough data to determine whether the tense or aspect marking on the verb of the main clause reflects the degree of definiteness.

Conditional clause with future tense main clause verb phrase:

56. Ké 6í lá é mee tó [píà] doo
 if/when 2sgEMPH RELpn 2sg person name say-PAST that
- 6í [nu galɛ].
 2sgEMPH come die/dry-IRREAL
 'If you criticized someone, you would die.'

Conditional clause with present tense main verb:

57. Ké mee lá 6é mee tó [píà] 6é [ga].
 if whoever DEM person name say-PAST DEM die
 'If anyone criticized someone, this one dies.'

Conditional clause with present progressive main verb.

58. Èè! dúun too [ké ń núà oo ké ń
 INTERJ but tomorrow if/when lsg come-PAST if/when lsg
- núà toolà] 6e yáá tó doà oo yáá
 come-PAST tomorrow then 2sg-NEG name know-PAST 2sg-NEG
- á tó do láá oo ké mí é [dɛ zí].
 POSS name know NEG and lsgEMPH 2sg kill PROG
 "Okay, but tomorrow when I come, when I come tomorrow, then
 if you don't know the name, if you don't know its name, I'm killing you."

The Mona translator calls the morpheme *oo* (in the preceding sentence) a counting particle when used in a list of items, but in other contexts it remains a mystery. Perhaps it is a hesitation particle, like 'um'.

Givón (1990:831) makes the following observation about contrafactual clauses:

In addition to the subordinators that (may) mark them, counterfact clauses tend to be marked, cross-linguistically, by a combination of two semantically conflicting verbal inflections:

- (a) A prototypical realis operator, such as past, perfective or perfect; and
- (b) A prototypical irrealis operator, such as future, subjunctive, conditional or a modal.

There are two examples of contrafactual sentences in the Mona data. One uses the past progressive in the subordinate clause and a past conditional (which seems to be a combination of past progressive and future tense constructions) in the main clause.

59. Ké é [yàà so é fε], [bi] ní [yàà nu gòlí náε]
if 2sg be-PAST pagne ART wash SUB 1sg be-PAST come money give-IRREAL

é ni.

2sg to

'If you had washed the pagne, I would have paid you.'

The other contrafactual sentence uses the simple past tense in both clauses.

60. Ké [yàà à klele] [bi] ké du é, ké è
if 3sg-NEG OBJ do-IRREAL SUB then buffalo ART then 3sg

à naàgonen nèn é [dià.]

3sgPOSS brother small ART kill-PAST

'If he hadn't done it, then the buffalo, then it would have killed his little brother.'

Both clauses include the word *bi*, which probably is a subordinate marker, however these are the only two sentences in which it appears.

2.6.3 Relative Clauses

Downing says that "with a few exceptions, a language has postnominal restrictive relative clauses if and only if in the basic word order of the language verbs precede their objects" (1978:383). This is another example of the way that Mona exhibits more of the

characteristics of an SVO language than an SOV language. Relative clauses in Mona begin with a relative pronoun and follow the noun they modify. Downing also says that relative pronouns are usually identical to demonstrative or interrogative pronouns (385). In Mona the relative pronoun closely resembles the presentative morpheme which is used in interrogative constructions. The interrogatives are *mè là* (inanimate, accusative), *mè lè* (inanimate, nominative), *dè là* (animate, accusative) and *dè lè* (animate, nominative) (cf. section 4.5.4). The relative pronoun is *lá*. All the relative clauses which I found in the Mona texts occur in preposed (topicalized) noun phrases, where they clarify or reinforce the identity of the topicalized referent. Topicalization is discussed in further detail in section 2.7.

In the following sentence from the buffalo story, the relative clause is part of a larger noun phrase in which the referent is topicalized.

61. [Wi lá yàà de], ɓe à ɲɓlo é, yée a
 animal REL_{pn} be-PAST kill then 3sgPOSS head ART VIP OBJ

pele ɓé lé.
 give-PERF DEM to

‘The animal which he used to kill, then its head, he gave it to him
 (i.e. to the son.)’

In the sentence which follows, a possessive phrase is topicalized. In this sentence the narrator is focusing not on the new participant, who is the sentence subject, but on his brother, the main character of the story.

62. [Yée nèn lá ò gba é ta ɓe] yaa pe
 3sg child REL_{pn} be garden ART on there VIPPOSS thing

nuàgonen nèn do ò wà la.
 little.brother small one be village in
 ‘He, the boy who is in the garden, his one little brother is
 in the village.’

2.6.4 Other Subordinate Clauses

There is a type of subordinate clause which indicates reason or result and is marked by the word *lávóá*, which my Mona coworker translated as *comme* (‘since’).

63. [La é baan lávóá] ðe ñ ñúà
 rain ART rain-PAST since therefore lsg come-PAST

án mlò wíánlɛ; ñ yóò yélà bɔ
 POSS-lsg rice scatter-IRREAL lsg be that put

zí gè.
 PROG here

“Since it has rained I came to plant my rice; that's what I'm putting here.”

2.7 Pragmatic Functions

The pragmatic function of Theme is indicated in Mona narrative by left dislocation of the subject, object, or other clause constituents. Dislocation can involve either copying the argument to the prenuclear position and replacing it with a pronoun in its syntactic position within the clause, or displacing it altogether. Such a preposed noun phrase often includes an embedded relative clause. Topicalization can be used either to introduce a new participant which the narrator wishes to emphasize as being an important character, or to focus on a referent which has been previously introduced, in order to emphasize its importance, or to signal a transition to a new episode or paragraph in the narrative (see section 5.3).

Relative clause:

64. [Yée nèn lá ò gba é ta ɓe] yaa pɛ
VIP child RELpn be garden ART on there VIPPOSS thing

nuàgonen nèn do ò wà la.
little.brother small one be village to/in
'He, the boy who is in the garden, his one little brother is
in the village.'

Copying:

65. [À wiin sranèn mu é] ké [mú] gɛ sílélé
3sgPOSS head weaver.bird PL ART and 3pl go take-INF

gèé gbìì ké [mú] klaláá.
like.this manner.of.flying and 3pl fall-PAST
'The weaver birds on his head, and they went flying like this and they fell.'

66. [Bé a sáɓe] ké ɓé á delè [ɓé] lé.
DEM POSS arrow and DEM OBJ kill-PERF DEM with
'His arrow, and he killed it with this.'

Displacement:

67. [Béè vle sàà] ɓéè è jà mlò wíána ta.
and stone surface and 3sg go-PAST rice scatter-PAST on
'And granite, and he went to scatter rice on (it).'

In the following sentence both the subject and locative phrase have been fronted. The subject noun phrase is replaced with a pronoun and the locative noun phrase is replaced with a modified pronoun.

68. [Béè yée guè] [yàa pɛ kpòò mu é] [è] gbènyá
and VIP grey.deer VIPPOSS thing hoe PL ART 3sg shells

bòà [mú kpén sée] ma.
put-PAST PL all all on
'And he, the grey deer, his hoes, he put shells on all of them.'

Mona also uses a Tail construction to add information or further emphasize some element of the preceding clause or sentence.

69. Ké à dɛ gɛ wi é dɛɛ: [klá mu oo,
and 3sgPOSS father go animal ART kill-IRREAL stag PL

du mu oo, wi é kpén].
water.buffalo PL animal ART all

‘And his father went to kill some game, stags, water buffalo, all kinds of animals.’

70. È gbènyá bòà mú kpén sée ma, [yaá kpòò mu é sée
3sg shells put-PAST PL all all on VIPPOSS hoe PL ART all

ma].

on

‘He put shells on absolutely all of them, on all of his hoes.’

71. Ké 6é 6éɛ sílé [win tàn win yrè 6éɛ lá gè].
and DEM cord take-PERF hair braid hair attach cord RELpn here
‘And she took this cord, this hair-braiding, hair tying cord which is here.’

CHAPTER 3

TENSE AND ASPECT

According to Comrie (1976:2), tense “relates the situation referred to to some other time, usually the moment of speaking”, whereas aspect refers to its internal temporal structure (3). In principle, these categories can co-occur. However, Welmers has suggested that “a multidimensional grid with intersecting categories such as tense, aspect, and mode” is probably not a useful device for describing the verbal systems of Niger-Congo languages; instead they can best be described by means of a list of “verbal constructions” (1973:343). He notes that these languages make use of three types of verbal constructions to encode the semantic notions of tense and aspect. The first of these is what Welmers calls primary constructions -- that is, “one verb base, plus inflectional morphemes of definable classes -- construction markers and affixes with the base” (344). The second type of verbal construction is an auxiliary construction, consisting of a main verb plus an auxiliary verb, usually with the auxiliary inflected for tense or aspect. Finally, some Niger-Congo languages make extended use of primary constructions expanded to include adverbial modifiers whose function is basically restricted to the encoding of temporal and aspectual meaning.

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. For each construction, of course, the semantic reference must be defined, and in many cases familiar labels are adequate to suggest the function of given constructions (344).

These observations provide valuable insight into the structure of verbal systems in the Mona language, which makes use of both primary and auxiliary constructions to encode the semantic notions of tense, aspect, and mode. This chapter first describes the simple present/habitual and present progressive tenses/aspects in Mona. It then looks at the past, perfective, and past imperfective constructions, and concludes with the future tense.

3.1 Present Tense /Habitual Aspect

Present tense is used to describe events that are simultaneous with the speech act, as well as those which include the time of the speech act but also extend into the past and future (Comrie 1985:37-38). Welmers notes that such English verbs as 'work, sleep, walk' do not express present tense but habitual action. "This distinction must be fully recognized, since many African languages have quite distinct constructions to indicate customary and present continuing action; and if they do not, the lack of such a distinction should be noted" (1973:345). According to Comrie, habitual aspectual meaning is compatible with the present tense, because the habitual action in question is valid at the moment in which it is described, even though the speech act and the event may not be simultaneous (1985:39). So for example if the statement is made that someone goes to work at a certain time every day, the situation still holds at the point in time when it is referred to, even though the person is not at that moment actually leaving for work.

In Mona, the uninflected verb root is used to indicate both habitual aspect and simple present tense. The following are examples of simple present tense. The first

sentence was translated into French by a bilingual Mona speaker as ‘Qui arrive?’ (simple present tense).

1. Dèlè zan?
 who come
 ‘Who comes/who is coming?’ (spoken at the moment the person arrives)

The second sentence is both present and habitual.

2. Náá ma kplankplan.
 lsg-NEG understand well
 ‘I don’t understand (i.e. the language) well/ I don’t understand what you just said well.’

The following examples of habitual aspect are taken from procedural texts (examples 3-5) and from a text in which the language helper described his normal daily routine (examples 6-7).

3. Góna mu a kaa de yilé ò [tòòlódò] muén kpén ni.
 man PL POSS fish kill day 3pl notify people all to
 ‘When it’s the men’s fishing day they notify everyone.’
4. Ké ò tòòlódòà muén kpén [kla] éke ba yiðlɛɛ
 when 3pl notify-PAST people all put each.other to river

 gbèntèn é zi.
 large ART in
 ‘When they’ve notified everyone, they meet at the big river.’
5. Bèè ò keŋkeŋ mu [zon].
 and 3pl plant.used.to.stun.fish PL beat
 ‘And they beat the plants used to stun the fish.’
6. Ké ó kpén nyà gáfe yí mílelé n tábàlí
 when lpl all finish-PAST coffee water drink-INF lsg table

 é [tago].
 ART clear
 ‘When we’ve all finished drinking coffee I clear the table.’
7. N bíssì lóa [si] sèè sè [nu] n lé Plateau, sèè
 lsg bus first take and DEM come lsg with Plateau and

án do [si] ézìŋ b́éè b́é [nu] ń lé Rivelá.
 OBJ-1sg one take again and DEM come 1sg with Riviera
 ‘I take the first bus and it takes me to Plateau, and I take another
 one and this takes me to Riviera.’

The uninflected verb root is also used in imperatives, as well as in speech quote formulas when the phrase is ‘he says’ rather than ‘he said it’ (which is in the perfective):

8. B́éè ò [pe] ‘kòó kòà zà do [klɛ].’
 and 3pl speak,say 1plINCL 1plINCL-POSS thing one do/make
 ‘And they say, “Let’s make ourselves something.”’

9. B́éè b́é [pe] ‘èè! doo ké yáá b́é tó do à
 and DEM speak/say INTERJ that if 2sg-NEG DEM name know OBJ

[lròkpá] é de kóó.’
 ask 2sg father to

‘And he says, “If you don’t know the name of this one, ask your father.”’

These quote formulas are an example of what Comrie refers to as the “historic present” or “narrative present”, in which the present tense is used to refer to a past event (73). Possibly Mona narrators choose to occasionally use the present rather than past tense in a quote formula because it makes the dialogue seem more vivid, as if the audience is actually listening to the characters themselves.

3.2 Present Progressive

Progressive aspect is used to describe situations that are not punctual but continue over a period of time (Comrie 1985:38). The Mona present progressive consists of a verb phrase which includes the auxiliary verb ò ‘to be’, the uninflected verb, and the progressive morpheme zí. As noted in section 2.2 in the previous chapter, the direct object occurs between the auxiliary and the main verb in transitive clauses.

10. Ké ò [ò] ɓé yaan là [tán zí].
and 3pl be DEM yam under plant PROG
'And they are planting his yams.'
11. BÉÈ ò [ò] à [yìdan zí] án gba é ta gè.
and 3pl be OBJ try PROG POSS-1sg garden ART on here
'And they're trying it out in my garden here.'
12. Doo kádoo toolà ɓe mí gbú [ò ge zí].
that therefore tomorrow there lsgEMPH self be go PROG
"Tomorrow I'm going there myself."

3.3 Past and Perfective

The difference between what I have labeled past tense and perfective aspect appears to be as much syntactic as it is semantic. The past tense is used for the eventline in narrative discourse, while the perfective is used for paraphrase, repetition of events already reported in the past tense, and as a sort of secondary eventline, describing events which are important but not crucial to the narrative. It also replaces the past tense for reporting eventline material in the peak episode of the narrative (cf. section 5.2.2). In elicited data and in conversations, I have noted very few occurrences of the perfective. The few instances in which it does occur involve either the verb *da* 'come' or *ge* 'go' in reference to an action that is imminent (i.e., 'I'm going somewhere'), or a stative clause in which the perfective verb is accompanied by the verb *ò* 'be'. These will be discussed in further detail below. There are also very few occurrences of the perfective in the Mona reading primer. It was only in the context of the narratives which were recorded for purposes of discourse analysis that the perfective was used extensively. In three of the narrative texts which I have been studying, the perfective is used mainly for background material while the past tense is used on the event line, except at the peak, where the

situation is reversed. This is described in the discussion of peak in chapter five (section 5.4), which deals with discourse features.

3.3.1 Past

Comrie states that the past tense simply locates a situation at a point in time prior to the present, without indicating whether the situation is punctual, extends over a period or time, or continues into the present or future (1985:41). In Mona, past tense is marked morphologically, by means of the suffix *-à* and its allomorphs *-a* and *-á* (depending on the verb root, but most take *-à*). There is no evidence that the choice of tone on the suffix is influenced by the tone of the verb root. By far most verbs take the Low tone suffix; a few take the High tone suffix, and still fewer take the Mid tone suffix. When the past tense suffix occurs alone, the events it refers to are aspectually perfective. However, as I will observe in section 3.4 below, this suffix is used in combination with the auxiliary verb ‘be’ and the optional progressive morpheme *zí* to report past progressive or past habitual actions, and therefore should be considered a past tense marker and not a perfective aspect marker.

13. *Béè bie bé a gba [kpàà] gè.*
and elephant DEM POSS garden plant-PAST here
‘And the elephant planted his garden here.’

14. *Guè bé dàwlí [kláà] bie ni yrɛlánóò*
grey.deer DEM trick put-PAST elephant to where

bé lè be.
DEM PRES so
‘So that's where the grey deer tricked the elephant.’

15. *Gbàan [bàlá] yì é ta béè bé yue [kààn].*
dog jump/fall-PAST water ART on and DEM river cut-PAST
‘The dog jumped in and he swam across (the) river.’

16. Ò pegéé à nèn mu bé [βléà].
 3pl and 3sgPOSS child PL DEM eat-PAST
 'He and his children ate it.'

It should be noted that in example 15, the /n/ at the end of the word *kàn* metathesizes with the suffix *-à*, resulting in *kààn* rather than *kàà*.

3.3.2 Perfective

For the most part, the suffix *-le* (and its allomorphs *-lè* and *-lé*) functions similarly to the past tense suffix. However, *-le* is used in several contexts in which the past tense suffix does not occur, namely in stative clauses, in quote formulas, and in reference to an event in the imminent future. These will be looked at in more detail later in this section. This suffix appears to be an example of what Comrie identifies as the perfective aspect. He says that the perfective describes a situation "in its entirety, without regard to internal temporal constituency" (1976:12). This does not imply that the situation lacks internal temporal structure, but that this structure is not in focus. The perfective may be used to refer either to situations or actions which are punctiliar, or which last for a long time or occur in stages, but the perfective does not focus on these. Rather, it presents the situation as a whole. Such factors as duration and sequence may be referred to in other ways -- semantically perhaps, or adverbially (21-22). Each of these methods can be observed in the Mona language data. In some instances the context provides clues as to whether the event is punctiliar or durative, such as when the narrator states that a character began to do something. In other contexts it is the semantic content of the verb itself that provides the clue. For example, the verbs 'move', 'arrive', and 'die' of necessity imply an action or process that is finished or of short duration, while 'survive'

involves an ongoing process. In the four Mona narratives under consideration, these verbs are all inflected with the perfective suffix.

Dahl (1985) takes Comrie's definition of perfective further. He claims that it defines a "single event, seen as an unanalysed whole, with a well-defined result or end-state ... More often than not the event will be punctual, or at least it will be seen as a single transition from one state to its opposite, the duration of which can be disregarded" (1985:78). He goes on to say that while there is a strong tendency for perfective to be used in the context of past time reference, some languages allow it to be used with reference to both present and future time, especially in subordinate clauses. "This suggests that these languages have a very loose time reference restriction on perfective, if any at all" (81). This helps to explain the usage of the Mona suffix *-le* in sentences such as examples as 19 and 20 below, in which the situations referred to are imminent. The fact that this suffix is applied to verbs of imminent future time as well as past time is an indication that this is a perfective aspect and not a past tense.

In the four narrative texts which I have studied, 80 out of 107 occurrences of a verb with the suffix *-le/-lé/-lè* involve an event that is clearly located in the past; these include the past tense quote formula. In addition, in the following examples, the verbs 'arrive', 'pierce', and 'die' by definition indicate that the event is punctiliar, and the verb 'strike' is used to describe a series of punctiliar actions.

17. Ah! ɓé [ɓóle] ɓé léé ɓe ɓé zàglí zàglí
 INTERJ dem arrive-PERF DEM before there DEM IDEOPH IDEOPH

gingliŋ ké ɓé [galè].

IDEOPH and DEM die/dry-PERF

'Oh! She moved on beyond there waddling and she died.'

18. Ké ɓé á [zonlè] à nyi glù é zi ké ɓé á
 and DEM OBJ strike-PERF 3sgPOSS nose hole ART in and DEM POSS

ngɓlo é [pónlé].

head ART pierce-PERF

'And it (i.e. the arrow) struck it in the nostril and pierced its head.'

There are seven instances in which a perfective verb refers to an event which is either future or potential. This is evident either from the meaning of the verb itself or from the context of the sentence. Example 19 is particularly difficult, because it is an example of irrealis, yet the speaker uses the perfective instead of the future tense construction which includes an irrealis marker (cf. 2.5.1).

19. Bé pe 'ń...dòké ń de [gblànlé] à lè oo'.
 DEM say 1sg maybe 1sg father be.afraid-PERF OBJ before
 'He said, "My ... maybe my father will be afraid of him."'

20. È pe ɓé ni 'é [gelè] náa?' Bé pe 'ń [gelè] plée
 3sg say DEM to 2sg go-PERF where DEM say 1sg go-PERF market

yí.'

in

'He says to her, "Where are you going?" She says "I'm going to the market."'

The perfective suffix is also often used in constructions which means 'begin to do something.' These are additional examples of use of the perfective to refer to imminently future or potential events.

21. Mais ké án píà ń ɓé sró [kpálé sán] ɓe
 but if OBJ-1sg say-PAST 1sg DEM song put-PERF begin then

ɓé ge mɔlelé, ɓé zeé lè.

DEM go last-INF DEM reason PRES

'But if I said ... if I begin to sing this song it would take too long, that's why.'

22. È mlò é [bole sánlé.]
 3sg rice ART put-PERF begin-PERF
 'He began to plant the rice.'

Finally, the perfective occurs thirteen times in sentences in which it is difficult to pinpoint a time reference for the event described. In such contexts it is clearly the event itself which is in focus and not its occurrence at a certain point in time or its internal temporal structure.

22. Bé gba [kpáleya] é yí nèn do é à dε
 DEM garden put-PERF-NOM ART in child one ART 3sgPOSS father
 le yàà wi é dε.
 PRES be-PAST animal ART kill
 'In this garden-making story, a certain child, his father was the one who used to kill/was killing the animals.'

23. Bé [dalè] gonlázi bée muén wàà gele bé
 DEM come-PERF from.which and people 3plNEG go-IRREAL DEM
 lè be.
 PRES so
 'So this is where it comes/came from that the people didn't go.' (i.e.,
 'This is why they didn't go.')

In some contexts the Mona perfective has taken on characteristics of a perfect aspect. Comrie has the following to say about the perfect:

The perfect is rather different from these aspects, since it tells us nothing directly about the situation in itself, but rather relates some state to a preceding situation ... More generally, the perfect indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation (1985:52).

One context in which the perfective more closely resembles a perfect aspect is the Mona clause 'You have survived'. This describes the present result of a process which began in the past and continues to the time of the speech act (and beyond).

24. É náa [mòlé] yá dàwliya é ta
 2sg too much continue-PERF 2sgPOSS slyness ART on
 “You've survived for too long on your slyness.”

Another such context consists of stative clauses in which the verb is accompanied by the auxiliary verb *ò* ‘be’. These clauses describe a past action which has a continuing result. In the first of the following examples, the speaker used stative clauses to describe a picture he was looking at. The other sentences are taken from the buffalo story in which the rest of the verbs are in the past tense. It is interesting to note that in a stative clause the auxiliary verb *ò* follows the main verb rather than preceding both the direct object and the verb as it does in all other clause types (cf. section 2.3.2).

25. Lenèn [yaàle ò] kpáá la.
 lady sit-PERF be shelter under
 ‘The lady is sitting under a shelter.’ (i.e. she has seated herself and remains sitting.)
26. Gbòlòkó [kpále ò] bé ma.
 chickenpox put-PERF be DEM on
 ‘He had caught chickenpox (lit. chickenpox was put on him).’
27. Áh! yée nèn goná nèn yée gbú [yaàle ò] à
 INTERJ VIP small man old VIP self sit-PERF be OBJ

 ganlélé ɓe du é púelà gban à
 hide-INF there water.buffalo ART go.out-PAST already 3sgPOSS

 nèn é zi.
 child ART at/to
 ‘Oh, the little old man was seated to hide himself, and the buffalo already went to his son.’

The word *ganlélé* in the previous sentence is an example of what I have hypothesized to be a nonfinite verb, since it has no observable reference to either time or completion, and always occurs in conjunction with another verb. Since there are very few

examples of this type of verb either in the elicited data or the texts, I have not included it in the analysis.

It is not clear what accounts for the tonal changes on the perfective suffix. Most verb roots which are underlyingly High take the suffix *-lé*, while certain Mid-tone verb roots take *-le*.

28. Ké ɓé á zɔnlè à nyi glù é zi ké ɓé
and DEM OBJ strike-PERF 3sgPOSS nose hole ART in and DEM

á ɲgɓlo é [pónlé].

POSS head ART pierce-PERF

‘And he struck it in the nostril and pierced it in the head.’

29. Áh! ɓé [gole] à dìn.
INTERJ DEM leave-PERF OBJ next.to

‘Ah! she left him.’

However, there are a number of verbs in which the tone of the suffix does not correspond with the tone of the root.

30. ɓé a sáɓe ké ɓé á [dɛlè] ɓé lé.
DEM POSS arrow and DEM OBJ kill-PERF DEM with
‘His arrow, and he killed it with this.’

31. Áh! dààwàà ké è [baàlé].
INTERJ IDEOPH and 3sg fall-PERF
‘Ah! and it fell, bam!’

32. Ké ɓé á [zɔnlè] à nyi glù é zi ké ɓé
and DEM OBJ strike-PERF 3sgPOSS nose hole ART in and DEM

á ɲgɓlo é pónlé.

POSS head ART pierce-PERF

‘And he struck it in the nostril and pierced it in the head.’

Finally, there are a few verbs which take the suffix *-le* in most contexts, and either *-lé* or *-lè* in other restricted contexts. The only verb root for which tonal change in the

suffix can be predicted is the word *pe*, which means ‘speak’ or ‘say’ and is used in narrative quote formulas. The verb root is underlyingly toneless and when uninflected is assigned the default Mid tone. When the quote formula is in the present tense, the uninflected verb root is used.

33. Ké mεε lá núà [b́é pε] ‘ih! mεε
if/when person who come-PAST DEM say INTERJ person

léè b́é a kpòò é lele.’

PRES DEM POSS hoe ART handsome/beautiful

‘Whoever comes, this person says, “Oh! this one’s hoe is beautiful.”’

When the quote formula means ‘he/she said it’ the suffix *-le* is added to the verb *pe*, and the tone of the derived verb form is determined by the tone of the preceding subject pronoun. A High tone on the pronoun spreads throughout the quote formula and stops at the boundary between the quote formula and the quote itself, or between the quote formula and the following postpositional phrase meaning ‘to someone’, as in the following examples:

34. Ké [b́é á pélé] ‘Ah bon! Kòó ò bla kè ba’.
and DEM OBJ say-PERF ah good lplINCL be moment other to
‘And he said, “Okay, see you later.”’

35. [È à pelè] doo ‘ézìṅ mè ṅglo lè gè éè?’
3sg OBJ say-PERF that again what head PRES here INTERROG
‘He said, “Again, what kind of head is this here?”’

36. [Yée á pélé] gbàán ni doo gbàán lè yaa
VIP OBJ say-PERF dog to that dog PRES VIPPOSS

pε we yrì é síà.

thing salt block ART take-PAST

‘He said to the dog that it was he who took his salt.’

The spreading High tone skips over the second /e/ in *yée* (cf. ex. 36) because pronominal tones do not change. I have not been able to account for why the spreading Low tone skips over the first /e/ in *pelè* (cf. ex. 35).

With regard to the other verbs in which the tone of the suffix is inconsistent, there is nothing in the phonological environment which should cause such a change. It is equally difficult to see any consistent correlation between the temporal or aspectual reference in any of these verbs and the change in the tone of the suffix.

37. È [gele] ké è [gelè] vle gbaa síle.
 3sg go-PERF and 3sg go-PERF deer cadaver take-IRREAL
 'He went, he went to take the deer's body.'
38. È gele è wlale gèé è wi éké mu dèà.
 3sg go-PERF 3sg arrive-PERF like.this 3sg animal other PL kill-PAST
 'He went, he arrived like this, he killed some more animals.'
39. Káá bie à gba [kpále] sààwòà.
 thus elephant 3sgPOSS garden put-PERF abandon-PAST
 'So the elephant left his field abandoned.'
40. Ké 6é 6éle sílé win tàn win yrè 6ele lá
 and DEM cord take-PERF hair braid hair attach cord RELpn
 gè ké 6é 6é sílé ké 6é 6é [kpálé] 6é kóó.
 here and DEM DEM take-PERF and DEM DEM put-PERF DEM hand
 'And she took this thread for braiding the hair, this thread for tying
 braids here, she took this and she put this in her hand.'
41. Bé [klele] 6é too é klíṅnà.
 DEM do-PERF DEM tomorrow ART make-COMP
 'That being so, this day ended.'
42. Ò à [klelè] nále zón?
 3pl OBJ do-PERF how today
 'How will they do it today?'

In the preceding sentences, it could be argued that the phrase *bé klele*, translated as ‘this being so’ in example 41, implies completion or past tense, since the narrator is summing up previous events before continuing the story. This would then contrast with *klelè* in example 42, which the language helper translated as ‘how will they do it?’. It is more difficult to see a corresponding difference in temporal or aspectual reference between *gele* and *gelè* in examples 37 and 38, and between *kpále* and *kpálé* in examples 39 and 40. The rest of the verbs in the four narrative texts and elicited data reflect no fluctuation in the tone of this suffix.

To summarize the preceding discussion, the Mona perfective aspect is used primarily to refer to situations viewed as complete wholes that took place in the past, but can be extended to include the imminent future. There is no evident connection between the time reference and the tonal fluctuation that occurs on certain verbs.

3.4 Past Imperfective

Mona speakers who are fluent in French translate the Mona past imperfective aspect as either past progressive (*imparfait, être en train de*) or past habitual (*comme d’habitude*). The Mona construction consists of a verb phrase which includes the auxiliary verb *ò* ‘to be’ inflected with the past tense suffix (*ò + à = yàà*) followed by the uninflected main verb. The progressive morpheme *zí* is optional.

43. Bé gba kpáleya é yí nèn do é à de
DEM garden put-PERF-NOM ART in child one ART 3sgPOSS father

lè [yàà] wi é [de].
PRES be-PAST animal ART kill

‘In this garden-making story, a certain child, his father was the one who used to kill/was killing the animals.’

44. À dɛ wi é dɛ zɛklɛɛ, wi lá [yàà dɛ]
 3sgPOSS father animal ART kill much animal RELPN be-PAST kill

βɛ à ŋgβlɔ é, yɛɛ a pɛlɛ βɛ lé.
 then POSS head ART VIP OBJ give-PERF DEM to

'His father used to kill/was killing the animals a lot; the animal which he
 killed, he gave its head to him (i.e. his son).'

3.5 Future

Like many Niger-Congo languages, Mona uses the word for 'come' (*nu*) in the auxiliary phrases that describe a future or potential event. The main verb in such a construction always includes the suffix *-lɛ*. In all likelihood this suffix is not a tense or aspect but rather an irrealis marker, especially since it is also used in negative constructions (cf. section 2.5.1). Givón claims that only past and present tenses define true realis conditions, since they involve events which, in the domain of the discourse, actually happen, whereas future events and habitual actions are "hypothetical, possible, or uncertain states or events that have not yet occurred" (1984:285).

Future/potential constructions:

45. È [nu à gonlɛ] kòngòpla pléé yí.
 3sg come OBJ sell-IRREAL Kongasso market in
 'He will sell it in Kongasso market.'

46. Ké βí lá é mɛɛ tó pià doo
 if/when 2sgEMPH RELpn 2sg person name say-PAST that

βí [nu galɛ].
 2sgEMPH come die/dry-IRREAL

'If you criticize someone, you will die.'

This construction sometimes takes the auxiliary verb *ge* 'go' rather than *nu*. Each of these auxiliary verbs can be inflected either with the past tense or the perfective aspect

suffixes. In such cases as these, the intended meaning is probably either purposive or sequential. The use of irrealis markers with purposive meaning is well-attested cross-linguistically (Herring, personal communication). The verb *ge* is irregular -- when the past tense suffix is added it becomes *jà*.

Purposive/consecutive constructions:

47. *Ké yée [ge ɓé ɓlélɛ] gba la.*
and VIP go DEM eat-IRREAL garden to
'And he (i.e. the son) goes to eat it in the garden.'
48. *Ké è [nulé ɓé kpátyélɛ] ò pegée à*
and 3sg come-PERF DEM put.on the fire-IRREAL 3pl and 3sgPOSS

nèn mu ké ò [nulé ɓé ɓlélɛ].
child PL and 3pl come-PERF DEM eat-IRREAL
'Then he came to cook it and he and his children came to eat it/Then he came and cooked it and he and his children came and ate it.'
49. *ɓèè vlɛ sàà, ɓèè è [jà mlò wíánlɛ] ta.*
and stone place and 3sg go-PAST rice scatter-IRREAL on
'And granite, he went to scatter rice on it/he went and scattered rice on it.'
50. *È gele ké è [gelè] vlɛ gbaa [sílɛ].*
3sg go-PERF and 3sg go-PERF deer body take-IRREAL
'He went to take the deer's body/ He went and took the deer's body.'
51. *Ké è [nulé] ɓé [kpátyélɛ] ò*
and 3sg come-PERF DEM put-on.the.fire-IRREAL 3pl

pegée à nèn mu ké ò nulé ɓé [ɓlélɛ].
and 3sgPOSS child PL and 3pl come-PERF DEM eat-IRREAL
'Then he came to cook it and he and his children came to eat it/He came and cooked it and he and his children came and ate it.'

According to Comrie, very few languages actually have a future tense, possibly due to the fact that future events are uncertain, and therefore they are coded differently (1985:43). Thus in some European languages such as German and Finnish future tense is

expressed by a present tense construction, while others such as English use a desiderative auxiliary verb ('will') (45). Welmers quotes African theologian John Mbiti on the way an African views time: "The linear concept of Time, with a Past, Present and Future, stretching from infinity to infinity, is foreign to African thinking, in which the dominant factor is a virtual absence of the Future. By our definition, Time is a composition of events, and since the Future events have not occurred, the future as a necessary linear component of Time is virtually absent. Such is either *potential Time*, with certainty of its eventual realization, or *No-Time*, lying beyond the conceptual horizon of the people" (Mbiti 1969:159, quoted in Welmers 1973:352). Welmers goes on to point out that although some African languages have "future-like constructions", (and in fact some languages express several degrees of futurity), it can be difficult to determine whether such constructions express futurity or potentiality. He remarks that "it should not be surprising that our translations may well fall short of precisely representing such constructions in African languages" (352).

3.6 Summary

To summarize what has been said about the tense/aspect system in Mona, the uninflected verb root encodes both the simple present tense and the habitual aspect. The simple past tense is indicated by the addition of the suffix *-a* or one of its allomorphs. When verbs in the past and present tenses are accompanied by the auxiliary verb and the progressive marker, the result is the present progressive and past progressive/habitual aspects respectively. The future tense is overtly marked as irrealis. The perfective aspect, in keeping with its characteristic of describing an event as a whole, can be used in

connection with all three temporal references. It remains to discuss how the various forms are used, especially the past and perfective which are closely related semantically. This will be considered in chapter 5, which covers discourse features.

CHAPTER 4

THE NOUN PHRASE AND THE PARTICLE $\acute{\epsilon}$

4.1 Introduction

This chapter briefly describes the Mona noun phrase and what appears to be an emerging definite article. Following an overview of noun phrase structure and constituents, it focuses on the pronouns. The bulk of the chapter will deal with a study of definite and indefinite reference in Mona, with a view towards determining whether or not Mona is a definite article language.

4.2 Noun Phrase Structure

Mona noun phrases consist minimally of a noun, pronoun, demonstrative, or proper name, and can be expanded to include determiners, quantifiers, and a modifying phrase. Any syntactic function that can be filled with a noun can also be filled with any of the above noun substitutes. In the following example, the subject noun phrase is filled with a pronoun and the direct object noun phrase is filled with a demonstrative pronoun:

1. Ké [y $\acute{\epsilon}$ e] ge [β $\acute{\epsilon}$] βlélε gba la.
and VIP go DEM eat-IRREAL garden in
'And he goes to eat this in the garden.'

Aside from adjectives, modifiers can include embedded verb and noun phrases (or compound nouns) as well. In the data which have been collected so far, there is no evidence to prove that the latter constitute a noun phrase rather than a compound noun; however the Mona speakers whom I have worked with consider them to be noun phrases.

An embedded noun or verb phrase will precede the noun it modifies, while an adjective phrase follows the noun. In the following example the verb phrase ‘mound fill’ modifies the noun ‘day’.

2. Bèè b́é lè b́é à [fè pá yì] doà ò kpén
and DEM PRES DEM POSS mound fill day notify-PAST 3pl all

ba.

to

‘And it was he who notified all of them as to when it would be his mound-hoeing day.’

Noun phrase with modifying noun phrase (or compound noun -- see above):

3. Ń nágonen pegéé ń droanèn ò [wè yì yrentré] ta.
1sg brother and 1sg nephew be salt water sand on
‘My brother and my nephew are on the beach.’

Noun phrase with modifying adjective:

4. Ké b́é [wlìn nèn é] sílé.
and DEM pestle small ART take-PERF
‘And she took the small pestle.’

The quantifiers, including the plural marker *mu*, are separate words, as evidenced by the fact that modifiers precede the plural marker. In the following possessive phrase the word *mu* is pluralizing the word *cîê* ‘fur’.

5. Troane é [cîê pú mu] tro.
panther ART fur white PL long
‘The panther’s white fur is long.’

Determiners include the demonstrative *b́é*, and an apparently evolving definite article *é*, both of which will be discussed in section 4.5 of this chapter. The demonstrative precedes the noun it modifies, while the definite article follows the noun. As a rule, the definite article is the last element in the noun phrase.

6. Bèè [bé vle sàà é,] bé ò pléé yí zi là liì.
 and DEM stone space ART DEM be market in road PRES mouth
 'And this granite, it's on the corner of the road to the market.'

In general, adjectives of quantity are preceded by descriptive adjectives, in keeping with Givón's observation that the modifiers which occur closer to the noun tend to be more inherent and durable qualities than those which are separated from the noun (1990:470).

7. [Ma pù yaga] ò ní koo.
 chicken white three be 1sg hand
 'I have three white chickens.'

4.3 Free Nouns vs. Relational Nouns

It was noted in the introductory chapter that Mande languages often differentiate between free nouns, which may comprise the sole constituent of a noun phrase, and relational nouns, which must be accompanied by a possessive (Welmers 1973:212). Free nouns are alienable, relational nouns are inalienable. Relational nouns typically consist of terms for body parts, kinship terms, names, footprints, pay earned for work, and place relations (i.e. the top of something, the outside of something, etc.). The extended meaning of a relational noun may be treated as a free noun -- one of the examples which Welmers cites is the word for 'skin', which in some Mande languages has the extended definition of 'paper', in which case it becomes a free noun. Most Mande languages insert a morpheme between the possessive noun or pronoun and a free noun, but not between the possessive and a relational noun. Perhaps this is an example of an iconic relationship between the grammatical form and its semantic function, in which the form is determined by the function. In this case there is a degree of separation between the possessive and an

alienable noun, while a relational noun, as the term implies, defines something which is inseparable from its possessor. There is a further distinction in the way that nouns are pluralized. In some languages the noun stem of an impersonal free noun can refer to a plurality when the items are considered part of a group or unit, and the plural marker is used when they are scattered -- in this context the individuality of the items is in focus. Impersonal relational nouns are never marked for plurality, and plural nouns referring to persons, whether free or relational, are always marked for plurality (213-14).

In all of the Mona language data which I have examined so far, inalienable nouns are always preceded by a possessive. Whether this is due to the fact that these are relational nouns as defined by Welmers, or if this is simply due to the context, cannot be determined without more data. There is clearly a difference between the way that personal and impersonal nouns are pluralized. Plural personal nouns are always followed by the plural morpheme *mu*. Impersonal free nouns are marked for plural when the entities in question are considered individually, or as being somewhat scattered and dispersed. The plural morpheme is lacking when the items are considered as a unit. A good example of this occurs in the story of the deer and elephant. The deer decorates his hoes with cowrie shells so that they make a pretty sound while he's working. The device which he puts on the hoes is one which is used in many areas of West Africa to make a musical instrument. The shells are crocheted into a net-like device, then the net is wrapped around a gourd and attached, resulting in a kind of rattle. In the deer story, the shells, being attached to each other, are considered a unit, and the noun is not pluralized. However, the hoes are pluralized; since the musical devices would have to be attached to each hoe one at a time, the hoes are presented as separate and individual items.

8. Bèè yée guè yàa pɛ [kpòò mu é] è [gbènyá]
and VIP grey.deer VIPPOSS thing hoe PL ART 3sg shell

bòà mú kpén séé ma.
put-PAST PL all all on

'And he, the grey deer, he put shells on his hoes, on all his hoes.'

The pluralization of impersonal relational nouns is less clear. The narrator of the buffalo story consistently pluralizes *ngblo* ('head') but does not pluralize *tɔ* ('name') and *nyi glù* ('nostril'). There are not enough examples of plural usage of impersonal relational nouns to establish a pattern.

9. É dɛ a wi [ngblo mu] é dɔɔ ò [tɔ] nóɔ
2sg father POSS animal head PL ART that 3plPOSS name tell

ń ni.
1sg to

"Your father's animal heads, tell me their names."

10. Ké è à [nyi glù] dɔlè bɛ nóò gèé
and 3sg 3sgPOSS nose hole put-PERF DEM place like.this

ké è à pele dɔɔ 'Mèlè ...?'
and 3sg OBJ say-PERF that what

'And he (i.e. the buffalo) lifted up his nostrils like this and he said, "What...?"'

4.4 Pronouns

4.4.1 Personal Pronouns

Mona personal pronouns are as follows:

Table 2. Personal Pronouns

| | SINGULAR | PLURAL |
|---|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 | ń mí (EMPH) | ó (EXCL) kòó (INCL) |
| 2 | é bí (EMPH) | ká |
| 3 | è (NOM) à (ACC/AN) a (ACC/INAN) | ò, mú |

Pronominal usage is illustrated in the following sentences:

11. [ń] nuà [ká] ba zòn Muà wli sa pɛɛ.
1sg come-PAST 2pl to today Mona language little speak-IRREAL
'I've come to you today to speak a little Mona.'
12. [È] lòmini naà dèlà ni?
3sg orange give-PAST INTER to
'To whom did he/she give the orange?'

It is interesting to note that in a coordinating noun phrase the third person plural pronoun is used rather than the third singular pronoun:

13. [Ò pegéé à nèn mu] b́é òlèà.
3pl and 3sgPOSS child PL DEM eat-PAST
'He and his children ate it.'

There are also two emphatic pronouns, *mí* (1st singular) and *bí* (2nd singular).

14. La gbèntèn ban láwoà, [mí] ò án mlò là
rain large rain since 1sgEMPH be 1sgPOSS rice PRES

wìàn zí gè.
scatter PROG here

'Since it has rained a lot, I myself am planting my rice here.'

15. Gangre [bí] wínle loò, [bí] zaké loò, béeè
guinea.fowl 2sgEMPH hair NEG-be 2sgEMPH nothing NEG-be and

[bí] pe doo kádoo [bí] gelè [bí] wín
2sgEMPH say that therefore 2sgEMPH go-PERF 2sgEMPH hair

tànle; bla ma za lé.
braid-IRREAL lie ? thing PRES

'Guinea, you have no hair, you have nothing, and you say that
you're going to get your hair braided; what a lie!'

There is a third person singular accusative pronoun which differentiates between animate and inanimate referents. When the referent is animate, this pronoun is *à*. When the referent is inanimate the pronoun *a* is underlyingly toneless and assimilates the tone of the preceding word.

Animate referent as object of postposition:

16. Áh! bée gole [à] dìn.
INTERJ DEM leave-PERF 3sg PP
'Ah! she left him.'

Animate referent as indirect object:

17. È nyàṅá là naà [à] ni.
3sg pineapple PRES give-PAST 3sg to
'It was a pineapple that he gave her.'

In this last sentence the word *là* is a presentative morpheme. The presentatives are discussed in more detail in section 2.5.4.

Animate referent as direct object of a reflexive verb:

18. Yée goná nèn yée gbú yaàle ò, [à] ganlèlé
 VIP male old VIP self sit-PERF be 3sg hide-INF
 ‘The old man, he himself is/was sitting down to hide himself.’

Inanimate referent - assimilated mid tone:

19. Nèn é ké yaa [a] klɛɛ bi ké du é
 child ART if 3sg-NEG OBJ do-IRREAL ? and buffalo ART

ké à naàgonen nèn é deà.
 and 3sgPOSS little.brother child ART kill-PAST
 ‘The child, if he hadn’t done it the buffalo would have killed his brother.’

Inanimate referent - assimilated high tone:

20. Ké [án] péà ní bɛ sró kpálé sán ɓe bɛ ge
 if OBJ-1sg say-PAST 1sg DEM song put-PERF begin then DEM go

mòlèlé.
 continue-INF
 ‘If I sang it, if I begin to sing the song, it would take too long.’

Inanimate referent - assimilated low tone:

21. Ké [ò à] klɛ gèé.
 and 3pl OBJ make like.this
 ‘And they make it like this.’

The plural marker *mu* can also be used as a third person plural pronoun, in which case it assumes a high tone.

22. Bɛ̀è nèn mu é [mú] pè̀è klúle si bɛ̀è [mú] ge bɛ̀è
 then child PL ART PL clay roll-PERF take and PL go DEM

nále fédo mu é ni.
 give-IRREAL house-builder PL ART to
 ‘Then the children, they take the clay which has been rolled into balls
 and they go give it to the housebuilders.’

4.4.2 Demonstrative and VIP Pronouns

Within the context of a narrative discourse, the demonstrative *bé* is often used as a third person singular pronoun, and the main protagonist is usually referred to with the third person singular pronoun *yée*. *Yée* can also be used in reference to another very important character or entity. Since it seems to have a somewhat different nuance from that of the first and second singular emphatic pronouns, I have chosen to call it the VIP pronoun rather than third person emphatic. For precedence in using this term I refer to Dooley and Levinsohn (1993), who quote Grimes regarding the “thematic policy” of establishing and maintaining reference in discourse. Grimes observes that according to this strategy, “one referent is distinguished from the rest when introduced, and a special set of terms refer to it no matter how many other things have been mentioned more recently” (Grimes 1978:viii). Dooley and Levinsohn call this a “VIP (very important participant) strategy”, and goes on to say that such a participant may be globally important (i.e. within the narrative as a whole) or locally important (i.e. in a particular portion of the narrative) (1993:70-71). In the following example, *bé* refers to the elephant who is a secondary character in the narrative, and *yée* refers to the deer who is the main character and whose craftiness is the theme of the story.

23. Béè [bé] nu [yée] lrokpálè ‘Ah!’ doo ‘Múén ò
 then DEM come VIP ask-IRREAL INTERJ that people 3pl
 do kpó láá nùlè ná?
 one single NEG come-IRREAL then
 ‘Then he comes to ask him, “Hey, doesn’t one single person come then?”’

4.4.3 Possessive Pronouns

Possession is marked for alienability and inalienability. For inalienable possession (i.e. body parts, family members) the possessive pronouns are identical to the personal pronouns for first and second person singular, and for the plural pronouns.

24. ò [é nén] si nále?
 3pl 2sg child call how
 ‘What is your child’s name?’

Third person singular inalienable possession is indicated by the pronoun *à*.

25. Ké è nulè ðé kpátyéle ò
 and 3sg come-PERF DEM put.on.the.fire-IRREAL 3pl

pegéé [à nèn mu] ké ò nulè
 and/with POSS child PL and 3pl come-PERF

ðé ðléle.

DEM eat-IRREAL

‘Then he came to cook it/and cooked it and he and his children came to eat it/came and ate it.’

Alienability is indicated by combining the personal pronouns with the alienable possessive marker *a*, which I have glossed as POSS. This morpheme cliticizes onto the pronoun (with the exception of *ðé*), with the result that the /e/ and /o/ of the second and third singular and first and third plural pronouns become glides. So, for example, *é* + *a* becomes *yá*, and *ò* + *a* becomes *wà*. The first singular pronoun, which should be *ná*, metathesizes to *án*.

Table 3. Alienable Possessive Pronouns

| | SINGULAR | PLURAL |
|---|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | án | wáá (EXCL) kàá (INCL) |
| 2 | yá | káa |
| 3 | ya bè a yaa (VIPPOSS) | wà |

Examples:

26. Bèè ò à yidan zí [án gba é] ta gè.
and 3pl OBJ try PROG 1sgPOSS garden ART on here
'And they're trying it on my garden here.'
27. É náa mólé [yá dàwliya é] ta.
2sg too.much continue-PERF 2sgPOSS slyness ART on
'You've survived for too long on your slyness.'
28. Bon! Bèè yée Loonèn è jà [yaa gba]
okay next VIP hare 3sg go-PAST VIPPOSS garden

kpáɛ vɛ sàà ta.
put-IRREAL granite space on
'Okay! Then he, the hare, went to plant his garden on granite.'

Possessive constructions often include the phrase *a pe*, (alienability marker + 'thing'), as in the following examples.

29. án pe gáfe yí
POSS-1sg thing coffee water
'my coffee'
30. ya pe nuagonèn
3sg-POSS thing little.brother
'his little brother'
31. yá pe dàwliya
2sg-POSS thing craftiness
'your craftiness'

This construction is used in contexts of both alienable and inalienable possession, with reference to personal and nonpersonal nouns. Possibly in the past this construction was used to reinforce the alienability/inalienability dichotomy and is in the process of losing that distinction.

4.5 The Particle *é*

4.5.1 Introduction

One of the mysteries I have encountered in the process of studying the Mona language is the usage of the particle *é*, which occurs frequently following a noun. The noun may be animate, inanimate, or abstract (e.g. a temporal reference or a personal quality). It may occur in a noun phrase which is either subject, object, or indirect object of a clause, or in a prenuclear or postnuclear phrase or subordinate clause. If the phrase contains more than one noun, either one or both may be modified by *é*. The particle occurs both in texts and in sentences elicited in isolation. According to my language helper, *é* is used to emphasize that the preceding noun represents something or someone known to the speaker and listener. If this is true it would appear to be a definite article. However there are others who are of the opinion that *é* is neither an article nor a demonstrative, but a linking particle.

Interestingly, both may be correct and both interpretations find a precedent in the terminology of ancient Greek grammarians, which the Latin grammarians adapted for use in their system which has served as the model for the grammars of European languages ever since. What we refer to as demonstratives the Greeks called deictic articles. Their word 'arthron', from which we derive the term 'article', simply meant a link or a joint. In

fact, the Greeks did not distinguish between demonstratives, relative pronouns, and the definite article, and referred to all of them as articles or linking devices (Lyons 1977:636). The word 'deixis' comes from the Greek adjective 'deiktikos' which means 'pointing' or 'indicating', and has become a technical term referring to "the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes and activities being talked about, or referred to, in relation to the spatiotemporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participation in it, typically, of a single speaker and at least one addressee" (637). That is, deixis is a term that describes those expressions that locate referents in a discourse in terms of their relationship in space and time to a speaker and listener(s). These expressions include pronouns, demonstratives, tense markers, and gestures, to name just a few. Since most grammatical structures, particularly deictics, are developed for use in the context of face-to-face communication, they can be difficult to decipher when dealing with discourse that has been recorded or transcribed. Given that this situation applies to any language, it becomes even more difficult to decipher the deictic expressions of a previously unwritten language such as Mona in which all communication is face-to-face.

Most of the difficulty in understanding the function of $\acute{\epsilon}$ arises from those situations in which it is not used rather than from those in which it is used. If, as seems likely, $\acute{\epsilon}$ is a definite article, there are a number of contexts in which it is difficult to see why the article was not used. There are also a number of sentences in which it occurs together with a possessive pronoun and/or a demonstrative adjective, which seems redundant. However, this phenomenon has been observed in a number of definite article languages, as will be seen in the discussion of the development of definite articles which follows. Also, speakers often exercise the option of using referents that are more specific

than the context requires, in which case the listener must decide why the speaker is saying more than is necessary (Marslen-Wilson et al. 1982:373).

Furthermore, there is a lack of consistency among Mona speakers concerning use of the particle. Some narrators seem to use it more than others; while checking the transcription of some of the texts, the translator, Yegbe Antoine, inserted *é* in a number of places where the narrator had not used it. Since the usage of this particle has apparently not become standardized, it would appear to be something that is still evolving. If in fact *é* is a definite article in the process of evolving, for example, from the demonstrative *bé*, then it is to be expected that it will not always be used consistently. I would suggest that those situations in which the article is not used in the context of an obviously definite reference are due either to the flexible nature of spoken language, or to the fact that use of the article has not yet become standardized. Antoine is around ten to twenty years younger than the narrators from whom we obtained these texts, so the fact that he uses the particle more than they do might be evidence of a later stage of development of the article. The pattern of usage among different age groups would be an indication of whether or not this is the case.

4.5.2 Definite and Indefinite Reference

Successful communication involves a complex system of linkages which speakers use to produce a coherent discourse and which listeners must process in order to understand what is being said. "The listener maintains a constantly developing mental representation of the current discourse, and the communicative success of a subsequent utterance largely depends on the extent to which the appropriate linkages can be

established between the utterance and this discourse representation” (Marslen-Wilson et al. 1982:339). Thus a speaker will mark a reference as definite if he believes the hearer has enough information to “assign it unique reference” (Givón 1984:399). Givón explains that such unique references can originate from a number of contexts:

1. Those which are independent of any particular discourse. He refers to this as “the permanent file” -- those things which anyone in any place can identify as being unique, i.e. the sun, the earth, etc. The permanent file would also include those things which are identifiable by members of a particular community or culture group, “the shared lexicon” (401). Thus members of a community may refer uniquely to ‘the chief’ or ‘the president’ while recognizing that within their general area or the world at large there are other persons to whom the same term applies. Proper names of people or places also have a unique identity independent of any discourse context.

2. Unique references may also have their source in the “immediate deictic availability”, that is the context of a particular speech act (400). Initially this would refer to the speaker, the listener, and the persons and entities which are associated with them -- family members, body parts, possessions, etc. The uniqueness of these entities is derived from their association with the speaker and listener. Givón calls this “absolute deictic availability”. In the same way, once a character has been introduced into a discourse, everything associated with that character can also be assigned unique reference through “relative deictic availability”. This applies to parts of inanimate objects also, e.g., the door of a house, and also to personal attributes, such as the craftiness of the hare which in *Mona fables* is often referred to with the definite article:

32. É náà m̀òlé [yá d̀awlíya é] ta.
 2sg too.much continue-PERF 2sgPOSS craftiness ART on
 ‘You’ve survived too long on your craftiness.’

3. Finally, unique references may have their source in “the knowledge file maintained by speakers/listeners for the purpose of producing and interpreting a particular discourse” (401). Discourse in any language is governed by the principle of “referential accessibility”. When a referent is introduced for the first time, if it is identifiable either from the immediate deictic availability or as a part of the permanent file, it can be assigned definite reference. The speaker can reasonably assume that the listener can correctly identify such a referent. Beyond these two categories the speaker will normally introduce a referent as indefinite. However, a speaker can choose to focus attention on a new referent by introducing it cataphorically, using a demonstrative. Cataphora can be defined as a derived use of anaphora in which the listener realizes that the reference does not involve a continuity of focus on a previously mentioned entity but that the speaker is directing his attention toward some entity yet to be identified (Ehlich 1982:335). The listener will give him a certain amount of time to provide the information necessary to identify the referent. If the information is not forthcoming, he assumes the speaker has wrongly used an anaphoric expression and asks for clarification. An example of such a cataphoric reference can be found in English, in such expressions as *I met this guy on the street the other day*, in which the listener is not expected to know the person’s identity. However, if the speaker says, *I met that guy on the street*, he expects the listener to know who he’s talking about. Possibly the underlying rationale is that something located near the speaker and therefore at a distance from the listener is inherently known to the speaker and not to the listener (Herring 1994:4-5). In Mona narratives the demonstrative

δέ is frequently used in a cataphoric reference, and there are occasional instances of the particle *έ* being used cataphorically as well, usually in conjunction with *δέ*. An example of this will be included in the following analysis.

Once a referent has been introduced into the narrative, it is in the “active file” and thereafter it can be assigned definite reference, at least for a certain length of time. Clues that the listener should search for a referent in the active file are zero anaphora, anaphoric pronouns, definite articles, and demonstrative pronouns. There are a number of factors that influence a speaker’s choice among these options. These include the length of time since the referent was last mentioned, interference from intervening references to other entities, the availability of other clues within the context, and the thematic structure of the discourse. Thematic structure often involves ranking entities according to their importance or centrality to the discourse (cf. chapter 5, section 5.1). Those which are most important are likely to be referred to more frequently than others, or in some other way marked so as to indicate their importance (402-3). It has been noted in the discussion of pronouns that in Mona narrative discourse, the main character and certain other key characters or props are most often referred to with the VIP pronoun, *yée*.

4.5.3 Development of the Definite Article

Greenberg (1978:61) makes the following observation concerning the development of definite articles:

The most common origin of the definite article is the demonstrative, a development of which there are numerous and well-attested examples ... it develops from a purely deictic element which has come to identify an entity as previously mentioned in discourse. Such a use is often an additional function of an element which is also a pure deictic, but sometimes there is a particular demonstrative which has assumed this as its basic function.

The discourse deictic has become a definite article when it is obligatory and simply means that the referent is identified. “Such an article may, as with German *der*, be an unstressed variant of the demonstrative, which continues in its former use in stressed form” (62). Greenberg calls this stage one in the development of the definite article. In the second stage of development, the article is used for what he refers to as “definite determination and non-definite specific uses”, in which the speaker refers to a specific item but does not identify it (62). The use of the definite article has become so grammaticalized that it is somewhat redundant. That is, the language has clearly defined situations in which the definite article is and is not used. At this stage the “normal” or unmarked form is the noun accompanied by the article. Thus the grammar of a stage two language describes those situations in which the article is not used rather than those in which it is. The following paragraphs describe the situations in which the definite article typically does not occur in stage two languages.

The definite article usually does not occur with common nouns used as vocatives and is never used with proper names. This is because such references are inherently definite. However, the same word may be both a common noun and a name. In the Mona narrative texts which I have been studying, four of the texts never use the particle with the word for an animal, and so I concluded that the word for that animal was also considered the proper name for the animal. However, in a third text, while *é* is never used with the two main characters, it is sometimes used with a secondary character and sometimes it is not.

33. Ké è à baàlé [zro] win.
and 3sg OBJ fall-PERF giraffe head
'And he let it fall on (the) giraffe's head.'

34. Ké ò [zro é] dɛlè.
 and 3pl giraffe ART kill-PERF
 ‘And they killed the giraffe.’

According to Greenberg, “in some languages an animal name, when used to designate a character in a folktale, is in the unarticulated form” (i.e. without the article) “but when used as a common name, is articulated or non-articulated in accordance with the general rules for the use of the two forms in the language” (65). This explains why, in Mona folktales, *é* is sometimes used along with animal names and sometimes is not.

In some stage two languages noun phrases which include possessive pronouns or demonstratives do not take the definite article. In other languages the article occurs redundantly with the possessive or demonstrative. However, this is also true of some stage I languages such as Italian, in which ‘my house’ is literally ‘the my house’ (66). There are several examples of this in the Mona language data. Greenberg mentions that most languages do not use the definite article in possessive phrases involving kinship terms. Mona, however, does not differentiate between kinship terms (or any other inalienable noun) and alienable nouns, when it comes to assigning a definite article to a possessive phrase.

35. Ké ɓé nèn á pélé doo tyíbo é [n nèn é]
 and DEM mother it say-PERF that ugh! 2sg 1sg child ART
- tóà du é kó éè?
 leave-PAST buffalo ART to INTER
 ‘And his mother said, “Ugh! You left (the) my son with the buffalo?”’

36. Yéé guè [yaá pɛ kpòò mu é] è gbènyán boà
 VIP grey.deer VIPposs thing hoe PL ART 3sg shells put-PAST

mú kpén séé ma.
 3pl all all on
 'He, the deer, (the) his hoes, he put shells on all of them.'

Greenberg lists four additional contexts in which the definite article is usually absent in stage two languages. First, the article does not occur with the subject or object of a negative sentence, and it usually does not occur in predicate nominals (equivalent to the French *il est tailleur* 'he is a tailor'). In locative and temporal constructions the article usually is not used even with specific references if the noun is accompanied by an adposition; however, all nouns (even non-specific references) are accompanied by the definite article if they are modified by an adjective or a genitive construction (e.g. *by the light of the moon* as opposed to *by moonlight*). Finally, the definite article is usually not used in "generic noun objects" (*baby sit*) and "compounds based on a genitive construction" (e.g. generic *cow's-horn* as opposed to specific *the horn of the cow*) (67-8).

In stage three of its development the article has become no longer an indicator of definiteness or specificity, but indicates the gender or class membership of the noun, or simply that it is a noun (69).

4.5.4 Definite Reference in Mona

In the light of this analysis it is interesting to compare Mona *é* with *ɓé*. The word *ɓé* functions both as a demonstrative adjective and a demonstrative pronoun, as well as deictically. As a demonstrative adjective, *ɓé* can be used in a cataphoric reference -- or as Herring (1994:5) calls it, presentational deixis. Since such references involve proximal demonstratives, *ɓé* is more than likely proximal (cf. section 4.5.2, paragraph 3).

When used as a demonstrative adjective, *ɓé* precedes the noun referring anaphorically to a previously mentioned entity. In the story from which the following example was taken, the garden is first introduced in a possessive noun phrase, then referred to anaphorically with a noun phrase which includes both the demonstrative and the particle *é*.

37. Yée loonèn, è jà [yaa gba] kpále vle sàà ta.
 VIP hare 3sg go-PAST VIPposs garden put-IRREAL stone surface on
 ‘He, the hare, he went to plant his garden on granite.’

Vle sàà é, ò [ɓé gba é] kpálé ɓe.
 stone surface ART 3pl DEM garden ART put-PERF there
 ‘The granite, they planted this the garden there.’

ɓé can also stand alone and refer to the last-mentioned entity, thus functioning as a third person singular pronoun. As such it is used for participant tracking, one participant being referred to as *ɓé* ‘this one’ and the other with the regular third person pronoun *è*. Participant reference is discussed more fully in chapter five. When *ɓé* is used as a demonstrative pronoun it follows the rules described above in section 4.4.3 for possessive pronouns.

Demonstrative pronoun as clause subject:

38. ɓéè [ɓé] pe doo í gelè pléé yí.
 and DEM say that 1SG go-PERF market to
 ‘And she says, “I’m going to the market.”’

Demonstrative pronoun as possessive/inalienable:

39. ɓéè ɓé gangre [ɓé wín] ò gbanwangba, [ɓé wínle]
 and DEM guinea fowl DEM head be bald DEM hair

loò.

NEG-be

‘And this guinea, her head is bald, she has no hair (lit. ‘her hair does not exist’).’

Demonstrative pronoun as possessive pronoun/alienable:

40. BÈÈ Bie [bɛ̀ à gba] kpàà gè.
and elephant DEM POSS garden put-PAST here
'And Elephant planted his garden here.'

It also functions as a proximal deictic in the context of face-to-face dialogue, "inviting the addressee to direct his attention to a particular region of the environment in order to find the individual ... that is being referred to" (Lyons 1977:655).

41. È pe 'Ààni! mlò do [bɛ̀ nóò].'
3sg say yes rice grow DEM place
'He says, "Yes, rice grows in this place."'

A discourse deictic refers to some portion of the narrative itself (Levinson 1983:85). In the following example the first *bɛ̀* refers to a preceding dialogue.

42. [Bɛ̀] klɛle ké bɛ̀ à péle 'Ah Bon! Kòó ò
DEM do-PERF and DEM PN say-PERF INTERJ 1pl be

ɓla ké ba.'
moment other on
'This being so, he says, "Okay, see you later."'

Usage of *bɛ̀* as a discourse deictic is seen most frequently in formulaic constructions used in the introduction or conclusion of a narrative, such as the following:

43. [Bɛ̀ gba kpáleya é yí] nèn do é à de
DEM garden put-PERF-NOMIN ART in child one ART POSS father

lè yàà wi é de.
PRES be-PAST animal ART kill
'In this garden-making story, a certain child, his father was the one who was killing/used to kill the animals.'

The particle *é* appears to be an unstressed form of *bɛ̀*. *Bɛ̀* has kept its deictic and demonstrative functions, and *é* has assumed the function of marking a referent as

'identified', either from the context of the discourse or general knowledge. It frequently co-occurs with the demonstrative and/or with a possessive pronoun. It has been previously observed that this sometimes occurs in stage two and some stage one languages.

It is also interesting to note that *é* occurs following the noun to which it refers, while *ǎé* precedes the noun. Often there is one word order for the original stressed demonstrative from which the article was derived and another for the unstressed article. Givón (1984:419) gives examples of this in Swahili, where the demonstrative precedes the noun and the derived article follows it, and Ute, in which the article precedes and the demonstrative follows the noun. There are occasional instances in the Mona data in which the demonstrative *ǎé* occurs following the noun, as in the following example:

44. *ǎé* *klele*, *ǎé* *gbeyí* [*ǎé*] *ǎole*.
 DEM do-PERF DEM week DEM arrive-PERF
 'This being so, this week, this one arrived.'

However, these contexts involve a noun phrase which is preposed for the purpose of topicalization, leaving *ǎé* as a pronominal trace in the clause slot that the noun phrase would have occupied. Topicalization will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

It appears that the use of the noun accompanied by *é* in the context of a specific reference, while preferred, is not obligatory. Consider for example the following, in which the river has already been referred to three times, the last reference occurring only three sentences prior to this one:

45. *ò* *ninà* *wáátí* *ǎòà*, *gbáàn* *bàlá* [*yue ta.*]
 3pl return moment arrive-PAST dog jump/fall-PAST river on
 'When it was time for them to return, the dog jumped into the river.'

Greenberg (61) notes, “in some cases it is possible to see that a language is well advanced within a particular stage, while in other instances it is clear that it has only entered the stage recently. Hence, the whole development is to be viewed as a single continuous process marked by certain decisive turning points.” On the basis of this observation and the following data I would suggest that the definite article is still in an early stage of its development in the Mona language.

In 1971 Thomas Bearth published a grammar of the Toura language, another southwestern Mande language somewhat distantly related to Mona. In it he mentions that Toura has two deictic particles which indicate proximity or distance to the speaker in either time or space. The proximal marker is *é* and the distal marker is *láà* (164).

46. ɪ gba séìkwé é . gá.
lsg give book DEIC PN (realized by mid tone) PP
'Give me the book (which can be seen).'

47. ɪ gba séìkwè láà ` gá
lsg give book DEIC PN (realized by low tone) PP
'Give me the book (which I gave you yesterday).'

There is a striking similarity between the Toura proximal deictic *é* and the Mona particle *é*, both phonetically and functionally. However, it is not clear whether Mona has a counterpart for the Toura *láà*, at least in this paradigm. There is a distal locative *láálé*, but the corresponding proximal locative is *gè*, and it is never used in opposition to *é* or *bé*. There is also the word *lè* which functions as a presentative in such sentences as *Bíkì lè* 'This is a pen', and a similar word *là*. The similarity between these two words is more clear in interrogative sentences than in declaratives.

| | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 48. [Mè lè] gè? | [Mè mu lè] gè? | [Mè lè] láálé? |
| what PRES here | what PL PRES here | what PRES there |
| 'What is this?' | 'What are these?' | 'What is that?' |

49. È [mè là] naà lenè kpotokponè é ni?
 3sg what PRES give-PAST female young ART to
 ‘What did he give to the little girl?’
50. È tyùntyù è kláfàpaà [dè là] ma?
 3sg machete ART lend-PAST whom PRES on
 ‘Who did he lend the machete to?’
51. [Dè lè] nu zí?
 who PRES come PROG
 ‘Who is coming?’

Dè indicates animacy and *mè* inanimacy; *lè* seems to be nominative and *là* to be accusative, if such case roles can be assigned to presentatives. However, although there are numerous examples in the data of *lè* used in presentative constructions, there are only five examples of the word *là*, and it is not at all clear whether it is used as a presentative or a demonstrative. Perhaps this is a homophonic *là* which is a distal deictic, with *lé* functioning as a proximal deictic, from which the definite article *é* is evolving.

4.5.5. Analysis

4.5.5.1 The Data

In examining the Mona data I looked first at the data that I had elicited for language learning purposes. The first of these was a short text of fifteen sentences in which the language helper described what he did each morning to get ready for work. He used the particle *é* four times, once anaphorically (i.e. referring to an entity previously introduced into the “active file”) and three times to refer to things that would come under the category of general knowledge, or the immediate deictic availability. The following sentence is an example of the latter. The context of the speech situation implies the presence of certain things found in a kitchen.

52. Ké ò kpén nyà gáfe yí mílelé, ń
 when 1pl all finish coffee water drink-INF 1sg

[tábàlí é] tago.

table ART clean

‘When we finish drinking coffee, I clear the table.’

In the next four texts (from six to twelve sentences in length) the language helper was looking at photos of some African people, an animal, and a house, and describing them. Of the 23 uses of the particle, 18 are anaphoric. Of the other five definite referents, one is a case of relative deictic availability (‘the panther’s ears’). The other four are recoverable from the immediate context of the speech act, i.e. references to things and people which we were looking at in the pictures. There were a number of other sentences in which the particle could have been used in the same way but was not.

The three short procedural texts were given by another speaker of the language and concern traditional housebuilding and fishing techniques. There are 33 noun phrases which include the article. Almost all of these are anaphoric, and the rest are first mention of some entity that could be considered part of the permanent file, such as the river in the fishing stories, or the participants in the housebuilding (the fact that a house is being built implies that there are people to build it):

53. Gónan mu a kaa de yilé, ò tòòlódò múén
 man PL POSS fish kill day 3pl notify people

kpén ni. Ké ò tòòlodóà, múén kpén kla
 all to when 3pl notify-PAST people all put

éke ba [yìḍlɛɛ gbentɛn é] zi.

each other in river large ART to

‘When it’s the men’s fishing day, they notify everyone. When they’ve notified everyone they all meet at the big river.’

4.5.5.2 Previous Studies

In 1991 Danielle Cyr published a study of the demonstrative/definite article system of Montagnais, a Cree language spoken in Québec. Using a combination of quantitative analysis and typological comparison, she determined that Montagnais is indeed a definite article language. The premise governing her research was that if a grammatical element in a certain language functions like a definite article, and if that element occurs with a frequency comparable to the article in a recognized definite article language, then the element can be defined as a definite article. I found this method useful for gaining insight into the function of the particle *é* in Mona. I counted all of the noun phrases in four Mona texts, then figured the percentage of those which contained the demonstrative and the particle respectively. I then compared the phrases which include either one of these, or both, with those in which they are lacking, referring to Greenberg's list of contexts which will or will not trigger use of the article in a true definite article language (see section 4.5.3 above). For Mona these include proper names and vocatives, possessive phrases, and locative phrases. Finally I compared the usage of the demonstrative and the (presumed) definite article in terms of the three categories of definite reference defined in section 4.5.2 -- the active file (anaphora and cataphora), the permanent file (the shared lexicon), and immediate deictic availability. I have included discourse deictics under this last category. As a result of this comparison I have come to the conclusion that *é* functions as a definite article.

The stories I used are all traditional animal fables with which everyone in the community is familiar. Two of these are short texts of 25-30 sentences each. The other two texts each have approximately 100 sentences. In all I counted 406 noun phrases, six

of which are not included in the analysis because they include the presentatives *là* and *yélà* which in these six phrases appear to act as demonstratives. It is not clear at this point how these two words fit into the reference system.

4.5.5.3 Non-Definite Reference

Of the 226 noun phrases which are without any determiner, 27% are indefinite references, and 10% are nonreferential, as illustrated in the following examples. Nonreferentiality implies the non-existence of an entity within the universe of discourse.

Indefinite reference:

54. Bèè è [gbènyán] boà b́é ma.
and 3sg shells put-PAST DEM on
'And he put shells on this.'

Nonreferential:

55. [Mɛɛ kédò] láá gèlè b́é ta yɛ.
person none NEG go-IRREAL DEM on there
'No one went to him there.'

Another 14% consist either of vocatives or animal names used as proper nouns (which almost never take a definite marker in the Mona data which I have studied), and 9% are either relative clauses or the formulaic phrase *yɛ nɔ̀̀* which means 'place'. Neither of these constructions includes a determiner even when the referent is definite. In the context of the following examples both the boy and the rice field are already part of the active file.

Relative clause:

56. [Yéè nèn lá ò gba é ta bɛ] yaa pɛ
VIPPN child RELpn be garden ART on there VIP-POSS thing

nuàgonen nèn do ò wà la.
 little.brother small one be village in
 'He, the boy who is in the garden, his one little brother is in the village.'

Formulaic phrase:

57. Ké bé púelé à ta [mlò bo yre nòð].
 and she go.out-PERF OBJ to rice put place place
 'And she went out to him in the rice field.'

Another 61 noun phrases, or 27% of those which lack a determiner, are possessive phrases, and another 13 unmarked phrases (6%) are locative phrases. Because the particle *é* does occur in some locative and possessive phrases these will be discussed in the section on definite reference.

This leaves 16 noun phrases, or 7%, unaccounted for. These are contexts in which one would expect a definite reference, but there is none. These will be discussed in the section on the function of the particle (4.5.5.4.2).

Non-Definite Reference in Mona Narratives:

| | |
|------------------------|-----|
| Possessive phrase | 27% |
| Indefinite reference | 27% |
| Vocatives/animal names | 14% |
| Nonreferential | 10% |
| Formulaic construction | 9% |
| Locative phrase | 6% |
| Other | 7% |

4.5.5.4 Definite Reference

4.5.5.4.1 Function of the Demonstrative

There were 43 phrases, or 11% of the total number of noun phrases, in which definite reference is indicated through the use of the demonstrative *bé*. Twenty-one of these are anaphoric references, eleven of which are the locative phrase *bé nòð*. Often

these anaphoric references are used to focus on an entity which is very important, either from the perspective of the narrator or of one of the characters in the story. Herring calls this “subjective deixis” and compares it to a cinematographer’s use of closeup shots in order to make the entity appear to be literally close to the audience (1994:8). In the following example from the guinea story, *ɔ́é* first occurs as a demonstrative adjective modifying ‘deer’, a reference to a key character at this point in the narrative. The second use of *ɔ́é* is pronominal, referring to another character. Both of these are anaphoric references to characters which are crucial to the plot at this point.

58. [Bé vɛ] ɔ́ɔle ɔ́é léé ɔe téé.
 DEM deer move-PERF DEM before there finally
 ‘This deer finally moved past him there.’

Example from the buffalo story:

59. Bé è gànnà [ɔ́é nóò] tyé.
 DEM 3sg hide-PAST DEM place still/quietly
 ‘He hid himself quietly in this place.’

There are twelve noun phrases in which *ɔ́é* and the particle *é* co-occur. Several of these phrases are included either in the introduction to the narrative or at the beginning of a new episode, and they are all anaphoric. In these contexts the narrator is again focusing on a key character (e.g. the deer who outfoxes the elephant, the buffalo who threatens the main character in the buffalo story). He also uses this kind of construction to emphasize that a day has arrived which is crucial to the story. Finally, the demonstrative and the particle occur together in a section of the guinea story which is pivotal to the plot. The narrator is describing a highly unusual situation in which the hare is setting the other animals up for a deception -- he is apparently planting his rice on granite. The narrator repeats himself several times in order to make his point that this is highly unusual

behavior. In the second sentence, the phrase *ḃé gba é* could, in isolation, be translated either as ‘this garden’ or ‘his garden’. However, in order for *ḃé* to be a third person singular possessive pronoun referring to the hare as owner of the garden, the hare would have had to be previously referred to with the demonstrative pronoun *ḃé*. Since in the previous sentence he was referred to with the third person singular pronoun *è*, the possessive pronoun referring to his garden would have to be *à*. Therefore, the meaning of the phrase *ḃé gba é* in these sentences is ‘this garden.’ I have included the entire episode here so that the phrases that illustrate the point can be viewed in context. The pertinent phrases are in sentences (b), (f), and (k), and are enclosed in square brackets.

60. (a) *Béè yée Loonèn, è jà ya gba kpále*
 next VIP hare 3sg go-PAST 3sgPOSS garden put-IRREAL

vle sàà ta.
 stone place on
 ‘Then he, the hare, went to plant his garden on granite.’

- (b) *Vle sàà gbèntèn é, ò [ḃé gba é] kpálé ɓe.*
 stone place large ART 3pl DEM garden ART put-PERF there
 ‘The granite, they planted this garden there.’

- (c) *La gbèntèn é bààn.*
 rain large ART rain-PAST
 ‘A lot of rain fell.’

- (d) *Béè vle sàà, ɓéè è jà mlò wíána ta.*
 and stone place and 3sg go-PAST rice scatter-PAST on
 ‘And granite, he went and scattered rice on it.’

- (e) *È jà mlò wíánle wóla ta vle sàà é*
 3sg go-PAST rice scatter-perf begin-PAST on stone place ART

ta.
 on
 ‘He went and he began scattering rice on the granite.’

- (f) Bèè [bè vle sàà é] bè ò pléé yí zi là liì.
and DEM stone place ART DEM be market in road PRES mouth
'And this granite, it's on the road to the market.'
- (g) Bé ò pléé yí zi é líí ðe.
DEM be market in road ART mouth there
'It's there on the road to the market.'
- (h) Mεε óó mεε lá, ké bè kán zí mú kpén séé á
person whatever person who when DEM pass PROG PL all all OBJ

ye bè nóò.
see DEM place
'Whoever passes, when they pass this (place) they all see it in this place.'
- (i) Bé klele ké è kpòò sílé.
DEM do-PERF and 3sg hoe take-PERF
'This being so, he took a hoe.'
- (j) Ké è mlò wíánlé vle sàà é ta.
and 3sg rice scatter-PERF stone place ART on
'And he scattered rice on the granite.'
- (k) Ké è [bè mlò é] bōle sánlé.
and 3sg DEM rice ART put-PERF begin-PERF
'And he began sowing this rice.'

Bé is used as a discourse deictic four times, in three of which it co-occured with *é*.

These are all part of a formulaic phrase in the introduction and conclusion of a story.

61. [Bé] láá dalè ðaaman.
DEM NEG come-IRREAL nothing
'This (referring to the story) doesn't come from nowhere.'
62. [Bé] dalè yre lá nóò bè lè ðe.
DEM come-PERF place RELPN place DEM PRES so
'So this is where this comes from.'

The demonstrative was used once in what seems to be a nonreferential context, since what is referred to is a hypothetical person.

63. Ké mεε lá [βέ mεε] tó yóo píà doo βέ ga.
 if person RELpn DEM person name bad say-PAST that DEM die
 'And the person who criticized anybody would die.'

4.5.5.4.2 Function of the Particle

The particle *έ* occurred in the context of a definite reference in 132 noun phrases, or 33% of the total number of noun phrases. 94 of these (71% of definite references) are anaphoric -- references to entities already in the active file.

Example from the deer story:

64. Bέε bie yaan kplòò kpáà. Bέ yáàle ò [yáán
 then elephant yam porridge put-PAST DEM sit-PERF be yam
 kplòò έ] dìn.
 porridge ART next to
 'Then the elephant made a yam porridge. He sat down next to the yam porridge.'

Example from the guinea story:

65. Bέε βέ vlc sàà έ, βέ ò plée yí zi liì.
 and DEM stone area ART DEM be market in road mouth
 Bέ ò [plée yí zí έ] líí βέ.
 DEM be market in road ART mouth there
 'And this granite place, it's on a road to the market. It's there on the road to the market.'

Twenty four of the definite references (18%) were found to occur within the dialogue of each story, making the references accessible through the immediate deictic availability. In the following example, again from the buffalo story, the father and son are discussing what to do about this buffalo who keeps threatening the boy. The boy, of course, knows that his father owns a gun.

66. Ké yà píà è έ delè βe ké
 if he-PN say-PAST 3sg 2sg kill-PERF therefore and

ń yòò à de zí àman [mànfá é] lé.
 lsg be OBJ kill PROG INTERJ gun ART with
 'If he says he will kill you, then by golly I'm killing him with the gun.'

In this example from the guinea story, the guinea and the hare discuss a big feast day that apparently everyone knows about:

67. Bèè [yéè fèti é] yi lá ɓàà, ɓè
 and VIP feast ART day REL_{pn} arrive-PAST therefore

ń ge zí ń wín tanle ká zànta, kòó
 lsg go PROG lsg hair braid-IRREAL 2pl behind 1plINCL

zànta [wà é] ta gè.
 behind village ART on here
 'Because of that feast day which has arrived, I'm going to get my hair braided behind you, in the village behind us here.'

There are nine examples (7%) of *é* used as a discourse deictic. In seven of these, the demonstrative *ɓé* co-occurs with *é*.

68. [Bé gba kpáleya é] yí nèn do é à de
 DEM garden put-PERF-NOMIN ART in child one ART POSS father

le yàà wi é de.
 PRES be-PAST animal ART kill
 'In this garden-making story, a certain child, it was his father who used to kill/was killing the animals.'

There are two examples of discourse deixis in which *é* alone is used without *ɓé*, but they are idiomatic and difficult to understand. I have considered these discourse deictics because each refers to something previously said by one of the characters in a narrative.

There were six sentences in which *é* was used in the context of information retrievable from the permanent file. The following example is the first mention of the

mounds in the deer's garden. Anyone living in an Ivoirian village knows that a garden consists of rows of small mounds of dirt in which the seeds and roots are planted. This phrase is also an example of the occurrence of a definite reference within a possessive phrase. Of the 97 possessive phrases in the data, 38% included the particle *é*.

69. Ké mεε lá zan ò zan ké yée ò [yaá fe é]
 when person who come 3pl come and VIP be VIPPOSS mound ART
- pá zí, ò à ma 'wléŋ wléŋ', ké yée ò
 fill PROG 3sg OBJ hear jingle jingle when VIP be
- fe é pále ma.
 mound ART fill-PERF on
 'When someone passes his garden and he's hoeing his mounds, they hear
 "jingle jingle", when he hoed the mounds.'

However *é* was lacking from the majority of possessive phrases, such as the following:

70. Káá Bie [à gba] kpále sààwoà.
 thus elephant 3sgPOSS garden put-PERF abandon-PAST
 'Thus Elephant abandoned his garden.'

In the following example from the buffalo story the mother of the boy who is being threatened by the buffalo decides to go to the garden to defend her son. She takes her pestle to throw at the buffalo. This is the first mention of the pestle and it will only be mentioned once again when the mother, frightened by the buffalo, throws the pestle at him and runs away. In West Africa, no home is without at least one pestle, so this could be considered part of the permanent file.

71. Ké óé [wlìn nèn é] sílé.
 and DEM pestle small ART take-PERF
 'And she took the small pestle.'

Finally, three of the definite references (2%) are cataphoric, involving unshared knowledge between speaker and listener. In each case the character referred to is crucial to the plot and the speaker is focusing attention on it. Each of these phrases is a formulaic introductory construction which includes both the particle *é* and the word *do* which means ‘one’.

72. Bé gba kpáleya é yí [nèn do é] à dε
 DEM garden put-PERF-NOMIN ART in child one ART 3sgPOSS father

le yàà wi é dε.
 PRES be-PAST animal ART kill

PRES be-PAST animal ART kill

‘In this garden-making story, a certain child, it was his father who used to kill/was killing the animals.’

Definite reference in Mona Narratives:

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| Anaphora | 78% |
| Immediate deictic availability | 16% |
| Permanent file | 5% |
| Cataphora (with <i>δé</i>) | 3% |
| Text deixis (with <i>δé</i>) | 3% |

So far I have not discovered a pattern with regard to the use or non-use of the particle in possessive phrases in contexts in which the referent is clearly known to speaker and listener. Alienability versus inalienability is not a factor, there being a number of examples of both types of possessive phrase occurring both with and without the particle. The same can be said for anaphoric versus non-anaphoric reference. It would seem that the particle is not necessary in a possessive noun phrase but when it is used the narrator is exercising his option to be more specific than necessary. Further study of the discourse features of the texts will be required in order to discover whether this is a matter of a narrator’s personal style or a significant feature of narrative discourse.

70% of the 44 locative phrases also included the particle *é*. Apparently there are certain postpositions that can co-occur with *é* and certain ones that do not. In all of the data which I have looked at so far, the postpositions *yi* ('to') and *la* ('to, from, in') never co-occur with *é*. There is no such restriction on other postpositions such as *ma* ('on') and *ta*, which can mean either 'on' or 'to'.

73. *Bé pe ní gelè [pléé yí].*
 DEM say 1sg go-PERF market to
 'She says, "I'm going to the market."'

74. *Béè ò ge Bie [a pe gba é ta].*
 and 3pl go elephant 3sgPOSS thing garden ART to
 'And they go to Elephant's garden.'

As mentioned above, none of the 32 phrases consisting of a proper noun, a vocative, or the name of an animal used as a proper noun included either the demonstrative *bé* or the particle *é*.

This leaves sixteen noun phrases (7% of non-definites) without a determiner in contexts in which one would be expected. Five of these involve a noun which may be part of a compound word rather than an independent noun; e.g., in the following sentences, the phrases 'river cut' and 'bush put' may be compound words meaning 'to swim' and 'to jump from bush to bush'.

75. *Gbàán bàlá yì é ta béè bé [yue kaàn.]*
 dog jump-PAST water ART on and DEM river cut-PAST
 'The dog jumped into the water and swam across (the) river.'

76. *Bé yue é takaàn [bεε bolelé.]*
 DEM river ART cut-PAST bush put-INF
 'This one (i.e. the monkey) crossed the river jumping from bush to bush.'

However, two sentences later, the phrase *yue é* 'the river' is used when explaining how the monkey crossed the river, so it does not appear that *yue kan* or *yue takan* are compound words which mean 'river-cross'.

77. Bé [yue é] takaàn bæe bolelé.
 DEM river ART cut-PAST bush jump-INF
 'He crossed the river jumping from bush to bush.'

The rest are all clearly independent nouns which refer to entities which are in the active file but for some reason the narrator chooses to refer to them as if they were indefinite.

78. Gbàán bàlá [yue] ta.
 dog jump-PAST river on
 'The dog jumped into (the) river.'

79. Bé pe doo 'Yáá [tó] do ná?'
 DEM say that 2sg-NEG name know so
 'He says, "So you don't know (the) name?"'

This occurs three times in the buffalo story, once in the story of the elephant and deer and six times in the story about the hare and the guinea. The only explanation that I can see for this is that the definite article is still in the developmental stage in Mona and its use is not obligatory in order to make a definite reference. However, the fact that *é* occurs in 33% of all the noun phrases studied, and in 69% of those in which the context calls for a definite reference, leads me to the conclusion that *é* is a Stage I definite article.

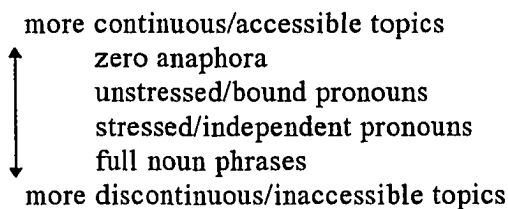
To summarize, it has been determined that, in the texts which have been studied so far, the particle *é* is used in more than two thirds of the noun phrases in which a definite reference is implied from the context. This includes references to an entity previously introduced into the active file, referents identifiable within the immediate context of a speech act, and those which come under the domain of the shared lexicon, or permanent

file. On rare occasions it can refer cataphorically to a previously unknown entity which the speaker wishes to call attention to. Situations in which the article is not used are either indefinite references, certain locative phrases, relative clauses, proper names, vocatives, and some possessive phrases. All of these, according to Greenberg, are characteristic of stage II languages and can be observed in some stage I languages. I have considered Mona to be a stage I language because the use of the article does not seem to be standardized yet. There are still a number of sentences in which the narrator refers to an entity that has been previously introduced and referred to several times, yet he does not use the definite article. Hopefully these questions can be resolved with more detailed study of a larger body of language data. It must be remembered also that Mona is still an oral language, and all of the texts which have been collected so far are transcribed from recordings of traditional stories or procedural narratives. It is safe to say that people write with more precision than they speak, so when the Monas begin to develop a written body of literature they may adopt a more standardized usage of the article than appears to be the case now.

CHAPTER 5
DISCOURSE FEATURES

5.1 Participant Reference

Givón (1983:18) has proposed the following scale to describe a cross-linguistic system for encoding participant reference within discourse:



He claims that the relationship between these forms and their functions is iconic, that is that the form is not arbitrary but is determined by its function (39-40). The iconicity principle underlying this scale states that “the more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is, the more coding material must be assigned to it” (18). This results from the psychological reality that information which is unfamiliar, surprising, or discontinuous is more difficult to process and therefore needs more introduction than information which is familiar or predictable (12). Thus a noun phrase will be used to introduce new participants in a discourse while less coding material will be used for participants already in the active file.

Levinsohn (1994) states that there are other factors which affect participant reference in addition to those which Givón cites. These include the status of a participant as a major or minor character, how many participants are “onstage”, whether or not they

are engaged in dialogue, whether the referent in one sentence is playing the same or a different role than in the previous sentence (e.g. subject vs. object, speaker vs. addressee), and whether the sentence in question contains “highlighted or backgrounded material” (1994: 7-8). He notes that major participants in a narrative tend to be formally introduced, often in a “non-active role, using a presentative or other non-event clause, which is usually followed by an event clause in which they are involved” (7-8). Minor participants, on the other hand, simply come and go.

I have so far found no examples of zero anaphora in any Mona text. Unstressed pronouns consist of the personal pronouns described in chapter 4. The demonstrative pronoun *bé* which means ‘this one’ is probably also an unstressed pronoun, used to distinguish between characters when there is more than one character onstage. Stressed pronouns include the emphatic pronouns *mí* (1sg), *bí* (2sg), and the VIP pronoun *yée* (3sg), so-called because it is used to refer to the most important participant(s) in a narrative. It is also frequently used to provide contrast between two characters of equal importance (see section 4.4.2 for discussion of *yée*). Noun phrases are used to introduce new participants and to reintroduce participants which have been offstage for a while. Dooley and Levinsohn (1993) note that an introductory noun phrase may include a “special indefinite determiner ‘one, a certain’ which is used in the introduction of major participants” (72). In Mona narratives a noun phrase including the word *do*, meaning ‘one’, is frequently used to introduce/reintroduce a major participant.

5.1.1 Participant Introduction

5.1.1.1 Introduction of Minor Participants

In Mona folk narratives, minor characters and props are typically introduced by a noun phrase and thereafter referred to with the demonstrative pronoun *ɔ́é*.

1. (a) *Begonen ké è [zro gblà é ɔ́é] yélé.*
 friend-boy and 3sg giraffe girl ART DEM see-PERF
 ‘My friend, and he saw this little giraffe girl.’
- (b) *Ké è à pelè ‘Eh! ń núà zro gblà*
 and 3sg OBJ say-PERF INTERJ lsg little.sister giraffe girl

é gelè náa?’
 2sg go-PERF where
 ‘And he said, “Hey, my little sister giraffe, where are you going?”’
- (c) *Béè [ɔ́é] pe doo ‘N gelè pléé yí.’*
 and DEM say that lsg go-PERF market in
 ‘And she says, “I’m going to the market.”’

In the story of the buffalo, the boy’s mother, while not exactly a minor character, is less important than the boy, his father, or the buffalo who threatens him, and much less important than his little brother who eventually rescues him. As a result she is only introduced in terms of her relationship to the boy, without any of the descriptive detail given for the other characters.

2. (a) *Bé klɛɛ ɔ́é too é klíɲà.*
 DEM do-PERF DEM tomorrow ART make-PAST
 ‘This being so, this day ended.’
- (b) *Ké [ɔ́é nen] á pélé doo ‘Tyíɔ́ é ń*
 and DEM(POSS) mother OBJ say-PERF that INTERJ 2sg lsg

nén é tóà du é kóó èè?’
 child ART leave-PAST buffalo ART to INTER
 ‘And his mother said, “Ugh! You left my child with the buffalo?”’

- (c) Ké [ðé] wlìn nèn é sílé.
 and DEM pestle small ART take-PERF
 'And she took the small pestle.'

5.1.1.2 Introduction of Major Participants

Major participants are introduced for the first time either by a presentative construction, or a noun phrase which includes the word *do* 'one'. In the story of the hare and the hyena, the two main characters are introduced in the first sentence by means of a presentative construction. Since there are no presentative verbs in English the only way to translate such a construction is with an *it*-cleft. However, in *Mona* this type of clause does not imply contrast the way the English translation does.

3. [Yée Loonèn ná ò pègèé Glaò ò lè] waa gba
 VIP hare so 3pl and hyena 3pl PRES 3plPOSS garden
 kpàà.
 put-PAST
 'So it's the hare and the hyena who planted their garden.'

A presentative construction is also used to introduce the hare who is the central character in the guinea story.

4. [Loonèn! Loonèn lè] á bààlá.
 hare hare PRES OBJ instigate-PAST
 'Hare! It's the hare who started it.'

In the first three sentences of the buffalo story the boy who is the central character is introduced in a possessive phrase that includes both the definite article and *do*. His father, also a major participant, is introduced in the same sentence with a presentative construction, as in example 5(a). The presentative *lè* here refers to the father rather than the boy, because presentatives immediately follow the noun to which they refer. In 5(c) the father is referred to with the VIP pronoun and the son is referred to with *ðé* to

differentiate between the two. At this point the central character (the son) is in the background, and another important but secondary character -- the father -- is spotlighted. The central character finally appears as the subject of an active clause in the fourth sentence, example 5(d), where he is referred to with the VIP pronoun.

5. (a) B́é gba kpáleya é yí [nèn do é] [à de
DEM garden put-PERF-NOM ART in child one ART 3sgPOSS father

lè] yàà wi é de.
PRES be-PAST animal ART kill

'In this garden-making story, a certain child, his father was the one who was killing/used to kill the animals.'

(b) À de wi é de zeklee.
3sgPOSS father animal ART kill much
'His father kills the animals a lot.'

(c) Wi lá yàà de ðe à ngðlo é [yé] a
animal RELpn be-PAST kill then 3sgPOSS head ART VIP OBJ

pelè [ðé] lé.
give-PERF DEM to

'The animal which he used to kill, he then gave its head to him (i.e. his son).'

(d) Ké [yé] ge ðé ðléle gba la.
and VIP go DEM eat-IRREAL garden to
'And he goes to eat it in the garden.'

The boy's little brother, who eventually saves him from the buffalo after both parents have failed to do so, gets an even bigger introduction. This boy is introduced twice with a noun phrase including the word *do*, after which his location and physical health are described.

6. (a) [À naàgonen nèn do] ò ye.
3sgPOSS little.brother child one be there
'His one little brother is there.'

(b) Yée nèn lá ò gba é ta 6e [yaa pe
VIP child REL_{pn} be garden ART on so VIPPOSS thing

nuàgonèn nèn do] ò wà la.
little.brother child one be village in
'He, the boy who is in the garden, his one little brother is
in the village.'

(c) Gbòlòkò kpále ò [6é] ma.
chickenpox put-PERF be DEM on
'This one has (or had) chickenpox.'

(d) Bèè [6é] pe doo 'Náwé toolà 6e mí ò ge zí.'
and DEM say that big.brother tomorrow then lsgEMPH be go PROG
'And this one says, "Big brother, tomorrow I'm going."'

5.1.2 Anaphoric Reference

A noun phrase is used to reintroduce a participant after it has been "offstage" for a while, or after some discontinuity in the narrative, such as a change of scene or time. This applies to both major and minor participants. The less important participants are thereafter referred to as *6é* 'this one'. In the elephant and deer story, these two animals are the main characters and all the other participants are simply referred to as 'people'. However, the central character is the deer, who outsmarts the elephant in the same way that the hare does everyone else (usually it is the hare who is the main character in these fables). The elephant is therefore relegated to the status of a secondary character. In the following excerpt he is reintroduced after a long paragraph describing how the deer lures the people going to work in the elephant's garden into helping him instead.

7. [Bie] yààn kplòò kpáà. [Bé] yáale ò yaan
elephant yam porridge put-PAST DEM sit-PERF be yam

kplòò é dìn.

porridge ART next.to

'The elephant made a yam porridge. He is seated next to the yam porridge.'

In the buffalo story, the two most central characters, the buffalo and the older boy, have also been offstage for a long paragraph, during which the little brother has been introduced and his preparations for defending his brother against the buffalo are described. Since the older boy and the buffalo are major participants they rate more than a simple noun phrase. The buffalo is reintroduced with a noun phrase which includes both the word *do* and the VIP pronoun. The older boy is reintroduced by means of a preposed noun phrase.

8. (a) Ké [yéé du é do] púelé ké è
and VIP water.buffalo ART one go.out-PERF and 3sg

à pelè doo ézìṅ 'Mè ṅgḡlo lè gè éè?'
OBJ say-PERF that again what head PRES here INTER

'And this particular buffalo, he went there and he said again, "What head is

this?"'

(b) [Béè nèn é, b́é] b́é kpén séé tó káàn.
and child ART DEM DEM all all name make-PAST

'And the boy, he said all these names.'

Dooley and Levinsohn (1993:70-74) differentiate between globally and locally important characters (see section 4.4.2). A globally important character is the most important character in the entire story, while a locally important character is one who is important in a particular section of a story. The VIP pronoun *yéé* is frequently used to refer to both globally and locally important characters. However, in stories in which the hare is the central character, *yéé* is used almost exclusively to refer to him. In West

African cultures the hare is the character who is most often the hero of stories concerning ways in which a small and weak person can outsmart bigger and stronger people.

In Mona narratives, once a globally or locally important character has been introduced, the first few succeeding references to him use the VIP pronoun. As noted at the beginning of this section, *yée* is used in the buffalo story to refer both to the boy, who is the central character of the story, and to his father, who is also a major character and is described as a very successful hunter. The father is again referred to as *yée* in the third and fourth paragraphs in which he goes out to rescue his son. However, the VIP pronoun is never used to refer to the boy's mother, who also goes out to rescue the son after the father has failed to do so (cf. example 2), nor is it used in reference to the little brother, who finally succeeds in killing the buffalo, although this child is crucial both to the plot and to the moral of the story (cf. example 6). Levinsohn points out that in some languages the VIP character will be referred to with less than the default encoding for participant reference (1994:117). In their discussion of globally important characters, he and Dooley say that after the central participant in a narrative has been introduced this character will often be thereafter referred to "by minimum but virtually constant coding" (1993:72). They do not mention whether or not the same ever applies to locally important participants, such as the little brother in this story. In this case, the narrator appears to be downplaying this character by not referring to him as a VIP. After all, he's a small child with chickenpox, hardly a likely hero. Possibly this is also a reflection of the lower status of women and small children in the culture as opposed to men and teenage boys.

In some stories, *yée* is used to contrast between two characters of equal importance. In the story of the dog and monkey, neither character appears to be more

prominent than the other. Neither animal outfoxes the other or is in any way depicted as a role model. The story is simply intended to explain why dogs and monkeys do not get along with each other. However, the narrator refers to the monkey as *yée* in order to contrast his actions with the dog's actions.

9. (a) Ò ninà wáátí ɓoà gbàán bàlá yue ta.
 3pl return moment arrive-PAST dog jump-PAST water to
 'When it was time to return the dog jumped into (the) water.'

(b) Bè yue takaaàn.
 DEM water cut-PAST
 He swam.

(c) [Yée wòò] sààn yrì yí ɓéè [è] yue é tákán zì
 VIP monkey climb-PAST tree in and 3sg water ART cut PROG

ɓéé ɓolelé.
 bush put-INF
 'And he, the monkey, climbed into a tree and he's crossing by jumping from branch to branch.'

Yée can also be used for emphasis, as in the following example. The buffalo has been questioning the boy about all the animals which his father has killed, the heads of which the boy has eaten. When he gets to the skull of a buffalo, the boy claims he does not know what kind of animal it is. The narrator emphasizes the fact that this head belongs to a buffalo.

10. Bèè è tiàn té [yée du gbú a pe
 and 3sg reach-PAST finally VIP buffalo self POSS thing

ngɓlo é] ma. Bèè ɓé pe doo 'À kélá gè lèè?'
 head ART on and DEM say that OBJ which here INTER
 'Then he finally reached the head of a buffalo itself. And he says, "This one here?"'

In the hare and hyena story, the pronoun *yée* is used once to refer to a very important prop, the giraffe meat, which the hare and hyena have buried with plans to share it later, and which the hare stole during the night. In the sentence describing how the hyenas go to dig up the meat, the narrator uses the definite article, the distal locative *yélà*, and the VIP pronoun to draw attention to the meat.

11. Begonen bɛ́ glaò ò jà [yée wi é yélà]
 friend-boy DEM hyena 3pl go-PAST VIP animal/meat ART that

síle.

take-IRREAL

'My friend, these hyenas went to take that meat.'

Once a participant has been established as a major character through several uses of the pronoun *yée*, he is afterward normally referred to with the default pronoun *è* in succeeding sentences while other participants are referred to with the demonstrative pronoun *bɛ́*, as in example 9 above. However, in the context of an extended dialogue, in which it is fairly clear who the referent is each time, the use of *bɛ́* and *è* becomes rather flexible, and either pronoun can refer to either the VIP character or the other character. At the beginning of the following dialogue, the buffalo is referred to as *bɛ́* and the boy, previously referred to as *yée*, is now referred to as *è*. For six sentences they both are referred to using *è*, since turn-taking is assumed in dialogue. This continues until the buffalo touches the skull of a buffalo and asks the boy to tell him what kind of skull it is (example 12(g)). In the sentence which follows this one the buffalo is again referred to with *bɛ́* to distinguish him from the boy.

12. (a) [Bɛ́] à gbe kpaà wi é do ta.
 DEM 3sgPOSS arm/foreleg put-PAST animal ART one on
 'He (the buffalo) put his foreleg on an animal.'

- (b) [È] pe doo 'Klá ngɔlo lè ɔ́é lé.'
- 3sg say that stag head PRES DEM PRES
 'He (the boy) says, "This is the head of a stag."'
- (c) Bɛ̀è [è] à gbe tiàn wi é do ta.
 and 3sg 3sgPOSS arm/foreleg reach-PAST animal ART one on
 'Then he (the buffalo) reached his foreleg over to this certain animal.'
- (d) [È] pe doo 'Grò ngɔlo lè ɔ́é lé.'
- 3sg say that white.stag head PRES DEM PRES
 'He (the boy) says, "This is the head of a white stag."'
- (e) Bɛ̀è [è] à gbe tiàn ngɔlo do ta.
 and 3sg 3sgPOSS arm/foreleg reach-PAST head one on
 'Then he (the buffalo) reached his foreleg over to a certain head.'
- (f) [È] pe doo 'Broo ngɔlo lè ɔ́é lé.'
- 3sg say that bush.rat head PRES DEM PRES
 'He (the boy) says, "This is the head of a bush rat."'
- (g) Bɛ̀è [è] tiàn té yéé du gbú a
 and 3sg reach-PAST finally VIP water buffalo self POSS
 pe ngɔlo é ma.
 thing head ART on
 'And he (the buffalo) finally reached the head of a buffalo itself.'
- (h) Bɛ̀è [ɔ́é] pe doo 'À kélá gè léé?'
- and DEM say that OBJ which here INTER
 'And he (the buffalo) says, "This one here?"'
- (i) Bɛ̀è [è] pe doo 'Áh! doo náá ɔ́é tó do.'
- and 3sg say that oh that 1sg-NEG DEM name know
 'And he (the boy) says, "Oh, I don't know the name of this one."'

The next to last paragraph in the hare and guinea story presents an interesting situation. The last character to be introduced into the narrative is a guinea fowl. The point of the entire story is that after having outfoxed a lot of larger animals, the hare was finally outfoxed by an animal even smaller and weaker than himself. It would seem that

this character would be introduced with a little fanfare, yet she is treated just as if she were a minor participant, much like the younger brother in the buffalo story. What the narrator is calling attention to here is not the guinea, but the things that she takes with her when she goes out to where the hare is pretending to plant his garden -- a bottle of hair oil, a comb, and threads for tying the hair into braids. This is the first mention of these items.

13. (a) *Bé klele ké [gangre] ké [bé yròn bútèlí é]*
 DEM do/make-PERF and guinea.fowl and DEM oil bottle ART

sílé.

take-PERF

'This being so, the guinea, she took this bottle of oil.'

- (b) *Ké [bé] [wîn go pe wiîn go sààkaà léè]*
 and DEM hair remove thing hair remove comb here

ké [bé] [bé] sílé.

and DEM DEM take-PERF

'And she took a hair-removing thing, a comb here, she took it.'

- (c) *Ké [bé] [béle] sílé [wîn tàn win yrè béle lá]*
 and DEM cord take-PERF hair braid hair attach cord RELpn

gè] ké [bé] [bé] sílé ké [bé] [bé] kpálé bé kóó.

here and DEM DEM take-PERF and DEM DEM put-PERF DEM hand

'And she took thread, thread for tying braids which is here, and she took this and put this in her hand.'

In this situation the crucial character is deemphasized and attention is focused on what would appear at first glance to be an unimportant collection of props. In fact, the demonstrative pronoun is used to refer to both the important character and the props -- for example, in the last sentence of example 13, in the phrases *bé bé sílé* and *bé bé kpálé*, the first *bé* (the subject pronoun) refers to the guinea and the second *bé* (the object pronoun)

refers to the hair-tying threads. The narrator's point is that it is not particularly important or unusual that a guinea would go out to where the hare is (and probably fall into his trap). What is surprising, and crucial to the plot, is that a guinea, which has no feathers on its head, much less hair, is carrying the things a woman would use to have an elaborate hairstyle done. And as it turns out these props are the tools she uses to outfox and defeat the heretofore unbeatable hare.

5.2 Tense and Aspect

5.2.1 Foreground Information

Hopper defines the story line of a narrative as "the parts of the narrative which relate events belonging to the skeletal structure of the discourse" (Hopper 1979a:213). These make up the foreground. The background consists of supportive material which "amplifies or comments" on the main events of the narrative (214). Foreground events occur in sequential order, as they would in the real world. The background is typically free from the constraints of temporal sequence. They may occur simultaneously with the main events, they may involve flashback to a time before the events being reported, or they may be off the time line altogether (215). Languages commonly use tense, aspect, and mode to distinguish between foreground material and background material in an extended discourse (216). Hopper describes the differences between foreground and background as follows.

Foregrounded sentences have a strong tendency to have an unmarked pragmatic structure; new events in the discourse tend to be introduced in the predicate, and the subject of the verb tends to be the central character or characters in the discourse and, hence, to be presupposed. In commentary, on the other hand (that is, in background), new events are not introduced so often as old already-related events are retold and amplified in some way. (220)

Longacre (1981:340) suggests that in addition to this two-way distinction between foregrounded and backgrounded material, each of these categories can be further subdivided according to the verb forms characteristic of each, and these verb forms can be distinguished according to their relative dynamicity. He states that “differing forms of tense/aspect/mood/voice do not exist for nothing in a language. Our belief is that such variety serves the needs of discourse” (340). He proposes ranking verb forms along a cline, from most dynamic to most static. The storyline will typically be carried forward by means of the more dynamic verbs while the more static or descriptive ones will be characteristic of background information.

Applying such a ranking scheme to the verb forms in Mona folktales has resulted in some interesting insights into the structure of this type of narrative and shed some light on the difference between the usage of the past tense and perfective aspect. At first glance it appears that these two are used interchangeably on the eventline of the narrative. On looking closer, however, it becomes clear that the past tense is the most salient for conveying eventline information. The narrative can be summarized entirely by means of those main clauses in which the verb is in the past tense. In some narratives this includes quoted material as well as non-quotes, since the storyline is often advanced by means of dialogue, using the past tense. The result is the following for the buffalo story. All of the verbs in the following sentences are inflected with the past tense suffix. Although two of the clauses (marked with an asterisk) describe a state and not an event (i.e. ‘He/she was afraid of the buffalo’), they are not stative clause constructions including the verb ‘to be’ but intransitive clauses in which the verb is *gblan* ‘to fear’ followed by the postpositional phrase ‘before the buffalo’. The context and the use of the past tense seem to indicate that

a change of state is involved -- the parents thought they were brave enough to defend their son before seeing the buffalo, but now that they are faced with him they are not. Longacre (340) says that verbs of sensation and awareness can be on the eventline if they involve a change of state rather than an ongoing state, which would be part of the background supportive material.

Clauses with past tense verbs in the 'buffalo' story:

And he planted his father's garden.
 And the buffaloes, a certain one went to him.
 And he saw already that this was a buffalo.
 And the buffalo touched the skull of a hare.
 And he touched the skull of a certain animal. (This is repeated a number of times,
 each time using the past tense)
 And finally he touched the skull of a buffalo itself.
 The boy came and told his father.
 His father cleared a place and he sat down there.
 He hid himself quietly in this place.
 So the buffalo went out already to his son.
 The father was already afraid of the buffalo.
 The boy told the buffalo the names of all the animals, he said the names to him.
 His father went to relieve himself.
 *He was already afraid.
 He already went away.
 The father killed some other animals.
 He gave the heads to his son in the garden.
 The day ended.
 She went to sit in this particular place.
 The buffalo went out again.
 She left for the village already.
 *She was afraid of the buffalo.
 He (i.e. the little brother) made his arrows, he made his arrows.
 He made this arrow.
 He (i.e. the older boy) said all the names.
 And the buffalo reached the skull of a buffalo itself, the skull of the buffalo.
 The boy said quietly "It's the head of a buffalo."

At this point in the narrative peak, the eventline shifts into the perfective aspect, and continues in this manner until the end of the peak:

And the little brother struck it (the buffalo) in the eye.

And the buffalo lifted up its nose like this and said “What...?”
 And the little brother struck it in the nose and he pierced its head.
 And it fell, bam!
 And he struck it and he struck it.
 His arrow, he killed it with this.

In the final paragraph of the story, which is didactic rather than narrative, the narrator addresses his audience. The first two sentences of this paragraph, and the main clause and temporal clause of the third sentence, are in the past tense. The subordinate clauses embedded in the Object slot of the third sentence are in the perfective, as is the closing formula.

Friend! his father was afraid (PAST), his mother was afraid (PAST).
 And you’ve seen it (PAST), you’ve given birth (PAST) to a child, one child
 was more capable (PERF) than his father and another child was more
 capable (PERF) than his mother.
 This is where this came (PERF) from.

The closing sentence is contrafactual and is in the simple past tense.

And the child, if he hadn’t done it (PAST) the buffalo would have killed
 (PAST) his brother.

The perfective spect has several different functions in narrative discourse. The most salient of these has already been observed, that is, that it takes over from the past tense for carrying the eventline at the peak of the narrative.

14. (a) È à yrè kpá nèn é ta ké nn... ɓé nuàgonɛn
 3sg 3sgPOSS eye put child ART on and DEM little.brother
- nèn é ɓé yáale káálá yí ɓe gaan yrɛ
 small ART DEM sit-PERF sitting.place in there hide place
- noð ɓe ké ɓé sá é zonlè à yrè ba.
 place there and DEM arrow ART strike-PERF 3sgPOSS eye to/in
 ‘He looks around at the child, and ... this little brother, this one seated
 there in the resting place there, the hiding place there, and this arrow
 struck him (i.e. the buffalo) in the eye.’

17. Bəgonən! è gele è wlale gèé.
 friend-boy 3sg go-PERF 3sg arrive-PERF like this
 'Friend! He (i.e. the father) went, he arrived like this.'

18. Ké ɓé wlìn nèn é sílé.
 and DEM pestle small ART take-PERF
 'And she took the small pestle.'

19. Bé à wlìn nèn é blinle.
 DEM 3sgPOSS pestle small ART throw-PERF
 'She threw her small pestle.'

20. Ménen! ké ɓé gelè.
 my.friend and DEM go-PERF
 'My friend! And he (i.e. the little brother) went.'

The perfective is also frequently used to paraphrase information that has already been provided on the main eventline, especially when the narrator is repeating himself in order to highlight a crucial or unusual event. In the following sentences from the guinea story, the verbs in the perfective aspect are a repetition of verbs in the past tense in preceding sentences.

21. (a) Vlɛ sàà gbèntèn é, ò ɓé gba é kpálé ɓe.
 stone place large ART 3pl DEM garden ART put-PERF there
 'The granite, they planted this garden there.'

(b) Ké è mlò wíanlé vlɛ sàà é ta.
 and 3sg rice scatter-PERF stone place ART on
 'And he scattered rice on the granite.'

(c) Ké è ɓé mlò é ɓole sánlé.
 and 3sg DEM rice ART put-PERF begin-PERF
 'And he began to sow this rice.'

There is an interesting pattern in which certain actions which are repeated in succeeding episodes are described in the past tense in the first episode, perfective in the second episode, and past tense again in the third episode. In the buffalo story, it is the

buffalo's entrance which is alternatively described as either past or perfective over the span of three episodes. In the guinea story, the deer's death is reported in the past tense in one episode, while the action of the hare in cooking and eating it are reported in the perfective. In the next episode, the gazelle's death is reported in the perfective and the eating of it is reported in the past tense. In the third episode, the giraffe's death is reported in the past tense and the hare's taking it is reported in the perfective.

To summarize, in narrative discourse eventline information is reported in the simple past tense, while the perfective is used for paraphrasing or repeating some of the eventline material. However, at some point in the peak the eventline shifts over to the perfective aspect.

5.2.2 Background Information

In addition to the main eventline, the past tense also occurs in adverbial clauses, mainly conditional and temporal clauses which provide logical coherence by means of explanation as to the rationale for or result of the characters' behavior. Many of these occur within the dialogue.

22. [Ké mɛɛ lá nuà] ʒé pɛ 'Thl Mɛɛ leè ʒé
 when person REL_{pn} come-PAST DEM say INTERJ person here DEM

à kpòò é lele.'

POSS hoe ART beautiful

'When anyone came, he says, "Oh, this person's hoe is beautiful."'

23. 'N ʒégonɛn nèn [n púɛlà wóà gè] ʒɛ é
 lsg friend-boy small lsg go.out-PAST since here then 2sg

dɛ a wi ŋgɔlo mu é dɔɔ ò tó nóo n ni.'

father POSS animal head PL ART that 3pl name say lsg to

"My little brother, since I've gone out here, then, your father's animal heads, tell me their names."

24. [Ké wi mu kpén séé ké è à pià é ni] [ké
when animal PL all all when 3sg OBJ say-PAST 2sg to when

è à pià é mú tó do] [ké è tiàn à
3sg OBJ say-PAST 2sg 3pl name put when 3sg reach-PAST 3sgPOSS

gbú ngblo é ma] à pe doo du ngblo lè ké
self head ART on OBJ say that water.buffalo head PRES DEM

lè.
PRES
“When all the animals, when he says to you, when he tells you to say their
names, when he gets to his own head, tell him this is the head of a buffalo.”

The habitual aspect (indicated by the uninflected verb) is used only to report background information. In the following sentences from the deer text the narrator sets the scene for the deer's trick on the elephant.

25. (a) [Béè muen kpén kan] yée a pe gba é bé ta.
and people all pass VIP POSS thing garden ART DEM on
'And everyone passes by his garden.'

(b) [Béè ò ge] bie a pe gba é ta.
and 3pl go elephant POSS thing garden ART on
'And they go to the elephant's garden.'

In the buffalo story, after having described the little boy making his arrows in order to defend his older brother, the narrator digresses a little in order to comment on the arrow-making process.

26. Sá lá ké [ò à klɛ] gèé béè [ò à bo] béè
arrow REL_{pn} and 3pl OBJ make like.this and 3pl OBJ put and

[ò ɓɛɛ nèn klɛ] béè [ò à blin] ɓɛ.
3pl cord small make and 3pl OBJ throw then
'An arrow which, and they make it like this and they attach it and they make a
cord and then they throw it.'

The present progressive is used to report events that occur simultaneously with other events, whether the latter are on or off the eventline.

27. Ké mɛɛ lá zan ò zan [ké è
if/when person RELpn come/arrive 3pl come/arrive if/when 3sg

ò yàa fe é pá zí] è à ma 'wléŋ wléŋ'.
be VIPPOSS mound ART fill/pile PROG 3sg OBJ hear IDEOPH IDEOPH
'If someone arrives while he's hoeing his mounds, they hear "jingle jingle."'

28. Bé waati nu klɛle ma ké ò yée a pe fe
DEM moment come do-PERF on if/when 3pl VIP POSS thing mound

é ké ò ñyà gban bé lé. [Ké ò bé yaan
ART if/when 3pl finish already DEM with and 3pl DEM yam

là tán zí.]
under plant PROG

'At that moment they have already finished making his (the grey deer's) mounds.
And they are planting these yams.'

Stative verbs are used in descriptive clauses that set the scene:

29. (a) À naàgonɛn nɛn do [ò yɛ].
3sgPOSS little brother child one be there
'His one little brother is there.'

(b) Yée nèn lá ò gba é ta ɓe yaa pe
VIP child RELpn be garden ART on so VIPPOSS thing

nuàgonèn nèn do [ò wà la].
little brother child one be village in
'He, the boy who is in the garden, his one little brother is in the village.'

(c) Gbòlòkò [kpále ò] ɓé ma.
chickenpox put-PERF be DEM on
'This one has (or had) chickenpox.'

30. (a) Bé guè é [ò ɓiì loonèn] lé.
DEM deer ART be like hare PRES
'This deer is like the hare.'

- (b) Ò kpén [ò gèé kpɛɛkpɛɛ nèn.]
 3pl all be like.this thin-thin small
 'They are both like this, weak and small.'

As previously mentioned in section 5.1.1.2, a presentative construction is sometimes used to introduce an extremely important (though not necessarily the main) character. I call this type of clause identificational.

31. [Yée Loonèn ná ò pegée Glaò wò lè] waa gba
 VIP hare so 3pl and hyena 3pl PRES 3plPOSS garden

kpàà.

put-PAST

'So it's the hare and the hyena who planted their garden.'

32. [Loonèn! Loonèn lè] á bààlá.
 hare hare PRES OBJ instigate-PAST
 'Hare! It's the hare who started it.'

Finally, nonverbal descriptive clauses occur within the context of a dialogue, often with reference to some important participant or prop (cf. section 2.4). In the guinea story this type of clause is used to ask what kind of rice will result from planting a garden on granite.

33. Ò mlò dèlà bo vle sàà ta bée [bée mlò é
 3pl rice INTER put stone space on and DEM rice ART

lele]?

handsome/beautiful

'What kind of rice do people plant on granite and this rice turns out well?'

In the story of the deer and the elephant, descriptive clauses are used to highlight the deer's hooves, which he has decorated with bells to lure his neighbors into helping him plant his garden instead of helping the elephant.

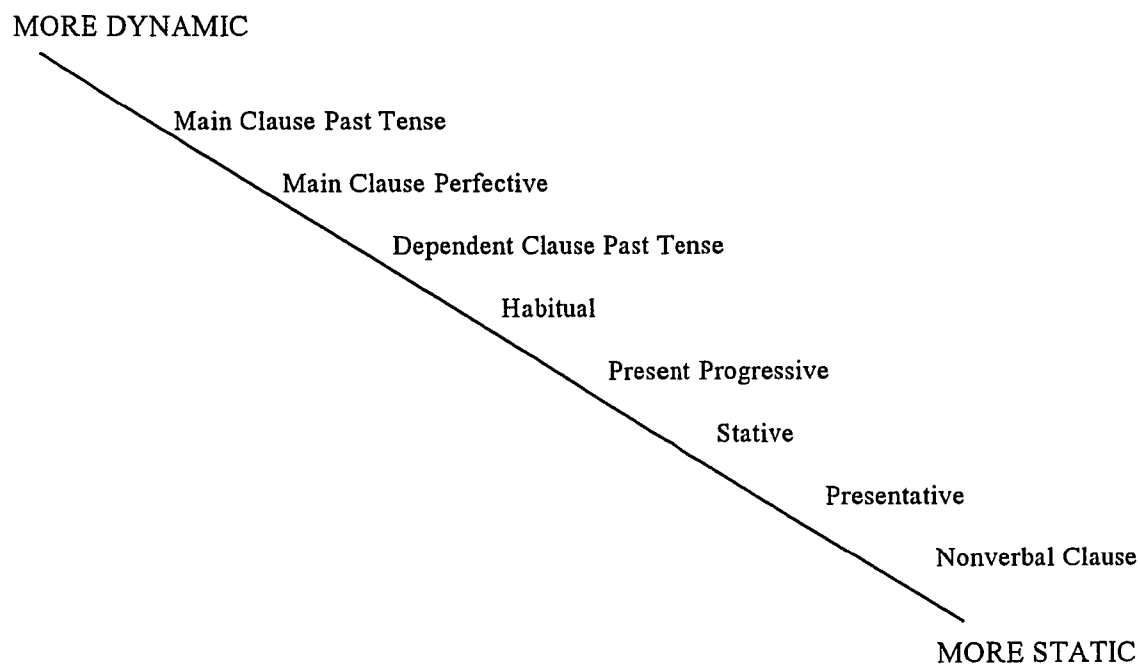
34. Ké mɛɛ lá núà bée pe 'Ih! mɛɛ lè [bée
 if/when person RELpn come-PAST DEM say INTERJ person PRES DEM

a kpòò é lèlè].’

POSS hoe ART handsome/beautiful

‘When someone comes, this person says, “Oh! it is this one whose hoe is beautiful.”’

As a result of this analysis of the discourse functions of Mona verb forms, I propose the following saliency ranking for the tense/aspect paradigm:



5.3 Discontinuity and Cohesion

Givón has pointed out that discourse consists typically not of only one proposition but of several propositions. He states that “a coherent text will maintain, throughout the span of several propositions,

- (a) the same referent (‘topic’)
- (b) the same or contiguous time
- (c) the same or contiguous location
- (d) sequential action.” (1990:896-97)

However, as Levinsohn (1994:4) has pointed out, a discourse of more than a few sentences usually involves “local discontinuities” of reference with respect to these features. The result is that propositions are grouped into thematic paragraphs, with each paragraph organized around a particular topic, time, location, and sequence of events. There are certain devices that a narrator can use both to signal discontinuities in the discourse and to “maintain the overall unity and continuity of the text by guiding the listener or reader across the discontinuity” (5). One such device is topicalization of a particular referent. Topicalization involves shifting a reference to the beginning of the sentence so as to call it to the listener’s attention. Levinsohn says that topicalization has a “bidirectional function”: it provides a “point of departure” for the following events, and it also links them to the preceding context, so that topicalization is both anaphoric and cataphoric (7). Discontinuity may also be indicated by a change in participant reference, from unstressed pronouns or zero anaphora to a stressed pronoun or a full noun phrase (10), as well as by means of reference to a change in the time or location of an event.

5.3.1 Topicalization and Participant Reference

Topicalization is used frequently in *Mona* fables in order to zero in on a particular referent. However, it is used as a cohesive device with varying degrees of frequency by different narrators. The narrator of the buffalo story uses topicalization in six out of eleven of his introductions to a new paragraph (55%), whereas the narrator of the hare and guinea story uses it in three out of nine (33%), and in the deer and elephant story it is used only once in six (17%). In *Mona*, topicalization involves left-dislocation of a constituent to a prenuclear position, usually leaving a pronominal trace in the constituent’s normal

sentence position. A topicalized reference to a participant which has previously been introduced into the active file may consist of either a noun phrase, a stressed pronoun, or both. In the following example from the buffalo story, the direct object is topicalized in the first sentence, and the subject is topicalized in the second sentence. This double reference is used at the beginning of the first episode to introduce the buffalo, a very important character.

36. (a) [Béè du é] è nàà du é bèbè
 and water.buffalo ART 3sg too.much water.buffalo ART many

 là delè.
 PRES kill-PERF
 ‘And the water buffalo, there were way too many water buffalo which
 he killed.’

- (b) [Bé du é] béè bé do pùèlà à ta.
 DEM water.buffalo ART and DEM one go.out-PAST OBJ on
 ‘The buffalo, and this one went to him.’

The third paragraph marks the beginning of the second episode in this story. The first reference in this paragraph is to the boy in the garden. Since he was the addressee of the last speech in the preceding paragraph, and since there is a continuity of action between the two paragraphs (because he is doing what the buffalo told him to do), he is simply referred to with the stressed pronoun *yée*. The only other cohesive device used at this point is the narrator’s exclamation ‘Ah! My friend!’ (cf. section 5.3.3). The narrator proceeds to set the scene for this episode by describing the father’s preparations for rescuing his son. He then reintroduces the buffalo, who has been offstage all this time, then digresses for three sentences to describe the buffalo’s appearance. Returning to the eventline in the next paragraph, he reintroduces the father with a topicalized construction

consisting of a noun phrase which includes a stressed pronoun, followed by the trace pronoun (stressed) in the subject position -- a triple reference to this particular character.

37. Áh! [yéé nèn goná nèn] [yéé gbú] yaàle ò à
 INTERJ VIPPN small man old VIPPN self sit-PERF be OBJ

ganlélé ɓe du é púelà gban
 hide-PERF there/then water.buffalo ART go.out-PAST already

à nèn é zi.
 POSS child ART at

'Oh, the little old man sat down and hid himself, and the buffalo already went to his son.

A topicalized construction also marks the beginning of the peak episode of this story. Initially the important new character being introduced is the subject of the narrator's attention.

38. (a) À naàgonen nen do ò ye.
 3sgPOSS little.brother child one be there
 'His one little brother is there.'

In the second sentence of this paragraph the narrator uses a left-dislocated noun phrase containing a relative clause in order to shift focus off of this child and onto the boy in the garden. The narrator seems to be creating some kind of buildup for his introduction of the little brother, as well as slowing down the action (a characteristic of peak episodes).

(b) [Yéé nèn lá ò gba é ta ɓe] yaa pɛ
 VIP child REL_{pn} be garden ART on there VIPPOSS thing

nuàgonen nèn do ò wà la.
 little.brother small one be village in
 'The boy who is there in the garden, his one little brother is in the village.'

5.3.2 Change of Time or Location

At the beginning of the third episode, a formerly important character, the father, is reintroduced after being offstage for four sentences; however, this time the only reference to him is an unstressed pronoun. Since this participant was last referred to four sentences previously, and the intervening references are to his son and the buffalo, it might be expected that the narrator would use a noun phrase to reintroduce the father (cf. the scale of participant reference in section 5.1). Possibly this particular character is being downplayed, since he has failed to rescue his son and is about to fade out of the picture. His appearance here mainly serves to set the scene for the next episode.

39. *Begonen!* [è] *gele* [è] *wlale* *gèé* [è] *wi*
 friend-boy 3sg go-PERF 3sg arrive-PERF like.this 3sg animal

éké mu dià.

other PL kill-PAST

‘Friend! He went, he arrived like this, he killed some more animals.’

This sentence introduces a change of scene in order to signal a discontinuity in the action and guide the audience into the next episode. The entire paragraph is in fact a short break in the action which provides the background for the following episode. As already mentioned, the reference to a previously important character is now underplayed. The father is simply going about his business of killing animals and giving their heads to his son. The narrative has shifted temporarily from the past tense to the perfective, which indicates secondary eventline information. Further indication of the change in the temporal setting occurs at the beginning of the next paragraph.

40. *Bé klele* *bé too* *é klínàn.*
 DEM do-PERF DEM tomorrow ART make-PAST
 ‘That being so, the day ended.’

A similar phrase is used in the deer text to indicate a temporal discontinuity. In the previous paragraph the narrator had described the elephant's plan to get his neighbors to help him plant his garden. Now he is shifting the focus to the deer's efforts to lure them to his garden instead. The time reference itself is topicalized:

41. [Bé yi é] óé lè óòà.
 DEM day ART DEM PRES arrive-PAST
 'This day, this is the one which arrived.'

The fifth paragraph of this text begins with another temporal reference. Discontinuity is also indicated by the reference to the elephant, which consists of a noun phrase followed by a pronoun, though he was last referred to only two sentences previously.

42. Begonen! [Yrèté óó óla é gèé] ná
 friend-boy sun arrive moment ART like.this then/so

 [Bie] nu óé nu zi líí glìṅ wáátí zi.
 elephant come DEM come road mouth look.at/for moment in
 'My friend! When the sun goes down like this, then the elephant comes,
 in that moment he comes to watch the road.'

5.3.3 Other Cohesive Devices

The narrator of the buffalo story often uses either an interjection, a vocative addressed to the hearer, or both of these, to introduce a new paragraph. These may be used either alone or in combination with other cohesive devices. The following example introduces the episode in which the boy goes to tell his father about his confrontation with the buffalo. In this case the vocative and interjection are the only cohesive devices used. The events of this paragraph are a continuation of those in the one which precedes it -- the

boy is doing what the buffalo told him to do in the previous paragraph. So the discontinuity between the two paragraphs is minimal and is minimally marked.

43. [Ménen! áh!] yée nùà ké è 6é pélé à
 my.friend oh VIP come-PAST and 3sg DEM say-PERF 3sgPOSS
 de ni.
 father to
 'Oh, my friend, he came and he told his father about it.'

The following sentence introduces the didactic section with a vocative addressed to the audience:

44. [Bégonen!] à de gblànnà, à nén
 friend-boy 3sgPOSS father fear-PAST 3sgPOSS mother
 gblànnà.
 be.afraid-PAST
 'Friend! His father was afraid, his mother was afraid.'

The narrator of the guinea story occasionally uses an interjection plus a conjunction in the same manner. The following sentence introduces a brief paragraph which summarizes the previous events of the narrative and sets the scene for the peak episode:

45. [Bon! 6éyí] 6é gbèntèn yaga 6é lá gole
 INTERJ thus DEM large three DEM REL_{pn} leave-PERF
 à yì 6e yée wi mu é 6lé zí 6éè
 OBJ to so VIPPN animal plural ART eat PROG and
 gbèn yaa pɛ dàwí é ma.
 like.this VIPPOSS thing cunning ART on
 'Okay! After these three big animals these which went to him, he's eating all the other animals in the same way, thanks to his trick.'

Another such device is a phrase that I have translated as 'this being so', which sums up the events of the preceding paragraph and introduces a new one. Following the

summary paragraph just described, the narrator of the guinea story uses this phrase to introduce the peak episode:

46. [Bé klele] ké gangre, ké bé yròn
DEM do/make-PERF and guinea.fowl and DEM oil

bútèlí é sílé.

bottle ART take-PERF

'This being so, the guinea took this bottle of oil.'

This phrase is used once in the buffalo story, to introduce the episode in which the boy's mother attempts to rescue him after his father's failure to do so.

47. [Bé klele] bé too é klínàn.
DEM do-PERF DEM tomorrow ART make-PAST
'That being so, the day ended.'

5.3.4. Summary

To summarize, Mona narrative discourse uses a number of devices to indicate a discontinuity in the flow of the narrative and the beginning of a new episode, or a new paragraph within a continuing episode. These include topicalization of subject, direct object, or a possessive phrase, the use of a noun phrase or stressed pronoun to refer to a participant already in the active file, and reference to a change of time and/or location. Other boundary markers include vocatives directed at the listener, interjections, and the summary phrase *bé klele* 'this being so'.

5.4 Peak

Longacre defines peak as the point of climax in a narrative towards which the action has been building in previous episodes. At this point, he says, "the flow of discourse seems to quicken and grow more turbulent" (1981:347). He notes that the peak

will be marked by grammatical features which set it off from the rest of the narrative to the point that it becomes difficult to analyze, contradicting as it does assumptions based on previous analysis of other portions of the narrative. Fran Woods' study of the Halbi language of India differentiates between action peak and didactic peak. The didactic peak consists of a monologue or dialogue which is either hortatory or expository. The didactic peak typically occurs following the action peak. All narratives will have an action peak, but not all have a didactic peak. Woods constructed the following table to illustrate the differences between narrative and didactic peaks (1980:281).

Table 4. Features of Didactic and Narrative Peak

| <i>Didactic Peak</i> | <i>Narrative Peak</i> |
|---|--|
| No chronological progression | Marked chronological progression |
| Cyclic structure | Forward movement |
| 2 participants only and little description | Crowded with participants and much description |
| Crowded with props and extensive descriptions | Limited props and limited description |
| Dialogue | Events |

The Mona folktales which I have studied typically conclude with a brief paragraph in which the narrator addresses his audience directly and explains the lesson to be learned from the story. Since these are not a part of the story itself, and do not exhibit the characteristics listed above, they probably do not qualify as a didactic peak, so I have called this the didactic section instead of peak. In this section I will be focussing on the characteristics of narrative peak in Mona folktales.

Longacre describes a number of devices that a narrator may use to mark the peak. One of these involves "packing the eventline," that is, either using repetition or

paraphrase, or adding detail that normally would detract from the narrative and bore the audience. Another device is to “crowd the stage,” to pull in extra participants. The purpose of both of these strategies is to slow down the action and capture the audience’s attention at this crucial point in the narrative. Other peak-marking devices involve what Longacre calls “a shift in the parameters of the narrative spectrum.” This may include possible changes in pronominal reference (i.e. from third person to first), change in tense or aspect, an increased or decreased use of dialogue or drama, or a change in the tendency to use longer or shorter sentences (1981:349-351). It is this shift in the narrative spectrum that makes analysis difficult. This difficulty is further complicated by the fact that peak-marking devices do not necessarily begin and end with the onset and close of the peak episode, but may extend into part of the preceding and following episodes. It is also possible for a narrative to have two peaks, one occurring in the climax (where tension is at its highest) and the other in the dénouement (where the tension is resolved) (1981:357). This seems to be the case with the Mona story of the boy who was threatened by the buffalo. There is a minor peak in one of the prepeak episodes of the overall story, which contains some but not all of the characteristics of the peak. The main peak occurs in the final episode.

The structure of the narrative is as follows (cf. Table 5): The scene is set in the first paragraph, which consists almost entirely of habitual and present progressive verbs. Two of the major characters are introduced, a man who was a very successful hunter and his son who worked in his garden. Emphasis is placed on the father’s success as a hunter and the fact that he always gave the heads of the animals he killed to his son to eat in the garden. The next paragraph introduces the first episode. The next major character, the

buffalo, is introduced and the narrative shifts into the past tense. This episode encodes the inciting incident, in which the buffalo goes to the garden where the boy is working, and questions him about all the animal skulls lying around. When he gets to the buffalo skull, the boy claims not to know what kind of animal it is. The buffalo tells him to ask his father what it is, and promises to kill him the next day if he does not get an answer. The developing conflict occurs in the second episode. This begins with two paragraphs which set the scene, one with regard to the boy and his father and the other with regard to the buffalo. The stage is thus set for the father to save his son, but at the last minute he gives in to his fear of the buffalo and runs away instead. The conflict is further developed into a climax in the third episode, in which the boy's mother goes to rescue her son, but she too runs away. There is less attention to the character of the mother than of the father, and less detail in this episode. The main peak episode occurs in the dénouement, in which the conflict is finally resolved. This begins with the introduction of the last participant, a little boy with chickenpox. The rest of this paragraph describes his preparations for confronting the buffalo. At the height of the action this unlikely hero succeeds in killing the buffalo and saving his brother. In the last paragraph of the text the narrator zeroes in on the point of his story, which is that sometimes a child can be more capable than his parents. The story closes with the formulaic ending, "So that's where this comes from", which seems to be characteristic of this particular type of story. The following chart summarizes the structure of this story; the notional structure categories come from Longacre (1983:22). The narrative consists of an exposition, a conclusion, and four episodes. Each episode is a variation on the theme of the buffalo interrogating the boy. Each one focuses on a different combination of participants; in the first episode the boy

and the buffalo are alone. Then, in each succeeding episode, a different member of the boy's family is added to the cast of characters.

Table 5. Profile of the Buffalo Story

| Notional Structure | Paragraph Number | Characteristics |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| EXPOSITION | 1. Setting the stage | Detailed introduction of characters Much background information Predominantly habitual and present progressive verbs |
| INCITING MOMENT | 2. First episode (Prepeak) | Topicalization (introduction of new participant) Predominantly past tense Much dialogue |
| DEVELOPING CONFLICT (Father) | 3. Second episode (Prepeak) | Opens with a vocative Setting the scene Predominantly past tense Much dialogue |
| | 4. (continued) | Opens with a topicalized noun phrase Setting the scene Background information Predominantly habitual and perfective aspects |
| | 5. (continued) | Opens with topicalized noun phrase and interjection Predominantly past tense Much dialogue |
| CLIMAX (Mother) | 6. Third episode (Prepeak) | Opens with a vocative Introduction of new character Little detail Change of time and location Predominantly past tense |
| DENOUEMENT (Brother) | 7. Fourth episode (Peak) | Topicalization (detailed introduction of new participant) Action slowed Past tense and habitual aspect Some dialogue |
| | 8. (continued) | Opens with a vocative Action slowed; repetition Predominantly perfective aspect Much dialogue |
| CONCLUSION | 9. Moral of the story | Opens with a vocative Past tense and perfective Closing formula |

A close look at the structure of the buffalo story has resulted in some interesting insights into the methods used by Mona narrators to mark the peak of a story. The most obvious is the slowing-down effect -- the second episode (minor peak) is twenty-five sentences long and the main peak is twenty-eight sentences, compared to the other episodes which range from four to fourteen sentences in length. The exception to this is the inciting incident which is also twenty-five sentences long. However, sixteen of these sentences consist of a repetition of the same event -- the buffalo points to a skull and the boy identifies it. This seems almost to be a scene-setting device.

One way in which the narrator slows down the action at the peak is to add background detail. In the second episode, he devotes eight sentences to the discussion between the father and son and their preparations for the buffalo's arrival. He then devotes three sentences to a highly unusual description of the buffalo's appearance, which involves a group of birds which have nested on his head and are flying all around him as he approaches.

49. (a) Du do kpó é è pe... è púélé wáátí óó
 buffalo one solitary ART 3sg say 3sg go.out-PERF moment
- wáátí lá yí sranèn gbánsán sranèn fé gbánsán
 moment RELpn in weaver.bird many weaver.bird house many
- à wiìn gèé wòkòò.
 3sgPOSS head like.this IDEOPH
 'This particular buffalo says...at the moment that he went out, there were a lot
 of weaver birds, a lot of weaver bird nests on his head like this.'
- (b) À wiìn sranèn mu é ké mú gè sílélé
 3sgPOSS head weaver.bird PL ART and 3pl go fly-INF

gèé gbìì ké mú klaláá.
 like.this manner.of.flying and 3pl fall
 'The weaver birds on his head go flying away like this and they fall.'

- (c) Ké mú si ké mú klaláá.
 and 3pl fly and 3pl fall
 'And they fly and fall down.'

The dialogue is somewhat more varied and interactive, as compared with the non-peak episodes in which it is rather cryptic.

Non-peak episode:

50. (a) Ké ðé nen á pélé ðoo 'Tyíðó é ñ nèn é
 and DEM mother OBJ say-PERF that INTERJ 2sg lsg child ART
 tóà du é kó éè?'
 leave-PAST water.buffalo ART to INTER
 'And the boy's mother said, "Ugh! You left my son with the buffalo?"'

- (b) Ðoo 'Kadoo toolà ðe mí gbú ò ge zí.'
 that therefore tomorrow then lsgEMPH self be go PROG
 "Then tomorrow I'm going there myself."

Minor peak:

51. (a) Ké à ðe á pélé 'Éè! bon! ðoo tootoo ñ
 and 3sgPOSS father OBJ say-PERF INTERJ okay that tomorrow lsg
 gbú ò ge zí ye.'
 self be go PROG there
 'And his father said, "Okay! Tomorrow I'm going there myself."

- (b) 'Ké wi mu kpén séé ké è à pià é ni ké
 when animal PL all all when 3sg OBJ say-PAST 2sg to when
 è à pià é mú tó ðo, ké è tiàn à
 3sg OBJ say-PAST 2sg PL name put when 3sg reach-PAST 3sgPOSS

gbú ṅgblo é ma à pè dɔɔ du ṅgblo lè ké lè.
 self head ART on OBJ say that buffalo head PRES DEM PRES
 “When all the animals, when he says to you, when he says that you
 know their names, when he gets to his own head, tell him this is
 the head of a buffalo.”

(c) ‘Ké è à pià è é dɛlè ɓe ké n yòò
 when 3sg OBJ say-PAST 3sg 2sg kill-PERF then and 1sg be

à de zí àman mànfá é lé.
 OBJ kill PROG INTERJ gun ART with
 “When he says he's going to kill you, then I'm killing him for sure with
 the gun.”

The narrative peak occurs in the dénouement. To begin with, the narrator spends three sentences describing the little boy, and another seven sentences on his preparations for defending his brother, including a brief discussion of the arrow-making process.

52. (a) Bè bè a sáɓe mu yààná sáɓe mu ɓe yááaná tríiii ...
 DEM DEM POSS arrow PL make-PAST arrow PL DEM make-PAST IDEOPH
 ‘He made his arrows, his arrows, he made them “triiii...”

(b) Sá lá ké ò à klɛ gèé ɓéè ò à ɓo ɓéè
 arrow RELpn and 3pl OBJ do/make like.this and 3pl OBJ put and

ò ɓɛɛ nèn klɛ ɓéè ò à blin ɓe.
 3pl cord small do/make and 3pl OBJ throw so
 ‘An arrow which they make like this, and they put a small cord,
 and they throw it.’

(c) Bè bè sáɓe yààná.
 DEM DEM arrow make-PAST
 ‘He made this arrow.’

(d) Bèè bè pè dɔɔ ‘Too ó ge.’
 and DEM say that tomorrow 1pl go
 ‘And he says, “Tomorrow we go.”’

(e) ‘À tó kán too.’
 3sgPOSS name make tomorrow
 “Say its name tomorrow.”

(f) 'È 6í delè yre lá nóò è mí de 6é
3sg 2sgEMPH kill-PERF place RELpn place 3sg 1sgEMPH kill DEM

nóò.'

place

“(If) he kills you in that place, he kills me in that place.”

(g) Ménen! ké 6é gelè.
my.friend and DEM go-PERF
'My friend! And he went.'

(h) Bé è gànà à de gaan yre nóò.
DEM 3sg hide-PAST 3sgPOSS father hide place place
'He hid himself in his father's hiding place.'

He further slows down the action by mentioning, in a couple of side remarks, that the older boy's name was Yanga (this being the first time his name is mentioned), and that when he answered the buffalo he did it in a kind of chant. I do not know whether it is usual to wait until this late in a story to give a character's name, or if the narrator simply forgot.

53. Béè 6é pe à ni ...ò ò nèn é gbú sii
and DEM say OBJ to 3pl POSS child ART self call

té Yànga ... 6éè 6é pe à ni doo 'Yànga,
in.fact Yànga and DEM say OBJ to that Yànga

mu kùñle oo doo mèlà ngblo là gè éè?'
what kind that what head PRES here INTER
'And he says to him ... the boy was named Yànga ... and the buffalo says to him, "Yànga, what kind, what kind of head is this here?"'

54. (a) Bé yaà 6é kpá ké sró là là.
DEM be-PAST DEM put and song RELpn with
'He was saying them, and it was with a song.'

(b) Mais ké án pià ní 6é sró kpálé sán
but if OBJ-1sg say-PAST 1sg DEM song put-PERF begin

6e 6é ge m̀l̀l̀l̀é, 6é zεé l̀è.
 then DEM go last-INF DEM reason PRES
 'But if I sang this song it would take too long, that's why (I won't sing it).'

He also uses repetition effectively. In preceding episodes the boy has correctly identified the skull of each animal until he gets to the buffalo skull. Each time he claims that he does not know what kind of animal it is, and each time the buffalo says he will kill him the next day if he does not give him an answer. In the final episode, when the narrator reaches the point when the boy is going to identify the buffalo skull, he makes him repeat it over and over.

55. (a) B́éè è pe 'Yà̀yà s̀èkumaze.'
- and 3sg say it's the head of a buffalo (Dioula loan words)
 'And he (i.e. the boy) says, "It's the head of a buffalo."'
- (b) B́éè 6é pe d̀oò 'Ń pe m̀l̀à ɲg̀b̀l̀o l̀è éè?'
 and DEM say that 1sg say what head PRES INTER
 'And he (the buffalo) says "I say, what kind of head this is?"'
- (c) Ýéè pe d̀oò 'Ḿ pe du ɲg̀b̀l̀o l̀è.'
 VIP say that 1sgEMPH say water.buffalo head PRES
 'And he (the boy) says, "And I say it's the head of a buffalo."'
- (d) È 6é píà g̀éé ẁò̀ǹé̀n 'Du ɲg̀b̀l̀o l̀è.'
 3sg DEM say-PAST like.this softly water.buffalo head PRES
 'He (the boy) said this very softly, "It's the head of a buffalo."'
- (e) B́é pe 'É pe m̀è ɲg̀b̀l̀o l̀è.'
 DEM say 2sg say what head PRES
 'He (the buffalo) says, "You say what kind of head this is."'
- (f) Áh! è pe è 6é plɛ mi é p̀é́lé...
 INTERJ 3sg say 3sg DEM two time ART say-PERF
 'Ah! He says, he says this two times ...'

At the climactic incident of this peak, the narrator suddenly shifts from the past tense to the perfective for eventline information. He also uses a great deal of repetition at this point.

56. (a) Bégonen! ké du è pe ...è à yrè kpá nèn é ta
friend when buffalo 3sg say 3sg 3sgPOSS eye put child ART on

ké nn. bé nuàgonen nèn é bé yáale káálá
and DEM little.brother small ART DEM sit-PERF sitting.place

yí ðe gaan yre noò ðe, ké bé sá é zonlè
in there hide place place there and DEM arrow ART strike-PERF

à yrè ba.

3sgPOSS eye to/in

'Friend, the buffalo says ... he looks around at the child, and ... this little brother seated there in the resting place, there in the hiding place, and his arrow struck the buffalo in its eye.'

(b) Ké è à nyi glù dolè bé nóò gèé ké è à
and 3sg 3sgPOSS nose hole put-PERF DEM place like.this and 3sg OBJ

pele doo 'Mèlè...?'

say-PERF that what

'And he (the buffalo) lifted up this nose there like this, and he said, "What ...?"'

(c) Ké bé á zonlè à nyi glù é zi
and DEM OBJ strike-PERF 3sgPOSS nose hole ART in

ké bé á ngblo é pónlé.

and DEM 3sgPOSS head ART pierce-PERF

'And he (the little boy) struck it in the nostril and pierced its head.'

(d) Áh! dààwàà ké è baàlé.

INTERJ IDEOPH and 3sg fall-PERF

'Ah! it fell, bam!'

(e) Ké bé á zonlè à ta ké bé á zonlè à ta.

and DEM OBJ strike-PERF OBJ on and DEM OBJ strike-PERF OBJ on

'And he struck it and struck it (i.e. with the arrows).'

- (f) B́e a sábe ké b́e á delè b́e lé.
 DEM POSS arrow and DEM OBJ kill-PERF DEM with
 'His arrow, and he killed it with this.'

In the final paragraph of the story, which consists of the moral, the narrator returns to the past tense and perfective aspects.

57. (a) B́egonen! à de [gblànnà] à nèn
 friend-boy 3sgPOSS father be.afraid-PAST 3sgPOSS mother

[gblànnà].
 be.afraid-PAST
 'Friend! His father was afraid, his mother was afraid.'

- (b) Ké é á [yéà] é nèn é [yaà] ké nèn ké
 and 2sg OBJ see-PAST 2sg child ART birth-PAST and child other

[sólè] yìya b́e de ni be ké nèn ké [sólè]
 be.able-PERF SUP DEM father to so and child other be.able-PERF

yìya b́e nèn ni be.
 SUP DEM mother to so
 'And you've seen it, you've given birth to a child, and one child
 was more capable than his father and another child was more capable
 than his mother.'

In comparing this text with the other long text which I studied (the guinea story), the only differences seem to be that the guinea text has one peak episode rather than two, and the narrator uses the perfective from the very beginning of the peak, then switches back to the past tense at its climax -- just the opposite of the procedure in the buffalo story, in which the peak begins in the past tense and then shifts to the perfective at the climax.

5.5 Conclusion

This paper is just what the title implies -- an introduction to Mona grammar, a jumping-off point for a more detailed examination of the features that have already been examined and others which have not even been touched on. This can only be accomplished by a more in-depth look at the traditional stories as well as other types of Mona narrative. Clearly there needs to be further study of the tense/aspect system, especially with regard to what I have labelled the perfective aspect. It would be enlightening to see how this aspect is used in other types of narrative discourse (e.g. historical or eye-witness accounts), as well as how it is used (if at all) in other discourse types, such as expository or hortatory. The definite article and the demonstratives need further examination also, especially with regard to the possible existence of a distal locative, and what relation these have to the presentatives *là* and *lè*. Much more work needs to be done with regard to discontinuity and cohesive devices used to mark the transition between paragraphs and episodes. The surface of Mona grammar has just barely been scratched. It will be particularly interesting to see what changes are introduced into the grammar now that a body of written literature is beginning to develop.

APPENDIX

THE BUFFALO STORY

APPENDIX

The Buffalo Story

Ref: du 001

Bé gba kpáleya é yí, nèn do é à dε
 DEM garden/field put-PERF-NOM ART in child one ART 3sgPOSS father

le yàà wi é dε.
 PRES be-PAST animal ART kill

'In this garden-planting story, the father of a certain child is the one who used to kill the animals.'

Ref: du 002

À dε wi é dε zeklee, wi lá yàà dε,
 3sgPOSS father animal ART kill much animal RELpn be-PAST kil

Be à ngb1o é, yée a pelè bé lé.
 there/then 3sgPOSS head ART VIP OBJ give-PERF DEM by/to

'His father kills the animals a lot; the animal he used to kill, he gave its head to his son.'

Ref: du 003

Ké yée ge bé òléle gba la.
 and VIP go DEM eat-IRREAL garden/field in

'And he (i.e. the son) goes to eat it in the garden.'

Ref: du 004

Yée ò gba é bé ba ké à dε gba é
 VIP be garden/field ART DEM to/in and 3sgPOSS father garden/field ART

kpáà.
 put-PAST

'He is in the garden and his father planted it.'

Ref: du 005

Ké yée ò gba é ba wátí lá yí, ké è ò
 when VIP be garden/field ART to/in moment RELpn in and 3sg be

fe yì kpá zí.
 mound in put PROG

'When he is in the garden he is hoeing the mounds.'

Ref: du 006

Ké à dɛ ge wi é dɛlɛ: klá mu oo, du
and 3sgPOSS father go animal ART kill-IRREAL stag PL water.buffalo

mu oo, wi é kpén.

PL animal ART all

'And his father goes to kill some animals, stags, water buffalo, all kinds of animals.'

Ref: du 007

Ké ò kélá dià bɛ ngɔlo bɛ lè ge yée ni
and 3pl REL_{pn} kill-PAST DEM head DEM PRES go VIP to

gba la ye yée bɛ ɓle.

garden/field in there VIP DEM eat

'And whatever they killed, it's the head of this one that goes to the boy there in the garden and he eats it.'

Ref: du 008

Yée wi ngɔlo yélà ɓle zí tánhí.

VIP animal head that eat PROG always

'He always eats that head.'

Ref: du 009

Béè du é, è nàà du é bèbè
and water.buffalo ART 3sg too.much water.buffalo ART much/many

là dɛlè.

DEM kill-PERF

'And the water buffalo, he killed way too many of them.'

Ref: du 010

Bé du é, bɛè bɛ do pùèlà à ta.

DEM water.buffalo ART and DEM one go.out-PAST OBJ on

'This water buffalo, and one of these went to him (i.e. the boy).'

Ref: du 011

Bon! ɓé pe ɓé ò yée gbú delè, dɔɔ ɓéè ɓé pe
 INTERJ DEM speak/say DEM be VIP self kill-PERF that and DEM speak/say
 à ni dɔɔ ń ɓégonɔn nèn, ń púclà wóà gè ɓe,
 OBJ to that lsgPOSS friend-boy small lsg go.out-PAST since here so
 é dɛ a wi ɲgɓlo mu é dɔɔ ò tó nɔ́o ń ni.
 2sg father POSS animal head PL ART that 3plPOSS name tell lsg to
 ‘Okay, he says he (the father) killed him himself (the buffalo???) and he says “My little brother, since
 I’ve gone out here, then your father’s animal heads, tell me their names.”’

Ref: du 012

Ò tó é ɓe ò kpén séé tó kán.
 3plPOSS name ART so 3pl all all name make
 “So say all of their names.”

Ref: du 013

Ké yáá ò tó kánlɛ mí é dɛ zí.
 if 2sg-NEG 3plPOSS name make-IRREAL lsgEMPH 2sg kill PROG
 “If you don’t say all of them I’m killing you.”

Ref: du 014

ɓéè è ɓé yáa gban du é lé ɓe.
 and 3sg DEM see-PAST already water.buffalo ART PRES so
 ‘And so he (i.e. the boy) already saw this, that it was the buffalo.’

Ref: du 015

ɓéè ɓé à gɓɛ kpaà loonèn ɲgɓlo ta.
 then DEM 2sg arm/foreleg put-PAST hare head on
 ‘Then he (i.e. the buffalo) put his foreleg on the head of a hare.’

Ref: du 016

ɓé pe mɛ ɲgɓlo lè gè éè?
 DEM speak/say what head PRES here INTER
 ‘He says, “What kind of head is this?”’

Ref: du 017

Ké è à pelè loonèn ngblo lè b́é lé.
 and 3sg OBJ speak/say-PERF hare head PRES DEM PRES
 'And he (i.e. the boy) said, "This is the head of a hare."'

Ref: du 018

Bé à gbε kpaà wi é do ngblo ta.
 DEM 2sg arm/foreleg put-PAST animal ART one head on
 'He (i.e. the buffalo) put his foreleg on the head of this certain animal.'

Ref: du 019

Béè è pe zààn ngblo lè b́é lé.
 and 3sg speak/say gazelle head PRES DEM PRES
 'And he (i.e. the boy) said "This is the head of a gazelle."'

Ref: du 020

Béè b́é à gbε tiàn wi é do ta.
 and DEM 2sg arm/foreleg reach-PAST animal ART one on
 'Then he (i.e. the buffalo) reached over to this certain animal.'

Ref: du 021

È pe zro ngblo lè b́é lé.
 3sg speak/say giraffe head PRES DEM PRES
 'He (i.e. the boy) says, "This is a giraffe's head."'

Ref: du 022

Bé à gbε kpaà wi é do ta.
 DEM 2sg arm/foreleg put-PAST animal ART one on
 'The buffalo put his foreleg on this certain animal.'

Ref: du 023

È pe dɔɔ gbaan ngblo lè b́é lé.
 3sg speak/say that monkey head PRES DEM PRES
 'He (i.e. the boy) says, "This is the head of a monkey."'

Ref: du 024

Bé à gbe kpaà wi é do ta.
DEM 3sgPOSS arm/foreleg put-PAST animal ART one on
'The buffalo put his foreleg on this certain animal.'

Ref: du 025

È pe doo klá ngblo lè bé lé.
3sg speak/say that stag head PRES DEM PRES
'He (i.e. the boy) says, "This is the head of a stag."

Ref: du 026

Béè è à gbe tiàn wi é do ta.
and 3sg 3sgPOSS arm/foreleg reach-PAST animal ART one on
'Then he (i.e. the buffalo) reached over to this certain animal.'

Ref: du 027

È pe doo grò ngblo lè bé lé.
3sg speak/say that white.stag head PRES DEM PRES
'He (i.e. the boy) says, "This is the head of a white stag."

Ref: du 028

Béè è à gbe tiàn ngblo do ta.
and 3sg 3sgPOSS arm/foreleg reach-PAST head one on
'Then he (i.e. the buffalo) reached over to a certain head.'

Ref: du 029

È pe doo broo ngblo lè bé lé.
3sg speak/say that bush.rat head PRES DEM PRES
'He (i.e. the boy) says, "This is the head of a bush rat."

Ref: du 030

Béè è tiàn té yée du gbú a
and 3sg reach-PAST finally VIP water.buffalo self POSS

pe ngblo é ma.
thing/something head ART on
'Then at last he reached the head of a buffalo itself.'

Ref: du 031

Ḃèè Ḃé pe dḡḡ à kélá gè léε?
 and DEM speak/say that OBJ REL_{pn} here INTER
 'And he says, "This one which is here?"'

Ref: du 032

Ḃèè è pe dḡḡ áh! dḡḡ náá Ḃé tó dḡ.
 and 3sg speak/say that oh that 1sg-NEG DEM name know
 'And he (i.e. the boy) says, "Oh, I don't know the name of this one."'

Ref: du 033

Ḃé pe à bataba lá gè léε?
 DEM speak/say OBJ flat REL_{pn} here INTER
 'And he (i.e. the buffalo) says, "This flat one which is here?"'

Ref: du 034

Èè pe dḡḡ náá Ḃé tó dḡ.
 3sg speak/say that 1sg-NEG DEM name know
 'He (i.e. the boy) says, "I don't know the name of this one."'

Ref: du 035

Ḃèè Ḃé pe èè! dḡḡ ké yáá Ḃé tó dḡ à
 and DEM speak/say INTERJ that if 2sg-NEG DEM name know OBJ

Iròkpá é dε kóó.
 ask 2sg father to
 'Then he (i.e. the buffalo) says, "If you don't know the name of this one, ask your father."'

Ref: du 036

Ménen! áh! yée nùà ké è Ḃé pélé à
 my.friend INTERJ VIP come-PAST and 3sg DEM say-PERF 3sgPOSS

dε ni.
 father to
 'Oh, my friend, he came and he told his father.'

Ref: du 037

Ké à de á pélé èè! bon! dɔɔ tootoo ní gbú
and 3sgPOSS father OBJ speak/say-PERF INTERJ okay that tomorrow 1sg self

ò ge zí ye.

be go PROG there

'And his father said, "Okay! Tomorrow I'm going there myself."

Ref: du 038

Ké wi mu kpén séé, ké è à pià é ni, ké
when animal PL all all when 3sg OBJ speak/say-PAST 2sg to when

è à pià é mú tó dɔ, ké è tiàn à
3sg OBJ speak/say-PAST 2sg 3pl name know when 3sg reach-PAST 3sgPOSS

gbú ngblo é ma, à pe dɔɔ du ngblo lè kélè.
self head ART on OBJ speak/say that water buffalo head PRES PRES

"When all the animals, when he says to you, when he says that you know their names, when he reaches his own head, say this is the head of a buffalo."

Ref: du 039

Ké è à pià è é dɛlè ße ké ní yòò
if 3sg OBJ speak/say-PAST 3sg 2sg kill-PERF then and 1sg be

à de zí àman mànfá é lé.

OBJ kill PROG INTERJ gun ART with

"If he says he'll kill you, then I'm killing him for sure with the gun."

Ref: du 040

Ḃé Ḃé a pe kààlá káàn ò yaàyrɛ é
DEM DEM POSS thing/something sitting.place cut-PAST 3plPOSS sit-place ART

dìn; Ḃé yálaá Ḃé nòò.

next.to DEM sit-PAST DEM place

'He cleared a place to sit near where they sit (in the garden) and he sat down there.'

Ref: du 041

Ḃé é gànnà Ḃé nòò tyé.

DEM 2sg hide-PAST DEM place still/quietly

'He hid himself quietly in this place.'

Ref: du 042

Béè nèn é 6é yáklà ò 6é gbú zà lé.
 and child ART DEM attention-PAST be DEM self affairs to
 'And this child watches over himself.'

Ref: du 043

Bé pe ñ ... dóké ñ de gblànlé à lè oo.
 DEM speak/say lsg maybe lsg father be.afraid-PERF OBJ before
 'He says, "My ... maybe my father will be afraid of him."

Ref: du 044

Du do kpó é, è pe, è púelé wátí óó
 water.buffalo one solitary ART 3sg speak/say 3sg go.out-PERF moment

wátí lá yí, sranèn gbánsán, sranèn fé gbánsán
 moment RELpn in weaver.bird many weaver.bird house many

à wiìn gèé wòkòò.

3sgPOSS hair/head like.this appearance.of.nests.on.buffalo's.head
 'This particular buffalo, he says, he went out, at that moment, there were a lot of weaver birds, a lot of weaver bird nests on his head.'

Ref: du 045

À wiìn sranèn mu é, ké mú ge sílelé
 3sgPOSS hair/head weaver.bird PL ART and 3pl go fly-INF

gèé gbìì ké mú klaláá.

like.this manner.of.flying and 3pl fell-PAST
 'The weaver birds on his head, and they go flying like this and they fall down.'

Ref: du 046

Ké mú si ké mú klaláá.

and 3pl fly and 3pl fall-PAST
 'And they fly and they fall down.'

Ref: du 047

Áh! yée nèn goná nèn yée gbú yaàle ò, à ganlélé,
 INTERJ VIP small male.person old VIP self sit-PERF be OBJ hide-INF
 be du é púelà gban à nèn é
 there/then water.buffalo ART go.out-PAST already 3sgPOSS child ART
 zi.
 around/at/in
 ‘Oh, the little old man sat down to hide himself, and the buffalo already went to his son.’

Ref: du 048

Yée gblànnà du é léé gban.
 VIP fear-PAST water.buffalo ART before already
 ‘He was already afraid of the buffalo.’

Ref: du 049

Ké ɓé á pélé m̀è ng̀blo lè gè èè?
 and DEM OBJ speak/say-PERF what head PRES here INTER
 ‘And he (i.e. the buffalo) said, “What kind of head is this?”

Ref: du 050

Bé wi mu é kpén ng̀blo é tó nónà, tó káàn ɓé
 DEM animal PL ART all head ART name tell-PAST name make-PAST DEM
 ni.
 to
 ‘He (i.e. the boy) told him the names of all the animals, he said the names to him.’

Ref: du 051

Ké ɓé á pélé doo Bon! à kélá gè ná à
 and DEM OBJ speak/say-PERF that okay OBJ RELpn here ??? OBJ
 dèlè ɓé lé èè?
 INTER DEM PRES INTER
 ‘And he (i.e. the buffalo) said, “Okay, what is this one here?”

Ref: du 052

Bé le ké du ngblo è lé.
 DEM PRES and water.buffalo head ART PRES
 'And this was the buffalo head.'

Ref: du 053

Áh! nèn é, bé à yré kpá wátí oo wátí lá yí, yée
 INTERJ child ART DEM 3sgPOSS eye put moment moment RELpn in VIP

gbú à gbo woà gban pe é yí ye.
 self 3sgPOSS excrement make-PAST already thing/something ART in there
 'Ah! he (i.e. the boy), he looked around at that moment, and he (i.e. the father) had gone to relieve himself.'

Ref: du 054

È gblànnà gban.
 3sg fear-PAST already
 'He was already afraid.'

Ref: du 055

È à zànta doà gban.
 3sg 3sgPOSS back put-PAST already
 'He already went away.'

Ref: du 056

Nèn é bé pe doo náá bé tó do.
 child ART DEM speak/say that 1sg-NEG DEM name know
 'He (i.e. the boy) says "I don't know the name of this one."

Ref: du 057

Béè bé pe doo yáá tó do ná?
 and DEM speak/say that 2sg-NEG name know then/so
 'And he (i.e. the buffalo) says, "So you don't know the name?"'

Ref: du 058

Náá péle doo é á lròkpa é de ma
 1sg-NEG speak/say-IRREAL that 2sg OBJ ask 2sg father on

εè?

INTER

"Didn't I tell you to ask your father?"

Ref: du 059

Èè! dúun too ké ní núà oo, ké ní núà
 INTERJ but tomorrow when 1sg come-PAST when 1sg come-PAST

toolà, be yáá tó doà oo yáá á
 tomorrow then 2sg-NEG name know-PAST 2sg-NEG OBJ

tó do laa oo ké mí é de zí.
 name know NEG and 1sgEMPH 2sg kill PROG

"Okay, but tomorrow when I come, when I come tomorrow, then if you don't know the name, if you don't know its name, I'm killing you."

Ref: du 060

Bgonson! è gele è wlale gèé è wi éké mu
 friend-boy 3sg go-PERF 3sg arrive-PERF like.this 3sg animal other PL

dià.

kill-PAST

'Friend! He (i.e. the father) went, he arrived like this, he killed some more animals.'

Ref: du 061

Bé ng6lo é núà nèn é kóó ézìṅ gba la.
 DEM head ART bring-PAST child ART to again garden/field in
 'He brought the head again to his son in the garden.'

Ref: du 062

Bé klɛle bé too é klíṅà.
 DEM do-PERF DEM tomorrow ART make-PAST
 'This being so, the day ended.'

Ref: du 063

Ké ɓé nɛn á pélé dɔɔ tyíɓó é ní nɛn é
and DEM mother OBJ speak/say-PERF that INTERJ 2sg 1sg child ART

tóà du é kóó éè?
leave-PAST water.buffalo ART to INTER
'And the boy's mother said, "Hey! You left my son with the buffalo?"

Ref: du 064

Dɔɔ kádɔɔ toolà ɓe mí gbú ò ge zí.
that then tomorrow then 1sgEMPH self be go PROG
"Then tomorrow I'm going there myself."

Ref: du 065

Ké ɓé wlìn nɛn é sílé.
and DEM pestle small ART take-PERF
'And she took the small pestle.'

Ref: du 066

Ɓé jà yaàɛ ézìŋ yée yaàyre do è nóò.
DEM go-PAST sit-IRREAL again VIP sit-place one ART place
'She went to sit there in this one particular place where her son stays.'

Ref: du 067

Ɓéè è pe ... du é púélà ézìŋ è
and 3sg speak/say water.buffalo ART go.out-PAST again 3sg

pe nɛn é ni dɔɔ wi ŋɔɓlo mu léè?
speak/say child ART to that animal head PL INTER
'And he said ... the water buffalo went out again, he says to him (i.e. the boy), "What kind of heads are these?"

Ref: du 068

Ɓé pe wi ŋɔɓlo mu léè ní mú kpén tó dɔ.
DEM speak/say animal head PL here 1sg 3pl all name know
'He (i.e. the boy) says, "The animal heads here, I know the names of all of them."

Ref: du 069

À do kpó lèè náá 6é é tó do.
 OBJ one solitary here 1sg-NEG DEM ART name know
 "There's only one here that I don't know."

Ref: du 070

Béè è pe doo kádoo é pe yáá 6é tó do.
 then/next 3sg speak/say that therefore 2sg speak/say 2sg-NEG DEM name know
 'He (i.e. the buffalo) said, "So you say you don't know the name of this one."

Ref: du 071

É yáa gè é á pià zòn ké yáá pélc
 2sg be-PAST here 2sg OBJ speak/say-PAST today if 2sg-NEG speak/say-IRREAL

mí é de zí.
 1sgEMPH 2sg kill PROG
 'When you were here, you said it (i.e. that you didn't know the name); today if you don't say it I myself am killing you.'

Ref: du 073

È à yrè kpá ... ìííì zònlá 6é à wlìn nèn é
 3sg 3sgPOSS eye put today DEM 3sgPOSS pestle small ART

blinle; 6é jìlà gban wà la.
 throw-PERF DEM leave-PAST already village to/from
 'He looked around ... ìííì...today she threw her small pestle; she left already for the village.'

Ref: du 074

Bé gblànnè du è lé.
 DEM fear-PAST water.buffalo ART before
 'She was afraid of the buffalo.'

Ref: du 075

À naàgonen nèn do ò ye.
 3sgPOSS little.brother small one be there
 'His one little brother is there.'

Ref: du 076

Yée nèn lá ò gba é ta ɓe, yaa pe
VIP child RELpn be garden/field ART on there/then VIP-POSS thing/something

nuàgonɛn nèn do ò wà la
little.brother small one be village in
'The boy who is in the garden, his one little brother is in the village.'

Ref: du 077

Gbòlòkó kpále ò ɓé ma.
chicken.pox put-PERF be DEM on
'He had chicken pox.'

Ref: du 078

Ɔéè ɓé pe doo nàwé toolà ɓe
and DEM speak/say that big.brother tomorrow there/then

mí ò ge zí.
lsgEMPH be go PROG
'He said, "Big brother, tomorrow I'm going."'

Ref: du 079

Ɔé ɓé a sáɓɛ mu yààná sáɓɛ mu ɓɛ yáánà
DEM DEM POSS arrow PL make-PAST arrow PL DEM make-PAST

tríiii ...
IDEOPH
'He made his arrows, his arrows, he made them triiii...'

Ref: du 080

Sá lá ké ò à kle gèé ɓéè ò à bo ɓéè
arrow RELpn and 3pl OBJ do/make like.this and 3pl OBJ put and

ò ɓɛle nèn kle ɓéè ò à blin ɓe.
3pl cord small do/make and 3pl OBJ throw so
'An arrow which, and they make it like this and they put it and they make a small cord and so they throw it.'

Ref: du 081

Bé bé sábe yààná.
 DEM DEM arrow make-PAST
 'He made this arrow.'

Ref: du 082

Béè bé pe dɔɔ too ó ge.
 and DEM speak/say that tomorrow lpl go
 'And he said, "Tomorrow we go."

Ref: du 083

À tó kán too.
 3sgPOSS name make tomorrow
 "Say its name tomorrow."

Ref: du 084

È bí dɛlè yɛ lá nóò è mí dɛ bé
 3sg 2sg(emphatic) kill-PERF place RELpn place 3sg lsgEMPH kill DEM
 nóò.
 place
 "(If) he kills you in that place, he kills me in that place."

Ref: du 085

Ménɛn! ké bé gelè.
 my.friend and DEM go-PERF
 'My friend! and he went.'

Ref: du 086

Bé è gànà à dɛ gaan yɛ nóò.
 DEM 3sg hide-PAST 3sgPOSS father hide place place
 'He hid himself in his father's hiding place.'

Ref: du 087

Ké yée du do è púelé ké è à
and VIP water.buffalo one ART go.out-PERF and 3sg OBJ

pelè dɔɔ ézìŋ mè ŋɔɔlò lè gè éè?
speak/say-PERF that again what head PRES here INTER
'And he, this particular buffalo, he went out and he said again, "What kind of head is this?"

Ref: du 088

Béè nèn é bé bé kpén séé tó kààn.
and child ART DEM DEM all all name make-PAST
'And the boy, he said all their names.'

Ref: du 089

Bé yaà bé kpá ké sró là lè.
DEM be-PAST DEM put and song PRES with
'He said them in a song.'

Ref: du 090

Mais ké án pià n bé sró kpálé sán
but if OBJ-lsg speak/say-PAST lsg DEM song put-PERF begin

Be bé ge mòlelé, bé zéé lè.
then DEM go last-INF DEM reason PRES
'But if I sang this song it would take too long, that's why (I'm not singing it).'

Ref: du 091

Béè bé tiàn yée gbú ŋɔɔlò è ma du ŋɔɔlò
and DEM reach-PAST VIP self head ART on water.buffalo head

è ma.
ART on
'And he reached the buffalo head itself, the buffalo head.'

Ref: du 092

N bé do è kpálé sró lé gè.
lsg DEM one ART put-PERF song PRES here
'I'll sing this one song here.'

Ref: du 093

Béè bé pe à ni ... ò nèn é gbú sii té Yànga ...
and DEM speak/say OBJ to 3pl child ART self call in.fact Yànga ...

béè bé pe à ni doo Yànga, mu kùŋle oo
and DEM speak/say OBJ to that Yànga what kind.of.head (Dioula loan words)

doo mèlà ngblo lè gè éè?

that INTER head PRES here INTER

'And he says to him ... the boy was named Yànga ... and he (i.e. the buffalo) says to him, "Yànga, what kind of head is this, what kind of head is this here?"

Ref: du 094

Béè è pe yàyà sèkumaze.

and 3sg speak/say it's the head of a buffalo (Dioula loan words)

'And he (i.e. the boy) says, "It's the head of a buffalo."

Ref: du 095

Béè bé pe doo ní pe mèlà ngblo lè éè?

and DEM speak/say that lsg speak/say what(obj) head PRES INTER

'And he (i.e. the buffalo) says, "I say, what kind of head this is?"

Ref: du 096

Yée pe doo mí pe du ngblo lè.

VIP speak/say that lsgEMPH speak/say water.buffalo head PRES

'And he says, "And I say it's the head of a buffalo."

Ref: du 097

È bé pià gèé wòònén du ngblo lè.

3sg DEM speak/say-PAST like.this softly water.buffalo head PRES

'He said very softly like this, "It's the head of a buffalo."

Ref: du 098

Bé pe é pe mè ngblo lè.

DEM speak/say 2sg speak/say what head PRES

'The buffalo says, "You say what kind of head this is."

Ref: du 099

Áh! è pe è ɓé plɛ mi é pélé... ɓegonɛn!
 INTERJ 3sg speak/say 3sg DEM two time ART speak/say-PERF friend-boy

ké du è pe ... è à yrè kpá nèn é ta,
 when water.buffalo 3sg speak/say 3sg 3sgPOSS eye put child ART on

ké nn ... ɓé nuàgonɛn nèn é ɓé yáale
 and DEM little.brother small ART DEM sit-PERF

káálá yí ɓe gaan yrɛ noò ɓe, ké ɓé sá é zonlè
 sitting.place in there hide place place there and DEM arrow ART strike-PERF

à yrè ba.
 3sgPOSS eye to/in

'Oh, he says, he said it these two times, friend! and the buffalo says ... he looks around at the child, and ... this little brother, this one seated there in the sitting place, there in the hiding place, and his arrow struck him (i.e. the buffalo) in the eye.'

Ref: du 100

Ké è à nyi glù dolè ɓé nóò gèé ké è à
 and 3sg POSS nose hole put-PERF DEM place like.this and 3sg OBJ

pele doo mèlè ...
 speak/say-PERF that INTER

'And he lifted up his nostrils there like this and he said "What...?"

Ref: du 101

Ké ɓé á zonlè à nyi glù é zi ké ɓé á ngɓlo
 and DEM OBJ strike-PERF 3sgPOSS nose hole ART in and DEM 3sgPOSS head

é pónlé.
 ART pierce-PERF

'And he struck it in its nostril and pierced its head.'

Ref: du 103

Áh! dààwàà ké è baàlé.
 INTERJ IDEOPH and 3sg fall-PERF

'Ah! it fell, bam!'

Ref: du 104

Ké ɓé á zonlè à ta ké ɓé á zonlè à ta.
 and DEM OBJ strike-PERF OBJ on and DEM OBJ strike-PERF OBJ on
 'And he (i.e. the child) struck it and struck it (i.e. with the arrows).'

Ref: du 105

Bé a sáɓe ké ɓé á dɛlè ɓé lé.
 DEM POSS arrow and DEM OBJ kill-PERF DEM with
 'His arrow, and he killed it with this.'

Ref: du 106

Begonen! à dɛ gblànnà, à nèn gblànnà.
 friend-boy POSS father fear-PAST 3sgPOSS mother fear-PAST
 'Friend! His father was afraid, his mother was afraid.'

Ref: du 107

Ké é á yíà é nèn é yaà, ké nèn ké
 and 2sg OBJ see-PAST 2sg child ART give.birth.to-PAST and child other

sólè yíya ɓé dɛ ni ɓe, ké nèn ké sólè
 be.capable-PERF SUP DEM father to so and child other be.capable-PERF

yíya ɓé nèn ni ɓe.

SUP DEM mother to so

'And you've seen it, you've given birth to a child, and one child was more capable than his father and another child was more capable than his mother.'

Ref: du 108

Bé dalè yɾɛ lá nóò ɓé lè ɓe.

DEM come-PERF place RELpn place DEM PRES so

'So that's where this comes from.'

Ref: du 109

Nèn é ké yaa a klɛɛ bi ké du é
 child ART if 3sg-NEG OBJ do/make-IRREAL ? and water.buffalo ART

ké à naàgonɛn nèn é dià.
 and 3sgOBJ little.brother child ART kill-PAST

'If the child hadn't done it, the buffalo would have killed his brother.'

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