

The Participant Reference System in Kusaal Narrative Discourse

MA Degree in Field Linguistics, Centre for Linguistics, Translation & Literacy, Redcliffe

Urs Niggli, May 2014

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Abstract

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This study analyses the participant identification system of six narrative texts in the Kusaal language as spoken in the south of Burkina Faso.

Kusaal has a system of identifying participants within a narrative which uses referring expressions like noun phrases, pronouns and even zero reference slots. The study of discourse grammar allows us to discover in what contexts a Kusaal narrative text uses these linguistic devices to identify participants. Besides discovering the default encodings for participant references, we have also to consider participant ranking (major, minor and props) and various discourse operations affecting participant reference. These discourse operations take into consideration how reference to a participant is influenced by factors like initial mention within a story, episode boundaries, restaging of a participant after an absence, confrontation and role change.

The approach to participant reference in this study is based on two complementary methods. First, Dooley and Levinsohn's (1999) methodology is used to discern sequential participant reference patterns in terms of default encodings in eight different environments. Secondly, Longacre & Hwang's (2012) discourse operations methodology is used to explain marked encodings. The combination of these two methodologies revealed useful insights and enabled me to describe default coding strategies and to discover discourse features that explain non-default coding strategies for participant reference.

DECLARATION

This dissertation is the product of my own work.

**I declare also that the dissertation is available for photocopying,
reference purposes and Inter-Library Loan.**

Urs Niggli

PREFACE

Over the past four years I have worked on analysing the structure of the Kusaal language spoken in Burkina Faso. I worked out a preliminary phonology and a basic grammar of Burkina Kusaal; both write-ups are in French. I also worked on 30 Kusaal texts (see Appendix 2) and on more than 200 proverbs. As I studied those texts and proverbs, I was steadily feeding new words into my Kusaal dictionary that by now counts over 5300 entries. With the results of this research and with the help of Élie Wangré and Martin Souga, both Kusaal speakers and translators of the New Testament into Kusaal, I then edited an orthography guide for Kusaal and a primer for the first Kusaal literacy classes, which began in 2011. With the help of several Kusaal speakers, I edited a number of post-alpha literacy books¹.

As I was looking through some passages of the Gospels translated into Kusaal to date, I noticed that the translators often simply imitated the French version they translated from. When the French text used a pronoun, the Kusaal translators also used a pronoun and when the French text used a noun phrase, the Kusaal translation also expressed it with a noun phrase. Of course, one can do this kind of copying the structure of the source text, but is it still a text that sounds natural? Is it still clear and easy to follow for a native Kusaal speaker who is not familiar with French or another foreign language? I doubt it, and that is why I wanted to study how a natural Kusaal narrative text refers to participants to see where Kusaal uses noun phrases and where it uses pronouns or even a zero anaphora.

The results of this study will help towards a clearer understanding for naturalness in Kusaal texts, both translated as well as those written directly in Kusaal. I hope that these results can also guide authors and translators by making

¹ All of these documents can be downloaded as PDF files at [http:// www.Kassena-Ninkarse.org/burkina-faso/livres-langue-kusaal.html](http://www.Kassena-Ninkarse.org/burkina-faso/livres-langue-kusaal.html)

them aware of the various reference encodings in different contexts. To my knowledge very little has been written on participant reference in Gur languages, so this study adds to the knowledge in Gur language research in general, and for Kusaal in particular (see 1.2 and 1.3).

Firstly I would like to thank my wife, Idda, for her support and encouragement during the drafting of this dissertation. Secondly I wish to thank my thesis supervisor in Burkina Faso, Lukas Neukom, for his mentoring commitment in providing guidance through this process and giving insightful feedback. I also particularly thank my professor and supervisor, Howard Jackson, for his excellent teaching on Discourse Analysis and for his helpful suggestions and comments.

I am grateful for all the help of the Kusaal storytellers and African Kusaal colleagues for sharing their knowledge of their language and insights in their culture with me. Obviously, without them this research could not have been done.

Finally, I wish to thank God for his grace, strength and perseverance to keep me going as I worked on the Kusaal language in general, and on this analysis and writing in particular.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADV	adverb
ALL	allative
AUX	auxiliary
COMP	complementizer
COP	copula
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DM	development marker
EMPH	emphatic pronoun
FOC	focus
FUT	future
IMP	imperative
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
NEG	negation
PFV	perfective
pl.	plural
PoD	point of departure
PAST	remote past
sg.	singular
STV	stative verb
¶	paragraph boundary
+	plus morpheme attached
∅	zero reference

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I.1 Data and scope of the research

The primary data for this research consist of six oral narrative texts in Kusaal, told by five different native speakers. After having recorded the texts, I transcribed them with the help of the authors themselves or with the help of Kobena Waré, a university student and mother tongue speaker of Kusaal. My main assistants in collecting and transcribing the data were Elie Wangré, Kobena Waré and Martin Souga. I then reviewed the texts with either the story teller or with another Kusaal language helper to eliminate typographical errors and obvious mistakes. The transcribed texts were then given to several Kusaasi speakers to read and suggest improvements to the quality of the transcriptions. I am very grateful to these readers for all the help they gave me and for the suggestions they made. For example, Text A was read and revised during a meeting with over 25 people present who took part in the discussions and corrections made to the text.

The corpus² I collected over the past three years consists of 30 texts. Some of the texts are quite short, about half a page, while others are several pages long. Some are historically true narratives, while others are fictional. Some are told in third person while others are in first person. Stories in the third person narrative category have been the primary focus of my research, though examples have also been taken from the other categories, where appropriate.

² see Appendix 2

Before analysing these texts, I provided interlinear glosses under each word of the texts and charted the constituents of every clause with the SIL software called 'FLEx'³. I transcribed the texts according to the official orthography⁴ used in the Kusaal area; this implies also that tone is not written in spite of the fact that it can carry some lexical and grammatical meaning. Where tone is crucial in the analysis, however, it is pointed out. I have used abbreviated grammatical notions as explained on page 11 for most particles and bound morphemes. The collection, transcription and analysis of these Kusaal texts gave me a greater insight into the language and culture of the Kusaasi. The understanding of Kusaasi values was greatly enhanced by the 230 Kusaal proverbs I was able to write down; I was also given an explanation of their meaning and context of use.

Levinsohn (2012, p.12) suggests that the discourse analyst should include some folktales, such as animal stories, in the corpus. Folktales or traditional stories may use different structures and patterns than personal narrative accounts. To see the whole range of participant reference in Kusaal narrative texts I chose a mixture of folktales and personal accounts to get a complete picture. I agree with Isaac that 'traditional stories may be more polished and planned out than spontaneous, personal narrative' (2007, p.4). On the other hand, I also agree with Levinsohn, who states: 'It is important to analyse narratives that concern incidents which are NOT generally known to the audience' (2012, p.121).

³ FLEx (FieldWorks Language Explorer) is a program for dictionary compilation and text analysis.

⁴ see Appendix 1

1.2 Kusaasi people and Kusaal language

The Kusaasi people originate from Ghana, and a group of them settled in present-day Burkina Faso around the year 1800. The vast majority of Kusaasi live in Ghana (about 335,000 speakers in 1997), with only about 17,000 speakers in Burkina Faso (Berthelette, 2001, p.6).

The 22 Burkina Kusaasi villages are all found in the south-central province of Boulougou (see map on page 16). There is a long dry season from October to May, and a rainy season from June to September. About 80% of the Kusaasi are subsistence farmers, drawing their livelihood from agriculture (millet, rice, ground nuts, sweet corn and beans) and livestock (cows, goats, sheep, chicken, guinea fowls and donkeys). Quite a few Kusaasi are traders and in recent years many have started to work in goldmines in their area. In the dry season, many young people go to Ghana, mostly to work on the big plantations to earn money, and then they come home at the beginning of the rainy season to work on their own farms.



Figure 1: Location of the Kusaal speaking area in Burkina Faso and Ghana (Google Maps)

The great majority—about 84%—of the Kusaasi practice their African traditional religion; about 12% are Christians and about 4% Muslims (Steinborn, 2003, p.10). There is great religious tolerance between the different adherents of those three religions.

Kusaal is classified as follows: ‘Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Gur, Central, Northern, Oti-Volta, Western, Southeast, Kusaal’ (Lewis et al. 2013). The language is most closely related to Dagbani and Mampruli (Naden, 1989, p.145), but is also closely related to Frafra (also known by the names Ninkare⁵ or Gurune/Gurenne) and Mooré. According to Prost, the similarity to Mooré is great (1979, p.2). I have adapted the following language family tree from Naden (1989, pp.144-5) and the Ethnologue (Lewis et al., 2013).

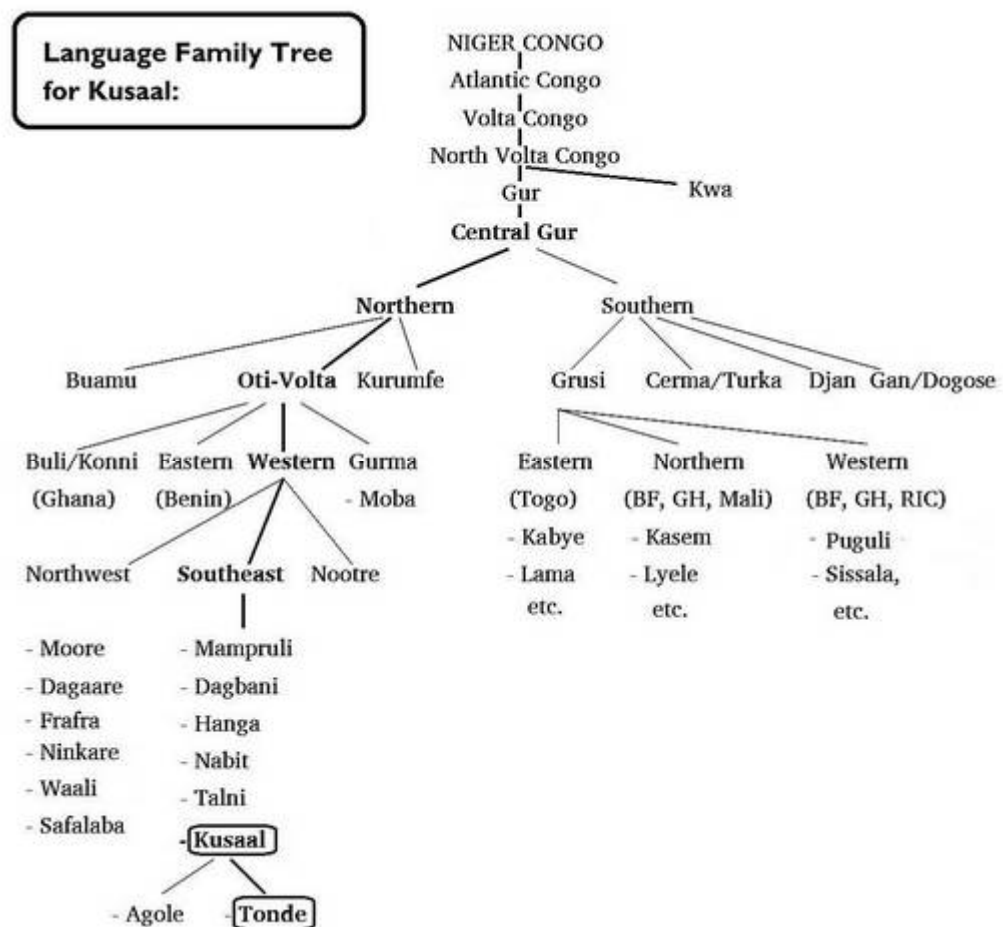


Figure 2: Kusaal language family tree, by Urs Niggli

⁵ I was engaged in the Ninkare language development program of SIL in Burkina from 1996 to 2004.



Figure 3: Map of Burkina Kusaasi Area (yellow boundary), by Urs Niggli

Kusaal has two main dialects: The “Eastern Kusaal” dialect, also called the “Agole” Kusaal spoken in Ghana only, in the Eastern part of the Kusaal area. The “Western Kusaal” dialect also called the “Tonde” Kusaal spoken in the Western area of the Kusaal Country in Ghana and across the border in Burkina Faso. Naden says that they are ‘rather distinct dialects’ (1986, p.258). Berthelette states in his survey report about Kusaal that the cognate similarity between Tonde and Agole is 84 % (2001, p.18). All texts in this dissertation are in the Tonde dialect of Burkina Faso. A phonology and syntax summary can be found in Appendix I.

1.3 Previous language work on Kusaal

A number of studies on the Kusaal language have been produced; however, the majority deal with the Agole and not with the Tonde that is described in the present study. None of these studies goes beyond the sentence level:

- Funke (1922) published a Kusaal wordlist in German (11 pages).
- David and Nancy Spratt, who began their work with the Kusaasi people in 1962 with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and later Ghana Institute of Linguistics Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT), published *The Phonology of Kusal* (1968) 154 pages, and *Kusal Syntax* (1972) 78 pages. Both write-ups are more a sketch than a detailed phonology or grammar of the language. They also published some books in Kusaal for literacy, and translated the New Testament into Kusaal.
- Prost (1979) published *Le Kusaal* (168 pages). He describes the Burkina Tonde dialect, but his phonology notes are only nine pages long, and he does not write anything about tone.
- Naden has collected a word list with vocabulary mostly from the Eastern Kusaal dialect (I got an electronic copy of his FLEx dictionary with 3,556 entries in 2012).
- From 1998 to 2010, Mike and Kathy Steinborn, working with SIL Burkina Faso, carried out comprehension testing to determine the need for language development in Burkina Kusaal, and began linguistic data collection. They greatly motivated the Kusaasi to develop their language by training a number of them to help collect linguistic data by working as a team in research and filling in wordlists. I got Steinborn's Toolbox dictionary with about 1,800 entries. He was

caught up by other responsibilities, so in March 2010, I was assigned to continue the work he had begun.

- More recently two Ghanaian Kusaal mother-tongue scholars from the Eastern Kusaal area have published their Master's thesis on Eastern Kusaal: in 2010 Agoswin (2010) wrote a thesis *Aspects of Kusaal Phonology* (155 pages) which he submitted to the University of Ghana, Legon, and Abubakari (2011), a Kusaasi woman, wrote a thesis entitled *Object-sharing as Symmetric Sharing: Predicate Clefting and Serial Verb Constructions in Kusaal* (101 pages) at the University of Tromsø in Norway.

In addition to these linguistic studies, a number of reports on dialect surveys have been written by Berthelette (2001) and Steinborn (2003). Some information about Kusaal is also to be found in Naden (1989), writing on Gur languages in general, and in Manessy (1979), writing on Oti-Volta languages.

None of the above studies goes beyond sentence level, so questions about different aspects of text organisation remain to be described. One of these aspects is participant reference—how various words are used to refer to people, animals or things in a text.

I.4 Objectives of the research

The main objectives of this research work are as follows:

- a. To provide an overview of the resources for participant references in Kusaal (chapter 3). Kusaal has many forms of reference that are used for this purpose (e.g., noun phrases, pronouns, zero anaphora). With all these possibilities of participant reference, how does the speaker choose which form to use in a given place of a text?

- b. To give an account of the sequential default coding values for various situations in which there is no great discontinuity or surprise (chapter 4).
- c. To examine the ranking of participants and to propose a number of discourse operations provoking marked encodings (chapter 5).

1.5 Theoretical framework

The present approach is rooted in cognitive linguistics, and in particular, within Relevance Theory. A cognitive linguistics approach can be characterised by saying that meanings have words, rather than words have meanings. A similar approach is also found in relevance theory: 'A coded stimulus gives immediate access to a highly determinate set of concepts: the code itself determines which concepts are activated' (Sperber and Wilson, 1995, p.167). In fact, 'sentence structure determines only a fraction of what is communicated, and context plays a crucial role in the interpretation of discourse' (Blass, 1990, p.11). An utterance communicates more than what is linguistically encoded. What matters most is how the hearer processes the particular parts of discourse and how he is going to interpret the data. Longacre (2012, p.xi) believes

that the comprehension of a text results from multiple simultaneous processing, including top-down (e.g., use of pre-existing SCHEMAS and TEMPLATES) and bottom-up (use of words, grammatical structures, and contextual clues from the text).

So in a sense it is as Blass sums it up in saying that the goal of discourse analysis is 'tracing the hearer's route in the interpretation of the speaker's intention, and finding out how a piece of text can modify the hearer's assumptions' (1990, p.12). Sperber and Wilson express a similar idea when they say that 'verbal

communication involves both coding and inferential processes' (1995, p.3). So discourse analysis is not only analysing and describing how a text is structured, but also involves explaining why it is structured in a particular way. Relevance theory shows that connectivity, for example, 'results from relevance relations between text and context rather than from relations linguistically encoded in the text' (Blass, 1990, p.1). Thus relevance theory provides important theoretical insights that can be extended to the discourse level. For example, it shows the principle that hearers use contextual information in interpreting utterances in discourse. So, discourse is not a 'purely linguistic notion, and can therefore not be investigated in purely formal linguistic terms' (Blass, 1990, p.41). Thus, linguistic structure and contextual assumptions interact to achieve certain effects in the reader's/hearer's mind.

The following description about the 'Participant Reference System in Kusaal Narratives' is primarily inspired by linguists who wrote about discourse analysis like Robert E. Longacre and Shin Ja J. Hwang (2012, especially chapter 6) and Robert A. Dooley and Stephen Levinsohn (1999). For our present study, the terms 'Discourse Analysis' and 'Text Linguistics' are freely interchangeable, 'the two terms discourse and text can generally be taken as synonymous' (Dooley and Levinsohn, 1999, p.1). Discourse Analysis covers a large domain, but the present study focuses only on a very narrow subset, namely the participant references that Kusaal narrative texts normally exhibit to enable a hearer or reader to easily follow a narrative text.

1.6 Literature review

My research investigates how participants are introduced in a text, and how they are referred to. In order to be understood, a narrative has to be coherent so that the hearer is able to construct a meaningful mental representation which accounts for the participants and events. Thus the speaker's task is 'to make clear the identity

of each participant and event as they are introduced and maintained in the discourse' (Clark, 2012, pp.2–3). Systems of reference carry an important role in discourse where the storyline and its agents provide the backbone. 'Successful reference depends on the hearer's identifying ... the speaker's intended referent, on the basis of the referring expression used' (Brown and Yule, 1983, p.205). The hearer has to be able to follow a narrative and understand who does what. In order to get a better grasp on how a language might organize the references to participants, I compare briefly four analysts who have developed different approaches for tracking and assessing participant references in narratives. Firstly I look at Givón's topic continuity model, often referred as Givón's Iconicity Principle (1983). Secondly I mention briefly Tomlin's hierarchy or episode model (1987). Thirdly I introduce Dooley and Levinsohn's (1999) approach whose step-by-step methodology helps to determine default and marked encoding values of reference. Fourthly I give a short overview of discourse operations interacting with discourse structure and ranking among participants in discourse, as presented by Longacre and Hwang (2012).

1.6.1 Givón's topic continuity model

In his work about topic continuity, or referent tracking (1983), Givón demonstrated the relationship between referential distance and the amount of coding material. His Iconicity Principle attempts to predict how participants in a narrative will be referred to. His method measures two main variables to assess the ways in which a language enables speakers to refer to participants in a text: (a) Referential distances, and (b) potential interference from other topics/referents (Givón, 1983, p.11). He attempts to study these concepts mainly in a statistical fashion.

a) Referential distance measures the gap or the distance between the previous occurrence of the same participant to the current occurrence in a clause. ‘The shorter the gap of absence, the easier the topic identification’ (Givón, 1983, p.11).

(b) Potential interference from other referents occurs when multiple referents are active at the same time or in the immediately preceding text. This gives the possibility of ambiguity due to multiple possible referents.

Another count used by Givón is Topic Presence—the number of consecutive clauses mentioning the referent in the following discourse context whereby ‘[w]hat is continuous is more predictable’ and ‘... easier to process, or conversely: What is discontinuous or disruptive is less predictable ... hence surprising and harder to process’ (Givón, 1983, p.12). He puts forth the ‘basic principle of *iconicity* underlying the syntactic coding of the topic identification domain’ and gives the following scale for the grammar of topic/referent identification (1983, p.18):

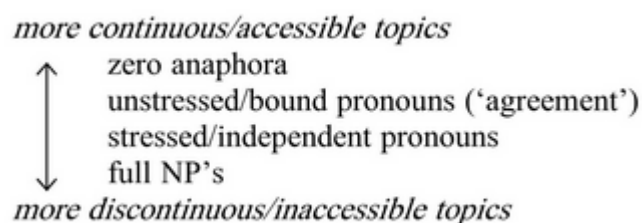


Figure 4: Givon’s scale of coding of topic/referent accessibility

This scale summarises his point, saying that ‘[t]he more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous, or hard to process a topic is, the more *coding material* must be assigned to it’ (1983, p.18). At the top of the scale are the ‘zero anaphora’ where there is no explicit linguistic device needed to identify the participant since it is continuous/accessible. The further down you get, the more linguistic encoding is given/needed. This means when the continuity of a participant is ‘strong’, the referring coding material is less, whereas when the topic is less accessible, the

coding device is 'heavier' (for example with a full noun phrase). Givón does not integrate paragraph structure into his analysis model and thus he omits an important factor.

Levinsohn (2012, p.122) sees three factors that Givón's principle does not cover: (a) The status of the participant—that is, whether the interacting participants are major or minor participants; (b) the salience of the participant, i.e., whether he is a 'global VIP' (VIP: very important participant), a 'local VIP' or another major participant; (c) whether or not the reference to a participant follows the reporting of a speech. Furthermore, it is not clear whether Givón's principle covers the use of full NPs at the beginning of new narrative units when the participants remain the same and occupy the same roles in successive paragraphs. Givón's work was expanded by Tomlin (1987).

1.6.2 Tomlin's hierarchy or episode model

For Tomlin the topic continuity model for quantitatively assessing participant reference in narrative discourse, as advanced by Givón, was inadequate because it relies only on surface features that are isolated from the underlying hierarchical structure of a text. Tomlin describes an alternative to the topic continuity model—the episode model. He had the goal of exploring the relationship between the thematic organisation of narrative discourse, and the syntax of reference. Tomlin (1987, p.456) states that he found counterexamples that Givón's model fails to address. It did not account for instances where a full noun phrase referred to an antecedent only one clause away. Further, pronominal references can be sustained for more than a clause or two. Tomlin thinks that the syntax of reference is influenced by the episode or thematic boundaries of a narrative text. So he

developed an 'Episode/Paragraph' method of analysing participant references. Normally, the sentences of a narrative are segmented into paragraphs or episodes on the basis of changes or discontinuities in time, place, participants and action. At episode or paragraph boundaries, the speaker uses additional coding to reorient the hearer. Thus when beginning a new episode or paragraph, the speaker might more likely use a full noun phrase to refer to a participant, whereas he probably uses less encoding across adjoining clauses and sentences within the same episode. When the attention in an episode is focused on the same referent, little encoding material is needed. Talking about English, Tomlin states that 'the speaker uses a pronoun to maintain reference as long as attention is sustained on the referent' (1987, p.458). Only after this attention has been interrupted will the speaker reinstate the reference with a full noun to bring the participant back into focus, no matter how few clauses intervene between subsequent references. Thus in a way, Tomlin's method is an expansion of Givón's work but it does not entirely satisfy, either. It does not take salience and other discourse operations into account. Levinsohn (2012, p.122) points out that a piece of information can be highlighted without being disruptive, and a paragraph break does not necessarily signal discontinuity. For this reason I prefer to use neither Givón's nor Tomlin's model, but Dooley and Levinsohn's Sequential Default/Marked method, which seems to be more useful for my analysis. In a way this method looks at a combination of both linear (Givón's method) and hierarchical (Tomlin's method) structural features of texts.

1.6.3 Dooley and Levinsohn's sequential default methodology

Dooley and Levinsohn (1999, p.55) describe three tasks of a viable system of participant reference: (1) semantic - identify the referents unambiguously, (2) discourse-pragmatic - signal the activation status and prominence of the referents,

and (3) processing - overcome disruptions in information flow. Any of these concepts can be the reason for more coding: ambiguity (semantic), lower activation status (discourse-pragmatic), and thematic breaks (processing).

Dooley and Levinsohn suggest that languages pursue two major strategies of reference: Sequential (look-back) strategy and Very Important Participant (VIP) strategy. In sequential strategies, all participants follow the same rule: expressions with less coding material than a noun phrase reference the most recent compatible noun phrase. In VIP strategies, one referent is referenced in a distinct way from all others, regardless of intervening referents.

These two strategies try to deal with the three tasks of participant reference mentioned above (semantic, pragmatic, and processing) to create cohesion in a text. A useful way is to describe the default case for a given environment and then describe special cases that arise at points of discontinuity, highlighting, marking a new event, surprises, etc.

Dooley and Levinsohn (1999, pp.63-7) describe a very practical eight-step methodology for identifying the different factors which affect the amount of coding material that is used when a speaker refers to participants throughout a discourse. The default encoding values are thus identified for various situations in subject and object roles, whereas the marked encoding values are those that are other than the default encodings for a specific situation.

But there is still more to be discovered on the topic of the complexity and interaction of participant reference. So the contributions of Longacre and Hwang (2012) dig even deeper into the subject.

1.6.4 Longacre and Hwang's discourse operations model

Longacre and Hwang's book (2012) is entitled 'Holistic Discourse Analysis'. This title 'is chosen to highlight the conviction that linguistic analysis properly deals with wholes and not with fragments' (Longacre and Hwang, 2012, p.ix). They take into consideration a variety of discourse operations influencing the choice of referring expressions. According to Longacre and Hwang (2012, pp.82–4), each language has a variety of discourse operations influencing the choice of referring expressions. They consist of (a) Participant reference resources (Noun, Pronominal elements, Null reference etc.), (b) Participant ranking in the story (Major participants, Minor participants, Props), and (c) Discourse operations affecting participant reference (first mention, routine tracing, restaging after absence, etc.). All of these three elements combine and work together in participant reference.

I consider Dooley and Levinsohn's default and marked encoding model, together with Longacre and Hwang's structure and ranking model, to be most fruitful for my participant reference analysis of Kusaal narrative discourse. Dooley and Levinsohn's approach is applied to Kusaal texts in chapter 4 and partly also in chapter 5. Chapter 5 is mostly based on Longacre and Hwang's approach.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

I am using two complementary methods for my study of participant reference in Kusaal, with the idea of gaining insight from both methods. Firstly I use the Dooley and Levisohn (1999) Sequential Default model; and secondly I use the Longacre and Hwang (2012) Discourse Operations model. Insights from one method were allowed to inform the decisions for the other.

2.1 Text selection

For this dissertation, I selected six Kusaal narrative texts from my collection of 30⁶. They will be referred to as: Text A, B, C, D, E and F, whereas the numbers before the text titles in the table below refer to their number in my collection of 30 texts. The six texts chosen are from five different Kusaasi authors—four male and one female (Text B). Their ages range from 25 to over 60 years old. Three texts are traditional stories (folktales), one of which has animals as actors, and three texts are personal account narratives. Most of the traditional stories have a formal closing along the following lines: ‘That is how it was; I was there and wanted to tell you this.’ Of course everybody in the audience knows that this is not really the case, but that there is an important lesson to learn from the story. All stories have multiple characters and multiple episodes.

Table I gives the list of the six stories with their Kusaal and English titles, their authors, the approximate age of author, and a word count.

⁶ see Appendix 2 for the full 30 texts list

Table I: Kusaal texts

Kusaal Title	English Title	Author, approx. age	Word Count
<i>1. Nisaal tuvm-be'et yoot</i>	1. 'The Reward for a Human's Bad Deeds', Text A	Simon Nanga, 60y	668
<i>7. Abaa ne Asūmbul</i>	7. 'Mrs Dog and Mr Hare', Text B	Monique Ouaré, 45y	729
<i>13. Ayalim po-paalik</i>	13. 'Ayalim's New Field', Text C	Elie Wangré, 55y	794
<i>19. Abāmbil Komaasi tin yela</i>	19. 'Abambil's Travel to Kumasi', Text D	Kobena J. Ouaré, 25y	381
<i>20. Wina'am gu'urum</i>	20. 'God's Protection', Text E	Martin Souga, 40y	419
<i>21. Sū-sā'an yelle</i>	21. 'A Sad Event', Text F	Elie Wangré, 55y	445

The following is a brief summary of the plot of each of the selected texts.

Text A: A blind man is begging every day. This begging activity displeases one man in town who wants to kill the blind beggar. He puts poison in a piece of bread and gives it to the beggar. On their way home, the children of the evil man meet the blind man and ask him for food and the beggar gives the poisoned bread to them. The children die and the evil man realizes that it was his own fault. (Lesson: Don't do evil to others.)

Text B: A dog gives birth to puppies, but the clever hare steals the puppies and eats them. The hare feigns ignorance and promises the dog that he will find the culprit. The hare then deceives a bunch of monkeys and finally manages to frame them. (Lesson: Clever people always win.) This story includes two songs where the storyteller sang the text. These two songs are repeated several times as a type of refrain.

Text C: A man discovers a nice plot of land that nobody farms. In spite of all warnings, he and his children go to farm that piece of ground, where bush spirits come to their aid. The bush spirits help them repeatedly in numerous farming tasks, but in the end, they kill the man's children. (Lesson: A greedy man will find disaster at the end of the road.)

Text D: A young man travels far away to Ghana in order to work and get money to buy a bike and a bed. When he comes home again, he discovers that some people at home got rich because they found gold in his home area, whereas he did not get that much for all his efforts.

Text E: During a workshop for translators in Ouagadougou, a pastor had to go home to look after his sick child. On the way home the bus was attacked by robbers. In spite of all the obstacles and dangers, he was not hurt, but got home safely and found his child in good health. He thanks God for his protection over both his life and his family.

Text F: A young mother who was still a student had her baby stolen from her side while she slept one night. In the morning she was very worried, and people helped searched for her baby without success. Finally the police found the baby dead in a toilet. Nobody knows how all this happened, but the author advises everyone to protect their children.

I numbered the texts by sentences and clauses, with preposed and postposed clauses included with the main clause. I have included a fully interlinearised text, Text A, as a sample in Appendix 4. This text was selected because it was revised with about 25 Kusaasi speakers in May 2012, so I consider it a particularly well-formed text. According to Levinsohn, a 'well-formed text is one that a native speaker considers to be grammatically correct and acceptable' (2012, p.13).

2.2 Charting

Once the texts were edited with the help of Kusaal speakers to make sure that the texts are well-formed, I charted all six texts.

2.2.1 Discourse chart

My first step in analysis was to chart the texts, using the ‘FLEx’ program⁷. Each sentence was divided into columns, with the sentence order maintained as suggested by Levinsohn (2012, pp.13-18). Table II gives an example of the beginning of the Kusaal Text A. In the first column is the Pre-nuclear constituent, consisting of preposed material (points of departure, etc.) and the connectors/conjunctions. Then comes the Nuclear Constituent, consisting of Subject, Pre-verb (Tense, Negation), Verb, Object/Complement. Sometimes a post-nuclear element follows, containing adjuncts like post-verbs or adverbs. The most common order (unmarked) of phrasal constituents in Kusaal clauses is:

Conjunction – Subject – Pre-verb – Verb – Indirect Object – Object – Adjunct

Table II: FLEx’s chart set-up

Ref	PRE-NUCLEAR		NUCLEAR CONSTITUENTS				POST-N.
	Time, PoD	Conj.	Subject	Pre-verb	Verb	Object/ Complement	Adjuncts (adverbs)

I used these charts to gain insight into the text as a whole, and to identify tentative paragraph breaks and development markers. This helped to have a fairly complete picture of the text. Before doing the actual charting, I did a word-by-word gloss and a free translation of the story in order to clarify eventual questions of comprehension. The actual charting process in ‘FLEx’ numbers the sentences 1, 2, 3,

⁷ <http://www.sil.org/about/news/sil-fieldworks-50-language-and-culture-research-software>

etc., and it starts a new line for every new clause, labelling the clauses as 1a, 1b, 1c, etc. Pre-posed clauses like points of departure (PoD) are included with the main clause and they are not counted separately in the Sequential Default method charts. The quoted material, however, has its own number distinct from the quote formula.

2.2.2 Sequential coding and chart

After charting the texts in FLE_x according to constituent order, I made a second set of charts, this time following the suggestion of Dooley and Levinsohn (1999, pp.63–68) in order to track the participants. Table III gives a short sample of this type of chart for the first part of Text A. (The full sequential coding chart of Text A is shown in Appendix 3). I kept the same reference numbers as I had for my ‘FLE_x’ charts. The chart has a column for a reference number (Ref), one for conjunctions (Conj), one for subject reference, one for subject reference code, one for non-subject reference, one for non-subject reference code and one for a free translation.

Table III: Sample of a sequential chart

Ref	Conj	Subject	Code	Non-Subject	Code	Free Translation
1a		man one [1]	INTRO			There was a certain man,
1b	and	[1]	SI			and Ø was blind
...						
5a		one person [2]	INTRO			there was a certain person in that town
5b	and	he [2]	SI	him	N3 [1]	and he hated him
	and	[2]	SI	him	N1 [1]	and Ø did not like him
...						

Each participant that is referred to more than once in the text is indexed by a number in square brackets [...], (including zero reference for subjects or objects—marked by an em dash (—) in the ‘FLEx’ Chart, but with a zero (Ø) in the Sequential Chart). So for example, in Text A above, the participant labels will be: [1] the blind man, [2] the evil man, [3] the people, [4] the children, [5] the bread

The context in which each reference occurs is identified with a code (Dooley and Levinsohn, 1999, pp.65–6). Codes for the subjects are the following:

- S1 same subject as in the preceding (main) clause or sentence
- S2 subject was the addressee of preceding dialog
- S3 subject was involved as a non-subject in the preceding clause or sentence
- S4 other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3

Along the same lines, the context for each activated non-subject is to be identified for each clause; the following codes were used for non-subjects:

- N1 referent occupies the same non-subject role as in the preceding clause
- N2 referent is the addressee or the speaker of the reported speech of the preceding clause
- N3 referent was involved in the preceding clause in a different role than covered by N2
- N4 other non-subject references than those covered by N1-N3

The code INTRO means that the participant is being introduced for the first time, and thus it is used for subjects and non-subjects.

Quoted material and points of departure can be ignored in charting the text, though they appear in the column marked free translation.

2.2.3 Discourse operations coding and chart

I identified participants in each text, including both actors and props (inanimate objects). Then I classified the actors as either major or minor characters, based on whether they appear in the entire text or in only one episode. Table IV gives a short sample of this type of chart for Text A. Each usage had to be classified based on the discourse operations. So a participant chart could be produced with the participants labelled across the top. Table IV shows reference forms used for some of the participants and props in Text A in relation to discourse operations along the lines of Longacre's example (2012, p.86).

Table IV: Matrix of discourse operations and participants for Text A

Discourse operations	Blind man	Evil man	People	Children	Bread
F: First mention	one man	one person	people	his children	bread and mouse poison
T: Tracking routinely	he/his/him; Ø	he/his/him; Ø	they	they/them; Ø	Ø
R: Restaging	the blind	The man who wanted to kill the man; the man		the man's children; all of the two children	the bread
B: Boundary marking episode	the man	the man		so and so	the bread
C: Confrontation / local contrast	the blind	the man		the children	the bread
A: Addressee in dialog	you, Mr Tail; Ø	Ø		you all, you; Ø	
E: Evaluation		I did it to myself			

2.3 Analysis and conclusion

Looking at the sequential coding (2.2.2), I was able to suggest a default coding for each environment. The default coding is the unmarked case; generally it is 'the one that is best used as a basis for explaining the other cases' (Isaac, 2007, p.73). After having described the default participant coding with the help of Dooley and Levinsohn's method, I pointed out the differing coding with the help of Longacre and Hwang's participant ranking and discourse operations methodology.

In chapter 3, I begin to present the results of the study by describing the various constructions in the texts for participant reference, also called 'participant references resources' (Longacre and Hwang, 2012, p.82). In chapter 4, I will present the results given by applying the default and marked coding as suggested by the Default model. In chapter 5, I will describe how the Discourse Operations model helps to refine the analysis.

After having described the Kusaal participant reference system in the six texts, I looked through other Kusaal texts to see whether my findings could be applied to all texts. I was pleased to see that this was feasible.

CHAPTER 3

RESOURCES FOR PARTICIPANT REFERENCES

In this chapter I will describe the various constructions for participant reference found in the Kusaal texts. In the following sections, I will describe these constructions. First, I discuss nouns without qualifiers and noun phrases, which are the constructions which have the most coding material. Then, I will describe lesser coding material—pronouns, and finally I will look at instances of zero reference.

3.1 Nouns and noun phrases

At first, the hearer/reader knows nothing about the participants (characters or actors), and then a label (usually a proper name or a noun phrase) is given with which the speaker refers to them. As the story progresses, the label is filled in with details qualifying the person or describing what he/she has done. Thus, as the story develops, the hearer gets a real picture of the character which is continuously created and updated. A speaker will, through meaningful choices, construct a referring expression that matches his/her hypothesis about the current mental representation of the discourse that exists in the hearer's mind.

3.1.1 Kusaal nouns

In Kusaal, nouns have a citation form which is the short form (occurring 84 times in Text A); and a long form (occurring only 4 times in Text A), which is applied in the context of a negative clause, an interrogative clause, a vocative clause or when the subject is in focus. My database includes about 2900 nouns. The class suffixes I to

12 indicate six genres made out of pairs of singular and plural (1/2, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/10/, 11/12) whereas classes 13 and 14 have no singular/plural opposition. In the table V below, I give an overview of all the class suffixes and their variants. Capitalized vowels in the suffixes indicate that the vowel harmonizes in advanced tongue root (\pm ATR) value, so for example /O/ can be realized either as [u], [v], [o] or [ɔ]. /E/ can be realized either as [e], [ɛ], [i] or [ɪ].

Table V: Noun and adjective class suffixes

Genre	noun class	long suffix	short suffix
I	1 (sg.)	-a	-Ø
	2 (pl.)	-ba	-p
II	3 (sg.)	-Ø, -ba, -a	-Ø, -p
	4 (pl.)	-nama	-nam
III	5 (sg.)	-ga, -ka, -ŋa, -wa, -ya	-Ø, -k, -ŋ, -a
	6 (pl.)	-sE	-s, -Es, -mEs
IV	7 (sg.)	-gO, -kO, -ŋO, -ne	-k, -Ok, -n, -a
	8 (pl.)	-rE, -tE	-t, -Et, -Ot
V	9 (sg.)	-rE, -IE,, -nE, -bE	-t, -Et, -Ø
	10 (pl.)	-a, -ya	
VI	11 (sg.)	-fO	-f, -Of
	12 (pl.)	-gi, -l, -Ø	
	13	-bO	-p
	14	-m,-Om, -Em, -lm, -sm	

3.1.2 Kusaal noun phrases

A Kusaal noun phrase (NP) can consist of a simple noun (e.g. *bii* ‘child’), a noun with an adjective, optionally followed by a demonstrative or a definite article (*la*, and its allomorphs *ma*, *na*, *-a* ‘the’) or a quantifier (e.g. *zã’asa* ‘all’). Determiners and quantifiers always follow the noun and any adjectives, as shown in the following examples:

Kusaal noun phrase:	word by word:	English translation:
<i>bii</i>	<i>child</i>	'child' or 'a child'
<i>bi-guŋ</i>	<i>child small</i>	'small child'
<i>bi-guŋ la</i>	<i>child small DEF</i>	'the small child'
<i>bi-kãŋa</i>	<i>child this</i>	'this child',
<i>biis la zã'asa</i>	<i>children DEF all</i>	'all the children'.
<i>biis ayi la zã'asa</i>	<i>children two DEF all</i>	'both children'. Text A 39b

Noun phrases can have an associative construction (also called genitive or possessive construction), as for example:

<i>bii la sãam ma</i>	<i>child DEF father DEF</i>	'the father of the child'
-----------------------	-----------------------------	---------------------------

Some of the nouns in my text are animal names prefixed by a personifying prefix *A-*, e.g. in Text B *baa* 'a dog' but *Abaa* 'Mister Dog'.

Referents in a story might not always be referenced by exactly the same term. There is a possibility of variation in reference to a single participant within this category. For example in Text A, the blind man is referenced with several noun phrases:

Ref. 1a)	<i>Buraa arakõ</i>	'a certain man'
1c)	<i>Azvut</i>	'name of a person, literally: Mister Tail'
9a)	<i>zo'om ma</i>	'the blind one'
11b)	<i>buraa la</i>	'the man'
35b)	<i>zo'om Azvure</i>	'blind Mister Tail'

Adjectives, demonstratives and relative clauses can add coding weight to a reference. Whenever the noun phrase used carries more information than needed in the context, this is a strong hint that it merits our attention, as I will show later (in 4.2.2 and especially in chapter 5).

Adjectives are integrated into the noun class system. They are usually combined with a noun, which is used in its stem form, and the adjective comes in final position and has its own class suffix (i.e., it takes one of the 14 class suffixes described above). The adjectives are descriptive in meaning, and in most cases occur only as part of a complex nominal word. They can be added to any nominal stem, so long as it is semantically appropriate.

Whether animate or inanimate, a participant which has already been mentioned, when referred to again, must be followed by the definite article (*la/ma/na/-a*) which means in this usage ‘already referred to’. The exceptions to this are proper nouns (for example Abaa ‘Mr Dog’ in Text B); they are not followed by the referential article *la* ‘the’.

3.2 Pronouns

Kusaal has a set of emphatic pronouns and a set of non-emphatic pronouns. In Kusaal, personal pronouns do not inflect for gender. So for example *õ* stands for ‘he’ and for ‘she’ without showing any difference between masculine and feminine forms. There is no formal difference whether the pronoun is used as subject or as possessive (e.g. *m* ‘I’, and *m* ‘my’). The only difference occurs when a pronoun is used in an irrealis mood (used for the future tense, and in imperative or optative clauses) where the pronoun takes a high tone instead of a mid tone (for 1st and 2nd person singular and plural) or low tone (for 3rd person singular and plural), as shown in table VI:

Table VI: Example of tone difference on pronoun

Realis mode (declarative):	Irrealis:
Tĩ tĩnā. ‘We came.’	Tí né tĩnā. ‘We will come.’

Even though the Kusaal nouns are divided in 14 noun classes, there is only one set of pronouns; thus no agreement can be identified between nouns and pronouns. Some neighbouring languages like Frafra and Kasem⁸ have maintained a pronoun and noun class agreement but interestingly, in the current state of the Kusaal language, there is no such pronoun agreement. The same is true for closely-related languages to Kusaal like Moore and Ninkare which have no pronoun classes.

3.2.1 Emphatic pronouns

The form of an emphatic pronoun is unaffected by its role in the clause, whether that of subject, object possession, as shown in table VII.

Table VII: The emphatic pronouns of Kusaal

1 st pers. sg.	<i>mām</i>	‘I, my, me’
2 nd pers. sg.	<i>fūn, fūv</i>	‘you, your’
3 rd pers. sg.	<i>ōne, òò</i>	‘he/she, his/her, him/her’
1 st pers. pl.	<i>tún</i>	‘we, us, our’
2 nd pers. pl.	<i>nám</i>	‘you, your’
3 rd pers. pl.	<i>bànà, bà</i>	‘they, their, them’
3 rd pers. inanimate, sg. and pl.	<i>làn, lànà</i>	‘it, its, they, their’

Emphatic pronouns do not occur very frequently in my studied texts. For examples see (1).

- (1) 33a) Ka ba ye 33b) **bam** õpẽ pãano. 34a) Ka ba
and they say.that **they:EMPH** crunch bread and their
sãamba yee: 34b) Ka **nam** paam pãano-kãŋ yaane?
father+DEF say.that and **you:EMPH** receive bread-that where
‘They said that **they** ate bread. Their father said: “Where did **you** get that bread?”
(Text A)

Emphatic pronouns are used for emphasis. Often they occur at the climax of a story as shown in example (1) above where, towards the end of the story, the

⁸ I was engaged in the Kasem language development program of SIL in Burkina from 1987 to 1996.

father starts to get very worried about his dying children. Emphatic pronouns can stand in isolation, for instance as an answer to a question, as in (2).

- (2) 18b Anɔ'ɔname ke'ɛsuraa? 19a) Ka ba le lebis yee: 19b) **Tɔn.**
 who.pl.+FOC cut+IPFV and they again reply say.that **we:EMPH**
 “Who is cutting?” ‘They replied again: “(It is) **us.**” (Text C)

3.2.2 Non-emphatic pronouns

Kusaal non-emphatic pronouns can be divided into preverbal and postverbal pronouns. The preverbal pronouns have the same form for their function as subjects and as possessives (associative construction). The postverbal pronouns follow a verb and usually denote an object. They have been analysed as clitics, with the tone being absorbed into the tone of the whole phonological word. Table VIII gives the forms of the non-emphatic pronouns.

Table VIII: The non-emphatic pronouns

	subject / possessive	object (clitic)
1 st pers. sg.	<i>m̄</i> ‘I, my’	<i>m</i> ‘me’
2 nd pers. sg.	<i>fṽ</i> ‘you, your’	<i>ʋf, fṽ</i> ‘you’
3 rd pers. sg.	<i>õ</i> ‘he/she, his/her’	<i>ʋ, õ</i> ‘him/her’
1 st pers. pl.	<i>tī</i> ‘we, our’	<i>tɪ</i> ‘us’
2 nd pers. pl.	<i>yā</i> ‘you, your’	<i>ya</i> ‘you’
3 rd pers. pl.	<i>bà</i> ‘they, their’	<i>ba</i> ‘them’
3 rd pers. inanimate, sg. and pl.	<i>là</i> ‘it, they, its, their’	<i>la</i> ‘it, them’

The non-emphatic object pronoun, when immediately following a verb, is phonologically considered a clitic, forming a single phonological word with the verb to which it is attached. When the verb ends in a consonant and the pronoun begins with a consonant, a transition vowel is inserted in order to avoid a consonant cluster. In terms of grammar and orthography however, they are considered as

separate units. For example, the expression *tis+ba* ‘give them’ needs a transition vowel between the consonant sequence *sb* (*tis**ɬ**ba*, which is written *tisɬ ba* ‘give them’). Clitic pronouns are only used in object position and they inherit their tone from the verb.

The third person pronoun *ba* ‘they’ can be used in a generic, non-referential sense like the English *one/someone/some people* or *you*, comparable to the French pronoun *on* ‘one’, as used in example (3).

- (3) 2b) ...sā'ata **ba** bu kɔɔr ʋʋ.
 grassland+DEF **they** NEG hoe+IPFV him
 ‘... **one** does not farm that field.
 (That means: that field must not be farmed by **anyone**).’ (Text C)

The inanimate pronoun *la* ‘it’ does not refer back to a person or a thing. It refers rather to a situation as in (4) where the author is making a summary statement of a situation.

- (4) 11a) **La** ēne wela daar woo, daar woo 11b) ka ɔ̃ ēt buraa
 it be+FOC like.that day all day all that he do+IPFV man
 la.
 DEF
 ‘**It** was like that every day, every day that he was doing (this) to the man.’ (Text A)

Demonstrative pronouns are also used for participant reference, though they are not very frequently employed, at least not in the six texts I selected for this description. An example referring to a request is in (5).

- (5) 25b) Ka Awāames yee: **Lana** ke'e yel wɛ.
 and Monkeys say.that **this** not be problem even
 ‘The Monkeys said: “**This** is not even a problem.” ’ (Text B)

Indefinite pronouns occur also in the studied texts as in (6) with the indefinite expression *aza'al* that could be translated as ‘someone, someone else, another person, so and so’.

(6) 28a) Ka **aza'al** dɔɔ yee: 28b) Mam pɔo dũm.
 and **so.and.so** rise.up say.that my+EMPH stomach hurt
 'One of them stood up and said: "My stomach hurts." '

29a) Ka **aza'al** me yee: 29b) Mam pɔo dũm.
 and **so.and.so** also say.that my+EMPH stomach hurt
 'The other also said: "My stomach hurts." ' (Text A)

The two children in the story are not given personal names, probably because their names are not considered important in the story, so here in example (6) they are referred to as 'so and so' or 'one of them'. It doesn't matter which one said it first.

Another example of an indefinite pronoun is in (7) where the storyteller develops his moral lesson after having told the actual story.

(7) 41a) ... **so'** ya'a tɪn ne ɔ pupɛɛlɪm
somebody when come and his righteousness
 '...when **somebody** comes with good intentions ...' (Text A)

3.3 Zero Reference

Zero reference is used quite frequently in Kusaal narrative texts for subjects and for objects. Naden (1986, p.276) explains zero anaphora in Western Oti-Volta languages as follows:

'As long as any participant continues as subject or as object of a series of verbs there is no overt marker at all, whether the series is grammatically or semantically close-knit, or whether it includes coordination particles.'

This is what we find in Kusaal. When the subject is the same for succeeding clauses or sentences conjoined with the conjunction **ka** 'and/then (subsequent)', the subject is not repeated, as shown in example (8).

(8) 1a) Bura a rakɔ da be, 1b) **ka** Ø ẽ zɔ'ɔm, ...
 man certain PAST to.be and Ø to.be blind.person
 'There was a certain man, and (he) was blind ...' (Text A)

In contrast, when the conjoiner is **ne** ‘and in addition (additive)’, as in (9), or **ka ne** ‘development marker’, as in (10), the subject pronoun is repeated after the conjunction.

(9) 4a) Daar woo ð da yiti giligit ɛɛt 4b) **ne** ð sostt niripa
 day every he PAST usually go.around look.for **with he** beg people
 ‘Every day he usually walked around **and he** was begging people.’ (Text A)

(10) 6a) **Ka ne** ð gāŋ yam bɔɔt 6b) ye ð ku buraa la.
and with he choose wisdom/decision want that he kill man DEF
 ‘**And he** (now) decided that he wants to kill the man.’ (Text A)

Thus, when a noun or a pronoun occurs as subject after an event line conjunction **ka** ‘and, then’, this indicates a change of subject, as demonstrated in the following example (11).

(11) 11a) Ka **ba** lebis yee: 11b) La ẽne tun.
 and **they** reply say.that it be+FOC we:EMPH
 ‘**They** (Ayalim and his children) answered: “It is us.”’
 12a) Ka **ba** yee: 12b) Nam ye ya ẽŋ boo?
 and **they** say that you:EMPH want you do what
 ‘**They** (the bush spirits) said: “What do you want to do?”’
 13a) Ka **ba** lebis yee: 13b) Tɪ ye tɪ kɔ me.
 and **they** reply say.that go.to want we hoe FOC
 ‘**They** (Ayalim and his children) said: “We want to farm.” (Text C)

In Kusaal, zero references are used quite often for objects. As shown in example (12), there are two instances of zero object reference (or absence of reference) in clause 15a and 15c.

(12) 14a) ... ka ð nɔk **pāano la** tɪs v.
 and he take **bread** DEF give him
 ‘... he took **the bread** and gave it to him.’
 15a) Ka zɔ'omma de'e Ø, ...
 and blind+DEF receive Ø
 15c) ka nɔk Ø si ð tãmpɔktɪ.
 and take Ø put inside he sack+LOC
 ‘The blind received/took **(the bread)**, ... and put **(it)** into his bag’ (Text A)

Zero reference in a preceding clause was included in determining the environments for the Sequential Default methodology for both subjects and objects.

CHAPTER 4

SEQUENTIAL DEFAULT ENCODINGS

In this chapter I discuss the results of my analysis using Dooley and Levinsohn's Sequential Default methodology. Default encoding values are identified for various situations in which there is no great discontinuity or surprise. Marked encodings (or non-default values) are those that are other than the default encoding for a specific situation. I chose the texts A, B and F to count the encodings. They are indicated in table IX, where Ø signifies zero coding, PN means pronoun and NP is noun phrase.

Table IX: Count of sequential encodings for Texts A, B and F

Code	Total Count	Default Count	Marked: more than default	Marked: less than default
(S1) Same subject as preceding clause	100	49 Ø	9 PN	
		37 PN	5 NP	
(S2) Subject is addressee of preceding clause	34	17 PN	15 NP	2 Ø
(S3) Subject is non-subject / non-addressee in the preceding clause	20	16 NP 3 PN		1 PN
(S4) Other changes of subject	23	20 NP		3 PN
(N1) Referent is in the same non-subject role as in preceding clause	33	17 Ø 8 PN	8 NP	
(N2) Referent is speaker of preceding clause	34	34 Ø		
(N3) Referent is involved in the preceding clause in a different role than N1 or N2	12	8 PN	3 NP	1 Ø
(N4) Other non-subject references	42	36 NP		2 PN, 4 Ø
Total for Texts A, B and F	298	245	40	13
	100%	82.5%	13.5%	4%

4.1 Default encodings

The encodings for participant reference in various subject environments (S#) and non-subject environments (N#) are discussed in the following sections in this chapter. The other possible code for introducing participants in subjects and non-subject roles, INTRO, is discussed in the next chapter, where I refer to it as “first mention” (5.2.1). In determining the default encodings, I did not look at quoted material (direct speech). As seen in table IX above, more than 80% of the references in Kusaal use the default encodings.

4.1.1 Same subject (SI)

In Kusaal, SI (same subject) references use minimal coding material. This minimal coding is different, depending on how the clauses are joined together. In Texts A, B and F, out of 100 same-subject occurrences, a SI zero slot is used 49 times, while a pronoun is used 37 times. The zero anaphora and the pronouns are the default markings. The non-default or marked references will be discussed in 4.2.

In the storyline, the clauses are connected with the conjunction *kā* ‘and, then’ which carries the events of the story forward. In this case, if the subject is the same as in the previous clause, no overt reference is made to the subject (i.e., the subject slot is not filled), represented by Ø (zero) in the examples. The Kusaal Text A has 15 such zero-subject encodings. As illustrated by (13) there are four consecutive clauses without subject coding.

- (13) 9d) *buraa la tu'vr v me* 9e) *ka Ø yaan v,* 9f) *ka Ø pɔ'ɔr v,*
man DEF insult him FOC and Ø mock him and Ø scoff him
9g) *ka Ø tāsr v,* 9h) *ka Ø yee:* 9h) *Fv basɪm,* ...
and Ø shout.at him and Ø say.that you cease+IMP
‘... the man insults him, and Ø mocks him, and Ø scoffs at him, and Ø shouts at
him, and Ø says: “You should cease ...” ’ (Text A)

Whenever a conjunction other than the sequence conjunction *ka* ‘and, then’ or a point of departure precedes the subject, a pronoun is used in the subject slot. Four such conjunctions can occur:

A) The additive conjunction *ne* ‘and also, and on top of that’ adds information without carrying the story forward, as in (14); in fact, it adds a more-detailed description of the event. The conjunction *ne* ‘and also’ can also be translated as ‘with’ when it connects two noun phrases as in (15) or it can be used instrumentally ‘using, by means of, with’ as in (16).

(14) 4a) Daar woo ã da yiti giligit eet 4b) **ne** ã sostt niripa
 day all he PAST usually go.around look.for **with he** beg people
 ‘Every day he usually walked around **and he** was begging people...’ (Text A)

(15) 8a) Õ biis la ãne ayi 8b) ne ba be **ne** ã.
 his children DEF to.be two and.also they be/live **with** him
 ‘His children are two and they lived **with** him.’ (Text A)

(16) 4c) ye ba sõŋ v **ne** se’el.
 that they help him **with** thing
 ‘... that they help him **with** something.’ (Text A)

B) The complementizer *ye* ‘that, for’ is illustrated by (17)

(17) 6a) Ka ne ã gãŋ yam boot 6b) **ye** ã kv buraa la.
 and with he choose wisdom/decision want **that he** kill man DEF
 ‘And he decided **that he** wanted to kill the man.’ (Text A)

C) The development marker *ka ne* ‘and now (be alert)’ indicates an element of change (see Levinsohn 2012, p.95), which gives a new orientation to the story, as in (18).

(18) 15c) ka nõk si ã tãmpøkı 15d) **ka ne** ã gaar v gaaruk.
 and take put.inside his bag+LOC **and with he** pass his passing
 ‘... and put it into his bag, **and then he** continued his tour.’ (Text A)

D) The focus marker *ká* ‘that’ for a fronted complement, as in (19)

- (19) 3a) sosuka puu **ká** **õ** yēt se'el 3b) ñjiri **õ** nɔɔɾ.
 begging in+LOC **that he** see+IPFV thing put+IPFV his mouth+LOC
 '... **it was** in his begging **that he** was getting something to put into his mouth.'
 (Text A)

E) After a point of departure, illustrated by (20), the pronoun is employed.

- (20) 16a) Haya, zɔ'omma ne gata, **õ** tu paane wɛŋ-se'ɛ,
 now blind+DEF when passing+DEF **he** go.to reach+FOC place.some
 'Now, when the blind man was continuing, **he** arrived at a certain place ...'
 (Text A)

4.1.2 Subjects is previous addressee (S2)

The subject S2 was the addressee of the previous reported speech. In this context, pronouns are used seventeen times in Texts A, B and F, as illustrated in (21). Noun phrases are rarely used except in animal folktales (Text B), where the personified name of the animal is preferred to the pronoun. The default S2 slot is filled by a pronoun.

- (21) 19a) Ka ba yee: 19b) Fu tuŋ yaa nee?
 and they say.that you go where LOC
 'And they said: "Where did you go?"'
 20a) Ka **õ** yee: 20b) Ai, mam me gilikẽ sosi ...
 and **he** say.that ah I +EMPH also go.around beg
 '**He** said: "Ah, I went around and begged ..." ' (Text A)

Occasionally, however, there can be a zero slot without subject, verb and quote formula since from the context it is clear that this is a direct-speech conversation and there is no ambiguity as to who is saying what to whom, as in (22) since the bush spirits, after having received a short answer, continue their conversation with the same audience.

- (22) 19a) Ka ba le lebis yee: 19b) Tun.
 and they again reply say.that we:EMPH
 'They said again: "Us."'

- 20a) Ø Awoo, ti ne tuna sōŋu ya, ... ,
 Ø OK we will come help you
 ‘“Ø OK, we will come and help you, ...” ’ (Text C)

4.1.3 Subject is previous non-subject / non-addressee (S3)

In this context, the subject (S3) had a non-subject role (typically an object role) in the previous sentence (i.e., the subject was involved in the previous sentence but it was neither the subject nor the addressee of a speech-act clause). The default coding is a noun phrase; it is used 16 times out of the 19 occurrences in Texts A, B and F, as in (23), for example.

- (23) 7c) me taru ō biis. 8a) Ō **biis** **la** ēne ayi,
 also have his children **his children DEF** be+FOC two
 ‘... had also his children. **His children** are two ...’ (Text A)

If however, the S3 occurs in a subordinate clause, the default coding is a pronoun, as in (24).

- (24) 4b) ...ne ō sost **niripa** 4c) ye **ba** sōŋ u ne se'el.
 with he beg **people+FOC** that **they** help him with thing
 ‘(Every day he usually walked around) and begging **people** so that **they** help him with something.’ (Text A)

4.1.4 Subject is not mentioned in previous clause (S4)

An S4 environment means that the subject was not involved in the previous clause/sentence. The default encoding for S4 situations is a noun phrase, as in (25).

- (25) 2b) ...ne ō tu sē' ōbe.
 and he go.to roast eat
 ‘... and he (Hare) went to roast them (puppies).
 3a) Haya, **Abaa** ti paana kpē' dook ...
 now **Dog** go.to reach.here enter room
 ‘Now, **Dog** came and entered the room ...’ (Text A)

4.1.5 Non-subject fills same non-subject role (N1)

The referent occupies a non-subject argument role in both the current clause and the previous clause. The default coding in this case is a pronoun if the referent is a person, as in (26), and a zero reference if the referent is a thing/object, as in (27).

- (26) 9d) *buraa la tu'ur v me,* 9e) *ka yaan v,* 9f) *ka po'or v,*
 man the insult **him** FOC and mock **him** and scoff **him**
 9g) *ka tāsır v,*
 and shout.at **him**
 ‘... the man insults **him**, and mocks **him**, and scoffs at **him**, and shouts at **him** ...’
 (Text A)

- (27) 14) *ka õ nok pãano la tis v.* 15a) *Ka zo'omma de'e Ø, ...*
 and his take **bread** DEF give him and blind+DEF receive Ø
 15c) *ka nok Ø si Ø õ tãmpokı*
 and take Ø put inside Ø his bag+LOC
 ‘... he took **the bread** and gave it to him. The blind received **(it)**, ... and took **(it)**
 and put **(it)** into his bag ...’ (Text A)

In Texts A, B and F, the zero-default coding for objects occurs 17 times and the pronoun-default coding occurs 8 times in an N1 environment.

4.1.6 Non-subject is speaker of preceding clause (N2)

In this N2 environment, the referent was the speaker of the previous reported speech. The default encoding in this case is a zero (Ø) slot, as in the following example (28). In Texts A, B and F this zero coding occurs 34 times, and no other coding occurs in an N2 environment.

- (28) 17) *Ba ne tu'us zo'omma, ka ba yee Ø: Azvure, tuuma.*
 they when meet blind+DEF and they say Ø Mr Tail greetings
 ‘When they met the blind man, they said Ø (to him): “Mr Tail, greetings.”’
 18) *Ka õ yee Ø: Ëe, tuuma.*
 and he say Ø yes greetings
 ‘And he said Ø (to them): “Yes, greeting.”’ (Text A)

Especially when it is obvious from the context to whom the speaker is talking/answering because it follows a predictable pattern, the addressee is not stated.

4.1.7 Non-subject is in different role in preceding clause (N3)

N3 signifies that the referent was involved in the previous sentence in a role other than those signified by N1 or N2. The default coding for this environment is a pronoun, as in (29); it occurs 8 times in Texts A, B and F.

- (29) 4b) ne **õ** sostt niripa 4c) ye ba sõŋ **v** ne se'el.
 with **he** beg+IPFV people+DEF that they help **him** with thing
 ‘... and he was begging people so that they help **him** with something.’ (Text A)

4.1.8 Non-subject is not mentioned in preceding clause (N4)

The N4 environment considers other non-subject references than those covered by N1-N3, excluding the first mention of a participant in the discourse. The default coding for this environment is a noun phrase. The following is an example (30) of a noun phrase used in this context.

- (30) 16a) Haya, zɔ'omma ne gata, **õ** tu paane weŋ-se'e, 16b) tu'us
 now blind+DEF when pass+DEF he go.to reach place.some meet
 buraa la biis 16c) ka ba yi sakut 16d) lebut kün.
 man DEF children and they go.out school return go.home
 ‘Now, when the blind man was continuing, he went reaching a certain place
 where he met **the children of the man** and they got out of school and were
 going home.’ (Text A)

4.2 Marked encoding

Having inspected the texts to find the default encodings described above, I now examine the reasons for the marked encoding values for subjects and non-subjects. The marked, or non-default, encoding for participant reference takes the form of either an overcoding (more coding material than usual) or an undercoding (when

less material is used than normally expected/predicted). Additional cases of overcoding, like participant ranking and discourse operations, will be dealt with in the next chapter.

4.2.1 Less coding material is used

4.2.1.1 Undercoding for subjects

Undercoding for SI subjects can occur when several verbs are describing the same event, thus virtually acting as a compound verb. In this case the usual conjunction *ka* ‘and’ or *ne* ‘and also’ does not occur, as seen in the following example (31), where the clause can be seen as a continuation of the action of the preceding clause with the same zero-marked subject and the same unmarked object.

- (31) ... 2a) daat arakō ka Asūmbul dɔɔ sɔɔs sɔɔs sɔɔs sɔɔs tɪŋ tɪ
 day one and hare rise.up hiding hiding hiding hiding go go.to
 zū Abaa biis la Ø korug ne õ tɪ sē' õbe.
 steal Dog children DEF Ø cut.throat with he go.to roast eat

‘... one day Hare went by hiding and **stole** Dog's puppies and Ø (he) **killed** (them), and he roasted (them and) Ø (he) ate (them). (Text B)

In this example the actions to ‘steal’ and ‘kill by cutting the throat’ are perceived as the same event. So the second verb ‘cut throat’ has no subject slot. This is different from a serial verb construction, which is common in Kusaal. The serial verb construction does not insert objects but juxtaposes verb after verb as seen at the end of the above sentence (31) where ‘roast’ (1st verb) is immediately followed by ‘eat’ (2nd verb).

Another example (32) of lack of subject slot occurs in Text A, between clause 16a) and 16b) where ‘arrive’ at a certain place and ‘meet’ the children is seen as the same event of ‘encountering’ somebody. There is no conjunction before such a zero

subject slot. This is also observed between clause 16c) and 16d) of the same example (32).

- (32) 16a) Haya, zɔ'omma ne gata, ɔ̃ ti paane wɛŋ-sɛ'ɛ,
 now blind+DEF when pass+DEF he go.to reach place.some
 16b) Ø tu'us buraa la biis 16c) ka ba yi sakut 16d) Ø lebit
 Ø meet man DEF children and they go.out school Ø return
 kũn.
 go.home
 'OK, when the blind was continuing, he went reaching a certain place where
 Ø (he) met the children of the man and they got out of school and Ø (they) were
 going home.' (Text A)

A case for subject S3 undercoding is found in Text A, where a pronoun occurs instead of the default noun-phrase encoding. This is possible when absolutely no ambiguity is possible, as example (33) demonstrates.

- (33) 16a) ...ɔ̃ ti paane wɛŋ-sɛ'ɛ 16b) tu'us buraa la biis 16c) ka **ba**
 he go.to reach place.some meet man DEF children and **they**
 yi sakut 16d) lebit kũn.
 go.out school return go.home
 '... he went reaching a certain place where he met the children of the man and
they got out of school and were going home.'

These events happen in the same sentence, and occur at the same time and at the same place: the blind man met the children, and they were going home from school (33).

Occasionally there may be a potential ambiguity of reference in an S3 or an S4 environment where a pronoun or a zero reference is used instead of a default encoding noun phrase. This can be seen in the following example of an S4 environment (34) taken from Text C, where *ba* 'they' refers to the bush spirits, and not to Ayalim and his children, mentioned just before.

- (34) 18a) Ba ne sɪŋ pesɪka ke'ɛpa, kɔ, kɔ, kɔ, ka **ba** yee:
 they when begin new.field labouring+DEF hoe hoe hoe and **they** say.that
 18b) Anɔ'ɔname ke'ɛsɪraa?
 who.pl. labour + IPFV

‘When they (Ayalim and his children) started labouring the new field and were farming for a long time, **they** (the bush spirits) said: “Who is labouring?” ’

The same question, however, was asked before in the same text by the bush spirits in clause 10a), on a former occasion when Ayalim and his children were doing farm labour. Furthermore it is also clear from context and from the content of the question that the pronoun *ba* ‘they’ refers to the bush spirits.

In clauses 2a) and 52a) of the same text C, the pronoun *ba* ‘they’ is in an S4 environment, and refers to people in general. Isaac rightly stated that ‘[c]ultural scripts and expectations enter into the issue of ambiguity’ (2007, p.117). At the beginning of the story in clause 2a), *ba* ‘they’ refers to some undefined people who told Ayalim not to farm that particular field (see above 3.2.2. p.41). Towards the end of that story, in clause 52), some people referred to as *ba* ‘they’ asked him what is wrong with him 52a). In the Kusaasi cultural context, this *ba* ‘they’ refers to what people say in general. Everybody knows about certain things that one should not do. In the case of text C, it is to not farm on certain areas because of the bush spirit occupying that area. So a Kusaasi audience knows to whom the pronoun *ba* ‘they’ refers: it is people in general (see also 5.1.3). This is culturally shared knowledge, and thus cultural expectations allow for unambiguous interpretation of a linguistically ambiguous reference.

4.2.1.2 Undercoding for non-subjects

Undercoding for non-subjects is rather rare. For example, in Text A there is an occurrence for an N4 environment undercoding (35). As seen earlier, the default coding for N4 (no reference in the preceding clause) is a noun phrase, but in 15b) there is a pronoun ‘him’ for the man who just gave the bread, but is not mentioned

in the preceding clause since it is left implicit that the blind man received it from the man.

(35) 15a) Ka zo'mma de'e Ø Ø, 15b) ka pu'us v barika, ...
 and blind+DEF receive Ø Ø and thank **him** thank.you
 'The blind man received (the bread from the man), and thanked **him** ...' (Text A)

These clauses contain a predictable schema of everyday-life behaviour (one receives something from somebody, and normally one thanks that person for the gift) and thus a default-code noun phrase would be more information than needed.

4.2.2 More coding material is used

Overcoding is more frequent than undercoding. In Texts A, B and F, there are 40 occurrences of overcoding, which accounts for 13.5% of the total of the counted 298 references for these three texts. The 10 occurrences of overcoding material in Text A are listed in table X, where PN signifies pronoun, and NP indicates a noun phrase:

Table X: Overcoding material of Text A

Code	Default Coding	Marked overcoding occurs in the following clauses:
(S1) Same subject as preceding clause	Ø PN	2 NP: 7a), 25a)
(S2) Subject is addressee of preceding clause	PN	3 NP: 23a), 29a) 34a)
(N1) Referent is in the same non-subject role as in the preceding clause	Ø PN	4 NP: 6b), 13b), 13c), 14a)
(N3) Referent is involved in the preceding clause in a different role than N1 or N2	PN	1 NP: 11b)

4.2.2.1 Subject overcoding

Subject overcoding may occur whenever it is not just a continuation or a response to the preceding text, but a new exchange starts which takes the conversation or

the story in a different direction. For example, instead of using an S2 default pronoun *ba* ‘they’, a noun phrase *biis la* ‘the children’ is used, as illustrated in the following example (36), where the story takes a dangerous turn and eventually leads to the death of the children.

- (36) 21a) Ka ba yee: : 21b) Fu paam boo?
 and they say.that your receive what
 ‘They said: “What did you receive?”’
- 22a) Ka õ yee: 22b) Ai, mam bu yẽ se’el se’ela ...
 and he say.that oh I:EMPH NEG get thing thing
 ‘He said: “Oh, I did not receive anything ...”’
- 23a) Ka **biis la** yel yee: 23b) « La ya'a ẽ wela yaa,
 and **children DEF** say.to say.that it if to.be like.that OK
- 23c) fu fi'ime fu pãano la be'ela tu tu ...
 you cut.off your bread DEF little.bit give us
 ‘**The children** said: “If that is so, cut off a little bit of your bread for us...” (Text A)

A noun phrase is employed in the S2 environment, instead of a pronoun default coding, in order to highlight an important speech, as in (37), where the father is starting to realize that he made a big mistake, and that he might be responsible for the tragedy unfolding before his eyes.

- (37) 34a) Ka **ba sãamba** yee: 34b) Ka nam paam pãano-kãŋ yaane ...
 and **their father** say.that and you:EMPH receive bread-this where
 ‘**Their father** said: “Where did you get this bread ...?”’ (Text A)

A noun phrase with a relative clause can be used in a situation where the actual storyline has just been interrupted in order to provide background information, as illustrated in (38).

- (38) 7a) Haya, **buraa la ne boot** 7b) ye õ **ku zo'omma,** 7c) me tari õ
 now **man DEF who want that he kill blind+DEF** also have his
 biis.
 children
 ‘Now, **the man who wanted to kill the blind man** had also his children.’ (Text A)

After a long dialog, there is tendency to use a noun phrase coding, even in a same subject (S1) environment, as illustrated in (39).

- (39) 24) Ka **õ** yee : Awoo. 25a) Ka **zo'omma** lak u tãmpoka,
 and **he** say.that OK and **blind + DEF** open his bag + DEF
 'He (the blind man) said: "OK." ' **The blind man** opened his bag ...' (Text A)

4.2.2.2 Non-subject overcoding

When the story takes a different direction, for example in Text A when the evil man not only insults the blind man, but wants to kill him (40), a noun phrase is used for an N1 environment instead of the default pronoun for such an environment.

- (40) 5c) ... ka bu nõŋ u baa be'elaa.
 and NEG like him even little.bit
 '... and did not like him at all.'
- 6a) Ka ne õ gãŋ yam bɔɔt 6b) ye õ ku **buraa la**.
 and with he choose wisdom/decision want that he kill **man DEF**
 'And he decided that he wants to kill **the man**.'

Another reason for non-subject overcoding is the use of a noun phrase to give a hint that an object is going to play an important part in what follows in the story, as in (41), where the rest of the story is all about that child. Thus the overcoding marks a new step in an episode or plot structure.

- (41) 8a) Õ ne gbã'an na, õ mɔ'ɔs **biiya** ka pã'as **biiya** yat
 she when lie.down DEF she nurse **child** and comfort **child** at.the.same.time
 pã'as õ mɛŋ ka kpelum gbĩs.
 comfort her self and suddenly sleep
 'When she lay down, she nursed **the child** and comforted **the child** and she was also comforted and suddenly she fell asleep.' (Text F)

Overcoding for an N2 environment (non-subject addressee is the speaker of preceding clause) can be explained by a conflictual dialog (as will be seen in 5.2.6).

CHAPTER 5

DISCOURSE OPERATIONS

Discourse Operations is a model proposed by Longacre and Hwang (2012). It is complementary to the Sequential Default model of Dooley and Levinsohn (1999) and thus it is helpful to give a better picture of participant reference than one single model could achieve. In this chapter I discuss a variety of discourse operations influencing the choice of referring expressions. Longacre suggests that we have to consider 'three variable factors' (2012, p.82) influencing the choice of referring expressions: first, participant reference resources—I discussed them in chapter 3, so they are not repeated here;— second, participant ranking; and third, discourse operations affecting participant reference (2012, pp.83–5).

5.1 Participant ranking

Longacre says that participants 'may display different patterns of reference depending on their ranking in the story' (2012, p.83). This phenomenon of different patterns of reference is very limited in the Kusaal texts I studied. I found no significant difference in participant reference marking between main and secondary characters in my texts. The encodings used for participant reference for the two types of participants are comparable and none of the coding strategies proposed make reference to a VIP (Very Important Participant). We can, however, detect major and minor participants and props by the way they are introduced in a text. Longacre and Hwang (2012, p.83) write only three lines on ranking. They mention three categories: 'major (central and non-central) and minor (restricted or limited

role) and props (human or non-human).’ I looked at other sources for more information. Dooley and Levinsohn write that ‘major participants are those which are active for a large part of the narrative and play leading roles; minor participants are activated briefly and lapse into deactivation’ (1999, p.59). The way participants are introduced differs according to whether they are major or minor ones.

5.1.1 Major participants

Major participants have a formal introduction. They are introduced in an existential construction with the verb *be* ‘to exist’; that is, in a non-topic, non-interactive role before they become topic in a topic-comment sentence. A participant introduced with an indefinite marker *arakō* ‘one’ or ‘a certain’ is salient in the following episode(s). This can be seen, for example, in Text A, where both major participants are introduced with a presentational clause and an indefinite marker *arakō* ‘one’ as in (42) and in (43).

(42) 1a) **Buraa arakō** da **be**, 1b) ka ē zō'om, ...
 man certain PAST **be** and be blind.person
 ‘There was a **certain man**, he was blind ...’

(43) 5a) Balaa, **nit arakō** da **be** tuŋ-kānna ni, ...
 now **person certain** PAST **be** town.that LOC
 ‘Now, there was a **certain man in that town** ...’

In Kusaal, only major characters are given a proper name, as for example, in (44) Text A, and in (45) Text C. Normally the proper name occurs straightaway at the beginning of the text.

(44) 1c) ka ō **yu'ut boone Azuut**.
 and **his name call Mr Tail**
 ‘... and **his name was Mr Tail**.’

(45) 1a) **Buraa arakō me be** 1b) ka ō **yu'ut boone Ayalum**.
 man certain also be and **his name call Mr Stupid**
 ‘There was a man and **his name was Mr Stupid**.’

In these two texts, the ‘central participants’ (Longacre and Hwang, 2012, p.90) of the story are the only ones who are given a name, and who occur in all the episodes. In five of the six Kusaal texts studied, a proper name is given to the major character(s). The exception is Text F, where the author had only heard the story from someone else on the phone, while he was participating in a workshop far from his own town, where the story actually happened.

The existence of rulers and supernatural beings is assumed and they thus need no introduction, as illustrated by (46) and by (47).

(46) 10a) Ba ne suŋ tus la ke'ɛpa, ka **sisiris** yel ...
 they when begin trees DEF cutting+DEF and **bush spirit** say.to
 ‘When they started cutting the trees, the **bush spirits** said ...’ (Text C)

(47) 11c) ... ka **Wuna'am** sōŋ ...
 and **God** help
 ‘...and **God** helped’ (Text D)

When a major participant is already well known to the audience, there is no need of a formal introduction. So for example, in folktales the major participants don’t formally introduce Mr Hare or Mr Dog (Text B), since everybody knows them well already. In animal stories, animals are given a proper name by putting the prefix A- in front of the general noun for the animal; for example, *baa* ‘dog’ becomes a proper name, *Abaa* ‘Mr Dog’.

A major participant can also be introduced by an event, as illustrated in (48), and (49).

(48) 2b) ka bura-so' wu sos yel ye 22) ti pu'usum v yela ...
 and man.someone come.to beg say.to say.that we pray+IMP his matter
 ‘... and a man **came** (to the class room) and ask us that we should pray for him ...’
 (Text E)

(49) 1a) La da wu beme, 1b) ka Abaa da wu dɔ'ɔ ɔ̃
 it PAST come.to be+FOC that Dog PAST come.to give birth his
 biis.
 children
 ‘Once upon a time it came to pass that Dog **gave birth** to his puppies.’ (Text B)

5.1.2 Minor participants

Minor participants don't have a formal introduction. They are introduced in object roles, identified whenever they appear in the story, as in (50), where the main participant's father is only active in sentences 2 through 8, and then lapses into deactivation. 'Often, they are active for only part of the narrative' (Dooley and Levinsohn, 1999, p.60).

- (50) 2a) Ka ne õ yel **õ ba'** ye, õ ye õ wēeme.
 and and he say.to **his father** say.that he want he travel+FOC
 'Then he said to **his father** that he wants to travel.' (Text D)

In this example a minor participant is related to a major participant: possessive + kin term. Minor participants are introduced without definite article, but are afterwards referred to with a definite article, as illustrated in (51).

- (51) 13a) ka buraa la nok **pāano** ne **kuus tum** 13b) ne õ āa **pāano**
 and man DEF take **bread** with **mouse poison** with he tear **bread**
la 13c) ka ēŋ kuus **tumma** yugus ...
 DEF and do mouse **poison+DEF** scatter
 '... the man took **bread** and **mouse poison** and then he tore **the bread** and scattered **the mouse poison** inside ...'

5.1.3 Props

'Participants are usefully distinguished from props. Props have only a passive role in the story; they never do anything significant' (Dooley and Levinsohn, 1999, p.19). A prop can also be 'a location accessible to the reader' (Longacre and Hwang, 2012, p.91), as in (52). Participants, on the other hand, are actors; they take an active role. Props are referents of short-term significance and they have full descriptive noun phrases.

- (52) 12c) ... õ ya'a ti paa **buraa la za'ayōori** ...
 he when go.to reach **man DEF house.entrance+LOC**
 '... when he arrived **at the man's house entrance** ...' (Text A)

A prop is typically inanimate, but can also include animates that are not volitional agents, as in (53).

- (53) 9b) ... ne ẽ gbã'a ẽ **ma win buu**, ...
 and he catch **his mother destiny goat**
 ‘... and he caught **his mother's protection goat** ...’ (Text D)

‘His mother’s protection goat’ is mentioned only here in the whole text, and is in a passive role with no further significance.

Family members don’t normally get a special introduction. They are just assumed and belong to the generally shared picture of the world, so they simply appear in subject or non-subject roles. General bystanders don’t get a special introduction either, since they can be assumed to be present.

Most props are in a non-subject reference. In general, they receive default coding (see chapter 4), as in (54).

- (54) 4b) ...ne ẽ sost **niripa** 4c) ye **ba** sõŋ v ne se'el.
 with he beg+IPFV **people**+DEF that **they** help him with thing
 ‘... and he was begging **people** so that **they** help him with something.’ (Text A)

In the next section, I discuss discourse operations affecting participant references.

5.2 Discourse operations

The Discourse Operations model especially helps to understand and explain some of the non-default coding. Longacre gives a list of ten discourse operations (2012, p.84), but on the previous page he also states that a ‘text or a given language might not use all ten’. For my selected texts, I found the following seven operations to be particularly useful:

First mention (F)

Integration into the story as central (I)

Tracking routinely (T)

Restaging or reinstatement (R)

Boundary marking episode (B)

Confrontation and/or role change (C)

Evaluation or comment by the narrator (E)

5.2.1 First mention of participants (F)

The Sequential Default model described in the previous chapter does not propose default encodings for introducing participants (there coded INTRO), so I am describing them here. The introduction of participants in the Discourse Operations model is called ‘first mention’ (F). These introductions refer to both subject and object introductions. In the six Kusaal texts I studied, these introductions are nearly evenly split between subject position (53%) and object position (47%).

The introductions of participants can be done by a noun or a noun phrase, or even by a pronoun, as in the personal account, Text E.

Existential clauses are often used to introduce or present a new entity (or major participant) into a new mental representation. Such a presentational construction ‘is to call the attention of an addressee to the hitherto unnoticed presence of some person or thing in the speech setting’ (Lambrecht, 1994, p.39). Most such existential clauses occur in the beginning of a discourse and they prepare the hearer for what the following story is about. In Kusaal a presentational clause always has the subject of the clause followed by the verb **be** ‘to be’ or ‘to exist’. Most important participants are introduced with a presentational clause, as in (55), followed by clauses in which the introduced participant is topic even though he has a zero anaphora.

- (55) 1a) **Buraa arakõ** da be, 1b) ka Ø ẽ zɔ'ɔm,
man certain PAST be/exist and Ø be blind.person
 'There was **a certain man**, and (he) was blind ...' (Text A)

This formal introduction causes the hearer to activate the participant, and it helps him to organize a mental representation around that major participant. The main participant is also introduced with a special indefinite marker *arakõ* that can be translated in English by 'one' or 'a certain'. The Kusaal word *arakõ* refers literally to the cardinal numeral 'one'. This linguistic form of an entire presentational sentence makes the new referent central, and it is clear to the hearer that this participant will be prominent in what is following.

Another introduction formula, though occurring less frequently (only once in my texts), is the use of the indefinite marker *so'* 'someone, a certain', as in (56).

- (56) 2b) ... ka **bura so'** wu sos yel ...
 and **man certain/some** come to ask say
 '... and **a certain man** came to say that' (Text E)

Minor participants are quite often introduced in reference to another participant. In the texts studied, I found six occurrences of this, as in (57).

- (57) 3a) Bii daa be ne õ **saboo**.
 child resent past to be with **her boyfriend**
 'There was a child (girl) with **her boyfriend**.' (Text F)

This always involves a possessive/associative noun phrase construction.

5.2.2 Integration into the story as central (I)

In some texts, a participant is integrated (I) as central 'by repeating the form used for (F) or using more information than is needed for identification' (Longacre and Hwang, 2012, p.84). As illustrated in (58), immediately after the first mention within a story, a succeeding noun phrase refers to the referent just introduced with a

definite article. The definite article in Kusaal also has a demonstrative sense of ‘the (field) we just talked about’.

- (58) 2b) Ka ba ye sã'at ne dtɔ wāna la, **sã'ata**
 and they say.that grassland which put.down like.that DEF **grassland+DEF**
 ba bu kɔɔr uu.
 they NEG hoe+IPFV him
 ‘And they said that the field that lies there like this, **that field** must not be farmed.’
 (Text C)

5.2.3 Tracking routinely of participants (T)

The tracking routinely (T) suggested by Longacre is an operation that ‘does not call for any special marking, such as continuous, subsequent references to a referent already introduced inside the discourse boundary’ (2012, p.84). So it is the same idea as the default coding of the Sequential Default suggested by Dooley and Levinsohn (1999), and discussed in chapter 4; thus, it needs no further discussion here. Longacre also noticed that the form for (T) ‘would be commonly used in reporting event line information’ (2012, p.84). This certainly applies to Kusaal narrative texts.

5.2.4 Restaging of participants (R)

When a participant returns to the stage after an absence, Longacre and Hwang speak of ‘restaging or reinstatement’ (2012, p.84). They do not indicate how long a participant is off-stage, but episode boundaries are a key element in determining the need for this code. Restaging is done for a participant not referenced in the preceding clause or clauses. It can be seen as re-introduction of the participants, as in (59).

- (59) 9a) Ka **zɔ'ɔmma** ya'a gilig sos wakat woo nee ...
 and **blind+DEF** when go.around beg time all LOC
 ‘And every time when **the blind man** goes out begging ...’ (Text A)

In Text A, it was stated in earlier clauses 2) and 4a) that the blind man went around begging, but in the meantime, the evil man was on stage from clause 5a) to 8b). So the blind man is reinstated with a full noun phrase with a definite article indicating that the author is talking about the same blind man as in clauses 1a) to 4c). It is also the beginning of a new description of the situation, showing the degree to which the evil man hated the blind man.

Then, after a time gap, beginning a new episode, and indicated by *daar arakō* ‘one day’, the blind man is restaged again with a full noun phrase (60).

(60) 12a) Daar arakō, ka **zo'omma** len yi ...
 day certain that **blind+DEF** again go.out
 ‘One day, **the blind man** went out again’ (Text A)

In Text C 5a) we are told that Ayelim went to ‘his family’ telling them that they should go with him and farm that field. Later on in clause 16), we are told that Ayelim farms with ‘his children’. The children are not introduced but are assumed as part of the family, so they are just mentioned without reference to any previous occurrence at the beginning of the story. The same principle can be seen in Text D, where in clause 5d), we are introduced to Abamil’s ‘family’. Only later, when he got home again in clause 13b), are we explicitly informed that his ‘family’ actually consisted of ‘his father, his mother, his wife and all his children’. This is because they had no role to play in the beginning of the story, even though they were there implicitly, so they are explicitly introduced only much later.

5.2.5 Boundary marking episode or sub-episode (B)

Boundary marking (B) is another element of Discourse Operations. It makes reference to episode boundaries within a text. In Kusaal, a change in episode is

often marked by a point of departure, as in Text A, where at the beginning of each new paragraph or episode a noun phrase is used, as illustrated in Table XI

Table XI: Boundary marking episodes in Text A

Para-graph	Sentences	Content
¶1	(S 1-6)	Setting the scene: Crucial information of time, place and participants are given.
Episode 2 begins with: 'Now, the man who wanted to kill the blind man ... '		
¶2	(S 7-11)	Background information. Inciting moment, 'Get something going'
Episode 3 begins with: 'One day, the blind man went out again on his begging tour...'		
¶3	(S 12-13)	First step towards a problem: Developing conflict
Episode 4 begins with: 'Now, when the blind man arrived, he took the bread and gave it to him ...'		
¶4	(S 14-15)	A new step to the problem in sight: The situation intensifies
Episode 5 begins with: 'Now, when the blind man was departing, he then arrived at a certain place...'		
¶5	(S 16-27)	Crisis leading to the climax: It gets worse, disaster lay ahead.
Episode 6 begins with: ' One of them got up and said: " <i>My stomach hurts.</i> " '		
¶6	(S 28-39)	Climax: (Direct speech) Panic of the father, the conversation gets faster and disaster is inevitable.

For example, the blind man is the subject of the final clause of paragraph/episode ¶4 (sentence 15), so we would expect a zero reference for the default coding of sentence 16), ¶5. We have, however, a full noun phrase marking the episode boundary. The same can be observed for the boundary between episodes 1 and 2, where the evil man is the subject of the final clause 6b) of episode 1, and we would expect a default zero coding for the beginning of episode 2, since it starts with the same participant. But what we find is a point of departure and a noun phrase with a relative clause 'Now, the man who wanted to kill the blind man ...'

An example of a fuller coding for the object is found at the end of the first episode where the default coding for the same non-subject (NI) would be a pronoun, but we have a noun phrase, as in (61).

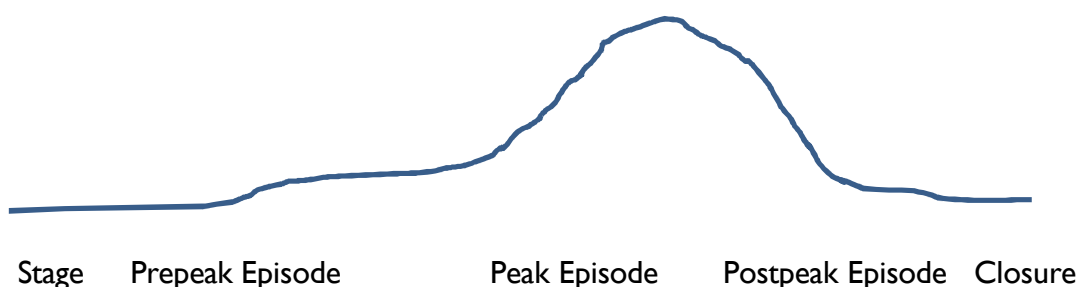
(61) 6a) Ka ne ã gãŋ yam bɔɔt 6b) ye ã ku **buraa la.**
 and with he choose wisdom/decision want that he kill **man DEF**
 ‘And he decided that he wants to kill **the man.**’ (Text A)

Longacre (2012, p.54) also suggests that ‘we can draw a profile of the story as a visual representation of its horizontal structure’. He calls this analysis of a story a macrosegmentation, and we can draw a profile diagram to visualize the development of the story. I have represented this for Text A as follows in table XII:

Table XII: Macrosegmentation of Text A

Surface Structure Slot	Notional Structure Schema Slot	Sentences	Content
Stage	Exposition	1-11	Man plans to kill the blind man
Prepeak Episode	Inciting incident	12-27	Man putting poison into bread; it gets into his own children
Peak Episode	Climax	28-39	Panic conversation with his children and death of the children
Postpeak Episode	Denouement, moral	40-42	Moral of the story
Closure	Closing formula	43	Take it to heart

Figure 4: Profile diagram of Text A



5.2.6 Confrontation and/or role change (C)

A response in a dialogue can involve interactions that are not direct responses to the previous utterance, but are rather part of a conflictual dialog. In a discourse operation context of confrontation, we often encounter an overcoding—a noun phrase as in (62), where the default coding for an S2 (addressee in dialog) environment would be a pronoun.

- (62) 34a) Ka **ba sāamba** yee: 34b) Ka nam paam pāano-kāñ
 and **their father** say.that and you:EMPH receive bread+DEM
 yaane ?
 where
 ‘**Their father** said: “Where did you get this bread?” ’ (Text A)

The same principle applies for Text D clause 8a) ‘And his father said’ instead of ‘And he said’.

Even an undercoding can occur in conflictual dialog as in (63) where a pronoun would be used as a S2 default encoding, but no reference to the speaker is given at all.

- (63) 19a) Ka ba le lebis yee: 19b) « Tun. »
 and they again reply say.that we:EMPH
 ‘They said again: “(It is) us.” ’
 20a) Ø « Awoo, ti ne tna sōñi ya ...
 Ø OK we FUT come.here help you
 ‘(They said) “OK, we will come and help you ... ” ’ (Text C)

This discourse operation can also occur in relation to role change, as in (64), where bread, which is normally seen to be good for food, became a dangerous object because it was poisoned. So instead of a default zero coding for an NI environment, it gets overcoded, in the form of a noun phrase.

- (64) 14a) ... ka ò nok **pāano la** tis v.
 and he take **bread DEF** give him
 ‘... he took **the bread** and gave it to him.’ (Text A)

Later in the story, in clause 22b), the blind man says to the children that he ‘didn’t get anything (good) it is only bread’ which of course has become something bad since it is poisoned.

The same principle of role change occurs in Text C, where the bush spirits are actually harmful, but they appear to be helpful. Now, in the role change to appearing to be helpful, they are referred to by a noun phrase.

5.2.7 Evaluation and comment by the narrator (E)

‘At the point of confrontation or climax, often the eventline is suspended and some evaluative comment may occur’ (Longacre and Hwang, 2012, p.84). In Text A the eventline is suspended for a rhetorical question by the author, as in (65).

(65) 27d) M ẽṅɪ m meṅa! 38 **Ke'e lanna wāna bee?**

I do my self **is.not it+DEF like.that query**
 “I did it to myself!” **Is it not like that?**

39a) Tɔ, ka la ne tɔ'ɔ be'ela la, 39b) biis ayi la **zā'asa**

OK and it when last little.bit DEF children two DEF **all**
 kpime.

die+FOC

‘OK, after a little time, **all** the two children died.’

The highlighting demonstrative expression, *lanna wāna* ‘like that’, refers back to the content of the whole story, and it is clear that the hearer/listener agrees with the author: Doing bad things to others is never good. But the interesting bit for revealing the author’s evaluation is the referent expression in clause 39b) where he adds the word *zā'asa* ‘all’. Up to this point, the author’s fullest coding when referring to the children was ‘the two children’, but here at the climax he refers to them as ‘all of the two children’, which is a clear overcoding, and indicates the gravity of the consequences of doing evil to others. By this overcoding the author

wants to convey to the audience that by doing evil to others, one can lose 'all', or everything.

Towards the end of Text C, the narrator puts the explanation or comment on the story into the mouth of the people saying that he shouldn't have farmed at that cursed field, since it was clear that bush spirits live there (my summary of clauses 55a to 57b). I surmise that this comment was included in the story because the author told the story to me as a foreigner. A Kusaal audience would not need that explanation to understand the story, because everyone knows that one should not challenge a prohibition or a tradition.

5.2.8 Other codes

The other codes suggested by Longacre: (L) Locally contrastive/thematic status, and (X) Exit from the story are not discussed here, since they are not found in my Kusaal narrative text collection, as Kusaal does not appear to have special encodings for these situations. The (A) Addressee in a dialogue exchange corresponds to S2, and has already been discussed in section 4.1.2.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this study, I have looked at the forms used for participant reference in Kusaal narrative texts. In chapter 4, I applied Dooley and Levinsohn's Sequential Default model to six Kusaal texts. In chapter 5 I used Longacre and Hwang's Discourse Operations methodology. As a result, I discovered the Kusaal default encoding for participant reference and I discussed the non-default encodings in the light of the discourse operations suggested by Longacre.

In this chapter, I give a synthesis of my findings from the application of the two methods, and summarize the participant reference system of Kusaal narrative texts.

Kusaal uses minimal participant reference coding material for consecutive same subject S1 clauses. This minimal coding is a zero marking (\emptyset) after a *ka* 'and' connector, and a pronoun after other clause connectors (4.1.1). Default minimal coding of zero (for inanimate) or pronoun (for animate) is used for same non-subject referents (N1 environment 4.1.5). A zero reference is the default coding when the referent is addressee of reported speech and speaker of a preceding clause (N2 environment 4.1.6).

A pronoun is the default participant reference coding strategy in an S2 (subject is addressee of preceding clause 4.1.2) or an N3 environment (referent is involved in preceding clause in a different role than N1 or N2, see 4.1.7).

Noun phrases are the default coding strategy for an S3 environment (subject is non-subject in the preceding clause, 4.1.3) and in an S4 environment (other changes of subject, 4.1.4). A noun phrase is also the default encoding for an N4 environment (other non-subject references, 4.1.8).

Fuller coding is used to introduce participants (First mention 5.2.1). Major participants are introduced with a presentational clause using the verb *be* 'exist' and the indefinite marker *arakō* 'one/certain'. Often a new participant is introduced with a noun phrase relating him to another already known participant, for example 'his children'. In animal stories, the participants are introduced simply by an animal name prefixed by A- which transforms the generic animal name into a proper name. Noun phrases are often used for restaging participants after an absence (5.2.4), for boundary marking episodes (5.2.5) and in confrontation or conflict sentences (5.2.6).

Participant ranking does not seem to influence the form of participant reference in the Kusaal texts studied. In fact, the same participant reference forms are used for major and minor participants, as well as for props (5.1). Major participants, however, get a formal introduction (5.1.1), whereas minor participants and props are introduced informally (5.1.2 and 5.1.3).

I found the Sequential Default method to be a very useful systematic way to discover the natural default tracking of participant reference. It is a practical method in eight steps, helping to find marked and default forms of reference. It is useful to differentiate the eight environments of subjects and non-subjects, and it gives a clear understanding of default marking that can be observed throughout all the narrative Kusaal texts told or written by a spectrum of authors of various ages. The Discourse Operation methodology takes us a step further, giving insights into what

might be affecting overcoding or undercoding. The discourse operations look beyond default coding usage, which is helpful in sorting out the different noun phrases and marked information in the texts studied.

The Sequential Default methodology and the Discourse Operations methodology are two models working in complementarity to provide a fuller understanding. This need of complementarity is expressed in many Kusaal proverbs, like the following one in (66).

- (66) Nu'uk arakõ bu vaat zom.
hand one NEG gather flour
'One hand alone cannot gather the flour.'
(Meaning: You have to cooperate with others in order to achieve good results)'

One of the desired outcomes of this study was to help Kusaasi authors and writers of literature, but especially those who translate from French or English into Kusaal. The list of participant reference devices given in this study can be used to compare the forms of references used in translated texts to the ones in original kusaal texts. Writers and translators should be aware of the variety of possibilities in Kusaal to communicate their message in a natural way. For example the high percentage of pronoun and zero reference should be considered. Thus, for example not all French or English noun phrases for participants should be translated with a noun phrase into Kusaal. The writer should employ noun phrases to introduce participants and at episode boundary and confrontation dialogue etc., but he should employ minimal references like pronouns or zero references where it is more natural in Kusaal. If the translator simply imitates the French or English, putting in too much coding material, the translated product sounds foreign and unnatural, and the text is hard to read and process. On the other hand, translated texts dealing with unfamiliar cultural contexts may need more explicit reference.

I am aware that not all non-default coding was fully explored in this study. For example the Discourse Operations method also includes the idea of 'peak', an area of rising tension (5.2.6) where normal grammatical patterns are often disrupted. Thus, dividing the texts into episodes, and exploring various grammatical features in those different episodes could prove helpful in further examining some non-default participant reference encodings. In addition, it would be interesting to study the Kusaal participant reference system for additional types of texts such as procedural, expository, behavioural or dialogue genres. It would be interesting to compare these non-narrative discourse genres with the narrative genre discussed in this study.

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APPENDIX I

TYPOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF KUSAAL

An overview of the most important properties of Kusaal phonology, morphology and grammar is given. What is intended here is to characterize in very few words the basic features of the structure of Kusaal. To understand this can be useful for the reader of this dissertation. I also give some explanations of the established orthography of Kusaal.

I. Phonology:

Table XIII: Consonant phonemes

		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio- velar	Glottal
Stops	Voiceless	p	t		k	kp	ʔ
	Voiced	b	d		g	gb	
Fricatives	Voiceless	f	s				h
	Voiced	v	z				
Lateral	Voiced		l				
Glides	Voiced	w		y			
Nasals	Voiced	m	n		ŋ		

Important allophone rules: /d/: [d], [r]; /s/: [s], [h]; /f/: [f], [h]; /g/: [g], [ʎ], [y], [ʔ], [∅]; /y/: [y], [n].

Orthography and pronunciation:

Kusaal orthography:	y	w	yã	gb	kp	g	'
IPA:	[j]	[ʋ]	[nã]	[g ^w]	[k ^w]	[ʎ]	[ʔ]

Table XIV: Vowel phonemes

	Short			Long		
	Front oral / nasal	Central oral / nasal	Back oral / nasal	Front oral / nasal	Central or. / nas.	Back or./ nas.
High close	i		u	i:		u:
High open	ɪ ĩ		ʊ ũ	ɪ: ã:		ʊ: õ:
Mid close	e		o	e:		o:
Mid open	ɛ ẽ		ɔ õ	ɛ: ẽ:		ɔ: õ:
Low		a ã			a: ã:	

The tonal system of Kusaal has three tones, high (H) and mid (M), and low (L) (which actually is phonetically a falling tone) as well as a down-stepped high tone (!H), symbolized by acute accent (á), middle accent (ā), grave accent (à), and for the down-stepped high tone a small elevated exclamation mark before acute accent (¹á).

High	bǎŋ	H	‘bangle’
Mid	bāŋ	M	‘crocodile’
Low	õ bǎŋ	L	‘he knows’
High-Down-stepped	kpǎ¹úŋ	H-¹H	‘guinea fowl’

Downdrift: The pitch is phonetically lowered at every transition from L to H. Pitch lowering can progress to a point that a H tone relatively late in the utterance has a lower pitch than an earlier L tone.

Stress is on the penultimate syllable.

2. Morphology:

- Inflection: suffixes are predominant
- Derivation: suffixes only
- Compounding: right headed noun-noun and noun-adjective
- Nouns: Six genres with inflectional classes for number marking: each genre has a pair of suffixes for singular and plural (classes I to I2); two additional classes have only a singular (classes I3 & I4), no semantic classes.

- Verbs:
 - Preverbal tense marking
 - Aspect marking by suffixes and tone
 - No subject-verb or other grammatical agreement.
- Reduplication: complete reduplication; many ideophones and adverbials
- Juncture feature: When two words or clitics come together within a phonological word such that the first ends in a consonant and the second begins with a consonant, a transition vowel of central indeterminate quality [ə] is inserted between the two words or clitics. The inserted vowel is non-phonemic.

3. Syntax:

- Categories :
 - Nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, auxiliaries, adverbs, postpositions. Adjectives have nominal character. Most postpositions are nouns.
- Word order
 - Subject – TAMP - Verb - Object (unmarked declarative sentence order), though direct objects or location/temporal elements may be fronted for emphasis.
 - Adpositions, determiners, adjectives are all post nominal
 - Negation is preverbal.
- TAM:
 - Tense: distinction between present, past and future. The distinction between past and present is not always marked.
 - Aspect: Perfective versus imperfective (Perfective aspect covers an action which is viewed as a whole or carries the idea of completion; imperfective aspect covers continuous and (usually) habitual actions.
 - Mood: Realis versus irrealis (Realis mode is used in main clauses which are declarative in nature; irrealis mode is used for the future tense, in imperative and optative clauses, and for certain specific purposes in discourse.) Mood is marked by preverbs and by tone patterns.
- Other aspects:
 - No overt case marking.
 - Serial verb constructions are very common.

- Movement of constituents: focus and Wh-questions are fronted
- Passive: only impersonal passive.
- Clauses may be joined by the coordinating conjunctions *ka* “and, sequential”, *ne* “and, additive”, *amaa* “but” or *bee* “or”. In a of multi-sentence discourse *ka* ‘and’ very often begins a sentence.

4. Orthography

Kusaal, like other Burkina languages, uses the Latin alphabet with the addition of some phonetic symbols approved by the Burkina Faso government: *ɛ*, *ɪ*, *ɲ*, *ɔ*, *ʊ*, and the tilde for nasalisation.

In most cases, the relation between the sounds of Kusaal and their respective orthographic representations is one-to-one. Some exceptions exist, especially for the double sounds that are represented by the digraphs *kp* and *gb* in the orthography, but which are pronounced by many speakers as *[kw]* and *[gw]*.

Up to 2011 the Kusaasi people in Burkina Faso attended literacy classes in Moore, which is a closely related language. But in 2012 several organisations worked together to develop a Burkina Kusaal orthography guide. The Burkina spelling for Kusaal differs in some ways from the Ghanaian orthography which has had more Eastern Kusaal influence and does not use the tilde to signal nasalised vowels, but inserts an *n* after a vowel to indicate nasalisation.

Representation of tone is deemed unnecessary in the Kusaal orthography. Tonal representations would make the orthography rather cumbersome, and the tones on words change according to their context in a sentence.

Official approval of the orthography guide is pending. The National Sub-Committee for Kusaal was created in 2013, and is responsible for reviewing and approving such documents.

Below, a few additional features of Kusaal orthography are highlighted.

- **Long vowels** are written as digraphs in the orthography: *aa*, *ee*, *ɛɛ*, *ii*, *u*, etc.
- **Nasalised vowels** are marked by a tilde on top of them: *ã*, *ẽ*, *ĩ*, *õ*, *ũ*. In the case of long vowels, only the first one is marked by a tilde: *ãa*, *ẽe*, *ĩi*, etc.

- The vowels can be interrupted by a **glottal stop**. The glottal stop is marked by an apostrophe ': *a'a*, *e'e*, *ẽ'ẽ*, etc. All words beginning with a vowel are preceded by a glottal stop, but this is not marked, whereas words ending in a glottal stop are marked by an apostrophe: *da'* 'to buy', *bv'* 'to hit' etc., since words ending with a vowel do not automatically have a glottal stop after the vowel.

APPENDIX 2 LIST OF 30 KUSAAL TEXTS

Table XV: List of 30 interlinearised Kusaal texts

Text Nr.	Type of text and Kusaal Title:	English Title:	Author and approximate age:	Word count
Narrative traditional				
1.	Nisaal tuum-be'et yoot	The Reward for Bad Works	S. Nanga, 60y	668
2.	Yam gat pāŋ	Intelligence is Better than Strength	S. Nanga, 60y	414
3.	Aso'ŋ ne Akoroŋ	Mr Hare and Mr Partridge	S. Nanga, 60y	839
4.	Awāaŋ ne Asūul	Mr Monkey and Mr Hare	F. Ndeogo, 40y	763
5.	Kpubik ne buntat dāan	The Orphan and the Rich Man	F. Ndeogo, 40y	843
6.	Anobil ne Agel	The Chick and the Egg	F. Ndeogo, 40y	271
7.	Abaa ne Asūmbul	Mr Dog and Mr Hare	M. Ouaré, 45y	729
8.	Nōŋdāan bii ne na'ap	The Poor Man and the Chief	M.Ouaré, 45y	1,458
9.	Sɛ'ɛ ne so'o ka baa bu tō'on bas na'ayīgum	Why the Dog Must Steal	Zobra R. 55y	860
10.	Sɛ'ɛ ne so'o ka ba basit ka kpubik dol niripa	Why Orphans Now Live with People	Zobra R. 55y	771
11.	Da gāasut niriba	Don't Select/Favour People	Zobra R., 55y	1,180
12.	Tō'os	Story about a Hunter	M. Ouaré, 45y	1,340
13.	Ayalum po-paalika yela	Ayalim's New Field	E. Wangré, 55y	794
14.	Asumbul ne Azāŋk'ot	Mr Hare and Mr Hyena	M. Souga, 40y	334
15.	Azāŋk'ot ne Asugul	Mr Hyena and Mr Hare	E. Souga, 50y	1,295
16.	Bii ka ba lob bas	The Child that they Threw away	M. Souga, 40y	480
17.	Ztwēel daavk	Story of a Liar	M. souga, 40y	512
18.	Buraa ne bu de'et pā'asugo	The Man who Refused Consolation	E. Wangré, 55y	1,026
Narrative personal account				
19.	Abambil Komaasi tun	Abambis's Travel to Kumasi	K. Ouaré, 25y	381
20.	Wina'am gu'urum	God's Protection	M. Souga, 40y	419
21.	Sū-sā'aŋ yelle	A Sad Event	E. Wangré, 55y	445

Behavioural				
22.	Mba sakut tun yela	Mba's School Matters	K. Ouaré, 25y	413
23.	Kārēnbiis sā'aluk	Exhortation to Students	E. Wangré, 55y	794
Dialogue				
24.	Monik ne Kobena sōsuk	Monik and Kobena's Conversation	M. Ouaré, 35y K. Ouaré, 25y	633
25.	Monik ne Silveent sōsuk	Monik and Silvan's Conversation	M. Ouaré, 35y S. Ouaré, 22y	444
26.	Eli ne Martin sōsuk	Eli and Martin's Conversation	E. Wangré, 55y M. Souga, 45y	1,279
Expository				
27.	Kɔɔ-sum nuup yela	About Drinking Clean Water	K. Ouaré, 25y	432
Procedural				
28.	Kpaam maaluk yela	How to Make Butter	K. Ouaré, 25y	227
29.	Kusaan ne met v dook	How to Build a House	M. Souga, 45y	574
30.	Kusaas pɔ'a dit yela	How to Get Married	E. Wangré, 55y	894

APPENDIX 3

SEQUENTIAL DEFAULT CHART FOR TEXT A

Ref	Con	Subject	Code	Non-Subj.	Code	Free Translation
¶ 1 1a		man one [1]	INTRO			There was a certain man,
1b	and	Ø [1]	SI	blind		Ø was blind,
1c	and	his name	SI	Azuut		and his name was called Mr Zuut
2	PoD	he [1]	SI			Because he was a blind man, he used to go around begging.
3a	PoD	he [1]	SI	some-thing	N4	When he went around begging, it was in his begging that he got something.
3b		Ø [1]	SI	Ø	NI	Ø put Ø into his mouth
4a	PoD	he [1]	SI			Every day he went around
4b	with	he [1]	SI	people [3]	INTR O	and also he begging at people
4c	for	they [3]	S3	him [1]	N3	for they help him with something.
5a	Thus	one person [2]	INTRO			Thus, a certain person was there in that town
5b	with	he [2]	SI	him [1]	N3	and also he hated him,
5c	and	Ø [2]	SI	him [1]	NI	and Ø did not like him at all.
6a	and with	he [2]	SI			and now he decided
6b	that	he [2]	SI	the man [1]	NI	that he was going to kill the man.
¶ 2 7a-7c	PoD	Ø [2]	SI	his [4] children	INTR O	Now the man who wanted to kill the blind, Ø also had his children.
8a	Ø	his [4] children	S3			His children were two
8b	with	they [4]	SI	him [2]	N3	and also they lived with him.
9a	and	the blind [1]	S4			And every time when the blind went around to beg
9b	Ø	he [1]	SI	the man's entrance	N4	when he arrived at the man's house entrance
9c	with	he [1]	SI			with him being begging

9d	Ø	the man [2]	S4	him [1]	N3	the man insulted him,
9e	and	Ø [2]	SI	him [1]	NI	and Ø mocked him,
9f	and	Ø [2]	SI	him [1]	NI	and Ø scoffed him,
9g	and	Ø [2]	SI	him [1]	NI	and Ø shouted at him
9h-10b	and	Ø [2]	SI	Ø [1]	NI	and Ø said Ø (to him): “You should leave for one day you will know what is there. You will die and know.”
11a	Ø	it	S4			It was like that every day, every day
11b	that	he [2]	S4	the man [1]	N3	that he did this to the man.
¶ 3 12a	One day	the blind [1]	S3			One day the blind went out again,
12b	with	he [1]	SI	his begging	N4	and also he went again to his begging,
12c	with	he [1]	SI	the man's entrance	N4	and also he arrived at the man's entrance
13a	PoD, and	the man [2]	S3	bread and [5] poison	INTR O	when he arrived at the man's entrance, the man took bread and mouse poison
13b	with	he [2]	SI	the [5] bread	NI	and also he tore the bread
13c	and	Ø [2]	SI	poison [5]	NI	and Ø put the mouse poison inside
		Ø [2]	SI	Ø [5]	NI	Ø scatter Ø (it)
13d	and with	he [2]	SI	Ø [5]	NI	and now he closed Ø (it) to its normal shape.
¶ 4 14a	PoD	he [2]	SI	the [5] bread	NI	Now, when the blind man arrived, he took the bread
14b		Ø [2]	SI	him [1]	NI	Ø gave Ø (it) to him.
15a	and	the blind [1]	S3	Ø [5]	NI	The blind received Ø (it)
15b	and	Ø [1]	SI	him [2]	N4	and Ø thanked him,
15c	and	Ø [1]	SI	Ø [5]	N4	and Ø take Ø (it) put inside his bag
15d	DM	he [1]	SI			and now he continued his way.
¶ 5 16a	PoD	he [1]	SI	certain place	N4	Now, when the blind man was passing, he arrived at a certain place

16b	Ø	Ø [1]	S1	the [4] man's children	N4	Ø met the man's children
16c	and	they [4]	S3	school	N4	and they came from school
16d		Ø [4]	S1			Ø returning home.
17	PoD, and	they [4]	S1	Ø [1]	N4	When they encountered the blind, and they said Ø (to him): "Zuut greetings."
18	and	he [1]	S2	Ø [4]	N2	And he said Ø (to them): "Yes, greetings."
19a- 19b	and	they [4]	S2	Ø [1]	N2	And they said Ø (to him): "Where did you go?"
20a- 20c	and	he [1]	S2	Ø [4]	N2	and he said Ø (to them): "Oh, I also went around begging and now I am returning."
21a- 21b	and	they [4]	S2	Ø [1]	N2	And they said Ø (to him): "What did you receive?"
22a- 22e	and	he [1]	S2	Ø [4]	N2	And he said (to them): "Oh, I did not get anything, it is only bread that they gave me here, and I put it into my bag."
23a- 23e	and	the [4] children	S2	Ø [1]	N2	And the children said Ø (to him): "If that is so, break off a bit from your bread for us so that we eat because we too are hungry."
24	And	he [1]	S2	Ø [4]	N2	And he said Ø (to them): "Alright."
25a	And	the blind [1]	S1	his bag	N4	And the blind opened his bag
25b	and	Ø [1]	S1	the [5] bread		and Ø took the bread
25c	with	he [1]	S1	Ø [5] the children [4]	N1 N4	and also he gave Ø (it) to the children.
26a	And	the [4] children	S3	Ø [5]	N1	And the children also took Ø (it)
26b	with	ba [4]	S1	Ø [5]	N1	and also they broke Ø (it) shared Ø (it) together
26c	with	they [4]	S1	Ø [5]	N1	and also they ate Ø (it).
¶ 6 27	PoD, DM	they [4]	S1	home	N4	When they finished eating Ø, and now they went off and reached

						home.
28a-28b	And	so and so [4]	S3	Ø [4]	N4	And one of them got up and said Ø (to the other): "My stomach hurts."
29a-29b	And	so and so [4]	S2	Ø [4]	N2	And the other also said Ø (to the other): "My stomach hurts."
30a-30c	And	the man [2]	S4	Ø [4]	N2	And the man said Ø (to them): "Why is it that all of you say that your stomachs hurt?"
31a-31b	And	they [4]	S2	Ø [2]	N2	And they said Ø (to him): "Oh, our stomachs hurt."
32a-32b	And	he [1]	S2	Ø [4]	N2	And he said Ø (to them): "What food did you eat?"
33a-33b	And	they [4]	S2	Ø [2]	N2	And they said Ø (to him) that they ate bread.
34a-34d	And	their father [2]	S2	Ø [4]	N2	And their father said Ø (to them): "But where did you get that bread and ate (it) and the stomachs of you all hurt?"
35a-36c	And	they [4]	S2	Ø [2]	N2	And they said (to him): "Ah, the blind Zuut had bread and was passing by and we greeted him and asked him to give us some bread and he gave us bread. We got Ø (it) and shared Ø (it) and ate Ø (it)"
37a-37d	And	he [2]	S2	Ø [4]	N2	And he said Ø (to them): "My father no! I did Ø (damage) to myself, I did Ø (it) to myself, I did Ø (it) to myself!"
38	Ø	Ø		that	N4	"Is (it) not like that?"
39a-39b	PoD	all the two [4] children	S4			OK, after a short time, all of the two children died.

APPENDIX 4

FLEX CHART OF TEXT A

On the following ten pages in Landscape format is the chart of Text A) exported from FLEx. The labels and colours on this chart have the following meaning:

Participants tracking:

[1] <i>zo'om</i>	'blind man'
[2] <i>buraa</i>	'evil man'
[3] <i>nirip</i>	'people'
[4] <i>biis</i>	'children'
[5] <i>paanv</i>	'bread'

Context of Subject Participant Reference

- S1** the subject is the same as in the previous clause or sentence
- S2** the subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence (in a closed conversation)
- S3** the subject was involved in the previous sentence in a non-subject role other than in a closed conversation
- S4** other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3
- INTRO** = participant being introduced for the first time

Context of activated non-subject:

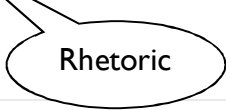

- N1** the referent occupies the same non-subject role as in the previous clause or sentence
- N2** the addressee of a reported speech was the subject (speaker) of a speech reported in the previous sentence
- N3** the referent was involved in the previous sentence in a different role than that covered by N2
- N4** other non-subject references than those covered by N1-N3

Kusaal Text A chart with participant encoding according to Dooley and Levinsohn 1999

#	Pre-nuclear Constituent			Nuclear Constituent				
Ref	Pre-posed	Connec- tive	Subject slots	Subject	Pre-verb TAMP	Verb	Non-subject slots	Object/Complements Non-subject N-Slot
1a		∅	INTRO	Buraa arakō [1] <i>man certain</i>	da <i>PST</i>	be STV <i>to be</i>		
1b		ka <i>and</i>	S1	--- [1]		ē COP <i>to be</i>		zə'om <i>blind person</i>
1c		ka <i>and</i>	S1	ō yu'ut [1] <i>his name</i>		bəone IPFV <i>call</i>		Azɔut <i>Mr. Tail</i>
2	Ō ne ē zə'omma yela, <i>he since be blind because +SP</i>	∅	S1	ō [1] <i>he</i>	da <i>PST</i>	dol sostē IPFV <i>follow beg+FOC</i>		
3a	Ō ne da ɛɛt sosita sosuka pɔvɔ <i>he when past remote look for begging +DEF begging in</i>	ká <i>that COMP</i>	S1	ō [1] <i>he</i>		yēt IPFV N4 <i>see</i>		se'el <i>thing</i>
3b	Tail-head link. Fronting		S1	--- [1]		ɪŋiri IPFV — N1 <i>putting in</i>		ō nɔɔɾɪ <i>his mouth+LOC</i>
4a	Daar woo <i>day every, all</i>	∅	S1	ō [1] <i>he</i>	da yiti AUX <i>PAST usual</i>	giligit ɛɛt IPFV <i>go around look for</i>		
4b	Fronting for prominence	ne <i>with</i>	S1	ō [1] <i>he</i>		sost IPFV INTRO <i>beg</i>		niripa <i>people</i>
4c		ye <i>that</i>	S3	ba [3] <i>they</i>		sōŋ IRR N3 <i>help</i>		ɔ ne se'el. <i>him with thing</i>

The Reward for a Human's Bad Deeds
(Narrative Story A, told by NANGA Simon)
Free translation
There was a certain man, he was blind, and his name was Mr. Tail. Because he was a blind man, he used to go around begging. When he went out begging, it was in his begging activities that he used to get something to put into his mouth. Every day he habitually wandered around in order to beg people so that they would help him by giving something.

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5a	Balaa <i>thus</i>	Ø	<u>INTRO</u>	nit arakō [2] <i>person certain</i>	da <i>PST</i>	be STV <i>to be</i>	tuj-kānna ni <i>town that LOC</i>		
5b		ne	S1	ō [2] <i>he</i>		kis PFV N3 <i>hate</i>	υ <i>him</i>		
5c		ka	S1	--- [2]	bu <i>NEG</i>	nəŋ IRR N1 <i>like, love</i>	υ baa be'elaa <i>him even bit ADV</i>		
6a		Ka ne	S1	ō [2] <i>and then DM he</i>		gāŋ PFV N4 <i>choose</i>	yam buot STV <i>wisdom, want</i>	<div>Know that there was a certain person in that town who hated him and did not like him at all. And he decided that he was going to kill the (blind) man.</div>	
6b		ye	S1	ō [2] <i>that COMP he</i>		ku IRR N1 <i>kill</i>	buraa la <i>man DEF</i>		
<div>Begin of ¶ 2</div>									
7a	Haya, <i>now</i>	<div>Relative clause</div>	Ø	buraa la [2] <i>man DEF</i>	ne <i>who</i>	buot STV <i>want</i>		<div>Now, the man who wanted to kill the blind man also had his children. His children were two and they lived with him. Every time when the beggar went around begging,</div>	
7b			ye	S1	ō [2] <i>that COMP he</i>		ku IRR N1 <i>kill</i>		zə'omma <i>blind+DEF</i>
7c				S1	--- [2]	me <i>also</i>	tarɪ STV <u>INTRO</u> <i>have</i>		ō biis <i>his children</i>
8a		Ø	S3	Ō biis la [4] <i>his children DEF</i>		ēne COP <i>be +FOC</i>	ayi <i>two</i>		
8b		ne	S1	ba [4] <i>and they</i>		be STV N3 <i>to be</i>	ne ō. <i>with him</i>		
9a		Ka	S4	zə'omma [1] <i>and blind +DEF</i>	ya'a <i>when</i>	gilig sos IRR <i>go around beg</i>	wakat woo nee <i>time all LOC/TEMP</i>		

9b		Ø	S1	õ [1] he	ya'a if COND	tɪ ALL paa IRR N4 go to reach	buraa la za'ayōortɪ man DEF entrance house+LOC	
9c		ne and	S1	õ [1] he		sosita IPFV begging +DEF		
9d		Ø	S4	buraa la [2] man DEF		tu'br IPFV N3 insult	ʋ me him FOC	
9e		ka and	S1	---[2]		yaan IPFV NI mock	ʋ him	
9f		ka and	S1	---[2]		pɔ'ɔr IPFV NI scoff /diminish	ʋ him	
9g		ka and	S1	---[2]		tāsɪr IPFV NI shout at	ʋ ka S1--- yee NI him and say.that COMP	
9h		[9h-10b]		[Fv [1] you		basɪm] IMP sg. cease		
9i		[ka because		daat day		tɪnna IRR come here		
9j		ka and		fɪ [1] your	ne FUT	bān IRR know	sɛ'ene be STV thing that to be	
10a	Daar-kānna la that day the DEF	Ø		fɪ [1] you	ne FUT	kpi IRR die		
10b		ka and		--- [1]		bān] IRR know		
11a	Background	Ø	S4	La it		ēne COP to be +FOC	wela daar woo daar woo like that day every day every	
11b		ká	S4	õ [2]		ēt IPFV N4	buraa la.	

when he arrived at the man's house entrance with his begging, the man insulted him, mocked him, demeaned him, shouted at him and said: "Leave (the begging business) because the day comes, and you will know what is there (wrong with your begging). On that day, you will die and know (what was wrong)."

It was like that every day every day that he did this to the (blind) man.

Fronting

		Begin of ¶ 3		that	he		to do	man DEF	
12a	Daar arakō day certain	ká	S4	zə'omma [1]	len	yi PFV			
12b	Fronting for highlighting	ne	S1	ō [1]	len	tuj PFV	N4	ō sosuka	
		and		he	again	go		his begging+DEF	
12c		ne	S1	ō [1]	len ti ALL	paa PFV	N4	buraa la za'ayōori	
		and		he	again go	reach		man DEF entrance+LOC	
13a	Ō ne paa buraa la za'ayōori la he when reach man the entrance of house+LOC DEF	ka	S3	buraa la [2]		nok PFV INTRO		pāano ne kuus tum	
		and		man DEF		take		bread and mouse poison	
13b	Tail-head linkage	ne	S1	ō [2]		āa PFV	N1	pāano la	
		tand		he		tear		bread DEF	
13c		ka	S1	--- [2]		ēj PFV	N1	kuus tumma S1--- yugus	
		and				do, put		mouse poison+DEF scatter	
13d	Begin of ¶ 4	ka ne	S1	ō [2]		lebis PFV	N1	--- mubul	
		and then DM		he		restore		close/whole	
14	Haya, zə'omma ne paana la now blind+DEF when reach DEF	ka	S1	ō [2]		nok PFV	N3	pāano la S1 --- tis N3 v	
		and		he		take		bread DEF give him	
15a	PoD Loc Rhetoric	Ka	S3	zə'omma [1]		də'e PFV	N1	---	
		and		blind+DEF		receive			
15b		ka	S1	--- [1]		pu'us PFV	N4	v barika	
		and				thank		him thanks	
15c		ka	S1	--- [1]		nok --- N1 si --- N1		ō tāmpokū	
		and				take put inside		his bag +LOC	
15d		ka ne	S1	ō [1]		gaar PFV		v gaaruk	

One day, the blind man went out again on his begging tour, and he then again reached the house entrance of that man. When he reached the man's house entrance, the man took bread and mouse poison then he tore the bread and put the mouse poison inside scattering it, and then he re-closed it to its normal shape.

Now, when the blind man arrived, he took the bread and gave it to him. The blind man received it and thanked him and put it into his bag and continued his way.

				<i>and with DM</i>	<i>he</i>		<i>pass</i>	<i>his passing/tour</i>	
16a	Haya, zɔ'ɔmma ne <u>gata</u> IPFV <i>now blind+DEF when passing DEF</i>	Ø	S1	õ [1] <i>he</i>	ti ALL <i>go to</i>	paane IPFV N4	wɛŋ-sɛ'ɛ <i>place some</i>		
16b			S1	--- [1]		tu'us PFV N4	buraa la biis <i>man DEF children</i>		
16c		ka <i>and</i>	S3	ba [4] <i>they (children)</i>		yi PFV N4	sakut <i>school</i>		
16d			S1	--- [4]		lebut kün IPFV <i>return go home</i>			
17	Ba ne tu'us zɔ'ɔmma <i>they then meet blind+DEF</i>	ka <i>and</i>	S1	ba [4] <i>they</i>		ye COMP N2	Azɔvɔre tuuma <i>Mr. Zuut greetings</i>		
18		Ka <i>and</i>	S2	õ [1] <i>he</i>		ye COMP N2	Ëe tuuma <i>yes greetings</i>		
19a		Ka <i>and</i>	S2	ba [4] <i>they</i>		yee COMP N2	[19b]		
19b				[Fv [1] <i>your</i>		tuŋ PFV <i>go</i>	yaa nee] <i>where LOC</i>		
20a		Ka <i>and</i>	S2	õ [1] <i>he</i>		yee COMP N2	[20b-20c]		
20b	[Ai] <i>oh</i>			mam [1] <i>I</i>	me <i>also</i>	gilikē sosɪ IPFV	m sosɔk yaa <i>my begging OK</i>		
20c		ka ne <i>and with DM</i>		m [1] <i>I</i>		lebut] IPFV <i>return</i>			
21a		Ka	S2	ba [4]		yee COMP N2	[21b]		

Begin of ¶ 5

Tail-head link.

Rhetoric

PoD Loc

Now, when the blind man was passing, he then arrived at a certain place where he met the man's children who got out of school and were on their way going home. When they encountered the blind man, they said: "Mr. Zuut, greetings." He said: "Yes, greetings." They said: "Where did you go?"

He said: "Ah, I also went around and begged my begging, and now I am returning."

And they said:

		<i>and</i>	<i>they</i>		<i>say that</i>		
21b			<u>[Fv [1]</u>		<u>paam</u> PFV	<u>boo]</u>	<p>“What did you receive?” And he said: “Ah, I did not get anything, it is just bread that they gave me here, and I put it into my bag.” And the children said: “If that is so, break off a bit from your bread for us so that we eat because we too are hungry.”</p> <p>And he said: “Alright.”</p>
			<i>your</i>		<i>receive</i>	<i>what</i>	
22a		Ka S2	<u>õ [1]</u>		<u>yee</u> COMP N2	[22b-22e]	
		<i>and</i>	<i>he</i>		<i>say that</i>		
22b	<u>[Ai</u>		<u>mam [1]</u>	<u>bv</u>	<u>yē</u> IRR	<u>sɛ'el sɛ'ela</u>	
	<i>so</i>		<i>!EMPH</i>	<i>NEG</i>	<i>see/receive</i>	<i>thing thing (=nothing)</i>	
22c			<u>la</u>		<u>ēne</u> STV + FOC	<u>pāano ma'a</u>	
			<i>the</i>		<i>to be</i>	<i>bread only</i>	
22d		<u>ká</u>	<u>ba [3]</u>		<u>tɪ</u> PFV	<u>mam kpela</u>	
		<i>that</i>	<i>they</i>		<i>to give</i>	<i>me:EMPH here</i>	
22e		<u>ka</u>	<u>mam [1]</u>		<u>si</u> PFV	<u>m tāmɔkɪ la]</u>	
		<i>and</i>	<i>!EMPH</i>		<i>put inside</i>	<i>my bag+LOC DEF</i>	
23a		Ka S2	<u>biis la [4]</u>		<u>yel yee</u> COMP N2	[23b-23e]	
		<i>and</i>	<i>children DEF</i>		<i>say.to say that</i>		
23b			<u>[La</u>	<u>ya'a</u>	<u>ē</u> COP	<u>wela yaa</u>	
			<i>the</i>	<i>if, when</i>	<i>to be COP</i>	<i>like that OK</i>	
23c		Ø	<u>fɪ [1]</u>		<u>fi'ime</u> IMP sg.	<u>fɪ pāano la bɛ'ela tɪ tɪ</u>	
			<i>you</i>		<i>cut off</i>	<i>your bread DEF bit give us</i>	
23d		<u>ka</u>	<u>tɪ [4]</u>		<u>ōbe</u> IRR		
		<i>and</i>	<i>we</i>		<i>crunch / eat</i>		
23e		<u>ka</u>	<u>kom</u>	<u>me</u>	<u>tari</u>	<u>tɪ]</u>	
		<i>because</i>	<i>hunger</i>	<i>also</i>	<i>have</i>	<i>us</i>	
24		Ka S2	<u>õ [1]</u>		<u>yee</u> COMP N2	Awoo	
		<i>and</i>	<i>he</i>		<i>say that</i>	<i>OK</i>	

25a		Ka	S1	zɔ'ɔmma [1]		lak PFV	N4	v tāmpoka	
		and		blind+DEF		open		his bag+DEF	
25b		ka	S1	--- [1]		nək PFV	N4	pāano la	
		and				take		bread DEF	
25c		ne	S1	ō [1]		tis PFV ---	N1 N4	biis la	
		and		he		give		children DEF	
26a		Ka	S3	biis la [4]	me	de'e PFV ---	N1		
		and		children DEF	also	receive			
26b		ne	S1	ba [4]		fi'is --- tot ---	N1	taaba	
		and		they		break share		together	
26c		ne	S1	ba [4]		ōbe PFV ---	N1		
		and		they		crunch/eat			
27	Ba ne <u>ōb</u> ba'as <u>la</u> they when crunch finish DEF	ka ne	S1	ba [4]		tuj ti ALL paa	N4	yiri	
		and with DM		they		go go to reach		home+LOC	
28a		Ka	S3	aza'al [4a]		dɔɔ yee ---	N4	[28b]	
		and		so and so		rise up say that			
28b				[Mam pōo my:EMPH stomach		dūm] PFV			
						hurt			
29a		Ka	S3	aza'al [4b]	me	yee COMP	N2	[29b]	
		and		so and so	also	say that			
29b				[Mam pōo my:EMPH stomach		dūm] PFV			
						hurt			
30a		Ka	S4	bura la [2]		yee COMP	N2	[30b-30c]	

And the blind man opened his bag and took the bread and then gave it to the children. And the children also took it and broke it and shared it together and then they ate it.

When they finished eating, then they went off and then reached home. And one of them got up and said: "My stomach hurts." And the other also said: "My stomach hurts." And the man said:

Begin of ¶ 6

Tail-Head link.

		<i>and</i>	<i>man DEF</i>		<i>say that</i>		
30b	[Bo <i>what?</i>	<u>ká</u>	<u>nam zā'asa [4]</u>		<u>dɔɔ</u> PFV		“Why is it that all of you say that your stomachs hurt?”
30c		<i>that</i>	<i>you:EMPH (pl.) all</i>		<i>rise up</i>		
		<u>ka</u>	<u>--- [4]</u>		<u>ye</u> COMP	<u>ya pōos dūmmaa]</u>	
		<i>and</i>			<i>say that</i>	<i>your stomachs hurt</i>	
31a		Ka S2	ba [4]		yee COMP N2	[31b]	And they said: “Oh, (we don't know) our stomachs hurt.”
		<i>and</i>	<i>they</i>		<i>say that</i>		
31b	[Aa <i>ah</i>		<u>tun pōos [4]</u>		<u>dūm]</u> PFV		
			<i>our:EMPH stomachs</i>		<i>hurt</i>		
32a		Ka S2	ō [2]		yee COMP N2	[32b]	And he said: “What food did you eat?”
		<i>and</i>	<i>he</i>		<i>say that</i>		
32b	[A'a <i>oh no</i>	∅	<u>nam [4]</u>		<u>dɪ</u> PFV	<u>bo duboo]</u>	
			<i>you:EMPH (pl.)</i>		<i>eat</i>	<i>what food</i>	
33a		Ka S2	ba [4]		ye COMP N2		And they said they ate bread.
		<i>and</i>	<i>they</i>		<i>say that</i>		
33b			<u>bam [4]</u>		<u>ōpē</u> PFV	<u>pāano</u>	And their father said: “But where did you get that bread and then ate it and the stomach of you all hurt?”
			<i>they:EMPH</i>		<i>eat +FOC</i>	<i>bread</i>	
34a		Ka S2	ba sāamba [2]		yee COMP N2	[34b-34d]	
		<i>and</i>	<i>their father+DEF</i>		<i>say that</i>		
34b		[Ka	<u>nam [4]</u>		<u>paam</u> PFV	<u>pāano-kān yaane</u>	
		<i>and</i>	<i>you:EMPH (pl.)</i>		<i>receive</i>	<i>bread DEM where ?</i>	
34c		<u>ne</u>	<u>ya [4]</u>		<u>ōb</u> PFV		
		<i>and</i>	<i>you</i>		<i>crunch/eat</i>		
34d		<u>ka</u>	<u>ya zā'asa pōo</u>		<u>dūmmaa]</u> IPFV		

		and		you all stomach		hurt +Q		
35a		Ka	S2	ba [4]		yee [35b-36c] N2		And they said: “Ah, the blind Mr Zuut had bread and was passing by and we greeted him and asked him to take some bread and give it to us. And we received and then we shared it with each other and ate it.”
		and		they		say that		
35b	[Aa			zɔ'ɔm Azuure [1]		tat STV	pāano gat IPFV	
	ah			blind Mr Zuut		have	bread passing by	
35c		ka		tun [4]		pu'us PFV	v	
		and		we:EMPH		greet	him	
35d		ka		--- [4]		sos PFV	v ---	
		and				beg	him	
35e		ka		ō [1]		nok PFV	pāano la tu tun	
		and		he		take	bread DEF give us:EMPH	
36a		Ka		tun [4]		de'e PFV ---		
		and		we:EMPH		receive		
36b		ne		tun [4]		tot PFV ---	taaba	
		and		we:EMPH		share	together	
36c		ne		tun [4]		ōbe] PFV ---		
		and		we:EMPH		crunch/eat		
37a		Ka	S2	ō [2]		yee [37b-37d] N2		And he said: “My Father, no! I did (damage) to myself, I did it to myself! I did it to myself!”
		and		he		say that		
37b	[Mba' yee			M [2]		ēŋɪ PFV	m men	
	my father say that			I		to do	my self	
37c				m [2]		ēŋɪ PFV	m men	
				I		to do	my self	
37d				M [2]		ēŋɪ PFV	m mena]	
				I		to do	my self	

38	Speaker's intrusion	Ø	---		Ke'e <i>COP</i> N4	lanna wāna	bee
					<i>is NEG</i>	<i>that like that</i>	<i>query?</i>
39a	Tō	ka	la	ne	tō' <i>PFV</i>	be'ela la	
	<i>well</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>when</i>	<i>last</i>	<i>little bit DEF</i>	
39b	Begin of ¶ 7	Ø	S4 biis ayi la zā'asa [4]		kpime <i>PFV</i>		
			<i>children two DEF all</i>		<i>die+FOC</i>		
40a	Hortatory text genre from here onwards: the moral of the story.	Ø	Ō [2]	ne	gāŋ <i>PFV</i>	yam	
			<i>he</i>	<i>when</i>	<i>choose</i>	<i>wisdom/decision</i>	
40b		ye	ō [2]		ku <i>IRR</i>	zō'omma	
		<i>that</i>	<i>he</i>		<i>kill</i>	<i>blind+DEF</i>	
40c	Fronting	Ø	lanna	len	wērīkē <i>PFV</i>	sā'am v.	
			<i>that+DEF</i>	<i>again</i>	<i>turn around +FOC</i>	<i>spoil him</i>	
41a	Lanna ke ka zamaan-kāŋa puvu <i>nee</i>	Ø	so'	ya'a	tun <i>IRR</i>	ne ō pūpēlum	
	<i>that cause that generation this in, LOC</i>		<i>somebody</i>	<i>if, when</i>	<i>walk</i>	<i>with his righteousness</i>	
41b		ne	ō		sosit <i>IPFV IRR</i>	se'el	
		<i>and</i>	<i>he</i>		<i>beg</i>	<i>thing</i>	
41c			fu	ya'a bu	tat tit <i>IRR</i>	uv	
			<i>you</i>	<i>if NEG</i>	<i>have give</i>	<i>him, her</i>	
41d			fu		sīn būsīr <i>IPFV</i>	v	
			<i>you</i>		<i>be silent look</i>	<i>him</i>	
41e		ka	---	da	bōot <i>IRR</i>		
		<i>but</i>		<i>NEG IMP</i>	<i>want</i>		
41f		ye	fu		yiis <i>IRR</i>	v yōore	
		<i>that</i>	<i>you</i>		<i>cause to go out</i>	<i>his nose, life</i>	

'Is it not like that?'

Alright, after a short time, the two children died.

When he decided to kill the blind man, that very thing turned again and destroyed him. This makes that in this generation (nowadays), if somebody goes with righteousness (innocence) and begs something, if you don't have (something to) give him, you should be quiet and look at him, but you should not want to take away his life.

42a		∅	La		ke'ε COP		It is not you who are God who gives life to humans.
			<i>the</i>		<i>be NEG</i>		
42b			fuv		ẽ COP	Wina'am	
			<i>you:EMPH</i>		<i>to be</i>	<i>God</i>	
42c		ka	---		tis PFV	nisaal yõore	It was like that, I was there and I wanted to tell you that.
	End formula ¶ 8	<i>and</i>			<i>give</i>	<i>human being life</i>	
43a	Lanna	ka	m	da	be STV	nina	
	<i>like that+DEF</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>PAST</i>	<i>to be</i>	<i>there</i>	
43b		ka ye	m		yelı PFV	ya	
		<i>and want</i>	<i>I</i>		<i>tell</i>	<i>you (pl.)</i>	