

Ministry of Scientific Research and Innovation

Participant Reference Strategies in Naami Narrative Discourse

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This research paper concerns the Naami language, spoken in Bebe land, Misaje Sub-Division,
Donga-Mantung Division, North West Region of Cameroon.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations	Meaning
Ø	Null, zero anaphora
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
AM	Associative marker
c	Class
COMP	Complementizer
CONT	Continuous marker
DEM1	Proximal demonstrative
DEM2	Distal demonstrative
DEM3	Far distal demonstrative
F1	Immediate future
F2	Medial future
F3	Remote future
IMPERs	Impersonal pronoun
LOC	Locative
NEG	Negative
NP	Noun phrase
OBJ	Object
p	Plural
P1	Immediate past
P2	Medial past
P3	Remote past
PERF	Perfective aspect marker
POSS	Possessive pronoun
PRES	Present
PROG	Progressive
QM	Question marker
REL	Relative pronoun
s	Singular
SBJ	Subject
V	Verb
??	Unanalysed form

Texts quoted from:	AT	Antelope and Tortoise
	AB	Akpeto and Bebe people
	CG	A cheerful giver
	D	Death
	WH	Wicked Husband
	WM	Woman in marriage

1. Introduction

1.1 Name of the language

Naami is a wide-Bantu language spoken in the western part of Misaje Sub-Division, Donga-Mantung Division, North West Region of Cameroon, West Africa. Dieu and Renaud (1983) listed the language as Naami [871] in the *Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun* (ALCAM). The *Ethnologue* (Lewis et al. 2015) lists Bebe and Yi be Wu as variations of the name of Naami language. The ISO 639-3 language code for Naami is [bzy].

1.2 Genetic affiliation

Naami is a member of the Eastern Beoid subgroup and has affiliation to Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Beoid, Eastern (Lewis et al., 2015).

1.3 Sociolinguistic situation

1.3.1 Demography

Two villages where this language is spoken are Bebejama which consists of three quarters, namely Mayokila, Bebejama and Bebekette, and Bebejatto which consists of two quarters, namely Sabongida and Bebejatto. They are located in Misaje Subdivision, Donga-Mantung Division, North West Region of Cameroon. Geographical separation renders minor dialectal variations in Naami spoken by speakers from these two villages.

According to the SIL (2008) survey, the number of Naami speakers approximates 3,550. (Lewis et al., 2015) However, the actual number of speakers might be more than the figure reported in this survey as there are clusters of Naami speakers residing in larger towns and cities outside the area.

1.3.2 Viability

The language status as described by the *Ethnologue* (Lewis et. al., 2015) is 5, on the 13-level EGIDS scale (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale). According to this scale, a language in level 0 is the most viable as it is widely used between nations in different domains like trade, knowledge exchange, and international policy. Level 5 suggests that Naami is at developmental stage as literature in a standardized form exists but is only used by some people. Its vigorous use is evident from the fact that it is spoken in different arenas of life, including market and at home. Since August 2013, the Misaje Radio station started broadcasting Naami program every other week. Literacy programs in Naami started in 2011 and Naami literacy rate is estimated to be 5% in *Ethnologue* (Lewis et. al., 2015).

1.3.3 Language attitudes

Naami speakers hold a positive attitude towards their own language as the fons (traditional rulers) of the Naami people, the general population, old or young, are all eager to see the development of the language. The participation of more than sixty villagers in the first part of the Rapid Word Collection Workshop in February 2016 which aimed at developing Naami dictionary showed the enthusiasm of the people toward the validation of their language. The

production of some written and audio materials in Naami also boosts the positive disposition of Naami people towards their language.

1.3.4 Multilingualism

Although English is the medium of instruction in schools from nursery level and the other official language in Cameroon besides French, it is not commonly used in the Naami villages in daily life. Only the younger generations who have been to school are more able to communicate with limited English. On the other hand, Cameroonian Pidgin English, which is a trade language developed as a result of arrival of the Portuguese and other Europeans in Cameroon from the 15th to the 17th century, is more commonly heard in the marketplace. Bebe people can understand and speak other neighboring languages, like Kemedzung, Sari, Hausa, Nigerian Fulfulde and Tigon Mbembe, to a certain extent because of the frequent contact with these people groups. Among these languages, Kemedzung has lexical similarity of 85% with Naami (Lewis et. al, 2015).

1.4 Overview of Naami grammar, phonology and orthography

Naami is an SVO tonal language with an extensive noun class system and serial verb constructions. Tabah has worked on Naami phonology, tone and grammar since 2009, but all the papers are still under revision and none of them have been published yet.

The consonant inventory of Naami is shown in the table below (Tabah, unpublished). Where the orthography differs from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), the IPA is included in brackets.

	Labial	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Velar	Labio-velar	Pharyngeal
Plosives and Affricates	p b	t d	ch [tʃ] dz [dʒ]	k g	kp gb	
Fricatives	f	hl [ɬ]	sh [ʃ]			h
Nasals	m	n	ny [ɲ]	ŋ		
Liquids		l				
Approximants			j		w	

The following shows the vowel phonemes in Naami. Long and short vowels are contrastive (Tabah, unpublished).

Front	Central	Back
i, ii [i:]	ɪ	u, uu [u:]
e, ee [e:]	ə	o, oo [o:]
ɛ, ɛɛ [ɛ:]	a, aa [a:]	ɔ, ɔɔ [ɔ:]

Tone plays both lexical and grammatical roles. However, according to the *Naami Orthography Guide*, tonal contrast is marked by accents when necessary (Tabah, 2011). Presently, class 10 nouns are marked by (´) to differentiate them from class 9 nouns which are their singular forms; third person plural pronoun *bá* is marked with an accent (´) to differentiate it from second person plural pronoun *bə*. Hortative verb forms are marked with an accent (´) to differentiate them from the indicative verb form. The distal past particle *má* is marked with an accent (´) to differentiate it from the past marker *ma*. Lastly, progressive form of verbs are sometimes marked by (^) to differentiate them from the basic form of the verbs.

In the unpublished *Preliminary Lexico-Semantic Description of Naami Grammar*, Tabah describes various aspects of Naami grammar. The noun class system described involves agreement prefixes, associative markers, noun modifiers and pronouns. Pluralization involves changing of agreement prefix, thus changing of noun class. Noun modifier follows the head noun it modifies. However, the pronoun system is not discussed in the paper.

Verbs, on the other hand, have rather simple morphology. Tense is mainly marked by tense particles preceding the verb as in (1) (Tabah, unpublished). Bare form of a verb is considered having immediate past sense.

- (1) Fibeka **má** yɛ gebi.
 c19-cat P3 steal c5.egg
 (The) cat stole an egg.

The basic word order of a clause with tense marker, negation, both direct and indirect objects is demonstrated in (2) below (Tabah, unpublished):

- (2) Mbaŋ ya kə nə wu ki-tuŋ ə ki-ŋgə kə.
 Mbaŋ F2 NEG1 give c2.3s.OBJ c7-honey LOC c7-calabash NEG1
 Mbaŋ will not give him honey in a calabash.

1.5 Corpus and nature of the research

The present research aims to document some authentic Naami narrative discourse and presents a descriptive analysis of participant reference strategies for Naami narratives. It is also intended to shed light on how participant reference should be handled when texts from other languages are translated into Naami, as well as to reveal the beauty and characteristics of this language.

In addition to some oral stories collected for the Narrative Discourse Workshop held in Misaje by the SIL linguistic consultant, Carla Bartsch, in 2013 and some written stories from the *Reading and Writing Book in Naami* which was published in 2012, one historical narrative, five true stories and two folk tales were collected and recorded by the researcher and her co-workers¹ in Sabongida, Bebejatto and Mayokila in June 2015 to expand the corpus of texts available for the present study. All of the texts were monologue texts. The recordings were transcribed and interlinearized with the help of the Naami co-workers. Six texts which are better transcribed were chosen for analysis. After that, the participant reference strategies were investigated.

Real life stories are necessary because the characteristics of participants in well-known folktales are often enough to identify each referent unambiguously so that the strategies employed may differ from real life stories (Dooley & Levinsohn, 2000).

The present work was done on the basis of a corpus of four recorded folktales and one recorded historical narrative, and one written narrative taken from *Naami Reading and Writing Book* which includes several narratives for beginning learners to read (Guda et. al., 2012). Due to limited space, only three texts that are quoted more frequently in the paper are included in the appendix for reference. Noun class is glossed in examples when relevant.

¹ Mansoh Solomon, aged 37, born in Sabongida, completed Form 1; Dodi Samuel, aged 43, born in Sabongida, completed Form 3; Guda Lawrence, aged 42, born in Sabongida, completed Primary 7; Jibbo Bernard, aged 46, born in Mayokila, completed Primary 7.

As the *Naami Orthography Guide* and *Preliminary Lexico-Semantic Description of Naami Grammar* are still under revision, readers may find spelling and glossing in this paper slightly different from the two papers mentioned. Readers should not think that the analysis presented here is definitive since linguistic research is still going on in Naami. This is the result of the ongoing development of linguistic research in Naami.

1.6 Approach of this paper toward participant reference analysis

There are quite a number of approaches to study participant reference. In this paper, Longacre and Hwang's (1995) Discourse Operations Model will be used to see how participants are referred to at different discourse operations, like first mention or episode boundaries. Dooley and Levinsohn's (2012) Sequential Default Method would be used to identify the default and marked way of tracking participants.

1.6.1 Discourse Operations Model

This model suggests that the participant reference strategy employed in a narrative is affected by the coding resources of the language, the ranking of the participant and discourse operations. The coding resources range from noun phrase with different amounts of modifying materials to pronouns and even zero. The participants of different importance in a narrative are referred to differently to show their prominence in the story. A participant may be referred to differently at different points of a story to indicate the development of the story.

1.6.2 Sequential Default Method

This method attempts to find out the default and marked ways a participant is referred to in a number of contexts by counting the number of occurrences of each reference strategy in these contexts systematically. The marked ways are then explained in terms of factors like disruptions in information flow, ambiguity and thematic breaks.

2. Participant reference

A narrative often involves more than one participant with different prominence. A participant can be a real person or a fictitious character such as a personified animal, who is involved directly in a story. Participants who are present in much or the entire story and whom the story centers around are the major participants. Minor participants, on the other hand, only appear in the story for a short time. The central participant (sometimes called main participant) is the most important major participant in the narrative. Then, props are usually instruments or tools which are important to the story.

In order to decide who the major participants are, Bartsch (2013) provides a handy list of factors: 1) the ones who are traced throughout the story, 2) quoted directly, 3) give commands, assessments and judgement, 4) solve a problem, 5) around whom other participants act, and 6) with whom the story-teller empathize. Kroger (2010, cited in Satre 2015) simply puts the level of prominence in relation to the number of times a referent is active.

Participant reference is the study of how a participant or a prop is referred to by the speaker in a text. It is crucial to the cohesion and coherence of a text so that the readers can identify the referent unambiguously and follow the story easily. Chun (2014) also pointed out that participant referent strategies employed are important literary means of characterizing participants. Participant reference in narration affects the characterization of characters that are spoken about, and the way a participant is referred to in a characters' speech can be a source of characterization of the personage mentioned in the speech as well as the characterization of the speaking personages themselves. In fact, the ways participants are referred to at the climax often contribute to heighten the tension of the story. Hence, participant reference is also related to how a language uses linguistic devices for literary purposes.

2.1 Participant reference resources in Naami

Different languages have a different inventory of linguistic devices to refer to the participants in a story. Longacre and Hwang (2012) list the following six general forms which can be found across languages.

1. Noun phrases (nouns including proper names, accompanied by qualifiers ranging from (in)definite articles, adjectives, and relative clauses, within the NP or going beyond to separate sentences)
2. Nouns without qualifiers
3. Surrogate nouns, such as terms of kinship, social role, and occupation
4. Pronouns and deictics
5. Bound elements (affixes and clitics, e.g., verb agreements for subjects and object, possessor affixes on nouns, and switch reference markers on verbs)
6. Zero or null reference

The first three forms are treated separately instead of as one group under the label noun phrase as many researchers would do because Longacre and Hwang (2012) pointed out that the kind and length of noun phrase employed at different points of a narrative and for participants of different prominence would differ greatly.

In Naami, these six forms are also found. Noun phrases can be qualified by demonstratives, indefinite article, emphatic particle, adjectives, relative clauses and associative phrase. However, since there are very few adjectives in Naami, relative clauses and associative phrases are used more often to qualify nouns. Homorganic nasal verbal prefix for first person singular subject is the only bound element on verbs for participant referencing. The following table lists examples for all the forms found in the narratives analysed.

Table 1: participant reference strategies in Naami

Forms of participant reference	Examples	Text reference
I. Noun phrases		
Topicalized left-dislocated NP plus pronoun	bəmaani bie yaŋ diŋ , bá fû. 3s.POSS.brothers DEM2 here behind 3p come.out <i><u>His brothers behind, they</u> were coming out.</i>	AT 42
NP with emphatic particle and relative clause	I má fəŋna niŋ nunu nu i 3s.SBJ P3 send-PERF child EMP REL 3s.SBJ máa i duŋ lə gbo kə wiilə P3.PROG 3s.SBJ be COMP body NEG wash kə ... NEG <i>He sent <u>this very child who did not wash his body</u> ...</i>	MS 22
NP with relative clause	ə chu lə i bwo lee chili niŋ when COMP 3s.SBJ come enter meet child kpe nu nu duŋ də wi , woman DEM1 REL be friend 3s <i>when he entered (and) met <u>this girl who was his friend</u>, ...</i>	D 11
Associative NP	Lə bwəŋ bə kpe fwo , When c2.children c2.AM c2.woman come.out <i>When <u>(the) children of (the) woman</u> came out,</i>	CG 14
NP with distal demonstrative pronoun	Dian kpe wo chiini . child woman DEM2 look <i><u>That girl</u> looked.</i>	D 20
NP with proximal demonstrative pronoun	Nyo nu má jə bilə bie . man DEM1 P3 take food DEM2 <i><u>This man</u> took that food.</i>	CG 17
NP with possessive pronoun	Kpe má laa də wi kpuuni . c9.death P3 go c1.friend c1.3s.POSS visit <i>Death went to visit <u>his friend</u>.</i>	D 5
Noun with diminutive prefix (diminutivized noun) ²	fi-kwaa fine fichiŋ , c19-tortoise c19.small.person c19.small, fi fə ləhiŋ c19.3s do how <i>Small small person <u>Little Tortoise</u>, how can it ...</i>	AT 13
NP with indefinite determiner ³	Mbɛɛ ju bwo lee wu person certain come propose 3s.OBJ <i><u>Some person</u> came (and) proposed to her.</i>	WM 4

² Naami, like other typical Bantu languages, is characterized by noun classes. Nouns in different classes have their characteristic noun class prefixes. The diminutive noun class prefix is special in that it can be attached to the front of a noun in another class to demote the object or the person to convey a negative evaluation of the speaker towards the object or person mentioned. It is found in two of the narratives collected. Whatever noun class the noun originally belongs to, it would become class 19 once the diminutive noun class prefix is attached to it.

³ Naami does not have definite and indefinite articles. A bare noun phrase could be interpreted as definite or indefinite depending on the context. The demonstratives sometimes fill the function of a definite article and the indefinite determiner that comes after a noun is used to signal indefiniteness.

II. Noun phrases without qualifiers		
NP without qualifiers	Bǎ má bən-a ɲwucha bə 3p P3 meet-PERF old.father and kpɛɛ. 3s.POSS.wife <i>They met (an) old father and his wife.</i>	CG 8
III. Surrogate nouns		
Surrogate nouns	i yɔɔ bə kpɛɛ lə ... 3s.SBJ say to 3s.POSS.wife COMP <i>he said to his wife that</i>	AT 10
IV. Pronoun and deitics		
Personal pronoun corresponding to the noun class of the antecedent ⁴	i fə biləɔ c1.3s.SBJ make food <i>She (c1.Girl) made food</i>	D 12.4
	Yee ki jaa wɛɛ wɛɛ ... PROG c7.3s walk slow slow <i>It (c7.tortoise) was climbing slowly ...</i>	AT 26
Class 1 pronoun to refer to nouns from other classes (Personification)	i hi bwoo ... c1.3s.SBJ P1 come-PERF <i>He (c.9 Death) has come ...</i>	D 6

⁴ As the list of Naami pronouns was not yet found in the *Preliminary Lexico-Semantic Description of Naami Grammar*, it is listed below for reference. The pronouns agree with their antecedent in person and number. Third person pronouns do not distinguish between masculine and feminine.

	Subject pronoun		Object pronoun	
1s		mi		mi
1p incl		kə		bə
		bee wə		bee wə
		‘1s + 2s’		‘1s + 2s’
		bee bəŋ		bee bəŋ
		‘1s + 2p’		‘1s + 2p’
1p excl		bee wu		bee wu
		‘1s + 3s’		‘1s + 3s’
		bee bá		bee bá
		‘1s + 2p’		‘1s + 2p’
2s		wə		wə
2p		bə		bəŋ
3s	c1	i		wu
	c3	wi		wi
	c5	li		li
	c7	ki		ki
	c9	yi		yi
	c14	bu		bu
	c19	fi		fi
3p	c2	bǎ		bǎ
	c6	ŋə		ŋə
	c8	bi		bi
	c10	yi		yi
	c25	mie		mie
	c18a	mwi		mwi

V. Bound element on verb									
homorganic nasal verbal prefix for first person singular subject	<u>n</u> 'yɔɔ 1s-say	bəŋ 2p.OBJ	yo talk	ni REL	juŋ antelope	hə P1	yɔɔ say	mi. 1s	AT 14.2
	<u>I</u> tell you (the) talk that Antelope told me.								
VI. Null reference									
Zero anaphora	I 3s.SBJ	jə take	mbiŋ wine	nə offer	bə. 3p	Ø Ø	kə NEG		CG 9-10
	kələ ... know <i>He took wine (and) gave them. (He) did not know ...</i>								

2.1.1 Proximal demonstrative and Distal demonstrative

Naami has three sets of demonstrative adjectives, proximal, distal and far distal. The proximal demonstrative is used to show prominence of a participant and the distal demonstrative is used for anaphoric purpose. Example (3) from the story *Death* illustrates this. In this sentence, both proximal and distal demonstratives are used. A noun phrase with proximal demonstrative *ŋiaŋ kpe nu* ... ‘this girl child ...’ is used for first mentioning of the girl to show her prominence as a major participant. After this, distal demonstrative *wo* ‘that’ is used to qualify the noun phrase *ŋiaŋ kpe* ‘woman child’ which refers back to this girl.

- (3) ə chu lə i bwo lɛɛ chili ŋiaŋ kpe nu nu duŋ
when COMP 3s.SBJ come enter meet child woman DEM1 REL be
dɔɔ wi, i yɔɔ bə ŋiaŋ kpe wo lə, ...
friend 3s.POSS 3s.SBJ say to child woman DEM2 COMP
when he entered (and) met this girl who was his friend, he said to that girl,... (D 11)

Instead of distal demonstrative, Tabah identified *yaha* as the anaphoric demonstrative for all noun classes. However, none of the texts analysed used this demonstrative for anaphoric purposes. Further research needs to be done to see the use of *yaha* and how it is different from the distal demonstrative.

2.1.2 Left-dislocated subjects and objects

In Naami, both subjects and objects can be left-dislocated. When a subject or object of a sentence is left-dislocated, its pronoun still retains its position in the sentence. The noun that the pronoun is referring to is left-dislocated to show that it is the marked topic. (4) and (5) which are taken from the story *Death* illustrate the left-dislocation of subject and object respectively.

- (4) Diaŋkpe, yaŋ i hi fwoola yii lii
child woman when 3s.SBJ P1 remove-PERF name 3p.POSS
yaŋ fwi, i hle bə gbe bə wu
here first 3s.SBJ think 3p start with 3s.OBJ (D 28)
(The) girl, when she removed her name in front, she thought that they will start with her ...
- (5) Bəne bəŋ, mə jə bə gəŋ bə bə.
people DEM1 3s.SBJ take 3p go with 3p
These people, he take them (and he) go with them. (D 9)

2.2 Participant reference strategies for different discourse operations

Longacre (2012) postulated discourse operations as one major factor other than participant reference resources and participant ranking that would affect participant reference strategy. The ten discourse operations he identified in a narrative discourse are listed below. The operations which would affect participant referencing would be different from language to language.

1. F First mention within a story
2. I Integration into the story as central
3. T Tracking routinely
4. R Restaging or reinstatement
5. B Boundary marking episode or sub-episode
6. C Confrontation and / or role change
7. L Locally contrastive / thematic status
8. E Evaluation or comment by narrator
9. A Addressee in dialogue
10. X Exit

In the following, we will first discuss how participants (major or minor) are first mentioned and how a participant is integrated as the central participant. Then, the default way of tracking participant is analysed with Dooley and Levinsohn's methodology. Then, the discourse operations which seem to have implications on participant referencing in Naami are discussed.

2.2.1 First mention within a story and integration as central

Participant reference strategies across languages show differences in the way major, minor and central participants are referred to. The different reference strategies used serve to highlight the participant whom the audience should focus on. The following are observations from the Naami texts analysed regarding how prominence of participants is marked linguistically when they are first mentioned and how a character is integrated as central.

2.2.1.1 Formal introduction and integration as central for major participants

2.2.1.1.1 Presentational clause for newly introduced major participants

Other than well-known and immediately recognized characters, such as characters in traditional folktales, or some animal characters who can simply appear on the scene, major participants are usually formally introduced in a presentational clause with a verb of existence *duŋ* 'be' as in (6) or in a nonactive sentence as in (7) where the same verb *duŋ* 'be' functions as the verb in equative clause. This type of sentence can be seen as the formulaic sentence for introducing major participants in Naami. According to Dooley and Levinsohn (2011:60), it "activates an entity and establishes its special status".

- (6) **Dwucha ju** má duŋ həmə .
 old.father certain P3 be there
There was (an) old father. (AB 14)
- (7) **Bə juŋ bə kwaa** má duŋ bə ŋwuŋ bə dɔɔ wi tɔŋ.
 and antelope and tortoise P3 be and person and friend AM heart
Antelope and Tortoise were great friends. (AT 1)

2.2.1.1.2 Further description for central participant following presentation clause

After introduction by a presentational clause, the central participant would be integrated as central by another clause where “the newly established referent is the topic, making immediate and prominent use of the newly-established node in mental representation” (Dooley & Levinsohn, 2000:60). This kind of formal introduction is “the linguistic material that instructs the hearer not only to activate the participant, but also to be prepared to organize a major part of the mental representation around him or her” (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000: 60). It can be at the beginning or in later part of a story. In the story *Death*, the central participant *Kpe* ‘Death’ is introduced in this pattern at the beginning of the story as shown in (8) below.

- (8) **Kpe** má duŋ həmə .
 death P3 be there
***Death** was there.*
- i máa i hlaa i bwô bəne ɲəŋ
 3s.SBJ P3.PROG 3s.SBJ first 3s.SBJ come.PROG people see
 mu .
 3.OBJ.IMPERS
He used to come (and) people have been seeing it.
- Ə bwo chu bwɔɔ nu diŋ, i yɔɔ lə mə chu bwo
 it.be come return time REL last 3s.SBJ say COMP 3s.SBJ return come
 fidieɛ mbɛɛ kə ɲəənə yi go .
 now person NEG see-PERF c9.3s on
Later he said that he is coming back now without someone seeing him. (D 1-3)

In the historical narrative *Akpeto and Bebe People* which gives an account for the conflicts that arose between the two people groups, this kind of introduction appears in the later part of the story. The old father who is the major participant of the story is introduced after the drinking society, the setting where the conflict arose, with a presentational clause followed by sentences which give further description about him as in (9).

- (9) **Dwucha** **ju** má duŋ həmə .
 old.father certain P3 be there
*There was **(an) old father**.*
- bá chee wu lə Fwɔ .
 3p call 3s.OBJ COMP Fwɔ
They (people) called him Fwɔ.
- Dwucha wo má diila mi, ...
 old.father DEM2 P3 call-PERF 1s
That old father called me, ... (AB 14-16)

On the other hand, minor participants often just appear in the story without any formal introduction and then disappear without further description. They are usually referred to in relation to the major participants. For example, in the story *Antelope and Tortoise*, Antelope’s wife first appears in AT 9 by a kinship term *kpeɛ* ‘his wife’ as the addressee of the sentence when Antelope told her that Tortoise wanted to have a race with him. She never appears again after AT 11 where the narrator mentioned that Antelope and his wife rested with laughter.

In the story *Man and Son*, the son is the central character, but it is his father who is the first to be introduced in the story in a presentational clause. The son is then introduced in relation to his father using the kinship term *Diaani nyo* ‘his male child’ in a nonactive sentence which

identifies him as his only male child. This establishes his prominence status as a major character. The clauses that followed, in which he is the subject, further integrate him as the central character.

- (10) Nyo ju má duŋ bə bəkweɛ, bə bəni, ...
 man certain P3 be with women with children
There was a certain man with his children, ...
- Diaani nyo má duŋ kwaa mwi .
 3s.POSS.son man P3 be only one
His son was (the) only one (male child).
- Diaani wo má bwoo wunə mbɛɛ nu duŋ i niŋ
 3s.POSS.son DEM2 P3 come-PERF correct person REL can 3s.SBJ work
 nimi.
 work.
That son became a person who can do work.
- I má yɔɔla bə tili lə,
 3s.SBJ P3 said with 3s.POSS.father COMP
He (the son) said to his father, ... (MS 1-4)

This shows that the central participant can also be first mentioned in a nonactive clause by a kinship term relating him or her to a participant introduced earlier. In this case, the further descriptions that follow and the subsequent sentences in which that participant occupy the subject role show that the participant is the central character of the story.

2.2.1.2 Pre-verb position for major participants

New major participants are often introduced in the pre-verb position. On the other hand, minor participants often occupy the post-verb position of a sentence as the object of the verb. In the story *Antelope and Tortoise*, Antelope's wife, Tortoise' brothers' and friends are all first mentioned as the object of a sentence, as shown in (11) and (12). In fact, Antelope's wife is always an object of a verb and never acts as a subject in the story. The Tortoise' friends might sometimes be the subject of a verb, but it is often a response to the major participant Tortoise's action or speech.

- (11) i yɔɔ bə kpeɛ lə , ...
 3s.SBJ SAY TO 3s.POSS.WIFE COMP
He said to his wife, ... (AT 10)
- (12) Kwaa too gəŋ jaŋ bəmaani bə bəɔɔɔ
 tortoise left go order 3s.POSS.brothers and friends
bii ,
3s.POSS
Tortoise left (and) went (and) ordered his brothers and friends ...
- Lə butuu wu həmbwaa, bəɔɔɔ bii bie bwo maa
 When day break morning friends 3s.POSS DEM2 come plus
 bəmaani bie .
 3s.POSS.brothers DEM2
When day broke, his friends and his brothers came. (AT 14.1 & AT 15)

2.2.1.3 Indefinite determiner

In most stories collected, other than the ones with animals as the major characters, newly introduced major participants are introduced by a noun phrase with the indefinite determiner *ju* “some / certain / another”. This referencing does not always signal that the participant is the major or central participant of the story. It is only when the sentence with this indefinite noun phrase is followed by sentences where the newly introduced referent is a topic or focus that indicates the participant is a central one, as in (13). The central participant is first introduced by indefinite noun phrase *Mbɛɛ ju* ‘person certain’ in the story *A Cheerful Giver*. He is further described as a person who taps wine and is a bachelor.

- (13)

Mbɛɛ	ju	má	duuna	həmə	.
person	certain	P3	be-PERF	there	

There was (a) certain man.
- | | | | | | | | |
|---------|-----|--------|-----|--------|-----|------|---|
| ə | duŋ | mbɛɛ | nu | i | gba | mbiŋ | . |
| this.be | be | person | REL | 3s.SBJ | tap | wine | |

This was (a) person who tapped wine.
- | | | | |
|--------|-----|----------|---|
| I | duŋ | kpe | . |
| 3s.SBJ | be | bachelor | |

He was (a) bachelor.
- (CG 1-3)

2.2.1.4 Use of name for major participants

As mentioned in the previous section, a central or major participant that is new to the reader is often introduced by a noun phrase with an indefinite determiner. Sometimes, the name of the participant is mentioned after that. For example, in the story *The Wicked Husband*, the name of the wicked husband who ill-treated one of his wives in the story is mentioned as in (14), whereas the names of the wives and children of the wicked husband are never mentioned in the story.

- (14)

Mbɛɛ	ju	má	duŋ	.
person	certain	P3	be	

There once lived (a) man.
- | | | | | | |
|----|------|--------|------|-----------|---|
| bá | chɛɛ | wu | lə | Lɔ | . |
| 3p | call | 3s.OBJ | COMP | Lɔ | |

They (people) called him Lɔ.
- (WH 1-2)

Minor participants are never referred to by names. They are often introduced in relation to a major participant by surrogate nouns, or with a full noun phrase in some event clauses with an interactive role, as opposed to a presentational, non-event clause for major participants.

For participants that are already well-known to the audience, only a noun / noun phrase without any modifiers or demonstratives is used to refer to them. The generic names of the animals are often used to refer to the animal characters in the story as if they were their proper names unless there is more than one character which is of the same species.

Taylor (1994:5) identified a type of participant called impersonal participant in the narrative discourse of Nɔ́maáde (a Bantu language of the Mbam) whose prominence is lower than major and minor participants. They are referred to by the third person plural subject pronoun *bá* in the subject position which has no reference to any participants already mentioned in the text, even for the first time in the narrative. Instead, they refer to an unspecified wider group people, such as the community. Naomi also uses the same strategy to refer to this group of unspecified wider

group of people. This construction sometimes is used to replace the passive construction in English where the doer is not identified, as illustrated in (15).

- (15) Dwucha ju má duŋ həmə. **Bə** chee wu lə Fwə.
 old.father certain P3 be there 3p call 3s.OBJ COMP Fwə
There was (an) old father. They (people) called him Fwə. (AB 14-15)

Taylor (1994:8) explained that this use of impersonal pronoun has the effect of backgrounding the character in order that the action can be highlighted. Sometimes this type of impersonal participant could also be referred to by the noun *bəne* ‘people’ as shown in (16) from the story *Death*.

- (16) **bəne** ŋəŋ mu⁵ .
 people see 3.OBJ.IMPERS
people have been seeing it. (D 2)

2.2.1.5 Major or minor participants introduced in a group

Minor participants are more likely to be first introduced in a group than major participants. However, after major participants are introduced in a group, they will be formally introduced individually in presentational clause to show that he/ she is a major participant. In the story *Man and Son*, the daughter of the rich man, who is a minor character, is first introduced in a group as *bəni bii bəkwe bie* ‘those his female children’ who are being called out by the rich man before she is mentioned individually as *ŋiaŋ kpə nu* ‘this female child’, as in (17). On the other hand, the boy who is the central character is formally introduced in a presentational clause after he is introduced in a group, as in (18).

- (17) Ə chulə bə bwiila mə ŋkiŋ kuŋ, ŋkiŋ
 When 3p reach-PERF in rich.man compound rich.man
 dii fwoo **bəni** **bii** **bəkwe** **bie**.
 call remove children 3s.POSS female those (MS 29)
When they had reached (the) rich man's compound, (the) rich man called out his daughters.
ŋiaŋ kpə nu má woo go nlokə ...
 child woman DEM1 P3 hear body pain
This girl felt it painful (MS 36)
- (18) Nyo ju má duŋ bə bəkwee , bə **bəni**, bə bənaŋ,...
 man certain P3 be with women with children with cows
 bə bikuŋ.
 with horses
A certain man had wives, children, cows and horses.
Diaani nyo má duŋ kwaa mwi.
 3s.POSS.child man P3 be only one
His son was the only (son).
Diaani wo má bwoo wunə mbəe nu duŋ i
 3s.POSS.child DEM2 P3 come-PERF correct person REL can 3s.SBJ
 niŋ nimi.
 work work
That son became (a) man who can do work. (MS 1-4)

⁵ This impersonal third person singular object pronoun *mu* refers to nouns of different classes. It can only be used with the verb *di* ‘eat’ and several cognitive verbs *ŋəŋ* ‘see’, *wo* ‘hear’, *kələ* ‘know’, and *hlaa* ‘judge’.

2.2.2 Tracking of participants

After participants are on stage, the way they are referred to inside the discourse is called tracking. Using Dooley and Levinsohn's (2012) subject and non-subject encoding charting methodology, it is possible to see what the default ways are to track participants for different contexts, namely same subject as previous clause (S1), addressee in the previous clause (S2), non-subject in the previous clause (S3) and other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3 (S4). As the S2 context is the same as the addressee operation in Longacre and Hwang's model, it will only be discussed here. On the other hand, S4 contexts that involve some kind of discontinuity and are more related to other discourse operations, such as restaging and boundary in Longacre and Hwang's (2012) model, are not discussed here.

2.2.2.1 S1 Context - Same subject as previous clause

2.2.2.1.1 Default reference – pronouns and zero anaphora

When the subject is the same as the previous sentence, as in (19) which involves a major participant *jun* 'Antelope', and (20) which involves some minor participants *bəɗɔɔ bii bie* 'those his friends', pronouns are the default way of tracking.

- (19) **Jun** too gəŋ yɔɔ bə kpɛɛ chəŋ .
antelope left go say with 3s.POSS.wife house
(The) antelope went (and) said to his wife at the compound.
i shaa, **i** yɔɔ bə kpɛɛ lə
3s.SBJ laugh 3s.SBJ say to 3s.POSS.wife COMP
He laughed (and) said to his wife, (AT 9-10)

- (20) **Bəɗɔɔ** **bii** **bie** má bəla wu .
friends 3s.POSS those P3 follow-PERF 3s.OBJ
His friends followed him.
bə baŋ ə wu go .
3p follow.closely LOC 3s.OBJ on
They followed him closely. (AT 18-19)

Zero anaphora is used mostly in the clauses where the verbs can be seen as a continuation to the verb in the previous clause as in (21). The subject for the serial verb *bwo gə tɔ* 'come go reach' and *bumə* 'gather' have null reference as these verbs are continuation to the verb *jaa* 'walk' in the previous clause.

- (21) **bə** jaa hləŋ hləŋ **Ø** bwo gə tɔ həmə **Ø** bumə
3p walk CONT CONT come go reach there gather (AT 44)
They (Tortoise' friends and brothers) walked until (they) reached there (and they) gathered.

In the climax of the story *Man and Son*, zero anaphora is used in consecutive sentences as in (22) to show a fast series of actions which helps build up tension at this point of the story.

- (22) **Tili** má biina ə kikuŋ kiŋ bəŋ.
3s.POSS.father P3 climb-PERF LOC horse this on
Her father climbed on this horse.

Ø bwo chili wu.
 come meet 3s.OBJ
 (He) came and met her .

Ø yoo bə wu lə, "jə bien biŋ nini. ...
 say to 3s.OBJ COMP take things DEM2 EMP
 (He) told her , "Take **THESE** things... (MS 39-41)

2.2.2.1.2 Subject-oriented sequential (look-back) strategy

The way participants in S1 context are tracked follows the subject-oriented sequential strategy, like English. This means that unless there are other intervening factors, the subject of the preceding main clause is the normal referent for a pronoun provided that the class is appropriate. Examples (23) and (24) illustrate this.

(23) Juŋ too gəŋ yoo bə kpɛɛ chəŋ .
 antelope left go say with 3s.POSS.wife house
 (The) antelope went (and) said to his wife (at the) compound.

i shaa, i yoo bə kpɛɛ lə
 3s.SBJ laugh 3s.SBJ say to 3s.POSS.wife COMP
He laughed (and) said to his wife,.... (AT 9-10)

(24) Bədo bii bie má bəla wu .
 friends 3s.POSS those P3 follow-PERF 3s.OBJ
His friends followed him.

bə baŋ ə wu go .
 3p follow.closely LOC 3s.OBJ on
They followed him closely. (AT 18-19)

This strategy helps the audience to identify who a pronoun is referred to when two major participants are on-stage. In example (25) from *Man and Son*, the third person singular subject pronoun *i* could refer to both the father and the son, but the subject-oriented (look-back) strategy directs the audience to look back to the subject in the previous clause to know that it is the father whom the speaker is referring to.

(25) Tili má fəə kibwa nə wu .
 3s.POSS.father P3 make bag offer 3s.OBJ
His father made (a) bag (and) gave him (the son).

I yoo bə wu lə, "Jə kibwa kiŋ nini .
 3s.SBJ say with 3s.OBJ COMP take bag DEM1 EMP
He (the father) told him (the son), "Take this very bag! ... (MS 8-9)

2.2.2.1.3 Marked reference – noun phrases

At the beginning of the story *Antelope and Tortoise*, the major participants Antelope and Tortoise are referred to by a noun rather than a pronoun or zero in S1 contexts, as shown in (26). This seems quite unnecessary especially when both Antelope and Tortoise are major participants.

(26) ə chu butuu budi, juŋ chee kwaa doo wii .
 when day some antelope call tortoise friend 3s.POSS
 One day, Antelope called Tortoise his friend.

iun yɔɔ bə kwaa lə, “....
 antelope say to tortoise COMP
Antelope said to Tortoise, “You are too small both feet and body.
 Lə kwaa wo ye iun yɔɔlə, kwaa fwoo lo
 When tortoise hear concerning antelope said tortoise move anger
 gbaan.
 very
 When Tortoise heard what Antelope said, Tortoise was very angry. (AT 2-4)

Since both Antelope and Tortoise are both tracked by class 1 subject pronoun *i* and object pronoun *wu* in most parts of the story instead of pronouns for their respective classes, they are personified in the story. The subject-oriented (look-back) strategy should be able to help the audience to disambiguate which character the speaker is referring to. Also, as this section is immediately after the opening line of the story, the reason for the marked way of reference would not be due to discontinuity. Hence, further investigation is needed.

2.2.2.2 S2 Context: Different subject – addressee in the previous clause

2.2.2.2.1 Default reference – noun phrase

When the subject is the addressee of the previous clause, the default way of referring to it is to use a noun or a noun phrase without much encoding materials for both major and minor participants. From example (27), we can see that both the father who is a minor participant in the story (as he disappears after the first part of the story) and the son who is a major participant in the story are referred to by noun phrase in S2 context.

- (27) Diaani wo má bwoo wunə mbɛɛ nu duŋ ə
 3s.POSS.child that P3 come-PERF correct person REL can ??
 i niŋ nimi .
 3s.SBJ work work
That son of him became (a) man who can do work
 I má yɔɔla bə tili lə, "Ta,
 3s.SBJ P3 say-PERF with 3s.POSS.father COMP father
 mi n'yu kiɛɛ lə i gəŋ niŋ nimi ."
 1s 1s-?? want COMP 3s.SBJ go work work
He(the son) told his father, "Father, I want to go (and) do work."
Tili yɔɔ bə wu lə, "Diaa, mi bə bien
 3s.POSS.father say with 3s.OBJ COMP 1s.POSS.son 1s with things
 fəŋ bweenə kiŋaŋkə.
 here home many
His father said to him (the son), "My child, I have so many things here in (the) compound.
 Wə yɔɔ lə wə kiɛɛ lə wə she bien biŋ, wə
 2s say.PROG COMP 2s want COMP 2s leave things these 2s
 gəŋ niŋ nimi lidi lə ?"
 go work work some COMP
You are saying that you wanted to leave these things, (and) go and do some work?"
Diaani wo má chuula lə, "Eee, ta,
 3s.POSS.child that P3 reply-PERF COMP Right 1s.POSS.father
 mi n'yu kiɛɛ lə mi gəŋ niŋ nimi ."
 1s 1s-?? want COMP 1s go work work
His son answered, "Yes, my father, I want to go and do work." (MS 3-6)

2.2.2.3 S3 Context: Different subject – non-subject role in previous clause (not conversation)

2.2.2.3.1 Default reference – noun phrase

For most of the analysed stories, the S3 contexts are relatively fewer than S1 and S2 contexts. Therefore, more texts should be analysed to see if the conclusion drawn here can be generalized. From the collected texts, it seems that when the subject is involved in the previous clause in a non-subject role other than in a closed conversation, the default reference strategy is to use a noun. (28) is an example from *Man and Son*.

- (28) I má faŋna nian nunu nu i máa i
 3s.SBJ P3 send-PERF child EMP REL 3s.SBJ P3.PROG 3s.SBJ
 duŋ wo gbo kə wiilə kə lə nian wo kə jaa
 be DEM2 body NEG wash NEG COMP child DEM2 then walk
 dii wu bəne .
 call 3s.OBJ people
 He sent this child who was not washing his body to move round and call his people.
 nian wo má chu fu chee ye i máa
 child DEM2 P3 become come.out smell as 3s.SBJ P3.PROG
 i duŋ lə gbo kə wiilə kə .
 3s.SBJ be COMP body NEG wash NEG
 That child was smelling as he was not washing himself. (MS 22-23)

2.2.3 Restaging of participants

Participants are not always on stage. The restaging of minor participants often requires more encoding materials than major participants. In the story *Antelope and Tortoise*, the restaging of major participants, Antelope and Tortoise, is often only done by full noun phrases *juŋ* ‘Antelope’ or *kwa* ‘Tortoise’ without any modifiers. At most, they will be juxtaposed by a noun phrase *də wi* ‘his friend’ restating their relationship as friends which echoes with the first line of the story. This occurs when Antelope and Tortoise restaged in the episode where they are about to begin their race (AT 20.1, 22) to reinforce their friendship as the tension builds up.

However, for Tortoise’ friends and brothers, who are the minor participants, more encoding materials are used when they restaged, as can be seen in examples (29) and (30). They are referred to by different noun phrases when they restaged at a different point of the story.

- (29) Lə butuu wu həmumbwaa, bəda bii bie bwo
 When day break morning friends 3s.POSS those come
 maa bəmaani bie.
 plus 3s.POSS.brothers those
 When day break, his friends and his brothers came. (AT 15)
 (30) bəmaani bie yaŋ diŋ, bə fu .
 3s.POSS.brothers those here behind 3p come.out
 His brothers behind, they came out. (AT 42)

2.2.4 Boundary marking episode or sub-episode

The boundary of an episode often involves change of time, location or participants. To signal this change, the way the participant is referred to is often different from normal tracking.

Depending on the language, similar strategies as for Restaging can be used, or they can be different.

In Naami, major participants are mostly referred to by a noun phrase without many encoding materials at the boundary of an episode or a sub-episode. In the story *Man and Son*, the son who is the major participant is referred to as *Diaani wo* ‘that son’ at the boundary of the episode just after the brief introduction of the story which gives some background about his family and him being the only son of the man. He is then tracked by third person singular pronoun *i* within the episode.

- (31) Nyo ju má duŋ bə bəkwɛɛ , bə bwɔni , bə bənaŋ,
 man certain P3 be with women with children with cows
 bə bikwuŋ .
 with horses
A certain man had wives, children, cows and horses.
- Diaani nyo má duŋ kwaa mwi.
 3s.POSS.child man P3 be only one
His son was (the) only (male child).
- Diaani** **wo** má bwoo wunə mbɛɛ nu duŋ ə
 3s.POSS.child DEM2 P3 come-PERF correct person REL can ??
i niŋ nimi.
 3s.SBJ work work
That son of him became (a) man who can do work.
- I má yɔɔla bə tili lə , "
 3s.SBJ P3 say-PERF with 3s.POSS.father COMP
He told his father, “.....” (MS 1-4)

A minor participant, on the other hand, is referred to by a noun phrase with some encoding materials and a proximal or distal demonstrative to indicate its prominence or that it has been mentioned before. In (32), the girl in the story *Death* is referred to by a noun phrase plus a relative clause and a proximal demonstrative at the beginning of the episode where Death came to meet her. This tells the audience that this girl whom Death visited is his friend.

- (32) ə chu lə i bwo lɛɛ chili **ŋiaŋ kpe nu nu duŋ**
 when COMP 3s.SBJ come enter meet child woman this REL be
dɔɔ **wi**, I yɔɔ bə ŋiaŋ kpe wo lə ,
 friend 3s 3s.SBJ say to child woman DEM2 COMP
*When he entered (and) met **this girl who was his friend**, he said to that girl, “.....”* (D 11)

2.2.5 Confrontation and / or role change

As the narrative develops, confrontation usually builds up and reaches the highest point in the climax. The ways participants are referred to as the story develops often contribute to the building up of tension. When there is a role change as the narrative reaches the climax, the participant reference strategy would also reflect this.

At the beginning of the story *Antelope and Tortoise*, after Antelope and Tortoise are introduced as great friends, Tortoise is referred to as *kwaa dɔɔ wii* ‘his friend Tortoise’ (AT 2) by the narrator, relating him to Antelope, the first major participant introduced in the story, who can run faster and looks down on Tortoise. However, this reference never appears again. In the

The above examples show that whenever there is a role change as the story unfolds, a noun phrase is used. Sometimes, noun phrase with more encoding materials is needed depending on the story's development.

It is interesting that in the story *Antelope and Tortoise*, Antelope and Tortoise are sometimes tracked by class 1 third person singular subject and object pronouns which are mainly for human characters and sometimes by third person singular pronouns for their respectively classes (class 7 for Tortoise and class 9 for Antelope), as in (33) and (34) .

- In the story *Death*, Death is personified from the beginning of the story, so the class 1 third person singular subject pronoun *i* is used to refer to him instead of class 9 third person singular pronoun *yi*. However, in the episode where the girl and Death are both on stage, the class 1 third person singular subject pronoun *i* is retained for the girl even when the girl is not the subject in the previous clause as required by subject-oriented sequential (look back) strategy, and Death is referred to by the noun phrase *kpe* ‘Death’.

- Page 24 of 49

i	nyii	kintaŋ.			
3s.SBJ	show	bed			
<u>She</u> showed bed.					
Kpe	nɔŋ.				
death	sleep				
<u>Death</u> lay down.					
i	fə	biləə	,	fə	biləə.
3s.SBJ	make	food		make	food
<u>She</u> made food, made food.					

(D 13-16)

This may show that local VIP strategy in addition to subject-oriented sequential strategy can be used in Naami. According to Levinsohn (2012), a VIP strategy is used when one of the major participants (VIP) is distinguished from the others by a special way or a set of terms. If a VIP strategy is applied to one participant throughout the text, it is referred to as global VIP strategy. If a VIP strategy is applied to different participants in different parts of the narrative, it is referred as local VIP strategy. In this case, the girl seems to be the local VIP identified in this episode.

2.3 Participant reference strategies and characterization

While Longacre and Hwang (2012) only consider evaluation or comment by the narrator, evaluations or comments on a character by another character also contributes to the tension of the story and characterization. To achieve the purpose of characterization, usually noun phrases with more coding materials are used.

In story *Man and Son*, the evaluation of the boy (the central character) came out from the verbal comments of the crowd who looked down on the boy when they saw that he could climb on one of the wild horses, as in example (36). He is referred to by the noun phrase *fine fiyili fiŋ* “this dirty unimportant person”. The use of a diminutive noun *fine* ‘unimportant person’ plus a negative modifier *fiyili* ‘dirty’ and a proximal demonstrative *fiŋ* ‘this’ highlights the insult the people have on this boy. This also brings out the surprise that the crowd had towards the boy who had been looking down on by these people based on his physical appearance.

- (36) Bəne yɔɔlə, "ə bwo bə bəne bə shaŋ, fieŋ ka bə.
 people said if come 3p people AM great thing pass 3p
 (The) people said, "Even if great men come, this thing is difficult for them.
- | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|-----|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------|----|----|
| ə | hlə | duŋ | <u>fine</u> | <u>fiyili</u> | <u>fiŋ</u> | lə | ?" |
| it.be | then | can | small.person | dirty | this | QM | |
- Can **this dirty person** be able?"

(MS 35.1-35.2)

Other than the use of noun phrases with coding materials for characterization, we have also seen examples from the story Antelope and Tortoise how class 1 third person singular pronouns can be used to personify non-human participants, and how the class 1 third person singular pronouns can be shifted back to the pronouns of their original noun classes when the speaker wants to emphasize the animal characteristics of these participants.

3. Conclusion

Major participants are formally introduced by a presentational clause followed by sentences where the major participants are the topic. Tracking of participants in same subject context is mainly done by pronouns. Zero anaphora is used only to quicken the pace of the action and for sentences with closely related actions. The third person plural pronoun *bá* can be used as an impersonal pronoun to refer to a wider community or an unspecified group for backgrounding of the participants or highlighting of the action. Noun phrases are often found at episode boundaries, in places of the story where there is contrast or conflict or to express a character's or the narrator's evaluation or comment. They are also used to introduce participants. Personification using class 1 pronoun is common for animal stories. The use of the class 19 prefix (*fí-*) for nouns of other classes serves to demote the nouns and is specific to Naami and other languages with similar noun class systems. The diminutive nouns are often used for evaluation and giving comments.

As the narratives studied in this paper are mostly folktales, the participant reference strategies used might not be the same as those for true stories. Studying of more real third person narratives would provide a more comprehensive picture about the participant reference strategies for different narratives.

4. Residue

4.1 Other forms of third person singular subject pronouns

4.1.1 Mə

While the pronoun *i* is the most commonly used pronoun for third person singular subject in Naami, other forms of third person singular subject pronoun are identified by the Naami speakers in different stories. *Mə* is found to be used logophorically in some cases as in example (37) when Death is referring to himself (the addresser) inside his speech. However, in other cases *mə* does not have the logophoric meaning, as in example (38). Its use in those cases is still to be studied.

- (37)

Ə	bwo	chu	bwɔɔ	nu	diŋ	,	<u>i</u>	yɔɔ	lə	<u>mə</u>	chu
it.be	come	return	time	REL	last		3s.SBJ	say	COMP	3s.SBJ	return
bwo		fidiɛ	mbɛɛ	kə	ŋəənə		yi		go		.
come		now	person	NEG	see-PERF		c9.3s		on		

Later he (death) said that he (logophoric) was coming back now without someone seeing him. (D 3)

- (38)

ŋiaŋ	wo	má	chu	fu	chee	ye	i	máa
child	DEM2	P3	become	come.out	smell	as	3s.SBJ	P3.PROG
i	duŋ	lə	gbo	kə	wiilə	kə	.	
3s.SBJ	be	COMP	body	NEG	wash	NEG		

This child was smelling as he was not washing himself.

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|-----------|-------|------|----------|------|----|-------|--------|---|
| Ə | <u>mə</u> | bwii | fəŋ | kwili | liŋ, | bá | koŋ | wu | . |
| if | 3s.SBJ | reach | here | compound | DEM1 | 3p | drive | 3s.OBJ | |

If he reaches here at this compound, he will be driven. (MS 23-24)

4.1.2 Yo

In example (39) from the story *Death*, one of the major characters, the girl is talking to herself regarding what she could do when Death comes to get her. The pronoun *yo* is used to

refer to Death, and *i* (which is for class 1 nouns) is used to refer to the girl herself (the addresser). Since this pronoun appears very few times among all the stories collected, it is not certain whether this pronoun only occurs in quote or it has any discursive functions. More investigation needs to be done to determine it.

- (39) Diaŋ kpe wo lə fieŋ hləŋ, mə fə laha lə lə
 child woman DEM2 QP thing NEG 3s.SBJ make what COMP COMP
 fieŋ fidi hləŋ kə? ...
 thing some NEG 1p

The girl said that what can she (logophoric) do that there is nothing?....

Yo shii həkwe .

3s sit down

Let him (death) sit down.

i fə biləə

3s.SBJ make food

Let her (the girl) prepare food. ...

(D 12.1, 12.3, 12.4)

4.2 Verb ranking

As it is necessary in Longacre and Hwang's model to first identify the different discourse operations, such as episode boundary, within a narrative in order to analyse the participant reference strategies used for different discourse operations, it is thus important to look at the verb ranking and other discourse features such as point of departure in order to make correct decisions. However, since the morphosyntactic information of Naami verbs is still preliminary at this stage, these decisions can only be made roughly based on the English free translation and other discourse features. It is thus important for this area to be explored more in order to facilitate further discourse analysis.

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Appendix 1: Synopsis of texts

1. Antelope and Tortoise

One day, Antelope told his friend Tortoise that he was too small to race with him. In response, tortoise challenged the Antelope to run a race with him to the top of a hill there. Early that morning, Tortoise gathered his brothers and friends, positioned them along the hill and at the top of the hill. Soon after, the race began. Antelope ran on the road. Tortoise ran in the bush. Every time Antelope called out, Tortoise responded so Antelope continued running not knowing that it was not Tortoise responding. At the top, Antelope discovered Tortoise there. Exhausted, Antelope collapsed and declared his defeat.

2. Death

One day Death decided that he would come without people seeing him. So he wrote a list of names of people to die and went to visit his friend, the first person on his list. She made him food, let him sleep, and moved her name to the bottom of the list. Death was well entertained and decided to start at the bottom of the list but found that she was still the first to go. If Death is coming for you, there is no escape.

3. Man and son

There was a man who had everything but only one son. When the son left to work, he respected his father's commands. He neither washed nor put his bag down on the ground for five years. A chief gave the son his daughter as a wife and she cried while declaring that her father had killed her. She never gave him any food she prepared. Soon the son wanted to return so he washed and showed his handsomeness. No one there recognized him. He left for his father's compound and left the girl in what was their compound.

Appendix 2: Interlinearized narrative texts

Text 1: *Juŋ bə kwaa ‘Antelope and Tortoise’ (AT)*

1 Bə Juŋ bə Kwaa má duŋ bə ŋwuŋ bə dɔɔ wi tɔŋ .

and antelope and tortoise P3 be and person and friend AM heart

Antelope and Tortoise were great friends.

2 Ə chu butuu budi , Juŋ chee Kwaa dɔɔ wi .

?? ?? day some antelope call tortoise friend 3s.POSS

One day, Antelope called Tortoise, his friend.

3.1 Juŋ yɔɔ bə Kwaa lə , " Wə duŋ nhlə maa wu maa gbo wo .

antelope say to tortoise COMP 2s be small plus feet plus body 2s.POSS

Antelope said to Tortoise, "You are too small, both feet and your body.

3.2 Wə duŋ wə lələ lili bə mi kə ."

2s can 2s run race with 1s NEG

You cannot run (a) race with me."

4 Lə Kwaa wo ye Juŋ yɔɔlə , Kwaa fwoo lo gbaaŋ .

When tortoise hear concerning antelope said tortoise move anger very

When Tortoise heard what Antelope said, Tortoise was very angry.

5.1 Kwaa yɔɔ bə Juŋ lə , " Ə wə mbweŋ nu wə to mi kibɛɛ lə ?

tortoise (land) say with antelope COMP ?? 2s 1s.POSS.fellow REL 2s insult 1s really QM

Tortoise said to Antelope, "Are you (a) friend who insulted ME?"

5.2 Mbwaə yá duŋ , ŋ'kieɛ kɔnɔ fə .

tomorrow F3 be 1s-find mountain there

Tomorrow, I will find (a) mountain there.

5.3 Kə yá lələ biŋ ə kɔnɔ kie go , bee wə .

1p F3 run ascend LOC mountain DEM2 on 1s.with 2s

We shall run up that mountain, you and I.

5.4 Kə yá ŋəŋ mbɛɛ nu i yá hlaa kəh tɔ wo kɔnɔ kie həbəŋ ."

1p F3 see person REL 3s.SBJ F3 first ?? reach ?? mountain DEM2 top

We shall see who will be (the) first to reach at the top of it."

6 Juŋ wo yo ye , i jii gbo bə kishaa .

antelope hear talk DEM2 3s.SBJ kill body with laughter

When Antelope heard that talk, he burst into laughter.

7 Juŋ too gəŋ yɔɔ bə kpɛɛ chəŋ .

antelope left go say with 3s.POSS.wife house

Antelope went (and) said to his wife at (the) house.

8 I shaa .

3s.SBJ laugh

He laughed.

9.1 I yoo bə kpɛɛ lə , “ Kpəə , mbwen Kwaa yoola yo ji ni
3s.SBJ say with 3s.POSS.wife COMP 1s.POSS.wife 1s.POSS.fellow tortoise said 3s certain REL
mi nyu ŋwo njənjə yi .

1s 1s-?? 1s-hear fine c9.3s

he said to his wife, “ My wife, my friend Tortoise said something which I am happy with it.

9.2 I yoo bə mi lə kə yá lələ lili , bee wu .

3s.SBJ say with 1s COMP 1p F3 run race 1s.with 3s.OBJ

He said to me that we should run a race, he and I.

9.3 Kə biŋ tə ə kənə ."

1p ascend reach LOC mountain

We should climb on (a) mountain. "

10 Bə , bə kpɛɛ , má nɔŋna bə kishaa lə fikwaa fine finchiŋ ,
3p with 3s.POSS.wife P3 rest-PERF with laughter COMP little.tortoise small.person small
fi fə ləhiŋ ə fi lələ lili bə Juŋ lə ?

c.19.3s do how it.be c19.3s run race with antelope QM

They, (he) and his wife, slept with laughter that (a) small man like (the) little tortoise, can it manage to run with Antelope?

11 Kwaa too gəŋ jaŋ bəmaani bə bədoo bii .

tortoise left go order 3s.POSS.brothers and friends 3s.POSS

Tortoise left (and) went (and) ordered his brothers and friends.

12.1 i yoo bə bá lə , “ Mbwaa fili fili , bə yá bwo ə mi kuŋ .

3s.SBJ say with 3p COMP mbwaa early early 2p.SBJ F3 come LOC 1s compound

He told them, "Early tomorrow, you shall come to my compound.

12.2 N'yoo bəŋ yo ni Juŋ hə yoo mi ."

1s-say 2p.OBJ talk REL antelope P1 say 1s

I tell you (the) talk that Antelope told me. "

13 Lə butuu wu həmumbwaa , bədoo bii bie bwo maa bəmaani bie .

When day break morning friends 3s.POSS those come plus 3s.POSS.brothers those

When day broke, his friends and his brothers came.

14 Bə bwo bumə ə wu kwuŋ .

3p come gather LOC 3s.OBJ home

They came and gathered in his compound.

15.1 Kwaa yɔɔ bə bə lə , " Mbwenɔ Jun too mi daŋ lə mi nduŋ tənə
tortoise say to 3p COMP 1s.POSS.friend antelope insulted 1s today COMP 1s 1s-be small
lə nduŋ ŋkaa nlələ lili kə .

COMP 1s-can 1s-NEG 1s-run race NEG

Tortoise told them that, "My friend Antelope has insulted me today that I am small and unable to run."

15.2 Mmá yɔɔla bə wu lə " Daŋ , mə lə chu bwo , mi hi ŋkieɛla bəne
1s-P3 say-PERF to 3s.OBJ COMP today 3s.SBJ COMP ?? come 1s P1 1s-look.for people
bəŋ ."

1s.POSS

I told him, "Before he comes today, I have looked for my people."

15.3 Mi nakə yɔɔlə tɔ bə wu kə .
1s NEG said clearly with 3s.OBJ NEG

I have not talked clearly to him.

15.4 Bə bwo bə bələ mi .
2p.SBJ come 2p.SBJ follow 1s

You come (and) follow me.

15.5 Kə fə nche yi Jun daŋ ."
1p make medicine AM antelope today

Let us deal with Antelope today.

16 Bədɔ bii bie má bəla wu .
friends 3s.POSS those P3 follow-PERF 3s.OBJ

His friends followed him.

17 Bə baŋ ə wu go .
3p follow.closely LOC 3s.OBJ on

They followed him closely.

18 I gəŋ dɔ chi bə mu kənɔ kie go hləŋ hləŋ kə tɔ mə həbəŋ .
3s.SBJ go plant put 3p ?? mountain DEM2 on CONT CONT ?? reach in top

He went (and) positioned them on the hill right to the top.

19 I má chee kwaa ki diŋ kie həmə kənɔ kie həbəŋ kibɛɛ .
3s.SBJ P3 keep tortoise AM last DEM2 there mountain DEM2 top really

He kept the last tortoise at the very top of the hill.

20.1 I fiimə chu diŋ bwo yɔɔ bə dɔ wii juŋ lə , " Mi mbwoo .
3s.SBJ return ?? back come say to friend 3s.POSS antelope COMP 1s 1s-come-PERF

He returned to his friend Antelope and told him, "I have come."

20.2 Kə chəɔ lili le fidiɛ .

1p start race DEM2 now

Let us start the race now.

20.3 Wə ləə wə lələ ə jee .

2s COMP 2s run LOC road

You will run on the road.

20.4 Mi lələ ə nji .”

1s run LOC bush

I will run in the bush.”

21 Dəɔ wi Jun má bema .

friend 3s.POSS antelope P3 agree-PERF

His friend Antelope accepted.

22 Bə chəɔ lili libə .

3p start race 3p.POSS

They started their race.

23 Kwaa má lələ hə nji .

tortoise P3 enter-PERF LOC bush

Tortoise entered in the bush.

24 Lə Jun ka fwi , Kwaa fu chu jee .

COMP antelope pass ahead tortoise come.out return road

When Antelope ran ahead, Tortoise came back to road.

25 Yee ki jaa wɛɛ wɛɛ , ki bɪŋ kɔnɔ .

PROG c7.3s travel.PROG slow slow c7.3s ascend.PROG mountain

As it was climbing slowly, it was ascending (the) mountain.

26 Bwəɔ nu Jun lələ lələ , bwəɔ nu i chee , " Mbwaa ".

time REL antelope run run time REL 3s.SBJ call mbwaa

When Antelope ran, he would call, “Mbwaa”.

27 Le máa yii libə liŋ bá máa bá chee gbo wi bá .

DEM2 P3.PROG name 3p.POSS REL 3p P3.PROG 3p call body AM 3p

That was their name which they used to call each other.

28 Ə mə chee " Mbwaa " , i wo ye kwaa bemi hə nji " Mbwaa , mi n'yo ə

?? 3s.SBJ call mbwaa 3s.SBJ hear as tortoise answer LOC bush mbwaa 1s 1s-PRES LOC
wə go ."

2s on

If he calls “Mbwaa”, he will hear as Tortoise answer in the bush, “Mbwaa, I am following.”

29 Jun̩ gəŋ fwi bə lili , ku ku ku ku ku ku ku ku .

antelope go ahead with race sound.of.running

Antelope kept on running.

30 Bwə nu i chee " Mbwa " i wo ye Kwaa bemi hə nji " Mbwa " .

time REL 3s.SBJ call mbwa 3s.SBJ hear concerning tortoise answer LOC bush mbwa

When he called "Mbwa", he heard Tortoise answered in the bush "Mbwa".

31 Ə duŋ bəmaani bəŋ Kwaa má də bie chi mə jee bəŋ bə bemi mə nji .

?? be 3s.POSS.brothers REL tortoise P3 plant those put in road REL 3p answer in bush

It is his brothers whom Tortoise positioned on the road that are answering Antelope.

32 Jun̩ yi fimə wa jee bə lili lə mə lə hlaa kə tə lə mə ka

antelope c7.3s struggle there road with race COMP 3s.SBJ COMP first go burst COMP 3s.SBJ pass
Kwaa hləŋ hləŋ hləŋ hləŋ hləŋ .

tortoise CONT CONT CONT CONT CONT

Antelope, it struggled on the road with (the) race that he will be the first to reach the top, that he will pass Tortoise.

33 Lə Jun̩ gə tə pwaa , i bu ŋəŋ Kwaa hə hlaa bwii .

When antelope go reach point 3s.SBJ then see tortoise P1 first reach

When Antelope reached the top, he just saw Tortoise has first reached.

34 Jun̩ gbe həkwe bə fiŋnə ye i máa i lələ lə .

antelope fall down with tiredness as 3s.SBJ P3.PROG 3s.SBJ run COMP

Antelope fell down with tiredness as he was running.

35.1 Kwaa lə , " Mbweŋ , wə bwiila chuu .

tortoise COMP 1s.POSS.friend 2s reach-PERF ??

Tortoise said, "my friend, you have arrived.

35.2 Mi hi nhlaa bwii bə wə .

1s P1 1s-first reach with 2s

I first reached with you.

35.3 wə bwo chuu diŋ lə ?"

2s come ?? last QM

You have come later?"

36 Jun̩ shaa .

antelope laugh

Antelope laughed.

37.1 Jun̩ yə lə , " Hiŋ !

antelope say COMP Exclamation

Antelope said, "Hiŋ!

37.2 Dgwoŋ , mbweŋ , wə kaa mi .

brother 1s.POSS.fellow 2s pass 1s

My brother, my friend, you passed me.

37.3 Máa nhle lə mi ŋka wə lili le ."

P3.PROG 1s-think COMP 1s 1s-pass 2s race DEM2

I was thinking that I passed you that race.

38 Juŋ yɔɔ i nɔɔna həkwe bə fɪnə .

antelope say 3s.SBJ rest-PERF down with tiredness

Antelope said as he had laid down with tiredness.

39 Lə i ŋɔɔni chɛ , kpe je wu həmə .

COMP 3s.SBJ rest small death take (away) 3s.OBJ there

When he rested for a short while, he died there.

40 Bikwaa bie , ye bi máa bi lələ lə bi bwô , bəmaani bie yaŋ diŋ
tortoises those as c2.3p P3.PROG c2.3p run COMP c2.3p come 3s.POSS.brothers those here behind
bə fū .

3p come.out

Those tortoises, as they were running that they were coming, his brothers behind, they were coming out.

41 Bə bwô mə je .

3p come.PROG in road

They were coming on road.

42 Bə jaa hləŋ hləŋ bwo gə tɔ həmə bumə .

3p walk CONT CONT come go reach there gather

They walked (and) walked until (they) reached there (and) gathered.

43 Kwaa ki diŋ kie kiŋ ki má jaŋ kie jə bəmaani , ə ki kiŋ
tortoise (land) AM last DEM2 REL c7.3s P3 invite DEM2 take 3s.POSS.brothers it.be c7.3s REL
ki má bwo kpee diŋ .

c7.3s P3 come end last

That last tortoise who invited his brothers, it was it who came last.

44 Ki chu bwo , Juŋ hə kpee .

c7.3s return come antelope P1 die

When it arrived, Antelope has died.

45.1 Kwaa lə , " Bə ŋəna lə , bəmbweŋ kə hluunə nyaŋ ya lə .
tortoise COMP 2p.SBJ see-PERF COMP 1s.POSS.friends 1p cut meat 1p.POSS COMP

Tortoise said, "Look my friends, let's share our meat.

45.2 Jun hə yəə lə i ka be .

antelope P1 say COMP 3s.SBJ pass 1p.OBJ

Antelope said that he was above us.

45.3 kə kaa chuu wu daŋ ."

1p pass ?? 3s.OBJ today

We have passed him today."

46 Cha ŋjəŋj kaa .

story 1s.POSS end

My story has ended.

Text 2: *Kpe ‘Death’ (D)*

1 Kpe má duŋ həmə .
c9.death P3 be there

Death was there.

2 i máa i hlaa i bwô bəne ŋəŋ mu .
3s.SBJ P3.PROG 3s.SBJ first 3s.SBJ come.PROG people see 3.OBJ.IMPERS

He used to come (and) people have been seeing it.

3 Ə bwo chu bwɔɔ nu diŋ , i yɔɔ lə mə chu bwo fidiɛ mbɛ kə ŋəənə
it.be come return time REL last 3s.SBJ say COMP 3s.SBJ return come now person NEG see-PERF
yi go .
c9.3s on

Later he said that he come back now without someone seeing him.

4 Ə má fə laha ?
it.be P3 do what

What happened?

5 Kpe má laa dɔɔ wi kpuuni .
c9.death P3 go friend 3s.POSS visit

Death went to visit his friend.

6 i hi bwoɔ i bwo kwo dɔɔ wi wo .
3s.SBJ P1 come-PERF 3s.SBJ come catch friend 3s.POSS DEM2

He has come to catch his friend.

7 Fo duŋ bieena yii ŋə bəne .
already be write-PERF names AM people

Already, he has written names of people.

8 Bəŋ , bá kpe .
these 3p die

These (people), they die.

9 Bəne bəŋ , mə jə bá gəŋ bə bá .
people these 3s.SBJ take 3p go with 3p

These people, he take them (and) go with them.

10 I bieena yii ŋəbə ŋie ə nchan go bwo gə tiŋ hədiŋ .
3s.SBJ write-PERF names 3s.POSS those LOC line on come go shoot bottom

He has written their names in line down to (the) bottom.

11 ə chu lə i bwo læ chili ŋiaŋ kpe nu nu duŋ dɔɔ wii , I yɔɔ bə
 when COMP 3s.SBJ come enter meet child woman this REL be friend 3s.POSS 3s.SBJ say to
 ŋiaŋ kpe wo lə , “ Fi duŋ nani , daŋ lə butuu bwo , mi mbwoo
 child woman DEM2 COMP c19.3s be like.this today be day 2s.POSS 1s 1s-come-PERF
 lə mbwo jə wə .”
 COMP 1s-come take 2s

when he entered (and) meet this girl who was his friend, he said to that girl, "It is like this, today is your day. I have come to take you".

12.1 Diaŋ kpe wo lə " fieŋ hləŋ , mə fə laha lə , lə fieŋ fidi hləŋ kə ?
 child woman DEM2 QP thing NEG 3s.SBJ make what COMP COMP thing some NEG 1p

The girl said that "What can she do that there is nothing?"

12.2 Ye yo bwo yu wu , kə ŋgə hləŋ .
 as 3s come because 3s.OBJ therefore trouble NEG

As he has come because of her, then there is no trouble.

12.3 Yo shii həkwe .
 3s sit down

Let him sit down.

12.4 i fə biləə .
 3s.SBJ make food

she prepare food.

12.5 i nə yo .
 3s.SBJ offer 3s

She give him.

12.6 yo di , yo hlə kwo wu , hləŋ lə ?"
 3s eat 3s then catch 3s.OBJ NEG QP

He eat and he will then catch her, not so?"

13 Kpe shii həkwe .
 death sit down

Death sat down.

14 i nyii kintaŋ .
 3s.SBJ show bed

She showed bed.

15 kpe nəŋ .
 death sleep

Death lay down.

16 i fə biləə , fə biləə .

3s.SBJ make food make food

She made food, made food.

17 kpe di .

death eat

Death ate.

18 kpe nɔŋ duŋ həkwɛ .

death sleep be down

Death slept.

19 kpe fə bufe lə i yu nɔŋ kinɪŋ .

death make knowledge COMP 3s.SBJ PRES sleep sleep

Death pretended that he is sleeping.

20 ɖiaŋ kpe wo chiini .

child woman DEM2 look

The girl looked.

21 i ŋəŋ kpe hə bieena yii lii yaa fwi .

3s.SBJ see death P1 write-PERF name 3p.POSS there first

She saw death has written her name there first.

22 I jə fieŋ .

3s.SBJ take thing

She took a thing.

23 i kɔhɔ fwoo yii lii le wa fwi .

3s.SBJ wipe move name 3p.POSS DEM2 there first

She wipe her name in the front.

24 i bwo gə bieŋ chuu yii lii le yaa diŋ .

3s.SBJ come go write reply name 3p.POSS DEM2 there behind

She went (and) wrote back her name there behind.

25 Yaa həŋgbɔŋ i bieŋ chuu yii lii le .

there end 3s.SBJ write back name 3p.POSS DEM2

There at the end, she wrote her name.

26 kpe nɔŋ kinɪŋ .

death sleep sleep

death was sleeping.

27.1 ʈ chulə kpe jaka , kpe yɔɔ lə , " kayi !

When death be.awake die say COMP exclamation

When death wake up death said, "kayi!

27.2 wə choo mi gbaaŋ .
2s entertain 1s a.lot

You have entertained me a lot.

27.3 mi hi duŋ lə mi chɔɔ bə wə bənji .
1s P1 be COMP 1s start with 2s to.kill

I was to start with you to kill.

27.4 ye wə choo mi lə gbaaŋ , mi lə gbe chuu yaa hədiŋ yee biŋ bu biinə ,
as 2s entertain 1s COMP a.lot 1s F1 start back there bottom PROG ascend climbing
yee bəne bie kpe bə biŋ ə mbinə mə ."
PROG people those die 3p ascend LOC GER-climb in

As you have entertained me much, I will start at the bottom and climb up, so that as those people will be dying, they ascend (the list)."

28 Diaŋ kpe , yaŋ i hi fwoola yii lii yaŋ fwi , i hle bə gbe bə
child woman when 3s.SBJ P1 remove-PERF name 3p.POSS here first 3s.SBJ think 3p start with
wu .
3s.OBJ

(The) girl, when she removed her name in front, she thought that they will first start with her.

29 i gəna gə chi yaa dɔhɔ ki kpe lə chɔɔ kie
3s.SBJ go-PERF go put there place AM death COMP start DEM2

She went (and) put (her name) there which death will start.

30 Kpe gə chɔɔ yaa hədiŋ dɔhɔ ki i yɔɔ kie lə yu lə dɔɔ wi lə
death go start there bottom place AM 3s.SBJ say DEM2 COMP because fear friend 3s.POSS COMP
yo choo wu gbaaŋ lə mə chɔɔ chuu yaŋ .
3s entertain 3s.OBJ a.lot COMP 3s.SBJ start back this.way

Death went and began at the bottom where he said that (he) fear his friend that she has entertained him much that he will start but this way.

31 kaka cha ye kaa .
story DEM2 finish

That is the end of the story.

32 Fiŋ nyii lə ə kpe hə duŋ lə i yu bwo yu wə , nche yidi hləŋkə
this show COMP if death P1 be COMP 3s.SBJ PRES come because 2s medicine some NEG

This shows that if death is coming for you, there is no medicine.

33 Bə baafɛɛ .
2p.SBJ thank

Thank you.

Text 3: *Nyo bə ɲiaŋ ‘Man and Son’ (MS)*

1 Nyo ju má duŋ bə bəkweɛ , bə bwəni , bə bənaŋ , bə bikwuŋ .
man certain P3 be with women with children with cows with horses
A certain man had wives, children, cows and horses.

2 Diaani nyo má duŋ kwaa mwi .
3s.POSS.child man P3 be only one
His son was (the) only (male child).

3 Diaani wo má bwoo wunə mbɛɛ nu duŋ ə i niŋ nimi .
3s.POSS.child DEM2 P3 come-PERF correct person REL can ?? 3s.SBJ work work
That son of him became a man who can do work.

4 I má yɔɔla bə tili lə , " Ta , mi n'yu kiɛ lə i gəŋ niŋ
3s.SBJ P3 say-PERF with 3s.POSS.father COMP father 1s 1s-?? want COMP 3s.SBJ go work
nimi ."
work
He told his father, "Father, I want to go (and) do work."

5.1 Tili yɔɔ bə wu lə , " Diaa , mi bə bieŋ fəŋ bweenə kiŋaŋkə .
3s.POSS.father say with 3s.OBJ COMP 1s.POSS.son 1s with things here home many
His father said to him, "My child, I have so many things here in (the) compound."

5.2 Wə yɔɔ lə wə kiɛ lə wə she bieŋ biŋ , wə gəŋ niŋ nimi lidi lə ?"
2s say.PROG COMP 2s want COMP 2s leave things these 2s go work work some COMP
You are saying that you wanted to leave these things, (and) go and do some work?"

6 Diaani wo má chuula lə , " Ee , ta , mi n'yu kiɛ lə mi gəŋ
3s.POSS.child DEM2 P3 reply-PERF COMP Right 1s.POSS.father 1s 1s-?? want COMP 1s go
niŋ nimi ."
work work
His son answered, "Yes, my father, I want to go and do work."

7 Tili má yɔɔla bə wu lə , " Ye wə yɔɔ lə lə wə kiɛ lə wə gəŋ
3s.POSS.father P3 say-PERF to 3s.OBJ COMP as 2s say COMP COMP 2s want COMP 2s go
niŋ nimi , ŋgə hləŋ kə ."
work work trouble NEG NEG

His father said to him, "As you said you wanted to go and do work, no problem."

8 Tili má fəə kibwa nə wu .
3s.POSS.father P3 make bag offer 3s.OBJ
His father made a bag (and) gave him.

9.1 I yɔɔ bə wu lə , " Jə kibwa kiŋ nini .
3s.SBJ say with 3s.OBJ COMP take bag this EMP
He told him, "Take this very bag!"

9.2 Wə gəŋ bə ki .

2s go with c7.3s

Go with it.

9.3 Kibwa kiŋ nini , wə yá yee wə jáa bə ki .

bag this EMP 2s F3 PROG 2s travel.PROG with c7.3s

This very bag, you shall be moving with it.

9.4 Wə kə waalə lə wə chi ki həkwe .

2s NEG try COMP 2s put c7.3s down

You shall not try to put down.

9.5 Wə kə waalə lə wə wii gbo kə hləŋ hləŋ bwo bwii ə bwəə nu i ya

2s NEG try COMP 2s 3s.POSS body NEG CONT CONT come reach LOC time REL 3s.SBJ F2
duŋ lə wə yi kiəə lə wə kwələ bwo chili chuu mi .

be COMP 2s ?? want COMP 2s return come meet again 1s

You shall not try to bathe until (a) time come when you want to come back (and) meet me.

9.6 Wə yá hlə chi kibwa kiŋ həkwe ."

2s F3 then put bag this down

You shall then put this bag on the ground.

10 Diaani wo má gəəna .

3s.POSS.son DEM2 P3 go-PERF

His child went.

11 I jáa .

3s.SBJ travel.PROG

He was travelling.

12 I nŋŋ nimi lii bə kibwa kie .

3s.SBJ do.PROG work 3p.POSS with bag DEM2

He was doing his work with that bag.

13 I má yáa chi ki həkwe kə .

3s.SBJ P3 NEG put c7.3s down NEG

(He) did not put it on the ground.

14 I má yáa wii gbo kə .

3s.SBJ P3 NEG wash body NEG

He did not bathe.

15 I gəŋ nŋŋ bə nyo ju bigoŋ bifwe

3s.SBJ go work with man certain years two

He went (and) worked with (a) certain man for two years.

16 I bwo niŋ bæ nyo ju bigoŋ bitə .

3s.SBJ come work for man certain years three

He came (and) worked with another man for three years.

17 Nyo wo duŋ ŋkiŋ ye tili lə .

man DEM2 be chief as 3s.POSS.father COMP

That man was (a) chief like his father.

18 Nyo wo má kənə bieŋ binhliŋ bi tili má kənə bie .

man DEM2 P3 have things all REL 3s.POSS.father P3 have those

That man had all those things which his father had.

19 Nyo wo , bikwuŋ bii bie həmə bweenə kiəkɛ , bi má duŋ binlo .

man DEM2 horses 3s.POSS those there outside all c2.3p P3 be wild

That man, all his horses there in the compound, they were wild.

20 I máa i dūŋ ə kikwuŋ kidi bəŋ kə biina kə .

3s.SBJ P3.PROG 3s.SBJ be.PROG LOC horse some on NEG climb-PERF NEG

He has never climbed on any horses.

21 I má faana ŋiaŋ nunu nu i máa i dūŋ wo gbo kə wiilə kə

3s.SBJ P3 send-PERF child EMP REL 3s.SBJ P3.PROG 3s.SBJ be.PROG ?? body NEG wash NEG

lə ŋiaŋ wo kə jaa dii wu bəne .

COMP child DEM2 then walk call 3s.OBJ people

He sent THIS child who has not been bathing to move round and call (for) him (the) people.

22 Diaŋ wo má chu fu chee ye i máa i dūŋ lə gbo kə wiilə

child DEM2 P3 become come.out smell as 3s.SBJ P3.PROG 3s.SBJ be.PROG COMP body NEG wash
kə .

NEG

That child was smelling as he has not been bathing.

23 Ə mə bwii fəŋ kwili liŋ , bá koŋ wu .

if 3s.SBJ reach here compound this 3p drive 3s.OBJ

If he reaches here (at) this compound, he will be driven.

24 Ə mə gəŋ lilii kwili , bá koŋ wu yulahalə i máa i fū chee .

if 3s.SBJ go DEM3 compound 3p drive 3s.OBJ because 3s.SBJ P3.PROG 3s.SBJ come.out smell

If he reaches that compound, he will be driven because he was smelling.

25.1 Ə chulə i gəŋ bwii ə kwili lidi le , nyo ju yəə lə , " Bə kə

?? ?? 3s.SBJ go reach LOC compound some DEM2 man certain say COMP 2s.SUB NEG
koonə ŋiaŋ nu kə yulahalə má ŋəəna ŋiaŋ nunu ə ŋkiŋ kuŋ .

drive-PERF child this NEG because P3 see-PERF child EMP LOC chief compound

When he went (and) reached that certain compound, (a) certain man said that, "You should not have driven this child because I saw THIS child at (the) chief's compound.

25.2 I nɪŋ bə ŋkiŋ .

3s.SBJ work.PROG with chief

He was working with (the) chief.

25.3 Kə gəŋ .

1p go

Let us go.

25.4 Kə kə wo fiŋ fiŋ ŋkiŋ yu dii fie be yu fi ."

then 1p hear thing REL chief ?? call DEM2 1p.OBJ because c19.3s

Then, let us hear that thing which the chief is calling for us because of it.

26 Bəne bie má gəna maa bəne bəŋ bə má niŋh bie .

people those P3 go-PERF plus people REL 3p P3 refuse those

Those people went with those people refused (to go to the chief's compound).

27 Bə gəŋ bwii ə ŋkiŋ kuŋ .

3p go reach LOC chief compound

They went (and) reached (the) chief's compound.

28 Ə chulə bə bwiila mə ŋkiŋ kuŋ , ŋkiŋ wo dii fwo bwəni bii bəkwe

?? ?? 3p reach-PERF there chief compound chief DEM2 call remove children 3s.POSS female
bie .

those

When they had reached (the) chief's compound, the rich man called out his daughters.

29.1 I yə lə , ' Ndii bəŋ nya kə .

3s.SBJ say COMP 1s-call 2p.OBJ nothing 1p

He said, "I have not called you for nothing.

29.2 Ndii bəŋ yulahalə ə bikwuŋ biŋŋ biŋ mə fəŋ bweenə mbiinə ə kidi bəŋ

1s-call 2p.OBJ because LOC horses 1s.POSS these in here compound climb-PERF LOC some on
kə .

NEG

I have called you because among my horses here at (the) compound, I have not climbed on any.

29.3 Ndii bəŋ lə ə bwəni bəŋŋ bəkwe bəŋ mə , mbə nu mə lə biŋ

1s-call 2p.OBJ COMP LOC children 1s.POSS female these in person REL 3s.SBJ COMP ascend
ə kikwuŋ bəŋ , i jə wu , no bə wu ye kpə lə ."

LOC horse on 3s.SBJ take 3s.OBJ leave with 3s.OBJ as 3s.POSS.wife COMP

I called you that, "Among these my daughters, the person who climbs on (a) horse, he will take her, (and) leave with her as his wife."

30 Mbə ju həmə bweenə duka má yáa biŋ ə kikwuŋ kidi bəŋ kə .

person certain there compound all P3 NEG climb LOC horse some on NEG

All people there at (the) compound have not climbed on any horses.

31 Dkiŋ wo yɔɔ lə , " Diaŋ nunu bwo gə biŋ ə kikwuŋ kie bəŋ lə yo mɔŋ ŋəŋ."
 chief DEM2 say COMP child EMP come go climb LOC horse DEM2 on COMP 3s test see
That chief said, "THIS child should come (and) go (and) climb on that horse, that he should test (and) see."

32 Diaŋ wo má bwoo bwo biŋ ə kikwuŋ kie bəŋ .
 child DEM2 P3 come-PERF come climb LOC horse DEM2 on
That child came (and) climbed on that horse.

33 Duka bəne bəŋ bá má duŋ həmə bweenə , bá má woo go nlokə gbaaŋ bwɔɔ nu ŋiaŋ
 all people REL 3p P3 be there compound 3p P3 hear bodies pain a.lot time REL child
 wo má biŋ ə kikwuŋ bəŋ maa bwɔɔ nu ŋkiŋ wo má yɔɔ wo lə bá gəŋ chee ŋiaŋ
 DEM2 P3 climb LOC horse on plus time REL chief DEM2 P3 say ?? COMP 3p go call child
 wo .
 that

All (the) people who were there at (the) compound, they were very angry when that child climbed on the horse and when that chief asked them to go (and) call for that child.

34.1 Bəne yɔɔlə , " Ə bwo bá bəne bə shaŋ , fiŋ ka bá .
 people said If come 3p people AM great thing above 3p
(The) people said, "Even if great men come, (this) thing is difficult for them."

34.2 Ə hlə duŋ fiŋ fiyili fiŋ lə ?"
 ?? then can small.person dirty this QM
Can this dirty person be able?"

35 Fi má duuna gəŋ ə bwɔɔ mbini wo bəŋ , ŋiaŋ kpə nu má woo go
 c19.3s P3 be-PERF go LOC time particular DEM2 on child woman this P3 hear-PERF bodies
 nlokə yulahalə i yu kələ weeŋ lə tili lə nə wu bə ŋiaŋ nunu .
 pain because 3s.SBJ ?? know clear COMP 3s.POSS.father F1 offer 3s.OBJ with child EMP
It was at that particular time, this girl felt painful because she knew that his father would give her to THIS child.

36 I wo go nlokə , chɔɔ ndəŋ bə nde .
 3s.SBJ hear bodies pain start-PERF tears with cry, weep
She felt painful and started to cry.

37 I yɔɔ lə tili jiila wu .
 3s.SBJ say COMP 3s.POSS.father kill-PERF 3s.OBJ
She said that her father has killed her.

38 Tili má biina ə kikwuŋ kiŋ bəŋ .
 3s.POSS.father P3 climb-PERF LOC horse this on
Her father climbed on this horse.

39 Bwo chili wu .
 come meet 3s.OBJ
(He) came (and) met her .

40.1 Yəə bə wu lə , " Jə biɛŋ biŋ nini .
 say to 3s.OBJ COMP take things these EMP
(He) told her , "Take THESE things.

40.2 Wə gə chili nwa .
 2s go meet 2s.POSS.husband
Go (and) meet your husband.

40.3 Yee bə dũŋ bə wu ."
 PROG 2p.SBJ be.PROG with 3s.OBJ
Be staying with him."

41 Diaŋ kpɛ wo máa i dɛ ndəŋ .
 child woman DEM2 P3.PROG 3s.SBJ mourn.PROG tears
That girl was crying.

42 I máa i fɔ biləə .
 3s.SBJ P3.PROG 3s.SBJ make.PROG food
She was preparing food.

43 I kə nəə ŋiaŋ nyo wo kə .
 3s.SBJ NEG give-PERF child man DEM2 NEG
She did not give that boy (food).

44 I ba bə jəbulə .
 3s.SBJ remain with hunger
He was always with hunger.

45 Diaŋ nyo máa i nŋ ə fibwali bəŋ .
 child man P3.PROG 3s.SBJ sleep.PROG LOC small.skin on
(The) boy was sleeping on a small piece of skin.

46 I wo ŋge .
 3s.SBJ hear trouble
He heard trouble.

47 Ə má bwoo bwo wunə butuu buŋ ŋiaŋ nyo ma duŋ lə i yu kiɛ lə i kwələ
 ?? P3 came come correct day REL child man P3 be COMP 3s.SBJ ?? want COMP 3s.SBJ return
 chuu .
 back

Time came when (the) boy wanted to return.

48 Diaŋ nyo wo má gəna kə wii gbo .
 child man DEM2 P3 go-PERF then 3s.POSS body
That boy went and bathed.

49 Dɪaŋ nyo wo má choo bə kinwaa kii .
 child man DEM2 P3 return with handsome 3s.POSS
That boy came back with his handsomeness.

50 Ye i má duŋ nwaa ka chuu ŋiaŋ kpe wo , ŋiaŋ kpe wo má yaa baa
 as 3s.SBJ P3 be beauty more.than ?? child woman DEM2 child woman DEM2 P3 NEG again
 kələ lə ə nyimi wo kə .
 know COMP it.be 3s.POSS.husband DEM2 1p
As he was more beautiful than that girl, that girl did not know that it was her husband.

51 I yii ŋêŋ ŋiaŋ nyo wo yoo lə , " Ə hə duŋ lə bə yoo lə kwii
 3s.SBJ PROG+3s see.PROG child man DEM2 say COMP If P1 be COMP 3p say COMP DEM3
 lə nyimə wo , ə mi hi nakə leki lə ?"
 be 1s.POSS.husband DEM2 ?? 1s P1 NEG love QM
As she was looking at that boy (and) said, "if people said that that one is my husband, would I not like it?"

52 I kə kələ lə yo lə nyimi wo kə .
 3s.SBJ NEG know COMP 3s COMP 3s.POSS.husband DEM2 NEG
She did not know that he was her husband.

53 Maa ŋkiŋ wo maa bəkwɛɛ bie həmə bweenə , bə má yaa baa kələ ŋiaŋ nyo wo kə
 even chief DEM2 plus women those there compound 3p P3 NEG still know child man DEM2 NEG
 . *Even that chief and those women there at (the) compound, they still did not know that boy.*

54 Dɪaŋ wo má biila bə ɖkiŋ wo lə , " Wə kəla mi lə ?"
 child DEM2 P3 ask-PERF to chief DEM2 COMP 2s know-PERF 1s QM
That boy asked that rich man, "Did you know me?"

55 ɖkiŋ wo yoo lə , " Mi yaa kələ wə kə ."
 chief DEM2 say COMP 1s NEG know 2s NEG
That rich man said, "I do not know you."

56 Dɪaŋ wo yoo lə , ə mi nu máa nɪŋ wo fəŋ bweenə bə wə .
 child DEM2 say COMP ?? 1s REL P3.PROG do.PROG ?? here compound with 2s
That child said, "It is me who was working here at (the) compound with you."

57 ɖkiŋ wo yoo lə , " Hiiŋ lə , ee ."
 chief DEM2 say COMP Exclamation COMP yes
That chief said, "Ah, yes!"

58 Dɪaŋ kpe wo má woo ye ŋiaŋ wo yoo lə , i má ləla bwo kə lɛɛ ə
 child woman DEM2 P3 hear as child DEM2 say COMP 3s.SBJ P3 run-PERF come then enter LOC
 chəŋ bilə .
 house food
That girl heard that child said, she ran (and) entered (the) house of food.

- 59 I fə biləə bwo gə chee jə ŋiaŋ nyo wo lə bó gə di .
 3s.SBJ make food come go call take child man DEM2 COMP 3p go eat
She prepared food (and) came (and) called that boy so that they should go (and) eat.
- 60 Dəhə kiŋ ŋiaŋ wo kpa kie , fo fo mə lə kpa həmə .
 place REL child DEM2 cut DEM2 there there 3s.SBJ F1 cut there
The place where that child takes (food), there she will take.
- 61 Bwəə nu bunieŋ bwe má bwo gəŋ bənlaa yaŋ bəŋ , ŋiaŋ nyo wo má wiila kwáŋ .
 time REL fufu DEM2 P3 come go defiled here on child man DEM2 P3 wash-PERF hands
When that food was defiled, the boy washed his hands.
- 62 Diaŋ kpɛ wo jə ndəŋ lə yo niina biləə .
 child woman DEM2 take tears COMP 3s refuse-PERF food
The girl cried that he has refused (the) food.
- 63 Diaŋ nyo wo yəə bə wu lə , " Wə kə dee kə yulahalə mi máa ndūŋ
 child man DEM2 say with 3s.OBJ COMP 2s 1p cry NEG because 1s P3.PROG 1s-be.PROG
 kə dēe kə ."
 NEG cry.PROG NEG
That boy said to her, "Don't cry because I was not crying."
- 64 Butuu má bwoo bwo wunə buŋ ŋiaŋ nyo wo yu kiɛ lə i kwələ gə chu
 day P3 come-PERF come correct REL child man DEM2 ?? want COMP 3s.SBJ return go back
 ə tili kuŋ .
 LOC 3s.POSS.father compound
A day came when that boy wanted to return (and) go back to his father's compound.
- 65.1 Dkiŋ wo má yəəla lə , " Jə pwaa .
 chief DEM2 P3 say-PERF COMP take 2s.POSS.wife
That rich man said "Take your wife.
- 65.2 Bə kwələ ."
 2p.SBJ return
Return."
- 66 I niŋh lə mə lə gəənə bə wu kə .
 3s.SBJ refuse COMP 3s.SBJ F1 go with 3s.OBJ NEG
He refused that he will go with her.
- 67 Diaŋ kpɛ wo má baa həmə ə bó kuŋ .
 child woman DEM2 P3 remain-PERF there LOC 3p compound
That girl remained there at their compound.

68 Diaŋ nyo bwo kə kwələ wu fii .
child man come then return 3s.OBJ 3s.POSS
(The) boy came and returned to his own (compound).