

1. Pourque/parce que

pourque + pos. = ka

+ neg. = acii ga

parce que + pos. = acii (lack stated by verb)

+ neg. = acii paa

2. Participant Reference

With both past tense and neuter in narrative text, the general pattern is: when the subject is the same as in the preceding clause, a pronoun is used; at a change of subject, a noun. (Note author's self correction T Lazy zhiina (10), CB 106, CD 106, 108)

exceptions:

a) at a change of subject there may be a pronoun instead of a noun:

- in the second of 2 parallel episodes: T salt with laws, CA 211, 213
- when intervening subject is a prop: T chat (the chief), CA 96
- when alternating masculine/feminine: CB 42-46
- generally less precision with plurals: CA 132, 137, CC 99
- in margin of response to short speech: CA 22, 188
- (generally less precision with animated conversation: CA 132, 137)
- when intervening subject is in clause off time line ?: T salt (13)
- with reciprocals ?: CD 52 (give --- put in bag)

b) when the subject remains same, there may be a noun instead of pronoun:

- when participant does what he has just said he will do:

T Lazy zhiina 8, CA 47

3. Speech margins

## a) On time line:

ayki - tends to give prominence, mark new development: CA 226.

Therefore often occurs with change of participant - and corresponds with use of past tense in narrative: T salt (6)  
T Lazy zhiina (22)

ba - tends to have low prominence - corresponding to use of neuter in narrative: T salt (13), T Lazy zhiina (23)

NB T Lazy zhiina (5) fits neither participant reference pattern nor use of ayki v. ba. And Timothée later corrects himself by adding na zhiina.

### b) in margin of an embedded speech:

ayki - seems to mark a new development within the speech : CA 124  
and is also used in a margin expressing an imperative idea:  
"Quand les petites panthères viennent, tu dis: .... tondire."  
"....., ayki ha: --- barsku" CB 69

ba - elsewhere : CA 28, 37

## 4. Direct v. Indirect Speech

### a) In narrative texts; on timeline

Indirect occurs only once in our texts - in narrator's commentary

where the margin is "to know" : CC 108 : ka shii tii uii ....

Tin(2) pg 12 : ayki zhiina, kakinanha ci ..

Direct occurs elsewhere :

- whether the margin is ayki or ba
- or a verb of accepting or wanting
- in narrator's comment : CC 123
- when strictly speaking the speech is a summary:  
"C'est ainsi, ainsi que tu feras" CD 106

### b) In sermon texts, explanations

Direct speech in passages relating a story.

Indirect elsewhere : HA 41

### c) Embedded Speech

- Three examples in our texts of direct embedded in direct (CA 37-40, 114  
CC 102)
- One example of indirect embedded in direct (1b. 1-6)

Is this because ~~also~~ the indirect object in the embedded margin  
is first person in the last example?

Participant says: I said to him, fais ainsi, nous tenions (CC 37-4)

Participant says: he said to me; je ne dois pas prendre.. (1b. 1)

- Another example of indirect embedded in direct ! (CE 14) But note unusual speech closure - is it to compensate for ~~any~~ usage  
within the quote as if it were the narrator's words, not squirrel's?  
Participant says: she says, if stone breaks, she sews them,  
says squirrel to God.

## 5. Demonstratives

-na : ceci / this, close at hand

-tsa : cela / that, near by

Refer to participants and props in the real world, close by or further removed but in the vicinity (They are therefore also found in speech in narrative texts).

-ta : refers to a previously mentioned participant or prop in a discourse ; if in the real world, not in the vicinity.

When referring to events or theories just mentioned, -tsa is preferred

form : maka atsa - comme cela

ka dana na ha atsa pata - tu feras tout cela (T. Cass. 3.2)

As relative clause marker, -ta is most frequent in texts, but one also finds -nts, indicating an object or person close at hand or an event or theory just mentioned:

ha'a dii na sonda danskwa : Ainsi est la chose que tu feras  
(T) Cass. 3.2

Some nouns, as head of relative clauses appear to have a fixed form in -ta : hats - l'endroit où

-na appears to have special usage : celi-ci, celi-la - marking

both people : ma andana naakii - quant à celi-ci, he's lazy  
ma andana - quant à celi-la, he works (lbr. 30)

## 6. Topic

See my Rapport 1983 for basic information.

In addition : -topic commonly used for time settings :

ma daba'akii - quant à après,

ma ta ka andai' uusata - T. un autre jour,

- nominalized verb with inherent possession :

ma danskwa, - quant à ce que tu feras

(it is assumed in context that you must do something)

- within a participant's speech, the thing topicalised may be new to the reader, but known to the participant :

ma kurangin gaagu - lbr. 1-9 ps. 31

ma onfugii gaagu ps. 33

(4)

In hortatory texts topic seems to mark a new development:

TE 4.3 :

Ma toi enfant, si Dieu (te fortifie), sois sage,  
ne fais pas -, sois sage  
Pourquoi? Pour ne pas souffrir.

Ma homme sage, on le respecte.

Même si les gens (te cherchent querelle), éloigne-toi

Pourquoi? Pour ne pas -

Ma homme qui ne veut pas rester sage, on ne le respecte pas.

Mais ma toi, va en avant en travaillant,

Parce que, ma un bon travail, c'est ça qui (aide)

C'est ainsi que tu dois faire pour être respecté

TE 4.2

a) Si tu as cassé calabasse, ma ton faire, n'attends pas

b) C'est à dire  
Si tu as volé, si ton, ma ton faire, prends, paie  
parce que sinon,

c) ma toi, si tu as cassé calabasse, répens-toi  
puisque ce n'était pas ton intention

d) À cause de cela, si ton dos est sorti, waato tu peux payer,  
parce que ton nom ne se répond pas.

e) Si ton nom est répondu, tu perds respect,

f) À cause de cela reste avec sagesse

parce que, ma ce qu'il faut, travaille

h) Mais ma ton faire, travaille

i) Pourquoi? waato (repetition of all the good results).

a = general : if this circumstance arises, what to do.

b = specific example

c = repeat of general terms

d = repeat of specific

e = warning, an aside, what will happen if disregard the above

f = general imperative, given e).

g = specific "

h = next specific

NB The movement within the exhortation (what to do) is carried forward mainly by topicalizing a form of verb "to do".

T. 3.1 (Expository text)

Ma l'année passée, je suis allé chez ma tante - - -

Ma dabaakii, nous allons au bord de l'eau, trouvons grand arbre  
je pose question sur l'arbre.

Sa réponse :

Ma cet arbre-là, c'est là où on donne à boire aux sorciers.  
arbre de nos ancêtres - - -

Ma homme qui donne à boire aux sorciers, c'est le chef  
parce que

ma lui, il connaît - - -  
à cause de cela c'est lui qui donne à boire - - -

ma l'homme-là, il est bien connu  
de partout les gens viennent - - -

Ma gaduus (là-bas), beaucoup de sorciers sont morts  
parce que si les gens arrivent là-bas.

      s'ils sont sorciers,  
Mais, ma d'autres gens, puisqu'ils ne sont pas sorciers.  
      ils ne meurent pas.

F. Wata (superceding comments of Oct. 89)

In narrative: general area of meaning is temporal/consequence  
i.e. it occurs between events that are in chronological sequence  
and indicates there is some consequential link between them

e.g. He said : Do it ! Wata they did it.

Its effect is to highlight the following event or evoke suspense  
e.g. occurs more frequently in climax (Ibrahim's story) than in  
preceding paragraphs.

In non-narrative: main area of meaning is consequence.  
also has restrictive meaning - "only".

## 8. position of mada clause

mada = if, occurs initial in subordinate clause.

When the conditional clause precedes the main clause, the condition is important, indispensable ??, to the action of the main clause.

This fits with Gude frontshifting for emphasis & focus.

e.g. If you are kind, people will thank you. (T. 4.3)

When the condition follows the main clause, the condition is more circumstantial, adjunctive

e.g. You will be able to help carry people's loads  
if you meet them on the path. (T. 4.3)

The same 2 clauses can probably be found in both orders, depending on where the author chooses to put his emphasis.

## 9. Imperatives

- a) souhait : wa fatayfo vii ka ha jams : May God give you peace
- b) necessity : see adza nyi aa luma : If faut que j'aille au marché
- c) weaker necessity ?: adza nyi aasi : je rentre / je dois renter va!
- d) imperative : due!

To check: whether c) is a politer, gentler way of commanding others than d).

Possibility of using the future with imperative force ?? in future context

e.g. si tu auras un enfant, tu lui enseigneras --- (T. 3.2)

Possibility of using 'neutre' with imperative force?

e.g. Rhode's text - is this because she didn't want to put her son too much to shame in public?

Note 1. For imperative negative there is only one form,

the distinctions a-d above are neutralised:

e.g. ga nyai dza : que je n'aille pas  
ga ha dza : ne va pas

Note 2. Series of imperative forms: ygoruu --, duu --, uuzawa,  
ga ha ba --, amma uuzawa (T. 3.2)

But also imperative + neutre: lagi uuzaki, ha dats tanya.  
tanya: da ndzadzaaku ha snya -- (T. 2.12/11)