Discourse Features of Godié Narrative

Inge Egner
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Abstract

While most studies dealing with discourse phenomena focus on only one feature, such as information structure or participant reference, this work provides a more extensive study of the discourse features of a language. Based on the author’s original fieldwork in the language for over a decade and using a selection of eighteen natural texts—sixteen narratives, a dialogue, and an exhortation—totalling roughly 2,500 clauses, the study examines seven different discourse features found in the Godié language of Côte d’Ivoire, ranging from constituent order to narrative development. Throughout the study, examples from the texts illustrate what is being argued or claimed. The complete text collection is included for reference by way of an appendix.
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Preface

The present study has been on my agenda for a number of years. It was started in 1999 at a workshop with Dr. Stephen Levinsohn in Bouaké, Côte d'Ivoire, and I have been trying to continue working on it ever since. Unfortunately, because of other activities and various changes in my life situation, I had not been able to free myself up for a long enough period of time to really get back to it until almost a decade later, when, as a result of another change in external and personal circumstances, I was able to give more time to the study. At that point I had decided to write it in English rather than French, so that it would be accessible to a wider audience.

For the past few years I have finally been able to make the study a priority until its completion. The study is by no means exhaustive. However, I have attempted to analyze and describe discourse features that are relevant to translation activities but are nevertheless all too often not getting the attention they deserve. Some of the features are no doubt described inadequately and some of the analyses may turn out to be incorrect, while others may break new ground. Readers are invited to make use of what is presented here according to their interests and needs. While the study is mostly limited to the narrative genre (with the exception of two texts, all of the texts used for the study were narratives), many features are likely to apply to non-narrative genres as well.

Systematically describing the discourse features of a language is like putting in the keystone of a building. Just as a keystone can be properly placed and hold together the rest of the construction only if all the other parts of the construction are also in their proper place, so too the description of discourse features requires the proper description of the other aspects of the language structure, especially the morphology and syntax of the language. This avoids attributing features to discourse structure that are in fact part of the lower-level grammar.

For this reason and since a full grammatical description of Godié has not yet been published, the study begins with an overview of those areas of the morphology and syntax of which the reader should have a basic notion in order to understand the pragmatic effects of these grammar features on discourse.

The text collection comprising the eighteen texts from which the vernacular examples in the study have been drawn is made available to the reader at the end of the study in the appendix.

Dr. Stephen Levinsohn read an earlier version of the manuscript and made helpful comments. I thank him for accompanying me in this project from a distance over the years and for being willing to answer questions I had along the way.

I am immensely grateful to my friend and colleague Cornelia Wüsthoff, who also read the whole manuscript and made useful comments. Her encouragement along the way and her help with innumerable questions of layout and formatting have been invaluable. Without her, the study would not have seen its completion at this time, and maybe not at all.

Inge Egner

Möckmühl, Germany
July 2015
Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>first person plural pronoun, human gender: -a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PO</td>
<td>first person plural object pronoun, human gender: -anyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>first person singular pronoun, human gender: n (mid-tone syllabic nasal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SO</td>
<td>first person singular object pronoun, human gender: floating high-tone clitic</td>
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<td>second person plural pronoun, human gender: a</td>
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<td>2PO</td>
<td>second person plural object pronoun, human gender: anyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>second person singular pronoun, human gender: -n (low-tone syllabic nasal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SO</td>
<td>second person singular object pronoun, human gender: floating low tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>third person plural pronoun, human gender: wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>third person singular pronoun, human gender: ʋ</td>
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<td>ADD1</td>
<td>additive connective: ‘nt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADD2</td>
<td>additive connective: -yã, -ya, tyã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADD3</td>
<td>additive connective: ‘su</td>
</tr>
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<td>ADD4</td>
<td>additive connective: -mã</td>
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<tr>
<td>ADD5</td>
<td>additive connective: -mãã</td>
</tr>
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<td>AG</td>
<td>agent suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APL</td>
<td>applicative suffix: -nö or floating low tone</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASF</td>
<td>assertive focus particle: kã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE1</td>
<td>to be in a position: -kv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE2</td>
<td>to be or become someone or something: ‘plã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE3</td>
<td>to belong to a group or in a place: -glã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE4</td>
<td>to be in a certain way, e.g., a group, number: bhlã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLU1</td>
<td>conclusive connective: ‘tsã ‘therefore’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLU2</td>
<td>conclusive connective: u ‘pnã ‘mnö ‘because of this’, ‘that is why’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLU3</td>
<td>conclusive connective: -kã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNT1</td>
<td>countering connective: -bhle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNT2</td>
<td>countering connective: -wã</td>
</tr>
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<td>COM</td>
<td>comitative suffix: -mV</td>
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<td>COMP</td>
<td>complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>completive aspect: floating low tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDEM</td>
<td>distant demonstrative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>definite marker</td>
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<td>demonstrative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>diminutive suffix</td>
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<tr>
<td>DP1</td>
<td>discourse particle: sãã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP2</td>
<td>discourse particle: -lã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP3</td>
<td>discourse particle: -zã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP4</td>
<td>discourse particle: a (clause-final backgrounding particle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPF</td>
<td>definite pro-form: -IVV ‘the…one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVD</td>
<td>evidential marker: wã (from ‘they say’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL1</td>
<td>exclamatory particle: ‘O(ɔ)! or O(ɔ)! (clause initial)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL2</td>
<td>exclamatory particle: o! (clause final)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL3</td>
<td>exclamatory particle: a(a)! (clause final)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive marker: floating high tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICP</td>
<td>incompletive aspect: floating mid tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ID</td>
<td>ideophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IO</td>
<td>indirect object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>indefinite pro-form: -IVV ‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative pronoun: -m o o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC. COMP</td>
<td>locative complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOP</td>
<td>lower prominence particle: lã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCOMP</td>
<td>noun complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NH1</td>
<td>pronoun, non-human gender 1: a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NH2</td>
<td>pronoun, non-human gender 2: e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NH3</td>
<td>pronoun, non-human gender 3: ʋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NHP</td>
<td>plural pronoun, non-human gender: t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominalizing suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUPT</td>
<td>narrative uptake element: sese or -kpazebhleku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>oblique case marker: 'mô/mô (or its reduced form, a high-tone clitic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POST</td>
<td>postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRC</td>
<td>process suffix mä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST1</td>
<td>past particle: bhä (and its variant forms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST2</td>
<td>past particle: ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST3</td>
<td>past particle: wä/wë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST4</td>
<td>past particle: bhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST5</td>
<td>past particle: bhst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSV</td>
<td>passive suffix -o/-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUR</td>
<td>purpose particle: -kä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>question marker for yes-no questions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QW</td>
<td>question marker for WH-questions: bhä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>relative marker: floating low tone subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singularizing suffix: ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sp.</td>
<td>species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP1</td>
<td>default spacer: nä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP2</td>
<td>spacer: nynä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TH</td>
<td>thematic marker for pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPT</td>
<td>uptake element: -a, -aa, aa, nn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>verbal complement (i.e., noun being part of a verbal expression)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>vocative suffix: nyc (low tone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VPC</td>
<td>verbal particle (often a postposition)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XCND</td>
<td>conditional auxiliary: kä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XFUT</td>
<td>future auxiliary: yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XNEG</td>
<td>negative auxiliary: 'nö or floating high-tone clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XPER</td>
<td>perfect auxiliary: yä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XPOT</td>
<td>potential auxiliary: 'kä</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 Introduction

According to the sixteenth edition of the *Ethnologue*, Godié [god] is an Eastern Kru language just like the Bakwé, Dida, and Bété languages. More specifically, it belongs to the western branch of the Bété language complex. All these languages are traditionally spoken in the southwestern part of Côte d’Ivoire (see map 1 below).

Map 1. Map of Côte d’Ivoire

Source: Spiridon Ion Cepleanu, Wikipedia (unaltered).

1 In this study, lesser-known languages are identified by their ISO language code (if they have one), such as [god] for Godié. No code is given here for Bakwé, Dida, and Bété because they represent groups of languages, each of which has its own code.

2 Pioneering work on the classification of the Kru languages was carried out by Marchese (see Marchese 1983a and 1989).
The estimated one hundred Godié villages are located in the Department (Préfecture) of Sassandra. According to the general census of the Ivorian population carried out in 1998, there are around 30,000 Godié speakers. As is the case with other ethnic groups, a significant part of the population lives outside the group’s original territory, especially in the larger towns and cities throughout the country.

The Godié language is certainly not an endangered language, as it is still spoken by the young generation in all Godié villages. Godié has around ten mutually intelligible dialects (see map 2 below). The present study is based on the Kagbo (or Kagboué) dialect spoken in a dozen villages along the middle part of the 130 kilometer-road from Lakota to Sassandra in the centre of the Godié area.

Map 2. Godié dialect areas

Names of languages on this map have other equivalents. In this text, I refer to the Kagboué of the map as “Kagbo.” Source: Carte « Groupes culturels ethniques », Atlas de Côte d’Ivoire (1971), Institut de géographie tropicale (IGT), Abidjan ; realized in 2014 by Centre de cartographie et de télédétection (CCT), Abidjan (2014). Used with permission.

The linguistic analysis of the Godié language was started in 1972 by Carol Gratrix and Lynell Marchese. All their work on the phonology, grammar, and discourse of the language is based on the Jluko (or Djirokouya) dialect spoken in the villages along the southern part of the 150 kilometer-road from Gueyo to Sassandra in the western part of the Godié area.

It goes without saying that our study of the language draws heavily on the excellent groundwork laid by our predecessors in all areas of language study. The credit we owe them is huge. Their publications appear in the references at the end of this study.

The present work is based on personal research carried out during a ten-year involvement in the Godié language development and Bible translation project under the auspices of SIL International. The

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3This figure was kindly provided by the Institut national de la statistique in Abidjan.
4They can also be found online in the SIL bibliography at http://silorg.develcloud.acquia-sites.com/resources/search/language/god (accessed December 14, 2015) and in the OLAC resources on Godié at http://www.language-archives.org/language/god (accessed December 14, 2015).
SIL project which had been started in 1972 was discontinued in 1978 and remained inactive for some fifteen years. Our own contact with the Godié language and people started in 1993 with a prolonged stay in the Kagbo language area in order to learn the language and then help develop it. The alphabet and orthography established by our predecessors were revised and a team of native speakers was trained to help develop a small body of literacy material comprising a primer, an orthography guide, and some post-primer reading material. A program for translating Bible texts was also initiated and is still ongoing.

This discourse study is an attempt to provide a more extensive study of Godié narrative discourse, though Gratrix and Marchese have both studied discourse, too. However, since discourse analysis has developed a great deal over the past four decades, our theoretical stance is somewhat different from theirs. In particular, while their discourse work was carried out mainly in the discourse grammar perspective predominant in SIL at the time, we adopt more of a discourse-pragmatic position. We have thus tried to apply cognitive approaches such as Lambrech’s in dealing with information structure, and used insights from Relevance Theory in our description of connectives. Overall we have drawn most heavily on Stephen Levinsohn’s eclectic approach.

More specifically, in presenting our analysis of Godié connectives, we have proposed some scenarios of historical development involving their reanalysis, giving evidence for it from present language use as documented in our data corpus. Despite the shortcomings that these proposed scenarios may have, we found them worth presenting to fellow linguists, especially those working in Kru languages, while experts of historical linguistics may also find them stimulating and worth considering.

The study is divided into nine chapters. Following this introductory chapter, chapter two presents an overview of the phonology of Godié as well as of key areas of the grammar that are particularly relevant for discourse analysis: pronouns, determiners, the relative clause, and the tense-aspect system.

Chapter three deals with the order of constituents in the clause as the basis for discourse analysis. It first describes the default order of constituents in each of the basis clause types (§3.1.1), the so-called verb brace characteristic of Kru languages (§3.1.2), and the default position of adjuncts in the clause (§3.1.3). Then follows a small section discussing preposed constituents as the only case of marked constituent order in Godié (§3.2). Finally, transcending the strict clause level, a section on dislocated constituents (§3.3) is included, discussing left dislocation (§3.3.1), right dislocation (§3.3.2), as well as the combination of left-dislocation and preposing (§3.3.3).

The remaining chapters deal with specific areas of discourse analysis. Chapter four considers the vast area of information management, including information structure of the clause (§4.1), Points of Departure or frames of reference (§4.2), as well as devices for managing prominence (§4.3), and a small section on information management in relative clauses (§4.4). Chapter five deals with the introduction and tracking of participants (§5.1 and §5.2 respectively). Chapter six looks at reported speech, both at its formal features (§6.1) and its functions (§6.2) in Godié narrative, while chapter seven presents the two most common spacer elements in Godié, ná ‘SP1’ (§7.1) and nyná ‘SP2’ (§7.2). The final two chapters are the longest and most original ones: chapter eight discusses pragmatic connectives—distinguishing between additive (§8.1), countering (§8.2), and conclusive (§8.3) connectives—and chapter nine discusses various devices for marking narrative development. The appendix contains the collection of eighteen texts on which the study is based.

A number of examples occur several times in the study, each time illustrating a different discourse feature. In such cases, rather than referring back to the example when it was first used, we have reprinted the example with a new number for the reader’s convenience.

The Leipzig Glossing Rules for Interlinear Morpheme-by-Morpheme Glosses have only partially been followed in the interlinearization of the examples used in this study. As the Godié vernacular is represented in practical orthography, where the hyphen is used to represent low tone, the hyphen has been avoided altogether in the interlinearization, which is at odds with Leipzig Rule 2. Thus in the vernacular line no morpheme separation is indicated, while in the gloss line the colon is used throughout to separate morphemes (Leipzig Rule 4C), no matter whether these morphemes are segmental or non-segmental, i.e. tonal. As for one-to-many correspondences between a Godié morpheme and its English gloss, the understroke is used in the gloss (Leipzig Rule 4A), e.g., pilo ‘fishing net’.
2 Phonology and grammar of Godié

This chapter provides a brief overview of Godié phonology (§2.1), as well as those aspects of the grammar that are particularly relevant for discourse (§2.2-§2.6). Among these are the pronouns (§2.2), including personal pronouns (§2.2.1) and the locative pronoun -mɔɔ ‘LOC’ (§2.2.2); the determiners (§2.3), including the definite marker (§2.3.1), the demonstratives (§2.3.2), and the locative adverbs (§2.3.3); the relative clause (§2.4); the future and past tenses (§2.5.1 and §2.5.2 respectively); and finally the aspect system (§2.6), including the completive aspect (§2.6.1), the incompletive aspect (§2.6.2), the progressive aspect (§2.6.3), and the perfect aspect (§2.6.4). 1

2.1 Phonology

Only the most basic rules of Godié orthography are given here, but they should be sufficient for the reader to understand the glosses of the examples. 2

Godié is a tonal language with three level tones: high, mid, and low. High tone is represented in the orthography by a straight apostrophe <’> and low tone by a hyphen <-> while mid tone is left unmarked. Lexical tones are written at the beginning of a word in Godié, as shown in example (1).

(1)  
‘yi (high tone) ‘eyes’

yi (mid tone) ‘come’

-yi (low tone) ‘know’

Tone plays an important role in Godié grammar (see Gratrix 1975). In Godié orthography, grammatical tones—unlike lexical tones illustrated in example (1) above—are generally written at the end of the word. For example, the oblique marker ‘OBL’ and the negative auxiliary ‘XNEG’ are both realized by a floating high tone. This results in the lengthening of the preceding vowel represented by duplication, as shown in example (2a). In the case of the syllabic pronouns n ‘I’ and -n ‘you (sg.)’, the addition of the high tone of the negative auxiliary results in the lengthening of the syllabic nasal, indicated by the reduplication of the letter n, as shown in (2b) and (2c). 3

(2)  
a.  
‘klää’

field:OBL.

‘to/in the field’

b.  
nn’ -lä tee -yi

1s:XNEG/DP2/yet/come:CP

‘I haven’t come yet.’

c.  
-nn’ -lä tee -yi

2s:XNEG/DP2/yet/come:CP

‘You haven’t come yet.’

1For a more detailed description of the grammar of Godié the reader is referred to Marchese 1986b. This practical grammar was written in French and exists only in manuscript form.

2It may be surprising for some readers that the Godié orthography is used in the present study, rather than a phonological transcription. However, for the purpose of describing discourse features of Godié, the orthography was deemed sufficient for the reader. This orthography is used in Godié pedagogical and other literature. Where remarks concerning the phonological structure are pertinent, these have been added in a footnote.

3To avoid confusion with the low tone marker, morpheme breaks are not indicated by hyphens in the vernacular line of the examples. In the gloss line, they are indicated by colons.
The only exception to the general rule of writing grammatical tones at the end of the word is the low-tone sign representing completive aspect, which is written at the beginning of monosyllabic mid-tone verbs. Thus the verb yi ‘come’ is written -yi in the completive aspect. On the other hand, with low-tone monosyllabic verbs such as the verb -sä ‘take away’, the completive floating low tone is not represented.

For words longer than one syllable (including compound words), the tone of the following syllable or syllables is predictable for a native speaker. Thus there is no need to indicate these tones in the orthography.

Tables 2.1 and 2.2 show the orthographic representation of the 13 vowel phonemes and the 24 consonant phonemes of the Godié phonological system.

Table 2.1. Orthographic representation of Godié vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>+ FRONT*</th>
<th>- FRONT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- ROUNDED</td>
<td>+ ROUNDED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ CLOSED</td>
<td>+ ATR</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- ATR</td>
<td>í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- CLOSED</td>
<td>+ ATR</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- OPEN</td>
<td>- ATR</td>
<td>é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ OPEN</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note that all front vowels are unrounded in Godié. Thus the feature [-ROUNDED] is redundant for FRONT vowels.

Table 2.2. Orthographic representation of Godié consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Labio-velar</th>
<th>Labialized velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kw</td>
<td>gw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonorants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ny</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oral</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>l / n’</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The representation of the phoneme /l/ by n in the orthography occurs only in the syllable structure C1C2V, where C1 is a nasal consonant and C2 is the phoneme /l/, phonetically realized as [n], e.g., ‘mnô ‘inside’.

2.2 Pronouns

This section describes the Godié personal pronouns and the locative pronoun. Other pro-forms, such as the definite pro-form -IVV ‘DPF’ and the indefinite pro-form lVV ‘IPF’, will not be described here. (See Marchese 1986c for a description of the Godie pronominal system, including the use of pronouns in discourse.)

2.2.1 Personal pronouns

According to Schachter (1985:25), a pronoun is a “word used as a substitute for a noun or noun phrase.” Within the system of personal pronouns, this is actually true only for those commonly called third person pronouns, but not for first and second person pronouns. Even though the latter do refer respectively to
the speaker(s) and the addressee(s), they are not a substitute for a noun phrase such as “the speaker” or “the hearer” in the way that a third person pronoun such as “he” is a substitute for a noun like “John”. This needs to be kept in mind when talking about pronouns of first and second person, which are also referred to as “speech pronouns.”

In table 2.3 the Godié personal pronouns are presented in two sets: simple and thematic. Simple pronouns cannot occur alone and can therefore also be referred to as dependent pronouns. Thematic pronouns, on the other hand, can occur alone and are therefore independent forms. They carry the thematic marker ‘TH’, which takes different forms depending on the pronoun with which the marker occurs. In the first and second person singular pronouns, the marker amalgamates with the syllabic nasal n. In addition, as table 2.3 shows, there is a distinction among the third person pronouns between human and non-human gender in Godié. Three non-human genders are distinguished in the singular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>human</td>
<td>human</td>
<td>non-human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple pronoun</td>
<td>Thematic pronoun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-amû/-mô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘1S’</td>
<td>‘1P’</td>
<td>‘1S:TH’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>-mô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1S’</td>
<td>2S’</td>
<td>1S:TH’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>amô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘2P’</td>
<td>‘3P’</td>
<td>3P:TH’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó</td>
<td>‘NS1’</td>
<td>óô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘3S’</td>
<td>‘3P’</td>
<td>3S:TH’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>‘NH1’</td>
<td>amô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘NH1’</td>
<td>‘NH1:TH’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é</td>
<td>‘NH2’</td>
<td>éê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘NH2’</td>
<td>‘NH2:TH’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʋ</td>
<td>‘NH3’</td>
<td>ʋô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘NH3’</td>
<td>‘NH3:TH’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As already indicated, the form of the thematic pronouns is complex, being made up of the simple pronoun and the thematic marker. As can be seen from table 2.3 above, the marker ‘TH’ has the form anyi in first and second person plural and anyi in third person singular and plural. The vowel V of the third person is identical to the vowel of the corresponding simple pronoun, except for the first non-human gender a ‘NH1’, where the vowel is å. That vowel is also found with the third person human plural.4

As shown in table 2.4 below, the type of non-human gender of a pronoun appears to be phonologically conditioned by the last vowel of the noun it stands for.5 The pronoun a is used for nouns ending in an unrounded non-front vowel; the pronoun é for nouns ending in an unrounded non-open vowel; the pronoun ó for nouns ending in a rounded vowel; and the pronoun ʋ for non-human plural nouns (which all have an underlying high-vowel plural suffix).

---

4For more details on the pronominal system of Godié, see Marchese 1986c.

5The last vowel of a noun represents in many cases an old gender suffix, but noun class suffixes are no longer productive in Godié. However, a tendency to orient to the phonological features of the last vowel of the noun can be observed with non-human nouns ending in the vowel ó. Such nouns can be found to be represented by the human pronoun ó (see example (168b)). Orientation to a phonological feature has thus overridden orientation to gender in the choice of the pronoun standing for a noun of non-human gender ending in the vowel ó.
Table 2.4. Examples of non-human nouns and their corresponding pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Simple pronoun</th>
<th>Thematic pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tlä</td>
<td>‘hedgehog’</td>
<td>a ‘NH1’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-zlë</td>
<td>‘spirit’</td>
<td>amä ‘NH1:TH’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'gwe</td>
<td>‘chimpanzee’</td>
<td>e ‘NH2’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zlü</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
<td>eme ‘NH2:TH’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bhutu</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
<td>v ‘NH3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sukpo</td>
<td>‘ants’ (sp.)</td>
<td>umu ‘NH3:TH’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bhiti</td>
<td>‘houses’</td>
<td>t ‘NHP’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘süü</td>
<td>‘shoes’</td>
<td>um ‘NHP:TH’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For third person simple pronouns, the forms are identical in subject and object positions. However, even though in both positions the forms are subject to ATR vowel harmony, the resulting forms are represented differently in the orthography for subject and object position. In subject position, pronouns with a [-ATR] vowel (ɛ, ɬ, ɔ, ʋ) tend to be pronounced with their corresponding [+ATR] vowel (e, i, o, u) before a verb or an auxiliary with a [+ATR] vowel, such as e, i, o, u, or ē. However, the Godié orthography does not reflect these changes. Thus in the written clause ɔ yi ‘3S/come.ICP’ translated ‘he comes’, the pronoun ɔ is pronounced [o]. On the other hand, in object position the pronouns, attached as pronoun clitics to the preceding verb or auxiliary, undergo the same changes as the subject pronouns. However, unlike the changes in subject position, these changes are reflected in the orthography, as shown by the examples in table 2.5.

Table 2.5. Orthographic representation of object pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb + pronoun clitic</th>
<th>Resulting forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yi + t /ɛ /ɔ / ʋ</td>
<td>yii / yie / yio / yiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su + t /ɛ /ɔ / ʋ</td>
<td>suī / sue / suō / suu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike the third person pronouns, simple pronouns in first and second person have different forms for subject and object position in the clause. The first person pronoun singular in subject position is the mid-tone morpheme n ‘1S’, as in example (3a), while the first person singular pronoun morpheme for object position (‘1SO’) is only a floating high tone. In writing, the floating high tone is represented by a reduplication of the preceding vowel to which an apostrophe is attached, as shown in example (3b). The second person singular pronoun, on the other hand, is the low tone morpheme -n ‘2S’ in subject position, while the pronoun morpheme for object position (‘2SO’) is a floating low tone. It is represented in writing by a reduplication of the preceding vowel with a hyphen attached to it, as shown in example (3a).

(3) a. ɔ lä -n ni sä n sonō-ō bhlā

3S say 2S see since 1S speak:APL:2SO:ICP PST1:LOP

‘He said, “You see, since I had said to you

6The non-human plural pronoun is also used for abstract nouns, such as wäl ‘affair, matter’ or ŋnö ‘name’.  
7ATR (Advanced Tongue Root) vowel harmony in Godié applies to the phonological word.  
8For examples taken from the text collection in the appendix, the text reference is given after the free translation. Thus, example (3a) is taken from the text titled ‘sigo’, clauses 399 and 400.
If a verb has two objects and both are third person pronouns, they are separated by the palatal nasal consonant ny, as illustrated by examples (4a) and (4b).9 (Note that in (b) the second pronoun is the third person singular simple pronoun, non-human class 2; see table 2.3.)

(4) a. Laagɔ ‘mɔ-ci ci nynä n ’ponyi ną
   God TH 3S:REL speak SP2 1S throw:3S:NHP SP1
   ‘It was God who said that I am to give it (=the name John) to him,

   11-zä n pɔɔnyi
   CLU1 1S throw:CP:3S:NHP
   that is why I gave it to him!’ [elisabet 94–96]

b. ’ni yionye ’nye
   ADD1 3S XFUT:3S:NHP give
   ‘then he gave it to him’ [sigo 129]

If one of the two pronominal verb objects is a third person pronoun and the other a first or second person pronoun, both pronouns are thematic pronouns, as in example (5).10

(5) a po yi ’nyukwli -yä n ’kanyum yi soo
   2P listen now VC (ears) ADD2 1S XPOT:2PO:NHP:TH now speak
   ‘Listen now and I shall speak to you about them [i.e. the matters to be discussed in the radio program].’ [radio 19]

2.2.2 The locative pronoun -mɔɔ

Godié has one locative pronoun, which is -mɔɔ ‘LOC’. It normally stands for a local noun or noun phrase, as illustrated in example (6a). The locative pronoun -mɔɔ may be fronted for focus, as in (6b).

(6) a. nyibhläa- -kv lä -lɔɔ ną ’kuŋŋuklä -kv -mɔɔ
   river-DEF BE1:CP:REL LOP there SP1 ghost:old_woman BE1:CP LOC
   ‘That river (lit. the river that was there), an old woman’s ghost was in there.’ [kazo 7–8]
b. jiee' -zoom -moo v cie lä Ɂuv
  ocean:GEN under LOC NH3 begin:ICP LOP VPC
  ‘Down south (lit. under the ocean), that’s where it (=the world) begins.’ [creation 133]

The locative pronoun -moo may also be followed by the noun or noun phrase it stands for, as in example (7).11

(7) a. ‘döö’ -wo -moo Gbɔgle -ku
  news:XNEG CNT2 LOC Sassandra BE1:CP
  ‘There are no news there in Sassandra.’ [neyo 1]

b. ɔ -kv yi -moo œ’ cɔkʋʋ ’wlu [-kpazebhleku]
  3S BE1:CP now LOC 3S:GEN rock:DEF on_top NUPT
  ‘... he was now there on top of his rock.’ [sigo 417]

Just as postpositional phrases and nouns with the oblique marker can appear in subject position in Godié, the locative pronoun -moo can also function as clause subject, as in example (8).

(8) -sikaac1 ɩɩ ŋʋʋ - lä -bl1’ [-kpazebhleku]
  gold:chain NH3 put:CP LOP neck:OBL NUPT
  ‘It is a gold chain that he (=Worm) has put round his neck,

  ɩɩ’ -zä -moo lele lä ’mu [-aa0]
  CLU1 LOC shine:ICP LOP VPC UPT
  that’s why it (lit. there) is shining.’ [kokoleko 8–9]

The locative pronoun also occurs as the noun complement in a genitival construction, as in example (9). A high floating tone, represented by the apostrophe, is then attached to it.

(9) a  mu -yä a -lā -moo’ -sikaakpätluweyee
  2P go ADD2 2P bring LOC:GEN gold:ring
  ‘Go and bring the golden ring that is there!’ [filsprod 151–152]

2.3 Determiners

This section describes some of the Godié determiners. The definite marker and the demonstrative markers are noun suffixes and thus dependent forms. The locative adverbs are independent forms but are frequently used as determiners for spatial nouns and for that reason have been included here.

Except for the definite marker, all the determiners described in this section are deictic elements. In other words, they specify the location of a person or an object relative to the location of the speaker and hearer. A noun in its root form without any determiners has a non-specific referent in Godié. It either has generic meaning, as in example (10), or is unidentifiable.

11The word -kpazebhleku at the end of (7b) has no lexical meaning but is a feedback signal from the audience, uttered by the person chosen to represent the audience before the narrator begins with his story. It occurs after the narrator has uttered an intonational unit and/or given some relevant piece of information. It is thus an uptake element, the purpose of which is to let the narrator know that the audience is attentive and eagerly awaiting what follows. Such feedback signals are placed in square brackets in the example data. Compare sese in (15a) and footnote 14. The use of one or the other of these two uptake elements seems to be due to personal preference of the audience representative.
2.3.1 Definite marker

The definite marker (DEF) in Godié is a noun suffix. Depending on the final vowel of the noun, its form varies between -a after the unrounded back vowel ê, as in zlëa (fish:DEF) ‘the fish’; o after i, as in gwadio (male:DEF) ‘the man’; or a floating tone lengthening the final vowel of the noun, as in -bhutuu (house:DEF) ‘the house’.

The referent of a noun carrying the definite marker is established information (see introduction to chapter 4). It may be an active referent, as in example (11a), where the river is mentioned in the previous clause. Alternatively, the referent may be accessible through inference, as in (11b), where the morgue is inferable from the script since ‘kwie ‘death’ is mentioned at the beginning of the text. Or the referent may simply be common knowledge, as in (11c), where the reference is to a woodworker, which every village is expected to have.

(11) a. nyibhlë -kv -loc nyibhlëa -kv lä loc nä…
river BE1:CP there river:DEF BE1:CP LOP there SP1
‘… there was a river. That river (lit. the river that was there),’ [kazo 7]

b. wa wlää- -moo kubhutuu 'mlö
3P gather:CP LOC dead:house:DEF inside
‘they gathered there in the morgue’ [decesrad 13]

c. n 'kä kplikonyɔ 'yi 'ni
I XPOT woodworker:DEF VC (eyes) see
‘I am going to see the woodworker’ [cacao 42]

Certain referents are accessible without the definite marker and consequently do not occur with the definite marker. They are unique referents in the speaker’s universe, such as the sun and the moon, the world, the Creator-God, the market place, as well as someone’s home village, compound, or field.

In possessive constructions with the genitive marker, a difference in meaning has been observed according to whether the definite marker is absent or present on the head noun.12 The presence of the definite marker implies that the referent is fully specified by the noun complement. If the definite marker is absent, however, only a subset of referents is specified.

Thus the referent of oo -bhutuu (3S-GEN/house-DEF) ‘his/her house’ is fully specified, and the meaning is that the person in question owns only one house. In contrast, the genitive construction oo -bhutu (3S-GEN/house), where the head noun lacks the definite marker, implies that only one unit from a subset of the houses the person owns is referred to. The meaning of the construction is therefore ‘one of his houses’. In example (12) the definite marker thus implies that the person has only one washcloth.

---

12In associative constructions without an associative marker, this choice of meaning does not exist. However, the nouns entering into an associative construction without an associative marker are mainly kinship terms for ascending kinship relationships such as one’s father, mother, grandparent, and ancestor, or for one’s spouse (husband or wife). In most of these cases the referent is unique and thus identifiable without a definite marker. An associative construction like -n nyoto ‘your husband’ is fully identifiable.
(12) ɔ bheɛ ɔɔ kazzo
3s hold:ICP 3s:GEN raffia_washcloth:DEF
‘he had with him (lit. was holding) his raffia washcloth’ [kazo 17]

In contrast to the genitive phrase with the definite marker in example (12), the genitive phrase may also occur without the definite marker, as in example (13), where the speaker implies that he has told just one of the set of tales he has in store.
(13) n paa- 'naa 'nünè o
1s show:CP 1s:GEN folk tale EXCL2
‘There I have told one of my tales!’ [dacligo 62]

2.3.2 Demonstratives

Godié has two demonstrative markers, one for referents that are close to the speaker and hearer and the other for referents that are at a distance from them.

The demonstrative marker (DEM) for close referents is the more frequent one of the two markers. It has the form of a noun clitic whose vowel agrees in number and gender with the noun it is attached to. It has the five forms nɔ, nä, nɛ, nʋ, nɩ, in accordance with the five noun genders in Godié. Table 2.6 compares these markers with the third person simple personal pronouns (cf. table 2.3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Personal pronoun</th>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human singular</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>nɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human plural</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>nʋa [nwa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-human singular 1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>nã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-human singular 2</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>nɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-human singular 3</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>nʋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-human plural</td>
<td>ɩ</td>
<td>nɩ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The noun with a demonstrative marker is often followed by a recapitulative relative clause (see §4.4), as in example (14).
(14) tʋnʋ ɩ vë lã nã
war:DEM NHP fight:ICP LOP SP1
‘This war they were fighting ...’ [dacligo 8]

The demonstrative marker for referents that are at some distance from both speaker and hearer is the invariable element ɩ, which is glossed as ‘DDEM’ (for ‘distant demonstrative’). Unlike the demonstrative marker for close referents, which is written as one word with the noun, the distant demonstrative is written as a separate element from the noun in Godié orthography, as shown in example (15a). However, following the locative pronoun -mɔɔ ‘LOC’ and the locative adverb -loɔ ‘there’,
it is written as one word with these elements, since they lose their second vowel in the process, as shown in example (15b).

(15) a. -lɔɔ gwâdä 'yɪ -a -ku lä -bɪyɪ nā there kapok_tree DDEM NH1:REL BE1:CP LOP there:DDEM SP1 ‘... the tree over there, which is way over there,
a bbla [sese]
2p hit:nh1 NUPT cut it down!’ [sigo 223–224]

b. -n ni gɔlʋ -lɔɔ -c -ku lä -mɔyɪ nā 2s find canoe DIM 3S:REL BE1:CP LOP LOC:DDEM SP1 ‘... there is a small canoe over there (lit. which is over there) ...’ [greve 76–77]

2.3.3 Locative adverbs

2.3.3.1 The locative adverb -lɔɔ

The locative adverb -lɔɔ is the default form among the locative adverbs. It can be used on its own for an unspecified though implicit location, as in example (16a), or it may be followed by the specified location in question, as in (16b).

(16) a. zêplünöö' n -ku lä -lɔɔ morning:DEM:OBL 1S BE1:CP LOP there ‘This morning I am there.’ [cacao 6]

b. -lɔɔ 'klää' mnɛ -ku mɔɔ [sese] there forest:OBL animal BE1:CP LOC NUPT ‘There in the forest there is an animal,
ɛɛ' -wʋ 'ghlü [sese]
NH2:NEG CNT2 be_big NUPT it is not big.’ [creation 27]

The location may also have been mentioned just before, as in example (17).15

(17) c lä c w lø jlu 'ku nā nyukpɔ -ku -lɔɔ 3s say 3s go_out outside SP1 person BE1:CP there ‘... he wanted to go outside, then someone was there.’ [devinet 81–82]

The locative adverb -lɔɔ is also used in a temporal sense, as illustrated in example (18).

(18) a. dã n yi lá duu' place 1S come:ICP LOP village:OBL ‘When I am coming to the village,

15It could therefore be argued that -lɔɔ functions here like a pronoun. However, it is unlikely that the speaker is referring back to the location mentioned in the preceding clause. Rather than specifying the location of the person, the speaker asserts the existence of the person outside.
13

-łɔɔ n 'kä lä nyukọ nē slă there 1s XPOT LOP person VC (mouth) speak_to then I may speak to someone.’ [medicament 20–21]

b. -łɔɔ' 'yłuɔ 'kву -nyoto -goɔ duu' there-GEN day-DEF on 3s husband stay overnight:cp village-OBL ‘... that day her husband spent the night in the village ...’ [lueuzi 36]

As illustrated in example (19), -łɔɔ can occur as a noun complement in a genitival construction, as well as with the distant demonstrative marker 'yŋ.'

(19) geyuēnyi -łɔɔ' gwädä 'yŋ -a -kву lä [sese] slave:pl:voc there:gen kapok_tree dDEM NH1:REL BE1:CP LOP NUPT ‘Hey, slaves, the kapok tree over there, that is

-lɔyɩ nā a bhla there:dDEM sp1 2P hit:nh1 way over there, cut it down!’ [sigo 222–224]

2.3.3.2 The locative adverbs -lää and -mää

The locative adverbs -lää and -mää have deictic meaning. The place they refer to is within the speaker’s and/or hearer’s sight. Both can be translated ‘here’. However, -mää seems to be the marked member of the pair in that it is used only for a location very close to the speaker (‘right here’) such as on his body, as in example (20a), whereas -lää is used elsewhere, as in (20b). Note further from these examples that in contrast to the locative adverb -łɔɔ and the locative pronoun -mɔɔ, which can occur on their own, -lää and -mää are followed by the noun specifying the place that is being referred to.

(20) a. n kву -mää 'nā kätänāä' 2s be1 here 1s-gen back-dem-OBL ‘Sit (lit. be) right here on my back!’ [kokoleko 142]

b. -lää duu' -a -kву lä here village-OBL we be1:cp LOP ‘We are here in the village.’ [sigo 15]

2.3.3.3 The locative adverbs -länömö and -mänömö

Unlike the adverbs -lää and -mää discussed above (see §2.3.3.2), the adverbs -länömö (or -länumuu) and -mänömö (or -mänunumu), glossed as ‘at this place’, can occur alone and can even be the head of a genitive construction, as in example (21). Just as -mää is the marked member of the adverbs -lää and -mää, so -mänömö is the marked member of the adverbs -länömö and -mänömö, occurring only for a location very close to the speaker (translated ‘right here’).

---

16Note the threefold marking of the left-dislocated noun gwädä ‘kapok tree’ by three different expressions: the locative adverb -łɔɔ as noun complement, the distant demonstrative marker 'yŋ ‘DDEM’, and the recapitulative relative clause -a -kву lă -łyɩ ‘that is way over there’.  

17Also note the two occurrences of the locative pronoun -mɔɔ in example (21a). The first of these refers back to a referent in the preceding text, whereas the second one refers back to the referent of the point of departure (‘our place here’) in the second clause.
The locative adverbs in Godié seem to be grouped in phonological minimal pairs, with one group having an l as initial consonant, while the other group has an m in that position. All of them start out on a low tone and have a rising tone curve. Apart from the basic forms -lɔɔ and -mɔɔ, all the elements have deictic meaning. Table 2.7 shows the pairs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Godié locative adverbs and the locative pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-lɔɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mɔɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lɔyɩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mɔyɩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-läää + noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mää + noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-länömö /länöm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mänömö /mänöm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aOnly -mɔɔ is a pronoun. All the others are adverbs.

2.4 Relative clauses

This section describes relative clauses, first their linguistic forms and then their semantic types.

2.4.1 The linguistic forms of relative clauses

There are two forms of relative clauses in Godié depending on the grammatical function of the antecedent within the relative clause. If the antecedent’s grammatical function in the relative clause is that of subject, as in example (22a), or that of noun complement within a nominal phrase, as in (22b), the relative marker (REL) is present. In all other cases the marker is absent. Thus in example (22c), where the antecedent is the object in the relative clause, there is no relative marker.18

(22) a. Jübënyëbluo -ɔ -bha lä -lɔɔ nëë’ nä
   NeyJélad:DEF 3S:REL leave:CP LOP there mouth-OBL SP1
   ‘The Neyo lad who had escaped,
   kɔ -mëö ɔ ’bäst soo -kä
   ASF:3S go:CP 3S father:PL speak PUR
   he went to tell his elders …’ [neyo 37.1–2]

18The spacer particle nää ‘SP1’ (see §7.1) marks the end of a relative clause or of a series of them.
b. wáltu -unözä -a bhluu- lä 'kv ná
  affair:DEF NH:REL:GEN:reason 1P take:NH:CP LOP VPC SP1
  ‘The reason why we have taken it (= your fishing net) (lit. the problem because of which we have taken it) …’ [neyo 11.2]

c. v -zi 'gokpü -a plä bhlä -zä ná 'kv
  NH3 outstrip:CP boat:PL 1P enter PST:LOP DP3 SP1 VPC
  ‘…it (= the boat) outstripped the canoes we had usually taken’ [greve 28–29]

The relative marker is a floating low tone. It attaches either to the personal pronoun taking up the antecedent at the beginning of the relative clause, as in examples (22a) and (22b) above, or to the antecedent itself, as in example (23). (In fact, the latter seems to be the rule if the antecedent is a pronoun, as shown in example (28) below.)

(23) a. 'nyibhlëa- -kv lä -lɔɔ ná 'kuŋnʋklä -kʋ -mɔɔ
  river:DEF:REL BE1:CP LOP there SP1 ghost:old_woman BE1 LOC
  ‘That river (lit. the river that was there), an old woman’s ghost was in there.’ [kazo 7–8]

b. -anų- -kä lä gwɔlt tktlua ná
  1P:REL have LOP boat:PL small:NHP:DEF SP1
  ‘… we, who have small canoes, …’ [neyo 12.6]

The definite pro-form -lVV ‘DPF’ can also be the antecedent of the relative clause, as in example (24).

(24) -mɔ bhlogbe 'co -mɔ plöö- lä -anyia 'yu
  2S:TH one_single ID 2S:TH BE2:CP LOP 1P:GEN child
  ‘You alone, you are our child,

  -lɔɔ Laagɔ nyi-anyi lä ná
  DPF God give:1PO LOP SP1
  the one that God has given us.’ [elisabet 102–103]

In relative clauses that have no expressed antecedent the relative marker attaches to the pronoun corresponding to the implied antecedent, as in example (25).

(25) -o plöö- lä bukvu -lɔɔ ná
  3S:REL BE2:CP LOP yet DPF SP1
  ‘The one (= son) who was the younger one …’ [filsprod 8]

Adverbial clauses in Godié are syntactically construed as relative clauses, as in example (26), with antecedents such as dā ‘place’ (spatial or temporal); tenyi ‘time’; and sā ‘manner’. Such adverbial clauses are mostly left-dislocated as situational points of departure (see §4.3).

(26) a. dā e bhloo- 'n1 dā wa -kv lä ná [sese]
  place NH2 stop:CP ADD1 place 3P BE1:CP LOP SP1 NUPT
  ‘… where it (= the ocean) ends and where they (= people) live …’ [creation 47–48]

b. dā n yi lä duu'
  place 1S come LOP village:OBL
  ‘When I come to the village…’ [medic 20]
2.4.2 Semantic types of relative clauses

Two semantic types of relative clauses are traditionally distinguished: identifying (or restrictive) relative clauses and descriptive (or non-restrictive) relative clauses.

Identifying relative clauses give information that allows the hearer to identify a referent. This type is illustrated by all the examples in the preceding section and by example (27), where a certain group of boats is identified by the relative clause.

(27) 'gokpüü -i tu-anyi bhlä nā
    boat:pl nhp:rel cross:icp:1p pst1:lop sp1
    ‘... the boats that used to take us across ...’ [greve 18]

In contrast, descriptive relative clauses give information about an already identified referent. Their antecedent is either a speech pronoun (first or second person), as in (28a), or a noun phrase with a demonstrative marker, as in (28b).19

(28) a. anyi- -kā lä 'jekpigwɔli nā [...]
    2p:rel have lop white_people:boat:pl sp1
    ‘... you, who have boats like the white people, [...]’

b. -Kɔkwɛnɔ -oɔ bɛ læ monii nii- nā [...]
    Rooster:dem rel:xneg pst4 lop money find:cp sp1
    ‘That rooster, who had not gained any money ...'

19The demonstrative marker in (28b) has human gender. In other words, Rooster is treated like a human person and referred to accordingly. Otherwise the demonstrative marker would have to be -nte (see §2.3.2, table 2.6).
2.5 Tenses

The systems of tense, aspect, and modality (TAM) in human language are three ways of representing events in their relationship to time or, as Givón (1984:272) puts it, they are “three different points of departure in our experience of time.” Although it may be convenient and indeed necessary to separate them for analytical purposes, it must be kept in mind when studying them that they are interconnected conceptual categories.

This section presents only a very sketchy view of the tense system of Godié. Its purpose is to give the reader a glimpse of the devices the Godié language provides to represent events in relation to time. Tenses represent events as happening at a certain point in time. This is done in reference to a time axis, which is usually the moment of speaking, though other points of reference can also be taken by the speaker. In other words, tense tells us something about whether an event happened in the past or will happen in the future, or is happening right at the moment of speaking. Godié has formal features for future tense and several different past tenses. There is no present tense in Godié. Rather, an event represented by the incompletive aspect can get a present reading in the right context.

The following sub-sections present only the inherent semantic meaning of the tenses in conversation, as their discourse meaning in narrative is discussed elsewhere in the study.

2.5.1 The future tense

The future tense in Godié conversation is used for future events that will unavoidably happen; otherwise, the “potential mode” is used. From this it is clear that future tense in Godié has a modal component (see chapter 4). No distinction is made between a close and a distant future.

Future tense in Godié is marked by the verb yi ‘come’ used as an auxiliary, as shown in example (29). This is the so-called ‘come-future’. Related languages, such as Wobé [wob], have a ‘go-future’, which uses the verb ‘go’ to express future tense. In this use the word is glossed as ‘XFUT’. Unlike the full verb yi, the auxiliary yi (like the other auxiliaries in Godié) is not conjugated.

(29) ɔ cii- lä nynä -a yi ˈyu gä
     3S speak:CP LOP SP2 1P XFUT child beget
     ‘...he (= the angel) said that we will get a child.’ [elisabet 21–22]

To talk about an event that will certainly not happen, the negative auxiliary (‘XNEG’) is used, together with the discourse particle -lä ‘DP2’, as shown in example (30).

(30) -nn -lä ˈyu -zükä ˈmʋ -sää
     2S:XNEG DP2 anymore today VPC be_able_to_speak
     ‘As of today you will no longer be able to speak.’ [elisabet 40]

In narrative, the future auxiliary occurs with events that were to be expected from the preceding event (see §9.1.2).

2.5.2 The past tense

Past tense in Godié is expressed by different tense particles. Their position in the clause is either after the main verb or after the auxiliary.

A past tense particle indicates that the event or state expressed by the verb has happened or existed since some time before the current temporal reference point. This reference point is the moment of speaking for some particles, but a point in the past for other particles. Events of the past are thus presented as being distant from the time of speaking.

An analysis of the Godié tense system is not attempted here. Instead, the attested tense particles will simply be listed and their basic function described.
Five different past tense particles can be distinguished in Godié narrative, as listed in table 2.8.

Table 2.8. Tense particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bhä</td>
<td>‘PST1’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>‘PST2’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wä</td>
<td>‘PST3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhS</td>
<td>‘PST4’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhɔɔ</td>
<td>‘PST5’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.2.1 The past tense particle bhä ‘PST1’

The most frequent tense particle in Godié is bhä ‘PST1’. It appears to be in the process of replacing all the other tense particles, especially in the speech of younger speakers, who have gone through school in French and are not immersed in the Godié language like older speakers.

The particle bhä often combines with the low-prominence particle lä ‘LOP’ (discussed in §4.3.2.1), which results in the form bhlä ‘PST1:LOP’, as shown in example (31).

(31) a. nä ʋmʋ gɔlʋnʋ ʋ pio kpänyɩ
    sp1 nh3:th canoe:dem nh3 hurry:icmp much
    ‘So that same canoe, it was very fast

    ’nì ʋ -zi ’gokpüü -a plä  bhlä  -zä  nä  ’ku
    add1 nh3 outstrip:cp boat:pl:def 1p enter:icmp pst1:lop usually sp1 vpc
    and it outstripped the boats we usually took.’ [greve 27–29]

b. -zëküü’  ’ylʋʋ  -ʋ  plöö-  bhlä  nà
    adjacent_day:gen day:def nh3:rel pass:cp pst1:lop sp1
    ‘Now on the day of yesterday (lit. the one day from now that passed),

    ʋmʋ  ’ku  nà  wälklä -bhlogbe -bhlü  bhä
    nh3:th on sp matter_part one_single fall:cp pst
    that day (lit. on it) something happened.’ [greve 15–17]

Note that the main clause in (31a) acts like a title for the following narrative, thus placing the whole subsequent narrative in the past. It sets the time for the subsequent events at a certain point in the past, as opposed to the preceding section which talks about the usual daily routine.

The element bhlä also frequently occurs with the incompletive aspect (ICP) in relative clauses (see §2.6.2). In this context, it signals a habit that existed before the time of the narrative, as in example (32).

(32) -mɔɔ  ’nyiee  ’klʋʋ’
    loc lagoon:def surface:obl
    ‘There on the lagoon

    ’gokpüü  -t  tʋ-anyt  bhlä  nã  […]  kì  buä
    boat:pl:def nhp rel:cross:icmp:1p pst1:lop sp1 asp:nhp be_slow:icmp
    the boats that used to take us across, […] they are really slow.’ [greve 18, 21]
In a tail-head linkage construction (discussed in §4.2.3) the element bhlä only occurs in the tail clause, but not in the head clause, as shown in example (33).

(33) -Glসেসের -за -а -мò bhlä -а -мò lä nä
Christmas:GEN because:of we go:CP PST1:LOP we go:CP LOP SP1
‘It was because of Christmas that we had gone. When we had gone ...’ [neyo 2–3.1]

2.5.2.2 The past tense particle a ‘PST2’

The tense particle a ‘PST2’ instructs the hearer to locate the state or event expressed by the verb in a past stretch of time or at a specific point in time situated before the time of another state or event in the past.20 In other words, the time axis, or reference time, for such a state or event is not the moment of speaking but another past state or event, as illustrated by example (34).

(34) a. n ná 'naa käkäwoobhù n -sä a nä
1S say 1S:GEN cocoa:pod:PL 1S take-away:CP PST2 SP1
‘My cocoa pods that I had picked,

wa kä mù wa kä’ä klää -a ’gi’ wlä
3P XPOT go 3P XPOT help 1P XPOT:NHP break
they should go to help me break them (lit. they should go, they should help me, we would break them)...’ [cacao 13–18]

b. -mä omɔ nyikpa nä c plöö- a nyikpa kädɔ
ADD4 3S:TH person:DEF SP1 3S BE2:CP PST2 person big
‘Now that same man, he was an important man.

ɔ -kä a lt ’nɪ c -kä a -gänunyvä
3S have:CP PST2 thing:PL ADD1 3S have:CP PST2 slavery:do:AG:PL
He had riches and he had slaves.’ [fißprod 3–6]

2.5.2.3 The past tense particle wä ‘PST3’

The past tense particle wä ‘PST3’ is used for a state of affairs that existed (or did not exist) in the distant past, or for an event that happened (or did not happen) in the distant past. It has a variant form we, which has been found only in negative clauses, as shown in example (35).

(35) tèbhii’ we -ku
towel:PL:XNEG PST3 BE1:CP
‘Towels didn’t exist back then.’ [kazo 21]

With action verbs in the incompletive aspect, wä is used to indicate past habitual actions, often ancient customs, as shown in example (36).

(36) a. tɛɛtɛɛ -a bäsì -yä -a tutìä
formerly 1P father:PL ADD2 1P grandfather:PL
‘In former times, our fathers and grandfathers,

---

20Marchese (1978b:63) describes it as indicating recent time in the Jluko dialect of Godié spoken in the area of the town of Dakpadou.
‘kazit’ wa budo wä
raffia_washcloth:PL:OBL 3p wash:ICP PST3
it was with raffia washcloths that they used to wash themselves.’ [kazo 18–19]

b. yiit wa no wä [sese]
torch:PL 3P make:ICP PST3 NUPT
‘It was torches people used to make.’ [lueuzi 40]

As already mentioned (in §2.5.2.1), in the speech of younger speakers the particle bhä seems to be used in contexts where a and wä are likely to be used by older speakers. This is illustrated in example (37) produced by a young-adult speaker. (Contrast (37a) with examples (34a) and (34b) produced by a middle-aged speaker; and (37b) with (36a) and (36b) produced by an older speaker.)

(37) a. ç plöö- bhlä 'slääkäsänɔ
3S BE2:CP PST1:LOP sacrifice:take:AG
‘He was a priest …’ [elisabet 16]

b. -bhäødä nä kä 'gwe -yä nyükɔ 'sc -kuv bhä 'kü
beginning SP1 ASF chimpanzee ADD2 person two live_together:CP PST1 VPC
‘… in the beginning the chimpanzee and man actually lived together.’ [gwebhutu 12]

2.5.2.4 The past tense particle bhe ‘PST4’

In nominal clauses the tense particle bhe ‘PST4’ takes the place of the predicator particle lä to indicate a past state of affairs (see §4.2), as in example (38).

(38) -mɔɔ 'titi -naa 'yu bhe
2S:TH self 2S:GEN child PST4
‘… it was your own child …’ [lueuzi 71]

In verbal clauses, this particle is used for anterior events and states—that is, events and states that happened or existed before another event or state in the past—as in example (39). With the perfect auxiliary, it combines with the discourse particle -zä to express the idea of ‘already’, as in example (39c).

(39) a. -Kokweenɔ, -ç ç bhe lä monii nii- nä [-kpazehbleku]
Rooster:DEM 3S:NEG PST4 LOP money get:CP SP1 NUPT
‘That Rooster, who had not gotten money,

'ni ç yi monie 'ku 'bhlü [-kpazehbleku]
ADD1 3S XFUT money:DEF VPC take NUPT
he then took the money …’ [kokoleko 173–174]

b. -zlëa -a -kuv bhe lä -lɔɔ nä
spirit:DEF NH1:REL BE1:CP PST4 LOP there SP1
‘The spirit that had been there

ç yä yi -lɔɔ -zlëa -sä
3S XPER now there spirit take_away
he has now taken that spirit away from there.’ [kazo 58–59]
c. -a yä 'anyɩ bhe soo
   1P XPER 2P PST4 speak
   ‘We had told you...’ [neyo 13.1]

The particle bhe ‘PST4’ is also used for posterior events and states—that is, events that happened (or could have happened) and states that existed (or could have existed) after other event(s) or states in the past—as illustrated in example (40).

(40) kä -a bhobho nynä -aa' -lā bhe 'yu gā
   ASF 1P think:ICP SP2 1P:GEN DP2 PST4 child beget
   ‘... we really thought we would not get a child.’ [elisabet 26–27]

Unlike the particle bhā, the particle bhe does not amalgamate with the low-prominence particle læ ‘LOP’, as shown by example (41).

(41) Ɩmɩ n yä bhe læ -zā ci
   NHP:TH 1S XPER PST4 LOP DP3 speak
   ‘... “That’s what I had already said.”’ [gwebhutu 40]

The particle bhe has the variant form wɛ. It seems to be phonologically conditioned, which is not surprising since phonetically the consonants [bh] and [w] are very close. The form wɛ has been found whenever a long vowel caused by a floating high tone precedes the particle, as illustrated in example (42).

(42) a. 'tēbhii' wɛ -ku
towel:PL:XNEG PST4 BE1:CP
   ‘Towels didn’t exist back then.’ [kazo 21]

b. -n 'bā, c yä'ä wɛ -zā -naa 'ŋnöö paa-
   2S father 3S XPER:1SO PST4 DP3 2S:GEN name:DEF show:APL
   ‘... your father, he had already told (lit. shown) me your name.’ [elisabet 77]

As with the particles wä and a, younger speakers tend to replace the particle bhe with the default past particle bhā. Thus, in example (43), bhā is used by the speaker for both anterior and posterior events.

(43) ɔɔ' -lā bhā tee 'wlie nöö
   3S:XNEG DP2 PST1 yet husband marry
   ‘... she hadn’t married a man (lit. a husband) yet.

   'nɪ -Laagɔzuzu -sonöɔ bhā 'sɪɪ
   ADD1 God:spirit speak:APL:3S:CP PST1 ADD3
   Then an angel from God had told her, too,

   nynä c yi bhā 'sɪɪ 'yu gā
   SP2 3S XFUT PST1 also child give_birth
   saying that she would also give birth to a child.’ [elisabet 54–56]
2.5.2.5 The past tense particle bhɔɔ ‘PST5’

The past particle bhɔɔ is limited to negative clauses, as shown in example (44). It may originally have been a morphologically complex form, consisting of the past particle bhă ‘PST1’ and the countering connective -wv ‘CNT2’ (see §8.2.2). In the course of time, the two elements may have amalgamated, yielding the present form bhɔɔ ‘PST5’.

(44) a. waa1 budo bhɔɔ ‘tobhoo’
   3P:XNEG wash PST5 towel:OBL
   ‘They didn’t use a towel to wash themselves.’ [kazo 20]

2.6 Aspects

Unlike the tenses of a language, which inform the hearer primarily about the time of an event in reference to a time axis (see preceding section), the aspects of a language primarily construe an event in relation to whether it is bounded or unbounded in time. A bounded event is seen as compact, that is, as a global fact, while an unbounded event is seen as ongoing in its duration in time.

All four aspects found in the other languages of the Kru language family can be distinguished in Godié. These are (1) the completive or perfective aspect; (2) the incompletive or imperfective aspect; (3) the progressive aspect; and (4) the perfect aspect.

The completive and incompletive aspects are the two basic and most frequently occurring aspects in Godié, as is the case also in the other Kru languages (see Marchese 1986a:29–71 and Marchese 1989).

2.6.1 The completive aspect

The completive aspect in Godié gets a past compact reading with action verbs and a present or undefined time reading with stative verbs.

The completive aspect is signalled by a floating low tone added to the verb root. It replaces the mid tone of a monosyllabic verb root, but it doesn’t show with a monosyllabic low tone verb root. It spreads to the right to suffixes without an inherent tone, such as third person pronoun suffixes. Table 2.9 illustrates these changes as they are represented in the Godié practical orthography.

Table 2.9. Tone changes of Godié verb roots in the completive aspect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb tone</th>
<th>Example of verb root</th>
<th>Completive aspect</th>
<th>Completive aspect + pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>yi ‘come’</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>-yiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>-ku ‘BE1’</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>-kuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>’su ‘push’</td>
<td>’suu-</td>
<td>’suwa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-mid</td>
<td>’kwlie ‘bring down’</td>
<td>’kwlie-</td>
<td>’kwlienö-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23Marchese (1986a:30ff) therefore proposes the term factative for this aspectual category, a term first used by Welmers (1973:311).
2.6.2 The incompletive aspect

The incompletive aspect in Godié indicates ongoing non-terminated action, including customary and habitual actions. However, even though it may get a present reading, it should not be considered a present tense. Indeed, it can also occur with past tense markers (see §2.5.2.1 and §2.5.2.3 above).

The incompletive aspect is signalled by a floating mid tone added to the verb root. It replaces the tone of monosyllabic high and low tone roots, but it does not show with a mid tone root or with a high-mid root. It spreads to the right to suffixes without an inherent tone, such as third person pronoun suffixes. Table 2.10 illustrates these changes, as they are represented in the Godié practical orthography.

Table 2.10. Tone changes of Godié verb roots in the incompletive aspect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb tone</th>
<th>Example of verb root</th>
<th>Incompletive aspect</th>
<th>Incompletive aspect + pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>yi ‘come’</td>
<td>yi</td>
<td>yiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>-sä ‘take away’</td>
<td>sä</td>
<td>säwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>‘su ‘push’</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>suo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-mid</td>
<td>‘kwlie ‘bring down’</td>
<td>’kwlie</td>
<td>’kwlienöö</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6.3 The progressive aspect

According to Marchese (1986a:29), “progressives are very close semantically to imperfectives in that they too express ongoing actions.” In Godié, the progressive aspect is a periphrastic construction consisting of the verb -kv ‘BE1’ (‘to be at a place’) with completive aspect followed by a locative complement. The complement consists of a compound noun whose first term is the verb of the action in progress and the second term is the noun dä ‘place’, as shown in example (45).24

(45) ɔ -kv paädä -aaa
     3S BE1:CP run:place until
     ‘He was running until …’ [kokoleko 154]

Whereas progressive aspect is very frequent in English, it seems to occur rarely in Godié. Only three times does it occur in the text database for this study of almost 2,500 clauses, and, furthermore, what may be significant is the fact that all three clauses were uttered by older speakers.

2.6.4 The perfect aspect

As Givón (1984:278) points out, the perfect aspect is the most complex component of the tense-aspect-mode system in human languages, displaying “a large degree of intra-language complexity, as well as subtle but real cross-language variability.” This complexity is due to the fact that “it spans the entire functional range, from narrow scope semantics to discourse-pragmatics” (ibid.). Its various features are usually found to conflate in the perfect aspect attested in a given language (ibid., 283).

The perfect aspect in Godié is expressed by the perfect auxiliary yä ‘XPER’. In conversation, whether live or represented, speakers normally use it to indicate the current relevance of the past event expressed by the verb. That current relevance is often expressed in the immediate context, as in example (46).

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24This type of construction to express the progressive aspect is universally attested in languages as different as Welsh, Quechua, Yoruba, Japanese, and even English, where the progressive also derives from a locative construction: he is hunting < he is ahunting < he is on hunting (see Marchese 1986a:67).
(46) a. -amʊ Zakaliĩ n yä 'kɔgwle plä nä
1:TH Zachariah 1S XPER old_age enter SP1
‘I, Zachariah, I have become old,

nn -lä yu yu gää
1S:XNEG yet anymore child beget
I can no longer beget a child,

‘n t 'naa 'ŋnɔ yä 'su 'kɔgwle plä nä
ADD1 my wife XPER ADD3 old_age enter SP1
and my wife has also become old, so

-aa -lä yu yu gää
1P:XNEG yet anymore child beget
we will no longer have a child.’ [elisabet 29–32]

b. wlä -Dacligoo lä tuu yä yi bhã [nn]
EVD Dacligo say war:DEF XPER now be_finished UPT
‘Well, then Dacligo said, “The war is now over,

nä a 'bhlu yi aa' -gugwaa 'ku [aa]
SP1 2P take now 2P:GEN war_fetish VPC UPT
so take back your war fetish!’” [dacligo 36–37]

The semantic meaning of the perfect aspect as an indicator of the current relevance of a past event is the basis for its discourse-pragmatic role in narrative development (see §9.2.4).
3 Order of constituents

Constituent order is of primary importance for analyzing discourse features in any language. For this reason, before beginning the study of Godié discourse proper, the topic of constituent order needs to be dealt with. After presenting the normal, or default, order of constituents in the clause in §3.1, this chapter will consider variations of that order, or marked constituent order, in §3.2, before looking at dislocated constituents in §3.3.

3.1 Default order of constituents in the clause

This section will examine the default order of constituents within the basic Godié clause types. This is necessary in order to identify any marked orders of constituents.

3.1.1 The basic clause types

The basic clause types in Godié have the following default constituent orders.

3.1.1.1 Transitive clause: S-V-O

The transitive clause has a subject, a transitive verb as the predicate, and a direct object, as shown in example (47).

(47) -a nu lä lebhe
1P do:ICP LOP work
S V O
‘... we work (lit. we do work).’ [greve 11]

A number of transitive verbs are associated to a verbal particle (VPC), as in example (48), where the postposition 'kə 'on' occurs as a verbal particle.1

(48) nbhlü lä -kosu kə
1S take:ICP LOP fire VPC
S V O POST
‘...I take fire ...’ [medic 11]

3.1.1.2 Semi-transitive clause: S-V-LOC.COMP

The semi-transitive clause has a subject followed by a motion verb. A small number of these verbs, such as -bha ‘to leave somewhere’ and ghlä ‘to pass somewhere’, must take a locative complement (LOC.COMP) as object, as shown in example (49a). Others, such as ‘go’ and ‘come’, may or may not take the complement, as shown respectively in examples (49b) and (49c). Note that whenever the locative complement is present, as in (49b), its object carries the oblique marker (OBL), which consists of a lengthened vowel with a high tone.

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1For Schachter (1985:45), verbal particles are one of the two classes of “verbal adjuncts,” the other one being auxiliaries. Like auxiliaries, verbal particles are a closed set of uninflected words. Some of them are postpositions and thus have locative or directional meanings. In most cases the verbal particle does not have a clearly separable semantic meaning but forms a lexical unit with the verb. Examples from English are “to pick up,” “to carry out,” and “to look after.”
3.1.1.3 Ditransitive clause

In a ditransitive clause, the verb calls for a direct object and a second constituent, which is either an indirect object or a locative complement. Two types of ditransitive clauses can thus be distinguished, which are here referred to as the 'give'-type and the 'put'-type. The 'give'-type has an indirect object followed by a direct object, while the latter has an object and a locative complement.

a. 'give'-type: S-V-IO-O

In the 'give' type, the indirect object typically has the semantic role of the beneficiary of the action. It always precedes the direct object, whether it is realized by a noun or by a pronoun, as shown in examples (50a–c).

(50) a. nytkpɔ bha 'klaa
   person:DEF leave:ICP field:OBL
   ‘... the person was leaving the field ...’ [devinet 18]

b. n y i lâ Ghliviela'a
   1S come:ICP LOP Riviera:OBL
   ‘... and I come to Riviera ...’ [greve 10]

c. -Mâ v mo nâ v yi
   ADD4 NH3 go:ICP SP1 NH3 come:ICP
   ‘But it (= the canoe) goes and comes ...’ [greve 42]

b. 'put'-type: S-V-O-LOC.COMP or S-V-LOC.COMP(pron)-O

In the 'put' type, the locative complement typically has the semantic role of the goal of the action. When realized by a noun phrase, as in (51a), it follows the direct object, whereas when realized by the locative pronoun -mɔɔ (see §2.2.2), it precedes the direct object, as in (51b).

(51) a. Fâdu nyvwâ pââ- waa 'pilo jiee
   Fanti_people throw:CP 3P:GEN fishing_net ocean:OBL
   S V O LOC.COMP
   ‘Fanti people had thrown their net into the ocean.’ [neyo 6.3]
3.1.1.4 **Intransitive clause: S-V**

The intransitive clause has a subject followed by an intransitive verb as the predicate, as shown in example (52).

(52) c tuu-
3s weep:cp
s v
‘... he wept’ [neyo 63.2]

3.1.1.5 **Copula clause: S-COP-NCOMP**

In copula clauses a subject is linked to a noun complement (NCOMP) by a copula. Copula clauses in Godié have one of four copulas. Only one of them, -glö ‘BE3’, is used exclusively in copula clauses, as in example (53). It expresses a relation of equality between the subject and the complement.

(53) omɔ Pɛlɩɔ nä c -glö Guduyu
3s:th priest:def sp1 3s be3 Gudu child
‘That priest, he is a member of the Gudu clan (lit. a Gudu child).’ [neyo 52]

The other three copulas are intransitive verbs that can also be used as copulas. Of these, -ku literally means ‘to be in a place or position’. It is glossed ‘BE1’ both in locative and in copula clauses. Its use in a copula clause is illustrated in example (54).

(54) t u -zá -n -ku -pl ü -a
nhp:gen cause 2s be1:cp silent q
‘Is it because of that that you keep silent?’ [devinet 38]

The other two copulas are plö ‘to pass’ and bhlü ‘to fall’, which are glossed respectively as ‘BE2’ and ‘BE4’ in their use as copulas. They are illustrated in example (55).

(55) a. ti plöö- gämalt
nhp be2:cp play:nom
‘It is fun.’ [creation 145]

b. a yi nytkpa gwlt taa bhlü
2p xfut people twenty three be4
‘You will be sixty people.’ [lueuzi 8]
3.1.1.6  Nominal clause

The nominal clause in Godié consists of a noun phrase followed by either the past tense particle *bha* ‘PST4’ (see §2.5.2.4 above) or the low-prominence particle *lä* ‘LOP’ (see §4.3.2.1 below), as in example (56a). These particles act as predicator particles and thus allow the noun phrase to function as a nominal predicate.¹ Note that a nominal predicate does not have a negative form in Godié. To express the non-existence of something, a negative copula clause with the verb ‘*plö* ‘BE2’ is used with the non-human plural pronoun as a dummy subject, as in example (56b).

(56)  a.  
kläkplödö  lä
   lie:news  LOP
   ‘It’s a lie …’  [lueuzi 6]

   b.  
t  -wʋ  kläkplödö  plöö-
   NHP:XPOT  lie:news  BE2:CP
   ‘That’s not a lie.’ (fabricated example)

3.1.2  The verb brace

If an auxiliary is present in the clause, the main verb or the copula is moved to the end of the clause, a syntactic feature common to all Kru languages.³ The auxiliary and the main verb thus form a brace around the material included between them (marked in bold). In example (57a) the verb brace includes the countering connective -wʋ (see §8.2) as well as the manner adverb sisio ‘quickly’. In (57b) it includes the direct object and two adverbs, and in (57c) it just includes the verbal particle ‘*kʋ*.⁴ As for the position of the constituents within the verb brace, modal particles come first, followed by adjuncts, local complements, noun objects, and verbal particles (in that order).

(57)  a.  
nn'  -wʋ  sisio  -yi
   1S:XPOT  quickly  come:CP
   ‘I haven’t come quickly …’  [devinet 40]

   b.  
'n  n  'kä  yî  fa  -ngbūna  nünēa  'pä
   no  1S  XPOT  now  at_first  five:DEM  tale:DEF  throw
   ‘No, I am now going to tell the fifth story first …’  [creation 11]

   c.  
'nt  c  yî  'kʋ  bha  'nt  c  yî  mʋ
   ADD1  3S  XFUT  VPC  leave  ADD1  3S  XFUT  go
   ‘Then he got up and went.’  [devinet 22]

¹For the term predicator particle, see, for example, Schachter 1985:55.
³However, Kru languages differ as to what kind of constituents can occur inside the verb brace. While some, like the three Wɛɛ varieties, allow only objects of the verb, others, like Godié, also allow adjuncts. See Marchese 1986a:218–226 for more detail.
⁴Some verbal particles are homonymous with postpositions and have locative or directional meanings, such as *kʋ* in (57c), which means ‘on’ or ‘upward’. In most cases the verbal particle does not have a clearly separable semantic meaning but forms a lexical unit with the verb. Examples of verbal particles in English are *up* and *out*, as in “to pick up” and “to carry out”.

3.1.3 The default position of adjuncts

Adjuncts are not among the core constituents of a clause. Rather, they indicate the spatial, temporal, and other circumstances of the event talked about in the clause. In clauses without a verb brace, the default position of adjuncts in Godié is at the end of the clause, as shown in example (58).

(58) a. 'gokpüü' mʋ -wʋ -zikä
boat:PL:XNEG go:ICP CNT2 today
‘There are no boats going today.’ [greve 67]

b. -n titonöɛ -yä -n 'mëē -lu 'kɔɔkɔ
2S go_alongside:APl:NH2 ADD2 in spread_out thing:PL:DEF always
‘... walk alongside it (= ocean) and spread out the things all the time!’ [creation 49–50]

c. nä -n ni wält ’ -lt1 -t -ŋēnōō lä
SP1 2S find matter:GEN DPF:PL NHP:REL arrive:APl:1SO LOP
‘So these are the kind of things that happened to me
-mɔɔ -blɔ 'kʋ zëplüünōō' nā
LOC way on morning:DEM:OBL SP1
there on my way this morning.’ [greve 91–92]

In clauses with a verb brace the default position of adjuncts seems to be different for noun phrases and adverbs, possibly because of word length. Noun phrases, which are usually postpositional phrases, stay in the clause-final position outside the verb brace, as in examples (59a) and (59b). Adverbial adjuncts, on the other hand, occur within the verb brace, as in (59c). This last example also shows that if there is an object, the adverbial adjunct precedes that object.

(59) a. wa 'kä zlüt tāā Glɩsɩsɩɛɛ' -za
3P XPOT fish:PL look_for Christmas:GEN because_of
‘... in order to look for fish because of Christmas.’ [neyo 5.3]

b. 'nī n yi lä 'nyie 'tɔɔ -zëplüünōō'
ADD1 1S XFUT LOP lagoon cross morning:DEM:OBL
‘... and I crossed the lagoon this morning.’ [greve 85]

c. a kā lä -zikä 'gwɛ 'yi 'ni
2P XCND LOP today chimpanzee VPC see
‘Whenever you see a chimpanzee today ... ’ [gwebhutu 6]

3.2 Marked constituent order: Preposed constituents

The only choice for marked constituent order in Godié consists in preposing a nominal constituent. A constituent is preposed if it occupies a position earlier in the clause than in the default clause structure. Preposed constituents are frequent in Godié clauses. Indeed, any nominal constituent after the verb can be preposed.

Postposing of clause constituents (in the sense that a constituent occurs later in the clause than in the default clause structure) does not seem to exist in Godié and has not been found to occur in the data for this study. As for afterthoughts and self-corrections, which may come to mind, they will be treated as right-dislocated constituents in §3.3.2.
A preposed core constituent can be an object, as in example (60a), a locative complement, as in (60b), or a noun complement, as in (60c). (Preposed indirect objects are certainly possible but seem rare and have not been found in the corpus.) Note that the preposed noun complement in (60c) occurs in a conditional or subordinate clause.\(^5\)

(60) a. -sikaaye v ŋʋʋ- lä -bli‘
gold:SNG NH3 put:CP LOP neck:OBL
‘He had put something golden around his neck (lit. it was something golden that he had put around his neck).’ [kokoleko 7]

b. M’Putoo’ n ghlä lä
M’Puto:OBL 1S pass:ICP LOP
‘I pass through M’Puto.’ [greve 3]

c. nytkpa ’sɔ a kä bhä -bhlü nä
people two 2P XCND PST1 BE4 SP1
‘… in case you were two people…’ [kazo 12]

Adjectives can be preposed in two ways. One way is to prepose them in clause-initial position. The information of the adjunct is then salient and often, but not necessarily, conveys non-established information. In this case the constituent order violates the principle of natural information flow from established to non-established information (see the introduction to chapter 4). This is shown in example (61) with adverbs, as in (61a) and (61b), and with a noun phrase, as in (61c).\(^6\)

(61) a. ’kpokposä ɔ ’nî bhɛ -nv
deliberately 3S XNEG:NHP PST4 do:CP
‘…it wasn’t deliberately that she had done it!’ [lueuzi 127]

b. Nā 11 ’ŋnö ’mnö nā -zükä waa -wv lebhe nv
SP1 NHP:GEN name inside SP1 today 3P:XNEG CNT2 work do
‘So, because of that, it is today they did not work.’ [greve 48–49]

c. -Glissuce’ -za -a -mö bhlä
Christmas:OBL because:of 1P go:CP PST1:LOP
‘It was because of Christmas that we had gone.’ [neyo 2]

The other way to prepose an adjunct is to move it before the object, as in (62a), and even within the verb brace, as in (62b), where the verb brace extends from the main verb gëë- ‘light’ to the verbal particle ’yi at the end of the clause. This happens in order to observe the principle of natural information flow, according to which established information is presented before non-established information. (In examples (62a) and (62b) the context reveals that the information conveyed by the adjuncts is established information.)

(62) a. n nû ’kookɔ ɔɔ lebhe
1S do always 3S:GEN work
‘… and I always worked for him …’ [filsprod 215]

\(^5\)As the most salient information in a clause is marked by high pitch in English, italics reflect this fact in the free translation, rather than preposing, which has contrastive function in English.

\(^6\)Compare example (61b) with examples (58a) and (59c) above, where -zükä ‘today’ occurs in final and medial position respectively. Compare also example (61c) with example (59a) above, where Glissuce’ -za ‘because of Christmas’ is in final position.
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b. wa gëë-mɔɔ-bhutuu' -kadлуkпο taa 'yi
3p light:cp loc house:obl piece_of_wood three vpc
‘There in the house three pieces of wood had been lit (lit. they had lit).’ [devinet 28]

3.3 Dislocated constituents

Dislocated constituents are nominal elements preceding or following a complete clause. They are therefore syntactically separated from that clause. This means that dislocation of constituents is not a clause-level process like preposing discussed in the previous section but a sentence-level process (see Keenan 1985:246).

3.3.1 Left-dislocated constituents

Left-dislocation is extremely frequent in Godié. No restrictions on the type of nominal constituents that can be left-dislocated have been found.7

If the left-dislocated constituent is coreferential with a core constituent of the subsequent clause—that is, a subject, object, or locative complement—it must have a pronominal trace in that clause. In example (63a) the left-dislocated constituent is coreferential with the subject of the following clause, in example (63b) with its direct object, and in (63c) with its locative complement. Quite often, the left-dislocated constituent contains a relative clause, as in example (63c).

(63) a. waa ducifio 'titi, ɔ lä ɔ kä 'nyie 'tככ
their village:chief self 3s say 3s xpot lagoon cross
‘Their village chief himself, he said he wanted to cross the lagoon.’ [greve 50–51]

b. nụykpaa, kä plɛ 'kʋ siwa
people:def asf liver on burn:3p
‘... “The people, they are really angry (lit. liver surface burns them).”’ [greve 70]

c. 'nyibhlëa -kʋ lä -lɔɔ nä kunšnlă -kʋ -mɔɔ
river:def be1:cp loc there sp1 ghost:old_woman be1:cp loc
‘That river (lit. the river that was there), an old woman's ghost was in there.’ [kazo 7–8]

Many sentences in Godié have two left-dislocated constituents, which may be coreferential, as in examples (64a) and (64b).

(64) a. 'nt c yi lä buku -lɔɔ' dă 'nye
add1 3s xfut loc afterwards dpf:gen share give
‘Then he gave the younger one his part.

'yikʋgä-lɔɔ cмс kɔ -kuɔ a yēku
before:beget:dpf 3s:th asf:3s be1:3s:cp pst2 beside
As for the elder one, he, he stayed with him ...’ [filsprod 21–22]

b. -zęküü' 'yłu -v plöö- bhā nā
adjacent_day:gen day:def nh:3:rel be2:cp pst1:loc sp1
‘Now yesterday (lit. the one day from now that passed),

7Marchese (1976) calls a left-dislocated constituent the topic and the following clause the comment of a sentence. This view is not supported in this study. For the notion of topic and comment used in this study, see §4.1 and §4.1.1.
If they are not coreferential, the first dislocated constituent has a spatial, temporal, or other circumstantial reference (with no trace in the following clause), while the second dislocated constituent is coreferential with a core constituent of the subsequent clause and a pronominal trace in that clause. This situation is illustrated in example (65). Note in this example that the first dislocated constituent has a spatial reference ('on the lagoon') while the second ('the canoes that used to transport us') is coreferential with the non-human pronoun they in the main clause.

(65) -mɔɔ 'nyiee 'klʋʋ' 'gokpüü
LOC lagoon:DEF surface:OBL boat:PL:DEF
‘There on the lagoon, the boats
-t tu-anyi bhlä nā [...] kī buā
NHP:REL cross:ICP:1PO PST1:LOP SP1 ASF:NHP be_slow:ICP
that used to take us across, [...] they are really slow.’ [greve 18, 21]

In terms of information processing, the dislocation helps to package the information in such a way that the core structure of the clause has less linguistic material and is thus easier to process. Note that in the above example, the spacer nā marks the end of the relative clause and the main clause consists of only two words.

3.3.2 Right-dislocated constituents

Right-dislocated constituents are rare in Godié. The only occurrences that have been found in the data are coreferential with the clause subject. Thus they are not what Lambrecht (1994:181) calls a (right-dislocated) anti-topic, which is the only subject constituent of the clause. They either give more precise information about the subject referent, as in (66a), or express an afterthought or a self-correction, such as adding more referents to the subject referent, as in (66b).

(66) a. ‘nī wa yi yi 'ŋwnā -yā 'yuē
ADD1 they XFUT come woman:PL ADD2 child:PL
‘... and they came, women and children.’ [elisabet 72]

b. ɔ -kʋ ylä -≤cyɔ -yā ɔ 'ŋwnā 'sɔ
3S BE1 now:LOP there 3S ADD2 3S wife:PL two
‘... he was there, he and his wives’ [sigo 185]

3.3.3 Combinations of left-dislocation and preposing

Combinations of left-dislocation and preposing are very frequent in Godié, with the left-dislocated constituent(s) preceding the preposed one, as in examples (67a) and (67b). In example (67a), the subject ‘that same beer’ is left-dislocated and the adjective ‘much’ is preposed. In example (67b), the subject ‘our fathers and grandfathers’ is left-dislocated and kazu ‘raffia washcloths’ is preposed.

(67) a. eme biee nā kpānyi ee' 'kpā 'te yi -peē
NH2:TH beer SP1 much NH2:GEN price be_strong now hence
‘... that same beer, its price is very high at present.’ [radio 85]
b. teete a bəst -yə -a tətə
formerly 1P father:PL ADD2 1P grandfather:PL
‘In former times, our fathers and grandfathers,
‘kazul’ wa budo wä
raffia_washcloth:PL:OBL 3P wash:ICP PST3
it was with raffia washcloths that they used to wash themselves.’ [kazo 18–19]

Example (68) has two left-dislocated constituents (‘second ones’ and ‘their group’) and one preposed one (the locative pronoun -mɔɔ). The referent of the first dislocated constituent has its pronominal trace in the second left-dislocated constituent, and the preposed locative pronoun -mɔɔ is the pronominal trace of the second left-dislocated constituent in the clause.

(68) səna -lvə nä waa kpaa ’mənə -mɔɔ n -kəmu bhlä
second DPF:PL SP1 3P:GEN group:DEn inside LOC 1S BE1:CP:COM PST1:LOP
‘The second group (lit. the second ones, in their group), it was there that I was also …’ [greve 82–84]
4 Information management

The need for speakers to manage information arises out of several constraints that the construction and interpretation of a discourse impose on both the speaker and the hearer.¹ All speakers in any language have the same tasks in the management of information. It is only in the strategies they use to carry out these tasks that they differ according to the language they speak.

One fundamental constraint on the speaker is what Brown and Yule (1983) call the linearisation problem. Simply put, it consists “first of all in the constraint on the speaker that he can produce only one word at a time” (Brown and Yule 1983:125). A speaker who wants to produce a text therefore “has to choose a beginning point and “this point will influence the hearer/reader’s interpretation of everything that follows in the discourse” (ibid.).

After choosing the beginning point, the speaker who is about to produce a narrative text must decide on how he will bring into sequence the events he intends to talk about. In doing so he needs to take into account the inferences the hearer will draw from the sequence in which the events are presented. One of these inferences consists in assuming, unless the speaker gives a cue to do otherwise, that the first-mentioned event also happened first. Similarly, the hearer will make the assumption, again unless told otherwise, that the second-mentioned event is related to the first.

Information is not primarily processed by analysing word meanings but by constructing mental representations, or models, of entities and referents (see Brown and Yule 1983:125ff and Lambrecht 1994). It is these mental representations that are stored in the mind. As a discourse progresses, existing mental representations are activated, and possibly changed, in the hearer’s mind and new mental representations are added. In order to enable the hearer to draw the desired inferences and to construct a coherent mental representation of the information he is given to process, the speaker needs to comply with the strategies for information management that are provided by the speaker and hearer’s common language.

The purpose of any discourse is to give information. Most clauses in a discourse are a combination of old and new, or established and non-established, information. This guarantees a balanced information rate, where the “established information provides the grounding and the framework within which we process and store the newly asserted information” (Runge 2010:188).

Established information is information that the hearer knows and of which he has a mental representation. It includes information that was previously established in the same discourse, information that the hearer inferred from what was previously said, and information that is part of the hearer’s general knowledge about the world. Non-established information, on the other hand, is information that is newly established in the clause. What is non-established information in one clause in a discourse will be established information in the following clause and so forth through the whole discourse. It is therefore crucial for the study of information management to determine for each clause the knowledge state of the information conveyed by the constituents of that clause.

One typical cross-linguistic strategy to manage established and non-established information in a text is the “principle of natural information flow” (Comrie 1989:127–128). It stipulates that speakers generally move from what is most known to their hearers to what is least known. In other words, the normal, or unmarked, way of managing information is for speakers to present established information before non-established information.

The knowledge state of information (whether it is established or non-established) needs to be distinguished from its activation state, which concerns its consciousness in the hearer’s mind or the availability of a given piece of information at a given time. Indeed, while huge amounts of knowledge are stored in a person’s mind, only a very small portion of this knowledge can be focused on at any one time and is therefore available, or active, in the person’s consciousness.

On the basis of this fact, Chafe (1987:22ff) distinguishes between three different activation states, or degrees of accessibility of information in the hearer’s consciousness at a given time and in a given

¹These observations also apply to the writer and the reader but for the sake of simplicity we will refer only to the speaker and the hearer.
context: active, semi-active, and inactive. Active information is information that is “currently lit up” in the hearer’s consciousness. Inactive information is information that is in the person’s long-term memory and not active. At the time the utterance is processed, inactive information either has not been activated at all yet in the course of the discourse or, if it was activated earlier on in the discourse, it has been deactivated and fallen out of a person’s consciousness. Finally, semi-active information is information that automatically enters the hearer’s consciousness together with other information, because it is associated to that information in the hearer’s mind. This last category is therefore also referred to as coactivated or accessible information.

Finally, from the speaker’s point of view, not all information given to the hearer is of equal importance or weight in the narrative. Indeed, in order to enable the hearer to construct for himself the mental representation of the narrative that the speaker intends, the speaker gives him cues about which information has more weight than other information. As Carozzi (2010:246) rightly states, “Writers (and speakers) have more than one strategy at their disposal to enable the audience to appreciate the relative weight of information in the discourse they are producing, and in fact they may manipulate a variety of linguistic items to this end.” Like probably all languages, Godié has linguistic means to show that some entities (events, participants, etc.) have more relative importance than others at the current point in the narrative (see §§ 4.1.2 and 4.3.1 below). However, as will be shown in §4.3.2, a Godié speaker also has means to let the hearer know which information is of lesser importance at the current point in the narrative.

Information management in language has mostly been studied at the clause level and is often referred to as information structure. Chafe (1976) referred to it as “information packaging” and Prince (1981:224) as “the tailoring of an utterance by a sender to meet the particular assumed needs of the intended hearer” (also see Marchese 1976). For Lambrecht (1994:1) information structure is “concerned with the relationship between linguistic form and the mental states of speakers and hearers.”

Information management in this study deals with the management of established versus non-established information and of gaps in the progress of narrative discourse, as well as with different degrees of prominence of the presented information. Specifically, this chapter looks at the strategies that Godié employs for information management. First, it describes these strategies at the clause level, distinguishing various focus structures or discourse-pragmatic articulations (§4.1). Then it looks beyond the clause level, describing different types of points of departure (§4.2). Following that, it deals with the management of prominence at the clause level and beyond, describing devices for highlighting and backgrounding information (§4.3) and, finally, it considers information management in relative clauses (§4.4).

4.1 Information structure of the clause

Widely used terminology for information structure at the clause level includes the terms topic, comment, and focus. Some remarks about these terms are therefore in order. Lambrecht (1994:127f) distinguishes between the topic and the topic expression. The former is a referent, that is, a cognitive entity, while the latter is the linguistic form referring to that entity. Note that Comrie (1989:64) does not make this distinction in his “classical” definition of topic as “what the sentence is about.” This distinction is nevertheless an important one because it is possible for a clause to be about a certain referent without any linguistic expression referring to that referent in the clause. Lambrecht states:

A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e., as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee’s knowledge of this referent (Lambrecht 1994:131; emphasis mine).

According to Lambrecht, the topic of a clause must be an accessible referent. This is one that either has already been established in the text or is readily associable with an established referent. He further argues in his topic acceptability scale that active referents are the best candidates for propositional topic because they require only a “low cost” cognitive processing effort (ibid., 165). Across languages, the preferred topic expression to refer to an active referent is a pronoun.
The topic of a clause is frequently expressed in the grammatical subject of the clause. However, the notions of topic and grammatical subject must remain distinct for “topics are not necessarily grammatical subjects, and grammatical subjects are not necessarily topics” (ibid., 118).

The information given about the topic referent is called the comment. However, in many cases, not all information in the comment is of equal importance to the speaker. Rather, the speaker will intend one part of that information—generally the new, or non-established, information—to be more salient. According to the principle of natural information flow (see the introduction to this chapter), the expected place of this information within the clause will be towards the end of the comment, after the established information has been presented.

As for the term focus, Lambrecht understands it as “the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition” (1994:213). In other words, focus is what is left of a pragmatic proposition once the presupposed information is taken away. Put even more simply, focal information will typically be newly established information.

In analogy to the distinction between topic and topic expression, Lambrecht distinguishes between focus as a semantico-pragmatic category and focus domain as the linguistic expression of the focal information. There are different types of focus structures, depending on which component of the semantic proposition is asserted and which thus carries the relatively most important (that is, the focal or salient) information. This leads to the distinction of three pragmatic clause types on the basis of their focus structure.2

The first type of clausal information structure has predicate focus. It corresponds to what is commonly called a topic-comment structure. The second type has argument focus, meaning that the focal information is carried by an argument of the verb.3 The third type does not have any presupposed information, which means that all information that is expressed is asserted and thus focal information. A clause expressing only asserted information may be said to have global focus.4

It is important to note that focus cannot be conflated with new, or non-established, information, any more than presupposition can be with old information. According to Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:62), the focus of a clause is the information that “the speaker intends as the most important … change to be made in the hearer’s mental representation.” Even though the focal domain of a structure often expresses non-established information while the presupposed material often refers to old information, one must distinguish the pragmatic function of the focus from its pragmatic properties. The function of the focus is to identify the most salient piece of information in the clause while the properties of the focus refer to its knowledge state (established versus non-established), its degree of accessibility, or its activation state (active, semi-active, non-active).

4.1.1 Clauses with predicate focus

Clauses with predicate focus—also known as topic-comment structures—answer questions such as “What did X do?” or “What happened to X?”. In Godié, X must be an established and active referent. Typically it is the grammatical subject of the clause. The default topic expression is the simple anaphoric pronoun. This is illustrated by example (69), where the referent, after having been activated in the first clause, is then referred to by the simple pronoun in the second clause.

2Lambrecht’s three types of focus structure correlate with what Andrews (1985:77ff) calls the three pragmatic articulations, namely presentational articulation, topic-comment articulation, and identificational articulation, or focus-presupposition. The articulation of information in a sentence is the way in which semantic content, that is, information, is presented in it.

3For Lambrecht this includes information expressed by adjunct phrases. Indeed, if such phrases express focal information, they are promoted to argument status within the semantic proposition. See Egner 2005 for a description of this mechanism in Kru languages.

4Lambrecht talks about sentence focus here. However, given that sentence is a grammatical unit beyond the clause, the term sentence focus will not be used here.
(69) ŋwadi mʋ ylä c bhɛɛ c ɔɔ kɔɔɔ
lad go:ICP now:ROP 3S hold:ICP 3S:GEN raffia_washcloth:DEF
‘... a lad was coming along, he was holding his raffia washcloth.’ [kazo 16–17]

If a referent was not mentioned in the previous clause, it is considered as being no longer active. It must then be reactivated through a left-dislocated noun phrase (see §3.3.1) before anything can be said about it. In example (70), even all of the previously established information about the referent is recapitulated before more information is given about it.

(70) 'Kuŋnʋkla -a -kʋ ylä -mɔɔ nyibhlëa mʋ
ghost_old_woman:DEF NH1:REL BE1:CP now:ROP LOC river:DEF OBL
The old woman’s ghost that was there in the river

‘nɩ -a plöö- ylä -mɔɔ’ -zlëa nä
ADD1 NH1:REL BE2:CP now:ROP LOC:GEN spirit:DEF SP1
and that was its spirit (lit. the spirit of there),

a yä ɔɔ kɔɔɔ ’kʋ ’bhlü
NH1 XPER raffia_washcloth:DEF VPC take
it has taken the raffia washcloth.’ [kazo 29–31]

The same requirement holds for semi-active referents, that is, referents that can be established through inference, as in example (71). Here the referent for “village chief” can be inferred because the boatmen are villagers and hence have a village-chief.

(71) waa ducifio ’titi c lä c ’kä ’nyie ’cɛ
3P:GEN village:chief self 3S say 3S XPOT lagoon cross
‘Their village chief, he said he wanted to cross the lagoon’ [greve 50–51]

It appears that the Godié language imposes a rather strong constraint on the speaker as to the choice of a clause topic. In terms of an instruction for topic choice the constraint can be formulated as follows:

• Only choose an active referent as clause topic.

It follows from this constraint that previously introduced referents that are no longer active must be reactivated before they can function as clause topic. This is achieved by means of a left-dislocated noun phrase. Thus the following additional instructional can be formulated:

• In order to reactivate a referent that is no longer active, use a left-dislocated noun phrase.

4.1.2 Clauses with argument focus

In clauses with argument focus one of the nominal constituents expresses the most important information, that is, the information by which the speaker intends to make a change in the hearer’s mental representation. For Lambrecht (1994:122) these structures serve “to identify a referent as the missing argument in an open proposition.” Hence he uses the term identificational referent.5 In Godié, the nominal constituent expressing the focal information is always preposed. Two types of clauses with argument focus can be distinguished: those in which non-established information is in focus and those in which established information is in focus.

5Andrews (1985:79) talks about such structures as having focus-presupposition articulation.
Type 1: Non-established information in focus

In the first type, the information in focus is non-established information. Example (72) illustrates the preposing of different clause constituents: the direct object (72a), the locative complement (72b), the instrumental adjunct (72c), and the noun complement (72d).

(72) a. ‘nünü -ŋgbu n zɛɛ bhlä
tale:pl five 1s recount PST1:LOP
‘... I was going to tell five tales.’ [creation 5]

b. n kää Kumasi’- bha nä
1s XCND Kumasi:OBL leave:CP SP1
‘When I have left Kumasi,

‘n n kää yi nää M’Putoo’ n ghlä lä
ADD1 1s XCND come SP1 M’Puto:OBL 1s pass LOP
and when I come (here), I pass through M’Puto.’ [greve 1–3]

c. tɛɛtɛɛ -a bäsɩ -yä a ttuä
formerly 1p father:pl ADD2 1p grandfather:pl
‘In former times, our fathers and grandfathers,

’kazu’ wa budo wä
raffia_washcloth:pl:OBL 3P wash:ICP PST3
they used to wash themselves with raffia washcloths.’ [kazo 18–19]

d. nyɩkpa ’sɔ a kää bhä -bhlü nä
people two 2p XCND PST1 BE4:CP SP1
‘... in case you were two people ...’ [kazo 12–13]

If the constituent in focus is the clause subject, it is followed by the low tone relative pronoun corresponding to the referent's gender and number, as illustrated in example (73). The relative pronoun thus acts as a spacer between the syntactic constituent expressing the focal information and the rest of the clause expressing the presupposed information. The role of spacers is to separate information pertaining to different syntactic or pragmatic levels (see §8.2).

(73) Jübëyëkpü ’ssɔ -mu lä jie ’klʋʋ
Neyo_people two:REL go:CP LOP ocean surface:OBL
‘... it was two Neyo that went out (to fish) in the ocean.’ [neyo 5.1]

Type 2: Established information in focus

In the second clause type with argument focus, the focal information is established information and expressed by a thematic pronoun (see §2.2.1). It stands for an active referent (see §4.1.1), which may have been mentioned in the preceding clause, as is the case with the focal information expressed by the thematic pronoun at the beginning of the third and fourth clauses of example (74a). Or the active referent may have been mentioned in an immediately preceding left-dislocated noun phrase, as in example (74b) and (74c).6

6Example (74a) incidentally illustrates the interplay of all three focus types in the introduction of a major participant. The first clause has global focus, the second has predicate focus, and the last two have argument focus, one with the object preposed and the other with the subject preposed. It seems unusual that the name of a referent is
(74) a. -lɔɔ 'klää' mime -kv -mɔɔ εɛ' -wɔ 'ghlü
there forest:obl animal BE1 LOC NH2:XNEG CN2 be_big
'There in the forest, there is an animal. It is not big.

deme wa la 'Nemv
NH2:TH 3P call Red_Deer
It is called Red Deer (lit. her they call Red Deer).

demee- -mv lä -a 'Bä yēku
NH2:TH:REL go:CP LOP 1P Father beside
She was the one who went to our Father …' [creation 27–30]
b. ɔ lä 'naa 'kazɔɔ mMV n budo 'MV
3s say 1S:GEN raffia_washcloth:DEF NH3:TH 1S wash:ICP OBL
‘He said, “My raffia washcloth, that’s what I wash with …”’ [kazo 35]
c. -n kä gää [sese] [...] 'ŋnɔɔ 'mɔ wa 'kä lä
you XCND beget NUPT female:DEF 3S:TH 3P XPOT LOP
‘If you have children, […] it is the girl that they will
wlie 'nyɛ iyä -n 'gä lä ŋwadio 'kv 'bhlü
husband:DEF give ADD2 2S XPOT LOP male VPC take
marry off (lit. give a husband) and you will keep (lit. take) the boy.’ [siamoi 6, 11–12]

If the pronoun is the subject of the clause, as in the last clause of (74a) above, the low tone relative
pronoun that is added to it is often reduced to a floating low tone (cf. example (73) above). The initial
vowel of the thematic pronoun tends to be dropped when the left-dislocated noun phrase ends in the
same vowel as that of the pronoun, as is the case in (74c), where the pronoun ɔmɔ is reduced to ɔmɔ
following 'ŋnɔɔ ‘the female’.

Unlike the first clause type with non-established information in focus, the type with established
information in focus conveys contrastive meaning. It is also the structure used in the first clause of a
sequence of two clauses expressing a double contrast, as in (74c), where the two constituents ‘girl’ and
‘marry off’ in the first clause are in contrast to ‘boy’ and ‘keep’ in the second clause. Note that the latter
clause has the pragmatic structure of predicate focus.

4.1.3 Clauses with global focus

Clauses with global focus express only non-established information. They typically introduce a new
entity into the discourse, affirming or negating its existence, but without saying anything further about
it. The new entity can be a participant that is brought on stage or a whole event in which all entities are
new. Four subtypes of global focus structures can be distinguished in Godié on the basis of their
linguistic form: (1) a nominal clause; (2) the verb -kv ‘BE1’ followed by a dummy locative complement;
(3) an imperative clause with ni ‘find’; and (4) an event-reporting clause.

7‘Nemv is the vernacular name for a small species of mazama deer, probably mazama rufina.
Type 1: Nominal clause

The first type of global focus structure is expressed by a nominal clause. It consists of a noun phrase and a predicator element that allows the nominal phrase to function as a nominal predicate (see §3.1.1). The predicator element can be realized either by the low prominence particle lä 'LOP', as in example (75a), or by the past tense particles bhɛ 'PST4', as in (75b), or wä 'PST3', as in (75c). Note in (75c) that the past particle wä may amalgamate with the low prominence particle lä, yielding the form wlä. In the same example, we seems to be a variant form of wä in negative clauses (see §2.5.2).

(75) a. kpläkplödö lä
lie:news LOP
‘It’s a lie …’ [lueuzi 6]

b. ɔ 'nagɔ bhɛ
3S friend PST4
‘He was her friend …’ [devinet 30]

c. -dʋdʋʋ' we -kʋ -mä jie -bholhlo wlä
earth:XNEG PST3 BE1 ADD4 ocean one only PST3:LOP
‘… there was no firm ground, but only the ocean existed.’ [creation 18–19]

In order to affirm the non-existence of a referent, a negative verbal clause with the intransitive verb -kʋ ‘BE1’ is used, as shown in the first clause of (75c) and in example (76).8

(76) tēbhi’i we -kʋ
towel:PL:XNEG PST3 BE1:CP
‘Towels didn’t exist back then.’ [kazo 21]

Type 2: -kʋ ‘BE1’ and dummy locative complement

The second type of global focus structures contains the intransitive verb -kʋ ‘BE1’ and the locative adverb -lɔɔ ‘there’ acting as a dummy locative complement, as in (77a) and (77b).

(77) a. ‘nyibhlë’ -kʋ -lɔɔ
river BE1:CP there
‘There was a river.’ [kazo 6]

b. nyikpaa’ -wʋ -lɔɔ ‘nyie yëku -kʋ
people:DEF:XNEG CNT2 there lagoon beside BE1:CP
‘… the (usual) people were not around on the shore of the lagoon,
-mä bhlooblo 'luä -kʋ -lɔɔ
ADD4 a few IPF:PL BE1:CP there
though a few were around.’ [greve 64–65]

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8Other Kru languages use a negative predicator particle to affirm the non-existence of a referent, such as the particle ko- in Wobé (see Egner 1989:150).
Type 3: Imperative clause with ni ‘find’

The third subtype of global focus structures is a set imperative clause with the verb ni ‘find’. In conversation it is used to present someone or something to someone, as in example (78). If the person or object is presented to one person, second singular pronouns are used, as in (78a); if the person or object is presented to more than one person, second plural pronouns are used, as in (78b).

(78) a. -n ni n-aa dä
   2s find 2s:GEN share
   ‘Here is your (sg.) share!’ [fabricated example]

   b. a ni anyyn dä
   2p find 2p:TH:GEN share
   ‘Here is your (pl) share!’ [fabricated example]

Type 4: Event-reporting clause

The fourth type of global focus structures is the so-called event-reporting clause (see Lambrecht 1994:137ff.). In Godié such a clause is syntactically constructed in subject-predicate form but at the pragmatic level, it is a global focus structure. This type of clause—which answers the question “What happened?”—is a structure with a non-topical subject. Typically, it occurs with certain verbs of movement (such as come and go) and takes incomplete aspect. It is used to bring participants on stage, as is the case in example (79). (See also §5.1.1.)

(79) zikää’  ylʋʋ  ’ku  nā  ɲwadi  mu  ylä
today:GEN day:DEF on sp1 lad go:ICP now:LOP
   ‘Now one day (lit. on the day of today) a lad was coming along …’ [kazo 15–17]

4.2 Points of departure

Points of departure (hereafter PoDs) may be left-dislocated noun phrases (discussed in §3.3.1 above). They may also be preposed temporal or locative adverbs or subordinate clauses. A PoD’s basic, or default, function in information management is to establish “an explicit frame of reference, providing the reader with the primary basis for connecting what follows with what precedes” (Runge 2010:194). The need for an explicit frame of reference naturally arises at transition points within the narrative, when the narrative shifts from one point in time to another, from one place to another, or from one participant to another. At these points, the hearer needs what Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:68) call “a contextual anchor” for the information presented in the subsequent clause. The information conveyed by a PoD is thus not brand new, or unidentifiable, information for the hearer. Rather, it is information that is either active or accessible from the context.10
Transitions in discourse, termed discontinuities by Dooley and Levinsohn (2001), can be classified with respect to three textual dimensions: (1) situation (such as time and space); (2) referents (participants and props); and (3) type of action (speech versus non-speech; event versus non-event).

Of these, the third type (type of action) has not been found to occur in Godié. Thus only two main types of PoDs may be distinguished for Godié, namely situational PoDs (including temporal, spatial, and causal PoDs) and referential PoDs, referring to participants. While participants are the agents in the narrative and thus normally animate, props are mostly inanimate objects.

Another function of PoDs has to do with information processing. When established and complex information is left-dislocated and then referred to in the clause with a pronoun, the amount of linguistic material within the clause is reduced and thus easier for the hearer to process. Examples (80a) and (80b) below illustrate this function of a PoD. In both cases, the main clause (bolded) is very short, consisting of two and three words respectively.

(80) a. -mɔɔ 'nyiee 'klʋʋ' 'gokpüü
   LOC lagoon:DEF surface:OBL bateau:PL:DEF
   ‘There on the lagoon, the canoes
   -t tu-anyt bhlä nā [...] ku buā
   NHP:REL cross:ICP–1PO PST1:LOP SP1 ASF:NHP be_slow:ICP
   that used to take us across … they are really slow.’ [greve 18, 21]

b. 'sɔna -lvā nā waa kpaa 'mnō
second DP:PL SP1 3P:GEN group:DEF inside
   ‘The second group (lit. the second ones, in their group),
   -mɔɔ n -kumu bhlä
   LOC 1S BE1:COM:CP PST1:LOP
   it was there that I was also …’ [greve 82–84]

Another advantage of packaging the information in this way is that it allows the speaker to give the old information before the new information, which is in accordance with the principle of natural information flow.

In certain cases the spacer nā ‘SP1’ is inserted between the PoD and the subsequent clause, as in example (81) (see also example (80a) above). Spacers will be discussed in chapter 7. For the spacer nā, see §7.1.

(81) zikää’ ’ylʋʋ ’ku nā ȵwadi mu ylä
today:GEN day:DEF on SP1 lad go:ICP now:LOP
   ‘Now one day (lit. on the day of today) a lad was coming along …’ [kazo 15–16]

4.2.1 Situational points of departure

The default use of situational PoDs is to set a new temporal, spatial, or other frame of reference. A situational PoD can be an adverb, as in example (82a); a temporal clause, as in (82b); or a postpositional phrase, as in (82c). Note that the temporal PoD in (82b) is a noun phrase with a relative clause that has the noun dā ‘place’ as an antecedent and ends with the spacer nā.

(82) a. ˈkɔɔkɔ sɔɔ c nu ylä
always thus she do now:LOP
   ‘All the time, that’s how she now acted.’ [siamo 52]
‘When the Neyo children were turning round their canoe,

ku bhuo-asf:nh3 turn_over:cp
it turned over.’ [neyo 19.1–2]

c. 'sõna -lvâ nà waa kpaa 'mnö second dff:pl sp1 3p:gen group:pl:def inside
‘The second group (lit. the second ones, in their group),

-mãã n -kumû bhlâ loc 1s be1:com:cp pst1:lop
it was there that I was also.’ [greve 82–84]

If the left-dislocated constituents in example (82) were in their normal place after the verb, as shown in example (83), the information structure of the clause would not follow the principle of natural information flow, since established information (namely, that there were two groups of people) would be placed at the end of the clause instead of being given first.

(83) n -kumû bhlâ 'sõna lvâ' kpaa 'mnö 1s be1:com:cp pst1:lop second dff:gen group:pl:def inside
‘I was also in the group of the second ones.’ [fabricated example]

### 4.2.2 Referential points of departure

The default function of a referential PoD is to introduce a participant as the new frame of reference for the information given in the following clause or clauses. In example (84a) the referential PoD introduces a brand new referent, “a certain man”; in (84b) it reactivates a de-activated referent, “the canoe”; and in (84c) it activates a semi-active referent, “their village chief himself.” In all three cases, the referent thus becomes a candidate for playing the pragmatic role of topic.

(84) a. nyukpɔ -bhlogbe c -nu sää cɔ gɔlʋlɛɛ person one_single 3s make:cp dp1 3s:gen canoe:dim:def
‘... a certain man, he took his small canoe

'ñi c nɑm- masii add1 3s put:nh3:cp motor
and he put a motor on it.’ [greve 25–26]

b. gɔlʋʋ 'ñi c yiu ii pia canoe:pl:def add1 3s xfut:nh3 now pull_ashore
‘The canoe, he now pulled it ashore...’ [kazo 32]

c. waa ducifio 'titi ç lä ç 'kä 'nyie 'tɔɔ 3p:gen village:chief:pl:def self 3s say 3s xpot lagoon cross
‘Their village chief himself, he said he wanted to cross the lagoon.’ [greve 50–51]
Example (85) has three referential PoDs: nyëbluo ‘the young lad’, ɔ ‘her mother’, and Mali ‘Mary’, the second and third ones being coreferential. The repetition of the referent has the effect of highlighting that referent.

(85) ‘nɩ nyëbluo wa lâ lâ Zozi nâ
ADD1 lad:DEF 3P call LOP Jesus SP1
‘Then the young boy they called Jesus,
ɔ ‘nɔ Mali ɔmɔ -mâ Laagâzuzu yio bhlâ
3S mother Mary 3S:TH ADD4 God:spirit XFUT:3SO PST1:LOP
his mother Mary, on her an angel from God

’sî -mɔɔ ‘kʋ kwlii ‘nɩ ʋ yio soo
also LOC VPC come_down ADD1 NH3 XFUT:3SO speak
also came down there and spoke to her.’ [elisabet 48–51]

4.2.3 Tail-head linkage

Tail-head linkage is an important cohesive device within a text. It consists of the repetition of the information of the last clause (the tail) of one sentence at the beginning (the head) of the following sentence. The tail clause is a clausal form of the situational point of departure (see §4.2.1 above). The two clauses are separated either by the spacer nâ ‘SP1’ added to the end of the tail clause or by the additive connective ’nî ‘ADD1’ at the beginning of the head clause. This is represented in table 4.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.1. Tail-head linkage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sentence 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tail clause + nâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tail clause</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two structures are illustrated in example (86a) and (86b) respectively. The spacer nâ is further discussed in §7.1 and the additive connective in §8.1.

(86) a. Gopli yie lü [sese]
Gopleu XFUT:NH2 eat NUPT
‘… and Gopleu ate it (= the palm nut).
ɔ -lü ylâ gwiyeeye nâ ɔ lâ
3S eat:CP now:LOP palm_nut:DEF SP1 3S say
When he had now eaten the palm nut, he said …’ [sigo 73–75]

b. ’nî n njeë lâ M’Puto n kä yi M’Puto -njeë
ADD1 1S arrive:ICP LOP M’Puto 1S XCND now M’Puto arrive:CP
‘Then I arrive in M’Puto. When I have arrived in M’Puto,
’nî n bhłü lâ ’wlôwlô k’u ’nî n yi lâ Ghlivielaa’
ADD1 1S take:ICP LOP five_five VPC ADD1 NH3 come:ICP LOP Riviera:OBL
I take a pickup taxi and I come to Riviera …’ [greve 7–8]

In (86b) the word ’wlôwlô is taken from the trade language Jula [dyula], where it means ‘25CFA’, the price for a taxi ride.
The frequency and function of tail-head constructions vary according to the type of discourse sequence. In descriptive sequences, describing places or actions, such as an itinerary or a procedure, tail-head linkage serves to link together the different stages of the description, as illustrated in example (86b) above. In narrative sequences, besides its function in managing transitions, tail-head linkage is also found as a highlighting device for events or participants (see §4.3.1.3 below).

4.3 Managing prominence: Highlighting and backgrounding

Highlighting and backgrounding are part of an author's strategies of information management at the clause level and beyond. Indeed, just as the pieces of information within a clause or a sentence are not all of equal prominence, in the same way the clauses within the sentences of a text have varying degrees of prominence.

Highlighting consists of giving additional prominence to a piece of information, while backgrounding decreases the prominence of a piece of information. In a narrative, events that take the narrative forward to its climax and dénouement are by nature more important for the narrative than background information. They are commonly referred to as theme line or foreground information. In contrast, background information consists mostly of so-called non-events, such as comments, explanations or evaluative statements, but it can also provide information about previous or secondary events. This kind of information provides background for the hearer, helping the hearer to better understand the events on the theme line of the narrative. Certain types of background information, such as comments and explanations, also reveal something about the relationship between the speaker and the hearer.

Besides information that is inherently of a background nature, a continuous backgrounding process takes place as the narrative, or any discourse for that matter, moves forward. The device of tail-head linkage (see §4.2.3 above) is linguistic evidence of this process: the information that is theme line information in one sentence is taken up as backgrounded information at the beginning of the next sentence. Cognitively speaking, it is as new material comes into view that older material loses its importance and becomes background information.

The following sections will consider the more frequent highlighting and backgrounding devices in Godié narrative.

4.3.1 Highlighting devices

Devices for highlighting are means of allowing the author to give special prominence to information. One purpose of highlighting certain pieces of information rather than others in a narrative is to attract the hearer's special attention to that information because he will need to keep it in mind for what follows. Another purpose is rhetorical, perhaps to make the narrative more lively and dramatic. In other words, by choosing to highlight certain pieces of background information, the author alerts the hearer to the fact that this information is of special importance for the unfolding of the narrative plot.

In Godié the same devices are used for highlighting background information and theme line information.12 The following sections will discuss five highlighting devices in Godié. For others see §5.2.2.2, §6.2, and chapter 9.

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12 Giving special prominence to background information could also be referred to as foregrounding and distinguished from highlighting, which is a device to give additional prominence to foreground information. However, this distinction is not necessary in Godié, where the same devices are used to increase the prominence of both background and theme-line information.
4.3.1.1 The assertive focus particle kä ‘ASF’

The assertive focus particle kä ‘ASF’ occurs in declarative utterances with predicate focus (see §4.1.1 above). It strengthens the statement made by the speaker. Its position is at the beginning of the clause.

In conversation, the speaker uses the particle kä to strengthen his statement regarding a state or an action that are relevant at the time of the conversation, as in example (87).¹⁴

(87) kä nyāムv loo- lä 'kʊ [sese]
    ASF breath satiate:2SO:CP LOP VPC NUPT
    ‘... you really are out of breath (lit. breath has satiated you),
    nå n 'kää- fää [sese]
    SP1 1S XPOP:2SO accompany NUPT
    so I will accompany you.’ [creation 101–102]

In narrative, the narrator uses the particle kä to highlight information that is particularly relevant for the course of the narrative. Such information can be event information, as in example (88) or background information, as in example (89).

(88) a. Jübënyëbluo -ɔ -bha lä -lɔɔ nēē’ nå
    Neyo:lad:DEF 3S:REL leave:CP LOP there mouth:OBL SP1
    ‘The Neyo lad who had escaped,
    kɔ -mō ɔ 'bäst soo -kä
    ASF:3S go:CP 3S father:PL speak PUR
    he went to tell his elders ...’ [neyo 37.1–2]

In example (89) the information highlighted by the particle kä turns out to be important for the unfortunate event that will be told in the narrative, so the narrator must make sure the hearer will keep it in mind.¹⁵

(89) -kaflɩnɩɛ ɔɔ’ ŋwɩa ɔ -kä 'yuë ɔɔ
    Excuse me! 3S:GEN woman:PL:DEF two have:CP child:PL two
    ‘Excuse me! His two wives had two children.
    [sese] kä wa këpë lä [sese]
    NUPT ASF HP crawl:ICP LOP NUPT
    They were at the age of crawling ...’ [lueuzi 21–22]

In many cases, the clause introduced by kä in a narrative is preceded by one or several points of departure, which left-dislocate nominal constituents from the clause. These constituents are then referred to by a simple pronoun in the clause, so that the action expressed there is all the more highlighted.

¹³Marchese (1978:67f) gives a list of the syntactic contexts of what she names the “current relevance marker.” In discourse, she sees its special function in “drawing attention to the speed of action in a narrative” (ibid., 72). See also her practical grammar (Marchese 1986b:179) for a discussion of this particle.
¹⁴Also, after a visitor has signalled his presence at the door, a speaker coming to the door will say Kä n yì ‘I’m coming’.
¹⁵Note that the expression -Kaflɩnɩɛ in this example is used before talking about something that is considered as negative, such as some bad news. It is also used when one arrives at a meeting and interrupts in order to greet the people.
Examples (90a) and (90b) illustrate this. (Note from these examples and also (88) above that the particle kä often coalesces with the subject pronoun, losing its vowel in the process.)

(90)  a. -mɔɔ 'nyiee 'klʋʋ' 'gokpüü
   LOC lagoon:DEF surface:OBL boat:PL:DEF
   ‘There on the lagoon the boats
   -t tu-anyi bhlä nää [...] k tü buä
   NHP:REL cross:ICP:1PO PST1:LOP SP1 ASF:NHP be_slow:ICP
   that used to take us across [...] they are really slow.’ [greve 18, 21]

   b. -lɔɔ' sɔ̽nä lɔɔ -mä dää ç nii-lää
      there:GEN second “one” ADD4 when 3S see:CP LOP
      ‘That second one, when he saw
      nonugbi yi nää ko 'fike
      do:do:affair:PL VC (eyes) SP1 ASF:3S act_smartly
      what was going on, he really acted smartly
      -mä 'nï c mɛɛ- gołʋʋ -zɔɔ
      ADD4 ADD1 3S dive:CP canoe:DEF under
      because he then dived under the canoe.’ [neyo 24.1–3]

4.3.1.2 Ideophones

Ideophones, also named expressives, convey sensory perceptions in relation to a specific action or state, like English hippety-hoppety ‘in a limping and hobbling manner’. Their sound structure does not necessarily comply with the phonological rules of a language. They are characterized by “their sound symbolic character, displaying likeness or other non-arbitrary relations between form and meaning” (Tufvesson (2007:53).

Ideophones are a common highlighting device for events in narrative. Key actions, as in (91a) and (91b), or the climax, as in (91c), are frequently marked in this way. As the semantics of Godié ideophones has not been studied, they are invariably glossed as ‘ID’ in the examples and not translated in the free translation.

(91)  a. gblikisi gɔlɔ yä bhuo
      ID canoe XPER overturn
      ‘The canoe overturns (lit. has overturned).’
      [kazo 24–25]

   b. kokloko 'ŋnuklä yi 'ku ji
      ID old_woman:DEF XFUT VPC appear
      ‘The old woman appeared.’ [kazo 54]

   c. wuë -sumabolu yä -zɔɔ bhlü [-kpazebhleku]
      ID Worm XPER (VPC) fall_down NUPT
      ‘Worm falls down!’ [kokoleko 157]

16Ideophones are marked words that depict sensory events. There are ideophones for visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, and haptic perceptions. This example is taken from Dingemanse 2010:24.
4.3.1.3 Tail-head linkage

Another way of highlighting information in a narrative is by tail-head linkage (discussed in §4.2.3 above). The repetition of the information that has been established in the preceding clause (the tail) allows the speaker to delay the new information for a little longer, thereby highlighting the new information. The information of the preceding clause can be repeated in clausal form, as in example (92a), or by way of a nominal point of departure containing a relative clause, as in (92b). The highlighted information in the following clause can be a key event of the narrative, as in (92a), or a key participant, as in (92b).17

(92) a. ɔ nyima lä monie ɔ 'bä nyio- lä nă
   3s waste:ICP LOP money:DEF 3s father give:3s:CP LOP SP1
   ‘... he was wasting the money his father had given him.
   -mă ɔ -nyima monie -aan
   ADD4 3s waste:CP money:DEF until
   Now he wasted the money until
   ’n₁ monie, e yio 'mven -bhu
   ADD1 money:DEF NH2 XFUT:3s VPC go.away
   the money, it was gone...’ [filsprod 33–37]

b. ‘nyibhlë -ku -lɔɔ
   river BE1:CP there
   ‘There was a river.
   ‘nyibhlëa- -ku lä -lɔɔ nă 'kuŋŋuklă -ku -mɔɔ
   river:DEF:REL BE1:CP LOP there SP1 ghost_old_woman BE1:CP LOC
   In the river that was there, an old woman’s ghost was in there.’ [kazo 6–8]

4.3.1.4 Marked points of departure

As explained in §4.2 above, the default function of points of departure is to provide an explicit frame of reference at points of discontinuity in the narrative. However, instead of introducing a new frame of reference, some left-dislocated noun phrases are found to explicitly renew the existing frame. These noun phrases may be considered marked PoDs. Their pragmatic function is to highlight the information that follows.

Example (93) is taken from the introductory section of the narrative in question. It illustrates the marked use of a referential frame, highlighting key information about the participants.

(93) nyïkpɔ -bholøgbe ɔmɔ wa laa lä ‘Lulu
   person one.single 3s:TH they call LOP Lulu
   ‘There was a certain man called (lit. it is him they call) Lulu.
   ɔmɔ -c -gää lä ɔɔ ŋpŋbenyʋä ‘sɔ [ɔmɔ -c -gää lä ɔɔ ŋpŋbenyʋä ‘sɔ]
   3s:TH 3s:REL beget:CP LOP 3s:GEN girl:PL two
   He (lit. it was he who) had two girls (lit. procreated his two girls).

17In (92a), note the change from incompletive aspect (ICP) in the tail clause to completive aspect (CP) in the head clause.
Now these two girls that he had,

kä wa 'meme
ASF 3P be_stuck_together
they were stuck to each other.’ [siamoi 13–16]

In example (94) the very elaborate PoD recapitulates in two relative clauses all the information given so far about a participant. It occurs just before the clause expressing the major complication of the plot caused by that very participant.

(94) 'kuŋnʋkla -a -kʋ ylä -mɔɔ 'nyibhlëa 'mu
ghost_old_woman:DEF NH1:REL BE1:CP NOW:LOP LOC river:DEF OBL
'The old woman’s ghost that was there in the river

'nt -a plöö- ylä -mɔɔ' -zlëa nä
ADD1 NH1:REL BE2:CP NOW:LOP LOC:GEN spirit:DEF SP1
and that was its spirit (lit. the spirit of there),

a yä 'kazɔɔ 'kv 'bhlä
NH1 XPER washcloth:DEF VPC take
it has taken the raffia washcloth.’ [kazo 29–31]

4.3.1.5 Clauses and set expressions

The imperative clause -n ni (‘2S/find’) ‘Find!’ occurs as a highlighting device in narrative. At the discourse-pragmatic level, it functions as a clause with global focus (see §4.1.3 above). It brings on stage something or someone unexpected at a key point in the narrative, as illustrated in example (95) (also see §9.2.5). In this function the clause is a set phrase and is used only with the second person singular. As these examples further illustrate, the clause is preceded by another set clause showing the participant(s) as being about to realize a new fact. That clause is introduced by the assertive focus particle kä ‘ASF’ (discussed in §4.3.1.1 above).

(95) a. wlä kä wa wlo yi nä [-kpazebhleku]
EVD ASF 3P look:ICP NOW SP1 NUPT
‘Then all of a sudden (lit. as they are now looking)

-n ni 'nyikpotüë [-kpazebhleku]
2S find black_ants:swarm NUPT
there was/is a swarm of black ants (lit. find a swarm of black ants)!’ [kokoleko 126–127]

b. du c yä 'yuo 'bhlä [sese] c lä
ID 3S XPER child:DEF kill NUPT 3S say
‘She kills (lit. has killed) her child!

ko wlo yi -n ni yi cɔ' 'yu mɔ [sese]
ASF:3S look:ICP NOW 2S find NOW 3S:GEN child TH NUPT
As she was now looking, there is her child!’ [lueuzi 53–55]
4.3.2 Backgrounding devices

In contrast to highlighting devices, devices for backgrounding are means of allowing an author to give lower prominence to information that would normally qualify for being foreground information. The purpose of backgrounding certain pieces of information in a narrative is to let the hearer know that those pieces of information are not—or are no longer—the most relevant pieces of information. The hearer is thus instructed to look for the currently relevant information and is helped in keeping abreast of the progress of the story towards its goal.

This section will discuss the following three backgrounding devices in Godié narrative: the low-prominence particle lä ‘LOP’; the past tense particles bhlä ‘PST1:LOP’ and wä ‘PST3’; and the progressive aspect. (For the backgrounding function of the spacer nä, see §7.1.)

4.3.2.1 The particle lä

The particle lä is pervasive in all genres of Godié discourse. The vast majority of its occurrences is in verbal clauses, though it also occurs in nominal utterances, where it acts as a predicator particle (see §4.1.3 above).

This section will discuss first the types of clauses where the particle is normally present, as well as those contexts where it is normally absent. Then it will consider contexts where the author has a choice whether to use the particle or not, as well as contexts where the author can override the normal use. It is from these two types of context that a hypothesis for the meaning of lä can be formulated as an instruction for the use of the particle in discourse.

Table 4.2 compares the types of clauses where the particle lä is normally present with those where it is normally absent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normally present in…</th>
<th>Normally absent in…</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• relative clauses</td>
<td>• imperative clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• adverbial clauses</td>
<td>• interrogative clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• the tail clause of tail-head linkage structures (see §4.2.3 and §4.3.1.3)</td>
<td>• negative clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• clauses with argument focus (see §4.1.2)</td>
<td>• clauses containing ideophones (see §4.3.1.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• exclamatory clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• completive clauses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Clauses where lä is normally present

The hypothesis for the function of lä argued for here arises from the following observation. As shown in table 4.2, lä normally occurs in clauses where the event talked about appears to have relatively less prominence than some other information at the current point in the discourse. On the other hand, in contexts where the presence of the particle is due to the narrator’s choice, the information given in the clause constitutes the contextual frame for some other information that has currently more prominence relative to the author’s purpose.

This is illustrated in example (96), where the first clause, which contains lä, talks about the Chimpanzee’s climbing on the roof. This event is not background information of itself; rather, it is backgrounded in this context as a secondary event relative to the following primary event, for which it constitutes the contextual frame. Indeed, undoing the fastening of the main beam of the house is the more prominent event at this point in the story but this event presupposes the Chimpanzee’s climbing on the roof. Note also the presence of the spacer nä ‘SP1’ (see §7.1) at the end of the first clause,
underlining the lower prominence of the information in the first clause, as well as the presence of the assertive focus particle kä ‘ASF’ at the beginning of the second clause, reinforcing the prominence of the information in that clause (see §4.3.1.1).

(96) ɛ gblää- lä -bhutupap11 nā
NH2 climb_up:CP LOP house:wall:PL SP1
‘Having climbed up the walls of the house
ke döö- -bhutugbäglöyee’ kpɔ
AF:NH2 cut:CP house:beam:GEN fastening
he ( = the chimpanzee) actually cut the fastening of the beam.’ [gwebhutu 27–28]

A clause containing lä thus contains information with lower prominence relative to some other, more prominent information in the context. If this information has not yet been given, the hearer awaits it shortly. As an instruction to the hearer, the particle lä in verbal utterances appears to mean the following: attribute lower prominence to the information given in the clause containing lä and wait for information in the context that has higher prominence at the current point in the discourse.

The presence of lä in relative clauses, adverbial clauses, and linkage clauses can be considered as an instance of grammaticalization where the particle has become part of the syntax of these structures. However, the presence of lä in these contexts is also perfectly compatible with the hypothesis of lä indicating lower prominence. Relative clauses must contain established information (see §4.4 below), which is recapitulated at certain points in the discourse and thus has lower prominence. The same is true for adverbial clauses, which are syntactically construed like relative clauses in Godié (see §2.4). In the case of linkage clauses, they repeat the information established in the previous clause (see §4.2.3 and §4.3.1.3 above) and thus have lower prominence than the event to be talked about next. It is thus not surprising that they normally contain the particle lä. Example (97) illustrates a linkage clause repeating the information given earlier.18

(97) Jübëyëkpü ’sɔɔ- -mʋ lä jie 'klʋʋ' […]
Neyo_people two:REL go:CP LOP ocean surface:OBL
‘… two Neyo went out (to fish) in the ocean. […]

wlä wa -mʋ lä nā
EVD 3P go:CP LOP SP1
‘It is reported that as they (= the two Neyo men) went,

Fädɩnyʋä pää- waa 'pilo jiee'
Fanti:people throw:CP 3P:GEN fishing_net ocean:OBL
Fanti people had thrown their net into the ocean.

wa niu- lä 'yi nā
3P see:NH3:CP LOP VC (eyes) SP1
When they (= the two Neyo men) saw it,

kwa -svʋ 'nyiee'
ASF:3P take_away:NH3 water:OBL
they took it out of the water.’ [neyo 5.1, 6.1–6.4]

18The occurrence of lä in the earlier clause is due to the information structure with argument focus, here with the focal information expressed by the clause subject (see §4.1.2). In this particular example, the structure with argument focus is used to bring the first participants on stage (see §5.1.3).
In structures with argument focus (see §4.1.2), as in the first clause of example (97) above, a nominal constituent expresses the focal information, while the rest of the clause is out of focus, that is, it has a lower degree of prominence. However, the particle lä can be absent in clauses with argument focus that give the name of a person, as in example (98). Such structures have a double coreferential object, the first of which is a preposed thematic pronoun, while the second at the end of the clause is the proper noun giving the name. Obviously, that name is the purpose of the clause and cannot be said to have low prominence.

(98) a. ɔmɔ wa la Albelɔ Bayi Taglɔ
   3S:TH 3P name:ICP Albert Bayi Tagro
   ‘He (lit. it is him that) is called Albert Bailly Tagro.’ [decesrad 20]

   b. ɛmɛ wa la 'Nɛmʋ [sese]
   NH2:TH 3P name:ICP Red_Deer NUPT
   ‘It (lit. it is it that) is called Red Deer.’ [creation 29]

Interestingly, the particle lä is absent in these structures only if the name given is that of the protagonist, as is the case in examples (98a) and (98b) above. On the other hand, the particle is present if the person whose name is given is a minor character in the narrative, as in example (99).

(99) ɲyɪkɔ -bhlogbe ɔmɔ wa la lä 'Lulu
   person one_single 3S:TH 3P say LOP Lulu
   ‘There was a certain man called (lit. it is him they call) Lulu.’ [siamoi 13]

In example (100) the particle lä is also absent. It is the last clause of the text, so there is no reason for the speaker to show it as less prominent in relation to other information that precedes or follows.

(100) -lɔɔ n bhloo -bhle
   there 1S stop:ICP for_now
   ‘It is there that I stop for now.’ [elisabeth 110]

2. Clauses where lä is normally absent

In the clause types where lä is normally absent, the information given is naturally prominent: imperative clauses, interrogative clauses, negative clauses, clauses containing ideophones, exclamatory clauses, and completive clauses (see table 4.1 above). However, examples (98) and (100) above, where lä is absent in syntactic structures that normally have it and which therefore look at first sight like exceptions, are cases in point that show that the presence of lä does not ultimately depend on a syntactic structure, but rather on the pragmatic factor of prominent information. That factor overrides syntax in certain cases, such as these examples.

Another case in point is example (101) below, where the particle lä does appear in a negative clause. From the context, however, it is obvious that the negative clause here has lower prominence than the following clause, for which it forms the contextual frame. Indeed, in this case the negative clause with lä is the background information which explains why Worm arrives slowly in the village.

(101) ʋmʋ -mā vu’ pio lä nā
   NH3:TH ADD4 NH3:XNEG hurry LOP SP1
   ‘As for him (= Worm), he wasn’t fast,
   digasā ’n1 v yi ɲē [-kpazebhleku]
   slowly ADD1 NH3 XFUT arrive NUPT
   it was slowly that he arrived.’ [kokoleko 36–37]
4.3.2.2 Past-tense particles

The past-tense particles bhä ‘PST1’, a ‘PST2’, and wä ‘PST3’ (see §2.5.2) are also used for backgrounding events. The particle bhä frequently combines with the particle lä (see §4.3.2.1 above), losing its vowel in the process to yield the amalgamated form bhlä ‘PST1:LOP’.

In combination with the completive aspect (‘CP’) of an action verb, the particle bhlä signals a flashback, that is, an event that happened before the time of the theme line events of the narrative, as illustrated in example (102).19 Such events are naturally part of the background of a story.

(102) -Glusɩɛɛ' -za -a -mő bhlä
Christmas:GEN because_of we go:CP PST1:LOP
'It was because of Christmas that we had gone.' [neyo 2]

With the completive aspect of a stative verb, bhlä signals a state of affairs as background to an event on the theme line, as in example (103).20

(103) 'sɔna -lvä nä waa' 'kpaa 'mnö
second DPF SP1 3P:GEN group:DEF inside
'The second group (lit. the second ones, in their group),
-mö n -kumu bhlä
LOC 1S BE1:COM:CP PST1:LOP
it was there that I was also
'nį n yi lä nyie 'tɔɔ -zɛplʊnʊō'
ADD1 1S XFUT LOP lagoon cross morning:DEM:OBL
and I crossed the lagoon this morning.' [greve 82–85]

The past tense particle wä, which is normally used for background states (see §2.6.2), is also used as a backgrounding device for events on the theme line. It marks such events as being secondary in relation to a subsequent primary event.21 This happens before an important turn in the narrative, as in example (104). Note that the two verbs with which the past tense marker wä occurs in this example are in the incompletive aspect, which has the effect of slowing down the action and increasing the suspense.

(104) wlä ‘ŋnɔnɔ yi wä a [sese]
EVD woman:DEM come:ICP PST3 DP4 NUPT
'And that woman was coming
'nį c ñu wä yunɔ sä a [sese]
ADD1 3S put:ICP PST3 child:DEM VPC DP4 NUPT
and she was putting that child down.

zeli yâ yi ze [sese]
daylight XPER now light_up NUPT
When day broke the next morning ...' [lueuzi 68–70]

19The particles bhä and bhlä are thus the converse of the particles yɛ and ylä ‘now’, which signal that the narrative is moving forward (see §9.2).
20Interestingly enough, in an edited version of the text, the author and transcriber simplified the structure of this sentence as follows, taking out the material in brackets: 'Sɔna lvä (nä, waa’ kpaa) ‘mnö, -mö n -kumu bhlä. The revised sentence thus has only one point of departure instead of two as in the original spoken version.
21Given that the inherent meaning of the past tense particle wä seems to be distant past, the pragmatic effect of this use could be seen as an iconic way of distinguishing a secondary event from a primary event in the narrative.
The tense particle a ‘PST2’, which is otherwise used for events or states previous to another past state or event (see §2.5.2), has also been found to be used for backgrounding minor events before a major event. In example (105) the backgrounded minor event is the meeting of the people at the morgue, whereas the major event is taking the deceased person to burial.

(105) wa wlää- a -mɔɔ 'wlu 'n1 wa -ku a -lɔɔ
3P meet_together:CP PST2 LOC VC (head) ADD1 3P BE1:CP PST2 there
‘They met together there and they were there (in the morgue)

'nl wa yio -kä wä -mɔɔ -sä a
ADD1 3P XFUT CLU3 PST3 LOC take_away DP4
and so they took him out of there, then.’ [decesrad 15–17]

Note the presence of the discourse particle a ‘DP4’ in both examples (104) and (105). In fact these are the only occurrences of the particle in the whole data corpus for this study, so it seems that it is rather rare, which is why it hasn’t been discussed in a separate section. It is interesting, however, that in both examples, the particle occurs with events that are backgrounded in view of an upcoming, major event. Moreover, the events in question are expected events, as shown in example (104) by the presence of a yi clause, which is used for such events (see §9.1.2).

4.3.2.3 The progressive aspect

The progressive aspect is at present only rarely used in Godié narrative. In fact, in the narratives on which this study is based only the two instances in example (106) have been found, both of them in narratives produced by older speakers. The progressive aspect zooms in as it were on the action as a process, thus slowing the story down and increasing suspense. As it turns out, a major complication of the story comes up right away.

(106) a. c là, 'nɔɔ 'yuɔ 'sc -ku gämädä nā [sese]
3S say my_friend child:PL:DEF two BE1:CP play:place SP1 NUPT
‘He said, “My friend, as the two children were playing together,

'nu a -lɔɔ yā -nɔɔ 'yuɔ 'bhlā [sese]
1:GEN DPF XPER 2:GEN child:DEF kill NUPT
my child (lit. mine) killed your child.”’ [sigo 317–318]

b. c -ku paadā -aaa
3S BE1:CP run:place until
‘He (=Rooster) was running until

c mu 'nyikpotūtēa' nēēdē ñē -kāā nā [-kpazebhleku]
3S go black_ants:swarm:DEF:GEN middle arrive PUR SP1 NUPT
he arrived in the middle of the swarm of black ants

'n1 c yii gbɔtɔ
ADD1 3S XFUT:NHP shake
then he shook them (=his wings).’ [kokoleko 154–155]

4.4 Information management in relative clauses

In Godié the semantic distinction between identifying and descriptive relative clauses (see §2.4.2) appears to be of little relevance from a discourse-pragmatic point of view. Rather, both semantic types of
relative clauses have the same pragmatic function in Godié, namely to recapitulate information already given earlier about their antecedents.\textsuperscript{22} The term \textit{recapitulative relative clause} is therefore suggested as a more appropriate term.

The recapitulative relative clause in Godié narrative frequently occurs within a marked point of departure (see §4.3.1.4).\textsuperscript{23} This type of PoD does not bridge some gap in the narrative, nor does it remind the hearer of already established information that he now needs for a better understanding. Rather, it slows down the narrative, thus building up suspense and eventually giving more prominence either to the event that is about to happen or to the new participant that is about to come on stage. In other words, PoDs with relative clauses play a special discourse-pragmatic role in the area of highlighting.

Recapitulative relative clauses sometimes have little semantic meaning, as illustrated by example (107).

In (107a) the relative clause merely recapitulates the existence of the river introduced in the preceding clause while in (107b) the relative clause recapitulates the fact that the spirit lived in the river.

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(107)]
\begin{enumerate}
\item a. 'nyibhlëa- -kv lä -lɔɔ nää kujnuklëa -kv -mɔɔ
river:DEF:REL BE1:CP LOP there SP1 ghost_old_woman BE1 LOC
That river (lit. the river that was there), an old woman’s ghost was in there.’ [kazo 7\textendash}8]
\item b. kujnukla -a -kv ylä -mɔɔ nyibhlëa 'mu
ghost_old_woman:DEF NH1:REL BE1:CP now:LOP LOC river:DEF OBL.
The old woman’s ghost that was there in the river

'ntl -a plöö- ylä -mɔɔ' -zlëa nää
ADD1 NH1:REL BE2:CP now:LOP LOC:GEN spirit:DEF SP1
and that was its spirit (lit. the spirit of there),

a yä 'kazɔɔ 'ku bhlü
NH1 XPER raffia_washcloth:DEF VPC take
it has taken the raffia washcloth.’ [kazo 29\textendash}31]
\end{enumerate}
\end{enumerate}

In the tracking of an activated participant by way of a full noun phrase (see §5.2.2.1), a relative clause recapitulates significant information about the participant, thereby alerting the hearer that a significant event will happen next or that the climax of the narrative is imminent. Thus the relative clause in example (108) is not necessary to identify the referent unambiguously; rather, its presence indicates to the hearer that a key action will follow.

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(108)] Jübënyëbluo -c -bha lä -lɔɔ née' nää
Neyo_lad:DEF 3S:REL leave:CP LOP there mouth:OBL SP1
‘The Neyo lad who had escaped,

kɔ -mö c 'bäst soo -kä
ASF:3S go:CP 3S father:PL speak PUR
he went to tell his elders …’ [neyo 37.1\textendash}2]
\end{enumerate}

\textsuperscript{22}This is a more widely spread characteristic of relative clauses in African languages. Pope (1993) points out that relative clauses in the Waama [wwa] language of Benin show discourse-pragmatic restrictions. Levinsohn (1997) makes the same observation for African languages in general. Pope further claims that descriptive relative clauses are not natural in Waama. Translated as such from French into Waama, they are likely to cause misunderstandings. She further observes that in folk tales identifying relative clauses are fairly infrequent.

\textsuperscript{23}See Marchese 1976 and 1987 for a first description of this phenomenon in Godié.
5 Participant reference

Participant reference in narrative, or in any discourse for that matter, is concerned with the linguistic means by which participants—characters and inanimate objects—are brought on stage and then tracked in a text. It is of crucial importance that the hearer knows at every point in the text who or what is being talked about. Otherwise the hearer will not be able to follow what the speaker is saying or will have difficulty in making sense of it. The way in which languages manage participant reference in a text depends on various factors, some of which are (more or less) universal, while others are specific to a language family or even a single language.

This chapter consists of two major sections. Section 5.1 deals with the introduction of participants in a Godié narrative. Section 5.2 describes how participants, once introduced, are tracked in a narrative.

5.1 Introduction of participants

Two relevant pragmatic factors determine the linguistic form in which a participant is introduced into a Godié narrative. The first factor is whether or not the hearer already has a representation of the participant in his mind. If he does, the participant is identifiable for him; if he does not, it is brand new (see Lambrecht 1994:105ff). The second factor is the role the narrator attributes to that participant in the story. This role can be minor or major, local or global. A participant with a major global role is generally the protagonist, or one of the protagonists, of the story.

5.1.1 The introduction of brand new participants

To bring brand new participants on stage, the narrator uses generic nouns, such as nyukpo ‘human person’, ŋnɔ ‘woman’, and mnɛ ‘animal’.

(109) \text{wl̃ nyukpo emɔ- 1 nöö- lä ɔɔ ñnwä 'c̃}
\hspace{1cm}EVD \text{ person 3S:TH:REL marry:CP LOP 3S:GEN woman:PL two}
\hspace{1cm}'They say a man had (married) two wives.' [lueuzi 20–21]

The noun nyukpo ‘person’ introduces only male participants. Example (109) above is taken from a narrative where even though the women are the major characters in the story, they are introduced in relation to their husband.2 More frequently than just the generic noun nyukpo ‘human person’, the noun phrase nyukpo\,-bhlogbe ‘a certain person’ is found to bring a brand new participant on stage, as in example (110).

(110) \text{\textquoteright n\textasciitilde nyukpo \,-bhlogbe yii\textquoteright lä soo nynä}
\hspace{1cm}ADD1 \text{ person one_single XFUT:1SO LOP speak SP2}
\hspace{1cm}'Then somebody said to me …’ [greve 65–66]

The participant’s relative importance in the subsequent narrative is reflected in the amount and the type of linguistic material used to bring that participant on stage. In terms of amount, more linguistic material means greater importance, illustrating Givón’s principle of iconicity. In terms of linguistic type, the information structure (see §4.1.1) of the clause in which the participant is introduced appears to give a cue as to the role of the participant in the story.

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1The presence of the thematic pronoun here is due to the fact that the participant is the first to be brought on stage (see §5.1.3).
2It appears that female participants are preferably introduced in relation to a man, that is, as daughters, wives, etc. An exception to this rule seems to be old women, who can be introduced in their own right.
3For the use of the future auxiliary in narrative found in this example, see §9.1.2.
1. Clause with predicate focus

A clause with predicate focus is used to introduce a brand new participant with only a local minor role in the narrative, as in example (110) above.

2. PoD followed by a clause with predicate focus

A point of departure, followed by a clause with predicate focus is used to introduce a brand new participant playing a local key role in the narrative, as in example (111).

(111) nyikpo -bhlogbe ɔ -nv sää ɔɔ g̃vleč
    person one_single 3s make:cp DP1 3s:gen canoe:dim:def
    ‘... a certain man, he took (lit. made) his small canoe ...’ [greve 25]

3. PoD followed by a clause with global focus

A point of departure followed by a clause with global focus is used to introduce a brand new participant who will be the protagonist, as in examples (112a) and (112b).

(112) a. -lɔɔ 'klää' mne -ku -mɔɔ øe' -nv ghlǔ
    there forest:obl animal be1:cp loc nh2:NEG cnt2 be_big
    ‘There in the forest, there is an animal. It is not big.’ [creation 27–28]

b. 'nyibhlëa- -ku læ -lɔɔ nā 'kuŋneklā -ku -mɔɔ
g_river:rel BE1:CP LOP there sp1 ghost_old_woman BE1 LOC
    ‘That river (lit. the river that was there), an old woman’s ghost was in there.

    amā plōö- læ 'nyibhlëa 'mnö -zlēē
    NH1:th BE2:CP LOP river:rel inside spirit
    She (lit. it was her who) was the river spirit.’ [kazo 7–8]

4. An event-reporting clause

An event-reporting clause—that is, a clause with grammatical subject-predicate structure and a pragmatic global focus structure (see §4.1.3)—is also typically used to bring a brand new major participant on stage, as in example (113). The verb of the clause is then generally some verb of movement, such as go, come, appear, or pass. The incompletive aspect of the verb seems to be characteristic of the event-reporting clause in this particular function.

(113) -zıkā' 'ylvɔ 'ku nā ʮwadi mu ylā
    today:gen day:def on sp1 lad go:icp now:lop
    ‘Now one day (lit. on the day of today) a lad was coming along,

    č hheɛ ɔɔ kazɔ
    3s hold:icp 3s:gen raffia_washcloth
    he had with him (lit. was holding) his raffia washcloth.’ [kazo 15–17]

5.1.2 The introduction of identifiable participants

If the narrator assumes that the hearer already has a mental representation of the participant, this participant is considered an identifiable referent for the hearer. Similarly to the introduction of brand
new participants (see §5.1.1), the information structure of the clause in which identifiable referents are introduced gives the hearer a cue as to their role in the narrative as either the major participant (the protagonist) or a minor participant with a local role.

5.1.2.1 The introduction of identifiable major participants

Identifiable major participants, especially if they are referred to by a proper name, are brought on stage by a clause with global focus of the event-reporting type, preceded by a point of departure. (This structure is also one of the structures used to introduce a brand new participant, as shown in the preceding section.) Compare the first clause of the sentence in example (114) with example (113) above to that effect.

(114) -zikä  Goplë plö -aaa 'nt a yi -mɔɔ jinëëdë mo today Gopleu pass:ICP until ADD1 NH1 XFUT LOC sea:middle go 'One day, Gopleu was flying until he (lit. it) came to the middle of the sea.’ [sigo 43–44]

5.1.2.2 Introducing identifiable minor participants

Identifiable minor participants are brought on stage in a clause with predicate focus. As for the noun phrase that introduces them, the following structures have been found to occur:

5. Simple indefinite noun phrase

An identifiable minor participant, especially an inanimate one, is introduced with a simple indefinite noun phrase, as shown with “things” and “slaves” in example (115).

(115) ɔ -kä  a lɩ 'nt ɔ -kä a -gänñyvă 3S have PST2 thing:PL ADD1 3S have PST2 slavery_do:AF:PL ‘He had riches and he had slaves.’ [filsprod 5–6]

6. Definite noun phrase

If the identifiable minor participant is accessible through other information—whether given earlier in the narrative, through inference, or through encyclopedic knowledge—it is introduced with a definite noun phrase, sometimes also accompanied by a relative clause, as in (116c).

(116) a. dunyva  lä ɔ village_people:DEF say EXCL2 ‘The village people said, “Oh! ...”’ [lueuzi 64]

b. ɔɔ’ -wɔ -bvă -mă kɔ -mö komisăliaa’ 3S:XNEG CNT2 be_slow:CP ADD4 ASF:3S go:CP police_station:OBL ‘he wasn’t slow (to act) but went to the police station

'nt ɔ yi -stuja sōo ADD1 3S XFUT police:DEF speak and told the police’ [neyo 32.2–32.3]

c. minislöɔ  wa laa lä Bonbee nā ɔ -yi -mɔɔ minister:DEF 3P call:ICP LOP Bombet SP1 3S come:CP LOC ‘The minister called Bombet, he came there,
59

7. Left-dislocated definite noun phrase, followed by a clause with global focus

An identifiable minor participant may also be introduced with a left-dislocated definite noun phrase as a point of departure, preceding a clause with global focus, as in example (117). This encoding appears to convey that even though the participant is a minor participant, he plays a local key role.

(117) pelɛ -mä c -ku bhä 'sìì lɔɔ
priest:DEF ADD4 3S BE1:CP PST1 ADD3 there
‘Now the priest, he was also there.’ [neyo 51]

5.1.3 The introduction of the very first participant

The very first participant mentioned in a Godié narrative is typically introduced as a point of departure, with the thematic pronoun referring to it in the following clause with argument focus.\(^4\) This structure occurs independently of the role played by the participant in the subsequent narrative and also of its cognitive status as identifiable or unidentifiable (that is, brand new). It is thus used for major participants, as in example (118a), and for minor participants, as in (118b), (118c), and (118d). In the last three examples the first participant introduced soon disappears again from the scene and does not reappear in the rest of the narrative. In example (118c) the first participant is identifiable, while the other examples illustrate the introduction of a brand new participant.

(118)  a. nyɪkpɔ -bhlogbe ɔmɔ mii- lä
person one_single 3S:TH be_able:CP LOP
‘A certain man, he had come (lit. been able)

\(^4\)Marchese (1986c:242f) notes this structure and its function in introducing participants, though she does not point out that it occurs only with the first participant in a narrative.
5.1 Linguistic forms used for the introduction of participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cognitive status</th>
<th>Role in narrative</th>
<th>Brand new participant</th>
<th>Identifiable participant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(nyíkpo -bhloge ‘a certain person’)</td>
<td>(nominal phrase or proper name)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local minor role</td>
<td>clause with predicate focus—example (110)</td>
<td>clause with predicate focus—examples (115) and (116)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local key role</td>
<td>left-dislocated as PoD, followed by a clause with predicate focus—example (111)</td>
<td>left-dislocated as PoD, followed by a clause with global focus—example (117)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Global major role (protagonist)</td>
<td>event-reporting clause—example (115)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very first participant</td>
<td>left-dislocated as PoD, followed by a clause with marked argument focus structure—examples (118a), (118b), and (118d)</td>
<td>left-dislocated as PoD, followed by a clause with marked argument focus structure—example (118c)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2 Tracking of participants

Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:112) name three different tasks of the linguistic forms for participant tracking in a given language:

- at the semantic level, they need to identify the referents unambiguously, distinguishing them from other possible referents
- at the pragmatic level, they need to signal the activation status and prominence of the referents or of their actions
- at the text-processing level, they need to help overcome disruptions in the flow of information.

Givón’s iconicity principle provides a way to predict the forms which will be used to refer to the participants in a narrative. The principle states that “the more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is, the more coding material must be assigned to it” (Givón 1983:18). In the description below of the different ways that are used for participant tracking, a distinction will be made between default forms and marked forms. For marked forms, an attempt will be made to explain the motivation for their use. As will be shown, in order to determine whether a given form is a marked reference or an unmarked one, the activation status of the participant concerned—whether active, inactive, or semi-active—needs to be taken into account (see the introduction to chapter 4 above).

In contrast to the ways of introducing identifiable participants (see §5.1.2), the role of participants in the narrative as a whole, whether major or minor, does not appear to determine the forms used for tracking them. Rather, it is the role of the participant at a certain point in the narrative that matters. The important consideration is whether it is a thematic participant at that point or not.

5.2.1 Default tracking of participants

The default, or unmarked, form for tracking a participant is the basic form of reference in a given context. According to Runge (2010:185) it is “the option used when the writer chooses not to signal the presence of some qualitative feature.” For the analyst, the presence of a default form thus requires no explanation of the motivation for its use.
5.2.1.1 Active participants

For tracking an active participant, the default form is the simple pronoun. The active participant may be one that was mentioned in the preceding clause (see §5.1.2.2), as in example (119a), or in a preceding point of departure, as in (119b).^5

(119) a. zikää’ ’y trovare ’ku nā ’ngwadi mu ylä
today:GEN day:DEF on sp1 lad go:ICP now:LOP
‘Now one day (lit. on the day of today) a lad was coming along,
č bhe čč kazo
3S hold:ICP 3S:GEN raffia_washcloth
he had with him (lit. was holding) his raffia washcloth.’ [kazo 15–17]

b. tere -a bást -yā -a ttiā
first 1P father:PL ADD2 1P forefathers
‘In former times, our fathers and forefathers,
’kazo’ wa budo wā
raffia_washcloth:PL:OBL 3P wash:ICP PST3
it was with raffia washcloths that they used to wash themselves.’ [kazo 18–19]

5.2.1.2 Reactivation of participants: The definite noun phrase

If a participant has already been introduced but hasn’t been mentioned in the immediate context, it is no longer in active status according to Godié information management (see end of §4.1.1). In order to reactivate such a participant, a full noun phrase with the definite marker is used. This is illustrated in example (120), where the “Fanti people” were last referred to four clauses earlier.

(120) wa yiu waa go’лю ’mō ’ŋʋ ɩɩ’ yi
3P XFUT:NH3 3P:GEN canoe:DEF inside put NHP:XNEG no:longer
‘... they (=the two Neyo men) put it (=the fishing net) into their canoe.
’mō -t’lmō ’n t Fândönya yi yi
VPC be_far:CP ADD1 Fanti_people:DEF XFUT come
Before long the Fanti came (lit. it was not far anymore, then the Fanti people came).’
[neyo 6.5–7.2]

5.2.2 Marked tracking of participants

Unlike unmarked forms, by which an author does not signal anything special beyond the fact of referring unambiguously to a referent, marked forms of participant tracking have an additional discourse function or pragmatic effect.

Most cases of marked tracking of participants in Godié concern active referents. On the basis of the linguistic elements used by the narrator, three types of marked tracking can be distinguished: marked tracking by a full noun phrase (§5.2.2.1), marked tracking by the thematic pronoun (§5.2.2.2), and marked tracking by the simple pronoun (§5.2.2.3).

^5As Marchese (1986b:166) points out, this applies only to human participants. Objects, especially ones of minor importance in the context, are not pronominalized, even if they have active status.
5.2.2.1  *Marked tracking of active participants by a full noun phrase*

Given that the default, or unmarked, reference for tracking an active participant is the simple pronoun, a full noun phrase is a marked way of referring to an active participant. Such a noun phrase carries either the definite marker (DEF), as in (121a), or the demonstrative marker (DEM), as in (121b) (see §2.3). Note that the noun phrase with the demonstrative marker is left-dislocated as a point of departure.

(121)  a.  'nɩ ɔ yie  yi  'kpɔtɔ nyëbluo
      ADD1 3S XFUT:NH2 VPC tear_out lad:DEF
      ‘… he (= the young man) tore it (= the fish-hook) out. The young man
      'tlänyɩ -aaa 'nɩ ɔ yi  'nyügbë  'ku  gëë
      try:ICP until ADD1 3S XFUT beach on arrive
      succeeded in reaching (lit. tried until he reached) the beach.’ [neyo 30.2–31.2]

   b.  gɔlʋnʋ  umuc- tʋɔ- lā
      canoe:DEM NH3:TH:REL cross:3S:CP LOP
      ‘That canoe was the one that took him across
      'nɩ ɔ yi  lā  mu -amù -mā
      ADD1 3S XFUT LOP go 1:S:TH ADD4
      and he went. As for me…’ [greve 59–61]

A noun phrase with a demonstrative marker may also include a recapitulative relative clause (see §4.4), as in example (122).

(122)  tʋnu  i vē  lā nā
      war:DEM 3P fight:ICP LOP SP1
      ‘This war they were fighting…’ [dacligo 8]

When a full noun phrase is used to track active participants, this alerts the hearer to the fact that the narrative is entering a new phase. For example, in (121a) above, the narrator has just finished telling how one of the young Neyo fishers managed to escape the attempts of the Fanti fishers to kill him in the water. The second clause with the full noun phrase talks about the fact that he succeeded in reaching the beach, after which he went to the police to report the incident. This clause marks the transition between two episodes of the narrative.

Likewise, the sentence in (121b) constitutes the dénouement and final situation of a short embedded narrative that is not part of the theme line but provides a convincing argument supporting the main purpose of the narrative. The following sentence returns to the theme line of the narrative. Finally, the full noun phrase in example (122) opens a paragraph that gives background information about the active referent to ‘war’. In example (122) the full noun phrase begins a paragraph that gives background information about the active referent to ‘war’.

Full noun phrases thus occur at transition points in the narrative and they typically co-occur with other structuring devices (see §9.2) For example, in (167b) the noun phrase co-occurs with a connective and tail-head linkage.

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6Any narrative has an underlying coherence structure with different phases (the optional ones are in brackets): (introduction), initial situation, complication, (reaction), (climax), dénouement, final situation, and (moral). See table 9.1 in chapter 9.
Whenever active participants are referred to by something other than a simple pronoun, this is a marked way of tracking them. The shortest form of marked tracking is the thematic pronoun alone, as in example (123a). However, there are also heavier types of referencing, using more linguistic material. In examples (123b) to (123d) a definite noun phrase is added to the thematic pronoun while in (123e) a demonstrative noun phrase is added.

(123) a. wamä -mā, waa’ -wɔ -buā
HP:TH ADD4 3P:XNEG CNT2 be_slow:CP
‘Now as for them, they were not slow (to act).’ [neyo 45.1]

b. -mā ɔmɔ nyuŋpɔ nā ɔ plō̃- a nyʊkpa kädɔ
SP2 3S:TH person:DEF 3S BE2:CP PST2 person big
‘Now that same man, he was an important man.’ [filsprod 3–4]

c. ɔmɔ Pelɔ nā ɔ -glö Guduyu
3S:TH priest:DEF 3S BE3 Gudu:child
‘That priest, he is a member of the Gudu clan (lit. a Gudu child).’ [neyo 52]

d. uمو -kɔɔkhɛlɛ, uMo- -gää lä ’kɔɔkɔ ‘yiku
NH3:TH Rooster 3:TH go_ahead:CP LOP always ahead
‘That same Rooster, it was he who always walked ahead.’ [kokoleko 87]

e. nā uMo goleŋu, ʋ pio kpäŋyɪ ’nɪ ʋ -zi ’ko
SP1 NH3:TH canoe:DEM NH3 hurry:ICP much ADD1 NH3 overtake:CP VPC
‘So that same canoe, it was very fast and it outstripped
‘gokpùü -a plä bhlä -zä nā
boat:PL:DEF 1P enter:ICP PST1:LOP usually SP1
the boats we usually took.’ [greve 27–29]

All these structures for marked tracking are examples of a left-dislocated referential point of departure—which itself is a marked use of this type of point of departure (see §4.2.2). Their pragmatic effect is to highlight the background information of the subsequent clause. Other devices for highlighting key information in the narrative often co-occur with these structures, as illustrated in example (124). Here the marked participant tracking is preceded by an elaborate situational point of departure (see §4.2.1). The information highlighted by the two preceding PoDs constitutes the climax of the narrative.

(124) ɪɪ ṅnɔ ˈmnɔ nā ‘gokpùŋykpa’ ˈmnɔ
NHP:GEN name inside SP1 boat_people:DEF:GEN inside
‘That is why the boat people
’nöwa -wɔ memɛ-
XNEG:3P CNT2 be_sweet:PRC:CP
were not happy.

nā -zɪkäɪ’ ˈyɛʊʊ -ʋ plō̃- lä ’sɔyɛʊʊ ‘kʊ nā
SP1 today:DEM day:DEF NH3:REL BE2:CP LOP Tuesday:DEM on SP1
So today, which is this Tuesday,
This example again illustrates Givón’s iconicity principle, according to which features of linguistic form reflect features of meaning. In this case the huge amount of linguistic material preceding the highlighted information in the last clause reflects the importance of that information, being the climax of the narrative.

5.2.2.3  Marked tracking of reactivated participants by a simple pronoun

The simple pronoun is by default used to refer to an active participant (see §4.2.2.3). Therefore, if a simple pronoun is used to reactivate a participant that is no longer active, the reference is marked, meaning that the author is signalling to the hearer to look for additional meaning. The pragmatic effect of this type of marked tracking is to indicate the major role in the narrative of the participant(s) in question.

Example (125) follows an author’s comment of three sentences, where the major participant was not mentioned. The participant is reactivated with the simple pronoun.

(125) ɔ mʋ yì 'nyibhlëa ƙv ŋëë -kä nä ɔ bheɛ- 'boo
3S go:ICP now river:DEF on arrive PUR SP1 3S carry:CP basin
‘As he was now heading towards the river (lit. he was now going in order to arrive at the river), he was carrying a wash basin.’ [kazo 22–23]

In terms of text-processing, example (126) is a little more complicated than example (125), since the reference by the plural pronoun wa is by default first interpreted as referring to the “Fanti people” as the active referents. As the following information about the action of the referents is processed, however, the default interpretation of the pronoun wa must be abandoned by the hearer, because it doesn’t make sense. The hearer then picks as referents the Neyo men, whom he already knows as the major participants of the narrative.

(126) wì mwa -mő læ ná Fàdłyvà pää-
EVD 3P go:CP LOP SP1 Fanti:people throw:CP
‘It is reported that as they (=the two Neyo men) went, Fanti people had thrown
waa 'pilo jìe' wa niu- læ 'yi nà
3P:GEN net ocean:OBL 3P see:NH3:CP LOP VC (eyes) SP1
their net into the ocean. When they (=the two Neyo men) saw it,

kwa -sùù 'nyìe'
ASF:3P take-away:NH3:CP water:OBL
they took it out of the water … ’ [neyo 6.1–6.4]
6 Represented speech

This chapter looks at the subject of represented speech in Godié. Rather than the traditional term reported speech, the term represented speech is preferred in this study. There are several reasons for this. First, unlike the term reported speech, the term represented speech does not suggest that the speech referred to has already taken place and is therefore “reported.” Indeed, in many languages, speech that has not yet been produced but that the speaker anticipates will be, or might be, produced is expressed in the same way as speech that has been produced, as is the speaker’s own or someone else’s unexpressed thought (e.g., “Isn’t that smart?” he/I thought’).

Second, the term represented speech is a constant reminder of the fact that the speech referred to is not a reproduction but rather a representation of an actual or potential utterance, most frequently by someone other than the speaker.1

Third, emphasizing the fact that represented speech is of an interpretive (rather than a descriptive) nature also allows us to account better for the different types of represented speech. Indeed, the different speech types can now be viewed as the fact that the speaker is claiming different degrees of resemblance with the original speech, “direct” speech claiming a higher degree of resemblance than “indirect” speech.

Fourth, the notion of represented speech can accommodate phenomena that do not normally fit in the category of reported speech. For example, many languages express mental states (such as belief, desire, intention, and volition) as representations of speech. For example, a thought like “he wants to go” is expressed as something like “he says he will go.” Such states may even be ascribed to inanimate objects, as is the case in Godié, where the idea that a tree is about to fall can be encoded as “the tree says it will fall.”

Finally, the notion of represented speech also includes instances where the speech is not formulated but where only the illocutionary force of the speech event is given, such as when the verb accuse, reproach, or refuse is mentioned. Indeed, even though only the speech event is referred to in these instances, these are clearly ways of representing speech.2

6.1 Formal features of represented speech

The two usual types of represented speech or thought, namely direct and indirect speech, are found in Godié.

6.1.1 Direct speech

With direct speech all deictic elements of the original speech are retained, namely the so-called speech pronouns (I, we, you) as well as all deictic elements, including determiners (e.g., this, that); spatial adverbs (e.g., here, over there); and time adverbs relating to the moment of speech (e.g., yesterday, tomorrow).

Direct speech in Godié is often introduced by an address term, such as “my friend”, as in example (127a); by an exclamation, as in (127b); or by the uptake element -aa ‘UPT’, as in (127c).3

(127) a. a lä ˈnɔɔ [sese] ˈbhlɩ ˈkʋ n bha nā [sese] ˈHe (=Gopleu) said, “My friend, it is from afar that I am coming,

1It is thus a case of what is called “interpretive use” in Relevance Theory (see Sperber and Wilson 1995; Blass 1990; and Blakemore 1992).
2This study will not deal further with these non-formulated types of represented speech, although something about their function will be said in §6.3.
3Note that in writing, direct speech begins with a capital letter following the comma that separates the speech margin (see §6.2) from the represented speech. Quotation marks are not used in Godié because of the tone signs.
n yä sìä [sese]
1S XPER be:tired NUPT
I am tired.’’ [sigo 54–55]

b. dunyua lä ɔ a po -wu ’nyukwli
village:people say EXCL1 2P listen CNT2 VC (ears)
‘The villagers said, “Oh, listen!”’ [lueuzi 64]

c. Dacligo lä -aa n yi wälti ’kv ’bhlü
Dacligo say UPT 1S XFUT matter:DEF VPC take
Dacligo said, “Alright, I’ll take the matter upon me.”’ [dacligo 18]

Direct speech can also occur within direct speech in Godié, as in example (128).4

(128) ɔ lä […] -amɔ ’naa ’yii ñwee -kä ’kv
3S say 1S:TH 1S:GEN eyes:DEF be_closed:CP CLU3 VPC
‘He said, “[…] As for me, (you know that) my eyes are closed

’nì nn’ nii- -kä sā [-kpazehlek]u
ADD1 1S:XNEG see:CP CLU3 VPC NUPT
and I cannot see,

’nì -n sonöö -mā -n ñwe ’yi ’kv [-kpazehlek]u
ADD1 2S speak:APL:1SO:ICP ADD4 2S close eyes VPC NUPT
and you are saying to me, ‘Close your eyes!’’’ [sigo 137–140]

6.1.2 Indirect speech

With indirect speech the speech pronouns (I, you, we) are absent, as the speaker and hearer of the represented speech are referred to by third person pronouns. Deictic time and space adverbs (today, here) are not found either but are replaced by non-deictic elements, such as ‘that day’ in example (129).

(129) pelɔ lä5 ɔ -kv -lɔɔ -aaa […]
priest:DEF say 3S BE1:CP there a_long_time
‘The priest said he was around a long time…..

-lɔɔ ’yłʊ ’kv, ɔc -wu dēdū -lū
there:GEN day:DEF on 3S:XNEG CNT2 lunch eat:CP
That day (he said) he hadn’t eaten lunch.’ [neyo 64.1–64.3]

As for represented open questions, they have the same linguistic form in indirect speech and in direct speech, as the question particle bhä is present in both. Therefore, unless the stretch of represented speech contains deictic elements, it is impossible to determine on a formal basis whether the represented question is direct or indirect, as illustrated in example (130).

4There may be restrictions on which utterances can occur as direct speech within another direct speech but this needs more study.
5In written form indirect speech begins after the speech margin without a comma and without a capital letter.
In Godié, indirect speech seems to be the default format for representing speech that expresses a desire, as in example (131a), or an answer to a request, especially a negative answer, as in examples (131b) and (131c). The marked form would be direct speech in those cases. Compare (131) with (127c) where the acceptance of a request is expressed with direct speech. Other than this example, such marked examples of direct speech have not been found in the database for this study.

(131) a. waa ducifio 'titi, c lä c 'kä 'nyie 'ço
   3P:GEN village:chief:DEF self 3S say 3S XPOT lagoon cross
   ‘Their village chief himself, he wanted to cross the lagoon (lit. he said he was going to cross the lagoon).’ [grève 50–51]

b. wamä gokpütienyʋa, wlä waa' nu -wu lebhe
   ‘... those same boatmen, they said they are not working ...’ [grève 33–34]

c. númnüü -left un, wlä waa' ylä -wu
   bird:PL:DEF totality 3P:say 3P:XNEG want CNT2
   ‘All the birds, they said they were not willing (lit. they said they didn’t want).’ [dacligo 17]

6.2 Speech margins

A speech margin is a linguistic element indicating that represented speech follows. Speech margins are obligatory in Godié and are the same for both direct and indirect speech. Since they always precede the represented speech, they can also be called speech introducers. Whenever a speech margin also indicates who speaks to whom, it is not only a speech introducer but also a speech orienter (see Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:50).

Gоди speech margins may be more or less elaborate. The normal and most simple speech margin is the invariable verb lä ‘say’, spelled nä after the nasal pronouns n ‘1S’ and -n ‘2S’, and amalgamated with the third person plural wä into the form wlä.

The speech margin lä may introduce only one represented speech element, such as an exclamation or an uptake element, as in example (132a), or it may be preceded by a verb specifying the verbal expression, as in (132b).

(132) a. n nä -aa
   1S say UPT
   ‘I said, “I see.”’ [greve 71]

b. c woo c lä ‘nää ‘yuo
   3S cry 3S say 1S:GEN child
   ‘He screamed saying, “My child...”’ [filsprod 117–119]

Marchese (pers.comm.) claims there is a lot of Godié represented speech without speech margin. However, this is not confirmed by the data for this study.
The speech margin lä followed by a clause containing the potential auxiliary 'kä expresses will or intention, as in example (133).

(133) waa ducifio 'titi, c lä c 'kä 'nyie 'ćč c
3P:GEN village:chief:DEF self 3S say 3S XPO T lagoon cross
‘Their village chief himself, he wanted to cross the lagoon (lit. he said he was going to cross the lagoon).’ [greve 50–51]

The default speech margin lä is a speech introducer but not a speech orienter. Whenever the speaker wants to indicate who speaks to whom, he needs to use the verb soo ‘to speak to’, followed by the spacer nynä ‘SP2’ (see §7.2), as in example (134).

(134) kä -Laagozuzu -sonöö lä nynä
ASF God:spirit:DEF speak:APL:3S:CP LOP SP2
‘God’s angel said to him,
-nn -lä yi -zikä 'mu -sää
2S:XNEG DP2 anymore today VPC have:speech
“As of today you will no longer be able to speak.”’ [elisabet 39–40]

Given that in most contexts it is clear who speaks to whom, a speech margin different from, or in addition to, the default element lä can be considered a means of drawing special attention to and thus highlighting the following speech. Such more complex speech introducers in Godié are therefore considered marked speech margins.

The default speech margin lä is the normal link between the turns of the different speakers in a represented conversation, as shown in example (135).

(135) a lä -amũ Gopleũ [sese]
NH1 say 1S:TH Gopleu NUPT
‘He (=Gopleu) said, “It’s me, Gopleu.”
c lä -a ’nɔɔ -ayiokä [sese]
3S say UPT my_friend thank_you NUPT
He (=Sigo) said, “Oh, my friend, hello.”
a lä ’nɔɔ [sese] bhũ ’ku n bha nã [sese]
NH1 say my_friend NUPT region on 1S leave:ICP SP1 NUPT
He (=Gopleu) said, “My friend, I have come a long way …”’ [sigo 52–54]

6.3 Functions of represented speech in narrative

Direct speech is the default type of represented speech in Godié narrative. It is found with all represented speech along the main event line of the narrative, produced by main and minor characters alike.

Direct speech is used in initial speech, such as questions and orders, as well as in brief response moves, such as a brief uptake (UPT) in agreement or acceptance, as with the second sentence in example (136a). Indirect speech is preferred for negative responses in dialogue, as illustrated by the first sentence in (136a), as well as by (136b).

(136) a. númnüü -left1n wlä waa’ ylä -wu
bird:PL:DEF totality 3P:say 3P:XNEG want CNT2
‘All the birds, they refused (lit. they said they were not willing).
Dacligo said, “Alright, I'll take the matter upon me.” [dacligo 17–18]

b. kɔ -mö ɔ ’bäi soo -kä
ASF:3S go:CP 3S father:PL speak PUR
‘... he went to tell his elders,

-mä wa ’nut -wu -nvawle laa-
ADD4 3P XNEG:NHP CNT2 truth call:CP
but they did not believe it (lit. they did not call it truth).’ [neyo 37.2–3]
7 Spacers

Spacers signal that the information expressed by the material that follows is to be distinguished from the information that precedes.¹ In terms of an instruction for the hearer, the function of spacers is primarily an instruction for segmentation of the speech flow, rather than an instruction for interpretation, as is the case with connectives (discussed in chapter 8).

Two linguistic elements in Godié function exclusively as spacers: ná ‘SP1’ and nyná ‘SP2’. Other elements may act as spacers in addition to their intrinsic function. This is the case, for example, with the relative pronoun when it is attached to a subject constituent in focus (see §4.1.2), and especially with the additive connective -mä ‘ADD4’ (see §8.1.4).²

7.1 The spacer ná ‘SP1’

The spacer ná is the default spacer in Godié. Within a given string of speech, ná signals a distinction between speech material at three different levels: (1) between different syntactic levels; (2) between different sentence-pragmatic levels; and (3) between different levels of information.

First, the spacer ná signals a distinction between different syntactic levels, such as between the clause and phrase level. This is true for instance in its position at the end of a relative clause, as is the case in example (137). Here the spacer ná occurs within the verb brace (see §3.1.2) between the two elements of the complex verb -zi ‘kvé exceed’. Coming at the end of the relative clause, it indicates the distinction between the verb phrase and the clause levels. This use of the spacer is practically grammaticalized.

(137) ʋ -zi 'gokpü -a plä bhlä -zä ná 'kvé

Second, the spacer ná signals a distinction between different sentence-pragmatic levels, such as between a point of departure and the following clause, as is the case in example (138).

(138) ɔmɔ pɛlɩɔ ná ɔ -glö Guduyu

Third, the spacer ná signals a distinction between different levels of information, such as between background and foreground information, as in example (139a) or between a condition and the result, as in example (139b). With a series of subordinate clauses the spacer ná normally occurs only after the last one, before the syntactic level changes from subordinate to main level, as shown in example (139b).³

¹They thus play a role in the management of information and could therefore also have been discussed in chapter 4 above. However, as they also take functions of pragmatic connectives, we have preferred to deal with them in a separate chapter following the chapter on connectives.

²Connectives that are placed between connected linguistic material could also be said to act as spacers, which would make the distinction between connectives and spacers meaningless. It would then seem better to reunite them all under the traditional heading of conjunctions. Incidentally, especially the connectives -mä and -mää, could be treated either as spacers or as additive connectives. However, as it seemed possible to attribute a specific instruction for interpretation to them, it was decided to treat them as connectives rather than as spacers. It is quite plausible that they started out as spacers and then became additives as a specific instruction for interpretation became attached to them. This could be argued to be presently happening to the spacer nyná, which appears to have an instruction to treat the following material as the content of the preceding verb. It could then be considered as an additive connective for the specific context of represented speech.

³The presence of ná after a clause in the middle of the series would probably imply special insistence.
a. ɔ -nyoto -nu -gbɔtv nā 3S husband make:CP bamboo_bed sp1 'Her husband had built a bed out of bamboo,

-gbɔtv 'kv wa pu sā [sese] bamboo_bed:DEF on 3P lie:ICP VPC NUPT
so it was on the bed out of bamboo that they were lying down.' [lueuzi 34–35]

b. -mā a kā 'pepehā -gāma 'nt a kā ADD4 2P XCND a little have_fun ADD1 2P XCND 'But if you have a little fun and then you go to lie down,
sā pu -kā -mu nā [k zupełnie] -n yā ṭwɔ VPC lie_down PUR go:CP SP1 NUPT 2S XPER sleep
you sleep (lit. have slept).’ [siamo 73–75]

While in the first two uses mentioned above the spacer nā is followed by a pause, reflected in
writing by a comma, in the third use it can be preceded by a pause, especially if the background
information takes more than one clause, as in example (140).4 In this use, the spacer also receives more
voice volume. In writing, this is reflected by the position of nā at the beginning of a new sentence that
gives the foreground information.5

(140) a. 11 ŋnō mnō nā 'gokpünýkpaa' 'mnō 'nōwa -wv memā-
CLU2 SP1 boat_people:GEN inside XNEG:3P CNT2 be_sweet:PRC:CP
'It was because of that that the boat people were not happy (lit. their inside didn’t make
them sweet).

nā -zükā́ 'ylvɔ -v plöö- lā 'sɔylvɔ 'kv nā
SP1 today:GEN day:DEF NH3:REL BE2:CP LOP Tuesday:DEM on SP1
So today, which is this Tuesday,

wamā 'gokpütiényva wḷa waa’ nū -wv lebhe
3P:TH boat_lead:AG:PL:DEF 3P:say 3P:XNEG do CNT2 work
those same boat captains said they are not working.’ [greve 30–34]

b. wḷa 'ylvɔbā kā cii- a kā yi nā EVD (new)year XCND speak:CP NH1 XPOT come SP1
'It is reported that when New Year is going to (lit. says it will) come up,

kā Fādenyua bhlá nykɔp ‘nt wa bubɔ jiee
ASF Fanti_people:DEF kill:ICP person ADD1 3P sacrifice ocean:DEF
the Fanti kill someone and they make a sacrifice to the ocean.

ŋnō Jūba kā jie ‘klv -mō nā kā wa too -mɔɔ
SP1 Neyo:DEF XCND ocean surface go:CP SP1 ASF 3P stay LOC
So when Neyo people go out on the ocean (to fish), they don’t come back (lit. they stay
there).’ [neyo 33.1–6]

4The pause is absent if the spacer occurs within the verb brace, as in example (140).
5This is a choice that the transcriber made spontaneously and which has now been adopted in writing the language.
Also see clauses 24, 27, and 32 in the text “greve” in the text collection.
The spacer *nā* seems to have no semantic content and is therefore never translated, except in the third use, where it tends to be rendered by “thus” or “so,” as illustrated in the preceding examples.\(^6\) However, it is homophonous with the non-human singular *nā* of the demonstrative (see §2.2). Indeed, nominals provided with a demonstrative marker normally refer to established referents. Likewise, information separated from what follows by the spacer *nā* is invariably established information. This is true even for its occurrence at the end of the relative clause, as relative clauses in Godié can only convey established information (see §4.4). It seems therefore plausible that the spacer *nā* in Godié has derived from the non-human demonstrative *nā*.\(^7\)

In example (141) there are two occurrences of the spacer *nā* side by side. Interestingly enough, the second instance was glossed by the transcriber as “therefore.”\(^8\)

\[(141) \text{-mā -num -t -kų lā -lānomu nā} \]

\[\text{ADD4 these things NHP:REL BE1:CP LOP at this place SP1} \]

'Since these things that are in this place, they are rotten,

\[\text{yā 'ze nā yā 'ze nā n 'kā- 'yigāda dā 'nū} \]

XPER be_rotten SP1 XPER be_rotten SP1 1S XPOT:2SO other place put therefore I shall put you in a better place.' [sigo 365–367]

Example (142) illustrates all three uses of the spacer *nā*: the sentence-pragmatic use, the discourse-pragmatic use, and the grammaticalized use, in that order. Moreover, this example shows the use of the additive connective *-mā ‘ADD4’* as a spacer.

\[(142) \text{pēlɔ -mā c -kų bhā 'sī -lcc} \]

\[\text{priest:DEF ADD4 3S BE1:CP PST1 ADD3 there} \]

'Now the priest, he was also there.'

\[\text{ɔmɔ pēlɔ nā c -glō Guduyu} \]

\[3S:TH priest:DEF SP1 3S BE3 Gudu:child} \]

That priest, he is a member of the Gudu clan (lit. he is a Gudu child).

\[\text{nā dā ŋwmi nii- lā gboyloo 'yi nā} \]

\[\text{SP1 when woman:PL:DEF see LOP smoke:DEF VC (eyes) SP1} \]

So when the women saw the smoke,

\[\text{kā waa nēeddē' lcc -bhlo -mōc soo -kā} \]

\[\text{ASF 3P:GEN midst:OBL IPF one go:3S:CP speak PUR} \]

one from among them went to tell him …' [neyo 51–53.2]

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\(^6\)These translations do not mean, however, that in this context *nā* is a conclusive connective (see §8.3). Rather, the causal meaning is only a contextual effect, which is produced by the interpretation as a causal relationship between the two chunks of information given in the clause(s) preceding and following the spacer.

\(^7\)In German, the demonstrative neuter definite article and demonstrative pronoun *das* and the spacer *dass* are also homophonous and are related in the same way, as Lambrecht (1994:78) points out, reminding us of the well known fact “that in many languages the morpheme used as an identifiability marker, e.g., the definite article or a demonstrative determiner, is the same as, or is at least historically related to, the subordinating morpheme used to introduce a nominalized sentence”.

\(^8\)The original gloss in French is the conclusive connective *donc*. 
7.2 The spacer *nynä* ‘SP2’

The spacer *nynä* occurs between a verb of saying, thinking, feeling, desire, knowledge, or evaluation and a completive clause. It instructs the hearer to interpret what follows as the content of a thought, as in example (143a), an evaluation, as in (143b), or a represented speech, as in (143c) and (143d), depending on the lexical meaning of the preceding verb.

(143) a. n -luë bhlä *nynä* c kuu- bhlä
   1s think_falsely:CP PST1:LOP SP2 3s die:CP PST1:LOP
   ‘I had thought that he had died.’ [filsprod 122–123]

b. ɩ -ŋwa ‘kʋ *nynä* n ‘pä yi -a ’bhunünü
   NHP be_suitable:CP CV SP2 1s throw now 1p home:stories
   ‘... it is a good thing that I now tell our own stories ... ’ [sigo 21]

c. kä -Laagɔzuzuu -sonöɔ lä
   ASF God:spirit:DEF speak:APL 3s 1s speak
   ‘God’s angel said to him,
   *nynä* -nn -lä yu -zikä ’mu -sää
   SP2 2s:NEG DP2 anymore today VPC speak
   “As of today you will no longer be able to speak.”’ [elisabet 39–40]

d. ’nɪ -Laagɔzuzuu -sonöɔ bhä ’sɪt
   ADD1 God:spirit:DEF speak:APL 3s 1s speak
   ‘Then an angel from God had spoken to her, too, saying
   *nynä* c yi bhä ’sɪt yi gää
   SP2 3s XFUT PST ADD3 child procreate:AP
   that she also would give birth to a child.’ [elisabet 55–56]

The spacer *nynä* can be combined with the additive -mä ‘ADD4’ (see §8.1.4), as in example (144).

(144) -aa -wʋ cii- *nynä* -mä -a ’gu nyima
   1p:XNEG CNT2 say:CP SP2 ADD4 1p XPOT:NH3 ruin
   ‘We did not want to (lit. we did not say we would) destroy it,
   -mä -a ’gu -anyia ’cifio yëku fä
   ADD4 1p XPOT:NH3 1p:GEN chief:DEF beside send
   rather we are going to send it to your chief.’ [neyo 14.2–14.4]

In example (145) the speech verb is implied.

(145) -n yä’ä ’ylʋ -bhlogbe mne ’nyɛ
   2s XPER:1SO day one_single animal give
   ‘Have you ever given me an animal
   *nynä* n -yä ’naa nagwɩä ’kä lụ -a
   SP2 1s ADD2 1s:GEN friend:PL XPOT eat Q
   (telling me) I could eat with my friends?’ [filsprod 256–257]

9It could therefore also be considered as a complementizer (see Schachter 1985:50). As for its form, it seems plausible to consider it as a coalescence of the connective ‘n ‘ADD1’ (see §8.1.1) and the speech margin lä (see §6.2).
8 Pragmatic connectives

The world’s languages can be divided into two groups, as far as connectives are concerned. In one group, clauses are normally conjoined without a connective and in the other group they are normally conjoined with a connective. In the latter group, the connective that occurs most frequently may be called the default connective.

Godié belongs to the former group of languages where clauses are normally conjoined without a connective. This means that the presence of a connective is significant and needs to be seen as the marked way of conjoining discourse units in Godié.

A pragmatic connective is a linguistic marker whose function is to specify the way in which information expressed in clauses or sentences—and sometimes in larger groupings—is to be connected. The category of pragmatic connectives according to this definition, therefore, not only comprises the elements that have traditionally been called coordinating or subordinating conjunctions, but it also includes a variety of other grammatical categories, such as adverbs (e.g., ‘also’, ‘even’, ‘indeed’ in English), adverbial expressions (e.g., ‘after all’), and particles.

Pragmatic connectives do not contribute to the semantic content of the connected items; rather, they facilitate the interpretation process for the hearer by helping to economise on processing effort and thus decreasing the risk of misunderstanding.

Some connectives explicitly refer to the discourse context by some anaphoric item such as ‘that’ (e.g., ‘after that’ or ‘because of that’), thus specifying in their conceptual meaning in which way what follows is to be connected to what precedes. Their function is similar to that of situational points of departure (see §4.3). It is therefore not surprising that some connectives in fact derive from points of departure and can still be analysed as such. Most connectives, however, do not encode any kind of conceptual meaning. Rather, their lexical meaning is of a procedural nature in that it consists of a single and general instruction or constraint for interpretation. Connectives are therefore most adequately described by making this instruction explicit.

What Levinsohn (2000:69) says about conjunctions is certainly true for all pragmatic connectives:

When a reader encounters a conjunction in a text, the conjunction always constrains him or her to relate what follows to the context in the same way. The different senses that grammarians identify are produced by the same constraint being applied in different contexts. [emphasis in original]

Different possible translations of a connective in different contexts thus reflect these different contexts, rather than different “meanings” of the connective in question.

The claim that the meaning of a connective can be expressed in one single general instruction for interpretation is a fairly strong one to make, especially given that the description of a conjunction, for instance, has traditionally aimed at describing the different “meanings” of the element in different contexts. In this study, however, such “meanings” are considered contextual effects, being constructed by the hearer in the various contexts on the basis of the general instruction for interpretation given by the connective.

The instruction for interpretation given by a connective applies to its occurrence in both narrative and non-narrative material. The description of Godié connectives in this chapter will therefore not only draw on narrative texts for the examples, as in the other chapters, but also use examples drawn from non-narrative material. On the basis of the type of instruction given by a connective, the following three types of connectives will be distinguished here: additive connectives, countering connectives, and conclusive connectives. The following three major sections describe these three types of connectives in Godié.

[1]In terms of Relevance Theory, connectives thus guide the hearer’s search for optimal relevance (see Blass 1990:126f.).
8.1 Additive connectives

The procedural meaning of additive connectives consists in inviting the hearer to treat the information of an utterance as an addition to other information.

The following five additives can be distinguished in Godié:

- 'nɩ ‘ADD1’, normally translated into English as ‘and’ or ‘then’
- -yä ‘ADD2’ with its variants -ya and tyä, all of which are translated as ‘and’ but may also be translated as ‘so that’
- 'st ‘ADD3’, which is commonly translated as ‘also’
- -mä ‘ADD4’, often translated as ‘but’, ‘however’, ‘now’
- -mää ‘ADD5’, also translated as ‘but’, ‘however’, ‘now’

The general instruction for interpretation that is common to all additives can be formulated as follows:

- Treat the information added in the clause after the additive connective as an addition to already established information.

The instruction for each of the different additive connectives specifies in which way exactly the information is to be added to the context. The five additive connectives are described in more detail below.

8.1.1 The additive connective ‘nɩ ‘ADD1’

The additive connective ‘nɩ is the most frequent connective in Godié. Information connected by way of the additive ‘nɩ is to be seen as very closely related. That is certainly why among the five additive connectives ‘nɩ is the one with the shortest scope inasmuch as it connects only the information of noun phrases and clauses, not of larger discourse units such as sentences or paragraphs. The instruction for interpretation given by the additive ‘nɩ can be formulated as follows:

- Consider the two pieces of information connected by ‘nɩ as very closely related.

The connective ‘nɩ is used for connecting event information, as in examples (146a) and (146b), as well as non-event information, as in (146c-e). The events can be successive, as in (146a), or simultaneous, as in (146b).2

(146)

a. 3s go:CP ADD1 3s ask:CP 3s friend one canoe
   ‘... he went to ask (lit. and he asked) one of his friends for a canoe.’ [greve 57–58]

b. LOC kapok:DEF on_top 3s BE1 ADD1 3s cry:ICP
   ‘there he was sitting on top of the kapok tree crying (lit. and he was crying).’ [sigo 193–194]

c. 3s:TH ADD4 3s BE2:CP now:LOP man
   ‘Now he, he was a man

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2The English translation in (147a) by an infinitive construction shows the close relationship of the actions ‘go’ and ‘ask’. Likewise, in (147b) the English translation of the second event as a participle signals its close connection to the first event.
and he knew how to swim …’ [kazo 26–27]

d. 'kuŋŋukla -a -ku ylä -mɔɔ 'nyibhlëa ghost_old_woman:DEF NH1:REL BE1:CP now:LOP LOC river:DEF 'The old woman’s ghost that was there in the river

'mu 'ni -a plöö- ylä -mɔɔ' -zlëa nā OBL ADD1 NH1:REL BE2:CP now:LOP LOC:GEN spirit:DEF SP1 and that was its spirit (lit. the spirit of there),

a yā 'kazɔɔ 'ku 'bhlü NH1 XPER raffia_washcloth:DEF VPC take it has taken the raffia washcloth.’ [kazo 29–31]

The close connection between two pieces of information as constrained by 'nɩ may in addition be expressed by parallel syntax, as in example (147).

(147) ɔ -kä a ht 'nɩ c -kä a -gänunyvä 3s have PST2 thing:PL ADD1 3s have PST2 slavery_people ‘He had riches and he had slaves.’ [filsprod 5–6]

If 'nɩ is followed by a yi clause (see §9.1.2), as in example (148), the actions referred to happened in temporal sequence.

(148) -Kɔkɔɔbhɛlʋ 'muv- pio lä nā 'nɩ v yi Rooster NH3:TH:REL hurry LOP SP1 ADD1 NH3 XFUT 'It was Rooster that hurried and he arrived

'Clikpëku ŋë 'nɩ wa yiu 'dö 'ylä Tripoko arrive ADD1 3P XFUT:3SO news ask at Tripoko, and they asked him the news.’ [kokoleko 19–21]

This also applies to an action that follows upon reported speech material and is the confirmation or execution of what was said in the speech, as in example (149).

(149) nā -a 'gā ye -yā -lɔɔ -ɛ -yi lä SP1 1P XPOT dance ADD2 DPF REL know LOP ‘We’ll dance, then, and the one who knows

yeså nā [kpazebhleku] -a 'go 'ni [aao] dance:manner SP1 NUPT 1P XPOT:3S find okay how to dance, we are going to find him.

'nɩ -Kɔkɔɔbhɛlʋ yi -jlëë' slo [kpazebhleku] ADD1 Rooster XFUT crowd:OBL meet NUPT And Rooster came out before the crowd,

'nɩ wa yi -mɔɔ plüü 'nʉ ADD1 3P XFUT LOC drum:PL:DEF put and they started beating the drums there.’ [kokoleko 23–27]
The additive ’nɩ may introduce direct speech in a reported conversation, with the implication that the speaker doesn’t change but that the same speaker adds an utterance to his speech, as in example (150).

(150) c là -ɛɛ c là ’nɩ ’yua -wa gäma bhlä nää
3S said yes 3S said ADD1 child:DEF:PL REL:3P play:ICP PST1:LOP SP1
‘He said, “Yes.” Then he added, “And the children who used to play together,

-naa -lɔɔ -kʋ -lɔɔ -a
2S:GEN DPF BE1:CP there Q
is yours there?”’ [sigo 356–357]

The connective ’nɩ is also used in contexts where the material connected is semantically in contrast, as in examples (151a) and (151b). Note, however, that the contrastive interpretation is not due to the connective ’nɩ but due to the semantic contrast between the two clauses.

(151) a. n luënɔɔ a kwiee'
1S think:filter:APL:3S PST2 death:OBL
‘I thought he was dead

’nɩ cɔ -wɔ là kuu-
ADD1 3S:XNEG CNT2 LOP die:CP
and he wasn’t (lit. I thought him in death and he hadn’t died) …’ [filsprod 267–268]

b. nɔɔnɔ -yǎ ’nì -nɔɔnɔ kuu-
DEMPR live:CP ADD1 DEMP:DEMPR die:CP
‘One (lit. that one) lived and one (lit. that one) was dead.’ [siamoi 26]

8.1.2 The additive connective -yǎ ‘ADD2’

The element -yǎ is used both for conjoining noun phrases and for conjoining clauses.

8.1.2.1 Conjoining noun phrases

Conjoined noun phrases have -yǎ ‘and’ placed between them, as in example (152).

(152) tɛɛtɛɛ -a ’bäsɩ -yǎ -a tɪtɪa
first 1P father:PL ADD2 1P forefather:PL
‘In former times, our fathers and forefathers…’ [kazo 18]

If the numeral ’sɔ ‘two’ is placed after the second noun phrase, as in (153a) and (153b), the meaning is that the action referred to in the clause is carried out by or happened to the referents of the conjoined noun phrases at the same time. The semantic meaning is then ‘together with’. Note that a noun phrase with an animate referent can be conjoined with a noun phrase that has an inanimate referent, as in the second clause of example (153c), where the conjoined noun phrases refer to Chicken and the money.3

(153) a. sā -bhɔɔdā nā kā ’gwe -yǎ nytɔɔ ’sɔ
because beginning SP1 ASF chimpanzee ADD2 person two
‘… because in the beginning, the chimpanzee and man actually

3For example (156), the only possible explanation for the form -nyɛ is that it contains an intrusive nasal.
b. v paa- lä -mää 'küküü -yä cekwu 'sɔ
NH3 put:CP LOP here hill:PL ADD2 rock:PL two
‘... it put (lit. threw) here hills and rocks.’ [creation 137]

The additive -yä has the variant form -ya. However, -ya does not occur alone; rather, it alternates with -yä, as in example (154). This is true especially when more than two noun phrases are conjoined, as in example (157b). Moreover, the form -ya occurs not only between noun phrases but also, like the numeral 'sɔ 'two', after the second of two noun phrases, as in (157a), and even after the last one of a series of conjoined noun phrases, as in (157b) (cf. example (155)). Again, the emphasis seems to be on the simultaneity of the actions happening to or being carried out by the referents.

Example (155) is particularly interesting in that -ya was added in brackets by the transcriber of the recorded text. He obviously felt that it should occur there. The narrator had first conjoined two noun phrases and then as an afterthought added the third one but without using the additive -ya.

The clauses connected by -yä refer to events that take place alongside each other or parallel to each other. The second clause typically receives a purposive interpretation. This meaning extension can be
explained by a cognitive path where the action referred to in the first clause is seen as being accompanied by its purpose. In example (156a) both meanings are still clearly present.\(^4\)

\[(156)\]

a. -\(n\) titonöc -\(yä\) -\(n\) 'mëë -\(lî\) l'\(kɔɔkɔ\)

2s go\_alongside:apl\:nh2 add2 2s spread thing:pl\:def always

‘... walk alongside it (= the sea shore) while spreading the things all the time!’ [creation 49]

b. n soonö-ö -\(yä\) -n 'gä sō yibhë

1s speak\:apl\:2so add2 2s xpot thus know

‘... I talk to you so that you know about it.’ [neyo 79.5–6]

c. ’na 'ŋnɔnɔ -n ku -kä -lɔɔ

1s\:gen woman\:dem 2s be1 clu3 there

‘... my dear woman, so do stay around

-\(yä\) n 'kä duu' 'dō fā

add2 1s xpot village\:obl news send

so that I can take the news to the village,

-\(yä\) -n -nyoto kā -ke -yi nā

add2 2s husband xcn\:clu3 come\:cp sp1

so that when your husband will have come,

-a 'gā -ke -naa wālî bholho

1p xpot clu3 2s\:gen matter\:pl think

we may deal with your problem.’ [devinet 72–75]

Similarly to the form -\(ya\), which is a variant of -\(yä\) for conjoining noun phrases, the connective \(t\)\(yä\) is a variant of -\(yä\) for conjoining clauses. It carries an explicit reference to the discourse context (the preceding clause) by its first part \(t\), which is the non-human plural pronoun also used for abstract things.\(^5\) The form \(t\)\(yä\) receives more stress than -\(yä\) alone and can be preceded and followed by a pause. When recording texts, transcribers therefore tend to spontaneously put a comma before it.

Conjoining clauses by \(t\)\(yä\) thus appears as a marked way of conjoining clauses. The presence of \(t\)\(yä\) confers special significance on, or highlights, the event referred to by the clause, for reasons that the hearer infers from the context. The additive can be translated into English as ‘actually’, ‘even’, or ‘and also’, as illustrated in example (157).

\[(157)\]

a. suu 'mʉ wa bhlâ ylâ \(t\)\(yä\) v 'kā -zụụ bhlū

tree\:def (nh3)th 3p fell\:icp now\:lop add2 nh3 xpot (vpc) fall\_down

‘They now went about felling the tree, so that it would actually fall

-\(yä\) wa 'kā 'yuo kʉ bhlū

add2 3p xpot child\:def vpc take

and they could take the child (= the baby bird).’ [sigo 226–228]

b. i -\(ŋ\)wa 'kʉ nynā n 'pā yi -a 'bhunûnû

nhp be\_right vpc sp2 1s throw now 1p home\:tale\:pl

‘... it is a good thing that I now tell our own stories,

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\(^4\)In (159c), the variant -\(ke\) of the connective -\(kā\) seems to be due to a need for dissimilation from the immediately preceding conditional auxiliary \(kā\).

\(^5\)Marchese (1986c:239f) calls this pronoun the “catch-all” of the pronoun system, as it is used to refer to “anything abstract, in particular words, actions, whole phrases, or discussions”.

8.1.3 The additive connective 's11 ‘ADD3’

The additive 's11 invites the hearer to find information in the context which is strengthened by adding the information of the clause containing 's11. The meaning of 's11 can thus be formulated by the following instruction for interpretation:

- Look in the context for information that is strengthened by the information given in the clause containing 's11.

The strengthening of information can happen in several ways, which the hearer is able to derive in a given context and which will be referred to as the different contextual effects of 's11. Depending on which contextual effect is aimed at by the author, the connective may be translated into English as 'also', 'too', 'even', 'after all', 'indeed', or 'furthermore'.

The position of the connective 's11 is always after the verb, or after the auxiliary if there is a verb brace. However, elements that are semantically close to the predicate precede 's11, such as the low prominence particle lā, as in example (159a), or a tense particle, as in example (159b).

(159) a. -n yää́ puē -amū -mā kā n puē- là 's11
   2s XPER:1SO save 1S:TH ADD4 ASF 1s save:2SO LOP ADD3
   ‘You saved me, now I am saving you, too.’ [sigo 168–169]

   b. c yää́ bhe ꙏ kogwle plā 'n -amū -mā
   3s XPER PST2 old_age enter ADD1 1S:TH ADD4
   ‘... he had become old and, as for me,'

n yä bhe 'su 'kɔgwle plä
1S XPER PST2 ADD3 old_age enter
I had also become old …’ [elisabet 24–25]

8.1.3.1 The connective 'su and parallel strengthening

As Blass (1990:144) points out, parallel strengthening means that the hearer is required to draw the same conclusion from the two parallel utterances. The conclusion that is strengthened by the utterance containing 'su often remains implicit but can be provided by the hearer through the discourse context. However, it can also be made explicit by the speaker, as in example (160a), taken from a Bible story freely told back by the speaker.

(160) a. -amʋ Zakalii n yä 'kɔgwle plä nä
1S:TH Zachariah 1S XPER old_age enter sp1
‘As I, Zachariah, I have become old,

nn -lä yiɔ yu gää
1S:XNEG yet anymore child beget
I will no longer beget a child,

'nt 'naa 'ŋnɔ yä 'su 'kɔgwle plä nä
ADD1 my wife XPER ADD3 old_age enter sp1
and my wife has also become old,

aa -lä yiɔ 'yu gää
1P:XNEG yet anymore child beget
we will no longer beget a child.’ [elisabet 29–31]

b. -n yäa' puë -amʋ -mä kä n puë- lä 'su
2S XPER:1SO save 1S:TH ADD4 ASF 1S save:2SO LOP ADD3
‘You saved me, now I am saving you, too.’ [sigo 168]

c. õ yä bhe 'kɔgwle plä 'nt -amʋ -mä
3S XPER PST2 old_age enter ADD1 1S:TH ADD4
‘He had become old and, as for me,

n yä bhe 'su 'kɔgwle plä
1S XPER PST2 ADD3 old_age enter
I had also become old.’ [elisabet 24–25]

8.1.3.2 The connective 'su and backwards confirmation

Backwards confirmation (see Blass 1990:145ff.) is the second major contextual effect of the additive connective 'su. In this case 'su provides additional evidence for a conclusion already established in the context, rather than giving a parallel premise for a conclusion that needs to be drawn yet, as happens in parallel strengthening discussed above.7

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7It could be argued that parallel strengthening is only a special case of backwards strengthening, as the parallel premise is also evidence towards the same conclusion.
In the context of backwards confirmation, the translations of 'sû into English are ‘also’, ‘too’, ‘indeed’, ‘furthermore’, and ‘after all’, as illustrated in example (161).8

(161) a. ɩ plöö- gâmalt
     NHP BE2:CP play:NOM
     ‘It’s about having fun.
     
     ’tзà n pà là ’sù -lṣ nǜnë ’yï
     CL1 1S throw:ICP LOP ADD3 there tale DDEM
     That’s why I am telling that story, after all.’ [creation 145–146]

b. -mɔ -bhlogbe ’co -mɔ plöö- là -anyia ’yu
     2S:TH one_single ID 2S:TH BE2:CP LOP 1P:GEN child
     ‘You alone, you are our child,
     -lṣ Laagɔ nyì -anyï lä nà ’lzà n mii-
     DPF God give 1PO LOP SP CL1 1S be_able:CP
     the one God has given us. That is why I seize the opportunity
     ’nì n sønô-ô lä ’sù ’sɔɔ
     ADD1 1S speak:APL2:SO:ICP LOP ADD3 thus
     to also tell you about that.’ [elisabet 102–105]

8.1.3.3 The connective ‘sû and pseudo-relatives

Utterances that are introduced by the pseudo-relatives whoever, whenever, and whatever in English are expressed with ‘sû in Godié, as in example (162).9

(162) a ƙä lä ’sù ’gwe ’nì ’nì e
     2P XCND LOP ADD3 chimpanzee find ADD1 NH2
     ‘So whenever you see a chimpanzee
     kä lä eे numnu ’plöplönyûä tlaa nà
     XCND LOP NH2:GEN lip pass:pass_people show SP1
     and it shows its lips to all who pass...’ [gwebhutu 53–54]

8.1.4 The additive connective -mã ‘ADD4’

The connective -mã constrains an interpretation of the following material as an addition. It instructs the hearer to consider the following material as setting off in a different direction than the preceding material. The function of -mã could in fact be compared with a cut on a film strip, which generally involves some change of perspective of the camera.

In a narrative context, the occurrence of -mã means that the information to be added does not advance the narrative along its event line. Rather, it instructs the hearer to interpret the following information as being of a non-event, background nature. That information can be descriptive. It may be about a state that by normal standards should be the case but isn’t, or it may be about an event that should have happened but did not happen.10

8The German translation would have a so-called modal auch where English has ‘after all’.
9The term ‘pseudo-relative’ is used by Blass (1990:151). The Godié connective ‘sû behaves quite similarly to the particle má in the Sissala language analysed by Blass, with the sense of an English pseudo-relative.
10Such information is also called collateral information by Grimes (1975:64) and Levinsohn (2007:68).
The instruction for interpretation given by -mä can be formulated as follows:

- Add the information expressed after -mä, but consider narrative progress as stalled until further notice.

Even though the connective -mä can often be translated into English as 'but' or 'however', -mä is to be considered an additive and not a countering connective. The countering senses (such as contrast, counterexpectation, and concession) that are quite frequent with this connective are pragmatic effects of -mä that occur in certain contexts but they are not part of the instructional meaning of -mä. Examples (163a) and (163b) illustrate the pragmatic effect of counterexpectation of the connective -mä.

(163) a. Jübënyebluoo- bha lä -lo neë' ná ko -mō
Neyo_lad:DEF:REL leave:CP LOP there mouth:OBL SP1 ASF:3S go:CP
'The Neyo lad who had escaped,
č 'bäst soo -kä -mä wa 'n1 -wū -nuawle laa
3S father:PL speak PUR ADD4 3P XNEG:NHP CNT2 truth call
he went to tell his elders, and/but they did not believe it.' [neyo 37:1–3]

b. -a bhibhie Laagɔ -a 'gä 'yu gää
1P pray:CP God 1P XPOT child beget
‘We prayed to God that we might have a child
-mä -aa 'kɔɔkɔ 'yu gää
ADD4 1P:XNEG ever child beget
but we had never had one.’ [elisabet 8–10]

The negative clause can also come first, as in examples (164a-c).

(164) a. -dɔdɔʋ' we -ku -mä jie -bhlobhlo wlä
earth:XNEG PST3 BE1 ADD4 alone PST3:LOP
‘the earth didn’t exist, but (or: though/however) the ocean was there.’ [creation 18–19]

b. Fädʉnyʋa -mä wa 'n1 ylɔ 'mō 'nuu
Fanti_people:DEF ADD4 3P XNEG:NHP anymore VPC understand
‘Now as for the Fanti, they did not want to listen to reason anymore;
-mä 'yizlɛ wa -ku ylä
ADD4 anger 3P BE1:CP now:LOP
rather, they were now angry.’ [neyo 17.1–2]

c. nyikpaa' -wʊ -lo 'nyie yëku -ku
people:XNEG CNT2 there lagoon beside BE1:CP
‘... there were no people there by the lagoon,
-mä bhloobhlo lʊə -ku -lo
ADD4 a_few IPF BE1:CP there
though a few were around’ [greve 64–65]

If there is tail-head linkage (see §4.2.3), -mä occurs at the beginning of the subordinate head clause, as in example (165).
There was a certain man called (lit. it is him they call) Lulu.

He (lit. it was he who) had two girls (lit. procreated his two girls).

Now, these two girls that he had they were stuck to each other.’

On the other hand, where there is a point of departure, -mä is placed after it. It then acts as a spacer (see introduction to chapter 9), as in examples (166a) and (166b) (also see example (164b) above). Note that in example (166a) there is no contrast involved. Rather, the attention shifts to other participants. In example (166b), the clause introduced by -mä gives known background information about the participant, before the action continues.11

(166) a. ɔ -soo ɔ 'bäšt
3S speak:CP 3S elders
‘He spoke to his elders.

wamä -mä waa' -wu -buä
3P:TH ADD4 3P:XNEG CNT2 be_slow:CP
Now as for them, they weren’t slow to act,

kwa bhlüü- tēvēlt ‘kū
ASF:3P take:CP weapon:PL VPC
they actually took weapons ...’ [neyo 44.4–45.2]

b. 'nì -Somabolù yi yi. Ùmù -mä vu pio lä nà
ADD1 Worm XFUT come NH3:TH ADD4 NH3:XNEG hurry LOP SP1
‘... and Worm came. Now as for him, he wasn’t fast

dīgasà 'nì v yi nē
slowly ADD1 NH3 XFUT arrive
it was slowly that he arrived.’ [kokoleko 35–37]

8.1.5 The additive connective -mää ‘ADD5’

The additive connective -mää and its variant form -maa signal the transition to a new phase of the underlying mental scheme of the narrative (see chapter 9). The procedural meaning of -mää can thus be formulated by the following instruction for interpretation:

- Consider the information following -mää as belonging to a new major section in the narrative.

11Note in example (169) that 'nì acts as a spacer, like mä before.
Thus the connective occurs at the transition point between the introduction of the narrative and the beginning of the story, as in example (167a), or at the transition point to the complication phase, as in (167b). The scope of this connective is thus much larger than that of the other connectives.12

(167)  
a. -mää -zēkkii ‘ylu-v plöö bhlä nä  
ADD5 adjacent_day:GEN day:DEF NH3:REL pass:CP PST1:LOP SP1  
‘Now yesterday (lit. the one day from now that passed),

b. ’n1 ε yi mää ‘plöö ‘n1 ε yi sä pu o  
ADD1 NH2 XFUT LOC pass:APL ADD1 NH2 XFUT VPC lie:down EXCL2  
‘then he went inside and lay down!

8.2 Countering connectives

As discussed in §8.1.1 and §8.1.4 above, the additive connectives ‘n and -mää can have countering or adversative readings in certain contexts. In other words, they may yield countering or adversative contextual effects. By contrast, a true countering connective always constrains a countering interpretation, as Levinsohn (2007:191) points out: “If a particular connective constrains a countering or adversative interpretation, then it will always introduce material that counters some event or expectation.” The only connectives in Godié that have been found to correspond to this description are -bhlɛ and -wʋ.

8.2.1 The connective -bhlɛ ‘CNT1’

The word -bhlɛ in Godié occurs not only as a countering connective but also as a time adverb with the meaning ‘for the time being’, ‘for now’, or ‘at this point’.13 The countering connective -bhlɛ results from the reanalysis of this adverb. A few examples of -bhlɛ as an adverb will be given before discussing -bhlɛ as a countering connective.14

(168)  
a. -lɔɔ n bhloo -bhlɛ  
there 1S stop:ICP for_now  
‘There I stop for now.’ [elisabet 110]

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12Its increased phonetic substance can be seen as a case of iconicity, inasmuch as it correlates with a larger scope.
13Gratrix (1978:314) and Marchese (1978:70) mention a low tone particle bɛɛ in the Jluko dialect of Godié used for connecting two clauses that express simultaneous events. This particle appears to be the equivalent of -bhlɛ in the Kagbo dialect described in this study.
14In example (171) the form of the pronoun ɔɔ orients to the phonological form of the referent ’pɛpɛlɔ, rather than to its gender, which is non-human plural (see §2.2).
In narrative texts, the adverb -bhlɛ is used with durative events that are set off against another event, generally one that is more salient. The narrative is then put on hold as it were, while attention is directed to the process during which the next event of the narrative takes place. The presence of -bhlɛ in the first clause anticipates that next event referred to in the second clause, as shown in examples (169a) and (169b). This use of -bhlɛ thus already shows characteristics of a connective, even though it does not link the information of the clause to information already given but rather to upcoming information. The adverb sää, translated 'in this way', frequently occurs in the first clause describing the process, as illustrated in (169b). The two clauses are linked by the connective ‘nɩ’.15

(169) a. a kā bhlɛ bhlä 'nt Goplea yi yi
NH1 XPOT CNT1 fall ADD1 Gopleu:DEF XFUT come
‘It (the tree) was about to fall when Gopleu came …’ / ‘As it (the tree) was about to fall, Gopleu came …’ [sigo 274–275]

b. ɛ cie bhlɛ sää -dool ɲëlɩ
NH2 begin:ICP CNT1 in this way ground arrive:NOM
‘He (=the chimpanzee) was about to reach the ground

'nt -gbāpʋ Ɂpɔtɔ- lā -mɔɔ ɲɔkʋ
ADD1 ridge beam break:CP LOP LOC above
when the ridge beam broke there above (him) …’ / ‘As he (=chimpanzee) was about to reach the ground, the central pillar broke there above him …’ [gwebhutu 33–34]

Examples like the preceding ones provide the basis for the reanalysis of the adverb -bhlɛ as a countering connective. Indeed, an event in process and a punctiliar event that happens during this process can easily be seen to be in contrast, in the same way as two simultaneous events do.16 By further generalization of the idea of contrast, -bhlɛ is then gradually reanalyzed as a countering connective.

The process of reanalysis is likely to have been favoured by syntactic contexts where the verb has no object and -bhlɛ thus ends the clause expressing the process. This position makes it possible to reanalyse -bhlɛ as introducing the second clause. Such reanalysis has likely taken place in example (170) where the transcriber of the recorded text treats -bhlɛ as a connective and even has it begin a new sentence.17 Moreover, in this example the two clauses connected by -bhlɛ are clearly in contrast, which favours the reanalysis of -bhlɛ as a countering connective.18

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15The second English translation in these examples better reflects the fact that the Godié connective looks forward.
16Compare conjunctions like as in the sense of while in English, während in German, and tandis que in French, which can all be used in a temporal sense for connecting simultaneous events, as well as for non-temporal contrast.
17The recording still needs to be rechecked to see whether -bhlɛ is pronounced with more voice volume than the preceding element. If so, that would confirm its renanalysis as introducing the following clause.
18Interestingly enough, Gratrix (1978:314) also mentions a use of the bɛɛ particle in the Jluko dialect of Godié where it acts as what she calls a “rhetorical connective not limited to simple clauses.”
(170) v mʊ nā v yi
    NH3 go:ICP SP1 NH3 come:ICP
    ‘... it (his boat) comes and goes (fast).

-ˌbhle waa -lvu, ku buä
    CNT1 3P:GEN DPF:NH3 ASF:NH3 be_slow:ICP
However, as for theirs, it is slow ...’ [greve 43–45]

The instruction for interpretation for the countering connective -ˌbhle can thus be formulated as follows:

- Look for a way in which the information in the clauses before and after -ˌbhle can be seen to be in contrast.

Example (171) illustrates how the idea of simultaneity is still present in the use of -ˌbhle as a countering connective.

(171) 'klaa 'mnö sukpo -ku -mbɔ
    field:DEF inside ants BE1:CP LOC
 'In the field there were ants (sp.),

-ˌbhle sukpo suwa 'n1 vu wɔl1
    CNT1 ants:DEM sting:3P:ICP ADD1 NH3:GEN matter:DEF
 (but) even though these ants were stinging them

wa 'n1 -wu 'mäny1
    3P XNEG:NHP CNT2 mind
they didn't care about it.’ [cacao 69–71]

8.2.2 The connective -ˌwʊ ‘CNT2’

The vast majority of occurrences of the countering connective -ˌwʊ are found in negative clauses, as illustrated in example (172).

(172) nyukpa‘a’ -ˌwʊ -lɔɔ 'nyie yëku -ku
    people:XNEG CNT2 there lagoon beside BE1:CP
 ‘... there were no people around on the shore of the lagoon ...’ [greve 64]

Occurrences in affirmative clauses have been found only in imperatives within represented speech, as in examples (173a-c). The reason for the imperative is some unexpected situation, which the speaker signals by -ˌwʊ. In examples (173a) and (173b) that situation is described subsequently in the represented speech itself, while in example (173c) it was mentioned previously by the narrator.19

(173) a. dunyva lä c a po -ˌwʊ 'nyukwli
    village_people:DEF say EXCL1 2P listen CNT2 VC (ears)
 'The villagers said, “Oh, listen!”

19It is not clear why in example (178c) the connective -ˌwʊ is repeated. The word -zukä does not have its usual meaning ‘today’ here but rather something like ‘presently’ or ‘shortly’. In fact, the latter meaning may well be the basic meaning of this word, with the translation ‘today’ just rendering one of its contextual meanings.
The path to our friend’s field,

“... saying, ‘Come here!’” [filsprod 188]

The procedural meaning of -wɔ can thus be described by the following instruction for interpretation:

- Look for a situation in the context that is contrary to expectation.

This instruction is also valid in negative clauses, where -wɔ has practically been generalized. Indeed, each negative clause contains the ‘voice’ of a different enunciator who is the author of the corresponding affirmative clause.20 The negative clause typically expresses a counter-expectation. In example (174) the narrator tells the audience that the story he is about to tell will not contain a song. This is contrary to their expectation, since Godié stories normally do contain songs.

(174) -nanä n pä ylä nä [sese] aa’ -wɔ ‘lo’ -kä

DEM PR 1S throw:ICP now:LOP SP1 NUPT NH1:XNEG CNT2 song have

‘This one (=story) that I am telling here, it doesn’t have a song.’ (creation 66–67)

Concerning the numerous instances where the element -wɔ occurs in negative utterances, the question arises as to whether the preceding instruction for interpretation can be applied to those utterances or whether -wɔ in negative utterances is grammaticalized and part of the negative construction requiring the negative auxiliary and -wɔ.21 The following facts do not seem to support the view that -wɔ is grammaticalized. First, -wɔ occurs neither in negative imperatives (to negate possible future events or states) nor in negative conditional clauses. Moreover, in conditional clauses, the negative auxiliary 'nö alone expresses negation, as shown in example (175).

(175) a 'nö gäma nä

2P XNEG play SP1

‘... and if you are not having fun...’ [lueuzi 9]

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20This is argued in the polyphonic approach to negation, as described by Roulet (1996).
21This would then be a situation similar to French, where negation is regularly expressed by a pair of negative elements, such as in the utterance *Cela ne me concerne pas* ‘That does not concern me’, where the elements *ne* and *pas* are both grammatically necessary.
Finally, in negative imperatives and future negation, the particle -lä replaces -wʋ.

(176) a. ple 'kvʋ' siii- lä
   liver on:XNEG burn:2SO DP2
   ‘... don’t be angry (lit. your liver surface may not burn you) ...’ [filsprod 277]

   b. n 'nöö- lä tê [-kpazebhleku]
      1S XNEG:2SO DP2 leave_behind NUPT
      ‘... I will not leave you behind.’ [kokoleko 134]

8.3 Conclusive connectives

A conclusive connective is a linguistic element inviting the hearer to interpret the information of the utterance that contains the connective or that is introduced by the connective as the conclusion drawn from some information the hearer already has. Its presence conveys an argumentative tenor to the text, which is most certainly the reason why conclusive connectives are rare in narrative, except in represented speech. Rather than being constrained by a conclusive connective, a logical relationship between two pieces of information in narrative is typically left to the hearer to infer on the basis of contextual information and the presence of an additive connective (see §8.1).

Three conclusive connectives have been identified in Godié narratives. They are the phrases 'ɩzä 'CLU1' and 'ɩɩŋnö 'mnö 'CLU2', and the particle -kä 'CLU3'. One difference between them seems to be the strength of the causal link between the connected pieces of information. This can also be rendered in their translation into English. The expression ‘(it was) because of that’ as a translation of 'ɩɩŋnö 'mnö CLU2 constrains a stronger link than ‘for that reason’ for 'ɩzä CLU1, and a translation by ‘so’ of -kä CLU3 reflects the fact that CLU3 constrains the weakest link of the three connectives.²²

Another difference between the three connectives appears to be whether the causal link is established at the time of speaking, which applies to the connectives 'ɩzä CLU1' and 'ɩɩŋnö 'mnö CLU2', or whether it is assumed to be already part of the hearer’s contextual assumptions and thus only called back to mind, as seems to be the case with -kä CLU3.

8.3.1 The connective 'ɩzä 'CLU1'

Unlike the connectives dealt with in the preceding sections, 'ɩzä is still analysable, in a similar way to its suggested English translation ‘that is why’. It is actually a genitival nominal phrase and could therefore also be spelled ɩɩ-zä (NHP:GEN/reason). The latter spelling shows that the connective is composed of the plural form of the non-human simple pronoun (NHP) and the nominal element -zä. The exact meaning of -zä is difficult to determine but the word is probably best translated as ‘reason’.²³

The pronoun of the connective refers back to preceding material, which can be just the preceding utterance or several preceding utterances, or even a whole narrative, as in example (177). The scope of the connective is thus left to the hearer to establish.²⁴

(177) a. Laagɔ 'mɔ -cii- nynä n 'pɔnyɩ nä
       God TH REL speak SP2 1S throw:3S:NHP SP1
       ‘It was God who said that I am to give it (= name) to him,

²²This is again an illustration of the iconocity principle, where more linguistic material in an expression corresponds to the additional weight and importance given to the information, in this case the causal link between two pieces of information.

²³It could be compared to the English word sake, incidentally semantically close to Godié -zä, which is also clearly a nominal element but occurs only within a genitival construction that is part of a prepositional phrase, e.g., ‘for my sake’.

²⁴In example (182), the plural form of the pronoun 'pɔnyɩ refers to the word 'ŋnö ‘name', which is treated as a plural. For the nasal consonant /ny/ inserted between the two object pronouns, see §2.2.
The procedural meaning of the connective 'tzä' can thus be described by the following instruction for interpretation:

- Look for the information which is the reason for or which explains the action or state expressed in the clause introduced by 'tzä.'

8.3.2 The connective ʈʈ 'ŋnö 'mnö 'CLU2'

The connective ʈʈ 'ŋnö 'mnö (NHP:GEN/name/inside) ‘CLU2’ seems to invite the hearer to construct a stronger logical link between the connected pieces of information than ʈʈ -zä ‘CLU1’. Like CLU1, CLU2 is a phrase, though not a nominal but a postpositional one. The literal meaning is ‘in its name’. It is best translated into English by the expression ‘because of that’.

(178) ʈʈ -ŋwa 'kv nynä -a 'bä Fufuc 'titi nii- a -lɔɔ NHP be_suitable VPC SP2 1P father Houphouet self see:NHP PST2 there 'It is suitable that our father Houphouet himself would see these things,

tyä wa 'ko -mɔɔ 'kubhutuu' -sä ADD2 3P XPOT:3S LOC dead:house:OBL take_away so they could take him (=the body) there out of the morgue.

ʈʈ 'ŋnö 'mnö c -yä c c lebhenonyua 'sɔ [...] CLU2 3S ADD2 3S:GEN work:do:AG:PL:DEF two Because of that he and his ministers (lit. workers) [...] ,

wa wlää- -mɔɔ 'kubhutu 'mnö 'wlu 3P get_together:CP LOC dead_house inside VC (head) they gathered there inside the morgue.' [decesrad 11–13]

The causal link between the connected pieces of information seems to be even stronger when the spacer nä ‘SP1’ separates the connective from the rest of the utterance, as in example (179).25 A possible rendering in English would be the cleft structure ‘it was because of that’.

25The connective then functions as a point of departure (see §4.2).
The hearer is instructed to establish an even stronger causal relation between the connected pieces of information when the spacer nā not only follows but also precedes the conclusive phrase ɩɩ ‘ŋnö ‘mnö ‘CLU2’, as in example (180). Indeed, in initial position the spacer nā takes an inferential sense (see §7.1).26

(180) ɩɩ nɩɩ mɩa nyɩkpa -bhumʌkʌ́ ˈtænɪ t̆u
ADD1 NHP overflow:ICP people many time VPC
‘... and they (=the boats) are wasting a lot of people’s time.

nā ɩɩ ‘ŋnö ‘mnö nā nyɩkpo -bhumbe ɔ -nu sāa
SP1 CLU2 SP1 person one_single 3s make:CP DP1
So it was because of that that a certain man, he took

dd ɣoɬʊlɛɛ ˈnɪ ɔ ɬnʊ 3s:GEN canoe:DIM ADD1 3s put:NH3:CP motor
his small canoe and put a motor on it.’ [greve 23–26]

Another variant of the connective CLU2 is the clause ɩɩ-ɭà ɭnʊ̀ (NHP/have:CP/name:DEF), literally translated as ‘it has the name’.27 The precise nuance of meaning cannot be established on the basis of the present data, but in example (181), the connective seems to have the sense of ‘this even led to the fact that’ or ‘this even meant that’.28

(181) ɩɩ-ɭà ɭnʊ̀ waa ɭucifio ɔ -nu
CLU2 3P:GEN village:chief:DEF 3s go:CP
‘This even meant that their village chief, he went

ˈnɪ ɔ -zla ɔ ɭnɔ ɬbło ɡoɬu
ADD1 3s ask 3s friend one_canoe to ask one of his friends for a canoe.’ [greve 57]

8.3.3 The connective -kà ‘CLU3’

The conclusive connective -kà ‘CLU3’ mostly occurs in represented speech in Godié narratives and also in their coda. The causal link between the connected pieces of information is not asserted by the speaker at the time of speaking but rather assumed to be already part of the hearer’s contextual assumptions.29 The connective -kà occurs after the verb or the auxiliary.

26This pronoun clitic ɔ is actually the human singular pronoun (see §2.2) and thus does not agree in gender with the noun ɡoɬvɛɛ it stands for, which would call for the non-human pronoun ʊ. The resulting form would be ɲʋʊ-, where the pronoun clitic would no longer be distinct from the verb root. Thus the form ɔ of the pronoun clitic seems to be motivated by the will to distinguish the two—in other words, from a process of dissimilation.
27Further study may well lead to the conclusion that ɩɩ-ɭà ɭnʊ̀ should be treated as a distinct connective and not just as a variant of ɩɩ ‘ŋnö ‘mnö ‘CLU2’.
28The absence of the definite marker on the noun ɭnɔ in this example implies that the friend is a member of a set of friends. For this meaning (see §2.3.1).
29The French connective puisque (see Ducrot 1983) and the German connective ja (Weydt et al. 1983) also have this characteristic.
It will be argued here the connective -kā ‘CLU3’ has developed from the purpose particle -kā ‘PUR’, which is also placed after the verb and indicates the purpose of someone’s going somewhere or coming from somewhere, as illustrated in example (182).

(182) Jübënyëbluo -kā bha lä -lɔɔ nëë’ nā
Neyo:lad:DEF 3S:REL leave:CP LOP there mouth:OBL SP1
‘The Neyo lad who had escaped,
ko -mő c ‘bäst soo -kā
ASF:3S go:CP 3S father:PL speak PUR
he went to tell his elders ...’ [neyo 37.1–2]

The shift from the purpose particle -kā ‘PUR’ to the conclusive connective -kā ‘CLU3’ can be explained by an extension of the idea of purpose to a more general idea of result and conclusion. This may have happened along the following cognitive path.

A purposeful action aims at a result. That result is thus related to the action that motivated it. The purpose particle -kā ‘PUR’ indicates the link between a person’s movement and the action it aims at. The particle -kā ‘PUR’ therefore connects information about two actions, namely an action of moving to a different place and an action that is the purpose of that movement. In that sense -kā ‘PUR’ already has characteristics of a connective, even though it connects information between a main clause and an embedded clause rather than information between two clauses at the same syntactic level.

It may be argued that this function of indicating that two actions are in a purpose relation is still the basic function of the connective -kā ‘CLU3’ except that it is no longer required that the first action be a movement, as is the case with the purpose particle -kā ‘PUR’. Instead, any two actions or situations in a purpose relation can be connected by -kā ‘CLU3’. Thus by using -kā ‘CLU3’, the speaker invites the hearer to discover a purposeful relation between the utterance and another piece of information, generally an action or a situation. This type of relation can be translated into English by quite a range of inferential connectives, such as ‘so’, ‘then’, and ‘thus’, but also ‘however’ or ‘but’, depending on which aspect of the relation is in focus in a given context. In other words, then, -kā ‘CLU3’ invites the hearer to make an inference.30

The presence of -kā ‘CLU3’ conveys a nuance of insistence to the utterance in which it occurs. This appears to be precisely due to the speaker’s inviting the hearer to become aware of the purposeful relation between information given in the current utterance and information in the context.31 (The notion of context here includes information given in the immediate discourse context, information established earlier in the same discourse or in a previous discourse, information that is part of common knowledge between the speakers or within their social groups, and finally also information that is part of the knowledge about the world and the universe.)

The procedural meaning of the connective -kā ‘CLU3’ can thus be formulated by the following instruction for interpretation:

- Find the information in the context to which the information in the current utterance can be connected by inference.

In many cases, the contextual information the hearer is invited to access by way of the connective -kā ‘CLU3’ is a piece of information established in the immediate discourse context, or co-text, as in

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30The connective sɛ in the Sissala language of Burkina Faso, a Gur language, seems to share several properties with Godié -kā ‘CLU3’. Blass (1990:130ff) translates it into English by ‘so’, ‘after all’, and ‘well’, all of which also invite the hearer to make an inference.

31For this reason our initial analysis of -kā treated it as an attitudinal (modal) particle, rather than a connective. However, the fact that it clearly establishes a link between information given in the utterance where it occurs and information given in the context led to a reanalysis of -kā as a connective.
examples (183a) and (183b), both of which are protests to the preceding utterance in a represented conversation.32

(183) a. wlä 'ɔɔ -naa 'blükpa 'mlö nytkpɔɔ' -kä Zan plöö-
   3P:say EXCL 2S:GEN family inside person:XNEG CLU3 John BE2:CP
   ‘They said, “Well, in your family no one is called John, though …”’ [elisabet 91]

b. -mä -ɔ -kä bhlä wältt nā
   ADD4 3S:RE have PST1:LOP matter:DEF SP1
   ‘But the one who was responsible for the matter,
   'mä- plö- -kä bhlä 'Ncmv
   3S:TH:REL BE2:CP CLU3 PST1:LOP Red_Deer
   that one was Red Deer, wasn’t it?’ [creation 122–123]

In example (184), the blind protagonist Sigo protests against the bird Gopleu’s order to open his eyes. The connective -kä occurs in each clause. by the first -kä Sigo reminds Gopleu of his blindness, which makes it impossible to carry out the bird’s order, while the second -kä establishes the common sense relation between blindness and not being able to see.

(184) -amʋ 'naa 'yii ęwe- -kä 'ku
   1S:TH 1P:GEN eyes:DEF be_closed:CP CLU3 VPC
   ‘Well, as for me, (you know that) my eyes are shut
   'nī nn' 'nī -kä sā [-kpazebhleku]
   ADD1 1S:XNEG see CLU3 VPC NUPT
   and so I cannot see…” [sigo 137–138]

In example (185) -kä invites the hearers to make an inference from what was just said.33

(185) -mä -ɔ -kv klë [-kpazebhleku]
   ADD4 3S BE1 behind NUPT
   ‘… he (= Rooster) is behind
   -mä kə yi -kä [-kpazebhleku]
   ADD4 ASF:3S come CLU3 NUPT
   but/so he is coming … [given that we are doing this dance
   competition together, as I just said].’ [kokoleko 94–95]

In expressive utterances, such as expressions of thanks or sympathy, pleas and supplications, the context to be accessed by way of -kä is a previous action carried out either in or before the speech situation, as in (186a) and (186b), or a possible future action, as in (186c).

(186) a. lebhe a ye nu ayayo -kä
   work:DEF 2P XPER do thanks:PL CLU3
   ‘… the work, you have done it, thank you!’ [cacao 75]

32If there is an auxiliary, the position of -kä is within the verb brace, as in (188) (see §3.1), where the verb brace is formed by the floating high tone clitic of the negative auxiliary ‘XNEG’ and the verb ‘plö ‘BE2’.
33The expression -kpazebhleku in this example is one of the feedback words from the audience. It is uttered by the intermediary between the narrator and the audience.
b. ayayo -kä Gbakl klääh -ya
   thanks:PL CLU3 Gbakle help:NOM for
   ‘Thank you for helping Gbakle!

ayayo -kä käkäwo -wläh -ya
   thanks:PL CLU3 cocoa break:NOM for
   Thank you for breaking cocoa!’ [cacao 99–100]

c. bheeje -nn 'bhlää -lä -kä
   please 2S:XNEG hit DP2 CLU3
   ‘… so please forgive me (lit. don’t hit me)’ [devinet 52]

In example (187) the inference which -kä invites the hearer to draw involves knowledge about the taboo linked to the war fetish in question.

(187) -mä -tëbhukänycö nā
   ADD4 responsibility:have:AG:DEF SP1
   ‘However, the one who is responsible for the war fetish,

   cö' lū -kä gwi
   3S:XNEG eat CLU3 palm_nuts
   he must not eat palm nuts, as you know.’ [dacligo 16]

In example (188) the connection is based on common knowledge of the world about the fact that normally people build their houses on dry ground.

(188) -zählbä yä yi nyukpaa wa 'kä -kä 'slä [sese]
   beach XPER come people:DEF 3P XPOT CLU3 build NUPT
   ‘… dry ground comes (lit. has come) out, so that the people can build,

   wa 'kä -kä sā ku wa 'kä -kä loo [sese]
   3P XPOT CLU3 VPC sit 3P XPOT CLU3 debrush NUPT
   so that that they can settle, so that they can clear ground to make fields,

   wa 'kä -kä lülülʊʊ lū
   3P XPOT CLU3 eat:eat:thing:DEF eat
   so that they have food to eat.’ [creation 55–59]

In some contexts involving backwards confirmation (see §8.1.3.2), the meaning of the conclusive connective -kä ‘CLU3’ appears to be very close to that of the additive ‘sɪɪ ‘ADD3’, to the point that they are even interchangeable in some contexts. Such is the case in example (188) above, where the last three occurrences of -kä ‘CLU3’ could be replaced with the additive connective ‘sɪɪ ‘ADD3’.

However, the difference between an utterance containing the additive ‘sɪɪ and one containing the conclusive -kä is the following: whereas ‘sɪɪ merely strengthens the preceding assertion, without indicating a logical relation between the current utterance and that assertion, -kä instructs the hearer to make an inference and establish a logical connection. In other words, while ‘sɪɪ leaves it up to the hearer to notice a logical connection, -kä constrains the reader to do so; hence the nuance of insistence, which is absent when additive ‘sɪɪ is used.34

34For other examples in the database, see devinet 4, gwebhutu 53, sigo 22–23, greve 45, creation 86–87 in the text collection.
A similar comparison can be made between -kä and the countering connective -wʋ ‘CNT2’ (see §8.2.2) in imperative utterances, again illustrating the inferential meaning of -kä. A particularly telling instance of this was found in one of the folk tales in the database for this study. Two similar situations were described, in each of which a woman comes back from the bush before daybreak carrying her dead child and wailing loudly. In the first clause, the imperative representing the villagers’ speech has the countering connective -wʋ ‘CNT2’, as shown in example (189). This connective establishes a link between the current utterance and a situation that is contrary to the speaker’s expectation. Then in the last clause, the conclusive connective -kä is present, inviting the hearers to look for a connection between the wailing and something that must have happened to the woman.

(189) dunyça lä ɕ a po -wʋ ‘nyukwli
village_people:DEF say EXCL1 2p listen CNT2 VC (ears)
‘The villagers said, “Oh, listen,
-mā -aawlii’ klaa’ -blɔɔ ’kv [sese]
ADD4 our_friend:GEN field:DEF:GEN road on NUPT
(because) from the road to our friend’s field
’nɔgbɔwält ghlä -kä -mɔɔ
mourning_words pass CLU3 LOC
wailing is coming from there (lit. wailing passes there!”’ [lueuzi 64–65a]

Later in the narrative, when another woman, who turns out to be the first woman’s co-wife, comes to the village from the same direction of the bush, carrying her dead child and wailing in the same way, the utterance representing the villagers’ speech already has the conclusive connective -kä in the imperative clause. This shows that the speaker is making a connection to the first event. This inference is conveyed in the free translation into English by the connective again.

(190) wlä ’o a po -kä ’nyukwli -mā -aawlii’ ’klänä ’mnö
3P:say EXCL1 2p listen CLU3 VC (ears) ADD4 our_friend:GEN field:DEM inside
‘They said, “Oh listen again, because in that field of our friend’s
gbv -bhlobhlo ghlä lá -mɔɔ
problem a_few pass LOP LOC
there are a few problems!”’ [lueuzi 109–110]

Examples (191a) and (191b) illustrate how each of the three occurrences of -kä invites the hearer to draw a specific inference, given in brackets in the free translation.35

(191) a. ɕ -yi nā ko so lä ’kukuŋnɔɔ nynā
3S come:CP SP1 ASF:3S speak LOP be_dead:be_dead:woman:DEM SP2
‘When he came, he spoke to the dead woman, saying
-n nyotoo’ -wʋ -lɔɔ -ku nā ’nɔa ’kɔnɔ
2S husband:XNEG CNT2 there BE1:CP SP1 1S:GEN woman:DEM
“As your husband is not here, so my dear woman,

35In (196b) -ke is a variant form of -kä. It seems to be used by some older speakers, possibly for purposes of vowel dissimilation. It has been found only after an auxiliary containing the schwa vowel, written in the orthography as < ā >. See also the third clause of example (191b) below.
Stay here (given that you are dead) and I'll take the news to the village.

so that when your husband will have come (as a result of the news)

we can (then) think about your problem.” [devinet 70–75]

b. However, as for theirs (= their boat), it is slow, so they won't

get customers (as a result)

and (thus) make no money.’ [greve 44–46]

In conditional sentences the conclusive connective -kä ‘CLU3’ may occur both in the conditional clause and in the main clause. The expressed condition then results from a previous conversation. Example (192) shows -kä in three different syntactic environments: the conditional clause, the negative imperative of the main clause, and the declarative clause. (192)

'but when the two children will play together,' they must not hit each other!

As for me, I am gone, then!’ [sigo 289–291]

Note that in Godié, as in other African languages, a conditional clause where the condition is still fulfillable (e.g., ‘if he comes’) has exactly the same structure as a temporal clause that refers to the future (‘when he will come’). The hearer decides in the context which interpretation is the relevant one.

The lengthening of the vowel in -kää could be due to the pause during which the representative of the audience pronounces the narrative uptake element sese.
9 Narrative development

This chapter presents an overview of the linguistic means that are used by a Godié narrator to construct a well-formed story. In doing so the narrator will comply with the quasi-universal mental scheme underlying any kind of narrative. Table 9.1 shows the parts or phases of this scheme, only three of which (those in bold) are mandatory. The latter are found even in so-called minimal narratives.¹

Table 9.1. The mental scheme of a narrative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phases of the narrative</th>
<th>Fictive example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>I'm going to tell you a story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Initial situation</strong></td>
<td>There was a man who had two sons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication</td>
<td>One day, one of them came to him and asked for his part of the inheritance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reaction(s)/attempt(s) to solve the problem</td>
<td>The father refused and the son made plans to kill him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak/climax</td>
<td>The plan was discovered just before the son went to carry it out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resolution/dénouement</strong></td>
<td>The father forgave the son.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final situation</td>
<td>The son left the father.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coda/moral</td>
<td>This is what it all means...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the complication and reaction phases can be recursive. In other words, a story can contain several complications and reactions before coming to its resolution.² Moreover, the peak is not an obligatory part of the story.

The traditional Godié narrator employs a variety of devices that function as linguistic cues to the audience, guiding them through the different stages of the narrative. Younger narrators no longer use some of these cues, as they have had less exposure to the language and the tradition of telling stories. The cues that guide the audience through the narrative are taken from different parts of the language system such as the tense and aspect system, certain syntactic structures and connectives, as well as special markers and set expressions that occur only in a narrative.

Three types of cues for narrative development can be distinguished. These will be discussed in turn below. The first type concerns devices that show that the narrative is moving along within a narrative phase (§9.1). The second type includes devices that mark (the transition to) a new phase in the scheme of the narrative (§9.2). The third type are the cues that mark the status of the information: theme line events versus secondary or background(ed) events (§9.3). These latter cues help the reader to concentrate on the theme line when processing the information provided. Authors often use cues of more than one type in their narratives. This ensures that the hearer keeps abreast with the development of the story.

Traditional Godié stories also include songs that the narrator sings together with the hearers. These songs, which are sung by the narrator and to which the audience responds in a well-defined way, seem to be made up of special formulas and words whose meaning is not always analysable. These songs occur at transition points between the different stages of the narrative. In the database for this study only two of the older narrators made use of this device, which will not be studied any further here.

¹A minimal narrative might run as follows: “I was on the bus to school [initial stage], when a car hit the bus [complication]. We were all scared to death, but no one was injured and the police came right away. [resolution].” Minimal narratives are extremely frequent in daily conversation and small newspaper reports or as embedded narratives in larger narratives.
²See Roulet et al. 2001:317f.
9.1 Moving forward within a narrative phase

The two most important cues showing that the narrative is moving forward are the temporal adverb yi ‘now’ (§9.1.1) and the yi clause (§9.1.2). In many cases these two cues occur together with the connective ‘n’ and sometimes even with each other.

9.1.1 The temporal adverb yi ‘now’

The temporal adverb yi has the semantic meaning of ‘now’ both in the sense of ‘at this moment’ and in the sense of ‘from now on’, as in examples (193a) and (193b). This meaning naturally predisposes it to the function of indicating narrative development, since a narrative reports successive events or states of affairs.

(193) a. -n ‘gä yi bhül -a
  2s XPOT now sing Q
  ‘Will you sing now?’ [creation 10]

  b. a po yi 'nyukwlí -yä n 'kanyumä yi soo
  2p listen now VC (ears) ADD2 1s XPOT:2PO:NHP now speak
  ‘… listen now and I shall speak to you about them.’ [radio 19]

The adverb yi frequently combines with the particle lä (see §4.3.2.1). Losing its vowel in the process, it results in the amalgamated form ylä ‘now:LOP’. It is frequently found in the tail clause of a tail-head linkage construction (see §4.2.3), as in example (194).

(194) ’nit c yio zizie [sese]
  ADD1 3s XFUT:3s bury NUPT
  ‘And she buried him (her child).

  -mä c -zizio ylä naa [sese]
  ADD4 3s bury:CP now:LOP SP1 NUPT
  When she had now buried him,…’ [lueuzi 90–91]

The function of ylä might appear to be contradictory inasmuch as the yi element in it points forward towards the next event while the lä element backgrounds the event expressed in the current clause. However, this is precisely what happens in a narrative, as the current event becomes part of the background as soon as the next event is presented. In the building up of the narrative plot towards the peak, the adverb yi or the form ylä can be found in each clause leading up to the peak event, as in examples (195a) and (195b).

(195) a. 'kɔɔkɔ ssɔɔ c nu ylä
  always thus 3s do now:LOP
  ‘All the time, that’s how she now acted.

  'ŋnɔɔ -nu ylä -zikä nā [sese]
  woman:DEF go:CP now:LOP today SP1 NUPT
  When the woman now went one day,

  nyikpotütıë yä ¹ku ghlä
  black_ants:swarm XPER VPC appear
  a swarm of black ants appeared.’ [siamoï 52–54]
b. 'yuo puu- yi -gbo-tyu 'kɔ c yä ŋɔ [sese] child:DEF lie:CP now bamboo_bed on 3S XPER sleep NUPT 'Now the child lay on the bamboo bed, he is asleep (lit. has slept).

'klaa 'mnö c mu ylä bi -kä [sese] field:DEF inside 3S go now:LOP stroll PUR NUPT She (= the mother) then goes for a stroll into the (rice) field.

'yuo -gb ylä nä [sese] child:DEF wake_up:CP now:LOP sp1 NUPT Now when the child has woken up,

kɔ mu ylä -mɔɔ 'klaa 'mnö ASF:3S go:ICP now:LOP loc field inside he then goes into the (rice) field.

'sääkaa -bälti' wa saa wä [sese] rice:DEF path:OBL 3p take_away:DSTP2 PST3 NUPT Formerly they used to make paths into the rice fields.

umu c bhlü ylä [sese] NH3:TH 3S take now:LOP NUPT It was such a path that he (= the child) then took.

Laagɔ nu ylä wāl nā [sese] God do:ICP now:LOP things sp1 NUPT Now as God does things,

'ŋnɔɔ mʋ yɩ 'wlu yltbha -kä nā [sese] woman:DEF go:ICP now head turn PUR sp1 NUPT as the woman was now turning her head,

'ɔɔ' plɛ nynā mnɛɛ -ɛ yi [sese] 3S:GEN liver sp2 animal nh:REL come:ICP NUPT she thought it was an animal that was coming.

du c yä 'yuo 'bhlä [sese] c lä ID 3S XPER child:DEF hit NUPT 3S say She kills (lit. has killed) her child!

kɔ wlo yi, -n ni yi cɔ' 'yu mɔ [sese] ASF:3S look now 2S find now 3S:GEN child ? NUPT As she was now looking, there's now her child!' [Iueuzi 43-55]
9.1.2 The yi clause

In contrast with the temporal adverb yi ‘now’, which merely shows that the narrative is moving forward, the presence of the verb yi ‘come’, which is actually the future auxiliary (see §2.5.1), indicates that the action is moving along in the expected way, as shown in example (196a) and b.

(196) a. -mā ɔ nyima monie -aan ‘nɪ monie
ADD4 3S waste:CP money:DEF a_long_time ADD1 money:DEF
‘Now he wasted the money until (lit. for a long time and then), the money,
ɛ yio ’mʊ -bha ɛ yio wɔɔ’ -bhʊ
NH2 XFUT:3S VCP leave NH2 XFUT:3S fingers:OBL beFinished
it was gone, it was finished (lit. it was finished in his fingers).’ [filsprod 36–37]

b. ʋʋ’ mnö -yɛɛ ylā nā
NH3:GEN inside be_dry:CP now:LOP SP1
‘When its (= the house) inside had now dried,
‘nɪ ɛ yi ’mʊö ˈplʊʊ
ADD1 NH2 XFUT LOC pass:APL
he (= the chimpanzee) then went in
‘nɪ ɛ yi sā pu o
ADD1 NH2 XFUT VPC lie_down EXCL2
and lay down!’ [gwebhutu 18–20]

A yi clause is typically introduced by the additive connective ‘nɪ ‘ADD1’. This is not surprising, given that ‘nɪ establishes a close pragmatic relationship between two pieces of information (see §7.1). A yi clause is therefore always part of the same thematic grouping as the preceding clause.

A frequent context for yi clauses is after represented speech (see chapter 6). Such yi clauses talk about the carrying out of the action that was ordered, recommended, agreed upon, or decided in the represented speech. The action “comes about”, so to speak, after having been commanded, etc.

There may also be several yi clauses in a row, talking about successive events resulting from a represented speech, as in example (197). Given that events expressed by a yi clause are all part of the same thematic grouping, the yi clause thus also acts as a cohesive device within a thematic grouping. The last yi clause of the series is typically taken up as a linkage clause at the beginning of the next thematic grouping, as shown in examples (197a) and (197b). Note the presence of the element ylā ‘now:LOC’ in the linkage clause in both of these examples.

(197) a. wlā -n būdūo yi [sese] 3P:say 2S wash:CAUS:3S now! NUPT
‘They said, “Wash him now!”
‘nɪ ɔ yio ’kv bhlū
ADD1 3S XFUT:3S VPC take
Then she took him’

Marchese (1986a) calls the yi clauses ‘sequential clauses’ and the yi auxiliary a ‘sequential auxiliary’. She gives a fairly complete description of the yi clause, its grammar and its distribution in narrative. However, in the discourse grammar point of view that she argues from she cannot find a truly unified function for it. Indeed, in her conclusion she states that speakers use yi clauses “to combine events together when they want to focus in on punctiliar events […], to wind down the paragraph […], to set up expectations for the story climax […], to point to significant conclusions at story-end, and they use them to signal macro-level divisions” (ibid. 266).
'ni c yio büda 'fin [sese]
ADD1 3S XFUT:3S wash:CAUS all NUPT
and washed him completely.

'ni wa yio litliti 'ku 'nu [sese]
ADD1 3P XFUT:3S riches VPC add NUPT
Then they put ornaments on him.’ [lueuzi 85–88]

b. 'bhlü gwieyee 'ku [sese]
take palm_nut:grain:DEF VP NUPT
‘Take the palm nut!

'ni c yio gwieyee 'nye [sese]
ADD1 3S XFUT:3S palm_nut:grain:DEF give NUPT
So he gave him the palm nut

'ni Gople yie lü [sese]
ADD1 Gopleu XFUT:NH2 eat NUPT
and Gopleu ate it,

ɔ -lä ylä gwieyee nă
3S eat:CP now:LOP palm_nut:grain:DEF sp1
When he had now eaten the palm nut, …’ [sigo 71–74]

c. ɔɔ' 'slènɔɔ [sese] ɔ laa
3S:GEN first_wife NUPT 3S say
‘His first wife, she said,

n 'kä -zikä -mɔɔ' 'klää' mʋ [sese]
1S XPOT today LOC:GEN field:OBL go NUPT
“I am going to go to the field there today.”

'ni c yi ylä 'yu o 'ku bhlü [sese]
ADD1 3S XFUT now:LOP child:DEF VPC take NUPT
Then she took the child

'ni c yi ylä -mɔɔ mʋ
ADD1 3S XFUT now:LOP LOC go
and she now went there.

ɔ -mʋ ylä […] nă
3S go:CP now:LOP sp1
When she had now gone…’ [lueuzi 28–31]

Apart from contexts after represented speech, yi clauses are also used for actions that the hearer can expect from the preceding actions on the basis of encyclopaedic knowledge, as is the case in example (198).

(198) 'ni c -loo là 'sàkàzize [sese]
ADD1 3S clear_land:CP LOP rice_field NUPT
‘then he cleared land for a rice field
The choice of the verb yi ‘come’ is certainly not accidental. Rather, it seems motivated by the deictic component in its meaning. Indeed, just as the movement of ‘come’ is towards the speaker as the centre of orientation, so a sequence of actions within a thematic grouping is oriented to an outcome within one stage of the development of the narrative. This implies that in sequences of actions that may not seem quite as predictable for the hearer, the narrator conveys to the hearer that the sequence of actions is oriented towards a particular outcome.4

In example (199) the yi clauses occur in the resolution part of the narrative. The theme of the narrative is that the narrator made it to his work place across the lagoon in spite of a strike of the people operating the ferry. The example shows the first five of these clauses.5

(199) ‘nɩ -amʋ -mä n yi lā mu
ADD1 1S:TH ADD4 1S XFUT LOP go
‘Then I, I went

‘nɩ -a yi lā gbɔlʋ pāā
ADD1 1P XFUT LOP row throw:APL
then we got into a queue,

‘nɩ cɔmɔ nyikpɔɔ c yi lā tɛtɛ lvā fā
ADD1 3S:TH person:DEF 3S XFUT LOP first IPF:PL send
then that man, he took (lit. he sent) a first group (across),

‘nɩ c yi lā ‘sɔnɔ lvā -guʋ yi
ADD1 3S XFUT LOP second IPF fetch come
then he came to fetch a second group.

‘sɔnɔ -lvā nā waa ‘kpaa ‘mlō, -mɔɔ n -kumu bhlā
second DPF SP1 3P:GEN group inside LOC 1S BE1:COM:CP PST1:LOP
The second ones, in their group, it was there that I was also,

‘nɩ n yi lā ‘nyie ‘ɔ zɛplūnōō
ADD1 1S XFUT LOP lagoon cross morning:DEM:OBL
and I crossed the lagoon this morning.’ [greve 78–85]

In example (200) the yi clauses in the narrative are found all the way from pre-peak to peak until the dénouement, which is where the protagonist gets his washcloth back. That last event is the expected outcome and goal of the story.

4Note the different analysis of Marchese (1978:66f.), who views yi as a potential auxiliary that may have ‘a future oriented meaning’ that ‘carries over in a sequential sense’ in a series of actions in discourse.
5Note that in this example the connective -mä acts as a spacer (see chapter 7).
It is said that the chap (lit. someone) had stayed like that until

'nj 'nyibhlëa' -lefin c yia waa 'fif
ADD1 river:DEF:GEN totality 3S XFUT:NH1 empty_out altogether
the whole river, he had completely emptied it out

'nj a yi -mm bhâ
ADD1 NH1 XFUT LOC be_finished
and it was empty (lit. finished there).

kokloko ɳnuka yi 'ku yi
ID old_woman:DEF XFUT VPC appear
The old woman appeared!

ɔ -kâ a ɔɔ 'kazɔɔ
3S have PST2 3S:GEN raffia_washcloth:DEF
She had his raffia washcloth.

Then (it is said that) he took his raffia washcloth.' [kazo 50–56]

As noted above, the verb yi 'come' is actually the future auxiliary in Godié (see §2.5.1). It could be argued that its use in narrative sequences is just an extension of its use as a future auxiliary, inasmuch as the outcome of the narrative is the future point towards which the narrative moves in the narrative process.

On the other hand, the use of the yi auxiliary in narrative could also be seen as a separate use of the verb, limited to narrative, indeed as a kind of narrative tense. However, yi is not used for just any kind of development in the narrative, as is the case with the temporal adverb yi ‘now’ (see §9.1.1 above). Rather, it seems to occur specifically with the meaning of outcome of a narrative sequence within a thematic grouping. It therefore does not seem adequate to consider it a narrative tense such as can be found in some other African languages.

9.2 Marking the different stages in the narrative

Apart from the connective -mâ ‘ADDS’ (see §8.1.5), the tail-head linkage construction (see §4.2.3), and the reference by a full noun phrase to an active participant (see §5.2.2.1), there are other devices signalling the transition to a new phase in the underlying mental scheme of the narrative.7 The following devices will be discussed in this section: points of departure, the evidential marker wlâ, the past tense particles bhâ and wâ, the perfect aspect, ideophones, some set expressions occurring before a key event, and orientation to a deictic centre by way of the verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’. For the general role of the progressive aspect in narrative development see §2.6.3).

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7The connective -mâ appears to be the only connective acting at the macro-level of a narrative. All the others occur within a narrative phase (see the introduction to this chapter for this term).
9.2.1 Situational points of departure

The main function of points of departure is to establish an explicit frame of reference (see §4.2.1). This is especially important at points where the frame of reference changes. The transition to a different phase in the mental scheme of a narrative generally implies a change in the frame of reference. So it is to be expected that a point of departure should appear at such a transition point. In Godié narrative, a situational point of departure is typically found there. Indeed, a temporal or spatial point of departure is used at the transition point to the initial phase of the narrative, as in example (201a), and to the complication phase, as in (201b). The presence of the spacer nä ‘SP1’, as in (201b), seems to emphasize the fact that the narrative advances to a new phase in its mental scheme.

(201) a. -łɔɔ 'klää' mne -kʋ -mɔɔ [sese]
there bush:obl animal BE1:CP LOC NUPT
‘There in the forest, there is an animal,
ɛɛ -wụ 'ghlü [sese]
NH2:XNEG CNT2 be_big NUPT
it is not big.’ [creation 27–28]
b. ztkää' 'ylʋʋ 'ko nä ñwadi mv ylã
today:GEN day:DEF on SP1 lad go:ICP now:LOP
‘Now one day (lit. on the day of today) a lad was coming along.’ [kazo 15–16]

9.2.2 The evidential marker wlä

The evidential marker wlä ‘EVD’ is a way to indicate that the speaker is not to be held accountable for the truth of the information that follows, as in example (202). It is a contraction of the third person plural pronoun wa (see §2.2.1), used non-referentially, and the speech introducer lä (see §6.2).7

(202) wlä 'ylʋbä kã ci- a 'kã yi nä
EVD year XCND speak:CP NH1 XPO2 come SP1
‘It is reported that when New Year is going to (lit. says it will) come up,
kã Fäduńyʋa bhlä nyɩkpɔ 'nì wa bʋbɔ jiee
ASF Fanti:people:DEF kill:ICP person ADD1 3P sacrifice ocean:DEF
the Fanti kill someone and they make a sacrifice to the ocean.’ [neyo 33.1–4]

In fictional narrative, or folk tales, the evidential marker has been found to occur at transition points to a new phase in the story. Thus at the transition to the initial stage of the story, possibly after some kind of an introduction, the narrator can use the evidential marker wlä ‘EVD’ to make the audience aware that the story begins, as in example (203a). The speaker thus indicates that what follows is not his own personal narrative but a folk tale that has come to him by tradition. In the latter use the marker can also have the form wlaa, as in example (203b).8

(203) a. wlä nyɩkpɔ .leading- -nöö- lä co ñwntä 'sɔ
EVD person 3S:TH:REL marry:CP LOP 3S:GEN woman:PL two
‘They say that there was once a man who had married two wives.’ [lueuzi 20–21]

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7The pronoun wa with non-referential meaning also occurs elsewhere in the language.
8The presence of the thematic pronoun in these examples is due to the fact that the participant is the first to be brought on stage (see §5.1.3)
b. \textbf{wlæa} nytkpa 'mä slää lä waa 'du
\begin{verbatim}
EVD people TH build:CP LOP 3P:GEN village
\end{verbatim}
‘It is reported that people had built a village for themselves (lit. they say that people, it was they who built their village).’ \[kazo 1\]

Occurrences of \textit{wlæ} at transition points within the story can be seen as reminders that a fictional story is being told, or as cues given to the hearer that the story is moving to a new phase in its mental scheme. Indeed, apart from the peak of the story, where other devices are used (see \S 9.2.3 and \S 9.2.4 below), the evidential marker can be found at any transition point to a new phase within a story.

However, narrators do not use the marker each time they could. Rather, it is their choice and they seem to use it preferably in anticipation of an unexpected turn in the story. The speech or action expressed in the clause following \textit{wlæ} will thus attract the heightened attention of the audience.

The evidential marker \textit{wlæ} in narrative thus has a procedural meaning, which can be formulated in the following terms:

- Be aware that the story is about to move to a new phase with unexpected events.

In example (204) the narrator of the folk tale about the chimpanzee uses \textit{wlæ} at the transition to the unexpected resolution following the peak: the chimpanzee’s contentment after his house has fallen apart and on top of him.

\begin{verbatim}
(204) \textbf{wlæ} 'gwe lä lmi n yä bhɛ lä -zä ci
EVD chimpanzee say NHP:TH 1S XPER PST LOP DP 3 speak
\end{verbatim}
‘The chimpanzee said, “That’s what I had already said.”’ \[gwebhutu 40\]

In example (205) the same narrator uses the marker \textit{wlæ} to introduce the final stage of the story, namely the scars the chimpanzee still carries today from the events told in the story.

\begin{verbatim}
(205) \textbf{wlæ} -n gä lä -zɩkä 'gwe yi 'ni
EVD 2S XPOT LOP today chimpanzee VC (eyes) see
\end{verbatim}
‘Now whenever you see a chimpanzee nowadays...’ \[gwebhutu 47\]

In example (206) the narrator of the story about the bird Dacligo uses \textit{wlæ} at the transition point to a further complication in the story: after winning the war against the animals thanks to Dacligo’s willingness to carry the war fetish, Dacligo wants to give the fetish back and be freed from the ban linked to it, which is not to eat palm nuts.

\begin{verbatim}
(206) \textbf{wlæ} -Dacligo lä tʊʊ yä yt bhɛ (mn)
EVD Dacligo say war:DEF XPER now end UPT
\end{verbatim}
‘Well, then Dacligo said, “The war is now over, 

\begin{verbatim}
na a 'bhlu yt aa’ -gugwaa ‘kv (aa)
SP1 2P take now 2P:GEN war_fetish:DEF VPC UPT
\end{verbatim}
so take back your war fetish.”’ \[dacligo 36–37\]

Example (207) which is taken from the story about the lost washcloth, shows two occurrences of \textit{wlæ}. The first one occurs at the transition point to the protagonist’s unexpected reaction, while the second one occurs at the transition point to the resolution of the story.

\begin{verbatim}
(207) \textbf{wlæ} nytkpɔ -kv wä sɔɔ -aaa
EVD person BE1:CP PST3 thus until
\end{verbatim}
‘It is said that the chap (lit. person) had stayed like that until
the whole river, he had emptied it out entirely

and it (= the water in) was finished (lit. it ended there).

The old woman appeared!

She had his raffia washcloth.

Then (it is said that) he took his raffia washcloth.' [kazo 50–56]

9.2.3 Past tense particles

The past tense particles bhä ‘PST1’ and wä ‘PST3’ are also used at transition points between different phases of the mental scheme of a Godié narrative.9

The past tense particle bhä ‘PST1’ is found both at the beginning of the narrative and at its end. In example (208a) bhä is present in the clause describing the initial phase of the story, and in (208b) it appears in the transition clause to the complication phase. Example (208c) illustrates the use of bhä in the dénouement and (208)d in the final phase of the narrative.10

(208) a. -bhɔɔdä ná ká 'gwɛ -yä nyɩkpɔ 'sɔ -kʋʋ bhä 'kʋ
beginning sp1 ASF chimpanzee add2 person two be1:apl pst1 vpc
‘... in the beginning the chimpanzee and man lived together.’ [gwebhutu 12]

b. -zɛkũiũ' ŋyɛu u-ʊ plöö- bhlä ná
adjacent_day:gen day:gen which be2:cp pst1:lop sp
‘Now yesterday (lit. the one day from now that passed),

umɔ 'kʋ ná wältklɛ -bhlogbe -bhlü bhä
it:th on sp matter_part one_single fall:cp pst1
that day (lit. on it) something happened.’ [greve 15–17]

c. 'nì ɔ yi monie 'kʋ bhlü [-kpazebhleku]
add1 3s xfut money:gen vpc take nupt
‘... he then took the money

‘nì ɔ -nyɛ 'sɔ yi bhä yi aa [-kpazebhleku]
add1 3s add2:nh2 two xfut pst1 come excl3 nupt
and went away (lit. came) with it.’ [kokoleko 174–175]

9See Marchese 1978 for these uses of the tense particles.

10Note the yi clauses (see §9.1.2) in examples (213) and (213), which both express the outcome of the story.
d. 'nɩ vlä Goplë yi bhä 'kv -bha [-kpazebhleku]
   ADD1 EVD Gopleu XFUT PST1 VPC leave NUPT
   ‘Then Gopleu got up

   'nɩ c yi bhä mʉ a [-kpazebhleku]
   ADD1 3S XFUT PST1 go EXCL3 NUPT
   and he went away.’ [sigo 436–437]

   In the coda of a narrative the past tense particle wä ‘PST3’ occurs with the completive aspect, as in example (209).

(209) 'nünëa sâ Sigo -nʉ wä nã c -nʉ Goplë [-kpazebhleku]
   folk_tale:DEF way Sigo do:CP PST3 SP1 3S do:CP Gopleu NUPT
   ‘The story (about) how Sigo acted towards Gopleu

   'nɩ Goplë -mã a -nʉç wä nã [-kpazebhleku]
   ADD1 Gopleu ADD4 NH1 do:3s:CP PST3 SP1 NUPT
   and Gopleu, how he had dealt with him …’ [sigo 438–440]

   In example (210) the tense particle wä is used in the last clause of the complication phase of the narrative. What follows is the reaction of the villagers to the woman’s unintentional killing of her child in the bush. Note the temporal point of departure (see §9.2.1) at the transition point to the reaction phase of the story.

(210) 'nɩ vlä ŋnɔnɔ yi wä a [sese]
   ADD1 EVD woman:DEM come PST3 DP4 NUPT
   ‘And that woman was coming

   'nɩ c ñu wä ӳunɔ sâ a [sese]
   ADD1 3S PUT PST3 child:DEM VPC DP4 NUPT
   and she put that child down.

   zeli yä yi ze [sese]
   daylight XPER now light_up NUPT
   When day broke the next morning…’ [lueuzi 68–70]

9.2.4 The perfect aspect and ideophones

The inherent semantic meaning of the perfect aspect occurring in dialogue is to indicate the current relevance of a past event (see §2.6.3). In other words, the result of the past event is still valid in the speech situation and often also in the future, as illustrated in example (211).

(211) ’naa -ls ç yä -naa ’yuo ’bhlä
   1S:GEN DPF XPER 2S:GEN child:DEF kill
   ‘… my child (lit. mine) hit your child’ [sigo 318]

   In a narrative sequence the perfect aspect in Godié takes on a pragmatic or discourse meaning, which gives a somewhat different instruction for interpretation to the hearer than the perfect aspect in dialogue. Givón (1984:280) has described the use of the perfect aspect in narrative as a marked use, inasmuch as the perfect clause is out of sequence with the rest of a narrative sequence, which normally reports successive events. Givón formulates this meaning of the perfect within a narrative as a pragmatic
inference: “If an event occurs counter-sequentially in narrative report, it must then be relevant to a later point in time—later than its original time point in the natural sequence” (ibid. 284; emphasis in original).

This seems to be exactly the case in Godié narrative. Events that have special significance for the way the narrative subsequently develops are expressed in perfect aspect, that is, by way of the perfect auxiliary yä ‘XPER’, as illustrated in example (212). In this use the free translation into English by present tense is supposed to reflect the counter-sequential nature of the perfect aspect.

(212) Fädunitya wlä wa wlo klë nää
Fanti:people:DEF 3P:say 3P look:ICP behind SP1
‘As the Fanti people were looking behind,

ɔ yä kpänyi 'yikʋ mō
3S XPER much ahead go
he had advanced a lot.’ [neyo 28.1–2]

Evidence of the counter-sequential nature of the perfect aspect in a Godié narrative is the fact that a yä clause is never introduced with the additive connective ‘nɩ then’, which in its temporal sense can express only sequentiality.11 This is in contrast to yi clauses (see §9.1.2), which are used to express sequentiality and are hence typically introduced by the connective ‘nɩ ADD1’.

The instruction for interpretation of perfect aspect, that is, a yä clause within a Godié narrative, can thus be formulated as follows:

- Attribute relevance beyond the current point in the narrative to the event expressed by a yä clause.

Quite often, yä clauses are preceded or followed by an ideophone (‘ID’), which highlights the event and thus underlines its relevance for the narrative (as in example (213b) and (213c) below).

Except for the initial and final phases, a yä clause can occur in any phase within the story: in the phase of complication, as in example (213a); at the peak, as in (213b) and (213c); or in the phase of resolution, as in example (213d).12

(213) a. kä wa mu ylä [-kpazehbleku]
ASF 3P go now:LOP NUPT
‘They were now leaving.

wa yä -blɔɔ bhlü -aaa [-kpazehbleku]
3P XPER road pound until NUPT
They go on the road until

wa yä -blɔɔ 'mu mimi- [-kpazehbleku]
3P XPER road VPC do_half_of NUPT
they reach half way.

Wlä kä wa wlo yi nää [-kpazehbleku]
EVD ASF 3P look now SP1 NUPT
Then all of a sudden (lit. as they were now looking)

11Marchese (1978:73) also reports this feature of what she calls the “perfective” aspect by relating it to “background events that do not coincide with the regular event line but have taken place at some previous time.”
12In (218) the clause translated “when they were now looking” contains two cues concerning narrative development: the marker wlä and the set expression kä wa wlo yi (see §9.2.5). The set expression -n ni occurs in the following clause.
b. *wuë -sumabolu yă -zćć bhlű [-kpazebhleku]  
   ID  Worm  XPER (VPC) fall_down NUPT  
   ‘Worm fell down!  

   -Kakććbheeũ yă -bluu v yă mū [-kpazebhleku]  
   Rooster  XPER  fly  NH3  XPER  go  NUPT  
   Rooster flew, he went away.’ [kokoleko 157–159]

c. ‘mnēa -yă nimnii 'sō yă zamā- gblätätā  
   nose:DEF  ADD1  lip:PL:DEF  two  XPER  be_red:CP  ID  
   ‘The nose and the lips have become/become all red,  

   dolu -bhlobhlo -bhutupapũ -yă papoo -ya  
   blood only  house:wall:PL:DEF  ADD2  palm_branches:DEF  ADD2  
   full of blood! The walls of the house together with the roof,  

   vlu t yă 'gwe 'wlu bhlūū-  
   ID  NHP  XPER  chimpanzee  head  fall:APL  
   wum! they fell/fall on the chimpanzee’s head.’ [gwebhutu 38–39]

d. ‘ŋnɔɔ-mʋ ylä zɩkä nā  
   woman:DEF  go:CP  now:LOP  today  SP1  
   ‘Now when the woman went one day,  

   ‘nyikpo-titë  yă  'kv  ghlā  
   black_ants-swarm  XPER  VPC  appear  
   a swarm of army ants had appeared/appear.’ [siamoi 53–54]

   A meaning component that is frequently present with a yă clause in Godié narrative is the unexpected nature of the expressed event. This is again in contrast to the yi clause, which typically expresses an expected event (see §9.1.2). In examples (214a) and (214b), the clauses expressed in the perfect aspect are unexpected events that constitute a complication in the narrative.13

(214) a. ‘gblikisi gšũ yă bhuo [...]  
   ID  canoe  XPER  overturn  raffia_washcloth:DEF  XPER  go  
   ‘The canoe overturns! [...] The raffia washcloth is gone.  

   ‘kuŋnටkla  -a -kv ylä -mće nyibhlēa  'mū  
   ghost_old_woman:DEF  NH1:REL  BE1:CP  now:LOP  LOC  river:DEF  OBL  
   The old woman’s ghost that was there in the river  

   ‘n  -a  plōō- ylä -mće -zlēa nā  
   ADD1  NH1:REL  BE2:CP  now:LOP  LOC:GEN  spirit:DEF  SP1  
   and that was its spirit,
Later in the same narrative, when the co-wife of the woman who had killed her own child by accident in her field saw all the gifts that the villagers gave to the bereaved woman to comfort her, she decided to also kill her child in the field, in order to get gifts, too. The narrator describes the killing of that child in a yi clause, as for him it is an expected event (see §9.1.2). Interestingly enough, however, the representative of the audience, who had just before given feedback on behalf of the audience, uses a yä clause, as shown in example (215), thus anticipating the event of the child’s murder and expressing that it will have relevance for the way the narrative will turn out.14

(215) ɔɔ’ sä c -yä c’ -lɔɔ ’sɔ -mu ylä ’klä nä
3S:GEN method 3S ADD2 3S:GEN DPF two go:CP now:LOP field SP1
‘When she and her child (lit. hers) went to the field

’gboo- [ɔ yɔ ‘bhlä] ’n t c yio ‘bhlä
ID 3S XPER:3S kill ADD1 3S XFUT:3S kill
with a blow [audience representative: ‘She kills (lit. has killed) him] she kills (lit. has killed) him.’ [lueuzi 106–107]

9.2.5 Set expressions

Another device used by Godié narrators is a complex two-part set expression. It alerts the audience to the fact that an event of special significance is about to be described. The first part of the expression is the clause kä wlo yi (ASF/3S look.ICP/now) ‘when he/she was looking now’ or kä wa wlo yi (ASF/3P look.ICP/now) ‘when they were looking now’. This clause slows down the action of the character and thus increases suspense. The second part of the expression is the imperative clause -n ni (2S/find), ‘here is’ (see §4.1.3). The set expression is used to bring on stage something or someone unexpected at the climax in the narrative, as in (216a) and (216b).15

(216) a. wlä kä wa wlo yi nä [-kpazebhleku]
3P:say ASF 3P look now SP1 NUPT
‘Then all of a sudden (lit. as they were now looking)

-n ni ’nyikpotütë [-kpazebhleku]
2S find black_ants:swarm NUPT
there was a swarm of black ants (lit. find a swarm of black ants)!’ [kokoleko 126–127]

---

14Given that the plan of the co-wife to kill her child is not explicit in the narrative, it could also be unexpected for the audience, which would explain the presence of the yä auxiliary.

15In (221) the high tone of the root of the verb ’ni has been lowered to a mid tone after the low tone pronoun -n.
b. ɗu ɕa 'yuo 'bhlä [sese]
    ɗ:3s XPER child:DEF kill NUPT
    ‘She kills (lit. has killed) her child!

ɕ la kɔ wlo yi -n ni yi ɕ 'yuo mɕ [sese]
3s say ASF:3s look now 2s find now 3s:GEN child TH NUPT
As she was now looking, here is her child!’ [lueuzi 54–55]

9.2.6 Orientation

The notion of orientation in narrative refers to the deictic centre in the discourse world, towards which linguistic elements with a deictic semantic component are oriented. Such elements are demonstratives, but also deictic verbs, such as ‘go’, ‘come’, ‘take’, and ‘bring’. In many languages the change of orientation within a narrative indicates a new phase or a new turn in the narrative.

In Godié narrative, the yi clause with its ‘come’ auxiliary (see §9.1.2) is already such an orientation inasmuch as the moving along of the story is construed as being oriented to the outcome of the story as the overall deictic centre of the narrative. This is particularly striking in example (217), where the solution of the story on the part of the Rooster is expressed by two yi clauses, the second of which even has the verb ‘come’ as a main verb, even though the character leaves the stage. However, his movement is construed as the ‘coming’ towards the goal of the story.

(217) -Kɔkwɛɛnɔ -cc bhe lä monii nii- nä [-kpazebhleku]
    Rooster:DEM 3s:NEG PST LOP money get:CP SP1 NUPT
    ‘That Rooster, who had not gotten any money,

    'n1 ɕ yi monie 'ku 'bhlü [-kpazebhleku]
    ADD1 3s XFUT money:DEF VPC take NUPT
    he then took the money

    'n1 ɕ -nyɛ 'sɔ yi bhä yi aa [-kpazebhleku]
    ADD1 3s ADD2:NH2 two XFUT PST come EXCL3 NUPT
    and went away (lit. came) with it.’ [kokoleko 173–175]

9.3 Theme line versus background

In order to properly follow a story, the hearer also needs cues enabling him to discern which events are theme line and therefore prominent events in the narrative, and which are secondary events or background information and thus less prominent. In Godié, the assertive focus particle kā is a common device for showing higher prominence of an event (see § 4.3.1.1), while the spacer nā ‘SP1’ and the particle lā ‘LOP’ are the most common devices for indicating lower prominence. They are discussed in §9.1 and §4.3.2.1 respectively. Furthermore, all past tense particles typically signal background information (see §2.5). For the use of the particles bhlä and wā as backgrounding devices, see §2.5.2.1 and §2.5.2.3 respectively.
Appendix: Text collection

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due first of all to the speakers of the texts on which this study is based, all of them speakers of the Kagbo dialect: the late Mr. Di Benoit, who was a living depository of stories, the late Mr. Gbaklé Paul, Mr. Kubeu, and Mr. Koci Jean, all from the village of Niégroubouhé; the late Mr. Beugré Atta César from the village of Gobroko; and Mr. Gbley Dada Jean from the village of Godjibouhé. All these villages are in the department (Préfecture) of Sassandra and sub-department (Sous-Préfecture) of Sago. The speaker of the radio news bulletin in Godié (text 15), the late Mrs Louboyo Marie-Claire, called Youbou Gnadro Gawanon, also had Niégroubouhé as her home village.

In addition to his role as narrator, Mr. Gbley Dada Jean also transcribed, keyboarded, and translated all the texts into French shortly after they were recorded.

Finally, thanks are due to Cornelia Wüsthoff, who compiled the texts into a text collection.

Preliminary remarks

The selection of texts presented below contains all the texts from which the examples in the discourse study are taken. Most of the examples were taken from narrative texts. However, since some of the examples in the study were drawn from two non-narrative texts—a dialogue and an exhortation—these texts have been included as well (see text 1 and 18). The texts are listed in alphabetical order by their reference line.

The name and (approximate) age of the speaker(s) at the time of the recording are given for each text, as well as the date of the recording. The recordings are still in cassette form and would have to be digitalized to be accessible in the future.

The writing system used in the transcriptions is the practical orthography developed for all written materials of the Godié language according to the principles developed in cooperation with the Institute of Applied Linguistics at the University of Abidjan. To put all the texts in phonetic transcription would have been very time-consuming and wasn't deemed necessary for the purposes of a discourse study.

Some minor changes have been made in the practical orthography over the years, especially in the writing of grammatical tone at the end of the word and the rendering of the sound [n] after a nasal syllable onset as either l or n (mlö or mnö, nylä or nynä). We have chosen to leave the texts in the orthography in which they were first transcribed, rather than updating them. However, examples taken from the texts and quoted in the discourse study have been updated in the study to represent the current state in Godié orthography.

Material in round brackets is what the transcriber heard the narrator say, while the material in curly brackets is what the transcriber thought the narrator should have said instead, either because it is correct or better to understand. We have left most of these editing remarks by the transcriber in the texts on purpose, as they are likely to show what is the norm at the level of langue (the language system), and what can happen at the level of parole (the actual speech utterances). However, in the quoted examples in the study, the transcriber’s version was chosen and the curly brackets are absent.

By and large the texts are divided into clauses and numbered accordingly. The numbering of the text Neyo is different from that of the other texts in that sentences are numbered and clauses are numbered within the sentences.

Clauses that are quoted in the study are marked with an asterisk.

The text collection is not intended to be a research tool but merely a reference tool for the readers of the discourse study. In other words, the purpose of the text collection is only to allow readers to look for themselves at the wider context of the vernacular examples that are quoted in the study. For this reason the text collection does not fulfill the usual requirements of a scientific text collection. Thus it did not seem necessary to provide a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss of the texts. Rather, the free translation of the vernacular material was by and large deemed sufficient, although in a number of cases a literal
translation has been added in parentheses. The English free translation of the texts was added to the original French free translation only in 2014 by the author of the study.

Folk tales recorded in public with an audience also contain the feedback or uptake signals uttered by the representative of the audience (called an animateur in French), as well as the songs that the narrator sings together with his audience. Both the feedback signals and the songs have been included in the transcription. The study of their place within the narrative is likely to provide important indications for pragmatic units in Godié narrative. Two of the feedback signals, sese and -kpazehbleku, occur only in traditional folk tales. They are unanalyzable and seem to have no semantic meaning. The other signals of uptake and hearer attention are not specific to the folk tale genre.

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1. Cacao

*Genre:* Conversation

*Content:* Visit to give thanks / *Contenu:* Visite de remerciement

*Speakers/Locuteurs:* A (50, male); B (40, male)

*Date:* 19–12–1994

**cacao 001**

A: Gbakl!

A: *Gbákél!*

A: *Gbálél!*

**cacao 002**

B: -Aao!

B: *Yes!*

B: *Oui!*

**cacao 003**

A: -Mâc’ ‘dô?

A: *What’s the news?*

A: *Quelles sont les nouvelles?*
B: -A, Degolu, -ayioo!
B: Well, De Gaulle, hello!
B: Bon, de Gaulle! Bonjour!

Döö' -wɔ 'na buku -kw.
There's no news with me.
Aucune nouvelle chez moi.

'Dplünöö', n -kv là -lɔɔ.
This morning I am there.
Ce matin, je suis là.

-Kugbësä n bha bhlä 'klää' nã,
When coming from the fields yesterday evening.
En venant des champs hier soir,

-Lɔɔ n soo- bhlä 'naa bheŋla nylã
I had said to my sisters that
j'avais dit à mes sœurs que

n -kã a 'naa lebhe pɛ nã,
I had a little piece of work, so
J'avais un petit travail, alors

wa 'kã a mɔ
they could go
elles pourraient aller

wa kã 'mɔ a klää.
help me with it.
m'aider avec cela.

Wlã, -Mã lebhe -sa bhã?
They said, “But what kind of work is it?”
Elles ont dit : « Mais quel travail est-ce? »

N -zã n nã,
So I said
Alors j’ai dit que

'naa kãkãwoobhü n -sã a nã,
my cocoa pods that I had picked,
mes cabosses de cacao que j’avais cueillies,
cacao 015*
wa 'kä mu
they should go,
qu’elles aillent

cacao 016*
wa kää klää
they should help me,

-c a' bi wä, 
break them. (lit. we would break them)
à les casser. (litt. nous allions les casser)

cacao 017*
'ni wamä -mä wa yi bhlä 'ku no.
and they, they had accepted.
alors elles, elles avaient accepté.

Zëllü -ze là zëplünö 'pii nã,
When day broke, very early this morning
Quand il a fait jour, très tôt ce matin,

nn' -late -göglä,
I wasn’t ready yet,
je n’étais pas encore prêt,

cacao 021
'ni wamä -mä wa yi là mu,
then they, they came (lit. went)
alors elles, elles sont venues (litt. allées)

cacao 022
'ni wa yi'i là soo,
to talk to me
et elles m’ont parlé

cacao 023
wlä -n -nä
saying, “You said
en disant: « Tu as dit

cacao 024
-a' gä a 'klää' mu nã,
we would go to the field,
que nous devrions aller au champ, alors

cacao 025
-zëllü yä -zedä gwlez nã,
it’s been a while that morning has broken,
comme cela fait un bon moment qu’il fait jour,
-anyt -a yà göglä nà,  
as for us, we are ready now,  
nous, nous nous sommes apprêtées, alors

cacao 027  
-a 'gà yi 'klää mv.  
let’s go to the field now.”  
allons au champ maintenant! »

cacao 028  
N -zä nà, ɔɔ!  
I shouted, “Oh dear!  
Je me suis écrié: « Oh, mon Dieu,

cacao 029  
nn -lä -kä ‘tee -góglä!  
I am not ready yet!  
je ne suis pas encore prêt!

cacao 030  
-Amv, n nà,  
As for me, I had said to myself  
Moi, je me suis dit

cacao 031  
kä wätt yi nà,  
that it was really cold, so  
qu’il faisait vraiment froid, alors

cacao 032  
wätt kà a doo nà,  
when the cold would be over,  
qund le froid finirait,

cacao 033  
n -yä anyt 'sɔ, -a 'gà bhe …  
I and you together, we would have…  
moi et vous ensemble, nous serions/ aurions …

cacao 034  
n 'kanyi bhe wält 'pà kää' mv.  
I would have come to call you.”  
je serais parti vous appeler. »

cacao 035  
Wlä, -Anyt -mä kà -a -yä -mɔɔ 'sɔ là 'kää lâ mv.  
They said, “We and you, let’s go together.”  
Elles ont dit: « Nous, nous allons partir avec toi. »

cacao 036  
Nì wamä -mä wa yi lâ sɔɔ ci.  
Then they, they said that.  
Alors elles, elles ont parlé ainsi.
One of them, Aceli, she now left; 

Mais elle, Aceli, suite à cela (litt. elle a alors quitté là)

Aceli, kɔ -mʋ,  
Aceli, elle a continué

'tɔ c cii yɔ nynã, Bon, 
to say now, “Well, 
en disant alors: « Bon,

n yã 'nu,  
I have understood,  
j'ai compris,

-mã n 'kã mʋ  
but I’ll go  
mais je m’en vais

-yã n 'kã kplikonyɔɔ 'yi 'ni,  
and I am going to see the woodworker,  
voir le menuisier,

tyã -a -yc 'ɔɔ -kã a wãh klẽ nã,  
and we and he had a little problem to solve, so  
et nous avions quelque chose à régler avec lui, alors

a kã -bhlũ nã,  
when that is solved  
quand ce sera résolu,

-a 'gã -kɛ -lɔɔ -adãblãã' ku 'klũ sloo,  
we’ll meet there in the marketplace.  
nous allons nous rencontrer sur la place du marché.

-Mägũt ŋu' ku -a 'gã -lɔɔ 'klũ sloo.  
It is in the marketplace that we shall meet.”  
C'est sur laplace du marché que nous allons nous rencontrer. »
As for me, when I now left the house,
Moi, quand j’ai maintenant quitté la maison,

I came,
je suis venu,

I stood there a little while,
j’attendais (litt. étais debout) un peu,

then they, they now came.
puis elles sont venues.

When they had now come,
Quand elles sont maintenant venues,

(I said,) “When we go there to the field,
(j’ai dit:) « Quand nous allons au champ là-bas,

what will we eat?”
qu’est-ce que nous allons manger? »

They said, “Well,
Elles ont dit: « En fait,

since we have food there at home,
nous avons de la nourriture à la maison, donc

we’ll go
nous allons partir

we’ll take it with us.”
pour la prendre avec nous. »
cacao 059

'Nt wamä -mä wa yi 'mv ylúbhɔ.
Then they, they returned home.
Puis elles se sont retournées.

cacao 060

Bhlogbe, -anv, Aceli yi lä 'mv ylúbhɔ,
One of them, what's her name, Aceli returned,
L'une d'entre elles, euh, Aceli, est retournée

cacao 061

'ntɔ yi yi
she went (lit. came)
elle est partie (litt. venue)

cacao 062

'ntɔ yi lülülù 'kv 'bhlu,
and she picked up the food
et elle a pris la nourriture

cacao 063

'ntɔ yii lä `'baduu' 'mlö 'nyv,
and she put it into her bag,
et elle l'a mise dans son sac,

cacao 064

'nt-anyt -mä -a -yi 'so yi lä 'klää mv.
then we, we went to the field with it (=the food).
puis nous sommes allés au champ avec.

cacao 065

Lebhene -a -mv là 'zaazi,
That work, we really went (to do it),
Ce travail, nous sommes allés effectivement

cacao 066

'nt -a -ŋë lä nả,
and when we arrived
et nous sommes arrivés, alors

cacao 067

Laagɔ -gbə nả,
by God's grace (lit. God made that),
par la grâce de Dieu (litt. Dieu a fait que)

cacao 068

wa -nve.
they did it (= the work).
elles l'ont fait (= le travail).

cacao 069*

'Klaa 'mlò, sukɔ -kv -mɔɔ
In the field there were ants (sp.),
Dans le champ, il y avait des fourmis (esp.),
cacao 070*
-bhle sukpono suwa,
but even though these ants were stinging them
mais malgré le fait que les fourmis les piquaient,

cacao 071*
’tn wɔ wǎl wà ’tn -wɔ ’mányi.
they didn’t care about it.
elles ne s’en sont pas préoccupées.

cacao 072
’N wà yi lâ kàkàwà wël -aaa dëdëlgiyi ’kogbassɔ’
And they broke the cocoa a long time until twelve o’clock,
et elles ont cassé le cacao jusqu’à douze heures

cacao 073
’tn wàmă -mă wa yiu là -zɔ bhă.
then they, they finished it.
et elles l’ont fini.

cacao 074
-ɔ!
(I said), “Okay now,
(J’ai dit:) « Eh bien!

cacao 075
Lebhee, a yē nū, ayya -kă!
the work, you have done it,
thanked you!
le travail, vous l’avez fait, merci!

cacao 076
-ɔ gă yī sɔɔ nă,
Given that (you have finished),
Puisqu’il en est ainsi,

cacao 077
kă a -yă ’naa bukuv’ -sɔɔ lă ’plö,
you will leave (lit. pass) with my younger brother
vous allez quitter avec mon frère cadet

cacao 078
iyă a mv duu’ njeë, -mă
in order to arrive in the village, whereas
pour rejoindre le village, tandis que

cacao 079
n ’kă -mɔɔ ’naa ’yikuv’ ’klaa ’mlō nje -yă
I’ll go to (lit. arrive in) my field further along and
je vais arriver dans mon champ un peu plus loin

cacao 080
n ’kă ’naa ’sákæpulū’ -lā.
I’ll get (lit. bring) a little bit of unpounded rice.”
pour prendre (lit. apporter) un tout petit peu de riz non pilé. »
Then they returned (lit. came) to the village at that point.
Alors elles sont retournées (litt. revenus) au village à ce moment-là.

As for me, after going to the field,
Moi, après être allé dans le champ là-bas,

taking a little bit of unpounded rice
après avoir pris un peu de riz non pilé,

coming to the village,
après être venu au village

it is right that I come here to their house
il est normal que je vienne ici à la maison

in order to thank them for their work.
pour les remercier du travail.

That’s why I have come
C’est pour cela que je suis venu

and you (sg.), you asked me the news about the field there.
et toi, tu m’as demandé les nouvelles.

So, the field is in good shape.
Donc, le champ est en bon état.

That’s all.
(lit. my ending place)
J’ai terminé.

A: Thank you, Gbaklé!
A: Merci, Gbaklé!
cacao 092
- Ayioökä wa’a klaät -ya!
  Thank you for supporting them!
  Merci de les avoir soutenues!

cacao 093
- Ayioökä!
  Thank you!
  Merci!

cacao 094
  B: Bhänva 'na -za!
  B: Thank them for me!
  B: Remercie-les pour moi!

cacao 095
  Bhänva 'na -za
  Thank them for me!
  Remercie-les pour moi,

cacao 096
- mä wa -nu lebhe
  because they worked!
  parce qu’elles ont travaillé!

cacao 097
  A: Acëli, (aao) ayayo -kä!
  A: Acéli, thank you!
  A: Acéli, merci!

cacao 098
  Ayayo -kä!
  Thank you (to both of you)!
  Merci (à vous tous les deux)!

cacao 099*
  Ayayo -kä Gbakl kläät -ya!
  Thank you for helping Gbakle!
  Merci d’avoir aidé Gbâlë!

cacao 100*
  Ayayo -kä kâkâwo -wläät -ya!
  Thank you for breaking cocoa!
  Merci pour avoir cassé le cacao!

cacao 101
  Ayayo -kä!
  Thank you!
  Merci!

cacao 102
  B: Laagœ klä-nua o!
  B: May God help them!
  B: Que Dieu les aide!
2. Creation

Genre: Folk tale / Conte traditionnel
Content: How our world came into being / Contenu: L'origine de notre monde
Speaker/Locuteur: C (75, male)
Date: 16-08-1994

creation 001
   N naa,
   I say,
   Je dis,

creation 002
   'nünëä n 'kä 'ylä 'pä nä
   the story I am going to tell (lit. throw),
   le conte que je vais vous raconter (litt. jeter),

creation 003
   kä n ci- bhe là nynä
   I had said that
   j'avais dit que

creation 004
   gämädä nää nää,
   it is nice to have fun,
   l'amusement était bon, donc

creation 005*
   'nünü -ngbü n -zee bhlä
   so it is five stories that I was going to tell.
   c'est cinq contes que j'allais raconter.

creation 006
   Sää 'titi kä -a gä yi 'sänyi nä,
   If we are really determined now,
   Si nous sommes vraiment décidés maintenant,

creation 007
   bhlüt -ya -lt u' leftun, umt -a 'gä lâ 'kä 'phlü,
   singing and everything included, that's what we are going to do (lit. take),
   y compris chansons et tout, c'est ce que nous allons faire (litt. prendre),

creation 008
   tyä wamä 'titi wa 'kä yi -zo -sä
   and so even they (= the white women), they will then explain them,
   pour que même elles (= les femmes blanches), elles puissent maintenant les expliquer

creation 009
   tyä wa 'kä 'sü 'ctä.
   and they will also learn (about them).
   et les apprendre.
creation 010*

(AUDIENCE REPRESENTATIVE) -N 'gä yt bhl -a?
Will you sing now?
Vas-tu chanter maintenant?

creation 011*

'Nn, n 'kä yt 'fta -ngbūnanūnēa 'pā,
No, I am now going to tell the fifth story first,
Non, je vais d'abord raconter le cinquième conte,

creation 012

paske aa' -lā yīc -mɔɔ too.
because it must not be left out. (litt. stay behind)
parce qu'il ne faut pas qu'il reste.

creation 013

A kä yī -mɔɔ -too nā,
If it was left out,
S'il restait,

creation 014

-amv 'titii- 'nyigē- ylā n yēku.
I would betray myself (=I wouldn't keep my promise to tell five stories)
c'est moi-même qui me trahirais maintenant. (= je ne tiendrais pas ma promesse)

creation 015

(AUDIENCE REPRESENTATIVE) -Ɛɛ, 'titi lá.
Yes, that's exactly it.
Oui, c'est exactement cela.

creation 016

Wlä -a 'bäs, waa' Laag wluw- lā
It is believed (lit. they say) that before our forefathers, before their God existed,
On raconte qu'avant que nos ancêtres, leur Dieu existe

creation 017

'n ḥpū ṣwluw- lā nā, (sese)
and the world existed,
et que le monde existe,

creation 018*

-'dvdvn‘ wɛ -ku
there was no firm ground,
il n'y avait pas eu de terre ferme,

creation 019*

-mā jie -bhlobhlo wlā. (sese)
but only the ocean existed.
c'était seulement la mer.

creation 020

'Fū 'n 'kɔɔbhē, 'ŋvū 'jekpiyuē 'nī -anyŋ nyękpa -kɔŋkɔŋ (sese)
Before the world existed, including the white people and us the black people.
Avant que le monde n'existe, y compris les Blancs et nous les Noirs,
creation 021

nytkpɔ kää- -soo nynä
if someone says to you that
si quelqu’un te dit que

creation 022

jie ‘wuklê, nytkpɔ -kv -mɔɔ nā,
behind the ocean there was someone,
derrière la mer il y avait quelqu’un,

creation 023

sonōɔ- nynä
tell him,
dis-lui:

creation 024

-n -kä -kläkplä. (sese)
“That’s wrong.” (lit. you are lying)
« C’est faux. » (litt. tu mens)

creation 025

Nytkpɔɔ’-wv -mɔɔ -kv.
There was no one out there.
Il n’y avait personne là-bas.

creation 026

‘Lēkpënä -bhlogbe coo, amā -a -kv là ’mv.
Only this place here, that’s where we are.
Cet espace ici seulement, là où nous sommes.

creation 027*

-Lɔɔ ’klää’, mnc -kv -mɔɔ, (sese)
There in the forest there is an animal,
 Là-bas en brousse, il y a un animal

creation 028*

eɛ’ -wv ’ghläu. (sese)
it is not big.
il n’est pas gros.

creation 029*

Ɛme wa la ’Nɛmv.¹ (sese)
It is called Red Deer.
On l’appelle Biche Royale.

creation 030*

Ɛmεɛ- -mv là -a ’Bä yëku, (sese)
She was the one that went to our Father (= God).
C’est elle qui est partie auprès de notre Père (= Dieu)

¹’Nɛmv is the vernacular name for a small species of mazama deer, probably mazama rufina. / ’Nɛmv est le nom godié pour désigner une petite biche, probablement l’espèce mazama rufina.
creation 031*

nynaa ‘du -mä -aa’ -ye -kä  
*saying, “We have no village*  
en disant: « Nus n’avons pas de village,*

creation 032

’nì ’nyie -bhlobhlo là nà,  
*and there is only water,*  
et il y a de l’eau seulement,*

creation 033

bheeje, -n ’gä gbä  
*please, make it happen*  
pardon, fais

creation 034

-yä -a ’gä -dudo ’ni.  
*that we find firm ground (to live on)!”*  
que nous trouvions de la terre ferme (pour habiter)! »

creation 035

{-A ’Bä Laagɔ là,) ɫu’ -wo wält -kä,  
*Our Father God said, “That’s not a big deal,*  
Notre Père Dieu dit: « Cela n’est rien,*

creation 036

{-mä} -mɔɔ plöō- ylä ’Nemv nà,  
*because it is now you, Red Deer,*  
puisque c’est maintenant toi, Biche Royale,*

creation 037

-n yä ci nà  
*you have spoken,*  
tu as parlé,*

creation 038

n yä ’nu o!  
*I have understood!*  
j’ai compris!*

creation 039

-Mä -n gä -mû nà,  
*Now when you leave,*  
Quand tu pars,*

creation 040

-lu’ -lumì n nyee- là nà,  
*the things that I will have given you,*  
les choses que je t’aurai données,*
creation 041

-n gã -mu nã
when you leave,
quand tu pars,

creation 042

-n 'bhlii 'kv,
take them!
prends-les!

creation 043

-N tito, -n -bha -mɔɔ jiee',

Go alongside (the ocean), start there from the ocean
Suîs le bord de la mer, pars de là-bas à la mer

creation 044

dâ ë bhloo là nã,
where it ends
où elle finit,

creation 045

-ɔɔ -wɔ -mɔɔ ëë 'wuklëë',
it's not there behind it,
pas derrière elle

creation 046

-mā nyîkpa -kv là nã,
because there are the people,
parce que les hommes sont là,

creation 047*

'nt dâ ë bhloo-,
and where it ends,
et là où elle finit

creation 048*

'nt dâ wa -kv là nã
and where they live,
et où ils sont

creation 049*

-n titonën
come alongside it
marche là-bas

creation 050*

-ýä -n 'mëë -lu 'kɔɔkɔ!
while spreading the things all the time!
et répands les choses toujours!
creation 051

Nä -n mëënu ylä nä,  
*Then as you are spreading them now*
*Alors (plus) tu les répandras maintenant*

creation 052

sɔɔ jiee lä 'kä lä gwë -sä.  
*so the ocean will go back.*
*plus la mer reculera.*

creation 053

ɛ kä yi gwë -sä nä,  
*When it will now have gone back,*
*Quand elle aura reculé maintenant,*

creation 054

'klä yä yi.  
*forest comes (lit. has come),*
*alors la forêt vient (litt. est venue)*

creation 055*

-zägbä yä yi,  
*dry ground comes,*
*la plage vient (litt. est venue),*

creation 056*

nykpaa wa 'kä -kä 'slä,  
*so that the people can build,*
*pour que les hommes puissent construire,*

creation 057*

Wa 'kä -kä sä ke,  
*so that they can settle,*
*pour qu’ils s’installent (litt. s’asseoient)*

creation 058*

wa 'kä -kä loo  
*so that they can clear ground to make fields,*
*pour qu’ils défrichent*

creation 059*

wa 'kä -kä liiülüvo lü.  
*so that they have food to eat.*
*pour qu’ils aient à manger. »*

creation 060

Nemü lä, -Aa,  
*Red Deer said, “Okay.”*
*Biche Royale dit: « D’accord. »*
'n v yi lä -lú 'kú 'bhlü.

and she took the things.

et elle, elle prit les choses.

together, she took the things.

and elle, elle prit les choses.

Their things, she took the things.

Et elle, elle prit les choses.

creation 062

U 'bhää- yi -moo jiee' -zoo -aaa,

She now began there in the south (lit. under the ocean) for a while

Elle a alors commencé au sud (litt. en bas de la mer) pendant un temps

creation 063

ʋ -kú 'mëëdä -aaa,

she kept on spreading the things until

to keep on spreading the things until

elle a continué à répandre les choses jusqu'à ce qu'

creation 064

'ŋ v yi lä puppuv' 'lékpèa 'klu glää-. (sese)

She had gone all around the world.

elle a fait le tour du monde entier.

creation 065

U -glää -nöa ylä 'klu nà,

When it had now gone all around it, ...

Quand elle en avait maintenant fait le tour, ...

creation 066

-Nëna n pâ ylä -lää nà,

This one (= story) that I am telling here

Celui-ci (= conte) que je conte maintenant ici,

creation 067

aa'-wv 'lu -kä, (sese)

it doesn't have a song.

il n'a pas de chant.

creation 068

N yi -lätee 'sòna laa 'pää.

I shall yet tell another one (= story).

Je raconterai encore un deuxième (= conte).

creation 069

N ka yi paa- nà,

When I shall have finished telling (lit. showing) it,

Quand j'aurai fini de le raconter (litt. montrer),

creation 070

'ŋ -lëe 'lúu n nà n 'kä lä bhlit nà,

the songs that I want to sing,

les chants que je veux chanter,
creation 071

ǔ bhloodă -ku ylä -lɔɔ.

*that is now their end.*

*c’est alors leur fin.*

creation 072

lm ‘mnö naa, (sese)

*In all this*

*Dans tout cela,*

creation 073

’Nemö bhlüü- ylä wälun ’ku naa, (sese)

*Red Deer took these instructions (from God),*

*Biche Royale a pris ces consignes (de Dieu)*

creation 074

’n v yii ylä nö -aaa

*and she then carried them out*

*et elle les a alors suivies*

creation 075

ǔ ’yłużcoc -a -ku ylä -zukä. (sese)

*for the world where we now live today.*

*pour le monde où nous vivons aujourd’hui.*

creation 076

Naa, Nemo nä, (sese) umu - plöö- lā -dvö ’bā. (sese)

*So Red Deer,*

*it is her that is the owner of the land.*

*Donc, Biche Royale,*

*c’est elle qui est le propriétaire de la terre.*

creation 077

’U ’ylbhö- ylä nā,

*When Red Deer now returned,*

*Quand Biche Royale est maintenant retourné,*

creation 078

v yā yi lebhe nö,

*she had then done the work,*

*elle avait alors fait le travail,*

creation 079

lebhee yā yi bhtā, (sese)

*the work was now finished.*

*le travail était maintenant fini.*

creation 080

-Mā v wlo- ylä -plu nā,

*But then it took a reflective look,*

*Mais alors elle a pris un air pensif (litt. regardé tranquillement),*
creation 081

v läi, “A ’Bä (sese)

she said, “Our Father,

elle dit: « Notre Père,

creation 082

n yä yi ‘bhlë lebhee nu,

I have now done the work in all the countries, (lit. the work of all the countries)

j’ai maintenant fait le travail dans tous les pays, (litt. le travail de tous les pays)

creation 083

t yä yi bhüä

it is now finished,

il est désormais fini,

creation 084

-mä wältklë -bhlogbe -ku -lō nä,

but there is one thing,

mais il y a une seule chose

creation 085

aa’ -lätee -zō -bhuv,

it is not finished yet.

elle n’a pas encore été faite.

creation 086

Nä n ’kä ’kwie ’gbë -gbaa (sese)

It is that I want to close the door to death

C’est que je veux fermer la porte à la mort,

creation 087

’kwie ’kä-any -lä -kä ’bhlä. (sese)

so that death will not hit us.”

afin que la mort ne nous frappe pas. »

creation 088

Umu-lō ’luv, sā wa bhlë ylä naa: (sese)

That song, (here is) how you sing it:

Ce chant-là, (voici) comment on le chante:

creation 089

Atitizan! Tizan! Vumalu ol!²

(A song with the purpose of pleading with God to abolish death.)

(Un chant pour supplier Dieu d’abolir la mort.)

creation 090

Nä umu v yēku ν (v) zeë lä ’ηnō. (sese)

So it is to herself that she dedicates the song (having been sent by God).

C’est son propre nom qu’elle cite (en chantant).

²Vumalu is a surname for Red Deer [transcriber’s note]. / Vumalu est un surnom pour Biche Royale [note du transcripteur].
God having told her to carry out the matter,
Comme Dieu lui avait dit qu'elle fasse les choses,

she had now done them,
elle les avait maintenant faites,

so that death should now decrease,
pour que la mort diminue désormais,

so that death should not hit people to such an extent,
pour que la mort ne frappe pas les gens si fort,

it is that song she now sings.
c'est ce chant qu'elle chante alors.

It is to death that Red Deer will now go close the door.
C'est à la mort que Biche Royale s'en va maintenant fermer la porte.

There is someone in the world
Il y a quelqu’un dans le monde

and they call him Zagbo Spider,
et on l'appelle Zagbo l'Araignée, alors

he (Spider) and she (=Red Deer) now met.
les deux (Zagbo l'Araignée et Biche Royale) se sont rencontrées.
creation 101*
you really are out of breath,
tu es vraiment essoufflée,

creation 102*
so I will accompany you."
donc je vais t’accompagner. »

creation 103
It (Red Deer) said, 
“Okay, if you like. 
Elle (=Biche Royale)dit: « D’accord, si tu veux.

creation 104
Do take it, then! 
Prends alors! »

creation 105
Now the rock that it carried, 
Or la pierre qu’elle portait,

creation 106
its string (= the string attached to it for carrying it) was like the steering wheel of a car 
sa corde (=corde y attachée pour la porter) était comme un volant de voiture

creation 107
that one drives, 
qu’on conduit.

creation 108
and it is not hard (to handle?), 
puis il n’est pas dur (à manipuler?), 
-is it?

creation 109
That’s what now keeps the car (in control). 
C’est lui qui contrôle maintenant la voiture.

creation 110
If it is broken (lit. cut) 
S’il est cassé (litt. cassé)
"is it not useless? (lit. spoiled)

it is useless

il est ruiné"
Oh! Our Father (=God) says, “Oh dear!
Oh! Notre Père (=Dieu) dit: “Oh là là!”

It wasn’t like that!
Ce n’était pas comme cela!

But the one who was responsible for the matter,
Mais le responsable de l’affaire (litt. celui qui avait l’affaire),

that one was Red Deer, wasn’t it?
c’était Biche Royale, n’est-ce pas?

And now yourself, you mention your own name!”
Et maintenant toi-même, tu mentionnes ton propre nom! »

He (=God) said to Spider, “The thing you are now carrying,
Il (=Dieu) dit (à Araignée): « La chose que tu portes maintenant,

there it is going to stay.”
c’est là qu’elle va rester. »

Expression by which the narrator invites the audience to let him know that they want him to go on.)
Expression par laquelle le narrateur invite l’auditoire de lui dire s’ils veulent qu’il continue.)

We have asked to hear more! (lit. it is ‘mati’ we have asked)
Nous avons demandé la suite! (litt. c’est ‘mati’ que nous avons demandé)

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4 This expression is only used by the two oldest narrators, Mr. Di Benoit and Mr. Kubeu. Its meaning is difficult to establish. It probably means something like ‘A true riddle for you to hear!’ / Cette expression est seulement utilisée par les narrateurs les plus âgés, Mr. Di Benoit et Mr. Kubeu. Son sens est difficile à établir. Il veut probablement dire quelque chose comme ‘Un vrai énigme pour vous!’
Spider Zagbo, it is he that has brought this matter (=death) upon us.

Zagbo l’araignée, c’est elle qui a fait venir cette affaire (de mort).

It is he that has brought us death.
C’est elle qui nous a envoyé cette mort.

It is he that has brought us the world.
C’est elle qui nous a envoyé le monde.

Do you see the world?
Est-ce que vous voyez le monde?

Down south (lit. under the ocean), that’s where it begins.
Au sud, c’est là qu’il commence.

That place (lit. there) is good, but at this place where we are,
Cet endroit (lit. là-bas) est vraiment bon, mais chez nous ici,

as it (=the world) is now getting here,
au fur et à mesure qu’il (le monde) arrive ici,

it has now closed the eyes (= it has lost all its good sides)
il a maintenant fermé les yeux (= le monde a perdu ce qu’il a de bon)

and it put (lit. threw) here hills and rocks.
et il a mis (litt. jeté) ici des collines et des rochers.

That is why here where we are it is bad.
C’est pourquoi chez nous ici est mauvais.
{Twànt}

(Expression to inform the audience that the story has come to its end.)

(Expression informant l’auditoire que le conte est terminé.)

creation 140

Naa, ’yua ylā yi/wa yi yi -lää,
So, since the children have now come here
Donc, comme les enfants sont maintenant venus ici

creation 141

’ni wa ylā yi nā,
and they are asking now,
et qu’ils demandent

creation 142

-bhle gāmadā nāa- nā,
and because having fun is a good thing,
et puisque l’amusement est bon,

creation 143

-naa ’klē -n -yi ylā nā,
your part that you know now,
ta part de connaissance que tu as maintenant,

creation 144

-n gā -yibhē nā, -naa ’yuē {-n soo}.
if you know, tell it to your children.
si tu as connu, c’est à tes enfants que tu parles.

creation 145*

l plöö- gāmalī.
It is fun.
C’est de l’amusement.

creation 146

lt’ -zā n pē là ’su -lōo ’nūnē ’yi.
that’s why I am telling that story, after all.
C’est pourquoi je dis ce conte-là.
3. Dacligo

Genre: Folk tale / Conte traditionnel

Content: Why the bird Dacligo sleeps on feathers / Contenu: Pourquoi l’oiseau Dacligo dort sur des plumes

Speaker/Locuteur: D (70, male)
Date: 30-01–96

dacligo 001

-ɔ plöö- lä -Dacligoo nää,
Dacligo (lit. the one who is Dacligo),
Dacligo (litt. celui qui est Dacligo),
dacligo 002

ɔɔɔ -kv lä
how it is
comment il se fait qu’il est là
dacligo 003

'nɔ pu lä zikä númnünkpu 'kv nää,
that he sleeps nowadays on bird feathers
et (qu’) il dort aujourd’hui sur les plumes d’oiseau,
dacligo 004

a -yi u’ -gbä -a? (AUDIENCE /AUDITOIRE. ‘nn)
do you know the importance of it? no
en connaissez-vous l’importance? (non) non
dacligo 005

-Dacligoonö, ’kläzōůnnüü’ -lefuń -t blu lä,
That Dacligo, all the birds of the bush that fly,
Ce Dacligo, tous les oiseaux de la brousse qui volent,
dacligo 006

-bluuubluunumü -t -kä lä nkpu nää (nn)
the birds that fly and that have feathers
les oiseaux qui volent et qui ont des plumes
dacligo 007

yä ’kläzōınnaa ɔɔɔ - ’nii- lä tuv’ väl’t ku. (nn)
and the animals of the bush were at war with each other.
et les animaux de la brousse ont été en guerre.
dacligo 008*

Tuvu t ve lä nää, (nn)
This war they were fighting,
Cette guerre qu’ils ont menée,
dacligo 009

sā -gbomnaa, kotükämnaa bhlä lä

how the animals with hooves and the animals with claws were killing

_dacligo 009a_

-anu nümnüü nä,

what are they called, the birds,

comment les animaux à sabots et les animaux à griffes tuaient

_dacligo 010_

u’ {nỳ} -w v lä dä.

they (= the birds) didn’t have a chance (lit. place).

ils ne leur donnent de chance (litt. place).

_dacligo 011_

'Memv nümnüü kâ wa hlît sää ’titi

The very birds, they were really killing them

Les oiseaux même, ils les tuaient réellement

_dacligo 012_

-n nà sâ wa bhlä là zskąp nà.

as if they were killing flies.

comme s’ils tuaient des mouches.

_dacligo 013_

‘Nî wa -mû lâ têgu -slâ -kâ

Then they (= the birds) went to do a war fetish (that would allow them to win the battle)

Alors ils (= les oiseaux) sont allés faire un fétiche de guerre (pour gagner la bataille).

_dacligo 014_

Têgunv wa -mû lâ slâ -kâ nàa,

This war fetish that they went to do,

Ce fétiche de guerre qu’ils sont allés faire,

_dacligo 015_

wlâ, -mâ’ -gâ bhä (-anu) toguu ’titi vû’ -têbhuu kää ’ä?

they said, “But who will be responsible for it?”

ils se sont dits: « Mais qui sera réellement volontaire pour porter la responsabilité du fétiche de guerre? »

_dacligo 016*

-Mâ’ -têbhukânycc nà, cc’ lîü -kâ gwi.

However, the one who is responsible for the war fetish, he must not eat palm nuts, as you know.

Dacligo 017*

(mnâa’) {nümnnüi} -lefun wlä waa’ {v lâ u}’ ‘ylâ ’yee {-wu}.

All the (animals) {birds}, they refused (lit. they said they were not willing).
Dacligo said, “Alright, I'll take the matter upon me.”
Dacligo dit: « Je prendrai l'affaire sur moi. »

That Dacligo, it is he who took the responsibility of that war.
Ce Dacligo, c'est lui qui portait la responsabilité de cette guerre.

In that (phase of the) war they were now going to fight,
Mais (dans) cette (partie de la) guerre qu'ils sont venus faire ensuite,

The birds were killing the animals with hooves!
les oiseaux tuaient les animaux à sabots!

Well, say it is better to negotiate for peace
On dit: Tenez! Il vaut mieux négocier pour la paix,

Even the chimpanzee, it is really strong,
Même le chimpanzé, il a de la force,
Yii 'sɔ 'gba 'gba! C'est fini. (aa)
It is the two eyes that it hits (with its beak) and that's the end.
il frappe les deux yeux à coups de bec, c'est fini (= il les casse).
dacligo 028
Tʊnʊ, wa yä yi tʊnʊ vë -aaaaaa,
That war, they fought it for a long time until
Cette guerre, ils ont alors fait cette guerre pendant longtemps.
dacligo 029
'mɛɛm væəmnaa 'titi, sä núm núū bhl la nā,
even the animals of the bush themselves, the way the birds were killing them,
Même les animaux de la brousse eux-mêmes, la manière dont les oiseaux les tuent,
dacligo 030
-мя 'nt mnnaa, kt bhla-a-nyi lā,
(they said), “The animals, they are really killing us
« Car les animaux, ils sont en train de nous tuer;
dacligo 031
nůmnůū, kt bhla-a-nyi lā. (nn)
the birds, they are really killing us.”
les oiseaux, ils sont en train de nous tuer.
»
dacligo 032
'Nt wa yi lā tʊnʊ 'wlu slā. (aa)
Then they negotiated for peace (lit. prick the war on the head).
Et ils ont négocié pour la paix.
dacligo 033
'Teŋyu' -mā wa -slā ylā tʊnʊ 'wlu nā, (nn-)
At the moment when they had now negotiated for peace,
Au moment où ils ont maintenant négocié pour la paix,
dacligo 034
wa kā yī tʊnʊ 'wlu -slā
if one has negotiated (lit.pricked the war on the head)
Si on demande que la guerre finisse
dacligo 035
u.. / kā uŋ bhtā -wɔ -a? (nn)
is it (= the war) not finished?
ne finit-elle pas?
dacligo 036*
Wlā -Dacligoo lā, Tʊnʊ yā yi bhū
Well, then Dacligo said, “The war is now over
Eh bien, Dacligo dit: « La guerre est finie maintenant,
dacligo 037*

nä a 'bhlü yì aa' -gəgwaa 'kv!
so take back your war fetish (that you gave me to carry)."
*alors reprenrez votre fétiche de guerre! »

---

dacligo 038

Nümna -Da(cligo)...
The bird Dacligo...
L'oiseau Dacligo...

---

dacligo 039

Wältu -Dacligoo ci nà, a nu -a? « ou bien » Wältu {-am} Dacligoo {n} ci nà a nu -a? (nn)
What Dacligo is saying, do you hear it?
Ce que Dacligo dit, est-ce que vous l'entendez?

---

dacligo 040

A bhlü yì aa' -gəgwaa 'kv
Take your fetish now,
Prenez votre fétiche maintenant,

---

dacligo 041

n 'kà yì 'nää gwieye kpɔ.
I want to nibble my palm nut now!
je veux maintenant grignoter ma graine!

---

dacligo 042

Alee! A kää lää' nümnè nìi- nà,
Come on, whenever it finds any kind of bird,
Allez! S'il trouve un oiseau quelconque,

---

dacligo 043

kää nümnëa 'täkänɛ kee nà.
the bird actually turns its back on him.
l'oiseau lui tourne dos.

---

dacligo 044

Alee! A ka 'kv -bhlü
Come on! If he (=Dacligo) seizes him,
Allez! S'il (= Dacligo) le saisit,

---

dacligo 045*

ka sä -mɔɔ nɔŋpù.
he takes a feather from him (lit. from there).
il lui (litt. y) enlève une plume.

---

dacligo 046

-N 'bhlü yì -gəgwaa 'kv
(He says,) “Take now the fetish,
« Prends maintenant le fétiche,
A kä lää nümné nii nää,  
Whenever it finds a bird,  
S’il rencontre un oiseau quelconque,
dacligo 049

sä a nu lä 'kwu! 'kwu! 'kwu!
as he says, “Kwi! kwi! kwi!”  
lorsqu’il fait « kwi! kwi! kwi! »
dacligo 050

nä soo sä -moo nukpu.  
then at the same time it takes a feather from it,  
alors en même temps il lui arrache une plume,
dacligo 051

N yi aa’ nukpu ‘kv pu  
(saying,) “I will sleep on your feathers.”  
(disant:) « Je vais dormir sur vos plumes. »
dacligo 052

Gbäa ‘mno -Dacligoo, c’slää lä nümün’kpt nää/nū,  
The explanation why Dacligo, he tears out the animals’ feathers,  
L’explication pourquoi Dacligo, il arrache des plumes aux oiseaux,
dacligo 053

umt -t -kv lë -lää.  
that’s it (lit. it is it that is here).  
la voilà (c’est elle qui est là).
dacligo 054

Nümünüü t ‘bhlë yi -gogwa ‘kv  
The birds, they should now come to take (back) their fetish,  
Que les oiseaux viennent prendre leur fétiche,
dacligo 055

tyä -Dacligo ‘kä -ke gwieye lü -mū nää,  
so that Dacligo can also eat a palm nut,  
pour que Dacligo puisse manger une graine de palme aussi,
dacligo 056

wlë nümünüü lë u’ ‘ylë -wv.  
it is reported that the birds say that they are not willing.  
on dit que les oiseaux disent qu’ils ne veulent pas.
They are no longer willing.
Ils ne veulent plus.

It is Dacligo that has the palm nut as his totem.
C'est Dacligo qui a le totem de la graine.

It is he who has the war fetish.
C'est lui qui a le fétiche de guerre.

that’s why he takes feathers from the birds.
c’est pourquoi il arrache les plumes des oiseaux.

There I have told (lit. shown) one of my tales!
Voilà, j’ai dit mon conte!

zagbo, zagbo, on your head!
zagbo, zagbo, sur votre tête!

Well, Zagwa, thank you, thanks a lot.
Bon, Zagwa, merci, merci beaucoup.

The meaning of zagbo is unknown. / Le sens de zagbo est inconnu.
4. Decesrad

Genre: Radio news / Nouvelles à la radio
Content: Information of a death case / Contenu: Annonce d’un décès
Speaker/Locuteur: E (40, female)
Date: 05-02-1993

decesrad 001
-zükái' -lu n nií- lá

Today’s news (lit. the things of today) that I have found
Les nouvelles d’aujourd’hui que j’ai trouvé

decesrad 002
-yà n ’kanyt lá soo ná,
and that I am going to tell you,
et que je vais vous dire,

decesrad 003

ttetewählkléa plöö- kwiee’ wâl.

the first piece of news is about a case of death.
(est que) la première partie concerne la mort.

decesrad 004
-Aa 'bhlé 'mlö nytkpaa -wa -klää lá -a 'bä Fofôe

The people from our country that have helped our father Houphouet
Les gens de notre pays qui ont aidé notre père Houphouët

decesrad 005
’n œ -nu lá ’bhlé ’mlö lebhe

in his work (lit. and he worked) in this country
et il a travaillé dans le pays

decesrad 006
’n ’bhlé -känöö lá -züká ’klö ná,

and the development of the country (lit. the country has opened) today,
et le développement du pays (litt. le pays s’est ouvert) aujourd’hui,

decesrad 007
waa nêeddëe’ lâ’-bhlogbe, ćm-ć kuu- (wlâ) bhâl.
one of them died.
l’un d’entre eux est mort.

decesrad 008
-Zêkúü’ ’ylvù ’mv -lâ wa -mvâ bhâl ’kubhutuu’ -sâ -kâ.

On the day of yesterday, that’s when they went to take him from the morgue.
C’est dans la journée d’hier qu’ils sont partis le sortir de la morgue.

decesrad 009
-Mâ sâ œ plöö- lá -a ’bä Fofôe’ gbukamânykpo,
But as he was much appreciated by our father Houphouet,
Mais puisqu’il était homme cher à notre père Houphouët,
and the man had also worked a long time for the country
et que cet homme aussi a duré dans le travail,

it is suitable that our father Houphouet himself would attend the ceremony (lit. see these things),
il est normal que notre père Houphouët lui-même assiste à la cérémonie,

so they could take him (= the dead body) there out of the morgue.
pour qu'on l'enlève dans à la morgue.

Because of that he and his ministers (lit. workers), his suite, his wife, and the other people, they
gathered there inside the morgue
Pour cela, lui et ses ministres (lit. travailleurs, ses protocoles, sa femme et tous les autres hommes se
sont rassemblés à la morgue

They met together there
Ils se sont rassemblés là-bas

and they were there
et ils étaient là

and so they took him out of there, then.
et on l'a sorti de là.

That man, then, they will bury him on the day of tomorrow.
Cet homme donc, on l'enterrera dans la journée de demain.
There from the Daloa area, he is a man from there.
C'est un homme de la région de Daloa.

He is called Albert Bailly Tagro.
C'est lui qu'on appelle Alber Bailly Tagro.

5. **Devinet**

*Genre:* Riddle in folk tale form / Devinette sous forme de conte

*Content:* Who lost control? / Contenu: Qui a perdu le contrôle?

*Speaker/Locuteur:* D (70, male)

*Date:* 16-08–95

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1. **Devinet 001**

   N nä
   *I would like*
   *Je voulais*

2. **Devinet 002**

   -a 'gä bhä 'döö 'pępëltä 'ŋų
   *us to have a little talk together*
   *qu'on ait une petite causerie*

3. **Devinet 003**

   iyä -a 'gä bhä nyiä / ye.
   *to have fun.*
   *pour nous amuser.*

4. **Devinet 004**

   'Na 'ŋŋoɗöö wa 'kia 'sʉ wa 'bhlt fää.
   *My talk, they can also take it to their home country.*
   *Ma causerie, elles pourront aussi l'emporter chez elles.*

5. **Devinet 005**

   N na,
   *I say,*
   *Je dis,*

6. **Devinet 006**

   wlä nyikpo,
   *once upon a time (lit. they say) there was a man.*
   *il était une fois (litt. on dit) un homme.*
The man, let's say you Kekle, you are here
L'homme, à supposer que toi Keukleu, tu sois ici

and you have courted a married woman from Trikpoko,
et que tu aies fait la cour à une femme mariée à Trikpoko,

and you have become lovers,
et qu'elle soit devenue ta maîtresse,

that's how the man, that's how his story went.
c'est comme ça que l'affaire de l'homme s'est passée.

The man goes and the woman comes,
L'homme vient et la femme va.

they meet.
et ils se rencontrent.

In her kitchen that is where they meet.
Dans sa cuisine à elle, c'est là qu'ils se rencontrent.

that he gave a date to the woman.
qu'il a donné rendez-vous à la femme.
Il dit: « Aujourd'hui jeudi soir, je viendrai. »

But as the man was leaving the field, he walked around in circles until the time (of the date) passed. Mais l'homme revenu des champs est resté là à tourner sur lui-même jusqu'à ce que le temps (de rendez-vous) soit passé.

Il dit donc: « Je partirai, car je ne dois pas tromper la femme. »

Il a pris la route!

Il s'est levé et est parti.

When he went, Quand il est parti,

when he was just arriving, à son arrivée,

(on the door of) the woman’s house had been (lit. they had) left ajar. on avait légèrement rabattu (la porte de) la maison de la femme.

It wasn’t totally closed, Elle (=maison) n’était pas totalement fermée,
devinet 027

wa 'su -nun -wl.
it had been left ajar.
elle avait été légèrement rabattue.

devinet 028*

Wa gëë -mcc -bhu'tu' -kadlükọ taa 'yi.
Three pieces of wood had been lit (lit. they had lit) there in the house.
On avait allumé, dans la maison, trois tisons.

devinet 029

'ŋnɔɔ wa -tl -bhu'tapu p'kl
The woman had been turned (lit. they had turned the woman) towards the wall.
On avait tournée la femme vers le mur.

devinet 030

Ć 'nagọ bhe,
He was her friend
Il était son ami,

devinet 031

-a, 'nty ghlụ bhlä...
yes, but he was also coming like a thief (lit. he was really stealing).
ou, mais il venait aussi comme un voleur (litt. il volait vraiment).

devinet 032

Gblë! 'N ć yi -mcc -bhu'tu' plâ.
He quickly entered the house.
Aussitôt, il est rentré.

devinet 033

Ć -plâ ylụ -bhu'tu' naa,
When he had now entered the house,
Quand il est rentré dans la maison,

devinet 034

'ŋnɔɔ 'mç ć 'dáa ylụ 'mu:
he started shaking the woman saying,
il s'est mis à secouer la femme disant:

devinet 035

Mädämọ! -Plu...! Mädämọ! -Plu...!
“Madam!” Silence! “Madam!” Silence!
« Madame! » Silence! « Madame! » Silence!

devinet 036

-A, -mā sā n'n -wọ sisio -yi nā (Acct o...)
“It is true, I haven’t come quickly,
« C’est vrai, je ne suis pas vite venu,
devinet 037
n'n -wɔ sisio -yi nā,
_I haven't come quickly,
je ne suis pas vite venu,

devinet 038 *
t'è -zà -n -kɔ -plu -a? /
_is it because of that that you keep silent?"
est-ce à cause de cela tu es silencieuse? »

devinet 039
-Plu...! /
Silence!
Silence!

devinet 040*
N'n -wɔ sisio -yi, t'è -zà -n -kɔ -plu -a?
"I haven't come quickly, is it because of that that you keep silent?"
« Je ne suis pas vite venu, est-ce à cause de cela que tu es silencieuse? »

devinet 041
Mëu...!
Not a word!
Elle est restée bouche cousue!

devinet 042
-Jagogo -mati a!
(By this expression the narrator interrupts his story at a point of suspense, wanting to make sure the audience shows interest in what follows. Its meaning is something like, “Do you want me to continue?” or “Listen to what is coming now!”)
(Par cette expression, le narrateur interrompt son histoire à un point de suspens, voulant s'assurer que l'auditoire est intéressé par la suite. Elle pourrait signifier quelque chose comme: « Voulez-vous que je continue? » ou « Écoutez la suite! »)

devinet 043
'ŋnɔ nɔ, -ziglәgba (kɔ),
_That woman, what is surprising
Cette femme, ce qui est surprenant,

devinet 044
'ŋnɔɔ yä 'ku
_she is dead
elle est morte,

devinet 045
'm nɔwadio'o -wɔ sɔɔ -yi
_and the man doesn't know
le garçon ne sait pas
and he is asking her questions.

et lui pose des questions.

Her brother-in-law is then coming,

Son beau-frère vient alors,

at the threshold he stops,

il s'arrête alors au seuil de la porte,

saying, “My wife, hello!”

Il dit: « Ma femme, salut! »

She doesn’t react.

Elle ne réagit pas.

Your husband isn't here,

« Ton mari n'est pas là,

and your breath is finished

et ton souffle est fini,

so please forgive me (lit. don’t hit me).”

pardon, ne m'en veux pas. »

Then there in the house there are steps of someone trying to escape.

Soudainement des bruits de pas de quelqu'un en fuite…

The one in the house came out,

celui qui était dans la maison est sorti,
bumping into the one on the doorstep,
embrassant (heurtant) celui qui était sur le seuil,
excrements are lying there.
des déchets sont là par terre.
Who defecated?
Qui a déféqué?
That's what I am asking.
C'est cela que je demande.

Gbaklé, AUDIENCE REPRESENTATIVE ; ANIMATEUR:)
Aceli, Wli, ça ça ylaa…
Aceli, Wli, that's what he is asking…
Aceli, Wli, c'est ce qu'il a demandé…

They are not getting it, so …
Puisqu'elles ne comprennent pas…
He said that the two men,
Il dit que les deux hommes,
one was in the house
l'un était dans la maison
and the other one was outside.
et l'autre était au dehors.
Now the one who was in the house,
Mais celui qui était dans la maison,
he didn't know that the woman was dead
il ne sait pas que la femme est morte.

And the other one, who was outside,
Et celui qui était au dehors,
as for him, he knew that the woman was dead.
lui, il savait que la femme était morte.
The woman who was in the house,
La femme qui était dans la maison,
she had died there.
là femme y est décédée.

When he (= the brother-in-law) came, he spoke to the dead woman, saying,
Quand il est venu, il (= le beau-frère) s'est mis à dire au cadavre de la femme,

"As your husband isn't here,
« Puisque ton mari n'est pas là,
so my dear woman, so do stay around
donc 'ma femme', tu dois rester là
so that I can take the news to the village,
pendant que je porte la nouvelle au village,
so that when your husband will have come,
pour que si ton mari vient,
we may deal with your problem.”

nous puissions penser à toi. »

Now the moment the man there in the house heard the words,

Mais quand celui qui était dans la maison a entendu les paroles,

he became afraid

il prit peur

and he ran out.

il courut pour sortir de vitesse.

When he was now pushing the door

Mais quand il a maintenant poussé la porte

and was about to go out,

et qu'il allait sortir,

he wanted to go outside,

il veut aller dehors,

then someone was there.

alors un homme est là.

The two of them, one wanted to flee

Tous les deux, l'un cherchait à fuir

and the other bumped into his fellow

et l'autre s'est retrouvé dans les bras de son semblable
and they fell down
et ils sont tombés.

They defecated there,
Ils ont déféqué là,

so who did it?
donc qui l’a fait?

Who of the two was really terrified?
Qui d'entre les deux a été sincèrement effrayé par la situation?

We don't know.
Nous ne le savons pas.

The one who was outside, he was really terrified.
C’est celui qui est au dehors qui a été (le plus) effrayé.

The one who came, it was he who defecated
C’est lui qui est venu, c’est lui qui a déféqué.

It was he who defecated.
C’est lui qui a déféqué.

So they say.
C’est ce qu’on dit.
6. Elisabet

Genre: Bible story told from the perspective of one character / Récit biblique raconté de la perspective d’un des personnages
Content: Elizabeth tells her son John (later called the Baptist) about the circumstances of his birth / Contenu : Elisabeth raconte à son fils Jean (plus tard appelé le Baptiste) quelles étaient les circonstances de sa naissance
Speaker/Locuteur: F (27, male)
Date: 21-02-1995

elisabet 001

'Maa 'tɛnyɛ 'mʊ n yä -n 'bā 'sɔ, -a nii- lä nā,
But when your father and I, we met
Mais quand ton père et moi, nous nous sommes rencontrés

elisabet 002

'nt -a -kuv lä 'ku nā,
and we were living together,
et que nous vivions ensemble,

elisabet 003

-a -kuv 'ku -aaa
we were together until
nous étions ensemble jusqu’à ce que

elisabet 004

'nt 'tɛnyɛ -tlumä 'mʊ.
a lot of time had passed (lit. time had become deep).
beaucoup de temps ait passé (litt. le temps était devenu profond).

elisabet 005

N -plā 'kɔgwle,
I had become old (lit. I entered old age),
Je suis devenue vieille (litt. je suis entré dans la vieillesse),

elisabet 006

'nt -n 'bā -plā 'kɔgwle.
and your father had become old.
et ton père est devenu vieux.

elisabet 007

-A -bhiehie Laagɔ
We prayed to God
Nous avons prié Dieu
elisabet 009*

-a 'gä 'yu gä,

that we might have a child,

pour faire un enfant,

elisabet 010*

{-mä} -aa -wô 'kôkô 'yu -gä.

but we had never had one.

mais nous n'avions jamais eu d'enfant.

elisabet 011

-Lɔɔ -tlumä yù 'mù,

A long time after that now,

Cela a pris du temps maintenant,

elisabet 012

-aa' bhobho bhe 'yugăwäl,

we no longer thought about having a child

nous ne pensions plus avoir d'enfant,

elisabet 013

'nù -n 'bâ

then your father,

puis ton père,

elisabet 014

'tenyt -bhloo' -kv -Lɔɔ

there was a time

il y eut un jour

elisabet 015

'nù -mù lä Zolizalemù'.

when he went to Jerusalem.

et ton père est parti pour Jérusalem.

elisabet 016*

ɔ plöö- bhlä 'slükäsâŋɔ

He was a priest,

Il était sacrificateur,

elisabet 017a

nä ut 'ŋnöö 'mnö, ɔ -mù Zolizalemù'

so that's why he went to Jerusalem,

donc à cause de cela il est allé à Jérusalem,

elisabet 017b

ɔ 'kä 'slükä -sä.

in order to offer sacrifices.

pour faire des sacrifices.
elisabet 018
-Μɔɔ -bhutuu, -Laagɔbhutuu 'mlö, -Μɔɔ c -kv,
There in the house, in the house of God, there he was
Dans la maison, dans la maison de Dieu, c’est là qu’il était

elisabet 019
'nt Laagɔɔ -papükányɔ -ghläɔ lä 'yil'.
and an angel of God appeared to him.
et un ange de Dieu lui apparut.

elisabet 020
Laagɔɔ' lɔbholɔbhɔnyɔ -yi lä,
God’s messenger came
L’envoyé de Dieu est venu,

elisabet 021 *
'nt c cii- lä nylä
and he said that
et il a dit que

elisabet 022 *
-a yi 'yu gä.
we would have a child.
nous allions faire un enfant.

elisabet 023
'Oɔ! N -nyoto Zakali ple 'kv 'ninio,
Well, my husband Zachariah was astonished,
Eh bien, mon mari Zacharie fut étonné,

elisabet 024
sä c yä bhe 'kɔgwle plä,
because he had become old,
parce qu’il était vieux,

elisabet 025
'nt -amu -mä n yä bhe 'su 'kɔgwle plä nä,
and as for me, I had also become old, so
et moi, j’étais aussi devenue vieille, donc

elisabet 026 *
kä -a bhobho {bhe} nylä
we really thought
nous avons vraiment pensé que

elisabet 027 *
-aa -lä bhe 'yu gä.
that we would not get a child.
que nous n’aurions plus d’enfant.
elisabet 028

He said to the angel of God,
Il a dit à l'ange de Dieu ceci:

elisabet 029*

"I, Zachariah, I have become old
« Moi, Zacharie, je suis vieux,

elisabet 030*

I can no longer beget a child,
je ne peux plus faire d'enfant,

elisabet 031*

we will no longer have a child.
»

elisabet 032*

and your father not to be able to speak
et il a fait que

elisabet 033

God’s angel wasn’t pleased,
L'ange n'était pas content,

elisabet 034

and he caused
et il a fait que

elisabet 035

your father not to be able to speak
et il a fait que

elisabet 036

for a while (lit. and it made time).
pendant un temps (et cela a fait du temps).

elisabet 037

He wasn't able to speak for a long time,
Il ne pouvait pas parler pendant longtemps
and I became pregnant with you (lit. I entered your pregnancy).

et je suis devenu enceinte avec toi (litt. je suis entré dans ta grossesse).

Kä -Laagɔzuzzu -sonöɔ lə nylə,
God’s angel said to him,
L’ange de Dieu lui a dit:

As of today you will no longer be able to speak,
« A partir d'aujourd'hui tu ne pourras plus parler,

because I spoke my words
parce que j'ai dit mes paroles

You will no longer be able to speak until
Tu ne pourras plus parler jusqu'à ce que

a long time will have passed. ”
beaucoup de temps aura passé. »

I became pregnant with you (lit. I entered your pregnancy)
Je suis tombée en grossesse avec toi (litt. j'ai eu ta grossesse)

I was pregnant (lit. I had it (=pregnancy)),
et je l'avais ( = la grossesse),
then the young boy they called Jesus,
puis l'enfant qu'on appelle Jésus,

his mother Mary
sa mère Marie,

on her an angel of God also came down there
sur elle, l'Esprit de Dieu est aussi descendu là

She was still practically a young girl at the time.
Elle était alors pratiquement une jeune fille encore.

But in spite of her age (lit. but that is how she was),
Mais malgré son âge (litt. mais ainsi elle était),

she hadn't married a man (lit. a husband) yet.
elle n'avait pas encore épousé un homme (litt. un mari).

Then an angel from God had told her, too,
Alors l'ange de Dieu lui a parlé aussi en disant que

saying that she would also give birth to a child.
ellle aussi, elle allait avoir un enfant.

He would be called (lit. him they would call) Jesus.
Il sera appelé (litt. lui ils appelleront) Jésus.
And you, John the Baptist,
Et toi, Jean Baptiste,

you will pass before him
tu seras devant lui

and you will say that
et tu diras qu’

he is really coming,
il doit vraiment venir,

God’s son, he is really coming
le Fils de Dieu, il doit vraiment venir.

Him, that Jesus, it is he who is the saviour of mankind.
Ce Jésus, il est le sauveur de l’humanité.

I was pregnant with you, so
J’étais en grossesse de toi, alors

then a time was now there
un temps est arrivé

when by God’s grace, I gave birth to you.
øù par la grâce de Dieu, je t’ai mis au monde.

When I had given birth to you,
Quand je t’avais mis au monde,
after seven days now

at the end of the week,

then the Jews came.

All our neighbours were there,

and they came, women and children.

They said,

"What is the child’s name?"

"Quel est le nom de l’enfant? »

At that time

your father, he had already told (lit. shown) me your name.

ton père, il m’avait déjà dit (litt. montré) ton nom.

He had said that you would be John, so

Il avait dit que tu t’appellerais Jean, donc
n -yi bhe 'ŋlöö.
I already knew the name.
je savais déjà le nom.

-Mä ɔmɔ, ɔ -sää bhɔɔ lɔ 'mu nã,
But as for him, since he was not speaking,
Mais lui, comme il ne parlait pas,

nykpaa -yi lã nã,
when the people came
quand les gens étaient venus

wa ylɔɔ- lã
(and when) they asked him
et qu'ils lui demandaient

'yuoo' ŋlō bhã nã,
what the name of the child was,
quel était le nom de l'enfant,

ɔ lã
he wanted that (lit. said)
il voulait

wa -ɔ klpupã.
them to bring him a slab.
qu'on lui apporte une plaque.

'Nt wa yio klpupaa -lã.
And they brought him the slab.
Et on lui a apportée la plaque.

Klpupänã 'klv -lɔɔ ɔ -tjįlã lã -nãa ŋlōö
It was on this slab that he wrote your name,
C'est sur cette plaque de bois qu'il a écrit ton nom,

nylã -mɔɔ plōō- Zan.
saying that you are (to be called) John.
disant que tu t'appelais Jean.
When he gave you that name,

Au moment où il t'a donné ce nom,

eux tous, ils étaient étonnés.

They said, “Well, in your family no one is called John, though;

disant: « Quoi donc! il n'y a personne dans ta famille qui soit appelé Jean,

and you call him John?”

et tu l'appelles Jean? »

Et ton père leur a dit:

“... C'est Dieu qui m'a dit de

... It was God who said that

le lui donner,

that is why I gave it to him.”

c'est pour cela que je le lui ai donné. »

So you see what happened to me (lit. where I have passed).

Maintenant tu vois ce qui m'est arrivé (litt. par où j'ai passé).

I could no longer give birth to a child,

je ne faisais plus d'enfant
and I will no longer give birth to a child,
et je n'en ferai plus,

and as for your father, he will no longer beget a child.
et ton père pour sa part, il ne fera plus d'enfant.

You alone, you are our child,
C'est toi seul, tu es notre enfant,

the one that God has given us.
celui que Dieu nous a donné.

That is why I seize the opportunity
C'est pourquoi je prends cette occasion

to also tell you about that,
pour te dire cela aussi,

so you will (know) how God
pour que (tu saches) comment Dieu a fait

enabled us
que nous soyons en état

so you know that.
pour que tu le saches.
elisabet 110*

-Łō n błōo -bhle.
There I stop for now.
 Là je m’arrête pour le moment.

7. Filsprod

Genre: Bible story told from memory; exhortation from line 302) / Récit biblique raconté de mémoire; exhortation à partir de la ligne 302

Content: Parable of the prodigal son, followed by an exhortation / Contenu: Parabole de l’enfant prodigue, suivi d’une exhortation

Speaker/Locuteur: B (40, male)

Date: August / Août 1995

filsprod 001

Nyŋkpɔ -bhlogbe, ṣmɔ mii-⁶ lä
A certain man, he had come (lit. been able) to
Un homme, c’est lui qui a pu

filsprod 002

’n t → -gāa lä ḋɔ ’yuë.
have children.
avoir des enfants.

filsprod 003*

-Mä ṣmɔ nyŋkpɔɔ nā,
Now that same man,
Or cet homme,

filsprod 004*

ɔ plōō- a nyŋpa ’kādɔ.
he was an important man.
il était un grand homme.

filsprod 005*

ɔ -kā a lī,
He had riches
Il avait des richesses

filsprod 006*

’nt ɔ -kā a -gānunya.
and he had slaves.
et il avait des esclaves.

⁶The frequent use of this modal verb is part of the narrative style of this narrator. Its basic meaning is ‘to be able to’ or ‘to be equal to’. In context, however, its exact meaning is mostly difficult to capture and therefore translated in different ways or left untranslated. / L’usage fréquent de ce verbe modal fait partie du style de ce narrateur. Son sens de base est ‘pouvoir, être capable’ ou ‘être égal’. En contexte, son sens précis est le plus souvent difficile à établir. Le mot est donc traduit de diverses manières, voire laissé non traduit.
Now that same man had these two sons

Mais cet homme avait ces deux enfants,

the one who was the younger one

celui qui était le cadet,

there was a certain time

il y eut un temps

when (lit. then) he talked to his father

et il a parlé à son père,

saying, “Our father,”

en ces termes: « Notre père, »

he said,

il dit:

“Your heritage, divide it up

« Ton héritage, partage-le,

to give me my part

pour me donner ma part,

so that the country that I like

pour que dans le pays que j’aime,

I can go there.”

je peux aller là-bas.”
Now his father,
Or son père

he didn’t call for advice
il n’a consulté personne

and proceeded to
et il a procédé à

divide up that heritage
partager cet héritage,

then he gave the younger one his part.
et il a donné au cadet sa part.

As for the elder one, he, he stayed with him,
Le premier-né, pour sa part, il restait auprès de lui (=le père),

and he and he worked together.
et les deux ensemble faisaient (le) travail.

Now as soon as he (=the father) had given him (=the younger one) his part,
Dès qu’il (=le père) lui ( = au cadet) avait donné sa part de biens,

à peine avait-

he (=the younger son) got up
il (=le fils cadet) se leva
and disappeared into an unknown country (lit. country in the back).  
et il disparut dans un pays inconnu.

Now he proceeded to  
Alors il a pu

go to the pubs there  
aller dans les bistros là-bas

beside the young girls there,  
et auprès des filles là-bas,

into all the things there.  
et dans toutes les choses là-bas.

It is there that he passes  
C'est là-bas qu'il passe

and he is wasting the money  
et il dilapide l'argent

his father had given him.  
que son père lui avait donné.

he wasted the money until  
il dilapida l'argent jusqu'à ce que
the money, it was gone,  
l'argent, il soit parti,

it was finished (lit. finished in his fingers).  
il a fini entre ses mains.

Now when that money was finished,  
Or, quand cet argent était fini entre ses mains,

what (lit. how) is he going to do now  
comment il va faire maintenant

in order to eat…  
pour manger maintenant…

When that money was now finished in his hands,  
Quand cet argent était fini entre ses mains,

he then proceeded to leave.  
alors il est parti.

He said,  
Il dit:

I am going to work for the owners of pigs.  
“I am going to work for the owners of pigs.

I am going to look after them (= the pigs),  
Je vais les (= les porcs) surveiller,
I am going to feed them.
je vais leur donner de la nourriture.

At the same time
Au même moment,

while I'll be feeding them
quand je serai en train de leur donner de la nourriture,

and while I'll be doing that work,
et quand je serai à ce travail,

the food, 
la nourriture,

the food for the pigs, there will be leftovers
la nourriture des porcs, il va en rester

and I will also eat.
"et je pourrai en manger aussi. »

It was those animals that he looked after now,
C'était ces animaux qu'il gardait alors

but when they fed the pigs,
mais quand on donnait la nourriture aux porcs,
and what would be left over for him,
et ce qui lui restait alors,
he himself, what should he do
lui-même, comment il va faire
in order to eat,
pour manger,
he doesn't see how (lit. that way).
il ne voit pas comment.
He is there
Il est là
and he is hungry.
et il a faim.
The pigs, the very things they were eating
Les choses même que les porcs mangeaient,
that he was giving them (they were giving them)
qu’ils leur donnaient (qu’on leur donnait)
so they would eat,
pour qu’ils le mangent
and from which he hoped
et dont il espérait
that something would be left for him
qu'il en resterait pour lui,

as it (= that food) wasn't much,
comme ce n'était pas beaucoup,

nothing was left for him.
il ne lui en restait pas.

He was so hungry (lit. that hunger is killing him ) now.
Et il a tellement faim (litt. cette faim le tuait) maintenant.

He was tired,
Il était fatigué,

he was dirty all over.
il était devenu sale.

You couldn't look at him anymore.
Il n'était plus beau à voir.

He was there
Il était là

and he started thinking,
et il se mit à réfléchir,

saying, "There with my father,
disant: « Là-bas chez mon père,
his workers there,

sou travailleurs-là,

they eat

ils mangent

and also the food,

et la nourriture aussi,

there are leftovers.

elle est en reste.

And in his own house, people eat

et ils mangent à satiété (litt. la nourriture les fatigue).

Whereas I have come

Alors que moi je suis venu

and hunger is killing me here,

et la faim me tue ici,

I am going to die here!

je vais mourir ici!
Since it is like that,
Comme c’est ainsi,
I’ll proceed
je procèderai
to return home
à retourner à la maison
and I’ll go to our father.
et j’irai chez notre père.
When I’ll have gone
Quand je serai allé,
and I’ll meet my father
et que je rencontrerais mon père,
I’ll say to him,
je lui dirai:
“Our father, I have sinned before God and before you
Notre père, j’ai fait du péché devant Dieu et devant toi,
I’ll no longer be your child
je ne vais plus être ton enfant
but among your workers,
mais parmi tes travailleurs,
I'll now be one there.

je voudrais y être. »

But when he said those words (lit. that piece of words)
Mais lorsqu'il disait cette parole,

they afflicted him (lit. it killed him).
elle le tourmentait (litt. elle le tuait)

How he would be able
Comment il va pouvoir faire

to walk,
pour marcher,

to come and
pour venir et

arrive at his father's,
arriver chez son père,

that matter, it afflicted him.
cette affaire, elle le tourmente.

But those words that he spoke
Mais cette parole qu'il avait dite,
and he was able to come

Now when he came,

he was (still) far off

and his father saw him,

he got up and started running

and he went and embraced him.
He screamed
Il criait

saying,
disant:

'My child
Mon enfant

who was lost
qui était perdu

it is him that I have found (again) today
c'est lui que j'ai (re)trouvé aujourd'hui.

I had thought that
J'avais pensé qu'

he had died,
il était mort,

it is he that has woken up from the dead today."
c'est lui qui s'est réveillé des morts aujourd'hui. »

He said,
Il dit:

"Bring water,
Apportez de l'eau
...and wash him!

et vous allez le laver!

Now when his father spoke like that
Or au moment où son père parlait ainsi,

his father had come
son père était venu

and he had then embraced him,
et l'avait alors embrassé,

at that moment
à ce moment,

he (=the son) proceeded to speak to his father
il (=le fils) a procédé à dire à son père

saying, “Our father,”
disant: « Notre père, »

“...I have sinned against you and against God.”
« J'ai fait du péché devant toi et devant Dieu. »

So he said, “I no longer want to
Et il dit: « Je ne veux plus
n ’plö yï -naa -wawayu,
be your beloved son,
être ton fils bien-aimé,

but I want to be like your workers
mais je veux être comme tes travailleurs,

among your hirelings,
parmi tes journalistes,

I’ll work there.
je veux travailler là-bas.

Put me there to work for you now,
Mets-moi avec eux pour travailler pour toi,

for I have fallen into sin.”
car je suis tombé dans le péché. »

But his father didn’t care about what he said
Mais son père n’a pas tenu compte des ces paroles

and he proceeded
et il a procédé

to speak to him,
à lui parler

saying, “Wash my child!
en disant: « Lavez mon enfant!
filsprod 147

A m∀,
Go,
Allez,

filsprod 148

a -lä 'kwëti,
bring clothes,
apportez des habits,

filsprod 149

a -lä 'süü,
bring shoes,
apportez des chaussures,

filsprod 150

a plɔɔ 'm∀!
dress him!
habillez-le!

filsprod 151*

A m∀
Go,
Allez,

filsprod 152*

-yä a -lä -mɔɔ' -sikaa -kpätluweeyee
and bring the gold ring that is there
et apportez la bague en or qui est là-bas

filsprod 153

'tyä a 'ŋwɔ wli!
to put it on his finger!
pour la lui mettre au doigt!

filsprod 154

lyä 'naa 'bhabhlɛ,
And my sheep
Et mon mouton

filsprod 155

'naa bhabhlɛ n bhua bhlä
my sheep that I brought up
mon mouton que j'élevais

filsprod 156

'nɛ -ku bhlä -loɔ nã,
and that is there
et qui est là,
filsprod 157
'bhabhlo 'kaded,  
*the big sheep,  
*le gros mouton,*

filsprod 158
\[ -le \]  
*bring it  
*apportez-le*

filsprod 159
\[ -yä a 'bhlee \]  
*and kill it,  
*et tuez-le,*

filsprod 160
\[ 'yäa 'ko -zukä 'wugä 'wlw 'ŋv. \]  
*so that I can comfort him today.  
*pour que je puisse le réconforter aujourd'hui.*

filsprod 161
\[ -Mä 'na 'yuo \]  
*For my child,  
*Car mon enfant*

filsprod 162
\[ -ɗ kuu bhää nää, \]  
*who was dead,  
*qui était mort,*

filsprod 163
\[ ɗmä n yää lää -zukä 'ni. \]  
*it is him that I have found again today.  
*c'est lui que j'ai retrouvé aujourd'hui.*

filsprod 164
\[ N -luë bhää 'kwie'ë nää, \]  
*I had thought he was dead  
*J'avais pensé qu'il était mort,*

filsprod 165
\[ ɗmä n yää lää -zukää 'ni. \]  
*it is him that I have found again today.  
*c'est lui que j'ai retrouvé aujourd'hui.*

filsprod 166
\[ Nää -zukää '(ylw nu v plöö- 'na gämaylw. \]  
*So today is my day of celebration.  
*Donc aujourd'hui est mon jour de fête.*
-Mä ë yää 'ku
For he was dead
Car il était mort

-Mä ë yää là 'kwie -bhaa.
and he has come back from death."
et il est revenu de la mort.

-Mä 'tenyi’t 'bāc cii ylä sɔɔ nā,
Now when the father said that
Mais quand le père a dit cela,

lebhene 'mō wa mii
that work, they proceeded
c'est ce travail qu'ils (= les serviteurs) ont pu

-nt wa -nuu 'yuo yēku.
to do do it for the son.
et ils l'ont fait pour l'enfant.

Lülülulı 'mō wa mii
It is that food they proceeded
C'est cette nourriture qu'ils ont procédé

-nt wa -pi lä.
to cook
à préparer.

Wa mii-
They proceeded to
Ils se sont mis

-nt wa -kūt lū dā.
to eat it and were eating it.
à manger et mangeaient.

-ɔ plöö- lä ɔ̀ 'yiku -gālc nā,
The one who was his older brother
Celui qui était son aîné,
'nt c -kva 'kläää.  
be in the field.  
être au champ.

-Mä 'tenyi t c mii là,  
Now at the time when he could  
Or, au moment où il a pu

'nt c -ku là 'kläää nà,  
be in the field,  
être au champ,

't n c yì nà,  
he wanted to come,  
il voulait venir

'c bää 'gbëa 'mlö, -mcc b'v b plü gbå,  
from his father's compound, there was the sound of music there,  
de cour de son père, là-bas il y avait le bruit de musique,

'mcc c gàmalt kplü gbå.  
there was the sound of celebration.  
là-bas (il y a) le bruit de réjouissances.

'c yì mii ...  
Then he could...  
Alors il a pu...

'c bää lebhenunyua 'nt c yì mii  
His father's workers, he could then  
Les travailleurs de son père, et il a alors pu

'nt c yìwa la.  
call them.  
les appeler.
He called one of them,
Il a appelé l'un d'entre eux,

saying, “Come here!”
en disant: « Viens ici! »

When that man came up to him,
Quand cet homme est venu auprès de lui,

he asked him (lit said)
il lui a demandé (litt. dit)

what was going on.
ce qui se passait.

The man said,
L'homme dit:

“Non, ton frère, celui qui te suit,
who had left
qui était parti

and who had been lost
et qui était perdu,

and (of whom) we thought that
et dont nous croyions que
he had died,  
il était mort,  

him, this day of today,  
lui, ce jour d'aujourd'hui,  

it is he who came back  
c'est lui qui est revenu  

and who came to his father,  
et qui est allé auprès de son père  

that's why his father is celebrating.  
c'est pour cela que son père fait une célébration.  

So the big sheep here  
So the big sheep here  

which was here  
qui était ici,  

it was that he killed  
c'est lui qu'il a tué  

it is that we are eating."  
et c'est lui que nous mangeons. »  

So when he had now  
Donc lorsqu'il a pu
'n tə -sonōy ylä səɔ nə,
said that to him
lui dire cela,

-filspod 208-
-ɔ plöö- 'yikgälaɔ nə,
the elder one,
celui qui était l’aîné,

-filspod 209-
ɔ 'n tə yənɔ -wamə.
he wasn’t pleased (lit. didn’t like it) anymore.
il n’était plus content (litt. ne l’aimait plus).

-filspod 210-
ɔ lä, -Aa!
He said, “Aha,
Il dit: « Ah!

-filspod 211-
-mä sää-a 'bä -kə-a!
so that’s what our father is like!
Mais notre père, c’est comme cela qu’il est!

-filspod 212-
-Amu nɔ,
As for me here
Moi là,

-filspod 213-
-ɔ mii
who
qui

-filspod 214-
'nt -ɔ -koa yəku
am with him
suis auprès de lui

-filspod 215*
'nt n nɔ 'kɔkɔ 'ɔ cə lebhe
and I always work for him
et qui travaille toujours pour lui

-filspod 216-
'nt n mɔ 'klä'ä/
and I go to the field
et je vais au champ
et je fais tous les travaux (litt. toutes les choses)

et celui qui est mon cadet

et il l'avait pris

et qui était parti avec

et il avait gaspillé sa fortune,

il revient

et il est venu ici

et c'est pour lui qu'il (= le père) tue des animaux
and he is celebrating
et il fait une fête!

Whereas for me who is with him,
Alors que pour moi, qui suis auprès de lui,

he has never yet taken a single day
il n’a jamais pris un seul jour

and said,
et il aurait dit:

"My son,
« Mon fils,

there is something to celebrate, so
donc

take that and eat!
prends-cela et mange! »

I am angry.
Je suis fâché.

Je n’entrerai jamais à cause de cela. »

But as the man was going back (into the house)
Mais quand cet homme rentrait (dans la maison),

that son, his father
cet enfant, son père
filsprod 237

'tn ɔmc 'titi -bha 'kv

himself got up
lui-même se leva

filsprod 238

'tn ɔ yi yi

and he came (out)
et il est venu (dehors)

filsprod 239

'tn ɔ yi o -yowli yëku nè.

and he came up to his son.
et il est arrivé auprès de son fils.

filsprod 240

ɔ la, -A 'bä,

He (=the son) said, “Our father,”
Il (= le fils) dit: « Notre père, »

filsprod 241

ɔ la,

he said
il dit:

filsprod 242

-Mä -amvu- -kv -lää

“I who am here
« Moi qui suis ici

filsprod 243

'tn → nu -naa lebhee nà,

and who works for you,
et qui travaille pour toi,

filsprod 244

-ŋ plöö- -naa 'yuo,

who is your son
qui suis ton fils

filsprod 245

-n 'nöö bhezä ɔc dä nye,

had you not already given him his part,
ne lui as-tu pas déjà donné sa part

filsprod 246

ɔ c -wv -mv -a?

did he not leave?
n'est-il pas parti?
But this being so,
Mais puisque c’était comme cela

(Comment) peux-tu

quand il est revenu

Et moi n’ai(-je) pas toujours été avec toi

et n’ai-je pas travaillé?

Have you ever given me an animal (telling me)
n yä 'na 'nagwü 'sɔ 'kä lü -a?
I could eat with my friends?
je mange avec mes amis?

And that one,
Et celui-là,

who left
qui est parti

and who wasted your fortune
et qui a dilapidé ta fortune

(for) him you come
(pour) lui tu viens

and you kill an animal?
»

(=calm down )
Son père dit: « Thank you! (= calme-toi)

What you have said
La parole que tu as parlée,

that's what you have said (= it is correct).
c'est cela que tu as dit (= c'est juste).

But as he had gone
Mais comme il était parti
I thought he was dead
et que je pensais qu’il était mort

and he wasn’t dead
et il n’était pas mort

and he has come (home),
et il est venu,

my child is here
mon enfant est là,

so I took him in.
donc je l’ai accueilli.

But all the things here in this house,
Mais toutes choses qui sont dans cette maison

which are my possessions,
et qui m’appartiennent à moi (litt. qui sont mes possessions),

you, they are yours.
toi, ce sont tes choses.

You, you own them.
Toi, tu les possèdes (litt. tu les as)

So since they are yours
Donc puisque ce sont tes choses,
don't be angry,
ne te fâche pas,

rather, enter the house!”
donc entre dans la maison! »

But the child (= elder son), he
Mais l'enfant (fils aîné), il

stayed angry.
restait dans la colère

And his father caused him
Et son père a fait qu'

to enter the house
il entra dans la maison

and that feast, that rejoicing
et cette fête, cette réjouissance,

ils les faisaient

and elle a pris fin.

How the child himself,
Comment l'enfant lui-même,
filsprod 287
-
 plöö- bhlä boku -loc nà,
the one who was the younger one
qui avait été le cadet,
filsprod 288
-nt -b bho bhlä nylä,
and who had thought,
et qui avait pensé:
filsprod 289
n kâ mu nà,
“If I go
« Si je pars,
filsprod 290
-nt n kâ -a ’bä yëku -mu nà,
and if I go to my father’s
et si je vais aller auprès de notre père,
filsprod 291
-nt yi ’kv yco,
he will scold me
il me grondera
filsprod 292
-nt yi ’tlü nà,
and he will chase me away,”
et il me chassera, »
filsprod 293
-nt ’bä a mii
his father was able to,
son père a pu,
filsprod 294
-nt ’kô a ’kv -yco,
instead of scolding him,
et au lieu de le gronder,
filsprod 295
-mä kô mii
he was really able
il a pu
filsprod 296
-nt welio a ku’u,
to comfort him
le réconforter
and he was able to
et il a pu

and he made him relax (lit. he widened his body)
et il lui ôtait la crispation (litt. il lui a élargi le corps)

and he (= the son) was able
et il (le fils) a pu

to stay (lit. he sat down).
rester (litt. il s’est assis).

Cette parole du livre de Luc, chapitre 15 (litt. qui parle ici dans le livre de Luc 15)

and which speaks about the lost child,
et qui parle de la perdition de l’enfant,

we, (all) mankind (lit. the people living under the sun)
nous, hommes de la terre (litt. les gens vivant sous le soleil)

it is to us it speaks
c’est à nous qu’elle parle.
as long as (lit. where)  
au moment où

we are alive,  
nous sommes en vie,

if you  
si tu

if you have committed a sin,  
si tu a commis un péché,

before God,  
devant Dieu

do not be afraid,  
n'aie pas peur;

but right away,  
mais aussitôt,

if you acknowledge your sin,  
si tu reconnais ton péché,

return  
retourne

in order to come  
pour venir
and call out to God saying,  
*et appeler Dieu en disant :*

Laagɔ, n yä nyenyi nu -mɔɔ dëlū nā,  
“God, I have sinned before you,”  
« Dieu, j'ai péché devant toi, »

right away he will  
*au même instant*

take you in as a beloved child.  
*il va te reprendre comme un enfant bien-aimé.*

But if you are there  
(lit. in the hiding-bushes),  
*Mais si tu es là à te ccher (litt. dans les buissons à cacher),*

and you say  
*et tu dis*

“I have truly sinned there in my flesh”  
« J'ai vraiment péché là dans ma chair »

and if you say to yourself,  
*et si tu dis à toi-même:*

“*I have sinned,*  
« J'ai péché, *

but I won't go before God  
*mais je n'irai pas devant Dieu*
I won't go, 
je n'irai pas,

so that the sin that I have committed, 
et le péché que j'ai commis,

I can confess it 
que je puisse le confesser

and God can forgive it to me, 
"et que Dieu me le pardonne, »

he (=God) says, “You will keep it (lit. you and it together come) 
il (=Dieu) dit : « Tu marcheras avec (litt. toi et lui ensemble viennent)

and it (=sin) will never leave you.” 
et il (péché) ne te quittera plus jamais. »

So, those words in that book say to us that 
Ainsi donc, les paroles de ce livre nous interpellent en disant que

if we go 
si nous allons

and if we are here under the sun 
et que nous sommes sur cette terre

and we worship God, 
et que nous adorons Dieu,
and if we sin,
et si nous péchons,

let's come back again
il faut que nous nous retournions

and pray to God on our knees,
et supplions Dieu à genoux,

so that God would
pour que Dieu puisse

take our sin from us (lit. take us from sin).
nous enlever notre péché (litt. nous enlever dans le péché).

Now whoever
Et toute personne

comes back to (lit. returns into the hands of) God,
qui retourne auprès de (litt. dans les mains de) Dieu,

God doesn't chase them away because of sin.
Dieu ne la chasse pas à cause du péché.

Like the child came back to his father
Comme l'enfant était retourné auprès de son père,
filsprod 347

- n kä Laago 'wli' t 'ylbhɔ nä,
  if you come back to God,
  si tu retournes auprès de Dieu,

filsprod 348

Laagɔ yii 'ko 'bhlü.
God will take you in.
Dieu te reprendra.

filsprod 349

Nuwɔlt n n ci lä nä,
These words that I speak,
Les paroles que je prononce,

filsprod 350

t 'plö -anya -zizi'i yamält
may they be healing to our spirits.
qu'elles soit une guérison de nos esprits.

filsprod 351

(n yä) {iyä} t 'nye -anya kplkplɔ -wugɔ 'nyu pält.
and may they give a blessing to our holy spirit.
et que cela donne à notre saint esprit de la bénédiction.

filsprod 352

Zozii 'ŋlö 'mlö,
In Jesus' name,
Dans le nom de Jésus,

filsprod 353

t ko sɔɔ.
Amen (lit. may it be that way).
Amen (litt. ainsi soit-il).

8. Greve

Genre: Personal narrative / Récit personnel
Content: An obstacle on the way to work / Contenu: Un obstacle sur le chemin au travail
Speaker/Locuteur: F (27, male)
Date: 21-03-1995

greve 001*

N kä Kumasi'i -bha nä,
When I have left Kumasi
Quand j'ai quitté Kumasi

greve 002*

'n t n kä yi nä,
and when I come
puis quand je viens
Mputo'o n ghlä lä.
I pass through Mputo.
je passe par Mpouto.

N tɔ Mpouto -nyiee
I cross the waters of Mputo
Je traverse l'eau de Mpouto

wa la là Lagune Ebrié nà.
called Ebrié Lagoon.
dénommée Lagune Ébrié,

N tue
I cross it
Je la traverse

'nt n nge là Mput'o.o.
then I arrive in Mputo.
et j'arrive à Mpouto.

N kə yi Mputo -ŋēē,
When I have arrived in Mputo,
Lorsque j'arrive à Mpouto,

'nt n bhlu là 'wlɔwɔ 'kv,
I take a pick-up taxi
je prends un Woroworo (taxi non compteur)

'nt n yi là Ghliiviela'a,
and I come to Riviera,
et je viens à la Riviera,

'nt -a nu là lebhe.
then we work.
puis nous travaillons.

N ’pee -blɔglv,
I pay 100 francs (for the fare),
Je paie cent francs (pour le transport),
205

'nt n tɔ lä.
then I cross (the lagoon)
puis je traverse (la lagune).

N 'pee -lɔŋglɔ
I pay 100 francs
Je paie cent francs,

'nt n plä 'wlɔwlɔ,
and I get into a pick-up taxi
et je monte dans le Woroworo

'nt n yi lä Ghliivíla’a.
and I come to Riviera.
et je viens à la Riviera.

-Maa -zéküü ‘ylnu -v plöö- bhlä nā,
Now on the day of yesterday (lit. the one day from now that passed),
Mais la journée d’hier,

umu ‘kv nā,
that day (lit. on it)
ce jour-là,

wälklë -bhlogbe -bhlu bhā.
something happened.
quelque chose s’est passé.

(-Eɛ,) -mɔɔ nyiee ’kluv, ’gokpüü -t tvanyt bhlä nā,
There on the lagoon, the boats that used to take us across,
Là-bas sur l’eau, les pinasses qui nous faisaient traverser,

umt nā, t kä cii
as for them, when they want (lit. say)
lorsqu’elles veulent (litt. disent)

t ‘kā -anyt tɔa nā,
to take us across,
nous faire traverser
kt bvä,
they are really slow,
elles sont vraiment lentes,
greve 022
ɩ plüë ’tänyi -bhutukpä,
they make pass a lot of time
elles font passer beaucoup de temps
greve 023*
’nt í mta nykpa -bhutukpä ’tänyi ’kv.
and they are wasting a lot of people’s time (lit. they make time overflow for many people)
et elles font perdre du temps à beaucoup de gens. (font déborder le temps pour beaucoup de gens)
greve 024*
Nä t’ï jlöö ’mlö nä,
So it was because of that
C’est pour cela qu’
greve 025*
nykppo -bhlogbe (ɔ zɔɔ zɔɔ) ɔ -nu sää ɔɔ golü ler,
that a certain man, (he bought his) he took (lit. made) his small canoe
un certain monsieur s’est (acheté) fait une toute petite pirogue
greve 026*
’nt c ŋwɔ masii.
and he put a motor on it.
et il y a mis un moteur.
greve 027*
Nä, umu golono, v pio kpänyi,
So that same canoe, it was very fast
Donc, cette même pirogue allait très vite
greve 028*
’nt v -zi ’gokpü
and it outstripped the boats
par rapport aux pinasses
greve 029*
-a plä bhlä -zä nä ’kv.
we usually took.
que nous empruntions habituellement.
greve 030*
l’ï jlöö ’mlö nä,
It was because of that
C’est pourquoi
that the boat people were not happy.
les conducteurs de pinasses n’ont pas été contents

So today, which is this Tuesday,
Donc la journée d’aujourd’hui, ce mardi-ci,

those same boatmen, they said
ces conducteurs de pinasses disent

they are not working,
qu’ils ne travaillent pas,

but they are really angry,
mais ils sont vraiment fâchés,

because the new guy
parce que le nouveau-là

who came
qui est venu

and who wants
et qui veut

to work,
travailler,

his canoe is really fast.
sa pirogue, elle file vraiment.
And it doesn't even take many people across!
*Et elle ne transporte même pas beaucoup de monde!*

But it comes and goes,
*Cependant, elle va et vient,*

it comes and goes
*elle va et vient.*

However, as for theirs, it is slow,
*Par contre, la leur, elle est lente,*

so they won't get customers
*et ils ne trouveront pas de clients*

and they won't make any money,
*et ils ne gagneront pas (assez) d'argent:*

and that made them angry.
*Cela les a donc fait fâcher.*

So because of that,
*Donc à cause de cela,*

today they did not work.
*aujourd'hui ils n'ont pas travaillé.*
Il voulait traverser l’eau.

He wanted to cross the lagoon

Il voulait traverser la lagune.

Il voulait aller de l’autre côté.

Ils ont dit que puisqu’ils ne travaillaient pas,

Ils ne feraient pas traverser leur Chef de village.

C’est pour cela que leur chef de village est parti.

C’est cette pirogue qui l’a fait traverser.

et il est parti.
Amô -mâ, zëplû nôô n -yi là nä,
As for me, when I arrived this morning
Quand moi, je suis arrivé ce matin,

I wanted to cross (the lagoon)
je voulais traverser.

As I was coming,
À mon arrivée,

the usual people were not around on the shore of the lagoon,
il n'y avait pas les gens habituels au bord de l'eau,

though a few were around.
mais il y avait quelques-uns.

Then somebody said to me,
Puis quelqu'un m'a dit:

"There are no boats going today."
« Les pinasses ne fonctionnent pas aujourd'hui. »

He said, “The people, they are really angry.”
Il a dit: « Les gens sont vraiment fâchés. »
I said, “I see.”
Il a dit: « Ah bon! »

If you want to go (= cross), partir (= traverser),

There is a small canoe, voilà une petite pirogue

There is that you can take (lit. enter),
c’est elle que tu peux emprunter. »

Then I went and we got into a queue.
J’y suis donc allé et nous nous sommes mis en rang.

Then that man, he took (lit. he sent) a first group across,
Puis l’homme (= le conducteur) a fait traverser un premier groupe.
then he came to fetch a second group.
ensuite il est venu chercher un autre groupe.

The second ones, in their group,
C'est dans le deuxième groupe

it was there that I was also,
que j'étais aussi

and I crossed the lagoon this morning.
et j'ai traversé l'eau ce matin.

I paid 100 francs (for the fare).
J'ai payé cent francs (pour le transport).

When I had crossed
Quand j'avais traversé,

I came to the place where you take the pick-up taxi,
je suis venu là où l'on prend les Woroworo,

and I took a pick-up taxi
et j'ai pris un Woroworo

and I came to Riviera this morning.
et je suis arrivé à la Riviera ce matin.

So, these are the things (lit. the kind of things)
Donc voilà les choses (litt. le genre de choses)
that happened to me there on my way this morning.
qui me sont arrivées there on my way this morning.

It is them that I have presented here (lit. it is them that are here).
Ce sont elles que j’ai exposé ici (litt. ce sont elles qui sont ici).

End (lit. stopping place).
Fin (point d’arrêt).

9. **Gwebhutu**

*Genre:* Folk tale / Conte traditionnel  
*Content:* Why the chimpanzee doesn’t build houses / *Contenu:* Pourquoi le chimpanzé ne construit pas de maisons  
*Speaker/Locuteur:* F (27, male)  
*Date:* December / Décembre 1995

**Gwebhutu 001**

Ny’tkpo kã cii- nynã ‘gwɛɛ’ -wɔ ’släsä -yi nã,  
*If anyone says that the chimpanzee doesn’t know how to build,*  
*S’il quelqu’un dit que le chimpanzé ne sais pas construire,*

**Gwebhutu 002**

ɔ yã yio gẽ.  
*he has told a lie.*  
*il a menti.*

**Gwebhutu 003**

’Gwe -yi ’släsä  
*The chimpanzee knows how to build,*  
*Le chimpanzé sait construire,*

**Gwebhutu 004**

-mã -ŋänö -t -gbã lä -zikã  
*but it is fear that causes him today*  
*mais c’est la peur qui a fait aujourd’hui*

**Gwebhutu 005**

’nt ee’ ’slä -wɔ ny’tkpo ’bhisãku.  
*to not build like man does.*  
*qu’il ne construit pas comme l’homme.*
Whenever you see a chimpanzee today
Si vous voyez aujourd'hui le chimpanzé

It is fear that gave him that solution.
c'est la peur qui lui a donné cette solution.

It was to the chimpanzee that God first showed how to build a house.
C'est au chimpanzé que Dieu a montré en premier comment se bâtir une maison.

He made a good roof framework.
Il a fait une bonne toiture,
he bound bamboo sticks together,
il a attaché des bambous,

then he put clay between them.
puis il a mis du banco.

When its (= the house) inside had now dried,
Quand l'intérieur (de la maison) avait maintenant séché,

then he went in (lit. he passed there),
puis y est entré (litt. il y a passé)

and he lay down!
et il s'est couché.

However, when the chimpanzee had lain down,
Mais quand le chimpanzé s'était couché,

his heart wasn't at peace.
son cœur n'était pas tranquille.

He looked at the ridge beam a long time,
Il a regardé le bois du faîte longtemps,

then he panicked.
puis il a paniqué.

The chimpanzee said, “How foolhardy I was!
Le chimpanzé a dit: « Quelle imprudence de ma part!
Wa lä bhä 'fle sää 'kwie -bhutuz -a!
How stupid to invite death into one's home!”
Quelle bêtise d'inviter la mort jusqu'à chez soi! »

He climbed up the walls of the house and
Il grimpa les murs de la maison et

Il se mit vraiment à couper la toiture.

He said, “The ridge beam must not crash my head.”
Il dit: « Il ne faut pas que le bois du faîte m’écrase la tête. »

Au moment où il finissait de couper la toiture,

when one of the rafters broke
une des poutres de la toiture se cassa

and the chimpanzee fell down.
et le chimpanzé tomba par terre.

Il allait arriver par terre

when the ridge beam broke there above (him)
lorsque le bois du faîte se détacha en haut,

and it landed exactly on his nose.
et s'abattit juste sur son nez.
The chimpanzee's whole face, it was a mess!

Le nez et les lèvres sont (litt. ont été) rouges de sang.

They fall (lit. have fallen) on the chimpanzee. Ils tombent (litt. sont tombés) sur le chimpanzé.

Until daybreak. jusqu'au lendemain matin.
He said, “Isn’t that what I wanted in the first place?"

Il dit: « N’est-ce pas ce que je recherchais dès le départ? »

The place to sleep that I was looking for, haven’t I found it?”

La couchette que je cherchais, ne l’ai-je pas trouvé! »

Now whenever you see the chimpanzee nowadays

Si vous voyez aujourd’hui le chimpanzé

’sleeping in a nest,

se coucher dans un nid,

his house that fell on him,

sa maison qui est tombée sur lui,

it is in its ruins that he sleeps.

c’est dans ses décombres qu’il dort.

The little nose that is on his face today,

Le menu nez qui est sur son visage aujourd’hui,

it is the infirmity caused by the roofwork (having fallen on him) that he has.

n’est autre qu’une infirmité causée par la toiture (tombée sur lui).

Whenever you see the chimpanzee

Chaque fois que vous voyez le chimpanzé

showing its lip to all who pass,

montrant sa lèvre à tout passant,
gwebhutu 055

-it is the rafter that hit his mouth,
c'est la poutre qui lui a tapé la bouche,
gwebhutu 056

-its wound, that is what it shows to everyone.
la plaie de cela, c'est elle qu'il montre à tous.
gwebhutu 057

-That is where the chimpanzee takes his lesson
Voici d'où le chimpanzé tire sa leçon

gwebhutu 058

-'n neither for building
pour construire

gwebhutu 059

-'n without putting a ridge beam and rafters.
sans mettre une toiture et des poutres.
gwebhutu 060

-That's why we say in our country, “The chimpanzee knows how to build,
C'est ce qu'on dit chez nous: « Le chimpanzé sait construire,
gwebhutu 061

-'n but the building of a roofwork is too much for him.
mais il n'arrive pas à construire avec une toiture. »

10. Kazo

Genre: Folk tale / Conte traditionnel
Content: How a young man kills a water spirit / Contenu: Comment un jeune homme tue un génie de l'eau
Speaker/Locuteur: C (75, male)
Date: 16-08-1994

kazo 001*

Wlaa,
-It is reported (lit. they say) that
-On raconte que
people had built a village for themselves.

It's as if Blukwo was here

and we lived close to Blukwo,

and we use (lit. enter) canoes.

There was a river.

That river (lit. the river that was there),

an old woman’s ghost was in there.

She (lit. it was her who) was the river spirit.

Now if a canoe passes there,

if the boat turns over,
nyukpa 'sɔ a kä bhä -bhlü nä,
in case you were two people,
si vous étiez deux personnes,

(ɔ){a} yä -bhlogbę 'bhlä,
she kills (lit. has killed) one of you,
elle tue (litt. a tué) l'un d'entre vous,

-yä -bhlogbę 'bhlä,
one will now come (back) to the village.
et c'est un seul qui viendra maintenant au village.

-Ztkää' 'yluv 'kv nä,
Now one day (lit. on the day of today)
Un beau jour (litt. le jour d'aujourd'hui)

ŋwadi mʋ ylä,
a lad was coming along,
un jeune homme partait,

ɔ bhée ɔɔ 'kazɔ.
he had with him (lit. was holding) his raffia washcloth.
ayant avec lui (litt. portant) sa serviette en raphia.

Teətəe, -a 'bäs yä -a tittä,
In former times, our fathers and forefathers,
Avant, nos pères et nos grands-pères,

'kazu' wa budo wä.
it was with raffia washcloths that they used to wash themselves.
c'est avec des serviettes en raphia qu'ils se lavaient.

Waa budo (wɔ) bhɔɔ 'tobhoo'.
They didn't use a towel to wash themselves.
Ils ne se lavaient pas avec des serviettes (en coton).

'Tëbhii' we -kv.
Towels didn't exist back then.
Les serviettes (en coton) n'avaient jamais existé.
As he was now arriving on the river,
Dès son arrivée sur la rivière,

he was carrying a wash basin.
il portait une cuvette

The canoe overturns (lit. has overturned).
La pirogue se renverse (litt.s’est renversé).

Now he, he was a man,
Or lui, c’était un brave garçon,

and he knew how to swim,
et il savait aussi nager,

the raffia washcloth is gone.
la serviette en raphia est partie.

The old woman’s ghost that was there in the river
La vieille revenante qui était dans l’eau

and that was its spirit (lit. the spirit of there),
et qui était le génie de cette eau,

(she) it has taken the raffia washcloth.
elle a pris la serviette en raphia.
The canoe, he now pulled it ashore,
La pirogue, il l’a alors tiré sur la rive,

then he took the wash basin.
puis il a pris la cuvette.

That river, that is what he was now setting about emptying.
Cette rivière, c’est ce qu’il a alors commencé à vider.

He said, “My raffia washcloth, that’s what I wash with.
Il se dit: « C’est avec ma serviette en raphia que je me lave,

so, the thing that is in this river
donc la chose qui est dans cette rivière

and that has taken my raffia washcloth,
et qui a pris ma serviette en raphia,

if it now means that I pass through my death
si c’est pour passer par ma mort,

I’ll die,
je mourrai,

but I shall find it today.”
mais le trouverai aujourd’hui.”

It is twice that one sings (in the course of that story),
C’est deux fois qu’on chante (au cours de ce conte),
'ci ɔ wa ġonōa -kā 'kv aa! …
it is twice that one answers! (song” follows)
c’est à deux reprises qu’on répond…(chant)

A ŋdgasā 'kv,
Answer softly,
Repondez doucement,

wältu a memā-n' nāgāsā -tee!
your voices, make them soft and nice!
vos voix, rendez-les bien belles!

-Amʊ, kā n mec nēē ’ɛe!…
As for me, I really have a nice voice! (song follows)
Quant à moi, j’ai une belle voix!… (chant)

Nā -ɔ -kā lā ’boo,
So the one who had the wash basin,
Donc celui qui avait la cuvette,

ŋwadio -ɔ -kā lā ’boo
the lad who had the wash basin
le garçon qui avait la cuvette,

’m -ɔ wa lā ’nyie nā,
and who was emptying the river,
et qui vidait la rivière,

эмɔ ɛ bhl lā nylā: …
as for him, his song goes like this: … (song follows)
lui, il chante comme ceci:….(chant)

They say that the chap (lit. someone) had stayed like that until
On dit que cet homme avait continué ainsi jusqu’à ce que

---

7 For this story the songs have unfortunately not been transcribed.
'n 'nyibhlëa' -lefun,
*the whole river,*
toute la rivière,

'ɔ yia waa 'fun,
*he had completely emptied it out*
il en avait enlevé l'eau

'nt a yi -mcc bhüä.
*and it was empty (lit. finished there).*
et elle fût vidé entièrement.

Kokloko! Ëlʋklä yi 'kv ji.
*The old woman appeared!*
*Et soudainement, la vieille est apparu!*

(ɔ) {A} -kä a cco 'kazcc.
*She had his raffia washcloth.*
*Elle avait sa serviette en raffia.*

'N wlä ɔ yi 'kazcc 'kv 'bhlü.
*Then it is said that he took the raffia washcloth.*
*Alors on dit qu'il a pris la serviette en raffia.*

-Zlëa -a 'kv bhe là -lcc nää,
*The spirit that had been there,*
*Le génie qui avait été en ce lieu,*

ɔ yää yi -lcc (ɔ yää -lcc) -zlëa -sää.
*he has now taken the spirit away from there.*
*il a maintenant enlevé le génie de là.*

-N ni tu' -zää
*You see, that is why*
*Tu vois, c'est pour cela que*

a kää là duu' -kv,
*if you live in a village*
si vous êtes dans un village,
there is a river

and they say that

there is a spirit there

the one who is inclined

it is him who takes the spirit away from there.

If he now kills it,

is there still a spirit now?

It is not there.

That is why I was telling my story!

11. Kokoleko

Genre: Folk tale / Conte traditionnel
Content: How the cunning of a loser has triumphed over the winner / Contenu: Comment la ruse d'un perdant a triomphé sur le gagnant
Speaker/Locuteur: G (55, male)
Date: 11-02–94
The story I am going to tell
Le conte que je vais raconter,

it (lit. it is that) goes like this:
c'est (litt. c'est lui qui est) le suivant:

Rooster and Worm,
Coq et Ver de Terre,

they (lit. it is them that) are going for a dance competition (lit. going to a song)
ils (litt. ce sont eux qui) partent pour un concours de danse.

Worm, he is rich.
Ver de Terre, il est riche.

That thing on his neck, if you look at Worm's neck,
Cette chose qui est à son cou, si tu as regardes le cou de Ver de Terre,

it (lit. there) is shining.
ça (litt. là) brille.

It is something golden that he has put around his neck.
C'est quelque chose en or qu'il a mis autour de son cou.

It is a gold chain that he has put round his neck,
C'est une chaîne en or qu'il a mise au cou,

that's why it (lit. there) is shining.
c'est pourquoi cela (litt. là) brille.

d'accord
-Somabolü lä, ʋmʊv- ye,

Worm says that it is him who dances well,

Ver de Terre dit que c’est lui qui danse bien,

ʋmʊv- bhl.  (-kpazebhleku)
it is him who sings well.

que c’est lui qui chante bien.

Wlä -kɔkwɛɛ lä (ʋmʊv-) ʋmɛɛ lä
The fowl says that it is him who dances well
Le poulet dit que c’est lui qui danse bien

(ʋmʊv-) ʋmɛɛ lä bhl.  (-kpazebhleku)
it is him who sings well

ce’est lui qui chante (bien).

Nä wamä ’sɔ, ’lɔ wa mʊ lä bie -kää.  (-kpazebhleku)
So the two of them, it is on a dance competition that they went.

Alors les deux sont allés en tournée de concours de danse.

Sä ’Clikpëk -kʊ lä -lää,
As if Trikpoko was here
Comme si Trikpoko était ici,

Gwëjibëë -kʊ lä -lää ‘zukaa Aadebee’ nä,  (-kpazebhleku)
or Godjiboué was here, until Adebem,
ou Godjiboué était ici, jusqu’à Adébem,

ɔɔ {-blɔ wa bhlü lä ’nɛ} wa mʊ lä o!  (-kpazebhleku)
it’s that kind of a distance (lit. way) that they went.

c’est (un chemin de ce genre) qu’ils parcourent.

Wa (yä) mʊ {ylä} nä,
As they were going
Pendant qu’ils partaient,

-Kɔɔǝbhelv ʋmʊv- pio lä nä,  (-kpazebhleku)
It was Rooster that hurried
C’était Coq qui était rapide
and he arrived at Trikpoko
et il est arrivé à Trikpoko

and they asked him the news.
et on lui a demandé les nouvelles.

He said, “We have brought a dance,
Il dit: « Nous avons apporté une danse,

Worm and me.
Ver de Terre et moi.

Nous allons donc danser,

puis celui qui sait danser, (= qui danse mieux)

nous allons le trouver. »

And Rooster came out before the crowd.
Et Coq s’est mis sur la scène.

and they started beating the drums there.
et ils ont engagé les tam-tams.

He sings:
Il dit (en chantant):
(THE WHOLE AUDIENCE REPEATS (TOUT L’AUDITOIRE RÉPÈTE) -Ibhele

-Ja! -Ja! A go -mati o!
Silence! Silence! Say that you want to hear more!
Silence! Silence! Demandez à entendre la suite!

We have asked to hear more!
Nous avons demandé la suite!

And they congratulated him (= gave him money).
Et on l’a félicité (= donné de l’argent).

When they had congratulated him a long time,
Après qu’on l’ait félicité longuement,

he had gotten 15 francs.
il a eu quinze francs.

Then Rooster made room (for Worm to take his turn)
Puis Coq a laissé le passage (à Ver de Terre)

and Worm came.
et Ver de Terre est venu.

As for him, he wasn’t fast,
Lui, comme il n’est pas rapide,

it was slowly that he arrived.
c’est lentement qu’il est arrivé.
There you go! Then they beat the drums
Aussitôt, ils ont mis les tam-tams (ils se sont engagés dans les battements des tam-tams).

and the long drum crackled (lit. opened its mouth)
et le long tamtam a crépité (lit. il a ouvert la bouche).

He (=Worm) said (en chantant): (mots inanalysables) (Public: …)
Il (=Ver de Terre) dit (en chantant): (mots inanalysables) (Public: …)

We have asked to hear more!
Nous avons demandé la suite!

Now (you watch) Worm, who turned round and round
Mais (il fallait voir) Ver de Terre qui tournoyait

he got 2000 francs (a much higher sum than the 15 francs Rooster had gotten)
il a eu deux mille francs. (largement supérieur aux quinze francs reçus par le coq)

*This is the French interjection « Allez », which literally means “Go!”. / Il s’agit ici de l’interjection française « Allez! ». 
Well, there's something going wrong here!
ça a l'air de clocher quelque part!

Rooster looked at Worm
Coq a regardé Ver de Terre,

he wasn't happy any more.
il n'était plus content.

Well, there you go!
Then they went back to the road.
Aussitôt, ils ont encore pris la route.

They were now going
Ils partaient maintenant

and arrived in Godjibouélé.
et ils sont arrivés à Godjiboué.

It is Rooster that is
C'est le coq qui est devant.

So by beating his wings
A grands coups d'ailes s'est précipité

They asked him, “What are the news now?”
On lui a demandé: « Quelles sont les nouvelles, alors? »
He said, “Me and Worm,
Il dit: « Moi et Ver de Terre

We are giving a dance competition (lit. it is a song we are taking around),
nous faisons une tournée de danse;

that's why it is me that is up in front.
c'est pourquoi c'est moi qui suis devant.

As for Worm, he is back there
Quant à Ver de Terre, il est derrière,

he is coming.
il arrive.

Silence! Silence! Say that you want to hear more!
Silence! Silence! Demandez à entendre la suite!

We have asked to hear more!”
Nous avons demandé la suite! »

They said, “Okay,”
Ils ont dit: « Entendu! »

and (they … the drums) they called the people,
et (ils ont … les tamtam) ils ont appelé les gens.

saying, “Get the drums there ready!”
disant: « Mettez les tamtams en place! »
And the drums, they resounded (lit. they touched each other)
Et les tambours, ils les ont fait retentir (lit. ils se sont touchés)

He (=Worm) said (=sang), (words are unanalyzable) (Audience /Auditoire: …)
Il (=Ver de Terre) dit (en chantant): (mots inanalysables) (Audience /Auditoire: …)

'Num anumko
'Numa numko!

(NARRATOR AND AUDIENCE TOGETHER /NARRATEUR ET AUDITOIRE ENSEMBLE: )

Ja! -Ja! A go -mati o!
Silence! Silence! Say that you want to hear more!
Demandez à entendre la suite!

Nous avons demandé la suite!

And they congratulated him.
Et ils l'ont félicité.

The village is fairly big,
Puisque le village est assez grand,

so when they went to congratulate him
quand ils sont allés le féliciter,

he got 25 francs.
il a eu vingt cinq francs.

Bon! -Aa, 'nt v yi gbogo.
Well, okay, then he made room (for Worm to take his turn).
Bon, d'accord, puis il a laissé le passage (à Ver de Terre).
Now, Worm he arrived there.
Ver de Terre est arrivé là maintenant.

Ale! Nä, wlã, A ɬʋ -mɔɔ plüü!        (-kpazebhleku)
There you go! So they said, “Beat the drums there!”
Aussitôt le signal a été donné: « Engagez les tamtams! »

And they beat the drums there.
Et ils ont engagé les tamtams.

He (=Worm) said (=sang): (mots inanalysables) (AUDIENCE /AUDITOIRE: …)
Il (=Ver de Terre) dit (en chantant): (mots inanalysables) (AUDITOIRE: …)
’Ní wa yii -mɔɔ ɬʋ.           (-kpazebhleku)

Silence! Silence! Say that you want to hear more!
Demandez à entendre la suite!
(Worm got 5000 francs.
Ver de Terre a eu cinq mille francs.

But Rooster wasn’t happy any more.
Mais Coq n’était plus content.
It is to Adebem they are now going.  
* Ils sont en train d’aller à Adébem *

and they arrived in Adebe.  
* et ils sont arrivés à Adébem *

That same Rooster, it was him who always walked ahead.  
* C’est lui Coq qui est toujours devant *

As soon as he had arrived, he began to sing.  
* Quand il est arrivé, il a en même temps entonné *

They said, “What’s the matter now?”  
* On demanda: "Qu’est-ce qui se passe donc? " *

He said, “There’s nothing serious,  
* Il dit: "Il n’y a rien de grave. *

but we are doing a dance competition,  
* mais nous sommes en tournée de danse, *

That’s why I have come.  
* c’est pourquoi je suis venu. *

I and Worm together are doing the dance competition.  
* Moi avec Ver de Terre nous faisons la tournée de danse ensemble ; *

he is behind,  
* il est derrière, *
but he is coming,
mais il arrive,

so go and get the drums ready!
donc allez et mettez les tamtams au point!

As for me, I shall dance my part.
Quant à moi, je vais danser ma part.

And they called the drummers.
Et on a appelé les batteurs de tamtam.

They said, “Beat the drums now!”
On leur a dit: « Engagez les tamtams! »

And they started to beat them.
et ils ont commencé à les battre.

He (=Worm) said (=sang), (words are unanalyzable) (AUDIENCE /AUDITOIRE: …)
Il (=Ver de Terre) dit (en chantant): (mots inanalysables) (AUDITOIRE: …)

We have asked to hear more!
Nous avons demandé la suite!
He (Rooster) got 50 francs. (yeah)
Il (le coq) a eu cinquante francs. (ouais)

and he made room (for Worm to take his turn)
et il a laissé le passage (à Ver de Terre).

And Worm was last
Ver de Terre était en dernière position

They said (to the drummers), “Go for it!”
On dit (aux batters de tamtam): « Entamez! »

But when the drums were still hot,
Mais au moment où les tamtams étaient encore chauds,

The long drums resounded.
les longs tambours ont retenti.

We have asked to hear more!
Nous avons demandé la suite!
When Worm had done his part, 
Quand Ver de Terre a fait sa part,

he got ten thousand francs. 
il a eu dix mille.

The money, he now had more than enough. (lit. he has now killed it)  
L'argent, il en a eu plus qu’assez.(litt.: il l’a maintenant tué)

"Well, we'll now (lit. today) go back home. 
« Bon, nous allons maintenant (litt. aujourd’hui) chez nous.

We have come through the villages (lit. we have touched the head of the villages), 
Nous avons parcouru tous les villages (litt.: nous avons touché la tête des villages),

so we'll now go back home.”

donc nous allons maintenant chez nous. »

The two of them followed each other for a long time. 
Les deux se suivaient pendant un long moment.

Rooster was in front 
Coq était devant

and Worm was following him. 
et le Ver de Terre le suivait.

They were now leaving. 
Ils étaient en train de partir.
They go (lit. have gone) on the road until
Ils parcourent (lit. ont parcouru) le chemin jusqu'à

They reach (lit. have reached) half way.
faire la moitié du chemin.

Then all of a sudden (lit. as they are now looking)
Alors tout d'un coup (litt. au moment où ils regardent)

there is a swarm of black ants!
voici un essaim de fourmis magnan!

The swarm of black ants upon which they arrived
L'essaim de magnans qu'ils ont rencontré

it had no end.
il n'avait pas de fin.

Worm said, “I'll go back.”
Ver de Terre dit: « Je vais retourner. »

The fowl said, “No, come and get on my back,
Le poulet dit: « Viens et monte sur mon dos,

so I can take you across,
pour que je te fasse traverser;

the two of us had come together,
car c'est nous deux qui étions venus
so I mustn't abandon you.

je ne dois pas t'abandonner.

Give me the money!” (to carry it)

Donne-moi l'argent! » (pour le porter)

And he said, “Get on my back,

Puis il a dit: « Monte sur mon dos,

so that I can take you across.”

pour que je te fasse traverser. »

That money that Worm had gotten

Cet argent que Ver de Terre a eu,

he had gotten fifty thousand francs.

il a eu cinquante mille francs.

what's he called, Rooster,

- comment il s'appelle?-

he had gotten one hundred and fifty francs.

il a eu cent cinquante francs.

That money, he (=Worm) said, “Will I not fall down?”

Cet argent, il (Ver de Terre) dit: « Est-ce que je vais pas tomber? »

He (Rooster) said, “Sit (lit. be) right here on my back!

Il (Coq) dit: « Mets-toi (litt. sois) ici sur mon dos!
Sit here between my two wings,
Mets-toi ici entre mes deux ailes,

hold on fast to me,
tiens-moi bien,

because I am leaving
car je suis en train de partir

to take you across!
pour te faire traverser!

He (= Worm) said, “Alright.”
Il (= Ver de Terre) dit: « Entendu. »

Then he (= Rooster) passed there.
Puis il (= Coq) est passé là,

and he (= Worm) passed on his (= Rooster’s) back
et il (= Ver de Terre) est passé sur son dos

and he (= Rooster) put him (= Worm) there,
et il (= Coq) l’a mis là-bas

There you go, go ahead!
Aussitôt fait, ils se sont mis à courir.

It is that swarm of ants that he (= Rooster) is going through now
C’est l’essaim de fourmis magnans qu’il (= Coq) est en train de parcourir à présent
- Judu! -judu! -judu!
  with huge steps!
  à grands pas!

- He was running until
  Il courait jusqu'à ce qu'

- he arrived in the middle of the swarm of black ants,
  à arriver au milieu de l'essaim de magnans,

- then he shook them (=his wings)
  puis il a les a secoué (les ailes)

- (ideophone) Worm falls (lit. has fallen) down!
  Hélas! Ver de Terre tombe (litt. est tombé)!

- Rooster flies (lit. has flown),
  Coq s'envole (litt. s'est envolé),

- he is gone.
  il est parti.

- So these black ants...
  Ces magnans donc...

- Now Worm,
  Or Ver de Terre,

- he was a very wicked person.
  il était un homme très méchant.
If you got a problem with Worm, Si tu as eu affaire à Ver de Terre,
you don’t sleep in the village tu ne dors pas au village.

he chases you away (from the village). Il te chasse (du village).

That’s why all the little beasts in the world that bite look for him all the time. C’est pour cela que toutes les petites bêtes du monde qui mordent le cherchent toujours.

When he fell down there, Quand il est tombé là,
each black ant will take its piece (of Worm) chaque fourmi magnant va prendre son morceau (de Ver de Terre)

with rapid mouvements, she cuts him up. d’un geste rapide, elle le découpe (aussitôt).

they cut him up completely ils l’ont découpé entièrement

and they abandoned him there. et ils l’ont abandonné là.
They finished him.
Ils l'ont fini.

That rooster, who had not gained any money,
Ce coq qui n'avait pas eu d'argent,

he then took the money (Worm had gotten)
il a alors pris l'argent (que Ver de Terre a eu)

and went away (lit. came) with it
et il est parti (litt. venu) avec.

It's on a fortune that he now sits.
C'est sur la richesse qu'il est assis.

That is why at daybreak
C'est pourquoi quand il fait jour,

it is him who starts shouting in the land.
c'est lui qui se met à crier dans la région.

Wherever someone is
Où que quelqu'un soit,

he will hear his words (of boasting) (=his cock-a-doodle-doo).
il va entendre ses paroles (orgueilleuses) (= son cocorico).

That is why Rooster shouts, then!
Voici pourquoi il crie, comme il fait aujourd'hui!
N paa-'naa 'nünë o! (-kpazebhleku)
I have told (lit. shown) my story!
J’ai raconté (litt. montré) mon conte!

Zagbo-zagbo o!
(Verification in order to pass to the next story?)
Expression de transition au conte suivant?)

SEPI GÔVA 'wlu o!
On Sepi Gova’s head
Sur la tête de Sepy Gova.

(Everyone) -Tvàni.
End
Fin

12. Lueuzi

Genre: Folk tale / Conte traditionnel
Content: How a co-wife is punished for her greed and cruelty / Contenu: Comment une coépouse est puni pour sa jalousie et cruauté
Speaker/Locuteur: C (75, male)
Date: 16-08–94

lueuzi 001

łmì n cii- bhlà tɛɛ
That’s what I said before
C’est ce que j’avais dit,

lueuzi 002

nyñä gâmàdà nää-
that having fun is good.
que s’amuser est bon.

lueuzi 003

-Mä a ’nö gäma nà,
But if you are not having fun,
Mais si vous ne vous amusez pas,

lueuzi 004

a yi nykpa ’kvgbà ’plö,
you could be ten people,
vous pouvez être dix personnes,
lueuzi 005
(c'est zero!) 'Nn!
(it is nothing) No!
c'est zéro! Non!

lueuzi 006*
-Kpläkplödö là,
It's a lie (= it is good for nothing).
C'est mensonge (= c'est peine perdue).

lueuzi 007
-mä nn' kį lā 'mv 'bhläbhlä.
but I mustn't mix them (= my words) up.
mais il ne faut pas que je les (= mes paroles) mélange.

lueuzi 008*
A yi nytkpa' gwltaa bhlü,
You could be sixty people,
Que vous soyez soixante,

lueuzi 009
'n a 'nō gāma nā,
and if you are not having fun,
et si vous ne vous amusez pas,

lueuzi 010
u' yi (-wu) nää-
it's no good.
ce n'est pas bien.

lueuzi 011
lt' -zā 'nāa pleyii' -kō lā 'kōkō gāmal
That is why in my heart, there is always fun,
C'est pour cela que dans mon cœur, il y a toujours amusement,

lueuzi 012
'n 'nāa pleyii' yi 'kōkō gāmal kō -kaa
and in my heart there will always be fun until
et dans mon cœur, il y aura toujours amusement jusqu'à

lueuzi 013
'n -amö 'titi 'nāa nyāmō yi bhāa.
my own breath will end.
à ce que moi-même mon souffle va finir.

lueuzi 014 (Song/Chant)
Libhia Libhiaaaa!
wlä -maa -nāa lū bhā -go leee
wlā -nāa 'yu lū bhā ple ple lū o 'nāa 'yu
-c waa 'nāa 'yu -cōc nį
(Song to announce the story. The audience is invited to sing what the storyteller tells it to sing.)
(Chant entonné pour annoncer le conte. L’auditoire est appelé à chanter ce que le conteur lui dit de chanter.)

lueuzi 015
Sɔɔ a ɲɔ̃-klää ’kɔ a!
This is how you answer!
Voici comment vous répondez!

lueuzi 016
Libhia Libhia!…
(The audience sings together as instructed when the storyteller gives the signal)
(L’auditoire chante en chœur au signal du conteur).

lueuzi 017
-Jlibɔɔ ’titī -mati!
A true riddle for you to hear!
Un vrai énigme pour votre écoute!

lueuzi 018
(AUDIENCE /AUDITOIRE) -Matī -a ylàà- lā.
We want to hear it. (lit. it is ‘mati’ we have asked)
Nous voulons l’entendre. (litt. c’est ‘mati’ que nous avons demandé)

lueuzi 019
Wlaa … (sese) ’nī ’yłbàà’-a -kɔ lā -lānumu? (sese)
They say … is it in the season of clearing the bush that we are in?
On dit que … est-ce en période de débroussaillage que nous sommes?

lueuzi 020*
Włä (sɔɔ) nytkɔɔ (sɔɔ-ɔɔ-} nöö- lā ɔɔ’ ’ŋwnɔɔ ’sɔ. (sese)
They say there was a man who had two wives.
On dit qu’il y avait un homme qui avait deux femmes.

lueuzi 021*
-Kaflɛnɛ! ɔɔ’ ’ŋwnɔɔ ’sɔ -kä ’yuë’ ’sɔ. (sese)
Excuse me! (=I’ll talk to you about a calamity) His two wives had two children.
Que cela ne vous déplaise! (=Je vais parler d’un malheur) Ses deux femmes avaient deux enfants.

lueuzi 022*
Kä wa kêpè lā, (sese)
They were at the age of crawling
ils marchaient à quatre pattes

lueuzi 023*
’nī ɔ -loo lā ’sākæzīze, (sese)
when he had cleared land for a rice field
quand il avait nettoyé un champ de riz
and the women planted the rice.
et les femmes ont planté le riz.

When that rice was now bearing fruit,
Quand ce riz fleurissait,

the rice, the animals were eating it.
le riz, les animaux le mangeaient.

As the pigs were eating it,
Comme les sangliers le mangeaient,

his first wife,
sa première épouse,

she said,
et elle dit:

“Je vais aller au champ aujourd'hui.”

Then she took the child
Puis elle a pris l'enfant

and she now went there.
et elle y est allée.

When she had now gone under the shelter by the rice field,
Quand elle est allée sous l'apatam du champ,

she makes (lit. has made) a fire.
elle fait (lit. a fait) du feu.
Her husband had built a bed out of bamboo,
Son mari ayant fait un lit en bambou,

so it was on the bamboo bed that they were lying down.
c'est sur le lit en bambou qu'ils se couchent.

But that day her husband spent the night in the village
Mais ce jour-là, son mari a dormi au village,

and her co-wife slept in the village.
et sa rivale a dormi au village.

The child is now asleep (lit. has now slept).
L'enfant dort alors (litt. a alors dormi).

In former times there were no lamps, right?
Avant, il n'y avait pas de lampes, n'est-ce pas?

It was torches people used to make.
C'est des flambeaux qu'on utilisait.

Then she took a torch
Et elle a pris un flambeau

and she lit it.
et elle l'a allumée.
he is asleep (lit. has slept)  
*il dort. (litt. a dormi)*

She then goes for a stroll into the (rice) field.  
*C'est dans le champ qu'elle est alors partie se promener.*

Now when the child has woken up,  
*Quand l'enfant s'est réveillé,*

he then goes into the field.  
*il a commencé à partir dans le champ.*

Formerly they used to make paths in the rice fields.  
*Avant on avait l'habitude de faire des sentiers dans les champs de riz*

It was such a path that he (=the child) then took.  
*C'est un tel sentier (lit. sur lui) que l'enfant (litt. il) prit.*

Now as God does things,  
*Comme Dieu fait les choses*

as the woman was now turning her head,  
*au moment où la femme allait tourner la tête,*

she thought it was an animal that was coming  
*elle croyait que c'était un animal qui venait.*

With a blow (ideophone) she kills (lit. has killed) her child.  
*D'un coup de machette, elle tue (litt. a tué) l'enfant.*
As she was now looking,

Au moment où elle regarde,

there's now her child(s body)!

voici (le corps de) son enfant!

there's now her child(s body)!

voici (le corps de) son enfant!

Oh dear!

Quelle horreur! (c'est mon enfant que j'ai tué), ça ne fait rien.

That child, it is him she put on her back,

Cet enfant, c'est lui qu'elle a alors mis sur son dos,

That child, it is him she put on her back,

Cet enfant, c'est lui qu'elle a alors mis sur son dos,

That child, it is him she put on her back,

Cet enfant, c'est lui qu'elle a alors mis sur son dos,

That child, it is him she put on her back,

Cet enfant, c'est lui qu'elle a alors mis sur son dos,

That child, it is him she put on her back,

Cet enfant, c'est lui qu'elle a alors mis sur son dos,

That child, it is him she put on her back,

Cet enfant, c'est lui qu'elle a alors mis sur son dos,

That child, it is him she put on her back,

Cet enfant, c'est lui qu'elle a alors mis sur son dos,

That child, it is him she put on her back,

Cet enfant, c'est lui qu'elle a alors mis sur son dos,

That child, it is him she put on her back,

Cet enfant, c'est lui qu'elle a alors mis sur son dos,

That child, it is him she put on her back,

Cet enfant, c'est lui qu'elle a alors mis sur son dos,

That child, it is him she put on her back,

Cet enfant, c'est lui qu'elle a alors mis sur son dos,

That child, it is him she put on her back,

Cet enfant, c'est lui qu'elle a alors mis sur son dos,

That child, it is him she put on her back,

Cet enfant, c'est lui qu'elle a alors mis sur son dos,

Oh dear!

It's not a big deal.

Quelle horreur! (c'est mon enfant que j'ai tué), ça ne fait rien.

That child, it is him she put on her back,

Cet enfant, c'est lui qu'elle a alors mis sur son dos,

She is singing

Elle est en train de chanter
and she is going (to the village).

et elle est en train de partir (au village).

The villagers said, “Oh! (What's that sound?) Listen!

Les villageois disent: « Oh! (Qu'est donc ce bruit?) Écoutez! Prêtez l'oreille!

The path to our friend's field,

Du chemin au champ de notre ami,

The path to your field, it is from there the wailing is coming.

Du chemin de ton champ, c'est de là que proviennent les plaintes. »

They (=the villagers) said, Well, it was your own child,

ils (les villageois) dirent: « Notre ami,

they (the villagers) said to the woman, Well, it was your own child,

ils (les villageois) dirent à la femme: « C'était ton propre enfant,
nä sä -n 'gä lä nu
so the way you are going to proceed
donc la manière dont tu vas procéder

('n) -yä -n 'gɔ lä bûda nä,
in order to wash him (is that)
pour que tu le laves (est que)

-nn -lä 'nyu 'titi 'plü
you will not draw real water
tu ne puiseras pas de la vraie eau

’n -n 'gɔ bûda.
in order to wash him.
pour le laver,

-n gä cii- 'kpokposä -n 'nö -wv bhlää- nä.
since you say that you didn’t do it on purpose.”
puisque tu dis que tu ne l'as pas fait exprès.

Nä ’bii, um wa -tla lä,
It is wash bowls they held out (to her)
Donc ce sont des cuvettes qu'ils (lui) ont tendues.

wlä, -N ’tu 'mɔɔ,
saying, “Weep bitterly!”
disant: « Pleure à chaudes larmes!, »

-n ’tu 'mɔɔ!
Weep bitterly!
Pleure à chaudes larmes!

-Naa ’mɔɔ ’mɔ -n -nä -n 'gä lä ’kv bhlü
It is your tears that you will take
Ce sont tes larmes que tu vas prendre

{-yä} -n 'gä lä ’yuö bûda.
in order to wash the child.”
pour laver l'enfant. »
Then they pushed wash basins before her
Puis ils ont poussé les cuvettes en bas d'elle.

She said singing: (unanalyzable words)
Elle dit en chantant: (mots inanalysables)
wlä -maa -naa lü bhä -go leee
wlä -naa 'yu lü bhä ple ple lü o 'naa 'yu
-wa waa 'naa 'yu -cé nc

All the wash basins, they got filled with her tears.
On dit que toutes les cuvettes ont été remplies de ses larmes

They said (to her), “Wash him now!”
Ils (lui) dirent: « Lave-le maintenant! »

Then she took him
Alors elle l’a pris

and washed him completely.
et elle l’a lavé complètement.

Then they put ornaments on him.
Puis on a mis des parures sur lui.

They said (to the woman), “Go bury him!”
On dit (à la femme): « Vas l’enterrer! »

And she buried him.
Alors elle l’a enterré.
When she had now buried him,

the village elders who were now in the village,

they said, “Let’s get together shortly,

as the woman has had a rough time. (lit. the woman’s soul left from her head)

Since she has had such a rough time,

as the woman has had a rough time. (lit. the woman’s soul left from her head)

come, let’s offer her gifts (lit. let’s wash her with water)

in order to comfort her. (lit. put soul on head)

Her co-wife was there,

she watched what was going on.

The woman, so they offered her gifts.

La femme, on lui a alors offert des présents.
And they gave (her) riches,
Et ils (lui) ont offert des biens,

and they comforted her.
et ils l'ont réconforté.

Her co-wife said, “I see,
Sa rivale dit: « Ah, bon!

so my co-wife, that's how she acted
ma rivale, c'est ce qu'elle a fait

and they have given her riches.”
et ils lui ont donné des biens. »

When she and her child (lit. hers) went to the field,
Lorsqu'elle est partie au champ avec son enfant (litt. le sien),

with a blow (ideophone)
d'un coup de machette

elle le tue (litt. l'a tué)
They (= the villagers) said, “Oh listen again, because
Ils (les villageois) dirent: « Prêtez encore l'oreille, car

in that field of our friend's there are a few problems!
au champ de notre ami, il y a quelques problèmes!

So the woman came (to the village) with her (dead) child
Alors la femme rentra (au village) avec l'enfant (mort)

and she put him on the ground.
et elle l'a déposé.

They (the villagers) said, “Well, that's no big deal.
Ils (les villageois) dirent: « Bon, on verra ça. (Trêve de commentaire!)

“You had attended your co-wife's ceremony yesterday, hadn't you?
« Tu avais assisté à la cérémonie de ta rivale hier, n'est-ce pas?

You had attended that, hadn't you?”
Tu y avais assisté, n'est-ce pas? »

The next morning
Le lendemain matin,

wash basins, that's what they brought (to her).
des cuvettes, c'est ce qu'ils ont apportés (auprès d'elle).
lueuzi 119

-yä -n 'go yë büda!
in order to wash him!”
afin de le laver! »

lueuzi 120

'Nt} wlä nytkpä -dlee kuo -kä née',
Now it is common knowledge (lit they say) that someone has at least spittle in his mouth,
Alors une personne a normalement au moins du crachat dans la bouche

lueuzi 121

'n ó sä {mako -dlelā} née'
but she couldn’t even get a drop of spittle from her mouth
mais elle ne réussit à faire sortir même une goutte de crachat de sa bouche,

lueuzi 122

'n wa pō -kā -dō 'ko. 'Bii-!
that could have fallen down. Nothing!
qui pût tomber à terre. Rien!

lueuzi 123

'Nt zeli yi 'mu kplč. (sese)
(This went on) until daylight.
(Cela a duré) jusqu'à ce que le jour parût.

lueuzi 124

-Aa, wlä, -Aa, -ayokā, (sese)
“Alright,” they said, “Alright, thank you.”
« Bon, » dirent-ils. « Bon merci. »

lueuzi 125

-mā -n luēzünč, wambil -nü bhlaā mö naa, (sese)
Now your co-wife, what she had done
Sache que ce que ta rivale avait fait

lueuzi 126

'n -a büdō- bhlaā 'nyuu naa, (sese)
and we had comforted her
et que nous l'avions réconforté,

lueuzi 127*

'kpokposā ɔ 'në bhe -nu. (sese)
she hadn’t done it on purpose.
elle ne l’avait pas fait exprès.

lueuzi 128

-Mā -naa -lā, 'kpokposā -n bhlač ē lä nā, (sese)
But your child (lit. yours), it is on purpose that you killed him, so
Mais ton enfant (litt. le tien), c'est exprès que tu l'as tué, ainsi
it is on purpose that you will go into the grave (lit. enter) with him.
c’est exprès que tu iras en terre (litt. entrer) avec lui.

So they dug the grave.
Alors ils ont creusé le tombeau.

Him, his mother, it was first that they put her there,
Lui (=l’enfant), sa mère, c’est premièrement qu’on l’a mis dedans

then they put the child on top of her
puis ils ont mis l’enfant sur elle

and they closed the grave. (lit. they pushed the soil)
et ils ont fermé le tombeau (litt. poussé la terre).

That’s why they say that if your neighbour, you live together somewhere
C’est pourquoi on dit que si ton prochain, si vous habitez ensemble quelque part

and your neighbour, if he has had (lit. taken) a problem
et que ton camarade a eu un problème (litt. pris une affaire)

and if the villagers say,  
et que les villageois disent:

“That person, what they have done,
Ce cette personne, ce qu’elle a fait là,

they have had a rough time,
elle a été terriblement éprouvée,
so let's comfort her,”
donc venez et réconfortons-la!, »

then you mustn’t say,
alors tu ne dois pas dire:

“The way she acted yesterday,
« Comme celle-là a fait hier,

me too, I'll act the same way (so I'll also get gifts like they did).
moi aussi, je vais faire ainsi (pour qu'on me donne aussi des biens comme à elle).

You'll die as a result.”
Tu vas en mourir. »

I have told (lit. shown) my story!
J'ai fait (litt. montré) mon conte!

The story has ended. Next one!
Le conte est terminé. Le suivant!

NB: Ces deux expressions sont dites toujours à la fin des contes pour dire que le conte est terminé. On peut dire l'un ou l'autre ou les deux ensemble. Si on les dit successivement comme c'est le cas ici, c'est parce que le conteur ne veut pas passer le relai à quelqu'un d'autre. Soit qu'il continue lui-même ou on ne conte plus. -Tvän est précédé du nom d'une personne présente lorsque le conteur veut donner la parole à cette personne.

13. Medic

Genre: Procedural / Description d'activité
Content: How to make “medecine” to chase birds from the rice field / Contenu: Comment faire un “médicament” pour chasser les oiseaux de son champ de riz
Speaker/Locuteur: B (40, male)
Date:16-05-1995
'Naa 'klaa 'mlō gwäzöö, númlügwäzöö,
The medicines for my field, the medicines against birds
Les médicaments pour mon champ, les médicaments d'oiseaux

gwäzöö n nä,
the medicines I am talking about
ces médicaments dont je parle

n fä bhlä 'naa 'klaa 'mlō nä,
that I took to my field
que j’amenais dans mon champ,

númlügwäzö lä.
they are medicines against birds.
ce sont des médicaments d'oiseaux.

-Mä n kĩ -mɔɔ -fâ nä,
When I take them there,
Lorsque je les y amène,

zëplüü' 'pii n kã mu nã,
very early in the morning when I am going,
très tôt le matin en allant,

nn slä -wɔ nytkpɔ nē.
I don't talk to anybody.
je ne parle à personne.

'Nt n mu,
Then I go
Puis je vais,

'n t n ġë lä 'klaa 'mlō.
and I arrive in the field.
et j'arrive dans le champ

N kã 'klaa 'mlō -ŋë nã,
When I have arrived in the field,
Lorsque je suis arrivé dans le champ,
medic 011
'n n bhlü lä -kosu 'kv,
then I take fire,
alors je prends du feu,

medic 012
'n n bhlü gwäzöö 'kv,
then I take the medicines
puis je prends les médicaments

medic 013
'n n bhlü -nyakp 'kv,
and I take leaves,
et je prends des feuilles,

medic 014
'n n mu,
then I go
puis je vais

medic 015
'n n ñuñu lä 'klaa néeddë 'yi,
and I kindle them in the middle of the field,
et je les enflamme au milieu du champ,

medic 016
'n n ñuñu lä -mɔɔ.
and I burn them there.
et je les brûle là.

medic 017
N ki -mɔɔ -ŋuu nā,
When I have burnt them there,
Quand je les y ai brûlés,

medic 018
'n n bha -mɔɔ
then I leave there
alors je quitte là

medic 019
'n n yi yì duu'.
and I come to the village.
et je viens au village.

medic 020
Dää n yi lä duu'
When I come to the village,
Lorsque je suis en train de venir au village,
then I will speak to someone.

alors je vais parler à quelqu'un.

When I have spoken to someone

Quand j'ai parlé à quelqu'un

and the next morning comes

et que le lendemain arrive,

and I go again,

et que je repars,

then I go

alors je vais

and I take fire,

et je prends du feu

and (I kindle) I burn the medicine again,

et (j'enflamme) je brûle à nouveau le médicament,

then I put leaves there

puis je mets des feuilles

and the smoke takes over the field

et la fumée envahit tout le champ,

and the birds leave from (lit. inside) the field.

et les oiseaux quittent du (litt. dans le) champ.
14. Neyo

Genre: Personal narrative / Récit personnel

Content: How a quarrel between fishermen escalated into an ethnic conflict / Contenu: Comment une dispute entre pêcheurs est devenu un conflit entre ethnies

Speaker/Locuteur: H (28, male)

Date: January / Janvier 1997

neyo 1

'Döö' -wu -mɔɔ Gbogle -kw.

There are no news there in Sassandra.

Il n'y a pas de nouvelles là-bas à Sassandra.

neyo 2

-Glisuve' -zä -a -mö bhlä.

It was because of Christmas that we had gone.

C'est à cause de la fête de Noël que nous étions allés.

neyo 3.1

-A -mö là nà,
When we had gone,

neyo 3.2

-Glisuve, -a nie -'nää

Christmas, we celebrated (lit. found) it fine.

la (fête de) Noël, nous l'avons bien fêtée (lit. trouvée).

neyo 4.1

-Mä dâ e 'kä là yi nà,
Now when it was going to come

neyo 4.2

-e e plöö- là Nowelë nà,

the feast that is Christmas,

neyo 4.3

dâ wa gäë- là Zozii nà,
when Jesus was born, (lit. when they gave birth to Jesus)

neyo 4.4

lɔɔ 'cvo yü glu -yä 'taa' 'sabo,
in the night of the twenty-third of that month,

neyo 4.5

'në -n -yi sɔɔ nynä
then know that

alors sache que
neyo 4.7

- ya 'ko Bedie 'nɔmö bhla Gbogle

on the twenty-second Bédie's (the President's) wife had come to Sassandra.

neyo 5.1*

Nä glö 'taa 'sabo Jübyeükpü 'scc- 'möh jie 'klö

So in the night of the twenty-third two young Neyo men went out on the ocean,

neyo 5.2

-yä 'kä 'dädö 'pä

in order to throw their nets,

neyo 5.3*

-yä 'kä 'zlü täa 'Glste- -za.

in order to look for fish because of Christmas.

neyo 6.1*

Wlä wa -möh jie nā

It is reported that as they went,

neyo 6.3*

Fändny cā wā 'pilo jiee'.

Fanti people had thrown their net into the ocean.

neyo 6.4*

Wa niu lā 'yi nā, kwa -syo 'nyie'

When they saw it, they took it out of the water

neyo 6.5*

'ṇi wā yiu wā gölō 'mø 'ŋů.

and they put it into their canoe.

neyo 7.1*

'It yā 'mø -tlumā

Before long

Cela n'a plus duré

neyo 7.2*

'ṇi Fändnyu ya yi.

the Fanti came.

et les Fanti sont venus.
When they had come, they said:

- Who took our net?

It is reported that the Fanti said:

- And why did you take it?

It is reported that the Neyo said:

- The reason why we have taken it (literally: the problem because of which we have taken it)
neyo 11.3
  a 'n'wuyi -a?
don't you know it?
vous ne la savez pas?

neyo 12.1
  -A yä 'anyibe soo
  We had already told you
  Nous vous avions déjà dit

neyo 12.2.*
  nynä anyyu- -kä jekpi gwolt nà,
  that you, who have boats like the white people (i.e. with a motor),
  que vous, qui avez des pirogues des Blancs (c'est-à-dire avec un moteur),

neyo 12.3
  a 'kä ci
  if you say
  si vous dites

neyo 12.4
  nynä a 'kä fie nà
  that you want to go fishing
  que vous voulez faire la pêche

neyo 12.5
  a mô jiee' yiku
  you are to go out on the ocean,
  vous n'avez qu'à aller au large,

neyo 12.6.*
  -yä -anyu- -kä lä gwolt tkuła nà,
  so that we, who have small canoes,
  de sorte que nous, qui avons de petites pirogues,

neyo 12.7
  - a'gä eykpu 'kvo tuto
  we might navigate close to the shore
  nous puissions longer la côte

neyo 12.8
  -yä -a 'gä fte.
in order to fish.
pour faire la pêche.

neyo 13.1.*
  -A yä bhe anyi soo
  We had told you
  Nous vous avions dit
neyo 13.2∗
	nynä a 'nö pää -lä 'su 'piloo 'kv.
that you were not to throw a net either,
que vous ne devez pas non plus jeter le filet,

neyo 13.3∗
'
izä -a bhlüü- lä anya 'piloo 'kv.
that is why we took your net.
c'est pourquoi nous avons pris votre filet.

neyo 14.1
Vw -wò zluye bhlää-,
It hasn't caught any fish,
Il n'a pas pris de poisson,

neyo 14.2∗
aa -wò cii-
we did not say
nous n'avons pas dit

neyo 14.3∗
nynä -mä -a 'gu nyima
that we would destroy it,
que nous voulions le détruire,

neyo 14.4∗
-mä -a 'gu anya 'cifio yēkō fā.
rather, we are going to send it to your chief.
nous allons plutôt l'envoyer auprès votre chef.

neyo 15.1
-Mä -a gā ci
Because if we say
Parce que si nous disons

neyo 15.2
nynä -mä ka fie -anya 'nyiklēa 'kv nā,
that you are actually fishing in our part of the water,
que vous faites la pêche dans notre partie de l'eau,

neyo 15.3
a 'bäst lä
your elders (will) say
vos aînés disent

neyo 15.4
wälū -a ci lä nā
that what we are saying
que ce que nous disons
neyo 15.5

\[\text{tu -wv -nwawle plöö-.}
\]

that is not the truth.”

ce n’est pas la vérité.”)

neyo 16

\[-N ni wâlu wa 'nii- lä 'ku nà.
\]

Here is the issue that was between them.

Voilà le problème entre eux.

neyo 17.1*

\[\text{Fâdunya -mä wa 'nì yùc 'mò -nuu}
\]

Now as for the Fanti, they didn’t want to listen to reason anymore,

Or les Fanti, ils ne voulaient plus entendre raison,

neyo 17.2*

\[-mä 'yizle wa -ku ylä.
\]

rather, they were now angry.

mais ils se sont mis en colère maintenant.

neyo 18.1

\[\text{Wa -ku 'yizlè 'mò -aaa,}
\]

They stayed angry until

Ils étaient dans cette colère jusqu’à ce que

neyo 18.2

\[\text{yiosá 'gbaa' -sásänówa.}
\]

the matter turned into a conflict.

cela soit devenu un conflit.

neyo 19.1*

\[\text{Dà Jübëyu 'ylbhä ylä waa gɔlv nà,}
\]

When the Neyo were turning round their canoe,

Lorsque les Neyo étaient maintenant en train de faire demi-tour avec leur pirogue,

neyo 19.2*

\[\text{ku bhuo-.}
\]

it turned over.

elle s’est renversée.

neyo 20.1

\[\text{Waa gɔlv bhuo- ylä nà,}
\]

When their canoe had now turned over,

Lorsque leur pirogue s’était maintenant renversée,

neyo 20.2

\[\text{wlä Fâdunya lâ,}
\]

it is reported that the Fanti said,

les Fanti auraient dit:
“So now (lit. and) we have got (lit. found) you.”
« Alors maintenant (litt. et) nous vous avons attrapés (lit. trouvés). »

One of the young men, he was trying
L’un des jeunes hommes, il essayait

to come up to the surface,
de monter à la surface,

then a Fanti hit him on his head with one of the big oar blades
alors un Fanti l’a frappé sur la tête avec un des grandes rames

and he sank under the water.
et il a disparu sous l’eau.

After a while
Cela a fait un temps

he reappeared
puis il a resurgi de l’eau

then they again hit him on his head with the oar blade.
alors ils l’ont de nouveau frappé sur la tête avec la rame.

When they had now again hit him on his head with the oar blade,
Lorsqu’ils l’avaient maintenant de nouveau frappé sur la tête avec la rame,

he then died
il est mort maintenant,
neyo 23.3

'ntɔ yi sää slɔɔ.
and he went under.
puis il a coulé.

neyo 24.1*

-ɔɔ ndɔɔ -mä, dä ɔ ni- là nwëngbunt 'yi nää,
That second one, when he saw what was going on,
Quant au deuxième, lorsqu'il a vu ce qui se passait,

neyo 24.2*

ko 'fike
he really acted smartly,
il a bien réagi,

neyo 24.3*

-mä 'ntɔ mɛɛ -gɔŋ -zɔɔ.
because he then dived under the canoe.
Car il a alors plongé sous la pirogue.

neyo 25.1

Fädunyua wa tänɔɔ yi -aaa
The Fanti were now looking for him until
Les Fanti le cherchaient alors jusqu'à ce

neyo 25.2

'nt wa -stå.
they got tired of it.
qu'ils en soient las.

neyo 26.1

Waa' 'nio yɔɔ là nää,
As they didn't see him anymore,
Comme ils ne l'ont plus vu,

neyo 26.2

kwa -sä gwë
they drew back.
ils ont reculé.

neyo 27.1

ɔmɔ -mä 'sʉ kɔ pɑ 'nyist
Now as for him, he was really swimming hard
Or lui aussi, il nageait vraiment

neyo 27.2

'ntɔ yi 'yikʉ mö.
and he advanced.
et il est allé devant.
neyo 28.1*

Fädunyoa, wlä wa wlo klë nä,
The Fanti, it is said as they were looking behind
Les Fanti, on dit quand ils ont regardé en arrière,

neyo 28.2*

ɔ yä kpänyt 'yikw mö.
he has advanced a lot.
il avait bien avancé.

neyo 29.1

Waa -gwɛɛ wa -kä lä
The fish-hook that they had
Leur hameçon qu’ils avaient

neyo 29.2

‘nt wa fiä lä zlüü 'mō nä,
and with which they catch the fish,
et avec lequel ils attrapent les poissons,

neyo 29.3

wa bhluę- ’kv
they took it
ils l’ont pris

neyo 29.4

‘nt wa yie ‘pä
and they threw it
et ils l’ont lancé

neyo 29.5

‘nt ε yio kpɔ.
and it caught him.
et il s’est accroché à lui.

neyo 30.1

Dä wa jlie ylä nä,
As they were now pulling it,
Quand ils l’ont tiré maintenant,

neyo 30.2*

‘nt ɔ yie ‘yi ‘kpọtɔ.
he tore it out.
alors il l’a arraché.

neyo 31.1*

Nyébluo ‘tlänyt- -aaa
The young man succeeded (lit. tried until)
Le jeune homme a réussi (litt. il a essayé jusqu’à ce que)
As he was now bleeding
Comme il saignait maintenant,
he wasn’t slow to act
il n’a pas tardé,
but he went to the police station
mais il est allé au commissariat de police
and told the police
et il a dit aux policiers
how things had happened out there on the ocean.
comment cela s’est passé là-bas sur la mer.
It is reported that when New Year is going to (lit. says it will)
On dit que lorsque la Nouvelle Année va (litt. dit qu’elle va)
come up,
venir,
the Fanti kill someone
les Fanti tuent quelqu’un
and they make a sacrifice to the ocean.
et ils font un sacrifice à la mer.
So when Neyo people go out on the ocean,
Alors quand les Néyo partent sur mer,

they don't come back (lit. stay there).
ils sont perdus (litt. ils restent là-bas).

These two young Neyo, if the Fanti had killed them (both),
Ces deux jeunes Néyo, si les Fanti les avaient tués (tous les deux),

no one would have sent news to the village.
personne n’aurait envoyé des nouvelles au village.

Each time that one of theirs stays on the ocean
Chaque fois que quelqu’un des leurs reste en mer,

they inform (lit. send news to) the police,
ils informent les policiers (litt. envoient des nouvelles aux policiers),

they really appeal to them.
ils font vraiment appel à eux.

It is reported that the police say
On dit que les policiers disent

that they (=the Neyo) annoy them (=the police),
qu’ils (= les Néyo) les embêtent,

because their people are lost all the time.
parce que tous les jours leurs gens sont perdus.
Here is the issue that will bring war,

Voilà l'affaire qui va amener la guerre,

that is what is the matter here.

c'est cela qui est là.

The Neyo lad who had escaped,

Le jeune homme néyo qui a échappé,

he went to tell his elders,

il est allé parler à ses aînés,

but they did not believe it. (lit. they did not call it truth)

mais ils ne l'ont pas cru. (litt. ils ne l'ont pas appelé vérité)

In his anger he took a matchette,

Dans la colère, il a pris une machette,

he actually passed through the compounds of the Fanti.

il est vraiment passé entre les lots des Fanti.

When he went,

Quand il est allé,

their possessions, that is what he now destroyed.

c'est eux qu'il détruisait maintenant.
“Is the man crazy?”
« Est-ce que l’homme est fou? »

"He isn’t crazy, but we know him."
« Il n’est pas fou, mais nous le connaissons. »

So then, that young man, when he had destroyed the possessions of the Fanti
Donc, lui, ce jeune homme, quand il avait détruit les biens des Fanti,
neyo 43.2

'tn ɔ yi -bidikii' plä.
and he entered into a shop.
et il est entré dans une boutique.

neyo 43.3

ń -plä ylä -bidikie' nä,
When he had now entered the shop,
Quand il était entré dans la boutique maintenant,

neyo 43.4

këe käänyọ gbaa- ee kpluu
its owner locked the door.
son propriétaire a fermé la porte.

neyo 44.1

'Ķesene eme wa sä ylä.
Then there was a big tumult.
Alors il y avait un grand tumulte.

neyo 44.2

Dă nyëbluo wluv- ylä -zool nä,
When the young man now went outside,
Lorsque le jeune homme est maintenant sorti

neyo 44.3*

kō -mō
he went
il est parti

neyo 44.4*

'tn ɔ -soo ɔ 'bäst
and he spoke to his elders.
parler à ses aînés.

neyo 45.1*

Wamă -mă waa' -wō -boä,
Now as for them, they didn’t waste any time (lit. they were not slow),
Quant à eux, ils n’ont pas tardé,

neyo 45.2*

kwa bhlu districts 'ku
they actually took weapons
ils ont pris des armes

neyo 45.3

'tn wa -mō Fădënyuva tu 'ku
and went to fight against the Fanti.
et ils sont allés combattre les Fanti.
The young man, he is from Blodje.
Le jeune homme, c'est un jeune de Blodje.

Blodje is the village that is between the lagoon and the ocean.
Blodjé est le village qui est entre la lagune et la mer.

Those people from Blodje, many of them live in Sassandra.
Ces gens de Blodje, beaucoup d'entre eux habitent à Sassandra.

When you come from the highschool in Sassandra,
Quand tu viens du lycée de Sassandra,

in the ravine between the Catholic house and the house of the l'UESSO, it is there that the Fanti have built a big village.
dans le ravin entre la maison catholique et la maison UESSO, c'est là que les Fanti ont construit leur grand village.

It is in that village that the Neyo went
C'est dans ce village que les Néyo sont allés

and they set it on fire.
et ils y ont mis le feu.

By that time, it was the twenty-fourth of the month.
A ce moment-là, c'était le vingt-quatre du mois.
and we would celebrate Christmas.

et nous allions voir la fête de Noël.

The night mass that would take place,

La messe de nuit qui allait avoir lieu,

it was because of that that women had come to the Catholic compound to make preparations.
c'est à cause d'elle que des femmes étaient venues préparer la cour de l'église catholique.

Now the priest, he was also there.

Quant au curé, il était aussi là.

That priest, he is a member of the Gudu clan (lit. a Gudu child).

Ce prêtre-là, il fait partie du clan des Gudu (litt. un enfant gudu).

So, when the women saw the smoke,

Donc, quand les femmes ont vu la fumée,

one from among them went to tell him

une d'entre elles est allée lui parler

saying, “My Father, from the village of the Fanti there is smoke coming,
en disant: « Mon Père, du sein du village des Fanti il y a de la fumée qui monte,

we don’t know what the problem is.”

nous ne savons pas quel est le problème. »

The priest, too, he left his work

Le curé aussi, il a quitté son travail
and he and the women went over there into the village.

et lui et les femmes sont allés là-bas dans le village.

On the radio, what the priest said,

A la radio, comme le curé a parlé,

that's exactly what I am saying.

c'est ainsi que je parle exactement.

The priest said that

Le curé a dit que

when he saw the burning village

lorsqu’il a vu le village qui brûlait,

he felt sad

il a eu pitié

and he wept.

et il a pleuré.

He said

Il a dit

that he went to the Neyo

qu’il est allé auprès des Néyo

in order to beg them

pour les supplier
neyo 57.4

neyo 58.1

-Mä 'fua ɔ 'kwa lä bhibhie nä
But before he could beg them,
Or avant qu'il puisse les supplier,

neyo 58.2

wa yɔ bhezä soo
they had already spoken to him
ils lui avaient déjà parlé

neyo 58.3

neyo 59.1

why was he coming to beg them (to let go)?
pourquoi il était venu les supplier.

neyo 60.1

He said that
Il a dit que

neyo 60.2

since he was the preacher
comme il était le prédicateur

neyo 60.3

and he was also their ally.
et qu'il était aussi leur allié.

neyo 61.1

If an ally begs his fellow ally,
Si un allié supplie son autre allié,

neyo 61.2

he doesn't refuse.
il (= ce dernier) ne refuse pas.
So it was for those two reasons that he had gone
Donc c'est à cause de ces deux raisons qu'il était parti

to beg them.
pour les supplier.

But the Neyo hadn't accepted.
Mais les Néyo n'ont pas accepté.

That had been very hard on him
Cela lui avait fait mal

and he had cried.
et il avait pleuré.

The priest said
Le curé a dit

he was around a long time, from nine in the morning until twelve thirty.
qu'il était resté là longtemps, de 9 h du matin jusqu'à midi et demi.

That day he hadn't eaten lunch.
Ce jour-là, il n'avait pas mangé de repas de midi.

He had watched what was happening,
Il avait regardé ce qui se passait,
but they had not accepted.
mais ils n’avaient pas accepté.

Do you know
Sais-tu

that the Ghanaians, they go to church?
que les Ghanéens, ils vont à l’église?

When the people saw the priest,
Quand les gens ont vu le curé,

They came up to him
ils sont venus auprès de lui

and he and they went to the church compound together.
et lui et eux sont allés là-bas dans la cour de l’église.

He told the people of the church
Il a dit aux gens de l’église

to let the Fanti that the war is chasing away
qu’ils laissent les Fanti que la guerre chasse

He said that
Il a dit que
neyo 69.2

nykpaa c -yuuwa 's -plä lä dä -bhlogbe -mɔɔ nã
the people who entered the place together with him
les personnes qui y sont entrés avec lui,

neyo 69.3

wa -bhlü nykpaa' gwli -ngboplo 'nį nykpaa -ngbɔɔsɔ
they numbered one hundred and twenty-seven people.
ils étaient cent vingt-sept personnes.

neyo 70.1

Cie -lɔɔ yluv 'kų -yä nēē zavie ię yliu 'sɔ 'kų.
From that day until the second of January
De ce jour-là jusqu’au deux janvier,

neyo 70.2

wlä Pelio lä,
it is reported that the priest said that
le curé aurait dit que

neyo 70.3

nykpaa' gwli -ngbų -ngbų u 'ci 'kųgbā ta(a) a- -plɔɔ lä 'kų.
thirteen hundred people had found refuge with him.
c’étaient mille trois cents personnes qui étaient hébergés chez lui.

neyo 71.1*

Minislö wa laa lä Bonbe nã,
The minister called Bombet,
Le ministre nommé Bombet,

neyo 71.2*

ɔ -yį -mɔɔ
he came there
il est venu là-bas

neyo 71.3*

'nį Ganaa' abasadło -yį 'sį.
and the ambassador of Ghana came, too.
et l’ambassadeur du Ghana est venu aussi.

neyo 71.4

Kā abasadło -sa c bhelia 'gē
The ambassador actually said to his brothers that they were wrong.
L’ambassadeur a vraiment donné tort à ses frères,

neyo 72.1

ɔ lä
he said
il a dit
neyo 72.2
Kodivalöö' ny'tkpɔɔ' -lä Gana mọ
that someone from Côte d’Ivoire would not go to Ghana
qu’une personne de Côte d’Ivoire n’irait pas au Ghana

neyo 72.3
'nt o ’kä sää wält nọ
and do something like that
et faire une chose pareille

neyo 72.4
'nt Ganayu ’kä -plụ kọ.
and the Ghanaian would stay quiet.
et le Ghanéen resterait tranquille.

neyo 72.5
Nä kä Jübuaa’ wält mee-
Therefore the Neyo were right.
Donc les Néyo avaient vraiment raison.

neyo 73.1
-Mä ’ňa -yā ĕ ’kä là yi nä
But before coming
Or avant de venir,

neyo 73.2
ō -soo Ganabhlẹẹ’ käänyọ wältu.
had talked to the President of Ghana about this matter.
il avait parlé au président du Ghana de cette affaire.

neyo 74.1
Kä waa ’bhlẹ e ’bā -sonō
The father of their country had actually told him
Le père de leur pays lui avait dit

neyo 74.2
ynā ĕ fā -mọc tomobüu
that he would send busses there
qu’il enverrait des cars là-bas

neyo 74.3
-yā t ’kwa Gana fā.
and they would take them to Ghana.
pour les amener au Ghana.

neyo 75.1
-A ci là -pepeć nā
We said a little while ago
Nous avons dit tout à l’heure
that there would be buses there in Sassandra
qu’il y aurait des cars là-bas à Sassandra

for their transport.
pour les transporter.

Dans tous ces événements, les Fanti ont tué un Néyo,

but (lit. and) the Néyo killed six Fanti.
mais (litt. et) les Néyo ont tué six Fanti.

That’s what happened there in Sassandra.
Voilà l’affaire qui s’est passée là-bas à Sassandra.

People discuss
On discute

and they say
et on dit

that the Fanti and the Néyo fought with each other once before,
que les Fanti et les Néyo se sont combattus auparavant,

but their country did not get involved into the conflict.
mais l’étranger ne s’est impliqué dans le conflit.

I know
Je sais
neyo 79.2

nynä ghladio tlevizɔ cii-
that television said so,
que la radiotélévision l’a dit,

neyo 79.3

-mä -amö 'titi bha ylä -mɔɔ nà,
but as I am coming back from there myself,
mais comme je viens de là-bas moi-même,

neyo 79.4

1 -ŋwa 'ku
it was necessary
il fallait

neyo 79.5*

nynä n sonö-ö (sg.),
that I talk to you
que je te parle,

neyo 79.6*

-yä -n 'gä sɔɔ yibhë
so that you know about it.
pour que tu le saches.

neyo 80

-Lɔɔ n bhloo-
Here I end (my report).
C’est ici que je m’arrête.

15. Radio

Genre: Radio news bulletin / Bulletin de nouvelles à la radio
Content: Information about decisions from the last Council of Ministers / Contenu: Communication de décisions par le dernier Conseil des Ministres
Speaker/Locuteur: E (40, female)
Date: 17-02-1995

radio 001

-A 'bästä -yä -a -ŋɔɔsʊŋ, bheŋwɔŋ -yä bhélienyɔ, aa’ -lefuŋ- -poo lä 'nyukwli nà,
Our fathers and our mothers, sisters and brothers, you all who listen,
Nos pères et nos mères, sœurs et frères, vous tous qui écoutez,

radio 002

Yubhu Nyadlo Gàwàŋɔ là aa’ -kùgbè namä-!
Yubu Nyadro Gawanon bids you good evening!
Youbou Gnadro Gawanon vous dit bon soir!
We are today Friday,
On est aujourd'hui vendredi,

the second month of the year, its seventeenth day is today.
c'est le dix-sept du deuxième mois aujourd'hui.

It now remains a little
Il reste maintenant un peu

and six o'clock in the evening will strike.
et six heures du soir sonnera.

So the news of the day that I shall give you,
Donc les nouvelles du jour que je vais vous dire,

I now remain a little
Il reste maintenant un peu

And six o'clock in the evening will strike.
et six heures du soir sonnera.

It is good news (lit. news of joy).
Ce sont de bonnes nouvelles (litt. nouvelles de joie).

You know yourselves that the Council (of ministers),
Vous-mêmes, vous savez que le Conseil (de ministres),

and the work that is going to be done in our country
et le travail qui va être fait dans notre pays
and all the decisions that are going to be taken,
et toutes les décisions qui vont être prises

it is in that meeting that people agree on that.
c'est dans cette assemblée que les gens s'entendent sur cela.

So since last week
Donc depuis de la semaine dernière

until this week,
jusque la semaine d'aujourd'hui,

the week that we are in,
la semaine dans laquelle nous sommes,

the topics that were treated in the Council,
les sujets qui ont été traités dans le Conseil,

Le premier sujet qui a été traité dans le Conseil là-bas,
The second topic dealt with there in the Council, Le deuxième sujet traité dans le Conseil là-bas,

it is reported that [...] on dit que [...] 

 [...] 

The third topic dealt with there in the Council, Le troisième sujet traité dans le Conseil là-bas,

it is reported that [...] on dit que [...] 

 [...] 

The fourth topic dealt with there in the Council, Le quatrième sujet traité dans le Conseil là-bas,

it is reported that the beverage of the white people called beer on dit que la boisson des Blancs qu'on appelle bière 

because, that same beer, its price is very high at present. parce que cette bière, son prix est très élevé à présent.
So, as its price is high, Donc comme son prix est élevé,

this is the reason why many people do not buy it anymore. cela fait que beaucoup de personnes ne l'achètent plus.

So they will diminish its price, On va donc diminuer son prix,

So they will diminish its price, On va donc diminuer son prix,

so that many people will buy it again. pour que beaucoup de personnes l'achètent encore.

Because that beer, the place where they produce it, Car cette bière, l'endroit où on la fabrique

there are people working there. ce sont des gens qui y travaillent.

Well, so if people don't buy it, Eh bien alors, si donc on ne l'achète pas

then those other people, their work is spoiled. alors ces hommes-là, c'est leur travail qui se gâte aussi.

so that their work can also go ahead. pour que leur travail avance aussi.
radio 096
-Ngbüna -klëa a -ghlää là -mō nā,
La cinquième nouvelle qui est venue de là-bas,

radio 097
wlā [...] it is reported that [...] on dit que [...] [...]

radio 110
'Kóbhtüdöklëaa- -ghlää là -mō -jlëa 'mō nā,
La dernière nouvelle qui vient de l'assemblée,

radio 111
wlā [...] it is reported that [...] on dit que [...] [...]

radio 153
Imu- plöö- là -jlëa 'mnō 'döö 'lefun u' bhloodā. This is the end of all the news from the C'est cela qui est la fin de toutes les nouvelles provenant de l'assemblée.

16. Siamois

Genre: Folk tale / Conte traditionnel
Content: The death of Siamese twins / Contenu: La mort de jumelles siamoises
Speaker/Locuteur: C (75, male)
Date: 11-02-1994

siamoī 001

siamoī 002
-Jlibö 'titi -mati! A true riddle for you to hear! Un vrai énigme pour votre écoute!

siamoī 003
(AUDIENCE /AUDITOIRE :) -Mati -a ylā. We are asking to hear more (lit. it is 'mati' we are asking). Nous demandons d'écouter plus! (litt. c'est ‘mati’ que nous demandons).
Taisez-vous!

Wlaa, (sese) 'ylv -zo -a -kv lá naa, (sese)

They say that in this world where we are,
On dit que dans ce monde où nous sommes,

nyûkpa kâ wà gâa lá 'kôkô. (sese)

human beings, they procreate offspring all the time.
les êtres humains, ils font toujours des enfants.

-N kā -gâa, (sese)

If you have children (lit. if you procreate)
Quand tu fais des enfants

'nt -n kâ 'nlà 'sɔ -gâa, (sese)
and if you get two girls
et que tu fais deux filles,

'nlà tâa -n gâ -gâa,
or if you get three of them,
ou si tu en fais trois,

-n yi 'ku gbâ gâa, (sese)
(even) you will get ten,
(même) tu en feras dix,

-n gâ ñwâdié -gâa, (sese)
if you get boys,
si tu mets des garçons au monde,

'nâ 'mâ wà 'kâ lá wlie 'nye, (sese)
it is the girl that they will marry off (lit. give a husband)
c'est la fille qu'on va donner en mariage,

-tâ -n 'gâ lá ñwadio 'ku 'bhlü. (sese)
and you will keep (lit. take) the boy.
et on va garder (litt. prendre) le garçon.
There was a certain man called Lulu.
Il y'avait un certain homme nommé Lulu.

He had two girls (lit. it was him who procreated his two girls)
Il a eu deux filles (litt. c'est lui qui a engendré ses deux filles).

Now these two girls that he had,
Or ces deux filles qu'il a eues,

they were stuck to each other.
elles étaient collées l'une à l'autre.

They don't have the arms in common.
elles n'ont pas les bras en commun.

They have the legs in common,
elles ont les jambes en commun,

and they have the stomach in common.
et elles ont le ventre en commun.

These two children, when he had now got them,
Ces deux enfants là, quand il les a mis au monde,

he did not marry them off anymore.
il ne les a plus donnés en mariage.
They now stayed (in the family) a long time,
Elles restaient maintenant longtemps (en famille) ;

then the second one of them,
alors celle la deuxième d’entre elles,

it so happened that she died.
elle vient à décéder.

One and one died.
L’une est vivante et l’autre est morte.

Her father and her mother,
Son père et sa mère,

together with the village people,

wa tu yì.
they now wept.
ils ont pleuré maintenant.

"What shall we do with them?"
« Comment allons-nous faire avec elles? »

Well, they can surely not take a knife
Eh bien, on ne peut quand même pas prendre un couteau

and cut them apart!
and pour les fendre!
If they cut them apart,
*Si on les fend,*

the one that is alive,
*celle qui est vivante*

will she not also die?
*ne va-t-elle pas mourir aussi?*

she will die
*elle mourra*

How ever it will be decided,
*Quoiqui sera décidé,*

it will be followed.
*on s'y tiendra.*

Then they put both of them there (in the tomb).
*Alors ils y (=dans la tombe) ont mis les deux.*

The one who was alive,
*Celle qui est vivante,*

she said, “Mother,
*elle dit: « Mère,*

always sweep the tomb on top
*toujours balaiés sur la tombe*

and put ashes there,
*et mets-y de la cendre,*
and put there bubla leaves (= leaves used in the worship ritual for the spirits of the deceased),

and watee a leaves! (another kind of leaves used for the same purposes).

du watéa (une autre espèce de feuilles pour les mêmes cérémonies).

Cook mashed banana

Prepares de la purée de banane (plantain)

and put it there.
et dépose-la!

On the day that you will come back
Le jour où tu reviendras

for sweeping
pour balayer,

and you see black ants
et que tu vois des fourmis magnans,

know that it is me who has come.”

s'ach que c'est moi même qui suis venue. »

Her mother said, “Okay.”
Sa maman dit : « D’accord. »

All the time, that's how she now acted.
Tout le temps, c'est ainsi qu'elle fait maintenant.
When the woman now went one day,
Quand la femme est maintenant allée un jour,
a swarm of black ants appear (lit. have appeared).
une légion de magnans apparaît (litt. est apparu).
How does that song go again?
Comment est-ce qu'on chante ce chant encore?
I don't know it!
Je ne le connais pas!
that is why people (lit. they) now get twins!
c'est pourquoi les gens font des jumeaux maintenant!
and one is now separated from the other (lit. is now in its place).
et désormais l'un se trouve séparé de l'autre (litt. est désormais à sa place).
Excuse me! But then, if one dies,
Ne vous en déplaise! Mais si l'un meurt,
So I have told my story!
J'ai donc donné si mon conte!

Lucien, it is you I appoint to continue.
Lucien, c'est sur toi que je pose la tâche de continuer.

Because if you are together
Parce que si vous êtes demeurez ensemble

and you don't do that (=tell stories)
et que vous ne faites pas un tout petit peu comme ça (= raconter des contes),

and you go to sleep,
et que vous allez vous coucher,

when you want to say something,
quand tu veux dire quelque chose,

your own wife that you have at home,
ta propre femme que tu as à la maison,

you haven't got nice words for her.
tu lui parles mal.

You, you are a man now,
Toi, tu es garçon,

it is harsh words that you will now use (to impose yourself).
c'est à force de paroles menaçantes que tu t'imposeras.
But if you have a little fun,
Or si vous vous amusez un petit peu,

and then you go to lie down,
et si vous allez vous coucher ensuite,

you sleep right away (lit. you have slept).
tu dors aussitôt (litt. tu as dormi).

Sleep is (a kind of) death
Le sommeil est une (sorte de) mort.

17. Sigo

Genre: Folk tale / Conte traditionnel
Content: What happens when you are disloyal to the one who helped you out / Contenu: Ce qui arrive quand on est déloyal envers son bienfaiteur
Speaker/Locuteur: G (55, male)
Date: 16-08-1994

The story that I am going to tell you,
Le conte que je vais raconter,

at its end you will respond.
à sa fin vous allez répondre.

In the middle of the ocean, that's where he put him.
Au milieu de la mer, c'est là qu'il l'a mis.
sigo 005

-Mɔɔ, -mɔɔ zëkpë 'ninienöö' là.
There, it is out there that life did amazing things to him.
Là-bas, c'est là-bas que la vie lui a fait des choses étonnantes.

sigo 006

Nä kä a 'kä là bhl.
So you will sing.
Donc vous allez chanter.

sigo 007

n 'kä là bhl nynä
I am going to sing that
Je vais chanter que

sigo 008

n nä Sigo ye lu o,
I say Sigo was disloyal.
je dis que Sigo m’a trahi.

sigo 008a

FIRST SONG / PREMIER CHANT
Sigo ye lu o!
Sigo a été déloyal!
A ‘ylä Sigo!
Ask Sigo! (= Why have you done this to me, Sigo?)
Demandez à Sigo! (=Pourquoi m’as-tu fait ça, Sigo?)

A ‘ylä Sigo!  
Ask Sigo!  
Demandez à Sigo!

(AUDIENCE / AUDITOIRE: ye lu a!)  
he was disloyal!  
il a été déloyal!

A ‘ylä Sigo!
Ask Sigo!
Demandez à Sigo!

(AUDIENCE / AUDITOIRE: Sigo ye lu o! A ’ylä Sigo!)  
Sigo was disloyal! Ask Sigo!
Sigo a été déloyal! Demandez à Sigo!

N ’nt ’bä kä a!
I haven’t got a father!
Je n’ai pas de père!

(AUDIENCE / AUDITOIRE: Sigo ye lu o! A ’ylä Sigo!)  
Sigo was disloyal! Ask Sigo!
Sigo a été déloyal! Demandez à Sigo!)
n ‘nù ‘nà kà a! (AUDIENCE / AUDITOIRE: Sigo ye lu o, a ‘ylä Sigo!)
I haven’t got a mother!
je n’ai pas de mère!
Sigo was disloyal! Ask Sigo!
Sigo a été déloyal! Demandez à Sigo!

sigo 009

‘n ‘nöany -là ple ‘yi ‘mumlɔ?
Will you not forget it (lit. will it not disappear from your hearts)?
Est-ce que vous n’allez pas l’oublier?(litt. ne disparaîtra-t-il de vos coeurs)?

sigo 010

A yiu yibhë -a?
Will you know it?
Est-ce que vous allez le connaître?

sigo 011

bɔɔ, kà n ‘kà ylä ‘nünëa ‘pä
Alright, I’ll now tell the story.
Bon, je vais maintenant raconter le conte

sigo 012

(Audience representative / Animateur: ) -ɛɛ, -a yi mìi- -a yi yi ‘kù cie -pɛɛ
Yes, we can now start,
Oui, nous allons pouvoir commencer maintenant,

sigo 013

(Audience representative / Animateur: ) -n ‘pä ‘kɔɔkɔ!
Go ahead!
Conte toujours!

sigo 014

‘Nünëa ‘mä n ‘kä ylä ‘pä
The story, it is what I will tell now.
Le conte, c’est ce que je vais raconter maintenant,

sigo 015

-Lää duu’ -a -kù là.
We are here in the village.
Nous sommes ici au village,

sigo 016

Nyoglubë duu’ -a -kù là (Voilà!)
We are in the village of Niégroubéoué, That’s it!
Nous sommes au village de Niégroubéoué, Voilà!

sigo 017

’nù -a yä là -kugbë -gwle. (sese)
and we are together this evening.
et nous sommes ensemble ce soir.
sigo 018

"Jekpiŋnɩä -yi lä -kugbë nä, (sese)
White women who have come this evening.
Des femmes blanches qui sont venues ce soir,

sigo 019

wamäää -yiï lä -kugbë -gwle -kää (sese) -amv -Jigo Kwëci. (sese)
they have come to my house, me Jigo Kotchi’s this evening.
ce sont elles qui sont venues chez moi ce soir, moi Djigo Kotchi.

sigo 020

Wa yi ylä -gwle -kä nä,
As they are coming to stay
Comme elles viennent pour rester,

sigo 021*

1 -ŋwa 'kʊ nynä n 'pä yi -a 'bhunünü (sese)
it is a good thing that I now tell our own stories,
il convient que je donne des contes de chez nous,

sigo 022*

-yä wa 'ktś 'nu -nv. (-kpazebhleku)
so that they may also hear them,
pour qu'elles les entendent aussi,

sigo 023*

(-mä) tyä wa 'ktś 'wu wa 'bhl få. (-kpazebhleku)
and so that they can even take them to their home country.
et qu'elles les emportent dans leur pays.

sigo 024

lt'à n ci lä sɔɔ. (-kpazebhleku)
That is why I am saying it.
C'est pour quoi je dis cela.

sigo 025

-Ja! -Ja! A go -mati o!
Silence! Silence! Say that you want to hear more!
Silence! Silence! Demandez à entendre la suite!

sigo 026

(AUDIENCE / AUDITOIRE) -Mati -a ylää-!
We have asked to hear more!
Nous avons demandé la suite!

sigo 027

N naa, ( -N naa)
I say, You say
Je dis, Tu dis
God created a man. (lit. God, it was him who brought down a man)

Dieu qui a créé un homme. (litt. c’est Dieu qui a descendu un homme)

There was a rock in the middle of the ocean,

Il y avait un rocher au milieu de la mer,

and he put the man down there.

et il y a descendu l’homme.

he was called Sigo.

Il s’appelait Sigo

However, that Sigo that he put down there,

Or ce Sigo que Dieu a descendu là-bas,

Sigo, he cannot see.

Sigo, il ne voit pas.

he is in the dark.

il est dans les ténèbres.

His eyes are shut

Ses yeux sont fermés.

and his God put him there.

et son Dieu l’a mis là-bas.
He gave him three palm nuts.
Il lui a donné trois graines de palme.

These three palm nuts, that's what he ate all the time
Ces trois graines de palme, c'est ça qu'il mangeait toujours

all his life. (litt. et dans son monde, et il y était)
toute sa vie. (litt. et dans son monde, et il y était)

It is these three palm nuts that he was eating
Ce sont ces trois graines de palme qu'il mangeait

and he was all the time there.
et il était toujours là-bas.

One day (lit. today) Gopleu was flying until
Un jour l'oiseau Gopleu s'envolait jusqu'à ce qu'

he (lit. it) came (lit. went) to the middle of the ocean.
il arrive (litt. aille) au milieu de la mer.

When he went,
Quand il y est allé,

on the rock there was a man.
sur le rocher, il y avait un homme.
Then he alighted on the rock.
*Et aussitôt l'oiseau s'est posé sur le rocher.*

He said, "Hello, my friend!"
*Il a dit: « Bonjour, mon ami! »*

And Gopleu, rather Sigo was startled.
*Et Gopleu, ou plutôt Sigo, a sursauté*

"Who is greeting me?"
*« Qui me salue? »*

He said, "It's me, Gopleu."
*Il a dit: « C'est moi, Gopleu. »*

"Oh my friend, hello!"
*Il a dit: « Oh mon ami, bonjour! »*

"My friend, I have come a long way, I am tired."
*He said, "My friend, I have come a long way, I am tired."
*Il dit: « Mon ami, je viens de très loin, je suis fatigué. »*

"I am hungry, give me some of your palm nut (lit. my share of palm nut)
*donne ma part de graine de palme,*
n ’kä lü. (sese)
to eat (lit. I will eat).”
je vais manger. »

Il s'exclame: “Oh!

Moi, qui n'ai rien à manger (litt. qui ne mange rien)

et mes trois graines-ci

sont tout ce que j'ai, (litt. ce sont elles que j'ai)

ce sont elles que tu me dis de te donner

Il dit: « Mon ami, mais comme j'ai faim,

donne-moi une graine de palme!
-N 'nye 'naa dä gwiese!
Give me some of your palm nut!”

Donne-moi ma part de graine! »

He said, “Alright.
Il dit: « D’accord.

(bon) n yä ’nu.
Okay, I have understood.
Bon, j’ai compris.

Take the palm nut!”
Prends la graine de palme! »

and he gave him the palm nut,
et il lui a donné la graine,

and Gopleu ate it.
et Gopleu l’a mangé.

And he got up
Et il s’est levé

and he left.
et il est parti.
He went, he stayed away a while, two days.
Il est parti, il est resté là-bas jusqu'à deux jours.

On the third day, he came flying
Le troisième jour, à coup d'ailes il arrive,

and he alighted again on the rock.
et s'est de nouveau posé sur le rocher.

He said, “Hello, my friend!”
Il dit: « Bonjour, mon ami! »

He said, “Oh, hello, my friend!”
Il dit: « Oh, bonjour, mon ami! »

He said, “My friend, I am hungry, so
Il dit: « Mon ami, j'ai faim, donc

please, give me a palm nut
je t'en prie, donne-moi une graine de palme

pour que je mange! »

He exclaims, “Oh my,
Sigo s'écrie avec indignation:

wasn't it you who came here the other day?”
« N'est-ce pas toi qui es venu l'autre jour ici? »
He said, “It is me,
Il dit: « C'est moi,

but since I am hungry
mais comme j'ai faim

that is why I have come again,
c'est pourquoi je suis revenu encore

so you would give me a palm nut.”
pour que tu me donnes une graine. »

He said, “The palm nuts numbered three,
Il dit: « (Tu sais bien que) les graines étaient au nombre de trois,

and since I gave you one
et comme je t'en ai donné une,

there are two that are there now.
ce sont deux qui sont maintenant là.

If I give you,
Si je te donne,

how many do I eat now?”
combien est-ce que je mange désormais? »
but since I am hungry...”
mais comme j’ai faim maintenant... »

“Take it!”
(Sigo cède pour la seconde fois disant: « Prends-la! »)

And he gave him the palm nut
Et il lui a donné la graine

and he ate it.
et il l’a mangé.

Then he got up
Alors il s’est levé,

saying, “Good bye, my friend!”
disant: « Au revoir, mon ami! »

then he came beating his wings and alighted again there (=on the rock),
A grands coup d'ailes, s'est posé une fois encore là (sur le rocher).

He said, “Sigo.”
Il dit: « Sigo. »
He said, “My friend, hello!”
Il dit: « Bonjour, mon ami! »

He said, “Oh, my friend, hello!”
Il (=Sigo) répond disant: « Mon ami, bonjour! »

He said, “My friend, I am hungry, so
Il (=Gopleu) dit: « Mon ami, j’ai faim, donc,

give me (of your palm nut)!”
donne-moi (de ta graine)! »

He exclaimed, “Oh my, my friend!”
Sigo s’est écrié (avec indignation disant): « Mon ami! »

Well, if you want to kill me,
Il dit: « Bon, si tu veux me tuer,

then kill me!
tue-moi alors!

But I won’t give you of my palm nut.
Mais je ne te donnerai pas ma graine.

It is all I have now
Elle est tout ce que j’ai désormais,

and it is my food (litt. I eat it),
et je m’en nourris (litt. je la mange),
and you tell me to give it to you now, so et tu me dis de te la donner, alors

myself, what are you saying I should now eat?” moi, qu'est-ce que tu me dis de manger désormais? »

He said,“Please, my friend, Il dit: « Pardon, mon ami,

give me a palm nut donne-moi une graine

[to eat (litt. I will eat), pour que je mange,

because I am hungry!” car j'ai faim. »

He said, “Okay, Il dit: « D'accord,

take it! prends-la!

If it is me that will now die (of hunger) Si c'est moi qui dois mourir (de faim)

may I die now!” que je meure alors! »
And he gave him a palm nut.

Et il lui a donné une graine de palme.

With discontent he then gave it to him.

Dans le mécontentement, il la lui a alors donnée.

And what's his name took it, Et comment on l'appelle l'a prise,

and he ate it.

et il l'a mangé.

He stayed there a moment Il est resté là un instant après

and said, "My friend," he said, "My friend,

and dit: « Mon ami, » il dit: « Mon ami,

I have eaten your palm nut, j'ai mangé ta graine,

but close your eyes now!

mais ferme les yeux maintenant!

He said, "But are you offending me? Il (= Sigo) dit: « Encore, tu me parles mal?
As for me, (you know that) my eyes are shut
Moi, mes yeux sont fermés,

and I cannot see,
et je ne vois pas,

and you are saying to me,
et tu me dis:

He said,
Il dit:

Press on them!
Presse dessus!

He said, "Okay."
Il dit: "Compris."

And he closed his eyes
Et il a fermé les yeux

He pressed on them a while until
Il les a pressés pendant un moment jusqu'à ce que
he (= Gopleu) said, “My friend, et il (= Gopleu) dit: « Mon ami,
open your eyes!”
ouvre les yeux! »

Now when he opened his eyes
Or au moment où il a ouvert les yeux,

he was on the beach.
il était à la plage.

In the middle of the rock where he had been,
Au milieu du rocher où il avait été,

he has left there,
il a quitté là-bas,

he has come to the shore,
et il est venu sur la rive,

he has now come beside the ocean.
Il était (maintenant) venu au bord de la mer.

He said
He opens (lit. has opened) his eyes,

He can now see.
il voit maintenant.
He (= Gopleu) said, “My friend, close your eyes!”
Il (= Gopleu) dit: « Mon ami, ferme les yeux! »

And he closed his eyes again.
Et il a fermé les yeux de nouveau.

He kept them shut for a while,
Il a fermé les yeux pendant un moment,

but when he opened his eyes,
mais lorsqu’il a ouvert les yeux,

all of the ground there, all, all, all, it was cleared
tout le territoire qui était là, tout, tout, il a été nettoyé.

Everywhere there were houses with several floors
Partout il y avait maintenant des immeubles.

The whole place was now inhabited by people.
Tout le lieu était habité par des hommes.

Everywhere there were cattle, fowl, euh, des bœufs, avec des moutons et tout,
and also rows of houses for slaves
puis aussi des rangées de maisons pour des esclaves.
And he built houses with several floors.
Et il a construit aussi des immeubles.

He (=Gopleu) said, “My friend
Il (=Gopleu) dit: « Mon ami,

You have saved me,
Tu m’as sauvé,

now I am saving you, too.”
moi aussi je te sauve maintenant. »

He said, “These are your houses here.”
Il dit (encore): « Ce sont tes maisons qui sont ici. »

He said, “Everything that is here is yours.
Il dit (encore): « Tout ce qui est ici est à toi.

There are your slaves here,
Ce sont tes esclaves qui sont ici,

there are your wives here.
ce sont tes femmes qui sont ici.

It is your home (lit. place) that is here.
C’est ton chez-toi qui est ici.

I have also been good to you.
Je te fais aussi du bien.
And he (=Gopleu) finished (his work).
Et il (=Gopleu) a fini (son œuvre).

He said, “So this is your home here!”
Il dit: « C'est ton chez-toi qui est donc ici! »

However, at the end of the row of houses
Or à la fin de la rangée de ses maisons,

there is a big kapok tree.
il y a un grand fromager.

The big kapok tree, that’s what he (=Gopleu) put there,
Le gros fromager, c'est lui qu'il (=Gopleu) a mis là

(adv) under which people get together.
(et) sous lequel les gens se rassemblent.

It is there that they live now.
C'est là qu'ils habitaient désormais.

So Sigo has now become a very rich man
Sigo est devenu un richard

there is no one like him in the world,
il n'y a personne comme lui dans le monde,
and he was there, he and his wives.

et il était là, lui et ses femmes.

Now he has had children until

Or il a fait des enfants jusqu'à ce que

the children that he had

les enfants qu'il avaient faits,

they couldn't be counted anymore.

ils ne pouvaient plus être comptés.

When he had had that many children

Quand il a mis les enfants au monde de la sorte,

that Gopleu

that Gopleu, lui aussi,

on top of the big kapok tree

sur le grand fromager,

he has, he has, he has brooded there.

il y a, il y a, il y a pondu.

When he had brooded there,

Quand il a pondu là-bas,

and his child had now come out of the egg.

et que son enfant a été couvé,

it was there on top of the kapok tree that he (= the baby bird) was

c'est là sur le fromager, qu'il (= le bébé oiseau) était
sigo 194*

'tu c tu (ylä).
(sese)
crying. (lit. and he was crying).
et il plorait.

sigo 195

'Yuo tu lä naa,
(sese)
When the child was crying,
Quand l'enfant pleure,

sigo 196

-em, Sigo's children,
euh, les enfants de Sigo,

sigo 197

co' -wawąЩcо' 'yuo,
(seese)
his favorite wife's child,
l'enfant de la femme préférée de Sigo,

sigo 198

wlä 'yuo lä, -an, Goplëa' 'yuo- tu -мɔɔ {gwąda 'wlu} nää,
(sese)
it is said that the child said that -em - Gopleu's child who is crying on top of the kapok tree
l'enfant aurait dit - euh - l'enfant de Gopleu qui pleure en haut du fromager

sigo 199

em, wa 'nyuωnyco
it (lit. him), they should give it to him
lui, qu'on le lui donne

sigo 200

{-yä} c -cy 'cο 'kä gäma.
(sese)
so that he could play with it.
pour qu'il s'amuse avec.

sigo 201

'Aa! Sigo (sese) 'ŋnɔ yä yi.
(sese)
Well, Sigo's wife comes (lit. has come).
Eh bien, la femme de Sigo est venue.

sigo 202

ɔ lä, Sigo, (sese) wlä 'naa 'yuo lä
She said, "Sigo, they say my child says
Elle dit: « Sigo, mon enfant dit

sigo 203

ɔ yä Goplëa' 'yuo 'cɔ 'kä gäma,
(seese)
he wants to play with Gopleu's child,
qu'il veut s'amuser avec l'enfant de Gopleu, donc,
nä -n 'gä gbä
so see to it that
donc tu vas faire

-yä wa 'kɔ -mɔɔ-sä. (sese)
they take him from there (on the tree).”
qu'on l'enlève de là (sur l'arbre). »

Wlä Sigo là, Nn'ylä -y {-wv}.
It is said that Sigo said, “I am not willing.”
Sigo aurait dit: « Je ne veux pas. »

Ç là, 'Naayuŋkɔɔ -ɔ puëë' là, ɔmɔɔ -ɔ -ku lä -ɔɔɛ, (sese)
He said, “My chap who saved me, it's because of him (lit. it is him who is there),
Il dit (encore): « Mon type qui m'a sauvé, c'est à cause de lui (litt. c'est lui qui est là),

'tn ɔɔ 'yuo 'mɔɔ -kù -mɔɔ {gwäda 'wlu},
and it is his child that is there on the kapok tree
et c'est son enfant qui est sur le fromager

'tn -n n à n yée- mɔ,
and you are telling me to give it to you,
et tu me dis de te le donner

'tn ɔ kɔ yi bhlä -ä? (sese)
and if he (=my child) now kills it? ”
et s'il (mon enfant) le tue? »

Ç 'ŋnɔ laa,
His wife said,
Sa femme dit:

Gbʉw- nöö- 'wlu -n nöö' ɣye -wa nä, (sese)
“It is because you don't love me anymore
« Parce que tu ne m'aimes plus,

't -zä 'naa 'yuo là
that is why my child says
à cause de cela mon enfant demande
wa 'nyi Goplëa 'yuo
*to give him (lit. they give him) Gopleu's child
qu'on lui donne l'enfant de Gopleu*

"and you are only saying that
et tu dis seulement que"

"you do not want
tu ne veux pas."

"He exclaimed, "Oh my!"
Il s'est écrié d'indignation."

"I am saying that I am not willing!"
Je dis que je ne veux pas! »

"Me, too, I am no longer willing."
« Moi aussi je ne veux plus. »

"He said, “Okay, I have understood.”"
Il dit: « D'accord, j'ai compris. »

"He says (giving an order): “Hey, slaves,
Il dit (donnant un ordre): « Vous, les esclaves"

"the kapok tree over there, which is way over there,
le fromager qui est là-bas,"
'Gu! -Gu! 'Gu!
With mighty blows
A grands coups de hache

They now went about felling the tree
Ils se mirent à abattre l'arbre,

so that it would actually fall
pour qu'il tombe

and they could take the child (= the baby bird).
et qu'ils puissent prendre l'enfant (de l'oiseau).

They were now felling that tree,
Ils abattaient alors cet arbre,

But Gopleu, the region where he had gone to eat
Mais Gopleu, le territoire ou il est parti manger,

it was very far away (lit. there was not comparable).
il était très éloigné (litt. là-bas n'était pas comparbale).

Il y est resté jusqu'à
He stayed there until
He knew that the tree was about to fall down.

He flew fast (lit. ran) ran, beating his wings.

And he came.

When the tree was just about to fall down,

He alighted on its top,

and the stem of the tree shut itself (lit. was sown)

and Gopleu came down.

A lä Sigo,

He said, “Sigo,

qu'est-ce que tu veux faire?
What are you intending (lit. saying)?”

Qu'est-ce que tu veux (litt. dis)? »

He said, “No! Don’t worry!”

Sigo dit: « Non! Ne t’en fais pas! »

My friend, there is nothing (lit. nothing else),

Mon ami, il n’y a rien de particulier (litt. rien d’autre).

but they say that my child says

c'est mon enfant qui dit que

he wants to play with your child

il veut s'amuser avec ton enfant,

so that is why they are were felling the tree.”

c'est pour quoi ils abattent l'arbre. »

He (=Gopleu) said, “Oh?

Il (=Gopleu) dit: « Ah bon?

When two children play together,

Quand deux enfants s'amusent,

since they hit each other,”

comme ils se tapent, »

he said, “your child, he should not hit my child, so

il dit: « ton enfant, qu’il ne frappe pas mon enfant, donc
don't fell (the tree) a second time,
n'abats pas (l'arbre) une deuxième fois,

He said, “Okay, I have understood!”
Sigo dit: « D’accord, j’ai compris! »

Then Gopleu went again away for a stroll.
Et Gopleu est parti encore se promener.

That woman, she wouldn’t accept,
Cette femme, elle ne voulait plus rien savoir,

the child (= Sigo’s child) was crying again,
l’enfant (de de Sigo) pleure de nouveau,

the woman had not accepted.
la femme n’avait pas accepté.

She said, “Sigo
Elle dit: « Sigo

what’s his name’s child, they will take it from there,
l’enfant du type-là, on va l’enlever de là,

so that it and my child can play together!
pour qu’il s’amuse avec mon enfant!
Look how my child is crying!
Regarde comment mon enfant pleure!

If it was your favorite wives,
Si c'était tes femmes préférées,

you would have given them the child (=Gopleu's child).
tu leur aurais déjà donné l'enfant (= enfant de Gopleu).

But since it is me, that is why
Mais comme c'est moi, c'est à cause de cela

you will not give my child the bird child
tu ne vas pas donner à mon enfant le bébé oiseau

so he can play with it.”
pour qu'il s'amuse avec. »

Well then, Sigo, those words hit him hard,
Alors là, Sigo, ces paroles l'ont touché,

and he yelled at the slaves,
et il a crié sur les esclaves,

saying, “Cut the kapok tree down!”
disant: « Abattez le fromager! »
It was about to fall,
Il était sur le point de tomber,

then Gopleu came
alors Gopleu est venu

and alighted on top of the kapok tree.
et s’est posé sur le fromager.

and the kapok tree shut itself (lit. was sown).
et le fromager s’est refermé (litt. s’est cousu).

and he came down.
uous il est descendu.

He said, “Sigo, what are you intending (lit. saying)?”
Il dit: « Sigo, qu’est-ce que tu veux (litt. dis) ? »

He said, “My friend, it is not without a reason that I am felling the kapok tree
Il dit: « Mon ami, ce n’est pas pour rien que j’abats le fromager

but the child wants to play.
mais l’enfant veut s’amuser.

The child, he exasperates me,
L’enfant, il m’embête,

he doesn’t accept (to calm down).
il n’accepte pas (de se taire).
So I said to cut the kapok tree down,  
C'est pour cela que j'ai dit d'abattre le fromager,

so that I can take your child  
pour que je prenne ton enfant

and they can play together."  
et qu’ils s’amusent. »

since you say so, I have understood.  
comme tu le dis, j’ai compris.

But when the two children will play together,  
Mais quand les deux enfants s’amusent

they must not hit each other!  
qu’ils ne se frappent pas!

As for me, I am gone, then!  
Quant à moi, je suis donc parti!

and what's his name? left  
et comment il s'appelle? est parti,
sigo 294

Goplë yi mò {mò}. (sese)
Gopleu left.
Gopleu est parti.

sigo 295

‘Yuo ‘mɔ -ɔ tu lä buku... (sese)
The child, it is him that is crying again...
L'enfant, c'est lui qui pleure de nouveau...

sigo 296

ɔ lä, A bhlä gwädaa! (sese)
He (=Sigo) said, “Cut the kapok tree down!”
Il (=Sigo) dit: « Abattez le fromager! »

sigo 297

Gwädä nà ‘mä wa bhlä lä. (sese)
That kapok tree, that’s what they cut down.
C'est ce fromager qu'ils abattaient,

sigo 298

amä wa bhlä ylä, (sese)
that's what they now cut down,
c'est lui qu'ils abattaient maintenant,

sigo 299

’n -vlu! ‘Nt gwädä yi (-dov) ’k v bhlü. (sese)
and with a big bang the kapok tree fell on the ground.
et le fromager est tombé par terre avec fracas.

sigo 300

(Allez) Goplëa ‘yuo ‘n wa yio -mɔɔ -sä, (sese)
Gopleu’s child, they then took it from there
L'enfant de Gopleu, ils l'y ont alors enlevé

sigo 301

’n wa yio ‘yuo ‘nye. (sese)
and they gave him to the child (=Sigo’s child).
et ils l'ont donné à l'enfant (de Sigo).

sigo 302

Kä wa gäma ylä, (sese)
They were now playing together
Ils sont en train de s'amuser

sigo 303

’n Goplë yi yi, (sese)
when (lit. then) Gopleu came.
quand (litt. puis) Gopleu est venu
and alighted (on the tree).

et il s'est alors posé (sur l'arbre).

He said, “My friend, have you cut the kapok tree down?”
Il dit: « Mon ami, as-tu abattu le fromager? »

He said, “Yes.”
Il dit: « Oui. »

He said, “When the children play together,
Il dit: « Quand les enfants s'amusent,

they must not hit each other!”
qu'ils ne se fassent pas de mal! » (avertissement)

He said, “Okay.”
Il dit: « Compris. »

Gopleu then went for a stroll.
Gopleu est alors allé se promener.

C'est là-bas qu'il est resté jusqu'à ce qu'

he left from there
il y quitte

and (he) came back.
et (re)vienne.
(A lä ka yi) A -yi
(He was coming,) He came
(Il allait venir) Il est venu

and he came down.
et il est descendu

He said, “My friend, what about my child?”
Il dit: « Mon ami, et mon enfant? »

He said, “My friend, as the two children were playing together,
Il dit: « Mon ami, les deux enfants étaient en train de s'amuser,

my child (lit. mine) hit your child.”
mon enfant a frappé ton enfant. »

He exclaimed, “Oh dear! My friend!
Il s'est écrié avec émoi: « Mon ami!

And I had told you that
Et je t'avais dit que

the two children, when they play together,
les deux enfants, quand ils jouent ensemble

they mustn't hit each other.
qu'ils ne se fassent pas de mal;

(then) you had said that they wouldn't hit each other.
(alors) tu as dit qu'ils n'allaient pas se faire de mal.
So how come my mine was hit?" que le mien a été frappé? »

Well, my brother, Eh bien, mon frère,

my child has hit your child. mon enfant a frappé ton enfant.

He (=Gopleu) said: “Okay, Il (=Gopleu) dit: « Bon,

it doesn't matter, ça ne fait rien!

It doesn't matter! Ça ne fait rien,

because it was two children who were playing together, parce que c'était deux enfants qui s'amusaient,

if they hit each other, s'ils se sont blessés,
Therefore after what you have said,
Puisque tu as dit cela,

And he, he (=Gopleu) was silent.
Et lui, il (=Gopleu), il s'est tu.

And he started (lit. showed) a song.
Puis il a entonné (litt. montré) un chant.

Comment l'a t-il montré?

How did he show it (= the song?)

He sings (lit. says):
Il chante ceci (litt. dit):

SECONDE SONG / DEUXIEME CHANT
Sigo ye lu o!
Sigo was disloyal!
Sigo a été déloyal!

A 'ylä Sigo!
Ask Sigo!
Demandez à Sigo!
A 'ylä Sigo, ye lu a!
Ask Sigo he was disloyal!
Demandez à Sigo, il a été déloyal!

A 'ylä Sigo!
Ask Sigo!
Demandez à Sigo!

Amv a bhlää- lä o! (AUDIENCE/AUDITOIRE: Sigo ye lu o, a 'ylä Sigo!)
It is me that you have killed!
C'est moi que vous avez tué!

Sigo was disloyal, ask Sigo!
Sigo a été déloyal! Demandez à Sigo!

Amv a bhlää- lä o! (AUDIENCE/AUDITOIRE: Sigo ye lu o, a 'ylä Sigo!)
It is me that you have killed!
C'est moi que vous avez tué!

Sigo was disloyal, ask Sigo!
Sigo a été déloyal! Demandez à Sigo!

A 'ylä Sigo!
Ask Sigo!
Demandez à Sigo!

N 'nö nɔ -kaa (AUDIENCE/AUDITOIRE: Sigo ye lu o, a 'ylä Sigo)
I have no mother
Je n'ai pas de mère

Sigo was disloyal, ask Sigo!
Sigo a été déloyal! Demandez à Sigo!

A 'ylä Sigo!
Ask Sigo!
Demandez à Sigo!

N 'nö bá -kaa (AUDIENCE/AUDITOIRE: Sigo ye lu o, a 'ylä Sigo)
I have no father
Je n'ai pas de père

Sigo was disloyal, ask Sigo!
Sigo a été déloyal! Demandez à Sigo!

A 'ylä Sigo!
Ask Sigo!
Demandez à Sigo!

Amv -n bhlää- bhä -a? (AUDIENCE/AUDITOIRE: Sigo ye lu o!
Is it me that you killed/hit?
Est-ce moi que tu tuais?

Sigo was disloyal!
Sigo a été déloyal!
(NARRATOR AND AUDIENCE TOGETHER/ CONTEUR ET AUDITOIRE ENSEMBLE :)
A ’ylä Sigo!
Ask Sigo why!
Demandez à Sigo pourquoi!

sigo 343
Ja! -Ja! A go -mati o!
Silence! Silence! Say that you want to hear more!
Silence! Silence! Demandez à entendre la suite!

sigo 344
(AUDIENCE / AUDITOIRE) -Mati -a ylää-!
We have asked to hear more!
Nous avons demandé la suite!

sigo 345
Il (=Gopleu) dit: « Sigo, est-ce moi que tu tues? » (=Est-ce ainsi que tu me rends le bien que je t’ai fait?)

sigo 346
Amvo- yää- nu nää,
Me who made you (into someone)
Moi qui t’ai fait,

sigo 347
is it me that you kill?
est-ce moi que tu tues?

sigo 348
It’s not an issue.”
Ce n’est pas grave. »

sigo 349
And Gopleu went for a stroll,
Et Gopleu est allé se promener,

sigo 350
and he came.
puis il est venu.

sigo 351
He stayed away a while,
Il est resté là-bas pendant un moment,
then he came
puis il est venu

A ylä buku nā,
When he had alighted again,
Quand il s'est posé encore,

he said, “My friend, are you there?”
il a dit: « Mon ami, tu es là? »

he (=Gopleu) said, “And the children who used to play together,
il dit: « Oui. »

He (=Gopleu) said: « Puis les enfants qui jouaient ensemble,

is yours there?”
le tien, est-il là? »

is yours there?”
le tien, est-il là? »

is yours there?”
le tien, est-il là? »

He said, “Yes, mine is there.”
Il (Sigo) dit : « Oui, le mien est là. »

A ylä Sigo! Ė too!
Ask Sigo! He is lost!
Demandez à Sigo! Il est perdu!
A ylä Sigo, ye lu a!
Ask Sigo, he was disloyal.
Demandez à Sigo, il a été déloyal!

A ylä Sigo!
Ask Sigo!
Demandez à Sigo!

Amo -n bhlää- o?  
(AUDIENCE/AUDITOIRE: Sigo ye lu o, a ylä Sigo)
Is it me you have killed? (After all I did for you?)  
Sigo was disloyal! Ask Sigo!
Est-ce moi que tu as tué? (Après tout ce que je t'ai fait?)  
Sigo a été déloyal!Demandez à Sigo!

N' nö nö -kaa!  
(AUDIENCE/AUDITOIRE: Sigo ye lu o, a ylä Sigo)
I have no mother!  
Sigo was disloyal! Ask Sigo!
Je n'ai pas de mère!  
Sigo a été déloyal!Demandez à Sigo!

N' nö bä -ka o!  
(AUDIENCE/AUDITOIRE: Sigo ye lu o, a ylä Sigo)
I have no father!  
Sigo was disloyal! Ask Sigo!
Je n'ai pas de père!  
Sigo a été déloyal!Demandez à Sigo!

A ylä Sigo!
Ask Sigo!
Demandez à Sigo!

Amo -n bhlää- bhä -a?  
(AUDIENCE/AUDITOIRE: Sigo ye lu o)
Is it me you have killed?  
Sigo was disloyal!
Est-ce moi que tu as tué?  
Sigo a été déloyal!

(CONTEUR ET AUDITOIRE ENSEMBLE:)  A ylä Sigo!
Ask Sigo!
Demandez à Sigo!

-sigo 343-
-Ja! -Ja! A go -mati o!  
Silence! Silence! Say that you want to hear more!  
Silence! Silence!Demandez à entendre la suite!

-sigo 344-
(AUDIENCE / AUDITOIRE :) -Mati -a ylää-!  
We have asked to hear more!  
Nous avons demandé la suite!
He (=Gopleu) said, “My friend,” he said, “My friend, close your eyes!”
Il (=Gopleu) dit: « Mon ami, ferme les yeux! »

He (=Sigo) said, “I don’t want to.”
Il (=Sigo) dit: « Je ne veux pas. »

I who made the things
Moi qui ai fait les choses,
sigo 372
-yä n `kää- `nägädä `ŋʉ nà, (-kpazebhleku)
so I can put you in a better place,
pour que je te mette dans un meilleur endroit,

sigo 373
-ŋn `nu -wʊ -a? (-kpazebhleku)
you are not hearing?
tu n'écoutes pas?

sigo 374
-N ŋwɛ `yi `kv. (-kpazebhleku)
Close your eyes!”
« Ferme les yeux! »

sigo 375
Č lā, `Nɔɔ nn` ylā ɣiɔ.
He (= Sigo) said, “My friend, I don’t want to anymore.
Il (=Sigo) dit: « Mon ami, je ne veux plus.

sigo 376
Nn` ŋwɛ -wʊ `yi `kv, (-kpazebhleku)
I am not closing my eyes.
Je ne ferme pas les yeux,

sigo 377
-mā dā n -ku lā nà, -lɔɔ nā. (-kpazebhleku)
because the place where I am good.”
car le lieu où je suis est bien. »

sigo 378
Č{A} lā, `Sœ!
He (= Gopleu) said, “Nonsense!
Il (=Gopleu) dit: « Quelle sottise!

sigo 379
-Aa, -mā kā -n -bā -a? (-kpazebhleku)
Okay, are you as stupid as that?
Bon, es-tu bête à ce point-là?

sigo 380
-Amu n ci nynä
Me, I am saying,
Moi, je dis:

sigo 381
-n ŋwɛ `yi `kv nā, (-kpazebhleku)
“Close your eyes!”
« Ferme les yeux! »
sigo 382

kä -n nä -n 'gä 'yi 'kù ñwe nã!  

you actually want to close your eyes!  

alors tu n'as qu'à fermer les yeux!

sigo 383

N nä -n ñwe 'yi 'kù  

I am saying to you to close your eyes,  

Je te dis de fermer les yeux,

sigo 384

-yä n 'kää- 'ńgädä 'ŋù!  

so I can put you in a better place  

pour que je te mette dans un meilleur endroit!

sigo 385

Dä n nä n 'kää- ylä -pe 'ŋø nã,  

The place where I want to put you from now on,  

Le lieu où je veux désormais te mettre,

sigo 386

daë, -n yi -lɔɔ yibhë.  

the place, you will know it.  

la place, tu la connaîtras.

sigo386a

FOURTH SONG /QUATRIEME CHANT

Sigo ye lu o!  

Sigo was disloyal!  

Sigo a été déloyal!

A 'ylä Sigo! ye to we!  

Ask Sigo, he is lost!  

Demandez à Sigo, il est perdu!

A ylä Sigo ye lu a!  

Ask Sigo, he was disloyal!  

Demandez à Sigo, il a été déloyal!

A 'ylä Sigo!  

Ask Sigo!  

Demandez à Sigo!

Amã -n bhlää- o?  

(AUDIENCE/AUDITOIRE:) Sigo ye lu o! A 'ylä Sigo!

Is it me you have killed?  

Sigo was disloyal! Ask Sigo!

Est-ce moi que tu as tué?  

Sigo a été déloyal!Demandez à Sigo!
Amɔn bhlää- o? (AUDIENCE/AUDITOIRE: Sigo ye lu o, a ’ylä Sigo!)
Is it me you have killed? Sigo was disloyal! Ask Sigo!
Est-ce moi que tu as tué? Sigo a été déloyal! Demandez à Sigo!

N ’nọ nɔ -kaa! (AUDIENCE/AUDITOIRE: Sigo ye lu o, a ’ylä Sigo!)
I have no mother! Sigo was disloyal! Ask Sigo!
Je n’ai pas de mère! Sigo a été déloyal! Demandez à Sigo!

Nn’-wɔ nɔ -kä, n ’nọ bã -ka o (AUDIENCE/AUDITOIRE: Sigo ye lu o, a ’ylä Sigo!)
I have no mother, I have no father! Sigo was disloyal! Ask Sigo!
Je n’ai pas de mère, je n’ai pas de père! Sigo a été déloyal! Demandez à Sigo!

(NARRATOR AND AUDIENCE TOGETHER/ CONTEUR ET AUDITOIRE ENSEMBLE:)

A ’ylä Sigo!
Ask Sigo!
Demandez à Sigo!

sigo 387
-Ja! -Ja! A go -mati o!
Silence! Silence! Say that you want to hear more!
Silence! Silence! Demandez à entendre la suite!

sigo 388
(AUDIENCE / AUDITOIRE :) -Mati -a ylää-!
We have asked to hear more!
Nous avons demandé la suite!

sigo 389
➲ (A) lä, ’Nɔɔ, -n ñwe ’yi ’ku!
He (=Gopleu) said, “My friend, close your eyes!”
Il (Gopleu) dit: « Mon ami, ferme les yeux! »

sigo 390
’N Sigo yi ’yi ’ku ñwe.
So Sigo closed his eyes.
Alors Sigo a fermé les yeux.

sigo 391
➲ (A) lä, Sigo, -n welie ’yi yu.e.
He (=Gopleu) said, “Sigo, open your eyes now!”
Il (=Gopleu) dit: « Ouvre les yeux maintenant! »
So he opened his eyes.
Alors il a ouvert les yeux.

When he was opening his eyes
Au moment où il a ouvert les yeux,

the whole place,
tout l'espace,

nobody will pass through there anymore
personne ne pourra plus passer par là.

You don't pass through there anymore
Tu ne passes plus là

to go see anybody.
pour voir quelqu'un.

The whole place, he (=Gopleu) had ruined it.
Tout l'endroit, il (=Gopleu) l'a cassé.

He said, “You see, I had said to you
Il (=Gopleu) dit: «Voilà, comme je t'avais dit

that I would really give you a good situation, so
que j'allais t'arranger,

I have ruined this place (lit. here),
j'ai cassé ici,
sigo 402

kä n nä n 'kä lä -lɔɔ nu bɔku.

but I am going to rebuild the place.

mais je vais refaire l'endroit.

sigo 403

ɔ (A) lä, 'Nɔɔ, ŋwe 'yi 'kʊ!

He (=Gopleu)said, “My friend, close your eyes!”

Il (=Gopleu) dit: « Mon ami, ferme les yeux! »

sigo 404

'Nɔɔ yi 'yi 'kʊ Truyền.

And he closed his eyes.

Alors il a fermé les yeux.

sigo 405

ɔ (A) lä, 'Nɔɔ, welie 'yi.

He (=Gopleu) said, “My friend, open your eyes!”

Il dit: « Mon ami, ouvre les yeux! »

sigo 406

'Nɔɔ yi 'yi welie.

And he opened his eyes.

Alors il a ouvert les yeux.

sigo 407

ɔ lä kɔ welie 'yi nä,

When he was opening his eyes,

Quand il ouvrait les yeux,

sigo 408

-1ɔɔ 'klaa' -lefɔɔ, a -kʊ yì aŋ saa,

the whole forest, it was now there as before.

toute la forêt était à son état initial.

sigo 409

'ŋiɔ -kʊ yì 'nyantiago yëku.

and he was now sitting by the water.

et il était assis au bord de l'eau.

sigo 410

ɔ -kʊ yì ('nyiga) 'nyikpɔŋŋu yì yu.

He was now on the shore.

Il était maintenant sur la rive.

sigo 411

ɔ (A) lä, 'Nɔɔ, ŋwe 'yi 'kʊ!

He (=Gopleu) said, “My friend, close your eyes!”

Il (=Gopleu) dit: « Mon ami, ferme les yeux! »
sigo 412

-Mä -n ni lä 'yi -a,
Because you see,
Parce que vois-tu,

sigo 413

n yä yi nu nà,
I have now made this
j'ai maintenant fait ceci,

sigo 414

'yigäda dä -a 'gä ylä 'plöö-.
we will now pass to another place."
ous allons maintenant passer à un autre endroit. »

sigo 415

'Ntɔ yi 'yi 'ko ƞwe.
So he closed his eyes.
Alors il a fermé les yeux.

sigo 416

(Ɔ mʋ ɔ ye) Ɔ mʋ nʋ -kää nà,
When he was doing so
Au moment où il le faisait,

sigo 417*

ɔ -kʋ yî -mɔɔ ɔɔ' ɔɔkʋ 'wlu.
he was now there on top of his rock.
il se trouvait maintenant là sur son rocher.

sigo 418

ɔkʋ 'wlu, jinëdëë' ɔkʋ 'wlu ɔ {a} -sɔ bhlä nà,
On the rock, on the rock in the middle of the ocean from which he (=Gopleu) had taken him,
Sur le rocher, sur le rocher au milieu de la mer d'où il (=Gopleu) l'avait enlevé,

sigo 419

ɔ -kʋ yî -lɔɔ{-mɔɔ},
he (=Sigo) was now there.
il (=Sigo) était maintenant là-bas.

sigo 420

ɔ' gwiéyii taa -kʋ yî wlu'.
His three palm nuts were now in his hands
Ses trois graines sont dans sa main.

sigo 421

ɔ 'na welie yi 'yi,
He tried in vain to open his eyes,
Il avait beau ouvrir les yeux,
his eyes, they were now as they had been before
ses yeux, ils sont redevenus comme à l'état initial,

They had gotten dim.
Ils étaient éteints.

He (=Gopleu) said, “My friend, good bye, I am now leaving.
Il (=Gopleu) dit: « Ami, au revoir, je m'en vais.

it is me that you are killing,
c’est moi que tu tues,

you are killing me in spite of it
et pourtant tu me tues,
sigo 432

-n ni -naa daa!

here is your home!
voici chez toi.

sigo 433

-Lɔɔ -kʊ yi bʊkʊ -zʊkä -lää.  
This is again your place here.  
C'est encore chez-toi ici.

sigo 434

-Kʊ yɪ -naa dä,  
Stay now at your place,  
Reste maintenant chez toi,

sigo 435

-mä -amu n yä mʊ a!  
but I, I am gone!”  
mais moi je suis parti »

sigo 436*

'Nʊ wlä Goplë yi bhä 'kʊ -bha,  
Then Gopleu got up

sigo 437*

'nt (a)ɔ yi bhä mʊ a!  
and he went away.  
et il est parti.

sigo 438*

'Nünëa, sä Sigo -nu wä nää,  
The story (about) how Sigo had acted  
Le conte comment Sigo s'était comporté

sigo 439*

ɔ -nu Goplë,  
towards Gopleu  
envers Gopleu

sigo 440*

'nt Goplë, -mä a -nuɔ wä nää,  
and Gopleu, (how) he had dealt with him,  
et comment Gopleu, il avait agi envers lui,

sigo 441

tu' -dɔɔ 'pepɛlɔɔ 'mʊ n şʊʊn- {lää} sää,  
that little piece of advice, that is what I have given (lit. put down) through it  
ce petit conseil, c’est ce que j’ai donné (litt. déposé) au travers de lui,
sigo 442

-yä a 'kɔ -kä yibhë a! (-kpazebhleku)
so that you may know it (= the advice).
pour que vous le connaissiez (= le conseil).

sigo 443

-Lɔɔ n bhloo-. (-aaq)
It is here I stopped.
C'est là que je me suis arrêté.

sigo 444

(LUCIEN:) Nyänyä⁹, (nn) lɔɔ ɔ bhloo- laa.
Nyanya, it is here he has stopped.
Nyanya, c'est ici qu'il s'est arrêté.

sigo 445

(NYÄNYÄ:) -A m ʋ! Sɔɔ lɔ, 'pɛɛ -a pà lə.
Let's go! That's it, little by little we give (lit. we throw) stories.
Allons! C'est ça, on conte (litt. jette) peu à peu.

sigo 446

(KOCI:) Voilàà!
Thaat's it!
Voilàà!

18. Soutien

Genre: Hortatory / Exhortation
Content: The problem of the Godie language and culture disappearing and what should be done to preserve them /
Contenu: Ce qu'il faut faire pour préserver la langue et la culture godié, qui sont menacées de disparition
Speaker/Locuteur: F (27, male)
Date: April / Avril 1996

soutien 001

Bhɛŋwĩñ -yä bhelienyi, anyuu’ -kaflne’ -kä!
Sisters and brothers, please excuse me (for what I am going to talk about)!
Sœurs et frères et, veuillez m'excuser (pour ce dont je vais vous parler)!

soutien 002

Kä -n bhutɔ nä,
I am truly concerned, but
Ce sont des inquiétudes qui me traversent, mais

soutien 003

bhutubhtunya’ -glö -kä nüwätä nä,
the person expressing concern is a cold mouth (= has a peaceful intention),
le lamentateur est une bouche froide (= a une intention pacifique),

⁹ The younger narrator Lucien turns to the audience representative Nyanya. / Le narrateur plus jeune, nommé Lucien, s’adresse à Nyanya, l’animateur.
soutien 004

nūwätä waa' 'paa -kä 'kpeye.
and you don't slap a cold mouth.

et on ne gifle pas une bouche froide.

soutien 005

-Aa 'bhl -a 'bäs -tüany lā næ, eme -e -ku lā -läā.
Our inheritance that our forefathers have left us, that is the issue. (lit. it's that is here)
Notre patrimoine que nos ancêtres nous ont laissé, c'est de cela qu'il s'agit. (litt.: c'est cela qui est ici)

soutien 006

Nuwäl waa -tüany lā næ,
The language that they have left us,
La langue qu'ils nous ont laissée

soutien 007

dt -ku bhä?
where is it?
où est-elle?

soutien 008

Kt too lā.
It is actually disappearing.
Elle en train de se perdre.

soutien 009

Kt büo lā 'ku.
It is about to be forgotten.
Elle est en voie d'être oubliée.

soutien 010

-Anyaa nuwäl lā 'ku cenöl -'plō.
Our language, it has become a subject of discussion.
Notre langue est devenue sujette à discussion.

soutien 011

Waa' -dɔɔ, waa' 'nünū -yā waa' -jlibɔɔ, dā sā t -ku bhä?
Their (= our ancestors') wisdom, their stories, their riddles, where are they?
Leur sagesse, leurs contes et leurs devinettes, où sont-ils?

soutien 012

Nyŋkpɔ nyŋkpɔ, sɔɔ sāa- -tonöɔ ylä 'wluu' nā
Everyone, whatever has stayed in his head,
Chacun, ce qui est resté dans sa tête,

soutien 013

sɔɔ c ᵖtu ylä sā.
that is what he shares (lit. puts down).
c'est ce qu'il partage (litt. dépose).
If he tells in fact wrong things,
*S’il raconte en fait des faussetés*

his children and grandchildren, they now carry that in their heads.
*ses enfants et ses petits enfants garderont cela dans la tête.*

Our language, which is our way of speaking,
*Notre langue, qui est notre parler,*

it is really about to be forgotten.
*elle est vraiment en voie d’être oubliée.*

The old people who know a little bit the old way of speaking,
*Les vieux qui connaissent un peu de l’ancien parler,*

you can now tick them off on your fingers,
*on ne les compte maintenant qu’au bout des doigts,*

and they don’t call the young people anymore
*et ils n’appellent plus les jeunes*

As for the young people, the French language has changed them, so
*Quant aux jeunes, puisque la langue française les a transformés,*

they don’t approach the elders
*ils ne s’approchent pas des anciens*
in order to ask them questions saying,

pour leur demander en ces termes:

so that our ears may seize it.”

pour que nos oreilles le saisissent. »

Those who leave from among the young people

Ceux qui quittent le milieu des jeunes

and who come next to the elders

et qui viennent vers les parents

if they (=the elders) give information to one of them,

si on donne des renseignements à l'un,

he hides it from the others

il le cache devant les autres
and he keeps it only for him alone.

et il garde cela pour lui seul.

Well, and it is not (written) on paper

Eh bien, ce n'est pas (écrit) sur papier

and he keeps it to himself, so

et il garde cela pour lui seul, alors

he really forgets those coming after him (lit. those behind him).

il a vraiment oublié ceux qui viennent après lui (litt. ceux qui sont derrière lui).

He really forgets about his children in the future. (lit. the place of his children)

Il a vraiment oublié ses enfants dans l'avenir. (litt. la place de ses enfants)

Our language, we don’t know it anymore,

Notre langue, on ne la connaît plus,

and our elders don’t have the time anymore

et nos parents n'ont plus du temps

Our language, we don’t know it anymore,

Notre langue, on ne la connaît plus,

and our elders don’t have the time anymore

et nos parents n'ont plus du temps

and if the little bit that has stayed in our ears,

et si le peu qui nous est resté dans les oreilles,
soutien 044
-a ‘nöö ’bɔɔgʋu’ ŋu- nää,
if we don’t put it on paper
si nous ne le mettons pas par écrit (litt. sur papier),
soutien 045
nuwältɔ ’cɛ -sä -aa ’yuë ci -kä bhä zeküü?
what kind of language will our children speak tomorrow?
quel genre de parler est-ce que nos enfants parleront demain?
soutien 046
Säsä -a cü -kä bhä -aa ’yuë
How will we then teach our children
Comment allons-nous donc enseigner nos enfants
soutien 047
’nt -aa ’yuë soo -kä bhä waa’ ’yuë?
and how will our children talk to their children?
et comment nos enfants parleront-ils à leurs enfants?
soutien 048
Bhɛŋwнят -yä bhelieny,
Brothers and sisters, (lit. sisters and brothers)
Frères et sœurs, (litt. sœurs et frères)
soutien 049*
ɔɔ ’kä -kä bhä ’kɔ Büoo?
it will not be forgotten?
il ne sera pas oublié?
soutien 050*
-a ’pɛplɔ -a -yi lä -bhì nää,
so that the little that we know at this point,
pour que le peu que nous savons pour le moment
soutien 051*
ɔɔ ’kä -kä bhä ’kɔ Büoo?
it will not be forgotten?
il ne sera pas oublié?
soutien 052
Säsä -a ‘gä bhä nọ -yä ’pɛplɔ
What can we do so that the little bit
Comment allons-nous faire pour que le peu
soutien 053
-a ’bäsì ya-ayŋi lä soo- nää,
that our elders have told us,
que nos pères nous ont dit,
Will it stay in this world?
Qu’il puisse rester au monde?

What can we do
Comment allons-nous faire

so that the little bit that we know,
Pour que le peu que nous connaissons,

our grand-children will find it?
Nos petits-enfants puissent le trouver?

It is necessary that we write all of that on paper.
Il faut que nous mettions tout cela par écrit (litt. que nous écrivions tout cela sur du papier).

But before it will be written on paper,
Mais avant que cela ne soit mis par écrit,

It is also good that
Il est aussi bien que

we learn how to write it
nous apprenions à l’écrire

and that we know how to read it.
et que nous sachions la lire.
Bhɛŋwnɩ -yä bhelienyɩ,  
*Brothers and sisters,*  
*Frères et sœurs,*

sä nyʊkpɔnykpɔ kä mii- nã,  
*whatever each and every one of us is able to do,*  
*la manière dont chacun d'entre nous peut,*

c nu sɔɔ,  
*he should do,*  
*qu'il le fasse,*

tyä -a ‘bhuwëlɩ,  
*so that our own language, it will be known.*  
*pour que notre parler soit connu.*

-Mä wlä -a ‘bäst lã,  
*Because our elders have this saying:*  
*Car nos parents ont cet adage:*

-Kɔfɔ kã -kã takplã ’ku -ku nã,  
*“If the wasp is still in its nest,*  
*« Si la guêpe est encore sur sa ruche*  
*c’est là que sa piqûre fait mal.”*
References


