Fuliiru Narrative Discourse

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Abstract

Fuliiru is a Bantu language classified with the ISO-639-3 language code [flr] in the SIL Ethnologue (Lewis 2014), and classified as JD63 in the Guthrie system. It is spoken by about 400,000 people living in the Democratic Republic of Congo, South Kivu Province, Uvira Territory.

This monograph focuses on narrative discourse linguistics in Fuliiru, describing features controlled at levels higher than the clause or sentence. It focuses more on linguistic function versus form. This description is basically inductive, which means that entire texts are often displayed, from which conclusions are drawn.
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Introduction

Fuliiru\(^1\) is a Bantu language classified with the ISO 639-3 language code \([flr]\) in the SIL Ethnologue (Lewis 2014, and classified as JD63 in the Guthrie system. It is spoken by about 400,000 people living in the Democratic Republic of Congo, South Kivu Province, Uvira Territory.

This monograph focuses on narrative discourse linguistics, describing features controlled at levels higher than the clause or sentence. It focuses more on linguistic function versus form, which affects the outline. This description will basically be inductive, which means that entire texts will often be displayed,\(^2\) from which conclusions will be drawn.

One hundred and fifty-three different texts were studied, the majority of which are folktales. Of those, thirteen are charted in their entirety in Appendices B–N: eleven folk tales, together with one first person and one third person narrative.

The first two chapters on narrative sections and paragraphs will demonstrate that narrative texts are carefully structured, with separate paragraphs for the introduction, inciting moment, developmental episodes, peak, denouement, and conclusion. Each of these sections is defined by discontinuities, and each has its own distinctive linguistic features.

Points of departure (PoDs) are commonly employed at the beginning of a new paragraph. They anchor the following speech to something that is already in the context. Points of departure are typically followed by the longest pause in the clause, which gives a clue to their importance. PoDs include tail-head linkages (usually dependent time clauses repeating material from the last paragraph), adverbs, referential noun phrases, and conjunctions.

Participant reference describes how major and minor characters are tracked in the story, from the beginning to the end. This includes the use of locative inversion to introduce major participants. Participants are usually referenced by noun phrases toward the beginning of paragraphs and are referred to by subject prefixes on verbs within paragraphs. In addition, there are rules for the specialized use of various self-standing pronouns.

Thematic development markers (TDMs) signal important new turns in the story, at points that are unpredictable from the perspective of the hearer/reader. They are not found with predictable material. Fuliiru often marks thematic development ten to twenty times per story by means of demonstrative pronouns. Significantly, these thematic turning points can be marked at two levels: either by default development markers or by marked ones.

In addition, the theme of the story is often laid out by relative clauses in the story introduction and summarized by relative clauses in the conclusion. Relative clauses can also be restrictive. Other than those two special uses, relative clauses are quite rare.

Information structure deals with the way that old and new information are presented in the text. In general for Fuliiru (as opposed to many Indo-European languages), there is a rigid tendency for the old information (or the topic) to be presented at the beginning of the clause, and the new information (or comment) to be presented at the end.\(^3\) One implication is that complicated embedding is very limited. To maintain the old-new word order, clause constituents are sometimes dislocated from their default SVO positions, especially at points of high thematic development. Several examples of possible repositioning will be presented.

It should be noted that the position at the end of clauses reserved for ‘new’ information includes new thematic developments. Thus nouns phrases marked by TDMs, although representing already-mentioned information, are treated as ‘new’ because of their occurrence at new thematic turning points.

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\(^1\)The Fuliiru language is pronounced \(\text{Kyfuliiru}\) by the speakers themselves. The people are called \(\text{Bafuliiru}\).

\(^2\)In some cases, only English back-translations of those texts will be displayed, to avoid clutter.

\(^3\)In identificational articulation, occurring a few times per story at high thematic points, the order is reversed. This is a highly marked construction.
Emphatic prominence can be signaled in two ways. One is by means of the -ag verbal suffix, which tells the hearer/reader to ‘pay attention’, since important information is about to be presented. The class 16 prefix ha- functions in the same way, setting the stage for upcoming important information.

Reported speech typically involves indirect speech in the background, with direct speech used elsewhere. Quote markers are described, including one that introduces highly thematic material. In tight-knit conversations, the speech verb is often omitted after the first speech.

Interjections are very commonly used in Fuliiru and basically function to convey emotion. Thus they are heavily used in nonformal register and/or in reported speech. Most interjections occur at the front of the clause and communicate all kinds of emotions, including comfort, denial, delight, disgust, frustration, provocation, scorn, pain, surprise, and warning.

Ideophones usually mimic the sound of what they describe, making the description more vivid. They are commonly used to mimic animal sounds, being bitten, breaking, eating, falling, fire, grabbing, moving, quickness, sickness, striking, stubbornness, suspicious noises, trips, water, etc. When ideophones are included in texts, they help readers to identify more readily with an action (that is, to better smell, feel, touch, etc. what is being described).

Ideophones are often introduced by the same quote markers used in direct speech, ti, mbu, and ngu. Ideophones usually occur in the sentence margin (outside of the SVO Oblique nucleus) at the end of the clause. About three-quarters of ideophones have verbal equivalents. For example, koto ‘sound of tree breaking’ is related to -kotok- ‘to break (of a something dry)’.

In Appendix A, we explore the function of pauses in spoken Fuliiru narrative text. Pauses are to a great degree predictable. Typically the longest ones occur after the point of departure (not within it). Longer pauses also commonly occur after the topic, to separate it from the comment. In addition, they occur wherever the speaker wants to slow down the flow of the text for rhetorical effect.

In Appendices B–N we present thirteen charted texts, with special colors for dependent clauses, reported speech, dislocated constituents, and development markers.

A note on the texts

For the most part, the orthography in this work follows the official Fuliiru orthography; thus most morpheme breaks are not represented, nor are clitics marked.

Vowel elision at word boundaries is left as it is in the orthography, e.g. lya ikiti ‘of the tree’ is written here as lyekiti. However, where joined words occur within different boxes, the unelided forms are used, for example, in the case of verbs, e.g. kwo agenda ‘that he go’ is often written here instead of the orthographic form kwa’agenda. In this way, the third person singular subject marker a- is preserved.

This study refers to a corpus of over 150 narrative texts, thirteen of which are charted in Appendices B–N. Those thirteen are referenced by T1–T13. The others are referenced by their original numbers. For citations from those thirteen texts, the letter T followed by a number that is the text number. For example, T1 refers to Text number one. When line numbers are also mentioned, the text number is mentioned first, followed by the line number. For example, (T8 4) signifies text number 8, line 4. Citations from the other texts are not referenced in that way.

Some charts and examples are divided into seven columns: Pre-Nuclear Outer (Pre-NO), Pre-Nuclear Inner (Pre-NI), Subject (S), Verb (V), Object/Complement (O/C), Post-Nuclear Inner (Post-NI), and Post-Nuclear Outer (Post-NO).

The following conventions are used for the charts and for all examples:

Black, italicized font is used for independent clauses.

Blue, italicized font is used for dependent clauses.

Green, italicized font is used for quoted speech, whether direct or indirect.

The word-by-word glosses are always given in a smaller dark grey font.

When items occur out of their default word order, the following conventions are followed: Material that is moved from its default position is marked with SMALL CAPS, RED. The default position that the
material was moved from (i.e. the spot where the words would normally appear) is marked by two chevrons, either ( << ) for preposed or ( >> ) for postposed.

Default demonstratives are marked in brown, e.g. *uyo mushosi* ‘that man’. Major demonstratives are marked in purple, e.g. *ulya mukazi* ‘that woman’. The emphasis marker (EM) -ag occurs as a suffix and is marked in pink, e.g. *anagandagaa* ‘and he went (EM)’.

Individual sentences are separated by a thin black line, while paragraph boundaries are marked by a darker black line. Implicit constituents, i.e. implicit subjects (those not marked by a noun or self-standing pronoun) and verbs (e.g. often speech verbs are not specified) are marked by three dashes ( - - - ). The source location of dependent and quoted material is marked in square brackets.

Table 1 lists the chart labels used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TDM</td>
<td>Thematic development marker</td>
<td>POD</td>
<td>Point of departure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EM</td>
<td>Emphatic marker</td>
<td>p3</td>
<td>Remote past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Major participant</td>
<td>p2</td>
<td>Default past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(T )</td>
<td>Text number</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Subject or verb not specified in chart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(L )</td>
<td>Line number</td>
<td>.DTD</td>
<td>Default thematic development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.MTD</td>
<td>Marked thematic development</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 Constituents of a narrative text

A Fuliiru narrative discourse is typically divided into major sections, including an introduction, inciting episode, developmental episodes, peak episode, denouement, and conclusion. These elements are presented in Table 2. The functions of each section are presented, as well as the typical linguistic features for that section.

Table 2. Sections of a typical narrative text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Typical linguistic features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction (stage)</td>
<td>• Introduces major participant (MP)</td>
<td>• Presentational formula for major participant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Provides a time/place setting for the story</td>
<td>• Provision of time and place background</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Foreshadows story purpose</td>
<td>• Background tenses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Foreshadowing of story theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inciting episode</td>
<td>• Gets the story moving</td>
<td>• Use of point of departure (PoD), for example the phrase ‘one day’ or equivalent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Often a verb of movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developmental episodes</td>
<td>• Develops the conflict</td>
<td>• Episodes (paragraphs) that develop a conflict needing to be resolved.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Often multiple paragraphs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Use of a narrative tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak episode</td>
<td>• Maximizes tension, brings story to a climax</td>
<td>• Heightened vividness/detail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Use of ideophones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Shift of tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Suppression of transitional markers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denouement</td>
<td>• Resolves tension</td>
<td>• Inclusion of predictable elements, resulting from what happened at peak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>• Explains moral</td>
<td>• Moral stated directly or by a proverb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1 Text charted by story constituents

Table 3. Sections of Ingware no’mujoka ‘The quail and the snake’ (T3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Linguistic features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td><em>Hâli riiri ingware, iyâli kizi genda igalooza bye’galya mu kishuka.</em></td>
<td>• Presentation formula for major participant (MP): <em>Hâli riiri ingware</em> ‘There was a quail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>There was a quail, which was going looking in the bush for something to eat.</em></td>
<td>• Use of the background tense <em>âli</em>: <em>Hâli, riiri</em> ‘there was’, <em>iyâli kizi genda</em> ‘it was going’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Relative clause to mark the theme of the story: <em>iyâli kizi genda igalooza bye’galya</em> ‘which was going looking for what it would eat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*For the purposes of this study, the term peak includes ‘pre-peak’ and ‘post-peak’.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Linguistic features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inciting episode</td>
<td><strong>Lusiku luguma, yanagwanana umujoka gukola mu kita-kita, mukuba ikishuka gwo dî riiri mwo kyâli kola mu hiira.</strong> One day, it encountered snake, slithering back and forth, because the bush they were in was burning.</td>
<td>• Introduction of the general place <em>mu kishuka</em> ‘in the bush’ • Use of the temporal PoD <em>lusiku luguma</em> ‘one day’ to begin event line • Use of the narrative tense <em>ana-‘and’</em> in the verb <em>yanagwanana</em> ‘it encountered’ • Presentation of the problem or conflict: <em>mujoka gukola mu kukitakita</em> ‘the snake is slithering back and forth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developmental episodes</td>
<td><em><em>Yugwo mujoka gwanabwira iyo ngware kwokuno,</em> “E mwira wani! Ungize na yugu muliro.” Inngware yanashuvya, “Nangakukizizi, haliko ndaakwo ngakutelula.”</em>* That snake told that quail like this, “O my friend! Save me from this fire.” The quail answered, “I would save you, but there is no way to lift you.” <strong>Yugwo mujoka gwanabwira iyo ngware, “Ngakuyizingira mwI’gosi, unambalalalane halinde ikajabo ko’lwiji.” Iyo ngware, iri akayuwwa kwokwo, yanayemeera, yanagoola igosi.</strong> That serpent said to that quail, “I am going to wrap myself around the neck, and you fly with me to the other side of the river.” That quail, when he heard that, he agreed, and stretched out his neck. <strong>Yugwo mujoka gwanayizongeza mwo, yanagubalalana, yanatwa ikajabo ko’lwiji, yugabwira yugwo mujoka “Tuluukaga!”</strong> That snake wrapped himself around it, and it flew with it, and landed on the other side of the river. And it told that snake “Get down now!” <strong>Yugwo mujoka gwanadeta kwo keera gwashalika bweneene. Iyo ngware yanagubwira kwo gutuluuke, gira gugende gugalooza ibyo gugaalya.</strong> That snake said that it was already very hungry. The quail told it to get down, in order to go look for what it would eat.</td>
<td>• Episodes (paragraphs) that develop the conflict • Direct speech reporting: “E mwira wani, ungize na yugu muliro,” “O my friend! Save me from this fire!” • An emphatic speech marker kwokuno ‘like this’ • Use of demonstratives as development markers: iyo ‘that’, yugwo ‘that’, etc. • Use of the <em>ana-</em> narrative past throughout: <em>gwanabwira</em> ‘and it told’, <em>yanashuvya</em> ‘and it answered’, etc. • Use of the -ag ‘emphatic marker (EM)’ suffix on verb <em>Tuluukaga! ‘Get down now!’</em>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak episode</td>
<td><strong>Gwanabwira iyo ngware kwokuno, “Ndakihiiti imisi yo’kugenda ngaloosa ibindi byokulya, wehe we ngola ngaalya.”</strong> It told that quail like this, “I have no strength to go looking for other food. You are the one I am about to eat.”</td>
<td>• Use of the demonstrative as development marker: iyo ngware ‘that quail’ • Use of identificational articulation: wehe we ngola ngaalya ‘You are the one that I am going to eat.’ • Direct speech</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Section Text Linguistic features

#### Denouement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Predictable elements: Yugwo mujoka gwanamira iyo ngware ‘That snake swallowed that quail’</th>
<th>Use of demonstrative marker as development marker: Yugwo mujoka ‘That snake’, iyo ngware ‘that quail’, and yugwo muliro ‘that fire’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yugwo mujoka gwanamira iyo ngware, gutanakitona kwo iyo ngware yo yatuma gutasingooka na yugwo muliro. That snake swallowed that quail, and it did not know that that quail is what saved it from being burned by that fire.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Conclusion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Proverb summarizing moral: Utagwate ubwira ne’ndyalya ‘Don’t make friends with a devious person.’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IHANO: Utagwate ubwira ne’ndyalya, mukuba yangakuyita utanamenya. Advice: Do not be friends with a devious person, because it might eat you, and you aren’t even aware.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1.2 General conclusions

#### 1.2.1 Story introduction

The introduction can be marked by five linguistic features:

- The major participant (MP) is often marked by a formulaic presentation. This usually involves locative inversion (section 3.1), where the verb agrees with one of the locative noun classes rather than the noun class of the participant. It can also involve the use of a numeral modifying the main participant.
- In addition, a relative clause (section 4.3) that highlights the story theme is also present.
- The background tense employed is usually the P3 remote past, which is marked by āli ‘was/were’.
- The general time/place of the text is often presented.
- A foreshadowing of the story theme is often presented.

In example (1) the cl. 16 subject marker ha- is prefixed on the verb to form āli riiri ‘there was’ (which includes the background P3 tense prefix āli ‘was’). The main participant mutabana ‘young man’ is marked by the numeral muguma ‘one’. Following is a relative clause ukaloosa ukuyanga umukazi ‘who wanted to marry a woman’. This clause introduces the theme of the story; that is, there was a young man who wanted to marry a woman who looked just like his mother. However, that is what got him into trouble.

(1) Īl Truth riiri | mutabana muguma ukalooza ukuyanga umukazi. | There was young man one who wanted to marry a woman. |

‘There was a young man who wanted to marry a woman.’ (T9 1a–b)

In example (2) ha- is again prefixed to the verb Īl Truth riiri. The main character mushosi ‘man’ is again modified by formulaic muguma ‘one’. The clause that follows immediately, iziina lyage ye bwoba ‘his name is fear’, introduces the theme of the story.

(2) Īl Truth riiri mushosi muguma, iziina lyage ye bwoba. Uyo mushosi, iri bwâli kizi | There was man one name his is bwoba. Uyo mushosi, when it was habitually |

yira, atagaki boneka hambuga. Here dark, he will not be seen outside.

‘There was one man, whose name was fear. That man, once it was getting dark, would no longer be seen outside.’
1.2.2 Inciting moment

The inciting moment gets the event line of the story moving. It very commonly begins with a point of departure (section 2.3), e.g. *lusiku luguma* ‘one day’, or *iri hakaba lusiku luguma* ‘when it was one day’, etc. The following verbs are typically in the narrative tense marked by *ana*– ‘and’.

In (3) the introduction is marked in the usual way. The inciting moment begins with the point of departure *iri hakaba lusiku luguma* ‘When it was one day’. The following verb *anayiji* ‘and she is coming’ is marked by the narrative tense *ana*-. The fact that she saw a man with leprosy coming to court her marks the beginning of the story conflict.

(3) *Hâli riiri munyere muguma. Uyo munyere, abatabana ba ngisi mulala banakizi*

There was girl One. That girl young men of each tribe and they habitually

*yiji mútiza, anabalahire. Iri hakaba lusiku luguma, anayiji bona*

came to court her and she refused them. When it was day one she coming saw

*umushosi wo’mubembe, ayiji mútiza.*

man of leprosy he is coming to court her.

‘There once was a girl. That girl was being courted by young men of every tribe. But she refused them. One day, she saw a man with leprosy coming to court her.’

1.2.3 Developmental episodes

The developmental episodes mark development of the story conflict, as tension in the story builds. This section of the story often includes several paragraphs. Different ways of marking these paragraphs will be described in the next chapter.

1.2.4 Peak

The peak is where the tension is highest, and a lively style is often employed. In Fuliiru, transitional words are often dispensed with, but ideophones and interjections are common. Direct discourse becomes more informal in style. Demonstratives, especially ‘marked’ ones (section 4), are employed to demonstrate the ‘major’ marking of the theme development. The story is often slowed down to heighten tension.

In (4) the more lively point of departure *Lyeryo* ‘Right then’ is used. The ideophone *dumbwi* ‘splash’ is employed. The ‘sudden’ tail-head linkage (section 2.6.2) *mbu iyuvwe* ‘as soon as it heard’ is in the more informal style (as opposed to the more formal *iri akayuvwa* ‘when he heard’).

(4) *Lyeryo, byanagagika, byanatibukira mu yulwo lwiji ti dumbwi!*

Immediately, they struggle and they fell into that river quote splash

*Ingoona, mbu iyuvwe ulubi, yanabalya.*

Crocodile when it heard noise it ate them.

‘Immediately, they were struggling. They fell into the river, splash! [ideophone] When the crocodile heard the noise, it ate them.’ (T1)

1.2.5 Denouement

In the denouement the tension is resolved, often in a predictable way, relative to what has just happened in the peak episode.
In (5) the young girl who has steadfastly refused to leave her husband’s back for over a month has just been tricked into getting down. What follows can be expected: the young man runs away, leaving her. Note that the auxiliary yama ‘immediately’ is used twice in the same sentence.

(5) **Ulya mutabana anayama agashaaga yaho na yabo bandu, banayamage**
That young man immediately left there with those people, and they immediately dashed off.

‘That young man immediately left there with those people, and they immediately ran off.’ (T9)

### 1.2.6 Conclusion

The conclusion gives the moral to the story, often in the form of a lesson or a proverb. While not all stories have morals, it is very common for a narrative story to end with the point of the story being spelled out clearly.

In (6) the moral of the story is that people should not abandon others to follow their own way. This is found at the end of a story about a cow that gets lost and is eventually eaten by the lion. The moral is fairly clear but is made more so by being spelled out.

(6) **Ulole utayilyose ku bandi mbu ukulikire yawe-yawe njira.**
Look do not remove yourself from others in order to follow your path.

‘Look! Do not remove yourself from others, in order to follow your own unique way.’ (T8)

In (7) the final advice, summing up the point of the story, is actually preceded by the word *Ihano* ‘Advice’.

(7) **Ihano: Iri wangakengulwa unahunge ubugoma, utanaki shubi gendi butanduula.**
Advice: If you would be warned and you avoid enmity, do not still again going check it out.

‘Advice: If you are warned and avoid enmity, do not return to check it out.’ (T2)

The story conclusion often involves a common formulaic ending, as in (8), which has no significance relative to the meaning of the story. However, this formula is found at the end of many stories.

(8) **Ulufumu ho luhumbira, ho lunahekera, lutanahumba nga nvula.**
The story this is where it ends, this is where it finishes, it does not end like rain.

‘The story, this is where it ends (verb for rain ending), this is where it comes to end. And it does not end like rain.’

### 2 Paragraphs

Paragraph divisions result from ‘discontinuities’ in the text. These discontinuities are often marked at the beginning of the paragraph, and they are fairly easy to spot. They include the following:

- boundary between any of the major story sections, previously described
- change of participants, especially major ones
- change of time or place
- end of a tight-knit conversation between two or more people
long utterance made by one person and the response is also long, upon which there is a paragraph split between the two reported speeches

2.1 Text charted by paragraphs

The following Fuliiru story is presented to exemplify where paragraph breaks are naturally placed, based on the criteria just mentioned.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) <em>Hâli riiri imbongo, na mukaayo, no'mwana wazo. Iyo mbongo</em>, yâli tuuziri mu kabanda kaguma kijja, kâli riiri ne'kishungu-shungu kye'biti bye'mimbati. <em>Yibyo biti byâli hitti akalaala kijja bweneene. Iyo mbongo, yanatuula yaho siku nyingi bweneene.</em></td>
<td>All of paragraph 1 is background. (Note the formulaic introduction of the major participant. Also notice the âli tense used throughout.) Thus this entire section is one paragraph.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) <em>Iri hakaba lusiku luguma, yanabwira mukaayo, kuguma no'yó mwana.</em> <em>Haliko ngagendi laguza, gira umulaguzi ambwire ngiisi kwo ngaagira.</em></td>
<td>The border between background and inciting moment is marked by the formulaic <em>Iri hakaba lusiku luguma</em> ‘When it was one day’. Note the P2 ka- prefix on the verb, which helps to define a new paragraph. The fact that the story is now event line is marked by the narrative tense prefix <em>ana-</em> on the verb <em>yanabwira</em> ‘and it said’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) <em>Iyo mbongo yanagenda imwo’yo mulaguzi</em>. <em>Naye anagibwira, “Ukwiriríi ulyoke yaho, mukuba keera ingwi yahahigira. Ugende, unayami bunga.”</em></td>
<td>The main character <em>mbongo</em> ‘gazelle’ changes location to that of the fortune teller.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) <em>Lyeryo-lyeryo uyo mulaguzi anabona ingwi yayija, anagibwira, “Uyibishe duba.”</em> <em>Imbongo yanayibisha inyuma lyo’lwivi.</em></td>
<td>Note the PoD <em>Lyeryo-lyeryo</em> ‘Right then’. Also, there is a movement of a major participant, as the <em>ingwi</em> ‘leopard’ arrives on the scene.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) <em>Ingwi yanayingira, yanadeta, “Musingo, e mufumu! Nayija, gira undagule. Hali akabanda kaguma mili imbongo zibiri no’mwana wazo. Undagule kuti kwo ngazigwata.”</em></td>
<td>A main participant changes location <em>Ingwi yanayingira</em> ‘leopard entered’. This is the first part of relatively long dialog <em>yanadeta</em> ‘and it said’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Paragraphs in *Imbongo na mukaayo* ‘The gazelle and his wife’ (T2)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(f)  Uyo mulaguzi, ti, “Uhengeere keera hamala isiku zishatu, unagende ho, ugaazigwata. Na mango wazigwata, unandeetere amatwiri gaazo.” The fortune teller, quote, “Wait until it will finish off three days, you go there and seize them. And when you seize them, bring me their ears.”</td>
<td>This is the second part of relatively long dialog: Uyo mulaguzi, ti: ‘That fortune teller, quote’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) Iyo ngwi yanagaluka. Imbongo yanabilishuuka, yanadeta, “E maashi mwira wani, wambaniisa!” Umulaguzi anagishuvya, “Ugende mu lubako lwa hala bweneene.”</td>
<td>• The places change: Iyo ngwi yanagaluka ‘That leopard returned’. Also change of place for gazelle: Imbongo yanagendi bunga ‘Gazelle went and moved away’. • This paragraph also includes a short tight-knit conversation: Yanadeta ‘and it said’. Umulaguzi anagishuvya ‘The fortune teller answered it’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h) Iri ikaba keera yamala siku sitali niini, iyo mbongo yanagaluka, iritanduula iri mu handu haayo ho ydili tuziri. Kiziga ingwi, ukulokera ho mulaguzi akagilagulira, ikayama yagenda ho, yanashonera ku kiti, yanabeera haaho. When not a few days had passed, that gazelle returned, to go check out the place where it used to live. Surprise, the leopard from the time the fortune teller counseled him, it went right there, and climbed a tree, and remained there.</td>
<td>A significant passage of time: Iri ikaba keera yamala siku sitali niini ‘When it finished off not a few days’. Note the r2 prefix ka- on the verb ikaba, marking a new paragraph. Main characters are changing location: iyo mbongo yanagaluka ‘the gazelle returned’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Imbongo iri ikayija, iri luto-luto igweti igashodoka iri inalaangiiza, itanabona kindu. Kiziga ingwi iteziri! The gazelle, when it came, it was going silently tip-toeing, looking around, and did not see anything. Surprise the leopard was waiting for it.</td>
<td>A change of location and participant: Imbongo, iri ikayija ‘the gazelle, when it came’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(j) Imbongo yanahika, yanatangira ukulya akalala, yanavujagira, yanavujagira, iri inayeegeera mu kivuuzi. Imbongo itayiji kiri na kiri. Ingwi yagiyivudika kwo, yanagiyita, yanatola amatwiri gombi, yanagatwala imwo yo mulaguzi. The gazelle arrived, and began to eat leaves. And it feasted and feasted, while coming near to bush. The gazelle was not aware of anything. The leopard jumped on it, and killed it, and took its two ears, and carried them to the fortune teller.</td>
<td>Place change repeated: Imbongo yanahika ‘Gazelle arrived’. (This change was previously alluded to and repeated here. The repetition occurs to slow down the story, as we have reached the peak.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k) Ihano: Iri wangakengulwa, unahunge ubugoma, utanaki shubi gendi butanduula. The moral: If you are warned, and you avoid the enemy, don’t again go checking it out.</td>
<td>The conclusion is clearly set apart, by the word Ihano ‘Advice’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2 Rules derived from the text T2

From the preceding text, we can deduce these rules concerning the location of paragraph breaks.
2.2.1 At the boundary between introduction and inciting episode

The introduction is often clearly marked by a major participant introduced in the usual way (employing locative inversion), as well as the use of the background tense marked by ḍili. This allows the background paragraph to remain as a unit.

The inciting episode is marked by a point of departure (see section 2.3), whether long Iri hakaba lusiku luguma ‘When it was one day’ or short Lusiku luguma ‘One day’. The inciting episode is also marked by the narrative tense prefix on the verb ana-.

2.2.2 When major characters change location

Major participants can change locations quite often. In this text, they change in paragraphs (c), (d), (g), and (h). Of course, with the change of location is an implicit change of time. In each case, a new paragraph is inserted.

2.2.3 When there is a new time

As mentioned, whenever there is a new change of location, there is an implicit change of time. In addition, there are places where a time change is explicitly stated, as in (b), (d), and (h). In each case, a paragraph is inserted.

2.2.4 After quick tight-knit conversation

In paragraph (g) there is a short conversation between two people: yanadeta, “E maashi mwira wani, wambaniisa!” Umulaguzi anagishuvya, “Ugende mu lubako lwa hala bweneene.” ‘and it said, “O please my friend!” The fortune teller answered, “Go in the bush that is far away.” ’ Because this reported speech is between the same two people and because the exchange is fairly short, this is all contained in the same paragraph.

2.2.5 At major sections of reported speech

A major conversation is where one person speaks to another at length and is answered at length. This is exemplified in paragraphs (e) and (f). There is major thematic material in each speech, and thus there is a paragraph break between each part of conversation.

2.2.6 Before the conclusion

The conclusion explains the point of the story, that is, what the story teaches. It is often marked by a timeless tense on the verb and summarizes explicitly what we should learn from the story. Thus it is set off as a separate paragraph.

2.3 Points of departure to separate paragraphs

2.3.1 Collaborative evidence for establishing points of departure

When Fuliiru people come together, they prefer to first establish the context of their relationship. Upon meeting one another, before jumping into the substantive details of a conversation, they typically greet each other first, e.g. Myazi miki? ‘What is the news?’ Unless there has been a major catastrophe in the home, the answer is always Myazi miija ‘News is good’. Thus the goal is not primarily to know what the news is, but rather to greet one another and establish a context. Furthermore, if a Fuliiru person is asked, Unaenda wapi? ‘Where are you going?’, the typical answer would be, Niehe? Nagenda harebe. ‘Me? I'm
going to a certain place’. The self-standing pronoun niehe ‘me’ is not necessary for identifying the referent, as both speakers know well who the referent is. In addition, the 1st person sg subject prefix n-on nagenda immediately follows. Rather, the use of the pronoun niehe ‘I’ is added as a point of departure in response to what was already said.

2.3.2 Use of points of departure in narrative texts

A point of departure (PoD) is an element that is placed at the beginning of a clause or sentence, with a dual function: (a) it cohesively anchors the following speech to something that is already in the context, and (b) it establishes a starting point for the next communication. Points of departure include temporal adverbs, dependent time clauses, noun phrases (called referential PoDs), and conjunctions.

Virtually every paragraph begins with a point of departure. However, the elements that constitute PoDs, especially conjunctions and noun phrases, can occur in other places too, where they do not function to begin a paragraph. Thus the existence of a point of departure is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for a new paragraph.

As can be observed in Appendix A on pauses, points of departure are typically followed by the longest pause in the clause.

2.3.3 Text charted by paragraphs, with PoDs

In this section a typical Fuliiru narrative is presented. Notice how points of departure (under the PoD columns) function at the beginning of paragraphs.

As already noted, although some noun phrases function as PoDs, not all noun phrases do. For example noun phrases function as PoDs in (e) Muka mbulu ‘Wife of lizard’, in (f) Iyo mbulu ‘that lizard’, and in (g) Ihano ‘Advice’. However, there are other noun phrases that are not PoDs, e.g. in (b) we find Uyo mwira wage ‘that friend of his’ in the middle of the paragraph, at the beginning of the second sentence.

Table 5. PoDs in Namukukuzo ne’mbulu ‘Guinea fowl and the lizard’ (T4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point of departure</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-referential PoD</strong></td>
<td>Referential PoD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Namukukuzo âli riiri mwira we’mbulu. Uyo namukukuzo, ndaahyo hyo angasigiri hamwo’yo mwira wage. Bombi bâli kizi lyanwa akaholo na’kaduutu, banâli kizi tabaalana ku ngiisi magoorwa. Guineafowl was a friend of the lizard. That guinea fowl, there is no small thing he would leave at the home of his friend. Both of them ate cold and hot things together, and they were continuously helping each other with every need. Introduction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Lusiku luguma One day,</td>
<td>imbulu yanagira ulusiku lukulu, yanatumira uyo mwira wage kwo ayije baganuule. Uyo mwira wage anayija bo na mukaage. the lizard had a feast, and he sent for that friend of his to come and talk. That friend of his, came together with his wife. Inciting moment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5Adapted from Levinsohn 2008 (NonNarr0-3:2).
### Point of departure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point of departure</th>
<th>Comments</th>
<th>New information</th>
<th>PoD type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-referential PoD</td>
<td>Referential PoD</td>
<td>New information</td>
<td>PoD type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) <em>Iri bakahika ha mwe’mbulu,</em> When they came to the home of the lizard,</td>
<td><em>yanabwira umukuzo kwokuno:</em> “E mwira wani, bwo namu gira ulusiku lukulu, undabule ishala lyawe.” <em>Namukukuzo anashuvya:</em> “E maashi mwira wani! Si wambuuna bbigooziri.” <em>Kundu kwokwo, namukukuzo anaheereza uyo mwira wage ishala liguma. lyo mbulu yanagira yulwo lusiku lukulu na yiryo ishala.</em></td>
<td>it told the guinea fowl thus, “Please my friend! Since I am about to make a feast, give me one of your feathers. The guinea fowl answered, “Please my friend! It’s obvious that you have asked for something that I need.” Even so, guinea fowl gave his friend one feather. That lizard made a feast out of that feather.</td>
<td>Change of time and place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) <em>Hanyuma</em> Afterwards,</td>
<td><em>namukukuzo naye anabona kwo agire ulusiku lukulu. Naye anatumiria uyo mwira wage, anamúbwira, “E mwira wani! Ngola ngaagira ulusiku lukulu. Undabule uluhu lwawe.”</em> <em>Imbulu yanashuvya:</em> “Bitangashoboka kwo nyikere ku luhu lwani, mbu lyo ngutabula.”</td>
<td>the guinea fowl also saw that he should make a feast. And he also sent for his friend, and told him, “O my friend! I am about to make a feast. Give me part of your skin.” The caiman answered, “It would not be possible that I cut from my skin, to give you some.”</td>
<td>Change of time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) <em>Muka mbulu</em> The wife of the lizard</td>
<td><em>anabwira yiba kwokuno:</em> “E yaga! Si wehe mwira wawe akakuheereza ishala lyage, wanagira mwo lulya lusiku lukulu.” <em>Iyo mbulu yanayemeera yiryo ihano lyayumaage, yanayikera ku magala gaayo, yanakeereza uyo mwira wage. Uyo mwira wage anagira mwo yulwo lusiku lukulu naye.</em></td>
<td>told her husband like this, “O comrade! It’s obvious that your friend has given you his feather, and you made a feast from it.” That lizard agreed to that advice of his wife, and cut off a piece of his body, and gave it to his friend. That friend of his made from it a feast also.</td>
<td>New conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) <em>Iyo mbulu</em> That lizard</td>
<td><em>yanataahira imwayo ikola mu kunira. Yikyo kihando kyo ikayikera, kyanatonda, yanafwa.</em></td>
<td>went home limping. That sore which he got from cutting himself swelled up, and he died.</td>
<td>Change of place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) <em>Ihano:</em> Advice:</td>
<td><em>Ihano libi likizi yittisania.</em></td>
<td>Bad advice kills.</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the story above, several kinds of PoDs are exemplified: noun phrases (called referential PoDs), temporal adverbs, and temporal dependent time clauses. In each case the PoD ties together what is already in the mind of the reader/hearer with new information.

#### 2.3.4 Temporal PoDs in non-quoted material

A temporal point of departure can be a temporal adverbial, or a dependent temporal clause. In the following examples the highlighted temporal PoDs establish the temporal setting for what follows.
In (9), after the background of the narrative has been established, the temporal adverbial *lusiku luguma* ‘one day’ provides a PoD for the event line. This is a very common way to begin the event line of a story.

(9)  

$Lusiku$ $luguma$, $Wakere$ $na$ $Wamushalabira$ $bakagwanana$ $mwidako$ $lye$ $kiti$,  
$banayigamba.$  
and they gossiped.  

‘One day frog and lizard met under a tree and gossiped.’

In (10), after the story background has been established in the first line, the event line again begins *Iri hakaba lusiku luguma* ‘When it was one day’. This is an expanded version of *lusiku luguma* in (9) and is also a very common way to begin the event line.

(10)  

*Uyo mnyere, abatabana ba ngisi mulala, banakizi yiji mútiza, anabalahire.*  
That girl young men of every tribe habitually came to court her and she refused them.  

*Iri hakaba lusiku luguma, ayiji bona umushosi wo’Mubembe ayiji mútiza.*  
When it was day one, she came to see a man of leprosy is coming to court her.  

‘That girl was being courted by young men of every tribe, and she refused them. When it was one day, she saw a man with leprosy coming to court her.’

In (11) the dependent time clause *Iri hakatama* ‘After all that’ provides a PoD for events near the peak of the story.

(11)  

*Iri hakatama, Wandare anayibuuza mu mutima gwage: “Ka ngatuula muno nienyene?”*  
When that all happened Lion asked in heart of him Q I will live in there by himself?  

‘After all that, lion asked himself, “Will I live in here by myself?” ’

In (12) the adverb *Lyeryo* ‘Right then’ functions as a PoD for the first clause.

(12)  

*Lyeryo, uyo muluzi nyere anahinga na nyina.*  
Right then that king’s daughter farmed with her mother.  

‘Right then that princess was farming with her mother.’

### 2.3.5 Dependent clauses in tail-head structures in non-quoted material

In (13) the PoD is an entire clause with tail-head linkage. In line 5 the tail clause *Uyo mwira wage anayiya bo na mukaage* ‘That friend of his came together with his wife’ provides new information. The dependent clause that follows (in line 6a), *Iri bakahika ha mwe’nbulu* ‘When they arrived at home of lizard’, basically repeats that information. What this repetition does is to link the previous paragraph with the following one, thereby providing coherence and indicating the start of a new paragraph.
Pre-No 
5 
6a 
6b 
6c 
6d 

Pre-NI 
[Uyo mwira wage] 
[Iri] 
--- 
[E mwira wani] 
--- 
--- 

S 
That friend of his 
When 
--- 
O friend of mine 
--- 
--- 

V 
anayijja 
bakahika 
yanabwira 
and it told 
namu gira 
[umunyere] 

O/C 
and he came 
they arrived 
and he told 
guinea fowl 
I am about to have 
a sees 

Post-NI 
bo na mukaage 
ha mwe’mbulu 
kwokuno 
kunzuko 
lye’kiti 

Post-NO 

Together with his wife 
at home of lizard 
like this 
guinea fowl 
feast 
feather of yours 

‘His friend came with his wife. When they arrived at the home of lizard, he told the guinea fowl like this, “O my friend! Since I’m going to have a feast, give me one of your feathers.” ’ (T4)

There are times when the conjunction mбу or ngu ‘when’ is employed, followed by a verb in the subjunctive. The effect is to communicate immediacy.

In (14) there are actually two temporal PoDs, the second (in line 5b) of which is immediate, marked by the conjunction ngu ‘as soon as’ and the subjunctive verb form ajabukage ‘he would cross’. This conveys the PoD in a more informal and more vivid way than the default form represented in example (13). See also section 2.6.2.

‘When it was one day, as soon as he crossed the river, he sees a girl sitting under a tree.’ (T9)

2.3.6 Referential PoDs in non-quoted material

Referential PoDs are simply already mentioned referents, in the form of noun phrases, positioned at the beginning of the clause. In (15 lines 13a–c) the wife of the lizard advices it to help the guinea fowl by giving it a piece of its body, just as the guinea fowl had already done. The beginning of the next paragraph (line 14a) begins with the point of departure Iyo mbulu ‘That lizard’ and his response to his wife’s advice. The fact that the speech verb yanayemeera ‘and it agreed’ is spelled out also suggests the beginning of a new paragraph.
The wife of lizard told her husband, “O Comrade! It’s obvious that your friend gave you his feather, and that you made a feast from it.” That lizard agreed to that advice of his wife, and he cut a piece of his body and gave it to that friend of his.’ (T4)

2.3.7 Conjunctions in non-quoted material

In (16 lines 2a–b) ‘the mother prepared food (including grubs) and gave it to her daughter-in-law’. The next sentence in line 3a begins with the conjunction haliko ‘but’. This conjunction links the previous paragraph with something that is a contrast to it, that is, that daughter-in-law says that she does not eat grubs. With conjunctions like these, there is typically a long pause, which helps to set off the conjunction as a point of departure. Other indicators that this should be considered a new paragraph are the use of a noun phrase as subject uyo mwali-kazi wage ‘that daughter-in-law of hers’, as well as the fact that there is a speech verb.

‘That young man’s mother prepared food and gave it to her daughter-in-law. But that daughter-in-law said that SHE (as opposed to others) does not eat grubs with her ugali.’ (T6)
2.4 Nouns of direct address as PoDs in reported speech

In quoted material the speaker often responds to the context with a point of departure before relating new information. This can be done with nouns of direct address and with interjections. Both are typically followed by a long pause, which suggests their function as points of departure.

In (17 lines 10a–b) the leopard enters the home of the witch doctor. Before the leopard states his business, he sets the point of departure by a greeting *musingo* ‘greetings’ and a noun of direct address *e mufumu* ‘o witch doctor’.

(17)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-NO</th>
<th>Pre-NI</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>O/C</th>
<th>Post-NI</th>
<th>Post-NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10a</td>
<td>Ingwi</td>
<td>yanayingira</td>
<td>and he entered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10b</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>yanadeta</td>
<td>and he said</td>
<td>[10c–10h]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10c</td>
<td><em>Musingo</em></td>
<td><em>e mufumu</em></td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>Nayija</em></td>
<td>[gira]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Greetings</td>
<td>o witch doctor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Leopard entered and said, “Greetings, doctor! I have come so you can tell me my fortune.” ’ (T2)

In (18) the snake is threatened by the fire and comes to speak to the quail. Before he does, however, he sets the stage with a point of departure, greeting him by (falsely) establishing old information that he is his friend, *E mwira wani* ‘O my friend’.

(18)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-NO</th>
<th>Pre-NI</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>O/C</th>
<th>Post-NI</th>
<th>Post-NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>Yugwo mujoka</td>
<td>gwanabwira</td>
<td><em>iyo ngware</em></td>
<td>kwokuno [3b]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>That snake</td>
<td>and it told</td>
<td>that quail</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td><em>E mwira wani</em></td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>Ungize</em></td>
<td>na yugu muliro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O friend of mine</td>
<td></td>
<td>You save me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘That snake told that quail, “O my friend! You have saved me from this fire.” ’ (T3)

In (19 line 38) the old man opens the door to reveal the hiding cow to the lion. When lion begins talking to the cow, he first acknowledges their previous relationship by the use of the noun of direct address *E wangavu* ‘O cow’.

(19)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-NO</th>
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<th>S</th>
<th>V</th>
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<th>Post-NI</th>
<th>Post-NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Ulya mushaaja</td>
<td>anayigula</td>
<td>and he opened (door)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39a</td>
<td>Wandare</td>
<td>anabona</td>
<td>wangaavu</td>
<td>cow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39b</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>anamibuuza</td>
<td>and she asked it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39c</td>
<td><em>E wangaavu</em></td>
<td><em>nyandi</em></td>
<td><em>úkanyiitira</em></td>
<td>umwana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O cow</td>
<td>who</td>
<td>killed to me</td>
<td>child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘That old man opened the door. The lion, when she saw the cow, she said, “O cow! Who killed my child?” ’ (T8)
2.5 Background tenses

Sections 2.5–2.8 describe the verb tenses that particularly relate to the various sections of a narrative, beginning with background tenses in section 2.5. Two stative tenses/aspects function to provide background for the text. One describes the ‘remote past tense’, providing contexts like time and place. The other, called ‘resultative’, describes present state.

2.5.1 Remote past tense

The remote past tense functions to provide the background details of the story. It is marked by a subject noun class marker, followed by the tense morpheme ãli. This remote past tense is often followed by a resultative form, which can be riiri ‘to be’, tuuziri ‘to live’, hiiti ‘to have’, etc.

In (20) background verbs include Hâli riiri ‘there was’, introducing the main character; yâli tuuziri ‘it was living’, showing where the gazelle was living; kâli riiri ‘it was’, showing what the valley was like; and byâli hiiti ‘it had’, describing the trees. All of these verbs set the stage for the story, describing the situation in which it occurred.

```
(20)
```

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>V</th>
<th>O/C</th>
<th>Post-NI</th>
<th>Post-NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>&gt; &gt;</td>
<td>Hâli riiri</td>
<td>imbongo na mukaayo no’mwana wazo</td>
<td>There was gazelle and wife of it and child of theirs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>Iyo mbongo</td>
<td>yâli tuuziri</td>
<td>mu kabanda kaguma kiija</td>
<td>That gazelle it was living in valley one nice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>kâli riiri</td>
<td>ne'kishungu-shungu kye'biti bye'mimbati</td>
<td>It was with bushes of trees of casava</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yibyo biti</td>
<td>byâli hiiti</td>
<td>akalaala kiija bweneene</td>
<td>Those trees were having very nice leaves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘There was a gazelle, and its wife, and their child. That gazelle was living in a nice valley. It had cassava bushes. Those bushes had very nice leaves.’ (T2)

2.5.2 Resultative tense

The resultative also involves background material. Technically, the term resultative describes a present ongoing state, resulting from a past action. For example, the default form of the verb -bwatal- means ‘to sit down’. The resultative form -bwatiiri- means ‘being in the state of having sat down’.

In the same narrative, in (21) the gazelle is coming back to his home place, blissfully unaware of any trouble. The verb iteziri ‘it is lying in wait’ shows that ‘the leopard has laid down in a place where it can trap the gazelle, and it is still in the state of laying down (waiting to catch it)’. This provides background with a sense of immediacy.

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7For a much fuller description of the intricate Fuliiru tense-aspect system, see Van Otterloo (2011).
In the immediate present, the gazelle is in the present state of not knowing. This is background information in the immediate present.

In each of these two cases, the resultative describes a background state in the present tense.

### 2.6 Tail-head marking for new paragraphs

Paragraphs are often set off by tail-head linkage, where material from the end of the last paragraph is repeated at the beginning of the next paragraph. These heads function as points of departure, linking the two paragraphs together. There are three types of tail-head linkage: default, immediate, and reduced.

#### 2.6.1 Default tail-head linkage

The conjunction *iri* ‘when’ followed by a *p2* verb (default past tense) is very commonly used to link what happened in a previous paragraph with what followed in the following paragraph and thus functions as a point of departure. This happens twice in (23). In lines 14a–b the fortune teller tells the gazelle to go to a jungle far away. The next paragraph, beginning with line 15a *iri* *ikagenda* ‘When it had gone’, then refers back to line 14b. Line 15b states that the gazelle had moved away. The next paragraph, beginning with line 16a, refers back to that fact by stating *iri* *ikaba keera yamala siku zitali niini* ‘When it had already finished off (there) quite a few days’.

### (23)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-NO</th>
<th>Pre-NI</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>O/C</th>
<th>Post-NI</th>
<th>Post-NO</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14a</td>
<td><em>Umulaguzi</em></td>
<td><em>anagishuya</em></td>
<td>The fortune teller and he answered him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14b</td>
<td><em>[---]</em></td>
<td><em>Ugende</em></td>
<td>You go</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>mu lubako lwa hala bweneene</em></td>
<td>in jungle of faraway very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15a</td>
<td><em>[Iri]</em></td>
<td><em><strong>ikagenda</strong></em></td>
<td>it went</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15b</td>
<td><em><strong>yanagendi bunga</strong></em></td>
<td>it going moved</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16a</td>
<td><em>[Iri]</em></td>
<td><em><strong>ikaba keera yamala</strong></em></td>
<td>it was already it has finished</td>
<td>siku zitali niini]</td>
<td>days which are not few</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16b</td>
<td><em>iyo mbongo</em></td>
<td><em>yanagaluca</em></td>
<td>that gazelle and it returned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.6.2 Immediate tail-head linkage

The conjunction *mbu* ‘as soon as’ (or its less common equivalent *ngu*) followed by subjunctive verb marks tail-head linkage that is immediate or sudden. This is often found at points of high tension in the story, for example, at or near the peak.

In (24), near the peak of the story, after a standoff in the previous several sentences, the two goats struggle and fall into the river. The clause introducing the splashing noise in line 11a is marked by a preposed subject *ingoona* and then the conjunction *mbu* ‘as soon as’ followed by the subjunctive form *iyuvwe* ‘it heard’. The effect is that ‘as soon as they fell in, the crocodile gobbled them up.’ The use of this form suggests a sudden action that could not be slowed down and emphasizes the helplessness of the formerly proud billy goats.

\[ 24 \]
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Pre-NI} & \text{Pre-NO} & S & V & \text{O/C} & \text{Post-NI} & \text{Post-NO} \\
\hline
11a & *ingoona* & *mbu* & << & *iyuvwe* & *ulubit* & \\
\text{Crocodile} & \text{as soon as} & \text{it heard} & \text{noise} & \\
11b & [11a] & --- & *yanabibakula* & \\
\end{array}
\]

‘As soon as the crocodile heard the noise, it gobbled them up.’ (T1)

In (25) the man has smeared sap on the tree (a bent limb used as a spring trap). It is assumed that he is wanting to catch an animal. Then in line 3a the preposed *Walukwavu* ‘Rabbit’ is followed by the conjunction *ngu* ‘as soon as’ and the subjunctive verb *ayije* ‘he comes’. The communicated effect is that the helpless rabbit is suddenly caught by the trap.

\[ 25 \]
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Pre-NI} & \text{Pre-NO} & S & V & \text{O/C} & \text{Post-NI} & \text{Post-NO} \\
\hline
2a & *Iri* & >> & *hakaba* & *lusiku luguma* & \\
\text{When} & \text{it was} & \text{day one} & \\
2b & [2a] & *leero* & *uyo mushosi* & *anagendi shinga* & *mwe'kiti* & \\
\text{this time} & \text{that man} & \text{and he going stood} & \text{in there a tree} & \\
2c & --- & *anakishiiga* & *kwo'burembo* & \\
\text{and he smeared on} & \text{it} & \text{sap} & \\
3a & [Walukwavu] & *ngu* & << & *ayije* & \\
\text{Rabbit} & \text{as soon as} & \text{he comes} & \\
3b & [3a] & --- & *anagwatwa* & *ku bulya burembo* & \\
\text{and he was grabbed} & \text{on that sap} & \\
\end{array}
\]

‘When it was one day, this time that man stuck a tree in the ground, and he smeared sap on it. The rabbit, as soon as it came, it was stuck on that sap.’ (T10)

2.6.3 Reduced tail-head linkage

Less frequently in tail-head linkage, the subject of the head is not specified, since is it understood. In that case, the verb occurs with the infinitive form.

In (26) lion’s child was playing with cow’s child. Line 7 repeats the act of playing with the phrase *Mu yukwo kushaata* ‘In that playing’. This acts as a point of departure for the next crucial sentence: *mwana wa ngaavu anayita mwana wa ndare* ‘cow’s child killed lion’s child’. In this case, the subject of the PoD is not specified.
‘Those children were staying there playing. In that playing, the cow’s child killed the lion’s child.’ (T6)

2.7 Event line marked by sequential tenses

The sequential tenses move the event line of story forward. They both involve forms of the tense prefix ana- ‘and’. The default sequential tense marks one sequence as occurring after another. The second form marks the same, with the added notion of ‘predictability’.

2.7.1 Default sequential

The default sequential tense is probably the most common form in narrative texts. It is marked by the prefix ana- ‘sequential’ and simply marks that one action is following another. In many cases a subject noun phrase is marked on the first verb in the sequence, while only the subject prefix on the verb occurs for following occurrences.

In (27) the new event wandare anatondeera ukulwisa wangaavu ‘and the lion began to fight the cow’ is followed by another event, this time with no subject noun phrase, since the same lion is performing the subsequent action: anamúyita ‘and she killed him’. Both of these actions are marked with the sequential tense ana-.

(27)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-NO</th>
<th>Pre-NI</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>O/C</th>
<th>Post-NI</th>
<th>Post-NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42a</td>
<td>Lyeryo</td>
<td>wandare</td>
<td>anatondeera ukulwisa</td>
<td>wangaavu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Right then</td>
<td>lion</td>
<td>and she began to fight</td>
<td>cow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42b</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>anamúyita</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and she killed it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Right then, she began to fight the cow, and she killed it.’ (T8)

In some cases participants can switch in the middle of a sentence, without the reintroduction of a second noun phrase to establish who is who. In (28 line 7a) the sentence begins with the cl. 3 mujoka ‘snake’ and the corresponding cl. 3 subject prefix verb gwanayizongeza ‘and it wrapped itself around’. However, in line 7b the verb has a cl. 7 subject prefix y-, referring to the quail. Even though a switch of subject prefixes occurs, there is no need to reintroduce the quail, as it is clear from the context, and there is no new paragraph.
(28) | Pre-NO | Pre-NI | S                  | V                      | O/C | Post-NI | Post-NO |
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7a</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yugwo mujoka</td>
<td>gwanayizongesa mwo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>That snake</td>
<td>and it wrapped itself around there</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b</td>
<td></td>
<td>---</td>
<td>yanagubalalana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and it (quail) flew with it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7c</td>
<td></td>
<td>---</td>
<td>yanatwa</td>
<td>ikajabo ko'lwiji</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and it landed</td>
<td>across of river</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘That snake wrapped itself around (the quail). And it (quail) flew with it and landed across the river.’ (T3)

2.7.2 Predictable sequential

Especially in more informal registers, but even occasionally in formal ones, the sequential tense marks actions that are predictable. This tense is marked by the verb tense prefix na-, with the subjunctive final vowel -e.

The text for (29) is quite informal and includes a ‘predictable sequential form’ in line 4a. In line 3b the rabbit is caught in the trap. It is not surprising that the man tells his son to take the rabbit home, as that is what is commonly done with rabbits that are caught in a trap. This is marked in line 4a by the predictable sequential verb anabwire ‘he told him’.

(29) | Pre-NO | Pre-NI | S                  | V                      | O/C | Post-NI | Post-NO |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td></td>
<td>Walukwavu ngu</td>
<td>&lt; &lt;</td>
<td>ayije</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rabbit</td>
<td>as soon as</td>
<td>he comes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td></td>
<td>---</td>
<td>anagwatwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and he was grabbed</td>
<td>ku bulya burembo</td>
<td>on that sap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ulya mushosi</td>
<td>anabwire</td>
<td>mugala wage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>That man</td>
<td>and he told</td>
<td>son of his</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>quote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b</td>
<td></td>
<td>E mwana wani!</td>
<td>Utwale</td>
<td>iyu walukwavu</td>
<td>i kaaya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>O son of mine</td>
<td>You take</td>
<td>this Rabbit</td>
<td>to village</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Rabbit, as soon as it came, it got stuck on that sap. That man told his son, “O my son, take this rabbit to the village.” ’ (T10)

In (30) the son had told the mother that she was supposed to kill a rooster and give it to the rabbit as a meal. That is exactly what happened, and lines 10a–c are marked by the predictable sequential verbs anagwate ‘and she seized’, analubaage ‘and she slaughtered it’, and analuzimaane ‘and she served it as guest food’. Even the fact that the rabbit is placed in the guest house is considered predictable in line 11 banamúbiike mu ndaaro ‘and they placed him in the guest house’.
23

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>10a</th>
<th>Pre-NO</th>
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<th>Post-NO</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nyina</td>
<td>anagwate</td>
<td>lulya luhazi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>His mother and she grabbed that rooster</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 10b | --- | angubaage |       |
|     | and she slaughtered it |

| 10c | --- | anguzimaane | walukwavu |
|     | and she served it as guest food rabbit |

| 11 | Walukwavu | --- | banamúbiike | < < | mu ndaaro |
| The rabbit | they placed him in guest house |

‘His mother grabbed that rooster, and slaughtered it, and served it as guest food to the rabbit. The rabbit, they placed him on the guest house.’ (T10)

2.8 Conclusion marked by timeless clause

Fuliiru stories often conclude with a ‘timeless’ clause. This is marked by a gender number prefix, followed by no tense marker whatsoever. In (31) the verbs luhumba ‘it ends’ and luhekera ‘it finishes off’ are both timeless and provide a common ending for folk tales.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>30a</th>
<th>Pre-NO</th>
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<th>O/C</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ulufumu</td>
<td>ho</td>
<td>&lt; &lt;</td>
<td>luhumba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story</td>
<td>that is where it ends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<th>O/C</th>
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<th>Post-NO</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ho</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>luhekera</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that is where it finishes off</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The story, that’s where it ends, and that’s where it finishes off.’ (T10)

Another common ending is found in (32) with the timeless verbs luhumbira ‘it ends’ and lutahumba ‘it does not end’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>43a</th>
<th>Pre-NO</th>
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<th>O/C</th>
<th>Post-NI</th>
<th>Post-NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ulufumo</td>
<td>ho luhumbira</td>
<td>yaho</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story</td>
<td>that is where it ends there</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>lutahumba</td>
<td>nga nvula</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>it’s obvious</td>
<td>it does not end like rain</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

‘The story, that’s where it ends, but it does not end like rain.’ (T8)

In (33) the story conclusion includes the verb bikizi girwa ‘it is habitually done’. Notice that the verb bikizi girwa, while including the aspect kizi ‘habitually’, does not use any tense prefix after the cl. 8 gender number prefix bi-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>32a</th>
<th>Pre-NO</th>
<th>Pre-NI</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>O/C</th>
<th>Post-NI</th>
<th>Post-NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kwokwo</td>
<td>kwo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thus</td>
<td>is how</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>32b</th>
<th>Pre-NO</th>
<th>Pre-NI</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>O/C</th>
<th>Post-NI</th>
<th>Post-NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bye’ruhiiviro</td>
<td>bikizi girwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>things of hunt</td>
<td>they were habitually done</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

‘That is how hunting was habitually done.’ (T13)
3 Participant reference

This section discusses the conventions for introducing and tracking characters. This includes the use of noun phrases, including self-standing pronouns, as well subject prefix pronouns on verb roots, also called ‘incorporated pronouns’. In addition, self-standing pronouns of various types are employed in highly specific ways.

A typical Fuliiru text is presented in its entirety in Table 6, so as to follow the participant reference structures from beginning to end. Note that independent clauses, dependent clauses, and speech clauses must be analyzed separately, as each type operates according to different parameters. Finally, note that three spaces (---) in the subject column means that there is no noun phrase or self-standing pronoun in the that column. In most such cases, the information for participant reference is carried by the pronoun prefix on the verb, which varies by noun class, depending on the class of the referent.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-NO</th>
<th>Pre-NI</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>O/C</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hâli rirí</td>
<td>mutabana muguma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A formulaic introduction of the main participant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Formulaic introduction includes a relative clause introducing the story theme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nyina wo’yo mutabana,</td>
<td>anabaza</td>
<td></td>
<td>ibyokulya</td>
<td>Beginning of paragraph, so noun phrase in subject column.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>uyo mwali-kazi wage</td>
<td>Same paragraph, subject marked only by verb prefix a- ‘she’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td></td>
<td>Haliko, uyo mwali-kazi wage</td>
<td>anadeta</td>
<td></td>
<td>kwo</td>
<td>Beginning of paragraph, so noun phrase in subject column.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Contrastive pronoun: she (as opposed to others).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Continuation of paragraph, so subject marked only by verb prefix a- ‘she’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d</td>
<td></td>
<td>imwabo at their place</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td></td>
<td>Uyu muhya</td>
<td>&lt; &gt;</td>
<td>ali kizi bona</td>
<td>kwo</td>
<td>Beginning of paragraph, so noun phrase Uyu muhya ‘this new wife’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; &gt;</td>
<td>ali kizi bona</td>
<td>kwo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Continuation of paragraph, subject marked only by verb prefix a- ‘she’.</td>
</tr>
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<td>4d</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pre-NO</td>
<td>Pre-NI</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>O/C</td>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>Comments</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5a</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mango</td>
<td>navyala</td>
<td>afuluka,</td>
<td></td>
<td>Beginning of paragraph, so noun navyala ‘mother-in-law’ in subject slot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5b</td>
<td></td>
<td>---</td>
<td>anakizi gwana</td>
<td>she found</td>
<td></td>
<td>Continuation of paragraph, subject marked only by verb prefix a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5c</td>
<td></td>
<td>yikyo kibya</td>
<td>kikola kimaata</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yikyo kibya marks a new thematic development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td></td>
<td>Navyala</td>
<td>anakizi gangaan bweneene,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Beginning of paragraph, Navyala ‘Mother-in-law’ in subject column</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b</td>
<td></td>
<td>---</td>
<td>anabuuza</td>
<td>yiba:</td>
<td></td>
<td>Continuation of paragraph, subject marked only by verb prefix a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6c</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Biki”</td>
<td>ibiri mu tulya</td>
<td>amagusha</td>
<td>mu yiki kibya?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yiba</td>
<td>iri</td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; &lt;</td>
<td>Beginning of paragraph, so subject noun Yiba ‘the husband’ used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b</td>
<td></td>
<td>The husband</td>
<td>when</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7c</td>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; &gt;</td>
<td>banahinga</td>
<td>bombi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Continuation of paragraph, subject the same, with another included bombi ‘both’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a</td>
<td></td>
<td>Iri</td>
<td>hakaba</td>
<td>mwi’zuuba</td>
<td></td>
<td>First independent clause in paragraph, so noun phrase in subject column</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b</td>
<td></td>
<td>uyo mwali-kazi wabo</td>
<td>anashonera</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8c</td>
<td></td>
<td>giru</td>
<td>ashubi manula</td>
<td>yikyo kibya</td>
<td></td>
<td>Continuation of paragraph, subject marked only by verb prefix a- ‘she’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8d</td>
<td></td>
<td>---</td>
<td>anakimanula</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-NO</td>
<td>Pre-NI</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>O/C</td>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>Comments</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8e</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>anakiyubika</td>
<td>ku kanwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8f</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>ate nywa</td>
<td>ku mwita</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Yikyo kibya</td>
<td>ku kanwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Beginning of paragraph, Yikyo kibya ‘those larvae’ in subject column</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9b</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>mukuba shevyala akakibiika</td>
<td>ku kanwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pre-peak, so information (reason) repeated from previous clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a</td>
<td>Iri</td>
<td>bakafuluka,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10b</td>
<td>“Hahi”</td>
<td>muhyya</td>
<td>agenda?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pre-peak. Although beginning of paragraph, this is a shortened version, with subject implied by prefix pronoun ba- ‘they’, and no speech verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11a</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Banayuvwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11b</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>agweti agabubulira mu ngologoshi ye'yo ngingo ya shevyala</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11c</td>
<td>na yikyo kibya kya'magusha kimünaniiri</td>
<td>ku kanwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12a</td>
<td>Ishoni</td>
<td>zanamütete reza</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Beginning of paragraph (denouement), so Ishoni ‘shame’ in subject column</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13a</td>
<td>Ihano</td>
<td>Utatuke</td>
<td>ibyokulya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Conclusion. The 2Sing prefix pronoun U- ‘you’ is understood as the hearer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13b</td>
<td></td>
<td>íbiri mu liibwa na’bandi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From Table 6 we can deduce the following generalizations, which will be further expanded:

a. As a basic rule, a noun or noun phrase occurs once per paragraph, at the beginning. This occurs in lines 1a, 2a, 3a, 4a, 5a, 6a, 7a, 8a, 9a, and 12a.

b. Even though clauses 10a and 11a are at the beginning of the paragraph, the subject is not marked with a noun or noun phrase. This is because these paragraphs are near the peak, and thus a vivid shortening of normal forms occurs.

c. The self-standing pronoun yehe SHE (clause 3b) is used specifically for contrastive focus, that is, ‘she as opposed to others’.

d. Participants (especially subjects) can be fronted, especially at critical points in the text. This will be discussed at greater length in section 5.

e. The main participant is introduced with locative inversion (where the verb agrees with one of the locative noun classes, in this case with cl. 16 ha-, rather than the noun class of the participant) hâli riiri mutabana ‘there was a young man’, the numeral muguma ‘one’, and a following relative clause that presents the theme of the story ūkahisa umuhya ‘who married a young wife’.

3.1 Introduction of main participants

The introduction is often done by means of ‘presentational articulation’ (Lambrecht 1994:177–181). In Fuliriru the usual way to present major participants is by means of locative inversion. This usually involves the cl. 16 locative ha- ‘at’, e.g. Hâli riiri ‘There was’, as in (34). However, other texts introduce the major participant by using the cl. 18 locative mu- ‘in’, e.g. mwâli riiri ‘there was’ as in (35). Often the major participant is followed by a relative clause that introduces the theme of the story.

In (34) the most common form of locative inversion occurs with the cl. 16 locative prefix ha- and the P3 (background) tense in Hâli riiri ‘There was’. The main participant then follows in the complement slot umutabana ‘young man’. The numeral muguma ‘certain’ modifies the complement in a formulaic way. Finally, a relative clause follows, which previews the theme of the story ūkalooza ukuyanga umukazi ‘who wanted to marry a woman’.

(34) Hâli riiri umutabana muguma ūkalooza ukuyanga umukazi.

There was young man one who wanted to marry a woman

‘There was a young man who wanted to marry a woman.’ (T9)

In (35) the cl. 18 prefix mu- ‘in’ is found as an agreement marker on the verb mwâli riiri ‘in there, there was’. The main characters are presented in the complement slot as abanyere ‘girls’, modified by the numeral bashatu ‘three’. The relative clause that follows hints at the theme of the entire story abâli kundiini bweneene ‘who loved each other a lot’.

(35) Mu kaaya kaguma mwâli riiri abanyere bashatu abâli kundiini bweneene

In village certain there were girls three who loved each other very much

‘In one village, there were three girls who loved each other a lot’

In some texts the major participant is not introduced in the usual way with locative inversion. In (36) there is no locative inversion, whether cl. 16, 17, or 18. There is also no verb in the P3 background.

---

8Note that Yikyo kibya ‘those larvae’ is repeated more often near the peak, as it is thematic.
9Note that in 8a, the dependent clause iri hakaba mwi’zuuba ‘when it was daytime’ occurs as a major paragraph break, thus the noun phrase occurs in the second line of the paragraph.
10Labialized as mw- before a vowel.
tense and no relative clause anticipating the theme of the story. There is, on the other hand, the use of
the numeral baguma 'ones' (translated as 'certain'). Also, the hunters are not the main characters in
the story; rather, the leopard is. The leopard is presented in the object slot after the verb, and thus at the end
of a clause (banavyula ingwi 'and they scared up a leopard'), which helps to recognize it in focus position.

(36) Bahivi baguma bakaba gweti bagahiiva, banavyula ingwi,
    Hunters certain were intentional hunting and they raised up the leopard
    banagiyimula.
    and they chased it away

‘Certain hunters were hunting. They scared up a leopard and chased it away.’ (T13)

3.2 Placement of noun phrases versus prefix pronouns

It should be noted that the following rules do not apply to quoted speech but mainly to independent
clauses, as well as dependent clauses that function as points of departure.

a. As can be seen in Table 6, noun phrases are typically employed at the beginning of a new paragraph.
    Thus the primary participant for that paragraph is set in the hearer's mind. The common exception
to this occurs near the peak, where the participants are often not mentioned, as a technique to create
vividness.

b. Once the primary participant of the paragraph has been established, it is typically referred to later in
    the paragraph by a prefix on the verb. This prefix matches the noun class of the subject being
    referred to.

c. There are cases where a participant is mentioned in the middle of a sentence or paragraph. This is to
    mark that a participant is crucial to the theme of the story (sections 4.2–4.3).

3.3 Function of default self-standing pronouns

Contrastive pronouns are not normally used unless there is contrastive focus involved. For example, in
(37) the daughter of a certain king was available for marriage, and several young men were chasing her.
As they did, she would throw money over her back, and when they would stop to pick it up, she would
escape. The use of the pronoun yehe (reflecting the young man who was not distracted) is being
contrasted with the others, who were distracted. Note that the pronoun yehe 'he' follows the noun
mutabana 'young man', which proves that the contrastive pronouns are not used for identifying referents.
Rather, they are used to add meaning to the referents.

(37)  Uyo munyere, anashubi mwagule ifwaranga, haliko uyo mutabana
    That girl again threw down money but that young man
    yehe atanazitwaza.
    HE did not pay attention.

    ‘And that girl again threw down the money, but that young man HE did not pay attention to it.’

---

11For contrastive and alternative pronouns, the focus is communicated by the use of capitalization in the free gloss
line, e.g. ‘HE’.
In (38) the pronoun yehe ‘SHE (in contrast to others)’ refers to the twelfth wife of a certain king in a story. The other wives had all given birth to girls, but the twelfth wife yehe (by contrast) gave birth to a boy, throwing the other wives into fits of jealousy.

(38)  
**Yabo bakaage booshi bakabuta baana banyere. Si wi kumi na babiri**  
Those wives all gave birth to children girls. But of ten and two

**yehe akabuta umwana mutabana.**  
SHE gave birth to child boy.

‘All those wives, they gave birth to girl children, but the twelfth SHE gave birth to a boy child.’

In (39) a woman had protected a leopard from hunters by hiding it in her house. By describing the leopard with the contrastive pronoun yohe ‘IT (in contrast to others)’ the speaker is focusing on the fact that the leopard, by contrast, would not later protect the woman.

(39)  
**Yewe mukazi! Wabisha iyo ngwi. Haliko ugaabona yohe itagakubisha**  
Oh my woman! You have hidden that leopard but you will see IT will not hide you

**kiri ulusiku luguma.**  
even day one.

‘Oh my woman! You hid (i.e. protected) that leopard. But you will see IT will not hide you (not) even one day!’

### 3.4 Function of alternative pronouns

The alternative pronouns have a very distinct meaning: they point to the fact that the referent is not the one who is mistakenly assumed, but another. Alternative pronouns are often used at crucial turning points in the plot of a story.

In (40) the first character boastfully employs the contrastive pronoun yehe ‘HE, saying that it was impossible for anyone to trick him (implying that others could be tricked.) The second person reciprocates with a boast of his own, signified by the additive naye ‘and he also’. Then by employing the alternative pronoun yeki (HE in contrast to what was mistakenly expected), the author communicates that HE will trick the first person, in contrast to the mistaken assumption that no one would be able to do so. Note that each of these pronouns could be removed and it would still be clear who the referents were.

(40)  
**Muguma anabwira uwabo kwo yehe ndaaye uwabo mundu uwangamúteba**  
One told his fellow that HE there is no fellow person who would trick him.

**Naye, uwabo anamúbwira kwo yeki anagamúteba.**  
And he fellow told him that HE would trick him.

‘A certain person told his fellow that HE there’s no other person who would be able to trick him. And that fellow told him that HE (unexpected alternative) would be the one who would trick him.’
3.5 Function of exclusive pronouns

The exclusive pronouns -nyene and -ngwa denote 'self/selves (to the exclusion of others). They emphasize either (a) that the referent (or group of referents) is unaccompanied, i.e. ‘by himself’, or (b) that the referent ‘himself as opposed to any other’, is being referred to.

In (41) a lion has promised a certain cow that he will not eat it. The lion’s friends, an eagle and a leopard, are trying to figure out how they might get the lion to kill the cow anyway (as they would get to share in the meal!) The scheming eagle asks if the lion wouldn’t agree to eat the cow if the cow itself were to ask him to eat it. Eagle thus refers to the cow with the exclusive pronoun yonyene ‘it itself’.

(41) *Iyi ngaavu, iri yangadeta yonyene kwo ugilye ho wangafwa na yugu* ko utangagilya?

This cow if it would say itself that you eat it instead of you would die from hunger

‘This cow if it itself would say itself that you (should) eat it, rather than dying from this hunger, wouldn’t you eat it?’ (T12)

In (42) the second-person singular exclusive pronoun wenyene ‘yourself.sg’ is used, in the context that someone has judged for himself.

(42) *Keera wayitwira ulubaaja wenyene kwo mushosi atakizi buta.*

Already you have cut yourself judgment yourself that a man does not give birth.

‘Already you yourself have judged for yourself, that a man does not habitually give birth.’

In (43) the first-person singular pronoun nienyene ‘myself’ focuses attention on the fact that the speaker is living all by himself, unaccompanied.

(43) *Uleke tutuulanwe mukuba naani nduuziri nienyene.*

You allow that we live together because and me I am living by myself.

‘Allow that we live together, because me, I’m living all by myself.’ (T6)

The alternate form of the exclusive pronoun niengwa, originally borrowed from Kiviira, is exemplified in (44). The alternate form occurs very infrequently in the corpus of our texts, but it is commonly used in Fuliiru conversation. In this example the king is upset that the people he has sent to kill a certain person have not done so. He then asserts, by the use of the exclusive pronoun, that he himself will do the job.

(44) *Mwami ti: “Niehe ngamìiyitira niengwa.”*

King said ME I will just kill him for myself.

‘The king said, ME I will just kill him for myself I myself.’

---

12These pronouns are not used to indicate that an action is reflexive. Reflexivity is expressed only by the use of the reflexive object yi- directly preceding the verb stem.
In (45) a fox came and chased away all the wedding guests from their dancing, leaving behind only the bride by herself in the shelter they had built for the occasion.

(45) Si umuhya anasigale hi ibanda yengwa.

But bride remaining at shelter herself.

‘But that bride, remained behind in the shelter by herself.’

3.6 Additive pronouns

In Fuliri the additive pronouns mean Person A did something (X), and person B did the very same thing (X).

In (46) a king offered his sad daughter in marriage to anyone who could make her laugh. When finally a young man was able to make the daughter laugh, the king laughed as well. The pronoun naye ‘he also’ draws special focus to the fact that the king also laughed, just like his daughter had just done.

(46) Mwami anayija, anagwana uyo muluzinyere agweti agasheka,

King and he came and he encountered that king’s daughter is laughing,

naye anasheka.

and he also laughed.

‘The king arrived, and found that princess still laughing, and he also he laughed.’

In (47) we return to the story of the lion, leopard, eagle, and cow. In order to trick the cow into being eaten, both the eagle and the leopard have offered themselves to the poor starving lion, so that he could eat them. When the cow saw that the lion had refused to eat his friends even though they offered themselves, it lost its fear and it too offered itself as a meal for the starving lion. The pronoun nayo ‘and it also’ draws special focus to the fact that the cow is now doing the very same thing that the eagle and leopard have just done.

(47) Iyo ngaavu, iri ikayuvwa kwo abaabo badeta kwe ibalye itanabalya,

That cow when it heard that its fellow said that it eat them and it did not eat them

nayo yanadeta: “Imbe nie ugaalya.”

and he it said May I be I’m the one you will eat.

‘That cow when it heard its fellows say that it (the lion) did not eat them, it also (the cow) said, “Let me be the one whom you will eat.” ’ (T12)

In (48) the wedding host tells the common people who are assisting him to do just as he does when attending to the wedding guests. The additive pronoun nabo ‘and they’ draws attention to the fact that the peasants followed on in doing just what the wedding host had already done.

(48) Analamusa yabo bageni, iri anahuniza itwe. Yabo bagunda, ikyanya bakabalamusa,

And he greeted those guests while he bowed head. Those peasants when they greeted them

nabo banagira kwokwo.

and they did thus.

‘And he (wedding host) greeted those guests while bowing his head. Those common folk, when they greeted them (the guests), and they also did the same thing.’ (T5)
4 Thematic development markers

Thematic development markers (TDMs), according to Dooley and Levinsohn (2001), “constrain the reader to move on to the next point [...] they indicate that the material so marked represents a new development in the story or argument, as far as the author's purpose is concerned.” Put another way, TDMs mark the theme line of the story. This can include the thematic events on the theme line, as well as a non-event-line introduction of the theme, and a non-event-line summary of the theme in the conclusion.

In Fuliiru the theme line can be marked in four different ways.

Firstly, the theme line is marked by demonstrative pronouns.13 It should be noted that the author's viewpoint is critical. The author has an idea of what the theme of the story is and has a concept of what moves that theme forward. Different authors use demonstratives to different degrees. However, whenever demonstratives are used outside of reported speech, they always mark thematic development.

A trigger for the use of thematic development markers is that they occur at points in the story that are not predictable. If information in a clause is seen as predictable, then a TDM is not used. TDMs are usually found in a story ten to twenty times.

For Fuliiru there are two ways to mark theme with demonstrative pronouns, depending on the register of the story.

• The first type involves only the referential demonstrative (e.g. uyom undu ‘that man’) to mark thematic development. Conversely, if a noun phrase occurs in the context of no significant thematic development, it will not be marked by a demonstrative. In the thirteen texts, nine follow this system. When speakers use this system, the register seems to be more formal, that is, they also employ fewer emphatic prominence markers, ideophones, and interjections.

• In the second type, two kinds of demonstrative pronouns are be used, both the referential demonstrative (e.g. uyom undu ‘that man’), and the distal (e.g. ulya undu ‘that man’). The referential demonstratives signals DEFAULT thematic development at normal thematic turning points. The distal demonstrative signals MARKED thematic development at especially critical turning points. This system is used in four of the thirteen texts in our corpus. In general, stories that are of a less formal register tend to use this second system.

Secondly, the theme of the story is often marked by relative clauses, especially in the introduction of the story where the theme is presented, and at the conclusion where the theme is summarized. In these cases, the thematic material is not part of the event line. This will be exemplified in sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2.

Thirdly, thematic development is displayed by constituent dislocation. Finally, it is shown by identificational sentence articulation. Each of these cases occurs at highly thematic turning points in the text.

4.1 Ongoing thematic development using one demonstrative type

The text in Table 7 typifies a more formal story, where only referential demonstratives are used to mark thematic salience. In this story, all nouns are marked. SMALL CAPS AND BLUE signify no thematic development. Default thematic development (DTD) is shown by orange.

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13This occurs in non-reported speech. In Fuliiru reported speech, demonstratives often function as would be expected. Examples include yiki kitaabo ‘this book’ (near speaker, proximal), yikyo kitaabo ‘that book’ (near hearer, referential), kirira kitaabo ‘that book’ (away from both speaker and hearer, distal), kirya kitaabo ‘that book we both know about’, and kino kitaabo ‘this book (as opposed to others). For more details and for other demonstratives, see Van Otterloo (2011), section 3.5.
Table 7. One demonstrative type in theme of ‘The danger of losing fear’ (T12)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Comments</th>
<th>Story</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Episode 1 – Introductory</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1a)</td>
<td>Background material, no TDMs</td>
<td>There were COWS of one MAN, grazing. When they arrived in the WILDERNESS, one of them wandered off on its own unique PATH to feed. When it had become already satisfied, it returned, but it missed the place it had left its FELLOWS and it took a different PATH and got lost. Its OWNER, he went looking for it and he gave up on it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1b)</td>
<td>Cow encounters Lion</td>
<td>that.DTD cow went and came out into the FOREST of the LION. The LION saw it and welcomed it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1c)</td>
<td>Cow is afraid of Lion</td>
<td>that.DTD cow was afraid and said: “O for pity’s sake, my COMRADE, aren’t you going to eat me?” The LION refused.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1d)</td>
<td>Cow draws near to Lion</td>
<td>that.DTD cow neared that.DTD lion and they greeted each other, but the COW continued to be very afraid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1e)</td>
<td>Cow tries to escape danger</td>
<td>that.DTD cow said that it is about to return. The LION told it like this: “Allow that we live together, because me also, I’m living alone. I have already refused to you that I will not eat you, you who are my FRIEND and you are also now my NEIGHBOR.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1f)</td>
<td>Cow is persuaded to live with Lion.</td>
<td>that.DTD cow agreed that they live together, because it no longer knew the PATH which would return it (to where it came from).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1g)</td>
<td>Fear (non-participant) ends episode</td>
<td>that.DTD fear which it had had, ended.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Episode 2 – Developmental</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2a)</td>
<td>Lion gets sick, friends arrive</td>
<td>When some DAYS had passed, that.DTD lion got sick. It had its two FRIENDS, LEOPARD and EAGLE. They came and checked it out and they saw that it was already very skinny, and they asked it: “What caused you to become so skinny like this?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2b)</td>
<td>Lion explains why he is sick</td>
<td>that.DTD lion answered: “HUNGER is what made me skinny like this. Just a SICKNESS would not cause me to get this skinny.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2c)</td>
<td>Friends propose that Lion eat Cow Proposal rejected</td>
<td>that.DTD leopard and that.DTD eagle whispered to that.DTD lion and told it: “Would you not eat this COW?” The LION said: “No! I would not eat this FRIEND of mine. Let me die rather than eat him!” The EAGLE was very sad that their FRIEND the LION was about to die of HUNGER.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2d)</td>
<td>Eagle makes second proposal to Lion Proposal accepted</td>
<td>that.DTD eagle again said to that.DTD lion: “THIS COW, if it would say itself that you eat it, in the place of (instead of) dying of this HUNGER, would you not eat it?” The LION said: “You my FRIENDS from long ago, if you said that I eat it, I would eat it.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2e)</td>
<td>Friends leave, expecting proposal to be realized</td>
<td>that.DTD eagle and that.DTD leopard went home; with an EXPECTATION that they also will get SUPPER there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Episode 3 – Climactic</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3a)</td>
<td>Friends come back to see if Lion ate Cow</td>
<td>When a few DAYS had passed, they came and looked if that.DTD lion had already eaten that.DTD cow.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the story in Table 7, nouns occur **not** marked for thematic development fifty-two times. Nouns that depict thematic development occur thirty times.

**Where TDMs are absent**

TDMs do not occur at all in the several clauses of 1a. Although the material is on the event line, the events still consist of only background material. This includes how the cow wandered off on its own and got lost, taking a different path, with the owner not being able to find it. This paragraph does not deal with the theme (i.e. cow’s fear of the lion or the effects of the loss of that fear).

In clause 1b, the lion welcomes the cow, which is no cause for fear. In 1c, the cow asks if it will be eaten, and again the lion refuses. In this case, the cow is marked by a TDM, because the question gives voice to his fear, but the lion, who answers kindly, is not marked at that point. In 1e, the (unmarked) lion again speaks in a friendly way, saying that he will not eat the cow.

Likewise, in the following episode, in 2c, when the leopard and lion suggest that the lion eat the cow, the lion’s refusal is not marked, as it involves old information: the lion has already said that he will not eat the cow.

**Where TDMs are present**

In this formal written text, only default salience markers are used, distinguishing only one level of thematic salience.

TDMs are used in 1b, when the cow first meets the lion (the source of fear), again in 1c when the cow asks if he will be eaten (reflecting fear), in 1d where the cow is still afraid, and in 1e when he is thinking about returning (because of fear). In 1f when the cow agrees to live with the lion, he is marked again, as the cow loses her fear. As the episode ends, the abstraction ‘fear’ is marked, as it now ended, contributing to the cow’s eventual demise.

In the second episode, the lion is marked in 2a when he gets sick, because that sets up the danger for the cow. Thematic marking also is seen in 2b when the lion answers that hunger is what made him skinny (again foreshadowing the eating of the cow). There is stacked marking (three times) in 2c when the suggestion is made that lion actually eat the cow. There is also marking in 2d when the eagle asks...
the lion if he would eat the cow if the cow asks him to, and in 2e where eagle and leopard now have an expectation of eating the cow before too long.

In the third and final episode, the lion is marked in 3a and 3b as dying of hunger (heightening the danger for the cow). The leopard and eagle are marked in 3c and 3d when the lion refuses to eat them (because this sequence is setting up the lion eating the cow). The cow is then marked in 3e when he falls for the trick and asks to be eaten. In 3f and 3g, the lion and then the cow are both marked as lion pauses dramatically, and cow is finally attacked. Then at the end, there is a high concentration of TDMs in 3h, as the lion, leopard, and eagle, each marked by a TDM, surround the corpse of the cow, also marked by a TDM.

In this story, it could be said that instead of using a second distal demonstrative (section 4.2) to signal marked thematic salience, the default referential demonstratives are employed at high points in the story more often.

4.2 Ongoing thematic development using two demonstrative types

As already noted, many traditional texts mark two levels of thematic development: default and marked. These texts tend to be richer, not only by marking thematic development, but also by the use of emphatic prominence markers (EMs), ideophones, interjections, etc. Three texts with both kinds of TDMs are provided in Tables 8, 10, and 12 in the form of an English back-translation. The full Fuliiru texts are found charted in Appendices I, J, and L. Again, SMALL CAPS AND BLUE signify no thematic development and default thematic development (DTD) is shown by orange. Major thematic development is shown by purple.

Table 8. Two demonstrative types in ‘Enmity of lion and cow’ (T8)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Comments</th>
<th>Story</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Episode 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1a)</td>
<td>Lion and cow were originally friends. Friendship shown by their living together.</td>
<td>There was LION and COW. That.DTD Lion and COW became friends, and they went to cut and gather TREES for building. There.DTD where they were gathering TREES, they encountered a very nice PLAIN, and they built there. And they went and looked for what (animals) they could come and tend in that.DTD house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1b)</td>
<td>Background, no TDMs Their children also are friends.</td>
<td>After a few DAYS, LION got pregnant, and gave birth to a CHILD, and she went looking for FOOD for him. In a few DAYS, COW also got pregnant, and she also gave birth to a CHILD, and she also kept going looking for FOOD for him. Those.DTD children both remained playing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1c)</td>
<td>Child of cow kills child of lion Past events are not marked</td>
<td>In that.DTD playing, CHILD of the COW killed CHILD of the LION. COW, when she returned, encountered the CHILD of LION has already died. COW asked, “What killed this CHILD of the LION?” The CHILD of the COW answered her, “We were playing, and I killed it.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1d)</td>
<td>Cow tries to escape danger</td>
<td>that.DTD cow, when it saw that.DTD child had already died, it told itself that it should leave there. And it took its CHILD, and immediately ran.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Episode 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2a)</td>
<td>Old man introduced</td>
<td>When it arrived in the PATH, it encountered there one old MAN, and it told him (the man) to hide it.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For the nouns in Table 8, we find **NO THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT** eighty times, **default thematic development** fifteen times, and **major thematic development** seven times.
Note that the TDMs occur only at the point of new significant developments, ones that are not predictable. Thus in 1c, when the child of the cow kills the child of the lion, it is a significant new development. Later in the same paragraph, when the cow comes home and asks the child who killed the lion cub, the information is no longer new and thus is not marked with a TDM. Likewise in 1d, the cow tells itself that it should leave there; that is new information. When it actually does leave later in the paragraph, it is no longer new and is thus not marked with a TDM. When the same event is mentioned later in 3a, it is still old information and thus not marked with a TDM.

Normally the TDM goes together with the new development. However, a few times the TDM is employed just before the thematic development. Thus in 1d, the TDM comes as the cow is thinking about leaving, not when he actually leaves.

Likewise in 4b, the lion again returned to where the old man was and told him, “Oh grandfather, is there no cow which passed here?” The returning is not as thematic, as the question was asked after he returned. Nevertheless, the major TDM occurs here, as it immediately precedes the significant new event.

In Table 9 only the lines from the above story with TDMs are shown. Default TDMs, marked by the referential demonstrative, are shown in the left-hand column, while major TDMs, marked by the distal demonstrative, are shown in the right-hand column.

The items that occur in this chart basically provide a synopsis of the story. Note that the default TDMs tend to occur more towards the beginning of the story, and major TDMs tend to occur towards the end. By referring to only the right-hand column, the reader is given an extreme thematic distillation of the story.

Table 9. Default and major thematic development in T8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Default TDM (referential demonstrative)</th>
<th>Major TDM (distal demonstrative)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1a)</td>
<td>That lion and cow became friends at that house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1b)</td>
<td>Those children were playing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1c)</td>
<td>In that playing child of cow kills child of lion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1d)</td>
<td>That cow sees that child dead and runs away</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2b)</td>
<td>That old man asks why cow hides</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2c)</td>
<td>That old man hides cow and child</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2d)</td>
<td>That old man warns cow to stay put</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3b)</td>
<td></td>
<td>That old man encountered by lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3c)</td>
<td>When that rooster crows, cow sees danger</td>
<td>Lion asks old man about cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3c)</td>
<td></td>
<td>That rooster crows – danger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4a)</td>
<td>Lion leaves that path temporarily</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4b)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lion returns to that old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4c)</td>
<td>That old man tries to stall</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4d)</td>
<td></td>
<td>That old man tells cow that lion is waiting outside!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5a)</td>
<td>Lion challenges that old man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5b)</td>
<td>That old man denies having cow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5c)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lion tells that old man “Open up!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5d)</td>
<td></td>
<td>That old man opens door</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following story in Table 10 is also in quite informal register. It is very well told, with all the typical marks of good Fuliiru discourse. The theme of the story involves ‘the results of being too picky’ (in looking for a wife).
### Table 10. Two demonstrative types in ‘The young man who refused to marry girls’ (T9)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Comments</th>
<th>Story</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Episode 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1a)</td>
<td>Introduction: no TDM</td>
<td>There was <strong>ONE YOUNG MAN</strong> who wanted to marry a <strong>WOMAN</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1b)</td>
<td>Young man too picky</td>
<td><strong>that.DTD young man</strong>, when they showed him <strong>ALL THE GIRLS</strong> in that <strong>VILLAGE</strong> of theirs, and he said that HE, there is no <strong>GIRL</strong> that he likes, he said that he must marry a <strong>WOMAN</strong> who resembles <strong>HIS MOTHER</strong>, and of the <strong>SIZE</strong> which is like that of <strong>HIS MOTHER</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1c)</td>
<td>Young man looks for a girl</td>
<td><strong>that.DTD young man</strong> he went outside of the <strong>VILLAGE</strong>. And he went looking for <strong>WOMEN</strong> and he did not find them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Episode 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2a)</td>
<td>Intro of girl: no TDM</td>
<td>When it was one <strong>DAY</strong>, when he was about to cross the <strong>RIVER</strong>, he encountered a <strong>GIRL</strong> sitting under a <strong>TREE</strong>. When he saw her, quote=&quot;Oh no, this very one is the one who resembles my <strong>MOTHER</strong>, with a <strong>SIZE</strong> like that of my <strong>MOTHER</strong>!&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2b)</td>
<td>Young man proposes</td>
<td><strong>that.MTD young man</strong> told her: &quot;<strong>O GIRL</strong>, I like you, I'm about to marry you.&quot; And she quote=&quot;OK, marry me!&quot; And they took the <strong>PATH</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Episode 3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| (3a) | Girl agrees, needs to be carried | When they were in the **PATH**, they reached a **RIVER**, **that.MTD girl** quote="No, I will not cross this **RIVER**, but you carry me on your **BACK**."

When they reached the other **SIDE**, the **NEW WIFE** quote="On my! Will the **NEW WIFE** get down here? You take me into the **HOUSE**. I the **NEW BRIDE**, would I go with my **FEET** again, we who are the ones now about to go to the **VILLAGE**?"

(3b) | Young man agrees | **that.MTD young man** quote="Oh, surely! Will you be too hard for me to take across the **RIVER**?"

When they reached the other **SIDE**, the **NEW WIFE** quote="On my! Will the **NEW WIFE** get down here? You take me into the **HOUSE**. I the **NEW BRIDE**, would I go with my **FEET** again, we who are the ones now about to go to the **VILLAGE**?"

(3c) | Young man puts her on his back | **that.DTD young man** placed her on his **BACK**. In the **RIVER** "splash-splash," the **RIVER** "swish swish swish" and they crossed the **RIVER**. When they reached the other **SIDE**, the **NEW WIFE** quote="On my! Will the **NEW WIFE** get down here? You take me into the **HOUSE**. I the **NEW BRIDE**, would I go with my **FEET** again, we who are the ones now about to go to the **VILLAGE**?"

When they reached the other **SIDE**, the **NEW WIFE** quote="On my! Will the **NEW WIFE** get down here? You take me into the **HOUSE**. I the **NEW BRIDE**, would I go with my **FEET** again, we who are the ones now about to go to the **VILLAGE**?"

(3d) | Young man sees that girl has trouble | **that.MTD young man** quote="No! We will go." And he arrived at their **PLACE** (when) it’s now **DUSK** and he went into the **HOUSE**. And he told **HIS MOTHER** quote="**O MY MOTHER**, I’ve brought the **NEW BRIDE**. You give me some **FOOD**."

**HIS MOTHER** quote="Will you not eat in here?"

and he quote="Oh no! You bring (it) to me in here."

To tell (i.e. when he told) **THE YOUNG WIFE** get down from the **BACK**, "It’s obvious I will not get down!"

“Get down from the **BACK**!”

“It’s obvious I will not get down!” And he spent the **NIGHT** with her on his **BACK**, and he spent the **DAY** with her on his **BACK**. A **WEEK** “puu,” a **MONTH** “puu!” **O COMRADES**! Oh my! The **PERSON** will die!

**Episode 4** | | |
| (4a) | Other men hear news | **that.DTD news** they brought to other **MEN**. |
| (4b) | Men realize the ‘girl’ is a demon | **those.DTD men** when they heard it and they said quote="Oh my! A **DEMON**, **that.DTD one** he has brought! That’s right! A **DEMON**, Oh!"

**OTHERS** quote="How are you going to get rid of it?" ?? As soon as they try something, no results! |
<p>| (4c) | Setting up resolution involving bull meat | <strong>Other MEN</strong> told them quote=&quot;You get a big <strong>BULL</strong>, a <strong>BULL</strong> which you castrated and now has much <strong>FAT</strong>. Let him take her (the demon) right there where he took her from. You (PL) going slaughter for her <strong>that.DTD bull</strong> and you place all of <strong>that.DTD meat</strong> and, <strong>INTESTINAL FAT</strong>, and <strong>INTESTINAL fat</strong> on the <strong>FIRE</strong>.&quot; |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Comments</th>
<th>Story</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Episode 5</strong></td>
<td><strong>(5a)</strong> Young man with bull brought to the same tree</td>
<td>Ok then! They led to the <strong>RIVER</strong> that.MTD young man and that.MTD bull; and they took it under that.MTD tree and they stabbed in the <strong>KNIIFE</strong>; the <strong>FATTY INNER MEAT</strong> they piled up on the <strong>FIREWOOD</strong>; that.MTD bull it began to cook; the <strong>SMELL</strong> of <strong>ROASTING</strong> meat kept being smelled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>(5b)</strong> Story slows down as the young man talks</td>
<td>that.MTD young man continuosly told her: “Roast it well, you’ve burnt it! Roast it well, you’ve burnt it!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>(5c)</strong> Demon tempted to jump off back</td>
<td>In saying thus: “Roast it well, you’ve burnt it,” that.MTD demon that’s when she pulled her <strong>FINGERNAILS/claws</strong> out (from his back).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>(5d)</strong> Demon flies off to the meat</td>
<td>that.DTD demon when she sensed really that the <strong>ROASTING SMELL</strong> it was very sweet in her <strong>NOSE</strong>, she immediately just flew to that.MTD meat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>(5e)</strong> Young man escapes</td>
<td>that.MTD young man he immediately left there with those.DTD people and they immediately dashed off and they crossed that.MTD river and they went <strong>HOME</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>(5f)</strong> Demon stays with meat</td>
<td>Thus that.DTD demon remained with that.DTD meat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>(5g)</strong> Conclusion</td>
<td>That’s where the <strong>STORY</strong> ends and where it ends off.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Where TDMs are absent**

As usual, there are no TDMs in the introduction of the young man (in 1a) or of the girl (in 2a). There are also two places in the middle of the story where there are no TDMs. The first is in the clauses of (3c) as the new bride refuses to get off the young man’s back and go into the house. This is not new information, as she had already refused to get down earlier.

Then in 3d, there is a relatively long section where the wife is adamantly refusing to get down off his back (again, already alluded to), and which notes that a week went by, and then a month, with her constantly on his back.

**Where TDMs are present**

In episode 1, the young man is marked, as he refuses to marry all the village girls (in 1b), and even when he went outside the village but did not find a wife (in 1c). This shows that he is too picky.

In 2b he is marked when he asks the wrong kind of girl to marry him, setting up the problem.

In 3a the girl is marked when she refuses to cross the river. The young man is marked in 3b when he agrees to let her get on his back and when he actually puts her on his back (in 3c). He is marked again at the beginning of 3d, as he agrees to let the girl stay on his back after they crossed the river.

In 4a the thematic material begins with the marked ‘that news’ being taken to other men. This is the beginning of the solution. Those men who heard the news are marked (in 4b) as they decide that that girl is an evil spirit. The vital elements of their solution, a bull and its meat, are also both marked (in 4c).

In 5a the young man, the bull (marked twice), and the fateful tree are all marked with TDMs as the story leads to the climax. The young man is marked (in 5b) as the aroma of roasting meat grows stronger, and he reports the details of the roasting process. The demon is marked (in 5c) as she begins to loosen her grip on him. In 5d both the demon and the meat are marked as she flies off the young man’s back and descends on the meat. There is a concentration of TDMs again in 5e as the young man and the people with him all dash across ‘that river’. The demon and the meat are marked again, with default marking, in the closing sentence (in 5f) of the narrative.
Referential/distal distinction

Once again, if one reads just the major TDM column in the right-hand column of Table 11, the thematic essence of the story is quickly seen. The default TDMs on the left also mark important material, but not to the same degree as those in the major TDM column on the right.

Table 11. Default and major development markers in T9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Default TDM (referential demonstrative)</th>
<th>Major TDM (distal demonstrative)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1b)</td>
<td><em>That young man</em> looks for special woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1c)</td>
<td><em>That young man</em> looks, does not find her</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2b)</td>
<td><em>That young man</em> looks</td>
<td><em>That young man</em> proposes to girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3a)</td>
<td><em>That girl</em> wants to be carried</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3b)</td>
<td><em>That young man</em> agrees</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3c)</td>
<td><em>That young man</em> puts her on his back</td>
<td><em>That young man</em> agrees to keep carrying her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3d)</td>
<td><em>That news</em> brought to men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4a)</td>
<td><em>Those men</em> say that <em>that one</em> is a demon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4b)</td>
<td><em>Getting that bull</em> and roasting <em>that meat</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5a)</td>
<td><em>That young man</em> and <em>that bull</em> taken under that tree, <em>that bull</em> cooks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5b)</td>
<td><em>That young man</em> tells them to not burn it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5c)</td>
<td><em>That demon</em> loosens fingernails</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5d)</td>
<td><em>That demon</em> can no longer resist the aroma</td>
<td><em>Flies to that meat</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5e)</td>
<td>With <em>those people</em></td>
<td><em>That young man</em> leaves there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5f)</td>
<td><em>That demon</em> remains behind with <em>that meat</em></td>
<td><em>They all cross that river</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12 contains the third text demonstrating two levels of thematic development. This story is not as well-told as the previous two. However, it is presented to show how default TDMs can occur at the beginning of the story, while only major TDMs may occur at the end. The theme of this story revolves around the problem of ‘spreading news indiscriminately.’
Table 12. Two demonstrative types in ‘Everything that is seen is not spoken’ (T11)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Comments</th>
<th>Story</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Episode 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1a)</td>
<td>King just introduced</td>
<td>In the past there was a <em>KING</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>that.DTD <em>king</em> had his three favorite <em>FRIENDS</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1b)</td>
<td>Friends just introduced</td>
<td>that.DTD <em>king</em> told those.DTD <em>good friends</em> of his to go hunt for him a <em>WILD</em> animal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1c)</td>
<td>Friends go hunting</td>
<td>those.MTD <em>good friends</em> went hunting for him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First mention of chatterbox not highlighted</td>
<td>One was a <em>CHATTERBOX</em>. There wasn’t any <em>SMALL</em> thing that was seen where they spent the <em>DAY</em>, that he did not come and tell to the <em>KING</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1d)</td>
<td>Habit of talking too much mentioned</td>
<td>His <em>COMRADES</em> tried hard to scold him harshly relative to that.DTD <em>habit</em>, but he defeated them. Two more times they again told him that it is not <em>EVERYTHING</em> that a man sees in the <em>FOREST</em> that he speaks in the <em>VILLAGE</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1e)</td>
<td>Man does not heed warning</td>
<td>that.DTD <em>father</em> did not hear (listen).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Episode 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2a)</td>
<td>Setting for theme which follows</td>
<td>This <em>TIME</em>, one <em>DAY</em>, he went his own <em>WAY</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He encountered a <em>HEAD</em> without a <em>BODY</em> and he hit it with his <em>STICK</em> and asked it: “Why did you die?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>It answered him: “Because of saying <em>EVERYTHING</em>.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He went home with the <em>HAPPINESS</em> of having got <em>NEWS</em> to go tell the <em>KING</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2b)</td>
<td>Man blurts out news</td>
<td>When he arrived, before he swallowed <em>SALIVA</em>, he immediately blurted out that.MTD <em>news</em> of his.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2c)</td>
<td>News is questioned</td>
<td>The <em>KING</em> immediately called his <em>ASSISTANTS</em> and told them that that.DTD <em>good friend</em> of his had already told a <em>LIE</em>. This <em>TIME</em> they should go together and he going show them that.DTD <em>head</em> which speaks, and it doesn’t have a <em>BODY</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>And he gave them permission that when he lies, they should leave him right there (kill him).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d)</td>
<td>Three set out to examine news</td>
<td>those.MTD attendants set out on the <em>PATH</em> with that.MTD <em>father</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Episode 3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3a)</td>
<td>The head still there</td>
<td>When they arrived there, they encountered that.MTD <em>head</em> still there. And they told him (the man) that he do just as he did so the <em>HEAD</em> speaks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3b)</td>
<td>Man strikes the head with the stick</td>
<td>And he took that.MTD <em>stick</em> of his and he struck that.MTD <em>head</em>. And he asked it: “Why did you die?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3c)</td>
<td>Head does not answer</td>
<td>that.MTD <em>head</em> did not answer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3d)</td>
<td>Attendants kill big-mouth</td>
<td>those.MTD attendants immediately grabbed him and they choked him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3e)</td>
<td>Head finally speaks, saying, «I told you so!»</td>
<td>When they had already left him lying there, that.MTD <em>head</em> said: “What did I tell you? Did I not tell you that I died because of speaking <em>MANY</em> things! Have you as well not died!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3f)</td>
<td>Attendants are horrified</td>
<td>those.MTD attendants were astonished. And they went home with sadness that already they have done the unmentionable and the things (bigmouth had said) had been true.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3g)</td>
<td>Consequences of speaking</td>
<td>And they arrived and told the <em>KING</em> just how they went and that they had killed that.MTD <em>father</em> and afterwards the <em>HEAD</em> spoke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3h)</td>
<td>Conclusion: no TDMs</td>
<td>The <em>KING</em> said: “If it (water) has spilled out, it is no longer gathered up!”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Where TDMs are absent

The entire episode in the clauses of 2a is unmarked by TDMs, as there is nothing about exposing news or talking too much, and thus it does not move forward the theme of speaking indiscriminately. The order to kill the bigmouth if it is seen that he is lying, is also unmarked. In addition, the king’s conclusion, in the form of a proverb, is not marked. Incidentally, the marking of the theme in the conclusion or the lack of, seems to be left to the discretion of the speaker.

Where TDMs are present

In episode 1, the king tells his friends to go hunting. It is at the hunt that the chatterbox reveals his real nature of talking too much. ‘Those friends’ are marked twice in this episode. In 1c the chatterbox is introduced as one of the three friends. Their trying to rid him of his habit (in 1d) and his not listening (in 1e) are also marked.

In episode 2, the chatterbox blurts out to the king the news about the talking head he saw (2b). The king then accuses him of telling a lie (2c). The order is then given that if it is seen that he is really lying, he should be killed on the spot, setting things up for the climax (2d).

In episode 3, we reach the climax of the story. This time there is marking on the head (3a), asking why it died (3b), the lack of an answer (3c), and the killing of the chatterbox (3d). In 3e the TDM-marked head speaks about inappropriate speaking, which astonishes the TDM-marked attendants (3f). In (3g) those attendants told the king the fate of the TDM-marked chatterbox: he had been killed even though he hadn't been lying.

This story shows a definite tendency to concentrate the default TDMs at the beginning of the story, while the major forms are concentrated at the end (with only two occurring in the first half of the story).

Table 13. Default and major development markers in T11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Default TDM (referential demonstrative)</th>
<th>Major TDM (distal demonstrative)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1a)</td>
<td>That king had three good friends</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1b)</td>
<td>That king told those good friends to hunt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1c)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Those good friends went hunting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1d)</td>
<td>Fellows try to stop that bad habit of their friend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1e)</td>
<td>That father did not listen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2b)</td>
<td>Bigmouth tells that news</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2c)</td>
<td>King says that bigmouth has told him a lie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2d)</td>
<td>They should go show him that head that speaks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3a)</td>
<td>They encountered that head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3b)</td>
<td>They took that stick and hit head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3c)</td>
<td>That head did not answer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3d)</td>
<td>Those attendants grabbed and choked him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3e)</td>
<td>That head said</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3f)</td>
<td>Those attendants were astonished</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3g)</td>
<td>They told king how they killed that father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3 Overall story theme indicated by relative clauses

In Fuliiru relative clauses not occurring in reported speech tend to occur at the beginning of the text, where the story theme is presented. They also commonly occur at the conclusion and sometimes at the peak. In all cases they signal that material is thematic. In addition, there are restrictive relative clauses. These are basically the only two environments where relative clauses appear. That is to say, if a clause is not thematic and if it is not restrictive, then it will not appear as a relative clause.

4.3.1 Relative clauses marking theme in introduction

There are many examples where relative clauses are used to mark the theme of the story. In all of the text marked by T3, there are only two relative clauses. The first occurs in the introduction of the story, where the object relative bye igaalya ‘that which it (quail) would eat’ highlights the theme of the story, which is ‘how the snake eventually ate the quail’.

(49) Yâli kizi genda igalooza bye igaalya.
    It was habitually going looking for what it will eat.

‘It (quail) was repeatedly going looking for what it will eat.’ (T3 1b)

The second relative clause of T3 is found in line 9, near the peak and is nearly identical, still referring to the theme of eating.

(50) Iyo ngware yanagubwira kwo gutulike, gira gugende gugalooza byo gugaalya.
    That quail told it that it get down so that it going will look for what it will eat.

‘That quail told it (snake) that it should get down, so that it could go and look for what it would eat.’ (T3 9)

In (51) the theme revolves around the lion’s desire to catch whoever killed its child. This thematic marking appears right at the beginning of the story tension.

(51) “E Wangaavu! Nyandi ükanyitira umwana?”
    O cow Who killed to me the child?

‘O cow! Who (is) the one who killed my child?’ (T8)

In the introduction to 52, a certain young man wants to marry a girl who looks like his mother and as a result, gets into trouble. This theme is reflected in the two subject relative constructions in line 1, ükalooza ukuyanga umukazi ‘who wanted to marry a woman’ and üshushiini na nyina ‘who resembles his mother’.

(52) Hali riiri| umutabana muguma, ükalooza ukuyanga umukazi üshushiini na nyina.
    There was a young man one who wanted to marry a woman who resembles his mother.

‘There was a young man, who wanted to marry a woman who resembled his mother.’ (T9 1)

The same theme is again reflected in (53) line 2b, in the object relative yo asiima ‘whom he liked’.

(53) Anadeta kwo yehe ndaaye munyere yo asiima.
    And he said that HE there is no girl that he likes.

‘And he said that [as for] HE [himself] there is no girl that he likes.’ (T9 2b)
4.3.2 Relative clauses summarizing theme in conclusion

In some conclusions relative clauses are used to summarize the theme of the story. In (54) the theme of the story is summarized in the last sentence by the relative clause Áhali ikyoba ‘where there is fear’.

(54) *Ihano Áhali ikyoba hatagendwa bwija.*
Advice Where there is fear it does not go well.
‘Advice: Where there is fear, it does not go well.’ (T5 19)

In (55) the conclusion includes the relative clause íbiri mu liibwa na’bandi ‘which is eaten by others’.

(55) *Ihano Uatatuke íbiri mu liibwa na’bandi*
Advice Do not badmouth the food which is eaten by others.
‘Advice: Do not badmouth food which is being eaten by others.’ (T6 14)

4.3.3 Relative clauses that are only restrictive, not marking theme

Non-thematic relative clauses in Fuliiru are typically restrictive, identifying or defining the head noun they modify by limiting it to a subset based on certain criteria.

In (56) Yabo batabana ábakazindi yija ‘the young men who just arrived’ are contrasted to the other set of men who appeared in the story earlier.

(56) | **Head NP** | **Subject relative clause** |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yabo batabana</td>
<td>ábakazindi yija, nabo banasiíma yabo bahyakazi.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Those young men who lastly came and they liked those new wives.
‘Those young men who came last they also liked those new wives.’

In (57) the subject relative clause úgwâli sokaniinwi no’lubako ‘which was surrounded by forest’ modifies the complement of the locative phrase ku mugazi muguma ‘on one mountain’. There were lots of mountains, but this particular one was surrounded by forest.

(57) | **LM** | **Head NP** | **Subject relative clause** |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Booshi bâli tuuziri ku mugazi muguma úgwâli sokaniinwi no lubako.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All were living at mountain one which was surrounded by forest.
‘All of them lived on one mountain that was surrounded by forest.’

4.4 Examples of prominent theme marking through constituent dislocation

When examining all thirteen Fuliiru texts in this study, it becomes clear that clause constituents are typically dislocated at the key thematic turning points in the story, usually by preposing elements that would otherwise occur later in the clause. This occurs only a few times per story, which demonstrates its significance.

A back-translation of the text T3 is given in example (58). Note that the constituent dislocation occurs at the thematic high points. The first one occurs in line 6, where the quail agrees to give up its life
by stretching out its neck so the snake can wrap itself around. The second occurs in line 9, where the snake says to the quail, “You are the one I am going to eat.” Through identificational articulation, the object of the clause is preposed to the front.

The fact that this is crucial to the theme of the story is seen in the conclusion, where it is stated that we should not make friends with deceivers (cf. line 6) because they might eat you (cf. line 9).

(58) ‘Quail and snake’ (T3)
1. There was a quail which was going around the bush looking for what it would eat.
2. One day she encountered a snake in slithering, slithering, because the bush it was in was burning up.
3. That snake told the quail like this, “O my friend, save me from this fire.”
4. The quail answered, “I would save you (but can’t) but there is no way I could lift you up.”
5. The snake told the quail, “I am going to wrap myself around your neck, and you then fly with me across the river.”
6. That quail, when it heard that, it agreed, and it stretched out its neck.
7. That snake wrapped itself around, and they flew away, and they landed across the river, and it told the snake, “Get down.”
8. The snake said that it was already very hungry.
9. The quail told it to get down, so it could go looking for what it would eat. And it told that quail like this, “I don’t have the strength to go looking for what I will eat. You are the one I’m going to eat.”
10. That snake swallowed the quail and did not think that the quail is what saved it from the fire.
11. Advice: Do not be a friend with a deceiver, because he might eat you, and you have no idea.

In (59) constituent dislocation occurs only once here in line 13 (line 18 in full text), when the gazelle, even though he has been warned not to, returns to the place where the leopard is waiting to kill him. Notice that when the leopard actually kills him, there are not dislocated constituents. Rather, the preposed item *imbongo* ‘gazelle’ occurs at the time when the gazelle makes the wrong choice that will eventually get him killed. The fact that this is crucial to the theme of the story is seen again in the conclusion ‘If you would be warned, and run away from the enemy, do go back again to check him out.’

(59) ‘The gazelle and his wife’ (T2)
1. There was a gazelle and its wife and their child. That gazelle was living in one nice valley, which had cassava bushes. Those bushes were have a very nice leaves. That gazelle lived there for very many days.
2. When one day came, it told its wife and child, “It’s good that we move. Let’s leave here. But I will go have my future told, so the fortune teller can tell me just what to do.”
3. That gazelle went to the fortune teller. And he told it. “You must leave there, because the leopard has already set his eyes on it. Go away immediately.”
4. Right then that fortune teller saw that the leopard has come, and he told it (gazelle), “Hide yourself quickly!” The gazelle hid itself behind the door. The leopard entered and said, “Greetings, witch doctor! I have come so that you can tell my fortune. There is one valley. In it there is a gazelle and its child. Tell the future for me, how I can seize it.”
5. The fortune teller said, “There has already passed three days. You go there, and seize them. And when you seize them, bring me their ears.”
6. That leopard returned.

14Note that in identificational articulation, normal clause word order is reversed, making it a marked form.
The gazelle came out of hiding and it said, “Come on, my friend! You have punished me!”

The fortune teller answered him, “Go to the jungle, far far away.”

When it went, it moved away.

When the gazelle had already finished off not a few days, it returned, and checked out its place where it had been living.

Surprise, from the time the fortune teller had told the leopard its fortune, and had gone right there, and climbed a tree, and remained there.

The gazelle, when it came, it was quietly moving, it is unconcerned while looking far away, and it saw nothing.

Surprise, the leopard was trapping it.

When the gazelle arrived, it began to eat leaves. And it stuffed itself and stuffed itself.

When it came close to the bush, it was not aware of a thing. Leopard jumped on it, and killed it, and cut off both ears, and carried them to the fortune teller.

Advice: If you would be warned, and run away from the enemy, do go back again to check him out.

In (60) the self-standing object pronoun *wehe* ‘you’ is preposed before the clause subject. In this case, the lizard has already refused to give the guinea fowl part of its body. Example (61) shows that in line 7 (line 13 in full text), the lizard’s wife insists that he share part of his body, which is eventually the reason why he dies. The moral of the story is clearly seen at the end in line 10: ‘Bad advice habitually kills others.’

(60)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-NO</th>
<th>Pre-NI</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>O/C</th>
<th>Post-NI</th>
<th>Post-NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>E yaga</em></td>
<td><em>Si wehe</em></td>
<td><em>mwira wawe</em></td>
<td><em>akakuheereza</em></td>
<td><em>&lt;&lt;</em></td>
<td><em>ishala lyage</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘O comrade! It’s obvious that YOU, your friend gave you his feather.’ (T4)

(61) ‘Guinea fowl and lizard (T4)’

1. Guinea fowl was the friend of lizard. That guinea fowl had no small thing which it would leave at that friend of hers. Both were habitually eating everything hot and cold, and they were always helping each other when they were in need.

2. One day, lizard had a feast, and sent for his friend, so they could talk. That friend came together with his wife.

3. When they arrived at the home of lizard, it told guinea fowl like this, “O my friend! Since I’m about to have a feast, cut off one of your feathers for me.”

4. Guinea fowl answered, “O please my friend! You have asked for something I need.”

5. Even so, guinea fowl gave that his friend one feather. That lizard, he made a feast with that feather.

6. Afterwards, that guinea fowl saw that he would give a feast. And he sent for that friend of his, and told him, “O my friend, I am about to make a feast. Cut off some of your skin for me.”

7. Lizard, answered, “It would not be possible that I cut off a piece of my skin, with the intent of giving it to you. Lizard’s wife told her husband like this, “O comrade! It’s obvious that you, your friend gave you one of his feathers.”

8. That lizard agreed to the advice of his wife, and he cut off a piece of its body, and he gave it to that friend of his. That friend of his, also made from it a feast.

9. That lizard and he went home now limping. That sore which he got cutting himself swelled up, and he died.

10. Advice: Bad advice habitually kills others.
4.5 Various ways constituents can be dislocated

4.5.1 Preposing a clause subject before the clause conjunction.

Normally, the clause conjunction occurs before the subject. However, at especially high points of thematic development, the subject can be preposed before the conjunction. In (62), after a long discussion about whether to serve the king or his father-in-law, the man finally decides to serve the latter. This occurs at the climax of the story. Incidentally, this climactic fact is also marked by the dependent clause (7a) which serves to set off (7b–c) more stridently.

(62)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-NO</th>
<th>Pre-NI</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>O/C</th>
<th>Post-NI</th>
<th>Post-NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7a</td>
<td>[Uyo musosi]</td>
<td>iri</td>
<td>&lt; &lt; akayisaliza</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>That man</td>
<td>when</td>
<td>he thought to himself</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b</td>
<td>[7a]</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>anabona</td>
<td>kwo [7c]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>he say</td>
<td>that</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7c</td>
<td>[---]</td>
<td>agendi kolera</td>
<td>shevyala</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>he going serve</td>
<td>father-in-law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘When that man got to thinking, he decided to serve the father-in-law.’ (T7)

In (63) the thematic problem of the story is introduced. That is, the daughter-in-law is climbing on her father-in-law’s bed (which is taboo), in order to eat the grubs (which is selfish). Such things should not be done! To mark this especially high thematic point in the story, the subject Uyu muhya ‘This new wife’ is preposed before the sentence conjunction ikyanya ‘when’.

(63)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-NO</th>
<th>Pre-NI</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>O/C</th>
<th>Post-NI</th>
<th>Post-NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td>[Uyu muhya]</td>
<td>ikyanya</td>
<td>&lt; &lt; ali kizi bona</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This new wife</td>
<td>when</td>
<td>she was continuously see</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b</td>
<td>navyala</td>
<td>ahinga</td>
<td></td>
<td>kwo</td>
<td>that</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mother-in-law</td>
<td>was farming</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4c</td>
<td>[4a-4b]</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>anakizi manula</td>
<td>ikiba yama'ngusha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>she continuously took down</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4d</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>anatondeeze ukugalya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and she began to eat them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘This new wife, at the times when her mother-in-law was farming, she took down the bowl of grubs, and began to eat them.’ (T6)

4.5.2 Preposing a clause object

The clause object, normally a post-verbal constituent, can be preposed to the front of the clause, to mark points of especially high thematic development. (When preposed, the clause object is obligatorily referenced in the verbal object position within the verb.)

In (64) the young husband is in a predicament, because his new wife will not get off his back, and over a month has passed! At that point, both lines 25 (Yugwo mwazi ‘That news’) and 26 (Yabo bashosi ‘Those men’) contain preposed objects. This marks the highly thematic point when the problem is desperate, just before a solution is to be found.
That news, they brought it to other men. Those men, when they heard it, that said, “O my dear! He has brought a demon!”’ (T9)

In (65) the hikolo ‘little monkey’ is brought to the village where it is hung from a tree. It is at this point that the young man’s maturity (the point of the story) is about to be demonstrated.

(65)

4.5.3 Preposing a locative phrase

A locative phrase, normally occurring after the object, can be preposed before the SVO nucleus. In less common cases, the oblique is preposed after the subject, but still before the verb.

In (66) the given information, the locative oblique mu kiliira kishimo ‘in that hole’, has been moved from clause-final position and preposed to the front of the clause, where it serves as a PoD. Its trace is the cl. 18 marker mwo. The preposing of the oblique phrase occurs at a highlight in the story, where the father begins to hear the child crying in the hole, where it has been dumped.

(66)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-NO</th>
<th>Pre-NI</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>O/C</th>
<th>Post-NI</th>
<th>Post-NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14a</td>
<td>[Yihyo hikolo</td>
<td>iri</td>
<td>&lt; &lt;</td>
<td>tukahihiya</td>
<td>ha kaayya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14b</td>
<td>[14a]</td>
<td>when</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>at village</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘In that hole, I heard a person crying in there.’

In (67) the given information is the locative oblique ku njira ya’yugwo muliro ‘by means of that fire’, which is preposed to the front of the sentence. The function is to highlight the clause.

(67)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PoD</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ku njira ya yugwo muliro</td>
<td>yako kafulo, kakalonga inyama mbamu.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘And by means of that fire, that turtle received large meat.’

In (68) the locative oblique i rwiji ‘at the river’ is preposed from clause-final position to a position after the subject but before the verb. This highlights the fact that the crocodile was pulling.
Subject | Locative oblique | Verb
---|---|---
Wangoona | irwiji | anabulula.
crocodile | at river | he pulled.

‘Crocodile, at the river, pulled.’

4.6 Prominent theme marking through identificational articulation

Identificational articulation is employed at especially thematic high points in the story. In identificational articulation,\(^{15}\) the identity of an assumed referent is questioned, e.g. ‘Who ate all the candy?’ This sentence in its fuller form would be ‘Who is the one who ate all the candy?’ It is assumed that someone ate the candy; we just do not know who it is. Another form of identificational articulation would be ‘It was grandmother who ate all the candy!’ Once again, it is assumed that someone ate the candy. Now the answer is identified; it was grandmother!

It is important to note that in identificational articulation, the normal constituent order of topic and comment is reversed, i.e. the new information is placed first in the clause, and the old information is presented last. In Fuliiru identificational articulation can be realized in several ways.

4.6.1 Identificational articulation in statement form

In some cases, information that is assumed but not identified can be expressed as ‘That is the one who... (assumed information)’, ‘That is the place where... (assumed information)’, etc.

In (69) it is assumed that food is available somewhere. The question is ‘Where?’ The answer is imwabo-vyala ‘(from) the home of the in-laws’. The focus marker yo ‘that’s where’ is used to identify what was assumed, but not known. This sentence is thematically important, as it signals why the young man decided to obey his father-in-law.

(69) Si imwabo-vyala yanaba yo yâli yeziri łybyokulya.

‘At the in-laws place, that is where they harvested food.’ (T8)

4.6.2 Identificational articulation in some non-verbal clauses

The grammatical structure used to identify something that is assumed may also take the form of a non-verbal clause. In (70) the rabbit has been put in the guest house. Then in the afternoon they bring him food. He might be wondering what it is, and they identify it, saying, ‘Guest food of guests, this,’ or in other words, ‘What is here, is guest food for you.’ This is communicated by the phrase Izimaano lyabageni, lino ‘The guest food of the guests, this’.

(70) Mu kabigingwe, banabaleetera lybyokulya, banadeta “Izimaano lyabageni lino.”

‘In the afternoon they brought him food, and they said: "This (is) the guest food of the guests." ’

In (71) the young man had brought home a new wife. However, when she refused to get off his back, even when she should be making the bed or working in the field, the young man begins to wonder who she is. It is then that the old men identify for the young man what he has brought home. What he

\(^{15}\)At times also called focus-presupposition articulation.
has unwittingly brought home is a demon. The non-verbal cl. 3 muzimu ‘demon’ is followed by the demonstrative yugwo ‘that’. In other words, ‘That thing he has brought home, is a demon.’ Besides functioning as the non-verbal predicate, yugwo functions as the relativizer for the relative phrase yugwo aleeta ‘that (thing which) he has brought’.

(71) **Muzimu yugwo aleeta.**

A demon that one he has brought.

‘It’s a demon, that one (which) he’s brought.’ (09)

### 4.6.3 Negative focus copula

With the negative focus copula, the expectation is that one element of the proposition will be identified, but in fact that element does not exist. It should be noted that in Fuliiru, the verbs used in the positive and negative forms of identificational articulation are similar. For example, for cl. 2, the positive form would be bo ‘he’s the one’, while the negative form would be ndaaboo ‘they do not exist’.

In (72) when the man gets home, the wife is expecting him to bring a caregiver for the children. The husband answers by quoting her people, who said ndaaye mulezi ‘there is no caregiver’. In other words, there is none that he can identify.

(72) **Uyo mushosi, anagendaga imwage, mukaage anamúbuza: “Hayi ho wasigaga umulezi?”**

That man went home. His wife asked him Where did you leave the caregiver?

**Yiba anamushuvya: “Nanga be’mwinyu banyima umulezi, badeta kwo**

The husband answered her No your people failed to give caregiver they said that

**ndaaye mulezi.”**

there is no caregiver.

‘That man went home. His wife asked him, “Where did you leave the caregiver?” Her husband answered her, “No! Your people failed to give me a caregiver. They said that there is no caregiver.”’

### 4.6.4 Identificational articulation in question form

As previously alluded to, in question forms, an element is assumed to be known. The question is what or who, etc. is that element? For example, assuming that ‘something was given to me’, the question would be ‘What did he give me?’ A fuller version of former with the relative clause marked by ‘that’ is also possible: ‘What is it that he gave me?’ In (73) there is a person standing there. The question is ‘Is this (the one who is) the wife of the doctor?’

(73) **Iri akahika hambere abandu banamuyimangika, banadeta: “Ka muka Muganga uyu?”**

When he arrived ahead people stopped him and said Question wife of doctor this one?

‘When he arrived on ahead, they stopped him, and said, “Is this the one (who is) the wife of the doctor?”’

### 4.6.5 Text displaying identification articulation

Identificational articulation is used at prominent points relative to the theme of the story. It is not used excessively, rather just a few times per story. In the following text it is used three times, twice at the beginning and once in the denouement. Each time identificational articulation serves to set up the principle on which the story hinges.
Identificational articulation is found in two adjoining sentences that set up the issue of following leaders blindly. “Ngiisi kwo ngaaigira, kwo na niinyu mugaaigira” ‘Just as I do, that is how you also, you will do’. Towards the end of the story, they say, “Si we watubwira kwo tukizi gira ngiisi kwo ugakizi gira. ‘You are the one who told us to do just what you will do’. These key thematic points in the text are the only places where identificational articulation is used.

Table 14. Identificational articulation in Ubugeni bwa’mushosi muguma ‘wedding feast of one man’ (T5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mushosi muguma akagira lusiku lukulu hamwage. Analaalika abatuulani, kuguma na’bagingi, na’baami, na’bagunda ikumi, gira bamutabaale mu kuyegereza no’kuzimaana yabo booshi abakalaalikwa.</td>
<td>One man had a feast at his house. And he invited his neighbors, and king’s officials, and the king, together with common people, so that they could help him in welcoming and serving food to all the invited guests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anabwira yabo bagunda kwokuno, “Ndaloziizi mundeeze ishoni imbere lya yabo bandu booshi. Ku yaho, niehe nie mugakizi lolera kwo ikanya mugabayegereza. Ngiisi kwo ngaagira, kwo na niinyu mugaaigira.”</td>
<td>And he told those common people thus, “I don’t want you to shame me before all of those people. Therefore me, I’m the one you should be looking at when you welcome them. Whatever I will do, that is what you also will do.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikanya kyo’kugendi yege reza abageni, anayiteera hambere. Yabo bagunda booshi banamuku likikira. Analamusa yabo bageni, iri anahuniza itwe. Yabo bagunda, nabo banagira kwokwo ikanya bakabalamusa.</td>
<td>When it was time to welcome the guests, he went ahead of them. Those common people followed him. He greeted the guests, bowing the head. Those common people did the same thing when they greeted them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikanya kyo’kuzimaana, yabo bageni kyanakahika. Uyo mushosi, analengeza indaala yo’bundu. Abagunda nabo, banalengeza inyibo za’gandi mandu, banamuku likira.</td>
<td>When it was time to serve the guest food, those commoners arrived. That man picked up the plate of stiff porridge. The commoners picked up other plates of stiff porridge, and followed him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uyo mwene ubugeni, iri akahika imbere lya yabo dbagazimaanwa, anasitara, anayibumulika haashi, ibyokulya byo âli hiiti byanayoneka. Yabo bagunda booshi, banayigvisa nabo, ibyokulya byo bâli hiiti byoshi byanayoneka.</td>
<td>The one giving the feast, when he arrived just in front of the guests, he stumbled, and went crashing down. The food which he had spilled all over. Those commoners all of them, they also fell down, and the food which they had spilled as well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iri akavyuka yaho, anababwira, “Si keera mwanjereegeza ibyokulya bya’bageni.”</td>
<td>When he got up, he said to them, “Look, you have spoiled all my guest food.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yabo bagunda banamubwira, “Si we watubwira kwo tukizi gira ngiisi kwo ugakizi gira.”</td>
<td>Those commoners said to him, “You are the one who told us to do just as you do.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haaho banatondeeza ukuhambanwa. Yabo bageni, banashiiba ni’shali. Uyo mwene ubugeni, anagwatwa ne’shoni.</td>
<td>Then they began to argue. Those guests remained hungry. The one who gave the feast was shamed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ihano: Áhali ikyoba, hatagendwa bwija.</td>
<td>Advice: Where there is fear, things don’t go well.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.6.6 Identificational articulation marking thematic salience

Identificational articulation is a marked form, often occurring at key turning points of the story theme. In T9 the theme is a picky young man looking for a wife. There are forty-one lines altogether, but identificational articulation occurs in only three of them, twice at the beginning where the theme is laid out and once at the end, where the consequences are brought to bear.
The theme of the story is that the man should have chosen a wife the way others do, and not be so picky with his own special criteria. In (74) the phrase *ndaaye munyere ya asiima* ‘there is no girl that he likes’ relates directly to the theme of the story.

(74) *Iri bakamuyereka abanyere booshi mu yako kaaya ke mwabo*

When they showed him girls all in that village of theirs

*anadeta kwo yehe ndaaye munyere ya Asiima.*

he said that HE there is no girl that he likes.

‘When they showed him all the girls in that village of theirs, he said the HE, there is no girl that he likes.’ (T9)

Then in (75) he finally finds a wife that he likes, and which will later bring him great problems *yoyu ye shushiini na maawe* ‘this very one is the one who resembles my mother’.

(75) *Iri akamubona ti “Nanga yoyu ye shushiine na maawe.”*

When he saw her quote Oh my this very one is the one who resembles with my mother.

‘When he saw her he said, “Oh my, this very one is the one that resembles my mother.” ’ (T9)

Towards the end of the story in (76), the theme is salient again, when the men of the village state what he has really brought in the village *Muzimu yugwo aleeta* ‘A devil this one he has brought’.

(76) *Muzimu yugwo aleeta*

A devil that one (which) he brought

‘A devil this one he has brought.’ (T9)

In the story of *Umushosi muhiizi* ‘The man the farmer’, identificational articulation is found at three key points of the developing the theme line. In each case it underscores the fact that the man was counting on one thing and ended up getting something else, which made him say that his son does not listen well. In (77) he shares his expectation that he will eat the rabbit for supper: *ye ngayiji liira ubundu* ‘he is the one that I will eat my stiff porridge with’.

(77) *Ulya mushosi anabwire mugala wage ti: “E mwana wani utwale uyu walukwavu ikaaya ye ngayiji liira ubundu.”*

That man told son of him quote O son of mine take this rabbit home it’s the one I will coming eat with stiff porridge.

‘That man told his son, “O my son, take this rabbit home. It’s what I will eat with my porridge.” ’ (T10)

In (78) the man is bragging that he will not be buying his meat in the market (even if others do), since he has it with him: *Ka nie wasuma ishogo yani?* ‘Am I the one to purchase my meat?’

(78) *Ulya mushosi yaho mu ndalo ti: “Ka nie wasuma ishogo yani.”*

That man there in field quote Q I’m the one I will buy meat of me.

‘That man there in the field said, “Am I the one who will buy my meat?” ’ (T10)

In (79) the man is upset that instead of eating the rabbit, the rabbit has been fed the special rooster: *Ka lulya luhazi lwo mwaniga, lwo mwaheereza walukwavu* ‘That rooster that you butchered, is that the one that you gave the rabbit?’
(79) Ulya mushosi ti “Ka lulya luhazi lwo mwaniga lwo mwaheereza walukwavu?”
That man said Q that rooster which you butchered that is the one that you gave rabbit

‘That man said, “That rooster which you butchered, is that the one that you gave to rabbit?” ’
(T10)

5 Information structure

Information structure\(^{16}\) deals with the way that information is presented in a text. There are three different ‘articulations’. They are presentational, topic comment, and identificational.

**Presentational articulation** involves the introduction of major new participants, typically at the beginning of a narrative text. For example, ‘Once upon a time there were three little bears’ presents ‘the three little bears’ at the end of the clause (section 3.1).

**Topic-comment articulation** deals with the way in which old information (topic) is presented at the beginning of the clause, while new information (comment\(^{17}\)) is presented at the end. In Fuliiru new information may be something not yet mentioned in the text,\(^{18}\) or it may be a new thematic development involving information that has already been mentioned.

It should be noted that the notions of subject/verb/object/oblique are different from the notions of topic/comment. In (80) the subject and the topic happen to be the same, represented by *Umushosi* ‘Man’. This clause follows the default word order, Subject > Verb > Object > Oblique.

(80)  
\[
\begin{array}{l|l|l|l|l}
\text{Subject} & \text{Verb} & \text{Object} & \text{Oblique} \\
\hline
\text{Umushosi, anagendi shiiga ubulembo ku yikyo kiti.} & \text{The man and he went and smeared} & \text{sap on that tree} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The man went and smeared sap on that tree.’

However, the underlying clause actually represents a major new thematic development, as it involves the man setting the trap to catch the rabbit. Thus, in the restructured clause (81), the clause object *yikyo kiti* ‘that tree’ is preposed to the topic position first position in the clause. Incidentally, this kind of preposing only happens at marked (especially high) thematic developments in the story (section 4). The clause subject is still *umushosi* ‘the man’.

(81)  
\[
\begin{array}{l|l|l|l|l|l}
\text{Topic} & \text{Comment} \\
\hline
\text{Object} & \text{Subject} & \text{Verb} & \text{Oblique} \\
\hline
\text{Yikyo kiti, umushosi anagendi kishiiga} & \text{kwo ubulembo} \\
\text{That tree the man and he went smeared it} & \text{with sap} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘That tree, the man went and smeared sap on it.’ (T10)

To mark thematic development, noun phrases can be signaled by a demonstrative pronoun at the end of the clause (the place reserved for new information). In (82) both *yulwo lusiku lukulu* ‘that feast day’ and *yiryo ishala* ‘that feather’ have already been mentioned in the story. Even so, they are allowed to occur at the end of the clause, marked with demonstrative pronouns, since they demonstrate a new thematic development.

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\(^{17}\)Strictly speaking, the new information in a sentence is the ‘focus’; the comment consists of the focus plus (optionally) any other element that is not part of the topic.

\(^{18}\)This may also involve the shared cognitive experience of speaker and hearer.
That lizard and he made that feast with that feather.

‘And the lizard made a feast with that feather.’ (T4 9)

Identificational articulation (section 4.6) reverses the order of topic/comment, with new information being presented first in the clause and old information presented later. For example, in the question ‘Who brought the bread’, it is assumed (old information) that someone brought it. The question is ‘who’, which is at the beginning of the clause. This question is one type of identificational articulation.

The answer ‘It is John who brought this bread’ is also couched in identificational articulation. The noun ‘John’ is the new information, presented at the beginning (not the end) of the sentence, but using a special construction (known as a cleft construction: ‘It is ___ who ___’). This identificational articulation typically comes at points of emphatic prominence in the story.

5.1 Topic-comment articulation: maintaining relative placement of old and new information

The logical sequence in topic-comment articulation is that what is new information in one clause becomes old information in the next clause. This is represented in Table 15. In (a), W is old information and X is new. However, in (b), X₁ is now old information, as it has just been mentioned in the previous clause.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Old information</th>
<th>New information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>X₁</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>Y₁</td>
<td>Z</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is exemplified in Table 16, where the noun phrase guno mugozi ‘this rope’ is new information and is found in the predicate. In (d), as it has already been mentioned, it is now old information and so is preposed to the front of the clause. This helps to mark (d) as a key thematic development.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Old information</th>
<th>New information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>Banabwirane:</td>
<td>And they said to each other:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>&quot;tukale guno mugozi,&quot;</td>
<td>Let’s cut this rope,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>gira tugende tugahiwa walukwavu” in order that we go hunt rabbit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>Yugwo mugozi.</td>
<td>banagukalage.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘And they said to each other, “Let’s cut this rope, so we can go hunt a rabbit.” So they cut the rope.’
When looking at Table 17 we can make several observations.

1. First, old information always occurs before new information.

Topic-comment clauses do not begin with significantly new items. This is true even for *ingoona ‘crocodile’, which is not actually mentioned previously in the text. This is because in the human experience, rivers are assumed to be populated by them. So it is old information in the mental representation of the speakers and hearers. Note also *yukwo *kuhambanwa ‘that fighting’ in line 12 retains old information at the beginning, since it is old information. This is opposed to English, where one would be more inclined to say ‘The reason they died is because they were fighting,’ instead of ‘that fighting of theirs caused them to die.’

New information always occurs at the end of the clause. This includes new thematic developments. For example, in Table 17 new thematic developments are marked by *ku *yikyo *kiti ‘in that tree’ in lines 6 and 9c, as well as *mu *yulwo *lwiji ‘in that river’ in line 10b, since those locative phrases occur in clauses that represent new thematic developments.

2. The preposed *ingoona ‘crocodile’ occurs at the peak of the story.

Table 17. Information placement in *Ibihebe *bibiri *ku *kilalo ‘Two goats on a bridge’ (T1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PoD</th>
<th>Old information</th>
<th>New information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>*Yibyo *bihebe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>*Kiguma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td>*Ne’kindi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b</td>
<td>*Yulwo *lwiji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4c</td>
<td>*abandu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>*Lusiku *luguma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>*Kwokwo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PoD</th>
<th>Old information</th>
<th>New information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>*Hâli riiri</td>
<td>*ibihebe *bibiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>*byâli</td>
<td>*bihwija</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>*kyâli *tuuziri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td>*kyâli *tuuziri</td>
<td>*akandi <em>kajabo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b</td>
<td>*lwâli *tambisirwi</td>
<td><em>kwe’kiti</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4c</td>
<td>*bâli *kizi *tondagira <em>kwo</em></td>
<td><em>kyo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4d</td>
<td>*mu *kulujabuka</td>
<td>*in to *cross <em>it</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>byombo</em></td>
<td>*byanatondeza <em>ukujabuka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><em>byanagwanana</em></td>
<td>*ku *yikyo <em>kiti</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PoD</th>
<th>Old information</th>
<th>New information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7a</td>
<td><em>Ikúlì fìsìri</em></td>
<td><em>kúna bywira</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The one which was fat</td>
<td>and it told</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b</td>
<td><em>---</em></td>
<td><em>kikihindu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>it still cause other to pass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7c</td>
<td><em>---</em></td>
<td><em>kíte yílengera</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>it first pass itself by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a</td>
<td><em>Ikúbo nako</em></td>
<td><em>kúna lahira</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Its fellow and it</td>
<td>and it refused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b</td>
<td><em>---</em></td>
<td><em>mu kúbwira</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>in to tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8c</td>
<td><em>---</em></td>
<td><em>kíbe kíyo kígatee galuka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>it be which it will first return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a</td>
<td><em>Yíbyo bihe byombi</em></td>
<td><em>byanabeera</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Those rams both</td>
<td>and they remained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9b</td>
<td><em>---</em></td>
<td><em>byanatondéka ukúhambanwa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and they began to fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9c</td>
<td><em>---</em></td>
<td><em>bínanémirí</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and they are leaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a</td>
<td><em>Lyéryo</em></td>
<td><em>byanagágika</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Right then</td>
<td>and they were struggling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10b</td>
<td><em>---</em></td>
<td><em>byanatibukíra</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and they fell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>íyúwe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>it heard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11a</td>
<td><em>Ingoona mbu</em></td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crocodile as soon as</td>
<td>&lt; &lt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>iyúwe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11b</td>
<td><em>---</em></td>
<td><em>yanabíbakúla</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td><em>Kwókwo</em></td>
<td><em>yúkuro kúhambanwa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thus</td>
<td>that to fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td><em>Umugání</em></td>
<td><em>Ndátangwe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proverb</td>
<td>I will not be passed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2 Promoting to object, to make room for new focal constituent

Promoting to object involves a rearrangement of clause constituents, effectively taking the focus off the clause-final locative phrase, thus allowing another constituent to be isolated at the end of the clause in focal position.\(^{19}\)

In promoting to object, a trace of the nominal complement of a locative phrase is prefixed in the object slot of the verb. What was formerly the locative marker is then pronominalized by the addition of the previous reference morpheme, and appears as a clitic on the end of the verb or on the following word instead, if there is one.

In (83) the final clause anakizi lufina kwo ‘and he continuously tramples on it’ is derived from the default form anakizi fina ku lwohe ‘and he continuously tramples on IT’, where the oblique occurs at the end of the clause. In effect this oblique is promoted into the verb as an object prefix, so that the verb fin- ‘trample’ can be in focus at the end of the sentence.\(^{20}\)

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Topic} & \text{Comment} \\
\hline
\text{Kiri} & \text{no} & \text{luhu} & \text{lwani} & \text{ali} & \text{mu} & \text{luyaja} & \text{haashi} & \text{anakizi} & \text{lufina = kwo} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

‘Even and my skin, he is spreading it on the ground, and he is repeatedly trampling on it.’

In the thirteen Fuliiru texts, promoting the locative complement to verb object prefix occurs four times. By contrast, there are eighteen instances where the locative phrase complement is specifically mentioned. Thus promoting to object is relatively rare. We will now describe what triggers the dislocation of the locative complement and when the locative phrase complement remains.

In (84) the cl. 9 object prefix gi- in the verb yagiyivudika ‘and he jumped on it’ refers back to the imbongo ‘gazelle’ in the previous clause. Thus it would be superfluous to mention it again so soon.

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Topic} & \text{Comment} \\
\hline
\text{Imbongo} & \text{itayiji} & \text{kiri na kiri} \\
\text{Gazelle} & \text{does not know} & \text{even a little} \\
\hline
\text{Ingwi} & \text{yagiyivudika kwo} \\
\text{Leopard} & \text{jumped it on} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

‘Gazelle did not have any idea. Leopard jumped on it.’ (T2)

In (85) Ihyana ‘the small monkey’, referenced by the cl. 19 subject prefix hy- is the complement of the locative phrase headed by ku in line 11a. Since the monkey has just been mentioned, the hi- is raised to object in the verb twanayami hitibita kwo ‘and we immediately ran after it’.

\(^{19}\)Such preposing followed by later pronominal reference within the sentence to that preposed element is sometimes called left-dislocation (Crystal 2003:262).
\(^{20}\)Although grammatically speaking, the noun is promoted, since the object prefix in the verb has higher grammatical status, in effect it has been demoted, since it is no longer in the position of focus at the end of the clause.
In summary, when the locative phrase complement is raised to verb object prefix, the purpose is to make room at the end of the clause for the new item in focus.

6 Emphatic prominence: anticipating an important event

According to Callow (1998), emphatic prominence is used where “the speaker feels strongly about a particular item, or feels that an event is unexpected.”

Emphatic prominence can be marked in non-quoted speech by the -ag suffix, telling hearers/readers to ‘pay attention’, because something important to the theme of the story is about to happen. Thus this suffix is marked before the actual occurrence and not on it. In informal texts this use of the emphatic suffix commonly occurs ten to twenty times per story. In more formal texts it occurs much less frequently.

Emphatic prominence in quoted speech is used to mark an item that the speaker feels strongly about and thus has an important rhetorical effect.

6.1 Anticipating important event with -ag verbal suffix

In the gloss of Text 10 in Table 18, emphatic prominence (EM) is found five times in the entire story, in 8a, 8c, 10a, 10c, and 13d. In all of these cases the -ag suffix sets up tension before a significant turning point in the story.

In this story the first seven paragraphs show how the man had trapped a rabbit and sent it home with his boy to be prepared for supper. The rabbit tricks the boy into believing that the rabbit should be given guest food. So the rabbit is fed the family rooster and settles down for a nap, while the man returns home.

An EM is found in 8a, where the rabbit has been fed and is now in the guest house. This EM highlights that something critical is about to happen in the story. The man is expecting to be given the rabbit, but instead finds out that the rabbit has tricked him, has eaten his chicken, and is happily sleeping in the guest house. This makes the man furious. After a tight-knit conversation where the man asks the wife about the rabbit and is essentially told that the rabbit has tricked them, the man says in 13c, ‘Where(EM) is he?’ That is just before he makes a grab for the rabbit’s tail but cannot catch him.

It is important to note that in the first seven paragraphs, where the story is being set up, there is no EM. Also at the end of the story, in 14–18, there is no EM. It basically occurs only to spotlight the crucial point in the story when the real struggle actually begins.
Table 18. Emphatic prominence in *Umushosi umuhitzi* ‘The farmer man’ (T10)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Other PoD</th>
<th>Referential PoD</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>There was</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2a)</td>
<td>When it was one day,</td>
<td>that man</td>
<td>went and put a stick in the ground and he put sap on it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>The rabbit, when he came</td>
<td></td>
<td>was stuck with that sap.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4a)</td>
<td>That man</td>
<td>told his son, “Oh my son! Take this rabbit home. I’m going to eat him with my porridge.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4b)</td>
<td>That man</td>
<td>“Oh my son! Take this rabbit home. I’m going to eat him with my porridge.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4c)</td>
<td>That man</td>
<td>“Oh my son! Take this rabbit home. I’m going to eat him with my porridge.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5a)</td>
<td>When they arrived on the road, “O Son”</td>
<td>that rabbit</td>
<td>asked that child, did you hear what your father said?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5b)</td>
<td>And he</td>
<td>“My father said that I carry you home because you he is going to eat you with porridge.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5c)</td>
<td>The rabbit</td>
<td>“No! Your father said that I am his guest. Go tell your mother to grab that rooster in the village, and give it to me, they should butcher it for me when he gets back from the field.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5d)</td>
<td>That son (said)</td>
<td>“Oh! Ok.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6a)</td>
<td>When they got home,</td>
<td>that son told his mother to grab that rooster they give it to rabbit, since his father is coming home.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6b)</td>
<td>Rabbit</td>
<td>grabbed that rooster and she slaughtered it, and he served it to the rabbit they placed him in the guest house.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7a)</td>
<td>His mother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7b)</td>
<td>Rabbit</td>
<td>grabbed that rooster and she slaughtered it, and he served it to the rabbit they placed him in the guest house.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7c)</td>
<td>The rabbit, when it was EM in the guest house, already nice and full</td>
<td>it dug a hole and it reached outside. and it remained EM there, sleeping next to its hole.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7d)</td>
<td>The rabbit</td>
<td>“Am I the one to buy meat Am I going to eat it at night?” and he went home.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8a)</td>
<td>That man in the field (said): “Am I the one to buy meat Am I going to eat it at night?”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8b)</td>
<td>And he reached EM home</td>
<td>and they gave him water and he washed the mud from his hands and feet. Give me food. And they gave him food.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8c)</td>
<td>And he said EM:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9a)</td>
<td>When he was given porridge and leaves</td>
<td>“What! Did I send for leaves? It’s true that I left my meat here. Where did it go?”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
His wife (said):  
"Is there food here that you sent for? It's obvious your son brought a guest here. He said that we grab that rooster of yours, and serve it as guest food to him."

That man (said):  
Quote  
"Is it that rooster that you butchered, and it's the one you gave rabbit?"
Quote  
"Yes"
"Where EM is he?"
"That one is sleeping over there in the guest house."

As soon as he reached the door  
he jumped right into that hole.

That man  
grabbed the tail.  
"There was one who grabbed a root, thinking that he has grabbed rabbit."

The rabbit  
immediately appeared outside.

That man  
remained complaining that his son has no ears.

The story  
that is where it ends like rain. That's where it comes to an end.

### 6.1.1 Rules for suffix -ag in non-quoted material

When used with verbs other than commands in reported speech, -ag means ‘pay attention’, building up tension just before a thematically salient event. In this way, the suffix -ag has a function similar to that of the Greek particles idou/ide (Van Otterloo 1988). The emphatic -ag is used with this function especially in narratives of informal register. The frequency with which -ag is used in this way is proportional to the degree of the informality of style: the more informal the story, the more the EM is used.

In (86) there are three instances of the suffix -ag, in anahikage ‘and he arrived’, anayifundage ‘and he went inside uninvited’, and anabwirage ‘and he told’. The actions of these verbs are not in themselves prominent, but they set up the listener to pay attention to what follows, that is, he has brought a wife and there is a problem with her, so that the young man will not eat in the place where others normally eat.

(86)  
Anahikage ha mwabo hikola hihwehwerwe.  
And he arrived(EM) at home it is now dusk.

Anayifundage(mu nyumba anabwirage nyina ti "E maawe  
And he barged(EM) into house and he told(EM) his.mother quote O my.mother

naleta umuhya. Mumbeereze ibyokulya.”  
I have brought new.bride Give me food.

‘And he arrived at their place, it is now dusk. And he went straight into the house, and he told his mother, “O mother, I have brought a new bride. Give me some food.” ’ (T9)

In (87) the emphatic -ag extension is found suffixed to the verbal auxiliary ba ‘to become’ (here in the reduplicated form -agag, because this is a single syllable verb root). The fact that they finished the food is not important, but what follows is very important; the father begins to dance with the daughter and to brag about how clever he was in tricking his wife. This leads to his demise.
When they had already finished eating the food her husband went and took that child and danced and danced [with her].

In (88) -ag occurs only once, where it is found in akakulikiraga ‘he had followed’. Again, there is nothing at all thematic about this verb, except that its emphatic suffix indicates that the climactic episode is about to begin. Because -ag appears on verbs which lead up to the climactic point in the narrative, it is commonly found on verbs of motion, such as kulikira ‘follow’, genda ‘go’, jabuka ‘cross over’, hika ‘arrive’, fuluka ‘return from work’, and gwata injira ‘set out on path’. In each case when such a verb is marked, something important is about to happen in the story.

6.1.2 Rules for suffix -ag in speech quotes

When found within direct speech quotes, the emphatic -ag extension means ‘pay attention’, adding emphasis to a command. Used with this meaning, it rarely occurs more than once or twice per story. In one story (89) it is employed once at the beginning of the climax section, where the quail tells the snake Tuluukaga ‘get down!’

And it told that snake, “Get down(EM).” ’ (T3)

In (90) the harvesters command utuheerezagya zo ‘you give them to us!’ Here again, -ag gives emphasis to a command.

Those harvesters told him, “Give them to us(EM)!” ’

6.2 Emphatic prominence with cl. 16 ha- prefix

In addition to employing the suffix -ag to for emphasis in anticipating an important event, Fuliiru also indicates an important event by means of the cl. 16 locative marker ha-, e.g. ha lwiji ‘at the river’. This is in contrast to the use of the cl. 23 prefix i- in the same place, i rwiji ‘at the river’.

The first component of meaning of ha- can be expressed abstractly as ‘at the location where X’. This meaning is relatively straightforward, identifying a location by simply linking it to a referent occurring at that location. The referent can be a noun like mulyango ‘door’ or lwiji ‘river’, as in the locative phrases

21 In this example orthographical constraints cause it to be followed by the ‘repeated causative’ morpheme -y because of the lexicalized causative in heerez ‘give’.
ha mulyango ‘at the door’ and ha lwiji ‘at the river’. It can also be an isolated position noun like mbere ‘front’, as in the phrase hambere ‘at the place ahead’, or a position noun with a complement as in habutambi lya'mutumba gwa nyina ‘at the place beside the corpse of its (an animal’s) mother’.

In addition to that first component, the locative marker ha- marks a location or setting in the narrative where a significant new development of the story theme is about to take place. That development often, but not always, involves the emergence of an important participant. By marking such a location by ha-, the speaker is in effect shining a spotlight on that place in the story, encouraging the hearer to pay special attention to what is coming.22

Evidence for this text-oriented analysis of the cl. 16 ha- marker is seen by observing the occurrence of the cl. 16 ha- vis-à-vis the alternative cl. 23 locative marker i-, which occurs within the same general environment but which lacks the semantic component of thematic development. Such evidence is abundant, as the locative markers ha- and i- occur frequently throughout Fuliiru texts.

The next two examples show a minimal pair between the ‘position nouns’23 hanyuma ‘behind’ and inyuma ‘behind’. In (91) the cl. 16 marker ha- occurs before nyuma ‘behind’ in the locative phrase hanyuma lye'nyumba ‘at the place (TDM) behind the house’. That place behind the house is marked by ha- because it is the location where a significant thematic development in the story is about to occur, i.e. where the young king is suddenly and unpredictably seized by a python.

(91) Uyo mwani musore, anasookera hanyuma lye nyumba. That king young_man turned behind TDM of house.

Ishato, yanamúgwata, yanamúyizingira kwo, yanamútimba haashi. python grabbed him and wrapped itself around him there and threw him on ground.

‘That young king turned the corner behind the house. A python grabbed him, and wrapped itself around him, and threw him down.’

By contrast, in (92) the cl. 23 locative marker i- occurs with nyuma ‘behind’, but it does not mark a place where thematic development will take place. The wife was simply following behind, and when her husband encountered the first trap, he saw it had not sprung. This does not represent a new thematic development.

(92) Uyo mukazi naye anagenda inyuma lye gutu-luto. Yiba iri akahika

That woman she also went behind him unobtrusively. Her husband when he arrived

ku mutego gwa mbere, anagwana gutahuka. at trap of first he encountered it has not sprung.

‘That woman and she also went behind him unobtrusively. Her husband, when he arrived at the first trap, he found it had not sprung.’

7 Reported speech

The following features of reported speech will be studied:

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22This discourse meaning of the cl. 16 locative prefix ha- is very similar to the meaning of the thematic development marking implied by demonstrative pronouns, i.e. both mark a new thematic development. The main difference is that ha- refers to the location where a new thematic development takes place, whereas the demonstrative TDMs commonly allude to an already mentioned discourse participant that is involved in a new thematic development. 23Position nouns are sometimes referred to in the literature as ‘prepositions’.
a. Indirect and direct speech: in general, indirect quotes occur in background material or in sections of the text that are not critical to the development of the story theme; direct speech reporting is more prominent and generally occurs on the event line.

b. Speech introducers or the lack of them: *kwo* ‘that’ is used in indirect speech; direct speech includes *kwokuno* ‘like this’, which is a marked form and relatively rare. The introducer *mbu* marks a speech quote about which there is doubt. Another quote marker *ti* occurs elsewhere, especially in tight-knit conversations.

c. Tight-knit conversations involve a set of exchanges between the same two persons (A and B). In Fuliiru, typically, the first speech in the set is introduced with a subject noun or noun phrase, a speech verb, and the mention of the hearer. In the reply, the speaker is often referred to by a shortened form, the speech verb is usually absent altogether, and the quote marker *ti* is employed. This stripped-down version then continues throughout the tight-knit conversation. When a new conversation is begun, (e.g. between A and C) the first speech of the set occurs again with the fuller forms.

d. In relatively rare cases, the speakers are not mentioned, as they are already known. In such cases, usually at points of high tension, there a speech verb or speech introducers. All that occurs are the spoken words themselves. For example, “Go!”, “No I won’t.”, “Please go, before it's too late!”, and “I already told you that I won’t.”

7.1 Text displaying reported speech

Table 19 displays the dynamic English back-translation of an entire Fuliiru text. Indirect quotes are presented in bold and italic font, whereas direct quotes are presented in just bold font. In the left-most column, the speakers for each tight-knit conversation are identified. In the second column, the speaker in the subject column is identified, if expressly mentioned. Following that is the column for the speech verb, if present. Then comes the quote marker. For columns 2, 3, and 4, if there is no item present, that fact is marked by dashes (---).

Table 19. Reported speech in *Umutabana ukalahira abanyere* ‘The man who refused to marry girls’ (T9)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speakers</th>
<th>Speech orienters</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Speakers</strong></td>
<td><strong>Speech orienters</strong></td>
<td><strong>Text</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Speaker</td>
<td>Speech verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>said</td>
<td><em>kwo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>said</td>
<td><em>kwo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man to himself</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man and girl</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>told</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naye</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>ti</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>ti</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speakers</td>
<td>Speech orienters</td>
<td>Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Speaker verb     | Quote marker     | (g) That young man ‹quote› “Oh surely. Will you be too much for me to take across the river?” In the river kagata-kagata, the river vwo vwo vwo, and they crossed the river.
|                  |                  | (h) When they reached the other side, the new wife ‹quote› “Oh my! Will the new wife get down here? You take me to the house. Me the new wife, would I go with my feet again, we who are the ones now about to go to the village?”
|                  |                  | (i) That young man ‹quote› “No, we will go.”
| man and mother   | told ti         | (j) And he arrived at their place at dusk, and he went into the house. And he told his mother ‹quote› “O my mother, I’ve brought the new bride. You give me some food.”
|                  |                  | (k) His mother ‹quote› “Will you not eat in here?”
|                  |                  | (l) And he ‹quote› “Oh no! You bring (it) to me in here.”
| man and wife     | to tell          | (m) To tell the young wife, “Get down from the back!”
|                  |                  | (n) “It’s obvious I will not get down!”
|                  |                  | (o) “Get down from the back.”
|                  |                  | (p) “It’s obvious I will not get down!” And he spent the night with her on his back, and he spent the day with her on his back. A week puu, month puu! O comrades! Oh my! The person will die!
| man and other men| said ti         | (q) That news, they took it to other men. Those men, when they heard it, they said ‹quote› “Oh my! What he has brought is a demon! That’s right! A demon. Yes!”
|                  |                  | (r) Others ‹quote› “How are you going to get rid of it?” As soon as they try something, no results!
| other men        | told ti         | (s) Other men told them ‹quote› “You get a big bull, a bull which you castrated, one that now has much fat. Let him take it (demon) right there where he got her. You go and slaughter that bull for her, and you place all of that meat, and the fatty intestine, and the fatty intestine, on the fire.”
|                  |                  | Ok then! They led that young man and that bull to the river, and they took it under that tree, and they stabbed the knife into it. The fatty intestine they piled up on the fire; that bull began to cook; roasting odor kept being smelled.
| man and wife     | told kwokwo     | (t) That young man told her, “Roast it well, don’t burn it! Roast it well, don’t burn it!”
|                  |                  | (u) In saying like this, “Roast it well, don’t burn it,” that’s when that demon pulled out her fingernails.
|                  |                  | That demon, when she sensed that the roasting smell was really very sweet in her nose, she immediately flew right to that meat! That young man immediately left there with those people, and they immediately dashed off and they crossed that river and they went home. So that demon remained among that meat. That’s where the story finishes and that’s where it ends.
7.2  Reported speech conventions followed in this text

This text provides a good example of typical Fuliiru speech patterns.

7.2.1  Direct/indirect speech reporting.

In general, indirect speech tends to be used for backgrounded material, which functions to set up the story and which is given less prominence. Direct speech tends to occur in non-background material. In the introductory background to the story, indirect speech is used. Later in the event line, direct speech is used.

7.2.2  Quote markers

In Table 19 we find the quote markers kwo, ti, and kwokwo.

• The quote marker kwo ‘that’ is used to introduce indirect speech in items (a) and (b).
• The marker kwokwo (or kwokuno) ‘like this’ is used emphatically for direct speech in (u). This occurs near the peak of the story.

This speech introducer occurs about once or twice per story, and always at a thematic high point. In (93) it occurs in a story where young men are trying to court the beautiful young lady. At first many of the men begin to chase her but are distracted when money is thrown on the ground. But in line 21 of that story, another young man says kwokuno ‘like this’ “I won’t look at the money. I will just grab her, so I can go home with her.” This reported speech occurs at a key point in the development of the story theme, just before the peak and thus is introduced with kwokuno.

(93)  Muguma wa yabo batabana anayitoneesa kwokuno: Njehe ndagalola ku fwaranga,

One of those young men though like this ME I will not look to money

ngamígwata naaho, gira nimutaahane.
I will grab her just in order I take her home.
‘One of those young men thought to himself like this, “ME, I will not look at the money. I will just grab her and take her home.”’

• The quote marker ti ‘that’ is used often in direct speech (c, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, q, r, and s) but not always (d) and (t). This marker is especially used in informal (relaxed) speech and increases vividness.
• In some cases no quote markers are used at all in a vivid exchange. In (m, n, o, and p) the speech participants, that is, the man and his wife are introduced in (m): To tell the young wife, “Get down from the back!” As they argue back and forth, to introduce them again would be heavy and superfluous. So just their words are presented, in two exchanges, “It’s obvious I will not get down!” “Get down from the back.” “It’s obvious I will not get down!”

7.2.3  Tight-knit conversations

Tight-knit conversations take place between the same speakers, in a continued exchange back and forth. In Table 19 each of these tight-knit conversations is separated by a line. The first line of each set is found in (d), (j), (m), and (q). Each set represents a different set of people, e.g. the man and girl first converse back and forth. Then the man begins to converse back and forth with his mother. Then he converses back and forth with his wife. Then he converses with the other men.

In each of these cases the speech verb is typically found in the first speech of the set. In the subsequent speeches of that set, there is no speech verb. The speaker is mentioned either by a noun phrase, e.g. ‘his mother’, or by a shortened version, e.g. na wa naye ‘and of him’.
8 Interjections for communicating emotion, or implications

Interjections refer “to a class of words which...do not enter into syntactic relationships with other classes, and whose function is purely emotive” (Crystal 2003:239). Interjections, like ideophones, typically occur in the clause margin (outside of the SVO Oblique clause).

Interjections differ from ideophones: (a) they rarely involve the speech orienters ti, nbu, and ngu, (b) they are rarely related to an equivalent verb form, and (c) most interjections are found within speech quotes.

In (94) the interjection *Ehee!* ‘Oh my!’ occurs at the beginning of the clause, before the verb *twasigala* ‘we have remained’.

(94) *Ehee! Twasigala. Keera abandi bagenda.*

Oh dear! We have remained. Already others have gone.

‘Oh dear! We have remained behind. The others have already gone.’

The high-pitched, often repeated interjection *awi yiyi yiyi* ‘ululation’ is usually performed by women at celebrations. The action itself is termed *ukubanda akabuuli* ‘to ululate’. In (95) a child is born and thus the women break out in ululation.

(95) *Awi yiyi yiyi! Ulame e mwana wani!* Ululation! You live long oh child of mine

‘Ululation! May you live long, oh my child!’

8.1 Examples from a complete text

In the following text in Table 20, ideophones and interjections are found in the two columns around the main body of text. This is presented to show how often ideophones and interjections can occur in a text. Short comments are found in the right-hand column.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Interjections</th>
<th>Other text</th>
<th>Ideophones</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1a)</td>
<td><em>Hâli riiri umutabana muguma, úkalooza ukuyanga umukazi.</em> There was one young man, who wanted to marry a woman.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Uyo mutabana, iri bakamuyereka abanye booshi mu yako kaaya ke’mwabo, anadeta kwo yehe ndaaye munyere ya’siima.</em> That young man, when they showed him all the young girls in that village of theirs, he said the HE, there’s no girl that he likes.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Anadeta kwo yehe, akwiriiri ukuyanga umukazi ñushishiine na nyina, na we’kiimo ikiri nga kya nyina.</em> And he said that HE he must marry a woman who resembles his mother, and with a body like that of his mother.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None in this background material (1a–2b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td>Interjections</td>
<td>Other text</td>
<td>Ideophones</td>
<td>Comments</td>
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<td>-------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2a)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Uyo mutabana anagendaga iranda.</em> That young man went off.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Anagendaga agaloosa abakazi, atanababona.</em> He went looking for women, and he did not find them.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3a)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Iri hakaba lusiku luguma, ngwa’jabukage ulwiji, ahumaana umunyere abwatiri mwidako lye’kiti.</em> When it was one day, just as he was crossing the river, he encountered a young girl sitting under a tree.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(3b)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Iri akamubona, ti:</em> When he saw her, quote:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3c)</td>
<td>“Nanga!” “No!”</td>
<td><em>“Yoyu ye’shushiini na maawe, no’mutumba nga gwa maawe.”</em> “This very one is resembling my mother, and with a body like that of my mother.”</td>
<td>Interjection</td>
<td>Nanga ‘No’ at inciting moment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4a)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ulya mutabana anamubwire:</em></td>
<td>Noun of direct address, where the man commits himself to trouble</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4b)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>“E munyere! Nakusima, namu kuyanga.”</em> “O girl! I like you, I am about to marry you.”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4c)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Naye ti:</em> And she, quote:</td>
<td>Interjection</td>
<td>‘Yes’, seals her part of the deal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4d)</td>
<td>“Ee!” “Yes!”</td>
<td><em>“Unyange!”</em> You marry me!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4e)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Banagwatage injira.</em> And they took to the path.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(5a)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Iri bakahika mu njira, banahika ku lwiji, ulya munyere ti:</em> When they arrived in the path, they reached the river. That young girl, quote:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5b)</td>
<td>“Nanga!” “No!”</td>
<td><em>“Niehe ndagajabuka ulwiji!”</em> Me, I will not cross the river!</td>
<td>First hint of trouble</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5c)</td>
<td><em>Si</em> It’s obvious</td>
<td><em>umbeeke imugongo</em> Carry me on the back.”</td>
<td>Strong conjunction <em>si.</em> She tells him to place her where she will not leave</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5d)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ulya mutabana ti:</em> That young man, quote:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5e)</td>
<td>“E mama!” “No problem!”</td>
<td><em>“Ka uganyabiraga ukufubula ulwiji!”</em> Will it defeat me to cross the river!”</td>
<td>Interjection where man agrees to her trick and puts her on his back</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td>Interjections</td>
<td>Other text</td>
<td>Ideophones</td>
<td>Comments</td>
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<tr>
<td>(5f)</td>
<td>Ulya mutabana anamubiike i mugongo.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>That young man put her on the back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6a)</td>
<td>Mu lwiji,</td>
<td>kagata-kagata.</td>
<td>Ideophone of churning through water. Adds vividness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6b)</td>
<td>Ulwiji,</td>
<td>vwo vwo vwo.</td>
<td>Ideophone of water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6c)</td>
<td>Banajabuka ulwiji.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>And they crossed the river.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7a)</td>
<td>Iri bakahikaga ikajabo, umuhya ti:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>When they crossed, the young woman, quote:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7b)</td>
<td>&quot;Ehee! &quot;Oh my!</td>
<td>&quot;Ka umuhya agashonookera hano? Will the young wife get down here?</td>
<td></td>
<td>Interjection when wife refuses to get down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7c)</td>
<td>Umbise mu nyumba.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bring me to the house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7d)</td>
<td>Nie muhya. Ka ngagendaga na'magulu kandi, twe tukola tugagenda ha kaaya?&quot; Me the wife, will I go by my feet again, and we are going home?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(7e)</td>
<td>Ulya mutabana ti:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>That young man, quote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7f)</td>
<td>&quot;Nanga! &quot;No! tugagenda. &quot; we will go.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Man still agrees to her trick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8a)</td>
<td>Anahikage hamwabo hikola hihwehwerwe, anayifundage mu nyumba.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>And he reached their place, it is now dark, and he thrust himself into the house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8b)</td>
<td>Anabwirage nyina ti:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>And he told the mother quote:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8c)</td>
<td>&quot;E maawe! Naleeta umuhya. &quot;O mother! I have brought a young wife.</td>
<td>Greets mother, which adds to irony</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8d)</td>
<td>Mumbeereze ibyokulya.&quot; Give me food.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(8e)</td>
<td>Nyina ti, &quot;Ka utagaliira muno?&quot; His mother quote, “Will you not eat in here?”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(8f)</td>
<td>Na wa naye ti: And he, quote:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8g)</td>
<td>&quot;Nanga! &quot;No! Undeetere muno.&quot; Bring it to me in here.&quot;</td>
<td>A strong negative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td>Interjections</td>
<td>Other text</td>
<td>Ideophones</td>
<td>Comments</td>
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<tr>
<td>(9a)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Kubwiraga umuhya, “Shonookaga ku mugongo!”</em> To tell the young bride, “Get down from the back!”</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(9b)</td>
<td>“<em>Si</em>” “It’s obvious”</td>
<td>“Ndagashonooka!” I will not get down.”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9c)</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Shonooka ku mugongo!” “Get down from the back!”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9d)</td>
<td>“<em>Si</em>” “It’s obvious”</td>
<td>“Ndagashonooka!” I will not get down!”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10a)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Anamulaalane ku mugongo, anamushiibane ku mugongo.</em> And she spent the night with him on the back, and she spent the day with him on the back.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(10b)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Iyinga,</em> A week</td>
<td><em>puu!</em></td>
<td>Ideophone makes the problem vivid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10c)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Mwezi,</em> A month</td>
<td><em>puu!</em></td>
<td>Another ideophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10d)</td>
<td><em>E balya! Ye!</em> O comrades! Oh my!</td>
<td><em>Umundu agaafwa!</em> The man will die!</td>
<td></td>
<td>Noun of direct address and interjection to highlight problem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11a)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Yugwo mwazi banaguhisa mu bandi bashosi.</em> That news, they brought it to other men.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11b)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Yabo bashosi iri bakaguyuwa, banadeta ti:</em> Those men, when they heard it, they said, quote:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11c)</td>
<td>“<em>Yehee!</em>” “Oh dear!”</td>
<td>“<em>Muzimu yugwo aleeta!</em>” A demon (is) that one which he has brought.”</td>
<td></td>
<td>Interjection to explain real problem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11d)</td>
<td>“<em>Eego!</em>” “Really!” “<em>Ee!</em>” “Oh my!”</td>
<td><em>Muzimu!</em>” A demon!”</td>
<td></td>
<td>Another interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11e)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A third interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12a)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Abandi ti, “Kutagi mugagusaaza?”</em> Others, quote, “How will we get rid of it?”</td>
<td><em>shoobe!</em></td>
<td>Interjection shows frustration when trying to solve problem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12b)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Mbu bagirage yaga,</em> As soon as they tried something,</td>
<td><em>no way!</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13a)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Abandi bashosi banababwira ti, “Muyabiire ifizi, shuuli yo mukasayula, inakoli hiite amavuta mingi, ashubi gutwala haahalya akagusaaza.</em> Other men said, quote, “Go get a bull, which has much fat, he should take it to where he got it (demon).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13b)</td>
<td></td>
<td>“<em>Mugire mugendi gubaagira iyo shuuli, munabìike yizo nyama zooshi, no’lusha no’lusha ku muliro.</em>” “Go and butcher that bull, and put all that meat, together with the fat, and the fat, on the fire.”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td>Interjections</td>
<td>Other text</td>
<td>Ideophones</td>
<td>Comments</td>
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<tr>
<td>(14a)</td>
<td>Aaho! OK then!</td>
<td>Ulya mutabana ne'lya shuuli, banagihis-gya mwidako bya kirya kiti, banagilundaga ikeeta, ulusha banalugungike ku shaali, irya shuuli inatondeerage ukuhiri nga, umushiriri gwanakizi laka.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Interjection to enhance vividness when the solution begins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(15a)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ulya mutabana anakizagi gubwira, “Uyokye bwija, waqasiriiza! Uyokye bwija, waqasiriiza!”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(15b)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mu kudeta kwokwo, “Uyokye bwija, waqasiriiza” gulya muzimu nagwo iri gunakuulaga inyuunu zaagwo.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16a)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yugwo muzimu iri gukayuvwa</td>
<td>ngana really</td>
<td>Strong adverb ngana at climax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16b)</td>
<td></td>
<td>umushiriri gwanuna bweneene mwi'zuulu, the barbecue smell is very sweet in the nose, gwanayami balala, it immediately flew na ku zirya nyama! to those meats!</td>
<td>ngana really</td>
<td>Strong adverb ngana repeated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16c)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngana really</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(17a)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ulya mutabana anayama agashaaga yaho na yabo bandu, banayam-age bagapuumuka, banajabuka lulya bwiji, banataaha.</td>
<td></td>
<td>This is post-peak (denouement), with the following event automatic (thus no tension)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(17b)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kwokwo yugwo muzimu gwanasigalaga mu yizo nyama. Thus that demon remains with that meat.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(18a)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ho lufumo ho luhekera na ho luhumbira. That’s where the story finishes, and that’s where it finishes like rain leaving.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Nanga does not really mean ‘no’ here, but rather is an expression of emotion.
8.2 Some common interjections

Table 21. Common interjections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>Related verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Comfort, empathy</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uushi uushi</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘comfort a child, stop crying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yoo</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘empathy, shock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Deny</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoobe-hoobe</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘deny’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuutu-kuutu</td>
<td>yikutumula</td>
<td>‘deny with the armpit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Delight</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awiyiyiyi</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘ululation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aq</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘be pleased, agree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shosho</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘now free of troubles, it is finished’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Disgust</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘show disgust’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halibwi</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘show surprise, point out weakness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Emotion</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hee hehee yehee ehee</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘emotion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Frustration</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alaanie</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘(Look at me!) anxiety of women’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoobe</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘word to communicate inability’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shosho hongere</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘a frustrated person, like not giving birth, etc.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Implication</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aaho</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘OK then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kizima</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘so now (be happy about the suffering of another)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maashi</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘for goodness sake (shaming someone)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbambwe</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘not really! (contradicting someone else)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Provocation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fyó-fyó</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘word of challenge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~fyó-fyó</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘one says fyó-fyó, another gaago, fighting starts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moo</td>
<td>mooomola</td>
<td>‘laughing and the mouth wide open’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juuji</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘cause jealousy because of what you are eating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Scorn</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e bobo</td>
<td></td>
<td>a woman’s small word of scorn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoonyo</td>
<td>honyoleza</td>
<td>‘poking fun, mocking of each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyehye</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘mocking laughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niip</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘derision (grab tooth as if tossing it out)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umm</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘want to do something, others think he is unable’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yoho ~ yuhu</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘shame one who is doing what is not acceptable’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yubububu ~ yurururu</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘scorn (while hitting upper lip with fingers)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 8.3 Sample interjections in sentences

In (96) *Halibwi* ‘how stupid’ is used to expressed contempt at someone else’s stupidity.

(96) “*Halibwi! Si keera wayihana wenyene, wayiba la umwazi.*”

_How stupid! It’s obvious that already you have punished yourself you have disclosed news._

‘How stupid! It’s obvious that already you have punished yourself you have disclosed news.’

The interjection *yoo* ‘oh no!’ is an expression of empathy and shock. In (97) it is used when the woman discovers that her husband has turned into a gazelle.

(97) _Uyo muhyakazi anatondeeza ukulira kwokuno “Yoo! Biki ibyandeta wee?”_ That new wife began to cry like this Oh.my What has brought me oh.my

_Yibanie keera ahinduka mbongo!”_ My husband already has turned into gazelle!

‘That young wife, began to cry like this, “Oh my! What has brought me? Oh my! My husband has already turned into a gazelle!”’

The interjection *aaho* ‘OK then’ is used to shame people into accepting a statement as true. It communicates that given the facts, the conclusion or implication, is obvious. In (98) *aaho* is used to allow the people to draw their own conclusions.

(98) “*Aaho! Bwo moyiji kwo mushosi atabuta bikagi mwakumanira yaho?”_ OK then! Since you know that man does not give birth why did you gather there

‘OK then! Since you know that a man does not give birth, for what are you gathering together there?’

The interjection *kizima* ‘so now, therefore’ means prerequisites have been met, so now what is due is being claimed. In (99) *kizima* implies that the first man should be given the child, as the other has already been given half of the country.
“Ngaaleka ngakuheeresa kihugo luhande. Kizima, umbeereze uyu mwana.”
I will allow I will give you country half so now give me this child

‘I will allow to give you half of the country, so now give me this child.’

The interjection maashi ‘for goodness sake, listen (with shaming)’ is one of supplication, based on the hearer’s conscience. It implies that something is obviously in order and the hearer should follow through. In (100) others have already tried and so the speakers says maashi ‘let me try too’.

“E balya maashi! Muleke naani ndee geza ukudeta.”
Oh comrades for goodness sake Allow and me I first attempt to speak.

‘O comrades, for goodness sake! Allow me also, to first try to speak.’

The interjection mbambwe ‘not really!’ expresses a contradiction of what has been said. In (101) the person says that he did not hit him. The form mbambwe ‘not really!’ implies a contradiction to this statement.

Adeta kwa atamúshulika Mbambwe! Amúshulika ma.
He said that he did not hit him. Not really! He has hit him confirmation

‘He said that he did not hit him. Not really! He has hit him all right.’

In (102) the interjection hoobe-hoobe implies that an ‘oath is taking place’.

“Hoobe-hoobe! Ndali na misi ya kulwa.”
I swear, I swear I am not with strength of to fight.

‘I swear, I swear! I have no strength to fight.’

In (103) the interjection kuutu-kuutu signifies an ‘oath (or swearing)’, which is established by moving the elbow of the bent arm up and down.

“E mwana! Kuutu-kuutu! Nalahira ku byani.”
O child I swear I refuse to my matters.

‘O child, I deny (by waving armpit)! I deny relative to my matters.’

In (104) the interjection fyo-fyo ‘dare, dare’ is one that dares another to make a belligerent move. If that person does, then a fight will ensue.

“Ushubi deta fyo-fyo, ubone kwo ngakugira!”
The one who says dare-dare You see what I will do to you.

‘Just say again “I dare you!” You will see what I will do to you!’

The interjection honyo is a term of derision, related to the verb -honyoleza- ‘to disparage, taunt’. In (105) it can be roughly translated ‘Nya nya!’

“Iri gukabona kwo litatami yishagania gwanali honyoletza gwanadeta “Honyo! ”
When it saw that it would not dare to shake itself it disparaged it and it said Nyanja!

‘When it (cl. 3) saw that it (cl. 5) would not dare to still shake itself, it disparaged it and it said, “Nya nya!”’

In (106) The interjection niino is one of derision, where the speaker is poking fun at the hearer. When niino is used the finger is placed on the upper two front teeth and flicked out, implying that I will not give you anything, even as small as a tooth.
(106) *Hyana* *kimaamira* kwo, *hyanadeta* “*Niino! Walumuuka.*”

And it scampered up to and it said Too bad You’ve got no gain.

‘It scampered up (the tree), and it said, “Too bad! You’ve got no gain.”’

In (107) the high-pitched interjection *yoho* ~ *yuhu* ‘shame’ is one of contempt, confirming that the addressee is being shamed.

(107) “*Yoho! Ishoni zigakugwata! Abandu bagakushekera.*”

Shame! Humiliation will seize you. People will laugh at you.

‘Shame! Humiliation will seize you! People will laugh at you.’

In (108) the alternate pronunciation *yuhu* ‘shame!’ is used.

(108) “*Yuhu! Ania mu njira!.*”

Shame! She has defecated in path

‘Shame! She has defecated in the path!’

In (109) the interjection *yubububu* ~ *yurururu* involves poking fun. When either of these words are spoken, the speaker also taps the side of his own mouth repeatedly with his hand or wrist.

(109) “*Yubu-bubu! Ka mwangayuvwa?*”

Oh, brother! Would you hear that?

‘Oh brother! Would you listen to that?’

The interjection *ararara* ‘ai yai yai’ is used when one is in deep pain, as in (110).

(110) “*Ararara! Keera nayitema. Nayikomeresa.*”

Ai yai yai Already I have cut myself. I have injured myself.

‘Ai yai yai! I have already cut myself! I’ve injured myself!’

The interjection *alaanie* is probably derived from the informal *ala* ‘look’ and *nie* ‘me’, i.e. ‘just look at me’ and is usually used in a negative context, as an expression of dismay. In (111) the effect is to say ‘Look! Hey! I am now in need!’

(111) “*Alaanie we! Nagoorwa kwokuno!*”

Look at me! Hey I am in need now!

‘Look at me hey! I am in need now!’

In (112) the interjection *yayebe* ‘oh no’ is used to express ‘anxiety and despair’.

(112) “*Yayebe! Birya bindu byahomba.*”

Oh no Those things have suffered loss.

‘Oh no! Those things have suffered loss.’

In (113) the interjection *yohowe* ‘oh my!’ expresses anxiety over the fact that the person got lost.

(113) “*Yohowe! Wehe watereka.*”

Oh my You have gotten lost.

‘Oh my! YOU have gotten lost.’

The interjection *kiziga* means ‘surprise!’ In (114) *kiziga* is used to convey the surprise the person felt to find Beard hiding in the field.
Anayegeera mukati ke ndalo. Kiziga! Lwanwa abishamiri mwo.

And he came in middle of field. Surprise Beard he is hiding in there.

‘He neared the middle of the field. Surprise Beard was hiding in there.’

The interjection e after a noun of direct address, means ‘look out’ or ‘pay attention’, e.g. E mwana e ‘O child, look out!’ E mushosi e ‘o man, look out!’ E mukazi e ‘O woman, look out!’, etc. In (115) the e after mwana ‘child’ is a warning for the child to look out.

‘O child look out! Leave there!, He is going to seize you.’

In (116) the e after mukazi ‘woman’ is also a warning for the woman to be alert.

‘O woman, look out! Your husband has come.

9 Ideophones for communicating vividness

Ideophones are “any vivid (ideophonic) representation of an idea in sound, such as occurs through onomatopoeia” (Crystal 2003:225). In other words, ideophones normally mimic the sound of what they are describing, making the description somehow more vivid. When ideophones are included in texts, readers often express that it helps them to smell or feel or touch what is being described. The use of ideophones helps to keep listeners and readers stay engaged with the story.

Ideophones are often introduced by quote makers, e.g. ti, mbu, and ngu which means there is a relation between direct speech and ideophones. In addition, many ideophones are reduplicated.

Ideophones usually occur in the sentence margin (outside of the SVO Oblique clause) usually at the end of the clause, but not always.

Ideophones are usually associated with equivalent verbs. In the random sample in Table 22, not counting animal noises, fully 52 of 70 ideophones, or 74 percent, have equivalent verbal forms. For example koto ‘sound of tree breaking’ is related to kotoka ‘to break (of a dry tree)’. Likewise matu-matu ‘sound of eating’ is related to matula ‘to make noise when eating’.

Ideophones are commonly used to describe the sounds of acting irresponsibly, animal sounds, being bitten, breaking, eating, falling, fire, grabbing, moving, quickness, sickness, striking, stubbornness, suspicious noises, trips, water, etc.

9.1 Common ideophones

A list of common ideophones is presented in Table 22. This list is by no means exhaustive, but it is meant to convey the great number of ideophones in the language. These ideophones are sorted by semantic domain.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Related verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animal sound</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baa</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘sound of a sheep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mee</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘sound of a goat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buu</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘sound of a cow, or “cow” itself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwa</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘sound of a dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwe</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘sound of a fox, leopard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihii-hii</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘sound of an owl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koko-koko</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘sound of a chicken clucking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ryaau</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘sound of a cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zibu</td>
<td>zibula</td>
<td>‘stung by a bee or bitten by a snake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zitu</td>
<td>zitula</td>
<td>‘stung by a small insect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Break</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dutu</td>
<td>duuduka</td>
<td>‘breaking of a rope, die suddenly when not sick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gutu</td>
<td>gutula</td>
<td>‘break a tree, or weak person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koto</td>
<td>kotoka</td>
<td>‘a tree breaking, when it is dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwa ~ pwi</td>
<td>pwamuuka</td>
<td>‘breaking of egg, fruit, jug of water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pepeepe</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘very white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food/eating</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jululu-jululu</td>
<td>jululunda</td>
<td>‘milk coming from a cow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyo-kyo</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘noise of thick porridge in the throat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matu-matu</td>
<td>matula</td>
<td>‘noise by mouth in eating; or slapping face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miru</td>
<td>mirangusa</td>
<td>‘to swallow quickly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shapu-shapu</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘a dog drinking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diti</td>
<td>yiditula</td>
<td>‘something high that has fallen down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koko-koko</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘a big thing falling down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuu-kuu</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘a tree falling down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poo ~ puu</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘chopping a hard tree chop chop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puti-puti</td>
<td>tibuka</td>
<td>‘relatively small thing falling down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gulu-gulu</td>
<td>gulumira</td>
<td>‘roaring fire making noise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuli-tuli</td>
<td>tulika</td>
<td>‘pop, as fire on wet firewood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grab</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapapaapwe</td>
<td>paapula</td>
<td>‘grab a thing from another by hitting it down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paku</td>
<td>pakula</td>
<td>‘grab a thing in the air’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shamwe</td>
<td>shamula</td>
<td>‘snatch something from someone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gata-gata</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘many arriving in one place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gogi-gogi</td>
<td>yigogombeka</td>
<td>‘going in of many people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jii</td>
<td>jijimba</td>
<td>‘sound of a motor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form</td>
<td>Related verb</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kagata-kagata</em></td>
<td><em>kagaata</em></td>
<td>‘swish (passing through tall grass, or through water)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kolyo-kolyo</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘many going into a place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>koto-koto</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘heavy sound of goat or cow feet walking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lala-lala</em></td>
<td><em>lalaania</em></td>
<td>‘going of a snake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>syeye-syeye</em></td>
<td><em>syeka/syekana</em></td>
<td>‘rub two things together’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Quickly**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Related verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>giti-giti</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘people in a hurry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hwihwikira</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to take something hurriedly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pu-paumuka</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘running off in escape’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>vwyiywima</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘pass quickly in the air’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yuwi ~ zwi yizwirika</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘small bird, or bullet going by very fast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zwiriri</em></td>
<td><em>zwiriri</em></td>
<td>‘spurt out (e.g. blood)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sickness/struggle**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Related verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ngagi-ngagiga</em></td>
<td><em>gagika</em></td>
<td>‘two people fighting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pati-pati</em></td>
<td><em>patika-patika</em></td>
<td>‘difficult travel (in mud, dark, of blind person)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>para-para ~ puru-puru</em></td>
<td><em>paraza ~ puruza</em></td>
<td>‘sound of diarrhea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>huru-huru</em></td>
<td><em>huruza</em></td>
<td>‘sound of diarrhea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>shishi-shishi</em></td>
<td><em>shuushirwa</em></td>
<td>‘shivering with a fever’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Snore**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form (plural)</th>
<th>Related verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>fwija</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘snore’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Strike**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Related verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>jugu-jugu</em></td>
<td><em>jugumba</em></td>
<td>‘noise as result of hitting or shaking something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>puti ~ vuti</em></td>
<td><em>vuudika</em></td>
<td>‘strike without mercy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>shuushula</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘strike (repeatedly) with a small, flexible stick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>vutula</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘strike something harshly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zibula</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘strike with empty hand, or the strike of an insect’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Suspicious**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Related verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>sholyo-sholyo</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘thief, witch, anyone else moving in dark’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tii-tii</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘sound behind the house, behind person, etc.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Trip**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Related verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>jabati-jabati</em></td>
<td><em>jambagira</em></td>
<td>‘trip where something is lost, or traveler stolen from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>jeba-jeba</em></td>
<td><em>jeba-jeba</em></td>
<td>‘trip of subject/object who is not strong, wandering about’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nyaafulu-nyaafu</em></td>
<td><em>nyavuuka</em></td>
<td>‘trip of subject/object who is strong, walks briskly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>shwe</em> ~ <em>shwe</em></td>
<td><em>shuushula</em></td>
<td>‘trip where noise is not made, no strength’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tiri-tiri</em></td>
<td><em>tiritimba</em></td>
<td>‘trip of a well person’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Water**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Related verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>dambwi ~ dumbwi</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘kerplunk, fall in water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>golo-golo</em></td>
<td><em>golomba</em></td>
<td>‘flowing of water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>jagi-jagi ~ jogi-jogi</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘the rain coming for a long time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>golyo-golyo</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘water going in many channels, many people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>shwa</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘clothing with water in it, sloshing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>too-too</em></td>
<td><em>tonya</em></td>
<td>‘raining’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 9.2 Ideophones in sentences

In (117) the ideophone *nyau nyau* represents ‘the sound of the cat’ and is introduced by the verb *yamiza* ‘to cry loudly’.

(117) *Nyaaabu igweti igayamiza, nyau-nyau.*

The cat is crying loudly meow-meow

‘The cat is crying loudly, meow, meow.’

In (118) the ideophone *zibu* ‘zap’ represents ‘being bitten’. Although the bite does not make a sound *per se*, the quote marker *mbu* is still used. It is as though speech were taking place.

(118) *Ulujuki lwanzibula mbu zibu-zibu.*

The bee bit me ‹quote› zap, zap

‘The bee bit me ‹quote›, zap, zap.’

In (119) the ideophone *koto* ‘crack’ represents the sound of a tree breaking, related to the verb *kotoka* ‘break off’. In this example the quote marker is *ngu*.

(119) *Ikiti kyanayama kyakotoka, ngu koto!*

The tree immediately broke ‹quote› crack.

‘The tree immediately broke down, ‹quote› crack!’

In (120) the ideophone *pwa* ‘burst’ is also introduced by the quote marker *ti*. *Pwa* is related to *pwamuuka* ‘to fall and burst’.

(120) *Akabindi kanapwamuuka, ti pwa!*

The jug burst ‹quote› burst!

‘The jug, fell and burst ‹quote›, burst!’

Ideophones also include the sounds of eating. In (121) the ideophone *matu-matu* ‘smack, smack’ represents the sound of someone eating stiff porridge.

(121) *Umushosi agweti agamatula ubundu, matu-matu!*

The man is noisily eating stiff porridge smack-smack.

‘The man is noisily eating his stiff porridge, smack smack.’

### Table 9.2 Ideophones in sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Related verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vwo-vwo-vwo</td>
<td>vwogeera</td>
<td>‘sound of going in river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zorororo</td>
<td>zororonda</td>
<td>‘trickle of water that is about to be finished’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Without carefulness**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>baa-baa ~ bwe bwe</th>
<th>guliti-guliti</th>
<th>‘speaking without knowing what to say’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘go with a lot of noise without knowing where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwit-hwit</td>
<td>hwikira</td>
<td>‘going without care, quickly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwiti-hwit</td>
<td>yihwitika</td>
<td>‘to go without care’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para</td>
<td>yipalalika</td>
<td>‘go from task to task without finishing anything’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shamwe-shamwe</td>
<td>shamula</td>
<td>‘work or eat fast and sloppily, grab something quickly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vuuju-vuju</td>
<td>vujuuka</td>
<td>‘leave the path, or go against good judgment’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buhushu-hushu</td>
<td>hushuka</td>
<td>‘go without stopping, just pass on by’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In (122) the ideophone *miru-miru* ‘gulp, gulp’ describes the sound of someone swallowing quickly.

(122) *Anamirangusa*  
He quickly swallowed gulp-gulp.

‘He swallowed quickly, gulp, gulp.’

In (123) the sound of a tree being cut down with an axe is represented by the ideophone *poo-poo-poo* ‘hack, hack, hack’.

(123) *Anatondeera ukukuba ikiti ne sheenyu* *poo-poo-poo!*  
He began to cut down the tree with axe hack-hack-hack.

‘He began to cut down the tree with the axe, hack, hack, hack.’

In (124) the sound of blazing, roaring flames is represented by the ideophone *gulu-gulu* ‘blaze, blaze’ and is introduced here by the quote *ti*.

(124) *Inyumba yanayama yahiira ti, gulu-gulu!*  
The house immediately burned up ‹quote› blaze-blaze.

‘The house, immediately burned up ‹quote›, blaze, blaze.’

In (125) someone throws a dog a piece of stiff porridge, and the act of the dog catching it in the air is represented by the ideophone *paku* ‘catch’ (cf. *pakula* ‘catch in air’) introduced here by the quote marker *mbu*.

(125) *Nakalasha ikitolo kyo bundu, kanayama kapakula mbu paku!*  
I threw a piece of stiff porridge it immediately it caught in air ‹quote› catch

‘I threw it (dog) a piece of stiff porridge, and it immediately caught it in the air, ‹quote› catch.’

In (126) the ideophone *shamwe* ‘snatch’ is related to the verb *shamul* ‘to snatch’ and is introduced here by the quote marker *ti*.

(126) *Ayileeza habutambi lyage anayama ashamuula ti, shamwe!*  
And he passed himself beside of him and he immediately he snatched ‹quote› snatch

anamútwala ifwaranga  
and he took from him monies

‘He passed himself beside, and he immediately snatched ‹quote› snatch, and he took his money.’

In (127) the depressed feeling of having had something stolen is represented by the ideophone *pati-pati* ‘loss, loss’ introduced by the copula *kola*.

(127) *Umundu anyagwa amagulu mu njira gatákola pati-pati!*  
The person was robbed feet in street were now loss-loss

‘A person was robbed, the feet in the street were now, loss loss.’

In (128) the ideophone *koto-koto* represents ‘the heavy sound of animals going along’, such as that of a cow or a heavy goat, introduced here by the quote marker *ngu*.

(128) *Ingaavu iri mu zaata ngu koto-koto!*  
The cow is in walking ‹quote› trample-trample

‘The cow, is walking, ‹quote› trample-trample.’
In (129) the ideophone *lala-lala* ‘slithering along’ represents the sound of a snake slithering, introduced here by the quote marker *ti*.

(129) **Gushuba mu lalaania ti lalala lalala!**
It was in snaking along *quote* slither, slither

‘It (snake) was snaking along *quote* slither slither....’

When two things rub together, the ideophone *sye-sye* is used. This can include two legs of a pair of pants, as well of branches of trees, etc. In (130) *sye-sye* ‘rub, rub’ is introduced by the quote marker *mbu*.

(130) **Yibyo biti byomi bikola mbu sye-sye!**
Those trees both are newly *quote* rub, rub.

‘These two trees, are now *quote*, rub rub.’

In (131) the ideophone *pu* ‘zip’ is used for the sound of zipping away, being related to the verb *puumuka* ‘dash off’.

(131) **Iri bakayiji mbona banayama bapuumuka ti, pu!**
When they coming saw me they immediately dashed off *quote* zip.

‘When they came to (the point where they could) see me, they immediately dashed off *quote* zip.’

In (132) the sound of a fly buzzing past is represented by the ideophone *zwi* ‘buzz’.

(132) **Urusaazi lwanandenga kwo, nanayiji yuvwa, zwi!**
The fly passed me by and I coming heard, buzz!

‘A fly passed by me and I came to hear, buzz!’

The Bafuliru herdsmen used to drink the blood of their living cows by inserting a dart in the neck vein. In (133) the ideophone *zwiririri* expresses the sound of the blood spurting out.

(133) **Ishuuli bagilasha iraago umuko, gwanayija zwiririri!**
The bull they threw at it dart blood and it came spurt, spurt

‘The bull they threw a dart at it, blood came, spurt.’

In (134) the sounds of sickness, like the movement of diarrhea is represented by the ideophone *puru-puru* ‘splatter, splatter’ and is here introduced by the quote marker *ngu*.

(134) **Nalaala ngahuruza buno bushigi, ngu napuruza ngu puru-puru!**
I spent the night have diarrhea this night *quote* I splattered quote splatter, splatter

‘I spent this night having diarrhoea, *quote*, *quote* splatter, splatter.’

In (135) the sounds of striking, like those of walking sticks being used as weapons in war is represented by the ideophone *puti-puti*, introduced here by the quote marker *ti*.

(135) **Izibo lyanakaya, ingoni sikola nygingi ti puti-puti!**
The war became fierce walking sticks are now many *quote* whack whack

‘The war became fierce, (walking) sticks were now many *quote* whack, whack.’

In (136) the ideophone *shuti-shuti* ‘tap, tap’ refers to running after a child with a small stick and hitting him repeatedly, just hard enough to scare him. The sound is here introduced by the quote marker *ti*. 
(136) *Twayuwa ti shutu-shutu! umwana antangira ukuyamiza.*
We heard ‹quote› smack-smack the child began to yell

‘We heard ‹quote›, smack, smack, the child, began to yell.’

In (137) the ideophone *vutu-vutu* ‘whack, whack’ refers to really hitting hard, to the point that the stick is broken.

(137) *Bagweti bagamívutula vutu-vutu! Ingoni yamúmalira kwo.*
They are whacking him whack-whack stick is finished off him on

‘There are whacking him, whack-whack, the stick, is finished off on him.’

In (138) the ideophone *sholyo-sholyo* ‘creep, creep’ represents the suspicious noise heard behind the house.

(138) *Twanayuwa inyuma lye nyumba sholyo-sholyo!*
And we heard behind of house creep-creep.

‘We heard behind the house, creep creep.’

In (139) the ideophone *tii*, meaning ‘bang’, is introduced here by the quote marker *mbu*.

(139) *Bushigi tukayuwa mbu tii!*
At night we heard ‹quote› bang

‘In the night we heard ‹quote›, bang.’

There are quite a few ideophones describing the state of a trip. In (140) the ideophone *jeba-jeba* ‘feeble, feeble’ refers to going along in a state of weakness.

(140) *Alenga hano ali jeba-jeba.*
He passed here he is feeble-feeble.

‘He passed here being feeble, feeble.’

In (141) the ideophone *nyaafu-nyaafu* ‘robust, robust’ depicts a person who is strong and healthy.

(141) *Akola nyaafu-nyaafu mu njira.*
He is newly robust-robust in path

‘He is now robust, robust in the path.’

There are many ideophones for the sound of water. In (142) *dambwi* ‘splash’ describes the sound of one jumping into the water.

(142) *Mbu ajabuke mu lwiji, dambwi-dambwi!* 
As soon as he crossed in river splash-splash

‘When he crossed over the river, splash, splash.’

In (143) the ideophone *golo-golo* ‘flow, flow’ describes the flow of water and is introduced here by the quote marker *ti*.

(143) *Galya miiji gooshi, ti golo-golo!* 
that water all ‹quote› flow-flow

‘That water all of it, ‹quote›, flow-flow.’

In (144) the ideophone *jagi-jagi* represents the sound of rain that has continued for a long time.
(144) *Invula igenderiri ukunia jagi-jagi!*  
The rain continues to rain pitter patter.  
‘The rain, continued to rain, pitter patter.’  
In (145) the ideophone *pati-pati* represents the difficulty of sloshing through the mud.

(145) *Yoyo ali mu bidaka pati-pati!*  
That very one is in mud slosh-slosh  
‘That very one in the mud, slosh, slosh.’  
In (146) the ideophone *zorororo* ‘dripping sound at end of rain’ is here introduced by the quote marker *ti*.

(146) *Umulamba gutakola ti zorororo!*  
The gutter is now ‘drip, drip’  
‘The gutter, was now ‹quote›, dripping.’  
Fuliiru has a wide range of verbs and ideophones dealing with something done carelessly. In (147) the ideophone *baa-baa* refers to ‘blabbering speech’ and is introduced here by the quote marker *mbu*.

(147) *Ali mbu baa-baa! Ka deta bwija?*  
He is ‹quote› blabbering. Is he speaking well?  
‘He is saying, blabber blabber. Is he speaking well?’  
In (148) the ideophone *guliti-guliti* ‘racket, racket’ refers to a loud, boisterous movement.

(148) *Kuti kuno kwo ali mu genda guliti-guliti!*  
How now that he is going racket-racket.  
‘How now that you are going racket, racket?’  
In (149) the verb *nahushula* ‘I missed’ is related to the ideophone *buhushu-buhushu* ‘careless, careless’.

(149) *Nakengeera nahushula nadeta buhushu-buhushu!*  
I inadvertently missed I said careless-careless  
‘I inadvertently miss, I said careless, careless.’  
In (150) the ideophone *para* reflects that much was done that is unfinished. The person referred to started many things that he couldn’t finish.

(150) *Ashuba mbu para!*  
He was previously ‹quote› unfinished  
‘He was previously ‹quote›, unfinished.’
Appendix A: Pauses

This appendix is concerned only with the placement of commas for pauses and the placement of periods/full stops for completed sentences.

A.1 Introduction

To find out how pauses and intonation are used in Fuliiru (Van Otterloo 2011:329–335), I have recorded the following text and then analyzed it with a program from SIL called Speech Analyzer. All significant pauses are marked. Ones that were less than 0.5 seconds are marked with a single vertical line (|). A double vertical line (||) represents a pause of 0.5 second or more. Although this is obviously a rather rough measure, it does produce significant results. Here are a few examples of data from Speech Analyzer files.

Note that higher points on the chart reflect higher speech pitches. In this example the speech begins high and drops to the lowest place at the middle of the graph. Then it starts high all over again, and gradually sinks for the second time. Note that the biggest pause in right in the middle, reflecting the pause between two sentences. There is also a shorter pause after muguma ‘one’, and ukuyanga ‘to marry’. In the second sentence there is a larger pause after the topic Uyo mutabana ‘That young man’ and the rest of the sentence. There is a shorter pause after bakamuyereka ‘they showed him’.

(01)

Hali riiri mutabana muguma | ukaloosa ukuyanga | umukazi. || Uyo mutabana | iri bakamuyereka | abanyere booshi

There was one young man | who wanted to marry | a woman. || That young man | when they showed him all the young girls

(02)

Isiku | iri zikatuga || mvana wa ngaavu | anafwa | ni shaali.

The days | when they were many || the child of the cow | died | of hunger.

(03)

Banagwatage injira || Iri bakahika mu njira || banakika | ku lwiji.

They took the path. || When they arrived in the path || they arrived | at the river.
### A.2 Text displaying pauses

Table 23. Pauses in ‘The young man who refused to marry girls’ (T9)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point of departure</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-referential PoD, Preposed</strong></td>
<td><strong>Referential PoD, Topic</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>There was</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>That young man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>when they showed him all the girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>HE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d</td>
<td>HE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1e</td>
<td>and of a size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1f</td>
<td>That young man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>and he went</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>When it was one day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>just when he crossed the river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td>“No!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b</td>
<td>This very one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4c</td>
<td>and of a size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4d</td>
<td>That young man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4e</td>
<td>“O girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4f</td>
<td>I’m about to marry you.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4g</td>
<td>And she also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4h</td>
<td>“Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4i</td>
<td>And they took to the path.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5a</td>
<td>When they arrived in the path</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5b</td>
<td>That girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5c</td>
<td>“No!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5d</td>
<td>ME</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I will not cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It’s obvious that you carry me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td>That young man said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b</td>
<td>“Sure! Will it defeat me to take you across the river?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6c</td>
<td>That young man placed her on his back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a</td>
<td>In the river kagata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b</td>
<td>The river vwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7c</td>
<td>And they crossed over the river.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a</td>
<td>When they arrived on the far side the new wife quoted: “Oh my!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b</td>
<td>The new bride will she get down here?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8c</td>
<td>Take me into the house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8d</td>
<td>Me the new wife will I go by foot again,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8e</td>
<td>we the ones who are now going to the village?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8f</td>
<td>That young man quoted:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8g</td>
<td>“No we will go.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a</td>
<td>And he arrived at their home it’s now dusk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9b</td>
<td>and he went straight into the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9c</td>
<td>and he told his mother:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9d</td>
<td>quoted “O my mother I have brought a new bride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9e</td>
<td>Give me food.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9f</td>
<td>The mother quoted: “Will you not eat in here?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9g</td>
<td>And he quoted: “No! Bring it to me in here.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a</td>
<td>To tell the new wife: “Get down off the back!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10b</td>
<td>“It’s obvious I will not get down!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10c</td>
<td>“Get down off the back!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10d</td>
<td>“It’s obvious I will not get down!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11a</td>
<td>He spent the night with her on his back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11b</td>
<td>and he spent the day with her on his back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11c</td>
<td>A week puu!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11d</td>
<td>A month puu!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11e</td>
<td>Hey guys look out the person will die!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12a</td>
<td>That news</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12b</td>
<td>Those men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12c</td>
<td>«O my! It’s a demon this one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12d</td>
<td>“Is that so?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12e</td>
<td>A demon?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12f</td>
<td>“Yes.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13a</td>
<td>Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13b</td>
<td>“How will you get rid of it &lt; &lt; ?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13c</td>
<td>When they try these</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14a</td>
<td>Other men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14b</td>
<td>“Take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14c</td>
<td>a bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14d</td>
<td>and which now has</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14e</td>
<td>Let him again take it back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14f</td>
<td>right there(there)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14g</td>
<td>Make sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14h</td>
<td>and place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14i</td>
<td>and the intestinal fat and the intestinal fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15a</td>
<td>OK then!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15b</td>
<td>They led to the river that young man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15c</td>
<td>and they made it arrive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15d</td>
<td>and they killed it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16a</td>
<td>The intestinal fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16b</td>
<td>they gathered it &lt; &lt; up in a heap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16c</td>
<td>That bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16d</td>
<td>and it began</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16e</td>
<td>And roasting smell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16f</td>
<td>was repeatedly sensed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17a</td>
<td>That young man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17b</td>
<td>repeatedly told it(demon):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17c</td>
<td>“Roast it well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18a</td>
<td>In saying like this:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18b</td>
<td>“Roast it well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18c</td>
<td>that demon and it also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18d</td>
<td>pulled out</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A.3 Rules derived from text for marking commas

There are several places where people pause consistently. These include between topic and comment, before ideophones, and after points of departure, interjections, nouns of direct address, and preposed items. Finally, people pause to slow down key thematic material.

A.3.1 Between topic and comment

A strong confirmation of the topic-comment rules in section 5 is found in the fact that for the twenty-four topics represented in the charted text above (in the “topic” column), every single one is followed by a pause. Furthermore, about half of them (14/29) have long pauses! Short pauses occur in 1c, 1e, 2a, 4b, 4d, 5b, 7b, 8b, 8f, 11c, 11d, 14a, 16b, 16c and 17a. Long pauses occur in 5c, 6a, 6c, 7a, 8d, 9f, 12a (preposed), 13a (preposed), 16a (preposed), 18b, 19, 20a, 21, and 22a. These pauses are highly significant for Fuliiru speakers and have implications for easy-to-read punctuation.

Example (05) presents an example of a short pause between topic and comment, from 2a. The topic is the already mentioned ‘that young man’. The comment presents the new material, ‘went outside of the village’. The short pause is indicated by the one vertical line ( | ).

(05) Topic Comment
That young man | went outside the village.

In (06) there is a long pause between topic and comment, taken from 8d. Here the already known information ‘Me the new wife’ is the topic. The comment, ‘will I go by foot again?’ presents the new information, and the implied answer is ‘no’. The long pause between these two elements is represented by the two vertical lines ( || ).

(06) Topic Comment
Me the new wife || will I go by foot again?

A.3.2 Before ideophones

Speakers consistently pause before ideophones, which tend to occur last in the clause. This is seen in lines 7a, 7b, 11c, and 11d. In line 7a, shown in (07), the known information is ‘in the river’ (referred to in lines 5a–6b) represents the topic. After that there is a long pause before the new information shown in the ideophone kagata-kagata ‘sound of water’.

| 19 | That spirit || when it smelled || really the roasting smell || was sweet very much | in the nose || | it immediately flew really | to those meats. || |
|---|---|---|---|
| 20a | That young man || he immediately | left there | with those people || | and they immediately | dashed off || |
| 20b | and they crossed | that river | and they went home. || |
| 20c | Thus | that demon || remained | with those meats. || |
| 21 | and they | crossed | that river | and they | went home. || |
| 22a | That story || that’s where it comes to end | |
| 22b | and that also is where it ends (like rain). || |

Example (05) presents an example of a short pause between topic and comment, from 2a. The topic is the already mentioned ‘that young man’. The comment presents the new material, ‘went outside of the village’. The short pause is indicated by the one vertical line ( | ).

(05) Topic Comment
That young man | went outside the village.

In (06) there is a long pause between topic and comment, taken from 8d. Here the already known information ‘Me the new wife’ is the topic. The comment, ‘will I go by foot again?’ presents the new information, and the implied answer is ‘no’. The long pause between these two elements is represented by the two vertical lines ( || ).

(06) Topic Comment
Me the new wife || will I go by foot again?

A.3.2 Before ideophones

Speakers consistently pause before ideophones, which tend to occur last in the clause. This is seen in lines 7a, 7b, 11c, and 11d. In line 7a, shown in (07), the known information is ‘in the river’ (referred to in lines 5a–6b) represents the topic. After that there is a long pause before the new information shown in the ideophone kagata-kagata ‘sound of water’.
(07) Topic Comment
In the river || kagata-kagata.

A.3.3 After points of departure

Points of departure, whether dependent clauses, nouns phrases, or adverbs, are always set off by long pauses. In line 12a the clause object ‘that news’ has been preposed and functions as a point of departure. Note that it is followed by a long pause.

(08) PoD Comment
That news || they brought it to other men ||

Line 4i states, ‘and they took to the path’. Then line 5a, as a PoD in a tail-head linkage, repeats the idea: ‘When they arrived in the path’. As a PoD, it is followed by a long pause.

(09) PoD Following clause
When they arrived in the path || they came to the river.

A.3.4 After interjections

Interjections, even though they are short, are always followed by a long pause. This helps to set them off, and create a vivid introduction to for the following clause.

In (10) the young man shows his joy at finally finding a woman to marry, by beginning with the interjection ‘No’. (When used as an interjection the meaning is not ‘no’, but rather expresses emotion.)

(10) Interjection Following clause
“No! || This very one is the one that resembles | my mother.” ||

In (11), from line 8b, the bride expresses emotion with the interjection “Oh my!” She also shows an expectancy that she will not get down here.

(11) Interjection Following clause
“Oh my! || The new bride | will she get down here?” ||

A.3.5 After nouns of direct address

Nouns of direct address, although also very short, are always followed by a long pause. In (12), from line 4e, the noun of direct address ‘Oh girl’ is followed by the proposal, ‘I like you. I’m going to marry you’.

(12) Noun of direct address Following clause
“Oh girl! || I like you. || I’m going to marry you.” ||
In (13) the young man greets his mother with the noun of direct address, “O my mother,’ before explaining that he has brought home a new bride.

(13) **Noun of direct address** Following clause

“O my mother! || I have brought a new bride.” ||

A.3.6 **After preposed elements**

Preposed elements are almost always followed by a long pause. In (14) the preposed clause object ‘The intestinal fat’ is followed by a long pause, and then the rest of the clause

(14) **Preposed element** Rest of clause

The intestinal fat, || they gathered it up in a heap | on the firewood. ||

A.3.7 **Slowing down highly thematic material**

Sometimes at a highly thematic point, the rate of information flow and even the speed of speaking, is slowed down.

In example (15) the young man has been looking for a woman and could not find her. Finally, the point at which he finds one is set off by two PoDs, each with a long pause.

(15) **Slowing down thematic material pre-peak** Peak

When it was one day ||, just when he crossed the river || he encountered | a girl | sitting underneath | a tree.’||

Example (16), from line 19, occurs right at the peak of the story, and thus there are three long pauses and one short one, all in the PoD.

(16) **Slowing down thematic material pre-peak** Peak

The spirit || when it smelled || really the roasting smell || it immediately flew really | to those meats. ||

According to the rules of pronunciation that we studied for Fuliiru texts, the following punctuation rules should be considered.

A.4 **Rules derived from text for marking periods**

Periods mark the end of a breath group. For each sentence, the intonation begins at a higher pitch and slowly drifts downward to a lower one, incorporating high and low tones along the way at an increasingly lower pitch, until downdrift has reached the lowest point. After a long pause, the tone of the next sentence begins at a higher pitch again. Thus sentences are easily recognizable.

In general, most Fuliiru sentences are relatively short. In addition, they tend to keep moving forward, without a lot of recursion or embedding. For example, when the dependent time clause is used, it normally comes at the beginning of the sentence, as is typical in tail-head constructions.

In (17), from line 4a–c, the boy is told to take the rabbit home. It is assumed that the boy will obey. Then in 5a, the dependent time clause *Iri bakahika mu njira* ‘When they arrived on the road’ begins the sentence, as the head of an implicit tail-head sequence. The logical sequence would be AB, B1C, C1D, etc.
(17) *Ulya mushosi anabwire mugala wage ti: “E mwana want utwale uyu walukwavu ikaaya
That man told son of him quote O son of mine take this rabbit home
ye ngayiji liira ubundu.”

It can also be noted that in Fuliiru the reason is commonly presented before the result. Thus in example (18) the two rams are presented as fighting. For that reason, they fall into the river and die. The final sentence states: *Kwokwo, yukwo kuhambanwa kwanatuma bigafwa* ‘Thus, that fighting is what caused that they would die’. The AB, B,C logic is that they fight – that fighting causes them to die. The text does not state, ‘They were fighting. And they both died, because they were fighting, which would be AB, CB₁.

(18) *Lyeryo, byanagagika. Byanatibukira mu yulwo lwiji, ti dumbwi! Ingoona mbwi’yuve ulubi, yanabibakula.*
All of a sudden, they were struggling in combat. The fell into the river, splash! The crocodile, when he heard the noise, he ate them up.

*Kwokwo, yukwo kuhambanwa kwanatuma bigafwa.*

Thus, that fighting is what cause that they would die.

Examples (17) and (18) demonstrate the general tendency in Fuliiru to keep the story moving forward, abstracted as AB, B,C, C,D, etc., without backtracking, abstracted as AB, CB₁, etc. This allows sentences to be shorter and more straightforward.

**Conventions for charting**

In Appendices B–N the following conventions are used: The material is presented in the chart in the order that it occurs in the spoken text, working from left to right. Each new clause, even a verbless one, begins on a new line. The following colors are used:

- Black, italicized font is used for independent clauses.
- Blue, italicized font is used for dependent clauses.
- Green, italicized font is used for quoted speech, whether direct or indirect.

The word-by-word glosses are always given in a smaller dark grey font.

When items occur out of their default word order, the following conventions obtain: Material that is moved from its default position is marked with SMALL CAPS, RED. The default position that the material was moved from (i.e. the spot where the words would normally appear) is marked by two arrows, either ( << ) for preposed or ( >> ) for << .

Default demonstrative are marked in brown, e.g. *uyo mushosi* ‘that man’. Major demonstratives are marked in purple, e.g. *ulya mukazi* ‘that woman’. Emphasis Markers (EM) occur as suffixes, and are marked in pink, e.g. *anagandaga* ‘and he went (EM)’.

Individual clauses are separated by a thin black line, while material paragraph boundaries are marked by a heavy black line. Implicit constituents, i.e. implicit subjects (those not marked by a noun or self-standing pronoun) and verbs (e.g. often speech verbs are not specified), are marked by three dashes: ( - - - ). The source location of dependent and quoted material is marked in square brackets.
Appendix B: Text 1 *Ibihebe bibiri ku kilalo* ‘Two goats on a bridge’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Pre-nuclear</th>
<th>Nucleus</th>
<th>Post-nuclear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Outer</td>
<td>Inner</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td><em>Hâli riiri</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>Yibyo bihebe</em></td>
<td><em>byâli</em></td>
<td>Those rams were</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>Kiguma</em></td>
<td><em>kyâli tuuziri</em></td>
<td>One was living</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td><em>Ne'kindi</em></td>
<td><em>kyâli tuuziri</em></td>
<td>and another was living</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b</td>
<td><em>Yulwo lwiji</em></td>
<td><em>lwâli tambisirwi</em></td>
<td>That river it was laid over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4c</td>
<td><em>abandu</em></td>
<td><em>bâli kizi tondagira kwo</em></td>
<td>people they were continuously stepping on that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4d</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>mu kulujabuka</em></td>
<td>in to cross it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>Lusiku luguma yibyo bihebe bihwija byombi</em></td>
<td><em>byanatondeza ukujabuka</em></td>
<td>Day one those rams foolish both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><em>Kwokwo</em></td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>byanagwanana</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a</td>
<td><em>Ikyâli fisiiri</em></td>
<td><em>kyanabwira</em></td>
<td>The one that was fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>kikihindise</em></td>
<td>it still cause other to pass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7c</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>kitee yilengera</em></td>
<td>it first pass itself by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a</td>
<td><em>Ikyabo naky</em></td>
<td><em>kyanalahira</em></td>
<td>Its fellow and it refused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>mu kubwira</em></td>
<td>in to tell</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The text is a rendering of the original content from the main document, with proper alignment and formatting to ensure clarity and readability.
# Pre-nuclear | Nucleus | Post-nuclear
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outer</th>
<th>Inner</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>O/C</th>
<th>Inner</th>
<th>Outer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8c</td>
<td>[---]</td>
<td><em>kibe kyo kigatee galuka</em></td>
<td>it be which it will first return</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a</td>
<td>Yibyo <em>bihebe byombi</em></td>
<td><em>byanabeera</em></td>
<td>and they remained</td>
<td><em>haaho</em></td>
<td>right there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9b</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>byanatondeka ukuhambanwa</em></td>
<td>and they began to fight</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9c</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>binanemiri</em></td>
<td>and they are leaning</td>
<td><em>ku yikyo kiti</em></td>
<td>on that tree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a</td>
<td><em>Lyeryo</em></td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>byanagagika</em></td>
<td>and they were struggling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10b</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>byanatibukira</em></td>
<td>and they fell</td>
<td><em>mu yulwo lwiji</em></td>
<td><em>ti dumbwi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11a</td>
<td><em>Ingoona mbu</em></td>
<td>&lt; &lt;</td>
<td><em>iyuvwe</em></td>
<td>it heard</td>
<td><em>ulubi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11b</td>
<td>[11a]</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>yanabibakula</em></td>
<td>it gobbled them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Kwokwo</td>
<td><em>yukwo kuhambanwa</em></td>
<td><em>kwanatuma bigaafwa</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td><em>Umugani</em></td>
<td><em>Ndatangwe</em></td>
<td><em>akatumita</em></td>
<td><em>umuluzi</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Free translation**

1 There were two rams. 2 Those rams were foolish. 3 One lived across the river. 4a And the other lived on the opposite side. 4b That river, a tree was laid across it, 4c which people were stepping on to cross over.

5 One day, both of those foolish rams began to cross the river. 6 Thus they encountered each other on that tree. 7a The one that was fat told its skinny fellow that 7b it should let him by, in order that 7c it first pass. 8a Its fellow refused, 8b telling the other that 8c it should be the one to first return.

9a Those rams, remained right there, 9b and they began to fight, 9c and they were leaning on that tree.

10a Right then, they were struggling against each other, 10b and they fell into that river with a big splash.

11a The crocodile, as soon as it heard the noise, 11b it gobbled them up.

12 Thus that fighting caused them to die.

13 Proverb: The one who refuses to be passed speared the son of the king.
### Appendix C: Text 2 *Imbongo na mukaayo* ‘The gazelle and his wife’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Pre-nuclear</th>
<th>Nucleus</th>
<th>Object/Complement</th>
<th>Post-nuclear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Outer</td>
<td>Inner</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt; &lt;</td>
<td>Hâli riiri</td>
<td><em>imbongo na mukaayo no'mwana wazo</em></td>
<td>There was gazelle and wife of it and child of theirs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>Iyo mbongo</td>
<td>yâli tuusiri</td>
<td><em>mu kabanda kaguma kiija</em></td>
<td>That gazelle it was living in valley one nice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>kâli riiri</td>
<td><em>ne'kishungu-shungu kye'biti bye'mimbati</em></td>
<td>it was with bushes of trees of cassava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yibo biti</td>
<td>byâli hiiti</td>
<td><em>akalaala kiija bweneene</em></td>
<td>Those trees were having nice very leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Iyo mbongo</td>
<td>yanatuula</td>
<td><em>yaho</em></td>
<td>That gazelle and it lived there days many very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5a</td>
<td>[Iri]</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>hakaba</td>
<td><em>lusiku luguma</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5b</td>
<td>[5a]</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>yanabwira</td>
<td><em>mukaayo kuguma no'yo mwana</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5c</td>
<td>[---]</td>
<td>Buli</td>
<td><em>bwija</em></td>
<td>It is good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5d</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>tubunje</td>
<td></td>
<td>we move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5e</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>tulyoke</td>
<td>hano</td>
<td>let's leave here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5f</td>
<td>Haliko</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>ngagendi laguza</em></td>
<td>I will go have future told</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>But</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>in order that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5g</td>
<td>umulaguzi</td>
<td>ambwire</td>
<td><em>ngiisi kwo ngaagira</em></td>
<td>Fortune teller he tells me just what I will do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Iyo mbongo</td>
<td>yanagenda</td>
<td><em>imwo yo mulaguzi</em></td>
<td>That gazelle and it went to home of that fortune teller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Pre-nuclear</td>
<td>Nucleus</td>
<td>Post-nuclear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>----</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Outer</td>
<td>Inner</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Naye</td>
<td><em>anagibwira</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>And he</td>
<td>and he told it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b</td>
<td></td>
<td>[---]</td>
<td><em>Ukwiriri ulyoke</em></td>
<td>yaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7c</td>
<td>mukuba</td>
<td>keera</td>
<td>ingwi</td>
<td><em>yahahigira</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>because</td>
<td>already</td>
<td>leopard</td>
<td>he has set sights on it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7d</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ugende</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7e</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>unayami bunga</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a</td>
<td>Lyeryo-lyeryo</td>
<td>uyo mulaguzi</td>
<td>anabona</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Right then that fortune teller</td>
<td>and he saw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b</td>
<td>[ingwi]</td>
<td></td>
<td>yayija</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>mu lubako lwa hala bweneene</td>
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In there is gazelles two and child of theirs.

You tell me the future how that.

I will seize them.

That fortune teller quote ti [11b–11f].

There has finished days three.

And go there.

And you seize them.

And you bring me ears of theirs.

That leopard and it returned.

And it unhid.

And he said [13c].

You have punished me [14b].
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Free translation
1 There was a gazelle and its wife and their child. 2a That gazelle was living in one nice valley, 2b which had cassava bushes. 3 Those bushes had very nice leaves. 4 That gazelle lived there for very many days.
5a When one day came, 5b it told its wife and child, 5c “It’s good that 5d we move. 5e Let’s leave here. 5f But I will go have my future told, 5g so the fortune teller can tell me just what to do.”
6 That gazelle went to the fortune teller. 7a And he told it, 7b “You must leave there, 7c because the leopard has already set his eyes on it. 7d Go away 7e immediately.”
8a Right then that fortune teller saw that 8b the leopard has come, 8c and he told it (gazelle), 8d “Hide yourself quickly!” 9 The gazelle hid itself behind the door. 10a The leopard entered 10b and said, 10c “Greetings, witch doctor! I have come 10d so that you can tell my fortune. 10e There is one valley. 10f In it there is a gazelle and its child. 10g Tell the future for me, 10h how I can seize it.”
11a The fortune teller said, 11b “There has already passed three days. 11c You go there, 11d and seize them. 11e And when you seize them, 11f bring me their ears.”
12 That leopard returned.
13a The gazelle came out of hiding, 13b and it said, 13c “Come on, my friend! You have punished me!”
14a The fortune teller answered him, 14b “Go to the jungle, far far away.”
15a When it went, 15b it moved away.
16a When the gazelle had already finished off not a few days, 16b it returned, 16c and checked out its place 16d where it had been living.
17a Surprise, from the time 17b the fortune teller had told the leopard its fortune, 17c and had gone right there, 17d and climbed a tree, 17e and remained there.
18a When the gazelle came, 18b it was quietly moving, 18c it is unconcerned 18d while looking far away, 18e and it saw nothing.
19 Surprise the leopard was trapping it.
20a When the gazelle arrived, 20b it began to eat leaves, 20c and it stuffed itself and stuffed itself
21a When it came close to the bush, 21b it was not aware of a thing. 22a Leopard jumped on it, 22b and killed it, 22c and cut off both ears, 22d and carried them to the fortune teller.
23a Advice: If you would be warned, 23b and run away from the enemy, 23c don’t go back again to check him out.
### Appendix D: Text 3 Ingware no'mujoka ‘Quail and snake’

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9d</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>Gwanabwira</em></td>
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### Free translation
1a There was a quail 1b which was going around the bush looking for what it would eat.
2a One day she encountered 2b a snake is slithering, slithering, 2c because the bush it was in was burning up.
3a That snake told the quail like this, 3b “O my friend, save me from this fire.”
4a The quail answered, 4b “I would save you (but can’t) 4c but there is no way I could lift you up.”
5a The snake told the quail, 5b “I am going to wrap myself around your neck, 5c and you then fly with me across the river.”
6a That quail, when it heard that, 6b it agreed, 6c and it stretched out its neck.
7a That snake wrapped itself around, 7b and they flew away, 7c and they landed across the river, 7d and it told the snake, 7e “Get down.”
8a The snake said that 8b it was already very hungry.
9a The quail told it 9b to get down, 9c so it could go looking for what it would eat. 9d And it told that quail like this, 9e “I don’t have the strength to go looking for what I will eat. 9f You are the one I’m going to eat.”
10a That snake swallowed the quail, 10b and did not think that 10c the quail is what saved it from the fire.
11 Advice: Do not be a friend with a deceiver, because he might eat you, and you have no idea.
## Appendix E: Text 4 Namukukuzo ne’mbulu ‘Guinea fowl and lizard’

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<tr>
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<td>Guinea fowl</td>
<td>she</td>
<td>friend of lizard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uyo namukukuzo</td>
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<td>there is no small thing which it would leave</td>
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<td>they were continuously eating together</td>
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<td>and they were continuously helping each other</td>
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<td>That friend of his</td>
<td>and he came</td>
<td>together with his wife</td>
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<td>[Iri]</td>
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<td>[6a]</td>
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<td>---</td>
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<td>It would not be possible</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td>nyikere</td>
<td>I cut self</td>
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<td>her husband</td>
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<td>Si wehe</td>
<td>mwiwa wawe</td>
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<td></td>
<td>O comrade</td>
<td>It's obvious</td>
<td>her husband</td>
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<td>YOU friend</td>
<td>friend of yours</td>
<td>he gave you</td>
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<td>wanagira</td>
<td>you made</td>
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<td>yiryo ihano lya mukaage</td>
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<td>that advice of his wife</td>
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<td>yanayikera</td>
<td>ku magala gaayo</td>
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<td>and he cut himself</td>
<td>from body of his</td>
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<td>uyo mwira wage</td>
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<td>and he gave</td>
<td>that friend of his</td>
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<td>That friend of his</td>
<td>and he made</td>
<td>from it that feast and he</td>
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<td>16a</td>
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<td>yanataahira</td>
<td>imwayo</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>That lizard</td>
<td>and he went home</td>
<td>to his place</td>
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<tr>
<td>16b</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>ikola mu kunira</td>
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<td></td>
<td>---</td>
<td>it is now in limping</td>
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<tr>
<td>17a</td>
<td>Yikyo kihando kye'kayikera</td>
<td>kyanatonda</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>That sore which he cut himself</td>
<td>and it swelled up</td>
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<tr>
<td>17b</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>yanafwa</td>
<td>and he died</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Ihano</td>
<td>Ihano libi</td>
<td>likizi yitiisania</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Advice</td>
<td>Advice bad</td>
<td>habitually kills others</td>
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**Free translation**

1 Guinea fowl was the friend of lizard. 2 That guinea fowl had no small thing which it would leave at that friend of hers. 3a Both were habitually eating everything hot and cold, 3b and they were always helping each other when they were in need. 4a One day, lizard had a feast, 4b and sent for his friend, 4c so they could talk. 5 That friend came together with his wife. 6a When they arrived at the home of lizard, 6b it told guinea fowl like this, 6c “O my friend! Since I’m about to have a feast, 6d cut off one of your feathers for me.”

7a Guinea fowl answered, 7b “O please my friend! You have asked for something I need.”

8 Even so, guinea fowl gave that his friend one feather. 9 That lizard, he made a feast with that feather. 10a Afterwards, that guinea fowl saw that 10b he would give a feast. 11a And he sent for that friend of his, 11b and told him, 11c “O my friend, I am about to make a feast. 11d Cut off some of your skin for me.”

12a Lizard, answered, 12b “It would not be possible that 12c I cut off a piece of my skin, with the intent of 12d giving it to you.” 13a Lizard’s wife told her husband like this, 13b “O comrade! It’s obvious that your friend gave you one of his feathers.”

14a That lizard agreed to the advice of his wife, 14b and he cut off a piece of its body, 14c and he gave it to that friend of his. 15 That friend of his, also made from it a feast. 16a That lizard, and he went home 16b now limping. 17a That sore which he got cutting himself swelled up, 17b and he died.

18 Advice: Bad advice habitually kills others.
Appendix F: Text 5 *Ubugeni bwa'mushosi muguma* ‘The wedding feast of one man’

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<td>ha mwage</td>
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<td>Man one</td>
<td>made</td>
<td>day big</td>
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<td>and he invited</td>
<td>neighbors together with leaders and kings and common people ten</td>
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<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>bamútabaale</td>
<td>they help him</td>
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<td>yabo booshi ábakalaalikwa</td>
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<td></td>
<td>and serving guest food</td>
<td>those all who were invited</td>
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<td>yabo bagunda</td>
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<td>And he told</td>
<td>those common people</td>
<td>like this</td>
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<td>ishoni</td>
<td>imbere lya yabo bandu booshi</td>
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<td>that you pass me through</td>
<td>shame</td>
<td>before of those people all</td>
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<td>Ku yaho</td>
<td>niehe nie</td>
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<td>Therefore</td>
<td>ME I am the one who</td>
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<td>ngaagira</td>
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<td>Everything that</td>
<td>I will do</td>
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<td>kwo</td>
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<td>mugagira</td>
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<td><em>hambere</em></td>
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<td>Time of going welcome guests</td>
<td>and he placed self</td>
<td>at front</td>
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<td>Those common people all they followed him.</td>
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<td>And he greeted</td>
<td>those guests</td>
<td><strong>iri</strong> [7b]</td>
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<td>they greeted them</td>
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<td>That man</td>
<td>and he raised</td>
<td>the plate of ugali</td>
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<tr>
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<td>The common people and they</td>
<td>they raised</td>
<td>the platters of other ugali</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td><em>banamukulikira</em></td>
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<td>and they followed him</td>
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<td><em>iri</em></td>
<td><em>akahika</em></td>
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<td>That owner of feast</td>
<td>when</td>
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<td>and he tripped</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td><strong>Yabo bagunda booshi banayigwisa</strong></td>
<td>Those common people all</td>
<td>and they caused selves to fall</td>
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<td><strong>byanayoneka</strong></td>
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<td>and they</td>
<td>the food which they</td>
<td>it spilled</td>
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<td>15a</td>
<td><strong>[Iri]</strong></td>
<td>---</td>
<td><strong>akavyuka</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When</td>
<td></td>
<td>he got up</td>
<td><strong>there</strong></td>
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<td><strong>[15a]</strong></td>
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<td><strong>anababwira</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>he told them</td>
<td><strong>[15c]</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15c</td>
<td><strong>[Si]</strong></td>
<td>---</td>
<td><strong>keera mwanjereegesa</strong></td>
<td><strong>ibyokulya bya’bageni</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It's obvious</td>
<td>the food which they were having</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>16a</td>
<td><strong>Yabo bagunda banamúbwira</strong></td>
<td>Those common people</td>
<td>they told him</td>
<td><strong>[16b–16c]</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>16b</td>
<td><strong>[Si]</strong></td>
<td>---</td>
<td><strong>we watubwira</strong></td>
<td><strong>kwo</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It's obvious</td>
<td>you are one who you told us</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>16c</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><strong>tukizi gira</strong></td>
<td>**ngiisi kwo’gakizi gira *****</td>
<td><strong>we continuously do</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Haaho</strong></td>
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<td><strong>banatondeeza ukuhambanwa</strong></td>
<td><strong>ni’shali</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Right then</td>
<td></td>
<td>and they began to argue</td>
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<td><strong>Yabo bageni</strong></td>
<td><strong>banashiiba</strong></td>
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<td><strong>ni’shali</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Those guests</td>
<td>they remained all day</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>18b</td>
<td><strong>Uyo mwene ubugenzi</strong></td>
<td><strong>anagwatwa ne’shoni</strong></td>
<td>That owner of feast</td>
<td><strong>with hunger</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>That owner of feast</td>
<td>and he was grabbed with shame</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td><strong>Ihano</strong></td>
<td><strong>Ahali ikyoba</strong></td>
<td><strong>hattagendwa bwija</strong></td>
<td><strong>Advice</strong></td>
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Free translation
1a One man made a feast at his place, 1b and he invited some neighbors, and officials, and kings, and ten common people, 1c so that they would help him 1d in welcoming all he had invited, 1e and give them guest food.
2a And he told those common people like this, 2b “I do not want that 2c you bring me shame in front of all those people. 3a Therefore, be looking right at me 3b when you welcome them. 4a Whatever I will do, 4b and you also do that.”
5 At the time of welcoming those guests, he stood in front of them. 6 All of those common people followed him.
7a And he greeted those guests 7b while bowing his head. 8a Those common people also did that 8b when they greeted them.
9 At the time of giving guest food to those guests, 10a he raised the plate of ugali. 10b The common people also raised their plates of ugali, 10c and they followed him.
11a That one having the feast, when he arrived before those who were being served, 11b he tripped, 11c and he crashed down. 12 The food which he had spilled.
13 All those common people, 14 all the food which they had also spilled.
15a When he got up there, 15b he told them, 15c “It’s obvious that you have already spoiled the food of my guests.”
16a Those common people told him, 16b “It’s obvious that you told us 16c to be doing just what you are doing.”
17 Right then they began to fight.
18a Those guests remained with hunger all day long. 18b That one having the feast was very ashamed.
19 Advice: Where there is fear, it does not go well.
Appendix G: Text 6 *Umuhya úkananiirwa ne'kibya* ‘The new bride who was stuck to the bowl’

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<th>Post-nuclear</th>
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<td>afuluka</td>
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<td>she returned home</td>
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<td>and she place it</td>
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<td>ate nywa</td>
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<td>and she first drink</td>
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<td>11a</td>
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<td>Banayuwa</td>
<td>And they heard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11b</td>
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<td>agweti agabubulira</td>
<td>mu ngologoshi ye'yo ngingo ya shevyala</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Na yikyo kibya kya'magusha kimúnaníiri</td>
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<td>ku kanwa</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Ishoni</td>
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<td>14b</td>
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<td>ìbiri mu liibwa</td>
<td>na'bandi</td>
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**Free translation**

1a There was a young man 1b who married a wife.
2a The mother of that young man prepared food 2b and gave it to her daughter-in-law.
3a But that daughter-in-law said that 3b she does not eat ugali with worms. 3c And she said that 3d at their place they don’t eat flies.
4a This wife, when she saw 4b her mother-in-law was farming, 4c she was taking down the bowl of worms, 4d and began to eat them.
5a When mother-in-law returned home, 5b she encountered 5c that bowl is now empty.
6a Mother-in-law was very puzzled, 6b and she asked her husband, 6c “What is eating the worms in this bowl?”
7a Her husband, when he heard that, 7b he cursed that bowl, 7c and both of them went to farm.
8a When it was daytime, 8b that daughter-in-law of them climbed on the bed of gather-in-law, 8c and she took it down, 8d and she placed it to her mouth, 8e and first drank some of the soup.
9a That bowl stuck to her mouth, 9b because father-in-law had placed on it a curse.
10a When they returned home, 10b “Where has my new wife gone?” 11a And they heard that 11b she is wailing in the space under the bed of father-in-law.
12 And that bowl of worms was stuck to her mouth.
13 And she was very ashamed.
14a Advice: Do not criticize the food 14b which is eaten by others.
Appendix H: Text 7 *Umushosi úkakolerana inwabovyala* ‘The man who preferred to serve his father-in-law’

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<th>Post-nuclear</th>
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<td>Hâli riiri</td>
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<td></td>
<td>There was</td>
<td>man one poor</td>
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<td>who lived</td>
<td>ku njira yo'kukolerana</td>
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<td>In that serving others</td>
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<td>anagonda</td>
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<td>and he married</td>
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<td>When</td>
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<td>he was he sitting</td>
<td>at his place</td>
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<td>[3a]</td>
<td></td>
<td>i gwembe yi'bwami yanayija</td>
<td>ha mwage</td>
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<td>a message of kingdom came</td>
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<td>[---]</td>
<td>azindukiri gendi kola</td>
<td>he early in the morning go serve</td>
<td>i bwami</td>
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<td>at his place</td>
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<td>Right then</td>
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<td>came from</td>
<td>the in-laws</td>
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<td>zindukiri gendi kolera shevyala</td>
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<td>he early in the morning go serve</td>
<td>the in-laws</td>
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<td>where that</td>
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<td>he is about going serve</td>
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<td>[5a–5b]</td>
<td>igindi ndumwa yanashaaga</td>
<td>i bwami</td>
<td>from king's place</td>
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<td>another message</td>
<td>came</td>
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<td>yanamúbwira</td>
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<td>and it told him</td>
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<td>adeta</td>
<td>The king says</td>
<td>kwo</td>
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<td>iri</td>
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<td>Uyo shevyala naye anadeta</td>
<td>That father-in-law and he said</td>
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<td>shevyala</td>
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<td>Anayabiira</td>
<td>ibikolanwa</td>
<td>And he took</td>
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<td>---</td>
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<td>ku mukolwa gwe'mwabovya</td>
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<td>ye bayuviikiini</td>
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<td>and go live</td>
<td>well</td>
<td>with his wife</td>
<td>there where he moved to</td>
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<td>Shevyla wo'mundu ye</td>
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<td>ku mwami</td>
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<td>Advice</td>
<td>Father-in-law of a person is one who is big relative to king</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Free translation**

1a There was one poor man 1b who lived by serving others. 2a In that serving, he acquired some wealth, 2b and he used them to marry a wife. 3a When he was sitting down at his place, 3b a message from the king came that 3c he go early in the morning to the king’s place. 4a Right then another message came from the in-laws that 4b he go early in the morning to his father-in-law. 5a When he was still thinking about 5b where he is going to serve, 5c another messenger came from the king’s place 5d and told him, 5e-f “If you do not go early in the morning to serve at his place, 5g he will cut you off.” 6a That father-in-law also said, 6b “If you do not go early in the morning to serve me, 6c I will take from you my daughter.” 7a That man, when he thought to himself, 7b he saw that 7c he is going to serve father-in-law. 8a And he took the utensils, 8b and went early in the morning to the work of his in-laws. 9a He did that 9b because whoever is getting along with the in-laws, 9c he would move with his family, 9d and go live well with his wife at the place where they moved to. 10 Advice: The father-in-law is the one who is important relative to the king.
## Appendix I: Text 8 *Ubugoma bwe'ndare ne'ngaavu* ‘Enmity between lion and cow’

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<td>and she began to fight</td>
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<td>it does not end</td>
<td>like rain</td>
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Free translation
1a There was a lion and a cow. 2a That lion and cow made a friendship, 2b and they went and dug crops. 3a In the field where they were
digging crops, 3b they encountered 3c a very good valley 3d and they built there. 3e And they went looking for things which they could take
care of in that house.
4a After a few days, the lion got pregnant, 4b and it gave birth to a child, 4c and it went looking for food for him. 5a In a few days, the cow and
she also got pregnant, 5b and she also gave birth to a child, 5c and she also repeatedly went searching for food for it. 6 Those children they both
habitually remained playing. 7 In that playing, the child of the cow killed the child of the lion. 8a The cow returned home, 8b and it encountered
8c the child of the lion is already dead. 9a The cow asked: 9b “What killed this child of the lion?” 10a The child of the cow told it: 10b “We were
previously playing, 10c and I killed it.” 11a That cow saw that 11b that child had already died 11c and it asked itself that 11d it leave there. 12a
And it took that its child, 12b and it immediately ran.
13a When it arrived in the path, 13b it encountered one old man 13c and it told him that 13d he hide him. 14a That old man asked it: 14b “I
will hide you for what?” 15a And it told him: 15b “My child was previously playing with the child of the lion, 15c and it killed him.” 16a That
man carried that cow and its child 16b and he went and hid him in his place. 17a That man told that cow: 17b “If you hear 17c that a rooster is
crowing, 17d that’s when the lion has arrived.”
18a The lion, when it left the place where it was looking for food, 18b it encountered 18c its child is already dead. 19a The lion encountered 19b
its child is already dead, 19c and it began to cry. 20a When it was looking at the place of the cow and its child, 20b it no longer saw them, 20c
and it said that 20d the cow is the one who killed its child. 21 Right then it immediately went looking for the cow.
22a When he arrived in the path, 22b he appeared to that old man. 23a The lion asked that old man: 23b “O old man, is there no cow 23c which
passed here?” 24 That rooster immediately crowed. 25a That rooster, when it crowed, 25b that’s when the cow said: 25c “Lion, that one who
passed.”
26a The lion, when it followed that path, 26b it went and arrived at the end (of the trail). 27a The lion again returned to where that old man
was 27b and said to him: 27c “O old man, is there no cow 27d which passed here?” 28a That old man told the lion: 28b “Allow me to first go
drink water, 28c we subsequently coming converse.” 29a That old man went and told that cow in the house: 29b “Lion is waiting for you here
outside.” 29c The cow immediately remained right there in the house, together with the child of it.
30a The days when they were many, 30b the child of the cow died from hunger. 31 The cow began to weep for its child. 32a The lion heard that
32b it is now crying for its child. 33a The lion told that old man: 33b “It’s obvious you refused that 33c the cow is not here. 34 It’s obvious that
very one is crying.” 35a That old man said: 35b “No, it’s not a cow, 35c it’s a goat.” 36a The lion told him: 36b “You open up, 36c I will see 36d
if it is not the cow.” 37a The lion told that old man: 37b “If you do not open up for me, 37c I will eat you.” 38 That old man opened up. 39a The
lion saw the cow, 39b and it asked it: 39c “O cow, who killed my child?” 40a The cow said: 40b “I don’t know.” 41a The lion asked him: 41b
“What did you run from?” 42a Right then the lion began to fight with the cow, 42b and it killed it.
43a The story, that’s where it ends there. 43b but it’s obvious it does not end like rain.
Appendix J: Text 9 *Umutabana úkalahira abanyere* ‘The young man who refused to marry girls’

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Free translation

1a There was one young man 1b who wanted to marry a woman. 2a That young man, when they showed him all the girls in their village, 2b he said that 2c HE, there is no girl which 2d he likes. 3a And he said that 3b HE must marry a woman 3c who resembles his mother, 3d and who has a shape which is like that of his mother. 4a That young man went.EM outside of village, 4b and he went looking for women 4c and he did not see them.

5a When it was now one day, 5b as soon as he crossed.EM the river, 5c he encountered a girl, 5d sitting under a tree. 6a When he saw her, he said: 6b “No! This very one is the one that resembles my mother, 6c and a body like that of my mother!” 7a That young man told her: 7b “O girl, I like you, 7c I’m about to marry you.” 8a And she also said: 8b “Yes, marry me.” 9 And they set out on the path. 10a When they arrived in the path, 10b they arrived at a river. 11a That girl said: 11b “No, ME, I will not cross the river. 11c It’s obvious you carry me on the back.” 12a That young man said: 12b “No problem, will it defeat me to cross you over the river?” 13 That young man placed her on his back 13a In the river, kagata, kagata, 13b the river vwo, vwo, vwo, 14 and they crossed over the river.

15a When they arrived.EM across, 15b the new wife said: 15c “Oh my! Will the new bride get down here? 15d Cause me to arrive to the house. 15e Me the new wife, will I go.EM with the feet again, 15f we the ones who are now going to the village.” 16a That young man quote: 16b “No, we will go.” 17a And he arrived.EM at their home, 17b it’s now afternoon, and he barged into the house, 17c and he told.EM his mother: 17d “O my mother, I have brought a new bride. 17e Give me food.” 18a The mother quote: 18b “Will you not eat in here?” 19a And he said: 19b “No, bring it to me in here.”

20a To tell the new wife: 20b “Get down.EM off the back!” 20c “It’s obvious I will not get down” 20d “Get down off the back.” 20e “It’s obvious I will not get down.” 21a He laid with her on the back, 21b and he spent the day with her on the back. 22 A week puu! 23 A month puu! 24 O comrades, the person will die!

25 That news, they told it to other men. 26a Those men, when they heard it, 26b they said: 26c “O my! A demon this one he has brought!” 27 “Is that so? A demon.” 28 “Yes.” 29a Others said: 29b “How.EM will you get rid of it?” 30 They said: “They do.EM this. There’s no use!”

31a Other men told them: 31b “You take a bull, 31c a bull that you castrated, 31d and which has much fat, 31e he again carries it right there (where) he took it (demon). 32a You go and slaughter that bull, 32b and you place all those meats, and intestine fat and intestine fat on the fire.” 33a OK then! They went ahead of that young man, 33b and they made it arrive under that tree, 33c and they stabbed it with the knife, 33d and it placed on the firewood. 34 That bull, and it began to burn. 35 The roasting smell was repeatedly felt. 36a That young man repeatedly told it (demon) 36b “You roast it well! 36c You are burning it! 63d You roast it well! 36e You are burning it!” 37a In saying thusly: 37b “You roast it well, 37c you are burning it,” 37d that demon and also it pulled out its fingernails. 38a That spirit, when it really smelled 38b the roasting smell was very sweet in the nose, it immediately flew, really, to those meats.

39a That young man, he immediately left there with
those people, 39b and they immediately dashed off, 39c and they crossed that river 39d and they went home. 40 Thus that demon remained.EM with those meats.
41a That’s where the story ends, 41b and that also is where it ends.
### Appendix K: Text 10 *Umushosi muhiizi* ‘The farmer man’

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**Free translation**

1a There was one man 1b who farmed the field of him. 2a When it was one day this time, 2b that man going stuck in it a tree 2c and he smeared it with glue. 3a The rabbit, as soon as he came, 3b he was seized on that glue. 4a That man told his son: 4b “O my child, carry this rabbit to the village; 4c he’s the one I am going to eat with my ugali.”

5a When they arrived in the path, 5b that rabbit asked that child: 5c “O child, did you hear what your father said?” 6a And he said: 6b “Yes, my father said that 6c I carry you to the village 6d because you are the one he will eat with his ugali.” 7a The rabbit said: 7b “No! Your father said that 7c I am his guest. 7d You go tell your mother that 7e she grab that rooster 7f which is at the village. 7g and you give it to me as guest food 7h they slaughter it before 7i he leaves the field.” 8a That child said: 8b “O, thusly.”
When they arrived, that child told his mother they seize that rooster, and they give it as guest food to the rabbit. The father will return. The mother grabbed that rooster, and she slaughtered it, and she gave it as guest food to the rabbit. The rabbit, they placed him in the guest house. The rabbit, when it was remaining. There in the guest house, it has already eaten, and has already gotten full, and it dug a hole, and it (hole) went until outside, and he remained. Right in there, he's lying down beside the hole.

That man there in the field said: “Am I the one who will buy my meat? Am I going to go eat it in the night?” And he went home. And he arrived at the village, and they gave him water, and he washed the mud from feet and from hands. And he said: “Give me food.” And they gave him food. As soon as he coming saw ugali and bitter vegetables, he said: “Did I send for bitter vegetables? It’s obvious I left my meat here. Where has it gone?” His wife said: “Is there meat you sent? It’s obvious the son of yours has brought a guest here.” He said that we seize that rooster of yours that we serve it as guest food to him.” That man said: “Is it that the rooster which you have choked? That’s what you gave the rabbit?” She said: “Yes.” “Where is he?” She said: “That one over there, he is laying down there in the guest house.” That man took his spear.

As soon as he arrived at the door, the rabbit immediately entered into that hole. That man grabbed the tail. And the rabbit said: “There is the one who grabbed the roots, thinking he has already grabbed the rabbit,” and he let go. The rabbit immediately appeared outside. That man remained grumbling that his child does not have ears.

The story, that’s where it ends, and that’s where it comes to an end.
Appendix L: Text 11 *Byoshi ñbibonwa bitadetwa* ‘Everything that is seen is not spoken’

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| 6c | Outer: *mushosi*  
    Inner: *man*  
    Subject: *abona*  
    Verb: *he sees*  
    O/C: *i lubako*  
    Inner: *bya*  
    Outer: *bya* | | |
| 6d | Outer: *akizi deta*  
    Inner: *he continuously speaks*  
    Subject: *i kaaya*  
    Verb: *at village* | | |
| 7 | Outer: *Uyo daata*  
    Inner: *That my father*  
    Subject: *he did not listen* | | |
| 8a | Outer: *Leero*  
    Inner: *liusiku*  
    Subject: *luguma*  
    Verb: *anaha*  
    O/C: *lwage luhande*  
    Inner: *and he gave*  
    Outer: *of his side* | | |
| 8b | Outer: *anahumaanana*  
    Inner: *he encountered*  
    Subject: *itwe lisira kimbiri-mbiri*  
    Verb: *head without body* | | |
| 8c | Outer: *analishulika*  
    Inner: *and he hit it*  
    Subject: *kwe ngoni*  
    Verb: *head with stick* | | |
| 8d | Outer: *analibuzza*  
    Inner: *and he asked*  
    Subject: *[8e] | | |
| 8e | Outer: *[Kituma kiki]*  
    Inner: *Why*  
    Subject: *you died*  
    Verb: *ukafwa*  
    O/C: *[8e] | | |
| 9a | Outer: *Lyanamúshuvya*  
    Inner: *And it answered*  
    Subject: *[9b] | | |
| 9b | Outer: *[Higulu]*  
    Inner: *Because*  
    Subject: *he will going tell king*  
    Verb: *ngiisi kindu*  
    O/C: *[10b-10c] | | |
| 10a | Outer: *Anataaha akola*  
    Inner: *And he went home he is now*  
    Subject: *no busiime*  
    Verb: *with happiness*  
    O/C: *kwo*  
    Inner: *[10b-10c] | | |
| 10b | Outer: *alonga*  
    Inner: *he got*  
    Subject: *umwazi*  
    Verb: *news*  
    O/C: *gwo*  
    Inner: *which* | | |
| 10c | Outer: *agagendi bwira*  
    Inner: *he will going tell*  
    Subject: *mwami*  
    Verb: *king* | | |
| 11a | Outer: *[Iri]*  
    Inner: *When*  
    Subject: *he arrived*  
    Verb: *akhaka* | | |
| 11b | Outer: *[11a]*  
    Inner: *he has not swallowed*  
    Subject: *matt*  
    Verb: *spit* | | |
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Free translation
1a Back in the past there was a king. 1b That king had three close friends. 2a That king told those close friends of his that 2b they be going to hunt wild animals for him. 3 Those close friends continuously went hunting for him.
4a One was a blabber mouth. 4b There was no small thing which was seen there where they spent the day, 4c that he did not come and tell the king.
5a His comrades tried to stop him relative to that habit, 5b but he was too much for them. 6a And they told him twice 6b that it is not everything 6c which a man he sees in the jungle 6d which he speaks in the village. 7 That my father he did not listen.
8a This time one day, he went his own way. 8b And he encountered a head without a body, 8c and he hit it with a stick, 8d and he asked: 8e “Why did you die?”
9a And it answered: 9b “Because of saying everything.” 10a And he went home happy 10b that he has gotten news 10c to go tell the king.
11a When he arrived, 11b without delay, 11c he immediately made known that news of his.
12a The king immediately called his leaders, 12b and told them 12c that his blabber mouth has already gone around lying.
12d This time when they went, 12e he went and showed them that head 12f which speaks, 12g although it does not have a body. 12h And he gave permission 12i that when he lies, 12j they leave him right there (kill him).
13a Those attendants took off on the path with that my father.
13b When they arrived there, 13c they encountered that head is still there. 14a And they told him that 14b he should do just 14c what he did, 14d so the head speaks.
15a And he took that stick of his, 15b and he hit it on that head. 15c And he asked it: 15d “Why did you die?” 16 That head did not answer.
17a Those attendants immediately grabbed him, 17b and choked him.
18a When they had already laid him down there, 18b that head said: 18c “What did I tell you? 18d Did I not tell you that 18e I died 18f from speaking too much! 18g Have you already not died!”
19a Those attendants were shocked. 19b And they went home 19c sad, because 19d they have already committed the unmentionable, 19e and the matters where true.
20a And they came and told the king 20b how they went, 20c and that they killed my father, and 20d afterwards the head spoke. 21a The king said: 21b “If something is spilled, 21c it is not again gathered up!”
Appendix M: Text 12 *Ingaavu íkayihabura ku zaabo* ‘The cow that got lost from its fellows’

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<td>umutumba gwa iyo ngaavu</td>
<td>That lion and that leopard and that hawk</td>
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**Free translation**

1a There were cows of one man, 1b and they were eating grass. 2a When they arrived in the bush, 2b one wandered off in its own direction, 2c while going on feeding. 3a When it was already full, 3b it returned, 3c and it did not find where 3d it left its comrades, 3e and it took its own different path, 3f and it got lost, 3g its comrades returned home. 4a Its owner went looking for it, 4b and did not find it.

5 That cow went until it appeared in the jungle of lion. 6a The lion saw it 6b and welcomed it. 7a That cow was afraid 7b and said: 7c “O my comrade! Will you not eat me?” 8 The lion responded negatively.

9a That cow approached that lion, 9b and they greeted each other, 9c but cow continued to fear very much. 10a That cow said that 10b he will soon return.

11a The lion told him: 11b “Let's live together, because 11c even me, I live alone. 11d I have already denied that 11e I will not eat you, 11f since you are a friend of mine, 11g and you are now my neighbor.”

12a That cow agreed that 12b they live together, 12c because it still does not know the path 12d by which it would return. 13 That fear which he had was finished off.

14a When a few days passed, 14b that lion got sick, 14c and it has two friends, leopard and hawk. 15a And they came to check it out, 15b and they saw that 15c it is already very skinny, 15d and they asked it: 15e “What caused you to get skinny like this?” 16a That lion answered: 16b “Hunger is what it caused me to get skinny like this. 16c Sickness alone would not cause me to get skinny like this.”

17a That leopard and that hawk talked privately to that lion, 17b and they told it: 17c “Would you not eat this cow?” 18a The lion said: 18b “No! I will not eat this friend of mine. 18c I will just die instead of 18d eating him.” 19a Hawk was very sad that 19b their friend lion is about to die of hunger.

20a That hawk again told that lion like this: 20b “This cow, if it would say itself that 20c you eat it, instead of 20d dying with this hunger, 20e will you not eat it?” 21a That lion said: 21b “You my friends from long ago, since you say that 21c I eat it, 21d I would eat it.” 22a That hawk and that leopard went home with the expectation 22b that they also will get supper there.
When some days had passed, they came to see if that lion has already eaten that cow, and this they encountered that lion it is now about to die with hunger.

Leopard asked lion: “Hey you! Why you did not do what we told you?”

That leopard said: “OK then! Let me be the one you will eat instead of dying of hunger.” The lion refused that it will eat that leopard.

Hawk said that he be the one who lion eats, but it again refused to eat that hawk.

That cow when it heard his comrades say that it eat them, and it did not eat them, and it also said: “Let me be the one who you will eat.”

That lion was quiet, and the hawk winked its eyelash. The lion jumped on the neck of that cow, and it brought her down, and she immediately died. That lion and that leopard, and that hawk circled around the corpse of that cow, and they began to devour it.

Advice: Be careful not to remove yourself from others with the intent of following your own unique path, so you don't find yourself going where you will not escape.
## Appendix N: Text 13 *Ukuhiiva* ‘Hunting’

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<td>Because</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Abafuliiru</td>
<td>byo bayittira i ruhiiviro</td>
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<td>The Bafuliiru</td>
<td>things which they killed on hunt</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Yi hyo hikolo</td>
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<td>That small monkey</td>
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<td>Mukuba</td>
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Free translation

1 One day I together with my paternal uncle of Rushubi we went hunting for gazelle. 2a When we got it (gazelle) up, 2b it ran very much, 2c and it left us behind, 3a because we were only two, 3b and we were taking only one dog. 4a In returning, 4b about the time of noon, 4c now already the sun has hit us, 4d we passed on one side 4e where there were trees. 5a Surprise! There is a monkey, 5b with its child. 6 The dogs smelled the path of that monkey. 7a That monkey heard the dogs and bells, 7b and it climbed on the tree. 7c When it had climbed on the tree, 7d we together with that father of mine, we picked up stones, 7e and we repeatedly flung them there at the tree, 8 and the dogs, and they also are underneath. 9a Bad luck of that monkey, that father’s brother immediately struck it on the head, 9b and it died 9c and it dropped down. 10a Its child, when it saw that 10b the mother has died, 10c and it immediately ran. 11a The dogs immediately ran after it, 11b and they grabbed it, 11c and they immediately tore it apart. 12a We picked up the mother, 12b and we wrapped her up, 12c and we went home with her. 13a At that time, that's when there's no Mufuliiru 13b who had ever eaten monkey. 14a That monkey, when we brought it to the village, 14b we hung it on a tree. 15a When it dawned in the morning bright and early, 15b he told me: 15c “O my son, carry.EM this monkey to the market, 15d go and sell it.” 15e Whatever monies 15f that you get from it, 15g you come having spent them for food. 16 And I agreed. 17 That monkey, I went down with it in a package. 18a When I arrived with it in the market of Kiliba, 18b I appeared to another of our brothers. 18c He asked me: 18d “What is that, which is in the package?” 19a I told him that 19b a monkey is what I'm selling. 20a And he told me that 20b I wait 20c the Lega will come and buy it. 21a When the market was already in full swing, 21b the Lega bought it. 22a Those monies (that) they bought it with, I went and bought food at the market 22b and I went home. 23a When I arrived at the village, 23b I encountered 23c that father's brother is there. 24a Those (things) which I bought, I entrusted them to him. 24b And he looked at me, 24c and he told me that 24d I divide them up. 25a We threw them on the winnowing basket, 25b and I broke them into two piles, a big and a little. 26a And from some of those large ones I scooped up a few small fish. 26b And I again scooped up from those small ones a few small fish. 26c And I divided them among my younger brothers who were sitting there, 26d and I repeatedly divided up those small fish. 27a That father’s brother was very pleased. 27b And he said that 27c I am now a man 27d even though I’m still a young child, 27e in that I gave my small brothers from the things that we divided. 28 Because the things of hunting, the owner of the dog is the one who carries a large group. 29 The Bafuliiru, the things that they kill at the hunting place, they divided them up right there. 30 That little monkey, we took it home, 31a because the Bafuliiru did not habitually eat it; 31b that's why we went home with it, 31c and went and sold it to the Lega. 32a That's how 32b the things of hunting were always done.
References


