



Fuliiru Narrative Discourse

Roger Van Otterloo

Fuliiru Narrative Discourse

Roger Van Otterloo

SIL International
2015

SIL Language and Culture Documentation and Description
32

©2015 SIL International®

ISSN 1939-0785

Fair Use Policy

Documents published in the Language and Culture Documentation and Description series are intended for scholarly research and educational use. You may make copies of these publications for research or instructional purposes (under fair use guidelines) free of charge and without further permission. Republication or commercial use of Language and Culture Documentation and Description or the documents contained therein is expressly prohibited without the written consent of the copyright holder(s).

Series Editor

Mike Cahill

Content Editor

Chewlan Lastufka

Compositor

Margaret González

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.

Contents

Abstract

Introduction

A note on the texts

1 Constituents of a narrative text

- 1.1 Text charted by story constituents
- 1.2 General conclusions
 - 1.2.1 Story introduction
 - 1.2.2 Inciting moment
 - 1.2.3 Developmental episodes
 - 1.2.4 Peak
 - 1.2.5 Denouement
 - 1.2.6 Conclusion

2 Paragraphs

- 2.1 Text charted by paragraphs
- 2.2 Rules derived from the text T2
 - 2.2.1 At the boundary between introduction and inciting episode
 - 2.2.2 When major characters change location
 - 2.2.3 When there is a new time
 - 2.2.4 After quick tight-knit conversation
 - 2.2.5 At major sections of reported speech
 - 2.2.6 Before the conclusion
- 2.3 Points of departure to separate paragraphs
 - 2.3.1 Collaborative evidence for establishing points of departure
 - 2.3.2 Use of points of departure in narrative texts
 - 2.3.3 Text charted by paragraphs, with PoDs
 - 2.3.4 Temporal PoDs in non-quoted material
 - 2.3.5 Dependent clauses in tail-head structures in non-quoted material
 - 2.3.6 Referential PoDs in non-quoted material
 - 2.3.7 Conjunctions in non-quoted material
- 2.4 Nouns of direct address as PoDs in reported speech
- 2.5 Background tenses
 - 2.5.1 Remote past tense
 - 2.5.2 Resultative tense
- 2.6 Tail-head marking for new paragraphs
 - 2.6.1 Default tail-head linkage
 - 2.6.2 Immediate tail-head linkage
 - 2.6.3 Reduced tail-head linkage
- 2.7 Event line marked by sequential tenses
 - 2.7.1 Default sequential
 - 2.7.2 Predictable sequential
- 2.8 Conclusion marked by timeless clause

3 Participant reference

- 3.1 Introduction of main participants
- 3.2 Placement of noun phrases versus prefix pronouns
- 3.3 Function of default self-standing pronouns
- 3.4 Function of alternative pronouns
- 3.5 Function of exclusive pronouns
- 3.6 Additive pronouns

4 Thematic development markers

- 4.1 Ongoing thematic development using one demonstrative type

- 4.2 Ongoing thematic development using two demonstrative types
- 4.3 Overall story theme indicated by relative clauses
 - 4.3.1 Relative clauses marking theme in introduction
 - 4.3.2 Relative clauses summarizing theme in conclusion
 - 4.3.3 Relative clauses that are only restrictive, not marking theme
- 4.4 Examples of prominent theme marking through constituent dislocation
- 4.5 Various ways constituents can be dislocated
 - 4.5.1 Preposing a clause subject before the clause conjunction.
 - 4.5.2 Preposing a clause object
 - 4.5.3 Preposing a locative phrase
- 4.6 Prominent theme marking through identificational articulation
 - 4.6.1 Identificational articulation in statement form
 - 4.6.2 Identificational articulation in some non-verbal clauses
 - 4.6.3 Negative focus copula
 - 4.6.4 Identificational articulation in question form
 - 4.6.5 Text displaying identification articulation
 - 4.6.6 Identificational articulation marking thematic salience
- 5 Information structure**
 - 5.1 Topic-comment articulation: maintaining relative placement of old and new information
 - 5.2 Promoting to object, to make room for new focal constituent
- 6 Emphatic prominence: anticipating an important event**
 - 6.1 Anticipating important event with -ag verbal suffix
 - 6.1.1 Rules for suffix -ag in non-quoted material
 - 6.1.2 Rules for suffix -ag in speech quotes
 - 6.2 Emphatic prominence with cl. 16 *ha-* prefix
- 7 Reported speech**
 - 7.1 Text displaying reported speech
 - 7.2 Reported speech conventions followed in this text
 - 7.2.1 Direct/indirect speech reporting.
 - 7.2.2 Quote markers
 - 7.2.3 Tight-knit conversations
- 8 Interjections for communicating emotion, or implications**
 - 8.1 Examples from a complete text
 - 8.2 Some common interjections
 - 8.3 Sample interjections in sentences
- 9 Ideophones for communicating vividness**
 - 9.1 Common ideophones
 - 9.2 Ideophones in sentences
- Appendix A: Pauses**
 - A.1 Introduction
 - A.2 Text displaying pauses
 - A.3 Rules derived from text for marking commas
 - A.3.1 Between topic and comment
 - A.3.2 Before ideophones
 - A.3.3 After points of departure
 - A.3.4 After interjections
 - A.3.5 After nouns of direct address
 - A.3.6 After preposed elements
 - A.3.7 Slowing down highly thematic material
 - A.4 Rules derived from text for marking periods
- Appendix B: Text 1 *Ibihebe bibiri ku kilalo* ‘Two goats on a bridge’**
- Appendix C: Text 2 *Imbongo na mukaayo* ‘The gazelle and his wife’**
- Appendix D: Text 3 *Ingware no'mujoka* ‘Quail and snake’**

Appendix D: Text 3 *Ingwane no'mujoka* 'Quail and snake'

Appendix E: Text 4 *Namukukuzo ne'mbulu* 'Guinea fowl and lizard'

Appendix F: Text 5 *Ubugeni bwa'mushosi muguma* 'The wedding feast of one man'

Appendix G: Text 6 *Umuhya úkananiirwa ne'kibya* 'The new bride who was stuck to the bowl'

Appendix H: Text 7 *Umushosi úkakolerana imwabovyala* 'The man who preferred to serve his father-in-law'

Appendix I: Text 8 *Ubugoma bwe'ndare ne'ngaavu* 'Enmity between lion and cow'

Appendix J: Text 9 *Umutabana úkalahira abanyere* 'The young man who refused to marry girls'

Appendix K: Text 10 *Umushosi muhiizi* 'The farmer man'

Appendix L: Text 11 *Byoshi íbibonwa bitadetwa* 'Everything that is seen is not spoken'

Appendix M: Text 12 *Ingaavu íkayihabura ku zaabo* 'The cow that got lost from its fellows'

Appendix N: Text 13 *Ukuhiiva* 'Hunting'

References

Introduction

Fuliiru¹ 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.

¹The Fuliiru language is pronounced *Kifuliiru* by the speakers themselves. The people are called *Bafuliiru*.

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

³In 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 makers 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 *lye’kiti*. 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’genda*. 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. *anagandaga* ‘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 1. Abbreviations

Label	Description	Label	Description
TDM	Thematic development marker	POD	Point of departure
EM	Emphatic marker	P3	Remote past tense
MP	Major participant	P2	Default past tense
(T)	Text number	---	Subject or verb not specified in chart
(L)	Line number	.DTD	Default thematic development
		.MTD	Marked thematic development

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,⁴ 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

Section	Function	Typical linguistic features
Introduction (stage)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Introduces major participant (MP) Provides a time/place setting for the story Foreshadows story purpose 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Presentation formula for major participant Provision of time and place background Background tenses Foreshadowing of story theme
Inciting episode	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gets the story moving 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Use of point of departure (PoD), for example the phrase ‘one day’ or equivalent Often a verb of movement
Developmental episodes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Develops the conflict 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Episodes (paragraphs) that develop a conflict needing to be resolved. Often multiple paragraphs Use of a narrative tense
Peak episode	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Maximizes tension, brings story to a climax 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Heightened vividness/detail Use of ideophones Shift of tense Suppression of transitional markers
Denouement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Resolves tension 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inclusion of predictable elements, resulting from what happened at peak
Conclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explains moral 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Moral stated directly or by a proverb

1.1 Text charted by story constituents

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

Section	Text	Linguistic features
Introduction	<p><i>Hâli riiri ingware, iyâli kizi genda igalooza bye'galya mu kishuka.</i> There was a quail, which was going looking in the bush for something to eat.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Presentation formula for major participant (MP): <i>Hâli riiri ingware</i> ‘There was a quail’ Use of the background tense <i>âli</i>: <i>Hâli, riiri</i> ‘there was’, <i>iyâli kizi genda</i> ‘it was going’ Relative clause to mark the theme of the story: <i>iyâli kizi genda igalooza bye'galya</i> ‘which was going looking for what it would eat’

⁴For the purposes of this study, the term peak includes ‘pre-peak’ and ‘post-peak’.

Section	Text	Linguistic features
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction of the general place <i>mu kishuka</i> ‘in the bush’
Inciting episode	<p><i>Lusiku luguma, yanagwanana umujoka gukola mu kita-kita, mukuba ikishuka gwo âli riiri mwo kyâli kola mu hiira.</i></p> <p>One day, it encountered snake, slithering back and forth, because the bush they were in was burning.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of the temporal PoD <i>lusiku luguma</i> ‘one day’ to begin event line • Use of the narrative tense <i>ana-</i> ‘and’ in the verb <i>yanagwanana</i> ‘it encountered’ • Presentation of the problem or conflict: <i>mujoka gukola mu kukita-kita</i> ‘the snake is slithering back and forth’
Developmental episodes	<p><i>Yugwo mujoka gwanabwira iyo ngware kwokuno, “E mwira wani! Ungize na yugu muliro.” Ingware yanashuvya, “Nangakukizûzi, haliko ndaakwo ngakutelula.”</i></p> <p>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.”</p> <p><i>Yugwo mujoka gwanabwira iyo ngware, “Ngakuyizingira mwi’gosi, unambalalane halinde ikajabo ko’lwiji.” Iyo ngware, iri akayuvwa kwokwo, yanayemeera, yanagoola igosi.</i></p> <p>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.</p> <p><i>Yugwo mujoka gwanayizongeza mwo, yanagubalalana, yanatwa ikajabo ko’lwiji, yanabwira yugwo mujoka “Tuluukaga!”</i></p> <p>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!”</p> <p><i>Yugwo mujoka gwanadeta kwo keera gwashalika bweneene. Iyo ngware yanagubwira kwo gutuluuke, gira gugende gugalooza ibyo gugaalya.</i></p> <p>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.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Episodes (paragraphs) that develop the conflict • Direct speech reporting: “<i>E mwira wani, ungize na yugu muliro.</i>” “O my friend! Save me from this fire!” • An emphatic speech marker <i>kwokuno</i> ‘like this’ • Use of demonstratives as development markers: <i>iyô</i> ‘that’, <i>yugwo</i> ‘that’, etc. • Use of the <i>ana-</i> narrative past throughout: <i>gwanabwira</i> ‘and it told’, <i>yanashuvya</i> ‘and it answered’, etc. • Use of the <i>-ag</i> ‘emphatic marker (EM)’ suffix on verb <i>Tuluukaga!</i> ‘Get down now!’
Peak episode	<p><i>Gwanabwira iyo ngware kwokuno, “Ndakihiti imisi yo’kugenda ngalooza ibindi byokulya, wehe we ngola ngaalya.”</i></p> <p>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.”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of the demonstrative as development marker: <i>iyô ngware</i> ‘that quail’ • Use of identificational articulation: <i>wehe we ngola ngaalya</i> ‘You are the one that I am going to eat.’ • Direct speech

Section	Text	Linguistic features
Denouement	<i>Yugwo mujoka gwanamira iyo ngware, gutanakitona kwo iyo ngware yo yatuma gutasingooka na yugwo muliro.</i> That snake swallowed that quail, and it did not know that that quail is what saved it from being burned by that fire.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Predictable elements: <i>Yugwo mujoka gwanamira iyo ngware</i> ‘That snake swallowed that quail’ Use of demonstrative marker as development marker: <i>Yugwo mujoka</i> ‘That snake’, <i>iyo ngware</i> ‘that quail’, and <i>yugwo muliro</i> ‘that fire’
Conclusion	<i>IHANO: Utagwate ubwira ne'ndyalya, mukuba yangakuyita utanamanya.</i> Advice: Do not be friends with a devious person, because it might eat you, and you aren't even aware.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Proverb summarizing moral: <i>Utagwate ubwira ne'ndyalya</i> ‘Don't make friends with a devious person.’

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 *âli* ‘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 *hâli riiri* ‘there was’ (which includes the background P3 tense prefix *âli* ‘was’). The main participant *mutabana* ‘young man’ is marked by the numeral *muguma* ‘one’. Following is a relative clause *ûkalooza 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) *Hâli riiri umutabana muguma ûkalooza 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 *hâli 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) *Hâli riiri mushosi muguma, iziina lyage ye bwoba. Uyo mushosi, iri bwâli kizi yira, atagaki boneka hambuga.*
There was man one name his is fear. That man, when it was habitually being 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 ngiisi mulala banakizi*
 There was girl One. That girl young men of each tribe and they habitually
yiji mûtiza, analahire. 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 mûtiza.
 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
bagapuumuka.
 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) *Uole utayilyose ku bandi mbu ukulikire yawe-yawe njira.*
 Look do not remove yourself from others in order to follow your 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 lunahekerera, 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 Fuliru story is presented to exemplify where paragraph breaks are naturally placed, based on the criteria just mentioned.

Table 4. Paragraphs in *Imbongo na mukaayo* ‘The gazelle and his wife’ (T2)

Text	Explanation
<p>(a) <i>Hâli riiri imbongo, na mukaayo, no'mwana wazo. Iyo mbongo, yâli tuuziri mu kabanda kaguma kiija, kâli riiri ne'kishungu-shungu kye'biti bye'mimbati. Yibyô bitî byâli hiiti akalaala kiija bweneene. Iyo mbongo, yanatuula yaho siku nyingi bweneene.</i></p> <p>There was a gazelle, and its wife, and its children. That gazelle lived in one nice plain, which had plants like cassava. Those trees had very nice leaves. The gazelle lived there many days.</p>	<p>All of paragraph 1 is background. (Note the formulaic introduction of the major participant. Also notice the <i>âli</i> tense used throughout.) Thus this entire section is one paragraph.</p>
<p>(b) <i>Iri hakaba lusiku luguma, yanabwira mukaayo, kuguma no'yo mwana, “Buli bwija tubunge, tulyoke hano. Haliko ngagendi laguza, gira umulaguzi ambwire ngiisi kwo ngaagira.”</i></p> <p>When it was one day, it told its wife, together with its son, “It’s good for us to move. Let’s leave here. But I will go consult fortune teller, so that he tells me just what I should do.”</p>	<p>The border between background and inciting moment is marked by the formulaic <i>Iri hakaba lusiku luguma</i> ‘When it was one day’. Note the P2 <i>ka-</i> prefix on the verb, which helps to define a new paragraph.</p> <p>The fact that the story is now event line is marked by the narrative tense prefix <i>ana-</i> on the verb <i>yanabwira</i> ‘and it said’.</p>
<p>(c) <i>Iyo mbongo yanagenda imwo'yo mulaguzi. Naye anagibwira, “Ukwiriiri ulyoke yaho, mukuba keera ingwi yahahigira. Ugende, unayami bunga.”</i></p> <p>That gazelle went to the fortune teller. And he told it, “You should leave here, because the leopard has already set his mind on this place. Go, and immediately move.”</p>	<p>The main character <i>mbongo</i> ‘gazelle’ changes location to that of the fortune teller.</p>
<p>(d) <i>Lyeryo-lyeryo uyo mulaguzi anabona ingwi yayija, anagibwira, “Uyibisha duba.” Imbongo yanayibisha inyuma lyo'lwivi.</i></p> <p>Right then, that fortune teller saw the leopard coming, and he told him, “Go hide yourself quickly.” The gazelle hid himself behind the door.</p>	<p>Note the PoD <i>Lyeryo-lyeryo</i> ‘Right then’. Also, there is a movement of a major participant, as the <i>ingwi</i> ‘leopard’ arrives on the scene.</p>
<p>(e) <i>Ingwi yanayingira, yanadeta, “Musingo, e mufumu! Nayija, gira undagule. Hali akabanda kaguma muli imbongo zibiri no'mwana wazo. Undagule kuti kwo ngazigwata.”</i></p> <p>The leopard entered, and said, “Greetings, doctor! I have come, so you can tell my fortune. There is a plain where there are two gazelles and their child. Tell me how to seize them.”</p>	<p>A main participant changes location <i>Ingwi yanayingira</i> ‘leopard entered’. This is the first part of relatively long dialog <i>yanadeta</i> ‘and it said’.</p>

Text	Explanation
<p>(f) <i>Uyo mulaguzi, ti, “Uhengeere keera hamala isiku zishatu, unagende ho, ugazigwata. Na mango wazigwata, unandeetere amatwiri gaazo.”</i> 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.”</p>	<p>This is the second part of relatively long dialog: <i>Uyo mulaguzi, ti</i>: ‘That fortune teller, quote’.</p>
<p>(g) <i>Iyo ngwi yanagaluka. Imbongo yanabishuuka, yanadeta, “E maashi mwira wani, wambaniisa!” Umulaguzi anagishuvya, “Ugenda mu lubako lwa hala bweneene.” Iri ikagenda, yanagendi bunga.</i> That leopard returned. The gazelle came into the open and it said, “O please my friend!” The fortune teller answered, “Go in the bush that is far away.” When it went, it moved away.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The places change: <i>Iyo ngwi yanagaluka</i> ‘That leopard returned’. Also change of place for gazelle: <i>Imbongo yanagendi bunga</i> ‘Gazelle went and moved away’. • This paragraph also includes a short tight-knit conversation: <i>Yanadeta</i> ‘and it said’. <i>Umulaguzi anagishuvya</i> ‘The fortune teller answered it’.
<p>(h) <i>Iri ikaba keera yamala siku sitali niini, iyo mbongo yanagaluka, iritanduula iri mu handu haayo ho yâli tuuziri. Kiziga ingwi, ukulyokera ho mulaguzi akagilagulira, ikayama yagenda ho, yanashonera ku kiti, yanabeera haaho.</i> 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.</p>	<p>A significant passage of time: <i>Iri ikaba keera yamala siku sitali niini</i> ‘When it finished off not a few days’. Note the p2 prefix <i>ka-</i> on the verb <i>ikaba</i>, marking a new paragraph. Main characters are changing location: <i>iyu mbongo yanagaluka</i> ‘the gazelle returned’.</p>
<p>(i) <i>Imbongo iri ikayija, iri luto-luto igweti igashodoka iri inalaangiiza, itanabona kindu. Kiziga ingwi iteziri!</i> 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.</p>	<p>A change of location and participant: <i>Imbongo, iri ikayija</i> ‘the gazelle, when it came’.</p>
<p>(j) <i>Imbongo yanahika, yanatangira ukulya akalala, yanavujagira, yanavujagira, iri inayegeera mu kivuuzi. Imbongo itayiji kiri na kiri. Ingwi yagiyivudika kwo, yanagiyita, yanatola amatwiri gombi, yanagatwala imwo’yo mulaguzi.</i> 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.</p>	<p>Place change repeated: <i>Imbongo yanahika</i> ‘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.)</p>
<p>(k) <i>Ihano: Iri wangakengulwa, unahunge ubugoma, utanaki shubi gendi butanduula.</i> The moral: If you are warned, and you avoid the enemy, don’t again go checking it out.</p>	<p>The conclusion is clearly set apart, by the word <i>Ihano</i> ‘Advice’.</p>

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 *âli*. 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 Fuliru 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 Fuliru 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.⁵ 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)

	Point of departure		Comments	
	Non-referential PoD	Referential PoD	New information	PoD type
(a)			<i>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.</i> Guinea fowl 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
(b)	<i>Lusiku luguma</i> One day,		<i>imbulu yanagira ulusiku lukulu, yanatumira uyo mwira wage kwo ayije baganuule. Uyo mwira wage anayija bo na mukaage.</i> 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

⁵Adapted from Levinsohn 2008 (NonNarr0-3:2).

Point of departure		Comments	
Non-referential PoD	Referential PoD	New information	PoD type
(c) <i>Iri bakahika ha mwe'mbulu,</i> When they came to the home of the lizard,		<i>yanabwira umukukuzo kwokuno: “E mwira wani, bwo namu gira ulusiku lukulu, undabule ishala lyawe.” Namukukuzo anashuvya: “E maashi mwira wani! Si wambuuna ibigooziri.” Kundu kwokwo, namukukuzo anaheereza uyo mwira wage ishala liguma. Iyo mbulu yanagira yulwo lusiku lukulu na yiryo ishala.</i> 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.	Change of time and place
(d) <i>Hanyuma</i> Afterwards,		<i>namukukuzo naye anabona kwo agire ulusiku lukulu. Naye anatumira uyo mwira wage, anamubwira, “E mwira wani! Ngola ngaagira ulusiku lukulu. Undabule uluhu lwawe.” Imbulu yanashuvya: “Bitangashoboka kwo nyikere ku luhu lwani, mbu lyo ngutabula.”</i> 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.”	Change of time
(e)	<i>Muka mbulu</i> The wife of the lizard	<i>anabwira yiba kwokuno: “E yaga! Si wehe mwira wawe akakuheereza ishala lyage, wanagira mwo lulya lusiku lukulu.” Iyo mbulu yanayemeera yiryo ihano lya mukaage, yanayikera ku magala gaayo, yanaheereza uyo mwira wage. Uyo mwira wage anagira mwo yulwo lusiku lukulu naye.</i> 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.	New conversation
(f)	<i>Iyo mbulu</i> That lizard	<i>yanataahira imwayo ikola mu kunira. Yikyo kihando kyo ikayikera, kyanatonda, yanafwa.</i> went home limping. That sore which he got from cutting himself swelled up, and he died.	Change of place
(g) <i>Ihano:</i> Advice:		<i>Ihano libi likizi yitiisania.</i> Bad advice kills.	Conclusion

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,*
Day one, frog and lizard met under of tree

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 munyere, abatabana ba ngiisi 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 anayibuza mu mutima gwage: “Ka ngatuula muno*
When that all happened Lion asked in heart of him Q I will live in there
nienyene?”
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 anayija 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’mbulu* ‘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.

(13)

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Post-NI	Post-NO
5			<i>Uyo mwira wage</i> That friend of his	<i>anayija</i> and he came		<i>bo na mukaage</i> together with his wife	
6a		[Iri When	---	<i>bakahika</i> they arrived		<i>ha mwe'mbulu]</i> at home of lizard	
6b			---	<i>yanabwira</i> and it told	<i>umukukuzo</i> guinea fowl		<i>kwokuno</i> like this
6c	[E mwira wani O friend of mine	Bwo In that	---	<i>namu gira</i> I am about to have	<i>ulusiku lukulu</i> feast		
6d			---	<i>undabule</i> give to me	<i>ishala lyawe]</i> 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 *mbu* 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.

(14)

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Post-NI	Post-NO
5a			[Iri < < When	<i>hakaba</i> it was	<i>lusiku luguma]</i> day one		
5b	[5a]	[ngu as soon as	---	<i>ajabukage</i> he crossed	<i>ulwiji]</i> river		
5c	[5b]		---	<i>ahumaana</i> a sees			[5d]
5d			[umunyere a girl	<i>abwatiiri</i> she is sitting		<i>mwi'dako lye'kiti]</i> under of tree	

'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 advises 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.

(15)

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Post-NI	Post-NO
13a			<i>Muka mbulu</i>	<i>anabwira</i>	<i>yiba</i>		<i>kwokuno</i>
			Wife of lizard	and she told	her husband		like this
13b	[E <i>yaga</i>	Si <i>wehe</i>	<i>mwira wawe</i>	<i>akakuheereza</i>	< <	<i>ishala lyage</i>	
	O comrade	It's obvious YOU	friend of yours	he gave you		feather of his	
13c			---	<i>wanagira</i>		<i>mwo lulya lusiku lukulu]</i>	
				and you made		from it that feast	
14a			<i>Iyo mbulu</i>	<i>yanayemeera</i>	<i>yiryo ihano lya mukaage</i>		
			That lizard	and he agreed to	that advice of his wife		
14b			---	<i>yanayikera</i>		<i>ku magala gaayo</i>	
				and he cut himself		from body of his	
14c			---	<i>yanahereza</i>	<i>uyo mwira wage</i>		
				and he gave	that friend of his		

'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.⁶ 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.

(16)

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Post-NI	Post-NO
2a			<i>Nyina wo'yo mutabana</i>	<i>anabaza</i>	<i>ibyokulya</i>		
			Mother of that young man	and she prepared	the food		
2b			---	<i>anabiheereza</i>	<i>uyo mwali-kazi wage</i>		
				and she gave it to	that daughter-in-law of her		
3a		<i>Haliko</i>	<i>uyo mwali-kazi wage</i>	<i>anadeta</i>			<i>kwo [3b]</i>
		But	that daughter-in-law of her	said			that
3b			<i>[yehe</i>	<i>atakizi riira</i>	<i>ubundu</i>	<i>amagusha]</i>	
			SHE	she does not eat with	ugali	grubs	

'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)

⁶Other researchers do not treat conjunctions as PoDs; see, for example, other papers in this series.

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)

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Post-NI	Post-NO
10a			<i>Ingwi</i> Leopard	<i>yanayingira</i> and he entered			
10b			---	<i>yanadeta</i> and he said			[10c–10h]
10c	[<i>Musingo</i> Greetings	<i>e mufumu</i> o witch doctor	---	<i>Nayija</i> I have come			<i>gira</i> in order that
10d			---	<i>undagule</i> you tell for me the future			

‘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)

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Post-NI	Post-NO
3a			<i>Yugwo mujoka</i> That snake	<i>gwanabwira</i> and it told	<i>ityo ngware</i> that quail		<i>kwokuno</i> [3b] like this
3b	[<i>E mwira wani</i> O friend of mine		---	<i>Ungize</i> You save me		<i>na yugu muliro]</i> from this fire	

‘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 wangaavu* ‘O cow’.

(19)

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Post-NI	Post-NO
38			<i>Ulya mushaaja</i> That old man	<i>anayigula</i> and he opened (door)			
39a			<i>Wandare</i> Lion	<i>anabona</i> and she saw	<i>wangaavu</i> cow		
39b			---	<i>anamubuuzza</i> and she asked it			
39c	<i>E wangaavu</i> O cow		<i>nyandi</i> who	<i>úkanyitira</i> killed to me	<i>umwana</i> child		

‘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,⁷ 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 *âli*. 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)

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

‘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.

⁷For a much fuller description of the intricate Fuliiru tense-aspect system, see Van Otterloo (2011).

(21)

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Post-NI	Post-NO
19		<i>Kiziga</i>	<i>ingwi</i>	<i>iteziri</i>			
		Surprise	leopard	is waiting to harm it.			

‘Surprise, the leopard was waiting for it.’ (T2)

In the same story the gazelle is ‘in the present state of not knowing’. This again is background information in the immediate present.

(22)

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Post-NI	Post-NO
21b			<i>Imbongo</i>	<i>itayiji</i>		<i>kiri na kiri</i>	
			Gazelle	does not know		even a little	

‘The gazelle was not aware, even a little bit.’ (T2)

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)

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Post-NI	Post-NO
14a			<i>Umulaguzi</i>	<i>anagishuvya</i>			
			The fortune teller	and he answered him			
14b			[---	<i>Ugende</i>		<i>mu lubako lwa hala bweneene]</i>	
				You go		in jungle of faraway very	
15a		<i>[Iri</i>	---	<i>ikagenda]</i>			
		When		it went			
15b			---	<i>yanagendi bunga</i>			
				it going moved			
16a		<i>[Iri</i>	---	<i>ikaba keera yamala</i>	<i>siku zitali niini]</i>		
		When		it was already it has finished	days which are not few		
16b			<i>iyu mbongo</i>	<i>yanagaluka</i>			
			that gazelle	and it returned			

‘The fortune teller answered him. “Go into the jungle very far away.” When it went, it moved. When there had already finished many days, that gazelle returned. (T2)

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)

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Post-NI	Post-NO
11a	[<i>Ingoona</i> Crocodile	<i>mbu</i> as soon as	< <	<i>iyuvwe</i> it heard	<i>ulubi]</i> noise		
11b	[11a]		---	<i>yanabibakula</i> it gobbled them			

‘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)

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

‘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 it is 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.

(26)

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Post-NI	Post-NO
6			<i>Yabo baana bombi</i> Those children both	<i>banakizi sigala bagweti bagashaata</i> and they continuously remained they are playing			
7		<i>Mu yukwo kushaata</i> In that to play	<i>mwana wa ngaavu</i> child of cow	<i>anayita</i> and he killed	<i>mwana wa ndare</i> child of lion		

'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)

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

'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
7a			<i>Yugwo mujoka</i>	<i>gwanayizongeza mwo</i>			
			That snake	and it wrapped itself around there			
7b			---	<i>yanagubalalana</i>			
				and it (quail) flew with it			
7c			---	<i>yanatwa</i>		<i>ikajabo ko'lwiji</i>	
				and it landed		across of river	

'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
3a	<i>Walukwavu</i>	<i>ngu</i>	< <	<i>ayije</i>			
	Rabbit	as soon as		he comes			
3b			---	<i>anagwatwa</i>		<i>ku bulya burembo</i>	
				and he was grabbed		on that sap	
4a			<i>Ulya mushosi</i>	<i>anabwire</i>	<i>mugala wage</i>		<i>ti</i>
			That man	and he told	son of his		quote
4b	<i>E mwana wani!</i>		---	<i>Utwale</i>	<i>uyu walukwavu</i>	<i>i kaaya</i>	
	O son of mine			You take	this Rabbit	to village	

'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'.

(30)

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Post-NI	Post-NO
10a			<i>Nyina</i>	<i>anagwate</i>	<i>lulya luhazi</i>		
			His mother	and she grabbed	that rooster		
10b			---	<i>analubaage</i>			
				and she slaughtered it			
10c			---	<i>analuzimaane</i>	<i>walukwavu</i>		
				and she served it as guest food	rabbit		
11	<i>Walukwavu</i>		---	<i>banamúbiike</i>	< <	<i>mu ndaaro</i>	
	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.

(31)

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Post-NI	Post-NO
30a	<i>Ulufulumu</i>	<i>ho</i>	< <	<i>luhumba</i>			
	Story	that is where		it ends			
30b		<i>ho</i>	---	<i>luhekera</i>			
		that is where		it finishes off			

'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'.

(32)

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Post-NI	Post-NO
43a			<i>Ulufulumo</i>	<i>ho luhumbira</i>		<i>yaho</i>	
			Story	that is where it ends		there	
43b		<i>si</i>		<i>lutahumba</i>		<i>nga nvula</i>	
		it's obvious		it does not end		like rain	

'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-*.

(33)

	Post-NI	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Post-NI	Post-NO
32a			<i>Kwokwo</i>	<i>kwo</i>			
			Thus	is how			
32b			<i>bye'ruhiiviro</i>	<i>bikizi girwa</i>			
			things of hunt	they were habitually done			

'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 6. Participant reference in *Umuhya úkananiirwa ne'kibya* 'The new bride who was stuck to the bowl' (T6)

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Oblique	Comments
1a			> >	<i>Hâli riiri</i> There was		<i>mutabana muguma</i> one young person	A formulaic introduction of the main participant
1b				<i>úkahisa</i> who married		<i>umuhya.</i> a wife.	Formulaic introduction includes a relative clause introducing the story theme
2a		<i>Nyina wo'yo mutabana,</i> The mother of that man		<i>anabaza</i> prepared		<i>ibyokulya</i> food	Beginning of paragraph, so noun phrase in subject column
2b		---		<i>anabiheereza</i> and she gave it to		<i>uyo mwali-kazi wage.</i> that daughter-in-law of hers	Same paragraph, subject marked only by verb prefix <i>a-</i> 'she'
3a		<i>Haliko,</i> But	<i>uyo mwali-kazi wage</i> that daughter-in-law hers	<i>anadeta</i> said		<i>kwo</i> that	Beginning of paragraph, so noun phrase in subject column
3b			<i>yehe</i> SHE	<i>atakizi liira</i> she does not eat with	<i>ubundu</i> ugali	<i>amagusha</i> larva	Contrastive pronoun: she (as opposed to others)
3c			---	<i>anakizi nadeta</i> and she said also		<i>kwe</i> that	Continuation of paragraph, so subject marked only by verb prefix <i>a-</i> 'she'
3d	<i>imwabo</i> at their place		---	<i>batalya</i> they don't eat	<i>isuusi</i> flies	<i>< <</i>	
4a	<i>Uyu muhya</i> That bride	<i>ikyanya</i> when	<i>< <</i>	<i>âli kizi bona</i> she was seeing		<i>kwo</i> that	Beginning of paragraph, so noun phrase <i>Uyu muhya</i> 'this new wife'
4b			<i>navyala</i> mother-in-law	<i>ahinga</i> has gone farming			
4c			---	<i>anakizi manula</i> she let down	<i>ikibya kya'magusha,</i> bowl of larva		Continuation of paragraph, subject marked only by verb prefix <i>a-</i> 'she'
4d			---	<i>anatondeeze ukugalya.</i> and she began to eat them			

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Oblique	Comments
5a		<i>Mango</i>	<i>navyala</i>	<i>afuluka,</i>			Beginning of paragraph, so noun <i>navyala</i> ‘mother-in-law’ in subject slot
5b		When	mother-in-law	returned			
5c			---	<i>anakizi gwana</i>			
				she found			Continuation of paragraph, subject marked only by verb prefix <i>a-</i>
			<i>yikyo kibya</i>	<i>kikola kimaata</i>			Yikyo kibya marks a new thematic development
			that bowl	is now empty			
6a			<i>Navyala</i>	<i>anakizi gangaanwa bweneene,</i>			Beginning of paragraph, <i>Navyala</i> ‘Mother-in-law’ in subject column
6b			Mother-in-law	was very confused			
6c			---	<i>anabuuza</i>	<i>yiba:</i>		
				and she asked	her husband		Continuation of paragraph, subject marked only by verb prefix <i>a-</i>
			<i>“Biki</i>	<i>ibiri mu tulya</i>	<i>amagusha</i>	<i>mu yiki kibya?</i>	
			What	is eating to us	the larva	in this bowl?	
7a	<i>Yiba</i>	<i>iri</i>	< <	<i>akayuvwa</i>	<i>kwokwo</i>		Beginning of paragraph, so subject noun <i>Yiba</i> ‘the husband’ used
7b	The husband	when		he heard	thus		
7c			---	<i>anahereka</i>	<i>yikyo kibya,</i>		
				protect with black magic	that bowl		Continuation of paragraph, subject the same, with another included <i>bombi</i> ‘both’
			> >	<i>banahinga</i>		<i>bombi</i>	
				and they went farming		both of them	
8a		<i>Iri</i>		<i>hakaba</i>		<i>mwi'zuuba</i>	First independent clause in paragraph, so noun phrase in subject column
8b		When		it was		in midday	
8c		<i>uyo mwali-kazi wabo</i>		<i>anashonera</i>	<i>ku ngingo ya shevyala</i>		
		that daughter-in-law of theirs		climbed	on the bed of father- in-law		
8c		<i>gira</i>	---	<i>ashubi manula</i>	<i>yikyo kibya</i>	<i>ku luhinda</i>	
8d		in order to		again bring down	that bowl	from hook	
			---	<i>anakimanula</i>			Continuation of paragraph, subject marked only by verb prefix <i>a-</i> ‘she’
				and she brought it down			

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Oblique	Comments
8e			---	<i>anakiyubika</i>		<i>ku kanwa</i>	
				and she poured it into		the mouth	
8f			--	<i>ate nywa</i>		<i>ku mwita</i>	
				and she first drank		from the soup	
9a			<i>Yikyo kibya</i>	<i>kyanamunaniira</i>		<i>ku kanwa</i>	Beginning of paragraph, <i>Yikyo kibya</i> ‘those larvae’ in subject column
			That bowl	it stuck to her		mouth	
9b	<i>mukuba</i>	<i>shevyala</i>	<i>akakibiika</i>	<i>akakibiika</i>		<i>kwo'buhereko</i>	Pre-peak, so information (reason) repeated from previous clause
	because	father-in-law	had put in it			magic	
10a	<i>Iri</i>	---		<i>bakafuluka,</i>			Pre-peak. Although beginning of paragraph, this is a shortened version, with subject implied by prefix pronoun <i>ba-</i> ‘they’, and no speech verb
	When			they had returned			
10b	<i>“Hahi</i>	<i>muhya</i>	<i>agenda?”</i>	<i>agenda?”</i>	< <		
	Where	daughter-in-law	has gone				
11a			---	<i>Banayuvwa</i>			Continuation of paragraph, subject marked only by verb prefix <i>ba-</i> ‘they’
				And they heard			
11b			---	<i>agweti agabubulira</i>	<i>mu ngologoshi ye'yo ngingo</i>	<i>ya shevyala</i>	Continuation of paragraph
				sound coming out of a thing	from under the bed of father-in-law		
11c	<i>na yikyo kibya</i>			<i>kimunaniiri</i>		<i>ku kanwa</i>	
	<i>kya'magusha</i>			is stuck to		the mouth	
	and that bowl of larva						
12a		<i>Ishoni</i>		<i>zanamutetereza</i>			Beginning of paragraph (denouement), so <i>Ishoni</i> ‘shame’ in subject column
		Shame		seized her			
13a	<i>Ihano</i>	---		<i>Utatuke</i>	<i>ibyokulya</i>		Conclusion. The 2SG prefix pronoun <i>U-</i> ‘you’ is understood as the hearer
	Advice			Don't bad mouth	food		
13b				<i>ibiri mu liibwa</i>		<i>na'bandi</i>	
				which is eaten		by others	

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,⁸ at the beginning. This occurs in lines 1a, 2a, 3a, 4a, 5a, 6a, 7a, 8a,⁹ 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 *úkahisa umuhyá* ‘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 Fuliiru 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 *úkalooza ukuyanga umukazi* ‘who wanted to marry a woman’.

- (34) *Hâli riiri umutabana muguma úkalooza 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 verb¹⁰ *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 *ábâli 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) *Bahiivi 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.

HE¹¹ 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)’.¹² 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*
 This cow if it would say itself that you eat it instead of you would die from hunger
ko utangagilya?
 would you not eat it ?

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

3.6 Additive pronouns

In Fuliiru 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. *uyo mundu* ‘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 used, both the referential demonstrative (e.g. *uyo mundu* ‘that man’), and the distal (e.g. *ulya mundu* ‘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.

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), *kiriira kitaabo* ‘that book’ (away from both speaker and hearer, distal), *kiryu 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)

Group	Comments	Story
Episode 1 – Introductory		
(1a)	Background material, no TDMS	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 FELLOWS went home. Its OWNER , he went looking for it and he gave up on it.
(1b)	Cow encounters Lion	that.DTD cow went and came out into the FOREST of the LION . The LION saw it and welcomed it.
(1c)	Cow is afraid of Lion	that.DTD cow was afraid and said: “O for pity’s sake, my COMRADE , aren’t you going to eat me?” The LION refused.
(1d)	Cow draws near to Lion	that.DTD cow neared that.DTD lion and they greeted each other, but the COW continued to be very afraid.
(1e)	Cow tries to escape danger	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 .”
(1f)	Cow is persuaded to live with Lion.	that.DTD cow agreed that they live together, because it no longer knew the PATH which would return it (to where it came from).
(1g)	Fear (non-participant) ends episode	that.DTD fear which it had had, ended.
Episode 2 – Developmental		
(2a)	Lion gets sick, friends arrive	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?”
(2b)	Lion explains why he is sick	that.DTD lion answered: “ HUNGER is what made me skinny like this. Just a SICKNESS would not cause me to get this skinny.”
(2c)	Friends propose that Lion eat Cow Proposal rejected	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 .
(2d)	Eagle makes second proposal to Lion Proposal accepted	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.”
(2e)	Friends leave, expecting proposal to be realized	that.DTD eagle and that.DTD leopard went home; with an EXPECTATION that they also will get SUPPER there.
Episode 3 – Climactic		
(3a)	Friends come back to see if Lion ate Cow	When a few DAYS had passed, they came and looked if that.DTD lion had already eaten that.DTD cow .

Group	Comments	Story
(3b)	Friends find that Lion still with hunger	This TIME they encountered that.DTD lion was now about to die of that.DTD hunger . The LEOPARD asked the LION : “O you, why did you not do that which we told you?”
(3c)	Leopard makes a proposal focus on: Leopard	that.DTD leopard said: “Ok then, May I be the one you will eat, in the place of dying of HUNGER! ” The LION refused, saying it will not eat that.DTD leopard .
(3d)	focus on: Eagle	The EAGLE and he also said that he be the one that the LION eat, but the LION again refused, saying it will not eat that.DTD eagle .
(3e)	Cow falls for the trick	that.DTD cow , when it heard its COMRADES say that it eat them, and it did not eat them, it also said: “May I be the one that you eat.”
(3f)	Pre-climax: Lion pauses	that.DTD lion was quiet and EAGLE winked its EYELID .
(3g)	Climactic event experiencer: Cow	The LION jumped on the NECK of that.DTD cow and knocked it down and it immediately died.
(3h)	Dénouement with Lion, Leopard, Eagle, and Cow	that.DTD lion and that.DTD leopard and that.DTD eagle surrounded the CORPSE of that.DTD cow . And they began to tear it apart.

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)

Group	Comments	Story
Episode 1		
(1a)	Lion and cow were originally friends. Friendship shown by their living together.	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.
(1b)	Background, no TDMs Their children also are friends.	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.
(1c)	Child of cow kills child of lion Past events are not marked	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.”
(1d)	Cow tries to escape danger	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.
Episode 2		
(2a)	Old man introduced	When it arrived in the PATH , it encountered there one old MAN , and it told him (the man) to hide it.

Group	Comments	Story
(2b)	Old man discovers problem.	that.DTD old man asked it, “Why am I going to hide you?” And it told him, “My CHILD was playing with the CHILD of the LION , and it killed him.”
(2c)	Old man hides them	that.DTD old man took COW and her CHILD , and went and hid her in his HOUSE .
(2d)	Old man gives sign of danger	that.DTD old man told COW , “If you would hear my ROOSTER crowing, that’s when LION has arrived.”
Episode 3		
(3a)	Past events not marked	The LION , when she came from looking for FOOD , she encountered her CHILD has already died. When LION encountered her CHILD already has died, she began to cry. When she looked for the place of COW and her CHILD , she did not see them. And she said that COW is the one who killed her CHILD .
(3b)	Lion asks old man where cow is (Real tension begins)	Right then she immediately went and looked for COW . When she arrived in the PATH , she came upon that.MTD old man . LION asked that.MTD old man , “Oh GRANDFATHER , is there no COW which passed here?”
(3c)	Rooster crows (sign of lion’s coming)	that.MTD rooster immediately crowed. When that.DTD rooster crowed, then COW said, “That’s LION who has passed.”
Episode 4		
(4a)	Lion follows dead-end path, causing her to return	When LION followed that.DTD path , he arrived at where it ended.
(4b)	Lion asks old man again about the cow	LION again returned to where that.MTD old man was, and told him, “Oh GRANDFATHER is there no COW which passed here?”
(4c)	Old man tries to save the cow	that.DTD old man told LION , “Allow that I go and drink some WATER , after that we can come and converse.”
(4d)	Old man reveals danger to cow	that.MTD old man went in the HOUSE and told COW , “ LION is waiting for you here outside.” COW always remained right there in the HOUSE with her CHILD .
Episode 5 – Climactic		
(5a)	Lion accuses old man of lying about cow	The DAYS , when they were many, the CHILD of the COW died of HUNGER . COW began to cry for her CHILD . LION heard that she is crying for her CHILD . LION said to that.DTD old man , “It’s obvious you denied that COW is here. It’s obvious that very one is now crying.”
(5b)	Old man denies	that.DTD old man said, “No she is not COW , she is GOAT .” LION told him, “Open the door so I can if it is not COW .”
(5c)	Old man forced to open door	LION told that.MTD old man , “If you do not open for me, I will eat you.”
(5d)	Old man opens the door	that.MTD old man opened. LION saw COW , and it asked her, “Oh COW , who killed my CHILD ?” COW said, “I don’t know!” LION asked her, “What did you run from?”
(5e)	Climax (automatic, not marked)	Right then LION began to fight COW , and she killed her.
(5f)	Conclusion	That’s where the STORY ends, but it doesn’t stop like RAIN .

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

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

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)

Group	Comments	Story
Episode 1		
(1a)	Introduction: no TDM	There was ONE YOUNG MAN who wanted to marry a WOMAN .
(1b)	Young man too picky	that.DTD young man , when they showed him ALL THE GIRLS in that VILLAGE of theirs, and he said that HE , there is no GIRL that he likes, he said that he must marry A WOMAN who resembles HIS MOTHER , and of the SIZE which is like that of HIS MOTHER .
(1c)	Young man looks for a girl	that.DTD young man he went outside of the VILLAGE . And he went looking for WOMEN and he did not find them.
Episode 2		
(2a)	Intro of girl: no TDM	When it was one DAY , when he was about to cross the RIVER , he encountered a GIRL sitting under a TREE . When he saw her, quote = “Oh no, this very one is the one who resembles my MOTHER , with a SIZE like that of my MOTHER !”
(2b)	Young man proposes	that.MTD young man told her: “ O GIRL , I like you, I’m about to marry you.” And she quote = “OK, marry me!” And they took the PATH .
Episode 3		
(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 .”
(3b)	Young man agrees	that.MTD young man quote = “Oh, surely! Will you be too hard for me to take across the RIVER ?”
(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 ?”
(3d)	Young man sees that girl has trouble No more new thematic developments in this section	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!
(4c)	Setting up resolution involving bull meat	Other MEN told them quote = “You get a big BULL , a BULL which you castrated and now has much FAT . Let him take her (the demon) right there where he took her from. You (PL) going slaughter for her that.DTD bull and you place all of that.DTD meat and, INTESTINAL FAT , and INTESTINAL fat on the FIRE .”

Group	Comments	Story
Episode 5		
(5a)	Young man with bull brought to the same tree	Ok then! They led to the RIVER that.MTD young man and that.MTD bull ; and they took it under that.MTD tree and they stabbed in the KNIFE ; the FATTY INNER MEAT they piled up on the FIREWOOD ; that.MTD bull it began to cook; the SMELL of ROASTING meat kept being smelled.
(5b)	Story slows down as the young man talks	that.MTD young man continuously told her: “Roast it well, you’ve burnt it! Roast it well, you’ve burnt it!”
(5c)	Demon tempted to jump off back	In saying thus: “Roast it well, you’ve burnt it,” that.MTD demon that’s when she pulled her FINGERNAILS/claws out (from his back).
(5d)	Demon flies off to the meat	that.DTD demon when she sensed really that the ROASTING SMELL it was very sweet in her NOSE , she immediately just flew to that.MTD meat!
(5e)	Young man escapes	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 HOME .
(5f)	Demon stays with meat	Thus that.DTD demon remained with that.DTD meat .
(5g)	Conclusion	That’s where the STORY ends and where it ends off.

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

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

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)

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

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

Group	Default TDM (referential demonstrative)	Major TDM (distal demonstrative)
(1a)	That king had three good friends	
(1b)	That king told those good friends to hunt	
(1c)		Those good friends went hunting
(1d)	Fellows try to stop that bad habit of their friend	
(1e)	That father did not listen	
(2b)		Bigmouth tells that news
(2c)	King says that bigmouth has told him a lie	
(2c)	They should go show him that head that speaks	
(2d)		Those attendants took path with that father
(3a)		They encountered that head
(3b)		They took that stick and hit head
(3c)		That head did not answer
(3d)		Those attendants grabbed and choked him
(3e)		That head said
(3f)		Those attendants were astonished
(3g)		They told king how they killed that father

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 úkanyitira 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, *úkalooza ukuyanga umukazi* ‘who wanted to marry a woman’ and *úshushiini na nyina* ‘who resembles his mother’.

- (52) *Hali riiri| umutabana muguma, úkalooza ukuyanga umukazi úshushiini 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 Utatuke ibyokulya íbiri mu liibwa na'bandi]*

Advice Do not badmouth the food which is in 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					
	<i>Yabo batabana</i>	<i>ábakazindi yija,</i>	<i>nabo</i>	<i>banasiima</i>	<i>yabo</i>	<i>bahyakazi.</i>	
	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
	<i>Booshi bâli tuuziri</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>mugazi muguma</i>	<i>úgwâli sokaniinwi no lubako.</i>
	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,¹⁴ 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 is 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.

7. The gazelle came out of hiding and it said, “Come on, my friend! You have punished me!”
8. The fortune teller answered him, “Go to the jungle, far far away.”
9. When it went, it moved away.
10. When the gazelle had already finished off not a few days, it returned, and checked out its place where it had been living.
12. 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.
13. **The gazelle**, when it came, it was quietly moving, it is unconcerned while looking far away, and it saw nothing.
14. Surprise, the leopard was trapping it.
15. When the gazelle arrived, it began to eat leaves. and it stuffed itself and stuffed itself.
16. 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.
17. 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)

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Post-NI	Post-NO
13b	<u><i>E yaga</i></u>	<u><i>Si wehe</i></u>	<u><i>mwira wawe</i></u>	<u><i>akakuheereza</i></u>	<u><i><<</i></u>	<u><i>ishala lyage</i></u>	
	O comrade	It’s obvious YOU	friend of yours	he gave you		feather of his	

‘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)

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

‘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)

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Post-NI	Post-NO
4a	[<i>Uyu muhya</i> This new wife	<i>ikyanya</i> when	< <	<i>âli kizi bona</i> she was continuously see			<i>kwo</i> that
4b			<i>navyala</i> mother-in-law	<i>ahinga]</i> was farming			
4c	[4a-4b]		---	<i>anakizi manula</i> she continuously took down	<i>ikibya kya'magusha</i> the bowl of worms		
4d			---	<i>anatondeeze ukugalya</i> and she began to eat them			

‘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.

(64)

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Post-NI	Post-NO
25	<i>Yugwo mwazi</i> That news		---	<i>banaguhisa</i> they caused it to arrive	< <	<i>mu bandi bashosi</i> among other men	
26a	<i>[Yabo bashosi]</i> Those men	<i>iri</i> when	< <	<i>bakaguyuvwa]</i> they heard it			
26b	<i>[26a]</i>		---	<i>banadeta</i> and they said			<i>ti [26c]</i> quote
26c	<i>[Yehee]</i> Oh my dear	<i>Muzimu yugwo</i> A demon that one	---	<i>aleeta</i> he brought	< <]		

‘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)

	Pre-NO	Pre-NI	S	V	O/C	Post-NI	Post-NO
14a	<i>[Yihyo hikolo]</i> That small monkey	<i>iri</i> when	< <	<i>tukahihisa</i> we cause it to arrive		<i>ha kaaya]</i> at village	
14b	<i>[14a]</i>		---	<i>twanahimanika</i> and we hung it		<i>ku kiti</i> from tree	

‘That small monkey, we brought it to the village, and hung it from a tree.’ (T13)

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)	PoD	Comment
	<i>Mu kiliira kishimo,</i>	<i>nayuvwa umundu agweti agaalira mwo.</i>
	In that hole	I heard a person is now crying in there

‘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)	PoD	Topic	Comment
	<i>Ku njira ya yugwo muliro,</i>	<i>yako kafulo,</i>	<i>kakalonga inyama mbamu.</i>
	By way of that fire	that turtle	received meat large

‘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.

(68)	Subject	Locative oblique	Verb
	Wangoona crocodile	<i>irwiji</i> at river	<i>anabulula</i> . 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)	<i>Si</i>	<i>imwabo-vyala</i>	<i>yanaba</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>yâli</i>	<i>yeziri</i>	<i>ibyokulya</i> .
	It’s obvious	at in-laws	and it is	that’s where	they did	harvest	food.

‘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 lya’bageni, lino* ‘The guest food of the guests, this’.

(70)	<i>Mu</i>	<i>kabigingwe,</i>	<i>banabaleetera</i>	<i>ibyokulya,</i>	<i>banadeta</i>	<i>“Izimaano lya bageni lino.”</i>
	In	afternoon	they brought him	food	and they said	Guest food of guests this

‘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

¹⁵At 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 *ndaabo* ‘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 anamúbuuza: “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 banamúyimangika, 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 ngaagira, kwo na niinyu mugaagira* ‘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)

Text	Explanation
<i>Mushosi muguma akagira lusiku lukulu hamwage. Analaalika abatuulani, kuguma na'bagingi, na'baami, na'bagunda ikumi, gira bamútabaale mu kuyegereza no'kuzimaana yabo booshi ábakalaalikwa.</i>	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.
<i>Anabwira yabo bagunda kwokuno, “Ndaloziizi mundeze ishoni imbere lya yabo bandu booshi. Ku yaho, niehe nie mugakizi lolera kwo ikyanya mugabayegereza. Ngiisi kwo ngaagira, kwo na niinyu mugaagira.”</i>	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.”
<i>Ikyanya kyo'kugendi yegereza abageni, anayiteera hambere. Yabo bagunda booshi banamúkulikira. Analamusa yabo bageni, iri anahuniza itwe. Yabo bagunda, nabo banagira kwokwo ikyanya bakabalamusa.</i>	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.
<i>Ikyanya kyo'kuzimaana, yabo bageni kyanahika. Uyo mushosi, analengeza indaala yo'bundu. Abagunda nabo, banalengeza inyibo za'gandi mandu, banamúkulikira.</i>	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.
<i>Uyo mwene ubugeni, iri akahika imbere lya yabo ábagazimaanwa, anasiitara, anayibumbulika haashi, ibyokulya byo áli hiiti byanayoneka. Yabo bagunda booshi, banayigwisa nabo, ibyokulya byo báli hiiti byoshi byanayoneka.</i>	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.
<i>Iri akavyuka yaho, anababwira, “Si keera mwanjeregeza ibyokulya bya'bageni.”</i>	When he got up, he said to them, “Look, you have spoiled all my guest food.”
<i>Yabo bagunda banamubwira, “Si we watubwira kwo tukizi gira ngiisi kwo ugakizi gira.”</i>	Those commoners said to him, “You are the one who told us to do just as you do.”
<i>Haaho banatondeza ukuhambanwa. Yabo bageni, banashiiba ni'shali. Uyo mwene ubugeni, anagwatwa ne'shoni.</i>	Then they began to argue. Those guests remained hungry. The one who gave the feast was shamed.
<i>Ihano: Áhali ikyoba, hatagendwa bwija.</i>	Advice: Where there is fear, things don't go well.

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 Asima.
 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*
 That man told son of him quote O son of mine take this rabbit home
ye ngayiji liira ubundu.”
 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 rabbit which you butchered, is that the one that you gave to rabbit?”’
 (T10)

5 Information structure

Information structure¹⁶ 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 (comment¹⁷) 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)	Subject	Verb		Object	Oblique	
	<i>Umushosi,</i>	<i>anagendi</i>	<i>shiiga</i>	<i>ubulembo</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>yikyo kiti.</i>
	The man	and he went	and smeared	sap	on	that tree

‘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)	Topic		Comment			
	Object	Subject	Verb		Oblique	
	<i>Yikyo kiti,</i>	<i>umushosi</i>	<i>anagendi</i>	<i>kishiiga</i>	<i>kwo</i>	<i>ubulembo</i>
	That tree	the man	and he went	smeared it	with	sap

‘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.

¹⁶Andrews 1985, Heimerdinger 1999, and Lambrecht 1994.

¹⁷Strictly 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.

¹⁸This may also involve the shared cognitive experience of speaker and hearer.

- (82) *Iyo mbulu yanagira yulwo lusiku lukulu na yiryo ishala.*
 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 15. Information placement

	Old information	New information
(a)	W	X
(b)	X ₁	Y
(c)	Y ₁	Z

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 16. Information placement sample

	Old information	New information
(a)		<i>Banabwirane:</i> And they said to each other:
(b)		<i>“tukale guno mugozi,</i> Let’s cut this rope,
(c)		<i>gira tugende tugahiiva walukwavu”</i> in order that we go hunt rabbit.
(d)	<i>Yugwo mugozi,</i> That rope	<i>banagukalage.</i> and they cut it.

‘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)

	PoD	Old information	New information		
1			<i>Hâli riiri</i> There were	<i>ibihebe bibiri</i> rams two	
2		<i>Yibyo bihebe</i> Those rams	<i>byâli</i> were	<i>bihwija</i> foolish	
3		<i>Kiguma</i> One	<i>kyâli tuuziri</i> was living		<i>ikajabo ko'lwiji</i> across of river
4a		<i>Ne'kindi</i> and another	<i>kyâli tuuziri</i> was living		<i>akandi kajabo ka lwolwo lwiji</i> other side of that very river
4b		<i>Yulwo lwiji</i> That river	<i>lwâli tambisirwi</i> it was laid over		<i>kwe'kiti</i> on it tree
4c		<i>abandu</i> people	<i>bâli kizi tondagira kwo</i> they were continuously stepping on that		<i>kyo</i> which
4d		---	<i>mu kulujabuka</i> in to cross it		
5	<i>Lusiku</i> <i>luguma</i> Day one	<i>yibyo bihebe bihwija</i> <i>byombi</i> those rams foolish both	<i>byanatondeza ukujabuka</i> and they began to cross	<i>ulwiji</i> river	
6	<i>Kwokwo</i> Thus	---	<i>byanagwanana</i> and they encountered each other		<i>ku yikyo kiti</i> on that tree

	PoD	Old information	New information		
7a		<i>Íkyáli füsiri</i> The one which was fat	<i>kyanabwira</i> and it told	<i>ikyabo kyo'lujogoti</i> its fellow of skinny	<i>kwo [7b-7c]</i> that
7b		[---	<i>kikihinduse</i> it still cause other to pass		<i>gira</i> in order that
7c		---	<i>kitee yilengera]</i> it first pass itself by		
8a		<i>Ikyabo nakyo</i> Its fellow and it	<i>kyanalahira</i> and it refused		
8b		---	<i>mu kubwira</i> in to tell	<i>ikyabo</i> its fellow	<i>kwo [8c]</i> that
8c		[---	<i>kibe kyo kigatee galuka]</i> it be which it will first return		
9a		<i>Yibyo bihebe byombi</i> Those rams both	<i>byanabeera</i> and they remained		<i>haaho</i> right there
9b		---	<i>byanatondeka ukuhambanwa</i> and they began to fight		
9c		---	<i>binanenmiri</i> and they are leaning		<i>ku yikyo kiti</i> on that tree
10a	<i>Lyeryo</i> Right then	---	<i>byanagagika</i> and they were struggling		
10b		---	<i>byanatibukira</i> and they fell	<i>mu yulwo lwiji</i> in that river	<i>ti dumbwi</i> quote splash
11a	[Ingoona mbu Crocodile as soon as	< <	<i>iyuvwe</i> it heard	<i>ulubi]</i> noise	
11b	[11a]	---	<i>yanabibakula</i> it gobbled them		
12	<i>Kwokwo</i> Thus	<i>yukwo kuhambanwa</i> that to fight	<i>kwanatuma bigaafwa</i> and it caused they will die		
13	<i>Umugani</i> Proverb	<i>Ndatangwe</i> I will not be passed	<i>akatumita</i> he speared	<i>umuluzi</i> son of king	

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

(83)	Topic					Comment				
	<i>Kiri</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>luhu</i>	<i>lwani</i>	<i>ali</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>luyaja</i>	<i>haashi</i> ,	<i>anakizi</i>	<i>lufina = kwo</i>
	Even	and	skin	of me	he	progressively	spreading it	on ground	and he is	trampling it = on

‘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.

(84)	21b	<i>Imbongo</i>	<i>itayiji</i>	<i>kiri na kiri</i>
		Gazelle	does not know	even a little
	22a	<i>Ingwi</i>	<i>yagiyivudika kwo</i>	
		Leopard	jumped it on	

‘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’.

¹⁹Such preposing followed by later pronominal reference within the sentence to that preposed element is sometimes called left-dislocation (Crystal 2003:262).

²⁰Although 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.

(85) 10a	<i>[Ihyana hyahyo</i>	<i>iri</i>	< <	<i>hikabona</i>
	Small child of it	when		it saw
10b			<i>nyina</i>	<i>afwa]</i>
			his mother	she has died
[10a–b]			---	<i>hyanayami tibita</i>
				and it immediately ran away
11a		<i>utubwa</i>		<i>twanayami hitibita kwo</i>
		The dogs		and they immediately ran it after

‘The (monkey’s) small child, when it saw that its mother has died, it immediately ran away. The dogs immediately chased after it.’ (T13)

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 umuhiizi* 'The farmer man' (T10)

Group	Other PoD	Referential PoD	Comments
(1)	There was		one man who was cultivating his field.
(2a)	When it was one day,	that man	went and put a stick in the ground and he put sap on it.
(3)	The rabbit, when he came		was stuck with that sap.
(4a) (4b) (4c)		That man	told his son, "Oh my son! Take this rabbit home. I'm going to eat him with my porridge."
(5a) (5b) (5c) (5d) (5e) (5f) (5g) (5h)	When they arrived on the road, "O Son	that rabbit And he The rabbit That son (said)	asked that child, did you hear what your father said?" quote, "My father said that I carry you home because you he is going to eat you with porridge." quote, "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." "Oh! Ok."
(6a) (6b)	When they got home,		that son told his mother to grab that rooster they give it to rabbit, since his father is coming home.
(7a) (7b) (7c) (7d)	Rabbit	His mother	grabbed that rooster and she slaughtered it, and he served it to the rabbit they placed him in the guest house.
(8a) (8b) (8c)	The rabbit, when it was EM in the guest house, already nice and full		it dug a hole and it reached outside. and it remained EM there, sleeping next to its hole.
(9a) (9b) (9c)		That man in the field (said):	"Am I the one to buy meat Am I going to eat it at night?" and he went home.
(10a) (10b) (10c)	And he reached EM home	And he said EM:	and they gave him water and he washed the mud from his hands and feet. Give me food. And they gave him food.
(11a) (11b) (11c)	When he was given porridge and leaves		"What! Did I send for leaves? It's true that I left my meat here. Where did it go?"

Group	Other PoD	Referential PoD	Comments
(12a) (12b) (12c)		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.”
(13a) (13b) (13c) (13d)		That man (said): Quote Quote	“Is it that rooster that you butchered, and it’s the one you gave rabbit?” “Yes” “Where EM is he?” “That one is sleeping over there in the guest house.”
(14)	As soon as he reached the door		he jumped right into that hole.
(15a) (15b)		That man And he the rabbit (said)	grabbed the tail. “There was one who grabbed a root, thinking that he has grabbed rabbit.”
(16)		The rabbit	immediately appeared outside.
(17)		That man	remained complaining that his son has no ears.
(18)		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(EM) mu nyumba anabwirage nyina ti “E maawe
And he barged(EM) into house and he told(EM) his.mother <quote> O my.mother

naleeta 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.

- (87) *Iri bakabagaga keera bayusa ukulya ibyokulya yiba agendi yabiira ulya*
 When they had(EM) already finished eating food her husband going took that
mwana, akine akine
 child, he danced he danced.

‘When they had 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.

- (88) *Wandare iri akakulikiraga iyo njira anagendi hika ho ihekiiri*
 Lion when he followed(EM) that path he going arrive at lonely place

‘Lion, when he followed that path, he went and arrived where it ends.’

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!’

- (89) *Yanabwira yugwo mujoka “Tuluukaga.”*
 And it told that snake Get down(EM)

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

In (90) the harvesters command *utuheerezagya zo* ‘you give them to us!’ Here again, *-ag*²¹ gives emphasis to a command.

- (90) *Yabo bageshi banamubwira ti: “Utuheerezagye zo.”*
 Those harvesters told him <quote> Give to us them(cl.10)

‘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

²¹In 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 lyo'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 mwami 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 17.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 lyage luto-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:

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)

Speakers	Speech orienters			Text
	Speaker	Speech verb	Quote marker	
	NP	said	<i>kwo</i>	(a) There was one young man who wanted to marry a woman. That young man, when they showed him all the girls in that village of theirs, said <i>that HE, there is no girl that he likes.</i>
	---	said	<i>kwo</i>	(b) He said <i>that he must marry a woman who resembles his mother, and of the size which is like that of his mother.</i> That young man went outside of the village. And he went looking for women, but did not find any.
man to himself	---	---	<i>ti</i>	(c) When it was one day, when he was about to cross the river, he encountered a girl sitting under a tree. When he saw her, <quote> “No way, she’s the one who resembles my mother, and a size like that of my mother!”
man and girl	NP	told	---	(d) That young man told her, “O girl, I like you, I’m about to marry you.”
	<i>Naye</i>	---	<i>ti</i>	(e) And she <quote> “OK, marry me!” And they took the path.
	NP	---	<i>ti</i>	(f) When they were in the path, they reached a river. That girl <quote> “No, ME, I will not cross this river, but you carry me on your back.”

Speakers	Speech orienters			Text
	Speaker	Speech verb	Quote marker	
	NP	---	<i>ti</i>	(g) <i>That young man</i> <quote> “ Oh surely. Will you be too much for me to take across the river? ” In the river <i>kagata-kagata</i> , the river <i>vwo vwo vwo</i> , and they crossed the river.
	Noun	---	<i>ti</i>	(h) <i>When they reached the other side</i> , 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?”
	NP	---	<i>ti</i>	(i) <i>That young man</i> <quote> “ No, we will go. ”
man and mother	---	told	<i>ti</i>	(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. ”
	Noun	---	<i>ti</i>	(k) His mother <quote> “ Will you not eat in here? ”
	<i>Na = wa = naye</i>	---	<i>ti</i>	(l) And he <quote> “ Oh no! You bring (it) to me in here. ”
man and wife	---	to tell	---	(m) <i>To tell the young wife</i> , “ 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 <i>puu</i> , month <i>puu</i> ! O comrades! Oh my! The person will die!
man and other men	NP	said	<i>ti</i>	(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! ”
	N	---	<i>ti</i>	(r) Others <quote> “ How are you going to get rid of it? ” <i>As soon as they try something</i> , no results!
other men	NP	told	<i>ti</i>	(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 <i>that young man</i> and <i>that bull</i> to the river, and they <i>took</i> it under that tree, and they <i>stabbed</i> the knife into it. The fatty intestine they piled up on the fire; <i>that bull began</i> to cook; roasting odor kept being smelled.
man and wife	NP	told	---	(t) That young man told her, “ Roast it well, don’t burn it! Roast it well, don’t burn it! ”
	---	to say	<i>kwokwo</i>	(u) <i>In saying like this</i> , “ Roast it well, don’t burn it, ” <i>that’s when that demon</i> pulled out her fingernails. <i>That demon, when she sensed that the roasting smell was really very sweet in her nose</i> , she immediately flew right to <i>that meat!</i> <i>That young man</i> immediately left there with <i>those people</i> , and they <i>immediately</i> dashed off and they crossed <i>that river</i> and they went home. So <i>that demon</i> remained among <i>that meat</i> . 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: Niehe ndagalola ku fwaranga,*
 One of those young men though like this ME I will not look to money

ngamúgwata 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 shorted 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*, *mbu*, 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 20. Ideophones and interjections in ‘The young man who refused to marry girls’ (T9)

Group	Interjections	Other text	Ideophones	Comments
(1a)		<i>Hâli riiri umutabana muguma, úkalooza ukuyanga umukazi.</i> There was one young man, who wanted to marry a woman.		None in this background material (1a–2b)
(1b)		<i>Uyo mutabana, iri bakamuyereka abanyere booshi mu yako kaaya ke'mwabo, anadeta kwo yehe ndaaye munyere ya'siima.</i> 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.		
(1c)		<i>Anadeta kwo yehe, akwiriiri ukuyanga umukazi úshushiine na nyina, na we'kiimo ikiri nga kya nyina.</i> And he said that HE he must marry a woman who resembles his mother, and with a body like that of his mother.		

Group	Interjections	Other text	Ideophones	Comments
(2a)		<i>Uyo mutabana anagendaga iranda.</i> That young man went off.		
(2b)		<i>Anagendaga agalooza abakazi, atanababona.</i> He went looking for women, and he did not find them.		
(3a)		<i>Iri hakaba lusiku luguma, ngwa'jabukage ulwiji, ahumaana umunyere abwatiiri mwidako lye'kiti.</i> When it was one day, just as he was crossing the river, he encountered a young girl sitting under a tree.		
(3b)		<i>Iri akamubona, ti:</i> When he saw her, quote:		
(3c)	<i>"Nanga!"</i> "No!"	<i>"Yoyu ye'shushiini na maawe, no'mutumba nga gwa maawe."</i> "This very one is resembling my mother, and with a body like that of my mother."		Interjection Nanga 'No'* at inciting moment
(4a)		<i>Ulya mutabana anamubwire:</i> That young man told her:		
(4b)		<i>"E munyere! Nakusiima, namu kuyanga."</i> "O girl! I like you, I am about to marry you."		Noun of direct address, where the man commits himself to trouble
(4c)		<i>Naye ti:</i> And she, quote:		
(4d)	<i>"Ee!"</i> "Yes!"	<i>"Unyange!"</i> You marry me!"		Interjection 'Yes', seals her part of the deal
(4e)		<i>Banagwatage injira.</i> And they took to the path.		
(5a)		<i>Iri bakahika mu njira, banahika ku lwiji, ulya munyere ti:</i> When they arrived in the path, they reached the river. That young girl, quote:		
(5b)	<i>"Nanga!"</i> "No!"	<i>"Niehe ndagajabuka ulwiji!"</i> Me, I will not cross the river!		First hint of trouble
(5c)	<i>Si</i> It's obvious	<i>umbeeke imugongo"</i> Carry me on the back."		Strong conjunction <i>si</i> . She tells him to place her where she will not leave
(5d)		<i>Ulya mutabana ti:</i> That young man, quote:		
(5e)	<i>"E mama!"</i> "No problem!"	<i>"Ka uganyabiraga ukujabula ulwiji!"</i> Will it defeat me to cross the river!"		Interjection where man agrees to her trick and puts her on his back

Group	Interjections	Other text	Ideophones	Comments	
(5f)		<i>Ulya mutabana anamubiike i mugongo.</i> That young man put her on the back.			
(6a)		<i>Mu lwiji,</i> In the river,	<i>kagata-kagata.</i>	Ideophone of churning through water. Adds vividness	
(6b)		<i>Ulwiji,</i> The river,	<i>vwo vwo vwo.</i>	Ideophone of water	
(6c)		<i>Banjabuka ulwiji.</i> And they crossed the river.			
(7a)		<i>Iri bakahikaga ikajabo, umuhya ti:</i> When they crossed, the young woman, quote:		Interjection when wife refuses to get down	
(7b)	<i>"Ehee!</i> "Oh my!	<i>"Ka umuhya agashonookera hano?</i> Will the young wife get down here?			
(7c)		<i>Umbise mu nyumba.</i> Bring me to the house.			
(7d)		<i>Nie muhya. Ka ngagendaga na'magulu kandi, twe tukola tugagenda ha kaaya?"</i> Me the wife, will I go by my feet again, and we are going home?"			
(7e)		<i>Ulya mutabana ti:</i> That young man, quote			
(7f)	<i>"Nanga!</i> "No!	<i>tugagenda."</i> we will go."			Man still agrees to her trick
(8a)		<i>Anahikage hamwabo hikola hihwehwerwe, anayifundage mu nyumba.</i> And he reached their place, it is now dark, and he thrust himself into the house.			Greets mother, which adds to irony
(8b)		<i>Anabwirage nyina ti:</i> And he told the mother quote:			
(8c)		<i>"E maawe! Naleeta umuhya.</i> "O mother! I have brought a young wife.			
(8d)		<i>Mumbeereze ibyokulya."</i> Give me food."			
(8e)		<i>Nyina ti, "Ka utagaliira muno?"</i> His mother quote, "Will you not eat in here?"			
(8f)		<i>Na wa naye ti:</i> And he, quote:			
(8g)	<i>"Nanga!</i> "No!	<i>"Undeetere muno."</i> Bring it to me in here."		A strong negative	

Group	Interjections	Other text	Ideophones	Comments
(9a)		<i>Kubwiraga umuhyu, “Shonookaga ku mugongo!”</i> To tell the young bride, “Get down from the back!”		
(9b)	“Si “It’s obvious	<i>“Ndagashonooka!”</i> I will not get down.”		Strong conjunction
(9c)		<i>“Shonooka ku mugongo!”</i> “Get down from the back!”		
(9d)	“Si “It’s obvious	<i>“Ndagashonooka!”</i> I will not get down!”		Si repeated
(10a)		<i>Anamulaalane ku mugongo, anamushiibane ku mugongo.</i> And she spent the night with him on the back, and she spent the day with him on the back.		
(10b)		<i>Iyinga,</i> A week	<i>puu!</i>	Ideophone makes the problem vivid
(10c)		<i>Mwezi,</i> A month	<i>puu!</i>	Another ideophone
(10d)	<i>E balya! Ye!</i> O comrades! Oh my!	<i>Umundu agaafwa!</i> The man will die!		Noun of direct address and interjection to highlight problem
(11a)		<i>Yugwo mwazi banaguhisa mu bandi bashosi.</i> That news, they brought it to other men.		
(11b)		<i>Yabo bashosi iri bakaguyuvwa, banadeta ti:</i> Those men, when they heard it, they said, quote:		
(11c)	<i>“Yehee!</i> “Oh dear!	<i>“Muzimu yugwo aleeta!”</i> A demon (is) that one which he has brought.”		Interjection to explain real problem
(11d)	<i>“Eego!</i> “Really!	<i>Muzimu!”</i> A demon!”		Another interjection
(11e)	<i>“Ee!”</i> “Oh my!”			A third interjection
(12a)		<i>Abandi ti, “Kutagi mugagusaaza?”</i> Others, quote, “How will we get rid of it?”		
(12b)		<i>Mbu bagirage yaga,</i> As soon as they tried something,	<i>shoobe!</i> no way!	Interjection shows frustration when trying to solve problem
(13a)		<i>Abandi bashosi banababwira ti, “Muyabiire ifiizi, shuuli yo mukasayula, inakoli hiite amavuta mingi, ashubi gutwala haahalya akagusaaza.</i> Other men said, quote, “Go get a bull, which has much fat, he should take it to where he got it (demon).		
(13b)		<i>“Mugire mugendi gubaagira iyo shuuli, munabiike yizo nyama zooshi, no'lusha no'lusha ku muliro.”</i> “Go and butcher that bull, and put all that meat, together with the fat, and the fat, on the fire.”		

Group	Interjections	Other text	Ideophones	Comments
(14a)	<i>Aaho!</i> OK then!	<i>Banashoola ulya mutabana ne'lya shuuli, banagihis^{agya} mwidako lya kirya kiti, banagilundaga ikeeta, ulusha banalugungike ku shaali, irya shuuli inatondeer^{age} ukuhiir^{aga}, umushiriri gwanakizi laka.</i> They led that young man and that bull. And they brought it under that tree, and they took the knife, and the fat dripped on the fire. That bull began to be roasted, and the nice barbecue smell was there.		Interjection to enhance vividness when the solution begins
(15a)		<i>Ulya mutabana anakiz^{agi} gubwira, "Uyokye bwija, wagasiriiza! Uyokye bwija, wagasiriiza!"</i> That young man said, "Roast it well, you are burning it. Roast it well, you are burning it."		
(15b)		<i>Mu kudeta kwokwo, "Uyokye bwija, wagasiriiza" gulya muzimu nagwo iri gunakuul^{aga} inyuunu zaagwo.</i> In saying thus, "Roast it well, you are burning it" that's when the demon pulled out its fingernails.		
(16a)		<i>Yugwo muzimu iri gukayuvwa</i> That demon, when it smelled	<i>ngana</i> really	Strong adverb <i>ngana</i> at climax
(16b)		<i>umushiriri gwanuna bweneene mwi'zuulu,</i> the barbecue smell is very sweet in the nose,		
(16c)		<i>gwanayami balala,</i> it immediately flew	<i>ngana</i> really	Strong adverb <i>ngana</i> repeated
(16d)		<i>na ku zirya nyama!</i> to those meats!		
(17a)		<i>Ulya mutabana anayama agashaaga yaho na yabo bandu, banayam^{age} bagapuumuka, banajabuka lulya lwiji, banataaha.</i> That young man immediately left there with those people, and it immediately ran off, and crossed that river, and went home.		This is post-peak (denouement), with the following event automatic (thus no tension)
(17b)		<i>Kwokwo yugwo muzimu gwanasigal^{aga} mu yizo nyama.</i> Thus that demon remains with that meat.		
(18a)		<i>Ho lufumo ho luhekera na ho luhumbira.</i> That's where the story finishes, and that's where it finishes like rain leaving.		

* *Nanga* does not really mean 'no' here, but rather is an expression of emotion.

8.2 Some common interjections

Table 21. Common interjections

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

Interjection	Related verb	Gloss
Sickness, pain, anxiety		
<i>ararara</i>		'word showing great pain'
<i>lya-lya ~ kya-kya</i>		'noise after hearing bad news'
<i>Um hmm hmm</i>		'like when being stabbed'
<i>yayebe ~ yayewe</i>		'shock and sadness'
<i>yoo</i>		'the sound of a person in great pain'
<i>yohowe!</i>		'shock and sadness'
<i>yowe</i>		'expression of pain, sadness'
Surprise		
<i>eeò</i>		'is that right? (with surprise)'
<i>kiziga</i>		'surprise'
<i>yee</i>		'expression of surprise and dismay'
Warning		
<i>e</i>		'(used following noun of direct address)'
<i>ee! ngaho!</i>		'warn of danger; do it yourself, it's your business'

8.3 Sample interjections in sentences

In (96) *Haliibwi* 'how stupid' is used to expressed contempt at someone else's stupidity.

- (96) "*Haliibwi! Si keera wayihana wenyene, wayibala umwazi.*"
How stupid! It's obvious already you have punished self 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 muyiji 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.

(99) “*Ngaaleka ngakuheereza 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’.

(100) “*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.

(101) *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’.

(102) “*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.

(103) “*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.

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

(105) *Iri gukabona kwo litatami yishagania gwanali honyoleza gwanadeta “Hoonyo!”*

When it saw that it would not dare to shake itself it disparage 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) *Hyanakimaamira 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 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. Nayikomeresu.”*
 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! Biryu 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.

(114) *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.

(115) “*E mwana e! Shaaga yaho! Agakugwata!*”
 O child look out! Leave there! He will catch you!

‘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.

(116) “*E mukazi e! Yibalo ayija.*”
 O woman look out! Your husband has come.

‘O woman, look out! Your husband is coming.’

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 22. Common ideophones

Form	Related verb	Meaning
Animal sound		
<i>baa</i>		'sound of a sheep'
<i>mee</i>		'sound of a goat'
<i>buu</i>		'sound of a cow, or "cow" itself'
<i>bwa</i>		'sound of a dog'
<i>bwe</i>		'sound of a fox, leopard'
<i>ihii-hii</i>		'sound of an owl'
<i>kokyo-kokyo</i>		'sound of a chicken clucking'
<i>nyaau</i>		'sound of a cat'
Sting		
<i>zibu</i>	<i>zibula</i>	'stung by a bee or bitten by a snake'
<i>zitu</i>	<i>zitula</i>	'stung by a small insect'
Break		
<i>dutu</i>	<i>duuduka</i>	'breaking of a rope, die suddenly when not sick'
<i>gutu</i>	<i>gutula</i>	'break a tree, or weak person'
<i>koto</i>	<i>kotoka</i>	'a tree breaking, when it is dry'
<i>pwa ~ pwi</i>	<i>pwamuuka</i>	'breaking of egg, fruit, jug of water'
Colors		
<i>pepeepe</i>		'very white'
Food/eating		
<i>jululu-jululu</i>	<i>jululunda</i>	'milk coming from a cow'
<i>kyo-kyo</i>		'noise of thick porridge in the throat'
<i>matu-matu</i>	<i>matula</i>	'noise by mouth in eating; or slapping face'
<i>miru</i>	<i>mirangusa</i>	'to swallow quickly'
<i>shapu-shapu</i>		'a dog drinking'
Falling		
<i>diti</i>	<i>yiditula</i>	'something high that has fallen down'
<i>koko-koko</i>		'a big thing falling down'
<i>kuu-kuu</i>		'a tree falling down'
<i>poo ~ puu</i>		'chopping a hard tree chop chop'
<i>puti-puti</i>	<i>tibuka</i>	'relatively small thing falling down'
Fire		
<i>gulu-gulu</i>	<i>gulumira</i>	'roaring fire making noise'
<i>tuli-tuli</i>	<i>tulika</i>	'pop, as fire on wet firewood'
Grab		
<i>kapaapwe</i>	<i>paapula</i>	'grab a thing from another by hitting it down'
<i>paku</i>	<i>pakula</i>	'grab a thing in the air'
<i>shamwe</i>	<i>shamula</i>	'snatch something from someone'
Movement		
<i>gata-gata</i>		'many arriving in one place'
<i>gogi-gogi</i>	<i>yigombeka</i>	'going in of many people'
<i>jii</i>	<i>jijimba</i>	'sound of a motor'

Form	Related verb	Meaning
<i>kagata-kagata</i>	<i>kagaata</i>	'swish (passing through tall grass, or through water)'
<i>kolyo-kolyo</i>		'many going into a place'
<i>koto-koto</i>		'heavy sound of goat or cow feet walking'
<i>lala-lala</i>	<i>lalaania</i>	'going of a snake'
<i>sye-sye</i>	<i>syeka/syekana</i>	'rub two things together'
Quickly		
<i>giti-giti</i>		'people in a hurry'
<i>hwi</i>	<i>hwikira</i>	'to take something hurriedly'
<i>pu</i>	<i>puumuka</i>	'running off in escape'
<i>vwi</i>	<i>yivwima</i>	'pass quickly in the air'
<i>yuwi ~ zwi</i>	<i>yizwiririka</i>	'small bird, or bullet going by very fast'
<i>zwiririri</i>	<i>zwiririka</i>	'spurting out (e.g. blood)'
Sickness/struggle		
<i>ngagi-ngagi</i>	<i>gagika</i>	'two people fighting'
<i>pati-pati</i>	<i>patika-patika</i>	'difficult travel (in mud, dark, of blind person)'
<i>para-para ~ puru-puru</i>	<i>paraza ~ puruza</i>	'sound of diarrhea'
<i>huru-huru</i>	<i>huruza</i>	'sound of diarrhea'
<i>shishi-shishi</i>	<i>shuushirwa</i>	'shivering with a fever'
Snore		
<i>forororo furururu</i>	<i>fwija</i>	'snore'
Strike		
<i>jugu-jugu</i>	<i>jugumba</i>	'noise as result of hitting or shaking something'
<i>puti ~ vuti</i>	<i>vuudika</i>	'strike without mercy'
<i>shutu</i>	<i>shuushula</i>	'strike (repeatedly) with a small, flexible stick'
<i>vutu</i>	<i>vutula</i>	'strike something harshly'
<i>zibu-zibu</i>	<i>zibula</i>	'strike with empty hand, or the strike of an insect'
Suspicious		
<i>sholyo-sholyo</i>		'thief, witch, anyone else moving in dark'
<i>tii-tii</i>		'sound behind the house, behind person, etc.'
Trip		
<i>jabati-jabati</i>	<i>jambagira</i>	'trip where something is lost, or traveler stolen from'
<i>jeba-jeba</i>	<i>jeba-jeba</i>	'trip of subject/object who is not strong, wandering about'
<i>nyaafu-nyaafu</i>	<i>nyavuuka</i>	'trip of subject/object who is strong, walks briskly'
<i>shwe shwe</i>		'trip where noise is not made, no strength'
<i>tiri-tiri</i>	<i>tiritimba</i>	'trip of a well person'
Water		
<i>dambwi ~ dumbwi</i>		'kerplunk, fall in water'
<i>goto-golo</i>	<i>golomba</i>	'flowing of water'
<i>jagi-jagi ~ jogi-jogi</i>		'the rain coming for a long time'
<i>golyo-golyo</i>		'water going in many channels, many people'
<i>shwa</i>		'clothing with water in it, sloshing'
<i>too-too</i>	<i>tonya</i>	'raining'

Form	Related verb	Meaning
<i>vwo-vwo-vwo</i>	<i>vwogeera</i>	'sound of going in river'
<i>zorororo</i>	<i>zororonda</i>	'trickle of water that is about to be finished'
Without carefulness		
<i>baa-baa ~ bwe bwe</i>		'speaking without knowing what to say'
<i>guliti-guliti</i>	<i>gulita</i>	'go with a lot of noise without knowing where'
<i>hwi-hwi</i>	<i>hwikira</i>	'going without care, quickly'
<i>hwiti-hwiti</i>	<i>yihwitika</i>	'to go without care'
<i>para</i>	<i>yipalalika</i>	'go from task to task without finishing anything'
<i>shamwe-shamwe</i>	<i>shamula</i>	'work or eat fast and sloppily, grab something quickly'
<i>vuuju-vuuju</i>	<i>vuujuuka</i>	'leave the path, or go against good judgment'
<i>buhushu-hushu</i>	<i>hushuka</i>	'go without stopping, just pass on by'

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) *Inyaabu 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 lwananzibula 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.'

In (122) the ideophone *miru-miru* ‘gulp, gulp’ describes the sound of someone swallowing quickly.

(122) *Anamirangusa miru-miru!*

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

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

(130) *Yiby bitsi byomi bikola mbu syey-syey!*
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 Bafuliiru 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 iraaگو 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 zikola nyingi 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 *shutu-shutu* ‘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) *Twayuvwa 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 bagamúvutula 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) *Twanayuvwa 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 tukayuvwa 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 igenderiiri 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 <quote> 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 in 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 is 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’.

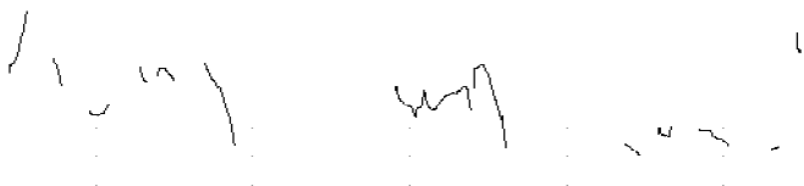
(01)



Hali riiri mutabana muguma | ukalooza 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 zikaluga || mwana 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 || banahika | ku twiji.

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)

	Point of departure	Comments
	Non-referential PoD, Preposed	Referential PoD, Topic
1a		There was
1b	That young man when they showed him all the girls in that village of theirs	<<
1c		HE
1d		there is no girl which he << likes.
1e		HE
1f		And he said that must marry a woman who resembles his mother and of a size which is like that of his mother.
2a		That young man
2b		went outside of the village and he went looking for women and he did not see them.
3a	When it was one day just when he crossed the river	he encountered a girl sitting underneath a tree.
4a	When he saw her <quote>:	“No!
4b		This very one
4c		is the one that resembles my mother and of a size like that of my mother!”
4d		That young man
4e		told her:
4f		“O girl I like you I’m about to marry you.”
4g		And she also
4h		said:
4i		“Yes marry me.” And they took to the path.
5a	When they arrived in the path	they came to the river.
5b		That girl
5c	“No!	ME
5d		said: I will not cross the river. It’s obvious that you carry me on(your) back.”

6a	That young man	said:
6b		“Sure! Will it defeat me to take you across the river?”
6c	That young man	placed her on his back.
7a	In the river	kagata kagata.
7b	The river	vwo vwo vwo.
7c		And they crossed over the river.
8a	When they arrived on the far side	the new wife <quote>: “Oh my!
8b	The new bride	will she get down here?
8c		Take me into the house.
8d	Me the new wife	will I go by foot again,
8e		we the ones who are now going to the village?”
8f	That young man	<quote>
8g		“No we will go.”
9a		And he arrived at their home it’s now dusk
9b		and he went straight into the house
9c		and he told his mother:
9d		<quote> “O my mother I have brought a new bride
9e		Give me food.”
9f	The mother	quote: “Will you not eat in here?”
9g	And he <quote>:	“No! Bring it to me in here.”
10a	To tell the new wife:	“Get down off the back!”
10b		“It’s obvious I will not get down!”
10c		“Get down off the back!”
10d		“It’s obvious I will not get down!”
11a		He spent the night with her on his back
11b		and he spent the day with her on his back.
11c	A week	puu!
11d	A month	puu!
11e		Hey guys look out the person will die!

12a	That news <<	they caused it to arrive to other men.
12b	Those men when they heard it <<	they said: <quote>
12c		“O my! It’s a demon this one he has brought!”
12d		“Is that so?
12e		A demon?”
12f		“Yes.”
13a	Others	<quote>:
13b	“How	will you get rid of it <<?”
13c	When they try these	It’s no use! (Ideophone)
14a	Other men	told them: <quote>
14b		“Take a big bull
14c		a bull that had you castrated
14d		and which now has much fat.
14e		Let him again take it back
14f		right there(where) he took it(the demon) from.
14g		Make sure you go and slaughter for it that bull
14h		and place all those meats
14i		and the intestinal fat and the intestinal fat on the fire. ”
15a	OK then!	They led to the river that young man and that bull
15b		and they made it arrive underneath that tree
15c		and they killed it with the knife.
16a	The intestinal fat	they gathered it << up in a heap on the firewood.
16b	That bull	and it began to burn.
16c	And roasting smell	was repeatedly sensed.
17a	That young man	repeatedly told it(demon):
17b		“Roast it well you are burning it!
17c		Roast it well you are burning it!”
18a	In saying like this:	“Roast it well you are burning it!”
18b	that demon and it also	pulled out its fingernails.

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
20b		and they immediately dashed off
20c		and they crossed that river and they went home.
21	Thus that demon	remained with those meats.
22a	That story	that's where it comes to end
22b		and that also is where it ends (like rain).

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’.

(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 was very sweet in the nose,	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 wani utwale uyu walukwavu ikaaya*
 That man told son of him quote O son of mine take this rabbit home
ye ngayiji liira ubundu.”
 it's the one I will coming eat with stiff porridge.

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, B₁C 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’yuvwe ulubi, yanabibakula.*

All of a sudden, they were struggling in combat. They fell into the river, splash! The crocodile, when he heard the noise, he ate them up.

Kwokwo, yukwo kuhambanwa kwanatuma bigaafwa.

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, B₁C, C₁D, 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’

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
1			< <	<i>Hâli riiri</i> There were	<i>ibihebe bibiri</i> rams two		
2			<i>Yibyo bihebe</i> Those rams	<i>byâli</i> were	<i>bihwija</i> foolish		
3			<i>Kiguma</i> One	<i>kyâli tuuziri</i> was living		<i>ikajabo ko'lwiji</i> across of river	
4a			<i>Ne'kindi</i> and another	<i>kyâli tuuziri</i> was living		<i>akandi kajabo ka lwolwo lwiji</i> other side of that very river	
4b			<i>Yulwo lwiji</i> That river	<i>lwâli tambisirwi</i> it was laid over		<i>kwe'kiti</i> on it tree	<i>kyo</i> which
4c			<i>abandu</i> people	<i>bâli kizi tondagira kwo</i> they were continuously stepping on that			
4d			---	<i>mu kulujabuka</i> in to cross it			
5	<i>Lusiku luguma</i> Day one	<i>yibyo bihebe bihwija byombi</i> those rams foolish both	<i>byanatondeza ukujabuka</i> and they began to cross	<i>ulwiji</i> river			
6	<i>Kwokwo</i> Thus	---	<i>byanagwanana</i> and they encountered each other		<i>ku yikyo kiti</i> on that tree		
7a			<i>Îkyâli fiisiri</i> The one that was fat	<i>kyanabwira</i> and it told	<i>ikyabo kyo'lujogoti</i> its fellow of skinny		<i>Kwo [7b-7c]</i> that
7b			<i>[---</i>	<i>kikihinduse</i> it still cause other to pass			<i>gira</i> in order that
7c			<i>---</i>	<i>kitee yilengera]</i> it first pass itself by			
8a			<i>Ikyabo nakyo</i> Its fellow and it	<i>kyanalahira</i> and it refused			
8b			---	<i>mu kubwira</i> in to tell	<i>ikyabo</i> its fellow		<i>kwo [8c]</i> that

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
8c			[---	<i>kibe kyo kigatee galuka]</i> it be which it will first return			
9a			<i>Yibyo bihebe byombi</i> Those rams both	<i>byanabeera</i> and they remained		<i>haaho</i> right there	
9b			---	<i>byanatondeka ukuhambanwa</i> and they began to fight			
9c			---	<i>binanenmiri</i> and they are leaning		<i>ku yikyo kiti</i> on that tree	
10a		<i>Lyeryo</i> Right then	---	<i>byanagagika</i> and they were struggling			
10b			---	<i>byanatibukira</i> and they fell		<i>mu yulwo lwiji</i> in that river	<i>ti dumbwi</i> quote splash
11a	<i>[Ingoona mbu</i> Crocodile	as soon as	< <	<i>iyuvwe</i> it heard	<i>ulubi]</i> noise		
11b	<i>[11a]</i>		---	<i>yanabibakula</i> it gobbled them			
12		<i>Kwokwo</i> Thus	<i>yukwo kuhambanwa</i> that to fight	<i>kwanatuma bigaafwa</i> and it caused they will die			
13	<i>Umugani</i> Proverb		<i>Ndatangwe</i> I will not be passed	<i>akatumita</i> he speared	<i>umuluzi</i> son of king		

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’

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	Object/Complement	Inner	Outer
1			< <	<i>Hâli riiri</i> There was	<i>imbongo na mukaayo no'mwana wazo</i> gazelle and wife of it and child of theirs		
2a			<i>Iyo mbongo</i> That gazelle	<i>yâli tuuziri</i> it was living		<i>mu kabanda kaguma kiija</i> in valley one nice	
2b			---	<i>kâli riiri</i> it was		<i>ne'kishungu-shungu kye'biti bye'mimbati</i> with bushes of trees of cassava	
3			<i>Yibyo biti</i> Those trees	<i>byâli hiiti</i> were having	<i>akalaala kiija bweneene</i> nice very leaves		
4			<i>Iyo mbongo</i> That gazelle	<i>yanatuula</i> and it lived		<i>yaho</i> there	<i>siku nyingi bweneene</i> days many very
5a		<i>[Iri</i> When	---	<i>hakaba</i> it was	<i>lusiku luguma]</i> day one		
5b	<i>[5a]</i>		---	<i>yanabwira</i> and it told	<i>mukaayo kuguma no'yo mwana</i> wife of it together with that child		<i>[5c-5g]</i>
5c			<i>[---</i>	<i>Buli</i> It is	<i>bwija</i> good		
5d			---	<i>tubunge</i> we move			
5e			---	<i>tulyoke</i> let's leave		<i>hano</i> here	
5f		<i>Haliko</i> But	---	<i>ngagendi laguza</i> I will go have future told			<i>gira</i> in order that
5g			<i>umulaguzi</i> Fortune teller	<i>ambwire</i> he tells me	<i>ngiisi kwo ngaagira]</i> just what I will do		
6			<i>Iyo mbongo</i> That gazelle	<i>yanagenda</i> and it went		<i>imwo yo mulaguzi</i> to home of that fortune teller	

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	Object/Complement	Inner	Outer
7a			<i>Naye</i> And he	<i>anagibwira</i> and he told it			<i>[7b-7e]</i>
7b			<i>[---</i>	<i>Ukwiriiri ulyoke</i> You must you leave		<i>yaho</i> there	
7c	<i>mukuba</i> because	<i>keera</i> already	<i>ingwi</i> leopard	<i>yahahigira</i> he has set sights on it			
7d			<i>---</i>	<i>Ugende</i> You go			
7e			<i>---</i>	<i>unayami bunga]</i> and you immediately move			
8a		<i>Lyeryo-lyeryo</i> Right then	<i>uyo mulaguzi</i> that fortune teller	<i>anabona</i> and he saw			<i>[8b]</i>
8b			<i>[ingwi</i> leopard	<i>yayija]</i> he has come			
8c			<i>---</i>	<i>anagibwira</i> and he told it			<i>[8d]</i>
8d			<i>[---</i>	<i>Uyibishe duba]</i> You hide yourself quickly			
9			<i>Imbongo</i> Gazelle	<i>yanayibisha</i> and he hid himself		<i>inyuma lyo'lwivi</i> behind of door	
10a			<i>Ingwi</i> Leopard	<i>yanayingira</i> and he entered			
10b			<i>---</i>	<i>yanadeta</i> and he said			<i>[10c-10h]</i>
10c	<i>[Musingo</i> Greetings	<i>e mufumu</i> o witch doctor	<i>---</i>	<i>Nayija</i> I have come			<i>gira</i> in order that
10d			<i>---</i>	<i>undagule</i> you tell for me the future			
10e			<i>---</i>	<i>Hali</i> There is	<i>akabanda kaguma</i> a valley one		

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	Object/Complement	Inner	Outer
10f			---	<i>Muli</i> In there is	<i>imbongo zibiri no'mwana wazo</i> gazelles two and child of theirs		
10g			---	<i>Undagule</i> You tell for me the future			<i>kuti kwo [10h]</i> how that
10h			[---]	<i>ngazigwata]</i> I will seize them			
11a			<i>Uyo mulaguzi</i> That fortune teller	---			<i>ti [11b–11f]</i> quote
11b			[---]	<i>Uhengeere keera hamala</i> there has finished	<i>isiku zishatu</i> days three		
11c			---	<i>unagende</i> and you go		<i>ho</i> there	
11d			---	<i>ugazigwata</i> and you seize them			
11e		<i>Na mango</i> And when	---	<i>wazigwata</i> you seize them			
11f			---	<i>unandeetere</i> and you bring me	<i>amatwiri gaazo]</i> ears of theirs		
12			<i>Iyo ngwi</i> That leopard	<i>yanagaluka</i> and it returned			
13a			<i>Imbongo</i> Gazelle	<i>yanabishuuka</i> and it unhid			
13b			---	<i>yanadeta</i> and he said			<i>[13c]</i>
13c		<i>[E maashi mwira wani</i> O come on friend of mine	---	<i>wambaniisa]</i> you have punished me			
14a			<i>Umulaguzi</i> The fortune teller	<i>anagishuvya</i> and he answered him			<i>[14b]</i>
14b			[---]	<i>Ugende</i> You go		<i>mu lubako lwa hala bweneene]</i> in jungle of far away very	

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	Object/Complement	Inner	Outer
15a		<i>[Iri</i> When	---	<i>ikagenda]</i> it went			
15b	<i>[15a]</i>		---	<i>yanagendi bunga</i> it going moved			
16a		<i>[Iri</i> When	---	<i>ikaba keera yamala</i> it was already it has finished	<i>siku sitali niini]</i> days which are not few		
16b	<i>[16a]</i>		<i>iyō mbongo</i> that gazelle	<i>yanagaluka</i> and it returned			
16c			---	<i>iritanduula iri</i> it is checking out it is		<i>mu handu haayo</i> in place of it	<i>ho</i> <i>where</i>
16d			---	<i>yâli tuuziri</i> it was living			
17a		<i>[Kiziga</i> Surprise	<i>ingwi</i> leopard	<i>ukulyokera</i> from		<i>ho]</i> when	
17b	<i>[17a]</i>		<i>[mulaguzi</i> Fortune teller	<i>akagilagulira]</i> had told its fortune			
17c	<i>[17b]</i>		---	<i>ikayama yagenda</i> it immediately it went		<i>ho</i> there	
17d			---	<i>yanashonera</i> and it climbed		<i>ku kiti</i> on tree	
17e			---	<i>yanabeera</i> and it remained		<i>haaho</i> right there	
18a	<i>[Imbongo</i> Gazelle	<i>iri</i> When	< <	<i>ikayija]</i> it came			
18b	<i>[18a]</i>		---	<i>iri</i> it is	<i>luto-luto</i> quiet-quiet		
18c			---	<i>igweti igashodoka</i> it is it is			
18d		<i>iri</i> while	---	<i>inalaangiiza</i> it is looking far			

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	Object/Complement	Inner	Outer
18e			---	<i>itanabona</i> and it did not see	<i>kindu</i> a thing		
19		<i>Kiziga</i> Surprise	<i>ingwi</i> leopard	<i>iteziri</i> is trapping it.			
20a			<i>Imbongo</i> Gazelle	<i>yanahika</i> and it arrived			
20b			---	<i>yanatangira ukulya</i> and it began to eat leaves	<i>akalala</i>		
20c			---	<i>yanavujagira yanavujagira</i> and it stuffed itself and it stuffed itself			
21a		<i>[iri</i> while	---	<i>inayegeera</i> it came close to		<i>mu kivuuzi ***]</i> in	
21b	<i>[21a]</i>		<i>imbongo</i> gazelle	<i>itayiji</i> does not know		<i>kiri na kiri</i> even a little	
22a			<i>Ingwi</i> Leopard	<i>yagiyivudika kwo</i> jumped it on			
22b			---	<i>yanagiyita</i> and it killed it			
22c			---	<i>yanatola</i> and it cut off	<i>amatwiri gombi</i> ears both		
22d			---	<i>yanagatwala</i> and it brought them		<i>imwo yo mulaguzi</i> to home of fortune teller	
23a	<i>[Ihano</i> Advice	<i>Iri</i> If	---	<i>wangakengulwa]</i> you would be warned			
23b	<i>[23a]</i>		<i>[---</i>	<i>unahunge</i> and you run from	<i>ubugoma]</i> the enemy		
23c	<i>[23b]</i>		---	<i>utanaki shubi gendi butanduula</i> you do not still again going check it out			

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'

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
1a			< <	<i>Hâli riiri</i> There was	<i>ingware</i> quail		[1b]
1b			[---	<i>iyâli kizi genda igalooza</i> which was continuously going it is looking for	<i>bye'galya</i> things which it will eat	<i>mu kishuka]</i> in bush	
2a	<i>Lusiku luguma</i> --- Day one			<i>yanagwanana</i> and she encountered			[2b]
2b			[<i>umujoka</i> snake	<i>gukola mu kita-kita]</i> it is now in slithering-slithering			
2c		<i>mukuba</i> because	<i>ikishuka gwo âli riiri mwo</i> bush which it was in	<i>kyâli kola mu hîira</i> was now in burning up			
3a			<i>Yugwo mujoka</i> That snake	<i>gwanabwira</i> and it told	<i>iyô ngware</i> that quail		<i>kwokuno</i> [3b] like this
3b	[<i>E mwira wani</i> O friend of mine		--- ---	<i>Ungize</i> You save me		<i>na yugu muliro]</i> from this fire	
4a			<i>Ingware</i> The quail	<i>yanashuvya</i> and he answered			[4b-4c]
4b			[---	<i>Nangakukiziizi</i> I would (but can't) save you			
4c		<i>haliko</i> but	--- ---	<i>ndaakwo ngakutelula]</i> there is no way I will lift you up			
5a			<i>Yugwo mujoka</i> That snake	<i>gwanabwira</i> and it told	<i>iyô ngware</i> that quail		[5b-5c]
5b			[---	<i>Ngakuyizingira</i> I am going to wrap myself to you		<i>mwi'gosi</i> around neck	
5c			--- ---	<i>unambalalane</i> and you fly with me		<i>halinde ikajabo ko'lwiji]</i> until across of river	

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
6a	<i>Iyo ngware</i> That quail	<i>iri</i> when	< <	<i>akayuvwa kwokwo</i> he heard thus			
6b			---	<i>yanayemeera</i> and he agreed to			
6c			---	<i>yanagoola</i> and he stretched out	<i>igosi</i> neck		
7a			<i>Yugwo mujoka</i> That snake	<i>gwanayizongeza mwo</i> and it wrapped itself around there			
7b			---	<i>yanagubalalana</i> and it (quail) flew with it			
7c			---	<i>yanatwa</i> and it landed		<i>ikajabo ko'lwiji</i> across of river	
7d			---	<i>yanabwira</i> and it told	<i>yugwo mujoka</i> that snake		[7e]
7e			[---]	<i>Tuluukaga</i> Get down			
8a			<i>Yugwo mujoka</i> That snake	<i>gwanadeta</i> and it said			<i>kwo</i> [8b] that
8b			[---]	<i>keera gwashalika bweneene</i> already it was hungry very			
9a	<i>Iyo ngware</i> That quail			<i>yanagubwira</i> and it told it			<i>kwo</i> [9b-9c] that
9b			[---]	<i>gutuluuke</i> it get down			<i>gira</i> in order that
9c			---	<i>gugende gugalooza</i> it going look for	<i>ibyo gugaalya</i> what it will eat		
9d			---	<i>Gwanabwira</i> And it told	<i>iyo ngware</i> that quail		<i>kwokuno</i> [9e-9f] like this

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
9e			[---	<i>Ndakihiiti</i> I no longer have	<i>imisi yo'kugenda ngalooza ibindi byokulya</i> strength of to go looking for other food		
9f	<i>Wehe</i> YOU		---	<i>we ngola ngaalya]</i> you are one who I am now I will eat	< <		
10a			<i>Yugwo mujoka</i> That snake	<i>gwanamira</i> and he swallowed	<i>iyo ngware</i> that quail		
10b			---	<i>gutanakitona</i> and it did not think			<i>kwe [10c]</i> that that
10c			<i>[iyo ngware</i> quail	<i>yo yatuma gutasingooka</i> is the one who was the cause it would not burn up		<i>na yugwo muliro]</i> from that fire	
11a	<i>IHANO</i> Advice		---	<i>Utagwate</i> Do not grab	<i>ubwira</i> friendship	<i>ne'ndyalya</i> with a deceiver	
11b		<i>mukuba</i> because	---	<i>yangakuyita</i> it might eat you			
11c			---	<i>utanamenya</i> and you do not know			

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'

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
1			<i>Namukukuzo</i>	<i>âli riiri</i>	<i>mwira we'mbulu</i>		
			Guinea fowl	she was	friend of lizard		
2			<i>Uyo namukukuzo</i>	<i>ndaahyo hya'ngasigiri</i>		<i>ha wo'yo mwira wage</i>	
			That guinea fowl	there is no small thing which it would leave		at of that friend of her	
3a			<i>Bombi</i>	<i>bâli kizi ryanwa</i>		<i>akaholo na'kaduutu</i>	
			Both	they were continuously eating together		cold and hot	
3b			---	<i>banâli kizi tabaalana</i>		<i>ku ngiisi magoorwa</i>	
				and they were continuously helping each other		relative to every need	
4a		<i>Lusiku luguma</i>	<i>imbulu</i>	<i>yanagira</i>	<i>ulusiku lukulu</i>		
		Day one	lizard	and he made	feast		
4b			---	<i>yanatumira</i>	<i>uyo mwira wage</i>		[4c]
				and he sent for	that friend of her		
4c			[---	<i>kwa'yije baganuule]</i>			
				that he come they discuss			
5			<i>Uyo mwira wage</i>	<i>anayija</i>		<i>bo na mukaage</i>	
			That friend of his	and he came		together with his wife	
6a		<i>[Iri</i>	---	<i>bakahika</i>		<i>ha mwe'mbulu]</i>	
		When		they arrived		at home of lizard	
6b	[6a]		---	<i>yanabwira</i>	<i>umukukuzo</i>		<i>kwokuno</i>
				and it told	guinea fowl		[6c-6d] like this
6c	<i>[E mwira wani</i>	<i>Bwo</i>	---	<i>namu gira</i>	<i>ulusiku lukulu</i>		
	O friend of mine	In that		I am about to have	feast		
6d			---	<i>undabule</i>	<i>ishala lyawe]</i>		
				cut off for me	feather of yours		

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
7a			<i>Namukukuzo</i> Guinea fowl	<i>anashuvya</i> and he answered			[7b]
7b	[E *** <i>maashi</i> come on	<i>mwira wani Si</i> friend of mine It's obvious	---	<i>wambuuna</i> that you have asked	<i>[bigooziri]</i> for what I need		
8		<i>Kundu kwokwo</i> Even thus	<i>namukukuzo</i> guinea fowl	<i>anaheereza</i> and he gave	<i>uyo mwira wage</i> that friend of his	<i>ishala liguma</i> feather one	
9			<i>Iyo mbulu</i> That lizard	<i>yanagira</i> and he made	<i>yulwo lusiku lukulu</i> that feast	<i>na yiryo ishala</i> with that feather	
10a		<i>Hanyuma</i> Afterwards	<i>namukukuzo naye</i> guinea fowl and he	<i>anabona</i> and he saw			[10b]
10b			[---]	<i>kwa'gire</i> that he have	<i>ulusiku lukulu]</i> feast		
11a			<i>Naye</i> And he	<i>anatumira</i> and he sent for	<i>uyo mwira wage</i> that friend of his		
11b			---	<i>anamúbwira</i> and he told him			[11c–11d]
11c	[E <i>mwira wani</i> O friend of mine		---	<i>Ngola ngaagira</i> I am now I will make	<i>ulusiku lukulu</i> feast		
11d			---	<i>undabule</i> cut off for me	<i>uluhu lwawe]</i> skin of yours		
12a			<i>Imbulu</i> Lizard	<i>yanashuvya</i> and he answered			[12b–12d]
12b			[---]	<i>Bitangashoboka</i> It would not be possible			<i>kwo</i> [12c–12d] that
12c			[---]	<i>nyikere</i> I cut self		<i>ku luhu lwani</i> from skin of me	<i>mbu lyo</i> with intent
12d			---	<i>ngutabula ***]</i> I give to you			

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
13a			<i>Muka mbulu</i>	<i>anabwira</i>	<i>yiba</i>		<i>kwokuno</i> [13b–13c]
			Wife of lizard	and she told	her husband		like this
13b	<i>[E yaga</i>	<i>Si wehe</i>	<i>mwira wawe</i>	<i>akakuheereza</i>	<i><<</i>	<i>ishala lyage</i>	
	O comrade	It's obvious YOU	friend of yours	he gave you		feather of his	
13c			---	<i>wanagira</i>		<i>mwo lulya lusiku lukulu]</i>	
				and you made		from it that feast	
14a			<i>Iyo mbulu</i>	<i>yanayemeera</i>	<i>yiryo ihano lya mukaage</i>		
			That lizard	and he agreed to	that advice of his wife		
14b			---	<i>yanayikera</i>		<i>ku magala gaayo</i>	
				and he cut himself		from body of his	
14c			---	<i>yanahereza</i>	<i>uyo mwira wage</i>		
				and he gave	that friend of his		
15			<i>Uyo mwira wage</i>	<i>anagira</i>		<i>mwo yulwo lusiku lukulu naye</i>	
			That friend of his	and he made		from it that feast and he	
16a			<i>Iyo mbulu</i>	<i>yanataahira</i>		<i>imwayo</i>	
			That lizard	and he went home		to his place	
16b			---	<i>ikola mu kunira</i>			
				it is now in limping			
17a			<i>Yikyo kihando</i> <i>kye'kayikera</i>	<i>kyanatonda</i>			
			That sore which he cut himself	and it swelled up			
17b			---	<i>yanafwa</i>			
				and he died			
18	<i>Ihano</i>		<i>Ihano libi</i>	<i>likizi yitiisania</i>			
	Advice		Advice bad	habitually kills others			

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'

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
1a			<i>Mushosi muguma</i> Man one	<i>akagira</i> made	<i>lusiku lukulu</i> day big	<i>ha mwage</i> at his place	
1b			---	<i>analaalika</i> and he invited	<i>abatuulani kuguma na'bagingi na'baami na'bagunda ikumi</i> neighbors together with leaders and kings and common people ten		<i>Gira</i> [1c-1e] in order that
1c			[---]	<i>bamútabaale</i> they help him			
1d			---	<i>mu kuyegereza</i> in welcoming			
1e			---	<i>no'kuzimaana</i> and serving guest food	<i>yabo booshi ábakalaalikwa]</i> those all who were invited		
2a			---	<i>Anabwira</i> And he told	<i>yabo bagunda</i> those common people		<i>kwokuno</i> [2b-4b] like this
2b			[---	<i>Ndaloziizi</i> I am not wanting			[2c]
2c			[---	<i>mundeenze</i> that you pass me through	<i>ishoni</i> shame	<i>imbere lya yabo bandu booshi]</i> before of those people all	
3a	<i>Ku yaho</i> Therefore	<i>niehe nie</i> ME I am the one who	---	<i>mugakizi lolera kwo</i> you will continuously look at		<i><<</i>	[3b]
3b		<i>[ikyanya]</i> time	---	<i>mugabayegereza]</i> you will welcome them			
4a			<i>Ngiisi kwo</i> Everything that	<i>ngaagira</i> I will do			
4b		<i>kwo</i> thus	<i>na niinyu</i> and your	<i>mugaagira]</i> you will do it			

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
5	<i>Ikyanya kyo'kugendi yegereza abageni</i>		---	<i>anayiteera</i>		<i>hambere</i>	
	Time of going welcome guests			and he placed self		at front	
6			<i>Yabo bagunda booshi</i>	<i>banamúkulikira</i>			
			Those common people all	they followed him.			
7a			---	<i>Analamusa</i>	<i>yabo bageni</i>		<i>iri [7b]</i>
				And he greeted	those guests		while
7b			[---	<i>anahuniza</i>	<i>itwe]</i>		
				bowing	head		
8a			<i>Yabo bagunda nabo</i>	<i>banagira</i>	<i>kwokwo</i>		<i>[8b]</i>
			Those common people and they	did	thus		
8b	<i>[ikyanya</i>	---		<i>bakabalamusa]</i>			
	when			they greeted them			
9			<i>Ikyanya kyo'kuzimaana yabo bageni</i>	<i>kyanahika</i>			
			Time of to provide guest food those guests	it arrived			
10a			<i>Uyo mushosi</i>	<i>analengeza</i>	<i>indaala yo'bundu</i>		
			That man	and he raised	the plate of ugali		
10b			<i>Abagunda nabo</i>	<i>banalengeza</i>	<i>inyibo za'gandi mandu</i>		
			The common people and they	they raised	the platters of other ugali		
10c			---	<i>banamúkulikira</i>			
				and they followed him			
11a	<i>Uyo mwene ubugeni</i>	<i>iri</i>	< <	<i>akahika</i>		<i>imbere lya yabo ábagazimaanwa</i>	
	That owner of feast	when		he arrived		before of those who were served guest food	
11b			---	<i>anasitara</i>			
				and he tripped			

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
11c			---	<i>anayibumbulika</i> and he crashed		<i>haashi</i> down	
12			<i>ib yokulya byâ'li hiiti byanayoneka</i> the food which he was having it spilled				
13			<i>Yabo bagunda booshi banayigwisa</i> Those common people all and they caused selves to fall down				
14		<i>nabo</i> and they	<i>ib yokulya byo bâli hiiti byoshi</i> the food which they were having all	<i>byanayoneka</i> it spilled			
15a		<i>[Iri]</i> When	---	<i>akavyuka</i> he got up		<i>yaho]</i> there	
15b	<i>[15a]</i>		---	<i>anababwira</i> he told them			<i>[15c]</i>
15c		<i>[Si]</i> It's obvious	---	<i>keera mwanjereegeza</i> already you have spoiled to me	<i>ib yokulya bya'bageni]</i> the food of guests		
16a			<i>Yabo bagunda banamûbwira</i> Those common people they told him				<i>[16b–16c]</i>
16b		<i>[Si]</i> It's obvious	---	<i>we watubwira</i> you are one who you told us			<i>kwo</i> that
16c			---	<i>tukizi gira</i> we continuously do	<i>ngiisi kwo'gakizi gira ***]</i> everything which you will continuously		
17		<i>Haaho</i> Right then	---	<i>banatondeeza ukuhambanwa</i> and they began to argue			
18a			<i>Yabo bageni</i> Those guests	<i>banashiiba</i> they remained all day		<i>ni'shali</i> with hunger	
18b			<i>Uyo mwene ubugeni</i> That owner of feast	<i>anagwatwa ne'shoni</i> and he was grabbed with shame			
19	<i>Ihano</i> Advice		<i>Áhali ikyoba</i> Where there is fear	<i>hatagendwa bwija</i> it does not go well			

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'

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
1a			< <	<i>Hâli riiri</i> There was	<i>mutabana muguma</i> young man one		[1b]
1b			[---	<i>úkahisa</i> who caused to arrive	<i>umuhya]</i> the new bride		
2a		<i>Nyina wo'yo mutabana</i> His mother of that young man	<i>anabaza</i> and she prepared	<i>ibyokulya</i> the food			
2b		---	<i>anabiheereza</i> and she gave it to	<i>uyo mwali-kazi wage</i> that daughter-in-law of her			
3a		<i>Haliko</i> But	<i>uyo mwali-kazi wage</i> that daughter-in-law of her	<i>anadeta</i> said			<i>kwo</i> [3b] that
3b			<i>[yehe</i> SHE	<i>atakizi riira</i> she does not habitually eat with	<i>ubundu</i> ugali	<i>amagusha]</i> worms	
3c			---	<i>Anakizi nadeta</i> And she continuously and said			<i>kwo</i> [3d] that
3d	<i>[imwabo</i> at their place		---	<i>batalya</i> they don't eat	<i>isuusi</i> flies	<i>< <]</i>	
4a	<i>[Uyu muhya</i> This new wife	<i>ikyanya</i> when	< <	<i>âli kizi bona</i> she was continuously see			<i>kwo</i> that
4b			<i>navyala</i> mother-in-law	<i>ahinga]</i> was farming			
4c	<i>[4a-4b]</i>		---	<i>anakizi manula</i> she continuously took down	<i>ikibya kya'magusha</i> the bowl of worms		
4d			---	<i>anatondeeze ukugalya</i> and she began to eat them			
5a		<i>[Mango</i> When	<i>navyala</i> mother-in-law	<i>afuluka]</i> she returned home			

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
5b	[5a]		---	<i>anakizi gwana</i> she continuously encountered			[5c]
5c			[yikyo kibya] that bowl	kikola it is now	kimaata] empty		
6a			Navyala Mother-in-law	<i>anakizi gangaanwa bweneene</i> and she continuously was puzzled very			
6b			---	<i>anabuuza</i> and she asked	yiba her husband		[6c]
6c	[Biki] What		---	<i>ibiri mu tulya</i> which is in eating to us	<i>amagusha</i> worms	<i>mu yiki kibya]</i> in this bowl	
7a	[Yiba] Her husband	iri when	< <	<i>akayuvwa</i> he heard		<i>kwokwo]</i> thus	
7b	[7a]		---	<i>anahereka</i> and he cursed	<i>yikyo kibya</i> that bowl		
7c			---	<i>banahinga</i> and they farmed	<i>bombi</i> both		
8a		[Iri] When	---	<i>hakaba</i> it was		<i>mwi'zuuba]</i> in sun	
8b	[8a]		<i>uyo mwali-kazi wabo</i> that daughter-in-law of theirs	<i>anashonera</i> and she climbed		<i>ku ngingo ya shevyala</i> on bed of father-in-law	
8c			---	<i>anakimanula</i> and she took it down			
8d			---	<i>anakiyubika</i> and she place it		<i>ku kanwa</i> to mouth	
8e			---	<i>ate nywa</i> and she first drink		<i>ku mwita</i> of soup	
9a			<i>Yikyo kibya</i> That bowl	<i>kyanamunaniira</i> and it stuck to her		<i>ku kanwa</i> on mouth	
9b		<i>mukuba</i> because	<i>shevyala</i> father-in-law	<i>akakibiika</i> had place on it	<i>kwo'buhereko</i> on curse		

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
10a		[Iri When	---	<i>bakafuluka</i> they returned home			[10b]
10b	[10a]	[Hahi Where	<i>muhya</i> new wife	<i>agenda</i> she went		<<]	
11a			---	<i>Banayuvwa</i> And they heard			[11b]
11b			[---	<i>agweti agabubulira</i> she is wailing		<i>mu ngologoshi ye'yo ngingo ya shevyala</i> in place under bed of that bed of father-in-law	
12		<i>Na yikyo kibya kya'magusha</i> And that bowl of worms	<i>kimúnaniiri</i> it is stuck on her			<i>ku kanwa</i> on mouth	
13			<i>Ishoni</i> Shame	<i>zanamútetereza</i> and it shamed her			
14a	<i>Ihano</i> Advice		---	<i>Utatuke</i> Do not bad-mouth	<i>ibyokulya</i> the food		[14b]
14b			[---	<i>íbiri mu liibwa</i> which is in eaten		<i>na'bandi]</i> by others	

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 imwabovyala* ‘The man who preferred to serve his father-in-law’

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
1a			< <	<i>Hâli riiri</i> There was	<i>musosi muguma mukeni</i> man one poor		[1b]
1b			[---]	<i>úkaramba</i> who lived		<i>ku njira yo'kukolerana</i> by means of serving others	
2a	<i>Mu yukwo kukolerana</i> In that serving others		---	<i>anatwa</i> he acquired		< < <i>mwe'bindu</i> things	
2b			---	<i>anagonda</i> and he married	<i>mwo'mukazi</i> with them a woman		
3a		[Iri When	---	<i>akaba abwatiiri</i> he was he is sitting		<i>ha mwage]</i> at his place	
3b	[3a]		<i>indumwa ye'bwami</i> a message of kingdom	<i>yanayija</i> came			<i>kwa [3c]</i> that
3c			[---]	<i>azindukiri gendi kola</i> he early in the morning go serve		<i>i bwami]</i> at king's place	
4a		<i>Haaho-haaho</i> Right then	<i>igindi ndumwa</i> another message	<i>yanalyoka</i> came from		<i>imwabovyala</i> the in-laws	<i>kwa' [4b]</i> that
4b			[---]	<i>zindukiri gendi kolera</i> he early in the morning go serve	<i>shevyala]</i> his father-in-law		
5a		[Ku kyanya At time	---	<i>âli kizi tona</i> he was continuously thinking			<i>kwo</i> that
5b	<i>hayi ha</i> where that		---	<i>mu gendagi kola</i> he is about going serve		< <]	
5c	[5a–5b]		<i>igindi ndumwa</i> another message	<i>yanashaaga</i> came		<i>i bwami</i> from king's place	
5d			---	<i>yanamúbwira</i> and it told him			[5e–5g]

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear		
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer	
5e			<u>[Mwami]</u> The king	<u>adeta</u> says			<u>kwo</u> that	
5f		<u>iri</u> if	---	<u>utazindukiri gendi kola</u> you do not early in the morning go serve		<u>imwage</u> at his place		
5g			---	<u>agakutwa]</u> he will cut you off				
6a			<u>Uyo shevyala naye anadeta</u> That father-in-law and he said					<u>[6b-6c]</u>
6b		<u>[Mango]</u> When	---	<u>utazindukiri ngolera]</u> you do not early in the morning serve me				
6c	<u>[6b]</u>		---	<u>ngakunyaga</u> I will seize from you	<u>munyere wani]</u> girl of mine			
7a	<u>[Uyo musosi]</u> That man	<u>iri</u> when	< <	<u>akayisaliza]</u> he thought to himself				
7b	<u>[7a]</u>		---	<u>anabona</u> he say			<u>kwo [7c]</u> that	
7c			<u>[---</u>	<u>agendi kolera</u> he going serve	<u>shevyala]</u> father-in-law			
8a			---	<u>Anayabiira</u> And he took	<u>ibikolanwa</u> utensils			
8b			---	<u>anazinduka</u> and he went early in morning		<u>ku mukolwa gwe'mwabovyala</u> to work of in-laws		
9a			---	<u>Akagira</u> He did	<u>kwokwo</u> thus			
9b		<u>mukuba</u> because	<u>ngiisi yeshi</u> each whoever	<u>ye bayuvikiini</u> who they are getting along		<u>na be'mwabovyala</u> with in-laws		
9c			---	<u>angabungana</u> he would move with	<u>imbaga yage</u> family of his			

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
9d			---	<i>anagendi tuula</i>	<i>bwija</i>	<i>na mukaage</i>	<i>imunda abungira</i>
				and go live	well	with his wife	there where he moved to
10	<i>Ihano</i>		<i>Shevyala wo'mundu ye</i>		<i>mukulu</i>	<i>ku mwami</i>	
	Advice		Father-in-law of a person is one who is		big	relative to king	

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'

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
1			< <	<i>Hâli riiri</i> There was	<i>wandered an wangaavu</i> lion and cow		
2a			<i>Uyo wandare na wangaavu</i> That lion and cow	<i>banagwata</i> they grabbed	<i>ubwira</i> friendship		
2b			---	<i>banagendi humbira</i> and they going dug	<i>imiganda</i> crops		
3a		<i>Iyo munda</i> That field	---	<i>bâli humbira</i> they were digging	<i>imiganda</i> crops		
3b			---	<i>banahumaana</i> they encountered			
3c			---	<i>hali</i> there is	<i>indekeera nyiija bweneene</i> plain nice very		
3d			---	<i>banahayubaka</i> and they built there			
3e			---	<i>banagenda bagalooza</i> And they went they are looking for	<i>byo bagayiji tungira</i> things which they will coming put	<i>mwi'yo nyumba</i> in that house	
4a	<i>Hanyuma lye'siku ngerwa</i> Afterwards of days some	<i>Wandare</i> lion		<i>anayima</i> get pregnant			
4b			---	<i>anabuta</i> and she gave birth to	<i>umwana</i> child		
4c			---	<i>anagenda agamúloogeza</i> and she went she will look for	<i>ibyokulya</i> the food		
5a	<i>Mu siku niniini</i> In days few	<i>wangaavu naye</i> cow and she		<i>ayima</i> got pregnant			
5b		<i>Naye</i> And she		<i>anabuta</i> and she gave birth to	<i>umwana</i> child		

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
5c			<i>Naye</i>	<i>anakizi genda agamúloogeza</i>	<i>ib yokulya</i>		
			And she	she continuously going she will look for	the food		
6			<i>Yabo baana bombi</i>	<i>banakizi sigala bagweti bagashaata</i>			
			Those children both	and they continuously remained they are they play			
7		<i>Mu yukwo kushaata</i>	<i>mwana wa ngaavu</i>	<i>anayita</i>	<i>mwana wa ndare</i>		
		In that to play	child of cow	and he killed	child of lion		
8a	<i>[Wangaavu</i>	<i>iri</i>	< <	<i>akafuluka]</i>			
	Cow	when		he returned home			
8b	<i>[8a]</i>		---	<i>anahumaana</i>	<i>[8c]</i>		
				and he encountered			
8c			<i>[mwana wa ndare</i>	<i>keera afwa]</i>			
			child of lion	already he has died			
9a			<i>Wangaavu</i>	<i>anabuuza</i>			<i>[9b]</i>
			Cow	and she asked			
9b			<i>[Biki</i>	<i>ibayita</i>	<i>uno mwana wa ndare]</i>		
			What	which has killed	this child of lion		
10a			<i>Mwana wa ngaavu</i>	<i>anamúbwira</i>			<i>[10b–10c]</i>
			Child of cow	and she told her			
10b			<i>[---</i>	<i>Tushuba mu shaata</i>			
				We were in playing			
10c			---	<i>nanamúyita]</i>			
				and I killed her			
11a	<i>[Iyo ngaavu</i>	<i>iri</i>	< <	<i>ikabona</i>			<i>kwo</i>
	That cow	when		she saw			that
11b		<i>keera</i>	<i>uyo mwana</i>	<i>afwa]</i>			
		already	that son	he is dead			
11c	<i>[11a–11b]</i>		---	<i>yanayibuza</i>			<i>kwo [11d]</i>
				she asked herself			that

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
11d			[--- she leave	<i>ishaage</i> she leave		<i>yaho]</i> there	
12a			---	<i>yanayabiira</i> And she took	<i>umwana wage</i> child of her		
12b			---	<i>yanayama igatibita</i> and she immediately she will run			
13a		<i>[Iri</i> When	---	<i>ikahika</i> she arrived		<i>mu njira]</i> in path	
13b	<i>[13a]</i>		---	<i>yanagwanana</i> and she encountered	<i>mwo'mushaaja muguma</i> in there an old man one		
13c			---	<i>yanamúbwira</i> and she told him			<i>kwa [13d]</i> that
13d			<i>[---</i> it hide him	<i>múbishe]</i> it hide him			
14a			<i>Uyo mushaaja</i> That old man	<i>anagibuuza</i> and he asked her			<i>[14b]</i>
14b			<i>[---</i> I will hide you from	<i>Ngakubishira</i> I will hide you from	<i>biki]</i> what		
15a			---	<i>Yanamúbwira</i> And she told him			<i>[15b–15c]</i>
15b		<i>[Umwana wani</i> Child of mine	---	<i>ashuba mu shaata</i> he was in playing		<i>na mwana wa ndare</i> with child of lion	
15c			---	<i>anamúyita]</i> and she killed it			
16a			<i>Uyo mushosi</i> That man	<i>anatwala</i> and he brought	<i>wangaavu no'mwana wage</i> cow and child of her		
16b			---	<i>anagendi múbisha</i> and he going hid her		<i>mu mwage</i> in his place	

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
17a			<i>Uyo mushosi</i> That man	<i>anabwira</i> and he told	<i>wangaavu</i> cow		[17b-17d]
17b		[Iri If	---	<i>wangayuvwa</i> you would hear			
17c			<i>uluhazi lwani</i> rooster of me	<i>lwabika]</i> he crows			
17d	[17b-17c]	<i>iri</i> that's when	<i>ndare</i> lion	<i>ahika]</i> he has arrived			
18a	[Ndare Lion	<i>iri</i> when	< <	<i>akashaaga</i> she left		<i>iwa kulooza ibyokulya]</i> there to look for the food	
18b	[18a]		---	<i>anagwanana</i> and she encountered		[18c]	
18c			<i>[umwana wage</i> child of her	<i>keera afwa]</i> already she has died			
19a	[Wandare Lion	<i>iri</i> when	< <	<i>akahumaana</i> she encountered			
19b			<i>umwana wage</i> child of her	<i>keera afwa]</i> already she has died			
19c	[19a-19b]		---	<i>anatondeera ukulira</i> and she began to cry			
20a		[Iri When	---	<i>akalolaga</i> she is now		<i>áhali wangaavu no'mwana wage]</i> where cow and child of her	
20b	[20a]		---	<i>atanaki babona</i> and she did not still them see			
20c			---	<i>anadeta</i> and she said			<i>kwo [20d]</i> that
20d			<i>[wangaavu</i> cow	<i>ye wamúyitira</i> is one who is she killed to her	<i>umwana wage]</i> child of her		

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
21		<i>Lyeryo</i> Right then	---	<i>anayami genda agalooza</i> and she immediately going she is looking for	<i>wangaavu</i> cow		
22a		<i>[Iri]</i> When	---	<i>akahika</i> she arrived		<i>mu njira]</i> in path	
22b	<i>[22a]</i>		---	<i>anahulukira</i> and she encountered		<i>ku'lya mushaaja</i> that old man	
23a			<i>Wandare</i> Lion	<i>anabuuza</i> and she asked	<i>ulya mushaaja</i> that old man		<i>[23b–23c]</i>
23b	<i>[E shookulu]</i> O old man	<i>Ka</i> Question	---	<i>ndaayo</i> there is no	<i>ngaavu</i> cow		
23c			---	<i>íyalenga</i> which passed		<i>hano]</i> here	
24			<i>Lulya luhazi</i> That rooster	<i>lwanayama lugaabika</i> and it immediately it crowed			
25a	<i>[Yulwo luhazi]</i> That rooster	<i>iri</i> when	< <	<i>lukabika]</i> it crowed			
25b	<i>[25a]</i>		<i>wangaavu</i> cow	<i>anadeta</i> and she said			<i>[25c]</i>
25c	<i>[Wandare]</i> Lion		<i>uyo</i> that	<i>úwalenga]</i> which passed			
26a	<i>Wandare</i> Lion	<i>iri</i> when	< <	<i>akakulikiraga</i> it followed	<i>iyo njira</i> that path		
26b			---	<i>anagendi hika</i> and she going arrived		<i>he'hekiiri</i> where it ended	
27a			<i>Wandare</i> Lion	<i>anashubi galukira</i> and it again returned		<i>áhali ulya mushaaja</i> to where that old man	
27b			---	<i>anamúbwira</i> and she told him			<i>[27c–27d]</i>

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
27c	<u>[E shookulu</u> O old man		---	<u>Ndaayo</u> There is no	<u>ngaavu</u> cow		
27d			---	<u>iyalenga</u> which passed		<u>hano]</u> here	
28a			<u>Uyo mushaaja</u> That old man	<u>anabwira</u> and he told	<u>wandare</u> lion		<u>[28b-28d]</u>
28b			<u>[-</u>	<u>Uleke</u> Allow			
28c			---	<u>ndee gendi nywa</u> I first going drink	<u>amaaji</u> water		
28d			---	<u>tukabuli yiji ganuula]</u> we will then coming discuss			
29a			<u>Ulya mushaaja</u> That old man	<u>anagendi bwira</u> and he going told	<u>wangaavu</u> cow	<u>mu nyumba</u> in house	<u>ti [29b]</u> quote
29b			<u>[Wandare</u> Lion	<u>akulindiiri</u> is waiting for you		<u>hano hambuga]</u> here outside	
29c			<u>Wangaavu</u> Cow	<u>anayami beera</u> and she immediately remain		<u>mwomwo mu nyumba</u> <u>no'mwana wage</u> right in there in house with child of her	
30a	<u>[Isiku</u> Days	<u>iri</u> when	<<	<u>zikaluga]</u> they were many			
30b	<u>[30a]</u>		<u>mwana wa ngaavu</u> child of cow	<u>anafwa</u> and she died		<u>ni'shali</u> with hunger	
31			<u>Wangaavu</u> Cow	<u>anatondeera ukulirira</u> and she began to cry for	<u>umwana wage</u> child of her		
32a			<u>Wandare</u> Lion	<u>anayuvwa</u> and he heard			<u>kwa ***</u> <u>[32b]</u>

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
32b			[---	<i>akola mu lirira</i> he is now in cry for	<i>umwana wage]</i> child of her		
33a			<i>Wandare</i> Lion	<i>anabwira</i> and she told	<i>uyo mushaaja</i> that old man		[33b-34]
33b		[<i>Si</i> It's obvious	---	<i>walahira</i> you have denied			<i>kwo</i> that
33c			<i>wangaavu</i> cow	<i>atali</i> is not		<i>hano</i> here	
34		[<i>Si</i> It's obvious	<i>yoyo</i> that very one	<i>agweti agaalira]</i> she is crying			
35a			<i>Uyo mushaaja</i> That old man	<i>anadeta</i> said			[35b-35c]
35b		[<i>Nanga</i> No!	---	<i>atali</i> she is not	<i>wangaavu</i> cow		
35c			---	<i>ali</i> she is	<i>wambene]</i> goat		
36a			<i>Wandare</i> Lion	<i>anamúbwira</i> and she told him			[36b-36d]
36b			[---	<i>Uyigule</i> You open			
36c			---	<i>ndole</i> I see			<i>iri</i> if
36d			---	<i>atali</i> she is not	<i>wangaavu]</i> cow		
37a			<i>Wandare</i> Lion	<i>anabwira</i> and she told	<i>ulya mushaaja</i> that old man		[37b-37c]
37b		[<i>Iri</i> If	---	<i>utanganyigulira</i> you would not open for me			

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
37c			---	<i>ngaakulya]</i> I will eat you			
38			<i>Ulya mushaaja</i> That old man	<i>anayigula</i> and he opened			
39a			<i>Wandare</i> Lion	<i>anabona</i> and she saw	<i>wangaavu</i> cow		
39b			---	<i>anamúbuuza</i> and she asked it			
39c	<i>E wangaavu</i> O cow		<i>nyandi</i> who	<i>úkanyütira</i> killed to me	<i>umwana</i> child		
40a			<i>Wangaavu</i> Cow	<i>anadeta</i> and she said			[40b]
40b			[---	<i>Ndayiji]</i> I don't know			
41a			<i>Wandare</i> Lion	<i>anamúbuuza</i> and she asked her			[41b]
41b	<i>[Biki</i> What		---	<i>byo'katibitira]</i> that which you run from			
42a		<i>Lyeryo</i> Right then	<i>wandare</i> lion	<i>anatondeera ukulwisa</i> and she began to fight	<i>wangaavu</i> cow		
42b			---	<i>anamúyita</i> and she killed it			
43a			<i>Ulufumo</i> The story	<i>ho luhumbira</i> that is where it ends		<i>yaho</i> there	
43b		<i>si</i> it's obvious	---	<i>lutahumba</i> it does not end		<i>nga nvula</i> like rain	

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’

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
1a			< <	<i>Hâli riiri</i> There was	<i>umutabana muguma</i> young man one		[1b]
1b			[---	<i>úkalooza ukuyanga</i> who wanted to take	<i>umukazi]</i> a woman		
2a	[<i>Uyo mutabana</i> That young man	<i>iri</i> when	< <	<i>bakamúyereka</i> they showed him	<i>abanyere</i> girls	<i>booshi mu yako kaaya ke'mwabo]</i> all in that village of theirs	
2b	[2a]		---	<i>anadeta</i> and he said			<i>kwo [2c-2d]</i> that
2c			[<i>yehe</i> HE	<i>ndaaye</i> there is no	<i>munyere</i> girl		
2d			---	<i>ya'siima]</i> which he likes			
3a			---	<i>Anadeta</i> And he said			<i>kwo [3b-3d]</i> that
3b			[<i>yehe</i> HE	<i>akwiriiri ukuyanga</i> he should to take	<i>umukazi</i> a woman		
3c			---	<i>úshushiini</i> who resembles		<i>na nyina</i> with his mother	
3d			<i>na we'kiimo</i> and of shape	<i>íkiri</i> which is		<i>nga kya nyina]</i> like of his mother	
4a			<i>Uyo mutabana</i> That young man	<i>anagendaga</i> and he went		<i>iranda</i> to fields??	
4b			---	<i>anagendaga agalooza</i> and he went he is looking	<i>abakazi</i> for women		
4c			---	<i>atanababona</i> and he did not see them			
5a			[<i>Iri</i> < < When	<i>hakaba</i> it was	<i>lusiku luguma]</i> day one		

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
5b	[5a]	[ngu as soon as	---	ajabukage he crossed	ulwiji] river		
5c	[5b]		---	ahumaana a sees			[5d]
5d			[umunyere a girl	abwatiiri she is sitting		mwidako lye'kiti] under of tree	
6a		Iri When	---	akamúbona he saw her			ti [6b-6c] quote
6b	[Nanga No!		Yoyu This very one	ye shushiini is one who is resembling		na maawe with my mother	
6c			no'mutumba and a shape	---		nga gwa maawe] like of my mother	
7a			Ulya mutabana That young man	anamubwire and he told her			[7b-7c]
7b	[E munyere O girl		---	Nakusiima I like you			
7c			---	namu kuyanga] I am about to marry you			
8a			Naye And she	---			ti [8b] quote
8b	[Ee OK		---	Unyange] You marry me			
9			---	Banagwatage And they grabbed	injira the path		
10a		[Iri When	---	bakahika they arrived		mu njira] in path	
10b	[10a]		---	banahika they arrived		ku lwiji at river	
11a			Ulya munyere That girl	---			ti [11b-11c] quote

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
11b	<u>[Nanga</u> No!		<u>Niehe</u> ME	<u>ndagajabuka</u> I will not cross	<u>ulwiji</u> river		
11c		<u>Si</u> It's obvious	---	<u>umbeeke</u> you carry me		<u>i mugongo]</u> on back	
12a			<u>Ulya mutabana</u> That young man	---			<u>ti [12b]</u> quote
12b	<u>[E mama</u> O no problem	<u>Ka</u> Question	---	<u>uganyabiraga ukujabula</u> you will defeat me to cross	<u>ulwiji]</u> river		
13a		<u>Mu lwiji</u> In river	---	---		<u>kagata-kagata</u> step-step	
13b		<u>Ulwiji</u> River	---	---		<u>vwo vwo vwo</u> slosh slosh slosh	
14			---	<u>banajabuka</u> and they crossed	<u>ulwiji</u> river		
15a			<u>[Iri</u> When	<u>bakahikaga</u> they arrived		<u>ikajabo]</u> across	
15b	<u>[15a]</u>		<u>umuhya</u> the new bride	---			<u>ti [15c-15f]</u> quote
15c	<u>[Ehee</u> O my	<u>Ka</u> Question	<u>umuhya</u> the new bride	<u>agashonookera</u> she will get down		<u>hano</u> here	
15d			---	<u>Umbise</u> You make me cross over		<u>mu nyumba</u> into house	
15e	<u>Nie muhya</u> I am the one who is new wife	<u>Ka</u> Question	---	<u>ngagendaga</u> I would go		<u>na'magulu</u> by feet	
15f		<u>kandi</u> again	---	<u>twe tukola tugagenda</u> we are the ones who we are now we will go		<u>ha kaaya]</u> into village	
16a			<u>Ulya mutabana</u> That young man	---			<u>ti [16b]</u> quote

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
16b	<u>[Nanga]</u> No!		---	<u>tugagenda]</u> we will go			
17a			---	<u>Anahikage]</u> When he arrived		<u>ha mwabo]</u> at their place	
17b			---	<u>hikola]</u> it is now	<u>hihwehwerwe]</u> dusk		
17c			---	<u>anabwirage]</u> and he told	<u>nyina]</u> his mother		<u>ti [17d–17e]</u> quote
17d	<u>[E maawe]</u> O my mother		---	<u>Naleeta]</u> I bring	<u>umuhya]</u> the new bride		
17e			---	<u>Mumbeereze]</u> You give to me	<u>ibyokulya]</u> the food		
18a			<u>Nyina]</u> His mother	---			<u>ti [18b]</u> quote
18b		<u>[Ka]</u> Question	---	<u>utagaliira]</u> you will not eat		<u>muno]</u> in here	
19a			<u>Na wa naye]</u> And of and him	---			<u>ti [19b]</u> quote
19b	<u>[Nanga]</u> No!		---	<u>Undeetere]</u> You bring to me		<u>muno]</u> in here	
20a			<u>[---</u>	<u>Kubwiraga]</u> To tell	<u>umuhya]</u> the new bride		<u>[20b]</u>
20b			<u>[---</u>	<u>Shonookaga]</u> Get down		<u>ku mugongo]</u> from back	<u>[20c]</u>
20c	<u>[20a–20b]</u>	<u>[Si]</u> It's obvious	---	<u>ndagashonooka]</u> I will not get down			<u>[20d]</u>
20d			<u>[---</u>	<u>Shonooka]</u> Get down		<u>ku mugongo]</u> from back	<u>[20e]</u>
20e		<u>[Si]</u> It's obvious	---	<u>ndagashonooka]</u> I will not get down			

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
21a			---	<i>Anamúlaalane</i> And he spent night with her		<i>ku mugongo</i> on back	
21b			---	<i>anamúshüibane</i> and he spent day with her		<i>ku mugongo</i> on back	
22			<i>Iyinga</i> A week	---			<i>puu</i> sound of running
23			<i>Mwezi</i> A month	---			<i>puu</i> sound of running
24	<i>E balya ye</i> O comrades oh my		<i>Umundu</i> A person	<i>agaafwa</i> he will die			
25	<i>Yugwo mwazi</i> That news		---	<i>banaguhisa</i> they caused it to arrive	< <	<i>mu bandi bashosi</i> among other men	
26a	<i>[Yabo bashosi</i> Those men	<i>iri</i> when	< <	<i>bakaguyuvwa]</i> they heard it			
26b	<i>[26a]</i>		---	<i>banadeta</i> and they said			<i>ti [26c]</i> quote
26c	<i>[Yehee</i> Oh my dear	<i>Muzimu yugwo</i> A demon that one	---	<i>aleeta</i> he brought	< <]		
27	<i>Eego</i> Is that so		---	---		<i>Muzimu</i> A demon	
28	<i>Ee</i> Yes		---	---			
29a			<i>Abandi</i> Others	---			<i>ti [29b]</i> quote
29b	<i>[Kutagi</i> How		---	<i>mugagusaaza]</i> you will get rid of it			
30		<i>[Mbu</i> When	---	<i>bagirage</i> they did	<i>yaga</i> this		<i>shoobe]</i> not possible
31a	<i>[30]</i>		<i>Abandi bashosi banababwira</i> Other men and they told them				<i>ti [31b–32b]</i> quote

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
31b			[---	<u>Muyabiire</u> You take	<u>ifiizi</u> a huge one		
31c			---	---	<u>shuuli yo mukasayula</u> a bull of you castrated		
31d			---	<u>inakoli hiiti</u> in it now having	<u>amavuta mingi</u> fat much		
31e			---	<u>ashubi gutwala</u> again takes it		<u>haahalya akagusaaza</u> right there where he got it from	
32a			---	<u>Mugire mugendi gubaagira</u> You do you going slaughter	<u>iyu shuuli</u> that a bull		
32b			---	<u>munabiike</u> and you place	<u>yizo nyama zooshi</u> those meats all	<u>no'lusha no'lusha</u> with fat with fat	<u>ku muliro]</u> on fire
33a	<i>Aaho</i> OK them		---	<i>Banashoola</i> And they led			
33b		<i>Ulya mutabana ne'lya shuuli</i> that young man and that bull		<i>banagihisagya</i> and they caused it to arrive		<i>mwidako lya kirya kiti</i> under of that tree	
33c			---	<i>banagilundaga</i> and they place on it	<i>ikeeta</i> a knife	<i>ulusha</i> fat	
33d			---	<i>banalugungike</i> and they placed it		<i>ku shaali</i> on firewood	
34			<i>Irya shuuli</i> That a bull	<i>inatondeerage ukuhiiraga</i> and it began to get roasted			
35			<i>Umushiriri</i> Smoky meat smell	<i>gwanakizi laka</i> and it continuously made noise			
36a			<i>Ulya mutabana</i> That young man	<i>anakizagi gubwira</i> and he continuously told it			<i>[36b-36e]</i>
36b			[---	<u>Uyokye bwija</u> You roast it well			
36c			---	<u>wagasiriiza</u> you are burning it			

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
36d			---	<i>Uyokye bwija</i> You roast it well			
36e			---	<i>wagasiriiza]</i> you are burning it			
37a			[---	<i>Mu kudeta</i> In to say	<i>kwokwo]</i> thus		[37b-37c]
37b	[37a]		[---	<i>Uyokye bwija</i> You roast it well			
37c			---	<i>wagasiriiza]</i> you are burning it			
37d	<i>[gulya muzimu nagwo</i> that demon and it	<i>iri</i> that's when	< <	<i>gunakuulaga</i> and it pulled out	<i>inyuunu zaagwo</i> fingernails of it		
38a	<i>Yugwo muzimu</i> That demon	<i>iri</i> when	< <	<i>gukayuvwa ngana]</i> it sensed it like			
38b	[37d-38a]		---	---		<i>na ku zirya nyama</i> and to those meats	
39a			<i>Ulya mutabana</i> That young man	<i>anayama agashaaga</i> and immediately he will leave		<i>yaho</i> there	<i>na yabo bandu</i> with those people
39b			---	<i>banayamage bagapuumuka</i> and they immediately the dashed away			
39c			---	<i>banajabuka</i> and they crossed	<i>lulya lwiji</i> that river		
39d			---	<i>banataaha</i> and they went home			
40		<i>Kwokwo</i> Thus	<i>yugwo muzimu</i> that demon	<i>gwanasigalaga</i> and it remained		<i>mu yizo nyama</i> among those meats	

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
41a	<i>Ho ulufumo</i> That is where the story	<i>ho</i> that is where	< <	<i>luhekera</i> it finishes off			
41b	<i>na</i> and	<i>ho</i> that is where	---	<i>luhumbira</i> it ends			

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 with that bull, 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’

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
1a			< <	<i>Hâli riiri</i> There was	<i>mushosi muguma</i> man one		[1b]
1b			[---]	<i>úkahinga</i> who farmed	<i>indalo yage]</i> field of his		
2a		[Iri When	< <	<i>hakaba</i> it was	<i>lusiku luguma]</i> day one		
2b	[2a]	<i>leero</i> this time	<i>uyo mushosi</i> that man	<i>anagendi shinga</i> and he going stood in ground	<i>mwe'kiti</i> in there a tree		
2c			---	<i>anakishiiga</i> and he smeared on it	<i>kwo'burembo</i> sap		
3a	[Walukwavu Rabbit	<i>ngu</i> as soon as	< <	<i>ayije]</i> he comes			
3b	[3a]		---	<i>anagwatwa</i> and he was grabbed		<i>ku bulya burembo</i> on that sap	
4a			<i>Ulya mushosi</i> That man	<i>anabwire</i> and he told	<i>mugala wage</i> son of his		<i>ti [4b]</i> quote
4b	[E mwana wani O son of mine		---	<i>Utwale</i> You take	<i>uyu walukwavu</i> this rabbit	<i>i kaaya]</i> to village	
4c	<i>Ye</i> He is the one who is		---	<i>ngayiji liira</i> will coming eat with	<i>ubundu</i> ugali	< <	
5a		[Iri When	---	<i>bakahika</i> they arrived		<i>mu njira]</i> in path	
5b	[5a]		<i>ulya walukwavu</i> that rabbit	<i>abuuza</i> he asked	<i>ulya mwana</i> that son		<i>ti [5c–5d]</i> quote
5c	[E mwana O child	<i>ka</i> Question	---	<i>wayuwwa</i> you heard			<i>kwo</i> what
5d			<i>yisho</i> your father	<i>adeta]</i> says			

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
6a			<i>Na wa naye</i> And of and he	---			<i>ti [6b]</i> quote
6b	<i>[Ee]</i> Yes		<i>Daata</i> My father	<i>adeta</i> says			<i>kwo]</i> that
6c			---	<i>ngutwale</i> I carry you		<i>i kaaya</i> to village	
6d		<i>mukuba</i> because	---	<i>wa'gayiji liira</i> you are the one he will come to eat with	<i>ubundu</i> ugali		
7a			<i>Walukwavu</i> Rabbit	---			<i>ti [7b-7i]</i> quote
7b	<i>[Nanga]</i> No!		<i>Yisho</i> Your father	<i>adeta</i> said			<i>kwo</i> that
7c			---	<i>ndi</i> I am	<i>mugeezi wage</i> the guest of his		
7d			---	<i>ugende ubwire</i> you go you tell	<i>nyoko</i> your mother		<i>kwo</i> that
7e			---	<i>agwate</i> she seize	<i>lulya luhazi</i> that rabbit		
7f			---	<i>úluli</i> who is		<i>ha'kaaya</i> at the village	
7g			---	<i>munalunzimaane</i> and you serve it to me			
7h			---	<i>balumbagire</i> they slaughter it for me			<i>kwo</i> that
7i			---	<i>agashaaga</i> he will leave		<i>mu ndalo]</i> from field	
8a			<i>Ulya mwana</i> That son	---			<i>ti [8b]</i> quote

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
8b	<u>[E</u> O		---	---	<u>kwokwo]</u> thus		
9a		<u>[Iri</u> When	---	<u>bakahika</u> they arrived		<u>ha'kaaya]</u> at the village	
9b	<u>[9a]</u>		<u>ulya mwana</u> that son	<u>abwira</u> told	<u>nyina</u> his mother		<u>kwo [9c-9e]</u> that
9c			<u>[---</u>	<u>bagwate</u> they grab	<u>lulya luhazi</u> that rooster		
9d			---	<u>baluzimaane</u> they serve it as guest food to	<u>walukwavu</u> rabbit		<u>kwo</u> while
9e			<u>yishe</u> the father	<u>agafuluka]</u> will return			
10a			<u>Nyina</u> His mother	<u>anagwate</u> and she grabbed	<u>lulya luhazi</u> that rooster		
10b			---	<u>analubaage</u> and she slaughtered it			
10c			---	<u>analuzimaane</u> and she served it as guest food	<u>walukwavu</u> rabbit		
11	<u>Walukwavu</u> The rabbit		---	<u>banamúbiike</u> they placed him	< <	<u>mu ndaaro</u> in guest house	
12a	<u>[Walukwavu</u> Rabbit	<u>iri</u> when	< <	<u>akabeeraga</u> he remained		<u>halya mu ndaaro</u> there in guest house	
12b			---	<u>keera alya</u> already he has eaten			
12c			---	<u>ayiguta]</u> he is full			
12d	<u>[12a-12c]</u>		---	<u>anahumba</u> and he dug	<u>umwobo</u> a hole		
12e			---	<u>gwanahulukaana</u> and it reached		<u>halinde imbuga</u> until outside	

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
12f			---	<i>anabeeraga</i> and he remained		<i>mwomwo</i> right in there	
12g			---	<i>agwejiiri</i> he is laying down		<i>habutambi lyo'mwobo</i> beside of the hole	
13a			<i>Ulya mushosi</i> That man	---		<i>yaho mu ndalo</i> there in field	<i>ti [13b-13c]</i> quote
13b		<i>[Ka]</i> Question	---	<i>nie wasuma</i> I am the one who I shopped for	<i>ishogo yani</i> meat of mine		
13c		<i>ka</i> Question	---	<i>ngagendi girya</i> I will go eat it		<i>ni'joro]</i> at night	
13d			---	<i>anataahe</i> and he went home			
14a			<i>[-]</i>	<i>Anahikage</i> When he arrived		<i>ha'kaaya]</i> at the village	
14b	<i>[14a]</i>		---	<i>banamuheereze</i> they gave him	<i>amiji</i> water		
14c			---	<i>anayikarabe</i> and he washed himself	<i>ibidaka</i> mud	<i>ku magulu na ku maboko</i> from on feet and from on hands	
15a			---	<i>Anadetage</i> And he said			<i>ti [15b]</i> quote
15b			<i>[-]</i>	<i>Mbeerezi</i> Give me	<i>ibyokulya]</i> the food		
16			---	<i>Banamuheereze</i> They gave him	<i>ibyokulya</i> the food		
17a		<i>[Mbu]</i> As soon as	---	<i>ayiji buna</i> he coming touch	<i>ubundu na'mirunda</i> ugali and leaves		<i>ti] [17b-17d]</i> quote
17b	<i>[E [17a]</i> O	<i>Ka</i> Question	---	<i>natuma</i> I sent for	<i>mirunda</i> leaves		
17c		<i>Si</i> It's obvious	---	<i>nasiga</i> I left	<i>ishogo yani</i> meat of mine	<i>hano</i> here	

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
17d	<u>Hayi</u> Where		---	<u>yagenda]</u> it went			
18a			<u>Mukaage</u> His wife	---			<u>ti [18b–19c]</u> quote
18b		<u>[Ka</u> Question	<u>< <</u>	<u>muli</u> in here there is	<u>shogo watuma</u> meat you sent for		
18c		<u>Si</u> It's obvious	<u>mugala wawe</u> son of yours	<u>aleeta</u> he brought	<u>umugeni</u> a guest	<u>hano</u> here	
19a			---	<u>Adeta</u> He said			<u>kwo</u> that
19b			---	<u>tugwate</u> we seize	<u>lulya luhazi lwawe</u> that rooster of yours		<u>kwo</u> that
19c			---	<u>tumúzimaane]</u> we serve him as guest food			
20a			<u>Ulya mushosi</u> That man	---			<u>ti [20b–20c]</u> quote
20b	<u>[Ka</u> Question	<u>lulya luhazi</u> that rooster	---	<u>lwo mwaniga</u> which you choked			
20c			---	<u>lwo mwaheereza</u> that is what you gave	<u>walukwavu</u> rabbit		<u>Ti] [21]</u> quote
21	<u>[Ee</u> Yes		---	<u>---</u>			
22	<u>Hayagi</u> Where		---	<u>ali</u> he is			<u>Ti [23]</u> quote
23			<u>[Yoliira</u> That one over there	---	<u>agwejiiri</u> he is laying down	<u>haliira mu ndaaro]</u> there in guest house	
24			<u>Ulya mushosi</u> That man	<u>anayabiire</u> took	<u>itumu</u> spear		
25a		<u>[Ngu</u> As soon as	---	<u>ahike</u> he arrives		<u>ha mulyango]</u> at door	

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
25b	[25a]		walukwavu rabbit	anayami yingira and he immediately went		mu gulya mwobo into that hole	
26			Ulya mushosi That man	anagwata and he grabbed		ku mukira on tail	
27a			Naye walukwavu And he rabbit	---			ti [27b-27c] quote
27b			[---	Hali This	úgagwata umuzi one who grabbed root		
27c		ngu on pretense	---	keera agwata already he has grabbed	walukwavu] rabbit		
27d			---	analiike and he let it go			
28			Walukwavu Rabbit	anayami yihulukira and he immediately appeared		imbuga outside	
29a			Ulya mushosi That man	anasigale agweti agayimomootaga and he remained he is complaining			kwo [29b] that
29b			[mwana wage son of his	atagweti does not have	amatwiri] ears		
30a	Ulufumu Story	ho that is where	< <	luhumba it ends			
30b		ho that is where	---	luhekera it finishes off			

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.”

9a When they arrived, 9b that child told his mother 9c they seize that rooster, 9d and they give it as guest food to the rabbit. 9e The father will return. 10a The mother grabbed that rooster, 10b and she slaughtered it, 10c and she gave it as guest food to the rabbit. 11 The rabbit, they placed him in the guest house. 12a The rabbit, when it was remaining.EM there in the guest house, 12b it has already eaten, 12c and has already gotten full, 12d and it dug a hole, 12e and it (hole) went until outside, 12f and he remained.EM right in there, 12g he's lying down beside the hole.

13a That man there in the field said: 13b "Am I the one who will buy my meat? 13c Am I going to go eat it in the night?" 13d and he went home. 14a And he arrived.EM at the village, 14b and they gave him water, 14c and he washed the mud from feet and from hands. 15a And he said.EM: 15b "Give me food." 16 And they gave him food. 17a As soon as he coming saw ugali and bitter vegetables, he said: 17b "Did I send for bitter vegetables? 17c It's obvious I left my meat here. 17d Where has it gone?" 18a His wife said: 18b "Is there meat you sent? 18c It's obvious the son of yours has brought a guest here. 19a He said that 19b we seize that rooster of yours that 19c we serve it as guest food to him." 20a That man said: 20b "Is it that the rooster which you have choked? 20c That's what you gave the rabbit?" 21 She said: "Yes." 22 "Where.EM is he?" 23 She said: "That one over there, he is laying down there in the guest house." 24 That man took his spear.

25a As soon as he arrived at the door, 25b the rabbit immediately entered into that hole. 26 That man grabbed the tail. 27a And the rabbit said: 27b "There is the one who grabbed the roots, 2cd thinking he has already grabbed the rabbit," 27d and he let go. 28 The rabbit immediately appeared outside. 29a That man remained grumbling that 29b his child does not have ears.

30a The story, that's where it ends, 30b and that's where it comes to an end.

Appendix L: Text 11 *Byoshi íbibonwa bitadetwa* ‘Everything that is seen is not spoken’

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
1a		<i>Yaho keera</i> There past	---	<i>hâli riiri</i> there was	<i>umwami</i> king		
1b			<i>Uyo mwami</i> That king	<i>âli hiiti</i> he was having	<i>abatoni baage bashatu</i> close friends of his three		
2a			<i>Uyo mwami</i> That king	<i>anabwira</i> and he told	<i>yabo batoni baage</i> those close friends of his		<i>kwo [2b]</i> that
2b			[---]	<i>bakizi genda bagamúhiivira</i> they habitually going they will hunt for him	<i>inyamiishwa]</i> wild animals		
3			<i>Balya batoni</i> Those close friends	<i>banakizi genda bagamúhiivira</i> and they continuously going they will hunt for him			
4a			<i>Muguma</i> One	<i>anaba âli riiri</i> and was he was	<i>kishiiriri</i> blabber mouth		
4b			---	<i>Ndaahyo íhyâli kizi boneka</i> There is no small thing which was continuously seen		<i>imunda bashiiba</i> there where they spent day	<i>[4c]</i>
4c			[---]	<i>atayiji hibwira</i> he did not coming tell it	<i>mwami]</i> king		
5a			<i>Abaabo</i> His comrades	<i>banageregeza ukumúkambira</i> and they tried to stop him		<i>kwi yo ngesho</i> relative to that habit	
5b			---	<i>anabayabira</i> and he defeated them			
6a			---	<i>Banashubira ubugira kabiri ukumúbwira</i> And they again times two told him			<i>kwo</i> that
6b			---	<i>bitali</i> it is not	<i>byoshi</i> all		<i>byo</i> things which

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
6c			<i>mushosi</i> man	<i>abona</i> he sees		<i>i lubako</i> at jungle	<i>bya [6d]</i> which
6d			[---]	<i>akizi deta</i> he continuously speaks		<i>i kaaya]</i> at village	
7			<i>Uyo daata</i> That my father	<i>atanayuvwa</i> he did not listen			
8a	<i>Leero</i> This time	<i>lusiku</i> <i>luguma</i> day one	---	<i>anaha</i> and he gave	<i>lwage luhande</i> of his side		
8b			---	<i>anahumaanana</i> and he encountered	<i>itwe lizira kimbiri-mbiri</i> head without body		
8c			---	<i>analishulika</i> and he hit on it		<i>kwe ngoni</i> with stick	
8d			---	<i>analibuuza</i> and he asked			[8e]
8e		<i>[Kituma kiki]</i> Why	---	<i>ukafwa]</i> you died			
9a			---	<i>Lyanamúshuvya</i> And it answered			[9b]
9b		<i>[Higulu]</i> Because	---	<i>lyo kudeta</i> of to say	<i>ngiisi kindu]</i> every thing		
10a			---	<i>Anataaha akola</i> And he went home he is now		<i>no busiime</i> with happiness	<i>kwo [10b-10c]</i> that
10b			[---]	<i>alonga</i> he got	<i>umwazi</i> news		<i>gwo</i> which
10c			---	<i>agagendi bwira</i> he will going tell	<i>mwami]</i> king		
11a		<i>[Iri]</i> When	---	<i>akahika]</i> he arrived			
11b		<i>[11a]</i>	[---]	<i>átamira</i> he has not swallowed	<i>mati]</i> spit		

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
11c		[11b]	---	<i>anayami fuhuula</i> and he immediately uncovered	<i>gulya mwazi gwage</i> that news of his		
12a			<i>Mwami</i> King	<i>anayami hamagala</i> and he immediately call	<i>abagingi baage</i> attendants of his		
12b			---	<i>anababwira</i> and he told them			<i>kwo [12c-12g]</i> that
12c			[uyo mutoni wage] that blabber mouth of his	<i>keera alenga</i> already has passed		<i>ne kinyoma</i> with lie	
12d		<i>Leero</i> This time	---	<i>bagendanwe</i> when they went			
12e			---	<i>agendi bayereka</i> he going showed them	<i>yiryo itwe</i> that head		
12f			---	<i>iryadeta</i> which speaks			
12g			---	<i>litanahiiti</i> and it does not have	<i>ikimbiri-mbiri]</i> a body		
12h			---	<i>Anabahanguula</i> And he permitted them			<i>mbu [12i-12j]</i> that
12i		[hango] when	---	<i>abeesha</i> he lies			
12j			---	<i>bamúsige</i> they leave him		<i>yeyo]</i> right there	
13a			<i>Balya bagingi</i> Those attendants	<i>banashokola</i> and they led	<i>injira</i> the path	<i>no ulya daata</i> with that my father	
13b		[Iri When	---	<i>bakahika</i> they arrived			<i>ho]</i> there
13c		[13b]	---	<i>banagwana</i> and they encountered			[13d]
13d			[lirya itwe that head	<i>likiri ho]</i> it is still there			

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
14a			---	<i>Banamúbwira</i> And they told him			<i>kwo [14b–14d]</i> that
14b			[---	<i>agire</i> he do			<i>ngiisi kwo</i> just as that
14c			---	<i>akagira</i> he did			
14d			<i>itwe</i> head	<i>lyanadeta]</i> and it speaks			
15a			---	<i>Anayabiira</i> And he took	<i>irya ngoni yage</i> that stick of his		
15b			---	<i>anashulika</i> and he hit		<i>ku liry itwe</i> on that head	
15c			---	<i>Analibuuza</i> And he asked it			<i>ti [15d]</i> quote
15d		<i>[Kituma kiki</i> Why	---	<i>ukafwa]</i> you died			
16			<i>Liry itwe</i> That head	<i>litanashuvya</i> and it did not answer			
17a			<i>Balya bagingi</i> Those attendants	<i>banayami múgwata</i> and they immediately grabbed him			
17b			---	<i>banamúniga</i> and they choked him			
18a		<i>[Iri</i> When	---	<i>bakaba keera bamúlambuula</i> they were already they had laid him down		<i>yaho]</i> there	
18b		<i>[18a]</i>	<i>liry itwe</i> that head	<i>lyanadeta</i> and it speaks			<i>ti [18c–18f]</i> quote
18c	<i>[Kuti</i> What		---	<i>ngakubwira</i> I told you			
18d			---	<i>Ndakakubwira</i> I did not tell you			<i>kwo</i> that

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
18e			---	<u>ngafwa</u> I died			
18f		<u>higulu lyo</u> because of	---	<u>kudeta</u> to say	<u>bingi]</u> much		
18g		<i>Ka keera</i> Question already	<i>naawe</i> and you	< < <i>utafwa</i> you did not die			
19a			<i>Balya bagingi</i> Those attendants	<i>banakanguka</i> were shocked			
19b			---	<i>banataaha</i> and they went home			
19c			---	<i>bakola</i> they are now		<i>no mwizingeerwe</i> with sadness	<i>kwo [19d–19e]</i> that
19d			[---	<i>keera bakola</i> already they have made	<i>ibala</i> unmentionable		<i>ne</i> and
19e			<i>bindu</i> things	<i>bishuba</i> where	<i>ukuli]</i> true		
20a			---	<i>Banahikiri bwira</i> And they arriving tell	<i>mwami</i> king	<i>kwoshi</i> everything	<i>kwo [20b–20d]</i> how
20b			[---	<u>bagenda</u> they went			<u>na kwo</u> and that
20c			---	<u>bayita</u> they kill	<u>ulya daata</u> that my father		
20d		<u>hanyuma</u> afterwards	<u>itwe</u> head	<u>lyanadeta]</u> and it speaks			
21a			<i>Mwami</i> King	<i>anadeta</i> and he said			<i>ti [21b–21c]</i> quote
21b		<u>[Iri</u> If	---	<u>gayoneka</u> it is spilled			
21c			---	<u>gatakishamatwa]</u> it is not still gathered up			

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 ikayihabura ku zaabo* ‘The cow that got lost from its fellows’

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
1a			---	<i>Hâli riiri</i> There were	<i>ingaavu za musosi muguma</i> cows of man one		
1b			---	<i>zandaragira</i> and they ate grass			
2a		<i>[Iri</i> When	---	<i>zikahika</i> they arrived	<i>mwi'shamba inguma]</i> in bush one		
2b	<i>[2a]</i>		---	<i>yanahwabuka</i> wandered off		<i>kwayo-kwayo</i> its own its own	
2c			---	<i>iri mu genda igaliisa</i> while in going it is feeding			
3a		<i>[Iri</i> When	---	<i>ikaba keera yayiguta]</i> it was already it is full			
3b	<i>[3a]</i>		---	<i>yanagaluka</i> and it returned			
3c			---	<i>yanahuba</i> and it lacked		<i>yaho</i> there	<i>[3d]</i>
3d			<i>[---</i>	<i>ikasiga</i> it left	<i>izaabo]</i> its comrades		
3e			---	<i>yanagwata</i> and it took	<i>gindi-gingi njira</i> another another path		
3f			---	<i>yanateereka</i> and it got lost			
3g			<i>izaabo</i> its comrades	<i>zanataaha</i> and they returned home			
4a			<i>Mwene iyo</i> Owner of it	<i>anagenda agagilooza</i> and he went he is looking for it			
4b			---	<i>anagihebuura</i> and he lacked it			

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
5			<i>Iyo ngaavu</i> That cow	<i>yanagendi hulukira</i> and it going appeared		<i>mu lubako lwe'ndare</i>	
6a			<i>Indare</i> The lion	<i>yanagibona</i> and he saw it			
6b			---	<i>yanagiyegereza</i> and he welcomed it			
7a			<i>Iyo ngaavu</i> That cow	<i>yanayoboha</i> and he feared			
7b			---	<i>yanadeta</i> and he said			[7c]
7c	<u>[E maashi yaga]</u> O come on comrade	<u>ka</u> Question	---	<u>utagandya]</u> you will not eat me			
8			<i>Indare</i> The lion	<i>yanalahira</i> denied			
9a			<i>Iyo ngaavu</i> That cow	<i>yanayegeera</i> and it approached	<i>iyondare</i> that lion		
9b			---	<i>banalamusania</i> and they greeted each other			<i>haliko</i> but
9c			<i>ingaavu</i> cow	<i>yanagenderera ukuyoboha bweneene</i> continued to fear very			
10a			<i>Iyo ngaavu</i> That cow	<i>yanadeta</i> and he said			<i>kwo [10b]</i> that
10b			<u>[---</u>	<u>yamu galuka]</u> he will soon return			
11a			<i>Indare</i> The lion	<i>yanagibwira</i> and he told it		<i>kwokuno [11b–11g]</i> like this	
11b			<u>[---</u>	<u>Uleke tutuulanwe</u> Allow we live together			<u>mukuba</u> because

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
11c			<u>naani</u> and me	<u>nduuziri</u> I live	<u>nienyene</u> alone		
11d			---	<u>Keera nakulahirira</u> Already I have refused to you			<u>kwo</u> that
11e			---	<u>ndagakulya</u> I will not eat you			
11f			---	<u>we</u> you are one who	<u>mwira wani</u> friend of mine		
11g			---	<u>unakola</u> and you are now	<u>mutuulani wani]</u> neighbor of mine		
12a			<u>Iyo ngaavu</u> That cow	<u>yanayemeera</u> and he agreed to			[12b]
12b			[---	<u>batuulanwe]</u> they live together			
12c		<u>mukuba</u> because	---	<u>itakiyiji</u> it still does not know	<u>injira</u> the path		[12d]
12d			[---	<u>iyangagigalula]</u> it would return on			
13			<u>Yikyo kyoba yo âli gwati</u> That fear that he had	<u>kyanamala</u> and it finished off			
14a		[Iri When	---	<u>hakalenga</u> there passed	<u>isiku ndebe]</u> days some		
14b	[14a]		<u>iyo ndare</u> that lion	<u>yanalwala</u> and it got sick			
14c			---	<u>inahiiti</u> and it has	<u>abiira baayo babiri</u> <u>ingwi na nyunda</u> friends of it two leopard and hawk		
15a			---	<u>Banayiji gitanduula</u> And they coming checked it out			

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
15b			---	<i>banabona</i> and they saw			<i>kwo</i> [15c] that
15c			[---	<i>keera yajamba bweneene</i> already it is skinny very			
15d			---	<i>banagibuuzza</i> and they asked it			[15e]
15e		<u>[Biki</u> What	---	<u>ibyakujaavya</u> caused you to get skinny			<u>kwokuno</u> like this
16a			<i>Iyo ndare</i> That lion	<i>yanashuvya</i> and he answered			[16b–16d]
16b			<u>[Umwena</u> Hunger	<u>gwo gwanjaavya</u> is what it caused me to get skinny			<u>kwokuno</u> like this
16c			<u>Indwala naaho</u> Sickness only	<u>itangatumiri</u> would not cause			
16d			---	<u>ngajamba</u> I will get skinny			<u>kwoku</u> like this
17a			<i>Iyo ngwi no yo nyunda</i> That leopard and that hawk	<i>banahwehweteza</i> and they talked privately to	<i>iyi ndare</i> that lion		
17b			---	<i>banagibwira</i> and they told it			[17c]
17c		<u>[Ka</u> Question	---	<u>utangalya</u> Would you not eat	<u>iyi ngaavu</u> this cow		
18a			<i>Indare</i> The lion	<i>yanadeta</i> and he said			[18b–18d]
18b	<u>[Nanga</u> No!		---	<u>Ndangaalya</u> I will not eat	<u>uyu mwira wani</u> this friend of mine		
18c			---	<u>Ngaaleka nifwe</u> I will allow I die			<u>ho</u> instead of
18d			---	<u>nangamulya</u> I will eat him			

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
19a			<i>Nyunda</i> Hawk	<i>anajengeerwa bweneene</i> and he was sad very			<i>kwe [19b]</i> that
19b			<i>[indare mwira wabo]</i> lion friend of theirs	<i>amu fwa</i> he is about to die		<i>no'mwena]</i> of hunger	
20a			<i>Uyo nyunda</i> That hawk	<i>anashubi bwira</i> and it again told	<i>iyo ndare</i> that lion		<i>kwokuno</i> like this
20b	<i>[Iyi ngaavu]</i> This cow	<i>iri</i> if	< <	<i>yangadeta</i> it would say		<i>yonyene</i> itself	<i>kwo] [20c-20e]</i> that
20c	<i>[20b]</i>		<i>[---</i>	<i>ugirye</i> you eat it			<i>ho</i> instead of
20d			<i>---</i>	<i>wangafwa</i> you would die		<i>na yugu mwena</i> with this hunger	
20e		<i>ka</i> Question	<i>---</i>	<i>utangagirya]</i> you will not eat it			
21a			<i>Iyo ndare</i> That lion	<i>yanadeta</i> and he said			<i>[21b-21d]</i>
21b	<i>[Mwe biira baani ba keera]</i> You friends of mine of past	<i>bwo</i> in that	<i>---</i>	<i>mwadeta</i> you say			<i>kwo</i> that
21c			<i>---</i>	<i>nigirye</i> I eat it			
21d			<i>---</i>	<i>nangagirya]</i> I would eat it			
22a			<i>Uyo nakasare na iyo ngwi</i> That hawk with that leopard	<i>banataaha bakoli langaaliri</i> and they went home they now have expectation			<i>kwo [22b]</i> that
22b			<i>[nabo]</i> and they	<i>bagalongera</i> they will get		<i>ho musheego]</i> there supper	

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
23a		[Iri When	---	<i>hakalenga</i> there passed	<i>isiku ngerwa</i> days some		
23b	[23a]		---	<i>banayiji lola</i> And they coming saw			<i>iri [23c]</i> if
23c			[<i>iyō ndare</i> that lion	<i>keera yalya</i> already he has eaten	<i>iyō ngaavu</i> that cow		
24a			---	<i>banagwana</i> and they encountered			[24b]
24b		[<i>leero</i> this time	<i>iyō ndare</i> that lion	<i>ikola bu denguika</i> it is now about to die		<i>na yugwo mwena</i> with that hunger	
25a			<i>Ingwi</i> Leopard	<i>yanabuuzā</i> and it asked	<i>indare</i> lion		[25b-25c]
25b	[<i>Ewe</i> Hey you	[<i>Kituma kiki</i> Why	---	<i>utakagira</i> you did not do	<i>kulya</i> that (which)		[25c]
25c			[---	<i>tukakubwira</i> we told you			
26a			<i>Iyō ngwi</i> That leopard	<i>yanadeta</i> and he said			[26b-26c]
26b	[<i>Aaho</i> OK then		---	<i>Mbe nie ugalyagaga</i> I be I am the one who you will eat			<i>ho</i> instead of
26c			---	<i>wangafwa</i> you would die		<i>no'mwena</i> of hunger	
27a			<i>Indare</i> The lion	<i>yanalahira</i> denied			<i>kwo [27b]</i> that
27b			[---	<i>itagaalya</i> it will eat	<i>iyō ngwi</i> that leopard		
28a			<i>Nyunda naye</i> Hawk and he	<i>anadeta</i> and he said			<i>kwo [28b-28c]</i> that
28b			[---	<i>abe ye</i> he be is one who is			

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
28c			<u>indare</u> lion	<u>irya]</u> eats			
28d		<i>haliko</i> but	---	<i>yanashubi lahira</i> and it again refused			<i>kwo [28e]</i> that
28e			<u>[---</u>	<u>itagaalya</u> it will eat	<u>uyo nyunda]</u> that hawk		
29a	<i>Iyo ngaavu</i> That cow	<i>iri</i> when	< <	<i>ikayuvwa</i> it had heard			<i>kwo [29b-29d]</i> that
29b			<u>[abaabo</u> his comrades	<u>badeta</u> they say			<i>kwo [29c-29d]</i> that
29c			<u>[---</u>	<u>ibalye</u> it eat them			
29d			---	<u>itanabalya]</u> and it did not eat them			
29e			<i>nayo</i> and it	<i>yanadeta</i> and he said			<i>[29f]</i>
29f			<u>[---</u>	<u>Mbe nie ugaalya]</u> I be I am the one who you will eat			
30a			<i>Iyo ndare</i> That lion	<i>yanahulika</i> and it was quiet			
30b			<i>nyunda</i> hawk	<i>anagirima ikigohe</i> and it winked eyelash			
31a			<i>Indare</i> The lion	<i>yanasimbira</i> and it jumped			<i>kwi'gosi lye iyo ngaavu</i> on neck of that cow
31b			---	<i>yanagitimba haashi</i> and it brought him down down			
31c			---	<i>yanayama igaafwa</i> and she immediately she died			
32a		<i>Iyo ndare na iyo ngwi na iyo nyunda</i> That lion and that leopard and that hawk		<i>banasokanana</i> and they circled	<i>umutumba gwa iyo ngaavu</i> corpse of that cow		

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
32b			---	<i>banatondeeza ukugutetemba</i> and they began to devour it			
33a	<i>Ihano</i> Advice		---	<i>Ulole utayilyose</i> You look you do not remove self		<i>ku bandi</i> from others	<i>mbu [33b]</i> with intent
33b			[---]	<i>ukulikire</i> you follow	<i>yawe-yawe njira]</i> your own your own path		
33c			---	<i>utakengeere wagendi yifunda</i> you do not encounter self you have gone throwing self			<i>ho [33d]</i> where
33d			[---]	<i>utagalyoka]</i> you will not leave			

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.

23a When some days had passed, 23b they came to see if 23c that lion has already eaten that cow, 24a and this they encountered 24b that lion it is now about to die with hunger.

25a Leopard asked lion: 25b “Hey you! Why you did not do what 25c we told you?”

26a That leopard said: 26b “OK then! Let me be the one you will eat instead of 26c dying of hunger.” 27a The lion refused that 27b it will eat that leopard.

28a Hawk said that 28b he be the one who 28c lion eats, 28d but it again refused 28e to eat that hawk.

29a That cow when it heard 29b his comrades say that 29c it eat them, 29d and it did not eat them, 29e and it also said: 29f “Let me be the one who you will eat.”

30a That lion was quiet, 30b and the hawk winked its eyelash. 31a The lion jumped on the neck of that cow, 31b and it brought her down, 31c and she immediately died. 32a That lion and that leopard, and that hawk circled around the corpse of that cow, 32b and they began to devour it.

33a Advice: Be careful not to remove yourself from others with the intent of 33b following your own unique path, 33c so you don't find yourself going where 33d you will not escape.

Appendix N: Text 13 *Ukuhiiva* ‘Hunting’

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
1		<i>Lusiku luguma</i>	<i>niehe nie na daata wani wa Rushubi</i>	<i>tukagendi hiiva</i>	<i>imbongo</i>		
		Day one	ME I am the one who with my father of mine of Rushubi	we went hunt	gazelle		
2a		<i>[Iri</i>	---	<i>tukagivyula]</i>			
		When		we stirred it up			
2b	<i>[2a]</i>		---	<i>yanatibita bweneene</i>			
				and it ran very			
2c			---	<i>yanatusiga</i>			
				and it left us			
3a		<i>Mukuba</i>	---	<i>twâli riiri</i>	<i>babiri naaho</i>		
		Because		we were	two only		
3b			---	<i>twanâli twaziri</i>	<i>akabwa kaguma naaho</i>		
				and we were taking	dog one only		
4a			<i>[---</i>	<i>Mu kugaluka</i>			
				In to return			
4b			---	<i>kikola</i>	<i>nga kyanya kya kalenge- renge]</i>		
				it is now	like time of midday		
4c	<i>[keera [4a-4b]</i>		<i>izuuba</i>	<i>< < lyatushulika]</i>			
	already		sun	it has struck us			
4d	<i>[4c]</i>		---	<i>twanalenga</i>	<i>handu haguma</i>		<i>[4e]</i>
				and we passed	place one		
4e			<i>[---</i>	<i>âhâli riiri</i>	<i>ibiti]</i>		
				where was	trees		
5a		<i>Kiziga</i>	---	<i>hali</i>	<i>ihikolo</i>		
		Surprise		there is	small monkey		
5b			---	<i>higweti</i>	<i>umwana wahyo</i>		

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
				it has	child of it		
6			<i>Utubwa</i> The dogs	<i>twanahembe</i> and they smelled	<i>ikilari kya hirya hikolo</i> smell of that small monkey		
7a	<i>[Yihyo hikolo</i> That small monkey	<i>iri</i> when	< <	<i>hikayuvwa</i> it heard	<i>utubwa ne'mbegere]</i> dogs and bells		
7b	<i>[7a]</i>		---	<i>hyanashonera</i> and it climbed up		<i>ku kiti</i> on tree	
7c		<i>[Iri</i> When	---	<i>hikashonera</i> it had climbed		<i>ku kiti]</i> on tree	
7d	<i>[7c]</i>		<i>two na uyo daata wane</i> we are the ones who with that my father of mine	<i>twanatoola</i> and we picked up	<i>amabuye</i> rocks		
7e			---	<i>twanakizi hivurumika</i> and we continuously threw at it		<i>yaho ku kiti</i> there at tree	
8			<i>Utubwa natwo</i> dogs and they	<i>tuli</i> are		<i>mwidako</i> below	
9a	<i>Amana zanyi mbi</i> Luck their bad		<i>uyo daata wani</i> that uncle	<i>anayami hilashira</i> and he immediately threw to it		<i>kwi'twe</i> on head	
9b			---	<i>hyanafwa</i> and it died			
9c			---	<i>hyanatibuka</i> and it dropped down			
10a	<i>[Ihyana hyahyo</i> Small child of it	<i>iri</i> when	< <	<i>hikabona</i> it saw			<i>kwo</i> that
10b			<i>nyina</i> his mother	<i>afwa]</i> she has died			
	<i>[10a-10b]</i>		---	<i>hyanayami tibita</i>			

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
				and it immediately ran away			
11a	<i>Utubwa</i>			<i>twanayami hitibita kwo</i>			
	The dogs			and they immediately ran it after			
11b			---	<i>twanahigwata</i>			
				and they grabbed it			
11c			---	<i>twanayami hijanganula</i>			
				and they immediately tore it up			
12a			---	<i>Twanatoola</i>	<i>hinyina</i>		
				And we picked up	small mother		
12b			---	<i>twanahibo</i>			
				and we place her in bag			
12c			---	<i>twanahitaahana</i>			
				and we went home with her			
13a	<i>Ku yikyo kyanya</i>	<i>iri</i>	---	<i>ndaaye</i>	<i>Mufuliiru</i>	< <	
	At that time	that's when		there is no	Mufuliiru		
13b			---	<i>úzi rya</i>	<i>ihikolo</i>		
				who had eat	small monkey		
14a	<i>[Yihyo hikolo]</i>	<i>iri</i>	< <	<i>tukahihisa</i>		<i>ha kaaya]</i>	
	That small monkey	when		we cause it to arrive		at village	
14b	<i>[14a]</i>		---	<i>twanahimanika</i>		<i>ku kiti</i>	
				and we hung it		from tree	
15a		<i>[Iri]</i>	---	<i>bukakya</i>		<i>sheshezi karekare]</i>	
		When		sun came up		in morning early	

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
15b	[15a]		---	<i>anambwira</i> and he told me			[15c-15g]
15c	[E mwana wani] O child of mine		---	<i>utwalage</i> carry	<i>yihi hikolo</i> this small monkey	<i>i kaguliro</i> to market	
15d			---	<i>ugendi higurisa</i> you going sell it			
15e			<i>Ngiisi fwaranga</i> All money	---			<i>zo</i> which
15f			---	<i>ugahilonga kwo</i> you will get from it			
15g			---	<i>uyije wazisuma</i> you coming you buy with them food			
16			---	<i>Nanayemeera</i> And I agreed			
17	<i>Yihyo hikolo</i> That small monkey		---	<i>nahimanukana</i> and I went down with it	< <	<i>mwi'fumba</i> in a sack	
18a		<i>[Iri</i> When	---	<i>n'gahihisa</i> I arrived		<i>mu kaguliro</i> <i>ke'Kiliba]</i> in market of Kiliba	
18b	[18a]		---	<i>nanahulukira</i> I came upon		<i>ku gundi mwene</i> <i>witu</i> on another relative	
18c			---	<i>anambuuze</i> and he asked me			
18d	<i>Biki</i> What		<i>yibyō ibiri mwi'fumba</i> those which is in a sack	---		< <	
19a			---	<i>Nanamúbwira</i> And I told him			<i>kwo</i> that
19b	<i>hikolo</i>		---	<i>hyo ndi guliisa</i>	< <		

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
	small monkey			it is what I am selling			
20a			---	<i>Anambwira</i>			<i>kwo</i> [20b]
				And he told me			that
20b			[---]	<i>nirindire</i>			[20c]
				I should wait for			
20c			[<i>Abalega</i> the Lega	<i>bayije bagahigula</i>			
				they coming they will buy it			
21a		[<i>Iri</i> When	<i>akaguliro</i> the market	<i>kakaba keera kaluluma</i> was already it is happening			
21b	[21a]		<i>Abalega</i> the Lega	<i>banahigula</i> and they bought it			
22a	[<i>Yizo fwaranga bakahigula</i> Those monies they bought it		---	<i>nanagenda nazisuma</i> and I went and I bought food	< <]		
22b	[22a]		---	<i>nanataaha</i> and I went home.			
23a		<i>Iri</i> When	---	<i>n'gahika</i> I arrived		<i>ha kaaya</i> at village	
23b			---	<i>nanagwanana</i> I encountered			[23c]
23c			[<i>uyo daata wani</i> that uncle	<i>ali</i> he is		<i>ho</i> there	
24a	[<i>Yibyo byo n'gasuma</i> Those things which I bought		---	<i>nanamúsiikiriza</i> I gave to him	< < byo them		

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
24b			---	<i>anabilenga</i> and he passed through them		<i>mwo</i> in	
24c			---	<i>anambwira</i> and he told me			<i>kwo</i> [24d] that
24d			[---	<i>nibigabe]</i> I divide them			
25a			---	<i>Twanazifuka</i> And we put them		<i>ku lwibo</i> on grain-threshing plate	
25b			---	<i>nanazibera</i> and I cut them		<i>mwe'mituli ibiri umuhamu no'muniini</i> into piles two large and small	
26a			---	<i>Nanashamata</i> And I took	< <	<i>ku gulya muhamu</i> from that large one	<i>njanga niniini</i> small fish a few
26b			---	<i>nanashubi shamata</i> and I again took	< <	<i>ku gulya muniini</i> from that small one	<i>njanga niniini</i> small fish a few
26c			---	<i>nanazigabira</i> and I distributed those to	<i>balumuna baani abâli bwatiri yaho</i> small brothers of mine who were sitting there		
26d			---	<i>nâli kizi gabira</i> and I was continuously dividing up	<i>yizo njanga</i> those small fish		
27a			<i>Uyo daata wani</i>	<i>anasiima bweneene</i>			

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
27b			That uncle	and he was happy very			
			---	<i>anadeta</i>			<i>kwo</i> [27c-27e] that
27c				and he said			
			[---	<i>ngola</i>	<i>mushosi</i>		
27d		<i>kundu</i>	---	I am now	man		<i>bwo</i>
		even though		<i>ngiri</i>	<i>mwanuke</i>		in that
27e			---	I am still	a small boy		
				<i>naheereza</i>	<i>balumuna baani</i>	<i>ku yibyo twagabaana]</i>	
28	<i>Mukuba</i>	<i>bye'ruhiiviro</i>	<i>mwene akabwa</i>	<i>ye'ri mu twala</i>	< < <i>umutuli muhamu</i>		
	Because	things of hunt	owner of dog	he is the one who is carrying away	pile large one		
29	<i>Abafuliiru</i>	<i>byo bayitira i ruhiiviro</i>	< <	<i>tuli mu gabira</i>		<i>yeyo munda</i>	
	The Bafuliiru	things which they killed on hunt		we are in dividing up		right there	
30	<i>Yihyo hikolo</i>		---	<i>tukahitaahana</i>	< <		
	That small monkey			and we went home with it			
31a	<i>Mukuba</i>		<i>Abafuliiru</i>	<i>batâli kizi hirya</i>			
	Because		the Bafuliiru	are not continuously eating it			
31b			---	<i>kyanatuma tugahitaahana</i>			<i>gira</i> [31c] in order that
				that is why we went home with it			
31c			[---	<i>tukagendi higuliisa</i>		<i>mu Balega]</i>	
				we go sell it		among Warega	

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
32a			<i>Kwokwo</i>	<i>kwo</i>			
			Thus	is how			
32b			<i>bye'ruhiiviro</i>	<i>bikizi girwa</i>			
			things of hunt	they were habitually done			

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

- Andrews, Avery. 1985. The major functions of the noun phrase. In Timothy Shopen (ed.). *Language typology and syntactic description 1*, 62–154. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Callow, Kathleen. 1998. *Man and message: A guide to meaning-based text analysis*. Lanham, Maryland: Summer Institute of Linguistics and University Press of America.
- Crystal, David. 2003. *A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*. Fifth edition. London: Blackwell.
- Dooley, Robert A., and Stephen H. Levinsohn. 2001. *Analyzing discourse: A manual of basic concepts*. Dallas: SIL International.
- Heimerdinger, Jean-Marie. 1999. Topic, focus, and foreground in Ancient Hebrew narratives. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series* 295.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form: Topics, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levinsohn, Stephen H. 2008. *Self-instruction materials on narrative discourse analysis*. [https:// mail.jaars.org/~bt/narr.zip](https://mail.jaars.org/~bt/narr.zip), accessed July 15, 2013.
- Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2014. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*. Seventeenth edition. Dallas: SIL International.
- Van Otterloo, Roger. 1988. Towards an understanding of ‘lo’ and ‘behold’: functions of idou and ide in the Greek New Testament. *Occasional Papers in Translation and Textlinguistics* 2(1):34–64.
- Van Otterloo, Roger. 2011. *The Kifuliiru language, Volume 2: A descriptive grammar*. Dallas: SIL International.