

Discourse Functions of Conjoiners in Ninkare

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Abstract

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This dissertation is a study of discourse functions of conjoiners in the Ninkare language, spoken in the south of Burkina Faso.

To translate a text from one language into another, not only the words need to be taken from the receptor language, but also the way information is linked together to build the whole text. The relationship between the different chunks of text is crucial in order to properly understand what the author of the original text wants to communicate. The author may leave these relations implicit and expect the hearer/reader to make the right interpretations and to draw the right conclusions from the context. On the other hand, he may use linguistic means to specify the way in which the text that follows is connected to what has gone before. These linguistic means or conjoiners comprise all the different words, expressions and constructions used to join units of texts at different levels.

This study looks at conjoiners in Ninkare from different angles: it shows the nature and basic meaning of the conjoiners, the grammatical structures they are embedded in, the semantic relations expressed by them and their role in providing coherence and displaying the relationships between the constituents of the discourse. The combination of all these different aspects of the theme reveals useful insights, helpful in understanding the scale of possible constructions to express similar semantic relations, and the different meanings a conjoiner may have in different contexts.

DECLARATION

This dissertation is the product of my own work. I declare also that the dissertation is available for photocopying, reference purposes and Inter-Library Loan.

Idda Agnes Niggli-Gemperle

PREFACE

This dissertation is an analysis of discourse in the Ninkare language. It concentrates on the function of conjoiners.

From 1996 to 2004 I worked on the Ninkare language spoken in the south of Burkina Faso (see maps in Appendix I). As a family we lived for two years (1996-1997) in Guelwongo, a village located in the area of the Ninkare speaking people, called the Ninkarse. In 1997 we moved to the capital city Ouagadougou for our children's education, but we continued to work in the Ninkare language and did regular visits to the Ninkarse area till 2004, and we still visit the area several times a year.

My husband and I were assigned to the Ninkare language to conduct linguistic research and language development. We were involved in the elaboration of literacy material and in the translation of the New Testament¹.

Several Ninkare friends helped us to learn and analyse their language. They enjoyed telling us their stories and other texts to use for our work, both for our linguistic studies and to be published for their own benefit.

Ouena Jean-Pierre and Bagen Jacques worked with us on the Ninkare language and translation from 1997 until 2003, and Ouena Celestine willingly answered all my questions while I was working on this dissertation. I am very grateful to each one of these people for all the help they gave me.

In my work as a translation consultant, while teaching courses for translators and checking translated Scripture texts for an accurate understanding of the original meaning, I realized how much the use of conjoiners that join units of meaning

¹ Some of our publications in Ninkare can be downloaded as PDF files at <http://www.kassena-ninkarse.org/burkina-faso/livres-ninkare.html>.

(constituents, sentences, paragraphs, episodes and ideas) varies in different languages and thus affects the way discourse needs to be translated.

The adequate analysis of conjoiners and their function requires a holistic discourse perspective. 'Many details of linguistic structure are dependent on the analysis of discourse, so discourse analysis is not a luxury but a necessity' (Longacre and Hwang, 2012, p.13).

A thorough understanding of the role of conjoiners or the lack of them is important for the elaboration of good literacy material and for natural translation, in order to prevent misunderstandings at the higher message levels of paragraph and discourse.

In this dissertation I will discuss the way ideas are joined together in the Ninkare language so as to make a coherent text in which the hearers/readers know how to interpret the relations between different parts of the text.

I want to express my thankfulness to my husband who not only worked closely with me in the years we were assigned to the Ninkare language but also encouraged and supported me during our studies and the write-up of this dissertation. I also thank my two supervisors: Lukas Neukom for his precious help with the issues related to the topic of this research in Burkina Faso, and Howard Jackson for his teaching on discourse analysis and for his encouraging and helpful suggestions and comments during the write-up of the dissertation.

All glory be to God!

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ABBREVIATIONS

COND	conditional
CPL-FOC	complement focus
DECL	declarative particle –something that really happened
DEF	definite article
DEM	demonstrative
EMPH	emphatic pronoun
FUT	future auxiliary
IPFV	imperfective verb
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
NEG	negation
PAST	remote past particle
PFV	perfective verb
PROH	prohibitive
SBJ-FOC	subject focus
SUB	particle showing subordinate clause/ subordination marker
Ø	absence of conjoiner

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Ninkare language and people

According to the Ethnologue (Lewis et al., 2013), Ninkare is spoken in the Nahouri province, in the subdistricts Zecco and Ziou in Burkina Faso by about 25,000 speakers (1991). Alternate Names are Frafra, Gurenne, Gurne and Nankani. It is classified as follows: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Gur, Central, Northern, Oti-Volta, Western, Northwest (see Figure 1).

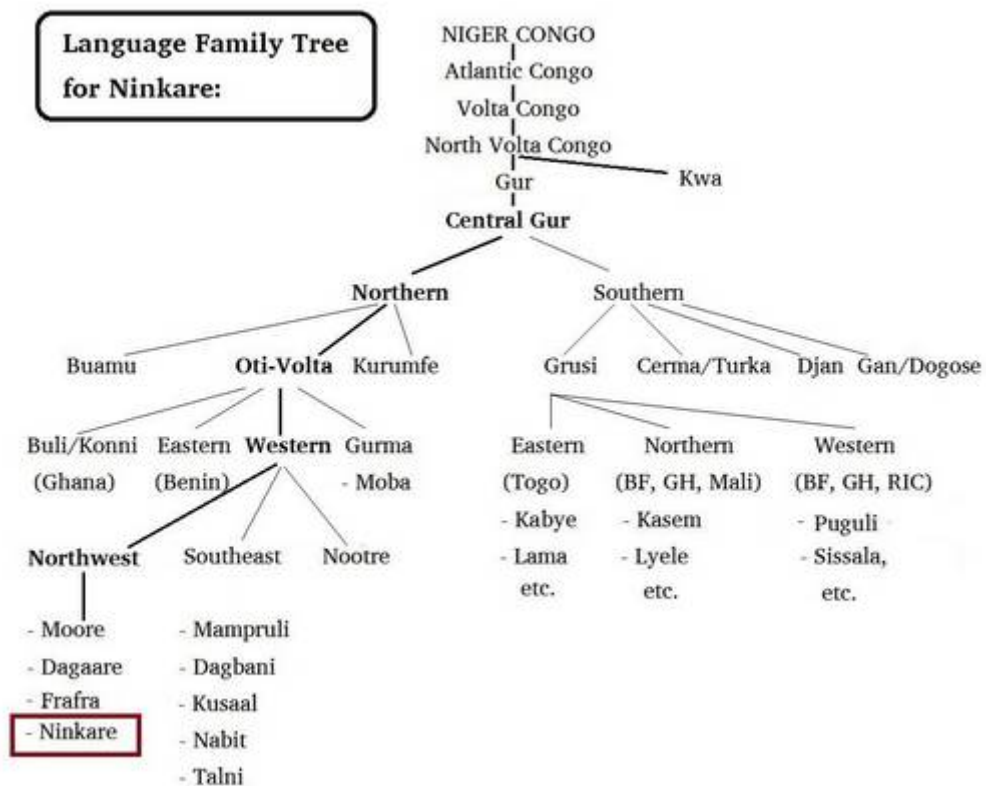


Figure 1: Ninkare Language Family Tree, by Urs Niggli

The term 'Frafra' is often used to designate the cluster of dialects of which Gurene, Nankani, Booni and Ninkare are members. There is a considerable degree of mutual intelligibility among these dialects.

The dialect spoken in Burkina Faso, called Ninkare is most closely related to Farefare (or Gurenne/Gurune spoken in neighbouring Ghana), Dagaare and Moore, but is also related to Kusaal (also spoken in Burkina Faso and in Ghana), and to Dagbani and Mampruli. In Burkina Faso, the neighbouring language to the west is Kasem, with Bissa to the north and east. In Ghana, the neighbouring languages are Buli, Kusaal and Mampruli.

The Ninkare region in Burkina Faso is located in the country's south-eastern corner, in the province of Nahouri, about 200 km from Ouagadougou. However, the great majority (over 90%) of this ethnic group is found in northern Ghana.

The traditional religion continues to have a very strong influence among the Ninkarse. Christianity and Islam were only introduced after the middle of the 20th century.

Terms used to refer to the language and its speakers are:

- Ninkāre* - the language
- Ninkārga* - a person who speaks Ninkare
- Ninkārsɪ* - people who speak Ninkare
- Ninkɔrɲɔ* - the homeland of the Ninkarse

Concerning the economy, the Ninkare speaking population is heavily agrarian. A large majority of families are involved in subsistence farming. The major crops are millet, corn, beans, groundnuts and rice. They also raise cattle, goats, sheep and fowls. There are also many traders since they live near the border with Ghana.

1.2 Previous language work on Ninkare

There is very little existing research on the Ninkare language; some scholars have done studies on parts of the phonology and the grammar. Most of these studies were done in Ghana where the language is called Farefare or Gurenne (there are lots of variations in the spelling of this name by the different authors).

Eugene Ludwig Rapp (1966) described the main grammatical features of the language in Ghana, and his work written in German almost fifty years ago is the first published material on Gurenne. Beginning in the 1970s, Robert Schaefer worked on the language and published a phonology sketch (1975). He also published several literacy books and helped to translate the Bible into this language. Mary E. Kropp Dakubu produced various publications on different aspects of Gurenne such as 'A Grammar of Gurune' (1995), an article on the particle *la* (2000), and an article on the interrogative structure (2003). The first thesis on Gurenne was written by Ephraim Nsoh on some aspects of word-structure (1997). Another thesis was written by Samuel Atintono on the morphosyntax of the verb (2004). Both authors are mother tongue speakers of the Gurenne language in Ghana. These last three authors together published a 'Gurenne – English Dictionary' (Dakubu et al., 2007).

All of the above mentioned studies were conducted in Ghana. The first brief study on the Gurenne dialect called Ninkare or Nankam spoken in Burkina Faso was done by Andre Prost 'Le gurenne ou nankan' (1979). My husband and I elaborated literacy materials and some basic literature. We also wrote a phonology description, an orthography guide, a grammar description and a dictionary for the Ninkare dialect spoken in Burkina Faso².

² These documents are available in French at <http://www.kassena-ninkarse.org/burkina-faso/ninkare-francais.html>.

The published documents concentrate mainly on word or smaller units, with the exception of Dakubu; her grammar description includes a section on clause and sentence level topics.

As to the subject of my dissertation, very little research has been conducted up to now. Dakubu briefly describes conjunctions in 'A grammar of Gurune' (1995, p.49-65), but with very limited scope. For related languages as well, to my knowledge little literature is available on the function of conjoiners in linking clauses, sentences and paragraphs.

1.3 Data, methodology and scope of the research

This research is based on a corpus of over twenty texts, from which I have chosen two narrative texts as the primary sources to illustrate my findings. Text 1 is a real life story 'How it happened that the people of Gueno accepted Christ', Text 2 a folktale 'A man who was a thief' (see Appendices 4 and 5). A list of the texts referred to in this study is found in Appendix 3. All examples where no text is mentioned as source are elicited examples.

Since in this dissertation I want to look at the conjoiners in Ninkare from different viewpoints, I often use the same examples to show different aspects of this broad theme; instead of repeating them, I refer to them with the page number where it is first used and I put a list of all the numbered examples and where they are referred to in Appendix 6 (order according to their appearance in the dissertation).

Although the main texts I use are narratives, most of the described characteristics of Ninkare texts are more general and apply also to other genres.

Having worked about eight years in this language I collected all the data myself. All texts are orally recorded and then written down and edited with the

help of the speaker or another Ninkare person. My main informants and helpers in collecting and transcribing the data were Ouena Jean-Pierre, Bagena Jacques and Ouena Celestine (see Preface).

All linguists that worked on the Ninkare and the closely related Gurenne/Farefare language agree that tone is important, it is 'contrastive both on the lexical and the grammatical level' (Dakubu, 2005, p.52). The language has two underlying or phonemic tones (Schaefer, 1974, p.464; Nsoh, 1997, p.25), but there is often a difference between the underlying and the surface tone due to a lot of processes like downstep, downdrift, polar tones and changing of the tone of a word according to the position in the sentence. Several attempts were made by different authors to describe tone in this language with no satisfying outcome. The investigation is difficult because 'the tone intervals are small' and there is 'more or less free variation on syllables where the pitch is not contrastive' (Dakubu, 2005, p.54).

Although Ninkare is a tonal language, tone is not written in the official orthography as there is always enough redundancy to understand the text without marking the tones. The same applies to related languages like Moore and Kusaal. Tone is also omitted in the transcription of the texts used for this study, with the exception of the conjunctions *tì* and *là* that serve for coordination of clauses and *tí* and *lá* or *ná* that serve for subordination. As the coordinating conjunctions are preceded by a small pause, they are normally marked with a preceding comma in the orthography, or they stand at the beginning of a sentence following a full stop, but I will mark the two different underlying tones because of their importance in the context of this study.

In Ninkare some of the same conjunctions can be used to join two nominal phrases, to join clauses to each other and to join bigger units of the text like paragraphs. I want to focus primarily on the way clauses are joined together to form larger units and how the relations between these clauses and between sentences and paragraphs are expressed to guide the reader/hearer in his understanding.

I studied the functions of sentence conjunctions in Greek, as described by Levinsohn ('Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: Part II' (2000)) and Heckert ('Discourse Function of Conjoiners in the pastoral Epistles' (1996)). This led me to investigate the multiple uses of frequent conjoiners in Ninkare and I discovered that they can be traced back to one, or at the most two basic meanings.

I want to show 'what the linguistic structures are used for: the function they serve and the factors that condition their use' (Dooley, 1989, p.1) – following the basic principle of a functional approach that choice implies meaning (Levinsohn, 2012, p.2), also taking into account Relevance Theory which considers that these connecting devices 'encode procedural, rather than conceptual information' (Rouchota, 1996, p.2).

My aim is to give a broad description of conjoiners used in a given language, Ninkare. In my study, I will examine how parts of the text are joined together at different levels and highlight various aspects of the topic:

- a) Their role in providing coherence and displaying the relationships between the different constituents of discourse (Borderia, 2001, p.223) at different levels (Chapter 2),
- b) The grammatical structures they are embedded in (juxtaposition, coordination and different means of subordination/dependency) (Chapter 3),

- c) The nature of the conjoiners themselves, used at different levels (Chapter 4),
- d) The different uses of the most frequently used conjoiners and their basic semantic functions (Chapter 5).
- e) I will also give an overview of different semantic relations and how the Ninkare language uses conjoiners to express them (Chapter 6).

1.4 Theoretical framework

This study will be based on the lectures on 'Discourse for translation' of ETP (European Training Program) 2013, taking into account Levinsohn's 'Self Instruction materials' (2012), 'Analyzing Discourse' (Dooley and Levinsohn, 1999) and the work of Longacre and Hwang (2012).

I will also consider Relevance Theory as applied to the particle typology by Blass (1990a, b) and Gutt (1991, 1999) and some papers which are based on Blass/Gutt such as the ones in 'Discourse Features of Ten Languages of West-Central Africa' edited by Levinsohn (1994) and in 'Logical Relations in Discourse' edited by Loos (1999).

Furthermore, I will consider Halliday and Hasan's study. They classify types of cohesive relation into 'distinct categories' as 'reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical cohesion' (1976, p.13). In this dissertation I will concentrate on their category of conjunction, not conjunction as a grammatical category but conjunction with the meaning 'how things are joined together' or as they define it: 'a specification of the way in which what is to follow is systematically connected to what has gone before' (1976, p.227). I see it as a semantic relation that is explicitly marked (Sanders and Maat, 2006, p.440) or the absence of this marking, where the

choice of not using a conjunction also implies meaning according to a 'basic principle of a functional approach' (Levinsohn, 2012, p.2).

Lambrecht (1996, p.51) underlines that 'information arises by relating something new to something that can already be taken for granted', which leads to the question how these different chunks of information are joined to each other. He also states that 'there is often no one-to-one correspondence between syntactic form and discourse function' and that there are form-meaning-use correspondences expressed in a variety of grammatical constructions at different levels (1996, pp.32ff). That led me to my approach of examining how parts of discourse are joined together from different angles or point of views.

In the light of all the different terminology used by the authors mentioned, I will call 'conjoiners' words and constructions used to join chunks of information together. I define them as conjunctive elements, patterns of cohesion turning sequences of text chunks into a coherent text. They comprise all that links the new part of the text to the existing context. They can be called 'linguistic means to signal coherence', 'signals of cohesion', 'cohesive ties' or 'signals of relation' (all in Dooley and Levinsohn, 1999, p.12) or also connectives (Levinsohn (2012, p.84) and many other authors).

CHAPTER 2

THE NINKARE DISCOURSE STRUCTURE

To understand the structure of a text we need to know the way information is linked together to build the whole text. The first sentence of a text is not joined to any other text, it starts without any conjoiner. In Ninkare, normally a narrative starts with the setting of the story, introducing the main participants and describing the circumstances necessary for the understanding of the following events, including place and time if necessary. Often clauses that give this information are joined by juxtaposition to the beginning introductory sentence. Then the storyline starts with a chain of clauses that refer to events that advance the story.

Verbs of this storyline, also called event line or ‘theme line’ (Levinsohn, 2012, p.68), are normally in the perfective form, the non-marked basic form. Stative verbs and verbs in the imperfective form often expressing habits usually set the scene or give explanations.

In Ninkare, dependent or subordinate clauses principally present background information, whereas independent clauses are used to move the storyline forward in narrative texts or to communicate the important information in other text genres (for text genre see Levinsohn, 2012, p.11).

2.1 Coherence and use of conjoiners

An important notion for discourse analysis is that of coherence. The question is what makes a sequence of sentences into a coherent text. It is not only a property

of the text itself, but it depends on what the audience is able to understand of the text.

The author of a text wants to transmit a message and does it in a way that allows the audience to understand what he wants to say. The hearer/reader always expects that the author makes his discourse coherent; if possible, he infers from his context what is necessary to supply the relations left implicit by the author. He may do this either from the ‘endophoric’³ context: what was already said in the text, or the ‘exophoric’ context: the context shared by the author and his/her hearer/reader including their world view.

Speaking in terms of Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1986, Wilson and Sperber, 2002), the speaker wants the hearer to make the right assumptions in order to understand what she wanted to communicate and thus uses different strategies to make a sequence of independent clauses or sentences into a coherent text and constraining the hearer’s interpretation in a certain direction.

Relations between the different chunks of the text are important in the logical and temporal development of discourse. Sometimes these relations are overtly marked; other relations are not marked but still understood.

One way to mark the relations is through the use of different conjoiners to facilitate the interpretation. Levinsohn comments that ‘The presence of the connective [included in what I call "conjoiner"] constrains conclusions to be drawn that might not have been drawn had it been absent’ (2012, p.85).

Dooley and Levinsohn state that ‘the coherence of a text is, in essence, a question of whether the hearer can make it “hang together” conceptually, that is, interpret it within a single mental representation’, and specify that ‘the speaker will

³ For endophoric and exophoric relations see Brown and Yule (1983, pp.192-93).

plant linguistic signals in the text as clues to assist the hearers in coming up with an adequate mental representation' (1999, p.12). These linguistic signals, or conjoiners as I call them, establish relations between words, clauses or larger chunks of text.

According to Levinsohn, different languages use either juxtaposition or a conjoiner such as a conjunction or a referential connective as their default way to conjoin sentences or groups of sentences (2012, p.84). Both of these options are used in Ninkare, but the default way is the use of different conjoiners (see Chapter 4) to coordinate sentences, as we can see in the studied texts.

The most frequent conjoiner is *tì* 'and, then' which shows that the story is moving forward in the expected way; it normally involves a change of participants. When the subsequent actions are performed by the same participant, they are often chained as consecutive clauses (see 3.2.1) without reference to the participant. The conjoiner *là* 'and, but, and then' introduces a distinct piece of information, often adversative between two joined clauses, or it indicates a new development of the story or argument, thus called a development marker (Levinsohn, 2012, p.95). This development marker may be followed by a tail-head linkage, i.e. a subordinate clause referring to what was already said, to make an even stronger claim that something new is coming.

We can illustrate this pattern with the real life story (Text 1, given in Appendix 4). This text relates the story of a man named Atea, who was mad. After the introduction, sentence 4 (= example (1)) introduced by *tì* moves the story onwards:

- (1) a) **Tì** ba tarĩ ē Gurŋo lá b) Ø wa'am Yelwōŋŋo pasteer yire.
 and they have him Gueno DEF come Guelwongo pastor house
 'And they brought him from Gueno to the pastor's house in Guelwongo.'
 (Text 1.4)

In sentence 7 of the same text (= example (2)), there is a new unexpected turn of the story, introduced by *là* followed by a tail-head linkage thus beginning a new paragraph:

- (2) a) **Là ěn paa Gurjo lá,** b) Atia le sose sorɔɔ
 and he-SUB arrive Gueno SUB Atea do-sth.-again beg way
 me c) tí ěɲa boorɪ d) tí a yese sɛɲɛ la
 DECL that he-EMPH want that he leave go-to CPL-FOC
 Kodivɔɔɪ; e) **tì pasteer** bɔ ě sorɔɔ.
 Ivory-Coast and pastor give him way
 ‘**And when he arrived in Gueno**, Atea asked again for the way (permission) (stating) that he wanted to leave and go to Ivory Coast; **and the pastor** gave him permission.’ (Text 1.7)

In clause (b) in (1) the subsequent action (‘come’ after ‘having taken him’) is performed by the same participants chained as a consecutive clause without conjoiner and without participant reference. In clause (e) in (2) however, the change of participants requires a new main clause beginning with *tì* ‘and’ followed by a participant reference (the pastor).

The use of any other strategy for conjoining is significant. Juxtaposition may be used at special stages of the text, either to join independent clauses to form complex sentences or to join sentences within a paragraph or even to join important information to the previous paragraph, as we can illustrate in Text 2 (given in Appendix 5). In this text, the wife was sent by her husband to look for a sheep but did not find it. In the meantime her husband had gone to dance. The important fact that she did not know what to say in sentence 8 pushed the woman to the action that advances the story. This information is juxtaposed to the previous paragraph without any conjoiner as shown in (3).

- (3) a) Ø A ka mi b) ẽṇa n wun yele se'em yeti
 she NEG know she-EMPH SUB FUT say how say-that
 c) ẽṇa ka yẽ pesgo lá.
 she-EMPH NEG see sheep DEF
 'She did not know how she should go about telling him that she did not
 find the sheep.' (Text 2.8)

Thus, important information or sometimes a conclusion near the end of the text may just be juxtaposed to the preceding text it relates to, showing the significance of the information.

2.2 Conjoining at different levels

In Ninkare, the most frequent joiners, and juxtaposition as a marked absence of a joiner, function at different levels of the text. They are used at the beginning of a sentence to link paragraphs⁴ to larger units, to link what follows to the previous paragraph and to link a sentence to the preceding sentence, or inside a sentence to link different clauses to complex sentences.

Coordinating joiners link a sentence to the preceding context and explain how it relates to this context. Or, in relevance terms, they direct the hearer to conclusions he/she would not arrive at without these joiners.

In the following passage from Text 3, example (4) is linked to the preceding context by a temporal link 'after that', used as a referential connective (see 4.6). The three following clauses, example (5), are linked by the default connector *tì* 'and, then' showing that the story moves forward in the expected way. Clauses coordinated by this conjunction along with intonation contribute to the mainline of the story. The same connector *tì* 'and, then' is used to link the bigger chunk (5) to (4) and to join the clause (b) to (a) and (c) to (b) within (5).

⁴ Groupings of sentences on the basis of a significant discontinuity of time, place, participants or action (Levinsohn 2012, p.31)

(4) **Bela poorum**, bāma bayi doose la taaba sēŋe tã'ama
 this after those two follow CPL-FOC each-other walk shea-nut
 eere.
 search

‘**After that**, those two went together searching for shea nuts.’ (Text 3)

(5) a) **Tĩ** laaluja zom tã'aŋa ɛɛra tã'am-bituma basra, b) **tĩ**
 and nightjar climb shea-tree look-for ripe-shea-nuts detach and
 ba luta c) **tĩ** Akakute pĩ'isra.

they fall-down and Mr-Turtle pick-up-from-the-ground
 ‘**And** nightjar climbed the shea tree looking for ripe shea nuts, detaching
 (them), **and** they fell (on the ground) **and** Mr Turtle was picking them up.’

(Text 3)

Looking at the two main texts used for this study, we can see that the coordinating conjunction and development marker *lā* is used 12 times to start a new paragraph, 13 times to start a new sentence within a paragraph and 4 times to coordinate two main clauses. The coordinating conjunction *tĩ* is used 24 times to start a new sentence, 30 times to coordinate main clauses and once to coordinate two dependent clauses. Juxtaposition is used only four times to start a new paragraph and five times to add a new sentence to the paragraph.

CHAPTER 3

DIFFERENT WAYS OF CONJOINING CLAUSES

In this chapter, I will look at different ways clauses are joined together to form larger units. According to Longacre and Hwang, 'The clause is the basic grammatical unit of communication' (2012, p.93). Clauses may be combined to form larger sentences, and sentences of one or more clauses to form paragraphs. The means of conjoining, called 'conjunction' by Halliday and Hasan is 'a specification of the way in which what is to follow is systematically connected to what has gone before' (1976, p.227). If the connection between the two clauses or sentences is overtly stated, this connection can be called a cohesive device or a 'clause combining device' (Longacre and Hwang, 2012, p.95).

Complex sentences may be formed by two or more independent clauses that could stand on their own or by a main clause and one or more clauses which are syntactically dependent on the main clause.

I define independency as a relationship in which both clauses have the same syntactic status; dependency is everything else. In a relationship of independency, both parts keep their own profiles, they are arranged next to each other, but designate two processes/events or states of affairs, whereas in a relationship of dependency one part is construed in the perspective of the other, in some way dependent on this other, arranged under this other part .

In linguistics, it is a difficult undertaking to define what is called independency and dependency or coordination and subordination. Haspelmath states that 'The term *coordination* refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of

the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relation with other surrounding elements' (2007, p.1). He talks of subordination '(to the main clause)' as 'restricted to clauses' and uses 'dependency' as a more general term. He defines coordination as 'symmetrical' and a 'dependency relation' as 'asymmetrical', where one element is dependent on another one, defined as the 'head', which corresponds to the main clause on the sentence level. On the other hand he admits that 'coordinate construction may also show a fair amount of structural asymmetry' (2007, p.46).

Longacre and Hwang (2012, p.95) see the modes of combination more as 'a continuum of increasing integration between clauses', not just as 'coordination or subordination'. The five categories they propose: juxtaposition, coordination, chaining, subordination of adverbial clauses and embedding are also adequate to describe the Ninkare language.

The main differentiation on the Ninkare clause level, however, can still be seen between independent clauses or main clauses and dependent clauses. Main clauses may stand on their own or may be joined together to form a complex sentence where each clause has the same status. This can either be a symmetrical relation - juxtaposition (see 3.1.1), also called 'asyndetic coordination' (Haspelmath, 2007, p.7) - or an asymmetrical relation - coordination using a conjoiner (see 3.1.2), asymmetric due to the fact that the second clause starts with a conjoiner whereas the first one doesn't.

Dependent clauses are joined to a main clause to form a complex sentence where the dependent parts are arranged in relation to the main clause. In Ninkare, we can differentiate between three different types of dependency: chaining, subordination of a peripheral clause and embedding. Sequences of clauses which

follow each other are called chaining, they are juxtaposed and syntactically dependent on the leading main clause, but functionally they are of almost equal rank with the preceding main clause (see 3.2.1). In Ninkare, I call a subordinate clause a clause that is construed to support another clause (the main clause) but is peripheral to it (see 3.2.2), whereas an embedded clause is part of the main clause needed to make the main clause into a syntactically complete clause (see 3.2.3).

The possible structures of two clauses forming a complex sentence are illustrated in the following table.

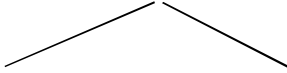

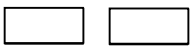


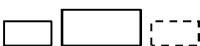

Complex sentences				
1. Independent clauses of equal status linked together		2. Dependent clause linked to a main clause		
				
Juxtaposition of two independent clauses	Coordination of two independent clauses (the conjoiner appears at the beginning of the second clause)	Chaining: Main clause followed by consecutive clause(s)	Subordination of a peripheral clause (before or after the main clause)	Embedding of a dependent clause into the main clause
				

Table 1: Structures of complex sentences

These different ways of conjoining clauses can be combined to form sentences of several clauses, up to eight clauses in the two texts whose charts are in the Appendices 4 and 5.

In this chapter, I will first present the two ways independent clauses can be arranged next to each other, then the different ways dependent clauses can be arranged in some relationship of dependency to a main clause.

This chapter focuses more on the syntactic structure of clause combinations, whereas Chapter 6 will focus on the semantic relations. The same semantic relation can be expressed by various types of syntactic structure.

3.1 Conjoining of independent clauses

As demonstrated in 2.2, the same joiners used to link a sentence to its context (after a pause, or a full stop in writing) may be used to link independent clauses together (after a shorter pause, separated by commas).

There are, however, contexts in which it is more appropriate to leave the relation implicit and just juxtapose two sentences or clauses, either because the relation is evident or to give a special significance to the juxtaposed sentence.

3.1.1 Juxtaposition

A particular case of conjoining independent clauses is the arrangement of clauses next to each other characterized by the absence of any conjunctive linguistic element except intonation in speaking, represented by commas in writing. This juxtaposition can be understood as coordination without conjunction. The author decides that no signal is necessary to help the hearer understand it as a coherent unity with a clear relationship between them, because of the hearer's ability to understand it from the context.

Juxtaposition is a joining of coherent ideas. In Ninkare it is often used with affirmative and negative statements, oppositions, paraphrases or causal relationships as in (6) to (8).

- (6) Mam bia ka tã'age wa'am, Ø a bẽ'ere me.
 my child NEG be-able come he be-sick DECL
 'My child could not come, (because) he is sick.'

In this case (6) the causal relation is understood without being overtly stated.

- (7) Fua tuuri la sore, Ø a ka tuuri nōore.
 blind-man fail-to-find CPL-FOC road he NEG fail-to-find mouth
 'A blind person fails to find the way, (but) he does not fail to find (his) mouth.' (Proverb)

In example (7) the hearer understands the juxtaposition of a positive and a negative clause as an adversative relation.

- (8) Buraa lá de la yvulga, Ø a ze'ele la Lɛɛŋɔ.
 man DEF to-be CPL-FOC Kassena he be-from CPL-FOC Tiebele
 'This man is a Kassena, he comes from Tiebele.'

In (8) it is understood that people from Tiebele in the Kassena area are Kassena.

At the beginning of Text I, example (9), the main participant is introduced followed by a juxtaposed clause describing the characteristic of this person that is important for the story:

- (9) Buraa ayila yv'ure n daan de Atia, Ø a daan ka tari
 man one name SBJ-FOC PAST be Atea he PAST NEG have
 laafe.
 health
 'The name of a man was Atea, he was not in good health.' (Text 1.2)

3.1.2 Coordination

Two or more main clauses may be joined together by coordination, defined as a relationship where the two clauses are of equal status, linked by a conjoining element that shows the nature of the relation between them. This conjoining element or conjoiner is part of the second coordinated clause, guiding or constraining the hearer/reader in the interpretation of the relation between this

clause and the previous one. In general, most of the sentences in Ninkare texts are joined together by coordination, mostly with a simple conjunction as in examples (10) and (11).

- (10) A wi bia lá mɛ, tɪ a wa'am.
 he call child DEF DECL and he come
 'He called the child **and** he came.'

- (11) Awēnpoka boorɪ la pupu, là a ka tarɪ ligri.
 Awēnpoka want CPL-FOC motorbike but she NEG have money
 'Awēnpoka wants a motorbike, **but** she does not have the money.'

The intonation and the immediate context, in the written form separation by comma and not by a full stop, show that the clause beginning with the conjoiner is combined with the previous one to form a complex sentence and not just joined to the whole previous text as the examples (1), (2) and (5) in Chapter 2.

3.2 Conjoining of a main and one or more dependent clauses

As stated in Chapter 2, in Ninkare the foreground information or the main events of a narrative are generally expressed by main clauses. Different types of dependent clause are used to add secondary information, to relate events that are expected to follow, or to remind the hearer of information that may already be known, either because it was told before or understood from the context even if it was not said.

The basic characteristic of chronological ordering of a text is quite strong in Ninkare. This coincides more or less with the principle of natural information flow (Comrie, 1989, cited in Levinsohn, 2006, p.14) that known/established information precedes new/non-established information. In Ninkare even the ordering of dependent clauses within a complex sentence is guided by this principle.

As a result there are different ways of joining dependent clauses. When the main clause is part of the event line and the following events are reported in the

dependent clause, this consecutive clause is chained to the main clause (chaining see 3.2.1). When the dependent clause refers to something that already happened, it is normally placed before the main clause; in this context, subordination is marked by the subject focus marker *n* (placed after the subject) and the definite article *lá* (placed at the end of the subordinate clause), both will be glossed as SUB (subordination marker). This subordinate clause is sometimes followed by a postposition specifying the relation of this clause to the main clause (see 3.2.2.1). Also a subordinated conditional clause marked by the auxiliary verb *sān* ‘do if/when’ precedes the main clause (3.2.2.3). When the subordinate clause talks about a goal or purpose, it follows the main clause beginning with the conjunction *tí* ‘in order to’ (3.2.2.2).

The same conjunction *tí*, in this context meaning ‘that’, is used to introduce an embedded clause that functions as an argument within another clause (see 3.2.3.1) or as a relativiser if the head noun is not the subject of the relative clause (3.2.3.2).

More complex structures are possible: a subordinate clause and a main clause may still be followed by consecutive clauses, or embedded clauses may follow each other or a subordinate clause; a consecutive clause is part of an embedded clause and so on (see text charts in Appendices 4 and 5).

3.2.1 Chaining: Main clause followed by consecutive clause(s)

As in Ninkare texts events are related in chronological order, a dependent clause following the main clause is normally understood as a temporal sequence. It is used for storyline events in a narrative when no discontinuity is to be signalled. One or more consecutive clauses may be linked to a previous main clause. We can refer to these series of nuclear clauses by ‘chaining’ (Longacre and Hwang, 2012, pp.94–95).

The difference between this chaining and the juxtaposition as described in 3.1.1 is that these chained clauses are syntactically dependent; the dependent clause does not need a declarative particle or any focus marker or negation as an independent clause normally does, as we can see in the examples provided on page 28. In examples (6)-(9) each juxtaposed clause contains a declarative particle, a focus marker or a negation marker, whereas in the following examples with chained clauses only the main clause may have a declarative particle as in (12).

This chaining occurs when the subsequent clause has the same subject as the previous one. Otherwise, if there is a discontinuity of participants, the temporal sequence is expressed by two coordinated clauses.

The first clause is a main clause, in example (12) ending with the declarative particle *me*; the consecutive clause cannot stand by itself; it does not repeat the subject and never contains a declarative particle or focus marker.

- (12) ... a le ka yũ dāam **me**, Ø yũ sigaaru...
 he do-again go-to drink alcoholic-drink DECL smoke cigarette
 ‘...he went again to drink alcohol (and to) smoke cigarettes...’ (Text 1.9b-c)

In (12) the relation is not overtly stated, the action in the consecutive clause may be immediately following or even simultaneous. Often the aspects of the verbs help to make the difference between simultaneity and chronological sequence as described in Chapter 6. Several consecutive clauses may follow one main clause as we can see in the following example (13).

- (13) ... tì ba bobe a nu'usi, Ø bobe a nāma, Ø tarì ě
 and they tie his hands tie his feet have him
 Ø ze'ele Kodivɔɔrɪ Ø le wa'am.
 come-from Ivory-Coast do-sth.-again come
 ... and they bound his hands, bound his feet, were taking him, came from
 Ivory Coast, brought him back. (Text 1.10b-f)

3.2.2 Subordination of a peripheral clause

Subordination of a peripheral clause, also called adverbial clause, used to establish textual connections (Longacre and Hwang, 2012, pp.7–8), means that a dependent clause is peripheral to a main clause; it is not just following the main clause (as the consecutive clause) nor part of the main clause (as the embedded clauses) but arranged in a relationship of subordination to it without being syntactically necessary. The subordinate clause is construed in the perspective of the main clause to give additional information about the same process or state of affairs as the one in the main clause. But as Longacre and Hwang state, ‘even if such expressions can be regarded as locally optional – when we are thinking only of clause structure, they are far from optional in terms of the context’ (2012, p.7).

I classified the structures of complex sentences following the increasing integration of the dependent clause into the main clause (see Table I). But even the combinations of a main clause and different peripheral clauses have different degrees of dependency. I will describe them according to their increasing integration between the clauses. In the first case (subordination with *n...lá* 3.2.2.1) the main clause could stand alone without the added subordinate clause, whereas in the last case (3.2.2.3) the subordinated conditional clause is semantically necessary to make sense of the main clause.

3.2.2.1 Subordination with *n... lá/ná*

The subordination marked with *n ... lá* shows something already established or generally known, an event that happened before, a reason for something and so on as in (14):

- (14) a) Saa **n** ni **lá**, b) ba sêŋe la da'am.
rain SUB rain SUB they to-go CPL-FOC market-LOC
‘Since/when it rained, they went to the market.’

The particle *lá* (or *ná* after a nasal) at the end of the subordination is in fact the same word as the definite article, thus presenting the content of the subordinate clause as something already known. The subordinate clause can be unspecified as in (14) or the relation can be specified by a postposition *poorum* ‘after’ (15) or *ĩyã* ‘because of’ (16), or preceded by *baa lá* ‘even though’ to introduce a concession as demonstrated later in 4.2 example (34) (p.42).

No new information is presented in a pre-nuclear subordinate clause; often it serves as a point of departure as in (15):

- (15) *Ēn yē laafē lá poorum, Yelwɔɔsɪ sɛ̃ɲe mɛ*
 he-SUB see health SUB after People-of-Guelwongo go DECL
ta tɔ̃gɛ Wɛ̃nnaam yetɔ̃ga bɔ ba.
 go-to tell God word give them
 ‘**After** he became healthy, people from Guelwongo went to preach God’s
 word to them.’ (Text 1.24)

A specified subordinate clause, however, may sometimes add information, but then it follows the main clause more as an afterthought, specifying or reminding the reader/hearer of the reason or concession after having stated the main content of the sentence as in example (16):

- (16) *Tɔ̃ma boorɪ tí tɪ ɛ̃ɲe la kibsa, tɪ kaarɛ̃nsãam-kɛka*
 we want that we do CPL-FOC celebration our pastor-old
Agulwõɲo n yetɪ a to'oge vo'osgo lá ĩyã.
 proper-name SUB is-going-to he receive rest SUB because
 ‘We want to do a celebration ceremony **because** our ancient pastor
 Agulwongo is going to retire. (Text 4)

But even in this example, the Ninkare discourse follows the chronological order: the retirement will be after the celebration.

3.2.2.2 Subordination with *tí* ‘in order to’

A purpose is expressed in a subordinate clause introduced by *tí* ‘in order to’. It states something that may or may not happen later and therefore always follows the main clause as in (17):

- (17) Pəgsɿ lá sɛ̃ŋɛ la da'am **tí** ba koose ba
women DEF go CPL-FOC market-LOC in-order-to they sell their
lɔ̃gɔɔ.
goods
‘The women went to the market **in order to** sell their goods.’

This only expresses the purpose for which the women went to the market, but it does not specify whether they really sold anything. If somebody wants to specify that they really did sell something, he would use a consecutive clause as in (18):

- (18) Pəgsɿ lá sɛ̃ŋɛ la da'am **Ø** ka koose ba lɔ̃gɔɔ.
women DEF go CPL-FOC market-LOC go-to sell their goods
‘The women went to the market to sell their goods.’

3.2.2.3 Subordinated conditional clause

A conditional clause precedes the main clause and is the subordinate peripheral clause most integrated with the main clause. In a conditional clause, the verb is preceded by the auxiliary verb *sǎn* ‘do if/when’. The condition can be in the realis mood, illustrated by (19), or in the irrealis mood marked with an irrealis particle as in (20).

- (19) Fu **sǎn** wě'era ẽ, a malɿ ɿta mɛ.
tu COND beat-IPFV him he do-more do-IPFV DECL
‘If you beat him, he will do it even more.’

- (20) Mam **sǎn** sɛ̃ŋɛ **nɿ** da'am, mam wun da **nɿ** si.
I COND go IRR market-LOC I FUT buy IRR millet
‘If I had gone to the market, I would have bought millet.’

Two conditional clauses may be combined by means of a coordinating conjunction as in (21):

- (21) ...là ba **sǎn** pu'vse Wěnnam **tì** Atia **sǎn** yě laafe,
 but they COND pray God and Atea COND see health
 bāma mẽ wun doose Wěnnam.
 they also FUT follow God
 ‘...but if they prayed to God **and** if Atea became healthy, they also would follow God.’
 (Text 1.22f-h)

3.2.3 Embedding

An embedded clause has a function within another clause, either ‘a complement clause ... functioning as an argument of another clause’ (Longacre and Hwang, 2012, p.96) or a relative clause that modifies the head of a noun phrase.

There are two kinds of embedded clauses in Ninkare, either subordinate clauses with the subordination markers *n ... lá/ná* or clauses introduced by the conjunction *tì* ‘that’ (complementiser or relativiser).

There may be several levels of embedding as in (22); the whole of clauses (22b-d) is the complement of the verbal expression *sose sorɔɔ* ‘ask permission’, (22c-d) is the complement of the verb *boori* ‘want’ and (22d) is a relative clause specifying the location where he wants to go:

- (22) a) Atia le sose sorɔɔ me b) **tí** ẽɲa boori c) **tí** a
 Atea do-again beg way DECL that he-EMPH want that he
 yese sɛɲɛ la Kodivɔɔri, d) zɛ'e-seka **tí** a daan boe mĩ na.
 leave go-to CPL-FOC Ivory-Coast place-that that he PAST be LOC DEF
 ‘Atea asked again for the way (permission) (stating) **that** he wanted **to** leave
 and go to Ivory Coast, to the place **where** he had been before.’

3.2.3.1 Complement clause

Ninkare discourse frequently uses complement clauses depending on the verbs of the main clause. They may be the complement of a speech verb (as in (22) ‘ask

permission') or of a will ('he wants that...'), a perception verb or a manipulation and so on. They are introduced with the complementiser *tí* 'that' as illustrated in (23) to (25).

(23) Là pasteer daan ka **sake** **tí** a sēŋe...
 but pastor PAST NEG accept that he go
 'Actually, the pastor did not **agree that** he went...' (Text 1.8a-b)

(24) A **bāŋe** me **tí** karēnsāama boe la yire.
 he know DECL that teacher be CPL-FOC home
 'He **knew that** the teacher was at home.'

(25) Bela **base** me **tí** Gurma lá sūure ēŋe yēlum.
 this cause DECL that people-of-Gueno DEF heart experience good
 'This **caused that** the people of Gueno were happy.' (Text 1.21)

3.2.3.2 Relative clause

Ninkare uses 'relative clauses in a restrictive manner' (Levinsohn, 2012, p.149) similar to Waama in Benin, as described by Pope, where 'descriptive (...non-restrictive) RC's are not natural' (1993, p.3) and can be misunderstood as distinguishing the head noun from other possibilities instead of adding more information concerning the head noun.

The structure depends on the role of the head noun in the relative clause; when it is the subject, it is followed by a subordinate clause with *n... lá* as in (26):

(26) Tì poka lá zoe bāŋe, sēŋe kēnkān-gi'ire **n** ze lá
 and woman DEF run know walk fig-tree-short SUB stand with
 bagne **lá...**
 Piliostigma SUB
 'And the woman understood quickly and went to the short fig tree that stood next to the Piliostigma tree ...' (Text 2.12a)

If, however, the subject of the relative clause is not the head noun, the relativiser *tí* ‘that’ introduces the relative clause and the subordination marker *lá* stands at the end of it as illustrated in (27):

- (27) ...pɔka lá yele la pesgo lá tí ẽɲa sɛɲɛ ta
 woman DEF say CPL-FOC sheep DEF that she walk go-to
 ε kɔɲɛ lá.
 look-for miss SUB
 ‘...the woman spoke about the sheep that she was going to get but didn't
 succeed.’ (Text 2.10b-d)

Normally a relative clause designates something definite and thus ends with the definite marker *lá* that is part of the marking for subordination. But this marker can only be present if what is mentioned really happened. If the relative clause refers to something that will happen in the future, it does not end with *lá* as illustrated in (28):

- (28) Zĩna tí tɪ wɔn bãɲɛ sɛka n tã'a a tadãana.
 today that we FUT know REL-PN SUB overcome his peer
 ‘Today we will know the one who is going to overcome his peer.’ (Text 11)

CHAPTER 4

DIFFERENT TYPES OF CONJOINERS IN NINKARE

In this chapter I will look at different types of conjoiners used to link clauses, sentences or paragraphs. They correspond more or less with what Levinsohn calls connectives. He modifies Reboul and Moeschler's (1998, p.77) definition of connectives as follows (Levinsohn, 2012, p.85):

A connective is a linguistic marker, drawn from a number of grammatical categories (co-ordinating conjunctions [e.g. but], subordinating conjunctions [since], adverbs [thus], adverbial expressions [after all]), which:

- a) links a linguistic or discourse unit of any size to its context
- b) gives instructions as to how to relate this unit to its context
- c) constrains conclusions to be drawn on the basis of this discourse connection that might not have been drawn had it been absent.

According to Levinsohn, 'connectives may include conjunctions..., referential connectives... and even... tail-head-linkage...' (2012, p.84). Longacre and Hwang call them sequence signals and include conjunctions, grammaticalized conjunctions, frozen composites that are phrasal in structure and others. They 'serve to contrast or connect sentences with each other within the paragraph, and paragraph with paragraph within larger recursive wholes' (2012, p.8).

Since the function of these conjoiners is defined as 'linking units of any size to the context', we can have the same conjoiners to coordinate higher or smaller units. On the other hand, subordinating conjoiners and subordination markers are only used to conjoin clauses to the main clause whereas whole subordinate clauses may serve as conjoiners for bigger units.

Following Levinsohn's definition, I will look at the different possible conjoining expressions that are used to link parts of the discourse together, to give

instructions about relating these parts to the previous context and to constrain possible interpretations.

In Ninkare the conjoining function is filled by a simple conjunction for coordination or subordination (4.1) or a compound conjoiner, a fixed combination of a conjunction with another element such as an auxiliary verb or subordination markers (4.2), or even more complex conjunctive expressions like small clauses often followed by a conjunction (4.3). Subordination markers with or without postposition (4.4), auxiliary verbs and adverbs (4.5) serve also as conjoiners.

Other conjoining elements are referential connectives including temporal, spatial and causal expressions (4.6). They comprise adverbial phrases and also back references by subordinate clauses, often referred to as tail-head linkage. (See also Longacre and Hwang 2012, p.7-8).

4.1 Simple conjunctions

As stated in 3.1.2, the most used simple conjunctions for coordination are *tì* ‘and, then’ and *là* ‘but, and’; with *tì* constraining the hearer/reader to see what follows as a new step in the same direction, as illustrated in example (10), and *là* constraining the hearer/reader to understand what follows as a new development of the story or a contrast as in (11) (both examples p.29). Further we have *bu* ‘or’, indicating an alternative as in (29):

- (29) Ba sēŋɛ la da’am, **bu** ba
 They went-PFV CPL-FOC market-LOC or they
 wē’erɪ la wara.
 produce-IPFV CPL-FOC bricks.
 ‘They went to the market **or** they are producing bricks.’

Another conjunction *tí* ‘in order to’ is used for subordination, indicating that what follows needs to be understood as a purpose or a wish (see 3.2.2.2), as

illustrated in example (17) (p. 34). *Tí* also serves to introduce a complement clause as in the examples (22)-(25) (p.35-36) or a relative clause as in (27) (p.37).

A summary of simple conjunctions in Ninkare is given in Table II:

là	but, and	a new development or a contrast	coordination of two independent clauses
tì	and, then	new step in the same direction	
bu	or	indicating an alternative	
tí	in order to	purpose or wish	joining of a dependent clause
tí	that	introducing complement and relative clauses	

Table II: Simple conjunctions

The conjunctions *ti* and *la* will be discussed more in detail in Chapter 5.

4.2 Compound conjoiners

In Ninkare several conjoiners comprise a fixed combination of a conjunction with another element, as we can see in Table III.

bela tò	thus, so	coordination of two independent clauses
dee tò	whereas, while	
bela òyã (tò)	that's why	
baa lá ...n... lá	in spite of	joining of a dependent clause
wu...n...se'em ná	like	
baa ... sãn	even if	

Table III: Compound conjoiners

There are conjoiners composed of two words as *bela tò* 'thus, so' and *dee tò* 'whereas, while' used to coordinate two independent clauses. The pronoun *bela* 'this' may be followed by *òyã* 'because of' to form *bela òyã* meaning 'that's why', optionally followed by the conjunction *tì* as in (30):

- (30) **Bela ãyã** (tì) a ka wa'am.
 that because (and) he NEG come
 'That's why he did not come.'

The combination of the auxiliary verb *dee* 'do also or afterwards' (see 4.5) with the conjunction *tì* is often used to indicate simultaneity (concurrency) of actions as in (31). It may include contrast to some extent, showing different actions or state of affairs of two different subjects.

- (31) Mam tunnt la kalam, **dee** **tì** kōma bōna ke
 I work-IPFV CPL-FOC here do-also and children be there
 de'ena.
 play-IPFV
 'I am working here, **whereas** the children are playing over there.'

The same construction, however, may be used to express something that happened afterwards as in (32):

- (32) A paage la yire, **dee** **tì** wēnne kē.
 he arrive-PFV CPL-FOC home do-afterwards and sun enter-PFV
 'He arrived home **before** the sun went down (sunset).'

The real meaning of *dee* comes from the semantic meaning of the verb (*dee* is derived from the verb *deege* 'remain, leave'), and the context shows what is left behind or remains while another thing happened or is happening. As *dee* comes before the conjunction, it is not behaving as a normal auxiliary verb any more, but the conjoining function is clearly shaped out of the meaning of its verbal root⁵.

Subordinate clauses are sometimes joined by combinations of a conjunction and subordination markers as *baa lá ...n ... lá* 'in spite of' in (33) or *wv... n... se'em ná* 'like, in the same way as' in (34).

⁵ The auxiliary verb *dee* is used together with *tì* as a compound conjoiner, however, I do not agree with Dakubu (1995, pp.49–51) that *gee/dee* itself is a conjunction.

- (33) **Baa lá** mam **n** bure zo'oge **lá**, si lá
 even with I SUB sow much SUB millet DEF
 ka wəm sōŋa.
 NEG produce well
 ‘**Even though** I sowed a lot, the millet has not produced well.’

- (34) A ēŋe **wu** a sɔ **n** ēŋe **se'em ná**.
 he do like his father SUB do like SUB
 ‘He behaves like his father.’

The conjunction *baa* can also be combined with the auxiliary verb *sān* ‘even if’ as in (35).

- (35) **Baa** poka lá **sān** wa'am, mam wun sēŋe la
 even woman DEF COND come-here I FUT go CPL-FOC
 da'am.
 market-LOC
 ‘**Even if** the woman comes here, I will go to the market.’

4.3 Conjunctive expressions

Several conjunctive expressions are composed of different elements, including a verb and are therefore not simple conjunctions. The most common of them are listed in Table IV:

conjunctive expression	literally	meaning
bela n soe tì	<i>‘this owns that’,</i>	<i>that’s why</i>
la de la bela ãyã tì	<i>‘it is because of this that’</i>	<i>that’s why</i>
se’ere n soe lá	<i>‘what owns’,</i>	<i>for</i>

Table IV: Conjunctive expressions

As Longacre and Hwang describe it for the Trique language, in Ninkare as well, such frozen composites are even ‘stronger sequence signals’ than ‘simple

conjunctions’ (2012, p.8). These expressions are short clauses joining a sentence to the preceding context or coordinating clauses.

They can be followed by the conjunction *tì* like the expression *bela n soe tù*, literally ‘this owns that’ meaning ‘that’s why’, as we see in (36), constraining the interpretation of the relationship between the two clauses as causal, and in (37), linking a conclusion to the preceding context.

- (36) **Bela n soe tù** mam leme.
 this SBJ-FOC own that I return
 ‘**That is why** I returned.’ (Text 5)

- (37) Ba wun yele me, tù ěṇa n sēnni Wēndeem lá,
 They FUT say DECL that he SUB going church-LOC SUB
bela n soe tù bōn-ēna ěṇe.
 that SBJ-FOC possess that thing-this happen
 ‘They will say that because he is going to church,
that is why this thing happened.’ (Text 6)

In example (38) the conjunctive expression joins a conclusion to the preceding paragraph:

- (38) **La de la bela ĩyǎ tù** ninkārsı yetı: Palēṇa
 it be CPL-FOC that because that Ninkarse say-that emotion
 ěkre kuvu la nēra.
 jump kill CPL-FOC person
 ‘**It is because of this that** the Ninkarse say: “(Too much) emotion kills
 a person”.’ (Text 7)

Different conjunctive expressions may have more or less synonymous forms as we see in the examples (36) and (38), where two different literal forms have similar meaning.

A short subordinate clause like *se’ere n soe lá*, glossed as ‘what SUB own SUB’ meaning ‘for’ or ‘the reason I said this is the following’ coordinates two main clauses, insisting on the reason for what precedes as in (39):

- (39) Mui wɔm sɔŋa mɛ, **se'ere n soe lá** saa ni
 rice yield well DECL what SUB own SUB rain rain
 zo'ogɛ mɛ.
 much DECL
 'The rice has done well, **because** there was a lot of rain.'

4.4 Subordination markers and postpositions

The subordination markers *n...lá* instruct the hearer to understand the information as subordinated to the main clause as described in 3.2.2.1, illustrated in (14) (p.32).

The subordinate clause may end with a postposition constraining the hearer in the interpretation of the semantic relationship between the two clauses. These postpositions are derived from nouns like *ĩyã* 'body' meaning 'because of' or *poorvm*, derived from *poore* 'back', meaning 'after' as used in the examples (16) and (15) (both p.33).

4.5 Auxiliary verbs and adverbs

I will treat auxiliary verbs and adverbs⁶ as conjoiners when they serve as a signal to indicate the relation between the act they specify and the context. They guide the hearer in the interpretation of this relation.

The most common auxiliary verbs in this function are: *po* 'do also', *tõn* 'rather do', *yɔɔlum* 'do in spite of', *dẽŋɛ* 'do before', *yorge* 'do later and in absence of', *dee* 'do also or afterwards'.

The auxiliary verb *po* 'do also' shows how the clause or sentence needs to be linked to the context: it is additive and constrains the hearer to look for a parallelism in the predicate of the conjoined clause with the preceding one. The hearer will relate it to what the person in the previous clause had done as in (40):

⁶ For the formal difference between auxiliary verbs and adverbs see <http://www.kassena-ninkarse.org/data/documents/LivresDescriptifsNinkare/1.1.6.NinkareGrammaireComp.pdf> p.100.

- (40) Pɔka lá peeri la futo, tì a bia **po**
 woman DEF wash-IPFV CPL-FOC cloths and her child also do
 pɛɛra.
 wash-IPFV
 ‘The woman washes cloths, **and** her child is washing also.’

The auxiliary verb *tôn* ‘rather do’ shows that the action is done instead of another one already mentioned or understood from the context, as illustrated in (41):

- (41) Bia lá ka boori tí a sɛ̃ɛ karɛ̃ndeem, a **tôn** boɔra
 child DEF NEG want that he go school-LOC he rather-do want
 la de'eŋo.
 CPL-FOC playing
 ‘The child does not want to go to school, he rather wants to play.’

Counter expectation may be expressed by *yɔɔlum* ‘do in spite of’ as in example (42):

- (42) Da kã base tí karɛ̃nbiisi **dɛ̃ɛ** fɔ ka zɛ̃, tì
 PROH FUT NEG let that children do-before you go-to sit and
 fɔ **yãŋa** **yɔɔlum** wa'am.
 you subsequently do-in-spite-of come
 ‘Don’t let the children (arrive) before you and be seated, and then you
 show up only later.’ (Text 8)

In this example, taken from an exhortation for teachers, the hearer is guided by the auxiliary verb *yɔɔlum* to understand that the pupils could think that the teacher would perhaps not come at all, so his late arrival is against their expectation. This example also shows how auxiliary verbs (*dɛ̃ɛ* ‘do before’ and *yɔɔlum* ‘do in spite of’) may be combined with a conjunction (*tì* ‘and’) and an adverb (*yãŋa* ‘subsequently’).

Auxiliary verbs like *děŋɛ* ‘do before’ (example (43)) or *yorge* ‘do after and in absence of’ (44) set a statement in a temporal context in relation to another statement.

- (43) Něba lá **děŋɛ** kɔ me, **dee** bure.
 people DEF do-before farm DECL do-afterwards sow
 ‘People first farm and then they sow.’

- (44) Azuure sěŋɛ la da'am, **dee** tì saana
 pers.-name go CPL-FOC market-LOC do-afterwards and visitor
yorge sěŋɛ a yire.
 do-after-and-in-absence-of go his house
 ‘Azuure went to the market, and afterwards a visitor came to his house.’

Although *yorge* shows that the visitors came after Azuure left, it is still combined with the compound conjoiner *dee tì* to insist on this. The auxiliary verb *yorge*, however, specifies the fact that the stranger came to Azuure’s home while he was not there.

The auxiliary verb *dee* ‘do also or afterwards’ is a special case. It functions as part of a compound conjoiner as shown in 4.2, illustrated in the examples (31) and (32) (p.41) and in (44) above. It is often used in combination with other conjoiners. The consecutive clause may begin with *dee* as in (43) above.

Adverbs used in a conjoining function to link a sentence to the previous context are *yāŋa* ‘subsequently’ as in (45), *yí* ‘therefore’ (46), *mě* ‘also’ (47) and *nōo* ‘contrarily’ (48).

- (45) Pɔka lá peeŋɛ la futo ba'ase. A **yāŋa**
 woman DEF wash-PFV CPL-FOC cloths finish she subsequently
 dɔgrɪ la dia.
 cook-IPFV CPL-FOC food
 ‘The woman washed the cloths, now she is cooking food.’

(46) **Yi** wa'am, ti sēŋe.
 therefore come we go
 ‘Therefore come, let us go.’

(47) Tì a sura lá **mě** bāŋe...
 and her husband DEF also know
 ‘And her husband also knew ...’ (Text 2.10a)

(48) Atāŋa sēŋe la va'am. Mam **nõo**
 pers.-name go-PFV CPL-FOC farm-LOC I contrarily
 we la da'am.
 go-IPFV CPL-FOC market-LOC
 ‘Atanga went to the farm. I, on the other hand, am going to the market.’

The adverb in (47) constrains a parallel processing: the hearer needs to understand that the wife made the husband know what she already knew. In the last example (48) the adverb shows that there is a contrast between what the speaker did compared to what another person did.

4.6 Referential connectives

Pre-nuclear subordinate clauses that make reference to the previous context and other referential connectives are used to link a new unit to the preceding one and are often combined with the development marker *là*. They include adverbial phrases as situational points of departure (Levinsohn 2012, pp.40ff). The causal conjunctive expressions described in 4.3 are also referential connectives making ‘pronominal reference of the preceding context’ (Dooley, 1986, p.45).

An example of a temporal adverbial phrase *bela poorum* ‘after that’ is used as referential connective in example (4) (p.23), a spatial referential connective is employed in (49):

- (49) Ba daan sēŋe la Yelwɔŋɔ. **Zē'e-ēŋa** tì ba yāŋa
 They PAST go CPL-FOC Guelwongo place-this that they then
 pɔse ba tōoma.
 begin their work
 'They went to the Guelwongo. At this place they then began their work.'

The referential connective in (49) links the sentence to the previous one.

To start a new paragraph, such a connective is combined with a subordinate clause and often preceded by the development marker *lā*. In Ninkare a new episode frequently starts by repeating in a subordinate clause what was already said, as we can see in the chart of the real life story in Appendix 4. This restating of previously given information is referred to as tail-head linkage. According to Levinsohn (2012, p.46), it repeats the verb and usually the subject of the previous sentence as it does in the Ninkare example (50).

- (50) Tì **Atia** le **kule**.
 and Atea do-again go-home
 'And **Atea returned** home again.'

Là ēn **kule** ka bɔna Guŋɔ **lā** ...
 and he-SUB go-home go-to be Gueno SUB
 'And when **he returned** home and was in Gueno...' (Text 1.12-13)

In Ninkare, however, it may sometimes be a different verb referring to the same event or stating the result of the previous verb as in example (51), where in the previous sentence it was said that he **went** to dance, and then it continues:

- (51) Là ēŋa n **boe** yɔŋɔ lá zē'a ná...
 and he-EMPH SUB be dance DEF place SUB
 'But when he **was** at the dancing place...' (Text 2.6a)

Subordinated conditional clauses (3.2.2.3) may also be used as tail-head linkage as illustrated in the next two examples. In (52) the previous sentence said: 'Usually the man went to steal a sheep or a goat', followed by:

- (52) **A sǎn zǔ kɪ'ɬom,** a wě ẽ ku mɛ...
 he COND steal finish he hit it kill DECL
 'If/when he had stolen, he hit it and killed (it)....' (Text 2.3a-b)

Example (53) is joined to the preceding context by the anaphoric demonstrative *bɛla* 'this'. The adverb *yǎŋa* 'subsequently' in the second clause specifies the temporal relation.

- (53) Fv **sǎn yele bɛla,** yidāana lá **yǎŋa** bɔ fɔ
 you COND say this house-owner DEF subsequently give you
 la sore tí fv kule.
 CPL-FOC way that you return-home
 'If you say this, the owner of the house will then give you permission to go home.' (Text 9)

In Ninkare, development markers, adverbial phrases, different types of subordinate clauses, anaphoric demonstratives and adverbs work together to form referential connectives.

CHAPTER 5

THE MOST USED CONJOINERS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

This chapter discusses the most used conjoiners in Ninkare: the conjunctions *tì* and *là* that serve for coordination and *tí* and *lá* that serve for subordination.

They function on the discourse level, contributing to the progression of the narrative or constraining a developmental interpretation. Used for coordination they have an additive or an adversative meaning. With high tone, they have a subordinating function. All these different uses can be traced back to the underlying basic functions going back to the semantic roots of them.

In their coordinating function these two conjoiners serve on different levels as stated in Chapter 2. In Ninkare narrative texts, nearly 90% of the main clauses start with one of these coordinating conjunctions, *tì* or *là*, showing a step in the narrative. A clause that is just going in the same direction without any discontinuity, however, would often be a dependent clause, either a consecutive clause (no discontinuity of the subject) or a subordinate clause stating something already known or accessible from the context.

These conjunctions are mostly used to join sentences or paragraphs to the preceding text, moving the story forward or to coordinate two or more main clauses into a larger sentence. I also mentioned an example where coordination with *tì* takes place between two subordinate clauses in (21) in 3.2.2.3 (p. 35).

In their subordinating function, *tí* is used as a conjunction to join dependent purpose clauses to a main clause or to embed a complement or a relative clause; *lá*

serves as a subordination marker at the end of peripheral subordinate clauses and of relative clauses, determining the fact the clause is talking about.

As already stated, *ti* and *la* occur with different tones: high tone for subordination and low tone for coordination of clauses. I argue that the different uses of *ti* can be traced back to one and the same morpheme *tí*, and that the different uses of *la* for conjoining go back to two (homophonous) morphemes *lá* (see Table V on page 57). There is a significant tonal change involved in their use as conjoiners for coordination. In the tone analysis of these particles, we can see a clear-cut difference between the conjunctions for coordination of clauses which always take a low tone, and the other uses, where the tone is more difficult to define.

Dakubu for example (1995, p.61) writes the tone on *ti* in one relative clause (in her example 37) as a low tone and in another relative clause (in her last example of 38) as a high tone, adding: 'It is not clear whether the tone variation is conditioned phonologically or grammatically. ...It is not clear ..., why *ti* should have Low tone in 37 but High in the last example in 38'.

In my analysis, *tí* in a relative clause is always 'not low tone', but as the tone level is not constant within the discourse, mostly because of downdrift, it is not heard as a clear pronounced high tone either. The same is true for *tí* in a complement clause. *Tí* in a purpose clause is clearly perceived as being allocated with high tone.

The coordinating conjunction and development marker *là* always has a low tone, whereas *lá* in the different uses for subordination carries a high tone.

5.1 The different uses of the conjoiners *tì* and *tí*

As I have shown above (in Chapter 2 and in 3.1.2), the conjunction *tì* ‘and, then’ joins a sentence to what has been said just before it. It is the default conjoiner in a narrative where events are related in chronological order. It shows either a temporal or a logical sequence, and normally a change of subject (mostly the other main participant) as can be seen easily in example (5) in 2.2 (p.23).

It has quite a general clause linking function, telling the hearer/reader to consider the information as an addition to the previous text, moving the story forward in the expected way. This can be at the beginning of a sentence (as in example (1) in 2.1 p.20) or between two coordinated main clauses with a little pause before the conjunction (as in example (10) in 3.1.2 p.29). It may or may not be added after a referential connective or a subordinate clause serving as a conjoiner as in (54).

- (54) Pɔka lá n yě bela lá, (**tì**) a tɔkɛ a pɪ'ɔ lá...
woman DEF SUB see this SUB and she unload her basket DEF
‘When the woman saw this, (then) she took down her basket...’ (Text 3)

Sometimes *tì* cannot be translated as ‘and then’ but rather as ‘in fact, after all’; it seems to be a causal explanation or justification why people did or should do something as illustrated in example (55) and in example (56) in clause d).

- (55) Da sã'ana lalga lá, **tì** la ka ãn sɔŋa.
PROH destroy wall DEF in-fact it NEG be good
‘Do not destroy the wall, **in fact** that is not good.’

- (56) ... b) Gurma wa sose tí ba wa'am bilam
 people-of-Gueno come-to beg that they come over-there
 c) wu tɔge Wēnnaam yetoga, d) **tì** bāma boori la
 come-to tell God word in-fact they want CPL-FOC
 Wēndeo.
 church
 ‘...the people of Gueno came asking that they come and preach there; **in**
 fact they wanted a church.’ (Text 1.26)

As *tì* is a default connector and shows what follows logically, it can introduce a logical afterthought, a statement of grounds as an expected explanation of what was said, meaning ‘in fact’, ‘obviously that is the reason behind’. The basic function is a logical sequence; it is a support for the previous statement, an additive confirming a previous statement or assumption (Levinsohn, 2012, p. 89).

In this case we can see *tì* as inferential conjunction, similar to ‘after all’ in Blass (1990b, pp.10ff). Even if, in certain contexts, *tì* may introduce the reason for the previous statement, it is not a conjoiner showing a causal relationship, but it instructs the hearer/reader to establish a relationship between these two clauses, pointing in the direction that what is coming is what can be expected and confirms the previous statement.

The subordinating conjunction *tí* ‘in order to’, in contrast, joins a purpose clause to the previous clause. This conjunction carries a high tone and joins the clause to the preceding one without any break before the conjunction, described in 3.2.2.2. It shows the expected consequence of what is said in the main clause, the purpose or aim of it.

The complementiser *tí* ‘that’ joins a complement clause to the main clause; the relativiser *tí* is used to introduce a relative clause when the noun it modifies is the object of the relative clause as described in 3.3.

5.2 The underlying function of the conjoiners *tí* and *tí*

All of the above described functions can be traced back to one function on the lexical level, designated as a focus particle in the Gurene dictionary (Dakubu et al., 2007, p.167). It follows a preposed object/complement pointing to what comes as information about this. In the context preceding example (57), the speaker was talking about sowing. Then the object 'millet' is introduced and thus the hearer expects that this millet was sown.

- (57) Si **tí** ba buta.
 millet that they sow
 '(It was) millet **that** they sowed.'

This focus marker *tí* means that information about the noun in focus is expected to follow. It establishes the relationship between the preceding element it refers to and what follows. Thus the basic meaning can be seen as adding information to what we are already talking about. This basic meaning of pointing to what follows as a step further in the same expected direction can be discovered in all its uses (see Table VI in Appendix 2).

In example (57) *tí* points to the preposed object 'millet', adding expected information about this object. The same *tí* (high tone) is used in embedded and subordinate clauses. It introduces a relative clause when the preceding noun it modifies is the object of the relative clause, adding information concerning this object. It is also used as a complementiser introducing the content of the verb it follows. In a purpose clause it gives information about the clause it follows: the purpose or aim and thus the expected outcome of it.

The conjunction *tí* (with low tone) used for coordination has the same fundamental meaning: it shows that what comes is a further step in the same direction. The following example (58) is a good illustration of this basic meaning.

Grammatically it is a coordinated clause, but semantically it is the explanation of what is meant by ‘was not healthy’: it was his ear that had a serious problem.

- (58) Là poka ayēma bia n mē n daan ka tarı
 and woman other child SBJ-FOC also SBJ-FOC PAST NEG have
 laafe, tı a tubre wāna di vūje.
 health and his ear DEM burn pierce
 ‘And the child of another woman was also not healthy; his ear was burnt
 and pierced.’ (Text 1.28)

5.3 The uses of *lā* and *lá* for conjoining

The conjunction *lā* ‘and, but, on the contrary, and then’ used at the beginning of a unit indicates a new development in the story or argument. It shows an unexpected turn of events, it often marks a contrast if the context offers one. When no contrast is present, it is continuative but marks an important step in the development of the discourse. In a narrative, this development marker is used to point forward in the plot: there is something important coming up.

This can be at the beginning of a paragraph or a sentence. At the beginning of a new paragraph this development marker *lā* is often combined with a tail-head linkage as seen in the examples (2) (p.21) and (51) (p.48). When it stands at the beginning of a sentence but is not used as a development marker, it is followed by a short pause in speaking or a comma in written form. Thus it shows a sharp contrast as in the following example (59), where the woman tried to get hold of the nightjar, but contrary to expectation it managed to escape.

- (59) **Lā**, laaluja lá pable me paage nējam...
 but nightjar DEF flap-wings DECL arrive ahead
 ‘**But**, the nightjar flapped its wings and arrived ahead of her...’ (Text 3)

Between two coordinated clauses *lā* is used as an adversative as in example (11) (p.29).

The subordination marker *lá* as part of a conjoiner is used in combination with *n...* in subordinate clauses as shown in 3.2.2.1, either in a non-specified subordinate clause as in (14) (p.32) or a subordinate clause followed by a postposition before or after the main clause in (15) and (16) (both p.33). It is also used in relative clauses, combined with *n...* when the head noun is the subject of the relative clause (26) (p.36) and combined with *tí* where the head noun is a complement of the relative clause (27) (p.37).

In Dakubu's paper 'The particle *la* in Gurene' (2000, pp.62–65), she describes this use of *la* as 'contextualization of clauses'. She states that this takes place only in multi-clause sentences and translates her examples as temporal subordinate clauses, adding that (in spite of her translation) in Gurene these clauses are not temporal. She does not explain the coincidence of the occurrence together with the subject focus *n* and leaves the interpretation open, she does not explain that it is in fact a subordinate clause but states that this 'may well turn out to be the most interesting part of the grammar'.

5.4 The underlying functions of *là* and *lá*

In the Gurene dictionary (Dakubu et al., 2007, p.91), there are four different entries for *la*, but the conjunction for coordination and the development marker are not mentioned at all. I agree, however, with their interpretation of four distinct words (see Table VII in Appendix 2). Two of them, the gender-neutral third person singular pronoun and the complement focus particle that occurs directly after a verb are not within the scope of this dissertation.

The two other words are the semantic roots to which all the uses of *la* for conjoining can be traced back, as illustrated in Table V.

Basic word	use for conjoining	underlying meaning
<i>lá</i> ⁷ and, with	<i>lá</i> - joins two elements in a noun phrase or a noun phrase to a predicate	addition of something different (sometimes adversative)
	<i>là</i> - adversative used to coordinate two main clauses to form a complex sentence - joins a sentence to the previous context - used as development marker joining a paragraph to the previous context	
<i>lá</i> the, that one	... <i>lá</i> - end of subordination or embedding of something already known	definiteness

Table V: Semantic roots of *la* used for conjoining

One of these words, most often glossed ‘and’ or ‘with’, is one single entry in the dictionary (Dakubu et al., 2007, p.91), but identified as two different grammatical categories: conjunction and preposition. It shows an addition of something different, it adds new information and is used as a nominal phrase conjunction as in the title of Text 3 (60).

- (60) Laaluja **lá** Akakute yelle
Nightjar and Mr-Turtle story
‘The story of the Nightjar **and** the Turtle’

The same *lá* is used to join a noun phrase to the predicate, an instrument used for the described action, as ‘washed with soap’ in the dictionary, or it may be used as in (61):

- (61) ...kěnkăn-gi'ire lá n ze **lá** bagné.
Piliostigma-tree DEF SUB stand with kind-of-tree
‘...the short fig tree standing with/beside the Piliostigma tree.’ (Text 2.11e)

This conjoiner points to something different. It is used to join two nouns in a noun phrase, it can be translated as ‘and’ (something else from the same category ‘a

⁷ I do not agree with the low tone marking in Dakubu et al. (2007, p.91), but with Rapp’s tone marking (1966, p.190)

man and a woman') or 'with' (mostly another category 'a woman with her child'). The development marker and coordinating conjunction *lâ* can easily be traced back to this basic meaning, although with a change to low tone, parallel to *tî* that carries low tone for coordination but high tone for the other uses.

The meaning of the other root is related to definiteness, used as definite article (definite nominal phrase marker (Dakubu, 2000, p.3)) as in (62), where 'the man' refers to the main person introduced in the previous sentence.

- (62) ...buraa **lâ...**
 man-(male) DEF
 '...the man...' (Text 2.2)

Used as a definite article, it refers to what is already known. This determinative meaning is also found in the use of *lâ* for subordination, it always follows something already mentioned or at least present in the mind of the speaker and supposed to be known by the hearers. As we saw concerning the relative clause (in 3.2.3.2.), it only ends with this subordination marker *lâ* when it designates something definite; a relative clause with a future tense does not end with *lâ* (example (28) p.37).

Thus, as shown in Table V (p.57), the different uses of *lâ* in subordinate structures can be traced back to the definite article, whereas the uses of the conjoiner *lâ* in independent clauses are traced back to *lâ* 'and, with'; however, there is a change of tone from the basic word to its use for coordination of clauses, as it is the case for the conjunction *ti*.

CHAPTER 6

SEMANTIC RELATIONS

Clauses are combined to form sentences and paragraphs of several sentences. Different relations between clauses and sentences are important in the logical and temporal development of discourse.

According to Relevance Theory (Wilson and Sperber, 2002), the hearer processes what is said in its context to arrive at a satisfying interpretation. If the speaker is not sure that the hearer will choose the appropriate contextual assumptions or thinks it would require too much effort to arrive at the appropriate conclusions, he will use different ways to direct the hearer to the intended conclusions.

On the one hand different structures may be used to express the same semantic relation; on the other hand, as we have seen in the cases of *la* and *ti* in Chapter 5, the same conjoiner can indicate different relationships and may even have two functions at the same time. This is concordant with Dooley and Levinsohn's insight:

Connectives may signal very specific semantic relations... Often, however, they only provide a general semantic pointer to the relation, leaving the hearer to deduce a more specific relation with the help of the context (1999, p.46).

Therefore we will change our viewpoint and look at the semantic relations: how may a specific relationship be expressed in Ninkare? The speaker may leave it implicit, supposing that the hearer knows enough of the context to draw the right

conclusions himself, or he may choose to direct the hearer to the intended implications with the help of some sort of conjoining element.

Culture and the whole way in which people think are very much related to their language. So in analysing naturally-occurring language data, we will discover the language specific way of thinking and will come up with a corresponding inventory of relations. On the other hand, every language can express all that human beings are capable of thinking and reasoning. There are notional relations but expressed in different ways, leading to different classifications.

As Halliday and Hasan state (1976, p.238):

There is no single, uniquely correct inventory of the types of conjunctive relation; different classifications are possible, each of which would highlight different aspects of the facts.

In their study of English discourse, they arrive at four main categories: additive, adversative, causal and temporal (1976, pp.242–43). As a basis, I will follow their four categories which correspond partly with Longacre and Hwang's basic relations: conjoining, alternation, implication and temporal (2012, pp.117–119). Their first categories differ insofar as Longacre and Hwang's conjoining includes contrast/adversative, whereas Halliday and Hasan's additive includes alternation.

In Ninkare, we find very different ways of expressing these relations, depending on the nuances of the relationship; but different means are also used to convey the same relation in different contexts.

To treat all the possible semantic relations is much beyond the scope of this dissertation. This chapter will give a rough overview and demonstrate at the same time that there is no one-to-one correspondence of the different formal aspects described in the previous chapters and the semantic relationships.

6.1 Additive relations

An additive relation means that you add the information to what has gone before. The notion additive may be used, however, by different authors with very different meanings. Additives 'guide or constrain the hearer or reader to add what follows to corresponding material in the context... they are used in significantly different ways in different languages' (Levinsohn, 2012, p.86) but also in the same language there are

varied pragmatic effects that one and the same additive may convey in different contexts, including occasions when the material that is added confirms a previous statement or assumption (Levinsohn, 2012, p.87).

They may 'encourage a search for parallelism' (Blass, 1990a, p.145) or they may be what others call associatives, instructing the hearer to associate the chunks together finding for himself a 'plausible interpretation' (Dooley and Levinsohn, 1999, p.46).

Halliday and Hasan include positive and negative, alternative, comparison and other related relations in the category of additives, whereas Longacre and Hwang include contrast in conjoining and have alternation as a separate category.

Additive may also mean additive in time or sequence, which will be treated under temporal relations in a distinct section following the above mentioned categories, even though in Ninkare a conjoiner may sometimes have the two functions, additive and temporal, at the same time.

In Ninkare the additive relation may be understood in juxtaposed or chained clauses, or expressed by means of a conjoiner in a coordinated or subordinated structure.

(63) ...a zolgo lá yese **dee** base ã.
his madness DEF come-out do-also leave him
'... his madness came out **and** left him.'
(Text 1.11c-d)

(64) a) **Ti** a kē pasteer yire paa wōrsti stã, ...
and he enter pastor house continuously months three
And he lived in the pastor's house for three months ... (Text 1.6a)

(65) Buraa n de nayiga di a pɔga, tì a **mě** dena
man-(male) SBJ-FOC be thief marry his wife and she also be
nayiga.
thief
'A man who was a thief married his wife **and** she was **also** a thief.'
(Text 2.1)

62

(66) a) Buraa ayɪla yu'vɾe n daan de Atia, b) Ø a daan ka
 man one name SBJ-FOC PAST be Atea he PAST NEG
 tarɪ laafɛ. c) **Là** a ze'ele lá Guɾɔ, d) **là** a daan
 have health and he be-from CPL-FOC Gueno and he PAST
 zallɪ mɛ, e) Ø a ka mi a mɛɲa n boe.
 be-mad DECL he NEG know he himself SBJ-FOC exist
 'The name of a man was Atea, he was not in good health. **And** he came
 from Gueno **and** he was mad, he didn't know about his own existence.'

(Text 1.2-3)

In this example at the beginning of the story, one would expect that the different characteristics of the introduced participant would be related in juxtaposed or chained clauses, but the chain is interrupted and the origin of the man and his illness are each introduced by a main clause starting with *là* (clauses c and d in (66)). Here *là* is not a development marker (see pp.20 and 55), indicating a turn in the story, but it shows that the two added parts of information are the two important premises for the aim of the story. The preceding and the following clauses containing less prominent information are joined by juxtaposition.

The difference in the use of *là* and *tì* as additives can be explained by Relevance Theory: an information added by *là* is 'relevant in its own right' (Blass, 1990a, 256–57), whereas the conjunction *tì* strengthens the previous utterances⁸. This helps us to understand why *tì* may sometimes be translated as 'in fact' as in example (56) (p.53), where it confirms the previous statement.

Alternation may be seen as a subcategory of an additive relation. Alternation between clauses in Ninkare is expressed by coordinated clauses with the conjunction *bu* 'or' as shown in example (29) in 4.1 (p.39).

Also similarity is understood as an additive relation (Halliday and Hasan, 1976, p.59); in Ninkare a similar event or state of affairs is expressed in a subordinate

⁸ Similar to the case of *kan* and *kin* in Tyap (Follingstad, 1994, pp.151-168).

clause with a compound conjoiner *wv... n... se'em ná* 'like, in the same way as', as discussed in 4.2 example (34) (p.42).

6.2 Adversative relations

Longacre and Hwang (2012, p.117) place contrast, an adversative relation, in the category of conjoining. In fact in Ninkare the same conjunction *lâ*, used to add something different or more important, is also used to express a contrast or an adversative relation as in example (11) (p.29), where the contrast is between the two predicates: 'to want something' is in contrast to 'to have no money to buy it'. An adversative relation between a positive and a negative statement is understood without conjoiner as in the juxtaposed example (7) (p.28).

An adversative sentence where a different subject does something different may be linked with the adverb *nõo* 'contrarily' as in example (48) (p.47), or with *dee* *tì* 'do also/and by another subject' as in (67). This is understood as an adversative relation, though it also has a temporal component (simultaneity).

- (67) Bõnsela ke la mõi puam sũge, ' ' ' tì kãmponne
 snake enter CPL-FOC bush in hide do-also and toad
 weege gã.
 stay be-flat
 'The snake entered the bush, whereas the toad stayed there flat.' (Text 7)

Halliday and Hassan (1976, p.250) consider 'contrary to expectation' as the basic meaning of the notion adversative. In Ninkare counter-expectation is expressed with *lâ*, followed by a short pause as in (59) (p.55). If the subject remains the same, the clause may be chained with *dee* followed by a negative predicate as in (68) where it is understood that the person expected to gain money.

(68) Mam n daan yuuge ' ' ' ' ' yě ligri lá,
I SBJ-FOC PAST stay-a-long-time do-also NEG gain money SUB
m leme m so yire.
I return my father house
'As I stayed there for a long time **but didn't** gain money, I returned home.'
(Text 5)

Adversative relations may also be expressed using auxiliary verbs like *tōn* ‘rather do’ as in example (41) or *ycolum* ‘do in spite of something’ (42) (both examples p.45).

A concession is normally expressed by a subordinate clause with *baa lá* ‘even if’ as in example (33) (p.42).

6.3 Causal relations

According to different classifications, various relations may be included in causal relations. For our purposes we look at reason-result, consequence, cause-effect, condition and purpose. In Ninkare there is a whole range of means to express these relations.

A simple causal relation (result-reason) may be left implicit, expressed in a juxtaposed sentence following the sentence for which it states the reason as described in 3.1.1, illustrated in example (6) (p.28) and also in (69):

(69) Mam kēendōma mā'a yelle n daan tɔi.
my older-brothers only case SBJ-FOC PAST be-difficult
Ø Mam kēendōma n daan ka sakri.
my older-brothers SBJ-FOC PAST NEG accept
‘Only my older brothers caused me problems. My older brothers didn’t
accept (my conversion).’ (Text 6)

In this case the hearer himself will deduce the causal relation.

If the speaker wants to constrain the hearer to understand the following main clause as the reason for the previous one, he may join the clauses by means of a

short subordinate clause to introduce it as reason for the preceding statement, illustrated in example (39) (p.44) and in the elicited example (70):

- (70) Mam kēendōma mā'a yelle n daan tɔɪ, **se'ere**
 my older-brothers only case SBJ-FOC PAST be-difficult what
n soe lá, mam kēendōma n daan ka sakri.
 SUB own SUB my older-brothers SBJ-FOC PAST NEG accept
 'Only my older brothers caused me problems, **the reason of it being that** my
 older brothers didn't accept (my conversion).'

The reason for a preceding statement may also be added in a subordinate clause followed by a postposition; in this case, as described in 3.2.2.1, specifying or reminding the hearer of the reason after having stated the main content of the sentence, as in (16) (p.33) and in the following example (71):

- (71) Mam yīm me, mam **n** kãblɪ **lá** ãyã.
 I forgot DECL I SUB be-in-a-hurry SUB because
 'I forgot **because** I am in a hurry'.

But normally, following the chronological order, the causal statement precedes the consequence or result. The relation is expressed by means of a compound conjoiner such as 'because of this' as described in 4.2, or conjunctive expressions such as 'that's why', 'it's because of this', as described in 4.3. This may be done in a new sentence as in examples (30) (p.41), (36) and (38) (p.43), or in coordinated main clauses as in (37) (also p.43) and in the following example (72):

- (72) Tōma boorɪ tí tɪ ẽŋe la kibsa, **bela** n **soe**
 we want that we do CPL-FOC celebration that SBJ-FOC possess
tɪ tɪ da bõn-bãna wuu.
 and we buy things-these all
 'We want to have a celebration, **that's why** we bought all these things.'

If the causal event or state of affairs is already known and restated as a reason for something that follows, a subordinate clause with *n... la*, described in 3.2.2 is

used; either unspecified as in example (14) (p.32) or by adding the postposition *ĩyã* ‘because of’, often followed by *tì* as in (73).

- (73) (...) *ẽṇa n de yidãana lá ĩyã, tì dabeem*
 he-EMPH SUB be householder SUB because (that) fear
 tara ẽṇa.
 have him-EMPH
 ‘(He said that) **as** he was the householder, he was afraid.’ (Text 6)

To show the effect of something, a causal verb such as *base* ‘to cause, allow’ may be used as in example (25) (p.36) and in the following examples (74-76):

- (74) *Saaga base tí ba ka wa'am.*
 rain cause that they NEG come
 ‘The rain caused that they did not come.’
- (75) *Saaga n ni lá base tí ba ka wa'am.*
 rain SUB rain SUB cause that they NEG come
 ‘(The fact that) it rained caused that they did not come.’
- (76) *Saaga ni zo'oge me, base tí ba ka wa'am.*
 rain rain be-a-lot DECL cause that they NEG come
 ‘It rained a lot, (which) caused that they did not come.’

The cause may be expressed in a noun phrase as in (74), in a subordinate clause (75) or in a main clause (76); the effect is expressed by the complement of the verb.

Halliday and Hasan (1976, p.258) also place the conditional type of relation in this category stating that ‘where the causal means ‘*a* therefore *b*’ the conditional means ‘possibly *a*; if so, then *b*’.’ This is illustrated in example (77):

- (77) *Saaga sãn ni, ba kãn ta'age wa'am.*
 rain COND rain they NEG-FUT be-able come
 ‘If it rains, they will not be able to come.’

As stated in 3.2.2.2, a purpose, which is also considered as a causal relation, is expressed in a subordinate clause introduced by *tí* ‘in order to’, illustrated in (17) (p.34) and in example (78):

- (78) ... poka lá sēŋε **tí** a ε pesgo lá...
 woman DEF go in-order-to she get sheep DEF
 ‘.. the wife went in order to search for the sheep...’

(Text 2.6b-c)

This form differs from the causal relation where the result was achieved; the subordinated purpose clause only states the intention, the purpose in the mind of the person who did something, without specifying the outcome.

6.4 Temporal relations

As discussed in the previous chapters (see 3.2. p.29ff, 6.3. p.66), the basic characteristic of chronological ordering of a text is quite strong in Ninkare. Exceptions are very rare, which is a challenge when translating from other languages that allow more deviations from chronological sequence. Thus, succession in time is expressed by successive clauses and sentences. But a temporal relation may be more specific than a mere succession in time: the second event may happen immediately afterwards or after some lapse of time, or the action may be repetitive. If exceptionally, something has to be told that happened earlier, special means are required. However, events do not always happen in a sequence one after the other, there may be some temporal overlap.

In Ninkare a simple sequence in time without change of subject is expressed by a main clause followed by chained clauses as described in 3.2.1 and illustrated in example (13) (p.31) and also in (18) (p.34). Often the auxiliary verb *dee* ‘do afterwards’ serves to mark this succession more overtly, as in example (79), where

the last clause is reinforced by the adverb *yāṇa* ‘subsequently’. This example shows, however, at the same time a temporal and a logical sequence.

- (81) Azezi n de n̄er-s̄eka n wun sose Nawēnn̄e b̄o t̄o,
 Jesus SBJ-FOC be person-that SBJ-FOC FUT beg God give us
 t̄i Nawēnn̄e wun di sugri b̄o t̄o,
 that God FUT eat forgiveness give us
dee t̄i t̄ōma / ãṇ / t̄ā'ε s̄ēṇ̄e Nawēnn̄e yire.
 do-afterwards and we subsequently be-able go-to God house
 ‘Jesus is the person that will ask God to forgive us, and then God will
 forgive us and subsequently we will be able to go to heaven.’ (Text 10)

As we have seen in 4.2, this compound conjoiner *dee t̄i* ‘and do afterwards or also’ only marks a temporal sequence if the verbs are in the perfective form as in example (32), if they are in the imperfective, they express simultaneity as in example (31) (both examples p.41).

Sometimes temporal succession is made more specific with an auxiliary verb as in (82) or an adverb (83).

- (82) A wi bia lá m̄e, t̄i a d̄āre wa'am.
 he call child DEF DECL and he do-at-once come
 ‘He called the child and he came at once.’
- (83) A wi bia lá m̄e, t̄i a wa'am t̄oto.
 he call child DEF DECL and he come fast
 ‘He called the child and he came immediately.’

There may be some lapse of time between the two succeeding events as in (84).

- (84) A wi bia lá m̄e, t̄i a yuu **dee** wa'am.
 he call child DEF DECL and he leave-(time) do-afterwards come
 ‘He called the child and he came after some time.’

If the lapse of time between the two actions is considerable, the following action is not perceived any more as additive in time (with *t̄i*), but more as an

adversative (with *lā*) and may be added by a new sentence as in (85). By the way, here *dee* is used in its original meaning ‘remain, leave’ (see p.41).

- (85) A wi bia lá mɛ. **La dee** **fěe** **lā** a wa'am.
 he call child DEF DECL it leave-(time) a-bit and he come
 ‘He called the child. It took some time and (but then) he came.’

An action might go on until something else happens as in (86), or it might indicate a starting point and express a durative action as in (87):

- (86) Ba namse ẽ mɛ halı tì a yɔ sãnnɛ la wuu.
 They make-suffer him DECL until and he pay debt- DEF all
 ‘They made him suffer until he paid his whole debt.’

- (87) Lan piĩlum ẽŋa n de bia lá wa paage zĩna,
 it-SBJ-FOC start he SBJ-FOC be child DEF go-to arrive today
 a ka diti nēnnɔ.
 he NEG eat-IPFV meat
 ‘Starting from when he was a child until today, he does not eat meat.’

If the first action of a sequence is something already known or accessible to the hearer, it is expressed in a peripheral subordinate clause as in example (88):

- (88) Mam **n** sēŋɛ da'am **ná,** mam da la si.
 I SUB go market-LOC SUB I buy CPL-FOC millet
 ‘When I went to the market, I bought millet.’

If the author wants to specify the temporal sequence, he adds a postposition *poorvm* ‘after’ as in example (15) (p.33).

Instead of a subordinate clause, a referential connective such as *bela poorvm* ‘after that’ illustrated in example (4) (p.23) may be used to make reference to the preceding context, as well as a short temporal clause as in (89):

- (89) **Lan** **wa po** **fěe,** a yě la pɔka ...
 it-SBJ-FOC go add a-bit he see CPL-FOC woman
 ‘After a little time had passed, he saw a woman...’ (Text 3)

A time indication combined with an imperfective verb may specify a durative or repetitive action. The demonstrative pronoun at the end of example (90) refers back to the behaviour described in the previous context.

- (90) **Daare woo** a tti la **bela.**
day every he do-IPFV CPL-FOC this
'Every day he acted like this.' (Text 2.4)

As we have seen, the temporal relation is not always clear-cut and may be open to interpretation. This fact underlines the insight of Relevance Theory that the speaker only constrains the hearer to a certain understanding if he wants to make it clear, otherwise he can leave it implicit as we have seen in example (12) (p.31), where the relation may be one of simultaneity or immediate succession and in (10) (p.29) and (81) (p.70), where the conjoiners show at the same time a temporal and a logical succession and either or both may be understood.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This dissertation gives a broad overview of the use of different linguistic means in the Ninkare language to join ideas together and to specify the way in which the upcoming discourse is connected to the previous one. It shows when and why the author may leave relations implicit and how he overtly marks relations when he wants to constrain the hearer/reader to make a specific interpretation and draw the conclusions corresponding to the intended understanding.

This study describes how these linguistic means or conjoiners work at different levels:

- to show the development of the whole discourse,
- to join bigger chunks of text together,
- to link paragraphs and sentences to the previous context,
- to coordinate clauses of equal status,
- to combine clauses in different structures of dependency as chaining, subordination of peripheral clauses and embedding.

There are a lot of different types of conjoiners used in these different structures: conjunctions, compound conjoiners and conjunctive expressions, auxiliary verbs and adverbs, subordination markers and postpositions or whole subordinated clauses, referential connectives or even the absence of such a conjoiner.

This study demonstrates that the same conjoiner appears to have different, sometimes even contradictory meanings. The conjunction *tì*, for example, is normally translated as ‘and’ or ‘then’, but may introduce a reason in certain contexts. The conjunction *lâ* is often translated as ‘and’, but can also convey an adversative meaning. On the other hand, the additive meaning has to be expressed by *tì* in certain situations, and by *lâ* in other contexts. In Chapter 5, the function of these conjoiners is generalized, tracing the different uses back to their basic semantic meanings.

The findings of this research give the necessary insight to understand the different meanings a conjoiner or a construction may have in different contexts and the range of constructions employed to express the same semantic relation.

The semantic relations described in Chapter 6 are far from being exhaustive; they illustrate the important fact that the type of conjoiner and its lexical meaning, the grammatical structure and the semantic relation are not in a one-to-one relationship. As a result, these parameters are not transferable unaltered, one-to-one from one language to another; in each language, in each situation and context, the grammatical and lexical means are chosen in order to most accurately reflect what the author wants to communicate.

I used 90 text examples to illustrate the different aspects of this theme. Since I looked at the methods of conjoining from different viewpoints, each example shows a type of conjoiner used in one of the different possible structures at some level of discourse to express a semantic relation or a function in the discourse (see Appendix 6).

During the write-up, I came to some interesting findings concerning Ninkare tone which is working on higher level than just word level, as shown by the tone

shift in the conjunctions used for clause coordination. The whole research helped me understand the differences in the tone analysis of the authors referred to, and the whole domain of tone in Ninkare could be the subject of another study.

I hope that the insights gained through this study will help achieve an accurate translation of texts for the language community, not only in Ninkare but also in related languages.

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APPENDIX I THE NINKARSE LANGUAGE AREA



Figure 2: The Ninkarse language area

APPENDIX 2 THE DIFFERENT USES OF *ti* AND *la*

continues in the same direction			
ti	‘and, then’	Naba n wi mam, ti mam wa’am.	<i>‘The chief called me, and I came.’</i>
ti	‘in fact, after all’	Da sã’am lalga lá, ti la ka ãn sōṇa.	<i>‘Don’t destroy the wall, in fact that is not good.’</i>
ti	‘in order to’	Ba sēṇe la baraasum ti ba būn ko’om.	<i>‘They went to the dam to swim.’</i>
ti	joins a complement clause to a main clause	Mam bāṇe ti ba wa’am.	<i>‘I know that they have come.’</i>
ti	relativiser (head noun as object)	Yire lá ti fu mē lá ãn kãṭe.	<i>‘The house that you built is big.’</i>
ti	fronted object focus	Bolga ti ba sēṇe.	<i>‘It is to Bolga that they went.’</i>

Table VI: The different uses of *ti*

addition of something different			
là	development marker	Là a wu ku la pesgo ayila...	<i>‘But/and (at a certain moment) he killed a sheep...’</i>
là	‘but, and’	A boori la loori, là a ka tart ligri.	<i>‘He/she wants a car, but he/she doesn’t have money.’</i>
lá	‘and, with’	Asaa lá a sō kule mē.	<i>‘Asaa and his father went home.’</i>
definiteness			
n... lá	end of subordination	Ban paa lá , ba di mē.	<i>‘When they arrived, they ate.’</i>
lá	definite article	Yire lá ãn kãṭe.	<i>‘The house is big.’</i>
after a verb			
la (polar tone)	complement focus	A boori la loori.	<i>‘He/she wants a car.’</i>
pronoun			
la (low tone)	‘it’ (gender-neutral third person singular pronoun)	La ãn sōṇa.	<i>‘It is good.’</i>

Table VII: The different uses of *la*

APPENDIX 3 NINKARE TEXTS REFERRED TO IN THIS STUDY

Text 1 (Chart 1, Appendix 4):

La ẽje se'em tì Gurɔ n̄rba yãɔa sake Azezi

'How it happened that the people of Guenon accepted Christ'

by Kazoni Nma Elisabeth

Text 2 (Chart 2, Appendix 5):

Buraa n de nayiga

'The man who was a thief' by Sia Benjamin

Text 3:

Laaluɔa la Akakute yelle

'Nightjar and Turtle' by Sia Benjamin

Text 4:

Gõɔɔ

Private letter by Awala Théophile

Text 5:

Kodivɔaari s̄enne yelle

'Story of a journey to Ivory Coast' by Atanga David

Text 6:

La daan ẽje seem tì mam doose Azezi

'How it happened that I followed Jesus' by Ouena Kouliga Jean-Pierre

Text 7:

Kâmponne la bõnsela yelle

‘The story of the toad and the snake’ by Sia Benjamin

Text 8:

Karẽṅre yelle

‘About teaching’ by Ouena Martin

Text 9:

Sore sẽnne yelle

‘Working trip to Ghana’ by Atanga David

Text 10:

Fu sãn doose Azezi la ãn sõṅa me

‘Following Jesus’ by Ouena Kouliga Jean-Pierre

Text 11:

Wĩbga n sēm na tã’are

‘Perseverance brings victory’ by Sia Benjamin

APPENDIX 4 CHART OF TEXT I

The following pages show the chart of Text I exported from FLEx, followed by a free translation of the whole text.

Text I: How it happened that the people of Gueno accepted Christ, by Kazoni

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus					Post-nuclear
	Pre-posed	Connective	Subject	preverb	Verb	Object/Complement	postverb	Adjunct
1	La ē̃ɛ se'em it happen how	tí that	Gur̃ɔ nē̃rba Gueno people	yā̃ɔa subsequently	sakɛ accept	Azezi Jesus		
2a			Bɔraa ayɪla yu'vɔrɛ n man one name SBJ-FOC	daan PAST	de be	Atia Atea		
2b			a he	daan ka PAST NEG	tart have	laafe health		
3a		Là and	a he		ze'ele la be from CPL-FOC	Gur̃ɔ Gueno		
3b		là and	a he	daan PAST	zallɪ be mad		mɛ DECL	
3c			a he	ka NEG	mi [3d] know			
3d			[a mē̃ɔa n he himself SBJ-FOC		boe] exist			
4a		Tì and	ba they		tart have	ē̃ him		Gur̃ɔ lá [4b] Gueno DEF
4b			[---		wa'am come	Yelwɔ̃ɔɔɔ pastɛr yire] Guelwongo pastor house		

1 How it happened that the people from Gueno accepted Jesus

2 The name of a man was Atea, he was not in good health. 3 And he came from Gueno and he was mad, he didn't know about his own existence. 4 And they brought him from Gueno to the pastor's house in Guelwongo.

5a	Là Azezi yu'bre ãya and Jesus name because		ba they		pu'vse pray	Wēnnaam me God DECL	Atia Atea	ãya because
5b		tì and	kulkã'arst evil spirits		yese [5c] go out			
5c		[dee then	---		base leave	Atia] Atea		
5d		tì and	a he		yě see	laafe health		
6a		Tì and	a he		kē enter	pastēr yire pastor house	paa arrive	wōrsi sitã [6b] months three
6b		[dee then	---	yāṇa subsequently	lebe kule return home	Gurṇa] Gueno		
7a		Là and	ēn he-SUB		paa arrive	Gurṇa lá Gueno SUB		
7b			Atia Atea	le do sth. again	sose beg	sorɔɔ way	mɛ DECL	[7a], [7c-7d]
7c		[tí that	ēṇa he EMPH		boorɪ want			
7d		tí that	a he		yese sēṇe la leave go to CPL-FOC	Kodivɔɔrɪ] Ivory Coast		
7e		tì and	pastēr pastor		bɔ give	ē sorɔɔ him way		

5 And in the name of Jesus they prayed to God for Atea and the demons left Atea and he found health. 6 And he lived in the pastors house for three months, then went back to live at home in Gueno.

7 And when he arrived in Gueno, Atea asked again for the way (permission) (stating) that he wanted to leave and go to Ivory Coast; and the pastor gave him permission.

8a		Là but	pasteer pastor	daan ka PAST NEG	sake accept			[8b]
8b		[tí that	a he		sēŋɛ go			
8c	là Atia pērgre ñya but Atea obligation because		pasteer pastor		bɔ give	ẽ sorɔɔ him way	mɛ DECL	[8d-8e]
8d		[tí that	a he		sēŋɛ ka tum go to work	[8e]		
8e		[dee then	---		wa'am] come			
9a		Là but/and	ẽn he-SUB		sēŋɛ go to	Kodivɔɔɾɪ lá Ivory Coast SUB		
9b			a he	le do sth. again	ka yũ go to drink	dāam alcoholic drink	mɛ DECL	[9a], [9c]
9c			[---		yũ smoke	sigaarɪ cigarette		
9d		tì and	kulkā'arsɪ lá evil spirits DEF	len do again	isge get up			[9e]
9e			[---	len do again	kẽ enter	ẽ] him		

8 Actually, the pastor did not agree that he went, but because of Atea's insistence, the pastor gave him permission that he went to work and come back.

9 And when/after he went to Ivory Coast, he went again to drink alcohol and to smoke cigarettes, and the demons attacked again and entered him again.

10a		Tì and	a he	len do again	isge get up	zɔlgɔ mad person		Kodivɔɔɾɪ Ivory Coast
10b		tì and	ba they		bobe tie	a nu'usi his hands		[10c-10f]
10c			[---		bobe tie	a nāma his feet		
10d			---		tarɪ have	ẽ him		
10e			---		ze'ele come from	Kodivɔɔɾɪ Ivory Coast		
10f			---	le do sth. again	wa'am] come			
11a		Là and	ba they	le do sth. again	pɔ'ɔse pray	Wɛnnaam God	mɛ DECL	lá Azezi yɔ'ɔrɛ le with Jesus name with
11b		tì and	Atia Atea	le do sth. again	yẽ see	laafe health		
11c		tì and	a zɔlgɔ lá his mad person DEF		yese come out			[11d]
11d		[dee then	---		base leave	ẽ] him		
12		Tì and	Atia Atea	le do sth. again	kule go home			

10 And again he became mad in Ivory Coast and they bound his hands, bound his feet, were taking him, came from Ivory Coast, brought him back. 11 And/but they prayed again for him to God in Jesus name, and Atea get healthy again, and his madness came out and left him. 12 And Atea returned home again.

13a		[Là and	ẽn he-SUB		kule go home		
13b			---	ka go to	bɔna be	Gurɔɔ lá] Gueno SUB	
13c			a he	len do again	wa'am come		mɛ [13a DECL
13d			---		sẽnna come-IPFV	kalam here	
13e			---		ɪta do-IPFV	karẽɔ lecture	Yelwɔɔɔ kalam Guelwongo here
14a			---	Le do sth. again	wa sose come to beg	sorɔɔ way	[14b-14e]
14b		[tí that	ẽɲa he EMPH		boorɪ want		[14c-14e]
14c		tí that	a he		sẽɲɛ la go CPL-FOC	Zabrɛ Zabre	
14d			---	ka go to	tum work	fěe a bit	
14e			---		sõɲɛ help	a mẽɲa] him himself	
15a		Tì and	ba they		base let	ẽ him	
15b		tí that	a he		sẽɲɛ go		

13 And when he returned home and was in Gueno, again he used to come and attend church here (in Guelwongo). 14 Again he came to ask permission that he wanted to go to Zabre go to work a bit to help himself. 15 And they let him that he went.

16a			[Ĕn he-SUB	le do sth. again	sēŋe go to	Zabrē lá] Zabre SUB		
16b			kulkā'arst evil spirits	le do sth. again	sēŋe go			[16a], [16c]
16c			---	ka go to	kē enter	ē bilam him over there	mē DECL	
17a		Tì and	a he	le do sth. again	yūura drink-IPFV	dāam lá sigaari alcoholic drink the cigarette		
17b		tì and	zolgō lá mad person the	le do sth. again	isge get up	ē him		Zabrē Zabre
18a		Tì and	ba they	le do sth. again	tari have	Atia Atea		[18b]
18b			[---	le do sth. again	wa'am come	Yelwōŋo] Guelwongo		
18c		tì and	ba they	le do sth. again	pu'vse pray	Wēnnaam God		
18d		tì and	a zolgō lá his mad person DEF	le do sth. again	yese leave			[18e]
18e		[dee then	---		base leave	ē] him		
19			Butā n three SUB		---	bela this		

16 When he went again to Zabre, the demons went again to enter him there. 17 And again he was drinking beer and smoking cigarettes, and the madness started in him again in Zabre. 18 And they took Atea again and brought him to Guelwongo, and they prayed again and his madness came out again and left him. 19 That was the third time.

20a		Bela this		base cause		mɛ DECL	[20b-20e]
20b	[tí that	Gurma lá people of Gueno DEF		yě see	Wěnnam pǎŋa God power		
20c	lá and	Wěnnam bõn- bãŋ n God extraordinary things SBJ-FOC		iti do-IPFV	[20d-20e]		
20d		[Wěnnam n God SBJ-FOC		tari have	pǎŋa power		
20e		---		tunna work-IPFV	yālma lá kirsɪ dazzling and astonishing things	lá ãyã] SUB because	
21a		Bela this		base cause		mɛ DECL	[21b]
21b	[tí that	Gurma lá sũure people of Gueno DEF heart		ẽŋɛ experience	yělum] good		
<div>20 This caused that the people of Gueno recognized the power of God and the miracles God is performing, because God has power to do great deeds and astonishing things. 21 This caused that the people of Gueno were happy.</div>							

22a		Tì and	Gurma people of Gueno	daan PAST	yele yeti say say that		[22b-22h]
22b			[Atia Atea	sǎn COND	yese] come out of		
22c			<u>bǎma mē</u> they also	<u>wun</u> FUT	<u>doose</u> follow	<u>Wēnnaam</u> God	[22b]
22d	<u>bēm iya</u> what because		<u>bāma</u> they		<u>yōge la</u> catch CPL- FOC	<u>nii</u> cows	[22e]
22e			[---		tibe treat	Atia Atea	koŋe] miss
22f		[là but	ba they	sǎn COND	pu'vse pray	<u>Wēnnaam</u> God	
22g		tì and	Atia Atea	sǎn COND	yē see	laafe] health	
22h			<u>bǎma mē</u> they also	<u>wun</u> FUT	<u>doose</u> follow	<u>Wēnnaam]</u> God	[22f-22g]
23		Là and	Atia Atea		yē see	laafe health	me DECL
<div> <p>22 In fact the people of Gueno had said, if Atea would come out (of his madness) they also would follow God, because they had several times caught cows to treat Atea without success, but if they prayed to God and if Atea became healthy, they also would follow God. 23 And Atea became healthy.</p> </div>							

24a		[Ĕn he-SUB		yē see	laafe lá poorum] health SUB after		
24b		Yelwɔɔsɪ People of Guelwongo		sēŋɛ go		me DECL	[24a] , [24c-d]
24c		---	ta go to	tɔŋse tell	Wēnnaam yetɔga God word		
24d		---		bɔ give	ba them		
25a	Tì and	nērba people		sose beg	sugri indulgence		[25b-25c]
25b		[---		sēnna come-IPFV	kalam Wēndeem here church-LOC		
25c	dee but	---	ka NEG	zo'e] be many			
26a	Sēnna bela fēnfē go-IPFV this a bit	tì and	Gurma people of Gueno	wa come to	sose beg		[26b-26d]
26b		[tí that	ba they		wa'am come	bilam over there	[26c]
26c		[---	wu come to	tɔŋɛ tell	Wēnnaam yetɔga] God word		
26d		tì in fact	bāma they		boori la want CPL-FOC	Wēndeo] church	
<p>24 After he became healthy, people from Guelwongo went to preach God's word to them. 25 And people were converted and came (regularly) here to church; but they were not many. 26 This went on a bit, and the people of Gueno came asking that they come and preach there; in fact they wanted a church.</p>							

27a		Bela		base		mɛ	[27b-27c]
		this		cause		DECL	
27b	[tí	ba		sɛŋɛ		[27c]	
	that	they		go			
27c		[---	ta	tɔɔ	Wɛ́nnaam yetɔga]		
			go to	tell	God word		
27d	tì	něba		sose	sugri		
	and	people		beg	indulgence		
28a	Là	poka ayěma bia n	mě n daan ka	tart	laafe		
	and	woman other child SBJ-FOC	also SBJ-FOC PAST NEG	have	health		
28b	tì	a tubrɛ wāna		di vūŋɛ			
	and	his ear DEM		burn pierce			
29	Tì	ba		pɔ'vse	Wɛ́nnaam		
	and	they		pray	God		
30	Là Azezi pāŋa lá ĩya	a tubrɛ lá waa wuu		base		mɛ	lá Azezi yu've
	and Jesus power DEF because	his ear DEF all all		leave		DECL	with Jesus name
<div> <p>27 This caused that they went and preached God's word and people were converted.</p> <p>28 And the child of another woman was also not healthy; his ear was burnt and pierced. 29 And they prayed to God. 30 And because of the power of Jesus his ear was wholly healed in Jesus' name.</p> </div>							

31a			Bela		base		mɛ	[31b-31c]
			this		cause		DECL	
31b		[tí	Gurma lá		yě			
		that	people of Gueno DEF		see			
31c			Wěnnam pāŋa lá	n	zo'e]			
			God power DEF	SBJ-FOC	be much			
31d		tì	Gurma lá		sose	sugri		
		and	people of Gueno DEF		beg	indulgence		
31e		tì	něrba lá		zo'e paa	něr-kɔbga		
		and	people DEF		be many arrive	hundred people		
32		Tì	ba	ta'a	mě	Wěndeo		Gırŋo Balirbie
		and	they	could	build	church		Gueno Balliribia

31 This caused that the people of Gueno saw that God's power is great, and the people of Gueno were converted, and the people were many up to hundred. 32 And they could build a church in Gueno Balliribia.

How it happened that the people from Gueno accepted Jesus

There was a man named Atea, he was not in good health. And he came from Gueno and he was mad, he didn't know about his own existence. And they brought him from Gueno to the pastor's house in Guelwongo. And in the name of Jesus they prayed to God for Atea and the demons left Atea and he found health. And he lived in the pastors house for three months, then went back to live at home in Gueno.

And when he arrived in Gueno, Atea asked again for the way (permission) (stating) that he wanted to leave and go to Ivory Coast, and the pastor gave him permission. Actually, the pastor did not agree that he should go, but because of Atea's insistence, the pastor gave him permission to go and work and come back.

And when he was in Ivory Coast, he began again to drink alcohol and to smoke cigarettes, and the demons attacked again and entered him again. And again he became mad in Ivory Coast and they bound his hands and his feet, they took him from Ivory Coast and brought him back. And/but they prayed again for him to God in Jesus name, and Atea got healthy again, and his madness came out and left him. And Atea returned home again.

And when he returned home and was in Gueno, again he used to come and attend church here (in Guelwongo). Again he came to ask permission that he wanted to go to Zabre go to work a bit to help himself. And they let him go and he went.

When he went again to Zabre, the demons came again to enter him there. And again he was drinking beer and smoking cigarettes, and the madness started in him again in Zabre. And they took Atea again and brought him to Guelwongo, and they prayed again and his madness came out again and left him. That was the third time.

This caused the people of Gueno to recognize the power of God and the miracles God is performing, because God has power to do great deeds and astonishing things. This caused the people of Gueno to be happy. In fact the people of Gueno had said, if Atea would come out (of his madness) they also would follow God, because they had several times caught cows to treat Atea without success, but if they prayed to God and if Atea became healthy, they also would follow God. And Atea became healthy.

After he became healthy, people from Guelwongo went to preach God's word to them. And people were converted and came (regularly) here to church; but they were not many. This went on a bit, and the people of Gueno came asking them to come and preach there; in fact they wanted a church. That's why they went and preached God's word and people were converted.

And the child of another woman was also not healthy; his ear was burnt and pierced. And they prayed to God. And because of the power of Jesus his ear was wholly healed in Jesus' name.

This is how the people of Gueno saw that God's power is great, and the people of Gueno were converted, and the people were many up to hundred. And they went to build a church in Gueno Balliribia.

APPENDIX 5 CHART OF TEXT 2

Text 2: The man who was a thief

by Sia Benjamin

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus					Post-nucl.
	Pre-posed	Connective	Subject	preverb	Verb	Object/Complement	postverb	Adjunct
1a			[Buraa n man (male) SBJ- FOC		de be	nayiga] thief		
1b			---		di marry	a pɔga [1a] his wife		
1c		tì and	a she	mě also	dɛna be	nayiga thief		
2a		Tì and	buraa lá man (male) DEF	ěn do usually	sɛŋɛ walk	[2b]		
2b			[--- go to	ta go to	zũ steal	pesgo bu bua] sheep or goat		
3a			[A he	sân COND	zũ steal		kt'ɬɔm] finish	
3b			a [3a] he		wě hit	ě it	ku mɛ kill DECL	[3c-3e]
3c			[--- put down		bĩŋɛ put down	tũntuure pɔam shrub in		
3d		dee then	---		lebe return	yire house		
3e			---	ka go to	yele say	a pɔga lá his wife DEF	yetɿ] say that	[3f-3g]

1 A man who was a thief married his wife and she was also a thief. 2 And the man went (habit) to steal a sheep or a goat. 3 If/when he had stolen, he hit it and killed (it), put (it) inside a shrub, then returned home and told his wife that...

3f			<u>[a]</u> she		<u>dike</u> take	<u>pu'ɔ</u> basket		
3g			---	<u>ka</u> go to	<u>dike</u> take		<u>ta wa]</u> go to come	
4	Daare woo day every		a he		iti la (IPFV) do CPL-FOC	bɛla this		
5a		Là and/but	a he	wu come to	ku la kill CPL-FOC	pesgo ayɪla sheep one		[5b-5c]
5b			[---	yāŋa ka and then go to	bīŋe put down	bagne tilum kind of tree under		
5c		dee then	---	yāŋa and then	yetɪ say that			[5d-5e] [5f]
5d			a she	dike take	---	pu'ɔ basket		
5e			---	ka go to	dike take	pesgo lá sheep the	wa'am come	
5f		dee then	---		tole pass by			[5g]
5g		tí in order to	a he	ka go to	wa dance	yɔŋɔŋɔ] dance (kind)		
<p>...she should take a basket and bring it here. 4 Every day he acted like this.</p> <p>5 But (one day) he killed a sheep, and then put it under a Piliostigma tree and then said (to his wife), she should take a basket and get the sheep (home), and then he went on to dance a Yongo dance.</p>								

6a	[Là and	ēṇa n he EMPH SUB		boe be, exist	yɔɔŋɔ lá zē'a dance (kind) DEF place	ná SUB	
6b		pɔka lá [6a] woman DEF		sēŋe go			[6a] [6c] [6d]
6c	[tí in order to	a she		ε get	pesgo lá sheep DEF		
6d				koŋe miss		mε DECL	
7a	Yāṇa and then	---	leme wu return here come to	babse meet up with	a sira lá poore her husband DEF behind		[7b]
7b		[---	ka go to	paage arrive	yɔɔŋɔ lá zē'a] dance (kind) DEF place		
7c	tì and	a he		boe be, exist	yɔɔŋɔ lá puam dance (kind) DEF in	wa'ara (IPFV) dance	
8a		A she	ka NEG	mi [8b-8c] know			
8b		[ēṇa n she-EMPH SUB	wɔn FUT	yele say	se'em how	yetɪ say that	[8c]
8c		[ēṇa she-EMPH	ka NEG	yē see	pesgo lá] sheep DEF		
<p>6 But when he was at the dancing place, the wife went in order to search for the sheep but failed (did not find it). 7 Then she returned and went to join her husband and arrived at the place of the Yongo dance, and he was dancing in the Yongo dance.</p> <p>8 She did not know how she should go about telling him that she had not find the sheep.</p>							

9a		Tì and	a she	yāŋa and then	tari (IPFV) have	a kāmpeŋo lá her fan DEF		[9b-9d]
9b			[---		pebsra (IPFV) fan	a sra lá her husband DEF		
9c		dee then	---	yāŋa and then	kēlna (IPFV) cry	kēnkēlna cry of excitation		
9d		dee then	---		yetu] say that			[9e-9f]
9e	<u>[Yeehe ***</u>		<u>mam</u> I	<u>ka</u> not	<u>yě</u> see	<u>ē</u> it		
9f	<u>yeehe ***</u>		<u>mam</u> I	<u>ka</u> not	<u>yě</u> see	<u>ē]</u> it		
10a		Tì and	a sra lá her husband the	mē also	bāŋe know			[10b-10d]
10b		[tí that	poka lá woman DEF		yele la say CPL-FOC	pesgo lá sheep DEF		
10c		tí that	ēŋa she		sēŋe go			
10d			---	ta go to	ε koŋe lá] look for miss SUB			
11a		Tì and	a he	kō'ɔn simply do	sēŋe wē'era (IPFV) go hit	a dēnbɔɔ his castanet		[11b-11c]
11b		[dee then	---	kō'ɔn simply do	murse bend	a gurgɔ his back	wa'ara dance	
11c		dee then	---	kō'ɔn simply do	yetu] say that			[11d-11e]

9 And then she held her fan and fanned her husband crying/yelling a yelling song saying: 'Yeehe, I did not see it, yeehe I did not see/find it.'
 10 And her husband also knew that the woman spoke about the sheep that she was going to get but didn't succeed. || And he simply went on playing his castanets and bending his back and constantly saying:

11d	[ɛ'ɛ]		kěnkān-gi'ire lá n Piliostigma tree DEF SUB		ze stand	lá bagne the kind of tree		
11e			kěnkān-gi'ire lá n Piliostigma tree DEF SUB		ze stand	lá bagne] with kind of tree		
12a		Tì and	poka lá woman the	zoe run	bāŋɛ sēŋɛ know walk	kěnkān-gi'ire n ze lá bagne lá Piliostigma tree SUB stand with kind of tree DEF		[12b]
12b			[---	ka go to	dike take	pesgo lá sheep the	duge] cook	
12c		tì and	ba they		obe crunch			
13a	Bela This	tì and	ba they		yeti say that			[13b]
13b			[nayiga poga n thief wife SBJ-FOC		tā overcome	kurna lál obstacles DEF		
14a	Bela this	tì and	mam I	yeti going to	---			[14b]
14b			[m I		yele say			[14c]
14c		tí in order to	ya you		bāŋɛ] know			

'E'e, short fig tree standing with the Piliostigma tree, short fig tree standing with the Piliostigma tree.' 12 And the woman understood quickly and went to the short fig tree that stood next to the Piliostigma tree and took the sheep and cooked it and they ate it.

13 That is why they say that a thief's wife overcomes obstacles. 14 That is what I wanted to tell you so that you know.

Free Translation of Text 2

The man who was a thief by Sia Benjamin

A man who was a thief married a woman who was also a thief. And the man went (habit) to steal a sheep or a goat. If/when he had stolen, he hit it and killed it and put it inside a shrub, then returned home and told his wife to take a basket and bring it here. Every day he acted like this.

But (one day) he killed a sheep, and then put it under a Piliostigma tree and then said (to his wife), she should take a basket and get the sheep (home), and then he went on to dance a Yongo dance.

But when he was at the dancing place, the wife went to search for the sheep but failed (did not find it). Then she returned and went to join her husband and arrived at the place of the Yongo dance, and he was dancing in the Yongo dance.

She did not know how she should go about telling him that she did not find the sheep. And she held her fan and fanned her husband crying/yelling a yelling song saying: 'Yehee, I did not see it, yeehe I did not see/find it.' And her husband also knew that the woman spoke about the sheep that she was going to get but didn't succeed. And he simply went on playing his castanets and bending his back and constantly saying: 'E'e, short fig tree standing with the Piliostigma tree, short fig tree standing with the Piliostigma tree.' And the woman understood quickly and went to the short fig tree that stood next to the Piliostigma tree and took the sheep and cooked it and they ate it.

That is why they say that a thief's wife overcomes obstacles. That is what I wanted to tell you so that you know.

APPENDIX 6 LIST OF NUMBERED EXAMPLES

<p>(1) a) Tì ba tarĩ ē Gır̃ɔ lá b) Ø wa'am Yelwɔɔɔ pasteer yire. and they have him Gueno DEF come Guelwongo pastor house 'And they brought him from Gueno to the pastor's house in Guelwongo.'</p>					numbered example (order according to their appearance in the dissertation)
from text 1 sentence 4	in 2.1, p.20 (referred to pp.29,52,69)	a) simple conjunction b) Ø	Coordination on discourse level; joins sentence to previous context, chaining	additive, moves the story onwards in expected direction. additive, no discontinuity (same participant)	
source	chapter and pages	types of conjoiner	structure	semantic relations	
<p>(2) a) Là ěn paa Gır̃ɔ lá, b) Atia le sose sorɔɔ mē c) tí ěɲa boori d) tí a yese sēɲe and he-SUB arrive Gueno SUB Atea do-sth.-again beg way DECL that he-EMPH want that he leave go-to la Kodivɔɔrĩ; e) tĩ pasteer bɔ ē sorɔɔ. CPL-FOC Ivory-Coast and pastor give him way 'And when he arrived in Gueno, Atea asked again for the way (permission) (stating) that he wanted to leave and go to Ivory Coast; and the pastor gave him permission.'</p>					
text 1.7	2.1, p.21 (referred to pp.29,55)	2a) simple conjunction followed by tail-head linkage 2e) simple conjunction	Coordination on discourse level, subordinated clause used as tail-head linkage coordinated clause	Development marker and new paragraph, unexpected turn of the story discontinuity of participant, new step in the same direction	
<p>(3) a) Ø A ka mi b) ěɲa n wun yele se'em yetĩ c) ěɲa ka yē pesgo lá. she NEG know she-EMPH SUB FUT say how say-that she-EMPH NEG see sheep DEF 'She did not know how she should go about telling him that she did not find the sheep.'</p>					
text 2.8	2.1, p.22	Ø	juxtaposition	important fact that advances the story	

<p>(4) Bela poorum, bāma bayi doose la taaba sēje tã'ama eere. this after those two follow CPL-FOC each-other walk shea-nut search ‘After that, those two went together searching for shea nuts.’</p>				
text 3	2.2, p.23 (pp.47,71)	referential connective	linking paragraph to previous context	temporal succession
<p>(5) a) Tì laaluja zom tã'aja eera tã'am-bituma basra, b) tì ba luta c) tì Akakute pĩ'isra. and nightjar climb shea-tree look-for ripe-shea-nuts detach and they fall-down and Mr-Turtle pick-up-from-the-ground ‘And nightjar climbed the shea tree looking for ripe shea nuts, detaching (them), and they fell (on the ground) and Mr. Turtle was picking them up.’</p>				
text 3	2.2, p.23 (pp.29,52,69)	simple conjunctions	coordination on different levels	default connector, moves the story forward in the expected way, additive, change of subject
<p>(6) Mam bia ka tã'age wa'am, Ø a bē'ere mē. my child NEG be-able come he be-sick DECL ‘My child could not come, (because) he is sick.’</p>				
elicited	3.1.1, p.28 (pp.31,65)	Ø	juxtaposition	causal
<p>(7) Fva tuuri la sore, Ø a ka tuuri nōore. blind-man fail-to-find CPL-FOC road he NEG fail-to-find mouth ‘A blind person fails to find the way, (but) he does not fail to find (his) mouth.’ (Proverb)</p>				
elicited	3.1.1, p.28 (pp.31,64)	Ø	juxtaposition (positive-negative)	adversative
<p>(8) Buraa lá de la yvulga, Ø a ze'ele la Lēɛɲɔ. man DEF to-be CPL-FOC Kassena he be-from CPL-FOC Tiebele ‘This man is a Kassena, he comes from Tiebele.’</p>				
elicited	3.1.1, p.28 (p.31)	Ø	juxtaposition	associative

<p>(9) a) Buraa ayɪla yu'vɛ n daan de Atia, b) Ø a daan ka tari laafe. man one name SBJ-FOC PAST be Atea he PAST NEG have health 'The name of a man was Atea, he was not in good health.'</p>				
text 1.2	3.1.1, p.28 (p.31)	Ø	juxtaposition	associative
<p>(10) A wi bia lá mɛ, tì a wa'am. he call child DEF DECL and he come 'He called the child and he came.'</p>				
elicited	3.1.2, p.29 (pp.39, 52, 69,72)	simple conjunction	coordination	additive, step in the same direction (temporal and logical sequence)
<p>(11) Awěnpoka boori la pupu, là a ka tari ligri. Awěnpoka want CPL-FOC motorbike but she NEG have money 'Awěnpoka wants a motorbike, but she does not have the money.'</p>				
elicited	3.1.2, p.29 (pp.39,55,64)	simple conjunction	coordination (positive-negative)	adversative, contrast
<p>(12) ... b) a le ka yũ dāam mɛ, c) Ø yũ sigaari... he do-again go-to drink alcoholic-drink DECL smoke cigarette '...he went again to drink alcohol (and to) smoke cigarettes...'</p>				
text 1.9b-c	3.2.1, p.31 (pp.62,72)	Ø	chaining, consecutive	additive
<p>(13) ... b) tì ba bobɛ a nu'usi, c) Ø bobɛ a nāma, d) Ø tari ẽ e) Ø ze'ele Kodivɔɔri f) Ø le wa'am. and they tie his hands tie his feet have him come-from Ivory-Coast do-sth.-again come (...) and they bound his hands, bound his feet, were taking him, came from Ivory Coast, brought him back.</p>				
text 1.10b-f	3.2.1, p.31 (p.68)	Ø Ø Ø	chaining, consecutive clauses	temporal succession

<p>(14) a) Saa n ni lá, b) ba sēŋe la da'am. rain SUB rain SUB they to-go CPL-FOC market-LOC ‘Since/when it rained, they went to the market.’</p>				
elicited	3.2.2.1, p.32 (pp.33,44,56,67)	subordination markers	peripheral subordination	something already established as a point of departure
<p>(15) a) Ĕn yē laafe lá poorum, b) Yelwɔɔsi sēŋe me c) ta tɔgse Wēnnaam yetoga d) bɔ ba. he-SUB see health SUB after People-of-Guelwongo go DECL go-to tell God word give them ‘After he became healthy, people from Guelwongo went to preach God’s word to them.’</p>				
text 1.24	3.2.2.1, p.33 (pp.44,56,71)	subordination markers and postposition	peripheral subordination	point of departure, temporal
<p>(16) a) Tōma boorti ti ēŋe la kibsa, b) ti kaarēnsāam-keka Agulwoŋo n yeti a to'oge vo'osgo lá īyā. we want we do CPL-FOC celebration our pastor-old proper-name SUB is-going-to he receive rest SUB because ‘We want to do a celebration ceremony because our ancient pastor Agulwongo is going to retire.’</p>				
text 4	3.2.2.1 p.33 (pp.44,56,66)	subordination markers and postposition	peripheral subordination	causal (afterthought)
<p>(17) Pɔgst lá sēŋe la da'am tí ba koose ba lɔgɔɔ. women DEF go CPL-FOC market-LOC in-order-to they sell their goods ‘The women went to the market in order to sell their goods.’</p>				
elicited	3.2.2.2, p.34 (p.40,68)	simple conjunction	peripheral subordination	purpose (with or without achievement)
<p>(18) Pɔgst lá sēŋe la da'am Ø ka koose ba lɔgɔɔ. women DEF go CPL-FOC market-LOC go-to sell their goods ‘The women went to the market to sell their goods.’</p>				
elicited	3.2.2.2, p.34 (p.68)	Ø	chaining, consecutive	additive, temporal, achieved purpose

<p>(19) Fu sǎn wě'era ě, a maln ita me. tu COND beat-IPFV him he do-more do-IPFV DECL ‘If you beat him, he will do it even more.’</p>				
elicited	3.2.2.3, p.34	auxiliary verb	subordinate conditional clause	Condition (realis)
<p>(20) Mam sǎn sěŋe nɪ da'am, mam wun da nɪ si. I COND go IRR market-LOC I FUT buy IRR millet ‘If I had gone to the market, I would have bought millet.’</p>				
elicited	3.2.2.3, p.34	auxiliary verb	subordinate conditional clause	Condition (irrealis)
<p>(21) ...f) là ba sǎn pu'use Wěŋnaam g) tì Atia sǎn yě laafe, h) bāma mē wun doose Wěŋnaam. but they COND pray God and Atea COND see health they also FUT follow God ‘...but if they prayed to God and if Atea became healthy, they also would follow God.’</p>				
text I.22f-h	3.2.2.3, p.35 (p.50)	auxiliary verb, conjunction and auxiliary verb	coordination of subordinate conditional clauses	two conditions for a result
<p>(22) a) Atia le sose sorɔɔ me b) tí ěŋa boort c) tí a yese sěŋe la Kodivɔɔri, Atea do-again beg way DECL that he-EMPH want that he leave go-to CPL-FOC Ivory-Coast d) zě'e-sɛka tí a daan boe mĩ na. place-that that he PAST be LOC DEF ‘Atea asked again for the way (permission) (stating) that he wanted to leave and go to Ivory Coast, to the place where he had been before.’</p>				
elicited	3.2.3, p.35 (p.40)	complementisers and relativiser	several levels of embedding	complements of verbs and relative clause

<p>(23) a) Là pasteer daan ka sake b) tí a sêŋe... but pastor PAST NEG accept that he go ‘Actually, the pastor did not agree that he went...’</p>				
text 1.8a-b	3.2.3.1, p.36 (p.40)	complementiser	embedding	complement of verb
<p>(24) A bāŋe me tí karēnsāama boe la yire. he know DECL that teacher be CPL-FOC home ‘He knew that the teacher was at home.’</p>				
elicited	3.2.3.1, p.36 (p.40)	complementiser	embedding	complement of perception verb
<p>(25) Bela base me tí Gurma lá sūure ēŋe yēlum. this cause DECL that people-of-Gueno DEF heart experience good ‘This caused that the people of Gueno were happy.’ (Text 1.21)</p>				
text 1.21	3.2.3.1, p.36 (pp.40,67)	complementiser	embedding	complement of verb
<p>(26) Tì poka lá zoe bāŋe, sēŋe kēnkān-gi'ire n ze lá bagne lá... and woman DEF run know walk fig-tree-short SUB stand with Piliostigma SUB ‘And the woman understood quickly and went to the short fig tree that stood next to the Piliostigma tree ...’</p>				
text 2.12a	3.2.3.2, p.36 (p.56)	subordination markers	embedding	relative clause head noun = subject of relative clause
<p>(27) ...poka lá yele la pesgo lá 10c) tí ēŋa sēŋe 10d) ta ε koŋe lá. woman DEF say CPL-FOC sheep DEF that she walk go-to look-for miss SUB ‘...the woman spoke about the sheep that she was going to get but didn't succeed.’</p>				
text 2.10b-d	3.2.3.2, p.37 (pp.40, 56)	relativiser and subordination marker	embedding	relative clause head noun = complement of rel. clause

<p>(28) Zĩna tí ti wun bãŋe seka n tã'a a tadãana. today that we FUT know REL-PN SUB overcome his peer 'Today we will know the one who is going to overcome his peer.'</p>				
text 11	3.2.3.2, p.37 (p.58)	SBJ-FOC as SUB marker	embedding	relative clause without definite marker
<p>(29) Ba sēŋe la da'am, bu ba wē'eri la wara. They went-PFV CPL-FOC market-LOC or they produce-IPFV CPL-FOC bricks. 'They went to the market or they are producing bricks.'</p>				
elicited	4.1, p.39 (p. 63)	simple conjunction	coordination	alternative
<p>(30) Bela ãyã (tì) a ka wa'am. that because (and) he NEG come 'That's why he did not come.'</p>				
elicited	4.2, p.41 (p.66)	compound conjoiner	joins sentence to previous context	causal
<p>(31) Mam tunni la kalam, dee tì koma bona ke de'ena. I work-IPFV CPL-FOC here do-also and children be-IPFV there play 'I am working here, whereas the children are playing over there.'</p>				
elicited	4.2, p.41 (p.46,70)	compound conjoiner	coordination	concurrency of actions, simultaneity
<p>(32) A paage la yire, dee tì wēnne kē. he arrive-PFV CPL-FOC home do-afterwards and sun enter-PFV 'He arrived home before the sun went down (sunset).'</p>				
elicited	4.2, p.41 (pp.46, 69,70)	compound conjoiner	coordination	sequence of actions

(33) Baa lá mam n bure zo'oge lá, si lá ka wɔm sɔŋa. even with I SUB sow much SUB millet DEF NEG produce well ‘Even though I sowed a lot, the millet has not produced well.’				
elicited	4.2, p.42 (p.65)	compound conjoiner	subordination	concession
(34) A ẽŋe wu a sɔ n ẽŋe se'em ná. he do like his father SUB do like SUB ‘He behaves like his father.’				
elicited	4.2 p.42 (p.64)	compound conjoiner	subordination	comparison, similarity
(35) Baa pɔka lá sãn wa'am, mam wun sɛŋe la da'am. even woman DEF COND come-here I FUT go CPL-FOC market-LOC ‘Even if the woman comes here, I will go to the market.’				
elicited	4.2, p.42	compound conjoiner	subordination	concession
(36) Bela n soe tì mam leme. this SBJ-FOC own that I return ‘That is why I returned.’				
text 5	4.3, p.43 (p.66)	conjunctive expression	coordination	causal
(37) Ba wun yele me, tì ẽŋa n sɛnni Wẽndeem... lá, bela n soe tì bõn-ẽna ẽŋe. They FUT say DECL that he SUB going church-LOC SUB that SBJ-FOC possess that thing-this happen ‘They will say that because he is going to church ..., that is why this thing happened.’				
text 6	4.3, p.43 (p.66)	conjunctive expression	coordination	conclusion, causal
(38) La de la bela iŷã tì ninkãrsi yeti: Palẽŋa ẽkre kuvri la nẽra. it be CPL-FOC that because that Ninkarse say-that emotion jump kill CPL-FOC person ‘It is because of this that the Ninkarse say: “(Too much) emotion kills a person”.’				
text 7	4.3, p.43 (p.66)	conjunctive expression	coordination	conclusion, causal

<p>(39) Mui wɔm sɔŋa mɛ, se'ere n soe lá saa ni zo'oge mɛ. rice yield well DECL what SUB own SUB rain rain much DECL ‘The rice has done well, because there was a lot of rain.’</p>				
elicited	4.3, p.44 (p.66)	conjunctive expression	coordination	causal (reason)
<p>(40) Pɔka lá peerɪ la futo, tì a bia po pɛera. woman DEF wash-IPFV CPL-FOC cloths and her child also-do wash-IPFV ‘The woman washes cloths, and her child is washing also.’</p>				
elicited	4.5, p.45	conjunction + auxiliary verb	coordination	additive, parallelism
<p>(41) Bia lá ka boorɪ tɪ a sɛŋe karɛndeem, a tɔn boɔra la de'eŋo. child DEF NEG want that he go school-LOC he rather-do want CPL-FOC playing ‘The child does not want to go to school, he rather wants to play.’</p>				
elicited	4.5, p.45 (p.65)	auxiliary verb	juxtaposition	substitution or adversative
<p>(42) Da kɔn base tɪ karɛnbiisi dɛŋe fu ka zɛ, tì fu yãŋa yɔɔlum wa'am. PROH FUT NEG let that children do-before you go-to sit and you subsequently do-in-spite-of come ‘Don’t let the children (arrive) before you and sit down, and then you turn up only later.’</p>				
text 8	4.5, p.45 (p.65,69)	auxiliary verb + conjunction + adverb + auxiliary verb	coordination	temporal counter- expectation (adversative)
<p>(43) Nɛrba lá dɛŋe kɔ mɛ, dee bure. people DEF do-before farm DECL do-afterwards sow ‘People first farm and then they sow.’</p>				
elicited	4.5, p.46 (p.69)	auxiliary verbs	chaining	temporal

(44) Azuure sêŋe la da'am, dee tì saana yorge sêŋe a yire. pers.-name go CPL-FOC market-LOC do-afterwards and visitor do-in-absence-of go his house 'Azuure went to the market, and afterwards a visitor came to his house.'				
elicited	4.5, p.46	compound conjoiner + auxiliary verb	coordination	temporal
(45) Pɔka lá peege la futo ba'ase. A yãŋa dɔgri la dia. woman DEF wash-PFV CPL-FOC cloths finish she subsequently cook-IPFV CPL-FOC food 'The woman washed the cloths, now she is cooking food.'				
elicited	4.5, p.46 (p.69)	adverb	juxtaposition	temporal
(46) Yi wa'am, ti sêŋe. therefore come we go 'Therefore come, let us go.'				
elicited	4.5, p.47	adverb	joined to preceding sentence	consequence
(47) Tì a sira lá mē bāŋe... and her husband DEF also know 'And her husband also knew ...'				
text 2.10a	4.5 (p.47)	conjunction and adverb	joined to preceding sentence	additive, logical sequence and parallelism
(48) Atãŋa sêŋe la va'am. Mam nŋo we la da'am. pers.-name go-PFV CPL-FOC farm-LOC I contrarily go-IPFV CPL-FOC market-LOC 'Atanga went to the farm. I, on the other hand, am going to the market.'				
elicited	4.5, p.47 (p.64)	adverb	juxtaposition	adversative, contrast
(49) Ba daan sêŋe la Yelwɔŋɔ. Zê'e-ẽŋa tì ba yãŋa pose ba tōoma. They PAST go CPL-FOC Guelwongo place-this that they then begin their work 'They went to the Guelwongo. At this place they then began their work.'				
elicited	4.6, p.48	referential connective	coordination, linking sentence to previous sentence	spatial

<p>(50) Tì Atia le kule. Là ěn kule ka bona Gurjo lá... and Atea do-again go-home and he-SUB go-home go-to be Gueno SUB ‘And Atea returned home again. (New paragraph) And when he returned home and was in Gueno...’</p>				
text 1.12-13	4.6, p.48	conjunction and tail-head linkage	subordinate clause as conjoiner	new episode
<p>(51) Là ěṇa n boe yooṇo lá zě'a ná... and he-EMPH SUB be dance DEF place SUB ‘But when he was at the dancing place...’</p>				
text 2.6a	4.6, p.48 (p.55)	conjunction and tail-head linkage	subordinate clause as conjoiner	new episode
<p>(52) A sǎn zũ kɪ'ulum, a wě ě ku mɛ... he COND steal finish he hit it kill DECL ‘If/when he had stolen, he hit it and killed (it)...’</p>				
text 2.3a-b	4.6, p.49	COND auxiliary verb, tail-head linkage	subordinate conditional clause as conjoiner	link to the previous context, temporal
<p>(53) Fv sǎn yele bela, yidāana lá yǎṇa bɔ fɔ la sore tí fv kule. you COND say this house-owner DEF subsequently give you CPL-FOC way that you return-home ‘If you say this, the owner of the house will then give you permission to go home.’</p>				
text 9	4.6, p.49	COND auxiliary verb, tail-head linkage +referential connective +adverb	subordinate conditional clause as conjoiner, temporal adverb in the main clause	tail-head linkage with referential conjoiner joining it to the preceding context, adverb in the second clause specifies the temporal relation
<p>(54) Pɔka lá n yě bela lá, (tì) a tɔke a pɪ'ɔ lá... woman the SUB see this SUB and she unload her basket DEF ‘When the woman saw this, (then) she took down her basket...’</p>				
text 3	5.1, p.52	tail-head linkage +referential connective, (conjunction)	subordinate clause as conjoiner, optional conjunction in main clause	link to the previous context and moves the story onwards in expected direction

<p>(55) Da sã'ana lalga lá, tì la ka ãn sõja. PROH destroy wall DEF in-fact it NEG be good 'Do not destroy the wall, in fact that is not good.'</p>				
elicited	5.1, p.52	conjunction	coordination	statement of grounds
<p>(56) ...b) Gurma wa sose tí ba wa'am bilam c) wu tɔge Wẽnnaam yetɔga d) tì bãma boori people-of-Gueno come-to beg that they come over-there come-to tell God word in-fact they want la Wẽndeo. CPL-FOC church '...people of Gueno came asking that they come and preach there, in fact they wanted a church.'</p>				
text 1.26	5.1, p.53 (p.63)	conjunction	coordination	statement of grounds
<p>(57) Si tí ba buta. millet that they sow '(It was) millet that they sowed.'</p>				
elicited	5.2, p.54	complement focus	preposed object	points to coming information about the object
<p>(58) Là poka ayẽma bia n mẽ n daan ka tart laafe , tì a tubre wãna di vũje. and woman other child SBJ-FOC also SBJ-FOC PAST NEG have health and his ear DEM burn pierce 'And the child of another woman was also not healthy; his ear was burnt and pierced.'</p>				
text 1.28	5.2, p.55	conjunction	coordination	explanation, further information concerning what was already said
<p>(59) Là, laaluja lá pable me paage nẽjam... but nightjar DEF flap-wings DECL arrive ahead 'But, the nightjar flapped his wings and arrived ahead of her...'</p>				
text 3	5.3, p.55 (p.64)	conjunction	adversative link to the previous context	contrast, counter-expectation

(60) Laaliŋa lá Akakute yelle nightjar and Mr-Turtle story ‘The story of the nightjar and the turtle’				
text 3	5.4, p.57	conjunction	nominal phrase conjunction	adds new information
(61) ...kěnkăn-gi'ire lá n ze lá bagne. Piliostigma-tree DEF SUB stand with kind-of-tree ‘...the short fig tree standing with/beside the Piliostigma tree.’				
text 2.11e	5.4, p.57	preposition	noun phrase joined to predicate	instrumental or associative
(62) ...buraa lá... man (male) DEF ...the man...				
text 2.2	5.4, p.58	definite article	defines the noun	definiteness
(63) ...a zolgo lá yese dee base ě. his madness DEF come-out do-also leave him ‘... his madness came out and left him.’				
text 1.11c-d	6.1, p.62	auxiliary verb	chaining	additive
(64) Tì a kě pasteer yire paa wõrsi stã, ... and he enter pastor house continuously months three ‘And he lived in the pastor’s house for three months, ...’				
text 1.6a	6.1, p.62	conjunction	coordination	additive, joins sentence to previous context
(65) Buraa n de nayiga di a poga tì a mẽ dena nayiga. man-(male) SBJ-FOC be thief marry his wife and she also be thief ‘A man who was a thief married his wife, and she was also a thief.’				
text 2.1	6.1, p.62	conjunction + adverb	coordination	additive

<p>(66) a) Buraa ayula yu'ure n daan de Atia, b) Ø a daan ka tari laafe. c) Là a ze'ele lá Gurɔ, d) là a man one name SBJ-FOC PAST be Atea he PAST NEG have health and he be-from CPL-FOC Gueno and he daan zallɪ me, e) Ø a ka mi a mɛŋa n boe. PAST be-mad DECL he NEG know he himself SBJ-FOC exist 'The name of a man was Atea. He was not in good health. And he came from Gueno and he was mad, he didn't know about his own existence.'</p>				
text 1.2-3	6.1, p.63	conjunctions, Ø	coordination and juxtaposition	addition of important information
<p>(67) Bõnsela kɛ la mɔ̃ puam suɛ, dee tì kãmponne weege gã. snake enter CPL-FOC bush in hide do-also and toad stay be-flat 'The snake entered the bush, whereas the toad stayed there flat.'</p>				
text 7	6.2, p.64	compound conjoiner	coordination	adversative
<p>(68) Mam n daan yuuge dee ka yɛ ligri lá, m leme m so yire. I SBJ-FOC PAST stay-a-long-time do-also NEG gain money SUB I return my father house 'As I stayed there for a long time but didn't gain money, I returned home.'</p>				
text 5	6.2 p.65	adverb and negation	chaining	counter-expectation
<p>(69) Mam kɛendõma mā'a yelle n daan tɔ. Ø Mam kɛendõma n daan ka sakɪ. my older-brothers only case SBJ-FOC PAST be-difficult my older-brothers SBJ-FOC PAST NEG accept 'Only my older brothers caused me problems. My older brothers didn't accept (my conversion).'</p>				
text 6	6.3 p.65	Ø	juxtaposition	result-reason (causal)
<p>(70) Mam kɛendõma mā'a yelle n daan tɔ, se'ere n soe lá, mam kɛendõma n my older-brothers only case SBJ-FOC PAST be-difficult what SUB own SUB my older-brothers SBJ-FOC daan ka sakɪ. PAST NEG accept 'Only my older brothers caused me problems, the reason of it being that my older brothers didn't accept (my conversion).'</p>				
elicited	6.3 p.66	conjunctive expression	coordination	result-reason, causal

<p>(71) Mam yĩm me, mam n kãblı lá ãyã. I forgot DECL I SUB be-in-a-hurry SUB because ‘I forgot because I am in a hurry.’</p>				
elicited	6.3 p.66	subordination markers and postposition	peripheral subordinate clause	causal
<p>(72) Tõma boorı tí ti ãje la kibsa, bela n soc tí ti da bõn-bãna wuu. we want that we do CPL-FOC celebration that SBJ-FOC possess and we buy things-these all ‘We want to have a celebration, that’s why we bought all these things.’</p>				
elicited	6.3 p.66	conjunctive expression	coordination	causal
<p>(73)(...) ãja n de yidãana lá ãyã, tí dabeem tara ãja. he-EMPH SUB be householder SUB because (that) fear have him-EMPH ‘(He said that) as he was the householder, he was afraid.’</p>				
text 6	6.3 p.67	subordination markers and postposition, optional conjunction	subordination	causal
<p>(74) Saaga base tí ba ka wa'am. rain cause that they NEG come ‘The rain caused that they did not come.’</p>				
elicited	6.3 p.67	causal verb + complementiser	embedding	cause-effect
<p>(75) Saaga n ni lá base tí ba ka wa'am. rain SUB rain SUB cause that they NEG come ‘(The fact that) it rained caused that they did not come.’</p>				
elicited	6.3 p.67	subordination markers + causal verb + complementiser	embedding (subordinate clause as subject + complement clause)	cause-effect

(76) Saaga ni zo'oge me, base tí ba ka wa'am. rain rain be-a-lot DECL cause that they NEG come 'It rained a lot, (which) caused that they did not come.'				
elicited	6.3 p.67	causal verb + complementiser	embedding (main clause as subject + complement clause)	cause-effect
(77) Saaga sãñ ni, ba kãñ ta'age wa'am. rain COND rain they NEG-FUT be-able come 'If it rains, they will not be able to come.'				
elicited	6.3 p.67	Auxiliary verb COND	subordination of conditional clause	condition
(78) ... poka lá sêñe tí a ε pesgo lá... woman DEF go in-order-to she get sheep DEF '.. the wife went to search for the sheep ... (literally: that she get the sheep)'				
text 2.6b-c	6.3 p.68	conjunction	peripheral subordination	purpose
(79) ... b) a wẽ ã ku mε c) Ø bñe tũntuure puam, d) dee lebe yire... he hit-PFV it kill DECL put-down-PFV shrub in do-afterwards return-PFV house '... he hit and killed it, put (it) inside a shrub, then returned home...'				
text 2.3b-e	6.4 p.69	Ø, auxiliary verb (perfective verbs)	chaining	temporal succession
(80) Poka lá peert la futo, dee selsra walst. woman DEF wash-IPFV CPL-FOC cloths do-also listen-IPFV radio 'The woman washes cloths and listens to the radio.'				
elicited	6.4 p.69	auxiliary verb (imperfective verbs)	chaining	temporal, simultaneity

<p>(81) Azezi n de nēř- sēka n wun sose Nawēñne bɔ tɔ, tì Nawēñne wun di sugri bɔ tɔ, Jesus SBJ-FOC be person-that SBJ-FOC FUT beg God give us that God FUT eat forgiveness give us dee tì tōma yāŋa tã'ε sēŋε Nawēñne yire. do-afterwards and we subsequently be-able go-to God house ‘Jesus is the person that will ask God to forgive us, and then God will forgive us and subsequently we will be able to go to heaven.’</p>				
text 10	6.4 p.70 (p.72)	conjunction + compound conjoiner + adverb	coordination	temporal succession + logical consequence
<p>(82) A wi bia lá mε, tì a dāre wa'am. he call child DEF DECL and he do-at-once come ‘He called the child and he came at once.’</p>				
elicited	6.4 p.70	conjunction + auxiliary verb	coordination	temporal (immediately)
<p>(83) A wi bia lá mε, tì a wa'am tɔtɔ. he call child DEF DECL and he come fast ‘He called the child and he came immediately.’</p>				
elicited	6.4 p.70	conjunction +adverb	coordination	temporal (immediately)
<p>(84) A wi bia lá mε, tì a yuu dee wa'am. he call child DEF DECL and he leave-(time) do-afterwards come ‘He called the child and he came after some time.’</p>				
elicited	6.4 p.70	conjunction + temporal verb+ auxiliary verb	coordination + chaining	temporal (lapse of time)
<p>(85) A wi bia lá mε. La dee fēe là a wa'am. he call child DEF DECL it leave-(time) a-bit and he come ‘He called the child. It took some time and (but then) he came.’</p>				
elicited	6.4 p.71	temporal clause + conjunction	temporal linking clause + coordination	temporal, adversative or new development after lapse of time

(86) Ba namse ě me halɿ tì a yɔ sǎnne la wuu. They make-suffer him DECL until and he pay debt- DEF all ‘They made him suffer until he paid his whole debt.’				
elicited	6.4 p.71	conjunctive expression	coordination	temporal (durative with end point)
(87) Lan piĩlum ěɲa n de bia lá wa paage zĩna, a ka diti nēnno. it-SBJ-FOC start SBJ-FOC be child DEF go-to arrive today he NEG eat-IPFV meat ‘Starting from when he was a child until today, he does not eat meat.’				
elicited	6.4 p.71	subordinate temporal clause	peripheral subordination	temporal (starting and ending point)
(88) Mam n sēɲe da’am ná, mam da la si. I SUB go market-LOC SUB I buy CPL-FOC millet ‘When I went to the market, I bought millet.’				
elicited	6.4 p.71	subordination markers	peripheral subordination	temporal
(89) Lan wa po fěe, a yě la pɔka ... it-SBJ-FOC go add a-bit he see CPL-FOC woman ‘After a little time had passed, he saw a woman...’				
text 3	6.4 p.71	temporal clause	peripheral subordination	temporal
(90) Daare woo a ɿtɿ la bela. day every he do-IPFV CPL-FOC this ‘Every day he acted like this.’				
text 2.4	6.4 p.72	temporal noun phrase + referential connective	preposed noun phrase, referential connective as complement	temporal (durative), conclusion