Establishment of Literacy Standards for an Oral Language: The Case of Nafara Discourse Patterns, Côte d'Ivoire, West Africa

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ESTABLISHMENT OF LITERACY STANDARDS FOR AN ORAL LANGUAGE: THE
CASE OF NAFARA DISCOURSE PATTERNS, CÔTE D’IVOIRE, WEST AFRICA

by

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In Memory of Judy Kathryn Josserand

Suddenly and violently snatched away from our earthly affection. May the Almighty have mercy on her and grant her peace and happiness in the hereafter.

For
Nnou Mêtanh Raissa
Adja Gnima
Issouf

Who have borne the burden of loneliness, in addition to all the various and sundry emotions that have been caused by my prolonged absence from home.

In remembrance of
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Sita Kapiéne
Adama
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Tiohdana
Tiagnipilé
Gnamangolo

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LIST OF TERMS

The terms used in the analysis of tales are borrowed from Robert Longacre. Other researchers may use the same terms with a slightly different connotation. Some of the terms are synonyms. These will be noted explicitly.

**Backbone**: all the materials that build up the plotline of a narrative story

**Background information**: old information shedding light on the storyline

**Département**: In French system it represent the administrative unit run by a prefect. The main office of the “département” is the prefecture.

**Emic structure**: it is the tangible surface linguistic forms that allow for accessing the deep structure.

**Étic structure**: is another term for deep structure or notional structure – the story plot

**Foreground information**: new information that advances the plot of a narrative story. The storyline/mainline are realized by foreground information.

**Mainline**: used interchangeably with storyline.

**Notional structure**: this refers to the deep structure of narrative. It coincides with the plot of the story.

**Prefecture**: in the French territorial mapping, the prefecture alludes to the main office of a “département,” the largest administrative unit. By extension it refers to the town where the main office is located, and even sometimes to the administrative unit itself. The prefecture is governed by a prefect (commissioner).

**Punctiliar**: verbs expressing punctiliiarity encode immediate and definitive actions as opposed to durative ones. There are also punctiliar adverbs, such as “all at once,” “suddenly,” “immediately.”

**Subprefecture**: the prefecture is composed of at least one subprefecture. It is administered by a subprefect.

**Storyline**: refers to materials that are strictly conducive to drama build up in narrative. It is about the materials that advance the plot.
ABSTRACT

This study sought to establish the rhetorical pattern of a major folktale genre known as mú?urû, in Nafara, a dialect of Senari, one of the major indigenous languages spoken in Côte d’Ivoire. This study will provide a basis for addressing the root causes of impediments to French (L2) literacy in Côte d’Ivoire. This study used oral folktales as a means of elicitation and vehicle of investigation. Three questions guided the researcher in this project. Question One was concerned with setting the conditions for establishing the discourse pattern of folktales in Nafara, while Questions Two and Three addressed the educational implications of findings that emerged from Question One. The research was framed in terms of two main theoretical foundations: 1) Discourse Analysis as a theory of human communication, and 2) the ethnography of communication. Nafara was oral until the present undertaking came to life. Therefore, a methodological field test was carried out to check the feasibility of the study. During this phase, Nafara grammar and lexicon were described, as a prerequisite for any textual analysis. This methodological field proved very beneficial as it allowed for setting a sound ground for the full study, during which further scrutiny into the materials collected allowed the investigator to get a better synthesis of the linguistic system of the language under investigation, by carrying out a description and analysis of more substantive Nafara texts.

Discourse analysis was the major method of text analysis. It was supplemented with other methods, including ethnopoetics (an application of the ethnography of communication) and story grammar. Thus, using a combination of the foregoing methods, line, stanza, scene analysis and the narrative backbone of key events was identified to flesh out the discourse pattern in the Nafara genre in question.

Establishing the rhetorical pattern is tantamount to building a model that reflects the way the notional content of the tale is organized to convey cultural meaning. Thus, after giving a full description of the rhetorical pattern based on one version of each popular tales, sketches of the rhetorical patterns that emerged from other tales were contrasted and compared with the more elaborate ones. First, versions of the same popular tale were set against each other, then the researcher looked across all the six versions, showing areas of differences and commonalities. The foregoing showed that while versions of the popular tales greatly differed in terms of
supporting materials, the core discourse pattern was found to be constant across all versions of the tales.

The researcher’s contention is that awareness of the Nafara rhetorical pattern can serve as a vehicle for French (L2) education in Côte d’Ivoire, as it can provide a basis for teaching French grammar and composition through comparison and contrast with Nafara (L1) patterns. Therefore, knowledge of Nafara (L1) rhetorical organization is essential if the issue of underachievement in French (L2) education is to be efficiently tackled. Findings of this study will also provide a springboard for promoting reading and writing in Nafara. Another much expected spillover effect of this study is that its results will also offer options to writers (both native and non-native) by making them aware of differential issues in composition, according to the language and audience in view. The present study aimed to provide additional information for enhancing language education and learning in general in Côte d’Ivoire.
INTRODUCTION

Multilingualism is a phenomenon common to the emerging nations of Africa, and thus it commands attention in the context of this study of language use and language instruction in Côte d’Ivoire. Hymes (1996) describes multilingualism as a situation in which a given community has “several languages within its repertoire” (p. 73). Multilingualism also refers to the “linguistic behavior of the members of a speech community which alternately uses two, three or more languages depending on the situation and function” (Kachru, 1986a, p. 159). Multilingualism is the norm in many parts of the world (Ouane, 2004, p. 30; McMahon, 1994, p. 200). Yet education in multilingual countries seems to be a difficult skein to disentangle. The problem is how to adapt monolingual educational models to multilingual situations (King, 2004, p. 39).

In most multilingual countries that are former colonies of Western powers and in developing countries in particular, the lingua franca is the language of the colonizer (Silué, 2000; Trudgill, 2002, pp. 140-141). This language, now the dominant language, is generally the preferred medium of instruction in formal education, often to a total exclusion of local languages (Hale et al., 1992; Robins & Uhlenbeck, 1991). Yet, research in language education agrees that native language (L1) literacy is critical to developing second language (L2) literacy (e.g., Elbow, 2000, p. 328). In other words, the lack of L1 literacy significantly hinders the acquisition of literacy in foreign languages (de Angelis & Selinker, 2001; Herdina & Jessner, 2001, p. 90).

The case of Côte d’Ivoire is an example of this situation. French is the official language of instruction: this language is imposed on every child who enters the educational system, even in up country schools where students barely speak French at their time of enrollment in the first grade in the formal public educational system. The researcher’s background as an educator has provided first hand experience of this situation, as well as an awareness of the problem caused by the interference of local languages on French and other foreign languages taught later in the educational system of Côte d’Ivoire. This study seeks to establish the rhetorical pattern of a
major folktale known as múʔurii, in Nafara, a dialect of Senari,\textsuperscript{1} one of the major indigenous languages spoken in Côte d’Ivoire. This study will provide a basis for addressing the root causes of impediments to French (L2) literacy in Côte d’Ivoire.

Attempts to establish literacy in local languages have always been a real issue to come to grips with, for a variety of reasons. Besides political, social, and structural problems, the lack of adequate linguistic description, the dearth of literacy materials in local languages, and the problem of converting from oral to written forms in native languages are real hurdles to overcome as one strives to improve the situation of language education.

Language contact is a hard reality in Côte d’Ivoire, one that commands attention in national politics (Nicot-Guillorel, 2002, p. 27-29; Silué, 2000). Yet, there is a dearth of studies that properly address the issue. The researcher’s lengthy background as a language teacher has led him to attempt to make a contribution toward resolving this problem through the realization of the present study.

**The Problem: Language and Education in Côte d’Ivoire**

Language education presents a confused and complex situation for many participants in the educational system in Côte d’Ivoire. It is often the case that a respectable portion of students straddles many languages and many disparate speech communities as well. Therefore, they fail to develop fully any one of the languages they speak until later years in the educational system (Hymes, 1996, p. 190; Schwarzer, 2001). This creates a serious problem in language education in Côte d’Ivoire. In any case, language education is an unsettling situation, which requires some solution.

**Statement of Problem and Purpose**

Language teachers are well aware of the impact of language contacts and the various effects of multilingualism on the educational system. This is a longstanding issue that has lately been revisited with fresh thought, especially through contrastive rhetoric, with researchers such

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\textsuperscript{1} Senari, one of the major languages of the Senufo cultural group spoken in Côte d’Ivoire, does not as yet have an established standard variety for its 20 or so local dialects. Owing to this, the Nafara dialect will be treated like a language in its own right.
as Connor (1996, 2002), and Wong (1992), and also in research in the emerging field of multilingualism and multiculturalism, where examples include studies by Cenoz (2000), Bouvy (2000), Hammarberg (2001), and Gibson, Hufeisen & Libben (2001). In particular, it has been noted that patterns of L1 grammar and rhetoric appear in the L2 writing and oral production of students (Grabe, 2001; Kaplan & Grave, 1997; Kellerman, 2001). Such is the case with students in Côte d’Ivoire, who bring the underlying patterns of the discourse organization of their native languages to their attempts at expository and narrative writing in French.²

Teachers of foreign/second languages are all aware of the phenomenon of interference, which is well-established in research in language education. Even though there have been no specific studies on the situation of the local languages in Côte d’Ivoire, it is clear that students are influenced by their L1 as they engage in the process of learning foreign languages.

Knowing more about the students’ native language grammar and discourse would permit more effective learning of literary styles in languages of wider use, such as French and English.³ Grabe & Kaplan (1989, p. 266) proposed that the study of L1 rhetorical influence on the organization of text in an L2 would engender improved acquisition of L2 literary styles; this is the function of their model of contrastive rhetoric. However, only a scientific study of L1 rhetorical practices can reveal the nature of L1 interference. This entails concrete knowledge of discourse structures and linguistic features present in the local language (Connor, 1996; Kaplan, 2001). Accessing the discourse patterns of Nafara would also contribute to the development of literacy in Nafara, not only the introduction of basic literacy, but also its proliferation at higher levels, which is the most successful way to change an oral tradition culture into a literate one (Connor, 1996, p. 104.).

Here, then, were two required steps: one was to use knowledge of the linguistic patterns of the local language as a comparative base for teaching the discourse patterns of another language. But more basic was to learn the discourse structures and grammar of these indigenous languages, which remain, for the most part, oral languages that have yet to be studied or used in education for purposes of developing literacy.

² The researcher has taught for 16 years in the educational system of Côte d’Ivoire, and has thus had first hand experience of the situation.
³ The idea that the awareness about the rhetorical pattern of student L1 will help improve writing in ESL is a tenet in contrastive rhetoric, therefore it does not require further elaboration.
Overall, Nafara remains a poorly documented language, with few linguistic studies, and those that do exist are difficult to access. A dictionary and grammatical sketch of the Cebaara dialect of Senari has recently been published (Mills, 2003), but there is still considerable work to do to achieve full grammatical description that is adequate for more than one dialect. Moreover, there is no significant collection of text materials written in Nafara or any other Senari dialect, much less studies accomplished on the rhetorical styles characteristic of different genres of Senari oral literature. Yet, at this point, as in similar situations in Africa, the interference of local languages in additional language education represents a major factor constraining effective instruction, and this issue should urgently be addressed, through a better acquaintance with local languages (Rogers, 2004, p. 26; Silué, 2000).

Narratives in general, and folktales in particular, are the most widely distributed genres in any human community (Tannen, 1984, p. 24). Mú?urî4 are a named genre of fables in Senufo society. The researcher feels empirically justified to state that mú?urî represent one of the major discourse genres in the community, not only because they are pervasive in the Senari society, but also because they are popular among native speakers of Senari. Also, scholars have devoted more attention to this genre than any other in the Senufo cultural group, including the Nafara speech community (e.g., Kientz, 1979; Knops, 1988).

The particular component of the mú?urî of concern in this study was the animal stories suited for children, the segment of the population that this study is primarily interested in, as they are the students experiencing the Nafara (L1) to French (L2) transfer problems in their formal schooling in Côte d’Ivoire. This subcategory of mú?urî is known throughout Africa and beyond as trickster stories. The researcher selected stories that feature rabbit or hare, the trickster protagonist, as representative of this genre.

The introduction of native language literacy is a key element to success in education (Kulick, 1992; Silué, 2000; Tadadjeu, 2004). Given that indigenous languages are overwhelmingly oral languages, this required analyzing these native languages, which actually means describing them. Thus the analysis of Nafara tales was concerned with the description of the grammar, which is a prerequisite to establishing literacy in the language.

4 mú?urî is plural; the singular form is mú?urîgé
The purpose of this study, therefore, was to investigate the discourse patterns of mú?uriñ, a widely known oral genre in Nafara, in an attempt to improve language education there. Thus, the intention was to look into the process and scheme of organization of the identified genre, mú?uriñ, a discourse genre that may be brought to bear in the educational setting because of its comparability to written compositions in literate languages. This oral narrative genre offers a structural parallel to written compositions such as essays or stories in French and other literary languages (e.g., Chafe, 1982, p. 49-50).

Analyzing Nafara folktales required developing a practical orthography for Nafara and also describing the Nafara grammar, which helped build a foundation of knowledge concerning the rhetorical patterns of this language. The establishment of this discourse pattern of Nafara is an essential condition to fulfill in order to address aspects of the issue of writing in foreign languages proper and language education in general in Côte d’Ivoire, as materials that will be developed can be used in teaching French, for instance, through the technique of Contrastive Rhetoric (CR).

The theoretical foundations of discourse analysis and the ethnography of communication informed the present study. The methods that guided the analysis of the tales told in Nafara were derived from discourse analysis, ethnopoetics, and story grammar.

The study included five parts: 1) Chapter One will laid the foundations of the project by illuminating the layers of the topic, its bearing, and its objectives; 2) Chapter Two reviewed the scholarly literature relevant to the study, showing gaps that need to be filled in the field; 3) Chapter Three was concerned with the methodological framework that will guide the study; 4) Chapter Four focused on the analysis of data and exploration of results; the Nafara materials collected were scrutinized in order to establish the leading patterning in terms of the organization of the oral genre under study, and 5) Chapter Five was concerned with the discussion of the result, the significance of the research, the conclusions and suggestions for further research.
CHAPTER 1. LANGUAGE AND LITERACY IN CÔTE D’IVOIRE

Chapter One included substantive information on historical and present situations in Côte d’Ivoire, with special reference to the Senufo peoples, in order to shed some light on the background of the problem of language education in Côte d’Ivoire. This general introduction includes a description of the overall circumstances of language contact, the social and political effect of contact on the present language predicament, and the consequences of these effects in Côte d’Ivoire. A brief statement of the problem follows, with a discussion of the implications of the study, the theoretical framework that underlies the research, and its limitations.

The larger goal of this research was to test the feasibility of using traditional Senufo oral literature as a basis for developing characteristic rhetorical patterns in L1 that can be used to improve L2 compositional literacy. The study identified a major genre of Senufo folktales, the mú?uri, arguing that such a genre is a close analogue to a written composition, such as an essay in French or English. The rhetorical patterns, or discourse structures of several mú?uri tales in the Nafara dialect were described and compared to establish the characteristic rhetorical structures of the genre. Preliminary observation on the contrasts between Nafara (L1) organizational structures and those of French (L2) indicated the utility of this study for improving educational practices in Côte d’Ivoire.

Côte d’Ivoire, like the overwhelming majority of African countries in general, and sub-Saharan ones in particular, harbors a multitude of ethnic groups that speak different languages, in addition to a few languages of wider communication, including French, English, Spanish (Silué, 1998, 2000; Tadadjeu, 2004; Williams, 2004, p. 35), and also Arabic. In all of these African countries, formal education is carried out only in the European languages. There are many reasons why other languages are not promoted in education. The lack of standardized, written forms of the local languages is a major obstacle, but the most powerful obstacles are political, social, economic, ideological, and structural factors (Harlech-Jones, 2004, p. 53; Silué, 2000, p. 115; Smalley, 1994).

The overall situation described above, as is often the case in multilingual situations, fosters various well-established problems concomitant with language contact phenomena. Regardless of the status of the contact languages, there is a wide range of influences that effect
the languages present, for instance, transfer and reverse transfer (e.g., L1 influence on L2 and L2 or L3 influence on L1), and these consequently render language education difficult (de Angelis & Selinker, 2001, p. 44; Herdina et al., 2001, p. 90). It is worth noting that research has shown that the oral quality of local language does not preclude these phenomena (Heath, 1986, p. 90, 1989, p. 370; Tannen, 1984, p. 33-34). In other words, language influence is not a function of its modal status as an oral versus a written language. Educators are well aware of these phenomena in the Ivorian educational system, both in the community of educators in general and in academia, and often bring them up in informal and formal discussions. However, actions (e.g., local literacy and teaching in local languages) are slow to come (Silué, 2000).

Until recently, local languages in Côte d’Ivoire had not been adequately described in terms of their linguistic system, much less any literacy practice established (ILA, 1979; Silué, 1998). Literacy practice is only available in European languages. Teachers and educators observe the problems created by the lack of L1 literacy, but they acknowledge their helplessness and try to deal with these issues one day at a time. Measures to deal with the language education problems are merely cosmetic treatments. Teachers refine literacy promotion and educational methods in foreign languages in order to address the issue. For instance, in the Ivoirian educational system, students are introduced to writing in French, through le paragraphe.

*Le paragraphe* is built on the PAIR principle, meaning *presentation, argument, illustration* and *résumé* (presentation, argumentation, illustration, and summary). In other words, the paragraph is structured around a thesis, followed by an argument, which is illustrated, and then one sentence is used to summarize the argument and close the paragraph. ([http://perso.wanadoo.fr/jmpetit/cours/arg11.htm](http://perso.wanadoo.fr/jmpetit/cours/arg11.htm), p.1, ¶ 4).

*Le paragraphe* is taught in the school cycles beginning in Primary/Elementary school (from the fifth grade onward). It is fine-tuned during junior high and onward through high school. However, because children carry over to school the discourse patterns acquired during their early years of language socialization in their native language (Heath, 1986, p. 93, Scribner and Cole 1981, p. 251), the knowledge of the French rhetorical pattern alone will fall short of a real solution to addressing the problems of adequate language education, meaning acquiring full literacy in French (Connor, 1996; Grabe, 2001, p. 46; Kaplan, 1966, 1987).

A pidginized version of a language that functions to cover a broader range of communication comparable to the target language may be conferred the status of Creole
From this perspective, *Moi ya dit toi ya dit* (me say you say), is a French-based Creole. This Creole language is most likely to be the vernacular language that underprivileged children have access to, in Abidjan and the south in general, before they start school, because it is, by far, the closest language to French in this multilingual context. But in fact, it serves as an additional impediment to L2 literacy.

Prevailing assumptions in the educational system include the belief that familiarity with the canons of writing and speaking in French will solve the literacy problem. This thinking has been decried by a number of writers, particularly those who have promoted the framework of contrastive rhetoric (e.g., Hinds, 1987; Kaplan, 1966, 1987, 2001). It is also often the case that teachers’ attitudes toward writing in foreign languages is to put more emphasis on discrete linguistic elements, such as grammar and lexical items rather than on the overall organization of the text (Carson, 2001, p. 192; Long & Richards, 1996, p. xi).

In Côte d’Ivoire, not only is language education made more complicated than it should be because of the language contact situation, but the maintenance of local languages is also at stake (King, 2004, p. 9; Silué, 2000, p. 119; Tadadjeu, 2004). There are four major language families, represented by the Jula, Senufo, Akan, and Bete languages, each of which have multiple dialects, as we shall discuss later.

Language maintenance is an important issue in contemporary Côte d’Ivoire. Some native languages are struggling to stay afloat, which is a common situation when so many languages share the same space (Fase et al., 1992; Paulston, 1994). Such is the case of Senufo languages, the most important family of indigenous languages in the northern half of Côte d’Ivoire. The Senufo languages are being seriously threatened by Jula, an African language that entered the region around the 14th century (Ouattara, 1999, p. 38; Tuho, 1984, p. 44). Another threat is French, which has been established as the politically dominant language since the period of colonization during the early 19th century. The influence of these foreign languages is so great that some Senufo languages are actually threatened with extinction; such was the fate of Siti, a Senufo language that has now been completely lost (Silué, 1998, p. 6).

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5 N’guessan (1993, p. 44) has proposed that this creole be referred to as “le FPI” (le Français populaire ivoirien, Ivoirian Popular French).

6 A new youth oriented Creole *nouchi*, is emerging in urban areas of Côte d’Ivoire, mainly in the South. ([www.nouchi.com](http://www.nouchi.com)).
There has been a long tradition of treating writing in multilingual/multicultural and monolingual contexts alike (Grabe, 2001). However, Kaplan’s (1966) seminal study on English as a Second Language (ESL) written production at the college level revealed that non-native English writers’ compositions are fundamentally different from those of native speakers. Kaplan noted that non-native speakers with a respectable level of oral proficiency still write in a way strikingly different from their peers who are native speakers of English. The most outstanding difference was at the level of discourse organization.

Massive research in contrastive rhetoric corroborated the fact that thought patterns and discourse features, either in writing or speaking, are largely influenced by cultural patterns (e.g., Connor, 1987a; Hinds, 1987, 1990; Kachru, 1988; Kubota, 1997). The literature in this regard will be discussed in Chapter Two.

This project proposed to produce more advanced materials in a native language of Côte d’Ivoire at the level of composition, not at the beginning reading level. The current social and political situation in Côte d’Ivoire allows for hope that in a near future native language literacy will be undertaken and materials at every level will be developed. In this situation, contrastive rhetoric offers new perspectives that can be applied to some of the issues relating to language education in Côte d’Ivoire. Using the techniques of contrastive rhetoric, Nafara (L1) literacy materials can be used to enhance French (L2) teaching.

Recent developments in the study of local languages is also just in time to aid in the application of educational practices in Côte d’Ivoire. The major local languages are finally being described and their linguistic systems established scientifically (ILA, 1979; Silué, 1998). Also, there have been signs recently of a renewed interest in these languages, thanks to the awakening of both scholars and the general public to the gradual loss of these languages (private communication with Dr. Abogny, ILA, the University of Abidjan-Cocody, Côte d’Ivoire, in December, 2004).

One clear example is the implementation of projects for functional literacy in farmers’ cooperatives, which have been fuelled by the success of similar projects in Mali and Burkina Faso. Farmers are instructed in reading and basic numeracy so that they, themselves, can run their cotton and corn farms rather than being chaperoned by agents (Silué, 2000, p. 76-77).

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7 Institut de la Linguistique Appliquée, l’Université d’Abidjan-Cocody, CI. ILA is the department of linguistics and applied linguistics
Measures are also being taken at the individual and corporate levels to address the issue. For instance, Nafara has replaced French as the medium of communication during the sessions of the MUDESNA (Mutuelle de Developement de la Souprefecture de Napié), a regional association for development set up by people from Napié, which is now based in towns and cities of Côte d’Ivoire. In other communities all over the country, more and more regional associations strongly advise the use of maternal languages.

This study of the rhetorical structure of Nafarai is a first step toward providing language materials for contrastive rhetoric studies in Côte d’Ivoire. It is undeniable that linguistic studies on Senari are still in their infancy. But there is enough of a foundation that the time seems ripe to investigate Nafara for the prevailing organizing patterns that underlie some of its discourse genres.

In this world gone multilingual, research in contrastive rhetoric, second language acquisition (SLA), and multilingualism are documenting the fact that L1 literacy is an essential cog in the success of foreign language education (e.g., Connor, 2002; Elbow, 2000, p. 328-329; Kaplan, 2001). It is often argued that literacy in the first language is a springboard offering better conditions for achieving a much effective learning of other languages, as it serves as a vehicle of instruction (Elbow, 2000, p. 335). Conversely, the lack of literacy in L1 precludes a harmonious and effective learning outcome in other languages (Silué, 2000; Tadadjou, 2004).

Exploring the structural organization of Nafara can help to address an important aspect of the problems caused by the influence of local languages on foreign language education (French, and increasingly English, among others). Additionally, such a study will help preserve Senari, by enabling education in the children’s native language (Hale et al., 1992; Robins and Uhlenbeck, 1991; Trudgill, 2002, p. 137-144). This is all the more important as Senari is an endangered language. Following Hinton (2001), there are several symptoms of endangerment, one of which is that the language is still spoken by “all age groups, but with a visible decline in the proportion of children learning it at home, and a decline in the domains in which the language is used for communication” (p. 4).

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8 The phonological system was put in a written form in the late 1970s (ILA, 1979). A recent dictionary including a grammatical sketch of Cebaara, the central dialect of Senari, has recently been published (Mills, 2003). However, there is still some work ahead to achieve a complete grammatical description that includes other dialects of Senari. Research in text and discourse is just starting, with some initiatives to delve into folktales and other types of popular discourse, such as sayings and proverbs.
Passive speakers of a language understand it but cannot speak it (Hinton, 2001, p. 4). Passive speakers of Nafarai may understand when Nafara is spoken to them, but they reply in Jula or French because they cannot speak their native language. Their numbers are rapidly growing, especially in the towns, where French and Jula tend to have the upper hand in a respectable portion of the Senufo community. Below, I will address the circumstances that led to the present predicament of Senufo languages in general, and Senari and its dialects in particular.

Côte d’Ivoire, Its Peoples and Languages

Côte d’Ivoire is a small country (see Map 1) with a population of about 18 million people (www.ethnologue.com) speaking over sixty (60) different but sometimes related languages (Greenberg, 1955; Silué, 1998; Tuho, 1984, p. 9). Some languages and their speakers are critical to the present project.

The local or indigenous languages of Côte d’Ivoire fall into four major linguistic families: Gur (Volta), Mandé, Kwa, and Kru (Table 1). The Gur languages are found in the north-central and northeastern region, the Mandé languages in the northwestern and northeastern regions, the Kwa group in the mid-northeastern, east, and east coast of Côte d’Ivoire and the Kru languages in the southwestern part of the country (Greenberg, 1955; Silué, 1998). Each of these families comprises a number of languages that are not generally mutually intelligible, and most of the languages have multiple dialects, some nearly unintelligible with others, that is, they represent emerging subfamilies of languages (Greenberg, 1955; Welmers, 1950, p. 183). The main languages or clusters of languages, in terms of the sizes of their speech communities, are Jula, Senufo, Baule, and Bété (from the Mandé, Gur, Kwa, and Kru language families, respectively) (Greenberg, 1955; Silué, 1998).

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9 It is sad to note that this is a blatant fact among a number of relatives of the researcher. Many of these people now openly blame their parents for the situation.
Map 1. The Republic of Côte d’Ivoire in Africa
Table 1. Local Language Groups of Côte d’Ivoire by Language Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gur</th>
<th>Mandé</th>
<th>Kwa</th>
<th>Kru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senufo</td>
<td>Mandingo (Jula)</td>
<td>Baulé</td>
<td>Wê/Weh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulango</td>
<td>Yacuba</td>
<td>Agni/Anyi</td>
<td>Beté</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobi</td>
<td>Guro</td>
<td>Abron</td>
<td>Dida</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gurunsi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Abbey</td>
<td>Godié</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oti-Volta</td>
<td></td>
<td>Attyé</td>
<td>Ahizi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirma-Tyurama</td>
<td></td>
<td>Algoon</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Komono</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The language family of concern in this study is Gur. The classification of Gur languages is as follows: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo and North Gur (Welmers, 1955; www.ethnologue.com). It includes several language clusters (Table 1). Within the Gur family, the Senufo languages constitute the largest subfamily. The Senufo cultural group is the focus of this study.

The Senufo Peoples and Their Languages

The term Senufo refers to a cultural group found in the northern part of Côte d’Ivoire and across the borders in neighboring areas of Mali, Burkina Faso and Ghana. The Senufo cultural group comprises several ethnic subgroups speaking several closely related languages, many with dialectal varieties, as will be discussed later. Dialects are understood as language varieties whose speech patterns represent geographical or cultural regions (Brizuela, Andersen, & Stallings, 1999, p. 128). Senari, one of the major languages of the Senufo cultural group, is the focus of this study. The people who speak Senari are collectively called the Senambele.
Figure 1. Chart of the Gur language family
The main languages of the Senufo cultural group are Senari, Jimini, Nyarafolo, Palaka, Supyire-Minyanka or Shempire, and Tagbana, all of which are located in the north-central area of Côte d’Ivoire (Table 2). Smaller Senufo linguistic groups include Nafanan and Siti,\(^\text{10}\) spoken in the northeast and across the borders into Ghana, Kirma, on either side of the border with Mali, and Safala, landlocked in the Kulango zone (Silué, 1998, p. 6).

Table 2. The Main Senufo Language Clusters by Location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Northern (Korhogo)</th>
<th>Northwest corner (Dabakala)</th>
<th>Northeast (Ferké)</th>
<th>Central department (Sikolo)</th>
<th>North of Tingrela</th>
<th>Central department &amp; North-central (Gnakara)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senari</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jimini</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyarafolo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palaka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shempire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagbana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this study, the term “the Senufo” or “the Senufo people(s)” will be used when talking about the Senufo cultural background in general, including but not limited to speakers of Senari. Similarly, the languages of Senufo people will be referred to collectively as Senufo languages. However, when allusion is meant only for a particular language or dialect of the Senufo cultural group, not the general Senari language or the specific Nafara dialect, the precise name of that variety will be cited. Nafara, a local dialect of Senari and also one of the primary dialects of the greater Senari linguistic system, is the language variety under study in this research; everything will be undertaken from the perspective of this variant of Senari. An exclusive reference to speakers of the Nafara dialect will be signaled by the term Nafambeli.

The Senari Language Cluster

The present study will examine aspects of Senari, which is, itself, a cluster of varieties that will be referred to as dialects (Ouattara, 1988, p. 5; Silué, 1998). Table 3 lists the dialects

\(^{10}\) The Siti language is in now virtually extinct, with only 10 speakers identified.
of Senari by their location. There are fifteen dialects that are comfortably mutually intelligible (Mills & Retord, 1987, p. 4; Silué, 1998, p. 6). (See also Map2, where these dialects are grouped into dialect clusters.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>North Senari Dialects</th>
<th>Southwest Senari Dialects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kafire</td>
<td>Kandere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasara</td>
<td>Papara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagbari</td>
<td>Fodara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patara</td>
<td>Kulere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pogara</td>
<td>Nafara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagara</td>
<td>Kufuru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenere</td>
<td>Cebaara (Tiebaara)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takpasyeeri (Messini)</td>
<td>Gbonzoro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The particular dialect of interest in this study is Nafara, spoken by the Nafambeli. The only dialect of Senari that has had significant linguistic analysis thus far is Cebaara. Cebaara is a centrally located dialect and is close, linguistically, to the Nafara dialect (Coulibaly, 1978, p. 52; Kientz, 1979, p. 22). For that reason, this study of Nafara discourse made use of the existing description of Cebaara linguistic system. It is undeniable that some differences exist at the sentence-level grammar and overall linguistic systems of Cebaara and Nafara, and at the tonal and morphophonemic level as well (Mills & Retord, 1987, p. 4). Further, as a distinct dialect of Senari, Nafara may be expected to have certain features of rhetorical organization that differ in one way or another from those of Cebaara. Following Elbow (2000, p. 334), a dialect should be regarded as an entity on its own, as it carries deeper habits of discourse structure. However, these differences do not impede understanding. That said transcription of oral narrative texts in Nafara followed the orthographic practices established for Cebaara. Then, the Cebaara linguistic system was used only as a point of reference for the interpretation of the Nafara texts.
MAP 2. Senari dialect clusters in the Department of Korhogo.
Nafara and the Nafambeli

The Nafambeli, the speakers of Nafara, are located in the Departement of Korhogo. They occupy four subprefectures: Napié, Komoro, Karakoro, and Sinematiali (see Table 4). In most parts of Africa south of the Sahara, estimates of populations speaking dialectal varieties are often not available (Tadadjou, 2004); this is true of the Nafara people. It is difficult to specify the size of the population speaking Nafara in their native region and countrywide. Yet, Nafara speakers clearly make an important portion of the larger Senufo population (Holmes, 1966, p. 15), which according to the 1993 census amounts to 862,000 people (www.ethnologue.com). Also, the fact that Nafara speakers occupy four subprefectures (Table 4) in the administrative region where Senari is originally spoken would seem to be implicit evidence of the size of the population, in the present context.

Nafara, itself, has three variants, or subdialects. The most prominent sub-dialect (variant) is Nafara (it bears the generic name of the dialect); it is found in the subprefectures of Napié, Komoro, and Karakoro. The second largest sub-dialect is Nafannyiri, whose speakers are found in the subprefecture of Sinematiali. The smallest variant, known as Nafamboliri, has speakers scattered over the Nafara region (Table 4). The differences among these three sub-dialects are limited to tonal and accentual nuances, and very few morphemic differences.

Table 4. Nafara Dialect Variants and Their Location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Subprefecture of Napié</th>
<th>Subprefecture of Karakoro</th>
<th>Subprefecture of Komoro</th>
<th>Subprefecture of Sinematiali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nafara</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nafannyiri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nafamboliri</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11 A departement is the largest administrative precinct in the French system of administration of the territory. Each departement is composed of subprefectures.
12 Cf. the foregoing note.
13 The researcher has recently made a formal request to the Office of Statistics that should have this type of data, but it was turned down, for some undeclared political reason.
14 This is based on the writer’s native knowledge of the main linguistic differences.
The speakers of these Nafara subdialects or variants are collectively referred to as the Nafambeli. However, within the Nafambeli community, speakers take local names according to the variants they speak. Thus, speakers of the sub-dialect Nafara use the generic name Nafambeli, while speakers of Nafannyiri and Nafamboliri are locally called Nafannyibeli and Nafambolibeli, respectively.

The foregoing discussion has been concerned with the linguistic panorama of Côte d’Ivoire. It has also introduced, in a more explicit way, the Senari language and Nafara, the dialect of Senari that will be the focal point of this study. A historical perspective will shed light on the overall circumstances and conditions that inform the present study.

A Brief History of Senufo in Côte d’Ivoire

The term Senufo ultimately derives from Siénèrè or Sénère, Siénaw or again Siéne (Ouattara, 1988, p. 12; see also Knops, 1988). These are variants of a compound composed of se/sié meaning ‘farm’ and nèré, nère, naw, or ne meaning ‘man’. Thus the literal translation is ‘farm man’ (Knops, 1988, p. 15). The collective autonym is Senambele (Knops, 1988, p. 13; see also Coulibaly, 1978), the plural form of sénèré, sénére, or sénaw, which means ‘farm people’ or ‘farmers’.

During the French pacification of their new colony of Côte d’Ivoire, a Jula interpreter referred to the Senambele people as Sénèré fo, where fo means ‘speak;’ he meant to say these people were ‘speakers of Sénèrè’ (Knops, 1988, p. 15). The phrase “Sénèré fo” was recorded as the word Senufo, which is now the term given to all people from the same cultural and linguistic background, otherwise known, among themselves, as Senambele (Knops, idem; see also Ouattara, 1978, 1999).

Two major hypotheses have been proposed concerning the origin of Senufo people living in Côte d’Ivoire: the “native origin” thesis and “migration” thesis (Coulibaly, 1978, p. 43). The reports given by informants suggested to some researchers that the Senufo people migrated into the region of Côte d’Ivoire from the north (Mali and Burkina) between the 11th and 12th centuries (Ouattara, 1988, p. 10, 1999, p. 23; Rongier, 2002, p. 97). Other oral traditions seem to indicate that they originated in the southeast of the present Senufo region in Côte d’Ivoire (in the neighborhood of Kong), or in the central area of Côte d’Ivoire (around Bouaké).
On the other hand, Ouattara (1999, p. 26), based on an analysis of etiological tales, religious creed, and names, favors the native origin thesis, maintaining that the Senufo were the original inhabitants of the area they now occupy in the northern region of Côte d’Ivoire and adjacent areas.

While their exact origins remain very difficult to prove, as there are no written records on the Senufo people by either Arabs or slave traders (Knops, 1988, p. 29), all scholars are unanimous that the Senufo were the first people to settle down in the region they occupy today (Holas, 1966, p. 13; Knops, 1988, p. 29).

Relatively recent internal migrations within the Senufo region have been much easier to document. Indeed, some sources clearly indicate that a number of ethnic groups have moved from earlier locations for various reasons, including wars and the quest for new land for farming. In the early 18th century, the Nafambele and Cebaabele (speakers of Nafara and Cebaara, two dialects of Senari) who originally lived east of the Bandama River,15 were forced by the Jula empire of Kong to migrate to the west side of the river, where they are found today (Rongier, 2002, p. 98). Another source suggests that they migrated from the region south of the present Senufo region or the central region of modern Côte d’Ivoire, that is to say, from the region of Bouake, under pressure from Akan tribes (the Baulé, Agni and Abron) toward the end of the 17th century (Knops, 1988, p. 30). Bouaké and Kong are not really far from each other, so these details do not seem too important. (For further discussion on the issue see Holas, 1966; Knops, 1988; Ouattara, 1999.)

Senufo Social Organization and Cultural Traditions

The natural habitat of the Senufo people consists of the grassland or savanna area of Côte d’Ivoire, where they engage in small-scale subsistence farming. Like many other people attached to the land, the Senufo were originally animists.16 In Senufo cosmogony, the invisible and the physical worlds are intertwined, and human beings are at the mercy of ethereal beings such as genies and ancestors, among others, that are worshiped in order to secure peace and harmony in the physical world (Keletigui, 1978; Tuho, 1984, p. 21-24).

---

15 The Bandama is the main river in the Senufo region.
16 Animism is a religious faith, which according to the American Heritage College Dictionary (3rd edition) is “the belief in spiritual beings that are separate from bodies…[and this] immaterial force animates the universe” (p. 54).
The *poro* and the family name are institutions of Senufo society that are of concern here, not only because they are central to Senufo social organization, but also because they will help exemplify the extent of the mutation of the Senufo and their culture, in their contact with the Mandingo people and later French peoples and cultures.

The *poro* is an initiatory system around which the whole life of Senufo men revolves, from birth to death. It ensures civic, military and technical training on the one hand, and the philosophical, ethical, and esoteric foundation of the culture on the other (Tuho, 1984, p. 54; Zempléni, 1990, p. 203). The poro is at the interface between the visible world and the invisible world. As such, it is a pillar in Senufo social organization (Tuho, 1984, p. 27; Zempléni, 1990, p. 204).

In Senufo communities, the institution of the poro is founded on a strict observance of order and discipline, therefore non-conformism is a serious offense. Thus, because of its social, political, occult and spiritual teaching, the poro has predisposed the Senufo people to submission and passivity in the face of authority (Outtara, 1962; Tuho, 1984, p. 55.), which prompted Vendix (referenced by Tuho, 1984, p. 54) to call the Senufo people “le vaincu de la vie,” the ‘defeated of life’ (my translation). This has had some serious consequences on the Senufo people, as we shall see later.

Another tenet of Senufo social organization is the totem. One type of totem is the *yawig*, which relates to a sacred animal that is the ultimate ancestor of each member of Senufo society (Outtara, 1977; Tuho, 1984, p. 22). This ancestral animal determines the family name of all members of a clan descended from that *yawig* animal. Based on the yawigi, there are 5 Senufo clan names or *féligi*: Sekongo, Silué, Soro, Tuho/Tuo, and Yéo (Tuho, 1984, p. 23). There is a clear correspondence of clan names to the animals regarded as the emblem of the clan or family. The animal eponym used as an individual last names or family name thus represents the identity, the soul, and, above all, the cement that holds the clan together (Tuho, 1984, p. 22) (Table 5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senufo names</th>
<th>Eponyms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sekongo</td>
<td>land squirrel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silué</td>
<td>red monkey, python</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soro</td>
<td>panther, leopard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuho/Tuo</td>
<td>lion, warthog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yéo</td>
<td>dwarf antelope</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Senufo Clan Names (Family Name) and Their Corresponding Eponyms
The poro and family name are important institutions of the Senufo cultural group and understanding their significance will help the reader better grasp the situation and the predicament of Senufo people and languages in general and Nafara in particular. To this end, it is necessary to take into account the linguistic history of the region, and to consider the Senufo in light of their contact with the Mandingo and then the French peoples.

The Mandingo Cultural Group in West Africa

The Mandingo people originate in the region of the bend of the Niger River, which coincides with parts of the territory of Guinea, Giunea-Bissau, Mali, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Gambia, and Senegal, in West Africa (Tuho, 1984, p. 44-45.). With very few exceptions, what is referred to as the Mandingo or the Mandinka languages is a set of dialects, most of which are mutually intelligible variants of an overarching language of the Mandingo cultural group. Some of the better-known dialects are spoken in various countries of West Africa: Bambara, Mandinka, Sarakolé/Soniké, Maninka, Malinké, and Susu (www.ethnologue.com, Person, 1975). In some countries, one or two names are used as generic name for multiple variants or dialects. Such is the case of Jula in Côte d’Ivoire, as we shall see below.

Mandingo Colonization in Côte d’Ivoire

The first penetration of Mandingo culture in Senufo society began during the 14th century, through contact with Mandingo traders. But what led to the subjugation of the Senufo people was a series of violent invasions by Mandingo kings and emperors during the eighteenth and nineteenth century (Ouattara, 1999, p. 38-39; Person, 1975).

In the 18th century, Tieba Traoré, a Mandingo king (from the area now known as Mali) annexed the Senufo lands to his empire in order to have easy access to the coast, so that he could more easily obtain his war arsenal (Holas, 1966, p. 45; Tuho, 1984, p. 49-51.). In the early 19th century, as this empire declined, Samory Touré, another Muslim Mandingo emperor who was also fiercely resistant to French colonization, eventually landed in Senufo territory in his southward flight from the French army that had pushed him against the wall in his native land (Modern Guinea). Most Senufo chiefs of that time were loath to wage another bloody war and offered no resistance. When the French captured Samory Touré, a large portion of his people
ended up as permanent residents in Senufo territory, where they proceeded to assume the role of ‘colonizers’, like the former invaders, the people of Tieba Traoré (Person, 1975; Tuho, 1984, p. 49).

Mandingo became the language of command (Ouattara, 1999, p. 38-39; Person, 1975; Tuho, 1984, p. 52), Islam was imposed, and Mandingo cultural practices were encouraged and subtly enforced through the process of pacification that always accompanies colonization (Ouane, 2004, p. 30-31; Paulston, 1994). Senufo cultural values and social organization discourage dissidence of any form. Consequently, the Senufo are docile and tractable before authority. When the Senufo leaders (chiefs of villages, towns, and regions) accepted Mandingo culture and civilization, most Senufo followed suit (Person, 1975; Tuho, 1984, p. 52). Thus began a deep reshaping of Senufo culture.

One clear example is found in family surnames. Based on the totemic animal symbolism prevalent in both Senufo and Mandingo culture, the spiritual leaders of the Mandingo (e.g., imams known as *karamoko*) established equivalences between Mandingo and Senufo family names. Second, thinking that Jula culture and Islam were one, the imams urged Senufo to change their family names to Mandingo ones (Tuho, 1984, p. 52; see also Ouattara, 1977). Table 7 shows the equivalence of Senufo last names with Mandingo family names. Thus, for instance, Sèkongo was to become Kamara, Traoré, or Sanogo, while Tuho would be Diarassouba or Dagnogo, but never the other way around (Person, 1975; Tuho, 1984, p. 53).

Table 6. Equivalences between Mandingo and Senufo Surnames

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senufo name</th>
<th>Eponym</th>
<th>Mandingo name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sékongo</td>
<td>land squirrel</td>
<td>Kamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Traoré</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sanogo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silué</td>
<td>red monkey; python</td>
<td>Koné</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Konaté</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soro</td>
<td>panther; leopard</td>
<td>Coulibaly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Keita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuho / Tuo</td>
<td>lion; warthog</td>
<td>Diarassouba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dagnogo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yéo</td>
<td>dwarf antelope</td>
<td>Ouattara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More than one name can be associated with a single eponym; for example Kamara, Traoré and Sanogo all relate to the land squirrel. On the other hand, a single name may refer to two different eponyms; for instance Diarassouba and Dagnogo identify with both lion and warthog.
As time went on, carrying a Jula last name became a fad (even among animists), then a necessity, and it got to the point where carrying an authentic Senufo last name was odd, which, according to Tuho (1984, p. 56), ended up developing a certain “Senuphobia” evocative of “Negrophobia” and “anti-Semitism.” In the process, a large portion of Senufo jettisoned their culture and language, transformed the names of villages and towns by adding the suffix *dugu*, which means ‘town’ in Jula, in lieu of *kahà*, ‘village’ or ‘town’, and abandoned the poro initiation system, along with many other elements of the social organization (Person, 1975; Tuho, 1984, p. 25). Thus started the celebration of the “sandwich-man,” (Tuho, 1984, p. 57) that man who traded his spiritual, cultural, and authentic social identity for an empty identity as it reflects no sociological reality but that of a deep cultural colonization.

The contact with Mandingo people has resulted in a painful depersonalization of the Senufo, condoned by the Senufo themselves and subtly implemented by the Mandingo peoples, the colonizers. Thus, the Jula influence on Senufo came through the violent Mandingo conquest of Senufo lands (Holas, 1966, p. 45; Person, 1975). Then came yet another colonization by the French empire, beginning in the late eighteenth century. This point will be discussed later. For now, the focus is on the Jula, the people from the Mandingo cultural and linguistic background who now live in Côte d’Ivoire.

**The Jula, a Mandingo Group in Côte d’Ivoire**

Jula is used here to refer to the language of the Mandingo cultural group in Côte d’Ivoire. This language is a cluster of several dialects, one of which is also known as Jula. The main dialects of Jula are Korokan, Koyagakan, Odiennekan, Worodugukan, and Mahukan, and Jula (Braconnier et al., 1983; Derive, 1983; Tuho, 1984). Derive’s (1979) work reveals that Jula dialects in Côte have a comfortable rate of mutual intelligibility (Braconnier, Marie, & Tera, 1983, p. 13). These dialects were originally spoken in pockets of speech communities located in the north of Côte d’Ivoire, including the northeastern and northwestern regions. But in fairness, today, the Jula language could be likened with the lingua franca in Côte d’Ivoire.

Within the context of this study, all Jula dialects spoken in Côte d’Ivoire will be collectively referred to as Jula. The speakers of these dialects are also referred to as the Jula or Jula people. However, any reference to languages and people from the Mandingo cultural group

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18 The generic term Jula is used to refer to all dialects.
outside Côte d'Ivoire and in historical discussions will use the term “Mandingo language(s)” and “Mandingo people,” respectively.

Jula is one of the major languages, if not the major language spoken in Côte d’Ivoire (Silué, 1998, p. 4). *Tabusikan* is a popular variant, virtually a national standard spoken by non-native speakers and also by Jula people in their encounters with speakers of other dialects of Jula, or again by children of native speakers born and raised in big towns and cities outside the native region of the Jula people (Braconnier et al., 1983, pp. 18-19). Jula belongs to the Mandé family, which in turn is part of the larger Niger-Congo linguistic stock, itself part of the Niger-Kordofanian superfamily. Jula and its congener Guro and Yacouba are spoken in Côte d’Ivoire. Other subfamilies of Mandé languages spoken elsewhere are Western, Central-Southwestern, Central, Manding-Jogo, Manding-Vai, Manding-Mokole, Manding, Manding-East, Southeastern Manding, Maninka-Mori (www.ethnologue.com). The chart of the Mande language family in Côte d’Ivoire is given below (Figure 2; see also Table 1).

Niger-Kordofanian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Niger-Congo</th>
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</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MANDE</th>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guro</th>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jula</th>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yacuba</th>
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</thead>
</table>

Figure 2. Chart of the Mandé language family of Côte d’Ivoire
The Jula culture and the Jula language are important to this study because of the impact they have had on the Senufo people and their languages (Nicot-Guillorel, 2002, p. 27; Tuho, 1984, p. 51-53), as discussed above. As a consequence of Mandingo colonization, Senufo children learn a variety of Jula that borrows from Senufo languages, themselves half-developed by some parents of these children. This ‘creolized’ Jula\textsuperscript{19} is spoken in many Senufo families all over the country of Côte d’Ivoire (Tuho, 1984, p. 56). The permeation of Jula and the Jula-based Creole in Senufo communities of Côte d’Ivoire presents a real danger for Senufo languages, including Senari and its dialects (Tuho, 1984).

The French in Côte d’Ivoire

A Sketch of the History of French Colonization

The French, like other Europeans, had had commercial relationships with Africa for centuries, since the early 13\textsuperscript{th} century, before beginning their imperialist moves, which started taking shape only from the 18\textsuperscript{th} century onward. General Louis Faidherbe, based in Senegal, extended the French program of expansion to the region now known as Côte d’Ivoire. The European powers, who were coveting parts of Africa, met in 1885 to sign the Berlin Act, which allowed them to slice the continent into the polities that characterize it today (Crowder, 1990, p. 72), and in 1893, Côte d’Ivoire became a colony of France (Rongier, 1988, p. 10).

Between 1893 and 1934, all pockets of resistance in Côte d’Ivoire were crushed, and the pacified country became an overseas territory of France until 1958 (Rongier, 2002, p. 11). A French governor based in Senegal administered all West African colonies, including Côte d’Ivoire (Ajayi and Crowder, 1987), and French language and culture were enforced through direct rule.

In the wake of World War II, which was an eye-opener for West Africans, veterans and educated people started to push for reforms, which were eventually conceded at the 1944 conference in Brazzaville (Ajavi & Crowder, 1987; Crowder, 1990). Under the pressure of political parties that had sprouted up all over West Africa, the French government passed the \textit{loi cadre} (an enabling law that allowed certain forms of self-government) in 1956, which allowed the formation of national governments (Crowder, 1990; Rongier, 2002, p. 11). This proved to be

\textsuperscript{19} This creole is more of a mixed language, as defined by Thomason (2001), where Jula vocabulary is grafted onto a Senari grammatical framework.
a decisive step towards autonomy, which was finally granted to Côte d’Ivoire in 1958 (Rongier, 2002, p. 11). By the 1960s, all French colonies in West Africa got their independence (Crowder, 1990; Rongier, 2002, p. 12). Felix Houphouet Boigny, the first president of the republic of Côte d’Ivoire, from 1960 till his death in 1993, and the PDCI-RDA, the political party he created, were the architects of the country’s independence (Crowder, 1990).

The French Language in Independent Côte d’Ivoire

In modern Côte d’Ivoire, French is still the one and only official language and is the language of all educational instruction, as well, to date. Silué (2000), following Mendoze observes, “French is the only language in use in schools. School-teachers and their pupils are not allowed to make use of the medium of the country” (p. 104). This mandate by French governors during colonial period is still in order in independent Côte d’Ivoire in both the spirit and the letter in schools and governments. Until the late 1970s, transgressors of the “Do Not Speak Your Tongue” rule in Côte d’Ivoire were forced to wear a “symbol,” an object meant to be physically repulsive and disgusting, as a sign that the student had fallen out of grace. Indeed, wearing the symbol, a rope necklace with a bullhorn as the medallion ornament, was felt as a disgrace by most transgressors. Today, even though there is no symbol to carry around in the schoolyard, it sounds awkward and inappropriate (even to native speakers) to speak one’s mother tongue in the schoolyard, where the privileged language is French, to the exclusion of all others, as in colonial times (Silué, 2000, p. 139). This imposition of French is also in effect in government offices (Silué, 2000, p. 139). For instance, any person who speaks local languages in an office will be kindly reminded to wait till 4 PM, which is the time when the national radio begins broadcasting in local languages (Silué, 2000, p. 139).

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20 PDCI-RDA is the political party created by late Felix Houphouet Boigny, the first president of Côte d’Ivoire.

21 During his primary schools (1962 – 1967) at L’EPP Napié 1, Napié, Côte d’Ivoire, the researcher was forced to wear the ‘symbol’ several times.

22 A niece of mine, an elementary experienced teacher, felt genuinely annoyed when a first grader tried to ask her a question in Nafara about a class task she did not understand. The poor little girl had been sent to Abidjan for school, where she had her first experience of French.
French as a Blend of Capitals

National politicians, now rulers of independent countries in Africa, in general, carried the intolerant attitude of the colonizers toward local languages into the era of independence, for various reasons, including ideological, political, and social (Harlech-Jones, 2004, p. 53-54; Silué, 2000, p. 105, 112) as we shall see later in this discussion. In Côte d’Ivoire, these attitudes toward local languages have consolidated the linguistic hegemony of French, which seems to be in constant and relentless conflict with local languages.

French is a major means by which rulers promote their ideologies and maintain their dominance over the overwhelmingly illiterate people in the former French colonies (Hinton, 2001, p. 3-4; Skutnabb-Kangas et al., 2004, p. 15). French is preferred because it enhances and consolidates the social, economic, and political position of its speakers, as well as perpetuating these advantages for their descendants (Barton, 1994). Those who can wield the French language in Côte d’Ivoire seem well-armed to make it in the system. From this perspective, French is a form of capital (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 1986), inasmuch as it “provides those who control it with a profit of social distinction” (Ben-Rafael, 1994, p. 41). As such, French is an essential ingredient in the social reproduction of inequalities, through school, for instance (Bourdieu, 1991; Canagarajah, 1999, p. 22). The French-based system seeks to uproot “several generations of people and condemn them to self-devaluation . . . [producing] people who cannot manage their own affairs” (Tadadjeu, 2004, p. 4).

Like any form of capital, French is empowering in every sense of the word (Barton, 1994; Williams, 2004, p. 15) because it ensures other forms of capital, i.e., social, economic, and political (Bourdieu, 1986; Lin, 2001a). Romaine (2004), assessing the reasons why some languages are threatened with extinction, came to this simple realization:

[Languages disappear] not because they are suppressed, but because native speakers yearn for a better life. Speaking a language like English, French or Spanish, and discarding traditional habits, can open up new worlds and is often a ticket to modernity (p. 18)

The above observation underscores the significance of language as linguistic capital, which also embodies a plethora of other benefits. The same conclusion has been reached by a number of scholars, including Paulston (1994) and Lin (2001a). The use of French signals the speaker’s membership in a speech community; thus, the user becomes a participant in the dominant
discourse (Gee, 2004) and takes advantage of all its attendant benefits of status and power. Harlech-Jones (2004) delves into the complex coexistence of local languages and English in Pakistan. His study shows that

In Pakistan, competence in English (together with Urdu) is necessary for recruitment and/or advancement within the civil services, the armed forces, many commercial and media enterprises, most NGOs, and higher education (p. 53). Such a study has not yet been carried out in Côte d’Ivoire, but it is very evident that those who can wield French have access to better education and jobs and enjoy better socio-economic and political status than those who do not.

French as a source of capital underlying social reproduction reifies the social divide between those who were born into or have access to such social capitals and those who do not, by far the larger part of the population of Côte d’Ivoire. The privileged position of French thus reinforces the social imbalance among classes (Bourdieu, 1986; Kanagarajah, 1999; Tadadjeu, 2004). Like a double-edged knife, it empowers one side while depriving the other of substantial means to celebrate social life. In modern Côte d’Ivoire, French is a must in the society. Access to it, even if only its creolized forms, is the key to success, as it is everywhere fundamental to securing education, employment and position (Lafage, 1996, p. 590).

Overall, there is an overwhelming use of French and Jula and their creolized forms at the expense of the native languages (Nicot-Guillorel, 2002, p. 27-29). French and Jula have preyed upon Senufo languages, including Senari, in significant ways: the former through economic colonization and formal education and the latter as a result of earlier cultural colonization. As has been observed in similar situations around the world, the extensive exposure to these dominant languages has resulted in Senari being seriously demeaned. As a result of the foregoing, the Senufo languages in general, and Senari in particular can be considered endangered languages (Hinton, 2001).

The purpose of the preceding discussion was to shed light on the conditions and circumstances that have led to the present situation of Senufo languages in general, and particularly Nafara. It also showed that Côte d’Ivoire presents a typical African multilingual situation, as evidenced by the presence of a multitude of local languages as well as foreign languages, such as French and English. Depending on factors both exogenous and endogenous, language contact comes in several forms, including bilingualism/multilingualism, assimilative trends, and language shift (McMahon, 1994; Paulston, 1994). As shown above, for historical and
religious reasons, the last two scenarios (assimilation and shift) have characterized the contact of Senufo languages with Jula and French.

The above discussion clearly portrayed Côte d’Ivoire as a country presenting a typical multilingual situation, where languages in contact entertain particular relationships with one another. As pointed out earlier (cf. “Statement of Problem and Purpose” in the introduction to this study), the typical multilingual situation that Côte d’Ivoire identifies with introduces a range of problems, some of which are related to the issues of interference and the lack of literacy in the local language, as far as language education is concerned. For instance, French L2 in formal context is seriously constrained by local languages. Language education, therefore, identifies with a major concern and seems thus to beg for some urgent attention. The specific goal was to identify a genre of Nafara local literature that is comparable to a written composition in a literary language like French. To this end I selected a narrative genre of folktales as the closest match to a written story. This study examined the rhetorical pattern of several Nafara folktales from the subgenre called mú?urù. Presented below are the research questions that guide this study, and which also helped to explore ways out to address this pending problem.

Research Questions

1. How can the mú?urù genre be defined empirically in terms of its diagnostic discourse structure?
   1.1. How are participants and props introduced and tracked?
   1.2. How are pivotal and peak events marked?
   1.3. How is background and foreground information managed?
   1.4. How is the dramatic development maintained?
   1.5. How are the stories structured?

2. Can Nafara (L1) literacy benefit from this study?
   2.1. Is the transcription system used in the study suitable to be used as practical orthography for L1 literacy?
   2.2. Can the grammatical patterns identified in this study be used to develop a didactic grammar for L1 literacy?
2.3. Can the discourse structure identified in the mú?uriï genre be used to teach composition in L1?

3. Can French (L2) literacy benefit from this study?
   3.1. Is the Nafara orthography consonant with French orthography practice? Or what changes/additions need to be noted in the transition to L2 literacy?
   3.2. Can the grammatical categories and processes described for Nafara be used as a foundation for French sentence grammar, or what contrasts must be noted in the teaching of L2 grammar?
   3.3. Can the rhetorical structures of traditional Nafara genres be used to inform the teaching of composition in L2?

Operationalizing the Research Questions

Question one: How can the mú?uriï genre be defined empirically in terms of its diagnostic discourse structure?

Three methods were used to establish the discourse structures that define the mú?uriï__as a genre of Nafara oral tradition: 1) Discourse Analysis, 2) Ethnopoetics, and 3) Story Grammar.

Researchers in various fields have contributed in one way or another to the development of Discourse Analysis as a method of text analysis, but its most famous proponent is Robert Longacre, in his work since the 1960s (e.g., Longacre, 1958, 1964a, 1965a, 1982, 1990, 1996). This method has been popular among scholars in the field who have scrutinized varieties of discourse genres, texts, and speech events using it.

Discourse analysis was supplemented by other related approaches, in particular ethnopoetics and story grammar. Ethnopoetics rests on line and stanza analysis, a technique that will be used in this study. Story grammar is concerned with scrutinizing episodes and the processes by which the logical link in the notional structure builds up the dramatic progression. These methods will be revisited in Chapter Three.

Materials on the genre under study were collected and transcribed in Nafara. Then, using a combination of techniques from discourse analysis, story grammar, and ethnopoetics à la Hymes, the researcher broke the materials down into their basis components (lines, stanzas,
events, and scenes). Thus, it was possible to analyze materials, that is, to describe the grammar and examine various types of information concerning participants and props, the pivotal and peak events, and the narrative thread, all of which helped access the rhetorical pattern of the discourse genre of concern.

Questions Two and Three: Can Nafara (L1) literacy benefit from this study? Can French (L2) literacy benefit from this study?

The methodologies of discourse analysis and contrastive rhetoric, used as pedagogical tools, were also used to address these questions. It is noteworthy that question Two and Three are ancillary to Question One. Therefore, in dealing with question one, Question Two and Three were indirectly touched on through the concern for the linguistic description of Nafara used in the analysis of the tales. Owing to this, it was anticipated that the results of Question One would allow for exploring the scope of Question Two and Three.

Theoretical and Philosophical Grounding

This research is rooted in the theories of discourse analysis and the ethnography of speaking. As foundation for this study, they held our attention in a particular way.

Scholars have slightly different perspectives on the theory of discourse analysis, as one would expect. However, those working in the field of linguistics and anthropology, and in their related fields such as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, pragmatics, and ethnography converge on the fact that discourse analysis, as a theory, strives to explain the phenomenon of human communication by looking at both the physical text (discourse) and the overall context that gives rise to it (e.g., Brown & Yule, 1983; Gumperz, 1982; Longacre, 1977; Schiffrin, 1994; Stubbs, 1983). The theory of discourse analysis is amply dealt with in Chapter two (Please see the section on discourse and discourse analysis).

In the 1960s and 1970s, Dell Hymes, who has both an anthropological and linguistic background, came to the realization that both anthropologists and linguists often neglect “parole,” the actual communicative conduct, in their studies (Leeds-Hurtwiz, 2005, p. 341). Therefore, he insisted that scholars in the field “must take as context a community, or network of persons, investigating the communicative activities as a whole” (Hymes, 1974, p. 4). The concern for speaking as an activity worth examining for a better grasp of the discourse gradually
became the centerpiece in linguistic anthropological studies; its first name was the ethnography of speaking (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2005, p. 341). However, because anthropological research is concerned with all aspects of culture, “communication” was subsequently introduced to take account of paralinguistic communicative behaviors (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2005, p. 343; Hymes, 1974).

The assumption of the theory is that 1) language production should be studied in its natural state and holistically, 2) the speech community provides the standards of communicative competence, 3) different categories of speech performance, i.e., different genres, different kinds of discourse, will have different ‘standards’ for their performance. So, language can be studied by observing speech events in terms of sets of dimensions (using Hymes’ acronym SPEAKING, which stands for setting, participants, event, action, key, intention, norm, and genre, to summarize the components of a speech event), but these events have meaning only in native terms of organization (Gumperz, 1997, p. 186; Hymes, 1962, 1974; Keating, 2001, p. 289). The ethnography of communication provides both a theory and a method of text and discourse analysis (Hymes, 1964; Titscher et al., 2000, p. 91), using its universal dimensions for dealing with oral narratives.

Methodology for genre definition and analysis of structural characteristics of different genres uses standard ethnographic and linguistic techniques, such as working with informants, competent speakers, i.e., members of the speech community, whose knowledge is shared by others in common, or whose competence is accepted by the community (Hymes, 1972b, 1974, 2003). At issue is the problem of discovering and explaining the competence that enables members of a community to conduct and interpret speech [and by extension, other communicative acts]” (Hymes, 1972b, p. 52).
CHAPTER 2. THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The purpose of this study was to examine the discourse organization of Nafara, a dialect of Senari language. This analysis will serve as a springboard to developing L1 literacy in Nafara in order to improve French (L2) literacy in Côte d’Ivoire. To realize this purpose the researcher addressed the research questions laid out in Chapter one, whose implications, in turn addressed the problem caused by the interference of local languages in L2 language education in formal context.

The purpose of the literature review was to discuss literature relevant to these research questions, to illuminate the problem and to suggest approaches to their resolution. Background issues to this project, such as language maintenance, policy, loss and literacy were reviewed in this section, as well. Overall, the following areas of scholarly literature were reviewed: first, the researcher discussed issues relating to language policy and education, loss and maintenance, then contrastive rhetoric, and after that orality versus literacy, where oral traditions, oral and writing mode, similarities and differences between oral literature and written narrative were addressed, and finally, discourse and the methodologies used in text analysis were explored. It was hoped that the reader would gain insights into the nature of the problem and the need for the research described herein.

Language Policy and Education, Loss, and Maintenance

Of concern in this section of the discussion were the impact of Jula and French on the Senufo cultural group and its languages, through the example of the Nafara dialect of the Senari language. In the section about language policy and education, the discussion was more centered on French, because the penetration of Jula did not occur through formal education. As pointed out in Chapter One, the permeation and imposition of Jula language and culture on the Senufo people was brought about through the successive Mandingo invasions and conquest of the Senufo territory, from the early 19th century onward. However, in the section the concerning Senari and Nafara, particularly, the influence of Jula will be amply addressed.
The Promotion of Global Literacy

Formal education in Côte d’Ivoire introduces foreign languages in the linguistic repertoire of children. First, French, in most cases when the child starts preschool. French is privileged as the first language of education by virtue of its status as the national language; it is the language of administration, business, and also legal affairs. As students move up in school, other foreign languages (all mandatory for quite a while) are added to the curriculum in the educational system. For instance, English is in the curriculum from the sixth grade onward until late grade years, while German and Spanish begin in the eighth grade, and cover at least 2 grade levels. In institutions of higher education (e.g., the university), other languages are taught, such as Arabic, Portuguese, Japanese, and Russian. However, in this panorama, no local language is taught as a mandatory subject, much less used as a medium of instruction.

A major tool used in the pacification of the indigenous African populations during colonial era consisted in demeaning local languages and religious beliefs (Smalley, 1994). In this vein, local languages, no matter what their number of speakers, were turned into subsidiary to foreign languages, principally French, actually spoken by very few people in the colonies. In other words, the majority languages in colonies have been "minorized," while the foreign minority ones have been "majorized" (Skutnabb-Kangas et al., 2004, p. 16). King (2004) also underscores this paradox:

[I]n many parts of Africa, there are populations of individual mother tongue speakers much larger than those in many European nations, and yet these mother tongues play little part in what may be called the formal sector of the economy--except, sometimes, in lower primary education (p. 9).

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23 It is noteworthy that for a growing number of children from educated Ivoirian parents French is becoming L1 in lieu of their native language. On the other hand, it is good to note that some families try to institute bilingualism right from the beginning.

24 Any student in the educational system of CI will have taken Spanish, German, or Portuguese for at least two years by the ninth grade. Everyone takes English from the sixth grade till the master’s, if not doctorate level in every imaginable discipline.

25 In some private schools, English starts earlier, i.e., in grade one.

26 The term “minorized” and “majorized” have been coined by Skutnabb-Kangas and his colleagues to refer to situations in which minor language (generally more powerful economically and politically speaking) are turned into major languages while languages widely spoken by local populations take on the status of minor languages.
Some African countries have made great strides as far as literacy in national languages is concerned. However, in most African countries, the promotion of local languages to the level of medium of instruction remains at the conceptual level (Silué, 2000, Tadadjeu, 2004). Côte d’Ivoire seems to be lagging behind every other country in this regard. There has been no real policy for the promotion of local languages over the many decades that have elapsed since the country got its freedom from France (Silué, 1998, 2000). Meanwhile, the former colonizers, sometimes in conjunction with local leaders, have developed both overt and covert strategies to promote the exoglossic language.\(^{27}\) The “symbol” used in schools in Côte d’Ivoire to humiliate students who speak their native language in class or in the schoolyard is an instance of explicit means to promote French.

Situations similar to the one in Côte d’Ivoire have existed elsewhere, all over the world; Hinton (2001) and Morgan (2001) have documented cases in the U. S. and in Wales. Hinton (2001, p. 41) cites a report of the U. S. Federal Commissioner for the Bureau of Indian Affairs in which it is clearly stated that indigenous languages are not allowed in schools, including the schoolyard. Likewise Welsh students were forbidden to use their mother tongue (Morgan, 2001, p. 109). In all of these situations, speaking one’s mother tongue was severely punished.

Other coercive strategies have been implemented through the allocation of funds for education. Funding for schools in former French colonies in Africa, for example, was contingent on the exclusive use of French (King, 2004, p. 9; Silué, 2000, p. 105). Furthermore, other measures aimed at maintaining the colonial language, in both English and French former colonies, specifically, have included bilateral cooperation programs, which promote the status of the “majorized” minority foreign language (King, 2004, p. 9). All these practices are nothing but “linguistic Darwinism” (May, 2004, p. 14) aimed at smothering local languages and violating the cultural heritage of their speakers (Tadadjeu, 2004). In the case of Côte d’Ivoire, it comes as no surprise, then, that for a significant portion of the population, local languages have been lost to French (Silué, 2000).

In Côte d’Ivoire, as well as in most African countries south of the Sahara, the exoglossic language is the one and only language students have a chance to learn to write and read through formal education, before the introduction of still other foreign languages. These students’

\(^{27}\) Exoglossic is a term used by Williams (2004: 35) to refer to dominant foreign language in former colonies in Africa and over the world.
difficulties are compounded because they barely speak the language of instruction before they start schooling. Consequently, not only do they have to learn literacy, they also have to learn the language that carries literacy (Rogers, 2004, p. 27). In the case of Côte d’Ivoire, given that over 60% of the population lives in rural areas, where everyone’s first language is an African language, the odds are against most students from the time they set foot in a classroom. Owing to this, instruction in French, a foreign language, represents an initial handicap for rural students and the underprivileged students in the urban areas, in the Ivoirian educational system. Williams (2004, p. 35) posits that education under these conditions constitutes a heavy burden, which is likely to disrupt the child’s cognitive development if nothing else, an effect that presages his failure in the system. Thus, formal education seems to introduce blatant discrepancies between the child’s linguistic practice at school and his/her speech behavior within the primary speech community (Gee, 1996, pp. 116-117; Hymes, 1996, p. 174). In this regard Alison (2004) writes:

Learning is always situated within a sociocultural context, and mastery of skills comes about through membership in a community of learners immersed in practices that are relevant to their life world, or primary discourse, as well as relevant to pedagogic goals, or secondary discourses (p. 149; for further discussion on the issue, see Gee, 1989a and 1996).

The disregard for the primary language explains why the typical student in the educational system of Côte d’Ivoire is a potential dropout. Educational research has found that education in a language with which the child is not familiar is itself a barrier to education (Beyon, 2004, p. 151; Robinson, 2004, p. 44). From this perspective, education becomes the very thing that divides the community. It creates even more disparities between those who have home access to the French language, the fortunate few, and those who do not (Stephens, 2004, p. 14). Education that depends totally on a foreign language fortifies prejudices against the underprivileged population and widens the gap between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have nots’ (Tadadjeu, 2004, p. 6). French, the language of instruction, sets parameters outside the scope of most Ivoirian students. It is clear that the fate of these students is confusion and bewilderment. The disruption in the child’s development that ensues alters the modes of thought as well as the social organization of local people (Leontief, 1978; Luria, 1976; Ouane, 2004).

The above discussion reveals some of the ways and means used by colonial powers before and also after independence to maintain the dominance of their languages in countries
around the world. Often, the then incipient African leadership and rulers played an important part in the maintenance of the place and role of the colonial language in African society in general (Rogers, 2004, p. 27; Silué, 2000, p. 112-113), as we shall see in the discussion below. The explicit role of leaders in demeaning their own native tongues is an important issue in language policy.

Causes of Language Decay, Loss and Shift

The Role of African Rulers in the Subjugation of Local Languages

The architects of independence decided to keep the colonial languages as mediums of instruction and also as the national language when African countries gained their freedom from Europeans colonizers. In Côte d'Ivoire, this language is French, as pointed out above. Many arguments were put forward to support this choice. In Côte d'Ivoire, and in most African countries as well, national rulers have alleged that their countries are “a linguistic and cultural quilt” (Nji, 2004, p. 33) that renders administration and education in local languages almost impossible (Nji, 2004, p. 33; Silué, 2000, p. 83). In other words, multilingualism has been decried as a significant barrier preventing the building a unified nation (Ouane, 2004, p. 3; Silué, 2000, p. 83; Tadadjeu, 2004, p. 7). Thus, the language of the former colonizer was seen as the best candidate as the lingua franca for the newly born nation (Silué, 2000; Tadadjeu, 2004). By choosing a foreign language, regarded as neutral, these early leaders avoided the daunting task of picking one native language from among many others (Silué, 2000; 82-83; Tadadjeu, 1989, 2004) because choosing a specific native language would be seen as slighting the others. This, too, seemed sensible in the early days of the fledging nations. Yet, there are many examples in Africa and around the world that confirm that a multiplicity of languages within national boundaries is not an insoluble problem. For instance, in Papua New Guinea, with over 800 languages (Wroge, 2002), and in Cameroon, with over 250 languages (Tadadjeu, 2004), positive experiments in local language literacy have been undertaken (Silué, 2000, p. 105; Tadadjeu, 2004).

Malone (2004), in a study based on several African countries, came to the conclusion that attitudes toward L1 present a kaleidoscopic image. Not only were local languages often simply prohibited, but also the claim has repeatedly been made that exoglossic languages are the only
solution. The most intriguing scenario is reflected in the attitudes of those who voiced their support for the promotion of local languages while their practice seemed to tell another story. For instance, it is often the case that means are not provided to make local literacy a reality, even though rulers vow to take on the issue (Akyeampong, 2004, p. 62; Malone, 2004, p. 40-41). But many scholars have debunked the idea that a multiplicity of languages does not allow for promotion of local languages, because such an argument does not stand up to scrutiny (Yanga, 1998, p. 184; Yooye, 2004, p. 59).

A closer look reveals that the decisions of the founding fathers of African countries (former European colonies) to keep the language of the colonizer might not have been so neutral. This is made clear in comments made by some of them. For instance, Senghor (1988), the first president of Senegal, contends that African languages, unlike Indo-European languages are not suitable for sciences, but rather for art and poetry, because of the predominance of coordination and juxtaposition in their discourse. On the other hand, he believes Indo-European languages are science oriented, by virtue of the predominance of subordination, which makes them suitable for reasoning (p. 177).

Senghor is credited with the creation and the promotion of “Negritude,” a movement that celebrated black culture in the wake of the Harlem Renaissance (Ako, 1982). Owing to the preceding he is generally regarded as an apostle of Black culture in which language stands out. Senghor was also the first president of the Republic of Senegal. For such an important figure on the African scene to look down on local indigenous languages, as evidenced above, is symptomatic of the real motive behind the maintenance and promotion of French in the former colonies. What this indicates is that there has been no real commitment to promote local languages. This comes as no surprise, as officials in countries where foreign languages are dominant often seem to downgrade their own linguistic heritage, as it is made evident in Rogers (2004): “A former Minister of Education in Antigua told us when discussing this, ‘We cannot provide literacy in Creole for it is not a real language.’” (p. 27) Such a comment from a leader of national opinion is very telling. In a similar register, but in a less blunt fashion, Senghor (1988) celebrates the French language as a blessing for former colonies because it offers a system of methods, organization, a speech style, and a thinking methodology (p. 117); such a comment would seem to imply that African languages have no “suitable” thinking methodology.
comments made by these leaders seem to point to some of the reasons why mother tongues are
dying at a frenetic rhythm in Africa and other developing countries with similar situations.

One of the many arguments for opting for a foreign language as the new national
language was that a single language would help achieve unity and development (Nji, 2004, p. 34; Tadadjeu, 2004, p. 6). It is noteworthy that this rhetoric has fallen from grace, because the citizens in African countries are split along foreign versus national language lines (Williams, 2004). That is to say that they are divided according to who has access to the national language and who does not (Barton, 1994; Tadadjeu, 2004, p. 6).

One may venture to say that most public declarations were but political rhetoric to
advance hidden agendas. Ouane (2004, p. 31) argues that the adoption of foreign languages is a
way for elites to maintain their dominance over the illiterate masses (See Silué, 2000 for more
discussion on this issue), because the ability to wield the politically dominant language is
empowerment in every sense of the word (Barton, 1994). The attitudes of colonizers and early
native rulers in newly independent countries have shaped the fate of African languages and
people. Such is the case of the Senufo cultural group and its languages. Another major means in
the alienation of local languages has been enacted through structuring formal education
according to the foreign language (For further discussion on the issue, see Gee, 1989a, 1996).

Other Causes of Language Decay, Loss and Shift

There are many factors that contribute to language loss, shift and decay in developing
countries. Among other considerations, structural conditions and arrangements, popular views on
local languages, and the lack of linguistic nationalism, are regarded as major factors that affect
native languages in many countries around the globe.

Local languages, no matter what the size of the speech community, are often abusively
and incorrectly referred to as minority languages, a fact that caused May (2004) to argue that
their ‘minority status’ in Africa is socially and politically constructed (p. 13). This is why
languages such Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba are called minority languages (May, 2004). Similarly,
Jula (a Mandingo cultural group language) and the Senufo languages that are spoken over 12
(Jula) and 4 (Senufo) countries of West Africa are regarded as minority languages in Côte
d’Ivoire and elsewhere.
Paulston (1994) posits that the fate of a language is played out in language contact situations in various ways depending on multiple factors, some of which are 1) the intrinsic quality of the language (superordinate or subordinate), 2) the quality of the contact (annexing, colonization, etc.), and 3) the attitudes of the natural language speakers toward their own linguistic heritage. For Paulston (1994), it all comes down to power relationship, because the language that holds the “economic power” is certain to be in a better position to “flex its linguistic muscles” (p. 30). In other words, the economic status of a language is a key factor in matters relating to loss and maintenance. Colonial languages hold both economic and political power; thus, they overshadow less economically viable languages. Economic superiority, urbanization and industrialization are the traditional macrosociological factors that loom large in the decay of local languages (Robins and Uhlenbeck, 1991).

Linguistic nationalism is not an active force in most African countries that have adopted European languages, partly because of the lack of written tradition among the indigenous languages (Mazrui, 2004, p. 20). Not only does the lack of a written literature seem to hinder linguistic nationalism, but it also constitutes a fertile soil for the establishment of global literacy (Mazrui, 2004). This points to the “intrinsic quality” (e.g., the strictly oral nature) of the language as an important factor in the loss or maintenance of a language. If this is true, Senufo languages are especially at stake because they are in a subordinate position when compared to both French, the previous ruling group, and Jula.

Grass roots people in developing countries in general, and specifically in Sub-Saharan countries of Africa, are far from being mere victims in this gradual loss of local languages to foreign ones, as can be seen in some popular views about mother tongues. For instance, Harlech-Jones’ (2004) study reveals that “Many parents consider that ‘mother tongue instruction’ retards the future economic and financial prospects of their children, or at least, does not advance their chances” (p. 54). This thinking clearly shows how local populations devalue their own languages. Worse yet, these parents seem to be unaware of the danger of losing one’s language, which is tantamount to losing one’s cultural roots. The shortsightedness of local people exposed here is characteristic of attitudes that are rampant in African societies. Foreign European languages are identified with intellectual, socio-economic, and political advantages, and are, therefore, highly sought after (Romaine, 2004, p. 18). The negative attitudes of ordinary local people toward their mother tongues are aspects of a spillover effect after years of subjugation by
Europeans and then by Eurocentric African rulers (Silué, 2000, p. 112-113; Tadadjeu, 2004). Kulick (1992) pointed out that such attitudes are a major cause of the loss of local languages to the exoglossic ones.

The antagonistic attitudes toward local languages pointed out above are also evident in the structural levels of educational systems. For instance, most educational systems in Africa exclude local languages completely, while still believing they will be maintained by some magic. They just seem to indulge in lip services when it comes to their official declarations in favor of local literacy. In many African countries, examples of structural arrangements set up to curb or delay local literacy forever are noted here and there (Malone, 2004, p. 41-42). For instance, in many developing countries of Africa and in Papua New Guinea, policies for mother-tongue education are often in place, but concrete actions, in terms of investments in time and material resources, are slow or never come.

The support of international organizations for the cause of literacy worldwide is undeniable, but it is sometimes the case that they fail to be on target as far as the appropriateness of the task is concerned. For example, it has been observed that some UNESCO moves have incidentally worked toward overshadowing local literacy. UNESCO missed the point about the nature of literacy in Africa, when it emphasized literacy skills in languages of wider communication during its summit on literacy in Sub-Saharan countries in April 2000, Dakar, Senegal (Silué, 2000, p. 5).

The causes of language loss come in different forms and nature. The above discussion is far from being exhaustive. The purpose of the foregoing brief discussion was to expose fundamental facts that explain the circumstances that have brought about the precarious situation of local languages in Africa in general and in Côte d’Ivoire in particular. Senari as a whole and Nafara in particular belong in the category of endangered languages.

Local languages in Africa and other parts of the world have been vilipended, discredited, and jettisoned because of the imperialistic moves of Europeans and the shortsighted and selfish attitudes of African rulers in general, and, to some extent, the people themselves (Rogers, 2004, p. 27; Silué, 2000, p. 112). It comes as no surprise that some scholars advocate a total decolonization, including the decolonization of the minds in Africa, as a way to save African cultures and languages (e.g., Ngugi, 1986).
Research on education in multilingual situations has shown that exoglossic languages have done more harm than good to students on whom these foreign languages are imposed and which they do not know (May, 1994, p. 14; Nicot-Guillorel, 2002). It seems high time that African people shifted the focus from persecuting their own languages to rehabilitating them as the genuine bearers of a brighter future. Local literacy has been shown to be a reliable way to achieve harmony in education and development in Africa, in general (Hinton, 2001; Tadadjeu, 2004, p. 8; Yoloye, 2004, p. 59).

Maintaining Local Languages

Maintaining native languages may be achieved by means of a range of actions that involve many factors. In the present discussion, the researcher will be concerned with factors that are within reach or exploitable, given the local circumstances of the countries of concern, that is, developing countries, and specifically African countries, including Côte d’Ivoire. Of interest will be literacy development and various means of language rehabilitation, including use, positive attitude, and real commitment to maintain mother tongues.

Developing Local Literacy

UNESCO (1978) proclaims that that a literate person is, “[Someone] who can understandably read and write a short single statement on his everyday life” (p. 89). Furthermore,

A person who is functionally literate can engage in all activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning of his group and community and also for enabling him to continue to use reading, writing and calculation for his own and the community’s benefits (p. 89).

The latter definition contains the modifier “functionally,” which reflects what Barton (1994) refers to as literacy for ordinary life. Barton (1994) differentiates this emerging and practical type of literacy from the traditional canonical type, which entails achieving mastery of linguistic skills for advancement in the formal school system. In the following sections of this review, these two aspects of literacy, formal and functional, will be examined.
The situation of local languages in Africa presents grounds for real concern. Several decades of attempting to impose literacy in foreign languages have mostly resulted in poor results everywhere on the continent (Silué, 2000; Tadadjeu, 2004). To the extent that the population concerned should achieve full development and economic and intellectual independence, L1 literacy is a must (Fase et al., 1992; Robins & Uhlenbeck, 1991). Described below are some reasons why local literacy should be promoted.

Research has shown that developing literacy in the language that one has been socialized into from childhood results in better educational outcomes than when the child has to struggle to learn a foreign language while simultaneously trying to develop literacy in it (Gudschinsky, 1973, p. 6; Yoloye, 2004, p. 59). By contrast, literacy in L1 presents students with a plethora of benefits, including the ability to achieve harmonious development, which increases human potential. In this regard Skutnabb-Kangas and Akademi (2004) write: “The high levels of cognitive functioning that can be achieved in mother tongue medium education (but not mostly in dominant language-medium education) guarantee the best possibility of enhancing children’s ‘human capabilities’” (p. 17).

Multiple researchers in the field have reiterated this idea, for instance Wroge (2002), Williams (2004, p. 35), Silué (2000), and Tadadjeu (2004). The advantage of L1 literacy is partly due to the fact that local literacy is foundational, as it involves linguistic, pedagogical, developmental, and psychological issues (Elbow, 2000, p. 335; Harlech-Jones, 2004, p. 53). Experimental studies carried out around the world, and particularly in Africa, have shown that using L1 as the medium of instruction allows the child to learn better and faster (Rogers, 2004, p. 26; Silué, 2000; Tadadjeu, 2004; Williams, 2004, p. 35; Yoloye, 2004). Further, in most cases, no major deficiencies in terms of the cognitive development have been noted, and most importantly, there are tremendous affective gains in positive attitudes toward schooling (Yoloye, 2004, p. 59; Tadadjeu, 2004).

Research on the impact of L1 as the primary medium of instruction has revealed that L1 literacy can also become a vehicle for L2 learning (Gudschinsky, 1973, p. 6-7; Tadadjeu, 2004, p. 8; Yoloye, 2004, p. 59). That is to say, when a student reaches a comfortable level in L1 literacy, learning literacy in a second language, in this case, a foreign language, becomes much easier (Tadadjeu, 2004; Wroge, 2002; Yoloye, 2004). Yoloye’s (2004) experimental study showed that “that children taught in the mother tongue for the first six years did not suffer any
deficiency in learning English in later years at secondary school” (p. 59). Further, the PROPELCA\textsuperscript{28} project in Cameroon showed that, “The child who starts school in the mother tongue and moves progressively to the official language masters the second language better than one who starts schooling directly in the second language (Tadadjeu, 2004, p. 8). Mother tongue literacy has also been proved to be a better vehicle for learning in general (Harlech-Jones, 2004; Tadadjeu, 2004), as well as for stimulating “children’s scientific and technological awareness of children at an early age” (Tadadjeu, 2004, p. 8).

L1 literacy is more than merely desirable; it is a necessity for the intellectual and economic development of low-development countries in general and of African countries in particular. Further, using an exoglossic language as a medium of instruction is not a necessary condition to master that language. King (2004) writes:

Many Africans are genuinely surprised to learn that their professional colleagues and acquaintances from such countries as Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and Holland did not have their secondary and higher education entirely in English-medium settings, and yet they speak perfectly good English” (p. 9).

That said, it takes political will and a real sense of commitment to achieve mother-tongue education (Akyeampong, 2004, p. 61; Silué, 2000, p. 142-143). A few countries have made huge strides in this regard, such as the introduction of L1 as the medium of instruction from kindergarten through grade five, for instance in Tanzania (King, 2004, p. 9), Somalia (Warsame, 2001), and Cameroon (Tadadjeu, 2004, p. 8). Others, unfortunately, are backing away from L1 literacy (Trudell, 2004, p. 55). Such is the case of Côte d’Ivoire, where the government abandoned a Senari literacy project soon after it had started because of the lack of a real public and official commitment (Nicot-Guillorel, 2002; Silué, 2000, p. 135).

Other Means for Preserving Local Languages

Languages in contact present different scenarios, depending on the nature and origin of the contact, as pointed out by Kulick (1992). Depending on the situation, the end result may be a shift to a new language with a consequent loss of the original language, or a seriously demeaned version of the original language. Then, in lieu of the local native language there arises a

\textsuperscript{28}PROPELCA (Project operationnel pour l’enseignement des langues au Cameroun - The Operational Research Project for Language Education in Cameroon) is an experiment in L1 literacy through formal schooling in Cameroon.
pidginization of the target or dominant language (Trudgill, 2002, p. 66). Given these possible outcomes, there are various ways in which local languages can be maintained. Pure, balanced bilingualism is hard to achieve. Depending on various factors – social, political, economic – one language will be dominant (Paulston, 1994). In other words, no matter what the nature of the languages present in the contact situation, multilingual/bilingual harmony can only be reached through a form of maintenance of the minority language (Paulston, 1994; Robins & Uhlenbeck, 1991; Kulick, 1992).

Research in the field has revealed a number of strategies and procedures that work toward preserving minority languages. Smalley’s study of the language situation in Thailand is especially revealing. Thailand harbors more than eighty (p. 80) indigenous and foreign languages. Yet, a tremendous linguistic harmony has been achieved between the dominant Thai language and the other regional and local languages (Smalley, 1994). Smalley found that language tolerance was the key element that promoted the healthy multilingual situation. In short, there is no competition among the different languages. While everyone can speak the dominant Thai language, other languages are allowed to prosper and develop. Compare that with the case in Côte d’Ivoire, where language tension has been created since the colonial era based on the assumption that the promotion of French hinges on the death of other languages. The Thai example shows that the promotion of both local and foreign languages is not mutually exclusive. Rather, societal multilingualism can be achieved in perfect harmony.

Kulick (1992) carried out a study on Tok Pisin and Taiap, in Papua New Guinea. He showed that speakers of Taiap who have shifted to Tok Pisin used their original language (Taiap) only when they told their children folktales. In the thinking of Taiap people, this strategy was to help preserve their language. But to their distress, the younger generations have developed a poor command of their native language. Worse, some children ended up being unable to speak Taiap at all. Kulick concludes that using the language only in this context is only a transmission of the memory of the culture and not the language itself. Therefore, only genuine language socialization through a whole range of language functions can ensure the transmission of the native language. Many researchers share this view (e.g., McMahon, 1994; Robins & Uhlenbeck, 1991; Silué, 2000).

Linked to the problem of transmission is the issue of ideology, that is to say, how the user of the minority language conceives of both his language and the majority language (Kulick,
It is often the case that people jettison their linguistic heritage as a result of a split personality, whereby the native language is associated with the negative self, while the dominant one is associated with the positive self (Kulick, 1992; Robins & Uhlenbeck, 1991). Therefore, people are reluctant to transmit their native language because they identify it with their ignoble and repulsive selves (Kulick, 1992; Stroud, 2004, p. 23). The conclusion that can be drawn from the preceding is that the will to preserve the integrity of the “self” as a cultural identity will help preserve the language, which is an important tenet of culture (Trudgill, 2002, p. 139; Tuho, 1984, pp. 56-57).

A key player in language maintenance is the overall attitude of minority language speakers toward their languages, which, according to Paulston (1994), may come in the following forms, 1) ethnicity mobilization, 2) ethnic movements, 3) ethnic nationalism, and 4) geographic nationalism. The third form, ethnic nationalism, allows for setting boundaries that will secure resources for the preservation of the language and the culture, while the dominant culture is used at a desired level. Thus, one’s own identity is not jeopardized. In other words, this form of acculturation (Schumann, 1987) is likened to a healthy consumption of the dominant culture and is thus a key element for preserving the native language and culture. However, this is possible only through a real promotion of the linguistic repertoire, on the one hand, and ethnic and cultural identity, on the other (Fase, Jaspert, & Kroon, 1992; Kulick, 1992).

Documenting an oral language is a major means through which it can be consecrated as a bona fide one with its natural users (Stroud, 2004):

Techniques of status and corpus planning such as normalization, standardization, orthography development, dictionary development, as well as the production of books in a variety, transform marginal or invisible language practices into generally acknowledged, legitimate, independent and fully-fledged languages (p. 22).

The systematic documentation of oral languages, therefore, is a major way to preserve them. This will make the language visible through printed materials and will raise the self-image of its speech community (Robins & Uhlenbeck, 1991; Strout, 2004, p. 22). Further, in so doing, the linguistic right of minority languages is also acknowledged and paid due respect, which is also an incentive toward the use of the language (Stroud, 2004, p. 22). Some researchers, including Stroud (2004, p. 22), even regard the documentation of oral languages around the world as a quest for equity. However, Dixon cautions (1993) that this task will fall short of its aim unless
the natural users “[really] take pride in their language and develop a positive desire to pass it on to the future generations” (p. 230).

One of the intentions of the researcher in the present project is to realize the above aims with Nafara, a major dialect of Senari, through the collection and production of reading materials to sustain literacy, which will help rehabilitate both the people and the language. No one can read when there are no printed materials to read (personal communication, J.K. Josserand, March 21, 2005). Gudschinsky (1973) gives a similar idea: “The independent reading stage includes all of the reading materials made available to the newly literate. There should be a wide variety and sufficient materials to justify the motives for which he learned to read” (p. 4).

The Case of Senari

Senari presents a special case in terms of literacy because of its overall history and current circumstances. Literacy is highly restricted in Senari in terms of both the number of people who can read and write the language and the availability and range of printed materials to date. Yet literacy in Senari has aspects worth exploring in the present discussion, for instance literacy in the traditional sense versus functional literacy.

Literacy in Senari. Literacy in Senari is currently restricted to the Cebaara dialect, which is regarded as the central or normative variety of Senari (Mensah and Tchagbale, 1983; Mills, 1984; Mills & Retord, 1987; Welmers, 1957; www.ethnologue.com). Cebaara is also the only Senari dialect that is broadcast on national TV and radio in CI. One may even take some Senari classes29 at the Department of Applied Linguistics (ILA) of the University of Abidjan-Cocody, where local languages are treated as subjects in the curriculum.

From the perspective of the traditional definition of literacy, which entails the ability to read and write, however little, literate people in Senari are very few in number. Also, paradoxically enough, foreigners account for the largest number of those who can read and write Senari, not only at a basic level, but also at a higher one (Coulibaly Mélérigué, personal communication, May 14. 05). These foreigners are missionaries, anthropologists, linguists, and others who are attracted to the language for one reason or another. Next to these comes a very small population of native speakers who generally learned to read and write their own language while serving as informants to foreign investigators, and some native scholars working in

29 Classes are at beginner level: phonics, basic reading and grammar.
linguistics or related fields. Some of these have been engaged in pilot projects geared toward literacy development (Mills, 1984; Nicot-Guillorel, 2002).

Functional Literacy. There has been a growth in practical literacy geared to instructing farmers in the basic manipulation of tools and the management of daily farm activities in Senari. According to Silué (2000, p. 77), they are taught basic numeracy in Senari, something that has proved very helpful. Access to these materials is difficult, but based on the informal personal communication the researcher has had with a few farmers, the general feeling expressed indicates that they feel that there has been a substantial gain in their farming activity thanks to their incipient literacy practice in their native language. A similar result from the late 1980s and early 1990s was reported by a women onion-producers’ cooperative, based in the researcher’s hometown, Napié. Elsewhere, in similar cases, there have been reports mentioning significant increases in farming yield attributed to knowledge gained through incipient literacy in the native language. The Centre Permanent d’Aphabétisation et de Formation (CPAF) (Permanent Center for Literacy and Training) in Mali and Burkina Faso is another good example (Killwasser, 1998). Based on the experience of CPAFs, one significant gain is that local populations are less dependent on government agricultural agents for the management of their farms (Killwasser, 1998).

This brief description of literacy in Senari exposes two major facts. First, literacy in the language is highly restricted, a use-based restriction (Besnier, 1988, p. 710). That is to say, it is used in very limited cases, such as some areas of farming (cash crops), Bible teaching, or again, Senari is taught as an academic subject (as a minor) at the university where, out of curiosity or for fun, some students venture to take a course in their native language, now and then. Second, there is a user-based literacy restriction (Besnier, 1988, p. 710), by which it is meant that Senari speakers do not engage in literacy activities in the local language, for one reason, because of the lack of promotion of literacy and, because of the lack of materials that could lead to a wider literacy practice among the population. This last issue coincides with one of the proposed outcomes of the present study, which is the development of printed Senari materials at levels beyond primary school literacy. Overall, the severe restriction of literacy in Senari would seem to indicate that there is a real need to improve literacy learning and practice in local languages in Côte d’Ivoire.

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30 Private communication with Tuho Tiatin, a woman onion grower, in December 2004.
Literacy in Senari is important for several reasons. First, the Senufo region is regarded as the least enthusiastic about formal education, as can be shown by the low levels of primary school attendance (Nicot-Guillorel, 2002; Silué, 2000, p. 78-79). It is hoped that parents who are literate in their own language will serve as an incentive toward participation in formal schooling by encouraging their children to attend schools (Silué, 2000, p. 79; Wroge, 2002).  

Increasingly, many natural speakers of Senari, and Nafara particularly, are lost to other languages, mainly Jula and French, as explained earlier. Developing adult literacy in Senari will help maintain the language. Nafara, specifically, presents yet another scenario worth discussing here.

The Case of Nafara.

Speakers of Nafara come in three distinct groups: strictly rural, semi-urban, and urban populations. The first group is overwhelmingly monolingual. They can only exchange a couple of words with speakers of other languages such as French and Jula. On the other hand, the semi-urban and urban groups are usually bilingual (generally in Nafara and Jula, but also Nafara and French) or trilingual (Nafara, Jula, and French) with varying degrees of proficiency. Among these we find both educated and illiterate people.

Nafara people who have been educated in formal schools (most are urban or semi-urban) use Nafara only within the limited contexts of their private lives, if they ever use it. It is often the case that they prefer French or Jula, depending on the family situation. Children born into these families do not obtain a full grasp of the languages before beginning school (from 5-6 years). They thus end up with a poor development of their native language. Wroge (2002) describes a similar situation in Papua New Guinea. She found that the fact of second language acquisition or formal education, again in second or foreign language, becomes a hindrance to further acquisition of the primary language, which, according to Paulston (1994) is the starting point for the process of language loss. Moreover, as students move up the ladder in school and academia, the primary language, Nafara (L1), is even less and less used. It is often the case that a bachelor’s degree-level student is literally unable to produce a sentence in Nafara free from loanwords or borrowed syntax from either French or Jula, or both (Nicot-Guillorel, 2002, p. 26-31).  

Actual figures concerning school attendance are not available, but discussed by Nicot-Guillorel and Silué. The researcher has first hand experience of this unfortunate situation. Many of his relatives from 5 to 50 years of age cannot speak Nafara even though their parents are native speakers of the language.
They resort to very simplified structures of the Nafara language when they try to use the local medium, a blatant testimony that language loss is already underway (Paulston, 1994; Robins & Uhlenbeck, 1991). The overwhelmingly uneducated Nafara speakers in the society at large present still another intriguing case.

Recall that most Senufo people, because of the influence of Islam, have Arabic names, which are mistakenly interpreted as Jula names by the overwhelming majority of people living in Côte d’Ivoire, including a substantial faction of the people who carry these foreign names. Therefore, it is often the case that Senufo people, illiterate people more so than literate ones, take on the Jula identity they are assumed to have by the population at large (Nicot-Guillorel, 2002; Tuho, 1984, pp. 53-54). Moreover, the overwhelming majority of uneducated people involved in manual work and qualified labor such as masonry, plumbing, repair-work, or transport use Jula in their work, the most common medium of communication (Silué, 1998, p. 4; Derive, 1983; Braconnier, 1983). In the best scenario, one may assume that these people speak Nafara at home or in private encounters with fellow Senufo people. But, this, unfortunately, is not always the case, because Senari is seriously demeaned by Jula and French (Nicot-Guillorel, 2002). A significant portion of Senufo people living in urban and semi-urban areas has actually adopted Jula as their preferred language. This situation presages an imminent shift in or loss of Nafara, because when a language is not used, it decays and eventually dies (Kulick, 1992; Robins & Uhlenbeck, 1991).

Yet, as documented by Tuho (1984), the Senufo people referred to above generally develop only poor command of any of the languages in their repertoire (Jula, Senufo, and French). For the local languages, this is evidenced by their poor command of formulaic expressions, proverbs, and sayings, which are the backbone of knowledge in societies based on oral tradition (Tannen, 1982, p. 1; see also Ong, 1967). Literacy development, therefore, would seem a convenient avenue toward preserving Senari and its dialects, including Nafara.

Preserving a minority language constitutes a vast topic of its own, because of the interest it arouses nowadays. What is presented here is only a sample of the actions that can be taken, if not to preserve, at least to subdue the scope of language loss and decay around the world, and particularly in Africa (King, 2004, p. 10; Trudel, 2004, p. 68).

It is now widely admitted that in most parts of this world people are multilingual (McMahon, 1994, p. 200; Ouane, 2004, p. 30). This, therefore, raises the question of the
preservation of minority languages, which becomes a real issue when it comes to adapting
education to multilingual situations (King, 2004, p. 39). Yet, multilingual education, as Trudell
(2004) argues is a must:

Multilingualism in education is an option – and indeed, the only option in many cases. A
multilingual education strategy does not have to be detrimental to the minority language;
developing any one language for use in school does not have to mean the abandonment of
others (p. 68).

This view is widely shared among scholars (e.g., King, 2004, p. 39; Rogers, 2004, p. 26; Silué,
2000; Tadadjeu, 2004), in part because not only is protecting minority languages an inalienable
right, but it is also a necessity for a balanced linguistic diversity, itself critical to the balance of
the world’s linguistic ecosystem (Kulick, 1992; Romaine, 2004, p. 18).

The neglectful attitudes of African rulers and the subjugation of African languages by
Europeans (in this case French and English political leaders) to promote their own languages
have resulted in a colossal loss of languages on the continent (Mazrui, 2004; Silué, 2000; Robins
& Uhlenbeck, 1991). An example of this is seen in the pauperization of the African languages,
due to the simple fact that a large proportion of their natural users have shifted to using foreign
languages (Paulston, 1994; Kulick, 1992; Romaine, 2004). Many of these languages have
quote an African scholar who notes, with pain, the rampant loss of languages in Africa:
“languages are dying out in all parts” (p. 20). Another substantial loss is seen in the intellectual
and economic dependency on foreign countries, which results in the dependency of African
nations on foreign or dominant languages (Silué, 2000; Mazrui, 2004, p. 21).

Cote d’Ivoire still lags behind in promoting literacy in indigenous languages, though
significant efforts in this regard have been made in other countries. In the last decades of the
twentieth century, a few declarations of good intentions were put forward. For instance, the
closest rulers in Côte d’Ivoire have come to taking an official stand toward literacy in local
languages was through the 1995 declaration of the speaker of the National Assembly (Nicot-
Guillorel, 2002; Silué, 2000). A solemn declaration was made concerning literacy promotion in
local languages to the effect that they will eventually become partial mediums of instruction in
the educational system. Unfortunately, this pronouncement also turned out to be pure rhetoric
and political manipulation. Facts show that leaders have used various subterfuges and
stratagems to conceal their unwillingness to promote local literacy (Malone, 2004, p. 40-41). Promoting local literacy takes more than public declarations that generally give only lip service to this serious problem. It requires true commitment to local literacy. The present study represents such a step in the promotion of the Nafara dialect of Senari language.

This dissertation proposed to establish the rhetorical pattern of a major Nafara oral genre, as part of a larger effort for developing literacy. It is hoped that this will be only a first step at preserving Nafara, a major dialect of Senari, one of the major languages of the Senufo cultural group, in Cote d’Ivoire.

**Contrastive Rhetoric**

Contrastive rhetorical is an important background element to this study. Also, contrastive rhetoric will be the very methodology that the researcher will use to address the problem of interference in language education in Côte d’Ivoire. Owing to the above, the literature in this area was reviewed. This section of the literature review described the origin of contrastive rhetoric (CR), its expansion in scholarly debate, and its role and place as a method in cross-cultural writing.

**Contrastive Rhetoric à la Kaplan**

Kaplan (1966), in his now classic article in the field, observed that ESL students, even with a comfortable level of proficiency in English, write differently from native students, and that the differences reside in text structure and logical arrangement. He declared that, “each language and each culture has a paragraph order unique to itself, and that part of the learning of a particular language is the mastery of its logical system” (p.14), by which it is meant that cognitive organization varies from one culture to another and so do the resulting rhetorical patterns of the culture’s language. Therefore, language and writing are cultural phenomena (Kaplan, 1966, 1987)

Kaplan eventually produced diagrams explaining the patterning of discourse in some languages of wider communication. Through these, he argued that students from Anglo-European language backgrounds have a direct style, while Asian students, in general, have an
indirect one, as they delay the point in a narrative essay until the end of their papers; on the other hand, students from a Semitic background produce narrative essays replete with parallel organizations of coordinate rather than subordinate clauses, while students from Romance language backgrounds, for instance French, Italians, or Russians, have a particular liking for flowery or elaborate language (Kaplan, 1988, p. 277).

Subsequent research based on populations of students from most languages of wider communication overwhelmingly supported Kaplan’s hypothesis (Grabe and Kaplan, 1987). Bliss (2001), reflecting on the delay of introduction of the main point in the writing of some Korean students, noted:

They write about the issue, telling various points about it. Then, they tell about it, using some of those points, plus other points to explain the issue. And, they might repeat this technique several times (p. 19).

The above citation characterizes the preferred structural organization in the writing of Korean students. Reflecting on such examples of text patterning, Hauser (1986) observed that:

Rhetorical forms present a structured message, that structures have identified features, that these features encourage relationship between reader and writer, spoke/listener…that structural patterns such as placement and association clusters provide an index to a speakers/readers’ motives’ (p. 23)

Clearly, part of the difficulties that American instructors, native speakers of English, have in understanding their students from other cultural backgrounds is due to differences in conventions in writing. Therefore, knowledge about differences in terms of the discourse organization, in both source and target language, can help ESL students communicate much more effectively with native speakers of the target language (Kaplan, 1988). It makes sense to understand the choices ESL writers make when they write; this understanding will help bridge the rhetorical differences among languages (Panetta, 2001)

Contrastive rhetoric is an expansion of traditional rhetoric, of the classical version promoted by Aristotle and championed by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969; see also Connor, 1996, p.7). Unlike traditional rhetoric, contrastive rhetoric does not emphasize persuasion; rather it insists on the role of structures and patterning in writing, because they are influenced by cultural conventions, socially and historically constructed (Leki, 1991, pp. 89-90; Connor, 1996). Kaplan was mainly influenced by contrastive analysis (CA), and the Sapir-
Whorf hypothesis, which proposes that language influences thought patterns (Connor, 1996, p. 29).

The following definition offered by Grabe and Kaplan (1989) seems to encapsulate the field of contrastive rhetoric: “contrastive rhetoric is the study of L1 rhetorical influence on the organization of text in an L2, on audience consideration, on goal definition; it seeks to define L1 influences on text coherence, on perceived audience awareness, and on rhetorical context features” (p. 266).

Researchers involved in contrastive rhetoric were interested in the extent to which a writer’s cultural background influenced his or her writing and how that was evidenced in the way the writer organized text arguments (Benda, 1999, p. 1). Contrastive rhetoric à la Kaplan is now referred to as the traditional model. It established itself as an area of research into L2 acquisition by exploring features of L1 that affect a proper writing standard in L2. Thus, contrastive rhetoric became an important tool in ESL and later EFL (English as a foreign language) (Panetta, 2001). Kaplan (2001) stated that contrastive rhetoric offered innovative ways of dealing with ESL and EFL literary programs off beaten paths:

Contrastive rhetoric was intended to move learners beyond exclusive concern with grammatical accuracy, and beyond concern only with the sentence. It was intended to facilitate reading and writing in English, creative use of the second language, and the ability to express one’s ideas in text in the second language (p. viii).

Contrastive rhetoric was a breakthrough in the realm of writing. It pointed to differential issues in writing in multilingual and monolingual contexts (Grabe, 2001). Basically contrastive rhetoric brought to the attention of scholars in the field the idea that writing was culturally influenced in a way that is both interesting and complex. Then, partly thanks to the techniques of exploration of writing, product was de-emphasized in favor of process, now regarded as critical in the domain of writing (Connor & Johns, 1990; Connor & Kaplan, 1987; Grave & Kaplan, 1996; Purves, 1988). Traditional contrastive rhetoric was criticized for its confinement to ESL and EFL and also because of its limitations. For instance, it was not designed for professional writing, nor was it used to explore compositional processes across cultures (e.g., Benda, 2003, p. 3; Connor, 2002, Grabe, 1989; Panetta, 2001). In an effort to correct these flaws, other researchers in various fields took contrastive rhetoric to the next level, referred to as extended contrastive rhetoric (Connor, 1996, 2001; Panetta, 2001)
Extended Contrastive Rhetoric

Traditional contrastive rhetoric was concerned with individual case or small-scale studies; some scholars also regarded this as a serious weakness (e.g., Connor, 2002; Spack, 1997; Zamel, 1997). The design problems in traditional contrastive rhetoric (Kaplan’s version) have been addressed in the extended version of the model, which resulted in a new momentum for the method and the field as well. It is now more concerned with investigating the sociolinguistic and sociocultural variables and the process of writing in various settings (Connor 1996, p. 18-19). Thus, contrastive rhetoric has become both a research method and an analytical technique for comparing students’ written productions in L1 and L2. CR has also incorporated other methods of analysis, such as linguistic text analysis (Connor, 2002, p. 21). Contrastive rhetoric has effected a fundamental reformulation to Kaplan’s original proposal through subsequent research (Bliss, 2001; Connor, 2002; Cummins, 2001). The extension of contrastive rhetoric beyond ESF/EFL concerns is indeed a great stride (Connor, 1996; Grabe 2001, Wong, 1992).

With cross-cultural dimensions brought to the fore, researchers started investigating ways in which meta-textual elements influencing cultural conventions were incorporated in the process of composition. In this thinking, Hinds (1987) posits that writers and readers have different responsibilities, according to cultures. He argues that in English, it is the responsibility of the writer to bring the reader to full understanding through clarity of argument, while in Chinese, the responsibility shifts from reader to writer in a complex fashion, and French can be characterized as a reader-responsible language, meaning it is up to the reader to infer the point through his/her active involvement with the text (Grabe & Kaplan, 1989, p. 271; Hinds, 1987, 1988).

Both Panetta (2001) and Connor (1996) emphasize that contrastive rhetoric has benefited from previously well-established influences, such as applied linguistics, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativity, and the theory of rhetoric. They also assert that the newer extended contrastive rhetoric has also incorporated theory and methodology from the fields of text linguistics, discourse types and genres, literacy and translation, to cite only a few. All of this is clear evidence of the interdisciplinary nature of this version of contrastive rhetoric.

In the 1990s, contrastive rhetoric underwent further mutation. Benda (2003) notes that it includes “not only the texts that students are writing, but also the processes that students go
through as they work on their writing and the social and cultural context in which those processes are situated” (p. 17). The concern for process and for cross-cultural considerations, as noted above, are important innovations in contrastive rhetoric. Further, in the 1990s, contrastive rhetoric was increasingly concerned with academic and professional writing (Connor, 2002, p. 8). Thus, not only has it outgrown the boundaries of school and college classrooms in the 1990s, contrastive rhetoric also witnessed a further broadening of the its scope, as it encompassed a wide range of settings, fields, and discourse genres, becoming more inclusive than ever before (Connor, 1996, 2003)

Recently, contrastive rhetoric has undertaken yet another expansion, to include literacy research in local contexts where writing activities take place, along with its now well-established concerns for the cultural underpinnings of writing and the influence of L1 on L2, in both pedagogical and research dimensions (Connor, 2002). The extended version of CR has given researchers more leeway to explore a wider range of techniques and methods in diverse linguistic and cultural settings, using bigger sample sizes (Connor, 2002; Grabe, 1989). Rather than merely tracking student L1 rhetorical patterns in English essays written in the US, researchers are now able to “investigate what good writing is in a given language and how it is taught,” by using materials from the local language (Connor, 1996, p. 116).

Overall, research in ESL, EFL, bilingual and multilingual studies seems to support basic assumptions of contrastive rhetoric, that L1 cultural writing conventions influence L2 writing. Under the auspices of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, Söter’s (1988) study in Africa revealed that L1 oral narrative patterns transfer to L2 writing (e.g., English and French essays). Montano-Harmon’s (1991, p. 624) examination of the compositions of Mexican-Spanish speaking students in Spanish and English showed that the production of acceptable writing in English was hindered by the permeation of L1 discourse organization. Such a finding seems to support the cause of this study.

Contrastive rhetoric has increasing challenges to face in this world gone global, and in which local and international issues, including rhetorical issues have come to the fore (Atkinson, 1999; Sarangi, 1999; Zamel, 1997). To date, contrastive rhetoric has proved to be a useful framework for intercultural and cross-linguistic research involving ESL, EFL, academic, and professional writing genres. The methodology of contrastive rhetoric has been widely used by scholars from various fields, even though some do not acknowledge the fact (Benda, 2003, p.1).
A major influence of contrastive rhetoric, acknowledged by Kaplan, is the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which has been brought back to the fore as a topical issue recently, in the emerging theory known as ethno-lingual relativity (Citron, 1995; see also Kellerman, 1979). This theory posits that languages are not a straightforward translation of each other, but are influenced by cultural conventions. This reiterates the Sapir-Whorfian idea that besides the fact that linguistic systems allow for expressing ideas, they also influence our perception of the world. Therefore, when it comes to languages in the domain of education or elsewhere, this should be kept in mind, to ensure better outcomes. Being “open to the contrasting cultural and linguistic patterns of other people” is seen as a prerequisite to better learning these languages (Citron, 1995, p. 105). This theory stresses the role of culture in language education, and it thus allows for looking into contrastive rhetoric with fresh thoughts.

Contrastive rhetoric, as described above, is appropriate to this project for many reasons. One is that it sheds light on cultural issues relevant to both writing and oral narratives, and it clarifies the cultural implications for language education in multicultural and multilingual environments. For instance, contrastive rhetoric illuminates the issue of transfer in writing, that is the impact of L1 rhetorical structure on L2 compositions, which is one of the major concerns of the researcher in this current project, as one of its ultimate goals is to help improve L2 literacy by using L1 literacy as a vehicle. In fact, contrastive rhetoric will serve as a method by means of which L1 can be used to improve L2 education. Thus, contrastive rhetoric seems to bear a significant relation to this project of research, which focuses on factors in language product and process, on the one hand, and interest in the cultural background as it influences writing genres, on the other.

The purpose of the literature review on contrastive rhetoric was to illuminate the cross-cultural underpinnings of writing in language education in multilingual settings. The theory of discourse analysis was the other of the two major theoretical underpinnings of this project. A review of the literature in this area allowed for a better grasp of the task at hand, namely, the analysis of L1 rhetorical structures that can be contrasted with L2 compositional patterns.
Discourse and Discourse Analysis

A major task of this project was to establish the discourse pattern of a Senufo oral narrative genre. Owing to this, the researcher reviewed the relevant literature on the discourse analysis of narratives, highlighting the key points of analytical procedures for this particular class of genres. Discourse analysis, regarded both as a theory and a method of research was addressed. Discourse analysis presupposes a text to which it will be applied. Thus, the realm of discourse genres was explored. Narrative discourse, the genre that is central to this project was given particular attention. The particular narrative genre in focus here is the folktale. A better grasp of research on this subgenre entailed exploring oral literature more generally.

Discourse

Trying to define the term discourse seems both daunting and at the same time sobering, because of the range of views presented by the community of researchers. Aquinas (1225, 1227-1274) was first known to use the term ‘discursive’ in the field of philosophy, in the sense of doing something ‘by reasoning’ as opposed to doing something by simple hunch, flair or intuition (Titscher et al., 2000, p. 25). The term discourse evolved from the Latin root discurrere, meaning ‘run to and fro’, and its nominal form discursus, meaning ‘running apart or indulging in something, talking about something, or animated debate’ (Vass, 1992, p. 7). Based on etymological considerations, the word discourse can present a variety of meanings, and it has thus come to represent a multi-layered concept.

Foucault (1972) defines discourse as “[a] specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices through which meaning is given to physical and social realities” (p. 17). His view thus encompasses an assortment of elements, from ideational propositions and references to metaphors that pertain both to text and practice. Foucault’s perspective is regarded as a broader view, as opposed to definitions that stress the textual aspect of discourse. Gee (1989) concurs that “[d]iscourses are ways of being in the world; they are forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, and social identities as well as gestures, glances, body positions, and clothes (pp. 6-7). But later, Gee (1996) focuses on the linguistic aspect, saying:
By discourse I mean connected stretches of language, which hang together so as to make sense to some community of people. Making sense is always also a social and variable matter; what makes sense to one community may not make sense to another. Thus, to understand sense making in language it is necessary to understand the ways in which language is embedded in society and social institutions such as families and schools (p. 90).

In the above definition, discourse is viewed from a sociocultural perspective, where the social environment functions to validate discourse as a social artifact, in terms of a specific community that confers on it structure, texture and meaning. Bakhtin (1981) also posits that “discourse is a social phenomenon – social throughout its entire range and in each and every aspect of its factors, from the sound image to the furthest reaches of abstract meaning” (p. 258). Wodak (1996) echoes a similar view:

Language in use in speech and writing, ...[is] a form of ‘social practice’...[that] implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and situation(s), institutions, and social structure(s), which frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constituted, as well as socially conditioned -- it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and also in the sense that it contributes to transforming it (p. 15).

The concept of discourse thus appears to involve an amalgam of heterogeneous elements that frame a well-integrated unit of communication. Van Dijk (1977) contends that discourse is a text in context, and understandably discourse is also action. Further, it should be seen as essentially self-contained, with a communication act that is central to it.

Vivian Cook (1990, p. 65) has suggested that discourse is anything that helps achieve a communicative goal: a sign, a hunch, a symbol, a drawing or a text in various shapes and forms. These comments reinforce the feeling that a definition of discourse seems something hard to achieve, partly because it remains elusive and fleeting. This comes as no surprise, because it has both concrete and abstract contours, which are underscored by van Dijk (1990a):

It would be nice if we could squeeze all we know about discourse into a handy definition. Unfortunately, as is also the case for related concepts such as “language”,

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“communication,” “interaction,” “society,” and “culture,” the notion of discourse is essentially fuzzy (p. 1).

Scholars concerned with discourse unanimously emphasize communication as central to the concept. Discourse shapes reality, and is therefore ideological and political in essence. Social inequalities are played out through discourse, and social change is effected through discourse. Discourse both produces and reproduces the power imbalances in society (e.g., Foucault, 1969, 1972; Bourdieu, 1986). It comes as no surprise that some scholars think of discourse as embodying goal-oriented power relationships (Chimombo and Roseberrry, 1998, p. xi; see also Fairclough, 1989, for additional discussion of the topic).

Admittedly, discourse is a communicative act signaled by a text that may fall into several categories: written or printed words, signed or spoken language. Discourse may also come in the form of Drum-text (Herzog, 1964; Diallo & Mitchell, 1989, offer an interesting perspective on the issue), as can be found in West Africa, or again a whistle-text in some areas of Mexico (Cowan, 1964). Language takes form through discourse and thus becomes the building block of social reality (Hymes, 1974). Hymes also adds that other key contributors in the shaping of discourse are communicative purpose, function, context, and structure (p. 9).

Discourse means different things to different people, and in different circumstances and situations. Like discourse, discourse genres come in several forms and shapes.

**Discourse Genre**

*Genre* is a French word, originally from Latin, which means ‘kind or class’ of something. Its prominence in linguistics is relatively recent, although it has been widely used for some time in other fields, such as literacy theory, rhetoric, media theory, and drama (Chandler, 1997, p. 1). In linguistics and related fields, genre alludes to distinctive types or categories of text or discourse (Swales, 1990).

Genres pertain to the universals in human communication in that every society or culture has discourse types (Swales, 1990). However, these are organized/structured along the lines of cultural canons that shape the forms that local communication takes, and these canons include the overall context (Eggins & Martin 1997, p. 241; Enkvist, 1973, p. 20-21; Kress et al., 1997, p. 269). Though discourse genres exist in every society, they are not evenly distributed. Freedman
and Medway (1994a, p. 36, see also 1994b) note that depending on whether the society is complex and diverse or relatively simple, there will be a larger or smaller number of genres.

Longacre (1996) has observed that discourse types or genres in most languages spoken around the world may be classified along two parameters: contingent temporal succession and agent orientation. The former means that events and actions in the discourse are contingent on previous events or actions, while the latter alludes to the fact that orientation in discourse is achieved from the vantage point of an overriding agent, at least partially identified. In tandem, these parameters yield four major types of discourse genres defined by the relative importance of these two defining elements: expository, argumentative, narrative, and descriptive discourse (p. 9). Slembrouck (2003, p. 8) has also identified the same types of discourse genres.

Table 7 shows that the major discourse types are the narrative, procedural, behavioral, and expository genres, based two parameters: the contingent temporal succession and agent orientation. These genres are further partitioned when other parameters come into play. For

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instance, by adding ‘Projection’, narrative genre yields ‘story’ and ‘prophecy’, while the
behavioral genre is similarly partitioned into ‘eulogy’ and ‘hortatory’ or ‘promissory’.
Longacre (1996) observes, however, that the more the refinement, the more blurred the
boundaries between some types, which has caused some scholars to say that genres are not static,
but are created through a dynamic process of redefinition by social partners in communicative
events (Buckingham 1993, p. 137). Owing to this, the boundaries between genres are ever
‘shifting’ and ‘permeable’ to meet the communication needs of social partners (Abercrombie
1996, p. 45). Genre will receive further attention in later sections of this discussion, but for now,
the genre of narrative discourse is our focus.

**Narrative Genre.**

The narrative genre is commonly understood as text, oral or written, relating a story,
which may be personal or fictive. “Narrative is a type of discourse that usually concerns real or
imagined memories of something that happened and therefore is often largely told in the past”
(McCabe and Bliss, 2003, p. 4; see also McCabe, 1991). The narrative genre defined above was
the major genre this study was concerned with. For one reason, narratives, in general, are among
the most widely spread genres in all societies, because they are “a culture’s vision of the world”
(Van Dongen and Westby, 1986, p. 73; see also Dundes, 1977), and for another, they are the
foremost genres in oral tradition societies (Heath, 1986), like the one this study is concerned
with. In this regard, Barthes (1975) observed:

> In this infinite variety of forms, it is present at all times, in all places, in all societies;
> indeed narrative starts with the very history of mankind; there is not, there has never been
> anywhere, any people without narrative; all classes, all human groups, have their stories,
> and very often those stories are enjoyed by men of different or even opposite cultural
> background: narrative remains unconcerned with bad literature. Like life itself, it is
> international, transhistorical, transcultural (p. 237).

Narrative genre is a social artifact that has undergone tremendous expansion in terms of
its functions in society. Besides their longstanding role as a “mode of constructing reality
throughout human history” (Liskin-Gasparro, 1996, p. 1), narratives are now accepted as
appropriate forms of knowledge construction in diverse areas of human activities, including
educational research (idem). Further, recent research has shown that “narrative ways of
“knowing” are by and large accepted as a method of qualitative inquiry that supplements quantitative approaches in clinical research (Frawley, 1997; Hoshmand, 2000; Howard, 1991).

The narrative genre is multifaceted and multidimensional and is found in almost all walks of socio-economic life, something that Hardy (1978) underscored in the following observation:

[We] dream in narrative, daydream in narrative, remember, anticipate, hope, despair, believe, doubt, plan, revise, criticize, construct, gossip, learn, hate, and love in narrative. In order really to live, we make up stories about others, and ourselves about the personal as well as the social past and future (p. 13).

Narratives invade every aspect of life in society, which is why narratives constitute the fundamental genres in any human society (Heath, 1986, p. 86).

Narratives have some requirements, in terms of construction, that set them off other genres. Roth (1986) writes:

First, narratives involve the production of extended units of text. Second, narratives are expected to contain an introduction and an organized sequence of events that leads to a logical conclusion. Thirdly, narratives require that the speaker carry on a monologue. In this activity, speech is decontextualized; the listener plays a relatively passive role and is not expected to provide informational support to the speaker. Thus, the speaker is responsible for providing all of the information and organizing it into meaningful whole (p. 22).

The above description shows that narratives make a genre of its own right, even different from its closest sister, conversation (Roth, 1986). It also clearly illustrates the fact that narratives pervade every aspect of human activities.

The narrative genre is episodic and sequential, which according to research in the filed allows better access to the rhetorical organization of the text (Cf. Kellerman, 2001). Kellerman noted that narratives told by non-native English speakers (e.g., German and Spanish) provided better access to the cultural patterns of discourse organization than other discourse genres. Other researchers have made similar observations. Heath (1986) suggests that narratives are “verbalized memories of the past and by the same token a well of experiences of a culture, and as such they come in organized cultural patterns, which are recognized and predictable” (pp. 84-85). These views support the choice of narratives as the main focus in this study of Senari discourse structures.
Scholars have attempted to synthesize the variety of narrative genres into four main categories: recounts, eventcasts, accounts and stories (Heath, 1986, p. 89). The recount narrative is the “tell your dad what happened” type; depending on the societies and institutions concerned, the language expected of this genre may be paratactic, hypotactic, or the narrative may be expected to be some “verbal reiterations of events” (Heath, 1986, p. 89). Eventcasts are likely to involve “metalinguistic and metacognitive commentaries,” and generally consist in explaining or replaying scenes about a given activity (Heath, 1986, p. 89). Accounts, in contrast, are self-initiated narratives relating personal experiences (Heath, 1986, p. 89). For some scholars, recount, eventcast, and account come under the label of personal narratives (McCabe and Bliss, 2003). The fourth type of narratives, stories, are concerned with accounts of men striving to realize their dearest schemes in society, real or imagined (Stein, 1982). Overwhelmingly, all of these types “bring to consciousness past and imagined experience and require gestalt-level processes of linking similarities and dissimilarities across space and time” (Heath, 1986, p. 88).

Stories have fictionalized accounts portraying actors, participants and props with well-established constituents exposing a clear structure, and specialized uses of language. Not only are they different from other narrative genres, but also they are characterized by a story grammar, which is the participants’ conventional knowledge of the ‘narrative schema’ (Roth, 1986, p. 22) and which is culture specific (e.g., Longacre, 1976, 1996; Schiffrin, 1987, p. 15). Hymes (1996) warns that “[i]t is not reasonable to confuse being able to tell a story with being able to tell a story in a certain way” (p. 174); that is to say, in a way that is in sync with the requirements of the ambient culture, at a given point in time.

Stories

Storytelling is one of the most widely spread language activities among human beings (Barthes, 1966, p. 238; see also McCabe, 1991). Stories present different types of narratives within and across cultures (Polkinghorne, 1988; Hymes, 1996). For the purpose of this present project, just a few types will be considered.

Denning (2000) and Polkinghorne (1988) have written extensively on stories. Here is only a sample of what they believe belongs in the category of stories, whose basic characteristic is that they are narratives with a central speaker, whether in written or oral form: stories, joke, anecdote, folktales/fable, parable, myth, legend, epic, comedy, drama, and tragedy. Some types
within these may be further broken down, for instance, with story come anti-story, springboard story and eventual story (Denning, 2000; Polkinghorne, 1988). Folktales were the focal point in this study, as they provided the data for the research project.

Oral Traditions

Oral traditions, in oral societies, allude to the folklore, which is an assortment of cultural facts and artifacts, including art, oral literature, music, and dance, to cite only these. In this project, oral literature was the foundation of the research and provided the data for analysis.

The Western View on Oral tradition

Interest in African culture goes back at least as far as the second quarter of the 19th century, when missionaries undertook a systematic collection of African oral narratives. For these Europeans, oral traditions, especially folktale, were a major avenue to obtain information on African culture (Klipple, 1992, p. xxvii). Missionaries were followed by a wave of folklorists from different schools of thought, such as the evolutionists, sociologists (most of whom later embraced functionalism), diffusionists, formalists, and structuralists (Okpewho, 1992, p. 176-177). The evolutionists, who were influenced by the theory of Darwin, believed that societies move from a primitive stage to a civilized one. In this framework, African oral narratives were regarded as 'folklore', that is to say they were considered to be unsophisticated and were denied creativity in any form or shape. Further, these scholars argued that the oral tradition at a given point in time is only the residue or impoverished versions of original stories, because younger generations never bring any improvements. The sociologists, who overwhelming became functionalists, insisted that the role, function, and the context of performance are crucial to understanding a people’s culture. But the fact that authorship is hard to establish in oral literature made them disregard the creative aspect of tales and other oral products of African culture.

It cannot be denied that these scholars have accomplished tremendous work in terms of recording essential aspects of folklore from many African cultures, which is critical to the preservation of the memory of a culture and a people. It is just unfortunate that they have also overwhelmingly failed to recognize the artistry in oral narrative (Okpewho, 1992, p. 18). A few
of scholars stand as the exception to the rule. Finnegan’s *Oral Literature in Africa* (1970)
showed her deep understanding of this type of literature on the continent. She observed that
African performers of oral literature, more often than not, make a show of tremendous individual
creativity and performance skills, within the confines of acceptable cultural and literary
conventions (1967, p. 17). Still, she missed a fairly important aspect when she suggested that
Africa has no epic literature or myth, which she viewed as a major shortcoming. Another scholar
worth mentioning is Clark, whose 1977 work on African oral traditions highlighted the creative
process and shed light on the difference between dramatic techniques in oral narrative in oral
society versus those used in literate societies. For instance “repetition” is a well-justified device
used creatively to interact with audience, as well as fulfilling other purposes in oral narratives
(Okpewho, 1992, p. 15). Gordon is another Western scholar whose research on African cultures
is important because he clearly demonstrated his understanding of the process and the essence of
the performance of oral literature (Okpewho, 1992, p. 16).

Apart from the handful of researchers cited above, the majority of Western scholars who
have shown interest in African cultures mostly failed to capture the essence and, by the same
token, the merit of African oral literature. A major reason was that they lacked the feel for
languages that carry traditional literature and a real understanding of performance process and
the techniques of oral narratives (Okpewho, 1992, p. 13). As a result, the oral literature collected
by most scholars was presented in a “flat, unimpressive prose, eliminating the features of the oral
style” (Okpewho, 1992, p. 11). There is no doubt that Europeans and Americans carried out
ground-breaking work as far as research on African cultures is concerned. But the recognition of
some aspects of African oral narratives as true literature was really forwarded by African
scholars who showed some interest in their own culture. In fact, being equipped with the
knowledge of their native language and also parties to the memory of their culture, they were
able to flesh out the artistry that underlies the oral performances of their verbal folklore, part of
the culture they knew, felt deep down, and lived by (Okpewho, 1992, p. 17). That deep
knowledge was anticipated by Berry (1961) who, having noticed that Westerners constantly
failed to grasp the essence of African folklore, urged African scholars to step in to ensure a better
outcome for their cultural memory (Okpewho, 1992, p. 12-13).

Three names command attention among the forerunners who helped establish the quality
of African oral literature as a literature: Adeboye Babalola’s 1966 *The Content and Form of*
Yoruba Ijala, explored the Yoruba hunters’ cult and other types of oral divination narratives and cleverly brought attention to the artistry of the Yoruba narratives. In a no less impressive way, Awoonor’s Guardians of the Sacred Word, published in 1974, revealed the extraordinary artistic achievement of three expert performers of Ewe poetry from Ghana. Kunene (1970), another icon of African oral literature, published Heroic Poetry of the Basotho, a tribute to the Sotho culture. Each of these men, in their own fashion, has revealed the extraordinary artistry that had gone unnoticed by generations of foreign researchers. The verbal artistry of African oral traditions has finally been recognized, contributing to a new awareness of the high literary quality of African oral literature.

Oral Literature

Nandwa and Bukenya (1983) observe, “Oral literature may be defined as those utterances, whether spoken, recited or sung, whose composition and performance exhibit to an appreciable degree the artistic characteristics of accurate observation, vivid imagination and ingenious expression” (p. 1). From this perspective, important aspects of oral narrative pertain to the category of oral literature.

African oral literature is an assortment of cultural aspects that includes “riddles, puns, tongue-twisters, proverbs, recitations, chants, songs, and stories . . . the verbal aspect of folklore” (Okpewho, 1992, p. 4). Okpewho (1992) also observes that:

Oral literature is fundamentally literature delivered by word of mouth. This implies that there must be a certain appeal not only in what the performer is saying but in the way it is said (whether in the manner of plain speech or of chanting or singing). Even in some categories of oral literature where a more or less fixed body of text is recognized and the speaker-performer is expected to recite it (as in divination poetry), much of the appeal lies in the quality of the voice used and the skill with which the speaker manipulates the tones of the words involved (p. 42-43).

It is clear that oral literature is essentially about performance, which comes in different forms depending on the genre, purpose, context, etc. Among these forms are oral narratives, especially folktales, and one of the very first publications on African oral literature was in this genre, namely the Frenchman Jean-François’s (1928) collection of tales from the Wolof cultural group of Senegal (Okpewho, 1992: 164).
Folktales in General.

Defining and categorizing folktales has always proved quite a daunting task for scholars in the field. Following Klipple (1992), “[a] folktale is a story created by the folk for moral precept, for the preservation of tradition, or for amusement” (p. xxxvii). This definition is widely shared by scholars in the field (Abrahams, 1985; Denning, 2000; Okpewho, 1992). Folktales are an oral discourse genre completely different from other types of oral narratives (Tannen, 1984, p. 50), where expectations of participants sharply contrast with expectations in other genres (Gale, 1996, p. xix; Tannen, 1984, p. 50). Not only are tales an excellent source of narratives (Bishop, 1979, p. 39), but also they are the main form of discourse in oral tradition societies (Tannen, 1984, p. 24).

Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson (1928) and Thompson (1936) accomplished phenomenal works establishing tale type and motif indices for all the tales told around the world. Yet, however impressive, laudable, and helpful these have been to date, in terms of allowing for easy reference, these indices leave much to be desired because of the overlaps between categories. For instance, tales labeled “animal tales” are hardly animal tales since the actors are frequently conferred with anthropomorphic qualities, resulting in the fact that they use human languages and have feelings and behaviors akin to human ones (Gales, 1996, p. xvi). While the issue of overlap remains a major problem to solve, setting categories by protagonists, purpose, the characteristic quality of tales, and the context or occasion are the most common and traditional yardsticks that researchers have used (Okpewho, 1992, p. 180).

A classification of folktales by “protagonists” produces a division into animal tales, human tales, and fairy tales. If “purpose” is the basis for classification, tales are sorted out into didactic or moralistic. Classification by the “intrinsic characteristics” of tales yields tricksters, historical tales (e.g., legends, origin tales, epic tales, etc.), and myths. On the basis on the “context or occasion,” there are moonlight tales, divination tales, hunters’ tales, etc. That said, oral narrative encompasses stories/tales, legends/epic tales, epic poetry and myth (Awoonor, 1983).

It is a common belief that tales are a communal participatory experience in Africa. While this is true to a large extent, not all tales are performed by everyone. For instance, the epic tales (e.g., Sunjata epics in Madingo oral narrative, the Ozidi saga from Nigeria, and the Mwindo epic
from the Banyanga) have specially designated tellers or raconteurs (Gale, 1996, p. xiii; Okpewho, 1998) who are given different names in different parts of Africa.

For instance, the bard is known as the Jeli\textsuperscript{33} in Mandingo communities, while he is called Kwadwumfo among the Akan people of Ghana. Imbongi is the name given to the bard by the Nguni tribes of south Africa, while in Ruanda he is Umusizi, in northern Nigeria he is known as maroka, and so on. Similarly, myths, epic and divination poetry, and some traditional chants are performed by a given category of performers who have had formal training. For the purpose of the present study, the researcher is interested in the more mundane tales, such as trickster tales that feature animals, humans, or both, which are a fundamental social practice in all African oral traditions. Also, because they are accessible to everyone, these tales have come to constitute one of the most widely distributed genres among community members (Okpewho, 1992, p. 164).

**Folktales in Africa**

Research on folktales in Africa is still in a fledging state. However, there exists a core literature in this regard that provides a feel for the extent of storytelling in Sub-Saharan Africa. Folktales, like most discourse types, come in different forms and shapes. Gutman’s 1914 foundational work yielded a volume of volume of 215 tales from Africa, according to Klipple (1992), who also showed that Gutman’s stories address various needs of individuals at different ages and in different circumstances. Klipple also observed that depending on the audience, one or several forms of folktales are specifically performed. For instance, Animal stories are generally meant for children, while adults are more interested in “tales of village life, anecdotes, fantastic tales, tales dealing with ogres and gnomes, legends, tales telling of visits to the land of the dead, and sort of personal-interest stories” (p. xxxvi). African Folktales are also sorted out by manner of telling: The prose story versus the choric story. In the prose style, the storyteller is the central speaker who runs the show, with some occasional back channeling, as the audience is not passive, strictly speaking, in typical storytelling contexts (Finnegan, 1967, p. 67; Okpewho, 1992, p. 60). This type of performance reflects the ordinary style of telling folktales seen in many communities around the world. On the other hand, a clear example of the choric style of performance can be found in epic tales told by the griots or bards in Africa (Johnson, 1986, p. 176). This type of performance is interspersed with songs chanted by the official accompanist

\textsuperscript{33} Griot is the French word for Jeli.
(e.g., the namumnana or ‘answerer’ in the Mandingo epic tales) or by the entire audience at precise junctures of the storyline, in addition to the regular task of audience back channeling (Gale, 1996, p. viii; Johnson, 1986, p. 176).

The context of telling folktales is the ordinary social gathering that constitutes the kernel of a traditional oral society, as described by Owomoyela (1977, p. 214-215):

After the evening meal, the members of the family gather on a porch and if there is moonlight, the younger members gather in the courtyard to play games like hide and seek. On the porch, the entertainment begins with riddles. What dines with an oba (paramount chief of a community) and leaves him to clear the dishes? A fly. What passes before the oba’s palace without making obeisance? Rain flood. On its way to Oyo its face is towards Oyo, on its way from Oyo its face is still towards Oyo. What is it? A double-faced drum. After a few riddles, the tales begin (p. 214-215).

The above illustrates a typical context of storytelling among the Igbo of eastern Nigeria, and is reminiscent of the usual context in African villages everywhere, when the moonlight is a catalyst for the storytelling event. The other important aspect of the context is the participants, who are both audience and speakers, as storytelling is a communal event in which most adults or teenagers take turns at telling stories (Gale, 1996; Johnson et al., 1997).

Tales, both in general and in particular, are multifunctional in essence. One of the most obvious functions is entertainment, something scholars seem to agree upon (e.g., Bascom, 1965; Ben-Amos, 1971; Gale, 1996, p. xiv). Okpewho (1992) observes that, “[i]n the traditional setting, storytelling is one of the entertainments provided on an evening of relaxation (for instance), and may come only after other forms of activity” (p.222). Scholars insist that one crucial role of oral literature in general, and tales and songs in particular, is to offer enjoyment and thus relief from the host of tensions and pressures that assault people in everyday life (e.g., Mapanje & White, 1983, p. 60; Scheub, 1975, p. 75).

Gale (1996) has observed that besides entertainment, folktales provide education in oral tradition societies:

African tales interest and amuse audiences, while passing along historical and religious myths, lessons about preferred social behaviors, and practical advice related to daily activities such as hunting, farming, childrearing, governing, and so forth . . . . [T]he folktale is an extremely important educational medium (p. xiv).
This quote clearly recognizes that tales are a major pedagogical tool in the transmission of cultural traditions in oral societies. Education is especially regarded as a primary function of tales in oral tradition societies where there is no formal education. Oral tradition encompasses the core activities of the social, political, and economic life of a culture. Not only is it a primary means of language socialization, the folktale also prepares the youth to fit in their ambient society. This is explicit in words such as “lessons about preferred behaviors,” in the foregoing quote and the educational function of tales is reiterated by Klipple (1992) in the following: “[t]hese stories amuse and instruct the child, feed his fancy, stimulate his emotion and his imagination, lead him to evaluate acts, and help develop his concepts of behavior” (p. xxxvi). It is evident then, that tales are a major means by which preferred patterns of social conducts and social behaviors are instilled in children. As such, the folktales pertain to the overall scheme of the socialization and formation of the youth in oral tradition societies. There are also reported cases in which folktales supplement formal education in country schools in Africa, where teachers often resort to them by way of illustrating points in their teaching (Gale, 1996, p. xvi). Chafer (1992) comments that the folktale “is not an alternative to truth or reality; rather, it is a mode in which, inevitably, truth and reality are presented” (p. xiv). Oral literature, generally speaking, provides a means for holding in check individual impulsivity in society. Nwoga (1981, p. 162) observes that satire in songs and tales in Igbo society (Nigeria) essentially work toward shaping a harmonious society with communities of good citizens.

Tales constitute a body of knowledge that addresses several aspects of social life, social facts, artifacts, practices, customs and mores. Folktales help link up past and present, contributing to the preservation of the social group through the preservation of the essence of the culture. Further, folktales contribute to the formation and the preservation of the traditional encyclopedic knowledge of a culture, which comes in various forms: proverbs, formulaic expression, idioms, and wisdom (Tannen, 1982, p. 1; see also Ong, 1967; Okpewho, 1992, p. 10). That is why Amadou Hampaté Ba\(^{34}\) posits that “En Afrique, chaque fois qu’un vieillard meurt, c’est une bibliothèque qui brûle” (In Africa, when an old man dies, it is a library that burns down) (http://www.amadoo.com/article.php?aid=2199, p. 1).

\(^{34}\) Amoudou Hampaté Ba (1900-1991) was a writer from Mali, West Africa. He became well known for his production in literature, religion, sociology, and oral tradition.
Distribution of Tales in Africa and Elsewhere

Research accomplished in the area of folktales has made the task of referencing and comparing much easier. Aarne and Thompson’s (1928) tale types index and Thompson’s (1936) tale motif index are prominent works in this regard. Scholars have been able to establish similarities among some tales told within and across the continents, based on these indexes. Tales that share features with others are referred to as analogues. Klipple (1992) explains that:

An analogue is a story similar to the one under consideration, but it is not necessarily a retelling of the same story. Parallelism may arise from the fact that a well-knit story has a vitality, which permits it to adjust itself to a new environment and yet to keep the basis kernel of the story unchanged, even though others may replace specific details, actors changed, incidents omitted or added (pp. xxvii-xxviii).

Within the African Continent. Klipple (1992), using Herskovits’ (1933, 1935) cultural “area system,” according to which the African continent is broken down into several cultural areas, and based on the tale type and motif indexes developed by Aarne and Thompson, has established similarities among some tales all over the African continent. Klipple (1992) has found that versions of certain of tales span vast areas of the African continent. For instance, “The Help of the Weak” has versions told in several cultural areas, whereas “The Ungrateful Serpent Returned to Captivity” has a multitude of versions told almost over all areas. “The Race” has over 39 versions told in four areas, including regions as far apart as West Africa and Madagascar. A large number motifs that Klipple (1992) deals with in her works on African tales appear in tales told over several areas in Africa and Madagascar. Some of the motifs are mythological, animals, magic, taboo, marvels, ogres, tests, deception, reversals of fortune, chance and fate, reward and punishment.

Similarities based on characters that walk through tales have also been recorded in areas that are sometimes great distances apart from one another. For instance, the hare or the rabbit as a protagonist pervades tales in the western, central, eastern and southern parts of Africa, encompassing most of Herskovits’ cultural areas. Likewise, the spider, the romantic hero known as ananse in tales from the Akan cultural group in West Africa, is also found in the southern part

35 Cultural areas are regions that host several ethnic groups that share similar cultural features. For instance, Herskovits’ Area IV-A (Guinea Coast subarea in West Africa) comprises modern-day Liberia, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Mali, Burkina Faso, Côte d’Ivoire, Ghana, Togo, Benin, and Nigeria.
of Africa, Madagascar, western Sudan and the East Horn regions. Other animals generally featured as heroes in African tales are the jackal, the fox, and the tortoise, who appear in folktales of various local tribes in several regions (Klipple, 1992, pp. 3-122). Equally pervasive in tales from several areas in Africa is the hyena in the role of antagonist.

Tales collected from the Senufo people (e.g., Kientz, 1979; Knops, 1988) show some similarity with the wide range of tales collected elsewhere in Africa. Also they fit in the tale type and motifs developed by Aarne and Thompson. For instance, etiological tales such as “The Genie and the Tobacco,” (Le génie et le taba), “The Genie, the Hunter and the Gazelles” (Le génie, le chasseur et la gazelle), recorded by Kientz (1979, pp. 227-243), belong in the “Why” types of tales, as does “Why the Moon Resuscitates and Human Beings Do Not” (Pourquoi la lune ressuscite, mais les hommes restent dans la tombe), from Knops’ collection (1988, p. 194). These tales may be classified as tales of “ogres, deception, or again mythology” in Aarne and Thompson’s 1928 index. Further, “Hare and the Animal House” (Le lièvre et la case des animaux) (Knops, 1988, p. 184) parallels “The Animals Build a Road” (Klipple, 1992, p. 34) and ties into well-established types and motifs of tale index such as “The Wise and the Foolish” and “Deception.” Likewise, “Punishment for Ungratefulness” (Le Châtiment de l’ingratitude), collected among Nafara speakers by Knops (1988, p. 190), clearly belongs in the “Rewards and Punishments” tale motif in Thompson’s (1936) motif index. Tales collected from the Senufo cultural group bear some resemblance to other tales scattered over Africa. They are also in sync with the international system of classification. The aforementioned samples of the distribution of similar tale types over Africa show that there is an obvious link between tales found in various cultural areas.

**African tales in the New World.** In this section of the study, tales from the African Diaspora in the New World, namely from African American communities, and African-derived cultural groups in the West Indies, are going to be reviewed. Given that these black communities share an African ancestry, chances are that tales from both New World regions share an organic link with African folktales. Leading among the works on African folktales in the New World is the publication of *The Tales of Uncle Remus*, African-American folktales collected by Joel Chandler Harris (1945, 1955, 1980). Most of these tales feature rabbit as the protagonist, the counterpart of hare in Africa. In these trickster tales, the fox, the antagonist in Uncle Remus’ tales, replaces the hyena, who is the antagonist in West African tales but is an animal not found
in the New World. Other scholars in the area have also contributed to the documentation of folklore within the Black community, by investigating the nature of tales found in the New World. For instance, Dundes (1990), Bascom (1992), Abrahms (1985), and Courlander (1976, 1996) have investigated the probable links between tales in Black communities in the New World and those from Africa. Abrahms (1985), in the introduction to his book, *African-American Folktales: Stories from the Black Traditions in the New World*, observed that:

The tale telling tradition of blacks in the New World came, directly or indirectly, from the places where the slaves’ ancestors lived in the sub-Saharan area of the Old World.

The major evidence of this is the relative consistency of the repertoire wherever Africans found themselves transported in the New World (p. xxi).

Abrahams also found that a relatively important number of stories in his collection are “[a]ctually New World versions of ones found throughout sub-Saharan Africa and therefore stand alongside the other great black performance traditions in illustrating the continuing vigor of the African aesthetic” (p. 4). Further, he contends that Flowers’ (1980) collection of stories of the West Indies also includes stories whose types and motifs are reminiscent of those found in African stories. A clear example is the “The deceptive game” motif in tales such as “Little Boy-Bear Nurses the Alligator Children” (Abrahams, 1985, p. 164), collected by Harris (1980). This tale is found in many parts of Africa, where hare is the nursemaid to the crocodile’s kids (Klipple, 1992, p. 28). These tales go under the classification AT 37, “Fox as a Nursemaid for Bear” (Abrahams, 1985, p. 314).


Rampini’s (1873) collection of Jamaican tales shows many commonalities with stories told in the Old World. Particularly, “Tiger Becomes a Riding Horse” is regarded as the “most

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36 In international catalogue, tales are arranged according to the Aarne and Thompson’s index of tale types. The motif (the theme) is given a number, a title, and a summary that captures the essence of the tale (e.g., AT 5 – Biting the foot, where A stands for Antti Aarne and T for Stith Thompson, and the number is the number assigned to the motif in this tale within the overarching ‘animal tales’). It is worth noting that the AT number may concern whole or part of a tale.
commonly heard Anansi story in the Anglophonic West Indies” (Abrahams, 1985, p. 318). As an Anansi tale, it is reminiscent of its African origin, which is supported in research by scholars such as Baer (1981, p. 34-35) and Dundes (1977, p. 188).

All these tales show striking similarities to African tales in terms of motifs, characters, and techniques (Bascon, 1981, p. 196-98). The foundational work accomplished by scholars in terms of cataloguing tales have made it possible to compare and contrast folktales across cultures and regions of the world, thus establishing links between stories that are found in distant parts of the world. The various examples of African analogue tales in Black communities in the New World presented in the above discussion validate Abraham’s claim that African folktales continue to have a vibrant presence wherever African populations are found throughout the world.

Senari Genres and Folktales

The Senufo cultural group is overwhelmingly an oral tradition society. Its folklore is regarded as among the richest in Côte d’Ivoire and also across national borders into adjacent areas inhabited by Senufo people, because of its variety and its abundance (MECT, 1975).

Senufo society, like any oral tradition society in Africa, has myths and legends concerning the origin of the clans and circumstances of settlement, how their cosmogony came to be, and the movement of people in space and time, all of which are substantiated by means of stories featuring extraordinary actions of ethereal beings (genies, ogre, gods) and leaders out the extraordinary (Kientz, 1979; Knops, 1988). There are also some epic tales from the Nafara tribe in particular, for instance, the tale of Deregenulène, a young man with great intelligence and wit who foiled all attempts at murders and attacks by his adversaries, who defeated his greedy, selfish and covetous father, and who became a much revered chief in his teens (Knops, 1988, p. 185-186). Thus, the body of Nafara oral literature includes both epic literature and foundational oral literature that is manifested in a wide range of discourse types: various types of narratives, proverbs, idioms, riddles, songs, and chants (Kientz, 1979, pp. 14-19; Knops, 1988, p. 185), all

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37 Anansi, also ananse or anase, comes from the Akan cultural group storytelling tradition in West Africa (specifically modern-day Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana). The term originates from the word Anansi (the spider), the romantic hero par excellence in Akan cultural group.

38 MECT stands for Ministère d’état Chargé du Tourism (State Ministry for Tourism) in Côte d’Ivoire.
of which ensure the vitality of cultural traditions and help perpetuate the cultural identity of a people anchored in oral tradition. Among the score or so of narratives genres, a few are described below by way of illustration: Yàsùnsyìnrì, kàfù, yémènè, 39 bàrùw, and kàségèlì.

Yàsùnsyìnrì (literally the discourse of the idol or fetish) is a divination discourse for which some training is required. Yàsùnsyìnrì is, in essence, hortatory discourse, in which the speaker seeks to influence the behavior of the idol to whom the discourse is addressed. An example is a ceremony that involves slaughtering animals to be offered to the idols, where the idol is requested to change the course of unhappy life events by solving a personal or social problem. Immediacy of response is in order: when the agitated slaughtered hen lies on its back and dies, this shows that the request of the diviner has been fulfilled.

Kàfù refers to a major stage in the poro, which is predominantly a male initiation system of Senufo society. The closing of this stage, corresponding to the final graduation of the initiate, gives rise to a particular type of discourse referred to as a kàfù narrative. The narrative is about a range of things, including personal trials of the initiate during the seven years of the poro, lessons of life learned as a neophyte, family tribulations, and other significant things on the personal level, or about immediate extended family or genealogy that have a wider bearing in the initiate’s present life. Each poro graduate delivers this type of narrative in a sing-song manner.

Yémènè is basically a dirge with a diatribe-like quality. This very sad narrative is often about the tribulations of the deceased or those dear to him/her. Sensitive listeners are frequently moved to tears.

Kàfù is a narrative usually delivered in a sing-song manner during the ultimate graduation for the poro initiation, while yémèn is performed exclusively by women during traditional funeral celebrations. In both kàfù and Yémènè narratives, back-channeling is very important. This consists of agreeing with the speaker and encouraging him to take it easy but to carry on. The back-channeling may also be delivered in a sing-song fashion.

Bàrùw is usually a type of casual chat where people share stories about some real first-hand life experiences or experiences reported about. Certainly, a further foray into Senufo oral literature will reveal much more about its discourse genres. That being said, the main focus in

39 This is basically self-reported by the researcher, who grew up within the confines of traditional society and is a party to the memory of Senufo culture and traditions.
this section of the study will be folktales. In Senufo society, like any other oral tradition society, folktales are the most widely distributed variety of oral literature, as pointed out earlier.

Kientz (1979) has observed that there are a number of subcategories of folk stories found in Senufo society. He identified three overarching categories: tän’alë, literally ‘old ways’, but also understood as historic tales, which may include legends and myths; käséelé, which encompasses a range of discourse types such as riddles, proverbs, word or dueling games, short narratives in which participants try at outwitting one another in verbal sparring; and other forms of witticism, and last, folktales known as múgoro or mụ́urigè (pp. 17-18). Múgoro is the indefinite singular form for folktale in the Kufuru community (another dialect of Senari) and mụ́urige is the term used by Nafara speakers; Mụ́uri is the Nafara definite plural form. Kientz (1979) includes tales collected among the Kufuru and Fodonon tribes, part of which are found in the Nafara region and part live in the region contiguous to the Nafara area. The Nafara term for folktale, Mụ́uri, will be used from now on. This last category of folktales will be the main focus of this research, as pointed out earlier.

Mụ́urigè comes from mụ́uri meaning ‘to play’, ‘to cause to laugh’, ‘to make fun of’ (Kientz, 1979, p. 17), which underscores the fact that entertainment is a primary function of this discourse genre. Mụ́uri fall into three main categories: mụ́urikpèrù (short tales), mụ́uritònù (long tales), and mụ́urigábalà, a type of tale that leads to debate and clever reasoning (Kientz, 1979, p. 18). The present research is concerned with the first two variants of mụ́uri.

The prose story is the most widely spread style within the Nafara speech community. Knops (1988) recorded that the choric story was once wide-spread in the Nafara society, but no one seems to use this style anymore, today.40

Among the relatively few researchers on Senufo oral narratives in Côte d’Ivoire, Kientz (1979) seems to be the only one who has paid heed to some key aspects of the act of telling: the introduction and the closure. As he was gathering materials for his collection in the region of Dikodougou,41 he observed that most speakers introduced tales by “C’est le mensonge de la nuit” (‘it is the lie of the evening’), which means that the tale is characterized as a “lie” up front. However, as he noted, the tellers often closed the story by challenging anyone to find out that he

40 The researcher has no memory of such performance type during his life time.
41 Dikodugu is a subprefecture of the department of Korhogo, to the south-east of the subprefecture de Napié, which is the hometown of the researcher.
had told a lie by giving an even bigger lie (Kientz, 1979, p. 19). For instance, the teller may, in a flight of imagination, say: “Si quelqu’un ose soutenir que je j’ai menti, qu’il se rende donc à l’orée du village, et là il verra un genie male tressant une corde avec du sable” (‘Should anyone dare say that I told a lie, let them go to the outskirts of the village; there, they will see a genie braiding a sand rope’), or “Si quelqu’un ose soutenir que je j’ai menti, qu’il se rende donc à l’orée du village, et là il verra les morts celebrant un marriage” (‘Should anyone dare say I told a lie, let them go to the outskirts of the village; there, they will see dead people at a wedding ceremony’). Then, to the above, the audience would generally respond “Il se fait tard. Continue de raconter” (‘It is too late to go out there now; tell us more stories’) (Kientz, 1979, p. 19). In Nafara storytelling protocol, similar beginning and closing arguments are often heard. However, there seems to be no obligatory formula in the procedure. It is believed that further data collection in this area will clarify some of these points.

Oral Discourse versus Writing Discourse

Speaking and writing represent two modes of language realization. There are clearly some differences between them, both at the surface and internal structure levels. The contrast between oral tradition and writing became a prominent object of research from the 1960s onward. Researchers have tried to pin down the differences between speaking and writing, insisting that they are different in more than the medium. From the 1960s through the 1980s, researchers mostly focused on discrete linguistic elements of phonology and morphology at the clause and the sentence level. Interestingly enough, most scholars felt that there was still a long way to deal with the issues related to oral and written productions in a very satisfactory way the (Chafe, 1982, p. 35). Researchers who pioneered studies on this topic include Lord (1960), Goody and Watt (1963), Havelock, (1963), Ong (1967, 1977), Goody (1977), Kay (1977), Olson (1977), Scribner & Cole (1980), Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz (1981), and Tannen (1982). However, the most palpable result that seems to be agreed upon is that there are both differences and similarities between oral discourse and writing.

Differences

Researchers have examined a range of aspects: the mode of expression (oral or written),
the surface structure (clause, sentence, and discrete elements), the internal structure (such as issues relating to the texture and the organization of oral and written discourse), as well as writing and speaking as activities in their own right (Elbow, 2000; Kahaney & Liu, 2001; Tannen, 1982, 1984). Studies carried out in these areas have revealed some significant differences between speaking and writing.

There is no denying that speaking and writing use different channels of communication, and may thus rely on different cohesive devices and signs (Biber, 1988; Elbow, 2000; Gumperz, Kaltman, and O’connor, 1984, p. 17). However, Chafe (1982) observed they are different in more than just the medium. Chafe has urged scholars to cast a more critical eye at the macro and micro levels, as well as at the conceptual level, for a better understanding of the intricate nature of these two modes of communication.

Ong (1967) argued that oral discourse and writing represent two different perspectives on knowledge and thought, while Tannen (1984), with respect to their modes of preservation, argued that knowledge is in the text in literate society, while “in oral culture, formulaic expressions (saying, clichés, proverbs, and so on) are the repository of received wisdom” (Tannen, 1982, p. 1; see also Ong, 1967; Olson, 1977). Further, Tannen (1984), with regard to contexts, states that in the end, the difference between oral discourse and writing lies in the extent to which the emphasis is on content or interpersonal involvement.

One aspect that has received constant attention is the strategies prevalent in each mode. Presumably, orality implies immediate and spontaneous reactions, while writing entails planning and meticulous organization (e.g., Biber, 1988; Goody, 1991). Owing to this, oral discourse is deemed unpolished, while the written one is considered polished, meaning well-ordered (Biber, 1988; Kahaney et al., 2000).

Kay (1977) equates writing with autonomous language because it is “minimally dependent on simultaneous transmission over the channels, such as the paralinguistic, postural, and gestual, and . . . minimally dependent on the contribution of background information on the part of the hearer” (pp. 21-22). If writing is autonomous, the implication is that speaking is non-autonomous, something also pointed out by Tannen (1982) who, following Bateson (1972), argues that meaning is built by means of the reactivation of shared knowledge and interpersonal relationship in oral discourse, while the writer couches meaning in the text (p. 2).
Complexity has been regarded as a divide between oral and written discourse, in classic research in the 1960s, based on the allegation that writing uses more subordinations and formal language than oral discourse does (Beaman, 1984, p. 65). Writing as an activity is often regarded as a thinking tool. Kahaney and Liu (2000) observe that “[i]t is through writing that individuals begin the process of reflection that converts information into useful knowledge; it is through writing that [writers] can best grapple with ideas and make sense of them” (p. 11). Thus, unlike speaking, writing is seen as a mode of cognition in its own right.

Similarities

Elbow (2000) insists that though it is undeniable that there are differences between writing and speaking, too much attention to a Manichean division between writing and oral discourse is very misleading. He urges scholars to emphasize the circumstances of the use of these modes, because in the end, these two modes of language realization are essentially alike: “My goal is to stop people from talking so much about the inherent nature of these media and start them talking more about the different ways we can use them” (p. 166).

There is no doubt that speaking and writing are two distinct modes of expressions, using different strategies. Yet, coherence strategies, the underlying structure that holds the different components of the discourse in a significant whole, are similar for both the written and spoken medium within the same culture (Tannen, 1984, p. xix). This feeling is also expressed by scholars who have come to the belief that, at the deeper level, writing and speaking “are variants or alternative forms of the same language” (Smith, 1975, p. 352).

At the discrete level there may seem to be a gulf of differences between speaking and writing. However, as pointed out above, they are more alike than different in terms of the notional structure of discourse.

Synthesis

Some of the elements pointed out as differences between the two modes have been disputed. Ochs (1979, p. 55) places the difference between oral discourse and writing in the extent to which the discourse is planned or not: “Planned discourse is discourse that has been thought out and organized (designed) prior to its expression . . . . Unplanned discourse is
discourse that lacks forethought and organizational preparation” (p. 55). From this, both oral and written discourse can be well ordered, neat and integrated.

Beaman (1984) contends that both oral and written modes present levels of complexity of different natures. For instance, he suggests that there is more lexical density in writing, while oral discourse has more finite subordinate clauses. He also suggests that speaking may even appear to be more complex because of clause embeddedness (p. 65).

On other issues, such as coordination and subordination attributed to one mode or the other, or the idea according to which writing is planned and speaking unplanned, a series of studies brought forth contradictory findings, which seem to blur the distinction between the two modes (Beaman, 1984, p. 48; Tannen, 1984, p. 21).

Beaman (1984), evaluating the cacophony presented by research that has looked into the difference between oral discourse and writing explains the dissonance by the fact that researchers based their studies on samples that were not comparable in many respects. He argues that the observed differences are not actually between oral discourse and writing, but rather between registers or purposes (pp. 51 and 79). Elbow (2000), while admitting there are differences between oral discourse and writing regarding issues brought up above, cautions about overemphasizing them, because in the end these differences should be taken with a grain of salt. He showed that features attributed to one mode can be brought to bear in the other (Elbow, 2000, pp. 154-156). For example, the logical, abstract, planned, and detached quality assigned to writing can be found in formal speech, likewise the ephemeral feature deemed characteristic of speech is well-established in free writing or spontaneous writing, such as brainstorming, and private writing, where words are not commitment, meaning they do not imply any accountability from the part of the writer. He argues that too much faith in the mentalities assigned to these mediums is misleading in more than one respect (idem).

Relevance of Oral Discourse in the Literate Context

It was pointed out, earlier in this chapter, that some forms of oral tradition are literature in its own right (Nandwa & Bukenya, 1983, p. 1; Okpewho, 1992, p. 3). Some examples are rituals, myths, folktales, and epic tales. Elements put forward to substantiate the literary quality of these forms were their formal and permanent structure, such as the quality of language, permanence (e.g., content, style, and formulaic structure remain the same across performances
form generation to generation), and also the solitude of the speaker (Chafe, 1982, p. 49). Given
that these categories of oral literature do not display the spontaneity and unpolished nature of
colloquial language, they are equivalent to essays in the written mode in many of the same
genres, such as epic tales, folktales and ritual.

A major ferment for this project is the concern for L1 (in this case, Nafara) influence on
L2 (French) in the context of formal education in Côte d’Ivoire. Given that Nafara is an oral
language, to what extent may its discourse structure be brought to bear in teaching French
composition?

Lakoff (1979) developed criteria for comparing and contrasting spoken and written
narratives: informality, spontaneity, empathy, reciprocity, visibility, and inconsequentiality. He
found that spoken and written narratives are different only by one category, visibility, which, in
spoken discourse, “gives speakers extra channels to communicate” (Lakoff, 1979, p. 7), as they
are able to use paralinguistic features of communication such as gestures, eye contact, distance,
facial expression, and stance. Lakoff concluded that, technically, transfer is possible from one
mode to the other. Namely, elements from the oral mode are likely to transfer to the literate
one.

Heath (1986) suggests that “[l]anguage learning is “in situ” because “language learning is
cultural learning . . . . Language socialization, in the broader sense, is the means by which
individuals become members of their primary speech community” (p. 87). Thus, the dominant
discourse pattern of the community is the very thing children carry over to school. This sheds
light on the numerous problems black children from poor communities in America have to face
in school, because their discourse is misfit in the system of formal education, where the preferred
discourse is that of middle class. In this regard, Heath (1989) showed that, “their pattern of
language socialization was not congruent with school use of oral and written language as the
mainstream socialization pattern” (p. 367). This point is reinforced by Gee (1996) through the
stories of Leona, an African American student, and Mindy, a student from the same class as
Leona, but who is from a white middle class family. During “time sharing” in class, Lenora’s
story was not accepted by the teacher because the discourse pattern that she acquired through
language socialization in the poor black community did not conform to the expected standard of
discourse patterning in formal education. As a result of this, her teacher showed no real interest
in her story, to which he seldom listened (Gee, 1996, p. 157; see also Hymes, 1996). On the
other hand, Mindy’s story appealed to the teacher, because its patterning was in sync with the dominant discourse patterning in school (Gee, 1996, p. 157). Thus, the teacher scaffolded the white kid from middle-class, ever since she introduced the topic. Yet, Lenora’s story showed a formidable expressive richness, especially when profiled (Hymes 1996, p. 174).

Studies in second language acquisition (SLA) and foreign language education (FLE) have also been very illuminating with respect to the interaction of discourse styles between languages in the educational context. For instance, Söter’s (1988) study with Vietnamese and Arabic-speaking people in some Australian schools revealed an evident permeation of their respective discourse patterns in essays. In another study, Kellerman (2001) used the “Frog Story,” to elicit stories from English language learners. The analysis of the stories retold or rewritten by non-native speakers of English (German and Spanish speakers) showed that the narratives they produced were structured along cultural lines, despite their quite respectable oral proficiency in English.

West and Donato’s (1989) study, based on West African tales retold by native speakers of English, shows that students from West Africa (from whose culture the tales were drawn) were hard put to grasp the retold stories, because the English-speaking storytellers used a discourse pattern they (West African students) were not familiar with. Similarly, Liskin-Gasparro’s (1996) study, based on tales in Spanish retold by non-native speakers, showed that native speakers of Spanish were confused by the misuse of tense and aspect in the storyline events and the patterns storytellers used in the English tellings of the stories. In both cases, the audience was hard put to construct the thematic coherence so critical to a full grasp of a story.

The above discussion has reiterated the fact that L1 intrudes in L2 learning, be it in the context of oral discourse or writing, as is made evident by research in various subfields of language education in formal context. This is all the more understandable since “[n]othing is so closely identified with one’s personality and subconscious as one’s language” (Goody, 1991, p. 281). The discourse of the primary group, that is the discourse of the maternal language, is the very thing by which one claims membership in a social group and celebrates social life at large (Gee, 1996, p. 17). That is why success in school rests on whether or not the primary group discourse coincides with the discourse in the formal context (Gee, 1996, pp. 119-121; Heath, 42

The “Frog Story” was developed by Marcel Mayer (as a tool for eliciting narratives in educational research), based on his book “Frog, Where Are You?”
1986, pp. 85-86). This may explain why learners from the dominant culture are favored in formal school settings, which is the center par excellence of the reproduction of social capital (Bourdieu, 1990; Canagaraji, 1993).

Narratives are the most wide-spread discourse genre in every society, as pointed out earlier (e.g., Heath, 1986, p. 86; Hymes, 1996, p. 214). Narratives are also the foremost genre in a large portion of the curriculum of the formal educational cycle (Hymes, 1996, pp. 109-114). Owing to this, it may be anticipated that the preferred discourse of the primary group of students, native speakers of Nafara, will interfere in their L2 schoolwork and in their essays in particular. Therefore, knowledge of the discourse patterns of an important native Nafara narrative genre can provide an essential step toward addressing the issue of the interference of L1 in language education in Côte d’Ivoire.

Discourse Analysis

Classic rhetoric, expounded upon by Plato, thrives on syllogistic reasoning, which strives for the appearance of truth. The approach is based on the rhetor’s (the speaker’s) skill to bring “preconceived ends” to bear. Modern approaches to rhetoric are less prescriptive and more descriptive, and the desire to describe rhetorical patterns in languages has given rise to discourse analysis (Yardbrough, 1999, p. 19). This approach encompasses a wide range of studies, including translation, linguistics, sociolinguistics, and hermeneutic studies, to cite only a few, all of which have influenced discourse analysis (Slembrouck, 1998-2003, p. 2) (Table 8). Discourse analysis is most closely associated with translation. In fact, by dint of trying to translate religious writings (e.g., the Bible), pioneers in translation came to the realization that knowing the organizational pattern of the discourse of the original language was a prerequisite to achieving a sound translation (Coldstream, 2002). Early research in the field of hermeneutics accomplished between 1805 and 1833 by Schleiermacher and his followers contributed to the foundations of discourse analysis (Lefevere, 1977).

Discourse analysis is both a theory and a research method. Like any other theory, discourse analysis tries to explain the process of human communication. Nowenisck (1995), following Chomsky observes that discourse analysis is nothing but the “study of how language is
used” (p. 15) in various contexts in society, a definition most scholars seem to agree with. In fact, this definition seems to capture the essence of discourse analysis whose primary role is to explore the conundrum of human communication through semiotic systems (Cook, 1990).

Table 8. Fields that Have Influenced Discourse Analysis (from Slembrouck, 1998-2003, p. 2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Analytical philosophy</th>
<th>5. Post-structuralist theory</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speech act theory</td>
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<tr>
<td>Principles of information exchange</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Linguistics</td>
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<tr>
<td>Structural linguistic</td>
<td>6. Semiotics and cultural studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>Register studies and stylistics</td>
<td>Semiotics and communication studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text linguistics</td>
<td>Cultural studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pragmatics</td>
<td>7. Social theory</td>
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<tr>
<td>Presuppositions</td>
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<tr>
<td>Face and politeness</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reference</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Linguistic anthropology</td>
<td>8. The sociology of order in interaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnography of speaking</td>
<td>Interaction order</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ethnopoetics</td>
<td>Frame analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indexicality</td>
<td>Footing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interactional sociolinguistics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural histories of discourse</td>
<td>Conversation analysis by Ethnomethodology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. New literacy studies</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Hatch (1992) claims that discourse analysis is about the study of the language of communication, be it spoken or written, during which one dissects the intricate nature of communication in terms of the interplay of social, cognitive and linguistic factors (p. 1).

Discourse analysis as a field of study and theory is mainly concerned with “discovery products” (Barton, 2002, p. 24). Features that appear again and again in and across a text are catalogued and analyzed to reveal the conventional role that relates their appearance and their significance. Thus, the discovery product in discourse analysis is the ability to establish links between the observed conventional relations and features, patterns, and meanings (Barton, 2002, p. 24). Barton argues that discourse analysis rests primarily upon an inductive process, which consists in interacting with a text to identify the leading patterns and rich features, all of which serve as supportive arguments for generalizations about the meaning of the text.
Discourse analysis is about making an argument based on verifiable features and patterns of the text and its context. Robert Longacre (1996), a leading proponent of discourse analysis, contends that with the advent of discourse analysis, texts are apprehended as organic wholes, which allows for a better understanding of the processes of human communication. Discourse analysis as a theory strives to explain how human communication proceeds behind the tangible physical text, be it oral, signed, written, or in any other form.

Discourse analysis as a method of inquiry provides analytical techniques that operate within a larger field of communicative acts, delimiting and separating different kinds of texts, for instance, a discourse on immigration from one on tourism (Ifversen, 2003, p. 65). In fact, the two levels at which discourse is analyzed are the materiality of statement and the inter-discursive relationships where statements in the text can be compared with statements from other texts in the process of specification and delimitation of the discourse genre being analyzed (Ifversen, 2003, p. 66). For Burr (1995), discourse analysis as a method of research belongs in the “social constructivist” approaches (pp. 3-5), where research stresses knowledge regarded as something socially, culturally, and historically situated, and also the process of communication by means of which the exchange of knowledge is made possible. Concern beyond the text into the sphere of social bearings and the very process of communication are regarded as central to the analysis of discourse. According to Stubbs (1983):

The term discourse analysis is very ambiguous. I will use it . . . to refer mainly to the linguistic analysis of naturally occurring connected speech or written discourse. Roughly speaking, it refers to attempts to study the organization of language above the sentence or above the clause, and therefore to study larger units, such as conversational exchanges or written texts. It follows that discourse analysis is also concerned with language use in social contexts, and in particular with interaction or dialogue between speakers (p. 1).

In addition to the point raised in the previous perspectives given by scholars, Stubbs focuses on, the intricate dialectical relationship between language and society and the notion of communication as being fundamentally interactive. All endeavors, according to Chimombo and Roseberry (1998), aim at primarily gaining “a deeper understanding and appreciation of texts.” (p. ix). Halliday’s discourse analysis stresses linguistic relationships, which are consequently scrutinized more often than other relationships. By comparison, discourse analysis à la Gee emphasizes the overall semiotic system of which language is but a component (Meyer, 2002, p.
As portrayed above Halliday’s theory of functional grammar seems a bit limited. However, thanks to its formal mechanism, it provides a powerful tool for structuring discourses (Meyer, 2002, p. 87).

Discourse analysis cuts across several fields of inquiry, and the resulting interpretation of its theory and methodology often seem diffuse and ambiguous (Schiffrin, 1987; Stubbs, 1983a). The variety of different approaches to text analysis produce different terminologies in fields, such as pragmatics, linguistics, sociolinguistics, and social interaction. Longacre (1996) says that the cacophony in the field hinders the development of the necessary synergy critical to advancing the real agenda of the field, that is, a proper understanding of the process of human communication. Overall, discourse analysis seeks to examine both the text and the communicative process that fosters it. In so doing, it seeks to de-construct it in order to reveal the internal logic and organization that buttresses the communicative act.

**Methodological Frameworks in Discourse Analysis**

Efforts to apply scientific methods toward understanding the communicative processes behind different types of discourses have resulted in multiple methods of analysis (de Beaugrande, 1996, p. 2). These approaches differ from each other within and across fields, according to the procedure used to dissect the physical texts to which the method is applied (Edwards, 2005, p. 257).

Titstcher, Meyer, Wodak, and Vetter (2000, p. 50) discuss over 12 methods of discourse analysis, grouped into a few overarching categories, such as ethnographic, linguistic, critical rhetoric, and psychoanalytic methods. In fairness, one is hard put to deliver on the exact number of methods because of the increasing ramification within and across fields and schools of thoughts, as shown in Fitch and Sanders (2005, section VI) and Barton and Stygall (2002, p. 9).

Content analysis is concerned with quantifying text content by surveying surface elements, such as lexical, syntactic, pragmatic, and semantic categories (Titstcher et al., 2000, p. 56). Content analysis is counted among the ancestors of methods used in text analysis (Titstcher et al., 2000, p. 55; see also Herkner, 1974; Silbermann, 1974). The method was developed from Lasswell’s (1946) model of mass communication, epitomized in the phrase, “Who says what in which channel to whom and with what effect” (p. 37). Holsti (1968) asserted that “[c]ontent analysis is any research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively
identifying specified characteristics of messages” (p. 601). As content analysis increasingly took on some qualitative inclination, it expanded to the point that “the range of procedures is enormous, in terms of both analytical goals and the means or processes developed to pursue them” (Merten, 1983, p. 46).

Critical Discourse Analysis is also regarded as an early approach to discourse analysis (Barton & Stygall, 2002, p. 9). Critical discourse analysis focuses on a close scrutiny of texts presented to the public, such as political speeches or news reports; its prime goal is to lay bare the link between text and power through the assessment sociocultural factors, discursive practices, and relations between texts and co-texts (Edwards, 2005, p. 258; Huckin, 2002, p. 157, see also Fairclough, 1995, for a further discussion of the issue).

Grounded Theory is another method for discourse analysis, mostly used as a qualitative approach to data analysis (Fielding, 1986, p. 3). Dewey’s (1937) work in the school of American pragmatics has been foundational in the development of this method, which is basically concerned with analyzing a “problematic situation . . . and the necessity for conceiving of a method in the context of solving [the problem]” (Strauss, 1987, p. 5). The method rests on the premise that the individual case is a unique unit of investigation, that social interpretation is a process of generation, and that there is a continuity between everyday life and science, therefore, openness should be sought in science terminology (Titstcher et al., 2000, p. 75).

Linguistic approaches to the analysis of discourse have variants that correspond to areas of inquiry such sociolinguistics, psycholinguistic, semiotics, and linguistics. Discourse Analysis (a method of text analysis in its own right) and Conversation Analysis stand out by virtue of their popularity among scholars in the general field of linguistics (Fitch & Sanders, 2005, p. 258-9). Linguistic methods stress cohesion, that is to say, they put high value on linguistic categories at the surface level (de Beaugrande, 1996, p. 2; Titstcher et al., 2002, p. 100). Discourse analysis will be revisited on a later page.

Conversation Analysis is the result of several influences, i.e., Grice’s (1989) conversational implicature theory and research in ethnomethodology (Arundale, 2005, p. 56-57). This approach focuses on areas such as meaning in light of the context of interaction and sequence in the flow of discourse (Heritage, 2005, p. 105).

In the analysis of narrative genres per se, several methods have been devised. In the field of anthropology, Ethnopoetics and the Ethnography of Speaking are important approaches. The
ethnography of speaking, developed by Hymes and Gumperz in the early sixties, is both a theory and a method (Titscher et al., 2000, p. 92). As a method of text analysis, it stresses speech situations, acts and events as its focal units of analysis (Saville-Troike, 1987).

The ethnography of speaking, also called the ethnography of communication, is rooted in the works of Bronislaw Malinowski, Franz Boas, Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf (Fitch & Sanders, 2005, p. 335; Titstcher, et al., 2000, p. 90). This method examines modes of speech to shed light on patterns in which they both construct and reflect the social realities of a given speech community (Fitch & Philipsen, 1995, p. 263). The framework of analysis is summarized in the phrase “Who speaks, with whom, when, where and in what code, about what?” (Cicourel, 1964, p. 172) clearly reflecting Lasswell’s (1946) model.

Dell Hymes developed an acronym, SPEAKING, as a convenient guide for the analysis of speech events, and by extension, of texts, within the framework of the ethnography of speaking (1962, p. 26).

The SPEAKING Grid

S → Setting, both physical and psychological (Where? What are the characteristics of the setting? i.e., evening/morning.)

P → Participants (Who? Internal and external participants; presence/absence)

E → The End or Goal of the Speech event or story (Why tell this story; purpose of an individual participant)

A → Acts sequences (What events take place; what is the form of what is said, i.e., turn taking; the content of the message).

K → Key, mood or tone of the event: Is it serious, happy, or sarcastic?

I → Instrumentality, the actual language used in the speech event or story; the channel of speech (oral discourse, written discourse, drumming, whistle speech, or smoke signals).

N → Norms, the rules of behavior, for instance, can the audience interrupt, ask questions?

G → Genre, or Kind of event or story; discourse type.

Another approach to discourse analysis is High-point Microanalysis, based on Labov’s work (e.g., 1967, 1972, and 1980) and fine-tuned by other scholars (e.g., Peterson and McCabe,
This technique is used to analyze “narratives of personal experience” (McCabe and Bliss, 2003, p. 11). The Narrative Assessment Profile developed by McCabe and Bliss has been influenced by the high point microanalysis model (McCabe and Bliss, 2003, p. 11); the approach hinges on six points of discourse coherence: “topic maintenance, event sequencing, informativeness, referencing, conjunctive cohesion, and fluency” (McCabe & Bliss, 2003, p. 16).

McCabe and Bliss (2003) observe that Story Grammar (e.g., the model used by Stein and Glenn in their 1979 study) and Stanza Analysis are convenient for narrative text analysis. Stanza analysis is used in social linguistics (Gee, 1989a, 1996) and ethnopoetics (Hymes, 1981, 2003). These approaches will be revisited in Chapter three, as some areas of their procedures overlap with the methodology of discourse analysis per, which will be the main analytical tool in this project.

Below is a sketch of the procedure for the analysis of narratives. This represents a template of narrative analysis and presents some of the most striking findings researchers have come up with over years of research on the genre of narratives.

Analysis of Tales

Discourse consists of two major dimensions, language and context, and the exploration of both is critical to narrative analysis (Longacre, 1996; Chimombo & Roseberry, 1998). “Language and context are shown to be the dimensions of discourse, with context determining the form, or genre, appropriate for a particular use, and with language describing the register, or language choices, that are appropriately used with a given genre” (Chimombo & Roseberry, 1998, p. vii). Language and context interact to create discourse.

The context of discourse is pluridimentional, as is attested by its basic components, time and space (which may be physical or psychological), the speaker and listener/audience (including relationships between participants), attitudes towards the text, and also culture, topic and purpose (Chimombo & Roseberry, 1998, p. xi; see also Barton, 2002). Language, like context, encompasses an assortment of elements, for instance, words and lexical units, various types of meaning and linguistic features and relations, and reference and co-reference, which taken together define the particular language description that fits the context of the text or discourse (Fairclough, 1992; Chimombo and Roseberry, 1998, p. xii). The context thus gives
rises to a genre of discourse that is materialized by a register, indexing some specific form of language. In a synergic fashion, language and context work to meet acceptable standards within a given speech community. Content acceptability means that the language is in sync with the overall characteristics of the context (de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, p. 11), while language acceptability is a function of the description of its grammatical features regarded as acceptable by the speech community (Chimombo et al., 1998, p. 3).

About the Structures of Narrative Discourse

The contextual and linguistic dimensions of discourse allow for the construction and maintenance of the dramatic structure in discourse in general, and in narratives in particular. Following Longacre (1996), narratives consist of two fundamental structures, the deep structure, also known as the notional, or etic structure and the surface, or emic, structure, which exist in a dialectical relationship. The deep structure coincides with the plot, the “schema on which climatic narrative discourse is built” (Longacre, 1996, p. 43), and which is the all-encompassing and all-embracing device to achieve coherence (Longacre, 1996, p. 33; see also Ricoeur, 1984, 1985, 1988).

Analysis of the referential content and the thematic information in narratives converges on the fact that the notional structures of narrative discourses consist of the background information and the eventline, storyline or mainline, depending on scholars’ choice of terminology (Jones and Jones, 1979, p. 6; Longacre, 1996). Background information is concerned with elaboration or extra information that sheds light on the development and progress of major events: the description of settings, scenes, characters, and routine happenings (minor or collateral events) occurring concomitantly with more important ones (Longacre, 1996; Longacre and Woods, 1976, pp. 7-8).

The eventline, also referred to as the backbone or mainline of the narrative, (Longacre & Woods, 1976, p. 7) is composed of major events that help maintain the dramatic tension throughout the narrative. Thus the eventline consists of backbone events proper, pivotal events, a climax, and a denouement (Jones & Jones, 1979, pp. 7-8; Longacre, 1996, pp. 33-35). Research in the field is consistent on the fact that backbone events move the plot ahead, while pivotal events serve as a springboard for backbone events proper (e.g., Jones, 1979; Gumperz, 1982; Longacre, 1985, 1996). Jones (1979) contends that a sum of backbone events makes a
sound, neat and detailed summary of the story, but that of pivotal events does not. The climax is the highest point on the eventline, while the denouement defuses dramatic tension (Jones, 1979; Longacre & Woods, 1976; Stubbs, 1983). The above lines briefly describe the overall structure of the mainline of narratives in most languages around the world. By its nature, the backbone is not immediately visible, which is why it is called deep structure. The realization of the narrative backbone rests on the emic or surface structure (Longacre, 1996, pp. 11-12). The discovery of the deep structure of a narrative text is made possible through discourse analysis, rightly regarded as a means to reach abstraction, that is, to flesh out the total meaning by bringing to the surface different types of information buried in the texture of a text (Davis and Poulter, 1980, p. 25; Longacre, 1996, p. 11).

The emic surface structure of discourse is basically the linguistic means of making the plot visible and accessible to its audience. It is composed of the overall structure of the tangible text, which, as has been noted above, has more or less predictable components in narrative texts in most languages spoken over the world. The components of the notional structure (e.g., background information, storyline, climax and denouement) are generally realized by different linguistic elements at the surface level of discourse. For instance, the peak, which is the equivalent of the climax at the surface level (Longacre, 1996), is signaled by specific linguistic features in most languages over the world. That is why, by analogy with sentence grammar, Longacre (1996) coined the term “discourse grammar,” (p. 2) understood as a regulatory principle not only allowing for encoding etic structure at the level of the emic structure or sorting out information, but also constructing the body of discourse, in the same way that linguistic grammar allows for organizing language at the sentence level (Longacre, 1996; Longacre & Woods, 1976).

The Maintenance of Dramatic Structure

The dramatic progression in a narrative is ensured by a range of actions and activities of varying levels of significance illuminated by diverse levels and types of information, all of which are rendered in a coherent text to the reader or listener (Longacre, 1987, p. 53). Languages discriminate between different levels of information in narratives by means of tenses, aspects, modes, and verbal particles, in general, but also in some cases by adjectives, nouns, or some particular particles, as is well documented in the collection of article edited by Jones (1979).
Background Information versus Eventline Information. Scholars interested in narrative studies, especially folktales, have observed that languages have different ways of signaling background as opposed to more important information. Sometimes these devices are similar across languages, but often they are very different.

In most European languages (e.g., English, French, and Spanish), for instance, the verbs of the events on the mainline are usually in the preterit/past tense or completive aspect, while verbs in the non-eventline or non-events, that is subsidiary information as found in descriptions shedding light on the main actions, are in other tenses or aspects (Jones, 1977, 1979; Longacre, 1970, 1996). A number of languages in other part of the world seem to behave similarly, sometimes with varying degree of parallelism. Several Mesoamerican languages show the same pattern of behavior. Bishop’s (1979) study of Totonac narratives has revealed that the mainline or eventline is exclusively marked by the preterit, whereas supporting materials found in background information are systematically signaled by a different tense/aspect, namely the imperfective (p. 37). Similarly, in Lachixio Zapotec the completive aspect occurs in both dependent and independent clauses to mark the backbone of a narrative events (Persons, 1979). In Mazatec of Jalapa de Diaz (Schram, 1979), narratives include a generic tense for the past and a distant past besides other tense and verbal considerations. The distant past marks the eventline, while other tenses and aspects mark supporting information. The generic past is used to describe important information within the background materials (pp. 147-148). In West Africa some languages (e.g., Tem, a Gur, Niger-Congo language, and Fante, a Kwa, Niger-Congo language) use the completive aspect to mark the storyline, while incompletive aspect distinguishes background information. These languages also have cases of consecutive verbs on the mainline serving the function of amplification (Longacre, 1987, p. 61).

Studies on African languages reveal that some SOV (Subject-Object-Verb basic word order) languages of Ethiopia are clause-chaining languages. In languages such as Omitic (Koorete) and Cushitic, for instance, verbs in the chain of clauses have different statuses. While the verb in the final clause is inflected, the others are only partially inflected or not inflected at all. Thus, in narrative discourse, the verbs in medial clauses (including gerunds or participles, often referred to as coverbs) exemplify secondary events that set the ground for the primary event in the final clause, where the completive form of the verb signals the main action in the chain (Longacre, 1987, p. 54; 1990, p. 44). It is also worth noting that in other chaining
languages of Ethiopia (e.g., Gimira and Kambatta), a gerund preceding a storyline event verb also pertains to the storyline (Longacre, 1987, p. 55).

In Eastern Sudan, languages such as Teposa and Luwo (Northern Nilotic) present other techniques for differentiating mainline versus background. Luwo, for instance, marks background information by means of OVS or SOV word order. On the other hand, VSO is the preferred word order for the mainline, where “a-verb” and “u-verb” clauses appear in a chain; the former is ancillary to the latter. As a result, two storylines (a primary and a secondary one) can be delineated (Longacre, 1987, p. 59-61). This is reminiscent of some West Africa languages that present a pattern of two to three storylines: primary, secondary, and tertiary (Longacre, 1996, p. 27).

Some languages make use of particular particles to set off important information in narrative discourse. Examples from West Africa and Latin America are given by way of illustration. The particle *na’a* in Cajonos Zapotec, a Mesoamerican language, may be affixed to various parts of speech to highlight important referential content in folktales. As such it helps mark off information belonging in the mainline from that of the supporting materials (Jones and Nellis, 1979, p. 193-203). *Na’a* also helps underscore prominence at the local level. For instance, it signals a crucial nuclear event when it is attached to a predicate, while it highlights the category when it affixed to a lexical item. Aguacatec, another Mesoamerican language, presents three levels of information in narratives: background information, the storyline proper, and highlighted information. In this language the *-tz* affix, used on predicates, adjectives, and nouns functions to highlight information that moves the discourse ahead (McArthur, 1979, p. 101-106).

In narrative discourse in Bassa (a Kru language spoken in Eastern Liberia and Western Cote d’Ivoire, West Africa), verbal forms on the storyline do not advance the story unless they are preceded by a particular connective (e.g., pú, kwè, or ké). Further, each connective has a different function on the storyline. For instance, pú signals a pivotal event, and thus helps move the dramatic tension ahead, while kwè introduces new events (Longacre, 1990, p. 157-158).

It is evident that individual languages have specific linguistic means for building the dramatic structures of narratives. Some of these techniques are similar across languages in

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43 It seems convenient to say that here there are two storylines: a primary one (the highlighted information) and a secondary one.
various regions all over the world. However, it would seem prudent to say that most languages behave differently, strictly speaking.

**Participants and Props.** Narrative discourse entails actions that are made possible by characters who walk through the story as they enter or exit at given points during the unfolding of the plot. Like participants, props (minor characters and things acted upon in the story) pertain to the framework of the story. In most languages studied around the world, participants and props are referred to or introduced in ways that are in step with their status. However, the whole issue concerning the management of these elements seems to be language specific. Some languages have different management schemes as far as participants and props are concerned.

Jones and Nellis (1979) carried out a study of discourse particles in Cajonos Zapotec (a Mesoamerican language) tales, which reveals the fundamental role played by certain particles in setting major participants off from other categories of participants (e.g., secondary and minor participants) and props. For instance, *na’a* is used to signal the coming into the story of major participants. Then, at the local level (clause or sentence), the thematic agent is re-introduced by *na’a* at the point where he is about to engage in a significant action. Participant reference in Huasteca Nahuatl (another Mesoamerican language) is achieved by means of word order: “subject predicate” (SP), “predicate subject” (PS), and “predicate object” (PO). In other words, participants are introduced as preposed subject of the predicate, or as a subject, or as the object of the predicate postposed. Major participants enter or exit in SP constructions. Secondary participants enter in PS constructions and may exit in PS or PO order, while minor participants and props come in and leave in PO clauses. Through the dynamics of the narrative, there may be demotions or promotions among participants. This will be reflected in the way participants with a new or changed status occupy syntactic roles. For instance, a major character that has been demoted in importance in the process of the story will then exist at the level of a word order that corresponds with his new status, PS or PO. Likewise, a minor character that has achieved some promotion (e.g., to the rank of hero) will exit at a higher level, i.e., in SP clauses. Thus, participants can be ranked from highest to lowest, based on their syntactic order: SP, PS, and PO.

Schram and Jones (1979) looked at the staging of participants in Mazatec (Mazatec of Jalapa de Diaz, a Mesoamerican language) and found that reference to participants is made in light of the prevailing situations: entrance, exit, role reversal, statement of the thematic participant, discriminating between major and minor characters. Concerning entrance, the
pattern of introduction will depend on whether or not the entrance of a particular character is expected or unexpected. For the exit of characters there usually is no particular protocol. However, when the exit is “integral to the theme of the narrative” (Schram & Jones, 1979, p. 284) the particle *zap* occurs. The general theme of the story in the article is the killing of other animals by rabbit. Now it was the turn of the chicken. Thus, *zap* signals the death of the chicken. When there is a role reversal, as often occurs in Mazetec tales, another clitic is used to signal that, i.e., *tsacal* or *cal*, or *ca*.

The studies reviewed above reveal various ways in which participants are dealt with in discourse analysis. Specific procedures hold in each case, which reinforces the idea that issues relating to participants in tales are culture specific, and techniques for maintaining participant status are specific to the language of the tale.

*Peak and Peak*. The “peak” in narratives represents the highest point on the plot line. According to Longacre (1996), the peak “refers to any episode-like unit set apart by special surface structures features and corresponding to the climax or denouement in the notional structure” (p. 37). Further, the peak is regarded as the most critical episode in a narrative (Longacre and Levinsohn, 1978, p. 105). Thus, the peak is one of the major moments in narrative discourse where it signals the “climax of tension” (Jones, 1979, p. 135). Some languages distinguish between “pre-peak,” peak, and “peak′.” The pre-peak is ancillary to the peak, while the peak′ materializes the gradual dissolution of tension leading toward resolution (Schiffrin, 1994; van Dijk, 1997; Chimombo et al., 1998). Longacre (1976a, 1996) posits that “the peak is a zone of turbulence” by virtue of the unusual features it presents in the process of a climactic narrative. Longacre (1996) observes:

Routine features of the storyline may be distorted or phased out at peak. Thus the characteristic storyline tense/aspect may be substituted for by another tense/aspect. Alternatively, the characteristic tense/aspect of the mainline of discourse may be extended to expected use at peak . . . .[i]n brief, the peak has features peculiar to itself and the marking of such features take precedence over the marking of the mainline, so that the absence of certain features or even analytical difficulties can be a clue that we are at the peak of discourse (p. 38).

Longacre (1976a) characterizes the multitude of devices that languages use to delineate the peak as a “bag of tricks” (p. 217) that includes rhetorical underlining, concentration of characters,
heightened vividness, change of pace, and change of vantage point and/or orientation (p. 18). Below are described some examples of peaks in narratives in a sample languages spoken around the world.

Totonac (another Mesoamerican language) presents two categories of narratives, ordinary narratives and cyclic ones. The former category features both a prepeak and a peak. The peak of an ordinary narrative is highlighted by wordiness: long sentences, overuse of subject and object, lots of repetition and onomatopoeias, and a massive use of the particles *tuncan* and *tza*, besides the preterit (Bishop, 1979, p. 58). The cyclic narrative presents a different scenario. The prepeak is characterized by a striking wordiness as in the peak of the ordinary narrative discourse, and is frequently marked by *tuncan* and the imperfective aspect. On the other hand, the peak is identified by its terse expression, and it is marked by extensive use of *tza* and the preterit aspect in the verb. The particles *tuncan* and *tza* may appear at either stage, however, it is their abundance and the aspectual and verbal forms that allow for distinguishing between the peak and prepeak (Bishop, 1979, p. 61-63).

The peak episode in Lachixio Zapotec narratives has overly long sentences (at least four clauses, compared with one to two clauses in other parts of the narrative). Another grammatical marking is the switch from other verbal aspects to an abundant use of the backbone aspect, the completive. Sometimes, verbal aspects ordinarily present in background materials appear in the peak episode. The continuative aspect in the present tense is observed in some texts at the peak, where it actually functions to add vividness to the action.

Gimira (an Ethiopian SOV language), like Lachixio Zapotec and Totonac, is characterized by some wordiness at the peak. However, unlike these Mesoamerican languages, its peak has a series of long sentences that pile up. Other features that delineate the peak are increasing grammatical complexity, addition of details, absence of sequence marking, and unusual fronting (i.e., fronting of objects or verbs), and the affixation of *am*, which usually indicates that the resolution is under way (Longacre, 1990, p. 44). Peaks in most Kambaata (another Ethiopian SOV language) narratives are also wordy, and they also have the complexity of grammar noted above. In addition, Kambaata narrative peaks present particular features: there is a preponderance of active verbs and gerundive constructions of active verbs, and a “pike and rapid decay,” which means there is a swift and sudden switch from actions to actionlessness (Longacre, 1990, p. 4). Yom or Pila-Pila (a Gur Niger-Congo language spoken in Benin, West
Africa) has a storyline marked by the perfect and the consecutive tenses. The peak, on the other hand, is signaled by a striking presence of consecutive tenses, the verb *nỹsa*, meaning 'to see suddenly/unexpectedly', and lexical and phonological spans, i.e., the use of ideophones (Longacre, 1990, p. 137).

**Achieving Cohesion and Coherence in Discourse**

Coherence is central to discourse whether written or spoken. However, coherence is hard to define, because it entails multi-level actions and many other considerations, all of which seem to relate to different theories (Stubbs, 1983a, p. 147). Further, achieving communicative meaning is also a function of the hearer or reader being able to establish coherence through his or her successful interpretation of the verbal or non-verbal cues that contextualize the message delivered by the speaker (Gumperz, 1982, 1984; Schiffrin, 1987, p. 23). Thus addressing issues of cohesion and coherence will entail looking at both linguistic and non-linguistic elements that work toward achieving cohesion between constituent elements of the text, i.e., reference, coreference and other type of elements, such as discourse markers in general, and stylistic devices. Cohesion refers to surface unity, while coherence is about achieving content unity (Schiffrin, 2001, p. 57, see also Duchan, Bruder, & Hewitt, 1995). The referential dimension in discourse, discourse markers, and stylistic devices will be discussed below.

**Referential Dimension.** Reference and coreference are about indexing or coindexing referents or discourse entities inside and outside a text. In other words, in discourse, reference involves the use of pronouns and other grammatical elements to identify who or what is being talked about. This entails the speaker’s assumption that the hearer is aware of what and who is involved in the utterance (Grimes, 1984, pp. 72-77), thanks to the linguistic means (semiotic elements) the former uses to convey his message to the latter.

Reference is concerned with two types of relationships: those outside the text, also known as exophora, and those inside the text or endophora, all of which are realized by means of deictic elements. The main characteristic of deictic expressions is “pointing” (Chimombo et al., 1998, p. 108; see also Ehlich, 1989). The phenomenon of deixis is generally culture specific, however, there are generic categories found in all languages spoken around the world: person deixis (expressed by pronouns), place deixis (e.g., here, there), and time deixis (e.g., now, then) (Chimombo et al., 1998, pp. 106-109). English has a wide range of deitic expressions, including
pronouns (e.g., he, him), demonstratives (e.g., this, that), honorifics (e.g., Dr., Mr. President),
tenses and aspects (e.g., completive aspect in future and past tenses) (for more discussion on this
issue, see Coates, 1995; Duchan et al., 1995; and Garham, 1999; Kehler, 2002)

Communication is complex because discourse contexts often present complex situations.
For instance, a portion of a text may present a deictic element (e.g., a pronoun) with several
antecedents, all of which may be considered as possible referents. Thus, the issue of establishing
relationships within the text comes into play (Chimombo and Roseberrry, p. 1998, p. 111;
Kehler, 2002; Tannen, 1984). An example is “Tom told Tim that he needed some time off”
(http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~beatrice/syntax-textbook/box-reference.html#coreference, ¶ 5),
where the referent of “he” could be “Tom” or “Tim.” In this ambiguous statement, only a clear
understanding of the situation can allow a correct interpretation of the two possible antecedents
“he.” Halliday and Hasan (1976), forerunners in the study of cohesion and coherence, contend
that coreference is a fundamental issue in achieving the surface integration of a text, that is to say
textual cohesion.

Endophoric deictic markers fall into two main categories: anaphoric and cataphoric
expressions (Chimombo, 1998, p. 111; see also Coates, 1995; Duchan et al., 1995; Tannen,
1984). Anaphoric expressions are concerned with backward reference, while cataphoric
reference is forward, that is, the referent will appear later in the narrative. In addition to the
category of deixis, coreferential expressions include personal coreferences, comparative
coreference, ad article coreference (Halliday and Hasan, 1976).

Exophoric and endophoric references and coreferences, also known as phoric references
(Davis and Poulter, 1980, p. 20), are critical to the process of communication in discourse. They
largely contribute to achieving cohesion and coherence.

Discourse Markers. Discourse markers are somewhat hard to pin down because different
scholars have slightly different takes on the issue. “We are left with the deliberately vague
conclusion that markers bracket units of talk. Sometimes those unit are sentences, but sometimes
they are propositions, speech acts, tone units” (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 35). In other words, they work
toward setting boundaries in discourse, by revealing the intentions (Fraser, 1990), attitude, and
orientation toward discourse (Schiffrin, 1999, p. 276). Thus, they may bracket a clause, sentence,
or a genre, or a unit of thought, to cite only these. Further, not only do they come in various and
sundry forms, but they also have many functions, which adds to their complexity. A word or
phrase that serves as a discourse marker in one context may not be accepted as such in another context (Jucker, 1990). However, it may seem convenient to think of a discourse marker as a word or a phrase, or even non-lexical elements that help organize the text at both the surface or local level and at the content level (Schiffrin, 2001, p. 57), i.e., “but,” “y’know,” “well,” “oh,” and “however.” Within the larger context of discourse, some scholars regard a wide range of grammatical categories as discourse markers, including deixis, conjunctions, adverbs, and various types of connectives (Roy, 1989, p. 232). Schiffrin (1987) suggests the following, by way of delineating the properties of a discourse marker:

1. It has to be syntactically detachable from a sentence;
2. It has to be commonly used in initial position;
3. It has to have a range of prosodic contours (i.e., tonic stress followed by a pause, phonological reduction);
4. It has to be able to operate at both local and global levels of discourse, and on different planes of discourse, which means it either has no meaning, a vague meaning, or is reflexive (of the language, of the speaker) (p. 328).

It is worth noting that “commonly” should be understood as “frequently,” which leaves room for other possibilities in terms of position, i.e., final or medial position. Discourse markers as characterized above are independent of the grammatical units (such as clauses) in which they appear. Owing to this, they do not contribute to making syntactic predictions, but predictions about discourse content. In other words, “they have the sequencing function of relating syntactic units and fitting them into a textual or discourse context” (Schiffrin, 1987, p. p.37). Therefore they also help achieve both content unity, that is to say coherence, and also surface unity or cohesion, even though they are not cohesive elements per se (Schiffrin, 2001, p. 57). “Markers allow speakers to construct and integrate multiple planes and dimensions of an emergent reality: it is out of such process that coherent discourse results” (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 330). The cohesive function of discourse markers is frequently stressed by scholars in the field (e.g., Asher, 1993; Mann and Thompson, 1988).

Jucker (1990) posits that discourse markers also have an indexical function in addition to their linguistic properties. Schiffrin (1987, 1999, 2001) shares this opinion: “Markers index their containing utterances to whatever text precedes them (proximal), or to whatever text is to follow (distal), or to both. In other words, they either point backward in the text, forward, or in both
directions” (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 323, see also Wood & Kroger, 2000, p. 124). She illustrated the above in English with “oh,” which in general focuses prior text, while “well” focuses both. Thus, the former is a proximal discourse marker, while the latter is both proximal and distal.

Discourse markers are language specific, therefore they represent “culturally defined repertoires of verbal and nonverbal devices which are both situated in, and reflexive of, the interactional frames within which they occur” (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 323). Thus, understanding discourse markers and their cultural meaning makes communication more effective in social events (Roy, 1989, p. 234).

Roy (1989), reflecting on the fundamental role of discourse markers in forwarding a better grasp of lectures in American Sign Language (ASL) class, observes that discourse markers:

are not part of the content of the lecture, per se, but do guide the listeners in how to interpret the information that they are hearing. These words or phrases are cohesive structural devices that contribute to the listener’s ability to distinguish between major and minor points, old versus new information, and turns or shifts in the flow of topics (p. 232).

From the above it is clear that discourse markers pertain to sentence planning tasks, something underscored by Wanner and Hovy (1996). The brief discussion offered here shows the role of discourse markers as integrative elements in discourse texture. Stylistic phenomena also contribute to marking cohesion in discourse.

Stylistic Devices. There is a wide range of stylistic features that writers and storytellers use to organize their text. This section of the study will review the list proposed by Okpewho (1992), which includes repetition, parallelism, piling and association, tonality, ideophones, digression, allusion, and imagery (pp. 71-104). A few of these stylistic devices will be presented and their roles briefly described in the following discussion.

Repetition is generally regarded as the most pervasive stylistic feature of oral discourse. Davis and Poulter (1980) state that repetition may be realized through both lexical items and phonological items, which yield lexical and phonological spans (p. 21). Okpewho (1992) posits that repetition has both aesthetic and humanitarian values, as a device to highlight a point, a feeling (e.g., awe, extreme excitement, anger), and as a stratagem for entertaining by provoking laughter, or just as filler when the storyteller loses his train (pp. 71-76). For example, Kunene
(1970) shows that the subtle repetition of stock phrases or statements (formulae) or blocks of text (theme) in areas other than refrains, contributes to tightening up the organic texture of chants to *Ogun*, the Yoruba god (p. 75).

Parallelism is also another important stylistic device that has been identified by discourse researchers. Hymes (1981, 2003) stresses the role of parallelism in Native American texts. He observes that parallelism, in a synergic fashion with contrasts, renders the beautiful material physicality that he calls the pattern of the text. This device has been underscored in a number of tales in Africa, particularly epic tales. Trevor Cope (1968, p. 84) showed this stylistic feature in his rendition of a praise of the Zulu chief:

_Obeyalala wangangeminfula_

_Obeyavuka wangangezintaba_

Who when he lay down was the size of rivers
Who when he got up was the size of mountains

Likewise, the use of parallelisms contributes to creating art and aesthetics in the telling of Dembo Kaunté’s version of Sunjata, the Mandingo legend (Innes, 1974, p. 303):

_Jelo dunta Manding_

_Kaso dunta Susu_

Laughter came to manding
Weeping came to Susu

Piling and association consists in repeating areas of the text (e.g., lines, verses or stanzas), which a taleteller often overdoes, in order to impress his audience with his art. Piling and association in oral narratives is a common practice used by expert raconteurs to amuse their audience (Okpewho, 1992, p. 83). Okpewho (1992) observes that: “[i]n African oral literature, it is perhaps true to say that fullness, not economy, of expression is a fundamental virtue . . . . the oral performer who keeps the audience’s attention through the night is more likely to be fully rewarded than the one who sends them home after only a very short performance” (p. 83). Piling and association, like other devices, often help advance the plot and build up the climax in a crescendo of discourse features.

Tonality is critical to the performance of oral narrative. However, difficulties in the representation of vocal and sound devices in printed materials tends to overshadow its importance in artificial situation (e.g., on a paper). Some researchers have developed graphical
means for representing tonality in written form, allowing for reading of the form as well as the information (Hymes, 1996, pp. 122-123). In this regard, the works of Dennis Tedlock (1972) and Dell Hymes (e.g., 1974) command attention.

Tonality fulfills several functions in oral narratives. Tonal changes during storytelling and divination chants work toward achieving lyrical and aesthetic effects and forceful meaning (Babalola, 1966, pp. 212-13). (For more discussion on the issue see Okpewho, 1992.)

An ideophone is a sound used to convey a vivid impression, but also an idea of what it means to represent.

It stands for “idea-in-sound” (Davis & Poulter, 1980, p. 21; Okpewho, 1992, p. 92). Essentially, an ideophone makes use of phonetic symbolism. This device is pervasive in African tales. Mvula (1982, p. 62) tracked ideophones in Malawi oral narratives, in the Chewa community. For instance, *chuwachuwa* and *suyosuyo* are ideophones for someone walking in water and a hunter chasing an antelope, respectively. Ideophones allow for achieving greater dramatic effects than word can do in storytelling (Okpewho, 1992, p. 92).

In oral literature as in written literature, carefully selected words are used to impress the audience with a sense of reality, admiration or shock. The mental pictures that are evoked by the raconteur come through the use of similes and metaphors (Okpewho, 1992, pp. 98-99). Many scholars of African oral literature have stressed the widespread use of imagery in oral narratives. Innes’ (1976) rendition of the epic tale of Almani of Timbo, the hero of a Sudanese epic tale by Amadu Jebate, a Gambian *jeli* or bard, is very illustrative of the fact,

> “You would plunge into human blood up to your knees”

> “Human blood was gushing forth like a spring” (p. 55).

These similes provide powerful imagery conveying the sense of atrocity in the description of the war scene, through the evocation of the extent of bloodshed that took place.

Symbolism is rampant in literature in general, and equally so in African oral narrative, where this stylistic device is interspersed in riddles and tales of various forms as a “useful means of conveying certain important truths or lessons about human life and the problem of existence” (Okpewho, 1992, p. 101). In divination narratives, ethereal beings and profound spiritual matters are usually represented by everyday objects. Also, tales are usually built around characters and props that represent moral and philosophical issues (Johnson, Hale & Belcher, 1997; Okpewho,
1992). In Nafara tales in general (e.g., Tale 1, in this study) the hyena is a symbol of greed, selfishness, and bigotry.

The above discussion highlighted the role of stylistic devices in the maintenance of both cohesion and coherence in narratives, in oral tradition in particular. The question for this study was the establishment of the rhetorical pattern of a representative narrative genre in Nafara, in order to address the issue of interference in L2 language education in Côte d’Ivoire. The review of the literature has pointed to the various perspectives from which this topic should be examined, and also the various layers that inform it. The review of the relevant literature also shed light on issues relating to problems of language education in multilingual settings, in predominantly oral societies, by highlighting the problems created by the lack of literacy in L1, the need for maintenance of local languages, and the exploration of means to improve these situations. Language socialization in the primary group in oral societies is realized through oral narratives. The patterns of discourse organization of the most popular discourse genres of a cultural group are shown to play an important role in the child’s secondary group, that is to say in the context of formal schooling where a new foreign language is introduced.

The discussion that followed in Chapter Three explained the methodology and procedures utilized in this study of the discourse patterns of an exemplary narrative genre in Nafara, the folktales known as múʔurii.
CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Methodology and Procedures

In the foregoing discussion, chapters one and two set the ground for the study by providing the historical and theoretical background that is the foundation for the exploration of an oral discourse genre in the Nafara dialect of the Senari language of Côte d’Ivoire. In the present chapter the researcher described the procedures and methods used to select the native participants who contributed to the evaluative phases of the data collection and analysis. The collection and processing of the textual data represented the first stage of analysis. Then, the texts were analyzed for their characteristic discourse structures. The methodology of discourse analysis was presented with illustrative examples from one of the texts under study. Finally, a description of the corpus of the study is offered.

The immediate purpose of this study was to investigate the rhetorical patterns of a genre of Nafara folktales, the muʔuri, a major discourse genre widely known in the Senufo cultural group. The description of these rhetorical patterns will be used in an attempt to address some key issues pertaining to L1 literacy and students’ writing in foreign languages in Côte d’Ivoire. Laid out below is the methodology that guided the researcher and helped answer the research questions presented in chapter one.

Paradigm, Approach, Purpose and Design

The aim in the present study was to examine Nafara texts in light of the implicit rhetorical patterns that organize them, in order to understand how such patterns also influence second language learning by Nafara speakers. Therefore, the leading paradigm was “qualitative,” and the approach was “synthetic” (Seliger & Shohamy, 2000; Wiersma, 2000). This study will help establish the diagnostic discourse structures of the genre under study by analyzing a selected sample of Senari tales collected in culturally appropriate settings. The purpose of the study was “heuristic,” in that it is about “the discovery or description of the patterns or relationships, yet to be identified, of the phenomenon under study” (Seliger & Shohamy, 2000, p. 29). The design of
the research was “ethnographic” (Hymes, 1974; Seliger & Shohamy, 2000; Wiersma, 2000); That is to say, the researcher was concerned with describing some naturally occurring behaviors by means of the analysis of the language data produced by a competent speaker, a knowledgeable member of a bona fide speech community or cultural group (Leeds-Herwitz, 2005, p. 347). In other words, the researcher tried to pin down the rhetorical pattern of the genre in question, relying in part on the contributions of informants from the target population.

Research Framework

The research design is a plan or strategy for conducting a piece of research, which comes in different shapes and forms depending on the paradigm and also the research context (Wiersma, 2000; Seliger & Shohamy, 2000). Based on the specific circumstances of this study, the design that has been selected is text analysis; specifically discourse analysis, which explains the overall intentions of the narrative themes and actions of a text through specific devices of grammar and syntax.

Methods

Several well-known methods of text analysis were reviewed in the preceding chapter. From among these, a combination of approaches were used to explore the Nafara data collected for the present study. Discourse analysis, which belongs in the category of linguistic methods, insists on the distinction of relationships among linguistic categories (e.g., grammatical elements that provide internal textual cohesion and coherence) that were important components of this study. Moreover, discourse analysis was of particular interest as it stresses text and context, both micro and macro, that is, within and beyond the text. Ethnopoetics, an application of the ethnography of speaking and also a central approach within the class of ethnographic methods of text and discourse analysis, allowed for apprehending the native meanings of the genre under study, in both linguistic and ethnographic terms. Story grammar focuses on the episodic analysis of oral narrative, and thus it could contribute to the task at hand.

Discourse Analysis. Discourse analysis is a linguistic approach to text analysis. As such, its primary goal was to explore linguistic relationships among the components of the tangible text to uncover the mechanisms by which linguistic elements work together to knit the text into a
coherent whole (de Beaugrande, 1996, p. 10; Titscher, 2000, p. 100). Discourse analysis became popular only about the 1980s, but text analysis based on this approach can be traced back to Thomas Aquinas (1225 or 1227-1274) (Titscher et al., 2000, p. 25). Scholars from various fields have contributed to the development of discourse analysis (e.g., Hymes, 1974; Stubbs, 1983; van Dijk, 1977). However, Robert Longacre is generally credited with the promotion and development of this approach in modern times, because of the wide range of studies he carried out using discourse analysis as his preferred tool for text analysis (e.g., 1958, 1965, 1990, 1996).

Discourse analysis not only helps to deconstruct the main intentions of the text, it does so while still keeping track of all the seemingly peripheral elements, such as context, field, and characteristics of participants, without which an important part of the meaning of the discourse would be missed (Longacre, 1976, 1996; Schiffrin, 1994).

Within the framework of discourse analysis, grammatical and morphological analyses allowed identification of the rhetorical features associated with text structure and linguistic relationships (Titscher et al., 2000, p. 100). Categories defined at each stage of the analysis (e.g., the levels of the line, sentence, paragraph, or scene) served as units of analysis, such as the constituents of the clause or the sentence, the status of verbal units and aspectual forms, and discourse markers.

Ethnopoetics. Ethnopoetics is an application of the ethnography of communication developed by Dell Hymes (1962) and John Gumperz (Gumperz and Hymes, 1964). Ethnopoetics emerged as a field and method in the 1970s, and works by scholars such as Bright (1982), Hymes (1981), and Tedlock (1972) have been instrumental in promoting it in both anthropology and linguistics (Hymes, 1996, pp.165-166). Ethnopoetics was used as a supplemental tool in this study. It is a method of text analysis that proceeds from the bottom-up. This method strives to apprehend the text by looking at the structure of the tangible text, the empirical physicality of the text – the way competent native speakers organize the text during their performances of narratives (Hymes, 1981, 2003). This raw native organization of the text harbors the poetics of the text, which is revealed when the text is broken down into its hierarchical structure, from act to scene to stanza to lines (Hymes, 1996, pp. 174; 1981, p. 151). Hymes (1981, 2003) posits that such a poetic structure is the rhetorical structure, per se. Overall, the analysis is guided by two principles, form and meaning, taken as interdependent: “there is a consistent structure, and it is to be found in terms of form-meaning covariation, taking form here
to be linguistic form” (Hymes, 1981, p. 151). Understanding this organic structure will allow for accessing other levels of analysis, such as peak and dramatic progression.

Hymes (1996) observes that the basic principles of ethnopoetic analysis are built on the following:

a) Oral narratives are organized in lines and group of lines (not sentences and paragraphs).

b) Equivalence is the term given to the principle of poetic organization that helps establish the relation between lines and group of lines.

c) A number of sequences of equivalence constitute a set, which is made of patterns. These sets come in twos and fours or in threes and fives, depending on local circumstance.

d) The patterning of text seems an emergent configuration, because texts come in different lengths, sequences of units, and other features.

e) Narratives have some universals, which reflect six of the elements encoded in the SPEAKING grid (p. 167), that is to say, the setting, participants, events, acts, key, and goal, or intention.

Stanza analysis is the backbone of ethnopoetic method. It is particularly useful in the context of this study, where the establishment of stanza patterns, in terms of numbers of line per stanza and the equivalences and rhetorical devices used in creating. Stanzas are key to understanding overall discourse structure and to its use in contrastive rhetoric in the context of L2 literacy.

**Story Grammar.** The methodology of story grammar involves “goal-based definitions of stories in which a major character . . . is motivated to achieve a goal through engaging in some type of goal-oriented action” (Hedberg et al., 1986, p. 64). Several scholars have proposed several approaches to story grammar, i.e., Stein and Glenn (1979), Thorndyke (1977), Rumelhart (1975), Mandler and Johnson (1977). Interestingly enough, they have similar principles of content and organization. Kemper and Edwards (1986) contend that “[s]tory grammars emphasize the constituent structure of stories in terms of categories such as settings, goals, attempts, outcomes, and resolutions. They also reveal the hierarchical structure of stories as defined by rules governing how the constituent categories are organized” (p. 12). Stein and Glenn’s model, one of the most widely used models, consists of seven constituents: setting,
initiating event, internal response, plans, attempts, direct consequences, and reactions (Roth, 1986, p. 22; Hedberg et al., 1986, p. 65). Further, Roth (1986) observes that “[s]tory grammars describe the internal structure of a story by specifying (a) the components of a story, and b) a set of rules underlying the order and relationships among the story components” (p. 22).

The methods described above, together allowed for addressing three major aspects critical to the analysis of tales in particular: the linguistic relationships in the materials under study, the analysis of the text based on lines, verses, and stanzas, and also the episodic analysis built on the hierarchical structure of the text. Therefore, these methods were complementary. In combination, they provided just what was needed in the present research.

Research Design

Literacy is only incipient in Senari in general, and non-existent in Nafara, as there are no texts available in this dialect. Given these circumstances, a methodological field test seemed advisable. Not only did a field test inform about the feasibility of the study, but also, it was able to point to possible refinements or corrections of the research design for the full study (Ary et al., 1972, p. 87).

The field test involved several stages. During the first stage, a sample set of múprii texts in the Nafara dialect was generated by the researcher himself in his capacity as an accomplished storyteller and a competent member of the Senufo cultural group. These stories were told in an informal setting, here in Tallahassee, but attempting to recreate the same atmosphere that would occur in an Ivoirian rural setting. These tales underwent preliminary analysis with the help of J.K. Josserand and N.A. Hopkins, experienced field linguists who have worked in a variety of languages, including discourse analysis of modern and ancient texts (Hopkins & Josserand, 1990; Josserand, 1991, 1995). A trial orthography was developed for the transcription of the recorded texts, and an initial grammatical analysis of the text was attempted.

During the second stage of the field test, the researcher returned to Côte d’Ivoire to work with other native Senari speakers, including some who had some linguistic training from collaborating with linguists working on other dialects of Senari. These informants served multiple purposes: they helped to confirm and improve the orthographic system used for

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44 Robert Longacre calls this set of rules discourse grammar.
transcription of Nafara as well as the grammatical analysis, and they served as evaluators of the competency of the researcher and representativeness of the text generated by the researcher himself. They also confirmed the identification of the müri stories as a major oral genre among Senari speakers. Further, they contributed additional müri to the corpus of material (for the full study), including several repetitions of some of the tales originally told by the researcher himself. These proved especially useful in confirming the principles of discourse organization of the müri independent of individual narration attributable to different storytellers.

The procedure for the methodological field test and the study itself were similar. The design for the full study is described below.

Informants

The population the research addresses was represented by a subgroup referred to as the informant sample, a group of native speakers of Senari who actually took part in the research as informants and participants (Ary et al., 1972, p. 87; Brown, 2004b; Wiersma, 2000). Given the nature of this study, the characteristics of the informants were of concern.

Informant participants in a study like this must meet the following criteria. They must be good storytellers and be rated as such by peers, based on native criteria of competency; they must also be recognized as people very close to their culture. Selected (typically traditional) people from their speech communities must identify them as fulfilling both criteria.

Thus, three storytellers recognized as such by native speakers were selected from villages in the vicinity of Napié, in the heart of Nafara territory. Generally, good speakers of Senari are found in the rural world, where their cultural practices still include frequent instances of storytelling and word play.

Sampling Validation

Literature on qualitative studies indicates that the size of the sample is not an issue in this paradigm; rather what counts is the quality of the information acquired (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, pp. 294-295; Wiersma. 2001, pp. 198-199). In experimental studies, “Sampling involves taking a portion of the population, making observations on this smaller group and then generalizing the findings to the larger population” (Ary, et al., 1972, p. 160). This type of selection is usually not
necessary in ethnographic studies, because rather than the generalization of results per se, this category of studies aims at describing a specific phenomenon in a given situation (Wiersma, 2000, pp. 284-285). In other words, the researcher was concerned with selecting a sample of the population that would allow him to achieve his goal.

As in any qualitative study, the processes of data collection and analysis are generally incremental in essence (Seliger & Shohamy, 2000; Wiersma, 2001). In this study, the sample design was a “virtual sampling saturation” (Wiersma, 2000). The researcher began with three informants and would continue to obtain more, if the need arises, based on the analysis of data collected. The need for additional informants was not seriously anticipated.

The native region of Senufo people in the north of Côte d’Ivoire is the place par excellence for the collection of data. However, this is currently not possible because that area is cut off from the rest of the country due to political turmoil. Therefore, informants came from the population of Nafara speakers who met the requirements described above, and who live in the south, in Abidjan, the economic capital of Côte d’Ivoire. In this sense, the sampling strategy was also “purposeful” (Seliger & Shohamy, 2000).

Data Collection

The present research belongs in the category of the rhetorical analysis of folktales, what Hymes also calls ethnopoetics (Hymes, 1981, 2003). In the fall of 2004, the researcher, himself, generated materials for the field test. Then shortly after producing own materials, he was unexpectedly able to travel back to Côte d’Ivoire. There he was able to collect tales that could have been supplementary materials for the field test study. The original plan of research contemplated the researcher going back to Côte d’Ivoire for additional data collection for the study proper. However, the situation in Côte d’Ivoire was such that he could not go back. Given these special circumstances, the committee gave the researcher permission to analyze the data he had previously collected, and which were not used in the field test, as a corpus for the full study.

Data collection involved taping with both a video camera and cassette recorder. The three informants each told their own versions of the three popular folk stories used in the methodological field test, as well as some additional stories. Six of the collected tales (nine in total) were used in the study. The researcher stopped analyzing tales when he saw nothing new was emerging in terms of patternings, as far as the discourse structure is concerned.
By asking informants to tell their versions of the same popular folktales, the intention is to compare the versions of certain stories by different speakers to check for commonality of linguistic structures, so that one could identify features common to the genre, rather than features characteristic of a single speaker. Also, in using more than one story from the múʔuriŋ genre, the researcher was able to look across tales for patterns in the discourse genre of concern. Research has shown that individual storytellers leave their characteristic marks when they tell a popular story, but the underlying patterning of the eventline or backbone of the story remains the same across all versions (Finnegan, 1967, p. 17; Okpewho, 1979, p. xii). The same idea is implied when Roth (1986) suggests that narrative schema, the very thing that allows for processing narrative materials, is culture specific (p. 22).

Preparation of the Data for Analysis

Transcription. Oral narratives collected in the Nafara dialect of the Senari language was transcribed in a practical orthography adapted to Nafara. To achieve this, the researcher was aided by a Senari speaker, who are literate in Senari and who are experienced transcribers of Senari texts in other dialects: a linguistic technician, Méhérigué Coulibaly, living in Côte d’Ivoire.

Segmenting the Text. A text is a body, the analysis of which consists in looking for the systematic links among the parts that build up the whole (Grimes, 1984, p. 84). Therefore, breaking down the text was a prerequisite to analyzing it. The deconstruction process is often referred to as segmentation or chunking; it consists in parsing the discourse: breaking the text down into smaller units, in order to identify its basic components for analytical purposes. This can be done in several manners depending on the aim of the researcher (Grimes, 1984; Longacre, 1976, 1996).

Discourse may be segmented into structural units (sentences, clauses and phrases). Here, the discourse is said to be chunked according to grammatical units. The text may also be broken down according to its basic units of meaning. For understanding oral production, discourse is sometimes parsed into breath units or by pauses (Grimes, 1984). Still other ways combine two or more of the above, and it is often the case that different methods lead to similar results.

In ethnopoetics, the basis of analysis is the distinctions between lines and groups of lines (not necessarily sentences), both of which “may bespeak a thoroughgoing rhetorical art that
organizes the story and shapes its meaning” (Hymes, 1996, p. 166). The text is parsed in terms of its hierarchical structure: Act (the most general self-contained unit, the building block of a narrative), scene, stanza, and line. Breaking the text down in this fashion revealed line markers (e.g., the first line of a scene may always be introduced by a set phrase), parallelism, repetition, contrast, and turns at talk, all of which inform the rhetorical pattern of narrative texts (Hymes, 2003, p. 33). The actual analysis began at the line, or lowest level. As markers and rhetorical devices are discovered, the higher units define themselves. After the scene markers were identified, the schema of scenes and acts could be characterized, and this led to the emic structure of the narrative eventline itself.

The process described above encapsulates the analysis of folktales undertaken in this study. The field test exemplifies the stages of this process. This field test was concerned with testing the feasibility of particular aspects of the procedure that were planned in the field test. Overall, the field test helped set the boundaries within which the researcher operated, and thus it ensured a better chance to carry the project through successfully.

Methodological Field Test

This section described the characteristics of the informant, conditions of the data collection and the analytical procedure carried out based on one story collected for this phase of the project. The preliminary results, that is, observations concerning rhetorical devices appearing in this tale, were used to direct and inform the analysis of the corpus in the full study.

Researcher as Informant

In his quest for participants for field test run, the researcher did locate about ten Nafara speakers residing in the U.S. But for various reasons only five of these are familiar with the mú?urūni genre. Unfortunately, they declined the request of telling folktales on the allegation that they were consumers of folktales, rather than producers. Some insisted that the researcher, whom they know very well, was the right person for the task.

The researcher spent the first ten years of his life in the rural area of northern Côte d’Ivoire, where storytelling was and, overwhelmingly, still is the major popular performance for entertainment, education, and language socialization. In his own family, there were good
storytellers (his maternal uncle and senior brother), recognized as such in the community. Thus, the researcher was introduced to the art of storytelling, early in his life. The researcher is a native speaker of Senari, an initiate of the poro system, and a memory bearer of Senufo culture. He is knowledgeable in the range of discourse genres prevalent in that cultural setting and is recognized as a competent performer of those genres, by virtue of his traditional upbringing.

When he moved into town, he kept the practice with young friends and adults who would gather on Saturday evenings for storytelling performances. The researcher acquired a reputation for the quality of stories he told, in the late sixties and early seventies. With these qualities, the researcher had the cultural knowledge and linguistic skills to produce and analyze oral texts. This competence in recounting Nafara texts also allowed him to deal with text transcription, using an orthographic model recently developed for the closely-related Cebaara dialect of the Senari language.

Overall, because of the lack of informants in the US, and also because of the social and political turmoil in Côte d’Ivoire, since the 2002 failed coup and because the researcher, himself, possesses a performance competence in telling mú?uri, the researcher, himself, produced the texts used in the field study.

This project was the first opportunity ever to write down Nafara, the dialect of Senari, which is the native variant of the researcher. The researcher has developed linguistic skills in transcribing, translating, and analyzing Senari texts with the guidance of the linguists on his committee. It turned out to be an advantage to learn these technical skills while analyzing one’s own speech rather than trying to transcribe someone else’s text. Once competence was acquired working on personal materials, the researcher was able to apply this knowledge to texts produced by other people.

At this phase of the present study, the researcher was the only Senari speaker who met the requirements for qualified informant in the present context, therefore he was the only person able to generate the data sample to make it possible to carry out the field test. Therefore, the sampling strategy was a purposeful one.

Data Collection

In the field test, the procedures used to collect data were interviews and storytelling
elicitation. The instrument for recording the data was an audiocassette recorder. The performance was undertaken in the fall of 2004, in a stimulated “natural” social/cultural setting where the informant recounted several well-known folktales. One thinks of the cultural setting for storytelling in terms of participants, that is to say the storyteller and the audience, which usually comprises both adults and children. The cultural setting also alludes to place, time, props, and level of formality. In a traditional Nafara setting, people sit around, before bedtime usually by the fire in the middle of the compound or on the porch, to digest and do away with the drowsiness caused by copious evening meals. In this informal social gathering, the discussion of an event (one that occurred not long ago or just happened) may give rise to storytelling; also, storytelling may come about on request for the sake of entertaining or other purposes, before relatives and evening visitors (see the description of cultural setting by Owomoyela Oyekan, 1977, cited on p. 79, this study).

During the field test data collection, the then two co-directors of the present study and another member on the doctoral committee participated as audience. It is noteworthy that the audience included linguists, persons accustomed to this type of elicitation. However, they had the quality of not knowing the values of the tales that were told. Therefore, they could be likened with children. The researcher was the storyteller, and it was late afternoon, after a meal.

After creating a near typical cultural setting for storytelling (dark room, some candle light in the middle, and audience seated around), the other participants interviewed and prompted the informant, who proceeded to recount several múürü, which were recorded to serve as primary data for this analysis. The audience had an appropriate participation, thanks to the techniques of backchanneling in Nafara in which they had been instructed and the summary of the tales they had beforehand.

The researcher transcribed the three tales collected for the field test, and Méhérigué Coulibaly edited the transcriptions, in Côte d’Ivoire.

Parsing the Text

Two approaches were combined in the field test, each allowing for the accomplishment of different tasks. First, grammatical analysis was used to segment the text. Second, the ethnopoetic approach was used to identify the events, scenes, and acts of the narrative.
In the first step, the text was broken down into meaningful and grammatical units (e.g., phrases and clauses) (Grimes, 1984, p. 85), which made it possible to “see” it naturally. The free translation of the text was used to divide the running text into very short line segments identified first by meaning and then by reference to its internal grammatical structure and the grammatical role played by the line within the larger multi-line clause or sentence that contains it. Here is a four-line segment of a Nafara tale with its free translation; the translation suggests and preliminary grammatical analysis confirms, that the segment (or chunk) contains four independent clauses combined into one meaningful unit.

Sentence 4, ¶ 1 in Tale 1: Kàjû Kû×beÀli ‘Hyena and the Monkeys’
À kí baà pye à yawéer-i n™ téè gáa, mà tée gáa, mà tée gáa
(It came to a point where animals ate each other, and continued to each other)
À kí baà pye → It turned out (that) à
yawéer-i n™ téè gáa, → the animals ate each other,
mà tée gáa,
→ they were eating each other,
mà tée gáa. → they were eating each other.

The audible pauses of different lengths that occur at the ends of the lines also support both the internal segmentation and the cohesion of this unit as opposed to adjacent units in the tale, which are set off by the longer pauses.

Arranging the text in these small units immediately revealed elements of its rhetorical structure. It is clear, for example, that emphasis is achieved through repetition; here, the “action” of the story recounts the result of a severe famine, so bad that the animals were reduced to eating each other. The triplet structure seen in this text segment appeared throughout this and other mû-uriü texts, to signal the importance of an event.

The division of the entire text into these smaller text chunks (stanzas) serves as the foundation for the next stage of analysis, where more exact and detailed grammatical analysis is undertaken. In the field test, this required a methodology of interlinear coding of parallel kinds of information. Four new lines were created for each of the original lines of the segmented text. The first line is the Nafara text itself, somewhat spaced out to match the next lines. As shown below,
each Nafara word is divided into its minimal component parts, insofar as is possible at this stage of the analysis; these are the morphemes, the minimal units of meaning in any language. Line two contains a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, giving the succinct meaning of each identifiable word component in Nafara. For example, yawéer-i contains two word elements, or morphemes, yawéer meaning ‘animals’ plus the suffixed –i that serves as the definite article (art) ‘the’; these are the meanings that appear in line two.

The third line matches the morpheme meanings with their grammatical categories and functions. Again, under yawéer-i, line three encodes the grammatical category of the word and its sentence or clause level function: yawéer-i is a Noun (N) and it is the subject (S) of the sentence. Line four merely replicates the free translation, as a continuing aid to the deciphering of the grammar. This line is also edited to improve the free translation whenever a greater understanding of the meaning is gained through the other levels of analysis.

Example: The same sentence as above.

à ki baà pye à yawéer-i ne téè gáa,

DP it dx/s-p was DP animals-the asp-pot each other eat

DP S dx/s-p V DP S-det. asp-pot rfx (p) v

It turned out that/it came to a point where animals ate each other,

mà téè gáa, mà téè gáa.

asp-compl each other eat, asp-compl each other eat

asp-compl rfx (p) v asp-compl rfx (p) v

continued to eat each other, continued to eat each other.

In a later stage of analysis, these lines were reviewed again, to extract the discourse related structures, including word order, focus and topic marking, and the identification of discourse particles.

Armed with the preliminary grammatical and discourse analysis, the second method of text parsing was then brought to the fore. The ethnopoetic considerations of Scene and Act took their turn. These units were identified by changes in the components of speech events as

45 Please refer to the list of abbreviations for a complete list.
characterized by Dell Hymes (1962) in his ‘SPEAKING’ acronym. A change in setting, participants, key or instrumentality is a strong indication of a new speech “event,” and the events helped build up drama provided the story backbone. Scene changes are generally produced in Nafara by a time statement, such as canga nyiennyo na ‘one morning’, cen syi yi sol ‘two days later’, which occur at the beginning of a new text segment, i.e., a new scene.

The introduction of a new participant signals a dramatic moment in the storyline, as when the protagonist, Hare, finally entered the story halfway through the tale. He immediately engaged in a dialogue, which seems to be typical of Nafara discourse structure.

At this point, each set of lines, in ethnopoetics the stanzas, is characterized as to its overall meaning in terms of the story’s development. Is it a “set-up” for time and place? Does it elaborate on a situation? Does it provide a transition or “pivot” from one scene to another? This process leads to the identification of larger text segments, into “episodes,” “acts,” and “sections.”

The analysis of the text continued in a dialogic fashion, turning from the larger framework of ethnopoetic analysis to the details of discourse analysis, in the continual refinement of each level of analysis, until the basic structures of the text were clearly identified: the dramatic progression of the eventline, the role of background information, the presentation of participants and props, the shifts of discourse topic from one participant to another, and all the grammatical underpinnings that permitted and validated these identifications.

In other words, profiling the materials in this way showed how the text is knitted around various types of frames (time, space, etc.) on the one hand, and how sequences unfolded, on the other (Grimes, 1984, p. 85; Longacre, 1996). Parsing the text in this way exposed the structure of the story, allowing for visualization of different types of information such as background, main and subsidiary information, and crucial moments such as the peak and denouement (Davis & Poulters, 1980; Grimes, 1984; Jones, 1979; Longacre, 1976, 1996). Additionally, parsing revealed ethnopoetic underpinnings embedded in the text (Hymes, 1981, 1984, 2003). Ethnographic studies of natural texts have revealed that poetry embedded in some texts may become apparent when texts are profiled, that is broken down into their basic constituents and displayed according to one of the many fashions in which a text can be parsed.

Analysis of Data

The ways texts are structured for analytical purposes are slightly different in the three
approaches that informed the framework of text analysis used in this study. For instance, in discourse analysis, the hierarchical framework pictures chapters/sections, episodes, events, stanzas, and lines, while within the confines of ethnopoetics, it goes from act to scene to stanza and to line. Story grammar, because it is basically a narrative schema, presents a different scenario in which the episode is the organizing principle. Thus, story grammar stresses the exploration of things such as the setting, initiating event, response, attempt, consequence, and reaction (Duchan, 2001, p. 1). The cast of these methods showed both commonalities and differences. However, of concern was the strength of each and how it could be brought to bear in this study.

Discourse analysis, as a linguistic method, stresses elements of the macrosystem such as cohesion and coherence (Titscher et al., 2000, p. 91) through phoric references (cataphora, anaphora, and exophora) and other cohesive devices (Davis & Poulter, 1980, p. 32), as pointed out earlier in the literature review. On the other hand, in ethnopoetics, stanzas and lines are units of analysis that match the kind of analysis of interest here. This approach also rests on stylistic devices such as parallelisms, contrasts, piling and association, which allow for capturing essential information from the bare organization of the text (Hymes, 1981, 2003). The strength of story grammar is a close scrutiny of the episodic structure of the narrative. As such, it helps to construct a live schema that renders the narrative processing much easier (Roth, 1986, p. 22; McCabe & Bliss, 2003, p. 12). Thus, the procedure for text analysis was informed by strategies pertaining to analytical techniques of the three methods in questions: discourse analysis, ethnopoetics, and story grammar. Below is a schema of the overall procedure of text analysis, as was employed in the field test and as it was employed in the analysis of texts selected for the full of mú?urii discourse structure.

Analytical procedure. The procedure included five steps, comprising each several components.

A. Preparatory Stage
   A.1. Transcription of Nafara text
   A.2. Free Translation
   A.3. Divisions of the text into lines
B. Parsing the text by lines

B. 1. Line analysis. Line analysis consisted of the grammatical analysis of lines, the identification of topics, events, and the function of line, and the exploration of discourse markers within the line.

The grammatical analysis of lines entailed identifying parts of speech and delineating their grammatical role and function within the line. Examining the argument structure introduced by the verb or the predicate could help identify the topic, event and the function of line. For instance, the preferred word order versus other orders: for example the typical order in Nafara is SOV, which may coexist with an SVO or OSV depending on particular discursive circumstances in the narrative. A major task here consisted in looking at the modes, nature of verb, for instance, active vs. passive; transitive vs. intransitive, etc. Equally important is the concern for roles of nouns (e.g., agentive complex: agent, patient, instrument, goal, range, and locative (space, time). Last, discourse markers were explored at this level to identify the status of information they relate to: new versus old information.

B.2. Identification by means of color-coding. Colors were used to code the major constituents of sentences (verb, subject, object, etc.), and to keep track of participants and props (all noun phrases = NP): Protagonist, antagonist, major and minor characters and props were differentiated by means of different colors.

B. 3. Constituents of the sentence. The subjects, verbs (transitive/intransitive), prepositional phrases, temporal adverbs and phrase, locatives, and adverbs were are identified and labeled. Any unusual element was noted and tagged for future reference.

C. Characterizing stanzas and defining episodes

C. 1. Characterizing stanzas. The stanza is made of a group of lines, which express a common fact or topic (this topic may also run across several stanzas). This was done based on two questions, 1) what is the stanza about, and 2) what is its function. The answer to these questions showed the status of the stanza. For instance, it may be on the eventline, that is to say, it contains important information that advances the plot. It may be off the eventline, in which case it may be background information, collateral information, or instances of evaluation of the actions by the offstage narrator.
The breaking of stanzas has to do with the notional structure of the text, and seems to go along the distribution of events and micro-event (such elaboration on a event) and the content. That is why some stanzas consist of one sentence while others comprise more than one. Now the line break is essentially according to grammatical unit.

The analysis of the text at the level of the stanza required establishing the topic for the stanza regarded as a self-contained unit, differentiating between background information and eventline through the distinctive marking they were associated with at the surface level (e.g., tenses and aspects). Quoted dialogues or conversation and the structure of the stanza (e.g., couplet, triplet) are revealing about the dramatic progression. Therefore, they were of concern here.

C. 2. Episodes, scenes, and sections. The text was divided into episodes, scenes and sections along the lines of major themes. Languages make use of one or a set of discourse particles, or markers, to signal the change from one constituent element of a text to another (e.g., episode, scene). In English, such markers include “so,” “and then,” “meanwhile,” and “afterwards” (Schiffrin, 1987; Brizuela et al., 1999). The speech event changes when there is a change of setting, participants, topic, or some other major components (Ervin-Tripp, 1964).

At the level of the scene, the analysis entailed defining the setting, the characteristics, functions and roles of participants and props. Also, the analysis of the event sequence allowed for knowing the number of and the hierarchy among stanzas in each scene, and the role each of these stanzas played in building up the dramatic progression/tension. Different levels of information (e.g., background and foreground and peak) in the narrative was also explored by scrutinizing tenses and verbal aspects. Discourse markers relevant to the scene was also be examined for their role and functions as far the cohesion and coherence of the textual frame is concerned.

In a narrative text, these same elements (setting, topic, and participants) are used to distinguish different “moments” or segments, or episodes in the story. Episodes were then grouped into larger units called “scenes,” then scenes are grouped into “sections,” which correspond to the chapters of a novel or the major parts of a long essay. The division of text into sections uses the same criteria of time, place, topic and participants as the episode and the scene do, but on larger scale.
C. 3. Evaluation of the Status of clauses. This consisted in establishing the nature of the clauses: clauses may be main or subordinate ones. Then one proceeded to the characterization of the verbs: transitive or intransitive. The aspectual dimensions of the verb were also explored: compleative/incompleative, perfective, etc.

D. Summary of the rhetorical pattern of the narrative. The components of the research questions were addressed here. The analysis in the previous sections of the procedure allowed for revealing the underlied and surface structure of the text. At the present stage of the analysis, the researcher was able to establish the rhetorical pattern by answering the following: a) How are participants and props introduced and tracked? B) How are pivotal and peak events marked? C) How is the dramatic development maintained? d) How is background and foreground information managed?

Of concern was, for instance, linguistic features that marked the main constituents of the narrative, such as background information, eventline information, collateral information, information concerning participants and props, and information illuminating the process by which all the above were held together, that is how coherence and cohesion were achieved (Longacre & Woods, 1976; Longacre, 1996). In Nafara, as in many languages spoken around the world, verbal tenses and aspects allow for distinguishing between types of information. Thus, the researcher was able to distinguish between events that contributed subsidiary information and those that constituted the backbone of the narrative, the very information that is indicative of the major discourse patterning in texts.

The analytical procedure sketched above made it possible to characterize the rhetorical structure of mú-uriñ texts at several levels, such as line, stanza, and scene of the narrative, in the perspective of the combination of the methods used. These were the procedures to be followed in the full study of the discourse patterns of the Nafara genre of mú-uriñ tales.

To date the only dialect of the Senari language that has received serious linguistic attention is the Cebaara dialect, as pointed out earlier on. Thus, the linguistic analysis in the field test study was geared toward acquiring a comfortable acquaintance with Nafara transcription and analysis by building on the existing analysis of the Cebaara dialect. The Nafara data collected and transcribed by the researcher were reviewed by Méhérigué Coulibaly,
a native speaker of the Cebaara dialect of Senari, working as the person responsible for publication in local and African languages in Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire. He has worked with Dr. Mills from Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), both as an informant and transcriber.

The researcher, aided by two linguists (J. Kathryn Josserand and Nicholas A. Hopkins), achieved, through the field study, a preliminary description of aspects of Nafara phonology and morphology, including the formation of noun phrases (NP), verb phrases (VP), adpositional phrases (PP) and adverbial phrases (AP). The researcher also identified verb classes, noun classes, and as many discourse markers as possible. All of these things were foundational to the discovery of the rhetorical patterns of a language. The success of the field study confirmed the feasibility of the more comprehensive analysis proposed in this research, with the goal of a full description of mú?uriñ rhetorical structures.

Reliability and Validity

Reliability is a function of the tool used for measurement. It addresses issues of appropriateness and effectiveness. Validity addresses issues relating to data and findings (e.g., to what extent can the results be trusted?), in addition to the concern for the accuracy and dependability of the instrument (Bernard, 1994, p. 38). Scholars operating in the realm of qualitative research in general and especially in ethnographic studies are often divided over these positivist scientific quality criteria (validity and reliability) (Titscher et al., 2000, p. 96). While some advocate a pure rejection of these criteria in favor of the intensive personal involvement of the investigator, which will offer him/her the ability to learn from personal mistakes in the process of research (e.g., Agar, 1986, p. 12), others call for adaptation of these criteria within the qualitative paradigm. For instance validity rather than absolute certainty should be governed by trust or plausibility, credibility, and empirical evidence (Hammersley, 1992, p. 50f). Then, given that the first two criteria hint at common sense, the third will allow for falsification or replication (Silverman, 1993, p. 153f).

In the absence of control groups, this type of qualitative research benefits from expert third opinions that can be offered by peers from the Nafara speech community. It is widely admitted by scholars operating in the qualitative paradigm that such opinions keep the researcher’s subjectivity in check, which works toward validating the results (Silverman, 1993,
Such a peer check increases both reliability and validity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Wiersma, 2000). Lincoln and Guba (1985) observe that what prevails is trustworthiness, which is achieved through credibility, transferability, and confirmability, which coincide with validity, external validity, reliability, and objectivity in quantitative research (p.300). In this study, the researcher attempted to address quality criteria. Credibility was addressed through some form of triangulation and peer and member check.

Member check is a technique that occurs in several strategies to provide a third opinion in qualitative research. One technique is to gauge the view of informants or other members of the speech community on the reconstruction of data by the investigator (Wiersma, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 315). Among the various and sundry activities possible in this regard, only a few could be carried out in the present research because of a number of constraints. For instance, one is the lack of literacy among Nafara informants and another is the lack of prior studies on the grammatical structures of Nafara. Or again the paucity of scholars from the speech community interested in the topic.

Samples of the preliminary linguistic analysis of the texts and copies of audio texts (folktales) were sent to native speakers of Senari in the U.S. and in Côte d’Ivoire for their evaluation. For the audio texts, auditors were asked to indicate whether or not they found them sound and acceptable as cultural artifacts in their form and content, and why. Concerning the sample of parsed text, the linguistically informed readers had to examine structural units, glosses, and the grammatical and syntactic functions displayed. Based on the feedback they offered, especially on the parsed samples, the researcher was able to improve the transcription and analysis of the preliminary study. For example, the researcher was able to improve upon the lexical and grammatical glosses in the interlinear text.

In addition to the above, member check took place during the full study. Copies of the recorded materials and transcribed versions were sent to informants. These people were able to point to flaws in materials (e.g., truncated materials, faulty transcription, wrong intentionality, for instance, a discrepancy between what is recorded and what the informant

The people in question are six in total. Four of them live in the US, and two live in Côte d’Ivoire. In the US all but one are students. Peers in Côte d’Ivoire are a professional and a scholar in linguistics who are involved in matters relating to Senari. All the above people grew up in a village. Therefore, not only do they have a perfect command of the language, but also they are quite close to the Senufo culture.

A selected literate person in Nafara will read out loud to informants the transcribed texts of the tales that will be used in the study.
The feedback provided by these evaluators pointed to some corrective measures that enhanced credibility, therefore trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 314).

Triangulation may be achieved through multiple and different methods, investigators, theories, and sources (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 305). In this study, the researcher tried to establish the rhetorical pattern of tales by looking across a number of tales told by different storytellers. This may be regarded as triangulation by means of sources, built into the overall research procedure.

Scholars operating within the confines of naturalistic research prize methodological procedures as an important factor in establishing dependability and confirmability (e.g., Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Selinger and Shohamy, 2000; Tuckman, 1995; Wiersma, 2000). In accordance with this, Saville-Troike (1989) writes: “Complete escape from subjectivity is never possible because of our very nature as cultural animals; however, the constraints and guidelines of the methodology are intended to minimize our perpetual analytical bias” (p. 4, see also Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 293; Johnson & Christensen, 2000).

The researcher will provide and publish a clear and vivid description and documentation of the data and the research procedure, which will allows for audit activities or replications by other interested researchers. In so doing, the dependability and confirmability criteria will be increased, so will trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 16-21; see also Tuckman, 1996).

**The Description of the Corpus**

There are several discourse genres in the Senufo society; and in the Nafara community one distinguishes over a score discourse genres that encompass the major discourse types, such narrative, expository, argumentative, and hortatory discourses. In this study we are concerned with the narrative type.

Under the umbrella of “narrative,” Nafara society distinguishes between *kàfɔa, yémen, barúw, kàségêlì, and múʔuríi*, among others (for more details on this discussion, please see section of the literature review devoted to “Senari genres and folktales”). The *múʔuríi*, the genre that is the centerpiece in the present study, means folktales, as hinted at earlier in this work.
Actually, mú?urí is a blanket terms for folk stories in Senufo speech community. Owing to this, the term mú?urí points to various types and forms of narratives discourses. In Senufo society in general, and the Nafara community in particular, there seem to be two crosscutting ways to categorize the mú?urí genres: the categories and the style of telling. There are several categories, such as myths, children’s tales, historical tales (how the tribe, clan, or village came to be), legends. Any of the preceding can be long, short, or in dialogue format, which are more like styles of telling. One may differentiate between macro styles, such as the quality of short or long tale mú?urí can come in, and the micro styles such as the “One-man-show”, and the choric styles, as pointed out in the section of the literature devoted to Senufo traditions.

It is convenient to look at the mú?urí as an overarching genre with a number of subsets. The subgenre we are concerned with is “children’s tales,” in which “animal tales” stand out. Animal tales may also include supernatural beings, or even people.

Tales devoted to children make one of the most popular subgenres of mú?urí by virtue of its educational function in rural traditional society. The corpus of children tales hinges on the boundaries speakers can set to their imagination, more so than myths and legends. Owing to this, it is more interesting to briefly discuss this subset in terms of stock characters, rather than figures about the corpus. As far as animal characters as concerned, while the entirety of almost all of the local denizens can appear in folktales, some major protagonists and antagonists seem to be constant across most stories. It is worth noting that there are names major protagonists and antagonists often go by in tales. For instance, hare is called “Pyè?ele” while hyena is called “Kàjûû.”

Hare or “Pyè?ele” is a major protagonist in a number of children stories, as shown in the stories on which this study is centered. Other major protagonists are tortoise, lion, and the monkeys. For instance, “The Lion and The Orphan” shows how the lion provided for the needs of a forsaken and neglected orphan girl. On her way to the stream to fetch water for her stepmother, the poor weeping little orphan sang a song that the lion overheard. The song said that all young girls would dressed up for the poro festival, but her stepmother would not even do her hair, let alone give her clothes to wear. The lioness offered to help her, and proceeded to nicely braid her hair and gave her clothes and jewelry that made her stand out among her peers at the festival. In “The Race Between Tortoise and Squirrel,” the smart and cunning tortoise defeated
The antagonist that has the most privileged position in Nafara folktales is hyena or “Kàjô.” Other recurring antagonists are gnomes (e.g., the genie), squirrel, among others. Most antagonists generally identify with greed, bigotry, ingratitude, sadistic behaviors, wickedness, etc. Tale 1 and Tale 2, in this study illustrates the fact, as far as hyena is concerned. Another popular tale featuring hyena is “Hyena and the Kids of the Eagle,” in which hyena perished by dint of unsuccessful stratagems carried to devour eagle’s children in the nest on the top of a tall tree. Concerning the genie, Tale 3 in this study is very illustrative. “The Genie and the Cotton Grower,” popular in Senufo communities, also features a genie who forced a helpless old woman to eat the cotton she grew, but was eventually defeated by a little boy.

The above animals usually appear as stock characters in the overwhelming majority of tales in which they are participants. However, these roles are not always fixed and exclusive for all of them, strictly speaking. For example, in some tales there is a role reversal for some characters. Tale 2 (The Unwanted Child) in this study is a case in point. It pictures hare as an unworthy, unjust and wicked mother discriminating among her children. Eventually, she was severely punished for her despicable action with the death of her beloved children. In another tale, “The Animal Farm,” hare is also shown as the antagonist. He would never work on the farm on the allegation that he was sick, but would go out there and eat plants, at night. Finally he was caught and severely punished. On the other hand, in a few tales, the genie is shown in more glamorous light. For instance in “the Genie and the Orphan”, a poor little boy was introduced to riches and a wholesome and happy life thanks to the generosity of the genie, who also proceeded to punish the son of the boy’s stepmother for his extreme covetousness and greed.

The Description of the Sample Used in the Study

The study is based on three popular Nafara folk stories told by the researcher and two other storytellers (2), to make it possible to compare the different versions of the same stories.

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48 This tale has analogues in several regions of Africa in which the protagonist is chameleon and the antagonist is hare, or the protagonist is the frog/toad competing against the antelope, or other arrangements in which other fast animals compete with very slow ones, and where the latter are always winners.
The three tales are “Hare, hyena and the Monkeys,” “The Unwanted Child,” and “The Old Man and the genie,” referred to as Tale 1, Tale 2, and Tale 3, respectively, in the study. Tale 1 and Tale 3 are fairly long tales, while Tale 2 is of moderate length. However, it is worth noting that there are variable lengths among versions of the same tale by different storytellers, which may be explained by the personal dispositions that individual performer have brought to bear.

The synopses of the tales provided at the outset of the analysis of each tales give ample summaries of the tales. At this point, suffice it to say a few words by way of introducing the story to the reader.

In Tale One, at the peak of famine that struck the animal kingdom, hyena raged in the community of monkeys, whom he mischievously brought into a pot, cooked and ate them. Hyena found his niche to cope with famine. However, that proved a short-lived stratagem, because he was himself cooked with the help of Hare whom the monkeys called to their rescue.

Hyena is the antagonist in Tale 1. However, in the first section of the tale, he runs the show. Then, in the second part, from the entrance of hare all through the tale, there is a role reversal. Hare, the protagonist, despite his short appearance, brought the problem of the monkeys to a resolution by strategizing the cooking of hyena in the pot. In the version told by Adama, a little red monkey, survivor of a previous trick by hyena, holds the role of the protagonist. He informed his peers about the trick of hyena and advised them to not let hyena out when he took his turn in the pot.

It is noteworthy that, in Nafara tales and Nafara land for that matters, there are two major types of monkeys: the gray monkeys and the red monkeys. The word “monkey(s)” usually refers to the gray monkeys, because they are the most widely spread breed in the region. If reference is made to the other type, the qualifying term “red’ is added. Likewise, in these tales “monkey(s)” refers back to the gray monkeys.

Tale Two also takes place in the animal kingdom, where Hare is portrayed as a worthless and despicable mother who maliciously starved her ugly child. But irony of fate, she was made to put up with that very child, when Hyena devoured her beloved children. As for Tale Three, it rhymes with the epitome of wicked and ingratitude. A genie took advantage of his benefactor, a selfless helpless magnanimous old man who had saved him from beasts that had been preying upon and made sick and weak. But in the middle of his odious scheme to eat the old man, the
dreadful genie was defeated by Hare, who, unlike the genie, stuck out his neck for the sake of justice and also to show his gratefulness to the man who once spared his life.

The study is based on the following six versions of the popular tales included in this study: three versions of Tale one, two of tale Two and one of Tale Three.

Tale 1: the versions told by Kolo, Adama and Sidiky
Tale 2: the versions told by Sidiky and Kolo
Tale 3: the version told by Kolo

Table 9: Storytellers and Tale Versions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Storytellers</th>
<th>Tales</th>
<th>Tale 1: Hare, Hyena and the Monkeys</th>
<th>Tale 2: The Unwanted Child</th>
<th>Tale 3: The Old Man and the Genie</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kolo Soro</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adama Yéo</td>
<td>Hyena, the (gray) Monkeys, and the Red Monkeys</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidiky Diarassouba</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 shows that the version of the Tale 1 produced by Adama Yéo has a slightly different title.

**Storytellers**

The storytellers are all native speakers of Nafara who have spent at least the first 15 years of their life at the village. They include both educated and uneducated people.

*Kolo Soro.* Kolo is a 37 years old uneducated man who grew up in a village within the vicinities of Napié. He lived in the rural world where he was engaged in farming activities until the age of 20. Then he left for the town where he trained as an auto mechanic for several years. For the last five years, he has been living in Abidjan where he works as a mechanic in a private auto shop. He is fluent in Jula and speaks the popular French “Moi y a dit toi y a dit” or Ivorian Popular French.
Kolo is a Poro initiate. As such he is knowledgeable about Nafara traditions including storytelling for which he made himself a name in his community. In Abidjan, the big city, where lives, Kolo loves to tell stories in his leisure time to his household or friends.

Adama Yéo. Adama is 29 and had a very limited formal school (grade 1-5) in a rural primary school in the vicinities of his village, in the district of kombodorodougou. He spent about the first 20 years of his life in his native village, where he was involved in various economic activities including farming and cattle breeding.

Adama is also a Poro initiate. At the village and in town as well, storytelling stands out among his hobbies. It comes as no surprise that he is regarded as a good storyteller in his community. Though he can write and read a bit, he mostly speaks survival French, and is fluent in Jula like Kolo.

Adama has had some training in various fields including auto repair, masonry, when he moved into town about a decade ago. Presently he works in a company (service enterprise) owned by a maternal uncle, where he engages in various tasks and services offered by the company. Concerning the researcher, please see “Informant” in the discussion on the methodological field test.

Chapter three laid out the methodology and procedures that will be utilized in the present project, by describing the sampling strategies and the data collection procedure used in the field test and for the full study. It also discussed the analytical procedure, which was informed by a combination of techniques pertaining to three research approaches: discourse analysis, ethnopoetics, and story grammar. Chapter three also broached issues relating to validity and reliability, and introduced the reader to the corpus of the study.
CHAPTER 4. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

This section is divided into four parts. The first three parts are concerned with the analysis based on individual popular tales included in this study, and the last part looks across versions of each popular tale. Chapter Four is thus structured as followed: 1) Tale One by Kolo, 2) Tale Two by Adama, 3) Tale Three by Kolo, and 4) Looking across versions of popular tales.

The framework of narrative analysis developed by Robert E. Longacre was used to establish the prevailing discourse pattern. I identified the surface (emic) linguistic elements that help materialize the notional structure (background information, backbone/foreground information, climax, etc): for example, the elements of the verbal and aspectual systems that signaled these different levels of information in narratives. I also examined the nature of the linguistic elements that help introduce topics and maintain them and those used in other constituent parts of the story such as the aperture and the finis. There is more to discourse organization than form. Therefore, I examined other devices that are brought to bear in rhetorical issues (e.g., content). Overall, I was interested in whatever information could help me to see how the story was developed. It is noteworthy that there are other ways of looking at what we purport to do. But for now, in order to achieve the purpose of this study, these were the procedures that I followed.

Establishing the rhetorical pattern is tantamount to fleshing out a model that reflects the way the notional content of the tale is put together to convey cultural meaning. This is contingent on answering the following questions: a) How are participants and props introduced and tracked? b) How are pivotal and peak events marked? c) How is background and foreground information managed? d) How is the dramatic development maintained? e) How is the text structured? The foregoing guideline was applied to the analysis of all of the versions included in this study.
The researcher put in place the following system to guide the reader through the analysis of the versions of the popular tales used in this study: Tales were identified by the letter T and a number (e.g., 1, 2, or 3, put for Tale 1, 2, and 3), the storyteller was identified by means of the initial of his first name, for example, A, K, or S, which stand for Adama, Kolo, and Sidiky, respectively. One letter or a group of letters from the Romam alphabet helped identify the stanza in the story, then a number right after the stanza showed the position of the line(s) of concern in the stories’ texts. For example, “T1K, C, 22)” in front of a citation represented its identity; thus, the preceding stands for “Tale One, version told by Kolo, stanza C, line 22;” and “T2A, Z, 112-3)” tells us that the quotation is from “the version of Tale Two told by Adam, in stanza Z, lines 112-113.”

In each analytical endeavor the interlinear gloss abbreviations are used to identify parts of speech. A comprehensive list of abbreviations used in each part is offered at the outset of the part. Then the line laying out the interlinear gloss is italicized for the purpose of marking it off from the Nafara text. Finally, each analysis is ended with a literary (“free”) translation. This translation is encapsulated in single quotes preceded by the identity of the stanza or the line enclosed in parentheses.

(T1K, Y, 82) ‘Hyena told them that he would enter’.

It is noteworthy that stanzas inserted in the flow of texts dealing with the same tale (in a specific part, i.e., Par 1, 2, or 3) are not preceded with the initial of the storyteller, because analysis in that specific part refers to the same informant and tale. Further, for the sake of clarification, stanzas and lines that are plotted in the flow of texts are spelled out; for instance, stanza P, lines 22-25, rather than notations such as “P, 22-23.”
Part 1. The Rhetorical Pattern Based on Tale 1: Kolo’s version

List of Abbreviations in the Analysis of Tale One

assert: assertive
asp: aspect
asp-cont: continuative aspect
asp-gap: aspect-gapping (differentiate between verb gapping and completive aspect)
asp-pst: past aspect (anterior past, i.e. past perfect notion)
asp-pot: potential aspect
aux.: auxiliary
asp-compl: completive aspect
caud: call to audience
cli: clitic
compl: completive
def.: definite
DP: discourse particle
FP: focus particle
gap: gapping
gap-o: object gapping
gap-s: subject gapping
indef.: indefinite
intj: interjection
neg: negative
pot.: potential
sd: speaker deictic
sd-p: speaker deictic-proximal
sd-d: speaker deictic-distal
Synopsis

The backdrop of Tale is a famine-stricken land where most animals living on the ground have perished, not only because of the lack of food, but also and mainly because they were preyed upon by stronger ones. As the famine kept raging in the land, Hyena devised means and ways to eat the animals living in trees. He targeted the monkeys, whom he talked into believing that there was a quest for someone to replace the king of animals who had just passed away. The rule was that who stayed longest in a hot pot would be the king. Understandably, however, no one should be held inside the pot against their will. But at the monkeys’ turn, Hyena always broke the rule of the game in the middle of each session. In so doing, Hyena succeeded in eating a larger number of the monkeys by tricking the monkeys into entering the pot. The monkeys (survivors) brought the situation to the attention of Hare, who helped them turn Hyena’s trick against him. Thus, the monkeys cooked Hyena when he took his turn in a new trick and regained their peace of mind from that day on.

How are Participants and Props Introduced and Tracked?

This section of the study dealt with participants’ staging in general. That is to say I was concerned not only with how participants are introduced and tracked, but also their status from the moment they are introduced until they exit the story. Generally, the syntactical function of participants and props helps distinguish between the categories they fall into.

Participants fall into several categories, but in this study we distinguished between central characters and those participants upon whom other participants act, who are often referred to as props (Jones and Jones, 1979; Longacre, 1967, 1996). Props include both animate participants and inanimate participants (e.g., objects).

I first examined the pattern of introduction of participants and props. Then, I looked into how they were referred to thereafter.

Introducing Characters

Major participants. The major participants that I examined here were Hyena, the antagonist, and Hare, the protagonist.
Hyena was first mentioned as follows:

\[ T1K, E, 13-4 \] kàjùù, wóri fàngi beè ne?e

\begin{align*}
  & \text{Hyena, his strength-def. was more} \\
  & \text{yawéé-ya sáama wó?o na.} \\
  & \text{animals-other many theirs than}
\end{align*}

(T1K, E, 13-4) ‘Hyena, his strength was greater than that of many other animals’.

Hyena is topicalized when mentioned for the first time; his strength is the subject of an existential sentence, which belongs in the higher level of functional categories of the sentence. This would seem to point to the fact that Hyena is a major character in the story, a fact corroborated by other instances in the story as shown below. For example, in subsequent explicit mentions of Hyena, he is involved in major events where he is subject of the verb in independent clauses, as in stanzas P, lines 46-7; Y, line 82; and AF, line 109.

\[ T1K, P, 46-7 \] Aý kàjùù jo,

\begin{align*}
  & \text{Hyena said,} \\
  & \text{“één, kòbèl-i yaa pàan nàa} \\
  & \text{“yes, monkeys-def (you) come here}
\end{align*}

(T1K, P, 46-7) ‘(DP) Hyena said, “yes, monkeys, come here!”

\[ T1K, Y, 82 \] Kàjùù bé pyee wóri à jée

\begin{align*}
  & \text{Hyena them told he asp-pot enter} \\
  & \text{(T1K, Y, 82) ‘Hyena told them that he would enter’}
\end{align*}

\[ T1K, AF, 109 \] À kàjùù tòni múbil-e cáan bé na

\begin{align*}
  & \text{DP Hyena really song-a started them on} \\
  & \text{(T1K, AF, 109) ‘(DP) verily, Hyena started to sing a song’}
\end{align*}
From the above we concluded that Hyena is introduced as a major character in the story, which comes as no surprise as he actually is a pseudo-protagonist in the first part of the story, where everything is developed from his vantage point.

Hare appears half way into the story. We are told that the hopeless and confused monkeys consult him for advice:

(T1K, AK, 124) à bé baà gí joo pyè?ele má

\[DP \text{they sd-p it told Hare about [it]}\]

(T1K, AK, 124) ‘They told Hare about it’.

The first time Hare is mentioned, he appears as an object of the predicate, which is a lower level segment of the sentence. No wonder, as he is portrayed as a recipient of a specific and central case in the story: desperate monkeys took their problem to him.

Hare is generally a stock character in the role of the protagonist in Nafara animal stories. Owing to this, there seems no need for a formal introduction. There is no other explicit mention by name of Hare, until the last stanza of the story, where the narrator says “pyè?ele pyee súbábúw à kàjóo kùu nè kóbèli syóó” (Hare was the cause of the death of Hyena and the salvation of the monkeys).

It seems reasonable to say that Hare is the driving force behind all actions carried out by monkeys when Hyena attempted the trick anew. From this perspective we argued that Hare is the real subject of “jo, ” (said) in stanzas AO and AP below, for example, even though he is not named by name.

(T1K, AO, 143-5) À bé jo,

\[DP \text{They said,}\]

“bôn , Ṇàáán sí wá-à séli jée?”

“that is ok, who is it that-asp (pot) first enters?”

(T1K, AO, 143-5) ‘They said, “who is it that will enter (go) first”’.

The stanza that follows also seems to allude to the same fact.
T1K, AP, 147-8) À bé jo wi jée.

*DP they told him enter*

(T1K, AP, 147-8) ‘(DP) they told him to enter

It is surely Hare that instructed the monkeys to question and tell Hyena to get inside the pot, or seal the pot and cook Hyena. Therefore, as the instigator, he can be regarded as the real agent of the verb in the above decisive events, during Hyena’s last attempt to carry out his trick. Interestingly enough, these events occurred in the second section, where Hare took charge as the protagonist.

By means of verbal marking, aided by cultural considerations and understandings shared by the storyteller and the audience, Hyena and Hare are introduced as central characters in this tale.

**Tracking Participants**

*Hyena.* From the moment Hyena is mentioned for the first time, he is referred back to by means of anaphoric elements that mostly have the status of higher-level functional categories, such as “subject” of the verb. In other words, he appears as the topic of the sentence in major events on the eventline of the plot. The foregoing would seem to confirm that he is a central character, at least in the first section. A few examples are offered below:

T1K, F, 17) À wí tøni m dåàn-i yára káa

*DP he verily ground-def. beings ate*

(T1K, F, 17) ‘(DP) he really ate the animals on the ground’

T1K M, 36 & 39) À wí baà kòðg-è caa

*DP he sd-p pot-indef. got*

à wí baà kòðg-ì tè?è.

*DP he sd-p pot-def. put*

T1K(M, 36 & 39) ‘(DP) he got a pot . . . he put the pot there’
T1K, V. 73-74) À wi jo,

*DP he said,*

“nông, wa-à jée wii . . .

“no, we-will enter assert . . .

(T1K, V. 73-74) ‘(DP) He said, “well, what we need to do to enter the pot . . .’

T1K, AC, 95) à wí jo nóng

*DP he said no*

(T1K, AC, 95) ‘(Dp) he said no’

T1K, AM, 135-6) À wí baà pan cang-àa

*DP he sd-p came day-some [indeed] and pot-big-def. with again*

fwông né kôdó-kpććg-ì ní nùugél

[indeed] and pot-big-def. with again

(T1K, AM, 135-6) ‘(DP) Some day, indeed, he came with the big pot again’

Hyena either initiates (“got a pot,” “devises plans to eat others”) or is in command, dictating the rules of the game, and breaking them at will. For instance, he objects to one monkey’s entering and asks all of them to get into the pot. However, toward the end of the story there are instances where he appears as the object of the verb:

T1K, AU, 169) Àa, à gi kâjćć fung-ô wông!

*Intj. DP it Hyena heart-indef. trouble*

(T1K, AU, 169) ‘(Intj. DP) it troubled Hyena’

T1K, AW, 176-8) (Đônc) à bê baà wi mú?u

*so DP they sd-p him open*

mà nyaa bàn

*asp-gap see thus*

(T1K, AW, 176-8) ‘So (DP) they opened him and saw him thus’.
The shift in syntactical category noted here indicates that Hyena’s status has been downgraded in the story.

_Hare_. Hare has had very limited references in the story. However, the few references that are made to him are central in the development of the story. For instance, “wí” (he) in stanza AL, line 130 and “wóři” (he-emphatic pronoun) in stanza AN, line 138 below, refer back to him. In stanza Ak, Hare is the topic of the sentence in which he instructs monkeys about what to do the next time Hyena tries his trick. Then in stanza AN, Hare is seen on the stage where the fate of Hyena will be played out. The narrator tells us “and he came.” As seen here, Hare is directly involved in two important mainline events. These few references made to him in the tale seem to reiterate his status as a central participant.

T1K, AL, 130-3) À wí jo,

\[DP \text{He said}\]

“... ye ba mìì yeri”

“... you sd-p me call”

(T1K, AL, 130-3) ‘He said, “...call me.”’

T1K, AM, 138) à wóři pan

“and” he came

T1K, AM, 138) (b) ‘And he came’.

The examples provided above show that Hare is a central character, even though there have been very few instances in which he is mentioned. As the protagonist, his presence and actions are implied, and the lack of explicit mention is suggestive.

**Introducing Props**

In this section the monkeys, literally victimized by the trick, the pot and the fire were assessed.

Mention is first made of monkeys in a sentential structure where they appear as the subject of a stative verb “kòřì,” (stanza G, 21), in the imperfective aspect. As shown below,
(stanza G, 21) depicts the situation that prevails in the land of animals, and which actually points to supportive materials. The fact that monkeys are introduced in non-event materials would seem to indicate that they are conferred a low status in the story. In subsequent explicit mentions, monkeys appear in various syntactic realities, which reiterate the same status, as shown in (stanza M, 38), (stanza N, 40-1), (stanza P, 47), and (stanza AC, 96). For instance, monkeys appear in a subordinated clause in stanza M, where “kô-bëli nyëe” (monkeys were) behaves as the object of “cànn” (knew), in prepositional phrases as in stanza N “pòrì mà” (to them), where kôbëli is coreferential with ‘pòril’) and (e) “kôbëli mà” (monkeys for), all of which identify with lower levels in terms of the functional categories of the arguments of the verb. Likewise, in sentence (d) “yaa pàan nàa” ([you] come here) is an imperative construction, which is also indicative of the lower status of the characters of concern here.

T1K, G, 21) à gî kôrî nààmà wòrî: fëjên-gëli nè kô-bëli

DP it remained above those: birds-def. and monkeys-def.

(T1K, G, 21) ‘(DP) there remained those above: monkeys and birds’

T1K, M, 38) Beè wî gî cànn nî kô-bëli nyëe

where he it knew caud monkeys-def. were

(T1K, M, 38) ‘(The place) where he knew the monkeys were (living)’

T1k, N, 40-1) Kô-bëli. . . Kòlòcòłò mì tiir-ì fànʔa kan pòrì mà.

Monkeys-def. . .God asp-compl trees-def. power gave them to

(T1k, N, 40-1) ‘Monkeys. . .God gave them the power of trees’

T1K, P, 47) “ëèn, kô-bëli yaa pàan nàa. . .”

“yes, monkeys-def. mood come here

(T1K, P, 47) ) ‘Yes, monkeys, come here’.

T1K, AC, 96) kôbëli mà . . .

monkeys for. . .
(T1K, AC, 96) ‘As far as monkeys are concerned. . .’

The pot is first mentioned as the object of the verb “caa,” in stanza M.

T1K, M, 36) ̀wí baà kòdóg-è ̀caa

   \[DP \text{He sd-p pot-indef. got}\]

(T1K, M, 36) ‘(DP) He got a pot’.

Then in the same stanza, it appears again as object:

T1K, M, 39) ̀wí baà kòdóg-ì tèʔɛ.

   \[DP \text{he sd-p pot-def. put}\]

(T1K, M, 39) ‘(DP) He put the pot [there]’.

Similarly, all other explicit mentions of the pot retain the same syntactical category, “object” of the predicate. Some examples are lines 50, 52, and 60:

T1K, Q, 50) ̀dônè kòdó-lò sì wí kan mìì ma

   \[so \text{ pot-indef. FP he gave me to}\]

(T1K, Q, 50) ‘So, it is a pot he gave me’.

T1K, Q, 52) Pà-à kòdó-nì taʔa naǎgì na

   \[They-asp-pot pot-def. put fire-def. on\]

(T1K, Q, 52) ‘They will put the pot on the fire’

T1K, S, 60) ṇèè gà mòn kòdógì nì

   \[he who “if” outlast pot-def. in\]

(T1K, S, 60) He who stays longest in the pot. . .’

The ‘fire’, the other inanimate prop in the story is also introduced in a postpositional phrase as one can see in stanza Q below:
They-will pot-def. put fire-def. on
(T1K, Q, 52) ‘They will put the pot on the fire’.

Besides the sentence in which the ‘fire’ was introduced, there is only one explicit mention of this prop. Here again, it is the object of the verb “le,” in line 80:

They fire-def. started
(T1K, X, 80) ‘They started the fire’.

The above assessment shows that minor participants and props in general have lower syntactical functions in the sentences in which they appear, which is in sync with their status in the story.

Tracking Props

Monkeys. Monkeys were tracked by means of a variety of anaphoric and deictic elements, which have various syntactic functions. In most instances where monkeys are preposed subjects to the predicate, they appear in secondary information, as in stanza U when they take turn in the negotiation about their participation in the contest for the throne of the animal kingdom, or Z where they free Hyena from the pot, or again in stanza AD when they desire to emerge from the pot:

They climbed down

DP They climbed down
né49 fali jo
then-they at once said
“ôon, mez si wa-à gi pyee?”
“ok, how is it we-will it do?”

49 The pronoun ‘bé’ is gapped by ‘né’
‘(DP) they climbed down and asked immediately, “ok, how is it we will do this’

T1K, AA, 88) À bé wi múʔu mà wi yige péw

\textit{DP They him opened asp (gap) him pull out entirely}

(T1K, AA, 88) ‘(DP) they opened the pot for him and pulled him out entirely’

T1k, AE, 105-6) à bé jo, “ée, kaár-i mà pe

\textit{DP they said, “yeah, meat-def. asp-prs cooked}

(T1k, AE, 105-6) ‘(DP) they said, “the meat is cooked”’

Monkeys also appear in postpositional phrases, as one can see in lines 66, “poxrÜÖ ni” (to them) and 109, “bé na” (on them). “PoxrÜÖ” is an emphatic pronoun, while “bé” is a regular object pronoun (Cf. the grammatical overview). In the former they reflect on their chances of gaining power, which is supportive information. In the latter instance they are sealed inside the pot, which is a mainline event, where they undergo the action, something that is in step with the low level of syntactic category they are tracked in.

T1K, T, 65-6) áa póri kóliyé,

\textit{Yeah them monkeys}

fäng-i ká ne lùulí póri ni zíngelí

\textit{power at last asp-cont near them to also}

(T1K, T, 65-6) ‘Yeah, them monkeys, the power was finally nearing them too’.

T1K, AD, 102) à wí yatšng-i tón bé na kpúrc

\textit{DP he lid-def. put them on firmly}

(T1K, AD, 102) ‘(DP) he firmly put the lid on them’.
The demonstrative pronoun “dèê” (that) in line 116 refers back to the monkeys cooked in the pot. They hold the function of “Patient” in the sentence, which is a lower grade functional category in the sentence:

T1K, AG, 116) à dèê pe
“so” that cooked
(T1K, AG, 116) ‘So that (meat) was well done’.

References to monkeys show that they generally appear in lower level positions on the syntagmatic axis, which denotes their status as minor characters or props. It is noteworthy that monkeys are also portrayed as agents of dynamic verbs on the eventline toward the closure of the story (e.g., [AP, 147-8], and [stanza AT, 164-7]).

T1K, AP, 147-8) À bé jo wi jée.
DP they tell him enter
(T1K, AP, 147-8) ‘(DP) they told him to enter’.

T1K, AT, 164-7) À bé jo,
DP they said,
“kaárá gé pe kaárá kóó nyuu í”
meat if cooked meat neg. speak cli.
(T1K, AT, 164-7) ‘(DP) they sang, “if the meat is cooked, the meat does not speak. . .’

In stanza AP, monkeys are the agents of the act of telling “jo” (said). Then in AT they sing the song that identifies with success or authority. For the monkeys to be able to sing this song is evocative of the fact that there has been a power shift at this point in the tale. So they gain status.

The pot. The pot and the fire have very few references in the tale because they are mostly assumed. Reference is made to the pot just once, in line 53, while there is none as far as the fire is concerned. In line 53, the pronoun “Ífí” (it), which refers back to the pot is the object of the
postposition “ni” (in). The location of the anaphora “lî” in an adverbial phrase seems to indicate that the referent “pot” ranks lower on the syntagmatic axis, which is consonant with its status as a prop.

\[
\text{T1K, Q, 53) } \ddot{\text{nèe}} \quad \text{gá gbàn m̀ mòn lì ni}
\]
\[he \ who \ \text{if} \ \text{can gap-s outlast it in}\]

(T1K, Q, 53) ‘He who can remain longest in it’ (will be king)

Overall, the way characters are introduced is generally in keeping with the way they are tracked as the tale unfolds. Central participants introduced as subjects preposed to the predicate in independent clauses are generally referred back to similarly, with the exception of Hyena toward the end of the story, where he exits in a lower status, expressed by his low-level position in sentence structures. Minor participants and props who appear in the slot of object, adverbial or subordinated phrases, often retain the same status through the endophoric and deictic elements by means of which they are realized in the text. It is noteworthy that monkeys (survivors) exit in higher status than they entered, as they become topics of sentences toward the end of the story.

How are Pivotal and Peak Events Marked?

The pivotal and peak events are central to the development of narrative tales. They are generally prominently marked, the peak more so than the pivot. Our aim in this section is to consider the linguistic devices that allow for delineating these levels of information.

Pivots

A story is generally framed around events, which is why the best characteristic of stories is that they are always evolving. In this process, pivots may be regarded as pegs on which events hang along the development of the narrative of the story. From this perspective, pivots are like landmarks that help listener and reader find their way back in the story.

The first pivot in the tale coincides with stanza L that closes the opening scene. We are told that there remained only animals living in trees in stanza L, lines 34-5. The imperfective aspect here both depicts a situation and releases information that serves as the backdrop of the story proper.
Donc Gëê pyee à wí yar-i káa

So that was and he things-def. ate

á gi baà kòri tiirì yàrà: kólýé, féjënnëyé. . .

and it sd-p remained tree-def. things: monkeys, birds.

(T1K, L, 34-5) ‘So that was what happened and he ate everything and there remained arboreal things: monkeys and birds’.

The examples below (stanzas S, 59-62; U, 70-2; and AK, 130-4) are all pivot zones in the story. In stanza S, Hyena explains the rule of the game and reveals the high stakes of the contest (the winner becomes king), something that looks very appealing to the monkeys. In stanza U monkeys agree to compete for the position of king of all animals, and in stanza AK Hare gives a firm promise to do something about the problem of the monkeys that is brought to his attention. In all three examples, it seems that quoted speech is used to heighten the drama.

(T1K, S, 59-62) “. . .Ki nyëë wii ëërañ ni,

. . . It is, assert. Nowadays in

ñëë gá mën kôdëg-ì nì

he who “if” outlast pot-def. in

wà-à pyee fàëfòs-wì

he-asp-pot be chief-def.

(T1K, S, 59-62) ‘It really is the case nowadays that he who outlasts others in the pot will be the king of animals.”’

(T1K, U, 70-2) Donc À bé tì?i,

so DP they climbed down

né fali jo,

then immediately said,

“ôñ, méè sí wàà gí pyee?”. 
“ok, how is it we-asp-potl it do?”

(T1K, U, 70-2) ‘So they climbed down and immediately said, “ok, how is it we will do it?”’

T1K, AL, 130-3) À wi jo, “hum, à wi núù na-à nì í

DP He said, “hum, if he again comes- there caud. ye ba mii yeri.”
you sd-p me call

(T1K, AL, 130-3) ‘(DP) he said, “if comes there again, right, call me.”’

In stanza AI, lines 121-3, it is stated that Hyena has found a pattern for tricking and eating monkeys. The words “kept doing that,” “playing” and “eating” reinforce the idea of an on-going process, which points to the imperfect aspect. And yet, the situation presented here is a stage for further actions that will move the plot ahead. Therefore, it is like a pivot in the development of the story.

T1K, AJ, 120-2) Wi sí kòri nèë na,

He FP kept doing that on
né sicili-bín-ëë yigi

asp-cont trick-small-that played
né kó-beli káa baà.

and monkeys-def. ate there

(T1K, AJ, 120-2) ‘He thus kept playing that trick and eating the monkeys there’.

The following examples, stanza AD, lines 100-2, and AR below, are also pivotal materials. The following linguistic elements, “kpó?oro” (gathered), “jée” (entered), and “tôn” (closed) in stanza AD, and also “hastily entered,” and “jumped and entered” as one can see in (AR), are all dynamic predicates describing volitional and sequential action on the mainline. Thus, pivots are also marked by means of the completive aspect and the preterit.
The pivot primarily hinges on the notional and ideational dimensions of the story, that is to say the content. Also, though there seem to be no particular grammatical features that mark the pivot exclusively, a few linguistic behaviors have been noted at pivot events in Nafara. First, given that pivots are generally stages for episodes to follow, they may be marked by means of the imperfective aspect or tense when the pivot information is about a state of affairs, or the description of situations or local background information. The preterit and completive aspects may also mark the pivot, when the events of concern are on the eventline. Further, the use of the quoted speech seems to be one of the characteristic features of pivot events in Nafara.

The Peak

In narratives told around the world, there may be several action peaks interspersed in a story, besides the peak event. Action peaks may be regarded as key building blocks materializing local high points in episodes.
Action peaks. In stanza Z, lines 88-90, the very first action peak event in the story, the preterit and completive aspects are used. The verbs “opened,” “pulled,” and “sat” illustrate a case in point.

T1K, AA, 88-90) À bé wi mú?u mà wi yige péw

DP They him opened gap. him pulled out entirely

m̀ baà téni kakpèg-e,

ne ṉọngí ne ṣọngí fọo fàa, fọo fàa
asp-cont. breathe asp-cont. pant huff, huff, huff

(T1K, AA, 88-90) ‘(DP) they opened the pot and completely pulled him out. He sat down panting huff, huff, huff’.

Hyena would not let the monkeys out as they tried to emerge from the hot pot. Rather he sealed it and started a song as shown in lines 109, below. Again in this action peak, the completive verbal aspect is used. Similarly, the same tense and aspect of the verb is used when the monkeys in their turn cooked Hyena (AT): “they said, ‘the meat that is cooked does not speak’,” which is central in the trick. The verb “said” here actually means “sang.”

T1K, AF, 109) À kàjọ tòni mùbí-le cáan bé na

DP Hyena immediately song-indef. Started them on

(T1K, AF, 109) ‘(DP) Hyena immediately started a song’.

T1K, AT, 164-7) À bé jo, “kaár-à gá pe kaár-à kóó nyuu í

DP They said, “meat-indef. if cooked, meat-indef.neg speak cli.

(T1K, AT, 164-7) ‘(DP) they [the monkeys] said, “the meat that is cooked does not speak.’”

The preterit and the completive aspect seem to be preponderantly used in action peaks. This seems to make much sense as action peaks are on the eventline of the story.
The peak event. In most stories told around the world, there is only one peak event, or peak zone representing the ultimate point of the narrative, a juncture from which the dramatic tension dissolves. The tale under study is a perfect example.

The peak of this story (stanza, lines 173-5) is marked by a couplet “wí tin mà baà frô.” The repetition seems to convey emphasis. In this specific case the doublet seems to stress the trouble Hyena finds himself in, as he finally got caught up with his own trick. The completive aspect is also used as shown in “commoved,” “got cooked,” to further stress the fact that Hyena’s situation was irrevocably sealed. The use of “mà,” a verbal aspect by which the subject “wí” (he) is gapped tends to render the expression more terse. Further, there is a verbal chaining achieved by means of “mà,” which hooks up one predicate “tin” and two predicate adjectives “frô” (got tired) and “pe” (cooked), all of which Hare the same subject “wí.” This chaining device seems to increase the rhythm of the expression, which in its turn elevates the dramatic tension, as one would expect at such a critical moment of the story.

```
(T1K, AV, 173-5) À wí tin mà baà frô. . .
DP He commoved asp-gap. sd-p. got tired
mà tin mà baà frô
asp-gap commoved asp-gap sd-p got tired
mà baà pe plôo
asp-gap. sd-p. got cooked well
```

(T1K, AV, 175-7) ‘(DP) He commoved till he got tired, commoved till he got tired, till he got cooked well’.

The peak zone and action peaks, generally speaking, seem to come with the same formal features with which the mainline is marked, such as the preterit and the perfective or completive aspect. Further, actions are sequential and punctiliar in essence. However, we have noted that brevity seems to be in order at the peak, as hinted at above. Concerning the peak proper, we have also pointed out that emphasis is achieved by some rhetorical span as shown in the use of couplets. Overall, it appears that a combination of devices mark the peak zone.
How are Levels of Information Managed?

The aim of the researcher in this section of the study was to distinguish between background (old) information and foreground (new) information. The overall aim was to establish the linguistic devices that allow for delineating each type of information in the story. Background information includes both the background scene out of which the story grows, that is to say the setting of the story and major background events and activities conducive to the development of the story as such. Background information also marks out the plot of the story in an intricate dialectical relationship with new information.

The task consisted of a two-step development. First, I dealt with the introductory scene by virtue of its singular features. Second, I pondered on the story itself.

Introductory Scene to the Story

The narrator begins the story by elaborating on the term “yawéeri” (animals)

T1K, A, 1-2) À bé jo yawéer-ì,

“When” they say animals-def:

wò maà nyëe gí ni wii dê!

we all are it in, assert. ok!

(T1K, A, 1-2) ‘When they say “animals,” we all are animals’.

The definition of the word “animal”, gives rise to a lecture – a speech in which the storyteller tries to establish a working definition of the term as shown in stanza A. Further elaborating on the term, the narrator insists that animals’ most definitive characteristics are “yawning” and “breathing,” as seen in stanza B, lines 3-4 and C, lines 6-9. The present tense here topicalizes the issue as a fact of a universal order.

T1K, B, 3-5) Sycoon wi ténì nyë ne yaala

[any] person that simply aux. asp-cont yawn

né nyë ne nọngi, ne kwóo ní,

and aux. asp-cont breathe “in any way” caud
èèn, mú nye yawéelè.

well, you aux animal-indef.

(T1K, B, 3-5) ‘Anyone that yawns and breathes in any way, right, they are an animal’.

The setting of the story is not introduced until the third stanza by “kí beè pyee bòõma ni” (a long time ago) (lines 6-7). The time is set, not only by means of “bòõma ni” (long time ago), but also by “beè pyee,” which introduces an interior past or a past perfect. As pointed out in the grammatical overview, most Nafara verbs are not morphologically marked for certain tenses. Also, it is often the case that the aspect or tense used in the initial clause of a sentence or portion of a discourse applies to the rest, other things being equal. Thus, the aspect “beè” also applies to the verb “jyá” and “káa,” even though it is not written. In effect, all the verbal constructions noted here are in the past perfect, which is the tense par excellence of background information, mainly in the aperture of stories.

(T1K, C, 6-9) Donc, dèê kàbanga má,

Thus, that side on
kí beè pyee bòõma ni,
it asp-pst was long time in
à mú ŋèe jyáa nì,
“If”you someone beat caud
ma-à wi káa wii
you-asp-pot him eat assert.

(T1K, C, 6-9) ‘Thus, in that line of thinking, a long time ago, when you beat someone you ate him’.

In the same stanza we are told “à mú ŋèe jyáa nì, màè wi káa wii” (If you beat someone you would eat him) (lines 8-9), which describes the prevailing situation in which the story will take place. Elsewhere, in the introduction we are offered a description of situations, where the imperfect tense and durative and descriptive aspects are widely used, such as in stanza E, lines
17-8. For instance, the narrator notes the fact that strong animals ate weak ones in the jungle, something illustrated with the example of Hyena who ate all of the animals living on the ground as stated in stanza F:

\[\text{T1K, F, 17-8) } \text{À wí tôni m àá-ni ýára káa} \]
\[\text{DP He verily asp-compl.ground-def. beings ate} \]
\[\text{fwóò m nan sí di kwóò.} \]
\[\text{“really” asp-comp. almost them finished} \]
\[\text{(T1K, F, 17-8) ‘Verily, he ate the ground beings to the extent of exterminating all of them’}. \]

The verb “káa” (eat) is not actually concerned with a punctiliar and sequential happening here. Rather, eating was not only a hard fact prevailing in the land, but also implied a long process. Then, “m nan sí di kwóò” ([They] almost finished then), states a spin-off effect of the war that stronger animals like Hyena, waged against less fortunate ones. We are offered a major background activity encoded in the durative and imperfect aspects.

A major consequence of the background activity described above is that there remained only those living in trees – monkeys and birds:

\[\text{T1K, L, 34-5) } \text{Đonc Gèè pyee à wí yari káa} \]
\[\text{so that was DP he things-def. ate} \]
\[\text{á gi baà kòri tiirì ýára: kółybé, féj่น?yyé} \]
\[\text{DP it sd-p remained trees-def. things: monkeys and birds} \]
\[\text{(T1K, L, 34-5) ‘So that is what happened and he ate the things (animals), and there remained only arboreal animals: monkeys and birds.} \]

The verbs “Pyee” (was), and “kòri” (remained), which also behaves like a stative in Nafara, expose facts about the overall situation; and this is the very situation that will serves as a stage for the development of the story. As shown above, “be” verbs, namely the existential “pyee” and the stative “kòri,” are used essentially as part of the setting to achieve the situation setup for actions.
As shown in the above discussion, the introductory scene serves to set the overall background against which the story will develop. As such it is a combination of background events and activities, settings, and depiction of prevailing situations, all of which are formally marked with imperfective tenses, as well as durative and descriptive verbal aspects, in general.

Background and Foreground Information in the Story.

In the story proper there are very limited instances of isolated information pertaining to either level of narration. In fact, storyline events, also referred to as “events,” often appear concomitantly with non-storyline materials, known as non-events. For the present task at hand, the assessment of these events and non-events will permit us to differentiate between background and foreground information in appropriate stanzas, by means of the morphosyntactic realities they present.

In stanza M below, storyline verbs are side by side with verbs pertaining to other levels of information – background or foreground). The verb “caa” (fetched) in line 36 “À wí baà kòdógè caa” (he fetched a pot) is in the perfective aspect. The event advances the plot of the story. Therefore, it is on the eventline or storyline, whereas line 38 “Beè wí gí cán ní kòbèli nyëë” (the place where he knew monkeys were), serves as backdrop for the following action “à wí baà kòdògì té?è” (he placed the pot there). The verb “càn” (know) (L. 38) implies a cognitive action for which the subject “wí” (he) is an experiencer, while “té?è” (placed) (L. 39) is dynamic. Further, the clause of “càn” is a relative clause introduced by “beè,” a fronted relative adverb; it is a non-event, or background information. On the other hand, the clause of “té?è” is an independent one, and its verb is in a dramatic sequence with “caa.” Therefore, like “caa”, “té?è” encodes storyline level information.

T1K, M, 36-9) À wí baà kòdógè caa,

\[
\begin{align*}
DP & \text{he sd-p pot-indef. fetched} \\
kòdó-kpɔɔ-gè hààñ! & \\
pot-big-indef. intj.
\end{align*}
\]

Beè wí gí cán ní kò-bèli nyëë,
where he it knew caud monkeys-def. were
à wì baà kòdógi tè?e.

DP he sd-p pot-def. placed

(T1K, M, 36-9) ‘(DP) He fetched a pot, a huge pot! And he placed it where he knew the monkeys lived’.

The first line of stanza U began with a motion verb ‘tì?i’ (climbed down), which describes monkeys coming onstage. This critical step taken by monkeys shows their agreement to take part in the trick, and is therefore on the eventline. It is understandable why the preposed argument ‘bé’ (they) to the verb is an agent engaged in voluntary and decisive action ‘tì?i’ (climb down). The verbal aspect is the completive.

Then the narrator reports about the state of mind of monkeys who have suddenly become covetous of power (in L. 68-9), which, in a sense, seems to explain why they have given in. In fact, their thinking serves as a background, driving force for their climbing down, which is thus the foreground information. Line 70 reads ‘Donc À bé tì?i’ (So they climbed down), which is a reiteration of the same foreground information found in line 1.

The background information in lines 67-70 is an instance of evaluation by the narrator. The sentence with present tense and the potential aspect (if they gain power, they will be at peace) is background information, not an event.

The verb “jo” introduces quoted speech “辋, mèè sí wàà gí pyee?” (Ok, how is it we will it do?). The speech verb is punctiliar, and is therefore on the eventline, as is the quoted speech in line 72.

T1K, U, 67-72) À bé tì?i.

So, they climbed down.

Pòrì gá fàng-i taa. . .,
they if power-def. find. . .,
pòrì à màa pyee péè mà cèèri.
they as-pot also be themselves to little
\textit{Donc} à bé tï?i,
So so they climbed down
nè fali jo,
and at once said,
“ôôn, mëë sí waà gî pyee?”.
Ok, how is it we-asp-pot it do?

(T1K, U, 67-72) ‘So, they climbed down. If they gain power, they will be in command somehow. So they climbed down and immediately inquired, “how is it we are going to handle this’.

In stanza AE, “kämase”(began) (L. 103) clearly indicates that the action it implies is just being initiated. Then “në,” the continuative aspect marker, reveals that the process of heating up is underway. The durative aspect we are introduced to points to the fact that the information we glean pertains to background materials. Further, line 104 is a relative clause introduced by “lâli,” which behaves like a relative adverb (as, when, at the moment). This clause provides supportive information to the clause to which it is subordinated, “à bé jo,” (they said) in line 105. The verb “jo” (said) in the main clause largely contributes to the progress of the story, therefore it is foregrounded in the unfolding of the plot. It expresses a completed action, which is integral to the story. It introduces “kaári mà pe” (the meat is cooked), which is repeated.

T1K, AE, 103-7) À lôgî kämase në wârîgi baà.
\textit{DP} water-def. began \textit{asp-cont} heat up \textit{there}
Lâlí ni kôdîlì baà syônga mà wârî nê be ni . .
\textit{Moment-def. at pot.def. sd-p. very asp-gap hot and them with} à bé jo,
\textit{DP} they said,
“ée, kaárî mà pe,
\textit{intj. Meat-def. is cooked}
that monkeys became very worried “À gí ká baà kó-bèli fúngó wọ̀” (it finally troubled the monkeys) (AK, 123), which depicts a situation that is likely to change the course of events. Indeed they resorted to Hare for advice, as shown in “à bê baà gí joo pyèele má” (they told Hare about it.) (AK, 124). The description of the state of mind of monkeys serves as a setup framework on which a fairly important phase of the story will be played out: the intervention of Hare. Thus “joo” (told) introduces new information on the plot line.

The clause “Wí jée ní í” in stanza AS, line 159, includes a dynamic verb followed by the call to audience “ní í,” which implies that the verb “jée” is less about a real happening on the mainline of the story than a piece of information that the narrator wants to build on for more important and critical happenings. This clause therefore, provides supportive background information. The adverbial phrase “cèèrì na” (after a little while) (AS, 160) depicts a temporal setting for the next event “wí jo, ‘kaárí mà pe’; ” the verb “jo” (said) is in the perfective aspect, and is located on the mainline.
little while after DP he said,

“kaár-ì mì pe,

meat-def. is cooked

kaár-ì mì pe,

meat-def. is cooked

kaár-ì mì pe.”

meat-def. is cooked

(TIK, AS, 159-63) ‘He entered, right, a little while after he had entered, he said, “The meat is done, the meat is done, the meat is done.”’

The background information is rendered by an assortment of devices including aspects and tenses. Background materials are predominantly encoded in the imperfective, continuative, and durative aspects. Also, the past perfect is used in conjunction with descriptive or “be” verbs such as existential and locational, or stative predicates to express old information. On the other hand, verbs expressing foreground information are predominantly in the preterit and tend to be dynamic, sequential, and punctiliar. The completive aspect seems to be preferred for foreground information.

How is the Dramatic Development Maintained?

This question essentially addressed the informational structure of the story. That is, it entailed the organization of the plot. Therefore, this section of the study was more concerned with content than with linguistics.

Literature in the field (e.g, Davis & Poulter, 1980, Jones & Jones, 1979;) reveals that there are three major elements in folk narratives, in general: the inciting incident, the development that ensues and the resolution, all of which constitute the skeleton of narrative tales in general. The trajectory along that skeleton is often referred to as the dramatic arc of the narrative. In an intricate tandem the dramatic tension and the dramatic progression inflect a movement, which carries ahead the plot of the story in a dramatic arc.
The dramatic progression is about the listeners or readers’ active construction of the story based on what they know about some of the characters and the projections they make based on that knowledge. For instance, in this tale, listeners know that Hyena wants to cook the monkeys, but the monkeys are not aware of this. This is an instance of dramatic progression in the mind of the audience, who thus becomes interested in how things are going to play out. On the other hand, the dramatic tension is concerned with the series of incidents, situations, and problems at specific junctures in the development of the story that raise more and more questions.

There seems to be a dialectical relationship between storyline and the drama build-up in stories. Therefore, before proceeding any further, it seemed convenient to briefly sketch the storyline.

**Storyline**

- There remain only animals living in trees
- Hyena gets a pot
- Takes it to where monkeys live
- Monkeys run for cover
- Hyena tells them that the pot is for a fair contest for the selection of the animals’ King
- Monkeys agree
- Hyena initiates the contest
- Monkeys play by the rules of the game, and let Hyena emerge from the pot
- At monkeys’ turn, Hyena asks all of them to enter at once
- Hyena breaks the rule in the middle of the game
- Hyena will not let them out
- Hyena cooks and eats them
- Hyena finds a pattern eating monkeys
- Monkeys ask Hare for help
- Hare vows to help
- Hyena tries the trick again
• He enters first again
• Monkeys will not let him out this time
• Monkeys cook and eat Hyena
• Hyena dies and monkeys live happily ever after

A question that must be addressed next was this: How is the development of this storyline managed and maintained throughout?

The conclusion to the introductory scene to the story states that there remained only animals living in trees (à gí baà kɔrì tììrì yárà) (L, 35), as a result of stronger animals, such as Hyena, preying on other animals. And yet Hyena and his clan must continue eating to stay alive. How must Hyena, who cannot climb up trees, handle this? Thus is set in motion the tension, by anticipation of the actions and decisions Hyena will have to make to cope with famine in the land. Then we are introduced to the very first action in this regard, “À wí baà kòdògè caa” (He fetched a pot) (M, 36), which signals that other actions oriented toward achieving Hyena’s scheme are coming. One cannot but wonder what the pot is for, and earnestly wants to know what will follow. Thus, the incipient dramatic movement is given a spin, which moves the plot forward.

Hyena places the pot under the tree where monkeys live, “Beè wí gí cán ní kòbëli nyëë, ì wí baà kòdògi téë” (he placed the pot where he knew the monkeys lived) (M, 38-9). This action sheds more light on Hyena’s scheme and leads the listeners to further question and wonder, which further advances the dramatic movement. Then we are informed that the monkeys have run away for cover, “À bé tán?a m tëni tiigì nì” (they climbed up and sat in the tree) (O, 42), which suggests that there is conflict ahead. Then the monkeys, who have been assured that the pot is for a fair contest to select the king of animals, agree to take part in the competition (À bé tì?pì: they climbed down) (U, 67).

By now, listeners or readers have a sense of what Hyena’s intentions are, based on actions, intentions, and background information released in the setting. Hyena wants to eat the monkeys, of which the monkeys are unaware. Therefore, in addition to the dramatic tension that keeps rising steadily, there is a dramatic progression under way, as the audience is now watchful about how and when Hyena is going to achieve his aim. All of this moves the plot ahead.
Hyena initiates the trick, which seems to set the tone of equity and fairness: “Kàjûû bé pyee wòrì à jée, né jée kòdûnì ni” (Hyena informed them that he would enter first, and so did he) (Y, 82-3). The foregoing is actually the real bait that monkeys will bite. The contest begins with Hyena going first, which leaves no room for evasion on the part of the monkeys, who now have no other option but to take their turn. Both dramatic tension and plot progression are enhanced and amplified.

At the monkeys’ turn the rule is tampered with as Hyena asks all of them to go inside the pot at once, “né be pyee pè màà paa jë” (and told all of them to get inside the pot) (AC, 99). All participants seem on edge as everyone is overtaken with doubt and apprehension. The monkeys are prone to believe that there is something fishy about the contest, which is why there is a real need for clarification on Hyena’s part before they would enter. Also, despite his bold speech about all monkeys becoming kings, all together, (bé fângì taa ni, pè màà be sèè pyee fànsôbèli: [if] they gain power, all of them become king at a time) (AC, 97-98), Hyena cannot guarantee that his stratagem will work. The audience, at the same time shocked and amused, wonders, questions, debates, watches and waits. Eventually, the monkeys enter the pot. This is a crucial turning point in the story. The dramatic tension is magnified and heightened.

Hyena will not allow the monkeys to emerge from the pot and starts to sing, “À kàjûû tônì mùbû-le cáan bé na” (actually, Hyena started to sing a song) (AF, 109-10), which augurs the monkeys’ end. The dramatic tension reaches its peak in this episode. Much to their agony and loss, the monkeys realize too late that they are done for. Listeners, as one would imagine, are overtaken with a host of various and sundry feelings ranging from revulsion, disgust, indignation, a sense of unfairness, deception, but also joy and amusement. This section of the story represents the action peak in this episode.

Hyena’s success allows him to secure an important means of coping with the raging famine in the land of animals. As stated in the story, Hyena has developed a pattern that seems to work, “Wi sì kòrì nèè na, né sicilîbînéé yìgi né kôbèli káà baâ” (he kept doing that, playing the petty trick and ate the monkeys) (AJ, 120-2). By comparison with the preceding stanza, this point in the story is a plateau, that is to say a resting place, before embarking on a wave of a tenser dramatic movement. At the same time lots of questions are raised: So what? Is
this it? What is next? These are questions that keep boggling listeners’ minds. From this springs another trail of incipient tension that will develop throughout the rest of the story.

The helpless and hopeless survivors from the monkeys’ clan bring the problem to the attention of Hare, a stock character renowned for cunning and cleverness. Stanza AK, line 124 reads, “à bé baà gi joo pyële ma” (so they told Hare about it). Hare is now on stage and he vows to help, “hum, à wí núù naà nì, ye ba mii yeri” (if he goes there again, call me) (AL, 130 & 134). The monkeys hope that some help will come soon, while listeners can’t wait to see Hare in action. Actions seem short and swift and occur in brief clusters, from the moment Hare enters in the story. The exchange with the monkeys was very short, and it did not take Hare long to offer help.

At this point in the story, everything seems to accelerate with the accumulation of short, sequential and volitional actions: Hyena comes with a pot for another trick, “À wí baà pan cangàa fwàc né kòdókpòögí ní núugél” (One day, he came again with a big pot) (AM, 134-6), monkeys call Hare, “À bé fali mì pyë?ele sëmi baà” (they immediately informed Hare [AM, 138]), who comes immediately (À wórı̂ pan: so, he came) (AN, 138), and Hyena volunteers to go first, “À kàjû jo kàra kàra wóì jéé sëliw” (Hastily, Hyena told them he would go first) (AO, 145-6). This clustering of incidents further propels the dramatic movement ahead, increasing the speed of the unfolding plot. The fact that the audience knows what Hyena does not know, fuels the dramatic progression. All the participants but Hyena anticipate questions and hypothesize about what Hare will do. The tension builds.

Hyena wants to emerge from the pot, saying, “kaári mì pe, kaári mì pe, kaári mì pe” (the meat is cooked, the meat is cooked, the meat is cooked) (AS, 163-5), but he is sealed inside instead. He agonizes (À wí tìn mà baà frò: he commoved till he got tired) (AV, 173), while the monkeys sing (kaára gá pe kaárà kòò nyuu í: when the meat is cooked it does not speak) (AT) and speed up Hyena’s cooking. Hyena is thoroughly cooked ([. . .] mà baà pe plòò: he got cooked till he became soft) (AV, 175). Again, there is an accumulation of critical incidents, which raise the tension to its zenith. No wonder, as this is the zone of the peak in the story, or the climax, which is the summit of the plot.
Then, everything seems to stand still for a fraction of second before the tension abruptly dissolves at the denouement (AW, 176-8): “à bè baà wi mú?ù mà nyaa bàn, à wi kùu” (they opened the pot, and saw him thus, dead).

As shown in the above discussion, listeners or readers are cued to what to watch at given points or moments of the story. The sum of such instances in the shape of connected events and the fashion in which these are organized reveal how the drama is developed in the narrative. In sum, anytime participants question, wonder, or want to know more, dramatic tension is created, maintained, or increased. Thus, the dramatic development rests upon tension incrementally built from incidents that occur in the story, and which are the result of conflicts of interest. As seen here, the impetus for the dramatic movement is Hyena’s will to secure something personal at stake: Hyena’s life is threatened in this famine stricken land, so he devised means to prey upon monkeys. The potentials for conflicts inherent in his plans generate confrontations that move the plot ahead.

The dramatic development is a function of how the plot is put together by the storyteller, and also how outside participants (the audience) who, by virtue of their active interaction with the story, add to the dramatic tension, which they also live as the story moves steadily toward its conclusion.

In a synergistic fashion, actions and decisions of characters create the momentum behind dramatic development. Thus, along the dramatic arc of the story the dynamic movement precipitated by Hyena’s decision to devour the monkeys keeps rising until the climax is reached on the plot line.

The dramatic tension, the key element in the plot’s development of story plot may be created, maintained or increased by a series of things, including events on the backbone as well as supporting materials and background materials. However, pivotal events found at the end or outset of episodes (e.g., stanzas L, M, S, AD, and AJ), as shown above, actually seem to be igniting devices that keep the dramatic tension moving inexorably forward, on one hand, and offer signposts along the dramatic arc, on the other. Then the cycle of action peaks (beginning and action peak proper—for instance, stanzas AA and AF), creating a moment of heightened tension add another spin to the story development.

Everything started with Hyena’s decision to eat monkeys and ends with Hyena’s downfall as a result of his evil scheme. Described here is a full circle, which may well be
referred to as the story’s dramatic cycle, which encompasses the cardinal junctures of the plot’s dramatic development (See below, Figure 3).

(1) Hyena’s problem

(4) Hyena’s downfall
(Monkeys’ solution)

(2) Hyena’s solution
(Monkeys’ problem)

(3) Monkeys problem

Figure 3: The dramatic cycle of Tale One (Kolo)

As one can see in figure 3, Hyena’s problem (1) is partially solved by devising a strategy for eating monkeys (2), which results in the monkeys’ problem (3). The resolution of the monkeys’ problem leads to Hyena’s downfall (4). Therefore, in the end, Hyena’s problem remains unsolved.

The dramatic development generally has content and ideational dimensions, as I pointed out earlier. These build on a combination of several levels of informational structure including pivotal events, situation setups, action peaks, etc. Further, these dimensions are generally realized by linguistic forms encountered in pivotal events, which include both the preterit tense and completive aspect as well as imperfective and durative aspects marking, among other considerations (Cf. Question two).

How is the Tale Structured?

Here I was concerned with the overall structure of the story in terms of its parts, based on the themes, topics, setting and timeline, and how these components are integrated at various levels of the text. In other words, I partitioned the physical text into sections, scenes and episodes, and note what characterizes each mainly in terms of content considerations.
The introduction to the tale is fairly long, and besides the conventional task of setting the stage and delineating the backdrop of the story, it includes a lecture-like talk around the definition of the term “animal.” This introduction is regarded as a separate scene in itself.

The introduction begins with “À bé jo yawééri, wò maà nyëe gi ni wii dë!” (when it comes to animals, we all are included in) (A, 1-2). Then the narrator goes on to say that the best identifying elements of an ‘animal’ are that they “breathe” (ŋọ̀ŋgī) and “yawn” (yaala) (B, 3).

Beginning a story with a formal didactic element may not be regarded as a standard way, strictly speaking, in Nafara communities. However, it is not uncommon, in tales told to children, to see storytellers go to great lengths to explain basic concepts central to the understanding of the story, especially when they feel that there is a need for some clarification before telling the story itself.

Next, the setting is evoked in “kí beè pyee bóóma ni” (it was long ago) (C, 7), which is followed by a piece of information that will stand as a particularly important element of the background on which the story unfolds: “à mú ɲèe jyáa nì, máà wi kàa wii” ([in those days] when you beat someone, you ate them), which reasserts the law of the jungle according to which “might is right.” As a consequence of this law, “there remained only those animals living in trees: monkeys and birds” (á gí baà kòri tiìri yárá: kólbýé, féjèn?yé) (L, 34).

The statement that animals other than those living in trees have perished serves several purposes. First, it is the conclusion to the setting of the scene for the overall story, second, it serves as the stage for the story proper, as it is the very situation that will unleash the actions that will advance the plot.

As suggested earlier, the dramatic movement is initiated by the ardent desire of Hyena to cope with the background situation – there are no more animals on the ground for Hyena and his clan to eat -- and it develops until the resolution. In terms of its material structure, the tale that unfolds presents two sections. The first goes from stanza M to stanza AI. Hyena runs the show, devising the trick to cook the monkeys. This part may be entitled “The Antagonist.”

The first section of the story hangs on the consequence of the background situation -- the lack of animals to prey on the ground – and ends with Hyena finding a way to cope with the lack of food, “Wi sí kòri nèè na, nè sícílibín-èè yìgi nè kò-bèli kàa baà” (He thus kept playing that trick and eating the monkeys there) (AJ).
Section 1 (The Antagonist) has two scenes. The first scene goes from stanza M (Hyena got the pot) and ends with stanza V, where Hyena explains the rules of the game, the last step in the setup for the trick. I call it “Time, Place, and Situation setup for the Trick.” Scene 2, entitled “Hyena’s Trick,” goes from stanza X to stanza AJ. In stanza X, the trick is set in motion with two major actions on the eventline: the fire, the other major prop, is started and the pot is being heated up for the contest. Then in stanza AJ, we are told that Hyena has developed a pattern of eating monkeys as a result the success of his first attempt.

Scene one in this section comprises three episodes. The first goes from stanza M to stanza O: Hyena got a pot and carried it to the monkeys’ living place; consequently monkeys hide in the tree. The second episode goes from stanzas N to S, where Hyena discusses with the monkeys the use of the pot for selecting the king of all animals. The last episode in this scene runs from stanzas T through V: the monkeys climb down showing their agreement to compete, with questions about the specifics.

Scene two, section one, also has three episodes. In the first, from stanzas X to AA, Hyena initiates the trick, taking his turn. In the second episode, which comprises stanzas AC and AD, the monkeys are willing to take their turn despite the fact that Hyena has unilaterally altered the rule. And the last episode in this scene is about Hyena’s performance of the trick proper: he seals the monkeys, cooks and eats them. This episode includes stanzas AE-AJ.

The second section, which may be entitled “The Protagonist,” begins with the introduction of Hare (AK) and ends in stanza AW, when Hyena is cooked, but it hangs on stanza AJ from the preceding section, which serves as its background stage. In this section, Hyena is caught up with the trick that he, himself, has devised to devour the monkeys. The section includes two scenes and four episodes of various lengths.

Scene one, section two is built around stanzas AK and AL. It may be entitled the “Introduction of Hare”. The monkeys get seriously worried, therefore they inform Hare: “à bé baà gí joo pyèele ma” (they told Hare about it) (AK). Hare, the protagonist, promises to do something about the situation, as stated in “hum, à wí núù naà ní í . . . ye ba mii yeri” (if he comes again, call me) (AL, 130 & 133). The scene coincides with the episode.

The second scene, “The New Action of Hyena,” goes from stanza AM to AW and is prompted by stanza AL, the pivot of the last episode of the preceding scene, which also serves as its stage. Scene two begins with a setup for time and situation for action: “À wí baà pan cang-
Scene two, section two, covers two episodes; the first episode runs from stanza AM through stanza AR. Hyena enters the pot by way of initiating the new trick. The second episode starts with Hyena signaling to the participants outside that he wants to emerge “kaár-ì mò pe, kaár-ì mò pe, kaár-ì mò pe” (the meat is cooked, the meat is cooked, the meat is cooked) (AS, 161-3). The critical event in stanza AR (Hyena enters the pot) is restated in stanza AS, concomitantly with a call to audience, “nì í” (ok/right!): “Wí jée nì í” (He entered, right…). Not only does this work toward reinforcing cohesion, it also seems to indicate that stanza AR, in the previous episode, serves as a springboard to the present episode.

Besides these two sections, the other moments of the story appear in the following order: the denouement, thematic peak, and the resolution.

In stanza AW, lines 176-8, it is said “bé baà wi mù?u mà nyaa bàn, à wi kùu” (they opened the pot, and saw him thus, dead). The extremely high tension noticed in the preceding stanza (AV), and which is rendered by verbs such as “tìn” (commove) repeated several times, seems to contrast with the slow pace one can sense in “mù?u” (open), “nyaa” (see), and the predicate adjective “kùu” (dead). All this is indicative of the sudden fall of the dramatic tension, which announces the denouement.

The next moment worth noting is the thematic peak of the story in stanza AX:

T ÎK, AX, 179-84) À mú nyaa à mú keéle kpé?ele cángà kémì na;
“if “you see FP you something do nowadays on;
à mú nyaa à mú jo ma’à nú ni kpé?ele nyé?enà,
“if” you see FP you say you-asp-pot again it do tomorrow,
à mú nyaa mú kòó “changement’ pyee ní ni cëeri,
“if” you see you neg change make in it little
sicilim-ëe mé-ë kín nè kpé?ele,
strategy-this you-asp-pst before asp-cont do,
à mú jo ma-à vali sícilicog-ëë wonugo na,
“if” you say you-asp-pot follow fashion-that same “up with,”
wàa mà téë yèli nyaa gi ni mà kwọ.
someone asp-compl. long you see it in already.

(T1K, AX, 179-84) ‘If you do something today, and you want to do the same thing tomorrow, if you do not make some change, and want to use the same strategies you had used before, someone will have seen what you are doing’.

In other words, doing things in the same fashion, over and over again may be detrimental if not fatal, to the individual engaged in the actions. Had not Hyena volunteered to take his turn first, as usual, he certainly would not have perished.

The last stanza of the story is a statement of the Yesolution of the problem of the monkeys: “à pyè?ele pyee sùbàbúw à kàjọ cìì ně kóbèli syìì” (Thanks to Hare, Hyena died and the monkeys lived happily ever after) (AY, 185-7). Any story leads somewhere. The resolution in romantic stories often signals that the story has reached its ultimate end.

The plot is built around the above constituent parts of the structure of the story. In the field of narratology, it is established that sections, scenes, and episodes entail a theme, a topic, and a setting. A change in any of these elements cues a different section, scene or episode. Based on the foregoing, the text has been partitioned into its structural constituent elements. There seems to be definite structural marking of different parts of the story. The parts are marked structurally by some kind of a background statement that refers back to the last episode statement, which in turn serves as a setup situation for developing a new timeline. In other words, a timeline develops and stops somewhere, then another one develops from the end of the previous one, where a particular event or situation serves as background for the development of other events on the eventline, and so on and so forth.

The treatment of this question encompasses both linguistic and non-linguistic considerations. However, as suggested earlier, the notional structural of the story is more appropriate for breaking down the tale into its structural components than the formal or linguistic features. Further, the structure of the story delineated here includes various levels of
information: background, setting, supporting materials, as well as foreground materials. In questions 2 and 3 we saw that depending on the type and the status of information, verbal marking is often different. For example, information on the eventline, the very information that advances the plot, tends to be in the perfect tense and completive aspect forms, while setting and background are marked by means of the durative, imperfective tenses or aspects or other types of linguistic features. Given that the concern for linguistic forms differentiating levels of the informational structures was addressed in some previous sections of this study, there was no further treatment of the verbal marking in the present discussion.

Summary of the Rhetorical Pattern

Aperture (Opening)

The story begins with a didactic talk on the term “animal.” Beginning a story this way seems convenient for a younger audience who may not be fully aware of some terms central to the story. Then follows the opening formula “ki beè pyee bôôma ni” (long time ago), which sets the time for the story: the remote past. The background is then given through the depiction of a warring world in which strong animals have eaten smaller and weaker ones to the extent that there only remain those animals that live in trees. Yet, Hyena, who lives on the ground, must eat to stay alive. From this grows the story proper.

Body

There are two sections each comprising a number of scenes and episodes. The first section pictures Hyena as the main protagonist. It includes two scenes and six episodes, three for each scene. The second section is about the intervention of the protagonist. It consists of two scenes and four episodes. The first scene has one episode, whereas the second includes three.

There is a thematic peak that comes right after the denouement. Then the story closes with the statement of the resolution of the problem (Hyena’s death, and the salvation of the monkeys). There is no closing formula in this story.

Major characters, Hyena and Hare are introduced as topics of the sentence, that is to say they are subjects of the verb. They are placed in the same syntactical category in almost all of their appearances in the story. However, for a short while, Hyena is demoted toward the end of
the story. As a matter of fact, Hyena becomes the object of the predicate, exiting as a minor character, if not a prop.

Props, on the other hand, come on stage in lower syntactical categories, generally as objects of the verb or of postpositions in adverbial phrases, or again they appear in dependent clauses. In subsequent references they also retain the same status in the sentence. However, monkeys seem to gain in status toward the end of the story, where there seems to be a role reversal, as they become subjects of the verb in the very sentences where Hyena is object.

Overall, in general, characters seem to stick to the category in which they make their first appearance, unless circumstances contingent on the plot line call for a change in status.

The emic surface forms allow for discriminating between some levels of information. For instance, eventline information is clearly differentiated from the background and other supporting materials, by virtue of its verbal and aspectual marking. Information on the eventline comes in the preterit and completive forms, while other levels of information (e.g., background materials in general, including background events and activities, setting, and situation) are marked by other tenses, such as the present, the imperfect, the past perfect, generally supplemented by durative, incipient, and incompletive verbal aspects.

At a few levels, things are not so clear-cut. For instance, though the peak and the pivot zones are generally marked by linguistic devices pertaining to the backbone materials, they also come in a combination of other devices usually found at other levels of the notional structure, such as background materials. Other devices, such as rhetorical and lexical spans, which are found nowhere else in this story, also mark the peak zone.

The timeline of the dramatic development seems discontinuous. Consequently, there seems to be a series of connected timelines. In sum, a timeline develops and stops at an important juncture, generally a turning point or pivot. Then a new timeline pertaining to a new scene or episode picks up from an event, situation or activity from the previous moment (scene or episode), which actually serves as its stage, and develops until it stops somewhere. Then, another timeline springs from where the preceding left off, and so on (Cf. Figure 4)
Figure 4: The timeline chart in Tale One (Kolo)

In Figure 4, the horizontal bars represent the source of the timeline, generally a pivot event or activity pertaining to the contiguous structural part (scene or episode), while the vertical poles represent units of timeline.

As shown above, the timeline of the dramatic development seems discontinuous. Consequently, there seems to be a series of connected timelines. In sum, a timeline develops and stops at an important juncture, generally a turning point or pivot. Then a new timeline pertaining to a new scene or episode picks up from an event, situation or activity from the previous moment (scene or episode), which actually serves as its stage, and develops until it stops somewhere. Then, another timeline springs from where the preceding left off, and so on.
Part 2. The Rhetorical Pattern Based on Tale 2 by Adama

List of Abbreviations in the Analysis Tale Two

asp: aspect
asp-cont: continuative aspect
asp-gap: aspect-gapping (differentiate between verb gapping and aspect completive)
asp-pst: past aspect (anterior past, i.e. past perfect notion)
asp-pot: potential aspect
asp-compl: completive aspect
caud: call to audience
cli: clitic
compl: completive
def.: definite
DP: discourse particle
FP: focus particle
gap: gapping
gap-s: subject gapping
indef.: indefinite
intj: interjection
neg: negative
pot.: potential
scop: subject copy
sd: speaker deictic
sd-d: speaker deictic distal (See also dx/s-d)
sd-p: speaker deictic-proximal (See also dx/s-p)

Synopsis

The story in Tale 2 unfolds in an animal kingdom shaken by the dreadful deeds of a predator who takes on children left unattended. A fortune-teller advises all the animals to hide their children. Hare hides her in the woods and feeds them at midnight. As she sings, Hare calls them by name and asks them to come out to suckle the breast, except the bigheaded child she
always tells to wait until the following morning, on the allegation that her stomach hurts. Hyena discovers the hiding place, sings the same song he overheard the night before, and avidly eats Hare’s beloved children, save the very child she viscerally hates.

How are Participants and Props Introduced and Tracked?

I distinguished between major characters, minor characters and props.

**Introduction of Major Characters**

*Hare.* Hare is introduced as subject of the verb “làrige,” as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T2A, F, 18</th>
<th>À pyè?ele mú baà wée wóbèli làrige kàweele ní</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(DP) Hare</td>
<td>FP sd-p her [own] hid hole-indef. in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(T2A, F, 18) ‘(DP) Hare hid hers in a hole’.

*Hyena.* Similarly, Hyena is introduced in a higher-level syntactical function. In the example below, Hyena is the topic of the sentence:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T2A, R, 67</th>
<th>Cangàa à kàjÛÛ mú kàà. . . wée mùg-i ló?o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day-some DP</td>
<td>Hyena FP eventually . . . her song-def. heard</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(T2A, R, 67) ‘One day, Hyena overheard her song’.

The above examples introduce Hare and Hyena as the topics of the sentence, which reasserts their status as central characters.

**Tracking Major Characters**

*Hare.* Hare is referred to as the topic in the clauses describing activities on the mainline of the story, as in the example below. Hare is the subject of the verb “páan” (came) (L.20), and “yeri” (called) (L.21):
T2A, G, 20-2) Cengè o cengè . . . wí páan

\( \text{Day} \ \text{day} \ . . . \ \text{she came} \)

\( \text{Pi} \ \text{baà} \ \text{be} \ \text{yeri} \)

\( \text{Scop. Sd-p they called} \)

\( \text{Pa-à} \ \text{be} \ \text{kan} \ \text{be} \ \text{ŋònrı}. \)

\( \text{Scop-asp-pot they gave them suckled} \)

(T2A, G, 20-2) ‘Day in day out . . . she came, called out their names and fed them’.

Likewise, Hare is the subject of the verbs “jo” (said/sang) (L. 46), “jée” (entered) (L. 120), and “nyaa” (saw) (L. 121) in the following examples:

T2A, M, 45-7) Ka-à nan Ngbókpɔŋ na,

\( \text{It-if came Bighead to} \)

\( \text{wí ñ jo,} \)

\( \text{she asp-compl said} \)

\( \text{“lɛɛy-i ná ne mì yáa yóo,} \)

\( \text{stomach-def. sd-p asp-cont me hurt?} \)

(T2A, M, 45-7) ‘When it is Bighead’s turn, she said, “I have a stomachache.”’

T2A, AC, 120-22) Wi gá jée baà,

\( \text{she when entered there} \)

\( \text{à wí baà ŋèê yágenê nyaa} \)

\( \text{DP she sd-p that one alone saw} \)

\( \text{à wí kòra-à.} \)

\( \text{DP he remained-there} \)

(T2A, AC, 120-2) ‘When she went inside (the hole) she saw that only that one remained in there’.

In all the above instances, Hare is portrayed as a major character, by virtue of the syntactical category she is conferred in these sentences. However, it is noteworthy that Hare also appears in
a lower level syntactical category in the later lines of the story, as made evident in the examples that follow, where she is object of the verbs “bëñ” (disgusted) in line 123; she also appears in an adverbial clause in line 124, “wi má” (with her).

T2A, AD, 123-25) Piñèe wëè wi bèñ,

Child-this that-asp-pst her disgusted
piñw bèë wi kôri wi má cëng-èë cëng-è ni.
Child-def. that he remained her with day-that day-indef. on
Wôrî mú nyaa à wi pyë?ele see
[it is] he you see DP he Hare parented

(T2A, AD, 123-25) ‘The child that disgusted her is the very child who remained with her today. It is he who parented Hare’.

Hyena. The character that does the singing (before eating Hare’s beloved children) is Hyena, referred to in stanza X, lines 102-3. Hyena remains the subject of the verb “jo,” in lines 102 below. Thus, he retains the high level syntactical category in which he was introduced.

T2A, X, 102-3) À wí núù jo,

DP he again said,
“Ngbopîle óo, mii tànmá Ngbopîle yiri ná
Smallhead, my friend Smallhead come out here
mii baà mu kam mu ñònri
I sd-p you gave you suckle
(T2A, X, 102-3) ‘(DP) he said again, “my friend, Smallhead, come out here so that I feed you.”’

Similarly, in the following example, it is Hyena who told (jo) Bighead to remain in the hole until the next morning before suckling, in lines 109-11, stanza Y:
From the above assessment, it may be said that major characters are introduced and also referred to in higher syntactical categories – as topics of the sentences – a quality they generally retain throughout the story, excepted Hare, who exits as a lower status character, appearing in lower syntactical categories, such as object of the verb or of the postposition.

**Minor Character: the Fortuneteller**

The fortuneteller appears only in the setting scene of the story. Therefore, he is part of the overall background materials. As shown below, he is introduced as the object of the postposition, “sàndowù ma” (with the fortuneteller), in line 8. Despite the fortuneteller’s role in helping animals elucidate the mystery around the missing children, he is a minor character, a fact, which seems to be corroborated by the syntactical category in which he appears.

(T2A, C, 7-9) ‘As they missed the children one by one, they went to consult a fortuneteller’.
Introduction of Props: Hare’s Children

Hare’s children first appear in the story when the narrator presents them to the audience (Stanza H, 23-26). He informs us that Hare has three children and proceeds to identify them by name. As shown in the example below, Hare’s children are introduced in descriptive materials, which do not belong to the mainline, something quite revealing about their status. In fact, they are introduced as arguments (objects) of the verb “yeri” (call), which has a built-in durative aspect, all of which points to the lower status of these characters.

T2A, H, 23-26) Pe si bèe pyee wi má piibeli tánri.

They FP asp-pst were him for children-def. three

Pé-è nè yeri Sùngúrule,

They asp-pst asp-cont this- one called Sùngúrule,

nè yeri Ngbopile,

and this- one called Smallhead

nè yeri Ngbokpô?ô.

and this one called Bighead

(T2A, H, 23-26) ‘He had three children. One was called Sùngúrule, one Smallhead, and the other was Bighead’.

Tracking Props

The syntactical category in which Hare’s children first appear seems to be constant throughout the whole story. In all actions on the mainline of the story, they are also referred to as lower status arguments, such as objects of the verb, or the implied subjects of verbs in the imperative mood, as shown in stanzas I, K, and M below. In lines 29 and 38, “yiri ná” (come out here) is in the imperative mood. Then in “mìì baà mu kan mu ṣònri” (I feed you), “mu” (you) referring to Hare’s children in lines 30, 39, and 49 is the object of the compound verb “kan. . . ṣònri” (meaning feed).
T2A, I, 29-30) “Mii tànmá Sùngúrule, yiri ná

My friend Sùngúrule come out here

mii baà mu kan mu ṣònrì. . .”

I sd-p you give you suckle. . .”

(T2A, I, 29-30) ‘My friend Sùngúrule, come out here, so that I feed you’.


Smallhead, my friend Smallhead come out here

mii baà mu kan mu ṣònrì

I sd-p you give you suckle. . .”

(T2A, K, 38-39) ‘Smallhead, my friend Smallhead, come out here, so that I can feed you’.

T2A, M, 48-49) “lëeyi ná ne mii yáa yöo,

belly-def. sd-d asp-cont me hurt

kì gá pyee nyìgi dànní

it if is morning early

nyà-a ba mu kan mu ṣònrì.

I-asp-pot sd-p you give you suckle. . .”

(T2A, M, 48-49) ‘’I have a stomachache, early morning I will feed you.’”

In a few instances, however, Hare’s children appear as subject of the verbs, for instance, when they actually come outside to suckle the breast, “Ngbopülé mà yiri” (Ngbopülé came / [would come] out) (T2A, L, 43), and “Tèbinì mà yiri” (The little one [Sùngúrule] came out / [would come] out) (T2A, J, 43). As I alluded to earlier, the mealtime ritual is central in the story. Likewise, Hare’s children’s coming out to suckle is very important as it informs the way in which concluding events will play out. Therefore, the fact that these characters are subjects of the verb “yiri” (came out) is very meaningful. The high syntactical functions encoded here purports to show that Hare’s children have engaged in crucial actions on the eventline at a certain
point in the story. However, this seems inconsequential as far as their overall status in the story is concerned. In other words, they remain minor participants.

The fortuneteller and the props – Hare’s children – are introduced in lower positions on the syntagmatic axis and are referred to likewise throughout the story. This testifies to the fact that they are lower status participants.

How are Pivotal and Peak Events Marked?

Pivot

As pointed out earlier, pivots are crucial junctures in the development of the plot of narrative stories. Below are examples of pivotal zones in the play under analysis.

The first coincides with the consequence of the background situation of the story (L. 15-7). Thus it marks the transition from background to eventline.

(T2A, E, 15-17) À bé baà jo yawéel-à baà kàg-i ni,

\( Dp \) they sd-p said animal-indef. There village-def. in

lóri ni nyêe ne piì-bëli káa.

\( it \) (it is) that is asp-cont children-def. eat

À pè maà péè piì-bëli léè mà baà làrige làrige.

\( DP \) they all their children-def. took asp-gap sd-p hid hid

(T2A, E, 15-7) ‘(DP) they said, “there is an animal in the village that eats the children.” Therefore, they all took their children and hid them’.

The above stanza is the conclusion of the introductory scene, and it sets the stage for the story. Central facts concerning the predator, encoded in the present “nyêe” (is), are described. This tense purports to render the prevailing situation more vivid in the mind of the audience. Further, the continuative aspect marker “nê,” which modifies the verb “káa” conveys the durative aspect used here to promote the feeling that children being eaten is an on-going phenomenon: “lóri ni nyêe ne piibëli káa” (it is it [the predator] that eats the children) (L. 16). Then in line 17, the
central event in this pivotal zone, “làrige” (hid) is realized in the preterit and the completive aspect, which indicates that this event (hiding children) is on the mainline.

The second example (L. 20-2 below) illustrates a repetitive activity described by a sequence of actions, “wí páan” (he came), he called them (yeri), and fed them (kan be ṣonri); something done on a regular basis. Actually, the preterit tense used here describes a customary way of doing things over and over again. In fairness, therefore, the actions are in the range of revolving actions, which seems to delineate the incompletive and durative aspect here. Then there is the iterative aspect introduced by “Cëng-ë o cëng-ë” (each and everyday) (L. 20), which reinforces the idea of the process mentioned above, and also illuminates the punctuality and the assiduity of Hare’s actions as far as the feeding ceremonial is concerned.

T2A, G, 20-2) Cëng-ë o cëng-ë . . . wí páan

*Day-indef. Day-indef. . .she came*

*pi baà be yeri*

*scop sd-p them called*

*pa-à be kan be ṣonri.*

*scop-sd-p them gave them suckle*

(T2A, G, 20-22) ‘Day in day out, she came to call them and feed them’.

From a structural perspective Stanza O, lines 53-7 is a replication of stanza G, lines 20-2. This example is also about a ritual performed daily, “ba piibéli kan pe ṣonri sí Ngbokpá cée” ([Hare] fed them but discarded Bighead (lines 55-6). As a result of this, the latter always cried, “Ngbokpá sí nyan can o can” (Bighead cried each and everyday) (L. 57).

T2A, O, 53-7) Cëngè o cëngè,

*Day-indef. Day-indef*

*wi mà yiri pi gi pyee kânmè-ë na,*

*she asp-compl. Proceeded scop it did fashion-that in*

*pi ba piibéli kan pe ṣonri*
Scop sd-p children-def. gave them suckle
sí Ngbokp50 sé.
then Bighead discarded
Ngbokp50 sí nyan can o can.
Bighead FP cried everyday

(T2A, O, 53-7) ‘Each and everyday, she proceeded in the same way, she fed the other children
and discarded Bighead. Bighead cried everyday’.

In the next examples dealing with pivotal elements (Stanza R, 67 and stanza V, 88),
“ló?o” (heard/overheard) and “caa” (found) are sequential actions located on the storyline.
These actions are encoded in the preterit and the completive aspect.

T2A, R, 67) Cangàa à kàjò mú kàà. . .wéè múgi ló?o
Day-indef. DP Hyena FP finally . . .her song heard
(T2A, R, 67) ‘One day, Hyena, eventually, overheard her song’

T2A, V, 88) À kàjò mú baà máa sólisyòn caa. . .
DP hyena FP sd-p also solution found
(T2A, V, 88) ‘(DP) Hyena also found a solution’

Thus, pivotal zones are marked by means of linguistic forms generally found on the
storyline. However, there are cases where these pivots include forms appropriate to background
materials, such as the imperfect tense and durative aspects usually found in descriptive materials
that support backbone materials.

Peak zones
I distinguished between Action Peaks, the highest points in some individual episodes, and
the Peak, the zenith of the plot line, in terms of dramatic development.
Action peaks. There are two action peaks in this story. The first occurred in stanza M, lines 45-9 below, when Hare refuses to feed her bigheaded child, feigning illness, “lɛɛyi ná ne mìì yáa yóo” (I have a stomachache), and promises to do so the next morning, “kí gá pyee nyigi dånní nyàa ba mu kan mu ṣọnri” (I will feed you (tomorrow) early in the morning) (L. 48-9). As alluded to in an earlier discussion, the direct speech in lines 57-9 adds to the dramatic tension; as such, it is on the eventline. In Line 56, the verb “jo” (said, actually meaning sang), which is central to the development of the story appears in the preterit tense and the completive aspect introduced by “n.” Also, as hinted at earlier, line 45, “Kaà nan Ngbokpó?ọ na” (When it is Bighead’s turn) is a subordinate clause, which belongs to background information.

T2A, M, 45-9) Ka-à nan Ngbokpó?ọ na,

It-if came Bighead to

Wì ñ jo,

she asp-compl said,

“lɛɛy-i ná nì mìì yáa yóo,

belly-def. is asp-cont me hurt

kí gá pyee nyigi dånní

It if is morning early

Nyà-a ba mu kan mu ṣọnri.”

I-asp-pot sd-p you give you suckle

(T2A, M, 45-9) ‘at Bighead’s turn to suckle, he would said, “I have a stomachache, I will feed you tomorrow morning.”’

The second action peak coincides with stanza Y, where, once more, Hare postpones suckling Bighead until the next morning in lines 110-11 (“kí gá pyee nyën?ẹnà nyigi dånní i, wórí à ba Ngbokpó?ọ kan wi ṣọnri” meaning ‘tomorrow, early in the morning she would suckle Bighead’). These lines are introduced by the speaking verb “jo” (said), which is on the eventline of the story. As we shall see later, this decision constitutes a crucial moment on the plot, and also informs the ultimate outcome of the story.
DP she said
ki gá pyee nyén?enä nyìigì dannì í,
it if is tomorrow morning early
wóri à ba Ngbokpɔ?ɔ kan wi ɲɔnri
she asp-pot sd-p Bighead give him suckle

(T2A, Y, 109-11) ‘(DP) she said, “tomorrow, early in the morning she would suckle Bighead’’.

In action peaks, the verbs of main events, and which are usually in the preterit, describe actions that are generally sequential and punctiliar to the plot of the story. The dominant aspect is the completive one. Sometimes, however, background supportive materials generally realized in other tenses and aspects, such as the imperfect tense and the incompletive aspect, accompany the main events.

The peak. The highest point in the story is when Hare finds out that there is one child left in the hole – the very child he dislikes. Line 120, “À wi gá jée baà” (When he went inside [the hole]) is a subordinated clause which identifies with background materials that appears concomitantly with the mainline information in lines 121 and 122, where the verbs “nyaa” (saw) and “kɔrì”(remained) are in the preterit. Further, while “nyaa” is in the completive aspect, “kɔrì” seems to describe a permanence of fact, which is turned toward the durative aspect.

(T2A, AC, 120-22) À wi gá jée baì,
DP she when entered there
à wi baà ɲèè yágené (né kwɔɔ) nyaa
then she sd-p that one alone saw
à wi kɔrà-à.
DP he remained-there

50 “Kɔràà” is the collapsed form of “kɔrì” and “baà.”
Various forms and syntactic categories are used to inform the peak zone. There are different levels of syntactical function, tenses and aspects.

How is Background and Boreground Information Managed?

The Introductory Scene

After the opening formula “Mii yè kan” (I give you) in line 1, which is always set in the present time, the storyteller sets the time and the place for the story. Animals used to live in one sole village, “kàgi beè pyee mà kpó?oro kéè na” (There had been single village for all animals [understanding before it slit]). The time is the remote past, signaled by “beè pyee,” in which “beè” is the marker of the past perfect or anterior past modifying “pyee” (was). As pointed out earlier, the aspect marker “beè” characterizes background materials; therefore it serves to sets the temporal background of the story.

Then the narrator exposes various facts delineating the situation that prevails in the background on which the story is going to unfold. For instance, people began losing children one after the other, “póìì ká ne pìibèlì fìngì núge núgè” (there came a time when they were missing children one by one), which describes an on-going fact. The imperfect tense and the durative aspect introduced by the continuative aspect marker “nè” are used here. Other important facts given as background are that animals consulted with a fortuneteller, “à gi nyaa pé maà káa mà baà cáli sàndow ma” (L. 9), which, as a collateral action to the situation, is expressed in the perfect tense. Then it is said that there is an animal from their village that eats their children, “[. . .] yawéelà baà kàgi ni, lòrì ni nýè ne pìibèlì kàa” (L. 15-16). The continuative aspect marker “nè” modifying the verb “kàa” (eat) restates the imperfective and durative aspect usually found in descriptive materials in settings. Finally, as a consequence of the situation, “À pè maà péè pìibèlì lèè mà baà làrige làrige” (they all hid their children). Though this information belongs in the background materials, it is pivotal to the story that follows. The preterit is used to show that this is an important action in the setting of the story; in fact, this line serves as a stage for the whole story.
In the introductory scene to the story, the imperfect and the pluperfect tenses, and durative aspects are used to describe the setting of the story that also serves as overall background materials. In a couple of instances, the preterit is used to underscore crucial facts pertaining to background materials serving as a springboard for the story proper.

The Body of the Story

There are seldom any instances of old information that stand alone in the body of the story, as pointed out in a previous discussion. Owing to this, it seemed more interesting and appropriate to assess the levels of information (old and new) in the combined fashion in which these types of materials arise in throughout the text. A few instances are given below by way of illustration of the purpose.

(T2A, I, 27-9) Òì gá si baà nan,

She if FP sd-p came

Òì ñ jo,

she asp-compl. said

“mìì tänmá Sùngúrule, yiri na.

my friend Sùngúrule, come out here

(T2A, I, 27-9) ‘When she came she sang, “my friend Sùngúrule, come out here’.

T2A, M, 45-7) Ka-á nan Ngbokpɔŋɔ na,

It-if came Bighead to

wí ñ jo,

she asp-compl. said

“lɛɛyi ná ne mìì yáa yó

belly-def. is asp-cont. me hurt

(T2A, M, 45-7) ‘At Bighead’s turn to suckle the breast, she (Hare) said, “I have a stomachache’.

T2A, AC, 120-22) À wi gá jée baà,

DP she if entered there
à wí baà ñëë yágenë (né kwèë) nyaa
DP she sd-p that one alone saw
à wi kòr-aà.
DP he remained-there
(T2A, AC, 120-22) ‘(DP) when she went inside (the hole), she saw that only that one remained in there’.

T2A, AD, 123-24) Piinëë wë-è wi bèn,

Child-this that-asp-pst her disgusted
pììw bèè wí kòrì wi má cëngëë cëngë ni
child-def. that one who remained her with day-thatt day on
(T2A, AD, 123-24) ‘The child that disgusted her is the very one that remained with her from that day on’.

In the examples provided above, lines 27, 45, and 120 are relative clauses introduced by “gá” (note that in line 45, the second “á” in “Kaaá” stands for “gá”), an “if,” which actually means “when.” Therefore, these subordinated clauses identify with background information. On the other hand, “në (also më or mà)” in lines 28 and 46, the marker of the completive aspect cues the fact that “jo” (“said” meaning “sang”) in lines 28 and 46 introduces punctiliar and sequential actions located on the storyline. So does “nyaa” (saw) in line 121, which is realized in the preterit tense. Therefore, these clauses express foreground information, information that advances the story plot.

It is noteworthy that in line 123, “beè” collapsed with “wë” to give “wëè.” Thus “beè” the marker of the past, as hinted at earlier, signals to us that the clause in which it is located is the old information, which introduces the new information found in line 124, “pììw bèè wí kòrì wi má cëngëë cëngë ni” (It was that child who remained with him on that day).

Background materials are realized in various forms including the imperfect and the pluperfect on one hand, and the durative, incompletive aspects, on the other, among other considerations. Unlike background information, the preterit and the completive aspect dominate foreground materials.
How is the Dramatic Development Maintained?

This section essentially dealt with the notional structure of the story, the “what” and “how” as far as the organization of the plot is concerned. In other words, what gives rise to the development of the story and how is that development sustained throughout the story?

The story’s development depends on the dramatic tension and dramatic progression that advance the story on the plotline (for more details please see the discussion of Tale One by Kolo). Because the dramatic build-up rests on the storyline, I laid out below the storyline.

**Storyline**

- All animals hide their children to protect them against the predator
- Hare hides her in a hole inside the woods
- To feed her children Hare sings a song in which, she calls them by name
- Hare always declines feeding Bighead, feigning a stomachache
- Hare always promises to feed Bighead the following morning, which never comes
- Hare finds a patterned way to starve her unwanted child to death
- Hyena discovers the hiding place
- Hyena overhears the song Hare sings when he feeds her children
- One day Hyena comes before Hare, sings the song and eats Hare’s preferred children
- Hyena asks Bighead to remain in the hole and promises to feed him the next morning
- Bighead is spared
- Hare comes to feed her children
- Hare sings in vain
- Hare rushes into the hole, but finds none of her beloved children
- Hare is left with the child he does not like

A question that must be addressed is this: How is the development of this storyline managed and maintained throughout?

The setting to the story ends with “À pè maà péè piibèli léè mà baà làrige làrige” (they all hid their children), which is the consequence of the predator’s taking on other animals’
children in the village. How effective can this solution be? How long will “hiding the children” work as a viable solution? This and similar questions, by creating suspense, set the dramatic tension in motion. Then the case of Hare is brought forth by way of illustrating the implementation of the decision made by the whole village to hold their children in a secure place, out of reach of the predator who also lives in their village: “À pyè?ele mú baà wéè wóbëli làringe kàweele ni” (Hare hid her children in a hole in the woods) (L. 18). Hare is known to be clever and witty. However, one is curious about how she is going to act in this situation. Interest is aroused, one is eager to see what comes next. Drama thus starts building.

Then we are told about the ritual Hare performs when she feeds her children. She calls out the children’s names and feeds them one at a time, “Cëngè o cëngè . . . wï àpaà be yeri paà be kan be ṭônri” (he came, called them by name and fed them). The foregoing is meant to be additional measure of security to further protect the children from the predator. But there is also the risk that an ill-meaning animal like the predator will overhear him. Therefore, one feels intrigued and discontented somehow. One cannot help but wonder, raising a host of questions about a few things, including the appropriateness and advisability of singing while in hiding. One is eager to see how the situation will develop.

In stanzas I (L.27-33), K (L.36-40), and M (45-9), there is “singing,” something highly valued in folk narrative. During such moments, the audience is highly involved, something that adds to the drama build-up.

We then, learn unexpectedly, that Hare discriminates against one child, who always goes hungry because Hare will not feed him, pretending to be sick, “lëëyi nà ne mìi yàa yóó” (I have a stomachache). At this point everyone feels a bit jolted by Hare’s behavior. How could she do such a thing? What does she intend to achieve through this move? Obviously, something odious has been revealed. Disgust, outrage, resentment, bewilderment and amusement flare up and increase the tension. These developments coincide with the first action peak of the story, the highest point in this episode.

The narrator goes on to insist that starving one child – in this case, Bighead – while joyfully feeding the others, is a pattern devised by Hare, “[. . .] pi ba piibëli kan pe ṭônri sì Ngbokp5ò cée” ([he fed] the other children and discarded Bighead) (L. 55-6). In fact everything seems to come full circle now. The audience is now well justified to suspect that Hare
envisions carrying out some evil scheme toward Bighead, which may lead to the consolidation of listeners’ feelings mentioned above. At this point we may venture to say that the audience is overtaken with revulsion at seeing their most cherished character engage in such reprehensible, sadistic, and criminal conduct, without any compunction. The divorce with Hare is consummated, as the hearts of the audience are filled with adverse feelings towards the favorite figure in folktale. The preceding boosts up the tension and moves the plot further ahead. Although there are sound reasons for considering this stanza a plateau, by virtue of its lack of sequential and volitional actions, it encompasses seeds from which the dramatic tension for the rest of the story will spring up.

Now, not only does Hyena discover the hiding place, but also and most importantly, he happens to know the song Hare sings during feeding rituals, “Cangàà à kàjòọ mú kàà. . .wëë mùgi lòòo” (One day, eventually, Hyena overheard her song) (L. 67). There, we are! The predator is here. What will happen? Danger looms large, hovering over the heads of Hare’s children. Tension picks up and effects a sudden dramatic rise. Though the audience has no sympathy for Hyena, the most despised character in Nafara tales, but because they are frustrated and appalled by Hare’s misdemeanor, they expect that Hyena will come up with something that will soothe them by inflicting punishment on Hare, in one way or another. At the same time, the audience is loath to see something bad happen to the children, even though that is something that one may be unable to avoid, given the congenitally evil nature of Hyena. Everyone watches, anticipates on what will happen and strategizes. Everything gets into calculations of some sort. Tension accelerates and ascends steadily.

Hyena is on stage now, acting, “mà baà máà lari m yëri” ([he] hid in the bushes by the hole) (L. 91) and sings, “në wëë mùgi mùu” (and sang her song). The audience knows now what Hyena wants to do. The dramatic progression is set in motion and tension keeps rising. Then tension amplifies as Hyena eats Hare’s preferred children one after the other, as shown in “à wí baà wí coo mà kàà” (he grabbed and ate him) (L. 101). Also in line 108, talking about Smallhead, the narrator said, “À njëë máa nùù yiri” (That one also came out), which tells us that he too is eaten by Hyena.

Though the audience may not rejoice over the death of the other children, it makes sense that they now grow more interested in the fate of Bighead. So what is going to happen? Is
Bighead going to die after all the suffering inflicted by her own mother? At this point, the audience may start pondering the point of the story, all the while hoping that at some point Bighead will get justice at last. Also, given that Hyena has overheard the song from Hare, and also that Hyena is famous for dumb and unintelligible behaviors, the audience has high hopes that there may be a way out for Bighead. But nothing is certain. Tension keeps rising as listeners gear up for Hyena’s move. Then tension heightens as Hyena does like Hare. He asks Bighead to wait until the next morning, “[. . .] ki gá pyee nyën?na nyìgi dànní í, wórí à ba Ngbokpö? kan wi ṭônrí” ([he said] that he would feed him the next morning) (L. 109-11). This area identifies with the second action peak in the story.

The next stanza (AA, 114-5) in which the narrator reiterates the fact that Bighead was spared, “à Ngbokpö? mú syô” (L. 115), is also a plateau. Like most plateau zones, it serves as a stage for the rest of the story. Now that the preferred children are gone, Hare will face the hard test of reality.

Hare comes to perform her meal ritual, “wi ñìa baà múu, mà múu mà frô” (he sang again and again in vain) (L.117-8). Hare is unaware of what happened to her beloved children, but the audience knows what awaits her. The dramatic progression that ensues from the awareness that the audience has over Hare prompts listeners or readers to anticipate Hare’s reaction, hypothesize, question more and more; they can’t wait to see what will follow. All this adds to tension that moves the story along the plot line.

Hare rushes into the hole, and there is the great surprise! None of her loved ones are anywhere to be seen, “à wí baà ñèè yágenè (né kwô) nyaa à wi kòraà” (he saw that only that one remained in there) (L. 121-2). Tension reaches its peak at this point in the story, which also coincides with the plot’s climax. It is noteworthy that this is the very first encounter of Hare with Bighead ever since her children have been hiding out in the woods. This meeting brings Hare back to reality from her world of fantasy. Bighead serves as a symbol of that harsh reality that Hare has tried to evade: love and care for our progeny is a ‘must’. We have a sacred and unfailing duty to nurture them and provide for their well-being, no matter what they look like or do. From another perspective, the salvation of Bighead also personifies the punishment that Hare deserves for having been a wicked, heartless, undeserving mother.
Then, tension suddenly dissolves as participants, both internal and external – characters and listeners – are left to take stock of the story and themselves and to move on. Hare has no other option but to live with the child he does not want, “Pínìè wéè wí bèn, pínù bè (pínìè) wí kòri wí mà cëngè cëngè nì” (The very child that disgusted her is the only one that is left with her that day).

As shown in the above discussion, listeners or readers are cued to what to watch at given points or moments of the story. The sum of such instances in the shape of connected events and the fashion in which they are organized reveal how the drama is developed in the narrative. In sum, anytime participants question, wonder, or want to know more, dramatic tension is created, maintained, or increased. Thus, the dramatic development rests upon tension incrementally built from incidents that occur in the story, and which are the result of conflicts of interest. Unlike Tale 1, the impetus for the dramatic movement is multi-layered. At the first level, Hare’s actions to secure her children in a safe place in order to protect them against the predator, ignites the dramatic tension. Then, at the second layer, Hare’s wicked and highly reprehensible move geared to starving her despised child gives the momentum a significant push. As seen above, the potentials for conflicts inherent in Hare’s unseemly and fiendish plans generate confrontations that move the plot ahead.

The dramatic development is a function of how the storyteller puts the plot together and how outside participants (the audience), by virtue of their active interaction with the story, add to the dramatic tension, which they also live as the story moves steadily toward its conclusion.

In synergistic fashion, characters’ actions and decisions create the momentum behind dramatic development. Along the dramatic arc of the story the dynamic movement precipitated by Hare’s actions keeps rising until the climax is reached on the plotline.

The dramatic tension, the key element in the plot’s development of story plot may be created, maintained or increased by a series of things, including events on the backbone as well as supporting materials and background materials. However, pivotal events found at the end or the outset of episodes (e.g., stanzas G, 20-2; O, 53-7; V, 88-94), as shown above, work as igniting devices that keep the dramatic tension moving inexorably forward, on one hand, and offer signposts along the dramatic arc, on the other. Then the cycle of action peaks (beginning of action peak and action peak proper – for instance, stanzas M, 45-9; Y, 109-11), creating a moment of heightened tension, adds another spin to the story development.
How is the Text Structured?

**Aperture**

The aperture of the tale begins with an opening formula, “Mii yè kan” (“I give you,” which means I will tell you a story) followed with the setting – the remote past encoded by “beè,” and the venue, “kàgi” (the village), where all the animals lived. The situation is that children are missing here and there because Hyena eats them. As a result of this, all the villagers hide their children, “À pè maà péè piibèli léè mà baà làrige làrige” (They all hid their children). The foregoing is the consequence of the background situation; it concludes the opening scene, and serves as the stage on which the story will unfold.

**The Body**

This version of Tale 2 is relatively short. It has three sections, among which two coincide with their scenes and episodes, and one has two scenes each having one episode. “Hare,” is the title that I give to Section one (St. F, 18-Q, 66), which also identifies with the scene and the episode. The first stanza of the episode of the scene of Section one reads that “À pyèèle mú baà wèè òóbeli làrige kàweele ni” (Hare hid her children in a hole), which is a reflection on the general fact laid out in the conclusion (St. E, 17) of the setting of the story, and according to which “all animals hid their children.” Thus, it is made evident that this section grows out of the consequence of the introductory scene.

Section two (St. R, 67-AA, 115), which I entitled “Hyena’s actions,” comprises two scenes; the first, “Hyena overheard the song,” has one episode. Likewise, scene two that I entitle “Hyena eats the preferred children” includes one episode. The episode of the first scene of Section two begins with the information that Hyena has overheard the song Hare sings when she feeds her children, “Cangàa à kàjù mu kàà. . .wèè mùgí ló?ó” (one day Hyena heard her song). This hangs on the pivot (St. Q, 66) of the previous scene, which stipulates that Hare discriminates against one child, “Mènnà à piibèli belèè syi nyënni yige” (Now, these two children were preferred). We know Bighead always goes hungry, a central point as to how everything plays out in the rest of the story, as we shall see later. Then in stanza V, 88-94, we are informed that Hyena is now acting on the information he got in the previous scene, that is the
song and the pattern in which Hare treats her children, “Wi ñ jo Ngbokpọ’ọ nẹ kwọc wóri wi yali wi kori bàà” (He said it is Bighead alone who must stay there [in the hole]) (L. 86-7).

Section three (St. AB, 116-AF, 131), like Section one, has one scene that also coincides with the episode it includes. This section may be entitled, “The punishment of Hare.” In stanza AA line115, it is said, “à Ngbokpọ’ọ mú syọ” (Bighead was spared), which serves as a stage on which the scene of Hare’s distress will develop. As one can see in the peak of the story, “à wí baà ęże ụmụgụ (nẹ kwọc) nyaa à wí kọraà” (she saw that only that child remained there). The child in question here is undoubtedly Bighead.

There is no explicit statement of denouement and resolution here. This may be because this tale is not a romantic story. That said, the other moments are the thematic peak and the closure. Besides these conventional moments, there is a lecture-like aside. First, the thematic peak (St. AD, 123-5) is described below:

T2A, AD, 123-5) Piaggi weè wi bèn,

Child-this who-asp-pst him disgusted

pịw bè (piaggi) wí kòri wi má cengè cengè ni.

Child that him remained him to day-that day on

Wórí mú nyaa à wí pye?ele see.

[It] is he see DP he Hare fathered

(T2A, AD, 123-5) ‘The very child that disgusted her, is the only one who remained with her that day. It is that one who gave birth to Hare’.

The moral of the story may read as follows: parents should never discriminate among their progeny, lest they end up losing their loved ones and be forced to stay with the very children they do not like.

Slotted in between the thematic peak and the closure is a stanza in which the narrator puts on the hat of the storyteller operating in the ambient physical setting. As shown below, he strives to topicalize the issue by relating the fictional “Hare” to the physical hare that the audience knows about in their physical environment:
T2A, AE, 126-8) À mu lóðo pyè?e náamà,

If you hear Hare-indef. here

ŋèè wí pyègi see;

that one(it is) who Hare-def. parented

gèè gi nyce wò nè gi cógi nè káa cengè ni cangá.

that (it is) that is we asp-cont .it catch asp-cont eat nowadays

(T2A, AE, 126-8) ‘(DP) When they say ‘Hare’ here, it is that one who parented the Hare, the very one we hunt and eat nowadays’.

The storyteller’s move in the above has explicit instructional value geared toward the education of a young audience.

The last stanza closes the story with a standard teasing formula51, “Wàa ká nánegànge kan wò má waà gi kàrige kùrsÜ” (If anyone of you gives a burning charcoal, I will turn it into a pair of shorts52 for them). This closing formula also serves as a reminder that we are in the realm of “stories,” and not real life facts.

Summary of the Rhetorical Pattern

Aperture

This storytelling session is formally opened with a common formula, “Mìi yè kan” (I will tell you a story), which is then followed by the setting – the village of animals and the time of the story, introduced by a remote past marker “beè.” The narrator goes on to expose the prevailing situation: Hyena eats unattended children of other inhabitants from the village. As an elaboration of the situation, we are informed that animals consulted a fortuneteller who tells them to hide their children. The conclusion of the background situation is that all animals hide

51 Please see the section on the review of the literature for more examples of such formulas.
52 Until relatively recent time, “Shorts” and “trousers” (western style) among other clothing items were regarded as exotic garments in most Nafara communities. Therefore, such modern items were an important possession, mainly among young children. Then, turning a burning charcoal into a pair of shorts is just a hint to the fantastic world of storytelling where anything is possible. It is the world of magic.
their children, as a preventive measure against the predator. The foregoing thus serves as a springboard for dramatic development of the narrative.

**The Body**

This tale is developed around three sections. In Section One, Hare, the main character, is depicted as an undeserving mother engaged in a blatant case of bare injustice and wickedness toward her bigheaded child. This section has one scene, which corresponds with the episode. Section two is about Hyena’s moves and deeds, which resulted in the demise of the Hare’s preferred children. It includes two scenes, which coincide with their respective episodes. The third section portrays Hare as hard hit by the loss of her beloved children, but who now has no other option but to stay with her despised progeny.

This tale does not seem to include an explicit statement of denouement and resolution integral to the story. However, one may argue that these moments are a function of the perspectives from which one looks at the tale. An important aspect of the dramatic development rests on Hare’s rejection of Bighead, which engenders conflicts leading to tension build-up. From the moment that Hare enters the hole, “wi . . . jée baà” (she . . . entered there), the denouement is set in motion, as far as Bighead is concerned. We may argue that the fact that Bighead meets her mother dissolves the tension created by her initial rejection by the latter. This aspect of the Peak zone may also encompass the denouement. Likewise, from the vantage point of Bighead, the resolution seems to coincide with Hare’s adopting her once denied and forsaken child, “Pïïñëë wëë wi bèn, piíw bèë (pïïñëë) wí kòri wi má cëngëë cëngë nì” (She is left with the very child that she despised). From this angle, aspects of the thematic peak may be regarded as the resolution.

The thematic peak me is followed by an instructional move in which the storyteller links up the fictional world with the physical world by relating Hare (pyë?ele) in the tale to the hyare (pyë?e [a hare] or pyëgi [the Hare]) the audience knows about. Then the story is formally closed by means a formula that recalls the fantastic world to which folktales pertain.

Most characters retain the syntactical categories in which they appear for the first time in the story. Thus, major characters, such Hare and Hyena, introduced as topics of the sentences, remains as such throughout the story. It is noteworthy that Hare has undergone a demotion as he exits at a lower syntactical level. The secondary character, the fortuneteller, on one hand, and the
props, on the other, retain their functional categories as objects of the verb or of the postposition, or other lower-level locations such as subordinate clauses from the moment they come on stage until they exit.

The scene setting of the story or the introduction, mainly consists of background information, while events in the body are a combination of old and new information. New information advances the plot and is generally materialized by specific linguistic form – the preterit and completive aspect. Old information, on the other hand, appears in other tenses and aspects, such as the imperfect, the present tenses in conjunction with the incompletive, incipient and durative aspects. Concerning the peak and pivot zones, a variety of forms are brought to bear there, such as forms usually found in both foreground and background materials.

(Same as Tale 1) The timeline of the dramatic development seems discontinuous. Consequently, there seems to be a series of connected timelines. In sum, a timeline develops and stops at an important juncture, generally a turning point or pivot. Then a new timeline pertaining to a new scene or episode picks up from an event, situation or activity from the previous moment (episode), which actually serves as its stage, and develops until it stops somewhere. Then, another timeline springs from where the preceding left off, and so on.

Figure 5: The timeline chart in Tale Two (Adama)

In Figure 5, the horizontal bars represent the source of the timeline, generally a pivot event or activity pertaining to the contiguous structural part (scene or episode), while the vertical poles represent units of timeline.
Part 3. The rhetorical Pattern of Tale 3: The Old Man and the Genie (Kolo’s)

List of abbreviations in the analysis of Tale Three

asp: aspect
asp-cont: continuative aspect
asp-gap: aspect-gapping (differentiate between verb gapping and aspect completive)
asp-pst: past aspect (anterior past, i.e. past perfect notion)
asp-pot: potential aspect
asp-compl: completive aspect
caud: call to audience
cli: clitic
compl: completive
def.: definite
DP: discourse particle
FP: focus particle
gap: gapping
gap-o: object gapping
gap-s: subject gapping
indef.: indefinite
neg: negative
pot.: potential
sd: speaker deictic
sd-d: speaker deictic distal (See also dx/s-d)
sd-p: speaker deictic-proximal (See also dx/s-p)

Synopsis

In the third tale (Tale 3): Syiicanwɔn (the old man, from now on), a lonely, selfless, and
magnanimous old man, first spared the life of Hare and then the life of a genie who had
trespassed on his farm. In addition he freed the genie from all sort of beasts that were feeding on
his body and biting him, by shaving his hair that had overgrown and covered his body. When the
genie was well rested, he informed the old man that he would eat him, unless he put his hair back on. The old man started crying; and between sobs, he sang a song in which he denounced the genie’s unfair treatment. Hare, whose life had been spared by the old man the week before, overheard the song that clearly indicated that his benefactor was in trouble. He went to fetch a perforated flask, got inside and noisily rolled it over to the farmyard. A voice from the flask told the two individuals that he had been sent by God to settle the matter between them. He told the genie that God gave him the right to eat the old man on condition that he removed all his footprints from the farm and the yard. After having tried in vain to sweep off the marks left by his feet, the genie took to his heels into the bush.

How are Participants and Props Introduced and Tracked?

I referred to the old man, the genie and Hare as characters, and the props are the trap, the perforated flask, and the fire.

Introduction of Characters

The old man. The old man first appears in the story in stanza C cited below. “Nanwàa,” in line 8 is a fronted object that is coreferential with “Syiincanwọn” (the old man). This fronted object is being focalized, which is tantamount to promoting its syntactical status. In other words, though it is an object, by fronting it, the narrator means to tell us it is important. Moreover, “Nanwàa” (a man) in itself is a clause, “Nanwàa pyee” (there was a man), where “Nanwàa” is the subject of an existential verb, for instance “pyee.” From this perspective “Syiincanwọn” (the old man), who identifies with “Nanwàa,” appears in a higher level syntactical category. The second appearance, “Donc, Syiincanwọn, à wí sàa se?e còo” (So, the old man, he created a farm), pictures the old man as subject of the verb “còo” (created [farm]), which seems to confirm the higher level syntactical category I alluded to above. Likewise, in stanza F, line 21, where the old man is also explicitly referred to by named, he is also topic of the sentence.

T3K, C, 3-7) Nanw-àa péè nè yeri, nànléew-àa, Syiincanwọn.

Man-indef. they-asp-pst asp-cont called, old man-indef. the old man
Donc, Syiincanwôn, à wî sâa se?e côo,
So Syiincanwôn, DP he sd-d farm-indef. created
sînbirigî láama ni,
woods-def. middle in
né syöngô nê fâli baà.
and did well asp-cont cultivated there

(T3K, C, 3-7) ‘There was a man, an old man, named Syiincanwôn. He created a farm in the middle of the woods and diligently worked there’.

(T3k, F, 21-2) À Syiincanwôn màa baà gariga tû?u
DP the old man also sd-d trap-indef. put
Mà tön wèè ségi nyôô na
asg-gap covered his farm-def. outskirt at

(T3k, F, 21-2) ‘The old man also put a trap on the outskirts of his farm’.

The above instances show that the old man is introduced and subsequently explicitly named as topic of sentences in which he appears.

_Hare_. Hare is initially introduced as the object of the verb in stanza H, line 26, below.

Then he is mentioned as the subject of a passive verb “côo,” as shown in “pyè?ele wi côo garigî na” (Hare was caught on the trap), in the same stanza, all of which are lower syntactical categories.

(T3K, H, 25-7) À wi tàgbó-nyung-ì lée nê syé,
DP he hoe-handle-def. took asp-cont. went
mà sâà wî nyaa pyè?ele.
asp-gap sd-d him saw Hare
Pyè?ele wi côo garig-ì na.
Hare he got caught trap-def. on
(T3K, H, 25-7) ‘(DP) walking with the hoe handle in his hand toward the area from which the noise was heard, he saw hare. Hare was caught in the trap’.

Then, Hare also occurs as object of the verbs “yige” (freed) and “fwôô” (treated) in stanza L, lines 37 and 38, as shown in the following quote:

T3K, L, 37-9) À wi pyè?ele yige,

DP he Hare  freed
mà pyè?ele fwôô,
asp-gap Hare  treated
mà tóg-ì syôngô fwôô wí na.
asp-gap leg-def. well treated him on
(T3K, L, 37-9) ‘(DP) he freed Hare and treated him; he treated his leg well’.

In all the above quotes Hare holds a lower level role in the sentences in which he appears, which would seem to point to the fact that he also ranks lower as a character. However, as shown below, Hare is also subject of the verb “je” (said) in stanza J, lines 31 & 32, “à pyè?ele je “ée mii pu?ô mìi ya?a” (Hare said, “Oh, please spare me”).

T3K, J, 30-4) À wi gà tàgbógurug-ì yige

DP he when hoe-handle-def. lifted
à pyè?ele je, “ée mii pu?ô,
DP Hare said, “Oh, please
mii ya?a, me save
fàá mii kpôo í,
imper-mood-neg me kill cli.
fàá mii kpôo í.”
imper-mood-neg me kill cli.”
Hare is the subject of a verb that introduces quoted speech. Moreover, Hare’s begging the old man to spare his life introduces an important event on the plotline. The foregoing would seem to suggest that Hare is an important character.

In section One, Hare appears alternately as object and subject in dynamic moments of the story. This blend of syntactical functions would seem to show that Hare is a secondary character in this part of the story.

Hare is re-introduced in section two after he has exited in the first section. Here, Hare is topic of the sentence in which he is re-introduced in stanza AG, where he is subject of the verb “nyaari” (wandered), “syáari” (thank), and “nan” (arrived), in lines 133, 134, 136, respectively.

Meanwhile Hare, he asp-pst also asp-cont wandered asp-cont come
nè jo wòrì páan baà nànléew syáari,
and wanted he came sd-p man-old-def. greet
nànléew wí sé kacennì kpé?ele wòrì na,
man-old-def. who had favor-def. done him for
mà baà nan mà gí nyaa bàn;
asp-gap sd-p arrived asp-gap it saw thus;
mà nànléew nyaa bàn,
asp-gap old man-def. saw thus,
wi nyenni made-w má baà.
He wailed genie-def. for there

‘Meanwhile, Hare who had been walking leisurely toward the farm to thank the old man who had done him a favor, came upon the scene thus; he heard the old man wail under the manhandling of the genie’.
Similarly, in subsequent occurrences, where he is explicitly mentioned, Hare is generally the topic of the sentence. For instance, Hare is the subject of the verb “caa” (fetched) in stanza AH, line 140.

T3 K, AH, 139-40) À pyè?ele lúgo mà káa

    DP Hare returned asp-gap went

    mà sàà kùngbó-ló caa, sísájée cà-la.

    asp-gap sd-d flask-indef. fetched, bouillon-washer calabash-indef.

(T3K, AH, 139-40) ‘(DP) Hare went back to fetch a flask, a bouillon-washer calabash’.

The above examples tell us that Hare is a major character on account of the high-level syntactical category he comes in.

    Hare is the only character that has been introduced twice. In the first introduction, as shown above, Hare is held captive in the trap for some time, in Section One. Thus, he is at the receiving end, in the power relationship in which he finds himself with the old man. Therefore, that Hare should be conferred the status of a second-class character in that part of the story should not be surprising. On the other hand, in his second appearance, Hare comes onstage as a major character. This too does not seem surprising, as Hare is pictured as the protagonist, from his second entrance half-way through the story to the end.

    The genie. As one can see in stanza O below, “gí” (it) in “mà sàà gí nyaa” ([he] saw it)
(St. O, 51), refers to “yagàa félege” (some sort of thing) (St. O, 52.), which stands for the genie, as we shall see later. Thus, the genie is first introduced by means of a cataphoric reference “gí” (it), which is object of the verb of perception “nyaa” (saw). This manner of introducing the genie sends strong signals that he ranks lower on the participants’ scale.

T3K, O, 50-2) À wí yíri ne waa,

    DP he got up asp-cont go

    mà sáà gí nyaa,

    asp-gap sd-d it saw,
éé, yagàa félegè.
gosh, something kind

(T3K, O, 50-2) ‘(DP) he got up and as he went there, he saw it, gosh, some sort of thing’.

As hinted above, that “thing” in stanza O, line 52 identifies itself later as “màdew” (genie), in stanza P, line 55, “Pe mìì yeri màdew” (literally “they call me genie,” which actually is usually translated by “I am the genie”).

T3K, P, 53-7) À wi jo “mu, ṣààn wi mu?”

DP he said, “you, who are you?”
À wi jo, “mìì wii.
DP he said, “me it is.
Pe mìì yeri made-w.”
They me call genie-def.”
À wi jo “hìì, made-w lé?”
DP he said, “what, genie-def. QM”
À wí jé “Hëèn!”
DP he said, "Yes!"

(T3K, P, 53-7) ‘(DP) he said, “You, who are you?” he asked. (DP) He answered, “it is me. I am a genie. He (the old man) replied, “what, a genie?” (DP) He (the genie) said, “yes!”’

Based on the translation “I am a genie”, one may rightly argue that “màdew” (a genie) is the subject of an existential verb, which is a higher-level function in the sentence. However, one must bear in mind that this statement is the reply to the old man’s questioning. Even though Nafara audience genrally thinks of the genie in term of a “powerful and superior” being, here, it is a genie rendered extremely weak and helpless by all sort of beasts feeding upon him. Given the prevailing circumstances, we may say that the genie is in an inferior position. Therefore, the fact that the genie is at the receiving end here seems to suggest that the genie is a minor
character. Overall, the higher syntactical category here has no consequence on the status of the genie, given that he was first introduced as the object of the sentence as shown above.

The genie (màdenanw) is object of the postposition, “na” in stanza V, line 82, below. This is a further testimony that the genie has lower status.

T3K, V, 82-3) À nànléew sáà nyúngununyón-e caa

*DP old man-def. sd-d razor-blade-indef. fetched*

mà bà nyúng-ì kúni màdenanw na

*asp-gap sd-p head-def. shaved genie-man-def. on*

(T3K, V, 82-3) ‘(DP) the old man fetched a razor-blade and shaved the genie’s head’.

Based on the above quotes, it is appropriate to say that the genie is introduced as a minor character, something accounted for by both the circumstances of his coming onstage and also the syntactical functions he holds; and in most of which he appears in lower syntactical categories.

The old man is introduced in high-level syntactical categories, which is indicative of his status as a major participant. In contrast, Hare and the genie’s explicit appearances in the first section of the story are made by means of lower syntactical functions. Hare and the genie are cast as constituents of adverbial phrases or object of verbs, which suggest that they have a lower status than the old man does. However, unlike the genie, Hare is portrayed as a major character when he re-enters the story in the second section. In the following, I will examine how the old man, Hare and the genie are referred back to.

**Tracking Characters**

*The old man.* In Section One in particular, most references to the old man clearly confirm his status as a major participant:

T3K, H, 25) À wi tàgbónyung-ì lée ne syé

*DP he hoe handle-def. took asp-cont go*

(T3K, H, 25) ‘(DP) he grabbed the hoe-handle and went toward where the noise came from’.
(T3K, L, 37-8) ‘(DP) he freed Hare and treated him’.

(T3K, P, 53) ‘You, who are you?’ (DP) he asked’.

In Section Two, the narrator is recounting the story about what happened between the old man and the genie from the standpoint of the old man. In this recount, references to the old man are made by means of the regular pronoun “wí” and the emphatic pronoun “wórì .” These references have various syntactical functions, including subject and object of the verb or of the postposition, as shown below:

(3K, AQ, 165-7) ‘He found him caught in his trap, and he freed him’.

(T3K, AU, 182 & 185) ‘So (DP) the genie said that he would eat him’.
The materials in the recount are supportive materials, because they simply are a flashback repeating eventline actions seen in the first section. As such, they are backgrounded in this section. Therefore, the references made here seem inconsequential as far as the status of characters is concerned. With that in mind, we may say that the old man has retained the status of major participant in most part of the story.

_Hare._ In the first section of the story, Hare is referred to predominantly as object of the preposition in the adverbial phrases “wí na” (on him) in stanza L, line 39 and stanza M, lines 40 and 43. In contrast, the anaphoric references that help trace Hare in Section two overwhelmingly encode him as a major participant, as shown in stanza AJ:

T3K, AJ, 144-8) À wi kúngbó-ló caa

_DP he flask-indef. fetched_

né na-á le baà

_and fire-indef. put there_

né jée baà

_and entered there_

né ni kòlígi ne páan

_and it rolled asp-cont come_

gúru gúru gúru.

_noisily_

(T3K, AJ, 144-8) ‘(DP) he fetched a flask, put some fire in it, and rolled it noisily as he went (toward the farmyard) ’.

In the above, “wí” (he), which is also gapped in lines 145 through 147 by means of the coordination conjunction “né” (and), refers to Hare. Thus Hare is shown here as the subject of “le” (put), “jée” (entered), and “kòlígi” (rolled), all of which realize dynamic moments of the story as they identify with events that move the plot ahead.
The Genie. In Section One, the overwhelming majority of deictic references that help identify the Genie are either objects of the verb or of the postposition. A few examples are offered below: in stanza Q, lines 59 and 61, “wî” (him) is object of “s” (saw), and “tîn” (covered). Likewise, “wî,” also referring to the genie, is object of “nîngî” (bite) (St. S, 73).

(T3K, Q, 58-61) Né tôni m wî nyaa njóor-ì tôni

*and verily asp-gap him saw hair-def. grew long*

mà wî tôn kwà (quoi).

*asp-gap him covered right*

Nhjóor-ì, tì tôni

*Hair-def. it grew long*

mà tôn

*asp-gap covered all over*

(T3K, Q, 58-61) ‘And [he] saw that the hair had grown long to the extent of covering him all over. The hair overgrew and covered his body all over’.

(T3K, S, 73) Pèmaà séli baà ne wî nîngî nîngî baà

*They-all really sd-p asp-cont him bite bite there*

(T3K, S, 73) ‘Actually, all of them (beasts in the genie’s hair) were biting him’.

In all the above examples the genie is cast in a lower status by means of the functional categories in which he is referred back to. However, from the moment he was freed from the beasts, he started emerging as dominant character, which is shown by the quality of the syntactical role he holds. Increasingly, the anaphoric references that help identify him are topics of the sentences. The examples below corroborate the fact:

(T3K, X, 89-90) À wî gá nôni tîn,

*DP he When rested satisfied*
à wi yiri.

*DP he got up*

(T3K, X, 89-90) ‘(DP) When he got well rested, he got up’.

T3K, AC, 113-4) À wi jo wörì njó-léer-ì wi caa,

*DP he said his hair-old-def. he wanted*

wörì jo wi di taa baà.

He wanted him it put there

(T3K, AC, 113-4) ‘(DP) he said that he wanted his old hair, he wanted him to put it back on’.

In the above quote, “wi” (“he” referring to the genie) is subject of “njóni tín” ([well] rested) and “yiri” (got up) (St. X, 89 and 90), and also of “jo” (said) and “caa” (wanted), stanza AC, line 113.

Like dynamic moments, decision lines also drive drama in tales. The genie’s decision to claim his hair back is one of the major incidents that inform an essential theme of the story, ungratefulness. Like stanza AC, stanza AE is concerned with another instance of decision line whose centrality in the story is not disputed. The genie gives the old man an ultimatum hard to meet: the old man will be eaten unless he puts the genie’s hair back on before midnight.

T3K, AE, 119-23) Mà baà gi tècé Syiincanwòn na

*asp-gap sd-p it signified the old man to*

à wi gó wörì njóor-i taa i

*if he neg. his hair-def. put cli.*

mà__gí ya’a

*before*

à yéblig-ì baà nan níngè ni,

*DP night-def. sd-p arrived middle-indef. in*
The genie is shown as agent in full command in the critical decisions evoked above. This syntactical shift is indicative of the genie’s promotion from a subsidiary to an important character. The genie is also demoted toward the end of the tale, as shown in stanzas NY and AAC. In NY, the genie is executing the order laid out in the verdict and according to which he must remove all his footprints from the farmyard and the farm as well, and in AAC, he takes to his heels, admitting thus to his defeat.

The old man is introduced and tracked as a major participant in most parts of the story. Hare was first introduced and referred to as a secondary character in Section One. But he is promoted to a major character in his second appearance in Section Two, where he holds the role of the protagonist. The genie is introduced as a minor character. Then after having been promoted for a short while, he exits the story as a minor character again.

Props

_The trap._ The trap the perforated flask and the fire are the only elements identified here. The trap comes onstage as the object of a compound verb “tú?u mà tón” (set) in “À Syiincanwɔn máa bàà gariga tú?u mà tón” (The old man also set a trap) in stanza F, lines 21 and 22. The trap also appears in adverbial phrases where it is the object of a postposition, as one can see in stanza H, line 27, “pyè?ele wi còò garigì na” (it was Hare who got caught in the trap). This functional category suggests that this prop has lower level status.

(T3, F, 21-2) À Syiincanwɔn máa bàà garig-a tú?u

\[
\text{DP the old man also sd-p trap-indef. dug}
\]

\[
\text{mà tón wèè sèg-ì nyɔ-ɔ na.}
\]

\[
\text{asp-gap covered his farm-def. outskirt-indef. at}
\]

(T3, F, 21-2) ‘(DP) the old man also set a trap on the outskirts of his farm’.

210
The flask: The flask, the second prop, is also introduced as object of the verb “caa” (fetched) in stanza AH, line 140 cited below, and also “caa” in stanza AJ, line 144, “À wi kúngbó-ló caa” (He fetched a flask).

T3K, AH, 139-40) À pyèele lúgo mà káa

*DP Hare returned asp-gap went*

Mà sáà kúngbó-ló caa, sísà-jée cá-la.

*asp-gap sd-d flask-indef. fetched, néré beans*-washer calabash*-indef.*

(T3K, AH, 139-40) ‘(DP) Hare went back to fetch a flask, a sort of bouillon-washer calabash’.

Like the other props, the fire comes onstage in a lower syntactical role, as it is cast as the object of the verb “le” (put), in “né naá le bàà” (and put fire in there), in stanza AJ:

T3K, AJ, 144-5) À wi kúngbó-ló caa

*DP he flask-indef. fetched*

né na-à le bàà

*and fire-indef. put there*

(T3K, AJ, 144-5) ‘(DP) he fetched a flask and put some fire in there’.

The trap, the flask and the fire are persistently revealed as subsidiary characters or props, which is in keeping with their role as tools that are acted upon in the plotline of the story.

Characters and props identify with syntactical roles that they play in the argument structure of the sentences in which they appear, from the moment they are introduced until they...

53 The néré tree is found in most grass areas of Africa in general, and particularly in West Africa. Traditional local bouillon, in Senufo communities is made with the néré beans. The beans are covered with a yellowish matter often turned into néré flower, which was traditional used as sugar to sweeten corn and millet flower, a highly prized dish in Nafara community, in particular. After scraping off the matter that covers the beans, the beans are soaked for a couple of days to soften the skin. Then, a flask in calabash material (not clay or iron), with tiny holes all over, is used to wash the beans. Then the soft beans are fermented for about a week of so to produce the bouillon.

54 The speaker said “calabash,” which should be understood as “flask,” rather than a regular calabash, which would not be appropriate for washing néré beans.
exit the story. These roles confer them status in the story. Higher functions in the sentence suggest higher status, that is to say the character is a major player in the story, while lower level functions signal lower status, that is to say minor characters or props.

Among characters, the old man holds almost a constant status as a major character. In contrast, Hare and the genie have experienced some shifts in their status based on circumstances and their role in the development of the plot at given points in the story. Thus, Hare, who first comes onstage as captive is conferred a secondary role, in the first part of the tale, then, he returns onstage as a major character till the story closes. The genie, also captive of a colony of beasts and of the old man, to some extent, is introduced as a minor character. Then after gaining prominence for a short while, he exits the story as a minor participant, when Hare defeated him. In their brief appearances in the story, the props have retained the status of lower participating elements in which they are first introduced.

How are Pivotal and Peak Events Marked?

In this part of the discussion I assessed the linguistic devices that characterize pivotal and peak events.

Pivot

The first pivotal zone coincides with stanza E, which is actually the conclusion to the scene that constitutes the setting of the story as such. In essence, this stanza delivers on the characteristic of the old man, who is portrayed as someone utterly generous and selfless, “[...] gèe ó gèe mu caa ni Syiincanwôn à gî kan mu ma” (whatever you ask for, the old man will give it). These traits of his will weigh in how the whole story will play out. This stanza serves as a stage for the story that will unfold. As such, it is the first essential juncture of the story. This stanza is concerned with descriptive and factual materials that release overlapping and durative information about an essential aspect of the background of the story.

55 The arguments of the verb are used as a basis for characterizing the participants in this study. However, it is noteworthy, that other means also serves the same purpose, such as the role and semantic considerations. That said the defeat of the genie is not based on the argument structure of the sentence. Rather, it is generated from content and semantic considerations. We first see him engaged in chores, something that is quite debasing for the dreadful genie, and then he takes to his heels in the wild.
Anyone that came to the old man and said they wanted anything whatsoever, he would give it.

In stanza M, line 44 reads, “[. . .] né pyë?ele ya?a à wi ka” ([. . .] and [he] let Hare go away). This quote manifests an outstanding, magnanimous move attesting thus to the fact the old man can live up to his exceptional human traits described in stanza E. Freeing Hare is a turning point in the story, which has far-reaching consequences, as we shall see later. The action is encoded in the preterit by means of two dynamic verbs, “ya?a” (let) and “ká” (go away) located on the eventline of the story.

The old man freed the genie from predators by shaving his overgrown hair in which a host of parasitical beasts lived. Now, strangely enough, the genie wants his hair back on his head, as shown in stanza Z, lines 102 and 103, below. Yet, the genie is the very one who made the request, “À wi jo nànlëew nyçc wóri na sí nyúngì kùni wóri na” (he asked the old man to do him a favor by shaving his head). As the genie is saved from the predators that used to live in his shaggy hair, he has regained strength and all of his senses. Now he embodies the dreadful evil creature he has always been known to be. He is in command now, as one would expect a genie to behave.
The paradox noted in the genie’s move introduces the very first opposition leading to a conflict critical to the story outcome. As we shall see, this mischievous move on the part of the genie will lead to his perdition. The verb “jo” (said) “lle” (take) and “táriga” (stick) are all independent verbs high in transitivity, as they require immediate actions by the old man.

T3K, Z, 102-3) [. . .] à māde-nan-w jo

[. . .] DP genie-man-def. told
nān-lēe-w wóři njóor-i lēe táriga baà.
man-old=def. his hair-def. took stuck there

(T3K, Z, 102-3) '[. . .] (DP) the genie told the old man to put the shaved hair back on’.

Hare re-enters at a point in the story where the genie treats the old man roughly. Then we are told that Hare went back and got a flask in stanza AH, lines 39 and 40. Though little is known about what Hare may be up to, it is certain that he is acting in a very decisive way. The verbs “lúgo” (returned), “káa” (went), “caa” (fetched) describe crucial dynamic moments. The preterit and the perfective aspects inform the actions Hare carries out here.

T3K, AH, 39-40) À pyè?ele lúgo mà káa

DP Hare returned asp-gap went
mà sáà kúngbóló caa, sísajée cálà.
asp-gap sd-d flask-indef. fetched, bouillon-washer calabash

(T3K, AH, 39-40) '(DP) Hare went back to fetch a flask, a bouillon-washer like calabash’.

We know that Hare got in the flask and rolled it toward the farmyard. Then we are told that he reaches the farmyard, “Mà baà nan kpúguru bè na” ([he] arrived at the farm and stopped abruptly before them), stanza AL, line 153. The presence of Hare (hidden in the pot) where these individuals are at is an omen of a forthcoming solution to the problem of the old man. The ideophone “kpúguru” (translated by “abruptly/suddenly”) can be regarded as a punctiliar adverb modifying “nàn” (arrived). Thus, the swiftness and immediacy that this
punctiliar adverb grants the verb “nan” (arrived) seems to introduce in a subtle way the fact that the case will be dealt with squarely and in no time.

T3K, AL, 153-4) Né páan bañ gúru gúru gúru,

And came thus noisily

Mà baà nan kpúguru bé na.

*T3K, AL, 153-4* ‘And [he = Hare] rolled the flask down noisily toward the farmyard and stopped abruptly when he reached them’.

A key moment is reached in stanza AV when the messenger of God gives the verdict in the name of God: the genie will be allowed to eat the old man on condition that he removes all his footprints from the farm. As a corollary to this, he will have to face severe consequences in case he fails. As seen here, the paradox of the genie is met with another. The verdict in stanza AV pertains to a decision line that affects the way the rest of the story will unfold. It is encoded in conditional margin by means of “à” the conditional marker in, “à wi gbàn mà wéè tenyén-gèli kòli kwó” (if he is able to remove all his footprints completely), and a premise that sets boundaries, “Yébligú kó nan tlaanjéwè ni í” (literally “the night does not reach the middle,” meaning “before middle night.”), as a tangible base for enforcing the verdict. Then, the independent clause that encloses the main event rendered by the verb “káa” (eat) is in the potential aspect by means of “à” (the potential marker “a” collapsed with “wí” (he) to yield “wáà”) in line 199.

T3 K, AW, 195-7) Yéblig-ì kó nan tlaanjê-ñ ni í,  

Night-def. neg. arrived middle-def. in cli.  

à wi gbàn mà wéè tenyén-gèli kòli kwó,  

if he could asp-gap his footprints-def. removed completely,  

wá-à Syínicanwé káa  

he-asp-pot the old man eat
‘If he is able to remove all his footprints from the farm before midnight, he will [be allowed to] eat the old man’.

Pivots are signposts along the dramatic arc of a story. As a property of the content, the pivots are located in different areas of the story. They generally pertain to foreground materials. But they may also be located in supportive background materials that serve as a springboard to the mainline information or materials that ensue from the mainline. Owing to this, pivots are generally marked by an assortment of forms as seen in the examples provided above: typical background information forms such as the imperfect tenses in general and verbal aspects such as the durative and the iterative, in addition to forms usually characteristic of foreground information such as the preterit and the perfective or completive aspects. In some pivotal zones, background information serves as a springboard for foreground info, which is why these levels of information sometimes appear concomitantly.

**Peak**

In this portion of the discussion, I dealt with both action peaks and the peak proper.

*Action peaks.* Stanzas L, AE, and AW laid out below encompass events that identify with the action peaks of the story. The first action peak is the very first manifestation of the magnanimous qualities of the old man. Not only does the old man spare Hare's life, “À wi yè?ele yige” (he freed Hare from the trap), but also he sees to it that he is at his best, health wise, “mà tógi syóng³ fwọ wí na” ([he] treated his leg very well). It is the highest point in the episode. The verb “yige” and “fwọ” realize actions in the preterit and the completive.

(T3 K, L, 37-39) À wi pyè?ele yige,

\[DP\] he Hare freed

mà pyè?ele fwọ,

\[asp-gap\] Hare treated

mà tógi syóng³ fwọ wí na.

\[asp-gap\] leg-def. well treated him on

(T3 K, L, 37-39) ‘(DP) he freed Hare, treated his leg; he treated his leg well’.
The second action peak comes in stanza AE when the ungrateful genie informs the old man that he intends to devour him, “wóri à Syiîncanwôn káa” (he would eat the old man) (Line 123). The verb “káa” (eat) carrying the main event in this stanza is in the potential aspect rendered by “à.” Then, in order to signify to him that he means what he says, the genie gives an ultimatum: before midnight, “níngè” (middle) of the night, “yébligí.” This impossible condition and yet one to be achieved if the old man should stay alive is for the old man to put the genie’s hair back on, “à wi gó wóri ñjóörì taa” (if he did not put his hair back on) (Line 120). As pointed out earlier, “à” marks the condition.

This stanza is the peak of the episode that includes it. The lines in this stanza are parts of a single complex sentence with three embedded clauses: lines 120, 121, and 122, all of which are also indicative of the fact that we are in the action peak zone.

T3K, AE, 119-23) Mà baà gi têë Syiîncanwôn na,

\[ \text{asp-gap sd-p it signify the old man to} \]
\[ à wi gó wóri ñjóörì taa i \]
\[ \text{if he neg. his hair-def. put [back] cli.} \]
\[ mà gí ya?a \]
\[ \text{asp-gap it remained} \]
\[ à yébligì baà nan níngè ni, \]
\[ \text{DP night-def. sd-p arrived middle-indef. in} \]
\[ wóri à Syiîncanwôn káa. \]
\[ \text{he asp-pot the old man eat} \]

(T3K, AE, 119-23) ‘He [the genie] told the old man that if he failed to put his hair back on before midnight he would eat him’.

Stanza AW is reminiscent of stanza AE, in that it is about conditions and premises put forward in the verdict released by the figure judging between the old man and the genie. Line 192 and 193 reveal the condition, “Màdenanw fán?a gá taa mà wèë tènyëngëli pé?ë koli kwôc dàani na ni” (If the genie is able to remove all his footprints [from the farm] he will eat
the old man), and the premise is “Yéblígi kó nan tláanjew ni” (before midnight). The grammatical marking found in stanza AE are also in order here. As we know, the above is the root cause of the defeat of the genie. It represents the action peak of the episode.

Action peaks represent central points in episodes that enclose them, and the highest levels next to the peak proper in the story. As shown above, like most peak zones, they are characterized by a variety of linguistic forms. Based on the above examples, these forms include the preterit, imperfect tenses, condition margin, potential aspects, etc. Further, complexity of expression also seems to signal action peak zones.

*The peak event.* One rarely goes past a peak without any recognition in a well-told story, because, from the vantage point of the dramatic development, it represents the ultimate level on the dramatic arc from which originates the resolution of conflicts that drive the development of the story. In narrative tales in general, the peak events are often marked in a way that commands attention.

In the story under study, stanza AAC coincides with the peak. It includes a decisive action, “à wi fân gbàbáw” (he ran off/hurriedly), which suggests that an ultimate critical point has been reached. The ideophone “gbàbáw” (meaning ‘suddenly’, ‘hurriedly’) is a punctiliar adverb, which enhances this crucial action on the eventline. “Fân” (ran off) and “fali” (stayed/remained: “fali” collapsed with “baà” [there] to yield “fal-aà” ), the verbs of the main events described actions realized in the preterit and in the completive aspect. In line 211, in contrast, the negation marker “gó” modifying the compound verb “koli kwóó” (removed-finished: finished removing) shows us that the action of removing footprints is still under way when the ultimate action takes place. Thus line 211 is realized by means of the imperfect tense and the continuative aspects.

The whole peak is rendered in three simple and straightforward clause: “Áah, tenyéngèli gó koli kwóó” ([. . .] the footprints were not all removed), “à wi fân gbàbáw” (he run off), and “mà fal-aà” ([he] stayed there [in the woods]). The short and concise expression noted here forwards a clear and unequivocal message to listeners and readers, as to the outcome of the situation. The genie conceded defeat. Brevity as pointed earlier also seems to bear the badge of the peak.
T3k, AAC, 211-3) Áah, tenyen-géli gó koli kwọ,  
Well, footprints-def. neg. removed finished  
à wi ṣi n gbàbáw  
DP he ran hurriedly  
mà fal-aà  
asp-gap stayed-there

(T3k, AAC, 211-3) ‘Well, seeing that his footprints were not removed completely, he suddenly ran off into the woods and stayed there’.

Although the peak is the key point of the eventline, it is marked by various verbal forms including, the imperfect and the preterit tenses, on one hand, and the completive and continuative aspects, on the other. Also laconic expression seems to be one of the many tricks that have come to characterize the peak.

Pivotal zones, action peaks, and the peak are critical ingredients in story development. As such they remain very prominent constituent parts of narratives in general. However, unlike other levels of information they have proved quite elusive and hard to pin down when it comes to their grammatical markings, because they do not fit any single strict categorization. Pivots, overwhelmingly, come in forms that pertain to the foreground information. But they also allow forms that belong to background information in general. Action peaks and the peak events are the least predictable, as anything, absolutely anything can happen in these areas of narratives, which is why peak zones are referred to as “zone of turbulence” (Longacre, 1967, 1996).

How are Levels of Information Managed?

The aim of the researcher in this section of the study is to distinguish between background (old) and foreground (new) information. The overall aim is to establish the linguistic devices that allow for delineating each type of information in the story. Background information includes both the background scene out of which the story grows, that is to say the setting of the story and major background events and activities conducive to the development of the story as such. Background information also marks out the plot of the story in an intricate dialectical relationship with new information.
The task will consist of a two-step development. First, I will deal with the introductory scene by virtue of its singular features. Second, I will consider the story itself.

The Introductory Scene

The setting of the backdrop of the story in terms of time and space occurs in stanza C, below. Line eight reads, “Nanwàa péè ne yeri, nànlëcwàa, Syiincanwôn” (There was a man called Syiincanwôn). As shown in the interlinear gloss, “péè” is the collapsed form of “pé beè” (they + the marker of the remote past). Thus, “beè,” used here to modify “yeri” (literally “called”), sets the remote past as the temporal background of the story. Then it is said, “Donc, Syiincanwôn, à wí sàá se?-è còo” (So, the old man created a farm in the middle of the woods). The farm in question is the venue of the story that will unfold. Further, in line 8 and 9, “Sìyiincanwôn,” the central character in the story is introduced.

T3K, C, 8-11) Nanw-àa péè ne yeri, nàn-lëcw-àa, Syiincanwôn.

Man-indef they-aspect-past asp-cont called, man-old-indef., the old man

Donc, Syiincanwôn, à wí sàá se-?è còo,
So the old man DP he sd-d farm-indef. created

Sìnbirëg-ì láama ni,
woods-def. middle in

né sìyìngè né fàli baà
and (did ) well asp-cont cultivated there

(T3K, C, 8-11) ‘There was a man named Syiincanwôn. So he created a farm in the middle of the wilderness and diligently worked there’.

In the introductory scene there are also descriptive and factual materials, where imperfective verbal forms dominate: imperfect tense and durative aspect. For instance, stanza D, lines 12-7 lists various types of food items that the old man grows on his farm, “nànbyé” (yams), “pàdege” (corn), “màza” (peanuts), etc. Such materials are set outside chronological
order. They therefore evoke background information shedding some light on both the activity of the old man and his material standing.

The setting of the story – time, space and situation – is achieved by means of imperfect tenses and verbal aspects marking the remote past, factual, and durative information.

The Body of the Story

As pointed out earlier, strands of supportive background materials are developed against materials in the eventline. Owing to this fact, it seems more convenient to assess the different levels of information based on the combined fashion in which they appear. However, before proceeding any further there are interesting instances of stand-alone foreground information that command attention. Stanza F and G are perfect examples. Stanza F, lines 21 and 22 are concerned with an important prop, “gariga” (trap). The compound verb “tú?u mà tòn” or “tú?u tòn” (“dug-covered” are actually translated by “set”) is a dynamic verb that describes a sequential action. The tense is the preterit and the aspect is completive.

\[
\text{T3K, F, 21-2) À Syiǐncanwûn máa baà garig-a tú?u}
\]
\[
\text{DP old man also sd-p trap-indef. dug}
\]
\[
mà tòn wèè ség-i nyọ-ọ na.
\]
\[
\text{asp-gap covered his farm-def. outskirts-indef. at}
\]

(T3K, F, 21-2) ‘(DP) the old man also set a trap at the outskirts of his farm’.

The other example is offered in stanza G. It begins with, “Cangàa cengwọbligì nyọ na” (one day, early in the evening), which sets a time frame for an action to take place. This temporal margin sets a time sequence on the storyline, and it identifies with typical materials that delineate timeline through verbal marking. It is interesting to note that “lọọ,” the action for which time is framed is in the perfective aspect and the preterit.

\[
\text{T3K, G, 23-4) Cangàa cengwọblig-ì nyọ-ọ na,}
\]
\[
\text{Some day evening-def. beginning-indef. in}
\]
\[
mà káà fúlom-à lọọ wèè ség-i nyọ-ọ na.
\]
\[
\text{asp-gap finally noise-indef. heard his farm-def. outskirts-indef. at}
\]
(T3K, G, 23-4) ‘Some day in the early evening he eventually heard some noise coming from the farm’s outskirts’.

In the discussion that follows I considered a few examples in which old and new information appear concomitantly. In stanza J, line 30, “À wi gá tàgbógurgyì yìge” (when lifted the hoe-handle) is a subordinated clause. Actions in such clauses are regarded as demoted or suppressed actions (Longacre, 1990). Therefore, such clauses pertain to background materials. Contiguous with this clause is “je” (said) an active and dynamic saying verb that introduces an event on the eventline, “à pyè?ele je, “ée mìì pu?ò, mìì ya?a” (Hare said, “please spare me) in line 31-32. As one would expect the tense of “je” is the preterit and the aspect is the perfective.

(T3K, J, 30-4) À wi gá tàgbógurgyì yìge

DP he when hoe-handle-def. lifted
à pyè?ele je, “ée mìì pu?ò,
DP Hare said, “Oh, please
mìì ya?a,
me spare
fàá mìì kpòò í,
imper-mood-neg me kill cli.
fàá mìì kpòò í.”
imper-mood-neg me kill cli.”

(T3K, J, 30-4) ‘When he lifted the hoe handle [to hit Hare], Hare said, “please spare my life, do not kill me, do not kill me.”’

There are a number of examples in the story that parallel the above, for instance stanzas X and Z. In stanza X, for example, “À wi gá ɲòmi tìm” (when he got well rested) serves as a background for “à wi yìrì” (he got up), which belongs to the mainline materials.
In stanza O, line 50, the verb “waa” (go), introducing the main event, is modified by the continuative aspect marker, “në.” Thus the action described here is in the imperfective aspect, something that cues to us that the material of concern here is backgrounded. Actually, it serves as a springboard to the next material located on the mainline, “mà sàà gí nyaa ée, yagàa félegè.” ([he] saw it was, gosh! Some sort of thing).

T3K, O, 50-2) À wí yiri ne waa,  

DP he got up asp-cont go
mà sàà gí nyaa,
asp-gap sd-d it saw,
éé, yagàa félegè.
gosh, something kind

(T3K, O, 50-2) ‘(DP) he got up and as he went there; he saw it, gosh, some sort of thing’

There seem to be definite ways in which background and foreground materials are delineated in narrative tales. Foreground information is generally encoded by means of dynamic verbs describing volitional, sequential and punctiliar actions in the preterit and the completive aspect. Background information, on the other hand, both in the setting and the body of the story occurs in materials that are marked in various ways in terms of tenses, aspects, and varied syntactical properties, such as subordinate and conditional clauses.

How is the Dramatic Development Maintained?

This question is mainly concerned with the organization of the plot (See T1K, Question 2.4).

First, I laid out the storyline, then developed the dramatic movement that informs the tale.

Storyline

- An extremely generous old man creates a farm in the middle of the woods
- He sets a trap
- He catches Hare
- Hare begs him to spare his life
- The old man frees, treats, and lets hare go
- Another day the old man hears a scream coming from the outskirts of his farm
- A genie is screaming under the bites of beasts that live in his overgrown hair
- The genie begs him to save him from the beasts by shaving his overgrown hair
- The old man shaves the genie’s hair
- **Paradox 1**: as the genie feels fine he wants his hair back on his head
  - The old man begs him to let it grow back
  - The genies refuses and threatens to eat the old man if his hair is not put back on before midnight
  - The old man cries and sings his trouble
  - Hare overhears the song
  - Hare fetches a perforated flask
  - Hare puts some fire inside the flask, gets inside, and rolls it over to the farmyard
  - Hare judges between the two individuals
  - Hare objects to the genie speaking first and asks the old man to speak
  - The old man recounts the circumstances
  - **Paradox 2**: Hare gives the verdict: the genie may eat the old man on condition that he removes all his footprints from the farm and the farmyard
  - The genies tries in vain
  - The genie runs off in the woods
  - The old man is saved.

Pondering on the dramatic development of the tale entails describing ways and means by which the storyline laid out above is managed and maintained.

The conclusion of the introductory scene tells us that the old man is selfless and generous in a way from the ordinary (St E, 18-20). In short, he is a “good Samaritan”. This will thus serve as the ground on which the story will develop. One is watchful about how this will be brought to
bear in the tale and what challenges are there to face ahead, especially challenges that are likely to result in conflicts.

Though the trap is a usual tool in farming in the Nafara society, it is also a conventional weapon against unwanted visitors to farms. Therefore, the motif of the trap has a built-in source of incidents that may lead to tension and by the same token to opposition. In other words, the setting of the trap initiates a dramatic movement. Then we are told that Hare is caught in the trap, “pyë?ele wi côo garigi na” (Hare got caught in the trap) (St. H, 27). What will happen? It is not just any animal. It is Hare, the renowned and beloved character in Nafara tales. Hare begs the old man to spare his life, “à pyë?ele je “ée mii pu?ő, mii ya?a” (Hare said, “please spare me) (St. J, 11-2), which is unusual as it goes counter to conventional practice. Tensions kicks in and carries drama ahead.

How will the old man react to Hare’s plea? Is he going to miss that chance to have a good meal? But behold! This is the kind-hearted and generous man. Will he live up to his qualities of generosity? Only the move of the old man will tell. Everyone seems locked in a dead end, all eyes and ears. Tension keeps rising at this point in the tale, which coincide with the beginning of the action zone in the second episode of the first scene of Section One. Then we reach a pivotal point when, not only does the old man spare Hare’s life, but also he treats his wounds and let him go, “mà tógi fwó wí na, né pyë?ele ya?a à wi ka” ([he] treated him and let him go). This shows that the old man has been able to uphold a serious challenge to the manifestation of his kind nature. As one shall see, sparing Hare’s life will prove to be integral to the story. This is the highest point in the episode.

Another day, a scream is heard, “né kàà nê fúlomì lóri, cangàa nê kwó.” (and, another day, finally, some noise kept coming [from the outskirt of the farm]) (N, 48-9). Something of a singular nature must be going on. What is it? The time frame introduces by “cangàa nê kwó” (another day) starts another trail of dramatic movement. A strange faceless creature, visibly in pain, identifies itself as a genie. A genie? That is really an event! Most genies in Nafara cosmogony are reputed evildoers and very powerful. What will happen? Will the genie eat the old man? Or, will the old man miss that chance to kill the genie, now a weakened and helpless devilish being? The nature of the captive and overall prevailing circumstances increase tension. Then surprise! The genie implores the old man to free him from beasts that torture and
feed upon him. Another challenge to the old man’s nature as a good man has come up. Further, another critical turning point is reached in the story when the old man shaves his overgrown hair, “À nànléew sàà nyúngununÿonné caa mà bà nyúngì kúni màdenanw na” (the old man got a razor-blade and shaved the genie’s hair) (St. V, 82-3).

As unexpected and surprising as it comes, the genie, who is now perked up, wants his hair back on: “à màdenanw jo nànléew wóri ŋjóorì leè tärìga baà” (the genie ordered the old man to put his hair back on) (Z, 102-3). How outrageous? How could that be done? This is blatant ingratitude, indeed. Adverse feelings flair up among the audience, who is now utterly disgusted and amused at the same time. The old man is thunderstruck. Tension builds. Then drama suddenly increases when the genie sets an ultimatum: unless the old man put the genie’s hair back on before midnight, he will be eaten raw, as shown below:

T3K, AE, 119-23) Mà baà gi têe Syiincanwôn na,

\[ \text{asp-gap sd-p it signify the old man to} \]
\[ \text{à wi gó wóri ŋjóorì taa ì} \]
\[ \text{if he neg. his hair-def. put cli.} \]
\[ \text{Mà gí ya?a} \]
\[ \text{asp-gap it remained} \]
\[ \text{à yéblig-ì baà nan níng-è ni,} \]
\[ \text{DP night-def. sd-p arrived middle-indef. in} \]
\[ \text{wóri à Syiincanwôn káa.} \]
\[ \text{he asp-pot the old man eat} \]

(T3K, AE, 119-23) ‘He informed the old man that he would eat him if he failed to put his hair back on before midnight’.

Participants, both inside and outside the story are spellbound, flabbergasted, and confused. This instance of unfairness spurs feelings of frustration, indignation, even rage. This open conflict in which the life of the old man is at stake propels the dramatic tension ahead at this point, which constitutes the second action peaks in the story.
Under the manhandling of the genie, the old man starts to wail while trying to execute the order of the genie, “À Syiincanwûn jén ne ñjóorì lève ne tari. . . né nyenni ne muu” (So the old man attempted to put the hair back on the genie’s head. . . and sang between sobs) (St. AF, 124 & 131). In this pathetic scene the dramatic tension that has been rising gradually reaches a plateau, as participants are expecting the next action, a hypothetical one: Will the old man be eaten? Then re-enters Hare. Drama continues building while an incipient dramatic progression arises by virtue of the audience’s awareness of the presence of Hare on stage, something other inside characters are not aware of.

Hare overhears the old man sing and has a clear indication that he is in serious trouble, “JàˆaÀ pyè’ele, woxrÜÖ beè maxa n™ nyaari n™ pa×an mà nànl™×™wØ nyaa bàan, wi ny™nni màdew max baà” (Meanwhile Hare had been walking leisurely toward the farm [. . .] then he came thus upon the old man, who was crying under the rough treatment of the genie) (AG, 133-135). The presence of Hare at this precise moment makes room for hope that there will be a way out for the old man. But what will he do? Tension picks up again and interest is further spurred. Then we are told that he fetches a perforated flask. What is that artifact for? How does that come into play in the rescue of the old man. Interest in the story is boosted up again. The audience can’t wait to see Hare’s next move. Tension increases steadily as Hare gets in the flask with fire inside56, and rolls it over to the farmyard where the old man and the genie are located. What is next? Everyone is on the lookout, hypothesizing, questioning, strategizing, at this turning point in the story. Tension builds and drama progresses.

Hare, the figure inside the flask, acts as judge, as his questioning suggests, “mèè gi nà, mèè gi nà?” (What is the matter, what is the matter?). Because Hare is clever and cunning, both the old man and the audience have started getting a hint of something salutary coming soon. Drama builds incrementally, its progression developing by virtue of the edge the audience has over the genie: the audience knows that Hare is preparing to rescue the old man, of which the genie is unaware. Hare will not allow the genie to speak first, “À wi màdenanw pyee, ‘Syiincanwûn ya’a wí joo.’” (he said to the genie, “let the old man speak.”) (St. AO, 61-2).

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56 The fire in the perforated flask is background cultural information that may help better see the role of the fire here. At night, the light from the flask is projected on the outside environment from the perforations on the flask, which is very frightening for young children. It stands for an evil being – a ghost, a witch or wizard, etc. Thus, in Nafara communities, putting fire in a perforated flask at night is an efficient and effective way to hold unruly young children in check. So this stratagem is meant to control the Genie.
The fact that Hare is able to quiet the genie down clearly suggests that he has an upper hand over this dreadful creature. This sends a strong signal that substantial help may be near. Everyone seems drawn forward, hankering for the next action that will save the old man. The dramatic tension reaches another plateau as the old man recounts the incidents from stanzas AQ through AU.

Then comes the verdict: prior to eating the old man, the genie must remove his footprints from the entire farm, “Màdenanwò fán?a gá taa mà wèë tènyéngëli pé?e koli kwó dàani na ní. . . wàà Syiincanwòn káa” (if the genie is capable to remove all his footprints from the farm. . .he will [be allowed to] eat the old man) (St. AW, 193-4 and 197). The moment long awaited has come. The genie will be soon caught up with his evil intentions. Participants feel appeased but are at the same time eager to see the conclusion. Tension and dramatic progression are amplified at this moment, which represents the third action peak in the story.

Tension that has been decreasing from the release of the verdict starts building up again as the genie executes the sentence of the judgment. Removing footprints may not be as easy as the genie initially thought. One is curious to know how that will develop. Everyone is riveted to the activity in which the genie is engaged: he keeps making more footsteps as he tries to remove others. Will he ever be successful? Will the genie play by the rules of the verdict? Nothing is certain when it comes to genies. Tension keeps rising slowly but steadily. Then all of a sudden it reaches its paroxysm when the genie unexpectedly runs off into the woods, “à wi fàn gbàbáw mà falaà” (he suddenly ran off into the woods) (AAC, 211-3). The ill-meaning creature has admitted defeat and runs for his life. From its highest point, where it stabilizes for a short spell, tension abruptly falls. This is it! Everyone sits back.

Incidents and conflicts are essential ingredients in the development of narrative tales. The way and fashion in which the attributes of selflessness and generosity characterizing the old man are brought to bear as incidents and conflicts occur constitute the foundation of the tale’s drama. In a certain sense, the dramatic development originates from the attributes of the old man. Then, the manifestation of these attributes and actions that run counter to selfish and paradoxical moves as experienced with the genie constitute the momentum that carries the plot forward.

Hare and the genies have trespassed, which is a clear violation of property regulation. However, during the conflicts that ensue the old man has shown extreme forbearance and magnanimity. In return, the genie has behaved mischievously toward the old man. This instance
of ingratitude gives rise to a dramatic development that resulted in the defeat of the genie; a defeat that would seem to materialize the victory of good over evil.

This story suggests a dramatic cycle laid out in the chart below (Figure 6):

1. The good Samaritan
2. Manifestation of generosity (Saves Hare and the genie)
3. Ingratitude (The genie’s mischievousness)
4. Reward for good deeds (Hare saves the old man)

Figure 6. The dramatic cycle of Tale Three (Kolo)

As one can see in Figure 6, the old man’s “good Samaritan” nature (1) is illustrated in (2) when he spares the life of Hare and the genie. However, the genie makes a show of blatant mischievousness by looking for an excuse to devour the old man (3). Hare weighs in to do the right thing: he saves the old man and confounds the genie, who runs off in the woods for his life (4). In the end the good Samaritan is rewarded for his good deeds. In romantic narrative good always prevail over evil in happy ending.

How is the Tale Structured?

Aperture

The teller formally opens the story with “Mìi sî yè kan” (‘I give you’, which means ‘I will tell you a story’) (A). Then stanza B deals with a type of generalizations one often finds in Nafara tale, and whose function often is to spur critical thinking right at the outset of the story:

T3K, B, 3-7) Hêê pé jo mu shiin-ŋée gá pyee nì,

[. . .] they say you person-this if is caud
à mu fúng-ì nyọ nì,

*DP your heart-def. good caud*

bàn má-à máa kê tòn-wí lìi.

*thus you-asp-pot also its benefit-def. get*

À mu sì péè nì,

*DP you FP wicked caud,*

bàn má-à máa népéér-i tòn-i lìi.

*thus you-asp-pot also wickedness-def. benefit-indef. get.*

(T3k, B, 3-7) ‘[. . . ] they say if a person is kind, that person will be rewarded for their kindness. Now, if you are wicked, you will also be rewarded for your wickedness’.

The above is a subtle and efficient way of not only urging young listeners to do good deeds, but also to prepare them to watch for instances of kindness versus wicked moves in the tale. Above all, by saying this up front the narrator means to draw listener’s attention to the central theme of the story.

As pointed out earlier, “péè” in stanza C, line 8 is the collapsed form of “pé” (they) and “beè”, the aspectual form for the remote past. In this discussion “beè” serves to cue to us that the story took place in a remote time, which is the temporal background of the story. Then we learn that the story is about an old man introduced as follows, “Nanwàa péè nè yeri, nànlêewàa, Syiincanùn” (there was a man, an old man, called Syiincanùn). Literally, “Syiincanùn” means ‘generous person’. His extremely selfless and generous nature is reflected in E, lines 18-20:

T3K, E, 18-20) À mu sì nan nè jo

*DP you FP arrived and said*

gèe ó gèe mu caa nì,

*anything you wanted caud*

Syiincanùn à gí kan mu mà

*The old man asp-pot it give you to*
‘Anyone in need who ever got there and asked for anything whatsoever, the old man would donate generously’.

The old man is a typical “good Samaritan” as I hinted to earlier. The above quote is clear and to the point.

Then it is said that “Done, Syiincanwɔn, à wí sáa se?e còo” (the old man created a farm) (St. C, line 9), in the middle of the woods (sínbirigì láàma ni) (St. C, line 10). In the foregoing there is a clear indication of the place where the story took place. The old man grows various types of crops in abundance on his farm, as shown in stanza D, lines 12 through 17: “nànbyé” (yams), “pàdege” (corn), “màza” (peanuts).

The introductory scene includes foundational components one may expect to find in the introduction to folk narratives, the opening formula, the setting in terms of time and space and the description of the situation. The setting scene also reveals the main character, an old man who is at once generous, courageous, hardworking and prosperous. In addition, it includes generalizations in the form of conventional wisdom geared toward educational purposes.

The Body of the Story

There are two sections in this tale: Section One goes from stanzas F to AF, and is entitled “The old man,” while Section Two, which goes from stanzas AG to AAD is titled “The return of Hare.”

Stanza E, the conclusion of the scene that lays out the background of the story clearly indicates that the old man is endowed with particular sentiments of generosity and selflessness, which provoke events in the story. Setting up the trap is the first action of the old man in the first section, “À Syiincanwɔn máà baà gariga tᴜ?u mà tón wéè ségì nyɔɔ na” (the old man also set a trap on the outskirts of his farm) (F, 21-2). The introduction of the motif of the trap will initiate a series of actions that will manifest the qualities of the old man described in stanza E. From this perspective, stanza F from the first episode of Section One, hangs on stanza E.

Section One has two scenes titled “The magnanimous move of the old man” (St. F-M) and “The ungrateful genie” (St. N-AF). The first scene has two episodes: in the first (St. F-H), Hare is caught in the trap, and the second (St. I-M) the old man frees Hare from the trap, treats him and lets him go. These episodes are linked as the second episode is the plain demonstration of
instances of the magnanimity of the old man, based on circumstances relevant in the first episode.

The second scene of Section One includes three episodes. In the first episode, which includes stanzas N-T, we are given the portrait of a helpless and suffering genie, prey to a host of parasitical beasts that live in his shaggy hair. The first stanza in this episode introduces a time sequence by means of “cangàà” (some day) (St. N, 45) reiterated later in line 49, “cangàà né kwôc” (another day). Thus the timeline initiated here develops from stanza M of the previous scene. Therefore, the last stanza of the first scene, which informs us that the old man treated Hare and let him go is a plateau serving as a stage for the second scene. The second episode of the second scene, which comprises stanzas U through X, describes another instance of the old man’s generosity and solidarity. He frees the genie from the beasts that have been biting him. On the other hand, stanza U shows the genie begging for help. Thus it (stanza U) builds on stanza T, from the previous episode and which reads, “Nôngír lâ wârî wî na, à wî yîrî nè yêkpogi wáa” (the bites got so painful that he started screaming). The last episode (St. Y-AF) exposes a blatant instance of the genie’s ingratitude. In this episode, “à màdenaw jo nànléew wòrî líjóorî lë täriga baà” (the genie told the old man to put his hair back on his head) (St. Z, 102-3) is the first event on the plotline. This event is pictured as a consequence of what happened in stanza X, from the preceding episode, “À wî gà nôni tîn, à wî yîrî” (When he got well rested, he got up.) As we know, the first thing the genie does when he feels in good shape is to demand that his hair be put back on.

Section Two comprises three scenes each having one episode. The first scene (St. AG-AL) may be titled “Hare prepares to rescue the old man,” “The judgment” is the title of the second scene (St. AM-AW), and the third (St. AX-AAD) is entitled “The defeat of the genie.” The last stanza (AF) of the last episode of Section One describes the old man singing his sorrow between sobs while trying to put the hair back on the genie’s head. Then the first stanza (AG) of the first episode of Section Two tells us that Hare overhears the song, which clearly indicates that his benefactor is in trouble. The knowledge of the fact that the old man has been being roughly treated prompts Hare to act. Thus, Section Two gets connected to Section One by means of the organic link between stanzas AF and AG.
The three scenes of Section Two coincide with the single episode they each include. The first stanza (AM) of the second scene, which is about the questioning of the figure in the pot (Hare) in the role of the judge hangs on the last stanza (AL) of the previous scene, which tells us that Hare has reached the farmyard where the individuals are located, “Né páan bān gūru gūru gūru, mà bā̀ nan kpūguru bē naï (And [he] came thus noisily, and stopped abruptly before them when he arrived). Then, stanza AW closing the second scene announces the verdict of the judge, “Màdenanwô fàn?a gá taa mà wèè tenyèngèli pé?e koli kwó dàani na nì . . . wàà Syiincanwôn kàà” (He [the genie] will [be allowed to] eat the old man if he is capable to remove all his footprints before midnight) (AW, 192-3 and 197). Stanza AW is actually the action peak of the episode that encloses it. The genie will act upon this verdict given in scene two as shown in stanza AX, which actually is the very first stanza pertaining to the mainline in the third and last scene (St, AX-AAG), “À wi fali nè tenyèngèli pèe nè koli fàw fàw fàw” (He [the genie] started sweeping and removing his footprints furiously). Thus the third scene is shown to build on the preceding one.

The denouement, the resolution and the thematic peak are laid out in this order. Stanza AAD reads, “À wi fàn mà fali nyàngi ni nà Syiincanwôn ya?à” (he ran away into the bush and left the old man alone). In a certain way this stanza is an elaboration of the peak event through the use of the verb “fàn” (ran). Here, “ran,” this dynamic verb is deprived of the high tension found in the peak event and which is underscored by the ideophone “gbàbáw,” expressing the hurriedness, the suddenness, and speed that characterizes the flight of the genie. Tension is created and upheld by the presence of the genie at the same location as the old man. But now they are in different locations (the genie is in the bush and the old man is on the farm yard). Therefore, there is no room for tension any more. Further, it is explicitly said, “nè Syiincanwôn ya?à” (and left the old man alone). Owing to the foregoing, it would seem convenient to regard stanza AAD as the denouement.

The resolution is explicitly rendered by means of the verb “syʊʊ” (saved) in stanza AAE, line 216 and 218, which is a clear allusion to the fact that the conflict is no longer in order. The storyteller wraps the resolution in two rhetorical questions, which imply that the generosity of the old man may be the real cause of his salvation: “Syiincanwôn kacèngèli kòò lé gé
“Syiincanwôn syûn?” (Is it not the good deeds of the old man that saved him?) (L.216), and “À Syiincanwôn kô beè pyè?le ya?a í, wàà beè syûn lé cangèë?” (Had not the old man saved Hare, would he have been saved what day?) (L. 217-8). In other words, Hare is the instrument of his salvation, but the old man’s “good Samaritan” qualities may be regarded as the far-reaching drive.

The thematic peak is developed in stanza AAF, lines 220-2:

T3K, AAF, 219-23) Gèê na bé jo

That is why they say
à mú mu syôn nyaa
if you your folk see
wi ne kacèn-gêli kpé?ele,
he asp-cont deed-good-def. does
má-à gá kée tòní-w taa.
You-asp-pot eventually their benefits-def. get.

Syiincanwôn mà kacèn-gêli tòn-I taa kórì cang-i.
The old man asp-pres good deeds-def. benefit-def. got that day-def.

(T3K, AAF, 219-23) ‘That is why they say if someone does good deeds, they will benefit from them eventually’.

The moral of the story is that “a good deed will have its reward.” The thematic peak, in a sense, reiterates the conventional wisdom put forward in the introduction of the story, and according to which good deeds are always rewards in the end. Thus, the thematic peak appears to be a reinforcement of that theme central to the story for educational purposes.

The last stanza (AAG), as one would expect, coincides with the closure of the story. First, the storyteller tells us that the story is closed, “Nèê sî nî kwôc bàn” (that one ends thus). Then follows a typical phrase used in some Nafara communities, “Mû?urigwôc kagwôc nàmarê” (Joke of end of story). The pronunciation of this formula is a point in the story that all members of the speech community recognized as the ultimate closure of the current story.

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This joke usually introduces a teasing formula that evokes the world of stories; and which is offered to wrap up the closure of the current turn, for instance, “Wàa ká náanégànge taa né ní kan mìi má nyàa gi kàrigà jàdigi” (if someone gave me an ardent charcoal, I would turn it into a pair of trousers) (Lines 226-8). In the realm of tales the word is magic, as it allows one to create and dissolve the world. This last formula generally announces the time at which another storyteller may step in and take over the storytelling session.

Summary of the Rhetorical Pattern

Aperture

“Mìì sí yè kan” (I will tell you a tale) a common opening formula comes first in the opening scene by way of announcing the storyteller’s intention to tell a story. This is followed by a generalization about men’s deeds and retributions that ensue as logical outcomes, depending on the types of deeds –good deeds lead to a reward, while bad ones result in punishment or disgrace. This is a perfect way (among many others) to focus listeners’ attention by prefacing the story with a comment that stresses the central theme.

The setting is realized, first by means of “bèè” in “péè,” the collapsed form of “pé,” they, and “bèè”, the verbal aspect suggesting the remote past as the temporal background of the story. Then we are given the venue of the story – it is a farm that the old man created deep down in the wilderness. The old man in question is the main character. He is portrayed as a diligent and hardworking farmer who produces several crops in abundance. Further, not only is the old man prosperous, he is also generous and magnanimous in a particular way. Thus is set the backdrop of the story.

The Body

The tale encompasses two sections. Section One is about the old man’s benevolent and generous actions on one hand, and others’ counter-actions that challenge his exceptional attributes, on the other. The first scene illustrates the manifestation of the good nature of the old man. Hare and the genie have violated the privacy of his property. Yet, he spares Hare’s life and frees the genie from the torture of a colony of beasts. On the other hand, the second scene depicts
the evil nature of the genie, who threatens to devour the very man who has just saved him. Scene one includes three episodes, while scene two has three.

Section Two has three scenes that coincide with their respective episodes. Scene one shows Hare in the preparatory stage of rescuing the old man, then the second scene is about the settlement of the dispute between the old man and the genie. The third scene deals with the circumstances of the defeat of the genie. Having realized that he is unable to remove his footprints, the genie flees.

An explicit statement of the resolution follows the denouement. The moral of the tale, in a sense, is a restatement of the central theme of the story according to which, ultimately, men are rewarded or punished, depending on the quality of the deeds they engage in. The closure of the story is realized by means of a conventional closing formula, and a teasing statement that purports to remind listeners and readers that the narrative is a “story,” not “reality.”

The old man is introduced as a major character, a characteristic he retains throughout the story. Hare is depicted as a secondary character in Section One, based on the syntactical categories in which he appears: alternately he is the object of the verb or of the postposition, on one hand, and topic of the sentence, on the other. However, from the moment Hare is reintroduced in Section Two until the closure of the story he is generally topic of the sentence, which is a gauge of his status as a major character. The genie is first introduced as an object of the verb, then in subsequent appearances he occurs in lower as well as higher syntactical functions. Therefore, it is convenient to confer him the status of a secondary character. As for the props, they are introduced and tracked as object of the verb or of the postposition.

The introductory scene of the story mostly consists of background materials. Likewise, there are background materials appearing concomitantly with foreground materials in the body of the story. All these materials delineating background information are encoded in various linguistic forms such as imperfect and present tenses generally supplemented by verbal aspects such as the incompletive and durative. On the other hand, the preterit and the completive aspects linguistically materialize foreground information, the very information that moves the plot ahead. Pivotal and peak zones pertain to foreground information. However, in addition to forms characteristic of foreground information, an assortment of forms pertaining to background, supportive and descriptive information are found in some peak and pivotal zones.
The timeline of the dramatic development seems discontinuous. Consequently, there seems to be a series of connected timelines. In sum, a timeline develops and stops at an important juncture, generally a turning point or pivot. Then a new timeline pertaining to a new scene or episode picks up from an event, situation or activity from the previous moment (episode), which actually serves as its stage, and develops until it stops somewhere. Then, another timeline springs from where the preceding left off, and so on (See Figure 7, below).

Figure 7. The timeline chart in Tale Three (Kolo)

In Figure 7, the horizontal bars represent the source of the timeline, generally a pivot event or activity pertaining to the contiguous structural part (scene or episode), while the vertical poles represent units of timeline.
Part 4. Looking Across the Versions of the Tales Used in the Study

My aim in this section of the study was to examine the rhetorical structures that transpire in the versions of the popular tales included in this study in order to identify commonalities and differences. I compared and contrasted the templates of the rhetorical patterns developed for each popular tale with the leading pattern of other versions of the same popular tale. Recall that the six versions of the popular tales on which this study is centered include three versions of Tale One, two of Tale Two, and one of Tale Three. This analysis concerned only tales that have more than one version; only Tale One and Tale Two will be of concern here. In order to accomplish this task, I scrutinized components of the constituent parts of the notional structure of the versions under scrutiny: aperture, body and finis. In the body, the key rubrics around which the summary of the rhetorical pattern is built – the introduction and tracking of characters, the marking of the pivots and peaks, and the management of new and old information – were given more attention. I also addressed issues relating to themes in the dramatic development.

Assessing the Organizational Patterns of the Versions of Tale One

In this part, I set the summary of the rhetorical patterns of the versions of Tale One told by Adama and Sidiky against the template of the rhetorical pattern developed from Kolo’s version.

Aperture

Kolo’s version of Tale One begins with a didactic talk, which is followed by the setting (time and space), then the background situation and the conclusion to the setting scene, serving as a stage for the story, as shown in the summary of the rhetorical pattern based on Kolo’s version of Tale One. In contrast, Adama begins with “Mië së jo nyàa mú?uriil kan yè má, cangàa” (I want to tell you a story, today) (T1A, A, 1-2), which is actually an instance of the pep talk of the storyteller with the audience; a talk pursued over the next two stanzas (B and C, lines 3-6), where the storyteller releases two sayings, “Cangè o cangè mu nyaa ni, ki nyëe në kéë cangè nì” (“Everyday has its own day,” which means “everyday has its reality”) (T1A, B, 3-4), and “À mu góò cåli saa, mu kàà kóli saa i” (your reach should exceed your grasp) (T1A, C,
It is noteworthy that it is only in the fourth stanza that Adama formally opens the session with, “Mii sì yè kan” (I will tell you a story/this is the story I will tell you/here goes the story I want to tell you) (T1A, D, 7). Then he proceeds to give the setting: first, the temporal setting, “bôôma ni” (long time ago) (T1A, D, 7), which is reinforced by “beè” the verbal aspect marking the remote past, then he gives the place – the animal village. Then, in a short lecture-like talk, Adama gives the characterization of Hyena (T1D, D & E, 7-15), before presenting the background situation and the conclusion according to which only arboreal animals are left (T1A, F, 20-22).

Sidiky, on the other hand, begins with, “Mii jànvàw nàn mu nyaa nì í . . . Àh ! Pyè?le né Kàjôô né kóbêli ní wii” (The lie I have for you . . . is about Hare, Hyena and the monkeys) (T1S, A, 1-2). He prefaces the session with the comment that he is going to tell a story, not real facts, and gives the title. Then he pursues with, “bôôma ni, bôôma léma ni” (long time ago, very long time ago) (T1S, B, 3-4), which indicates the temporal setting of the story. After presenting the background situation – famine and animals preying on each other (T1S, D, 9-11)– Sidiky reaches the same conclusion that the others do, and according to which it remained only arboreal beings. The conclusion of the scene setting in Adama and Sidiky’s versions, like Kolo’s, serves as a springboard to the eventline in the stories proper.

The examination of the versions of Tale One undeniably showed that the aperture presented some commonalities. But it also showed some differences, especially in terms of details and peripheral elements.

Body

Introduction and tracking of characters. Participants were introduced and tracked in the same way across all the versions of Tale One. In other words, what was noted in the summary of the rhetorical pattern developed from Kolo’s version was in order in other versions. By way of illustration, I provided a few examples from Adama and Sidiky’s versions.

In Adama’s story, Hyena is first mentioned as the subject of an existential clause, “kàjôôyé sì bé nye yawéekpôligéli” (It is Hyena and consort who are big animals) (T1A, D, 10). This function is a high-level syntactic category in the sentence. Therefore, it suggests that Hyena is a major character. Subsequent references to Hyena do confirm this status in most parts
of the story. Stanza K, among others, is a perfect illustration of the fact: “À wí gá kôdôgı caa, à wí gí tò?o ne nyaari” (when he finally got the pot, he carried it on his head and wandered about) (lines 35-36). The anaphoric references “wí” (he), the subject of “caa” (fetched), “tò?o” (carried), and “nyaari” (wander), respectively, stands for Hyena.

A few examples from Adama and Sidiky’s stories seem to point to a shift in Hyena’s status. In “À gí baà wári kàjë na” (it got hard on Hyena), Hyena is the object of the postposition in the adverbial phrase “kàjë na” (T2A, AAG, 246), while he is patient of the verb “só?o” (burned) in, “À wí só?o wí ká ni gbàn mú” (He got burnt to the point that he could not sing any more) (T1A, AAH, 247-48). Similarly, Hyena is patient in “Wí kùu wii baà” (No doubt, he died in there) (T1S, AAAZ, 395), in Sidiky’s version. As pointed out earlier, arguments of the verb, such as “patient” and “object” are low-level categories in the sentence. Therefore, Hyena is portrayed as a minor character at these specific points in the development of the stories presented by Adama and Sidiky. Unlike Hare, who keeps his status as a major character in the story from start to finish, Hyena is demoted to the status of a minor character toward the end in the version of Adama and Sidiky, much as he is noted in Kolo’s version.

**Pivots and peak zones.** Like pivots in Kolo’s version of Tale one, pivots in Adama and Sidiky’s stories are marked by means of various grammatical items, including various past tense constructions in the imperfect, the preterit and the simple present, all supplemented with various aspects, such as continuative, habitual, and perfective. For instance, in Both Adama and Sidiky’s versions, the conclusion to the setting scene is in the imperfect tense. In Adama’s version it reads, “[.. .]à bé di káa péw, mà baà kwó, à di baà kwó, dàâni na, à di baà kwó, à gí baà nan tiiyè wóro na” (they ate them [animals] all, they finished on the ground, and it got to those living in trees) (F, 19-22). Similarly, “À kí sí kòri yawéeri tí nye nààmá: fejëngeli né kôbëli” (there remained only animals living above: birds and monkeys) (T1S, F, 15-6) is also encoded in the imperfect tense. On the other hand, stanza J, “Wàllàa, mà baà kanmàa caa gí na, júskaa (jusqu’à) mà baà kôdô?ca” (That is it! [he] found a way, he fetched a pot) (J, 33-4), which is a pivotal zone in Adama’s story includes actions, sequential in nature, and which are grammatically marked with the preterit and the completive aspect.
The following, “Naági le mà kwô . . . naági bàà yiri vàgi vàgi vàgi; à bé kôdôgi lèe ta?a” (They started the fire, it got big with high flames; then they put the pot [on the stove]) (T1S, AAAK, 325-7) is a pivotal zone in Sidiky’s version. This sentence exposes sequential and punctiliar actions (“le”[started] and “ta? a” [put]) that are realized in the preterit and the completive form.

Grammatical markings at peak zones (action peaks and the peak of the story) in Adama and Sidiky’s versions also parallel those noted in the summary of the rhetorical pattern, based on Kolo’s story. The peak zones come with various forms, such as those found on the eventline and in background materials. In Sidiky’s version, “À bé yági mú?u, à wí yíri, heuh, heuh, heuh” (They opened the pot, and he got out, breathing heavily) (AR, 151-3) is a good example of an action peak zone. Central events on the storyline expressed by “mú?u” (opened) and “yíri” (got out) are realized in the preterit and the completive aspect, while the action of breathing is in the durative. The peak in Adama’s story reads as follows, “À wí só?o wí ká ní gbàn mú, mà bàà pe, mà bàà mô?ri wéè ní” (AAH, 24-9). The verbs “só?o” (burned) and “pe”(got cooked), expressing events on the storyline, and are in the completive form and the preterit. On the other hand, “mô?ri” (got broken into pieces) is descriptive, therefore, it is realized in the durative and the imperfective aspects.

The above examples confirm that all three versions of Tale One share common properties as far as the formal marking of pivotal and peak zones are concerned.

Old and new information marking. In the summary of the rhetorical pattern provided earlier (Kolo’s), it was made plain that the major levels of information – old and new information – were realized at the emic structure level by different grammatical markings. Old information was encoded in various and sundry forms, including the past perfect, various constructions of the imperfect tense, the simple present, while new information, strictly speaking, was marked by means of the preterit tense and the perfective or completive aspect. Interestingly enough, a scrutiny of these levels of information in Adama and Sidiky’s stories also reveal the same forms. Stanza D, for instance, “Mìi sí yè kan, bôôma ni, kí beè pyee yawéëë èë gáa” (Here goes my story, long time ago, [it was the case that] animals had been eating each other ) (T1A, D, 7-8) shows two tenses: the present (“kan,” literally “give”) and a remote past rendered by “beè,” modifying “pyee” (was). There is even an understood past imperfect construction (it
was the case that) as shown in the translated version of the statement. This is an example of background materials realized by means of a number of forms, as shown above. An example of new information marking from Sidiky’s story follows: “À pè maà tì?î gbrògbro gbrògbro gbrògbro mà baà tënì dåànnì na” (they all climbed down hurriedly and sat under the tree) (AG, 117-8). The verbs “tì?î” (climbed down) and “tënì” (sat) carry actions on the eventline. Thus, they are encoded in the preterit and the completive aspect.

The above analysis showed that grammatical marking is similar in all the three versions, in the body of the stories.

**Dramatic development.** As shown in the templates presented in this study, the dramatic development seems very subjective, because it appears to be the most personalized component of narrative. Owing to this, I will concern myself with the issues relating to themes. For one reason, they are the most tangible and exploitable factor in the dramatic development, and for another, themes are regarded as the most characteristic elements of narrative tales. In this line of thinking Linda Jones (1979) posits, “The essence of a person’s knowledge of a story is not the details or the sequence of events in the story, but rather the themes. In other words, a story is generated from its themes” (p. 329). Likewise, a story is recognized by its essential themes. Therefore, I will examine the central themes that transpire in all versions by tale, and I will also look into the management of these themes, in terms of how storytellers relate them to each other.

In Tale One, all three versions expose two essential themes that build the texture of their stories. First, Hyena devises means to eat arboreal animals. He tricks monkeys into a pot and cooks them. This first theme is “perfidy and malevolence.” Then, the monkeys become aware of the fact and tell Hare about it. Hare helps the monkeys cook Hyena in his own pot. This is the theme of “perdition due to malevolent move.” It is noteworthy that in Adama’s version, there is an important variation on a couple of details generated from the themes. In Theme One, he introduces the red monkeys as the victims of Hyena’s second trick. Then in the second theme, the only survivor from the trick at the red monkeys’ place – the little red monkey – is the protagonist in lieu of Hare, as shown in lines 185-90 (AU). Indeed, the little red monkey is the very one who urges the survivors from his clan to seal the pot when Hyena gets inside to initiate the trick.

In all three versions the first theme sets the ground for the realization of the second. It is striking that, in Kolo and Sidiky’s versions, the junctures between the two themes are marked
grammatically by means of the same temporal elements: “kàà” (finally) in “À gí kàà baà kòbèli fúngó wò” (Finally, the monkeys get very worried) (T1K, AJ, 124) and “kàà” (finally) in “À kòlèèwò wàa kàà sènmi gi na” (An older monkey finally became suspicious of it [Hyena’s trick]) (T1S, AAM, 244). These junctures serve as bridges between the two themes. In the version of Tale One by Adama, there is no such formal marking of the link between the central themes.

In all versions, the development of these themes coincides with the two sections of the stories. However, Adama’s version includes two important details generated from the themes.

Research in the field has shown that themes are generally related according to two major schemes of arrangement: they may be interwoven together or developed independently in chronological order (Longacre, 1976; Schram, 1979). It is interesting to note that in all three versions of Tale One, themes are developed independently. Table 10 recapitulates information concerning themes and their formal markings.

Tale 10: Essential Themes, Their Distribution and Grammatical Markings in Tale One

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speakers</th>
<th>Kolo</th>
<th>Adama</th>
<th>Sidiky</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Areas of investigation</td>
<td>Theme 1</td>
<td>Section One</td>
<td>Theme 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>perfidy and malevolence</td>
<td>perfidy and malevolence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>perdition due to malevolent move</td>
<td>perdition due to malevolent move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammatical marking of junctures</td>
<td>Temporal adverb</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>Temporal adverb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Upon examining all versions, it became undeniable that storytellers generate events and details differently from the essential themes included in their stories. I have found that there are more instances of elaboration and evaluation in Sidiky’s version than in the others’ versions. An elaboration is concerned with additional materials brought in by the storyteller to expand the contour of an important event, while evaluations are offstage narrations or narrator’s asides shedding light on events integral to the plot. In Sidiky’s story, stanzas C, E, M (lines 38-43), AAG, and AAI, for instance, introduce examples of elaboration, whereas stanzas AAK,
AAAAB, and AAAAD are instances of evaluation. Sidiky’s version includes a number of exchanges and quoted speech (e.g., stanzas O, V - AI, AL - AO, AU - AY, AAW – AAAD, - AAAM - AAAS ), profuse use of ideophones (e.g., stanzas R, T, AG, AR, AS, AAN, AAAF), and also lexical/rhetorical spans, including couplet and triplets (e.g., stanzas J, S, AAG, AAI, AAAB). On the other hand, Adama’s story includes two instances of offstage narrations in stanzas E and AF and four proverbs (stanzas B, C, AD, AO57), which may also be regarded as forms of evaluation or elaboration, depending on the specific case. Kolo’s version only includes two examples of offstage narration located in stanzas N and AP, and a couplet at the peak. That said all other stylistic devices identified in Sidiky’s version are absent in Adama and Kolo’s stories. The foregoing seems to suggest that Sidiky is prone to acting out important events, more so than others do. Table W, below presents the bios data of Tale One.

Finis

In Kolo and Adama’s versions, the story ends in the body of their stories. In Kolo’s version, the resolution closes the story, whereas Adama’s ends with the thematic peak. As to Sidiky’s, it closes with “Mìì jànɂáɂ télè sì ni nèe” (That was my lie) (AAAAI, 422). This statement actually cues the end of the story. In other words, this statement pertains to the finis. Owing to this, we may venture to say that Sidiky’s story has been formally closed, which is not the case for the other two versions.

The assessment of the rhetorical patterns that emerge from the three versions of Tale One showed that there were both differences and commonalities. In the aperture, the description of the background situation, including the setting and the consequence of the prevailing situation is similar in all versions. Other than that, everything else is handled differently. There are more commonalities than differences in most constituent parts of the body of the stories. Two of the stories (Adama and Kolo’s version) do not deal with the finis. Then the other version simply does not contain enough information to allow me to deliver on the finis as a structural component of narrative tales in its own right. Presented below is a chart of the bios data (that is to say the core raw data that are most characteristic of each version) of the versions of Tale One (Table 11).

57 Sidiky’s story does not include any proverbs or sayings
Table 11: Bios Data of Tale One

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Speakers</th>
<th>Adama</th>
<th>Kolo</th>
<th>Sidiky</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scene</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>episode</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Section One</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scene</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>episode</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanzas</td>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lines</td>
<td></td>
<td>255</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 11** shows that Sidiky’s version is the longest of all, followed by Adama's.

A chart summarizing focal facts noted in the assessment of the versions of Tale One is offered in **Table 12** below. The summary provided in the chart is based on the discussion on differences and similarities provided above. As shown in **Table 12**, the investigation is concerned with the macrostructure of the tales, such as aperture, body, and finis, which pertain to universals in storytelling. Then, the areas of investigation, as laid out in the table, are the setting scene, participant introduction, pivotal and peak zone materials, background and foreground information. Within the component parts of the macrostructure, I looked into some categories. For instance, in the aperture, I looked into the fashions in which different speakers opened their stories, structured the background situation of their stories, and set the stage on which the whole story unfolds.

Overall, **Table 12** shows differences and commonalities among the three versions of Tale One, based on the investigation of central components of the rhetorical patterns of the stories analyzed. However, in terms the emic structure of the tale versions of concern here, there are more commonalities in materials that encode participant introduction and tracking, pivot and peak zones, old and new information, in the body of tales, than there are in those in the opening and closing scenes, that is aperture and finis.
Table 12. Chart of Content and Grammatical Markings Based on the Versions of Tale One

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Areas of investigation</th>
<th>Speakers</th>
<th>Kolo</th>
<th>Adama</th>
<th>Sidiky</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Setting the scene</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Usually marked by means of forms that pertain to background information)</td>
<td>. didactic talk</td>
<td>. pep talk: generalization &amp; sayings</td>
<td>. opening: setting time and space</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. opening: setting time and space</td>
<td>. formal opening: standard formula</td>
<td>. background situation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. background situation</td>
<td>. setting time and space</td>
<td>. conclusion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. conclusion</td>
<td>. Background situation</td>
<td>. conclusion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participant introduction and tracking</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>main characters</td>
<td>. topic of the sentence: subject</td>
<td>. topic of the sentence: subject</td>
<td>. topic of the sentence: subject</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minor characters and props</td>
<td>. object of the verb/postposition</td>
<td>. object of the verb/postposition</td>
<td>. object of the verb/postposition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pivotal and peak zones</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pivot</td>
<td>. forms pertaining mainly to new but also to old information (See below)</td>
<td>. forms pertaining mainly to new but also to old information (See below)</td>
<td>. forms pertaining mainly to new but also to old information (See below)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peak zones</td>
<td>. various grammatical markings pertaining to new and old information (see below)</td>
<td>. various grammatical markings pertaining to new and old information (see below)</td>
<td>. various grammatical forms pertaining to new and old information (see below)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Background (old) and foreground (new) information</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>background (old) information</td>
<td>. past perfect; imperfect tense constructions; “be” verbs forms</td>
<td>. past perfect; imperfect tense constructions; “be” verbs forms</td>
<td>. past perfect; imperfect tense constructions; “be” verbs forms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. durative &amp; other incompletive</td>
<td>. durative &amp; other incompletive</td>
<td>. durative &amp; other incompletive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foreground (new) information</td>
<td>. preterit and completive aspect for sequential and punctiliar actions</td>
<td>. preterit and completive aspect for sequential and punctiliar actions</td>
<td>. preterit and completive aspect for sequential and punctiliar actions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Finis</strong></td>
<td>no formal closure</td>
<td>no formal closure</td>
<td>formal closure: present tense</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Assessing the Versions of Tale Two

Aperture

Adama’s version begins with, “Mùi yè kan’” (Here goes my story) (T2A, A, 1), which is a formal opening in folktale narratives. The setting – time and space – follows this, then the description of the background situation and the consequence is offered, as shown in the summary of the rhetorical pattern of Adama’s version. On the other hand, Sidiky’s starts with, “Bòôma ñi” (Long time ago) (T2S, A, 1), which sets the time of the story. The temporal setting is reinforced by the use of the remote aspect marker, “beè” (T2S, A, 3). The spatial setting, “kànûgî” (same village) (T2S, A, 3) is followed by a brief description of the quality of the population of animals that inhabit the animal village, and a fairly long elaboration of the major background event, which includes exchanges with the fortuneteller in stanzas G and H, and also exchanges between animals in lines 38-39, stanza J. And last, like Adama’s, the conclusion to the background situation is that animals were urged to hide their children, which they all did.

Both storytellers have given an early introduction of the storytelling session. However, they use different formulas. Then, Sidiky has a very elaborate introduction to the story, while Adama offers a relatively laconic introduction. But, interestingly enough, they have reached similar conclusions, which also stand as grounds on which their respective versions unfold.

The Body

Participant’s introduction and tracking. The surface linguistic forms that render characters’ introductions and tracking in Sidiky’s version of this tale are very similar to those in Adama’s version (see template of the rhetorical pattern of Tale One, based on Adama’s story). Major characters are introduced as topics of the sentence. These characters also hold the same syntactical function in most subsequent references made to them. For instance, in Sidiky’s version, Hare is the subject of the verb “làrige” (hid) in stanza L, line 44. He is also referred to likewise in Stanza S, lines 73-74, where “wl,” coreferential with Hare, is the subject of the verbs “kan’” (give), “tûnrî” (suckle), and “mûu” (sing).

Minor characters or props are introduced as objects of the verb or the postposition in Sidiky’s version, much as they are in Adama’s. Hare’s children are a case in point. They are
introduced and referred to as minor characters, except during the feeding ritual. This parallels what I noted in the template of the summary of the rhetorical pattern based on the version of Tale Two told by Adama. For example, in stanzas AB (Sidiky’s version), “Ngbopfé” (Smallhead) is subject of the verbs “yiri” (came out) and “ŋɔnri” (suckled) (lines 121). Likewise, “Sùngúrulè” is subject of “yiri ba too” (came out to suckle). This coming out is critical to the whole development of the story, as pointed out earlier. Therefore, it makes sense that they are depicted as principal actors at this specific moment of the story.

**Pivots and peak zones.** The grammatical markings of pivotal zones in Sidiky’s version are reminiscent of those noted in Adama’s. There is an assortment of forms depending on the location of the pivot on the plotline. For instance, stanza K, “À bé si piibëli làrige. À péli péë piibëli làrige kàgi ni, à péli piibëli làrige nyâfûgû ni” (They hid the children. Some hid theirs in the village, and others hid theirs in the bush) (T2S, K, 40-41), the conclusion to the scene setting the backdrop of the story, describes important events that serve as ground to the whole story. However, given that this material is out of place with respect to the chronology of the story proper, it thus remains descriptive and durative in essence. Elsewhere, actions of the pivot are sequential and punctiliar in essence. Stanza V is an instance of this: “Hènh, kàjè fuûngè goû si nyûû. À wû pyèële tûû cangàà” ([. . .] Hyena has bad character. He followed Hare one day) (T2S, V, 86-87). The verb “tûû” is in the completive as pect and the preterit, and “cangàà” (one day) reinforces the idea of time sequence on the eventline of the story.

Peak zones in Sidiky’s version are also marked in a way similar to the way in which they are in Adama’s. They also expose various forms pertaining both to eventline information and also supportive background information. In stanza AL and AM, which pertain to an action peak zone in Sidiky’s version, “syônû” (swore) and “jo” (said) as seen in, “Pyëële wû syônû « cuûrrrrì », nê jo, « mïî tànmû Ngbopkûû yóô lëëyû nà ne mûû yáà” (Hare swore, making a long face, and said, “Bighead darling, I have a stomachache”) (T2S, AL, 173-175), are realized in the preterit and the completive aspect. In contrast, AM shows different grammatical forms. For instance, in line 84, “dà,” the marker of the potential aspect found in “kàà,” the collapsed form of “kó,” the negative aspect marker and “dà,” renders the potential aspect. Then in line 185, “nyëë” (is) as in, “Kateígì sí nyëë Ngbopkûû na” (Bighead, [always] goes hungry)
describes a permanent situation encoded in the durative. Further, “né,” the continuative aspect marker helps describe an ongoing action in, “À wí fali né nyëni” (He, at once, began crying [and continued crying]) (T2S, AM, 187). As one can see, the peak zone described here includes grammatical markings pertaining to both background and foreground materials.

**Background and foreground information.** The grammatical forms marking levels of information in Sidiky’s version of this tale parallel the marking noted in the summary of the rhetorical pattern developed from Adama’s version. Background materials, both in the setting scene and the body of the tales come in multiple forms, including the past perfect, the imperfect, and the simple present tense, generally in combination with a number of aspects, such as the durative, the habitual and the potential, as noted earlier. For example, in “Pyëele si beè pyee né piëbëli tänri ni” (Hare had three children) (T2S, L, 43), “beè,” marking the remote past, shows that the information in concern belong to the background materials. Then, “Syinbeli téni jëe mà sëne mà kwés” (Not long after people had gone to bed) (T2S, Z, 107) provides a context for, “à kàjë yiri mà kàà mà sàà sëne kàweeni nyés na” (Hyena went to lie by the mouth of the hole) (T2S, Z, 109-110). As one can see, line 107 is subordinated to lines 109-110 through the relative adverb “tëni” (when/ as soon as). Therefore, it constitutes background information.

Foreground information here, much as is the case in Adama’s story, is encoded in the preterit and the perfective aspect. The example given above (T2S, Z, 109 –110) is a case in point. Other examples where foreground information is similarly realized, often in combination with old information, can be found in stanzas AD, AE, AO, AAD, to cite only a few.

**Dramatic development.** The two versions of Tale Two are engineered around two central themes, developed independently in the two sections that the versions of this tale include. In the first section, Hare hides her children in a hole in the woods by way of protecting them against Hyena, the predator, who rages in the animals’ village. In a song, she calls out their names, one by one, and asks them to come out to suckle, except for Bighead, because she does not like him. This is the theme of “injustice.” In the second, Hyena discovers the place and does as Hare always does. Thus, Hyena succeeds in eating all Hare’s children, except the one, Bighead, who is never fed. The theme is “retribution for criminal behavior.”

The first theme provides a context for the second, in the two versions of Tale Two. Interestingly enough, again, temporal adverbs formally mark the junctures between the themes in
each version. In Adama’s version, “Cangàa” (one day) and “kàà” (finally) as seen in “Cangàa à kàà mû kàà. . .wèè mûgi lò’o” (One day Hyena finally heard his song) (T2A, R, 67) are used at the theme break. “Cangàa”, which is actually an adverbial phrase here and “kàà” account for the organic link between the central thematic developments. Likewise, in Sidiky’s version, “cangà” in “Hènh, kàà fûngè gó sî nyôô í. À wí pyè?ele tòri cangàa”( [. . .] Hyena has a bad character. One day, he followed Hare) (T2S, V, 88) serves as a link between the two themes. Here again, the thematic development break is rendered by a time word materializing time sequence in the generation of events from one theme to the other.

As in the case of the versions of Tale One, one notes that storytellers generate events and details from the central themes in different ways. Details, in particular, seem to account for the major disparities between Adama and Sidiky’s versions of Tale Two. Sidiky’s version of Tale Two, much like his version of Tale One, includes much more instances of evaluation, and instances of elaboration of some events than does Adama’s. In Sidiky’s version, there are four instances of evaluation located in stanzas AK, AV, AY, and AAP, and five instances of elaboration that are found in stanzas N, Q, Y, AG, and AA. There are also examples of lexical spans and ideophones. There are eight manifestations of lexical spans (stanzas V, W, AB, AF, AM, AAA, AAE, and AAJ) and four clear ideophones (AC, AF, AR, AU), all of which are in a sense types of elaboration at important points in the development of the story. On the other hand Adama’s includes one instance of evaluation (stanza P) and two of elaboration (stanzas O and Z), respectively. In Adama’s story, there is also one proverb in stanza Q, lines 64-5, “Mu cangaà cen, Mu cangaà cenmu kòò nyén?enà cen” (No one knows what the future holds.)

In conclusion, the two versions of Tale Two include two central themes linked by means of temporal adverbs, and they are also chronologically developed. However, as noted in the examination of the versions of Tale One, the two versions differ in terms of the details the storytellers have included in their stories, and which certainly affect the physical materiality of the stories, in terms of length, beside other considerations.

Table 13 below summarizes essential facts concerning themes in the versions under scrutiny.
Table 13: Essential Themes, Their Distribution and Grammatical Markings in Tale Two

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Adama</th>
<th>Sidiky</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Areas of investigation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Theme 1</strong></td>
<td><strong>Section One</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>injustice</td>
<td>injustice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Theme 2</strong></td>
<td><strong>Section Two</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Retribution for criminal behavior</td>
<td>Retribution for criminal behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grammatical marking of junctures</strong></td>
<td>Temporal adverb</td>
<td>Temporal adverb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Finis**

Adama links up fiction and real life by drawing on some analogies: “Pyèëele” (Hare) (AE, 126) pertains to fiction while the hare (pyèëgi) (idem, line 127) is the very animal that listeners know about in real life, then he closes with a teasing statement that recalls the fictional world to which narrative tales belong (See the “Summary of the rhetorical pattern,” based on Adama’s version of Tale Two)

As in his version of Tale One, Sidiky, by way of cueing the end of the story, said, “Jàñeà ëëë sí mèë jo nyàà fine yéëli mà” (that was the lie I wanted to tell you) (AAQ, 338-9). Then a social contact formula put an end to the story “Ye foo ténéni na” (you are greeted for sitting through the session) (AAQ, 340). This last word from the storyteller also brings us back to real life where the narrator, now the storyteller, thanks the audience for their attention during the session.

It is undeniable that the storytellers have closed their versions of Tale Two in more or less formal ways. However, they have used different forms. Further, both storytellers (Adama and Sidiky) have switched hats from narrator to storyteller in the finis. Even here, these moves have been realized at different moments: Adama’s is before closing, while Sidiky’s is after officially closing the story.
Table 14. Bios data of Tale Two

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parts</th>
<th>Adama</th>
<th>Sidiky</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Section One</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scene 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>episode 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section Two</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scene 3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>episode 3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanzas 32</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lines 131</td>
<td>340</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examination of these versions of Tale Two, much like the analysis of the versions of Tale One, showed a lot of similarities but also some areas where the versions depart from each other. The grammatical marking at the emic level seems similar across all versions. So did the essential themes and their distribution in the stories. However, versions greatly differed in the way some events and especially details are generated and moved around by individual storytellers within the boundaries of the themes and the plot. Table 15 below summarizes content and grammatical markings that stand out in these versions.

A chart of major facts noted in the assessment of the versions of Tale Two is offered in Table 15 below. As shown in Table 15, the investigation was concerned with the macrostructure of the two versions of Tale Two told by Adama and Sidiky, such as aperture, body, and finis. Then, as I also pointed out earlier in a similar case, the areas of investigation are the setting scene, participant introduction, pivotal and peak zone materials, background and foreground information, in all of which I looked into some specific categories, such as opening and closing formulas; linguistic structures realizing old and new information. Again, like I also pointed out above (Cf. discussion of Table 12), Table 15 shows that there are more commonalities among grammatical markings that realize materials encoding participant introduction and tracking, pivot and peak zones, old and new information, in the body of tales, than there are in those in aperture and finis of the versions of Tale Two of concern.
Table 15. Chart of Content and Grammatical Marking Based on the Versions of Tale Two

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Areas of investigation</th>
<th>Speakers</th>
<th>Adama</th>
<th>Sidiky</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aperture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting scene</td>
<td>. formal opening: standard formula</td>
<td>. opening: setting time (remote past) and space</td>
<td>. opening: setting time (remote past) and space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. setting time (remote past) and space</td>
<td>. background situation &amp; elaboration</td>
<td>. background situation &amp; elaboration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. background situation</td>
<td>. conclusion</td>
<td>. conclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. conclusion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>body</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant introduction and tracking</td>
<td>main characters</td>
<td>main characters</td>
<td>main characters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. topic of the sentence: subject</td>
<td>. topic of the sentence: subject</td>
<td>. topic of the sentence: subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>minor characters and props</td>
<td>minor characters and props</td>
<td>minor characters and props</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. object of the verb/postposition</td>
<td>. object of the verb/postposition</td>
<td>. object of the verb/postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pivotal and peak zones</td>
<td>pivot</td>
<td>pivot</td>
<td>pivot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. forms pertaining mainly to new information but also to old information (See below)</td>
<td>. forms pertaining mainly to new information but also to old information (See below)</td>
<td>. forms pertaining mainly to new information but also to old information (See below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. ideophones and lexical spans</td>
<td>. ideophones and lexical spans</td>
<td>. ideophones and lexical spans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background (old) and foreground (new) information</td>
<td>background (old) information</td>
<td>background (old) information</td>
<td>background (old) information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. past perfect; imperfect tense constructions; “be” verbs forms</td>
<td>. past perfect; imperfect tense constructions; “be” verbs forms</td>
<td>. past perfect; imperfect tense constructions; “be” verbs forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. durative &amp; other incompletive</td>
<td>. durative &amp; other incompletive</td>
<td>. durative &amp; other incompletive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>foreground (new) information</td>
<td>foreground (new) information</td>
<td>foreground (new) information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. preterit and completive aspect for sequential and punctiliar actions</td>
<td>. preterit and completive aspect for sequential and punctiliar actions</td>
<td>. preterit and completive aspect for sequential and punctiliar actions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finis</td>
<td>. didactic talk</td>
<td>. conventional wisdom: precept</td>
<td>. conventional wisdom: precept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. formal closure: standard formula</td>
<td>. formal closure: (that was my lie)</td>
<td>. formal closure: (that was my lie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>. social contact formula: greeting audience</td>
<td>. social contact formula: greeting audience</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Themes in Tale Three

The concern for themes was not addressed in the summary of the rhetorical pattern developed from the single version of Tale Three by Kolo. Therefore, I broached it here.

In this version of Tale Three, there are also two essential themes corresponding with the two major parts of the story. Hare and a genie trespass on the property of an old man. Yet, the man frees, treats, and lets go Hare, who was caught on a trap set on the outskirts of his farm. Likewise, the old man saves a genie from myriads of parasitical beasts that lived in the genie’s overgrown shaggy hair (Theme: ‘benevolence’). When the genie recovers all his senses he decides to eat the old man. Hare discovers the evil plans of the genie, rescues the old man and defeats the genie by frustrating his plans. This is the theme of ‘gratitude versus ingratitude.’

Further, it is noteworthy that in this unitary version, the juncture is achieved by means of “Jà?à” – a loan word from Jula, which means several things. One of these meanings, “meanwhile,” seems to be the most appropriate connotation of “Jà?à” in the context in which it appears here. Thus the break is realized by a time word.

Table 16. Essential Themes, Their Distribution and Grammatical Markings in Tale three

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Areas of investigation</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Kolo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theme 1</td>
<td>Section One</td>
<td>benevolence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme 2</td>
<td>Section Two</td>
<td>gratitude vs. ingratitude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammatical marking at junctures</td>
<td>Time word</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looking across the summaries of the rhetorical patterns developed from the versions of the popular tales on which this study is centered has revealed interesting commonalities. For instance, the grammatical markings at various levels of information assessed, such as the introduction and tracking of participants, pivotal and peak zones, and the background and foreground materials is similar within and across tales. Further,
not only do all the tales have two central thematic developments, but also these essential themes are linked up by grammatical marking, serving as organic junctures between the themes, on one hand, and between the major parts of the stories, on the other. On the other hand, the versions within and across tales often differ in substance and length, depending on the magnitude of supportive materials included in individual versions.
CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Summary of preceding Chapters

Côte d’Ivoire is a multilingual country par excellence; in addition to about three scores of local languages and dialects, there are a few additional foreign languages spoken in the country. Only foreign languages are taught in school, especially French, the language of instruction, public administration and business. Education in general and language education in particular is problematic in many respects. For instance, students’ writing in French, in particular, is tainted with the discourse structures of local languages, because of the obvious intrusion of these languages in the process of education of foreign languages. Also, given that students are not literate in their native languages, the situation is compounded. As a result, most students are not achieving at a satisfactory level.

The problem of L1 interference in the instruction of foreign languages, French in this case, is particularly challenging in the speech community of Nafara, a significant dialect of Senari, one of the main spoken languages from the Senufo cultural group and also a major language of Côte d’Ivoire. Senufo people and their language have undergone several cultural and linguistic influences, especially through the Mandingo and French colonization. By virtue of the preceding, Senari and its dialects, including the Nafara dialect, have a special status in the linguistic panorama of Côte d’Ivoire, and in education as well.

The aim of this study was to establish the rhetorical pattern of a major Nafara genre, known as mu?urlú (‘folktales’), in order to improve language education in Côte d’Ivoire. This study will provide a basis for addressing the root causes of impediments to French (L2) literacy in Côte d’Ivoire. This study used folktales as a means of elicitation and investigation. The component of interest of this genre was animal stories, predominantly geared to children in Nafara community, the portion of the population that is of concern in this study.
The research was framed in terms of two main theoretical foundations: 1) discourse analysis as a theory of human communication, and 2) the ethnography of communication, and it was guided by three major questions: the first question addressed the conditions of the definition of the rhetorical pattern of the mu₇urï, and the others were concerned with the educational implications of the establishment of the discourse structures of the mu₇urï.

Nafara dialect, much like many other dialects or languages in Côte d’Ivoire, is an oral language, therefore, two steps were necessary in order for the study to be realized: 1) developing an understanding of Nafara grammar, which entailed the description of Nafara tales to establish the basic syntax, morphology, and phonology, and 2) given the preceding, establishing the preferred discourse patterns of mu₇urï.

The literature review that illuminates the purpose of the study concerned scholarly literature on background issues such as literacy, language education, policy and literacy, language loss, death and decay as well as language maintenance. The literature on issues central to this study concerned work on contrastive rhetoric, where the researcher presented the educational dimensions of contrastive rhetoric as a field of study, and and pedagogical tool. Then, discourse and discourse analysis were surveyed to illuminate the tenets of the field, with an extension to oral traditions, including folktales, as a major component of oral literature in societies rooted in orality. The perspectives presented by scholars paved the way for the exploration of the analysis of narratives, especially tales collected in societies predominantly oral, such as indigenous communities of Latin America (e.g., Mesoamerican Mayan tribes), and Africa (e.g., West, East, and the Horn of Africa). The studies explored exposed foundational facts about the components of narratives and the very constituents of a narrative that point to the rhetorical pattern of narrative discourse, such as the backbone events, the quality of participants and information as signaled by particular linguistic features at the surface of the text, i.e., verbal tenses and aspects.

A combination of three methods of text analysis – discourse analysis, ethnopoetics, and story grammar – guided the exploration of the mu₇urï tales. Given that this study is breaking fresh ground, a methodological field test was carried out in order to set the ground for the full study. Tales collected at this phase of the study and those used
in the study proper were transcribed in a Nafara orthography that borrowed from Cebaara dialect, one of its closest sisters among Senari dialects. Then the texts were parsed and analyzed according to an analytical procedure derived from the techniques of the three methods that guided the present research, and which used multilevel analysis such as line, stanza, and scene to flesh out the linguistic components and discourse constituents, which helped delineate the preferred rhetorical patterns in the tales under study.

The grammar overview was based on the corpus included in the study. Aspects of the grammatical overview of interest were areas of Nafara grammar that allowed for the analysis of the data, and also those aspects that allowed the reader to understand it. Thus the grammatical overview included universal forms classes such as nouns, verbs, adverbs, and adjectives. Other forms that were also dealt with are noun phrases (NP), verb phrases (VP), postpositional phrases and their attendant forms such as determiners, and pronouns, in addition to syntactical processes such as subordination, fronting, apposition, subject/object gapping and verbal chaining, subject substitutes or copy, stative and equative clauses. Discourse markers, such as evidentialities and various deictic references and discourse particles, various focus markers, calls to audience, and clitics were also reviewed.

Mūʔūrī, meaning folktales, was the genre on which the study was based. The component of folktales (mūʔūrī) on which the study was based is children’s stories or animal stories, an important narrative type in Nafara society, by virtue of its educational function. The researcher and two other informants produced the sample used in the study. It consisted of six versions of three popular tales.

The analysis was concerned with research question One, which sought to establish the rhetorical pattern of the versions of the popular tales included in this study. To this end, using the Longacre method of narrative analysis, I looked at how characters are introduced and tracked in the stories, assessed the forms that marked pivots and peak events, including action peaks, and scrutinized the management of old and new information, the dramatic development and the overall fashion in which texts of the tale versions are structured. A template developed from one version of each tale was then compared and contrasted with the leading organizational schemes that emerged from other versions of the same tales. The above analysis revealed patterns, which showed lots
of commonalities, but also differences in some areas. For instance, core elements concerning forms used to mark various levels of information looked similar across versions and tales, while the way different storytellers generated details, on one hand, and the magnitude of these details, on the other, varied from one speaker to another.

Discussion

Question 1: How can the mú?uri genre be defined empirically in terms of its diagnostic discourse structure?

A major part of this study was to address Question One based on the components laid out above. This task was carried out based on the macro constituent parts of stories, namely the aperture, the body and the finis, which are near-universal canons in tales told around the world.

A cursory look at tale versions included in this project revealed that there are differences and commonalities as well. I will expand upon these points, in an effort to integrate the results of the analyses of the versions of the tales included in this project, and to suggest broader meanings of the differences and similarities that have emerged from these analyses.

Differences

Differences were mainly revealed at the level of details and extraneous materials each storyteller brought in or left out. We noted that apertures and the finis often come with varied materials according to the individual speaker. For instance, Kolo and Adama included didactic speeches or lecture-like talks in their introductory scenes to the story and the finis as well, in at least two of the versions they produced. These materials either stress the central theme or shed light on central concepts that are brought to bear in the story (e.g., Kolo defines the word ‘animal’ in his version of Tale One). This practice seems widespread in storytelling with a young audience, an explicit educational move during storytelling.
Proverbs and sayings are also incorporated in most versions told by Adama and Kolo. Kwesi Yankah contends that “the proverb reinforces and foregrounds the argument . . . enhancing its attention value” (1986a, p. 290). Generally speaking, proverbs help express thoughts and ideas in a concise way. Thus, like most African societies, the Nafara speech community uses proverbs in various contexts to add spice and pungency to the arguments that they accompany. In oral societies, storytelling in a typical cultural setting provides an appropriate formal context during which knowledge is instilled in the young, which is why both storytellers and audiences prize forms of witticism like proverbs. Generally, sayings, idioms, and proverbs are seen as a token of knowledge and wisdom. Further, proverbs lend authority to the person using them, because they are also regarded as “truth” nicely blending with knowledge, and wisdom (Okpewho, 1992, p. 231).

Didactic talks and forms of oral expression such as sayings, idioms, and proverbs may be rightly regarded as aspects of language socialization. Thus these lecture-like speeches and the various forms of formulaic expressions included in storytelling are a central element in the education of youth in a traditional society where there is no formal schooling.

The researcher (Sidiky) did not include any proverbs, nor did he include any lecture geared toward instructing his audience. The fact is that the audience during the telling session of the researcher was made of faculty members, from Florida State University, who have no link whatsoever with or no knowledge of Nafara. In contrast, Kolo and Adama’s audiences were composed of young and older listeners, all of whom are members of the Nafara speech community. By comparison, Kolo and Adama’s sessions were blessed with the perfect audience in its ambient environment. I suspect that the quality of the audience before which the researcher delivered his versions of popular tales might have unconsciously influenced him. In other words, the audience was not conducive to the use of proverbs and didactic talks. To repeat Isidore Okpewho, an audience is the foremost context within which oral performances make any sense (1992, p. 57). In other words, an audience both makes sense of and provides substance to performance.

In Chapter Four (Part 4, comparing and contrasting the sketches of the rhetorical patterns), it was made explicit that Sidiky made a wide use of elaboration, evaluation, and
various stylistic devices, more so than the other storytellers did. In some areas of the versions of the tales he told, he literally acted out major events, for instance when the monkeys were agonizing inside the sealed pot (T1S, AAH), or when Hyena noisily grabbed and devoured Hare’s children (T2S, AU, 29). Even though that was not the result of a conscious decision, it made a lot of sense that the researcher emphasized the histrionic aspect during his production before a non-native audience. Indeed, at such moments the audience laughed cheerfully.

Narrative tales have multifaceted functions. Owing to this, the aim of a storyteller is rarely only to tell a story, but rather to fulfill some of these functions, including entertainment, language socialization, and education in general, as pointed out earlier. Depending on the circumstances of the production of the story, the storyteller emphasizes some of these functions at the expense of others. Based on the present study, it is clear that the researcher had a different emphasis than the other two did. Kolo and Adama seem to have stressed the pure instructional aspects at certain points in their delivery. On the other hand, it seems appropriate to state that through the wide use of elaboration, evaluation, lexical, rhetorical and phonological spans, and ideophones, Sidiky stressed performance, which also holds an important place in a traditional storytelling session, as it helps keep the audience alive and their attention.

Adama and Kolo made profuse use of anaphoric references. It is often the case that they fail to recall the topic over large stretches of texts, sometimes even across episodes. In the forest of “wû” (he/she) they present the listeners with (and the readers of the transcribed versions, for that matter), sometimes it is hard to make out what the anaphoric elements (e.g., “wû”) refer back to. For instance, Hare is introduced in stanza F, then he is referred to by means of “wû”, at least one time in each stanza over ten stanzas in a row – from stanzas G through P (T2A, G-P). This is very confusing for onlookers from other language backgrounds, for instance Western culture, because one would expect a recall of the coreference over a couple of lines, say four to five. But this is not the case. However, for the native audience this profuse use of anaphoric references does not seem to hinder the comprehension of the story. In contrast, from a foreign perspective, the text of Sidiky would seem clearer and easier to comprehend than those
presented by Adama and Kolo, because he often recalls the subject by name where other informants use deictic references.

In the discussion concerning theme management, I pointed out that versions of the same tale might be greatly different in the rendition achieved, even though these versions have the same essential themes. Admittedly, no two storytellers can be expected to generate details and events from the core themes that the story is made of, strictly in the same manner and amount, even though they may have heard the story from the same person, at the same time, in the same place, in the same conditions. Further, storytellers naturally aspire to achieving something original. Therefore, there is always an attempt to sound innovative and creative within the confines of the cultural boundaries of discourse. That is why the dramatic development is as good as the genius of the storyteller can allow it to be through the handling of central themes, essential ingredients such as the creation of tension by means of incidents leading to conflicts and opposition, suspense, rebounds, etc. It is a view widely accepted in the field that the management of the themes, in terms of how the story is put together, creates a distinction between expert storytellers and less good ones or novices.

The finis exposes various formulas and materials worth lingering on. Adama and Kolo used “mû?urigwô kagwô nàmare” (literally, “the joke of end of story”) which seems to operate as a closing formula. Unlike these informants, Sidiky closes both of his versions included in this study with “jânnva ñêë mëë jo nyàa fûÂn™ yèli mã” (That was the lie that I wanted to tell you). The researcher learned most of the storyteller art and stories about the mid sixties. He does not have any remembrance of any storyteller using the formulas employed by Adama and Kolo, in those days. But now, younger storytellers widely use these closing formulas.

Adama and Kolo also used teasing statements, “wàa ká náaneâgânge kan wò mâ waà gi kàrigê kûrsî” (If anyone of you can give an ardent charcoal, I will turn it into a pair of shorts [for them to wear]), after they have formally closed. These statements are meant to amuse the audience, as what the storyteller proposes to do can only happen by pure magic. In sum, it is evocative of the fantastic world of narrative tales. None of the above is found in Sidiky’s versions. He closes as indicated above and often adds, “ye foo
ténini na” (“thank you for sitting,” meaning thank you for your attention), which is a social contact formula, by way of paying his respect to the audience.

As shown in the literature review, teasing statements similar to those used by Adama and Kolo have been recorded in some Senufo speech communities, for example with the Kufulo of Dikodougou (Kientz, 1979), a Senufo tribe contiguous to the Nafara communities. My guess is that younger generations from the Nafara communities have borrowed these amusing statements from the Kufulo.

**Commonalities**

Upon examining the macro structure that constitutes the physical body of the stories, things do not look so different. For instance, most tales do include an aperture, a body and a finis. Concerning the finis, four tales out of six manifested this constituent part of tales. However, the informants who failed to include the finis later admitted that it was an oversight. Even though selected members of their community recognize them as good storytellers, the telling of their versions of Tale One was the first time they had ever been videotaped and audiotaped. I suspect that the fact that they ended their stories in the body might have resulted from this. Therefore, it seems appropriate to say that the finis is an integral part of tales in Nafara community.

Within these constituent parts, there are more commonalities than differences. In aperture, three versions of tales were introduced by means of the same formula, “mii yè kan” (“I give you,” meaning “here is my story,” or “this is the story I want to tell you”), as seen in Tale One by Adama, stanza D, line 7 (T1A, D, 7), Tale Two by Adama, stanza A, line 1 (T2A, A, 1); and Tale Three by Kolo, stanza A, line 1 (T3K, A, 1). As for Sidiky, he uses “bôôma ni” as an opening formula in his versions of Tale One and Two; so did Kolo in one of the two versions he produced for this project (T1K, C, line 7). It is noteworthy that in his version of Tale Two, Adama also uses “bôômani,” after “mii yè kan,” (“here is my story”), which is meant for the opening formula. Therefore, “bôômani” may not be regarded as an opening formula in Adama’s version of Tale.

As pointed out earlier, “bôôma ni” serves the purpose of setting the time of the story. Therefore, from this perspective, it might not be regarded as an opening formula. However, it is a formula that was widely used in the Nafara communities, in the mid
sixties and early seventies. It seems as though by telling the audience that they are going to hear something that occurred a long, long time ago, the storyteller cues the fact that the story session is launched. It is interesting to note that two of the three speakers who participated in this study (Kola and Sidiky) have used “bòôma ni” as an opening formula. Owing to this, “bòôma ni” should be regarded as an opening formula in its own right. Therefore, it would seem appropriate to say that there is a set of opening formulas currently used in Nafara tales, some of which are “bòôma ni” and “mii yè kan.”

It is noteworthy that even though the versions of the popular tales included in this study generally differ in length and number of episodes, they all each have two major parts or sections. Based on the sample of this study, we may venture to say that structuring tales in two major sections seems to be, if not a standard, at least a leading pattern in Nafara storytelling.

We also noted that there were two major categories of internal participants (characters) in all the six versions of popular tales studied here: major participants and secondary participants, who often fell into two subcategories – minor characters, and characters that are acted upon, also known as props – which only allow a very thin boundary between them. Interestingly enough, we also found that characters within each category were introduced and tracked by means of the same grammatical marking, across all versions. For instance, major participants were topics of the sentence, or were delineated by means syntactical processes, such as fronting. On the other hand, secondary characters were generally either the objects of the verb or of the preposition, in all versions.

In most tales, Hare retains his quality as a privileged character in the role of the protagonist. However, the female Hare is cast in the role of the villain in “The Unwanted Child” where she attempted to starve her ugly child. As for Hyena, he remained constant as the antagonist if not the villain throughout all versions. In one out of three tales in which the monkeys appear, a monkey (the Little red Monkey) is the protagonist, a role monkeys rarely play in Nafara tales. This would seem to show that even though it makes a lot of sense to state that there are stock characters in Nafara tales, it is also undeniable that some atypical characters may cross the barriers of propriety, now and then.
Levels of information that run across stories, such as pivotal and peak zones, supportive and background materials, describe basically old or background information and new or foreground information. New information concerns materials that advance the plot on the eventline, while the old is about background and supportive materials. These levels of information are encoded in the same grammatical categories across all tales: new information is realized in the preterit and completive aspect, while old information is marked by myriads of grammatical forms, such as imperfect tenses and continuative and durative aspects, irrespective of their location in the text (aperture, body or finis). The analysis of all the versions also showed that moments of the story, such as pivot and peak, sometimes have materials describing old information besides those describing new information, even though they are integral part of the eventline.

Irrespective of the amount and magnitude of details and supportive materials brought in by storytellers, a cardinal component – issues relating to themes – was handled approximately in a similar way. First, there are two central themes in all versions. Second, in all these versions, we noted that the first theme developed in the story serves as a springboard to the development of the second. Further, not only are these themes developed independently and chronologically, but also similar grammatical forms mostly mark them: time word, for instance, temporal adverbs.

One out of the six versions of popular tales does not have grammatical marking at its thematic juncture. This version was the very first story the informant had ever told while being recorded by means of a video camera and a tape recorder. I suspect this is an oversight that resulted from a moment of confusion of the storyteller during the delivery of the story. We may venture to say that the storyteller’s failure to materialize the juncture may also have resulted from the effect of the situation frame on him, as pointed out earlier in a similar case.

Conclusion

Differences noted in the above analysis reside in details representing subsidiary or supportive materials and in some cases, extraneous materials. It is noteworthy that the differences noted above tend to give an identity to the tale, in that the differences that each storyteller brings in to put flesh on the cultural “artifact” are what give the version
of a popular tale its particular flavor. It is a truism that when members of the same speech community request the telling of a tale that they already know, in most cases, most of the time, what they actually look for is that particular seal the storyteller will put on the common “heritage.” Understandably, rarely do they look for the plotline, but rather they are interested in what a particular storyteller will do or say to turn his version of the popular tale into something compelling that identifies with him or her.

Folktales are common heritage sent down across several generalizations. However, thanks to various subterfuges, be they elaborations, stylistic devices, the manner or scope of details and events generated, handling of central themes, or even extraneous materials that individual storytellers use to coat the backbone of the story, over generations, tales remain dynamic thriving bodies. Robert Longacre (1990) contends that it is non-storyline materials like the foregoing that embellish stories. It is that coating of the core pattern or the spin on it – which coincides with the creative impulse of each individual storyteller – that keeps the soul of folktales alive. That is why the success of the storyteller is gauged by the performer’s ability to manipulate the cultural pattern, by manipulating the expectations of listeners/readers.

The rhetorical pattern of narrative tales has to do with the storyline scheme of organization understood as the overall organization of the story, including not only the physical materiality of the text, but also the various levels of information it encompasses, such as pivots, background/foreground, etc. From this perspective, not only are the texts of the versions of popular tales studied structured in the same way, but also the individual rhetorical organizations identified for these versions, including basic foundational morphosyntactic realities characterizing setting, levels of information in the body, and the finis are similar. In other words, central considerations working toward establishing the rhetorical pattern remain constant across all versions.

Further, it seems clear that the commonalities among the six versions as far as their respective organizational patterns are concerned, would make it possible to differentiate these tales from tales told by speakers from other cultural backgrounds. Therefore, beyond some differences noted here and there between the sketches of discourse patterns based on each individual version, the kernel remains constant across all tales. Clearly, this kernel identifies with the cultural pattern that seems to have
emerged from this study. In other words, it would seem appropriate to say that there is an established rhetorical pattern that may be applied to the mú?urũţ genre in the Nafara community. Table 17 below describes the leading pattern of the rhetorical pattern of mú?urũţ tales.

Table 17. Chart Illustrating the Leading Features of the Rhetorical Pattern of Mú?urũţ tales.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opening formulas</td>
<td>. mii yè kan (here goes my story)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. bóómani (long time ago)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
<td>. two sections developing central themes around several scenes and episodes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characters</td>
<td>. two major types: major characters and subsidiary/secondary that fall into minor participants and props</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. Major characters are marked as subject or fronted object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. subsidiary characters appear in lower syntactical categories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. such object of the verb of the postposition in adverbial phrases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information management</td>
<td>. <em>Eventline</em>: realized by new information encoded in the preterit and the completive aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. <em>Background information</em>: realized by other forms, i.e., imperfect tenses, durative and continuative aspect, stative verbs, etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pivot, action peak and the peak zone</td>
<td>. belong in the eventline, but may come with supportive materials that encode background supportive, and which are marked accordingly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme management</td>
<td>. two central themes;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. junctures marked grammatically, usually by time words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closing formulas</td>
<td>. standard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- “mú?urigwọc kagwọc nàmäre” (joke of end of story)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- teasing formulas as closing formulas: “wàà ká náangàngâge kan wò máà gi kàrige kùrsü” (If anyone gives me an ardent charcoal, I will turn it into a pair of shorts [for them to wear])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- “jánnva ñéê sí mèe jo nyàà fine yèli ma” (That was the lie that I wanted to tell you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- social contact formula as closing formula: “ye foo téníni na” (thank you for sitting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timeline</td>
<td>Chronological and discontinuous (Please see Figure 8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17 presents the core elements that help establish the rhetorical pattern based on the analysis of the sample.
In Figure 8, the horizontal bars represent the source of the timeline, generally a pivotal event or activity pertaining to the contiguous structural part (scene or episode), while the vertical poles represent units of timeline.

Some Observations

Interestingly, the two storytellers (Adama and Kolo), who regularly used similar formulas both in the aperture and the finis, are from contiguous age groups. Also, as noted above, Kolo, who is closer to Sidiky than Adama is agewise, also used the same opening formula that Sidiky did in one tale. Thus, this differential use of formulas would seem to suggest generational issues as far as aspects of the rhetorical pattern are concerned. Further, the fact that different generations may be presented with different realities regarding some components of the configuration of the discourse pattern of a given genre would also seem to point to the fact that aspects of the rhetorical pattern, like any living organism, are subject to time, space, and language evolution.

We noted that Kolo and Adama made profuse use of anaphoric references in ways that may appear very disturbing and baffling to foreign recipients of their texts or stories. Their style of delivery seems to reflect something deeply anchored in cultural considerations. In sum, it is my guess that the audience (listener or reader of these texts) is responsible for making sense of the story, based on what they are presented with.
In other words, the responsibility of creating “meaning” lies in the hands of the recipient rather than in those of the speaker or the writer.

It is interesting to note that Sidiky, who is from the same cultural background, recalls the topic more often than the other informants do. Sidiky is literate in two Western languages (French and English), which stress clarity of expression from the part of the writer. Further, in English in particular, the writer/speaker is first responsible for forwarding a clear message to the recipient of texts (Hinds, 1987). It may be hypothesized that Sidiky’s expression and style as far the use of anaphoric references is concerned have been influenced by his acquaintance with Western literary traditions.

Question Two and Three were about the educational components of this project. These were concerned with the “if” and “how” this study and its findings could be brought to bear both in the improvement in the education of languages of wider communication, such as French, and also literary development in nafara in the Ivorian educational system.

Question Two: Can Nafara (L1) literacy benefit from this study?

The central task of this study was concerned with the establishment of the discourse pattern of the “múri” genre, in Nafara, an oral language. Thus, transcribing Nafara oral popular tales was necessary to carry out the study. This opportunity was the first time Nafara had ever been written down. It is convenient to state that such endeavor will prove handy and a valuable resource when Nafara literacy is tackled.

In Côte d’Ivoire, developing local language literacy has always been very sensitive as it is a highly political issue, as pointed out in the review of the literature based on language situation in Côte d’Ivoire. Four languages – Jula, Senufo [Senari], Baulé, and Bété – generally abusively regarded as widely representative of the national linguistic repertoire, have been identified. It is undeniable that there are several hurdles to leap to get to the point where local languages can be taught, at least as subjects on a wide scale. But the most cardinal one is concerned with the question of “which language to teach at the national level.” Among the languages described, one does emerge as dominant: Jula. However, leaders seem to have been reluctant to admit. For Jula as a
dominant language, that would entail teaching it at the national level, which supposedly will not only promote the language as the lingua franca in the country, but also the Jula ethnic group. As it appears, the whole project of local languages literacy got bogged down because of petty considerations. Thus the political contours have proved to be the main factor that has fated development of literacy in local languages in CI.

The researcher is well aware of the fact laid out above. That is why this project of the Nafara literacy is going to be carried out initially at the local level. That is to say the project will be initiated in the Nafara region, and the researcher does not anticipate the involvement of the Ivorian public authorities. In other words, wherever and whenever necessary, I will seek permission from public authorities though not material support strictly speaking. Resources, both material and human, will essentially be private. In sum, this project will be funded by private donors from the Nafara speech community living in the Nafara regions, and other parts of the countries and the world at large; and people involved in the project will be volunteers, essentially from the Nafara speech community.

Developing literacy in Nafara entails massive implications with short, mid and long term goals aimed at: training of trainers, target population, and conditions for the expansion of Nafara to serve basic as well as advanced literacy. This point will be dealt with in the discussion that follows.

Training trainers. Instructional events, even in informal contexts entail instructors to carry out the task of facilitating learning. Therefore there will be need for Nafara instructors. These Nafara teachers, will be native speakers of Nafara with a fairly grasp of general linguistics, which will allow them to better understand how the Nafara linguistic system and grammar work. Then instructors will go through a pedagogical training to round up training. Recall that Nafara was oral until the researcher embarked on this project. Thus, the researcher himself will provide the training of these trainers, who mostly will be students and teachers in public or private system willing to participate as volunteers in the Nafara literacy project.

Production of materials. To begin with, I will lay the emphasis on the production of basic reading materials, for instance, materials stressing phonemic and morphemic awareness. In other words, phonics, syllables, sound and word matching, words
recognition, etc. will help initiate the Nafara literacy project. Then more elaborate and complex reading materials will be produced as the venture moves ahead.

Materials will be mass-produced in paper in paper form, and kept in the local public library in each site. These libraries and any technical support materials available will be managed by local committees that will be entrusted with the actual implementation of the project, in every sense of the word.

The targeted population. The targeted population of this study is younger learners in the formal educational system from the Nafara speech community. It, therefore, seems appropriate that this faction of the population of Nafara speaker become first to embark on this project. Students in the elementary school system will be engaged in an After School Program where they will learn literacy in the language they already speak. In fact for most of these children, the only language they are really comfortable with is Nafara when they enroll in the first grade. Thus, because they already speak their native language, literacy in this language will be made much easier than literacy in French, which they barely speak upon entering the formal system of education.

The program will be held on the site of public schools, and the classes will be arranged by grade levels or according to a multi-level fashion, depending on the prevailing circumstances and the realities of the local site. As the project progresses other grade levels (6th through 13th) will be included in the program.

Another target population may be farmers. Experiments in which farmers’ took part in literacy projects in their native language, in the Republic of Mali, West Africa, proved very rewarding (See the case of thee CPAF on p. 51, this study. Basic numeracy courses given to a group of farmers tremendously helped them better managed their farms.) I think that initiating a project of functional literacy among Nafara farmers, who have not been in school, will contribute to their development both in farming and their community.

Many Senufo people, originally from Nafara origin, and who unfortunately have lost Nafara to other languages such as Jula and French through their upbringing, have warmly welcomed the undertaking of this project. These people and their progeny are ready candidates for Nafara literacy. As part of the faction of the Nafara community that
feels rootless and alienated, they generally look earnestly forward to engaging in Nafara literacy.

It is not anticipated that Nafara will be taught anytime soon as a medium of instruction in the official arena of education, because of the acute political wrangling pointed out earlier. However, the project may be carried out in private establishments through private endeavors. For instance, there are plans to talk with governmental authorities to secure the permission to carry out experimental studies based on Nafara as medium of instruction, in a pilot program, which will serve as a springboard for the introduction of Nafara as a medium of instruction on a wider scale in the Nafara region. I believe that success in the venture may be used to gauge the outcome of similar future endeavors based on other languages or dialect in the country.

The above plans regarding literacy development in Nafara have been carefully thought out. I do not anticipate that things will be easy, but there is a way out to carry out this project.

2.1. Is the transcription system used in the study suitable to be used as practical orthography for L1 literacy?

The system used to transcribe the Nafara text is the same system used for Cebaara, another central dialect of the Senari language in which quite a number of literary productions have been achieved, as pointed out earlier. The foregoing would seem to clearly indicate that the system of concern here is a well-established one.

A practical orthography is an effective means of transcription of oral languages not yet written down in corpora forms (elaborate discursive units: speech, tale, expository discourse, etc.). In a practical orthography you transcribe what you hear, without having to go into the intellectual abstract categories (e.g., allophones). An undeniable advantage of a practical orthography is that it captures the structure of the language and the differences in pronunciation (allophones, for instances), which are subconscious to natural speakers. Thus, once the text is transcribed, allomorphs retain an identity of their own. Now, as natural speakers strive to acquire literacy in their language, they become aware of different phonological phenomena that occur in the language, for instance how the environment may influence the way phonemes are produced orally. For instance, two
apparently distinct phonemes are actually allophones. Then, because natural speakers are aware of these phenomena in their languages, it becomes much easier for them to understand the same practices as they set out to acquire literacy in other languages, especially languages with well-established literary standards.

That said the system used to transcribe the texts in this study is appropriate to initiate literacy development in Nafara.

2.2. Can the grammatical patterns identified in this study be used to develop a didactic grammar for L1 literacy?

It is undeniable that storytelling in traditional context provides opportunities for the production of discourse in situ, realized in forms that coincide with synchronic realities of language, at a given point in time and space. Given that the grammatical overview included in this study was based on a sample collected in genuine sociocultural situations and settings, where genuine language was used, the grammar developed from such corpora is likely to be representative of language as used in the ambient society. Therefore, the sample used in this study constitutes a sound basis for developing a didactic grammar for Nafara L1 literacy.

2.3. Can the discourse structure identified in the mú?urù genre be used to teach composition in L1?

This study, the very first foray into Nafara discourse, has allowed for the establishment of the discourse pattern of mú?urù tales, an important genre in Nafara speech community, and which are also a narrative genre per se. The knowledge of the mú?urù tales discourse pattern will thus make it possible to improve writing skills in this specific area. In other words, knowing the rhetorical pattern of mú?urù may serve as sound basis for teaching composition in narrative genre, in particular. Moreover, because the narrative genre is the foremost genre most school tasks are based on (Heath, 1986; Hymes, 1996), it seems fair to say the result of this study will allow for teaching

“ká” and “gá,” used for the conditional (if). “k” and “g” are actually allophones; understandably, “ká” and “gá” are allomorphs.
composition in Nafara, when it becomes a subject in its own right in the curriculum in education in Côte d'Ivoire.

Question Three: Can French (L2) literacy benefit from this study?

A major purpose of this study is to establish the rhetorical pattern of the mú?urû tales, a major narrative genre in the Nafara society, in order to address issues of low achievement of Nafara native speakers in French, due to Nafara L1 transfer in their writing. A primary expected outcome in this present study is to use Nafara L1 literacy as a vehicle to promote French L2 learning. It is, therefore, hypothesized that the establishment of the rhetorical pattern of the mú?urû, tales will allow for improving L2 education. It is also my assumption that this study will be beneficial to other exoglossic languages such English, Spanish, German taught in the Ivoirian educational system.

3.1. Is the Nafara orthography consonant with French orthography practice? Or what changes/additions need to be noted in the transition to L2 literacy?

Nafara belongs to a different language group than French does. Nafara originates from the Gur language family, from the Niger-Congo group, while French is an Indo-European language, with strong influence of roman and Greek. Even though Nafara includes quite a number of Roman letters, which results from the influence of French, the language of the colonizers, it, nonetheless, is different from French in many respects, as far as micro and macro linguistic considerations and linguistic behaviors go. For instance, at the micro level, there are major phonemic differences: sounds such “kp, gb, ny, sy,” representing unitary phoneme (Cf. chart of Nafara phoneme, p.), on one hand and clusters with “w” and “y,” such as “pw, fw, kw” and “ty, my, py,” do not exist in Indo-European languages. Then, at the macro level, syntactic processes are different, as we shall see in (3.2.) below, without mentioning the orthographic systems. As shown in the grammatical overview, rules in Nafara orthography are very different from those used in French.

Nafara and French, as organic bodies, seem to operate differently. Therefore, as one transits to L2, we must take notice of the important differences laid out above and make necessary adjustments, in order to make learning much easier.
3.2. Can the grammatical categories and processes described for Nafara be used as a foundation for French sentence grammar, or what contrasts must be noted in the teaching of L2 grammar?

As seen in the grammatical overview, in addition to other grammatical features, foundational Nafara syntactical processes, in general, are different from those of French. For instance, the preferred word order is SOV (Subject Object Verb) in Nafara, while it is SVO (Subject Verb Object) in French. Then, Nafara only has postpositions, while French has prepositions. Furthermore, in Nafara aspects have precedence over tenses, while tenses override in French. Robert Lado (1957) suggests that by building inductively on structural differences and also similarities relevant to each system, instruction and learning may be made much easier by doing away with areas likely to cause sources of interferences and confusion. This is the technique of Contrastive Analysis, which operates at the discreet and quasi-discreet level of the linguistic system. No doubt that contrastive analysis has lost some of the luster it had from the sixties through the eighties, still it may be used effectively as a pedagogical tool to teach French grammar.

3.3. Can the rhetorical structures of traditional Nafara genres be used to inform the teaching of composition in L2?

Contrastive rhetoric, as developed by Robert Kaplan (1966, 1987), posits that discourse, be it oral or written, is influenced by cultural patterns. The corollary to this is that knowing the cultural pattern that underlies any given discourse type will make communication much easier within the confines of a given culture, and across cultures, as one acts upon differential aspects (Refer to the section in the literature, for more discussion on the topic). Recall that I pointed out, in an earlier discussion in this project, that múprüfù, in particular, present a more formal structure than other discourse types in the Nafara society. We also postulated that the formal structure of folk stories parallels that of essays in languages that have of long-standing literacy traditions, such as French and English. Therefore, it would seem fair to assume that by establishing the rhetorical structure of múprüfù tales, an ample avenue is offered to teach forms of composition in French L2 by drawing upon foundational differences and commonalities in the rhetorical
underpinnings of the genres of interest in the linguistic systems of concern, that is Nafara and French. In sum, using the technique of contrastive rhetoric, instructors will be able to arouse students’ awareness about the canons that establish the norms in the genre of concern within each linguistic system. Knowing the discourse structure of múʔurū, whose formal features parallel those of written stories or essays in foreign languages, will make it possible to use the technique of contrastive rhetoric to improve French education, by tackling problem of the interference of Nafara L1 in French education in Côte d’Ivoire, using contrastive rhetoric to teach French L2 composition. Furthermore, the technique of contrastive rhetoric will allow for improving education in other languages of wider communication that are in the curriculum in the Ivorian educational system.

Significance

Successful completion of the proposed research can become a worthy stimulant that will ease language learning in general in Côte d’Ivoire, as the findings can have a long-lasting impact on both local and foreign language education in Côte d’Ivoire. Not long ago, there were talks in the official arena about the introduction of local languages in the curriculum in the educational system in Côte d’Ivoire (Nicot-Guillorel, 2002, p. 26). Thus, findings of this research have the potential to become essential aids in the development of early literacy in Nafara, whenever that happens (hopefully, in the near future). Among other things, they will provide a boost to reading and writing in Nafara.

The múʔurū genre in question in the present study is among the best-known genres in the Senari community. Thus, understanding its standard rhetorical pattern, which can then be contrasted with the pattern of other languages, such as French and English, will allow for the elaboration of a culturally relevant pedagogy (Beynon, 2004, p. 165; Gee, 2004, p. 20-24). Overall, one of the most important outcomes of this project will be the possibility of using the techniques of contrastive rhetoric in formal education in Côte d’Ivoire.

The múʔurū allowed for the exploration of the narrative genre, which will pave the way for the exploration of other genres, such as expository, argumentative, procedural, and behavioral discourses. Thus, this study set the ground for a wider probe
of the rich repertoire of discourse genres in Nafara, all of which will allow for improving education in languages of wider communication, through well-informed pedagogical techniques, such as a contrastive analysis and rhetoric.

This project represents an initial endeavor to establish the rhetorical pattern of a significant speech genre in Nafara. It is the researcher’s contention that completion of this study will illuminate issues relating to foreign language education in Côte d’Ivoire. For instance, teachers will be in a better position to help students become better writers by means of well-informed instruction in writing across languages and cultures, and in contrastive rhetoric. In sum, findings of the study will arouse student awareness about differential issues in rhetoric. It will help them when they start to write in French, English, and other foreign languages as well (Connor, 2002; Grabe, 2001; Kaplan & Grabe, 1987).

Success in this venture will lead to Ivorian students in general, and specifically Nafara speakers, being better prepared to write in both local and foreign languages. Therefore, they will improve on local and global literacy. All the above seems to coincide with the researcher’s concern, which is to help improve language instruction, not only by means of a better understanding of the phenomena of interlanguage transfer in a multilingual situation, but also by developing culturally effective strategies to address it.

This endeavor is the first step in a series of research projects that will lead to an exploration of foreign language writing in Côte d’Ivoire, by way of enhancing the quality of L2/L3 compositions in school. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the present facet (rhetorical pattern) of the language of concern in this study is the genesis of something that has the potential to grow into sobering research areas that will serve both local and foreign language education in Côte d’Ivoire, and in West Africa, as well.

Additionally, the findings of this research will help establish better communication between Ivorians in general and students in that educational system with their audiences, users of L2/L3/L4, in particular. Further, I would also hope that this would prove a worthy addition to the previous knowledge on issues relating to contrastive rhetoric, cross-cultural writing, and the emerging area of multilingualism and multiculturalism.
Nafara was an oral language until I started this project. Among other things, this study has the value of providing a description of the language and an overview of the grammar based on the sample included in the study. As such, this project is highly significant in that it works toward not only documenting the language, but also preserving substantial areas of the Nafara culture.

It is undeniable that documenting a language is a major means to preserve it, at least in a permanent written form. However, a language is best kept alive through its use to the fullest extent, in the major social, economic and political functions of language. Failure to do so, a language, no matter what its status, is bound to loose important aspects of its system, and then erodes, decays and eventually dies. Latin is a perfect example; it was unable to survive because it was used in formal contexts such public administration and church only. By analogy, in Côte d’Ivoire, given the present situation of local languages, which are partially used, the extent and rate of loss seems accelerated. Here comes in another primary significance of this project, as we bear in mind major expected outcomes, such as literacy development to rehabilitate Nafara as language that will be used in various contexts of social and educational life.

Several researchers have pointed out the permanent quality of writing (e.g., Chafe, 1982; Elbow, 2000,). The contention is that through the writing mode tangible records are made, which allow for retaining both the memory of the culture and the cultural practices and traditions in forms that are generally impervious to time and space. In other words, because of the development of the writing mode in Nafara, it will be possible to put down in permanent form stories of different types: folktales, legends, myths; and also essential aspects of the Nafara traditions, such as the mundane aspects of the life-long initiation cycle known as the poro. In sum, providing a written system for an oral language is nothing short of a linguistic and cultural revolution, as the development of Nafara literacy that will ensue from this project will help save and promote essential aspects of the Nafara culture, among which language stands out. Then, the aspects so preserved may be accessed both by native speakers and observers, researchers and others. Thus a standardized form of Nafara will perpetuate the Nafara culture and civilization, pending happier horizons when the language will regain the status of a language of
communication at large within the Nafara community, for instance, when it becomes a medium of instruction in its own right.

Within the context of the global village that this modern world is transmuted into, communication is key to the survival and the thriving of communities around the planet. Thus, developing Nafara literacy will make it possible for Nafara speakers to take part in global communication, as it will be possible to translate into Nafara various types of literatures from languages of wider communication. Overall, it is my contention that success in this venture will help rehabilitate Nafara, a central dialect of the Senari language, and which should be regarded here as a language in its own right; a language that is just like any other language, at this point in time.

A highly sought-after outcome of this study is that success in this undertaking would be instrumental in restoring the dignity and self-esteem of so many Nafara youth who feel rootless and alienated, as is often the case when the natural users of language have come to the sad and painful realization that their native language is demeaned and endangered (Kulick, 1992; Paulston, 1994; Robins & Uhlenbeck, 1991).

Sadly enough, scores of people from my extended family, including both educated and illiterate ones have lost their Native Nafara to Jula and French. Yet both parents of most of these alienated people are native speakers of Nafara. Some voices among these poor fellows, who have relentlessly blamed their parents for their fate, ever since they have come to understand the blunder made by their parents, see in this study a sign of inception of a certain redemption for them and people in the Nafara community who share their predicament, in many respects. I have been receiving several calls and notes from some of these people, not only encouraging me, but also calling for the production of materials that could allow them to start out for their journey toward rehabilitation through the study of the Nafara. I would like to share the following quite emotional quotes from conversations I had with some relatives of mine. A second-degree cousin, who can barely say a sentence in Nafara, even though he lives in Côte d’Ivoire, once said, “The Nafara project on which you are working will help people like me become themselves again.” (December, 2006). This apparently simple statement has enormous bearing. No less intriguing and appealing, at the same time, is the following reflection by a nephew of mine who has been living in Europe for quite a while, and who
cannot speak Nafara, even though he grew up in Côte d’Ivoire in a family where both parents are natural speakers of Nafara, “I know it may be pretty late for me, but I am going to try. However, I want to see to it that my children do not blame me the way I blame my own parents. They are going to learn to speak Nafara, be it survival. I want them to be able to exchange with their relatives at the village in Côte d’Ivoire, at least on the basic, and not rely on the service of a translator, in their own native region, like I do whenever I go to see my folks.”(January, 2007). How far can these relatives of mine go in carrying through this pledge? That is a simple question with quite wide ramifications. Nonetheless, what is expressed here seemed to encapsulate the feeling of thousands of Nafara people from sixty years of age down to early childhood. Therefore, there seems to be a persistent call that the issue of Nafara literacy at hand here is a serious matter that should be regarded as such. The foregoing, therefore, further stresses the high significance of the present study.

This study was carried out based on a series of techniques that informed the overall design describing how I went about doing this project. It is noteworthy that over ninety percent of the languages and dialects that are spoken in Côte d’Ivoire are still not described yet. Therefore, the methodology used in this study thus becomes a highly valuable tool that I will take back home; and better yet, successful completion of this project will allow the researcher to train Ivorian teachers in these techniques acquired working on this project and which can be used in the study of other oral genres in Nafara and in other local languages, in Côte d’Ivoire and elsewhere in this world.

The balance of the world linguistic ecosystem requires a new attitude towards languages still spoken around the world. This consists in doing away with the present linguistic oligarchy and supremacy in which a few languages, often wrongly referred to as languages of wider communication are promoted, willfully at the expense of other languages regarded as less important, therefore negligible. This imperialistic attitude that has been going on over centuries and which got both exacerbated and accentuated with colonial endeavors in the past five centuries has resulted in the death of thousands of languages and endangered much more all over the world. Sadly, as have noted multitude of researchers, such outlook on issues relating to languages has only brought confusion
and alienation to people so victimized and made learning of languages and content areas in both formal and informal contexts more difficult.

Multilingualism is the common practice all over the world. Many people on all continents have been able to learn several languages in addition to their native languages. As have pointed out several researchers (e.g., ) full command of the L1 is conditional to an effective learning in general, and language learning in particular. Also, research has shown that the learning of other languages does hinges on the death of native ones. From the preceding it is appropriate to state that the promotion of local languages is a springboard to better master global literacy. In other words, in this world gone global, the balance of the linguistic ecosystem, essential to the survival and subsequently the thriving of the world linguistic body, resides in the promotion of local languages, which will then allow for a better access of the world linguistic systems, in a much better way than what is experienced today. In so doing languages are saved while at the same time healthy multilingualism is ensured and a true democratic ideal is observed in language education.

My contention is that the right to universal language education is a must. In this panorama/order local languages are promoted as a prerequisite to better education of languages of wider communication. This project on the Nafara is an instance of this endeavor.

The task of describing oral languages is a very painstaking undertaking, but it is doable. And above all, it is worthwhile. More people in academia should be encouraged to undertake the description of languages that are still undocumented. This will help save substantial aspects of our common heritage.

Limitations

Grammatical analysis: The grammatical analysis offered by this study remains preliminary, given the previous lack of linguistic description of Nafara.

Given that this is an initial study, and only covers one genre of Senari discourse, it is not possible to claim that the contours of all Senari genres have been covered.

Nafara shares some common features with Cebaara, another central dialect of Senari, in terms of lexical, syntactical, and phonological considerations. However, the
available literary productions in Cebaara, such as newly available dictionary and grammar of Cebaara (Mills, 2003) still leave some way to go to round out the Nafara description proper. Given that this study is also the very first foray in the linguistic analysis of Nafara as a dialect of Senari, it seems appropriate to regard Nafara as a virgin land to explore.

The issue of PLPs (Pesky Little Particles): In the analysis of discourse there are small particles, both words and affixes, whose meanings are hard to pin down or to translate, because they have discourse functions rather than referential meanings (Grimes, 1984; Longacre, 1976a). Inadequate understanding of the functions of discourse particles may lead to information being lost in the interpretation of Nafara rhetorical patterns.

Nafara and Senari dialects: Though Senari dialects are mutually intelligible, it nonetheless is a fact that there are significant differences among them. Therefore, studies will need to be carried out in other dialects to ascertain the commonality of discourse patterns for the genre of concern here.

Senari and other local languages: Côte d’Ivoire presents a multilingual situation par excellence. Given that Senari is only one of many languages present in Côte d’Ivoire, the scope of the study is limited with respect to the larger goal, that is, to help improve language education in the country.

The sample used in this study was not large enough to provide substantive information concerning areas such as the identity of standard formulas used in for opening and closing múŋur̃̃tales. Therefore, a much larger sample, produced by much more diversified informants on a larger scale, is needed to fix our opinion as to the range of formulas used in these important moments of storytelling.

Further Research

The data include far more areas of interest than what has been addressed here. For instance, there are other levels of information, such as irrealis, narrator’s asides, routing storyline materials, which are intricately built into the body of the plot. Subsequent research addressing these areas will be more beneficial.

59 Pesky is the researcher who coined the concept of PLP (Grimes, 1984).
There seems to be a secondary storyline that is preparatory to the primary storyline. For example, the negotiation areas in Tale One pertain to the secondary storyline. Events in the secondary storyline seem to pertain to the backbone of the story, but are less prominent in terms of transitivity, volition, and core sequence and are less concerned with decisive actions that give a critical push to the dramatic tension. A research project in this area will help clarify things.

Performance is a central element in storytelling in societies anchored in oral tradition. A study of this aspect in Nafara tales is likely to shed more light of the contours of the rhetorical pattern of the mú?uriû tales.

A study of aspectual forms in Nafara seems a worthwhile undertaking, given that verbal aspects seem to override issue relating to tense considerations.

A deeper look into such syntactical processes as chaining and gapping will shed more light on the Nafara grammar.

Discourse markers and particles hold quite a sizable place in the way discourse is organized. Therefore, devoting a research project to this area of Nafara will be very beneficial in many respects.

It is a truism that different genres will yield different rhetorical patterns. Nonetheless, the study of other oral genres that constitute the gamut of available Nafara oral discourses will help better apprehend important means of communication in Nafara society. Further, such studies will buttress and illuminate findings of the present study. Furthermore, a scrutiny of other Nafara oral genres and the subsequent establishment of their rhetoric patterns in written forms will not only inform on the issue of discourse in Nafara culture and society, but also help address other aspects of writing across languages in the formal educational context.
APPENDIX A

Abbreviations

This general list of abbreviations is the summary of all abbreviations that have been used in this project. For some technical problem, superscripted and subscripted abbreviations have not been realized here. Below is the list of the elements in concern and the alternative notations offered:

1) The slash sign (“/”) represents subscription; and the back slash sign “\” represents superscription in the argument structure of tales
2) The hyphen sign (“-”) indicates that a couple of things have been collapsed.
3) The bracket and superscript “o” ([ . . ]o) indicates subordinate clauses in the argument structure of tales.

A
adj: adjective
actv: active
act/v: active voice
adj: adjective
adv: adverb
adv/F: fronted adverb
adv/loc: adverb-locative
adv/temp: temporal adverb
adv-p: adverbial particle
aff: affirmative
appos: appositive
asp: aspect
asp-compl: completive aspect
asp-cont: continuative aspect
asp-gap: aspect gapped
asp-pot: potential asp
asp-pst: past aspect marker
asp-pres: present marker aspect
asp-Sgap: subject gapping device
asp-SOgap: subject and object gapping device
assert: assertive
aux: auxiliary

caud: call to audience
class: class or classifier
cli: clitic (as in neg/cli: negative clitic)
coll: collective
compa: comparative
compl: Completive
cond: conditional
con: connectives
cont: continuative
conj: conjunction

def: definite
dem: demonstrative
dep: dependent
det: determinant
DM: discourse markers
do: direct object
dx/s-p: speaker deictic-proximal (See also sd-p)
dx/s-d: speaker deictic-distal (See also sd-d)
evid: evidentiality
emp: emphatic/emphasis
ep: emphatic pronoun
equa: equative
excl: exclamation

F
fem: feminine
fin cli: final clitic
fig: figurative
fut: future
FP: focus particle

G
gap: gapping
gen: gender
ger: gerund
genet: genitive

H
hab: habitual
hort: hortatory

I
imper: impersonal
impt: imperative
incompl: incompletive
ind: indirect
IO: indirect object
indef: indefinite
inf: infinitive
intj: interjection
intro: introduction …
irr: irrealis
iter: iterative

L
loc.: locative
l/adv: locative adverb (when superscripted)

M
mood: mood
mood-ex: mood collapsed with existential verb
m: masculine
mod: modal

N
N: name/noun
NP: noun phrase
nar: narrative/narrator
nar part: narrative particle
neg: negative
neg-ex: negative collapsed with the existential verb
neg cli: negation clitic
N (loc): noun-locative
neg: negative particle
num: number

O
O: object
O/F: object fronted
OPP: object of preposition
O/cop: object copy
O/equa: object equative

**P**
pred: predicate/predicative
PAdj : predicate adjective or adjectival verb (see also VAdj)
part: particle
pl: plural
poss: possessive
poss (adj): possessive adjective
poss (p): possessive pronoun
pp: postposition
PP: prepositional/postpositional phrase
pron: pronominal/pronoun
pst: past
pst/p: past perfect
prf: perfect
prednom: predicate nominative
pot: potential
pres: present
pres (hab): habitual Present
pres (prf): present perfect
pres (par): present participle
pres (pot): present potential
pres (par): present participle
pst (par): past participle

**Q**
QM: interrogative/question marker
quant: quantifier
quest (wrd): question word
R
rfx: reflexive
rfx (p): reflexive pronoun
rel (p): relative pronoun
rep: repetitive
rsp: reported speech

S
S: subject
S-asp (pot): subject collapsed with potential aspect
S/cop: subject copy
sd-d: speaker deictic-distal or distal speaker deictic reference (see also dx/s-d)
sd-p: speaker deictic-proximal or proximal speaker deictic reference (see also dx/s-p)
S/equa: subject equative
S-ex: subject collapsed with existential verb
S/F: fronted subject
S-neg-as (pot): subject collapsed with potential aspect
set: setting
sing: singular
sent: sentence
S (p): pronoun as subject
S (dp): demonstrative pronoun as subject
S (ep): emphatic pronoun as subject
stat: stative
sub: subordination/subordinate
subj: subjunctive
suff: suffix
sup: suppletive

T
time (f): time frame
t/adv: temporal adverb when superscripted
tl: tale
top: topic

V
V: verb
VP: verb phrase
Vpass: passive voice
Vst: stative verb
Vex: existential verb
Vin: intransitive verb
Vtr: transitive verb
APPENDIX B
Grammatical overview

Fundamentally, addressing the discourse pattern of a language is conditional to understanding the grammar of the language. Thus it was important to become familiar with little things that go in the language before we could tackle the discourse proper. This consisted in becoming knowledgeable about the language – the linguistic system, including the lexicon and the grammar. In other words, in order for any analytical task to take place, one must know about the uses – how language functions to convey meaning, which may vary according to the context usage.

Let us preface this section by a comment that this is not a complete grammar of Nafara. But it was essential for me to do a large amount of grammatical analysis, which was achieved with the help of two linguists, Kathryn Josserand (may her soul rest in peace) and Nicholas Hopkins; Christopher Green, then a student at the Department of Anthropology. This material (grammatical overview) then was used to enable me to do the discourse analysis.

A fairly large corpus has been achieved, but just a few points, mainly those that are central in understanding the structure of the discourse, are discussed here. Among others, the following are stressed: alphabet and phoneme systems, word order, the structure of Nafara sentence, pronoun gender and noun classes, possessive adjectives, verbs and various verbal forms, aspects, some syntactical processes, and discourse markers and participles. We will also talk about the discourse markers and particles, such as evidentiality markers, speaker deictic, audience call, focus markers, and PLPs.60

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60 Pesky little particles named after researcher Pesky are discourse particles whose grammatical functions are hard to pin down.
Nafara Alphabet

The Nafara alphabet comprises thirty letters, including twenty-six roman letters and four typical Gur letters.

a as in that
b as in bar
c as in chair
d as in dog
e as in element
ε as in heir
f as in fat
g as in good
gb particular to Gur languages
h as in hut
i as in eat
j as in jar
k as king
kp particular to Gur languages
? as in uh-ho
l as in lot
m as in man
n as in night
η as in going
o as in over
ɔ as in bought
p as in port
r as in rice
s as in since
t as in tea
u as in tutor
The above letters approximate the French letters in many ways. Most of them are pronounced in the same way, and written alike. There are some exceptions. The letter C is actually the English sound found in ‘chair’. Then, some letters are only found in some Niger-Congo languages. Such ones are gb and kp (double voiced and voiceless stops).

The glottal voiceless stop ? , also found in some Mesoamerican languages is never written in initial position in Nafara.

**Phonemes**

Nafara (Senari), like most languages in Niger-Congo group in general, and Gur languages in particular, presents a wide range of phonemes because some of its letters combine in various fashion to yield particular sounds and signs. Below is given the list of common phonemes with some illustrations in English/French (when the phoneme has no equivalent in English) and Nafara and Cebaara (See Table 1A, below.)

**Table 1A. Chart of Common Phonemes and some Illustrations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemes</th>
<th>In English</th>
<th>/ French</th>
<th>As in Nafara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>bar</td>
<td>tente (tent)</td>
<td>kaa (go)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aa</td>
<td>an</td>
<td></td>
<td>fân (run)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an</td>
<td>aan</td>
<td>plant</td>
<td>faan (build)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>bw</td>
<td>bois (wood)</td>
<td>bwɔɔ (mirador)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by</td>
<td>Nubian</td>
<td></td>
<td>byà (sheep)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>chair</td>
<td></td>
<td>cɛn (know)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>dy</td>
<td>Diamant (gold)</td>
<td>Sindyô (brown wild hen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>été (summer)</td>
<td>Seele (birth)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1A. continued

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Fw</td>
<td>fy</td>
<td>few</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fw</td>
<td>Foi</td>
<td>(faith)</td>
<td>Fwɔɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fy</td>
<td>Fyáå</td>
<td>(fish)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>gb</td>
<td>gw</td>
<td>Gwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gböo</td>
<td>(to bring up, i.e. a child)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yágwɔɔ</td>
<td>(cebaara- alone)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>hop</td>
<td>Ṇñhɔ̌n!</td>
<td>(there you go!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>iin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sin</td>
<td>(straight)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sii</td>
<td>(life)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siin/syiin</td>
<td>(two)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>jar</td>
<td>Joo</td>
<td>(say/speak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kp</td>
<td>kw</td>
<td>quarter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kpööoro</td>
<td>(assemble/gather)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwɔɔ</td>
<td>(finish)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>to?o</td>
<td>(carry)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>let</td>
<td>lo?o</td>
<td>(water)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>my</td>
<td>mewl</td>
<td>Myaà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>ny</td>
<td>oignon</td>
<td>(onion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyɔɔ</td>
<td>(kind/good)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>nγ</td>
<td>living</td>
<td>nán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>too</td>
<td>(fall)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>cc</td>
<td>cn</td>
<td>cɔɔn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mont</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>téèlè</td>
<td>(give money)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɔɔn</td>
<td>(cover)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpɔɔnɛn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pw</td>
<td>py</td>
<td>poids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pied</td>
<td>(foot)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwɔɔ</td>
<td>(to tie)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyáa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>rat</td>
<td>syiin rè</td>
<td>(talk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>sy</td>
<td>patient</td>
<td>syɔɔn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

61 This is in Cebaara. The equivalent in Nafara is nɛkwɔɔ.
62 Rewarding entertainers (drummers of sacred instruments and popular dance) during funerals or popular celebrations.
Table 1A. continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>t</th>
<th>ty</th>
<th>tiède (lukewarm)</th>
<th>tyòo (mouse)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>Shoot</td>
<td>fúugo (to shake)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un</td>
<td>uun</td>
<td>tun (to send to run errands)</td>
<td>fúunw (the blind)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>vw</td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>və?a (swamps for growing rice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vv</td>
<td>voix (voice)</td>
<td>sînvwɔ (non-grilled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vvy</td>
<td>viens (come)</td>
<td>sînvýáa (fearless)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>oui (yes)</td>
<td>wi (he/she)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>Yaa (ill)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>zy</td>
<td>razia (raids)</td>
<td>zyàara (nest)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** The three tones in Nafara will confer a variety of sounds to the same letter. For instance, all vowels and a few consonants, such as m, n and w may take any of the tones, which thus indicate a nuance or totally different semantic field of the morpheme.

**Unitary Phonemes**

**Consonant Phonemes**

Table 2A. Consonant Phoneme Chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Articulation place</th>
<th>bilabials</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatals</th>
<th>velars</th>
<th>Labio-velars</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stop affricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vl</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kp</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vd</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>gb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vl</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>(s)</td>
<td>ŝ (sy)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vd</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ (ny)</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resonants</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>l; r</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Clusters.** There are two main categories of clusters, depending on whether letters
cluster with $y$ or $w$. The clusters with $w$ are as follows: $kw$, $gw$, $pw$, $bw$, $fw$, $vw$, why those with $y$ are $by$, $fy$, $dy$, $my$, $py$, and $vy$.

It seems that some consonant clusters have developed into unitary consonant to fit the existing pattern of the Nafara phonology. For instance the cluster $sy$ has become the unitary phoneme $\breve{s}$ as in shirt, while the cluster $ny$ has become the unitary phoneme $\breve{n}$, as in $ny\breve{fog}$ (bush), tanyéé (those hoes).

Clusters actually represent two distinct sounds. Compare with $kp$ and $gb$, which are single sounds, therefore are regarded as single letters of the orthography of most Niger-Congo language group in general, and the Gur in particular.

An examination of the clusters reveals that we can create palatals by putting a $y$ after bilabials and alveolars, i.e., $sy$, $ty$, $dy$, $zy$, $by$, $py$, $vy$, $fy$, etc.

Vowel Phonemes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>$i$</td>
<td>$u$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>$e$</td>
<td>$[\varnothing]$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>$\varepsilon$</td>
<td>$a$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above shows that Nafara comprises 7 basic vowels, which may be lengthened, nasalized to produce other distinct vowels. Then as the final vowel with a low tone becomes a phonetic schwa ($\varnothing$), there is, therefore, a mid-central allophone, which neutralizes vowel distinctions.

Examples:

$ii$ as in $syii$ (two), $aa$ as in $taa$ (gain/find); $ee$ as in $te\tilde{n}$ (sit); $oo$ as in $joo$ (speak); $\varnothing\varnothing$ as in $\breve{l}\varnothing\varnothing$ (hurt); $ee$ as in $pee$ (wicked/ugly), $uu$ as in $k\varnothing\varnothing$ (die).
The lengthened vowels are as follows: *ii, aa, ee, oo, oo, ee, and uu*; and the nasalized vowels are *an, en, and on*, the short ones, and *aan, uun, and iin*, the long ones.

*Short nasalized vowels.* The following represent the short forms of nasalized vowels.

- **an** (orthography) gives ã (phoneme), as in *fàn* (run)-
- **en** (orthography) gives ë (phoneme), as in féjënne (bird)
- **on** (orthography) gives ù (phoneme), as in *ponw* (the dog)

*Long nasalized vowels.* Below are the long nasalized forms of vowels

- **aan** (orthography) gives ãː (phoneme), as in *faan* (build)
- **uun** (orthography) gives ûː (phoneme), as in *píun* (dog)
- **iin** (orthography) gives íː (phoneme), as in *syíinn* (people)

**Vowel Harmony**

Given that the final vowel with low tone becomes a schwa (ə), therefore it does not matter whether the final vowel is e, o, a, or e, since they will all sound alike. Thus, generally speaking Vowels are harmonic, in that the final vowel copies the closest vowel in the root of the word. This is true for a, o, o, e, and e. The foregoing is in support of the harmony of vowels in Nafara, that is to say the vowel in the roots is repeated in the final position:

Examples: Pyèʔele (hare- used as a name), kòdògò (pot), féjënne (bird), léye (stomach), dàålà (land/ground/compound).
Nafara Word Order

The typical word order in Nafara, much like in Senari dialects described so far, such as Cebaaraa (of Korhogo and Kuto), is SOV (subject-object-verb) as far as constructions with transitive verbs are concerned.

a) Kàjûû kòbèl-i káa (Hyena ate the monkeys)

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & O & V \\
\text{hyena monkeys-the eat} & & \\
\end{array}
\]

b) pé pyè?ele syàari (they greeted Hare)

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & O & V \\
\text{they Hare greet} & & \\
\end{array}
\]

c) Wùâ mà mòbil-i syà mà mà (he bought a car for me)

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & O & V \\
\text{he asp-compl car-indef bought me for} & & \\
\end{array}
\]

While the above appears to be a general rule with transitive verb, it is noteworthy that the SOV becomes an SVO when the transitive verb is in some special constructions where the object is an embedded sentence, such as structures in which the object is a subordinated clause.

d) Pè maà sòngi [pi fàng-i tàn?am-à cén]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & V & O \\
\text{They all think they power-def. taste-indef. know} & & \\
\end{array}
\]

(d) (They think to know the taste o power)

e) Nawa jo waà pàan

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & V & O \\
\text{Nawa said he-asp-pot come} & & \\
\end{array}
\]

(e) Nawa wants him to come)
As one can see in the above sentences, the SVO structure is in order when the object of the verb is a clause. However, and interestingly enough, the SOV order re-emerges again in the subordinated clauses as in examples (d) and (e):

\[
\text{d) } \rightarrow \ [\text{pi făng-}i \ \text{tàn?amà cén } ] \\
\text{they power-def. taste-indef. know} \\
S/\text{cop} \quad \text{O} \quad \text{V}
\]

For verbal constructions with intransitive verbs, a few instances are offered below:

\[
f) \text{Kolo mà } \ y교 \ (\text{Kolo danced}) \\
\text{Kolo asp-compl danced} \\
S \text{ asp-compl V}
\]

\[
g) \text{Miì mà } \ 갓니 (I slept) \\
\text{I asp-compl slept} \\
S \text{ asp V}
\]

\[
h) \text{wo mØ } \ joo \ nê \ \text{wi ni (we spoke with him)} \\
\text{we asp-compl talked and him with} \\
S \text{ asp-compl V opp pp}
\]

As shown above the typical order for intransitive verb is SV as in (f) and (g), and SV+ complement, as in (h).

Word order in Nafara is basically an SOV order. It is noteworthy that special effects/construction yield a good story. But these can only be perceived against the background of the regular word order, which why word order plays an important role in discourse analysis.
The Structure of Nafara Sentence

The Nafara sentence is looked at from the perspective of Chomsky’s generative grammar, where the essential components fall into two main categories: the noun phrase (NP) and the verb phrase (VP). The VP may include NP and adpositional phrases, that is to say prepositional or postpositional phrases, all of which are referred to as PP. In Nafara, much as in most Senari dialects, there are only postpositions. The task here will consist in scrutinizing the contents of NPs, VPs, and PPs, in order to establish the structure of Nafara sentential realities.

Noun Phrases (NP)

Noun phrases come in several shapes and forms, in terms of their structures and components. The examples below illustrate essential scenarios of NPs, based on the sample of the study.

Summary of noun phrases

NP→ N (only)

Kóbéli sôngí (monkey think)

n

Náagi côo (the fire started)

n

NP→ N + (conj) + N

kàjôcô né kòbéli (Hyena and the monkeys)

N conj N

Fejéngeli ne kóbéli (birds and monkeys)

n conj n

NP→ Poss + N

mi càw (my wife).

Poss N
**véé céri** (his body)  
poss N  

NP→ N + adj

*Kóbéli pèmaà* (all monkeys)  
N adj  

NP→ N + number

**syiine kée** (ten people)  
N num

NP→ N + number

**Nòye sii** (cows two=two cows)  
N num

NP→ N + N (compound noun)

**Tari-nyúngo** (land head = the head of the land)  
N N

NP→ Pronoun (pron) only

**Wàa kó joo** (someone + neg + spoke =nobody spoke )  
Pron neg v

**Ye wàa tun** (you someone send =send someone for me)  
pron pron v

NP→ Pron + Reflexive Pron

**Mii dedaalà** (I myself)  
pron rfx (p)

**Mu dedaalà** (you yourself)  
pron rfx (p)

NP→ N (possessor) + N (possessed)

**Yawéeri tárá** (animal land)  
N (poss) N (oposs)

**kóbéli té?e** (monkeys the place)  
N (poss) N (oposs)

From the above examples, it appears that the typical **NP** in Nafara is structured as follows:
**Poss + N + Det + num + N + det + Adj** (possessive + noun + determiner + number + noun + adjective)

Example:

**Mu séy-ì sìi yalír-e timàà** (your farms-def. two food-indef. all = all food from your two farms)

Poss N-det num N – det adj

**Verb Phrases (VPs)**

Verb phrases in Nafara, much like verb phrases in most languages spoken around the world, present multifarious scenarios due to the wide range of arguments that are tied to the verb in one way or another. Some of the arguments are direct objects, or indirect objects, beside a wide range of arguments such as benefactive (B), instrument (I); range (R), goal (G), locative (L), Force (F), all of which partake of what Grimes (1984) refers to as the agency complex.

All arguments but the subject belong to the VP. Thus, because so many things are attached to it, the VP may become very complex, in every sense of the world, as one can see in the chart below:

\[
\text{VP} \rightarrow \text{asp} + \text{NP} + \text{V} + \text{PP (NP + pp)}
\]

The verbal aspect is followed by a noun phrase; then comes the verb followed by a postpositional phrase, that is to say a noun phrase (the object of the postposition) and a postposition.

The summary of verb phrases that follow will deal with foundational forms of verbal phrases, leaving out postpositional phrases (PPs) for a later development.

\[
\text{VP} \rightarrow \text{V}
\]

The verbal phrase includes a verb only.

a) *(Kôdôgi) wári* (the pot heated)
   \[
   \text{s} \quad \text{V}
   \]

b) *(Kàjô) kùu, tyàngana* (hyena died yesterday)
   \[
   \text{s} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{adv}
   \]
c) (KàjûÛ yétiigû) jée ([Hyena’s neck] entered = smashed into his body)
   
   \[
   s \quad V
   \]
   \[
   VP \rightarrow O + V
   \]

   This is the typical form of VPs in Nafara, where the object comes before the verb, as the preferred word order is SOV

   a) (Yawéeri) téè géa ([the animals] ate each other)
   
   \[
   s \quad O \quad V
   \]

   b) (Pyè®ele) sicílimà caa (Hare found a solution)
   
   \[
   s \quad O \quad V
   \]

   c) (Kàjûû) kòdògbò® caa (hyena found a big pot)
   
   \[
   s \quad O \quad V
   \]
   \[
   VP \rightarrow V + O
   \]

   This form of VPs is realized by means of a quotative verb introducing direct and reported speech.

   a) (wì) jo, « ée, meè si nyàa gàa pye? »

   \[
   s \quad V \quad \text{well, how} \quad fp \quad \text{I-asp-pot this do}
   \]
   \[
   O
   \]

   (he) said, “well, how am I going to handle this situation)

   b) (Kòbèli) wi pyee wa-a je

   \[
   s \quad io \quad V \quad \text{he-mood enter}
   \]
   \[
   O
   \]

   (The monkeys) told him to enter

Postpositional Phrases (PP)

Unlike French and English, Nafara, only has postpositions. Even in the case of compound adpositions, i.e., nè . . . nî (with), the last particle is a must. In other words, the preposition will not be regarded as such without the particle placed after the noun. Owing to this, the component of the compound adposition that comes before the NP could not be regarded as a preposition, as it cannot stand alone.
The Main Adpositions in Nafara

In Nafara the main adpositions are as follows:

má: to, for, from
ni: in, inside
náama: on, over, above
(láarā) ni: under
láamani ni: inside
na: on, at
kàbēngi na/má: towards
kàdó?omá: behind, after
tànna: beside, near
màn?a: around
né . . . ni: with

Some examples:

a) Inside the hill  
Naßègò lâamanì ni  
b) Under the hill  
Nabégu lâarà ni  
c) I go to town  
Mii syée càgì mà  
d) He goes toward Napie  
Wi syée Napie kàbèngi na

The Constituent Parts of Nafara Postpositional Phrase

PP→NP (poss +oposs) + pp

a) yawéeri tàrà  
na (on the animals land)
As pointed out earlier, the structure “nê . . . nî” means “with.” “nî” with high tone combines with the conjunction “nê” (and) to give the postposition “with.”

---

63 Láarà + ní = under
64 láamà + nì=inside
In Nafara, postpositional phrases come in various forms, as made evident in the above inventory based on Tale 3. Below is the typical structure for postpositional phrases showing the fashion in which their constituent parts are ordered.

\[
PP \rightarrow \text{poss} + \text{NP} + \text{pp (noun, genitive, pron)} + \text{dem} + \text{num} + \text{pp}
\]

The postpositional phrase \(PP\) may include a possessive adjective followed by a NP (e.g., a noun, genitive, or a pronoun), followed by a demonstrative, then the postposition.
Pronouns

Pronouns fall into several types according to the class of noun they belong to.

Given below is a nomenclature of pronouns according to noun classes.

Table 3A. Chart of Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns Noun classes</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Animate: humans</strong></td>
<td>mii (I); mu (you); wi (she/he); Wo/wò (we), ye/yè (you), pe/be/pé/bé (they)</td>
<td>. mii (me), . mu (you), . wi (him/her), . Wòli (us), . yèli (you), . . . . . . pe/be; pé/bé (them)</td>
<td>. mii wógì (mine) . mu wógì (yours) . wèè (his/hers) . Wòli (ours) . yèli wógì (yours) . péè wógì (theirs) (all these refer to class A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Animate: non-human</strong></td>
<td>Large: *wi (elephant, cow) ki/gi (horse), * ni65 (bull) <strong>Small:</strong> * ni (bird, chick, puppy...) * Wi (chicken, dog, cat, lizard...) * Gi (snake, duck, ...)</td>
<td>Large: . wi, gi/ki, <strong>Small:</strong> . wi, gi/ki, ni</td>
<td>Large: <strong>singular</strong> . wèè/kèè wógì (its) <strong>plural</strong> . péè/yèè (theirs) <strong>Small:</strong> <strong>singular</strong> . wèè/kèè/lèè wógì (its) <strong>plural</strong> . péè/yèè wógì (theirs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inanimate</strong></td>
<td>*ki/gi (house, tree mountain, coop, ...) *Wi (book, table,...) *Ni (plate/dish,...)</td>
<td>. ki/gi, wi, ni . pe/be . yi</td>
<td><strong>singular</strong> . kèè/lèè wógì (its) <strong>plural</strong> . yèè/tèè wógì (theirs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Liquid mass</strong></td>
<td>*ki (water, river, sea, soup...), *wi (gas, petrol,...) *Pi (oil)</td>
<td>. ki/gi, pi/bi, wi</td>
<td>. kèè/pèè/bèè wógì (its)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-liquid mass</strong></td>
<td>*wi (peanut, banana, money...), *ti (food, sunbàrà, ...)</td>
<td>. wi, ti/di</td>
<td>. péè/tèè wógì (its).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

65 “Ni” goes with small animal. However in some rare cases it is used with some large animals, i.e., bull (nápalà: ni mà jée sàagi ni = bull: it entered the house)
Notes

1. The above chart shows that pronouns in Nafara fall into two major categories. There are two clear-cut sets of pronouns. There is one for people and another for other classes of nouns. The exception to the rule here is that the third person singular and plural for people share pronouns with other classes. Pronouns for the third person singular and plural be they subject, object or possessive (wi, pe/be, wéè) are also used for nouns pertaining to non-human animate, inanimate, and liquid/mass classes.

2. Younger people (children of both sex) are suffixed ‘pîle’, i.e., nàbîle/nògàpîlè (a young boy), tiàlipîlè (a young girl); pìipîlè (a small child) all have ni in both the subject and object position, generally speaking. But wi may also be used. The possessives are léè and wéè

3. Smaller size, amount or quantity of non-human animate and inanimate, liquid and non-liquid mass noun classes, affixed with ‘pîle ’ (small), behave like the nouns in human class.

4. For the same class, when the smaller size, amount or quantity is rendered by the suffix ‘pùiri’ (e.g., sànzeepùiri =little gas), the subject and object pronouns are ti, while the possessive is téè.

5. It is noteworthy that the suffix ‘pùiri ’ may also indicate the plural form of smaller size, amount, and quantity in all noun classes in the definite form. Even in this case, the same pronouns are used (e.g., nògàpùiri=the small boys; tiìpìtì=the small trees).

6. The plural form falls into three categories, yi, ké/gé, and bé/pé for the subject and object pronouns and respectively yèè, kèè, and péè for the possessive pronouns. These categories correspond to the following suffix:

   Yi and yèè go with noun classes ending with yi (also yè, yò) in the plural form Nòbloyì (the yams)/nòbloyà (yams):

   a) Yi n kwòò (they have been all eaten)
b) Wo mà yí lìi (we ate them)

We asp-compl them eat

c) Yéè kpàbìgi baà mè (their bag is over there)

Their bag there actual loc

*Ké/gé* and *kéè* go with noun classes ending with *geli* (also *elè*) in the plural form:

Jégélí (the xylophones) jééélè (xylophones)

a) Ké mà pèèn (they are bitter = they don’t sound right)

They stat sour

b) Pé mà gé wáa (they threw them away)

They asp-compl them throw away

c) Kéè báaragémi mà gbàn (their fabrication is difficult)

Their fabrication stat difficult

*Pé/bé* and *péè* go with noun classes ending with *beli* (also *nò*) in the plural form

Pònbelí (the dogs)/Pònndó (dogs);

a) Pé mà jée saagi ni (they entered the house)

They pst enter house in

b) Wì n bé kan bé lìi (he/she fed them)

He/she asp-compl them give them eat

c) Péè fiirì mà nyçon (Their hairs are nice-looking)

Their hairs stat nice-looking

More comprehensive examples illustrating possessive pronouns from all noun classes

The examples are given in comparative form constructions (“X nèè . . . Y na” = X is more than Y).
a) Kajɔɔ, wɔrĩ fãŋgi beè nɛ?ɛ yawéeya sàama wóʔo na
   (Hyena, his power was more than that of many animals).

b) Gnima wáliw mà nɛ?ɛ mu wó w na
   (Gnima’s money is more than yours)

c) Nato gbàyáw beè nɛ?ɛ Sali wó w na
   (Nato’s beads are more numerous than Sali’s = more beads than)

d) Kàjɔɔ gbàyáw beè nɛ?ɛ yawéeya sàama wó w na
   (hyena’s beads are . . .than those of many animals)

f) Mìi nòblógi mà kpɔʔɔ Chris wógi na
   (my yam is bigger than Chris’s)

g) Kolo nòblóyi mà nɛ?ɛ syiínbeli sàama wóyi na
   (Kolo’s yams are more numerous than those of many people)

h) Syiínbeli sàama nòblóyi mà nɛ?ɛ Kolo wóyi na
   (The yams of many people are more numerous than Kolo’s)

i) Fànʃwɔ kàkègèli mà nɛ?ɛ syiínbeli sàama wógi na
   (The king’s shells are more numerous than those of many people)

j) Syiínbeli sàama kàkègèli mà nɛ?ɛ fànʃwɔ wógi na
   (the shells of many people are more numerous than the king’s)

k) Jàràbèli fãŋgi mà nɛ?ɛ kóbèli wóʔo/wógè na
   (Lions’ strength is more than monkey’s)

m) Mìi syiínbeli mà nɛ?ɛ mu/yèli wóbèli na
   (My people are more numerous than yours  [sing/plur])

n) Yawéeyya sàama fãŋgi mà nɛ?ɛ kàjɔɔ wógi na
   (the strength of many animals is more than hyena’s)

o) Kàjɔɔ wáliw mà nɛ?ɛyawéeyya sàama wó w na
   (Hyena’s money is bigger than that of many animals)
p) Syiinyíbéli wáliw mà ne?e syiiwóbéli wów na
(White people’s money is more than black people’s)

q) Mii sûru mà ne?e mu wóri na
(my food is more than yours)

r) Nnou kòni bè kpó?o Yaya wóni na
(The chair of Nnou was bigger than Yaya’s)

s) Syiinyíbéli tári mà kpó?o syiiwóbéli wóro na
(white people’s land is prettier than black people’s)

t) Sobeli sùme mà ne?e kàjô wómì na
(Elephants fat is more than Hyena’s)

Table 4A. Comprehensive Summary of Possessive Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>definite</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wów</td>
<td>wów</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wónì</td>
<td>wólè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wógi</td>
<td>wógê/wó?o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wórì</td>
<td>wórè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wómì</td>
<td>wóme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Main noun class existential verb
Wii (class E)
Nii (class B)
Gii (class A)
tii/dii (class C)
pii/bii (class D)
Possessive Adjectives

Possessive adjectives make a complex set in Nafara. This discussion provides some insights into this system, which is closely linked with noun classes and the pronoun system.

Table 5A. Partial Chart of Nafara Possessive Adjectives by Noun Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of nouns</th>
<th>Possessive adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animate: humans</td>
<td>. mii (my),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. mu (your),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. wèè (his/her)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. Wòli (our)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. yèli (your),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. péè (their)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animate: non-human</td>
<td>Large:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. wèè, kéè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. péè; yèè (their)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Small:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. wèè, kéè, léè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. péè; yèè (their)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inanimate</td>
<td><strong>singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. kéè, léè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. yèè; téè (theirs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid mass</td>
<td>. kéè, péè/béè,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-liquid mass</td>
<td>. péè, téè.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Non-human animate:

Large

Singular:

a) The elephant (sow) → wëè
b) Horse (syôn ço) → kéè

Plural:

a) The elephants (sobeli) → yëè, péè
b) horses /syôn yi) → yëè, péè

Small

Singular:

a) goat (sikpa) → wëè
b) rabbit (pyège) → kéè

Plural:

a) goats (sika? alè) → péè
b) rabbits (pyèye) → yëè

Inanimate

Singular:

a) The path (kogi) → kéè
b) hole (kàwele) → léè

Plural:

a) paths (koyi) → yëè
b) holes (kàwegeli) → kéè

Liquid mass:

a) beer (sumè) → péè
b) Kerosene (tájëè) → wëè

Non-liquid mass:

a) food (surè) → téè
b) pepper (sikali) → wëè

The examples provided above show that it is clear that all possessive adjectives, including the one used for the third person singular, end with the same double vowels (ëè). The difference between all these possessive adjectives lies in the consonant, which has to do with the marker of the class to which a specific adjective is attached, in its indefinite and definite forms in both the singular and plural cases.
Examples:

a) path (kogè) belongs to the class “kii/gii” for which the class marker is the consonant “g.” As shown above, the possessive adjective for ‘path’ (kogè) is “kéè”

Other examples:
nôgè (foot): kéè (p. adjective)
lô persuade: kéè (p. adjective)
tiigè (tree): kéè (p. adjective)

b) The paths (koyi): generally speaking, the marker of the plural form of nouns from the class “kii/gii” is “y.” Thus the possessive adjective for ‘the paths’ (koyi) is “yéè.”

Other examples:

ôyi (the feet): yéè (p. adjective)
lôyi (the waters, i.e., rivers): yéè (p. adjective)

tiîyì (the trees): yéè (p. adjective)
Verbs in Nafara

The Nafara verbal system comprises a wide range of verbs including auxiliaries, stative, existential, and ordinary verbs, which fall into regular and irregular types. Besides the foregoing, the discussion that follows will be concerned with such things as transitivity and intransitivity, tenses, mood, and also issues relating to voice and various forms of sentence constructions.

Stative, Auxiliary, and Existential verbs

*Stative.* A stative clause, strictly speaking, would be a noun that is inflected like a verb.

In other words, a noun is taken and inflected for persons (e.g., 1st, 2nd, 3rd person singular and plural, etc.), as often is the case in some MesoAmerican languages. In Chol, for example, any noun or adjective can be taken and inflected as a verb for persons by adding the regular verbal inflection for person you would have on an intransitive verb. The noun becomes a predicate nominative or adjective.

In many languages spoken around the world, a stative verb has come to identify with verbs that inform about the state of people and things. Therefore, as a caveat, here, by way of a working definition, within the confines of this study, any statement in which a noun (or a pronoun, for that matter) and an adjective are linked through a copula or linking verb may be referred to as a stative statement, because a state has been expressed on the pre-verbal argument, i.e., “my brother is tall.”

In Nafara, states are expressed by means of *mà, nye, kòri*

a) Sali mà tónni (Sali is tall)

s  vst  PAdj

Piìwì mà nycc (the child is cute)

s  vst  PAdj

b) saagi nye fiige (the house is whitish)

S  vst  PAdj

c) nònùw nye tónniìw (the man is tallish)

S  vst  PAdj
Remark:

1. In a construction with past or future meaning, nyè would be replaced with pyee or byee, depending on the paradigmatic environment.

Example:

a) saagì pyee fiīge, cénganà (the house was whitish, yesterday)
   S vst PAdj adv

b) saagì à byee fiīge, nyèn?enà (the house will be whitish, tomorrow)
   S asp-pot vst PAdj adv

2. Kòri could replace nyè in all the above sentences

Auxiliaries. It is noteworthy that mà, nyè, kòri are also regarded as auxiliary verbs

The modal gbàn

The verb gbàn has been identified as a modal verb. Some examples are provided below.

a) Kàjû à gbàn kó-bèli pè maà káa (Hyena can eat all the monkeys)
   Hyena asp (pot) can monkeys-def. they all eat

Existential verbs. The discussion that follows centers on the main identified Nafara existential verbs.

Most verbs identified as stative (e.g., nyè [and pyee forms in the future and past]) also function as existential verbs, the only difference being the type of arguments they allow for in the role of predicate in their constructions. As existential verbs, they allow noun arguments on both sides. The arguments on either side of the verb coreference with each other, yielding thus equative clauses.

Examples:

a) Sali nyè còlo (Sali is a woman)
   s vex s
b) Wí pyee sàndoo (he was a fortuneteller)

The case of bàn

In negative constructions and question tags, bàn is often used as an existential verb.

Example:

a) Kánye?-ê kó bàn lé? (It is truth, isn’t it?)
   truth-indef. Neg prs pred. QM
b) Kajô kó bàn í (it is not Hyena)
   Hyena neg. prs-pred cli

In addition to the above verbs, there is a typical Nafara existential verb, which takes various shapes and forms depending on the noun class to which it is attached.

The Formation of Class Existential Verbs

Several scenarios are presented here, which makes it hard to flesh out a theory. However, it is interesting to note that for an important portion of noun classes, the existential verb is the class marker plus üi. This is true for classes A, B, E, and H. But Classes C, D, F and G present different cases, as we shall see below.

Class C and D have r and m for class markers, but their existential verbs are tii/dii, and pii/bii. In other words, the class marker does not correspond with the consonant of the existential verb. The commonality between these classes is that they do not have plural forms in Senari, because they are classes of non-count and abstract words. As pointed out in the section devoted to noun classes, given that the class marker and the consonant of the existential verb are articulated at the same point, the phenomenon experienced here should not be regarded as something strictly random.

Classes F and G present still another scenario. First, we are hard put to make a firm statement as to what constitutes the final consonant of the nucleus of the morpheme (g or l; b or l). Even if we assume that the class markers are b and g, based on the consonant in the existential verb bêê and gêê, we are left with êê, which is quite a
singular ending for the existential verb. Suffice it to say that these existential verbs have special plural forms.

Singular
Noun class A: marker→ g; existential verb→ gii (with kii initial)
Noun class B: marker→ n; existential verb→ nii
Noun class C: marker→ r; existential verb→ dii (with tii initial)
Noun class D: marker→ m; existential verb→ bii (with pii initial)
Noun class E: marker→ w; existential verb→ wii

Plural
Noun class F: marker→ b; existential verb→ bêê
Noun class G: marker→ g; existential verb→ gêê
Noun class H: marker→ y; existential verb→ yii

Table 6A. Chart of Class Markers and Relevant Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VEX Form</th>
<th>VEX by class</th>
<th>indefinite</th>
<th>definite</th>
<th>demonstrative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular plural</td>
<td>kii/gii</td>
<td>-g + v</td>
<td>-g + i</td>
<td>-g + éê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-y + v</td>
<td>-y + i</td>
<td>-ny + éê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular plural</td>
<td>nii</td>
<td>-l + v</td>
<td>-n + i</td>
<td>-n + éê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-n + v</td>
<td>-gel +i</td>
<td>-(gel) gel +éê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular plural</td>
<td>tii/dii</td>
<td>-r + v</td>
<td>-r + i</td>
<td>-r + éê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular plural</td>
<td>pii/bii</td>
<td>-m + v</td>
<td>-m + i</td>
<td>-m + éê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular plural</td>
<td>wii</td>
<td>-w + i</td>
<td>-n + éê</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>béê</td>
<td>-bel + i</td>
<td>-(bel-i) gel + éê</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6A shows noun class forms broken down into their morphemes. In the chart, “V” stands for vowel. Thus, the class marker is the consonant of the suffix to which vowel are attached.

The above analysis shows that there is a general pattern as to noun class formation on one hand, and the formation of existential verbs, on the other hand. As far as noun
classes are concerned, the prevailing pattern is that vowels are suffixed to the class marker to give various forms of noun classes (indefinite, definite, demonstrative in both the singular and plural) wherever applicable. As to the formation of the existential verb, in general what stands out is that ‘ii’ is added to the class marker.

However, things are not so cut and dried, as shown in the above analysis. For instance, in some instances, the consonant of the existential does not match with the consonant that marks the class (cf. class C and D). Likewise, the existential verb also presents an irregular suffix (ëë) in the plural. The foregoing irregularities are common in languages spoken around the world. They may stem from various sources— from an internal mutation due to use over time, to dialect or other types of loans (e.g., from other contact languages, i.e., Jula, French, etc), to subtle forms of language decay, that remain imperceptible to speakers. Admittedly, languages tend to be regular; and it is precisely irregularities such as those pointed out here that seem to confirm the regular quality of any linguistic system.

At this stage of the description of Nafara grammar, things are not settled yet. Plus at this icebreaking stage, the same thing may be assigned different categories in different areas of the text, or different things may be given the same category, here and there. Therefore, as we are still looking for our marks, things are a little bit fuzzy. This is true when it comes to differentiating stative from existential verbs. But down the road things will clear up.

**Ordinary Verbs**

Ordinary verbs present yet another complex group, where several types of verbs may be distinguished, depending on the linguistic behavior they manifest. However, I will not go into those complex considerations. For now, suffice it to say that there are two major groups: regular and irregular verbs. The conjugation of some of these verbs in Nafara basic tenses are offered below in a chart (cf. Table 7A).

The tenses provided in Table 7A are not meant to be an exhaustive list of tenses found in Nafara. For instance, there is also the past simple, which is generally expressed by means of a temporal adverb giving an explicit indication of the time of the action.
Example:

a) wò yoo, céngana né ná ká seg-i má

we danced, yesterday and then went farm-def. to
(we danced yesterday before going to farm)

b) Céngana, Pitin kòliw jée né ká cég-i má

yesterday, Pitin laundry washed and went market-def. to
(Yesterday, Pitin did the laundry and went to market)

Likewise, by means of various combinations it is possible to express most tenses found in languages with longstanding literary tradition, such as French and English. Further research on Nafara grammar will certainly clarify some aspects of this important issue.

As pointed out earlier, Cebaara and Nafara have a relatively high rate of mutual intelligibility between them. However there sometimes are very sharp differences between them. One of these cases concern conjugation in general. While it is undeniable that some tenses may use the same verbal aspect markers, such as “ǹ” or “mà,” it often is the case that they do not always realize the same semantic realities in both dialects. The most pronounced difference concerns the present simple. In Cebaara, there is an “i,” used as the predicator of the present. For instance, “I dance” would be “mìi i yoo.” Other differences also apply (For more discussion on Cebaara, please see Elizabeth Mills, 1984, 1987; Richards Mills, 2003). The conjugation of some verbs in Nafara is offered in Table 7A.
**Table 7A.** Chart of Conjugation of some Nafara Verbs (regular and irregular verbs) in Basic Tenses of the Indicative and Imperative Moods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Indicative</strong></th>
<th><strong>Imperative</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Present simple</td>
<td>Present progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yoo</td>
<td>Mii yoo (I dense)</td>
<td>Mii (ná) nè yoo (I am dancing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foo/fàn</td>
<td>Mii fó (I run)</td>
<td>Mii (ná) nè fó (I am running)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joo</td>
<td>Mii nyuu (I speak)</td>
<td>Mii (ná) nè nyuu (I am speaking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lii</td>
<td>Mii lii (I eat)</td>
<td>Mii (ná) nè lii (I am eating)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyenni</td>
<td>Mii nyenni (I cry)</td>
<td>Mii (ná) nè nyenni (I am crying)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 7A** clearly shows that Nafara includes both regular verb (e.g., nyenni = cry) and irregular verbs (e.g., yoo = dance; joo = speak).

---

66 “yoo” is a mere command, which may or may not be carried out, while “da yoo” or “maa yoo” presupposes that the action is already in process, and the doer of the action is just commanded to keep on.
Morphological Inflections and Phonological Shifts

In Nafara, irregular verbs are the only verbs that show some morphological inflections for tenses, as seen in the table of conjugation. However, there are fewer morphological inflections and more phonological changes that mark tenses. In other words, in most cases when changes occur it is about a shift in the tone. We may say Nafara is a tonal language par excellence.

The scarceness of morphological inflections is made up for by a wide use of aspectual particles allowing for distinguishing forms of tenses. From this perspective, we could also venture to say that Nafara is aspect-oriented rather than tense-oriented.

Verbs: Transitive vs. Intransitive

Below are examples illustrating the use of some transitive and intransitive verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Mii piw tyírì, cénganà</td>
<td>d) Mii ñóni, céngana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S     O     V</td>
<td>S     V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I hit the child, yesterday)</td>
<td>(I slept, yesterday)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Mu manisárigi sorí</td>
<td>e) wi páan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S     O     V</td>
<td>S     V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(You cook the porridge [everyday])</td>
<td>(he comes [everyday])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Wi picáw nyaa, cénganà</td>
<td>f) Wi tárí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S     O     V</td>
<td>S     V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(He saw the (young) girl, yesterday)</td>
<td>(He walks [every night])</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Passive Voice

A syntactic subject (which actually is the object undergoing the action) followed by a transitive verb signals the passive voice in Nafara.
a) Náagè̀ fèlìgè̀ ká le námà (if such a fire is started here)
    \[S \text{ cond vtr loc}\]

b) kapeelà à múa kpéèlè mu nà” (some harm will also be done to you)
    \[S \text{ asp-pot adv vtr PP}\]

As shown in the above examples, the structure of the passive in Nafara is follows:

\[S \text{ (syntactic subject) . . .+ VTR}\]

Negation in Nafara

A few particles are used to express the negation in Nafara

Negation is realized, essentially, by means of “kó,” “kóò,” or “kóô,” which actually are allomorphs. The variation noted here has to do with the environment in which the negative particle appears. To all these particles, the clitic “í” is often attached.

Use of “kó,” “kóò,” or “kóô

a) Màni kóò baà (there is no rice)
   \[rice-indef. neg there\]

b) lb-ô kóò baà pe gbaa í (there is no water for them to drink)
   \[water-indef neg. loc. They drink cli\]

Note: in the above sentences (a) and (b), the existential verb is not used, but it is assumed. For instance, in all sentences “nyé” (is), which comes right after the negation particle is simply dropped. Technically, we should say “Màni kóò nyé baà,” but this is not used by natural speakers. In contrast, the existential verb is used after “beè,” the aspectual particle expressing the past, as shown in (c) and (d). “Pyàà,” is the collapsed form of “pyée” (was) and the locative “baà.”
c) yálipilè  *kó  beè pyàà í* (there was no food)

*food-little-indef. neg asp-pst was-there cli*

As seen in the above, the negative particle takes one vowel, when it is followed by the aspectual particle “beè.”

**Use of “bàn”**

In the present tense, in combination with “kó,” “bàn” may be used as an explicit existential verb in negative statement.

a) màni  *kó  bàn í* (it is not rice)

*rice-indef. neg. EX. cli*

b) syôôn  *kó  bàn í* (it is not a person)

*person-indef. neg.VEX cli*

**Ordinary Verbs**

With ordinary verbs, different scenarios are brought to bear, as shown in the examples below. The long negative particle (*kòô or kòō*) and the short one (*kó*) are used according to the syntactical environment in which they are realized.67

e) mì kòô gêê caa í (I do not want that)

*I neg that want cli*

f) wi kòô man-i lii í

*he neg. rice-indef. eat cli*

h) Nawa kó gi cen í (Nawa does not know about it)

Nawa neg it know cli

i) wi kó pîi-w nyaa í (he did not see the child)

*he neg. child-def. see cli*

---

67 At this point in the study of Nafara, it is not clear what drives the use of one form or the other. Further research will certainly shed some light on the issue.
Note: with ordinary verbs, the negative particle “gó” is often used for the short particle “kó”

Example: k) wò  gó  fè?e  wí nyaa í (we have not yet seen him)

We neg yet him see cli

4. The negation used in the future or potential

   a) miì  kàà68  ga se?e má, nyèn?ena í (I will not go to farm tomorrow)
      I neg-asp-pot go farm to, tomorrow cli
   b) Wò  kàà  lii,  nyèn?ena í (we will not eat tomorrow)
      we neg-asp-pot eat, tomorrow cli
   c) Nawa kàà  yɔɔ,  nyèn?ena í (Nawa will not dance, tomorrow)
      Nawa neg-asp-pot dance tomorrow cli
   d) Pyè?ele  kàà  byee wèè sà?a má,  nyèn?ena
      Hare neg-asp-pot be his house at, tomorrow
      (d) ‘(Hare will not be at home, tomorrow’.

In constructions with future notion or the potential, the aspect dà combines with the negative particle, as shown in the above instances. The collapsed form (“kàà” = kó + dà) of the negative and the aspect marker are used, rather than spelling them out.

Interrogative Forms

The interrogative form is rendered by means of two particles: “lé” and “lá.”

Construction with “lé”

Existential verbs. Examples with some existential verbs are provided below:

S+ lé+EX (existential verb, which takes different forms according to the noun class)

   a) Kàjɔɔ lé wii? (Is it hyena?)
      S QM VEX

68 Kàà: kó dà
B) Solo sáagí lé gii? (Is it Solo’s House?)

S QM VEX

Note: one may also encounter structures like S+lé, as in “Kajô lé?” (“Hyena?” meaning “Is it Hyena?”)

*Ordinary verbs.* Examples illustrating the interrogative form with ordinary verbs follow:

S+V+QM

a) Kàjô pan lé? (Did hyena come?)

S V QM

b) Pyèe’ele nan lé baà? (Did Hare arrive there?)

S V QM loc

Constructions with “lá”

The interrogative markers “lé” and “lá” are interchangeable; they also cover the same semantic bearing. However, “lá” does not occur in a medial position; it is always in a final position.

a) Mu wi nyaa lé/lá? (Did you see him?)

b) Mii dà gbàn kàbi lá/lé? (Can I compete?)

c) Wí nan lé/lá? (Did he arrive/get there?)

d) Wàà pan lé/lá? (Will he come?)

*Interro-negative Forms*

It is rendered by means “Kóô + lé,” used in the present time and for the potential, and “Kó + beè +lé,” for the past time.
Kóo + lé

a) Kànyé?è kóó lé? (Is it not the truth?)
   S neg. QM

b) Pitín kóó lé? (Is this not Pitin?)
   N neg QM

Kó + beè . . . +lé or Kée⁶⁹ . . . V + lé

a) Ée, Mu kée gi cén lé? (What, did you not know?)
   intj S neg-pst-asp O V QM

b) Kàjùù kée kùu lé? (Did not Hyena die?)
   S neg-pst-asp V QM

⁶⁹ Kée = kó beè
Aspects

Aspects are closely linked to the verb phrase (VP) on which they signal a certain particular condition in the realization, or the process of an action, or state, to cite only these. As such, aspects hold several relationships with the verb. Owing to this, aspects play a preponderant role in discourse analysis. Among other things, they tell us about:

- What belongs to the eventline/storyline
- What belongs to the background information
- What belongs to other parts, such as the pivot, peak, denouement (the resolution of the problem after the peak), etc.

Based on the sample of the study, the following Nafara aspectual particles have been identified: mà, dà/à, n™, and bèè.

mà

“mà” is an important aspect of the Nafara verbal system, by virtue of its multifaceted functions.

1) mà expresses the completive aspect in the past time, generally a recent past.

Example:
   a) Kóbëli mà lii (They have eaten)
   b) Pyèëele mà pan (Hare has come)

The acts of eating and coming are completed.

2) mà expresses a state in the present

   a) kóbëli mà kpóò (the monkeys are fat)
   b) Pé mà lòlo lólo (they are plump)
   c) cangáa wóni mà wári (the case/thing/issue of today is hot)

3) mà used as a conjoining device for verbs in the completive aspects, with the idea of persistence

   a) À katëgi baà wári, mà wári, mà wári ([Then] famine got bad, kept on getting worse and worse)
b) Kàjção né wèè sàa gà yè, mà yè, mà yè (Hyena and his household danced, danced and danced)

In the above sentence, although the harshness of famine is a fact completed in the past, mà serves the purpose of adding the nuance that it was persistent. Likewise, the fact of dancing is a completed action that lasted for some time, in the past time.

Based on the above instances, mà would seem to serve as an aspect maintenance device. That is to say, in a series of verbs attached to the same subject, whatever aspect or tense the first verb is in is carried over to other consecutive verbs by means of mà. From this perspective it may be regarded as an “aspect maintenance” device.

mà seems to express the completive aspect in the past and present. It also serves to express facts in the present. Further, when mà is used as a conjoining device for verbs whose actions are completed in the past, it also serves to express the durative.

\[ dà \] and \[ à \]

Dà and à are used for the potential aspect and in verbal constructions that imply future time notion. At this point in Nafara grammar, the specific domains of each of these particles have not yet been pinned down. Apparently, they are interchangeable and would seem to imply the same semantic reality. Therefore, pending further scrutiny into the issue, I will assume that they occur in free variation.

a) Zàgi gà too, waà (wo dà/à) gà ségi mà
   (If it rains, we will go to farm)

b) Kòdògị gà wári mìì à/dà jée
   (If the pot heats up, I will enter)

c) Gàà sì wòli à/dà kpé?ele?
   (What is it we must/will do?)

d) Syiínne keè dà/à jée kòdògị nì
   (Ten people can fit in the pot)
**beè**

“beè” is the aspect marker for the anterior past. As such it encodes background information in Nafara discourse.

a) Kóbèli pè màà sì beè fàn mà tân?a tiigi ni
   (all the monkeys had run and climbed up the tree)

b) Wéè syín bèli beè pyee mà làari nyáfogi ni
   (His people had been hiding in the bush)

**ne**

Much like mà, ne has multiple functions in Nafara. Here, I will concern myself with its role as the marker of the continuative aspect in Nafara verbal system.

a) Wo sì náa ne sya caa
   (we are looking for someone)

b) yawéeri beè pyee ne téè gáa
   (animals had been eating each other)

c) Kàjì kòdìgí câán gbòn?o ne fali ne ṭógi fàn fàn fàn
   (Hyena dropped the pot and immediately started panting for breath)

As shown in the above instances, ne marks the continuative aspect in both the present and the past time.

The particle ne is also used in verbal constructions that imply the notion of habit:

d) Wí kòrì ne tári zùga zùga zùga (he keeps walking heavily)

e) wi nye ne jàarí ne wéli (he tilts he head to look)

f) Nawa nye ne jùŋũ ne tári (he limps badly)

In the above sentences the habit may imply a short-term action, as in (a) and (b), or a permanent one, as in (3).
Some Nafara Syntactical Processes

Subordination

Subordination is about clauses that stand as direct object of the verb. In Nafara, much like in many other languages spoken around the world, subordinate clauses are introduced by transitive and quotative verbs in general.

a) Pyè?le pé yari gèê kó gbàn í (Hare told them that is not difficult)

\[ \text{Hare} \quad \text{them told that neg. difficult cli} \]

b) Kó-bèli jo, “Kàjìì lé wii?” (The monkeys asked, “Is that hyena?”)

\[ \text{monkeys-def. asked Hyena QM VEX} \]

c) Màdé-wØ nàlûwØ pyee wi wòri nyùjòrì ta?a baà

\[ \text{genie-def. man-old-def . told he his hair-def. put there} \]

Subject Copy “pi”

The particle \textit{pi} is widely used in Nafara in various contexts. \textit{Pi} also seems to function as a subject coordinate. This is precisely the facet of \textit{pi} that will be examined here. It seems that \textit{Pi} substitutes the subject when it conjoins two verbs attached to the same subject.

a) Kóbèli caa \textit{pi} fàŋgì tán?amà cén

\[ \text{Monkeys-def. want S/cop power taste know} \]

In this sentence “Kóbèli” is the subject of both verbs (caa and cén) in clause 1 and 2.
A full elaboration of the above shows that the two clauses have the same subject:

. Kóbëli caa (the monkeys want)
. Kóbëli fângì tàn?amà cén (the monkeys know the taste of power)

Thus *pi* replaces the subject in the second clause

(a) ‘The monkeys want to know the taste of power’

Others examples follow below:

b) Nyà-a zó?o *pi* kùu (I will burn, I will die)

\[\text{I-asg-pot burn S/cop die}\]

\[\text{S-asg-pot V S/cop V}\]

clause 1 clause 2

(b) ‘I will burn to death’.

c) Kàjûs à námar-i pyee *pi* kó-bëli káa

\[\text{Hyena asp-pot trick-indef. do S/cop monkeys-def. eat}\]

\[\text{S asp-pot O V S/cop O V}\]

clause 1 clause 2

(c) ‘Hyena will play a trick and he will eat the monkeys’.

In all the above sentences *pi* is conjoining clauses with the same subject. Though there is no firm evidence that *pi* is a subject copy, what is certain is that when it occurs there is subject gapping.

**Object Copy**

Object copies are introduced by the impersonal pronoun *gi*, which by anticipation announces the object of the verb – generally a subordinate clause. The object copy is located in the slot of the direct object.

a) À kàjûs *gi* têe se²-e yawéé-rì tîmaà dà gbàn kàbi

\[\text{DP Hyena it showed farm-indef. animals-def. all asp-pot can compete}\]

\[\text{DP S O/cop V S (poss) oposs adj asp-pot mod V}\]

\[\text{O (subord)}\]
(a) ‘Hyena announced it: all wild animals may compete = Hyena announced that all animals could compete’.

b) Nawa gi nyaa kée-géli à ne?e

\[ \text{Nawa it saw matters-def. asp-pot difficult} \]
\[ \begin{array}{ccc}
S & O/cop & V \\
& asp-pot & adj \\
O (subord) & & \\
\end{array} \]

(b) ‘Nawa saw it: things will be difficult = Nawa saw that matters would be difficult’.

**Indirect Object**

As pointed out earlier, the Nafara preferred word order is subject, object and verb (SOV), for example:

Kàjûû ko×beÀli ka×a (Hyena ate the monkeys).

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}
S & O & V \\
\end{array} \]

The indirect object has two locations in Nafara: 1) it may be located in postpositional phrases as the object of a postposition, or 2) it may be in the slot of the direct object on the syntagmatic axis (and also the paradigmatic axis, for that matter).

**Indirect object in prepositional phrases.** By way of illustrations some examples are offered below.

a) Pyè?ele yákr-I kan kó-bêli má (Hare gave the monkeys a piece of advice)

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}
Hare & advice-indef. give & monkeys-def. to \\
S & O & V IO pp \\
\end{array} \]

b) Nawa móbil-I syćć wéè cáw má (Hare bought a car for his wife)

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}
Nawa & car-indef. buy & his wife-def. for \\
S & O & V poss (adj) IO pp \\
\end{array} \]

The indirect object is actually the object of the postposition in the postpositional phrases “kó-bêli má,” and “cáw ma,” in (1.a) and (1.b).
Indirect object in the direct object slot. Examples (c) and (d) below illustrate our point:

c) Pyè?ele wi pyee wórì à gá (Hare told him he would go)

\begin{align*}
\text{Hare} & \quad \text{him told} & \quad \text{he asp-pot go} \\
S & \quad IO & \quad V & \quad O
\end{align*}

d) Kó-béli Kàjoo yari gèè mà yali (the monkeys said to hyena that that is fine)

\begin{align*}
\text{monkeys-def.} & \quad \text{Hyena said} & \quad \text{that is fine} \\
S & \quad IO & \quad V & \quad O
\end{align*}

The indirect object fills in the spot of the object in the sentence when the real object of the main verb is a subordinate clause, as shown in the above instances.

The Case of mà

mà has several meanings according to the syntactic functions it plays. Earlier we noted that mà is both an aspect marker and a stative verb. Here, I will focus on other syntactical processes it realizes, for instance gapping and chaining. As a verbal device it helps gap ‘subject’, ‘objects’, and other verbal aspects.

Subject Gapping

a) kàjoo tán?a, mà tán?a, mà tán?a

(Hyena walked, walked, and walked = hyena walked and kept walking, walking)

b) Pyè?ele yíri mà jée saa?i ni

(Hare got up and entered the house)

In the above sentences, “kàjoo” the subject of the verb “tán?a” in the second and third clauses in (a), and “Pyè?ele” the subject of the “jée” in (b), are gapped by means of mà.
Subject and Object Simultaneously Gapped

a) À kàjìì kòðgì lìì mà to?o (Hyena took the pot and carried it)

The above may be broken down as follows:

clause 1: À kàjìì kòðgì lìì
clause 2: ; À kàjìì kòðgì to?o

As seen in the above, the subject “kàjìì” and the object “kòðgì” of the verb “to?o” are being gapped by means of mà, in the second clause.

b) Bé canì lìì mà ta?a saagì naáma

(they took the calabash and put it on the roof of the house)

Broken down the above sentence yields the following:

clause 1: Bé canì lìì;
clause 2: bé canì ta?a saagì naáma

As in the case of (a) mà helps gap ‘bé’ and ‘canì’ (subject and object) of the verb ta?a in the second clause.

As shown above, when the subject and object of the first clause are the arguments of another verb in consecutive clauses of the same sentence, they are gapped by means of mà. It is noteworthy that ‘mà’ gaps with both transitive and intransitive verbs.

Chaining

When a series of verbs are attached to the same subject in the same sentence, the particle mà may also be used to avoid repeating the subject of the consecutive verbs. This phenomenon referred to as gapping above will be termed “chaining,” meaning the same thing, when we deal with verbs. In other words, verbs are chained, but subject and objects are gapped.

a) kòbèli tân?a mà téni kòðgì nààmá (the monkeys climbed and sat on the pot)
b) Pé màni sùù mà so?o mà kan piìw mà (they bought some rice, cooked it and gave it to the child)

In (a) the verb “tân?a” and “téni” are chained together by means of mà. Likewise in (b) mà chains the verbs “sùù,” “so?o,” and “kan.”
Some Nafara Collapsed Forms

Nafara makes a wide use of collapsed forms or contractions. This phenomenon occurs with subject pronouns and some linking verbs. They often merge with the marker of the potential aspect, or short words ending with “à,” or “aà,” especially the locative “baà.

a) \textit{waà gá se?-e má = wo+à/dà gá se?-e má}
\textit{we-asp-pot go farm-indef. to we asp-pot go farm-indef. to}

(a) ‘We will go to farm’.

(b) Kolo bëè \textit{pyàà . . . . = Kolo bëè pyee baà}
\textit{kolo asp-pst was-there . . . . = Kolo asp-pst was there}

(b) ‘Kolo had been there . . . . ([for one hour when Sali got at home]’).

c) Pyë?ele \textit{kòraà sa?-a má = Pyë?ele kòri baà sa?-a má}
\textit{Hare remained-there house-indef at = Hare remained there house-indef at}

(c) ‘Hare stayed at home’

In example (a) the subject pronoun “wo” collapsed with the potential marker to yield a particular type of pronoun that tends to have an identity of its own. Natural speakers will use “waà” rather than the strong form “wo dà or wo à”. In contrast, the contractions in (b) and (c) are also often spelled out.

Other Contractions

\begin{itemize}
\item myàà or nyaà (míi à/dà = I will)
\item maà (mu dà/à = you will)
\item wàà (wí dà/à = he/she will)
\item yaà (yelì à/dà = you will)
\item pàà (pé dà/à = they will)
\end{itemize}
Discourse Markers and Particles

Discourse markers fall into several categories covering a wide spectrum in any language; Schiffrin’s (1987 and 2001) studies provide ample information in this regard, as shown in the review of the literature in this area, in Chapter Two. My concern in this section of this project is to focus on a few particular Nafara discourse markers that transpire in the sample used in the study.

A number of words used in discourse have no clear semantic reference at this stage of the study of the Nafara linguistic system. These will be referred to as discourse particles. Among these particles, some have a clear discourse function, and others do not. Those that do not seem to have any such clear-cut function will be referred as PLP 70’s.

Discourse Markers

Evidentialities
The information released or requested is regarded as having been evidenced by all participants in the speech event.

*dê*

a) jänváá kó bàn dê ? (You are not telling a lie, are you?)
The above actually means « we all understand that what has been said is truth »

b) Kàjąɔ kó wíi dê ! (It is not Hyena; we all know there is no doubt about it)

*kê*

a) Pyè?ele wi Kàjąɔ kpóo kê? (It is Hare who killed Hyena, and I know you know that; I just want you to confirm the fact)

b) Mu syée Napié má kê? (I know you are going to Napié; I just want you to reiterate the fact)

---

70 Pesky Little Particles (Grimes, 1984)
In the above, the speaker implies that there is no doubt about the fact in the listener’s mind.

**Assertives**

**wii**

This particle is the only assertive that has been identified in the sample used in this study. The boundary between evidentialities and this assertive seems very thin.

a) wò maà nye yaweerè wii! (we all are animals! [Do you not agree with me that we are animals?]).

b) Kajò kùu wii (hyena is dead; you know quite well it is truth)

The use of wii in the instances given above implies an assertive statement, the truth of which cannot not be questioned by anyone involved in the speech situation that warrants its use. For instance, hyena cried for help inside the pot for sometime, then became silent. The particle is used to assert the fact that he is actually dead, something the audience cannot deny.

**Discourse Particles**

Under this subtitle I will deal with deictic references, focus markers, and PLPs.

*Deictic references*. There is a wide range of deictic references in Nafara. In an earlier discussion, I brought forth the concern for pronouns used as anaphoric references. Here, I will be concerned with speaker deictic references, namely proximal and distal references: *baà, ba, såà/sá, sa,* and *náa.*
baà and ba. Baà and ba inform us about the position of the speaker, which is why they are referred to as speaker orientation deictic references or speaker deictic. They are generally proximal (showing where the speaker is located) references. While ba remains constant in this quality, baà may indicate a distal (away from the location of the speaker) reference depending on the structure in which it appears.

Proximal speaker deictic reference (sd-p).

baà
a) Wí baà nan à wí wi syári (he [sd-p] arrived he greeted him) proximal
b) À Kàjò baà kòdògbò? caa (Hyena [sd-p] found a big pot) proximal

ba
a) ma ba lìi ([come] [sd-p] eat)

b) waà ba fálì (we [will come] plough [the land])

Baà is a proximal speaker reference when the syntactical structure is S+ sd-p+ V, as shown in the above sentences.

Distal speaker deictic reference (sd-d)

a) Wí baà ne nyéni (he is [dx-d] crying)

b) Kòbèli baà mà lìi mà lòlo lólo (the monkeys [dx-d] ate and got fat)

As one can see in the above sentences, baà is distal when an aspect marker follows it: S+ sd-d+asp+V. In (a) the particle is followed by ne the marker of the potential aspect, whereas it precedes mà, the marker of the completive aspect in (b).

sáà/sá and sa

The deictic references sáà/sá encode locations away from the speaker. Therefore they are distal references.
a) Kàjôô sàà nen à wì kòdôgì can gbôn?ô
(a) ‘Hyena arrived (distal), he dropped the pot loudly’

b) Pyèëële bé pyee pe sá wôri yéri (hare told them [they] [dx-d] call him)
(b) ‘Hare told them to call him (distal)’.

náa

The particle náa encodes a proximal reference, when in a medial position, an aspect marker follows it.

a) Wí náa ne nyéni
   (he is [dx-p] crying)

b) Kòbëli náa mà lii mà lòlo lólo
   (the monkeys [dx-p] have eaten and have gotten plump)

In the examples provided above náa is modified by ne and mà in (a) and (b), respectively.

Focus Particles

The particles sì and mú tend to enhance and amplify the item they modify in the sentence. Therefore, they are regarded as focus particles (FP). The focus particle generally focuses on the verb, but may also focus on the clause in some particular circumstances and on the nouns in some few cases. The focus particle is not usually translated.

sì

a) À kí sì kòri yawéeri tí nye nààma (There remained only animals living above)

b) Naági sì còø à bé kòdôgì ta?a (the fire started, they put the pot on)
In the above examples, the focus particle (FP) “si” modifies the verb kòri and còo in (a) and (b), respectively.

**mú**

Unlike *si*, *mú* generally modifies nouns in the functional category of the subject.

a) Kàjû mú si jo wóri séli jée
   (hyena [and no one else] said that he would enter first)

b) Nawa mú jo wàa káà lii í
   (Nawa [precisely the very person who] said no one would eat)

**Other Particles**

*Call to audience: nì í; doò*

In discourse *nì í* and *doò* are used as linguistic devices requesting the audience’s attention at a particular point.

**nì í**

a) Nàagi sì baà còo bàn ní í, à bé kòdògì ta?à (the fire started right, they put the pot over it)

b) Kòbèli jée ní í à Kàjû kò́dògì tón (the monkeys entered, right, hyena closed the pot)

In these instances, by means of *nì í* the speaker calls listeners’ attention and invites them to take particular note of what follows the particle. Note that in the above instances, *doò* could be used as a clitic in lieu of “í.”

**doò**

*doò* is another device that help call the listener’s attention to a particular speech act in a speech event. As such it has an identity of its own.

a) Kàjû kò́dògì caa doò à wí gì tè?e tígì lárá ní (Hyena fetched the pot, right, he put it under the monkeys’ tree)

b) À Nawa kó pan doò, gàá màà byee? (If Nawa does not come, right, what will you do?)
As shown in the above examples, \textit{ni i} and \textit{doò} play the role of intensifiers in Nafara discourse.

\textit{The particle à.} This particle is pervasive in all of the six versions of the popular tales on which this study is centered. It is always initial and appears in almost 60\% of the sentences included in the corpus of the sample. Like other particles, it has no clear-cut semantic reference, and unlike most of the particles found in the corpus, it has no clearly identified discourse function.

\begin{itemize}
  \item [a)] À wí tônì m dàànì yára káa (Verily he ate the things on the ground)
  \item [b)] À Kàjòò baà kodógò caa (Hyena looked for a pot)
  \item [c)] À kateégi baà wári, mà wári (Famine got harshed and continued to get harsher)
\end{itemize}

These sentences are from the versions produced by the three informants in this study. As seen in the free translation offered in parentheses, the particle \textit{à} does not seem to have any role, at all. These sentences could be rephrased, leaving out the particle \textit{à} and the sentences would remain the same, in all respects. Yet, this particle is widely used by all three speakers.

The particle \textit{à} is a perfect example of the category of particle referred to as PLPs (Pesky Little Particle) (Grimes, 1984), because both their semantic reference and functions cannot be pinned down. I simply refer to it as ‘discourse particle) (DP), in all the analyses of the texts. It is hoped that further research on this particle will help clarify its contour.
APPENDIX C
Tale One by Kolo Soro

Tale 1: Pyèele, Kàjò né Kòbèli (Kolo)

Hare, Hyena and the Monkeys

A À bé jo yaweëri,
   wò maâ nyeè gi ni wii dë!

   “When” they say animals,
   (When it comes to animals)
   we all are it in, ok!
   (we all are animals, right!)

B Sycön wi ténì nyeè ne yaala
   nè nyeè ne nòògi, ne kwòò nì,
   ëën, mú nyeè yaweëlè.

   [any] person “provided that” they yawn
   (any being that yawns)
   and breathe “in any way,”
   (and breathes, in any way)
   well, you are an animal.
   (ok, it certainly is an animal)

C Donc, dëë kàbanga mâ,
   kì beè pyée bòòma ni,
   à mú nèè jyàá nì,
   máà wi káa wii.

   Thus, that side on [in this order of things],
   (In this respect)
   it was old times in,
   (in old times)
   “if” you someone defeat,
   (when you defeated someone)
   you would him eat.
   (you ate them)

D À mu nèè jyàá nì,
   máà wi còò gâà wii

   “If” you someone defeat,
   (If you defeated someone)
   you would him catch [and] eat
   (you seized them and devoured them)
E

Donc, à gi bàà pyee màà jo
kajɔɔ, wɔrì fàngì bèè ne?ɛ
yawéeya sáama wó?o na,
pàseké (parce que) wi cà?ara mɔ fàngè.
Wí mɔ yara sáama jyáa.

“So” it was you would say
(So he turned out that)
hyena, his strength was more
(Hyena, his strength was greater)
other animals many theirs than,
(than that of many other animals)
because he [is] energetic to extreme.
(because he is very energetic)
He other beings many beat.
(He can beat up many animals)

F

À wí tɔni mɔ dàànì yára káa
fwɔɔ mɔ nan sí di kwɔɔ.

He verily the ground beings ate
(He literally ate animals living on the ground)
“to the extent” that almost they finished.
(to the point that he almost terminated them)

G

À di kɔrì. .
Kɔmi (comme) wɔrì kò gbàn ne waa nààmå nì ñi,
à gi kɔrì nààmå wɔrì: féjëngeli né kòbèli
yagège gi tènì nyce bi gbàn tàn?a nì tiigè ñi
bi kɔrì baà bi làala kwɔɔ nì,
à gi kɔrì bèlè.

They (there) remained. .
(There remained . . )
since he could not go up [in trees],
as he could not climb up trees
It remained above those: the birds and monkeys
(There remained arboreal animals: birds and monkeys)
[any] thing that existed and was able to climb up a tree
(or anything that was able to climb up a tree)
[and] stayed there and a moment to spend
(and stayed there for a while),
it remained those [beings].
(these are those that were still living)

H

Yagège gi tènì tiitán?amì cán nì,

[Any] thing that tree-climbing knew,
(Any animal that could climb up trees)
à gí kòri bèlè nugó nugó.

I  *Mèè (mais)* Pi sì bèlè káa ní doò,
    fwóó mú sì tòni pyee bì cilige.

J  Kàjçò tèè cíligení ni néè cèeri,
    ni kòri kó bàn
    wí mà tòni mà dá?a mà fángè.

K  *Si non* yagàa fàn?a kó nê?e wéè wógi na í;
    wéè fángì mà nê?e.

L  *Donc* Gèè pyee à wí yari káa
    á gí baà kòri tiirì yárá: kólò yé, fèjèn?è yé. . .

M  À wí baà kòdògè caa,
    kòdòkpòogè hàán!
    Beè wí gí cán ní kòbèlí nyèe,
    à wí baà kòdògì tè?è.

it remained those few.
(there only remained those few animals)

But in order those to eat,
(However, in order to eat these animals)
it is necessary that you really be smart.
(one must be very smart)

Hyena area of intelligence is that somewhat,
(Precisely, that is where Hyena showed a bit of cunning)
if not
(if not, generally speaking)
he is verily silly to extreme.
(he is the silliest animal one can find)

If not some animal strength is not more than his;
(Physical strength wise, Hyena is second to no animal)
his strength is much.
(he has an extraordinary strength)

So that was [why] he the things (animals) ate
(So that was what happened and he ate all animals)
and it remained the tree things: the monkeys, birds . . .
(there remained only arboreal beings: monkeys and birds)

He a pot fetched,
(He fetched a pot)
a big pot, my gosh!
The place where he it knew monkeys were,
(The place where he knew the monkeys lived)
he the pot put [there].
(he placed the pot there)
Kôbêli,
Kôlocôlô m tiirí fàn?a kan póri má.
The monkeys,
god trees power gave them to.
(god gave them the power of climbing tree)

À bé tän?a m téni tiigî ni
nè wè wèli
nè péè gâbîlà,
nè jo, “jàa nyaa kàjôc, kàjôc lé wii?”.
They climbed and sat the tree in
(They climbed up and sat in the tree)
and him watched
(and watched him)
and asked each other,
(and asked each other )
and said, “this fellow looks like hyena, hyena is?”
(“does not this fellow look like Hyena?”)

[then] Hyena said (replied),
(Hyena replied)
“Yes of course, monkeys (you) come here
(“yes, monkeys, come here)
you for I came.”
(I am here to see you”)

Donc kôdôlô sî wî kan mîi má
né je nèe gà gbèn m mòn lí ni nî (. . .)
Pàà kòdôni ta?a naâgi na,
èèe gà gbèn m mòn lí ni
m sôli pè maà na,
so a pot he gave me
(to this end he gave me a pot)
and said he who if can remain longer it in . . .
(and he said that he who will stay longest inside it . . .)
They (we) will the pot put the fire on,
(The pot will be heated up)
he who if can remain longer it in
(he who can stay inside longer)
more than all,
(than all other animals)
[it is] that one (person) who will be the chief. (it is that very one who will become our king) 55

It is not any more, nowadays, 56
(It is not any more, nowadays that)
“if” you beat this one, 57
(if you are stronger than others)
you become his/her chief. 58
(you become king)

It is, nowadays, 59
(It is the case, nowadays that)
he who “if/when” remains long the pot in
(he who stays longest inside the hot pot)
He will be the king.” 60
(it is that one who will be the king of animals)
No kidding! 62

The monkeys each other peeped at,
(the monkeys peeped at each other)
and saw it, 63
(and weighing the situation)
yeah, those monkeys,
(figured out, yeah, those monkeys)
power at last was nearing them also. 64
(were getting closer to power than they had ever been)

They climbed down . . . 67
They if power found . . . 68
(In their thinking if they gained power)
They would also be themselves a little. 69
(They would regain control over their lives, somewhat)

The text appears to be narrative, possibly from a story or dialogue, discussing the selection of a chief and the conditions under which someone would become king. It also includes references to monkeys and their abilities to gain power and control.
Donc À bé ti?i,

né fali jo,

“ɔɔn, meè sì waà gi pyee?”

So, they climbed down,

to (therefore, they climbed down)
then right away said,
(then said at once)
“ok, how is it we will it do?”
(“ok, how are we to handle this?”)

À wi jo,

“nòɔ, waà jée wii.

Waà jée kòògò ni wii,

ŋèe gá mɔn m sòli wò maà na,

wàà byee fàn'?afòw.”

He said,

well, we will enter.
(We will go inside [one by one])
we will enter the pot (in),
(we will get inside the pot)
he who stays in longer all of us than,
(he who stays in longer than all other people)
he (they) will be the chief.”
(will become the king of all animals”).

Né fali jo kára kára

wòrì kàjòò si wàà sèli jée.

And right way said hurriedly
(Then, he hastily said that)
[it is ] him hyena who will first enter.
(hyena, would go first)

Bé naàgì le

né kòògò taa.

They the fire started
(they started the fire)
and the pot put [on].
(and put the pot on)

Kàjòò bé pyee wòrì à jée,

né jée kòdòñì ni,

Hyena them told he would enter,
(Hyena told them that he would enter)
then got the pot into,
(and got inside the pot)
“and” they then the firewood kindled.
(they then kindled the fire)

. . . a little while passed,
(Shortly after)
he at once said,
(his at once.)
“the meat is cooked, the meat is cooked!”
(the meat is done, the meat is done!)

They him opened [the pot] for him, pull [him] out entirely
(they opened the pot and pull him out)
[he] sat sweat (sweating),
(and he sat down sweat-drenched)
And panted huff, huff, huff.
(panting for breath, huff, huff, huff)
Amazing!

It saw (it was time for)
(Now)
The monkeys, they would enter
(the monkeys would go inside the hot pot)

A monkey when entered,
(When one monkey got inside to take turn)
he said no,
(his object, alleging that)
monkeys regarding, [when] you them saw
(when it comes to monkeys,)
they power got,
(if they gain power)
pè maà be sée pyee fän?fèsèli;
né be pyee pè maà paa jë.

AD Ëe, À póì zín máa yiri,
nadá?ayayì, m kpó?oro m jée kòdògì nì,
à wì yatòngì tòn bë na kpúrò.

AE À lògì kòmase ne wàòògi bâà.
Làlì ni kòdògì bàà sëònga mà wàri né be nì,
à bë jo,
“ée, kaàrì mà pe,
kaàrì mà pe!”
Kàmààa!

AF À kàjoò tòñi mëùële cáàn bë na;
“À mu lò?o kaàrì më pe,
wòli m gí cáàn nàa,
kaàrì gá pe,
wòli à dì tìrigè nàa.”
AG  Háan bàn!
    À bé tín mà baà frọc,
    à đêe pe.

[... ] that way!
They commove [till they] got tired,
(till they got tired)
“so” that cooked.
(thus, the monkeys got thoroughly cooked)

AH  À wì dìè tirige
    mà dìè syôngò mì kàà;
    Kòbèli pè màà, à wì pè maà kàà.

He that removed [from fire]
(He took the pot down from the fire)
[and] that (meat) very well ate;
(and had a delicious meal)
the monkeys they all, he them all ate.
(he ate all the monkeys)

AI  À wì yiri mà káà.

“Then” he got up and walked away.
(Having done that, he got up and walked away)

AJ  Wi sì kòrì nèè na,
    ne sìcilíbínìè yìgi,
    né kòbèli kàà baà.

He thus remained on that,
(he kept doing that)
that small trick played,
(did the petty trick)
and the monkeys ate there.
(and ate the monkeys at their living place)

AK  À gì kàà kòbèli fúngò wòc,
    à bé baà gì joo pyèele má,
    “àa, yagàa félìgè sì tòñi nyèè ne páà,]
    kí tòñi nyèè ne wòli kàà dè!
    Kí tòñi kàà naà wòli syìnùllì kàà kwòc.

It later the monkeys mind troubled,
(Finally, the situation became unbearable to the monkeys,)
“so” they it told hare about [it],
(so they told Hare about it)
“... something unidentified really comes,
(well something actually comes)
it really is us eating, “seriously!”
(and, undoubtedly, eats some of our people)
it really almost our people ate to finish,
(it almost exterminates our clan)
Kàjcc sí wii.”  

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À wí jo,
  “hum, à wí núù naà nì í,
yè gá núù gí cán
wí baà ne pán,
ye ba mii yeri.”
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À wí baà pan cangàa,
fwúc né kódëkpègí ní núgéli
m bà gí té?e.
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À wí baà fangí wóro lèë m cáan wí má;
“Kódëní ní nèe, à mú töni gbàn mòn lí ní,
màà pyee fàñ?afòw.”
Wàlàa!
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À wí jo,
  hyena [it] is.”
  (it must be Hyena”)
  
  He said,
  “hum, if he again comes there,
  (hum, if he comes again)
  you if again it know
  (in the future if you know)
  [that] he is coming,
  (when he comes)
  you me call.”
  (send someone for me”)
  
  He came some day,
  [-] with the big pot again
  [and] it placed.
  (and placed it at the monkeys’ place)
  
  They right way hare informed there
  (They informed Hare at once)
  “and” he came.
  (so he came immediately)
  He power issue imparted him with;
  (He [Hyena] told him about the contest for the king)
  “the pot [that you see], if you really can stay long it in,
  (if you stay in this hot pot longer than anyone else)
  you will be the chief.”
  (you will be the king of all animals)
  That is it!
  
  They said,
  (They said)

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“bôn (bon), ñàán sì wàà sèli jée?”

À kàjɔɔ jo kàra kàra
wòrì wàà jée sèliw

“that is ok, who is it that will first enter?”

Hyena said hastily
(“Ok, but who is it that will go inside the pot first?”)

It was he that would enter first.
(that it was he that would initiate the contest)

They told
(“Ok, but who is it that will go inside the pot?”)

He hastily entered.
(He rushed into the hot pot)

“In” his thinking,
the old trick is not he will do?
(is it not the old trick he will do?)
The one he first did
in order to these eat,
(and ate the monkeys)
he will not that do?
(will he not do that trick?)
That is right!

He hastly entered.
(He rushed into the hot pot)

He entered [ ],
(He entered)
cêri na à wí jo,
“kaári m pe,
kaári m pe,
kaári m pe.”

AT  À bé jo,
“kaára gá pe kaára kóó nyuu í,
kaára gá pe kaára kóó nyuu í,
kaára gá pe kaára kóó nyuu í,
kaarà gá pe wòli mà gí can náa.”

AU  Àa, à gi kàjè présent à wó!
À wí kàa tin mà frè.
À kòbèli pè maà pèe gbó?oro
mà baà téni kòdògi yatángi na.

AV  À wí tin mà baà frè. . .
mà tin mà baà frè
mà baà pe plòo.

little while after he said,
(then, shortly after, he said)
“the meat is done,
the meat is done,
the meat is done.”

They said,
(They sang)
“the meat if cooked, the meat does not speak,
(when the meat is done it does not speak)
the meat if cooked, the meat does not speak,
(when the meat is done it does not speak)
the meat if cooked, we it know here.”
(we will know, when the meat is done)

[ ] it hyena heart troubles!
(Hyena got worried)
He finally commoved [and] got tired.
(Eventually, he commoved inside the pot and got tired)
The monkeys all themselves gathered
(All the monkeys gathered )
[and] sat the pot lid on.
(and sat on top of the pot lid)

He commoved [and] got tired. . .
(he commoved until he got tired)
commoved [and] got tired
(he commoved until he got tired)
[and] got cooked well.
(and he got thoroughly cooked)
AW (Dûnc) à bé baà wi mû?u
mà nyaa bân,
à wi kûu.

AX À mú nyaa à mú keéle kpé?ele cângâ kêmì na;
à mú nyaa à mú jo mà à nû ni kpé?ele nyé?enà,
à mú nyaa mú kôô ‘changement’ pyee nî ni cêeri,
sûcilimèe mèè kîn nê kpé?ele,
à mú jo mà à vali sûcilicogèe wonugo nà,
wàa mà têè yêli nyaa gî nî mà kwôɔ.

AY À gêè pyee kâjɔɔ . .
à pyê?ele pyee sûbabûw
à kâjɔɔ kûu nê kôbêli syɔɔ.

So they him opened [they opened the pot]
(they opened the pot)
saw [him] like that,
(and saw him thus)
he died.
(he was dead)

“So you see (want) you something do nowadays;
(If you do something today)
“if” you see (want) you again it do tomorrow,
(if you ever want to do the same thing in the future)
“if” you do not some changes make in it little,
(and do not operate some change)
the strategy you were before using,
(and want to use the same strategies you had used before)
“if” you want to follow that fashion same “up with,”
(and if you want to do things according to the usual fashion)
someone had long you seen it in already.
(someone will have already seen what you are doing)

That was hyena. . .
(That was Hyena . . .)
So hare was the instigator
(Thanks to Hare)
and hyena died and the monkeys survived.
(Hyena died and the monkeys lived happily ever after)
APPENDIX D

Tale One by Adama Yéo

Tale 1: Kàjòô, Kóbèlı né Kòtúnbèlı (Adama)

A
Mii sí jo
nyàa mú?uriì kan yè má, cangáa.

B
Cangè o cangè mu nyaa ni,
ki nyee né kéè cangè ni. . .

C
À mu góó càli saa
mu kààkóli saa í.

D
Mii sí yè kan, bòôma ni,
ki beè pyee yawéeri tèè gáà.
Yawéeri sí tèè gáà ni í,

Hyena, the Monkeys and the red Monkeys

I say
(I want) 1
I will give you to, today.
(to tell you some folktales today) 2

“Every single day” you see,
(Everyday in life) 3
it has its day. . .
(has its own reality) 4

“If” you do not dry (spread) much
(a man’s reach should exceed his grasp) 5
you will amass much.
(if you do not aim higher you will not gain much) 6

I you give, long time ago,
(here is my story, long time ago) 7
it had been [that] the animals each other eat.
(animals ate each other) 8
the animals ate each other [thus],
(that being the case) 9
kàjççyé sì bé nyëe yawéekpóligèli.

Póri be nyëe nè kaâri kàa.

kì nyëe nè tûun yawéeri na

ne yawéeri kàa.

hyena “and the like” are big animals.

(hyena and consort are regarded as strong animals)

[ it is ] they [ that] eat meat.

[ they are the ones that eat meat]

[ when] they [ one] say hyena,

(In our society, Hyena)

they (one) “commonly” say [ mean]

(makes one think of)

[ it] falls animals on

(the beast that attacks other animals)

[ it] animals eat.

(and eats them)

“As” it was

(As it was the case that)

it fall animals on

(he attacked animals )

[it] them ate,

(and ate them)

they them ate all, finish[ all].

(they were completely exterminated)

They were finished,

(They were all exterminated)

the ground on, they were finished,

(exterminated on the ground)

it got trees those to.

(and now it is the turn of arboreal ones)

[ ] [ Now that] it got the trees those to,

(Well, now that it the turn of arboreal animals)
nî kô wâri lé wîi?

Katéegi too nî bé na,

kamna pâà gî pyee nî

bé kô cân i.

À gî nyaa,

à kàjè gî nyaa

wôrî à sólusycn (solution) caa;

gèe gàà pyee nî

pôrî sí màa tiigî wôôlo taa kâa.

Wâlàa, mà bàà kánmàa caa gî na,

jûskaa (jusqu'à) mà bàà kôdôgô caa.

À wî gâ kôdôgî caa,

à wî gî toô ne nyaari

m bàà nyaari nan kôlôyé na.

[is] it not hot?
(is not that a hard thing to handle?)

Famine fell they on
(As famine rages in the land)
how they would it handle/do
(how are they now going to cope with it)
they not know.
(they do not know)

It sees,
(it was the case that Hyena)
Hyena it “thinks”
(Hyena thought)
he “had” a solution seek;
(a solution must be sought)
that which would make is possible
(he put a strategy in place)
[so that] they also the tree those find eat.
(so that they could eat arboreal beings)

“Thus,” [he] a stratagem found it on,
(that is right, he devised a strategy)
till he a pot fetched .
(he fetched a big pot)

“When” he finally the pot found,
(As he got the pot)
he it carried wandering about
(he carried it and scurried the land)
[he] wandered [till he] gets the monkeys to.
(till he got to the place where monkeys lived)
L

Wí sí bà nan ní kòloyé na,
à wí kólewà pyee
“áa, fän?aföli bé caa bi yige, yawéeri fän?aföli.”
Né sí jé
“njëe wí jëe ní kòdógi ni,
m mon mà baà fângë ni,
wóri wàà pyee fän?aföw.”

Kòloyé sí kín wí nyaa ní nê kòdógi ní,
à bé kín nè fó wí na.

M

À kòloyé sí gí nyaa áan,
yawéekpoligelì dulunyânwà ni,
à gí kàà nan
póri bé nyee ní yawéepígëli,
póri ba nan fän?afölìrc na!

N

Àah, à bé gí nyaa

O

He got monkeys to,
(As he arrived there)
He the older monkey told
(he said to the older monkey)
[well] a king they seek to select, animals king.”
(“well, they want to select a king, the king of animals”)
And [he] said,
(then added)
“he who gets the pot into,
(he who gets inside the pot)
[he who] lasts longer,
(and stays inside, longer than others)
[it is] he that will be the king.”
(“it that one who will become the king of all animals”)
Monkeys first him saw the pot with,
(When the monkeys first saw him with the big pot)
they first (literally/initially) run away him from.
(they ran away from him)
The monkeys it saw [. . . ],
(Now, the monkeys had a second thought)
large animals this world in,
(for despite the existence of big animals)
“now”, it finally reached
(now it is the turn)
them, they [that] were small animals,
(of them, smaller animals)
them, they [now] had access power to!
(to have access to power!)
[ ] they it saw (thought)
(they weighed the situation)
póri à máa gèê pyee wéli;

póri à máa ki séye (essayer) wéli.

À bê ti?i, wàlâa!
À bê baà naági lé,
né kòdògì ta?a naági na.

À kòbéli gá jo pàà jée
à kàjoc jo nòc
pe gi ya?a wòri sí séli jée.
À wòri mu jée.

À wí gá jée,
à gi gá món cèeri,
à wí jo,
“vùru be, vùru be.”

Pààké (parce que) Pàà jo “vùru be, vùru be,”

they would also that try;
(and decided it was worth trying)
they would also it try.
(they will give it a trial)

They climbed down, [... ]!
(Therefore, they climbed down, that is right!)

They started the fire,
(Then they started the fire)
And the pot [was] put the fire on.
(and put the pot on)

The monkeys, “when” wanted they would enter
(The monkeys wanted to go into the pot)
hyena said no
(but Hyena objected)

they it let him first enter.
(and asked them to let him go first)
[then] he [ ] entered.
(So he went inside the hot pot)

He “when” entered,
(He went inside)
“and” it “when” last little while,
(then shortly after)
he said.
(he yelled)
“vùru be, vùru be.”

Because they (one) when say “vùru be, vùru be,”
(when one says “vùru be, vùru be”)

360
they “generally” it show (mean)
they mean to say that
the pot has boiled somewhat.
the pot is boiling

[Right], he said “as” “vûru be, vûru be,”
(So, as he said “vûru be, vûru be”)
he [was] seized [and] pulled out.
(they pulled out of the pot)

This little monkey jumped
(a little monkey jumped in the air)
and wanted he entered “in the first place.
(intent on getting inside the pot right away)

He said no,
(He [Hyena] objected)
A monkey one “when” the power get,
(alleging that when a single monkey gets power)
They all “actually” are kings.
(all monkeys are kings altogether)

“As/the way” you “when” it sees
(As it were)
they say
(when they say)
the king he [is] this, this town/village in,
(this is the king in such and such village)
they all are kings “altogether.”
(they all are kings altogether thus)
À wí jo pè màà à byee fàn’afólò.  
Kõbëli pè màà, pe gá kp’oro m jée, wålāa,  
pe gá syônge mòn baà,  
pè màà mà fàn’afósólogo too.  
Wålàa! Pè màà à pyee fângì na.

À pè màà tì?i  
m jée kòdógi ni,  
à wí kòdógi tòn bé na  
né gí sirege.

À wí jo,  
À wí jo à byee fàn’afólò.  
Kõbëli pè màà, pe gá kp’oro m jée, wålàa,  
pe gá syônge mòn baà,  
pè màà mà fàn’afósólogo too.  
Wålàa! Pè màà à pyee fângì na.
“kaárà gá jo ‘vùru be’ ti kó pe í,”“meat when says ‘vùru be’ it [is] not cooked,”
ma kàdenigè caa m kòdògi sirege;[and] a rock fetched [and] the pot tightened;
má fali too ne múu(then fetched a boulder to further secure the pot)
“kaárà gá jo ‘vùru be’ ti kó pe í,“(and) at once started to sing
kaárà gá jo ‘vùru be’ ti kó pe í,(and resumed his singing)
kaárà gá jo ‘vùru be’ ti kó pe í.”(the meat that says ‘vùru be’ is not done)

kòlòyé pe
The monkeys got cooked
AB
fwóc m múnogo kòdògi ni.
till broke into pieces the pot in.
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À wí bèléé yige
(so) he those removed [from the pot]
AC
m káa,(He took them out of the pot)
né wée kòdògi lée ta?a wée pòölè na(and) ate [them],
ne táanri ne syée,(and ate them)
né táanri ne syée,(and his pot took [and] put his shoulder on
né táanri ne syée,(then carried the pot on his shoulder)
né táanri ne syée.(walking [as] he went away,
ne táanri ne syée.(and wandered about the land)
ne táanri ne syée.(walking [as] he went away,
ne táanri ne syée.(wandered about the land)
ne táanri ne syée.
( wandered about the land)
Hée, mà baà nan.

Kòlocòòò gá lá?a mu na kéele na,
láà ba mu le wii.

À wí baà nan kòtúncéyé na.

Pe gá jo kòtúnc,
bèléè nyëè wòli má kòbèli nyëè ni,
mèè (màis) be péè wírì wii,
mèè (màis) nubéli kó sí bàì í.
Pòrí nyëè nyiibièli ni, wàlâà,
né sí nyëè tän?anügi na,
né màa tänri tiigí ni.

Mànàa gí si nyaa ní kánmée na,
à wóri baà nan bèléè na,
à wí bé yeri.

À wí gá bé yeri,
mà bé pyee fân?afɔlì bé caa bí yige dulunyànnw ni,
yawéérì fân?afɔlì.

Heat got a king they sought “to” select the world in, 124
(and informed them about the King selection in the land)
the animal’s king. 125
(the king of all animals)

jàán sì mu cân wàà byee fân?afɔw?
Ma can kòdògi mí wàà yírí.

Who is it [do] you know (think) he will be the king? 126
(Who do you think will king?)
You know the pot in he will come out [from]. 127
(That will be decided by the test of the pot)

Wi sì bàa nà mi kòdògi nà,
à wi jo wóri gá jèe kòdògi ní
né gbànn m mòn bàà
wóri à pyee fân?afɔw.
À Kòtúnbelì jèe bàà
né gbàn m mòn bàà,
Kòtúnbelì bàà pyee fân?afɔbelì.

[As] he got the pot to, 128
(Explaining the use of the pot in the contest)
he said he if got the pot into 129
(he said that if he got inside the hot pot)
and could last long there, 130
(and was capable of lasting long there)
he would be the king. 131
(he would be the king)
If the red monkeys entered there 132
(Now. If the red monkeys got inside)
and could last there, 133
(and were able to stay longer than he did)
the red monkeys they would be the kings. 134
(they would become kings)

À wóri mú jèe.
Wóri mú jèe wóri kàjìn.
Wóri sì jèe ní,
né fali bàà,

He entered. 135
Thus he got inside the pot
he entered, him hyena.
(Hyena himself got inside the pot)
He entered,
(Having thus gotten inside the pot)
and stayed there,
(and remained there)
à gí gá môn cèrei à wí jo,
“vùru be, vùru be,” mà yiri.

à wí núù kôtúncayé pè maà yàri
be kpó?oro pe jée;
pé yali be píne be jée.

À kótúncayé pè maà kpó?oro
m jée kòdɔgì láama ni,
à wí núù gí tòn bé na.

À lògì kàà baà ne wàrigi nè kôtùnbèli nì làlì nì nì,
à kótùnbèli jo nóo,
ki m wàri fàngè,
né fali jo, “vùru be, vùru be,
vùru be, vùru be.”

it ”when” last a little while he said,
(he then yelled)
“vùru be, vùru be,” [and] got out.
(“vùru be, vùru be,” shortly after, and got out)

He again the red monkeys they all told
(Again, he told all of the red monkeys)
they get together they enter;
(to gather and get inside the pot at once)
they must they together enter.
(they must get inside the pot, all of them at once)

[Thus] the red monkeys, them all get together
(Thus all of the monkeys gathered t)
[and] got the pot interior in,
(and got inside the pot)
[then] he again it closed them on.
(then, again, he put the lid on)

The water finally [started] burning the red monkeys when
the moment at,
(When the water started burning the red monkeys)
The red monkeys said no,
(it [was] hot extremely.
(it [the water] was too hot to stay inside)
and immediately said, “vùru be, vùru be,
and immediately yelled, “vùru be, vùru be)
vùru be, vùru be.”
(vùru be, vùru be”)
Kajço núù jo,

“kaárà gá jo ‘vùru be’ ti kó pe ‘i’,
kaárà gá jo ‘vùru be’ ti kó pe ‘i’,
kaárà gá jo ‘vùru be’ ti kó pe ‘i’;
 né kàdënyè caa
 mà baà kòdëgi sirege.

Hyena again said,
(Hyena, again, said)
“meat when says ‘vùru be’, it [is] not cooked,
(the meat that says ‘vùru be’ is not done)
“meat when says ‘vùru be’, it [is] not cooked,
(the meat that says ‘vùru be’ is not done)
“meat when says ‘vùru be’, it [is] not cooked;
(the meat that says ‘vùru be’ is not done)
and some boulders fetch
(and fetched some boulders)
[and] the pot tightened.
(in order to further tighten the pot)

Kapeelè m sítání tón

à nèri káà mà sáà téni ye?è mà
né kapeelè ya?a ná léè né kwôó.

Sorrow Satan hit
(Sorrow hit Satan)71
and the curse went and sat ahead [of him]
(and the curse sat ahead to ambush him)
and sorrow left behind “all alone.”
(while sorrow assails him behind)

Ki sì nyêe dëè fûngô ni ñoù,

à kòlocólô téni baà wëë màsaayáaw na,
ma kòtûnpilà ya?a;
wåláa, wi téni baà wëë fànyáaw na,

It is that mind in [ ],
(In this sate of affairs)
god sat there his throne on,
(with the blessing of god almighty)
and a little red monkey placed;
(there was a little monkey located)
that is right, he sat there his throne on,
(in his ruling as the king of the world)

These lines (158-60) deal with a typical Nafara idiom that will be hard to translate into English, in the present context. The translation offered here is just an attempt to convey the meaning. It seems to mean that when trouble comes to evil beings like Satan it is always compounded. In a free translation, in a prosaic text, we would say “it does not rains but pours.”.
à wí könntpinlè ya?a [and] he a red monkey placed
wórì gò pyee naàgí té?e ni ì; (he [god] located a red monkey)
à wórì pyee naà naàgí nààmà. he not was the fire area in;

Bènà wórì sí baà jo (in an area remote from the fire)
AQ wàà kòdsàgí mú?u doà, (he was somewhere [away from] the fire, beyond.
wórì mú yàn?à ye
wórì à yiri.

Wí jo wórì à yiri, As he (hyena) wanted
AR à wí jo wí mì wí taa lè, (As he [Hyena] wanted)
à sàlìgí fòrì mà lá?à wi na. (to open the pot)

Áah, Salìgí sì fòrì mà lá?à wi na.
AS à ñëë fàn mà fali;
à wi bèlì yìgè mà kàà.

à wí bèlì yìgè mà kàà.
AT ñëë sí syòc nì ì, [so that] he (could) escape.

[As that one (the other) escaped,}
wì baà gí joo wèè pìnènyènbèli má.

Tègèè kòòtùn bèli pè mà kèè kwòò?

À wòrí káà mà sàà gí joo kàbenygèè má,

wèè pìnènyènbèli má.

Wí bé pyee

“kàjóò baà ne keélà pún ne páan,

wí gá sí baà nan na

nè sí jée kòògí ni,

nè jo wòrí mà gí pyee ‘vùru be, vùru be kí m pe’,”

ye fàà wi yige í.

À yè wí yige,

yé gá jèà né jo ‘vùru be, vùru be’

wí ká yèli yige í.”

À bé jo bón

pòrí mà gí loòò.
À wí kòdògì lèc taa póögì na  
ne táari ne syée,  
ne táari ne syée,  
ne táari ne syée.

À wí gá sàà nan bèléē na,  
à wí núù bèléē syàri.

À wí gá ɲèè nyaa  
à wí fòri,  
à jo,  
“’àa ki nyaa  
là bèè kín wò taa né ɲàà ni.”

À bé jo,  
“èèn, wòrí kó í,  
naà gí ɲàà sórögó nàà wò má.”

Then he the pot took [and] it put his shoulder on  
(He [Hyena] carried the pot on his shoulder)  
walking [as] he went away,  
(and wandered about the land)  
walking [as] he went away,  
(and wandered about the land)  
walking [as] he went away.  
(and wandered about the land)

He when got those to,  
(When he got at the place of the other red monkeys)  
He again those greeted  
(He, again, greeted them)

He “when” this one (scorched one) saw  
(When he noticed there was this one)  
“that” he was scorched [all over]  
(who was stripped off his skin)  
he said,  
(he ventured to say)  
“[ ] it seems [that]  
(“it seems that)  
A matter before we find and this one with.”  
(there has once been a matter between this one and me)

They said,  
(They responded saying)  
“no, he [is] not [that one],  
(no, that is not him)  
fire it this one burned ‘for us’ here.”  
(this one was scorched by fire)
À wí jo,
“áan bôn!”

À wí jo Bôn,

fan?afûli pûrî nè caa.

He said,
(To this he said)
“[ ] alright!”
(ride on, that is alright!)

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He said ok,
(He then said ok)
a king they are looking for.
(they were looking for a king)
He that will be the king,
(He that would the king)
[it is] the pot in he must
(and added that it was by the test of the pot)
(he) pass before being the king.
(that he will be chosen)

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He hyena, it is he that was,
(Then he told that he, Hyena, it is he that was)
every time it is he that “always” said
(every time, it is he that always went first)
it was he that must (he) enter first.
(it was he that must go first, this time too)

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À wóri kàri m̀ jéè,

À wóri kàri m̀ jéè,

nè falì jo

À wóri kàri m̀ jéè,

nè falì jo

wóri à gí pyee ‘vûru be, vûru be’,
làni ni kêdûgî baà ne wàrigî nì.

the moment at the pot was heating up.

(when the pot started burning)

À bé kàdënyè tê?e mà gî sirege

They some rocks put [on the pot] “to” push down

(They used boulders to seal the pot)

AAD

né jo,

(They used boulders to seal the pot)

“kaárà gâ jo ‘vûru be’ ti kò pe í,

(meat when says ‘vûru be’, it [is] not cooked,  

the meat that says ‘vûru be’ is not done)

kaárà gâ jo ‘vûru be’ ti kò pe í,

(meat when says ‘vûru be’, it [is] not cooked,”

(.the meat that says ‘vûru be’ is not done)

kaárà gâ jo ‘vûru be’ ti kò pe í.”

Hyena remained there (inside)

(Sealed inside the pot, Hyena challenged them)

À kàjoo kòri baà

AAD

né jo wôrì à viin le bôgî nì.

(saying that he would urinate into the water)

À wî jo,

(He sang)

“mì si fiin pi le yëli bôgî nì,”

“I will pee and then add [it] your water in,”  

(I will pee into the water)

“wô sì gî fenne fenne pi gî gbàa,”

“We [will] it filter filter and it drink,” monkeys replied  

(we will filter and drink it)

“mì gâ so mà le yëli bôgî nì,”

“I if shit and add [it] your water in,”

(I will make some shit into your water)

“wô sì gî fenne fenne pi gî gbàa.”

“We [will] it filter filter and it drink,” monkeys replied  

(we will filter and drink it)

Kôtûnôyé bé sèè kóri gbènmì na

The red monkeys they would stay “outside area” in

(Outside, the monkeys)

Hyena remained there (inside)

(Sealed inside the pot, Hyena challenged them)

AAE

né jo wôrì à viin le bôgî nì.

(saying that he would urinate into the water)

À wî jo,

(He sang)

“mì si fiin pi le yëli bôgî nì,”

“I will pee and then add [it] your water in,”  

(I will pee into the water)

“wô sì gî fenne fenne pi gî gbàa,”

“We [will] it filter filter and it drink,” monkeys replied  

(we will filter and drink it)

“mì gâ so mà le yëli bôgî nì,”

“I if shit and add [it] your water in,”

(I will make some shit into your water)

“wô sì gî fenne fenne pi gî gbàa.”

“We [will] it filter filter and it drink,” monkeys replied  

(we will filter and drink it)
“and” it (song) “sing along” this way.
(chimed in thus)
That is right, they would the gravy filter “and” it drank.
(That is right, they would filter the gravy and drink it).
“I [will] pee and then add [it] your water in.”
(I will pee into the water)
“We [will] it filter filter and then it drink.”
(we will filter and drink it)
“I [will] shit and then add [it] your water in.”
(I will make some shit into the water)
“We [will] it filter filter and then it drink.
(we will filter and drink it)

“In that fashion” it was
Everything proceeded in this fashion)
“and” it got hot (hard) hyena on.
(untill it became untenable to Hyena)

He burned he not could sing [any more],
(He got burned so badly that he could not sing any more)
[he got] cooked,
(hes got thoroughly cooked)
[he] broke into smaller pieces [all over].
(he body got smashed into pieces)

The red monkeys him took out
(The red monkeys removed Hyena’s meat from the pot)
[and they] ate [him].
(and they ate it)

That [is] why you it see
(that is the reason why)
nowadays, an animal is not there
(nowadays, there is no animal)
[that] a king has control it over,
(that answers to a king)
the way like we, human beings, do.
(like we humans do)
Tale One by Sidiky Diarassouba

Tale 1: Pyè ʔele, Kàjço né Kóbëli (Sidiky)

A
Mii jànváw ḋàn mu nyaa nî i . . .
Áh ! Pyèʔle né Kàjço né kóbëli nî wii.

B
Ki pyee bòôma ni, bòôma léma ni, tári lázélíma má ba,
à katëgi too yawéeri tárà na.

C
Liile kòò baà í
Mâni kòò baà,
pàdëge kòò baà,
lòʔo kòò baà pe gbàa í.

D
À kí baà pyee
à yawéeri baà ne téë gáa,

Hare, Hyena, and the Monkeys

My lie this you see . . .
(Here is my lie to you)
Well! Hare and Hyena it is.
(Well, it is about Hare, Hyena, and the monkeys)

It was long ago, long time, at the world beginning,
(Once upon a time)
famine fell on the land of animals.
(there was famine in the animals kingdom)

Food not there
(Little food existed)
rice not there,
(there was no rice)
maize not there,
(no corn)
water not they drink.
(no water for them to drink)

It then was
(it turned out that)
animals were eating each other,
(animals started eating each other)
mà téè gáa.  
ate each other.  
(and continued eating each other)  

E  Yawéeri tí nye dàâni na,  
à dèè tì man káa  
mà kwóó.  
The animals that are the ground on,  
(animals living on the ground)  
they all ate each other  
(all of these were eaten)  
they finished.  
(they were entirely exterminated)  

F  À kí kòrì yawéeri tí nye nàámá:  
Kàobèli nè féjëëngeli.  
It remained the animals that are above:  
(There remained only animals that lived above)  
the birds and the monkeys.  
(birds and monkeys)  

G  À katègi baà wári,  
katègi baà wári,  
katègi baà wári.  
Famine got harsh,  
(Then famine got harsher)  
famine got harsh.  
(harsher)  
famine got harsh.  
(and harsher)  

H  À kàjòò mú sí téni néjo,  
«éh mèè sí nyàà gàa pye?  
Mïi syiinbeli baà ne kúu  
Liile kòò be má í.  
Hyena sat down and said,  
(Hyena sat and thought about it)  
«How is it I that do ?  
(How am I going to handle this situation ?)  
My people are dying.  
(my people die from hunger)  
Food not for them.  
(they have no food left)
I  Áh, à wòli kò lii ni í
    Wòli à maà kùu wii.»
    Well, if we not eat
    (well, if we do not have some food)
    we will also die."
    (we will soon perish too»)

J  À kàjòc mú ténì mà géé sòngi,
    mà gi sòngi,
    Hyena sat down, that thought,
    (So hyena sat and seriously thought about it)
    it thought about,
    (thought about it)
    it thought about,
    (thought about it)
    it thought about,
    (thought about it)
    till he idea some found.
    (and he eventually found an idea)

K  À wi sí jo, «áh, kóbëli tè?è má,
    Pòrí baà mà lii
    mà kpó?c
    mà lòolo lòolo.»
    He said, « Well. Monkeys place at,
    («Well, at the monkeys’ place, » he thought)
    they have eaten
    («they have eaten)
    got fat
    (till they got fat)
    got plump.»
    (and plump»)

L  Ah ! Wòri kà nen mèé í,
    Wòri à liile taa.
    Well ! He if gets there,
    (He thought if he got there)
    he would food find.
    (he would find some food)

M  À kàjòc mú si kòdógbo?c caa
    Hyena a pot fetched,
    (Hyena fetched a big pot)
kòdókpèlige,  

kòdógèe gí kpò?ọ nì bàn!  

Syiinne kèè da gbàn jée kòdògì ni.  

Syiinne kèè da gbàn jée kòdògì ni  

Háan ! àh kapeeë ni lóri!  

Syiinne kèè da gbàn jée kòdògì ni.  

Tyegé!  

N  À wí kòdògì to?ọ.  

Kòdògì kpò?ọ nì bàn,  

yétiigì né nyùge à di jée.  

O  À wí ne tári bàn (acting out heavy walk)  

P  Wí sàà ne lùulù kòbèli tíige na,  

à kòbèli wì nyaa baà.  

Q  À pé jo,  

«ŋàan sì wi páan?»

a huge pot,  

(a huge pot)  

that pot it big so!  

(a pot that is this big !)  

People ten could the pot in.  

(the pot could take ten people)  

People ten could the pot in.  

(Yeah ! well, thing-terrible is that !)  

(Yeah ! fantastic !)  

People ten can the pot fit in.  

Amazing !  

He the pot carried.  

(He carried the pot)  

The pot big so,  

(the pot is so big [that])  

the neck and the head they entered (smashed ).  

(his neck smashed into his body)  

So he kept walking thus (acting out heavy walk)  

(As he was getting closer to the monkeys place)  

the monkeys him saw there.  

(they caught sight of him)  

They said,  

(They asked each other)  

«Who is it that coming?»
À pèlî jo,  
«éh, kâjôô wi páan.»

«Kâjôô lé, ne kôdôgî nî la?»

«Eeh, kâjôô né kôdôgî nî la?»

Some said,  
«hyena it is.»

(it is Hyena)

«Hyena, with the pot?»

(Hyena with a big pot?)

«What, Hyena carrying the pot?»

(What, Hyena carrying the big pot?)

À pê maà fan wàarr

mà tân?a tiigî ni,

mà sàà téni baà

né wi wêli baà.

They all ran hurriedly

(They all rushed)

climbed up the tree in,

(and climbed up the tree)

sat there

(and sat there)

and him watched there.

(and watched)

Kâjôô mú páan, mà tân?a,

mà tân?a,

mà tân?a,

mà tân?a,

Hyena was coming, walked,

(meanwhile Hyena was coming, walking)

walked,

(steadily walking)

walked,

(walking)

walked.

(and walking)

Wî baà nen tiikpôgî láarâ ni,

à wî gi tirige mà cåan gbôn?o,

ouh ! ouh ! né ngîngi,

He arrived the tree-big drip line in,

(here arrived at the big tree)

he it lifted, dropped (it) loudly,

(lifted it and dropped it loudly)

huff, huff ! And breathed,

(hew heuf, heuf, breathless)
kept breathing, breathing, breathing, heuf, heuf!  
(he kept breathing, heuf, heuf, heuf!)

He breathed till satisfaction found,  
(After being well rested)

he said.,

(he said)

«you greeting take there the tree in.»  
(« I greet there in the tree»)

Someone not spoke and him to.  
(No one spoke to him)

he said,  
(he said)

« The tree people I you greet there! »  
(He said again, «people in the tree, I greet you.»)

Someone not spoke and him with.  
(No one spoke to him)

The third time at,  
(At the third time)

the monkey-elder said,  
(the older monkey said)

«What it you found there,  
(«What is going on?)

what it there?»

(what is the matter?»)

He said,  
(He said)

«I you greet there.»  
(«I am just greeting you»)

«Yes, we it heard,  
(«Ok, we have heard you,)
èènh, mèè di bàà?

ok., how it there/what matter there?
(and what is next?» the older monkeys said)

À wí jo,

«ée kapeèlè kó bànn í.

(He [Hyena] said)

«Well. Thing-bad not .

(«well, nothing the matter)

Syiinbeli beè ká naà kúú pi kwóó tárí ni.

the people they finally died finish the land in.

(People have been dying, and nearly finished)

Pè maà baà nè kúú,

They all are dying,

(Everyone is dying here and there)

à tárfóoli màa kúú.

the king also died.

(the king also passed away)

À wí jo,

«Hòn, wo mà gí lóó.o.

They said,

(They said)

«Ok. We it heard.

(ok, that works with us)

Gàà sì wòli à kpé?ele?

What is it we must do?

(«What is it that we must do?»)
À kàjò jo,

«ée gèè kó gbàñ í.

Kòdògì yèlì nyaa nì gèè,

waà naági lé,

sì kòdògì ta?a gí na.

Hyena said,

(Hyena replied)

«well, that not difficult.

(«Well, that is easy)

the pot you see this,

(you see this pot)

we will the fire start,

(we will some fire)

and the pot put it on.

(and put it on)

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À kòbèli jo,

«kàñyen?è lé!»

À wi jo,

«ée, kàñyen?è gíi.»

The pot if heats up.

(When the pot heats up)

we will enter one by one.

(we will get inside, one by one)

He who if enters

(He who enters)

stays longer, stayed longer,

(and he stays longer inside)

the other people than,

(than others do)

it is he that will be our king.»

(it is that one who will become our king»)

So the monkeys said,

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(108

(109

(110

(111

(So the monkeys asked)

(«truth?»)

(«is that the truth?»)

(he replied)

(«no doubt, truth it is.»)

(no doubt about it. That is the truth.»)
À Kàjòô bé pyee,
«èë, kànyèn?ë giì.
Mii dédáalà à máa gi kpé?ele.»

Hyena them told,
«no doubt, truth it is.
I myself will also it do»
(I, myself, will also take part in the contest.)

À bë jo,
«áah, mu dédáala à máa gi kpé?ele ni ì,
Wòli mà yèrì gi ni.»

They said,
« Interesting, you yourself will also it do,
we agree it on.»
(we agree)

À pè maà tì?ì gbrògbro gbrògbro gbrógbro,
mà baà téni dààni na.

So they all climbed down noisily (onomatopoeia),
sat down the ground on.
(and sat down on the ground)

À bë si jo,
«bôn, méè si wàà gi còò?»

They thus said,
«Ok, how are we it to handle?»
(how are going to proceed?)

À wí jo,
«ye naàgi le.»

He (Hyena) said,
“you the fire start
(Start the fire.”)
À bé naági le.

À naági yiri naákpɔ̀, cɔmsa !
Náagì si nyèe bàn naákpɔ̀,
pe ká naági le saagà ni,
Kaà kì maà pyee fe fe pi gi filige.

They the fire started.  
(They started the fire)
The fire became big, like that!.  
(The fire became big, no kidding!)
The is thus a fire-big,  
(The fire is really a big one)
they if the fire start (put) this house in,  
(should one put this fire in this area)
it would it all make illuminated [to] it light up.  
(it would completely light up all the place)

Naági si baà còo ni bàn nì í,
à bé kòdògì lëe taa baà.

The fire thus started, like that,  
(As the fire started flaming thus)
they the pot took [and] it there.  
(they put the pot on)

À kàjço jo,
«pì kí tèè yèlì na
ma can mìi nyèe ne kànyen?è nyuu nì í,
mìi wàà jèe wozéliw.

Hyena said,  
(Then Hyena said)
«in order it [be] shown you to  
(in order to show you)
that I am the truth speaking,  
(that I am telling you the truth)
[it is] I who will enter first.»  
(It is I that will go in first»)

Mii gá jèe baà,
Mii ká baà kwòò
yèlì sí nàà jèe.»

I if enter there,  
(«If I enter )
I if finish  
(and take my turn)
You then will enter.»  
(you will then go»)
À bé jo,  
«áah, gèë ma yali né wòli ní.  
Mu wàà jée wozéliw kêë?»

À wí jé,  
«ën, mì wàà jée wozéliw.»  
«Aah, gèë mà yali.»

Kòdògí ténì baà wári cèëri ni ì,  
à Kàjòc mú jée.

Wí ténì jée á gi mòn cèëri,  
Kì ténì ne sòrigi,  
à wí jo,  
«Kaàrí mà pe, Kaàrì mà pe, Kaàrí mà pe,  
Kaàrì mà pe.»

gbùù gbùù gbùù,
«Kaârî mà pe, Kaârî mà pe.»

| AR  | À bê yâgî müʔu,  | “The meat is cooked, the meat is cooked”
|     | à wî yiri, &lt;the meat is done, the meat is done»
|     | heuh, heuh, heuh. |
| AS  | Wí bèê màa sòʔo têyà ni,  | They the thing opened,
|     | né ñóngi fàn fàn fàn. | (They opened the pot)
|     |  | and he got out,
|     |  | (and he got out)
|     |  | heuf, heuf, heuf.
|     |  | (panting for breath)
| AT  | Wí bàà ñóù da,  | He had also been burnt some areas in,
|     | à wî jo,  | (He was also burned in a few places)
|     | «yèli na gî nee.  | and breathed heavily.
|     | Yaa jé bàà.» | (and he was breathing heavily)
| AU  | À kôlèw mú jo,  | He breathed enough,
|     | «bûn, nyaà jée.» | (When he rested enough)
|     |  | (he said)
|     |  | «you on it arrive.
|     |  | («it’s your turn)
|     |  | You enter there.»
|     |  | (enter now»)
| AV  | À Kàjóo jo,  | The monkey-elder said,
|     | «Epʔe, enʔe, enʔe ! | (The older monkey said to the others)
|     |  | «ok, I will enter.»
|     |  | («ok, I will take my turn.»)
|     |  | Hyena said,
|     |  | (Hyena said)
|     |  | «no, no, no !» |
You alone not is,  
(«It is not just you)  
you alone not is;  
(it is not just you)  
you all you will enter.»  
(go in all at once.)

«What, we all will enter?»  
(«What, all of us at a time?»)  
«Yes, you all you will enter.»He breathed enough.  
(«Yes, that is right.»)

«Yes, that is right.»

You entered alone?.»

«Why, how come

«Well, the monkeys [style],
(Yes, but when it comes to monkeys)
if you want to be a king,
(if one desires to be a king)
the monkeys they all they will be the king.
(it is all of them who are the king)
A person one not is. »
(One monkey only may not be the king»)

He (the older monkey) said,
(The older monkey said)
«ok that is fine.»

The monkeys, they not power gain never,
(Monkeys, they have never been in power)
so, they not also power matter know
(so, they are not knowledge about power issues)
à gèë màa kòbèli dénni,
ò maà sòngi bi pyëe fàñ?afòbèli.

that also the monkeys pleased,
(gaining power also was appealing to them)

pè maà sòngi bi pyee fàñ?afòbèli.

they all thought to be the kings.
(they thought of becoming kings of animals)

AAA À Pè maà jée.

They all entered.
(they all got inside the pot)

AAB Bé tèni jée ní í,

They soon entered,
(as soon as they got inside)

à Kàjó kòdógi nyúò syèngi mà tòñ gòàn?ama,

Hyena the pot lid well closed,
(Hyena closed the pot firmly)

gbòàn?ama;

Tightly;

né kàdèngbèlìyè caà mà tò?a keè nààmà,

and boulders fetched and put it top on
(and further secured it with boulders on the top)

né tèni.

and sat down.
(and he sat down and waited)

AAC À bë kà ne kópn néjó,

They finally were hitting [the pot] and said,
(eventually, they beat the pot and yelled)

«Kààrì mà pe,

«the meat is cooked,
(the meat is done)

Kààrì mà pe,

Kààrì mà pe.

Kààrì mà pe.»

Kààrì mà pe.»

Kààrì mà pe.

Kààrì mà pe.

AAD À wí jò,

He said,
(He [Hyena] replied)

« à mu lò?o lé kààrì mà pe,

« if you hear the meat is cooked,
(when the meat is done)
kaári mà pe, kaári mà pe,
the meat is cooked,
(when the meat is done)

kaári ká pe tóò nyuu í (2)
the meat if cooked it not speak (2)

kaárà gá pe wòli à nèrdâ?aw mú?u,
the meat if cooked we will the pot open,
(when the meat is done, we will open the pot)

kaárà gá pe wòli à kódógi mú?u,
the meat if cooked we will the pot open,
(when the meat is done, we will open the pot.»)

AAE Né fáli ne naági fee,
And immediately fire kindled,
(And they immediately kindled the fire)

ne naági fee;
the fire kindled;

naági sí yiri.
the fire started flaming

AAF Kàjço syíinbêli si beè pyee nyáfogí ni,
Hyena people had been the bush in,
(Hyena’s family that had been in the bush)

mà làari baà;
hiding there;

à pè maà yiri
they all got out

mà baà ne yóò ne kódógi mári:
dancing the pot around:

kàjço cåw pyaà,
and danced around the pot

à Wéè séenynw pyaà,
Hyena wife was there,
(hyena’s wife was there)

à wéè píibêli pè maà pyaà,
his relatives were there,
(his relatives were there)

AAG À bé Yéò,
His children all were there.
(and all his children too)

They danced,
(They danced)
mà yóó, danced, 211
mà yóó, danced, 212
mà yóó. and danced. 213

AAH Kóbéli si baà nè

«Yooó, ye wò syoo, 214
The monkeys there [cried]
Yooó, ye wò syoo;» 215
(While the monkeys agonized)
Yooó, ye wò syoo, 216
“yooo, you us save,
and commoved 217
(yooo, you us save)” (and commoved inside the pot)
yooó, ye wò syoo, 218
(oh please save us;)”
yooó, ye wò syoo.» 219
(oh please save us.”)

AAI [. .] Mà nyenní, 220
they cried, 221
mà nyenní, (They cried for help)
mà nyenní, they cried, 222
mà nyenní, (cried)
mà nyenní, they cried, 223
mà baà gí pyee tê. (and cried)
[til] they it became silent. 224
(unti] they became silent)

AAJ Pé têni pyèri ní i, 225
They as soon as kept quiet,
à wi kòdògi mú?u. (As soon as they became silent)

he the pot opened. 226
(he opened the pot)
AAK  Áah, nùgi! Wo, the smell !
    Nùdaani wáa fíaan fíaan fíaan, (Wow, what a nice smell !)
    àlí mu gá pyee bòolo kàjua má,
    maà nùgi ló?o. (The smell-good covered all the place,
                even you if were [far away],
                you would the smell catch.
                ( one would still catch it)

AAL  À bé sólumì le baà,
      ma sìkaluw le baà,
      ma yári tí maà le baà. (They the salt add there,
                         the pepper add there,
                         everything all put there.
                         (any imaginable seasoning ingredient)

AAM  Êeh, ye gá gàa nyaa gàa! [. . .], you if that saw that!
      Êeh, áah kacennè ni nàa! (Wow, if you saw that!)

AAN  À bé nèrdá?aw lèc yògò, yògò, yògò
      mà ká péè kà?a má,
      mà sáà lii. (They the pot took [painless]
                   they went their village to,
                   [they] Ate.
                   (and had a good meal)

AAO  Gèê si gi byee sãon That it happened, right
      (that became thus)
Kàjço bàràw:  
géè na wí nyee né kòbèli káa,  
géè wí puun né kòbèli káa.

Hyena’ s work:  
(Hyena’s found strategy)  
that on he is and the monkeys eat,  
(he used this stratagem and ate monkeys)  
that he did and the monkeys eat.  
(that is what he did in order to eat the monkeys)

AAP  
Kàjçoè yé kægi ni,  
Kàjço si nyee ne kpòri,

Hyena and clan village in.  
(There, in Hyena’s village)  
Hyena thus is getting bigger and bigger  
(Hyena is putting on weight)

AAQ  
Syiïsenbeli nyee ne kúu,  
yawèerî nyee ne kúu,  
mèè kàjço né wèè syïïnbeli pè maà kpòò,  
mà kpòò.

People-other are dying,  
(Other animals died here and there)  
the animals are dying,  
(they were dying in numbers)  
but Hyena and his people they all got fat,  
(but Hyena and his clan, all got fat)  
got fat.  
(really fat)

AAR  
À bé jo,  
«éeh, ëen!  
Gàà si kàjçoè lìì bàn?»

They said,  
(They [other animals] asked)  
«[. . . what!]  
(“what is going on?)  
What is it that hyena and clan eat thus?”  
(What do Hyena and his clan eat?”)

AAS  
À kôleèw wàa kàà sënni gi na.

A monkey-elder finally became aware it about.  
(An older monkey became suspicious about it)
À wí jo,
«έενη, wòli syiinbèli nyée né fōngi tóliwí ni,
kōbèli náa né fōng kakpògi ni,
sèn bé kaa,
wò góò gí cân í.
AAT
Kóleèwàa wí kaa sòngh ma gi nyaa
kàjò wí nyée né báarañèë kpé?ele.
He said,
(An older monkey finally figured out that)
[it is Hyena who is that work does.]
We not it know.
(we have no clue)

AAU
À wí jo,
« éeh, mëë si waà gàà pyee?»
He said,
(He then said)
«now how are we to handle this ? »
(«now how are we to handle this? »)

AAV
Kóbèli í, à bë baà, euh, péë bko?ro ma joo;
Kóbeli pè maà pko?oro né joo.
The monkeys, they, herr, each other gather speak;
The monkeys they all gathered and talked.
(all the monkeys called a meeting)

AAW
«Áah, mëë si waà gàà pyee,
pè maà nyée né fōngi,
pè maà nyée né fōngi,
mëë si waà gàà pyee?»
«Now, how is it we will this handle,
(«How are going to handle this?)
They all are missing,
(they all are missing)
how is it we will this handle?
(How are we going to handle this?)
He said,
(So he said)
«now, our people are missing [these] times in,
(Now, our people have been missing these days)
the monkeys are missing the wood in;
(a number of monkeys are missing in the woods)
where they went,
(where did they go,)
We not it know.
(we have no clue)

260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267
À bé jo,

«wo kaa wo saa pyè?ele wéli»

«Éeh pyè?ele ! éeh kányen?e, wo kaa wo saa pyè?ele wéli;

wò gá nen pyè?ele na, waà di cuuri kan wò má.»

«Éeh wò maà wò kaa, wo saa pyè?lee wéli.»

They said,
(They said)
«we go we Hare see.»
(«let us go see Hare.»)
«What, Hare! Truth [good idea];
(What, Hare! Great idea)
we go we Hare see;
(let us go see Hare)
we if get Hare to,
(if we consult Hare)
he will it sort out give us to.»
(he will sort it out for us»)
«Yes, we all we go,
(«Yes, let us go, all of us)
we Hare see.»
(come on, let us go see Hare, right away»)

À bé péè lée mà kaa sàà pyè?ele wéli.

They each other gather and went Hare see.
(Thus they met and went to meet Hare)

Pé sàà nen Pyè?ele na,

à bé wi syári,

«Àah Pyè?ele wò mu syári wii.»

«Èen, Ye fòo tàn?ama na.

Ye cologo baà?»

They got Hare to,
(they got to Hare’s)
They him greeted
(Greeted him)
«[...], Hare, we you greet.»
(Hare, our greetings to you »)
«Yes, you welcome,
(«Hi, welcome)
You fine there?»
(How are you?»)
“Éeh wo baà.” «Well, we there.»
(«Well, we are fine.»)

AAAB «À yèlì syinbeli baà?» «[What about ] your people there?»
(«How are your people?» Hare asked)

«Ànha, pè mà mà cologo baà» «es, they all are fine there.»
(«es, they are all fine.»)

«Yé baà lé?» «ou there?»
(«Is everyone fine there?» Hare asked again?)

«Èen, wo baà.» «Yes. We there.»
(«Yes.»)

AAAC «Àanha, mè wí nyëe ne gî kpé?ele mà sëe?» «Ok, how he it does?»
(«Ooho, how does he do that?»)

«Àanha, mè wí nyëe ne gî kpé?ele mà sëe?» «Well, we not really know
(«We have no idea»)

AAAA «À yèlì syinbeli baà?» «[What about ] your people there?»
(«How are your people?» Hare asked)

«Ànha, pè mà mà cologo baà» «es, they all are fine there.»
(«es, they are all fine.»)

«Yé baà lé?» «ou there?»
(«Is everyone fine there?» Hare asked again?)

«Èen, wo baà.» «Yes. We there.»
(«Yes.»)
bàn wí gi kpé?ele ní Í.

Mèe nyèn?éna wí sáà gáà wòli má,
à wi góò ká nyèn?ënà,
nyèn?ënàgòo wàà gáà wóli má.»

[. . . ]

AAAD À wí jo,

«bon yè gáà kájóó nyaa
wi ne syée baà yëli tègi má baà
né nèrdá?akpógi ní Í,
ye wàà tún
wi baà gi joo mòi má.»

AAAE Àanha, háà!

AAAF Cën shii yí kwóó,

à kájóó mú neerdá?akpógi lëë
zùga zùga zùga;

how he it does.
(how he does that.)
But tomorrow he will go there us to,
(But tomorrow he may visit us.)
If he not go tomorrow,
(if he does not go tomorrow)
the day after tomorrow he go us to.»
(he will certainly do so the day after tomorrow»)
[. . . ]

[So] he said,
(So he said)
«Ok, you if finally Hyena see
(Ok if you happen to see him)
he goes there your place to there
(bound for your place)
and the pot with, right,
(carrying the big pot)
You someone send
(send someone)
he it tell me.»
(in order to notify me»)

[Here we are!] (something is coming up!)
(Here we are, something is coming up!)

Days two they passed,
(Two days later)
Hyena the pot took,
(hyena carried the big pot)
[walking heavily under its weight];
(Walking painstakingly toward the monkeys’)

396
gbônlô tiigê lâarlâ ni; 312
dropped it the tree drip line in;
Kôbêli si baà nààmà. (then dropped it under the monkeys’ tree)
The monkeys [were] there above [in the tree].

AAAG Wí jo,
«mîì yèli syârî baà.» 314
He said,
«I you greet you there.»
Pé góò wi syôô í. 315
(«take my greeting there.»)
«mîì yèli syârî baà, 316
They not him responded.
mîì yèli syârî baà.» (No one responded)

AAAH À be baà wi syôô 319
They finally it responded.
Pé jo,
(Finally, they responded)
«meè dî baà?» 320
They said,
(They asked)
«how it there?» 321
(«what is the matter?»)

AAAI À wí ti lée joo syinnûuri. 322
He told the same talk.
À pè maà ti?i. 323
(He told the same old story)
They all climbed down.
(so they all climbed down)

AAAJ Kàleni sí nîi; 324
The same old thing it is;
à bé naâgî le, 325
(As they always do)
they the fire started,
(they started the fire)
mà maà ki pyee
baná ki kíni gi pyee bòöma ni.

and also it did
(and proceeded)
like it before it did the past in.
(according to the customary fashion)

AAAK Naágí le mà kwôc . . .
naágí baà yiri vági vági vági;
à bé kòdògi lée ta?a.

The fire started . . .
(The fire was started)
The fire rose up big;
(the fire became very big)
and they the pot took and put [it on ].
(and they put the pot on)

AAAL À Pyè?ele mú yiri baà nyànfógi ní.
nyànpìíri ní pyè?ele beè pye,
tiìgi kàdoʔo mà
mà làari baà né bé wéli baà.

Hare got there the bushes out of.
(Hare came out the bushes)
the bushes in Hare had been [hiding],
(Hare had been hiding in the bushes)
the tree back at
(positioned behind a tree)
hidden there and they watched there.
(he was hiding there and watched the scene)

AAAM Wí yiri, à wí jo,
«hè, Kòbèli ye fòòw sycc.»
«Éeh, pyè?ele, fòo tànʔama na,
yé cólogo baà.»
«Èen, wo baà, à piibeli?»
«Éeh, pè maà baà. . .

He got out, he said,
(coming out from behind the tree, he [Hare] said)
«hi, the monkeys, you my greeting take.»
(«hi monkeys, my greeting to you.»)
«Hi, Hare, welcome.
(Hi Hare, welcome!)
You fine there.»
(How are you?«)
«Yes, we there, and the children?»
(Fine, we are there, how are your children?»)
«Well, they all there. . .
(«Well, they are all fine)
à yéli mà naá?»
«Èen, pè maà na»
«À yéli mà baà?»
«Óoh, wo mà cólogo baà»

and you here?»
(«How about you, here?»)
«Thanks, they all here.»
(Thanks, we are all fine.»)
«And you there?»
(and you?)
«No problem, we are fine there.»
(«No problem, we all are in good shape»)

AAAN
«Hèen, Kàjöo mè yé baà?»
«Éeh, wo baà.»
«Èen, mëeh, eëh!»
Gàà sí yé pun náamà?»
«Éeh, anh, Pyè’ele, mu këè gi cén lâ?»

«[. . .] Hyena, how you there?»
«By the way, Hyena, how are you?» Hare said
«Yes, we there.»
«Thanks, we are fine.»
«So, but, well!»
«So, what is going on?»
What you [are] doing here?
(What are you doing here?)
«[. . .] Hare, you not it knew?»
(What, did you not know?)

AAAO
À wì jo,
«mìi këè gi cén î.»
«Ônh, fân’afswana mà këè,»
be si jo waà kàbì.
Nëè gá baà mòn
mà sòli syiisenbeli na kòdògi ni,

He said,
(he replied)
«I not it knew.»
(«I did not»)
«Well, the king is dead,»
(«Well, the king passed away) they said we ill compete.
(so they asked us to compete)
He who finally last
(He who stays)
more the other people than the pot in,
(in the pot longer than other people)
wóri wáà byeè fàn'?afòwì.

[it is] he who will be the king.»
(it is that one who will become the king.»)

AAAP «Àaah àaah géè mà póòri kèè.
Géè na si mu nyèè náamá?»

« Oh yeah, that is fine [. . .].
(<wow, that is wonderful!)
That is why you are here?»
(So, that is why you are here ? »)

AAAQ À wí jo,
«èèn»
«Anhaah, còè! Mìì à máa gbàn gi kpé?ele lá?»
À wí jo, «èèn.»

He said, (He [hyena] said)
«yes.»
(Oook! But can also compete ?»)
(«Yes,» He replied)

AAAR «Áah, géè mà póòri kèè!
NJán sí wàà gi séli?»
«Éeh, mìì waà gi séli kèè!
Mìì kàjòò wàà gi séli,
mìì wàà jéé baà.»

«Good, that is fine!
(« Good, that works fine for me)
Who is it that will it do first?»
(who is it that will go first?»)
«[. . .], [it is] I who will it do first !
(what, I am going first, aren’t I ?)
[it is] I, hyena, who will it do first,
(it is I, Hyena, who will go first),
[it is ] I who will enter there.»
(It is I who will get inside the pot»)

AAAS À pie?ele jo,
«gèè ma póòri;

Hare said,
«that is fine;
(that is ok with me that)
mu wà à jèe nì baà,
gèè mà pócri

you will enter there,
(you go first) 370
that is fine. 371
(that is just perfect)

AAAT Naàgì si còò nì í,
à Kàjìì jèe baà.
The fire started,
(They made the fire) 372
Hyena entered there.
(and Hyena got inside the pot) 373

AAAU Ki baà ne sórìgì cèèrì cèèrì,
à wí gi kpwôn gbù gbù gbù
«kaàri mà pe,
kaàri mà pe,
kaàri mà pe.»
It started burning a bit,
(As it [the pot] started burning him) 374
He it beat loudly
(he beat the pot inside [onomatopoeia] and said) 375
« the meat is cooked,
(«the meat is done)
the meat is cooked,
(the meat is done)
the meat is cooked,»
(the meat is done») 376 377 378

AAAV Ëeeh, à bé nèrđà?awò tòn gbàn?ama,
né kàdèndè lèè mà baà tà?a wi na,
Gbróbróo gbròogbròo.
Of no, they closed the pot lid tightly,
(No way, they closed the pot as firmly as possible) 379
and stones took and put it on,
(and secured it with boulders) 380
Quickly. 381
(acting very fast)

AAAW À wí jo,
«hé, yaa naàgì fee!»
He said,
(hesaid) 382
«come on, you the fire kindle!»
(«kindle the fire!») 383
Pèli naági fee mèe,  
èli yóó ne gí mari,  
à pèli tàn?à mà tèni nèrdá?aw náama.  

Some the fire fan there,  
(Some kindled the fire)  
some danced it around,  
(some danced around the pot)  
some climbed and sat down on the top of the pot.  
(while others climbed up and sat on it)

AAAX «À bé jo lé kaári mà pe,  
kaári mà pe,  
kaárà gá pe ti ò nyuu í,  
kaárà gá pe nèrdá?aw à mú?u.» (3 times)  
Né yóó ne mári yúrò yúrò yúrò.  

«[If] they say the meat is cooked,  
.when the meat is done)  
the meat is cooked,  
(the meat is done)  
meat if cooked it not speak,  
(if the meat is done it will not speak)  
meat if cooked, the pot will be opened.» (3)  
(if the meat is done, we will open the pot»)  
and danced in circle (onomatopoeia).  
(and they danced around the pot [onomatopoeia])

AAAY À kàjoó wáa,  
«oh, yè mii sycco!  
Nyàa zó?o pi kùu.»  
Gbrùgbrà gbrùggbrà  
«Oh, yè mii sycco !"  
Kwòò bá tege!  

Hyena yelled,  
«help, you me save!  
please save me)  
I will burn I die.»  
(I will burn to death»)  
[commoving inside the pot]  
(and commoved inside the pot)  
«Help, you me save!»  
(Please save me)  
Finished there, done !  
(That was the end for Hyena)

AAAZ Wí kùu wii baà.  

He died [no doubt] there.  
(No doubt, he is dead)
He when stopped crying,
(As he stopped crying)
they the pot opened.
(they opened the pot)

Yeah,
(Hyena meat is delicious)
[and] the smell came out here . . . fantastic!
(and the smell covered the place all over)

They the salt added,
(They added salt)
and it all added there:
(and every seasoning ingredients)
and the onion,
(onion)
and the pepper,
(pepper)
and it all.
(everything)

Wow,
(Hyena meat is very delicious)
(Hyena meat is very delicious)
Yeah, Hyena-meat is delicious!
(Yeah, hyena meat is very delicious)
Thus, that it was,
(That is what happened )
[and] hyena also died,
(and Hyena died)
that day,
[then] the monkeys also lived.
(and the monkeys lived happily ever after)

My lie mark that.
(that was lie)

If you things-evil do,
(when you do bad things)
everyday,
(each and every day)
no matter how long it lasts,
Some day there,
(there will be some day)
thing-evil will also be done you to.
(when you will also be punished)

Truth not is ?
(Is that not the truth ?)

My lie mark is this.
(that was my lie)
APPENDIX F
TaleTwo by Adama Yéo

Tale 2: Pyè?le Pìwàw (Adama)

The Unwanted Child

A
Mïi yè kan
kàgi beè pyëè mà kpó?oro kéè na;
yawëeri tì maà beè pyëè kà?a nûgè ni.

1
I you give
(Here is my story)
The village was gathered itself on (was single village);
(There once was a single village, [where] )
The animals all (of them) were village one in.
(all the wild animals had been living)

B
Yawëeri tì maà sì nyëè nì kà?a nûgè ni,
à gi nyaa à
póri ká në piibëli ñôngü nûge nûgè.

4
The animals all (of them) were [thus] village one in,
(All the animals lived in the same village, right)
it saw (came to a point) that
(it got to a point where )
They finally the children ‘lose’ one by one.
(people missed their children one after the other)

C
Pë si piibëli ñôngü ni nûgè nûgè,
à gi nyaa pé maà kàa
mà baà cáli sàndow ma.
Mà jo, “piibëli nyëè në ñôngü kàgi ni,

7
They the children lost one by one,
(As they missed children one after the other)
it saw (came to a point) that all went
(decision was made)
[to] consult a fortune-teller with.
(to consult a fortuneteller)
[they] said, “the children are missing the village in,
(“We miss children one after the other,” they said to him)
nò gó sí gi cèn gèè na bé fòngi ní í’’.

Músí cèn kàjìì

wòri kó gbàn nè kozìngè lée í.
Jáa wòri wèè pyee nè piìbèli kàá.

À bë baà jo yawéélà baà kàgi ni,
lòrì ni nyèè nè piìbèli kàá.
À pè maà péè piìbèli lèè mà baà làrígè làrígè.

À pyè?ele mú baà wèè wóbèli làrígè kàwèéle nì.
wàllàa!

Cèngè o cèngè . . .wí pan
pi baà be yéri
paà be kan be nònri.

Pe si bèè yëè wi má piìbèli t̀ánri.

Pèè nè ñèè yéri Sùngúrule,

we not it know why they are missing.”
(we do not have any clue why this is happening)

You know Hyena
(As you know, there is Hyena)
he not can path-straight take.
(who does not do righteous deeds)
“No wonder” it is he who-was the children eating.
(We would not be surprised if it is he who is eating them)

They said an animal-certain there the village in,
(They [he: fortuneteller] said there is an animal in the village)
It is it that was the children eating.
(and it is that animal that is eating the children)
They all their children took [and] them hid hid.
(Thus, they all secured their children in secret places)

Hare his hid a hole in.
(Hare hid hers in a hole)
That is it!

Each and everyday. . .he came
(Everyday . . . she came)
[to] them call
(called them by name)
[and] them give they feed.
(in order to suckle them)

They were her for children three.
(Shè had three children)
They this one (one) called Sùngúrule,
(one was called Sùngúrule)
né ñèe yeri Ngbopîle,
and this one (one) called Ngbopîle, (one was Ngbopîle)

né ñèe yeri Ngbokpô?.
and this one (one) called Ngbokpô?, (and the other was Bighead)

Wí gá si bàà nan,
She if (when) came,

wí ñ jo,
(When she arrived at the hole)

“mìi tànmá Sùngûrule yiri ná
(she sang)

mìi baà mu kam mu ñînîri;
I you give you feed;

yiri ná óo,
(come on out here)

yiri ná
(come out here)

mìi baà mu kan mu ñînîri.”
(I will suckle you)

Tébîñí mà yiri,
The little one (would) come out,

wí baà ni kan ni ñînîri.
(the little one would come out)

J

Nèè gá ñînîri,
That one if fed,

wí núù jo,
(when that one is suckled)

“Ngbopîle óo, mìi tànmá Ngbopîle yiri ná,
(“Sùngûrule sweetie, come out here)
mii baà mu kam mu ɲòndì;

I you give you feed;
( I will suckle you)

yiri ná óo,

Come out here
(come on out here)

yiri ná

Come out here
(come on out here)

mii baà mu kan mu ɲòndì.”

I you give you feed.”
( I will suckle you)

Ngbopíle mà yiri

Ngbopíle (would) come out
( upon hearing the song, Ngbopíle would come out)

wí mà baà ñèè kan wi mà ɲòndì.

she that one (would) give he (would) feed.
(then she would feed that one)

Kaà nan ngbokpò?ɔ na,

It-if came ngbokpò?ɔ to,
(When it is Bighead’s turn)

wí ñ jos,

she said,
(she would say)

“lee yi ná ne mìi yáa yóó,

“the belly is me aching,
(I have a stomachache)

kí gá nyìgi dànnì

it if tomorrow morning
(tomorrow morning)

nyàà ba mu kan mu ɲòndì.”

I will you give you feed.”
( I will suckle you)

Ngbokpògí fɔli mà fali too ne nyènì.

The head-big owner (child) at once (would) start to cry.
(The big-headed child would start crying)

Ngbokpògí fɔli si too ne nyènì,

The head-big owner (child) [when] started to cry,
(even though the big-headed child started crying )

à ki sí kɔrí gèe na.

It remained that on.
(Hare would ignore him)
Cèngè o cèngè,
wi mà yiri pi gi pyee kánmèè na,
pi ba piibèli kan pe ṭìnri
si Ngbökpö?è cée.
Ngbökpö?è si nyan can o can.

Each and everyday,
she proceeded [to] it do manner-that in,
(she proceeded in the same way)
[she] the children gave they fed
(fed the other two children)
[and] Ngbökpö?è was denied.
(and starved Bighead)
Ngbökpö?è cried everyday.
(So Bighead cried everyday)

Or que piibèli mú nyaa bèli ni,
mu gá piibèli see,
kanmà o kanmá fàalà na,
fà gá ṭèè yari
mu mà mìi dénni mà sòli ṭèè na.
Mu fà déni ká dèè jo nyàanna nyàanna ì.

“But” the children you see these,
(When it comes to issues relating to children)
you if (when) the children give birth,
(when you have children)
o no matter what the situation,
do not this one tell
(do not tell one)
you me please more than this one (that one).
(that I love you more than others)
(You) do simply not that say at all.
(Never, absolutely never say such a thing)

Mu cangaà cen
mu kòò nyèn?ènà cen ì.

You know today
(You have knowledge of today’s affairs)
you not tomorrow know.
(you do not know what the future holds)
Now children those two were preferred.
(Unfortunately, those two children were preferred)

Mènnà (maintenant) à piibèli belèè syii nyènni yige.

One day Hyena finally his song heard:
(Eventually, Hyena overheard her song)
“mii tànmá Sùngúrule yiri ná
mii baà mu kam mu ṣònri;
yiri ná óo,
yiri ná
mii baà mu kan mu ṣònri.”
Ndè mà yiri mà káa.

“Ngbopíle óo, mii tànmá Ngbopíle yiri ná
mii baà mu kan mu ṣònri,
yiri ná óo,
yiri ná
mii baà mu kan mu ṣònri.”

Mà núù baà jo,

“Ngbopíle óo, mii tànmá Ngbopíle yiri ná
mii baà mu kam mu ṣònri,
yiri ná óo,

“my friend Sùngúrule come out here (Sùngúrule sweetie, come out here)
I you give you feed;
I will suckle you
come out here,
come out here
come out here
I you give you feed.
I will suckle you
That one (would) come out [and] go.
(Upon hearing the song, Sùngúrule would come out)

“Ngbopíle, my friend Ngbopíle come out here (Ngbopíle sweetie, come out here)
I you give you feed,
I will suckle you
Come out here,
Come out here
Come out here
I you give you feed.
I will suckle you
[he] again said,
(Then she said again)
“Ngbopíle, my friend Ngbopíle come out here (Ngbopíle sweetie, come out here)
I you give you feed,
I will suckle you
Come out here,
(come on out here)
yiri ná
mii baà mu kan mu ɲònri."
À ɲèè yiri ñ káà.

Come out here
(come on out here)
I you give you feed."
(I will suckle you)
That one (would) come out [and] go.
(that one would also come to suckle)

She would say Ngbokpolo alone
(she would say it is only Bighead)
It is he who must (he) remain there.
(who must remain there in the hole)

She would say Ngbokpolo alone
(she would say it is only Bighead)
It is he who must (he) remain there.
(who must remain there in the hole)

She would say Ngbokpolo alone
(she would say it is only Bighead)
It is he who must (he) remain there.
(who must remain there in the hole)

She would say Ngbokpolo alone
(she would say it is only Bighead)
It is he who must (he) remain there.
(who must remain there in the hole)

Suŋúrule also a solution found . . .
(Having overheard her, Hyena also found a solution)
[he] a way found it on [. . .]
(he figured out a way to deal with the situation)
[He] hid [and] stood up,
(standing, he hid in the bushes by the hole)
and (while) Hare was left he [was] still hunting on;
(while Hare was still away in the woods)
and hid [and] stood up;
(standing thus, he hid in the bushes by the hole)
hide-out that on
(in this position)
and his (Hare’s) song sang.
(and he sang Hare’s song)

Suŋúrule also a solution found . . .
(Having overheard her, Hyena also found a solution)
[he] a way found it on [. . .]
(he figured out a way to deal with the situation)
[He] hid [and] stood up,
(standing, he hid in the bushes by the hole)
and (while) Hare was left he [was] still hunting on;
(while Hare was still away in the woods)
and hid [and] stood up;
(standing thus, he hid in the bushes by the hole)
hide-out that on
(in this position)
and his (Hare’s) song sang.
(and he sang Hare’s song)

Suŋúrule also a solution found . . .
(Having overheard her, Hyena also found a solution)
[he] a way found it on [. . .]
(he figured out a way to deal with the situation)
[He] hid [and] stood up,
(standing, he hid in the bushes by the hole)
and (while) Hare was left he [was] still hunting on;
(while Hare was still away in the woods)
and hid [and] stood up;
(standing thus, he hid in the bushes by the hole)
hide-out that on
(in this position)
and his (Hare’s) song sang.
(and he sang Hare’s song)

“Mii tànmá Suŋúrule yiri ná
miì baà mu kam mu ɲònri;

“My friend Suŋúrule come out here
(Suŋúrule sweetie, come out here)
I you give you feed;
(I will suckle you)
yiri ná óó,
come out here,
(you come out here)
yiri ná
(you come out here)
mii baà mu kan mu ñònri.”
That one came out,
(upon hearing the song, that one came)
À ñèè yiri ná,
He (Hyena) him caught [and] him ate.
(he [hyena] grabbed him and ate him)
à wí baà wi coo mà káa.

À wí núù jo,
He again said,
(Then he sang again)
“Ngbopúlé óó, mii t àmá Ngbopúlé yiri ná
(Ngbopúlé, my friend Ngbopúlé come out here)
mii baà mu kam mu ñònri;
(Ngbopúlé sweetie, come out here)
yiri ná óó,
I you give you feed;
(you give me feed)
yiri ná
(I will suckle you)
mii baà mu kan mu ñònri.”
That one also again came out.
(that one also came to suckle)
À ñèè máa núù yiri.

À wí jo
He said,
(After eating Ngbopúlé, he said)

Y

ki gá pyee nyèn?enà nyìgi dànní ì
It if was tomorrow morning early
(Tomorrow, early in the morning)
wóìì à ba Ngbokpó?ò kan wi ñònri.
she would Ngbokpó?ò give him fed.
(he would suckle Bighead)
Ngbokpö wí kòraà;
a Ngbołpö mú too ne nyénnì.

À gi kòri gêî na;
a Ngbołpö mú syvo.

Èaa, pyèele mú yiraà;
à wi pan mà baà múù,
mà múù mà frôc.
Wàa kó yiri ná í.

À wi gá jée baà,
à wí baà ngêe yàgêñë (né kwòc) nyaa;
à wi kòraà.

Pịñèe wéè wi bèn,
pịw bèè (piñèè) wí kòri wí má cèngêè cèngè ni.
Wôrì mú nyaa à wí pyè?ele see.

It is he who you saw he hare gave birth [to].
(It is that one who parented Hare)

À mu ló?o pyè?e náamà,

[If] you hear ‘hare’ here,
(When it comes to the origin of Hare in our land)

ŋèè wí pyège see;
[it is] that one who ‘hare’ gave birth [to];
(it is that one [Bighead] who parented Hare)

gèè gi nyee wò ne gi cógi ne káa cengè ni cangá.
[it is] that one who is we it caught [and] eat nowadays.
(the very animal that we hunt for food nowadays)

Wàa ká näängàngë kan wò má

Someone if an ardent coal gives us to
(If anyone in the audience gave me an ardent charcoal)

waà gi kàërge kùrsí.
We will it change [into] a pair of shorts.
(I would change it into a pair of shorts for them to wear)
APPENDIX G

Tale Two by Sidiky Diarassouba

Tale 2: Pyë?ele Piwáw (Sidiky)

A
Boöma ni,
mà sëli lëg boöma ni baà,
së?e yawéeri tì maà béè pyee kànúgi ni.

B
À sòbëli pyaà,
à járábéli pyaà,
à sikábéli pyaà,
à nónbéli pyaà,
à góbëli pyaà,
à pyë?ele pyaà,
à käjoo máa pyaà.

C
À piibéli ne fëngì kàgi ni.

The Unwanted Child

In the Long ago,
(Once upon a time)
Since the long time ago there,
(Once upon a time)
Farm animals all were the village-same in.
(all wild animals lived in the same village)

The elephants were there,
(There were elephants)
the lions were there,
(there were lions)
the goats were there,
(goats)
the “hen” were there,
(hens)
the chicken were there,
(chickens)
Hare was there,
(Hare lived there)
Hyena was there .
(and Hyena too)

Ah! It got a period to,
(Then, there came a time)
children were missing the village in.
(when children started going missing)
Mu gá pia té?e mu sáagì ni,
  né jo máà gáa sàà lo?o kóó,
  mu kàà baà píìw nyaa í.

You if a child put (leave) your house in,
(If you left a child in your house)
and wanted to go water fetch,
(and wanted to go fetch some water from the river)
you not would the child see.
(the child would disappear)

Mu gá pia té?e sáagì ni,
  né káa ségì má,
  mu káà baà wi nyaa í.

You if a child put (leave) the house in,
(If you left a child in your house)
and went the farm to,
(and went to farm)
you not would him see.
(he would disappear)

Àah, à gí syiínbéli fúngè wòɔ.
À pé jé pàá jáli.

[Aah], it the people heart trouble.
(So, it really worried the animals)
They said they would consult [with a fortuneteller].
(They decided to consult a fortuneteller)

Pé sí cáli sànáwó má,
  à sànáwó bé pyee,
  «áah, wàa wi baà yélì kàgi ni nì í,
  wóri wí nyee ne syiínbéli káa.
  Ye gá piibéli té?e,
  wàà be káa pè maà. »

They consulted the fortuneteller with,
(When they consulted the fortuneteller)
The fortuneteller them told,
(he said to them)
“[aah], someone he your village in,
(“well, there is an animal in your village)
[it is] he who the people eat.
(that is the one that eats your children)
You if the children leave [in the house].
(If you leave your children unattended in the village)
he will eat them all.”
(he will eat them all.”)
À bé si jo,

«áah, mée si waà gàa pyee?»
À sàndow bé pyee,

«à mú ló?o yèli mà sicilimà caa gàa na,
ma can yèli piibèli làrige wii.

Yaà piibèli làrige kàgi ni,
ou bien yaà sàà be làrige nyàfógì ni,
baaaaà, teélélígè ni baà.»

Seëé yari si lúgo
mà kàa péè kà?a má,
à bé sàà gi jo pé maà má;
né jo, «áah, yè maà,
ye yè piibèli làrige.»

À bé si piibèli làrige.
À péli péè piibèli làrige kàgi ni,
à pélì piibèli lârige nyâfûgû ni. [and] some (others) the children hid the woods in.

Pyè?ele wî si bèe pyee nè piibèli tânri ni. (and others hid theirs in the forest)

À pyè?ele sàà wéè piibèli tânri lârige kâkpûgû ni, Hare she was (had) children three with.

baà, kâkpûgû láàamâ ni baà. (Hare had three children)

Pyè?ele piibèli tânri bèe pyee nè méyè ni. Hare her children three hid [dense] wood in

Wàa mé?è beè pyee Ngâpûïîë. (Hare went to hide hers in the forest)

Ngâpûïîë nyûû ! (way way deep down inside the forest)

Ngbûïîë (was) cute

Mà nyûû, (Ngâpûïîë was very cute)
mà nyûû, cute,
mà nyûû, cute,
mà nyûû, cute,
mà nyûû. and cute.

Mu gà jo mu syiiîcanwè caa ni, You if say you person-nice-looking seek,

à mu sôli Ngâpûïîë na, (If you look for a beauty)

mu kàà ni syiiîcanwàa taa fèse fèse fèse fèse. (and walk pass Ngâpûïîë)

[if] you pass Ngâpûïîë on,

you not-will any person-nice-looking some find never. (you will have missed your goal)
Child-second was called Sùngúruló.
(he was called Sùngúruló)

The second child was called Sùngúruló.

He was red ‘all over’ (very light complexion),
(and had a light skin complexion)
and cute very much.
(and a cute little thing too)

The third-one was Ngbopkọ (Bighead),
(As for the third one, his was Ngbopkọ [Bighead])

The head not-will be able to fit place-this in;
(The head is so big that it cannot fit in this room)
head-big,
(a big head)
and ugly,
(and very ugly too)
ugly,
(and ugly)
You not-will even be able to him look at.
(It was hard to look him in the face)

As Hare hid her children
(As Hare hid her children)

she would go out the forest in
(she would go out to the forest)
À wí naa piibèli kan pe ŋɔnri í,

wáà ki mùu;
wáà múgi múu si péè mèyè yeri.

À wí si be pyee,

«ành, à yèli nyë ye kòo múgi ló?o í,
à ye kòò mèyè ló?o,
ye fàà yiri ná pi ŋɔnri í.
À yè yiri ná,
wàà dà ye coo pí káà.»

À bé jo pe mà gi ló?o.

À wí jo, «Yè gi ló?o lá?»
À bé jo, «ɔnɔn wo mà gi ló?o.»
«Yè gi ló?o lá?»
À bé jo, «ɔnɔn wo mà gi ló?o.»

À wí naa piibèli kan pe ŋɔnri í,
He when the children give them feed (feed them),
(When it was time for suckling her children)
she would it sing;
(she would sing)
she would the song sing [and] their names call.
(she would call out their names in the song)

À wí si be pyee,

He them told (said to),
(He said to them)
“well, [if] you do you not the song hear,
([if] you do not hear me sing)
[if] you not names hear,
(and call out your names)
you do no come out here [to] to feed.
(do not come out)
[If] you come out here,
(if you do so)
someone will you catch to eat.”
(some animal will grab and eat you.”)

À bé jo pe mà gi ló?o.
(They said they it heard (understood).
(They said that they heard her)
He said, “You it heard? (Do you understand?)
(‘Do you get it?’)
They said, “yes, we it heard [you].”
(they said, “yes, we heard you.”)
“You it heard?”
(“You got it?”) she insisted
they said, “yes, we it heard [you].”
(They replied, “yes, we heard her.”)
Hènh, kàjçi̥ fungè gò si ny̆ç i.
À wí pyè?ele tóri cangà,
mà wi tóri,
mà wi tóri,
mà wi tóri,
mà wi nyaa
beè wi piibéli té?e ni kàwéenì ni.
À wí jo,
«àah, náamà pyè?ele ny̆e ne wéè piibéli térì kè?»
Gèè ñ yali.
À gbèmi gá too . . .
Pyè?ele ny̆e ne wéè piibéli kañ?a
pe ne n̄n̄ri nyi̥l̄egi na;
nyigi kà lee,
syi̥n̄béli pè maà kà ne n̄n̄i.

[ . . .] hyena character not good.
(As you know, Hyena has bad character)
He hare followed day-some,
(Some day he followed Hare)
followed her,
(followed her)
followed her
(followed her)
and followed her,
him saw
(until he saw )
[the place] where he the children put (hid) the hole in.
(the hole where she hid her children)
He said.
(He whispered to himself)
«[àah], [it is] ‘at this place’ hare her children hides!»
(Oh yeah, this is where Hare is hiding her children!)
That is fine.
(Wonderful)
The morning if fell (came) . . .
(The next morning . . . )
Hare her children gave
(As far as her children are concerned, Hare planned )
they feed midnight at;
(to feed them at midnight)
The night when old,
(when it is late at night)
The people all of them when sleep.
(when all animals are asleep)
À kàjọọ si màa gèè can.

Gbèndóomi na doo,

gáà kàjọọ dà gbè?ele ?
À wí yiri mà káà nyàfọgí ni baà:
Kàweeni mà pyè?ele beè piibèli té?e nì.

Syiinbeli ténì jée mà sìnë mà kwóò,

nyìgí kó fe?e lee í,
à kàjọọ yiri mà káà
mà sàà sìnë kàweeni nyóò na.

Mùgee sì pyè?ele sèè ne múù ni doo,

ki sèè byee gèè:
«Ngbopíle yoo mà yiri ma ṣòñrí,
mìi tànmàn Ngbopíle yoo da yígi ná
mìi baà mu kan m ñòñrí;

Hyena also that knew.
(Unfortunately, Hyena was also aware of that)

The next day on,
(The following day)
What Hyena will do ?
(Guess what Hyena would do!)
He came out [and] went the woods in there:
(He went deep down inside the forest)
The hole to [where] Hare had her children put.
(to the hole where Hare hid her children)

The people as soon as entered [and] went to bed finish,
(Other animals had just gone to bed)
the night not yet old,
(it was not even midnight yet)
Hyena came out [and] went
( Hyena went into the forest)
Lay down the hole mouth on (near).
(and lay down by the hole)

The song Hare usually sang
(The song Hare often sang, right)
it usually was this (as follows):
(usually was as follows)
“Ngbopíle come out [to] feed,
(“Ngbopíle come out to suckle)
my friend Ngbopíle come out here
(Ngbopíle sweetie, come out)
I you give you feed;
(I will suckle you)
mii tàn màn Ngbopile yoo da pän
my friend Ngbopile come out here
(Ngbopile sweetie, come out)
mii baà mu kan m ṣònri;
I you give you feed;
(I will suckle you)
mii tàn màn Ngbopile yoo da pän
my friend Ngbopile come out here
(Ngbopile sweetie, come out)
mii baà mu kan m ṣònri.»
I you give you feed.”
(I will suckle you”)

À wí ténì mugeè mìuu,
He when song-that sang,
(Upon hearing the song)
Ngbobile mà yiri sè?e sè?e sè?e ba ṣònri
Ngbobile came out [walking] slowly
(Ngbopile would come out)
pi ṣònri,
[to] feed,
(suckle)
pi ṣònri,
[to] feed.
(suckle)
pi ṣònri.
[to] feed.
(and suckle)

Wí gá ṣònri mà tìn,
He if fed [and] full,
(When he suckled until he was full)
wí ma cóolo ‘heueurrr’,
He belched loudly,
(he would belch loudly)
si lúgo sàà sîné.
returned [to] lie down.
(then return to lie down in the hole)

Dèè gá kwóç;
That if finished;
(When that was over)
Sùngúrulô gá dèè ló?o ni,
(when Sùngúrulô heard their mother’s song)
he [thus] then started to cry: (he would begin to cry there in the hole)

“Mom hunger it me on, (Mom, I am hungry)

me give I feed; (suckle me)  

mom hunger it me on, (mom, I am hungry)

me give I feed; (suckle me)  

mom hunger it me on, (mom, I am hungry)

me give I feed.” (suckle me”)  

Hare if as soon as that heard, (Upon hearing Sùngúruló sing)

she the song ‘sang’ there the outside area on. (Hare would start singing outside)

“my friend Sùngúruló come out [to] drink, (“Sùngúruló sweetie, come out)

I you give you feed; (I will suckle you)  

my friend Sùngúruló come (Sùngúruló sweetie, come out)

I you give you feed;, (I will suckle you)  

my friend Sùngúruló come (“Sùngúruló sweetie, come out)

I you give you feed.” (I will suckle you.”)
Sùngúruló mà yirí ná ba too nyírimi na,
Sùngúruló came out here [to] fall the milk on,
(Sùngúruló would come out to suckle)
Pkúgu, kpúgu, kpúgu.
(onomatopoeia)(suckling avidly).
Wáà gba
(and suckle avidly)
pi gbá
he would drink
pi gbá,
(suckle)
ficennì mà pyee póölee.
(suckle)

Wí gá lii móln,
He if ate [till] full,
wi m káa séele séele séele
(When he was satisfied)
[pí] sáà sínë.
(Slightly dangling, he would walk slowly into the hole)

À gi si kóri ńáàn?
It remained who?
Ngbopkø?ò kóò lé?
(Who is next?)
Ành áah!
(Is it not Bighead?)
Ngbopkø?ò mà fali ne nyënaà.
[Allll right!]
Katëgì si nyëe Ngbopkø?ò na.
(Bighead would start crying)

Hunger was Ngbopkø?ò on.
(Bighead went always hungry)
Cengè óo cengè Ngbopkʊọ kàà lìì ìì, 158
Cengè óo cengè Ngbopkʊọ kàà lìì. 159

À kateégi si nyęe wi na, 160
à wi ne nyënaà. 161
«Nnu, kateégi gi na mìì na 162
mìì kan mìì ñönri; 163
Nnu, kateégi gi na mìì na 164
mìì kan mìì ñönri, 165
Nnu kateégi gi na mìì na 166
Mìì kan mìì ñönri.» 167

Ngbopkʊọ kó si pyèele dénni ìì, 168
wí kòò wí caa ìì, 169
wí kòò sàà gbaà wí wàà ìì. 170

Pyèele wi sỳnnɔ «cúuurrrì,» 171

Each and every day Ngbopkʊọ not would eat, 158
(Bighead would be starved everyday)
Each and every day Ngbopkʊọ not would eat, 159
(Bighead would be starved everyday)
Hunger was him on, 160
(So Bighead went always hungry)
He was crying-there. 161
(he would always be crying in the hole)
“Mom, hunger it me on 162
(“Mom, I am hungry)
me give I feed; 163
(suckle me)
mom, hunger it me on 164
(mom, I am hungry)
me give I feed; 165
(suckle me
mom, hunger it me on 166
(mom, I am hungry)
me give I feed.” 167
(suckle me
Ngbopkʊọ not hare pleased, 168
(Hare despised Bighead)
she not him wanted, 169
(she did not want him)
[but] He not could him throw away. 170
(but she was not capable of tossing him)
Hare (him) swore “[. . .],” 171
(Hare cursed him)
and said, “my friend Ngbopkúyó (and said, “Bighead sweetie) the belly is ‘me’ aching, (I have a stomachache)

my friend Ngbopkúyó (Bighead sweetie) the belly is ‘me’ aching, (I have a stomachache)

I will now you give you feed, (I will now be able to suckle you)

my friend Ngbopkúyó (Bighead sweetie) the belly is ‘me’ aching, (I have a stomachache)

tomorrow morning ‘on’, (tomorrow morning)

I will now you give you feed.” (I will now be able to suckle you”)

[. . .] he not will again Ngbopkúyó give he feed. (Oh no, she was going to starve Bighead again)

(The) hunger was Ngbopkúyó on. (Bighead always goes hungry)

He at once cried, (So he began to cry as always)

Cried, Cried, Cried, Cried,
Mà nyëni.

Wí baà nỳëni mà fròò,

Mà nòni baà.

Donc, kàjòò si baà pyè?ele tòri, cangà

Mà sàà tèñì nyaa dòò,
à wí pan mà baà sìnë kàweenë tànnì,
në máa mùgeë nugè múu.

Kàjòò baà sìnë nè múgèë nugè múu;

«Mii tànmàn Ngbopìlé yoo da pàn
mii baà mu kan m nònnri;

mii tànmàn Ngbopìlé yoo da pàn
mii baà mu kan m nònnri,

mii tànmàn Ngbopìlé yoo da pàn
mii baà mu kan m nònnri.»

[and] cried.
(and cried more and more)
He cried [till] got tired,  
(He grew tired of crying)
slept there.  
(and eventually dozed off)

So, hyena Hare followed  
(Hyena followed Hare, some day)  
[he] the place saw,  
(until he discovered the hide-out)  
he came [to] lie down the hole near,  
(and went to lie down by the hole)  
and also song-that sang.  
(and also sang the song Hare always sang)

Hyena lay down and song-that same sang;  
(Hyena lay down by the hole and sang that same song)  
my friend Ngbopìlé come out here  
(“Ngbopìlé sweetie, come out)  
I you give you feed;  
(I will suckle you)  
my friend Ngbopìlé come  
(Ngbopìlé sweetie, come out)  
I you give you feed,  
(I will suckle you)  
my friend Ngbopìlé come  
(Ngbopìlé sweetie, come out)  
I you give you feed.”  
(I will suckle you”)
À Ngbopîlé kàa gi kwôc màa jo pyè?ele wii,
Ngbopîlé it figured ‘one would think’ Hare it-was,
(A Ngbopîlé thought it was Hare singing)
a wí yiri ná.
he came out here [outside].
(so, he came out)

À kàjô wí coo gbràabra gbràgbra, gbràbgra,
Hyena him caught hurriedly,
AR
mà wi kàa.
(and) him ate.

Kôlocôlô wô syôc!
God us save!

Né baà téni kàweeni tanní núgêli.
And (then) sat the hole near again.
(Then he lay down by the hole again)

À Sùngúrulè gi kwôc
Sùngúrulè it thought
AS
wóri nafôw wí nan baà,
(Sùngúrulè also thought)
à wi máa ne múu,
his mother she arrived there,
«nnan kate?è gi na mii na,
(the individual singing was his mother, who had come)
ba mii kan mii ṣônri,
he also sang,
nnan kate?è gi na mii na,
(so he also started singing)
ba mii kan mii ṣônri,
“mom, hunger it me on,
bb mii kan mii ṣônri,
(Mom, I am hungry)
nnan kate?è gi na mii na,
me give I feed,
ba mii kan mii ṣônri,
(suckle me)
nnan kate?è gi na mii na,
mom, hunger it me on,
ba mii kan mii ṣônri.»
(mom, I am hungry)
(suckle me)
Hyena said,

"my friend Sùngúrulò come

I you give you feed,

my friend Sùngúrulò come

I you give you feed.

my friend Sùngúrulò come

I you give you feed.”

Sùngúrulò came out here.

(Sùngúrulò came outside)

he as soon as came out

Hyena him caught hurriedly,

[and] him ate.

[. . . ] Hyena is bad!

(Truly, Hyena is heartless!)

Hyena is bad!

(Heartless!)
Kapételilè nii.

kàjòò m pée !

Bòn, à ki kòri baà Ngbopkjöò,

né nyùgi ni kpóò ni bànn,

gbóóɔ!

Ngbopkjöò fali ne nyènì

né jo, «Nnu, kateígi gi na mìi na

Mìi, kan mìì ṣònnì;

Nnu, kateígi gi na mìi na

mìì kan mìì ṣònnì;

Nnu, kateígi gi na mìi na

mìì kan mìì ṣònnì.»

Kàjòò si beè mügi lòòò ni pyèòle mà,

gèe pyèòle mùù

gèe kó lé wòrì à mùù?

Mischief-genuine it-is.
(Extreme mischievousness)
Hyena is bad!
(Hyena is truly heartless!)

Well, it remained there Ngbopkjöò,
(Well, there remained Bighead in the hole)
and the head-big thus,
(with his big head)
very big !
(colossal!)

Ngbopkjöò at once cried
(Bighead started to cry)
and said, “Mom, hunger it me on
(and sang, “Mom, I am hungry)
me give I feed,
(suckle me)
mom, hunger it me on
(mom, I am hungry)
me give I feed,
(suckle me)
mom, hunger it me on
(mom, I am hungry)
me give I feed.”
(suckle me”)

Hyena had the song heard Hare from,
(Given that Hyena overheard the song from Hare)
the one (song) Hare sang
(the song that Hare sang)
that one not he would sing?
(is not that one he would sing?)
À wí si jo,
He said,
(432)
“So he sang”
(247)
“my friend Ngbopkôŋ the belly is ‘me’ aching,
‘my friend Ngbopkôŋ the belly is ‘me’ aching,
‘Bighead sweetie, I have a stomachache
‘Bighead sweetie, I have a stomachache
tomorrow morning ‘on’,
tomorrow morning ‘on’,
I will now you give you feed,
I will now you give you feed,
I will now be able to suckle you.
I will now be able suckle you.”
(437)
(438)
(250)
(251)
(252)
(253)
(254)
(437)
(438)
(255)
(256)
(257)
(258)
(259)
(260)
(261)
(262)

À Ngbopkôŋ mú núù too ne nyëni,
Ngbopkôŋ started to cry,
(Again, Bighead started to cry)
“(…)[.] I not-will eat.
“(…)[.] I not-will eat.
“(Oh no, once more, I will not eat
“(Oh no, once more, I will not eat
(The) hunger is me on.”
(The) hunger is me on.”
(I am hungry.”)
(I am hungry.”)
Cried,
Cried,
(and he cried)
(cried,
cried,
cried,
cried,
(till he) be bought [he] slept (fell asleep).
(437)
(438)
(263)
(264)
(265)
(266)
(437)
(438)
(263)
(264)
(265)
(266)
Kàjù si téni kàweeni tånñì,

Ngbòpùié gò sàà yiri nà í.
À wí kà téni mà fròc,
à wí yiri.

Kí kó món í,
à pyèle mú nan,
à nyìgi lèe.

Wí téni bàà nan ni í,
à wí núù ne gi múu,
«mì tànmáà Ngbòpùié yoo da pán
mìi bàà mu kàn mì ñònrì,
mìi tànmáà Ngbòpùié yoo da pan
mìi bàà mu kàn mì ñònrì.»

Wi gì múu,

Hyena sat the hole near,
(Hyena sat by the hole for some time)
Ngbòpùié not would come out here (outside).
(but Bighead would not come out)
He sat [till] he got tired,
(Having waited in vain)
he left.
(he left)

It not last long,
(Shortly after Hyena had left)
Hare arrived,
(Hare arrived at the hole)
[when] the night was old (late) (at midnight).
(at midnight, as usual)

She when arrived,
(As she arrived there)
she again it sang,
(she sang the same song again)
“my friend Ngbòpùié come
(“Ngbòpùié sweetie, come out)
I you give you feed,
(I will suckle you)
my friend Ngbòpùié come
(“Ngbòpùié sweetie, come out)
I you give you feed.”
(I will suckle you.”)

She it sang,
(She sang)
mà gi mùu,

mà gi mùu.

Ngbopile kó yiri ná í.

À wí jo,

«éeh, gáa gi baà kàweeni ni.»
À wi jo màà gi nyaa Ngbopile syòø ni wii,

Tí mii mùu Sùngúruúlò má.

«Mìi tañmán Sùngúruúlò da pán
mìi ba mu kan mò ènòri,
Mìi tañmán Sùngúruúlò da pán
mìi ba mu kan mò ènòri.»

Sùngúruúlò kó yiri ná í.

àah, à gi pyè̥ele fúngì wòɔ.
À wí tin mà jée kàweni ni baà.
Wì tìn mà jèe kàwenì ni,  
À pyè?ele nyènni,  
À wèè yèturù baà pyee bàn,  
à bè jo sàn mèè wòli té?e.

mà wélì mán'à.  
mà nyènni,  
mà nyènni,  
mà nyènni,  
mà nyènni,  
mà nyènni,  
mà nyènni,  
mà nyènni,  
mà nyènni,  
mà nyènni

Ngbopìle yoo, Sìngúruló yoo,  
Ngbokpó?è ne kwò wí kòri baà.

à bè jo sàn mèè wòli té?e.

Wàa kóò bàà í.

Ngbopìle, Sìngúruló,  
Ngbokpó?è alone he remained there.  
(There remained Ngbokpó?è only in the hole)

Hare cried,  
Her tears were like this,  
(She cried so much that)

She rushed [and] entered the hole ‘in’,  
(As she rushed into the hole)  
Looked around.  
( she searched around inside)  
(Ngbopìle, Sìngúruló)  
they said where you-had us put (they were missing).  
(they all had vanished)  
Someone not-was there.  
(Neither of them was anywhere to be seen)
mà màa né fó lopkó药师，
[they] also flowed [like] river-big,
(because of the tears)
like you the Bandama sea.
(like the Bandama)[72]

bená mú téni cágì nyaa nì.
(A)lso flowed [like] river-big,
lke you the Bandama.
(like the Bandama)

Wí káà nyènni kwó药师，
She eventually cried finished,
(When she grew tired of crying)
she then stopped.
(she stopped)

à wí ná pyèri.

À Ngobkpó药师 ná né múu，
Ngbokpó then sang,
(Now, Ngbokpó started singing)

«mu syón nyaa wí jo
"you a person see he says
(when someone says that)
his child he dislikes,
they despise their own child because he is ugly)
who is it that will him give his own-pretty one to.
(who is it there that will give them their pretty one)
you a person see he says
(when someone says that)
his child he dislikes,
(they despise their own child because he is ugly)
who is it that will him give his own-pretty one to.
(who is it there that will give them their pretty one)
you a person see he says
(when someone says that)
his child he dislikes,
(they despise their own child because he is ugly)
who is it that will him give his own-pretty one to.
(who is it there that will give them their pretty one)

weè pia wí dènni í，

̣náan si wàà wí kan wèè wójèṇ negotiations na.
who is it that will him give his own-pretty one to.
who is it there that will give them their pretty one
you a person see he says
(when someone says that)
his child he dislikes,
(they despise their own child because he is ugly)
who is it that will him give his own-pretty one to.
(who is it there that will give them their pretty one)
you a person see he says
(when someone says that)
his child he dislikes,
(they despise their own child because he is ugly)
who is it that will him give his own-pretty one to.
(who is it there that will give them their pretty one)

mu syón nyaa wí jo

weè pia wí dènni í，

̣náan si wàà wí kan wèè wójèṇ negotiations na，
who is it that will him give his own-pretty one to.
who is it there that will give them their pretty one
you a person see he says
(when someone says that)
his child he dislikes,
(they despise their own child because he is ugly)
who is it that will him give his own-pretty one to.
(who is it there that will give them their pretty one)
you a person see he says
(when someone says that)
his child he dislikes,
(they despise their own child because he is ugly)
who is it that will him give his own-pretty one to.
(who is it there that will give them their pretty one)

wi pia wí dènni í，

̣náan si wàà wí kan wèè wójèṇ negotiations naaaaaah.
who is it that will him give his own-pretty one to.
who is it there that will give them their pretty one
you a person see he says
(when someone says that)
his child he dislikes,
(they despise their own child because he is ugly)
who is it that will him give his own-pretty one to.
(who is it there that will give them their pretty one)
you a person see he says
(when someone says that)
his child he dislikes,
(they despise their own child because he is ugly)
who is it that will him give his own-pretty one to.
(who is it there that will give them their pretty one)

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72 The Bandama is the most important river that flows through the Senufo region; it is also one the four biggest rivers (CF. Mississippi river) of Côte d’Ivoire
Éeh, mii nów."

(How about that, sweet mother.”)

It is- it that.

(That was my story)

Hare’s children are finished;

(Hare’s beloved children died)

A child not-was anymore there him for.

(None of these was left with her)

It remained Ngbokpó only

(There remained Ngbokpó only)

he was her child.

(as her child)

She thus that one took.

(Therefore, now, she adopted him)

That is why they (we) say this world in,

(That is why we believe that in this world)

you if the children have,

(when you have children)

do not want to discriminate [among them].

(do not discriminate between them)

The children all of them take.

(Adopt all of them no matter what)

[Whether] the child is cute,

(whether they are cute)

[or] or ugly,

(or ugly)

your child he-is.

(they are yours)
Jánva ṣéè si mèè jo

nyàa fínè yèlì má.

Ye foo ténini na.

The lie this I-wanted
(That was the lie)
I-to tell you ‘to’.
(I wanted to tell you)
You greeted sitting for.
(Thank you for your attention)
### Tale 3: Syiicanwôn

**A**

Mii sí yè kan,
nyàa ni làa kan yè má.

**B**

Hée pé jo mu shiingèe gá pyee nì,  
à mu fúngí nyçc nì,  
bàn màà máa kée tòñíw lii.  
À mu sí pée nì,  
bàn màà máa nèpéeri tòni lii.

**C**

Nanwàa péè ne yeri, nànlèèwàa, Syiicanwôn.  
Donc, Syiicanwôn, à wí sáa se?e còo,  
sinbirìgì láama nì,
né syôngô ne fàli baà.

and did well till the land there.
(and diligently tilled it)

11. Yaliiri ti mà feliyè, tú (tout):

Food all sorts, everything:
(All kinds of foodstuff were there)
you want yam,
yam)
you want corn,
corn)
you want peat nut,
(peanuts)
you want anything,
(and many other types of crops)
everything, he it till (grow).
(he grew all sorts of crops)

12. à mú jo nànbyé yoo,
you want yam,
(yam)

13. à mú jo pàdege yoo,
you want corn,
corn)

14. à mú jo màza yoo,
you want peat nut,
(peanuts)

15. à mú jo gá gá,
you want anything,
(and many other types of crops)

16. tì màà, wi dì fàli.
everything, he it till (grow).
(he grew all sorts of crops)

17. À mu sí nan né jo

When] you come and say
(Anyone in need who ever got there)

18. gèe ó gèe mu caa nì,
whatever you want,
(and asked for anything whatsoever)

19. Syiïncanwôn à gí kan mu má.
(the old man would donate generously)

20. À Syiïncanwôn màa baà gariga tú?u

Syiïncanwôn also a trap dug
(the old man also put up a trap)

21. mà tòn wèè ségi nyôc na.
burry his farm outskirt on.
(he set it up on the outskirts of his farm)

22. Cangàa cengwôobligi nyôc na,
Some day evening mouth on,
(Some day, early in the evening)
mà kàa fúloma lò o wéè ségì nyọń na. [he] finally noise heard his farm outskirt at.

H À wi tàgbónyungi lèe ne syé, (he eventually heard some noise from the farm’s outskirts)

mà sàà bí nyaa pyèele. [he] he saw hare.

Pyèele wi còo garigi na. (and he saw it was hare)

à pyèele je “ée mìi puọ,” Hare he get caught the trap on(in).

mìi ya’a, (Hare was caught in the trap)

fàa mìi kpọọ í, (Hare pleaded, “please pardon me”)

fàa mìi kpọọ í.” me spare

I À Syiincanwọn gí nyaa, (please spare my life)

“tyé, je mìi sí mà yaliire taa, cangàa.” don’t kill me)

“terrific, looks I have found some good food, today.”

J À wi gá tàgbógurugi yįge (don’t kill me)

à pyèele je “ée mìi puọ,” Don’t me kill.

mìi ya’a, (don’t kill me)

fàa mìi kpọọ í, (don’t kill me)

fàa mìi kpọọ í.” (don’t kill me)

K À pyèele nyírimi máa jéè Syiincanwọn ni. . . (he empathized with hare)

à léè nyírimi jéè wí ni. Its pity entered him (in).

Hare pity also entered Syiincanwọn (in) . . .

(he took pity on him)
À wì pyè?ele yige,
    mà pyè?ele fwòc;
    mà tògì syòngò fwòc wì na.

Tògì kèè kaa wì na nì;
    Kì còo garígi na nì
    mà kaa nì?
    Mà tògì fwòc wì na,
    nè pyè?ele ya?a à wì ká.

Syiincanwòn wònuw wì pyee baà cangàa,
    wèè sègì wònuogo ni baà,
    wèè vògi ni baà,
    nè kàà ne fúlomi lòri,
    cangàa nè kwòo.

À wì yiri ne waa,
    mà sàà gí nyaa,
éé, yagàa félegè.

. . . something kind (of).

(gosh, some sort of thing)

P À wi jo “mu, ṣààÀ wi mu?”
À wi jo, “mìi wii.
Pe mìi yeri màdew.”
À wi jo, “híi, màdew lé?”
À wì jé “Hèèn!”

He said, “you, who are you?”
(“Hey you, who are you?” he asked)
He said, “I it is.
(“it is me,” he [the genie] said)
They me call genie.”
(“I am a genie”)
He said, “what, a genie?”
(“A genie?” he asked)
He said, “yes!”
(“Yes,” he replied)

Q Në tònì m wí nyaa ñjóorì tónì
mà wí tón kwà (quoi).
Ñjóorì, tí tónì
mà tón
mà kàri tirirè,
mà kàri ñøëìële.

And really [I] him saw the hair grew (long)
(Verily, he saw that the genie’s hair had overgrown)
him covered (all over) right.
(it covered his body all over)
The hair, it grew (long)
(the hair, it grew long)
it covered (all over).
(it covered all his body)
[it] turned into ropes
(it formed ropes around his body)
turned into a wood-small.
(it was like a little forest)

R À mu tòni wí nyaa,
màà gá jo kákpòbìle mu nyaa bàn;
bàn ñjóorì nyëë nì bàn

[If] you him saw,
(If you saw him)
you would say (think) a forest-small you saw thus;
(you would think of a little forest)
as the hair is like that
(as the hair was thus)
tirirè tirirè mà pala pala màn?a; lianas lianas intertwined around;
ma séli wí tón. [they] completely him covered.

S Náabêli baà,
Scorpions there,
wôrì baà,
(there were scorpions)
dazire mu caa yoo,
(two snakes)
sârigi, pè maà túú (tut) tì baà.
(two snakes)
Pè maà séli baà ne wí nöngi nöngi baà.
(two snakes)

T Nöngîrì kâà wàrì wí na,
The biting finally got hot (hard) him on,
à wí yirí ne yékpqógì wàá.
his start to voice throw (to yell).

U À wí jo nànnééw nyòwó wòrì na
He asked the old man [to] help him
sí nyũngí kùni wòrì na.
(He asked the old man to please help him)
À wí nyũngí kùni wòrì na,
and the head shave him on.
wòrì sí syòw;
(by shaving his overgrown hair)
pâské (parce que) yarèe di baà ní,
[if] he the head shave him on,
tí tôni baà ne wòrì nöngi ne fângi ñjóòrì fõngó
(He told him that if he shaved his hair)
ni. he then save [from the beasts];
(two snakes)

î. (he would be saved from the beasts that lived in it)
because the things that there in,
(2 snakes)
they really [were] him biting to extreme the hair interior in.
(2 snakes)
(2 snakes)
À nànléew sáà nyúngununjóne caa
mà bà nyúngi kúni màdenanw na,
mà ñjóorì kúni la?a wí na.

(The old man a razor found
(Thus the old man fetched a razor-blade)
[he] the head shaved the genie on,
(and shaved the genie’s hair)
the hair shaved took him off.
(shaved his hair)

Káfallígi gó too lé màdenanw na?
À wí too
mà syúngò ñóíni,
mà ñóíni púrèbi (propre).

(The breeze not fell the genie-man on?
(Did not the breeze feel good on the genie body now?)
He fell (lay down)
(he lay down)
[he] did well slept,
(and slept very well)
slept very well.
(he took a really deep restful sleep)

À wi géa ñóíni tín,
à wi yiri.

He “if” (when) slept [he] got full,
(When he got well rested)
he got up.

Wi sí yiri nì doò . . .
Gèê na mu nyaa
à pe jo. . .
màdebelì mu nyaa kèe,
pe kó nyee ne sòngi ne lúgí i,
pe nyee ne sòngi ne waa wíi;

He [thus] woke up right. . .
(when he got up . . .)
That on(that’s why) you see
(that is why you often hear)
they say. . .
(people say)
The genies you see [. . .],
(when it comes to the genies)
they not do think “back,”
(penple think they do not count past time [ungrateful])
they think “ahead;”
(what counts for them is the future time [selfish])
À màdenanw gà yiri

né wéè ṣjóorì nyaa,
wi gó sôngi mà taa
pi gi pyee wóri wéè nànléëw tun,
à màdenanw jo
nànléëw wóri ṣjóorì lèc tárìga baà;
Syiincanwòn wóri ṣjóorì lèc tárìga baà. Gáah!

À Syiincanwòn jo,

“ée, à mu nyaa à be nyùngí kùni këe,
pe sèè gi ya?a wii.

Káà fún këè mà,
káà baà pyee
benà gi beè pyee nì,
kàà baà tōni bi baà pyee
benà gī bēè kīn pyee ni.”

He said his hair-old he wanted,
he said that he wanted his old hair
He asked him it put (back) there.
he wanted him to put it back on

The genie-man said
the genie said that
[if] Syiincanwan did
(if the old man did not act)
he not his hair put (back) there,
(and put his hair back on)
he would Syiincanwan eat.
(he was going to eat him)

[he] it showed Syiincanwan on,
(He informed the old man that)
[if] he not his hair put (back)
(if he did not put hi hair back on)
it left (until) . . .
(before . . .)
the night arrived the middle in,
(he got to midnight)
he would Syiincanwan eat.
(he would eat him)

Syiincanwan, thus, the hair [proceeded to] take put
(Thus, singing, the old man tried to put the hair back on,
“à mu nyùngi kùni mà kwò, 126
meè mà à pyee 127
sì ñjóoró lée ta?a nyúngo na; 128
à mu nyùngi kùni mà kwò, 129
meè mà à pyee 130
sì ñjóoró lée ta?a nyúngo na, 131
né nyenni nè muu, 132
né nyenni nè muu. 133


già à pyè?ele, wòrì bèè màa nè nyaari nè pàan 134
né jo wòrì pàan bà nànléèw syáari, 135
nànléèw wí sé kacènì kpé?ele wòrì na, 136
mà bàa nan mà gí nyaa bàn; 137
mà nànléèw nyaa bàn; 138
wi nyenni màdew mà bàa. 139


AG

À pyè?ele lúgo mà káa;

AH

À pyè?ele lúgo mà káa;
mà sàa kúngbóló caa, sísájée cála. [he] a gourd fetched, bouillon-wash calabash.

in order to fetch a flask, a bouillon-washer like calabash

Kúngbógélí geli ni pé nyëe ne siságélí jë ní, The gourds these in they the bouillon wash,

à wi sàa nèè làa caa. (The type of gourds used for washing traditional bouillon)

Ké nyëe fúrugigèlé, kúngbósúrugigèlé. . . he that one (type) fetched.

(he fetched one of this type)

À wi kúngbóló caa They are perforated, gourd-perforated . . .

he that one (type) fetched.

(he fetched one of this type)

À wi kúngbóló caa (they are perforated, perforated flasks)

né naá le baà He a gourd fetched

and some fire put there

né jée baà (So he fetched a flask)

and entered there

né ni kòlìgi ne pàán (and put some light inside)

and got inside there

gúru gúru gúru. and it rolled [as he] came

(He rolled the flask noisily toward the farmyard)

gúru gúru gúru.

And [he] said, “Syiíncanwôn, your “case” let god to, And came thus gúru gúru gúru,

(and sang, “ leave your fate in the hands of god)

Syiíncanwôn, he who if anything whatsoever say, (He rolled the flask noisily toward the farmyard)

Syiíncanwôn, no matter what anyone says)

Syiíncanwôn, your “case” let god to, (old man, no matter what anyone says)

Syiíncanwôn, he who if anything whatsoever say.”

Syiíncanwôn, (old man, leave your fate in the hands of god)

Syiíncanwôn, he who if anything whatsoever say.”

Syiíncanwôn, (old man, no matter what anyone says.”)
Àn Àn È fali be syáari
té jo “mèe gi ná,
meè gi ná?”

Àn Àn À Syiicanwûn gá jo wí à joo,
à màdenanw jo
“yeri, mii wáà joo.”

Àn Àn À Syiicanwûn ti lëe mà joo pan
bàn tí bé taa sèe nì.

Àn Àn Wi baà wí nyaa
à wí coo wòrí garigì na,
[he] arrived “swiftly” they on.
(and stopped abruptly when he reached them)

And at once they greeted
(He immediately greeted them)
and said, “how it here,
(and said, “what is the matter here
how it here?”
(what is the matter here?”)

Syiicanwûn when said (wanted) he would speak,
(The old man wanted to speak first)
the genie-man said,
([but] the genie said)
“wait, I who will speak.”
(wait, I am the one who will speak first)

He the genie-man told (said to)
(He said to the genie)
“Syiicanwûn let him speak.”
(let the old man speak.”)

Syiicanwûn it took [and] spoke [the way things] happened
(The old man recounted the circumstances of the incident)
as it they found (occurred) the way.
(how it occurred)

He him saw
—he saw him
he got caught his trap on,
—he was caught in the trap
à wóri wí nyu?urí yige.

A wí jo yaari baà ne wóri nɔngi,
wí wóri nyùngi kùni. . .

AR À wóri gá nyùngi kùni wí na,
à wi gá síne mà ṣɔni mà tín,
à wi gá yiri,
à wi jo wóri wéè ńjóorí tárìgè baà.

AS Nyùngi sì nyee

mu gá gí kùni . . .
máà gí ya?a
gi baà fún kéè mà;
Wóri sí jo fwaà ńjóòléeri.

AT Êjóorí gá kùni mà kwọò,
meè máà gbààn
si ti lée ta?a nyùngi na.

he him released [the trap and] freed [him].
(he freed him)

He said the things (beasts) him bit,
(He [genie] informed him that some beats were biting him)

he him the head shaved. . .
(and asked him [the old man] to shave his hair)

He when the head shaved him on,
(When he shaved his hair)

he when lay down slept got full,
(after having slept very well)

he when woke up,
(and woke up)

he said him his hair stick there.
(and told him to put his hair back on)

The head is
(However, the thing with the hair is that)

you if it shave . . .
(when it is shaved)

you will it let
(we must leave )

it grows itself on;
(so that it grows back)

[but] he said absolutely the hair-old.
(but he demanded his old hair back on)

The hair when shaved finished,
(When the hair is shaved)

how you can
(how can one manage)

and it take [and] put (back) the head on.
(and put it back on the head)
AU  Donc à Màdenanw jo
  wóri gá nyee . . .
  wí gó gbàn mà ñjóorì ta?a í,
  wáà wóri káà.

So the genie-man said
(So the genie said that)
he if did . . .
(if he did not)
he not could the hair put (back),
(if he was not able to put his hair back on)
he would him eat.
(he would eat him)

AV  À pyè?ele tín kúngbóni ni gúru gúru gúru,
  nè joo joo baà,
  nè fali jo,
  “hée, kòlocòòò jo màdenanw nì,
  wáà gban Syiincanwòn káà.

Hare commoved the flask in gúru gúru gúru,
(Hare commoved noisily in the flask)
and spoke spoke there,
(and let some strange words out)
and immediately said,
(then said immediately,)
“listen up, god said the genie-man,
(listen up, god said the genie,
he can Syiincanwòn eat.
([he] may eat the old man)

AW  Mèe wóri sí wi dàani fàan;
  màdenanw fàn?a gá taa
  mà wèè tênyéngëli pé?e koli kwóò dàani na nì,
  mà yébligì ya?a ki gó káà nan nyùngò ni í, hen!
  Yébligì kó nan tlàanjëw ni í,

But it is he who the earth build;
(But it is he who created the world)
the genie-man power if find
(if the genie is capable)
his footmarks sweep remove finish the ground on,
(to completely remove all his footmarks from the ground)
before the night it not get head in (midnight), yéa!
(before it gets to midnight, yeah!)
The night not arrive the middle in,
(Before midnight, right)
à wi gbàn mà wèè tènyéngèli kòli kwóɔ, [if] he can his footmarks remove finish.
wàà Syiincanwɔn kàa.” (if he is capable to remove all his footmarks)

AX  Donc. . . à màdenanw gí nyaa. . .
So. . . the genie-man it saw. . .
gèè kó can?á nyeè yaga í,
That not even was something,
fali kóò wii ñëë í.
(that was not difficult a thing to do)

AY  À wi fali ne tènyéngèli pée ne kòli fàw fàw fàw.
(He started removing his footprints furiously)

AZ  Wi gó sí cán
He not know
à mu ne waa làà tèkòlìge ni
(He seemed oblivious of the fact that)
làa máà tán?a.
when you go one place-removal in

AAA  Máà sàà núñi kòli
You will one remove
Sí syii téʔɛ,
(As one removes a footprint)
sàà núñi kòli
and two place (mark),
si syii téʔɛ.
(one makes two)
AAB  Mà baà gi nyaa
   à yéblig kàà ne pan baà nan nyûngi ni.

AAC  Áah, tenyëngëli gó koli kwôɔ,
   à wi fàn gbàbàw
   mà falaà.

AAD  À wi fàn mà fali nyàngi ni
   nê Syiincanwôn ya'ãa.

AAE  Syiincanwôn kacëngëli kòò lé gé syiincanwôn syôɔ?
   À Syiincanwôn kó beè pyèõle ya'ãa í,
   wàà beè syóɔ lé cangèê?

AAF  Gëê na bé jo
   à mú mu syôɔ nyaa
   wi ne kacëngëli kpé?ele,
   màà gà këè tòñìw taa.

[he] it saw (realized)
(It came to a point where he realized that)
the night finally came arrived the head in (midnight).
(it was getting closer to midnight)

Well,, the footmarks not removed finished,
(So seeing that his footprints were not removed)
he ran away
(he suddenly ran off)
[he] stayed there.
(into the woods and stayed there)

He ran stayed the bush in
(He ran off into the bush)
and Syiincanwôn left alone
(and left the old man alone)

Syiincanwôn deed-good not they Syiincanwôn save?
(Is it not the good deeds of the old man that saved him?)
[if] Syiincanwôn not had hare let go,
(Had not the old man spared Hare’s life)
he would be saved day-that?
(would he have been saved that day?)

That on (that is why) they say
(That is why they say)
[if] you you a person see
(if you see someone)
he deed-good do,
(that usually does good deeds)
you will eventually their benefit earn.
(they will benefit from them, eventually)
Siyincanwón mà kačèngèli tóni taa kóri cangì.

Siyincanwón the deed-good benefit earned that day.
(The old man was rewarded for his good deeds on that day)

224

AAG Nèè śí nì kwóó bàn.

That it finished thus,
(This story takes end here)

225

Múurigwóó kagwóó nàmarè.
Wàa ká náanegàngæ taa

My joke of end of story follows.

226

né ní kan mì má,

someone if an ardent coal find

227

nyàa ni kàrigì jàdigi.

and it give me to,

228

nyàa ni kàrigì jàdigi.

(I would turn it)

229

I will it turn into a pair of pants.
(into a pair of trousers for them to wear)
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Sidiky Diarassouba, son of Nongotiala Zoumana Diarassouba, a World War I (WWI) veteran and Noulourou Yéo, was born on January 01, 1954 and grew up in Napié, Departement of Korhogo, Côte d’Ivoire, West Africa. He was blessed with two daughters, Gnima Adja Lyn and Raissa N’nou Métanh, born on August 1986 and May 30, 2000, respectively. Growing up in a society and in a time when education was regarded as a privilege rather than a human and civil right, Sidiky, the baby of his family, is the only child, from a family of a score of children, who was schooled.

He completed his primary school education at the elementary schools of Napié, his junior high education at the Cours Normal and part of his high school education at the Lycée Houphouet Boigny of Korhogo. After obtaining his high school diploma in 1977, he enrolled at the Ecole Normale Superieure of Abidjan, a teacher’s college, where he obtained the CAP-CEG (teaching degree for junior high) in English as a Foreign Language (EFL), with distinction (equivalent of Summa cum Laude); he then obtained the Licence ès Lettres\textsuperscript{73} for language education from the Université de Cocody-Abidjan, Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire, in 1981. In 1982, he obtained the CAPES (Degree for High school teachers in the French educational system) from the Ecole Normale Supérieure, Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire. He was then awarded the pre-course certificate of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) from the Edinburgh Language Foundation, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK., 1991, and the Certificate of Advanced Studies in Education (CASE) with concentration in English for Specific Purposes (ESP), from the University of Lancaster, England, U.K., April 1992. Sidiky was also awarded a Maîtrise ès Lettres\textsuperscript{74} in American Studies (literature, civilization and history), with distinction in 1993 and the certificates of DEA (Diplome d’Etudes Approfondies, regarded as the equivalent of the master’s degree in American educational system) in EDIP (Education, Didactique, and Pedagogie), with a concentration in applied linguistics, with distinction as well, in 1997 from the Université de Cocody-Abidjan, Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire.

\textsuperscript{73} Licence ès lettres is the bachelor’s degree in the French educational system.

\textsuperscript{74} Maîtrise ès lettres is the master’s degree in the French educational system; it is often abusively regarded as the bachelor’s degree in American educational system.
In 2001, as a recipient of a Fulbright scholarship, Sidiky enrolled as a doctoral student majoring in Teaching Methodologies and various approaches to language teaching such as English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL), English as a Second Language (ESL), and English as a Foreign Language (EFL), in the Multilingual Multicultural Education (MMed) program at the Middle and Secondary Education, the College of Education, at the Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida. On the sideline of his program of study, he was awarded the Certificate in Human Resources Development (HRD), from the College of Education, in 2004.

He took his first job as a language teacher at the Lycée Mami Adjoua of Yamoussoukro, Côte d’Ivoire, from September 1982 to June 1986, then was transferred to the Unité de Formation and de Recherche en Sciences Economiques et en Gestion ([UFR-SEG], actually the College of Economics and Management), the Université de Cocody-Abidjan, Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire, where he has worked as an instructor in English for Specific Purposes (ESP), since 1986. He also held various positions and functions as a teacher and a consultant in several private colleges and institutions in Abidjan; for instance, at the Programme de Formation en Gestion de la Politique Economique (GPE), a regional institution for enhancing management skills of West African senior civil servants in Finances and economics, sponsored by World Bank and ACBF (African Capacity Building Funds), Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire, from 1998 to 2001; at EFAP/Afrique (Ecole Française des Attachés de Presse, a French international school of journalism), Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire, from 1989 to 2001.

While working on his program of study, he was appointed to various jobs on the Florida State University campus in Tallahassee: Supervisor for the ESOL Center at Pineview Elementary School, Leon County, Tallahassee, Florida, Fall 2002 and Spring 2003, for the department of Middle and Secondary Department; Program Assistant for Service Learning, for the College of Education, Florida State University during the Spring and Summer semesters of 2003; Research Assistant at the Dean Office, Fall 2003, and at the Department of Middle and Secondary Education, in Fall 2006, and Spring and Summer 2007, College of Education, Florida State University, Tallahassee. Sidiky was regularly appointed as ESOL supervisor for the Early Childhood program and Coordinator for the Capstone Experience Project (ESOL) for the Elementary Education program at the department of Child Education Reading and Disability services (CERDS), the College of Education, Florida State University, from the Fall semester of 2004 through Spring 2007. He also has regularly worked as a Tutor in English and writing at the
tutoring laboratory of the Center for Academic Retention & Enhancement (CARE), of the Florida State University.

He contributed a couple of publications in local professional journals, such as ESP Newsletter, volume 1, issue 1, January, 1994, Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire (*Build-up approach to a reading text*), and Volume 2, issue 2, October 1995, (*An Approach to Essay/Story Writing*). Sidiky is co-author of *English for Economics and Marketing* (2000), currently used as a major instructional support material at the college of Economics and Management (UFR-SEG), the Université de Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire.