

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

TENSE, ASPECT AND MODALITY IN
LELEMI NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

By

MUNUNKUM DIVINE

A Project submitted to the Graduate School in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts in Translation Studies

THE
PL
8017
.L4D58
2001

DECEMBER - 2001

**NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY**

TENSE, ASPECT AND MODALITY IN LELEMI NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

BY

MUNUNKUM DIVINE

**A Project submitted to the Graduate School in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in
Translation Studies**

Approved:

Supervisor: *Regina Blass*
Dr. Regina Blass

Second Reader:..... *R/Sim*
Dr. Ronnie Sim

External Reader: *Kithaka wa Mberia*
Dr. Kithaka wa Mberia

December, 2001

LIBRARY
NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
P. O. Box 24686, NAIROBI

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

TENSE, ASPECT AND MODALITY IN LELEMI NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

**I declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to
to any other College or University for academic credit**

**The views presented herein are not necessarily those of the Nairobi Evangelical
Graduate School of Theology or the examiners**

(signed).....
Mununkum Divine

December, 2001

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was an attempt to document Lelemi tense, aspect and mood. There are primers and post- primer literature in the language that are being used in adult literacy programme in the Lelemi community. The Lelemi New Testament has been published and is being used in the churches. I have not however, found any work done exclusively on the grammar of the language. This project therefore, is to describe tense, aspect and modality in Lelemi in a formal way using linguistics theories I have learnt in class. I have also devoted the third chapter to discourse analysis and shown how important it is to the study of the grammar of the language.

TO

my wife, Theodora

my children, Enoch, Martha, Kate and Ato

Acknowledgements

I am extremely grateful to my mentor, Dr. Regina Blass who has given effort and encouragement in this project. Without her advice, my understanding of the subject would have been shallow. The other two readers, Dr. Ronnie Sim and the external reader deserve my appreciation for their genuine comments that have brought this project to its present standard.

This study has resulted from the advice and the initial input of Dr. George Huttar. I wish to thank him for his concern and encouragement. Assistance was received from my fellow classmates, Rhila and Carlos. The initial typing of this work was done by the students' secretary, Jane Mbugua and I wish to thank her for her patience and concern during those days.

I am also very grateful to my organization, the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation, especially Mrs. Mary Holman and Ms. Grace Adjekum for their encouragement that it was worthwhile for to do the course in Translation Studies.

My deepest gratitude goes to my wife who stood by me in times of great stress during my studies. Her concern and love meant a lot to me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	vi
TABLES	x
ABBREVIATIONS	xi
CHAPTER 1.....	1
1.0. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. The Lelemi language and its social setting	1
1.2. Previous studies of Lelemi and its language family.....	3
1.3. Overview of literature on Tense, Aspect, Modality and discourse analysis	4
1.4. Purpose of this study	5
1.5. Methodology	6
1.6. Limitations and delimitations	6
CHAPTER 2	7
2. The verbal system in Lelemi: Tense, Aspect, and Modality	7
2.1. Goals of this chapter	7
2.2. Tense, Aspect, and Modality in current literature	7
2.2.1. Tense	8
2.2.2. Aspect	9

2.2.3 Modality	11
2.3 Encoding strategies	12
2.3.1 Verbal categories	12
2.3.2 Verbal suffixes	13
2.3.3 Reduplication	14
2.4. Aspect	15
2.5. Tense ..	20
2.6. The future	21
2.7. Modality	23
2.7.1 The indicative	23
2.7.2. The imperative.....	24
2.7.3 The subjunctive	26
2.7.4. Conditionals	26
2.8. Conclusion on Lelemi Tense, aspect and modality.....	28
CHAPTER 3	30
3. Tense, aspect, and modality in Lelemi Narrative Discourse	30
3.1. Goals of this chapter	30
3.2. The narrative genre in Lelemi	30
3.2.1. The narrative genre in relation to discourse type parameters	30
3.2.2. Overview of a Lelemi narrative text	32
3.2.3. Occurrence of TAM particles with narrative text structures	35
3.2.4. Cohesion and coherence in Lelemi narrative folktale	39
3.2.5. Grounding in narrative discourse	40

3.3. Conclusion	42
CHAPTER 4	43
4. Synthesis and conclusions	43
4.1. Goal of this chapter	43
4.2. Summary	43
4.3. Conclusions	43
REFERENCE LIST	45
APPENDIX:.....	48
A. FOLKTALE Text	48
B. MAP OF GHANA	54
C. (New) Kwa	55

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>Abbreviation</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
ADV	adverbial
Aj	adjective
ATR	advanced tongue root
AVP	agent, verb, patient
cl	clause
CONT	continuous
CV	consonant, vowel
Det	determinant
FUT	future
GAU	Gyata. Akpewe ku Ukyuli
HAB	habitual
Im	imperative
IMP	imperfective
N	noun
NEG	negative
NP	noun phrase
Num	number

PART	particle
PER	perfect
PERF.	perfective
Pr.	pronoun
pres	present tense
PT	past tense
Quant	quantity
Rel	relative
Sg	singular
3 rd	third person
SVO	subject, verb, object
TAM	tense, aspect and modality
vp	verb phrase

CHAPTER 1

1.0. INTRODUCTION

This study is an investigation of the system of tense, aspect, and modality (TAM) in Lelemi, a Kwa language spoken in the Central Volta Region of Ghana, West Africa. I first investigate TAM in regard to the basic meanings of the verbal inflections and TAM particles. I then analyze a sample narrative text and consider how the TAM system is used in this discourse genre.

1.1. THE LELEMI LANGUAGE AND ITS SOCIAL SETTING

Lelemi (Lefana) is a language spoken by the people called Buem which has an estimated population of 60,000 speakers. It is spoken in twenty towns and villages in Ghana in the middle portion of the Volta Region on the border with the Republic of Togo (see appendix B).

The typological distinction or the pragmatically neutral order of constituents that has received the most attention, beginning with Greenberg, is the basic word order of the clause, SVO or AVP for Lelemi. "This has been further refined to VO versus OV as the most basic predictor of other word order features of a given language." Dryer (Higdon 1996, 12) This distinction can be restated as head-dependent versus dependent-head constituent order, respectively.

Dryer (Higdon, 1996) says, "VO languages tend to employ prepositions. In other words, objects of adpositions tend to precede the adpositions of OV languages." Given

the VO (head-dependent) word order found in Lelemi, one would expect to find prepositional phrases. However, Lelemi sometimes has postpositional phrases rather than prepositional phrases.

This gives the reader a brief overview and familiarizes the reader with the basic morphosyntactic construction which is relevant to the discussion of tense, aspect, and modality.

Lelemi is a tone language and tone distinguishes nominal, lexical and verbal items. Hoftman (1971) and Ring (1981) identified three distinctive tones, high (´), middle, (unmarked) and low (˘). The number of pairs of words in Lelemi which differ only in tone, is however, very limited. This makes it possible for the language to have an orthography in which tones are not marked. It is usually possible to tell the tone and meaning of a word from the context.

Unlike most of the other languages Lelemi has taken fewer loan words from Twi and Ewe, the two most widely used languages of education in the Lelemi speaking area.

Genetically, Lelemi belongs to the major Niger-Congo language Phylum. More specifically, it is described as Atlantic – Congo, Kwa, Nyo, Potou – Tano group (Grimes 2001, 128). Bendor-Samuel (1989, 228) describes it as a member of the Ghana – Togo mountain/Remnant languages and says that its classification remains still unsettled. However, it has now been grouped under New Kwa (see appendix C).

Lelemi is constantly used for local communication throughout the traditional area. Lelemi and the other remnant languages in this district (Bowiri, Akpafu, Sankrokofi and Likpe) constitute one language group inasmuch as these languages have features in common, considering certain characteristics of their grammatical structure. They are characterized by prefixes and suffixes to nouns and also to verbs,

the VO (head-dependent) word order found in Lelemi, one would expect to find prepositional phrases. However, Lelemi sometimes has postpositional phrases rather than prepositional phrases.

This gives the reader a brief overview and familiarizes the reader with the basic morphosyntactic construction which is relevant to the discussion of tense, aspect, and modality.

Lelemi is a tone language and tone distinguishes nominal, lexical and verbal items. Hoftman (1971) and Ring (1981) identified three distinctive tones, high (´), middle, (unmarked) and low (˘). The number of pairs of words in Lelemi which differ only in tone, is however, very limited. This makes it possible for the language to have an orthography in which tones are not marked. It is usually possible to tell the tone and meaning of a word from the context.

Unlike most of the other languages Lelemi has taken fewer loan words from Twi and Ewe, the two most widely used languages of education in the Lelemi speaking area.

Genetically, Lelemi belongs to the major Niger-Congo language Phylum. More specifically, it is described as Atlantic – Congo, Kwa, Nyo, Potou – Tano group (Grimes 2001, 128). Bendor-Samuel (1989, 228) describes it as a member of the Ghana – Togo mountain/Remnant languages and says that its classification remains still unsettled. However, it has now been grouped under New Kwa (see appendix C).

Lelemi is constantly used for local communication throughout the traditional area. Lelemi and the other remnant languages in this district (Bowiri, Akpafu, Sankrokofi and Likpe) constitute one language group inasmuch as these languages have features in common, considering certain characteristics of their grammatical structure. They are characterized by prefixes and suffixes to nouns and also to verbs,

common features concerning syntactic construction and last, but not least, a remarkable lexical similarity.

Ghana is a highly multilingual country with about 45 indigenous languages plus several exotic languages in common use (Asher and Simpson 1434, 1435). Although the entire country is multilingual, some districts are more multilingual than others. Particularly diverse is the north-west corner of the Bong-Ahafo Region adjoining the Ivory Coast border and the Akan, in the northern part of the Volta Region where Lelemi is one of the languages spoken. The immediate geographical neighbours are the Bowiri, Akpafu, Santrokofi, and the Likpe. The Buem (Lelemi people) can communicate fairly well in the two principal languages Twi, the dominant language in the country and Ewe the dominant language of the region. These two languages were used for evangelization and education in the Buem land. A fairly good number of the Buem can speak the neighbouring languages fairly well.

1.2. PREVIOUS STUDIES OF LELEMI AND ITS LANGUAGE FAMILY

It is only in recent years that attention has been given to lesser-known Ghanaian languages like Lelemi. The earlier records mention of these minority languages were made by missionaries. Bendor-Samuel (228) recognized several other writers who have some sketches on the language. Other works on linguistic analysis include: "The structure of the Lelemi language" by Hofmann (1971); The next significant linguistic investigation is by Ring of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and Wycliffe Bible Translators. His works include: "Letter writing styles"; "Planning for literacy: A sociolinguistic Survey of multilingualism in Ghana" Ring (1987), and 'Referent loss in the Relative Clause of Lelemi.' He also published "Lelemi Tones"

Ring (1995) and supervised the translation of the Lelemi New Testament, which was completed and dedicated in 1996.

The present (New) Kwa sub-classification in Bendor-Samuel (221) lists Ega, Potou, Tano, Logba, Basila – Adele and Lelemi in the same language family. These groups are, however, not necessarily the immediate geographical neighbours of Lelemi (see appendix C).

1.3. OVERVIEW OF LITERATURE ON TENSE, ASPECT, MODALITY AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

There is much study and research done in discourse. We review however, some of the literature within the domain of tense and aspect in general.

There are diverse opinions on the literature about where tense and aspect categories really belong, whether they are a sentential property or a discourse property. That is, whether their meanings are explainable exclusively in terms of their semantic functions in the sentence or in terms of their discourse functions.

Uche (1999,480) is of the opinion that Smith takes aspect to be a property of the sentence, which contributes to the meaning of the text or discourse while he thinks that Lewis considers truth conditional semantics as the key to meaning.

Another viewpoint Uche (1999) expresses is what Kamp says, that meaning is what receivers grasp when they understand a sentence. He explains this using formal representations that formulate mental models of understanding. However, neither Kamp nor Lewis used natural spontaneous texts to illustrate their theory.

Uche (1999) says that “Recent works in discourse analysis have argued that aspects derive their primary meaning from their discourse function.” This is the opposite of Smith and others mentioned above. They argue that it is discourse that motivates the choice and use of aspects. In other words, while the first group argues that aspect is a property of the sentence, the second group argues that aspect is rather a property of the discourse.

In fact, these two views are not conflicting but rather complementary. In my view, the choice of an aspect is motivated by discourse, based on inherent syntactic and semantic properties of the aspect.

Longacre (1983) places the time of tense and aspect in discourse structure in foreground/background distinction. Uche (1999) describes the bond between tense and aspect and grounding in discourse by referring to Jones and Jones in their work on Mesoamerican languages, who say that “light can best be shed on the function of aspect/tense/mood morphemes in connected discourse in these languages through the concept of foregrounded and backgrounded information.” Hopper (Bybee 1994,90) agrees and adds: “one of the functions of aspect is a discourse function – the signaling of foregrounded versus backgrounded information in narrative discourse.”

1.4. PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

The temporal categories of tense, aspect and mood have not received any attention in the previous works reviewed on Lelemi. I know of no systematic description of the functions of TAM both at the grammar and discourse levels in the Lelemi language. This work seeks to do this for Lelemi, so as to give a detailed discussion and

support with tangible reasons for the way the Lelemi verb functions, and also to make Lelemi language data available to others.

1.5.METHODOLOGY

I will be depending mostly on my personal knowledge of the language as a native speaker who speaks the lowland dialect of the traditional area. There are written and recorded texts on narrative, expository, hortatory and procedural that I have used during the discourse analysis course which have also been considered. The written texts have been edited however, for orthographic consistency.

1.6. LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

I have limited myself as much as possible to my personal knowledge and for the purpose of this study I looked at narrative genre more closely because of the constraints due to the limited time at my disposal for this project.

As work on this paper progressed it became clear to me that it had as much to do about the process of research as it did about the subject matter at hand. The period for this research has been very short, so that some of my hypotheses have to be seen as preliminary. They need further verification to be considered more certain.

CHAPTER 2

THE VERBAL SYSTEM IN LELEMI: TENSE, ASPECT, AND MODALITY

2.1. GOALS OF THIS CHAPTER

This chapter presents tense, aspect and modality (TAM) in the Lelemi verbal system. We first consider TAM as presented in the current literature, and then proceed to discuss Lelemi encoding strategies including verbal inflections, verbal particles, reduplication and serial-verbs of TAM notions. We will also look at tense, aspect and modality respectively as they appear in Lelemi, including meanings and usages of the various forms, particles and special TAM main verbs.

2.2. TENSE, ASPECT, AND MODALITY IN THE CURRENT LITERATURE

Tense, aspect and modality are interdependent categories, forming a systemic whole. Although a given category may be dominant in a particular language, all three categories are present to some degree in every language. The interconnectedness of these categories centers around the notion of time. Givon (1984, 272) states:

The division within the TAM notional space into tense, aspect, and modality is far from spurious. In one way or another, these three represent three different points of departure in our experience of time. Tense involves primary, though not exclusively . . . our experience/concept of time as points in a sequence, and thus the notions of precedence and subsequence. Aspects of various kinds involve our notion of the boundaries of time-spans, i.e. various configurations of beginning, ending and middle points. But in the semantic space of aspect, nearly always some element of tense is also involved, in terms of establishing a point-of-reference along sequential time. Finally, modality . . . encompasses among other things our notions of reality, in the sense of “having factual existence at some real time” (time).

Chung and Timberlake in Higdon (1996,30) summarize this relationship by saying. “Tense locates the event in time. Aspect characterizes the internal temporal structure of the event. Mood describes the actuality of the event in terms such as possibility, necessity or desirability.” Further distinction will be made between mood or mode and modality in section 2.2.3.

2.2.1. Tense

Tense is defined by Payne (1997, 236) as “the grammaticalized expression of the relation of time of an event to some reference point in time usually the moment the clause is uttered”. Tense is also defined by Comrie (1985, 9) as “the grammaticalization of location of time, and as such can be said to be a deictic system”. “The two fundamental features involved in our concept of time as reflected in tense systems are sequentially (the notion of precedence and subsequence) and the point of reference, or the time axis” (Givon 1984, 273).

This point of reference can be either the ‘now’ of the speech act, which is referred to as absolute tense, , or some other point in time, which is referred to as relative tense. (Givon, 273) states, “The most common universal point of reference is the time of speech, anchored to the speaker at the time of performing the speech act. This is the ‘now’ taken for granted as the unmarked time axis, unless another, more marked one is explicitly specified.”

In addition to encoding the notions of precedence (past) and subsequence (future) certain languages also grammaticalize the measurement of distance from the temporal reference point. These languages are said to have metrical tense.

This grammaticalized measurement of distance in time is less exact than can be accomplished lexically; these languages ‘provide an approximate and subjective measure of the interval between the frame and the tense locus’ (Higdon, 48). Comrie (1985, 83) refer to this phenomenon as ‘degrees of remoteness,’ and Givon (273) speaks of ‘relative proximity to the time axis’. Higdon’s use of ‘tense locus’ is equivalent to Givon’s use of ‘time axis’.

The definition of tense as ‘the grammaticalisation of location in time’ does not include lexical choices such as ‘yesterday’ and ‘tomorrow’ in our consideration. Comrie points out, however, that “morphological boundaries are not in themselves a necessary criterion of grammatical tense (1985, 11).” Thus, non-bound auxiliaries and particles can encode tense in the same way verbal morphology does.

2.2.2 Aspect

We may take the formulation that “aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation”(Comrie 1991, 3) It is then not the location of a situation in time, but some sort of statement about the quality of the situation in which it happens. Aspect can be distinguished from tense in that it involves “situation-internal time” as opposed to tense, which involves “situation-external time” (Comrie 1991, 5).

Saeed (1997, 108) also defines aspect as a grammatical system relating to time, but in this case the speaker must choose how to describe the internal temporal nature of the situation. Payne (1997, 238) in the same vein says “aspect describes the internal shape

of events or states”. What this means is that aspect is different ways of using the time relation by the speaker.

Both Payne (239-242) and Higdon (1996, 49) describe some major aspects which include perfective, imperfective, inceptive, perfect, iterative, and habitual. In addition, dynamicity, is an aspectual value that can be used to describe the difference between states and events or processes, usually inherent in the verb, and can help explain, the deriving of one from the other. Closure, an aspectual value which encompasses the traditional terms telic and atelic is useful in the analysis of inceptive and perfect aspects.

In addition, the notion of completeness can be seen as a part of the definition of perfectivity: “An event is perfective if at the time axis has been completed, terminated, accomplished” (Givon 1984, 276). The imperfective does not include this notion of completeness.

Comrie (1991, 35) says the progressive is similar to the imperfective, and he describes it as “the combination of progressive meaning and nonstative meaning. It signals on-goingness.”

The inceptive aspect expresses the starting point of an event (Payne 1997, 240):

“----- she began working.”

The iterative aspect, describes a punctual event that takes place several times in succession. Payne (241) provides the following as iterative aspect:

<x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x> “He is coughing.” Or “He is chopping meat”

The habitual aspect describes “a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the movement but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period”

(Comrie 1991, 27-28). Habitual aspect may include the iterative in some languages.

0031194

2.2.3. Modality

Modality is also referred to as mood or mode. Palmer (21) has this to say on mood and modality: “The distinction between mood and modality is then similar to that between tense and time, gender and sex.” Palmer goes on to explain that the speaker’s attitude and opinions are involved and that mood or modality also comprises “hearsay” or what is reported. Modality or mood, according to Palmer (2), does not relate semantically to the verb alone, or primarily, but to the whole sentence. He says that there are languages in which modality is marked other than on the verb or within a verbal complex. Lelemi is one of those languages.

According to Payne (244). Mode describes the speaker’s attitude towards a situation, including the speaker’s belief in its reality, or likelihood. It sometimes describes the speaker’s estimation of the relevance of the situation to him/herself. The terms mode, mood, and modality are often used interchangeably, though some linguists make distinction among these terms.

The major modal distinction is between realis (actual) and irrealis (non-actual). This distinction, then, is concerned with whether an event is ‘real’ or less than ‘real’. The complexity of modality comes in distinguishing and defining the various types of irrealis modality, whose sub-types include indicative, imperative, and conditional.

Types of subjunctives include, among others, the subjunctive of uncertainty and the subjunctive of manipulation (Givon 1984, 318), that is ‘I think that he might . . .’ and ‘I want him to . . .’ The conditional comprises a condition and a consequent (‘if’ and ‘then’) and may be either counterfactual or potential (Higdon, 51) for example, ‘if he had only gone, . . . and ‘if he goes . . .’

2.3 ENCODING STRATEGIES

In order to understand Tense, Aspect and Mood (TAM) in Lelemi, we need to know the verbal categories and the morphological expression of such categories. Notions such as aspect, tense, mood are generally expressed in one of the following ways:

2.3.1 Verbal categories

The basic aspectual distinctions encoded in Lelemi are differentiated by tone marking and prefixing of pronouns to verbs. These basic aspects include Neutral, Perfective, and Imperfective. The Neutral is the basic form of the verb from which the Perfective, and the Imperfective are derived.

In his analysis of tone in the Lelemi verbal system Hoftmann (33) has grouped the Lelemi verb into six classes. I present his findings verbatim in table 1.

Table 1. Tonal changes in verbal structure.

	Low-toned verbs	High-toned verbs	Middle-toned verbs
Neutral	<i>kε</i> (find)	<i>tε</i> (sleep)	<i>bu</i> (think)
Habitual	<i>ɔɔkε</i>	<i>ɔɔtε</i>	<i>ɔɔbu</i>
Imperfect	<i>ɔkε</i>	<i>ɔtε</i>	<i>ɔbu</i>
Past continuous	<i>utaake</i>	<i>utaate</i>	<i>utaabu</i>
Potentials	<i>utaake</i>	<i>utaate</i>	<i>utaabu</i>
Perfect	<i>ɔɔkε</i>	<i>ɔɔtε</i>	<i>ɔɔbu</i>

This table indicates that the Neutral verbs in Lelemi become aspectual when these verbs have pronominal prefixes. Secondly, we observe that tone is also very important in the formation of aspect in Lelemi. In fact, the Neutral verbs do not undergo any

morphological changes as we see on the table. What Hoftmann has shown is true, but I will treat four because I consider them as basic: the perfective, the imperfective, the habitual and the perfect aspects after looking at how verbs are formed in the following sections.

2.3.2 Verbal suffixes

According to the morphemic analysis the basic structure of the Lelemi verb is CV. However, the lexical stock shows that there are a number of verbs which seem to have a polymorphemic structure. Hoftmann (43) states, “By systematizing such verbs by means of form squares (morpheme analysis), one finds the following formatives which are verbal suffixes to Neutral verbs. Hoftman means that suffixes may be attached to a neutral verb to form a phonological word with that entity. These newly formed verbs can now have pronominal prefixes and tone marking as shown in the Table 1 above.

The following are examples of how neutral verbs plus the suffix *-mi* form new verb word:

(1) Neutral verb	New verb
<i>tɛ</i> - ‘crack’	<i>tɛ -mi</i> ‘speak’
<i>ti</i> - ‘take’	<i>ti-mi</i> ‘reduce’
<i>a</i> - ‘squat’	<i>a-mi</i> ‘take off’
<i>lɛ</i> - ‘plant’	<i>lɛ -mi</i> ‘open’

When a neutral verb has the suffix *-n*, plus a vowel, new verbs are formed:

(2) Neutral verb	New verb
<i>tu</i> - ‘pierce’	<i>tu-na</i> ‘agree’
<i>ti</i> - ‘know’	<i>ti-na</i> ‘show’

When a neutral verb has the suffix *-l*, plus a vowel new verbs are formed:

(3) Neutral verb	New verb
<i>sa-</i> ‘meet’	<i>sa-la</i> ‘mix’
<i>kpa-</i> ‘remove’	<i>kpa-la</i> ‘sweep’

When a neutral verb has the suffix *-ngu*, new verbs are formed:

(4) Neutral verb	Neutral verb
<i>bu-</i> ‘think’	<i>bu-ngu</i> ‘help’ or ‘add’
<i>se-</i> ‘go’	<i>se-ngu</i> ‘send’

2.3.3. Reduplication

Reduplication occurs at both the verb word level as a second syllable reduplication suffix and at the verb phrase level, in which the entire verb word is reduplicated. The reduplication of verbs indicates intensive or iterative forms of the verb.

These reduplicated verbs must also take on pronominal prefixes and tone marking for aspect. The following are examples of reduplicated verbs:

(5) *wawa* ‘operate’

The Perfective for example of this reduplicated verb is $\square \cong wawa$ ‘he operated’

nyanya ‘be impatient’

The Perfective for *nyanya* also in the third person singular is $\varepsilon nyanya$ ‘he was impatient’.

2.4. ASPECT

The grammatical category that underlies the tense and mood is aspect. It is therefore reasonable to discuss aspect first and then go on to show how it relates to tense and mood.

Though Hoftmann identifies six aspectual categories, in table 1, I consider the following four categories basic and will go ahead to describe how they function in Lelemi. These categories are the perfective, the imperfective, the habitual (we treat this separately from the imperfective because they are different in tone) and the perfect aspects. These four aspectual categories and how each of them is marked can be seen in the following examples:

2.4.1. The Perfective aspect

The perfective reports events as being complete; it “denote(s) a complete situation, with beginning, middle, and end” (Comrie, 18). Although the event being reported may in reality have internal complexity, this internal make-up is not highlighted.

(6) a. ɔ -*di*

He eat(PER.)

‘He ate.’

The perfective aspect is marked by a pronominal with a high tone. In this example, the third person pronoun is prefixed and the high tone on it with the verb tells us that the action is complete. To conjugate the verb *di* (eat), we have the following:

b. *ɛ- di*

‘I ate’

c. *á -di*

‘You ate’

d. $\text{ɔ-} di$	'He ate'
e. $b\acute{o}-di$	'We ate'
f. $b\epsilon-di$	'You (pl)' ate
g. $b\acute{a}-di$	'They ate'

The perfective's most common usage in narrative texts is in reporting storyline events. There is a close association between the perfective aspect and past tense, but the past tense should not be interpreted as being part of the meaning of the perfective form. In this way Lelemi is parallel to English of which Givon says, . . . the most common category associated with the 'perfective' is the past . . . This is presumably so because once an event has occurred, its terminal boundary is more likely to be a matter of record, in retrospect (1984, 277-278).

Perfectives are used for storyline verbs:

(7) <i>Amu Gyata</i>	<i>ɔmɛ ni</i>	<i>ɔsɔ</i>	<i>u duo</i>	<i>kakpagyue</i>	<i>kamɛni</i>	
So	Lion	this	again	3 rd sg.PER.enter	trap	this
<i>Kemo,</i>	<i>na Ukyuli</i>	<i>ku Akpewe</i>	<i>bekeli</i>	<i>batɔlɔ</i>	<i>ku kubiti</i>	
inside	and Person	and dog	3 rd pl.PER.run	3 rd pl.PER.leave	with happiness	
'So the lion entered into the trap again and the man and the dog ran away happily.'						

2.4.2 Imperfective

The imperfective aspect makes "explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within"(Comrie, 24). Expressed differently, "A language-particular morphological category . . . that signals absence of closure is termed

imperfective" (Higdon, 73). Usage of the imperfective includes habitual and continuous, this is a semantic distinction not marked in the morphology.

(8) ɔ - ɔ - di

He IMP.eat

‘He is eating’

The tone mark on the first vowel plus the second vowel gives us the imperfective aspect.

2.4.3 Habitual

Habituals "describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period"

(Comrie 1991:27-28). Examples of the habitual imperfective follow:

(9) ɔ-ɔ -di

He HAB.eat

‘He eats.’

The habitual is recognized by the high tone on the vowel of the verb. The pronoun prefix is mid-tone.

(10). *Kadi bugye biala ɔɔdi kamu.*

Day dawn every 3rd sgHAB.eat rice.

‘He eats rice every morning.’

Continuousness can be "defined negatively as imperfectivity that is not habituality"

(Comrie 1991, 26). Example of the past continuous imperfective follows:

- (11) *uteesie kemo geen nwuna eklofu uwi*
 3rd sg CONT.PT.go. farm truly his youth time.

‘He used to going to farm when he was young’

The imperfective occurs in clauses filling any position within the clause chain or sentence, as well as in clauses, which stands alone. This is seen in examples (8) and (9).

The imperfective does not encode tense; tense is supplied by the context or adverbials. It can occur with the past, present and the future tenses which will be treated under tense.

2.4.4 Perfect

In perfect aspect, there is a low tone mark on the verb. The pronoun prefix is a long vowel with mid-tone. In Lelemi, the ‘perfect’ construction refers to two kinds of present effect. First, the present effect may be leading to the immediate situation, as in ‘I have eaten’. Second, the present effect has to do with the totality of experience, as in ‘he has eaten ugali before’. These two ideas are not differentiated in the verbal system as such, but only by adverbial complements:

- (12) *ɔ- ɔ -di*

He PER.eat

‘He has eaten.’

- (13) a) *Kofi ɔ-ɔ-di ugali dii.*
 Kofi 3rd sgPER.eat ugali ADV.
 ‘Kofi has eaten ugali sometime ago.’

- b) *Kofi ɔɔdi ugali ɔ mɔ ɔ wɔ lɔ.*
 Kofi 3rd sgPER.eat ugali the ADV.

‘Kofi has finished eating ugali’

In these two examples, (13) a) and b), *dii* ‘sometime ago’ and *ɔwɔ lɔ* ‘finish’ differentiate the context for each construction to be understood as such.

2.5.TENSE

Comrie (36-48) defines tense as follows:

“Present tense: means coincidence of the time of the situation and the present moment.”

“Past tense: means location of the situation prior to the present moment.”

“Future tense: means location of the situation after the present moment.”

With these basic tenses, there are further sub-divisions.

Payne (1997:236) displays tense as a line represented by a point moving from left to right. According to this idea we can conceptualize tense in Lelemi with the following diagram.

PAST		PRESENT				FUTURE	
Distant	<i>kamaaku</i>	<i>kamaadi</i>	<i>ɔmui</i>	<i>ɔfani</i>	<i>kunaadi</i>	<i>keegye</i>	
Past	‘day before yesterday’	‘yesterday’	‘today’	‘now’	‘tomorrow’	‘distant future’	

2.5.1. The Present Tense

The Present Tense is understood from the imperfective aspect notion which was discussed in section 2.4 example 7. The imperfective plus the adverbial *ɔfani* ‘now’ form the present tense .In this way, we are describing an action taking place at the present moment:

- (14) a) *ɔ-ɔ-di kamu ɔfani* ‘He is eating rice’
 he IMP.eat rice now
- b) *ba-a-di kamu ɔfani* ‘They are eating rice’
 they IMP.eat rice now

Absolute present tenses in Lelemi are not overtly marked. These tenses are understood from the context and co-occurrence with an adverbial.

2.4.1.1.1. The negation of the Present Tense.

To negate an action in the present tense, Lelemi verb stems go through the following process: The neutral verb is prefixed with the negation marker that is either /la-/ or /le-/ according to the ATR feature. The pronoun plus either of the negation markers is prefixed to a neutral verb, obeying vowel harmony rules:

- (15). a) *ka* ‘read’ is negated as *u-la-ka* ‘He does not read’
 he NEG.read
- b) *bo* ‘beat’ is negated as *u-le-bo* ‘He does not beat’
 he NEG. beat

The sentence structure of these negative verb phrases *ulaka* and *ulebo* are:

- (16)a) *Kofi u-la-ka limeyi biala*
 Kofi 3rd sgNEG read day every
 ‘Kofi does not read everyday’
- b) *Ukyuli biala u-le-bo ubidi*
 person every 3rd sg NEG beat child
 ‘Every person does not beat his child’

2.4.1.2. The Past Tense

The past tense is an action done in the past and is complete. The Perfective aspect is the past tense in Lelemi and this was illustrated in section 2.4.example 6.

To express remoteness in the past, the Perfective aspect plus time adverbials are used:

- (17) a) *Kofi* *ɔ-ka* *ɔ́ku* *akwa leevu mɛ ni*
 Kofi 3rd sgPER.read book years ten this
 ‘Kofi read a book ten years ago.’

- b) *Mary* *ubo* *ubidi* *kɔbuli kunwi návi*
 Mary 3rd sg PERbeat child month one PER pass
 ‘Mary beat her child one month ago.’

To express an action that did not take place in the past we use the Perfective aspect plus the negation marker /*ta-*/ or /*te-*/ according to ATR features:

- (18) *John* *ú-ta-ka* *ɔku* *kamaadi*
 John 3r sg NEG read book yesterday
 ‘John did not read a book yesterday’

2.6. THE FUTURE

Lelemi has time frames for the future. We have terms to express tomorrow, the day before tomorrow, one week, one month, one year to come and the distant future.

The future construction marker which indicates that the verb is in the future tense is

/-dubo-/. The */-bo-/* part of this marker is derived from the verb for ‘come’. Although the future construction marker is derived from the verb meaning ‘come’, it has no more reference to motion in this direction than English ‘going to’ as a future marker has to do with motion away. In fact the combination of *du* and *bo* ‘come’ meaning ‘is going’ is the way Lelemi futuristic events are marked:

- (19). a) *ɔ -dubo-ka* ‘He is going to read’
 he FUT read
- b) *bá-dubo-di* ‘They are going to eat.’
 3rd pl FUT eat

The morphological change on the verb is regular and predictable, unlike the same verbs we have used in the present and past tense of the previous examples. Secondly, the future marking is not depending on the semantics of aspect described above, hence the future is a tense on its own.

The following construction is an example of how to express future tense:

- (20). *Kofi* *ɔ-dubo-ka* *ɔku.*
 Kofi 3rd sg FUT read book
 ‘Kofi is going to read a book’

The future carries only the mid-tone, which we have said will not be marked.

To express an action in the future which will not take place, the perfect aspect marker plus the future particle marker are prefixed to the verb:

- (21) a) *ɔ-ɔ -dubo-ka* ‘He is not going’
 he NEG FUT read
- b) *ba-a-dubo-bo* ‘They are not going to come’
 they NEG FUT come

c) *bɔ -ɔ -dubo-di*

'We are not going to eat'

An example of a negative future construction:

(22). *Kofi* *ɔ -ɔ -dubo-ka* *ɔku* *ɔmɔ*Kofi 3rd sg NEG FUT read book the

'Kofi is not going to read the book'

2.7. MODALITY

In section 2.2.3 the distinctions between mood and modality were discussed. Briefly, we will summarize what was said previously on the terms mode, mood and modality. Palmer (21-22) noted that "it is difficult to separate mood and modality from each other." He comes to the conclusion that "what is essential is the indication of the speaker's attitude toward the kind of reality behind his statement. That may be it could happen, or may be someone wished that it would happen or commanded it to happen. Or possibly, it did happen." Having clarified the use of these terms, mood and modality, we can look at the indicative, the imperative, the subjunctive, the interrogative and the conditional moods in Lelemi.

2.7.1. The Indicative

The indicative mood describes situations reported as real. It is used in stating facts, giving information or reports, and telling narratives. Therefore, it is the most frequently used:

(23) a) *Mina* *uni* *ɔ-va* *anta.*

My mother she planted maize

'My mother planted maize'

b) *Mina uni ɔ-dubo anta bɔ va*
 My mother she FUT maize plant
 ‘My mother is going to plant maize’

In the two examples above, a) describes a situation, which is reported as real in such a way that the situation is asserted, and b) gives an information of a projection into the future. Such event may or may not happen, therefore, we label this state of affairs in b) as irrealis. We notice that the Perfective aspect is used for the indicative mood.

When the indicative is an interrogative the imperfective aspect is used to express it:

- (24). *e -e -nú* ‘Are you listening?’
 You IMP hear
u -u -nú ‘Is he listening?’
bi -i -nú ‘Are you (pl) listening?’
be- e- nú ‘Are they listening?’

2.7.2. The Imperative

Crystal (1980, 171) refers to the imperative mood as “form or sentence or clause types typically used in the expression of commands.” Palmer (1998, 29) agrees with Crystal that “the imperative holds a relation to the deontic system, and that the imperative is unmarked semantically as well.” However, Blakemore (1992, 111-112) gives six other uses of the imperative besides commands (advice, permission, threats and dares), we look at commands, prohibitions, permission and advice that are frequently

used in Lelemi. There are two forms of the imperatives, singular and plural. The singular consists of the neutral verb that is marked by a high tone on the vowel.

(25) a) Commands:

i) *bo* 'come'

you sg come

ii) *bi-bo* 'come'

you pl come

iii) *di* 'eat'

you sg eat

iv) *bε-di* 'eat'

you pl eat

The negative imperative construction is formed by adding the negation marker

/ta -/ or */te -/* to the neutral verb. These markers are not pronominals:

(26). a) *te-bo* 'Do not come'

NEG come

b) *ta-di* 'Do not eat'

NEG eat

b) Permission:

buvele te-mi adila 'Please give me food'

Please Imp-me food

c)Advice:

Bla le buni

‘ Do good’

Imp good

2.7.3.The subjunctive

The subjunctive is realized by the use of a complex sentence in a matrix indicated by ‘It should...’ The interpretation is got by pragmatic means and inference.

Usages of the subjunctive include deontic (imposition or obligation on a given situation) and purpose. It expresses meaning similar to the word ‘should’, in English. In the following conjugation, the whole sentence has the semantic meaning of ‘it is necessary’ for ‘should or ‘ought’. In grammatical sense it has a complementizer *ka* following a matrix construction:

- (27) a) *ɔdi ka le-ni ntu* ‘I should drink water’
 it is should I drink water
- b) *ɔdi ka a-ni ntu* ‘You should drink water’
- c) *ɔdi ka ɔ-ni ntu* He should drink water’
- d) *ɔdi ka bɔ-ni ntu* ‘We should drink water’
- e) *ɔdi ka bɛ-ni ntu* ‘You (pl) should drink water’
- f) *ɔdi ka ba-ni ntu* ‘They should drink water’

The negation of subjunctive is signaled by the three vowels /ɔɔ-/ prefix to the neutral verb. In the above conjugation the *ɔdi* ‘it is’ can be negated as *ɔɔdi* ‘it is not’:

- (28). *ɔɔdi ka le-ni ntu* ‘I should not drink water’

2.7.4. Conditionals

Conditionals in Lelemi generally express an event, process or state that is less than fully actual. Palmer (189) says this about the status of conditionals, “Conditionals sentences are unlike all others in that both the subordinate clause (the protasis) and the main clause (the apodosis) are non-factual. Neither indicates that an event has occurred (or is occurring or will occur); the sentence merely indicates the dependence of the truth of one proposition upon the truth of another.”

There is no fixed verbal form for either the conditional clause or its subsequent clause. Imperfective, future, and invariant verb forms are all attested in the conditional clause. For example:

(29). *Si ba-wɔlɔ bɔ -nwuna ni be-e-sie tatada egyii akladi.*

If they finish they rest PART they IMP go to fell trees remaining

‘If they finish resting they go to fell the remaining trees’.

In this type of sentence two sentence particles (sp), one for introducing and one for coordinating are used. The coordinating (sp) is always *ni* ‘say’. The opening (sp) *si* of the sentence is used to introduce conditional clauses.

Another use of the ‘conditional’ construction is found in the situational sentence with *si* ‘when’:

(30). *Si ɔwɔlɔ lilu bubo ni, uu-sie kalɔ ku lilugyii bɔle.*

If he finishes yam plant PART he IMP go start with yam stick plant

‘When he finishes planting yams, he starts staking them.’

The perfective can also be used in the conditional clause, where its tense may be more clearly present than past. The verb *ɔɔlɔ* ‘he calls’ may be perfective due to its relationship to the preceding verb *udie* ‘he told’. The telling will not end once the person calls the name; however, the action of calling is a punctiliar one. On the discourse level, *udie* would belong to the background, and *ɔɔlɔ* to the storyline. On the other hand, the verb in the conditional clause may be seen as perfective in relation with the subsequent clause:

- (31). *Anwuwɔsu na si ukyuli udie odo ni, na*
 Therefore and if person 3rd sgPER.remove story PART and
Anasi lenyi na ɔɔlɔ teetulo.
 Anasi name and he calls much.

‘Therefore when someone told a story, Anasi’s name he mentions more than any other.’

2.8. CONCLUSION ON LELEMI TENSE, ASPECT AND MODALITY

In this chapter we have seen how tense, aspect, and modality (TAM) work together as a system in Lelemi. Encoding strategies include verbal suffixes and reduplication. Aspect is a more important distinction than tense. Four aspectual categories were treated, the perfective, the imperfective, the habitual and the perfect. We also noticed that there is no inflection on the verb. Tone marking on pronominal prefix to the verb encodes aspect. Tense and modality constructions are formed by using aspectual categories and adverbial complements. The neutral verb form has no marking as to perfectivity.

The fact that the neutral verb form is the one from which the others are derived invites the question, for what purpose have the non-neutral forms developed? If the neutral form is inherently perfective, why then the perfective form? A possible answer would be that the perfective form developed to encode past tense. However, we have seen that it can encode non-past events as well, as in the section on the perfective aspect.

In conclusion, the study has given an account of certain aspects of tense, aspect, modality, and negation systems in Lelemi. Aspect is the basic grammatical category that the semantics of tense and mood are built. Tense is, in some respects, modal while negation relates to the degrees of speaker belief and confidence. The future is most 'modal' in this study.

CHAPTER 3

TENSE, ASPECT, AND MODALITY IN LELEMI NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

GOALS OF THIS CHAPTER

In this chapter we look at tense, aspect, and modality in Lelemi narrative discourse, according to the discourse type parameters proposed by Longacre. In chapter 1, I gave a brief overview of the current literature on tense and aspect in Discourse. Section 3.2 represents the narrative discourse genre for Lelemi and I analyze the narrative text *Gyata Akpewe ku Ukyuli* in terms of text schema and text profile. I then present a Lelemi narrative salience scheme following Longacre (1990).

3.2.THE NARRATIVE GENRE IN LELEMI

3.2.1.The narrative genre in relation to discourse type parameters.

Longacre has identified four parameters which help to classify texts into genres or text types. These parameters are +/- CONTINGENT TEMPORAL SUCCESSION, +/- AGENT ORIENTATION, +/- PROJECTION, and +/- TENSION. The first three are treated in table 2 [(taken from Longacre (1996, 10)].

	+ AGENT	-AGENT	
	ORIENTATION		ORIENTATION
	NARRATIVE	PROCEDURAL	
+ CONTINGENT	Prophecy	How – to - do– it	+ PROJECTION
	Story	How – it – was – done	- PROJECTION
	BEHAVIORAL	EXPOSITORY	
- CONTINGENT SUCCESSION	Hortatory	Budget Proposal	+ PROJECTION
	Promissory	Futuristic Essay	
	Eulogy	Scientific Paper	- PROJECTION

Table 2. Longacre's parameters for determining text types

Narrative texts are + CONTINGENT TEMPORAL SUCCESSION, in that they are organized around 'a framework of temporal succession in which some of the events are contingent on previous events or doings' (Longacre 1996, 6-9). Successive references to the same subject in Lelemi for example, are found as prefix pronominals on verbs. And the prefix refer back to the subject; they are +AGENT ORIENTATION, in that there is an 'orientation towards agents . . . with at least a partial identity of agent reference running through the discourse' ; and they are PROJECTION, in that they do not entail ' a situation or action which is contemplated, enjoined, or anticipated, but not realized'

3.2.2 Overview of a Lelemi narrative text.

Gyata Akpewe ku Ukyuli in view of Longacre's notion of profile.

Longacre (33-50) proposes a notional structure for climatic narrative discourses in which certain constituents are more prominent (higher in profile) than others. 'This notional structure is, in effect, a SCHEMA on which climatic narrative discourses are built.' Table 3 presents Longacre's notional and surface structure as they relate to the text *Gyata, Akpewe ku Ukyuli* This table is modified from Longacre (36) to show only those surface structures present in this Lelemi narrative text.

Table 3. Notional and surface structure for narrative discourse.

Surface structure

Title	Aperture	Stage	Pre-peak episodes	Peak episode	Post-peak episodes	Closure
		1.Exposition	2.Inciting Moment 3.Developing Conflict 4. Climax	5. Denouement	6. Final suspense	7.Conclusion

I now give a surface structure constituents for the text *Gyata Akpewe ku Ukyuli* and a summary of their content are given in table 4. Line numbers refer to the text as it appears in its wholeness in Appendix.

Table 4. Surface and notional structure constituents of 'Lion, Dog and Person'.

Surface Structure	Lines	Notional Structure	Content
Title			<i>Gyata Akpewe ku Ukyuli</i> 'Lion, Dog and Person'
Aperature			Narrator gives a brief reason why the story "The reason why the dog lives with a person."
Stage	1-7	exposition	The lion was roaming and fell into a trap. It saw a man passing and he asked for help. But he refused saying that if he helped he feared the lion would eat him. The lion said it would not so he helped but the lion shook hands with the man and refused to leave the man.
Pre-peak episode 1	8-12	inciting moment	Lion gives conditions for the man's release. They went to three animals. The first two, rat and antelope did not agree for the man's release.
Pre-peak episode 2	13-15	climax	Dog agreed and said to the lion to leave the man and go into the trap so that the man could release him again.
Peak episode	16	denouement and final suspense	The lion released its grip of the man and entered the trap again. The man and the dog run away with happiness.
Closure			This story I have narrated if it is interesting or not let it go and let another come.

I have discovered peak in this text as the notional structure constituent DENOUEMENT.

Pre-Peak episode 2 (lines 13-15) encodes maximum tension in the discourse, in which the third answer of 'no' from dog will strengthen the lion to eat the man, so there is seemingly no way out of this person's dilemma. Because of this maximum tension, it is identified as CLIMAX. In the peak episode, although there is an explosion of activity, it

is this very activity which begins to bring about the Dog and Person's deliverance and which acts as a pressure valve to lessen the notional tension.

Longacre's schema predicts that the constituent of greatest prominence, the peak episode, will most likely be manifest in the surface structure as a 'Zone of turbulence in regard to the flow of the discourse in its preceding and following parts. Routine features of the storyline may be distorted or phased out at Peak.' (1996, 38).

In Lelemi, peak is marked by four of the six broad categories suggested by Longacre, although some of these indications are not overly strong. The four include concentration of participants, heightened vividness, change of pace and onomatopoeia, which has not however, appeared in this text.

As for concentration of participants, there is not an increase of the number of participants on the stage per se, but rather a change in which the participants are grouped. In this 'Lion, Dog and Person' story, at first each participant acts independently and then the dog and the person act together as two versus the lion during the peak level.

As for heightened vividness, peak shows a shift from one type of verb to another. In this narrative, peak is marked by verbs of motion in close succession with some quotation material by dog. These verbs include *su* 'tell' *nini* 'say' and *nyonu* 'leave'. Some of these verbs are in the past, future and some are in the imperative form. The episode is introduced by straightforward naming of a participant's name at the opening paragraph of the peak instead of the normal connector *Amu na* 'and so'.

As for change in pace in this narrative peak, the length of the sentence is the same as previous ones in the story, but the amount and type of connectives change.

In the text we are considering, the coordinating conjunction *Amu na* 'and so' is changed to *Amu* 'so' and then it is absent during the peak, whereas it plays a major role in identifying information crucial to the development of the text.

Though, this text does not include the incidence of ideophones or onomatopoeia it can be inferred that the trap will make the sound ‘kpla’ (onomatopoeia) when the lion stepped on the trap. Narrators do incorporate them and they are usually occurring in the peak.

3.2.3. Occurrence of TAM with narrative text structures

Longacre’s hypothesis regarding text generation, Longacre (Higdon, 105) hypothesizes that:

. . . ‘for any language each type of text has a main line of development and contains other materials which can be conceived of as encoding progressive degrees of departure from the main line’.

This hypothesis leads to the development of rank schemas for each text type in a given language. For narrative text, the main line of development is based on contingent temporal succession and is called the storyline. The storyline band is seen as primary. Other possible bands move progressively away from the storyline until one reaches the cohesion band at the bottom which functions simply to hold the text together. Table 5 shows Longacre’s proposed etic bands of salience in narrative or those possible salience bands from which a language will select its emic bands.

1. Pivotal storyline (augmentation of 1)

1. Primary sotryline (S/Agent > S/Experience ® >S/patient)
2. Secondary storyline
3. Routine (script – predictable action sequences)
4. Backgrounded actions/events
5. Backgrounded activity (durative)
6. Setting (exposition)
7. Irrealis (negatives and modals)

8. Evaluations (author intrusions)

9. Cohesive and thematic

Table 5. Longacre's proposed etic bands salience in narrative discourse

A salience scheme for Lelemi narrative discourse.

I have adapted the scheme of Walker in Higdon (107-108) to produce a narrative salience scheme for Lelemi which is presented in Table 6 below.

Storyline

Table 6. Narrative salience scheme for Lelemi

Storyline/Topic	
Background	Imperfective verbs (present or past)
Setting	stative verbs
Irrealis	Neutral verbs imperfectives, imperatives, future, negatives
Evaluation	<i>ɔmeni ɔsu</i> 'this is the reason why'
Cohesion	Proposed Dependent clause: <i>Amu ka . . . ni</i> , + clause <i>Si . . . ni</i> + clause

The past tense is the dominant tense in narratives. In table 6, the scheme shows that perfective verbs characterize the storyline band, imperfective verbs characterize the background band, stative verbs like *lie* 'live' and *ti* 'know' characterize the setting band, and neutral verbs characterize the irrealis. Thus the primary distinction in verb ranking in Lelemi narrative discourse is that of primary aspect.

The storyline band is usually one phrasal unit that introduces the topic:

Gyata, Akpewe ku Ukyuli ‘Lion, Dog and Person’ The background band comprises imperfective verbs. The aspectual context supplies the tense locus and thus any notions of tense. Imperfective verbs in this band can be either “past tense” as in the following taken from the story:

(31). *Lɛla lɛni ɔsu na Akpewe ku ukyuli beli*

Thing which reason and Dog with person they live (Pres.)

‘The reason why people and dog live’

In his listing etic salience in narrative discourse (table 5), Higdon (109) proposes separate bands for ‘background actions/events’ and for ‘background activity (durative)’. It appears that such a distinction can be drawn in Lelemi on semantic grounds. I therefore identify here one emic band in Lelemi. It also shows backgrounded action at the same time. The duration of the activity is apparently not in focus. It appears, rather, that the verb is inflected as imperfective specifically to mark background in the storyline.

The setting band consists of stative verbs. According to Higdon (111), “setting is essentially expository.” Here we find existential, equative, and descriptive clauses. The several functions of the stative verb can be summarized as being descriptive in force:

(32). *Dii ni Gyata ɔ́kɛ ɔɔvi na úteduo kakpagyue*

Once Part. Lion 3rd sg.PT.walk CONT.pass and 3rd sg.PT.enter trap

kadi kemo. Na ulakana bɔlɛ.

some inside And 3rd sgNEG able out

‘Once the Lion was walking and entered into a trap. And it could not get out’

The irrealis band is comprised of verbs in future, imperative, and subjunctive constructions, and negative clauses. The imperfective can also be used in irrealis constructions:

(33) *Amu na Gyata ɔnini oowo! Si edie-mi ni lɛɛɛdubo-ɔ*

So and Lion he saying no! If you remove me Part. I NEG.FUT. you
bufie bɔku
 catch eat

‘And so Lion said no, if you release me I will not eat you’

The evaluation band here in the story has the clause formula:

ɔmeni ɔsu ‘This is why’ + a ‘you’ + Verb and the participants :

(34). *ɔmeni ɔsu na a-a-nu Akpɛwe na Ukyuli kaduli*

This reason and you seeing dog and person’s house

‘This is the reason why you see a dog in a person’s home’

The cohesion is comprised of at least two different subordinated clauses. These are: *Amu ka* ‘so that’ + clause; and *Si ...ni* ‘If ...particle’ + clause. These two subordinated clauses repeat information given in the preceding clause:

(35). *Amu ka ɔnu Ukyuli ɔni mɔ-ɔ-vi mmɔ ni ɔsu-nwu*

So that he saw person who he passing there particle he told him
ɔnii ubedie-nwu.

Saying he come remove him.

‘So as he saw a person passing, he told him to release him (Lion)’

The second example on cohesion band can be seen in this sentence of the story:

(36). *Amu na Gyata ɔnini, oowo-o! Si edie-mi ni, nɛɛdubo-ɔ bufie bɔku.*

So and Lion saying no ! if you remove me I NEG.FUT. catch eat

‘And so the Lion said if you release me I am not going to eat you’

3.2.4 Cohesion and Coherence in Lelemi narrative folktales.

The introductory expression here is *Dii...ni*, which is the equivalent of “Once upon a time” shows clearly that one is beginning a story. The story usually ends in happiness as in the case of the story we have looked at. It ends with these words: *batɔlɔ ku kubiti*. ‘they left with happiness’.

Logical coherence occur in a number of ways. 1) by conjunctions *na* ‘and’ which smoothly joins sentences and makes a good flow in the story.

Successive references to the same subject are also found as prefix pronominals on verbs. For example *ɔ* prefix on verbs refer back to the subject: *Gyata ɔkɛ ɔ-ɔ- vi* ‘Lion it walked it passing’ is an example of references to the lion. The deictic reference for example , *ɔmɛ ni* ‘this’ and *mmɔ* ‘that’ show coherence in this narrative discourse.

There is also internal transition markers for introducing new paragraphs such as *Amu na or amu ka*. The near equivalent in English will be ‘and so’. But the particles *ni* and *ka* important in narratives which bring about coherence in internal sentence connectivity.

The other logical relationship in the text is the way conjunctions introduce dependent clauses. For example, *Si edie-mi ni*. This acts like the conditional ‘if’ because the ‘if’ clause is ‘if you remove me’. Such structure starts with *si* must have the particle *ni* to give the sentence local coherence.

In this folktale, there is the identification of participants where the discourse topic is given as the Lion, Dog and Person indicates that this is a story, and it becomes the glue as background information. This is identified to communicate globally in the text and gives it coherence.

2.5. Grounding in 3 Lelemi narrative Discourse

The foregrounding and backgrounding of successive series of participants and events is what we term grounding in narrative discourse.

In the Lelemi text '*Gyata, Akpe we ku Ukyuli* (GAU) 'Lion, Dog and Person', not all the sets of participants and events are of equal importance. Therefore, some of these are set in the fore ground (the center of the linguistic stage) , while others are into the background. In GAU text, one finds several different layers of such participants and events, with intricate layers by which the receiver of the message is clued in on what is to be understood as primary, secondary, tertiary and so on.

All supportive material in the GAU text is background material. It includes all orientations, at the beginning of the text. The background also includes all embedded speeches. Since this text is primarily an action text, the speeches only function as supportive material to explain the events.

The following is the beginning of GAU text and it forms the background to the story:

(37). a) *Gyata, Akpe we ku Ukyuli*

' Lion, Dog and Person'

b) *Lɛla lɛ ni ɔsu na Akpe we ku Ukyuli beli*

'The reason why the dog lives with a Person.'

a) and b) are introductory statements. a) introduces the topic of the story. It is a phrase which is characteristic of Lelemi narrative or folktales. b) is usually an explanation of reason for the topic to be considered.

In b) of the background we find that the construction contains imperfective verbs usually past and present . And in the GAU text, the present is found in the context. We find also that there are two clauses in b) that have been coordinated by the conjunction *ka* ‘and’

Main and coordinate clauses tend to be foreground materials as we find in the following example from GAU text:

(38). *Si e-die-mi ni, l-εεε -dubo-ɔ bufie bɔkun*

If you remove me PART I am not going to you catch eat.

‘If you release me I am not going to eat you.’

There are irrealis clauses and I discovered that they contain future, imperative and negative constructions. These imperfectives in the statements keep the story going. Without them, there would be no story. These are elements which project fore ground events.

The following example is taken from the GAU text which contains some of these elements:

(39). *Amu Gyata ɔnini ‘intu busie nkyuli εεε kudɔ*

So Lion irrealis ‘unless we(present)go persons three side

na bedie kenye si nnyomu-ɔ

and they remove mouth if(conditional) I leave you.

‘So the Lion said ‘ unless we go to ask three people if I should leave you.’

3.2.6. Conclusion

In this chapter I have looked at a Lelemi narrative and have used it to illustrate a salience scheme for Lelemi narrative discourse.

A typical narrative episode in Lelemi is marked by the presence of special sequential verb forms. As the text I have analyzed shows, the foreground tends to consist mostly of future irrealis, main, and coordinate clauses, while the background tends to consist mostly of imperfective verbs (past and present). The narrative foreground consists of material that advances the plot of the story, while the background consists of material that does not advance the plot. Background material may include embedded speeches in action narrative, as well as explanations and descriptions ,and irrealis clauses. However the analysis of this story has suggested that certain irrealis and embedded relative clauses may be foregrounded when they are essential to the movement of the plot of the story.

CHAPTER 4

SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSIONS

4.1. GOALS OF THIS CHAPTER

In this chapter I summarize the content and preliminary conclusions of this study. I discuss also the contributions of this study.

4.2. SUMMARY

Chapter 1 introduces the Lelemi language. It discusses the language family it belongs and reviews the literature that has been developed in the language.

This chapter also sets for the purpose of this study. It also presents a brief overview of the basic Lelemi morphosyntax from a typological perspective.

Chapter 2 first, overviews tense, aspect and modality as they are discussed in the literature. Strategies used in Lelemi to encode TAM categories are then discussed, and tense, aspect and modality are analyzed from a language specific perspective. The three are then presented from a systematic perspective for Lelemi.

Chapter 3 overviews *Gyata, Akpewe ku Ukyuli* ‘Lion, Dog, and Person; a Lelemi narrative text, in terms of text scheme and text profile aspects are a primary indicator of salience. A salience hierarchy is proposed of the storyline band.

4.3 CONCLUSIONS

My conclusions to this study are the following:

The TAM system encodes primarily information salience; that is, it encodes the degree to which information in a text directly reflects the discourse parameters for that genre.

i) Semantic criteria, in addition to morphosyntactic criteria, are needed to develop a salience hierarchy for a hierarchy for a given genre. Salience as reflected by tense, aspect and modality is a semantic notion, and it is not always realized perfectly by the morphosyntax alone, it is also by discourse procedures.

ii) The analysis of one narrative text for this study is not adequate enough. But for lack of time and considering the shortness of the term coupled with the conditions to complete this project in just one term, puts much constraints on the quality of work one can produce.

iii) In applying the term ‘verbal construction’, it is possible to avoid the confusion and complication inherent in distinguishing categories such as tense, aspect and mood. Some constructions, have specific references to time, such as past, others have specific references to mood, such as the imperative. But the constructions in Lelemi do not fall into neat sets with different types of morphological structure. In fact, it is not easy to try to fit the Lelemi into classical grammar categories and terminology in structures to which they are quite foreign.

REFERENCE LIST

- Abena, Dolphyne F. 1988. *The Akan (Twi-Fante) languages: Its sound systems and tonal structure*. Accra: Ghana University Press.
- Adiva, John R. 1990. *The verbal piece in Ebirá*. Dallas: S I L.
- Akrofi, C.A. 1960. *Twi kasa mmara (Twi grammar)*. London: Longmans and Co.
- Asher, R. E. and J. M. Y. Simpson. eds. 1994. *The Encyclopedia of languages and linguistics*. Vol. 1. pp 63-64. New York: Pergamon Press Ltd.
- _____. *The Encyclopedia of languages and linguistics*. Vol. 4. pp 1882-1883. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Beekman, John, John Callow, Michael Kopesec. 1981. *The semantic structure of written communication*. 5th revision. Dallas: S I L.
- Bendor-Samuel, John. (ed.). 1989. *The Niger-Congo languages. A classification and description of Africa's largest language family*. New York: University of America.
- Blakemore, D. 1992. *Understanding utterances: An introduction to pragmatics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Blass, Regina. 1990. *Relevance relations in discourse. A study with special reference to Sissala*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Bodomo, Adams. 1997. *The structure of Dagaare*. California: CSLI Publications.
- Burquest, A. Donald. 1998. *Phonological analysis, A Functional approach*. 2nd ed. Dallas: S I L.
- Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins and William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the World*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1990. *Tense*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 1991. *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

- Crystal, D. 1980. *A Dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Blackwell
- De Jong, Kenneth and Samuel, Gyasi Obeng. 2000. *Labio-palatalization in Twi: Contrastive, quantal and organizational factors producing an uncommon sound*
- Givon, T. 1984. *Syntax: A functional – typological introduction*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Goma, Mabele. 1997. *Tense, aspect and modality systems in the Mbandja verb*. M.A. thesis, Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology.
- Grimes, Barbara F. ed 2000. *Ethnologue vol. 1: Languages of the World*, 14th ed. Dallas: SIL.
- Hoftman, Hildegard. 1971. *The structure of Lelemi language*. Leipzig: Verlag.
- Higdon, M. Lee. 1996. *Tense, aspect, and modality in Gangam narrative and hortatory discourse*. M. A. thesis, University of Texas at Arlington.
- Larson, M. 1984. *Meaning – Based translation*. New York: University Press of America.
- Longacre, Robert. E. 1990. *Storyline concerns and word order typology in East and West Africa*. Los Angeles: University of California.
- _____ 1996. *The grammar of discourse*. Second edition. New York: Plenum Press.
- Lynell, Marchese. 1986. *Tense/Aspect and the development of auxiliaries in Kru languages*. Dallas: SIL.
- Lyons, John. 1997. *Semantics*. Vols. One and Two. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Moseley, Christopher and R. E. Asher. eds 1994. *Atlas of the World languages*. London: Routledge.
- Olawsky, J. Knut. 1999. *Aspects of Dagbani grammar, with special emphasis on phonology and morphology*. Newcastle: Lincom Europa.
- Palmer, F. R. 1965. *The English verb*. London: Longman.
- _____ 1979. *Modality and the English modals*. London: Longman.
- _____ 1986. *Mood and modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

- Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing morphosyntax. A guide for field linguists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Ring, J. A. 1981. *Frozen Tones: A feature of recent additions to the Lelemi lexicon*
Unpublished Ms.
- _____ 1987. *Planning for literacy: A sociolinguistics survey of multilingualism in Ghana*. A PhD Dissertation, Georgetown University.
- Saeed, John. 1997. *Semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Schachter, Paul and Victoria Fromkin. 1968. *A phonology of Akan: Akuapim Asante and Fante*. Los Angeles: University of California.
- Stubbs, Michael. 1983. *Discourse analysis. The sociolinguistics analysis of natural language*. Chicago: The university of Chicago Press.
- Tannen, Deborah. ed 1982. *Spoken and written language: Exploring orality and literacy*. New Jersey: ABBEY Publishing Corporation.
- Uche, E. Aaron. 1999. *Tense and aspect in Obolo grammar and discourse*
Dallas: S I L.
- Welmers, Wm. E 1973. *Africa language structures*. Los Angeles: University of California.

APPENDIX

A.FOLKTALE: Gyata, Akpewe ku Ukyuli

‘Lion, Dog and Person’

1. Gyata, Akpewe ku Ukyuli

Lion Dog and Person

‘Lion, Dog, and Person’

2. Lela leni osu na Akpewe ku Ukyuli belie

Thing which reason and Dog with Person they HAB.

‘The reason why the dog and Person live together’

3. Dii ni Gyata óke ɔɔvi na uteduo kakpagyue

kadi kemo.

Once PART Lion it PERwalk IMP pass and it PER enter trap

some inside

‘Once the Lion was walking about and entered into some trap’

4. Na ulakana bole

And it NEG able come out

‘And was unable to get out’

5. Amu ka ónu ukyuli ɔni mɔɔvi mmo ni, ɔsu
 ɔnini ubedie-nwu

So that it PER see Person who he IMP pass there Part it PER tell
 say he remove it

‘So it saw a man passing and told him to release it’

6. Nsu Ukyuli ɔmeni ɔsu ɔnini oowo kudi kudi
 But Person this hePER tell he saying no never, never

‘But this person said no never, never.’

7. Adubo-mi bufie bɔku si lidie-ɔ

You FUT me catch chew if I remove you

‘You will eat me if I release you’

8. Amu na Gyata ɔnini oowo

So and Lion saying no

‘And so Lion said no.’

9. Si edie – mi ni, lɛɛɛdɔbu-ɔ bufie bɔku.

If you remove me PART I FUT NEG go you catch chew

‘If you release me I will not eat you’.

10. Amu ka Ukyuli ɔmeni udie-nwu ɔwɔɔ ni, Gyata
 So that Person this he PER remove it finish PART Lion
 ute ukyuli ɔmeni kɔnu na ɔɔ utanyonu-nwu
 it PER give Person this hand and again it PER NEG leave him

‘So, this person removed the Lion and it shook hands with the person but did not leave him.’

11. Amu Gyata ɔnini ntu busie nkyuli ete kudɔ na bedie
 kenye
 So Lion saying unless we go persons three side and they
 remove mouth

Si nnyonu-ɔ

If I leave you.

‘So the lion said unless we go to three people and if they agree that I leave you.’

12. Amu besie kesi kudɔ na Gyata uye kesi ɔnini ,
 nnyonu-nwu

So they PER go rat side and Lion it PER ask rat saying I leave
 him?

‘So they went to rat and it asked the rat if to leave him?’

13. Kesi kanini ‘oowo tanyonu-nwu’

Rat it say ‘no do NEG leave him.

‘Rat said no do not leave him’.

14. Amu na besie kafε kudo na Gyata ɔmeni uye-nwu ɔnini

So and they_{PER} go antelope side and Lion this it _{PER} ask it saying
nnyonu-nwu?

I leave him

‘And so they went to Antelope and the Lion asked if he should leave him’

15. Kafε kanini oowo

Antelope saying no.

‘Antelope said no.’

16. Amu bavi besie Akpewe kudo ɔni badi

baalɔ ɔklama

So they_{PER} pass they go Dog side which some they _{HAB} call
ɔklama

‘So they passed and went to Dog which they also call ɔklama’

17. Na Gyata uye –nwu ɔnini Akpewe nnyonu Ukyuli ɔni nedie-

mi na

And Lion it _{PER} ask him saying Dog I leave Person who he _{PER}
remove me and

kakpagyue kameni kemo?

trap this inside

‘And the Lion asked him saying Dog should I leave this Person who removed me from this trap?’

18. Akpewe ɔsu-nwu ɔnini ɛɛn nyonu-nwu na aso eteduo
kakpagyue

Dog it PER tell it saying yes! Imper.him and again you
enter trap

Kammɔ kemɔ bɔnu si Ukyuli ɔmɛni wakana-a budie
that inside we see if Person this he is able you remove.

‘The Dog told him yes, leave him and enter into the trap again and we see if this Person can remove you.’

19. Amu Gyata ɔmɛni ɔsɔ uduo kakpagyue kamɛni kemo , na
Ukyuli

So Lion this again he PER enter trap this inside and
Person

ku Akpewe bekelie batɔlɔ ku kubiti.

with Dog they PER run they PER leave with happiness.

‘So, the Lion entered into the trap and the Person and the Dog ran away happily.’

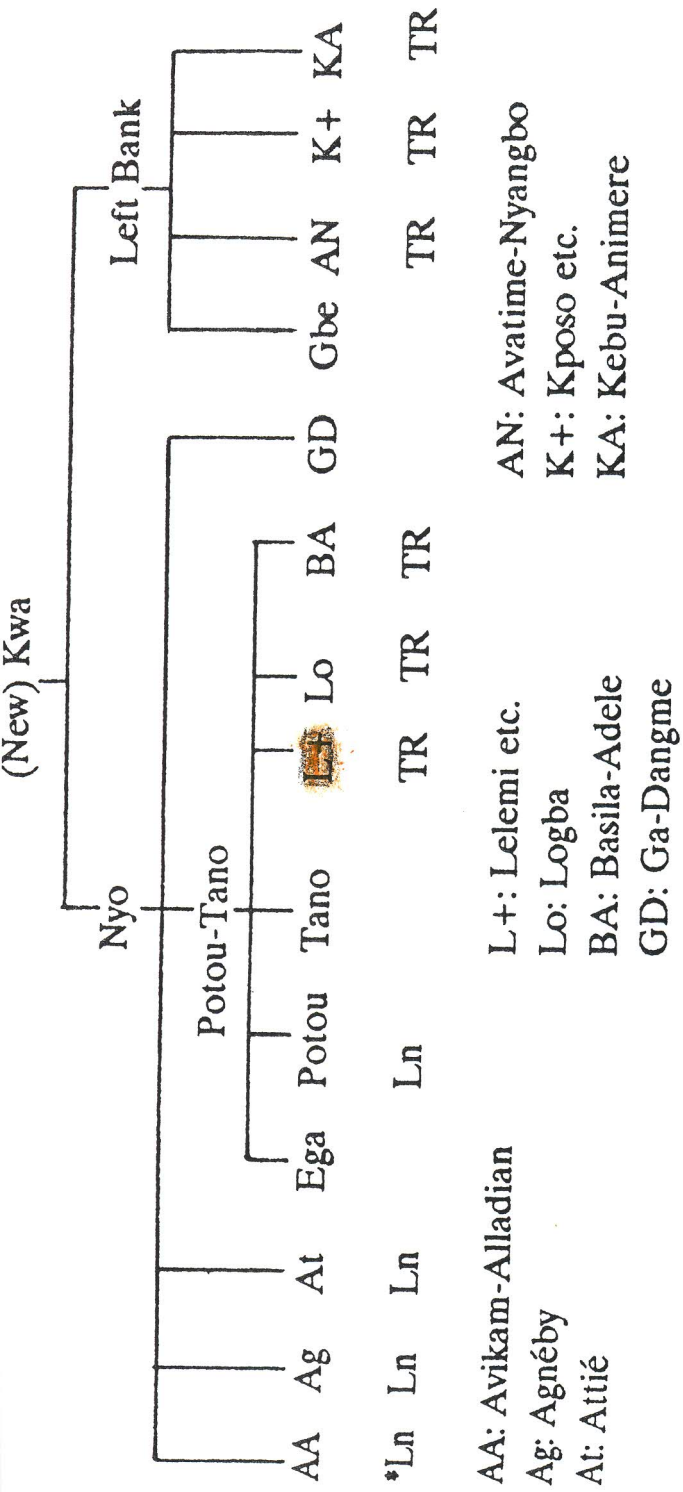
20. ɔmɛni ɔsu na aanu Akpewe na Ukyuli kaduli

This reason and you HAB see Dog and/in Person house.

‘This is the reason why you always see a dog in a person’s house.’

Lion, Dog, and Person

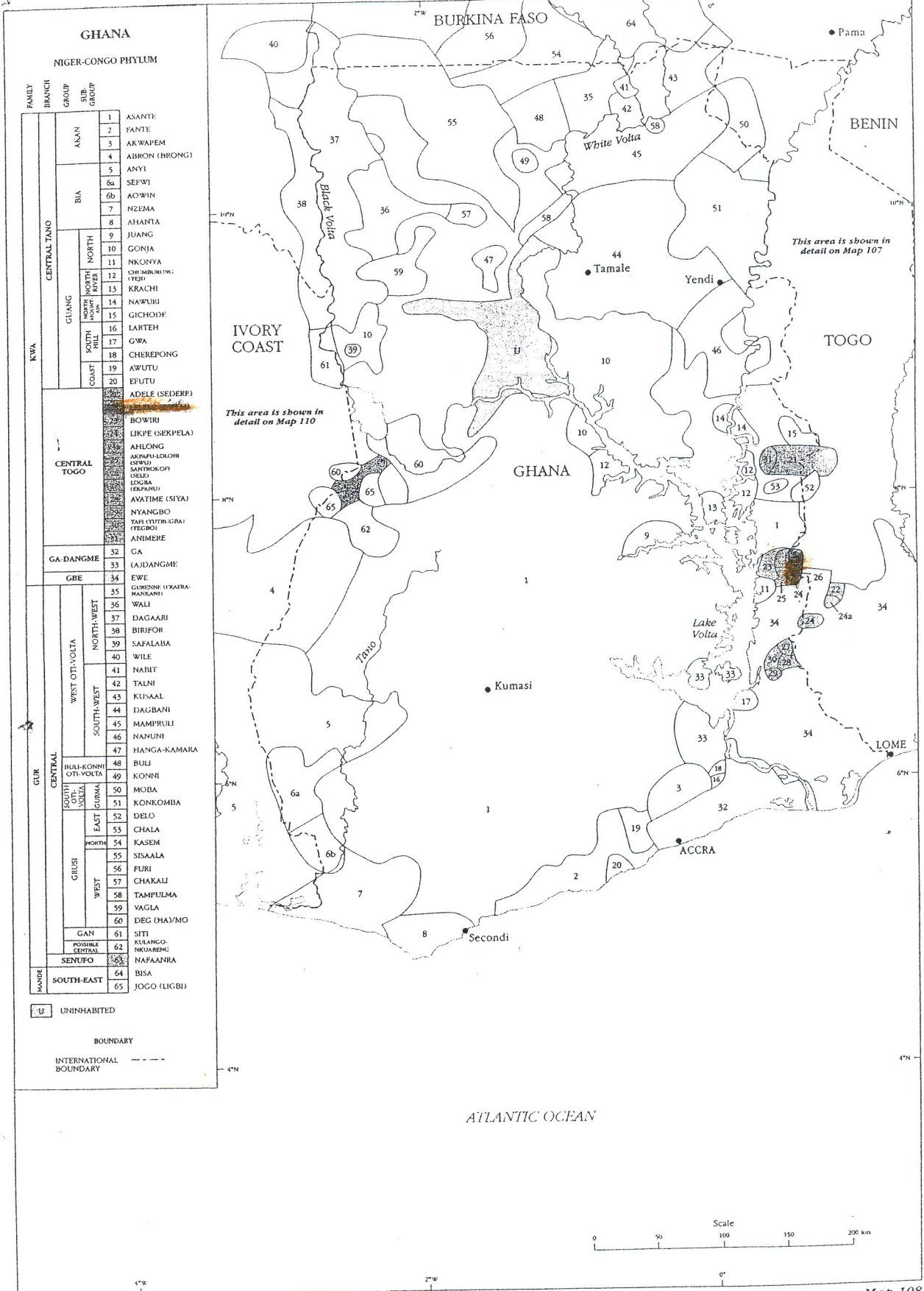
Once the lion was walking about and got into a trap, and it could not free itself. When it saw a man passing by, it asked him to help, but the man said he would never because it would eat him. The lion said it would not do so. The person helped it out of the trap but the lion held him tightly. The lion told him that unless they go to three people to ask them if it should leave him. The rat as well as the antelope refused to allow the lion to leave the man. But when the lion asked the dog, the dog asked the lion to release the man and then go into the trap again so that the man will help him again to come out. The lion did as the dog said but the man did not and he and the dog run away happily to the man's house



*Classified as Lagoon (Ln) or Togo Remnant (TR) by Westermann.

FIGURE 1 The main subgroups of the present (New) Kwa.

TAKEN FROM: Bender-Samuel John (1989:221)



TAKEN FROM Asher and Moseley (1994; Map 108)

CURRICULUM VITAE

A. Personal Data:

Name: Mununkum Divine Kwame.

Date of Birth: 1951 at Bodada, Volta Region, Ghana.

Married: to Theodora Mununkum.

Children: Enoch, Martha, Kate, and Ato.

B. Academic Qualifications:

Dipolma (Maths) University of Cape Coast (Ghana), 1979.

Bachelor of Education (Maths), University College of Education of Winneba,
1997.

Master of Arts in Translation studies (candidate), Nairobi Evangelical Graduate
School of Theology, 2002.

C. Work Experience:

Teacher: Elementary school, secondary school and Teacher training levels.
1971- 1986

Adult literacy Supervisor, Ghana institute of linguistics literacy and Bible
translation (GILLBT). 1987 - 1999