

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THEOLOGY

THE PRONOUN IN LOBIRI

BY

IKOA SAMY TIOYE

DECEMBER 1998



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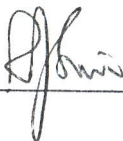
A Linguistic Practicum submitted to the Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Translation Studies

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Student's Declaration

THE PRONOUN IN LOBIRI

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


Ikoa Samy Tioye

December 18, 1998

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DEDICATION

To my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ

my father Ikoa Tioye

my mother Soyina Palene

my brothers and sisters

the Lobi community

AKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere and deepest gratitude first and foremost is to my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ who called me to His service and who enabled me to have the privilege to get equipped here at NEGST.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
ABBREVIATIONS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
CHAPTER ONE	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Presentation of Lobi people	1
1.2. Presentation of the language	3
1.3. Purpose of the study	4
1.3.1. Research problem	4
1.3.2. Goals and objectives	5
1.4. Hypothesis	6
1.5. Methodology	6
CHAPTER TWO	
2. SYNTAX AND PHONOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF LOBIRI	7
2.1. Phonological aspects	7
2.1.1. Inventory of phonemes	7
2.1.2. Suprasegmentals	8
2.1.3. Syllable and word structures	10
2.2. Syntactic aspects	14
2.2.1. Constituent order	14
2.2.2. Reflexives	23
2.2.3. Reciprocals	24
CHAPTER THREE	
3. TYPES OF PRONOUNS	26
3.1. Personal pronouns	26
3.1.1. Personal pronoun-subject	26
3.1.2. Personal pronoun-object	28
3.1.3. Negation	30
3.2. Possessive pronouns	35
3.3. Relative pronouns	40

3.4.	Demonstrative pronouns	41
3.5.	Reflexive pronouns	43
3.6.	Reciprocals	46
3.7.	Interrogative pronouns	46

CHAPTER FOUR

4.	PERSON IN SEMANTIC AND DISCOURSE	49
4.1.	Persons in Semantic	49
4.1.1.	Participants roles	49
4.2.	Persons in Discourse	55
4.2.1.	Referring expression	56
4.2.2.	Logophoric pronouns	58
4.2.3.	Indefinite pronouns	60

CHAPTER FIVE

5.	CONCLUSION	62
-----------	-------------------	-----------

BIBLIOGRAPHY	64
---------------------	-----------

APPENDIX 1	66
-------------------	-----------

APPENDIX 2	87
-------------------	-----------

APPENDIX 3	96
-------------------	-----------

MAPS	103
-------------	------------

ABBREVIATIONS

1sg	first person singular
2sg	second person singular
3sg	third person singular
1pl	first person plural
2pl	second person plural
3pl	third person plural
1Poss	first person possessive
1pPoss	first person plural possessive
Asp	aspect
CAUS	causative
CNT	continuative
Dem	demonstrative
fut	future
IMP	imperative
Ig	logophoric pronoun
N	noun
neg	negation or negative
NP	noun phrase
O	object
P	phrase
Part	particle
Poss	possessive
Perf	perfective aspect
Prog	progressive aspect
QP	question particle
REFL	reflexive
RECIP	reciprocal
S	subject
trans	transitive
V	verb

LIST OF TABLES

Tables	Pages
1. Consonant phonemes	7
2. Vowel phonemes	8
3. Pronoun-subject forms	28
4. Pronoun-object forms	30
5. Negation forms of pronouns	34
6. Possessive pronouns set I	36
7. Possessive pronouns set II	39
8. Reflexive pronouns	44

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Presentation of Lobi people

Lobi people, around 441,300 (285,000 in Burkina Faso and 155,800 in Côte d'Ivoire) according to Grimes (1996: 180) are located in the southern part of Burkina Faso and in the northeastern part of Côte d'Ivoire (map 1). They are also found in a few villages in northwest Ghana along the Volta River where they are known as Miwa. The term Lobi means 'the children of the field'.

The history of this community is to be considered from the 18th C. It was in this period that large movements of populations brought Lobi people and other neighbouring communities having similar cultural traits such as Birifor and Dagara, to abandon the northwest of the present Ghana to cross the river and establish themselves on the other side.

After their establishment, they came to face Samory Toure troops who were attracted by the riches in gold and cattle of the region. They also fought against the French penetration. It was only after thirty years of intensive guerrilla warfare that the Lobi country came to be considered as submissive and pacified.

Today, on the political level, the Lobi people do not have specialised administrative and judiciary structures. Thus, they do not recognize any kind of high authority. Lobi people recognize only one form of authority, the one held by the chief of

the family. This society is almost egalitarian without hierarchical political structure. However, certain authority responsibilities are assumed by the land altar priest.

Lobi society has its essential resource from agriculture. They grow millet (*jðbùù*), red sorghum (*jðs'è*) used to produce millet beer (*tǎǎ*) and used in family rituals (dedications, forgiveness, reconciliation) and on market days and white sorghum (*jðbúló*). Moreover, they grow yam, sweet potatoes, peas, beans and maize.

Cattle breeding in Lobi society is a secondary activity. They are used mostly to pay or reimburse the dowry or for sacrifices.

Lobi society is based on the functioning of the parental system. This society is a deeply matrilinear one. Lingenfelter defines this types of kinship relation as a society where “it is a woman’s maternal uncle or elder brother who exercises authority for the corporate and domestic group. [...] Matrilineality functions primarily in terms of inheritance of property and the organization of corporate groups.” (1996: 250). It is the niece or the nephew on the mother’s side who inherits in the family. In the same way also it is the uncle who chooses a wife for his nephew and pays the dowry. He is also responsible to reimburse the dowry in case his nephew ‘steals’ someone’s wife. Lobi people bear the name of their ‘matriclan’ (Kambou, Hien, Da or Kansie). The child has his or her father’s name. After his or her initiation the young boy or girl changes his/her name and takes the name of the mother’s family side. In my case, for example, I should be called ‘Pale’ instead of ‘Tioye’ which is my father’s name. But customs are changing under the influence of modernization.

The social control inside this community is essentially based on the common worship that Lobi people give to the earth through the altar priest (*ðit^hildáàr*).

On a religious level Lobi people are deeply animistic. Each family has its own altar, and it is the chief of the family who performs sacrifices. But when it is the whole community who is concerned about a situation, it is the altar priest who performs all rituals. Usually this man is the founder of the village or the market place. The Lobi also believe in a supreme God *t^hāgba kǝfī* ‘great God’ who is above all.

Missionary work did not have much impact on this society. Lobi people were against both Christian and Muslim religions. However, we can observe gradual progress these past thirty years. Today this community has a New Testament published in 1965 and revised in 1985. There are some churches established in the region and a Bible school. However, we must admit that the work is not easy to be led. The traditional beliefs are still very strong, and those who are converted face persecution, rejection and curses from their family. We estimate the percentage of conversion to Christianity at 15%.

1.2. Presentation of the language

The language called Lobiri (pronounced Lɔbire) is a Gur language (‘langues Voltaïques’ in French), one of the branches of the Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Gur line, according to Grimes’ classification (Grimes, B., 1996: 180). It has two dialects. The first one is called *pábúlódará* ‘people of the plain’ in the north and west around the cities of Nako, Bouroum Bouroum, Loropeni, etc., and the second dialect called *gǝgǝdará* ‘mountain people’ around the town of Gaoua. Lobiri was put into writing around 1932 when Bible translation was in process. Lobiri is an SVO polysynthetic language. More details will be given in Chapter Two.

1.3. Purpose of the study

1.3.1. Research problem

The study of pronouns in Lobiri comes as a new field of research in the study of the language. Since the language was put into writing around 1932, many works have been written in its study. In 1966 and 1967 two linguists wrote descriptions of the grammatical system in Lobiri. These linguists are C. Lamothe (Catholic Father) with *Esquisse du système grammatical Lobi* and M. Vaillant in *Esquisse grammaticale du Lobiri*. Twenty years later two other linguists came up with new insights on the language. These are Jacques Becuwe in *Eléments de phonologie et de grammaire du Lobiri* (1985) and Pale Sami in *Contribution à l'étude du système verbal du Lobiri* (1986). All these studies deal with aspects of grammar, anthropology, and phonology. None of them did a concrete study of the pronominal system in this language when we consider the length and the depth of each part dealing with pronouns. Pronouns in Lobiri are varied and play an important role in combined clauses, cases, semantics and discourse.

The choice of this topic is the result of my reflection on assignments and papers dealing totally or in part with pronouns in morphology, syntax, semantics, and discourse courses. There was a need to deepen my knowledge about Lobiri pronouns.

1.3.2. Goals and objectives

Goal

This research is part of the Linguistics Practicum, a requirement in the Translation Degree Programme at Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology (NEGST).

The purpose of this project is to attempt to describe the grammatical, semantic and discourse functions of the pronouns in Lobiri. This will help us to understand “how the grammatical resources of a particular language can and must be used for effective communication, including Bible translation.” (Dr. Huttar. Advanced Syntax course).

General objective

The general objective of this work is to contribute to the promotion of literacy, Bible translation and other work that will need to refer to the grammatical aspect of the language.

Specific objectives

The specific objectives for this papers are as follows:

- to bring new insights about the pronouns in Lobiri
- to analyze and explain the problems of pronouns in Lobiri

In other words, we would like to find some answers to these following questions:

- what are the pronouns in Lobiri?
- how are they used in text materials?

1.4. Hypothesis

Our work is based on the hypotheses below.

- there are referential pronouns in Lobiri
- pronouns are grammatically classified
- there are logophoric pronouns in Lobiri.

1.5. Methodology

Our study is divided into two parts.

Data gathering

I collected my data from two sources. The first source was recorded conversation in Lobiri. The recorded materials were narratives, dialogues, songs. These materials were then transcribed for the purpose of the study of pronouns. The second source concerns assignments on pronouns in morphology/ syntax, discourse and semantic courses. I was encouraged to look at what was written on pronouns by other authors. Being a native speaker of Lobiri, I must include myself as a source of Lobiri data.

Analysis

The following step after I have collected my data was to transcribe the recorded materials and analyse them. The pronouns were analysed in view of grammar, semantics, and discourse.

CHAPTER TWO

SYNTACTIC AND PHONOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF LOBIRI

2.1. Phonological aspects

2.1.1. Inventory of Phonemes

There are 26 consonants and 10 vowels in Lobiri.

Table 1. Consonants

Consonants

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labiovelar	Glottal
Plosive vl.	p	t	c	k	kp	ʔ
vd.	b	d	ɟ	g	gb	
Aspirated	p ^h	t ^h		k ^h		
Implosive	ɓ					
Fricative vl.	f	s				h
vd.	v					
Nasal	m	n	ɲ			
Lateral		l				
Trill		r				
Approximant			j	w		

Table 2. Vowels

Vowels	Front		Central	Back	
	+ATR	-ATR		-ATR	+ATR
Close	i	ɪ		ʊ	u
Mid	e	ɛ	ə	ɔ	o
Open			a		

There are ten (10) vowels in Lobiri. All vowels have corresponding forms which are long and nasalised.

2.1.2. Suprasegmentals

Syllable tone contrasts

There are two tones found to contrast on individual syllables in Lobiri as seen below.

(1)

Tones	Initial Syllable		Final Syllable	
High	/bíré/	'pit'	/'léré/	'mature'
Low	/bìrè/	'grain, seed'	/bìnè/	'belly'

Allotone Rule

High tone follows the rule of 'downstep'. Whenever a high tone follows a low tone, it is realized as a mid pitch. The high pitch occurs elsewhere.

Downstep rule

(2)	/H/ ---> [M] / L _____	/ɲùɔ́r/	[ɲùɔ́r]	'ten'
	[H] / elsewhere	/bĩsár/	[bĩsār]	'dance'
		/kókól/	[kókól]	'farmer'

Tone DistributionMonosyllabic words

(3)	H	/hó/	'resemble'
		/lór/	'skin'

Disyllabic words

(4)	HH	/bíré/	'pit'
	HL	/núrù/	'deaf'
	LH	/sìpór/	'moon'
	LL	/wùrè/	'day, sun'

Trisyllabic words

(5)	HHH	/síkáná/	'one's behind'
	HHL	/púnónì/	'be able'
	HLL	/bísànà/	'children'
	LLL	/màkòɲò/	'seven'
	LLH	/màkòt ^h ér/	'eight'
	LHH	/gàlásí/	'ice'
	LHL	/bìbórò/	'newborn baby'

In Lobiri it happens that we have falling and rising tones on syllables. It is because of the phenomenon of vowel elision which results from the formation of

compound words, or the adjunction of grammatical morphemes. It also occurs in words that are shortened.

(6)	[kpésè]	/kpɛ̃ /	'heal'
	[gbàbúgú]	/gbǎbú/	'kitchen'
	[mì ǐ kòǝ]	/mĩ kòǝ/	'I am going (home)'
	1sg. CNT. go	1sg.-CNT. go	
	[sì ná ínɛ]	/sǎ ínɛ/	'we are coming'
	1pl. fut. come	1pl.-fut come	

For this paper I have included not to use tones on most data. However, tones are marked when they are necessary for explanation.

2.1.3. Syllable and word structure

Syllable patterns

There are two syllable patterns in Lobiri.

(7)	CV-	-CV-	-CV	
	/hɛ̃/ 'beans'	/bì.bó.rò/ 'new born'	/wù.rè/ 'day,sun'	
	/bì/ 'baby'	/tí.bí.lá/ 'persons'	/nú.rù/ 'deaf'	
(8)	CVC-	-CVC-	-CVC	
	/sùr/ 'squat'		/sǐ.pór/ 'moon'	
	/jól.bì/ 'chick'		/kó.kól/ 'farmer'	

Word patterns

Lobiri words have one, two or three syllables. The most common word patterns are:

Monosyllabic Words

(9)	CV	/hè/	‘beans’	/fù/	‘seize’
		/kò/	‘husband’	/só/	‘tell’
(10)	CVC	/k ^h ír/	‘dead’	/bór/	‘refuse’
		/k ^h ír/	‘dry’	/nár/	‘like’

Disyllabic Words

(11)	V.CV	/àmé/	‘who?’	/àjé/	‘what?’
	CV.CV	/wù.rè/	‘day, sun’	/kú.rì/	‘kill’
	CV.V	/lúò/	‘farm’		
	CV.CVC	/sì.pór/	‘moon’	/há.nán/	‘give’
	CVC.CV	/jòl.bì/	‘chick’		
	CVC.CVC	/k ^h ér.hér/	‘marriage’		

Trisyllabic Words

(12)	CV.CV.CV	/tí.bí.lá/	‘persons’
	CV.CV.CVC	/kó.kó.sòr/	‘monkeys’
	CVC.CV.CV	/bír.fá.nĩ/	‘blanket’

Word boundary changes (across word boundaries)

The following word boundary morphophonemic changes are observed.

When a one-syllable word combines with another one, there is no change observed.

If the second word begins with a vowel, a glottal is inserted between words. But when the first word has two syllables, its entire second syllable is elided.

Compound Nouns

(13)	/bìk ^h ér/	‘daughter’	/bì/	‘baby’	/k ^h ér/	‘woman’
	/yènúò/	‘age’	/yè/	‘face’	/núò/	‘mouth’
	/nàʔílě/	‘milk’	/nà/	‘cow’	/ílě/	‘breast’
	/nìkǒfí/	‘grandmother’	/nìrè/	‘mother’	/kǒfí/	‘elder’
	/yólkó/	‘cock’	/yóló/	‘chicken’	/kó/	‘male’

Reduplicated forms

Reduplication forms are considered as one word.

(14)	/hélélé/	‘slowly’	/hělé/	‘slow’
	/hólóhóló/	‘faster’	/hóló/	‘fast’

Subject or object pronouns affixes

In Lobiri, the pronouns (subject or object) are not bound either to the verb or the noun (possessive). They stand alone and assume their function.

- (15) á bé sèr
 3sg.S beat 1pl-O
 ‘He beat us’

Compound verbs

In addition to compound nouns, there are compound verbs in Lobiri. Verbs can combine with verbs or with nouns.

- (16) /bĩsár/ ‘to dance’ ---> /bĩ/ ‘to beat drum’/sár/ ‘to stamp’
 /k^hérhèrì/ ‘to marry’ ---> /k^hér/ ‘woman’ /hèrì/ ‘to carry’
 /hápèrì/ ‘to love’ ---> /há/ ‘liver’ /pèrì/ ‘to put’

Historical fusion

We observe compounding in our language especially with numerals. I tried to bring out this aspect of numerals in my thesis (Tioyé: 1996). I compared the counting systems in languages related to Lobiri resulting in my discovery of the etymology of number words.

- (17) /bìèl/ ‘one’ /bì/ ‘grain’ /hél/ ‘to separate’
 /yèjò/ ‘two’ /yěbè/ ‘finger’ /jò/ ‘two’
 /yět^hér/ ‘three’ /yěbè/ ‘finger’ /t^hér/ ‘three’
 /yènã/ ‘four’ /yěbè/ ‘finger’ /nã/ ‘four’
 /màkòjò/ ‘seven’ /má/ ‘paste’ /k^hó/ ‘eat’ /jò/ ‘two’
 /màkõt^hér/ ‘eight’ /má/ ‘paste’ /k^hó/ ‘eat’ /t^hér/ ‘three’
 /bàlàjò/ ‘two times’ /bàlà/ ? /jò/ ‘two’
 /bàlàt^hér/ ‘three times’ /bàlà/ ? /t^hér/ ‘three’

2.2. Syntactic aspects of Lobiri

2.2.1 Constituent order

In examining the order of constituents in Lobiri, we want to see where our language fits in terms of the established constituent order typologies of the languages of the world. Syntactic order will be useful for the remaining part of our study of pronouns.

Pragmatically neutral order of constituents

The pragmatically neutral order of constituent is subject followed by the verb and the object comes at the end. Lobiri is a **S V O** language.

(18)	<i>ini</i>	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>dirɛ</i>	<i>jur</i>
	Ini	CNT	eat	‘ugali’
	Subject		Verb	Object
	‘Ini is eating <i>ugali</i> .’			

(19)	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>jẽ</i>	<i>kurɛ</i>	<i>yɔlɔ</i>	<i>biɛl</i>
	1sPoss	uncle	kill	chicken	one
	Subject		Verb	Object	
	‘My uncle killed a chicken.’				

Head of noun in a noun phrase (NP)

Nouns phrase elements include determiners, numerals, quantifiers, nominal and pronominal possessors, adjectives, and relative clauses, and the head noun. The head noun is modified by all these elements cited (Payne. 1997: 86). Head nouns can be adjuncted to a modifier or be separated and still be considered as noun phrase.

Since pronouns can sometimes behave as a noun phrase, I included this part in this work to help us in understanding pronouns.

Determiners

Determiners in Lobiri are bound to the head nouns morphemes. Determiners (Demonstratives) occur after the head noun.

(20) *na-* *kε*
 cow- this
 ‘this cow’

(21) *kon-* *a-* *kε*
 man- pl.- this
 ‘these men’

Numerals N Num

Numerals in Lobiri occur after the head noun in a noun phrase. They are not suffixed to the noun they modify.

(22) *cɔ-* *na* *yēt^her*
 house- pl. three
 ‘three houses’

(23) *tibil-* *a* *maadō*
 person- pl. six
 ‘six people’

Other quantifiers N Quant

Other quantifiers occur after the head noun.

- (24) *cɔ-* *na* *jɔ*
 house- pl. many
 ‘many houses’

- (25) *tibil-* *a* *jɔ*
 person- pl. many
 ‘many people’

Nominal and pronominal possessors Poss N

Nominal and pronouns possessors occur before the head noun in a noun phrase.

- (26) *sami* *cɔ*
 Samy house
 ‘Samy’s house’

- (27) *lakol-* *bisã-* *le* *t^hI*
 school- child- that father
 ‘the student’s father’

- (28) *ɔɔ* *cɔ*
 3sPoss house
 ‘his/ her house’

- (29) *anɪ* *bisã*
 2pPoss child
 ‘your (pl.) child’

Adjectives N Adj

Adjectives occur after the head noun with the plural marker being suffixed to the adjective.

- (30) *cɔ* *pɛr-* *na*
 house large- pl.
 ‘large houses’

- (31) *tibil* *bɔɔ*
 person good
 ‘a good person’

Relative clauses N Rel

Lobiri relative clauses occur after the head noun. It is important to mention that the relative clause is expressed by adjuncting *-kɛ* to the noun and *-nɪ* to the verb.

- (32) *bɪsã-* *kɛ* *ji-* *nɪ* *mɔ̃* *wĩ* *tɔ* *balɔ̃*
 child- this know- Perf how 3pl.CNT push ball
 ‘the child who plays soccer well’

- (33) *sɛvɛ-* *kɛ* *mɪ* *hɪɪ-* *nɪ* *dɛ*
 book- this 1sg look at- Perf yesterday
 ‘the book I read yesterday’

Adpositional phrases in NP's

Lobiri NP's have mainly postpositions.

Locative

- (34) *tabali* *yυ-* *ō*
 table head- Loc
 'on the table'

- (35) *kartō* *ball-* *ɔ*
 box under- Loc
 'under the box'

- (36) *mɛr-* *rɔ*
 1sg-O- Loc
 'on me'

/-rɔ/ expresses location. It has more than one morphological form.

Comitative (Accompaniment)

Here we have prepositional phrases. The preposition *na* is used to indicate the accompaniment or the instrument. It is used for persons as well as things.

- (37) *a* *jaal* *na* *ĩ* *t^hI*
 3sg-S go with 1sPoss father
 'He/ she left with my father.'

Instrumental

- (38) *bicaba* *ĩ* *dirɛ* *maa* *na* *ʃɔ̃kpuo*
 Bicaba CNT eat rice with wooden spoon
 ‘Bicaba is eating *ugali* with a wooden spoon.’

Comparatives: order of standard, marker, and quality

Standard in comparison refers to the norm against which the subject of the clause is compared. The marker concerns the signals that the clause is a comparative construction and the quality by which the subject is compared with the standard (Payne. 1997: 89). In Lobiri the quality comes before the marker which also comes before the standard. The comparative order is **quality marker standard**.

- (39) *sidumo* *gbaane* *kar* *sidã*
 hyena tall cross spider
 Quality **Marker** **Standard**
 ‘Hyena is taller than spider.’

Question particles and question words

Questions particles and question words in Lobiri always comes at the beginning of the sentence.

Questions particles in yes/ no question

- (40) *di* *afi* *tʰɪ* *ĩ* *jaal* *'yaa*
 QP 2sPoss father CNT go market
 'Is you father going to the market?'

DI at the beginning of the clause shows that it is a polar interrogation. (This particle can also function as a conjunction 'then' and as the causative morpheme.)

Wh- (content) questions

The questioned element occurs at the beginning of the clause.

- (41) *ape* *duʃ* *noo* *afi* *ni* *ĩ* *ser* *jo*
 what bite foot 2sPoss mother CNT plant sorghum
 'Why is your mother planting sorghum?'

- (42) *ame* *jaala* *'yaa*
 who go market
 'Who went to the market?'

According to what we have seen so far I would say that Lobiri is a head-first language.

Pragmatically marked order of constituents

Lobiri is an Agent Verb Patient (AVP) language. It employs both positions adjacent to the verb (before and after) for expressing various kinds of pragmatic

status. The case of expression of focus in this language is an example. Example 43a below is the answer of the question stated in 43b.

- (43) a. *adu t^hire por- a yeɲɔ delē*
 Adu cook yam. pl. two yesterday
 ‘Adu cooked two yams.’
- b. Question *ape adu t^hɪ delē*
 what Adu cook yesterday
 ‘What did Adu cook yesterday?’
- c. Answer (Object) *por- a yeɲɔ adu t^hɪ delē*
 yam- pl. two Adu cook yesterday
 ‘It is two yams Adu cooked yesterday.’
- d. Question *ame t^hia por- a yeɲɔ ke delē*
 who cook yam- pl. two- this yesterday
 ‘Who cooked these two yams yesterday?’
- e. Answer (Subject) *adu t^hia por- a yeɲɔ delē*
 Adu cook yam- pl. two yesterday
 ‘It is Adu who cooked two yams yesterday.’
- f. Question *umɔ wure adu t^hɪ por- a yeɲɔ*
 which day Adu cook yam- pl. two
 ‘When did Adu cook two yams?’
- f. Answer (Time.Loc.) *delē adu t^hɪ por- a yeɲɔ*
 yesterday Adu cook yam- pl. two
 ‘Yesterday Adu cooked two yams.’

These examples show that the focused constituent comes always at the beginning of the sentence and always before the verb and also before the subject if the focused constituent is not the subject.

Dislocation

Payne (1997: 272) defines dislocation as referring to the placing of a clause element outside the syntactic boundaries of the clause. Dislocation, also referred to as extraposition, can be to the left (preposing) or to the right (postposing) of the clause..

(44) a *bɪsã-* *kɛ* *ã* *yure* *musum*
 child- this 3sg-S.CNT steal money
 ‘This child, he steals money.’

b. *sami,* *a-* *a* *hana* *fãga-* *ga*
 Samy 3sg-S- neg. have strength- neg.
 ‘Samy, he does not have strength.’

According to the definition of dislocation, we observe that these examples show a left-dislocation in Lobiri. There is no right-dislocation in Lobiri.

-kɛ ‘this, here’ is an affix added to *bɪsã* ‘child’. In this case, it becomes a pragmatic status marker. It has the pragmatic status of identifiable. It is absent when we have a proper noun such as in 44b. Pronouns also can be dislocated.’

2.2.2. Reflexives

Lexical reflexive

- (45) a. *sali* *hũre* *ɲũʒ*
 Sali wash water
 ‘Sali had her bath.’
- b. *ollo* *na* *bebe* *ĩ* *tɔ* *kẽkẽ*
 Ollo with Bebe CNT. put on cloth
 ‘Ollo and Bebe are getting dressed.’

Analytical reflexive

- (46) a. *samy* *duʒ* *ɔɔ* *dibarã*
 Samy bite 3sPoss self
 ‘Samy bites himself.’
- b. *sali* *hure* *ɲũʒ* *ɔɔ* *dibarã*
 Sali wash water 3sPoss. self
 ‘Sali bathed herself (Sali is a woman).’

The examples 45a and 46b show that Sali bathed herself. The example 46b puts an emphasis on the fact that Sali bathed alone without any help from someone else. If she were bathed by someone else the construction would be different.

2.2.3. Reciprocals

Lexical reciprocal

- (47) a. *ollo na bebe ker*
 Ollo with Bebe fight
 ‘Ollo and Bebe fought.’
- b. *ollo ker na bebe*
 Ollo fight with Bebe
 ‘Ollo and Bebe fought.’

Morphological reciprocal

- (48) a. *ollo na bebe ke- k^ha- rɛ*
 Ollo with Bebe fight- RECIP.- Prog
 ‘Ollo and Bebe fought each other.’
- b. *sali na ini hĩ- k^ha- rɛ*
 Sali with Ini look- RECIP.- Prog
 ‘Sali and Ini looked at each other.’

1. Reflexives and reciprocals are not formally identical. We observe that their lexical constructions have the same form as in examples 45b and 47a. However, the lexical reciprocal is limited to the verb /*ker*/. This verb can stand alone as a lexical reciprocal and also goes with /-*k^hare*/ to be identified as a morphological reciprocal. I am not sure whether other verbs can behave as /*ker*/. However, this verb does not

work with the other verbs. The reciprocal morpheme is to be added to make the clause grammatically acceptable. Then, by doing it we enter in the morphological reciprocal. In Lobiri there are no morphological reflexives and no lexical reciprocals.

2. In the reflexive construction the reflexive marker /*dibarã*/ is preceded by a possessive pronoun that agrees with the subject, as in examples 46a and 46b where /*ɔɔ*/ is third possessive pronoun related to the subject /*sami*/ or /*sali*/.

3. /*dibarã*/ ‘self’ can be used in other ways. When it follows a personal pronoun object in the beginning of the clause, as in 49a, it means ‘by one’s self’.

(49) a *mɛrɛ* *dibarã* *ina*
 1sg-O self come
 ‘I came by myself.’

b. *mɛrɛ* *bɛl* *ina*
 1sg-O one come
 ‘I came alone.’

CHAPTER THREE

TYPES OF PRONOUNS

A pronoun is defined in the *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (Crystal D. 1989: 281) as a “part of the grammatical classification of words referring to the closed set of items which can be used to substitute for a noun phrase (or single noun).” There are many types of pronouns such as personal, reflexive, possessive, and demonstrative. We will present different types of pronouns found in Lobiri. In discourse pronouns are seen as “the paradigm examples of expressions used by speakers to refer to ‘given’ entities. The relationship between the full nominal expression and the pronominal expression is then described as an antecedent-anaphor relation” (Brown & Yule. 1983: 214). We will deal with pronouns in discourse in the next chapter.

3.1. Personal pronouns

In Lobiri we find two kind of personal pronouns: pronoun-subject and pronoun-object. These pronouns have different forms when they are used in a negative sentence.

3.1.1. Personal pronouns-subject

In Lobiri personal pronouns may function as subject.

- (50) *mi jaal 'yaa*
 1sg-S go market
 'I went to the market.'
- (51) *fi jaal 'yaa*
 2sg-S go market
 'You go to the market.'
- (52) *a jaal 'yaa*
 3sg-S go market
 'He/she/it went to the market.'
- (53) *gr jire ʃuɔ- nɔ*
 3sg-S fall water- in
 'It fell in the water.'
- (54) *si jaal 'yaa*
 1pl-S go market
 'We went to the market.'
- (55) *ni jaal 'yaa*
 2pl-S go market
 'You (pl.) went to the market.'
- (56) *wi jaal 'yaa*
 3pl-S go market
 'They went to the market.'

We note that third person singular is expressed by two forms. *a* (example 52) concerns people/ animals that are animate. In example 53 *gI* represents inanimate things, for example, objects, thoughts, events. These pronouns are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Subject Pronouns

Pronoun-Subject	Person
<i>mI</i>	1sg
<i>fI</i>	2sg
<i>a</i>	3sg (animate)
<i>gI</i>	3sg (inanimate)
<i>sI</i>	1pl
<i>nI</i>	2pl
<i>wI</i>	3pl

3.1.2 Personal Pronouns-object

We present here pronouns having the function of object.

- (57) *a* *ber* *mεrε*
 3sg-S go 1sg-O
 ‘He/she beat me’

- (58) *sI* *yII* *fεr*
 1pl-S see 2sg-O
 ‘We saw you.’

- (59) *bεbε* *her* *wεr*
 Bεbε carry 3sg-O
 ‘Bεbε married her.’

- (60) *bε* *ũ*
 beat 3sg-O
 ‘Beat her/him.’
- (61) *te* *gɪ*
 remove 3sg-O
 ‘Remove it.’
- (62) *fɪ* *yɪɪ* *sɛɪ*
 2sg-S see 1pl-O
 ‘You (sg.) see us.’
- (63) *bʲɛ̃* *dɔ̃* *nɛɪ*
 dog bite 2pl-O
 ‘The dog bite you (pl.).’
- (64) *dolo* *tʰɔɔ* *wɛ*
 Dolo accompany 3pl-O
 ‘Dolo accompanied them.’
- (65) *nar* *wɪ*
 love 3pl-O
 ‘Love them.’

We notice that the third person singular has three forms, including *gɪ*, *ũ* and *wɛɪ*. *ũ* occurs in the imperative form and in some construction it is in the subordinate clause. A table summarizes the object pronouns.

Table 4. Object Pronouns

Pronoun-Object	Person
mɛr- ɛ	1sg
fɛr- ɛ	2sg
wɛr- ɛ	3sg
ũ- (IMP)	3sg
gɪ	3sg
sɛr- ɛ	1pl
nɛr- ɛ	2pl
wɛr- ɛ	3pl
wɪ (IMP)	3pl

In the above examples object pronouns are used in their reduced form. /ɛ/ is added to the reduced form to give the normal form (used especially in focus or dislocation constructions).

3.1.3. Negation

When a personal pronoun is used in a negative sentence, it appears with some morphophonemic changes. We have seen in the section 3.1.2 that the third person singular has two different forms depending on the mood of the sentence: imperative or declarative.

(66)a **mì* *ná* *jaal* *yaa*
 1sg-S fut go market

b *m-* *á* *jaal* *yaa*
 1sg-S- fut go market

‘I will go to the market.’

- (67)a **mì* *ná* *nà* *jaal* *yaa- ga*
 1sg-S fut neg go market- neg
- b *m-* *á* *jaal* *yaa-* *ga*
 1sg-S- fut.neg go market- neg
- ‘I will not go to the market.’

Examples 66a and 67a show that the separate construction of the pronoun with the negative particle is not admitted in Lobiri. However, examples 66b and 67b give the right form accepted by Lobi community.

In a negative sentence two negative particles are merged with pronoun-subject or pronoun-object. When the first negative particle /*na*/ is added to the pronoun, the contracted form has a different form according to the tense or aspect of the verb.

The future in Lobiri is expressed with the particle /*ná*/ that precedes the verb. When a pronoun-subject is used in this case the /*n*/ of the future particle and the final vowel of the pronoun are elided and the result is a contracted form (see examples 66a and b). In negative sentences we observe a similar process. The presence of *ga* at the end of the sentence shows the difference between a future sentence and negative sentence: the first negative particle *nà* being completely assimilated (see 67a and b).

When the continuative present morpheme *ĩ* follows the pronoun-subject, this vowel is elided and the tone and the nasal trait are spread over the vowel of the pronoun (examples 68b and 69b). When it comes to the negative present continuative form the two particles are merged and contracted with the pronoun.

(68)a **mì* *ĩ* *jaal* *yaa*
 1sg-S CNT go market

b *m-* *ĩ* *jaal* *yaa*
 1sg-S- CNT go market
 ‘I am going to the market.’

(69)a **mɪ* *ĩ* *nà* *jaal* *yaa-* *ga*
 1sg CNT neg go market- neg

b *m-* *ã* *jaal* *yaa-* *ga*
 1sg- CNT.neg go market- neg
 ‘I am not going to the market.’

There is no past tense morpheme particle that accompanies the verb. Therefore the pronoun-subject remains in the same form. In the past negative sentences, the negative morpheme is merged with the subject pronoun and the vowel of the pronoun and /n/ of the negative are elided (70c).

(70)a *mɪ* *jaal* *yaa*
 1sg-S go market
 ‘I went to the market.’

b **mɪ* *nà* *jaal* *yaa-* *ga*,
 1sg-S neg go market- neg

c	<i>m-</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>jaal</i>	<i>yaa-</i>	<i>ga</i>
	1sg-S-	neg	go	market-	neg
	‘I did not go to the market.’				

Finally, the second negative particle *ga* is the final word of the sentence. When it is suffixed to a noun, /g/ is, in most cases, elided and the final vowel of the last word is also elided. When *ga* is suffixed to the third pronoun-object imperative singular *ũ*, this vowel changes to the semivowel /w/ while the initial consonant of the negative particle is elided as exemplified in 71c. The nasal trait and the tone remain on the vowel of the merged form.

(71)a	<i>bɛ</i>	<i>ũ</i>
	beat	3sg-O-IMP
	‘Beat him/her.’	

b	<i>*fi</i>	<i>nã</i>	<i>bɛ</i>	<i>ũ-</i>	<i>ga</i>
	2sg-S	neg	beat	3sg-O-IMP	neg

c	<i>f-</i>	<i>ã</i>	<i>bɛ</i>	<i>wã</i>
	2sg-S-	neg	beat	3sg-O-IMP.neg
	‘Do not beat him/ her.’			

(72)a	<i>bɛ</i>	<i>wɪ</i>
	beat	3pl-O-IMP
	‘Beat them.’	

b	<i>*fi</i>	<i>nã</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>wì-</i>	<i>gà</i>
	2sg-S	neg	beat	3pl-O-IMP-	neg
(73)	<i>f</i>	<i>ã</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>w-</i>	<i>à</i>
	2sg-S-	neg	beat	3pl-O-IMP-	neg
	'Do not beat them.'				

The table below gives a summary of the negative forms of pronouns.

Table 5. Negative forms of pronouns

CONTRACTED FORMS						
Person	Pronouns		Basic Negation	Past	Present CNT	Future
1sg	Subject Object	mI mɛr	na ... ga na ... ga	ma ... ga na ... ma	mã ... ga na ... mà	má ... ga na ... má
2sg	Subject Object	fɪ fɛr	na ... ga na ... ga	fa ... ga na ... fa	fã ... ga na ... fà	fá ... ga na ... fá
3sg	Subject Object (IMP)	a wer ũ	na ... ga na ... ga	aa ... ga na ... wã na ... wã	ãa ... ga na ... wà na ... wã	áná ... ga na ... wá na ... wã
3sg	Subject Object	gI gI	na ... ga na ... ga	ga ... ga na ... ga	gã ... ga na ... gà	gá ... ga na ... gá
1pl	Subject Object	sI sɛr	na ... ga na ... ga	sa ... ga na ... sa	sã ... ga na ... sà	sá ... ga na ... sá
2pl	Subject Object	nI nɛr	na ... ga na ... ga	na ... ga na ... na	nã ... ga na ... nà	ná ... ga na ... ná
3pl	Subject Object	wI wɛr	na ... ga na ... ga	wa ... ga na ... wa	wã ... ga na ... wà	wá ... ga na ... wá

The first and second person singular and the third plural show a high degree of contraction in the negative form. In all these morphological changes we can observe the same process.

3.2. Possessive pronouns

There are two sets of possessive pronouns in Lobiri. The first set includes pronouns that modify the NP (i.e. attributive usage). In possessive constructions, the possessive pronoun precedes the noun.

- (74) *ĩ* *t^hI* *inε*
 1sPoss- father come
 ‘My father came.’
- (75) *afi* *t^hI* *jaal*
 2sPoss father go
 ‘Your father went.’
- (76) *ɔɔ* *bisa-* *na* *yεɲɔ* *na* *k^ler- a*
 3sPoss child- pl. two neg strong- neg
 ‘His/ her two children are unwell.’
- (77) *asi* *b^jě* *jire* *ɲuɔ-* *nɔ*
 1pPoss dog fall water- in
 ‘Our dog fell in the water.’
- (78) *ani* *cɔ* *ho* *asi* *cɔ*
 2pPoss house resemble 1pPoss house
 ‘Your (pl) house looks like our house.’
- (79) *awi* *bana-* *sɔr* *jaal* *luɔ*
 3pPoss sheep- pl go farm
 ‘Their sheep went to the farm.’

We observe in example 78 that the possessive pronoun can modify both subject and object NPs. Table 6 below gives us a summary of these pronouns.

Table 6. Possessive pronouns set I

Possessive Pronouns I	
ĩ	1sPoss
àfi	2sPoss
ɔɔ	3sPoss
àsì	1pPoss
ànì	2pPoss
àwì	3pPoss

The second set of possessive pronouns includes pronouns that can substitute for an NP.

- (80) *ĩdà* *inɛ*
 1sPoss come
 ‘Mine has come.’

- (81) *afida* *jɔ* *ĩda*
 2sPoss much 1sPoss
 ‘Yours (sg.) is more than mine.’

- (82) *ɔɔda* *na* *bɔr-* *a*
 3sPoss neg good- neg
 ‘His/ hers is not good.’

- (83) *asɪda* *na* *k'ɛr-* *a*
 1pPoss neg strength- neg
 ‘Ours is not well.’

- (84) *anida* *jire* *ɲuɔ-* *no*
 2pPoss fall water- in
 ‘Yours (pl.) fell in the water.’

- (85) *awida* *kure* *sie-* *da*
 3pPoss kill Sie- owner
 ‘Theirs killed Sie’s.’

We notice a bound morpheme has been suffixed to the possessive pronoun. */-da/* is a bound morpheme that gives the idea of ‘possession/ownership’. It can be suffixed to a pronoun as well as a noun (example 85). Its focus is more deictic and expresses a high degree of substitution in possessive constructions.

- (86) *dolo* *bana* *bure*
 Dolo sheep lose
 ‘Dolo’s sheep are lost.’

- (87) *dolo-* *da* *bure*
 Dolo- owner lose
 ‘Dolo’s are lost.’

- (88) *ɔɔ-* *da* *bure*
 3sPoss- owner lose
 ‘His are lost.’

Examples 86 to 88 show three levels of possessive construction. The possessive pronouns at the third level (second set: example 88) may be used as subject or object in the sentence (see Table 7 below). This set is usually found as object in the sentence

especially when the first set is used as subject. The second set of possessive pronouns cannot be a subject when the first set is object in the sentence (89a). However, two possessive pronouns of the same set can be subject while the other is object.

- (89)a **asida* *ho* *ĩ* *b'je*
 1pPoss resemble 1sPoss dog
 'Ours resembles my dog.'
- b *ĩ* *b'jẽ* *ho* *ani-* *da*
 1sPoss dog resemble 2pPoss- owner
 'My dog resembles yours.'

Example 89b shows that the two sets of pronouns can combine to give a double possessive in a symmetrical way. The examples below (90-95) show a progressive degree of possessive pronouns.

- (90) *asi* *b'jẽ* *ha* *bisa- na* *maadõ*
 1pPoss dog get child- pl six
 'Our dog had six puppies.'
- (91) *ani* *b'jẽ* *ha* *bisa- na* *yenã*
 2pPoss dog get child- pl four
 'Your (pl) dog had four puppies.'
- (92) *asi* *b'jẽ- da* *jɔre* *a* *ka* *ani* *b'jẽ-* *da*
 1pPoss dog- owner much to cross 2pPoss dog- owner
 'Our dog's are more than your dog's.' or 'Our dog has more puppies than your dog does.'

- (93) *asɪ bʲɛ̃ da jɔɾɛ a ka anɪ da*
 1pPoss dog- owner much to cross 2pPoss- owner
 ‘Our dog’s are more than yours.’
- (94) *asɪ- da jɔɾɛ a ka anɪ bʲɛ̃ da*
 1pPoss- owner much to cross 2pPoss dog- owner
 ‘Ours are more than your dog’s.’
- (95) *asɪ- da jɔɾɛ a ka anɪ- da*
 1pPoss- owner much to cross 2pPoss- owner
 ‘Ours are more than yours.’

Table 7 below displays set II of possessive pronouns.

Table 7. Possessive pronouns set II

Possessive Pronouns II	
ɪda	mine
afida	yours
ɔɔda	his\ her\ its
asɪda	ours
anɪda	yours (pl)
awɪda	theirs

These two sets of possessive pronouns can function substantively either as subject or as object. There is no morphological difference in the two cases. The third person singular pronoun has only one form for the possessive form. That means there is no distinction between animate and inanimate in possessive pronouns.

3.3. Relative pronouns

Relative pronouns in Lobiri are represented by two different constructions. The first construction concerns a relative pronoun that stands for a noun subject in the independent clause. This kind of ‘relative pronoun’ has two morphemes in its construction, *-kɛ* ‘this’ which is suffixed to the head noun and *-nɪ* which is suffixed to the verb of the principal clause. Actually, it is these two morphemes, in this particular construction, that give the idea of relative pronoun. There is no relative pronoun strictly speaking.

- (96) *bisã- kɛ jal- nɪ lakolo inɛ*
 child- this go- Perf school come
 ‘The child who went to school came back.’
- (97) *k^hɛr- kɛ hana- nɪ bɪ delě ber ɔɔ ko*
 woman- this have- Perf baby yesterday beat 3sPoss husband
 ‘The woman who had a baby the day before yesterday beat her husband.’
- (98) *b^jě- kɛ hana- nɪ ʃĩ k^har duʒ afɪ bisã*
 dog- this have- Perf tooth break bite 2sPoss child
 ‘The dog that has a broken tooth bites your child.’

The relative clause can also be expressed with *dɪ* ‘then’ in the beginning of the clause. This happens when the ‘relative pronoun’ replaces a noun that is object in the independent clause. This form is the same for all persons in this kind of construction.

- (99) *mi yirɛ bisã biɛl di ji file*
 1sg-S see child one then know wisdom
 ‘I saw a child who is intelligent.’
- (100) *mi yirɛ bisã- kɛ ji- ni file*
 1sg-S see child- this know- Perf wisdom
 ‘I saw the child who is intelligent.’

This second construction (100) shows that the definite article /-kɛ/ may be used in this situation with the object. -kɛ demands that -ni, expressing a completed action be suffixed to the verb.

Lobiri does not distinguish between animate and inanimate forms of ‘relative pronouns’. Both of these have the same construction.

3.4. Demonstrative Pronouns

The following are the demonstrative pronouns in Lobiri.

- (101) *kɛ* ‘this’
le ‘that’
- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>u-</i> <i>kɛ</i> ‘this one’
3sg-S- this | <i>wɪ-</i> <i>kɛ</i> ‘these ones’
3pl-S- this |
| <i>u-</i> <i>le</i> ‘that one’
3sg-S- that | <i>wɪ-</i> <i>le</i> ‘those ones’
3pl-S- that |

gi- kɛ and *gi- le* are expressions that have the meaning ‘here it is’ or ‘there it is’.

gr refers to an inanimate thing. /-kɛ/ is a bound morpheme while /le/ is not. *le* can stand by itself. In this case it has the meaning of location 'there'. The noun that it is related to has an obligatory postposition ɔ or rɔ 'in' to express location.

- (102) *le* *'yaa-* *rɔ*
 there market- in
 'There in the market'

- (103) *a* *toore* *le* *ɲuɔ-* *nɔ*
 3sg-S stay there water- in
 'He/she stayed in the water.'

Demonstrative pronouns have the same forms when they are used with plural nouns.

- (104) *bisã- kɛ* 'this child' *bisa- na- kɛ* 'these children'
 child-this child- pl. this
- bisã- le* 'that child' *bisa-na-le* 'those children'
 child- that child-pl.-that

The demonstrative pronoun does not change when the noun has plural morphemes (two forms), as a form of emphasis.

- (105) *k^hɛr- kɛ* 'this woman' *k^hɛr- a- kɛ* 'these women'
 woman- this woman- pl.- this

k^her- a- sɔr- kɛ ‘these women’ *k^her- a- sɔr- le* ‘those women’
 woman- pl.-pl.- this woman- pl.- pl.- that

3.5 Reflexive pronouns

In Lobiri reflexive pronouns are expressed by a possessive pronoun (see 3.2)

plus *dɪbarã* ‘self’ both in direct and indirect object positions.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------------|--------------|------------|---------------|---------------|
| (106) | <i>mi</i> | <i>duʃ</i> | <i>ĩ</i> | <i>dɪbarã</i> | |
| | 1sg-S | bite | 1sPoss. | self | |
| | ‘I bite myself.’ | | | | |
| (107) | <i>a</i> | <i>kure</i> | <i>ɔɔ</i> | <i>dɪbarã</i> | |
| | 3sg-S | kill | 3sPoss. | self | |
| | ‘He killed himself.’ | | | | |
| (108) | <i>wɪ</i> | <i>ʔire</i> | <i>awɪ</i> | <i>dɪbarã</i> | |
| | 3pl-S | tie | 3pPoss | self | |
| | ‘They tied themselves.’ | | | | |
| (109) | <i>a</i> | <i>jaal</i> | <i>ʔaa</i> | <i>ɔɔ</i> | <i>dɪbarã</i> |
| | 3sg-S | go | market | 3sPoss | self |
| | ‘She herself went to the market.’ | | | | |
| (110) | <i>a</i> | <i>miire</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>ɔɔ</i> | <i>dɪbarã</i> |
| | 3sg-S | speak | with | 3sPoss | self |
| | ‘He/she spoke to himself /herself.’ | | | | |

The following is a table of reflexive pronouns.

Table 8. Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronoun		
<i>ĩ</i>	<i>dɪbarã</i>	‘myself’
1sPoss	self	
<i>afi</i>	<i>dɪbarã</i>	‘yourself’
2sPoss	self	
<i>ɔɔ</i>	<i>dɪbarã</i>	‘himself / herself / itself’
3sPoss	self	
<i>asɪ</i>	<i>dɪbarã</i>	‘ourselves’
1pPoss	self	
<i>anɪ</i>	<i>dɪbarã</i>	‘yourselves’
2pPoss	self	
<i>awɪ</i>	<i>dɪbarã</i>	‘themselves’
3pPoss	self	

dɪbarã can also be used as subject for the purpose of topicalization. Here it is preceded by a personal pronoun-object, rather than the possessive pronoun.

- (111) *fer* *dɪbarã* *jala* ‘yaa
2sg-O self go market

‘You went to the market by yourself’ or ‘you went alone to the market.’

- (112) *wēr* *dibara* *jala* *'yaa*
 3pl-O self go market
 ‘They went to the market by themselves.’

However, the third singular reflexive pronoun does not work the same way as the others when topicalization is the focus. It uses the possessive pronoun form rather than the pronoun-object.

- (113) **wēr* *dibara* *jala* *'yaa*
 3sg-O self go market
 ‘He/ she went to the market by him/herself.’

- (114) **ũ* *dibara* *jala* *'yaa*
 3sg-O self go market
 ‘He/she him/herself went to the market.’

- (115) **gr* *dibara* *jala* *'yaa*
 3sg-O self go market
 ‘It went to the market.’

- (116) *ɔɔr* *dibarã* *jala* *'yaa*
 3sPoss self go market
 ‘He, himself (Her, herself; it, itself) went to the market.’

Only the context can tell us when it has the idea of ‘alone’ or the idea of emphasis.

3.6. Reciprocal

The reciprocal in Lobiri is expressed by two morphemes *-ka* and *-rɛ* bound to the verb. The morpheme *-ka* is added to the verb that expresses the reciprocal nature of action being carried out. The morpheme *-rɛ* that follows the *-ka* expresses the continuity of the action of the verb. The pronoun-subject is used in its usual way without any change. It does not affect the form of the reciprocal nor its form affected. Thus, we must state that there are no reciprocal pronouns in Lobiri

- (117) *si* *be-* *ka-* *rɛ*
 1pl-S beat- RECIP.- Prog
 ‘We fought (each other).’
- (118) *wi* *mɔ̃-* *ka-* *rɛ* *nuɔ*
 3pl-S paste- RECIP.- Prog. mouth
 ‘They kissed each other.’

3.7 Interrogative pronouns

aje ‘what’, *ame* ‘who’, and *umɔ̃* ‘which one’ are the interrogative pronouns.

- (119) *aje* *hana* *fi*
 what have 2sg-S
 ‘What is wrong with you?’

- (120) *ajɛ nuu caa fi kor*
 what meat kind 2sg-S eat

‘What kind of meat have you eaten?’

- (121) *amɛ fi yɪ*
 who 2sg-S see

‘Who did you see?’

- (122) *amɛ bisã je ɲuɔ- nɔ*
 who child fall water- in

‘Whose child fell in the water?’

- (123) *umɔ̃ fi ‘yaal*
 which one 2sg-S want

‘Which one do you want?’

- (124) *umɔ̃ nɛɛ- faa ã ‘yaal*
 which one feet- leaves 3sg-S-CNT want

‘Which one of the slippers does he want?’

In general these interrogative pronouns come first in a sentence. These examples show pronouns functioning as both subject and object. When it comes to the position of indirect object, time or location they also come first in the sentence.

Indirect object

- (125) *amɛ a ha sɛbɛ- kɛ*
 who 3sg-S give book- this

‘Who did he give the book to?’

Time

- (126) *umʕ* *bɔɔ* *a* *kʕ*
 which one time 3sg-S leave
 ‘What time did he leave?’

Location

- (127) *umʕ* *paa* *a* *jaal*
 which one place 3sg-S go
 ‘What place did he go?’

The next chapter explores the use of pronouns in semantics and discourse.

CHAPTER FOUR

PERSON IN SEMANTICS AND DISCOURSE

4.1. Persons in Semantic Roles

4.1.1. Participant roles

Participant roles deal with the relationship between a verb and the referring expressions in a sentence. We will describe successively the following roles: Agent, Experiencer, Affected, Instrument, Location, and Beneficiary. The pronoun sets used for each of these is our focal point.

Agent

The Agent is described as the “initiator of some action, capable of acting with volition” (Saeed, 1997:140). In Lobiri the Agent appears usually at the beginning of the sentence and may have the form of proper noun, personal pronoun, or simple noun. The pronoun-subject is commonly used as agent, as illustrated by *mI*, *a*, *wI*, *fɛ*, *sI*, and *nɛr* in the following examples.

The Agents here are:

<i>mI</i>	1st person singular (subject)
<i>a</i>	3rd person singular (subject)
<i>wI</i>	3rd person plural (subject)
<i>fɛr</i>	2nd person singular (object)
<i>sI</i>	1st person plural (subject)

nɛr 2nd person plural (object)

- (128) *mi* *gba* *hotoro* *a* *jal-* *na*
 1sg-S take car to go- with
 ‘I went on a bus.’
- (129) *a* *gba* *gãg^wo-* *kule* *a* *děɛ* *ɔɔ* *k^hiru*
 3sg-S take horse- seat to lay on 3sPoss back
 ‘He took a saddle and put on his back.’
- (130) *si* *gba* *gãg^wo-* *kule*
 1pl-S take horse- seat
 ‘We took a saddle.’
- (131) *wi* *t^hɔɔ* *mɛr* *le*
 3pl-S accompany 1sg-S there
 ‘They escorted me there.’
- (132) *fɛr* *gbaa* *asi* *bⁱɛ*
 2sg-O take 1pPoss dog
 ‘It is you who took our dog.’
- (133) *nɛr* *tⁱa* *maar*
 2pl-O cook rice
 ‘It is you who cooked the rice.’

Experiencer

The Experiencer participant is defined by Saeed as “the entity which is aware of the action or state described by the predicate but which is not in control of the action or state” (1997: 140).

Experiencers in the examples below are *a*, *nɪ*, *wɛr*, and *ɔɔ*.

- (134) *mɔ̃* *a* *yi* *mi-* *nɪ*
 how 3sg-S see 1sg-S Perf
 ‘When he saw me...’

- (135) *a* *yI* *wɛ* *a* *fiŋe* *‘yʲe*
 3sg-S see 3sg-O to turn face
 ‘She saw him and turned away her face.’
- (136) *ni* *pʰiŋɛ* *kʰoo*
 2pl-S lay down sickness
 ‘You (pl) fell sick.’
- (137) *wɛr* *pʰina* *kʰoo*
 3pl-O lay down sickness
 ‘It is them who fell sick.’
- (138) *fɛr* *yɛ* *mi*
 2sg-O see 1sg-S
 ‘It is you who saw me.’

Affected

Hurford & Heasley (1983: 221) define the affected participant as “the thing (not usually a person, although it may be) upon which the action is carried out, in many cases the thing is changed by the action in the most obvious way.” Affected are usually identified as pronoun-object.

In the examples below affected are *wɛr*, *mɛr*, *mi*, *fɛr*.

- (139) *sidã* *fiŋe* *wɛr*
 spider cheat 3sg-O
 ‘Spider cheated him.’
- (140) *wI* *tʰɔɔ* *mɛr* *a* *fay* *mi* *hʊ-* *nʊɔ-* *rɔ*

3pl-S accompany 1sg-O to release 1sg-S road- mouth-in
 ‘They escorted me and left me on the roadside.’

- (141) *b'ẽ* *dõ* *fẽr*
 dog bite 2sg-O
 ‘A dog bites you.’

Beneficiary

The beneficiary participant is the person for whom the action described by the sentence is carried out. In Lobiri, like in English, this situation occurs only within transitive clauses. The Beneficiary is presented in two different forms: it can occur between the verb and the object (Affected) or it may occur in the second sentence which is related to the first by a coordination conjunction *a* ‘to’. Examples 142 and 144 illustrate the first form of beneficiary and examples 143 and 145 illustrate the second form. Pronouns in examples (142) and (144) are subject pronouns. The reason is the presence of the verb *ha* ‘to give’ in infinitive form in a subordinate clause with the idea of purpose. When this verb is used in an independent clause the beneficiary in this case will be an object pronoun. Object pronouns in examples (143) and (145) are in double accusative (two accusatives used with a main verb) position to the main verb.

- (142) *ĩ* *jẽ* *kurẽ* *yɔl-* *kuo* *a* *ha* *mi*
 1sPoss uncle kill chicken- male to give 1sg-S
 ‘My uncle killed a cock to welcome me.’

- (143) *ĩ* *jě* *ku* *mēr* *yɔl-* *kuo*
 1sPoss uncle kill 1sg-O chicken- male
 ‘My uncle killed a cock to welcome me.’

- (144) *mĩ* *‘yaale* *k^her* *ĩ* *ha* *fi*
 1sg-S-CNT look for woman 1sPoss give 2sg-S
 ‘I am looking for a woman for you.’

- (145) *mĩ* *‘yaale* *fēr* *k^her*
 1sg-S-CNT look for 2sg-O woman
 ‘I am looking for a woman for you.’

There are two ways to express the beneficiary in Lobiri. The example (143) shows a resemblance to the possessive pronoun. Here the object pronoun is used instead of the possessive pronoun. However, when a noun is used to replace the object pronoun in the case of beneficiary, there is ambiguity in meaning as exemplified in (146).

- (146) *mĩ* *‘yaale* *samy* *k^her*
 1sg-S look for Samy woman
 ‘I am looking for a wife for Samy.’ or ‘I am looking for Samy’s wife’

The context (Samy is not married) and the intonation help to interpret the statement correctly.

Instrument

The instrument is the means by which an action is performed. In Lobiri instrument is introduced by the preposition *na* ‘with’. A pronoun functioning as instrument is used with *na* in the possessive form. The instrument cannot be directly expressed by a subject or object pronoun.

However, when *na* has the idea of ‘accompaniment’ (comitative) the object pronoun is then used (see adpositional phrases under 2.2.1) as exemplified in examples (149) and (150).

- (147) *sidã* *fiɛ* *wɛr* *na* *ɔɔ* *gãg^wo*
 spider cheat 3sg-O with 3sPoss horse
 ‘Spider cheated him with his horse (of spider).’

- (148) *wɪ* *t^hɔɔ* *mɛr* *na* *awɪ* *tɔrcɪ*
 3pl-S accompany 1sg-O with 3pPoss torch
 ‘They escorted me with their torch.’

- (149) *a* *jaal* *na* *fɛr*
 3sg-S go with 2sg-O
 ‘He/she went with you.’

- (150) *sidã* *jaal* *na* *wɛr*
 spider go with 3sg-O
 ‘Spider went with him.’

Location

Location is the place in which something is situated or takes place. In Lobiri, the location is presented by a particle suffixed to the noun or the pronoun. Here, the object pronoun is usually used. Third singular possessive pronoun is an exception in this case.

- (151) *a* *deere* *ɲʊɔ* *mɛr-* *ɔ*
 3sg-S pour water 1sg-O in
 ‘He/she poured water on me.’
- (152) *ɔɔ-* *rɔ* *sidã* *dẽɛ* *gãg^wo-* *kule*
 3sPoss- in spider lay on horse seat
 ‘It is on him that spider put a saddle.’
- (153) *a* *p^hɪnɛ* *ĩ* *dɛbɛ-* *rɔ*
 3sg-S lay down 1sPoss straw mattress- in
 ‘He lay down on my straw mattress.’

These are some of the participant roles illustrated with pronouns in Lobiri.

4.2. Persons in Discourse

As stated earlier in Chapter Two, pronouns can be defined in discourse as the paradigm examples of expressions used by speakers to refer to ‘given entities’ (Brown & Yule. 1983: 214). Pronouns can refer to nouns, noun phrases, and clauses. In analyzing Lobiri narrative and hortatory texts we discovered that pronouns play a very important role in the coherence of the discourse. We were able to identify logophoric pronouns and indefinite pronouns.

4.2.1. Referring expressions

As referring expressions pronouns can refer to an individual or a class of individuals. Our focus here is to see how pronouns refer to nouns, noun phrases, and clauses.

Pronoun referring to a noun

The sentences below are connected sentences. The connector here is *a* ‘to’. In terms of interpropositional relationships these sentences are temporal succession propositions. The pronoun, in the second sentence, refers to the noun, the noun phrase, or the clause which is in the first sentence.

- (154) *sidã gba gãg^wo- kule a dẽẽ sidumo k^hiru*
 spider take horse- seat to lay on hyena back
 ‘Spider took a saddle and put it on hyena’s back.’

- (155) *a gba gãg^wo- kule a dẽẽ sidumo k^hiru*
 3sg-S take horse- seat to lay on hyena’s back
 ‘He took a saddle and put on hyena’s back.’

- (156) *sidã gba gãg^wo- kule a dẽẽ ɔɔ k^hiru*
 spider take horse- seat to lay on 3sPoss back
 ‘Spider took a saddle and put on his back.’

- (157) *a gba gãg^wo- kule a dẽẽ ɔɔ k^hiru*
 3sg-S take horse- seat to lay on 3sPoss back
 ‘He took a saddle and put it on his back.’

These examples show pronouns referring to nouns. In (154) *sidã* ‘spider’ is substituted by the use of pronoun-subject *a* ‘3sg-S’ in (155). *sidumo* ‘hyena’ is substituted

by the possessive pronoun ɔ ‘3sPoss’ in (156) and (157). According to our observation a pronoun subject replaces a noun subject and a pronoun object a noun object. In all these examples the noun (here *sidumo*) in object position, is in a possessive construction with k^h *IRU* ‘back’. Thus, the noun (*sidumo*) is replaced by a possessive pronoun to keep the construction.

Examples (156) is ambiguous. We don’t know whether this pronoun refers to the subject. Here, it the context that helps us to decide (logophoric).

Pronoun referring to a Noun Phrase (NP)

(158) *di* *ĩ* *jẽ* *t^her*
 then 1sPoss uncle come out
 ‘Then my uncle came out.’

(159) *mɔ̃* *a* *yi* *mi-* *ni* *nuɔ* *kpa* *fú* *wɛ*
 how 3sg-S see 1sg-S- Perf. mouth ? catch 3sg-O
 ‘He was really surprised when he saw me.’

(160) *di* *sidumo na sidã* *di* *wãa* ‘*yaal* ɔ *bik^her*
 then hyena with spider then 3pl-S-CNT look for 3sPoss daughter
 ‘Then hyena and spider were courting his daughter.’

ĩ jẽ ‘1sPoss uncle’ is a noun phrase in (158) that is replaced by a pronoun subject *a* ‘3sg-S’ and by pronoun-object *wɛ* ‘3s-O’ in (159). In (160) *wãa* ‘3pl-S’ refers to *sidumo na sidã* ‘hyena and spider’.

Pronoun referring to a clause

- (161) *wã* *ber* *tibil* *na* *fas^le- a*
 3pl-S-neg beat person with brom- neg
 ‘We don’t beat a person with a broom.’

- (162) *gi* *sãserε*
 3sg-S forbid
 ‘It is forbidden.’

gi ‘3s’ is a pronoun that refers to inanimate things. In (162) it refers to the whole clause in (161). We find examples of referring expressions in a folktale narrative in a conversation between spider and hyena (FN: 91, 119). In FN: 131 we find *gera* ‘3sg-S-this’ that refers to the whole passage (story) about hyena and spider.

4.2.2. Logophoric pronouns

Logophoric pronouns are usually used in quotations. They help to identify the speaker that the pronoun in the quotation refers to. The following is an extract of a conversation between spider and hyena (FN: 74-80). The speech is indirectly reported.

- (163) *sidumo_i* *bule aa a_je a_j* *dẽε* *ɔɔ_i* *k^hIRU*
 hyena_i ask saying what 3sg,-S lay on 3sPoss_i · back
 ‘Hyena_i asked what he_j put on his_i back.’

- (164) *di sidã_j sor ɔr I_j na faa a I_j ni vɔɔ*
 then spider_j say that is 3sg_j-S fut release if 3sg_j-S Part. be tired
 ‘Then **spider_j** said that is the thing **he_j** will release when **he_j** gest tired.’

Examples (163) and (164) show how the logophoric pronoun *I* is used. *I* indicates that the speaker is the agent of the reported speech (example 164). We observe that this pronoun is a bound morpheme that has more than one form. In our example *I* is added to the future particle *na* and also to the participle particle *-nI*. The possessive form of this pronoun is *nI* ‘his/her’. This pronoun can be used as patient in a predicate construction.

- (165) *ollo sor aa gĩ k^ho inI t^hI*
 Ollo say saying 3sg-S-CNT eat 3sPoss_i-lg father
 ‘Ollo_i said his_i father is sick (his own father).’
- (166) *ollo sor aa gĩ k^ho ɔɔ t^hI*
 Ollo say saying 3sg-S-CNT eat 3sPoss_j father.
 ‘Ollo_i said his_j father is sick (someone’s father).’

The logophoric pronoun is not only used in quotations. It can also be used in a complex construction as temporal succession in terms of interpositional relationships.

- (167) *a sidumo lõ s- a t^he*
 if hyena enter but- with go out
- di sidã ã jaal di- I lõ si di- I t^he*
 then spider CNT go then- 3sg-Lg enter but then- 3sg-Lg go out
 ‘When hyena enters and goes out, then spider goes, enters and goes out.’

- (168) *a sidumo- sɔr lõ s- a tʰe*
 if hyena- pl enter but- with go out
- di sida- sɔr ã jaal di wɪ lõ sɪ di wɪ tʰe*
 then spider-pl CNT go then 3pl-S enter but then 3pl-S go out
 ‘When hyenas enter and go out, then spiders go, enter and go out.’

There is no logophoric plural form.

4.2.3. Indefinite pronouns

Our narrative and hortatory texts show a different use of the third plural subject pronoun *wɪ*. We have noticed that this pronoun refers to the first person plural (1pl-S) with the idea of indefiniteness. Many examples like this are found in our hortatory text.

- (169) *w- ã fʊɔr tibil na ɲɔ bilã ga*
 3pl-S- neg.CNT greet person with hand- left- neg
 ‘We do not greet people with our left hand.’

- (170) *w- ã du musumo tibil- ɔ a*
 3pl-S neg.CNT throw money person- in- neg
 ‘We do not throw money on someone.’

- (171) *w- ã ber tibil na fasʲe- a*
 3pl-S neg.CNT beat person with broom- neg
 ‘We do not beat a person with a broom.’

It is usually the context that helps us to identify the referent of this pronoun as indefinite. The context in the examples above is the general knowledge shared by people from the same community (as it is in this case for the Lobi community). The second person singular *fɪ* is also used as an indefinite pronoun, but in a different context.

Fɪ 2s-S, used in a conditional sentence, has the effect of locating the addressee in a potentially repeatable activity or context (situational insertion) or can be analyzed as the formulation of a truism or moral that involves the speaker evaluating a situation..

Both pronouns *fɪ* and *wɪ* (3pl-S) can also be analyzed as the formulation of a truism or moral which seems to involve evaluating a situation. However, *fɪ* and *wɪ* cannot be interchanged in their respective sentence. We cannot have *fɪ* where *wɪ* is used and vice versa.

- (172) *a fɪ jaal asɪ dʊɔ*
 if 2sg-S go 1pPoss village
 ‘If you go to our village’

- (173) *a f a cuu tʰẽ na ɲɔ bilã sɔr, ‘gafara’*
 if 2sg-S fut do thing with hand- left say, ‘gafara’
 ‘Say, ‘gafara’ when you use your left hand to do something.’

- (174) *a fɪ yɪ kũu wedara kʰɛr*
 if 2sg-S see man date woman
 ‘If you see a man dating a woman’

CONCLUSION

In this work we have discussed and exemplified the phenomenon of pronouns in Lobiri and have established that their use is widespread. We have also examined different contexts in which pronouns occur in written narratives.

In examining the pronouns in Lobiri, we identified seven major types of pronouns: personal, demonstrative, possessive, reflexive, reciprocal, relative, and interrogative, and distinguished pronoun-subject and pronoun-object sets in personal pronouns. We gave particular attention to the use of pronouns in negation, illustrating and explaining various contracted forms when pronouns are used in a negative sentences. We also discovered that there are two sets of possessive pronouns according to the difference of grammatical function. These two sets can occur in the same clause in a symmetrical way.

Our discourse analysis of pronouns revealed that pronouns can refer to nouns, noun phrases, and clauses. In reported speech the third person singular subject pronoun appears to have a logophoric form that we have not seen in the major types of pronouns. We can find this pronoun in some constructions related to interpropositional relationships (temporal succession for example). We have also noted 2s-S and 3pl-S pronouns used as indefinites within the contextual knowledge of the community. They are interpreted differently following the situational insertion or the truism or morality that represents the general knowledge shared by the community.

In regard to what has been presented so far I would like to state that there is no pronoun case in Lobiri. To have the pronoun-subject and pronoun-object is not enough to postulate a possible case with pronouns. Case takes into consideration the expression of dative and genitive. However, I confirm the existence of referential pronouns and that

pronouns are grammatically categorized.

I must admit that this work is limited and has some weaknesses. More needs to be done on this topic. The use of pronouns in Bible translation could have been an important aspect of this work. But the time did not allow to go further in our research. Despite weaknesses and difficulties that this work may present, we can note the help that we can get from this small work. It has helped to have new insight on the use of pronouns in Lobiri.

It is my hope that this work will be a useful instrument in the hands of linguists and Bible translators.

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APPENDIX 1

Folktale narrative text

001

kpruu [lɛlɛlɛ]

002

sidã gɪ na sidumo.

spider 3sg-S with hyena

There were spider and hyena.

003

jamala gɪ

chief 3sg-S

004

dɪ sidumo na sidã dɪ wãa 'yaal ɔɔ bɪ- k^hɛr.

then hyena with spider then 3pl-S.CNT look for 3sPoss child- female.

There was a chief whose daughter hyena and spider were courting.

005

a sidumo lõ

if hyena enter

006

s- a t^he

but to go out

007

dɪ sidã jaal

then spider go

008

đĩ- ɪ lõ
 then- 3sg-S-CNT enter

009

sɪ dɪ tʰe.
 but then go out

When hyena entered and went out, then spider went, entered and went out.

010

jamala bɪ- kʰɛr- a, sɪ kʰɛbir- lera bɔrɛ- ka.
 chief child- female that but girl- that good- much

However, this girl, the chief's daughter was pretty nice.

011

mɔ̃ jamala bɪ- lera sidã hɪɪ- nɪ
 how chief child- that spider see- Perf

012

s- a jɪɪ
 but 3sg-S know

013

sidumo- le ã 'yaale
 hyena that 3sg-S- CNT want

014

a jɔ- nɛ na file
 3sg-S much- Prog with wisdom

015

a kpʲɛr hɪɪ- nɪ
 3sg-S think see- Perf

016

s- a jɪ
but 3sg-S know

017

m̃ ɪ- na cuu- ni
how 3sg- fut do Perf

018

sɪ ɪni wɛdar jamala bɪ- kʰɛr- le.
but 3sPoss marry chief child- female that

Knowing that hyena is trying to be wiser than he, spider thought on how he will get to marry the chief's daughter.

019

dɪ 'yaa ha- le- le.
then market be there- there

Then, there was a market.

020

sidā jaal
spider go

021

a sor jamala bɪ- kʰɛr- lera
3sg-S say chief child- female- that

022

a do tã.
3sg-S cook beer

Spider went to say to the chief's daughter to make some beer.

023
 gidoni jamala bɪ- k^her- le a- a du tã
 because chief child- female- that if 3sg-S cook beer

024
 d- ã pɔɔr
 then- 3sg-S- neg wait

025
 sɪ dɪ p- a.
 but then finish- neg

Because she was the chief's daughter, her beer was brewed quickly.

026
 aa a do tã
 he said 3sg-S cook beer

027
 a sɔr ɔɔ wɛdar- a do- nɪ sidumo- lera
 3sg-S say 3sPoss friend- that become- Perf hyena- that

He told her to to make some beer and invite her boyfriend who is hyena.

028
 ɪ- na cu- rɔ- rɛ
 3sg-S-1g fut do- in- Prog

029
 a jɪ
 3sg-S know

030

i-	ni	jɪɛ	fiɛ
3sg-S-Ig-	Perf	know	wisdom

031

a	jɔ	ɔɔ	wɛdar.
3sg-S	much	3sPoss	friend

He will trick him so that she will know that he is wiser than her friend.

032

dɪ	jaal	sor	jamala	bɪ-	k ^h ɛr
then	go	say	chief	child-	female

033

dɪ	jamala	bɪ-	k ^h ɛr	du	tã
then	chief	child-	female	cook	beer

034

a	pɔ-	na
to	bring-	with

035

a	jal-	na	le	'yaar-	rɔ
to	go-	with	there	market-	in

Then, he went to tell the chief's daughter, and the chief's daughter made some beer that she took to that market.

036

sɪ	dɪ	wɪ	kɔɔ	jaal
but	then	3pl-S	CNT	go

037
 a mii- ka na jamala bi- k^her.
 to speak- RECIP with chief child- female

However, they did talked over with the chief's daughter.

038
 si di jaal
 but then go

039
 a gba
 to take

040
 a m'ɛ sidumo
 to explain hyena

041
 aa ʒɔ wɛdar ha- na- nɛ tã jahuri le 'yaa- rɔ
 he said 3sPoss friend have- with- Perf beer party there market- in
He went and talked to hyena saying that his girlfriend has a party at the market.

042
 di i- ni jaal
 then 3sg-S-lg Perf go

043
 di i- na gba wɛ
 then 3sg-S-lg fut take 3sg

044
 wi jaal
 3pl-S go

045

SI	i-	ni	kũu	kuḑ	dakpuol.
but	3sg-S-1g	Perf	male	grow	gentleman.

He will go and take him there, so that she will know that he is a real grown up.

046

di	jamala	bi-	k ^h er-	le	t ^h ire	tã
then	chief	child-	female-	that	boil	bee

047

a	too-	na	le	'yaa	fɛu
to	sit	with	there	market	all

048

SI	d-	ã	p ^j er-	na	sidã.
but	then	3sg-S.CNT	wait-	with	spider.

Then, the chief's daughter made some beer and went to the market to wait for spider.

049

SI	sidumo	ã	p ^j er.
but	hyena	3sg-S.CNT	wait

She was also waiting for hyena.

050

sidã	jaal
spider	go

051

a	sor	sidumo
to	tell	hyena

052

aa	ninɛ-	kɛ	jamala	bi-	k ^h er	gidoni	i-nĩ	'yaal	wɛ
he said	now-	this	chief	child-	female	because	3sg-S-1g fut.CNT	look for	3sg-O

053

di	ɪ-	na	ha	ũ
then	3sg-S-Ig	fut	give	3sg-IMP

054

mẽ	kũu	ĩ	‘yaalɛ	k ^h ɛr
manner	male	CNT	look for	female

055

d-	ã	ha	ɔɔ	ulāka.
then-	3sg-S	give	3sPoss	friend

Spider went to propose hyena that will look for the chief’s daughter for him, for that is the right thing to do between friends.

056

di	a	gba	‘yahurɪ
then	3sg-S	take	?

057

aa	ɪ-	nɪ	jũu
he said	3sg-S-Ig-	Perf	climb

058

na	jal-	na	le	‘yaa.
with	go	with	there	market

Then he took ... and said that he will climb on it go to the market.

059

di	t ^h jɛ̃-	ke	ɪ-	na	pe-	ɔ-	nɪ
then	thing-	this	3sg-S-Ig-	fut	put	3sg-O-	Perf

060

a-	a	jaal
if-	3sg-S	go

061

ɔɔ	wɛdar	ĩ	yɪ	ũ
3sPoss	friend	CNT	see	3sg-O

062

a	ji
3sg-S	know

063

a	kuʃ	dapkuol.
3sg-S	grow	gentleman

The thing he will put on him, when he goes to the market, his girlfriend will see him as a gentleman.

064

sidã	gba	gãg ^w o-	kule
spider	take	horse-	sea

065

a	dɛɛ	ɔɔ	k ^h irɔ.
to	lay on	3sPoss	back

Spider took a saddle and put on his back.

066

di	sidomo	bule
then	hyena	ask

067

aa	aɲe	a	dɛɛ.
he said	what	3sg-S	lay on

Then, hyena asked what he has laid on him.

068

dɪ	sidã	sor
then	spider	say

069

aa	ɔr	wĩ	too-	rɔ
he said	that is	3pl-S.CNT	sit-	in

070

a	wa	jaal
if	3pl-S-fut	go

071

na	jiil-	na	ɔɔ	wɛdar	paa.
with	stand-	with	3sPoss	friend	place

Spider replied that they will use it to stand when they arrive at his friend's place.

072

dɪ	gbɪ	gba	nɛɛ-	daa-	ke
then	again	take	feet-	thing-	this

073

a	to-	ro.
to	put-	in

Again he took a jaw and put it on him.

074

dɪ	sidumo	bule
then	hyena	ask

075

aa	aɲe	ã	cuu
he said	what	3sg-S.CNT	do

Hyena asked what he is doing.

076

dɪ	sidā	sor
then	spider	say

077

ɔr	ɪ-	na	faa
that is	3sg-S-1g	fut	release

078

a	ɪ-	ni	vɔɔ,
if	3sg-S-1g	Perf	get tired

079

sidumo	bire	a	pɪ
hyena	again	3sg-S	finish

080

a	sa.
3sg-S	stamp

Spider answered and said that that is the thing that. when he get tired, will be will used by hyena.

081

sidumo	sor
hyena	say

082

a	cure	bɔɔ.
3sg-S	do	good

Hyena said he did well.

083

di	gbɪ	gba	dagbabila
then	again	take	'chasse-mouche'

He took a 'chasse-mouche'.

084

di	sidumo	sor
then	hyena	say

085

aa	aɲe	ã	cuu
saying	what	3sg-S.CNT	do

And hyena asked what it was for.

086

di	yɪɪ
then	tell

087

aa	wɪ	we-	na-	nɛ	cĩcĩna
he said	3pl-S	chase-	with-	Perf	housefly

088

aa	ɪ-	na	jaalɛ	ɔɔ	wɛdar	paa
he said	3sg-S-lg-	fut	go	3sPoss	friend	place

089

ɪ-	na	jɛ	bila-	le.
3sg-S-lg	fut	shake	'chassa-mouche'	this

He said he will have to use it to brush fly away when he reach the market.

090

dɪ yɪɪ
then tell

091

gɪ bɔɾɛ
3sg-S good

He said it is was good.

092

dɪ gbɪ gba gãg^wo- nɔ- tɔɔ
then again take horse- mouth- put

093

a to sidumo nɔɔ
to put in hyena mouth

094

a kpala- na ã.
to lock- with 3sg-O

He took again a jaw and put it in hyena's mouth.

095

dɪ sidumo bule
then hyena ask

096

aa aɲe ha u- lera.
he said what be 3sg-O that

Then, hyena asked what it was.

097

dɪ sor
then say

098

aa	ɔr	ũ	gba
he said	that is	3sg-O	take

099

na	jaal	ɔɔ	wɛdar-	a
with	go	3sPoss	friend-	this

100

a	na	cuu-	mɛ	kagakaga.
3sg-S	fut	do-	manner	Ideo

He said that that is the thing he will use to rush around when he gets to his girlfriend's place.

101

dɪ	sor
then	say

102

aa	a	cure	bɔɔ.
he said	3sg-S	do	good

He said that he did well.

103

nɪnɛ	sidā	to	yi-	fɛu
now	spider	put in	3pl-O	all

104

a	pɪ
to	finish

105

s-	a	gba
but-	3sg-S	take

106

a jũ.
3sg-S climb

Then, spider put all these things and climbed.

107

a gba- nr ju- na
3sg-S take- Perf climb- with

108

s- a gba jor- kε
but 3sg-S take rope- this

109

a per.
to put

Having climbed, he took a rope and put it.

110

dr bule
then ask

111

aa aŋe ha u- le.
He said what be 3sg-O this

He asked what was it.

112

dr yu
then say

113

aa	a	wɪ	jaal	da-	na	ũ	'yaa-	tʲɛ
he said	if	3pl-S	go	arrive-	with	3sg-O	market-	middle

114

ka-	kɛ	a	na	too-	ni
where-	this	3sg-S	fut	sit-	Perf

115

sɪ	ɔɔ	wɛdar	ĩ	pɔ
but	3sPoss	friend	CNT	come

116

r-	ni	'li	tʰɪr
3sg-S-lg	fut	tie	tree

117

a	pu	cʊʊ	dakpoli
3sg-S	be able	do	gentleman

He said that when they will reach in the midst of the market, he will tie him to a tree so that he may expose his 'gentleness'.

118

dɪ	sor
then	say

119

aa	gɪ	bɔrɛ.
he said	3sg-S	good

He said it is good.

120

mʃ	a	jʊ-	ni
how	3sg-S	climb-	Perf

121

dɪ	wɪ	jaal
then	3pl-S	go

122

a	dā	'yaa-	tʲɛ
to	arrive	market-	middle

123

sidā	gbune
spider	get down

124

s-	a	kpala	sidumo	le	'yaa-	tʲɛ-	ra.
but-	3sg-S	lock	hyena	there	market-	middle-	there

When they arrived in the middle of the market, spider got down and tied hyena to a tree.

125

ɔɔ	wɛdar	yɪ
3sPoss	friend	see

126

na	fine	'yʲɛ.
with	turn	face

His girlfriend saw him and turned away her face.

127

a	fɪ	yɪ	kūu	wɛdara	k ^h ɛr
if	2sg-S	see	male	friend	female

128

dɪ	kona	yɛɔ	wā	cāa-	ka
then	men	two	3pl-S.CNT	cross-	RECIP

129

bɪɛl	hananɛ	filɛ
one	have	wisdom

130

a	jɔ	ũ	bɪɛl-	le.
to	much	3sg-O	one-	this

When two men happen to court the same girl, one will be wiser than the other one.

131

gera	sidumo	jaal	na	sidã.
3sg-S-this	hyena	go	with	spider

That was the story of spider and hyena.

132

sidã	filɛ	wɛ
spider	cheat	3sg-O

133

a	kpala-	na
to	lock	with

134

a	nr-	rɔ	ɔɔ	wɛdar
to	show-	in	3sPoss	friend

135

s-	a	jɛ
but	3sg-S	know

136

sidumo	hananɛ	fãga
hyena	have	strength

137

a	jɔ-	ni
3sg-S	much-	Perf

138

si	ini	hanane	file
but	3sPoss	have	wisdom

139

a	jɔ	ũ.
to	much	3sg-O

Spider stricked hyena in front of his girlfriend so that hyena knows that, though he is stronger, spider, is wiser.

Story of spider and hyena

There were spider and hyena.

There was a chief whose daughter hyena and spider were courting. When hyena entered and went out, then spider went, entered and went out.

However, this girl, the chief's daughter was pretty nice. Knowing that hyena is trying to be wiser than he, spider thought about how he will get to marry the chief's daughter.

Then, there was the market. Spider went to tell the chief's daughter to make some beer. Because she was the chief's daughter, her beer was brewed quickly. He told her to make some beer and invite her boyfriend who is hyena. He will strick him so that she will know that he is wiser than her friend. Then he went to tell the chief's daughter, and the chief's daughter made some beer that she took to that market.

However, they did talk over with the chief's daughter.

He went and talked to hyena saying that his girlfriend has a party at the market. He will go and take him there, so that she will know that he is a real grown up. Then, the chief's daughter made some beer and went to the market to wait for spider. She was also waiting for hyena.

Spider went to propose to hyena that he will look for the chief's daughter for hi, for that is the right thing to do between friends. Then he took... and said that he will climb on to go to the market. The thing he will put on him, when he goes to the market, his girlfriend will see him as a gentleman.

Spider took a saddle and put on his (hyena) back. Then hyena asked what he has laid on him. Spider replied that they will use it to stand when they arrive at his friend's place.

Again he took a jaw and put it on him. Hyena asked what he is doing. Spider answered and said that that is the thing that, when he gets tired, will be used by hyena. Hyena said he did well.

He took a 'chasse-mouche'. And hyena asked what it was for. He said he will have to use it to brush fly away when he reaches the market. He said it was good.

He took again a jaw and put it in hyena's mouth. Then, hyena asked what it was. He said that that is the thing he will use to rush around when he gets to his girlfriend's place. He said that he did well.

Then, spider put all these things on hyena and climbed on. Having climbed on, he took a rope and put it on hyena. He (hyena) asked what it was. He (spider) said that when they reach in the midst of the market, he (spider) will tie him to a tree so that he (hyena) may expose his 'gentleness'.

When they arrived in the middle of the market, spider got down and tied hyena to a tree. His girlfriend saw him and turned away her face.

[When two men happen to court the same girl, one will be wiser than the other one. That was the story of spider and hyen.]

APPENDIX 2

Personal narrative

001

wire- kɛ mɪ jal- nɪ ɿ dɔɔ.
day- this 1sg-S go- Perf 1sPoss village

The day I went to my village.

002

wɪ kɔ mɛ abijã .
3pl-S give birth 1sg-O Abidjan

I was born in Abidjan.

003

mɪ kɔʃ le- le
1sg-S grow there- there

I grew up there.

004

sɪ m- a jɪ ɿ dɔɔ- a.
but 1sg-S neg know 1sPoss village- neg

But I did not know my village.

005

mʃ mɪ jal- nɪ bukina
when 1sg-S go- Perf Burkina

006

mɪ kpɿɛɛ
1sg-S think

007

ĩ jaal

1sPoss go

008

ĩ jii ĩ duɔ.

1sPoss know 1sPoss village

When I went to Burkina Faso, I thought of going to discover my village.

009

mɪ jaal le vakãsi- bɔɔ.

1sg-S go there holidays- time

I went there during the holidays.

010

mɪ gba hotoro

1sg-S take car

011

a jaal- na.

to go- with

I went in a bus.

012

mɔ̃ s- ĩ kɔɔ jal- ni

when 1pl-S CNT CNT go- Perf

013

gɪ sire gbe

3sg-S remain little

014

s- a koo cuu aksidã
 1pl-S fut CNT do accident

015

dɪ s- a ji ɲoo- no.
 then 1pl-S- fut fall water- in

As we were going we almost had an accident and fell in the water.

016

mɪ dã le dɪtono
 1sg-S arrive there night

017

sɪ m- a ji paa- ra.
 but 1sg-S- neg know place- neg

I arrived there at night and did not know the place.

018

dəhu- le tʰãgba mɛ joo.
 day- that rain come much

It rained a lot.

019

paa koo birorɛ gbi.
 place CNT dark Ideo

The place was very dark.

020

sɪ m- a hana doo- ga.
 but 1sg-S- neg have light- neg

And I did not have any light

021

mi iire na nɛɛ
 1sg-S walk with feet

022

a jaal
 to go

023

a kana asɪ paa.
 to cross 1pPoss place

I walked until I passed our place.

024

mi jaal
 1sg-S go

025

a dā dagara duɔ.
 to arrive Dagara village.

I went and I arrived at a Dagara village.

026

mi kɔɔ bure.
 1sg-S CNT loose

I was lost.

027

mi bule ã hue tɪbila.
 1sg-S to ask 1sPoss road people

I asked people to help me.

028

mḏ mi sor wa
 when 1sg-S tell 3pl-O

029

wi sor
 3pl-S tell

030

aa mi kaa ï duo na kilo yemor.
 saying 1sg-S cross 1sPoss village with Km five

When I explained to them they told me that I passed the place by five kilometers.

031

mi kere bir na hu bɛl- la.
 1sg-S turn again with road one- this

I came back with that same road.

032

mi me
 1sg-S come

033

a ka ï duo wo
 to cross 1sPoss village again

034

a dā
 to arrive

035

kake mi koo gbu- ni na hotoro.
 where 1sg-S CNT get down Perf with car

Then I passed my village again and I arrived where I alighted from the bus.

036

nɪɛ- kɛ mɪ kɔɔ vɔɔɾɛ,
 now- this 1sg-S CNT get tired

037

kɔmɛ kɔɔ fɯ mɛr.
 hunger CNT catch 1sg-O

Now I was tired and hungry.

038

mɪ jaal
 1sg-S go

039

a jay tibila.
 to wake up people

I went to wake people up.

040

mɪ brɛl wɛ
 1sg-S ask 3pl-O

041

wɪ demɛɛ mɪ.
 3pl-S help 1sg-O

I asked them to help me.

042

kona yeɲɔ tʰɔɔ mɛr le.
 men two accompany 1sg-O there

Two men escorted me.

043

wɪ tʰɔɔ me
 3pl-S accompany 1sg-O

044

a fay mɪ hu nuɔ- rɔ
 to leave 1sg-O road mouth- in

045

s- a nɪ ma huɔ- kɛ m- a gba- nɪ.
 but- to show 1sg-O road- this 1sg-O fut take- Perf

They left me on the roadside and showed me the way that I would take.

046

mɪ puno dā le.
 1sg-S be able arrive there

I managed to reach the place.

047

tibila fɛʊ kɔɔ ã daare
 people all CNT CNT sleep

048

sɪ dɪr kɔɔ tɪnɛ gbɪgbɪ.
 but period CNT get old ideo

People were asleep and it was very late at night.

049

mɪ ber loo
 1sg-S beat door

050

dɪ ĩ jě t^her.

then 1sPoss uncle come out

I knocked at the door and my uncle came out.

051

mɔ̃ a yɪ mɪ- nɪ

when 3sg-S see 1sg-O Perf

052

nɔɔ kpaɑ fu wɛ.

mouth ? catch 3sg-O

He was really surprised when he saw me.

053

dɔʊ na da- nɪ

morning fut arrive- Perf

054

ĩ jě kɔrɛ yɔl- kɔʊ

1sPoss uncle kill chicken- male

055

a ha mɪ.

to give 1sg-O

The following day, my uncle killed a cock to welcome me.

Personal story

The day I went to my village.

I was born in Abidjan. I grew up there. But I did not know my village. When I

went to Burkina Faso, I thought of going to discover my village.

I went there during the holidays. I went in a bus. As we were going we almost had an accident and fell in the water. I arrived there at night and did not know the place. It rained a lot. The place was very dark. And I did not have any light. I walked until I passed our place. I went and I arrived at a Dagara village. I was lost. I asked people to help me. When I explained to them they told me that I passed the place by five kilometers.

I came back with that same road. Then I passed my village again and I arrived where I alighted from the bus. Now I was tired and hungry.

I went to wake people up. I asked them to help me. Two men escorted me. They left me on the roadside and showed me the way that I would take. I managed to reach the place.

People were asleep and it was very late at night. I knocked at the door and my uncle came out. He was really surprised when he saw me. The following day, my uncle killed a cock to welcome me.

APPENDIX 3

Hortatory text

001

a	fi	jaal	asɪ	duɔ
if	2sg-S	go	2sPoss	village

002

t ^h jɛ̃-	sɔr	ha	le
thing-	pl.	be	there

003

fi	puno
2sg-S	be able

004

fi	cuu
2sg-S	do

005

sɪ	yika	ha	le
but	other	be	there

006

f-	a	puno
2sg-S-	neg	be able

007

na cuu- ga
with do- neg

If you go to my village there are things that you are allowed to do and there are some you are not.

008

a fi 'yaal
if 2sg-S.CNT want

009

fi bule a fi huε
2sg-S ask 2sPoss road

010

fuore tibil- a kpo
greet person-pl. before

011

s- a biele a fi huε
but- with ask 2sPoss road

Greet people first before you ask for anything

012

w- ã fuor tibil na ɲɔ- bilã- ga .
3pl-S- neg-CNT greet person with hand- left- neg.

Do not greet people with your left hand.

013

w- ã 'laa t^hjɛ na ɲɔ̃- bilã- ga.
 3pl-S neg-CNT give thing with hand- left- neg

Do not give something with your left hand.

014

a f- a cuu t^hjɛ na ɲɔ̃- bilã
 if 2sg-S- fut. do thing with hand- left

015

sɔr, 'gafara.'
 say 'pardon'

Say, 'gafara' when you use your left hand to do something.

016

f- ã bule itɛ- a
 2sg-S- neg-CNT ask someone- neg

017

aa, 'yemɔ̃ nɪ ha anɪ cɔ̃.'
 saying, 'how 2pl-S be 2pPoss house.'

Do not ask someone, 'How many are you in your family?'

018

gɪ sãserɛ.
 3sg-S forbidden

It is forbidden.

019

f- ã tor ɲě- bire k^hi- du- paa- ga.
 2sg-S neg-CNT point hand- grain dead- bury- place- neg

Do not point your finger to a cemetery.

020

w- ã du musumo tibil- ɔ- a.
 3pl-S- neg-CNT throw money person- in- neg

Do not throw money on someone.

021

a f- a du,
 if 2sg-S- fut throw

022

dɔ k^hɪr- ɔ.
 throw dead- in

You better do it on a dead person.

023

a tibil ha fi juko
 if person give 2sg-O food

024

f- ã ko
 2sg-S neg-CNT to eat

025

s- a du- na- ga.

but- with throw with- neg.

If someone gives you some food, do not eat and throw it.

026

w- ã du- na juko asɪ duɔ- a.

3pl-S- neg-CNT throw- with food 1pPoss village-neg

We don't throw food in our country.

027

w- ã ber tibil na fas^lε- a

3pl-S neg.CNT beat person with broom- neg

We don't beat a person with a broom.

028

gɪ sãserε.

3sg-S forbidden

It is forbidden.

029

ɔka sor,

someone say,

031

'nɔk^hidaa na ni p̃li hu- nuɔ- rɔ- , a'

'quick-tempered' neg. defecate waste road- mouth- in- neg

Someone says, 'the quick-tempered does not 'release himself' on the side of the road.

032

a fr jr
if 2sg-S know

033

fr do nɔk^hidaa,
2sg-S become quick-tempered

033

f- ã 'yaal killa- a.
2sg-S neg-CNT want fighting- neg.

If you know that you are a quick-tempered person, don't provoke anybody.

034

t^hãgba bɔ fa.
God bless 2sg-O

May God bless you.

If you go to my village

If you go to my village there are things that you are allowed to do and there are some you are not. Greet people first before you ask for anything. Do not greet people with your left hand. Do not give something with your left hand. Say, 'gafara' when you use your left hand to do something.

Do not ask someone, 'How many are you in your family?' It is forbidden. Do not point your finger to a cemetery. Do not throw money on someone. You better do it on a dead person.

If someone gives you some food, do not eat and 'throw' it. We don't throw food in our country.

We don't beat a person with a broom. It is forbidden.

Someone says, 'the quick-tempered does not 'release himself' on the side of the road. If you know that you are a quick-tempered person, don't provoke anybody.

May God bless you.