

Aspects of Expository Discourse in Kuloonaay

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DECLARATION

This dissertation is the product of my own work. I declare also
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Sarah Patricia Gieske

PREFACE

People and Language

The Kaloon, Karone or Karoninka people of Senegal and The Gambia number 15,000 (Lewis, Simons and Fennig, 2014). Their origins are unknown, but today all Kaloon associate themselves with a heartland of ten villages on two islands in the delta of the Casamance river in southern Senegal. Kaloon live in coastal regions and work as rice farmers, fishers and ‘harvesters of palm wine and of palm-nut oil’ (Frésard and Frésard, 2007, p. 3). Their culture is rich with music and songs and closely intertwined with the traditional religion passed down through the generations.

The root **loon* ‘of the essence of the Kaloon’ appears in several words referring to integral or ‘deep’ elements of their culture. For the sake of clarity this root is translated by the Gambian adjective ‘Karoninka’, in order to distinguish it from the Kaloon people (singular Aloon) and the language Kuloonaay (ISO code: KRX).

Kuloonaay is classified as follows: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Atlantic, Northern, Bak, Jola, Jola-Proprietary, Karon-Mlomp (Lewis, Simons and Fennig, 2014). It is spoken as a first language by most of those who self-identify as Kaloon or whose mother is an Aloon. People from other ethnic groups living in villages with a significant population of Kaloon also use Kuloonaay in daily life (Frésard and Frésard, 2007). SIL has collaborated with the Kaloon to carry out linguistic research and produce descriptions of Orthography (SIL, 2008), Grammar (Wilkinson and Berndt, 2011) and Narrative Discourse (Lowry, 2011) to complement the research of Dr. Pierre

Sambou (2007), the first Aloon to hold a PhD. Literacy classes in Kuloonaay began in 2010 and Bible translation in March 2014.

Purpose

This research is inspired by the work of the Bible translation project in Kuloonaay, which encounters many forms of discourse. The underlying aim is to find the ‘unique features that force translators to explore deeper meanings and gather further insights, and thereby bringing [sic.] the readers into a greater understanding of the Word of God’ (Popjes, 2013). It is hoped that this study will contribute towards the lives of many Kaloon by opening to them both their own language and the Holy Scriptures.

The paper has a more immediate linguistic purpose. Apart from Berndt’s (2006) brief mention of procedural texts, discourse studies of Jola languages have focused exclusively on narrative discourse. The research conducted for this dissertation is intended to help towards redressing the balance and to provide a useful tool for all those working in Jola languages.

The analysis in this study aims to be ‘coherent, insightful and even interesting’ (Payne, 1989, p. 15, his emphasis) for those who wish to understand and translate expository discourse well. Since many of them are not linguists, technical terminology has been kept to a minimum and defined in context. Furthermore, a glossary has been made available to the translation team.

Sources

The primary sources for this paper are ten texts: five written and five oral. The written texts are drawn from three booklets: *Aloon niŋ páhin namaayoolo* (2011), *Heekooŋee ha hi hópataniyoo* (2011) and *Ñahaañiyal ñiti ekii Aloon* (2013). It has unfortunately not been possible to identify all the individual authors. The oral texts were elicited during interviews and study sessions in the first half of 2013 in Darsilami (The Gambia) and Dakar (Senegal), with Paul Ekiyen Jarju and Eugène Diémé respectively. Table I gives basic details about each text; not all oral texts were given titles by the speaker.

Complete or partial sentences in the texts are referred to by an identification letter (ID) and a sentence number: for example, S05 is from the 5th sentence of *Songs*. In some examples a full interlinear translation would be cumbersome and the free translation is sufficient to illustrate the point.

Table I: Source texts

ID	Title	Original Title with translation	Author (date published)	Form
D	<i>Drum</i>	<i>Híntiŋ</i> 'Bass Drum'	Paul Ekiyen Jarju (2013b)	written
F	<i>Frogs</i>	<i>Pásuuma ehoon ti etiil</i> 'The happiness of frogs in the rain'	<i>Unknown</i> (2011)	written

G	God	<i>Pútuun oonool</i> 'One God'	Simon Sambou (2011d)	written
H	<i>Hintaap*</i>	(no title) 'Climbing hoop'	Paul Ekiyen Jarju (2013a)	oral
K	<i>Káyita</i>	<i>Káyita</i> 'Palm tree'	David Kebba Sambou (2011)	written
L	<i>Livelihood</i>	<i>Páhin puloonaay</i> 'Karoninka livelihood'	Eugène Diémé (2013c)	oral
M	<i>Marriage</i>	<i>Esa wala pinimo Kaloon</i> 'Marriage traditions among the Kaloon'	Simon Sambou (2011b)	written
P	<i>Polygamy</i>	<i>Pakaal keemeenje</i> 'Many wives (i.e. polygamy)'	Eugène Diémé (2013b)	oral
S	<i>Songs*</i>	(no title)	Paul Ekiyen Jarju (2013a)	oral
W	<i>Wrestling</i>	<i>Esuum ti niloonaay</i> 'Wrestling in Karoninka society'	Eugène Diémé (2013a)	oral

*these two texts are excerpts from an interview

Where data was gathered specifically for this paper, participants were made fully aware of the context and purposes, and voluntarily signed forms of consent that their names and language data be used. A blank copy of this form is given in Appendix I.

Transcription of oral texts, interlinearisation and orthographical corrections were carried out with the help of Véronique Diatta (*Drum, Frogs*), Simon Sambou (*God, Marriage*), Paul Ekiyen Jarju (*God, Marriage, Káyita*) and Eugène Diémé (all other texts). Mr. Diémé edited his own oral texts in several places to make them sound more natural. Otherwise, editing has been carried out solely for the purpose of accurate analysis: oral texts have had hesitations and accidental repetitions removed, and written texts have received minor orthographical corrections. Some corrections suggested by editors have not been made, since they are a matter of style. An example of this is Mr. Jarju's use of personal pronouns to refer to inanimate objects:

(1) S01

Hícimu, n'akina acookee

song if:3S:PRO 3S:sing:PASS

'A song, if it (*lit. he*) is sung ...'

Where applicable, a heading which is necessary to the flow of the text has been retained as part of the sentence immediately following it:

(2) K39

KÚNKONK KA: Hipuun heenapenap hiti kaahiiŋan munow.

'THE ROOTS: A good medicine for stomach ache.'

Initial paragraph divisions in all texts were made using the ‘basic criterion’ according to which ‘a section, or a paragraph, deals with one theme’ (Beekman and Callow, 1974, p. 279). Guidelines given by Beekman and Callow (1974, pp. 279-280) and Levinsohn (2011b, pp. 89-107) were used to find supporting evidence for these decisions, which is included in Appendix II.

Scope and limitations

Since expositions are not as easily obtained as narratives, the data set is limited in size and in authorship. First, the use of a small set of texts may have led to some inaccurate conclusions. Second, all the known contributors are well-educated and, with the exception of Ms. Diatta (a university student) are men over the age of 50. In some societies a person must have a certain social status in order to teach (Fukuda, 1997, p. 95): Karoninka tradition assigns this role to older men (Diémé and Jatta, 2014). These days permission is often granted to women and younger people to teach where the elders deem it appropriate, therefore the authorship of the texts represents a changing reality.

With these limitations in mind, if two or more Kaloon find good reason to dispute any claim made here, they should be encouraged to review it and make any necessary corrections. In particular, it will be important to verify the conclusions of this research with Kaloon who are younger, female, or less well-educated. The Scriptures will not be accessible to all Kaloon unless all are given the opportunity to contribute their own understanding. Discourse analysis is a resource, never a substitute, for ‘translators who have an instinct and a gift for communicating attractively in their own language’ (Lowry, 2014, p. 1).

This investigation is written from a linguistic perspective but contains suggestions that will enable translators to apply its findings. It broadly follows the outline provided by Levinsohn's manual *Self-Instruction Materials on Non-Narrative Discourse Analysis*, drawing on other sources where helpful. Levinsohn's (2011b, p. 1) intention is not to be exhaustive but to focus on 'those text-related features that have been found to present particular problems in translation'. Moreover, this paper does not present all the material covered by Levinsohn but concentrates primarily on that which is necessary for understanding the logical and structural connections between clauses, sentences and paragraphs.

It has been noted that expositions tend to have a lot in common with conversation (Weisemann, Nseme and Vallette, 1984, p. 219). Studying dialogue would no doubt be fascinating and instructive, but for the purposes of conciseness and clarity all the texts studied here are monologues.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
AUX	auxiliary verb
C	noun classifier
COND	conditional suffix
CONN	connective prefix
CONS	consecutive prefix
CONT	continuous
DEF	definite article
DEM	demonstrative pronoun
DEV	developmental connective
DIST	distributive
EMPH	emphatic connective
FUT	future tense
HAB	habitual aspect
INC	inclusive
INF	infinitive
INSTR	instrument
INT	interrogative mood
NEG	negative, negation
OBJ	object
P	plural

PASS	passive voice
PFV	perfective aspect
PREP	preposition
PRO	subject pronoun (sometimes used for emphasising an object)
Q	question marker
RCP	reciprocal
RDP	reduplication
REL	relativiser
S	singular
VN	verbo-nominal root, when used as a noun

Additional conventions

Parentheses are used in three ways in the free translations:

(i.e.) indicates an explanatory note where the free translation contains highly contextual information.

(lit.) indicates a literal translation which is directly relevant for understanding the example in context.

All other parentheses reflect markings in the original text.

CHAPTER I

Theoretical Framework

I.1 Text types

Texts in any language, either oral or written, can be classified according to features which identify them with or distinguish them from others. Werlich (1976, p. 39) defines a TEXT TYPE as ‘an idealized norm ... a matrix of rules and elements’ by which a communicator is constrained in a given linguistic situation. He then proceeds to list five fundamental text types: ‘*description, narration, exposition, argumentation, and instruction*’ (Werlich, 1976, p. 39, his emphasis).

It is Longacre (1983, pp. 8-9) who proposes a set of parameters by which to differentiate text types on a ‘deep’ structural level. The most fundamental of these are AGENT ORIENTATION (AG) and CONTINGENT TEMPORAL SUCCESSION (CTS). A text centred on a character or characters, potentially including speaker or listener, is +AG; if it centres on the subject matter it is -AG. A text is +CTS if its sentences and paragraphs depend on previous sentences having already occurred in a chronological time line; in -CTS texts, however, ‘sentences and paragraphs ... are logically linked’ (Fukuda, 1997, p. 96). Thus Longacre’s schema differentiates four

text types: narrative (+CTS, +AG), procedural (+CTS, -AG), behavioural (-CTS, +AG) and expository (-CTS, -AG).

Expository discourse, then, uses 'logical organization, instead of contingent temporal organization, and thematic orientation, instead of agent orientation' (Longacre and Hwang, 2012, p. 189). So while Reddick (1992, p. 212) is mistaken to claim that 'expository discourse is defined in terms of what it lacks', there are difficulties in working from such a broad starting point. Exposition is far less documented than the more easily recognisable narrative genre, and it is helpful to explore some additional means of classification.

1.2 Sub-types

1.2.1 Description and explanation

Where Longacre has only four text types, it is Werlich's fifth that helps here. Descriptive texts, portraying a scene or state of affairs, are technically (-CTS, -AG) but he prefers to separate them from expositions, which 'explain a concept' (Werlich, 1976, p. 29). This division between the concrete and the theoretical is not without flaws: for instance, it does not appear to allow for an overlap in which a state of affairs is explained or a concept defined. Yet Longacre (1983, p. 13) also admits that the two 'may be ... essentially different': the material presented in (-CTS, -AG) texts does fall into two broad sub-categories.

Some texts and portions *present facts* through a combination of statements and 'elaboration', details about the nature or state of a situation or entity (Loos, 2004). Other texts and portions *evaluate or validate the facts* by clarifying the relationships

between them (Loos, 2004) and by supplying details about the meaning or significance of a situation or entity (Wiesemann *et al.*, 1999, pp. 74-75). In order to be accessible to non-linguists, the respective titles proposed for these sub-types are DESCRIPTION (DESCRIPTIVE exposition or portion) and EXPLANATION (EXPLANATORY exposition or portion).

Both Fludernik (2000) and MacSaveny (2010) argue that there is not a clear distinction between description and explanation. Moreover, Wiesemann, Nseme and Vallette (1984, p. 6, my translation) claim that all expository texts contain 'first a descriptive section ... and a second explanatory section where the arguments are developed and an explanation of the facts is proposed'. Though purely descriptive texts do exist, it is true that description tends to provide the foundation of a text rather than the whole of it (Fludernik, 2000).

Nevertheless, in Kuloonaay it would be artificial and unhelpful to completely separate description from explanation or even to try studying one without the other. Each expository text has either a descriptive or an explanatory purpose, but all of them contain portions of each sub-type. Therefore observations made throughout this investigation can be assumed to apply to both descriptive and explanatory texts except where there is a statement to the contrary.

1.2.2 Tension and argumentation

Longacre (1983, pp. 9-10) presents two further parameters which sub-categorise text types. 'Projection', relating to situations in the expected or desired future, tends to apply to few expository texts. Eliciting such texts proved difficult and thus

there is insufficient data to provide a useful evaluation: they may need to form part of a future investigation.

The second parameter, 'tension', aims to separate those expositions whose purpose is merely to present a situation from those aimed at proving a point or winning a debate (Longacre, 1983, p. 9). These latter texts are ARGUMENTATIVE, differing from behavioural in that they intend intellectual persuasion rather than a change in belief or action (MacSaveny, 2010). Levinsohn (2011b) assumes that argumentation is the fundamental underpinning of all exposition. In contrast, both Reddick (1992) and MacSaveny (2010) consider it to be a sub-type of expository discourse separate from description or explanation, though 'an argumentative text will generally employ descriptive or explanatory material as part of its supporting argumentation' (MacSaveny, 2010, p. 3).

The Kuloonaay texts point to a reality that challenges both of these views. In keeping with the non-agent orientation, expository teachers almost always present argumentation subtly through explanatory material, though some use it more overtly. Argumentation may characterise a whole text (*Livelihood*) or only a portion (F14). Therefore, on the one hand, not all exposition is argumentative; on the other hand, argumentation is not independent of explanation any more than explanation is independent of description. This fluidity is also reflected in the New Testament Epistles, whose writers move constantly between explanation, argumentation and exhortation.

Therefore, having examined various possible alternatives, the values (-CTS, -AG) are deemed necessary and sufficient conditions for a text to be labelled 'expository'. In other words: 'Expository discourse is a discourse that explains or describes a topic'. (Loos, 2004).

1.2.3 Oral and written texts

Dooley and Levinsohn (1999, pp. 7-8) insist that, in any language, the differences between oral and written texts of the same genre become more significant as literacy development progresses. Certain typical features of oral discourse are discarded as soon as the first written texts are produced. It is likely that the nature of these changes and the speed at which they happen are influenced by access to written literature in other languages.

Since narrative is usually the most deliberately developed text type, the differences between oral and written narratives may well be more noticeable than those seen in other genres. Some characteristic features of oral narratives in Kuloonaay are also found in oral expositions: significant use of repetition (Lowry, 2011, §5.2.2, §11.1.1) information conveyed through variations in 'tone and quality of voice' (Lowry, 2011, §8.1.3) and evidence of the speaker's interaction with the text (Lowry, 2011, §§5.2.1-5.2.3). However, Lowry (2011, §11.3) also notes that oral narratives contain some unusually long sentences. In expositions, this is no more true of oral than written texts: all teachers use both very long and very short sentences, often in the same text.

There are other commonly observed differences between oral and written texts. First, written texts often introduce new information at a greater rate than oral texts

(Dooley and Levinsohn, 1999, p. 7). Second, sections of information are expected to be longer in written than oral texts (Dooley and Levinsohn, 1999, p. 8). Third, oral texts often use different vocabulary (Dooley and Levinsohn, 1999, p. 8) or a greater frequency of '[v]ariations from the default or unmarked order' (Dooley and Levinsohn, 1999, p. 7).

In Kuloonaay, Lowry's (2011) observations and the expository data reveal little difference in the information flow, except that oral texts more frequently use sentences with entirely known information. What is significant is that new information is generally introduced at a slower rate in Kuloonaay than in Greek or English (Lowry, 2014, p. 24). As for paragraph length, its average is consistent across all the expository texts. Finally, there is not enough evidence to know whether vocabulary and sentence order vary significantly between oral and written texts.

Some further features specific to oral or written texts in Kuloonaay are described in the relevant sections. However, there are sufficient similarities and few enough differences that they do not need to be considered as different types of exposition. Therefore, except in the cases where a feature is specific to one or the other, examples are given without distinguishing the manner of delivery. Where there are differences, the translation team will have to choose how to present the material, bearing in mind that 'the majority of people who will be impacted by a Bible translation into Kuloonay [sic.] will most probably be impacted by hearing it rather than by reading it' (Lowry, 2014, p. 24).

I.3 Terminology

I.3.1 Teacher and learner

The speaker or writer of an expository text is assumed to have greater understanding of the subject matter than the listener or reader. They are ‘implicitly or explicitly qualified... to instruct the addressee(s) who are voluntarily taught’ (Wiesemann, Nseme and Vallette, 1984, p. 221, my translationⁱⁱ). In keeping with this assumption, this paper will refer to these persons as ‘the teacher’ and ‘the learner(s)’ respectively.

I.3.2 The Question

Reddick (1992, p. 222) maintains that all expositions ‘make assertions ..., anticipate assent, and ... answer a question.’ Every expository text answers ‘an explicit or implicit question’ (Wiesemann, Nseme and Vallette, 1984, p. 219, my translationⁱⁱⁱ), henceforth referred to as ‘the Question’. Though any one of several questions may have inspired a given text, the text itself contains clues to the Question the teacher has chosen to answer. In particular, the Question is related to the text’s sub-type. A brief exploration of this relationship will provide sufficient information at this stage; other issues relating to the Question are discussed in the relevant sections.

Expository texts may answer, among others, any of the following Questions about a situation, state, object or concept: ‘What is it, or what are its parts?’ ‘What is its purpose?’ ‘How does it work?’ ‘How is it manifested?’ ‘Why is it so?’ Sometimes the Question is much broader: ‘What can you tell me about [subject matter]?’

Generally, descriptive texts and portions answer ‘what’ and ‘how’ Questions, while explanatory sections answer ‘why’ Questions. This correlation is not perfect, as demonstrated by the explanatory text *God* which does not answer a ‘why’ Question. Moreover, the explanatory text *Livelihood* was constructed to answer a very different kind of Question: ‘Which Karoninka livelihood is the most important?’ The only unambiguous conclusions are that description usually answers a ‘what’ Question and cannot answer a ‘why’ Question. Table II lists the Questions answered by the texts, some known and others suggested.

Table II: Text Questions

Text	Sub-type	(Suggested) Question(s)	Evidence
<i>Drum</i>	description	What is <i>híntiq</i> ? What can you tell me about <i>híntiq</i> ?	implicit throughout
<i>Hintaap</i>	description	What is <i>hintaap</i> used for?	implicit: H01-H02, H25
<i>Káyita</i>	description	What does Aloon do with (how does he use) the parts of the palm tree?	explicit: K04- K05
<i>Marriage</i>	description	What are the different types of Karoninka marriage?	implicit: M04
<i>Wrestling</i>	description	What can you tell me about Karoninka wrestling? What is Karoninka wrestling?	implicit throughout

<i>Frogs</i>	explanation	Why do we protect frogs? Why are frogs important?	implicit: F14
<i>God</i>	explanation	How has the Karoninka justice system changed? Who judges Kaloon? How is God's justice displayed in Karoninka society?	implicit: G17
<i>Livelihood</i>	explanation	Which of the Karoninka livelihoods is the most important?	explicit: L02
<i>Polygamy</i>	explanation	Why do Kaloon practise polygamy?	implicit: P02, P12
<i>Songs</i>	explanation	Why do Kaloon compose/sing songs? What is the value of Karoninka songs?	explicit: S01

1.4 Communicative purpose

In the absence of a clear motive to the contrary, all ten texts are assumed to be primarily expository in purpose, *i.e.* they intend to explain or describe. This assumption does not deny that a teacher will always influence a learner in some way. The external situation and any relationship between them 'have a very obvious influence on the shape that the written communication takes' (Callow, 2002, p. xi). As Brainard (1988, p. 13) observes, any hidden communicative purpose will not change the fundamental structure but may 'skew' it on the surface. The remainder of this section discusses some forms such skewing may take.

I.4.1 Question and argumentation

Question, argumentation and teaching purpose are closely linked. Something of the complexity of their relationship can be illustrated by comparing *Polygamy* and *Livelihood*. Both texts are by Eugène Diémé, both are oral and explanatory, both answer an explicit Question, and both focus on one core statement in answer to their Question. Table III presents the Question and the core statement of each text.

Table III: Comparing *Polygamy* and *Livelihood*

	Question	Core statement
<i>Polygamy</i>	Why do Kaloon marry several wives?	Wives (and children) work with you to make you wealthy.
<i>Livelihood</i>	Which Karoninka livelihood is the most important?	All three main livelihoods are equally important.

In both cases Mr. Diémé presents factual information in response to the Questions asked. However, one text is argumentative and the other is not. No Aloon would dispute the practical and historical facts and conclusion of *Polygamy*, whereas some Kaloon would contest that the evidence presented in *Livelihood* could lead to a different conclusion. In this case, the Question gave the teacher liberty to express an opinion, even if it is presented as fact.

I.4.2 Form and purpose

Analysis of texts can be complicated by the partial or complete embedding of one text type in another (Dooley and Levinsohn, 1999, p. 4). This is particularly evident

in *Wrestling*, a presentation whose form is mainly procedural. However, the teacher's main purpose is not to describe how the sport proceeds; his purpose is to share, for each stage of the process, the significant elements involved and the social norms surrounding it. The similarities between this text and the other nine are best explained by Fukuda's (1997) summary of what constitutes exposition:

Expository discourse ... is considered successful communication if the hearer understands the subject matter or he understands the values which are communicated in the discourse. (Fukuda, 1997, p. 95)

A teacher can modify the form of a text to highlight or disguise a communicative purpose. Like many people around the world, Kaloon often present behavioural material in narrative form (moral tales) or through descriptive and explanatory exposition. Many findings from this investigation will be applicable to any text with an expository structure, and in particular to behavioural texts whose surface form hides their agent orientation.

CHAPTER 2

Types of Material

2.1 Theme Line

2.1.1 Theme line

All discourse consists of mainline material and supportive (background) material (Longacre, 1983). Mainline clauses are those which 'express the facts of the central theme of the text and which are in direct relation with one another' (Wiesemann, Nseme and Vallette, 1984, p. 145, my translation^{iv}). The mainline of a narrative is the story line, whereas an exposition is founded on statements about past, present, perceived or projected reality (Reddick, 1992).

The expository mainline is sometimes called the 'argument line' (Wiesemann, Nseme and Vallette, 1984, p. 146) on the assumptions that, first, argumentation is the foundation of exposition and, second, there is a linear progression from the beginning to the end of the mainline. However, the Kuloonaay data challenges both these assumptions.

First, argumentation is built on explanation and description, rather than the reverse (§1.2.2). In fact, analysis reveals that, without exception, the mainline statements of

all the expositions are descriptive. Second, the mainlines of Kuloonaay expositions use three basic patterns. The first is indeed *linear*, relating each part to what preceded it, and leading up to a conclusion. This is found in *God* (argumentative), *Hintaap* and the first half of *Drum*. The second pattern can be described as *convergent*: it presents a series of statements which are directly related to the Question but only indirectly to one another. *Marriage* and *Frogs* are constructed this way, as is most of *Káyita*, the frame of *Wrestling* and the second half of *Drum*. The third pattern is *cyclical*, returning repeatedly to a single statement: this is the structure of *Livelihood* (argumentative), *Polygamy* and *Songs*.

The use of these three patterns illustrates the complexity of exposition and challenges the way it is often analysed. Cyclical exposition is no less valid than any other form; it is especially popular in oral discourse and is found in many Biblical books and portions. For example, in the book of Ecclesiastes a repetition or variation of its core statement ‘(all) this (also) is/was vanity’ (ESV) appears eleven times.

A better term, then, for the expository mainline is the THEME LINE (Levinsohn, 2011a; 2011b), which focuses on content rather than form^v. The theme line is closely connected to the Question. Though the whole text answers the Question, it is the theme line that provides the fundamental elements of that answer, the ‘backbone of the discourse’ (Wiesemann, Nseme and Vallette, 1984, p. 145, my translation^{vi}). The Question offers a framework for the text without assumptions or constraints regarding its form or order.

2.1.2 Sentence articulations

There are three basic SENTENCE ARTICULATIONS or means of presenting information (Levinsohn, 2011a, pp. 23-26). When a word, phrase or sentence contributes new information to the text, it is known as the FOCUS (Levinsohn, 2011a, p. 27). Each articulation puts a different portion of the sentence or clause in focus. A brief overview is given here; Lowry (2011, §3) covers this topic in detail.

The first sentence articulation is TOPIC-COMMENT. The focus is on the new information (the ‘comment’) given about a known entity (the ‘topic’, which is usually but not always the subject). Topic-comment sentences in Kuloonaay use the default sentence order subject-verb-object:

- (3) K06
- | TOPIC | COMMENT |
|------------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>Upii wa uyema isak núusupak</i> | |
| parts DEF be | five and.two |
- ‘The parts are seven in number.’

In some cases the topic is left implicit:

- (4) G03
- | TOPIC | COMMENT |
|-------------------------|----------|
| <i>Pale — hitaakiit</i> | |
| but | have:NEG |
- ‘But it is not so!’

The second articulation is IDENTIFICATIONAL. The focus is on one piece of information, while the rest of the clause is known or assumed. In Kuloonaay this is usually indicated by preposing what is in focus (Lowry, 2011, §3.4): in example 5, the prepositional phrase would be expected to follow the verb.

(5) M10

aal a, eti sempe nacokee

woman DEF PREP strength 3S:catch:PASS

‘... it is **by force** that the woman is caught...’

The third articulation is THETIC, presenting entirely new information and making the whole sentence the focus. Thetic sentences ‘are found most commonly at the beginning of a narrative, and at the beginning of a new section’ (Lowry, 2011, §3.1) and often use a verb of existence or appearance (Jackson, 2012). They may introduce a new entity, event or state of affairs:

(6) F01

Ti púcook pa piti etiiil ya,

PREP beginning DEF PREP rain DEF

‘At the beginning of the rainy season’

puhoon pa m'pitaaktaak pásuuma penfakat

frogs DEF have:HAB happiness great

'the frogs are very happy'

hak fà etiil ya néecolii fà.

like REL;as rain DEF arrive REL;as

'in that the rain has arrived.'

2.1.3 Theme line articulation

Levinsohn (2011b, p.14, his emphasis) claims that '[in] all text genres, the default way of presenting theme line information is with *topic-comment* articulation'. This is true of Kuloonaay narrative (Lowry, 2011) and also of exposition. Around 70% of theme line clauses in the texts have topic-comment articulation, with the remainder equally divided between *thetic* and *identificational*.

2.1.3.1 Thetic

Distinguishing between *topic-comment* and *thetic* articulation depends on what information is defined as known and what as new. Kuloonaay uses two types of known information: first, that which has been explicitly introduced, and second, that which makes use of the MENTAL REPRESENTATION formed by the learner. A mental representation includes concepts, words and expressions which are related to the subject matter at hand, within the context shared by the teacher and the learner (Dooley, 2005).

Based on the mental representations created, a sentence can be considered to have topic-comment articulation even if the topic has not been explicitly introduced. Thetic articulation, on the other hand, requires genuinely new information, which has not yet been mentioned explicitly or implicitly.

The descriptive text *Drum* provides a useful illustration of this distinction at work (example 7). D01 (not shown) introduces the subject matter and creates a mental representation containing two objects called *híntiŋ*. D02 describes one of these objects, so it has topic-comment articulation. In contrast, D08 relates to a new entity that was not anticipated by D01, so it has thetic articulation.

(7) D02

TOPIC COMMENT

Híntiŋ oopa toko hiwasuwaay

híntiŋ CONT there put:INSTR

‘There is a *híntiŋ* which is a container...’

D08

Loomaaloom lompo híntiŋ náhineehin híyonkaluma.

be.often also *híntiŋ* 3S:do:PASS:HAB call:INSTR

‘There is often also a *híntiŋ* which is used for calling.’

Only one third of the thetic theme line clauses present a new entity; the majority report an event or state of affairs. In the explanatory text *God*, each paragraph introduces a new contribution to the line of argumentation. The opening sentence of each paragraph (G01, G07, G13) has thetic articulation.

Translators need to be aware of the mental representations likely to be created by Kaloön hearing or reading the Bible texts. By choosing meaningful words and phrases, expository teachers can leave a significant amount of material to be inferred implicitly (Dooley, 2005). However, it is worthwhile to remember that when the text is centred on events the opposite is true: actions that would be left implicit in English, French or Koiné Greek are often made explicit in Kuloonaay (Lowry, 2014, p. 24).

2.1.3.2 Identificational

Identificational articulation is typically found in questions and their responses. The focus is first on the question word - often *weyme* 'what, why' - and then on the piece of information that replaces it. The rest of the information in each clause is known. It is common for the question and response together to form one proposition: 'if information is given in the question, it is generally not repeated in the response' (Wiesemann *et al.*, 1999, p. 76, my translation^{vii}). The theme line of *Hintaap* contains several question/response pairs, of which one is given here:

(8) H08

N'fulaa me kasaalaat, ansilosilo pur weyme?

besides Q harvest.palm.nuts(VN) 2s:climb:HAB for what

'Besides harvesting palm nuts, **why** (*lit.* for **what**) do you climb?'

H09

Kaaseesu.

tap.palm.wine(VN)

'Tapping palm wine.'

2.2 Clause types

Texts are not simply divided into theme line and support. Some supportive clauses support the theme line, while others support the support (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 21). Since divergences from the theme line are harder to follow in oral than written texts, this last category is rare in oral Kuloonaay, and even in written texts it does not yet appear to be very common. The following excerpt from *Marriage* contains two levels of descriptive support: M11 supporting M10 and M12 supporting M11.

(9) M10 'Marriage by catching: These are when it is by force that the woman is caught to be given to the man.'

M11 'Sometimes tying (her) to the bed was what happened.'

M12 'This they call *hisenku aal* ("tying-to-bed a woman").'

Several linguists (Longacre, 1989; Hays, 1995; Longacre and Hwang, 2012) have shown that, for a given language and text type, clause types can be ranked according to 'progressive degrees of departure from the mainline.' (Longacre, 1989, p. 59) Since expository discourse is the parametric opposite of narrative, clause types closer to one mainline are expected to be further from the other. Narrative story lines consist of active clauses, whereas expository theme lines in most languages use static clauses. The proportion of active clauses in an exposition will tend to increase with distance from the theme line.

Static clauses are either nominal (verbless) or COPULATIVE, with 'be' or 'have' as the main verb (Longacre, 1989, p. 111). Nominal clauses carry the expository theme line in Ancient Hebrew (Longacre, 2003, p. 8), but are rare in Kuloonaay; translating them directly would sound unnatural. Copulative clauses, though, are very common: they account for around one in five of all clauses, and almost one in four on the theme line. Some other stative verbs are also used, but active verbs are far more common. However, active verbs do not necessarily form active clauses: teachers make clauses more static by using the constructions described below.

2.2.1 Passive constructions

Expository discourse has 'minus agent orientation' (-AG). It is therefore not surprising that the passive voice, recognised by its suffix *-ee*, is often used:

(10) W28

Fiye esuum néhinee ti niloonaay.

in.this.way wrestle(VN) 3S:do:PASS PREP Karoninka.society

‘This is how wrestling **is done** in Karoninka society.’

An even more common passive construction is the ‘impersonal construction’ with a third person plural subject (Wilkinson and Berndt, 2011, §2.7, footnote 74^{viii}). In some cases this construction uses the generic subject ‘Kaloon’, its singular ‘Aloon’, or even the second person singular (cf. ‘people’, ‘one’ ‘they’, ‘you’ in English).

(11) K18

Ekúnt eyya n’kasaac ya n’kacooop yo kápihin puñohuway

fronds REL 3P:shave DEF 3P:take OBJ 3P:CONN:do funnel

‘Those fronds that have been shaved are taken to make a funnel...’

(lit. ‘Those fronds that **they** have shaved, **they** take them to make a funnel...’)

2.2.2 Progressive constructions

An ongoing state of affairs can be implied by the use of a progressive construction, of which three are used in the texts. First there is the habitual aspect, recognised by simple reduplication of the verb root (Wilkinson and Berndt, 2011, §2.5.2):

(12) D15

Ayífa náyifyif fo

drummer 3S:drum:HAB until

‘A drummer drums until...’

The habitual aspect is sometimes combined with the passive voice:

(13) K10

Hilof lompo namemanooleememanool nikopu

top.shoot also 3S:make:PASS:HAB rope

‘A top shoot is also made into rope ...’

The second construction uses the simple present:

(14) K14

ÉKUNT YA: Aloon ekina nacoop ápikink

fronds DEF aloon C:PRO 3S:take 3S:CONN:fence

‘The fronds: it is them that an Aloon takes to fence with...’

In the third construction the present continuous particle *oopa* introduces an entity simply by stating that it exists. The negative counterpart of *oopa* is *neetaat* or *nootaat*.

(15) S06

Akee ya oopa toko

3s:other DEF CONT there

'There is someone...'

2.2.3 Auxiliary constructions

Several auxiliary verbs are used in the texts. Table IV gives some examples of these;

sok 'say' (G02, P07, S12) may also be considered an auxiliary when it is used 'in the sense of "think" or "believe"' (Lowry, *n.d.*, p. 42).

Table IV: Examples of auxiliary verb use

Verb root	Example	Form in context	Meaning in text
<i>haŋ</i>	M20	<i>pahaŋe pitaako</i>	'were the most common' (lit. 'were more to happen')
<i>kelan</i>	M09	<i>n' kakelan ti hicoonu</i>	'they end up by agreeing'
<i>mey</i>	W07	<i>aŋa meya nii ákuuñut</i>	'he who knows that he is not ill'
<i>ñañ</i>	W07	<i>añañaañañ esuum</i>	'he should wrestle'
<i>yem</i>	P08	<i>niŋ yemaa nimeeŋaa</i>	'if you are many'
<i>yíni</i>	LI2	<i>áyiniyini kaaseesu</i>	'you can tap palm wine'

2.2.4 ‘Narrative’ prefix

The verb form often called ‘narrative’ (Sambou, 2007) would be expected to be rare in exposition, yet it appears in almost one-third of all clauses. Almost half of these narrate events or actions, but such clauses are rare on the theme line. The same number use the impersonal construction described in §2.2.1. In some cases, though, this verb form has a ‘consecutive’ sense, indicating continuity of tense, aspect and mode ‘according to that held by the preceding verb’ (Lowry, *n.d.*, p. 75):

(16) H15

ansilosilo n’káafĩitalii ékunt, n’cóopii yo, n’kínk.

2S:climb:HAB CONS:hack fronds CONS:bring OBJ CONS:fence

‘... you climb and hack down fronds and bring them and make a fence.’

2.2.5 Other constructions

Other constructions that decrease the activity level of a clause include infinitives and non-present tenses. Infinitives are often found in responses to questions (§2.1.3.2). They are an example of ‘verbo-nominals’ (Sambou, 2007, p. 172), root words which can become either verbs or nouns.^{ix} Their use in the expository texts corresponds in most cases with interpreting them as nouns (Sambou, 2007, p. 231).

Several clauses in the texts use non-present verb forms, often the future tense or the perfective aspect:

(17) F07

aafakaay *laan* *ti* *hiyanu*

2S.FUT:go drink PREP river

‘... you will go and drink from a freshwater river...’

It is worth noting that the use of negation does not appear to make a clause any more or less active. Where a negative and a positive statement convey *the same proposition*, the negative clause often has lower rank (Longacre, 1989, p. 116). However, negative clauses *in general* do not seem to rank lower than their positive counterparts.

2.3 Introduction and Ending

Expository texts are typically bracketed by an introduction and an ending. In Kuloonaay the introduction tends to consist mostly of supportive material, whereas there is always some part of the ending which belongs to the theme line.

2.3.1 Introduction

A teacher will usually set the theme for a text in its opening sentence or paragraph. Kuloonaay shows ‘more of a tendency [*sic.*] than English or French or Greek to group background information together into blocks’ (Lowry, 2014, p. 3). This background, or introductory material, leads up to the first theme line statement.

Some expositions begin with a ‘topic introducer’ (Levinsohn 2011b, p. 20). This is often a reference to the Question (§1.3.2), either asking it directly (S01) or rephrasing it (L01-L02) for the purposes of a learner who did not know the original context. Alternatively, the introduction can justify the existence of the text by

providing the learner with a context for the information and a reason to heed it (Levinsohn, 2011b, pp. 19-20). The introduction of *Marriage* appeals to history (M01-M03), while *Káyita* appeals to present reality (K02).

One element which is absent from the texts is any justification of the teacher's right to share the information. This may be implied by the fact that they are teaching (Wiesemann, Nseme and Vallette, 1984, p. 221). However, the translation team will need to consider how to convey justifications of authorship such as those found in the Epistles.

2.3.2 Ending

In the texts studied, it is the endings which most clearly reflect whether they are explanatory or descriptive, oral or written. A descriptive written exposition in Kuloonaay need not have a formal conclusion: *Káyita*, *Marriage* and *Drum* all end rather abruptly. In each case, the purpose of the text is laid out at the beginning and the writer has no need to repeat that material. The final sentence of these texts need not be on the theme line, though, coincidentally, K39 and M20 are.

The oral descriptions (*Hintaap*, *Wrestling*), on the other hand, close with a summarising theme line statement that forms part of an *INCLUSIO*. *Inclusio* is a device whereby the teacher begins and ends the body of the text with essentially the same statement (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 18). Usually this statement recalls the Question, ensuring that learners receive the message clearly; it is therefore not surprising that oral texts commonly use this device.

Explanatory texts use logical reasoning to carry the theme line forward. Cross-linguistically, two basic reasoning styles exist, INDUCTIVE and DEDUCTIVE. Inductive reasoning starts with the facts and comes to a conclusion, whereas deductive reasoning presents a statement and follows it up with evidence (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 17). Kuloonaay prefers inductive reasoning, but here again there is a difference between oral and written texts.

The oral explanations (*Livelihood, Polygamy, Songs*) use inductive reasoning in the context of an *inclusio*. The written explanations (*God, Frogs*), on the other hand, use inductive reasoning alone. In all cases the ending, the final theme line statement, points to the Question the teacher has chosen to answer.

(18) L15 (oral)

‘All of them have great importance in the life of an Aloon.’

(Question: Which of the Karoninka livelihoods is the most important?)

(19) G17 (written)

‘Traditional Karoninka manhood (*i.e.* justice) is finished forever.’

(Question uncertain: see Table II)

In its context, G17 suggests that the teacher is answering a Question that a reader would not have foreseen at the beginning of the text. This is a useful discovery for Bible translation, since Jesus is often recorded answering a different question from the one that had been asked (for example, John 18:33-37). However, there are no clear examples of this technique being used in oral Kuloonaay. Therefore, in order

to translate Jesus' spoken words into an authentic oral style, translators will need to find ways of indicating a change of Question through the delivery of a text. It may be that some of the connectives described in Chapter 3 would provide helpful signals.

2.4 Supportive material

The vast majority of supportive material in the Kuloonaay expositions can simply be classified as 'descriptive' or 'explanatory' (§2.4.1, §2.4.2). In some cases, a statement is supported by an embedded text of a different type (§2.4.3). The relative order of a theme line statement and its support depends on the type of supportive material: certain kinds of support precede a theme line statement and other kinds follow it (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 23).

The default order of theme line and supportive material is governed by the order of elements in a simple clause (Roberts, 1997). Kuloonaay is a VO language: that is, in a simple clause the object follows the verb. Descriptive material is ordered as expected for a VO language, with support following a theme line statement. Explanatory material, on the other hand, follows a 'chronological or logical sequence' (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 35).

2.4.1 Descriptive material

Descriptive material either 'lists the characteristics of something' (Loos, 2004) or expands on a statement by providing 'orientation (time, place, theme) or clarification of the main [proposition]' (Wiesemann *et al.*, 1999, p. 75, my translation^x). Several representative examples are given below; others are discussed in [§3.3](#), [§3.4](#) and [§3.5](#).

(20) G08 (statement)

'If you did wrong, the compound (i.e. family) or neighbourhood would reprimand you publicly and show you the correct way in Kuloonaay.'

G09 (orientation: alternatives)

'At other times it is in the generational group, at other times in the sacred forest, at other times in the women's sacred forest, that it is done.'

(21) M05 (statement)

'Agreed marriage (by engagement): These are when the man and the woman agree.'

M06-M07 (clarification: addition)

'The woman is searched for as a bride should be searched for (i.e. according to tradition). The marriage is tied.'

(22) H10 (statement)

'So there are two things a climbing hoop is used for: harvesting palm nuts or tapping palm wine.'

H11 (clarification: summary)

'With it we feed ourselves.'

2.4.2 Explanatory material

The distinctive constituents of explanatory material are ‘explanations for expository theses and reasons for accepting their validity’ (Levinsohn 2011b, p. 23). The teacher presents statements and support in ways that are intended to enable the learner to understand the connections between them. In Kuloonaay the majority of explanatory material is given in the same sentence as the material it supports. One representative example is given here; §3.6 and §3.7 explore these relations in detail.

(23) G04

(statement)

Aloon acokaacok énaati nii pítin wala nukopu enna afaasap

aloon 3S:hold:PFV idol like way or rope DEM 3S.FUT:beat

‘An Aloon considers an idol as a way or a means that he will hold to’

(explanation)

mantefâ Pútuun pa m’písi kaluumoo

such.that god DEF CONS:hear pray(VN):3S;OBJ

‘**such that** God hears his praying.’

Sometimes an explanation relates to a specific word or phrase. To restrict one entity or situation from among several, Kuloonaay uses a relative clause (cf. Wiesemann et al., 1999, p. 74):

(24) W13

kápiyaañ ti pusuuma pa keeyem ka ti káyipen

3P.CONN:start PREP wrestlers DEF REL:be DEF PREP learn(VN)

‘... starting with the wrestlers **who are learning...**’

2.4.3 Embedding

Supportive material may be given in the form of an embedded text of a different type, as with the procedural portion W03-W21. The embedded text need not be long: F14 quotes a proverb, which is applied to the frogs instead of to people, its usual subject (Diémé and Jatta, 2014). Finally, one exposition may be embedded in another: *Hintaap* is a portion extracted from a longer exposition about how Kaloon survive.

2.5 Interaction

Evidence exists of the teacher interacting with both the text and the learner, either by asking questions or by using one or more persuasive techniques. Some of this material is on the theme line and some is supportive. It follows no pattern in terms of distribution, but is inserted wherever the teacher believes it will be most effective.

2.5.1 Questions

Oral teaching often uses questions, which may be ‘internal’ or ‘external’. Evidence from other texts in Kuloonaay points to questions being used also in written texts. An internal question asks the text about itself, and the answer comes explicitly or implicitly as the text continues:

(25) S09 'There is someone else, why does he compose a song?'

S10 'It (i.e. life) is difficult, that is why.'

An external question, on the other hand, is directed towards the learner:

(26) H04

Aasilaasilo?

2S:climb:PFV[INT]

'Have you climbed?'

Whereas internal questions can be theme line or support, external questions are never found on the theme line. External questions are likely to be even more common in behavioural than expository discourse. Some are used to elicit a response; others are rhetorical, 'not requiring a verbal response' (Wiesemann *et al.*, 1999, p. 76). Rhetorical questions are 'essentially a teaching device' (Longacre, 1983, p. 11). Teachers use them for purposes such as introducing a new topic, introducing an element of doubt, challenging the hearer or drawing attention to something.

Internal and external questions occur frequently in expository Biblical passages such as Job 38-41, Ecclesiastes 1-8 and Romans 3-5. Once translators have clarified the teaching purposes for which questions may be used, it would seem that they are free to translate questions with questions.

2.5.2 Persuasion

Argumentative elements of a text are sometimes presented purely through explanation, but more often they involve an element of interaction. It is not always easy or even possible to distinguish between facts, statements of opinion and attempts at persuasion. This is especially true of written texts where the teacher's original communicative purpose may not be known to the learner. Sometimes it is the teacher's choice of vocabulary which suggests they may be interacting rather than just stating a fact:

(27) M13

'In those particular marriages, the woman's parents are in agreement.'

M14

Poko n'katejenool ho faŋ niŋ pákayiin paka.

3P 3P:discuss OBJ even with men DEF

'They **even** discuss it with the man's family.'

Some statements are better interpreted as indirect exhortations:

(28) G16

Aloon óo aloon natah toko kunuuwoo

aloon DIST RDP 3S:throw.down there mind:3S:OBJ

'Every Aloon must pay attention to this'

n'akina álafiiit hitaaku ciyaac citi mansa.

if:3S:PRO 3S:want:NEG;COND INF:have sanction prep king

'if he doesn't want to be punished by the State.'

Another important device in persuasion is a switch of person. In behavioural texts, a switch to the second person (2P) indicates a stronger exhortation (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 77). In the Kuloonaay expositions, 2P is used in impersonal (passive) constructions, along with 3s (third person singular). It is highly likely that a switch of person represents a persuasive interaction. In *Frogs* there is an exhortation expressed using the inclusive form of the first person plural (IP.INC):

(29) F13 (default)

'If you have seen the frogs running to enter the houses, snakes and ground hornbills catch them to eat.' (i.e. 'it is because snakes...')

F14 (switch)

Heehe púlooj nuucukaa nuukataa po pupuyolo

DEM all IP:see:IP.INC IP:spare:IP.INC OBJ C:CONN:hide

'All this **we see**, and **we allow** them to hide...'

Wise use of Karoninka intuition will enable translators to use switching techniques appropriately whilst guarding against unnecessary changes of person that might give learners the wrong impression.

CHAPTER 3

Relations between Propositions

3.1 Propositions and relations

Every clause contains a PROPOSITION: the explicit or implicit expression of an idea or meaning (Loos, 2004). Propositions are RELATED to one another by subordination or co-ordination. In subordination, one proposition is dependent on the other: the subordinate proposition behaves as part of the main proposition (Nicolle, 2009b). Example 30 is based on an example from Wiesemann *et al.* (1999, p. 73). Its propositions are (i) ‘Each song has a message’ (main clause) and (ii) ‘You see (know of) many songs’ (relative clause).

(30) S05

hícimu *óo* *hícimu* *eeha* *ancuke* *hitaakaataak* *ekoogan*

song DIST RDP DEM;REL 2S:see have:HAB message

‘... each song **that you see** has a message ...’

Co-ordinated propositions are independent, though they may share some information. Example 31 expresses the propositions (i) ‘the palm-flower can be

tapped’ (first clause) and (ii) ‘tapping the palm-flower is not common’ (second clause), co-ordinated by *pale* ‘but’.

(31) K23

Naseeseesees lompo pale ameejut ti kaloon.

3S:tap:PASS:HAB also but 3S:be.many:NEG PREP kaloon

‘It can also be tapped **but** this is not common among Kaloon.’

Even in co-ordination, most relations contain one proposition which is ‘naturally more prominent’ (Callow, 2002, xi). In example 31, the positive proposition (i) is more prominent than the negative proposition (ii). The main proposition is the ‘HEAD’; other ‘dependent’ propositions supplement it ‘by orientation, clarification or logical argumentation’ (Roberts, 1997, p. 20). The head proposition may or may not be on the theme line; dependent propositions are always supportive.

The order of a related pair of propositions is expected to correspond to the order of elements in a simple proposition (Roberts, 1997). For Kuloonaay as a VO language this would mean a HEAD-dependent order. However, ‘[in] some languages, a desire to preserve chronological or logical sequence may determine the order [of propositions]’ (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 35). This chapter explores the various ways of expressing relations in Kuloonaay and their default orders. Relations expressed in a non-default way are described as MARKED.

3.2 Connectives

Clauses or sentences can either be joined together using CONNECTIVES or juxtaposed with no connective. Connectives include both words and 'referential expressions such as *Because of this...*' (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 26, footnote 35). Some connectives co-ordinate clauses; others link a main and a subordinate clause.

Different text types use connectives in different ways. The situation for narratives is as follows:

The default way of conjoining sentences [...] is to use no connective [...]. By far the most common connective in Kuloonay [sic.] is the word *nin*, but this word is seldom if ever used independently (rather than as a prefix) as a means of conjoining sentences. (Lowry, 2011, §7)

Expositions are even less ambiguous: by default sentences are juxtaposed, with connectives used to 'constrain a [particular] interpretation' (Levinsohn, 2011a, p. 85). This reflects the general pattern in both Ancient Hebrew and Koiné Greek expositions (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 26) and should cause few problems in translation.

Connectives indicate how a learner should understand the relations between propositions (Nicolle, 2009a, p. 4). In particular, logical connectives signal relations of cause and effect (Loos, 2004). These LOGICAL RELATIONS are more important in expositions than in narratives (Loos, 1999), and Kuloonaay expositions use many logical connectives where narratives use few.

Tables V and VI list Kuloonaay connectives and their functions, along with where a discussion of each can be found. The ‘occasions when one would have expected a connective to be used, yet none is present’ (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 28) are described in the relevant sections.

Table V: Co-ordinating connectives

Connective	Meaning	Function	Section
<i>lombo</i>	‘also’	additive	3.3
<i>wala</i>	‘or’	alternative	3.4
<i>man (me)</i>	‘or’	alternative	3.4
<i>niŋ fotom</i>	‘otherwise’	alternative, emphatic	3.4
<i>pale</i>	‘but’	countering	3.5.1.1
<i>atam</i>	‘so what?’, ‘however’	(countering) emphatic	3.5.1.2
<i>ekina ewune</i>	‘that is why’	logical: cause-RESULT	3.6.1.1
<i>kamma</i>	‘because’	logical: RESULT-cause	3.6.1.2
<i>kaatu</i>	‘because’	logical: RESULT-cause;	3.6.1.3;
	‘for’	strengthening	3.7
<i>mantefa</i>	‘so as’, ‘such that’	logical: means-RESULT	3.6.2
<i>kati</i>	‘in order that’, ‘so that’	logical: MEANS-purpose	3.6.3.2
<i>niŋ ekina tom</i>	‘if that is not so’	logical: condition-CONSEQUENCE	3.6.4

Table VI: Subordinating connectives

Connective	Meaning	Function	Section
<i>kamma</i>	‘because of’	logical: RESULT-cause	3.6.1.2
<i>niṅ + -aa</i>	‘if’	logical: condition-CONSEQUENCE	3.6.4
<i>háni</i>	‘even (if / though)’	logical: CONTRAEXPECTATION- concession	3.6.5
<i>apan</i>	‘(even) though’	logical: CONTRAEXPECTATION- concession	3.6.5

Loos (1999) proposes a series of tests to verify the analysis of logical connectives, which it was not possible to carry out at the research stage of this project. If Kaloon reading this paper disagree with any explanation presented here, Loos’ tests may lead to a better suggestion.

3.3 Additive relations

Some additive relations use relative clauses, as in S05 (example 30, §3.1). Relative clauses need no discussion here as they have been comprehensively described by Lowry (2011, §11.4). Most additive propositions behave like adjacent sentences: they are co-ordinated and use no connective. Marked additive relations use the additive connective *lompo* ‘also’, which has a broad but somewhat indefinable range of functions (Lowry, 2014, p. 22). Additive connectives ‘are used in significantly different ways in different languages’ (Levinsohn, 2011a, p. 86); below are some suggestions for interpreting *lompo* in Kuloonaay expositions.

In several situations *lompo* encourages the learner ‘to find a parallel with some previous proposition or assumption’ (Levinsohn, 2001, p. 4). It is common for the parallel propositions to be adjacent, but this is not always the case. A set of parallel propositions is distributed through *Káyita*:

(32) K06 ‘The parts [of a palm tree] are seven in number.’

K11 ‘LEAF: a leaf *lompo* has many parts.’

K13 ‘The fronds *lompo* have a stalk and the blades.’

K25 ‘It [the palm cluster] *lompo* has many parts.’

K29 ‘The palm nuts *lompo* have many parts.’

In Koiné Greek, adding a proposition and adding a subject use two different connectives (Levinsohn, 2011a, p. 88). *Lompo* fulfils both of these roles, as seen in examples 32 (adding subjects) and 33 (adding a proposition).

(33) F06

‘If you get thirsty you can go and drink from a freshwater river, or from a freshwater pond.’

F07

‘Aside from the thirst,’

awe lombo aafataak kaamiilool

2s also 2s.FUT.have thought

‘you will also have a thought’

‘saying that “the place where I have arrived is near a village”.’

Some languages use a connective to indicate continuation of the theme line after a portion of supportive material (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 39). *Lombo* is used in this way in P08 and in *Hintaap* (H12, H16, H20). These two functions of drawing parallels and resuming the theme line are the most usual in exposition, but there are several other occurrences which do not fit into either category.

In *Hintaap*, *lombo* twice co-occurs with summarising connectives: *ooto* ‘so’ (borrowed) in H23 and *fiye* ‘now, thus’ in H25. In D08, *lombo* appears to show ‘that the adjoined material is at least as important ... as what has gone before’ (Lowry, 2011, §7.2). In L05 its use is contrastive, probably ‘best translated “but”, rather than “also” ’ (Lowry, 2014, p. 22). W27 is the most ambiguous: it may be creating a parallel (perhaps with W26), or it may have another purpose.

By default *lombo* appears ‘immediately after the subject of the verb’ (Lowry 2011, §7.2), but where the subject is not explicit *lombo* usually follows the verb. (D08,

K23, W20). However, throughout *Hintaap* and several times in *Wrestling*, *lompo* comes before the subject. This does not alter the meaning and is most likely a reflection of the flexibility in sentence order often found in oral texts (Dooley and Levinsohn, 1999, p. 7).

3.4 Alternative relations

Alternative propositions are co-ordinated using *wala* or *man* (*me*). *Wala* is borrowed from Wolof, Senegal’s *lingua franca*; there is debate over whether *man* (*me*) is indigenous or borrowed from one of the other languages in the Jola family. Kaloon insist that *wala* and *man* (*me*) are interchangeable (Diémé and Jatta, 2014), and either can be used to present alternative verbs or entities:

(34) G15

Aafacooy fiye,

2S.FUT:repay this.way

‘“You will pay so much,’

wala aafahinto ti níkuluma kiim wala sitiil fiye.

or 2S.FUT:lie.down PREP prison months or years this.way

‘or you will lie in prison so many months or years.’’

Niñ fotom ‘otherwise’ (literally ‘if not’), which appears in *Káyita* and *Wrestling*, can similarly be used to introduce alternative verbs, prepositional phrases or relative

clauses. Its rarity indicates that it is probably a marked form, and it probably signals an EMPHATIC ALTERNATIVE RELATION in which ‘the existence of different possibilities is stressed’ (Loos, 2004):

(35) K33

púkumut pa n’káhin po sáafuna

thick.liquid DEF 3P:do OBJ soap

‘... the thick liquid is used (*lit.* they use) to make soap’

niŋ fotom n’kawufan po pícalukun pa pipili.

if not 3P:give OBJ pigs DEF C:CONN:eat

‘otherwise they give it to the pigs to eat.’

Sambou (2007, p. 266, my translation^{xi}) cites *ni-haani* ‘if not, or else’ as a marker of ‘alternative co-ordination’ between two clauses. This connective does not appear in the expository texts.

3.5 Countering relations

A countering connective ‘will always introduce material that counters some event or expectation’ (Levinsohn, 2011a, p. 91). The expected order in a countering pair in a VO language is POSITIVE-negative (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 29), which corresponds with the natural use of *pale* (§3.5.1.1). Nevertheless, there are two specific situations where a connective is not used.

First, no connective is needed for a negative-POSITIVE pair in which the second proposition is somehow related to the first: as an alternative (G07-08), the opposite (K03-04) or a part of it (L02-03, L09-10).

Second, no connective is needed in PROTOTYPICAL CONTRAST, where ‘two propositions have a point of similarity and two points of contrast’ (Longacre, 2011a, p. 92). In D13 (Table VII) the second sentence is introduced by the time-based expression *fiyoy n'túunoonii* ‘today it has become’:

Table VII: Prototypical contrast in D12-D13

	similarity	contrast 1	contrast 2
D12	Kaloon drummers	of yesterday	one <i>híntiŋ</i> (carried on the shoulder)
D13	Kaloon drummers	of today	two <i>kíntiŋ</i> * (leaned on a mortar)

*Kuloonaay plural of *híntiŋ*

3.5.1 Countering connectives

3.5.1.1 *Pale*

‘The standard countering connective in Kuloonay is *pale* (but). It is relatively rare [in narrative]’ (Lowry, 2011, §7.3) but, not surprisingly, more common in expositions.

Pale co-ordinates clauses, either within one sentence or at a larger scale. The positive clause is followed by the negative (Lowry, 2011).

(36) W24

naatahu, niŋ fotom awe antahoo,

3S:throw.down:2S;OBJ if not 2S.PRO 2S:throw.down:3S;OBJ

‘... he floors you, otherwise it is you who floors him,’

pale etaakut písapalool.

but have:NEG hit:RCP(VN)

‘but there is no hitting.’

In *Hintaap* and *Livelihood*, *pale* is used to introduce unexpected additional material.

For example, in H02 the learner is told that the climbing hoop has ‘two uses’, rather than only one as might be expected, and L05 is a reminder that, though ploughing brings food directly, it is not more important than tapping and harvesting which bring money for food. There is not enough evidence to conclude whether this use is a distinctive feature of oral texts or an alternative use of this connective in general.

In speech, this connective often occurs in its original Wolof form *bare*. The fact that *pale* is a borrowed word suggests that it was not always necessary in Kuloonaay, but that perhaps ‘there was felt to be a need ... to express something that was hitherto ambiguously expressed or expressed in less distinctive terms.’ (Loos, 1999, p. 254) This is probably the reason *pale* is often used to connect a POSITIVE-negative pair even though it is not strictly necessary (Lowry, 2011, §7.3; Wilkinson and Berndt, 2011, §3.5.6).

Paul Ekiyen Jarju, a recognised authority on all things Karoninka, prefers not to use *pale*, yet no POSITIVE-negative pairs are found in the texts without it. Since such a matter can significantly affect the naturalness of a text (Levinsohn, 2011b), community evaluation will be very important to the decision about whether or how the Bible translation team should use it.

3.5.1.2 *Atam*

Atam is an emphatic connective or an ‘exclamation’ (Diémé and Jatta, 2014) which is difficult to translate, often occurring with questions with a sense similar to ‘so what?’ It occurs only once in the texts (example 37), introducing an unexpected contrast. Here it has been translated ‘however’, but further investigation is needed to discover its full range of uses.

(37) K19

‘The LEAF-STALKS, they cook fish or boil water with them.’

K20

Atam enan ayikantee noo uli,

EMPH palm.leaf.stalk 3S.cook.HAB.NEG with.3S rice

‘However, leaf-stalks, one never cooks rice over them’

kamma naataakantoo kiceek.

because 3s.have.HAB.NEG charcoal

'because they don't make charcoal.'

3.5.2 Counterpoints

Certain rhetorical devices add interest to an expository or behavioural text. In example 38, the teacher introduces a 'point of minor significance that forms the counterpoint for a following THESIS' (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 32, his emphasis). Counterpoints descriptive relations which give 'give emphasis' to the main thesis statement (Wiesemann *et al.*, 1999, p. 75, my translation^{xii}).

- (38) G02 (counterpoint) 'Because there are numerous idols, those who do not understand Karoninka culture say that Kaloon are believers in many gods.'
- G03 'But it is not so!'
- G04 (THESIS) 'An Aloon considers an idol as a way or a means to hold to in order for God to hear his praying.'

Songs also contains a counterpoint, using two negative affirmations (S03-S04) to prepare the learner for the positive one (S05). Similarly, *Drum* mentions several entities named *hintiŋ* before detailing the nature of the musical instrument that the text is describing. Such structures are likely to be equally common, if not more so, in behavioural texts.

3.6 Logical relations

Levinsohn (2011b, p.37) classifies the logical connectives of Koiné Greek into INFERENCE (INDUCTIVE), those introducing the head clause, and STRENGTHENING (DEDUCTIVE), those ‘introducing a reason, ground or explanation’. The Kuloonaay connectives described in this section could be classified in this way: *ekina ewune, kati, niŋ + -aa* and *niŋ ekina tom* in the first category, *kamma, kaatu, mantefa, háni* and *apan* in the second. However, this division does not take into account the other constructions used to present logical relations. It seems more helpful to analysts and translators to present each type of relation in turn with all its manifestations.

Linguists consider relations in discrete terms; languages generally do not. For example, the boundaries between relations categorised as cause-RESULT (§3.6.1), means-RESULT (§3.6.2) and MEANS-purpose (§3.6.3) are not always clear. It may be more helpful and more accurate to understand certain relations as overlapping portions of a continuum rather than points along it. The terminology has been chosen because it reflects the differences between relations more clearly than glosses and translations.

3.6.1 Cause/RESULT pairs

The cause/RESULT category contains two types of relation: reason/RESULT and grounds/CONCLUSION. In a reason/RESULT pair the reason clause answers the question, ‘Why this result?’ (cf. Beekman and Callow, 1974, p. 300). In a grounds/CONCLUSION pair the grounds clause answers the question, ‘What fact(s) is this conclusion based on?’ (Beekman and Callow, 1974, p. 300). The former focus

on events in time (+CTS, §1.1) and are therefore more common in narrative and procedural texts, while the latter reflect the factual and argumentative elements of expository and behavioural texts (-CTS). However, Kuloonaay discourse reveals that the language does not differentiate between the two, so the label cause/RESULT is used for both types of relation. In all cases, '[the] result occurs regardless of human intention or nonintention' (Loos, 2004).

Both cause-RESULT and RESULT-cause relations are found throughout the texts. The order cause-RESULT reflects the inductive reasoning style (§2.3.2) typical of persuasive discourse (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 18). These relations are flexible in scope: the cause may be a single clause or several paragraphs leading to the result. In contrast, the cause in a RESULT-cause relation is almost always a single clause: supportive material following a theme line statement. Finally, many *inclusio* constructions (§2.3.2) present complex RESULT- $\{$ cause-RESULT $\}$ relations.

The principal Kuloonaay connectives used for cause/RESULT pairs are *ekina ewune* 'that is why' (§3.6.1.1) and *kamma* 'because (of)' (§3.6.1.2). The borrowed word *kaatu* 'because, for' (§3.6.1.3) also occurs frequently. In the language as a whole, *kaatu* is used for RESULT-reason, CONCLUSION-grounds and even EXHORTATION-grounds relations, whereas *kamma* has only been observed in reason/RESULT pairs. The apparently restricted use of the original Kuloonaay word provides one potential explanation for the widespread adoption of *kaatu*.

The default for cause/RESULT relations is to use a connective. The absence of a connective (G17) may reflect a less direct contribution of the cause to the result.

3.6.1.1 *Ekina ewune*

Cause-RESULT relations in Kuloonaay use the co-ordinating connective phrase *ekina ewune*. Literally ‘that gives’, it is usually translated figuratively by ‘that is why’. The referent of *ekina* may be as wide as the text so far (as in example 39) or as narrow as the preceding clause.

(39) M01-03 cause (support)

‘In the beginning, when an Aloon boy grew up, his parents would search for a wife for him. Sometimes there is a girl whose beauty and kindness they see. But sometimes the couple don’t have any say or choice, neither the woman nor the man.’

M04 RESULT (THESIS)

Ekina ewune pinimo naameej pacuk kaloon.

PRO give marriage 3S:be.many facet kaloon

‘That is why marriage has many facets among the Kaloon.’

Ekina ewune differs grammatically from other connectives in that it consists of a pronoun and a verb. One question and answer pair demonstrates it being used in this way:

(40) S09

Akee ya oopa toko, náamaap hícimu kamma weyme?

3S:other DEF CONT there 3S.compose song because what

‘There is another one, why does he compose a song?’

S10

Cítiiyoociiti ekina ewune.

be.difficult PRO give

‘It (*i.e.* life) is difficult, that is why.’

Sambou (2007, p. 236) analyses *wun* ‘give’ as a causative auxiliary verb. When it is used without *ekina*, sometimes in its reduplicated form *wunaawun* (G02, S11), it has as its subject a single entity rather than a clause.

3.6.1.2 *Kamma*

Most RESULT-cause relations use the connective *kamma* ‘because (of)’. Its normal function is co-ordinating, as the cause clause is usually a complete proposition (S07, example 41). In some cases, though, it is subordinating (S06), introducing a ‘circumstantial complement’ (Wilkinson and Berndt, 2011, §3.3.4).

(41) S06

Akee ya oopa toko, ámaapaamaap hícimu kamma háyine.

3S:other DEF cont there 3S:compose:PFV song because courage

‘There is someone who composes a song **because of** [his own] courage.’

S07

Akee ya oopa toko, ámaapaamaap hícimu

3S:other DEF cont there 3S:compose:PFV song

‘There is another one who composes a song’

kamma akee náahinoo híkee heenaput.

because 3S:other 3S:do[PFV]:3S:OBJ something REL:be.good:NEG

‘because someone has done something bad to him.’

The narrative texts studied by Lowry (2011) contain several examples of sentences whose structure is ‘*Kamma* [cause], [RESULT].’ In all of these instances the result clause presents a development or piece of information which is crucial to the resolution of the narrative plot. This marked order draws attention to the result. It is likely that *kamma* can be used this way in exposition too.

3.6.1.3 *Kaatu*

The co-ordinating connective *kaatu* ‘because, for’ appears in the texts studied, in other expository portions (Sambou, 2011c), and in several narratives (Lowry, 2011).

Adapted from the Mandinka word *kaatuko*, some Kaloos avoid it because it is not pure Kuloonaay. Others, though, use it in preference to *kamma* (Sambou, 2007; Lowry, 2011). Simon Sambou (2011a; 2011c) is a notable exception, using the two words in such a way as to introduce a nuance of difference between them. His use of the two in the expositions (P03, example 42; F08) suggest a modified interpretation.

Koiné Greek uses *γὰρ* (*gar*) and Ancient Hebrew *kî* ‘to indicate that what follows strengthens a previous assertion, without specifying the logical relation between the two’ (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 1). Though *kaatu* often does specify a logical relation, it is sometimes more accurate to interpret it as a STRENGTHENING CONNECTIVE with the meaning ‘for’ or ‘after all’ (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 38). This corresponds with the way some Kaloos translate it into French as *car*.

(42) P02

‘Thus if you have many wives and many children, to Kaloos you are rich, you have wealth.’

P03

Kaatu efikayankanani ti kúu eti piya,

for 3P.FUT:help:2S:OBJ PREP something PREP plough(VN)

‘For they will help you with ploughing.’

'they will help you with clearing the undergrowth, they will help you with harvesting palm nuts, they will help you in every kind of work that you are going to do.'

Since many Kaloon tend to use only one of the two connectives *kaatu* and *kamma*, it seems unwise to analyse them as distinct entities with only one meaning each. *Kaatu* has become useful for making explicit a strengthening relation that might otherwise be left implicit; in every other case, it can be substituted by *kamma*. At present the members of the translation team, preferring not to use borrowed words, are happy to express the strengthening relation with simple juxtaposition.

In summary, either *kamma* or *kaatu* can be used to introduce 'a reason or evidence for the last assertion (THESIS)' (Levinsohn, 2011b, p.38). Usually this is in a RESULT-cause relation but at times it tends more towards strengthening.

3.6.1.4 Complex constructions

Sometimes *kaatu* or *kamma* is used in combination with *ekina ewune* or another logical development relation. Constructions of this kind have also been found in other text types besides exposition.

(43) F05-F07

'In darkness, the frogs' voices can often show a traveller standing water. If you get thirsty you will go and drink from a freshwater river, or from a freshwater pond. Aside from the thirst, you will also have a thought saying that "the place where I have arrived is near a village."

F08

Kaatu pakinal pa piti pisaatee pa putuunaa

for dwellings DEF PREP villages DEF PREP: I.P.INC

'For the dwellings of our villages'

pílaañantoo kiyanu ka.

be.near:HAB;NEG ponds DEF

'are never far from the ponds.'

F09

Ekina ewune puhoon pa pílaañantoo pakan paka.

PRO give frogs DEF be.near:HAB;NEG people DEF

'That is why the frogs are never far from the people.'

The following paraphrase suggests a visual representation of this paragraph:

F05-F07	RESULT	When you hear the frogs' voices, you will know you are near a village	
		<i>Kaatu</i>	
F08	Cause	{Cause	villages are never far from ponds
		<i>Ekina ewune</i>	
F09		{RESULT	frogs are never far from people

3.6.1.5 Other RESULT-cause constructions

Frogs contains two examples of an unusual RESULT-cause construction: a conditional clause (§3.6.4) alongside the auxiliary verb *cuk* 'see' (F13, F14). The form 'if you see [RESULT], [cause]' conveys the meaning 'if [RESULT] is the case, [cause] is the reason'. This may be a device to highlight the 'reason' clause, or it may be that there is a restriction on the use of connectives alongside a conditional construction. It would be interesting to investigate whether other auxiliary verbs may be used similarly.

The only RESULT-cause relation in which the result is negative is found in K20, where the result is introduced by *atam* (§3.5.1.2). With only one example, it is not possible to say whether this is the standard construction for such a relation.

3.6.2 Means-RESULT

A means-RESULT relation is more deliberate than cause-RESULT. The means is carried out for the purpose of achieving the result (Loos, 2004) and answers the question 'How was the result achieved?'. These relations use the co-ordinating connective *mantefa* 'so as, such that':

(44) M18

kank kúsupak kísiyoole kipititool epuukii púmaacul

compounds two hear:RCP exchange:RCP children:3P;OBJ girls

‘...two households on good terms with each other exchange their daughters’

mantefà pukampaaniyii n’kasa pakaal.

such.that boys:3P;OBJ CONS:marry women

‘such that their sons have them as wives.’

This connective is rare, with both instances (G04, M18) occurring in texts written by the same teacher (Simon Sambou). It has been suggested that *mantefà* is borrowed from Mandinka and can be replaced by *eeha efhiwun ha* ‘which means that’ (Diémé, Diatta and Jatta, 2014, my translation^{xiii}). It is interesting that this latter expression, literally translated ‘which will give that’, uses the same verb *wun* that is common in cause-RESULT relations.

3.6.3 MEANS-purpose

A MEANS-purpose relation expresses why something was done: the MEANS clause answers the question ‘What action was undertaken to achieve the desired result?’ (Beekman and Callow, 1974, p. 300). The most significant difference between this and a means-RESULT relation is the degree of certainty about whether the means

achieves its end: a result is achieved, whereas a purpose may or may not be (Loos, 2004).

3.6.3.1 Connective prefix *pi-*

Instead of a connective word or phrase, the purpose clause is marked by the verbal prefix *pi-*, glossed ‘connective’ since no single gloss ‘is really adequate to describe the full range of different roles that *pi-* can play’ (Lowry, 2011, §7.1). Lowry presents three uses of this prefix in the language as a whole, of which the first is as a ‘simple connective’ (Lowry, 2011 §7.1) joining members of a verbal series (Wilkinson and Berndt, 2011, §2.8.1; Lowry, *n.d.*, p. 48). This does not seem specific enough to explain any instances in the expository texts.

Second, Lowry describes *pi-* as a link between two simultaneous actions or events. The connective prefix introduces a subordinate clause and is ‘translated “while” or “when” ’ (Lowry, 2011, §7.1). Several examples in the expositions suggest that this category can be extended to include two events happening in close succession. In these cases the connector is translated ‘having (done)’:

(45) H18

Pikee pa aapiyik po, illi.

sometimes 2S:CONN:cook OBJ 2S:eat

‘Sometimes, **having** cooked them, you eat.’

The third alternative describes the most common use of *pi-* in exposition: ‘to express a kind of purpose clause’ (Lowry, 2011, §7.1). This clause is subordinate to the main clause, though it will often contain material important to the theme line. It is translated ‘to (do)’ or ‘for (doing)’:

(46) L11

áayiniyini hicoopu mañ emmu aapunoom uli.

2s.be.able to.take money DEM 2s.CONN.buy rice

‘... you can take that money for buying rice.’

MEANS-purpose relations can be combined in several ways. A second purpose clause can repeat or strengthen the first:

(47) D18

ancukoo áseepiniyaa apiwoomo sip

2s:see:3s;OBJ 3s:get.up 3s:CONN:dance vigorously

‘... you see him getting up **to dance vigorously,**’

apihat coon.

3s:CONN:dance properly

‘to dance as dancing should be done.’

One means may be used to achieve another, leading one MEANS-purpose relation to be embedded in another:

(48) K22

n'kacoop ho kapicaañan seemak kapisees neeho.

3P:take OBJ 3P:CONN:light fire 3P:CONN:tap.palm.wine with:OBJ

'... they take it **to light** a fire **to tap palm wine** with it.

i.e.

MEANS {MEANS '... they take it'

{Purpose 'to light a fire'

Purpose 'to tap palm wine with it.'

3.6.3.2 *Kati*

Several teachers mark a purpose clause with the connective *kati* 'in order that, so that' (Wilkinson and Berndt, 2011, §3.5.4, my translation^{xiv}). This is a co-ordinating connective which raises the status of the purpose clause. As with the default form, one relation can be embedded in another:

(49) P07

aloon óo aloon añañaañañ esa pakaal keemeenje

aloon DIST RDP 3S:should marry women REL:be.many

'... every Aloon should marry many women'

kati ataak epuuk keemeerje

so.that 3S:have children REL:be.many

‘so that he has many children’

kati n'káyini kayankanan ti waah óo waah

so.that 3P:be.able INF:help PREP thing DIST RDP

‘so that they are able to help with everything ...’

i.e.

MEANS {MEANS ‘... every Aloon should marry many women’

{Purpose ‘so that he has many children’

Purpose ‘so that they are able to help with everything ...’

An undesired result can be introduced with the prohibitive verbal prefix *timpi-* (Sambou, 2007, p. 267), which combines with *kati* to give *katimpi-* (Wilkinson and Berndt, 2011, §2.6.6.3).

Káyita contains a sentence which appears to contain both a default and a marked MEANS-purpose relation:

(50) K17

(i) *Nanaacoop esaat ya yoonool yu*

CONS:3S:take palm.leaf.stalk DEF one DEM

‘And he takes one of those leaf-stalks’

(ii) *apiwuc hintaap*

3S:CONN:construct climbing.hoop

‘for constructing a climbing hoop’

(iii) *kati nasilo káyita man me naas.*

so.that 3S:climb palm or palmron

‘in order to climb (*lit.* so that he climbs) a palm or a palmron.’

Clause (iii) is raised to have equal status with clause (i) whereas clause (ii) is subordinate. Given the alternative use of the connective prefix *pi-*, an alternative translation of clause (ii) is ‘... *constructing a climbing hoop* in order to climb ...’. K17 can be visually represented as follows:

MEANS {MEANS ‘And he takes one of those leaf stalks’

{Purpose ‘he *pi-*constructs a climbing hoop’

Purpose ‘*kati* he climbs a palm or a palmron.’

3.6.4 Condition-CONSEQUENCE

The condition leading to a particular consequence may be either ‘contrary to fact, general potential fact, [or] particular potential fact.’ (Callow, 2002, xiv, footnote 6).

In each case Kuloonaay uses a subordinating construction with the connective *nii* (alternately *ni* or even *n'*), whose range of meaning includes ‘and’, ‘with’ and ‘if’ (Wilkinson and Berndt, 2011, §§3.5.1-3.5.2).

Positive cases, both general and particular, use *nii* with the ‘conditional’ verbal suffix *-aa* in a subordinate clause which expresses either a condition or a previous event (Wilkinson and Berndt, 2011, §3.5.2). The distinction between the possible meanings ‘if’ and ‘when’ is a combination of grammar and communication ‘derived from the context’ (Loos, 1999, p. 244). ‘When’ clauses are not relevant in this discussion of logical relations. ‘If’ clauses introduce condition-CONSEQUENCE relations:

(51) W26

N'éehinaa pítaakool pakan paka n'kacok

if:REL:do:COND fight people DEF 3P:hold

‘If there is a fight the people take hold of them ...’

If the consequence is a result of two closely connected conditions, the first verb takes the conditional suffix and the second the consecutive prefix:

(52) P11

(conditions)

N'aayemaa áyiin oonool, n'taak pakaal pákahaaciil,

if:2S:be:COND man one CONS:have wives three

'If you are one man **and** you have three wives'

(consequence)

'these wives will help you to plough, and you will have rice.'

It seems the same construction is used when the condition is contrary to fact, though there is only one example. Here the verb in the condition clause is inherently negative and the passive suffix *-ee* displaces the conditional suffix:

(53) M15

Niṅ áyiin a niṅ aal a kakitee pinimo

if man DEF and woman DEF 3P:forbid:PASS[COND] marry

'... If the man and the woman are forbidden to marry ...'

The same text *Marriage* also contains a condition-CONSEQUENCE relation in which the condition is stated as a fact and the consequence is introduced by the coordinating connective phrase *niṅ ekina tom*, 'if that is not so'. This marked relation emphasises the importance of fulfilling the condition:

(54) M17

Pákaasi paka n'kataak pitiyo piti pikaayu

uncles DEF 3P:have carry.on.head(VN) PREP go(AUX)

'The uncles have a responsibility to go'

kamaaneenak pupuka aal a,

INF:ask.forgiveness parents woman DEF

'to ask forgiveness from the woman's parents;'

nij ekina tom, cánkutii n'cáyini páciite.

if PRO not family.tie:3P is.able difficulty

'if that is not so, the relationship between their families can be difficult.'

Negation of the verb does not affect the order of the condition and consequence clauses (Wilkinson and Berndt, 2011, §3.5.2). G16 is distinctive because the consequence (i) precedes the condition (ii) (example 55; given in full in example 28, §2.5.2). However, this is less likely to be a marked condition-CONSEQUENCE relation than an EXHORTATION-grounds relation. Research into behavioural texts will help to clarify what is being expressed here.

(55) G16

(i) 'Every Aloon must pay attention to this'

(ii) 'if he doesn't want to be punished by the State.'

3.6.5 Concession/CONTRAEXPECTATION

‘A concession relation is a relation of unexpectedness between propositions. Some proposition(s) in the relation are expressed as unexpected (the *contraexpectation*) in light of some other proposition(s) (the *concession*).’ (Loos, 2004, his emphasis) Most of these relations in the Kuloonaay expositions are in the order CONTRAEXPECTATION-concession, but the reverse is true of all the examples presented by Wilkinson and Berndt (2011, §3.4.2.3). It appears that the order concession-CONTRAEXPECTATION is used when the concessive clause presents information that is already known or accessible to the learner (Lowry, 2011, §11).

Whichever order is used, the concessive clause is introduced by default with the subordinating connective *háni* ‘even (if, though)’ (Wilkinson and Berndt, 2011, §3.4.2.3):

(56) G12

lan óo lan naamuyene toko n'kacoonanoolo

place DIST RDP 3s:do.wrong there 3P:correct:3S;OBJ

‘... wherever he does wrong, there the people correct him,’

háni pupukayoo tom.

even parents:3S;OBJ not

‘even if they are not his parents.’

Though only *háni* is found in the texts studied, speakers of some dialects prefer *háati* or *máati* (Diémé and Jatta, 2014). It is probable these are all interchangeable.

The marked alternative is *apan* ‘(even) though’, with *apan nene* (D12) probably an alternative form:

(57) M15

áyiin a niŋ aal a kakitee pinimo

man DEF and woman DEF 3P:forbid:PASS[COND] marry

‘... the man and the woman are forbidden to marry’

apan n’kákalafooliye

though 3P:love:RCP

‘even though they love each other ...’

From the limited data available, it appears that the distinction between the two connectives is that of DEFINITE and INDEFINITE concessive relations (Loos, 2004).

Apan is definite, introducing a concession which must be true in order for the counterexpectation to be true. *Háni* is indefinite, in that the counterexpectation holds true whether the concession is true or not.

One pair of sentences appears to show a concession-CONTRAEXPECTATION relation without a connective:

(58) M08 'Marriage by force: These are when a woman is made to marry or a man is given a wife by force.'

M09 'The two of them end up by agreeing to be together.'

To the learners, M09 is unexpected in light of M08; however, this relation is not 'expressed as unexpected' (Loos, 2004, my emphasis). True to the objective tone preferred by expositions, these two facts are presented simply as successive general events, and the learners are left to draw their own conclusions without signals from the teacher. Exposition is not the only genre to use this technique: it is common for Biblical narratives to present events without commenting on their moral status or significance. Translators need not make explicit relations which in the original text are left implicit but should feel free to leave learners to grapple with the material presented.

3.6.6 Analysis and application

Non-logical relations such as THEME LINE-support (§2.4) and POSITIVE-negative (§3.5.1.1) have already been seen to follow the HEAD-dependent order expected of VO languages. In contrast, the logical relations appear to show a general preference to be ordered according to their logical sequence:

cause-RESULT

means-RESULT

MEANS-purpose

condition-CONSEQUENCE.

At this stage the preferred order of the concessive relation is unclear. If it follows the logical sequence rule it will be concession-CONTRAEXPECTATION, with the order CONTRAEXPECTATION-concession presenting a marked relation. Since, then,

Kuloonaay prefers this logical sequencing, as well as using inductive reasoning (§2.3.2), why are RESULT-cause relations so common? One suggestion is offered here.

Every time it occurs in the expositions, *ekina ewune* introduces information that is already in the learner's mental representation (i.e. known information). Even in narratives it presents a result that comes as no surprise to the learner. It seems, then, that a cause-RESULT relation requires a known result, particularly if the cause was previously unknown. In contrast, a RESULT-cause construction would allow the result to be known before the cause was presented, giving the learner a context in which to place the cause. Moreover, RESULT- $\{$ cause-RESULT $\}$ patterns (§3.6.1.4) would be a natural consequence, since they combine the preferred information order with the preferred reasoning type.

If this analysis is accurate, translators may need to modify the structure of some sentences or passages in order to preserve both faithfulness to the historical context and comprehensibility to a new audience. Levinsohn (2011b, pp. 23-25) offers several helpful suggestions for this process.

3.7 Strengthening connectives

In its two instances in the expository texts, *kaatu* 'because, for' (§3.6.1.3) is used with a strengthening effect. However, as has already been discussed, it is not originally a Kuloonaay word and may not be strictly necessary. There is a connective *páawo* 'since' which appears in two of Lowry's (2011) narrative texts

and may actually have this strengthening function. Its rarity suggests it may belong to the vocabulary of ‘deep’ Kuloonaay which is not known by the younger generations, and this could be a challenge in translation. The translation team would do well to explore the meaning and recognition of this word.

3.8 Developmental connective

In narratives the connective *fiye* ‘now’ introduces a new development (Lowry, 2011, §4.2). However, this connective has another sense: ‘thus, in this way’, which occurs several times in the expositions. In *Wrestling* (W22, W28) it takes the second sense, being used to introduce a summary statement at the end of a section. In *Songs* (S11, S14) its meaning is somewhat ambiguous, suggesting continuity both with what has gone before and with what follows.

CHAPTER 4

Progression within a Text

4.1 Points of departure

As explained in the [Preface](#), paragraph divisions are a feature of both oral and written texts and can be identified using various forms of evidence (see Appendix II). In a well-constructed text, the teacher uses organisational devices as well as logical and non-logical relations to join together propositions, sentences and paragraphs. One device which is very significant in linking sentences and paragraphs is the POINT OF DEPARTURE.

The term POINT OF DEPARTURE designates an element that is placed at the beginning of a clause or sentence with a dual function.

1. It establishes a starting point for the communication; and
2. It 'cohesively anchors the subsequent clause(s) to something which is already in the context (i.e. to something accessible in the hearer's mental representation).' (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:68) (Levinsohn, 2011a, p. 40)

Points of departure fall into two categories, SITUATIONAL and REFERENTIAL. Lowry (2011, §4) gives details and examples of both types in Kuloonaay narrative. Though

little is different for expositions, some information and examples are necessary to introduce this chapter.

4.1.1 Situational

A situational element sets the sentence in context with respect to ‘time, place, condition, reason, purpose [or] comparison’ (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 44). It will either SWITCH into a new situation or RENEW a situation that has already been established. Many examples in the expositions present a switch from a general reality to a specific situation, such as ‘in darkness’ (F05) or ‘having pressed the coating’ (K31).

‘Most switches of situation in non-narrative texts, though, are signalled with conditional points of departure.’ (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 44) The conditional construction (§3.6.4) is also used for time-based expressions ‘when’ and ‘while’. Any one of these may be a point of departure, such as ‘when it rains’ (L10), ‘if there is a fight’ (W26), or ‘if/when you climb’ (H03).

Renewals of situation remind the learner of the time setting or condition underpinning the theme line, such as ‘at that time’ (G07), ‘in Karoninka society’ (D17) or ‘if you are many in your family’ (P04).

4.1.2 Referential

Referential points of departure are either PHRASAL or NOMINAL, and involve switching or renewal. While in narrative the referent is usually a person, in exposition it is usually a theme. Phrasal elements ‘establish the theme for a paragraph or longer section’ (Levinsohn, 2011a, p. 42). They are rare in the texts studied here.

(59) L04

N'áayaañaa ti piya

if:2S:start:COND PREP ploughing

'If you start with ploughing:'

piya pa pikina puwune aloon naali.

ploughing DEF PRO give aloon 3S:eat

'ploughing gives food to an Aloon.'

A nominal referent is a noun or pronoun which is 'the subject and propositional topic of a topic-comment sentence' (Levinsohn, 2011a, p. 43). A nominal referent in Kuloonaay is often 'left dislocated', taking the first place in the sentence. In its usual place is a 'pronominal trace', either a demonstrative pronoun or a verbal prefix (Lowry, 2011, §4.1.2). In example 60 the referent *pilaac* is the object of the verb: it forms a left-dislocated point of departure and leaves the object pronoun *po* as a pronominal trace.

(60) K34

Pilaac pa n'kaniisaa po...

palm.nut.juice DEF 3P:pour:PFV OBJ

'The palm water, having poured it,'

Referential renewals can also be used to resume the theme line after ‘supportive material or an aside’ (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 39). This contrasts with narrative, in which they often introduce background information (Levinsohn, 2011a, p. 45; Lowry, 2011, §4.1.3).

(61) M18 (theme line)

‘Marriage by exchange: These are, you understand, when two households on good terms with each other exchange their daughters so that their sons can have them as wives.’

M19 (support)

‘The difficulty there is that if one of the marriages ends, the other also is obliged to end (by force if necessary).’

M20 (theme line)

Pinimo pempe, pikina pahaje pitaako

marriage DEM PRO be.more have

‘These marriages, they used to be the most common’

ti púcook puu ti unaa kaloon

PREP beginning DEM PREP IP.INC kaloon

‘at the beginning of us Kaloon.’

Some referential points of departure take ‘a constituent of the comment of the first sentence’ and make it ‘topical in the second’ (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 44). This indicates both a switch and a renewal:

(62) D04

TOPIC		COMMENT				
	<i>Híntij</i>	<i>akee</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>oopa</i>	<i>toko</i>	<i>eniinoo enuun.</i>
	<i>híntij</i>	3S:other	DEF	CONT	there	body:3S;OBJ tree

‘There is another *hintij* whose body is a tree.’

D05

TOPIC	COMMENT				
<i>Enuun</i>	<i>n’katak</i>	<i>n’kacoo</i>	<i>himiin</i>	<i>eteyo</i>	
tree	3P:throw.down	3P:take	trunk	PREP:3S;OBJ	

‘**A tree** is chopped down and its trunk taken’

(lit. ‘**A tree** they chop down and they take its trunk’)

COMMENT (ctd.)

<i>kapiwuc</i>	<i>híntij.</i>
3P:CONN:carve	bass.drum

‘to carve out a bass drum.’

Finally, a sentence may begin with both a situational and a referential point of departure. ‘The first one will indicate the primary basis for relating the sentence to its context.’ (Levinsohn, 2011a, p. 44) S11 contains a series of situational clauses but the primary switch is referential, from composers (S06-S10) to songs:

(63) S11

Kícimu kenke fiye púlooŋ túu,

songs DEM DEV all

‘Now/Thus all these songs’

‘if you look at them,’

‘when you can sing them,’

‘or when you understand what they say,’

‘ah!, it comes to your mind that this is the message of the song.’

4.1.3 Translating points of departure

Points of departure often translate easily from one language to another; nevertheless several issues arise from the study of the expository texts. The first of these is probably the most significant: in the texts examined there do not appear to be any situational points of departure giving a reason, purpose or comparison. Sentence structures of the form ‘*Kamma* [cause], [RESULT]’ (§3.6.1.2) can be used in this way (Lowry, 2011, §4.1.1). Translators will need to find the most natural ways of conveying in Kuloonaay the types of phrases used for these purposes in Koiné Greek (Levinsohn, 2011a, pp. 41-42).

The second challenge relates to sentence order. In Kuloonaay it is natural for the subject to precede the verb, whereas in Koiné Greek the subject follows the verb. If in a Greek sentence the subject precedes the verb, it is usually a referential point of departure (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 51). The texts suggest that one natural way to translate such sentences into Kuloonaay is to use left dislocation and a pronominal trace. For a person the trace would be an independent pronoun; for a theme, the subject pronoun *-kina* (example 64) or an object pronoun (K34, example 60, §4.1.2).

(64) H05

<i>Kasaalaat,</i>	<i>ekina</i>	<i>eyem</i>	<i>pikaayu</i>	<i>pisip</i>	<i>pisaala</i>
harvest(VN)	PRO	be	go	CONN:cut	palm.nuts

‘*Kasaalaat* (harvesting), **it** is going to cut palm nuts with a sharp object ...’

Finally, if a sentence does not begin with a point of departure, or if a potential point of departure appears later in the sentence, the teacher’s intent ‘is often to convey continuity with the context’ (Levinsohn, 2011a, p. 49). This is the case for all the situational clauses in SII (example 63, §4.1.2). Errors relating to this principle are not uncommon in translation (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 50). Where the original text contains no point of departure, any situational or referential information in a translation should be placed somewhere other than at the beginning of the sentence.

4.2 Progression

4.2.1 Progression between sentences

The organisational structure of a text is often shown in patterns of PROGRESSION. Progression between clauses or sentences tends to take one of three forms: PARALLEL, SEQUENTIAL and *INCLUSIO* (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 40). Both parallel and sequential progression use the concepts of topics and comments, which were described in §2.1.2. Parallel progression involves a series of sentences with the same topic or point of departure. For example, in the middle section of *Songs* the successive sentences S06, S07, S08 and S09 all begin: *Akee ya oopa toko...* 'there is someone / another one... '.

Sequential progression takes an element from the comment of the first sentence and makes it the topic or point of departure of the next.

- (65) K31 Having pressed the coating, he removes the **palm water**.
K32 This **palm water** you boil, and separate the **palm oil**, the thick liquid and the palm water.
K33 The **palm oil** they eat; the thick liquid they use to make soap, or otherwise they give it to the pigs to eat.

Inclusio has already been described as a device used to bracket a whole text (§2.3.2).

It may also be used to bracket a paragraph, as in the opening of *Drum*:

(66) D01

Híntiḡ ti Kuloonaay caacaw coonool citi waah úsupak.

híntiḡ PREP kuloonaay name one PREP things two

‘*Híntiḡ* in Kuloonaay is one name for two things.’

D02-D06

[description of two types of *híntiḡ*]

D07

M’maaw híntiḡ hikiiyuwaay niḡ hiwasuwaay kataakiye.

indeed *híntiḡ* dance:INSTR and put:INSTR have:PFV

‘Indeed both *híntiḡ* for dancing and *híntiḡ* for storage exist.’

‘A language may be expected to use all three types of inter-sentential progression. It is likely, though, that it will favour a particular type.’ (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 41) Koiné Greek favours sequential progression and Ancient Hebrew parallel progression (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 41). Parallel progression is the most common in Kuloonaay: it is found in some form in eight out of the ten texts. *Inclusio* is common in the oral texts, and sequential progression is rare in all the expository texts. In Kuloonaay as in other languages, there are many paragraphs which do not display any of these features (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 41).

4.2.2 Progression between paragraphs

It is interesting to observe that many of the texts use essentially the same three techniques to connect one paragraph to the next. Though these devices are omitted from Levinsohn's work, it seems unlikely that they are not used in Biblical texts or in other languages.

The most commonly used progression between paragraphs in Kuloonaay exposition is parallel progression. The clearest example is found in *Marriage*: after its introduction, each successive paragraph begins with a topicalised point of departure in the form *Pinimo piti [X]* 'marriage of/by [X]' and continues (with one exception) *Pikina piyem* 'these are ...'.

Hintaap uses a modified form of this structure known as HEAD-HEAD LINKAGE. Instead of a point of departure, 'the theme that is introduced is constantly repeated' (Wiesemann, Nseme and Vallette, 1984, p. 226, my translation^{xy}): namely, that the *hintaap* (climbing hoop) is for climbing:

(67) H01 'A *hintaap*, truly, it is with him that we **climb**.'

H03 'If you **climb**, there are two things you go to do.'

H12 'But *hintaap*, why else is it used (*lit.* **climbed** with)?'

H16 ‘You also **climb** with *hintaaap*, you go up to cut a palm cluster - why?’

H20 ‘Also, we see the palmron, which is **climbed** with *hintaaap*.’

H24 ‘**Climbing** a palmron, or climbing a palm tree ...’

Sequential progression uses TAIL-HEAD LINKAGE, in which a repetition or summary of one portion is repeated at the start of the next (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 103). This is very common in oral narrative (Lowry, 2011, §11.1.1) but is only found once in the expositions. G13 refers back to almost every sentence in the previous paragraph {G07-G12}. In example 71 these references are shown in parentheses:

(68) G13

‘But today’s State refuses all this: beating someone with their generational group (G11), beating another’s child and saying you are educating him (G12), calling a person to the sacred forest or to the women’s sacred forest (G09), or out into a public place (G08), is over.’

Inclusio between paragraphs involves a closure not just at the end of the text but at the end of one or more intervening paragraphs. The main thesis or conclusion is repeated, either word-for-word or in a paraphrase. This provides a reminder to the learner that each paragraph is intended to give evidence for the thesis. Both *Livelihood* and *Polygamy* use this technique.

(69) L03 'All of them are very important to an Aloon.'

L06 'That is, all of them are very important.'

L15 'All of them have great importance in the life of an Aloon.'

4.2.3 Progression and points of departure

Many of the examples in §4.1 are relevant to §4.2 and vice versa. In fact, 'points of departure play a significant role in marking inter-sentential progression' (Levinsohn, 2011b, p. 44). However, it should be noted that there is not a perfect correspondence. The sentences in example 71 follow in sequential progression, but there is no point of departure:

(70) D05

Enuun n'katah n'kacoop himiin eteyo

tree 3P:throw.down 3P:take trunk PREP:3S;OBJ

'A tree is chopped down and its trunk taken'

kapiwuc h'intiŋ.

3P:CONN:carve bass.drum

'to carve out a **bass drum.**'

D06

Hikina nihihoñee kapaŋ élukuleen níhiyifee an naakii.

C:PRO C:cover:PASS skin animal C:drum:PASS person 3s:dance

'It (*lit. this one*) is covered with an animal skin and drummed
and people dance.'

Situational or referential renewal often marks a parallel progression, as in the series S06-S07-S08-S09 (§4.2.1). A point of departure which is both a switch and a renewal indicates sequential progression. This is seen in D04-D05 (example 62, §4.1.2) and in K31-K32-K33 (example 65, §4.2.1).

Points of departure are a useful tool for writers, speakers and translators of expository discourse. When used well, they convey with ease the parallel or sequential progression between sentences or paragraphs.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusions

5.1 Summary

The basic assumption made at the beginning of this research was that all (-CTS, -AG) texts have enough in common to be classified as one text type: exposition. Over the course of the investigation it has been seen that the theme line of every exposition is descriptive, *i.e.* it presents statements of fact. As for the rest of the content, the texts fall along a continuum, each containing both descriptive and explanatory material. Furthermore, several also include argumentative elements, either subtle or more overt, restricted to a portion or evident throughout the text.

Prompted by suggestions from various sources, Chapter I introduced the idea that every expository text can be thought of as an answer to a Question. Throughout the investigation, this hypothesis provided helpful insights into some of the characteristic features of expositions. It was seen that the sub-type of a text - descriptive or explanatory - can usually be anticipated from an explicit Question; conversely, where the Question is left implicit, both the text's *content* and the *type of material* in the text and can be used as evidence from which to deduce it.

Generally, 'what' Questions correspond with description and 'why' Questions with explanation; furthermore, certain Questions lend themselves more to an argumentative response than others.

Every expository text is constructed around a theme line, a series of statements which make up its framework. Theme lines in Kuloonaay exhibit various patterns that cannot be predicted from their sub-type or Question; nevertheless the Question has proven to be a valuable device for unifying these patterns. Whether a theme line is linear, convergent or cyclical in form (§2.1.1), it provides an outline or summary of the teacher's response to the Question. Thus Question and theme line together provide the foundation for the text.

As is characteristic in many languages, Kuloonaay expository theme lines are static, making significant use of copulative clauses and of the impersonal passive construction. In general clauses are more static on the theme line and less so further away. Even so, teachers use a wide range of techniques throughout the texts to make clauses more static, such as the habitual aspect, auxiliary constructions, and the consecutive prefix.

The theme line of an expository text is supported by various kinds of material and bracketed by an introduction and an ending. Introductions, mirror their narrative counterparts in presenting a portion of supportive information. Endings are noteworthy in that they reflect sub-type (description or explanation), manner of delivery (oral or written) and, where relevant, reasoning style. The preferred reasoning style is inductive, drawing the facts towards a conclusion. However, the

inclusio bracketing structure is used in all the oral texts, with the result that inductive reasoning is often used in the context of an *inclusio*.

Within the body of the text, supportive material that is not descriptive or explanatory is either embedded from another genre or it is interactive. It is particularly interesting to observe the interactive strategies of questioning and switches of person being used to add a persuasive dimension to this otherwise non-agent oriented genre. This phenomenon creates a bridge between exposition and the behavioural genre in which it is often used as supportive material.

Description is the foundation of exposition, but all reasoning is carried forward by explanation. Descriptive and explanatory relations between propositions are often conveyed respectively through non-logical and logical relations. Kuloonaay boasts a rich selection of connectives and constructions for expressing these relations. Non-logical relations such as THEME LINE-support and POSITIVE-negative have been found to reflect the order conditioned by the elements of a simple clause (VO). In contrast, logical relations follow the logical sequence pattern set by inductive reasoning.

The most common strategy for marking a relation is to use a variant connective which is either emphatic (additive, alternative, countering, negative condition-CONSEQUENCE) or more specific (concession/CONTRAEXPECTATION). In some cases a relation is marked by reversing the order of the propositions (as in cause-RESULT with *kamma*, possibly condition-CONSEQUENCE). It was suggested that the two

relations which appear to have no marked variant (MEANS-purpose, means-RESULT) may in fact be variants of one another.

Having considered propositions and clauses, the final section of analysis identified the organisational devices used to connect larger units of text. An investigation into three progression patterns between sentences was extended to include paragraphs, revealing that the same devices can be used at this higher level. In both cases parallel progression was found to be by far the most common pattern, with *inclusio* again featuring significantly in the oral texts.

Though some questions of interpretation remain unanswered, the expository database has challenged and expanded the conclusions drawn from the analysis of grammar and narrative. Much of what has been learned is relevant to Bible translation: many suggested applications have been presented or implied, and it is hoped that others can be gleaned as the translation work progresses. The results of this research can be used alongside resources such as the *Semantic and Structural Analysis* series (Beekman, Callow and Kopesec, 1981) in order to assist the team in presenting Biblical exposition clearly in Kuloonaay.

5.2 Further Research

As with any investigation, there is always more to discover, and suggestions have been offered throughout the paper suggestions of details which require research. In addition to these, four major areas of need have become apparent.

First, it is essential that the conclusions drawn here are refined as the body of expository texts available increases in diversity. The written texts used here were created for Kaloon learning to read their own language, whereas the spoken texts were presented to a non-Aloon seeking to analyse the language. This raises questions about the influence of factors such as teacher-learner relationship, language level, familiarity with the subject matter and use of implicit information. One possible testing method would be to analyse one teacher's presentation of the same subject matter to several different learners: individuals or groups, Kaloon or non-Kaloon, men or women, adults or children.

Second, this research has revealed that the early body of written literature has many features in common with the more widespread oral material, yet differences are beginning to emerge. This is true of both narrative (Lowry, 2011) and exposition. As literacy rates continue to increase, it will be both necessary and interesting to observe what further changes occur.

Third, this study has only hinted at the use of devices used for emphasis, prominence, backgrounding and highlighting. It is important that a study of these elements at work in expositions be carried out.

Finally and most importantly, there is still a need for a comprehensive analysis of both procedural and behavioural discourse. Additionally, an understanding of the discourse features specific to dialogue, to poetry and to proverbs will contribute significantly towards faithful, natural translation of the Scriptures into Kuloonaay.

ⁱ 'Une des particularités de ce genre est sa subdivision en deux sections : une première section descriptive où les faits du thème sont exposés par l'intermédiaire d'un paragraphe et quelquefois même d'un discours expositif inclus ; et une deuxième section explicative où les arguments sont développés et une explication des faits est proposée.'

ⁱⁱ 'Le locuteur d'un discours expositif doit donc être implicitement ou explicitement qualifié à cet effet, son intention est donc d'instruire le(s) destinataire(s) qui est volontairement enseigné.'

ⁱⁱⁱ '... le texte expositif venant en réponse à une question explicite ou implicite...'

^{iv} 'On appelle *ligne du thème* l'ensemble des prédicats qui expriment les faits du thème central du texte et qui sont en relation directe les uns avec les autres.'

^v Levinsohn uses 'theme line' where Longacre uses 'mainline'. In their work and here, the word 'line' simply refers to the progression of the theme through the text.

^{vi} 'Cette ligne du thème est l'épine dorsale du discours, sur laquelle s'attacheront toutes les autres informations nécessaires à la pleine compréhension du thème développé.'

^{vii} 'La forme de la réponse dépend de la forme de la question, et si une information est donnée dans la question, elle n'est généralement plus reprise dans la réponse. Très souvent donc, la réponse fait partie d'une proposition, elle n'est pas elle-même une proposition complète.'

^{viii} ‘En général, si le sujet est inconnu ou hors focus, on préfère une construction impersonnelle qui utilise la 3^e personne du pluriel comme sujet., par ex. *nkácoopiyam epuuk ya* “ils m’ont [=on m’a] amené les enfants”.’

^{ix} Nominalised verbs are known to be a characteristic feature of expository discourse (Longacre, 1983, p. 12; Wiesemann, Nseme and Vallette, 1984, p. 6). Their frequent occurrence in Kuloonaay as a whole led Sambou (2007) to classify certain roots as verbo-nominals; verbal glosses reflect the general familiarity with nominalised verbs (rather than verbalised nouns).

^x ‘Généralement, dans les relations d’orientation et de clarification, il y a deux propositions : une prédominante et une autre qui ajoute l’orientation (temps, lieu, theme) ou la clarification de la prédominante (explication ou répétition).’

^{xi} ‘*La coordination alternative* : Elle est rendue par l’unité *ni-haani* « si non ». Cette unité est apte à relier deux syntagmes verbaux.’

^{xii} ‘La force de la clarification est de donner de l’emphase à l’information principale.’

^{xiii} ‘ce qui fera que’

^{xiv} ‘La conjonction *kati* “afin de, pour que” est apparentée au verbe auxiliaire *-kati* “devoir”...’

^{xv} ‘Dans le genre expositif, le thème introduit est constamment répété et soutenu par des sous-thèmes enchâssés.’

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APPENDIX I

Form of Consent

This appendix includes a copy of the permission form signed by participants, followed by a translation into English.

Permission d'être enregistré

Toutes les personnes indiquées par la liste ci-dessous, désignées les SUJETS, attestent par leurs signatures :

- qu'ils ont donné la permission d'être enregistrés par le(s) chercheur(s) de l'organisation nommée ci-dessous, désignées le(s) CHERCHEUR(s).
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(en toutes lettres)

Adresse _____

Date _____ Signature _____

(SUJET 2, etc.)

CHERCHEUR :

Nom _____

Organisation : SIL
Société International Linguistique
Dakar, Sénégal

Date _____ Signature _____

PERMISSION TO BE RECORDED

All the persons specified in the list below, identified as SUBJECTS, affirm by their signatures:

- that they have given their permission to be recorded by the researcher(s) from the organisation named below, identified as the RESEARCHER(s).
- that they have renounced the right to request any payment for the duplication of these recordings; they become the property of the researcher(s) who can, moreover, use them however they wish.

Neither the researcher(s) nor the subjects claim any financial property right for personal or commercial economic benefit given the non-profit intent of this recording.

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Date _____ Signature _____

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Name _____

Organisation: SIL

Dakar, Senegal

Date _____ Signature _____

APPENDIX II

Paragraph Breaks

The table below lists the suggested paragraph breaks for each text. The primary source of evidence for each paragraph is thematic unity, seen in words, phrases and ideas that are closely connected to one another. Additional evidence is found in structural features such as connectives, points of departure (PoDs) and paragraph progressions.

Several notes on individual texts are necessary:

1. Teachers use the connective *lompo* very differently. For example, in *Hintaap*, it is always found at thematic breaks, and can thus be considered supportive evidence for a boundary. In *Káyita*, though, it is used in a much wider range of situations and provides little evidence of a boundary.

2. There is little change of theme throughout *Songs*. An alternative paragraph division would be S01-S05 / S06-S10 / S11-S15. Between S10 and S11 there is a switch of person from 3S to 2S/IP.INC as well as a topicalised referential PoD. However, this would necessitate a re-analysis in which S06-S10 are all theme line clauses.

3. In *Wrestling*, time-based PoDs (situational) are frequently used to connect events together, rather than to separate them, thus they cannot be used as evidence for

boundaries. This supports the assumption that the text is not principally time-oriented (i.e. it is -CTS).

Text	Paragraph	Theme	Additional Evidence
Drum	D01-D07	two things called <i>híntiŋ</i>	- D01/D07: <i>inclusio</i> structure - D02-03 / D04-06: internal parallels
	D08-D10	another thing called <i>híntiŋ</i>	- D08: additive connective <i>lombo</i> , introducing a new element
	D11-D16	drummers	- D11/D16: <i>inclusio</i> structure
	D17-D19	dancers	- D17: situational PoD - D17: new theme line thesis
	D20	tribute	- no thematic unity with D17-D19
Frogs	F01-F04	frogs like standing water	- F04: inductive conclusion
	F05-F09	frogs guide people to water and safety	- F05: situational PoD - F09: inductive conclusion
	F10-F14	why frogs hide in houses	- F10: situational PoD

God	G01-G06	God and ancestors	
	G07-G12	justice in the past	- G06/G07: clear change of theme - G07: situational PoD
	G13-G17	justice in the present	- G13: countering connective with switch of situation - G13: referential pronoun <i>eehuu</i> indicates distance from referent
Hintaap	H01-H02	introduction	- <i>inclusio</i> with H24-H25
	H03-H11	two uses of <i>hintaaɸ</i> . harvesting and tapping	- H02-H03: redundant repetition - audible pause H02/H03 - H03: situational PoD (cond.) -H03/H10: <i>inclusio</i> (H11 summarising H10)
	H12-H15	another use of <i>hintaaɸ</i> : fencing	- H12: additive connective <i>lompo</i> , introducing new element - H12/H16/H21: new paragraph, new question - H13: back reference, summarising previous paragraph

	H16-H19	palm nuts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - H16: resumptive use of <i>lompo</i> - H16: new question - H18-H19 parallel
	H20-H23	<i>hípuuleen</i> (rhon palm fruit)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - resumptive use of <i>lompo</i> - H21: new question - H23: summary, echoing H11 (conclusion of another paragraph)
	H24-H25	summary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - H24: back reference, recap
Káyita	K01-K07	importance of the palm tree	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - series of theme line statements, no clear breaks - K07: list from which the heading of each paragraph is drawn
	K08-K10	<i>hilof</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - K08: referential PoD (topicalised)
	K11-K18	<i>káakunt</i> and <i>ékunt</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - K11: referential PoD (top.) - K11-K13: introduction to theme line statement K14 - only <i>ékunt</i> mentioned in K07 (i.e. thematic continuity overrides topicalisation in K14)

	K19-K20	<i>enan</i>	- K19: referential PoD (topicalised)
	K21-K23	<i>hinfank</i>	- K21: referential PoD (topicalised)
	K24-K37	<i>hisaala</i> and <i>pisaala</i>	- K24: referential PoD (topicalised) - K25/K29: parallel sub- paragraphs - only <i>pisaala</i> mentioned in K07
	K38	<i>enii</i>	- K38: referential PoD (topicalised)
	K39	<i>kúnkonk</i>	- K39: referential PoD (topicalised)
Livelihood	L01-L03	introduction	- L02-L03: question and answer
	L04-L06	ploughing	- L03/L04: audible pause - situational (conditional) point of departure - L06: inductive conclusion - L06: repeating L03

	L07-L15	tapping and harvesting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - L07: countering connective, introducing a distinction/difference - no clear internal breaks - L15: repeating conclusion from L03, L06
Marriage	M01-M04	many faces of marriage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - M04: inductive conclusion - M04: statement from which the heading of each paragraph is implied
	M05-M07	agreed marriage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - M05: referential PoD (topicalised) - M05/M08/M10/M18: parallel paragraphs
	M08-M09	marriage by force	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - M08: referential PoD (topicalised)
	M10-M14	marriage by catching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - M10: referential PoD (topicalised)
	M15-M17	marriage of elopement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - M15: situational PoD
	M18-M20	marriage by exchange	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - M18: referential PoD (topicalised)

Polygamy	P01-P04	help leads to wealth	- P04: inductive conclusion
	P05-P07	children as helpers	- P05: switch of situation - P07: inductive conclusion, rephrases P04
	P08-P11	women as helpers	- P08: referential point of departure (topicalisation) - P11: inductive conclusion, rephrases P04, P07
	P12	conclusion	- P12: inductive conclusion from whole text; <i>inclusio</i> with P02
Songs	S01-S05	every song has a message (generic)	- S05: inductive conclusion
	S06-S15	messages in songs (specific)	- S11: referential pronoun <i>kenke</i> indicates closeness to referent - S14: inductive conclusion
	<i>alternative analysis: break at S10/S11</i>	<i>singers / gain from songs</i>	- <i>S06-S09 parallel progression with conclusion S10</i> - <i>S11: person switch 3s to 2s/lpi</i> - <i>S11: referential PoD 'k'icimu kenke'</i>

Wrestling	W01-W02	setting the scene	
	W03-W07	children's wrestling	- W03: beginning of embedded narrative
	W08-W17	what wrestling involves	- W08: redundant reference; tail-head linkage - W15: transitional sentence (evidence against an internal boundary)
	W18-W22	what happens afterwards	- W18: change in reference strategy for wrestlers (less specific, less pertinent) - W22: <i>fiye</i> summary
	W23-W27	what does not happen	- W23: <i>esuum eloonaay</i> redundant reference - W23-24: counterpoint for W25 (evidence against an internal boundary)
	W28	conclusion	summary: back reference to whole text

APPENDIX III

Interlinearised Text

Title: *Páhin puloonaay* 'Karoninka livelihood'
Author: Eugène Diémé
Date: 27 June 2013
Place: Dakar, Senegal
Category: Oral explanatory exposition (argumentative)

Key: introduction in **blue**; theme line in **green**; start of a paragraph in **bold**

L01 *Kaaseesu niŋ piya, niŋ kasaalaat,*

tap.palm.wine(VN) and plough(VN) and harvest.palm.nuts(VN)

'Tapping palm wine, harvesting palm nuts, and ploughing.'

poko kayem páhin puloonaay.

3P 3P.be work Karoninka

'they are the Karoninka livelihoods.'

L02 *Niŋ áalafiyaa kameye weyme uhaŋe ti poko nafaa,*

if 2s:want:COND know what be.more PREP 3P importance

'If you want to know which of them is most important (useful),'

súumut kameye weyme uhaṅe ihinu nafaa:

be.pleasant:NEG know what be.more do importance

'it is not easy to know which is most useful.'

man kaaseesu ahaṅa nafaa,

whether tap.palm.wine(VN) be.more importance

'whether tapping palm wine is most useful,'

man kasaalaat ahaṅa nafaa,

whether harvest.palm.nuts(VN) be.more importance

'whether harvesting palm nuts is most useful,'

man piya ahaṅa nafaa,

whether plough(VN) be.more importance

'whether ploughing is most useful.'

L03 *Poko púloonjii kayekaayek nafaa meemak ti aloon.*

3P all:3P 3P:have:PFV importance much PREP aloon

'All of them are very important to an Aloon.'

L04 *Nij áayaañaa ti piya,*

if 2S:start:COND PREP plough(VN)

'If you start with ploughing:'

piya pa pikina puwune aloon naali.

plough(VN) DEF PRO give aloon 3S:eat

'ploughing gives food to an Aloon.'

L05 *Pale aloon lompo áyiniyini ataya,*

but aloon also 3S:be.able 3S:NEG:plough

'But also an Aloon may not plough,'

naakaay kaaseesu, naali;

CONS:3S:go tap.palm.wine CONS:3S:eat

'he goes to tap palm wine, and he eats;'

áyiniyini naakaay kasaalaat, naataak mañ

3S:be.able CONS:3S:go harvest.palm.nuts CONS:3S:have money

'he can go to harvest palm nuts, earn money'

naanoom uli apili.

CONS:3S:buy rice 3S:CONN:eat

'and buy rice for eating.'

L06 *Ekina eyem poko púloojii kayekaayek nafaa meemak*

PRO be 3P all:3P 3P:have:PFV importance much

'That is, all of them are very important.'

L07 *Pale nafaa ya eteyii la neehaŋoole la:*

but importance DEF PREP:3P;OBJ REL;where 3S:be.different REL;where
'But where their importance is different'

ti etiil.

PREP rain

'is in rainy season.'

L08 *Etiil éhineehin pur piya.*

rain do:PASS for plough(VN)

'Rainy season is made for ploughing.'

L09 *Poko púlooŋ kataakut waati yoonool eyya n'káhine.*

3P all 3P:have:NEG time one DEM;REL 3P:do

'They are not all done at one time.'

L10 *Niŋ etiil ya énupiyoo pakan paka púlooŋ n'kakaay piya,*

when rain DEF rain:PFV people DEF all 3P:go plough

'When it rains, all the people go to plough'

n'kataak uli.

CONS:3P:have rice

'and they have rice.'

L11 *Niŋ kasaalaat ka kúcoliyoo,*

when harvest.palm.nuts(VN) DEF arrive:COND

'When the harvest has arrived,'

loho etiił ya ewaanaa,

at.time rain DEF stop.rain:PFV

'at the end of the rainy season,'

n'kaay kasaalaat, n'taak míita, n'nooman mo,

2S:go harvest.palm.nuts CONS;2S:have palm.oil CONS;2S:sell OBJ

'you go and harvest palm nuts, get palm oil, and sell it;'

áayiniyini hicoopu mañ emmu aapunoom uli.

2S:be.able take money DEM 2S:CONN:buy rice

'you can take that money for buying rice.'

L12 *Fo lompo iyyem niŋ etiił eewaanaa,*

thus also be when rain stop.rain:COND

'It is the same at the end of rainy season,'

áayiniyini kaaseesu, n'taak mañ, n'noom uli.

2s:be.able tap.palm.wine CONS;2s:have money CONS;2s:buy rice
'you can tap palm wine, get money and buy rice.'

L13 *Kaaseesu niñ kasaalaat waatiyii yoonool.*

tap.palm.wine(VN) and harvest.palm.nuts(VN) time:3P;OBJ one
'Tapping palm wine and harvesting palm nuts happen at the same time.'

L14 *Keeyina ka kaaseesu n'kakat kasaalaat*

3P:REL:be.able DEF tap.palm.wine 3P:stop harvest.palm.nuts(VN)
'Those who can tap palm wine stop harvesting palm nuts'

kapikaay kaaseesu; keeyina ka kasaalaat

3P:CONN:go tap.palm.wine 3P:REL:be.able DEF harvest.palm.nuts(VN)
'and go to tap palm wine; those who can harvest palm nuts'

n'kakat kaaseesu kapikaay kasaalaat.

3P:stop tap.palm.wine(VN) 3P:CONN:go harvest.palm.nuts
'stop tapping palm wine and go to harvest palm nuts.'

L15 *Poko púloonji kayekaayek nafaa enfakat*

3P all:3P 3P:have:PFV importance big

'All of them have great importance'

ti eloŋ eti aloon.

PREP life PREP aloon

'in the life of an Aloon.'