

Ministry of Scientific Research and Innovation

MAKAA DISCOURSE FEATURES

Daniel P. Heath & Teresa A. Heath

Language: Makaa
Language family: Makaa-Njem, Bantu A83

2005

TABLE OF CONTENTS

0.	Introduction.....	1
1.	Variations in the order of clause constituents.....	1
1.1	Nuclear constituents.....	1
1.2	Preposing of nuclear and non-nuclear constituents	1
1.3	Tail-head linkage	3
1.4	Post-nuclear (peripheral) constituents	3
2.	Prominence	4
2.1	Focus.....	4
2.2	Thematic prominence.....	5
2.3	Features of emphasis.....	5
3.	Backgrounding and highlighting devices	5
3.1	Foreground events.....	5
3.2	Backgrounding events of secondary importance	6
3.3	Highlighting	8
4.	Pragmatic connectives	9
4.1	Coordinating sentences	9
4.2	Coordinating clauses within a sentence	9
4.3	Countering markers.....	10
4.4	Additives (markers of reinforcement and parallelism)	11
4.5	Markers of new information	11
4.6	Introducing non-event material in narrative	11
4.8	Other coordinating connectives	11
5.	Participant reference	12
5.1	Activation of participants.....	12
5.2	Further reference to activated participants	13
5.3	Determiners and pronouns	14
6.	Reporting of conversation.....	15
6.1	Positions of the speech orienters.....	15
6.2	Ways of reporting the speeches	15
6.3	Pronouns, Tenses and aspects used in the speech orienters.....	15
6.4	Changes of direction within a reported conversation	16
6.5	Repetitions of speech orienters	16
7.	Subordination and given versus new information	16
7.1	New information and subordinate clauses	16
7.2	Relative clauses (including nominalizations)	17
8.	Propositional order.....	18

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations:	HAB	habitual aspect
	FOC	focus marker
	P1	recent past tense
	PERF	perfect
	EMPH	emphatic
	LOC	locative
	REL	relative clause marker
	NEG	negative marker
	CL	noun class

Texts quoted from:	A&D	Ant and Dog
	BF	Big Fight
	T&E	Turtle and Eagle
	L	Life These Days
	S&C	Sparrow and Chicken
	W	Woman No Good

MAKAA DISCOURSE FEATURES

Daniel P. Heath & Teresa A. Heath

0. Introduction

This paper is a description of discourse features found in Makaa animal stories. The paper follows an outline of discourse features developed by Stephen Levinsohn. It is hoped that this paper will not only serve as a description of Makaa discourse features, but also serve as a model for similar descriptions in other Bantu languages. If enough researchers used this same model for writing up their findings, the various papers would then be useful for comparative as well as descriptive purposes.

1. Variations in the order of clause constituents

1.1 Nuclear constituents

The unmarked order of nuclear constituents in a sentence is Subject, Verb, Indirect Object, Direct Object as in example 1. In an equative clause, the unmarked order is Subject, Verb, Complement as in example 2.

1. **muud... du yə kuwo idúw, du yə nyə məjúwó.**
man... HAB give chicken food, HAB give him water
“The man gives the chicken food; he gives him water.” (S&C 5)

2. **cwoomb... í á bə ntəni.**
fight it P2 be like_that
“The fight... it was like that,” (BF23)

1.2 Preposing of nuclear and non-nuclear constituents

Non-nuclear constituents are preposed to signal the beginning of a new section, or a “discontinuity” of time, place, or action. Nuclear constituents are preposed to signal a discontinuity of participants.

Ja “when” clauses are preposed, as points of departure, to signal the beginning of a new section in the narrative. Often these clauses signal a discontinuity in time, as well as a discontinuity in place or action. Example 3, from “Woman no good” indicates a discontinuity in place, moving to the village.

3. **Ja á mǎ kə wóós kwáádǎ yí**
when he PERF go arrive village REL
a mú lwo sóngú ba nyongú cóol wáŋ,
he then show father and mother daughter-in-law their
“When he arrived in the village, he showed his father and mother their daughter-in-law.”
(W 9)

In example 4, from the text “The Big Fight,” the preposed clause, along with the **wo ná** formula, marks the beginning of the background events.

4. **Wo ná ja mpwág jé bǎ mǎ wóós yí,**
(I tell) you that when family her they PERF arrive REL
“And then, when her family arrived,” (BF 4)

In the “Ant and Dog” folktale, **ja** “when” clauses mark two points where the action becomes more intense. In example 5, the second pre-peak begins:

5. **Ja bwó mǎ ka tééd ná bwó zǎ dǎ kúwó yí ...**
 when they PERF then start that they come eat chicken REL
“When they started eating the chicken...” (A&D 45a-b).

Another **ja** “when” clause marks the beginning of the peak or climax, where Dog takes revenge, in example 6:

6. **Ja nyó Á ka gwág ná**
 when he P2 then hear that
njów Kumukoonz mǎ nə ɲwɔŋgɔlu “hoo hoo”... nyə ná:
 house Ant then (be) with snoring “snore, snore”... he (said) that:
“When he then heard that ant was snoring in the house “snore, snore” ... he said: ”
(A&D 65a-c).

In addition to temporal clauses, temporal phrases are also preposed in narratives to indicate a discontinuity in time, and sometimes also a discontinuity in action. These boundaries are less important than those marked by the **ja** clauses. For example, **mán mǎ lóm** “at dawn the next morning (or, morning having risen)” in the “Ant and Dog” tale (A&D 69) marks a new time, and new action, where the revenge of Dog takes effect on Ant. Another temporal phrase, **tééd jwów donǵú dí jé múús** “beginning that day and until today” (A&D 79a) introduces the closure, describing what finally happens to Ant. In the “Sparrow and Chicken” tale, the temporal phrase **dúni jwów-úd** “on that day” marks a discontinuity in time.

Non-temporal phrases may also be preposed to signal a new section. In example 4 above, the phrase **wo ná** is added before **ja** to mark the beginning of the action, after the introduction. In example 7, the phrase **wo ná** occurs without **ja**, preposed to mark a discontinuity in action, perhaps the beginning of the peak. It is not clear what this phrase means, besides marking a discontinuity; literally it may mean “you that” since it occurs elsewhere as the last part of the phrase **mǎ ci wo ná** “I tell you that.” It also helps to keep the audience listening.

7. **Wo ná ɲwólúgá mínyoŋú mǎ Mǎguuyaá**
 You that certain brother of Mǎguuyaá
A fwám kúda nə ɲwól mínyoŋú wamǎ
 he hit fist with another brother mine
“(I tell you that??) A certain brother of Mǎguuyaá, he hit another brother of mine with his fist.” (BF 8)

Nouns, noun phrases, or pronouns may be preposed to signal that a different participant is topic. In the following example (8), fronting of **Kumukoonz** “Ant” signals that Ant becomes topic here, instead of Dog.

8. **Kumukoonz mudá mú kǎnd nyə məjúwó, a shîn kǎ gusa**
 Ant woman then send him water he finish go wash
“(to) Ant the woman then sent him water, he went and washed” (A&D 58-59)

Similarly, the emphatic pronoun before the subject in the following example emphasizes that it is Dog and not Ant who pulls the cloth belonging to Ant. Since it was Ant’s cloth, one might expect Ant to pull it, not Dog.

9. Nye, mpyá mú julə cúdó ni, wóós nə ndí tóón
 he (EMPH) Dog then pull cloth that goes out with it outside
 “As for him, Dog then pulls that cloth, goes out with it.” (A&D 68a-b).

Occasionally, a reason clause may be preposed, to explain an action in the story, as in the example below. This does not mark a new section, as the other pre-posed clauses do. This clause gives background information.

10. Nəcə ngwáman nyə a jôw bésh óbá a mú shweel mudúm.
 Because official he P2 call both two he then hide man
 “Because the official had called both of them, he hid the man.” (W 24a)

1.3 Tail-head linkage

Tail-head linkage may be used to slow down the story. This is seen in a narrative example embedded in a non-narrative text “Life These Days.” In an example of life in the past, the author tells of a man who killed a pig and shared it with the whole community. At the peak of this little story, he repeats a subordinate clause, shown in the following example. Here it serves to slow down the action.

11. Nyə a gúu ŋkuú nə fa.
 he P2 kill pig with machete
 Ja á mó gúú ŋkúú nə fa yí
 when he PERF kill pig with machete REL
 “he killed a pig with a machete. When he had killed a pig with a machete... (L 31c, 32a).

Also in the narrative “Ant and Dog” an example of tail-head linkage slows down the action as it is nearing the climax. The clause **kə ŋkêny yasó** “carries the bone” is repeated in the following example.

12. Mpyá mó wú túwuli dí kə ŋkêny yasó.
 Dog PERF leave table LOC go carry bone
 Mpyá mó ká ŋkêny yasó, də fúgal na shí túwuli.
 Dog PERF then carry bone HAB gnaw there under table
 “Dog left the table, went and carried the bone. Dog then carried the bone, was gnawing (it) there under the table.” (A&D 51,52)

1.4 Post-nuclear (peripheral) constituents

As for the order of constituents following the indirect and direct objects, the location word or phrase generally occurs before time words.

2. Prominence

2.1 Focus

The focus marker highlights important elements, such as participants. It is often part of a focus-presupposition construction (F-P), sometimes referred to as a cleft sentence. The focus marker identifies important participants in the introduction of “The Big Fight”, as in the following example:

13. **bá** **ó** **du** **ŋkêny** **míshilə,**
they FOC HAB carry daughters
du **kə** **du** **du**l **bwó-dí** **mómpwág.**
HAB go HAB bury their-LOC villages
“it’s they who used to carry the daughters, go and bury them in their own villages” (BF 5b-c)

The focus marker highlights participants in the peak, as in the following examples 14 and 15:

14. **Məncwámá** **mə** **Baáŋkweny** **mə** **ó** **ci** **ní ...**
youth of Baáŋkweny they FOC say that...
“The youth of Baáŋkweny, it’s they who say ...” (BF 11a)

15. **Bə** **ó** **zə** **biya** **nə** **bwə**
they FOC come attack with them
“It’s they who attack them (the others)” (BF 13)

The focused constituent is usually the subject of the clause in the F-P in a narrative.

The focus marker can highlight other constituents of the clause, such as the locative **wu** “there” in the following example. The fact that both participants are going to the same place is very important to the story.

16. **kí** **wu** **nómə** **ó** **mə** **ŋgə** **bə** **nə**
if there also FOC I PROG be that
mə **ŋgə** **kə** **yé,**
I PROG go REL
“if that’s also where I am going,” (A&D 10)

The focus marker also occurs in the presentational construction where the copula has been dropped. Again, the focus marker is used to highlight important events or participants. In “The Big Fight” this construction occurs in the pre-peak, (example 17) and in the peak (example 18). This construction slows down the action. In the “Ant and Dog”, even though the focus marker only occurs in speech and in the conclusion rather than in the story line, it still highlights important participants or ideas.

17. **cúná** **ó** **ní**
fight FOC there
“there’s the fight” (BF 7b)

18. **Mbimbə** **ó** **ní.**
corpse FOC there
“There’s the corpse.” (BF 9)

2.2 Thematic prominence

Nouns, noun phrases, or pronouns may be preposed to signal that a different participant is topic. In example 8 above, the fronting of **Kumukoonz** “*Ant*” signals that *Ant* is topic, instead of *Dog*. The story now centers on *Ant*. The presence of a trace (**nyə** “*him*”) gives more prominence to the preposed noun.

A demonstrative adjective can also add prominence to a character, as in the following example:

19. **Mwán** **ni** **músə** **kə** **jugú,**
child that finally go bush
“*That child finally goes to the bush,*” (BF 21a)

2.3 Features of emphasis

The suffix **-ε** on a singular pronoun makes it an emphatic pronoun, as in example 9 above. It emphasizes that it is *Dog*, not *Ant*, which pulls *Ant*’s cloth down. Plural pronouns become emphatic when the contrastive determiner **-âη** (with concord prefix) follows the pronoun, as in **só b-âη**, the emphatic “*we*” or “*as for us*.”

Demonstratives can be fronted, before the noun, to show contrast, as example 50 below in 5.3 shows.

3. Backgrounding and highlighting devices

3.1 Foreground events

The present perfective verb form presents the events of the storyline in a narrative. Even though the events in a narrative occurred in the past, the verbs do not have any tense markers and few aspect markers. This form, unmarked for tense, is sometimes called narrative tense, as illustrated in the verb **ηwa** “*take*” in the following example.

20. **Bó** **ηwa** **lág** **mwán** **éni,**
they take so child that
“*They take therefore that child...*” (BF 14)

The verbs describing important events in the storyline have the consecutive marker **mú** “*then*.” Verbs describing even more important events have the consecutive marker **músə** “*then (or, finally)*.” As soon as the action begins and up to the end of the peak, **mú** “*then*” and **músə** “*then*” or “*finally*” occur frequently. In fact, if one were only to read the clauses with **mú** and **músə**, one would have the essential elements or backbone of the story line, as shown in example 21 below. The clauses without **mú** and **músə** describe events are not considered as important to the development of the story. Thus the occurrence and omission of **mú** and **músə** help to reveal the structure of a narrative text.

21.	Bwó	músə	zə	kə					
	they	then	come	go					
	kə	jé	dənd	lú	ócií	báŋ-úd	Jəmójumánaŋ	dí	kwáádó.
	go	arrive	village	of	in-laws	their-LOC	Jəmójumánaŋ	LOC	village
	Bwó	músə	kə	shílə	Jəmójumánaŋ	bá.			
	they	then	go	ask	Jəmójumánaŋ	marriage			
	Bə	mú	kə	nyíŋgal	bwə	njów.			
	they	then	go	enter	them	house			
	Mudá	kə	gúú	bwə	kúwo,	shín	jáám		
	woman	go	kill	them	chicken	finish	cook		
	zə	nə	ndí,	zə	təl	bwə	túwulí-d.		
	come	with	it	come	place	them	table-LOC		

“They then went, arrive at the village of their in-laws the village of Jəmójumánaŋ. They then ask Jəmójumánaŋ for marriage. They then made enter them into the house. The woman goes and kills a chicken for them. She finishes cooking it, comes with it, and sets (it) on the table for them.” (A&D 41-44)

In order to resume the storyline after background information or a discontinuity, the first clause usually has one of the markers **mú** or **músə**, as in the following example (22) after the ‘when’ clause. This sentence immediately follows the previous example (21).

22.	Ja	bwó	mə	ka	tééd	nə		
	when	they	PERF	then	start	that		
	bwó	zə	də	kúwó	yí			
	they	come	eat	chicken	REL			
	Kuməkoonz	a	mú	dúg	múdá	tódúgá	yé	wəsh
	Ant	he	<u>then</u>	see	woman	thought	her	each
	dš	bul	kə	mpyə	dí.			
	HAB	much	go	Dog	LOC			

“When they then started to eat the chicken, Ant then saw that each of the woman’s thoughts was going a lot towards Dog.” (A&D 45)

3.2 Backgrounding events of secondary importance

In contrast to the perfective verbs describing foreground events, the verb forms describing secondary events carry tense, aspect (habitual or imperfect) and perfect markers. Verbs relating secondary events occur in the distant past or perfect form. Clauses that give background information are usually in the distant past.

The distant past marker **á** occurs at the beginning of the story to set the time for the whole story, as in the very first clause in the Ant and Dog tale. Then the narrative continues with unmarked tense, as in the example below.

23.	Kuməkoonz	nyə	á	zə	tí	nə	a	kə	íland-ud.
	Ant	he	P2	come	go	that	he	go+HORT	fiancée-LOC
	Kyey	nə	ndéé,	ká	kə	jé	máan	mə	zhííd,
	go	(with)	long_time	then	go	arrive	intersection	of	path-LOC
	a	mú	kə	shigula.					
	he	then	go	stop					

“Ant, he set out so that he would go to his fiancée. (He) walks for a long time, then arrives at an intersection of paths, he then stops” (A&D 1-2)

The distant past marker also occurs in dependent clauses that give background information, such as the **ja** “when” clauses in example 6 above. This example is a point of

departure, which ties the ongoing action into the previous action and also signals the beginning of a new section. Although “when” clauses have the form of relative clauses, they function as adverbial clauses. The following example (24) shows the distant past in a relative clause giving background information.

24. **ɲwá kǎ byoolə kúl nyá á kəl cúdá yí,**
 hardly go survey place she P2 hangs cloth REL
“hardly looks (surveys) the place (where) she hung the cloth,” (A&D 72)

Other subordinate clauses that do not have the form of a relative clause also use the distant past. This is illustrated in the reason clause in example 10 above.

The distant past occurs more frequently in the conclusion than in the storyline of the narrative. It occurs in clauses (both main and subordinate) that comment on the action, as in the following example.

25. **Nyə á kǎ jugú nəcé nyə á caam oŋkúl**
 he P2 go bush because he P2 transgress pact
bá shwá yé bwó á dǎ.
 and/with friend his they P2 eat
“He went to the bush because he transgressed the pact he and his friend had eaten (made)” (A&D 81).

The perfect marker **mó** occurs in clauses in the middle of the storyline, indicating that these clauses give background information for the plot. The clauses with **mó** give the explanations for the actions marked with **mú** or **músə** as in the following example; because it was embarrassing for Dog to gnaw the bone under the table, he went out in shame.

26. **Mpyá mó wú túwuli dí kə ɲkêny yasó.**
 Dog PERF leave table LOC go carry bone
Mpyá mó ká ɲkêny yasó, dɛ fúgal na shí túwuli.
 Dog PERF then carry bone HAB gnaw there under table
Mpyá mú wóós tóon kúlú, ká mpúsə band nə shwóon...
 Dog then go out outside quickly go behind back of house with shame
“Dog has left the table, picked up the bone. Dog then has picked up the bone, was gnawing there under the table ... Dog then (mú) went outside quickly, went behind the house with shame.” (A&D 51-52,57)

The **ká** “then” in the example above shows sequential action, similar to **mú** “then,” but the **ká** is not part of the backbone of the plot as the **mú** is.

The verbal adverb **kwo** “so, therefore,” shows logical development in the story line of a narrative, as in the following example. The verbal auxiliary **nyingə** “again” occurs along with **kwo** in order to strengthen the point, as in the following example.

27. **Bwó mú kyey kyey kyey kyey kyey, bwó nyingə kwǎ kǎ woga.**
 they then walk walk walk walk walk they again so go rest
“They then walk, walk, walk, walk, walk, so they again go rest.” (A&D 21).

The explanatory clause in the following example may be considered a flashback.

28. Nəcé wəla doŋg á dɯ ná bə,
 because hour that P2 HAB then be
 bó ó dɯ ŋkēny míshilə,
 they FOC HAB carry daughters
 dɯ kə dɯ dɯl bwó-dí mómɥwág.
 HAB go HAB bury their-LOC villages

“Because that time used to be that it was they who used to carry the daughters, go and bury them in their own villages”(BF 5)

3.3 Highlighting

The focus marker highlights contrastive elements, especially participants in the narrative. For example, the focus marker in a focus-presupposition construction identifies important participants as seen in examples 13 through 15, and 18 above.

The focus marker, together with repetition and subordinate clauses, slows down the narrative just before the climax, such as in the story of the Sparrow and the Chicken. The sentence preceding the climax (example 29), where the chicken is butchered, contains all three of these elements. This serves to highlight the climax.

29. Bákwaádó təl na nji nyə ó dɯ mine məntənd,
 Sparrow sit there only he FOC HAB swallow saliva
 nyə ó dɯ minə məntənd;
 he FOC HAB swallow saliva
 val bó ŋgə yə bwo idəg yí a ŋgə minə məntənd.
 manner they PROG give them food REL he PROG swallow saliva

30. Buud, kú nómə bwey, bó mə zə bií nyang
 people not even waiting they PERF come grab the_one
 nyə á bul bwaag yé,
 he(who) P2 much grow REL
 bó mə zə Kə wá nyə báágə cúŋ-úd.
 they PERF come go put him knife neck-LOC

29. “Sparrow sits there; it was he who kept swallowing his saliva, it was he who kept swallowing his saliva, (seeing) the way they were giving them food, he was swallowing his saliva.

30. The people, not even waiting, they grabbed the one who had grown the biggest; they came and put a knife to its neck. ” (S&C 14, 15)

The “it was he who kept swallowing his saliva” (his mouth was watering because he desired the food of the chicken so much) contains focus marker **ó**. This clause is repeated two more times, the last time without the focus marker. The habitual aspect marker **dɯ** gives the sense of prolonging the action. The manner clause “the way they were giving him food” also slows down the narrative. In the following sentence (30), the relative clause “which had grown the biggest” further slows down the action as the tension increases.

There is also a change in orientation at the climax, as attention turns to what the people are doing, rather than Sparrow or Chicken. This is signaled by the fronted noun **buud** “people” (30) which is subject of the clause. Again the action is slowed down, this time with a negative verb, “not even waiting” before saying what the people did do, “they caught the one...” The text about Turtle and Eagle also uses a negative verb form and the progressive and habitual aspects in verbs just before the climax.

4. Pragmatic connectives

4.1 Coordinating sentences

Sentences or clauses that describe the main events of a narrative are juxtaposed, with no conjunctions between them. For example the story “Woman is no good” has no conjunctions at all.

Conjunctions may signal the end of the events of the story. The story “The Big Fight” has a co-ordinate conjunction **nó** “and” at the end of the events, to introduce the summary statement, as seen in the following example.

31. **nó məma cwoomb mó á dúgí wa só-dí Baáŋkweny yí,**
and big fight I P2 see here us-LOC Baáŋkweny REL
í á bə ntúni.
it P2 be like that

“and the big fight that I saw here at Baankweny was like that.” (BF 23a-c)

The story of the Sparrow and the Chicken has the adverb **ntó** “thus” to introduce the moral that closes the narrative.

4.2 Coordinating clauses within a sentence

Clauses that describe successive events performed by the same subject are juxtaposed, usually with the subject pronoun **a** “he/she/it.” The following example occurs in “Woman is no good”.

32. **Mudúm mú ŋwa ŋkyél, a dúg múdá nó ndeε,**
man then take gun he look woman (and/with) long time
a nyiŋgə ŋwa ŋkyél, a mú yə ŋgwáman, nyə nóəə...
he again take gun he then give official he that...

“The man then takes the gun, he looks at the woman for a long time, he takes the gun again, he then gives it to the official, he (says) ... (W 39a-e)”

Sometimes the subject may be deleted, showing that the actions immediately follow each other. In the following example, taken from example 21 above, the subject may be deleted to speed up the action.

33. **Mudá kə gúú bwə kúwo, shín jáámb**
woman go kill them chicken finish cook
zə nə ndí, zə təl bwə túwulí-d
come with it come place them table-LOC

“Woman goes kills a chicken for them, finishes cooking (it), comes with it, comes places (it) for them on the table. (A&D 44a-d)”

In successive events, the verb **ci** “say” is often deleted and the subject form **nyə** “he/she/it” is used, resulting in the clause **nyə nó** ‘...’ or **nyə nóəə** ‘...’ “he (says) ‘...’ ” This is illustrated in examples 6 and 0 above or example **Error! Reference source not found.** below. The use of **nyə** is explained more fully in section 5.2 below.

34. **nyə nə mudá nóəə ‘...’**
he says to woman that “...”
“he (says) to the woman ‘...’ ”(W 31)

The ideophone **nó ndéé** “for a long time (until)” occurs between two clauses. It has the structure of an ideophone, but it functions like a conjunction connecting two clauses. Since the phrase indicates that the first event went on for a long time until the second event occurs, it might be translated as “for a long time, then.” The final long vowel is often lengthened even more, to give the idea of continuing action. It is difficult to determine if the ideophone is part of the first or the second clause; it functions as a conjunction, without a comma before or after it. This phrase occurs in the peak of the action in the “The Big Fight” adding a dramatic effect or emphasis to the action.

35. **Mwán ni ... kə ɲwa iká, zə nyaməsə mójúwód**
 child that go take leaves come knead water-LOC
nó ndéé a músə zə shuú Lɪŋga lúúd nə júúd,
 for long_time he then come pour Linga head-LOC and nose-LOC
“That youth ...took leaves, kneaded them for a long time, then he finally poured them on Linga’s head and in his nose.”(BF 21a-d).

Another example occurs in “Ant and Dog.”

36. **Kyey nó ndéé ká kə jé máan mə zhíí-d**
 walk for long_time then go arrive intersection of path-LOC
“(He) walks for a long time until then (he) arrives at an intersection of the path.”
 (A&D 2a-b)

4.3 Countering markers

The word **nji** “but” functions as a counter-expectation marker in the story “Woman is no good.” It shows that the statement of the man, that woman is no good, is not what he is expected to say. It may also be translated as “only.” Another response is expected but he only says “Woman is no good.”

37. **Mudá shín jaw ɲgwáman nda ɲgwúm yé ɲgó lás**
 woman finish tell official how husband her PROG speak
jwów désh nji nó mudá nyə anywáyé nó
 day every only that woman she be good-NEG REL
“The woman finished telling the official how her husband was talking every day only that woman is no good.” (W 14)

The phrase **tɛɛm bə nó** “even if” or “even though” (literally, even being that) introduces a concessive clause. This concessive clause must precede the main clause. Because it precedes the main clause, the concessive clause is highlighted. The phrase **tɛɛm bə nó** can be replaced by the phrase **to nó** “even though” with no change in meaning.

38. **Tɛɛm bə nó mpal nyə á bə nə mudá ɲgúdú,**
 even be that eagle he P2 be with wife one
nji nyə á bə námó nə bwân mbíya ɲkíbulya.
 but he P2 be also with children very many
“Even though the eagle had one wife, (but) he also had very many children.” (T&E 7)

When the concessive clause follows the main clause, the phrase **tɛɛm bə nó** is replaced by the phrase **í njúl nó** “it is/remains that/ though.” The following example with **í njúl nó** is a reformulation of example 38 above, and shows how the two are different. Because the concessive clause follows the main clause, the concessive idea is weaker or less prominent.

39. **mpal nyə á bə nə bwân mbíya ɲkíbulya,**
 eagle he P2 be with children very many
í njúl nó nyə á bə nə nji mudá ɲgúdú,
 even be that he P2 be with only wife one
“The eagle had very many children, though he had only one wife.”

The particle **shí** occurs in the verb phrase and expresses confirmation, often of a fact that was in doubt or in question. It is often translated with the English verbal auxiliary “*did*.” In the story “Woman no good” the official informs the man that the woman had shot the wooden image of her husband, even though the man could not bring himself to shoot the image of his wife.

40. **Mə ámə yə múdá ɲkyêl, a shí lúmə vagula gwóo.**
 I P1 give wife gun she did shoot image your
“I gave (your) wife the gun, she did shoot your image.” (W 33)

4.4 Additives (markers of reinforcement and parallelism)

The adverb **námá** is used both for reinforcement and for parallel structures, as in the following example.

41. **Muda nyé mpwóómbú, ɲgwáman**
 woman she-EMPH face official
má nyiŋgə námá t̄l námá vunde ɲgwúd nə ɲgwúdug-ód.
 PERF again also place also window one with one-LOC
“The woman, her (sculpted) face, the official also placed (it) also in the very same window.” (W29)

4.5 Markers of new information

The verbal markers **mú** and **músə**, described in 3.1 above, mark new information that is crucial to the development of the storyline in the narrative. They give the next important event in the narrative.

4.6 Introducing non-event material in narrative

Non-event material is often expressed in subordinate clauses, introduced by subordinate conjunctions such as **nəćé** “*because*” (A&D 57c) and **ja** “*when*” (A&D 65a).

Summary statements are often introduced by phrases like **gwá ó** “*that’s why*” (A&D 80a) and **sá jɔŋgú** “*(for) that reason*” (A&D 84a) or simply **sá** “*(for that) reason*” (T&E 84). The adverb **nto** “*thus*” (S&C 18a) also introduces summary statements.

Reported conversations function as explanations or background information for the events that follow, as in the Ant and Dog tale. At the beginning, both Ant and Dog describe their particular taboos. This allows the audience to understand what happens later when the taboos are transgressed.

4.8 Other coordinating connectives

Simultaneous clauses are marked by a high tone on the progressive marker **ɲgə** in the verb of the second clause. These two clauses are juxtaposed. In the following example, the first two verbs in the progressive aspect carry a low tone, because they are consecutive actions. The third verb in the progressive carries a high tone, showing that it is a subordinate clause and that it is simultaneous with the previous action.

42. **nyə** **mú** **ɲwǎ** **shaá** **lú** **ɲgwóó** **ni,**
 he then take feather of hornbill that

ɲgə **juwǒ** **na** **fúfuundú** **ncamá** **dí,**
 PROG dip there small-gourd rubber LOC

ka **ɲgə** **shúlə** **bwə** **mófaafugó-d,**
 then PROG rub them wings-LOC

nyə **ɲgə** **lás** **mbíí** **lósú...**
 he PROG + while speak manner language

“he then took that feather of a hornbill, (he) was dipping (it) there in the small gourd of rubber, (he) then was rubbing on their wings, while he was speaking a manner of language...” (T&E 71)

In perfective aspect clauses, the clauses are simply juxtaposed, with no other indication of simultaneity, as in the example below.

43. **A** **ɲjúl** **nə** **fwódo** **mə** **mudá,**
 he be with photo of woman

a **ɲjúl** **nə** **fwódo** **mə** **mudúm.**
 he be with photo of man

“He has the photo of the woman; he has the photo of the man.” (W18)

5. Participant reference

5.1 Activation of participants

Often a narrative begins by stating a friendship of the major participants, as in “*X and Y were friends*”

44. **kúl** **bǎ** **mpal** **bwó** **á** **bə** **nə** **mbíya** **məma** **shwó.**
 Turtle and Eagle they P2 be with huge big friendship

“Turtle and Eagle had a close friendship.” (T&E 1)

Other narratives begin by describing the situation of the major participant(s) with a background statement in the distant past tense.

45. **Mbákwaádó** **nyə** **á** **ɖə** **ji** **jugú** **kwamb** **dí,**
 Sparrow he P2 HAB live jungle “deep” LOC

Kúwo **ɖə** **ji** **kwáádó** **múúd** **dí.**
 Chicken HAB live village man LOC

“Sparrow used to live in the deep jungle, Chicken used to live in the village with man.” (S&C 3)

Often the main participant is introduced by a noun phrase such as **ya Aiyôŋ** “grandmother Aiyôŋ” (BF 1), or by two noun phrases as in the following example. The cataphoric determiner **ɲgwólúgá** “man” always precedes the head noun, as seen in the example.

46. **ɲgwólúgá** **múúd,** **ncwáma,** **nyə** **á** **kə** **íland-ɖd**
 a_certain person, young_man he P2 go fiance-LOC

“a certain man, a young man, he went to get a wife” (W 1)

The participants in some narratives are referred to simply by a noun; this occurs especially in folktales that are well known. A noun referring to an animal in a folktale becomes the proper name of the animal, such as Ant and Dog, Turtle and Eagle, Sparrow and Chicken.

Minor participants are introduced by a noun, or by a noun plus modifier. In “Woman is no good” the sculptor is introduced by a noun modified by a relative clause. Minor participants are often introduced through their relationship with a major participant.

47. **ŋgwáman** **mú** **zə** **ŋwa** **múúd**
official then come take person
mó **dú** **caag** **íyug** **i** **búúd** **málíí** **dí** **yé**
he HAB sculpt image of people wood LOC REL
“The official then engaged a person who sculpts images of people in wood.” (W17)

5.2 Further reference to activated participants

Makaa has two third person singular pronouns, a “he/she” indicating same subject as the previous clause, and **nyə** “he/she” indicating different subject or indicating a discontinuity. The only exception is that **nyə** always occurs with direct speech when the verb is omitted, as illustrated in example **Error! Reference source not found.** above. Thus, an activated participant is referred to by a pronoun, *a*, **nyə**, or **bá** “they” in the plural, or **ə**. But after a discontinuity, such as background information, the participant is again referred to by a noun. This use of a noun often signals the beginning of a new section. In the story of **Tuŋ** the use of a proper noun for a subsequent reference to a participant signals the beginning of a section. In the Ant and Dog narrative, the speaker uses the noun plus pronoun, **Kumukoonz nyá** “Ant he” (A&D 79a), instead of just the pronoun at a boundary, marking the beginning of the conclusion.

If the participant was the addressee of the previous reported speech and now is the subject of the clause, the participant is referred to by a noun or a pronoun (**nyə** or **bá**). In other cases, where the participant becomes the subject of a clause (without being subject or addressee in the previous clause), a noun or noun phrase refers to the participant. When the reference is clear, a pronoun (**nyə** or **bá**) may be used.

In addition to the discontinuity of reference at the boundary (from pronoun back to noun), the type of participant reference within the narrative, especially in the peak, shows the development of the story. For example, the use of a noun can indicate a new role for a major participant. In Ant & Dog, the speaker uses the noun **mudúm** “man” to refer to Ant instead of the noun **kumukoonz** “ant”, in the peak of the narrative. The woman is calling to Ant as if he is her husband, and the speaker describes the response of Ant as that of **mudúm** “man or husband”. In fact, Ant is unable to respond, so he runs away and leaves the relationship with the woman. As the speaker describes his leaving, he again refers to Ant as Ant, **Kumukoonz ǎ** “Ant he” (A&D 77a). The switch back to **kumukoonz** shows a turning point in the story, where Ant loses the woman to Dog. (The pronoun **ǎ** is used instead of **nyə** because there is continuity of action in 77a, and not a boundary marker as in 79a, as described in Levinsohn, 1994:11)

Also, participant reference is minimized as the action in the peak intensifies, so that the action moves along faster. In the peak of “Ant and Dog,” six successive clauses have no subject expressed, as in the example below. This shortens the clauses, and makes the actions follow each other rapidly as the tension mounts. Even though there are no subjects expressed, there is repetition of predicates, with the progressive aspect, also adding to the tension.

48. **ŋgə** **nyáaw** **ínyáá-d,** **ŋgə** **nyáaw** **ínyáád** **nó ndéé,** **mó** **bwéemb**
PROG Pace claws-LOC PROG pace claws-LOC long time PERF move
nyúul, **Nyíi** **njów,** **kə** **nyíi** **fúm,** **ká** **kǎ** **kwey** **nó...**
body enter house go enter bedroom then go find that...
“Pacing on his claws, pacing on his claws a long time, move his body, enter the house, go enter the bedroom, then go find that ...” (A&D 67a-f).

This is similar to the dropping of the subject pronouns in example 33 above.

When the participant is not the subject of the clause, and when the participant has the same role as in the previous clause, then zero reference is used in the second clause. In the same way, if the addressee of a reported speech was subject of speech reported in previous clause, zero reference is also used. In other cases, a pronoun (**nyə** or **bá**), noun, or noun phrase is used to refer to the participant.

When the usual encoding is a pronoun or zero reference, it may be replaced by a noun to mark discontinuities.

5.3 Determiners and pronouns

The non-anaphoric determiner **-lúgá** “a,” “a certain,” or “another” with concord prefix may introduce a new participant. It occurs in the opening, as example above 46, or later in the narrative, as in the following example in the peak of The Big Fight.

49. Wo ná	ngwó-lúgá	mínyoŋú	mó	Móguuyaá,		
(and_then)	class 1-certain	brother	of	Meguuyaa		
a	fwám	kúda	nə	ngwó-l	mínyoŋú	wamó.
he	hit	fist	to	CL1-another	brother	mine

“(and then) a certain brother of Móguuyaá, he hit fist with another brother of mine (BF 8).”

This determiner **-lúgá** is sometimes abbreviated, so that only the **-l** occurs with the concord prefix, as in example 49 above. The same determiner occurs in pairs in order to talk about two participants with similar or contrasting actions, **ngwólúgá... ngwólúgá...** “one.... the other...”. Here also the determiner can be abbreviated.

The anaphoric determiners **-oŋgú** ‘that (the aforementioned)’ and **-âŋ** ‘that (contrastive)’ may occur in subsequent references to participants, times or places. However, the demonstrative, **-ne** “that,” occurs more frequently. For example, **muud é-ne** ‘that person’ is the second reference to the sculptor in ‘Woman is no good’.

Makaa has three demonstratives, **-ga** “this, near the speaker,” **-ne** “that, away from the speaker but still in sight,” and **mí** “that, out of sight of speaker.” The vowel in the demonstrative **-ne** varies, so that **-ne** occurs with class 1 nouns, **-na** with class 2 nouns, and **-ni** with all other classes. These demonstratives can have more of an anaphoric or cataphoric function in texts, rather than their spatial functions described above. For example, in 50 below, **dú-ni jwów di** “on that day” (class 5) is the subsequent reference to the climactic day when Sparrow went to see how Chicken was doing (S&C12). The demonstrative is fronted to show contrast, “on *that* day”, not on a day like the previous days when nothing special happened.

50. Dú-ni	jwów	di,	buud	bá	á	kwo	zə	bul	bə	nə	mintaag
that-CL5	day	LOC	people	they	P2	again	come	lot	be	with	joy

‘On that day, the people again were very joyful’ (S&C12)

Whereas the demonstrative **-ni** often functions as an anaphoric reference in a narrative, the demonstrative **-ga** “*this, here*” has more of a cataphoric function, referring to what is coming or close at hand. The demonstrative **-ga** also seems to give some emphasis to the thing referred to, especially in the construction with the focus marker, such as **gwó ó ga** “*this is it*” in the following example.

51.	Námá also	vuúde window	ngwúd one	nə with	ngwúd one	é-ga this	di, LOC
	mpwoombú face	nywô your	í it	ámə P1	bə be	wa, here	
	bwoodú old/worn	líí tree/wood	j-ongú, this	gwó it	ó FOC	ga. this	

“*Also in this same window, your face was here, this old wood, this is it (W 33).*” (*The wooden sculpture of his face was in this window and the woman shot at it, ruining it.*)

The third demonstrative, **mí** “*out of sight of speaker,*” does not occur in the texts parallel to **-ni** and **-ga**. Instead of **mí**, the determiner **-ongú** ‘*that*’ occurs along with **-ni** and **-ga** in their discourse functions, as in example 51 above, where **bwoodú líí j-ongú** ‘*this old wood*’ refers to the carving used earlier in the story.

6. Reporting of conversation

6.1 Positions of the speech orienters

The speech orienter precedes the speech.

52. A	mú	ci	nə	mudá	nó	“ ... ”
	he	then	say	to	woman	that ...

“*He then said to the woman, “ ”*” (W 25)

6.2 Ways of reporting the speeches

The default way of reporting speech is direct. Indirect speech is used rarely. There are no clear examples in the texts studied. Indirect speech differs from direct speech only in the use of third person pronouns in place of first and second person pronouns.

6.3 Pronouns, Tenses and aspects used in the speech orienters

The speech orienters are in the present perfective verb form, without tense and aspect markers; thus they are events of the storyline in a narrative. The marker **mú** “*then*” is added to the orienter when the speech is an important or foreground event in the narrative. In a dialogue, the verb **ci** “*say*” is often omitted, resulting in the orienter **nyə nó**: “*he (says) that...*” Occasionally, especially in the climax, the speech orienter may be omitted completely, as with a command given in Ant and Dog, in the following example.

53.	Mán	mə	lám	mudá	mó	wool.
	morning	PERF	rise	woman	PERF	get_up
	nyə	ampwé	nó	ngúúm	yé	ji
	she	know-NEG	that	husband	her	be
	mbál.					sick
	"O,	kag	zǎ	kǎ	gusa."	
	Oh	go	come	go	wash	

“*The next morning, the woman got up. She did not know that her husband was sick. ‘Oh, come and wash’ (she called)*” (A&D69,70,73; 71-72 explains the sickness)

The addressee is included at the beginning of a conversation, and whenever there might be confusion about who the addressee is. When the conversation marks an important discontinuity in topic, the reference to the addressee may be more than the minimum required for identifying the addressee. For example, when Dog broaches the subject of his taboo, the addressee is referred to as “*his friend Ant*”, as shown in the following example, instead of just “*Ant*” or “*him*.”

54. **Mpyá** **ná** **shwá** **yé** **Kumukoonz** **nó:**
 dog to friend his Ant that
 “*Dog (said) to his friend Ant that:*” (A&D 22)

Adverbs or auxiliaries may occur along with the usual verb, as in the following example.

55. **ngwáman** **kwo** **ndág** **ci...**
 official again then say...
 “*the official then again said...*” (W 16)

Other verbs, such as **jaaw** “*tell*” and **bɛsǎ** “*answer*,” may occur.

The third person singular pronoun **nyə** is used in speech orienters whenever the verb is omitted (**nyə ná:**), as explained in 5.2 and example **Error! Reference source not found.** above. The **nyə** occurs even if the pronoun **a** is expected because the person speaking is the same as the subject of the previous clause. The speech orienter does not necessarily mark a discontinuity, even though the pronoun **nyə** is used instead of **a**.

6.4 Changes of direction within a reported conversation

There is no special marking for a change in direction within a conversation. The usual orienter occurs without the verb (**nyə ná:** “*he (says) that...*”).

6.5 Repetitions of speech orienters

Repetitions of the speech orienters were not found in the texts studied.

7. Subordination and given versus new information

7.1 New information and subordinate clauses

Pre-nuclear subordinate clauses in narrative texts are usually temporal clauses functioning as points of departure. They may contain information that can be expected from the context, such as logical outcomes of previous actions; the information is not really new. When subordinate clauses seem to contain new information, it is often not new to the hearers but it is a part of their cultural heritage. For example, in the Eagle tale, Pigeon is mentioned for the first time in a pre-nuclear temporal clause. Pigeon is not a new character to those who know Makaa folktales.

56. **Ja** **nyá** **mə** **zə** **dúg** **faf** **ngó** **có** **yí,**
 when he PERF come see pigeon PROG pass REL
 “*when he saw Sparrow pass,*” (T&E 32).

The pre-nuclear concessive clause in example 38 above seems to give new information; the post-nuclear concessive clause in example 39 above may or may not contain new information. Reason clauses also occur as pre-nuclear clauses, giving background (new) information to explain the events in the story, as in the following example. This is new information that can be expected from the context. It may be that all that seems new information in these subordinate clauses is actually well-known among the people who know these folktales well. More study needs to be done in true stories to see parallels there.

57. **Nəcé** **ngwáman** **nyə** **a** **jôw** **bésh** **óbá,** **a** **mú** **shweel** **mudúm.**
 because official he P2 call both two he then hide man
“Because the official had called both, he then hides the man.” (W 24)

7.2 Relative clauses (including nominalizations)

Makaa relativizes subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, and objects of the preposition **nə** “with.” When the object of the preposition is relativized, then the neutral pronoun **ndí** occurs in place of the co-referential noun in the relative clause, as in example 60 below. Location is frequently expressed by using a clause relativized on a locative noun, such as **kál** “place,” or on a locative word, such as **wú** “where” in the following example.

58. **wú** **nyó** **á** **du** **mpu** **nó** **líí** **ncamá** **í** **á** **du** **tôw** **wá.**
 where she P2 HAB know that tree rubber it P2 HAB stand REL
“(she went to) where she knew that the ‘ncama’ tree stood.” (T&E 52)

Manner subordinate clauses have the form of a relative clause, modifying the noun **mbíí** “manner” as in the following example.

59. **mbíí** **mpal** **nyó** **á** **kə** **shín** **yí.**
 manner eagle he P2 go finish REL
“the manner in which eagle ended up.” (T&E 84)

Only restrictive relative clauses occur in Makaa. On the event line, they may modify a secondary participant, who becomes topical for that section, as in example 47 above. They often modify a prop, indicating the thematic salience of the prop or idea being relativized, as in the example below. In the same way, manner clauses indicate the thematic salience of ideas.

60. **cúdú** **mpal** **bwó** **á** **bə** **nə** **ndí** **é-ne**
 meat eagle they P2 be with it c11-that
“the eagle meat that they had (were with) there.” (T&E 83)

Relative clauses may contain new information, as in the example below where the head noun is a generic noun, **lósú** “language.” In another example, 47, a relative clause is used to introduce a minor participant. The head noun is the generic noun **múúd** “person.” In all examples of relative clauses that contain new information, the head noun is a generic noun.

61. **nyə** **ngó** **lás** **mbíí** **lósú**
 he PROG speak kind language
Mpal **bánôŋ** **njów** **búud** **yé** **bwó** **á** **shígé** **ngə** **gwág** **yí.**
 Eagle and house people his they P2 NEG PROG understand REL
“he was speaking a kind of language that the eagle and his family did not understand.” (T&E70)

Relative clauses often restate the moral of the story in the conclusion. In the following example from the Eagle tale, the second relative clause has another relative clause embedded in it.

62. Sá shó bí nə ŋkul baagulǒ wa yí jí nó:
 thing we be with ability keep here REL is that
 Múud yēsh má dú bə kú baagulə mǎŋkwambələ
 person every PERF HAB be not keep arrangements
 [bǎnŋŋ buud ó dú bə nə ndí má],
 he and people they HAB be with them REL
 nyó dǎ kə shīn ŋkíbw, mbií mpal nyó á kə shīn yí.
 he HAB go finish bad manner eagle he P2 go finish REL
*“The thing that we can remember here is that
 Every person who does not keep the arrangements [that he has with people],
 He finishes badly, in the manner that eagle finished.” (T&E 84)*

Instead of non-restrictive relative clauses, Makaa uses subordinate clauses expressing simultaneous actions, or a juxtaposed main clause. These were described in 4.8 above.

8. Propositional order

The propositional order in Makaa is typical of VO languages. This means that a head is followed by a restatement or clarification. A positive statement is followed by a negative statement. Result is followed by reason. Means is followed by purpose. The order may be reversed in order to highlight a clause, as in example 30 above, where the negative clause precedes the positive verb. Also, in example 57, the reason clause precedes the result clause, perhaps to highlight the reason (the two clauses seem like a flashback, occurring before the previous sentence).

These are illustrated by the following excerpts taken from the Ant and Dog tale. These come from the dialogues and from the conclusion, which are expository sections in the narrative.

Reference in text:	Excerpt	Type of clause
26a 26b 26c 26d 27	Bó ká jáám̄b shwó d̄w z̄áŋ “They then cook us feast food” wó ká d̄ “you then eat” wo gú d̄ŋ gwa íyasó “you must take the bones” d̄ŋ baagulə wódí shwíyád. “keep them in your plate.” Wo kú kul yasó shí. “You do not throw a bone on the ground.”	positive negative
28a 28b 29a 29b 29c 30	Mə ji mp̄úndí “I have a taboo” kú gwág yasó shí ná kpogulog. “I cannot hear a bone on the ground ‘ka plunk’ ” Wó ká námé kul yasó shí “When you do throw a bone on the ground” mə fwǒ nyiŋgə lágə íd̄w í â (tówuli) “I must leave the food on the table” shwó ŋgó d̄ə yí. “that we are eating.” Mə kə ŋk̄eny yasó. “I go pick up the bone.”	head clarification
35a 35b 35c 35d	Mó ká cin̄y cúdó ga “When I tie this cloth” mə b̄ə ncwiny “I am thin” nəc̄é mwǒ wǒ minja mí yid̄ă b̄ə kúga shí “because my stomach, my intestines would be down here instead” wa t̄útám̄ ji cúd. “here in the middle it is empty.”	means purpose
36a 36b 36c	Cúdó mó d̄ú wá ga “The cloth I put here” wó ó í d̄ú sá nó “it is what makes it so that” mə b̄óg j̄ǒ “I may be beautiful”	means purpose
37a 37b 37c	shwó mə ká cugə mp̄úndí “we then are living with a taboo” wo kú sǒ nó “you are not to look for a way” cúdó ga í wúg mə kúnókúnə. “that this cloth leaves me”	positive negative
70a 70b 70c	nyə ampwé nó “she does not know that” ŋgúúm yé ji mból nó “her husband is sick because” a mú nə kug nda kénzha mpí. “he has a waist like a string of palm nuts”	statement clarification
86a 86b 86c 86d	Nyə á kǎ jugú “He went to the bush” nəc̄é a tééd̄úlə ŋk̄eny yasó “because he started to carry the bone” kul shí “throw (it) on the ground” séém̄b̄uli shwó yé. “humiliate his friend.”	result reason