LEXICAL RECYCLING IN CHEWA DISCOURSE

Aspects of Linguistic Form and Function in the Surface Realization of a Narrative Organizational Model

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* This paper is the final product of a research course taken under the supervision of Richard Rhodes during the 1975 session of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of North Dakota. I wish to express my great appreciation to Mr. Rhodes for all the instruction and insights he gave me with regard to this field of study, both theoretical and practical. Many of his ideas are reflected, however imperfectly, in this paper. It was his guidance and encouragement that prevented me from being completely engulfed by the linguistic flood resulting from my somewhat premature pounding at the dykes of discourse structure.

I also wish at this point to apologize to the reader for the inconvenience caused by the direct incorporation of footnotes into the text of this paper. By the publication deadline it was not much beyond a first-draft stage of development, and thus this distracting situation could not be avoided.
0.2 The nzano*, or 'story-with-song', plays a prominent part in the oral narrative tradition of the Chewa@ people of Central Africa.

* The nzano (nthano) is to be distinguished primarily from these other types of verbal art (to give but an approximate definition for each): mwambi - 'story-without-song, proverb or proverbial story; parable'; mbili - 'report, historical account, reputation'; nkhani - 'news, recent report, subject matter under discussion'; nyimbo - 'song'.

@ The Chewa are a matrilineal, Bantu-speaking people whose traditional homeland covers a rather large area that centers on the plateau where the three countries of Zambia (Eastern Province), Malawi (Central Province) and Mozambique (Tete Province) meet. It is estimated that the total Chewa population of these three countries numbers from about 2-2½ million, of whom the great majority live in Malawi (c.a. 70%). The Chewa, in turn, comprise roughly two-thirds of the total 'Nyanja-speaking' population, which includes the Nyasa, Nyanja, Mang'anja, Ntumba, and Mbo peoples. They all speak dialects of the same language, the standard, written form of which is called Nyanja. Nyanja is one of seven, official African languages of Zambia and the official African language of Malawi. The Chewa dialect is grouped into zone N, group 31b by Guthrie in his classification of the Bantu languages (Bryan, 1959, p.139).

Any member of society is a potential performer, and already at an early age a child will be learning common motifs of the tradition and practicing the technique of narrative composition. It is important to emphasize the 'performance' aspect of the nzano. A linguistic representation in the form of a printed text, no matter how detailed and accurate, is by no means sufficient to give one an adequate appreciation of this traditional art-form and its dynamic communicative potential in Chewa society. There are numerous other semiotic factors involved which complement each other to make an oral performance a truly unique and unrepeatable aesthetic event*.

* Examples of some non-verbal elements of performance are: vocal/intonational modifications, facial expressions, gestures, rhythmic body movements and mimicry, performer - audience situational and social interaction. In a number of instances, it is clear that the verbal element plays only a very minor role in the communication process, especially in the evocative effect upon the audience.

The limitations of a purely linguistic description of an oral performance, however, do not deny the fact that careful linguistic studies can perform a valuable service in the exposition of both the form and meaning of the total communicative complex. It is the purpose of this paper, then, to substantiate that claim by applying a number of the insights and techniques of discourse analysis procedures (see reference in Bibliography) to a selected group of Chewa narratives*. Each of these
Ten texts, transcribed from tape recordings, were chosen from a collection of about 300 narratives (by men, women, and children), made over a period of one month in January and May of 1974 in the Kagolo Administrative District of the Eastern Province of Zambia. Of the 300 stories, there are approximately 100 that are completely different. They vary in length from 4-20 minutes with the majority being rather short. I have the intention of publishing a collection of these texts with translations as soon as it can be arranged. Thus, the numbers used in the present analysis (K for Kawaza, the senior chief in the area) are simply arbitrary references used to differentiate the ten texts that were examined in this project.

Stories features an organizational model which is quite common among the Bantu-speaking peoples of Central and South Africa. Essentially, this model consists of the ordered repetition or 'recycling' of a basic core of significant actions, each set being grouped around a nuclear song and allowing for the inclusion of a limited amount of new, plot-related information. The successive repetitions of these event-sets, or narrative cycles, functions as an indispensable element in the artistic unfolding of a story's plot and, correspondingly, in the dramatic effect that this has on the audience.

Certain characteristics of this particular narrative model have been described both from a linguistic point of view by Joseph Grimes as well as from an aestheto-Structuralist perspective by Harold Scheub*. Building upon some of their insights, the present study attempts to relate this rhetorical strategy governing the organization of Chewa narratives to the definition of larger semantic units (especially the paragraph). We will also describe several of the prominent ways in which these logical structures are marked in the narrative surface as part of the realizational tactics whereby the underlying network of events, involving both cyclic and non-cyclic groupings, is manifested as a linear sequence in discourse.

TOWARD A DEFINITION OF "LEXICAL RECYCLING": FORM

1.0 To preface a discussion of lexical recycling that is specific to Chewa narrative, we present the following summaries (largely in the form of quotations from pertinent articles) of the work of two scholars who have dealt with various aspects of this same topic and to whom credit is due for stimulating the present analysis. It will not be possible to consider

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* For a listing of some of the relevant works of these men, see the Bibliography. In addition, I would like to express a word of thanks to Prof. Scheub of the Dept. of African Languages and Literature, Univ. of Wisconsin, for introducing me to the 'world' of African oral narrative and for providing a methodology for its analysis.
their respective approaches toward narrative analysis in detail, but this introduction should prove useful both as background information for the present study and as a source for further practical and theoretical information on the subject.

1.1 Joseph Grimes defines lexical recycling, which he call an 'overlay', as follows (from Grimes, 1972a; see also Grimes 1972b, pp.319ff):

"An OVERLAY consists of the near repetition of relatively long stretches (of a discourse, i.e. 'planes') in such a way that certain elements in one stretch are repeated in another, while other elements are novel each time (513)... One plane is not just a summary of another. Each plane has a few items in common with the others, but each at the same time has items in which it differs from some or all of the others. The items that it shares are those that are highlighted..., and the ones that are not held in common are the partially different contexts that provide the relief (516-7)... Each plane of an overlay after the first has a certain minimum of information that has already been given... the new information that is introduced is predictably within the same referential field - setting, time line, and cast of characters - that was established the first time around (520)."

From these excerpts can be derived the essential features of an overlay: it consists of a repetition of event sequences (planes); these repetitions are selective, that is, not all of the events are repeated each time, while new events may be introduced into a sequence; and the primary function of this rhetorical device (at least in the data under consideration) is to highlight a particular core of information, i.e. that which is repeated more or less exactly throughout the overlay.

1.2 'Expansible image' is the term employed by Harold Scheub to refer to this particular discourse phenomenon. He defines it thus:

"The basic element of the tradition and the center of the ntsomi (oral narrative) is the core-cliche (a song, chant, or saying) which, with a few related details, forms the remembered 'core image,' a distillate of the full performance which is 'expanded' and fleshed out during the actual process of externalization" (Scheub, 1970, p.122).

An 'image' is further described as:

"a visualized action or set of actions evoked in the minds of the audience by verbal and non-verbal elements arranged by the performer, requiring a common experience of images held by both artist and audience, the artist seeking by a judicious and artistic use of images to shape that experience and to give it meaning" (Scheub, 1975, p.353)."
In the narrative model consisting of an expansible image,

"a basic image-set is established (a combination of core-cliche and associated details), and then it is repeated -- again and again. The image is thereby etched into the imaginations of the actively involved members of the audience, and the plot is thus moved along, steadily, toward that point at which the performer will slightly alter the image-set in order to bring the performance to a resolution, or to move it into another narrative-image. The model is created, it is repeated, and in the repetition (and, usually, a slight alteration within one of the repeated segments of the narrative) the point of the performance is generated" (op. cit., p.362).

These quotes reveal an important difference from Grimes' concept of the overlay. In an expansible image, the repeated event series are not viewed as being static 'planes,' one of which is stacked upon another to represent by 'composite projection' a single sequence of events' (Grimes, 1972a, p.520). Each serial repetition, then, is not structured like a 'time loop' in which at the beginning of a new plane 'the time reference jumps back to the beginning and goes over the same ground a second time' (op. cit., p.517).

Rather, in Xhosa and Zulu narratives (which form the basis for Scheub's definition)*, an overlay is observed to be a dynamic characteristic of the development of a story@. The plot is either slowly inched along or rapidly hurtled forward (depending on the specific narrative context) as the series of core events is being repeated. The cast and the setting may or may not change in the process, but time marches steadily onward. Along with this essential difference in the nature of lexical recycling is a corresponding change in the evaluation of its particular function in discourse. 'Highlighting' is also involved, but so is a lot more, particularly with respect to the plot development. Some of the prominent narrative functions of this discourse feature will be discussed in section 4 below.

1.30 Elements of both of the above descriptions (and the theory behind them) will serve as a basis for the definition of lexical recycling in Chewa narratives, Grimes primarily for the formal aspects of the analysis and Scheub for those of a more functional nature*.

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* These narratives are quite similar to those told by the Chewa people; the languages all belong to the same Bantu family.

@ We do not wish to imply that Grimes was incorrect in his analysis. For the texts he considered, his definition certainly applies. We merely want to point out that in Chewa narratives, we are dealing with a different type of overlay, one that necessitates an expansion of his original insight.
In the analysis of any item of art, a concentration on formal description to the exclusion of function can be misleading. It is difficult to completely understand and appreciate the one without the other. Form and function are inseparably related in the creation of an aesthetic response to art (whether that be verbal or any other), and hence one is best studied in the contextual framework of the other. In this paper, the focus of attention will be on linguistic form, but matters of function (especially dramatic) will occasionally be drawn into the discussion as they are seen to apply.

1.31 Lexical recycling, a distinctive feature of one organizational model in Chewa discourse*, can be generally described as a repeated, chronologically-ordered 'overlaying' of a series of closely-related events that function in the development of a narrative plot. Following

* This is the 'least complex' of the three models posited by Scheub (1975) as constituting the narrative system of the Xhosa people. The other two are: (i) patterned image sets in which one expansible image is juxtaposed with another to which it is externally similar, but at the same time different in certain key elements, the contrasts, by reflection, providing the point of the performance (p.16); and (ii) parallel image sets in which a realistic set of images is placed against a fantastic set (involving supernatural events, mysterious, non-human creatures, and personified animal characters) to create a metaphoric tension in which the elements of theme reside (p.20).

Grimes, we will call the entire unit an overlay (= 0) and the repeated event sequences of which it is composed cycles (= C). We replace the term 'plane' in an attempt to reflect the dynamic, forward progression of the plot that each cycle fosters. In addition, each cycle may be further decomposed into a number of event stages (= S)*. Thus, a cycle

* See diagram A (1.32) for a schematic representation of each of the two overlays of the narrative K2 (reproduced in the appendix). The numbers in parentheses refer to the ordering of clauses in that story; (LP) signifies the beginning of a new logical paragraph. The principal characteristics of overlay structure at this point and throughout the paper are illustrated for the most part in terms of K2. These same features, of course, are also found in the other narratives examined, but since these texts could not be reproduced for reference, examples taken from them are kept to a minimum. Time did not allow for an in-depth study of the lexical structure, in particular the degree of synonomy reflected by corresponding stages in successive cycles as well as the amount of variation in the pre-stem personal and tense/aspect verbal affixes. It was evident, however, that the key repeated actions of a cycle were usually represented by the same lexical form (though the various affixes often differed).
represents one ordered repetition of its constituent stages. The various stages normally occur in relatively fixed sequence throughout a given cycle, and major alterations can be explained either as performance 'errors' (e.g. $O_B C_1$ where the performer began with the wrong animal in the series - not indicated in the translation) or as being of some discourse significance (e.g. $O_B C_4 S_c$ where the Timba bird goes off to see a herbalist.) The presence of certain of the stages is optional, the number ranging from one in $O_A C_3$ (i.e. $S_f$: the implicit arrival of the wild pigeon at the chief's village) to all but the first in $O_A C_3$ (here, the whole event sequence is left implicit through the use of a single anaphoric reference to the previous cycles).

There is a tendency, though certainly not a predisposition, for the first and the last cycles to be the most developed, with an increasing amount of implicit information being manifested by the medical cycles. An overlay often begins with some introductory information to 'set the stage', and this is included as part of the first cycle, e.g. $O_B$ (81-5). If the last stage of the final cycle represents a major climax of the story, a short, concluding resolution may be considered as part of that overlay, e.g. $O_B$ (296-8). Additional background information may also be incorporated into any stage of a cycle; some cycles seem to have a fixed 'slot' in the sequence for doing this (e.g. $K_1$, the second stage of the cycle), while in others, the extra material is introduced just about anywhere (e.g. $K_0$, $O_B$). This may involve: narrator comments ($O_B C_1 S_d$/$g/h$; $O_B C_2 S_f/h$; $O_B C_3 S_b$) - explanatory and descriptive material ($O_A C_4 S_a$), which may be a preview of events to come ($O_A C_3 S_b$ here, the song functions as an actual command to set in motion the following stages) - or direct speech: monologue ($O_B C_1 S_a$; $O_B C_3 S_a$) or dialogue ($O_B C_4 S_b$). Occasionally, another event or two will be added to a cycle, and, again, this will have some wider significance to the development of the plot, e.g. $O_B C_3 S_h$ - the inclusion serves to focus on the source of the conflict, the woman, and is at the same time an allusive reflection to the first overlay, $C_4$. Overlay $B$ of $K_2$ featured something which is not very common in this narrative model, that is, the incorporation of an entire episode as part of the final cycle (i.e. Timba goes to obtain protective charms from the herbalist). This had an important discourse function which will be described in section 4.

There is a difference in the constituent structure of $O_A$ as compared with $O_B$ in $K_2$. In $A$, each cycle corresponds to a logical paragraph (LP - to be explained in section 3.), and the four taken together form a logical episode*. In $O_B$, on the other hand, each cycle is made up of a number of LPs, from three to five, and comprises an episode by itself. The four together constitute a chapter, which is the next largest semantic grouping in discourse.

* An episode may be defined as a close-knit temporal sequence of logical paragraphs that manifest a mini-plot structure of: (i) introduction, (ii) conflict/goal/lack, (iii) climax/accomplishment/lack liquidated, and (iv) conclusion, the means being obligatory and the extremes optional elements of the whole. It is also characterized by a unity of purpose and 'focus' throughout (Callow, 1974, p.25).
An episode, then, could potentially stand by itself as a complete story with the required conflict, peak point, and resolution. As a functional part of a larger semantic structure (chapter or discourse), however, a number of subordinating operations have been applied to it (e.g. connectives, cohesive system alteration, elimination of redundancies and non-thematic materials, etc.) which have influenced its surface realization.

1.32 Diagram A: Summary of the Constituent Structure of Overlays A & B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>OVERLAY A: Cycle 1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Introduction (LP) (23-6)</td>
<td>(LP)</td>
<td>(LP)</td>
<td>(LP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hunting trip to bush and return</td>
<td>another begins (35)</td>
<td>and another begins (42-3)</td>
<td>description of wife (44-8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one man begins (27)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>of wife 'hero' begins (49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>SONG (28)</td>
<td>SONG (36)</td>
<td></td>
<td>SONG (50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>wife appears (29)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wife appears (51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>she walks (30)</td>
<td>wife comes (37)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>she arrives (31)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>she bends at the knee (32)</td>
<td>she bends at knees (39)</td>
<td></td>
<td>she bends at knees; beautiful! Climax (52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>she receives the game (33)</td>
<td>she receives (38)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>she returns (34)</td>
<td>she goes (40-1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Conclusion (53-9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

companions are jealous.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>OVERLAY B: Cycle 1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>(LP) Introduction (81-5)</td>
<td>(LP) man thinks (86-91)</td>
<td>(LP) man thinks (116)</td>
<td>(LP) man thinks (145-6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>man discovers that his wife is gone</td>
<td>man thinks about what to do</td>
<td>(LP) man continues to think</td>
<td>(LP) man thinks (184-6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>he decides to send (92-103) red ants; outlines plan of attack</td>
<td>speech of Mthengu bird</td>
<td>he decides to send wild pigeon; dialogue; comment</td>
<td>Timba bird comes (187-212) dialogue; contract with the man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>he sends the red (104) ants</td>
<td>he sends Mthengu (117-26)</td>
<td>Mthengu is on the way</td>
<td>Timba goes to herbalist (LP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>he sends wild pigeon</td>
<td></td>
<td>Timba arrives</td>
<td>Timba returns (LP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>he sends the (108) ants</td>
<td>he sends Mthengu (127)</td>
<td>wild pigeon is (128)</td>
<td>Timba goes (213-260)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ants are on the way; comment</td>
<td></td>
<td>wild pigeon is on the way</td>
<td>Timba is on the way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>Mthengu is on the way</td>
<td></td>
<td>Timba is on the way</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>man sings SONG (109-11)</td>
<td>man sings SONG (129-31)</td>
<td>man sings SONG (165-6)</td>
<td>man sings SONG (273-5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>(LP) ants arrive (108)</td>
<td>(LP) Mthengu (132-6)</td>
<td>(LP) Timba (137-9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arrives; comment</td>
<td></td>
<td>wild pigeon (169-73)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>chief waves whisk (112-13) comment</td>
<td>chief waves whisk (137-9)</td>
<td>chief waves whisk (169-73)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Climax - Chief (280-90)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Timba removes shell; woman → tree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(140-4) comment</td>
<td></td>
<td>(LP) Resolution (296-8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Timba returns and gives shell to man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.0 In this section we will outline the major discourse-related aspects of the particular theory of language that underlies the present analysis of Chewa narratives*. This is intended to summarize some of the more important general principles which provide a framework for the proposed explanations and interpretations of the specific discourse phenomena selected as the subject of this study.

* These concepts are based on the linguistic theory known as Generative Semantics as extended to the analysis of entire discourse by Richard Rhodes. For further information on Generative-Semantic theory and practice, see Frantz (1974), Grimes (1970, 1972a, 1972b, 1972c), Lakoff (1971), and McCawley (1970, 1973). These studies, except for the work of Joseph Grimes, have for the most part restricted their attention to the linguistic level of the sentence and below.

2.1 The generation of oral narrative is seen as a dynamically-creative process which can be factored into a number of ordered stages or levels, some of which are under the conscious control of the narrator, while others are not (they all, however, take place virtually simultaneously in the actual production)*. A multi-phased logical strategy for the organization of semantic units (which is, in part, culturally defined) lies at the base of this genesis. Its unique realization is subsequently effected by the lexical and syntactic process of language which act at convert semantic structures into a linear stream of morphemes that is ultimately realized in the phonetic segments of speech.

* It was not possible to treat in this study other important, but non-linguistic, factors that influence the narrative process, e.g. the entire oral tradition of the Chewa, the contemporary situation and cultural context, the social and personal interactions between the performer and the members of the audience, etc. As yet, no semiotic theory, with the possible exception of Ken Pike's Tagmemic system (Pike, 1967), has emerged that combines these diverse aspects along with the linguistic into a unified approach to the analysis of verbal art.

2.2 The conceptual 'raw material' from which discourses, or any other meaningful utterances, are developed originates in a people's total 'universe' of perceptual and cognitive experience. This remains an unstructured 'chaos' until given logical form in the basic building-blocks of human thought, usually referred to as propositions by logicians*. Within this potentially infinite store of semantic material,

* For a short introduction to the study of propositions and their constituent elements, predicates (events, qualities, classifiers, re-
lations, etc.) and arguments (or 'topics', i.e. what one is thinking/talking/writing about), see Frantz (1974) pp.1-9. I wish to thank Dr. Frantz for giving me an excellent personal introduction to the field of Generative-Semantics in a course taught at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Univ. of North Dakota (1975).

there are certain propositions which seem to have a particular affinity for each other in the thinking of a linguistic community and, hence, tend to co-occur with great regularity. Such groups of propositions may be related for any number of socio-cultural reasons (e.g. physical environment, religion, social structure, economic activity, government, and so on). But the ones that especially interest us here are those which are frequently arranged together to form the pool of remembered and repeated motifs (Thompson, 1955) and plot components (stock characters, settings, props, supernatural objects, dei ex machina, etc.) that comprise a given society's narrative tradition. These clusters of closely related narrative propositions, also termed 'core images' (Scheub, 1970, p.119) or 'tale types' (Thompson, 1961), form the inventory of elemental units which a performer draws upon in the composition of a story. Employing a mental 'cueing and scanning' process (Scheub, 1970, p.128-9), the teller selects from the vast store of narrative tradition those elements of content that are appropriate for his*

* To avoid undue complexity, I will arbitrarily refer to all performers with the masculine gender. It should be noted, however, that in the Chewa society where these narratives were collected, women played just as much a part in the proceedings as men.

purpose on the occasion*. These are organized conceptually into an all-inclusive propositional framework, one proposition being related to another and each at a specific level of prominence with respect to a governing theme-line, that is, the logically-ordered sequence of event propositions (i.e. action predicates and their related arguments) that compose a plot.

* Among the various functions of oral narratives in Chewa society could be mentioned the following: didactic/informative, entertaining, commentative (e.g. on personal or social conditions and/or culture change), normative (a means of social control), compensatory (psychological 'escape' mechanism), affirmatory (validates various cultural values, institutions, traditions, etc.), and expressive (common and individual fears, beliefs, hopes, opinions, artistic creativity, etc.).

2.30 A more abstract organizing strategy which governs the formation of this narrative propositional structure is similar in its essential aspects to one found throughout the world. This 'universal' pattern, variously termed 'dramatic' or 'rhetorical' organization (cf. Longacre in Brend, 1974, p.364; Callow, 1974, pp.26ff.), has to do with the
fundamental groupings of plot, that is, the largest logical constitu­ents of what is considered by the speakers of a language to be a 'well-formed' story. The following four abstract structures are proposed as the underlying dramatic units of the Chewa narratives under consider­ation: Introduction, Development, Climax, and Resolution* (the first and last being optional).

* This is just a sketchy presentation of some of the more obvious features and is not definitive in any way. A great deal of investi­gation remains to be done in this area, both in accurately describing these larger logical structures, and in accounting for their reali­zation in the narrative surface.

2.31 In a short Introduction, the narrator sets the stage for the action to follow. This offers the greatest concentration of 'new' information in the entire discourse: time, place, characters, rela­tionships, and perhaps even a preview of the main problem (as in K2 - the man who has no wife). All this is then assumed to be 'known' for the remainder of the story and in the case of nouns is marked as such by the referential demonstrative -ja 'that one referred to'. The Intro­duction, as realized in the narrative surface, is always prefaced by a formulaic discourse 'opener', such as: ndiye kuti (K2) 'and so (it is said) that...'; anangotele 'they told it in precisely this way...'; panali panali 'it was, it was...'; among many other variations. The main character is as a rule introduced in predicate position in the first noun phrase, and the initial presentation of the other participants follows this same pattern. Verb tenses in the Introduction are often marked as non-thematic by involving some form of the copula, -li, either alone with a predicate noun, or in a past periphrastic construction (-naliku- 'was/were...ing'). /K2, 1-11/

2.32 The Development, which is the most lengthy unit of the plot, creates and sustains the basic conflict or conflicts of the story: a lack to be supplied, a wrong to be righted, a goal to be achieved, a calamity to be avoided. There is usually a lot of spatial movement on the part of the characters and resultant scene changes. Additional de­scriptive and explanatory information may be included in the earlier portions of the Development or at the onset of a new overlay pattern, but this type of material thins out once the conflict really gets going. For the particular narrative type under study here, lexical recycling in the form of overlays is the characteristic way of arranging and presenting the details of the main conflict as it builds up to the Climax of the discourse. The repeated cycles of an overlay, then, function as another logical organizing strategy that operates within the larger structuring imposed by the plot and its parts. /K2, 12-275/

2.33 The Climax, of course, is the emotive high point of the plot, the dramatic confrontation of hero and villain or hero and obstacle that represents the peak of the developing conflict. All the chief characters are involved in the action in one way or another, and so there is a 'crowded stage'*. As in many other languages, the Climax is often quite
* Longacre in Brend, 1974, p.366. An example of what Longacre terms 'rhetorical underlining' (op. cit., p.367), i.e. 'paraphrase, and tautologies of various sorts to be sure you don't miss the point', is the narrator's comment just before the Timba bird pulls out the shell (K2, 286-90).

well marked in the surface structure, the most notable signals being (a) the fact that it occurs as the conclusion to or immediately following the final cycle of an overlay; (b) the use of ideophones* in place of regular verb forms; and (c) a decided preference for short, paratactic clauses. /K2, 276-295/

* Ideophones (id.) of four different functional types were distinguished in K2:
a) descriptive (background), e.g. khaale 'doing nothing' (46);
b) action (thematic), e.g. fiikuu 'arrive' (31);
c) combination of a and b, e.g. gede 'walk - with object on the head' (30);
d) speech/action introducer, e.g. imvekele 'he (chief) acts...' (137), amvekele 'he (man) sounds forth...' (191).

2.34 The Resolution, which in many cases is very short, gives the final result of the story or a last comment on the action of the plot and its participants, occasionally in the form of a moral or proverb. As in the Climax, the clauses remain short and to the point, and there is little non-thematic material introduced. Areas of Resolution, whether of an episode (e.g. 290 ff.) or of the discourse as a whole (e.g. 320 ff.), are further characterized by an apparent 'telescoping' of scenes and events. Regular paragraph markers, such as tsono and ndiye, fall away, and material that in previous sections of the discourse would be realized as two or more paragraphs, is packaged together into one. There is a much greater dependency on the situational context to provide participant reference, that is, the use of nominal and distinctive pronominal forms is kept to a minimum (e.g. 321, 324, 326, 336).

'The story of K2 also illustrates a device common in extended narratives: an entirely new plot is linked up with the previous one to continue the story. In this particular instance, a greatly reduced narrative is juxtaposed to the original Resolution to constitute a comparatively lengthy, appositional 'comment' on the plot that has just ended. Paralleling the discourse 'opener' is a fixed Finis that marks the ending of the story, e.g. K2: ndiye mwambi uyu ndi-mo unathera 'as for this story, that's how it ended!' A proverbial ending commonly used throughout the area of research was this: mphike dzungu - gwa! mphike mwala - loshu! 'cook a pumpkin and it's hard (id.) - cook a rock and it's soft (id.)!' /K2, 296-346/

2.40 The result of these conceptual organizing strategies (a number of others, no doubt, might have been mentioned) is the complete logical
structure ('content') of a discourse. This consists of semantically-related pairs* and larger groupings of propositions, cohesively arranged to form a theme-line which runs as a unifying thread throughout the whole. The propositional theme-line represents two distinct, yet inter-

* Various schemes for classifying the logical relations between two propositions (i.e. for organizing the content of discourse) have been proposed: some of the more important of these systems are: Beekman and Callow, 1974, pp.267-312; Hollenbach, 1975, pp.4-5; Grimes, 1972a, pp.514-6; Longacre, 1972, pp.51-92; and Nida, 1975, pp.50-65. The particular type of relationship joining two propositions is indicated by an abstract 'relator', which will encode a specific syntactic construction in the surface structure to represent that relationship.

dependent sub-systems, relating to predicates and arguments respectively, each having its own devices for indicating variations in the prominence value of constituents and for distinguishing between new and old information (i.e. introduction of and subsequent reference to 'news' that has not or has been mentioned before in the discourse).

2.41 The predicate sub-system comprises the event-line, which forms the backbone of the theme-line, and background material. The event-line is the temporally-oriented sequence of independent action predicates which the narrator has chosen to present the plot of his story. Each event-line predicate forms the nucleus of a thematic proposition. All predicates that are in some way dependent upon the time-based predicates are classified as part of what is collectively termed 'background'. This includes

* "If (a clause/proposition) reports an event in the event series (that develops a plot), occurring in chronological sequence, it is thematic (i.e. part of the event-line); if it reports anything else, it is background." Background may be further classified (semantically) into descriptions, explanations, summaries, conclusions, personal comments, identifications, flashbacks, and the content of speech acts (whether actually spoken or imagined). (Callow, 1974, pp.55-7)

"Background information is...either general information that is independent of time; or else it refers to events that place outside the event sequence, but relate to it in some way. In either case it may be deleted without disturbing the rest of the narrative, or else it can be expressed at any one of a number of points without affecting anything else." (Grimes and Glock, 1970, pp.420-1)

those predicates, which though they represent a 'real-world' event, yet for one reason or another (generally a prominence factor) the speaker chose not to represent them as having taken place on the event-line*.

* Since the nature of human thought is basically associative, rather than chronological, the strict reordering of all event predicates into a temporal sequence (i.e. event-line) is viewed as being an idealization,
a convenient conceptualization, of the true logical structure it is intended to represent. It is doubtful, therefore, that any such structure ever exists in the organization of a discourse. Such a 'reconstruction', a 'virtual' event-line to borrow a term from optics, is actually somewhat of a distortion, for it 'washes out' much of the prominence-specifying features of discourse, especially in the argument structure. I am indebted to Richard Rhodes for this observation.

2.42 The argument sub-system, which is dependent upon its predicate counterpart, is considered to revolve around a topic-line of 'subject' arguments (i.e. 'what I'm talking about') that runs successively through both thematic and non-thematic propositions. The topic-line is influenced by the arrangement of old and new information in the discourse, an organizational strategy which encompasses both predicate and argument sub-systems, but the latter in particular. The topic-line is defined primarily according to the particular orientation of semantic functions the arguments have with respect to the predicates they are associated with (frequently termed 'case' relations, i.e. Agent, Experiencer, Source, Goal, etc.)*. Superimposed upon this topical organization will be another that is related to the particular emphasis that a speaker wishes to give to the propositional arguments, i.e. focal ('this is important information') vs. non-focal (cf. discussion of tsono and ndiye in section 3.51).

* This will be further elucidated when the subject of participant roles is considered in section 3.30. It is the conjunction of these arguments and their associated predicates 'that tend to carry the burden of specific cognitive and emotive content in discourses.' (Grimes, 1972a, p. 514)

2.43 The propositional structure as outlined above can be represented in the form of a multi-branching network in which the continuous center line, or 'stem', corresponds to the event-line from which the numerous offshoots of non-thematic materials extend in varying lengths and complexity (cf. diagram B below). That is how the content of the narrative is constructed, so to speak, in the artist's mind. In order for it to be communicated verbally, however, this complex of information can not remain in such a form, at least not overtly. It must be transformed into a linear string of morphemes and morpheme combinations to be transmitted.

2.5 It is at this point, then, that the realizational tactics of a language take over (some of which are 'universal', other 'language-specific'), whereby the underlying logical structures are progressively 'mapped' onto a series of intermediate structures to ultimately form the surface structure through the application of a sequence of ordered syntactic and lexical derivational rules and processes (Frantz, 1974, pp. 10-13). The content of discourse is thus arranged into basically two overlapping surface frameworks that correspond to the underlying dichotomy between predicate and argument structures in the logical organization of propositions. First there is the verbal structure which
features the realization of the event-line as an ordered sequence of independent, predicated action verbs (syntactically marked) in contrast to the background material that is encoded in various types of dependent constructions (including dependency markers). And secondly, there is the nominal structure in which full noun phrases and distinctive pronominal forms are normally employed only to indicate topic ('topicalization') and focus, or to eliminate instances of potential ambiguity.

* In contrast to the surface realization of predicates, which is relatively straightforward, the techniques for analyzing the realization of the argument structure in discourse are still in a rudimentary stage of development. It was not possible to work up a satisfactory system for application in this study, and so not much is said about the subject.

The resultant syntactic surface structure "marks" in various ways the key elements and inter-relationships of the units of the underlying logical structure, the relative importance value assigned to the information being communicated, and its rate of flow (i.e. the number of new semantic units being conveyed per clause; Callow, 1974, pp.69-70). To this the normal phonological rules of the language are applied, and the final product is a syntactically and morphologically-structured flow of sounds - the narrative as it is spoken and heard. Various selectional options are exercised at each stage of the narrative process (many subconsciously) to give the general organization of the message, as influenced both by language and tradition, an individual style* and aesthetic quality that makes it a unique artistic creation.

* Within the framework of Generative-Semantics, one might distinguish between 'deep' style, which is the product of a narrator's artistic manipulation of the underlying organizing strategies of discourse to create a distinctive theme-line (within the logical structure), and 'surface' style, which is reflected in his selection of certain optional transformational rules and choice of lexical items to derive an original surface structure as realized in the speech-event.

(See the next page for a schematic diagram of the generation of discourse (suggested by Richard Rhodes.))

2.6 Some of the ways in which the larger logical structures of Chewa discourse (especially paragraphs) are ordered, grouped, linked, emphasized, and finally realized by the syntax of the language forms the subject of the discussion in section three. Particular attention will be given to the relationships that these structures have to the cyclic overlay patterns with which they co-occur.
Diagram B: The Generation of Discourse (a segment of K2)  

[0 = proposition/clause  c = connector]

Organization Strategy

themes

logic realization tactics

inter-sentential connectors

level of abstraction

'chaos' of ideas

notifs

'core images'

Logical Structure (propositional framework)

lexical & syntactic

derivational

derivational

rules and processes

phonological rules and processes

Surface Structure (morpheme strings)

stock

core cliches

characters

core images

props

plot elements

plot structure

prominence

information structure

Note: L.S. propositions on the theme line link in at least two directions, up to the preceding prop. and down to the following prop. The particular nature of the relationship is indicated by the connector, or 'operator', that joins them. Additional linkages may be made to the right or to the left with the various types of background information.
THE DEMARCATION OF LOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC PARAGRAPHS

3.0 In section 1, overlays were identified on the basis of repeated patterns of lexical recycling, specifically, sets of significant events. In the present unit, they will be analyzed primarily in terms of their constituent logical paragraphs (LP), which, when considered together with the individual sentences and clauses that compose them, appear to be the structures of greatest immediate relevance to the study of discourse as a whole*. LPs may be demarcated, then,

* Other levels of grammatical and semantic structures are, of course, also taken into account in the analysis, but only as they specifically apply to the defining of paragraph units.

according to the principles and procedures described in the following sections*.

* Time did not allow for even a partial propositional analysis to be carried out on a narrative text. The results of such a detailed study would be of great service in either confirming or disproving the analysis offered here.

3.10 As has already been indicated, the logical strategy of recycling lexically-related groups or propositions, under the governance of the oral tradition, plays a major role in the organization of Chewa narrative discourse. For this reason, it is proposed that the places where these overlays and their cycles begin and end form the natural boundaries of larger logical structures in any given text. That is, wherever the posited series of events (stages)* that comprise an individual cycle is initiated or terminated, that point may be said to constitute the beginning or end of a logical unit. For example, in K2 clause 114 states the fact of the red ants' death; this is the last stage in the succession for each cycle of overlay B. In the next event clause, the man again begins thinking about what to do; this is the initial stage of the series. Thus, a logical boundary is established between these two stages, immediately after the non-event clause (115) which comments on the previous action.

* As was mentioned in section 1, such stages are determined by examining the overall clause structure of each cycle in an overlay and then comparing it with the others in terms of event repetition. The results of similar analyses made on the corresponding Overlays of different versions of the same story are used as secondary evidence in the postulation of these groupings.

3.11 But structuring the text by means of the cyclic patterns of lexical repetition is only a rough first step in the analysis. For one
thing, the procedure does not indicate whether the boundaries so posited correspond to logical paragraphs or larger units, such as a logical episode. Secondly, it is often the case that a narrative will contain larger chunks of event and background material which clearly do not fall within the bounds of a particular narrative cycle. Instances of this in the text K2 would be: the introductory paragraph in which the various members of the cast are introduced and the stage is set for the conflict to follow (2-11); the account of the kidnapping of the woman (60-80); or the story of the man's attempts to acquire a lion's tail (299-346)*. And

* This episode, were it presented as a separate narrative, has a definite potential for encoding in an overlay pattern, i.e. each repeated try for a tail being a new cycle. However, I do not have any recordings of this story in isolation.

finally, any cycle may contain 'new' information (normally background) that is incorporated within its bounds. A good example of this, and one which illustrates the possible length and complexity of the inclusion, is found in the final cycle of overlay B (K2). Here, the episode of the Timba bird's successful procurement of protective charms is related in detail, and the whole section (212-260) is sandwiched in between stages b and c of that cycle. Thus, the above general criterion for establishing the boundaries of logical units must be supplemented by a number of finer distinctions.

3.12 The procedure which gave the best results in the analysis of these narratives took the criteria of shifts in participant role and setting in conjunction with that of the overlay patterns as a complex of variables which were assumed to be significant in the demarcation of LP boundaries. The general principle followed was this: whenever there was an alteration in two of these variables, either in cycle, role, or setting, that was the occasion for beginning a new LP. Due to the function of markers such as ndiye and tsono (discussed in 3.5lf.) to signal to the audience the onset of a larger conceptual unit, it was not deemed necessary to add the requirement that the full complement of the logical shifts operating in a given instance be represented in the first sentence of the new paragraph. Especially in the case of role changes, it was found that due to the initial insertion of some background information, these were not always fully realized until a few sentences away from the start of a logical unit.

After a more detailed discussion of each of these paragraph-relevant logical shifts, some specific examples from K2 will be provided to demonstrate how they interact to precipitate a new LP in discourse.

3.20 Alterations of the discourse setting involve shifts in either space and/or time. Of these two, the former gave evidence of being considerably more important as a distinguishing feature of LPs in Chewa narrative.

3.21 An explicit break in the time setting was of relatively infrequent occurrence in the corpus of texts studied. A temporal shift
was considered to be unambiguous (and consequently of value as a 'logical shift' criterion) only if a specific time margin appeared (e.g. phrase: *tsiku lina* 'one day' (K2/12, 23); *kawili* 'a second time', *ulendo waicitatu* 'the third journey' (K3); clause: 'Now it was the turn of the last one' (K2/44); 'After the husband arrived' (K2/81)). There was a tendency for overt temporal changes to be stated largely at the beginning of a story and the Development section. But as the account progressed, time distinctions became more and more implicit (note especially the Resolution of K2) and, as a result, were of little help in fixing LP boundaries.

3.22 Shifts in the spatial setting are nearly always dependent upon some manner of repeated physical movement by the story's major participants (i.e. those that appear over a space of more than one episode of the discourse). There is a close and, at times, complex interrelationship between the actual scene of the action, the motion away from that scene to a new location and back again, and the principal agents who are doing the travelling as well as performing the actions in between moves. All of these aspects of scene changes are, in turn, governed by the patterns of lexical recycling when the alterations occur within overlays. A number of the observed combinations of these factors and their relation to the boundaries of logical units in discourse will be described below. This subject deserves an intensive study in itself before some reliable generalizations can be drawn, but it is hoped that the following tentative observations regarding several of the least complex types will serve to indicate the chief items that will have to be taken into account in any attempted formalization of the movements of participants in discourse.

3.23 A spatial shift is initiated by the movement of one or more of the major participants away from a specified location, normally the home of the 'hero' or a place where a number of character interactions have taken place. A new logical unit (paragraph or larger) often begins at this point, depending on the particular orientation of participant roles (cf. section 3.30f. below) that is in effect at the time of movement, e.g. K2: the man leaves his village to hunt in the bush (2, 23); his friends go to complain to the chief (60); the Timba bird flies off to see a herbalist (213). The change in scene is fully complete when the characters arrive at the new location.

Important events encoded in the form of overlays may occur on route to a new setting, however, and this will naturally segment the journey into a number of LPs. In K4, for example, the murder of a man's favorite wife by her jealous co-wife prevents the funeral train from proceeding to the grave except by stages, each of which is occasioned by the song of the dead woman's daughter. In K8, a man returning to the village after murdering his friend in the bush, repeatedly stops to try and kill the dead man's dog, which is following along while singing a song that reveals the murder.

When the arrival at a new setting* (or shortly thereafter) coincides with a change in the cast and their respective functional roles, or with some action of significance to the plot, another logical unit will begin, e.g. the servants of the chief come to the man's
village to steal his wife (K2/71); the various animals arrive at the chief's village in order to regain the shell ($C_1 - 4S_f$).

* The discourse as a whole will often have a locus of spatial orientation, generally the position of the main protagonist or his home. Movements toward or away from this spot may be optionally indicated by verbal aspectual prefixes, i.e. -dza- 'come and...' and -ka- 'go and...' respectively. Alternatively, locative referential pronouns may be used, e.g. 'over here' (109), where the hero is, or 'over there' (108), where he is not.

In relatively rare instances, nothing of importance occurs at the new scene, but the participants simply return again to the original starting point. Consequently, there is no grounds for positing a new logical unit. An example of this is found in the K2 narrative where, as part of the background information of the first Cycle, it is stated that the man and his companions go to the bush where he kills more game than anyone else, and then they all come back (23-5). At this juncture, the cycle proper begins.

3.24 The most common type of situation in the narratives analyzed was for the motion away from a setting to begin a logical unit larger than the paragraph*, and for the corresponding movement back to complete that section. This might be termed 'bounding' movement, for it clearly sets the boundaries of the episode. In the span between such larger 'out and in' movements, a number of LPs will be found to occur, as determined by the previously mentioned 'double-shift' principle. In K2, the non-cyclic transitional section between the first and second overlays is 'framed' by the movement of the man to and from the bush (the outward journey is implicit, being mentioned as background information in (72)). In between, several paragraphs relate the development of the main conflict in the chief's kidnapping of his wife. In K6, a group of girls go to a stream for water. They are entertained all day by a troupe of dancing frogs and return late at night to be soundly beaten by their husbands. Here, the back-and-forth movement corresponds to one complete cycle of an overlay, which is equivalent, in this case, to an episode. A similar pattern is observed in K3 where a band of children's terrifying experience at a flooded river (they have to be flown across by a big bird) is bounded by their movement to and from the family garden.

In some stories, the return journey is merely implied, and the episode ends when the traveller is prevented from completing the round
trip. This is the case in the first three cycles of overlay B in K2 where the variation is an important part of the gradual build-up of tension as the plot moves toward its climax. The repeated abortive forays, in which the animals sent to recover the man's shell are successively thwarted by the chief's magic, provides the relief that accentuates the dramatic turn of events in the final cycle.

Another noteworthy variation is illustrated in K4 (of previous page) where the return of wife number one from the stream to her house initiates a new section instead of terminating the previous one. This alteration in the basic pattern can be explained by the shift in focus that takes place after she leaves home. The spotlight switches to her fellow co-wife who puts poison in her food. The woman's return, then, begins the swift series of events leading up to her death as a result of the poison.

In contrast to the bounding movement described above is 'bounded' movement, which does not encompass a logical unit, but rather is 'contained' as an integral element within a narrative cycle. Bounded movement does not really involve a scene shift; it occurs within the same general setting. There is an example of this in each cycle of overlay A in K2, where two internal stages describe the motion of a woman out from the house to receive game from her husband and back again. In K5, the first stage of every cycle tells of a mother's journey out to the fields, and the final stage is occasioned by her return. In between, however, several bounded movements arise within LPs when a girl enters the kitchen to remove a boiling cooking pot but is prevented from doing so by a mischievous mouse, who forces her outside again. These incidents are put to an end when the mother returns from her work.

The manner in which these shifts in the spatial setting interact with the characters involved to define LP units will be more fully discussed in 3.40 after the following section which describes the various functional roles of participants in Chewa narratives.

3.30 The final primary factor serving to demarcate LPs in discourse is that of participant orientation*. It is hypothesized that an important element in the triggering of LPs is the succession of role permutations which occur throughout a narrative. Three principle situational role slots are posited on the LP level: Initiator, Reactor, and Tertiary (Grimes, 1972c, p.97). Any one of these may, on occasion, consist of a group of characters, but they are represented as acting as a unit within the given paragraph, e.g. K2, the man's companions (60); the servants of the chief (71).

* The original idea of analyzing a discourse in these terms came from Joseph Grimes' article, 'Participant Orientation', which is a modification of the initial work done in this field by Ivan Lowe and Mary Ruth Wise (1972). The present treatment is a further adaption designed to facilitate handling the increased complexities of a longer and more involved discourse, i.e. K2. No doubt, others more familiar with the concept of group permutations and the application to discourse analysis could make the methodology work satisfactorily on
this text. But, for the purposes of this paper, a much simpler
approach was found to be adequate.

Obviously, an oral narrative cannot involve a 'cast of thousands'. In
fact, if more than two or three major participants were to interact,
the referential machinery required in speech to keep them all straight
would get so cumbersome that either the audience would have great dif-
culty in following along, especially the character oppositions being
developed on an underlying, thematic level, or they would quickly get
bored.

3.31 The Initiator (I) is the participant (Protagonist) who sets
things in motion, so to speak, and then keeps the ball rolling. He
characteristically 'initiates' the action throughout a group of sequen-
tially-related clauses. His normal 'case' function on the clause level
is that of Agent, Experiencer, or Source (cf. Fillmore, 1971, pp.42-3;
Frantz, 1974, p.9). The Reactor (R) is the character (Antagonist) who
responds to the actions of the Initiator. He, too, may act as the Agent
of a clause, but only in response to something the Initiator has said or
done. The Reactor is further distinguished as having a greater tend-
ency to fill the cases of Object, Patient, or Goal. Tertiary (T) parti-
cipants are those who happen to be on the scene, but play no significant
part in the action over the span of time covered by the paragraph*.

* In certain sections of the narrative (or, at times, in an entire dis-
course), especially in areas of direct physical competition, the pre-
ceding classification in terms of participant orientation to the
action becomes rather obscure in that no one character stands out as
being the 'initiator' of events. Two (or more) participants regu-
larly alternate in this role, with neither one dominating statisti-
cally as Agent. In such cases a more ideational categorization
based on the function of characters in the plot may prove to be use-
ful, perhaps as a sub-classification of the original set of I, R, and
T. We are referring here simply to a rating according to the value
judgements of the narrator (he cannot be a 'neutral' reporter of
events, especially when there is a conflict involved), that is, his
viewpoint as reflected in whether he represents a major character as
being good ('hero'), bad ('villain'), or neither ('observer').

3.32 Two additional roles of secondary* importance may in some dis-
courses be worthy of note, though they do not appear to be relevant in the
role switches that initiate a new LP. A Prop is any type of inanimate ob-
ject which functions as an instrument (usually with magical powers) to
enable an action or sequence of actions to be started, sustained, and/or

* They are 'secondary' in the linguistic analysis of discourse, but in
other types of narrative analysis, these functions become vital in
the establishment of key 'structural' relationships which are the
basis for interpreting the 'message/code' (not necessarily informa-

terminated. The recurrence of a given Prop in the story may be of significance in that it marks the bounds of some logical or conceptual field. An example of this is the magical shell of K2: it is inserted to give life to the tree-woman at the beginning of the narrative and removed again with the opposite effect at the climax. A Surrogate role is played by participants who are, perhaps, best thought of as 'physical extensions' of Initiators. They do not really have an identity, and hence a function, of their own, but are dramatic ways of extending the presence of an Initiator to an area of potential, if not actual, conflict and danger. Though more study is needed here, it seems that the actions of Surrogates do not constitute an essential role shift since they function on behalf of an Initiator. The first three animals (K2) that the man sends to recover his shell can be thought of as operating in this way*. A comparison of this story with its different versions confirms this hypothesis, for in each the man is presented as going to the chief in person to remove the shell.

* Normally, when a number of Surrogates act in succession, each will "appear in turn in the same relation to one of the participants" (Grimes, 1972c, p.99), in this case, to the man. But the Timba bird is different in a way that will be discussed further below (4.2).

3.40 Role shifts*, including the introduction of participants to and their removal from the stage, were considered along with setting changes and the repeated patterns of lexical recycling to comprise the primary means of delineating the boundaries of LPs in Chewa narrative.

* Grimes' observation that places in a story where there is a twofold alteration in the participant orientation (on the clause level) marks 'a surprise, an interruption, or a point where everything goes wrong' (Grimes, 1972c, p.96) may prove to be another useful area for additional research. Outstanding examples of this type of correspondence in K2 would be in the third Cycle of Overlay B when the chief asks the tree-woman to go and fetch the bird he has just downed (178); and at the climax of the story when the chief can only look helplessly on as the Timba bird removes the magical shell and leaves a huge tree where his stolen wife had been (293-5). Longacre (in Brend, 1974, p.371-2) has also noted this feature as being characteristic of a story's climax.

Specifically, whenever there was a double permutation (from the previous paragraph so defined) involving members of the cast, their functional orientation with respect to each other, their movement to or from a given location, and/or the time of the action, at that point a new LP was posited. Various combinations of the above variables can be said to 'trigger' an LP (cf. Diagram A section 1: O = Overlay, C = Cycle, S = Stage):
time and cast $(O_\text{a}C_2S_\text{a})$: 'one day...' $+B$; setting and cast $(O_\text{b}C_2S_\text{f})$: chief's village $+C$ $+D$; $O_\text{b}C_4S_\text{a}$: man's village $+T$ $-C$; two changes in the participants engaged in the action $(O_\text{a}C_2/4S_\text{a})$: $+B'$ $+D'$ $+A$ $+B$; cast and logical role $(O_\text{b}C_3S_\text{b})$: $+D$ (as R), $F'$ $+F$ Tertiary; or two alterations in logical role $(O_\text{b}C_1S_\text{a})$: (I) $C$ $+A$, (R) $E$ $+F$.

Diagram C (following page) is a summary of the various permutations of cycle, setting and role that were used to define the LPs of text K2. When supplemented by the information from Diagram A, it can also serve as a formal way of demonstrating the affinity (or divergence, i.e. the logical structure of the last cycle of $O_\text{b}$ (to be discussed below)) of the repeated cycles of overlays. Each cycle manifests the same basic pattern of participant orientations throughout (only some of which result in new LPs): e.g. $O_\text{b}$ - Initial state: $A$ (I) - $\emptyset$ (R) - LP; man finds Surrogate: $A$ (I) - $F$ (R); man sends Surrogate: $A$ (I) - $F/A$ (R); Surrogate arrives at chief's place: $F/A$ (I) - $C$ (R) - LP; chief kills it: $C$ (I) - $F/A$ (R).

Here are several examples to illustrate how Diagram C is to be read: (60) movement of the man's companions (+S), man (A) is off the stage, chief (C) is on with the servants (E) as Tertiary participants; (116 = $O_\text{b}C_2S_\text{a}$) there is a change of scene from chief's village to man's (+S), change in cast: man (A) is on, chief (C) is off, and the Mthengu bird (F') replaces the red ants (F) as Surrogate; (132 = $O_\text{b}C_2S_\text{f}$) scene change: arrival of the Mthengu bird at the chief's village (+S), the chief (C) is on stage, the man (A) is off, the woman (D) is also reintroduced on stage as a Tertiary participant.

3.5 A few comments will now be made regarding the relationships between logical and syntactic paragraphs in preparation for a discussion (3.6) of how paragraphing is marked in the narrative surface structure.

According to the model of language that provides the theoretical framework for this study, logical (semantic) structures and organizing patterns are, conceptually at least, more basic than syntactic or phonological ones (cf. sect, 2). Syntactic structures are viewed as being only the language-specific product of the logical organization of a given 'message', which is in its most deeply underlying forms potentially 'universal'. Thus, every LP (as established by the principles outlined in the previous section) will be realized by a syntactic paragraph (SP) in the surface structure of discourse. But the converse is not true: syntactic rules or forms have no influence on logical structures. It follows, then, that there will be more SPs than LPs in a discourse due to the fact that there are other (abstract) syntactic principles operating to 'trigger' the occurrence of additional SPs. In Chewa, the essential principle of syntax which influences paragraphing is this: whenever there is a shift away from the theme-line of a discourse or back again (involving more than one clause), a new SP is posited. This is considered to be a syntactic phenomenon in that, though there is a logical or semantic motivation for the distinction between theme-line and background, yet the reason for its being formally marked in the surface structure is due to the syntactic derivational processes of linearization whereby all logical background in-
Diagram C: Logical Paragraphs of \( \mathcal{K}_2 \).

### "Double-Shift"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cl.</th>
<th>Cycle</th>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Initiator</th>
<th>Reactor</th>
<th>Tertiary:</th>
<th>Marker</th>
<th>Syntactic Correlates</th>
<th>Full N.P.</th>
<th>Tense/Aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>A B D</td>
<td>ndiye</td>
<td>that man</td>
<td>na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B' D' A</td>
<td>tsono</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B&quot; D&quot; A</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>another one</td>
<td>(nu)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B&quot; (D&quot;) A</td>
<td>ndiye ni</td>
<td>another one</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>A D B</td>
<td>tsono</td>
<td>the last one</td>
<td>na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B A D</td>
<td>tsono</td>
<td>all his friends</td>
<td>na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B C E</td>
<td>tsono</td>
<td>those ones</td>
<td>na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>E D</td>
<td></td>
<td>da</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>C D</td>
<td></td>
<td>na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>A F</td>
<td>-ta-</td>
<td>that man</td>
<td>(nu)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>F C D</td>
<td>ndiye</td>
<td>red ants</td>
<td>lu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
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<td>A F'</td>
<td>-a-</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>F C D</td>
<td>a-ah ndiyetu</td>
<td>Mthengu</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>A F&quot;</td>
<td>aah</td>
<td>that man</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>F&quot; C D</td>
<td>aah</td>
<td>Njiwa</td>
<td>id.</td>
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<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>C D F&quot;</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>direct speech</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>T A</td>
<td>aah</td>
<td>that man</td>
<td>lu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>T G</td>
<td>ndithu</td>
<td>that Timba</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>261</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>T A</td>
<td>ndiye aah</td>
<td>that Timba</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>276</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>T C D</td>
<td>aah</td>
<td>that Timba</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>296</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>T A</td>
<td>id.</td>
<td>that Timba</td>
<td>id.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299 (new plot)</td>
<td>T A</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>nku</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>A H</td>
<td>aah ndiyetu</td>
<td>that man</td>
<td>id.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>335</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>A T</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>direct speech</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>339</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>ndiye paja</td>
<td>that man</td>
<td>id.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: ('') dash marks used to indicate successive individuals of a group.

"Setting" includes both temporal and spatial shifts.

Cl. 2-11 is background information ('initial state')

Discourse role shifts occur at 71 (R: B-\(\Rightarrow\)C) and at 299 (R: C-\(\Rightarrow\)T)

Cast:

- A = man
- B = his companions
- C = chief
- D = man's wife
- E = servants of chief
- F = animal surrogates
- T = Timba bird
- G = Eland herbalist
- H = wildcat
formation is incorporated into the event-line in order to be communicated in speech.

There does not appear to be any difference in the distinguishing features of SP boundaries (cf. correlates, 3.6) established for either of these two reasons, i.e. being occasioned by the presence of an underlying LP or a shift from background to the event-line (and vice versa). Further research, however, is definitely needed in this area*. The following examples illustrate the distinction between L- and SPs: an LP where no SP would be otherwise expected to occur - O4ACSa (35); no LP, but an SP: move from E-line to background - O6C5Sa (119); no LP, but an SP: move from background to E-line - O4AC1Sc (29).

* This analysis is limited to discussion of LPs that comprise theme-line material (which in practice, equals the 'event-line' since the topic-line' of propositional argument structure is not being considered to any great extent). It is recognized that background information (2.40-2.42) may also be grouped into LPs. But for the purposes of this introductory study, this is being treated as part of the particular event paragraph in which it is contained. Another subject being reserved for a future paper is the formal description of syntactic paragraphs.

3.60 There are a number of syntactic correlates that may be realized in the discourse surface structure at the beginning of a new paragraph (L-SP) and so, when present, help to confirm the postulation of that particular unit. The more that show up in any given instance, the more likely it is that a paragraph boundary be fixed at that point. The problem is that these correlates do not distinguish between SPs and LPs. A new syntactic paragraph must occur at every logical paragraph boundary. But SPs are not restricted to that one set of conditions, for as we have seen, the shift between thematic and background information will also give rise to them. Thus, the semantic alterations involving cycle, setting, and role as discussed above must still be used to differentiate the LP units.

It is not obligatory that these correlates all occur together on the occasion of a new paragraph. Often only one or two are found, and in a few places none appears. The latter instance was especially evident at the end of the K2 narrative in the considerably-contracted final episode (at 335, for example, there is a setting change and a new participant introduced, and for this reason one would posit a new LP; but there is no formal indication of this in the surface structure).

3.61 One common feature which marks the onset of a new paragraph is the presence in the initial clause of a full subject noun phrase* along with a referential distinguisher, such as -ja/ -o 'that person previously mentioned', or a possessive pronoun. This 'filler' may be a distinctive pronominal form as well as a noun (e.g. 'another one' - 35). Usually, the noun phrase presents the Initiator of that particular paragraph, but at times it may be another participant who happens
Since Chewa, as is characteristic of all Bantu languages, normally has a subject marker prefixed to the verb which agrees with the specific noun class of the subject, the overt presence of that noun is a redundancy for which there must be some purpose: (a) to prevent ambiguity, (b) to introduce participants, whether new or old, (c) to emphasize one of them, or (d) similarly, to present the 'topic' character of the paragraph. In the same way, the absence of a subject prefix on the verb where one would expect it will be a clue of some semantic significance, e.g. the occurrence of the sequential marker nu-, which precludes a subject prefix, is evidence that a new LP does not begin in OaC1S (27) when taken in conjunction with other syntactic facts indicating the same conclusion, e.g. no tsomo or ndiye.

3.62 Another, less reliable, syntactic indicator of a new paragraph is the presence of an overt tense/aspect prefix on the verb of the first independent clause of the proposed unit, i.e. -da-/-na- (the two seem to be dialectal variants) or -a-. When non-paragraph-initial events that are closely sequential (in the opinion of the speaker), are being narrated, there is a decided preference for verbs that are unmarked either for person or tense (e.g. they would be replaced by nu-). This includes the use of ideophones in dramatic portions of the story.*

* This whole subject of verb tenses needs a lot more thorough study. For example, there appears to be what we might term (for want of a better one) a type of tense sequence system which operates in discourse. Thus, it seems that there is a correlation between the amount of action/emphasis/emotive force in a given passage and the tense/aspect marking of verbs that occur there. -Da-/-na- is the staid, 'everyday' tense for relating past events; it is usually found at the beginning of stories as well as in undramatic, 'reportative' contexts later on. The unmarked Ø tense (a type of historical present -?) is a bit more distinguished as far as the type of action it reports is concerned. The -a- 'recent past' tense is frequently used for vivid narration, when events really start to warm up (this tense is often very difficult to distinguish from the Ø tense just mentioned due to the coalescence of the third person subject prefix marker, a-, with the following tense marker, -a-. The form is indistinguishable segmentally from the corresponding Ø tense form. Undoubtedly, a tonal distinction is involved, but the exact nature of this is rather hard to determine in the account of a vivid storyteller). And finally, to give an action the most emotive force possible, an ideophone will be employed. The latter two forms are especially frequent in the final stages of a story (In the Climax area of K2, (276-97), of 15 event-line verbs, 9 are ideophones). We also note the fact that the appearance of these two seem to make the occurrence of tsomo and ndiye optional at paragraph boundaries.
The most important of the syntactic correlates of new paragraph boundaries is the presence of sentence-initial markers or connecting particles of various kinds. Though the operation of words of this type in the Chewa texts under consideration is not as clear-cut perhaps, as in other languages, still a number of useful observations and tentative conclusions can be proposed. Two sets of functionally-overlapping sets of markers have been distinguished, each set being dominated by one member that occurs with much greater frequency than the rest: the ndiye group and the tsono group. Each of these two sets has both a syntactic and a semantic function in the discourse. Tsono and ndiye will be discussed separately at first, and then the rather complex subject of their mutual interaction will be taken up.

The ndiye 'and so' group includes (subject, of course, to individual variation) the more temporally-oriented ndipo 'and then' and bas 'finish', next...' as well as the directly referential paja 'as you know, as was said.' Ndipo and bas, while normally operating to conjoin a sequence of events within the paragraph (i.e., as inter-sentential connectors, e.g. /18, 57)*, at times act, like ndiye as markers of syntactic paragraph boundaries (e.g. 29). Ndiye et.al. appears to have two, partially-overlapping discourse functions, one syntactic and related to the distinction between thematic and non-thematic information; the other semantic and depending on the nature of the information about to be conveyed.

The most obvious use of ndiye is to signal a return to the main event line (and hence to initiate a new syntactic paragraph) after the inclusion of some type of background material. This might be a dialogue, frequently an interchange of speech acts (e.g. 127, 199), though sometimes one participant does all the talking; explanatory insertions and narrator comments (108, 162); descriptive information (180, 49), or a song (112, 132). A frequent accompanying feature (for some speakers) of this particular usage of ndiye is the fact that the following verb will include an explicit tense marking for past, da/na (12, 86). In certain contexts, ndiye does not occur where one might expect it, (i.e. after a shift from background to the event-line) but in these cases its optional deletion seems to be conditioned by a paragraph-initial clause, with either an overlapping temporal construction.

* These and the following examples are all taken from K2, except where indicated.
when', or -ta- 'after', e.g. (75, 81)) or the emphatic narrative tense, -a- (116, 145).

Often coinciding with the syntactic is the semantic function of ndiye, which is to indicate the narrator's viewpoint of the action with respect to its 'predictability' value. That is, if the speaker considers the information that follows to be a natural or expected consequence of what has gone before, then he will use ndiye as an intersentential connector. This 'tells' the hearers that there is nothing really striking or new (as far as the plot development is concerned) in what he is about to say. Previous actions, dialogues, descriptions, etc. have clearly led up to this point in the account; thus, in relation to other parts of the discourse, it is non-focal information. The anaphoric 'scope' of ndiye, that is, the extent of its reference to previous information which has resulted in the marking of present events as 'expected', ranges from the preceding sentence or paragraph, to something that was mentioned earlier in the story, and, in a few cases, to everything that has been said up to that point. Thus, a non-initial cycle in an overlay, as well as its constituent is often introduced in this way, for these reflect a pattern of events that has already been established (e.g. 49, 127, 132, 42, 162). This second usage of ndiye is made more evident when it co-occurs with an anaphoric pronoun in the sentence it introduces, e.g., the enclitic suffix -nso 'also' (49); cimodzimodzi 'in the same way' (K5/C3); or monga 'as... (you know) (59)*.

* For a discussion on the possible 'pragmatic' significance of this particular usage, see R. Lakoff, 1973, pp.297-8.

In the case of event-line information, the two functions of ndiye will usually operate simultaneously at the beginning of a syntactic paragraph (which may also correspond to the onset of a logical paragraph, e.g. 42). Ndiye is not common off the event-line, but when found it is used almost exclusively in its semantic function, e.g. 122.

3.6 The focus marker tsono 'now hear this...' (lomba being a weakened alternate in certain contexts) is related to the temporal adverb tsopano 'now, at this moment'. The latter sometimes appears in discourse in the place of tsono. Like ndiye, tsono is also viewed as having two distinct functions, both of which may be in effect in any given instance. When these two markers are both used in a narrative (which is not always the case), then tsono clearly contrasts with the second semantic usage of ndiye listed above. Thus, it acts like a 'spotlight' to direct the hearer's attention to what is about to follow. This will be information that is new, unexpected, or of relatively greater importance (in the opinion of the speaker) to the unfolding plot. The range or 'domain' (Callow, 50) of this spotlight varies considerably. It may extend from the immediate sentence to and including the entire paragraph that it introduces. When performing a focus-marking function, tsono is also found sentence-medially (e.g. 24), and when particular emphasis is desired, even in sentence-final position (e.g. 260).
A characteristic use of tsono is to mark the bringing of new participants on to the stage and to highlight their return if they are engaged in a significant action (e.g. 12, 44, 53, 153, 189). In these instances, the participant being spotlighted is usually also represented by a full noun phrase in addition to the regular subject/object prefix in the verb. As one might expect, this particular usage of tsono is much more frequent in the initial stages of the narrative. Note that in cases where tsono introduces sentences that begin with an overlap of previous information, it applies to the latter part, i.e. that containing the new material (e.g. 7-8). Here are a few references from K2 to illustrate the emphatic use of tsono in background material: 98, 245, 253, 332.

3.66 The second of the major uses of tsono corresponds, at least in part, with the syntactic function of ndiye, that is, it marks a shift from background material to the main event line and, to a lesser extent, also vice-versa. Which of the two will appear in a specific instance?

* The marking of this shift is obligatory for the data under consideration. Either tsono or ndiye must occur, or else there is another substitute syntactic indicator, as previously mentioned, a sentence overlap construction, a simple sentence with the -a- tense, or a predicate manifested by an ideophone.

will depend upon how the narrator views the 'predictability' value of the information he is relating: if 'expected' on the basis of what has taken place or been described in the story up to that point, then ndiye will be used; if, on the other hand, the subsequent material is 'un-expected' or of importance to the plot, then tsono occurs.

When there is a movement in the other direction, from event line to background (of two or more sentences), then the incidence of ndiye to mark the shift is greatly reduced. This fact is no doubt related to one of the essential differences between thematic and background material; background usually contains 'new' information in one form or another, and hence, when needed, tsono is the logical choice. Tsono is not often used to initiate direct discourse, however, though it may well occur in the course of a dialogue paragraph. It may be that the speech introducer, -kuti, is sufficient to distinguish the special nature of this information*.

* While it is clear that these two connectors function to mark a return to the event-line from background information, it is not certain to what extent they operate in the other direction. Ndiye is very infrequent as was mentioned, but more study is needed to come to a firm conclusion about tsono. However, the markers do retain their semantic function in background.
It was also observed (with some narrators) that in certain crucial spots in the narrative account, especially in areas of conflict or tension (e.g. Climax), both tsono and ndiyé may be replaced by interjectives such as aah! (initiating action), aah! (surprise), aah! (misfortune), or nd1thu! (certainty) (e.g. 140, 145, 167, 168, 174-178). There does not seem to be any functional significance in this substitution, other than that it becomes more difficult to determine the precise semantic significance of the connector. But the following action is provided with an added value of local intensity (Callow, 1974, p. 63) which would not be the case were the (by this time in the discourse) more pedestrian, non-emotive terms employed.

The interesting interaction between tsono and ndiyé in their contrastive semantic function might be schematized as follows (The following diagram was suggested to me by R. Rhodes; it is only a rough approximation for the purposes of illustration and is not based on any statistical analyses):

Diagram D: The Semantic Interaction of Tsono and Ndiye

(Another parameter should really be included above, for the vertical variation will be considerably modified according to whether the words occur in paragraph initial or medial position. At the beginning of paragraphs (both logical and syntactic) there is a markedly greater incidence of occurrence due to the constraint that they all begin with some type of connector.)

As has been noted, the alternation of these two markers in narrative depends to a great extent on the speaker's personal point of view, that is, what he at place X in the story considers to be 'expected' or non-focal as opposed to what for him is information that is worthy-of-note (whether of person, action, motivation, consequence, etc.) In many instances the distinction is quite clear. For example, in K2/ O_0 C_0 S_0 (286) tsono begins the sentence. The reason is that here is an event which is the opposite of all corresponding events in the previous cycles of this overlay: when the chief waved his whisk, the other birds died on the spot; but not Timba. Then, a bit further down, (291) begins with ndiyé, for this is the expected result: if the chief cannot kill Timba, then...
the bird must succeed in its mission (note also how tsono and ndiye mark the information value in 179-180).

In other places, it may be somewhat difficult for the analyst to understand why one marker is found where he would have expected the other. But in such examples, it will often turn out that the information presented can be viewed in several different ways (e.g. 69, 71). It is the narrator who sets the 'range of interaction' of these two markers and makes the interpretation accordingly. And this will vary (within limits) from one telling of a given story to the next.

In still other cases, it would seem that there is little, if any, difference in their respective functions. One might wonder about instances in which both markers occur together at the beginning of a sentence. In K5 for example, this sentence appears: Iyaah! ndiye tsono khoswe interj. so now mouse uja ndithu adalimbikira kugwira bere lija that-one really he-was-strong in-grabbing breast that 'So now that mouse really persisted in holding on to (the girl's) breast.' But here, the markers are not being used contrastively: ndiye is signalling a return to the event line (after a song); as for tsono, what could be more unexpected (or emphatic) than the information it conveys! Other such juxtaposed occurrences (which were uncommon in the corpus of stories analyzed) might be interpreted as marking information that is predictable (ndiye), but at the same time is really important (tsono) to the plot.

Of greater importance was the fact that in a number of discourses studied and surveyed (e.g., K3), the occurrence of ndiye was very restricted, sometimes to the point of not appearing at all. The converse situation, however, was not noted, i.e., that ndiye would dominate in a story to the exclusion of tsono. Thus, in the absence of any other markers from the ndiye group, tsono in addition to its own characteristic usage will completely assume the syntactic 'area of overlap' (see Diagram E below) in their respective functions.

It is hoped that with further research in Chewa narrative discourse, a more precise explanation of the occurrence, role and mutual interaction of tsono and ndiye will emerge. However, a rather large degree of individual variation in the use of these two markers may be expected due to the relative complexity of the linguistic environment from which they arise*. 

* Though I do not have precise figures at hand, it can be said that the area in which this research was carried out is one of a great deal of language/dialect mixing and interaction. Speakers of at least four distinct language groups live in the region, which is also under a certain degree of influence from the languages spoken in Mocambique and Rhodesia, countries whose borders are less than 25 miles away. Large government-sponsored development and resettlement programs have intentionally increased this social and linguistic mixing. Other important influences on the spoken language are (a) the widespread primary and secondary schools in the district, and (b) the daily broadcasts of Radio Zambia in the 'standardized' form of the language,
Nyanja (of which Chewa is the major dialect).

To conclude this discussion of tsono and ndiye, the following diagrams are offered: (E) to summarize their respective functions and area of interaction in discourse, and (F) to relate this interaction to the marking of SP (LP) boundaries.

Diagram E:

```
\[\text{ndiye} \quad \text{tsono}\]
```

**MARKS:** expected, resultant information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>shift from background to E-line and v.v.; new LP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>new, unexpected, focal material in the development of plot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: the proportionately larger area of tsono reflects its greater frequency of occurrence in Chewa narratives.)

Diagram F:

**LOGICAL STRUCTURE**

- cycle/setting/role → LP\(_S\)
- shifts (2+)

**SURFACE STRUCTURE**

- SP\(_S\) → theme-line/background shifts

**markers:**
- i. full NP
- ii. tense/aspect marker
- iii. connectives:
  - a) tsono - focal, unexpected info.
  - b) ndiye - non-focal, expected info.
4.0 THE FUNCTION OF LEXICAL RECYCLING (OVERLAYS) IN DISCOURSE

4.10 The overlaying of successive recyclings of similar sets of events is employed by skilled narrators to achieve certain dramatically-defined aesthetic objectives in their performances. For one thing, the overlay pattern serves to reinforce upon the audience a number of key socio-cultural relationships that the artist wishes to focus on (or which the tradition compels all to focus on) in his development of theme. In the first overlay of K2, for example, the repeated patterns zero in on the importance of the marriage relationship and of a proper 'role orientation' within that institution. It is not a didactic preaching of the point, but one which is subtly communicated as the members of the audience are actively (e.g. through the song) and passively 'caught up' in the performance and engaged in following the actions of the participants. Neither is the repetition exact, for there is always some alteration in cast and setting, and the events are always represented as taking place in time. Thus, there is that vital forward movement in the plot, no matter how slight, which is essential for keeping the level of attention at a maximum.

The second overlay adds a new dimension to the development theme in the form of a second fundamental social relationship, that of a chief in the community to a member of society (or, perhaps, the man is best considered as a type of the whole non-ruling constituency). From the point of view of the plot, whereas in the first overlay the narrator concentrates the listener's attention on what will become the source of the story's main conflict, in the second he spotlights the attempts to resolve that conflict, highlighting at the same time the chief as being the root cause of the problem.

4.11 As a rule, events in Chewa narratives transpire quite quickly. Description, explanation, and other commentary are kept to a minimum because that is not the most effective means of presenting an argument in this particular context. There must be action. The overlay technique provides the narrator with a ready tool for communicating his message (whether the motivation for doing so be intentional or subconscious) while at the same time maintaining the highest possible degree of action (often involving repeated spatial movement). The reiterated cycles also act as a dramatic device for intensifying suspense, for each new cycle is accompanied by the increased probability that it will be the one to bring about that disruptive break in the pattern which either draws the story to its climax, or sets the plot on a new tack. Thus, cyclic overlays not only serve to demarcate the boundaries of the larger conceptual units in discourse (as was pointed out in section 3), but they also comprise the structural forms that Chewa narrative tradition deems optimal for packaging and presenting the content of a story.

4.12 The primary linguistic function, then, of lexical recycling in discourse constructed according to this narrative model is to convey thematic information while simultaneously emphasizing key elements in the development of the major plot conflict. In this regard, the function of the repeated cycles of an overlay might be comparable to that of employing chunks of descriptive/explanatory material in outline
systems of organization, particularly in literature. Both serve to indicate areas of significance to the story, the one by repetition, the other by detail. In stories with several overlays, one will always appear in the pre-Climax position of the Development section (e.g. overlay B of K2; discourse climax is referred to here, but the same holds true for any prior episodes which include an overlay pattern; these lead to 'minor' climaxes in the narrative, e.g. O_A of K2). The Climax itself will occur either in the final cycle at the spot where the previously established pattern is broken (e.g. in K2 where the Timba bird snatches away the magical shell, and a huge tree bursts up in the courtyard of the chief), or shortly thereafter, the overlay acting to precipitate the final climactic events of the story (e.g. in a variant of K2, the cycles of the last overlay move a crocodile from the river to a village to recover his kidnapped (semi-human) wife; after arriving and engaging in a short parley with the chief, which ends in an impasse, the crocodile destroys his wife by personally removing the life-giving shell from her head). No overlays are found after the major Climax of a story unless the artist decides to adjoin another, 'secondary', narrative to the first (as is the case in K2). Any subsequent overlays will be clearly subordinated to the primary one by not being as fully developed or detailed.

4.2 Of special interest in the K2 narrative is the inconspicuous change in the participant orientation of the logical structure that takes place in the final cycle of overlay B. On the surface, the sequence of events appears to be essentially the same (with the exception of the embedded episode with the herbalist). But a careful consideration of the constituent LPs of this overlay, especially the particular role relationships of the characters involved, reveals an underlying difference in cycle 4 that is related to the performer's narrative purpose. He chooses not to terminate the story at the conclusion of the overlay (as would be expected), for he has another thematic point to make and so structures the discourse in order to effect the transition to a new episode as smoothly as possible.

In all three of the previous cycles of this overlay, the various animals can be viewed simply as surrogates for the man, that is, as physical extensions of his person in confrontation with the chief. They really initiate nothing, but are initiated into doing his will (he performs this function directly in the other versions of this story). The Timba bird is distinctly different, however, and is manifested by the logical structure as being the true Initiator throughout this entire cycle. This fact is revealed right at the beginning where stages a and b of the normal cycle are reversed; it is the Timba bird who comes to help the man rather than the man seeking animals to help him as in the preceding cycles. The embedded episode, initiated completely by Timba, is sufficient proof to substantiate this point*

---

* This episode acts as a structural bridge linking the major plot to the one that follows. The events presented here serve to emphasize the contract that was made between the man and the Timba bird and thus provide the motivation for continuing the story beyond its normal ending point at the conclusion of the second overlay.
Another piece of evidence is not so obvious; in the previous three cycles (at stage c) it is related that the man sent the various animals on their mission i.e. he was the Initiator. In four, however, the man, except for singing his song*, is very passive throughout; Timba 'goes' (271) to effect a resolution on its own initiative. As a result of all these subtle cues, the audience is 'tipped off' beforehand that this is to be the final cycle, that Timba will succeed. The basic alteration in the overlay pattern has occurred already in the beginning stages, so they know what to expect.

* Note that the past -na- tense is used in contrast to the previous occurrences of -a- in the verb 'sang', perhaps to indicate the decreased relevance of this action now that the bird had obtained the magical charms necessary to ensure the success of its venture.

4.3 The reason for this fundamental change in the participant orientation of LPs appears to be directly related to the more consequential shift in the discourse roles that are effected after the completion of overlay B. By 'discourse role', we are referring to that semantic function which is characteristic of a certain participant throughout a larger portion of the discourse (cf. Grimes, 1972c, p.97). Points where there is a shift in the discourse role of one of the participants correspond to major turns in the development of the plot, e.g. K2: there is a definite switch in the Reactor in (69) when the chief (C) takes over this function from the man's companions (B). In this narrative, the only constant discourse role, one that acts as a unifying thread to link up the various sections of the story, is that of Initiator, as played by the man.

In the last cycle of overlay B, then, the chief, too, is removed from the stage as discourse Reactor (or, better, Antagonist) and is replaced by the Timba bird (T) for the final abbreviated episode*.

* This shift in discourse roles is reflected in the pronominal forms of address employed between the man and the Timba bird. In cycle 4 of overlay B, the Timba uses the second person plural of 'respect' forms when speaking to the man, i.e. as subject: mu- (190, 207); as object: -ku-ní (211). In the final episode, however, when Timba replaces the chief as yet another dominating obstacle to the man's peace of mind, the bird addresses the man in the 'familiar' second person singular forms, i.e. as subject: u- (301, 311); as object: -ku- (314).

Another primary role change at this point is seen in the substitution of the wildcat (H) for the woman (D) as the Tertiary character in the action. Were additional supporting evidence available from other complex texts, one might postulate that such a double shift in discourse roles (parallel to the one that motivates LP breaks) is a strong indication that a new plot has begun. In other words, a second, potentially independent narrative has been juxtaposed to continue the first*.
* In all other versions and variants of the K2 narrative, the story concludes at a point corresponding to the ending of overlay B, i.e. shortly after the shell is removed.

4.4 While the full implications of these alterations, whether on the paragraph or the discourse level, are not entirely clear (with regard to the intended 'message' of this narrative), this study has shown that a thorough examination of the various logical organizing strategies as related to their realization in the surface structure of discourse is essential before the researcher can hope to come to a practical and theoretical understanding of this complex, artistic communications system. We also want to emphasize the point that the analysis of linguistic structure, both semantic and syntactic, must include a careful consideration of dramatic function (within a given oral tradition) in order to represent a complete and accurate description of the communicative value of the narrative genre in society. With this in mind, then, one will not be so inclined to simply delete from narrative texts 'all that boring repetition', as some Africanist investigators have been wont to do in the past. An art form so often described as 'simple' has just as often confounded the minds of the 'wise'.

CONCLUSION

5.0 In this final section, we will briefly summarize some of the chief observations made in the course of this initial attempt at defining the structure of a 'well-formed' discourse in Chewa, and then conclude with a few comments concerning the possible implications of what has been learned from this study for future research in the field.

5.1 Due to the special nature of lexical recycling patterns in Chewa narrative, it was found necessary to adapt the concept of 'overlay' (as originally conceived by Grimes) from that of a rhetorical device for highlighting certain elements representing a single stationary segment ('plane') of experience to that of a dynamic means for dramatizing the development of conflict in a narrative plot. The internal structure (lexical form) of an overlay was considered to be analyzable into a series of cycles, each consisting of a relatively fixed number of event stages that is similar for each cycle.

Two universal, multi-faceted 'strategies' were seen to be operating in the generation of narrative, one organizational, the other realizational. The underlying organizational strategy comprises the various conceptual processes (including patterns of lexical recycling) whereby the content of discourse, originating as a fusion of elements selected primarily from the mythic matrix of tradition but also from the contemporary setting and cultural context, is artistically arranged to form a logical structure. To this propositional network, centered around a theme line, the lexical and syntactic realizational rules and processes of language apply to derive the surface structure of the story.
One important aspect of the study was to provide a practical procedure for defining paragraph units in the logical structure. This was accomplished through the use of a 'double-shift' principle which served to 'predict' a new logical paragraph boundary on the basis of a twofold alteration of cycle, setting, and/or cast (i.e. a shift in the role relationship of participants: Initiator, Reactor, Tertiary). It was proposed that every logical paragraph is realized in the narrative surface by a corresponding syntactic paragraph, the latter being marked by several lexical and syntactic signals of which the most important are the connectors tsomo and ndiye. Additional syntactic paragraphs were postulated as being the result of the realizational process whereby background information is incorporated into the theme line to form a linear morpheme string.

Practical application of this methodology to the text K2 illustrated various ways of relating the logical and syntactic structure of overlays to that of non-cyclic ('outline') organizational patterns in discourse. In conjunction with structural studies of this nature, attention was frequently drawn to the need for considering the interplay between linguistic form and function in the analysis of oral narratives.

5.2 In this paper, it was possible to deal with only a few of the 'higher level' aspects of Chewa discourse structure, those which to the writer appeared to contribute the most toward an initial understanding of the main processes involved in generating a narrative. Thus, many other pertinent subjects were only touched upon or not considered at all in the analysis and must, therefore, receive top priority in future research projects of this sort. Among the more important of these are: the use of tenses both within and without overlay patterns; the stylistic features of narrative; the concept of a 'topic-line' (primary arguments) and its realization in the nominal structure of discourse; the application of group permutation methods to complex narratives; the propositional analysis and display of entire texts; the interaction between the logical structure and its lexical and syntactic realization for all levels of linguistic form (the complete derivation of an SS from LS); and, finally, studies in the phonological analysis of discourse.

Part of the reason for the cursory treatment of such topics in most analyses is the fact that the science of linguistics has only within the past decade or so begun to really delve into the subject of discourse analysis (and even then a relatively small proportion of the linguistic population is actively involved, i.e. Pike, Longacre, Grimes and Gleason, along with their former students). Consequently, there are few tried and tested procedures that the researcher can look to for guidance as he approaches the field. It is hoped that some of the theory and practice represented in this paper, however tentative and sketchy, will contribute in a small way to the increasing body of information that is being accumulated on the subject and from which one can expect more definitive texts to be derived in the near-future (note the forthcoming books by Grimes and Longacre). The results of future detailed studies in discourse analysis should prove to be greatly illuminating, not only to theoretical linguistics, but more important, in my opinion, to such applied linguistic fields as literacy, translation,
and especially to the emergence and development of indigenous literatures throughout the world, those that make the fullest possible* use of traditional organizational strategies and realizational tactics in the idiomatic communication of a message via the medium of the printed word.

* 'Possible' in accordance with the alterations that will have to take place due to the change in medium, e.g. it is doubtful that lexical recycling will be possible in writing in nearly the amount as that employed in oral narratives; but how and to what extent it can be used should prove to be an interesting area of research.

6.0 APPENDIX

6.1 CHEWA PHONEMES

There are five vowel phonemes in Chewa: /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/

There are 25 consonant phonemes, as represented in the following articulatory chart (using the orthographic symbols of this paper):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VOICE</th>
<th>BILABIAL</th>
<th>LABICO-DENTAL</th>
<th>ALVEOLAR</th>
<th>ALVEO-PALATAL</th>
<th>PALATAL</th>
<th>VELAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STOP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFFRICATE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRICATIVE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASAL</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ny</td>
<td>ng'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATERAL (flap)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPROXIMANT</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE:

a) The phonemic status of the syllabic nasals /m/, /n/, and /ng'/ is in doubt; therefore these sounds were distinguished in the text.
b) The tonemes /'/and /^/ were not indicated.
c) All consonants can be prenasalized (homorganic nasal) to form clusters. (/n/ before velar in text is homorganic.)
d) All syllables are open.
Appendix: TEXT AND LITERAL TRANSLATION (K2 - The Kacele-Tree Wife')*

(1) Ndiye ndili ndi kamwambi aka: and-so I-am with little-story this

(2) Pamodzi wina panali anyamata okwanila ngati at village certain there-were youths numbering as seveni. (3) Tsono anyamata awa anali kupha mbewa. seven now youths these they-were to-kill fieldmice.

(4) Pophana mbewa kumeneko, (5) panali mnyamata mmodzi amene in-killing fieldmice this(way) there-was youth one who analibe wamkazi. (6) anzace onse awo anali na he-was-not-with wife companions-his all those they-were with azikazi. (7) Tsono pobweletsa mbewa zija, (8) anzace wives now in-bringing fieldmice those companions-his analuwalandila azikazi awo, (9) koma iye he-was-not-with wife companions-his analumlandila na amace. (10) Tsono anzace she-was-him-receiving(from) with mother-his now companions-his aja analumseka (11) cifukwa analibe mkazi those they-were-him-mocking because he-was-not-with wife

(12) Ndiye tsiku lina anapita ukasema cimtengo mwamuna and-so day one he-went to-go-carve big-tree husband uja. (13) Anacisema bwino-bwino cimtengo cija, (14) nuciveka that he-it-carved carefully big-tree that and-it-put-on mphande. shell

(15) Tsono anali mkazi wokongola kwa-baasi. ((16) Pamene now she-was woman beautiful indeed when anamveka mphande, (17) anasanduka munthu.) (18) Ndipo anali he-her-put-on shell she-turned-into person and-so she-was mkazi wokongola kwa-baasi, (19) kotelo kuti anzace onse woman beautiful indeed with-result that companions-his all

* A free translation of this story follows. The numbers in parentheses refer to the sequence of clauses in the text. Lexemic elements of the same word are separated by hyphens. Due to the length of the text and the particular purpose of this introductory analysis, the finer morpheme distinctions are not indicated. The larger groupings of the text are made according to syntactic paragraphs. A sentence break is indicated by a period.
amene analumseka, (20) analumsilila mkazi uja.
who they-were-him-mocking they-were-her-desiring woman that

(21) Tsiku ni tsiku mkazi uja anali kuyasa mphasa pakhomo
day by day woman that she-was to-roll-out mat at-threshold

pake, (22) nuyambotunga mkanda.
her and-begin-to-string beads

(23) Tsono paja wapita tsiku lina kuja. (24) Iye kuja
now there they-went day one there he there

anaphadi mbewa tsono upambananso anzake onse.
he-killed-really fieldmice now to-surpass-again companions-his all

(25) Abwela kuja onse pagulupu lao, (26) nuima
they-return-from there all in-group their and-stand

kumphala kotelo (27) nuyamba wina:
at-meeting-place like-that and-begin certain-one

(28) 'Mkazi, (dzanandile); mkazi, (dzanandile)!*
wife come-receive-from(me) wife, come-receive-from(me)

Kwina alandila kwina gwada-gwada
now she-receives at-the-same-time kneeling

(dzanandile). Mkazi, (dzanandile)!!
come-receive-from(me) wife come-receive-from(me)

(29) Basĩ mkazi wace uyo aoneka
done wife his that she-appears

(30) gede gede gede gede gede!
(31) Basĩ fiikuuu!
(id.walking with object on head) done (id.arrive)

(32) Basĩ tyoole!
(33) nikulandila.
(34) Wabwelela mkazi
done (id.bend knees) and-to-receive she-returns woman

uja.
that

(35) Ni winanso uyamboyimba:
it-is one-again and-begins-to-sing

* The words in (28) are sung by the narrator. A 'chorus' joins him at the
places marked with parentheses. Future repetitions of this song (which
are exact) will be marked as a whole with a clause number, but the words
will not be recorded. Ideophones, e.g. (30), are provided with a rough
approximation of their referential meaning; they are, strictly
speaking, untranslatable.
(36) (SONG as in 28)

(37) Abwelanso akazi a uyo mnzace, she-comes-also wife of that-one companion-his

(38) adzalandila cimodzi-modzi, (39) nu miyendo atyolako she-comes-receives in-same-way and legs she-bends-properly

amai, (40) nubwelelanso (41) Wapita. mother and-returns-also she-has-gone

(42) Ndiye ni winanso (43) mpaka onse anacita and-so it-is one-again until all they-did

the-same-thing

(44) Tsono cinafika kwa uja wotsilizila uja tsopano. now it-arrived to that-one the-last that-one now

(45) Mwauja mkazi wake amene acoka paja pabwalo the-same-one wife his who she-leaves there at-threshold

(46) ali khaale! (47) Nchito yake nutunga mkanda. she-is (id.doing nothing) work her and-strings beads

(48) Sapita kumadzi. not-she-go to-water

(49) Ndiye wayamba nayenso: And-so he-begins and-he-also

(50) (SONG twice as in 28)

(51) Aah! mkazi uja aoneke! (52) timiyendo twake ah! woman that-one (id.appear) little-legs her

ee bwino-bwino tyoolu! yes very-nice (id.bends knees)

(53) Tsono anzace onse aja, (54) pomuona now companions-his all those in-her-seeing

m Khope, (55) pomuona kukongola (56) mmene analili, face in-her-seeing beauty in-which she-was

anasilila. (57) Ndipo onse anali odabwa kuti: they-coveted and-then all they-were amazed saying

(58) 'Kodi munthu ameneyu anamtenga kuti mkazi (question) person this-one he-her-took where woman

wokongola coteleci?' beautiful in-such-a-way
(59) Ndipo anacita naye nsanje
and-then they-did with-him jealousy

(60) Tsuno iwo aja ananyamuka ni kupita kuti?
now they those they-set-out and to-go where

(61) kwa mfumu - ni kupita kwa mfumu, (62) monga umo tili
to chief and to-go to chief as therein we-are

nawo aKawaza tele. (63) Nupita kuja (64) nunena kuti:
with-him Kawaza like-so and-go there and-say that

(65)'Pakwathu pali mnyamata wina (66) amene
at-our-place there is young-man certain who

ali ndi mkazi wokongola kwambiri. (67) Ndipo mkazi uyo
he-is with wife beautiful very and-then wife this

samuyenera. (68) Ngofunika monga inu aKawaza
she-is-not-him-fitting she-is-desirable as(for) you the-Kawaza

tere.'
like-this

(69) Tsuno aja nutuma akapaso kuti:
now that-one and-send attendants saying

(70) 'Kamtengeni!'
go-her-take

(71) Tsuno adadzapeza (72) kuti mwamuna uja ali
now they-came-and-found that husband that he-is

ku nsodzi ku mbewa kuja. (73) Numtenga mkazi uja
to hunting to fieldmice there and-her-take wife that

(74) nuulendo naye.
and-journey with-her

(75) Atafika kuja, (76) anamkhazika
after-they-arrived there he-her-established

mnyumba. (77) Ndipo amfumu aja anasilila zoona
in-house and-so chief that he-desired truly

(78) pomuonadi mkazi uja, (79) nandoganiza kuti:
in-her-seeing-really woman that and-precisely-thought saying

(80) 'Ndithu, mkazi uyu andokhaladi wanga!'
indeed woman this she-precisely-remains indeed mine

(81) Atafika mwamuna that (82) nupeza kuti akazi
after-he-arrived husband that and-find that wife
wake panyumba palibe (84) ni kumva kuti, (85) ndithu
his at-house there-is-nothing and to-hear that indeed

anatengewa na afumu.
she-was-taken by chief

(86) Ndiye adaganiza (87) cocita (88) anati:
and-so he-thought what-do he-said

(89) 'Kodi manje nidzacita ciani? (90) Nidzacita ciani
(question) now I-will-do what I-will-do what

tsono (91) kuti nkatenge mkazi wanga?'
now that I-go-and-take wife my

(92) Ataganiza-ganiza, (93) ataganiza-ganiza,
after-he-thought-thought after-he-thought-thought

(94) adayambotuma zinthu monga zinyama tsono. (95) Coyambirotuma
he-began-sending things like animals now thing-begin-to-send

adayambotuma linthumbwi, (96) kuti likatenge ciani? mphande!
he-began-and-sent red-ants that they-go-and-take what shell

(97) Akatenge mphande. (98) Tsono akakatenga mphande ija
they-must-go-take shell now they-if-go-take shell that

(99) akangoti mphande ija cotso! pamutu paja,
they-go-just-do shell that (id.remove) on-head there

(100) cija cidzasandukua cimtengo concija (101) adasema
that-thing it-will-transform big-tree that-same-one he-carved
-
- ciKacele. (102) Nomba ndiyo inali nzeru yake (103) kuti
big-Kacele-tree now it-is-that it-was plan his that

iiye akatengego mphande yake cabe.
he he-might-go-take-there shell his only

(104) Ndithu anatuma citeni. (105) Linthumbwi lija
indeed he-sent so-and-so red-ants those

lilupita linthumbwi mnjila (106) monga mdziwa (107) linthumbwi
they-are-going red-ants in-road as you-know red-ants

ntunthu toluma kwabasî!
are-little-things biting really

(108) Ndiye linthumbwi lija lilufika kuja,
and-so red-ants those they-are-arriving there

(109) kuno wauiutsa nyimbo. (110) Ati:
over-here he-it-sings song he-says:
(111) 'Kanga, njiwa - kanga njiwa!
(it's)-mine wild-pigeon (it's)-mine wild-pigeon

Nipeni mphande yangu ine - kanga njiwa!
me-give shell my me (it's)-mine wild pigeon

(ko ko ko kanga njiwa!)
(id. call of w.p.) (it's)-mine wild pigeon

(ndani ana kake kanga njiwa!
who? he-with his (it's)-mine wild-pigeon

ko ko ko kanga njiwa!
(call) (it's)-mine wild pigeon

(REPEAT ONCE AS ABOVE)

(112) Ndiye paja, a-ah! - monga mdziwa nthawi zambili
and-so there (excl.) as you-know times many

mfum amakhala nćimcila. (113) Amvekele cimcila
chief he-always-remains with-big-whisk (id. it-acts) big-whisk

cake kupu! kupu! (114) Tonse tulinthumbwi tuja
his (id. wave thru air) all little-red-ants those

twafa!
they-have-died

(115) Ah! zii! kulibe ubwela nako
(excl.) (id.nothing) there-is-not to-come with-it

kanthu!
little-thing

(116) Waganiza-ganiza. (117) Abwela aMthengu,
he-thinks-thinks it-comes Mthengu-bird

(118) akuti:
it-says

(119) 'I-etu Mthengu ine, mnzanga, nikhoza kukatenga,
I-indeed Mthengu I friend-my I-am-able to-go-take(it)

(120) Nipo nćangotu kuti, kachu! kachu!
and-then I-go-and-just-say that (id.dig-out)

(121) natenga. (122) Ndipo ndine munthu wamkali
I-have-taken(it) and-then it-is-me person fierce

(123) monga adziwa. (124) Kapena afumu amene ngakayambe nakalaula
as he-knows perhaps chief same I-go-begin I-have-clawed

(125) kuti akadziwe (126) kuti ndine wamkali:'
that he-might-know that it-is-me fierce
(127) Ndiye kaMthengu kaja adakatuma zoona. (128) Kali and-so little-Mthengu that he-it-sent truly it-is

mkupita kaMthengu, (129) kuno waiutsa nyimbo munthu uja. in-to-go little-Mthengu over-here he-it-raises song man that

(130) Amvekele: (id. he-sounds)

(131) (SONG as in 111)

(132) indie, a-ah! ndiyetu kafika yes (excl.) and-so-indeed it-arrives

kaMthengutu zoona kuti, (133) kamvekele: little-Mthengu-indeed truly that (id. it-sounds)

tswa tswa tchi tchi khaaa! (134) kuti akacotse (id. cry of the Mthengu) that he-go-remove(it)

(135) osadziwa (136) kuti yapenya kale. (137) Imvekele not-knowing that he-has-spotted already (id. it-sounds)

cimcila the-thu! (138) Kupu! kupu! big-whisk (id. picks-up) (id. wave once, wave twice)

(139) 'Sudzatenga mkazi uyu!' not-you-will-take woman this

(140) Ah! kacitooneka kuti whulu whulu! (141) Kali (excl.) it-does-appear that (id. fluttering) it-is

pansi phu! on-ground (id. hit-down)

(142) Cimcilatu cija nikhulupilila (143) kuti cinali big-whisk-indeed that I-believe that it-was

camankhwalatu. of-'medicine'-indeed

(144) Kafa kuja! it-has-died there

(145) Aah! wapitiliza munthu ujatu kuja, akuti: (excl.) he-continues man that-indeed there he-says

(146) 'Manje nidzatuma ciani?' (147) Akuti: now I-will-sent who? he-says

(148) 'Ntumeko Njiwa, (149) cifukwa Njiwa ina let-me-send-there wild-pigeon because wild-pigeon it-with
spidi. (150) Nidziwa kuti (151) ikangoti stileti!
speed I-know that it-goes-and-just-does (id. steal)
khwa! (152) nuthawa.
(id. snatch-away) and-flee

(153) Waifunsa Njiwa.
he-it-asks wild-pigeon

(154) Tsono Njiwa ija imvekele:
now wild-pigeon that (id. it-sounds)

(155) 'A-ah! mo zilili? (156) Izo ńzapafupi.
(excl.) (it-is) in those-are those-things are-easy

(157) Ine ngathocita zimenezo!
I can-be-able-to-do those-things

(158) Koma iyenso munthu uja sanalodziwa kuti
but he-also man that not-he-was-knowing that

(159) kapena tunthu tuja tupita kuja tulukufa. (160) Iye
perhaps little-things those they-go there they-are-dying he

amaganiza kuti (161) atugwila cabe.
he-always-thinks that he-them-captures only

(162) Ndiye waituma Njiwa ija. (163) Aah! ili
and-so he-it-sends wild-pigeon that (excl.) it-is

kupita Njiwa ija, (164) ndithu mwa spidi molimbitsitsa.
to-go wild-pigeon that indeed in speed very-strong

(165) Kunotu waiutsa nyimbo ija:
here-indeed he-it-raises song that

(166) (SONG as in 111)

(167) Aah! Njiwa ijatu mwa spidi h bvuu!
(excl.) wild-pigeon that indeed in speed (id. fast)

(168) Ah! kuti ikatenge paja (169) mfumu kuno yautenga
(excl.) that it-might-take there chief over-here he-it-takes

ćila imvekele: (170) kupu! kupu! kupu!
whisk (id. it-sounds) (id. wave once-twice-three times)

(171) 'Zoona, kuti munthu mngamtenge munthu
truly that person you-can-her -take person

(172) - ncosatheka! (173) Mutherapo!' is-not-possible you-are-finished-now
(174) Ah! Njiwa aja anapita mmpondo,
(excl.) wild-pigeon that he-went in-a-bad-trip

(175) lewu lewu! (176) Ali kuja khu!
(id.fluttering) it-is there (id.hitting-down) he-says

(178) 'Mkazi wanga, katenge ndiwo ija!'
wife my go-and-fetch relish that

(179) Tsono atuma yani? Yemwetu Ciphadzuwa!
now he-sends who? the-same-one-indeed it-kills-sun

(180) Ndiye nukatenga Njiwa ija, (181) nupititsa
and-so and-go-and-take wild-pigeon that and-bring


(182) Ali khaaletu mnyumba muja (183) Nchito yake
she-is (id.idle-indeed) in-house there work her

nutani? nutunga mkanda mwana waMkazi zoona!
and-do-what? and-string beads child of-woman truly

(184) Aah! aluganiza-ganiza kuja munthu uja
(excl.) he-is-thinking-thinking there man that

(185) cakuti acite ncotani tsopano, (186) amene atuma
that he-should-do it-is-what? now he-who he-sends

onse ndithu,
all really

(187) Tsono kaTimba kaja kamuona kuti (188) munthu
now little-Timba that it-him-sees that man

uja aoneka woshupika-shupika-shupika-shupika, (189) numufunsa:
that he-appears down-in-the-mouth and-him-asks

(190) 'M - m! kodi comwe muvutika, mznanga, nciani?'
(excl.) (ques.) what you-are-troubled friend-my is-what

(191) Munthu uja amvekele:
man that (id.he sounds)

(192) 'M - m! covuta ine nukuti (193) anantengela
(excl.) it-troubles me is-that he-did-me-take-from

wamkazi (194) Tsono mfuna kuti (195) amene angakatenge mphande
wife now I-want that whoever he-can-go-take shell

pamutu pamkaziyo, (196) ndithu ningampatsedi dipo lililose
on-head on-wife-that indeed I-can-him-give-indeed reward any
(197) lomwe angakambe, which he-can-mention
(198) limene angafune kakhosin kwake:' which he-can-want to-neck his

(199) Ndiye, aah! kathambe kaja kakuti:
and-so (excl.) little-Timba that it-says

(200) 'Ndithu ine nikhoza kuyesako. (201) Tsono
indeed I I-am-able to-try-there now

(202) cifukwa ndapita, (203) tsono
I-before-arrive there to-people because I-have-gone now

(204) comwe cicitika ncostani. (205) Nomba ndaona
I-saw what it-is-happening is-what? now I-have-seen

(206) onse (207) amene mutuma akufa! (208) Nomba ine,
friends-my all who you-send they-are-dead now I

(209) coti ningacite poyamba, mfuna kupita kwa ang'anga. (210) Tsono
what I-can-do first I-want to-go to herbalist now

(211) odzakuuzani nthawi yopita.'
I-when-go-leave from herbalist that I-will-you-tell time of-going

(212) Ah! ang'ang a dzina lao anali anChefu.
(excl.) herbalist name his he-was Eland

(213) Timba uja ndithu wapita prrr prrr prrr! kuja
Timba that really he-goes (id.flapping wings) there

Ati:
he-says

(214) 'Ndithu cofuna ucita ine, (215) nkuti mfuna upita
really what-want to-do I I-say I-want to-go

kuti? kwa mfumuku ukatenga mkazi (216) amene anaba wamni wace.
where? to chief to-go-take wife who he-stole of-owner her

(217) Ndiye mkatenga mkazi uja, (218) adzanipatse mphatso
and-so I-when-go-take wife that he-will-me-give present

(219) iliyonse mni wake wamkazi (220) mmenene mkafuna ine. (220) Tsono
any owner her of-wife whatever I-might-want I now

(221) loti mngandiuze (222) kuti
it-being this(time) fee that you-can-me-tell that

(223) Koma cimene nikatenge uko
I-you-give I-presently-am-without but what I-go-take there

(224) cidzakhala mmanja mwa inu, (225) sidzakhala mmanja mwa ine,
it-will-be in-hands of you not-it-will-be in-hands of me
(226) Ati: (227) 'Ooh! ocimene mmene zilili? he-says (excl.) is-what how things-are

(228) ine ndzakupatsa, (229) koma ngati ndiwe okhulupilika, I I-will-you-give but if it-is-you faithful

(230) zinthu zako zidzawekingi. (231) Ngati mtima wako ulukhulupilila things your they-will-work if heart your you-believe

(232) ulunyenga ine cabe, (233) ndithu sizikasewenza you-are-deceiving me only indeed not-they-go-work

(234) sivikagwira nchito (235) vomwe nkupatse!' not-they-go-grip work what I-you-give

(236) Ati: (237)'Ndithu ine nilimbitsitsa kuti (238) dipo he-says indeed I I-make-strong that fee

(239) lomwe nikatenge uko, shuwa lidzabwela mmanja mwa inu! very-one I-go-take there sure it-will-come in-hands of you

(240) Aah! anampatsa tumuzu tutatu, (241) akuti: (excl.)he-him-gave little-roots three he-says

(242) 'Kenaka ukaike kumcula (243) kuli then you-go-out to-tail/whisk where-is chowa kuja. (244) Kenaka ukaike mkamwa. (245) Tsono kenaka tuft(hair) there then you-go-put in-mouth now then ukapelepele (246) ukadzole mmiyendo panthawi yopita. you-go-grind-up you-go-annoint in-legs at-time of-going

(247) Pokafi ka kuja, (248) ukandofika ndithu, at-go-arrive there you-go-precisely-arrive really

(249) ukakhale patsindwi poyamba panyumba yamfumu. (250) Ukacoka you-go-sit on-roof first of-house of-chief you-go-leave paja, (251) nukakhala - amfumu tsitsi lapamutu- (252) ukatenge there and-go-sit chief hair of-on-head you-go-take tsitsi lapamutu lija, pakati pamutu. (253) Tsono ukacotsa hair of-on-head that on-middle on-head now you-when-remove tsitsi lonija (254) wawatha zonse! (255) Mcila hair that-very-one you-have-him-finished all whisk wao uja sukasesewenza. (256) Cifukwa mankhwala (257) amene aja his that not-it-will-work because 'medicine' which that
asewenzetsa m'cila uja, (258) adatenga kuno!'  
it-empowers whisk that he-took here

(259) Kuja kumene kudatenga mankhwala amfumu aja  
there where there-obtained 'medicine' chief that

(260) nkumene kudapita Timba tsono!  
is-where there-went Timba now

(261) Ndiye aah! Timba uja wamuuza nanga!  
and-so (excl.) Timba that he-him-tells really

(262) Akuti:  
he-says

(263) 'Ndithu nabwela!' ((264) Wakonza zinthu zake  
indeed I-have-come he-has-prepared things his

zonse.) (265) Akuti: (266) 'Lelo mpita kumatenga mphande yanu.'  
all he-says today I-go to-go-take shell your

(267) Ati: (268) 'Ndithu mngacite cotheka,  
he-says indeed you-can-do what-is-possible

(269) ine ndithu ngakondwele (270) kuti mutelo.'  
I indeed I-can-be-pleased that you-do-so

(271) Aah! adapitadi ndithu (272) Aliękupita,  
(excl.) he-went-indeed really he-is-going

(273) kuno modandaula bambo uja anaiyamba nyimbo yake  
here in-complaining man that he-it-began song his

(274) Amvekele:  
(id.he-sounds)

(275) (SONG as in 111)

(276) Aah! kaja kaTimba kafika kuja kwa mfumutu.  
(excl.) that little-Timba it-arrives there to chief-indeed

(277) Patsindwi: kha kha! thi thi! chokhaaa! thi thi! chokhaaa!  
on-roof (id. cry of the Timba bird)

(278) Prrr prrr prrr! (279) kalowa mnyumba. (280) Afumu ayesere  
(id. flying) it-enters in-house chief (id.tries)

pano (281) ayesere panotu!  
here (id.tries) here-indeed that(is)-it

(283) Mze mze! (284) Ci'mcila cija kacilewa mphepo  
(id. dodge/dart) big-whisk that he-it-avoids breeze
(285) kuti ifike Timba
that it-reach Timba

(286) Tsono kuti mphepo ija ifike kwa Timba
now that breeze that it-reach to Timba

(287) idalephela (289) cifukwa Timba uja anali mvizimba
it-failed because Timba that he-was with-protective-charms

(290) Adacoka odzimangilila.
he-left himself-bound-with

(291) Ndiye paja watenga mphande ija, (292) andoti
and-so there he-takes shell that he-right-does

mphande cotsu! (293) Ah! ni cimtengo bbu!
shell (id.remove) (excl.) it-is big-tree (id.burst up)

(294) Camela mnyumba yamfumu! (295) Afumunso nukhala
it-sprouted-up in-house of-chief chief-also and-remain

wodabwa. (296) Mphande ija kalamTimba kamvekele: prrr prrr prrr!
amazed shell that little-Timba (id.it-does) (id.flying)

(297) Umuti: phatsu! mnu wake ati mphandeyi
to-him-do (id.give) owner its indeed shell-this

(298) Ah! mnu wake ndithu ukondwa si uku!
(excl.) owner its indeed pleasure it-not this

(299) Tsono nkumuuza kuti:
now is-to-him-tell that

(300) 'Cofuna canga ca ine ndithu nkuti (301) ukampatseko
desire my of me indeed is-that you-go-me-give

qciteni ubweya bwakumcila kwa mkango. (302) Ndilo dipopo langa
is-so-and-so fur of-from-tail of lion it-is-that fee my

(303) nifuna limeneli!'
I-want this-one

(304) 'A-ah! ndilo dipo!? (305) Nomba ine...'
(excl.) it-is-that fee now I

(306) ganize! munthu uja. (307) Kuti akatenge mcula wakango
(id.-thinking) man that he-go-take tail of-lion

kumgowa. (308) Ndiye tali:
it-him-lacks and-so he-says

(309) 'A-ah! tsono nga inu mgagufune liti mcula uyo?'
(excl.) now well you you-can-it-want when? tail that
(310) afunsa Timba.
he-asks Timba

(311) Ati: (312) 'Koma tsiku lililonse limene
he-says but day any which
ungopezele,
(313) ine mcula uyo ndzalandila. (314) Koma
you-precisely-find(it) I tail that I-will-receive but
kuti ŋkupatse tsiku a-a' (315) Koma mwezi wamawa ukathe,
that I-you-give day no but month of-tomorrow it-go-finish
uyo mwezi uyo! (316) ukaloweke, (317) koma
that month that you-go-enter-there but
usakapitilile:'
you-not-go-continue-past

(318) Aah! ndiyetu munthu uja tsoka tsoka tsoka tsoka
(excl.) really-indeed man that (id.searching carefully)
ufuna mcula uja (319) ufuna mcula uja ndithu. (320) Koma mwamwai
to-seek tail that to-seek tail that really but in-luck
adakumana 몆Vumbwe. (321) Nomba uja nupanga nzeru, (322) ati:
he-met with-wildcat now that-one and-make plan he-says

(323) 'A-ah! ine nikhoza ukufunila mcula uyo!
(excl.) I I-am-able to-you-find-for tail that

((324) Osadziwa kuti (325) Vumbe uja analengela
not-knowing that wildcat that he-happened-upon
ciciani? cikango cakufa.) (326) Ndiye nupita kuja (327) nukadula
big-what? big-lion dead-one and-so and-go there and-go-cut
mcula (328) nufika (329) ati:
tail and-arrive-there he-says

(330) 'Ndithu koma dipo lomwe ndingafuneko ine,
indeed but fee that-very I-can-want-there I

(331) cifukwa mcula ndiye uyu, (332) tsono nifunako ng'ombe imodzi!'
because tail it-is this now I-want-there cow one

(333) Munthu uja ati: (334) 'Oke! nidzabweletsa.'
man that he-says alright I-will-bring(it)

(335) Upita kuja kwa Timba...
to-go there to Timba

(336) Akuti: (337) 'Mcula uyu ng'oola! (338) Ah!
(T)says tail this is-rotten (excl.)
tifuna mcila weni-weni wolimba!
we-want tail genuine strong

(339) Ah! ndiye paja mkangano uja! (340) Wasowa
(excl.) and-so there argument that he-lacks
cocita munthu uja (341) Akati aonenso (342) kuti
what-to-do man that he-if-does he-might-see-again that
afune woti... kumene apeze mkango wamoyo (343) kuti
he-seek how where he-might-find lion of-life that
akaduleko cimcila, (344) acitanso mantha. (345) Ndiye
he-go-cut-there big-tail he-does-again fear and-so
paja khale khale! (346) adafa ni liwonde-wonde munthu
there (id.doing-nothing) he-died with wasting-disease man
uja.
that

(347) Ndiye mwambi uyu ndimo unathela!
and-so story this it-is-in it-ended.
THE KACHELE-TREE WIFE

(1) I have this little story for you:

(2) At a certain village there were seven young men (3) who were hunters of field mice. (4-5) One of these young men was not married; (6) all of his friends had wives. (7) Now whenever they would return to the village with their field mice, (8) the wives of the others would come to meet them and receive the game, (9) but he would be met by his mother. (10) And so his friends used to make fun of him (11) because he had no wife.

(12) One day this fellow went out to carve a big tree. (13) He carefully carved that big tree (14) and put on it a mphande shell. (15) Now it became a real beauty of a woman - (16) as soon as he put on the mphande shell, (17) it turned into a living being. (18) She was such a beautiful woman (19) that all those friends of his who had been mocking him, (20) were now coveting his wife. (21) Every day she would roll out a mat by the entrance to her house (22) and string beads.

(23) One day, they went out there to the bush, (24) and he killed more field mice than all his friends. (25) They all returned in a group (26) and stopped at the men's meeting place over there. (27) Then one of them began to sing:

(28) Wife (come receive from me), wife (come receive from me) - Now she takes it, the same time kneeling.

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a. A performance by Mr. Akusensio Banda, a young man of about 18 years; recorded at Kapitao Village in the E. Province of Zambia around 7:00 in the evening of January 11, 1974. There were approximately 7 men, 7 women and 15 children in attendance. This is a relatively free translation from the original Chewa (text K2).

b. Mbewa - 'field mice'; a generic term for the species for which there are a number of more specific names. They are roasted and eaten as delicacies.

c. The customary duty of a hunter's wife, but also a sign of respect for him.

d. Mphande - a mysterious type of shell with magical, life-giving properties.

e. Mphala - 'men's meeting place'; and open area near the village where men and boys commonly gather for various activities: to work at specialized trades, to hold court proceedings, or, simply, to visit and play games together.

f. 'Kneeling', another mark of respect for the husband; also a gesture of thanks when receiving anything from another person.
(29-30) Well, his wife there walked out with a container balanced on her head - *gede, gede, gede, gede, gede*. (31) She arrived - *fii kuw*, (32) and bent her legs - *tyoole*, (33) as she took the game. (34) That woman then returned.

(35) Another one began to sing:

(36) *(SONG)*

(37) His wife, too, came out (38) to receive the game in the same way. (39) She knelt respectfully (40-1) and then returned.

(42) Another began his song (and another) (43) till they all had a turn.

(44) Finally, it was the turn of the last one, (45) the one with the lazy wife. (46) She would spend the whole day sitting in front of her house (47) and all she would do is string beads. (48) She wouldn't even go to fetch water. (49) So that fellow began to sing:

(50) *(SONG, two times)*

(51-2) My! That woman appeared with her nicely-shaped little legs - *tyolu*!

(53) Each of his friends, (54-6) on seeing her face and her great beauty, wanted her for himself. (57) They were all amazed and said: (58) 'Where did this guy find such a beautiful woman?' (59) Now they were jealous of him.

(60) So they set off, and where did they go? - (61-2) to the chief, to a chief just like we have here, Kawaza*. (63-4) They went there and said, (65) 'At our village there's a fellow (66) who has a really beautiful wife, (67) And he's not worthy of her. (68) She'd be fitting as a wife for someone like you, Kawaza.'

(69) Then the chief sent some of his trusted messengers saying, (70) 'Go bring her!'

(71) The messengers arrived there (72) and found that the husband was out there in the bush, hunting field mice as usual. (73-4) They grabbed the woman and made off with her.

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g. Ideophones are included literally in the text as a means of indicating areas of surface stylistic intensity. The attempt was made to represent in the translation as much as possible of their lexical significance and at the same time preserve the smooth flow of events.

h. 'Kawaza' is the title applied to the major Chewa chief in this part of the Eastern Province. The chief's headquarters was located about two miles from the narrator's village.
(75) When they got back to the chief's village, (76) the chief took her into his house. (77-8) Once he got a good look at the woman, he truly desired her (79) and thought to himself, (80) 'Why it is only right that she becomes mine!'

(81) When the husband came back home, (82-5) he found that his wife wasn't around and heard that she had been taken by the chief.

(86-8) So he began to think, (89) 'What will I do now? (90) What can I do to get my wife back?' (92-3) He thought and thought (94) and then began sending animals. (95-6) First of all, he sent red ants to go and take what? The mphande shell! (97) He wanted the mphande. (98) Now if they could get ahold of that, (99) all they'd have to do is pluck it out - chotsu, from the head, (100) and the woman would turn back into the huge tree (101) from which he had carved her, a big Kachele tree. (102) That was the plan he decided on (103) to recover his mphande shell.

(104-5) Indeed, he sent the red ants (for him). (106-7) As you know red ants are little things that can really bite. (108) And so the red ants, when they arrived there at the chief's place, (109-10) over here the man broke out into a song:

(111) Mine, wild pigeon - mine, wild pigeon!
Give me my mphande; it's mine, wild pigeon - ko ko ko, mine, wild pigeon!
(Who has his? it's mine, wild pigeon - ko ko ko, mine, wild pigeon!)

(112) At that point - o-oh! - the chief, as you know a chief often has a big whisk. (113) He waved his whisk through the air twice - kupu kupu! (114) Aah! all the little red ants are dead! (115) Lifeless! And not a thing was brought back to the man.

(116) He thought and he thought.

(117-18) The Mthengul bird came up and said, (119) 'I can do it, my friend; I, the Mthengu bird, can go and fetch it. (120) All I have to do is dig it out with my beak - kachu kachu, and take it away. (122) Besides, I'm

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i. Kachele - a very large evergreen tree similar in shape to the fig tree; it has small, redish, edible fruits and grows in moist areas, often along the banks of streams.

j. Characteristic call of the Njiwa - 'wild pigeon'.

k. Cimcira - 'big whisk', commonly made of the long hair from the tail of an ox or some wild animal and 'doctored' with special charms, i.e. 'medicine', to protect a chief from his enemies and also to help preserve his village from disruption due to any type of calamity.

l. Mthengu - a small, dark bird with a very fierce cry which it uses to frighten away much larger birds.
a very fierce fellow (123) as he knows. (124) I might just begin by clawing the chief himself (125) so that he realizes (126) what a fierce person I am!'

(127) So it was that he sent the little Mthengu bird. (128) While the bird is on its way, (129) over here the man begins his song. (130) It goes like this:

(131) (SONG)

(132) Yes! And at that moment the little Mthengu bird arrived sure enough with its fierce cry, (133) tswa tswa tchi tchi khaaa! (134) intending to removed the mphande. (135) It did not know (136) that the chief had already spotted it. (137) His big whisk went into action. The chief grabbed the whisk - the thu, (138) and swished it through the air - khu phu khu phu. (139) 'You won't take my wife!'

(140) Ah! The Mthengu went into a tail-spin - whulu whulu! (141) It's down - phu! (142-3) That big whisk, I do believe it had protective 'medicine', for sure. (144) The little bird died there.

(145) The man just continued to try, saying, (146) 'Now what'll I do! (147-8) Let me send the wild pigeon (149) because it is known for its speed. (150) All it has to do is zoom in, (151) snatch it away - khwa, (152) and flee. ' (153) So he asked the wild pigeon.

(154) The wild pigeon answered, (155) 'Is that how things are? (156) That's easy! (157) I can do it with no problems at all!'

(158) But the man didn't know (159) that the little beasts going there were being killed. (160) He thought (161) that the chief was merely capturing them. (162) So he sent the wild pigeon.

(163) The wild pigeon is on its way now, (164) indeed, with driving speed. (165) And over here, the man breaks into his song:

(166) (SONG)

(167) The wild pigeon shot ahead - hvuu, (168) to go and recover the mphande there.

(169) But the chief merely picks up his whisk, (170) waves it three times - khu phu khu phu khu phu, and says, (171) 'To think that anyone could take this woman here! (172) Impossible! (173) You're dead!'

(174) Ah! The wild pigeon was on its last flight. (175) It fluttered down - lewu lewu, (176) and hit the ground over there - khu!

(177) The chief says, (178) 'My dear, go and pick up that meat for your relish pot.' (179) And to whom is he talking? No one else but the beauty 'She-Outshines -the Sun'm. (180) She moves over there to pick up the wild

m. Ciphadzuwa - lit. 'it kills the sun'; a praise term applied to a beautiful woman.
pigeon (181) and enters the house with it.

(182) She lounges around the house, (183) and what is her work? Stringing beads, that's all. But she's a real woman, sure enough!

(184) Ah! The man starts thinking again (185) about what he can do now. (186) He's sent just about all of the possibilities.

(187) The little Timba\textsuperscript{n} bird sees (188) that he is continually down in the mouth (184) and asks, (190) 'Say what's troubling you my friend?'

(191) The man replies, (192) 'Well, my problem is (193) that someone took away my wife. (194) Now I want to find someone (195) who can go and get back the mphande shell from her head. (196-7) Truly, I'll give anyone who is able to do that any reward he asks - (198) whatever his heart desires!'

(199) Then the Timba bird says, (200) 'Sure, I will have a try at it. (201) But before I arrive there at the village - (202-3) for I've already gone and observed (204) what's been going on; (205-7) I've seen that all my friends whom you've sent die in the attempt. - (208-9) Now what I have to do first is see a diviner\textsuperscript{o}. (210-11) After that, I'll come to let you know when I will set out.'

(212) The name of the diviner was Mr. Eland\textsuperscript{p}.

(213) The Timba bird flew away - prrr prrr prrr. (214-16) It arrived there and says, 'What I intend to do, if you want to know, is to go and recover a wife whom the chief has kidnapped from her proper husband. (217) If I accomplish that, (218-19) the man will give me whatever present I desire. (220-2) Now at the moment, I don't have the fee that you'll require of me for the charms. (223-5) But whatever I get from him for recovering his mphande, will be yours, not mine.'

(226-7) The diviner replied, 'Oh, is that the story? (228) Well, I'll give you what you need, (229-30) but only if you are faithful will your charms work. (231-3) If in your heart you think you're deceiving me, it's all over. (234-5) Anything I give you I give you won't work at all!'

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n. Timba - a small redish-yellow bird with a loud, very characteristic cry; it builds very intricate nests and is probably a member of the Weaver-bird family. This is the last bird to appear in the Overlay, the one that finally succeeds. According to the song, one would have expected the previous bird, the wild pigeon, to fill this position, which in other stories is often portrayed as one of the cleverest birds. Perhaps this is a technical, 'surface' flaw in the performance.

o. Ng'anga - 'diviner'; the traditional ritual specialist who, among other services, also supplies various magical protective charms to his/her clients. The roots of select trees and bushes are a frequent element of such concoctions.

p. Nchefu - 'eland'; one of the largest members of the antelope family.
(236-8) Timba says, 'I swear that any reward I receive from him, I'll surely come and give to you!'

(240-1) So the diviner gave it three little roots and said, (242-3) 'Put one at your tail where the long feathers are; (244) put another in your mouth; (245-6) and finally, grind one up and sprinkle it on your legs when you're about to set out. (247-9) When you arrive there, first sit on the roof of the chief's house. (250-2) From there go and pluck out a hair from the center of his head. (253-4) Once you've done that, you have finished him. (255) His whisk will be useless. (256-8) The reason is that the 'medicine' which empowers his whisk he obtained right here from me!'

(259-60) Thus, it turned out that Timba went to the very place where the chief had obtained his protective charms!

(261-2) The Timba bird went back and told the man, (263) I've returned, just like I said I would!' (264) (It has prepared everything in advance.) (265) 'Today I'm going to fetch your mphande shell.'

(267-70) The man replied, 'Try your best, and I'll really be happy if you succeed!'

(271) So the bird took off. (272-4) And while it was on the way, over here the man again struck up his song of lament:

(275) (SONG)

(276-9) It darted into the house of the chief - prrr prrr prrr. (280-1) The chief tried here and there, (282) 'Get it!' (283) The bird dodged that big whisk - mze! (284-5) It avoided the draft of the whisk. (286-7) The (poisonous) draft could not reach the Timba because it had protective 'medicine'. (290) It had set out well-protected with charms.

(291) Right then Timba grabbed the mphande shell (292) and pulled it out - chotsu! (293) Ah! all of a sudden a huge tree burst up from the ground - bby! (294) It grew up in the house of the chief. (295) The chief just stood there dumbfounded. (296) Timba took off with the mphande - prrr prrr prrr. (297) Phatsu! it handed it over to its owner saying, 'Here it is!'

(298) Can you imagine that man's great joy!

(299) Now the bird told him, (300-1) 'My wish is that you give me the fur of a lion's tail. (302-3) That is the only reward I'll accept.'

(304) 'Oh, is that the reward? (305) Now I... (306) The man began to think hard - ganize. (307) Where could he obtain a lion's tail? He had no idea. (308-10) 'When do you want the tail?' he asked the Timba bird.
(311-12) 'Why, any day you find one for me, I'll accept it. (314) No, I won't name the exact day, (315) but at the end of next month, the one following this one, (316) you can enter it, (317) but don't wait any longer than that!'

(318) And so the man began searching everywhere - tsoka tsoka tsoka tsoka, (319) attempting to obtain that tail, really trying his best.

(320) Fortunately, he met up with a wildcat. (321-2) Now the wildcat got a bright idea and said, (323) 'No problem; I can find a tail like that for you.'

(324-5) But the man didn't know the wildcat had chanced upon a dead lion. (326-9) And now it went there, cut off the tail, and came right back, saying, (330-2) 'Right, but my fee is - because here is the tail - now I want one cow!'

(333-4) The man said, 'Ok, I'll bring it. (335) And he went off to the Timba bird.

(336-7) The bird said, 'Hey, this tail is rotten! (338) Ugh! I want a real tail, a nice, healthy one.'

(339) And then an argument arose, (340) but there was nothing that the man could do.

(341-3) Though he intended to look around to find a live lion so that he could cut off its tail, (344) he would always freeze up at the thought. (345) And so he just sat around doing nothing - khale khale, (346) until he finally wasted away and died of a broken heart.

(347) As for this story, that's the way it ended!
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