

## APPENDIX 13.

## Complex Propositions in Kpelle William E Welmerr Change

- O. This study is in no way intended to be complete. Mr. John Wealar has prepared some most useful materials describing a mumber of Kpelle expressions used to connect words and sentences, all of which enter into the construction of types of complex propositions. The present study is confined to some major types of complex propositions in which obvious connective words and phrases are not employed. These include both coordinate and subordinate constructions. If an effort is made to classify a very large number of Kpelle propositions under the categories that have been suggested in preceding studies and by Mr. Wealar, and are outlined here, the function of these categories will undoubtedly become more clear, and very possibly others will be added which have escaped our attention just now, though they may be familiar to us.
- l. Uses of the "Consecutive". In a preceding paper, a verbal construction was described which was called "hortative". Frecisely the same construction is used to mark action propositions in a series. The first action construction may be of any type (e.g., past or completive); later actions in the series use the hortative form in a usage labelled "consecutive". In informal story telling, even the first construction may be this hortative-consecutive, with a "narrative" usage.
- 1.1. In a few uses, the consecutive may indicate purpose, and the subject of the second action may be different from the subject of the first. These are expressions of desire and instruction.

pa bwêlii pá lí. pa bwêlii é lí. I want to go.

I want him to go.

a bwêlii pá tíi ké. mo ma e pa. è mò dia di tii ké. He wants me to work. Tell him to come. He told them to work.

1.2. Some other combinations, in which the two subjects must be the same, also appear to indicate purpose. This seems to be characteristic of the verb used in the first construction, which is either "come" or "go" in all typical cases that come to mind. Equating these with "purpose" in some cases seems to be contextually determined; other cases may be quite ambiguous.

pá pà pá lóno ípó. lí í dítóli. pá lì naa pá tíi ké.

I came to speak to you. Go call them. I went there and worked. or I went there to work.

1.3. In other combinations, mere succession of actions is indicated by the consecutive. The subject may be changed only by introducing the second action (or any one after that, of course) by an independent pronoun with the suffix /-p/. Such a subject change may, however, be followed by a second action construction like the first, rather than consecutive.

vá lì vá pá pôlu.

I went and came back. pá tíi kè pá kpée mà. I worked (for a while) and

then stopped.

è pà sé, nyáp pá lí nas. He came here, and I (in turn) then went there.

(I'm not too sure of the last; it had better be checked more carefully. Perhaps the consecutive here is confined to informal narrative, as it is for an initial action.)

1.4. A special use of the consecutive indicates the subject matter of discourse:

pá lòno é pêlav gâlov mã. I talked about the chief.

1.5. Another special use of a consecutive expresses a temporal relationship:

pá pà sé gbínii é lée pai pelêi. I came before night fell. (I came and then night remained coming to spread.)

- 2. Coexistent propositions which involve only actions have previously been described (by myself) as a construction of "simultaneous action". However, description as well as action may be involved, so that coexistence is a more appropriate term than simultaneity. In connection with these constructions, it appears that "Action" and "State" are closely related to each other, and that "Aspect" and "Description" are closely related to each other: the latter pairing was suggested by other factors as well.
- 2.1. In expressing coexistent propositions, the first proposition may be one of several (specified below). The second is introduced by the verbal stem /ke/ with a noun or pronoun object, followed by a verb with the lowtone formative. A first type of coexistent propositions has an action or a state proposition as its first member. and only an action proposition as its second member. actor is the same in both parts.

He laughed and cried (together). è wolo gé yèle. dí kè tíi kêi díké wule too. They were working and singing. a seêni gé kolo lono. he is sitting (and) reading.

2.2. A second type of coexistent propositions has an aspect or a description proposition as its first member, and only a description proposition as its second member. In this case, the verb of the second member (paralleling /-kaa/ or /ks/) can only be /so/.

gétéi gé sò à hélee. à vâla-woo só-nuu.

It is big and (also) good. gáa à tíi ké-nuu gé sò He is a workman and also an evangelist.

2.3. A third type of coexistent propositions may have action, state, aspect, or description as its first member, and a location proposition as its second member. This expresses only the coexistent location of something different from the subject of the first member. For location of the same subject, see \$3 below. (Again, /só/.)

è pà tés ké sò hyéèi. He came with (and had) a chicken.

a seêni kolo kế bò hyếểi. He is seated and has a book.

birci lốlchi, láa nina The house is fine, and there kế sò mà. is new thatch on it.

gáa à tíi kế-nuu, pala He is a workman, with a sore kế sò gốp mà. on his leg.

(Note: /ké sò/ is often contracted to /kôc/.)

3. A statement of the location of a proposition may be added to the basic predication. Location is expressed by an "unmarked complement". This is a substitute place word (e.g., /naa 'there', /sé 'here'), or a possessed dependent noun. Because the dependent noun expresses a locative meaning, and particularly because some dependent nouns are most commonly used in unmarked complements, such dependent nouns have sometimes been called "postpositions" or even "prepositions". However, they have noun forms, and most of them can readily be used also as subject or object. The locative relationship which usually demands an anglish preposition in the translation is actually expressed solely by the juxtaposition of the unmarked complement after the rest of the proposition.

è tíi kè daai sù. gáa seêni naa. zen ní léleĉi řái.

He worked in town.

He is seated there.

This thing seems fine to me.

(is fine at my eyes)

gáa à tíi ké-nùu sé. He's a workman here.
gáa pára tòne mù daai sû. He's in a (one) house in town.
molom ká tí gbôlo sû. That's rice in the basket.

4. A statement of the time of a proposition may be added to the basic predication. Time is expressed by either an unmarked complement ("location in time") or by a marked complement with /a/. In some cases a difference in meaning may be involved, but in many cases the two constructions seem to be interchangeable.

è tíi kè hôkuI tí sù.

è tíi kè à hôkuī tí.

è lì à kpíni.

è lì gbínii sù.

He worked last (that) week.
He worked last week.

He went by night.

He went during the night.

There are also time adverbs for a few times such as "today, yesterday, tomorrow, day after tomorrow"; these may be used in one of two positions in a sentence:

è saa li. or è li saa. He went today.

5. Subordinate expressions of time are commonly introduced by /tai/, borrowed from English "time". It would seem that this is unavoidable in Kpelle as spoken to speakers of English. However, in completely indigenous Kpelle, identical constructions have been heard with this word simply omitted. There is another important marker of the construction which is too easily ignored; it is simply the specific suffix /-i/ appended to the entire clause. "Whenever" is expressed generally by /tai kélee/ 'every time'; here a noun is required in Kpelle, and no form has been recorded with amother noun; it is likely, however, that such an expression as /vele kélee/ could be used.

(tai) vá pà séi, vá galov kaa. When I came here, I saw the chief. (Cf. vá pà sé 'I came here') tai kélee va pa sái, va galov kaa. Whenever I come here, I see the chief.

6. Subordinate expressions of place are introduced by /séi/, which is certainly related to /sé/ 'here', but in this construction does not indicate proximity; the subordinate clause must end with /naa/, 'there', and the entire clause then has the specific suffix /-i/. This is really a form of relative clause (see 8 below).

séi è li naai, fa pôri lii nas. Where he went (there), I can't go. = I can't go where he went.

- 7. Subordinate expressions of manner are of two types. (For other expressions of manner, which should have been added after 4 above, see 9 below).
- 7.1. A second clause is introduced by /yês berei/
  'like the way'; the clause ends with a specific suffix.
  gé yês berei pa gè làI. Do it like I do it.
- 7.2. A first clause is introduced by /berei/ 'the way', and ends with a specific suffix; in this as in the above, the clause must include /le/, a substitute for a marked complement with previous reference. By extension, this construction is also used with the idea of "whereas", "inasmuch as"; the example below happens to be a translation of an English syllogism, but is typical of many indigenous Kpelle expressions.

berei pá mò làI, fês í gá là. In the way I said it, you must do it.

berei núu kélee a pâi saâi làI, Inasmuch as all men will berei mán sumo kéa là à núui, die, inasmuch also as berei (tí) sé sumo a pâi Sumo is a man, in so saâi là. much Sumo will die.

8. Relative clauses are sometimes introduced by /nyíi/, but the significant factor is simply that they must be complete sentences. They usually end with the specific suffix /-i/, but in the case of an indefinite antecedent even this is not necessary; in this instance, the relative is expressed by mere parataxis.

nuu kélee (nyíi) a pôri tíi kĉił every person who can work

(cf. a pêri tíi kêi he can work)

núui gáa naai the person who is there (cf. gáa naa he is there)

meni kélee paa mói everything I have said (cf. paâ mói I have said it; note repeated object)

kpôlo ká ví da molov pů zù This is a basket they put rice in. (cf. da molor pu zu they put rice in it)

9. An added expression of manner, material, product, and possibly other relationships (inadvertently omitted in its logical position after 4 above) is constructed by adding a marked complement to a simple proposition. The variety of "meaning" may seem surprising. particularly for the second and third examples below: the construction simply expresses any appropriate relationship.

è gè à berei pí. da sinan kpête à kona. è dèe à Boa.

He did it in this way. da kona kpate a sivar. They make mortars out of iroko. They make iroko into mortars. He cut it with a knife.

10. Conditional relationships are expressed by using the conditional construction (pronoun with -a, verb low tone) in the first of two clauses. This expresses a somewhat higher expectation than is implied by English "if", and the simple conditional may more commonly be translated by "when". This is not bemporal. however; for an event that has not as yet taken place, the time cannot be made explicit. To express a condition with lower expectation, the conditional /a ke/ is used before another conditional.

yà pà, ya pâi pgáâi. tuna á pú, molor a pâi lélmêi.

à kè tí, kúlíi a pâi kêi à hee. When you come, you will see me. When it rains, the rice will grow well.

In that case (when it is so), we will be happy.

à kì yà pà, ya pâi rgáâi. If you come, you will see me.

à kì tuna à pù, molor a If it rains, the rice will
pâi lốlôi. grow well.

ll.Contrary-to-fact conditions are expressed by two instances of the desiderative construction in sequence.

ii pà, kûi íkàa. If you had come, we would hawe seen you. (cf. ii pà 'I wish you would come', kûi íkàa 'I wish we would see you'.)

This can be semantically equated with the following:

ifé pá ní. maa-mêni mà, kú fé íkáa ní. You didn't

come. Because of it, we didn't see you.

12. An alternative, which Mr. Wealar has discussed in part, can be expressed by /kpaa man/ connecting substantives, or by a negative conditional connecting propositions.

pa sua wêlii, kpàa mán nyée. I want meat or (otherwise) fish.

wa pâi tíi krì. à wàla kố tí, wa pâi lii nua. I will work or otherwise I will go there. (I will work. If it is not so, I will go there.)

The above outline is to be taken as a framework, not an outline of parts of Kpelle grammar. There are probably omissions, and there may be occasional errors in sentences that were reconstructed from my own memory and competence. Nevertheless, a framework of this type appears to be needed and useful for the purposes of this project, and a far more elegant and refined outline hardly seems necessary just now.