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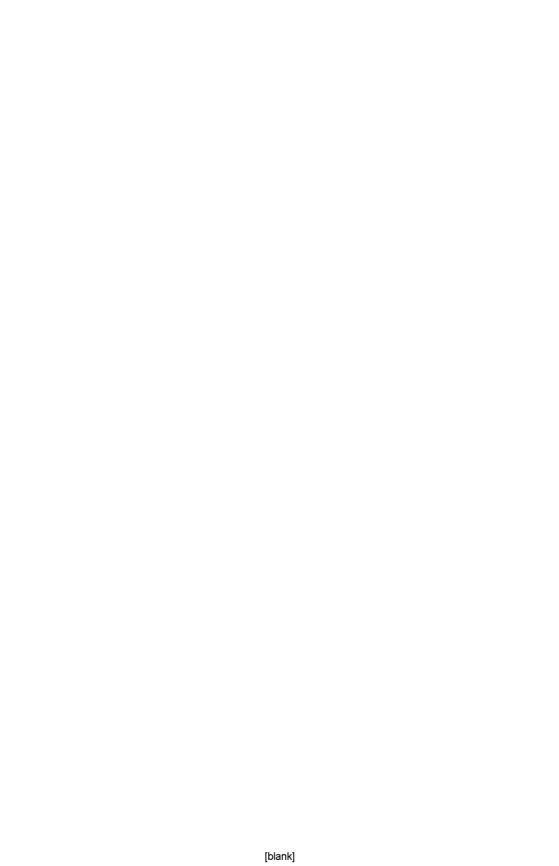
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Topics in Mofu-Gudur

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Mofu-Gudur has one of the most flexible topic constructions ever described. Topics can vary in length from a word or two to scores of words. They can function in discourse as cohesion devices or they can be used to announce or reannounce a discourse topic or they can be used to set the stage for a question word (or phrase) or for a new statement.

In this paper we describe the wide variety of topic constructions in §1 and then some of the variety of the pragmatic uses of topics in §2.

The marker for topic is $n\hat{a}$ (sometimes phonetically $n\hat{i}$). It occurs at the end of the topical construction. There may be more than one topic in a sentence, which will be shown below.

1. The shapes and relationships of topic constructions

Topics occur in a variety of forms and relate semantically to the remainder of the sentence in which they occur in a variety of ways. This section presents a number of these variations.

¹Mofu-Gudur is a Chadic language spoken in northern Cameroon (Dieu and Renaud 1983). The data for this paper were collected by Kenneth and Judy Hollingsworth, working with the Société Internationale de Linguistique in Cameroon, under the auspices of the Centre for Anthropological Research and Studies and the Institute of Human Sciences in the Ministry of Higher Education, Computer Services, and Scientific Research of the Republic of Cameroon. Barreteau (1983a,b) has analyzed the Mofu-Gudur language and we have used his material in our analysis. Haller and Watters (1984) and Wolff (1983) have discussed topics in the related languages Zulgo and Lamang. Mofu is an svo language.

- 1.1. A topic may be coreferential with a constituent of the following clause. The topic is coreferential with the subject of the following clause in (1), with the object in (2), with a time adverb in (3), and is vocative with the imperative clause in (4).²
- (1) ngwas káa ná a sərá ála áyan woman there top 3s know^30 BE squirrel

majá á wúdey ndér kaláh because 3s like peanut too much As for the woman, she knew it was the squirrel because he liked peanuts very much.

- (2) gwágwar ná hánda ngáda kah chicken TOP take 30 for 2
 As for the chicken, take it for yourself.
- (3) tasána ná ya səkwakwá lá dəbá mádángwas today top is wait^incl cmpl now old^woman As for today, we will wait now, old lady.
- daw ta mánjárav (4) kah ná dəbá katáy pərey at back manjarav TOP go and wash there As for you, go and wash behind that manjarav tree (Acacia albida) there.

²Noun and noun phrase objects occur more often than noun or noun phrase subjects. Pronouns, such as -á (third-person subject), are enclitic, and belong to the verb phrase rather than functioning as subject at the level of the clause. Examples are presented in phonemic orthography. Most of the letters have straightforward values, but the following symbols require explanation: 'represents high tone on vowels,' represents glottal stop, á represents a nasalized a, b and d represent voiced glottalic ingressive stops, c and j represent voiceless and voiced palato-alveolar affricates, and sl and zl represent voiceless and voiced alveolar lateral fricatives. Abbreviations used in glosses are 1 first person, 2 second person, 3 third person, adj adjectivizer, and anaphoric, be existential or equational, caus causative, cmpl completive, dei deictic, directional, directional, directional, decicic marker, fut future, ideo ideophone, incl. inclusive, in interjection, interrog question marker, loc locative, neg negative, o object, p personal, per perfect, prog progressive/habitual, pl plural, pst past, ref backreference, rel relative marker, s subject, tag question, top topic.

- 1.2. A short topic may be noncoreferential with a constituent of the following clause. Topics may be only additions to the main part of a sentence and not otherwise be a part of the sentence. The topic in (5) is an evaluation of the following clause.
- (5) maayá ná sésárey nga daw good top spin for me Spin for me better.
- In (6), the topic is a locative or a deictic uttered by the speaker who has just figured out who killed the chief's wife and daughter.
- (6) káa ná ya wúlkey táa mbədmátákáwa sém there TOP 1s think PST^3s transform^PL^3O^PL^2^DIR PRF As for that there, I think they have (killed them (your family) and) turned them (into drums).

The topic in (7) is a general statement that has no specific referent in the following clause, but is further specified and elaborated.

- (7) ya kakwa ná yám dáha káa kwáslamará mey

 1s do^INCL TOP water BE 2s rinse^PL^30 mouth

 As for how we do (judgment), there is water, you rinse out your mouths.
- 1.3. A topic may be much larger than the remainder of the sentence. This is especially true for the wh-question, where everything preceding the interrogative word or phrase must obligatorily be topicalized. Examples (8)-(13) are wh-questions.
- (8) ká lávey sí yá vəlká təbán máaya ná majá me
 2s say must 1s give^20 sheep good TOP because which?
 As for your saying that I must give you a good sheep, why? or
 Why do you say that I have to give you a good sheep?
- (9) á yawa ná kwára 3s born DIR TOP how? How did he get to be born?
- (10) ma cáfda bégáney ná wa one ask^30 elephant TOP who? Who asks Elephant?

(11) máatázlakáya ray ná ka hway dəbá bá ná bay bald head TOP 28 run back NEG TOP chief

> mahurá fa hándáya lá da wará ma dá big PROG carry^10 CMPL afterward one FUT

côhkwará váw ná wa³ ná stripe^20^PL body TOP who? TOP You bald heads! Don't run away. The big chief (the elephant) is carrying me (to my death), after which whom will you find to cut the stripes on your body?

- (12) mekey máaya ná wura make good TOP which? Which one did good?
- (13) tákwaw cek hay tábiyá kah má cáhtará váw
 Takwaw thing PL all 2 to carve^30^PL body

táa ngá ná ta me with it TOP with what? Takwaw, with what things do you carve a body?

A yes-no question does not usually require topicalization, as illustrated in (14); but in a yes-no question with a tag, the whole sentence before the tag is topicalized, as in (15).

- (14) ká záy ngá áyan á daw there excrement of squirrel this INTERROG Is that the excrement of Squirrel there?
- (15)káa sárev gágámay á ná daw bá dívá ngá spin cotton this TOP of 2S me NEG TAG As for this cotton you spin, it's mine, isn't it?

Sentence (16) ends in a short accusation, with everything before it being topicalized.

³The question word 'who?' is sometimes wa ná, which appears to emphasize the uncertainty of the reference.

- (16) málgámá anja má nása hwáyak ná ala kah Malgama when one destroy 30 country TOP BE 2 Malgama, when someone destroys the country, it will be you.
- 1.4. A topic may be closely related to the main part of the sentence. It may be the first part of a sentence as a condition clause, in which case it must be topicalized, as in (17), where an exclamatory word precedes the condition clause.
- (17) yaw da ká wuɗiyá ná ya daw well if 2s want^10 TOP 1s go Well! if you want me, I'll go.

The topic may be a time clause, as in (18) and (19), or a reason clause, as in (20) and (21). A conjunction (LINK WORD, Longacre 1968b:1), if there is one, may be found either in the topic or in the rest of the sentence.

(18)anjá ka tákwáram ná bəzá daw hay ánga má when 2S burn PL TOP child 3 PST^REL my PL

zákadáta sém throw^cAus^30^PL PRF When you burned my children, it destroyed them.

- (19) a da sawa dáa mádála ná cek áha áa dáha cónga 3S FUT come in hunt TOP thing ANA 3P BE even so Even before he comes from the hunt, the thing is still there.
- (20) da masa kah ta layáwa lá ná ka lawa gwágwar in that 2 pst take^10^DIR CMPL TOP 2s take^DIR chicken

mábará dá ray ketkel dáha a hár white on head refuse^pile BE at hand
In that you have stolen something for me, you can take a white chicken that is on top of the refuse pile.

(21) majá tábán máaya ná ya fá dá valdá dáa bá because sheep good TOP 1s FUT give CAUS BE NEG Because the sheep is a good one, I am not about to give it to you.

Linked closely to $b\acute{a}$ (negative), $n\acute{a}$ (topic) forms a kind of negative condition that is translatable by 'otherwise', as in (22).

(22) máaya ngá ndaw dáa bá bá ná ya bádákáwa good for man BE NEG otherwise Is exit^cAUS^2O^DIR

There is no good in man, otherwise I would pull you out (of the pit).

Example (23) is a contrast sentence with the conjunction amá 'but', in which the second part of the sentence is a negative existential clause.

(23) manjákáya ámbá ndaw ngá hándáwa yám amá sitting that person to bring DIR water but

ndaw ná dáa bá person top be neg

He was sitting in order that someone would bring him water, but there was no one (who came).

Quotation formulas are not usually topicalized; but, in the exchange in (24), both quotation introducers are. Both speakers are already on stage and are preparing for battle. The first quotation introducer does not contain the verb 'say', but the second one does:

- - b. bégáney á lávey ná ngama ná nákwa elephant 3s says TOP good TOP go^INCL

hárpatákwa ta hárpey gwáy stamp^3o^pl^incl with stamp only The elephant says, "That's good. Let's just go stamp on them."

The following three examples each show an activity that is topicalized and related to a following clause by a linking word—ala 'be' in (25), tá' 'then' in (26), and ta 'with' in (27).

(25) meféy sləlam ná ala wása ngá mámólkey blow flute TOP BE game for joy Playing the flute has become a game of joy.

- (26) mabár a sawa ná tá' a tuway a tuway lion 3s come TOP then 3s cry 3s cry
 The lioness comes, then she cries and cries.
- (27) a samáwa ná ta mekey wálay 38 come PL DIR TOP with do song They came, making music.
- 1.5. A topicalized element may lack overt marking of its logical relation to the remainder of the sentence. When such a topic announces the overall topic, the main sentence may give an antithesis, an amplification, a reason, or a result. The topic in (28) is an unmarked protasis in an antithetical sentence; that in (29) is in a quotation and is amplified by the main clause; and that in (30) is the ground for action referenced in the main clause.
- (28) a sápta ná a hátátár babá 38 looked for 30 PL TOP 38 found 30 PL NEG He looked for them (but) he didn't find them.
- (29) a lóvey ahá zəngwáw daw a key ná á tódey áa yam 3s says ah donkey my 3s does TOP 3s fall into water He said, "Ah, as for my donkey's doings, he has fallen into the water."
- (30)ka ma hətátiwa təbáŋ daw hay káa ná ehé find^10^DIR sheep behold my there TOP REL PL

yá vəlká təbán ngá máaya 18 give^20 sheep for good As for you finding my sheep for me, behold, I give you a sheep for free.

1.6. A topic may itself be grammatically complex. Topics are usually grammatically simple, but may also be compound or complex. The most frequent grammatically complex topic construction is a noun phrase containing a relative clause, such as the transitive wh-question in (31), which has an object noun phrase that contains a relative clause, or the wh-question in (32), which entails a relative clause within an existential clause and a quotation sentence.

(31) ya da kadá ndaw mesémédey máa wuriwa léy 1s will kill person sorcerer REL burn^10^DIR field

> daw káa ná kwára my at TOP how?

How will I kill the sorcerer who burned my field?

(32) á lávam diyán ngá papáy ma zléy wálay dáha 38 say PL bird of my father REL begin song BE

> ná ánga dáma TOP 3 where?

Where is Father's bird that they say sings?

- 1.7. Two or more topics may occur in a single sentence. When this happens each topic adds information that leads to the main declaration, as in (33)-(35), the last of which has six topics.
- (33) kwakway ngá léy kah há ná masa kah má boundary of field your ANA TOP that 2 PST

hávey ná tá ama cultivate TOP with where?

As for the boundary of your field that you cultivate, where is it?

(34) ma pá cek fá waw kedé ná ala waawa one put 30 thing on fire there TOP BE whoever

ná fá ndəley lá Top prog consume CMPL

Whoever put something on the fire here, whoever it was, it is getting burned up.

(35)dá ndaw má wuɗyá masa ná waawa ná nga wants¹⁰ if that TOP whoever TOP for man REL

dəzliyá ngwa kásl a gázlávay ámba ya construct 10 tower all to sky that 1s

təldáta áta maman ngá zél daw take^up^30^PL them mother of husband my

ta gədéy ŋgá zél daw kede lá á vád and dog of husband my there CMPL to high

ná yá kəzluwa ná da ma sluyá ná TOP 1S drop^DIR TOP if one takes^10 TOP

waawa ná yah ngá ndaw áhá whoever top is for man that

If a man wants me, whoever it is, (I wish that) he construct a tower all the way to heaven so that I can carry up there the mother of my (murdered) husband and the dog of my husband. I will throw myself off there, if one catches me, whoever it is, I will be his (wife).

- 1.8. A topic may lack a semantic connection with the rest of the sentence. Sometimes a topic encodes information that is extraneous to the rest of the sentence, its occurrence being governed by discourse considerations, as in (36).
- (36) magwádakw záy ta sawa lá dəbá kəfcám kəfcám bird^of^prey PST come CMPL now whoosh whoosh

káfcám ná dam ká a kar méy húsá húsá whoosh TOP girl there 3s make^30 voice shoo shoo

húsá ánga kəfcám kəfcám a méy lá shoo 3 whoosh whoosh 3s take^off cmpl

As for the bird of prey having come now, (he sits there flapping his wings) whoosh, whoosh, whoosh, the girl yells, shoo, shoo, shoo. He took off (flapping his wings) whoosh, whoosh.

1.9. A topic may occur independently of a following main clause. In running text, when a series of topics that are not closely related semantically occurs, one cannot be sure whether the topics are separate sentences or

should be connected to the next one. To get around that problem, we have taken the following examples from quoted (planned) conversations, where we can be sure that when the speech of one speaker ends there is a sentence break and that the speech of the next speaker begins a new sentence.

(37) ndáw mólak á zóma dáf wúré káa ná ya man stranger 3s ate^3 food now there TOP 1s

> fəcərwa ver lá bá ná sweep^3^DIR chamber CMPL NEG TOP

As for a stranger eating the food there, I had not yet swept the chamber.

(38) máaláhwa ray bágáney a ná anjá a sákwíya bald head elephant this TOP when 3s wait¹

bá ba ya kadámará ná not that is fight PL 30 TOP

That bald headed Elephant! Why didn't he wait for me so that we could argue about it?

This completes our survey of the types of topics. The topicalization for WH-questions and of condition clauses is obligatory for all speakers. The rest of the topics are optionally topicalized. Some speakers of the language simply leave out $n\acute{a}$ (topic) and give the same constructions, sometimes marking them off with a phonological break. Other speakers put in $n\acute{a}$ (or its $n\acute{i}$ variant) whenever they can. Most people fall between these two extremes.

This topic system seems even more flexible than the topic system in Lisu, as described by Manaster-Ramer (1988), and far more flexible than the topic systems of Japanese, Korean, and Mandarin described by Li and Thompson (1976). There might even be some question about considering this phenomenon as TOPICALIZATION in Mofu-Gudur, but we have no better term for it so far.

Now we look at the pragmatics of how topics are used.

2. The pragmatic uses of topics

The topic construction can be used on different grammatical levels. In §1, we illustrated topics in different sentences, such as in wH-questions or condition clauses, where they must be made into topics. In this section we illustrate

the uses of topics on various grammatical levels, showing how they contribute to sentence-level, paragraph-level, and discourse-level functions.

- 2.1. A topic may summarize the preceding sentence within a paragraph. Within a paragraph, a topic can serve as a cohesion device by summarizing or repeating what has been previously said. This usage of topic is especially seen in introductory material in stories or in the dramatic peak of a story. Example (39) is the closing summary of an expository text. The topic in the second sentence repeats the idea of 'raising chickens' to give coherence to the paragraph which summarizes the points expounded in the text.
- (39) a. á gəltá gwágwár ngá hay ná ánda kéde 3s raise^3o^PL chicken her PL TOP like this As for her raising chickens, it is like this.
 - b. gwágwár háy fá mey ngá ná kwakwadbá da chicken PL at mouth her top many if

fá sápa ta méy a ánda káde PROG seek^3 with word 3 like this As for her having chickens, there will be many if she does like we have said.

Example (40) is the peak of a narrative tale. The topic repeats the action of one character in order to relate his action to the action of other characters also named in the paragraph, to create a very tight paragraph cohesion.

- (40) a. a da lálawa pápárakw héyey

 3s fut take DIR hoof ANA

 He was going to take the hoof (of the roasted goat).
 - b. a lálaráwa pápárakw a hámbáda dabá ná 3s take^30^DIR hoof 3s chew^30 now TOP

zel pak ngwas káa héyey pák dá wáyam husband iDEO wife there ANA iDEO from river As for him taking the hoof and chewing on it, the husband suddenly returned (and) the aforementioned wife suddenly returned from the river.

- (41) a.... a daw a gurbá slám áhá
 3s goes 3s clear 30 place first
 ... he goes and clears this place.
 - b. ta gurbá cáy ná tá' a wáwúra ta áwaw PST clear^30 CMPL TOP then 3s burn^30 with fire Having cleared it, he then burns it off with fire.

Example (41) is from an activity text that uses a topicalized recapitulation to create cohesion within the paragraph.

2.2. A topic may introduce a paragraph by reflecting material from the preceding paragraph. It may be used to call attention to paragraph boundaries, especially in activity texts. Few are found in narrative paragraphs except as EPISODE beginnings (§2.3).

A topic which serves in the initial sentence of a paragraph creates cohesion by either TAIL-HEAD LINKAGE (Longacre 1976:204) which recapitulates a previously mentioned thematic word or phrase, or by TEMPORAL LINKAGE, which is perhaps expected but newly mentioned.

Example (42) is taken from an activity text about how women collect termites to feed their chickens. It is an introductory sentence in a paragraph about the best type of termites to feed chickens. The word 'termite' was introduced in the sentence that precedes the paragraph.

(42) máacah hay káa ná mékelé mékelé dáha termite PL DEI TOP other other BE As for these termites, there are many different kinds.

Example (43) recounts an actual event, with the first topic indicating a new paragraph by marking a time sequence between what preceded and what follows. The second topic binds two closely related events together.

(43) pás hakwád ná gúmíya ma hawá ngáda way day evening top Gumiya REL return^DIR to home

a wuswa ná bərre táp a ver 3s enter^DIR TOP IDEO IDEO to bedroom At evening, Gumiya having returned home, went directly to his bedroom, (he didn't speak to a soul). 2.3. An episode may begin with a topic reflecting material from a preceding episode. Just as a topic can mark new paragraphs and at the same time provide tail-head cohesion or temporal cohesion from one paragraph to another, so may they function between episodes in narratives or between new Points in nonnarrative texts. In Mofu, the topic-created cohesion may be in the form of a resumptive bringing back of some earlier part of the story for further development or simply a reintroduction of a previously named character, character trait, or topic.

Example (44) is from a narrative where previous episodes have been concerned with the actions of a certain protagonist after a hunt. At the beginning of this new episode, the topic provides cohesion by restating an action of that person reported in a preceding episode.

(44) a. ndəhay a samáwa dáa mádála ndaw kedé a men 3s come^DIR from hunt man this 3s

daw a way ná dam kede mánakáya dá ver go to home TOP girl this lying in chamber The men return from the hunt and this man goes home and this girl was lying in her chamber.

b. manjákáya ámbá ndaw ngá hándáwa yám daw staying that person to carry DIR water 10

ná dáa bá TOP BE NEG

She stayed (there) so there was no one to carry him water.

Example (45) is the beginning of a third episode of a narrative text. It reintroduces the main character of episode one, bay 'chief', and the main character of episode two, $c\acute{e}k$ 'thing' (bird). The second clause marked by $n\acute{a}$ (topic) sets up a contrast with the main part of the sentence.

(45) bay a sawa dá léy ná ba cék ngá zlár chief 3s come from field TOP that thing to begin

wálay ánda máamándaw daw ná dáa sabá song like days before going TOP BE no longer The chief came from the field (to hear) the bird sing for him as was his custom in days past, (but) it no longer existed.

- 2.4. A topic may set the stage as preamble to the introduction of new material. It may present new information which contributes to the setting of the stage of a narrative⁴—a new situation (45), a new character (46), or a new point (47). Example (46) begins an episode by introducing monkeys as new characters; (47) introduces an activity text on how to plant a field with the first point, choosing a place to plant.
- (46) duwak hay a samáwa ngá séy yám ná monkey PL 3s come PL DIR for drink water top
 - a hətfámará áa dá dəma 38 find^loc^pl^30 3P in there

As for monkeys coming to drink water, they found him in there (a deep hole).

- (47) yaw anda ndaw a wuɗey amba a da key ley ná
 INJ as man 3s want to 3s FUT make field TOP
 - sí témé a daw á nakwa slam dá ley dágay must first 3s go 3s look^DIR place in field first Well, when one wants to go make a field, he must first go check that field out.
- 2.5. A topic may mark the peak of a narrative or activity discourse. Topics often occur at narrative PEAKS or INCITING MOMENTS. They serve to call attention to the other surface structures that characterize such places in discourse, appearing to be a form of highlighting (Longacre 1983:86 and Wiesemann et al. 1983). The surface structure of the topic is usually different from the remaining part of the sentence. In the case of a narrative peak which is marked by ideophones instead of normal verbs, the topic portion of a sentence precedes the ideophones. In the case of an inciting moment marked by use of nonnarrative tense-aspect (usually future or progressive), the topic usually precedes the verb phrase that is so marked.

A topic found at the peak of a narrative is illustrated in (40), where the topic is marked for tense-aspect as expected in narrative. The topic restates

⁴In Mofu, stage setting material is often topicalized when the hearer may already know the material (it is unused-new material, Prince 1979) but it needs to be called to the hearer's attention. To the outsider, the material may be Brand-new material which needs some better introduction.

the anticipated action, thereby focusing attention on the action that will clash with that of the peak, which is expressed by ideophones.

A topic may also emphasize the action that marks an inciting moment. This is shown in (48), which is taken from an inciting moment of a narrative episode. The third topic in this example is part of the inciting moment which, in this case, is marked by progressive aspect.

(48) áta ma kádmará gaangan á ná ngá ray ngá ngwas they REL hit PL 30 drum DEI TOP of head of wife

ngá bay ta dam ángá kedé héyey ná ánja of chief and daughter his DEI mention TOP when

ndaw dáha fá daw ná fá jákey slamay man BE PROG go TOP PROG hear ear As for their (the monkeys') drumming the drums (made) of the heads of the chief's wife and daughter, there was a man who came and listened.

- 2.6. A topic may end a sentence. This situation, where the main part of the sentence does not follow the topic, is rare; and the meaning of ending a sentence with the topic marker is uncertain. In this context, the actual occurrence of $n\acute{a}$ (topic) is optional, depending on individual ideolects. When used, it adds emphasis, either positive or negative. Illustrations (49) and (50) are chosen with care, from texts where we can be certain of sentence boundaries. Example (49) is a question boxed in by quotation formulas 'he says'; (50) is the last sentence of an explanatory text and is a summary of what that text is about.
- (49) kah kutáf ná wewér kah kaláh ka da hándíwa you turtle top tricky you too much 2s fut carry dir

áa yam ná to water TOP

(Squirrel says) "As for you, Turtle, you are very tricky; you will put it in the water." (Turtle says, "Please, Squirrel, no I won't.")

(50) ánda kedé ngusay gá á nəsmatará cəved like that woman PL many 3s destroy PL 30 PL way

ngá mézále hay ná of husband PL TOP

As for how many women destroy the lives of their husbands, (it is like that).

3. Conclusion

The topic construction in Mofu-Gudur is a very flexible construction in its extent and in its function. It may or may not be coreferential with a constituent of clauses that follow, or it may be a restatement of preceding sentences. It functions not only on the sentence level, but can function simultaneously on one or more higher levels as well.

A topic may help mark important parts of a paragraph or discourse by serving as a device for scene setting, linking, or highlighting. A topic used for scene setting may introduce new material (§2.3) or recall previously mentioned material (§2.1–2). A topic that creates cohesion may do so in terms of tail-head linkage as in (42), temporal linkage as in (43), or logical linkage as in (42). A topic that calls attention to the appearance of a new structure may be a topicalized participant reference as in the second topic of (48), an event reference as in (40), a logical reference as in (42), or summary as in (50).

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