A Summary Analysis of the Discourse Structure of the Kemedzung Language

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This research paper concerns the Kemedzung language, spoken in Misaje Sub-Division, Donga-Mantung Division, North West Region of Cameroon.

ISO 639-3 language code: dmo

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Abbreviations

COMP Complementizer
FUT   Future
IRR   Irrealis
LOC   Locative
NEG   Negative
P0   Past 0 (perfective)
P1   Past 1 (immediate past)
P2   Past 2 (medial past)
P3   Past 3 (remote past)
PhCl Phrase Closure
PRES Present
PROG Progressive
REL   Relative pronoun

1   Introduction

1.1   Name of the language

Kemezung is a language spoken in the Misaje Sub-Division, Donga-Mantung Division, North West Region of Cameroon, West Africa. Dieu and Renaud (1983) in the Atlas Linquistique du Cameroun (ALCAM) list the language as: Kemezung [872]. Older versions of the *Ethnologue* (e.g. Gordon 2005) list the language as Kemezung, and the following as language name variations: Dumbo, Dzumbo, Kumaju (ISO 639-3 language code: dmo). The official language committee of the Kemezung speaking people has agreed that a more accurate pronunciation and spelling of the name of the language is: in English, Kemedzung, and in the local orthography, *Kɨmədzuŋ*. This updated spelling is now reflected in the most recent edition of the *Ethnologue* (seventeenth edition, 2014).

1.2   Genetic affiliation

Kemedzung has the following genetic affiliation: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Beboid, Eastern (Gordon 2005).

1.3   Sociolinguistic situation

1.3.1   Demography

The language is spoken predominately in the village of Dumbu (spelled Dumbo on government maps), though it is also spoken in a very small nearby village, Kwei. Published literature lists the number of speakers as 4,500, although the exact number is unknown since there are clusters of people living in larger towns and cities outside the area.

1.3.2   Viability

Kemedzung is spoken by young people as well as old people and is the language of choice in Kemedzung homes. It is also used in local churches and during community events when the audience is predominantly Kemedzung.

1.3.3   Language attitudes

The Kemedzung people are positively disposed toward their language, and this positive disposition is increasing as various language development efforts are realized, such as written and audio materials starting to be produced in Kemedzung.

1.3.4   Multilingualism

Several other languages can be regularly heard in Dumbu due to a variety of non-Kemedzung people living in the area; for example, Fulfulde, Hausa, Naami, and Limbum. However, the majority of communication between the people groups, as witnessed in the common market place, is Cameroonian Pidgin English, which most Kemedzung speakers can speak with at least a minimum of functionality.

1.4   Corpus and nature of the research

The current paper is an effort to describe the basics of Kemedzung discourse structure, particularly from a descriptive viewpoint. One of the foundations of this paper is two discourse workshops held in Misaje by SIL linguistics consultant, Carla Bartsch, in 2013

and 2014. The goal of these workshops was to help local language workers, primarily those involved in translation work, to become better acquainted with how their own Cameroonian languages function in the area of discourse, so that when they are translating material from other languages into their own, they will use the proper discourse features of their own languages rather than carrying over the discourse features of other languages which may not communicate properly in their own languages.

The first of these workshops was focused on narrative discourse, and the second on hortatory discourse. The researcher was not present for the narrative discourse workshop, but was present at the hortatory discourse workshop.

Throughout these workshops four Kemedzung translators studied a variety of Kemedzung oral texts and were guided in discovering some of the basic discourse features present in those texts. These observations were never written up formally, and the analysis done in these workshops was at a very introductory level. The goal of this research paper is to write up the findings of the Kemedzung translators in a more formal manner, as well as to produce a more in-depth analysis of some of the discourse features of Kemedzung based on the researcher's own work.

The researcher has spent two plus years living in the village of Dumbu, and then another four plus years in the nearby town of Misaje, where the researcher has continued to work closely with the four Kemedzung translators mentioned above. These four language workers, Linyo Pascal, Biebu Isaac, Kindonya Ernest, and Nditama David have given much of their time in the last four years toward the development of their own language and deserve much gratitude from the whole Kemedzung community. The researcher, too, is grateful for their self-sacrificing concern for their community, and all the help they have provided the researcher in understanding their language better, all with the goal of helping them to do even better translation and language development work for the Kemedzung people.

The reader is encouraged to take note of the following items related to the presentation of the data. The data is presented utilizing the current established orthographic forms. The reader is directed to the *Kemezung Orthography Guide* (Cox 2005) for aid in realizing their phonetic forms. Of special note is the fact that, according to the current Kemedzung orthography, tone is minimally marked and used primarily to distinguish between the singular and plural of class 9/10 nouns, to distinguish between P3 and P2, to mark the far future tense, and to distinguish between a small number of minimal pairs in vocabulary.

2   Definition of discourse structure and discourse analysis

So, what are discourse structure and discourse analysis?

"The discourse structure of a story can be described as patterns that a good story-teller uses in a particular language to produce a good story. These patterns consist of:

1. linguistic markers,
2. length and type of sentences in different parts of a story,
3. the order in which an author puts information in a story,
4. and the way an author repeats information

in order to

1. give the story a structure, which allows the audience to develop a picture in their minds of each part of the story as they come to it,
2. show which pieces of information in the story are more important than other information,
3. introduce new information into the story at the rate that people are used to,
4. and bind the story together in people's minds around a central message.

Discourse analysis is basically a search for the patterns in a language that are used to create a good story." [1]

3   Approach of this paper toward discourse analysis

There are many different areas of study that relate to discourse structure, so papers written about the discourse structure of a language are organized in different ways by different people. In the narrative discourse workshop held in Misaje, four main topics were focused on. These were peak marking, theme marking, participant reference, and boundary marking.

A narrative was described as containing at least the five following components. The setting of the story, an inciting event, a climax, the denouement, and closure. The peak of a story is the most important, tense, or exciting part of the story, and is located around the point where the major problem is occurring and/or being solved. Different languages use different features to indicate to their hearers/readers that a certain part of the story is the most important (the peak), and these features fall into the category of peak marking.

A narrative often revolves around a certain theme, such as solving a certain problem, showing how a certain situation came about, teaching a moral lesson, etc. Different languages have different ways of making clear what the theme of a particular story is. These different ways of revealing the main theme of a story fall into the category of theme marking.

A narrative often involves more than one character, and these different characters are referred to as participants. Different languages have different ways of referring to newly and formerly introduced participants, or indicating which participants throughout the story are more or less important at different points in the story. These different ways of referring to different characters in a story fall into the category of participant reference.

A narrative involves progression from one episode to another. Within an episode a narrative involves progression from the setting to an initial event to a problem to the resolution of the problem. Different languages use different features to indicate the boundaries between these different units in a story, so the hearer will know he is transitioning from something old to something new. These different features fall into the category of boundary marking.

The term hortatory has to do with trying to influence another person to change their behavior. For example, trying to get them to do or not do something. Therefore, hortatory discourse has to do with speech acts in which a person exhorts others. Familiar hortatory discourse is parents admonishing their children, a boss giving instruction to a worker, a

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[1] Bartsch, Carla. Narrative Discourse Workshop Handouts (Unpublished). 2013:1.

pastor preaching to his congregation, or simple conversation between friends in which one is trying to influence the other to change their behavior in some way. Peak marking, theme marking, and boundary marking also apply to hortatory discourse. One additional topic, given more attention in the hortatory discourse workshop than the narrative discourse workshop, was verb ranking.

When trying to influence another's behavior, one can express their argument with different degrees of strength. They can encourage, advise, plead, command, threaten, etc. Different languages have different ways of expressing the strength of the influence one is trying to exert over another, and these different features often center around the way the verbs are used. These feature fall into the category of verb ranking.

4   Narrative discourse structure analysis of Kemedzung

4.1   Peak marking

The Kemedzung translators identified four main methods of peak marking in their natural Kemedzung texts. These were the use of parallel phrases, tail-head structure, exclamatory words and phrases, and longer sentences.

4.1.1 Parallel phrases

Parallel phrases are phrases occurring close together in the text that are very similar in form and/or words.

For example, in the text "Five People in One Week", three consecutive sentences at the peak of the story contain parallel phrases. Each sentence contains the same subject (even if referred to in different ways, such as "Hausas and Mbororos", "they", and "those men"), the same verb ("search"), and the same object (even if referred to in different ways, such as "their man" and "that Mbororo man").

1a.   **...Busɔŋka   bə   Bəku   nɔŋ   miɨ   wubɔ**... (sentence 13c)
          Hausas   with   Mbororos   search person their
          '... the Hausas and Mbororos have searched for their person...'

1b.   **...bɔ** gəŋ   **nɔŋ   miɨ   Bəku**   **wa**. (sentence 14b)
          they go   search person Mbororo   that
          '... so they will go in search of the Mbororo man.'

1c.   **Bənɨnsə ba**   nɛ́ lɛ   ba   **nɔŋ   miɨ   Bəku**   **wa**,... (sentence 15a,b)
          men   those P3 go.bush and search person Mbororo   that
          'Those men went to the bush and searched for that Mbororo man ...'

4.1.2 Tail-head structure

Tail-head structures are structures in which the last clause of the previous sentence is more or less repeated as the first clause in the following sentence.

A tail-head structure can be clearly seen in a text called "Nothing".

2a. Kɨ ji fiə wudɔ wɨ miɨntaŋ no,
PROG be month some on old.man this
'One month came in which this old man,'

2b. wu yɨ wuhu ji lə Fiɔŋ na sɨŋ, **yu kpə.**
who name his be COMP thing PRES not, he die
'whose name was Nothing, died.'

2c. **Lə yu kpə,** bɛŋ ba kɨ shɨ, bɔ dɨ bɔ dɨ.
When he die, children those PROG stay, they cry they cry
'When he died, the children stayed crying and crying.'

4.1.3 Exclamatory words/phrases

A third peak marking feature is the use of what were called exclamatory words or phrases. These "exclamations" help to express superlatives and other meanings that have a heightened sense of feeling.

For example,

3. Busɔŋka bə Bəku nɔŋ miɨ wubɔ **sɨŋ sɨŋ…**
Hausas with Mbororos search person their till till
'… the Hausas and Mbororos searched their person "until"…' (for a very long time)

Following are some other exclamatory words not noted by the translators: *bu* 'just', *kwa* 'only', *mɛ* 'so', *tɨmo* 'even', *chi* 'all', and *kɨsɨkɨ* 'immediately'.

4. *bu*
…mɨ **mbu** yinə buŋga fɛŋ ba lətə kɨtso.
I I.just add power now and run much
'I just added power and ran fast.'

5. *kwa*
…wə nɔŋ **kwa** ɨji nɨŋ yɔhɔ.
you search only instead work your
'…concentrate only on how to get your job.'

6. *mɛ*
Ŋŋəŋ fiɔŋ fidɔ bɔ́ **mɛ** budə fi woso **mɛ** kɨtsoo.
I.see thing some up so tall it white so much
'I saw something so tall and so white.'

7. *kɨsɨkɨ*
Mɨ **kɨsɨkɨ** yu bu ba.
There immediately he just come
'He immediately arrived at the place.'

8.   *tɨmo*
      Wə   gəɲɨ   wə   jikə   ŋəŋkəhə   yu   wɨ   **tɨmo**.
      You   go.PhCl you   be.NEG see.NEG   him   on   even
      'If you go you will not even see him.'

4.1.4 Longer sentences

The translators also suggested that longer sentences may be another peak marking feature. This is probably partly attributable to the increased use of parallel phrases and tail-head constructions. It is possible that native speakers sometimes use more subordinate clauses around the peak of a story, too, and this can significantly increase the length of a sentence. However, subordinate clauses are by no means limited to the peak of a story, and their degree of use differs significantly based on the style of the person speaking.

In the following example of an exceptionally long sentence found in a peak portion of the "Five People in One Week" text, note that the first clause is the head of a tail-head construction linked to the previous sentence (not shown here).

9a.   Lə   bənɨ   gəŋ   sɔ   kə,
      When   people   go   there   farm
      'When people went to that farm,'

9b.   bɔ   gəŋ   ŋən   kpansɨ wa   iji   dzəmbɨtə   yi   Kɨbilə
      they   go   see   woman that   being   sister   of   Kɨbilə
      'they saw that the woman was a sister to the Kibile family'

9c.   yi   nə́   fɔɔ   nə   tsɔŋ   yi   kpə   ntɨŋ   ntɔ
      REL   P3 come.out from   house   of   death   in   palace
      'who were just from mourning in the palace,'

9d.   ba   lɛ   bə   bəkansɨ   bədɔ,
      and   go.farm   with   women   some
      'and had gone with some women,'

9e.   lə   bɔ   gəŋ   nɔŋ   bidiəŋ bi   bə́   fiətə
      COMP they   go   find   food   REL   they   cook
      'so that they will look for food to be cooked'

9f.   ŋkə   yi   yu   ya   ntɨŋ,
      shaving of   hair   that   in
      'during the shaving of hair,'

9g.   yi   nə́   ji   lə   bə   kə   butsu woto.
      REL   P3   be   COMP they   shave   day   breaking
      'which was to be done the next day.'

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4.1.5 Increased use of direct and indirect speech

One further peak marking technique, not noted by the translators, seems to be an increased amount of dialogue (direct speech) and/or reported (indirect) speech. This will vary greatly according to the nature of the narrative, of course, and this is not to say that direct and indirect speech do not occur outside of the peak, but in a number of the texts available, dialogue and reported speech occurred either only in the peak of the story, or occurred more often there.

For example, in the aforementioned texts "Five People in One Week", and "Nothing", the only speech that takes place in the texts occurs during the peak.

4.2 Theme marking

The translators found three rather simple and straightforward theme marking techniques in their texts. These were found in the opening, closing, and in the development of semantic domains.

4.2.1 Opening

In many narratives there is a fairly clear statement of the theme in the opening sentences of the narrative, often in the very first one. It is quite normal for the speaker to begin his narrative by telling the audience what the story is going to be about.

For example, at the beginning of the story "Five People in One Week", the speaker states:

10a. Budənfɨ buŋ na ji budənfɨ bu yɛyi bu na tsukɔ bənɨ bətɨŋ wɨ,
     story   this PRES be story   of true REL PRES about people five on,
     'This is a true story about five people'

10b. bə nɔ́ fiəŋkə nə Mədzuŋ biənɨ miuŋkpaŋ ntɨŋ gɨntɨ bəfɛ bɨŋ.
     REL P3 missing from Dumbu week one   in   going two on
     'who died in Dumbu within one week.'

4.2.2 Closing

Similarly, it is quite common, when the story is coming to a close, for the speaker to restate the theme in the last sentence or two.

In the same story, the speaker closes by saying:

11a. Fiŋ   nɔ́   ba   bə   nchanyɛ   nyi   lə,
     This P3   come with   talking   this   COMP
     'This brought the conclusion that,'

11b. chi   biənɨ na   keŋkɛ díɔ   tɨŋ,
     as   week PRES having days five
     'as a week is having five days,'

11c. Bubiənɨ,   Bunsɛŋɛ,   Bunɨŋkpɨ,   Bufundiɛ   bə   Bushanə,
     first day,   second day, third day,   fourth day   with fifth day
     'the first, second, third, fourth and fifth,'

11d. bənɨ   bətɨŋ   nə́   fiəŋkə tɨ.
      people five   P3   missing also
      'five people also died.'

11e. Bəmanɨ,   biənɨ wa   nə́   kə   keŋkɛ nfufiɛ fiə   wa   ntɨŋ.
      with.like.that, week that P3   NEG   have rest   month that   in
      'And so, that week had no rest in that month.'

4.2.3 Semantic domains

The other theme marking technique, as common sense would expect, is the development of the theme using semantic domains. In other words, using various words and phrases that naturally relate to that theme. For example, if a story is about eating, you will find many words and phrases in the story that have to do with eating, such as various food terms, cooking terms, flavor terms, terms related to serving food, etc.

In the story "Five People in One Week", the primary theme is death. The following chart demonstrates a variety of terminology that appeared in the story all related to death.

Kemedzung word/phrase with literal meaning	Free translation	Occurrences
fiəŋkə 'missing'	euphemism for 'die'	6 times
ŋkə yi yu 'shaving of hair'	mourning	2 times
di 'bury'	bury	2 times
ndi 'burying'	burial	1 time
kwə kpə 'gather death'	gather to mourn	1 time
la 'lost'	euphemism for 'die'	1 time
tsɔŋ yi də 'house of cold'	mortuary	2 times
miɨ wubəŋ wu tsɔŋ yi ntsə 'person big of house of medicine'	doctor	1 time
diyi 'burying'	burying	1 time
tsɔŋ yi kpə 'house of death'	place of mourning	1 time
yu yi nə́ ji ya lə bə́ kə 'that hair which was that they shave'	mourning which was to take place	1 time
kpə 'death'	death	1 time
nfufiɛ 'rest'	used literally here but can be a eupheism for 'die'	1 time

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4.3   Participant reference

As explained earlier, the topic of participant reference has to do with how participants are introduced and followed through the narrative, as well as how different participants are given more or less importance at different points in the narrative. The local translators did not make any observations about how to refer to known versus new participants, or how to refer to a participant that might be confused with a different participant, but did make four observations about how participants can be given prominence in a text. Before describing some methods to give prominence to participants, it is good to start with a more general perspective on participant reference.

4.3.1   Distinguishing between different participants

Kemedzung is quite comfortable with pronouns and makes frequent use of them. To a large degree, once a participant is identified, a pronoun can be used for that participant in an ongoing way, until there is a likelihood of confusion, and then the participant must be identified again more clearly. (It should be noted that in narratives involving two or more 3rd person participants of the same number (singular or plural) interacting with each other, confusion can occur easily, so in such a narrative pronouns may not even be used frequently.)

At the same time, pronouns seem to be more frequently used for the more active participants in a narrative, such as those found in subject positions. For participants who are found located in object positions in sentences, there seems to be more use of noun phrases to refer to them, though pronouns are certainly also used. Kemedzung seems to be uncomfortable with using 3rd person pronouns in both subject and object positions in the same clause too frequently, so using noun phrases and other means to identify participants in the object position may be one strategy to avoid this redundancy. The use of names or noun phrases to refer to a participant is, at times, also a means of giving prominence to a character, as will be discussed in the next section.

When disambiguation is required, there are three main techniques Kemedzung uses to distinguish between the participants. One is to refer to one of the participants with a name or title. A second is to refer to one of the participants using a relative clause. And a third is to use a demonstrative. Many times a demonstrative and a relative clause are even used together.

The following excerpt is from the story "Finkanchi, Elephant, and Hippo", and gives some demonstration of the use of both names and pronouns.

12a.   **Dzɨ**   jiŋgə **fiŋkanchi, yu** ŋəŋ **fiŋkanchi** sɨ **yu** yəsɨ fitwi mɛni
elephant look finkanchi,   he   see   finkanchi small his eyes smaller like.that
'Elephant looked at Finkanchi and saw him to be so small.'

Elephant is the active participant above, while Finkanchi is the object. Elephant is identified by name at the beginning of the sentence, but then is identified with a pronoun the second and third time in the sentence, while Finkanchi continues to be identified by his name.

12b. **Yu** bi bə **fiŋkanchi** lə, "wə mɛ maa miɨ wudo chichi lə?
he ask to finkanchi COMP, you like.that or person some different.different Question
'Elephant asked Finkanchi, "You or someone else?'

Elephant is still the active participant from the previous sentence, so he continues to be identified with a pronoun, while Finkanchi, as the object, is identified by name again.

12c. Mɨ mɛ buko mɛni, wə kpa mɨ ji nəŋ lə?"
I so huge like.that, you drag me be how Question
'I so huge, how can you drag me?"'

12d. **Fiŋkanchi** lə, "nnanji nkpa wə, ntə fyɔŋ fi yeyi, nnanji nkpa wə."
Finkanchi COMP, I.can I.drag you, I.tell thing of true, I.can I.drag you
'Finkanchi said, I can pull you. I'm telling the truth, I can pull you.'

Finkanchi is identified by name now as he responds to Elephant's question and becomes the active participant. Later in the story, as Finkanchi is the active participant, and Elephant the object, Finkanchi is referred to with a pronoun and Elephant by name.

13a. Lə butsu bwa kwətsə,
when day that enough
'When the day reached,'

13b. **fiŋkanchi** jiŋgə gbɨ mɛ wu ndziŋi,
Finkanchi look rope like.that of good
'Finkanchi looked for a very good rope,'

13c. **yu** gəŋ fɔ fə **dzɨ** ku **yu** tə li gwɨ dzɨ fəgbɨ ba kwense wu mɛ buni.
he go reach by Elephant by he then throw skin Elephant neck and tie it so well
'he went to the Elephant and tied the rope on the Elephant's neck very well.'

13d. **Yu** tə bə **dzɨ** lə,
he say to Elephant COMP
'He told Elephant...'

As an example of a relative clause being used for disambiguation:

14. Wɛnɛ, bitɨfiɛ **bi** **nna** **nnya biŋ** **wə**...
my.child, teachings REL I.PRES I.give these you
'My child, the advice which I am giving to you...'

Depending on the context it might not be clear which teachings are being referred to by the speaker in the excerpt above, so the relative clause may be necessary to make it perfectly clear which teachings he is speaking about.

As an example of a distal demonstrative being used for disambiguation:

15. Bənɨnsə   ba   nə́   lɛ   ba   nɔŋ   miɨ   bəku **wa**,
    men   those P3   go.bush and   search person Mbororo that
    'Those men went to the bush and searched for that Mbororo man,'

Depending on the context it might not be clear who is being searched for if a simple 3rd person pronoun were used, or even if Mbororo man was just mentioned generally. The distal demonstrative identifies the Mbororo man as the specific one who was mentioned earlier.

Following is an example of a relative clause and a distal demonstrative both used together:

16. Yu   kwəŋ miɨ **wu**   nə   mɛɛ   **wa**   yu.
    he   hit   person REL   P2   push   that   him
    'He hit that person who pushed him.'

For further comments on the position of the distal demonstrative inside the relative clause, see section 4.5.2 about subordinate clauses.

4.3.2 Prominence-marking of participants

4.3.2.1   Formal introduction

If a character is formally introduced in a story that character is likely going to be a prominent character in that story. This does not mean characters who are not formally introduced cannot also be prominent in the story, as this occurs frequently, but formal introduction does not normally occur for unimportant characters.

In the text called "Nothing", the main character is formally introduced right at the very beginning.

17. Miɨntaŋ   wudɔ nə́   ji   lə   yɨ   wuhu ji   lə   Fiɔŋ sɨŋ.
    old.person   some P3   be COMP name his be   COMP thing not
    'There was an old man whose name was "Nothing".'

4.3.2.2   Demonstratives

If one sees demonstratives used with a character, this may be an indication of prominence. Kemedzung has no definite or indefinite articles, like the words 'the' and 'a' in English. To refer to a particular person who has been mentioned before a proximal or distal demonstrative is typically used, which is like saying 'this man' or 'that man' in English. In languages like Greek and English, the proximal demonstrative is used for giving prominence to a participant, while the distal demonstrative is used to show that a participant is less prominent. In Kemedzung a similar pattern occurs, with the proximal demonstrative being used more with active characters; those who appear in subject positions. This is, indeed, a type of prominence. Meanwhile, the distal demonstrative is more naturally used with things

or characters that are not active; those that appear in the narrative in positions such as the direct object. This less active position corresponds to a position of less prominence.

In a later portion of the story called "Nothing", the old man, who is the main character, is referred to more than once as "this old man".

18a. ...bɔ   nindiə bə   tsa   yidɔ   **miɨntaŋ**   **no.**
      they   play   with   time   some   old.man   this
      '...sometimes they played with this old man.'

18b. Kɨ   ji   fiə   wudɔ   wɨ   **miɨntaŋ**   **no**
      PROG be   month   some   on   old.man   this
      'One month came in which this old man,'

18c. wu   yɨ   wuhu   ji   lə,   Fiɔŋ   na   sɨŋ,   yu   kpə.
      REL   name   his   be   COMP   thing   PRES   not,   he   die
      'whose name was Nothing, he died.'

In the following excerpt from "Five People in One Week", "that woman" is the center of attention in this part of the text, so she might be considered the main character. However, she is not the one doing anything (because she is dead), and there are other characters in the story who are the ones actually doing things. So, even though she is the center of attention, she is "that woman" instead of "this woman" because other people are doing things to her.

19.   Bɔ́   nə́   tɔ   **kpansɨ**   **wa**   ba   di   yo   ŋkuŋ   ku   tɨ,
      they P3   carry woman   that   and   bury her   Fon   home also
      'They carried the woman and buried her at the palace too,'

4.3.2.3   Use of name
If a character is actually called by name, this is a sign of the prominence of that character. It may be noted that in this culture it is more common to address people with a title than their actual name, this title then becoming like a second or substitute name. So in a text it will be more common to see someone referred to by their title than their actual given or family name.

In the story "Nothing", the main character's name, which is actually "Nothing", is used multiple times.

20a. Bɔ   tə   lə,   **Fiɔŋ   sɨŋ**   kpə.
      They say   COMP, thing   not   died
      'They said, "Nothing died."'

20b. **Fiɔŋ   sɨŋ**   kpə   ji   la?
      Thing   not   died   be   what?
      '"What does nothing died mean?"'

In addition to the prominence marking techniques mentioned above, here are some others the researcher has observed.

4.3.2.4 Increased use of name or noun phrases

If using a name or noun phrase to refer to a participant gives them prominence, then it also makes sense that the main character in a story will be referred to with a name or noun phrase more often than other participants, while pronouns will be used more often for participants who are not the main character.

The story "Nothing" suggests just this as the main character is referred to by name or with a noun phrase 55% of the time, while he is referred to with only a pronoun 33% of the time (and with a null reference the rest of the time). The children, who are significant participants in the story but not the main character, are referred to with pronouns 75% of the time, and with noun phrases only 25% of the time. The parents of the children, who are even more minor in the story, are referred to with pronouns 80% of the time, and with a noun phrase only 20% of the time (only once).

4.3.2.5 Possessive with subject

A possessive pronoun may be added after the subject, which serves to add extra prominence to the subject. In English this would be like saying, "He, for his own part..." It should be noted that this construction also includes an aspect of contrast, as will be discussed in a later section.

21. David shi **fihi** ba gəŋ Mədzuŋ.
    David descend his and go Mədzung (the land of the Dumbu people)
    'David, for his part, descended and went to Mədzung.' (David instead of another)

4.3.2.6 *Kɨbɛɛ*

The word *kibɛɛ* can be added after the subject. This serves a similar function as the possessive pronoun mentioned in 4.3.2.5. above, but in this case the word does not change according to the person and number of the subject. While the possessive pronoun in 4.3.2.5. above contains some idea of contrast, *kibɛɛ* has more the idea of verifying the subject.

22. Gɨntɨ yəŋ shɨbɨŋ? Mɨ **kɨbɛɛ** njiwa ŋgəŋ.
    going who market? I very.self I.FUT I.go
    'Who will go to the market? I myself will go. (It will really be me going)'

4.3.2.7 Repetition of subject as pronoun

The subject, as a pronoun, may be repeated a second time after the verb to add extra emphasis to that subject. This is similar to saying, "I say me that..." in Cameroonian Pidgin English. This structure is only used with 1st and 2nd person subjects, and is limited to verbs that are normally followed by *lə*, the complementizer, such as 'say that', 'think that', 'want that', etc.

23. **Ntə** **mɨ** lə sə nɨŋ yi sə funsə mɨ.
    I.tell me COMP P1 work REL P1 disturb me
    'I said that it was work that disturbed me.'

4.3.2.8   Left-dislocation

At times the object may be dislocated to a position before the verb. When this happens, it often seems to be a method of giving prominence to the object.

In the following example from an advice text, the father wants his son to hold on well to the advice the father is giving him. But instead of the normal SVO word order, the father places the object in a phrase before the verb, giving special focus to the advice that he is giving.

24a.   **Wɛnɛ,**   **bitɨfiɛ**   bi   nna   nnya   biŋ   wə
         My.child,   teachings REL   I.PRES I.give   these   you
         'My child, this advice I am giving you,'

24b.   **ga**   bi   fi   buni   wə   chimfi bi...
         put   them   head   well   you   holding them
         'keep it well in mind and hold on to it...'

4.4   Boundary marking

A text is made up of numerous smaller units joined together. Clauses can join together to create sentences. Sentences join together to make paragraphs. Paragraphs and larger sections join together to create a complete narrative. Where these different units join together is a boundary, and often there is some kind of marking to demarcate this boundary and show how the units being joined are related to each other. Boundary marking refers to the kind of features that are used to mark those boundaries and show relationships between units.

Boundary marking is not limited to the discourse structure of a language, but also applies to the lower level grammatical structure of the language, occurring within clauses and sentences. It is the view of the researcher that many of the grammatical boundary marking strategies in Kemedzung are also used for the boundaries of the higher level discourse structure. Accordingly, while some of the features described below may look they belong in a grammar, the researcher feels they still belong in this discourse structure analysis as well.

The translators identified two main boundary marking features.

4.4.1   Juxtaposition

The first feature initially looks like a lack of boundary marking. It is called juxtaposition and describes when two units are joined together with no explicit connector between them. The relationship between the units is understood from the context of the narrative, and often the unmarked boundary is expressing simple, expected progression.

25a.   Fiɔŋ   na   sɨŋ   yu   kɨ   ji   manɨ   tɛ   manɨ.
         thing   PRES   not   he   PROG   be   like.that   grow.old   like.that
         'Nothing, being that way, he grew old that way.'

25b. Bə́   dza,   bə́   lɛti   lɨ   fa   fushə,
They (people) leave, they going.farm PhCl at   afternoon
'People left, they went to the farms in the afternoon,'

In the above example, the first line completes the introduction of the main character, Nothing. In the second line completely new participants are introduced (generic people) and new activities are taking place (leaving and going to the farms). In the transition from the first line to the second line there is no special marking. Instead there is just an abrupt change from one participant to another, and from one part of the setting of the story to another part.

4.4.2 Temporal adverbs and phrases

The second boundary marking feature is using some kind of adverb showing time, or a temporal phrase or clause. This adverb or temporal phrase frequently serves to make a distinction between what comes before it and what comes after it. This may be used to show what comes next in time in the narrative, or it may be used to show another event going on at the same time. The translators identified two different subordinating conjunctions introducing temporal phrases. One of these is the word *lə* 'when', and the other is *chi* 'as'.

26.   **Lə**   butsu wɔ,   shɔŋ   fɔ   lə   mii Bəku wudɔ la   ji.
When   day   break, news   go.out COMP   person Mbororo some lost   bush
'At daybreak, news came out that a certain Bororo man was missing.'

27a.   **Chi**   bɔ   nə́   ji   sɔ   nɔŋ   ya   ntɨŋ,
as   they   P3   be   there search that   in
'As people were still in the bush searching,'

27b.   wɛŋ   wu   nyonso   wudɔ shə,   ba   fiəŋkə sɛŋ   biŋ.
child of   male   some   remain, and   missing here home
'a boy died at home.'

In addition to the two temporal clauses mentioned by the translators, there are a number of other such clauses.

Nɨ also translates into English as 'as' but it is unclear how interchangeable it is with *chi*. There seems to be some degree of stylistic difference, with some people using *chi* more, and others using *nɨ* more in the same environment. However, it has also been suggested to the researcher that older speakers of Kemedzung make more of a distinction between the two words, while younger speakers use them more interchangeably. For those who make more of a distinction, *chi* means 'as' referring more to what is happening in time, while *nɨ* means 'as' referring more to matters of comparison.

Following is an example from "Five People in One Week" where the speaker has used *nɨ* to introduce a temporal clause.

28a. **Nɨ** butsu nə́ wɔ,
    as day P3 break
    'At day break,'

28b. bə́ shi bə wɛŋ wu nyonso
    they(people) descend with child of male
    'they brought down the boy'

28c. wu bə́ nə́ galə wa tsɔŋ yi də ntɨŋ.
    REL they P3 put that house of cold in
    'whom they had kept in the mortuary.'

Following is an excerpt from the same story where the same speaker uses *chi* to introduce a temporal clause.

29a. **Chi** bɔ nə́ ji sɔ nɔŋ ya ntɨŋ,
    as they P3 be there search that in
    'As people were still in the bush searching,'

29b. wɛŋ wu nyonso wudɔ shə, ba fiəŋkə sɛŋ biŋ.
    child of male some remain, and missing here home
    'a boy died at home.'

Tsa yi literally means 'time which', and is another way of saying 'when', similar to the word *lə*. It will take more research to understand the reasons better, but *tsa yi* and *lə* do not seem to be used very interchangeably.

30a. **Tsa** **yi** na ji lə mɨ nsə ŋŋən wɛnɛ fɨtɨ byɔŋ bibiə
    Time which PRES be that I I.P1 I.see my.child doing things bad
    'When I see my child doing bad things'

30b. makə yu dio budio bə wɛŋ wudɔ
    or he fight fight with child some
    'or fighting with some child,'

30c. njiwa ndze yu shiŋ shiŋ...
    I.FUT I.take him quietly quietly
    'I will take him quietly...'

Fə translates as 'before' in English.

31. **Fə** mba yɛmɨ, ji wə tɔ ŋgɔŋ.
    before coming my, be you carry water
    'Before I come, you should carry water.'

The researcher has noticed that Kemedzung tends to put phrases indicating the time that something happens at the beginning of a sentence, while clauses that indicate where an action happens tend to be located toward the end of a sentence. This is not an absolute restriction, but is frequently the case.

In addition to the boundary marking techniques mentioned above, here are some others the researcher has observed.

4.4.3 Tail-head structure

A common boundary marking technique in Kemedzung is the use of a tail-head structure. As noted in the peak marking section of this paper, this is when something that has just been said is repeated, either exactly or in similar wording, before moving on to the next event in the narrative. This is kind of like a step on stairs. At the end of one sentence one is stepping up to a new step on the stairs. In the following sentence one uses that same step to push off from, to step up to the next step on the stairs. A tail-head structure is a good way to connect the new thing one is going to say to what one has just said previously, or to connect the new event that will happen to the previous event that just happened. As such, a tail-head structure can be a very clear boundary marker.

In many languages a tail-head structure serves to "[slow] down the flow of the discourse before something surprising or important."[2] Accordingly, tail-head structures may occur more frequently at the beginning of a peak unit in a narrative.

In Kemedzung, the head, or second clause of the tail-head structure, is often introduced with words such as *nɨ* 'as', *chi* 'as', *kɨji* 'while', *ndzɨ* 'because', and *lə* 'when'. The verb in the head may be either progressive or perfective, depending on the context.

32a.　...nɨ　　wə　　na　　lɛti　　chiŋ　　ŋkɔŋ　nyi　　Baminda.
　　　　as　　　you　　PRES　going　like.this　travel　this　　Bamenda
　　　　'...as you are going on this journey to Bamenda.'

32b.　**Nɨ**　　wə　　na　　dza　　mɛni　fɛŋ,　　wɛnɛ,　wə　　gɨntɨ,...
　　　　as　　　you　　PRES　leave　here　now,　my.child,　you　going
　　　　'As you are leaving from here now, my child, and going,'

In the example above the verbs in both the tail and the head are using a progressive aspect.

33a.　shɔŋ　yidɔ　fɔ　　lə　　kpansɨ　wudɔ　fiəŋkə　ɨ　　kə.
　　　　news　some　come.out　COMP　woman　some　missing　LOC　farm
　　　　'another news came that a woman has died in the farm.'

33b.　**Lə**　　bənɨ　gəŋ　sɔ　　kə,
　　　　when　people　go　　there　farm
　　　　'When people went to that farm,'

[2] Runge 2010:163

In this and the following two cases the verbs in both the tail and the head are using a perfective aspect.

34a. Mba, nfɔ binchi.
    I.come, I.reach compound
    'I came and reached the compound.'

34b. **Chi** nnɔ́ mfɔ binchi məku wɛmɨ bi lə ...
    as I.P3 I.reach compound mother.of.compound my ask COMP
    'When I reach the compound my wife asked...'

35a. ...ndzɨ wə sə dio.
    because you P1 fight
    'because you fought.'

35b. **Ndzɨ** wə sə fəə biɔŋ bibiə,
    because you P1 do things bad
    'Because you did bad things'

35c. (tsa yidɔ) ɨ kpə wu sə ji lə njiwa,
    time some IRR money REL P1 be COMP I.FUT
    'sometime the money which was for'

35d. tsa yi miɨ na gwentə tsɔŋ njiwa sɔmbu ntsə su,...
    time REL person PRES sick house I.FUT pay medicine with
    'when someone is sick in the house, for spending it on medicine,...'

36a. Nchɛ ba kɨ gɨntɨ,
    I.pass and PROG going
    'I passed and was going,'

36b. ŋgəŋ fɔ kɨjə ka wɨ, ŋŋəŋ biə diə nɛhɛ nəkpo.
    I.go reach bush that on, I.see cutting.grass eat this.side beside
    'I went and reached the bush, I saw cutting grass had eaten by the side.'

In example 36 the verb in the tail is progressive, while the verb in the head is perfective. Note also this tail-head construction uses juxtaposition rather than a particular word to introduce the head.

4.5   Connectives between and within sentences

There are a number of connectives that function at the clause and sentence level, but so far have not been found to function at a higher discourse level. Due to the fact that these connectives can serve a kind of boundary marking role within sentences (between clauses), and the possibility that in the future some of these connectives will be found to serve in higher level discourse boundary marking roles, it is still profitable to include a description of some of them.

These clause and sentence level connectives are very productive in showing the relationship between the clauses or sentences they join. For example, they may show different relationships such as progression, contrast, addition, condition, reason, and others.

4.5.1 Progression

One common relationship between units is progression. As noted above, juxtaposition is a common way to indicate progression in Kemedzung. However, there are also various words that show progression. One word used to show progression is *tə* 'then'. When marking a boundary between sentences it is not found sentence initially, but is often found directly after the subject, whether a proper noun or a pronoun.

37a.   ...ba   **tə**   fichə   gwɨ   yɛmɨ   fɛŋ   ba   fɔ   lɨ
  and   then   turn   skin   my   now   and come.out   PhCl
  'and then turned and came out'

37b.   **tə**   tsɔ   gbo   wɛmɨ   fɛŋfɛ   nə   gaŋ   ya   ntɨŋ
  then   remove   foot   my   now   from   roots   those   in
  'and removed my foot from those roots'

38a.   Bədzumbu   **tə**   di   yu   sɔ   ji   ŋgɔŋ   ma   nəkpu,
  Dumbu.people   then   bury   him   there   bush   water   that   beside
  'The Dumbu people then buried the man beside the water'

38b.   ba   **tə**   kwə   lɨ.
  and   then   come.back   PhCl
  'and came back home.'

Another word showing progression is *dza*. When asked to translate this word into English, Kemedzung speakers often translate it as 'shift', which goes more with Cameroonian Pidgin English. It is difficult to translate easily into international English, but it sometimes translates better as 'start to'. *Dza* cannot be found sentence initially, and will normally be used in conjunction with another verb.

39.   Kə sə bɨŋ   bə yu lə   yu kə kwə.   Yu jiji ba **dza** kɨ   tedi   lə...
  we P1 accept   with him COMP   he NEG return. He be.be and shift PROG saying COMP
  We agreed with him that he not return. He shortly began saying that...

4.5.2 Contrast

One common word showing contrast is *bəmanɨ*. This term literally means 'with like that' and is found clause and sentence initially. The difficulty with *bəmanɨ* is that it does not only show contrast, it can also show consequence or result without a sense of contrast. This term connects what was said before and what is said after, but the term itself does not make the relationship clear. It is the context that tells the audience if the relationship is primarily one of contrast, or some other consequence without contrast. Having said all that, it is still the impression of the researcher that *bəmanɨ* is used to show contrast in the majority of cases.

40a.

Bə́		nə́	tɔ	kpansɨ wa	ba	di	yu	ŋkuŋ	ku	tɨ.
they(people)		P3	carry	woman that	and	bury	her	Fon	home	also

'They carried the woman and buried her at the palace, too.'

40b. **Bəmanɨ**

Bəmanɨ	yu	yi	nə́	ji	ya	lə	bə́	kə	butsu	woto	nə́	tsu	koso,
but/therefore	hair	REL	P3	be	that	COMP	they	shave	night	breaking	P3	return	down

'But the hair which was to be shaved the next day was postponed,'

40c.

chi	bə́	nə́	ŋəŋə	lə	bə́	jiba
as	they	P3	see	COMP	they	FUT

'as they decided to'

40d.

bə́	tɛshɛ	ba	kasɨ	kpə	ya	fiɛ	butsu	bumo.
they	join	and	finish	deaths	those	two	day	one

'join and finish those two deaths in one day.'

This particular use of *bəmanɨ* is a bit ambiguous. The people were expected to finish a period of mourning (shaving their heads) the next day, but because of this new death they decided to postpone the shaving of heads, so they could finish the mourning ritual for two people on the same day, instead of performing the ritual twice in a row. Since there was an expectation to shave their heads, and this expectation was countered, this shows contrast and justifies understanding *bəmanɨ* as 'but'. However, the clauses that follow give the reason for postponing the shaving of heads, and *bəmanɨ* could then be used to show the consequence of their decision (postponing the end of the mourning period), and could then be understood as 'therefore'.

For a less ambiguous example, consider the following:

41.

Mɨ	ntə	lə	wə	kə	gəŋkə,	**bəmanɨ**	wə	tɛ	bitiu.
I	I.tell	COMP	you	NEG	go.NEG,	but	you	grow.strong	ears

'I told you not to go, but you are stubborn.'

Another set of words showing contrast is *ɨji* and *ji*, which are often translated into English with 'but' or 'instead'. The word *ji* is not found sentence or clause initially, but is rather found within a clause, normally after a verb. *Ɨji*, on the other hand, seems to be the form of the word more commonly found at the beginning of a clause.

42.

Nna	nsɛhɛ	shiŋkəfa,	nna	nse	**ji**	buna.
I.PRES	I.like.NEG	rice,	I.PRES	I.want	but	fufu

'I don't like rice, I want fufu instead.'

43.

Tɨ	sə	tə	lə	yu	lɛ	kə,	bəmanɨ	yu	gəŋ	**ɨji**	shɨbɨŋ.
his.father	P1	say	COMP	he	go.farm	farm,	but	he	go	instead	market

'His father told him to go to the farm, but he went to the market instead.'

Another means of showing contrast is with a possessive pronoun. The use of this technique is to contrast one noun (subject) with another. This could be translated into English with "He, for his own part, ..." This pronoun is not found sentence initially, but rather directly after the subject.

44a. Yu   sə   se   lə   yu   jiŋ   kɨnsaŋ bɨŋ.
      he   P1   want COMP he   sit   bike   on.
      'He wanted to ride a motorcycle.'

44b. Miɨntaŋ   wa   tə   **yihi**   lə   yu   kwə   bə   go.
      old.man   that say   his.own COMP he   return with feet
      'But that old man said he would return by foot.'

Kiji literally means 'being', and translates as 'when' or 'while' in English. In this case the sense of contrast has to do with what is or was going on at two different times.

45.   Kpansɨ   no   ba   **kɨji**   yu   fɔ.
      woman   this come while he   go.out
      'This woman came while he had gone out.'

46.   Mba yihi   nə́   **kiji**   mɨ   nsə   ŋkasɨ kɨŋwatɨ.
      coming his   P3   while I   I.P1   I.finish book
      'He came when I had already finished the book.'

4.5.3 Addition

Units may also be joined together in an additive way. In this context, the most common word used to join clauses is *ba*, which translates as 'and' in English. Note that the word *ba* is precisely used to connect the verbs of the two clauses.

47.   Bənɨnsə   ba   nə́   lɛ   **ba**   nɔŋ   miɨ   bəku   wa,
      men   those P3   go.bush and   search person Mbororo that
      'Those men went to the bush and searched for that Mororo man,'

There seem to be strong, though not precisely defined, feelings about how many times *ba* can be used in a clause, many times preferring not to use it more than once. For example, the following sentence would not feel well-formed to many Kemedzung speakers.

48.   * Bənɨnsə ba nə́ lɛ   **ba** nɔŋ **ba** bəndɨ miɨ   bəku   wa,
      men   those P3 go.bush and search and call   person Mbororo that
      'Those men went to the bush and searched and called for that Bororo man,'

Since *ba* normally relates multiple actions being performed by the same subject, there are also strong feelings about how many times the subject can be explicitly mentioned when *ba* is used. For example, the subject is forbidden to be explicitly mentioned again directly after *ba*, but is instead replaced with a null reference. The following sentence would not feel well-formed to many Kemedzung speakers.

49.　*Bənɨnsə ba nə́ lɛ   **ba bɔ** nɔŋ miɨ bəku wa
　　　men　　those P3 go.bush and they search person Mbororo that
　　　'Those men went to the bush and they searched for that Bororo man,'

Another additive word, meaning 'even', 'both', or 'together' in English, is *ma*.

50.　Yu nə tishə bəloko yu kə, **ma** bə də.
　　　he P2 plant cassava his farm, even with beans
　　　'He planted both cassava and beans on his farm.'

Tɨ is a word that typically translates as 'also' in English. *Tɨ* will not be found in a sentence initial position.

51.　Bə́ nə́ tɔ   kpansɨ wa ba di yu ŋkuŋ ku **tɨ**,
　　　they P3 carry woman that and bury her Fon home also
　　　'They carried the woman and buried her at the palace also,'

4.5.4 Condition

The idea of condition in English is normally expressed with the word 'if', which may be followed later in the sentence with the word 'then'. In Kemedzung there are several different ways to express condition.

In some cases, there may be no explicit word to express the condition.

52.　Wə gəŋɨ, wə bɔmbiɛ   biaŋ ya.
　　　you go.PhCl, you cut   palm.nuts those
　　　'If you go, you should cut up the palm nuts.'

53.　Wə gəŋ. Wə bɔmbiɛ   biaŋ ya.
　　　you go. you cut   palm.nuts those
　　　'You went. You cut up the palm nuts.'

Of course, in the above two examples there is a difference and that is the vowel *ɨ* on the end of *gəŋɨ*. This vowel *ɨ* is a completive particle for an open-ended subordinate clause. In this sense, the *ɨ* is an indication that the first clause is conditional, but the *ɨ* on *gəŋɨ* is not in itself a marker of condition. For further information on the use of this subordinate clause completer, see section 4.6.2 later in this paper.

There are also several different words/particles that express condition. One of these is *jilə*, literally meaning 'be that', but normally translated into English as 'if'. This phrase is normally found clause or sentence initially.

54.　**Jilə** bɔ kwə, wə tə gəŋ.
　　　be.that they return, you then go
　　　'If they return, you will then go.'

Another way of expressing condition is the particle *ɨ* with a low tone. For further discussion on the glossing of *ɨ* as IRR, see section 4.8.2.

55.   Ɨ   mii   kə   wɛnɛ,   ŋgəŋ bə   yu   kansɨl ntɨŋ.
        IRR   person beat my.child, I.go   with   him   counsel in
        'If someone beats my child, I will take him to the Counsel.'

Unlike *jilə*, which can be used with any tense, this particle seems to only be used when the condition is referring to something in the future or is a general statement not referring to any particular time. It cannot be used to refer to something in the past.

For example, in the following conditional statement referring to the past, *jilə* must be used, and *ɨ* would be unacceptable.

56.   **Jilə**   mii   kə   wɛnɛ,   ŋgəŋ bə   yu   kansɨl ntɨŋ.
        if   person beat my.child, I.go   with   him   counsel in
        'If someone has beaten my child, I will take him to the Counsel.'

57.   * Ɨ   mii   kə   wɛnɛ,   ŋgəŋ bə   yu   kansɨl ntɨŋ.
        IRR   person beat my.child, I.go   with   him   counsel in
        'If someone has beaten my child, I will take him to the Counsel.'

In conditional sentences, the contingent/'then' part can be formed with the word *tə* 'then' (as in example 54 above), or will be merely understood in context (as in example 55 above).

4.5.5   Reason and purpose
The reason/purpose for someone doing something, or for something happening, can be expressed in several ways. One is with the word *fə*, often translated into English with 'so that'. *Fə*, expressing reason or result, will not occur sentence initially.

58.   Mɨ   ntə   lə   wə   ba   fɔfɔ   **fə**   kə   kwə   tsa   bɨŋ.
        I   I.say   COMP you   come   fast   so.that we   return time   on
        'I told you to come quickly so that we return on time.'

Another way of showing reason is with the word *ndzɨ* 'because'. *Ndzɨ* may occur sentence initially, but more frequently occurs mid-sentence.

59a.   ga   bi   fi   buni   wə   chimfi bi
        put   them   head   well   you   holding them
        'keep it (advice) well in mind and hold on to it'

59b.   **ndzɨ**   bi   jibia   bi   chitə   wə,
        because they FUT   they   help   you,
        'because it will help you,'

Reason can also be expressed a little more indirectly with the words such as *lə*, a complementizer, and *chi* 'as'.

60a. Bəku   bəchi   bə   busɔŋka   nə́   lɛ
      Mbororos all   with Hausas   P3   go.bush
      'All Bororos and Hausas went to the bush'

60b. **lə**   bɔ   gəŋ   nɔŋ   miɨ   wa.
      COMP they go   search person that
      'to search for the missing man.'

61a. Bə́   nə́   tɔ   kpansɨ wa   ba   di   yu   ŋkuŋ   ku   tɨ,
      they P3   carry   woman   that and bury her Fon   home   also
      'They carried the woman and buried her at the palace, too'

61b. bəmanɨ yu   yi   nə́ ji   ya   lə   bə́   kə   butsu woto   nə́   tsu   koso,
      but   hair REL P3 be   that COMP they shave night breaking P3   return down
      'but the hair which was to be shaved the next day was postponed,'

61c. **chi** bə́   nə́   ŋəŋə lə   bə́   jiba
      as   they P3   see   COMP they FUT
      'because they thought'

61d. bə́   tɛshɛ ba   kasɨ   kpə   ya   fiɛ   butsu bumo.
      they join   and finish death those two   day   one
      'they would shave the hair once for the two deaths.'

4.5.6 Vocative

It is the impression of the researcher that the use of a vocative in hortatory texts sometimes acts as a boundary marker. It is typically used at the beginning of the text as the relationship between the speaker and the listener is established, and it may often be used at the end of the text to introduce the closing thoughts of the speaker. As discussed above, the opening and closing of texts are good places to find the theme of the text, so vocatives may also be connected to the expression of a text's theme. Vocatives seem be used less frequently within the body of the text, but even there they seem to often be used at points where the speaker is moving on to a new point, especially when the speaker is going to make an appeal to the audience. For example, perhaps he has been explaining the trouble the hearer is in, and now is ready to transition into telling the hearer what they should do to solve the problem.

In the following example, the speaker closes an appeal with a vocative, and then immediately transitions into giving the basis for the appeal he has just made. Here he explains that doing bad things creates much trouble, and goes on in the text to explain some of the different kinds of trouble that may result from doing bad things.

62a. Wə kə fəkə biɔŋ bibiə, biɔŋ bi mbi lə, biɔŋ bibiə mbi ntɨŋ, **wɛnɛ.**
     you NEG do things bad, things of world PhCl, things bad world in, my.child
     'You should not do bad things, worldly things, bad things in the world, my child.'

62b. Ndzɨ la? Biɔŋ bibiə ji bə bəŋgə kɨtso.
     because what? things bad be with troubles many
     'Why? Bad things go with many troubles.'

4.6 Backgrounding and foregrounding

There is a type of boundary that exists in a text which is more conceptual in nature than having to do with the more clearly defined units of speech such as clauses, sentences, etc. This boundary is between backgrounded information and foregrounded information. Foreground information is the information in a text that tells the reader/hearer what is actually happening, or how the story actually progresses. Another term for this is eventline information. A lack of foreground information would make a story very dull, as it would feel like nothing was happening, or that the story was not going anywhere. Background information, also known as non-eventline, helps the audience understand the participants, settings, history, etc. of the story better, and therefore gives more depth to the story. Without the background information the audience would still know what happens, but they would lose most of the meaning of the story without knowing why characters were doing what they do, and the story would become confusing.

In a narrative, it is common to first describe the setting of the story, introduce the participants, give some history, etc. before getting too deeply into what the participants actually do in the story. Most of this information is background information, and therefore it is not uncommon for the first information in a story to be background information. Once the setting and characters have been established, there is usually less need to spend time giving large chunks of background information. Rather, background may then be interspersed throughout the story in smaller pieces as that information is relevant.

In a narrative it is very important to be able to distinguish between backgrounded information and foregrounded information. If the audience becomes confused, they may think that something that happened in the past (background) is happening now (foreground). Or they may think the author is indicating some piece of information is very important, when it is just incidental information providing a fuller picture, but not essential to the flow of the main storyline.

Naturally, different languages have different techniques to indicate what information is backgrounded and what is foregrounded, and to mark where the author is switching from sharing one to the other. Kemedzung seems to use two primary means of distinguishing between background and foreground information. One of these methods is the use of different tenses, and the other method is through the use of subordinate clauses.

4.6.1 Tense

In Kemedzung there is no particular tense that is designated for background information, so one cannot tell, merely from looking at the tense of a verb, if one is looking at background or foreground information. Background information often refers to things that have already happened, and therefore background information often appears in a past

tense. But if one is telling a story about something that happened in the past, the main action verbs will also likely use the past tense.

Since Kemedzung has three past tense markers, these markers can be used relative to each other to show when something happens in relation to another thing. If one is telling a story using the P1 marker, and the audience then sees something being spoken about using P3, that can be an indication that the event using P3 is background information, because it happened before the mainline events being described using P1. Likewise if you are being told things using P2, and the tense then switches to P1, that is an indication that you may be switching from background information to foreground information.

Frequently, in a Kemedzung text a time (tense) is initially established, and then from that point on verbs are expressed with no tense marking (P0) until there is a change in tense, or a need to reestablish the tense in the mind of the audience. So, looking at any given text at a random place, one is likely to see a verb in P0, but this does not mean that verb has no tense. Its tense is just assumed from the tense that had been established earlier.

Further research would be needed to confirm this, but there is likely a tendency in Kemedzung to use no tense marking (P0) for foreground information, and overt tense marking on verbs that are pointing to background information.

Following is an autobiographical story told by an old man about something that had happened years earlier. P3, the tense marker that reaches farthest into the past, is used in the introduction to set the scene for his story. It is established that the story took place a long time ago.

63. Bu   na   budənfɨ   fiɔŋ   fi   **nə́**   ji   bə   mɨ.
     this   PRES   story   thing   REL   P3   be   to   me
     'This is a story about a thing that happened to me.'

The story continues, though some lines have been omitted here for the sake of brevity. In the following line the speaker decides to reestablish the P3 tense.

64. Tsa   **nə́**   chɛ.
     time   P3   pass
     'Time passed.'

In the following sentence the speaker now switches to P1. The whole story takes place on the same day many years ago, so the use of P1 is not literally referring to a more recent past that P3. Rather, everything that has been described up to this point has been background information, and now the speaker is getting into the part of the story where important things start happening. In this case, he sees that the day is finishing, so he takes his wood and starts to return to home, and it is on his journey home that the main event happens.

65a. Mbo,   ŋŋəŋ   dio   **sə**   gəŋ   jiŋ.
      I look,   I.see   day   P1   go   behind
      'I looked. I saw the day was gone.'

65b.   Ndza.   Ndze kɨnchimbili   kɨ   kpɨŋə.   Ŋkɨ   ŋkwəlɨ.
         I.stand. I.take log   of   firewood I.PROG I.returning
         'I stood up, took the log of firewood and started returning.'

As the story continues there is no more tense marking until a point in which the speaker has a flashback, telling what he had been doing before going on to tell what he does next. In this case he tells what side of the road he had been walking on, before relating what he decided to do. For this flashback the speaker again makes use of the P3 tense marker, jumping back into the further past, which here is acting as background information.

66a.   Ndzɨ   **nnə́** ŋgɨntɨ bə kɨdya kɨ kɨməsə lə fiɔŋ fia ji tɨ   dia wa
         because I.P3 I.going to   side of   left   PhCl thing that be also side that
         'Because I had been going to the left side, and that thing was also on that side,'

66b.   ŋgɨntɨ fə   fi   ku   fɔɔ,   ŋkwiŋ kɨsunko
         I.going by   it   by   reaching, I.cough cough
         'when I was reaching it I coughed.'

4.6.2 Subordinate clauses

    Kemedzung seems to provide a lot of background information through subordinate clauses, such as relative clauses. Various kinds of subordinate clauses have been described earlier in this paper, such as phrases starting with *lə* 'when', *lə* 'that' (COMP), *nɨ* 'as', *chi* 'as', *kɨji* 'while', *ndzɨ* 'because', etc.

    It is not surprising to provide background information in subordinate clauses, but Kemedzung is interesting in that it seems to use a variety of ways to mark these clauses as subordinate apart from the connective introducing the phrase.

    For example, in many subordinate clauses, such as a subordinate clause beginning with *nɨ* or *chi,* the vowel of the verb in the subordinate clause will be lengthened, or another syllable will be added to the verb. There is a bit of variation in what precisely happens depending on the verb used. Because verbs are already altered in the formation of the progressive aspect, this vowel lengthening is not seen with progressive verbs, but appears only with the perfective form of verbs.

    For example, the following sentence is a short direct sentence with a perfective past tense verb.

67.   Nnə́   **nwɔ**   nchanyɛ   yihi.
         I.P3   I.hear talking   his
         'I heard his talk.'

However, if this sentence is turned into a subordinate clause, the vowel on the verb is lengthened.

68.   Chi   nnə́   **nwɔɔ** nchanyɛ   yihi, ...
         as   I.P3   I.hear talking   his
         'As I heard his talk...'

Following are two examples of verbs using the progressive aspect, one in a main clause, and one in a subordinate clause. In this case the form of the verb does not change.

69. nnə́ ŋ'**woko**   nchanyɛ   yihi...
     I.P3 I.hearing   talking   his
     'I was hearing his talk...'

70. Chi nnə́ ŋ'**woko**   nchanyɛ   yihi...
     as   I.P3 I.hearing   talking   his
     'As I was hearing his talk...'

The following set of examples shows another verb in which a syllable is added rather than vowel lengthening.

71. Nnə́ ŋ**ga** kɨnchində   kɨbalə ntɨŋ.
     I.P3 I.put   cutlass   scabbard in
     'I put the cutlass in the scabbard.'

72. Nɨ   nnə́ n**galə** kɨnchində   kɨbalə ntɨŋ...
     as   I.P3 I.put   cutlass   scabbard in
     'As I put the cutlass in the scabbard...'

However, if this same verb is put into the progressive aspect, there is no difference between the verb forms.

73. Nnə́ ŋ**galɨ**   kɨnchində   kɨbalə ntɨŋ.
     I.P3 I.putting cutlass   scabbard in
     'I was putting the cutlass in the scabbard.'

74. Nɨ   nnə́ ŋ**galɨ** kɨnchində   kɨbalə ntɨŋ...
     as   I.P3 I.putting cutlass   scabbard in
     'As I was putting the cutlass in the scabbard...'

Regarding relative clauses, another interesting fact is that when there are a demonstrative and a relative clause both describing the same noun, the demonstrative appears within the relative clause. Normally a demonstrative immediately follows the noun it refers to, as does a relative clause. For example:

75. kpansɨ **wa**
     woman that
     that woman

76. kpansɨ **wu nə́ kpə**
     woman REL P3 die
     woman who died

When the two exist together the demonstrative is dislocated from its position after its noun, and is normally found directly after the verb in the relative clause.

77.   kpansɨ   wu   nə́ kpə **wa**
      woman REL P3 die that
      that woman who died

Since Kemedzung has no definite article, and demonstratives and relative clauses are both used to describe a previously mentioned noun, it is not uncommon for a demonstrative to also appear in cases where there is a relative clause. This dislocation of the demonstrative into the relative clause may help to make even more explicit the connection between the relative clause and the word or phrase to which it is referring. For a native Kemedzung speaker, the location of a demonstrative after a verb instead of a noun also serves to show the clause it is found in is a relative clause.

4.7   Verb ranking

In a hortative text the speaker can speak with more or less force, depending on his audience and what he is trying to accomplish. Since what the speaker is trying to accomplish is commonly expressed through the verbs he uses, strengthening or weakening his speech is often marked somehow on the verbs, or near to the verbs. This strengthening or weakening the force of verbs is referred to as verb ranking.

Of course, the strength of an exhortation is also affected by the amount of social distance between the speaker and the audience. The president of a country may make a suggestion to a person and that suggestion may carry the weight of a strong command. In the same way, a person of very low standing may speak in a very strong way and his audience make not take him very seriously due to his low standing. In the context of this paper, verb ranking refers to the strength inherent to different verb constructions, and does not take social standing into consideration.

As the researcher and the translators worked together, they produced the following representative verb ranking scale, starting with the most forceful verb constructions and proceeding down to the least forceful.

It should be noted that there was not felt to be a difference in the degree of strength between a perfective form and its corresponding habitual form. The only difference was whether the speaker intended his audience to do something once, or in an ongoing way. In the table below, the habitual forms are listed under their corresponding perfective form.

Kemedzung	free translation	type of construction	comments
wə jiwa wə tsɨsɨ	you will pray	future tense	When this construction is used the hearer understands that he has no other option than to obey, and if he tries to disobey he will be compelled to obey.
wə jiwa wə kɨ tsɨsə	you will be praying	future tense habitual	

wə tsɨsɨ lɨ	you will pray	future tense	This construction is considered nearly the same as the one above, though in this case a strong person could disobey. Also note that there is no habitual form of this construction.
tsɨsɨ	pray	direct	This is a clear direct command to do something.
kɨ tsɨsɨ	be praying	direct habitual	
kə/bɔ tsɨsɨ	let us/them pray	1st/3rd plural habitual	This construction is still seen as a command, though less direct than with 2nd person.
kə/bɔ kɨ tsɨsɨ	let us/them be praying	1st/3rd plural obligatory habitual	
wə naji lə wə tsɨsɨ	you are supposed to pray	obligatory	This construction would not be taken as a command, but rather more like strong advice or a strong request.
wə naji lə wə kɨ tsɨsə	you are supposed to be praying	obligatory habitual	
wə tsɨsɨ	you should pray	obligatory	This construction is used quite often in Kemedzung. It is not used as a command, but more for giving instruction or advice. Furthermore, a person will not just approach someone and make an obligatory statement like this out of the blue. Rather this construction is usually used within the context of a larger speech. If a person does start a statement like this with no context, the hearer will understand that the speaker is making a conditional statement.
wə kɨ tsɨsɨ	you should be praying	obligatory habitual	
nna nse lə wə tsɨsɨ	I want you to pray	obligatory with orienter	
nna nse lə wə kɨ tsɨsə	I want you to be praying	obligatory habitual with orienter	
na ndziŋe lə wə tsɨsɨ	it is good for you to pray	evaluative	
na ndziŋe lə wə kɨ	it is good for you	evaluative	

tsɨsə	to be praying	habitual	
nna nnende lə wə tsɨsɨ	I beg that you pray	obligatory with orienter	This construction is considered weakest because the person using it seems to be speaking from the weakest position (since they are in a place of begging). However, this construction might also get a better response than the two constructions listed just above, so in that sense this construction could be considered a bit stronger.
nna nnende lə wə kɨ tsɨsə	I beg that you be praying	obligatory habitual with orienter	

In the hortative texts the researcher and translators looked at together obligatory exhortations, where the pronoun is used (such as *wə tsɨsɨ* 'you should pray'), were easily the most common. If this can be accepted as the unmarked or average means of influencing others, it should be noted that this degree of force ranks about in the middle of the scale above.

4.8   Confusing particles

In earlier studies of Kemedzung grammar there were two particles that were often especially hard to explain/define. One of these particles was *lɨ*, and the other was *ɨ*. When native speakers of Kemedzung attempted to explain their presence/meaning, they would usually either come up with a range of possible different meanings, or just say it needed to be there without being able to explain why. One likely explanation for the difficulty in defining these particles is that they were operating at a discourse level rather than having any semantic or grammatical meaning.

It turns out that many of the occurrences of these particles can be attributed to the grammar of the language, and they are not operating at a discourse level, while some occurrences are likely operating at a higher discourse level. Even though this is not a grammar paper, it can still be profitable to give some explanation of these particles, helping to show why they were earlier thought to be operating at a discourse level, and giving some explanation for the uses of these particles that are likely truly operating at a discourse level. These particles, especially the particle *ɨ*, would still benefit from further research.

4.8.1   *Lɨ*

The particle *lɨ* is used in at least four distinctive ways in Kemedzung.

4.8.1.1   It has a fairly easily translatable meaning in English of 'for' (or sometimes 'to' or 'in' depending on the context).

78.   Mɨ   ntɔ   ŋgɔŋ   mɛŋ   wə   **lɨ**.
       I   I.carry   water   this   you   for
       'I carried this water for you.'

4.8.1.2   It is used in one of the future tense constructions.

79.   Mba   **lɨ**.
        I.come FUT
        'I will come.'

4.8.1.3   In prepositional phrases beginning with *nə* 'from', the preposition *nə* is normally followed by some kind of object, such as a pronoun or some noun describing a place, person, etc. Kemedzung then likes to have some other word or phrase follow that object. This other word/phrase could be a temporal phrase, another "preposition", a possessive, etc. If there is no other word or phrase there to follow the object, then the particle *lɨ* is placed there to close the prepositional phrase. In this case it has no easily translatable meaning; it is just there to complete the phrase.

80.   Nnə   nwɔ   **nə**   **wə**   **fa**   **fəkwəŋ**.
        I.P2   I.hear   from   you   at   yesterday
        'I heard from you yesterday.'

81.   Nnə   nwɔ   **nə**   **wə**   **lɨ**.
        I.P2   I.hear   from   you   PhCl
        'I heard from you.'

82.   Yu   ba   bə   kɨnchində   **nə**   **tsɔŋ   ntɨŋ**.
        he   come   with   cutlass   from   house   in
        'He came with the cutlass from in the house.'

83.   Yu   ba   bə   kɨnchində   **nə**   **tsɔŋɨ**.
        he   come   with   cutlass   from   house.PhCl
        'He came with the cutlass from the house.'

In this last example the particle *lɨ* has changed to *ɨ* because of the consonant (ŋ) at the end of the previous word.

4.8.1.4   *Lɨ* is also frequently found in sentences in which the conjunction *ba* has been used. Recall from above that *ba* is used to show a relationship between two verbs and the same subject. For example, John hit me and ran away. Here John is hitting and running, but John is only mentioned once.

In sentences using *ba*, the particle *lɨ* will sometimes appear at the end of the clause following the conjunction *ba*. Just like with prepositional phrases beginning with *nə*, as described directly above, this particle *lɨ* only appears if there is not some other word after the verb that follows *ba*. This *lɨ* does not translate into any particular word, but is there to complete the phrase that begins with *ba*.

84. | Wə | shə | wə | tsa | buna | ba | nya | bɛŋ | bɛŋ. |
    |----|-----|----|-----|------|----|-----|-----|------|
    | you | remain | you | stir | fufu | and | give | children | these |

'If you remain, you should prepare fufu and give to these children.'

85. | Wə | shə | wə | tsa | buna | ba | nya | lɨ. |
    |----|-----|----|-----|------|----|-----|-----|
    | you | remain | you | stir | fufu | and | give | PhCl |

'If you remain, you should prepare fufu and give.'

Making the matter even more confusing, in some cases two verbs are juxtaposed without the intervening *ba*, and the particle *lɨ* will still be present. In this case the conjunction *ba* is not actually spoken, but its meaning is understood in the context, and the particle *lɨ* is therefore still required.

86. | Wə | shə | wə | tsa | buna | nya | lɨ. |
    |----|-----|----|-----|------|-----|-----|
    | you | remain | you | stir | fufu | give | PhCl |

'If you remain, you should prepare fufu and give.'

4.8.2 *Ɨ*

(It should be noted that in rapid speech the particle *ɨ* is often not heard at all, or barely heard. In the early study of Kemedzung the researcher strongly suspected there was some kind of particle being used at times, but it was not until local people became more literate and started writing in Kemedzung that the use of the particle *ɨ* has become more clearly evident.)

The particle *ɨ* seems to be used in at least four distinctive ways, or found in four distinctive environments. These are conditional statements, after the verb 'can/able to', in future statements, and sometimes as a substitute for the P1 tense marker.

It is the observation of the researcher that the particle *ɨ* is very frequently used in environments in which there is some sense of irrealis. Conditional clauses are, by nature, unreal. They normally speak of something that may happen in the future. The verb 'can' is often not talking about what has happened, but the potential (or lack of potential) for something to happen in the future. And the future, not having occurred yet, is stereotypically irrealis.

The evidence is not strong enough to draw any firm conclusions, so more research will be needed in the future, but the researcher suspects that at least part of the particle *ɨ*'s functional load is to convey some element of irrealis in Kemedzung. Irrealis is a bit of a vague concept to pin down firmly, so it is not surprising that no Kemedzung speaker has spoken about the particle in those terms yet when explaining its presence. However, its connection with conditional statements, and its strong but vague association with the unreal future, both point in that direction.

4.8.2.1 The most easily definable use of *ɨ* is when it has a low tone and gives the sense of 'if'.

87. | Ɨ | mii | kə | wɛnɛ, | ŋgəŋ | bə | yu | kansɨl | ntɨŋ. |
    |---|-----|----|-------|------|----|----|--------|-------|
    | IRR | person | beat | my.child, | I.go | with | him | counsel | in |

'If someone beats my child, I will take him to the Counsel'

Recall from section 4.5.4 on conditional clauses, that there is another word meaning 'if', which is *jilə,* and that the particle *ɨ* is only used in future or general statements, but cannot be used to point to a specific event that has already happened. In the above example the particle *ɨ* may merely be giving an irrealis sense to the sentence, and the most appropriate way to translate it into English is with the word 'if'.

4.8.2.2 *Ɨ* often occurs after *naji,* which means 'can/able to'. It does not seem to have any definable meaning here, but it often "feels right" to native speakers for it to be there. It has also been noted that the construction *naji ɨ* is quite often found in the context of a question.

88. Naji ɨ wə fə mbaŋ no?
    can IRR you make fence this
    'Can you make this fence?'

4.8.2.3 *Ɨ* can begin a clause and give a future sense to that clause, with no other marking in that clause to indicate future tense. However, it is possible this occurs in environments in which the future tense was previously established, and the *ɨ* is merely carrying over into the new clause the future tense previously established. Accordingly, *ɨ* is really acting more as a connector, connecting the irrealis sense of its clause to the irrealis sense accompanying the future tense of a previous sentence or clause. This is especially clear in the following example, and helps to explain why some Kemedzung speakers want to translate the *ɨ* here as 'and'.

89a. Njiwa nli ŋgə kɨtuŋ ka ntɨŋ,
     I.FUT I.throw trouble country that in
     'I will send trouble on that country'

89b. ɨ ŋkɨkɨ wɔhɔ fɔ nə nɔ ba kuntə mɨ sɛŋ.
     IRR generation your come.out from there and praise me here
     '(and) your generation will come out from there and praise me here.'

In the following example the future tense is established with the future tense particle *ná.*

90. Jilə wə **ná** kwələhə woki, wə faŋ kpə wa bə John.
    if you FUT return.NEG tomorrow, you send money that with John
    'If you will not return tomorrow, you should send the money with John.' (now)

When *ɨ* is added to the sentence in the next example, the future tense marker is still present. However, now the second clause in the sentence also has a future sense to it. So the *ɨ* at the beginning of the sentence spreads the future sense of the first clause over the second as well. It is still approriate to call this irrealis as the the future sense of the second clause is less real than the present sense of the second clause in example 90 above.

91.   Ɨ   jilə   wə   **ná**   kwələhə   woki,   wə faŋ kpə wa bə John.
       IRR   if   you   FUT   return.NEG tomorrow, you send money that with John
       'If you will not return tomorrow, you should send the money with John.' (tomorrow)

In contrast, if a future tense marker is used in both clauses, then the irrealis particle *ɨ* will not be used, because the future tense marker is creating a more confident expectation of what will happen in the future.

92.   Jilə   wə   **ná**   kwələhə   woki,   wə **ná** faŋ kpə   wa bə   John.
       if   you FUT return.NEG tomorrow, you FUT send money that with John
       If you will not return tomorrow, you will send the money with John.' (tomorrow)

It is the impression of the researcher that, in the majority of cases where the particle *ɨ* is found, Kemedzung speakers will say that the *ɨ* is in some way "pointing to the future."

4.8.2.4   It has also been shown that *ɨ* can, occasionally, act as a substitute version of the P1 tense marker, *sə*.

93a.   Dzə́mbɨtə   yi   Kɨbilə lə   yi   ná   lɛɛ   ya   kə
       family.relatives of   Kɨbile PhCl REL   P3   go.bush those farm
       'Kɨbile's family sisters who had gone to the farm'

93b.   ŋkə   sɨŋ   lə   kpansɨ wa   **ɨ**   fiəŋkə,
       knowing not   COMP woman that   P1   missing
       'without knowing that the woman had died,'

93c.   nə́   kwə   ba   tɛshɛ ŋkuŋ   ku.
       P3   return and   gather chief   compound
       'they came back and gathered at the palace.'

5   Conclusion

      The goal of this paper was twofold. One goal was, on behalf of the four Kemedzung language workers, to write out a more formal description of Kemedzung discourse structure than they would have known how to do on their own. They recognized some basic discourse features about their language through participating in two discourse workshops, and those findings deserved to be written out in a fuller and more organized way.

      The other goal was to build on those basic observations and begin to write out a broader and more in-depth description of Kemedzung discourse structure based on the observations and analysis of the researcher.

      This paper is an effort to accomplish both of those goals, and they have both been fulfilled to some degree. However, there is still much more that can be learned about Kemedzung discourse structure, and it is the hope of the researcher that the finer details of Kemedzung discourse will continue to be unraveled as time goes by and further effort is spent working with the Kemedzung language. In the meantime, the researcher hopes the observations and explanations offered in this paper will be useful for a deeper

understanding of discourse structure in the Kemedzung language, and even for the related languages in the area.

6 References

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7 Appendix

7.1 Text: Five People in One Week

Kemedzung Title: Bənɨ bətiŋ fiəŋkə biənɨ miu ntiŋ Mədzuŋ

English Title: Five People Died in One Week in Dumbu

Plot Structure	No.	Text
Opening	1a	*Budənfɨ buŋ na ji budənfɨ bu yɛyi bu na tsukɔ bənɨ bətiŋ wɨ* Story this PRES be story of true REL PRES about people five on
	1b	*bə ná fiəŋkə nə Mədzuŋ biənɨ miuŋkpaŋ ntiŋ ginti bəfɛ biŋ.* REL P3 missing from Dumbu week one in going two on.
		This is a true story about five people who died in Dumbu within one week.
Initial Event 1	2a	*Bu na tɨdi lə,* it PRES saying COMP,
	2b	*chi bə́ ná kasə ŋkə yi yu yi wɛŋ wu nyonso wudɔ,* as they P3 finish shaving of hair of child of male some
	2c	*biənɨ wa ntiŋ kpansɨ wudɔ ná fiəŋkə nə kɨtsɔŋ kɨ Kɨbilə lə ntiŋ,* week that in woman some P3 missing from family of Kɨbilə PhCl in
	2d	*bə́ di yu ŋkuŋku.* they bury her chief.compound.
		The story goes that, as they finished mourning for a certain boy, that very week a woman from the Kɨbile family died and they buried her at the palace.
Increasing Tension 1	3a	*Dzámbitə yi Kɨbilə lə yi ná lɛɛ ya kə ŋkə siŋ lə kpansɨ wa ɨ fiəŋkə,* Fem.relatives of Kɨbile PhCl REL P3 go.bush those farm knowing not that woman that P1 missing,
	3b	*ná kwə ba tɛshɛ ŋkuŋku.* P3 return and gather chief.compound.
		Kɨbile's family sisters who had gone to the farm without knowing that the woman had died, they came back and gathered at the palace.
	4a	*Lə bə́ kasɨ bə ndi kpansɨ wa,*

Plot Structure	No.	Text
		when they finish with burying woman that,
	4b	*bɔ kwə kpə ya sɔ ŋkuŋku.* they gather death that inside chief.compound.
		When they finished burying the woman, they assembled at the palace for mourning.
Major Problems 1	5a	*Lə butsu wɔ,* When day break,
	5b	*shɔŋ fɔ lə miɨ bəku wudɔ la ji.* news come.out that person Mbororo some lost bush.
		The next day, news came out that a certain Mbororo man was missing.
	6a	*Bəku bəchi bə busɔŋka nə́ lɛ* Mbororos all and Hausas P3 go.bush
	6b	*lə bɔ gəŋ nɔŋ miɨ wa.* that they go search person that.
		All the Mbororos and Hausas went in search of the missing man.
	7a	*Chi bɔ nə́ ji sɔ nnɔŋ ya ntɨŋ,* As they P3 be there searching that in,
	7b	*wɛŋ wu nyonso wudɔ shə* child of male some remain
	7c	*ba fiəŋkə sɛŋ biŋ.* and missing here home.
		As they were still in the bush searching, another boy died at home.
	8a	*Bə́ dza bə yu* they get.up with him
	8b	*ba gəŋ ga yu tsɔŋ yi də ntɨŋ ‹saha bitɨ ntɨŋ›* and go put him house of cold in ‹there sticks in…›.
		They took him and went up and put him in the mortuary ‹at Nkambe›.
	9a	*Lə butsu wɔ,* When night break,

Plot Structure	No.	Text
	9b	*busɔŋka ba bə bəku tsu nɔŋ ya ntɨŋ.* Hausas come and Mbororos return searching that in.
		The next day, the Hausas and Mbororos went back to continue their search.
	10a	*Bɔ nɔŋ* they search
	10b	*ba ji tɨ kə ŋəŋkəhə.* and be also NEG see.NEG.
		They searched and did not find him.
	11	*Yiŋ nə́ tsa fiɛ yi bɔ nə́ nɔŋɔ mɨɨ wa, bɔ ji yu kə ŋəŋkəhə.* This P3 times two REL they P3 search person that they be he NEG see.NEG.
		This was the second time they searched for that man and did not find him.
	12a	*Butsu wɔ ŋkuŋ dinə bəninsə nə Mədzuŋ* Day break chief call men from Dumbu
	12b	*lə bɔ bəndɨ ntɔ.* that they climb palace.
		At day break the Fon called all men to come up to the palace.
	13a	*Lə bɔ bəndɨ,* When they climb,
	13b	*yu tə bə bɔ lə,* he say to them COMP,
	13c	*Busɔŋka bə Bəku nɔŋ mɨɨ wubɔ* Hausas and Mbororos had person their
	13d	*siŋ siŋ kɔ lə bɔ ŋəŋ,* till till NEG (never) that they see,
		When they got there, he told them that the Hausas and Mbororos had searched for their person and had not seen him,
	14a	*lə fɛŋ ku faŋkɨ wa bəninsə sɔ ji,*

Plot Structure	No.	Text
		that now village sending PRES men there bush
	14b	*bɔ gəŋ nɔŋ mii bəku wa.*
		they go search person Mbororo that.
		that now the village is sending men to the bush to go in search of the Mbororo man.
Problems solved 1	15a	*Bəninsə ba nə́ lɛ*
		Men those P3 go.bush
	15b	*ba nɔŋ mii bəku wa*
		and search person Mbororo that
	15c	*ba ŋəŋ yu iji ŋgɔŋ ntɨŋ, bə́ kanshɛ bibandə bihi bə gi yi bənaŋə.*
		and see him being water in, they(people) tie hands his with ropes of cows.PhCl.
		The men went and found him with his hands tied with cow ropes inside the water.
	16a	*Bə́ nə́ dinə bəni bə bitsa lə bə mii wubəŋ wu tsɔŋ yi ntsə ntɨŋ,*
		they P3 call people of belts PhCl and person big of house of medicine in,
	16b	*bɔ jiŋgə mii bəku wa sɔ ji.*
		they look person Mbororo that there bush.
		They called the police and the doctor, they came and checked the Mbororo man in the bush.
	17a	*Bədzumbu tə di yu sɔ ji ŋgɔŋ ma nəkpu*
		Dumbu people then bury him there bush water that beside
	17b	*ba tə kwə lɨ.*
		and then return PhCl.
		The Dumbu people then buried the man beside the water and came back home.
Initial Event 2	18a	*Nɨ butsu nə́ wɔ,*
		As day P3 break,
	18b	*bə́ shi bə wɛŋ wu nyonso wu bə́ nə́ galə wa tsɔŋ yidə ntɨŋ.*
		People descend with child of male who they P3 put that house of.cold in.
		The next day, they brought down the boy who had been kept in the

Plot Structure	No.	Text
		mortuary.
Major Problems 2	19a	*Lə bə́ kɨ diyi yu,* When they PROG bury him,
	19b	*shɔŋ yidɔ fɔ lə kpansɨ wudɔ fiəŋkə (ɨ) kə.* news some come.out that woman some missing in farm.
		When they were burying him, another report came out that a woman had died on the farm.
	20a	*Lə bənɨ gəŋ sɔ kə,* When people go there farm,
	20b	*bɔ gəŋ ŋəŋ kpansɨ wa ɨji dzəmbɨtə yi Kɨbilə,* they go see woman that being sister of Kɨbilə,
	20c	*yi nə́ fɔɔ nə tsɔŋ yi kpə ntɨŋ ntɔ* REL P3 come.out from house of death in palace
	20d	*ba lɛ bə bəkansɨ bədɔ,* and go.farm with women some
	20e	*lə bɔ gəŋ nɔŋ bidiəŋ bi bə́ fiətə ŋkə yi yu ya ntɨŋ,* that they go find food REL they cook shaving of hair that in
	20f	*yi nə́ji lə bə́ kə butsu woto.* which P3.be (supposed.to) that they shave night breaking.
		When people went to the farm, they saw that the woman was a sister of the Kɨbile family, which was still mourning in the palace. She had gone with some other women to look for food to be cooked during the shaving of hair that was to be done the next day.
Problems Solved 2	21a	*Bə́ nə́ tɔ kpansɨ wa ba di yu ŋkuŋku tɨ.* they P3 carry woman that and bury her chief.compound also
	21b	*Bəmanɨ yu yi nə́ji ya lə bə́ kə butsu woto nə́ tsu koso* therefore/but hair which P3.be (supposed.to) that that they shave night breaking P3 return down
	21c	*chi bə́ nə́ ŋəŋə lə bə́ jiba bə́ tɛshɛ ba kasɨ kpə ya fiɛ butsu bumo.* as they P3 saw.PhCl that they FUT they join and finish deaths those two day one.
		They carried the woman and buried at the palace, too. For that

Plot Structure	No.	Text
		reason the hair which was to be shaved the next day was postponed, because they thought to shave their hair once for the two deaths.
Closing 2	22a	*Fiŋ nə́ ba bə nchanyɛ nyi lə,* This P3 came with talking this COMP,
	22b	*Chi biənɨ na keŋkɛ díɔ tɨŋ,* as week PRES holding days five,
	22c	*Bubiənɨ, Bunsɛŋɛ, Buniŋkpɨ, Bufundiɛ bə Bushanə,* first day,second day, third day, fourth day and fifth day,
	22d	*bənɨ bətɨŋ nə́ fiəŋkə tɨ.* people five P3 missing also.
		This brought the conclusion that as a week is having five days, first, second, third, fourth and fifth, five people also died.
	23	*Bəmanɨ, biənɨ wa nə́ kə keŋkɛ mfufiɛ fiə wa ntɨŋ.* therefore, week that P3 not have rest month that in.
		Therefore, that week had no rest that month.
Finis	24	*Budənfɨ bwa kpɨyi mɛ.* Story that ends here.
		The story has ended here.

7.2 Text: Nothing

Kemedzung Title: Fiɔŋ Sɨŋ

English Title: Nothing

Plot Structure	No.	Text
Setting	**1**	*Miɨntaŋ wudɔ nə́ ji lɨ yi wuhu ji lə fiɔŋ sɨŋ.*
		old.man some P3 be PhCl name his be COMP thing not
		There was an old man whose name was "Nothing".
	2a	*Fiɔŋ na sɨŋ yu kɨ ji mani tɛ mani.*
		Thing PRES not he PROG be like.that grow.old like.that
	2b	*tɛ mani*
		grow.old like.that
		Nothing, being that way, he grew old that way.
	3a	*Bə́ dza,*
		They (people) left
	3b	*(n-dza,) bə́ lɛti lɨ fa fushə,*
		(Leaving,) they going.farm PhCl at afternoon
	3c	*yu kɨ shi mɨ bə miŋwinɛ mimbɨi*
		he PROG remain there with little.children little,
	3d	*bɔ nyindiə.*
		they played
		People left, they went to the farms in the afternoon, he would stay there with the young little children, and they played.
	4a	*Tsa yidɔ miŋwinɛ mimbɨi gəŋ,*
		time some little.children young go
	4b	*bɔ tɔ bidiəŋ,*
		they carry food
	4c	*bɔ ba kɨ ji fə yu ku,*
		they come PROG be by him by
	4d	*bɔ dɨi,*
		they eat
	4e	*bɔ nyindiə bə tsa yidɔ miɨntaŋ nu.*
		they play with time some old.man this
		Sometimes the little children went, they brought food, they came and would stay with him, they ate, they played with this old man.
Initial Event	**5**	*Kɨ ji fiə wudɔ wɨ miɨntaŋ nu wu yi wuhu ji lə fiɔŋ na sɨŋ, yu kpə.*
		PROG be month some on old.man this who name his be COMP thing PRES not, he died
		One month this old man, whose name was Nothing, died.
Major Problem	**6a**	*Lə yu kpə*
		when he died
	6b	*beŋ ba kɨ shi bɔ dɨ bɔ dɨ*
		children came PROG remain they cry they cry

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		When he died, the children came and stayed crying and crying.
	7	*Bəmə bɔ bə bəchɛ bɔ dza ki kwəli nə kə .*
		Mothers they with fathers they start PROG return from farm
		The mothers and fathers started returning from the farms.
	8a	*Bɔ ba,*
		They came
	8b	*bɔ ba*
		they came
	8c	*miŋwinɛ miŋ mi dɨ*
		little.children these they cry.
		They came and these little children, they were crying.
Problem Solved	**9a**	*Bɔ bi,*
		they ask
	9b	*bə na dɨ la*
		you PRES cry what?
		They asked, what are you crying for?
	10a	*Bɔ tə lə*
		They say COMP
	10b	*fiɔŋ sɨŋ kpə*
		thing not died
		They said, "Nothing died."
	11	*Fiɔŋ sɨŋ kpə ji la?*
		Thing not died be what?
		"What does Nothing died mean?"
	12a	*Bɔ lə*
		They COMP
	12b	*fiɔŋ sɨŋ kpə,*
		thing not died
	12c	*lə bɔ ba ŋəŋ miïntaŋ nu.*
		that they come see old.man this.
		They said, "Nothing died," that they came and saw this old man.
	13	*Fiɔŋ sɨŋ, yu kpə*
		Thing not, he died
		"Nothing, he died."
Finish	**14**	*Bwa na budənfɨ bwa*
		That PRES story that
		That is that story.
Closing	**15**	*Fə bɔ ná ji beŋ bubïï ná dɨlɨ wə bi beŋ ná dɨ la?*
		When they P3 be children little P3 crying you ask children P3 cry what
		When there were little children crying, you ask, why did the children cry?
	16	*Wə lə, na dəhə na dɨ fiɔŋ sɨŋ.*
		You COMP PRES cry.NEG PRES cry thing not
		You say, "he's not crying." You say, "he's crying for nothing."
Finish	**17**	*Budənfə bwa ka*
		Story that finish
		That story is finished.

7.3 Text: Traveling Advice

Kemedzung Title: Bitɨfiɛ bi nlɛ yi ŋkɔŋə

English Title: Traveling Advice

Plot Structure	No.	Text
Introduction	1a	*Wə wu wɛnɛ Dɔmɔ,*
		You who my.child Domo,
Situation 1	1b	*biŋ na bitɨfiɛ bi nna nse lə nnya wə fɛŋ*
		this PRES teachings REL I.PRES I.want that I.give you now
	1c	*nɨ wə na lɛti chiŋ ŋkɔŋ no Baminda.*
		As you PRES going like.this travel this Bamenda.
		You my son, Domo, this is the advice I want to give you now as you are going on this journey to Bamenda.
	2a	*Nɨ wə na dza mɛni fɛŋ wɛnɛ wə giŋtɨ,*
		As you PRES leave here now my.child you going,
Appeal 1a	2b	*wə kə chɛkɛ dzə yi Ŋkambɛ*
		you NEG pass.NEG road of Nkambe
Basis 1a	2c	*ya dzə na ji budə.*
		that road PRES be far.
		As you are leaving from here now and going, do not take the Nkambe road because that one is far.
Appeal 1b	3a	*∅ Chɛ ji dzə yi Uku*
		You pass but road of Uku
Basis 1b	3b	*ndzɨ ya na ji budzulu.*
		Because that PRES be short.
		Instead take the Oku road because that one is short.
Division 2, Situation	4a	*Nɨ wə bɛɛ Baminda,*
		As you enter Bamenda,
	4b	*nɨ wə na noŋko nɨŋ*
		as you PRES finding work
Appeal 2a	4c	*wə ga shəŋ yɔhɔ budə.*
		you put heart your cold.
		When you reach Bamenda, as you are looking for a job, have

		peace in your mind.
Appeal 2b	5a	*Wə kə bekɛ bimunɔ ntɨŋ,* You NEG enter.NEG drinking in,
Appeal 2c	5b	*wə kə biələ bəkansɨ,* you NEG follow.NEG women,
Appeal 2d	5c	*Wə kə biələ beŋ bə dza lə,* you NEG follow.NEG children of crazy PhCl
Appeal 2e	5d	*wə nɔŋ kwa ɨji nɨŋ yɔhɔ.* you find only instead work your.
		You should avoid drunkeness, prostitution, and mad children, concentrate only on how to get your job.
Situation 2a	6a	*Wə bɨkə nɨŋ nyi,* You find work this,
Appeal 2f	6b	*wə kɨ nintɨ yi bə budə.* you PROG working it with cold.
		If you get a job, do it patiently.
Situation 2b	7a	*Ɨ bə́ kwəŋ wə hɔndele,* If they pay you hundred,
Appeal 2g	7b	*wə diə fiti, fiti shə.* You eat fifty fifty remain.
		If you recieve a hundred, spend fifty and keep fifty.
Situation 2c	8a	*Ɨ bə́ kwəŋ wə gi fɛ,* If they pay you hundred two,
Appeal 2h	8b	*wə diə gbɨ, gbɨ shə.* you eat one.hundred one.hundred remain.
		If you receive two hundred, spend one hundred and keep one hundred.
Appeal 2i	9a	*Wə kɨ banchɛ kpə wɔhɔ* you PROG gather money your
	9b	*wə galɨ,* you keep,
Appeal 2j	9c	*kɨya wə kə chɛsɛ sɔ kpa.* year you NEG pass.NEG there outside.
		You should be gathering your money and saving, don't spend more than a year there.

Division 3 Situation	10a	*Wə niŋ kiya,*
		You work year,
Appeal 3a	10b	*wə banchɛ kpə wu shə wa*
		you gather money which remains that
Appeal 3b	10c	*wə kwə bə wu sɛŋ binchi,*
		you return with it here home,
Appeal 3c	10d	*kə ŋəŋ fiɔŋ fi naji ɨ kə fə.*
		we see thing which PRES.be (can) IRR we do.
		If you work a year, gather the remaining money and bring it to the village, and we will see what we can do with it.
Basis 3a	11a	*Ndzɨ fiɔŋ fi fiəfiə fi naji lə wə fə,*
		Because thing which first which PRES.be (supposed.to) that you do,
Basis 3b	11b	*wə jiwa wə wɛyɛ tsɔŋ nə wu ntɨŋ,*
		you FUT you build house from it in,
Basis 3c	11c	*ɨ wə taŋ kpansɨ nə wu ntɨŋ,*
		IRR you buy woman from it in,
Basis 3d	11d	*Wu shə wa ɨ wə ga.*
		it remain that IRR you put
Basis 3e	11e	*kɨ taŋkɨ ŋka bə məŋ tsɔŋ*
		PROG buying salt with oil house
		Because the first thing you will do is to build a house out of it, buy a wife from it, then keep the remaining money, buying salt and oil for house use.
Basis 3f	12a	*Ndzɨ ɨ wə kə fəkə fiŋ fiɔŋ fɛŋ*
		because if you NEG make.NEG this thing now
Basis 3g	12b	*nɨ wə na bambi gwɨ buntaŋ,*
		as you PRES still body strong,
Basis 3h	12c	*Wə tɛ lɨ,*
		you grow.old PhCl,
Basis 3i	12d	*ɨ wə bɨkə buŋga bu naji wə fə fiŋ fiɔŋ kə.*
		IRR you have power REL can you do this thing not.
		Because if you don't do so when you are still strong, when you are old, you will have no power to do anything.
Basis 3j	13a	*Ŋəŋ la nɨ kə na ji bə wə fɛŋ bəfɛ*

		See (appeal) as we PRES be with you now two
	13b	*mɨɨ wudɔ sɨŋ.*
		person other not.
		See, there are only two of us, having no one with us.
Situation 3a	14a	*Wɛnɛ, bitɨfiɛ bi nna nnya biŋ wə*
		My.child teachings REL I give these you
Appeal 3d	14b	*ga bi fi buni wə chimfi bi*
		keep them head well you holding them
Basis 3k	14c	*ndzɨ bi jibia bi chitə wə,*
		because they will they help you,
Basis 3l	14d	*bi chitə mɨ wɔki bə bwa.*
		they help me tomorrow and after.
		My child, this advice I am giving you, keep it well in mind and hold on to it, for it will help you and me, tomorrow and after.
Closing	15	*Wɛnɛ, gəndə buni wə kwə buni.*
		My.child travel well you return well.
		My child, travel well and come back well.
	16	*Yɛmɨ ka.*
		My own finish.
		My own is finish.