

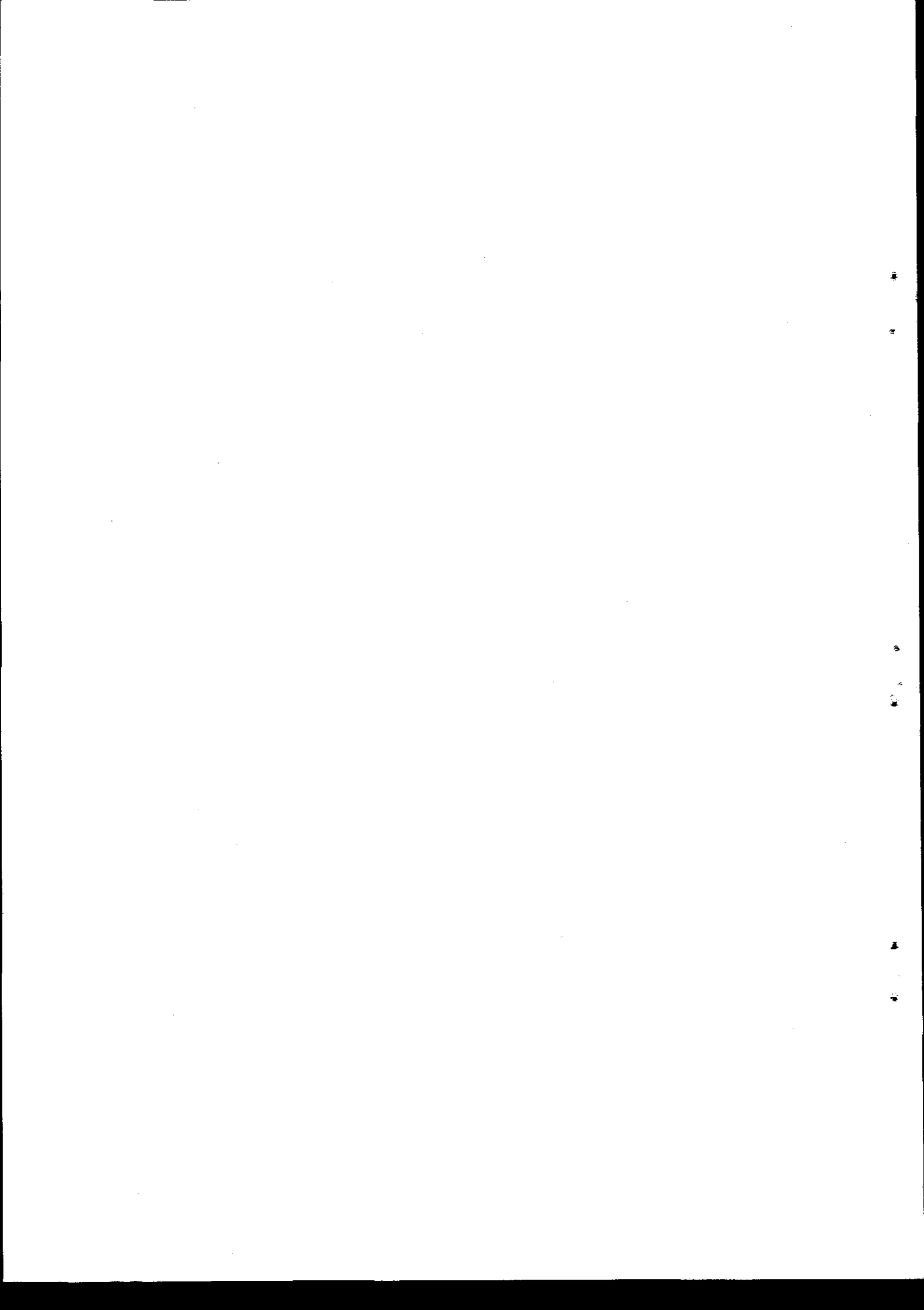
MINISTERE DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE ET TECHNIQUE

**NOTES ON DISCOURSE FEATURES OF YEMBA
NARRATIVE TEXTS**

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0. INTRODUCTION

The Yémba language is spoken in the Department of the Ménoua, Western Province, Cameroon. Its official ALCAM number is 952, one of the Grassfields languages. The language has also been known in the past as Bamiléké-Dschang. There are about 350,000 people in the Ménoua, most of whom are native speakers of Yémba. In addition, there is a significant number of Yémba speakers in Yaoundé, Douala, and the other major cities of Cameroon.

The following description of the discourse features of Yémba narrative texts is based on the study and analysis of three (3) narrative texts. Two of these three texts are traditional animal stories (*Anenō Mosquito* and *Kénáŋ Chameleon*) while the third (*Mbō Creator-spirit*) is a recounting of someone else's personal experience. In addition, other stories, including those about personal experience (*Ndō Curse*, *Njhu-ngyā Heir*), and exposition/explanation (*Mvhō Goat*, *Mele Vampires*) have been used to verify or challenge the proposed conclusions. All of these texts were transcribed from recordings of a known eloquent Yémba speaker of the older generation, Gaston NGUIMEYA, of the quartier Nzenkɔp in Bafou. The transcriptions were edited by competent Yémba speakers in order to eliminate obvious speech errors and false starts. As a result, they are considered to be well-formed texts that faithfully represent the oral tradition.

The material is organised into the following categories which correspond to the sections of this paper: §1-variations in the order of clause constituents §2-grounding §3-sentence introducers §4-participant reference §5-marked focus §6-quoted conversations §7-pragmatic particles §8-propositional order §9-subordination and given versus new information.¹

1. VARIATIONS IN THE ORDER OF CLAUSE CONSTITUENTS

1.1 Nuclear constituents

The unmarked, or most common, order of clause constituents in narrative text is SV(IO O):

(1) ...á to akette a mba...
 3sSJ.PFTV send letter LOC compound
 S V O
 ...he sent a letter to (his family) compound...
 Mbō 2c

(2) Ghíte á gá yī.
 indicate CAC 1sgOJ 3sgOJ
 (S) V IO O
 Point him out to me.
 Njhu-ngyā

The ordering of IO before O has been verified as being valid for not only the imperative but also the indicative mood.

This order is no different from that used for equative clauses:

(3) ...lewhū a lē sí ḡgó ánu tepəŋ.
death SAC EX PROG be matter bad
 S V C
 ...Death is a bad thing.

Kénánj 1b

The following sentence is the most complete example of reasoned argument in these texts, and again, the order seems no different from the regular narrative and equative examples:

(4) Nǎdé ḡgə, a gə té yīi ndō yi ā
 say that, 3sSJ be NEG REL husband her SAC.COND
 S V
 She said that, if her husband does not

tsó' étsō ŋiŋ éyā, mbə pó yī é gó le
return things person IR.give, ADD 3pSJ 3sOJ SAC be NEG
 V O S V
 return goods of the (other) person, then they (he and she) will no longer,

pú nǎzəŋ nǎnǎǎ.
INT ADD live (together).
 V
 absolutely, live together.

Ndə

1.2 Pre- and post-nuclear clause constituents

The following pre-nuclear constituents exist in the three texts studied:

- té conjunction indicating result arising from previous situation as necessary condition (see also §3) Kénánj 15
- te conjunction indicating a continuation ("until") to the following end point (place or event) Kénánj 2,3,5,9
Anenō 2,8,11,18
Mbō 34,36
- mbīŋ discontinuity marker (see §3 and §7.3) Kénánj 2
Anenō 15,17,19,21,22
Mbō 5,25
- mbə additive marker (see §7.1) Kénánj 9
Anenō 17,19
Mbō 9
- pá' cataphoric particle Anenō 9,15,21

The following post-nuclear constituents occur in the three texts studied:

- **epúp** anaphoric particle Kénáŋ 10
Anen̄ 19?
Mb̄ 17,30
- **lā** pragmatic particle indicating shared common
knowledge with the audience Kénáŋ 4
Anen̄ 9,13
- **mbeé** pragmatic particle indicating insistence on
being understood by the audience, often in
context of conversation Kénáŋ 2
Mb̄ 14
- **lo** pragmatic particle indicating calling out
in order to attract attention, often in context
of conversation Anen̄ 12

In addition, phrases of the following types are found as post-nuclear constituents:

- locational Mb̄ 1,33, 35
- temporal Anen̄ 1
- relative clauses Kénáŋ 5
Anen̄ 18

1.3 Pre-posing of constituents

Yemba allows the preposing of the nuclear constituent **O**. An example of this is seen in a negative construction using either *te* or *ka* as the negative particle. The object is displaced and intervenes between the subject and verb:

- (5) A ka yí júś.
 3sSJ NEG 3sOJ see
 S O V
 He does not see him.

If the verb phrase is complex, with one or more verb forms that function as adverbial auxiliaries to the main verb (always the last verb form in the phrase), then the object is inserted between the last of these auxiliaries and the main verb:

- (6) Azō á té kō ézēŋ á yí éghué.
 thing SAC NEG happen IR.again LOC 3sOJ IR.do.NEG
 S V(AUX) O V
 Nothing will happen to him again.

Mb̄ 40

Post-nuclear constituents, such as the temporal phrase or clause, may be placed at the beginning of a sentence in order to serve as a point of departure. The normal place for a temporal phrase or clause is a post-nuclear one:

- (7) Anen̄ pś nzenzhe é le ám̄' álē'é,...
 Mosquito ADD Fly SAC EX IND day
 Mosquito and Fly existed on a certain day (One day Mosquito and Fly)....

Anen̄ 1

A temporal clause can be placed near the beginning of a sentence before the verb that takes the narrative tense marking. This narrative tense marking is found in *á to akette* 'he sent a letter'. The verb appears in a bare form with no tense or aspect markers. In addition, the distinction between high tone and low tone classes of verbs is neutralized. Such a temporal clause that precedes a verb in the narrative tense can introduce non-event material of setting. When it is topicalized, as in the second temporal clause in the following example, it can serve as a point of departure for a new situation. As such, it has a bi-directional function, that of relating past time with what is to come.

- (8) A le lū nnáj á Nduálá, te á gə amō' álē'é, á to akette...
 3sgSJ P4 F4 stay LOC Douala until c7 be INDEF day 3sgSJ send letter
After having lived for a while in Douala, there came a day when he sent a letter..

Anenō 2

Another reason for placing a temporal clause near the beginning of a sentence is to give prominence to a temporal idea. The last sentence of Mb5 is intended to convince the reader that the healing performed was efficacious, and so prominence is given to the statement that the healing has lasted to the present time:

- (9)...te ŋkó áne eyá'a, a la pīŋ nízéŋ ŋgā'téé.
 until arrive on today 3sgSJ NEG DM ADD cry.out
...and (even) until today, he has never again (suffered and) cried out.

Mb5 41

2. GROUNDING

2.1 Backgrounding

In Yemba narrative we see a frequent use of backgrounding devices which serve to fill out both internal and external contextualization. Yemba makes use of each one of the six types of nonevents listed by Joseph Grimes in *The Thread of Discourse: participant orientation, setting, explanation* (termed background information by him), *evaluation, discourse irrealis*, and *performative information*. I would propose adding to this list a type of backgrounding which occurs frequently in Yemba: that is *summary statements* which have the same function as tail-head linkage (see 2.3).

At the beginning of a narrative, an existentialiser verb *le* is used to present the main participants in a non-active way, after which an adverb or adverbial clause indicating time and/or place may follow.

- (10) Mmō' mēŋ ga a le ewú,...
 INDEF child my SAC EX there
Once there was a certain child in my family,...

Mb5 1

- (11) Anen̄5 p̄6 nzenzhe é le ám̄5' á lē'é,
 Mosquito with fly SAC EX INDEF day,
Once there were two friends, mosquito and fly,
 Anen̄5 1

A further mention of passage of time and new setting may follow, as in the case of Mb̄5 (lines 1b-1c). At the point where the new time and setting are established which will be the frame in which the action takes place, the first tense marker appears which establishes a point of departure for the participant to be activated. It is interesting to note that most if not all tense markings seem to occur on background material.

Yémba uses several auxiliary verbs which are often indicators of aspect, and as we will see later, can occur in the midst of formulaic types of constructions found at certain crucial points in the narrative. The auxiliary verb *ńdá'*, with a primary meaning of 'to spend the night', in the Fly story serves to introduce a *summary statement* of the process of going from one place to another, demoting that process so that we can focus on the more important actions which follow (see §2.3) Within that phrase, the conjunction *te* is followed by a verb which brings us to the logical conclusion of the action of 'going', that is, 'arriving'.

- (12) ńdá' ńgũo te ńkó á ńdu....
 already go until arrive LOC stream
Having already gotten to the stream,
 Anen̄5 2

Another instance of a *summary statement* which indicates the end point of a process occurs in Mb̄5 Píá when the family decides they must seek out diviners to help their son to be restored to his true self. They have reflected on his letter (a durative process) and have arrived at a conclusion. This clause is one of the rare summary statements marked for tense. Telescoping the process serves to highlight what is salient in the sentence: the action of going to see the diviner.

- (13) Mé le jú'ē, te m̄'ó yi á p̄e ńgá ńgũs.
 3imSJ P4 understand until father his SAC take diviner go
After having understood (the contents of the letter), the father decided to go see a diviner.
 Mb̄5 11

Another auxiliary verb which marks aspect is *ńcá'* whose primary meaning is 'to remain' or 'to become'. It appears in independent clauses which fit into the category of *discourse irrealis* or *collateral information* according to Grimes' terms. "It mentions what could possibly happen, as a means of highlighting what actually does happen.... These instances provide strong cohesive ties pointing forward in the text." (Dooley 1994:41)

- (14) Á cu' a l̄etswí' ńtshí á áthũ.
 c7 remain CAC pick.up place LOC head
All that remained for him to do was to pick it up and place it on his head.
 Anen̄5 4

As mentioned above, formulaic expressions which are preposed fall into the category of background information, and are of the type called *explanation or comment* relating to external contextualization. This is to say that the narrator is stepping outside the narrative to explain something which belongs to a larger world beyond the hearer's text world. Thus, what is common knowledge or "gnomic expression" (Longacre 1994:251) and which proves pertinent to later events in the story, is brought to the hearer's attention in a sort of comment made from the side of the stage.

(15) **Á piŋ ngó pá' mekhu mí é kyókté te ntsiá lā...**
 c7 DM be like.that feet his SAC be.small until surpass PERF

And since as we all know (Due to the fact that) a mosquito's feet are extremely tiny,...

Anenō 9

This same formula appears also in **Kenəŋ** when bringing to the hearer's attention the well-known fact that toads hop quickly, whereas cameleons crawl slowly (line 4).

I would now like to treat the instances of *performative information* which occur outside of direct quotes (due to the fact that one would naturally expect to find this type of backgrounding in direct quotes, and this will be dealt with later.) In the Fly narrative, as seen above in (5), the *comment* clause ends with a performative particle *lā* which serves to draw the hearer's attention to the remarkable tininess of Mosquito's legs. This particle marks shared information between the narrator and the audience. In the parallel *explanation* clause concerning the weak point of the anatomy of Fly, this same particle reappears.

(16) **Á piŋ ngó pá' athū nzenzhe á kyók leyá lā,**
 c7 DM be like.that head Fly SAC be.small to.extreme PERFO

And since as we all know (Due to the fact that) a fly's head is extremely small,

Anenō 15

One would expect to find the same performative particle in the *comment* clause of **Kenəŋ** mentioned above. And indeed it is there!

(17) **Á piŋ ngó pá' ketə'tsa a go nzīŋé ŋkyet kyeté lā,**
 c7 DM be like.that toad SAC can walk jump-jump PERFO

And since as we all know (Due to the fact that) that toads can walk by jumping,

kénəŋ á piŋe nzīŋe mé nda lā...
 cameleon SAC DM walk DIR slow PERFO
(whereas) cameleons walk very slowly...

Kenəŋ 4

A similar performative particle appears at the end of the clause in **Anenō** which expresses again another extreme: Mosquito's vain efforts to convince Fly to aid him in his predicament. It serves to accentuate the strong emotion of the moment and acts as a bridge between speaker and hearer.

(18) Anen̄ á swiŋte a yí te ŋgā lē,..

Mosquito SAC plead.with CAC 3sgOJ until do everything PERFO

Mosquito pled with him, (but no matter what he said,) it was to no avail,

Anen̄ 7

We will now deal with the type of nonevent called *evaluation* which in this case overlaps with *performative information*. In the two animal stories the narrator turns to the audience to tell us the point of the whole story by way of a moral. This falls within the category of a *direct evaluation* as (distinguished from *indirect* in Dooley and Levinsohn.) Thus *evaluation* reaches into the realm of *external contextualization*, meaning the larger world extending beyond the bounds of the hearer 's text world. The moral is generally introduced by a formulaic expression: *Mé piŋ nzōkó ájwə anu*, meaning: "We wrap up this whole affair by saying...."

(19) Mé piŋ zōkó ájwə anu, ndé ŋge: Kaá ŋiŋ á ŋnaŋ ŋjúó

3imSJ DM finish DEM1 affaire say that: Beware person SAC stay see

aló' áne mmə' ŋiŋ, ŋzwi te tsīa.

problem on certain person laugh until surpass.

We can finish this story by saying: Let no one only see the limitation of someone else (and do nothing) and laugh to the extreme.

Anen̄ 24

2.2 Highlighting in narrative

Yemba narrative uses a combination of devices to signal a climax in a story. These include a heavier than usual occurrence of the verb intensifier *pu* in the sentences following an explanatory-comment clause or a discourse realis clause. The *pu* shows up in sentences which encode significant events, as in the following examples:

(20) mekhu mí é pu ŋkīné.

feet his SAC INTEN be.smashed

his feet were completely smashed.

Átūó á pu ŋkūŋté ŋném ége, mbú ésá.

Gourd SAC INTEN roll fall there, INTEN broken

The gourd rolled around and landed there totally broken into bits.

Anen̄ 9-10

Another set of devices is repetition of verbs, as well as the rare appearance of a relative clause, all this in the sentence just preceding the explanation about the weakness in Fly 's anatomy (is this called a key assertion?). The action is being slowed down by an accumulation of more than usual amount of details. Then we arrive at an explanation which launches and highlights the following significant development.

(21) Nzenzhe á zwi zwi, te ndé ŋge + quote...

Fly SAC laugh laugh until say...that.....
Fly is caught in paroxysms of laughter, and then he says...

...Ŋzwi zwi, ízwi zwi te ntshi ñnek zí é pu ntó.
 laugh laugh laugh laugh until water eye his SAC INTENS come.out.
He laughed so much that tears started to just pour out a lot.

Anen̄ 11 and 14

2.3 Tail-Head linkage

As has been stated above (see 2.1), we have not yet seen any instance of tail-head linkage in Yémba narrative. However the backgrounding device of *summary statements* serves the same function: that of telescoping a durative action into a quick endpoint, thus highlighting the ensuing action.

3. SENTENCE INTRODUCERS

We are still in the process of deciding how best to divide a text into its component sentences and clauses, using the appropriate punctuation. As a result, some of our sentence divisions are still rather provisional. For the most part, we have followed the indications of our Yémba co-workers. We would now like to return and listen again to the recorded texts themselves, paying special attention to the resetting of pitch at the beginning of a sentence and any other linguistic signals that would guide us in knowing where to put periods and commas.

As a result of better realizing our confusion on this point, we are hesitant to assert much in this area except where it seems most obvious.

We have found two words that we consider as sentence introducers in specific contexts, *te* 'until' and *mb̄iŋ* 'development marker'. The sentences in which they occur have been verified as new sentence units. We expect to find more examples after more careful examination of texts. First, we will consider how *te* 'until' is used.

When *te* 'until' is used as a sentence introducer, its pragmatic implication is 'finally' (see §8.2). It can occur with several verb forms that add detailed aspectual or pragmatic information to the eventline information. This indicates that the narrator is commenting on the action in an evaluative way. The narrator is drawing conclusions about what he has observed of the action, about how events are related.

(22) Meshuo mende'é mét é zi lelé ŋghā le, wuo ŋge
 elephants unknown DET c6 begin say make PERFO DEM1 unknown
Those unknown elephants began to say that, this stranger (elephant)

a kó's ágo? Te shū' ŋgo njús a ŋiŋ...
 c1 return.from where? until F2 go see CAC person...
where does he come from? Finally, after a while (as a result of thinking about this), they went to see someone...

Njhu-ŋgyā 67-68

This kind of evaluation is seen even more clearly in the following example. Fly has died. Within the value system of the Yemba culture, the way in which he has died merits that his body be left by the stream and not given a proper burial. This is not mentioned explicitly in the text but must be what the villagers conclusion is based on, according to the narrator's use of *te*. The conclusion the villagers come to after having heard all that Mosquito has recounted to them about what has happened from beginning to end, is that all there is left for them to do is to carry back Mosquito but leave Fly's body behind. This way of presenting the events, using *te* to indicate the relationship perceived by the narrator, carries an implicit judgment on the Fly, also reflected in part in the conclusion to the whole story.

(23) *Te mé piŋ mbú ícú'é ídōkō anenō ígē me mba.*
 So that 3imSJ DM INT remain with Mosquito go DIR compound
So that finally they ended up only having to carry Mosquito back to the village.

Mbiŋ ntsyā ápfō nzenzhe á ídu.
 DM leave cadaver Fly LOC stream
while leaving the Fly's body down in the streambed.

Anenō 22-23

When *te* is combined with verb forms of *íggē* 'before', the next clause is perhaps seen by the narrator as having a close, consciously logical connection with what has preceded it. The *te* insists on the connectedness of the following action. In the previous example, the same thing seems to be accomplished by the combined use of other verb forms: *piŋ mbú ícú'é* 'then the only thing they really could do was to...'. In the example that follows, there is a process that Mosquito has gone through (repeated refusals noted as succinctly as possible) that finally leads him to conclude that he will have to take some other action.

(24) *Te anenō á ge ējús, éshuŋ átūs ítshí á mékhu yí*
 Finally Mosquito CAC before see pull calabash place LOC feet LOG
Finally Mosquito realized (the refusal), he pulled up the calabash and placed it on his legs,

íge yí gō ékó'né étshí á áthū yí.
 that LOG be able IR.lift up IR.place LOC head LOG
so that he would be able to lift it up and place it on his head.

Anenō 8

The second sentence introducer we have found is *ímbīŋ* 'return'. It can be used as a principal verb in a clause, or it can be used as a discontinuity marker whose pragmatic implication is 'notice this because it is important for the storyline'. *Ímbīŋ* used in this way can be at various levels within the discourse. It can have a very narrow field of influence, or may play a role on the level of a larger discourse unit.

Used as a sentence introducer, as in the following example, it comments on the relationship the narrator sees between the events of the two sentences. The two different actions by the same participants of 'taking Mosquito' and of 'leaving

Fly's body' seem to be contrasted with each other. It is hard to see whether it is the two events of taking or leaving (and their initiators who are not encoded as important participants) that are contrasted, or if what is more important is what that means for Fly and Mosquito as the major participants, viz., contrasting the ignoble death of the one and continued life for the other. Perhaps *mbīŋ* is functioning on several levels at once here, especially since it is towards the end of the story. When used as a discontinuity marker on the discourse level, we would call it a development marker.

(25) *Mbiŋ ntsyā ápfō nzenzhe á údu.*
 DM leave cadaver Fly LOC stream
while/yet leaving the Fly's body down at the streambed.

Anen̄ 23

Another time *mbīŋ* is used as a sentence introducer occurs in *Kénáŋ* at the beginning of the second sentence. God has already seen that death is not a good thing.

(26) *Ímbiŋ nzéŋ ŋkwāŋ kwaŋ, te ntó á kénáŋ pó ketó'tsa ŋge,*
 DM ADD reflect reflect until send CAC chameleon ADD toad that
Then he also reflected a lot, such that he charged chameleon and toad...

Kénáŋ 2

In this example, it is not so much a question of contrast as of noting a discrete action of some importance. The result is that the *mbīŋ* pushes us forward toward understanding the event which sets up the framework for the story. It anticipates the importance of what it will note.

4. PARTICIPANT REFERENCE

There are six different ways in which reference to a participant can be made in a narrative text in Yémba: proper noun, noun phrase, noun, full pronoun (personal, impersonal or logophoric), clitic pronoun (indicating either subject concord or ir/realis same subject marker), and possessive adjective.

4.1 Major participants

Major participants are those who are active for a large part of the narrative and play leading roles. They can be introduced or initially activated in two ways:

- In a non-active way with a presentative articulation, such as with the existentialiser *le*, with or without the indefinite determiner *mmɔ'*, often followed by a constituent that is either existential/spatial (*ewú*) or temporal (*ám̄' álē'é*):

(27) *Mmɔ' méŋ ga a le ewú,*
 INDEF child my SAC EX there
Once (there was) one of my younger family members...

Mb̄ 1

(28) Anen̄ p̄ nzenzhe é le am̄' álē'é,
 Mosquito ADD Fly SAC EX INDEF day
One day Mosquito and Fly were hanging out together...
 Anen̄ 1

- In a non-active way as the patient, with or without the indefinite determiner *mm̄'*:

(29) Mé ḡ njúś m̄m̄' n̄zwí esī
 3imSJ go see INDEF wife of.god
They went to see a seer
 Mb̄ 19

(30)...te ntó á kénán̄ p̄ ket̄'tsa
 until send CAC chameleon ADD toad
then sent Chameleon and Toad
 Anen̄ 2

After studying our three texts, we were not able to determine if there is a global VIP in any of them. If among the major participants there is one who seems more central (global) than the others, it is not evident from these texts. Is it possible such a role is signalled by an introduction which precedes that of the other major participants? Are there other linguistic signals throughout the text which continue the role? Perhaps these three texts were too short to provide appropriate material to respond to such questions about a global VIP.

After the introduction of a major participant, he then becomes active in an event clause of the next sentence. Keeping a major participant on stage does not require further use of full noun phrases. Instead, there is continued use of pronouns or zero anaphora. In subsequent references, the most common strategy of reference is the subject-oriented sequential (look-back) one. This means that the subject of the preceding main clause is the normal referent for a new reference when something other than a full noun phrase is used.

(31) Mm̄' mén̄ ga a le ewú, n̄tsw hí te nḡś á nḡn̄ n̄n̄, n̄ḡś mé
 Nduála.
 INDEF child my SAC EXIS there grow.up until be CAC person go DIR
 Douala
Once there was a child of my (family) who grew up and became a successful person and went to Douala

A le lū n̄n̄n̄ á Nduála, te á ḡ am̄' álē'é, á to akette a mba,
 3sgSJ P4 F4 stay LOC Douala until c7 be INDEF day 3sgSJ send letter LOC ome
After having lived for a while in Douala, there came a day when he sent a letter

n̄dé n̄ge, yí ndí am̄' áthū.
 say that LOG P3.sleep another head
home (in the village) saying that he had had a dream.

Anen̄ 1-3a

Once *mmo' méng ga* 'a younger member of my family' has been introduced in Mb5 as a major participant, further references to him while on-stage or off-stage are with either pronouns or zero anaphora. In a later paragraph, we note the exception to this system of reference, viz., when the other major participant is treated as a local VIP. In addition, within a quoted conversation (Mb5 21) where the demonstrative adjectives have their basic spatial signification, we see *mō wuɔ* 'this child' without any discourse-level implications.

(32) *Megaŋ ŋgá é ko eshún á mō's yi ŋge,*
 persons see c2 arrive speak LOC father his that
It happened that the seers told his father that

Á si 'a, á we mb5 piá.
 c7 PROG like.that 3sgSJ have creator-spirit two
With things like that, (it means that) he has two creator spirits.

Mb5 piá mé geene a yí púp mbéé.
 creator-spirit two FOC bother CAC 3sgOJ like.that PERF
It is two creator-spirits that are bothering him like that, you see.

Tɛ mé ha ntón á yí, a ēshú'....
 until 3imSJ quickly call CAC 3sgOJ 3sgSJ IR.F.come
Such that one should quickly tell him to come....

....Mé le lé épūp, mé to akette ntón á yí. Á shu'.
 3imSJ P4 say like this 3imSJ send letter call CAC 3sgOJ 3sgSJ come
....After they had spoken like this, they (family) sent a letter and called him (home). He came.

Mb5 13-18

Once off-stage, *mmo' méng ga* comes back on-stage as *mō mét*, 'the aforementioned/that child'. The anaphoric determiner *mét* 'aforementioned' provides fuller encoding of the participant in the form of a full noun phrase. This determiner indicates continuity with previous references. Here it appears in a non-active context where *mō* is a non-subject (see §4.3 for further discussion):

(33) *Mé lu nzéŋ ndōk á mō mét, ndōk ngūó ŋgo njúó á yí.*
 3impSJ F3 ADD with CAC child DET with go.... PUR see CAC 3sOJ
A while later they went again with that child in order to see her.

Mb5 31

Back on stage again, *mō mét* seems to lose some status to a local VIP, the other major participant, viz., the specialist healer. We are viewing this specialist as a local VIP for reasons we will look at later. Now the subsequent references to *mō* do not revert back to only pronouns or zero anaphora as before. Instead, the expression *mō mét* 'the aforementioned child', is used of him once more during this same scene (twice if you want to understand *mb5 zi mét* 'the aforementioned creator-spirit of his' as the same sort of reference to the person indirectly) and again in the last scene (to bring him to the fore again?). This fuller encoding of

really active again as a participant until his turn to do things arrives (Mb5 34a), and then the opening reference to him there is with less encoding as a simple noun, *mó* 'child'. Subsequent references use zero anaphora:

(34)...te *mó* á fho ā ŋká', *múbú* ízīŋ átsen
 ...until..child SAC come.from LOC field, INT walk genitals
then the child came from the field, walking completely

te *nzhoó*, *múbú* ŋgū́s te ŋkó á *múba*. Íjkó á
 without clothes INT go until arrive LOC compound. Arrive LOC
naked, and kept on going until he arrived at the (specialist's) compound. Once
in

ŋgyā, útsét ákuŋe. *Ídá'* únán éwú,.....
 room close door already stay there
the room, he shut the door. After he had stayed there for awhile,...

Mb5 34b-36a

In some of the other texts we looked at, bringing a major participant back on stage was handled similarly. In *Ndó*, the father responsible for the activation of the curse is brought on again in an active way as *ŋiŋ mét* 'the aforementioned person'. Subsequent references to him while he is still on-stage use pronoun forms and zero anaphora as before. Two other stories, *Njhu-ŋgyā* and *Mvhō*, use another determiner, *wyō* 'that', to bring back their major participants (see §4.3.)

The major participants in these texts have no special forms of reference except at the point of bringing them back on stage, as noted above. What we could call a global VIP is not evident from these texts. But when we consider the possibility of a local VIP strategy, we notice how verbs of direction indicate a point of orientation which is significant. In addition, for example in the text of *Mb5*, one certainly has the impression that this major participant to be considered as a local VIP, the specialist, is the one in charge of everything and how it happens. So let's look at how it works.

There are 3 major verbs of direction used in the *Mb5* text, viz., *ŋgū́s* 'go', *éshū* 'come', and *éfhó* 'come from'. An inspection of the use of these three verbs indicates one major shift in point of orientation in the story, that is, from the family's compound (sentences 1-31) to that of the specialist (sentences 33-42). But the distinction is actually more subtle than that and this comes out when you compare sentences 34-37.

(35) TABLE OF DIRECTIONAL VERBS IN MBŌ

sentence	referent	verb	where	pt of orientation
1a	#1: mmə' mēj ga family member (son)		éwú there	(here)
1c	#1: SS	go	to Douala	(family compound)
11b	mə'ó yí his father	go	to seer (non-specific)	(family compound)
18	#1: á son	come	(to compound)	(family compound)
19	mé they (family)	go	to specialist	(family compound)
31	mé they (family)	go	to specialist	(family compound)
33b	#2: SS specialist	go	to field	(compound of specialist)
34b	#1: mó son	come from	field	(compound of specialist)
34d	#1: SS son	go	to compound (of specialist)	(field, i.e., specialist)
35a	#1: SS son	arrive	room (of compound)	(compound of specialist)
36a	#1: SS son	stay	éwú there	(compound of specialist)
36b	#2: yí gwēt she herself (specialist)	come from	field	(compound of specialist)
36c	#2: SS (specialist)	come	(to compound)	(compound of specialist)
37a	#2: SS (specialist)	come from	éwú there	(compound of specialist)
37b	#2: SS (specialist)	bring out	(of room)	(compound of specialist)
41	#1: mó mét that son	go		(compound of specialist)

Sentences 34-36 show the parallel actions first of *mó* 'child' and then of *nzwí esí* 'specialist', with one unexpected shift and one notable difference shown in the choice of the verbs of direction. Both participants come from the field (34b and 36b) at different times, the point of orientation being the compound of the specialist. But then there is an unexpected shift to "child goesto compound (implied: of specialist)" (34d). This indicates that the point of orientation has shifted to the field from whence he came, but not the field per se, only as it is the place where the specialist is currently. This becomes an area of heightened interest if not a true climax. The frequent appearance of *zey* 'ADD' at this point in the text is also noticeable (see §7.1) and adds to the build-up.

All the other points of orientation are specific places, but at this one point in the story there is a shift to a person, perhaps making her a local VIP or thematic participant.

The point of orientation has shifted according to the location of the specialist, but not for long. Then the child goes to the compound (of the specialist) in 34d, whereas the specialist comes (to the compound - 36c). Why this shift back to the compound as the point of orientation and what are other linguistic signals, if any?

Another linguistic signal of the shift back is the use of come from (the field) in the preceding sentence 36b, indicating that the previous point of orientation has been re-established.

The tentative conclusion we can draw from this example is that a point of orientation, indicated by the choice of directional verb, can indicate a local VIP. At the point in Mb5 where the specialist becomes the local VIP, she is referred to as *yí ħwēt* 'she herself'. This indicates some kind of insistence on the importance of this participant and the need to distinguish her from any other.

4.2 Further reference to participants

Yemba narrative texts have several ways of handling further reference to participants already introduced. When no special pragmatic effect is intended, the normal or default value is used, according to the situations described below for encoding subjects. When a special pragmatic effect such as prominence to a participant is intended, the marked value is used.

(36) Default and marked values for encoding subjects

subject	description	default value	marked value
S1	subject is same as in previous clause	∅ (zero anaphora) ¹	pronoun ⁵
S2	new subject is addressee of closed conversation in the previous clause	pronoun ²	noun ⁶
S3	new subject, non-subject role in the previous clause	pronoun ³	unknown
S4	new subject, previously mentioned participant	noun ⁴	noun + DET ⁷

The following explanatory notes are keyed to the chart above:

1. When the subject of the previous clause is repeated in the next clause, the homorganic syllabic nasal realis prefix *N-* or the irrealis prefix *e-* appears on the verb. We call this a Same Subject marker but it also encodes realis-irrealis information. We also refer to this as zero anaphora. It often occurs after the non-active introduction of a major participant when the narrator wants to confirm his role in an active way. This verb form is also known as one of the infinitives and indicates a serial construction, i.e., a succession of discrete events. Examples of this

- can usually be found both soon after the introduction of a major participant and around the climax of a story or peak of an episode.
2. When a Request is followed by an expression of Compliance, we have a true 'closed conversation'. In Mb5 19-29 we have such a conversation: *nzwí esí* 'specialist' as the addressee in 19-20 is encoded by a pronoun in the Reply of 22-29. In Anen5 5-7, if the Request had been followed by an expression of Compliance rather than by a Refusal, this would be an example of a true 'closed conversation'. In that case, the expected default encoding would be a pronoun. As it is, with the presence of a Refusal, we see instead another noun.
 3. The new subject which was involved in the previous clause in a non-subject role is expressed by means of a pronoun. See Anen5 18-19, where Mosquito in a non subject role is asked by the villagers what has happened. When he replies to them, a pronoun is the subject encoding used.
 4. When a new subject was not involved in the previous clause but has been previously mentioned elsewhere, the default encoding for the new subject is a noun. See Anen5 10-11, where the calabash is the subject of the first sentence and the already-known Fly is the subject of the second sentence.
 5. This marked encoding of S1 appears after a discontinuity of action. See Mb5 2a, where a passage of time is indicated. The pragmatic effect is to reactivate a major participant in a low-level way.
 6. This marked encoding of S2 appears after a discontinuity of action. See Anen5 5-6, where the Request is met by a Refusal, considered as a discontinuity of action. The pragmatic effect is to give increased prominence to the participant as preparation for the climax which will adversely affect this participant.
 7. This marked encoding of S4 appears after a discontinuity of action if the participant is a major one or otherwise salient in the immediate context. See the discussion about *wy5* 'DEM2' relative to Njhu-ŋgyā in §4.3. The pragmatic effect may be to indicate the presence of conflict that provides the necessary tension to the story.

Indefinite reference to participants occurs several times in these texts. Three out of the five times it is used in Mb5, *mé* 'they' refers to members of the sick man's family, and the remaining two times refer to the seers consulted for advice. The purpose of these uses of the indefinite pronoun could very well be to demote certain actions/people to the background. More investigation is needed.

4.3 Determiners

Yemba has several kinds of determiners that function on the discourse level: an anaphoric determiner *mét* 'aforementioned', demonstrative adjective *wy5* 'that (category 2, near addressee)', and indefinite determiner *mm5* 'a'.

The use of the anaphoric determiner *mét* 'aforementioned' is often associated with the re-activation of a major participant after having been off-stage. Sometimes this determiner is used when the participant is brought back in a non-active way (see above, Mb5 31-34a) or in an active way (Nd5).

Another determiner used to bring back major participants is the intermediate demonstrative adjective *wȳ* 'that', with its various noun class concordant forms. This demonstrative adjective indicates that the referent is close to the one to whom you are speaking, or at mid-distance from the one speaking. This form *wȳ*, declined according to the appropriate noun class required, points out 'that X', whether in the basic spatial sense or in the derived discourse usage.

Yémba has three sets of demonstrative adjectives that have both spatial and discourse functions. The distinction between the three categories is one of nearness to either the speaker or addressee and in that way can be related to visibility. Each of the three sets is declined in order to agree with the class of the determined noun. Below is a chart indicating the distinctions for the classes. Class 1 (singular) and class 2 (plural) nouns include nouns related to persons.

(37) **Demonstrative adjectives in Yémba**

noun class	1 - near speaker	2 - near addressee	3 - far from both
1	wə̄ <i>this</i>	wȳ <i>that</i>	yi <i>that yonder</i>
2	pə̄	pw̄	pi
3	wə̄	wȳ	ti
4/6/10	mə̄	mw̄	mi
5	cə̄	cȳ	tsi
7	jə̄	jȳ	zi
8	cə̄	cȳ	tsi
9	jə̄	jū	zi

On a discourse level, the second category of demonstrative adjectives can be used in a full noun phrase to indicate a participant already known in the story. It is not that the markers are needed to distinguish between several similar participants that would otherwise be confused if one could not distinguish between 'this X' and 'that X'. We don't yet know the exact function of this discourse level use of *wȳ*. But there are several things we can note.

In *Njhu-ŋgyā*, *wȳ* determines from time to time the two major participants, viz., the father's friend (three times, with two different nouns) and the son who is the heir (six times, with one noun). It can also be used for participants who are important for a particular scene but who do not appear throughout the story. It is even used twice with the noun for the father's bag (the transfer of which to the heir triggers the complicating incident of the story, hence a very important prop). This happens even though *apa* 'bag' belongs to noun class 7, which would normally require the form, *jȳ*. The fact that *wȳ* is the declined form for either class 1 or 3 is interesting to note, since persons (including *mə̄* 'father') are class 1 nouns. The third time we see *wȳ* is in a noun phrase for the hunter who fires the fatal shot that kills the heir.

At what point in the story does *wȳ* start appearing? It first appears when the *njhu-ŋgyā* 'heir' is presented as initially innocent of greed for his father's bag but then

hears rumors that his father's bag has lots of money in it (lines 3-5). It next appears when the *esó yi* 'his (father's) friend' (keeper of the father's bag, which is the symbol of his powers to be passed on to his heir) and the young heir are at odds about when the son is to receive the bag, i.e., these powers (lines 9-17). Other references to the father's friend include *m̄baŋa wȳ* 'that man' (1.22), *esó m̄'ó yi wȳ* 'that friend of his father's' (1.34), and *nd̄æ* 'elder person' (1.48). Others used to refer to the son include *m̄ wȳ* 'that child' (1.19), *mm̄' ŋge na wȳ* certain stranger animal DEM2 'that certain unknown animal' (1.70), and *ezi mét* DEM3 DET 'the aforementioned one there yonder' (1.83). For more information, see the chart below.

(38) Major participant encoding in *Njhu-ŋgyā*

NOTE: #1 = heir #2 = father's friend #3 = hunter

line	encoding	SJ/OJ	situation
3, 5	#1 njh̄-ŋgyā wȳ	SJ	before and after presentation of seed idea that will provoke him to action later
9	#2 esó yi wȳ	OJ	when sought out so he would give father's bag
10	#2 esó yi wȳ	SJ	refusal
12-17	#1 PRN	SJ	accepted refusal
18	#2 m̄baŋa wȳ	SJ	stayed chez lui until saw son arrive again
19	#1 m̄ wȳ	OJ/SJ	seen as he entered other's compound
22	#2 m̄baŋa wȳ	SJ	upset by repeated request but gives in by agreeing to a day to give the father's bag
27	#1 m̄ wȳ	SJ	waited patiently
29	#2 esó m̄'ó yi	SJ	in thoughts of heir, about his bringing the bag
34	#2 esó m̄'ó yi wȳ	OJ/SJ	seen by son, coming to compound
37-47	#1 & #2 PRN	SJ/OJ	meeting together for the handing over of the bag
48	#2 nd̄æ wȳ	OJ	son watches what the elder man does with the bag
50-52	#1 & #2 PRN	SJ	speech margins of their conversation
54	#1 m̄ wȳ	OJ	elder instructs younger
58	#1 m̄ wȳ	SJ	younger senses something different
61	#1 m̄ wȳ	SJ	heir becomes an elephant, totem of his father
62-67	#1 PRN	SJ	what he did as an elephant, looking for his herd
70	#1 mm̄' ŋge na wȳ	OJ	how the other elephants refer to him
71-75	#1 PRN	OJ	conversation between elephants and hunter
79	#3 ntem-mena wȳ	OJ	hunter summoned by the elephants to kill other
83,85	#1 ezi mét	SJ	DEM3 + mét used to indicate him far away
93	#1 PRN	OJ	he was shot
94	#1 PRN	SJ	he was an elephant, he (son) fell and died at home
95-96	#1 PRN	OJ	comments at burial
96	#1 m̄ wȳ	SJ	he died when shot at in the bush

At the point in the story when the conflict is resolved in the son's favor, against the wisdom of the older man, the noun phrase used to refer to the father's friend is just that, 'the friend of his father', without any *wyō*. At the significant moment when he hands over the bag and says those things that transfer the powers, the noun phrase referring to him includes *wyō*.

Perhaps one could conclude that the use of *wyō* in a noun phrase referring to a major participant indicates the presence of conflict. When used in a noun phrase for other participants, *wyō* signals their importance in a particular scene. When used in a noun phrase with a prop, *wyō* signals its importance to the scene and maybe the whole story. A prop may even be advanced one more level of importance by having *mét* in its noun phrase. This happens in the noun phrase referring to the father's bag when it is handed over to the heir, symbolising the transfer of powers from father to son.

In *Njhu-ngyā* and *Mvhō*, *wyō* signals the participant's return in either an active or a non-active way. In these two stories, there are other considerations that might play a role also: more players coming on the scene, characterisation of a certain aspect of a participant brought to the fore, similarity of participants. All these point to a more practical need for a more spatially-based determiner to distinguish them. Once on-stage again, the major participants in these other texts are referred to by means of pronouns and zero anaphora.

The distinctions between the function of *mét* and *wyō* as determiners to bring back major participants are not yet completely clear. This needs further study.

The indefinite determiner *mmō* 'a' is part of the formula for introducing major participants. It signals that this currently unknown, undefined participant will be a major participant. It is common for it to co-occur with the existentialiser *le*, particularly at the beginning of stories. It seems that major participants introduced with such a formula or else presented in an active way with *wyō*, can later be referred to by a noun phrase containing *mét* 'aforementioned'.

The adverb *éwú* 'there' can be used as a general locational deictic or additionally on the discourse level as a means of identifying a locale of a scene. This latter function occurs in *Anenō 16b* where the village folk arrive *éwú* 'there', on the scene of destruction down by the riverside. And it occurs again in *Mbō 36a* and *37a*, when the son and then the specialist is *éwú* in the room in her compound while she finishes her treatment of his problem.

When used as a general locational deictic, it is not in contrast with any other spatially determined deictics such as *éga* 'here', *égā* 'there', or *ége* 'over there'. It can be used with the existentialiser *le* in an idiomatic way to say 'exist (here in this world)' or 'survive', as in *Mbō 1a*.

5. QUOTED CONVERSATIONS

We have found both direct and indirect types of reported speech in Yémba narrative texts. To date we have found no examples of what is known as semi-direct speech, which has indirect references to the speaker but some or all of the remaining content is as for direct speech. Reported speech, or quoted conversations, appear in two parts, viz., the speech margin and the speech itself.

5.1 Speech margins

In the three Yemba texts studied, the speech margin always precedes the speech itself. The speech margin may contain the following: the speaker, the addressee, the verb(s) of speaking, and the complementizer or enquoting particle. Of these, only the speaker and the enquoting particle are necessary. The speaker may be represented by a proper noun, a noun, a noun phrase, an independent pronoun, a clitic pronoun (dependent on the noun class of the noun), or a homorganic syllabic nasal which we have been calling a Same-Subject marker.

The other necessary part of the speech margin is the enquoting particle, *ǰge* 'that'. Without any of the other optional components present in the speech margin, we would have the following if the subject were different from the subject of the previous clause:

(39) *Á ge: ...*
 3sgSJ that
 She (said) that....
Anen̄ 22

If the subject were the same, we would have *ǰge* 'he said that', where the homorganic syllabic nasal encodes both realis mode and same subject.

The addressee is an optional part of the speech margin. It occurs between the verb and the enquoting particle::

(40) *Megaŋ ŋgá é ko eshúŋ á mǝ's yí ǰge...*
 persons seer c2 arrive speak LOC father his that
 The seers did tell his father that...
Mb̄ 12

When present, there are three possible ways of presenting the addressee: 1-*á mb̄ yí* LOC-hands-3sgOJ 'to the hands of him', 2-*mé yí* DIR-3sgOJ 'towards him', or 3-*á yí* LOC/CAC-him 'to him'. We do not yet know the distinctions between these three possibilities, their uses and functions.

The verbs are also an optional part of the speech margin. The verbs possible in the speech margin are numerous and include the following: *ńdé* 'say', *éshúŋ* 'speak', *ńtsó* 'answer', *mbwét* 'repliquer', *ńtēk* 'advise', *ǰkák* 'warn', *ńzétte* 'ask'. The first two are by the far the most common ones used and may even occur together in the same sentence: *á shuŋ a yí ńdé ǰge* 'he spoke to him saying that...'. We do

not know if *ńdé* 'say' may be combined with other verbs also, and if so, if it always last.

The verb forms used in the speech margins are the following:

- narrative tense, where the distinction between high and low tone verbs is neutralised such that both become low tones. When there is a change in subject, the appropriate participant is noted, sometimes with nouns, other times with pronouns. If there is no change in subject, the same subject marker, the homorganic syllabic nasal, is used as a reduced pronoun form.

(41) *Anen̄* á le mé nzenzhe ńge:

Mosquito CAC say LOC Fly that,

Mosquito said to Fly that....

Anen̄ 5

- serial construction, where the subject remains the same as that of the previous main clause verb, with the tense-aspect being governed by that of the previous main clause verb carrying such markings. The tone of the verb root is a citation tone, with a high tone on the high tone verb and a mid-tone on the low tone verb.

(42)...á to akette a mba, ńde ńge,

3sgSJ send letter LOC home say that,

he sent a letter home (in the village) saying that....

Mb̄ 2

- auxiliary verb or adverbial constructions, where additional verb forms in the verb phrase add either adverbial or aspectual information (see *Mb̄* 12 cited above).

We suspect that direct speech is used primarily at important stages of the narrative but are not yet certain. These sections of the narrative are not necessarily the climax but are essential to grasping the significance of the story (see *Mb̄* 13-16, 21). Direct conversation may be used in this way for highlighting important information, as in *Mb̄*. Speeches may be embedded in speeches, as in *Mb̄* 21.

Indirect speech may seem to change intended addressee part way through. In *Mb̄* 39-40, the specialist seems to be admonishing her client not to fear anything else such as what had happened to him in Douala, and then she turns to the others present (family members?) and declares that nothing again will be able to do him harm.

(43) *ŋge, ā gús, ka á ko nzéŋ amō' ázō mbók.*

that 3sgSJ go.IPV NEG c7 arrive ADD other thing fear

She said that he should go and not fear that anything else would happen (to him).

Azō á té kō ézēŋ á yí éghué.

thing c7 NEG arrive IR.ADD CAC 3sgOJ IR.make

(That) nothing else would happen to him.

Mbō 39-40

Logophoric pronouns allow the speaker to refer to himself indirectly in the quoted speech. We know of only one form *yí* 'he'. It is possible that it can be used both as subject of a clause, 'so that he' and also as the possessive adjective when it refers to the speaker/initiator of the mental act, as in the following sentence:

(44) *Te anenō á ge ējús, éshuŋ átūs ítshí á mékhu yí*

Finally Mosquito CAC before see pull calabash place LOC feet of.him

Finally Mosquito realized (the refusal), he pulled up the calabash and placed it on the legs of him,

ŋge yí gō ékós'né étshí á áthū yí.

that LOG be able IR.lift up IR.place LOC head of.him

so that he would be able to lift it up and place it on the head of him.

Anenō 8

This analysis of the logophoric as a replative possessive adjective could be re-analyzed if we knew it were used in this kind of construction even when not referring to the initiator of the mental act. If such were the case, the participant is being given class 1 prominence as a participant, above the grammatical demands of noun class concord required by the noun. We have already seen this disregard for the niceties of concord in *Njhu-ŋgyā*, when the status of class 7 *apa* 'bag' seems to be raised from that of prop to that of participant by the substitution of class 1 demonstrative adjective *wyō* 'that' for the class 7 equivalent, *gyō* (see §4.3)

6. PRAGMATIC PARTICLES

6.1 Additive markers

In the three texts studied, we have found two additive markers, *mbō* and *ízéŋ*. They may both be derived from verbs, *mbó* 'to create' and *ízéŋ* 'to dance', respectively. The first additive, *mbō*, never seems to have anything other than low tones and always occurs in a pre-nuclear slot of a dependent clause. It has all the appearances of being a true conjunction with no signs of residual verb morphology other than the syllabic nasal prefix. This additive may actually have no verbal origins at all but may in fact be derived from the noun *mbō* 'bowl-shaped ball (of food)'.

The second additive, *ízéŋ*, has been observed with the full variety of tones available to the auxiliary verbs in the verb phrase and often functions with other verb auxiliaries. We will start by looking at *mbō*, where it is found and how it functions.

The most straightforward usage of *mbə* is in a list of items functioning as the direct object of the verb phrase. This use of the additive to indicate **simple addition** occurs in constructions of the type Noun Phrase *mbə* Noun Phrase:

(45) *Meŋ á zo a metíta mbə mekō mbə ŋkeŋgíŋe.*

1sgSJ c1 buy CAC potatoes ADD beans ADD bananas

I bought potatoes and beans and bananas.

Sometimes the use of *ŋkhu* 'cord' has been heard as a replacement of *mbə*. A cord of knots used to be used in keeping track of units of hundreds, so that the word also means 'hundred'. Perhaps with the same idea of counting, adding things up, it can also be used in lists of this kind. This needs further investigation.

Another appearance of *mbə* has been attested in the construction Clause *mbə* Clause. This kind of construction is found in *Anen̄* in two different places near the end of the story. In both instances, the pragmatic overtone is one of "simultaneous state". Both Fly and Mosquito are described separately as being on the ground, each in his own distinctive state:

(46) *Anen̄ á piŋ nnáy á ési, mbə á ncú' ŋkelu'.*

Mosquito SAC DM stay LOC ground, ADD c7 P2.become paralysed

Then Mosquito sat on the ground, having become paralysed.

Anen̄ 15

(47) *Nzenzhe á piŋ nnōŋ á ési, mbə á ndá' ŋkwhú.*

Fly SAC DM lie LOC ground, ADD c1 P2.already die

Then Fly lay on the ground, having already died.

Anen̄ 17

A similar example of this kind of construction was found during a quick inspection of *Mvhō*, in sentences 3 and 4:

(48) *Á shuŋ a ēsó yi ŋge, yí le zwhí mvho zi,*

3sgSJ speak CAC friend his that LOG P4 kill goat his,

He said to his friend that he had killed his goat

mpfét ŋgu' levu'ós. Esó yi nōŋ njú'ós 'á ŋge ké á
eat. year nine. Friend his PROG understand like.that that maybe he
and eaten it for nine years. His friend (had) understood that maybe he

lue, mbə a le zwhí mvhō, éfēŋ, tē ndá'
say.NEG ADD 3sgSJ P4 kill goat, conserve until already
meant he had killed his goat, conserved

mpfét ŋgu' levu'ós le.

eat year nine PERFO

and eaten it during nine whole years, you see.

Mvhō 3-4

What is notably different from the previous examples is that the additive *mbɔ* is functioning between sentences and in a way that would be peculiar to citations, viz., what is being added to an original statement (sentence 3) is an interpretation found in sentence 4. In addition, the reported interpretation is also preceded by *ké á lue* 'maybe he said/meant', a clear signal that what follows has an element of uncertainty that the narrator wants his audience to be aware of. This use of *mbɔ* to add an interpretation to an original statement could be seen in a loose way to be a kind of simultaneous state. Ideally, an original statement and its interpretation would coincide completely, a kind of perfect simultaneous state, if you will.

Another variation of this simultaneous state that is expressed by the Clause *mbɔ* Clause construction is that of *if...then*, where a condition and its result are presented. This is found in two sentences in **Ndɔ**:

(49) a gɔ te tsó' ɲkā' ɲiɲ ɲgyáá,
3sgSJ be NEG give.back field person give.NEG,
if he does not give back the person's field,

mbɔ ajū mi a gɔ ghū te ndá' ɲnáj á ɲkā' mét...
ADD thing REL c7 be make until already stay LOC field DEM
then there is nothing else he can do in order to live in that field (in peace).

Ndɔ lines 22-24

(50) a gɔ te yī ndó yi ā tsó' étsō ɲiɲ éyā,
c7 be NEG REL husband her c1 give.back goods person IR.give,
if her husband does not give back the person's goods,

mbɔ pó yī é gó le pú ɲzɛɲ ɲnájá.
ADD 3plSJ 3sgSJ c2 be P4 INT ADD stay.NEG
then she can no longer stay with him.

Ndɔ lines 27-30, in indirect citation

Both of these uses of *mbɔ* involve negative conditions and negative results. The result is the salient information, as signalled by the presence of *mbɔ*.²

When this construction in **Mb5 9** is compared with the one in **Mvhō 8**, we learn something further, viz., the salient point is the part of the construction that follows the additive *mbɔ*.

(51) Á gē tshí mésaɲ mémpíá, *mbɔ* mbap jyō é pu mbek,...
c7 before pass months two, ADD meat DEM2 c9 INT be.spoiled
Before two months had passed, that meat was all spoiled.

Mvhō 8

The salient point/important new information here seems to be in the clause preceded by *mbɔ*, highlighting the fact that in spite of all his efforts to preserve his goat meat, the meat had indeed become completely spoiled. If we apply this idea to **Mb5 9**, we see that what is salient here is the length of time involved, an

addition of detail that seems to be meant to carry extra communicational weight due to its being in such a construction.

The only use of *mbɔ* in the **Kénánj** text is part way through the text, when the second messenger arrives:

(52) **Kénánj á fu nzīj mé nda, á fu nzīj mé nda,**
chameleon c1 F4 walk DIR patience, c1 F4 walk DIR patience

te ndá' ígē ékō éwu, mbɔ ketɔ'tsa á ndá' ítswī íke yí.
until already before IF.arrive there ADD toad c1 P2.already deliver message his
Long after, Chameleon was walking so slowly that even before he had arrived there, Toad had already given his message.

Kénánj 9

The only occurrences of *mbɔ* in **Mb5** are in the son's account of his letter written home to the village, in the context of an indirect/semi-direct citation at the beginning of the story. These two uses are in the same sentence, with one embedded in the other:

(53) **Te yí piŋ ndá' ígō ge yí piŋ piŋ, mbɔ yí għa mbɔ ele'é pīá.**
until LOG DM already go before LOG return return ADD LOG make ADD days two
It had taken him two whole days before he had then returned (to being himself).

Mb5 9

If we consider first of all the higher level usage at the beginning of the clause, we see it is in a construction of the type Clause *mbɔ* Clause. It seems that the additive *mbɔ* is necessary after the previous construction with *ndá' ígō ge...* 'had already...!'.
.

If we see the *piŋ piŋ* as a perfective span of time (it lasted awhile but is viewed externally as having been completed), then the clause relating the actual length of time passed (9b) can be seen as a simultaneous state.

The lower level usage of *mbɔ* towards the end of **Mb5 9** is a construction of the type Clause *mbɔ* Noun Phrase.

(54)... **mbɔ yí għa mbɔ ele'é pīá.**
ADD LOG make ADD days two
...and he was like this for two whole days

Mb5 9b

The pragmatic overtone of this usage of the additive *mbɔ* is that of **intensifying** the attention given to the duration of time. This is not a necessary construction for noting the usual duration of time. The function of *mbɔ* on this lower level is an adverbial, indicating something to notice because it is unusual, as with something bad/unexpected or past an expected duration of time. We might translate it by 'furthermore'.

A better translation, then, of Mb5 9b might be something like, *Furthermore, it was for two (whole) days that he was like this before he had fully recovered.* In both of these last two sentences, the English translation of the information/construction that follows *mbɔ* involves either a cleft construction or an independent clause, giving more prominence to the salient points.

The second additive marker that was found is *ńzẹ̀y*. Its most direct function is to **add an event** to an already established context, as in the following sentences:

(55) *Nzó á mɔ shē ńgáp... Nzẹ̀y ńzó lépo ńgáp...Nzẹ̀y ńghū...*

Buy c1 child black chicken ADD buy egg chicken ADD make

"Buy a black chick....Also buy a chicken egg And also make..."

Mb5 26-28, in a direct citation

The pragmatic overtone is one of an accepted procedure already known within the culture ("script"), whether referring to preparatory instructions to be carried out (Mb5 24-28) or the actions of the principal actor during the procedure, in this case a healer carrying out her healing (Mb5 34-35, 37). The question that is raised in the first example is why some of the verbs are preceded by the *ńzẹ̀y* and others are not.

(56) *Mé lu efhó á mba, ńnyětté ńkāp ézi mé kō*
3sgSJ F3 come.from LOC compound arrange.carefully money REL 3imSJ arrive

lɔk ńńéy á ácu'ɔ mbɔ zí.

with place LOC demand creator-spirit his

"When next you come from (your) compound, be prepared with the money which will be demanded by his creator-spirit."

Mbiy ńnyětté ńtāya gá, ńńéy á ápa.

DM arrange.carefully gift my place LOC bag.

Then prepare carefully my gift and place it in a bag.

ńzó á mɔ shē ńgáp, ńńéy éwú.

buy CAC child black chicken place there.

Buy a black chick and place it there (in the bag).

ńzẹ̀y ńzó lépo ńgáp, ńńéy éwú.

ADD buy egg chicken place there

Also buy a chicken egg and place it there (in the bag).

ńzẹ̀y ńghū ácupɔ mbap.

ADD make collection meat

Also make a collection of meat.

Mb5 24-28, in a direct citation

The two times that we see *ńzẹ̀y* in these instructions both relate to the additional actions that are to be taken by the family in preparing the gift to be given to the healer, specifically what will be placed in the sack. The black chick and the egg

will be used in the ceremony itself and the meat will presumably be her recompense. The first *ńzó* 'buy' is the first specific action to be taken in preparing her gift, with the next actions, *ńzéh ńzó* 'also buy' and *ńzéh ńghw̄* 'also make', as actions of equal importance/rank with the first.

Apparently *ńnéy éwú* is not an action at the same level of saliency that the second mention of it would merit an *ńzéh* also. Those actions, then, signalled by *ńzéh* must have equal weight within the single semantic domain invoked, often (always?) related to only a single participant or participant focus. That would explain why the first use of *ńzéh* is not triggered by the preparatory action directed to the creator spirit (getting his money ready) since the next preparatory action concerns the healer. Even then the summary statement of what should be prepared for her is too general to signal the beginning of the series. It seems that what is needed is the first specific action, here of buying a black chick, in order to trigger the use of *ńzéh* with the next action.

What has just been described in the direct citation above also seems to hold for the narrated events of Mb5 33-36: each of the actions noted with the verbal auxiliary *ńzéh* describes what the healer did to carry out the healing. Each of the actions seems to have equal weight within the single semantic domain invoked and is related to only one participant, viz., the healer. What signals the beginning of this series fulfills the requirement of specificity within the given context.

(57) *Á ko ntswí á tsitsi mét.*

3sgSJ arrive take CAC things DET

She did take those (aforementioned) things.

Nzéh ńd5k á m5 mét...ńgyette nzéh ńs5k...piŋ nzéh ńfhó...

ADD with CAC child DET...do.carefully ADD wash...DM ADD come.from

She also took that son ...She also carefully washed...then she also came from...

ńzéh ńshu' nzéh ńkwá'té ńgyā.

ADD come ADD knock.on room.

She also came and also knocked (on the door of) the room.

Mb5 33-37

We see the use of *ńzéh* with the negative marker in Mb5 41:

(58) *a la piŋ ńzéh ńgā'téé*

3sgSJ NEG DM ADD cry.out

never again (suffered and) cried out.

Mb5 41

A question that needs to be investigated further is whether or not *ńzéh* appears in all procedural texts or only in those which recount culturally defined events such as a traditional healing.

6.2 Developmental markers

The developmental marker *ńbīŋ/piŋ*, derived from the verb 'to return', introduces new and distinctive information. We found this marker most often either as *ńbiŋ*

or *piŋ*. At first glance we thought of *piŋ* as being an indicator of switch referent, as indeed it seems to be in the following example from **Anen̄ 16-17**:

(59) **Á pu nts̄'s̄ ŋn̄ém ége, mbú ŋkwh̄.**

c7 INT cut.off fall.down DEM3 INT dead

It (Fly's head) was completely cut off, fell over there, and he was completely dead.

Anen̄ á piŋ nnán̄ á ési, mb̄ á ncú' ŋkelu' 'ā'

Mosquito c7 DM sit LOC ground ADD c7 P2become paralyzed like.that

As for Mosquito, he was sitting on the ground, and what's more, was paralyzed

In the preceding example, we are obviously switching from one participant to the other. This pragmatic particle can also occur with the same subject marker which is a nasal prefix on the verb, for instance *mbiŋ* which we interpret to mean a switch of action rather than switch of participant, as mentioned above. This is illustrated in **Anen̄ 23** just before the closing formula.

(60) **ǃbiŋ ntsyā ápf̄ nzenzhe á ndu.**

DM leave cadaver Fly LOC stream.

On the other hand, they left Fly's dead body at the stream.

Anen̄ 23

Sentence 22 again in the **Anen̄** text, concerns the fact that the villagers pick up the paralyzed Mosquito to carry him up to the village, with the understanding that they will care for him. By the use of *piŋ* along with the semantic content of the context, the pragmatics seem to be indicating a contrast between the fates of the two main characters: the abandonment of the dead Fly versus the rescue of the wounded, but living Mosquito.

Piŋ when found in a certain formulaic context, can also delineate a momentary departure from the narrative action, indicating the narrator's aside to the audience. When commentary or a non-event is introduced by the expression *Á piŋ ŋḡó pá'* in sentences 9 and 13 of **Anen̄**, known background information follows which is signalled as being relevant to a new development. The next proposition is then a significant event which results from the condition brought to the attention of the listener in the first. Proposition 1 supplies the needed basis or background for foregrounded proposition 2, which itself supplies the new point of departure (see chart for text).

Piŋ is also used when the author or narrator wishes to transit from one event to another new and distinctive event or action, such as in both the **Kénán̄** and **Anen̄ 5** texts. The slow pace of Chameleon is distinctive from the aforementioned quick hops of Toad: ...*kénán̄ á piŋe nzīŋé* 'chameleon, on the other hand, walks (slowly)'. In **Anen̄ 17 & 19**, the presence of *piŋ* along with the use of two full nouns to designate each of the two participants, according to one hypothesis may indicate discontinuity as well as a new point of departure. In this example, the pragmatics show evidence of a real contrast as per Longacre's requirement of two

points of contrast. Mosquito is *sitting* and is *paralyzed*; whereas, Fly is *lying* on the ground, having already *died*.

(61) Anɛn̄ ́ á piŋ nnáŋ á ési, mbɔ́ á ncú' ŋkelu' 'a'

Mosquito c7 DM sit LOC earth ADD c7 become paralyzed like.that

As for Mosquito, he was sitting on the ground, and what's more, was paralyzed like that,

Anɛn̄ 17

(62) Nzenzhe á piŋ nn̄ŋ á ési, mbɔ́ á ndá' ŋkwhú.

Fly 3sgSJ DM lie LOC earth ADD 3sgSJ already dead

Fly, however, was lying there, having already died.

Anɛn̄ 19

If one is tempted to attribute contrast as an inherent semantic component of the developmental marker *piŋ*, we have only to look at an example taken from Mb5 34 where this is disproved.

(63) N̄zɛŋ n̄d̄ɔk á m̄ɔ́ mét, n̄d̄ɔk ŋḡɔ́ á ŋká'.

ADD with CAC child DET with go LOC field

She also took that child, took him to the field.

ŋnyette n̄zɛŋ é̄s̄ɔk m̄bɔ́ zi mét, te m̄ɔ́ á fho ā ŋká',
arrange.carefully ADD wash creator-spirit his DET until child c1 come.from LOC field

m̄bú n̄z̄iŋ átsɛŋ te n̄zhoó, m̄bú ŋḡuɔ́ te ŋkó á m̄ba.

INT walk genitals without clothes INT go until arrive LOC compound

Next she carefully washed that creator-spirit of his, such that when the child came from the field he was walking totally naked, all the way to the compound.

....yí ŋw̄ɛt piŋ n̄zɛŋ éfhó á ŋká',

LOG INSIS DM ADD come.from LOC field

n̄zɛŋ éshu' n̄zɛŋ ŋkwá'té ŋgyā.

ADD come ADD knock.on room

.....she herself then also came from the field, she also came (to the compound) and knocked on (the door of) the room.

Mb5 33-36

Here in this sentence where *piŋ* and *nzɛŋ* co-occur, there is not the slightest implicature of contrast, but rather that of sequential action, plus addition.

Another pragmatic particle *pú* functions as an intensifier derived from the verb *m̄bú* whose inherent meaning has been lost. Its default meaning is 'completely'. Like *n̄zɛŋ*, it can take on the variety of tones available to the auxiliary verbs in a verb phrase.

In the majority of the examples, *pu* has an adverbial function, as seen in the following case. In line 9a, the narrator begins a new development by bringing to the attention of the listener an anatomical fact concerning mosquitoes in general which is particularly relevant to the story. This then becomes the reason, or ground for the subsequent disastrous result expressed in the last proposition of the same sentence where *pu* reinforces the unfortunate state in which Mosquito finds himself in Anen̄ 9.

(64) *Á piŋ ŋgó pá' mekhu mí é kyókté te ntsiá lā,*
 c7 DM be like that feet his c6 small until go beyond PERFO
Since, as we all know, his feet are incredibly tiny,

mekhu mí é pu ŋkīné.
 feet his c6 INT crushed
his feet were completely crushed!

Again in Anen̄ 9-10 we find an interesting accumulation of *pu*'s used as auxiliaries for all the verbs which comprise the backbone of the narrative action, just preceding, and at the actual points of the two climaxes: the paralysis of Mosquito and breaking of his calabash; and the severing of Fly's head. Here is Anen̄ 10, followed by Anen̄ 13d-14a:

(65) *Átūs á pu ŋkūnté ŋŋém ége, mbú ésá.*
 calabash c7 INT roll fall.down over.there INT break
The calabash just fell down and rolled over there, completely broken.
 = Point of First Climax in regards to Mosquito.

(66) *...athu zí á pu zá'á ŋgwhū á ésī.*
 head his c7 INT break.off fall.down LOC earth.
...his head was totally broken off and fell to the ground.

Á pu ntsó'ós ŋŋém ége, mbú ŋkwhā.
 c7 INT detached fall.down over.there, INT die.
It was completely detached and fell down over there, completely dead.
 = Point of Second Climax in regards to Fly.

In the Anen̄ text, we have one case of *pu* seeming to function as an adjective in sentence 16 when in fact, it is still adverbial. Fly, after attempting to solve his problem alone, finds himself paralyzed, and cries for help. The villagers hear him and follow his voice down to the stream.

(67) *Epuo pu njú', ínááté éshu' te ŋkó éwú,*
 People. INT understand follow come until arrive there,
All the people heard and followed (the sound of his voice) coming (and arriving) there,

Anen̄ 16

The fact that the narrator chooses *pu* to indicate that everyone heard, instead of *metsem* meaning 'all', may indicate the lower status of these new participants as a rather amorphous group. If the narrator had chosen *epuo metsem*, a higher ranking

might have been indicated, but the lexical items would have been synonymous, with a possible heavier emphasis on the idea of 'all' than is meant to be given to minor participants.

It is at the points of co-occurrence of *piŋ* and *pu* in the same verb phrase, that the tension in the narration mounts. In each case, the listener senses a satisfactory completion of the action (due to the default semantics of *pu*), but at the same time expects a new development, signalled by the particle *piŋ*. This occurs twice in the Ndo story. After the death of the first son due to a car accident, there is a satisfactory completion of the mourning process as indicated by the two verbs signalling the beginning and end of the process, 'to cry' and 'to be silent', coupled with the *mbú*. In addition, we have an inkling of another development (in this case, the implicature for native speakers hints at another ensuing death in the same family) as indicated by *mbiŋ*.

(68) Mé le lāa, mbiŋ mbú ndáŋté.

3imSJ P4 cry DM INT be.silent

They completed the mourning, (but wait, there's still more to come!)

Ndo 6

Often the co-occurrence of these two pragmatic connectives is found in a proposition expressing a participant's emotive reaction to a preceding event or revelation. For instance, when the reason for the deaths of her two children is revealed to the mother as being her husband's seizure of another's field, she becomes furious, and the resulting actions ensue from her anger. Again, the development marker *piŋ* raises expectations of 'there's still more to come.'

(69)...á piŋ mbú nzáŋ á lóŋ,

3sgSJ DM INT hurt LOC throat

...she then became extremely angry,

Ndo 12

The father upon hearing her words, realizes he is completely alone, since his family refuses to come and live with him on the property-- which is after all, not rightfully his. This again is another instance of the two particles co-occurring in a sentence expressing a strong emotion. In this case, the pragmatic implicatures are that of being isolated from one's family, one of the worst of fates in Bamiléké culture.

(70)...mela'mīi, ewəŋkhū é le pīŋ mba a yí te mbú mmi.

because children c2 P4 DM detest LOC him until INT finish

...because, every single one of his children detested him.

Ndo 13

However, the *pīŋ* suggests that the drama is not concluded; that perhaps a solution or dénouement is in the offing.

I would like to now trace the occurrences of *piŋ* and *pu* in the Anēnə text following the example of Carl Follingstad in his article 'Thematic Development and

Prominence in Tyap Discourse', so that their individual as well as co-appearances will be evident:

(71)

7. Mosquito begs Fly (to help him lift up the calabash), but no matter what he says, Fly will not accept.

8. Finally M. realizes (Fly's refusal), pulled up the calabash and placed it onto his legs, so that he would be able to lift it up and put it on his head.



9. It **piŋ** being that his legs are very tiny, they were **pu** crushed.

10. The calabash rolled **pu** over and over again down there, it was **mbú** smashed.

11. Fly laughed and laughed, he laughed and laughed, finally saying: "Now I've seen everything!....."

14. He laughed some more until his tears had **pu** come out.



15. It **piŋ** being that Fly's head is extremely small, when he lifted his foot in order to wipe away the tears which had come out, his head was **pu** cut off and fell to the ground.

16. It was **pu** detached and fell down there, he was **mbú** dead.



17. Mosquito, he **piŋ** sits down, **mbə** (ADD.) left paralyzed, left crying, crying.

18. The people **pu** heard, followed (the sound?) until they arrived on the spot, and saw how Mosquito's feet **pu** were broken in pieces.



19. As for Fly, he **piŋ** was lying on the ground, **mbə** (ADD.) and had already died.

20. Mosquito was asked how this came about.



21. He **piŋ mbú** explained how this state of affairs had come about.



22. The only thing that **piŋ mbú** remained to do was to go home with Mosquito.



23. **Mbiŋ** they (however) abandoned the Fly's cadaver in the stream bed



24. One **piŋ** finished this business by saying, "One should not laugh at another's misfortune."

It should be noted here that up to sentence 9 there are no *piŋ*'s or *pu*'s occurring in the text. Sentences numbers 17, 19, 23, and 24 are marked by the presence of the developmental marker *piŋ*. They are all significant events, or are the basis for the development of the narrative, except for the case of #24 which involves a closing formula meant to introduce the final lesson or moral learned from the whole of the preceding story. To these four we add the rest of the sentences where there are co-occurrences of *piŋ* and *pu*: numbers 9, 15, 21, and 22 where an action or state is

completed, but which propels the listener forward with an expectation of more to follow.

9. SUBORDINATION AND GIVEN VS. NEW INFORMATION

9.1 Relative Clauses

The relative pronoun in Yémba agrees with the noun class of the noun to which it refers, eg., *zi* for classes 7 and 9. It is possibly derived from one of two forms: either the demonstrative adjective of the 3rd degree, i.e., *zi* (indicating it is the furthest from both the speaker and the addressee), or the 3rd person singular possessive adjective i.e., *zi*. Semantically, it would seem to be derived from the former.

Thus far we have seen no evidence of relative clauses used in a non-restrictive sense. When used in a restrictive sense, relative clauses serve to identify the entity in question, in order to distinguish it from others. Both subject and direct object noun phrases may be relativized, as well as those which are locative and temporal. Within the relative clause, the relative pronoun may function as a subject, an object, a temporal or a locative. The relative clause is usually found off the main event line, for instance, to slow down the action just before the climax, or in a preposed position to give a new point of departure, in a citation, or participant's thoughts, and finally in a comment made by the narrator to the audience.

In the text *Mele* 'Creation of Vampires', a relative clause can involve relativizing a subject, a direct object, as well as a temporal clause. God has found a solution to the problem of internal diseases which are not visible to man, and which therefore remain untreatable. In a direct citation, he declares he will make a new kind of people possessing the skill of surgery. In this case, it is these new participants who are put into prominence. From then on the topic is this special race of surgeons. Here we see the relative clause as being the object of the embedding clause. And within the relative clause itself the relative pronoun plays the role of subject.

(72) *Meŋ ā zéŋ éghu épuo é pi azō á gō á nte lévem ŋiŋ*
 1sgSJ F.SAC ADD IR.make people c2 REL thing c7 be LOC heart stomach person
I will make (a type of) people who, if the sickness is in the stomach of someone,

meŋ é éwət a yí...
 people c2 IR.operate CAC 3sgOJ
(these) people will operate/cut into him.

Mele 8

In the *Njhu-Ijgyā* 'Heir' text, there is a repeated citation which contains a relative clause. These put into prominence the idea that a child has to have reached a certain level of maturity before being able to accept his father's inheritance. Otherwise, there will be consequences. In the two examples below we see the relative clause as being the subject of the embedding clause. Within the relative clause the pronoun also functions as a subject. It is interesting to note that here we may have an internal head directly following the relative pronoun.

(73) «Meŋ ga, o zét ŋkyōkó. O ka kū' é yi o gō
 child my 2sgSJ remain small 2sgSJ NEG suffice EXIST REL. 2sgSJ. be.able

tswī epa mō'ó wu.»
 take bags father your

My son, you are still too young to be able to be the person who can receive your father's bags.

Njhu-ŋgyā 11

(74) «O zét ŋkyōkó é yi o gō tswī epa.....»
 2sgSJ stay small EXIST.REL 2sgSJ be able take bags

You are still too young to be able to be the person who can receive your father's bags.

Njhu-ŋgyā 16

Just before the climax in the *Mele* text when the surgeon has cut into the patient's body, the action is slowed down by a subordinate clause which embeds a relative clause. This accumulation of superfluous information heightens the listener's expectations that something significant is about to happen. Here we see a direct object which is fronted so that it becomes a point of departure for a subsequent comment. As defined in *Analyzing Discourse*, the *point of departure* "designates an initial element, often fronted, which cohesively anchors the subsequent clause to something which is already in the context" (Dooley 1994:32). In this example the relative clause is the object of the embedding clause, and again it functions as subject of the relative clause itself.

(75) ŋ-kó á ntē lévem yí agō zīi á ŋ-gó éwu
 SS enter LOC inside stomach his sickness REL SAC SS.be there

ń-nōŋ ŋ-gēené a yí, a te agó mét éjúó
 SS.PROG SS.bother CAC him 3sgSJ NEG sickness aforementioned IR.see

Having cut into the patient's stomach, where the sickness was, which was there bothering him, he (the surgeon) was not able to see that sickness.

Mele 11

It is at this point that the surgeon misuses his God-given power, by the abhorrent act of eating the patient's liver, later causing the patient to die. When God discovers this transgression, he is angry and the narrator steps in to tell us his decision. And again in the narrator's explanation there is an unusual fronting of the direct object which occurs in two consecutive sentences.

(76) Mbū' zīi a le yá me pōp, pó lōkō ndōkó
 power REL SAC P4 give DIR them 3plSJ INSTRUMENT

The power which was given them with which

m̀b̀étté mégo lā, Ndém á gō ŋkú, m̀b̀iŋ ŋghu pó te zéŋ éju' njúó.
 treat sicknesses PERFO God SAC be.able.seize DM make 3plSJ NEG ADD place.see
they could cure sicknesses, God took away, and then made it so that they could no longer see the place (where the sickness was).

Lezeṅ tsóp tsi mé le pīṅ ṅṅṅ ndōkó ṅgū'té a wóp, ṅtṅ
 name their REL 3imSJ P4 DM PROG with praise LOC them call
The name which people had been using to praise them, calling

a wóp é le wyō pét épuō lā, mé piṅ esēt lézeṅ tsóp,
 LOC them c5 EX DEM2 cure people PERFO 3imSJ DM change name their
them those who are healers of people, from that time on people changed their

ṅcú'é ṅtṅ a wóp, é le mele.
 become call LOC them SAC EXIST vampires
name to become 'vampires'.

Mele 16-17

Here, the punishments heaped on the head of the criminal surgeon become a prominent theme: first, his being denied the power of discerning the whereabouts of the sickness, and then the loss of honor by the very changing of his name. From now on, all would-be internal-medicine healers will be cursed with this tendency to destroy rather than to help their patients. And these comments are given prominence by the use of relative clauses within these points of departure. As points of departure, they in turn, make prominent what follows.

The **Anenō** story contains only one relative clause in the whole text. It occurs within a very complex sentence made up of several propositions which again serve to slow down the action just preceding the climax. Here we find a purpose clause explaining why Fly was raising his arm (to wipe away his tears.) And the pronoun object of the embedding clause becomes the subject of the relative clause.

(77)...ṅge yí lōk ṅgūō ṅtsī'né ṅtshī ṅnek zi ézi é to la,
 that LOG with go wipe away water eye his REL SAC come.out PERFO
he could use it to wipe away his tears which were coming out,

athu zí á pu nzá'á ṅgwhū á esī.
 head his SAC INT cut off fall LOC earth
his head was totally severed and fell to the ground.

Anenō 15

This may at first glance be easily interpreted as a non-restrictive clause, but since the information is redundant, it is being used in a restrictive sense, and is therefore thought to be a marked relative clause, one of the signals of the ensuing climax.

There are instances in these texts where left-dislocation of a temporal or spatial element is relativized. These become new points of departure for either a new setting or a crucial moment in time. This is well illustrated in the story of the **Njhu-Ḷgyā**. At the very moment when he receives his father's bags, he becomes another person, in other words, according to the implicatures, he becomes *his father*. The temporal relative clause functions as a temporal within itself.

- (78) Afu' zi á le epup la, mǝ wyǝ piŋ ncú' ńjú'ǝ
 time REL 3sgSJ speak this. way PERFO child DEM2 DM become understand
*At the moment when he (the father's friend) spoke like this, that child (heir)
 then felt himself*

ngóǝ nti nde'ε.
 be kind another
become someone else (other than his former self).

Njhu-Ijgyā 57

In the **Kenaj** text, it is line 5 which contains the locative *áju'* (place), relativized by the pronoun *zi*. This particular case is thought to be an unmarked restrictive clause and is used for thematic prominence. In other words, this place (the earth) will be the setting for the rest of the important action.

- (79) ketǝ'tsa á ge léǝ, á ge léǝ, te ndá' ńgē éjǝǝ,
 toad SAC that IDEO.jump SAC that IDEO.jump until already before IR.see
toad went BOING BOING, realizing that he would

ńbík áju' zǝ mé ntó á wǝp kēnaŋ éwǝ.
 arrive.first place REL 3imSJ P2.send CAC 3plOJ chameleon there
arrive first at the place there to which he and chameleon had been sent.

Kenaj 5

9.2 Other subordinated clauses

It is not clear whether we can truly call clauses 'subordinated' in Yémba. An alternative way of looking at the relationship of Yémba propositions to each other, would be to view them as being a series of linked chains. We will now examine some of the types of clauses which are possible in this chaining. In **Anenǝ** we find a purpose clause in the presentation of the two main characters, Fly and Mosquito explaining the reason for their expedition to the stream. It should be noted that this is new information in a post-nuclear position.

- (80) ńtú' ntshi.
 to draw water
in order to draw water.

Anenǝ 1

Note that the midtone on the nasal prefix of the verb 'to draw', signals purpose.

Another instance of a purpose clause occurs in the same text, but this time marked by the conjunction or enquoting particle *ńge* 'that':

- (81) ńge yí gǝ ékǝ'né étshǝ á áthǝ yǝ.
 so.that LOG be able IR.lift up IR.place LOC. head of him
so that he would be able to lift it up and place it on his head.

Anenǝ 8b

In line 8 of *Anenō*, *te*, which ordinarily occurs in a post-nuclear situation makes a rare appearance as a sentence introducer. The temporal information gives us a new point in time for the launching of a new point of departure. Note how it also indicates a switch of subject in this fronted position.

(82) *Te anenō á ge ējús, éshuṅ átūs ítshí á mékhu yí.*

Finally Mosquito SAC before IR.see pull calabash place LOC feet of him

Finally Mosquito realized (the refusal), pulled up the calabash and placed it on his legs,

Anenō 8a

Á piṅ ṅgós pá' 'since it is that...' is a fronted expression which seems to encode only previously known information. Again in line 9 the sentence begins with what looks to be a subordinate clause (but which is probably not,) with an indefinite subject, reminding the audience of a well-known anatomical fact concerning mosquitoes, a foreshadowing of disaster which is fulfilled in the following proposition.

(83) *Á piṅ ṅgós pá' mekhu mí é kyókté te ntsiá lā,*

c7 DM be like.that feet his SAC small until go.beyond PERFO

Since, as we all know, his feet are incredibly tiny,

mekhu mí é pu ṅkīiné.

feet his SAC INT crushed

his feet were completely crushed!

Anenō 9

A parallel construction appears in line 15:

(84) *Á piṅ ṅgós pá' athū nzenzhe á kyók leyá lā,...*

C7 DM be like.that head Fly SAC small to.an.extreme PERFO

Since, as we all know the head of a fly is extremely tiny,...

It is possible that these two constructions, in combination with several other elements, serve to mark the two climaxes. They are the background over which the climactic action is super-imposed, the lull before the storm.

8. ENDNOTES

¹*These categories follow the check list proposed by Stephen Levinsohn during a workshop on discourse held in Yaoundé during the months of January-February 1997. During this workshop we benefitted from the participation of Jean-Claude GNINGTEDEM, Yémba language co-worker, in the research and analysis. Our interaction as a team with Dr. Levinsohn was also very important. We thank both of them for their invaluable contributions.*

²*These two sentences and their grammatical niceties have not yet been fully analysed, so some of the words may not be written correctly.*

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10. APPENDIX - YEMBA NARRATIVE TEXTS INTERLINEARIZED

A. Mb̄̄ Píá 'Two creator-spirits'

B. An̄̄ p̄́ Nzenzhe 'Mosquito and Fly'

C. Kén̄̄ p̄́ Kets'rsa 'Chameleon and Toad'

1-Mmɔ' méŋ ga a le ewú, ńtsw hí te ɲgɔ́ á ɲiŋ nɔŋ, ɲgṹ mé Nduála.
 INDEF child my SAC EXIS there grow.up until be CAC person go DIR Douala
Once there was a child of my (family) who grew up and became a successful person and went to Douala.

2-A le lū ńnán á Nduálá, te á gɔ́ amɔ́' álē'é, á to akette a mba,
 3sgSJ P4 F4 stay LOC Douala until c7 be INDEF day 3sgSJ send letter LOC home
After having lived for a while in Douala, there came a day when he sent a letter home (in the village)

ńdé ɲge, 3-yí ndí amɔ́' áthū.
 say that LOG P3.sleep another head
saying that he had had a dream.

4-Mbú ńjú́s ɲgɔ́ amɔ́' áju' jyɔ́.
 INT see be another place DEM2
He fully saw that he was in another place.

5-Mbiŋ mbú ńdū á ési.
 DM INT rise LOC ground
Then he (finished dreaming and) got up.

6-Ŋjú' mbe nnet zi pūu te zét ezií.
 understand skin body his INT NEG remain his.
He felt that his body was definitely no longer his.

7-Yí piŋe mbú ńcú'é ńjú'ó, ńcú'é éfā'á a lewhu.
 LOG DM INT remain understand remain search CAC death
Then he was completely left with understanding that he was at the point of death.

8-Ŋjú' mbe nnet zi, é pu ncú'é ɲgēéné a yí geene.
 understand skin body his SAC INT remain bother CAC LOG bother
He sensed that his body was continually disturbing him very much.

9-Te yí piŋ ndá' ɲgɔ́ ge yí piŋ piŋ, mbɔ́ yí ghu mbɔ́ ele'é pīá.
 until LOG DM already go before LOG return return ADD LOG make ADD days two
It had taken him whole two days before he had then returned (to being himself).

10-Á si 'a ndɔ́kó ɲge akūé ?
 c7 PROG like.that avec that what
With things like that, what does it mean?

11-Mé le jú'ē te mɔ́'ó yi á pe ɲgá ɲgṹs
 3imSJ P4 understand until father his c1 take seer go
After understanding (the contents of the letter), his father decided to go see a seer.

12-Megaŋ ŋgá é ko eshúŋ á mɔ'ó yì ŋge
 persons seer c2 arrive speak LOC father his that
The seers did tell his father that

13-Á si 'a, á wɛ mbõ pĪá.
 c7 PROG like.that 3sgSJ have creator-spirit two
With things like that, (it means that) he has two creator spirits.

14-Mbõ pĪá mé geene a yí púp mbeé.
 creator-spirit two FOC bother CAC 3sgOJ like.that PERF
It is two creator-spirits that are bothering him like that, you see.

15-Te mé ha ntóŋ á yí, a ēshú'.
 until 3imSJ quickly call CAC 3sgOJ 3sgSJ IR.F.come
Such that you should quickly tell him to come.

16-Mé epét mbõ mét á áthū yī.
 3imSJ IR.F.treat creator-spirit DET LOC head his
Someone will treat this creator-spirit he has.

17-Mé le lé épūp, mé to akette ntóŋ á yí.
 3imSJ P4 say like this 3imSJ send letter call CAC 3sgOJ
After they had spoken like this, they (family) sent a letter and called him (home).

18-Á shu'.
 3sgSJ come
He came.

19-Mé gɔ njús ŋms' ŋzwí esī
 3imSJ go see INDEF specialist.
They (family) went to see a specialist.

20-ŋge, 21-«Mé le ŋge, Wu mé guɔ mé mbét mbõ pĪá
 that 3imSJ say that 2sgSJ FOC go DIR treat creator-spirit two

á áthū mɔ wuɔ.»
 LOC head child DEM1

They said, "It is said that you are the one who will treat the two creator-spirits that this child has."

22-Á ge, 23-ŋŋ, meŋ ā pété.
 3sgSJ that yes 1sgSJ c1.F1 treat
She said, "Yes, I will treat (him)."

24-Mé lu efhó á mba, ŋgyētté ŋkāp ézi mé kō
 3sgSJ F3 come.from LOC compound arrange.carefully money REL 3imSJ arrive

lɔk n̄néŋ á ácu'ə mbə zí.
 with place LOC demand creator-spirit his
 "When you come from (your) compound, be prepared with the money which
 will be demanded by his creator-spirit.

25-M̄biŋ ŋgyētté ntāŋa gá, n̄néŋ á ápa.
 DM arrange.carefully gift my place LOC bag.
 Then prepare carefully my gift and place it in a bag.

26-N̄zó á mə shē ŋgáp, n̄néŋ éwú.
 buy CAC child black chicken place there.
 Buy a black chick and place it there (in the bag).

27-N̄zég n̄zó lépo ŋgáp, n̄néŋ éwú.
 ADD buy egg chicken place there
 Also buy a chicken egg and place it there (in the bag).

28-N̄zég ŋghū ácupə mbap.
 ADD make collection meat
 Also make a collection of meat.

29-Mb̄s mét ézi mé ḡpét á áthū yī, é si ŋgə mbə
 creator-spirit DET REL 3imSJ go treat LOC head his c9 PROG be creator-spirit
 nte ti', te é zi ŋké ŋge ŋgēéné á yí.
 strong very until c9 begin ? before bother CAC 3sgOJ
 This creator-spirit which he has which will be treated, it is a very strong
 creator-spirit such that it has been bothering him."

30-A le lé épúp, n̄taŋ álē'é.
 3sgSJ P4 say like.this fix day
 After having spoken like this, she fixed a rendez-vous.

31-Mé lu nzég n̄d̄k á m̄s mét, n̄d̄k ŋgū́, ŋgə njú́s á yí.
 3imSJ F3 ADD with CAC child DET with go able see CAC 3sgOJ
 A while later they again took that child with them to see her.

32-Á ko n̄swí á tsitsi mét.
 3sgSJ arrive take CAC items DET
 She did take those (aforementioned) items.

33-N̄zég n̄d̄k á m̄s mét, n̄d̄k ŋḡ á ŋk̄á'.
 ADD with CAC child DET with go LOC field
 She also took that child, took him to the field.

34-Ŋnyette nzéŋ ésōk mb̄o zi mét, te m̄ó á fho ā ŋká',
 arrange.carefully ADD wash creator-spirit his DET until child c1 come.from LOC field

mb̄ú n̄zīŋ átseŋ te nzhoó, mb̄ú ŋgūo te ŋkó á m̄ba.
 INT walk genitals without clothes INT go until arrive LOC compound
Next she carefully washed that creator-spirit of his, such that when the child came from the field he was walking totally naked, all the way to the compound.

35-Ŋkó á ŋgyā, n̄tsét ákuŋe.
 enter LOC room close door.
He entered a room (in the compound) and closed the door.

36-N̄dá' n̄nág éwú, te yí ŋwēt piŋ nzéŋ éfhó á ŋkā',
 already stay there until LOG INSIS DM ADD come.from LOC field

n̄zéŋ éshu' nzéŋ ŋkwá'té ŋgyā.
 ADD come ADD knock.on room

After he had stayed there for awhile, she herself then also came from the field, she also came (to the compound) and knocked on (the door of) the room.

37-Éfhó éwu' éfók á yí.
 come.from there bring.out CAC 3sgOJ
She brought him out of there.

38-Ŋge, 39-ā gús, ka á ko nzéŋ am̄ó' ázō mbók.
 that 3sgSJ go.IPV NEG c7 arrive ADD other thing fear
She said that he should go and not fear that anything else would happen (to him).

40-Azō á té kō ézēŋ á yí éghué.
 thing c7 NEG arrive IR.ADD CAC 3sgOJ IR.make
(That) nothing else would happen to him.

41-M̄ó mét a le piŋ ŋgūo azí, te ŋkó áne eyá'a, a la piŋ n̄zéŋ ŋgā'téé.
 child DET c1 P4 DM go his until arrive on today 3sgSJ NEG DM ADD cry.out
It was such that after that child had also gone, and even until today, he has never again (suffered and) cried out.

NO	PRE	NP	VP	POST
1 a		Mm̄' m̄n̄ ga	a le	ewú,
1 b			ńsw̄hí	te ńḡs̄ á ńiŋ n̄ŋ,
1 c			ńḡs̄	mé Nduálá.
2 a	A le lū únán̄ á Nduálá,			
2 b	te á ḡo am̄s̄' ále' é,			
2 c		á	to	akette a mba
2 d			ńde ńge,	
3 -				
10				3yí ndí am̄s̄' áhū. 4M̄bú ńjús̄ ūḡs̄ am̄s̄' áhū' j̄w̄. 5M̄biq mbú ndū ési. 6N̄jū' mbe met zi p̄ū te zét ezil. 7Yí piq̄e mbú ńcú' é ńjús̄', ńcú' é éjā' á a lekwhu. 8N̄jū' mbe met zi, é pu ńcú' é ūḡēné a yí geene. 9Te yí piq̄ ndá' ūḡs̄ ge yí piq̄ piq̄, m̄b̄o yí ḡh̄u m̄b̄o ele' é p̄ā. 10Á si 'a nd̄k̄s̄ ūge ak̄w̄e ?
11 a	Mé le jú' ē,			
11 b	te	m̄s̄' s̄ yí	á pe	ńḡá
11 c			ńḡs̄.	
12 a		Megan̄ ńḡá	é ko eshún	á m̄s̄' s̄ yí
12 b			ńge,	
13 -				
16				13Á si 'a, á we mb̄s̄ p̄ā. 14M̄b̄s̄ p̄ā mé geene a yí p̄úp mbeé. 15Te mé ha ńt̄ȳ á yí, a ēshá'. 16M̄é epét m̄b̄s̄ méi á áhū yí.
17 a	Mé le lé ép̄p̄,			

NO	PRE	SN	SV	POST
17b		mé	to	akette
17c			ntón	á yí.
18		Á	shet'	
19		Mé	go njés	ímno' nzwí esí.
20			ŋge,	
21a				« mé le ŋge :
21b				« Wu mé gwo mé mbét mbō piá á áthū mō wuo. »
22		Á	ge :	
23 - 29				«23Mm, meŋ ā pété. 24Mé lu eŋhó á nba, ŋŋyēté ŋkáp ézi mé kō lok néné á ácu'ō mbo zí. 25Mbiŋ ŋŋyēté nítāŋa agá, néné á ápa. 26Nzó á mo shē ŋgáp, néné éwú. 27Nzég hízó lépo ŋgáp, néné éwú. 28Nzég ŋghā ácuŋo mbap. 29Mbō mé ézi mé gō pēt á áthū yí, é si ŋgo mbo nte tí, te ézi ŋké hízi ŋgēné á yí.»
30a	A le lé épūp,			
30b			ńtán	ále' é.
31a		Mé	lu nzég ndók	á mō mét,
31b			ndók ngwós	
31c			ŋgo njés	á yí.
32		Á	ko ntswí	á tsitsi mét.
33a			Ŋzég ndók	á mō mét,
33b			ndók ngō	á ŋká'.

NO	PRE	SN	SV	POST
34a			ŋnyette nzéŋ éšök	n̄bo zɪ méɪ,
34b	te	m̄s	á fho	á ŋká',
34c			n̄bú n̄zɪŋ	átsɛŋ te nzhoó,
34d			n̄bú ŋɛɛ	te ŋkó á n̄ba.
35a			ŋkó	á ŋɛyā,
35b			n̄tsét	ákɛŋɛ.
36a			N̄dá' n̄nāŋ	éwú,
36b	te	yí ŋwét	pɪŋ nzéŋ éfhó	á ŋká',
36c			n̄zéŋ éshu' nzéŋ ŋkwá'té	ŋɛyā.
37a			Éfhó	éwú
37b			éfoɔ	á yí.
38			ŋge,	
39 -				39a gú's, ka á ko nzéŋ am̄s' ázō n̄bo'sk. 40Azo á
40				té ko ézɛŋ á yí éghu'é.
41		M̄s méɪ	a le p̄ŋ ŋɛɛ	azí,
42a	te ŋkó áne eyá'a,			
42b		a	la p̄ŋ n̄zéŋ ŋgá'téé.	

1-Anenŏ pó nzenzhe é le ámŏ' álé'é, ítswí étūš, ígūš á ndu nítú' ntshi
 Mosquito ADD Fly SAC EX IND day take calabashes, go LOC.stream.draw water
One day Mosquito and Fly took their calabashes and went to the stream to draw water.

2-Ndá' íguš te ŋkó á ndu, ní' íkó á nítshi, nítú' ntshi.
 already.go until arrive.LOC.stream cross arrive LOC..water draw water
Having already arrived at the stream, they reached the water and drew (some water).

3-Eshuŋ ŋgyá á ndo ígia.
 SS-push give LOC surface shore
They pushed their calabashes to the shore.

4-Á cū' a lētswí' nítshí á áthū.
 c7 remain CAC to pick up place LOC head
All that was needed now was to pick up (the calabash) and place it on the head.

5-Anenŏ á le mé nzenzhe íge:
 Mosquito CAC say LOC Fly that,

«Esó ga, pōkō tswí' azá ígyá gá.»
 friend my we two pick up mine give me
Mosquito says to Fly: "My friend, let's the two of us pick up mine and give it to me."

6-Nzenzhe á le mé anenŏ íge:
 Fly CAC say LOC Mosquito that

«Ŋiŋ yí íwēt a tswí' azí, ŋiŋ yí íwēt a tswí' azí.»
 person he himself CAC pick up his, 2x
Fly says to Mosquito: "Each person picks up his own."

7-Anenŏ á swinte a yí te ŋgā lé, a te véŋ.
 Mosquito CAC beg LOC him until doing no matter what PERFO.3sgSJ.NEG.accept
Mosquito begged him, but it was all to no avail, he would not accept Mosquito's idea.

8-Te anenŏ á ge ējúš, éshuŋ átūš nítshí á mékhu yí
 Finally Mosquito CAC before see pull calabash place LOC feet LOG
Finally Mosquito realized (the refusal), pulled up the calabash, and placed it on his legs.

íge yí gō ékó'né étshí á áthū yí.
 so.that LOG be able to lift up and place LOC.head LOG
so that he would be able to lift it up and place it on his head.

9- Á piŋ ŋgó pá' mekhu mí é kyókté te ntsiá lā,
 c7 DM be like that feet his C1 small until go beyond PERFO
Since, as we all know, his feet are incredibly tiny,

mekhu mí é pu ŋkīíné.
 feet his C1 INT crushed
his feet were completely crushed!

10-Átūš á pu ŋkāŋté ŋŋém ége, mbú éšá.
 calabash c7 INT roll fall.down over.there INT break
The calabash just fell down and rolled over there, completely broken.

11-Nzenzhe á zwi zwi, (2x) te ndé ŋge:
 Fly SAC laugh laugh until say that
Fly he just goes into paroxysms of laughter, and then finally say,

12-«Wo, meŋ á juo lezeŋ lo.
 EXCL 1sSJ SAC see a wonder PERFO
"Wow, I've just seen an incredible thing!"

13-Wo, meŋ á juo ŋiŋ á tswi' atūš ntshí á mékhū yí,
 EXCL 1sSJ SAC see person CAC pick.up calabash place LOC feet LOG
Wow, I've just seen a someone pick up a calabash and place it on his legs,

mekhu mí é pu ŋkīíné lo.»
 feet his SAC INT crush PERFO
and his legs are now completely crushed!"

14-Ŋ- zwī zwi (2x) te ntshi ŋnek zí é pu ntó,
 SS laugh laugh until water eye his SAC INT come out
He continues laughing and laughing so hard that all the tears of his eyes come out.

15-Á piŋ ŋgó pá' athū nzenzhe á kyók leyá lā,
 C7 DM be like that head Fly SAC small to an extreme PERFO
Since, as we all know the head of a fly is extremely tiny,

nzenzhe á pu'e apu zí ŋge
 Fly SAC lift up arm his so that
Fly in lifting up his arm so that

yí lok ŋgūš ntšī'né ntshī ŋnek zi ézi é to la,
 LOG with go wipe away water eye his REL CAC coming out PERFO
he could could use it to wipe away his tears which were coming out,

athu zí á pu nzá'á ŋgwhū á éšī.
 head his SAC INT cut off fall LOC earth
his head was severed and fell to the ground.

16-Á pu ntsó's íjém ége, mbú íkwhá.
C7 INT come off fall there INT die

It came completely off and fell down there, and he was dead.

17-Anenō á piŋ nnáŋ á ési, mbə á ncú' íkelu' 'ā
Mosquito SAC DM sit LOC earth ADD C1 remain paralysed like that

ncú'é ígā'té ga'te.

remain crying out crying out

Whereas Mosquito was just sitting on the ground, and what's more, paralyzed as we've already seen., staying there crying out for help.

18-Epuə é pu njú', ínnááté éshu' te ŋkó éwú,
people SAC INT hear follow come til arrive there

íjús pá' anenō á pú ígō mékem mekhu.
see how Mosquito CAC INT be in pieces feet

The people heard (his cries) very well, and followed (the sound) until they got there, and saw how Mosquito's legs were broken in pieces.

19-Nzenzhe á piŋ nnōŋ á ési, mbə á ndá' íkwhá.
Fly SAC DM lie LOC earth

Whereas Fly was lying on the ground, and what's more he was already dead!

20-Mé zette anenō ájū mi á si.
3imSJ ask Mosquito thing this CAC be/there

They asked Mosquito what had happened.

21-Á piŋ mbú mbéété, éshúŋ épuə pá' anu á zi nzīŋ púp.
C1 DM INT explain speak people how thing CAC begin walk that way

He then explained all the details, telling the people how this thing had happened.

22-Te mé piŋ mbú ncú'é ndōkə anenō ígūə me mba.
So that 3imSJ DM INT remain with Mosquito go DIR compound

So that finally they ended up only having to carry Mosquito back to the village.

23-Mbiŋ ntsyā ápfō nzenzhe á ndu.
DM leave cadaver Fly LOC stream

while leaving the Fly's body down in the streambed.

24-Mé piŋ nzōkó ájūə anu, ndé ígə:
3imSJ DM finish DEM affaire saying that

So we can conclude this story by saying,

Kaá ŋiŋ ínaŋ njúə aló' áne mmo' ŋiŋ, ízwī te tsīa!
Beware person stay watch trouble on certain person laugh to extreme surpass
Let no one only see the limitation of someone else (and do nothing) and laugh to the extreme.

1000

1000

1000

NO	PRE	SN	SV	POST
11a		Nzenzhe	á zwī zwīi, (2x)	te ndé ŋge: <i>Wo meŋ á juo lezey lo.</i>
b				<i>Wo meŋ á juo ŋiŋ á tswi' atšš</i>
12				<i>ŋiší á mékhu ā yí, mekhu mí é pu ŋkīné lo.</i>
13				<i>te ntshi ŋnek zí é pu ntó.</i>
14		Ŋ-	zwī zwīi, (2x)	
15a	Á piŋ ŋgš,			
b	pá' athū.á nzenzhe á kyšk leyá lā,			
c	nzenzhe á pš' e apu zí			
d			ŋge	<i>yí lok ŋgšš ŋiší' né. ntshí ŋnek</i> <i>zi ézi é to la,</i>
e		athu azí	á pu nzá' á ŋgwhā	á éšī.
16a		Á	pu ntsš' š	
b			ŋŋém ége,	
c			ŋbú ŋkwhá.	
17a		Ánenš	á piŋ nnāŋ	á éšī,
b				<i>mbo á ncá' ŋkelu' ā</i>
c				<i>ŋcá' é ŋgā' té ga' te.</i>
18a		Epuo	é pu njú',	<i>te ŋkó éwú,</i>
b			ŋnááté éshu'	<i>pá' anenš á pú ŋgš mékem</i>
c			ŋjés	<i>mekhu.</i>
19a		Nzenzhe	á piŋ nnāŋ	á éšī
b				<i>mbo á ndá' ŋkwhá.</i>

NO	PRE	SN	SV	POST
1a		Anenō pó nzenzhe	é le	ámō' álé' é,
b			ńtswí'	étūš,
c			ńgēš	á ńdu
d			ńtú'	ntshi.
2a	ńdá' ńgwo			
b	te ńkó á ńdu,		ńzí' ńkó	á ńtshí,
c			ńtú'	étwo tsóp.
3			Éshuŋ ńgyá	á ńdo ńgia.
4		Á	cu'	a lētswí' ńtshí á áthū.
5a		Anenō	á le	mé nzenzhe'
b			ńge	"Esó ga, poko tswí' azá ńgyá gá."
6a		Nzenzhe'	á le	mé nzenzhe
b			ńge:	"ŋiŋ yí ńwēt a tswí' azí, ŋiŋ yí ńwēt a tswí' azí."
7a		Anenō	á swiŋte	a yí te ńgā lé,
b		a	te véŋ.	
8a	Te anenō á ge ējéš,		éshūŋ	átēš
b			ńtshí	á mékhū yí,
c			ńge	yí gō ékō' né étshí á áthū yí.
9a	A piŋ ńgó			
b	pá' mekhu mí é kyókté te ntsiá lā,	mekhu mí	é pu ńkīné.	
10a		Átēš	á pu ńkūŋtē	
b			ńgēm ége,	
c			ńbú éšá.	

NO	PRE	SN	SV	POST
20a		Mé	zette	anenō áju mi á sl.
b			piŋ mbú mbééte.	
21a		A	éshúŋ	épuo
b				pá' annu á zi nzīŋ púp.
c				anenō.
22a	Te mé piŋ mbú hca' é hdaŋa			me mba.
b			hga	ápfō nzenzhe á hdu.
23	Mbin		ntsya	áju annu,
24a		Mé	piŋ nzōkó	<i>Kaá ŋiŋ á hnaŋ ŋhó aŋ' áne</i>
b			hde hge:	<i>mmo' ŋiŋ, hzwī te tsīa.</i>

1000

1000

1000

1-Ndém a le júś ńge lewhū a le ēsi ńgǒ ánu tepǒŋ.
 God c1 P4 see that death c1 EX PROG be matter bad
God saw that death was not a good thing.

2-Mbíŋ nzéŋ ńkwāŋ kwan, te ntó á kénáŋ pǒ ketŏ'tsa ńge,
 DM ADD reflect reflect until send CAC chameleon ADD toad that
Then he also reflected a lot such that he charged chameleon and toad

pǒ yī e guǒ ńgǒ á ńgǒŋ, ńdé ńge, mé efú ńcú'é ńkwhúé,
 3plSJ 3sgOJ c2 go be LOC world say that 3imSJ IR.F4 remain die.IMPFTV
to go to the world and say (to the people) that from now on when someone dies,

ńkǒ's, mbeé.
 return.IMPFTV PERFO
they will return, you see.

3-Pǒ le jú'ē, ńguǒ te ńkǒ á menzhe.
 3plSJ P4 understand go until arrive LOC road
After they understood (the commission), they headed off and reached the road.

4-Á piŋ ńgǒ pá' ketŏ'tsa a gǒ nzīŋé ńkyet kyeté lā,
 c7 DM be that toad c1 able walk.IMPFTV jump jump PERFO
Since, as we all know, toads walk only by jumping

kénáŋ á piŋe nzīŋé mé nda lā,
 chameleon c1 DM.IMPFTV walk.IMPFTV DIR patience PERFO
and chameleons walk only by going slowly,

5-ketŏ'tsa á ge lém, á ge lém, te ndá' ńgē éjūś,
 toad c1 that IDEO.jump c1 that IDEO.jump until already before IR.see
toad went BOING BOING, realizing that he would

ńbīk áju' zīi mé ntó á wǒp kēnaŋ éwu.
 arrive.first place REL 3imSJ P2.send CAC 3plOJ chameleon there
arrive first at the place there to which he and chameleon had been sent.

6-ńkǒ éwu, ńde ńgē ékǒ á ńgyā, éshúŋ épuǒ, ńdé ńge,
 arrive there EX before IR.arrive LOC room speak people say that
Once there, as soon as he entered the room, he spoke to the people, saying that

7-Ndém á le ńge, 8-mé efú ńcú'é ńkwhúé, ńbú ńmī.
 God c1 said that 3imSJ IR.F4 remain.IMPFTV die.IMPFTV INT finish
God said that from now on, when you die, it's all over.

9-Kénáŋ á fu nzīŋ mé nda, á fu nzīŋ mé nda,
 chameleon c1 F4 walk DIR patience, c1 F4 walk DIR patience

te ndá' ŋgē ékō éwu, mbə ketŏ'tsa á ndá' ntswī ŋke yí.
 until already before IF.arrive there ADD toad c1 already deliver message his
Long after, Chameleon was walking so slowly that even before he had arrived there, Toad had already given his message.

10-Kénáŋ á le ŋge, 11-Ndém á le ŋge,
 chameleon c1 say that God c1 say that

12-mé efú ncú'é ŋkwhúé, ŋkó's.
 3imSJ IR.F4 remain die return
Chameleon said that God said that from now on when you die, you will return.

13-Mé le mé kénáŋ ŋge, 14-Mé gə té nju's m̄vho,
 3imSJ say DIR chameleon that 3imSJ able NEG understand the.first

nzéŋé nju's n̄zemé.
 ADD understand the behind
They said to chameleon that you cannot understand (both) the first (message) and also understand the one that follows.

15-Á fho epúp té lewhū a pu ntā, mé gə té n̄zét
 c7 come.from like.this before death c1 INT stay 3imSJ able NEG stay

ŋkwhúé ŋkó's.
 die.IMPFTV return.IMPFTV
Ever since this (event) which has resulted in death's continuing, you no longer die and (then) return.

16-Mé piŋ nzōkó ájuə anu, ndé ŋge,
 3imSJ DM conclude DEM1 matter say that

ŋiŋ la gákné léyā, éshúŋ ánu mbəŋó.
 person NEG hurried very speak matter good

So, the moral of the story is, someone who is in a hurry never gives good news.

NO	PRE	SN	SV	POST
1a		Ndém	a le jús ŋge	lewhã a le ēsí ŋgó ánu tepɔŋ.
1b				
2a	Mbiŋ		(Mbiŋ) nzéŋ ŋkwāŋ kwāŋ,	te ntó á kénáŋ pó keto'tsa
2b				
2c			ŋge,	
2d				<i>pó yī e guo ŋgó á ŋgɔŋ,</i>
2e			ndé ŋge,	<i>mé eŋú ncu' é ŋkwihé,</i>
2f				<i>ŋkó's, mbeé.</i>
2g				
3a	P5 le jú'ē,			
3b			ŋguo	te ŋkó á menzhe.
4a	Á piŋ ŋgó pá'			
4b	keto'tsa a go nzine ŋkyet kyeté lā,			
4c				kénáŋ á piŋe nzine mé nda lā
5a		Keto'tsa	á ge	<i>lém,</i>
5b		á	ge	<i>lém,</i>
5c				te ndá' ŋgē éjūs,
5d			mɔrik	ájú' zii mé ntó á wóp kénáŋ éwú
6a			ŋkó	éwú
6b			ndé ŋgē éko	á ŋgya,
6c			éshún	épus
6d			ndé ŋge,'	
7				<i>Ndém á le ŋge,</i>
8a				<i>mé eŋú ncu' é ŋkwihé,</i>
8b				<i>nɔbú nmií.</i>
9a		Kénáŋ	á fu nzin	mé nda,
9b		á	fu nzin	mé nda,

KÉNÁJ

TABLEAU DE BASE

9c				te ndá' ígē ékō éwú, mbo keto'isa á ndá'ńtswī íke yí.
9d				
10		Kénáj	á le íge,	
NO	PRE	SN	SV	POST
11				<i>Ndém á le íge,</i>
12a				<i>mé efú ícú' é íkwíhíé,</i>
12b				<i>íks'ó.</i>
13		Mé	le *.....*íge	*mé kénáj*
14a				<i>Mé go té ńjú'ó ńvho,</i>
14b				<i>ńzégé ńjú'ó ńzemé.</i>
15a	Á fho epúp			
15b	té lewhū a pu nīā			
15c		mé	go té ńzét íkwíhíé, íks'ó.	
15d				
16a		Mé	piŋ nzókó	ájuo anu,
16b			ńdé íge,	
16c				<i>Íjij la gákné léyā,</i>
16d				<i>éshūŋ ánu mbonó.</i>