Ministry of Scientific and Technical Research

Definiteness, Topicalisation and Theme: Muyang Narrative Discourse Markers

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1. Introduction

We are the knights who say 'Ni'! - Monty Python and the Holy Grail (1974)

The Muyang are the people who say *ni*, and say it frequently. They see themselves, however, as the people who say *nahoma*, which is certainly prominent in Muyang speech, but the particle *ni* is far more frequent, and indeed present in virtually every utterance. *Ni* is a marker of definiteness, and alternates with the more intense marker *nakum*, and *nahoma* is a marker of topicalisation, and alternates with the less intense marker *jik*. This study will describe the role of these two pairs of particles in the structure of Muyang at discourse and sub-discourse levels.

1.1 Definiteness, topicalisation and theme: general definitions

Definite referents are those identifiable by the interlocutor(s) - cf. Chafe (1976:39), either because they have already been mentioned, or because all parties are aware of their relevance to the current proposition. In Muyang the definite marker is prominent, as might be expected, in the discourse reference system and has other functions related to its origin as a deictic particle. In instances where its use may seem to be optional, the presence or absence of the definite marker reveals that it also has thematic overtones.

Topicalisation is the marking of an element as the background to something that follows and which the speaker wishes by this process to highlight. Topicalised constituents, like definite ones, are usually known or inferable by the interlocutor(s) and are thus normally definite (cf. Andrews 1985:78) and may in Muyang be independently marked as such. But instead of being identified locally or thematically they act as a frame (Chafe 1976:50) or point of departure (Levinsohn 1994:7) for the further item of information which is the point of the communication and which is consequently thematically important. In other words topicalisation is the process of marking the an element as a 'topic' on which a 'comment' is to be expected: it is however the 'comment', not the 'topic', that is in 'focus'.

Topicalisation is, however, bidirectional (Levinsohn 1994:7). The mere presence of a topic marker (which in Muyang normally occurs clause-finally and topicalises the entire clause, not merely the immediately preceding noun phrase) alerts the hearer to the fact that what he is about to hear is the point of the communication, and at the same time anchors that new information in relationship to what has just been heard. The topicalised element may, though, have its own prominence: this is especially the case where it is a noun phrase rather than the normal clause. In such cases the reference may be contrastive, switching to another participant. The normal use with clauses is resumptive, renewing the background setting for the focussed phrase - typically in the common tail-head construction where a clause is repeated and topicalised, slowing down the narrative and providing a firm launching point for the new information.

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1 Abbreviations used in the glosses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AS</th>
<th>associative marker</th>
<th>POT</th>
<th>potential marker</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>conditional marker</td>
<td>RFC</td>
<td>reciprocal marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>complementiser</td>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>reflexive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuation marker</td>
<td>RFRMK</td>
<td>thematic reference marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>definite marker</td>
<td>REL</td>
<td>relative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IO</td>
<td>indirect object marker</td>
<td>SEP</td>
<td>separation marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topicalisation marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE</td>
<td>perfect tense</td>
<td>TOPIC</td>
<td>emphatic topicalisation marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFVE</td>
<td>perfective aspect</td>
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2 Muyang is a central Chadic language spoken primarily in the arrondissement of Tokombéré in the Far North Province of Cameroon. It is classified by the Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun as Afro-Asiatic, Chadic, Centre-West, Wandalu-Mafa, Mafa, South, with the code number 152 - Dieu & Renaud (1983: 357), and by the Ethnologue as Afro-Asiatic, Chadic, Bus-Mandara, A, A5 - Grimes (2000: 48).

In Muyang orthography the coronal consonants *s* [s], *x* [*ts*], *j* [*dz*] and *n* [*ndz*] represent their palatal allophones [ʃ], [ʃ], [tʃ], [dʒ] and [nɔ] in the presence of the front vowels e, i and u [y]. The digraphs ni and Zi are used for [ʃ] and [ʃ] respectively.

3 Topicalised constituents are so called to distinguish them from 'topics' (Levinsohn 1994:6), cf. Andrews (1985:77f)), which are further distinct from subjects, all of which (according to Li & Thompson (1976:461) are normally obligatorily definite. Unlike a 'topic', which is normally a noun phrase (Andrews loc. cit.), a topicalised constituent can be anything, and in Muyang it is normally a clause.
Theme, as used here, refers to what is prominent in the mind of the speaker (represented by a word, clause or episode) at a specific point within the discourse as a whole, regardless or largely regardless of local syntactic considerations. Otherwise stated, it is what the speaker is talking about.

The interplay of thematic considerations with definiteness and topicalisation is not straightforward, as theme is a matter of the changeable will of the speaker and not of grammar, but some things can be clearly seen in the surface structure of the language. Particularly, the thematically strong forms of both definite and topicalisation markers (respectively *nakay* and *nahoma*) are apparent, and at a weaker level the mere presence or absence of the basic markers (respectively *n* and *t*) may be significant. Such thematic considerations, although manifested in the marking of specific clauses and noun phrases, apply rather to the episode or event in the narrative as a whole.

1.2 Muyang - overview and example of typical usage

The distinctions between the normal particles of definiteness and of topicalisation in Muyang are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal particle</th>
<th>DEFINITENESS</th>
<th>TOPICALISATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item typically marked</td>
<td><em>n</em> (perfective form <em>na</em>)</td>
<td><em>tl</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td>Noun phrase</td>
<td>Clause or idea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predictability</td>
<td>Reference or theme</td>
<td>Point of departure, clause subordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intense form (narrator-dependent)</td>
<td><em>nakay</em></td>
<td>Normally narrator-dependent</td>
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<td></td>
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</table>

These particles normally follow the item qualified, occurring phrase- and clause-finally.

Topicalisation and the interplay of theme: in the opening of the folk story below, the first clause is marked by the intense topicaliser *nahoma*, to throw attention forcibly onto the main event that follows and backgrounding the colourless standard opening phrase. This event is therefore thematically prominent at a high level. In the second sentence, the normal topical marker *tl* marks the known information that the fly is off to get a wife, which is repeated in a classic tail-head linkage with the function of slowing down the narrative, thereby again emphasising what follows (Levinsohn 1994:7) as the context for the scene which launches the story – the meeting with stork and his wife. The topicalised-phrase plus comment phrase unit functions in this example like a unit with a temporal or circumstantial clause plus a main clause, and in fact in Muyang topicalisation is the normal way or expressing logical relationships (temporal, conditional or otherwise, according to context) between grammatically coordinate clauses. The fact that they are cultivating their field is an incidental detail, a wind-down and not the climax of the sentence, hence the main clause is not topicalised, nor, of course, is the final one.

A yad nahang abu nahoma,
at day other 3s-be TOPIC
ezwi ahoraya akoro ku wal gyan a Moloko.
fly 3s-go-cut 3s-go for wife AS-3s at Moloko
Naq abu akoro ka wal gyan a Moloko ti,
3s 3s-be 3s-go for wife AS-3s at Moloko TOP
ara adi ahur ana ato zilim nday ato wal gani:
3s-some 3s-put-IO head to with stork 3p with wife AS-DEF
fowes vodaq gotay.
3p-cultivate field AS-3p

The other day, now,
fly went off to get a wife at Moloko.
So as he was going to get a wife at Moloko
he met stork and his wife,
who were cultivating their field.
(Zil 002-6) 5

Thus in this opening we see the higher level topicalisation marking the launching of the story, and within that a lower level topicalisation which serves to continue the forward thrust of the narrative. Each of these has thematic overtones in the selection of material on which the speaker wishes his hearers to concentrate.

Definiteness and the interplay of theme: in the next clause from the same story, the field recurs in another tail-head linkage. In the preceding clause it was related to the main characters by a possessive construction, but now this is augmented by the definite marker *n*, the field being already known. In the case of a non-unique item this usage is normal, but it is possible in certain circumstances for the possessor *gotay* to suffice in marking even a known object, without the addition of *n*. Thus the inclusion of *n* here shows that the field has at least some thematic importance in

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4 The terms 'obligatory' and 'narrator-dependent' here distinguish what is normally required for good Muyang syntax (obligatory) from what gives good Muyang narrative diction (narrator-dependent).
5 For an explanation of the text reference system, see the Appendix.
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this stage of the narrative, or rather that the episode in which it occurs is important, the field being in effect the only element available for marking with ni in this clause.

Eslini tōbu tawas vədaŋ gatyay ni... So there they were cultivating their field... (Zil 007)
There 3p-be 3p-cultivate field AS-3p DEF

Fly greets the pair, gets no reply, insults stork, and leaves. Stork’s field now is marked only with the possessor without ni; probably an indication of the lower thematic importance in this explanatory aside, but it is also now his field, a subset and not identical to the original their field(s); potentially, therefore, a new item where ni would not be required.

Stork, a unique character, needs no marking when he is mentioned using a noun. Fly in this continuous narrative is identifiable merely by the singular pronoun and the context. The fiancée, however, although of minimal thematic importance in her own right, is non-unique and is marked on her repetition after a significant interval by gavyay followed by ni which shows at least that we have heard of her before, and that she is not another woman. Again, the possessor gavyay alone might be functionally sufficient, with the ni doing double duty as a mark of her identity and of the relative thematic prominence of the event in question.

Eslini zilim èci ndo, But stork didn’t hear him,
there stork 3s-be-PP NEF-PFVE he was too busy cultivating his field:
naŋ abu awosoro vədaŋ gavyay; his wife heard, though.
3s 3s-be 3s-cultivate-CONT field AS-3s
wal ge zilim ēci.
wife AS stork 3s-be-PFVE
Eslini ēra ḥɔrɔya zla So then [fly]
there 3s-come-PP 3s-go-pat-PP then
ŏdoi ḵa wał gavyay ni a Moloko...
went on his way to his fiancée at Moloko...
3s-go-CONT-PF on wife AS-3s DEF at Moloko (Zil 014-7)

A little later in this story, fly leaves his destination and returns. As a unique character, even when known, he would not be marked by ni, but as a thematically important character at a significant turning point in the story he is legitimately marked by nakag. More significantly, the fiancée who is totally incidental to the story and never occurs again, but who would normally be marked by ni as a known non-unique character, is also marked instead with nakag as a tribute to the thematic importance of the subsequent event as a whole. Meanwhile the plural verb sufficiently maintains the stork and his wife, but their field, not now marked with a possessor, has an obligatory ni (with a perfective affix from the grammatical context) to mark it as known.

Ezuwa nakag ṣamatbiya, Fly got tired
fly REMF 3s-tire-INTO-PFVE of his courting there,
ka maľaŋ ɡa mĩtĩñ ḵa wał nakag a, and set on his way back.
on place AS NOM-become-close by woman REMF PFVE
naŋ abu ara.
3s 3s-be 3s-come
ENJi k<i> maľaŋ ga y<i> ti tawas vədaŋ na... He got to the place where
3s-arrive-PFVE on place AS REL TOP 3p-cultivate field DEF-PFVE they were cultivating the field...
(Zil 043-6)

In these selections we see a use of the definite marker ni which is within broad limits predictable within the participant reference system, but which, as with the much clearer use of nakag, also modifies the thematic prominence of the clauses in which it occurs.

1.3 Topicalisation and focus – central Chadic comparisons

Central Chadic languages place a heavy functional load on topicalisation, and in this respect Muyang is no exception. Typically the marker used is na, for example in Mofu-Gadur - Hollingsworth & Peck (1992) and in Lamang - Wolff (1983:258), but it may have other forms, such as ka in Zulgo - Haller & Watters (1984) and df (the closest form to the Muyang dɔ in Ouldeme – Kiinaird (1999). All these markers follow the topicalised constituent and mark it as a point of departure, and many of the contexts that will be described for Muyang are mirrored in these and other languages. (In spite of its superficial similarity to the prevailing central Chadic na, the Muyang marker ni, together with its perfective form na, have a totally different function).

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It appears, however, that in some of these languages the topicalisation marker may interrupt normal word order at one of many potential points within a clause, to throw the highlighting onto what follows. Such a clause-medial construction scarcely occurs in Muyang: this is consistent with the normal functioning of tf at clause level. Where it does seem to occur, tf follows a verb and can be read as a quasi-complementiser (see section 3.2.4 below) presenting a separate existential clause.

Āmanjeya ti humbo ni kwayaya ka pakamana.  He noticed (that there was) flour all over his face.  (What) he noticed (was)... (FH 023)
3s-see-on TOP flour DEF all-over on face

Languages of this group commonly left-shift an element from a sentence and topicalise it, followed by the rest of the clause (using the topicalised element as a point of departure for what follows), and this construction is commonly translated "as for..."; see examples in e.g. Wolff (1983:259), Hollingsworth & Peck (1992:110), Haller & Watters (1984). Muyang topicalises certain brief sentence-initial elements, normally emphatic pronouns that reinforce the pronominal element of the verb in the main clause and which, since they occupy the position they would have if they were not topicalised, are not left-shifted (see section 3.4 and also section 2.1.3 below). This is more like inserting topicalisation into a single clause, but in a very limited manner: however, since the clause to the right of the topicalised element is always grammatically self-sufficient, one could also consider that the topicalised element becomes a separate proposition. Clear examples of left-shifting in this SVO language involve direct objects, both with and without topicalisation (see section 3.4.1).

Other examples of seemingly cleft clauses in Muyang appear to show right-shifting, with a short final element highlighted by preceding topicalisation. In the following example wiyag (sand) would normally occupy the slot between the verb and the indirect object, but here is focussed by apparently right-shifting and by topicalising the rest of the clause: similar dislocations occur in Zulgo (Haller & Watters, 1984:39).

Aholiya ana zol gani na ti,  The thing that she brought out for her husband
3s-gather-JO-out for man AS-DEF DEF-SEP TOP
wiyag.  (ce qu'elle donne à son mari.)
sand  (c'est le sable.) (Zil 024)

However, the Muyang transcriber's French gloss given above shows that such apparent splittings in Muyang are more naturally read as two clauses: in the following example the words wur nakoŋ, if read as right-shifted, do not fit readily into the main sentence as they stand (the verb āmanjeya in this form requires a prepositional clause (as given) rather than a direct object, and if it did take a direct object the object would be followed by a, as is the clause), and thus the transcriber in his gloss adds another verb. Hence it again seems more natural to regard the words wur nakoŋ as a separate clause rather than the normal direct object within its clause with tf inserted before it.

Āmanjeya ka aloŋ a ti, wur nakoŋ.  She looked behind her: there was the child!
3s-look-out by back SEP TOP child REMAK
(wur nakoŋ)  (elle a regardé derrière et a vu l'enfant.)  (Tet 060)

Another example of a noun phrase which is at least in apposition following topicalisation also seems to be read as an existential clause. This could of course also be the case with some of the examples from other related languages.

Nahkay ti wur ga maŋani nakoŋ avu ti, zlaba guyag...  Now there was another brother, his friend...
so TOP child AS mother-DEF other 3s-be TOP friend AS-3s
(Nahkay ti wurga maŋani nakoŋ avu ti, zlaba guyag...)  (or il y avait un frère qui était l'ami de Takwataj)
(Tak A.11)

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7 See e.g. Hollingsworth & Peck (1992) examples (17) and (23), pp. 113f, from Mofin-Gudur. Gravina (2002) has these examples from Mbuko:
Uon na, zlay (PM018)  A dazl-ay anay anay agay na, to ambay swan. (BA029)
I want TOP egg 35spfv arrive-ING it to home TOP with victory STATE
"What I want is eggs."  "He brought it home victoriously."
8 The original Muyang transcriber wrote the following as a gloss for this clause, preferring an existential clause to an object of a verb of perceiving:
"elle avait la farine sur les lièvres de la mouche."  "She had the flour on the ears of the fly."
9 Gravina (2002) has this example from Mbuko:
Nen na, liber uno inde te bay  (CG008)
I TOP string my there also NEG
"I don't have any string."  ("As for me, my string is also not here.")
10 Another example from Gravina (2002) is similar:
Ona ka rac nea bay, anga so tem-ay iken uho a mokwa na, nec. (LM054)
but 28spfv eat me NEG because SUB save-ING you outside at hole away TOP 1
"But you mustn't eat me because it was I who reacted you from the hole."
Another example appears to show topicalisation to highlight a single clause-final word, but the original French gloss again shows that this is read as an existential clause, with the subject left-shifted (without topicalisation) to the beginning of the topicalised element:

... ngam zlam gani no lì ahar d0m kajolaki ahar ti, ...this thing, you must think about it
because(Final) DEF DEF head 3s-say-PF 2s-think-on head TOP
subumani, so that it's] good
good-DEF
day ti mak nap ara azum. so that he'll eat it. (Mari 082-4)
first TOP then 3s 3s-come 3s-eat

In sum, Muyang behaves in many ways like the languages that use *na* as a topicaliser: however, topicalised elements that are not clauses are restricted to short sentence-initial items such as focused noun phrases or temporal adverbials (see section 3.4 below), while elements following topicalisation that are definitely not separate clauses are restricted to wh- question markers (see section 3.3 below).

2. The marking of definiteness and of theme: *ni* and *nakəŋ*

2.1 Definiteness: the nature of *ni*

*Ni* is underlyingly a spatial deixis meaning “there (at an intermediate distance)”, intermediate between *bi* (“here”) and *tegi* (“over there”). However, this spatial function (clear in first element of the parallel conflations with itself *hitai*, *ni*ni and *tegani* (section 2.3.3), gains a referential significance in discourse as a marking of definiteness – this to the extent that the simple spatial usage of *ni* is by comparison not at all prominent in Muyang speech.

Noun phrases are frequently marked with this referential *ni*. It has several functions: at the first level it marks the noun phrase as definite (known), secondly it thereby functions as a maintenance marker in the participant reference system, and thirdly it may also by its presence, but perhaps more significantly by its absence where it might be expected, indicate the degree of thematic prominence which the speaker currently assigns to the participant that it designates. The participant reference system when *ni* normally operates is fully discussed in section 2.2. *Ni* can also be phonologically bound to a noun phrase or to a clause: this bound form of *ni* is discussed in section 2.3. *Ni* can also be used in certain circumstances to mark clauses: this use of *ni* is discussed in section 2.4 and finally the collocation *ni* *ti* is discussed in section 2.5.

2.1.1 The syntactic collocation *ni* + *a*

When it co-occurs with the marker of perfective aspect or separation *a*, which may be present for syntactic reasons, *ni* takes the form *na*. This happens either in the case of perfective aspect or in that of separation directionals (which are, fundamentally, the same thing).

Perfective aspect:

Tara finja a vadaŋ ya na namo, When they got to the field,
3p-come-3p-arrive-PFVE at field in-PFVE TOPIC
fadafiya vadaŋ na ana to a they showed it to them. (FH 004-5)
3p-show-3p-PFVE field DEF-PFVE to 3p PFVE

Mak afakad biyem gayaŋ ni esi yam. Then she put down her wood to drink water.
3s-put-down wood AS-3s DEF 3s-drink water
Esikaba yam gayaŋ na na namo, When she'd finished drinking her water,
3s-drink-in-on-PFVE water AS-3s DEF-PFVE TOPIC
awayay azakabi biyem gayaŋ ni asloka. she was going to take up her wood and leave.
3s-want 3s-take-in-on wood AS-3s DEF 3s-leave

Separation directional (outward movement):

A, ere gani nak kahi ti ‘Oh, the thing is, you say to it
ch thing AS-DEF-2s 2s-say-3O TOP
Djazlaya huwi gayuk ya kaqavy na 3s-show-out work AS-2s REL 2s-de DEF-SEP TOP
‘Show the thing that you do’,

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11 The same restriction appears to apply in Mofu-Odzur: Hollingsworth and Pock (1992:111).
The surface form na is thus always a conflation of ni and a, the latter occurring according to the syntactic demands of the main verb of the clause: in their referential function there is no distinction between ni and a.

2.1.2 The definite noun phrase: maintenance marking with thematic overtones

The normal referential function of ni within discourse can be illustrated by two phrases from a folk tale, the opening one, and one from the opening of the second episode:

A varf nahaus eyen áro a gosko vu... One day squirrel went to market... (SC 001)
at day other squirrel 3s-go at market into

Tâdagooro a gosko ni vu... Off they went to the market... (SC 023)
3s-go-CONT at market DEF into

The phrase a gosko vu is, of course, extremely common in Muyang. The variant a gosko ni vu has several functions: at the simplest level it labels the market (a non-active non-unique participant) as the same one that squirrel went to the first time. The distance over which ni can successfully function is non-local and thus at discourse level: in this example the market remains identifiable even across episodes in a story.

This marking of participant continuity is thus a discourse function in its own right, even though the fact that it is the same market is not in itself particularly significant: any market would do for the purpose. However, it is the same market, and as a non-unique item is obligatorily labelled as such in the participant reference system (see section 2.2 below). Not to label it with ni might raise doubts – is it the same market, or if not, why aren’t we told so specifically, and what is the importance to the story of the change?

Seeing in other terms, we might say that the market, as the springboard of the main action following the second visit (which depends on the meat bought there), does have some thematic importance: that it is marked by ni as being not merely a circumstantial detail. But we cannot show from this story that it would not be marked by ni even if it had no thematic importance.

In any case, in an intervening episode, when squirrel recounts his purchases to hyena, he says:

Násakumbiyu a gosko bu. “I bought them at a market.” (SC 013)
1s-buy-later-PF at market in

Within that local conversation the market has not been previously mentioned and thus, as in its first mention in the main narrative, it is not marked by ni.

2.1.3 Ni used for topicalisation?

Ni marking a noun phrase is sometimes used in a manner very similar to topicalisation in highlighting what follows. In the following example, a wife arrives at a well:

Töchah yam akoba toy ti, When they were drawing water together
3s-draw water with 3p TOP
aám : Leli ni,
she said “As for us,
3s-say 1p DEF

12 The simple spatial reference is not one of these functions, as the theoretically parallel phrases a gosko hi/tegi vu “to this/that market” are not found as such in Muyang.
13 This story, “The Indiscrète Wife” is set out in the Appendix, to which the reference given applies.
The emphatic pronoun used by the wife to introduce her information, *leli ni*, occupies the position of a front-shifted element, although its referent finds no place in the syntax (as distinct from the semantic content) of the clause that follows. *Leli* is by default definite, but being a pronoun theoretically does not need to be marked as such. Here the front-shifting shows emphasis, and also implies contrast with the women (although Mayang does not extend the distinction seen in verbal affixes between exclusive and inclusive “we” into the pronoun system, the significance here is clearly exclusive). The function of *ni* in this phrase is thus not the default one of participant reference: rather, it has a thematic role — in fact the same one as topicalisation in throwing attention forward onto the next clause. In this it is similar to the collocation *ti ni*, where the topic marker adds a point of departure and clarifies the situation (see below, section 3.5.1): this usage may simply be a contraction of *ti ni*. The fact that this formula is not an accident of speech is shown by its repetition at the end of this incident (here, perhaps coincidentally, the referent does have a syntactic role in the following clause):

*Leli ni, ëgfu hini môngata abàr geli a.*  
*1p DEF 3s-happen-PFVE here 1p-find-PFVE head All-1p PFVE*  
*So as for us, we’re in clover!* (IW A.45)

In an example from another story the ‘child’, in fact the hero Takwatsa, being a known participant represented by a non-unique noun, is correctly referenced by *ni* in the discourse. Here, though it is apparently front-shifted, the word *wuris*, like *leli* in the previous examples, a dummy to carry the focus, since it would be normal to refer to this character either by his proper name or by a pronoun (as in the following clause here): the phrase is a way of throwing attention onto his refusal, exactly as in topicalisation.

*Wur ni, mañanì aslar nañ day, acuhwary do.*  
*child TOP mother-DEF 3s-send 3s first 3s-accept NEG*  
*That boy - his mother kept sending him, but he didn’t want to go.* (Tak 045)

A similar sentence-initial usage marked with *ni* occurs with *nabog* ‘other’. In the first instance following, the reference is to water and is front-shifted. The other instances are examples of a formulaic expression using the same words in a semantically weakened form as a conjunction.

*Nabog ni hólásav hólásav ãdalõsakobu.*  
*other DEF disturbing 3s-disturb-on-in-PF*  
*As for the rest, he muddied it up.* (Tak 258-9)

*Nabog ni nañ abu zlam gøyaŋ.*  
*other DEF 3s 3s-be thing AS-3s*  
*After that he waited.*

*Mak pilis ni ãhärãya ãzumaba amu na.*  
*then horse DEF 3s-go-out-PF 3s-eat-out-PF honey SEP*  
*Then the mare ate up the honey.*

*Nabog ni ãnañabda zlam gøyaŋ a.*  
*other DEF 3s- eat-PFVE thing AS-3s DEF-PFVE*  
*After that she rested.* (Tak 157-8)

*Sísh ãnday akoba hiyij gani.*  
*swallowing 3s-swallow-PF with calabash AS-DEF*  
*He swallowed it up with the bowl.*

*Nabog ni biz ëzhigaya hiyij na ti.*  
*other DEF passing-through 3s-throw-out-PF calabash DEF-SEP TOP*  
*After that, when he passed it out behind*  
*tasa kuta bambalab tasa ge vīrzegena.*  
*bowl brand-new falling bowl AS precious-metal*  
*it fell out a brand new golden bowl.* (Tak 495-7)

### 2.2 The participant reference system and theme — *ni* and *naken*

As a marker of definiteness, *ni* of course also has a role in the Mayang participant reference system. It is used in alternation with the more prominent marker, *nabog*. The following discussion cites mainly examples from texts which have a cyclic story line, and thus illustrate series of events that are parallel. These cyclic episodes are tabulated in the Appendix, to which the lettered references given apply (IW - ‘Indiscreet wife’, T BH - ‘Toad. Buck and Hare’, Tak - ‘Takwatsa’).

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14 However, here as is usual in Mayang, if an element is pulled out of a clause for emphasis, the clause itself is intact and the dummy or carrier element is that which is left-shifted. See section 3.4 below.
2.2.1 Presentation – marking with nahah or zero

When a participant is first presented it is in the form of a noun which must be marked with nahah 'a certain' (lit. 'another') if the participant is non-unique, or unrelated to a known character or his actions. The stock opening formula applies this to a day:

Seg! A vad nahah, bay ędzi zum ga sandu. Story! One day, the chief held a wrestling match...
Forthwith! at day other chief 3s-prepare-PF wine AS wrestling (WC 001)

Thus this use of nahah is normal for nameless human participants when presenting a situation or character out of context, either at the beginning or later in a story.

Seg! Zal nahah orang gyan abii. Once upon a time there was a man with nothing. (IW A.1)
Forthwith! man another thing AS-3s 3s-not-exist

Wal nahah, wal aksogogani... There was a woman whose husband didn't love her... (Tak A.1)
woman another woman unloved-DEF

Wal medewel nahah àra écifig daday gana... Now there was another old woman
woman old other 3s-come-PF 3s-hear-close-PF noise AS-DEF-DEF

Nahkay ti wur duhalay nahah avu wur ga bay gani... Now there was a girl, the chief's daughter...
so TOP child girl other 3s-be child AS chief AS-DEF

Nahkay ti wur ga mayani nahah avu ti zuaba gyan... Now there was another brother, his friend...
so TOP child AS mother-DEF other 3s-be TOP friend AS-3s

Nahkay wal medewel nahah abu ti ni... Now there was an old woman...
so woman old other 3s-be TOP DEF

Animal participants in folk stories are treated as unique, virtually as a proper name, and certainly familiar. Thus they are presented without nahah.

Seg! Kran àra keti, Story! Toad went again
Forthwith! Toad 3s-come-PF again
àra ędzi chér ana hadagor... and came across (a) buck... (TBH A.1-2)
3s-come-PF 3s-pit-IO-PF head to back

Seg! A vad nahah eyen àro a gosko vu... Story! One day squirrel went to market...
Forthwith! At day other squirrel 3s-go-PF at market into (SC 001)

Seg! Eyen òzobiyu awak gyan, asawaday ana naq. Story! Squirrel got himself a goat
Forthwith! Squirrel 3s-take-homio-PF goat AS-3s 3s-walk with 3s and was walking out with it. (SEH 001)

The chief also falls into this unique category.

Seg! A vad nahah, bay ędzi zum ga sandu. Story! One day the chief was held a wrestling match.
Forthwith! at day other chief 3s-prepare-PF wine AS wrestling-match (WC 001)

Seg! Bay èkeley fiki gyan ezawah kru kru mahkar. Story! The chief had 50 hectares of dry-season millet
Forthwith! Chief 3s-put-PF karal AS-3s cord ten ten three (Mon 001)

Proper names (unique, of course) are fairly rare in traditional stories, and are introduced after the presentation of the participant (here in his relation to the character first introduced) by a common noun.

Wal nahah, wal aksogogani... There was a woman whose husband didn't love her...
woman another woman unloved-DEF
Wur gyan abu tazalay naq Takwaca. She had a son whose name was Takwatsa. (Tak A.1)
child AS-3s 3s-be 3p-call 3s Takwatsa

15 See section 3.3 for the collocation hiti.

8
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Once the stage has been set with one character, other participants are if possible presented in relationship to that character, either as the result of his activities or by defined relationship to him. In the former case new participants are introduced by an unmarked noun.

Aharya adi ahur ana edin.  It happened that he came upon a bird. (IW A.3)
3s-come-out 3s-put-IO head to bird

Where possible, the relationship of a new participant to the known character is defined by a possessor (as also in the introduction of Takwatta).

Nahkay ara enja ana nan agam a nahama,  So when he got home with it
so 3s-come-arrive-PFVE with 3s home PFVE TOPIC
angahadi ana wel gani,  he told his wife. (IW A.20-21)
3s-tell-IO to woman AS-DEF

2.2.2 Maintenance – marking with zero, ni or nakan

2.2.2.1 Before discontinuity

After the first presentation, until a discontinuity of subject, a participant is referenced merely by verbal affixation (the person prefix).

Asawadiy e gilay gau jala jala zlam gau gauy.  He was walking in his fields minding his own business.
3s-walk at field AS-3s wandering thing AS-3s

Aharya adi ahur ana edin.  It happened that he came upon a bird... (IW A.2-3)
3s-come-out 3s-put-IO head to bird

Depending on context, the third plural verbal prefix may have a local resumptive reference or a general, impersonal reference to background characters whose presence may be assumed.

Tahagribiyu keti.  They (food and buck) turned back. (TBH A.45)
3p-return-likho-PF again

Tazalay mavyam nak kasaar naq do tak ahamam?  Don’t you know what a hare is? (TBH B.12)
3p-call hare 2s 2s-know 3s NEG QMK how

When the narrator judges that the subject is clear, as for example in a dialogue, there is merely verbal affixation even for changed subjects: especially, in reported conversation, there is often no overt indication of change of speaker, save, here, the word n, oh, used as a formula to open speech (it is rare in real dialogue 15).

Cepa ti edin nakan akhoy ti:  That instant the bird said
Moment TOP bird REFMK thus TOP
Nu dogiya edin ciliq do.  “I’m not just a bird, you know.”
1s TOP bird only NEG
A nak mam?  “What are you then?”
Oh 2s what
A nu edin ciliq do.  “I’m not just a bird,
Oh 1s bird only NEG
novay zlam daya do ti ahamam?
give thing also NEG TOP how
1s-give thing also NEG TOP how

With nominalised verb (or infinitive), used by certain storytellers in quick-fire narrative, no subject at all need be expressed if the agent is already on stage:

Tara tahayiya boza na ana fat ti,  When they took their eggs into the sun
3p-come 3p-take-into-PFVE children DEF-PFVE to sun TOP
agarama ti ni nan abu ahur adabay zlam mazumani.  there was a crow flying by looking for food.
crow TOP DEF 3s 3s-be 3s-fly 3s-seek thing NOM-eat-DEF
Ara adia ahur ana boza ge mindawid na,  When he found the ants’ eggs
3s-come 3s-put-PFVE head to children AS ant DEF-PFVE
nak mandani cach cach.
then NOM-swallow-PFVE peak peak

15 It may even be a residual form of dhi “he said to him”.

9
Møng ga manduz ni širketu mak mëłëskiona
mother AS [tree] DEF breaking then NOM-break-on-DEF-SEP
ka babambeli a.
on elephant SEP
Bobambeli - A naculway, do ti ahumam?
elephant Oh 1s-run NEG TOP how
Dap macalikami ka emebuzey.
trampling NOM-track-on-DEF on [kind of insect]
emebuzey dazlor aku.
[kind of insect] lighting fire

Then the tree broke and fell
on an elephant.
The elephant wanted to run
and he trod on “Emebuzey”.
“Emebuzey” burst into flame. (Zil 067-71)

The use of ideophones instead of finite verbs as a very vivid action (as in the last clause in the previous example) normally requires a subject, expressed as a noun, without other marking even if the participant is already on stage. It is not a style used by all narrators.

Tëzaya, dir lengi tolo' a møng ga araav gadakoni vu. They brought out [the knife],
3p-take-out hyena jumping at mother of fëderbia big-DEF into
and hyena jumped into a big fëderbia tree. (HW 141)

Krim-krim mis luwa alaq gir-gir... People were quickly running after him...
quickly people running behind pursuing (HW 181)

2.2.2.2 After discontinuity: ni and nakæg

2.2.2.2.1 The use of an unmarked noun

After a discontinuity, where the speaker considers that the identity of the participant needs to be clarified by the use of a noun, non-unique participants that have been already introduced (whether animate or inanimate) are normally referenced by the noun either with ni or with nakæg. Unique participants are normally referred to by the unmarked noun in places where non-unique participants would be marked by ni. In the story of Toad, Buck and Hare the action is complicated by a plurality of toads, but in some less prominent episodes where it is clearly the main toad that acts he is represented by an unmarked noun.

Nahkay kraŋ ñahkiayaa. So toad came out to meet him. (TBH A.53)
so toad 3s-go-on-out-PF

Nahkay mak kraŋ ñalska ana awak gayaŋ a. So then toad left with his goat. (TBH B.56)
so then toad 3s-leave-PF with goat AS-3s SEP

Similarly the animal participants of other beast tales are normally not marked by ni.

Nahkay eyen ñoh aslu gayaŋ krim-krim... So squirrel took his meat quickly... (SC 118)
so squirrel 3s-gather-PF meat AS-3s quickly

Similarly, of course, proper names are not marked with ni.

Takwatsa ñisja ana ogwaζ gayaŋ na xoslotushtig ti... Takwatsa arrived with his cock... (Tak A.13)
Takwatsa 3s-arrive-PFVE with cock AS-3s AS-PFVE walking TOP

When a known non-unique participant is unmarked (a rare occurrence) this may be due to a stumbling in speech. Edëg ‘bird’ is a non-unique noun and is thus normally and correctly marked with ni. The apparent exception that follows is immediately corrected.

Nahkay mak edëg day esa tɔγray ahkay ti. So then in a moment [the bird also], while they did this,
so then bird also moment 3p-do-PF thus TOP
edëg ni day abi va bi... the bird also wasn’t there any more... (IW A.61-62)
bird DEF also 3s-not-exist more not-exist

2.2.2.2.2 The use of ni – a reference marker

The default maintenance marker for a noun already introduced is ni, which functions almost as a local marker of definiteness, obligatorily present if a non-unique participant is identifiable, unless nakæg replaces it. Such uses of ni often occur in a less prominent part of the narrative such the wind-down or opening of a scene or a comment that does not carry the narrative forward:
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Zal ni akhay ti: A ngagata zlam goro edidjan a. The man said "I’ve found myself something here."
man DEF those TOP Oh 1s-find PFVE thing AS-1s only PFVE

Zal ni ara enjia nahama... When the man arrived... (IW A.69)
man DEF 3s-come-PF 3s-arrive-PFVE TOPIC

Nahkay mak edig ni naq abu. So there the bird was.
so then bird DEF 3s- 3s-be
Ba kolo wudara ga hay daiva ana tay a faq ti, Whenever they needed millet
only every need AS millet 3s-fall-IO-REFL-PFVE to 3p PFVE actually TOP
ba tahi ana edig ni akhay, they just had to speak to the bird
only 3s-say-IO to bird DEF thus,
ba tahi ana edig ni akhay. like that. (IW A.32-34)
only 3p-say-IO to bird DEF thus

When in the Toad Buck and Hare story the toad, a unique character, is marked by ni, it is in a context of other toads, where the intention, at least, is to distinguish him from the crowd he has been addressing:

Mak kraji ni dhandarkabu ndam gani... Then our toad lined up his people... (TBH A.31)
then toad DEF 3s-align-on-top people AS-DEF

Normally the same applies to a possessed non-unique item: on the first introduction it is not marked with ni, and thereafter it is17. Thus in the following phrases that come from parallel episodes in a story the usage is predictable: in the first, a brother gives water to Takwatsa’s donkey (already mentioned). In the second, it is Takwatsa that gives water to his brother, who gives it to his own horse (not Takwatsa’s, but one among many, not previously singled out in the story). Consequently Takwatsa’s donkey, a referenced known participant, is marked gayag ni; the brother’s horse, here mentioned specifically for the first time, simply with gayag.

Mak avi ana ozongo gayag ni, esi. Then he gave some to his donkey and it drank. (Tak 043)
then 3s-give to donkey AS-3s DEF 3s-drink

Mak bac ani ana pilis gayag. Then he gave some to his horse.
then giving 3s-give-IO-PF to horse AS-3s
Wur ga manani ni avi ana pilis gayag, esi esi. [That is] his brother gave some to his horse, and it drank.
child AS mother-DEF DEF 3s-give-IO-PF to horse AS-DEF 3s-drink 3s-drink
(Tak 265-6)

However, Takwatsa’s own horse, the focus of much of the story (and therefore of course more thematically significant than that of his brothers), is always marked with gayag ni:

Takwatsa aro dhaayay abakia zlam ke pilis gayag na... Takwatsa came out and put
Takwatsa 3s-come-PF 3s-come-out-PF 3s-put-on-PFVE thing on horse AS-3s DEF-PFVE the equipment on his horse...
(Tak 297)

Takwatsa nakay swuwa adaaboro malan ge pilis gayag ni. Takwatsa looked for his horse’s tracks
Takwatsa REFMK forthwith with 3s-seek-CONT place AS horse AS-3s DEF
(Tak 319)

Similarly, in the case of a non-unique noun possessed by a participant represented by a noun, the whole noun phrase is normally marked with ni, whether the head word is present or assumed from the context:

Ara namana enjaki ke ge eyen ni buya... So then he started on squirrel’s...
3s TOPIF 3s-start-PF on AS squirrel DEF at-once

Kala sla ge eyen ni enjagani bilin ciliq. All that was left was squirrel’s cow (SC 073)
all cow AS squirrel DEF 3s-left-PF one only

However, ni is not always used in such circumstances: the cow is sufficiently identified by the possessive phrase. Thus the absence of ni may be taken as an indicator of its relative thematic unimportance at this stage:

17 The same normal usage that applies to gayag applies also to goni (section 2.3.2.1). In the Indisoiot Wife text, every occurrence of wagun (‘his wife’, lit. ‘the wife of that situation’) save the first is followed by ni. Of course, the wife is also highly thematic...
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Anjageni sga ge eyen cilig akaba aslu makuleni. All that was left was squirrel's cow with his dried meat. 3s-left-PF cow AS squirred only with meat NOM-dry-DEF (SC 063)

This absence of the definite marker brings us to the question of the interplay of theme in the use of ni.

2.2.2.2.3 Narrator-dependent uses of ni – thematic considerations
Although the use of ni following a noun marked by the possessive gayan normally follows the pattern for ni on its own, the use of gayan in its own right identifies a noun to an extent that ni might become optional in certain circumstances. In these circumstances the thematic role of ni corresponds, though by its absence rather than by its presence, to that of naaay, it is not so much the marked participants that are thematically more or less prominent as the whole event in which they partake. The following two sets of extracts come from two similar stories where a goat is offered as prize in a contest, but not won. In both cases the goat is first presented as possessed (thus correctly related to the main character) but, predictably, it is not at that point marked with ni. In each story at a subsequent point it is, again predictably, marked with ni, but at the wind-down of each story it is (unpredictably?) no longer so marked, though clearly in each case the same goat.

Seq! Eyen òzobiy u awak gayan, asawaday ana naaay... Story! Squirrel was walking along with his goat...
Forthwith Squirrel 3s-take-hithe-PF goat AS-3s 3s-walk with 3s (SEH 001)

Mek òzobiy u awak gayan ni, Then he brought his goat
then 3s-take-hithe-PF goat AS-3s DEF
áwala dwa ká maq ga zlam a. and tied it to a tree. (SEH 039-40)
3s-4e-PFVE tying by mother AS thing PFVE

Nakhay mek eyen òpičeh awak gayan, Then squirrel untied his goat
so then squirred 3s-unite-PF goat AS-3s
ásłaka ana naaay a. Andavaya.
and went home with it. The end. (SEH 078-9)
3s-leave-PF with 3s SEP 3s-end-out-PFVE

Seq! Kraŋ òra keti...
Forthwith toad 3s-come-PF again
ana awak gayan a ahor bu bilegeni. with goat AS-3s at hand in also
3s-walk with goat AS-3s at hand in also (TBH A.1-2)

Kraŋ nakaŋ naaay abu,
3s-walk with goat AS-3s at hand in also
So there toad was
asawaday ana awak gayan ni zlam gayan keti. walking with his goat again. (TBH B.1)
3s-walk with goat AS-3s DEF thing AS-3s again

Nakhay mek kraŋ ásłaka ana awak gayan a. Then toad went home with his goat. (TBH B.56)
so then toad 3s-leave-PF with goat AS-3s SEP

Here the significant factor seems to be that in the wind-down at the end of a story the dramatic tension is at an end; it is not so much the goat (which after all is the prize retained) that is lacking in thematic prominence in these parallel episodes so much as the event as a whole. At another point in the second narrative, where the goat is tied up preparatory to the contest, the episode is parallel to a point in the first where the goat is marked gayan ni, but here it is totally unmarked. The significance of this seems to be that at this point the mention of the goat is simply parenthetical, impersonal, part of an aside, whereas in the first narrative it is the main character that does the action, which is reinforced by an idioquine and thus more prominent.

Nakhay meku tòwała awak a. (So then [somebody] tied the goat up) PFVE (TBH A.15)
so then 3p-tie-PFVE goat PFVE

Conversely, minor objects and participants may be referenced with ni on their first presentation if they are a predictable or thematically salient part of the normal scenery of the story. In this example the women at the well have not been mentioned before, but are to be expected in such a context (indeed, the definite article would naturally be used in this context even in English). Also, they, and more importantly the event in which they partake, are thematically prominent in the story that is about to unfold.

18 On the local use of the bound definite marker with nominalisations see below, section 2.3.1
2.2.2.2 The use of nakoŋ - a thematic marker

Like ni, nakoŋ may only be applied to a known participant, one already mentioned (or at least implied) in the narrative. Unlike ni, nakoŋ is used (replacing either ni or zero) entirely at the speaker’s will, and may be applied equally to unique and non-unique participants. The choice of whether or not to use nakoŋ instead of ni is not dependent on structural factors such as a preceding discontinuity (though it may often coincidentally occur in such places): rather, it depends on the speaker’s judgement of the thematic prominence of the episode as a whole within the narrative. For instance, in this case of a unique character where he is about to gather his henchmen to cheat his opponent, he is marked with nakoŋ.

Kog nakoŋ sislek ondiyru ahəra yam vu. Toad went down into the water... (TBH A.24)

toad REF MK descending 3s-swallow-in-PF head at water into.

In the same way other unique participants that would normally be unmarked, such as individuals with proper names, are marked with nakoŋ at points of drama.

Takwata aŋjia ana aqwazi gayaŋ na slasunshuŋ ti... Takwatsa arrived with his cock... (Tak A.13)

Takwatsa 3s-arrive-PFVE with cook AS 3s AS-PFVE walking TOP

Ga Takwatsa nakoŋ zla nahama tsəkumi aqwazi. But for Takwatsa they (just) bought a cock (Tak A.5)

AS Takwatsa REF MK then TOPIC 3p-buy-IOP-PF cook

Like ni, nakoŋ may be used to mark a relative clause, even one without, at first, an express head noun:

Yaw ga meni gayaŋ ya ta ñzyay nakoŋ, And the one that he took,

OK  AS 2o-and-ndo AS 3s REL TOP 3s-takePF REF MK

þækikivyu noŋ u ahyay vu, wur ga boy gani ni, the chief’s daughter they gave him,

3p-put-on-into-PF 3s at house into child AS chief AS-DEF DEF

ba ewi blegeni ewi baza. just kept giving birth too. (PC 646-8)

only 3s-bear also 3s-bear children

Nakoŋ may mark a pronoun: here Takwatsa elopes with the chief’s daughter. The narrative carefully builds up the tension, using both nakoŋ and nahama (section 3.6):

Nahkay hajon ga miledu du, So early the next morning.

so tomorrow AS morning early

mis ñhərəraya ñdəgəro e gili. the people went out to the fields.

people 2p-go-out-PF PF 3p-go-CONT-PF at fields

Mis tiziłgya hay, mis tiziłgya hay. Folk were occupied sowing millet.

people 3p-sow millet people 3p-sow millet

Nday nakoŋ ñhərəraya - mis ñsəkakəba, They then — when everyone had left,

3p REF MK 3p-go-out-PF people 3p-leave-in-on-PFVE

duwik-duwik tədəgəro e gili nahama - and it was quiet because they had all gone -

quiet 3p-go-CONT-PF at fields TOPIC

təhəraya tədam Hi ti... they said: “Now…”

3p-go-out-PF 3p-say-PF here TOP

Takwatsa nakoŋ ñhə. Takwatsa said to her “Now,

Takwatsa REF MK 3s-say-IO here TOPIC


1s-come 1s-leave NEG TOP how yes Oh yes

(Tak 386-92)

Nakoŋ may without overload mark two participants in a single clause, and the same participant in consecutive clauses - the repetition of nakoŋ serves to mark the event as a whole rather than the individual participants: it attaches to any available noun within the clause.19 Like ni, nakoŋ may independently be followed by ñ (section 2.5).

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19 The number of nouns in a Muyang narrative text is quite restricted, and this may be the origin of the freedom with which nakoŋ is used at appropriate points in the story. For examples of this usage see immediately below.
Squirrel went straight on to elephant

So then the woman spoke to the bird
and the bird just moved its tail like this
and millet just poured out...

In this respect nakəp may be used even for minor and inanimate participants, though normally those with some thematic importance: in the first of the following two examples the honey (previously mentioned by the fetishist who gives Takwatsa’s mother instructions) plays an important role in winning a horse for Takwatsa. In the second example millet boule (couscous) is highly thematic in the story line.

So then the woman went out
straight looking for the honey in the bush.

While they were there she cooked and served them
millet boule.

But sometimes it is only the event, and the significance of the event in which they participate, rather than the active importance of the individual participants as such, that determines the use of nakəp. We have seen in the Introduction how a totally incidental participant may be thus marked on the strength of the general thematic prominence of the event as a whole: fly’s fiancée as such is incidental to the story and is totally omitted in another version – she is only introduced here as the purpose of his journey, an insignificant background detail. She is in her own right a candidate for nakəp only by virtue of being definite, i.e. previously mentioned: the use of nakəp here is an echo of its application to fly.

Fly got tired
of his courting there...

In the Takwatsa text, the time of day when the brothers water their horses occurs cyclically, and is in this weak sense thematic, a Leimoih:

“it’s time to water our horses”

They went to water their horses
– it was time.

So then it was the time.

They took out horses.

The final episode is climactic in the story: the horses, which, en bloc, are definite participants (as marked in the second episode), do not even merit a nəf (they are about to be oustphoned by the hero’s). However the time of day has no importance apart from punctuating the narrative: it is definite and in a sense thematic but as such it has no prominence (the time is incidental except as a frame for the action). Rather, it is the episode itself that is prominent in the speaker’s mind, and which lends that prominence to the time of day which is marked with nakəp.

Later, Takwatsa meets his mother, grown very frail, at the well and asks for a drink. The narrative builds up to the climax (Takwatsa turns, by means best not discussed in detail, her bowl into gold), and nakəp is liberally applied to all possible participants. In a weak sense, again, they are all thematic, but only as furniture to the episode: not all have the same prominence – the woman is rightly very prominent, but the water and the well are much less significant at this point, even though they have featured before in the story and are thus, unlike the bowl which is actually far more
important, legitimate candidates for marking with nakay. Rather, again, these elements borrow prominence from the episode as a whole, or, alternatively, we are witnessing the phenomenon of nakay spread.

Nakay mak suwva wal nakay ćahaya yam nakay a, So the woman drew some of the water
so then forthwith woman REFMLK 3s-draw-out-PP water REFMLK SEP
a suwva nakay ba nak ćalikahaya. from the well and gave it to him.

at well REFMLK out then 3s-pot-IO-on-in-out-PP
Takawasa nakay ēsia ba ndac, Takawasa gripped it drank it all up
Takawasa REFMLK 3s-drink-out gripping
slah unday akaba hijid gani. swallowing it with the bowl as well.
swallowing 3s-swallow with calabash AS-DEF

(Tak 492-5)

Nakay is rare in texts that do not tell a story: in the telling case the shame of not being able to produce a drink adds intensity to a passage where tea (explicitly) and money (implicitly) have been mentioned before, and thus makes the use of nakay appropriate in the speaker’s mind. Again, nakay seems to spread in a prosodic manner.20

Ama tamal araŋa gayak abi feŋtiviri ti, But if you don’t have anything at all
but COND thing AS-2s 3s-not-exist at-all TOP
naŋ ni humbo majarvani day abi, that is, you don’t even have mixed flour -
3s DEF flour NOM-mix-DEF also 3s-not-exist.
yaw ga ndam ya ta kokodahay sehi nakay well, for the people that you brew tea for,
OK AS people REL TOP 2s-brew tea REFMLK
ngata siŋgo nakay a day abi ti, when there’s no money to hand -
find-PFVVE money REFMLK PFVVE also 3s-not-exist TOP
aŋilaŋ do. it’s not good. (Mar 153-6)
3s-be-good NEG

2.2.2.2.5 The use of the pronoun naŋ

2.2.2.2.5.1 Naŋ plus ni used in differentiation

The third singular pronoun naŋ when followed by ni is used (regardless of number) as a differentiation device following a noun:

Moka wur ga maŋani naŋ ni aizu yam na... Then this brother of his brought out the water
then child AS mother-DEF 3s DEF 3s-take-out water DEF-SEP
[the others didn’t] (Tak A.15)

Tahawaŋa nahowma, tasaŋkumi pilis ana baza nday naŋ ni keti. They went out again and bought
3p-go-out-PP TOPIC 3p-buy-PP horse for children 3p 3s DEF again
horses for those children [not for Takawasa] (Tak B.3)

Nday ka fata naŋ ni taway mavi yam ana pilis gatay ni do. That day [unlike the others] they
3p on day 3s DEF 3p-want NOM-give-IO water to horse AS-3p DEF NEG
didn’t want to water their horses. (Tak 294-5)

Kaya, kagray fida; naŋ ni pilis gayak do. You’re lying, that’s not your horse.
well 2s-make lie 3s DEF horse AS-2s NEG
(Tak 345)

Naŋ ni can also refer anaphorically to a situation as a whole, with a similar emphasis.

Naŋ ni maŋani aŋri dabari gayay, do ti nu do. In that case it was his mother that
3s DEF mother-DEF 3s-do-IO-PP means AS-3s NEG TOP 1s NEG
sorted it out for him, not me. (Tak 284)

Naŋ a maŋani ti, naŋ ni maaŋ gayay cufo, diya ga way? If he’s at home that’s his problem,
3s at home TOP 3s DEF NOM-know AS-3s DEF indeed business AS who
no-one else’s. (Tak 238)

The usage naŋ naŋ ni is found only in certain texts, and appears to be an intensification of naŋ ni with specific contrastive emphasis (see also section 2.3.4.1 below).

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20 The concept of ‘prosody’, that is, a suprasegmental articulatory feature that operates at word level, is an important one in understanding the phonology of Muyang and other central Chadic languages. Here, it seems, we can see a ‘prosody’ of thematicity behaving in a similar way at sentence level. As with phonological prosodies, only susceptible elements are affected — in the current case, known noun phrases.
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Tisligikivu maslaŋ naŋ naŋ ni ana maslaŋ naŋaŋ ni
They cut that [particular] person's throat for the other one... (HW 011)
3-pl-cut-throat-3O-on-in someone 3s 3s DEF for someone else DEF

But it may be simply emphatic, not implying any particular contrast.

Ahareya, wa1 naŋ naŋ ni
Afterwards that [horrible] woman
3s-go-out-PF woman 3s 3s DEF

āra āra kā maharam afa ga zal naŋaŋ.
went and worked magic against another man.
3s-come-PF 3s-go-PF by fetish with AS man other

2.2.2.2.5.2 Naŋ as a pronoun of local reference

Pronouns, typically this 3s naŋ, are as would be expected used for participants in follow-up clauses. This often in occurs in set phrases: normally naŋ does not refer to anything out of the immediate context.

Naŋ refers to the subject of the passage without further qualification where the sentence is existential (with no finite verb):

A Takwaca naŋ te-te zlam gayaŋ.
"Takwatsa just kept quiet"
(Tak 235)
3s-quiet thing AS-3s

Ahareya naŋ a yaŋ ni bu...
So it happened that she was in the water...
(Tak 468)
3s-come-out-PF 3s at water DEF in

Naŋ can legitimately refer to the subject of a passage as a direct object.

Wur ni, maŋaŋi astaŋ naŋ day, aeuhway dayo.
His mother kept sending the boy, but he didn't want to go
child TOP mother-DEF 3s-send 3s now 3s-accept NEG

Pilis ni āra āria naŋ a ciliiŋ bayti...
As soon as the horse saw him...
(Tak 335)
horse DEF 3s-come 3s-see-PFVE 3s PFVE only at-once TOP

Nahkoy mak a vaf naŋaŋ zla naŋa,
So then one day
so then at day other than TOPIC
Takwaca naŋaŋ zla, āra āzaŋaŋ naŋa.
Takwatsa called her...
(Tak 511-12)
Takwatsa REFMK then 3s-come-PF 3s-call-PF 3s

Mak wur gani naŋaŋ ēliaŋa naŋ a.
Then her son buried her
then child AS-DEF REFMK 3s-bury-out-PFVE 3s PFVE

Naŋ is only used as the subject of a verb within a set collocation, collapsed phonetically to [na:bu]:

Nahkoy maŋaŋi ni naŋ abu naŋ abu.
So his mother just stayed there. (Tak 053)
so mother-DEF DEF 3s-3s 3s-be

The use of naŋ in a set comitative/instrumental prepositional phrase (collapsed phonetically to [anaŋ]) is common: the first usage illustrated here is extremely common.

Laf āzaŋaŋi edin naŋaŋ,
He grabbed the bird
matching 3s-take-both-PF bird REFMK
mak āra ana naŋ ogam a.
and took it home (went home with it). (IW A18-19)
than 3s-come-PFVE with 3s home PFVE

Bi nazlavaya šiliľa ga araŋ goro ana naŋ a...
Perhaps I'll gather jujube berries with it. (IW C.5)
perhaps 1s-gather-out jujube AS something AS-1s with 3s SEP

Muyang has no means of subsuming direct objects or comitative or instrumental phrases within verbal extensions, so in the cases illustrated here either the full pronoun is used or the object is wholly omitted, as in the final clause below.

The omission of naŋ here may in itself be an indication of thematic prominence.

Aday ni ŋni lop lop, deluő a aho bu,
The stick gave [her] a thorough beating.
stick DEF 3s-give-IO beating wailing at house in
The use of nohay in maintenance

Nohay literally means ‘other’, and this literal meaning is close to the presentational usage discussed in section 2.2.1 above. Thus when marked with ni, nohay it has this literal meaning and is no longer presentational.

The other brother always kept him some.  (Tak 056)

The other brother, his friend, was behind. (Tak 307)

2.2.3 Summary: the use of the participant reference markers

2.2.3.1 Presentation: nohay, zero or possessor

Nohay is normally required at the presentation of all non-unique human characters, marking a generic noun such as zal ‘man’.

Zero marking - an unmarked noun - is used in the case of unique participants (animal characters in folk tales, the chief, and proper names). It is also used at the first presentation of a new participant that an already-introduced participant meets.

A possessor such as gaul or gayag relates a newly-introduced participant to a known active character, if possible.

2.2.3.2 Maintenance: nakeg, ni, nag ni etc.

Nakeg is used to reference any participant, major or minor, unique or non-unique, active or passive, when the speaker judges that the event containing or introduced by that clause is of major thematic importance to the story. Nakeg may be used to mark several participants (e.g. subject and object) in one clause, or the same participant in subsequent clauses: it seems that it sometimes functions at a prosodic level.

Ni is used to mark non-unique participants where nakeg is not chosen, for instance at less prominent points in the narrative such as in wind-downs. Though it may seem thus to have little more than the character of a resumptive local definite marker, some perturbations in normal usage are due to thematic considerations: the absence of ni signals an absence of thematic prominence.

Nag ni following a noun is used to differentiate participants where there is some element of contrast or emphasis.

An unmarked noun is only used for unique participants (animal characters, the chief, proper names).

Nag and other personal pronouns is used to refer to any participant in the immediate context where no ambiguity is possible. Nag in particular is often used in set collocations.

Verbal affixes are used to continue a narrative where no discontinuity or ambiguity arises.

Nominalised verbs and ideophones, used for vividness, require a noun (normally unmarked) as subject.

2.3 Local definiteness: ni as a bound form

In accord with its underlyingly deictic nature (see section 2.1), ni (unlike, for the most part, hi and fegd) binds with a number of words closely enough to become a phonological unity, with the sense of “that one in the immediate context”. Local definiteness of this kind may be defined as less thematic at discourse level. Thus although ni as a definite marker at discourse level can normally be classed as a particle that is morphologically separate from the noun phrase to which it attaches, in these local cases a close phonological binding to the qualified constituent occurs to form the suffix -an (with its phonological variant -en) which shows a close association. The qualified constituent in such cases is normally a word, but may also be a noun phrase.21

21 The bound form -an in Muyang is closely paralleled in function by she in Ooldeene (Kinnaird, personal communication).
2.3.1 Nominalisation and adjectives

*N*l attaches closely in this way to nominalised verbs\(^{22}\) and to adjectives (functionally one category) to form the suffix –*ani* (in this phonologically bound form the prosodic variant –*ani* consistently occurs).

| zum       | eat                     | (verb root)          |
| ma-zum daf | eating millet boule     | (nominalised verb with direct object) |
| ma-zum-ani | eating                 | (nominalised verb)    |
| zlam ma-zum-ani | something to eat | (nominalised verb functioning as “adjective”) \(^{25}\) |
| gado-k     | a lot                   | (adverb)              |
| zal gado-ani | an important man       | (“adjective”)         |

In these cases *ni* in its form –*ani* still functions as a referential marker. In the isolated nominalised verb the –*ani* suffix implies an obligatory reference to context, which accounts for the absence of the suffix when an object is specified: *mazumani* “eating (with reference to something)”, *mazum daf* “eating millet boule” \(^{24}\). When the nominalised verb functions adjectivally there is a subtle change of emphasis: the glosses of *zlam mazumani* and of *zal gado kani* could be rendered ‘thing (with the act of eating)’ and ‘man (with the quality of bigness). In both cases the information is accessible from world-knowledge as represented by the lexicon, and thus the two are precisely parallel, the reference being to the generality of the concept. Each noun-phrase may, according to context, be further marked by *ni* applying this time to the noun-phrase as a whole and with thematic overtones: *zlam mazumani ni* “this particular food”, *zal gado kani ni* “this particular important man”.

A nominalised construction may be expanded by affixation or by other phrasal elements. In this first case the verbal affix –*kahbi* intervenes before the –*ani*.

Nehkay yam nahan ni madsabakabani. So the rest of the water was all disturbed. (Tak A.16)

In the following extract the nominalised *mabo kani* is possessed, the possessor being included in the string marked by –*ani*.

Akhay kamanjaki mabo lay ga tayani ti karslang-karslang. You could see they were beautiful, shining. (PC 542)

Similarly, an adjective may be qualified and negated within the local string:

day tesi mero moro doani nahoma... ... also ones that are not particularly short...
also short much much NEG-DEF TOP (PC 389)

The two-level use of –*ani* with *ni* may be seen in the extracts that follow. The first (inner) level with the affixal –*ani* is not one of discourse, while the second (outer) level with a separate *ni* is in the area of participant reference and thematic function. In the first case, *guziteni ni*, an attributive adjective occurs in a relative clause terminated by *ni*.

Áhi bibijungur, He said to him, “Hippo,
3s-say-O hippo
nu hini ya kamanjali guziteni ni ti I, the little one you see here, now,
1s-here REL 2s-look (at-s-t)O small-DEF DEF TOP
umani madsabajyhyyu ti, if we say let’s have a tug of war, then
COND 1p-3say 1p-pull-REC TOP
kisili ku do, you can’t beat me.” (SEH 029-30)
2s-suffer-on-1s NEG

In the following example we again have an attributive adjective (*ngitro deden*) in a noun clause separately marked by *ni*, followed, incidentally, by a complicated nominalisation (*mados go kani*) where the affix –*ani* terminates a directional/pronominal string of affixes to bind the whole cluster.

\(^{22}\) The nominaliser itself is the prefix *m(a)*, cf. *mazum daf* in the following example.

\(^{23}\) The grammatical category of “adjective” here is unquestionably distinct from “noun in apposition”.

\(^{24}\) Compare the obligatory possessiveness of the nouns *bag* and *mag* (section 2.3.2.2 below).
Dahalay ga bay ahkay ti
daughter AS chief thus TOP
dau muk hini gulede-DEI ni ti,
3s-say 3s here stripped-DEF DEF TOP
mimiz ge eziwi vruk-vrukani ni ti,
blood AS fly foul-DEF DEF TOP
ha ere madaqakani ka nu!
until thing NOM-fall-on-1s-DEF on 1s

The snake said
"Now here am I, the one who am so pretty:
(to think that) the blood of that disgusting fly
should go so far as to fall on me!" (FJ 34-6)

Thye following complex example has a series of words with the -ant affixes, each with its separate role. Mogani, as we shall see (section 2.3.2.2), requires the termination in the absence of a direct possessor, gaztendi is another attributive adjective, ganal marks the phrase in its general context, and balagani is another attributive adjective in an emphatic position, the whole noun phrase being marked by a separate ni.

Nahkoy a vac naqant keti,
so at day other again
wur ga mongi guzitenti gani balagani ni keti,
child AS mother-DEF small-DEF AS-DEF one-DEF DEF again
ara qalay arhr.
3s-come-PF 3s-think-PF head

So another day again
his single small brother
thought about it again. (PC 173)

2.3.2 Substitution
In a few cases, this bound form of ni has no overt specific referent, but rather substitutes in a shorthand way for the contextual background.

2.3.2.1 Gani (and goni ni) versus gayan ni
The bound form of ni appears in the word ganal, very frequently used in Muyang: in this form the referential marker when attached to the association marker ga substitutes for the whole referent (ga-ni (AS-DEF)). This is distinct from gayan (AS-3s DEF) ni, where a pronoun is combined with the association marker followed by a separate ni. The referent of ganal may be anything, from a human being to a complex event or general concept. Thus in the following example the definite reference of the words waf gani is to the couple ("the woman in this particular context") 23:

Nday te-te, zilim deci ndo.
3p quiet stork 3s-hear NEG-PFVE
Wal gani deci, fahangarifaq ndo.
wife AS-DEF 3s-hear-NFVE 3p-reply-close NEG-PFVE

They didn’t reply: stork didn’t hear.
The wife did hear, but they didn’t reply.
[The wife in this situation...]  (FJ 004-5)

Thus the form ganal often refers loosely to a whole concept (here “the fly in this particular context”):

Ezuwi gani amaslakabiyu va do aw?
fly AS-DEF POT-3s-return-hither again NEG QMRK

The fly that did this will come back, won’t he?
[The fly in this event...] (Zil 039)

In the following example, rather than just “his beak”, we may interpret “the beak that was made dirty by what he had just eaten”:

Asaawdfki ma gani samad samad ka wal medewel ni.
3s-wipe-on mouth AS-DEF wipe wipe on woman old DEF

He wiped it off his beak on the old woman.
[The beak of that event...]  (Zil 083)

This general back-reference is confirmed when the phrase is repeated by the victim without a change of grammatical person (otherwise one might expect a change to gayak (AS-2s DEF) ni):

Kara kasawdfkki ma gani ka nu ti kamam?
2s-come 2s-wipe-on-1s mouth AS-DEF on 1s TOP why

"Why did you just wipe it off your beak on me?"
[The beak of that event...]  (Zil 085)

By contrast, gayan ni (AS-3s DEF), refers to a specific possessor, typically human or animate and often the grammatical subject of the clause. Unlike the case of ganal, the full range of possessive pronouns is found with ni 24, which has a primary function as a maintenance reference marker. In addition, however, the item thus marked has in consequence

23 "His wife", with reference simply to the husband, would be waf gani (AS-3s DEF) ni.
24 In their standard contracted forms, goro, gayak, gayam, goli, gekoli, gayu.
some thematic prominence. In the following example the goat is definite, having already been mentioned, but is also the prize just won:

Mak ëzabiyu awak gayag ni
then 3s+ake-home goat AS-3s DEF

Then he took home his goat. (SEH 039)

In the first following example the wife is presented for the first time by gani, which identifies her sufficiently with regard to her husband (and his situation). What distinguishes wal gayag ni in the second following example from wal gani in the first is primarily the fact that the wife, now an agent, is going to the well and is thematically prominent, whereas in the first it is the fact that the man was silly enough to tell his wife (a gaffe underlined by the thematically heavy topicaliser nahama). In the first case the wife merely needs to be marked as belonging to the situation (local definiteness), while in what follows we are encouraged to pay attention to what she is about to do.

Nahkay ëra ënjia ana naŋ agam a nahama,
so 3s-come-PF 3s-arrive-PFVE with 3s home PFVE TOPIC
æŋqabði ana wal gani.
3s-tell-TO-FP to wife AS-DEF

So when he got home with it

A vad naŋq tĩ,
at day other TOP
wal gayag ni ëra ãro ko yam tĩ...
wife AS-3s DEF 3s-come 3s-go on water TOP

Another day

when his wife was going for water... (IW A.35-6)

It is also perfectly possible to say gani ni at a subsequent mention of a thematically quiescent character. The narrow reference field of -ni in gani does not fulfil the same wider participant reference (and thematic) role as the separate ni, and thus both are needed.

Ára ënjia ana naŋ agam a,
3s-come-PF 3s-arrive-PFVE with 3s home PFVE
ðhi ana wal gani ni keti,
3s-say-PF to wife AS-DEF DEF again

When he got home with it

he said to his wife again... (IW B.20-21)

Ára ënjia nahama,
3s-come-PF 3s-arrive-PFVE TOPIC
zal gani ni õskabiyi a gili gayag na keti.
man AS-DEF DEF 3s-return-home-PFVE at bush AS-3s DEF-PFVE again

When she got home,

her husband returned from his bush again. (IW B.68-9)

In the following example there are three uses of gani. The first gani refers in a typical way to the preceding general concept, but the next two examples mirror the use of gayag ni in the previous example rather closely, in each case following a time-adverbial: the only distinction here is that at that point the hyena is not thematically prominent, but rather the wife (the dominant character in the story).

Álaraya mak ð̹̂rkiya mvayam na
3s-come-out-PFVE then 3s-skin-on-PFVE hare DEF-PFVE
akaba makonbro na.
with monitor DEF-PFVE
mak ëdi eli gani.
than 3s-prepare-PF sauce AS-DEF

So it turned out that then she skinned the hare

along with the monitor.

Ka naŋ ni
on 3s DEF
zal gani ð̹̂reng gi naŋ abi a magam foŋa bi.
husband AS-DEF hyena 3s 3s-away at home yet NEG
Zamama nahama, malakara ëgĩa ti,
time TOPIC evening 3s-happen-PFVE TOP
zal gani ënjia a magam a.
husband AS-DEF 3s-arrive-PFVE at home PFVE

Then she prepared a sauce with them.

At that time

her husband the hyena hadn’t come home yet.

After a while, when it was evening.

her husband came home. (HW 025-30)

In fact, in this whole text, the form gayag ni does not occur. However, gayag nakay and gani nakay, more intensive forms, do.

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27 See further Section 2.2.


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Zanu ti 

_time TOP

wal gany a nakw òbalibiyu daf e mite va.

woman AS-3s REF MK 3s-bring-IO-hit her boule at yard into-PFVE

Wal gani nakw òhiki akhado

woman AS-DEF REF MK 3s-say-IO-PF COMP

nak zum daf cîliq saki.

2s cat boule only just

In a moment

his wife brought him out millet boule into the yard.

(HW 034)

His wife said

"Just you eat your millet boule."

(HW 045)

These particular variants occur within the text in that order, the reference of *gani* thus perhaps being to an established domestic situation, similar to the relationship of pronoun to noun.

**2.3.2.2 Obligatorily possessed nouns: bag and mag**

The words *bag* and *mag* mean respectively father and mother: whenever they are not followed by the association marker *ga* (e.g. *mag ga zlam* "mother of thing" = tree) they are followed by the bound form *-ani*, often itself followed by another *ni* or *nakw*. This usage is because these words define a relationship that is always specific and are thus obligatorily possessed: the person referred to must be someone’s parent. The form *-ani* thus, like *gani* (see above), refers to the background context, i.e. to this someone, and is translatable by the appropriate possessive adjective.

Böganí ni daw kaw aday, 
father-DEF DEF also matching stick
magani ni daw kaw aday...
mother-DEF DEF also matching stick

His father and mother

each snatched up a stick... 

(PC 195)

Böganí nakw òdam akhay.
father-DEF REF MK 3s-say thus

That's what his father said. 

(PC 191)

Nahkakay magani ni naq abu naq abu.
so mother-DEF DEF 3s 3s-exist 3s-exist

So there his mother was. 

(Tak 053)

Nahkay magani nakw òra òsìkaba òdoro ke kuzir.
so mother-DEF REF MK 3s-come 3s-depart 3s-go-CONT on grass

Now his mother had gone to look for grass. 

(Tak 200)

This usage extends into the derivative expression (literally "child of mother") used for brother or sister:

Mok wur ga magani nakw suwwa òsìkabiya ana mili na.
then child AS mother-DEF REF MK straight 3s-return with ring DEF-PFVE

Then his brother came straight back with the ring. 

(Tak 317)

**2.3.2.3 Niihi**

This is a lexicalised conflation of *ni* (DEF) and *hi* ("here"). As with *gani*, the *ni* sums up the context, so that the combination could be loosely glossed "the background here". As with other bound forms of *ni*, this can be made more definite and thematic with a further *ni*, as in the second example below.

Niihi nabaama, vumikabiya zla, ga baza.
now TOPIC give-2p-IO-on-in-into them AS children

"Now then, boys, let him have it!" 

(Mon 205)

Aya niihi ni nahkay ew?
so here DEF thus QMRK

"So that's the way it was, was it?"

(Zil 037)

Àhi mam?
3s-say-IO-PF what?
A, zlam gani nihi
oh, thing AS-DEF here

"What did he say?"

"Oh, what he said was such-and-such."

[that we have already heard] (IW A.24)

**2.3.3 Demonstratives and adverbs – formulaic uses**

The addition of bound local definiteness to adverbs and other words produces more or less lexicalised forms.

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28 The expression *ga baza* is idiomatic, and does not imply association.
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**hini**
The pairing of the definite marker *ni* with the locative/temporal adverb *hí* "here" or "now" is very common, and has the meaning "the (one) here", thus "this (one)".

_Hini man?_  
What's this here?

**nini**
This is a pairing of *ni* with itself. It means "the one at a little distance", an intermediate deictic between *hini* and *teguni*. As such, it sheds an interesting light on the underlying nature of *ni* as a spatial deictic: *nini* can be translated as "that (one) there".

**teguni**
Similarly, the adverb *tegi* "over there" combines with the definite marker to form *teguni* "that (one) over there".

**koni**
Synchronically *koni* is a noun meaning "today", but it seems composed of the preposition *ka* "on" followed by the definite marker – "on this [day]". Similar is *eweni* "yesterday", (compare *owa nahay* "the day before yesterday"), but, logically, *hojay* "tomorrow" does not have the *ni* termination. The phrase *si hojay*, loosely "see you tomorrow", does not in fact refer to a specific day.

**estini**
A somewhat different case is *eslini*, which with its meaning of "there" or "then/next" functions synchronically as an adverb, but which may have had a similar origin.

**kigeni**
This agglutinated word is an extension of *goni* which is added to the preposition *ka* (with the palatal prosody of the *ni* prevailing leftwards, as in *eweni* "yesterday") to give the meaning "according to what is normal" or "normally."

### 2.3.4 Emphasis

A standard emphatic process is to duplicate a noun phrase (or part of it) and add *ni* to it. The fundamental meaning of a repeated noun phrase followed by *ni* is an emphatic underlining of the constituent. A direct coupling with the second utterance of the noun phrase using the bound form -*ani* also occurs, as with nominalisations and adjectives: it creates a closer essential emphasis -"self" or "the real thing".

#### 2.3.4.1 Contrastive emphasis with non-bound *ni*
We have seen in section 2.2.2.5.1 above that *nag nag ni*, in duplicating the pronoun, adds more emphasis to the differentiating construction *nag ni*. In the following example the normal phrase *ambal go sla* "cow-leather" is interrupted by the emphatic back-referencing construction which, with the topicalisation, heavily underlines *go sla*.

Nahag ni kazobiyu ambal goyak.  
other DEF 2s-take-home skin AS-2s  
Ambal nag ni ga sla.  
skin 3s DEF TOP  
A shuttle  
AS cow

_Then you get your skin._

_This [particular] skin I'm talking about, of course._

_is cow-leather._  
(Tim 012-3)

This also works with possessive pronouns and noun phrases:

Àngakibù ašli ni:  
3s-extern-on meat DEF  
gayàng gayàng ni daŋ.  
AS-3s DEF pilaf  
ge eyebi ge eyebi ni guzi.  
AS squirrel AS squirrel DEF small

_He shared out the meat:_

_(the meat) for himself, in a big pile._

_(but the meat) for the squirrel, only a little._  
(SC 091-2)

The following example shows two methods of emphasis, both involving topicalisation: the first apparently right-shifts the grammatical object from its normal place between the verb and indirect object into a position of focus (but see above, section 1.3), and the second repeats the whole verb while left-shifting the possessor as well as duplicating it.\(^\text{29}\)

\(^{29}\) In the phrase *aMu aza  goj na* the *goj* refers locally to the husband, while the *na* refers to missing direct object, sand.
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Aholiya ana zal gani na ti, 3s-gather-1O-out for man AS-DEF DEF-SEP TOP wiyang, sand
Gayang gayang ni ahahaya ti, AS-3s AS-3s DEF 3s-gather-out TOP ahahaya dafo a, 3s-gather-out boule SEP

2.3.4.2 Intensive emphasis with bound ni
This emphatic duplication also occurs with the bound form -ani. This has a distinctly more internal reference consistent with other uses of the bound form. In the following case this signifies “the real thing”:

Nak kazum dafo dafani ti, 2s 2s-eat boule boule-DEF TOP koholuyaya wiyang ti kamam? 2s-gather-1O-out sand TOP why

"You’re eating proper boule, why did you bring me out sand?" (Zil 028-9)

In the following example the repeated pronoun followed by bound ni is reinforced by the expression ahar gayak “by yourself”.

Kani du today TOP(ths/ths)
si tavuukkabiyo kwa OBLIG(Hausa) 3p-give-2aO-on-home OBLIG do ti, NEG TOP
nak nakani kabi kazum ahari gayak bi. 2s 2s-NEG-exist 2s-eat hand AS-2s NEG-exist

Today, you must be fed: otherwise you alone aren’t going to eat a thing by yourself. (Mon 202-3)

Emphasis is of course another way of underlining theme, so in this case we are again within the discourse nature of ni.

2.4 The use of ni at clause level
We have seen that ni is both a marker of definiteness and an indicator of thematic prominence, insofar as the two concepts can be practically distinguished. There follow some other specific uses of ni apart from the marking of simple noun phrases: again, the choice of whether or not to use it depends on some extent on thematic considerations.

2.4.1 Relative clauses
Relative clauses, whose nature is to define, are normally by virtue of their nature part of a definite noun phrase (“the person/thing that...”), and are thus almost invariably delimited by a final ni which properly speaking marks the head noun.

Ere gani ya dgravabiyo ni zazlada... The thing that has happened here is difficult... (WC 084)
thing AS-DEF REL 3s-do-REFL-home DEF difficult.

Àdábabibiyo divi gatyay ya tòvelì ni... He looked for the way that they had gone round... (S+C 057)
3s-seek-home path AS-3p REL 3p-go-round DEF

Occasionally, of course, the noun phrase containing the relative clause is not definite:

Àsar ere ya tier ahi ya do. He didn’t know what he could say to him any more. (SC 094)
3s-know thing REL TOP 3s-say-3O more NEG

Tamal ti bay ti òzegadà maslañ nahan a ti, If one of them throws the other,
COND TOP person REL TOP 3s-throw-PFVE someone other PFVE TOP tislingikivi huya... they kill [the other] for him straight away... (WC 005-6)
3p-kill-on-into 4-once
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The thing that someone does not know may still be marked with *ni*, probably because there is more thematic emphasis on it being *something*, rather than just a total lack of ideas. Also, the combination *ya ni* (see section 3.4.3) does occur together with *ni*.

Gia dôr ere ya ti agray ni va do So at that point she didn’t know what to do any more.
3s-cause-PFV 3s-know thing REL TOP 3s-do DEF more NEG

IW B.75

Noun phrases containing relative clauses can also (rarely) be signalled, like other noun phrases, with the thematically strong participant reference marker *nakay* in place of *ni* here as of course always the reference is to the head word and the significance is at a high discourse level.

Huya meni wur ge ma Nghị gôdakâni At once that elder brother,
at-once (filler) child AS mother-DEF big-DEF
ya zi'am gayan abu nakay... the one who was rich...
REL thing AS-3s 3s-be REFMK

WM 156-7

Boho, ere ya ti agri daliya ana dhur geli nakay. Father, that thing that has been harming our beans,
Father thing REL TOP 3s-do-IO harm to bean AS-1p REFMK
nag hi. it’s this here.
3s here

Mon 032

Thus there is a logical bias towards a noun phrase containing a relative clause being marked by *ni*, but, that said, the choice of *zero, ni* or *nakay* at the close of a noun phrase containing a relative clause is not essentially different from that in other noun phrases.

2.4.2 Clauses with local back-reference

Relative clauses are a sort of half-way house, being theoretically part of a noun phrase to which a following *ni* properly applies, but other clauses are also so marked. These all refer to a specific concept or event that is prominent in the speaker’s mind (and thus thematically important).

In this example from the end of a story an etiology is given: fly’s head is bandaged, and as a result is parti-coloured. Two clauses are marked with *ni* in a strongly deictic, but thus of course also thematic, sense. In the second case especially, there is a clear definite reference to the reader’s background knowledge of flies.

Andav ahkoy ni. That’s the way it ended.
3s-and-PF thus DEF
Hâ kani. Even today,
until today
ezauri ahw gani bad-badani tata didilipani daya ni. (that’s why) flies have that white and black head.
fly head AS-DEF white-DEF next black-DEF also DEF
(Zil 150-2)

In the following example hyena has challenged elephant to a wrestling match, and in elephant’s response the reference of *ni* to the challenge is plain.

Nak kara makadvaba ata nu a day ni, The very idea of yours, fighting with me first!
2s 2s-cone 1p-fight-out with 1s SEP first DEF
nu ti makadvu ata nak aw? - am I the sort to fight with you?
1s TOP 1p-fight with 2s QMK
(HW 113-4)

In the following example a wife tells her husband: the normal word order if the mouth (which is not in the least definite or thematic in this case) alone were marked with *ni* would be *a ma ni vu*. thus it is the whole clause that is marked.

Kazay diwa kafiyi ou ma vu ni [That’s the occasion when] you take your breast
2s-take breast 2s-put-in-into at mouth into DEF
and put it into his mouth.

(Mari 178)

A clear and regular case of marking clauses that make back-reference with *ni* occurs after the phrase *kwa enekwig* “just now”. The usage is overwritten by topicalisation, where it occurs.
A kahangrafaj do ti kama?  
why 2s-reply-1s=O-close NEG TOP

Ziya ma ni  
long mouth DEF

elezi ga zlaba ga waf gayakani.  
handle AS axe AS wife AS-2s=DEF

Endivyu naaj akhay.  
3s-insult-into-FF 3s thus

Ahu ziya ma,  
3s-say-1s=O-PF long mouth

elezi ga zlaba ga wul goroani ti,  
handle AS axe AS wife AS-1s=DEF TOP

naaj ti ma madomani aw?  
3s DEF TOP word NOM-say-DEF QMRK

"Why don't you answer me?"
Long-mouthed thing
(like) your wife's axe handle!
He insulted him like that.  
(Zil 11-13)

"He said to me 'Long mouth handle of my wife's axe'  
-is that the kind of thing to say?"  
(Zil 143-5)

Insults, of course, are intended by the speaker to have great thematic prominence.

2.5 The collocation ni ti

When ni and ti occur together in that order, each normally has its distinct role: in the following example hital "this - the one here" is a set grouping (section 2.3.3) separately topicalised.

Adom, Yawa hini ti  
3s-say well here TOP

Jekjeka akada goro ni huya zla.  
exact like AS-1s=DEF just then

He said, "Well, this one here, you see.  
is just exactly like mine."  
(S+C 072)

In the following example the hernia is definite, having previously been mentioned, and thematic (he wouldn't have been nearly so funny without it), and the fact that Jerevu jumped is also known, and used as a point of departure for the new information that the girls laughed.

Tura təpiya Jerevu nang abu ahə ana ggəрук ni ti,  
When they saw Jerevu jumping with the hernia  
3p-come 3s-see-PFVE Jerevu 3s 3s-be 3s-jump with hernia DEF TOP

25 However, the tone on the final /ti/ in both these cases is high, as in the isolated word, whereas the tone of the affixal -ni is usually mid. The high tone, as in the case of these insults, is usually phrase-final.
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tədəgiki ana seri. they fell about laughing. (Zil 065-6)

In the next example ni concludes the definite relative clause, while the ti topicalises all the preceding material:

Āh! ana mbeli, He said to elephant
3-say-TO to
Nu hini ya kamanaŋju ni ti, "I here, the one that you're looking at,
1s here REL 2s-look-at-1s DEFTOP I can't do anything..." (SEH 003-4)
niši araŋ do... NEG
1s-suffice-TO something

In the next case the negative marker is both made definite (and thematically salient) and topicalised (see also section 3.4.2 below). It is made thematically salient because the negative is emphatically the contrary of the preceding clause, more so than in the case of the parallel expression do ti.

Hini kəpalaŋa baŋa ge kuyla, baːza goro, "Now here you've avenged your father,
here 2-pay-2p-PFVE father AS 2p-PFVE children AS-1s
NEG DEFTOP
do ni ti
if that hadn't happened
NEG
akal nu nabi, then I wouldn't be here -
normally 1s 1s-not-exist

tədzaəəbiya nu a dol-dal. they beat me up so." (8+C 073-4)
3p-beat-home-PFVE 1s PFVE much

In all these cases the markers ni and ti fall naturally and individually into place, and their juxtaposition is coincidental.

3. Topicalisation and theme: ti and nohama

As was said in the Introduction, topicalisation has the function of making the known, topicalised element a point of departure for what follows, thus backgrounding the topicalised element and highlighting what follows. The normal Muyang topic marker ti regularly occurs clause-finally, thus the typical topicalised element is an entire clause. The role of this topicaliser is extremely extensive, not only in terms of its frequency in the language, but in the variety of clause relationships that it signals.

3.1 Topicalised clauses – optionality and theme

The study of discourse markers is rendered somewhat imprecise owing to their dependence on the mindset of the speaker at any one time (cf. Jones (1992:128, 134)). This is particularly so of the topicalisation marker, where a simple pause or just an implied logical clause structure may in certain cases, as we shall see in section 3.2, do as well (cf. Wolff (1983:258E)). Indeed, since Muyang does not deal to any great extent in adverbial clauses that are syntactically marked as subordinate, but marks the relationship of such clauses by topicalisation, syntactically we normally find two main clauses separated at will by ti, and syntax is not violated if ti is omitted, only the higher-level thematic relationship between the clauses is altered.

The relationship between clauses where the topicaliser may be present or absent can be defined thematically. For example, when the relationship between clauses is temporal/circumstantial, the first is normally topicalised in order to highlight the second thematically – the final clause is the climax of the sequence:

Dirlenĩ nakaŋ ara esey zla. So hyena started cutting up (the meat).
hyena REFMRK 3s-come 3s-cut so
Asay ashi ni kacawala akkoy ti, As he cut it lightly,
Asay ashi ni kacawala akkoy ti, thus TOP
3s-cut meat DEFTOP
ya ti afas do diki-dikiyanu ni ti, into pieces that hardly weighed anything,
REL TOP 3s-weigh NEG DEFTOP
ndo am hiti hu ga boy ga vu, he said, "This is for the owner". (SC 082-5)
3s-say-PF this here AS owner AS body

But this is not obligatory, even in what approximates to a tail-head construction. Here the two actions are thematically on the same level, a sequence with no climax:
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Ahariyu ñaskumbiyu sla gayag, sisi. He went in and bought himself a cow, for five francs.
2s-go-in-3PF 3s-buy-hither cow AS-3s 5-francs

Åsakuma sla na, When he had bought the cow,
3s-buy-PFVE cow DEF-PFVE

órú ka malay qa aslu makuleni. he went to where they sell dried meat. (SC 002-4)
3s-go-PF on place AS meat NOM-dry-DEF

In procedural texts tail-head clauses divide the action up into steps, but topicalisation of these clauses is not common during a simple sequence of actions: again, no particular action in such a sequence is thematically more important than another.

Mazoy ndizeni mazlo6 mazl6. We take the red [clay] and beat it.
1p-take red 1p-beat
Mázlo6a, ñazlo6a, We have beaten it and it’s beaten,
1p-beat-PFVE 3s-beat-REFL-PFVE
mak masak. then 1p-sieve
thn 1p-sieve
Másakoba, When we’ve sieved it, we take it and mix them.
1p-sieve-distinct-PFVE
mak mazoy nadan baðbadani mihi. When we’ve sieved it out,
then 1p-take other white 1p-crush
Éhiva, then we take the white [clay] and crush it.
3s-crush-PFVE-PFVE
mazoy mebedekabu tay. When it’s crushed,
1p-take 1p-mix-in-in 3p

In this particular text temporal clauses are only topicalised when they are not immediately tail-head: i.e. not immediately sequential and thus implying a change of pace and some thematic shift of emphasis.

Mok kafakad ekuli. Then you set it out to dry.
then 2s-put-down 3s-dry
Kejehekabu, kejehekabu, You gather it all up,
2s-gather-in 2s-gather-in
Ágra kay ekulii ti, then when all of it has dried
3s-REFL-PFVE much 3s-dry-PFVE TOP
Këliyi kaway ya do ti, and it’s enough and you don’t want any more
3s-suffice-PFVE 2s-want more NEG TOP
masak kutoro ka has. then you go and get some red earth. (Pot 057-9)

In a similar text the tail-head construction is also topicalised when there is no immediate sequence of action – the link is thematic – a change of pace and emphasis - rather than merely sequential.

Kajalay ahar. You have a think.
2s-think head
Kajala ahar a ti, When you’ve thought
2s-think-PFVE head PFVE TOP
mok kataskray clam mazum gayak. then you plan your meals. (Mar 077-8)
then 2s-plan thing NOM-est AS-2s

Another procedural text also uses topicalisation in tail-head constructions where there is no direct sequence of actions (as at either end of the pause in work while the piece dries in the sun).

Kizidekiya lala mjalata, You carve it out nice and clean
2s-carve-out well clean
akoba kagri gododuñ lala. and you make the hollow well.
with 2s-do-10 hollow well
Kizideba ti, When you’ve carved it out
2s-carve-out-PFVE TOP
kafakad ani fat, you lay it in the sun.
2s-put-down-10 to sun
Kafakadiya ani fat a, When you’ve laid it in the sun
2s-put-down-PFVE to PN PFVE
fat ekumuka lala uggelel-ugelel. the sun dries it out thoroughly.
man dry-CAS-out well very-dry
Another example of a break in the sequence of actions confirms this rule:

Kendefi kulum ni gwar a dalahar gani bu. You pierce the hollowed wood through on top.
2s-pierce-on hollow DEF towards at crown AS-DEF in
Kendefi ti, When you’ve pierced it
2s-pierce-PFVE TOP
mazlara gani kafakad... then you lay it down...
now(Mandara) AS-DEF 2s-put-down

In such instances we seem to see the speaker assigning greater thematic importance to changes of thematic focus in the activity than to mere procedural sequences of actions, and this thematic importance is signalled by topicalisation.

3.2 Clauses related by topicalisation

Where clauses are linked by ti, neither is grammatically subordinate to the other. Rather, the topicalised clause is backgrounded by the topicaliser in order to highlight the following clause. The syntactic relationship between these clauses is largely dependent on the context: thus these clauses read naturally in relationships such as time (or more loosely, circumstance), condition, and purpose. Sections that follow will treat each of these relationships in turn. Although such linked clauses are not, grammatically speaking, in a full main-clause to subordinate-clause relationship in either direction (but simply concatenated), there is a subordination of the topicalised clause which is thematic rather than grammatical. Thus if we use labels such as “temporal clause”, these are functional rather than syntactically distinctive. Only the specific condition markers go any way towards subordinating a clause in the classic sense with a specifically defined link, and the fact that in remote conditions they may mark both protasis and apodosis negates any idea of grammatical subordination even there.

3.2.1 Clauses related temporally or circumstantially: tail-head constructions

Topicalised clauses readily fall into sequential temporal relationships, without the need for any specific temporal marker. As we have already noted, these “temporal clauses” are not syntactically subordinate, but only thematically so in being marked as a point of departure for what follows. One could equally say that the topicalised clause gives the circumstantial background for what follows. Non-topicalised verbs and clauses in Muyang may also, though perhaps rarely except in the case of verbs of motion, be concatenated to mark a simple sequence of activities.

3.2.1.1 Clauses concatenated without topicalisation

In the following extract of dialogue, a whole sequence of proposed activities, involving motion in different directions, is sequenced before the goal is reached - and only then is the sequence as a whole topicalised:

Macuuhway makororo, “We’ll run on
lp-run 1p-go
minji, and when we get there
lp-arrive PFVE
mastakihyia mahangribiyu eri ti, we’ll turn round and come back,
lp-return-hither lp-give-back-hither face TOP
tumal bay gani utama and if that person beats me in the race
mu ana huwa kam, he gets the goat:” (TBH A.11-3)
COND person AS-DEF 3s-surpass-PFVE 1s with run TOP (Ful)
azay awuk ni.
3s-take goat DEF
3s-arrive-PF little

In the story from which these extracts is taken, there is much toing and froing as the proposal is acted out, and the verb “to arrive” has varying treatments, but when it is topicalised (once) this is done with the thematically powerful nahama, not with ti. Thus the temporal sequence of the clauses (which is in any case not in focus) is, by default, implicit in their juxtaposition, without, in most cases, any topicalisation.

Nakhakoy hadagar adiki and huwa tangam tanggam, So buck started to run jumping
so back 3s-fall-on-PF to run jumping jumping
enji bok when he had got a little way
3s-arrive-PF little
he said “Where are you, toad?”

(TBH A.36-7)

When he had got a little way again

“Where have you got to, toad?”

(TBH A.40)

On he ran, and when he was almost there

“Where are you, toad?”

(TBH A.42)

When he had got a little way,

he kept on calling,

and a toad kept replying in front.

(TBH A.50)

3.2.1.2 Clauses linked by topicalisation

It is only in the explanation that precedes the sequence of activities described in the previous section that ti is used to underline the connection between clauses: this points out to the hearer (the buck) that he needs to act when he has run on – it is not just a natural sequence.

“When you get on a little,

call me.”

(TBH B.20)

Where clauses are related by topicalisation, often the semantic link between them is entirely dependent on the context, and is weak. A conditional or consequential relationship could often be read into them quite as easily as a temporal one:

So it went on: when/ifs/Ø he cut off a little bit [of meat]

“That’s for the owner.”

When/ifs/Ø he cut off a big bit

“That’s for the skinner.”

(SC 089-90)

“Select the ends of millet stalk

that are nice and sharp, then

when you have arranged them neatly

climb up and when you get to him

don’t even say ‘Hello’.”

(SC 104-8)

The topicalised point of departure for a temporal sequence may be a noun with temporal significance as well as a clause:

“Yes in the evening

when we’ve eaten what we have,

we’ll go.”

(S+C 012)
3.2.1.3 Clauses linked in tail-head constructions

Classic tail-head constructions also occur with topicalisation, with a temporal/circumstantial link of variable strength. Though the tail-become-head clause is thematically subordinate to the new information that follows, it is in its grammatical form a mere repetition of the preceding clause and in its form just as much a main clause in the head position as in the tail.

Mazlara gani edrem ni cizlim ådiya a yam va. Then the horn leapt
now AS-DEF horn DEF leaping 3s-fall-into-PFVE at water into-PFVE
Edrem ni ådiya a yam ni va ti, When the horn had
horn DEF 3s-fall-into-PFVE at water DEF into-PFVE TOP
duwa ni day avu a mandaray ga tay ni bu va bi... there wasn’t any milk
milk DEF also 3s-be-in at jar AS 3p DEF in longer not-exist
in their jars, either... (IW B.62-4)

Nahkay zal ni ådam wal ni ti So the man said: “This wife of mine
thu man DEF 3s-say woman DEF TOP
dci slimi do gadiak, she doesn’t understand much:
3s-understand name NEG big
hajaj åbiya ma eci do, every day you tell her something
tomorrow 3p-say-TO-PFVE word 3s-understand NEG
hajaj åbiya ma eci do ti, and she doesn’t understand.
tomorrow 3p-say-TO-PFVE word 3s-understand NEG TOP
nøgrì main ana wal ni main? what can I do with her?”
1s-do-IO what to woman DEF what
(IW B.76-7)

3.2.2 Clauses related conditionally

Conditional clauses need not be structurally distinct from temporal clauses: the context alone often supplies the idea of condition, certainly in open conditions. Semantically the topic marker TOP serves as little more than a highlighter of the following clause, and a conditional relationship between such clauses is implicit at best. If in the following example the clauses were not topicalised the implication would be that this is a normal, boring, everyday sequence of actions.

Tågajaha bay gana ti, If someone [whoever] succeeds in pulling
3s-pull-PFVE person AS-DEF-PFVE TOP
 tázialgakiviya ka maslan nañaq na ti, their man and throws him down onto the side
3p-throw-on-into-PFVE on person other DEF-PFVE TOP
azay awak ni, of the other, then he takes the goat. (SEH 022-3)
såake goat DEF

In the following example the condition is more specific, as the apodosis is a firm negative:

Àhi hi nahoma, He said “Now then,
3s-say-TO here TOPIC
gu kàdiyiva aku ana leli a mara mëviyek, go 2s-make-home-out fire for 1p SEP 1p-come 1p-grill
do ti, otherwise
NEG TOP
masfàxãd nahkay ti if we leave it like that
1p-leave thus TOP
ådolay do, it’s not good.”
3s-be-good NEG
(SC 099-100)

It is also possible to insert an explicit condition marker, (t)amal, normally in less likely conditions: in such cases the propositio is almost invariably topicalised.

Tamal kàgajaha na a ti, “If you succeed in pulling me
COND 2s-pull-PFVE 1s PFVE TOP
nàdàgukiviya ka nak a nañama,31 and I fall down on your side,
1s-fall-2s-TO-into-PFVE on 2s PFVE TOPIC
ègia kàzuma awak na then you’ve won the goat,
3s-happen-PFVE 2s-win-PFVE goat DEF-PFVE
do ti ahomam? definitely.”
NEG TOP how
(SEH 044-5)

31 On the use of nañama here see below, section 3.6.
However the topicalisation of clauses introduced by (ti)amal, though normal, is not obligatory. In the following cases the condition is quite open.

Tamal mafafat ęgía, kafakad bući.  
COND afternoon 3s-happen-PFVE 2s-put-down mat  
If it is afternoon, you put down your mat.  
(Mar 003)

Esñini tamal sulay afǫŋ, avuk.  
COND money 3s-close 3s-give-2sO  
Then if he has any money, he gives it to you.  
(Mar 053)

Watu amal kazlapay, zlapay nąngu tićułki va do.  
that-is(Ful) COND 2s-speak speaking even 3p-hear-2sO-on more NEG  
That is, if you say anything they don’t accept it.  
(Db 040)

Amal kwa zal gani ni nąŋ ahi nąngu,  
COND indeed man AS-DEF DEF 3s not-exist even 3s-out-2sO-in for AS-DEF DEF well.  
Even if her husband was not there  
she served her brother-in-law well.  
(PC 199-200)

The following example also uses the coordinate marker akal, indicating a hesitant desire, to introduce the apodosis. This is not an open condition, but the expression of a wish: the protasis is topicalised each time, the second time using a Fulfule marker. This particular passage is rich in discourse features.

Ahi ana wali gani: Dagiyu nu ti,  
3s-say-IO-PF to wife AS-DEF indeed 1s TOP  
nawayay ti akal nakoro namanjiy u kosa goro,  
1s-want TOP COND 1s-go 1s-look-into village AS-1s  
di ti ahmamam, tamal ti k_guess kabu ti ni.  
2 NEG TOP how COND TOP 2s-accept-PFVE TOP DEF  
He said to his wife, “You know, I’d like to go and see my village  
actually, if you accept.”  
(Wal gani ahi: Hini ow?  
wife AS-DEF 3s-say-IO-PF this QMK  
A iy, di ti gnam ahi ahi ru a kosa goro vu.  
NEG TOP because(Ful) head 3s-say-IO-PF go at village AS-1s into  
“Yes, I must go to my village;  
Tamal ti k_guess kabu kam akal masloka, do ti ahnam?  
COND TOP 2s-accept TOP(Ful) COND 1p-leave NEG TOP how  
if you’ll accept, let’s go, why not?”  
(PC649-54)

On the topicalisation of the conditional marker itself, see below, section 3.4.5.

3.2.3 Purpose clauses

The relationship between a topicalised and the subsequent highlighted clause can be one of purpose. Again, the interpretation of the relationship between the clauses is largely contextual, but the topicaliser adds considerably to what would otherwise be a weak juxtaposition of clauses in a quasi-purpose relationship. The examples in this section include the relevant section from the original free translation by the Muyang transcriber: in his French, at least, there is an element of purpose in all these clause relationships, where otherwise the purpose content seems to vary from apparently quite clear to extremely weak and indistinguishable from a mere sequence of actions.

In such cases the clear position of ti clause-finally begins to break down: without losing its essential nature as a topicaliser it drifts across the boundary into a clause-initial position which corresponds to that of a complementiser such as the English ‘so’ that or ‘in order to’. As such it can virtually start a sentence: in the following example kwa is normally clause-final.

Hojo halkaba na wacawaci kay kay kwa  
better open-wide mouth quickly much much  
ti tasukkabiyu vezl vezl ti capa koro...  
TOP 3s-out-2sO-on hit other large-lumps TOP quickly 2s-be-full-PFVE  
You’d better open your mouth wide quickly  
- so they can fill you up with big lumps (of meat)...  
(la te mettent des morceaux pour le rassasier vite)  
(Mon 213-4)

Nahkay naŋami dañam Baza goro hini ti nágray ahnam  
so mother-DEF 3s-say-PF children AS-1s here TOP 1s-do-SUBJ how

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32 On the use of ti ni here see below, section 3.5.2.

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When the speaker wishes to change the emphasis, the order of clauses may be reversed (purpose before "main"), with the first still topicalised and the final clause still stressed.

Ha ti naggotlo akak ma ti nawalki nan ana nay ti, In order to find something to reply to him, (jusqu'à trouver la parole pour le convaincre)
until(Ful) TOP 1s-find-close leg word TOP 1s-reply-on 3s with 3s TOP
nonjik gwar eley?
1s-begin towards

The following example uses the optative negative marker ba, underlining its nature as purposive.

Ahanganëvi ahaara ana tay 3s-band-into-PF head for 3p
He bent down their heads
Then 3s-put-down-PF wood AS 3s DEF 3s-drink water
so you couldn't see where their throats had been cut.
(Tet 084)

Without the topicaliser we often find a simple juxtaposition of clauses, where the purpose is avowedly weak, sometimes to the point of being merely a sequence of actions:

Ma kakasë diyeem gayan ni ési yam. Then she put down her wood to have a drink.
When 3s-put-down-PF wood AS 3s DEF 3s-drink water
(elle a déposé son bois pour boire de l'eau)
(WC 012)

Ma adi ana azongo gayan ni, ési. Then he gave some to his donkey to drink.
When 3s-give-10 to donkey AS 3s DEF 3s-drink
(il donna à son âne pour boire)
(Tak B 15)

Ara aza aday nakaj a ñëlor ana nan ka yam. She took the stick to go to the well with it
3s-come 3s-take-PFVE stick REF MK PFVE 3s-go-CONT with 3s on water
(elle prit le bâton pour aller chercher l'eau)
(IW C 51-2)

Èkëbara adangwalay a ñëgolakhi ni vu nahanma... She got up to look into the tree...
3s-stand-OUT-PF 3s-examine at tree DEF into TOPIC
(elle s'est levée pour regarder dans l'arbre)
(PC 314)

Muyang has other, clearer ways of expressing purpose. One is by using the associative marker ga with an infinitive:

Hëna ni dek, aholbijui galisoni mota ga buy ni, On the whole mountain, he took the chief's tractors
mountain DEF all 3s-take-home tractor car AS chief DEF
gu matahôl mëlañ ni. to plough it.
AS NOM-plough place DEF
(PC 713-4)

Ngurukuk gani ga mañar mëlañ ana nan aw? Is that testicular hernia for jumping about with?
hernia AS-DEF AS NOM-jump place with 3s QMRK
(est-ce pour sauter?)
(Zil 125)

Ga mëboviyu na evid ga ahar ge tendu ni. (They're) for putting in the holes in the stock of the harp.
As NOM-put-into for hole AS head AS harp DEF
(pour mettre aux petits trous de la gutière)
(Tin 066)

Commonly in folk stories, an imaginary first-person speech expresses a purpose, intention or desire.

Wusaka ti eyë ñadiyu a ahay vu A nisìyeyu yam a ti, When squirrel went inside for a drink... (They're) for putting in the holes in the stock of the harp.
scurially TOP squirrel 3s-fall-into-PF at house into oh 1s-drink-out water SEP TOP
(pour boire)
(SC 075)
3.2.4 Complement clauses

Following on from what we have seen with clauses in a purpose relationship, there are other juxtapositions where the topicalisation marker functions in some way like a complementiser, again with no difference in syntax from its other functions. In these cases it is still normally active in highlighting what follows by grounding the introductory clause, but there are some cases where we may be witnessing grammaticalisation into a simple complementiser.

The verb *manjaki*, “notice”, when the object is a clause, normally requires *ti* as if it were a complementiser.

Âmanjaki ti
He saw that (what he saw was that)
2s-look-on TOP
himbo ni kwayıya ka pakama.
he had flour all over his mouth.
3s-def flour everywhere on face
(FH 023)

Âmanjaki ti mis âvu.
She saw there was someone in there.
3s-notice-FF TOP person 3s-be-in-PF
(PC 315)

Tamal ti kamanjaki ti kâlôma zlam gayak a kay nähama If you notice that you’ve made a lot...
COND TOP 3s-notice-PF TOP 3s-make-PFVE thing A3s-3s PFVE many TOPIC
(Pot 136)

The verb *wayay*, “want”, also normally has *ti* to introduce a direct-object clause when there is a change of person.

Ay hi ti nawayay ti ru kâzubiyia
Now then, I want you to go and bring me the sun.
fat a.
but here TOP 1s-want TOP go 2s-take-1s-1o-home-SEP mnn SEP
(PC 600)

Nawayay ti ya kâdiki mbiyitani...
I want you to do your quick run...
1s-want TOP REL 2s-pot-1o-on quickly-DEF
(Tak 141)

Âgám tawayay ti zál Pólata ka Caɓacafia eslıni anjáhád va ba. So they don’t want Fulfulde people
Because 3p-want TOP man Fulfulde on Tsabatsaba there 3s-stay longer NEG
Tawayay ti têró a kasa gatóy vu bîlegeny ya táslokabiyia ni. they want them to go back to
3p-want TOP 3p-go-SUBJ at village A3s-3p into also REL 3p-leave-1o-hier-PFVE DEF the village they came from.
(Đb 059-60)

But when the same person wishes and acts there is no topicalisation following *wayay*.

Zilim awayay azaɓaŋa ga njâdu. Stork wanted to (intended to) take it from her by force.
stork 3s-want 3s-take-close-SEP 3s-force
(FJ 012)

When the verb *pl*, “see”, has a clause as an object it too may be topicalised (there is insufficient date to show whether or not this is always the case).

Tamal kumàm tì ...and if you see that
COND 2s-see-2p TOP
azulay fuŋ nähama...
3s-call actually TOPIC
(TBH A.28)

The verb *haray*, literally “go out” often has the impersonal sense of “it happened that”, or simply “so then”. Here, topicalisation has more of its normal function in underlining the following clause where desired by the speaker, and appears to be optional. The first example here has the verb in both senses:

Âharayâ tôhâraya lat òggs wał tôtal pòt um màŋpíc. So then when they came out he grabbed
3s-come-out-PF 3p-come-out-PF match 3s-take-PF woman seize cut-throat with knife.
the woman and cut her throat with a knife
(PC 701)
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Åhara ya ti wur gayaŋ ni ābi va bi. 3s-go-out TOP child AS-3s DEF 3s-not-exist more not-exist
So then [now what happened was that] her foal was no longer there. (Tak 149)

Åhara ya enjio agam a. 3s-go-out PF 3s-arrive-PFVE home PFVE
So then she arrived home. (PC 197)

The verb *dซฉ*, “say” (with its parallel form *กิ* marking the presence of an indirect object) may have its own complementiser akhado, but this is optional. If there is any distinction between the presence and absence of akhado, its presence seems to introduce more of a quotation than is the case when it is absent: Muyang does not otherwise distinguish between directly and indirectly reported speech.

Adam: Hi ti naslęka. 3s-say-PF have TOP 1s-leave
He said, “Now I’m leaving.” (Tak 402)

Wur ga məyani godakani ni ādam akhado: child AS mother-DEF big-DEF DEF 3s-say-PF COMP
The elder brother said “I don’t love her at all any more.” (PC 170-1)

Ferera nawayya va do. completely 1s-want more NEG

Wal gani ɗi akhado haŋi ti kəŋəskiyu keti, His wife said “Tomorrow you must start again:
wife AS-DEF 3s-say-IO-PF COMP tomorrow TOP 3s-return-ON-in again
they tell you something and (you say)
təshuk ma ti kədəm akhado kici do ti ni... 3s-say-2IO word TOP 2s-say-PF COMP 2s-understand NEG TOP DEF...
you don’t understand...” (HW 204-5)

Tasuka ɗar ga miledu a ti hi ti, When they cut you some millet boule this morning
3p-cut-2IO-PFVE boule AS morning PFVE TOP hero TOP
you said you didn’t want any.

Kədəm kawayya do. 2s-say-PF 2s-want NEG
You said you had malaria,

Kədəm aŋɣer egizleku ti hi ti, 2s-say-PF head ache-2IO TOP hero TOP
so why did you go and get me damp millet?
kukoro ƙəshəbiyu hay međenı ti ahamamam? 2s-go 2s-bring-hither-PM millet NOM-see-DEF TOP how
(Tet 21-3)

Often when there is no complementiser *dซฉ* has the weakened sense of “say to oneself”, i.e. “want” or “think”, and in such cases akhado is inappropriate.

Akal ādam nadəbbiyu a dıvi vu nəhama, She rather wanted to follow them
COND 3s-say-PF 1s-seek-hither at road on TOPIC
(elle voulait poursuivre en route)
ādam ɗə sh wurunu enwiya nulag a do aw? 3s-day-PF oh child-DEF POT-1s-beat-PFVE other
but said ‘I’ll have another fool, won’t I?’ PFVE NEG QMRK
(Tak 152-3)

Wal medewel ādam akhado: Nu zəm gayaŋ, The old woman said, “You know, as for me,
woman old 3s-say-PF COMP 1s thing AS-3s
nədəm enpija wur ke ori a aw ti... I wanted to see a child with my own eyes...”
1s-1s-say-PF POT-1s-see-PFVE child on eye PFVE QMK TOP
(Tet 067-8)

The use of *tį* in the following example stresses the desire:

Amol kədəm ti kəŋəstı pilis ana wur gayaŋ ni nəhama, If what you want is to find a horse for your son,
COND 2s-say-PF TOP 2s-find-TO-SUBJ horse for child AS-2s DEF TOPIC
ru koro e gii. go go-CONT at fields.
go into the fields. (Tak 062-3)

Such verbs of saying do not often use *tį* in the manner of a complementiser, but when they are omitted *tį* more often occurs: the lack of a verb and the presence of the topicaliser highlight the following speech.

Cepa ti moment TOP
edįŋ nakoŋ ohkey ti, In a moment
bird REFMK thus TOP
nu daŋiyu edįŋ ciŋŋ do the bird [said] [what the bird said was]
2s TOPIC bird only NEG
"I’m not just a bird, you know." (IW A.7-8)

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The man [said]

Zul ni ahkay ti,
mas DEF thus TOP

a mëgqata zlam goro edifin a.
ch 3s-fnd-PFVE thing AS-1s truly PFVE

"Ah, I’ve really found myself something.” (IW A.17)

In the foregoing examples the words *ahkay ti* are optional, and their absence presents a quotation which the narrator chooses not to highlight by topicalisation:

Wal medewel ni:
woman old DEF
Kaw këzumbiya zlam gayak a ti,
well! 2s-eat-bither-PFVE thing AS-2s PFVE TOP
kara kasamadku ma gani ka nu ti kamam?
2s-come 2s-wipe-on-1s mouth AS-DEF on 1s TOP why

The old woman said

"Well! When you’ve finished eating why do you wipe your hand on me?"

(Zil 084-5)

3.3 Topicalisation highlighting question words

Normally the topicalisation of a preceding element highlights a clause that follows. Question words (wh- questions) form a notable group where the highlighted element is typically a single word. Unlike Ouldere, Muyang has no special topic marker for questions, either when a clause or a noun phrase is topicalised (cf. Kinnaird 1999:10) 35. The use of a topicaliser is not obligatory to highlight questions, but it does naturally tend to be used in intense questions such as the demanding of an explanation, as opposed to simple information questions. The latter typically have no preceding topicalisation:

Ay hini kara këggoro ananaw?
but here-DEF 2s-come 3s-return-CONT when

"So when are you going back?" (SC 017)

Kara kamam?
2s-come why

"Why have you come?" (PC 623)

Ahuk mam?
3s-say-2sO-PP what

"What did he say to you?" (Zil 142)

Kawuyum way?
2-want-2p who

"Whom do you want?" (Ch 166)

Kinji eley?
2s-arrive where

"Where have you got to?" (TBH A.47)

With complex questions, typically with some agenda, the use of an immediately preceding topicaliser is the norm. In this respect question words do not differ from clauses highlighted by preceding topicalisation.

Aku kazum ahay ga boy ti kamam?
fire 2s-consume house AS chief TOP why

Fire, why did you burn down the chief’s house? (Zil 102)

Nak kazum daf dafani ti,
2s 2s-eat boule boule-DEF TOP
kahaluwaya wiyaq ti kamam?
2s-gather-1sO-out sand TOP why

"You’re eating proper boule, why did you bring me out sand?" (Zil 028-9)

Kahajalay hi ti
2s-bury here TOP
mara mazum hi ti mam,
1p-come 1p-eat here TOP what
hay ni day abi va bi ni?
millet DEF also 3s-NEG-exist longer NEG-exist DEF

"Now you’re in a hurry what are we going to eat now? you know there isn’t even any more millet.” (HW 186-7)

Bay gani dùm-dùgani ahi ana mis kadumvu ni ti way?
person AS-DEF unique 3s-say-IO to people kill-2p-REFL DEF TOP who

"So who’s the person that tells them to fight?" (HW 112)

35 Kinnaird’s differing classification of Muyang particles (id. p. 12) was based on data that was at the time scanty and unprocessed.
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Ay ti bay Muyang a hasloni, but TOP chief Muyang at ancient DEF
ya ta enjenjeni lekalum kasaarum ni ti way? who do you know was the first chief?
REL TOP first 2p 2-know-2p DEF TOP who

But now, the Muyang chief long ago -

Āhi kàra kòskaa ti eley?
3s-say-10 2s-cone 2s-put-down TOP where

He said to her “Where did you put it?”

Avar nak ti, kàtaa kamam?
rain 2s TOP 2s-fall-PF why
ahay ga bay fic-biceni hini ti, “Rain, why did you rain?”
house AS chief jam-fall-DEF here-DEF TOP
aku azumaba ti,
fire 3s-ext-out TOP
notaad yu do ti,
1s-fall more NEG TOP
notaad ananaw?
POT-1s-fall when

“With this big compound of the chief’s,
when it catches fire;
if I’m not to rain then,
when should I?”

(TIW B.73)

(Til 98-101)

Tàdam Takwaca ti, nag ti ana ozongo gayan ni ti,
3p-say Takwaca TOP 3s with donkey AS-3s DEF TOP
ahalu gayan daqa nini do ti,
3s-gather-REFL AS-3s hence now NEG TOP
aminjiyu ti ananaw?
POT-3s-arrive-into TOP when
They said “That Takwatsa with his donkey,
if he’s only leaving now,
when will he get here?”

(Nih ti abazl mis abazl mis ti ahamam?
now TOP 3s-kill people 3s-kill people TOP how
“Now what’s this about her killing people?”

(Ezuwí kòbaki mimiz kà dahalay ga bay kamam?
fly 2s-pour-on blood on girl AS chief why
Zilim àsu zin-zin ti ahamam.”
3s DEF TOP word NOM say DEF QMRK
Stork pecked me with his beak - that’s why.”

“Fly, why did you bleed on the snake?”

(FJ 081)

Questions represented by clauses can, of course, be similarly highlighted, just like any other clause.

Àhu ziya ma,
3s-say-1stO lang mouth
elfifi ga zloba ga waal gorooni ti,
handle AS wu AS wife AS-1s-DEF TOP
nàg ni ti ma módórnì aw?
3s DEF TOP word NOM say DEF QMRK

“He said to me ‘Big mouth –
my wife’s hoe-handle!’

Now is that something that should be said?”

(Zil 143-5)

(Ezuwí kwa enekwìg ǹndivikobaya kur a ti
fly [just-now] 3s-insult-on-out-PERF 2s PERF TOP
nàg eley?
2s where

“When fly insulted you just now
where were you?”

(Zil 036)

3.4 Topicalisation of elements other than clauses

Topicalised elements that are not clauses are normally brief. They fall into two categories: first there are short items that normally occur sentence-initially and seem to be adopted as carriers for the topicaliser, in order to throw attention onto what immediately follows. However, noun phrases in this position are also, as a rule, in focus. Other such topicalised elements are adverbs (functioning as conjunctions) and, similarly but not normally sentence-initially, the negative marker; these tend to form standardised phrases where topicalisation is obligatory.

Somewhat different is the topicalisation of the relative and conditional markers, which functions optionally within the relative or conditional clauses to show the degree of foregrounding that their content has in the speaker’s mind.

In this example ì akhamam is virtually identical to ì akhamam (see section 3.4.2).
3.4.1 Topicalised noun phrases: focus and contrast

It is possible (but rare) in Muyang to topicalise a subject noun, apparently within a clause without obvious dislocation: this however brings out the two-way thrust of topicalisation in putting focus on the topicalised element as well as highlighting what follows. Since the conjugated verb of the clause that follows the topicalised noun is self-sufficient, it would also be possible to interpret the topicalised noun as a separate, duplicated proposition, as in the case of two subsequent clauses of which the first is topicalised.

Nalhakay diri lengi nakay akam Hin inaugurated home first time this happened, so hyena REF MK 3s-say PP here TOPIC bayi awayayu nu ka had' gayu do edufing... bayi awayyayu nu ka had' gayu do edufing... that chief really doesn't want me on his territory..." (WC 042-3) chief TOP 3s-want 1s on ground AS-3s NEG truly (that chief:- he really doesn't...)

In one clause there is clear duplication, for emphasis:

Muyang ti, zal Muyang do aw, He was Muyang - a Muyang man: Muyang TOP man Muyang NEG QMk godukan niy ni dek Muyuq do aw, this important man was quite Muyang, of course. large-DEF 3s DEF all Muyang NEG QMk

When (much more frequently) a topicalised emphatic pronoun occurs sentence-initially, this looks like a specifically left-shifted dislocation for the purpose of focus:

Nak ti kawayayu nu ka had' gayak do cuo... "You - you really don't want me on your patch..." (WC 056) 2s TOP 2s-want 1s on ground AS-2s NEG indeed ('As for you, you...')

Although normal Muyang syntax does not require the presence of a separate personal pronoun before a conjugated verb, the usage is common enough, without topicalisation, to show mild emphasis: in these cases, as in most examples of a topicalised emphatic pronoun, the pronoun is immediately followed by the verb carrying a pronominal prefix in the same person. Here there is no need to posit left-shifting.

Si nagaraba wal gayan ya a aha bu na, I'll have to get rid of his wife from the house mast 1s-drive-out wife AS-3s REL at house in DEF-SEP nu nakoro nigti wal gayan kwa. and become his wife myself. 1s 1s-go 1s-become wife AS-3s mast (WM 012-3)

Manjoh anhini akhay ti, nu nasar do... This kind of lifestyle - I don't know it... (Mar 136) NOM-life this thus TOP 1s 1s-know NEG

Nak kazun daf dafani ti... "You're eating proper boule..." (Zil 028) 2s 2s-eat boule-DEF TOP

Àhi nidi daf ga mam? She said, "What do you want me to cook millet boule with?"
3s-say-IO-PP 1s-cook boule AS what Nak kahu halaba ti, You told me to take [the millet] out 2s 2s-say-IO-PP take-out TOP kabiya ka mefitiri, ahamam? and put it on the ant-hill - what now?" (WD 189-90) 2s-pit into-.SUBJ on ant TOP how

When sentence-initial noun phrases (most frequently pronouns) are topicalised there are often two parallel referents on stage, and in each case the topicalised one is being more clearly contrasted to the other (A, not B) than would be the case without topicalisation. Thus although the topicalisation still acts normally as a point of departure for the new utterance which is thematically highlighted, it also throws a degree of contrastive focus on the topicalised referent itself, which is thus foregrounded with reference to the other member of the pair (even if that other member is unmentioned). Such topicalised elements seem to be limited to pronouns or to possessed nouns.

This first example has two parallel participants, squirrel's and hyena's cows. Hyena starts to devour his, and here the stress is no so much on the difference between them as it is on the following statement, as in normal topicalisation. However, squirrel's cow, that is not being asked to sacrifice limbs to hyena's hunger, is still in the background.

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32 See above, section 1.3.
33 Cf. a similar case (Tak 045) where a front-shifted idea is represented by a noun, with duplication but without topicalisation, cited in section 2.1.3 above.
Ay dagiya dawali, but indeed friend
goro ni ti, AS-1s TOP
amaslaka ana asak a cu kwa he'll just have to get home on two legs,
POT-3s-return with log SEP two OBLIG
do ti ahomam? won't he?"
NEG TOP how

"But, my friend, as for mine [my cow],
he'll just have to get home on two legs,

[Even though yours won't, my cow
must get by with two legs] (SC 046-7)

In the following examples a personal pronoun is topicalised, and forms part of a chain of topicalised elements, often quite brief, that runs to the highlighted climax. There is again an implied contrast with other participants, specific or otherwise, which puts focus on the topicalised pronoun. As with untopicalised pronouns, those which are topicalised are normally followed immediately by the verb conjugated in the same person: the first example given here forms an exception due to expansion of the pronoun and front-shifting (and topicalisation) of the direct object of the verb.

Ay nak ti babambeli, nak gadakani ni ti, But you, elephant, you being so large,
well 2s TOP father-elephant 2s DEF TOP
embuzyez guziti ti kacalki ti, 37 and 'embuzyez' being so small, for you to step on him –
[masaq] small-DEF TOP 2s-step-on TOP
dagwuruk mum? what harm had he done you?
3s-harm-2s-PF what

Jerevu, nak ti, kbdar ana ggurukuk ti, kamam? Jerevu, why did you jump with your hernia?
Jerevu 2s TOP 2s-jump-PF with hernia TOP why
[You of all people] (FJ 076)
Nu ti, ngagaj kurb koksah ti, ahomam? “Me, I not pull you, how come?"
1s TOP 1s-pull 2s NEG TOP how

[You are a lot stronger than you] (SEH 009)

In this final example the possessed noun huwa substitutes for the normal verb in the same person as the topicalised pronoun. 86

Ahi hi ti, nu ti, huwa goro ti, He said “Now, then, as for me, when I run,
3s-say-10 here.TOP 1s TOP running AS-1s TOP
si a yam bu. it’s got to be in the water,"
OBLIG at water in
[You run normally, but I don’t] (TBH A.16)

This last example just cited has two noun phrases in the topicalisation chain, but starts with an adverb. The cases of topicalised noun phrases and adverbs are functionally close, as the next section will show.

3.4.2 Topicalised adverbs or conjunctions

Certain adverbs are regularly topicalised in a sentence-initial position. They function in a way very similar to that of the topicalised noun phrases in the previous section, often, like them, making a chain of topicalised elements to build up tension. Many of these have become set phrases, such as hojo ti, hi ti, (n)abkay ti, negu ti, and day ti. The adverb may also modify a clause which is topicalised as a whole, but significant here is its use as a conjunction which acts as a kind of carrier for the topicaliser. In each of these cases the normal topicalisation function of highlighting the following element is present: these words also occur without ti. A frequent word so topicalised with some semantic content is hojo “better”. 39

Hojo ti, kafakabu wandag, do ti ahomam? You'd better put your shorts on. (Mar 063)
better TOP 2s-put-on short NEG TOP how

Hi is common speech-initially, topicalised to throw attention forwards, often in a chain of topicalised elements:

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86 This clause shows the use of a front-shifted topicalised object noun phrase:
Nu ti, pilis goro ni amad ngagaj ade ti, 1s TOP here AS-1s DEF COND is-find-PF NEG-REF VE TOP
nagporo agam va do.
3s-return-COND home more NEG

37 Compare: Nu ti, nacukuway ti a yam bu
1s TOP 1s-run TOP at water in
38 Hojo is not obligatorily topicalised: see (Mon 213-4), section 3.2.3.
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Ay hi ti “Now, then, but here TOP
but
nak kara kuculway gwar ke dañ-dañ nahama, you’re going to run on the bank—but, you see,
2s 2s-cone 2s-run towards bank TOPIC
nu naculway a yam bu. I run in the water.” (TBH B.19)
1s 1s-run at water in

Nahkay ḥaraya ṭàdsu ḫi ti, So then they said, “Now....
so 3s-go-out-PF 3p-say-PF here TOP
Takwata ḥi ḫi, nu ḫi, pilis goroni ni ti, Takwata said “Now, about me and my horse,
Takwata 3s-say-3O-PF here TOP 1s TOP horse AS-1s-DEF DEF TOP
amal nggata dañari gana ti if I find a way to do it
COND 1s-find-PFVE means AS-DEF-PFVE TOP
nastlaka do ti ahámam? I’m leaving.” (Tak 359-61)
1s-lave NEG TOP how

Nahkay normally functions as a conjunction introducing a new section of narrative, when it is topicalised it highlights the new development. On the other hand ahkay is a true modifier, attaching to a clause which is then topicalised as a whole.

Nahkay ti wur gu mgammy nahan avu ti, zlaba goyan. Now there was another brother, his friend...
so TOP child AS mother-DEF other 3s-be TOP friend AS-3s (Tak A.11)

Nahkay ti wur dañaday nahan avu wur ga bay gani. Now there was a girl, the chief’s daughter...
so TOP girl other 3s-be child AS chief AS-DEF (Tak 355)

Nahkay ti 6ra 6ra,
so TOP galloping
ḥaraya 6di ahàr ana yam ni. So he galloped off
3s-go-out-PF 3s-put-1O head to water DEF

Tañaraya ahkay ti, ba pilis ba 6ra 6ra. So there they were, the horse just galloped...
3p-go-out-PF thus TOP only horse only galloping (Tak 420)

Ahol eri ahkay ti prazl-prazl. It shone like anything
3s-gather eye thus TOP shining

Nggu can modify a phrase which is then topicalised, or a temporal phrase or a conjunction, in each case throwing the attention, as normally, on to what follows.

Kwa bay gani mängstamu ajómmam nggu ti, “No matter what kind of person it might be
whatever person AS-DEF 3s-find-REFL-SUBJ how even TOP
navay do. I’m not giving it.” (Tak 331-2)
1s-give NEG

Amal ga wur nggutu ti, “If we’re talking of children
COND AS child even TOP
nu a haslam nyggu ti nubu ana wur dagwa bilegeni. I once used to have a grown son, too.”
1s at formerly even TOP 1s-be with child youth also
(Tak 485-6)

The phrase qualified by nggu can however be minimal, and though it cannot be in the initial position nggu can function as a quasi-conjunction, a carrier for the topicaliser.

Ay nggu ti “But we might even
but even TOP
cu matakar a day, try it out first.” (TBH B.14)
perhaps 1p-try SEP first

Day in its primary meaning of “first” can be topicalised modifying a clause (or other adverbial), but also in its own right as a conjunction.

Navayay ti náfjum ahkudo nggutu day ti, “What I want is to rest first,
1s-want TOP 1s-say-PF COMP 1s-rest-out first TOP
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amoro ko ahar balu, do ti ahomam?
so we can all go together.” (HW 153-4)

POT-1p-go-CONT on brand one NEG TOP how

Nahkay wuŋ ga maŋani naŋg dhi Ay kay ngg ti,
So his brother said “Well,
so child AS mother-DEF REF MK 3s-say-I-IO well even TOP
kay mihinda day ti
well 1p-ask-COND first TOP
tamal maŋg uŋdo kwa day ti,
COND 1p-find NEG-PFVE except first TOP
amanjahad
POT-1p-sit

Si mažavad kwa day ti andšad kwa day ti azakaba.
Only at night did he take it off.
Except night except first TOP 3s-be except first TOP 3s-take-off

PC 220

...gayak bay kagur.
“...so it’s your chieftain for you to rule.”
AS-2s chief 2s-rule

Day ti bafkad nu ahalay ni.
So that’s how they installed me here.
first TOP 3p-plan-PF 1s here DEF

Ch 176-7

Ahr adam slabalumvu
You must have order
head 3s-say repair-2p-REC

Ahur adam slamalumvu
head 3-say repair-2p-REC

A tu haŋ ay ge kuli vu,
in your household,
at belly house AS 2p in
day ti
so that
first TOP

Mar 125-7

boga ge kuli amal tabu ngg tu,
your children – that is if you have any –
children AS 2p COND 3p-be even TOP
tasar manjahadani naŋ ni.
know this way of living.
3p-know NON-ive-DEF 3s DEF

This list is not exhaustive: any brief sentence-initial adverbial may potentially be topicalised:

A vaŋ nahag ti...
Another day...
At day another TOP

(IW A.35)

3.4.3 Topicalised negative marker

The negative marker do may be topicalised, again as a carrier but with contrasting semantic content. Typically this occurs after a thesis or proposition which is then supported by supplementary material.

Àhi: “Wal gayak dagiya garay, do ti, abazl mis, do ti ahomam.”
He said “You must get rid of your wife: if you don’t – she is murdering people, you know.”(WM 152-3)

In the preceding sentence the first ti topicalises merely the negative marker do, which stands for the negation of the preceding clause, equivalent to “If you don’t get rid of your wife, then (realise that)...”. The final do ti ahomam is reduced semantically to a tag, whose function is mildly emphatic. This tag is a common and regular feature of Muyang speech. It can be loosely translated as “If not, then what?”: again the topicalised negative marker refers to the preceding clause.

Another example shows the thesis-supplement relationship again:

A aere gani ya dgravabiyu ni zelzode, What has happened is difficult:
oh oh thing AS-DEF REL 3s-do-REFL-home DEF difficult
do ti, nu nura nshori ti, that is, when I went there
NEO TOP 1s-come 1s-go-into TOP

I knocked down the chief’s son,
mezogoda meni wuŋ ga boy a ti, which annoyed them –
1s-throw-PFVE FILL child AS chief PFVE TOP
awuri jaruva ana toy ti
and of course they drove me out.
3s-hurt-I-O heart to 3p TOP
mak tabokuvabiyi, do ti ahomam?
WC 084-7
then 3p-put-on-out-1s-home-PFVE NEG TOP how
This sentence is structurally parallel to the first cited, with an initial proposition supported by what follows—a comment headed by *do ti* and this comment is then tagged by *do ti ahsamam*. Note, incidentally, the fine series of topicalised clauses each successively throwing attention forward to the final clause.

Although this supplementary *do ti*... construction serves as a point of departure for the main, highlighted, part of the sentence, it also throws focus back on the thesis, the preceding clause, merely by topicalising its converse. In this respect it functions like the tail-head construction in reviewing the previous statement, in reverse, as a background for what follows: thus in both the preceding examples the content of the initial clause is picked up by the *do ti* that follows it and which highlights both the preceding and following material. In the same way in the *do ti ahsamam* tag which concludes both sentences, *do ti* highlights the preceding material as well as thrusting attention on to the question *ahsamam*—effectively “if X be the case, what then?”

### 3.4.4 Topicalised relative marker

The Muyang relativiser *ya* is often followed by the topicaliser *ti*. This construction mirrors the pattern of *do ti* (see above) in that the topicalisation throws attention both ways; primarily to what follows the *ti*, but also less directly to what precedes, in this case the head of the relative clause. The content of a relative clause headed by *ya ti* is clearly highlighted; it is information that is important in the speaker’s mind:

- **Asay nulu ni kacawala aghay ti,** 3s-out meet DEF light thus TOP
  
  *ya ti idas do dikidikiyani ni ti,*
  
  REL TOP 3s-weigh NEG not-at-all DEF TOP
  
  òdâm hini hi gâ bay ge vu. 3s-say this here AS owner AS body

- **Kajurakabu metelegi ge huluv,** 2s-choochoo-on-in buttodk AS millet-stalk
  
  *ya ti sulumani njaratatan ni ahamana...*
  
  REL TOP good-DEF sharp-DEF DEF TOPIC

- **Nahkay eyey ajualay aghar gayan,**
  
  so squirrel 3s-think head AS-3s
  
  òsor ere ya ti ahi va do.
  
  3s-know thing REL TOP 3s-say-IO more NEG

- **Èggia òsor ere ya ti agray ni va do,**
  
  3s-happen FFVE 3s-know thing REL TOP 3s-do DEF more NEG

  *He cut the meat lightly*
  
  - (the meat) that didn’t weigh much —
  
  and said “This part here is for the owner.”
  
  *(SC 083-5)*

- **Select the ends of millet stalk,**
  
  *the ones that are nice and sharp, then...”*
  
  *(SC 104-5)*

- **So squirrel puzzled:**
  
  *he didn’t know what he could say to him any more.*
  
  *(SC 093-4)*

- **It got to the point that she didn’t know what to do any more.**
  
  *(IW B.75)*

The absence of *ti* in a relative clause usually occurs when there is no particular highlighting of the content of the clause. It is in the background of the speaker’s mind, an incidental, almost redundant detail.

- **Ndajlaya tuwi gayak ya kagray na,**
  
  show-out work AS-2s REL 2s-do DEF-SEP

- **Zlam gani ya kkaadvabiyu ni,**
  
  thing AS-DEF REL 2s-kill-REC-hither DEF
  
  naq eley?
  
  3s where

- **Tawayay ti tordu a kosa gatay vu bilegeni,**
  
  3p-want TOP 3s-go at village AS-3p into also
  
  *ya tšalabiyu ni.*
  
  REL 3p-return-hither-PPFVE DEF

  “Show forth your thing (that you do)”
  
  *(IW C.57)*

  “The booty (you won in the wrestling match) — where is it?”
  
  *(HW 150)*

  Also, they wanted to go back to their village
  
  *(Db 060)*

The relative marker also occurs in set phrases where its semantic force is weakened, and where it is never followed by *ti*.

- **Ka fat ya kanu nangu ni ti,**
  
  on day REL today even DEF TOP

  *Even today,*

  *(On the distinction between relative clauses with and without *ti* see above, section 2.4.1)*
3.4.5 Topicalised conditional marker

The conditional markers *amal* and *tamal* are not infrequently followed by the topic marker, though such a juxtaposition is by no means the rule. This is distinct from the topicalisation of the entire conditional clause (for which see above, section 3.2.2). It apparently underlines the protasis: the speaker wishes to lay stress on the fulfilment of that condition in particular.

Ama tamal ti
but COND TOP
mqajavhu ti
1p-pull-REC TOP
kqajavhu nu kokcash.
2s-pull 1s NEG

"...but if
we actually were to have a tug-of-war
you couldn't pull me at all".

Yaw amal ti
OK COND TOP
acuwo ro ka ma ketsi enji bak azalay ti,
3s-run-CONT on front again 3s-arrive little 3s-call TOP

"OK, if
he does run in front a little again and calls,
you just reply."

Amal ti azum daf afa goro do ti akal naj abu nahkay aw?
COND TOP 3s-eat boule chez AS-1s NEG TOP COND 3s 3s-be-thus QMRK

If he didn't actually eat my food,
would he be like that?

As with relative clauses, the absence of *ti* following a conditional marker signals that the outcome of the condition that follows is of no particular significance to the speaker one way or the other.

Kapalay azay ga sla gayak ketti
2s-gather exorrent AS cow AS-2s again
amal abu ni
COND 3s-be DEF

You collect your cow dung again
- if there is any.

Amal nak day kefes do nambama,
COND 2s also 2s-be-well NEG TOPIC
konjasheduma a magam a huya
2-sit-2p1p-SEP at doorway SEP consequently

"If you're not well either,
just sit by the door..."

Nawaluk ti kasar ti
1s-call-2sID TOP 2s-know TOP
amal nu ka ma, amal kalay nang gti,
COND 1s by front COND by-back even TOP
kasarkaba eslini a
2s-know-distinct then SEP

"I'll call you so that you know
whether I'm in front or even behind,
then you'll know."

3.5 The use of *ti* followed by *ni*

*Ti* is immediately followed by *ni* at two levels, that of the noun phrase and that of the clause. In both instances the original deictic nature of *ni* (see section 2.1 above) seems close to the surface of meaning: this comes out especially clearly in the clause-final usage.

3.5.1 Noun phrase level

In accord with the contrastive focus evoked by topicalising a noun phrase (section 3.4.1), the combination of *ti* and *ni* at this level explicitly evokes a switch of reference between two participants, even where (as in the second example

41 It looks as if the origin of *taman* might have been a conflation of *ti* and *amal*. But if so, in contemporary usage there is no obvious distinction between the two forms: *taman* often follows *ti* in its own right.
following) there is no dislocation. The function of the added *ni* is to highlight the fact of the switch of reference. The switch is between two participants in themselves and their actions or purpose, or a switch from the wider group to one member. In each case, moreover, the participant marked with *ni* is the most prominent one of the pair, and the action that is thereby introduced is, as normal with topicalisation, highlighted. The basic deictic origin of *ni*, in addition to its membership of this grouping, is also clear: the reversal of elements that distinguishes this expression from *ni* *ti* (section 2.5) is what gives a strong deictic highlighting to the noun phrase so marked.

In the following example both husband and wife experience the breakdown of the marriage, but in different ways:

Tamal kabo kazlapunkaba bi ti, COND 2-be 2-speak-2p-distinct-out not-exist TOP
zal ni naaj anjabafo e gili zlam gyan. num DEF 3s 3-live at bush thing AS 3s
Ka la nak ti ni nak manjeshdeni a dala bu. Just like you - you’re out on your ear too. (Mar 141-3)
like 2s TOP DEF 2s NOM-live-DEF at world in

In the next example the group who hide in trees are a new participant, but here within a larger group. The contrast again concerns their action, as opposed to that of the rest that hide generally in the bush: all are responding to the threat of attack.

Baza, baza, baza dek tonday ohar e gili a. All the children went down into the bush.
children children children all 3p-swell head at bush PFVE
Ndahon ti ni tseu play a maqghafa a aran va nakhakay. But some of them just
others TOP DEF 3p-climb-into-PFVE at tree at somewhere into-PFVE thus climbed into trees somewhere.
((Db 050-1)

The next example has the introduction of a character (hyena’s wife) into the story: like all folk story animals, she is unique, and the action switches to her abruptly, and contrasts her purpose with that of the others – she goes out for wood, they to attend a wrestling match.

Nakhakay tsharaya So they went out,
so 3p-go-out
vaaf ga kadvu ni ada enjia. for the day of the wrestling match
day AS fight DEF 3s-come 3s-arrive-PFVE
Wal ge diriengi ti ni aro ka biyem goyan bilegeni...Hyena’s wife went out as well, for wood.
wife AS hyena TOP DEF 3s-go-PF for wood AS 3s also
(wife ...)
( WC 007-8)

In this extract from “Takwatsa” (section 2.2) there is again a switch of subject: the mare robbed of her foal remains distracted, meanwhile the old woman arrives home with the stolen animal.

Nahon ni anjahada zlam goyan a. Then she (the mare) stayed put on her own.
other DEF 3s-sit-PFVE thing AS 3s PFVE
endigii melaj gani. and licked the place (where the honey had been).
3s-lick place AS-DEF
Wal medewel ni ti ni enjia ana wur ge pilis na... The old woman, meanwhile,
woman old TOP DEF 3p-arrive-PFVE with child AS horse DEF-PFVE arrived home with the foal...
(Tak 158-60)

Earlier in the same story the fetishist instructs the old woman in what to say to the animals she meets, using the typical manner of marking a switch between two speakers in a narrated conversation:

A ngazlaya zlam ga mbolo gayak a. (It will say) ‘Show me what’s in your bag.’
oh show-out thing AS bag AS-2s SEP
A nak ti ni kahi, But you say to it
oh 2s TOP DEF 2s-say-IO
ngazlaya huwa gayak a bilegeni day do ti ahamam. ‘Show me how you run first.’
show-out run AS-2s SEP also first NEG TOP how
(Tak 073-5)

In the following case Coucal is caught in his own tree, and attention switches back to him from his family who hear the noise and come out to catch him – another switch reference to a previous participant.
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Ndum ga gegovgo ticibiya a ahay ba: Coucal's folk in the house heard the noise.
people As concess 3p-hear-honer-PEFVE at house out
A ndum akal ndum akal do ti ahayam, "It's thieves! It's thieves" (they shouted).
oh people theft people theft NEG TOP how
pras ṭaḥraya a ahay ba. They came out of the house in all directions.
everywhere 3p-go-out-PT at house out
Govo to ni A nangaya. At this point Coucal (said) "I'd better come down." (S+C 048-51)
coucal TOP DEF oh 1s-return-out

It is clear that na in this usage is not functioning simply as a discourse reference marker, because ti ni also follows nakay, which does not normally co-occur with na. (Typically the two examples in the data both occur at points of separation).

Tata nakaŋ ni ndum gani ṭambakibiya ma, Then the people turned away
then other DEF people As-DEF 3p-turn-on-homewards-PEFVE face
zlam ga toy a fiuwa. and went home all together.
thing AS 3p PFVE together
Tata Takwatsa nakaŋ ti ni takda-takda ANGES. Then as for Takwatsa, he walked off home.
takda Takwatsa REFMK TOP DEF walking 3s-leave-PEF
OK child REFMK TOP DEF forthwith 3s-swan-sea-CONT-PEF head in bush

3.5.2 Clause level

A slightly different use of ti ni occurs clause-finally, indeed often utterance-finally, in direct quoted speech. It introduces a qualification or new aspect to a statement, changing the thrust of the utterance. This is parallel to the switch reference that occurs with ti ni at noun-phrase level: it marks a dislocation of thought, switching attention to what precedes it - in this case a limiting or qualifying remark. Ti normally throws the attention forwards to what follows, and as the only thing that follows is na, which throws the attention back to the whole clause, it is the clause itself that is deictically marked – "that's the point." 42

Ahulu akh bi a. agray araq do. "Don't worry, it's not important.
3s-take-3sO head NEG 3s-do thing NEG
leli ata nu ti ni. You're with me, you see." (PC 279-81)
1p with 1s TOP DEF

Ahi ana wal gani dagiyu nu ti, He said to his wife, "As for me,
3s-say-3O-PEF woman As-DEF TOP 1s TOP
nawayay ti akal nakoro namanju kuza goro I'd like to go and visit my own village
1s-want TOP COND 1s-go 1s-visit into village AS-1s you know
ndo ti ahayamam, -if you agree, that is." (PC 649-51)
NEG TOP how
tumal ti kagaskaba ti ni. (PC 363-5)
COND TOP 2s-accept-PEFVE TOP DEF

Kadam nak ti kawayay nu ti, "Since you say you love me, let's go.
2s-say 2s TOP 2s-leave 1s TOP 1p-leave
We'll go home to my place
Makoro aqang afa goro do ti ahayam, -if we can find a way, that is." (PC 363-5)
1p-go home with AS-1s NEG TOP how
omal dabori amangatvu ti ni. (PC 363-5)
COND means POT-3s-find-REFL TOP DEF

Ahi milu hini nahoma, ru kavi ana munova He said "Go and give this ring to my mother
3s-say-3O-PEF ring here TOPIC go 2s-give-SUBJ to my-mother
42 The Fullishe emphatic ni 'thus' occurs finally, but there is no necessary reason to assume its adoption here. The Muyang doitic na can provide sufficient explanation without resorting to borrowings - especially as the Fullishe ni does not appear in Muyang in other contexts.

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3.6 An emphatic topicaliser: nahema

It has already been noted that the Muyang describe themselves as the people who say *nahema*. The word is always uttered emphatically, clause-finally before a slight pause, and it stands out in an overheard conversation. The use of *nahema* (which is entirely at the speaker’s discretion) gives stronger highlighting to what follows than is the case with *ti*, and marks a thematically important development, either in narrative text or within speech. In an ongoing narrative *nahema* often occurs at a pivotal developmental point that typically (but incidentally) involves temporal or local discontinuity, which is less often the case with clauses marked with *ti*. In speech, an important new point or issue is being presented by the speaker. In both cases such a usage grabs attention, and signals that the highlighted passage that follows is of great importance (“So—and so went to a place: now when they got there (and here’s what is important)”...). As with *ti*, *nahema* is used in various contexts without any fundamental difference of function: the sections that follow illustrate some of these contexts.

3.6.1 Highlighting at a pivotal point involving temporal or spatial discontinuity

There follow some examples illustrating the use of *nahema* at a point of discontinuity. In each case we can see *nahema* applying at a higher discourse level than *ti*, with pivotal reference to the whole of the following episode, and thus its location at the point of discontinuity is incidental but not accidental. In the following extract we have just been told that the animals are having a wrestling contest. Hyena’s wife goes out for her wood, but the point is, and this is where the hearers need to really pay attention, that she met the wrestlers on the way home.

Wal ge dirileng ti ni òra ka biyem gayan bileñeni, *But hyena’s wife went out as well, for wood;* wife A5 hyena TOP DEF 3s-go-PF for wood A5-3s also
òra òra òkellaka biyem gayan na, so she went and cut her wood
3s-come-PF 3s-come-PV 3s-cut-in-en-PFVE wood A5-3s DEF-PFVE
aslakabiya nahema, and when she was on her way home,
3s-return-home-SEP TOPIC
dìdi ahar ana mis ni takad’u afa ga bay. that’s when she came upon the folk wrestling
3s-put-1O head to people DEF 3p-kill-REC at A5 chief at the chief’s. (WC 008-11)

In the following extract squirrel has bought meat at the market and loaded it on his cow: it is when he gets home that the significant action starts.

Àslakabiya ana naq a suwwa òra agar a. He went home with it - straight home.
3s-return-home-SEP with 3s SEP ID-straight 3s-come home SEP
Àra ënjiya ana naq agar a nahema, When he’d got home with it,
3s-come-PF 3s-arrive-PFVE with 3s home PFVE TOPIC
ëpicehkì aslu na... he untied the meat... (SC 008-10)
3s-detach-en meat DEF-SEP

Similarly, he later sets off again with hycena, and again the important action follows their arrival.

Tàdàqoro a gosko ni vu. So off they went to the market.
3p-go-cont at market DEF into
Tàra ënjiya na ñàhema, When they had arrived there,
3p-come 3p-arrive-PFVE TOPIC
eyeñ ëhriyì òra sìsi gayan a këti... squirrel went and got out his money again...
3s-go-in 3s-take-cut 5-francs A5-3s SEP again (SC 023-5)

Here again there is discontinuity, of time and place. In one case, indeed, the impersonal phrase

òra ñàhòroya na ñàhema... So it came out that...
3s-come 3s-go-out TOPIC (SC 058)

was simply glossed by an informant as “Later,...”, but the pause that follows is significant.
Another sequence involves two consecutive uses of *nahoma*, again incidentally at points of discontinuity: these instances reinforce each other and throw the attention forward to the point where spider notices fly’s face. That particular action has its own string of three topicalised phrases using *ti*, each in direct sequence. The use of both *nahoma* and *ti* here seems clear: *nahoma* underlines the significance of the following episode as a whole, while *ti* pushes attention forward locally to the highlighted climax.

Nday *t̪u bu ake fudu eni uy* *ana tay nahoma,*
3p 3p-be 3p-be like 3-digest to 3p TÓPIC
aggoro agbori ya he had guzi na nahoma,
3s-return-IO-CONT to 3p at ground little TÓPIC
etime *azay ere bec ti,*
spider 3s-ate eye brief TÓPIC
*amajalal* *a ezuvi a eri vu ti,*
3s-look-back to fly at face into TÓPIC
*amajalak* *ti*
3s-look-on TÓPIC
*humbo ni kwoyaya ko pakama.*
flour DEF everywhere on mouth

So there they stayed to digest their food
and then when they had settled a little,
spider glanced up
and looked at fly in the face
and saw that
he had flour all over his mouth. (FH 019-23)

In an earlier sequence from the same text, *nahoma* points to another temporal dislocation after a continuing activity, moving the story on. In a short text such as this is ⁴¹, such heavy use of *nahoma* might seem inappropriate when it is seen simply as a discourse structural marker, and can be justified only because these are genuine points of discontinuity.

Tùhāyoy ti fàtù aghuru ághau *nahoma,* They continued until the sun was directly overhead
3p-go-out TOP sun 3s-come 3s-cite-in-out thus TÓPIC
mèva gatay ni sworu ërù again.
sweetheart AS-3p DEF straight 3s-go home
and then their sweetheart went off home. (FH 007-8)

In the following example from the toad text, the protagonist summons his family to cheat in the race with antelope. The first use of *nahoma* is presentational, a strong equivalent of *hi ti*, (see section 3.6.2), calling attention to what follows. Then the instructions are given in a series of clauses linked by *ti*, pushing attention forward to the main point in the explanation, which is again highlighted by a preceding *nahoma*.

Àhì *ana tay hì nahoma,*
3s-say-LO to 3p here TÓPIC
màndarum vu ke dàhu í ni
lp-align-3p REFL on bank DEF
jilìbì *cie kòkò avula,*
signed from down from up
ay ti
but TOP
màra macu hwakaka leli atá hadágor ti,
1p-come 1p-run-distinct 1p with antelope TOP
tamal kùpùm ti
COND 2-pase-3p TOP
azòlòy fàj ìnhàma,
3s-call actually TÓPIC
bày yì ni òyì azòlòy òyì ni ti,
person REL TOP 3s 3s-call 3s DEF TOP
awùlì esìnlì ìwàya.
3s-reply there EMPH
He said to them “Now here,
let’s line ourselves up on the riverbank
all along from downstream to upstream
but,
we’re going to run along with the antelope
and if you see that
he is actually calling, then
the one that he is calling to
let him reply in that place.” (TBH A.26-28)

In this extract again *nahoma* occurs at a pivotal point: in the first case it is used by toad to present his speech (see section 3.6.2), and in the second the toads are in position waiting for the antelope to call them. Each major development

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⁴¹ “Story: fly, wasp, spider went to help fly (in his field). They go. When they got to the field *nahoma*, they showed them the field, they cultivated it. When the sun got overhead *nahoma*, their fiancée went home and went to get them some flour. There they were cultivating. When their fiancée got back with the flour *nahoma*, she mixed it for them and called them for it. As it was time to rest, they rested in the shade, drinking flour-water. When they had drunk the flour-water, they took and ate the remaining flour. There they were digesting it *nahoma*, when it had gone down a bit *nahoma*, spider looks a little *ti*, he looks in fly’s eye *ti*, and sees *ti* flour all over his mouth. He said “What have you done to yourself, fly? When you’re eaten *ti* don’t you wipe your mouth? It’s everywhere *ti*, when you’re out you don’t know *ti*, what is this that you’ve done to yourself?” Fly thus *ti* “I’ll wipe myself, I’ll wipe myself” *the-knocked his head off. Spider *nahoma* the *ti* “That’s funny about fly,” ti he-burst. Only wasp was left: there he was. “I think I’ll go home.” Waddle-waddle-waddle. When he got to the water he was thirsty: “I’ll just have a drink.” He bent down and drank. When he’d drunk, “I think I’ll go home.” Off he went waddle waddle waddle, a little way along he broke. End.”
presented by *nahoma* has a sequence of minor clauses connected by *t*; highlighting the next idea. In this explanatory text there is little or no real discontinuity, save incidentally in that the toads must wait for the antelope. However when the race starts, at intervals antelope calls out, and a different toad answers, there is discontinuity of place and time, while the force of *nahoma* here (not used consistently, see the expanded translation in the Appendix 46) is to underline the repeated theme:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Enji bok keti nahoma,} & \quad \text{So when he got on a little further, [he called]} \\
3s-arrive little again TOPIC & \quad \text{"Where have you got to, toad?"} \\
\text{Kinji eley kraj?} & \quad (TBH A.40) \\
2s-arrive where toad & \\
& \quad \ldots \text{he kept running on:} \\
... acuhwabiyu acuhwabiyu & \text{when he got on a little further, [he called]} \\
3s-run-home 3s-run-home & \text{"Where have you got to?"} \\
\text{Enji bok nahoma,} & \quad (TBH A.46-7) \\
2s-arrive little TOPIC & \\
\text{Kinji eley?} & \\
2s-arrive where & \\
\end{align*}\]

A rarer example is thematic or locational discontinuity: hyena has escaped home, but is pursued, and his wife overhears the pursuers. What is to follow — the wife’s machinations at this point - is again an important new episode in the story.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Cepa ti} & \quad \text{Next instant [someone said]} \\
\text{moment TOP} & \quad \text{"Here are his tracks!"} \\
\text{Malag ga asak gani naq hi.} & \quad \text{His wife heard it, but} \\
\text{place AS foot AS-3s 3s here} & \quad \text{that didn’t suit her.} \\
\text{Wal gani abuy slimi nahoma,} & \quad (HW 168-9) \\
\text{wife AS-3s 3s-put car TOPIC} & \\
\text{Oria do.} & \\
3s-can go-3REF & \\
\end{align*}\]

3.6.2 Highlighting in presentational speech

A slightly different use of *nahoma* (with the same discourse function) is at the beginning of speech, to underline the point about to be made. Conversationally,

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Nadum nahoma...} & \quad \text{What I’m saying is...} \\
\text{1s-say TOPIC} & \\
\end{align*}\]

is a frequent introduction to a clarification of a misunderstood point (as the language learner soon discovers!). In the following extract there are two pivotal points: squirrel is in a quandary and suddenly sees the solution, and as a result he bursts suddenly into speech. Each of these points introduces a thematically prominent development. The second *nahoma* is part of the quoted speech and finds its natural place as an introducer after a pause, calling attention to what is about to be said:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Ajalakabaya, ajalakabaya,} & \quad \text{He thought it out, and he thought it out,} \\
3s-think-on-in-out 3s-think-on-in-out & \quad \text{then he looked at the mountain} \\
\text{Amajoro ka hama nahoma,} & \quad \text{and saw that} \\
3s-look-CONT on mountain TOPIC & \quad \text{a lion was sitting up there} \\
\text{Amajoro ti} & \quad \text{with bright red eyes.} \\
3s-look-CONT TOP & \\
\text{Mazahloko manjohudani digusa,} & \quad \text{So he said to [hyena] ”Look here,} \\
\text{lien NOM-sit-DEF sitting} & \quad \text{go and get us some fire} \\
\text{eri ndusa-nduzo.} & \quad (SC 095-9) \\
\text{eye red} & \\
\text{Ahi hi nahoma,} & \\
3s-say-I0 here TOPIC & \\
\text{Ru kâdiyula aku ana leli a} & \quad \text{we’re going to roast [the meat]...} \\
\text{go 2s-prepare-home-SEP fire for lp SEP} & \\
\text{mara meviyek...} & \\
\text{lp-come lp-roast} & \\
\end{align*}\]

46 *Nahoma* is used at the first episode in each leg of the race, except for the first leg of the second race. Arguably in the second episode there is less need to underline, except when approaching the climax.

47
Another example, from the indiscreet wife text, shows a topicalised clause at the beginning of presentational speech: it is not the horn that is thematically significant in the woman’s words, but what it does.

> She said “My husband has found a horn, and you know, you only have to say the word to it and you get milk till you want no more.”

(IV B.40-44)

Another presentational example: the tree is presented, and the suggestion about it that is to follow is thematically central to the story as well as being underlined in the speech itself.

> He said to coucal “Friend, someone else has got an azega tree, you know, just exactly like yours: there’s lots of fruit on it – Let’s go and steal it all!”

(S+C 007-10)

### 3.6.3 Highlighting at a point of consequential discontinuity in speech

In another text *nahoma* marks off an improbable consequence from its premise: an improbable consequence naturally has a greater thematic prominence: hence its use to topicalise conditional clauses. In these examples squirrel speaks to two parallel opponents in a tug-of-war:

> He said “This is my goat if you succeed in pulling me, then look, you take it.”

(SEH 014-6)

> “Here’s my goat, look, if you succeed in pulling me then you take it.”

(SEH 036-7)

Compare the preceding two extracts with those cited in section 3.2.2 above: in the first of those the condition is open and general, and the protasis is topicalised by *if*. In the last, parallel to these examples, the condition is improbable, indeed a specific challenge: thus the conditional marker is obligatory and the protasis is topicalised by *nahoma*.

A similar idea involving a consequential discontinuity is present when elephant does a double-take after squirrel says that elephant can’t pull him:

> ...you can’t pull me.

(IV C.006-8)

### 3.6.4 Procedural development

In one procedural text *nahoma* points out the next stage with monotonous regularity, even in tail-head constructions that mark off new sections and which might normally be marked by *if* (section 3.1). This underlies its use at episodic level in discourse, and especially here its optional nature: its thematic currency is however rather devalued.
Ka sarta ya mafuday zlam geli nahoma,
at time REL 1p-start pot AS 1p TOPIC
mofuday ana fevire...
1p-start with February

Andoshadu hundum ed. 
3s-sleep-into overnight 3s-soak
Yaw maak ediya nahoma,
OK then 3s-soak-PFVE TOPIC
miledu njemdi muku keti,
morning hour six again
mazay ndizeni mazla6 mazla6...
1p-take red 1p-beat 1p-beat

Èhiva, mazay mebedekabu tay.
3s-crush-REFL-PFVE 1p-take 1p-mix-on-in 3p
Way zat way zat kalkal.
who full who full equal
Mebedekaba zla nahoma,
1p-mix-on-in-PFVE then TOPIC
masak mazay nahaj medeni zla...
then 1p-take another NOM-soak-DEF then

Kùdasikya mazlara gani kasaba viti na. 
When you’ve knocked it you make a hollow in the ash.
2s-hit-on-PFVE now AS-DEF 2s-hollow out ash DEF-PFVE
Kàsakka viti na nahoma,
2s-sieve-distinct ash SEP TOPIC
maak kazakya ka zlam na coruk...
then 2s-take-on-SEP on pot DEF-PFVE separating
Àndava...
3s-end-PFVE

Nahaj ni kihicaba ti 
another DEF 2s-smooth-out TOP
kazakya ma huya. 
2s-take-IO-on-SEP face actually
Kùziki ma zla nahoma,
2s-take-IO-on face then TOPIC
kazay mbar-mbar gayak. 
2s-take roller AS-2s
Kèdi mbar-mbar ni. 
2s-put-IO-roller DEF
Kùdii mbar-mbar a Òndava nahoma, 
When you’ve finished decorating -
2s-put-IO-PFVE roller PFVE 3s-and-PFVE TOPIC
kazay hetelefkir gayak. 
2s-take polished AS-2s
Kësidek. 
2s-smooth
Kësidekka nahoma,
2s-smooth-PFVE TOPIC
Òndava zla. 
3s-end-PFVE then

3.7 Loan words and topicalisation
Muyang borrows many words from languages of wider communication, topicalisers or quasi-topicalisers included. Those cited here are commonly used: others, like the Fulfulde du, are rarer but do occur (see the example in section 2.3.4.2 above).
3.6.1 kam

*Kam* is a loan-word from Fufulde, a topicaliser in that language. In Muyang its use is indistinguishable from that of *ti*.

A khiindumfiñ ma gana kam si ke minduwid:  
*You’ll have to ask the ants that one:*  
*t* 2-ask t-2-close word AS-DEF-SEP TOP except by ant

minduwid gani ña ña ñaliya bazani ana fat a ti kamam?  
*why did those ants take their*  
*ant*  
AS-DEF 3s-come 3s-raise into-PF children-DEF to sun PFVE TOP why

goggles nihi nañama,  
*Here’s my goat:*  
*goggles* AS-1s now TOPIC

tamal kãgajah nu a kam, kazay.  
*if you pull me, you take it.*  
COND 2s-pull-PFVE 1s PFVE TOP 2s-take

Àhi A nañkay nuñ ni aðolay,  
*He said, “That’s good, then:*  
*Àhi* A nañkay 3s-ay-IO oh thus 3s DEF 3s-good

tòpala kur a kam, aðolay.  
if they’ve avenged you, that’s good.”  
3p-pay-PFVE 2s PFVE TOP 3s-good

3.6.2 dagiya

This is a loan word from Mandara whose basic meaning is “truly”. It retains much of that sense in Muyang, in a rather weakened form as an emphatic particle with much the same sense as the English ‘indeed’. In this sense it also functions very like a topicaliser, typically, given its origin, finding its place at or near the opening of direct or reported speech. It is thus not found in narrative texts except in direct quotations, and it is not found other than at the beginning of speech. When preceded by a noun phrase, like *ti ni*, it marks contrastive focus. *Dagiya* acts most like a topicaliser when it follows a personal pronoun, a usage parallel to *nu ti* (section 3.4.1).

Cepa ti  
In a moment  
moment TOP

edñu nakay ahkay ti,  
the bird said  
bird REPMK thus TOP

Nu dagiya  
“Look, I,”  
2s indeed

edñu cilij do  
I’m not just a bird, you know.”  
bird only NEG

Nu dagiya nakumay wur,  
I really need a child  
1s indeed 1s-need (Mandara) child

nàdam mëgì ti wur mbolo goro.  
to be my companion.  
1s-say-PF 3s-become-SUBJ TOP child bag AS-1s

However, the sense of this is often weak.

Àhi Dagiya kilera, nu dagiya,  
He said “You know, friend, in my case,  
*Àhi* 3s-say-IO-PF indeed friend 1s indeed

ndamap ñeñkkeba fat gani geli na...  
someone was keeping a good eye on us...  
3p-watch-distinguish as AS-DEF AS-1p DEF-PERF

Very often *dagiya* merely emphasises speech.

Ay dagiya dauvali,  
“But look, my friend,  
but indeed friend

goro ni ti,  
as for mine [my cow],  
AS-1s DEF TOP

amasloka ana asak a cu kwa  
he’ll have to get home on two legs.  
AS-1s DEF TOP

POT-3s-return with leg SEP two OBLIG

do ti ahmanam.  
won’t he?”  
NEG TOP how

Unlike a true topicaliser, *dagiya* can open an utterance, but effectively there seems to be a reluctance to put it first: it normally follows another word, even a dummy.
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Wal ndahag ni tahi
womant other DEF 3p-say-IO
Kagray malfada.
2s-do lie
Dagiya malfada do.
indeed lie NEG
Malfada!
lie

Àhi: Wal gayak dagiya garay,
3s-say-IO-PF wife AS-2s indeed chase
do ti, abazi mis, do ti ahomam.
NEG TOP 3s-kill people NEG TOP how

A dagiya náslokabiya do ti ahomam.
Well, I’ve come back.
oh indeed 1s-return-hither-PFVE NEG TOP how

Dagiya can even be reinforced by ti, or in other words topicalised in its own right:

Asar ti
3s-know TOP
nu dagiya ti
1s indeed TOP
wal goro ni obu away nu.
wife AS-1s DEF 3s-be 3s-love 1s

Dagiya ti
indeed TOP
ata baba goro ti,
with father AS-1s TOP
tanjahad ti
3s-drive TOP
zlam hi ni ahkay hi,
thing here DEF thus here
dey ti
first TOP
maslamalavani ni.
NOM-repair-REC-DEF DEF

The other women said
“You’re telling lies.”
“Indeed I’m not.”
“Oh yes you are.”

He said “You must get rid of your wife: if you don’t - she’s murdering people, you know.”

Well, I’ve come back.

He knows that as for himself, his wife really loves him.

Indeed my parents’ generation, they lived just this way, so that there should be domestic peace.

(Mar 102) (WM 152)
Appendix. Texts

1. The text corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Lines</th>
<th>Genre and comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>9 Aug 90</td>
<td>Ngrwedye</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>Narrative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Db</td>
<td>Doba</td>
<td>28 Jun 00</td>
<td>Djieved François</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>Narrative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FH</td>
<td>Fly’s Help (Aide de la mouche)</td>
<td>29 Oct 99</td>
<td>Aiviawi Philippe</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Folk story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FI</td>
<td>Fly’s Journey</td>
<td>6 Jun 01</td>
<td>Aiviawi Philippe</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>Folk story. Variant of Zii.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HW</td>
<td>Hyena’s Wife</td>
<td>17 Sep 01</td>
<td>Milewale Joseph</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>Folk story. Variant of WC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IW</td>
<td>Indiscrét Wife</td>
<td>6 Jun 01</td>
<td>Aiviawi Philippe</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>Folk story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Mari (Pleasing a husband)</td>
<td>4 Nov 99</td>
<td>Maita</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>Expository text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon</td>
<td>Monitor lizard</td>
<td>14 Mar 01</td>
<td>Tukovo</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>Folk story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>Pénsi coupé</td>
<td>12 Nov 99</td>
<td>Aiviawi Philippe</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>Folk story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pot</td>
<td>Pottery</td>
<td>11 Oct 99</td>
<td>Tahtaki</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>Procedural text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>Squirrel's Cow</td>
<td>6 Jun 01</td>
<td>Aiviawi Philippe</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>Folk story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-C</td>
<td>Squirrel and Cousal</td>
<td>6 Jun 01</td>
<td>Aiviawi Philippe</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>Folk story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEH</td>
<td>Squirrel, Elephant and Hippo</td>
<td>6 Jun 01</td>
<td>Aiviawi Philippe</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>Folk story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tak</td>
<td>Takwatsa</td>
<td>29 Oct 99</td>
<td>Aiviawi Philippe</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>Folk story. See section 2.3 below.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TBB</td>
<td>Toad, Buck and Hare</td>
<td>6 Jun 01</td>
<td>Aiviawi Philippe</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>Folk story. See section 2.2 below.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tet</td>
<td>Têtu (Stubborn child)</td>
<td>1 Nov 99</td>
<td>Aiviawi Philippe</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>Folk story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tin</td>
<td>Tindu (Harr)</td>
<td>4 Oct 00</td>
<td>Djieved François</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>Procedural text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WC</td>
<td>Wrestling at the Chief’s</td>
<td>6 Jun 01</td>
<td>Aiviawi Philippe</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>Folk story. Variant of HW.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WM</td>
<td>Wal Matak (Sorceress)</td>
<td>27 Oct 01</td>
<td>Azlyu Emmanuel</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>Account of a horror film.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zil</td>
<td>Zilim (Stork)</td>
<td>17 Sep 01</td>
<td>Daldava Martin</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>Folk story. Variant of FI.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Cyclic texts highlighting participant reference

1. 'The Indiscrét Wife'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cycle one: bird</th>
<th>Cycle two: horn</th>
<th>Cycle three: stick</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. He-walked in his fields wandering about.</td>
<td>He-walked again.</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again. He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Then he happened he found bird</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again.</td>
<td>He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Hen he found the bird</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again.</td>
<td>He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. He said: I've found me bird here.</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again.</td>
<td>He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. I'll put in my tobacco and 'NEG it how'?</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again.</td>
<td>He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. He-told horn mi ti</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again.</td>
<td>He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. In a moment bird askah thus ti</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again.</td>
<td>He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. &quot;I dogiya bird only NEG&quot;</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again.</td>
<td>He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. &quot;If I bird only NEG&quot;</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again.</td>
<td>He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. &quot;I give thing NOM-drink mi also.&quot;</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again.</td>
<td>He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. &quot;You gave thing how?&quot;</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again.</td>
<td>He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. &quot;You gave thing how?&quot;</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again.</td>
<td>He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. So bird askah moved tail and wings ti</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again.</td>
<td>He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. millet pours-out pouring</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again.</td>
<td>He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Till man askah drinks milk till he-want NEG</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again.</td>
<td>He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Man mi thus ti</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again.</td>
<td>He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Snatching he-trapped up bird askah</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again.</td>
<td>He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. The he-went with askah home</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again.</td>
<td>He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Thus he-arrived with askah home</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again.</td>
<td>He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. he-said to wife askah</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again.</td>
<td>He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. She-said to &quot;How?&quot;</td>
<td>He-went out to fields again.</td>
<td>He-walked his thing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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24. "Oh, thing gusulikhite.*
25. "Oh, thing gusulikhite.*
26. It-will-do-it-for-you.**
27. Then woman nakay said to bird nakay ti.
28. Just bird nakay moved thus moving it.
29. Just millet poured out, just millet poured out.
30. Thus millet ni wall it filled all their granaries brim full with all jars.
31. So then there bird ni was.
32. Just whenever they needed millet ti.
33. Just they spoke to bird ni like that, just they spoke to bird ni like that.
34. They drink every day just they drink milk ni.
35. Another day ti.
36. Woman goyay ni went for water ti.
37. She entered she found other women ni.
38. They drew water with them ti.
39. She said: We ni.
40. Any man has found something nakay in the bush NEG ti how much?
41. They said to: "What?"
42. "Oh thing gusulikhite ti.
43. Just you say to: "Give me thing ti.
44. Just it give you thing thus pouring.
45. We ni, It's happened we have found for us.
46. They said to: "Yes?"
47. Next day she went out she went to water ti.
48. Snatching she took bird nakay in her jar.
49. She went with nay to water.
50. She arrived ti.
51. Women nakay then they said to.
52. "Show you thing REL you do no NEG ti how?"
53. Bird ni moved moving it.
54. Then horn nakay moved like this ti.
55. Their jars ni all millet brim full.
56. So then bird also a moment, they did this ti.
57. Horn ni fell into the water.
58. Millet ni also in their jars ni was there no more.
59. The man ni arrived naxama.

022. "Oh, thing gusulikhite.*
024. Show out thing REL you bring na ti.
025. You say to it Show out your work REL you do na ti.
026. "Show out your work REL you do na."
027. Stick ni heat, waiting in house, it beat full.
028. Milk ni till filled up all their containers in house.
029. Lying, stick ni rested its thing.
030. Woman nakay arrived at water another day also.
031. She went out for water ni again.
032. She rectified to other women ni again.
033. They have found horn nakay naxama.
034. Other women ni said: "You're lying."
035. "Oh, lie NEG."
036. "Let, then bring hither to us."
037. Next morning she went again.
038. She went out in the morning another day.
039. She said.
040. "Any man has found horn nakay naxama."
041. They did wind up their thing.
042. Just you say to wind up thing ti.
043. Milk till you leave.
044. She took stick nakay.
045. and she went with aug for water.
046. So they were there.
047. They'd drew their water.
048. Then they said to stick nakay.
049. Stick nakay getting up thus it.
050. Just milk flows out only, just milk flows out only.
051. Women ni crying at water loudly.
052. "Show out thing gusulikhite."
053. "Show out your work REL you do na."
054. Stick nakay getting up thus it.
055. Women ni crying at water loudly.
056. "So thing REL you do na."
057. Milk ni in their jars ni was there no more.
058. "Show out your work REL you do na."
059. Women ni went home together.
060. They went home with aug nothing with them, End.

53
2. 'Toad, buck and hare'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Cycle 1: buck</th>
<th>B. Cycle 2: hare</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Story. Toad went again</td>
<td>001 Toad nay nay-is-there, he-walks with his goat al his thing again. 063-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. he-found buck with his goat in his hand also.</td>
<td>002-003 he-found hare. 065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. &quot;Greetings buck&quot; &quot;Greetings too&quot;</td>
<td>004 &quot;Greetings hare&quot; &quot;Greetings too&quot; 066-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. &quot;Where are you going with goat?&quot;</td>
<td>005 &quot;Where are you going with goat?&quot; 068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. &quot;Oh I seek people of race with-nay NEG ti how?&quot;</td>
<td>006 &quot;Oh I seek people of race with-nay NEG ti how?&quot; 069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. He-said &quot;You seek people of race with-nay?&quot;</td>
<td>007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Oh, I al want.</td>
<td>008 &quot;Then I here. 070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. He-said to &quot;Come.&quot;</td>
<td>009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. He-said to &quot;How we-run ti how?&quot;</td>
<td>010 &quot;Can-you-beat-me?&quot; &quot;Oh I-can-beat-you&quot; 071-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. He-said to &quot;I-want ti we-run we with person goai</td>
<td>011 &quot;Oh you-beat me NEG, nay al you-say what again toad? 073-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. we-run we-go</td>
<td>012 I-beat-you NEG, you-know hare NEG? 075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. we-arrived, we-return we-turn face ti</td>
<td>013 They-call hare, you know nay NEG how? 076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. if person goal has-beat-me at ran kam, he-take goat al.</td>
<td>014 You-heard never they-recount? 077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. He-said &quot;Oh?&quot; &quot;Oh, yes!&quot;</td>
<td>015 &quot;Oh I've-understood however. But even-so perhaps we-try first. 078-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. So then they-told.</td>
<td>016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. He-said-to &quot;Here ti ti my running ti must in water.</td>
<td>017 But nay here nahama, I ti i-run in water 080-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. I run on ground NEG.</td>
<td>018 I run on ground NEG, 082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. He-said-to &quot;OK I-accept.&quot;</td>
<td>019 &quot;OK I-accept.&quot; 083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. He-said-to &quot;I will run in water in water, you ran on earth.</td>
<td>020-21 &quot;OK here ti you will run on bank nahama. I run in water&quot; 084-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. You-arrive a-little you-call me ti i-reply-to-you ti</td>
<td>022 You-arrived a-little ti you-call me. 086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. you-know ti if in-front, if behind even ti</td>
<td>023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. you-know, NEG ti on ground al i-run NEG.</td>
<td>024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. He-said to &quot;OK I-accept.&quot;</td>
<td>025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Toad nay descending goes into water.</td>
<td>026 Toad nay 087a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. He-went-in he-called-together people goai</td>
<td>027 went-down to people goai again. 087b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. He-said to buy &quot;Here nahama, we-align-self on bank a-in-a-line up-to low-up-to high</td>
<td>028-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. but ti we-go we-race we with buck ti</td>
<td>030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. if you-see ti she-call yet nahama</td>
<td>031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. person REL ti nay call nay al ti be-reply then at once.</td>
<td>032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Now if ti he-runs on in-front again he-arrives a-little he-calls ti just you-reply-to thus. They-say to &quot;OK&quot;</td>
<td>033-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Then told a-lines up people goai beside bank a-in-a-line up-to low-up-to high.</td>
<td>035-4 He-lines-up nay again. 089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. They-arrive at place NOM-run-at he-jumped-in.</td>
<td>037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. he-said to &quot;Buck are you-ready?&quot;</td>
<td>038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. &quot;Oh I-am-ready NEG ti how?&quot;</td>
<td>039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Then let-us-start running</td>
<td>040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. So buck he-start running jump jump, he-arrived a-little</td>
<td>041-2a So they-started race an, hare starts to run run upright 089-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. he-said to &quot;You where toad?&quot;</td>
<td>042b he-calls &quot;You where toad?&quot; 091</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Takwatsa (beginning)

A. Cycle one: donkeys and cock

1. Woman nayuk women not-loved, whatever ni they brought they-gave to nayu NEG. Child of her is, they call nayu Takwatsa.

2. So they-went, children other ni all of women other ni

3. They-went they-brought donkeys for nay.

4. They-travel with nay, they-travel with nay.

5. For Takwatsa nayuk za nayu they-bought cock.

6. He-follows nay with nay udding.

7. It-happened sun rose a-bit nayu, they-say “Sun is-enough, we-give water to our donkeys NEG tli how?”

8. They-went-out children aday ni they run with donkeys ni walking.

9. They-arrived at water na nayu, they found water nayu, they-drink they-drink.

10. Their donkeys ni drank-water na ni, remaining guai ni all other ni they-trample disturbing. They-disturb-over for Takwatsa.

B. Cycle two: horses and donkey

1. They-went nayu.

2. They-brought horses for children aday nay ni again.

3. For Takwatsa nayuk they-bought donkey.

4. They-out Gallop with horses ni to water again galloping.

5. They-arrived at water na, they-jumped-off horses na, they-gave water to their-horses na they-drink, they-drink, they-drink.

6. They-drink-up till remaining guai other ni they-trample again trampling, they-disturb water na.

7. So child REL in friend of Takwatsa nayuk.

8. He-drew-out water na in calabash, he-hide-for in leaves.

9. Takwatsa arrives with his cock na wedding till.

10. He-arrives scarcely aday drank-water finished, they-disturbed other na.

11. They water other ni NOM-disturbed.

12. Next-day ni thus, next-day ni thus, aday are.
Finally Takwatsa complains to his mother, who consults a fetishist as to how to obtain a horse for her son, before following his advice through three parallel episodes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Episode one: buck</th>
<th>B. Episode two: rabbit</th>
<th>C. Episode three: horse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18. So then woman arok went-out</td>
<td>(the honey is mentioned in the advice)</td>
<td>098. Directly she goes on the go, she goes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. directly to honey arok in bush</td>
<td></td>
<td>099. Directly she goes on again.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. She-look her honey, big gourd-fall.</td>
<td></td>
<td>119. She-came she-found animal whatever at thus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. She-went early morning another day</td>
<td></td>
<td>She-came she-found horse zha, shining at-bore its child, it-be it-licked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. directly she-went with arog on path in bush.</td>
<td>084. She-found hare.</td>
<td>119.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. She-found buck.</td>
<td>085. She-found hare.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. &quot;Greetings ... Where are you going?&quot;</td>
<td>086b. &quot;Greetings ... Where are you going?&quot;</td>
<td>122b-123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 27. "Oh I here a four-legged-an NEG?" | 090. "Oh I here a four-legged-an NEG?" | 125. "Oh I here a four-legged-an NEG?"
| 28. "Oh show me your running" | 089. "Oh show your running first NEG ti how?" | 126. "Oh show your running first NEG ti how?"
| 29. "Oh show me what is in your bag first" | 092. "Oh show what in your bag first." | 127. "Oh show what in your bag first."
| 30. Then the-gave-to honey arok. | 093. Giving she-gave-out honey arog again. | 128. Then giving she-gave-out honey arog again. |
| 31. He-tasted aohnha sweet it-tasted good. | 094. Then it-tasted aohnha, yes, sweet, it-tasted like what? "OK arog here ti show your running also zha." | 129.32. Horse at-tasted aohnha, yet very-sweet, it-said "Well, here a ti real thing." Thus horse arok then licked child yani na. Then she-said "Here ti show me your running also NEG ti how?"
| 32. Then buck arok started running run aohnha, it-put-on shoes thus ti start rushing, thornbush first it-passes crossing. | 095. Here arok started running run aohnha, it-put-on shoes thus ti start rushing, thornbush first it-passes crossing. | 133.4. Horse arok started zha. It-started to NO46 galloping galloping it-return. |
| 34. "I'm-going on." | 098. I'm-moving on." | 117. |

| 35. "It-said-to "How?" | "Oh, try again NEG ti how." | 135. |
| 36. "Giving she-gave-again hand to honey alogi alogi again. | Horse arok started quickly galloping aohnha, it-thought head it-returns again. | 136.8. |
| 37. "It-said-to "It's-enough NEG wholly?" | "Oh, you-start if I want THREL you-start quickly ti they-call you, even, you-hear NEG-ael NEG ti how?" Then casting she-adds hand to honey arok again. | 139. |
| 38. "It-come-out horse alogi quick to running zha, dust cloudy. | | 144. |
| 39. "Nag come-out suddenly she-takes-up child of horse alogi, then putting her honey alogi in hollow yuani. | | 145-6. |
| 40. Then tearing with arog she-starts on running quickly she-returns home with arog. | | 147. |
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