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The Use of Additive Particles in Mbuko Discourse

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1 Introduction

Mbukko is a language spoken in the Far North Province of Cameroon, in the canton of Doulek, arrondissement of Méri, Diamaré department. Mbukko is a Chadic language, classified as Chadic Biu-Mandara A5.

This paper examines the role of additive particles in Mbukko discourse, distinguishing their differing roles, and in particular examining their roles as highlighting devices.

2 The Additive Particles

2.1 Overview

The Mbukko language possesses a very rich collection of sentence connectors and adverbials, among which are three frequently used additive particles. These particles play a role in giving coherence to a text, but also have a key functions as a highlighting devices.

The three particles concerned are: *dúkwen*, *re* and *ite*. These are not the only additive particles in Mbukko, but they are the ones that are most widely used.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the differences in the basic function of each of the three particles, and then to examine the use of the additive particles as highlighting devices.

To give a first impression of the role of these particles, consider the final remarks of the father in the text 'Father and Son' (sentence 25), which includes each of these additive particles (here all glossed as 'also').

Kwanay həna **dúkwen**, dowan a kə təmahak 'am anaya **dúkwen**, i
You now also person Det 3sPrf accept-Prf word these also 3sImp

təran sumor nə, anà nga anahan **ite re**.
become-3sIO good Foc to head his also also

'Now you also, the person who has accepted these words also, it will be good for him also also.'

The four additive particles used in this sentence are used to highlight the points of departure and the sentence itself. In this example the particle *dúkwen* is used twice to highlight points of departure, and the particles *ite* and *re* are used as sentence-final adverbials, highlighting the sentence as a whole whilst relating it the preceding content.

3 The Functions of the Three Additive Particles

In the following sections we shall examine the simple additive role of each of the three particles.

3.1 The Particle *ite*

The particle *ite* has distinct functions, according to whether it is used in points of departure or as a clause-final adverbial.

3.1.1 Clause-level Adverbial

Both the particle *ite* and the particle *re* mark an additive relation between two propositions. In contrast with *re*, the particle *ite* marks that the two propositions relate to the same theme, whereas the particle *re* indicates a progression to a new theme.

The idea of maintenance of theme can be seen in the following examples.

Pa pac a inde nà, manay ma njak ahan awan ù doh tɔ uwar uno.
on sun Spec exist Top we(excl) Part gather sleep State at house with wife my

Man njɔkar a manay awan inde kɔrtek ite, winen mɛ nahay awan pa slay.
mother chicken of we(excl) State exist one also, it Part lie State on eggs

'One day my wife and I were sleeping in the house. One of our hens was there also, lying on her eggs.' (Python 2-3)

In this example the additive function of the particle *ite* is to show that the couple and the hen were all in the house together. However the focus does not move away from the couple. The couple continues to be central to the following discourse.

Vɔje a canan ayak nà, a tavay, a cak ayak idɛ
monkey 3sPfv see-3sIO to_there Top 3sPfv stop 3sPfv see_Dir to_there eye

à mɛkɛ, a canan ayak anà Ziyel i ga dɛce, a gan
at hole 3sPfv see-3sIO to_there to lion 3sImp do suffering 3sPfv do-3sIO

anan ahay ì zek wa ite.
3sDO to_here at body away also

'When the monkey looked there, he stopped, he looked into the hole, he saw there the lion was suffering, he felt sorry for him also.' (Lion and Monkey: 20)

Again, in this example the particle *ite* links the events of the monkey seeing the lion and the monkey feeling sorry for the lion, but without indicating a change of theme.

3.1.2 Points of Departure

In points of departure, the particle *ite* marks the resumption of a previously activated point of departure. For example, when a participant has been introduced, leaves the scene and then returns, the participant will be marked with *ite* at the point of their return.

This function is related to the function of *ite* as a clause-level adverbial, since in both

cases there is no development. In this case it is the topic that is maintained, whereas with *ite* as a clause-level adverbial it is the theme that is maintained.

Uwar mēduwer ata awan a jan, a wa : « Ki vuro ma ì
woman old that State 3sPfv say-3sIO 3sPfv say 2slmp give-1sIO what to

nen awan anaw ? »
1sDO State QM

« Way anak saa cəce ca, ni varak anan ! »
thing your Rel_Fut ask only 1slmp give-2sIO 3sDO

« U no nə slay, slay sə kurkudok. »
3sPfv be-1sIO Foc egg egg of grouse

Dowan ata a zla agay, a ran ahay slay ahay fufo.
person that 3sPfv go home 3sPfv bring-3sIO to_here egg Plur four

Winen *ite*, a varan ahay mēndərwez kərtek.
She also 3sPfv give-3sIO to_here cicada one

'That old woman said to him, "What will you give me?" "Whatever you ask for, I will give it to you." "I want eggs, grouse eggs." That man went home and brought back four eggs. She also gave to him a cicada.' (The Poor Man and the Chief: 16-20)

In the above example, the woman is temporarily off stage while the man goes to find the eggs. When she returns to the stage, the particle *ite* is used on her point of departure.

In the passage below, the girl begins as the topic of sentence 23. In sentence 26 the young man becomes the topic and the action shifts away from the girl's house. When he returns, the girl once again becomes the topic, and the renewed point of departure is marked with *ite*.

023

Dəna ata dukwen, doh sə nahay anahan inde cara.
girl that also house Rel lie_down 3sPos exist different
'The girl also had her own sleeping hut.'

024

Dowan miza sa zla ù doh ata nà, ibay.
someone other Rel go at house that Top not_there
'No-one else went to that house.'

025

Si 'am inde lele awan.
except word exist well State
'Except if there was a good reason.'

026

Guwla ata, ta jay ahay 'am ì zek tə dəna, a may ahay
youth that 3pPfv say-Dir to_here word to body with girl 3sPfv return to_here

aga uwar mēduwer ata awan asa.
 at_house_of woman old that State again
'The young man talked with the woman then returned to the house of the old woman again.'

027
 Pə dəba anahan wa nà, a ma à man a dēna...
 on back 3sPos away Top 3sPfv return to place of girl
'Afterwards he returned to the girl's house.'

028
 Dēna ata awan ite, a jan anà nga anahan, a wa :
 girl that State also 3sPfv say-3sIO to head 3sPos 3sPfv say

« Mbaz uno kà nak hēna kutok. »
 husband 1sPos 3sPrf come-Prf now then
'The girl said to herself, "So now my husband has come!"'
 (Chief who Saves: 23-28)

3.2 The Particle *re*

The particle *re* operates on the level of the clause and denotes an additive relationship between the marked clause and the preceding clause. In contrast with *ite*, the particle *re* also marks a progression through a change in theme.

3.2.1 Clause-level Adverbial

The following two examples show progression through a change in theme.

Anjahay sə gulom su doh ahay ta ga minje bay,
 character of compound Plur 3pPfv do likeness Neg

anga mēnuko ɖa ga minje bay re.
 because we(incl) 1plnPfv do likeness Neg also

Aday dukwen abay a nak uko sa ga minje awan bay re.
 And also normally we(incl)_want Sub do likeness State Neg also

'The characters of compounds are not alike, because we are not alike also. And also, normally we do not want to be alike also.' (The Compound: GD002-3)

In the above example from a hortatory text, the progression of argument is from compounds to people, and then to their wishes. These sentences cohere, since they all concern dissimilarity, but within this there is a progression of ideas.

Jaray nà, awan a nà, kawa hayam.
 Locust Top, thing Spec Top, like grasshopper

Ta ca nà, dēzdaz, tē bērgaslay a kawa hayam a re.
 3pPfv see Top red with wing State like grasshopper Spec also

Əna winen nà, tə sibøk aya mənjøək mənjøək pa 'am re gufgof.
But it Top with hair Plur little little on mouth also Id

'The locust is a thing like a grasshopper. They are red, with wings like the grasshopper also. But it has a few hairs on its mouth also.' (Locusts: LO003-4)

Again, in the above example from an expository text, there is coherence of subject matter between the sentences, however the speaker is indicating a progression in his description.

3.2.2 Points of Departure

The particle *re* is never used in a nominal or verbal point of departure, though it does occur when operating on a sentence introducer, such as in the expressions *matana re* 'like that also' and *anga nan re* 'because of that also'. In these cases it links two or more propositions dependant on the same premise.

In the following extract from the end of a folk tale (The Poor Man and the Chief), there are two conclusions to the story. The first is the conclusion to the story itself, and the second is the lesson to be learnt from the story. The second conclusion is linked with the first by the use of the particle *re*.

First conclusion

Natiya nà, tə mbəsak sa zla anan sla ahay à guvo sə dala mbana kutok.
Like_that Top 3pPfv leave Sub go 3sDO cow Plur to field of place peanut so

Dala mbana anahan taayan sabay, ta sə do ahay a təke.
Place peanut his alone no_longer with of person Plur Spec together

Kwa pa nə waya dukwen, sla ahay ta ngam uda sabay.
Even on Foc who also cow Plur 3pPfv accept inside no_longer

Second conclusion

Anga na awan re, do sə jugwar way à kiɓe ahay dukwen,
Because this State also person Sub tend thing at bush Plur also

tə njahay pi zek nə tə disise.
3pPfv sit on body Foc with medicine

A sa varan atan zlangar həna, ta wa do sə jugwar way ahay
3sPfv FutPos give-3IO 3pIO praise now 3pPfv say person Sub tend thing Plur

nə do sə disise ahay.
Foc person of medicine Plur

'(The man has used a traditional remedy to stop cows eating his peanuts.) And so they stopped taking their cows to his peanut field, and no-one went there either. No-one at all took their cows there any more.

And also because of this, the people who tend animals live among remedies. If one asked them nicely, they say that the people who tend animals are the medicine men.' (Poor Man and Chief 34-36)

In the following passage, a man claims that he can understand what babies are saying. A child is brought to him in sentence 18, and a second child is brought to him in sentence 22. Sentence 19 and 23 are identical, except sentence 23 begins with a sentence introducer marked with *re* to link this to the previous occurrence.

018

Coy ta daf anan wan hinen, a ja 'am : « Dadada dərre, bebebo. »
done 3pPfv put 3sDO child another 3sPfv say word dadada drre bebebo
'Then they brought another child. He said, "Dadada drre bebebo."'

019

Wan ata a wufay 'am sə awan aya so.
child that 3sPfv said word of thing Plur whichever
'The child said any old words.'

020

Ta jan : « May anan ahay kutok. »
3pPfv say-3sIO return 3sDO to_here then
'They said to him, "Translate it then."'

021

A wa : « Wan ana a jəna nà, manay gwaslay ahay nà,
3sPfv say child this 3sPfv say Top we child Plur Top

dowan sa san 'am a manay nà, ibay. »
someone Rel understand word of we Top not_there
'He said, "The child said, 'No-one understands the language of us children.'"

022

Ta daf wan hinen a ja asa.
3pPfv put child another 3sPfv say again
'Again they brought another child to speak.'

023

Matana re, a wufay 'am sə awan aya so.
like_that also 3sPfv say word of thing Plur whichever
'In the same way again, the child said any old words.'

(Child Talk: 18-23)

3.3 The Particle *dukwen*

The particle *dukwen* has two different roles depending on its position in the syntax of a sentence. Firstly, it can act on a point of departure. Secondly, it can function as a focus marker.

Unlike the particles *re* and *ite*, *dukwen* cannot act as a clause-level adverbial. For *re* and *ite* the role of clause-level adverbial is fundamental, with the use on points of departure being an extension.

In its roles acting on points of departure and as a focus marker, *dukwen* occupies the same syntactic positions as *nà*. In general, *nà* separates preceding information of less importance from following information of greater importance. When *nà* occurs in mid-

clause the effect is to mark the following material as focused. When it separates a phrasal element from a following complete clause, it marks the preceding matter as being the point of departure.

The following example shows the use of *nà* as topic marker and as focus marker. The first instance marks the preceding material as the point of departure, the second and third mark the following elements as being in focus.

Bahay su doh mæduwen a tekede *nà*, a njad *nà*,
 chief of house big State also Top 3sPfv find Top

taḅay maakan dep *nà*, pəlukpəlok.
 sack three surprise Top hardly

'Even a head of a large household ended up with just three sacks [of millet], if that.'
 (Famine FM007)

The particle *dūkwen* covers the same syntactic functions as *nà*, but is more emphatic, and also has an additive role

3.3.1 The Particle *dūkwen* Acting on a Point of Departure

When the particle *dūkwen* acts on a point of departure, it relates the point of departure with a previous related but different topic, and gives thematic prominence to the new point of departure. This particle, then, serves a double role: It links together two topics participants, but at the same time switches the thematic focus from one to the other.

In the example given below, the thematic switch is from 'you' as the topic of sentence 18, to 'I' in sentence 19, and the 'I' is marked with *dūkwen*. There is a *thematic* switch between *linked* themes.

Ki gəben uwar, ki njihen tu doh a kwanay aya awan, ki bənen
 2Imp take-2p wife 2Imp sit-2p with house of you Plur State 2Imp catch-2p

jæ.
 handle

Aday ata nen *dūkwen* i go dədəffa, mivel uno i ga zayya ite.
 then then I also 3sImp do-1sIO joy liver 1sPos 3sImp do peace also

'Get married, settle down in your home and take up your hoe! Then it will make me happy too, and I will have peace.' (Father and Son: 18-19)

In the following example, *dūkwen* is again used to switch between related themes. However in this case it is used in conjunction with the topic marker *nà*.

004
 Do sə akar ahay *nà*, lelibay.
 person of theft Plur Top bad
'Thieves are bad'

005

Aday akar **dukwen** nà, way lelibay a re.
 then theft also Top thing bad State also
'And theft also is a bad thing also.'
 (The Genuine Thief: 4-5)

In the following example from the end of a folk tale, the chief gives his kingdom, daughter and wealth to the hero. The topic switches from *'my kingdom'* in 230 to *'my daughter'* in 231 to *'my riches'* in 232. In 231 and 232 the thematic switch is marked by the particle *dukwen*. (Note also the use of the particles *ite* and *re* in sentences 231 and 232.)

230

Hèna nà, bahay uno kè tərak anga iken.
 now Top kingdom 1sPos 3sPerf become-Perf because you
'Now my kingdom has become yours.'

231

Dəna anan **dukwen** kè tərak anga iken, uwar anak ite.
 girl this also 3sPerf become-Perf because you wife 2sPos also
'This girl also has become yours, your wife also.'

232

Zlile uno ahay **dukwen** tə tərak nə zlile anak ahay re.
 wealth 1sPos Plur also 3pPrf become-Prf Top wealth 2sPos Plur also
'My riches also have become your riches also.'
 (Mahamet Wundala: 230-232)

3.3.2 The Particle *dukwen* as a Focus Marker

The particle *dukwen* can also function as a focus marker. It occupies the same position as the particle *nà* or *nə* when used in this way.

In the following example the function of the particle *dukwen* is to put 'at the chief's house' in focus. The particle *nà* or *nə* could also have been used in this position.

Winen ite, a zla saa zlahay **dukwen** aga bahay asa ca.
 He also 3sPfv go FutPurp complain-Dir also house_of chief again only
'(The poor man has had his peanuts eaten by the chief's cows.) He also, he went straightaway to complain also at the chief's house again.'
 (Poor Man and the Chief: 8)

4 The Use of Additive Particles as a Highlighting Device

The most surprising feature of the use of additive particles in Mbuko is that they are frequently employed as a highlighting device. In some cases a strongly highlighted sentence may close with two or three additive particles.

4.1 Hortatory Usage of the Particle *ite*

In hortatory contexts *ite* is most often used as an emphatic particle applied to an exhortation or a motivational clause. It operates in a similar way to the English word 'please' when used to show insistence rather than politeness. In this context it does not function as an additive.

The role of *ite* in hortative contexts can be seen in the following example from the hortatory text 'Father and Son'. He has just explained to his sons that he doesn't want to die alone as if he didn't have any children. He now exhorts them to return home and settle down.

016

Ənga bənen 'am uno anaya **ite** aday!
 1d catch-2p word 1sPos these also first
'Take hold of my words first also!'

017

Men agay, aday kə dəfen nga kawa do sumor aya **ite**.
 return-2p home then 2Pfv put-2p head like person good Plur also
'Return home, then obey like good people also.'

018

Ki gəben uwar, ki njihen tu doh a kwanay aya awan, ki bənen
 2Imp take-2p wife 2Imp sit-2p with house of you Plur State 2Imp catch-2p

jœ.

handle

'Get married, settle down in your home and take up your hoe!'

019

Aday ata nen dukwen i go dədaffa, mivel uno i ga zayya **ite**.
 then then I also 3sImp do-1sIO comfort liver 1sPos 3sImp do peace also
'Then it will make me happy too, and I will have peace also.'
 (Father and Son: 16-19)

In sentences 16 and 17 *ite* serves as an emphatic particle, giving force to exhortations. In sentence 19 it fulfils its more usual role, linking two clauses on the same theme.

4.2 The particle *re* as a highlighting device

The particle *re* is not used obligatorily each time there is an additive relationship between two propositions. When it is used it is in order to give prominence to the marked proposition. This is illustrated in the following example from a hortatory text.

011

A nan anà miter a manay sə zəba dalay, aya əna tə cəce panan zlıle.
 3sPfv be-3sIO to teacher of we Inf carry woman however 3pPfv ask from3s wealth
'Our teacher wants to get married, but they are asking him for money.'

012

Əna a va agay bay **re**.
 but 3sPfv spend_year home Neg also
'But he is not spending the year at home also.'

013

Gugumay anahan mə sukom a bay **re**.
 cotton 3sPos Part buy State Neg also
 'His cotton is not sold also.'

014

Həna nə, a wa i zla sa cay anan.
 now Top 3sPfv say 3sImp go Purp investigate 3sDO
 'Now he is saying that he will go and investigate it.'

015

Kutok nə, lakwol nə, i tavay.
 then Top school Top 3sImp stop
 'In that case, school will stop.'
 (Dalbay Letter: 11-15)

In the above text, the particle *re* is used twice to give prominence to the reasons why the teacher will not be present to teach his classes. Its insertion underlines each problem as an additional theme, given the sense that there is one problem after another. The particle could easily be omitted without any loss of clarity. In this case the sense would be that there were three problems, but the sense of the problems accumulating would be lost. If *re* were replaced by *ite* in each case, the impression would be that these were three statements of the same problem. The particle *re* thus highlights the marked statements.

4.3 The Particle *dukwen* as a Marker of Thematic Prominence

The particle *dukwen* is used to give prominence to the point of departure. In the following example, from a text describing a snake attack on a chicken hut, several of the participants died, but particular prominence is given to the death of the snake itself. The topic marker *nə* could have been used to mark the point of departure instead of *dukwen*. Besides providing the additive sense, the choice of *dukwen* indicates that the speaker wishes to give particular prominence to the death of the snake.

Man njəkar kə məcak.
 mother chicken 3sPrf die-Prf

Wan sə siyək ahay, tə məcak .
 chick Plur 3pPrf die-Prf

Kuhom ahay tə məcak.
 mouse Plur 3pPrf die-Prf

Migweh ata **dukwen** kə məcak.
 python that also 3sPrf die-Prf

'The hen died. The chicks died. The mice died. The python also died.' (Python: 28-31)

Note also that no additive particles are used on the second and third sentences even though there is much linked material. That is to say that these sentences are background information, and are not highlighted.

4.4 The Use of Multiple Additive Particles for Strong Highlighting

It is also common to find multiple additive particles on strongly highlighted sentences. Besides the three additive particles mentioned, there are two less common additive particles which can be employed: *dərmak* and *cite*. *dərmak* is possibly a loan from Merey, and *cite* is probably a contraction of *ca* 'just, only' and *ite*.

The following sentence comes from the moralizing end section of a folk tale. The words of the monkey are the lesson for the audience. This sentence is thus strongly highlighted. The words of the lion that follow are the response of the person who has seen the error of his ways. These words are also highlighted, but not as greatly as the words of the lesson in the previous sentence.

Vəje a wa : « Do sə huwan nà, magwagway anahan nà,
 monkey 3sPfv say person of hate Top reward his Top

si huwan na **dərmak cite re.** »
 only hate Foc also also also

Ziyel a wa « Ni naa ma pə mindel kula sabay **ite re.** »
 lion 3sPfv say 1slmp must return on folly never no_longer also also

'The monkey said, "The reward for the hateful person is only hatred also also also." The lion said, "I must never again return to folly also also."' (Lion and Monkey 58-59)

The following sentence from the closing section of a hortatory text is the key exhortation, and is highlighted by the use of two additive particles.

Njaduko sə təran anà gwaslay ahay nà, minje lele aya awan **re cite.**
 find-us Inf become-3sIO to child Plur Top example well Plur State also also
'Let us become good examples for our children also also.' (Compound 16)

5 Conclusion

Sentence connectors and adverbials play a strong role in Mbuko discourse structure. In this paper we have seen that the additive particles in Mbuko not only have a role in giving cohesion to a text, but also have an important role as highlighting devices.

6 Appendix - Texts

6.1 The Compound

001

Anjahay sə gulom su doh.
character of quiver of house

The character of a compound.

002

Anjahay sə gulom su doh ahay ta
character of quiver of house Plur 3pPfv

ga minje bay, anga mənuko da
do example Neg because we(inc) 1pInc

ga minje bay re.
do example Neg also

The characters of compounds are not alike, because we are also not alike.

003

Aday dukwen abay a nak
then also normally 3sPfv be -2sIO

uko sa ga minje awan bay re.
1Pinc Inf do example State Neg also

And also, normally we also don't want to be alike.

004

Anjahay sə gulom su doh uno i
character of quiver of house1sPos 3sImp

ga minje tē mbala ana kwanay bay,
do example with that of you Neg

anga mənuko da gan may
because we(incl) 1pInc do -3sIO hunger

à way ahay nə cara cara.
at thing Plur Foc different different

The character of my compound isn't like the character of yours, because we want different things.

005

Də tətakan anan way anà
1pIncPfv learn -3sIO 3sDO thing to

gwaslay ahay dukwen cara cara,
child Plur also different different

da har à man ahay cara
1pInc grow at place Plur different

cara.
different

We teach different things to our children, we grow up in different places.

006

Anjahay sə gulom su doh ahay ti
character of quiver of house Plur 3pImp

ga minje nə kəkəməw ?
do example Foc how

How can the characters of compounds be alike?

007

Dalay a nuko ahay dukwen
woman of 1pInPos Plur also

ta nay ahay à man kərtək a
3pPfv come Plur at place one State

wa bay.
away Neg

Our wives also don't come from the same place.

008

Kuwaya a nay ahay ù kon
whoever 3sPfv come to_here at village

anahan wa.
3sPos away

Each comes from her own village.

009

Kuwaya a tətakay way anahan
whoever 3sPfv learn-Dir thing 3sPos

dukwen pə do anahan ahay wa.
also on person 3sPos Plur away

Each learns also from her own people.

010

Do həna anan, bəbay inde əna
person here this father exist but

may ibay.
mother not_there

One person has a father but no mother.

011

Do hinen, may inde aday
person another mother exist then

bəbay nə, ata ibay ite.
father Top that not_there also

Another person also has a mother and no father.

012

Do maza awan asa, atə may
person other State again both mother

tə bəbay cew maya awan inde,
with father two together State exist

kabay cew maya awan ibay.
or two together State not_there

Another person again has both mother and father together, or neither of the two.

013

Aday dukwen way hinen inde re,
then also thing another exist also

'am sə zlile.
word of wealth

And also, there is also another thing: wealth.

014

Do sa nay ahay ù do sə
person Rel come to_here at person of

zlile, tu do sa nay ahay ù
wealth with person Rel come to_here at

doh su do mətawak a wa
house of person poor State away

dukwen, anjahay awan cəna,
also character State straightaway

a saa ga nə cara
3sPfv FutPurp do Foc different

cara.
different

A person who comes from a rich family and a person who comes from a poor household also, they will have different characters.

015

Həna ata dukwen, mənuko a fok
here that also we(inc) PRMall

tətakuko sə təma 'am ana dowan
learn -us Inf accept word of someone

a Mbərom sə varak uko kawa
PRMGod Rel give-2sIO 1Pinc like

mamezek ata awan re.
help that State also

Now also, let us all learn to accept the word of the person that God has given us as a help also.

016

Njaduko sə tərən anə gwaslay
find -us Inf become-3sIO to child

ahay nə, minje lele aya awan re
Plur Top example well Plur State also

cite.
also

Let us also become good examples for our children also.

017

Natiya gulom su doh a mənuko
like_that quiver of house of we(inc)

ahay ti heran nga anə Mbərom
Plur 3pImp grow-3sIO head to God

tə anjahay a mənuko ahay.
with character of we(inc) Plur

*In that way, our compounds will praise God
with our characters.*

018

Suse à kwanay sə sləne anan
thank you at you Rel hear 3sDO

ləbara a anan
story here this

Thank you for listening to this story.

019

Si pac hinen asa.
until sun another again

Until another day.

6.2 Father and Son

001

Bəbay a inde a təkəren
father PRMexist 3sPfv tell -3sIO

'am à sləmay anà wan anahan
word at ear to child 3sPos

ahay.
Plur

The father who gave advice to his children.

002

Ləbara ata a dazlan nà,
story that 3sPfv build -CAUS Top

natiya awan :
like_that State

Bəbay ata nà, wan anahan ahay
father that Top child 3sPos Plur

inde
exist

cuwbe, əna wan a dara aya nà,
seven but child PRMfive Plur Top

tə tərak panan awan.
3pPrf become-Perf from3s thing

This story began like this: The father had seven children, but five of them had left home.

003

A mbəsak agay nà, mətəlkaday a
3sPfv leave home Top ? of

murkwayatə wan gudar
? with child youngest child

awan.
State

The only ones left at home were ? and his youngest child.

004

Bəbay ata nà, winen məcədə
father that Top he old State

coy re.
done also

The father was also old.

005

Anga nan pə luvon a inde, a
because that on day PRMexist 3sPfv

jalay, a wa : "Həna nen məcəd
think 3sPfv say now I old

a coy re, aday ni mac
State done also then 1sImp die

mənjenja wan uno ahay sə
without child 1sPos Plur Rel

cuno nə kəkəmw ?"
see-1sIO Foc how

Because of this, one day he thought: 'Now I am old. Am I going to die without my children seeing me?'

006

A ga maslan pa wan a dara
3sPfv do message on child PRMfive

ataya fok.
those all

He sent a message to those five children.

007

Ta nay ahay agay a kutok,
3pPfv come to_here home State then

tə japay ta wan a sə agay a
3pPfv unite with child PRM of home PRM

cew ataya awan nà, Bəbay ata a
two those State Top father that 3sPfv

dazlan sa jan atan anan
build -CAUS Inf say -3sIO 3pIO 3sDO

'am anahan a ata kutok, a
word 3sPos State that then 3sPfv

wa
say

: "Nə ngamak ikwen ahay
1sPrf call -Perf 2pIO to_here

agay nà, anga 'am sə awan
home Top because word of thing

bay.
Neg

So, when they had come home and reunited with the other two children, the father began to say his message to them, he said: 'I have not called you here because of anything.

008

Əna u no sə təkerek
but 3sPfv be -1sIO Inf tell -2sIO

ikwen 'am à sləmay, anga hinahay
2pIO word at ear because maybe

bay pə luvon a inde na nak
Neg on day PRMexist 1sPrf come-Perf

a naa ga ibay nà, na
3sDO must do not_there Top 1sPrf

jak ikwen anan 'am ahay coy.
say -Perf 2pIO 3sDO word Plur done

But I want to advise you, because maybe one day when I must no longer be here, I will have already told you my advice.

009

Bina həna nen məcedfa coy, izəne
since now I old State done perhaps

ni zla way uno à man a
1sImp go thing 1sPos at place of

bəbay uno ahay coy. Ata nà, waya
father 1sPos Plur done then Top who

saa təkerek ikwen 'am à
REL-FUT tell -2sIO 2pIO word at

sləmay a mba asanaw?
ear State still QM

Since I am now old, perhaps I will go to the place of my fathers. Then, who will there be to give you advice?

010

U no sa jak ikwen
3sPfv be -1sIO Inf say -2sIO 2pIO

nà,
Top

gen anan nga ì zek a kwanay
do -2p 3sDO head at body of you

ahay
Plur

nə lele, bina uho nà, awan
Foc well since outside Top thing

kəriya awan.
worthless State

I want to say to you, take care of yourselves, since the world is a worthless place.

011

Kwanayhəna, kwanay apan ki bəren
you now you Prog 2Imp walk-2p

way a kwanay ahaya ta man aya
thing of you where with place Plur

dəren kəriya aya awan, kə
far worthless Plur State 2Pfv

mbəsiken nen taayak.
leave-2p I alone

You now, you are roaming around all over the place far away for no good reason, you are leaving me alone.

012

Aday na mac həna nə, ni məcan
then 1sPfv die now Foc 1sImp die-3sIO

nà, anà kəla ahay bidaw?
Top to dog Plur QM

Then if I die now, I will die for the dogs, won't I?

013

Ata nà, waray pa nga a kwanay
then Top shame on head of you

bidaw ?

QM

If that happens, shame will be on your heads, won't it?

014

Ni mecan à kəla ahay kawa
1sImp die -3sIO at dog Plur like

nə wahak dowan uho
1sPrf give birth -Perf someone outside

bay ata nà, angamaaday anaw, wan
Neg that Top why then QM child

uno ahay ?

1sPos Plur

My children, why should I die to the dogs just as if I had never produced any children.

015

Aday cəkəbay Mbərom kə
then however God 3sPerf

mbəsakak
leave -Perf

kwanay uho tə sifa aya awan,
you outside with life Plur State

aday ki ben pə bəbay a
then 2Imp wait -2p on father of

kwanay ite asanaw ?
you also QM

However, hasn't God let you live on the earth so that you can look after your father?

016

Ənga bənen 'am uno anaya ite
id catch -2p word 1sPos these also

aday.
first

Take hold of my words!

017

Men agay, aday kə dəfen
return -2p home then 2Pfv put -2p

nga kawa do sumor aya ite.
head like person good Plur also

Return home, then obey like good people.

018

Ki gəben uwar, ki njihen
2Imp take -2p wife 2Imp sit -2p

tu doh a kwanay aya awan, ki
with house of you Plur State 2Imp

bənen jœ.
catch -2p handle

Get married, settle down in your home and take up your hoe!

019

Aday ata nen dukweni go
then then I also 3sImp do -1sIO

dədəffa, mivəl uno i ga zayya
joy liver 1sPos 3sImp do

ite.
also

Then it will make me happy too, and I will have peace.

020

Aday bina kwanay kə tərən
then since you 2Pfv become -2p

puno awan jiga nà, angama
from me thing all Top why

dənuno ahay ?
Add Plur

So why have you deserted me completely, lads?

021

'Am uno sə təkerek ikwen a
word 1sPos Rel tell -2sIO 2pIO here

anan ataya nà, 'am sə ndakay
this those Top word Rel build

kwanay.
you

These words which I am saying to you are words which will build you up.

022

Bina kà sak a tøren
since 3sPerf FUTPERFINF become -2p

awan à daliyugo inde nà, ki
thing at world inside Top 2Imp

zlen nga uho bay.
go -2p head outside Neg

Since if you were to become something in the world, you wouldn't fully develop.

023

Ki gen zile pə daliyugo bay re.
2Imp do -2p on world Neg also

You will not ? in the world either.

024

Nen ti həna nə ndahak dɛdɛkwar,
I ? now 1sPfv pluck-Perf grey_hairs

na gak mɛdɛdcoy, anga
1sPrf do -Perf old done because

nə bənək anan anan 'am anà
1sPrf catch-Perf3sIO 3sDO word to

bəbay uno ahay.
father 1sPos Plur

Me, I have grown grey hairs, I have reached old age, because I held onto the words of my fathers.

025

Kwanayhəna dukwen dowan a kə
you now also someone PRM3sPerf

təmahak 'am anaya dukwen i
accept -Perf word these also 3sImp

təran sumor nə anà nga
become -3sIO good Foc to head

anahan ite re.
3sPos also also

Now you also, if you accept these words too,

it will do you good also.

026

Natiya 'am uno sə cəce apan
like_that word 1sPos Rel ask on3s

kwanay a nà, na."
you State Top ANAPH

That is the thing that I wanted to ask you.'

7 Abbreviations

2p	Second person plural
3s	Third person singular
Con	Consecutive aspect
Det	Determiner
Dir	Directional voice
DO	Direct object
excl	Exclusive
Foc	Focus
Fut	Future
FutPos	Possible future (uncertain future)
FutPurp	Future purpose
Id	Idiophone
Imp	Imperfective
In	Inclusive
incl	Inclusive
Inf	Infinitive
IO	Indirect object
Neg	Negative marker
Part	Participle
Pfv	Perfective
Plur	Plural
Pos	Possessive pronoun
Prf	Perfect
Purp	Purpose
QM	Question marker
Rel	Relative clause marker
Spec	Specific
State	Stative marker
Sub	Subordinate verb marker
Top	Topic marker

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