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

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0. INTRODUCTION

The following description of the discourse structure of the Kom language is based on the study and analysis of narrative texts.¹ The order of clause constituents is discussed, particularly the preposing of nuclear and non-nuclear constituents. Backgrounding and highlighting is considered in section 2. Participant reference is described and explained. Prominence is discussed in section 4 and quoted conversations in section 5. Subordination is discussed in section 6.

1. VARIATIONS IN THE ORDER OF CLAUSE CONSTITUENTS

1.1 NUCLEAR CONSTITUENTS

The unmarked or most common order of constituents in narrative text is S V (O IO). The unmarked order of constituents is the same for reasoned argument and equative clauses.

- 1) Wul ì wi ateyn nin fu meyn ifwo ì yini sî à ñena.
 person ASS female there ASP give PERF things ASS eating to them
 S V O IO

“The woman gave them food.” (see “Oku,” no. 9)

- 2) Wà na keli à fo, wa fu wà yn-nà vâ bò m ta wà làè boŋ wo achi a li-a, a
 wul ì lvi-ì
 you DUR have thing you give brother your for as you FUT also unable day ASS other so person ASS
 other
 S V O S V IO S V S
 bô ñ gà mîi vâ .
 also help you
 V O

“(if) You have something, you give to your brother because one day you will also be unable and another person will also help you.”

- 3) Añena n-læ ghi ghi tal.
 they ASP-P4 be ASS three
 S V C

“They were three.” (see “Oku,” no. 2)

1.2 PREPOSING OF NUCLEAR AND NON-NUCLEAR CONSTITUENTS

Certain constituents may be preposed. This is usually done without a trace remaining in the original position and without formal features (i.e., propositional topic marker or focus marker) to distinguish such movement. The non-nuclear temporal, conditional, interrogative, and in some cases, result phrases can be preposed. The nuclear subject may be preposed.

¹ This analysis is based largely on two well-formed texts, a legend about Lake Oku and a parable about a crab. See appendix. Other texts from a Kom postprimer and a Kom reading and writing book were also studied and included in the analysis.

The unmarked order of the temporal phrase, shown in 4 in a post-nuclear position, is contrasted with the marked order, shown in 5.

4) Aŋena n-læ meyn se' i ndu achi a li-a ...
 they ASP-P4 PERF go go day ASS other
 NUCLEAR POST-NUCLEAR

“They went one day ... “ (see “Oku,” no. 3)

5) A ni nà ghi a chuesi kà a layn itu', wu yè m à ŋena ...
 it P1 DUR be at hours four in clean day she wake them
 PRE-NUCLEAR NUCLEAR

“At four o'clock in the morning she woke them ...” (see “Oku,” no. 10)

A temporal phrase, by itself or as a complement of an stative clause with the impersonal subject, an indefinite pronoun, can serve as a sentence introducer and link sentences in the body of a narrative text. In 5 above, this introducer occurs at a point of departure and marks a discontinuity of situation, a major thematic break. The topicalization of this temporal phrase indicates a temporal gap in the action of the narrative. Overall coherence is maintained by this introducer because it serves as an anaphoric thematic link with the preceding thematic unit, and a cataphoric thematic link with the following thematic unit, that is, linking the action of Time₁ (actions just completed) with the action of Time₂ (subsequent actions). The phrase has a bi-directional function in that it serves as a point of departure for the communication of events in T₂ and it provides the primary basis for relating the sentence to the context. The relationship is that of “switch” of time.

The temporal element in the phrase is obligatory but the equative clause is optional, as seen in 6 below.

6) __ Itu' i layn ntum gvì ...
 __ day FOC clean message come ...

“In the morning a message came ...”

(See “Oku,” no. 7)

A temporal phrase can also be preposed at the beginning of a text as an initial point of departure to introduce non-event material. It begins a sentence with a presentative articulation which serves to introduce the participants.

7) A n- læ meyn nà si ghi achi a li-a ...
 it ASP-P4 PERF DUR ASP be day ASS other ...

“It was one day ... “ (see “Oku,” no. 1)

N.B. other tense markers (P1 - P4) may be utilized. There are also other variations on this formulaic expression.

A certain type of topic-comment articulation can also be preposed to mark a highlighted point of departure. This feature makes use of a left-dislocated nuclear noun subject in a stative clause which leaves a pronominal trace. This is followed by an existential clause which describes the completed action of the sentence, see 8 below. See also 5.3 below for a more detailed description.

8) Fintâ ŋbuyn fī nà ghi ma fī nì meyn ko' dù 'i atu ifyas i fī kà ' .
 starling TOP DUR be EX it P1 PERF go.up sit top branch ASS tree

“As for the starling, it had gone up and sat on a tree branch.”

The resulting events or conclusion non-event material of a narrative text may be highlighted by the use of a preposed conditional clause which uses an equative construction with an

indefinite pronoun subject. In 9 below, the content of the speech is highlighted by a phrase of conditional mood.

- 9) Wu kfà 'tì na, “A nà ghi na ma li i wul i wi nì mà a wu asi, ghes i ŋweyn faŋ ki a mò ',...
 he think that it DUR be that I take person ASS female of me she front I and her stay just it one
 “He thought that, ‘If it had been that I took my first wife and we stayed together,...’ (See “Crab,” no. 16)

Unmarked interrogative phrases occur in the post-nuclear position, as in 9, but they may be preposed, as in 10. This movement serves to focus on the question and, in the case of 10, may serve to change the request for information into a rhetorical question.

- 9) Gheli nin tô ' kya ngè bò m ghà a?
 people ASP well know giraffe for what Q?
 NUCLEAR POST-NUCLEAR
 “Why is the giraffe well known?”
- 10) “Ba, bò m ghà ta wà n-keli ki wul i wi i mò ' a? “
 friend for what as you ASP-have just person ASS female ASS one Q?
 PRE-NUCLEAR NUCLEAR
 “Friend, why is it that you have only one wife?” (see “Crab,” no. 2)

Another example of a preposed constituent can be seen in the result clause, which normally occurs in a post-nuclear clause. This is normally introduced by the conjunction “tè yn ,” “therefore,” but in 11 the conjunction is preposed and the remainder of the clause remains in the unmarked post-nuclear position. This serves to emphasize the result by causing the reader/hearer to anticipate the result clause well before its usual occurrence.

- 11) Wu be na, tè yn ta yì waŋ meyn, mi tas i tè yn, mi faŋ meyn ki tè yn, __ yi n-làè bu
 she say that therefore as she spread PERF it sealed so it stay PERF just so __ she ASP-FUT NEG
 fi i kuti wi nò sî ilæ ta yi ni a kuti aleŋ ilvi ikfa.
 again and catch NEG EMPH to smallness as she do catch about time going.home

“She said that therefore as she sprinkled (water) and it sealed like that, it stayed just like that, __she will never again catch (water) as she did catch in the evening.” (see “Oku,” no. 30)

1.3 POST-NUCLEAR CONSTITUENTS

Post-nuclear constituents are locational (See “Oku,” no. 1), temporal (“Oku,” no. 3), accompaniment (“Oku,” no. 32), and interrogative phrases (“Oku,” no. 20) and subordinate clauses, such as relative clauses (“Oku,” no. 15), existential clauses (“Oku,” no. 3), adversative clauses (“Oku,” no. 4), temporal clauses (“Oku,” no. 30), reason clauses (“Oku,” no.4), result clauses (“Oku,” no.4), and purpose clauses (“Oku,” no. 22). When more than one constituent occurs in the post-nuclear position, the order is as shown below.

± Pre-nuclear + Nuclear ±[±Accompaniment ±Locative ±Temporal ±Subordinate clause ± Interrogative]

In the texts that were analyzed, that is, there are no special positions for constituents in unmarked focus. The post-nuclear subordinate clauses may repeat given information (See “Oku,” no. 7) but this is not always the case (See “Oku,” no. 3).

1.4 POSTPOSING OF CONSTITUENTS

Postposed constituents are postposed by means of an equative clause with an indefinite pronoun as the subject. See 2.1 below. In these constructions, a simple adjectival phrase could have been used to modify the topic noun, but instead the modifiers are put into a separate clause and postposed for purposes of clarification and highlighting the information.

2. GROUNDING

2.1 BACKGROUNDING

In narrative text, the verbs in background material are generally imperfective aspect, as in 12 below.

- 12) Gheli ghayni-â ...
 people walk INC
 IMPERFECTIVE
 “People were strolling ...” (see “Oku,” no. 6)

Much background information is put in non-nuclear subordinate clauses, as in 13.

- 13) Gheli ghi li lè ’ kfa ndu ki ndu bò m ta à ñena nin koñ wi si yeyn iwo i bi-i
 ...
 people ASS other go.away go.home go just go for as they ASP like NEG INF see thing ASS bad
 NUCLEAR (FOREGROUND) POST-NUCLEAR (BACKGROUND)
 “The other people just went away home because they did not want to see the bad thing ...”
 (see “Oku,” no. 14)

Tense markers are found only in background information. They may occur in nuclear clauses in the opening of a narrative (see 3 and 4 above) but usually occur in non-nuclear clauses (see 5 and 7 above and 14, note P1). A narrative tense is used in event-line information. This tense is not marked overtly in any manner but is rather a continuation of the tense established in the background opening information.

- 14) ... bò m ta ghi ni meyn be na ka wul i nin kasi ki ibam.
 for as PASS P1 PERF say that NEG person ASP return look behind
 “... because it had been said (early that day) that no person is to look back.” (see “Oku,” no. 12)

The use of the perfect aspect marker “meyn”, occurs in the background, in non-nuclear, subordinate clauses, with the normal sense of a perfect marker, that is, to mark a past action with continuing results at a given point of reference (see 14 above, and 15).

- 15) Añena yeyn ñweyn ma yvisi chyali meyn zue ñweyn.
 they see him EX bees sting PERF kill him
 “They saw him that the bees had stung and killed him.” (see “Oku,” no. 33)

This perfect aspect marker is also used with event-line material as a type of backgrounding device, serving to mark events of secondary importance which set the stage for subsequent events, as in 16 below. This is comparable to the use of participial phrases in Greek in foreground material to de-emphasize a preceding event and hence emphasize the subsequent event.

- 16) Añena zi meyn i ndu a ndo nì wul i wi i lvi-i;
 they enter PERF and go to house of person ASS female ASS other
 “They entered and went to a house of a woman.” (See “Oku,” no. 8)

A special equative clause construction which makes use of an indefinite pronoun as the subject of the clause is used to provide significant background information. This construction

is used to highlight developments in the story that are important in the proper understanding of the outworking of the story. In the two occurrences below, 17 and 18, the noun of the focused phrase (“person” and “place”) was mentioned in the previous clause. This equative construction introduces additional background information prior to a significant event to create greater tension in the story.

17) à n-ghi kî nô wul i lwema.
 it ASP-be just EMPH person ASS grow
 “It was just an old person.” (See “Oku,” no. 8)

18) à ghi alè ’ si a nyiŋ.
 it be place to it run
 “It is a special place.” (See “Oku,” no. 10)

This equative clause is also seen in the preposed temporal clauses above, see 1.2. This clause serves to background any complement of the “be” verb in order to highlight what follows.

Flashbacks are not marked in the verb phrase in any way, that is, there are no significant tense or aspect markers associated with the verb. However the subject is marked by heavy participant encoding. See 19 and 20 below where the change of subject is marked by a referential demonstrative adjective.

19) Ghelì nâ ghè yn i lè ’ kfa.
 people REF these go.away go.home
 “These people (mentioned much earlier) went home.”
 (See “Oku,” no. 28, this is information that was first stated in no. 14)

20) Ghelì nâ ghè yn kfa meyn ndu fè ’tì sa’ gha yè yn.
 people REF these go.hom PERF go tell news this
 “These people (mentioned much earlier) had gone home and told this news.” (See “Oku,” no. 31)

Explanatory comments that disrupt the continuity of the event-line are marked by an imperfective aspect, which differs from the perfective aspect of the foreground information before and after the comment (see 21 below). This imperfective aspect may not be overtly marked by aspectual markers (see 22 below) but may be inherent in the verb.

21) Aŋena nin bu chi si a ndyê yn.
 they ASP NEG stay to it far
 “They didn’t stay for long.” (See “Crab,” no. 6)

22) Iwo ateyni fimsi ŋweyn nô si a ŋaŋ.
 thing there make.black him EMPH to it much
 “The thing confused him very much.” (See “Crab,” no. 10)

2.2 HIGHLIGHTING

There are certain devices that are used to mark the climax of a narrative text. In both texts, the climax is marked by heavy participant encoding and a change in sentence length. See “Oku,” nos. 29-30, and “Crab,” no. 13. In addition, the “Oku” text, which is longer, is marked by a “slowing-down” device immediately before the climax. See “Oku” no. 28, where a flashback is used to slow down the event line.

23) Wul i nâ wè yn waŋ meyn mu nâ mè yn, mi tas.
 person ASS DEM spread PERF water DEM it seal
 “That person sprinkled that water, it sealed it.”
 (See “Oku,” no. 29 and 10 above, which is “Oku,” no. 30)

24) Wu fi kasî i fi ndu chem a dzi ghe alè ' a nà wi nî ηweyn i wu asi i kfî
 ateyn,
 he again return and again go reach to road that place FOC mother wife of him she front die there
 “He also returned and went again to the road where the mother of his first wife died,

i chwo yisi zini ki achi na ghe tè yn ni ki iwo nâ zî .
 and pass spend.day be.confused just day DEM so do just thing DEM
 and spent that day being confused like this, doing that thing.” (See “Crab,” no. 13)

The use of the special equative clause also serves to highlight the clause that immediately follows it. See 1.2 and 2.2 above.

2.3 TAIL-HEAD LINKAGE

Tail-head linkage is used as a resumptive device following a departure from the event line material to give a background comment. See “Oku,” nos. 13-15. The head (15a), which begins with an implied conjunction, is a preposed subordinate clause which repeats the subject, verb, and locative of the tail (13), then adds additional background information (15bc), and then the narrative returns to foreground information (15d). Sentence 14 gives information about other participants.

25) Wù n-ko' meyn atu fikà ' .
 he ASP go.up PERF top tree
 “He climbed to the top of a tree.” (See “Oku,” no. 13)

26) (Ta) wù n-ko' meyn atu fikà ' i na si ki dyaη si ndu nî ntè ' zi a à ηena lu
 ateyn,
 as he ASP-go.up PERF top tree and DUR ASP look across INF go of village which they leave there
 “(As) he climbed to the top of a tree and was looking across to the village which they left,

wu yeyn meyn wul i wi ...
 he see PERF person ASS female ...
 he saw a woman ... “ (See “Oku,” no. 15)

3. PARTICIPANT REFERENCE

There are four different ways in which reference to a participant can be made in a narrative text: zero anaphora, pronoun, noun, and a noun with qualifiers.

3.1 MAJOR PARTICIPANTS

Major participants, those which are active for a large part of the narrative and play leading roles, may be introduced by a full noun phrase in a secondary-event clause in the opening of a text with a presentative articulation. This may or may not include a preposed temporal phrase as an initial point of departure. This introduction is subsequently followed by an event clause in which the major participant is involved. See 27 and 28 below. The central character of the narrative (or, global VIP) is introduced before other major participants.

27) A n-læ meyn na si ghi achi a li-a, gheli ghi byemni ta à ηena nà ghi se' ibyem a
 Ijî m.
 it ASP-P4 PERF DUR ASP be day ASS other people ASS hunting as they DUR be go hunting in Ijim.

Aηena n-læ meyn se' i ndu achi a li-a i kuti nyamsi à ηena, (See “Oku,” no. 1, 3)
 they ASP-P4 PERF go go day ASS other and catch animals their

“One day hunters, as they were, went hunting in Ijim. They went one day and caught their animals.

28) Ankem a nì n læ ndù ...
 crab TOP ASP P4 go

Itu' i layn, sù yn ηweyn gvì sì lisi ηweyn ...
 day TOP clean friend his come INF deceive him

“A crab was going ... In the morning his friend came to deceive him ... (See “Crab,” no. 1, 2)

Major participants may be introduced in a non-active² way in the body of a narrative by first appearing in a non-subject position as a full noun phrase, such as 29 below. Their inclusion in the text as a major participant is then formalized by a subsequent reference as a full noun phrase in a subject position. See 30 below.

29) Aηena zi meyn i ndu a ndo nì wul i wi i lvi-i;
 they enter PERF and go in house of person ASS female ASS other

“They entered and went in the house of a certain woman; (See “Oku,” no. 8)

30) Wul i wi ateyn nin fu meyn ifwo i yini ...
 person ASS female there ASP give PERF things ASS eating

“The woman gave food ...” (See “Oku,” no. 9)

Minor participants, those that are briefly activated and then go off the stage, may be introduced in an active way to an existing scene by a noun (phrase). See 31 below.

31) Itu' i layn, sù yn ηweyn³ gvì i lisi ηweyn i bè sì ηweyn na, ...
 day TOP clean friend his come and deceive him and say to him that ...

“One morning his friend came and deceived him and said to him, ... (See “Crab,” no. 2)

Kom narrative texts make use of a VIP strategy for encoding and interpreting references to participants. The VIP strategy distinguishes one participant, the central character, by the use of references that use less than default encoding values for participants. The VIP is usually identified in the opening of the narrative, but it may also be identified in the body by first introducing the participant in a non-active manner in a non-subject position with a full noun phrase followed by the repeated use of the noun with heavy encoding. See 29 above, where a local VIP is introduced in a non-subject position as “... of a certain woman,” followed by a special focus construction describing the woman (17 above), and see 30 above, which has “This woman ...” in the subject position. The presence of the special focus construction (in 17 above, see also “Oku,” no. 8) with the introduction of this participant and the subsequent references that use less than the default encoding values indicates that it is a salient participant, and therefore considered as a local VIP. In subsequent references, a pronoun or zero anaphora is used to refer to the VIP, even when the default encoding value would require a full noun phrase. See 32 and 33 below.

32) Wul i wi ateyn nin fu meyn ifwo i yini sî à ηena, à ηena yi, ∅ i fu mu, à ηena sù iwuyn,
 person ASS female there ASP give PERF things ASS eating to them they eat she give water they wash body

∅ i dyè yn ikwiyn, à ηena nyè ηì . (See “Oku,” no. 9)
 she show beds they lie.down

² There are no occurrences of major participants being introduced in an active way to an existing scene.

³ There are no previous references to this participant and there is only one additional remote reference near the end of the story.

“The woman gave them food, they ate, she gave water, they washed, she showed beds, they laid down.”

33) Tikaynakayn ti zi aku ... Wu waj mu na mi, mi fan ti tas.⁴
wasps TOP enter forest she spread water REF that it stay NEG seal

“The wasps entered the forest ... she (VIP) sprinkled that water and it didn’t seal.
 (See “Oku,” no. 23 and 24)

This strategy also makes use of certain features of a sequential strategy when encoding and interpreting references to other participants. The referent is located by noting what was mentioned just prior to its occurrence. The sequential strategy employed in Kom is subject-oriented, where the unmarked case is that a pronoun as subject will refer to the subject of the preceding clause. See 34 below.

34) Gheli ghi li le ' kfa ndu ki ndu bo m ta a nena nin kon wi si yeyn iwo i bi-i na yi ga yn.
people ASS other go.away go.home go just go for as they ASP like NEG INF see thing thing ASS bad that it happen

“The other people went away and were just going home because they did not want to see the bad thing that would happen.” (See “Oku,” no. 14)

3.2 FURTHER REFERENCE TO PARTICIPANTS

The encoding scale for further reference to participants is given below. Default values are given for participant encoding in certain contexts in the absence of discontinuity.

Default values for encoding subjects:

S1	the subject is the same as in the previous clause	Pronoun or ∅
S2	new subject is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause in a closed conversation	Noun
S3	new subject is in a non-subject role in the previous clause	Pronoun
S4	reference to a previously mentioned participant	Qualified noun

The four contexts for encoding subjects are illustrated below, using the English translation of certain sentences from the “Oku” text.

S1	(1) One day <u>three hunters</u> went hunting. (2) <u>They</u> were three. (4) <u>They</u> left and ∅ were going home ...
S2	(10) She ... said to <u>them</u> , ... (11) <u>They</u> came out to the road ...
S3	(5) They ... reached a <u>village</u> , <u>it</u> was very big.
S4	(27) <u>Those bees</u> stung him ... ⁵

A pronoun is used in the context S1 when intervening clauses contain background material. A noun phrase is used in the context S4 when intervening clauses contain event-line material.

Default values for encoding non-subjects:

⁴ All participant references in the previous two clauses are to “wasps” but now only a pronoun is used to refer to the “woman.”

⁵ The referent immediately preceding (27) is the man who was stung, a VIP.

N1	the participant has the same non-subject role as in the previous clause	Pronoun or Noun
N2	the addressee of a reported speech is the subject of a reported speech in the previous clause	(not observed)
N3	the participant is in a subject role in the previous clause	Pronoun
N4	reference to a previously mentioned participant	Qualified noun

The contexts for encoding non-subjects are illustrated below, using the English translation of certain sentences from the “Oku” text.

N1	(10) She woke <u>them</u> and ∅ said to <u>them</u> that ... (16) ... ∅ (she) sprinkled ∅ (it) over <u>that village</u> . (17) Water covered and came from <u>the village</u> ...
N2	(not observed)
N3	(26) ... <u>he</u> was looking at that village. (27) Those bees stung <u>him</u> ...
N4	(24) She sprinkled <u>that water</u> ... ⁶

The pragmatic effects of using marked encodings indicate that the amount of coding material varies with the participant’s activation status or prominence. If the activation status is high, less coding material is used. If the activation status is low, more coding material is used. This can be seen in 35 below. Following the death of the global VIP and the climax of the story, which featured a long sentence containing indirect speech of the old woman, the former global VIP is reactivated in 35 with a full noun phrase, which is a marked encoding, (S4), in a non-subject position.

35) Ghi kij gvi nì wà yn-na à nena vzi ...
PASS look.for come with brother their that
 “Their brother was being looked for ...” (See “Oku,” no. 32)

As stated earlier, activation of a participant is accomplished with a noun phrase. Maintaining the participant in active status requires little coding (zero anaphora or a pronoun). Deactivation of the participant is not marked formally. Reactivation of a participant requires heavy encoding, a full noun phrase, as shown above.

Another marked coding occurs at the climax of the story where the local VIP is referred to by a noun phrase rather than a pronoun. See “Oku,” no. 29. This gives increased prominence to the climactic events. More coding material is also needed whenever the flow of information is disrupted in order to process the information correctly. The sentence immediately preceding the climax (“Oku,” no. 28) is a flashback, containing background information, therefore participant updating occurs, where more than the default encoding is used to maintain coherence at this discontinuity.

3.3 DETERMINERS

The Kom language has three sets of determiners which have spatial and discourse functions. The spatial function is combined with a visibility function which can be seen clearly in the locative adverbs, as shown in 36 below. category One indicates a place that is near to both speaker and listener, (+ near, + visible); category Two indicates a specific place somewhat removed from speaker and listener but still visible, (- near, + visible); and category Three

⁶ The referent immediately preceding (23) is the wasps.

indicates a place that is remote from both speaker and listener and not visible (- near, + visible) and may be non-specific.

	<u>One</u>	<u>Two</u>	<u>Three</u>
36)	afê yn “here”	afi “there”	afu ⁷ “there”

Other locative adverbs that are found in Kom narratives are shown below.

37)	aghâ yn “over here” close to speaker	aghê “over there” removed from speaker	ateyn “there” indefinite
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The demonstrative adjectives also make a 3-way spatial and visibility distinction that parallels that of the locative adverbs, except that these determiners are noun class specific, as shown in 38 below. Note that the only difference between category Two and category Three is the tone; category Three has a Low tone to indicate (- visible).

	<u>One</u>	<u>Two</u>	<u>Three</u>	<u>Noun Class</u>
38)	wè yn	vzi	vzi	1, 3, 8
	ghè yn	ghi	ghì	2
	yè yn	zi	zi	4, 5, 9
	kè yn	ki	kì	6, 7
	mè yn	mi	mì	6a
	sè ynsì	sisi	sì sì	10
	tè yntì	tsiti	tsi tì	13
	fè ynfì	fifi	fì fì	19
	“this”	“that”	“that”	

The demonstrative determiners also have a discourse, or referential function, which makes use of these demonstratives to reactivate a participant. When combined with a noun in a noun phrase, the construction indicates a participant that had been previously mentioned in the narrative but that was not referred to in the immediately preceding context. The referential marker “nâ ” is used to distinguish the referential function from the spatial function. See 39 and 40 below.

39)	<u>Gheli nâ ghè yn</u> kfa meyn ...	category One
	people REF these go.home PERF	
	“These people went home ...” (referred to earlier)	(See “Oku,” no. 31)

40)	Wu waŋ <u>mu nâ mi</u> , mi faŋ ti tas.	category Three
	she spread water REF that it stay NEG seal	
	“She sprinkled that water and it did not seal.” (referred to earlier)	(See “Oku,” no. 24)

The referential determiners make use of demonstratives from categories One and Three only. The distinction between categories is not a real spatial and visibility distinction but is rather a function of proximity or salience of the referenced participant in the speaker’s mental representation. This can refer to proximity in the narrative itself, that is, the referenced participant was recently mentioned but not in the immediately preceding context (category One, + near) or the referenced participant was mentioned much earlier in the narrative (category Three, - near). This can also refer to the mental image held by the listener, that is, the speaker is trying to convey to the listener that the referenced participant is near (and

⁷ A related word “awu” has a slight difference in meaning; whereas “afu” refers to a remote place that is not visible and may not be familiar to the listener, “awu” refers to a remote place that is not visible but is familiar to both speaker and listener.

visible), and therefore prominent, from a particular reference point (category One, + salient) or that it is remote (and not visible) from that reference point (category Three, - salient). The speaker may choose to use a category One referential determiner to indicate focus or climax or to refer to a VIP when the context would indicate that a category Three referential determiner would be expected. See 41 below where the “people” had not been mentioned for quite some time yet this is pre-climax and the speaker wanted to make the reference more vivid.

- 41) Ghelì i nâ ghè yn i lè ’ kfa.
 people REF this go.away go.home
 “These people went away and went home” (See “Oku,” no. 28)

The VIPs of the texts examined, when referred to by a referential determiner, always employed a determiner from category One, (+ near, + salient).

The referential determiners are also noun class specific except that there is a general referential determiner, which corresponds roughly with 37 above, which can be used with any noun. This indicates a noun that is currently on the stage (__ nâ ghà yn) or a noun that has been removed from the stage but is known to the speaker and listener (__ nâ ghè). See 42 below.

- 42) Wu ... chwo yisi zini kî achi nâ ghè tèt yn ni ki iwo nâ zì .
 he pass spend.day be.confused just day REF that so do just thing REF that
 “He ... passed that whole day being confused like that, just doing that thing.” (See “Crab,” no. 13)

Kom does not make use of a definite and indefinite article. The demonstratives shown above fill the function of a definite article. The locative adverb “ateyn,” see 37 above, can also be used as a determiner which functions like a definite article. It has a deictic function, rather than a spatial function, pointing to a participant in the listener’s current mental representation. See 43 below. The use of the adjective “li,” “other,” can be used to focus on the indefinite nature of a noun. See 43 below.

- 43) Aŋena zì meyn i ndu a ndo nì wul i wi i lvi-i; ..
 they enter PERF and go in house of person ASS female ASS other ...
 Wul i wi ateyn nin fu meyn ...
 person ASS female there ASP give PERF ...
 “They entered the house of a certain woman ... The woman gave ...” (See “Oku,” no. 8 & 9)

Kom also makes use of certain interrogative adjectives that act as determiners. See 44 below.

- 44) alè ’ a kà “which place”
 wul i ndà “which person” (“who”)

4. PROMINENCE

Prominence can be expressed in three different ways in Kom narrative texts: thematic prominence, emphatic prominence, and focus.

4.1 THEMATIC PROMINENCE (CLAUSE LEVEL OR HIGHER CONSTITUENTS)

Thematic prominence is given to the topic or subject that is being discussed. The sentence topic in a topic-comment articulation has thematic prominence. The topic may be marked

with a topicalization particle (see next paragraph). A point of departure with a presentative articulation and a preposed temporal phrase (see 1.2) may serve to introduce and give thematic prominence to the participants, as in 45 below.

- 45) A n- læ meyn nà si ghi achi a li-a gheli ghi byemni ... se' ibyem a Iji m.
 it ASP-P4 PERF DUR ASP be day ASS other people ASS hunt.ADJ ... go hunting in Ijim.
 “(It was) one day hunters ... went hunting in Ijim.” (see “Oku,” no. 1)

The sentence topic may be marked by a topicalization particle which is noun-class specific and is similar to the associative morpheme in a noun phrase construction. This topicalized subject may serve as a point of departure, as in 46, the initial sentence of the “Crab” story.

- 46) Ankem a nì n læ ndù ...
 crab TOP ASP P4 go
 “The crab was going ...”

The more frequent use of the topicalization particle is to signal a switch of topic in the body of the narrative. In 47 below, the topicalization particle on the subject noun indicates a change in topic from “the crab’s friend” back to “the crab.” In 48 below, the topicalization particle on the subject noun indicates a change in topic from “the woman” to “the wasps.” Other nominal elements can be marked as the new topic, as in 49 below where the particle marks a non-subject noun (instrument) as the new topic.

- 47) Ankem a nì n yviti meyn iwo ateyn, ...
 crab TOP ASP listen PERF thing there
 “The crab listened to the thing ...” (See “Crab,” no. 4)

- 48) Tikaynakayn ti zi aku miti ma ti ka' a ti bu tayn ko' iyvi si a njan ...
 wasps TOP enter forest but EX they be.able they NEG fly go.up sky to it be.much
 “The wasps entered the forest but they could not fly very high ...” (See “Oku,” no. 23)

- 49) ... wa ndù i yà ytì i kfa ni nseyinsi i zisi ibè yn i losi nì fi ngvañ fi.
 you go and loose and go.home with them and make.enter pen and make.lick with salt TOP
 “... you go and loosen (the goats) and go home with them and put them into a pen and feed them salt.”⁸

Thematic prominence can also be given to a thematic participant or local VIP (see 3.1), as in 50 below. This is accomplished by introducing a participant in a non-subject position with a full noun phrase followed by a repetition of the noun with heaving encoding. After this introduction, the local VIP is referred to only by pronouns or zero anaphora.

- 50a) Añena zi meyn i ndu a ndo nì wul i wi i lvi-i; à n-ghi ki nô wul i
 lwema.
 they enter PERF and go in house of person ASS female ASS other it ASP-be just EMPH person ASS grow
 “They entered and went in the house of a certain woman; it was a very old person. (See “Oku,” no. 8)

- 50b) Wul i wi ateyn nin fu meyn ifwo i yini sî à ñena, à ñena yi, Ø i fu mu, à ñena sù
 person ASS female there ASP give PERF things ASS eating to them they eat she give water they wash

- iwuyn, Ø i dyè yn ikwiyn, à ñena nyi ñi.
 body she show beds they lie.down (See “Oku,” no. 9)
 “The woman gave them food, they ate, she gave water, they washed, she showed beds, they laid down.”

⁸ The topic continues in the next sentence; “Wa bisi fu fingvañ sî nseyinsi.” “You give salt to them early in the morning.”

Thematic prominence is also given to the event line of the narrative (foreground), which is marked by a narrative tense (no overt tense or aspect markers), in contrast to background information, which is marked by imperfective aspect.

4.2 EMPHATIC PROMINENCE (PART OF A CLAUSE CONSTITUENT)

Emphatic prominence reflects the speaker's feelings about an item. This is marked by verb reduplication with the restrictive particle "ki" as in 51 and 52 below. The use of this particle excludes some other expectation or action.

51) ... mitì à ñena nà gvi ki gvi bò m ta ...
 but they DUR come just come for as ...
 "... but they just kept coming because ..." (See "Oku," no. 4)

52) Gheli ghi li lè ' kfa ndu ki ndu bò m ta ...
 people ASS other go.away go.home go just go for as
 "The other people went home and kept going because ..." (See "Oku," no. 14)

Emphatic prominence is also marked by particles of emphasis or intensification, such as "nô" and "tè yn," as in 53 and 54 below. The characteristics of a noun may be emphasized by a special emphatic stative clause, rather than just a simple adjective, as in 55 below.

53) ... ka wul i nin kasi ki ibam nô sî ì læ bò m ta ...
 NEG person ASP return look behind EMPH to little for as
 "... no person is to look back at all because ..." (See "Oku," no. 10)

54) ... wu bè ki na , "Wi! Bò à kù i bem tè yn."
 he say just that EX lord forest TOP be. terrible so
 "He just said, "Oh! The chimpanzee is very dreadful!"

55) Añena ... yeyn jva a ji, a ghi nô jva i gha'ni ...
 they see river in road it be EMPH river ASS big
 "They saw a river in the road; it was a very big river ..."

4.3 FOCUS (PART OF A CLAUSE CONSTITUENT)

Focus marks the most salient information in a given setting. Marked focus can be indicated by a type of "it-cleft" sentence that does not make use of the "be" verb. A clause, consisting of a neutral pronoun subject, a repetition of the verb of the main clause, and the personal object pronoun, replaces the subject pronoun of the unmarked sentence in 56 below. In this example, 57, the nuclear accent falls on the first part of the cleft and no subsidiary accent is indicated.

56) Wà lem mà a nge' afê yn. (unmarked)
 you put me in trouble here
 "You caused me to have this problem."

57) A lè m và lem mà a nge' afê yn. (marked focus)
 it put you put me in trouble here
 "It was you who caused me to have this problem."

A special type of topic-comment articulation must be distinguished from marked focus. This articulation, see 58 below, is a highlighted point of departure that makes use of a left-dislocated noun subject in a stative clause which leaves a pronominal trace. This is followed by an existential clause which describes the completed action of the sentence. According to Werth, there is a topic-comment articulation constraint which holds that anaphoric material

will normally precede non-anaphoric material. In this case of left-dislocation, the dislocated element is anaphoric which indicates that it is a point of departure rather than a focused constituent. In 58 below, there is a change of topic, from the elephant to the starling, and a new point of departure is established.

58) Fintâ ηbuyn fi nà ghì ma fi nì meyn ko' dù 'ì atu ifyas i fi kà '.

starling TOP DUR be EX it P1 PERF go.up sit top branch ASS tree

“As for the starling, it had gone up and sat on a tree branch.”

The movement of constituents, however, can also be used to indicate focus. Fronted elements include vocatives (see “Crab,” no. 2) and short replies (see “Oku,” no. 12). Backed elements include vocatives and some interrogatives, see 59 below. Note that in 59, the backed element, within the indirect speech, is an interrogative that replaces the subject and is moved to the right of the verb. The subject position is filled by a “dummy” neutral pronoun.

59) Wu nà sì bibtì sì à ηena na à nì yà s ndà gheli ghì a?

he DUR ASP ask to them that it P1 untie who people those Q

“He was asking them who untied those people.”

5. QUOTED CONVERSATIONS

Reported speech is most often found in narrative stories in Kom. It is of two types: direct and indirect. The semi-direct type of reported speech that is common to many Niger Congo languages does not occur in Kom. Descriptive narrative texts will occasionally contain indirect speech and may contain direct speech only if reference is made to certain formulaic expressions (i.e., prayers). If biographical texts contain any reported speech, it will be indirect speech. Procedural and hortatory texts do not contain direct or indirect speech.⁹

5.1 SPEECH MARGINS

Reported speech is presented in two parts: the speech margin and the speech itself. The speech margin always precedes the speech being reported. The enquoting particle, “na,” is obligatory in all types of reported speech.

60) ...wu ... bè sî à ηena na à ηena lû na kfâ ...

she say to them that they leave DUR go.home

SPEECH MARGIN EP SPEECH

“She said to them that they must leave and go home...”

61) Fì nà 'ana' be na “Ka du'i a ma atu.”

chameleon say that NEG sit on my head

SPEECH MARGIN EP SPEECH

“The chameleon said, “Don't sit on my head.”

The speech margin contains the subject noun or pronoun, the speaker, the speech verb, and may contain an indirect object or direct object, the addressee. There are normally no tense or aspect markers in the speech margin and so it resembles the narrative tense of the event line. The speech margin may contain other verbs and adverbs that occur between the subject speaker and the encoding particle, see 62 and 63 below.

62) Kà yn i zì tì kì sì teli ngè bê na, “Nyà m ...”

monkey begin just INF curse giraffe say that animal

⁹ This analysis is based on the examination of 31 texts, the majority from *Ghesi na Ye'i Itanjikom 3*, a postprimer in the Kom language, 1992.

“The monkey began to curse the giraffe and said, “Animal...”

63) Fì njæ̀ njæ̀¹ fì kǎè bè na wù² faŋ tì fu, a yi¹ giŋ gvisi a ŋweyn² atu.
fly FOC then say that he stay NEG give and LOG lay maggots on his head

“Then the fly said that if he (snake) didn’t give (some medicine), he would put maggots on his head.

Although the verb “bè ,” “say,” is most frequently used in the margin, other verbs also occur. The verb “bif,” “ask,” may be used in the margin of questions of direct and indirect speech. The verb, “bè ynsì ,” “reply,” (literally “turn around”) may be used to respond to an accusation, a counter-assertion, as in 64, or to a simple question, but only in direct speech. The verb “fi sî ,” “answer,” may be used to respond to a simple question in direct speech. The verb “tebti,” “give advice,” may be used when giving a warning in indirect speech. Other verbs such as “jà ŋ,” “call,” and “dzì ,” “cry out,” are rarely used and only in direct speech. The use of these verbs in the speech margin intensifies the speech action. In all of these contexts, the neutral verb “say,” occurs more frequently, even in response to the verb “ask.”

64) Kà yn ... bê na ...”Wà lobti mà i bè na ki n-sœ̀ wì .”
monkey say that you deceive me and say that it ASP-be.deep NEG

“The monkey said, “You deceived me and said that it is not deep.”

Ngè i bè ynsì si ŋweyn na, “Wà nì bì fi sî mà nâ achim a nin sœ̀ ...”
giraffe replied to him that you P1 ask to me that pool FOC ASP be.deep

“The giraffe replied to him, “You asked me if the pool was deep ...”

65) Tò là ki ... tebti wi ŋweyn na ka wu fe’ tì alê ’ kî a yì ndû ateyn.
turtle advise wife his that NEG she tell place that and LOG go there

“The turtle advised his wife that she not tell the place that he is going to.”

In speech couplets the speech margin and the encoding particle are always present. There is never a post- speech margin. A typical couplet is shown below.

PRE-SPEECH MARGIN	SPEECH
Wù be sî à ŋena na he say to them that	<u>Question</u> “Yì n-ndu wo?” you ASP-go where
Aŋena be na they say that	<u>Answer</u> “Ghes nin se’ iwe.” we ASP go market

5.2 REPORTED SPEECH

As stated above, there are two types of reported speech. Chia (1986) claims that the default method of reporting speech is indirect speech, however in the Kom stories examined for this analysis (see footnote 10), approximately an equal amount of direct and indirect speech is used. Questions are reported in direct and indirect speech, see 66 and 67 below. Imperatives can be expressed in direct speech, as in 71 below, and in indirect speech, as in 65 above and 68 below.

66) ... sù yn ŋweyn .. bè sî ŋweyn na, “Ba, bò m ghà ta wà n-keli ki wul i wi i mò ’ a?”
friend his say to him that friend for what as you ASP-have just person ASS female ASS one Q

“His friend said to him, “Friend, why is it that you have only one wife?”

67) Kaynsù ... bif na wù jè l ti si zueli awum a gve a?
friend say that he ask him how many wife he have

council asked that he move how INF crush eggs ASS partridge Q
 “The council asked him how he had crushed the partridge’s eggs.”

68) ... njwò si-ifò si ghali nchì ynti i bè na ka njwò -ì fò læ fi kì ichfì-iyvi no ta ka
 nse læ màè .
 bats hold meeting and say that NEG bat F2 again look sun EMPH as that earth F2 finish
 “The bats held a meeting and said that no bat was to look at the sun again until the end of the earth.”

Also if the speaker and /or addressee is a participant in a reported speech, that speech may be direct or indirect, see 69 and 70 below.

69) ... bes i bè si chwokù ’ na, “Lviyn ka mà kfilì vâ ighel ta wà ni kfì l alaŋ a
 jvâ .”
 cat TOP say to rat that now NEG me chew you equal as you P1 chew cocoyam in river
 “The cat said to the rat, ‘Now, I will eat you just as you ate the cocoyam in the river.’”

70) Mbam bè na yì ni ndù dù ’ì a jvâ nà nû ’tì à fì à kya ta ilvâ i vzi
 nin yafì ...
 snake say that LOG P1 go sit at river DUR mix medicine ASS LOG as stomach ASS LOG ASP hurt
 “The snake said that he went and sat by the river and was mixing his medicine because his stomach was hurting.”

A special set of logophoric pronouns are used in indirect speech, as shown below.

Subject	Object	Possessive
yì	zì	vzi (Noun class 1, 3, 8)
		kya (Noun class 6, 7)
		* (further research is needed for other noun classes)

When direct speech is used, it indicates the climax of the story, see 71 below. It also can be used to mark the event that triggers subsequent actions that are important in the working out of the story by providing salient information, see 72 below. Indirect speech is also used to mark climax and to trigger important events.

71) ... fì nà ’ana’ fì bè na, “Ka du’ì a ma atu. Ghi n-jelà yeyn ilwe’ a?”
 chameleon TOP say that NEG sit on my head PASS ASP-move see places Q
 “ ... the chameleon said, ‘Don’t sit on my head. Don’t people look before they move around?’”
 [Note: this is the only direct speech in this story about a chameleon that tricks all the other animals and wins the race and is the first to sit on the throne and so is declared the king.]

72) ... sù yn ηweyn ... bè sî ηweyn na, “Ba, bò m ghà ta wà n-keli kì wul i wi i
 mò ’ a?
 friend his say to him that friend for what as you ASP-have just person ASS female ASS one Q
 “ ... his friend ... said to him, ‘Friend, why is it that you have only one wife?’

Yi n-jofà na wà na keli ghì kì ghì bò ta ka wà na yi kula.”
 it ASP-be good.INC that you DUR have women ASS two as that you DUR eat tie.INC
 It is good that you have two wives so that you can eat well.”
 [Note: this comment causes the crab to take two wives and consequently experience difficulties, which is the theme of the story.]

The use of direct or indirect speech is more related to the purpose and/or the knowledge of the speaker. He may intend for his listeners to understand the speech as being an exact quotation, which is given for emphasis, and therefore use direct speech. He may not have first hand knowledge of the speech event and therefore must report the speech event with indirect speech.

6. SUBORDINATION (AND GIVEN VERSUS NEW INFORMATION)

6.1 RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses occur infrequently. Approximately 2 % of the clauses in any given narrative text fall into the category of relative clauses.¹⁰ Different types of noun phrases can be relativized: subject (see 73 below), object (see 74 below), and oblique (see 75 below). The relative conjunction is comprised of a determiner from the category Two demonstratives (see 38 above) for the noun class of the head noun that is being modified, or a form of the locative adverb (see 37 above) if the head noun is a location, plus the particle “a.” This particle is used in other contexts to introduce a clause that gives new background information that is important to the working out of the story (see 76 below). The relative clause occurs off the event line to provide background information. These clauses are used to modify a head noun that has been previously specified in the text, giving prominence and/or adding a new piece of information about a participant that is important in the development of the story.

73) ... nô mî nyam i kà zi a yi nyiŋ lì à sî, a yì na ghi fò yn.
 EMPH EX animal ASS which that and it run take front and it DUR be king
 SUBJECT NP REL.

“... which ever animal that runs first, it will be king.”

[The relative clause introduces the idea of a race which is the central event of the story; the animals were introduced prior to this sentence.]

74) Wù gvi nî ì wo zi a wù n-kiŋ.
 he come with thing that and he ASP-want

“He should come with the thing that he wants.”

[The relative clause introduces the challenge which results in the fight, the climax of the story.]

75) ... yi leŋ mamtî fîntâ ŋbuyn alè ' ghe a fi n-du' ateyn.
 it hit flatten starling place there and it ASP-sit there
 LOC. REL.

“... it (would) hit and flatten the starling where it was sitting.”

[The relative clause refers to the place that results in injury and death to the elephant.]

76) Yì ndu meyn i zi achî m bò m ta ilwê ' nà lû m, a faŋ ki atu a ŋweyn atû mù .

it go PERF and enter pool for as places DUR hot and stay just head ASS his above water
 “It went and entered the pool because it was hot outside and only his head stayed above the water.”

Kom has only one type of relative clause, a restrictive relative clause, which delimits the potential referents. In the above examples, it serves to distinguish one animal from all others, one thing from all others, and one place from all others. There are no relative clauses that are used in a nonrestrictive sense.

Kom also makes use of other means of modifying a head by a clause. There is no relativizing conjunction but rather a type of apposition. See 77 and 78 below.

77) Aŋena ... chem a ntè ', yi gha' ki tè yn.
 they reach to village it big just so

“They reached a village; it was very big.”

78) Aŋena ... yeyn jva a ji, a ghi nô jva i gha'ni ...
 they see river in road it be EMPH river ASS big

“They saw a river in the road; it was a very big river ...”

¹⁰ An examination of eleven narrative texts revealed a total of 514 clauses, 12 of which were relative clauses.

6.2 OTHER SUBORDINATED CLAUSES

Several types of subordinate clauses occur in Kom narrative texts. In each of the types listed below, the subordinate clause can introduce new information, except for temporal subsequent action subordinate clauses and concessive subordinate clauses. Note that many of the subordinating conjunctions are phrases that contain the particle “ta”.

Temporal clause: subordinating conjunction, “ta,” describing a state existing simultaneous to the action of the verb in the independent clause.

79) Yvìsi ... ndu yeyn ηweyn a atu fikà ' ta wù n-ki ntè ' nâ zì .
 bees go see him in top tree as he ASP-look village REF that
 “The bees ... saw him in the top of a tree while he was looking at that village.” (repeated information)

80) Wù ... yeyn dù yn Bò à kù ta wù n-baηsi, ...
 he see anus father forest as it ASP-make.red
 “He saw the anus of the king of the forest that it was red.” (new information)

This type of temporal clause can also be used to modify a head noun (similar to a relative clause) in that the subject of the clause may have the same referent as the nominal constituent that immediately precedes it. See 81 below. Used in this way, the clause modifies a noun that has not been previously specified in the context.

81) Wu ... yeyn fichue ta fi yisi yi kul ì nyì ηì i nâ si buni-à .
 he ... see hare as it feed eat tie and lie.down and DUR ASP sleep-INC
 “He saw a hare while it was sleeping, having eaten well and lain down.”

Existential clause: subordinating conjunction, “ma,” describing a completed state.

82) Aηena yeyn ηweyn ma yvisi chyali meyn zue ηweyn.
 they see him EX bees sting PERF kill him
 “They saw him that the bees had stung and killed him.” (repeated information)

83) Aηena n-læ meyn se' i ndu achi a li-a i kuti nyamsi à ηena ... ma ilvi chwo meyn.
 they ASP-P4 PERF go and go day ASS other and catch animals their EX time pass PERF
 “They went one day to catch their animals ... and the time had become late.” (new information)

This type of existential clause also may be used to modify a head noun (similar to a relative clause) in that the subject of the clause may have the same referent as the nominal constituent that immediately precedes it. See 84 below. Used in this way, the clause modifies a noun that has not been previously specified in the context.

84) Fì ntâ ηbuyn fi sal i ko' atù ngò ' i gha'ni ma ì nfù ' chiti meyn.
 starling FOC jump and go.up top rock ASS big EX grass hide PERF
 “The starling jumped up on a big rock that the grass had hidden.”

Note that the perfective particle “meyn,” is obligatory in the existential subordinate clause unless the clause is in the optative mood (conditional)(see 92 below).

Purpose clause: subordinating conjunction, “na,” expressing the aim or goal of the verb in the independent clause.

85) Bò bè i lvi-i nì n læ tum wâ yn ηweyn na wù ndu i chuf ivis.
 master ASS other ASP P4 send child his that he go and fetch fire
 “A master sent his son in order that he go and fetch some fire.” (new information)

This type of purpose clause can also be used to modify a head noun (similar to a relative clause) in that the subject of the clause may have the same referent as the nominal constituent that immediately precedes it. See 86 below. Used in this way, the clause modifies a noun that has not been previously specified in the context.

- 86) ... à ɲena nin koŋ wi si yeyn iwo i bi-i na yi gà yn.
 they ASP like NEG INF see thing ASS bad that it happen
 “They did not want to see the bad thing that would happen.”

Cause clause: subordinating conjunction, “bò m ta,” expressing the reason of the verb in the independent clause.

- 87) ... à ɲena nà gvi ki gvi bò m ta alè ' a na ghi wi ta ka à ɲena chi ateyn.
 they DUR come just come for as place FOC DUR be NEG as that they stay there
 “... they just kept going because there was no place where they could stay.” (new information)

Result clause: subordinating conjunction, “ta ka,” expressing the outcome of the idea of the verb in the independent clause.

- 88) ... wà na keli ghi kì ghi bò ta ka wà na yi kula.
 you DUR have women ASS two as that you DUR eat tie.INC
 “You should have two wives so that you would be eating well.” (new information)

Temporal clause: subordinating conjunction, “jæ ta ka,” expressing subsequent action to the independent clause.

- 89) ... wù nì nà kiŋ ghà abù ' nì fi ndù m a jæ ta ka yì fi na ko' a kfiyn ...
 a?
 he P2 DUR look.for what hole of rat Q before as that he come.out DUR go.up on hill Q
 “... what was he looking for in the hole of the rat before he came out and was going up the hill?”
 (repeated information)

Adversative clause: coordinating conjunction, “mitì ,” expressing a contrasting or opposing thought to the idea contained in the independent clause.

- 90) ... itu' ji meyn à ɲena dzi mitì à ɲena nà gvi ki gvi ...
 day be.dark PERF they road but they DUR come just come
 “it became dark on their way but they kept going ...” (repeated information, with emphasis)
- 91) Tikaynakayn ti zi aku mitì ma ti ka' a ti bu tayn ko' iyvi si a ɲaŋ...
 wasps FOC enter forest but EX they able they NEG fly go.up sky to it be.much
 “The wasps entered the forest but they could not fly very high ...” (new information)

Conditional/temporal clause: subordinating conjunction, “ivli ta,” expressing the time of the action and/or the possibility of a certain action. Note how the use of this subordinate clause compares with the conditional adverb in 93.

- 92) Ghi ni ghi nà bê na wù l nì n kfi ti-à ivli ta wù n-keli afo,
 PASS make PASS DUR say that person ASP be.stingy time as he ASP-have thing
 “It has been said that a person is stingy if he has something (new information)

ma wù ka' a wù bu fu wul vzi a wù n-keli wi.
 EX he able he NEG give person that and he ASP-have NEG
 and he cannot give to a person who has nothing.”

- 93) Wù kæ fu ifwo nâ wè yn a wù na si ghi wul i ndô nkò ' ...
 he if give things REF these and he DUR ASP be person ASS house nko

“If he gives these things, he is a member of the nko society.”

Concessive clause: subordinating conjunction, “nô mi ta,” expressing an action or state that is in spite of the action of the verb of the independent clause.

94) Nô mi ta wu n-yvitì wù ba'tî ifel i ηweyn.

EMPH INDEF as he ASP-rest he plan work ASS his

“Even though he is resting, he is planning his work.” (repeated information)

Temporal clause: subordinating conjunction, “se,” expressing simultaneous action to the action in the independent clause. This conjunction is always followed by an infinitive verb.

95) Wà yn nâ wè yn i sè_ si fà yn i bè ki na...

child REF that TOP SIM INF fear and say just that ...

”That child was frightened and just said that ...” (new information)

96) Aṅena jel i se si gvì i chem a ntè ' ...

they move and SIM INF come and reach to village

“They moved and while coming reached a village ...” (new information)

It can be seen that there are no restrictions on the encoding of new information in subordinate clauses that follow the verb except for the subsequent action temporal clause. The only prenuclear subordinate clause that can contain new information has the simultaneous conjunction “se,” plus an infinitive verb.

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8. APPENDICES