Editors

Tense and Aspect in Eight Languages of Cameroon

Stephen C. Anderson and Bernard Comrie

Editors

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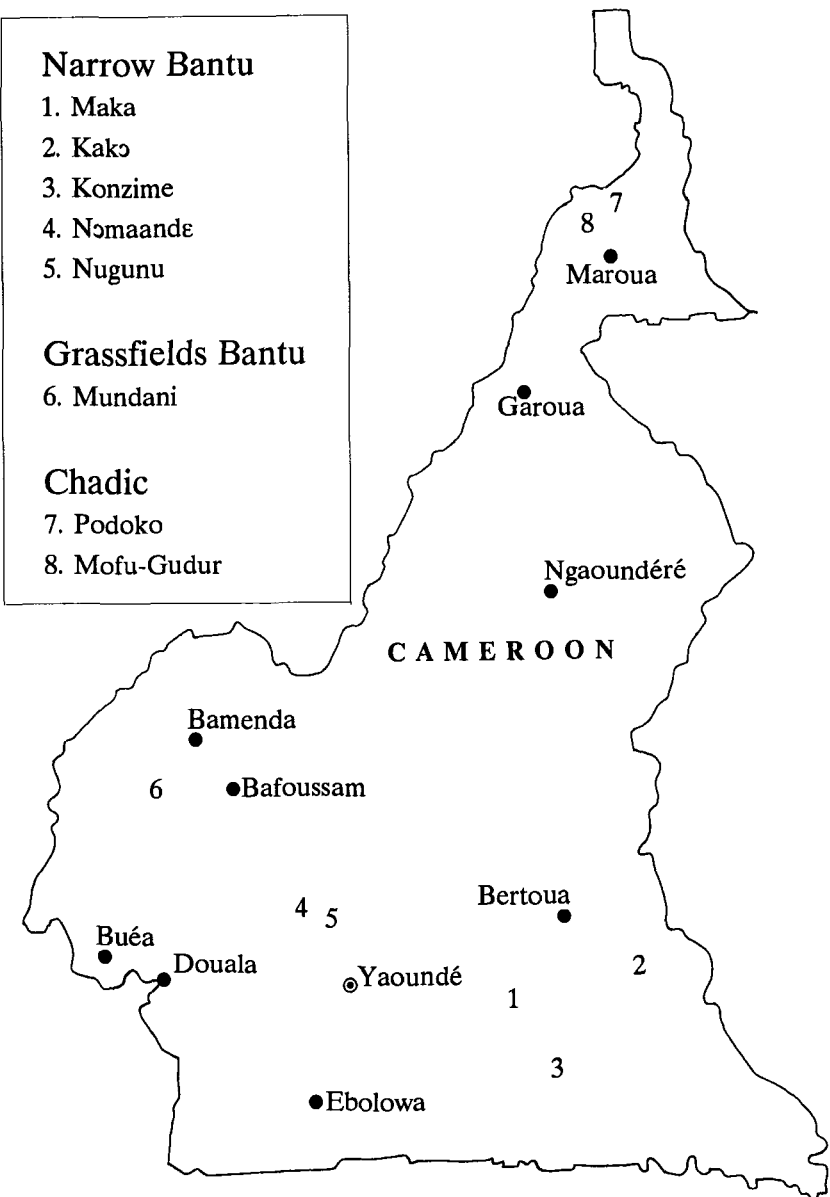
Complex Sentences and Subordination in Mundani

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Abstract

Mundani is a Grassfields Bantu language of the Momo subgroup, spoken in the S. W. Province of Cameroon.

This study defines the complex sentence as any sentence of more than one clause, whether those clauses are conjoined or subordinated one to another. In Mundani, the complex sentence (so defined) can take a variety of forms: a series of consecutivized clauses; a series of independent clauses that are juxtaposed without any overt indication of the relationship between them; a cluster of two or more clauses whose semantic relations are formalized by various markers. Apart from the markers of contrastive and conditional relations, there are four markers in Mundani that can be considered "basic". These markers, plus various compounds of them, permit a whole range of semantic relations to be formalized.

In addition to the marking of semantic relations, grammatical subordination may be signalled in certain clauses by means of the particle *lá* in final position, and/or a L-H tone pattern on the subject pronominal complex in the imperfective aspect or in future tenses. The coincidence of these markers of grammatical subordination with semantic dependency is almost (but not quite) complete. A discrepancy exists in two clause types that are semantically dependent but not subordinated grammatically, and a possible explanation for this discrepancy is proposed.

Résumé

Le mundani est parlé dans la province du Sud-Ouest du Cameroun. Il appartient au groupe bantu des Grassfields, sous-groupe momo.

Dans cette étude, la phrase complexe sera définie comme une phrase composée de deux ou de plusieurs propositions, sans tenir compte des relations de coordination ou de subordination qui existent entre celles-ci. En

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mundani, la phrase complexe ainsi définie se manifeste sous plusieurs formes. Elle peut se composer d'une série de propositions consécutives, ou d'une série de propositions indépendantes juxtaposées, sans marque explicite des relations qui les unissent. La phrase complexe peut également se composer d'une séquence de deux ou de plusieurs propositions dont les rapports sémantiques sont signalés par des morphèmes. En plus des marqueurs des relations contrastives et conditionnelles, il existe quatre marqueurs en mundani que l'on peut considérer commes formes de base. Ces formes et leurs composés permettent d'exprimer toute une gamme de relations sémantiques.

En plus des relations sémantiques, la subordination grammaticale est signalée dans certaines phrases au moyen de la particule *lá* en finale et du schème tonal B-H accompagnant un sujet pronominal complexe à l'imparfait et au futur. Ces marques de subordination grammaticale correspondent de façon presque exacte à la dépendance sémantique. Une divergence est relevée pour deux types de propositions, dépendantes du point de vue sémantique, mais indépendantes du point de vue grammatical. Un essai d'explication de cette divergence entre la dépendance sémantique et grammaticale sera proposé.

The following study of the complex sentence in Mundani is based on observations made during the period 1986–1989. The data were collected from written texts and from oral sources, and were checked and elaborated by James Jih Ndam with Sampson Akem Ketu.

The topics are grouped according to semantic rather than formal factors. Relative clauses are not included, as these are described in Parker 1985b. Conditional clauses are mentioned in §§5 and 7, but a more comprehensive description is found in the preceding paper in this volume.

For the purposes of this study, the complex sentence is defined as any sentence of more than one clause, whether those clauses are conjoined or subordinated one to another. For each type of complex sentence, certain formal features are noted, namely, the order of the clauses and the markers showing the relationship between them. Semantic features—the kinds of information encoded—are dealt with briefly. Section 8 of this study examines the occurrence of particular tone patterns on the subject pronominal complex in different clause types. It is seen that the tone pattern selected depends on the clause type, and that one of the two sets of patterns almost always coincides with the presence of the subordinator *la*.

1. Chronological ordering of events

1.1. Consecutive constructions. Consecutive constructions consist of a series of two or more verbs that share a common subject and a common tense-aspect specification. The subject and tense are expressed overtly only before the first verb in the series. Imperfective (IMPV) aspect is marked by

the suffix -á attached to each verb in the sequence; perfective (PFV) aspect is unmarked and can be assumed throughout the sequence when imperfective marking is absent. Each verb after the first in the series carries a prefix signalling 'same subject'. This prefix does not indicate the person-number category of the subject nor the tense-aspect specification of the verb. It can take one of the following two forms, depending on whether the verb to which it is attached is factive (FACT) or nonfactive (NFACT).

Factive Ǹ-. This prefix is a syllabic nasal consonant which carries low tone and is homorganic with the initial consonant of the verb root to which it is attached. It has a low tone variant /è-/ preceding a voiceless fricative or nasal consonant (but frequently deleted before a nasal).[1]

(1)   *Tà lè   kìʔì   ǹ-tsèkê   ǹ-dzì   èghìdzì.*
      3sS P3 come FACT-sit FACT-eat food
      He came, sat down and ate.

Nonfactive ē-. This prefix is a mid vowel with a mid tone and it is often elided with a preceding vowel.

(2)   *Ta-a e-kìʔì   e-tseke   e-dzì   èghìdzì.*
      3sS-F NFACT-come NFACT-sit NFACT-eat food
      He will come, sit down and eat.

Parker 1985a:2–7 sets out further details of verb forms used in consecutive constructions, and of the interaction of the factive-nonfactive distinction with tense and aspect. Various kinds of semantic information encoded in the consecutive construction are also outlined (Parker 1985a:8–9). Note that one of the consecutive's main functions is to express the coordination of two or more events. The verbs that express the events are usually (but not invariably) arranged in the chronological order in which the events actually occur in the real world. This normal ordering is seen in (1) and (2). Occasionally, however, a verb in the series falls outside the main

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[1]Abbreviations used in the examples—not mentioned elsewhere—are: c(#) noun class number; CONT continuous; DEF definitizer; EMPH emphatic; F1 today future; F2 tomorrow future; F3 after tomorrow future; IMP imperative; INCEPT inceptive; INT interrogative; LOC locative; NEG negative; O object; PO possessive; PROG progressive; REF reflexive; S subject; SIM simultaneity; a cedilla under a vowel signals nasalization.

Tones are marked as follows: ˋ low or extra-low tone (L), ˇ rising tone, ^ falling tone, ´ high tone (H), and − mid-tone (M). High and mid tone are left unmarked except where it is desired to draw attention to them.

chronological sequence. This is the case with *eye* in (3), which expresses the purpose of the preceding verb *ŋgà*: it was Lucas' intention to see him, but it is not certain whether he actually did so.

(3)   *Lukàs dzɔ̀   ǹ-gà   àbɛ̀   e-ye   atò,*
       Lucas PFV^go^out FACT-go outside NFACT-see   3sO

       ǹ-dɔ̀ʔ   ∅-nɨ   ambè   vi   ǹ-gà.
       FACT-then FACT-take c1^bag c1^3sPO FACT-go[2]
       Lucas went outside to see him, then took his bag and went.

The time sequence may be made more explicit by including *elɔ̀ʔɔ* or *ebɔ* in the series of consecutive verbs. *Elɔ̀ʔɔ* exists as an independent verb meaning 'move, finish'; *ebɔ* is an auxiliary verb with the sense 'then (do something)'. When inserted into a consecutive construction, either verb may be translated as 'then' or 'afterwards'.

(4)   *Tà dzɨ   ǹ-dɔ̀ʔ   ∅-nu*
       3sS PFV^eat FACT-then FACT-drink

       m̀-bɔ̂   ǹ-dɔʔɔsi   me   e-ghǎ.
       FACT-then FACT-get^up INCEPT NFACT-go
       He ate, then drank, and afterwards got up to go.

1.2. Juxtaposition of clauses. Where actions or events in a series do not share a common agent, they may be expressed as a series of separate, juxtaposed clauses, each with its own subject and verb. The clauses are normally arranged in the same order as the order of the events in time. There is a sequence of three such clauses in (5). The clauses are bound together by a single sentence intonation (with lowered pitch on the final two or three syllables), and so they are separated orthographically only by commas.

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[2]The noun class of specific nouns is marked in the examples only where there is a concord marker which agrees with it in the immediate context, in which case both the noun and its corresponding agreement marker have their noun class indicated.

(5)   *Tà   tsì   èkpę   nyą̌   bu,*
       3sS PFV^remove c8^bones meat c8^DEF

       tà mà?tè   a   silob, abə kɔ?   ń-gbi.
       3sS PFV^throw LOC floor dog PFV^get^up FACT-grab
       He removed the meat bones, he threw them on the floor, Dog got
       up and grabbed them.

1.3. The chronological marker *ka* 'before'. In addition to consecutive
constructions and simple juxtaposition of clauses, a chronological sequence
of events may be expressed by linking two clauses by the marker *ka*
'before', as in (6). *Ka* may occur with the full range of tenses—past,
present, or future.

(6)   *Ma-a ghǎ adzì   ka   tsě ghǎ akatè.*
       1sS-F go LOC^stream before pass go   LOC^school
       I'll go to the stream before going on to school.

2. Complement clauses

Complement clauses expressing the content of a verb of speaking, think-
ing, feeling, or hearing may be introduced by one of two separate com-
plementizers—*nê* '(say) that' or *ǹdɨ* 'how'. These two forms are illustrated
in (7) and (8). In (7), the verb *su* 'say' is in parentheses to show that it
may be optionally deleted before the complementizer (COMP) *nê*.

(7)   *Tà (su) nê,   à   ka   ń-gà.*
       3sS (say) COMP^that 2sS NEG FACT-go
       He says that you should not go.

(8)   *Màlià nà-à   ǹ-kpà?t-à   ǹdɨ,*
       Mary PROG-IMPV FACT-plan-IMPV COMP^how

       yè-á   lɔ?ɔ   lą   akìŋ   la.
       LOG^SUB-F F1 cook cooking^pot SUB
       Mary is planning how she will cook a meal.

In (8), a complement clause introduced by *ǹdɨ* is closed by the subordinator
(SUB) *la* and uses the characteristically subordinate tone pattern on the
subject pronominal complex—in this case *yè-á* (L-H) instead of the H-M
pattern that would appear in a main clause (§8). The logophoric (LOG)

pronoun *ye* appears in subject position in the complement clause, instead of the normal third-person-singular pronoun *ta*. In complement clauses introduced by either *ǹdɨ* or *nê*, the use of logophoric pronouns is obligatory to indicate coreference with a third-person-singular subject in the main clause. Logophoric forms and their functions are described in Parker 1986:151–56.

Unlike *nê*, *ǹdɨ* does not permit the deletion of a preceding verb of speaking. A complement clause introduced by *ǹdɨ* always has to do with the manner in which something is done, so it is not surprising that *ǹdɨ* also functions as a marker of certain adverbial clauses of manner (§6).

3. Comparison

A common way to express a comparative notion in the language involves the use of the consecutive form of the verb *ētsě* 'pass, surpass'.

(9)   *Tà kô   ǹ-tsè   am.*
      3sS PFV^know FACT-surpass 1sO
      He knows more than I do. (lit. He knows and surpasses me.)

A comparison may also be implied by an adverbial clause of manner introduced by *m̀bɨʔɨ* 'as' or the more emphatic form *wu m̀bɨʔɨ* 'just as'.

(10) *Ghɨa   m̀bɨʔɨ tà-á   è-sù-a   awê la.*
      IMP^do as   3sS^SUB-IMPV NFACT-tell-IMPV 2sO SUB
      Do as he is telling you!

(11) *Tà-à   ǹ-gɨ-à   mènɔ̀   mi*
      3sS-IMPV FACT-do-IMPV c6a^matters c6a^3sPO

      wu   m̀bɨʔɨ tât   vi   lè wua ǹ-gɨ-à   la.
      just as   c1^father c1^3sPO P3 CONT FACT-do-IMPV SUB
      He is behaving just as his father used to do.

As seen in (10) and (11), an adverbial clause of manner introduced by *m̀bɨʔɨ* is closed by the subordinator *la*. It adopts the characteristically subordinate tone pattern on its subject pronoun—*tà-á* (L-H), in (10), instead of *tà-à* (L-L), which would be the form used in a corresponding main clause (§8).

Close semantic links between the notions of comparison, circumstance, manner, and purpose are reflected in Mundani by the possibility of using the same marker *m̀bɨʔɨ* for each of them, although various other formal features distinguish the different clause types. Compare sentence (10)

above with (16), (17), and (23) below. See also Beekman et al. (1981:99–100) for comments on these semantic relationships.

4. Contrast

Two coordinate clauses in a contrastive relationship are linked by the marker *ka* 'but'. This marker is homophonous with the negative marker in future tenses, as in (12), and with the emphatic marker used in certain relative clauses, as in line 4 of (13).

(12) *Mâ nɨ   ekab   wu   te   ǹ-dɔʔ,*
       1sS PFV^take c3^money c3^DEF until FACT-finish

      ka   à   ka   su   wòt.
      but   2sS   NEG   tell   person
      I have already taken the money, but you should not tell anyone.

Where the relationship of contrast exists between a conditional (COND) sentence and an immediately preceding sentence (i.e., a minimum of at least three clauses), *ka* is replaced by the marker *m̀bə*, 'but (if)'. In (13), the preceding sentence happens also to be conditional, but this is not a prerequisite for the use of *m̀bɔ̀* as a marker of the contrastive relationship. Note that *m̀bə* is homophonous with one of the two possible markers of the conditional construction itself, but it occurs in initial position in the antecedent clause, whereas the conditional marker is placed between the antecedent and consequence clauses (compare (13) with (14a)).

(13) *Àfàʔ   yaa   bɔ   fàʔà   la   wu   àghɨ-a*
       c7^work c7^DEM 3pS   work   SUB   be   c7^thing-c7^morning

      wɔ̀bę̀   e   tanke la,   ko   a-à   ǹ-gà   leme.
      cɪ^human^being cɪS plan   SUB COND c7S-IMPV FACT-go disappear

      M̀bə a   wu   àghɨ-a   *Mbɔɔmà ka   tà   tanke   la,*
      but   c7S be   c7^thing-c7^morning   God   EMPH 3sS   plan   SUB

      ko   betsiʔa   bɨ   ka   liimè.
      COND can   2pS   NEG   destroy
      If this work that they have been doing is something that a human being has planned, then it will disappear. But if it is something that God has planned, you will not be able to destroy it.

5. Circumstance

A subordinate clause giving the circumstances or setting of the event expressed in the main clause may be one of the following:
  (a) The antecedent clause of a conditional sentence (if . . .)
  (b) A temporal adverbial clause (when . . .)
  (c) An adverbial clause of circumstance introduced by *m̀bɨ̃ʔɨ̃* (as, since . . .)

Examples of each clause type are given in (14–16).

(14) Antecedent clause of a conditional sentence
     a. With *ko* or *m̀bə*

    Bɔ̀   *me dzɨ èkab*   *nyaŋ,*
    3pSˆSUB[3] SIM eat money much

    ko/m̀bə bɔ me nɨ   *bèzi m̀-bi*   *bɔ̰*   *nengaa.*
    COND   3pS SIM take wives FACT-giveˆbirth children through
    If they earn a lot of money, they take wives and have children by them.

     b. With *na . . . la*

    A-a lɔ̀ʔɔ   *à*   *lą̀*   *akɨ̀ŋ,*
    2sS-F FIˆHORT 2sS cook cookingˆpot

    na   *à bakà*   *bɔ*   *afàʔ la.*
    COND 2sS PFVˆNEG have work SUB
    You should cook a meal if you don't have any work to do.

Conditional sentences are described in Parker 1989. In (14a), the conditional relationship is marked optionally by *ko* or *m̀bə* placed at the beginning of the consequence clause. The choice between the two markers depends on the personal preference of the speaker. The order of the clauses is antecedent-consequence, and the antecedent clause adopts subordinate tone patterns on the subject pronominal complex (§8).

A different type of conditional structure is illustrated in (14b). The order of clauses is reversed (consequence-antecedent). The antecedent clause is

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[3]In the antecedent clause of a conditional sentence, it has been observed that in the perfective a low tone replaces the normal high on the second- and third-person-plural-subject pronouns *bɨ* and *bɔ*.

introduced obligatorily by the conditional marker *na*. It is closed by the subordinator *la* and carries subordinate tone patterns on its subject pronominal complex. This second type of conditional sentence is less common than the first.

In (15), a temporal clause precedes a main clause. It is unmarked except for a subordinate tone pattern on the subject pronominal complex—in this case *à-á* (L-H) instead of the pattern *á-ā* (H-M) characteristic of a main clause. An alternative way of expressing the temporal notion in (15) would be to use the nominal *àfî?* 'time' followed by a relative clause *Afî?a [à-á kì?ì la]* 'At the time when you will come'. This type of structure could precede or follow the main clause.

(15) *À-á   kì?ì, à   me   lòòte mètsò   bato?   bu.*
      2sS-F^SUB come 2sS INCEPT cut   mouths c2^calabashes c2^DEF
      When you come, you should begin to cut the mouths of the calabashes.

In (16), an adverbial clause of circumstance introduced by *m̀bì?ì* is closed by the subordinator *la*. In the imperfective or future, it would carry a subordinate tone pattern on the subject pronominal complex.

(16) *M̀bì?ì tà   ghî n̄-dą   èghìdzì ale la, mâ ghî n̄-dzì.*
      since 3sS PI FACT-cook food   thus SUB 1sS PI FACT-eat
      Since she had cooked food (earlier today), I ate it (earlier today).

The relationship between the clause types illustrated in (14)–(16) is very close. In particular, the distinction between conditional and temporal types is neutralized where there is no conditional marker present.

6. Manner

Adverbial clauses of manner always follow the main clause to which they are subordinated. They may be introduced by one of two markers—*m̀bì?ì* 'as' or *ǹdì* 'how'—or by a compound marker in which *m̀bì?ì* or *ǹdì* is one component. In every case the adverbial clause of manner is closed by the subordinator *la* and employs subordinate tone patterns on the subject pronominal complex. Examples are given in (17)–(20). Note that these sentences are also comparisons (§3). The marker *ǹdì* and its compound forms always have to do with the MANNER in which a given action or event occurs. The emphatic form *wu m̀bì?ì* 'just as' is illustrated above in

(11). The emphatic form of *ǹdɨ* is *wu ndɨ* 'just how'. The form *ǹgù-ndɨ* always implies uncertainty.

(17) *Ghɨa   m̀bɨʔɨ   tà   su   la.*
      IMP^do as   3sS PFV^say   SUB
      Do as he says!

(18) *Ta-a   li   e-mě   e-kɨʔɨ,*
      3sS-F   F3   NFACT-again   NFACT-come

      m̀bɨʔɨ-ndɨ   àkate   atò   a   su   la.
      as-how   c7^letter   3sPO   c7^s   PFV^say   SUB
      He will come back as his letter says.

(19) *Dzɔ̆n   nà-à   ǹ-gɨ-à   mènɔ̀   mi*
      John   PROG-IMPV   FACT-do-IMPV   c6a^matters   c6a^3sREF

      ǹdɨ   betsiʔa   wɔ̀t   ka   fèèle   atò   la.
      how   can   person   NEG   blame   3sO   SUB
      John is behaving in a way that no one can blame him.

(20) *Tà   me lene   wą̀   wu*
      3sS   SIM beat   c1^child   c1^DEF

      ǹgù-ndɨ   bɔ̀-ɔ́   ǹ-dèn-a   atò   mɨ̂   la   â?
      be-how   3pS^SUB-IMPV   FACT-beat-IMPV   3sO   also   SUB   INT
      Does he beat the child in the same way that he is also being beaten?

7. Cause and effect

The antecedent-consequence relationship in conditional sentences, described briefly in §5, is one kind of cause-effect relation. Other cause-effect relations are illustrated in this section.

7.1. Means-purpose. Two initial generalizations can be made about purpose sentences. First, the order of clauses is always means-purpose. Second, the purpose clause is not marked by the subordinator *la*, and the subject pronoun does not carry a subordinate tone pattern. In other words, there is no indication in a means-purpose sentence that either clause is subordinated to the other.

There are three strategies for conveying the notion of purpose. The first is that two clauses can be simply juxtaposed, with no overt marker of the relationship between them. The purpose clause must follow the means clause and is normally in the hortatory (HORT) mood, as in (21).

(21) *Tà tɔ   atò, tà kɨʔɨ   ŋa èghɨ   bu.*
       3sS PFV^call 3sO 3sS HORT^come give c8^things c8^DEF
       He called him to come and give the things.

The second strategy for indicating purpose is to use the speech introducer *nê* '(say) that' with its extended function as a marker of a means-purpose relation. In this case, it is translated as 'so that, in order that'. The presence of *nê* implies that the purpose is already fulfilled at the moment of speech or is certain to be fulfilled. This type of purpose sentence is illustrated in (22).

(22) *Tà wu-a   ǹ-kɨ-a   awê,*
       3sS CONT-IMPV FACT-search-IMPV 2sO

      nê,   à kɨʔɨ   ǹ-gà adzì.
       so^that 2sS HORT^come FACT-go LOC^stream
       He was looking for you so that you should come and go to the stream.

Finally, the means-purpose relation may be marked by *m̀bɨʔɨ* 'so that, in order that'. In this case, the purpose is uncertain: it may or may not be fulfilled. *M̀bɨʔɨ* may also be used to express a negative purpose 'so that not, lest', without the further addition of a negative marker. The mood or tense specification of the verb in the purpose clause shows whether the sense is positive or negative. Future tense indicates a positive interpretation, as in (23a); the hortatory mood indicates a negative one, as in (23b).

(23) Explicit purpose marker *m̀bɨʔɨ*

      a. *Tɔ   atò m̀bɨʔɨ tá-ā kɨʔɨ e-dzɨ   èghɨdzɨ bi.*
         IMP^call 3sO so^that 3sS-F come NFACT-eat c8^food c8^3sPO
         Call him so that he can come and eat his food!

      b. *Su   atò m̀bɨʔɨ tà kpen.*
         IMP^tell 3sO lest   3sS HORT^fall
         Tell him so that he will not fall!

7.2. Reason-result. The reason-result relation is commonly signalled by one of four markers—*ǹgunê, m̀bìʔìnê, na,* or *m̀bìʔìna*—any of which can be translated 'because, since, for'. With these markers, the result clause always precedes the reason clause. Examples are given in (24)–(27).

Examples (24) and (25) illustrate reason clauses introduced by one of two compound forms where *nê* is the main constituent: *ǹgu-nê* and *m̀bìʔì-nê*. These clauses display no marks of subordination.

(24)   *Pità   me ghǎ   abę   ale,*
        Peter SIM go   outside thus

        ǹgu-nê   atį   tà-á   tseke la   ǹtsĕ.
        since   chair [3sS^SUB-F sit   SUB] be^not
        Peter went outside since there was no chair for him to sit on.

(25)   *Tɔ   Lukàs tà kìʔì,   m̀bìʔì-nê tà bakà   wu asi,*
        IMP^call Lucas 3sS HORT^come because 3sS PFV^NEG be present

        bà ka   ko   ǹ-tsɔʔtè   ànǝa   ngaa.
        1pS NEG know FACT-settle matter DEM
        Call for Luke to come, since if he is not present, we shall not be able to settle that matter!

A reason clause introduced by *na* or the compound form *m̀bìʔì-na* is closed by *la,* and the subject pronominal complex carries subordinate tone marking. For example, *à-á* (L-H) occurs in (26) instead of the nonsubordinate *á-ā* (H-M). There is no observable semantic difference, however, between the subordinate and nonsubordinate constructions.

(26)   *Me   ko   awê, na   à-á   kpene abeme ebi la.*
        INCEPT take^care 2sO   because 2sS^SUB-F fall   inside hole SUB
        Take care because you may fall into a hole!

(27)   *Ka   ǹ-gà   angele tò,   m̀bìʔì-na tà wu   lį   la.*
        NEG   FACT-go beside 3sPO because 3sS PFV^be wizard SUB
        Don't go near him because he is a wizard!

In the reason-result relation, the order of clauses is reversed when the relationship is marked by *ale* 'so', or by the emphatic form *è wu ale,* which is a complete clause in its own right meaning 'since it is so'. Examples of these are given in (28) and (29).

(28) *Vi   Pità   è   su   atò   nê,   tà gha   n̄-dze*
      wife Peter c1S PFV^tell 3sO   COMP^that 3sS HORT^go FACT-see

      a   Fɔ̀,   ale   tà   sà?   atetsɔ?   n̄-gà.
      c1^o chief so   3sS PFV^wake^up LOC^morning FACT-go
      Peter's wife told him he should go and see the chief, so the next
      morning he went.

(29) *Tàt   wê   nà-à   n̄-gɔ̀ɔ̀n-à,*
      c1^father c1^2sPO PROG-IMPV FACT-be^sick-IMPV

      è wu ale, à   nɨ   atò n̄-gà a   wasipità.
      it be so 2sS HORT^take 3sO FACT-go LOC hospital
      Your father is sick, so you should take him to the hospital.

Notice, finally, that in sentences (24)–(29) the semantic relationship
between the two clauses could be interpreted as grounds-conclusion rather
than as reason-result.

7.3. Grounds-conclusion. There are two main additional ways in which
a grounds-conclusion relation may be expressed. First, the relation may be
signalled by the compound marker *ǹdɨwu* 'since', introducing the grounds
clause. With this marker, the order of clauses is not fixed—both grounds-
conclusion and conclusion-grounds orders are acceptable. The grounds
clause is always closed by *la* and, in the imperfective and future, carries a
subordinate tone pattern on the subject pronoun. Examples (30) and (31)
illustrate the grounds clause in initial and final positions, respectively.

(30) *Ǹdɨwu à   fà?à   àfà?   ayê   te   n̄-dɔ?   la,*
      since 2sS PFV^work c7^work c7^2sPO until FACT-finish SUB

      à   tsi?   me   tɔ   èkatè   bê.
      2sS HORT^instead INCEPT read c8^books c8^2sPO
      Since you have already completed your work, you should begin to
      read your books.

(31) *A-a   lɔ̀?ɔ   à   lạ   akɨ̀ŋ,*
      2sS-F F1   2sS HORT^cook cooking^pot

      ǹdɨwu à   bakà   bɔ   afà? la.
      since 2sS PFV^NEG have work SUB
      You should cook a meal, since you don't have any work to do.

Finally, the grounds-conclusion relation may be marked by one of three compound forms derived from *ǹkàà* 'because of'. These forms, which are *ǹkàà-nê*, *ǹkàà-na*, and *ǹkàà-ndɨ*, introduce the grounds clause and may be translated 'since'. The order of clauses with these markers is always conclusion-grounds, as in (32)–(34). A grounds clause introduced by *ǹkàà-nê* has no marks of subordination. A grounds clause introduced by *ǹkàà-na* or *ǹkàà-ndɨ* is closed by *la* and carries a subordinate tone pattern on the subject pronominal complex. The verb *ǹgùa* 'being' normally precedes *ǹkàà-ndɨ*.

(32) *Bà le tsi èlen-e   àli laane nê   wu Abùʔ,*
      1pS P3 put c5ˆname-c5ˆmorning day today say^that be Abuʔ

      ǹkàà-nê bɔ le wua ǹ-dzə̀-a   ǹ-gà-∅
      because 3pS P3 CONT FACT-goˆout-IMPV FACT-go-IMPV

      ǹ-kɨ-a   èbùʔ ane àli-a   ngaa.
      FACT-seek-IMPV slaves on c7ˆday-c7ˆmorning DEM
      We called the name of this day Abuʔ because they would go out
      looking for slaves on that day.

(33) *Bɨ ka ǹ-gà èwen afɨʔ   yaa,*
      2pS NEG FACT-go market c7ˆLOCˆtime c7ˆDEM

      ǹkàà-nà m̀bɨ̀ŋ nà-à   ǹ-kɨ̆   e-lu   la.
      since   rain PROG-IMPV FACT-want NFACT-rain SUB
      You should not go to market now, since rain is threatening to fall.

(34) *Ma me laʔa nê,*
      1sS SIM say COMPˆthat

      wą   am   ka fàʔ àfàʔ   yu   ale,
      c1ˆchild c1ˆ1sPO NEG work c7ˆwork c7ˆDEF thus

      ǹ-gù-a   ǹkàà-ndɨ tà-á   ǹ-gɔ̀ɔ̀n-a   la.
      FACT-be-IMPV since   3ssˆSUB-IMPV FACT-beˆsick-IMPV SUB
      I said that my child should not do the work since he is sick.

8. Tone patterns on the subject pronominal complex

8.1. Independent clauses. An independent clause is one which can stand alone in semantic terms and to which other clauses are linked in a dependent relationship. The forms of the subject pronominal complex in independent clauses are set out in (35).

Column A gives the tense-aspect specification of the clause in which given pronoun forms occur. These specifications are: perfective aspect (PFV) and imperfective aspect (IMPV), which are both unmarked for tense but normally interpreted as present; past before yesterday (P3); past yesterday/general past (P2/P, a single form with two functions); past today (P1); and future tenses (F). (For an outline of the tense-aspect system of Mundani, see Parker 1985a.)

In column B, the numbers 1, 2, and 3 represent first, second, and third persons, respectively. In column C are given the singular pronoun forms, and in column D the plural forms, with the tones written separately beside each form.

Notes on chart (35):

(a) Pronoun forms in positive and negative sentences are identical except where otherwise indicated.

(b) The basic pronoun form may be combined with a preverbal tense or aspect marker. Where this occurs, the marker has been separated from the pronoun proper by a hyphen. The preverbal imperfective marker is the suffix -à; the marker of tense P2/P is also -à. The marker of future tense in positive clauses is -á, but in the negative this tense marker is displaced to clause-final position and carries a high tone. In third person plural pronoun forms, the vowel of the tense or aspect marker assimilates to the preceding root vowel /ɔ/; e.g., bɔ́-à → bɔ́-ɔ̀.

(c) Subject pronouns in the imperfective and tense P2/P are identical. The distinction between the two constructions is maintained in the verb forms.

(d) Tense P1 (past today) employs the same set of subject pronouns as the perfective. This is because P1 is signalled by an auxiliary verb—elɔ́ʔɔ, eghǐ, or eli—which in the perfective occurs as lɔ́ʔ, ghî, or li. The following main verb is in its consecutive form, e.g., mâ lɔ́ʔ m̀bēn 'I danced (earlier today).'

(e) A replacive low tone pattern overrides the pronoun tones in tense P3 and the future negative.

(35) Tone patterns on the subject pronominal complex in independent
     clauses

A TNS/ASP	B PERSON	C SG			D PL		
PFV	1	*mâ*		HL	*báà*		HL
		ḿ	(NEG)	H	*bá*	(NEG)	H
	2	*à*		L	*bɨ́*		H
	3	*tà*		L	*bɔ́*		H
IMPV	1	*má-à*		H-L	*bá-à*		H-L
	2	*à-à*		L-L	*bɨ́-à*		H-L
	3	*tà-à*		L-L	*bɔ́-ɔ̀*		H-L
P3	1	*ǹ*		L	*bàà*		LL
	2	*à*		L	*bɨ̀*		L
	3	*tà*		L	*bɔ̀*		L
P2/P	1	*má-à*		H-L	*bá-à*		H-L
	2	*à-à*		L-L	*bɨ́-à*		H-L
	3	*tà-à*		L-L	*bɔ́-ɔ̀*		H-L
P1	1	*mâ*		HL	*báà*		HL
	2	*à*		L	*bɨ́*		H
	3	*tà*		L	*bɔ́*		H
F	1	*má-ā*		H-M	*bá-ā*		H-M
		ǹ . . . á	(NEG)	L...H	*bà . . . á*	(NEG)	L...H
	2	*á-ā*		H-M	*bɨ́-ā*		H-M
		à . . . á	(NEG)	L...H	*bɨ̀ . . . á*	(NEG)	L...H
	3	*tá-ā*		H-M	*bɔ́-ɔ̄*		H-M
		tà . . . á	(NEG)	L...H	*bɔ̀ . . . á*	(NEG)	L...H

8.2. Dependent clauses. A dependent clause is defined as one which
cannot stand alone in semantic terms, that is, it makes sense only in
relation to an independent clause which it expands or modifies in some
way.

Most of the pronoun forms listed in (35) remain unchanged in depend-
ent clauses. In certain dependent clause types, however, the subject
pronominal complex in the imperfective and future tenses carries a L-H
tone pattern throughout, as seen in (36).

(36) Tone patterns on the subject pronominal complex in some dependent clause types

A TNS/ASP	B PERSON	C SG		D PL	
IMPV/F	1	*mà-á*	L-H	*bà-á*	L-H
	2	*à-á*	L-H	*bì-á*	L-H
	3	*tà-á*	L-H	*bɔ̀-ɔ́*	L-H

Note that tense P2/P pronoun forms, which are homophonous with imperfective forms in independent clauses, do not carry a L-H pattern in dependent clauses, where they may thus be readily differentiated from the imperfective pronoun forms. On the other hand, the overlay L-H pattern neutralizes the distinctions between imperfective and future pronominal forms.

The L-H tone pattern on the subject pronominal complex is restricted not only to imperfective and future constructions but also to those imperfective and future constructions in a limited set of dependent clause types. In (37), column A lists the clause types where the independent tone patterns occur and column B lists clause types where the L-H pattern is found.[4]

Note that the L-H tone pattern coincides with the presence of the clause-final subordinator *la* in all but the last three clause types listed in column B of (37). The subordinator *la* is absent, however, from all the clause types listed in column A. This distribution indicates that the L-H pattern in imperfective and future clauses may be regarded, with *la*, as a feature of subordination.

Adverbial clauses of time and circumstance, antecedent clauses in conditional sentences, and interrogative clauses are not marked by the subordinator *la*, but their subject pronominal complexes do exhibit the L-H pattern in the imperfective and future forms. If, as we have suggested, the L-H pattern is a feature of grammatical subordination, it would appear that these three clause types are regarded as subordinated, at least to a degree, to some neighboring clause (which in the case of an interrogative would presumably be the response to the question being asked).

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[4]Some minor tonal differences between independent clauses and relative clauses have been noticed in tense P3, the before-yesterday past tense. These tonal differences affect the main verb. They are described in an appendix to Parker 1985b. Further research is needed to discover if such tonal changes occur on the main verb of other dependent clause types.

(37) Tone patterns on the subject pronominal complex in different clause types

A (tone varies) independent	B L-H dependent
All true independent clauses	
Clauses introduced by *nê*	Clauses introduced by *ǹdɨ*
	Clauses introduced by *na*
Clauses introduced by any marker that is a compound of *nê*—*ǹgu-nê*, *m̀bɨʔɨ-nê*, or *ǹkàà-nê*	Clauses introduced by any marker that is a compound of *ǹdɨ* or *na*— *ǹdɨ-wu*, *ǹgù-ndɨ*, *wu-ndɨ*, *ǹkàà-ndɨ*, *m̀bɨʔɨ-ndɨ*, *m̀bɨʔɨ-na*, or *ǹkàà-na*
	Relative clauses
Purpose clauses introduced by *m̀bɨʔɨ* or *nê*	Adverbial clauses introduced by *m̀bɨʔɨ*
	Adverbial clauses of time or circumstance (other than those introduced by *m̀bɨʔɨ*)
Consequence clauses in conditional sentences	Antecedent clauses in conditional sentences
	Interrogative clauses

The absence of *la* and the L-H tone pattern causes various clause types to fall into the same category as independent clauses (column A).

In the case of the consequence clause in a conditional sentence, this categorization is not surprising. The marker *ko* or *m̀bə*, although appearing immediately before the consequence clause, does not seem to be an essential part of it. Speakers pause not only before this marker but also (although less emphatically) after it, and the marker is, in any case, optional. For these reasons, we have labelled *ko* and *m̀bə* not as consequence markers, but rather as markers of the conditional relationship (COND) existing between the antecedent and consequence clauses. The consequence clause, then, can stand on its own. The antecedent clause, on the other hand, cannot normally stand alone, and it is this clause that has the subordinate L-H tones on its subject pronominal complex in the imperfective and future.

A complement clause introduced by *nê* falls into the independent category. Unlike the complementizer *ǹdɨ*, *nê* is separated from the following complement clause by a noticeable pause (by a comma in written texts). This fact suggests that the marker is not actually considered a part of the complement clause at all and that, in semantic terms, the latter can function as an independent clause in its own right. In other words, *nê* links two independent clauses in a compound relationship and can be called a compound marker.

The other clause types in column A of (37) seem to be classified as independent chiefly by virtue of their connections with *nê*. Some are introduced by a compound marker that has *nê* as one of its components; others are purpose clauses introduced by either *nê* or *ḿbɨʔɨ*. Most of these clause types are semantically dependent, but the influence of the compound marker *nê* seems to account for the fact that this seeming semantic dependency is not reflected in the grammatical structure.

The use of the subordinate tone pattern in different clause types is seen in (38)–(46). The clauses concerned are closed by *la* in examples (38)–(43); in (44)–(46) *la* is absent.

(38) Clause introduced by *ǹdɨ*

> *Tà bakà   ko   ǹdɨ   tà-á   ghɨ̌ la.*
> 3sS PFV^NEG know COMP^how 3sS^SUB-F do SUB
> She doesn't know what (lit. how) she will do.

(39) Clause introduced by a compound of *ǹdɨ*

> *Wą   wu   ka   fàʔ   àfàʔ   yu   ale,*
> c1^child c1^DEF NEG HORT^work c7^work c7^DEF thus
>
> *ǹ-gù-a   ǹkàà-ndɨ tà-á   ǹ-gɔ̀ɔ̀n-a   la.*
> FACT-be-IMPV since   3sS^SUB-IMPV FACT-be^sick-IMPV SUB
> The child should not do the work, since he is sick.

(40) Clause introduced by *na*

> *Me ko   awê, na   à-á   kpene abeme ebɨ la.*
> SIM take^care 2sO because 2sS^SUB-F fall   inside hole SUB
> Take care because you may fall into a hole!

(41) Clause introduced by compound of *na*

    Ka ǹ-ga   angele tò,   m̀bɨ̀ʔɨ̀-na tà -á   ǹ-gɨ̀-a
    NEG FACT-go beside 3sPO because 3sS^SUB-IMPV FACT-do-IMPV

        a   kàbɔŋ la.
        c1^o evil   SUB
    Don't go near him because he does bad things!

(42) Relative clause

    Bɔ   nɨ   atɨ̞ ǹ-gà   adzɨʔ   a
    3sS   PFV^take chair FACT-go c7^LOC^place c7^morning

        bɔ̀-ɔ́   e-lɔʔɔ   e-ghǎ   e-lìa   la.
        [3sS^SUB-F NFACT-F1 NFACT-go NFACT-end SUB]
    They took a chair to the place where they would end (the race).

(43) Adverbial clause introduced by *m̀bɨ̀ʔɨ̀*

    Ghɨa wu   m̀bɨ̀ʔɨ̀ tà-á   Ø-sù-a   awê la.
    IMP^do only as   3sS^SUB-IMPV IMPV-tell-IMPV 2sO   SUB
    Do exactly as he is telling you!

(44) Adverbial clause of time or circumstance

    À-á   e-lɔʔɔ   e-kɨʔɨ̀,
    2sS^SUB-F NFACT-F1 NFACT-come

        à   ŋa   èghɨ   bu   abua tò.
        2sS HORT^give c8^things c8^DEF to   3sPO
    When you come (later today), you should give the things to him.

(45) Antecedent clause in a conditional sentence

    Tà-á   e-sàʔa e-ghǎ   ewen,
    3sS^SUB-F NFACT-F NFACT-go market

        ko   tá-ā e-yųų   èghɨ   bi.
        COND 3sS-F NFACT-buy c8^things c8^3sREF
    If she goes to market (tomorrow), she will buy her things.

(46) Interrogative clause

> *Bàa mbɔŋ bà-á   ghɨ̌ na   â?*
> 1p   EMPH   1pŝSUB-F do how INT
> And we, what shall we do?

9. Conclusion

In Mundani, the complex sentence can take a variety of forms—a series of consecutive marked verbs, a series of independent clauses that are juxtaposed without any overt indication of the relationship between them, or a cluster of two or more clauses whose semantic relations are formalized by various markers. Apart from the markers of contrastive and conditional relations, there are four markers that can be considered basic—*nê, ǹdɨ, na,* and *m̀bɨʔɨ.* Various compounds of these basic markers permit a whole range of semantic relations to be formalized.

In addition to marking semantic relations, grammatical dependency or subordination may be signalled in certain clauses by means of the particle *la* in final position, a L-H tone pattern on the subject pronominal complex in the imperfective aspect or in future tenses, or by the occurrence of both *la* and a L-H tone pattern. The coincidence of these markers of grammatical subordination with semantic dependency is almost, but not quite, complete. An area of discrepancy exists in circumstance or reason clauses introduced by a compound form of *nê* and in purpose clauses introduced by *m̀bɨʔɨ.* These clauses are dependent in semantic terms, but they are not subordinated grammatically. One possible explanation of this discrepancy is the influence of *nê,* which usually marks the relationship between two clauses that are both semantically and grammatically independent of each other.

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