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COMPLEX CONSTRUCTIONS IN Bânòò

*A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Award of a Maîtrise Degree in Linguistics*

by:

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DEDICATION

To my mother
YONKEU Pauline
and
To all my brothers and sisters

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SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AM	: Associative marker
Aff	: Affirmative marker
NP	: Noun phrase
Suff	: Suffix
Neg	: Negative marker
ALCAM	: Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun
TM	: Tense marker
SM	: Subject marker
PrM	: Progressive marker
Pl.	: Plural
Sg.	: Singular
SVC	: Serial verb constructions
Corel	: Corelative
Pres	: Present
Subj	: Subjunctive
CVC	: Consonant vowel consonant
CV	: Consonant vowel
SVO	: Subject verb object
Imag	: Imaginative marker
P ₁	: near past
P ₂	: recent past
P ₃	: remote past
∅	: Not marked
//	: Phonemic boundaries
+	: and
&	: and

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CHAPTER I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0. Introduction

This chapter introduces the work as a whole by spelling out the objectives and significance of the study, providing background linguistic information on the people of Bânḍḍ and their language and also describing the research methodology and analytical procedures employed in the study. Section one presents the objectives and significance of the study while section two gives the background and motivation for the study. Section three describes the geographical and historical situation of Bânḍḍ and its linguistic classification. Section four presents the literature review of the language and section five the data collection and analytical procedures finally section six gives the outline of the work while section seven presents the conclusion of the chapter.

1.1. Objectives of the study

The purpose of this work is essentially to provide a descriptive analysis of complex constructions in Bânḍḍ. For the purposes of this study, the complex construction is defined as (1) any sentence of more than one clause, whether those clauses are conjoined or subordinated one to another, (2) any phrase with more than one constituent. Specifically, the study highlights the salient syntactic features of Bânḍḍ co-ordination and subordination structures. Among many other things we will

- describe the markers of co-ordination in Bânḍḍ ;

- discuss their syntactic distribution, context of use and the effect that the use of each co-ordinator has on the other constituents of the construction;
- describe the different forms of subordination and their distinctive features; and
- study the co-relationship between tense and subordination in Bânḍḍ.

This study will be a significant contribution in the domains of co-ordination and subordination in general and to studies on Bânḍḍ in particular. Van Oirsouw(1987:118) observes that the lack of exhaustive and definitive treatment of co-ordination and subordination arises from the remarkably limited range of data , usually from a few languages, which has often constituted the basis for the formulation of theories. The consequences of this is that universal principles formulated about co-ordination and subordination phenomena based upon such restrictive data often turn out to be inadequate . This study will, therefore, add onto existing data and broaden the base on which more comprehensive and adequate theories of co-ordination and subordination can be built. At the empirical level, the study will open up new avenues for more extensive research on the Bânḍḍ language.

1.2. Background and motivation

The present study was motivated principally by the desire to contribute to the process of standardising the Bânḍḍ language. According to Etienne Sadembouo (1993:8) the process of standardizing a language requires the following stages of description:

- Phonology
- Morphology
- Syntax

- Elaboration of orthographic rules

As far as the description of the Bânḍḍ language is concerned, two major steps have been taken. Kouam (1988) has described the phonology and the noun morphology while Bibi (2001) has described the verb morphology (cf. section 1.4 and chapter II for more details). To advance the description of the language therefore, a description which goes beyond the morphology to cover the syntax is required. It is for this reason that we have decided to describe the structure of complex constructions. In the course of this description, the structure of simple phrases and simple sentences will surface.

1.3. The language

Spoken in the south province of Cameroon, Bânḍḍ is the native language of the Bânḍḍ people. The language is spoken principally in Kribi. Bânḍḍ is also spoken in nearby cities such as Yaounde, Douala, Edea where some native speakers have settled for better job and market opportunities.

1.3.1. Geographic situation

According to Siroma (1980:10), Bânḍḍ villages are found along the coast, running along the Atlantic ocean, namely in Kribi, in Lobe, in Bongaele. The Bânḍḍ people are also found in grand Batanga II, in Bagandoue, in Ngoue, in Talla and Wanye. The name Batanga given to the language was that of their ancestor named Ntanga.

The socio-economic activities of the people of Bânḍḍ are enhanced by the proximity of rivers: Kienke, Lokoundje, Lobe and the level nature of the land. Bânḍḍ people live mainly on fishing. Petit Batanga in the south, Kribi and Grand Batanga in the north are the fishing centres where traditional maritime

fishing for men and traditional continental fishing for women are practised. Apart from fish, the people eat sea foods such as cuttlefish, prawns, spiny lobsters, oysters etc.

Farm work is essentially done by women. Cassava is the major food crop cultivated. The yield is extremely poor due to the poor fertility of the soil.

A wood industry has been established in Kribi. The Mboa-manga port forwards wood to Douala for overseas exploitation.

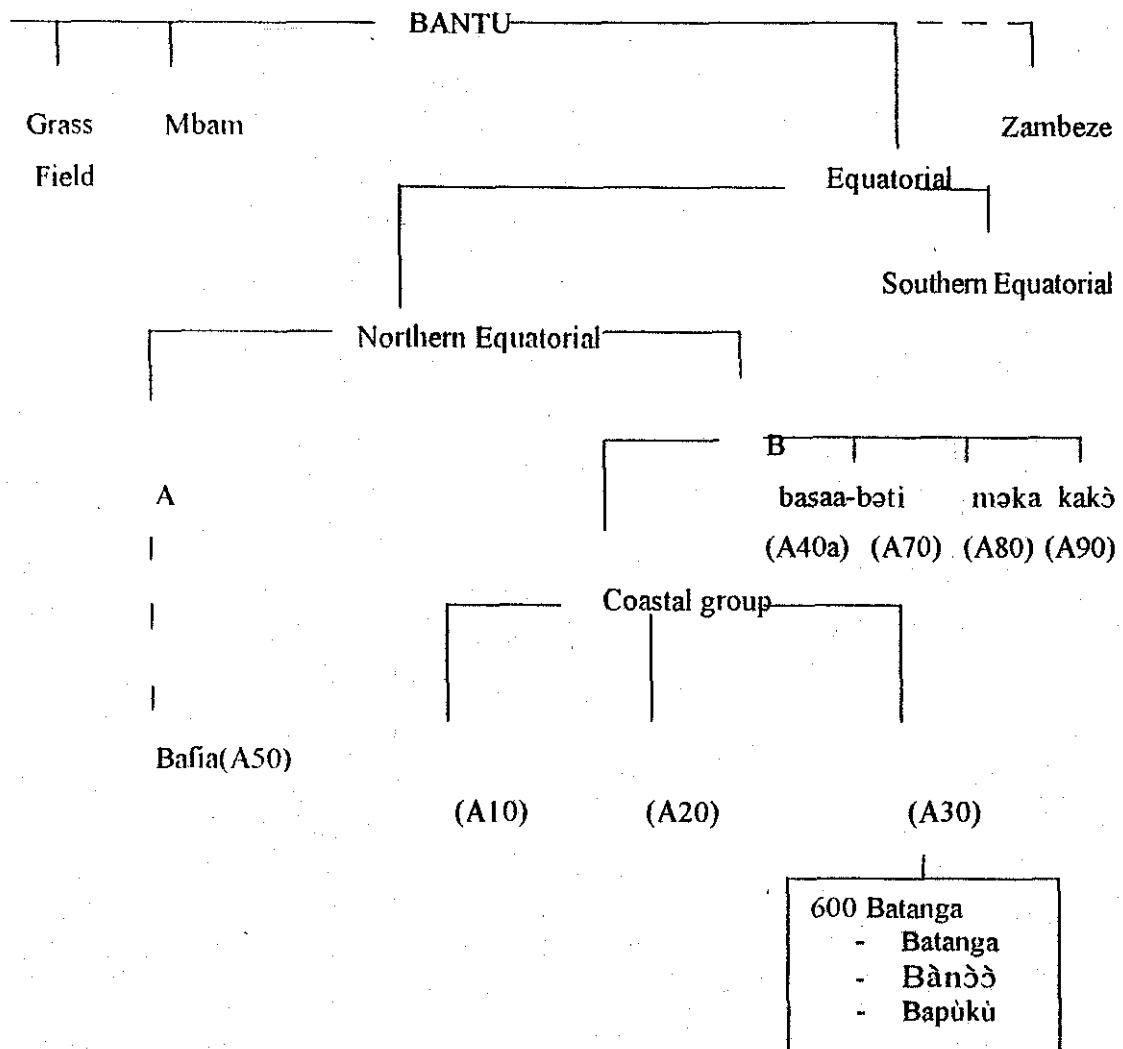
Beaches and other natural wonders such as the Lobe water fall attract a lot of tourists and enable the development of the region.

1.3.2. Historical situation

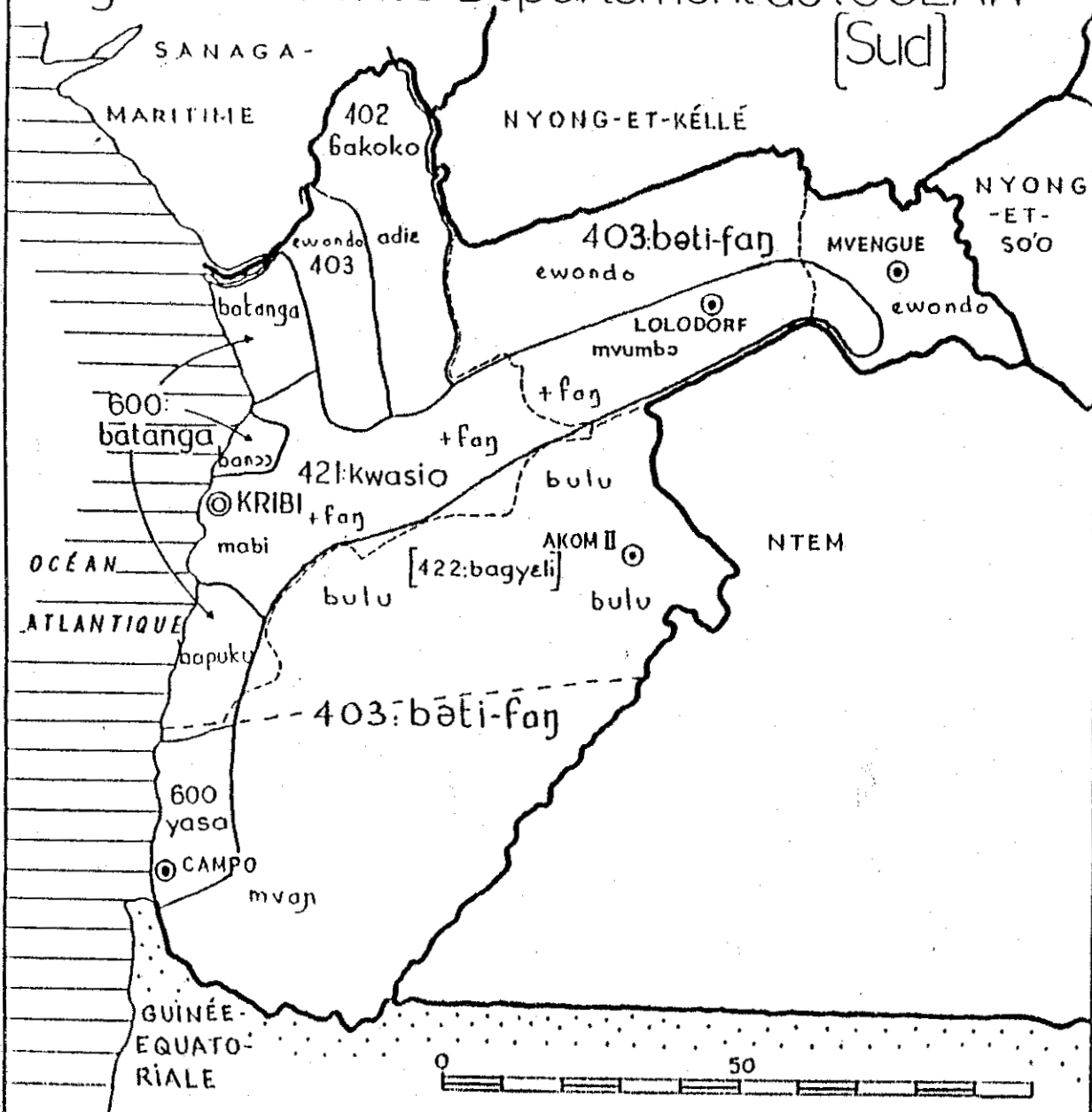
Bàndò people belong to the Batanga ethnic group. The name Batanga means "those from Ntanga" the descendants of Ntanga. The class 2 prefix /ba/ means "those from" joined to Ntanga we have Batanga. Ntanga is one of Mbedi's sons, Mbedi being the common ancestor of Douala, Batanga, Bakweri, and Malimba. They came from the Nile valley around the 15th century, travelled via Congo from where they migrated towards the north west and arrived in Cameroon through the present East province. The group was broken up and the Batanga reached the seaside through Mahale. Guthrie (1983:32) subdivides the Batanga people into three groups: Bàndò, Bápùkù and Batanga. The Bàndò and Bápùkù dialects differ at the level of some phonemes. It should be noted that although both Bápùkù and Bàndò acknowledge the differences, they are quick to add that there is perfect intelligibility between them.

1.3.3. Linguistic classification

Bàndò is a Bantu language spoken in Cameroon. Guthrie (1967:32) classifies it in group A30. Batanga and Yasa are the only languages of this group spoken in Cameroon. According to Dieu and Renaud (1983:380), Bàndò is situated in zone 6. Its code number is 600. It should be noted that some languages spoken along the coast around Limbe in Campo also belong to zone 6. Bàndò is identified with the number 33.00.00 by the administrative code. The map on page 6 drawn from ALCAM (1983: 381) shows some languages of the region. Apart from Yasa from the south, these other languages belong to group 4, that is to North-East Equatorial Bantu. We can reconstitute the classification of Bàndò as follows:



Langues nationales: Département de l'Océan [Sud]



	département	arrondissement	district
limites	—	- - - - -
chef-lieu	⊙	⊙	●

	langues	dialectes
limites	—	
désignation	batanga 600	adie

1.4. Literature review

A good number of linguistic works have been done on Bânḍḍ principally in the areas of phonology, noun morphology and verb morphology.

Kouam (1988) did the sketch of the phonology and the noun class system of Bânḍḍ¹. According to Bibi (2001:11), Kouam established 22 consonants and 7 vowels. These will be presented in greater details in chapter 2.

Bibi (2001:7) noted that the phonology proposed by Kouam lacked the labial-velar /gɓ/, which she observed to be frequently used by the native speakers. The presence or not of this controversial sound however has no effect on the present study. Bibi's work dealt with the verb morphology of Bânḍḍ. She came out with a verb group made up of ten components: the pre-initial, the initial, the post-initial, the formative, the post-formative, the radical and its suffixes, the pre-final, the final, the post-final and the affirmative marker. She also established three tense markers and five aspects. The work also contains an impressive discussion of verbal extensions. She identifies and describes five valency-increasing extensions and two valency-decreasing extensions.

So far, these are the major linguistic works existing on Bânḍḍ. In our opinion, on the basis of these descriptive works, a number of projects related to the standardization of the language can be undertaken. We are thinking here about an alphabet and a writing system, a pre-primer, a primer and a post primer. However, in order to write a pedagogic grammar of the language, a more complete description of the structure of the language which goes beyond the morphology is needed. The need for this complete description is the main motivating factor of our study. In describing co-ordination and subordination, we will expose the sentence structure and the structure of other constructions which can then be exploited to write a pedagogic grammar of Bânḍḍ.

¹ We have unfortunately not seen Kouam's work to this date.

1.5. Data collection and analytical procedures

The data were collected from oral sources. Sentences drawn from other works were given to native speakers, some of which are listed in table 1 below.

Table 1.1: Informants

Name	Age	Level of study	Occupation
Ebenye Julienne	23	Tle ESF	Student
Mr Bwemba Rigobert	35	Bachelor Degree	Pastor
Mrs Bwemba Justine	30	Probatoire	House wife
Mrs Eiyo Marie Claire	50	/	Tailor
Mr Divine Ewounwe	44	Maitrise	Student

Data were transcribed directly and were often re-transcribed for verification.

1.6. Outline of the work

This work consists of six chapters. Chapter one, the general introduction to the work introduces us to the Bânḍḍ people and their language, giving a geographical, historical situation and a linguistic classification. The chapter also presents the literature review, the objectives of the study, and the methodology used in data collection and analysis. Chapter two presents a basic grammatical sketch of Bânḍḍ. Chapter three treats overt and covert co-ordination in Bânḍḍ taking into account phrasal and clausal co-ordination. Chapter four examines Bânḍḍ relative subordinate clauses while chapter five looks at the adverbial subordinate clauses. Findings and recommendations for further research are presented in chapter six.

1.7. Conclusion

This introductory chapter was devoted to the presentation of the Bânḍḍ language in general. It spelt out the objectives and significance of our study and described the research methodology and analytical procedures employed in the study. After this introductory chapter, we provide background linguistic information in the next chapter. This background linguistic information is necessary to facilitate understanding of the major issues handled in subsequent chapters of the work.

CHAPTER II

BASIC GRAMMATICAL SKETCH

2.0. Introduction

This chapter presents a background grammatical sketch of Bânḍḍ needed to follow the more technical discussion in subsequent chapters. Section one gives a phonemic account of the language while section two deals with the sketch of the verb morphology. In section three, we examine the Bânḍḍ phrase structure and section four describes the elements of the simple sentence. This chapter, far from being a digression in our work, constitutes a very important part, since phrases and simple sentences are the bases of complex constructions. There is no compound or complex sentence without a simple construction. Thus, the phonology, the verb morphology as well as the basic sentence structure will be very relevant in understanding the discussion of complex structures in subsequent chapters.

2.1. Sketch of the phonology

This phonological sketch is based on Bibi (2001).

2.1.1. Phonemic account

Bânḍḍ, a zone A language, has a seven vowel system and as Guthrie (1967: 32) affirms: "A seven vowel system which appears to be characteristic of the whole zone". The consonant system shows 22 consonants produced at four different places of articulation. Bânḍḍ vowels and consonants are displayed in the charts below.

Table 2.1: Vowels

	Front	Mid	Back
High	i		u
mid-high	e		o
mid-low	ɛ		ɔ
Low		a	

Table 2.2: Consonants

	Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar
Stops	p	t	c	k
Implosives	ɓ	ɗ	j	
Pre-nasalised	mb	nd	ɲj	ŋg
Nasals	m	n	ɲy	ŋ
Fricatives	f	s		
	v			
Liquids		l		
Glides			y	w

2.1.2. Tones

There are two lexical tones in Bānḍḍ, high and low which contrast in identical environments. Some minimal pairs confirming the phonemic status of the tones are presented in the examples below.

- (1) iyèmbà "to know"
 iyémbà "to dance"
 iyòwà "to help"

iyówà	"to wash"
òvà	"you"
òvǎ	"here"

Bibi (2001 : 16-17)

2.2. Sketch of the verb morphology

As far as the verb morphology is concerned, Bibi (2001: 25) observed that the infinitive is marked by the vowel \ i\ . Verb stems are predominantly of a monosyllabic structure CV or CVC. The verb group is made up of ten components which are the pre-initial, the initial, the post-initial, the formative, the post-formative, the radical and its suffixes, the pre-final, the post-final, the affirmative marker. The components of the verb group are briefly presented below, beginning with the verb base.

2.2.1. The verb base

The verb base is made up of a stem and one or more verb extensions. When verb extensions are attached to the stem, a primitive, extended or bi-extended verb base is produced. The extended verb base has only one extension while bi-extended bases have more than one extension. In the table below, the examples in (1) show primitive verb bases, those in (2) illustrate extended verb bases while those in (3) show bi-extended bases.

Table 2.3: Verb bases

1	Stem	Zero morpheme		Primitive bases
1a	-dǎ	- ∅		dǎ : idea of eating
1b	-jà	- ∅		jà : idea of siting
2	Stem	Primitive bases	Derivational bases	Extended bases
2a	tíl-	tíl-à	-èyà	tíl-èyà : idea of writing
2b	túb-	túb-à	-èyà	túb- èyà : idea of piercing
3	ìbá	àná	èyà	ìbánèyà: to get married

2.2.2. Tense markers in Bânòò:

The following morphemes mark tense in Bânòò:

\mà\ : present progressive tense

\á\ : future tense

\ì\ : past tense

Following are examples illustrating the use of these tenses.

(2) a) Present tense

nà mà vé ndi

I TM give Aff.

"I am giving"

Native speakers of Bânòò always miss out this present progressive tense marker while speaking.

b) Future tense

à á vé ndi
he TM give Aff.

ă vé ndi
he+TM give Aff

"he/she will give"

c) Past tense

(i) nà véi ndi
I give+P₁ Aff.

"I have given"

(ii) nà jài ndi nà tilà
I to be+P₂ Aff. I write

"I was writing"

(iii) nà tilài ndi
I write+P₃ Aff.

"I wrote"

2.2.3. Aspect

According to Bibi (2001: 79), the different categories of aspect in Bânôô include:

Table 2.4: Aspect

Perfective	
Imperfective	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the inchoative - the iterative - the progressive - the habitual - the completive
Telic	
Atelic	
Inherent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the punctual - the durative - the stative - the dynamic

The use of these aspectual categories is illustrated below.

(3) Perfective

à	mèdê	ndi	tilà
he	finish	Aff.	Write

"he/she has finished to write"

(4) Imperfective aspect

a) The inchoative

à túbwà ndi tilà
he start Aff write

"he/she starts to write"

b) The iterative

à bàdé ndi lánḡà
he add Aff read

"he/she reads once more"

c) The progressive

à ndi ù lánḡà
he Aff prM read

"he/she is reading"

d) The habitual

à jà ndi lónḡò
he live Aff sing

"he often sings"

e) The completive

nâ ndi tîlângò

I Aff write

"I have already written"

(5) Telic and atelic aspects

a) Telic

ìkwélè

"to cut down a tree"

(6) Inherent aspects

a) The punctual

ipùmà

"to throw away"

b) The durative

iyókwà

"to learn"

c) The stative

iyòviyò

"to sleep"

- d) The dynamic
iyémbà

"to dance"

2.2.4. Negation

Generally, the affirmative marker /ndi/ disappears when a verb moves from the affirmative to the negative form, no matter the tense or the mood of the latter. In Bânḏḏ, the morphemes /-ì/ and /-á/ mark negation. One or both of these morphemes is attached either to the verb initial, to the verb base or simultaneously to both of them, this depending on the mood and the tense of the construction.

2.2.4.1. Negation and the indicative mood

- (7) Present progressive tense

Affirmative form

nà mà tilà ndi

I TM write Aff

"I am writing"

Negative form

nì mà tilà

I + Neg TM write

"I am not writing"

(8) Future tense

Negation is marked in the future by the morpheme /-ǎ/, which deletes due to the presence of neighbouring vowels.

Affirmative form

wǎ tîlǎ ndî

you+TM write Aff

"you will write"

Negative form

wǎ tîlǎ

you+TM+Neg write

"you will not write"

(9) Past tenses

Negation in the past tenses is marked by the morpheme /ǎ-/ suffixed to the initial.

a) **P₁**

Affirmative form

ǎ tîlî ndî

he write + P₁ Aff

"he has written"

Negative form

ă tili

he +Neg write+P₁

"he has not written"

b) P₂

nà jài ndi nà lóngò

I to be + P₂ Aff I sing

"I was singing"

nă jài nà lóngò

I+Neg to be + P₂ I sing

"I was not singing"

c) P₃

à tilài ndi

he write+P₃ Af

"he wrote"

ă tilài

he+Neg write+P₃

"he did not write"

2.2.4.2. Negation and the conditional mood

(10) Affirmative form

nà jài jà mpólò kàò nà yámbì ndì mùtóà
I to be _{1Pl} to be chief then I buy+P₁ Aff car

"If I were rich, I would buy a car"

Negative form

nì jài béwé mpólò kàò ná yámbì mùtóà
I+Neg to be _{1Pl} Neg chief then I buy+P₁+Neg car

"if I were not rich, I would not buy a car"

2.3. Simple nominal construction

This section examines the structure of the simple nominal construction. According to Ngangoum (2002:30), the simple nominal construction refers to the nominal construction that is made up of a noun only, a pronominal element only, or a noun plus a determiner. Following is a brief presentation of the types of simple nominal constructions in Bânòò.

2.3.1. Personal pronouns

Bânòò personal pronouns are displayed in the chart below and following are examples of their use.

Table 2.5: Personal pronouns

	Subject personal pronouns	Object of verb personal pronouns	Object of preposition personal pronouns
1 st pers.	nà	mbá	mbá
2 nd pers.	ò	òvà	òvà
3 rd pers.	à	mó	mó
1 st pers. pl.	ì	wé	wé
2 nd pers. pl.	ò	òvà	nyùé
3 rd pers. pl.	á	bó	bó

(11) a) Subject personal pronoun

ì yénì ndì

we see+P₁ Aff

"we have seen"

b) Object of verb personal pronoun

nà yénì ndì bó

I see+P₁ Aff them

"I have seen them"

c) nyàkà à bèàná ndì wé

Nyaka SM talk Aff us

"Nyaka is speaking to us"

2.3.2. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns can stand all alone and function as full nominal constructions. Below are some examples.

- (12) a) ndábò téyì ndì yámí
 house these Aff mine

"these houses are mine"

- b) bèì tébè ndì byì óngò
 farms those Aff are yours

"those farms are yours"

2.3.3. Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative words can be used in a pronominal fashion, standing alone and functioning as a noun phrase. Below are some examples.

- (13) a) bédé bǎnà
 call children

"call children"

- bǎnà bá vé
 children ones which

"which children?"

bá vé

ones which

"which ones?"

b) tó é vé

spoon one which

"which spoon?"

é vé

one which

"which one?"

2.3.4. Demonstrative pronouns

In Bânḍò, there are three forms of demonstrative pronouns. They vary according to class and number. Those listed in the table below are just a few examples of them. Following are some illustrations.

Table 2.6: Demonstrative pronouns

	Near the speaker	Near the listener	Far from both
Singular	té ní	té díné	té ěné òné
Plural	té yí	té báné	té bǎné òné

(14) a) Near the speaker

mbótì té ní
cloth one this

"this cloth "

árkà té yí
knife one these

"these knives"

b) Near the listener

dikètè té ònè
egg one that

"that egg"

bitó té báné
women one those

"those women"

c) Far from both

tábà té ńńé òńé
ram one that there

"that ram there"

bitó té bǎné òné
 women one those there

"those women there"

2.3.5. The modified nominal construction

The modified noun phrase comprises a head noun modified by another noun, an adjective or a determiner. These different types are briefly presented below.

2.3.5.1. The associative construction

A noun can be modified by another noun forming what is often referred to as an associative construction. The associative construction can express a relation of possession, material make-up, content, purpose, etc. Below are some examples.

(15) a) Content

èpòsà màdíbá
 bottle water

"a bottle of water"

b) Material-make-up

nkòndà mèlóngó
 chair bamboo

"a bamboo chair"

c) Possession

ḡḡbé mú mpólò

bag AM chief

"the chief's bag"

d) Purpose

békòndà bé èí

shoes AM farm

"shoes for farm"

2.3.5.2. Nominal construction modified by adjectives

Adjectives are usually termed attributive or predicative, depending on their use. In Bàndò, adjectives are used both predicatively and attributively. we should note here that these are not pure adjectives but nouns used to qualify other nouns and which work as adjectives.

2.3.5.2.1. Predicative adjectives

Two major elements normally separate the head noun from the predicative adjective. These are the affirmative marker preceded by the subject marker. The head noun may however be followed by an immediate determiner, usually a demonstrative or a possessive. Below are illustrations of predicative adjectives in use.

(16) a) yòvè mú é ndi víðvíð

hair her SM Aff black

"her hair is black"

- b) ndító té ónù à ndì bòbé
 woman one this SM AFF wicked

"this woman is wicked"

2.3.5.2.2. *Attributive adjectives*

As illustrated in (17) below, some attributive adjectives precede while some follow the noun.

- (17) a) ndúní ndító
 old woman

"an old woman"

- b) múnà ibiyà
 child intelligent

"an intelligent child"

2.3.5.3. *Nouns modified by quantifiers*

In this section, we discuss noun expressions modified by non numeral quantifiers. We also look at their positions relative to the noun they modify.

A quantifier is a type of determiner used to denote quantity. Below are some non-numeral quantifiers in Bânḏò.

- (18) ná môtô : no one
 môtô té : everyone
 bàyiti : many, much
 bòyító : too many

bòhárdì	: few
bé	: all
bó	: some

In Bànḍò, all the non-numeral quantifiers are post-posed to the noun.

Below are some illustrations.

- (19) a) múnà té
child every

"every child"

- b) bàtò bó
people some

"some people"

- c) bánà bàyiti
children many

"many children"

2.4. The simple sentence construction

In this section, we will discuss the basic structure of ordinary declarative sentences.

2.4.1. Declarative sentences

A declarative sentence can be negative or non-negative. In section 2.4.1.1., we will examine non negative declarative sentences and imperative sentences. The negative sentence will be discussed in section 2.4.1.2.

2.4.1.1. Non-negative sentences

The broad structure of non-negative sentences is SVO. Generally a non-negative sentence is distinguished from its negative counterpart by the presence of an affirmative marker *ndi* which comes immediately after the verb. Examples of non-negative declarative sentences are given below.

- (20) a) à lɔi ndi ó màkétì
he go+P₁ Aff to market

"he has gone to the market"

- b) à wà ndi ó sùkùlù
she come Aff from school

"she comes from school"

The imperative sentence consists of a simple verb or a single noun which may express command or prayer. Examples of imperative sentences are given below.

- (21) púmă : get out!
dă : eat!

Múyénǵé : out!

2.4.1.2. *negative sentences*

The negative sentence is marked by the absence of the affirmative marker, and the presence of the negative marker which deletes in the future. Some negative sentences are given below to exemplify this statement.

- (22) a) Ebényé ǎ lóì ó sùkùlù
Ebenye SM+Neg go+P₁ to school

"Ebenye has not gone to school"

- b) Eyò ǎ yámbà byómà
Eyo SM+TM cook yams

"Eyo will not cook yams"

- c) nì mà tilà
I+Neg TM write

"I am not writing"

2.4.1.3. *Interrogative sentences*

In the interrogative sentence, the interrogative pronoun usually comes at the end of the sentence, except in the case where one wants to inquire about the state of health of somebody. In that case, the affirmative marker comes last with a high tone, as shown in (23c) below.

(23) a) à lǎngà ndì kálàtì é vé ?
 you read Aff book one which

"which book are you reading?"

b) à là ndì ó vé ?
 he go Aff to where

"Where is he going to?"

c) múnà ngó à yèdé ndí ?
 child your SM how Aff

"How is your child?"

The interrogative pronoun "who" when used comes at the beginning of the interrogative sentence.

d) njá ní à bìyèdé ndító ?
 who SM hit woman

"who hit the woman?"

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter presented a background grammatical sketch of Bânḍò. The phonemic account came out with seven vowels and twenty two consonants. As far as the verb morphology is concerned, Bibi (2001) observed that the verb group is made up of ten components and that the verb base can be primitive,

extended or bi-extended. We identified three morphemes as tense markers in Bânḍḍ and five aspectual markers. We also noticed that negation is marked by two morphemes. The nominal construction included personal, demonstrative, possessive and interrogative pronouns. We observed that adjectives can be predicative or attributive and that non-numeral quantifiers in Bânḍḍ are all post-posed to the noun they modify. The simple sentence structure showed that the non-negative sentence is marked by the presence of the affirmative marker *ndi* while its negative counterpart is marked by the absence of this affirmative marker and by the presence of the negative marker. The imperative sentence is made up of a single verb or noun expressing command or prayer. All this will be helpful in handling the subsequent chapter that deals with the co-ordination of simple phrases and simple sentences.

CHAPTER III

OVERT AND COVERT CO-ORDINATION

3.0. Introduction

According to Dzameshie (1998:72), co-ordinated structures generally fall into two types:

- Syndetic: where the conjuncts of a co-ordinate structure are united by the use of an overt co-ordinating conjunction like "and" or "but".
- Asyndetic or paractactic: where the conjuncts are not united by any overt co-ordinating conjunction. It uses pauses in speech and commas in writing.

This chapter discusses these two means used to combine words and phrases in B̃ñd̃d̃. The discussion focuses on the form of the co-ordinators, their context of use and other relevant changes in the phrase which result from the use of a particular conjunct. The chapter also looks at the interface between co-ordination and compression rules.

3.1. Overt co-ordination

As indicated earlier (section 3.0), co-ordination may be overt or covert. Co-ordination is overt when the phrases or clauses are explicitly conjoined with an overt connector. As in other languages, B̃ñd̃d̃ has a closed set of co-ordinating conjunctions that are used for conjoining phrases or clauses. These co-ordinators are *nà*, *ǎ*, *wáná*. The context in which these co-ordinators are used is restricted such that while one co-ordinator links noun phrases only, another

may link verb phrases only. In the sections that follow, we describe the different co-ordinators and their context of use.

3.1.1. *Nà* co-ordination

The co-ordinator *nà* roughly translated into English as "and" can conjoin words, phrases and clauses, the major condition governing its use being that the elements it combines must belong to the same category. In combining elements of the same syntactic category however, *nà*, exhibits certain peculiar characteristics which are worth noting. In the sections that follow, we present the kinds of elements that *nà* conjoins and highlight the peculiar characteristics in each case. Where possible, we will attempt some explanations for the peculiar characteristics but where this is not possible, we will simply point them out and leave them for future research.

3.1.1.1. *Noun phrase co-ordination*

Nà can co-ordinate two proper nouns as shown in the examples below.

- (1) a) Ebényé à véì ndì Búlú dólè *nà* Eyò
 Ebenye SM give + P1 aff Bulu money and eyo

"Ebenye gave money to Bulu and Eyo"

- b) Ebényé *nà* Eyò bá lóì ndì ó màkétì
 Ebenye and Eyo SM go+P₁ Aff to market

"Ebenye and Eyo went to the market"

- c) Eyò nà Búlú bá ɗà ndi
Eyo and Bulu SM eat Aff

"Eyo and Bulu are eating"

This co-ordinator can conjoin more than two nouns in one structure. When there are more than two conjuncts, it is felicitous to repeat the co-ordinating conjunction in between all the conjuncts as in (2a). However the repetition of the conjunction in between the conjuncts is optional in subject position. The co-ordinating conjunction must however be overt in between the last conjuncts as evidenced by the example (2b). In other positions, the repetition of the conjunction is generally required as shown in example (2c) versus (2d).

- (2) a) ékò nà Eyò nà Ebényé bá yámbi ndi tàbà
Eko and Eyo and Ebenye SM buy+P₁ aff goat

"Eko, Eyo and Ebenye bought a goat"

- b) Eyòm (nà) ékò nà Eyò bá yówì ndi bèèkì
Eyoum (and) Eko and Eyo SMwash+P₁ Aff dishes

"Eyoum, Eko and Eyo washed dishes"

- c) ékò à yámbi ndi mbèndà nà mbái nà kòkòndi
Eko SM buy+P₁ Aff ground nuts and corn and beans

"Eko bought groundnuts, corn and beans"

- d)* ékò à yámbi ndi mbèndà nà, mbái, kòkòndi
 Eko SM buy+P1 Aff ground nuts and corn beans

"Eko bought groundnuts and corn, beans"

It is generally the case that only elements of the same syntactic category can be co-ordinated although apparent exceptions can be found. For instance, languages generally allow a (proper) noun to be conjoined with a pronoun. However, the two categories are often considered to be both of the category "noun phrase". Some examples of noun plus pronoun co-ordination are given below.

- a) Kwèdì nà mó bà yámbi ndi tàbà
 Kwedi and him SM buy+P₁ Aff goat

"Kwedi and him bought a goat"

- b) nà yénì ndi mó nà kwèdì
 I see+P₁ Aff him and Kwedi

"I saw him and Kwedi"

- c) Kwèdì nà wé i yámbi ndi ìdà
 Kwedi and we SM cook+P1 Aff food

"Kwedi and we cooked food"

From the examples above, we notice that *mó* and *wé* which are object pronouns and which normally appear in object position, also appear in subject position. This is rather surprising because in (3a) for instance the conjoined

elements are both in subject position. It is therefore strange that a purely object of verb pronoun in (3b) for instance is now used as a subject pronoun in (3a). This might seem to suggest that *nà* is a verbal element or might have been derived from a verb. In the examples in (3) therefore, since *nà* is a verbal element, a pronoun following it occurs in objective case even when this pronoun is used in grammatical subject position. This suggestion however runs into difficulties in situations where all the noun phrases in the co-ordinate structure are pronouns as in the examples in (4) below.

- (4) a) *mó* *nà* *mbá* *i* *yámbi* *ndi* *ìdǎ*
 he and I SM cook+P1 Aff food

"He and I cooked food"

- b) *mbá* *nà* *và* *i* *póì* *ndi* *váké*
 I and you SM come+P1 Aff yesterday

"I and you came yesterday"

In (4a) for instance, the same object pronoun *mó* "him" occurs in a position immediately preceding the *nà* co-ordinator. If our reasoning above that *nà* is a verbal element is correct, then in (4a) we expect to have the subject pronoun *à* "he" and not the object pronoun *mó* "him". The use of the object pronoun is therefore not conditioned by whether it follows or precedes a verbal element. It can freely be used before or after the co-ordinator *nà*.

3.1.1.2. co-ordination of nouns used as adjectives

Nà can also conjoin two nouns functioning as adjectives as shown in the examples below.

- (5) a) *nà* *yénì* *ndì* *mòmò mǎ* *òyàvi* *nà* *bòwàrdí*
 I see+P1 Aff man one tall and thin

"I saw a tall and thin man"

- b) *ndábò* *té* *nénè* *nà* *bòbé é* *ndì* *yà* *mì*
 house that big and ugly SM Aff own my

"That big and ugly house belongs to me"

3.1.1.3. Clausal co-ordination

The second structural type of co-ordination which employs *nà* is clausal co-ordination. *Nà* can co-ordinate more than two clauses as illustrated in (6a) below.

- (6) a) *Ebényé* *à bómì* *ndì* *nà* *Eyò* *nà* *túmbwédée*
 Ebenye SMplay+P1 Aff and Eyo SM sing

nà *Bulú* *nà* *yémbà*
 and Bulu SM dance

"Ebenye played, Eyo sang and Bulu danced"

We observe that while other languages will use commas to conjoin clauses like those in (6), *Bàndò* uses an overt co-ordinator. A striking feature, however, is that this co-ordinator does not allow the same subject for all the conjoined clauses. That is, we cannot have one subject for two different verbs as shown in (6c).

- (6) b) Ebényé à bómi ndi ná Eyò ná túmbwédéè
 Ebenye SM play+P1 Aff and Eyo SM sing

"Ebenye played and Eyo sang"

- c)* Ebényé à bómi ndi ná ná túmbwédéè
 Ebenye SM play+P1 Aff and SM sing

"Ebenye played and sang"

This sentence is ungrammatical because *nà* co-ordination does not allow the same subject for two clauses and does not allow an overt conjunction of a sequence of verbs. To conjoin a series of verbs Bàngò uses the subject marker preceded by the serialization morpheme *n* as in the example below.

- d) Ebényé à bómi ndi ná túmbwédéè
 Ebenye SM play+P1 Aff SM sing

"Ebenye played and sang"

One interesting observation about clausal co-ordination in Bàngò concerns the repetition of the subject noun phrase in clausal conjuncts. In many Bantu languages it is possible, and even common, to have a structure in which the same subject performs a series of actions linked together by an overt co-ordinator. This is for instance the case in Bafut.

- (7) a) Suu ki bùʔú nsòò ŋki ntúʔú ŋkì ŋki nlàà miji
 suh P2 clear farm and fetch water and cook food

"Suh cleared farm and fetched water and cooked food"

- b)* Suu ki bùʔú nsòò ŋki suu ntúʔú ŋkì ŋki suu nlàà miji
 suh P2 clear farm and suh fetch water and suh cook food

"Suh cleared farm and Suh fetched water and Suh cooked food"

In these examples, it is needless, in fact ungrammatical to repeat the subject in the subsequent conjuncts as (7b) shows. In Bânḍò on the other hand, the subject must be repeated in every conjunct. Leaving out the subject in subsequent conjuncts is unacceptable. The examples in (8) below demonstrate this situation in Bânḍò.

- (8) a)* Ebényé à bómi ndi nà Búlú túmbwédée
 Ebenye SM play+P1 Aff and Bulu sing

"Ebenye played and Bulu sang"

- b)* Eyò à túmbwédée ndi nà Búlú yémbà
 Eyo SM sing Aff and Bulu dance

"Eyo sang and Bulu danced"

Another interesting characteristic of *nà* co-ordination concerns the interaction between co-ordination and tense. When *nà* is used to conjoin clauses in the past tense, an *n* appears before the subject marker of the subsequent

verb (s), and the affirmative marker disappears on these verbs whose morphology also changes. Consider the examples in (9). In the present and future tenses on the other hand, it is not possible to have two clauses conjoined with *nà*. Bânòò rather makes use of commas in writing and pauses in speech as evidenced by the example (12).

- (9) a) Nyàkà à yámbì ndi ìdà ná Eyò ná yówà bèèkì
 Nyaka SM cook+P₁ Aff food and Eyo SM wash dishes

"Nyaka cooked food and Eyo washed dishes"

- b) Nyàkà à jài ndi à láygà ná mbá ná tilà
 Nyaka SM to be+P₂ Aff SM read and I SM write

"Nyaka was reading and I was writing"

- c) Nyàkà à láygàì ndi ná mbá ná tilà
 Nyaka SM read+P₃ Aff and I SM write

"Nyaka read and I wrote"

From the examples above, we notice that before the verbs *yówà* and *tilà* we have a *nà* which has the same form as the co-ordinator. This second *nà* is the combination of *n* plus the regular subject marker *à*. Still in these examples, after the first verbs *yámbì* "cooked", *láygàì* "read" and *jài* "was", the affirmative marker *ndi* appears, but after *yówà* "wash" and *tilà* "write", the second verbs, it disappears. The tense marker in the conjoined clauses also changes such that, instead of the regular past tense marker /i/, we rather have /à/. Notice that if the sentences were to be written separately without the co-

ordinator *nà* the past tense would be marked as illustrated in the examples below.

- (10) a) Nyàkà à pólì ndì, Eyo à lólì ndì
 Nyaka SM came+P₁ Aff Eyo SM go + P₁ Aff

"Nyaka came, Eyo went"

- b) Nyàkà à jài ndì à lágà Eyo à jài ndì à tìlà
 Nyaka SM to be +P₂ Aff SM read, Eyo SM to be+P₂ Aff SM write

"Nyaka was reading, Eyo was writing"

In these examples, we also notice that the affirmative marker *ndì* appears on both verbs and the *n* disappears from the subsequent subject marker (s).

These three observations about clausal co-ordination with *nà* in Bânòò require some explanations. We attempt these in the paragraphs that follow beginning with the appearance of the *n* on the second subject marker.

To determine the status of the *n* on the second conjuncts, let us first examine serial verb constructions in Bânòò which also contain an *n* on subsequent verbs.

- (11) nyàkà à pólì ndì, nà jàà, nà dāà, nà làà
 Nyaka SM come + P₁ Aff SM sit SM eat, SM go

"Nyaka came, sat, ate and left"

Notice that in these examples, an *n* appears on all subsequent verbs in the construction. This *n*, in Bantu terminology, is the serialization morpheme.

Comparing these serial verb constructions to the co-ordinate construction in (9), we also notice the appearance of the same *n* on the second conjuncts in the co-ordinate structures. We propose that this *n* is a reflex of the serialization morpheme which regularly occurs in serial verb constructions. Why it appears on the subject marker and not on the verb itself is another problem. May be the subject marker is actually a morpheme attached to the verb (i.e. the subject marker is part of the verb group) and not an independent morpheme as in other languages.

Turning now to the affirmative marker, we observed that it generally disappears in the second conjunct. We suggest that the affirmative marker disappears for scope reasons. The language requires that affirmation be marked only once. When it is marked on the first conjunct, it has scope over the entire construction and so, there is no need to mark it a second time.

The treatment of the tense marker is probably the same as that of the affirmative marker. The language may also require that tense be marked once in the same construction. That is why only the first conjunct has an overt tense marker.

The example (12) below illustrates the case of the present and future tenses where clausal co-ordination with *nà* is not possible.

(12) a) present tense

- (i) Nyàkà à yámbà ndi ìdǎ, Eyò à yówà ndi bèèkì
 Nyaka SM cook Aff food Eyo SM wash Aff dishes

"Nyaka is cooking and Eyo is washing dishes"

- (ii) Nyàkà à là ndì ó màkétì, Eyò à là ndì ó màkétì
 Nyaka SM go Aff to market Eyo SM go AFF to market

"Nyaka is going to the market and Eyo is going to the market"

b) Future tense

- (i) Nyàkà ă yámbà ndì ìďǎ, Eyò ă yówà ndì bèèkì
 Nyaka SM+TM cook Aff food Eyo SM+TM wash Aff dishes

"Nyaka will cook food and Eyo will wash dishes"

- (ii) Nyàkà ă pó ndì, Eyò ă là ndì
 Nyaka SM+TM come Aff Eyo SM+ TM go Aff

"Nyaka will come and Eyo will go"

- c)* Nyàkà à pó ndì nà Eyò à là ndì
 (i) Nyaka SM come Aff and Eyo SM go Aff

"Nyaka is coming and Eyo is going"

- (ii)* Nyàkà ă yámbà ndì ìďǎ nà Eyò ă yówà ndì bèèkì
 Nyaka SM+TM cook Aff food and Eyo SM+TM wash Aff dishes

"Nyaka will cook food and Eyo will wash dishes"

Despite the fact that (a) and (b) are not overtly co-ordinated with *nà*, the sentences still have a co-ordinate and not a sequential reading. Example (c) is

ungrammatical because it is quite impossible in the present and future tenses to have clauses conjoined with *nà*.

To summarise this section, we can say that *nà* is used both for phrasal and clausal co-ordination. We observed that when used to combine pronouns, object pronouns can appear either in subject or object position. For clausal co-ordination, *nà* raises problems, some of which an attempted solution has been given to and some left to further research. An interesting characteristic of *nà* co-ordination concerns the interaction between co-ordination and tense. After describing *nà* co-ordination, in the next section, focus is on *wáná* co-ordination where we examine the distribution and peculiar characteristics of *wáná*.

3.1.2. *Wáná* co-ordination

Wáná has the meaning of the English conjunction of co-ordination "but". The use of *wáná* is restricted to clauses and Adjectival phrases. *Wáná* cannot be used to conjoin noun phrases as this is pragmatically inconceivable. In the following section, we present only the elements that can be conjoined by *wáná*.

3.1.2.1 co-ordination of nouns used as adjectives

Unlike the noun phrase, the adjectival phrase can be conjoined by *wáná* as illustrated by the examples below.

- (13) a) *nà* *yénì* *ndi* *mòmò* *mǒ* *òyàvi* *wáná* *bòwàrdí*
 I see + P₁ Aff man one tall but thin

"I saw a tall but thin man"

- b) Múna ndítò òyámù wáná bòbè à pói ndi váké
 child woman beautiful but wicked SM came+P₁ Aff yesterday

"A beautiful but wicked girl came yesterday"

3.1.2.2. Clausal co-ordination

Wáná is used to co-ordinate clauses to express contradiction. Unlike *nà*, *wáná* can co-ordinate clauses with the same subject (14a), as well as those with different subject as illustrated in (14b) below.

- (14) a) Ebényé à pói ndi wáná Eyò à púmì ndi
 Ebenye SM came+P₁ Aff but Eyo SM go+P₁ Aff

"Ebenye came but Eyo has gone out"

- b) Ebényé à pói ndi wáná à púmì ndi
 Ebenye SM come+P₁ Aff but SM go+P₁ Aff

"Ebenye came but has gone out"

From (14b) above, we observe that *wáná* can overtly conjoin two verbs. When this happens, no serialization morpheme appears on the subsequent subject marker, and the second affirmative marker remains. We think that, since *wáná* expresses contradiction, opposition and not addition of two different elements, it might be a reason why the serialization morpheme *n* does not appear. The affirmative marker appears twice, because in the language this sentence expresses two clauses which can easily stand alone as shown below.

- (15) a) Ebényé à pòì ndi
Ebenye SM come+P₁ Aff

"Ebenye came"

- b) à púmì ndi
he go + P₁ Aff

"he has gone out"

Wáná cannot conjoin more than two clauses, hence the ungrammaticality of the following sentence.

- (16) * Kwèdí à pòì ndi wáná Eyò á púmì ndi
Kwedi SM come +P₁ Aff but Eyo SM go+P₁ Aff
wáná ékò à nángì ndi
but Eko SM Sleep+P₁ Aff

* "Kwedi came but Eyo has gone out but Eko has slept"

Unlike *nà*, *wáná* can co-ordinate clauses in the present tense as shown below.

- (17) a) Kwèdí à yámbà ndi ìfá wáná ékò à yówà ndi bèèkì
Kwedi SM cook Aff food but Eko SM wash Aff dishes

"Kwedi is cooking food but Eko is washing dishes"

- b) Búlú à bómà ndi wáná Eyùm à túmbwédéè ndi
 Bulu SM play Aff but Eyoum SM sing Aff

"Bulu is playing but Eyoum is singing"

We notice from these examples that the present tense also allows the affirmative marker to be marked twice, and the serialization morpheme *n* does not appear.

In this section, we described the distribution of *wáná*. We showed its impossibility to conjoin noun phrases. We pointed out peculiar characteristics specific to *wáná*. We are now going to look at another co-ordinator which is *ǒ* and discuss its characteristics.

3.1.3. *ǒ* co-ordination

This morpheme is equivalent to the English "or". *ǒ* is mostly used to conjoin interrogative phrases or clauses. It can combine common nouns as well as proper nouns. In conjoining clauses, *ǒ* presents some constraints at which we will throw a look in the following section.

3.1.3.1. Noun phrase co-ordination

ǒ can be used to conjoin common nouns as shown in the examples below.

- (19) a) Nyàkà à nógì ndi díbàwù ǒ árká?
 Nyaka SM take + P₁ Aff hoe or knife

"Did Nyaka take a hoe or a knife"?

- b) Eyò à lṣì ndì váké ǎ vèhéṅgé?
 Eyo SM go+P₁ Aff yesterday or today

"Did Eyo go yesterday or today? "

ǎ can also conjoin proper nouns and pronouns. Some examples are given below.

- (20) a) Nàbà ǎ ékò à pòì ndí ?
 Naba or Eko SM come+P₁ Aff

"Did Naba or Eko come?"

- b) Mṣ ǎ mbá ǎ là ndì ó màkétí ?
 Him or me SM+TM go Aff to market

"Will he or I go to the market?"

- c) Kwèdí ǎ òvà à yámbì ndì ìdà?
 Kwedi or you SM look +P₁ Aff food

"Did Kwedi or you cook the food?"

3.1.3.2. co-ordination of nouns used as adjectives

The co-ordination of adjectival phrases is also possible and is evidenced by the examples below.

- (21) a) Vé ndi mbá békòndá béibéi ǎ vióvió
Give Aff me shoes red or black

"Give me red or black shoes"

- b) ò yénì ndi mòmò mǎ òyàvì ǎ bòwàrdí?
You see+P₁ Aff man one tall or thin

"Did you see a tall or thin man?"

3.1.3.3. Clausal co-ordination

ǎ is mostly used in interrogative clauses and implies a question, as the examples below illustrate.

- (22) a) Ebényé à pói ndi ǎ à lói ndí?
Ebenye SM come+P₁ Aff or SM go+P₁ Aff

"Did Ebenye come or did he go?"

- b) Ebényé à njànji ndi ǎ à nángà ndí?
Ebenye SM work+P₁ Aff or SM sleep+P₁ Aff

"Did Ebenye work or did he sleep?"

This co-ordinator can co-ordinate clauses with same or different subjects as (23a) and (23b) respectively illustrate.

- (23) a) Ebényé à njànji ndi ǒ à nángì ndí ?
 Ebenye SM work+P₁ Aff or SM sleep+P₁ Aff

"Did Ebenye work or did he sleep?"

- b) Nyàkà à nóngì ndi árkà ǒ ékò à nóngì ndí ?
 Nyaka SM take+P₁ Aff knife or Eko SM take+P₁ Aff

"Did Nyaka take a knife or did Eko take a knife?"

Unlike the other co-ordinators, ǒ does not allow an *n* to appear before the subsequent subject markers. We think that the *n* marks a relationship between the events that are related, and since ǒ expresses a choice between two or more events, it may be a reason why the *n* is not used in ǒ co-ordination.

One interesting characteristic of ǒ co-ordination is that the co-ordinator ǒ when used to conjoin clauses in the present, future and past tenses, allows the affirmative marker to appear on all the verbs. A reason for this might be the appearance of the events of these clauses in a sequence. The examples in (24) illustrate this.

- (24) a) Ebényé à yámbi ndi ìdà ǒ Eyò à yówì ndi béeékí ?
 Ebenye SM cook+P₁ Aff food or Eyo SM wash +P₁ Aff dishes

"Did Ebenye cook food or did Eyo wash dishes?"

- b) Eyò à bómà ndi ǎ ékò à túmbwédèè ndí?
 Eyo SM play Aff or Eko SM sing Aff

"Is Eyo playing or is Eko singing?"

- c) Eyò ǎ yámà ndi ìdà ǎ ékò ǎ yówà ndi bèèkí?
 Eyo SM+TM cook Aff food or Eko SM+TM wash Aff dishes

"Will Eyo cook food or will Eko wash dishes?"

We observe from the examples above that the events result from the choice of one or the other, and are not marked by the idea of addition.

This part of the chapter dealt with overt co-ordination. We described the various co-ordinators which Bàndò uses to conjoin phrases and clauses. We looked at their distributions, their peculiarities and constraints. We observed that these co-ordinators shared a common characteristic which was their interaction with tense. In the next part, we will examine the conjunction of phrases and clauses without overt co-ordinating conjunctions.

3.2. Covert co-ordination

"covert co-ordination occurs when two or more phrases/clauses are juxtaposed without any explicit connecting word, but the sentence is interpreted by the native speaker as possessing a conjunction in the underlying structure." Alex K. Dzameshie (1998/99). In this section we will discuss covert co-ordination of phrases and clauses. We will also examine serial verb constructions and lastly we will look at the interface between co-ordination and compression rules.

3.2.1. Phrasal co-ordination

Unlike overt co-ordination, covert co-ordination of noun phrases does not require co-ordinators. Noun phrase structures in Bàngò can be merely juxtaposed as can be seen from the examples below.

- (25) a) Kwèdì, Ebényé bá lói ndi ó mākéti
Kwedi, Ebenye SM go+P₁ Aff to market

"Kwedi and Ebenye went to the market"

- b) Eyò, ékò, Búlú bá yámbi súpù
Eyo, Eko, Bulu SM cook+P₁ soup

"Eyo, Eko and Bulu cooked soup"

3.2.2. Clausal co-ordination

Sentential co-ordination involves the juxtaposition of two or more clauses characterized by the presence of an overt tense marker on the subsequent verbs as the examples below illustrate.

- (26) a) Eyò à yámbi ndi ìdǎ ékò à yówi ndi bèèkì
Eyo SM cook+P₁ Aff food Eko SM wash+P₁ Aff dishes

"Eyo cooked food, Eko washed dishes"

- b) Nyàkà à yámbì ndì fùfù, ékò à yámbì ndì súpù
 Nyaka SM cook+P₁ Aff fufu Eko SM cook+P₁ Aff soup

"Nyaka cooked fufu, Eko cooked soup"

- c) ékò à lóì ndì ó ẹí, Eyò à lóì ndì ó màkétì
 Eko SM go+P₁ Aff to farm Eyo SM go+P₁ Aff to market

"Eko went to the farm, Eyo went to the market"

We notice in all the examples above that the past tense marker /ì/ appears on all the verbs although this was not the case in overt co-ordination, where it generally appeared only on the first verb of a conjoined clause used in the past tense. In the unmarked case, it appears the events of both clausal conjuncts are usually somehow related (26 a). However as (26 b & 26 c) suggest, there appear to be no requirement that the events of both conjuncts must be related. We tend to think that, though these clauses are co-ordinated, the interpretation that results is that of two independent clauses having a sequential reading of two events which may be unrelated and not a co-ordinate reading.

3.2.3. Serial verb constructions

" A serial verb construction is one in which two or more verbs are placed one after the other without any intervening unit between them" Mukata and Tamanji (2000:227).

According to Mukata and Tamanji (2000:227), there are four different categories of serial verb constructions which include:

- the co-ordinate SVC
- the modifying SVC

- the purpose SVC
- the complex verb SVC

The co-ordinate serial verb construction seems to have been derived from a co-ordinate sentence in which two or more verbs are joined together by conjunctions. What now appears as a serial verb construction is the result of transformation, notably the deletion of the conjunction (s).

It is often rare to find all four categories of SVC, in one language. Bàngò exhibits the co-ordinate SVC in which each verb has the same meaning as it would have had in a simple sentence. Example of co-ordinate serial verb constructions are given below.

- (27) a) Nyàkà à pó ndi, nà jàà, nà dāà, nà làà
 Nyaka SM come Aff SM sit SM eat SM leave

"Nyaka comes, sits, eats and leaves"

- b) Nyàkà à pó ndi, nà jàà, nà dāà, nà làà
 Nyaka SM come+P₁ Aff SM sit SM eat SM leave

"Nyaka came, sat, ate and left"

- c) Nyàkà ă pó ndi, ă jàà ndi, ă dāà ndi, ă làà ndi
 Nyaka SM+TM come Aff SM+TM sit Aff SM+TM eat Aff SM+TM leave Aff

"Nyaka will come, will sit, will eat and will leave"

Co-ordinate SVC in Bânḍòḍ exhibit a phenomenon which is also attested in many Bantu languages. All the verbs coming after the first verb in the past and present tense but not in the future tense take an obligatory serialization morpheme.

3.3. Co-ordination and compression rules

Like some other languages (e.g. Ewe), Bânḍòḍ has certain syntactic devices by which syntactic or verbal compactness is achieved. These devices include conjunction reduction, reciprocal formation and anaphoric substitution.

3.3.1. Conjunction – reduction rule

This rule becomes operational on a co-ordinate construction that exhibits parallel structures. When this rule applies, it deletes one of identical elements in the parallel structures. For example, in (28) the clauses *Eyó à déi ndi* "Eyo ate" and *ékò à déi ndi* "Eko ate" are parallel structures, thus it is permissible to delete the second occurrence of the identical italicised elements.

- (28) *Eyó à déi ndi* *nà* *ékò à déi ndi*
 Eyo SM eat Aff and Eko SM eat Aff

"Eyo ate and Eko ate"

The rule performs a second operation: the subject of the second clause along with the co-ordinator *nà* is moved to the position immediately before the predicate. These moved elements are conjoined to the subject of the first clause to form a compound subject as evidenced by (29) below.

- (29) Eyò nà ékò bá déi ndi
 Eyo and Eko SM eat Aff

"Eyo and Eko ate"

Observe that the compound subject of such a resulting sentence is repeated in the form of a pronoun *bá* "they". It is this conjunction – reduction rule that governs the formation of co-ordinate serial verb constructions we discussed in section 3.2.3.

3.3.2. Anaphoric substitution rule

In Bânḍò, the anaphoric substitution rule uses pronouns to represent a noun or a longer phrase. The anaphoric pronoun used is always identical in number and class with the antecedent NP as the example below shows.

- (30) a) Kwèdì à yénì ndi ékò nà bédé ékò
 Kwedi SM see + P₁ Aff Eko and call Eko

"Kwedi saw Eko and called Eko"

- b) Kwèdì à yénì ndi ékò nà bédé mɔ́
 Kwedi SM see + P₁ Aff Eko and call her

"Kwedi saw Eko and called her"

3.3.3. Reciprocal formation rule

Bàndò also achieves syntactic compactness by means of what is referred to as a reciprocal formation rule. In Bàndò this rule introduces the reciprocal suffix *àné* "each other" into the truncated version of certain conjoined structures as illustrated below. Note that this suffix is joined to the verb base.

- (31) a) Kwèdí à díliyé ndi Búlú, Búlú à díliyé ndi Kwèdí
 Kwedi SM respects Aff Bulu Bulu SM respects Aff Kwedi

"Kwedi respects Bulu and Bulu respects Kwedi"

- b) ~~Kwèdí~~ ~~nà~~ ~~Búlú~~ ~~á~~ díliyé *né* ndi
 Kwedi and Bulu SM respect+suff Aff

"Kwedi and Bulu respect each other"

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter investigated the syntactic phenomenon of co-ordination in Bàndò by examining various key aspects of the phenomenon, including its linguistic coding, types exhibited, governing principles or restrictions and the interface between co-ordination and compression rules. The study showed that ordinary phrasal co-ordination is regulated by the principles of identical categories. Behind this, Bàndò exhibits certain peculiar restrictions: while noun phrases can be overly conjoined, it is ungrammatical to conjoin verbs by means of some co-ordinating conjunctions. It is also shown in the study that Bàndò has serial verb constructions, a phenomenon known in several other Bantu languages.

CHAPTER IV

RELATIVE CLAUSES

4.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses the internal structure of relative clauses which constitute a second type of complex construction in Bânḏò. The discussion focuses on the external restrictive relative clause which is the most common type of relative clause in the language. We describe the various relativizable noun phrase positions and the strategies employed in marking these relativizable positions. The chapter also looks at Bânḏò relativizers and the changes that are brought into the sentences when they are used.

4.1. Relative clauses

There are many types of relative clauses attested in natural language. These include restrictive, non-restrictive and correlative relative clauses. The different relative clauses are presented below with illustrations from English and Bambara.

- Restrictive

The restrictive relative clause narrows down a reference to a specific entity/object. In other words, the restrictive relative clause singles out a particular object from a large group as illustrated below.

1) I picked up the towel that was lying on the floor.

In this example, the speaker singles out a towel (the one on the floor) from the universe of towels.

- Non-restrictive

The non-restrictive clause is one in which the restrictive clause (who are industrious) does not function to constrain the domain of relativization. An example of non-restrictive clause is given below.

2) the Japanese, who are industrious, now outcompete Europe

- Corelative

In addition to restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, the translation of English relative clauses into many languages commonly elicit a structure which Keenan (1985:163) calls corelatives. An example from Bambara is presented below.

3)

Fini min ka di n ye, muso min be a fere a ye o furu
Cloth Corel is nice to me woman Corel past that sell he past that marry

"He married the woman that sells the cloth that I like"

In contrast to internal restrictive relatives, the restrictive clause here does not take nominal markings such as determiners, case markers, and adpositions and is thus best thought of as a sentence rather than an NP.

All three types of the relative clauses are hardly ever attested in the same language. A few languages do employ two types: mostly the restrictive relative clause and the corelative. Most Bantu languages like Bânòò however employ just the restrictive relative to which we now turn in the sections that follow.

4.1.1. Restrictive relative clauses

Restrictive relative clauses are of two types: External and Internal relatives. Below is an example of external relatives in English.

- 4) Every student who Mary advised passed the exam.

Notice that the domain noun² "student" occurs outside the restrictive clause (Srel). Such restrictive clauses are referred to in (Keenan: 1985) as external or headed relatives. Since the Srel occurs to the right of the domain noun in this example, it is more specifically referred to as postnominal external relative. Correspondingly, restrictive clauses in which the domain noun is outside of Srel and the latter occurs to the left of the domain noun will be called prenominal external relatives. Example (5b) from Japanese Mccawley (1972: 205) illustrates a prenominal external relative.

- 5) a) Yamada- san ga sa'ru o ka' t-te i - ru
Yamada Mr subj monkey do keep past be pres

"Mr Yamada keeps a monkey"

- b) Yamada - san ga ka' t-te i - ru sa'ru
Yamada Mr subj keep past be pres monkey

"The monkey which Mr Yamada keeps"

² We shall refer to the common noun in a relative clause which expresses the domain of relativization as the domain noun and the restrictive clause as Srel (since it has in general the syntactic properties of a sentence).

Clearly in (5b) the domain noun *Sa'ru* "monkey" occurs outside and to the right of Srel *yamada-san ga ka' tte iru*.

External relatives whether pre-or postnominal, contrast as a class with internal relatives in which the domain noun occurs within Srel. Example (6) below from Navajo (Hale and Platero) illustrates an internal relative.

- 6) *tl' eedaa' hastiin yalti' - ee alhosh*
 last night man spoke -rel sleep

"The man who spoke last night is sleeping"

Clearly here both *tl' eedaa'* "last night" and *yalti* "spoke" belong to Srel and the domain noun *hastiin* "man" occurs between them and is thus properly embedded within Srel. So the subject NP of *alhosh* "sleep" is an internal relative clause.

In Bânḍò, only external relatives are attested and relativization here is uniquely postnominal. In the sections that follow therefore, we examine the characteristics of external postnominal relatives in Bânḍò.

4.1.1.1. Relativizable NP positions

The question of which position in a clause may function as Np_{rel} has been a central concern of much recent work. We cannot attempt to summarize that extensive literature here.

Let us note that the question of which positions in a language can be relativized is not independent of the relative clause forming strategy used. More positions can be relativized if personal pronouns are presented in the Np_{rel} position than if they are not. Ross (1967:161) for example observed that NPs in

single branches of a coordinate structure cannot be relativized in English. Thus from (7a) below we cannot form (7b).

- 7) a) The boy and the girl left early
 b)* The girl that the boy and left early

Similarly, NPs within complex NPs (ones headed by a noun) are unrelativizable in English. From (8a) we cannot form (8b).

- 8) a) I know the man who left the hat on the table
 b)* The hat which I know the man who left on the table

However, these positions are not uncommonly relativizable using pronoun retaining strategies. Thus (9) below is a grammatical translation of (8b) above in Welsh Keenan (1975: 407).

- 9) 'r het y gwn y dyn a' i gadewodd ar y ford
 the hat I know the man that it left on the table

"The hat that I know the man who left on the table"

Similarly, current work in generative grammar generally rejects relativization in embedded questions (wh-islands) as ungrammatical in English, as indicated in (10) below. Yet its translation into the pronoun retaining Hebrew in (11) is completely natural.

- 10)* The crimes that the police don't know who committed

- 11) ha- pshain she ha - mishtara lo yodat mi bitsea otam
the crimes that the police not know who committed them

"The crimes that the police don't know who committed them"

Relativizable positions therefore differ as one moves from one language to the other. In Bânḏḏ five positions in the sentence can be relativized as illustrated by the examples below.

12) Subject position

- a) ndítò à yówà ndi mbótì
woman SM wash Aff clothes

"The woman is washing clothes"

- b) ndítò té à mà yówé mbótì
woman who SM TM wash clothes

"The woman who is washing clothes"

13) Indirect object

- a) ndítò à véî ndi Búlú pwètè
woman SM give+P₁ Aff Bulu potatoes

"The woman gave potatoes to Bulu"

- b) ndító wà Búlú à véi-nò pwètè
 woman who Bulu SM give+P₁+Suff potatoes

"The woman who Bulu gave potatoes to"

14) Direct object

- mbótì yà ndító í mà yówà-nò
 clothes which woman SM TM wash+Suff

"The clothes that the woman is washing"

15) Possessor

- nà yénì ndi ndító wà mòmò mú à mà dàkà-nò
 I see+P₁ Aff woman that man her SM TM sick+Suff

"I saw the woman whose husband is sick"

16) Object of preposition

- a) Nyàkà à bóyì ndi kúbà nà árkà
 Nyaka SM kill+P₁ Aff chicken with knife

"Nyaka killed the chicken with a knife"

- b) árkà yà Nyàkà é bóyì-nò kúbà
 knife which Nyaka SM kill+P₁+Suff chicken

"The knife with which Nyaka killed the chicken"

4.1.1.2. *Marking the position relativized*

It is an interesting question to consider how Bânḍò marks which position in S_{rel} is the N_{rel} one. For example how does Bânḍò signal the meaning difference between "the man who saw Bulu" where N_{rel} is the subject of *saw*, and "the man who Bulu saw, where N_{rel} is the direct object of *saw*? There appear to be two ways of presenting N_{rel} in Bânḍò. It may be a relative pronoun which appears after the relativized noun in its new position or nothing at all. We consider these possibilities in turn. In the discussion, we will use the notation N_{rel} to refer to the position in the restrictive clause (S_{rel}) which refers to the elements in the domain of relativization. For example in "the men who I know", N_{rel} is in the direct object position of S_{rel}.

4.1.1.2.1. *N_{rel} is a relative pronoun*

Relative pronouns are pronominal elements occurring in S_{rel} and are distinct from the ordinary definite personal pronouns which occur in simple declarative sentences. They are nominal in that they mark nominal properties such as gender, number and case. They are pronominal in that they are drawn from a small closed class.

In Bânḍò relative pronouns agree with the relativized noun in class as illustrated below.

- 17) a) béyàndì bé Búlú bé yéni-nò
 plantains that Bulu SM see+P_I+Suff

"The plantains that Bulu saw"

- b) mùtóà mù Búlú é yénì-nò
car that Bulu SM see+P_I+Suff

"The car that Bulu saw"

- c) bòmò bà búlú bá mà yèmbà-nò
men that bulu SM TM know+Suff

"The men that Bulu knows"

Bànòò relative pronouns also agree with the relativized noun in the feature [\pm human]. Thus if N_{rel} is human the relative pronoun is *té* or *wà* and if N_{rel} is non-human, the relative pronoun is *yà* as shown in the examples below.

- 18) a) mòmò té à mà bòwé jàlè
man who SM TM feel hungry

"The man who feels hungry"

- b) mòmò wà mì à mà yèmbà-nò
man that my SM TM know+Suff

"The man that I know"

- c) mbó yà mì é mà yèmbà-nò
dog that my SM TM know Suff

"The dog that I know"

All Bânḍò relative pronouns, except *té* agree in number as evidenced by the examples below.

- 19) a) ndító té à mà yówé mbótì
woman who SM TM wash clothes

"The woman who is washing clothes"

- b) bítò té bá mà yówé mbótì
women who SM TM wash clothes

"The women who are washing clothes"

- 20) a) ndító wà Búlú à mà yénì-nò
woman that Bulu SM TM see+P₁+Suff

"The woman that Bulu saw"

- b) bítò bà Búlú bá mà yénì-nò
women that Bulu SM TM see+P₁+Suff

"The women that Bulu saw"

- 21) a) èí yà mì é mà yèmbà-nò
farm that my SM TM know+Suff

"The farm that I know"

- b) bèí bè mì bé mà yèmbà-nò
farms that my SM TM know+Suff

"The farms that I know"

Relative pronouns are commonly related in form to demonstratives. In the German example below the relative pronoun is identical to the definite article, which itself still functions independently as a demonstrative pronoun, though normally reinforced by an independent deictic as *da* "there".

- 22) a) Ich habe den da gekauft
I have that one(these) bought

"I bought that one"

- b) Der Mann den Marie liebt
the man who Mary loves

"The man who Mary loves"

But as the following example shows, it is not the case in Bàngò.

- 23) a) nà yámbi ndi é ní
I buy+P₁ Aff one that

"I bought that one"

- b) múnà wà mì à mà yèmbà-nò
 child that my SM TM know+Suff

"The child that I know"

We notice from this example that the demonstrative pronoun *mí* "that" does not have the form of the relative pronoun *wà* "that", although in the German example the two pronouns have the same form.

The use of interrogative pronouns as relative pronouns is also well known from French and English. The example below is illustrative.

- 24) a) A qui parles-tu?
 b) La femme à qui tu parles
 c) To whom did Ali give the potato?
 d) The woman to whom Ali gave the potato

This does not happen in Bânòò as the examples in 25 show.

- 25) a) Búlú à véì ndì njá ní pwètè?
 Bulu SM give+P₁ Aff who potato

"To whom did Bulu give the potato"

- b) ndító wà Búlú à véì-nò pwètè
 woman that Bulu SM give+P₁ Suff potato

"The woman to whom Bulu gave the potato"

Unlike some languages (e.g. mayan) Bânòò relative pronouns are not formed from the combination of demonstrative and interrogative pronouns as can be seen from the examples below.

- 26) a) *njá ní à bìyèdè ndi ndító ?*
 who SM hit Aff woman

"Who hit the woman"

- b) *mbótì té ní*
 cloth one that

"That cloth "

- c) *mòmò wà Búlú à bìyèdè*
 man that Bulu SM hit+Suff

"The man who Bulu hit"

We notice from 26 above that to form the relative pronoun *wà* "that" in (26c), the language did not need to combine the interrogative pronoun *njá ní* "who" and the demonstrative pronoun *ní* "that" in (26b).

4.1.1.2.2. *Absence of Np_{rel}*

In this section we consider relative clauses in which there is no element in S_{rel} which expresses Np_{rel} . Some examples are given below.

- 27) a) mbó é dākà ndì
dog SM sick Aff

"The dog is sick"

- b) mbó é mà dāké
dog SM TM sick

"The dog which is sick"

- 28) mòmò à yémbì ó tàwúli à dākài ndì
man SM dance+P₁ on table SM sick+P₃ Aff

"The man who danced on the table was sick"

When no element in S_{rel} expresses N_{p_{rel}} as in the examples above, it is said that N_{p_{rel}} has been gapped and some times such restrictive clauses are referred to as being formed by gapping. In Bânḍò, N_{p_{rel}} is most likely to be gapped if it is the subject of S_{rel}. We have found no other examples of N_{p_{rel}} formed by gapping.

4.1.1.3. Various relativizers

Bânḍò has a closed set of three relativizers which are *té*, *wà* and *yà*. We will describe each in turn.

4.1.1.3.1. *té*

This relative pronoun is the equivalent of the English relative pronoun "who". It is only used to refer to human beings. An example is given below.

- 29) mòmò té à mà dāké
 man who SM TM sick

"The man who is sick"

té is only used to relativize a subject NP. When *té* is used in the present progressive tense, it provokes a change in the final vowel of the verb as evidenced by (30) versus (31).

- 30) a) ndító à yówà ndi mbótì
 woman SM wash Aff clothes

"The woman is washing clothes"

- b) ndító té à mà yówé mbótì
 woman who SM TM wash clothes

"The woman who is washing clothes"

- 31) a) ndító à yówi ndi mbótì
 woman SM wash+P₁ Aff clothes

"The woman washed clothes"

- b) ndító té à mà yówì mbótì
 woman who SM TM wash+P₁ clothes

"The woman who washed clothes"

In the examples in (b), we also notice that the affirmative marker *ndi* has disappeared. We think that since the utterances have been transformed into NPs and since affirmation goes with action, the affirmative marker therefore has no place in the construction.

4.1.1.3.2. yà

yà is a relative pronoun which is used to refer to animals and things. It can be roughly translated as "which". An illustration of its use is given below.

- 32) a) Nyàkà à tàtà ndi kémá pǎ
 Nyaka SM keep Aff monkey one

"Nyaka keeps a monkey"

- b) kémá yà nyàkà é mà tàtà-nò
 monkey which Nyaka SM TM keep+Suff

"The monkey which Nyaka keeps"

- 33) a) nà véì ndi káláti òvà
 I give+P₁ Aff book you

"I gave you a book"

- b) kálàtì yà mì é véì-nò và
look which my SM give+P₁ Suff you

"The book that I gave you"

When *yà* is used to relativize any position of the sentence, it allows a subordination suffix to be attached to the verb as evidenced by the examples below.

- 34) a) yómà yà mì é yámbì - nò váké
yam that my SM buy+P₁ Suff yesterday

"The yam which I bought yesterday"

- b) mbótì yà mú yìjànì- nò ó màdǎbá í ndi úyàà
clothes which his enter+P₁+Suff to water SM Aff dry

"The clothes with which he entered the water are drying"

- c) nà dèi ndi pwètè yà Nyàkà é véì-nò Búlú
I eat+P₁ Aff potato which Nyaka SM give+P₁+Suff Bulu

"I ate the potato which Nyaka gave to Bulu"

We notice from (a & b) that instead of having the subject personal pronouns *nà* and *à* or the object of verb personal pronoun *mbá* and *mó* after the relative pronoun *yà*, Bàngò rather uses the possessive personal pronouns *mì* and *mí* which are respectively translated as "my" and "his" or "her".

As said earlier (section 4.1.1.2.1) *yà* agrees with the relativized noun phrase in number.

Another interesting observation is the absence of the affirmative marker after the verb of the relative clause and as we said earlier it might be due to the nominalization of the relative clause.

4.1.1.3.3. *Wà*

Wà is sometimes translated as "who" although it is mostly used as the complementizer "that" as can be seen from 35 below.

- 35) a) mòmò wà Búlú à mà yèmbà-nò
man who Bulu SM TM know+Suff

"The man who Bulu knows"

- b) nà yèmbà ndi ndítò wà Búlú à véì-nò pwètè
I know Aff woman that Bulu SM give+PI Suff potato

"I know the woman that Bulu gave potatoes to"

This relative pronoun is used to refer only to human beings and differs from *té* in the sense that it cannot be used to relativize a subject noun phrase as *té* alone does. And as we said in section 4.1.1.2. *wà* agrees in number with the noun it is antecedent to.

"That" in some cases is marked by the morpheme *ná*, this is after the verbs "to think" and "to say". 36 below is illustrative.

- 36) a) ò yòṅgòṇèdè ndi ná Búlú à tóndi ndi Mámá?
 you thing Aff that Bulu SM love Aff Mama

"You think that Bulu loves Mama?"

- b) ndító wà òṅgò á mà yòṅgòṇèdè-nò ná Búlú à
 woman that your SM TM think+Suff that Bulu SM
 tóndi ndi
 love Aff

"The woman that you think that Bulu loves"

- c) ò lánḡwà ndi ná ò dàkà ndí?
 you say Aff that you sick Aff

"You are saying that you are sick"

Wà when used before a personal pronoun takes a possessive personal pronoun instead of the subject pronoun as shown below.

- 37)³ a) múnà ndító wà mú á mà yèmbà-nò
 child woman that his SM TM know Suff

"The girl that he knows"

³ We have noticed from all the examples that the present progressive tense /mà/ which does not appear in the simple declarative sentence appears in the relative clause.

- b) múnàwà mǐ à mà tóndì-nò
child that my SM TM love Suff

"The child that I love"

The relative pronouns *yà* and *wà* share a common peculiarity. Like *yà*, when *wà* is used to relativize a sentence, it allows a subordination suffix to be attached to the verb as evidenced by the following examples.

- 38) a) múnà à dākà ndì
man SM sick Aff

"the man is sick"

- b) nà yénì ndì ndító wà mòmò mú à mà dākà-nò
I see+P₁ Aff woman that man her SM TM sick+Suff

"I saw the woman whose husband is sick"

- c) nà yèmbà ndì ndító pǒ
I know Aff woman one

"I know a woman"

- d) ndító wà mǐ à mà yèmbà-nò
woman that my SM TM know Suff

"The woman that I know"

4.2. Conclusion

This chapter focused on the external restrictive relative clause in Bânḍò. The discussion established five relativizable noun phrase positions and we showed that these positions could be marked either by a relative pronoun or by a gap. The study showed that Bânḍò has three relative pronouns, and for each of these relativizers we discussed the different changes brought into the sentence. The next chapter will describe another type of complex construction called the adverbial subordinate clause.

CHAPTER V

ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

5.0. Introduction

It appears that all languages have a set of two-clause constructions in which one is said to modify the other in a way similar to the way in which an adverb modifies a proposition. Just as with adverbs which are single words or phrases, adverbial clauses can be labeled and categorized with respect to the semantic role they play.

The present chapter focuses on the description of adverbial clauses in Bânḍō. In the first section of the chapter, we characterize the notion of adverbial clauses. Section two examines the adverbial subordinate clause types which Bânḍō manifests.

5.1. Characterization of adverbial clauses

We can distinguish three types of subordinate clauses: those which function as noun phrases called complements, those which function as modifiers of nouns called relative clauses, and those which function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions called adverbial clauses.

An adverbial subordinate clause is one which modifies a phrase or a sentence. Before we move on to describe adverbial clauses in Bânḍō, let us first give general characteristics of adverbial clauses.

5.1.1. Marking subordinate clauses

According to Sandra Thompson (1985:172) there are three devices which are typically found among languages of the world for marking subordinate clauses, all of which are found with adverbial clauses. They are:

- a) Subordinating morphemes
- b) Special verb forms
- c) Word order

5.1.1.1. Subordinating morphemes

There are two types of subordinating morphemes. Grammatical morphemes with no lexical meaning (e.g. English "to" as in "to buy food"); grammatical morphemes with lexical content (e.g. English before, when, if). Some examples are given below.

- 1)
 - a) He came before we left.
 - b) If he comes I will do it.
 - c) Phone me when you reach there.

5.1.1.2. Special verb forms

A special verb form is one which is not used in independent assertions. In languages with subject-verb agreement, the special verb form may be a non-finite form which lacks one or more agreement categories. In Latin for example, in independent assertions, the verb must agree with its subject in person and number as the example below illustrates.

- 2) Dux scrib-it epistol-as
 leader(Nom+Sg) write-pres 3sg letter-Acc-Pl

" The leader writes letters."

But in an adverbial subordinate clause, the verb may take an ending which signals nothing about the person or the number of the subject as can be seen from the example below.

- 3) Ter-it temp-us srib-endo epistol-as
 spend-pres 3sg time-Acc sg write-gerund letter-Acc-Pl

" He spends time writing letters."

In a language without agreement, a special subordinate verb form may still be identifiable.

5.1.1.3. Word order

Some languages have a special word order for subordinate clauses. German is a well-known example, where the finite verb (here, *habe*) appears at the end of the subordinate clause. Compare the examples below.

- 4) Wir wohn-ten auf dem Lande, wie ich dir schon gesagt habe
 we live past on Art(Dat) land as I you already told have

" We lived in the country, as I already told you"

- 5) Ich habe dir schon gesagt
I have you already told

" I have already told you"

In sentence(4) the finite verb *habe* " have" in the *Wie* " as" clause appears at the end, while in the independent simple sentence (5), it appears in its standard second position.

A characteristic of adverbial subordinate clauses in some languages is their position. For example in Turkish and many other languages, adverbial clauses must precede the main clause. Here is an example from Mandarin.

- 6) Suiran wo xihuan ta, keshi ta bu- xihuan wo
although I like he but he Neg like I

" Although I like him, he does not like me"

In many languages, however, the position of the adverbial clause is determined by its role in linking the main clause which it modifies to the preceding discourse. These, from a broad perspective, are the general characteristics of adverbial clauses that one expects to find across languages. In the next section we examine the types of adverbial clauses that Bânḍō manifests and their attendant characteristics.

5.2. Adverbial subordinate clauses

5.2.1. Time clauses

5.2.1.1. Temporal sequence clauses

The morpheme signalling "succession", or temporal sequence relationships between clauses, are typically either independent morphemes like the English when, before, after, etc. or verbal affixes. In Bàngò the first strategy is common as can be seen from the examples below.

- 7) a) à pólì ndì mbá ò vîyò
 he come+pl Aff I when sleep

" He came while I was sleeping"

- b) nă yénè ndì mó ò mó à pónò
 I+TM see Aff him when him SM come

" When he comes, I will see him."

We notice that in the Bàngò time sequence clause the subordinate clause comes after the main clause.

5.2.1.2. " Before " clauses

" Before" clauses are different from " when" and " after" clauses in that it is always the case that the event named in the " before" clause has not happened

yet by the time of the event named in the main clause. Thus there is a sense in which "before" clauses are conceptually negative from the point of view of the event in the main clause. Languages may deal with this semantic fact in different ways. Some languages have no equivalent for "before" clauses at all. In Bânḍo, the "before" clause must take the negative marker as illustrated below.

- 9) à déi ndi òbǒ ná yá làà
 he eat+pl Aff before that we+Neg go

"He ate before we left".

5.2.2. Manner clauses

The manner clause in Bânḍo is signaled by a subordinate clause marker as in the following examples.

11)

- a) yá kà mó à mà bèà-nò
 do as him SM TM say+suff

"Do as he says"

- b) wǎ jà kà và ò jì-nò sávà
 you+TM+Neg to be like you SM he+suff now

"You will not be like you are now"

- c) ǎ bàdé ndì pó kà létà mú é mà bèà-nò
 he +TM back Aff come like letter his SM TM say+Suff

" He will be back as his letter says".

We notice from above that the subordinating suffix which was attached to the verb in the relative clause (chapter 4) now appears on the verbs in the manner clauses. This confirms what Sandra Thompson (1985:184) says: " Certain manner clauses in a number of languages may also have the form of the relative clause."

We also notice from examples in (11) that Bàngò uses only the morpheme *ka* to translate two English different morphemes: " as" and " like".

5.2.3. Purpose and reason clauses

Many languages use the same morphology for purpose and reason clauses. The semantic explanation for the fact that one morpheme can serve these two functions is that both purpose and reason clauses can be seen as providing explanations for the occurrence of a given state or action. They differ in that purpose clauses express a motivating event which must be unrealized at the time of the main event while reason clauses express a motivating event which may be realized at the time of the main clause event. As the examples below illustrate there are two different morphemes in Bàngò which express purpose and reason.

13)

a) Reason

nà tēmì ndi véíí véíí váké

I get up+pt Aff early yesterday

nàbwànà nà jài ndi ná nà lài ó sùkúlù

because I to be Aff that I go+pt3 to school

" Yesterday I got up early because I was going to school"

b) Purpose

nà tēmì ndi véíí véíí váké ú làà ó sùkúlù

I get up+pt Aff early yesterday to go to school

" Yesterday I got up early to go to school"

We think that the morpheme *ú* which here introduces the purpose clause is the combination of the preposition *ó* "to" and the infinitive marker *ì* but we do not have an explanation of its surface high tone. There are certain cases where this *u* is reinforced by another morpheme which comes after the verb. Example (14) below is illustrative.

14) a) mòmò à jài ndi à njànjà ú yámbà dá mùtòà

man SM to be Aff SM work to buy car

" The man was working in order to buy a car."

- b) *ì lɛ̀ ndì ó màkétì ú yámbà dá màdǎ*
 we go+P₁ Aff to market to buy foods

" We went to the market to buy foods."

Another reason why we think that the *ú* is a combination of *ó* and *ì* is that when the clause is introduced by " so that" which does not appear before a verb in the infinitive we now have only the *ó* . Consider the following examples.

- 15) a) *bédé mó ó ná à pó idǎ*
 call him so that SM come eat

" Call him so that he can come and eat."

- b) *à bédé ndì mó ó ná à pó ivé ɲòbè*
 he call Aff him so that SM come give bag

" He called him to come and give the bag."

5.2.4. Conditional clauses

A basic semantic distinction between types of conditionals which is signaled by most languages is the distinction between reality conditionals and unreality conditionals. Reality conditionals are those which refer to " real", present, habitual or past situations. Examples from English are:

- 16) a) Present

If it's raining out there, my car is getting wet.

b) Habitual

If you step on the brake, the car slows down.

c) Past

If you were at the party, then you know about Sue and Fréd.

The term "unreality conditionals" is used for conditionals which refer to "unreal" situations. There are two types of unreal situations: those in which we imagine what might be or what might have been, and those in which we predict what will be. These two types of unreality are labeled imaginative and predictive respectively. Below are examples from English.

17) a) Imaginative(1)

If I saw David, I would speak Bàndò with him.(what might be-hypothetical)

b) Imaginative(2)

If you had been at the concert, you would have seen Bulu.(what might have been-counterfactual)

c) Predictive

If he gets the job we will all celebrate.

As can be seen from these examples, among the imaginative conditionals, a further distinction can be made. Some imaginative refer to situations which might happen, as in(17a) above, while some refer to situations which did not happen or which could not happen, as in (17b). Those which can happen are called "hypothetical", those which did not or could not happen are called "counterfactual".

Bàndò signals conditionals by means of subordinating morphemes such as "if". *ngé* "if" appears in Bàndò after the verb of the subordinate clause and is only used for the predictive conditional. (18) below is illustrative.

18) a) predictive

Búlú à pói ngé vèhéngè nă yámbà ndì béyòndì
 Bulu SM come if today I+TM cook Aff plantains

" If Bulu comes today I will cook plantains"

b) hypothetical

Búlú à jài pó vèhéngè nà vái ndì yámbà béyòndì
 Bulu SM to bc+p2 come today I Imag Aff cook plantains

" If Bulu came today , I would cook plantains"

We observe that the verb of the subordinate clause in (18a) takes the past tense marker *ì* although the verb is in the present tense. Below is another example.

19) à yámbì ngé ă dá ndì
 he cook+pl if SM+TM eat Aff

" If he cooks, he will eat"

In imaginative conditionals, it is very common to find special marking. In English this marker is " would". Bàndò uses *vái* and/or *kàò* " then" . Consider the examples below.

20) a) à jài dàkà kàò à bédé ndì wé
he to be+p2 sick then SM call Aff us

"If he were sick, he would call us"

b) Búlú à jài pó vèhéngè nà vái ndì yámbà béyòndì
Bulu SM to be+p2 come today I Imag Aff cook plantains

"If Bulu came today, I would cook plantains"

c) nà jài jà kàò và nà vái ndì yà yò
I to be+p2 to be then you I Imag Aff do it

"If I were you, I would do it"

From above we also notice that all the imaginative conditionals are introduced by the marker of the recent past *jài*. In Bânòò, the imaginative marker (Imag) does not show up in non-conditional imaginative sentences as evidenced by the example below.

21) nà jài ìbiyà
I to be+p2 know

"Had I known"

In Bânòò hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals are not distinguished. That is Bânòò makes no morphological distinction between hypotheticals and counterfactuals. Examples are given below.

22) a) hypothetical

nà jài jà kàò và nà vái ndì yà yò
I to be +p2 to be then you I Imag Aff do it

" If I were you I would do it"

b) counterfactual

nà jài jà kàò và nă vái bèà ná tàn é
I to be +p2 to be then you I+Neg Imag talk that way

" If I were you I would not talk that way"

Many languages have a morpheme to signal negative condition. In English it is " unless" :

23) a) Unless you get there by 6: 00, we are leaving without you.

b) We will go to Kribi unless it rains.

Bànòò does not have a negative condition marker per say. It uses an expression like " if it does not" or " if it is not". Below is an illustration.

24) kàò sáji é mà jà ó vàyì nă yám bà yò
then price SM TM to be to down I+Neg buy it

" Unless it is cheap I will not buy it"

5.2.5. Concessive clauses

"Concessive" is a general term for a clause which makes a concession, against which the proposition in the main clause is contrasted. There are two types of concessive clauses, those which are labeled "definite" and those labeled "indefinite". Concessive clauses are simply those marked by a concessive subordinator like "although". Examples from English include:

- 25) a) Although she hates working, she agreed to go to the farm.
b) Even though it is still early, we would better do it.

"Indefinite" concessive clauses, on the other hand, are those which signal a meaning like "no matter what" or "whatever"; these contain some unspecified element, typically an indefinite pronoun or question word. Examples in English include such sentences as the following.

- 26) a) No matter what he said, she still refused to go out with him.
b) Whoever he is, I am not opening that door.

Only the definite concessive is really expressed in Bàṅḍò. Below are some examples.

- 27) a) nà dàkà lé nă là ndi ó sùkúlu
I sick though I+TM go Aff to school

"Even though I am sick I would go to school."

b) à jà lé à póyè yă ndì yò
 he to be though SM come we+TM Aff it

" Whether he comes or not we will do it"

5.3. Conclusion

This chapter examined Bânòò adverbial clauses. After the characterization of the notion of adverbial clauses, we studied the types of adverbial clauses that Bânòò manifests. The discussion brought into light five adverbial subordinate clauses which included time clauses, manner clauses which appeared to share properties with relative clauses, purpose and reason clauses, conditional clauses, and concessive clauses.

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Stepping from the necessity to describe African Languages and to broaden the base on which more comprehensive and adequate theories of co-ordination and subordination can be built, we set out in this study to describe complex constructions in Bânḍḍ.

Considering the fact that speech is culture bound, we started by looking at the linguistic community. Under this we saw the geographical, historical and socio-economic set-up of this speech community. The situation of the language, its linguistic classification were also examined.

This background information was followed by a study of some aspects of phonology, verb morphology and the simple sentence structure of the language. This revealed that there are seven vowels, twenty-two consonants and two tones. The verb morphology presented a verb group made up of ten components: the pre-initial, the initial, the post-initial, the formative, the post-formative, the radical and its suffixes, the pre-final, the final, the post-final and the affirmative marker. Three past tense markers and five aspects were established. Furthermore the study of the nominal construction revealed that Bânḍḍ has a closed set of personal pronouns including subject personal, object of preposition, object of verb, demonstrative, possessive and interrogative pronouns. The simple sentence structure showed that the non-negative sentence is marked by the presence of the affirmative marker *ndi* while its negative counterpart is marked by the absence of this affirmative marker and by the presence of the negative marker.

From the study of overt and covert co-ordination, we came out with three co-ordinating conjunctions which are *nà*, *wáná*, and *ǎ*. We examined various

key aspects which included noun phrase, adjectival phrase and clausal co-ordination. We looked at the governing principles of co-ordination and the study showed that ordinary phrasal co-ordination is regulated by the principle of identical category. The interface between co-ordination and compression rules presented three devices by which syntactic or verbal compactness can be achieved, these included conjunction-reduction rule, anaphoric substitution and reciprocal formation rules.

The study of relative clauses focused on the external relative clause. The discussion established five relativizable noun phrase positions which are the subject position, the direct object position, the indirect object position, the object of preposition and the possessor positions and we showed that these positions could be marked either by a relative pronoun or by a gap. We came out with a closed set of three relative pronouns and for each we presented a detailed description of its use.

From the study of adverbial clauses, we gave a characterization of the notion of adverbial clauses. We then examined the types of adverbial clauses manifested by Bânḍḍ. We came out with five adverbial subordinate clauses which included time clauses, manner clauses, purpose and reason clauses, concessive clauses and conditional clauses.

Hopefully, this work will contribute to the standardization of the Bânḍḍ language giving it some profound study in the complex construction. It will also add onto existing data to contribute to the formulation of adequate theories about co-ordination and subordination.

In spite of its scientific nature, this work does not explore all the complex constructions. We did not examine the complement subordinate clause. There is still much to be done as far as the explanation of some phenomena in complex constructions is concerned such as the appearance of the morpheme *dá* in some purpose subordinate clauses, the appearance of the morpheme *n* before the

subject marker of some co-ordinate clauses. Thus, these could be carried out in subsequent works on this language.

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