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**ADVERBIAL CLAUSES IN NŌMAANDŌ
NARRATIVE DISCOURSE**

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1.0 Introduction

Nomaándé is a Narrow Bantu language of Central Cameroon that is classified as A.46 by Guthrie (1971: 32) and as No. 512 by ALCAM (Dieu and Renaud 1983: 53). The focus of this paper is a description of the adverbial clause types found in Nomaándé narrative texts. The framework for analysing these adverbial clauses is taken from the article by Thompson and Longacre, "Adverbial clauses," found in Shopen, Vol. II, "Complex Constructions" (1985: 171-234). While Thompson and Longacre describe 12 different adverbial clause types, this paper describes the six adverbial clause types which have been identified in 15 Nomaándé narrative texts.

2.0 Adverbial clause types

Adverbial clauses are clauses which modify the meaning of the main clause in a way that is similar to the way an adverb modifies the meaning of a single proposition: i.e., manner, location, time (Thompson and Longacre, 1985:171). Thompson and Longacre note that there are three devices found in languages for marking subordinate clauses, including adverbial clauses. These are (a) subordinating morphemes, (b) special verb forms, and (c) word order (1985:172). Nomaándé adverbial clauses use the first two devices only. Nomaándé narrative texts make use of several types of adverbial subordinate clauses, the vast majority of which precede the main clause of the sentence. Those which are postposed are limited to one type of temporal sequence clause and the causation clauses.

The adverbial clause types found in the studied texts are discussed in the following order: temporal sequence clauses (section 2.1), causation clauses (2.2), circumstantial clauses (2.3), simultaneity clauses (2.4), conditional clauses (2.5), and concessive clauses (2.6).

2.1 Temporal sequence clauses

2.1.1 Preposed temporal sequence clauses

2.1.1.1 'When' clauses expressed by *ahé / ahé*

The subordinating morpheme *ahé* (or its variant *ahé* which is conditioned by vowel harmony on the phrase level) is translated 'when' in English. The adverbial clause it initiates is always preposed and most characteristically also forms a tail-head linkage on the discourse level. Thus, this type of adverbial clause normally contains known information but can also be used for conveying new information *if* the action it contains follows naturally from the proceeding event(s). In other words, this adverbial clause is following the 'script' of expected actions. Longacre (1983: 334) refers to script as one of the possible terms for describing the referential organization of the discourse.

Ahé 'when' clauses always contain fully conjugated verb forms while the main clause which follows in the narrative is often a nominalized verb form. This nominalized verb form can only occur when the subject of the verb is the same as that of the 'when' clause. For example:

- (1) T9.29: *Ahé bá ɲa sáláka, nɔsaándákéna eényi.*
when 3p T/A operate-DUR c5-take.care.of DEM-c5
"When they had finished operating, they took care of (him)."

It should be noted that the events encoded by the nominalized verb form (the noun class 5 prefix functions as a nominalizer of verbs in Nomaándé) are included on the event line of the narrative, because they mark main or final result in an episode or series of actions. The demonstrative pronoun *eényi* does not function as a demonstrative in these clauses nor is it

the subject of the nominalized verb. It rather serves to mark the *resultant nature of the action expressed*. Other examples of clauses using *ahé* follow:

(2) T5.12: **Ahé u ɲá lɛca cɔɔfia, nyiembinine eényi.**

when 3s T/A see deer c5-shoot.at DEM-c5

"When he saw the deer, he shot it."

(3) T7.9-11: **Ahé ú ɲáá bíáhena e enyɔɲenyɔɲe, ɔndɔbe ú ɲéé wuúci nyiá,**

when 3s T/A RE-throw LOC marsh mud of T/A him cover

nystánáka buɲanda bó ɛnyama ikime eényi.

c5-schedule feast of animals all DEM-c5

"When he had thrown himself into the marsh, and mud covered him, he then scheduled a feast for all the animals."

The clause which intervenes in example (3) between the 'when' clause and the nominalized verb has a different subject from the 'when' clause and it therefore has an independent verb form, but at the same time the action expressed is closely linked to the 'when' clause and thus allows the nominalized verb which follows to still be used to express the same subject as the 'when' clause.

There are many examples of *ahé* clauses which are followed by a different subject. It will be noted that the clause containing this different subject always has a fully conjugated verb that is on the event line. For example:

(4) T14.13: **Ahé bá ɲga bó hámá, oónyi wu B. ɲé fulu wu beébe námbákéna ɛnyama.**

when 3p T/A 3p arrive wife of B. T/A quickly 3s them cook.for animal

"When they arrived, B.'s wife quickly cooked them some meat."

(5) T15.20: **Ahé u ɲáá faáya, ɛbó ɲá háná cábákéna.**

when 3s T/A come dog T/A again run-DUR

"When he (the man) came, dog ran away again."

2.1.1.2 'When' expressed by the subordinating morpheme *ɛmakéla*

ɛmakéla also is translated 'when' in English and it is also used for tail-head linkage in narrative discourse (once again making use of *old or expected information*). The adverbial phrase it initiates is always preposed as is the case for the *ahé* adverbial phrases. But whereas *ahé* is consistently translated 'when' by native speakers of Nomaándé, *ɛmakéla* and the following verb are most often translated as a past participle. This appears to be the case whether there is same or different subject with the main clause. For example:

(6) T8.53-4: **ɛmakéla mubúmébúme wé ke yeélue, ú ɲáá kuana onyíinyí...**

when hunter 3s DIR return 3s T/A find brother

"The hunter having returned, he found his brother..."

ɛmakéla is composed of three morphemes which are written as a single word in Nomaándé: *é* = noun class 7 marker (which functions as a dummy subject pronoun), *ma* = perfect aspect marker, and the verb *kéla* 'do'. This word is followed in the subordinate clause by a subject (noun or pronoun) and either a conjugated verb in the perfect or a verb lacking the tense/aspect marker. For example:

(7) T1.15: **ɛmakéla ú ma mána na ɔkɔmaá, u ɲé súéte eé nyionyí.**

when 3s PF finish with grow.up 3s T/A leave LOC market

"Having finished growing, he went to the market."

(8) T1.28: **ɛmakéla iinyí ke yeélue, ɔónó nyilige eényi.**

when mother DIR return child c5-become.angry DEM-c5

"His mother having returned, the child became angry."

These two examples also show that the main clause following an adverbial clause with *émakéla* can contain either a fully conjugated verb, as in example (7), or a nominalized event line verb, as in example (8), as is the case in the main clause after an adverbial clause beginning with *ahé*.

When a language seems to have two strategies for expressing basically the same idea, the question arises 'why?'. After comparing the contexts in which *émakéla* and *ahé* subordinate clauses occur, *ahé* clauses do not seem to occur at major breaks in the narrative. If they do, they are accompanied (and preceded in the clause) by the adverb *aámbáya* 'now'. On the other hand, *émakéla* clauses appear at more clearly defined paragraph breaks where there is a major shift in location or action within the discourse.

Emakéla marks an action that took place a short time before the action in the main clause. This follows logically from the use of the morpheme *ma* which denotes both perfect aspect and the immediate past tense. Two other forms of the subordinating morpheme are found in texts where the two other tense markers are used. *Enákela* is used in only one adverbial clause in the texts studied to date. On the basis of a lone example it is difficult to determine precisely the distinction between this form and the more frequent *émakéla*. The morpheme *na* denotes the P2 past tense. *Ekákéla* is used in an adverbial clause denoting a future action. The morpheme *ká* marks the F2 future tense in Nomaándé.

The follow examples show these two additional forms:

(9) T4.21: *Enákéla tú ka só háma eé nuúci, nyíasó nyibísúúnyíki enáká eényi.*
 when 1p DIR 1p arrive LOC river POSS-1p c5-put.down baskets DEM-c5
 "When we (finally?) arrived at the river, we put the baskets down."

(10) T1.35: *Ekákéla elufi me tume zháa, tuasóna o okáta.*
 when beans PF start to.produce 1p-be LOC to.harvest
 "When (fut.) the beans will have started producing, we will be able to harvest."

Examples with 'when' in the future are extremely limited in the narrative texts studied, so no conclusions can be made about the form of the verb that needs to follow the temporal morpheme. One further example occurs with the morpheme *ekáka* 'when (future habitual)' that has its own verb form:

(11) T6.12-13: *Ekáka wa yáana o okóhátokona, túo menyí anyía...*
 when-F-HAB 3s already-be LOC DIR-leave 1p know that
 "When he will (habitually) be on his way, we will know..."

2.1.2 Postposed temporal sequence clauses

A third type of temporal sequence clause in Nomaándé follows the main clause. Only two of the 15 texts studied contain examples of this type of clause. The conjunction *éce* is used and this can be translated 'when' as is the case for the other temporal adverbs discussed up to this point. But its use is very restricted as the following two examples show:

(12) T4.12: *Tu ná ka háma o hómoté haála, éce bábúána enenyié eé buúse, yanó*
 1p T/A DIR arrive LOC one place when 3p-be over.there LOC front me
 e elime.
 LOC back

"We arrived at a certain place when they were (already) ahead up there, I (was) behind."

(13) T11.2: *Eebu buúsé bá ná cobá o okanda a atualó, éce atualó me wéekúne.*
 DEM day 3p T/A go LOC walk LOC savana when savana PF die-STATE
 "One day they went walking in the savanna, when the savanna was (already) dead."

éce denotes a state that has already existed prior to the action in the main clause and this state is always background information. The verb within the adverbial clause is either in the perfect aspect or in a present tense that denotes the action is already in process.

éce is also used to express the concept of 'before' when it is used in a negative clause. No examples of this occur in the 15 texts studied, but the following elicited sentences are given as examples. Example (14) has the same subject in both clauses, while example (15) has different subjects:

(14) **U** **ɲá** **cóba** **ɔ** **ɔkanda** **éce** **u** **ti** **ɲé** **bíene**.
3s T/A go LOC to.travel before 3s NEG T/A give.birth
"She traveled before giving birth."

(15) **É** **ɲa** **mé** **mana** **ɔnyíá**, **éce** **ɔ** **te** **ɲó** **haanyuá**.
1s T/A 1s finish to.eat before 2s NEG T/A wake.up
"I already finished eating before you got up."

Another way to express the same idea has also been elicited wherein the temporal sequence clause is preposed:

(16) **ɔkela** **anyía** **wáa** **fáaya** **e** **buólí**, **u** **ɲá** **nyíáka** **o** **ooki**.
to.do that 3s come LOC work 3s T/A eat-DUR LOC house
"Before coming to work, he ate at home."

(17) **ɔkela** **anyía** **ó** **hányuá**, **ɛ** **ɲá** **mɛ** **bá** **é** **ma** **mé** **mana** **ɔnyíá**.
to.do that 2s wake.up 1s T/A 1s be 1s PF 1s finish to.eat
"Before you woke up, I had already finished eating."

The conjunction *ɔkela anyía* 'before' marks the beginning of the temporal sequence clause and the verb has no tense/aspect marking.

2.2 Causation clauses

2.2.1 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses express an event that has yet to be realized at the time of the action in the main clause. The event expressed in the purpose clause is the one motivating the action in the main clause (Thompson and Longacre: 185). Longacre also refers to purpose clauses as 'final cause' clauses (1996: 71) as opposed to 'efficient cause' clauses (or reason clauses).

In Nomaándé, purpose clauses which have a different subject from the main clause are marked by the subordinating morpheme/conjunction *anyía* 'so that' followed by a verb that lacks marking for tense. These clauses are always postposed. The action in the main clause happens first as the cause and then the purpose clause occurs (*if* the action really happens). For example:

(18) **T7.11-13:...****nyetánáka** **bɔɲanda** **bó** **ɛnyama** **íkime** **eényi** **anyía** **bó** **óndɛmakanana**,
c5-schedule feast of animals all DEM-c5 so.that 3p meet.together
bá **ɲáka** **macále**.
3p fight fights

"Then he scheduled a feast for all the animals, so that they would meet together and fight fights."

(19) **T8.68-9: Éshé** **é** **ma** **kaá** **mɛ** **tóma** **uumi** **onyíinyi** **anyía** **wáa** **kaá** **laána** **otérjí**.
that's.why 1s PF DIR 1s send POSS-1s brother so.that 3s DIR tell chief
"That's why I sent my brother, so that he would go tell the chief."

In purpose clauses which have the same subject as the main clause, a locative + infinitive construction is used *within* the main clause. For example:

(20) T12.9: **Ξεήε εβάλα ηα καάháμα ε οωαάκονενα asana yé uubú εόνό.**
 that's.why panther T/A arrive LOC to.study problem of POSS-3p child
 "That's why the panther arrived to study the problem of their child."

(21) T4.4: **Nyisúéte eényi a bεεté ε οωaamba...**
 c5-leave DEM-c5 LOC tree LOC to.look.for
 "Then we left to look for a tree..." (a relative clause follows)

2.2.2 Reason clauses

'Efficient cause' or reason clauses resemble purpose clauses that have a different subject from the main clause in that they are also postposed and the subordinating morpheme / conjunction used is also *anyía* or *ananyía*. However, reason clauses are distinguished from purpose clauses by the marking on the verb. Whereas purpose clauses have no tense marking on the verb, the verb in a reason clause *is* marked for tense. The conjunction *anyía* in this context is translated as 'because' (to denote reason) rather than 'so that' (to denote purpose). For example:

(22) T10.24: **Nyehola eényi o owé anyía u te ómεó báta sόókó u buúse.**
 c5-happen DEM-c5 LOC to.die because 3s NEG PST ask other of front/first
 "Then he died because he did not ask the first one (how to dance with a snake)."

(23) T15: **Baáná bá εεβό ηαά báμókónéna bεεtόlókónó ananyía u ηαά bá weé beébe afakena bitoli.**
 children of dog T/A be fat because 3s T/A be 3s them
 nourish plums
 "The children of the dog were fat because he had the habit of feeding them plums."

An alternative strategy for expressing reason is apparently available to the speaker of Nomaándé. Reason can be stated in an independent clause with another independent clause following it that begins with the conjunction *éshé*, roughly translated 'that's why'. This *éshé* clause contains a fully conjugated verb. For example:

(24) T12.7-8: **Kuεηό εβάλα, uusu εόνό áηa ehenyíé, ú ma me yááka. Ξεήε í ηε mi léne ananyía túé limíne, é mi lébékíne uumi εόνό oocí.**
 you panther POSS-1p child PR-be over there 3s PF 1s defeat that's.why
 1s T/A 1s like that 1p sit 2s me counsel.for POSS-1s child DEM
 "You, Panther, our child is over there. He has defeated me. That's why I want us to sit down and for you to counsel me about this child of mine."

Another possibility is for the *éshé* clause to appear at the very end of a text - summing up the action of the entire story. This is the case in the following example from the text about the gorilla and the dog:

(25) T14.26: **Ξεήε muyéé ηε ka lóbó e eciké, εεβό ηόε lóbó o ooki.**
 that's.why gorilla T/A DIR stay LOC forest dog T/A stay LOC house
 "That's why the gorilla stays in the forest and the dog stays at the house."

2.3 Circumstantial clauses

Circumstantial clauses express "the circumstances by which a given state of affairs comes to be" (Thompson and Longacre, 1985:188). Nomaándé narrative texts give limited data from which to draw conclusions. Consider the following:

- (26) T1.35: $\text{O } \eta\acute{o} \text{ t}\acute{\eta}\eta\alpha \text{ taak}\acute{\alpha}, \text{ mb}\acute{\alpha} \text{ ah}\acute{e} \text{ tuas}\acute{o}\eta\alpha \text{ ek}\acute{u}\acute{l}\acute{u} \text{ eeye, kak}\acute{\omega}\omega \text{ c}\acute{e} \text{ t}\epsilon \text{ } \omega\text{m}\omega \text{ b}\acute{\alpha}.$
2s T/A speak truth but as 1p-be time DEM cocoa 3s NEG PST be
"What you say is true, but as we are right now, the cocoa has not produced."
(27) T4.25: $\text{Yan}\acute{o}, \text{ b}\acute{\alpha} \eta\alpha \text{ m}\epsilon \text{ la}\acute{\alpha}\eta\alpha \text{ ah}\acute{e} \acute{\epsilon} \eta\alpha\acute{\alpha} \text{ m}\epsilon \text{ b}\acute{\alpha} \text{ hen}\acute{o}\acute{s}\acute{e}, \text{ anany}\acute{\iota}\alpha \text{ y}\acute{e} \text{ c}\acute{u}\text{k}\acute{e}\text{k}\acute{i}\eta\epsilon.$
me 3p T/A me tell as 1s T/A 1s be child so.that 1s put.in.bark
"Me, they told me that I could put the bark (into the river) since/as I was a child."

The circumstantial clause in Nomaándé is located medially in the sentence rather than initially. By the use of *ahé* in a context that distinguishes it adequately from its other meaning of 'when' (see section 2.1.1.1), a meaning of 'since' or 'as' is determined. The verb form in this circumstantial clause is fully conjugated, but both of the examples given above are included within speech acts and it must be assumed at this point that *ahé* used in this way is limited to such speech acts.

2.4 Simultaneity clauses

When two actions occur at the same time in a narrative, they are expressed in two clauses termed simultaneity clauses. Thompson and Longacre state in their article that it is a universal "that languages allow one of the simultaneous events to be signaled as providing the context or background for the other, or foregrounded, event" (1985: 188-189). This fact is demonstrated in Nomaándé by the background event being marked for tense and aspect while the foregrounded event is unmarked for tense but the verb includes the durative suffix *-ak*. For example:

- (28) T11.20: $\text{H}\acute{u} \text{ u } \eta\alpha \text{ k}\acute{\alpha}\eta\delta\alpha, \text{ u } \text{ h}\acute{u}\text{l}\epsilon \text{ l}\acute{o}\eta\acute{o}\text{k}\omega.$
only 3s T/A walk 3s all.over call-DUR
"As he walked, he called all around."
(29) T1.14: $\text{U } \eta\acute{\alpha} \text{ k}\omega\text{m}\acute{\alpha}\text{k}\alpha, \text{ b}\acute{e} \text{ l}\acute{i}\text{h}\acute{e}\text{k}\epsilon \text{ n}\epsilon \text{ i}\acute{i}\text{n}\acute{y}\acute{\iota}, \text{ u } \text{ k}\epsilon\text{l}\text{a}\text{k}\alpha \text{ m}\text{a}\text{s}\acute{o}\text{m}\alpha.$
3s T/A grow.up 3p live-DUR with mother 3s do-DUR chores
"He grew up, living with his mother and doing chores."
(30) T15.29: $\text{Baac}\omega \text{ bekime } \eta\alpha \text{ b}\acute{o} \text{ c}\acute{\alpha}\text{b}\acute{\alpha}\text{k}\acute{e}\eta\alpha, \text{ b}\acute{e} \text{ h}\acute{u}\text{l}\epsilon \text{ bokoko.}$
people all T/A 3p run-DUR 3p all.over cry.out-DUR
"Everybody ran away crying out."

The order of the marked and unmarked events can also be reversed, as the following examples show:

- (31) T5.13: $\text{C}\omega\omega\text{f}\acute{\iota}\alpha \acute{\alpha} \text{ c}\acute{\alpha}\text{b}\text{a}\text{k}\epsilon\eta\alpha, \text{ c}\epsilon \eta\acute{\alpha} \text{ k}\text{u}\alpha \text{ e}\acute{e}\acute{\iota}!$
deer ASP run-DUR 3s T/A fall EXCL
"As the deer was running, it fell down, oh!"
(32) T13.4: $\text{W}\acute{\alpha} \acute{\alpha} \text{ h}\acute{o}\text{l}\text{a}\text{k}\alpha \text{ n}\text{y}\text{e}\text{s}\text{a}\text{k}\alpha \text{ n}\acute{y}\acute{\iota} \text{ \acute{E}\acute{b}\acute{e}\acute{b}\acute{\delta}\acute{\alpha}, \text{ u } \eta\acute{\alpha} \text{ k}\text{u}\acute{\alpha}\eta\alpha \text{ y}\acute{\alpha}\eta\text{a}\text{n}\acute{\delta}\acute{\alpha} \text{ y}\acute{e} \text{ b}\omega\omega\text{t}\acute{e}...$
3s ASP pass-DUR bridge of Ebebda 3s T/A find large of tree
"As he passed the Ebebda bridge, he saw a large tree..."

These two examples seem to demonstrate that it is the ordering of the simultaneity clauses that determines which one is the background event and which is the foregrounded event, rather than the markedness of the verbs. That is, the first of the two events is background and the second event is foregrounded. This is only an hypothesis, however, as these two

'counter' examples are the only ones found in the 15 texts studied. It should also be noted that in these two examples the 'unmarked' verbs are actually marked for aspect but they remain unmarked for tense, as was the case in the previous examples.

Yet another means of expressing simultaneity clauses is available in Nomaándé narrative texts. Consider the following examples:

- (33) T4.32: **Tu húlú ko oóndóko, tu kuanaka tóna tuofó ayáaŋa tu wéékúnénú.**
 1p bit.by.bit DIR return-DUR 1p find-DUR also fish already 3p die-ADJ
 "We were returning when we found other fish as well that were already dead."
- (34) T9.9: **U fúkéke, ɔ kɛlaka háyɛ bɛtana naŋa bíó bókóko.**
 3s shake-DUR 3s do-DUR like monkeys HAB-PR 3p cry.out-DUR
 "He shook (the bush) while crying out like monkeys often do."
- (35) T15.28: **We é bínyietinyi, bá lókóma tíími toómó.**
 3s ASP move.around 3p hear (sound of falling)
 "When he started moving around, they heard 'boom!'"

In all of these examples, both simultaneous events are marked in the same way, i.e. there is no tense marking on the verbs but the durative suffix is present on both verbs, as in examples (33) and (34) or the durative suffix is found on *neither* of the verbs, as in example (35). In all of these cases, a closer look at their contexts shows that the first of the two simultaneous actions has been stated just previously by using either the same verb or by a synonym of the verb.

2.5 Conditional clauses

In our discussion of conditional clauses in Nomaándé narrative discourse, a distinction is made between 'irrealis' conditionals (or hypothetical conditionals) and 'counter-factual' conditionals. Both of these types of conditionals are considered to be 'unreality conditionals' (Thompson and Longacre: 190). On the other hand, "reality conditionals are those which refer to 'real' present, 'habitual'...or past situations" (Thompson and Longacre: 190). Two examples of such conditionals are found in Text 15 about the dog and the turtle:

- (36) T15.32: **Mbókɔ nó ŋa taáta bókɔ bú etémbí, nú ŋe nú hulí yaano ekúlú.**
 if 2p T/A wait thing of other 2p T/A 2p waste POSS-2p time
 "If you are waiting for something else, you are wasting your time."
- (37) T15.7: **Mbókɔ o ŋoó léne, tué súète a haála.**
 if 2s T/A like 1p-IMP go LOC place
 "If you want, let's go over there."

2.5.1 Irrealis conditionals

Nomaándé marks irrealis or hypothetical conditionals with either a form of *ékelá* 'if' in the first clause plus a subjunctive form of the subject pronoun and verb (i.e. no tense marker), or, less commonly, simply the subjunctive form of both the subject pronoun and verb in the first clause without the initial conditional morpheme. In both of these cases, the verb in the second clause of the conditionals is marked for tense and aspect. For example:

- (38) T11.8: **Ékelá tuáso ciáka hú hénáno, háányɛ tú ŋe sú límekine e?**
 if 1p-1p light-DUR only today where 1p T/A 1p stay-DUR Q
 "If we light (the savannah) today, where will we stay?"
- (39) T12.36: **...anyía uuwe ɔónó wé wé nóɔnyá na ɔyá, bó kó yóo cɛcaka.**
 because POSS-2s child 3s die tomorrow and day.after.tomorrow 3p F2 you laugh-DUR
 "...because if your son dies soon, people will make fun of you."

2.5.2 Counter-factual 'if-then' conditionals

While hypothetical conditionals refer to events which *might* happen, counter-factual conditionals refer to events which either cannot or could not occur. In Nomaándé such counter-factuals are marked in the initial clause by the conditional morpheme *ókó* 'if' which initiates the clause, and by the morpheme *keyé* 'then' at the beginning of the second clause, which is used only in counter-factual conditionals. For example:

- (40) T10.25: *Ókó waá báta sókó u buúse, keyé u tí ómoó wé ehénys.*
if 3s ask other of first then 3s NEG PST die snake
"If he had asked the first one, then he wouldn't have died (due to) the snake."
- (41) T11.24: *Ókó óó lókóma e wúmi ɔ́táŋa anyía tuá ciáka mátaáno,*
if 2s listen LOC POSS-1s talk that 1p light-DUR five
keyé tu ŋa só bá tó ɔwambaka haála...
then 1p T/A 1p be 1p look.for-DUR place
"If you had listened to me when I said that we should light (the savanna) in 5 days, then we could have looked for a place..."
- (42) T11.27: *Ókó waá lókóména cínú, keyé u tí ómo wé.*
if 3s obey turtle then 3s NEG PST die
"If he had obeyed the turtle, then he wouldn't have died."

In addition to the conditional morpheme, *ókó*, and the morpheme which marks the clause with the counter-factual result, *keyé*, these clauses are further marked by a lack of tense in the initial clause, and by an independent (i.e. with a fully conjugated verb) second clause. If the morpheme *keyé* were not present in example (40), the second clause would be translated simply "He did not die (due to) the snake." The second clause of example (41) would read "We were looking for a place...", and example (42) would read "He did not die".

2.6 Concessive clauses

In concessive clauses, a concession is made which contrasts with the proposition in the main clause (Thompson and Longacre: 198). These clauses are of two types: definite and indefinite.

2.6.1 Definite

In Nomaándé narratives, definite concessive clauses are marked by the conjunction *kéle anyía* 'even though.' Only one example is found in the 15 texts studied:

- (43) T7.66-7: *Tɔse tuasóna ɔndɔbe Te Kóta, kéle anyía tuasóna ebála.*
1p-say 1p-1p-be mud NEG dry even that 1p-1p-be panther
"We say we are 'Mud not drying', even though we are 'Panther'."

As Thompson and Longacre suggest in their article (1985:198), this definite concessive clause can also be paraphrased as "in spite of the fact that we are 'Panther'."

2.6.2 Indefinite

Indefinite concessive clauses "contain some unspecified element, typically an indefinite pronoun or question word" (Thompson and Longacre: 198). Only one example of such an indefinite concessive clause is found in the Nomaándé narrative texts studied. It is marked initially by the concessive morpheme *ta* 'even' and finally by the question word *anyána* 'how'.

- (44) T3.15: *Ta óó kɛlaka anyána, ɔ tɛ ó bá wó ɔmana injiné.*
even 2s do-DUR how 2s NEG 2s be 2s to.finish wisdom
"Even (if) you do everything possible, you cannot find the end of wisdom."

3.0 Conclusion

This description of adverbial clauses in Nomaándé narrative discourse has shown the variety of ways available to the speaker of the language for expressing adverbial relationships. Temporal sequence clauses clearly represent the greatest quantity as well as variety among adverbial clauses, both preposed and postposed. Causation clauses are the only other type of adverbial clause that is obligatorily postposed in Nomaándé narrative discourse, whether purpose clauses or reason clauses. Circumstantial clauses, while rare in the texts studied, occur in a medial position in the sentence. Simultaneity clauses are expressed in several different ways, very probably being influenced in usage by the context within the discourse, but a determination of those influences goes beyond the scope of this current study. Conditional clauses have clearly distinguishable grammatical structures depending on whether they are 'reality', hypothetical, or counter-factual conditionals. Finally, concessive clauses have been identified in Nomaándé narrative discourse of both definite and indefinite types.

ABBREVIATIONS

- 1,2,3 - person pronouns
- ADJ - adjectival suffix
- ASP - aspect morpheme
- c5 - noun class marker
- DEM - demonstrative pronoun
- DIR - directional morpheme
- DUR - durative suffix
- EXCL - exclamation
- F2 - future tense
- HAB - habitual morpheme
- IMP - imperative
- LOC - locative
- p - plural
- PF - perfect morpheme
- PR - present tense
- POSS - possessive pronoun
- PST - past tense
- Q - question morpheme
- s - singular
- T1.1 - text no. and sentence no.
- T/A - tense/aspect morpheme

TITLES OF NARRATIVE TEXTS

- T1** - *Okono ñaá háma ingíme ce bunõõ bú Tulume -- Sickness wiped out the whole village of Tulume*
- T2** - *Emenyukune e hinonyí biónó ña yáka ò òfana -- Counting eggs was too much for the intelligence of the bird*
- T3** - *Ɔõõ õmoté ña kóna õse -- Once upon a time a man said...*
- T4** - *Olumbe wú yooto -- Fishing with poison*
- T5** - *Enjaba ce õõõ ò buáyá -- Someone scheduled a hunt*
- T6** - *Baaco béfendí, mõõõõ méfendí -- Two peoples, two villages*
- T7** - *Ɔõõ awó náña waá bénámbákõna bõsókó baaco -- The man who has the habit of hiding himself from other people*
- T8** - *Bõkõ abó tó báka tuõ óndókõ etéesi -- The reason we pay taxes*
- T9** - *Asana a yémoté ñáá béhólaka e ecike -- Something took place in the forest*
- T10** - *Ɔõõ õmoté ñáá hálómóna -- A man returned*
- T11** - *Enjaba ne etílí ne cínú -- The story of dove and turtle*
- T12** - *Hihélúméke hé na ebála ne ingoyó -- The story of panther and lion*
- T13** - *Cínú ña kóna õse -- Turtle said...*
- T14** - *Hihélúméke hé ne muyeé na ebó -- The story of gorilla and dog*
- T15** - *Hihélúméke hé na ebó ne cínú -- The story of dog and turtle*

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